

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ROLE OF MALE ROYAL OFFSPRING IN 18TH DYNASTY EGYPT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

MEGAERA C. LORENZ

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MARCH 2017

© Megaera C. Lorenz

2017

I dedicate this dissertation to Dr. John G. Tuthill, to whom I owe my love of ancient Egypt.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
List of Tables	xv
Acknowledgements.....	xvi
Abstract.....	xix
Introduction	1
Part I: Background.....	27
Chapter 1: The Nature of Sonship in Ancient Egypt	27
Part II: The Data	69
Chapter 2: Category I – Royal Monuments	69
Chapter 3: Category II – Monuments Belonging to Princes	86
Chapter 4: Category III – Objects and Monuments Relating to the Cult of the Royal Family	198
Chapter 5: Category IV – Private Monuments Featuring Princes	287
Chapter 6: Category V – Miscellaneous Documents Mentioning Princes	360
Chapter 7: Category VI – Retrospective Depictions of Kings as Princes	371
Chapter 8: Category VII – Princes in Literature	440
Part III: Analysis and Conclusions.....	443
Chapter 9: The Relationships, Titles and Offices of 18th Dynasty Princes	443
Chapter 10: Iconography and Symbolism in the Representation of 18th Dynasty Royal Sons	529
Chapter 11: Conclusions	584
Bibliography	640

List of Figures

Figure 1. Drawing of the Donation Stele of Ahmose Nefertari from Karnak. Now in the Luxor Museum, Luxor. (From I. Harari, 1959)	70
Figure 2. Drawing of Gl. 98. Relief of Djutmose B in the Glyptotek Museum, Munich. (From J. Berlandini, 1997)	78
Figure 3. UC 14797. Relief fragment of a male figure wearing a short wig and sidelock in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. (From http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#58081 . Last accessed Oct. 19, 2016.)	81
Figure 4. Copy of a block from Hermopolis naming the King's Son Tutankhaten (From J. Allen, 2009)	83
Figure 5. Louvre E. 15682. Statue of Ahmose A in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. (From C. Barbotin, 2005)	88
Figure 6. Texts from the pyramidion of Ahmose A. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	100
Figure 7. Texts from ushabtis naming a King's Son Ahmose, from Dra Abu el-Naga. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	101
Figure 8. CG 61007. Coffin of Ahmose Sapair. From the royal burial cache at Deir el-Bahri (TT 320), now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From G. Daressy, 1909)	104
Figure 9. CG 61008. Coffin of Siamun A. From the royal burial cache at Deir el-Bahri (TT 320), now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From G. Daressy, 1909)	106
Figure 10. MMA 19.3.207. Coffin of Amenemhat B with associated offerings. From Thebes, Asasif, Cliff Tomb MMA 1021, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Photo by M. Lorenz)	109
Figure 11. MMA 19.3.210. Pectoral from the burial of Amenemhat B. From Thebes, Asasif, Cliff Tomb MMA 1021, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Photo by M. Lorenz)	110

Figure 12. CG 5032. Lid of a canopic jar belonging to Webensenu. From KV 35, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From G. Daressy, 1902)	116
Figure 13. CG 24270. Ushabti of Webensenu. From KV 35, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From G. Daressy, 1902)	117
Figure 14. CG 24271. Ushabti of Webensenu. From KV 35, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From G. Daressy, 1902)	118
Figure 15. MFA 03.1129a-b. Canopic jar of Amenemhat C. From KV 43, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (From http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/canopic-jar-and-lid-of-prince-amenemhat-130277 . Last accessed October 19, 2016)	121
Figure 16. Fragmentary canopic jars of Menkheperre B. From Wadi Bariya, Tomb WB1. (From http://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-linstitut-degyptologie/piece-en-vedette/piece-en-vedette/article/three-fragments-in-the-strasbourg-collection/ . Last accessed October 19, 2016)	124
Figure 17. BM EA69673. Funerary stele of Ahmose A in the British Museum, London. (From http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=120994&partId=1 . Last accessed October 19, 2016)	129
Figure 18. MMA 90.6.130. Stele dedicated to an unknown individual in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (From E.-A. Hassan, 1996)	133
Figure 19. Liverpool SAOS E 609. Funerary statue of Ramose in the collection of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. (From S. R. Snape, 1985)	135
Figure 20. Cairo BN 104. Statue of Nebnefer and Tawosret from Thebes. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From D. Metawi, 2013)	140
Figure 21. CG 923. Sistrophic statue of Djutmose A (Thutmose IV) from the Temple of Mut, Karnak. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From E. Bernhauer, 2010)	146
Figure 22. Louvre E. 8074. Naos of Amenmose from Giza. Now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. (From A.-M. Loyrette, 1992)	149
Figure 23. Drawing of “Stele C” from Giza. Current location unknown. (From S. Hassan, 1949)	154

Figure 24. Drawing of “Stele A” from Giza. Current location unknown. (From S. Hassan, 1949)	160
Figure 25. Drawing of “Stele B” from Giza. Current location unknown. (From S. Hassan, 1949)	163
Figure 26. Stele of Pentepihu from Giza. Current location unknown. (From U. Hölscher, 1912)	170
Figure 27. Copies of two graffiti of Khaemwaset from Sehel Island. (From A. Dodson, 2014)	173
Figure 28. Copy of a graffito of Djhutmose X from Sehel Island. (From J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant et al., 1894)	175
Figure 29. Drawing of Berlin Stele 14200. Stele of Qen and Atumhotep with Ahmose B. (From M. Moursi, 1987)	177
Figure 30. CG 589. Seated statue of Ahmose B from Coptos. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From L. Borchardt, 1925)	180
Figure 31. Cairo JE 36412. Kneeling statue of Ahmose B from Gebelein, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From W. Ghoneim, 1994)	185
Figure 32. Louvre E. 2749. Statuette of Djhutmose B grinding grain in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. (From A. Dodson, 1990)	188
Figure 33. VÄGM 117-97. Ushabti of Djutmosse B on a lion bed in the Verein zur Förderung des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin. (From D. Wildung, 1998)	190
Figure 34. CG 5003. The sarcophagus or canopic chest of the cat Ta-Mit from Mit-Rahina. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From H. Hohneck, 2014)	192
Figure 35. UC 14219. Stele of Ahmose Sapair from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. (From http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17466 . Last accessed October 20, 2016)	202

Figure 36. CG 34005. Stele of Padju from Armant. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From P. Lacau, 1909)	204
Figure 37. CG 34029. Stele of Nebsu in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From P. Lacau, 1909)	207
Figure 38. CG 34036. Stele depicting Ahmose Sapair and Amenhotep I in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From C. Vandersleyen, 1983)	211
Figure 39. Stele of Ahmose Sapair and Meritamun from Hermopolis. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	213
Figure 40. BM EA 360. Stele of Nakhy and “Satpair” in the British Museum, London. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	217
Figure 41. Ny Carlsberg AEIN 137. Stele of Ahmose Sapair(?) in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	220
Figure 42. Drawing of BM EA 932. Stele of Ahmose in the British Museum, London. (From H. R. Hall, 1914)	222
Figure 43. BM EA 275. Stele of Ahmose in the British Museum, London. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	226
Figure 44. Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969-211. Stele of the “Excellent Spirit of Re Ahmose” in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	228
Figure 45. CG 34004. Stele of Kenres from Dra Abu el-Naga. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From P. Lacau, 1909)	231
Figure 46. CG 34080. Stele of Inay from Abydos. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From P. Lacau, 1926)	235
Figure 47. Cairo JE 41773. Stele of Penha from Sheikh Said. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	241
Figure 48. Turin 1455. Stele of Sennefer from Deir el-Medina. Now in the Museo Egizio, Turin. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005)	244

- Figure 49.** RC 1586. Stele of Ahmose Sapair and Ahmose-Nefertari in the Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005) 248
- Figure 50.** UC 14233. Stele of Sapair from the Ramesseum, Thebes. Now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. (From <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17560>. Last accessed October 22, 2016) 250
- Figure 51.** UC 11518. Stele of Ahmose Sapair in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. (From <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#23289>. Last accessed October 22, 2016) 252
- Figure 52.** BM EA 76761. Miniature stele of Ahmose Sapair in the British Museum, London. (From http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1443690&partId=1&museumno=76761&page=1. Last accessed October 22, 2016) 254
- Figure 53.** St. Petersburg Hermitage Museum 752. Statuette of Ahmose Sapair in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (From C. Vandersleyen, 2005) 255
- Figure 54.** Copy of a painting from the Tomb of Nakht (TT 161) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. (From L. Manniche, 1986) 257
- Figure 55.** Drawing of Karnak North Inv. 95. Fragment of a stele naming Ahmose Sapair from Karnak. (From A.-P. Zivie, 1972) 260
- Figure 56.** Plan of the Chapel of Wadjmose, Luxor, West Bank. (From A.-M. Loyrette, 1991) 262
- Figure 57.** Cairo JE 27818. Inscribed door jamb(?) naming the tutor Imhotep from the Chapel of Wadjmose, Luxor. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, 1890-1900) 264
- Figure 58.** CG 34016. Stele of Senimes from the Chapel of Wadjmose, Luxor. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (From E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, 1890-1900) 267
- Figure 59.** Detail of CG 34016. (From E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, 1890-1900) 268
- Figure 60.** Brussels 1103. Statue of Nebnefer in the Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels. (From J. Capart and W. Spiegelberg, 1902) 276

- Figure 61.** Drawing of Boulaq Museum 2953. Statue of a child god. Provenance and current location unknown. (From A. Mariette-Pacha and G. Maspero, 1872) 284
- Figure 62.** CG 1112. Block statue of Senneferi with Siamun B in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig) 290
- Figure 63.** CG 638. Statue of Minmose with two princes from Karnak. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From L. Borchardt, 1925) 293
- Figure 64.** BM EA 35400. Block statuette of Tjenuna with Temy in the British Museum, London. (From
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=100842&partId=1. Last accessed October 22, 2016) 297
- Figure 65.** Brussels E.6856. Statue of Sobekhotep with Amenhotep Merykhepesh in the Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels. (From B. van de Walle, 1963) 300
- Figure 66.** Copy of a scene from the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3). Pahery and Wadjmose receive offerings. (From J. J. Tylor, 1895) 304
- Figure 67.** Copy of a scene from the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3). Pahery presents offerings to Wadjmose and Amenmose and to his parents. (From J. J. Tylor, 1895) 306
- Figure 68.** Copy of a relief of Min and Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) from the tomb of Min (TT 109) at Thebes. (From P. Virey, 1891) 309
- Figure 69.** Copy of a scene of Min teaching archery to Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) from the tomb of Min (TT 109) at Thebes. (From N. de Garis Davies, 1935) 311
- Figure 70.** Copy of a scene from TT 143 possibly depicting a king teaching his son to shoot. (From N. de Garis Davies, 1935) 314
- Figure 71.** Copy of Berlin 18534. Fragment of a scene from an unknown tomb depicting a woman nursing a boy or young man in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin. (From O. Keel, 1992)
..... 316
- Figure 72.** Plan of TT 64 at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, 1960) 319

- Figure 73.** Copy of a scene from TT 64 depicting Heqareshu with Thutmose IV as a prince receiving offerings from Heqaerneheh and several young princes. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From P. Newberry, 1928) 320
- Figure 74.** Davies MSS. 10.22.37. Drawing, detail of princes behind Heqaerneheh, upper register, from TT 64, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT64.html>. Last accessed October 23, 2016) 321
- Figure 75.** MMA photograph T. 2812. Scene from TT 64 depicting Heqaerneheh with burnt offerings, accompanied by one or more princes, from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art) 326
- Figure 76.** Drawing of a scene from TT 226 depicting four princes on the lap of an unknown tutor, from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From N. de Garis Davies, 1923) 328
- Figure 77.** Cairo JE 20221. Stele of Senetruiu with Amenemopet from Saqqara. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig) 334
- Figure 78.** Vienna ÄS 5814. Relief fragment of Meryre with Siatum from Saqqara. Now in the Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (From D. Berg, 1987) 338
- Figure 79.** Copy of Graffito 23 from Konosso. (From C. R. Lepsius, 1849) 344
- Figure 80.** Copy of Graffito 32 from Konosso. (From P. Newberry, 1928) 345
- Figure 81.** Copy of a graffito of Re and Aakheperure from Sehel. (From A. Mariette-Pacha, 1872) 348
- Figure 82.** BM EA 1280. Statue of Huy with royal children in the British Museum, London. (From G. Robins, 1999) 350
- Figure 83.** Cairo JE 98831. Statue of an unknown woman with four royal children from Bubastis. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From C. Ziegler, 2008) 356
- Figure 84.** RMS 1956.154. Mummy label of the princess Nebetia from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. Now in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. (From A. Dodson and J. Janssen, 1989) 363

Figure 85. Drawing of seal impression “KK” from Malqata. (From W. Hayes, 1951)	365
Figure 86. Copy of Graffito XVIII from the Meidum Pyramid Temple. (From A. Dodson, 2009)	368
Figure 87. Drawing of a scene depicting Khnum creating Hatshepsut and her <i>kas</i> from Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. (From E. Naville, 1896)	374
Figure 88. Drawing of a scene depicting the nursing of the infant Hatshepsut and her <i>kas</i> from Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. (From E. Naville, 1896)	376
Figure 89. Drawing of a scene depicting Amun with the infant Hatshepsut from Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. (From E. Naville, 1898)	379
Figure 90. Drawing of a scene depicting Thutmose I presenting Hatshepsut as his heir before the court, from Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el-Bahri. (From E. Naville, 1898)	381
Figure 91. Cairo JE 56264. Statue of Sitre with Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahri. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From H. Winlock, 1932)	385
Figure 92. MMA 30.4.72. Facsimile of a painting from the Theban tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) depicting Amenhotep II on the lap of his nurse, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Photograph by M. Lorenz)	394
Figure 93. Copy of a scene from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From N. de Garis Davies, 1930)	395
Figure 94. MMA photograph T. 2588 (detail). Scene of Baky nursing Amenhotep II from TT 85, left-hand pillar by tomb entrance. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art)	401
Figure 95. MMA photograph T. 2588 (detail). Scene of Baky nursing Amenhotep II from TT 85, right-hand pillar by tomb entrance. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art)	403
Figure 96. MMA photograph T. 2572 (detail). Scene of Baky standing and nursing Amenhotep II before offering bearers, from the transverse hall of TT 85, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art)	405

- Figure 97.** Line drawing of the Great Sphinx Stele of Amehotep II from Giza. (From A. Varille, 1942) 407
- Figure 98.** Drawing of a scene from TT 64 depicting Heqareshu with Thutmose IV as a prince receiving offerings from Heqaerneheh and several young princes. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (From P. Newberry, 1928) 413
- Figure 99.** MMA photograph T. 2820 (detail). Detail of a scene of Heqareshu holding Thutmose IV on his lap from TT 64, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art) 414
- Figure 100.** MMA photograph T. 2813. Scene depicting a tutor holding a prince or miniature king on his lap from TT 64, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. (Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art) 417
- Figure 101.** Drawing of the “Dream Stele” of Thutmose IV from Giza. (From C. R. Lepsius, 1849-1859) 419
- Figure 102.** Relief of Thutmose IV as a small child in the lap of a goddess. Provenance unknown, now in Paris, France. (From B. Bryan, 1991) 426
- Figure 103.** OIM photograph 10269. Relief depicting the divine conception of Amenhotep III from Luxor Temple. (From <http://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/#D/PA/2010276/H/1444187978304>. Last accessed October 26, 2016) 428
- Figure 104.** Drawing of a relief of Tutankhamun in the lap of his nurse Maya from Bubasteion Tomb 1.20 at Saqqara. (From A. Zivie, 2009) 430
- Figure 105.** Cairo JE 91301. Statue of a royal nurse holding a prince from North Saqqara. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (From W. B. Emery, 1970) 434
- Figure 106.** Texts of Cairo JE 91301 and their positions on the base of the statue. (From J. van Dijk, 2010) 438
- Figure 107.** Detail, drawing of the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari from Karnak. Now in the Luxor Museum, Luxor. (From I. Harari, 1959) 530

- Figure 108.** Relief of a royal or divine youth in a chariot in the Brooklyn Museum, New York. (From <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3418/>. Last accessed October 28, 2016) 533
- Figure 109.** Copy of a section of relief from the Bark Sanctuary of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri depicting Neferure standing behind Hatshepsut. (From J. Champollion, 1835) 537
- Figure 110.** Left: UC 14233. A votive stele of Ahmose Sapair from the Ramesseum, Thebes. Now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. (From <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17560>. Last accessed October 28, 2016). Right: MMA 19.3.32. Funerary stele of Aamtiu from Asasif, Thebes. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (From <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545595>. Last accessed October 28, 2016) 556
- Figure 111.** Detail of Cairo JE 91301. Prince wearing an H-wing scarab amulet. (From M. Eaton-Krauss, 2016) 566
- Figure 112.** Copy of royal name amulet worn by Amenhotep C in the TT 64 offering scene. (From P. Newberry, 1928) 567
- Figure 113.** Detail of Thutmose IV on the lap of Heqareshu from TT 64 (line drawing). (From P. Newberry, 1928) 568
- Figure 114.** MMA 15.5.19e. Detail of a non-royal male child wearing a lotus pectoral in a fishing and fowling scene from the tomb of Nakht (TT 52) from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes. Facsimile in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (From <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548578>. Last accessed October 28, 2016.) 570
- Figure 115.** Detail showing the right hand of Wadjmose from the scene depicting Wadjmose on the lap of Pahery from Tomb 3 at El Kab. (Photograph by Bart Vanthuyne, October 2016. Image courtesy of the Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab) 574
- Figure 116.** Copy of a relief of Min and Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) from the tomb of Min (TT 109) at Thebes. (From P. Virey, 1891) 575
- Figure 117.** MMA 66.99.182. Two-finger amulet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (From <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550994>. Last accessed October 28, 2016) 576

List of Tables

Table 1. List of King's Sons of the 18 th Dynasty	446
Table 2. Occurrences of the Title <i>s3 ny-sw.t</i> in 18 th Dynasty Monuments	451
Table 3. Occurrences of the Title <i>s3 ny-sw.t mr=f</i> and Variants in 18 th Dynasty Monuments ..	462
Table 4. Occurrences of the Title <i>s3 ny-sw.t m3c</i> and Variants in 18 th Dynasty Monuments	463
Table 5. Occurrences of the Title <i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw</i> and Variants in 18 th Dynasty Monuments	465
Table 6. Occurrences of the Title <i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f</i> and Variants in 18 th Dynasty Monuments	473
Table 7. Use of the Title <i>sm</i> by 18 th Dynasty Princes	501
Table 8. Use of the Title <i>hm ntr</i> and Variants by 18 th Dynasty Princes	503
Table 9. Use of the Title <i>it ntr</i> and Variants by 18 th Dynasty Princes	506
Table 10. Use of other Priestly Titles by 18 th Dynasty Princes	507
Table 11. Use of Titles Related to the Care of Sacred Cattle by 18 th Dynasty Princes	510
Table 12. Use of Titles Associated with Chariotry and the Care of Horses by 18 th Dynasty Princes	511
Table 13. Other Military Titles Used by 18 th Dynasty Princes	513
Table 14. Use of Civil and Administrative Titles by 18 th Dynasty Princes	515
Table 15. 18 th Dynasty Princes and Titles of Kinship, Rank and Office	516

Acknowledgements

The completion of this dissertation was made possible by the help and support of numerous mentors, teachers, colleagues, friends and family members.

First, I wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Janet Johnson, Robert Ritner, Nadine Moeller, and Catharine Roehrig. Their perspectives and expertise have been invaluable in the construction and refinement of this dissertation. I am particularly indebted to my committee chair, Jan Johnson, who not only patiently and efficiently read through multiple drafts of my dissertation material, but also acted as my advocate in various administrative matters as I neared the end of the writing process. I am also grateful to Catharine Roehrig, my outside reader, for providing me with a number of images which would have been otherwise very difficult to obtain, and for guiding me in person to various objects relevant to my research in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

I would also like to thank my past academic advisors and mentors, John Tuthill, Donald Redford and Peter Dorman, all of whom fostered my interest in Egyptology and encouraged my growth as a scholar from a very early period in my life.

My time as a student at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has been greatly enriched by the support, encouragement and opportunities given to me by numerous members of the faculty and staff, past and present. These include Emily Teeter, Geoff Emberling, Matt Stolper, Carole Krucoff, Wendy Ennes, Catherine Kenyon and Carol Ng-He, among others.

I am also extremely grateful to various members of the Egyptological community who graciously answered my questions and volunteered information and materials relevant to my research. I am indebted to Georgia Xekalaki and Jean Revez, who sent me copies of manuscripts based on their own doctoral dissertations; to José Manuel Galán, who answered my questions about his recent work at Dra Abu el-Naga with the Djehuty Project; to Zahi Hawass and Adela Oppenheim, who kindly allowed me to view Zahi Hawass's article for the upcoming festschrift for Dorothea Arnold in advance of its publication; and to the various members of the Egyptologists' Electronic Forum who enthusiastically answered my queries and helped me track down elusive information and resources.

The friendship, moral support and scholarly expertise of many of my fellow students and peers has been invaluable to me during the long and often stressful process of completing a PhD program. I am particularly grateful to Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Debora Heard, Mary Szabady, Lori Calabria, Kate Liszka, Bart Vanthuyne and Leire Olabarria.

I would like to thank my family for their unwavering encouragement and support during this lengthy and difficult undertaking. My parents, Brenna Lorenz and Michael Pulte, have nurtured my love of learning since infancy, and have enthusiastically supported my childhood dream of becoming an Egyptologist. I have been inspired by the enthusiasm of my grandmother, Estelle Lorenz Greenwood, who was the first in a line of Lorenz women to earn a doctorate. My brother, Malachi Pulte, has listened to my rants about the hardships of graduate student life and the atrocities of Hollywood Egyptology with sympathy and good humor.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my husband Glenn, who has been with me through my entire graduate school journey and has helped carry me through the rough spots with his love and support, and to my daughter Miranda, that brilliant bundle of energy and love who always keeps me on my toes.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the political and ideological roles of King's Sons during the 18th Dynasty. After a brief discussion of the nature of "sonship" in pharaonic Egypt, all currently available data on royal sons during the 18th Dynasty are presented in a series of chapters organized categorically by type of monument. This is followed by chapters dealing with titles of kinship, rank and office used by King's Sons and iconography in visual representation of King's Sons.

The final chapter discusses the ideal royal son as presented in literary sources and the 18th Dynasty myth of divine kingship. Next, the role of the crown prince is addressed, with particular focus on titles, offices and burial practices associated with the position of crown prince. The following sections address what is known of the careers and family lives of non-reigning princes; burial practices and funerary cults associated with princes who did not attain kingship; and the role of 18th dynasty princes as "royal" vs. "private" figures, particularly in comparison to female members of the royal family.

One of the most important contributions of this study is an in-depth assessment of the titles and epithets associated with the office of heir to the throne. It is argued here that the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* ("King's Son of His Body") indicated the status of heir during the 18th Dynasty, and that princes who were buried in the tombs of their fathers during this period were prematurely deceased heirs to the throne. This hypothesis contradicts earlier assumptions that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son") and various titles of office associated with it were indicators of heir status during the 18th Dynasty.

This dissertation also examines the relationship between the developing 18th Dynasty mythos of divine kingship and the presentation of youthful princes as symbols of the divine/royal child. A careful analysis of the data suggests that the use of overtly royal language and imagery in the representation of royal sons was restricted to contexts in which the princes served as symbols of youthful kingship.

Introduction

I. Research Aims

The sons of kings occupied a unique position in pharaonic Egyptian society. Each one, presumably, was a potential king. Yet, ideologically, only one person was destined to succeed the reigning king. Kingship was thought to be a role predetermined at birth, but the vagaries of life in a preindustrial society made it impossible to determine with any certainty if an heir apparent would survive to fulfill his presumed destiny. It is perhaps partially for this reason that royal sons are such elusive figures throughout much of Egyptian history. While many kings claimed that they had been selected and groomed for the role well before coming to the throne, direct evidence for the actual designation of heirs by reigning kings is vague at best. The fate of those princes who survived their fathers but did not attain kingship is even more mysterious. The aim of this study is to shed some light on what it meant – politically, practically, and ideologically – to be a King’s Son during the 18th Dynasty.

During this period of roughly two centuries, the ideology of kingship and the structure of the country’s administration saw significant developments. The early 18th Dynasty was characterized by aggressive territorial expansion and the growth of new military, civil and religious institutions and offices. The role of the king expanded to reflect his (or her) status as a full-fledged “Great King” of the Late Bronze Age Near East. The king was presented as a universal ruler who controlled a vast territory far beyond the borders of Egypt. As such, the king

was viewed as an earthly parallel to the sun god, specifically the syncretistic solar deity Amun-Re.

A fully developed mythos of the king's divine creation and birth – the result of a sacred union between the king's human mother and the god Amun-Re – emerged early in the 18th Dynasty.¹ The distinctive royal theology of the 18th Dynasty reflected the growing importance of the national cult of Amun, over which the royal family exercised direct control during this period. The holders of major priestly and administrative offices of the estate of Amun at Thebes were appointed directly by the king. Some of these offices – e.g. that of the God's Wife of Amun (an office held exclusively by royal women during the 18th Dynasty) – were typically held by members of the royal family. Therefore, the vast endowments of revenue and property given to the temple estate by the king essentially remained under the control of the royal family, while the various institutions that made up the “Estate of Amun” provided a practically and ideologically convenient mechanism for the administration of this property.²

In general during the 18th Dynasty, the upper levels of the Egyptian religious, military and civil administration were populated by individuals from prominent local families (primarily from Thebes and Memphis) with close ties to the royal family.³ The special and often personal relationships between these officials and the kings under whom they served were sometimes

¹ See H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines Altägyptischen Mythos* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1964), for a detailed study of the 18th Dynasty mythos of the king's divine birth.

² On the administration of the cult of Amun during the New Kingdom, see B. Haring, “The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. J. C. M. García (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 607-638.

³ B. Bryan, “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period,” *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 2nd edition, ed. I. Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 261-262.

expressed through titles and epithets of a pseudo-familial nature.⁴ It was common practice during the 18th Dynasty for high-ranking administrative officials and their female relatives to be involved in the upbringing of royal children. Princes who attained kingship sometimes promoted the children of their non-royal caretakers to prominent positions within the court.⁵

Despite the well-documented existence of such pseudo-familial relationships between 18th Dynasty kings and various members of the royal court, the roles of true biological royal sons within the framework of the 18th Dynasty royal family and administration remain poorly understood.

While royal sons held a uniquely prominent position in the 19th and 20th Dynasties, evidence for their role in the 18th Dynasty is much more limited. The contexts in which they do appear in the 18th Dynasty are also quite different from those of the following period, suggesting a significant ideological shift in the role of the royal son between the 18th and 19th-20th Dynasties. However, material relating to royal sons in the 18th Dynasty is plentiful and complex enough to merit separate treatment from the remainder of the New Kingdom. There are few in-depth studies that deal specifically with male royal children during the 18th Dynasty,

⁴ See, for example, the epithet *sd.ty ny-swt*, “Foster-Child of the King,” which appears among the titles of Senenmut (P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 211) and of Tjenuna, a steward of Thutmose IV (*Urk. IV* 1578, 12). More formally, *s3 ny-swt* (“King’s Son”) was incorporated into a small number of 18th Dynasty official titles (most notably *s3 ny-swt n Ks*, “King’s Son of Kush”), apparently to indicate that the title-holder acted as a proxy for the king. See further discussion in **Chapter 9**.

⁵ E.g. Kenamun, a “foster brother” of Amenhotep II whose mother had served as “royal nurse” to the young Amenhotep. See C. Roehrig, “The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (*mn’t nswt*), Royal Tutor (*mn’c nswt*), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sn/snt mn’ n nb t3wy*)” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1990), 122ff.

and enough new information about the period has emerged over the past two decades that a new and comprehensive examination of this topic has become necessary.⁶

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the political, practical and ideological roles played by male royal offspring during the 18th Dynasty. To achieve this aim, I will present a comprehensive overview of all known data pertaining to royal sons during the 18th Dynasty, including recently discovered material that has not been included in previous work on this topic (**Part II: The Data**). Based on my analysis of those data, I will address the following questions in the final chapters of the dissertation (**Part III: Analysis and Conclusions**):

- a. How are princes represented in the artistic, historical and archaeological record of the 18th Dynasty? More specifically, what kinds of language and iconography were used to describe and depict princes during this period?
- b. Were heirs to the throne represented differently from other king's sons during the 18th Dynasty? How might we identify heirs apparent who did not survive to attain kingship?
- c. What can we say about the family lives and careers of 18th Dynasty princes?
- d. Where were 18th Dynasty princes buried, and were there any special funerary customs associated with princes of this period?
- e. Finally, how did princes fit into the ideological structure of the royal family during the 18th Dynasty? Were King's Sons considered to be "royal" figures in the same sense as female royal relatives, who played specific mythological and ritual roles *vis-*

⁶ Previous literature on the subject will be addressed below.

à-vis the king? Is it possible to confirm or disprove A. Dodson's assertion that royal heritage lost its political and ideological significance for King's Sons who outlived their fathers (but did not attain kingship)?⁷

II. Previous Research

While numerous previous studies have addressed the subject of royal children during various periods of pharaonic history, most have been either broader or more limited in scope than this dissertation.

The major work dealing exclusively with 18th Dynasty princes is a brief article by A. Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the 18th Dynasty."⁸ The primary focus of the article (as the title suggests) is the career of Djhutmose, a son of Amenhotep III who held a number of priestly offices in the Memphite region. In addition, Dodson speculates on the typical career trajectories of royal sons during the 18th Dynasty, the possible burial places of 18th Dynasty princes and the mechanics of succession. The article includes an appendix listing all of the 18th Dynasty princes who were known at the time of writing, along with their major monuments.

C. Roehrig's dissertation, "The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (*mn̄t nswt*), Royal Tutor (*mn̄t nswt*), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sn/snt mn̄t n nb*

⁷ A. Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the 18th Dynasty," *JEA* 76 (1990), 88-89.

⁸ *JEA* 76 (1990): 87-96.

t3wy)⁹ provides an in-depth examination of a specific subset of data relating to 18th Dynasty royal children. Roehrig's dissertation explores the roles of non-royal individuals who were involved in the upbringing of royal children during the 18th Dynasty. While this phenomenon was probably not unique to the 18th Dynasty, this is the only period when such relationships were openly acknowledged and commemorated in monumental settings. Although the dissertation focuses primarily on royal nurses and tutors rather than the children that they cared for, it provides an invaluable overview of monuments depicting royal children together with their non-royal caretakers.

Numerous publications have examined the monuments of individual 18th Dynasty princes or closely-related groups of princes. Ahmose Sapair, a prince of the late 17th or early 18th Dynasty, has received particular attention thanks to his prominent presence in a long-lived New Kingdom royal ancestor cult. C. Vandersleyen published two of the major works on Ahmose Sapair: an article, "L'identité d'Ahmès Sapaïr,"¹⁰ and a subsequent short monograph, *Ahmès Sapaïr: fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682*.¹¹ Both describe the known monuments of Ahmose Sapair, and attempt to identify him with the late 17th Dynasty prince referred to in this dissertation as Ahmose A.

Other publications have grappled with the identity of Ahmose Sapair and the reason for his significance as a cultic figure. In C. Bennet's article, "Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapair,"¹²

⁹ University of California at Berkeley, 1990.

¹⁰ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 10 (1983), 311-324.

¹¹ Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005.

¹² *GM* 141 (1994), 35-37.

Bennet postulates that Ahmose Sapair was the father of Thutmose I. This assessment was recently challenged by B. van Assche in a 2010 article entitled “Ahmose Sapair: Discussing the Identity of a Deified Prince.”¹³ Another article supporting the identification of Ahmose Sapair with the “Ahmose A” of the Louvre statue (E 15682) was published by C. Barbotin in 2005.¹⁴

Three probable sons of Thutmose I, Wadjmose, Amenmose and Ramose, have also been the subjects of individual studies. The mortuary chapel of Wadjmose, and Wadjmose’s numerous monuments from this chapel, have been examined in a pair of articles by A.-M. Loyrette, published in two issues of *Memnonia*.¹⁵ The chapel of Wadjmose and associated finds had been published previously by G. Daressy in 1900.¹⁶ In 1985, S. R. Snape published an article regarding the cult of Ramose, another 18th Dynasty prince and probable brother of Wadjmose who had a presence at the same temple.¹⁷

The naos of Wadjmose’s brother Amenmose at Giza – along with other monuments of Amenmose – was recently published by H. Hohneck, who proposed on the basis of a number of orthographic peculiarities that this object is a modern forgery.¹⁸

¹³ JSSEA 37 (2010), 113-121.

¹⁴ “Un intercesseur dynastique à l’aube du Nouvel Empire: la statue du prince Iâhmès,” *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 55 (2005), 19-28.

¹⁵ “Un monument de la XVIIIe dynastie en bordure du Ramesseum: La chapelle d’Ouadjmès,” *Memnonia* 1 (1991), 119-125 and pl. XXVI-XXIX; and “Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès,” *Memnonia* 3 (1992), 131-140 and pl. XXIV-XXVI.

¹⁶ “La chapelle d’Uazmes.” ASAE 1 (1900), 97-108.

¹⁷ “Ramose Restored: A Royal Prince and his Mortuary Cult,” JEA 71 (1985), 180-183.

¹⁸ H. Hohneck, “Hatte Thutmosis I. wirklich einen Sohn namens Amenmose?” GM 210 (2006), 59-66. See discussion in II.19. I am of the opinion that this monument is genuine. The idiosyncrasies in the text (e.g. the use of group writing) are hardly outside the realm of what may be expected in a text of the 18th Dynasty.

For major previous publications of the various monuments of 18th Dynasty royal sons at Giza, see S. Hassan's monograph on his excavations of material associated with the Great Sphinx, *The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1953). More recently, a detailed description and study of material associated with the cult of Horemakhet, including monuments of 18th Dynasty princes, has been published by C. M. Zivie.¹⁹ These monuments have also been addressed in detail by B. Bryan in her biography of Thutmose IV.²⁰

Several publications address various princes who were active during the middle of the 18th Dynasty, ca. the reign of Thutmose III to the reign of Amenhotep III. Many of these studies deal with the issue of the parentage of these princes, which in many cases remains open to interpretation. See, for example, P. Newberry's article concerning princes who appear in several monuments dating to ca. the reign of Thutmose IV.²¹ Newberry's identification of these princes as sons of Thutmose IV was later challenged in publications by D. Redford²² and P. der Manuelian,²³ both of whom argued that they were more likely to have been sons of Amenhotep II.

¹⁹ C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (BdÉ 70. Cairo: IFAO, 1976).

²⁰ B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

²¹ "The Sons of Thutmose IV," *JEA* 14 (1928), 82-85. Despite the age of this article, Newberry's detailed and cogent presentation of the material remains important and has influenced more recent studies of the 18th Dynasty royal family.

²² "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 (1965), 107-122.

²³ *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1987), 178-179.

B. Bryan's chapter on King's Sons in her book *The Reign of Thutmose IV*²⁴ remains one of the most comprehensive analyses of material relating to royal sons of the mid-18th Dynasty. Her analysis includes previously unpublished monuments depicting royal children of this period and is also one of the first studies of 18th Dynasty princes to include the Heliopolitan high priest Ahmose (B), a probable son of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II who had previously been assigned to a later period.²⁵ The monuments and career of Ahmose B were also treated in an article by W. Ghoneim.²⁶

Several works have taken a broader approach to the roles of royal children, or the royal family in general. The seminal work on the titles and offices of royal children at all periods of pharaonic history is B. Schmitz's study on *s3 ny-sw.t* ("King's Son") and related titles, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt "Königsohn."*²⁷ Schmitz examined the meaning and evolution of *s3 ny-sw.t*, *s3.t ny-sw.t* and variant titles indicating royal kinship from the Early Dynastic Period through the New Kingdom (with a brief commentary on developments during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods). In particular, Schmitz's study focused on the problem of distinguishing "true" royal children from individuals who used titles of royal kinship in extended or metaphorical senses.

J. Revez examined the political and ideological role of the "King's Brother" in his 1999 dissertation, "Frere du roi. L'evolution du role des freres du roi dans les modalites successorales

²⁴ p. 38-92.

²⁵ Ibid., 67-69.

²⁶ "Eine Statue des Prinzen und Hohepriesters von Heliopolis Ahmes (Cairo JE 36412)." *SAK* 21 (1994), 95-106.

²⁷ Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, 1976.

en egypte ancienne.”²⁸ Like Schmitz’s study, Revez’s work is diachronic, covering the period from the Middle Kingdom through the 25th Dynasty.

G. Xekalaki and M. Fisher have both published works dealing specifically with royal children during the New Kingdom, but the scope of both of these volumes is fairly different from that of this dissertation. Xekalaki’s book, *Symbolism in the Representation of Royal Children during the New Kingdom*,²⁹ is a study of the iconography of visual representations of both male and female royal children from the entirety of the New Kingdom. This study excludes explicitly funerary representations of royal children.

M. Fisher’s 2001 publication, *The Sons of Ramesses II*,³⁰ is similar in its approach to my dissertation, but with a different – and more restricted – temporal focus. Fisher’s book examines the lives, careers and political and ideological roles of the numerous sons of Ramesses II during the 19th Dynasty.

Finally, the New Kingdom royal ancestor cult – which included several 18th Dynasty King’s Sons – is the subject of a recent publication by Y. el Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom*.³¹ El Shazly also published a paper specifically addressing the role of princes in the Deir el-Medina ancestor cult, “Divine Princes in Deir el-

²⁸ Doctoral Dissertation. University of Paris-Sorbonne, 1999. A publication based on this dissertation is currently in press.

²⁹ Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011. This publication is based on Xekalaki’s 2008 doctoral dissertation.

³⁰ Volume I: Text and Plates; Volume II: Catalogue. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001. This work is also based on a doctoral dissertation.

³¹ Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2015.

Medina,” in B. Bryan’s recent *festschrift*.³² As their titles indicate, both of these studies focus on evidence for the royal ancestor cult specifically originating from the workmen’s village at Deir el-Medina, and so do not take into account material from the greater Thebaid region or further afield.

III. Methods and Problems

The initial aim of the present study was to present a diachronic summary and analysis of the political and ideological roles of “true” king’s sons – that is, the biological sons of kings, rather than individuals who used the title “King’s Son” in a metaphorical or honorific sense – from all periods of pharaonic history. However, during my overview of material from the New Kingdom, it became apparent that there are enough data from the 18th Dynasty alone to merit an in-depth study.

The major difficulty in understanding the roles of royal sons during this period stems from the limited types of available data. While a large *quantity* of data on royal sons is attested from the 18th Dynasty, these data are restricted to a number of specific contexts. The representations of royal sons within these contexts adhere to a set of fairly consistent conventions. Furthermore, certain types of information about royal sons – most notably, their specific parentage – tend to be omitted or missing in 18th Dynasty contexts. As a result, it is

³² In *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, ed. R. Jasnow, K. M. Cooney et al. (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2015), 407-428.

often difficult or impossible to identify the parents of any given 18th Dynasty prince. Thus, it is difficult to construct an accurate genealogy of the 18th Dynasty royal family, to determine whether princes continued to use the title “King’s Son” after the deaths of their fathers, or to address the seemingly simple question of whether the title “King’s Son” might sometimes refer to royal grandsons or other male lineal descendants of kings during this period.

Additionally, funerary monuments such as tomb chapels and funerary stelae – the types of monuments from which the majority of our biographical data on most 18th Dynasty officials are derived – are virtually unknown for 18th Dynasty princes. While material associated with the burials of a few 18th Dynasty princes is attested, very few tombs belonging to princes of this period are known. In general, most biographical data relating to 18th Dynasty princes who lived to maturity must be gleaned from other contexts, such as dedicatory monuments associated with royal temples, or (in rare cases) administrative documents.

Another problem with understanding the roles of royal sons in the 18th Dynasty – or at any period of pharaonic history – is that ancient Egyptian ideas of kinship do not necessarily correspond directly to our own. This is an important problem, since the relationship between a “King’s Son” and the king in question is, by nature, a crucial part of the identity of people who held this title. It is sometimes difficult to ascertain when a “King’s Son” was actually the son of a king as opposed to some other type of lineal descendent (e.g. a grandson or great-grandson) or an unrelated individual who had a pseudo-filial relationship with a king.³³

³³ These issues in the context of the 18th Dynasty will be addressed in **Chapter 9**.

While this specific issue is admirably addressed in B. Schmitz's study of *s3 ny-sw.t* and related titles,³⁴ I felt that a general overview of the role of the "son" in ancient Egypt would provide important context for the material presented in this dissertation. I have therefore prefaced the main body of my dissertation with an analysis of the nature of "sonship" in pharaonic Egypt. This initial chapter (**Part I, Chapter 1: The Nature of Sonship in Ancient Egypt**) will address ancient Egyptian kinship terminology and its various literal, extended and metaphorical uses, and will also examine the legal and ideological roles of the "son" in pharaonic Egypt.

The second part of my dissertation (**Part II, The Data**) comprises detailed descriptions of all known monuments relating to royal sons from the 18th Dynasty. I have divided these monuments into seven broad categories, each of which will be the subject of an individual chapter. There is a certain amount of overlap between some of these categories (particularly **categories II and III**), but I have attempted to use logical and consistent criteria in my assignment of the material to individual categories when possible.

The categories are as follows:

- I. *Royal monuments. This category comprises monuments commissioned by kings and in which the king and/or state cult is the primary focus, including material from state temples and royal stelae.*

³⁴Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, passim.

Depictions of princes on royal monuments are unusual during the 18th Dynasty, particularly in comparison to the 19th and 20th Dynasties. During the Ramesside period, large numbers of male and female royal children were frequently depicted alongside their parents on public monuments. See, for example, the processions of princes depicted on several temples of Ramesses II.³⁵ In the 18th Dynasty, there are no attested examples of such group representations of princes in royal settings, and even individual representations are quite rare.

There is also a striking disparity between representations of princes and those of princesses on 18th Dynasty royal monuments. King's Daughters are frequently depicted alongside their parents in a wide range of 18th Dynasty royal contexts, particularly from the reign of Hatshepsut on. See, for example, images of Neferure participating in ritual activities alongside her mother in reliefs from Deir el-Bahri,³⁶ or the King's Daughter Neferetiru appearing in a procession of royal women behind the king in a scene from Thutmose III's tomb.³⁷

The presence of King's Daughters on royal monuments increased late in the 18th Dynasty, particularly during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, but there is no major corresponding increase in the presence of royal sons. Nor is there significant overlap in the types of royal monuments in which King's Sons vs. King's Daughters appear – e.g., I know of no

³⁵ See M. Fisher, *Sons of Ramesses II*, 33-42, for examples from Abu Simbel, Derr, Wadi es-Sebua, the Ramesseum, the small temple at Medinet Habu (possibly originally from the Ramesseum), Luxor Temple, the temple of Seti I at Abydos, and Tanis.

³⁶ See e.g. *PM II*, 365-6.

³⁷ Published in P. Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II* (Cairo: IFAO, 1932), pl. 24.

18th Dynasty examples of King's Sons appearing in the decorative schemes of royal tombs, or on statues of their parents.

Despite their small number, attestations of King's Sons from royal contexts in the 18th Dynasty are quite variable in their content and presentation and provide important information about both the practical and ideological roles of King's Sons within the royal administration during this period.

II. Monuments and objects dedicated by or to royal sons, including funerary monuments, votive statuary and stelae, tombs and funerary equipment.

The monuments of this category are relatively numerous and varied. While few actual burials of 18th Dynasty princes survive, a variety of materials associated with the burials and funerary cults of princes are known.

Monuments dedicated to the funerary cults of princes in the 18th Dynasty – such as statues, stelae and mortuary temples (of which only one definite example survives) – may overlap with monuments of **Category III** (see below). However, whenever possible I have attempted to draw a distinction between monuments relating to the ordinary funerary cults of princes and those that relate to deceased princes who achieved semi-divine status and became the subjects of royal ancestor cults.

This category also includes a small number of monuments and minor inscriptions dedicated by living princes, e.g. dedicatory statues and stelae from state temples and cults and graffiti left by princes who participated in royal expeditions. These types of monuments often contain important information about the types of careers and offices that were typical (or at least possible) for King's Sons during the 18th Dynasty.

III. Objects and monuments associated with the cults of deceased members of the royal family, including statues, stelae, shrines and representations in private tombs.

One of the major developments of the 18th Dynasty, which would persist into the rest of the New Kingdom, is the emergence of a royal ancestor cult that included late 17th-early 18th Dynasty kings, queens and a small number of princes. One of the first royal individuals to become the subject of such a cult was the King's Son Ahmose Sapair, who was probably born at the end of the 17th Dynasty or very early in the 18th Dynasty. While Ahmose Sapair's cult was primarily centered in the Theban Necropolis, monuments from as far afield as Sheikh Said and Hermopolis demonstrate that the cult spread far beyond its geographical point of origin during the 18th Dynasty.

A King's Son Wadjmose, almost certainly a son of Thutmose I, was honored with a small mortuary temple in western Thebes, adjacent to what would later become the site of the Ramesseum. While Wadjmose's cult was never as widespread as that of Ahmose Sapair during the 18th Dynasty, his chapel was the site of numerous private dedicatory monuments, at least

one of which hints at the deceased prince's reputation as an oracular intercessor. Wadjmose and several other princes with a presence in the Chapel of Wadjmose (document II.15/III.22) were later incorporated into an expanded Theban royal ancestor cult during the Ramesside Period.

IV. *Private monuments and graffiti depicting royal sons. This category comprises monuments or objects in which princes are mentioned or depicted, but are not the primary focus – e.g., tombs, statues and stelae dedicated to royal tutors and nurses or other individuals closely associated with royal sons.*

Depictions of private individuals with royal children constitute a class of monument that is apparently unique to the 18th Dynasty. Monuments of this type are first attested during the reign of Hatshepsut and are particularly common from the reign of Hatshepsut through the reign of Thutmose IV. These monuments generally represent individuals, both male and female, who were involved in the upbringing of both princes and princesses. They are usually given titles related to their roles as caretakers of royal children, the most common variants being *mn^c.t ny-sw.t* (usually translated “Royal Nurse”) and its masculine counterpart, *mn^c ny-sw.t* (usually translated “Royal Tutor”).³⁸

³⁸ It is possible that *mn^c* is an abbreviated form of the full masculine title *it mn^c*, which may be translated “foster father.” The limited evidence suggests that the two titles were essentially interchangeable. See Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 322-323.

Category IV monuments are distinctive in a number of respects. They represent one of the few contexts, outside of royal monuments, in which royal children usually play a secondary role rather than being the primary focus. Additionally, royal children are almost always represented as juveniles (ranging from toddlerhood to early adolescence) on monuments of this type. Representations of royal children in these monuments are strongly derivative of royal or divine prototypes and are often difficult to distinguish from retrospective monuments of reigning kings as princes with their non-royal caretakers (see **Category VI**).

V. *Administrative documents and other miscellaneous references.*

18th Dynasty princes are attested in a very small number of miscellaneous documents that cannot be assigned to any of the other categories listed here. These include administrative records, graffiti and various small objects (e.g. a jar seal) naming princes. I have grouped these documents into **Category V**.

VI. *Retrospective depictions of princes who later attained kingship.*

From the reign of Hatshepsut on, reigning 18th Dynasty kings were occasionally represented retrospectively as juveniles. Such representations appear in both royal and private contexts.

In royal contexts, retrospective depictions of kings as princes are usually tied into themes of legitimization and the distinctive 18th Dynasty mythos of divine kingship. Notable examples include Hatshepsut's divine birth cycle and *Légende de la Jeunesse* reliefs and inscriptions at Deir el-Bahri;³⁹ Thutmose III's account of his selection for kingship by divine oracle, from the temple of Amun at Karnak;⁴⁰ and the Sphinx stelae of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV at Giza, both of which contain accounts of events that supposedly took place during the adolescence of the kings in question.⁴¹

Non-royal individuals who cared for princes who became kings were occasionally represented on their own monuments with retrospectively-depicted kings as princes. In such representations, kings could be depicted either as children or as miniature adults in full kingly regalia. The earliest known representations of this type date to the reign of Hatshepsut, while the latest is a scene depicting Tutankhamun as a juvenile king in the lap of his nurse Maia from her tomb at Saqqara.⁴² This tradition probably reflects the growing importance of the king as a "divine child" in royal ideology from the reign of Hatshepsut on. The appearance of these retrospective images is contemporary with the emergence of similar representations of non-reigning royal children with private individuals (**Category IV**).

³⁹ PM II(2), 118-119.

⁴⁰ URK IV, 155-176.

⁴¹ "Great Sphinx Stele" of Amenhotep II: Originally published by S. Hassan, "The Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II," ASAE 37 (1937), 129-134, pl. I-II. Translation and drawing in A. Varille, "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza," BIFAO 41 (1942), 31-38, pl. XLI. Text in URK IV, 1276-1283. Transcription, translation and commentary in Zivie, *Giza*, 64-89. "Dream Stele" of Thutmose IV: Translation and commentary in Zivie, *Giza*, 125-145. Text in Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1540-1544.

⁴² Published in A. Zivie, *La tombe de Maïa: Mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem* (Toulouse: Caracara Edition, 2009).

In my discussion of **Category VI** monuments, I have excluded representations of kings as child-gods (e.g. the statue of Amenhotep III as Neferhotep in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston⁴³). While an examination of this material would be useful for comparative purposes, this subject is beyond the scope of my current work. Xekalaki has examined the iconography of child gods as mythological prototypes for the representation of royal children during the New Kingdom.⁴⁴

VII. *Literary references to historical or fictional princes.*

King's sons were popular figures in ancient Egyptian literature and appear in wisdom texts and literary tales ranging in date from the Old Kingdom (ostensibly) through the Ptolemaic Period. Literary texts could feature either fictional or historical princes. Well known historical examples include the sons of Khufu and the first three kings of the 5th Dynasty, as depicted in the P. Westcar (P. Berlin 3033) story cycle, and Setne Khaemwaset, a son of Ramesses II who was featured in several fanciful stories recorded in the Late Period or early Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁵

While only one literary tale featuring a prince may be dated with any degree of certainty to the 18th Dynasty, this text provides some interesting insights into the ideological role of princes during this period outside of the context of formal royal monuments. The "Tale of the

⁴³ MFA 1970.636. Object record, MFA collection online: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/kneeling-amenhotep-iii-as-the-god-neferhotep-46185> (accessed 3/29/2016).

⁴⁴ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, chapter 1.

⁴⁵ For translation and bibliography of the P. Westcar cycle, see W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 3d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 13-24; for the Setne stories, see *ibid.*, 453-489.

Doomed Prince,” recorded on the verso of P. Harris 500,⁴⁶ presents an unusual narrative following the life and adventures of a fictitious, unnamed prince who travels abroad and marries a Mitanni princess.⁴⁷

Within each chapter of **Part II**, I will present a detailed description of each monument, including an illustration (if available), contextual information (date and provenance, if known), translations of texts and discussion of iconographic features, relevant historical questions and previous literature. For the purposes of internal reference and organization, each monument, object or document discussed will be assigned a number according to its category and order of presentation (e.g. the first object discussed under **Category I** will be assigned the number **I.1**).

Where possible, I have attempted to arrange my discussion of the monuments in each category in chronological order. However, in some cases I will divide the monuments into subgroupings according to geographical origin or other factors. Specific organizational schemes will be explained at the beginning of each data chapter.

⁴⁶ BM EA10060. Hieratic facsimile in Möller, *Lesestücke II*, Taf. 21-24. Hieroglyphic transcription in A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 1-10. Translated in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 200-202, and Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 75-79.

⁴⁷ For the probable origin of this story in the 18th Dynasty, see W. Helck, “Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen,” in *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten*, ed. J. Osing and G. Dreyer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 218-222. Helck’s dating of the story in the late 18th Dynasty is based in part on the political landscape represented in the narrative, in which Egypt seems to be on relatively peaceful terms with the kingdom of Mitanni. The story is also written in an early form of literary Late Egyptian, combined with elements of Middle Egyptian, which suggests a date of composition late in the 18th Dynasty or early in the 19th.

In **Part III**, I will present my analysis of the data and my conclusions. This portion of the dissertation will be divided into three chapters. The first, “**Titles and Offices of 18th Dynasty Royal Sons**,” will include the following:

- a) General discussion of the expression of kinship in relation to royal sons of the 18th Dynasty and a list of all known princes of the 18th Dynasty with genealogical information (if available).
- b) A discussion of specific titles and epithets used to express kin relationships between royal sons and their family members, including the historical background of each title or epithet and its meaning and significance during the 18th Dynasty and analysis of the contexts in which different kinship titles were used or omitted. In particular, this section will examine the widely-held assumption that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“King’s Eldest Son”) designated the heir to the throne during the 18th Dynasty.
- c) An analysis of the use of titles of rank and office by royal sons during the 18th Dynasty and a discussion of how these titles reflect – or do not reflect – the actual duties and career trajectories of princes during this period.

The second chapter of **Part III**, “**Iconography and Symbolism in the Representation of Royal Sons**,” will examine visual representations of King’s Sons during the 18th Dynasty. Iconographic conventions used in the depiction of 18th Dynasty royal sons were highly

dependent on context, so the data will be analyzed by category. I will discuss the major iconographic features of images from categories **I**, **II**, **III** and **IV** (as defined above under **Part II: The Data**). Retrospective images of kings as children (**category VI**) will be discussed in terms of how they relate to images from the other categories, particularly **category IV** (representations of princes in private monuments).

In the final chapter of **Part III, “Conclusions,”** I will draw on the material presented in all of the previous chapters in order to address each of the major questions presented above (under **I. Research Aims**). This chapter will begin with a discussion of the “ideal” king’s son as represented in retrospective royal monuments (**category VI**) and literary texts (**category VII**), and the tension between this ideal and reality. This discussion will be followed by examinations of the following topics:

a. **The “Crown Prince” in the 18th Dynasty:** Can we recognize royal heirs during the 18th Dynasty on the basis of specific royal kinship titles, titles of office, or burial practices? This discussion will include a critical analysis of earlier assumptions regarding the titles and offices associated with the role of “Crown Prince” during the 18th Dynasty.

b. **The Families and Careers of 18th Dynasty Princes:** Based on data and analysis presented previously in this dissertation, this section will address what is known of the family and professional lives of princes during the 18th Dynasty.

c. Burials and Funerary Cults of 18th Dynasty Princes: This discussion will summarize the known burial places of 18th Dynasty princes and speculate on the locations of the tombs of the numerous princes from this period that remain unaccounted for. This will be followed by a discussion of the development of royal ancestor cults focused on a small number of princes of the early 18th Dynasty. I will touch briefly on the evolution and expansion of these cults during the later New Kingdom.

d. 18th Dynasty Princes as “Royalty”: Finally, I will examine the ideological role of King’s Sons. This discussion will focus on the ways in which the unique “royal” nature of princes was expressed – or left unexpressed – through language and iconography and the ways in which king’s sons fit into 18th Dynasty notions of kingship and the mythological and political structure of the royal family. I will also address the question of whether king’s sons maintained their royal status outside of the reigns of their fathers.

This dissertation represents the most comprehensive overview and analysis of evidence relating to 18th Dynasty royal sons yet written. No previous study of this topic has included an in-depth analysis of the context-dependent nature of the representation of king’s sons during this period. There has been little exploration of the specific types of contexts in which princes were depicted as children vs. as adults; in which explicitly royal language or symbolism could be

used in relation to princes; or in which the careers and family lives of princes could be acknowledged and expressed.

This work also challenges previous assumptions about the political roles of 18th Dynasty royal sons, e.g. commonly held notions about the titles and offices associated with the position of heir to the throne. My in-depth analysis of the correlation between titles of office, royal kinship titles, burial practices⁴⁸ and the eventual assumption of kingship suggests that the long-accepted narrative surrounding the mechanics of succession during the 18th Dynasty must be reevaluated.

My analysis also incorporates recently discovered material that sheds light on burial practices associated with 18th Dynasty royal sons. This topic has received relatively little attention in the past, largely due to a dearth of evidence. However, material associated with burials and mortuary cults provides invaluable information about the status of individual princes and nature of their place(s) within the structure of the royal family. Additionally, the growth of royal ancestor cults in association with a small number of 18th Dynasty princes who predeceased their fathers suggests something of their unique ideological status as non-reigning male royalty.

It is my hope that this dissertation will enhance our current understanding of the history of the 18th Dynasty and of the political and ideological structure of the royal family during this

⁴⁸ For probable heirs who predeceased their fathers.

period. It is also my intention to create a starting point for similar or comparative studies of the roles of royal children in other periods of pharaonic history.

Part I: Background

Chapter 1: The Nature of Sonship in Ancient Egypt

In order to understand the role of the King's Son in pharaonic Egypt, it is necessary to define the Egyptian concept of "sonship" in a broader sense. This is a complex task and could serve as the topic of an entire dissertation in itself. Therefore, the following discussion will not be an in-depth or comprehensive treatment of the subject by any means.

This chapter will address the question of what a "son" was in ancient Egypt. It is dangerous to impose linguistically and culturally familiar meanings on kinship terms and concepts from another culture. In many cases, there is no direct correlation between kinship terms and understandings of familial relationships from one language and culture to another. Although there are a handful of words in the various stages of the ancient Egyptian language that are usually translated as "son," these words exhibit a range of meaning that does not correspond directly to their English counterpart. Likewise, ancient Egyptian textual evidence suggests a fluid and nuanced conception of what "sonship" meant, legally, spiritually, and practically, that differs in some respects from our own understanding.

The Vocabulary of Sonship

Kinship terms represent a very specific aspect of a person's identity. When a person is referred to or addressed by a kinship term, that person is identified in terms of his or her relationship (usually by blood or marriage) to another individual. Kinship terms are conceptually

loaded and highly variable from one culture to another. The use of kinship terms is dependent on context: a kinship term is only employed when the speaker or writer wishes to draw attention to the relationship expressed by the term.

There has already been a great deal of discussion of the relatively limited number of kinship terms in use during most phases of the Egyptian language, and the various uses of these terms.¹ At most periods there were only six words that formed the entire basis of the Egyptian system of kinship terminology: *it*, *mw.t*, *sn/sn.t*, *s3/s3.t*, *h3y* and *hm.t*.² All but the last two terms refer to consanguineal kin (blood relatives) while the last two are affinal (relatives by marriage). *S3* and *s3.t* were eventually replaced by *šri* and *šri.t* as the primary terms for "son" and "daughter" during the New Kingdom.³

Other familial relationships could be expressed by simply compounding these terms. The idea of a "grandson," for example, could be expressed by means of the genitive expression "*s3 n s3=f*" ("son of his son"). However, as Bierbrier points out, ". . . it is possible that in some cases simple terms of relationship such as *it* or *s3* may mask a more complex relationship which is not expressed fully for reasons of space or custom."⁴

¹ See, for example: G. Robins, "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms," *CdE* 54 (1979), 197-209; M. L. Bierbrier, "Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medina," *JEA* 66 (1980): 100-107; H. Willems, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom, c. 2000-1650 B. C.," *Bijdr Taal Land Volkenkd* 139 (1983), 152-168; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Vervandschaftsbezeichnungen im mittleren Reich* (Borg: Hamburg, 1983).

² Willems, "Egyptian kinship terminology of the Middle Kingdom," 153.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Bierbrier, "Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medina," 100.

Part of the difficulty of understanding the uses of kinship terms is that the referent (or ego) for the kinship terms will often shift within a single text. This is particularly true in Middle Kingdom stelae, one of the major sources of information for most studies of Egyptian kinship terminology. Confusion can arise when expressions like *s3=f* are used to refer to various individuals within the same text, while the "*=f*" refers to more than one ego. Because of this tendency to break the family into small, closely related units (each with its own ego) simple terms are far more common in Middle Kingdom stelae than compound ones.⁵

To make matters even more confusing, these simple terms could also be used to express a wide range of familial relationships of the type described by compound kinship terms. The use of simple terms to express complex relationships can be demonstrated at least as far back as the Middle Kingdom, and possibly earlier. This type of extended use of simple kinship terms may explain otherwise puzzling phenomena like the apparent presence of multiple "mothers" on some monuments of chantresses of Amun from the Third Intermediate Period.⁶

D. Franke examined the various uses of Egyptian kinship terms in his extensive work on kinship terminology in the Middle Kingdom.⁷ Franke found that *s3* could mean not only "son,"

⁵ Robins, "Egyptian Kinship Terms," 199; Willems, "A description of Egyptian kinship terminology," 154ff.

⁶ For example, the stele of Tafabart (Cairo JE 21797), discussed in R. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 32-33. The text seems to indicate that Tafabart had two mothers, Tamin and Titchauawyese, which has been taken as evidence for Tafabart's adoption by one of these two women. A more straightforward explanation may be that Tamin was Tafabart's mother and Titchauawyese was her grandmother.

⁷ Franke, *Altägyptische Vervandschaftsbezeichnungen*.

but also "grandson," "great grandson" or the more general "*Nachkomme*" ("descendent," "offspring"). He argued that these extended uses go back as far as the Old Kingdom.⁸

Franke found no examples of *sȝ* meaning "son-in-law" (an affinal rather than consanguineal relationship) although some examples are arguably known from the New Kingdom (see below).⁹ Franke also argued that anyone who fulfilled the traditional role of the son in the funerary cult (and thus received the benefits of inheritance) could be called a "son." It is in this context that individuals not related by blood, or kin who would normally be considered collateral relatives rather than descendants (such as nephews or brothers), could be referred to by the word *sȝ*.¹⁰ These types of "metaphorical" uses will be explored in further detail below.

There has been some scholarly disagreement as to whether *sȝ* and *sȝ.t* could refer to nephews and nieces. Robins argued that *sȝ* and *sȝ.t* were used exclusively to express "descending relationships" (children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, descendants), while *sn* and *sn.t* expressed "collateral relationships" (siblings, nieces and nephews, aunts and uncles, cousins).¹¹ Franke agreed with this conclusion, although he found some exceptions to the rule which could occur under the specific circumstances outlined above.¹²

⁸ Ibid., 43. E.g., Horus as "Son of Geb" in the Pyramid Texts.

⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁰ Ibid., 44-45.

¹¹ Robins, "Egyptian Kinship Terms," 207 (n. 2). For *sn/sn.t* as "cousin," see also R. Ritner, "The End of the Libyan Anarchy in Egypt: P. Rylands IX. Cols. 11-12." *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 102, n. 6.

¹² Franke, *Altägyptische Vervandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 43.

While *s3(.t)* was the only term that primarily meant "son/daughter" during most periods, the Egyptian language did have a relatively large number of words that meant "child." D. MacDonald assembled a list of 18 terms that fall into the "semantic field" of child or children in Middle Egyptian.¹³ MacDonald drew these terms from the corpus of Middle Egyptian words assembled by R. O. Faulkner for *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*.¹⁴ Not all of these terms are used in a specifically relational sense, but several are. MacDonald's thesis was that the relatively large number of words for children in Middle Egyptian (compared to English) and the nuanced range of meaning of these words underscores the importance of children in Egyptian society. He argues that many of the words for children in Egyptian have specific meanings for which there is no exact equivalent in English. He comments particularly on terms that highlight direct biological filiation, remarking that a number of these terms emphasize progeny in a direct manner unavailable, for comparison, in English. The availability of these terms, and their widespread usage, points strongly to this (progeny), being a concern of substantial importance in Ancient Egypt. These linguistic characteristics correlate well with that widely recognized aspect of Egyptian society, namely that status and inheritance were overwhelmingly determined by blood-line.¹⁵

As the discussion in the following sections will demonstrate, this final point (i.e., the importance of "blood-line") does not hold up to a more in-depth examination of the evidence.

¹³ D. N. MacDonald, "Terms for 'Children' in Middle Egyptian: A Sociolinguistic View." *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*, 5 (1994), 53-60.

¹⁴ Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.

¹⁵ MacDonald, "Terms for 'Children,'" 58.

However, the basic point – that children and family were extremely important in Egyptian society – stands.

In addition to the Middle Kingdom terms discussed by MacDonald, there were many terms meaning "child," "son" or "progeny" from all periods of Egyptian history. The following terms, all of which can mean "son," appear in Erman and Grapow's *Wörterbuch*:¹⁶

1. *wttw* (*WB* I, 382) – this term is first attested in Dyn. 18. It derives from the word *wtt* (to create, to engender; to procreate), so may best be translated as "progeny," or "offspring." The phrase *wtt n* was used in the New Kingdom and Greco-Roman period to mean "son of" or "born to," often with reference to the offspring of a deity.¹⁷ Thus the word *wttw* implies a product of active creation – offspring in the most literal sense. A word *wtt* meaning "semen" is also attested in the Greco-Roman period.¹⁸
2. *my* (*WB* II, 36) – the basic meaning of this word, attested in Dyn. 19, is semen. It can be used figuratively to mean "son," like the English "issue."
3. *mw, mwy* (*WB* II, 52, 53) – these terms, derived from *mw* ("water") function similarly to *my*. Both refer to semen and can be used figuratively to mean "son." This use of *mw* is attested in the New Kingdom and Greco-Roman period, while *mwy* is attested in the Late Period.

¹⁶ A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926-1982.

¹⁷ *WB* I, 381-382.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 382.

4. *mnw* (*WB* II, 71) – this term meaning "statue" is used in two cases to mean "son" (both Greco-Roman, referring to deities).
5. *ms* (*WB* II, 139) – a masculine noun meaning “child” or “offspring,” related to the verb *msi*, “to give birth.”
6. *mtw.t* (*WB* II, 169) – another word meaning "semen" and thus, figuratively, "son," "seed" or "progeny." This use is attested in the Pyramid Texts (see *Urk.* IV, 1546, 2).
7. *ḥc nh* (*WB* III, 36) – literally "living limb/body," usually referring to the king as the son of a god. This expression is used in the late New Kingdom and often in the Greco-Roman period.
8. *hwn* (*WB* III, 52-53) – this word has the generic meaning of "boy," "child" or "young man," but in some contexts was used to mean son, particularly in the New Kingdom and later.¹⁹
9. *hrd* (*WB* III, 398) – like *hwn*, this term means generally child, but can be used specifically to mean "son" or biological offspring. The plural, *hrd.w*, is the common plural of *šri(.t)* in Demotic.
10. *sʒ* (*WB* III, 408) – *sʒ* is the "generic" word for "son" in ancient Egyptian.²⁰ In this function it was eventually replaced by *šri* (with the pl. *hrd.w*) during the New Kingdom.²¹

¹⁹ *WB* III, 53, definition B, specifically in the context of the king as son of a god.

²⁰ MacDonald, "Terms for 'Children,'" 57.

²¹ Willems, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology," 153.

Although "son" is the most basic meaning of this term, it has a wide range of secondary meanings, especially when used in combination with various attributive terms.

11. *swḥ.t* (*WB* IV, 73) – literally "egg," but used figuratively to mean "son" when referring to the king as son of a god.
12. *sfy* (*WB* IV, 114) – this word means "child," "boy," or "son".
13. *śri* (*WB* IV, 526) – the basic meaning is "child" or "boy," but *śri* eventually becomes the favored word for "son." ²²
14. *śri ḥ3wty* (*WB* I, 217) – a "male child," i.e. "son."
15. *s3 t3y* (*WB* V, 345) – literally "male son."

These terms say a great deal about the Egyptian conception of progeny or sonship.

Many of these words or phrases, used metaphorically, reflect an idea of the son or offspring as an extension or reflection of the father: the son is the "image," "statue" or "living limb" of his progenitor. He is also the product of an act of creation on the part of the father: his "issue" or "that which (the father) created."

MacDonald counts participial expressions like "*ir(.t) n*" and "*ms(.t) n*" as terms for children. These phrases draw specific attention to the creative role of the parents, and MacDonald suggests that they imply direct biological descent. He points out that "the *ms . . .* forms can only be used when referring to the mother, while *ir . . .* can, subject to some

²² Ibid.

conventions, be associated with father or mother."²³ Note, however, that this assessment is clearly contradicted by personal names following the format “[DN]-*ms-sw*” in which the named person is linked filially to a male deity (e.g. Ramessu).

Extended, Legal and Metaphorical uses of *S3* and Other Filial Terms

J. Revez and J. Assmann have both examined the phenomenon of "metaphorical" uses of kinship terms, specifically *sn* and *it*, respectively.²⁴ Revez defines "metaphorical meaning" separately from "extended meaning." The latter refers to uses of the word that stay within the realm of biological kin relationships. The former, however, he defines as "the transfer of a kinship term from its literal sense into a more abstract context in which this term takes its most figurative and symbolic meaning."²⁵

As Revez points out,²⁶ such uses are not alien to English speakers, who use a wide variety of metaphorical meanings for kinship terms (e.g., an older man using the term "son" as a familiar or affectionate address to a younger man, or the use of "brother" to mean "friend" or "compatriot"). In English, a strong (if implicit) distinction exists between the literal and figurative uses of kinship terms. Without the advantage of a native speaker's understanding, it

²³ MacDonald, "Terms for Children," 55-56.

²⁴ J. Revez, "The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* 'Brother,'" *JARCE* 40 (2003), 123-131. J. Assmann, "Das Bild des Vaters im alten Ägypten" (in H. Tellenbach (ed.), *Das Vaterbild im Mythos und Geschichte*, Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977), 12-49.

²⁵ Revez, "The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* 'Brother,'" 123.

²⁶ Ibid., n. 7.

is difficult to judge the nuances of the relationships implied by such metaphorical uses in Egyptian.

Revez has demonstrated that the word *sn*, in its most general sense, meant "equal". Thus, the term could be applied to people who shared the same rank, age, or social status.²⁷ It is perhaps partially for this reason that the title *sn ny-sw.t* ("King's Brother") is virtually nonexistent during most periods of Egyptian history, since the implication of equality would be at odds with the notion of the pharaoh as the sole and supreme ruler of Egypt.²⁸

Nevertheless, there are a few examples of the use of *sn* or *sn.t* with reference to kings, and it is often difficult to tell in these cases whether the term is being used literally or figuratively.²⁹ The example of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III has been the center of a great deal of scholarly contention – Thutmose III is referred to as *sn=s* ("her brother") with respect to Hatshepsut, in an inscription on BM statue 1131,³⁰ and Hatshepsut bore the title *sn.t ny-sw.t* ("King's Sister") as early as the reign of Tuthmose II. The question here – yet to be resolved – is whether the word *sn/sn.t* is being used here with its basic meaning (i.e., they were actually brother and sister), an extended meaning (aunt and nephew)³¹ or a metaphorical meaning, indicating the two rulers' equality as co-regents.³²

²⁷ Ibid., 124ff.

²⁸ Ibid., 130.

²⁹ Revez, "The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* 'Brother,'" 125-127.

³⁰ *Urk.* IV 464, 7-8.

³¹ Robins, "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms," 202. H. Willems was also able to demonstrate based on evidence from the Middle Kingdom that the terms *sn* and *sn.t* could refer to uncles, aunts, nieces and nephews. See Willems, "Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom," 158-160 and 164-5.

³² Revez, "Metaphorical Use," 126-127.

During the Ptolemaic period, the sibling relationships between several of the Ptolemies, particularly the sibling pairs Ptolemy VI/Ptolemy VIII and Ptolemy IX/Ptolemy X, were openly addressed. A passage from the “Great Building Inscription” at the temple of Edfu describes Ptolemy IX as “elder brother” (*sn=fwr*) to the recently ousted Ptolemy X in order highlight Ptolemy IX’s status as the legitimate heir to the throne.³³ Although public acknowledgement of succession related conflict was rare in earlier periods, this particular text draws on long-established ideas about sibling relationships and primogeniture in Egyptian culture.

According to Revez, the term *sn(t)* conveyed a relationship of "complementary duality" between two equals:

[When used metaphorically], *sn* refers to an alter ego, a person who is on an equal footing with someone else, because both share the same values or hold similar power. The relationship which binds one *sn* "brother" to another, is therefore one of complementarity.³⁴

In other words, the term could be applied not only to individuals sharing a “brotherly” relationship, but also to rivals or polar opposites. This usage is found in both legal and literary/mythological contexts. In the “Contending of Horus and Seth,” for example, Horus and

³³ R. Ritner, “Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes,” in *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes*, SAOC 65, ed. P. Dorman and B. Bryan (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2011), 106.

³⁴ Ibid., 127.

Seth were described as "brothers" (*sn.w*) in the context of their rivalry, seemingly at odds with identification of Seth as a "brother" of Osiris (father of Horus) within the same text.³⁵

Similarly, Assmann found that the term *it* encompassed a wide array of connotations beyond that of biological fatherhood.³⁶ Assmann argues that descent and blood kinship were relatively unimportant in Egyptian society (in comparison to contemporary Semitic cultures): although people derived prestige from their heritage, this was expressed not in terms of "bloodline" but rather in terms of inheritance of office or rank from a parent or ancestor. According to Assmann, the biological relationship between parents and children was overshadowed by cultural and social factors: "Die Bindungen der Kultur, Amt, Erbe, Tradition, Unterweisung, dominieren die der Natur. Daher ist auch die Adoption in Ägypten zu allen Zeiten häufig."³⁷

Assmann argued that fatherhood was a role that could be earned or forfeited on the basis of actions and behavior. In order to be a father, a man was expected to demonstrate certain qualities and fulfill specific obligations with respect to his children, who were expected to reciprocate in kind. The father's primary functions during life were to act as a provider and educator, not only for his own children, but for the community as a whole. Anyone who fulfilled

³⁵ Ibid., 127-129. Revez notes that the term *sn* in this case could also be taken in the extended sense of "uncle".

³⁶ J. Assmann, "Das Bild des Vaters im alten Ägypten."

³⁷ Ibid., 13. While Assmann's assertion that adoption was "common" is difficult to support, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that – at certain periods at least – legal adoption was practiced and, in some cases, encouraged. See below. Furthermore, it should be noted that Assmann's assertion re: adoption is paradoxical. The existence of legal adoption in pharaonic Egypt, and its apparent necessity in some cases involving inheritance in which a biological heir was unavailable or unsuitable, suggests that biological kinship was in fact important enough that in some situations it was necessary to override it through legal means.

the duties of fatherhood with respect to anyone else could, therefore, be called an "*it*" – and, by the same token, anyone who carried out the duties of a son could be called a "*s3*" (or, in later periods, a "*śri*").³⁸

These types of extended or metaphorical uses of kinship terms extend beyond the pharaonic period, and are attested in personal letters from Roman Egypt. E. Dickey recently examined this phenomenon in personal letters and other private documents dating from the third century BC to the third century AD.³⁹

The documents in question were written in Greek by Egyptians, but, as Dickey points out, "Since kinship terms were employed literally in some types of document, an understanding of their literal meaning was current among Greek-speaking Egyptians, despite their use of the same terms with an extended meaning in letters."⁴⁰ Dickey attempts to determine, through a systematic analysis of the textual evidence, the specific contexts in which the extended (or metaphorical, to use Revez's definition) meanings were regularly used.

Dickey interprets most of these extended uses as part of a "politeness strategy" – the writer of a letter would often refer to his or her addressee(s) (or sometimes a third party) with a variety of kinship terms that were meant to create a sense of personal connection with the writer and to indicate affection or respect for the individuals being addressed.⁴¹ Dickey argues that kinship terms used in reference to third parties (i.e., people other than the addressee) not

³⁸ Ibid., 16-29.

³⁹ E. Dickey, "Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri," *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004), 131-176.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 133.

⁴¹ Ibid., 138ff.

connected to the writer, or to the writer of the letter him/herself, should almost always be taken literally, because they are being used as a form of identification or clarification rather than polite address.⁴² However, this argument relies on the assumption that politeness was the only reason the writers of these letters may have had for using kinship terms with extended or metaphorical meanings. She bases her interpretation of these extended uses as a "politeness strategy" on uses found in other types of Greek texts (i.e., texts written in Greek by non-Egyptian writers).⁴³ This is a dangerous assumption, and the uses of the kinship terms in these letters should be examined within the context of Egyptian uses of kinship terms at all periods.

I have already briefly touched on the most common extended uses of *sȝ* ("grandson," "male descendent," etc.). There are also a number of cases of metaphorical and legal meanings of *sȝ*, *šri* and *hrd*. From very early in Egyptian history, the terms *it* and *sȝ* (and other terms for "son" or "child," such as *šri* or *hrd*) could be applied to individuals in a variety of relationships analogous to that of father and son, such as teacher and pupil, master and servant, or patron and dependent.

Legally speaking, the definition of a "son" was flexible. In the Old Kingdom, the role of the eldest son was clearly defined: he was heir to his father's rank and office, and would inherit a major part of his parents' property. In exchange, the eldest son would support his parents in life and death.⁴⁴ The eldest son was responsible for making funerary arrangements and

⁴² Ibid., 136-137.

⁴³ Ibid., 138.

⁴⁴ The expression "eldest brother" could also be used to designate the role of a legal heir or trustee. See, e.g., this usage in the "Wisdom of Ankhsheshonqy," 10/14-10/15 (translation in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, 509 and n. 22).

maintaining his parents' mortuary cult. The eldest son was also frequently put in charge of managing inherited property that was shared among several children. These privileges and responsibilities became synonymous with the phrase "eldest son," and it eventually became a legal expression. The flexibility of the "eldest son" role is spelled out explicitly in the Hermopolis Legal Code, which states that any child, male or female, could act as the "eldest son" by taking on the responsibility of burying his or her parents.⁴⁵

Even by the time of the New Kingdom, as J. Johnson points out, the individual who acted as the "eldest son" in the family "needed to be neither the eldest nor a son."⁴⁶ Johnson refers to this situation as a "system of modified primogeniture." Eldest sons were given preference in terms of the inheritance of property and office, but the system was flexible enough to allow for situations where no (biological) eldest son was available (or the real eldest son was unfit to take on the responsibilities expected of him).⁴⁷ There is already evidence for a certain amount of flexibility in the system going back as far as the Old Kingdom, when officials would sometimes designate more than one of their children as an "eldest son." In these cases, the children in question probably had different mothers.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ J. H. Johnson, "The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt" (in A. Capel and G. Markoe, eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 183-184. Hermopolis Legal Code (P. Mattha), col. XI, l. 13-17, 29-30, published in G. Mattha, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*, BdÉ XLV (Institute français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1975). Male children are given priority over female children, even if the female children are older, but daughters act in the capacity of "eldest son" if no sons are present.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 184.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ N. Kanawati, "The Mentioning of More than One Eldest Child in Old Kingdom Inscriptions," *CdE* 51 (1976), 235-251.

Adoption was allowed and encouraged, and it seems to have been regarded both as a practical measure and a public service. In a letter of the 20th dynasty (O. Berlin 10627), the writer taunts the recipient for failing to sire children. He goes on to accuse the recipient of being "exceedingly stingy" (*š3 m driw r ikr*) because has not acted as a childless person should by adopting an orphan to act as "his own eldest son" (*sri 3 n ḥt=f*).⁴⁹

One of the most remarkable known cases of adoption in ancient Egypt is attested in the so-called "Adoption Papyrus," a legal document dating to the reign of Ramesses XI.⁵⁰ The document is a formal statement concerning the inheritance of property by (and through) a childless woman (Nanefer). She is first adopted by her husband ("he made (me) to be a child for himself") so that she can legitimately inherit his property. In the second part of the document, she states that she has adopted three children born to a female slave whom she and her husband purchased together (it is unclear whether or not her husband is the father of these children). She also adopts her own younger brother, who has married one of the three children.

Nanefer states that all of the parties involved have acted appropriately in accordance with the traditional roles of parent and child: "And I took them, and I caused them to live, and I caused them to grow up, and I have reached today with them, without their doing evil towards me, (but rather) they acted well for me, I having no son or daughter except them."⁵¹ She goes on to state that the three children of the slave woman, and any children that will result from

⁴⁹ G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*. Vol. 3: Musterbriefe und geschäftliche Texte des Neuen Reiches (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910), 9. Translated in E. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 149.

⁵⁰ Originally published by A. H. Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary," *JEA* 26 (1941), 23-29.

⁵¹ Lines 17-20.

the union of the female child with her younger brother, are all free citizens, and entitled to inherit the property that she (Nanefer) inherited from her husband.

In his introduction to the text, Gardiner expresses astonishment that "the legal fiction of adoption could assume such importance or be carried to such lengths,"⁵² but the situation portrayed in the text accords well with other evidence from the New Kingdom and Late Period. Adoption was a flexible and pragmatic method for working within the traditional system of inheritance from parent to child, even in cases where there were no biological children.

In addition to evidence for the adoption of children, there is also evidence for legal disownment or disinheritance. In the 20th Dynasty "Will of Naunakhte,"⁵³ Naunakhte disinherits four of her children specifically because they did not care for her properly in old age. She still calls them "these four children of mine" (*p3y 4 hrd.w ink*),⁵⁴ but she denies them the shares of inherited property to which children were normally entitled.

More cogent to the point is the "Inscription of Mes." This early Ramesside record of a lawsuit was inscribed on the walls of the tomb of Mes at Saqqara. The content of the text is difficult to interpret, and has been subject to conflicting analyses.⁵⁵ The text is rife with extended uses of kinship terms. Early in the text, the plaintiff, Mes, describes his lineage as follows:

⁵² Gardiner, "Adoption Extraordinary," 23.

⁵³ J. Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents," *JEA* 31 (1945), 29-53.

⁵⁴ 4, 7-8.

⁵⁵ Notably, A. Moret, "Un procès de famille sous la XIX^e dynastie," *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 11-39 and A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes: A Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Judicial Procedure*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905.

ir ink, ink šri n hw̄y, s3 Wrl, s3.t Nši (N2)

"As for me, I am the child of Huy, son of Werel, daughter of Neshi."

In the very next line (N3), Mes refers to Werel as "my mother" (*mw.t=i*). Then, two lines later, he states that:

iw Nwb-nfr.t t3y=i mw.t hr ii r sk3 t3 pš.t n Nši p3y=i it (N5-6)

"Then Nubnofret, my mother, came to cultivate the share of Neshi, my father."

Since Neshi's property was originally willed to his descendants during the reign of Ahmose, it is clear that Neshi is actually a distant ancestor of Mes, who lived during the reign of Ramesses II. Likewise, Werel was not the mother of Mes, but rather his grandmother. The kinship terms *it*, *mw.t* and *šri* are clearly being used in a (gendered) extended sense of "ancestor" and "descendent" in this case. However, the nature of the document suggests a legal usage, as well.

There is a problematic but telling passage in lines N7-N9. This section follows a statement by Nubnofret, the mother of Mes. After the death of Mes's father Huy, the administrator Khay seized the property of Neshi from Nubnofret, who had inherited the property from her husband. Nubnofret sought to justify her claim to the property of Neshi by demanding to see the original registers of the property stored in the Treasury. However, the documents were found to contradict her testimony, and Mes brought suit claiming that they were forged by his mother's opponent, Khay.

Directly after the quotation of Nubnofret's statement to the Vizier, the speaker goes on to describe how Khay then brought a case to the Qenbet and obtained "a false register" (*w^rdnyt n ḫd3*), with the result that

iw rwi.kwi m šri.t n Nši (N8)

"I ceased to be a child of Neshi."

On the basis of context, Gardiner takes the speaker to be Mes rather than Nubnofret, although the word *šri.t* is clearly written with a feminine *.t* and seated woman determinative. Gardiner interprets the writing to be a scribal error.⁵⁶ If Gardiner's interpretation is correct, then this would seem to be a clear-cut example of an individual being deprived of the legal advantages of sonship (in the extended sense). Even if the speaker is Nubnofret, rather than Mes, the implications are similar. The ideas of filiation and inheritance were so strongly connected that legal disinheritance was expressed in terms of the severing of kinship ties.

Outside of strictly legal and adoptive contexts, there were a variety of other extended definitions of sonship in use throughout pharaonic history. Most studies of this phenomenon have focused on the Middle Kingdom, since dedicatory monuments from this period often contain a wealth of genealogical information not found in other periods. D. Franke's 1983 study of kinship terms of the Middle Kingdom is one of the most in-depth examinations of the topic.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, 15-16.

⁵⁷ Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*.

Franke argues that, even as early as the Middle Kingdom, anyone who fulfilled the son's traditional role in the funerary cult of his father could be considered a "son." This, he states, is the primary context in which non-biological relatives or kin who did not fall under the normal extended uses of *s3* (e.g., non-related individuals or collateral relatives like nephews) could be referred to as "sons." "Sonship" was, in this context, a "social" role that could be fulfilled by anyone.⁵⁸

Franke discusses a number of specific "fictive" (or metaphorical) uses of kinship terms. During the 13th Dynasty, the word *hrd* (with a suffix pronoun, indicating a relational use) was often used to refer to servants or dependents. The term was used interchangeably with *šmsiw* ("servant"), usually in the context of the "*hrd*" dedicating a stele to his superior. Franke speculates that *hrd* was being used as the masculine singular equivalent of the phrase *ms.w ny pr* ("children of the household"), a term that was sometimes used to refer to children who lived with, but were not necessarily related to, the owner of the household.⁵⁹

Franke argues that the "*hrd*" in these cases was not someone who had assumed the role of a son through participation in the funerary cult. Rather, the use of a kinship term in these stelae was simply a way of expressing a special dependent and mutually beneficial relationship between the "*hrd*" and his superior. He suggests that people using this title may have in fact grown up in the houses of their employers, thus regarding themselves, metaphorically, as the "children" of their employers or patrons. He draws a connection to an early Ushabti spell in

⁵⁸ Ibid., 44-45.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 304-308.

which the Ushabti is called "*hrd*"—Ushabtis were not only servants, but figurative "children" of their owners.⁶⁰

Another situation in which the term *s3* might be used metaphorically – although this is a rare usage – is in the context of the *pr d.t.*, the officially sanctioned funerary cult in which certain individuals were assigned to act within the cult as relatives of the deceased. Franke found only one attestation of a *s3 d.t.*, dating to the 13th Dynasty (Stela Guimet C.8).⁶¹

S3 also appears in priestly titles, such as *s3 mry=f* (a title which created a "magical affinity" between the bearer and the assumed identity of a divine son) and, of course, in the much discussed administrative or honorific title, *s3 ny-sw.t*. The latter becomes especially common in the 13th Dynasty, which is notable in light of the similar usage of *hrd* at that time.⁶²

It and *s3* were also being used as early as the late Old Kingdom to denote the relationship between teacher and pupil, a usage that would continue at least into the New Kingdom.⁶³ Other uses were less clear, such as one case in which the donor of a stele (Geneva D 50) is called the "*s3*" of the owner of the stele, despite the fact that the two (unrelated) men were of roughly equal rank.⁶⁴ In this case, the donor of the stele may be performing the expected role of a "son" in the funerary cult of the stele's dedicatee.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 308. This is especially interesting in light of the handful of Old Kingdom funerary servant figures that bear the names of the tomb owner's children.

⁶¹ Ibid., 303, note 4.

⁶² Ibid., 308-310.

⁶³ Ibid., 309.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 53.

M. L. Bierbrier examined a variety of kinship terms in texts from Deir El-Medina.⁶⁵ He found strong evidence for *sȝ* being used to mean "son-in-law" in at least one case.⁶⁶ He also found several examples in which *sȝ* was "used to express a quasi-parental relationship with no blood ties, such as that between pupil and teacher."⁶⁷ He cites, for example, the scribe Kenherkhepeshef, who was called the "*sȝ*" of both Panakht (apparently his actual father) and the scribe Ramose. Since Kenherkhepeshef eventually succeeded Ramose in the office of Scribe of the Necropolis, Bierbrier concludes that Ramose was probably Kenherkhepeshef's teacher.⁶⁸ In addition to having the pseudo-filial relationship of a pupil to his teacher, Kenherkhepeshef would have been fulfilling the social role of a son by succeeding Ramose in office.

In other cases, the relationship being described by the term *sȝ* is even less clear. In the tomb of Anherkhau (no. 359), no less than five men who can be definitively or tentatively linked to other fathers are listed as "sons" of the tomb owner. These men are listed alongside two others who were definitely biological sons of Anherkhau. While one of them may have been a son-in-law of Anherkhau, the others cannot be definitively linked to him in this way, and one (Harmin) is "definitely not a son or a son-in-law."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ M. L. Bierbrier, "Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medina," *JEA* 66 (1980), 100-107.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 101. For a clear-cut literary example of the word *šri* used to mean "son-in-law" dating to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty, see the comment of the Chief of Naharin to the prince in "The Tale of the Doomed Prince" (P. Harris 500, verso, 7,2-7,3): *ptr tw=k m-di=i m šri.t* (sic) – "Look, you are with me as a son." The construction is similar to that used in the "Tale of Two Brothers" to describe the relationship between Bata and his adoptive parents (see further discussion below).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975), 27-28.

⁶⁹ Bierbrier, "Terms of Relationship," 102-103.

Similarly, Deir El-Medina Tomb 2B lists three "sons" of the tomb owner who are otherwise unattested in connection with the owner, and two of whom are also known "sons" of other men. Again, at least one of these two (Paduemnakht) may in fact be a son-in-law, but the other (Amenwa') seems to have been the son-in-law of yet another man. As Bierbrier acknowledges, it is possible that Amenwa' married more than once and was thus the son-in-law of more than one man, but there is no clear evidence linking him to a daughter of Nekhemmut, the owner of Tomb 2B.⁷⁰

The Social Role of the Son

The discussion up to this point has focused on the terminology of sonship and the remarkable range of extended and metaphorical meanings encompassed by the words *s3*, *šri*, *hrd* and *ms*. The variety of ways in which these words were used makes it clear that the idea of "sonship" encompassed a number of social, legal and religious concepts that reflected, but also built upon, the basic biological meaning of these terms. What, then, was a "son"?

The importance of children (and specifically sons) in ancient Egyptian society was complex. Eldest sons in particular were significant for legal, economic, social and religious reasons, all of which were closely tied into one another. This overwhelming need for someone

⁷⁰ Ibid., 103-104.

to play the role of an eldest son led, in part, to the flexibility of use of the term *s3* and other words with filial meanings.

A common theme runs through all of dynastic Egyptian thought and literature, with regard to parents and children – that of reciprocity and mutual obligation. People were expected to have children (especially sons) and to support, nurture, and teach these children, to endow them with a legacy of property, office, and imparted knowledge. The responsibility of children to their parents continued after their parents' lifetimes. Sons were expected to support their parents in old age, to carry on their fathers' offices and manage their inheritances with responsibility, and, finally, to ensure a proper burial for their parents, along with the perpetuation of their funerary cult.

The importance of sons to their parents was so great that it was in the best interests of parents to keep their sons dependent upon them for as long as possible. While daughters received their inheritance as soon as they left their parents' home to found their own households, sons did not inherit until their parents died. This situation helped reinforce the system of mutual obligation and dependence that characterized the relationship between parents and sons.⁷¹

The mutual obligations between parent and child did not end with death. The dead were thought to play active roles in the affairs of the living. In return for the child's responsibility to maintain the funerary cult of the parents, the deceased parents were expected

⁷¹ Johnson, "The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt," 184-185.

to continue helping their children in much the same way they did during life. Likewise, if a child died prematurely, he or she was still expected to come to the aid of the living parents. Letters to the dead demonstrate that living parents would entreat their deceased children for help, and vice versa. The history of these letters goes back as far as the late Old Kingdom and continued beyond the end of Pharaonic history.⁷²

Most existing analyses of the role of sons in pharaonic Egypt are heavily skewed toward the realm of the funerary cult. This is because funerary contexts account for the bulk of our evidence concerning daily life and familial relationships. B. Kasparian examined various social aspects of family life in the Old and Middle Kingdoms in a recent dissertation.⁷³ Kasparian concludes that the importance of children is largely predicated on their role in the funerary cult. Children were the "vecteur de communication" between the living and the dead.⁷⁴

In the Old Kingdom, non-related individuals were already beginning to play roles within the funerary cult that were conventionally assigned to children. The metaphorical uses of kinship terms began around the same time and were well established by the Middle Kingdom. As early as the 5th Dynasty, children and servants were depicted in tombs fulfilling essentially identical functions as intermediaries between the deceased and the living. Children and

⁷² A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928. Several examples translated in Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 210-220. For numerous examples, including post-Pharaonic letters, see H. El-Leithy, "Letters to the Dead in Ancient and Modern Egypt," in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century I*, ed. Z. Hawass and L. Brock (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 304-313.

⁷³ B. Kasparian, "La famille égyptienne sous l'ancien et le moyen empire: aspects structurels, sociaux et juridiques." PhD diss. Université de la Rochelle, 2003.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 65.

servants of the deceased were occasionally portrayed together in groups collectively termed *ms.w* ("children").⁷⁵

In the Middle Kingdom, there is an increasing tendency in funerary contexts to portray the deceased as part of a "lineage." Funerary monuments depict extensive groups of family members, including ancestors, descendants, and collateral relatives of the deceased. Kasparian speculates that this tendency has to do with an increasing need throughout the Middle Kingdom to consolidate political power within family groups.⁷⁶

S. Whale examined familial structure in the early New Kingdom on the basis of evidence from private tombs.⁷⁷ In the 18th Dynasty, sons were frequently depicted in the tombs of their parents, and vice versa. In offering scenes, living children depicted in their parents' tombs are typically shown facing their parents (often while presenting offerings or carrying out other funerary rituals). Deceased children are shown facing the same way as their parents, receiving the benefits of the funerary cult along with the tomb owners.⁷⁸ Sons were typically shown as the central figures in their parents' funerary cults.⁷⁹

When sons represented their parents in their own tombs, they frequently depicted themselves assisting their parents with rituals and work. In the absence of a son (or if the son was too young to take on the responsibility) a grandson or even a brother of the tomb owner

⁷⁵ Kasparian, "La famille égyptienne," 65-67.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 67-68.

⁷⁷ S. Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Sydney, 1989).

⁷⁸ Ibid., 255.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

might be depicted carrying out the duties of a son. Grandsons are depicted carrying out son-like duties in some cases even where the son is present.⁸⁰

Fathers are often called *s3b* in the tombs of their sons (an honorific meaning "revered one" or something similar in this context), but are seldom given any actual titles, making it difficult to assess whether the sons had inherited their fathers' positions.⁸¹

Mothers are also frequently shown in their sons' tombs, especially when they held prestigious positions (such as royal nurse). Whaley speculated that the frequency of representations of mothers in these tombs relative to wives indicated that the mother-son relationship was considered more important (at least in the funerary context) than the husband-wife relationship.⁸² Tomb owners were frequently depicted carrying out rituals or official duties in the company of their mothers.

Outside of funerary contexts, most of our information on the role of sons focuses on their legal, economic and social privileges and responsibilities. While both sons and daughters could inherit property from their parents, and both could take responsibility for the maintenance of their parents' funerary cults, only sons could carry out inherited offices or bear inherited titles (with a few exceptions).

Kasparian visualizes the family in terms of "axes" (lineal and collateral), with the father-son axis being the most important. The father transmitted his knowledge and experience to his

⁸⁰ Ibid., 266-267; 270-271.

⁸¹ Ibid., 260-261.

⁸² Ibid., 262-263.

son, who would essentially become a "copy" of the father. The teaching of the father helped the son form an identity and become a functional member of society. Sons (particularly eldest sons) would be groomed to take the place of their fathers, both socially and practically.⁸³

Kasparian's analysis agrees with Assman's assessment of the relationship between fathers and sons. Assmann argued that the son was a mental and spiritual reflection of his father, a "living image" created by the father through acceptance and guidance. According to Assmann, the social and spiritual aspects of this relationship transcended the natural:

Zwischen solcher Aufkündbarkeit der Vaterschaft und der verhältnismäßig untergeordneten Bedeutung, die die Ägypter dem natürlich-biologischen Aspekt der Vaterschaft im Ganzen ihres Vaterbegriffs beigemessen haben, besteht wohl ein Zusammenhang. Die ägyptischen Begriffe von Vater und Sohn umfassen offenbar mehr als dieses natürlich Band, das unaufkündbar, aber eben nicht alles, ja nicht einmal das Entscheidende ist.⁸⁴

Assmann goes on to suggest that fatherhood does not begin with conception, but rather with the father's acceptance and acknowledgement of his son, a process that is "spiritual" rather than biological:

Mit der Zeugung ist sie noch nicht gegeben. Der Vater hat den Sohn als solchen anzuerkennen. Das geschieht, indem er sich in ihm wiederkennt. Das aber ist nicht eine

⁸³ Kasparian, *La famille égyptienne*, 68-70.

⁸⁴ Assmann, "Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten," 14-15.

Sache der natürlichen, physiognomischen Ähnlichkeit des "Blutes", sondern einer geistigen Ebenbildlichkeit, die sich im Handeln und Verhalten manifestiert.⁸⁵

Much of Assmann's argument draws on literary, religious and royal texts, with a particular focus on instructional texts. Texts of this type, known in Egyptian as a "Teaching" (*sb3y.t*) or "Instruction" (*mtr.t*),⁸⁶ are particularly important sources for understanding Egyptian ideas about the nature of the relationship between father and son. Texts of this type are represented at all periods of pharaonic history.

Most instructional texts were presented as teachings transmitted from father to son. Sometimes the alleged author (and/or the recipient of the teaching) was a well-established historical figure, while other texts were presented as the work of a generic "everyman."⁸⁷ It is important to keep in mind that instructional texts represent an idealized situation rather than reality. The ideal relationship between father and son represented in these texts should be compared to the picture presented in private documents, such as personal letters and records of property transfers from parent to child. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the presentation of knowledge from father to son was the paradigm by which the Egyptians understood the transmission and preservation of tradition, culture, and knowledge within their society.⁸⁸ A

⁸⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁸⁶ The terms seem to be essentially interchangeable. See R. Ritner, review of H. J. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anchcheschonqi*, in *BiOr* 44 (1987), 642-643.

⁸⁷ Some of these documents were ostensibly written by kings for their sons, as a guide to prepare the son for kingship. These texts are of particular importance for the insight they provide into the idealized role of royal sons and the relationship between the king and his chosen heir.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 22-23.

handful of these texts – most notably, the "Maxims of Ptahhotep" – specifically discuss the nature of sonship.

The (apparently) earliest known⁸⁹ instructional text is "The Instruction of Hordjedef," which is largely preserved in copies from the Ramesside period.⁹⁰ The text is attributed to Prince Hordjedef, a son of Khufu who was remembered and revered as a sage at least as late as the New Kingdom. Hordjedef was presented as the wisest of the sons of Khufu in the Papyrus Westcar (P. Berlin 3033) story cycle, and was also credited as the "discoverer" of Spell 30 in the Book of the Dead. "The Instruction of Hordjedef" may have directly influenced many of the instructional texts that came after it, including the more extensively preserved "Maxims of Ptahhotep."

The surviving portions of the text contain content that is generic, practical, and similar in nature to what is to be found in non-royal examples of the genre. Hordjedef instructs his son, Waibre, to establish a family and have a son (*s3 t3y*) of his own.⁹¹ He also encourages his son to "build a house for your son, for [I] have built for you the place where you are."⁹² This brief

⁸⁹ The original date of composition cannot be determined with certainty, but some of the introductory text of Hordjedef seems to be cited in the Maxims of Ptahhotep. G. Posener suggested that the Ptahhotep text was directly influenced by the Hordjedef text (in "Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedef (recherches littéraires, IV)", *RdE* 9 (1952), 113-114), but the possibility that both texts were influenced by an earlier common source cannot be ruled out.

⁹⁰ W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Djedefhor und Die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1984). Partially translated in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 127-128.

⁹¹ I,2.

⁹² II, 1. Helck (*Die Lehre des Djedefhor*) reads *b3* instead of *s3* here, which would change the meaning of this passage drastically.

exhortation merely hints at the elaborate system of reciprocity and cyclical repetition from one generation to the next that would be developed more fully in later texts.

The text now commonly known as "The Maxims of Ptahhotep" (preserved most fully in P. Prisse, a Middle Kingdom copy) provides a rich and nuanced picture of the ideal relationship between father and son during the Old Kingdom (although the exact date of composition is disputed). Parts of the text are also preserved in several New Kingdom copies, some of which differ significantly from the earliest extant version.⁹³ The text is attributed to the vizier Ptahhotep, who lived during the reign of Isesi (5th Dynasty).⁹⁴

In the introductory passages of the text, Ptahhotep requests that he be allowed to appoint his son as a "staff of old age" (*mdw i3wi*) who can assist him (P. Prisse 5,2-5,3). This particular metaphor appears several times throughout the Middle Kingdom and at least once in the 18th Dynasty. The implication of support and assistance is clear.⁹⁵ The title (which seems to have been more honorific or indicative of rank than administrative in nature) was granted by the king to sons of high-ranking officials. Sons bearing this title not only assisted their fathers in old age, but were often groomed to succeed their fathers in office.⁹⁶

Ptahhotep goes on to request that his son be allowed to succeed him in office (*di.tw ḥ*^c
s3=i m s.t=i). This line does not appear in the P. Prisse copy of the Maxims of Ptahhotep, but

⁹³ Z. Zába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1956). Translated in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 129-148.

⁹⁴ Ptahhotep is given the title "King's Son, of his body" in the Maxims, 5,6-7. This title only appears in the P. Prisse version.

⁹⁵ WB II, 178: "vom Sohn als Gehülfen (und Amtsnachfolger) des Vaters."

⁹⁶ T. Shehab El-Din, "The Title *mdw-i3wi*, the Staff of Old Age," *Discussions in Egyptology* 37 (1997), 59-64.

was apparently added by later copyists.⁹⁷ Ptahhotep promises the king that, if he is allowed to take on his son as an assistant and heir, he will pass on ancient wisdom to his son, for the king's benefit. The king agrees and encourages Ptahhotep to teach his son so that "he might set a good example⁹⁸ for the children of the nobles" (P. Prisse 5,5: *ih ir=f bi.t n ms.w sr.w*). The implication is that the benefits of the son's education extend beyond the individual level – when a son is properly educated, he becomes a functional, and therefore beneficial, member of society.

A few passages from the main body of the text provide insight into the specific expectations of sons with respect to their parents. While the father is responsible for teaching, supporting and guiding his son, the son is equally responsible for learning his father's teachings and following his example. The following passage (7,10-8,2 in P. Prisse, 3,12-4,2 in P. BM 10409) is of particular interest:

ir wnn=k m s ikr
ir=k s3 n sim3 ntr
ir my=f phr=f n kd=k
*sdm=f n sb3y.wt=k*⁹⁹
*sikr shr.w=f m hn pr=k*¹⁰⁰
nw=f ht nb r s.t iry

⁹⁷ This line appears in the Carnarvon Tablet 1 (17th or 18th Dynasty), 1,7 and P. BM 10409 (18th Dynasty), 4.

⁹⁸ Lit. "exercise character."

⁹⁹ Only in P. BM 10409.

¹⁰⁰ Only in P. BM 10409.

ir n=f bw nb nfr

s3=k pw nsw sti k3=k

imi=k iwd ib=k r=f

iw mt.wt ir=s šnty

ir nnm=f thi=f shr=k

tm=f ir.t sb3y.wt=k¹⁰¹

hsy shr.w=f m hn pr=k¹⁰²

btn.n=f dd.t nb.t

šm r3=f m md.t hs.t

w3w m hr=f n wn.t m c.wy=f y¹⁰³

rwi=k sw nn s3=k is pw

nn ms.n.tw=f is n=k

b3k=k sw r r3=f mi-kd=f

wdi r=k m hbd n=sn

wdd sdb n=f pw m ht

n nm.n s3m=sn

n gm.n iww=sn d3.t

If you are an excellent man,

you should sire a son who pleases the god;¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Only in P. BM 10409.

¹⁰² Only in P. BM 10409.

¹⁰³ This and the following two lines only in P. BM 10409.

¹⁰⁴ Lit.: "of making the god well-disposed"

If he is correct, while he follows your character,
and while he listens to your teachings,
his conduct being excellent within your household,
while he puts everything in its (proper) place,¹⁰⁵
then do every good thing for him,
because he is your son, of your Ka's begetting.
Do not separate your heart from him.

(But) offspring (can) create strife.

If he goes astray and transgresses against your counsel,
and he does not act (according to) your teachings,
while his conduct is vile inside your house,
he having defied everything said (to him),
while his mouth babbles with vile speech,
because he does not know that he has nothing,¹⁰⁶
then you should drive him off, for indeed he is not your son,
and indeed it is not to you that he was born.

You should punish him for everything he says,¹⁰⁷
because one who attacks you¹⁰⁸ is one who is hateful to them (the gods),
being one against whom adversity was pitted in the womb.

¹⁰⁵ Lit.: "while he takes care of everything in the place thereof"

¹⁰⁶ Lit.: "it is unknown to him that there is nothing in his two hands"

¹⁰⁷ Lit.: "You should attend to him (*b3k=k sw*) for his entire speech"

¹⁰⁸ Lit.: "pushes against you"

As the one whom they guide cannot go wrong,
so the one whom they leave boatless is unable to cross the river.

The complete rejection of the errant son, even on a biological level ("indeed it is not to you that he was born"), is striking in its implications. Both sonship and fatherhood were based on a complex system of behaviors and obligations that built upon the basic foundations of biological kinship. In this passage, the biological basis for the father-son relationship is explicitly rejected as a result of the son's failure to meet the social expectations associated with his role. Furthermore, there is an element of predestination in sonship – false sons are cursed before birth with a predetermined tendency to rebel.¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that some of these lines do not appear in P. Prisse and may have been edited in by later scribes, possibly reflecting a later development in Egyptian thought regarding the nature of sonship.

Later passages deal with the benefits of being an obedient or "hearing" son. A son who listens to (and acts on) the teachings of his father will be successful in everything he does. "Listening" is the key to gaining success, good repute, and immortality. It is the responsibility of the son not only to take his father's instruction to heart, but also to pass it on to his own children, thus infinitely perpetuating the cycle and producing an endless line of functional and successful individuals. These ideas are summed up in one of the later passages of the text (P. Prisse 17,10-18,1; P. BM 10371 and 10435, u'1-v5):

¹⁰⁹ Assmann, "Das Bild des Vaters im alten Ägypten," 14.

s3 sdm m šms Hr

nfr n=f m-HT sdm=f

i3w=f ph=f im3h

sdd=f m-mitt n hrd.w=f

m sm3w sb3.w it=f

s nb sb3 mi ir=f

sdd=f hr ms.w

i3h dd n=sn hrd.w=sn

ir bi.t m rdi c d.t=k

srwd m3c.t c nh ms.w=k

A son who listens is a follower of Horus,

while (things) are good for him on account of his listening.

He will grow old, he will attain veneration,

And he will talk likewise to his (own) children,

in renewing the teachings of his father.

Every man teaches according as he acts.

He will talk before (his) children,

so that they will speak to their children.¹¹⁰

Set a good example.¹¹¹ Do not cause wrongdoing.

¹¹⁰ Written "so that their children will speak to them."

¹¹¹ As above, literally "exercise character."

Perpetuate Ma'at, so that your children might live.

The final two passages indicate that the son's behavior reflects on the father, further reinforcing the idea of the mutual obligation between father and son. The son is encouraged to act so that people will recognize the good work of the father in bringing him up. The proper behavior of the son legitimizes and reinforces his biological and social relationship with his father (P. Prisse 19,3-19,6; P. BM 10371 and 10435, v'1-v'2):

*ir r dd.t nb=k r=k
nfr.wy sb3 n it=f
pr.n=fim=f hnt h^c.w=f
dd.n=f n=f iw=f m h.t r 3w
wr ir.t.n=f r ddd.tw. n=f
mk s3 nfr n dd ntr
rdi h3w hr ddd.tw.n=f hr nb=f
ir=f m3^c.t
ir.n ib=f r nmt.wt=f*

Act so that your lord might say concerning you,

"How good was the teaching of his father,

from whose body he came forth.

He spoke to him while he was entirely in the womb,

for that which he has done is greater than that which was told to him."

See, a good son who is given by God

is one who does more than that which was said to him by his lord.

He will do Ma'at,

his heart having created his actions.

Other types of literary texts also reflect the Egyptian ideology of sonship and familial relationships in general. The New Kingdom text commonly known as the Tale of Two Brothers (P. D'Orbigny) is an excellent literary example of the fluid perception of filial relationships in Egyptian thought. Again, this is a source that must be treated with caution, due to its fantastic nature. In the first part of the story, which is relatively realistic compared to the later portions of the narrative, the nature of the relationship between the younger brother and his older brother and sister-in-law is reiterated several times. Within the first few lines of the narrative, this relationship is defined:

hr ir 'Inpw sw hr pr hr hm.t iw p3y=f sn šri m-di=f mi shr n šri (I,1-2)

"Now, as for Anubis, he had a house and a wife, while his younger brother was with him in the manner of a son."

The trope is repeated several times throughout the narrative. In most cases, the text specifies that the situation is *like* a filial relationship (*mi shr n*). However, it is notable that, at one point, Anubis' wife says "Am I not your mother?" (V,2: *is bn ink t3y=k mw.t*), suggesting a thin line between analogy and actuality. The nature of the relationship between Bata and his informally adoptive parents is central to the developments in the first part of the story –

Anubis' wife's attempt to seduce Bata is framed within the context of this relationship. The implication is that what she did was wrong because she was acting as Bata's mother (and Anubis was acting as his father), and her actions violated the protocol of that type of relationship.

Later, in the same text, Bata becomes his own father when he magically impregnates his wife with himself. He is raised as a son of the pharaoh, even though there is no biological link between the two, and later succeeded by Anubis, his own elder brother and erstwhile father-figure. By the end of the story, the roles of the two brothers with respect to each other have been reversed.

How well do these idealized literary sons correlate to real ones? Was "sonship" really as fluid a notion as the previous examples suggest? Could anyone who fulfilled the duties expected of a son, or, in fact, who had any sort of filial-type relationship to another individual, be truly considered a "son"? Likewise, could sonship actually be lost, by legal or social means?

Much of the evidence already presented in the previous sections suggests that these literary portrayals were not completely without basis in reality. Formal and informal adoption is attested at all periods, while legal records also suggest that children could be formally disowned. Although evidence from literary sources should be approached with caution, these types of sources are still valuable reflections of certain aspects of Egyptian thought. In this case, they contribute to the picture of sonship as a partially social construct that has already begun to emerge from the other evidence under consideration.

Concluding Remarks

The English word "son" implies, primarily, a direct filial relationship between a male person and his parents. It has a number of extended and metaphorical meanings, many of which are similar to those found in Egyptian. For a native English speaker, it is easy, with even a minimal amount of context, to distinguish between these various uses. It is important to keep in mind that the same was likely true for the ancient Egyptians. There may have been nuances in meaning in the various uses of the word *s3* (and other related terms) that were obvious to native speakers but are impossible for an outsider to the culture and language to detect or understand.

Of all the words in the Egyptian language, *s3* corresponds most closely to the English word "son." The word *s3* could be applied, without qualifiers, to individuals who exhibited a range of son-like characteristics in various legal, social and religious contexts. The handful of Egyptian texts that explicitly discuss the nature of "sonship" tend to indicate that the Egyptians, at many periods, saw filial relationships as potentially alterable, at least in a legal and social sense. Ptahhotep's Instruction states explicitly that a rebellious son is, in fact, not a son. Although the sense is social, this rejection was couched in biological terms (*nn ms.n.tw=f*), suggesting a strong ideological correlation between the biological and social aspects of the father-son relationship. Literary texts like the Tale of Two Brothers show familial relationships as ephemeral, magically changeable states.

Private documents support these literary and fictive portrayals, to a certain extent. The Adoption Papyrus demonstrates the ease with which familial relationships could be legally altered. In the 13th Dynasty, in particular, we see many examples of the (apparently) unofficial adoption of servants or other dependents as "children" by wealthy individuals. In a funerary context – and even in life – anyone who fulfilled the obligations expected of a son could be called a son. These extended, legal and metaphorical uses of filial terms were based on and reflective of the basic biological relationships that the terms signified. However, the idea of "sonship" in the broader sense could and did transcend its biological basis in a variety of legal, social and spiritual contexts.

What does all of this mean for our understanding of the role of royal sons? Many of the individuals who have been categorized as "titular" king's sons were probably grandsons of a king.¹¹² Since the extended range of meaning of *s3* encompassed grandsons and other male descendants, I would argue that kings' grandsons who were given the *s3 ny-sw.t* title should not necessarily be placed in the same category as biologically unrelated (i.e. "honorific") "King's Sons." Another question that should be considered is that of legal adoption – could the title *s3 ny-sw.t* be applied to individuals who were not biologically related to a king, but were officially recognized as adoptive children of a king? If so, should such individuals be recognized as a

¹¹² For example, the late 4th Dynasty King's Sons *Hm-iwnw* and *Nfr-M3t* were likely grandchildren of Sneferu, and B. Schmitz and N. Strudwick have both classified them as "titular" King's Sons – see B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel sA-njswt "Königsohn"* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, 1976), 68ff and N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London: KPI, 1985), 312. In the case of *Hm-iwnw*, part of the difficulty arises from the fact that he is called *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* ("king's son of his body"), an expression that Schmitz feels cannot be reconciled with his indirect biological relationship to the king, and therefore should be taken in this context as a title of rank that is associated with specific administrative positions.

separate category from other “honorific” King’s Sons? While the answers to these questions are not readily apparent from much of our available evidence, particularly during the 18th Dynasty, these are issues that should be kept in mind in any examination of the role of royal sons in pharaonic Egypt.

Part II: The Data

Chapter 2: Category I – Royal Monuments

Category I consists of royal monuments, i.e. monuments commissioned by/for a reigning king. This category includes royal stelae and material from state temples and possibly royal residential or administrative buildings. I am unaware of any artistic or textual representations of princes in royal statuary, tombs or mortuary temples of the 18th Dynasty. Mummies and funerary equipment belonging to princes found in royal tombs will be addressed in **Chapter 3 (Category II)**. The monuments discussed in this section are presented in chronological order.

I.1 – The Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari

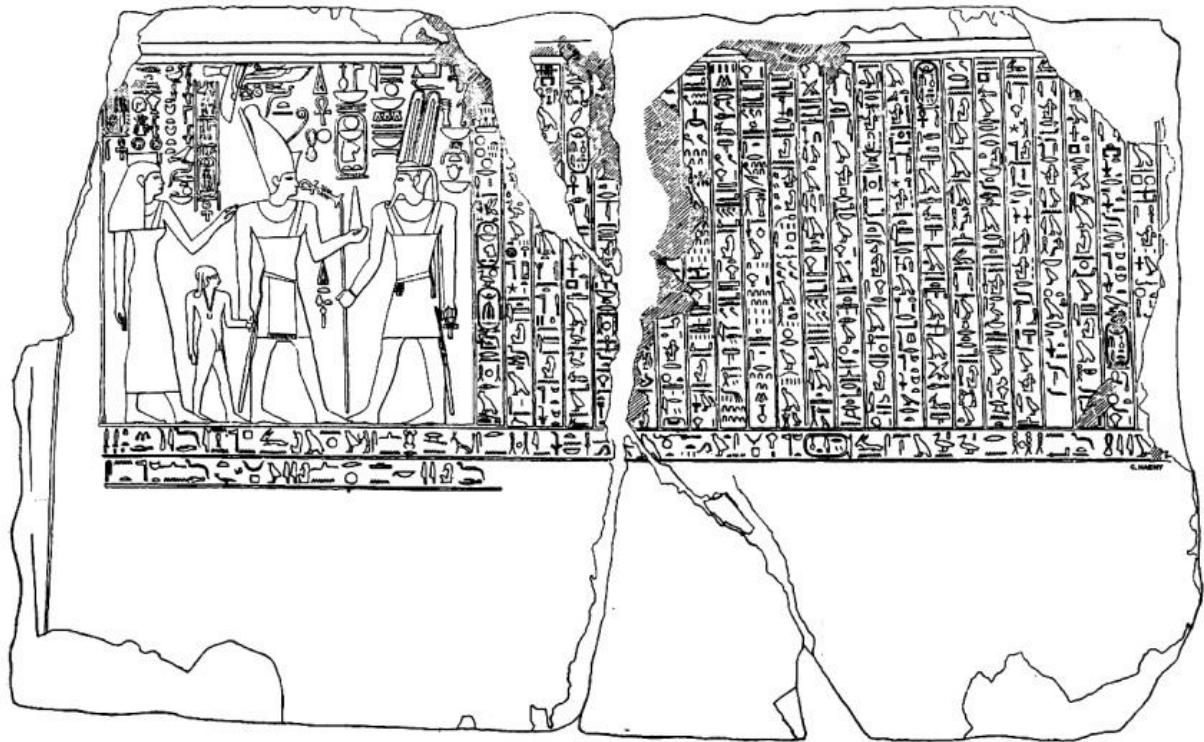


Figure 1 – Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari. Karnak, 18th Dynasty, reign of Ahmose. Now in the Luxor Museum. I have been unable to find published information about the material or dimensions of this stele. Drawing from I. Harari, “Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis à la reine Ahmès Néfertary,” *ASAE* 56 (1959), pl. II.

References to princes on royal monuments of the 18th Dynasty are scarce. One of the few examples dates to the earliest years of the dynasty. A juvenile prince named Ahmose-Ankh is represented standing between his parents, Ahmose and Ahmose-Nefertari, on the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari.¹

¹ This stele was discovered in three fragments in the fill of the Third Pylon at Karnak. A drawing and translation of the assembled stele are published in M. Gitton, “La résiliation d’une fonction religieuse: Nouvelle interprétation de la stèle de donation d’Ahmès Néfertary,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 65-89. For earlier bibliography, see *PM* II, 73.

The prince is clearly depicted as a small child: he is nude, lacking adult musculature, and diminutively proportioned. He grasps the index finger of his father's right hand. He wears his hair in a sidelock and is adorned only with a heart amulet around his neck. The inscription above the boy reads *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h̄.w ntr (I^th-ms)|-nh* ("The King's Eldest Son of the god's limbs, Ahmose-Ankh"). His mother, Ahmose-Nefertari, stands at far left with her hand on Ahmose's right shoulder. All three figures face Amun, standing at far right. The god extends life, stability and dominion to the king, who offers Amun a loaf of bread.

Several things make this document remarkable: first, artistic representations of royal sons with their fathers are quite rare during the 18th Dynasty, although several examples exist from the 13th-17th Dynasties.² Images of royal sons with both parents are extremely rare at any period. The closest parallels from the 18th Dynasty are images of Akhenaten's daughters with their parents, but no other images of male children with both parents are attested. In this image, the king, queen and prince are represented as a group, highly suggestive of a divine triad. In fact, the divinity of the grouping is underscored by the epithets of all three figures. The prince is called "King's Eldest Son of the god's limbs," while Ahmose is the "Good God" and Ahmose-Nefertari is the "God's Wife."

The significance of the prince's name depends in part on how it should be read. It is usually rendered "Ahmose-Ankh." If this is the correct reading, then the use of the cartouche is expected, since it encloses the king's name. However, if the name is to be read simply

² Various examples may be found in A. Dodson and D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 100-120.

“Ahmose,” followed by the epithet “May He Live,” then the prince’s full name has been placed within a cartouche. If the latter reading is correct, this would not be a unique occurrence – other contemporary princes’ names were also occasionally placed in cartouches.³ The significance of the practice of writing princes’ names in cartouches during the 18th Dynasty will be discussed in **Chapter 11**.

Given the rarity of such artistic representations of princes with their families, the major question that must be addressed here is the reason for Ahmose-Ankh’s inclusion in the scene. Two possible explanations present themselves, and these explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. One is that the prince is depicted in the capacity of heir to Ahmose-Nefertari as holder of the office of Second Prophet of Amun; the other is that he represents not only the son and heir of the king, but also the product of Ahmose-Nefertari’s mystical union with Amun in her role as “God’s Wife” and therefore the legitimate heir to the throne by virtue of divine heritage.⁴

Although the prince is not mentioned explicitly in the text of the stele (outside of the identifying caption above his figure), the text may shed some light on the reason for his presence. While the basic nature of the document is clear – it is an *imy.t pr*, or property transfer – the exact nature of the transaction recorded by the document is more difficult to assess. If, as

³ This issue is discussed briefly in Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 91 and n. 36. Gitton chooses to read the name as simply Ahmose, followed by the epithet “may he live,” based on the somewhat circular reasoning that there are no known examples of the name “Ahmose-Ankh,” while the name “Ahmose” is quite common in the late 17th/early 18th Dynasty royal family. He also suggests that Ahmose-Ankh is the same person as Ahmose Sapair (to be discussed further below). See Gitton, “La résiliation,” 83.

⁴ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), 98-99.

B. Menu⁵ has argued, the document records the purchase of the office of Second Prophet of Amun by Ahmose on behalf of Ahmose-Nefertari, then presumably the prince is present in the capacity of his mother's heir. According to Menu's reading of the text, the position was to pass on to the heirs of Ahmose-Nefertari in perpetuity (In. 4: "from son to son and heir to heir").⁶

In fact, there is a roughly contemporaneous funerary cone inscribed for a holder of the Second Prophet of Amun title named Ahmose.⁷ The spelling of the name, with the upward-facing lunar crescent, indicates that the cone predates year 22 of Ahmose's reign. Gitton, who argued that the Donation Stele recorded Ahmose-Nefertari's disposal of the Second Prophet title rather than her acquisition of it, dismissed the possibility that the Ahmose named on the funerary cone is the prince Ahmose-Ankh.⁸ Gitton rejected this identification on the grounds that the prince would have been too young to exercise the office (and he apparently died not long after the composition of the stele), and also points out that he is not given the Second Prophet title in the text of the stele.⁹ However, while Ahmose-Ankh is iconographically represented as a child on the stele, this representation may not have corresponded to his actual age at the time the monument was created. It is also unsurprising that Ahmose-Ankh is not given the Second Prophet title in the stele, since the document concerns the association of the office with the queen (whatever the nature of that association may have been) rather than with the prince.

⁵ B. Menu, "La 'stèle' d'Ahmès Néfertary dans son contexte historique et juridique." *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 89-100.

⁶ Ibid., 98-99.

⁷ M. F. Macadam and N. de Garis Davies, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), no. 300.

⁸ Gitton, "La résiliation," 86, n. 1.

⁹ Ibid.

Even if the original intent was that the Second Prophet position would pass to Ahmose-Ankh, the limited available evidence suggests that the office ultimately did not stay within the royal family after the death of Ahmose-Nefertari. No holders of the office are attested between year 22 of Ahmose and Ahmose-Nefertari's death during the reign of Thutmose I, which may suggest that Ahmose-Nefertari herself continued to hold the office during this time.¹⁰

After this time, the office passed to an apparently non-royal individual named Puyemre.¹¹ Puyemre may have been connected to the royal family by marriage – his wife, the Divine Adoratrice Seniseneb, was descended from a *hkr.t ny-sw.t* ("Royal Ornament") named Ahhotep (her paternal grandmother).¹² As a *hkr.t ny-sw.t*, Ahhotep was likely a member of the royal household, but her exact relationship to the royal family is uncertain.¹³ In any case, whatever Puyemre's connection to the royal family may have been, he did not hold the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, and no princes of the 18th Dynasty are known to have held the title of Second Prophet of Amun.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid.; B. Bryan, "Property and the God's Wives of Amun" (paper presented at the Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies conference, Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, August 2003), 5.

¹¹ Bryan, *ibid.*

¹² B. Bryan, "Administration in the reign of Thutmose III" (in Eric Cline and David O'Connor, eds., *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 107.

¹³ The title *hkr.t ny-sw.t* referred to members of the *hnr*, a group of priestesses with ties to the cult of Hathor. They were probably not concubines of the king, as has been previously suggested, but many members of the *hnr* were royal women, and the institution of the *hnr* had significant overlap with the *ip.t* ("harem"). See L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 77-78. For a more recent discussion of the role of the *hnr* in the royal ancestor cult, see E. F. Morris, "Paddle Dolls and Performance," *JARCE* 47 (2011), 73-74.

¹⁴ While it is possible that Puyemre was related to the royal family in some way, he was clearly not a first generation *s3 ny-sw.t*, as his (non-royal) parents are named in his tomb, TT 39. See *PM I*, 71-75.

L. Troy speculates that the prince's presence in the scene had more to do with Ahmose-Nefertari's role as God's Wife of Amun than as holder of the Second Prophet office. According to Troy,

The establishment of the status of Ahmose-Nefertari as wife of the god adds another dimension to this scene. As wife of the god, her child must be the child of Amun and thus the young prince is also presented to his divine father from whose limbs he is said to have come.¹⁵

Later, she remarks that "The divine parentage of the king is linked to the status of his mother as the *hm.t nfr* either formally or ideologically during the New Kingdom."¹⁶ Troy draws a parallel between the image of Ahmose-Ankh on the Donation Stele and later representations of the divine conception of the king (e.g., Hathepsut at Deir el-Bahri and Amenhotep III at Luxor).¹⁷

In either scenario, the prince's relationship to Ahmose-Nefertari is key to his presence in the scene: he is present either as legal heir to Ahmose-Nefertari's priestly office(s), or as the product of her divine union with Amun. It is interesting, therefore, that the prince is linked more closely to his father and to Amun both visually and in the text that accompanies him. His titles link him to Ahmose ("King's Eldest Son") and to Amun ("of the god's limbs") but make no

¹⁵ *Patterns of Queenship*, 98.

¹⁶ Ibid., 99. Note, however, that the God's Wife title eventually fell from use during the 18th Dynasty. The last attested 18th Dynasty God's Wife is Tiaa, the mother of Thutmose IV, who held the title during the reign of her son. See M. Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie* (Paris: Presses Univ. Franche-Comté, 1984), 84-92.

¹⁷ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 98.

mention of his mother. The prince stands between both his parents in the presence of the god, but only his father makes direct physical contact with him.

I.2 – Text from the Festival Hall of Thutmose III Mentioning Amenemhat A

The Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak features a rare textual reference to an 18th Dynasty king's son holding an administrative office, as overseer of the cattle of Amun. A passage dating to Thutmose III's year 24 mentions the appointment of a *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son," generally presumed in earlier literature to be the heir apparent)¹⁸ named Amenemhat to the office of *imy-r3 ih.w n t3-i[ry.t]* ("overseer of stables of the milk-cow").¹⁹ There is no accompanying visual representation of the prince.

I.3 – Material from the Serapeum (Lost Relief from Chapel I and Gl. 98)

I.3.a – Lost Relief from Chapel I

It is not until near the end of the 18th Dynasty that we see another example of a visual representation of a prince with either of his parents on a formal royal monument. Mariette described an image of the King's Son Djhutmose making offerings to the Apis bull in the company of his father, Amenhotep III, in Chapel I of the Serapeum.²⁰ According to Mariette, the prince stood behind the king and both offered incense to the Apis bull. The prince is called *s3*

¹⁸ However, see **Chapter 9** for discussion of the implications of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the 18th Dynasty.

¹⁹ This text was originally published in A. H. Gardiner, "Thutmose III Returns Thanks to Amun," *JEA* 38 (1952), 6-23. The relevant text appears on pl. VI. See also *PM* II, 126 and *Urk.* IV, 1251-1275. Discussed briefly in Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose", 92 and n. 51.

²⁰ A. Mariette-Pacha and G. Maspero, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis I* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1882), 124-125. Discussed briefly in Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose," 88.

ny-sw.t sm Dhw.ty-ms (“King’s Son and *sem*-priest Djhutmose”). Unfortunately, Mariette did not publish a copy of this scene, and the chapel has since been destroyed.

The prince’s name was also inscribed on material in the subterranean chamber below the chapel, while Amenhotep III’s name was absent.²¹ Djhutmose’s name was inscribed on several fragmentary vessels of calcite and pottery found in this chamber. The vessels are now in the Louvre.²²

²¹ Ibid., 125.

²² Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 88, n. 8.

I.3.b – GI. 98



Figure 2 – Copy of GI. 98. Relief probably depicting Djutmose B presenting offerings behind his father. Original likely from Memphis, now in the Glyptotek Museum, Munich. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Limestone, 37 cm by 57 cm. Drawing by J. Berlandini and R. Cepko. From J. Berlandini, “Contribution aux ‘Princes du Nouvel Empire à Memphis,’” in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1997), fig. 1.

A fragment possibly belonging to this chapel survives in the Glyptotek Museum in Munich (GI. 98).²³ J. Berlandini has argued, on stylistic grounds, that the fragment dates to the reign of Amenhotep III and likely derives from the Memphite area. Berlandini points out that it is tempting to see the Glyptotek fragment as a companion scene to the incense offering

²³ J. Berlandini, “Contribution aux ‘Princes du Nouvel Empire à Memphis,’” (in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1997), 99-101; 109, fig. 1-2.

described by Mariette, but at this point there is no way to determine with certainty that the fragment belongs to the same monument.²⁴

The Glyptotek piece depicts a young man or adolescent in the attire of a *sm-priest*, holding an unguent jar in his right hand and raising his left hand in a gesture of adoration. He wears a short round wig and a curled sidelock, and a leopard skin is wrapped around his shoulder. A king, presumably Amenhotep III, stands in front of him. Only the king's left shoulder and the back of his head are visible. The words "*sm*" and "[. . .]*ms*" are clearly readable in the remaining traces of text above the priest, lending support to the identification of this individual as Djhutmose.

Like the earlier image of prince Ahmose-Ankh with his family, this scene depicts the prince in a subordinate position to the king. It is impossible to tell from what remains of the Glyptotek fragment whether the prince's mother was present in the scene, but contemporary images of the royal family engaging in worship (i.e., from the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten) tended to portray the queen on a larger scale and in closer proximity to the king than the royal children (see, for example, the *ms.w ny-sw.t* with Amenhotep III and Tiye in the sed-festival scenes from the tomb of Kheruef²⁵).

The Glyptotek image has more in common with 19th Dynasty depictions of princes with their fathers than with the representation on the Donation Stele. Here the prince is depicted as a young adult or older child rather than a small child or infant. He is also an active participant in

²⁴ Ibid., 100.

²⁵ TT 192. See *PM I*, 299 (7).

the ritual activity that is taking place in the scene, probably echoing the actions of his father (as in the scene described by Mariette). In this respect, the scene also parallels other formal/semi-public images of female royal children engaged in worship alongside their parents. However, the type of ritual activity engaged in by female royal children tends to be restricted to the production of sacred music or appearing in procession in carrying chairs in the context of the *Sed* Festival.²⁶

²⁶Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 89-91.

I.4 – Relief of a Prince(?) from a Theban Temple (UC 14797)



Figure 3 – UC 14797. Thebes, probably from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hitan, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Sandstone, 17 cm. (width). The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. JPG, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#58081>. (Accessed June 16, 2015).

A fragmentary relief in the Petrie Collection dating to the reign of Amenhotep III may represent a prince.²⁷ The provenance of the relief is uncertain, but it is probably from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III. The fragment shows the head of a young man or a boy facing left, wearing a braided sidelock over what appears to be an *ibs* wig.²⁸ Traces of

²⁷ UC 14797. H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 4, pl. 3.6.

²⁸ For discussion of the *ibs* wig in royal portraits, see K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Warsaw: PWN – Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976), 20-22. The only attestations of this word discussed in the *Wörterbuch* (WB I, 64) date to the Ptolemaic Period, and are determined with an entirely different

hieroglyphs remain at the top of the scene; of these, a *k* and a *t* are clearly recognizable.

Stewart speculates that the prince represented may be the future Amenhotep IV, but gives no reason for this identification.²⁹ The older prince Djutmose may be a more likely candidate, as he is attested in numerous monuments – including at least one royal monument in which he is depicted in the company of his father (see I.3 above).

It is also possible that the figure represented here is not a prince at all, but *Iwn-mw.t=f*, an entity that has been variously interpreted as a type of mortuary priest, a form of Horus, or, more generally, a divinized/personified aspect of kingship.³⁰ The braided sidelock is an element of the iconography of the *Iwn-mw.t=f*.

type of headdress (identical to the *nemes*). However, the word *ibs* appears in the “Great Sphinx Stele” of Amenhotep II, where it is determined with the type of short, blunt-ended wig represented in I.3 and several other monuments discussed in this dissertation. See A. H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremhab,” *JEA* 39 (1953), 27, n. 5. This wig is also known in Egyptological literature as the “Libyan wig” or the “court wig” (see Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 20).

²⁹ Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, 4.

³⁰ For a discussion of the nature and significance of the *Iwn-mw.t=f*, see S. Gregory, “The Role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom Monuments of Thebes,” *BMSAES* 20 (2013), 25–46.

I.5 – Hermopolis Block of Tutankhaten (Hermopolis 831/VIIIC + 56/VIIIA)

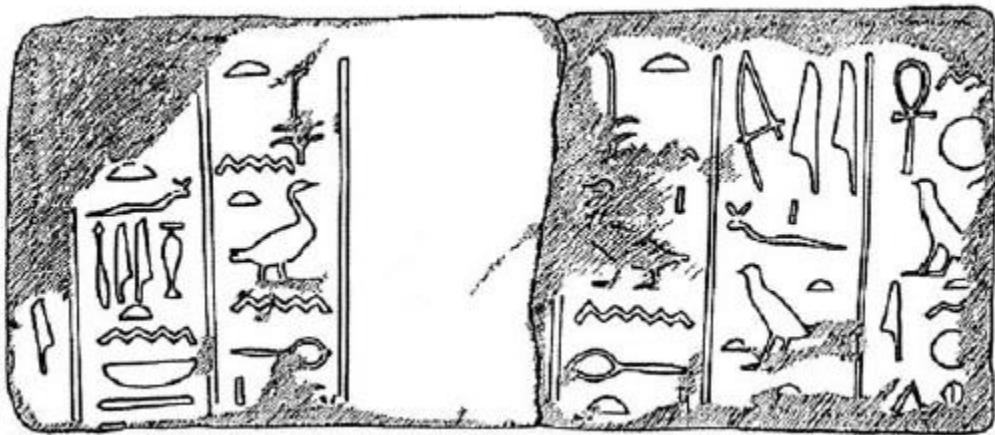


Figure 4 – Block inscribed with the names and epithets of Tutankhaten and a princess (possibly Ankhesenpaaten). Hermopolis, 18th Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten. Limestone, 23 cm h by 21 cm deep. Now probably in el-Ashmunein, Egypt. Image from J. Allen, “The Amarna Succession” (in Peter Brand and Louise Cooper, eds., *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, Leiden: Brill, 2009), Fig. 5 (after Gabolde).

Finally, the King’s Son Tutankhaten is named on a *talatat* block from Hermopolis alongside a King’s Daughter whose name is now lost, possibly Ankhesenpaaten. This is the only certain attestation of Tutankhamun that predates his kingship, although he has occasionally been tentatively identified as the royal infant represented in scenes depicting the death of a princess in the royal tomb at Amarna.³¹

³¹ Unfortunately, the text associated with those images is now lost; if they do depict a king’s son or grandson, then such a representation would be unique in the corpus of known royal art. M. Gabolde has argued for a restoration of Tutankhaten’s name in the now missing inscription based on earlier photographs and line drawings; see M. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon* (Lyon: Université Lumière-Lyon, 1998), 118-124. J. van Dijk has pointed out that Gabolde’s reconstruction is inconsistent with known contemporary writings of Tutankhaten’s name, and with the traces of text visible in G. Jéquier’s photographs. Van Dijk argues that the child is likely female, and further speculates (on the basis of his own reconstruction of the text) that she is none other than the regenerated ka of Meketaten herself (J. van Dijk, “The Death of Meketaten” in Brand, P. and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83-88).

The block naming Tutankhaten describes the prince as a *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f, mry=f* (“King’s Son of his Body, his beloved”), a title which seems to imply direct filiation with the king in question.³² However, as Allen has noted, this type of language (“of his body, his beloved”) was used during the Amarna period to refer to grandchildren as well as children of Akhenaten.³³

The block is inscribed with the name and titulary of Tutankhaten on the right side, to be read left to right, and the name and titulary of a princess (presumably Ankhesenpaaten) on the left, to be read right to left. This textual apposition suggests that the inscriptions were originally associated with figures of the two royal children, also facing one another and in close proximity.³⁴ I am unaware of the existence of any equivalent depiction of a male and female royal child together in the context of a royal monument. It is tempting to interpret this block as evidence that the prince and princess were already married before Tutankhamun’s accession, but without fuller context this is only speculation. The exact nature of the monument from which this block originally derived is also unknown, but stone construction was typically reserved for temples.

³² J. Allen, “The Amarna Succession” (in P. Brand and L. Cooper, eds., *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, Leiden: Brill, 2009), 15-17. Previously published in G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1969), pl. 105-106. A brief discussion and photograph of the recently rediscovered fragments of the block appears in Z. Hawass, “Newly Discovered Scenes of Tutankhamun from Memphis and Rediscovered Fragments from Hermopolis” (in A. Oppenheim and O. Goelet, eds., *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*, in press), 363, 366, fig. 7-8. I am indebted to Dr. Hawass and Dr. Oppenheim for sharing this article with me in advance of its publication.

³³ Allen, “The Amarna Succession,” 16.

The evidence presented here is too limited to draw many firm conclusions about the typical function of princes in the context of royal monuments during the 18th Dynasty. There is no clear pattern – each of these examples is markedly different from the others. This is a decided contrast to the situation in the 19th and 20th Dynasties, when royal sons repeatedly appear in specific roles in their fathers' monuments (in procession, participating in military campaigns, shadowing their fathers during ritual activity, etc.).

Except for the Hermopolis block with the name of Tutankhaten, for which the context is missing, each of these objects represents a prince participating in some way in the operation of a state cult. Ahmose-Ankh participates (albeit passively) with his parents in the endowment of his mother's priestly office(s) in the cult of Amun. Amenemhat is placed in charge of the cattle belonging to the temple of Amun at Karnak. Djhutmose is depicted as a priest, carrying out ritual activity for the Apis cult alongside his father. All three of these princes are given the title "King's Eldest Son."

Chapter 3: Category II – Monuments Belonging to Princes

Monuments and objects clearly belonging to or dedicated by royal sons of the 18th Dynasty are not common, but several examples have survived. Most fall under the heading of objects associated with burials (including human remains), although overall there is a dearth of evidence associated with the burials of royal children from this period – most of their tombs remain unknown. Of the roughly 30 attested 18th Dynasty princes, clearly identifiable physical remnants have been found from the burials of only 5 or 6 (not counting the four who went on to become kings).

Several royal children of the period were reinterred in the two major New Kingdom royal burial caches during the late 20th or early 21st Dynasty, indicating that they were originally buried somewhere in the Theban Necropolis. It is curious that most of their original tombs have not yet been found, but this may be explained by the fact that some of these children were apparently buried in the tombs of their fathers or in group burials with other members of the royal family. It is also likely that at least some 18th Dynasty princes were buried in as yet undiscovered tombs outside of Thebes (see further discussion below and in **Chapter 11**).

The remaining monuments of Category II consist of other types of funerary monuments (statues, stelae and, in the case of Wadimose, a small funerary temple), dedicatory monuments from temple settings, and a small number of graffiti apparently left by princes traveling abroad. All of the monuments presented in this chapter were either dedicated by princes (statues and

stelae from temple settings, graffiti) or created for princes as part of their burials or funerary cults.

Funerary monuments of princes are sometimes difficult to distinguish from monuments of **Category III** (monuments related to the cults of deified princes, see **Chapter 4**). However, monuments that were part of the regular funerary cult of a prince can usually be identified by the presence of formulaic offering texts on behalf of the deceased prince.

I have presented the monuments discussed here in the following order:

- a. Material associated with the burials of princes at Thebes, presented in chronological order (to the extent possible; some of these objects are difficult or impossible to date precisely)
- b. Other Theban monuments of princes, presented in chronological order
- c. Monuments of princes from areas outside of Thebes, presented in chronological order.

The rationale for this organizational scheme was to attempt to discern a pattern in the geographical distribution of princely monuments over the course of the 18th Dynasty.

Attestations of princes from the first half of the 18th Dynasty (until ca. the reign of Thutmose III) are almost entirely funerary in nature and largely restricted to the Theban Necropolis. From the middle of the 18th Dynasty on, other types of princely monuments become more common (statues and stelae from temple settings, graffiti, etc.), and there is evidence for princes living, working, and possibly being buried outside of Thebes.

a. Material Associated with the Tombs and Burials of Princes at Thebes

II.1 – Statue of Prince Ahmose A (Louvre E 15682)

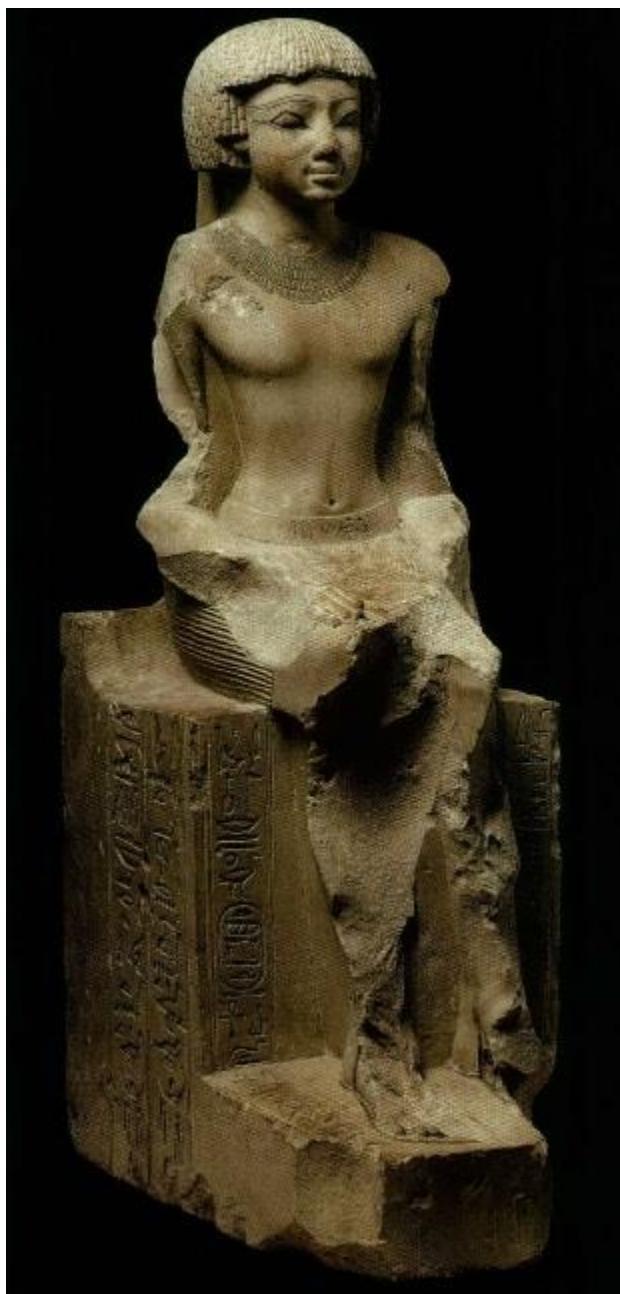


Figure 5 – Louvre E 15682. Statue of Ahmose A. Probably from Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes, Egypt. Now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. Limestone with pigment and traces of gold leaf, 1.035 m h. Late 17th Dynasty, reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a. Image from C. Barbotin, “Un intercesseur dynastique à l'aube du Nouvel Empire. La statue du prince Iâhmès,” *Revue du Louvre* 55 (2005), 20, fig. 1.

One of the earliest attested princes of the period is Ahmose Sapair, who may have belonged to the end of the 17th Dynasty rather than the beginning of the 18th.¹ However, given the uncertainty of his parentage and his importance in the milieu of the early 18th Dynasty (as well as the somewhat arbitrary nature of the division between these two periods), I will discuss him here.

The King's Son Ahmose Sapair was the subject of a local cult at Thebes that lasted for the entire duration of the New Kingdom. The earliest definite attestations of Ahmose Sapair can be dated to the early 18th Dynasty, and his close association with Amenhotep I in some of these early monuments suggests that Ahmose Sapair may have been a son of Amenhotep I.² He is also frequently assumed to be a son of Ahmose, for no particularly compelling reason beyond his name and the existence of roughly contemporary monuments.³

C. Vandersleyen has argued – primarily on art historical grounds – that Ahmose Sapair is the same individual represented in the curious Louvre statue of a prince Ahmose, son of Seqenenre Ta'a and Ahhotep.⁴ C. Barbotin supported Vandersleyen's conclusion in a recent publication of the statue.⁵

¹See C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair: fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682* (Bruxelles: Éditions Safran, 2005).

² H. Winlock, "Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," *JEA* 10 (1924), 223, n. 1; see also Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose," 91, n. 40.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Iahmès Sapair*, passim. Also suggested previously in C. Vandersleyen, "L'identité d'Ahmès Sapair", *SAK* 10 (1983), 311-324.

⁵ C. Barbotin, "Un intercesseur dynastique à l'aube du Nouvel Empire. La statue du prince Iâhmès," *Revue du Louvre* 55 (2005), 19-28.

The limestone statue, currently residing in the Louvre under the catalog number E 15682, is an enigmatic object. The exact provenance is unknown, but it may have come from Dra Abu el-Naga. Winlock assumed that it originally came from the tomb of the prince represented in the statue.⁶ The statue is unusually large (1.035 m high) and the quality of craftsmanship is very high for the period (late 17th Dynasty).⁷ Vandersleyen has pointed out that the statue would be roughly life-size if it represented a child of about six, the apparent age-at-death of the mummy of Sapair.⁸ However, beyond the statue's size and generically youthful facial features (large eyes and soft, rounded jawline, cheeks and lips), there is little about the object that suggests a child.⁹

The statue depicts a young man with an idealized figure and slim waist. He wears a short, finely pleated kilt. The left hand is missing, but the right hand rests on his thigh palm-downward, with the fingers straight. Remaining traces suggest that the left hand was in a similar position. He wears a short, blunt, tightly-curled *ibis* wig and a delicately incised broad-collar with falcon-headed terminals. Both feet are damaged, but the remains of sandals are clearly visible on both. The collar and sandals bear traces of gold leaf, and a small hole drilled at the back of the prince's wig suggests that a diadem made of some precious metal might have been affixed to the head at one time.¹⁰

⁶ Winlock, "Tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty Kings," 255.

⁷ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 14.

⁸ Ibid., 17.

⁹ High-quality images are published in Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, and Barbotin, "Un intercesseur dynastique."

¹⁰ Barbotin, "Un intercesseur dynastique," 24.

The text on the statue makes it clear that it is a funerary representation. The inscriptions are unusual in several respects. First, this statue represents a rare case in which the filial relationship between a specific king and a royal son is clearly expressed, and perhaps the only non-literary textual source in which a king directly addresses a specific royal child.¹¹ In fact, several members of the prince's family are represented in the text: his father, Seqenenre Ta'a; his mother, Ahhotep; and two sisters, both named Ahmose.¹²

The statue is inscribed with a combination of standard offering formulae and a series of invocations to the deceased on behalf of the donors of the statue, all members of the prince's family. The latter texts follow the formula "It is [titles and PN] who causes his name to live," in some cases followed by a request for assistance from the deceased. These texts are as follows:

On the throne by the prince's right leg: *in ntr nfr nb t3.wy s3 R^c (T^c3)| di ‘nh d.t s‘nh rn=f ir=k n=f smw nfr m-hr.t hrw*

"It is the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re Ta'a, given life eternally, who causes his name to live. May you do good assistance for him daily."

On the back of the throne, rightmost column: *in ntr nfr s3 R^c (T^c3)| ‘nh d.t s‘nh rn=f*

"It is the Good God, Son of Re Ta'a, given life, who causes his name to live."

On the back of the throne, leftmost column: *in s3.t ny-sw.t wr.t hnm(.t) nfr hd T^ch-htp <s>‘nh rn=f*

¹¹ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 14.

¹² For a full publication of the text with line drawings, see Barbotin, "Un intercesseur dynastique," 21-23.

“It is the King’s Eldest Daughter, who is united with the perfection of the White Crown, Ahhotep who causes his name to live.”

On the right side of the throne: *in sn.t=f s^cn_h rn=f s³.t ny-sw.t wr.t T^ch-ms ir=k n=s smw nb nfr m hr.t-ntr s³.t ny-sw.t T^ch-ms*

“It is his sister who causes his name to live, (namely) the King’s Eldest Daughter Ahmose. May you do for her every good assistance in the necropolis. The King’s Daughter Ahmose.”

On the left side of the throne: *in sn.t=f s^cn_h rn=f s³.t ny-sw.t T^ch-ms cⁿh.ti ir=k n=s smw nb nfr m hr.t-ntr s³.t ny-sw.t T^ch-ms cⁿh.ti*

“It is his sister who causes his name to live, the King’s Daughter Ahmose, who lives. May you do for her every good assistance in the necropolis. The King’s Daughter Ahmose, who lives.”

The rest of the inscriptions on the statue comprise the name and titles of the prince and standard offering formulae. The prince’s belt is inscribed *s³ ny-sw.t T^ch-ms* (“King’s Son Ahmose”). The two offering formulae are as follows:

On the throne beside the prince’s left leg: *htp di ny-sw.t Pth Wsir di=sn pr.t hrw t hn_k.t k³.w 3pd.w hr.t nb.t nfr.t [n k³ n s³ ny-sw.t T^ch-ms m³c hrw]*

“An offering which the king gives to Ptah and Osiris, that they might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, and every good thing [for the Ka of the King’s Son Ahmose, true-of-voice].”

On the back of the throne, central column: *htp di ny-sw.t Pth Skry Wsir di=sn pr.t hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w hr.t nb.t nfr.t nh.t ntr im=sn n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t smsw T'h-ms m3c hrw*

“An offering which the king gives to Ptah, Sokar and Osiris, that they might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, and all good things by which a god lives, for the Ka of the King’s Eldest Son Ahmose, true-of-voice.”

Barbotin argues on the basis of these texts that the statue is essentially a “letter to the dead in three dimensions,” a royal appropriation of a private tradition.¹³ A reciprocal relationship between the deceased prince and his family is clearly described in the inscriptions: his parents and sisters maintain his funerary cult, and in exchange the prince is to offer aid and protection both in life and death. While this falls into the realm of traditional expectations for a son in ancient Egyptian society, documentation of royal sons playing such a role – i.e., as an intercessor for living family members after death – is quite rare.

Further adding to the exceptional nature of this monument is a curious feature highlighted in Barbotin’s study. Several holes were drilled into the statue at various points, connecting “mobile elements” (arms, hands) to “fixed elements” (torso, thighs, throne) and pigmented with red paint. The arms, legs, hands and feet were later intentionally destroyed.¹⁴ Barbotin speculates that these modifications were made in an effort to magically control the spirit of the deceased prince, which at some indeterminate point in time must have gained a reputation as a potentially hostile or dangerous entity.¹⁵

¹³ Barbotin, “Un intercesseur dynastique,” 24.

¹⁴ “Un intercesseur dynastique,” 19; 24-26.

¹⁵ Ibid., 26.

If Vandersleyen and Barbotin are correct in identifying the Ahmose of this statue with Ahmose Sapair, then the statue may shed some light on Ahmose Sapair's later prominence as a cultic figure in the Thebaid (and beyond) during the New Kingdom. The prince of the Louvre statue was revered by his immediate family as a powerful spirit capable of acting as an intercessor on behalf of the custodians of his funerary cult. It is unclear when the modifications to the statue were made. Barbotin speculates that this could have happened as late as the Third Intermediate Period, by which time the tomb of Ahmose Sapair was presumably destroyed (or at least plundered).¹⁶ Such a date would correspond well with the disappearance of the cult of Ahmose Sapair at Thebes, ca. the 21st Dynasty.

Barbotin has suggested that the epithet Sapair was given to the prince posthumously, in reference to his role as a venerated ancestral spirit.¹⁷ The meaning of Sapair is itself uncertain. Barbotin suggests “The Son Who Acts,” i.e., as an intercessor, and further proposes that *s(3)-p(3)-(i)r* could be read as a pun on *spr* (“petition”; “request”).¹⁸ However, Barbotin’s interpretation would require a grammatically questionable reading of the name.¹⁹ A. Zivie read the name as *s3-p3-ir(.t)*, “Son of the Eye (of Horus)” – a reading that Barbotin deemed problematic for the disagreement between the masculine article *p3* and the feminine word *ir.t*.²⁰ This objection is undermined by the fact that in practice the word *ir.t* could be treated as either masculine or feminine.²¹

¹⁶ Ibid., 26.

¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Barbotin does acknowledge this issue; see ibid., p. 26 and n. 38.

²⁰ A. Zivie, “Fragments inscrits conservés à Karnak-Nord,” *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 77-78, n. 3.

²¹ *WB* I, 106:9.

Vandersleyen reads the name as “The Son of the One Who Acts.”²² This interpretation of the epithet emphasizes the relationship between Ahmose Sapair and his father (putatively Seqenenre). Vandersleyen finds particular significance in the use of the article *p3*, which was frequently used in royal epithets in the late 17th and early 18th Dynasty to lend weight or importance to the word which it modified. Thus “*p3-ir*” could be read as “le (fameux) homme d’action,” a suitable epithet for one of the great heroes of the Theban-Hyksos war and in keeping with several attested epithets of Seqenenre and other contemporary rulers (e.g. Kamose).²³

It is also possible that *p3-ir* refers to a divine father (perhaps Amun or Re). If the Ahmose of the Louvre statue was an intended heir to the throne, a claim of divine parentage would not be surprising. As discussed in **Chapter 9**, the use of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“King’s Eldest Son”) does not seem to have been associated with heir status during the 18th Dynasty. However, this monument belongs to the end of the 17th Dynasty, and the conventions that would govern the use of princely titles during the 18th Dynasty may not have been fully developed at this point.

Vandersleyen’s identification of the Louvre prince with Ahmose Sapair is based largely on comparisons to near-contemporary depictions of Ahmose Sapair on votive stelae.²⁴ Two early stelae, which Vandersleyen dates to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, depict a prince in an iconographically and stylistically similar fashion to the prince of the Louvre statue. Both of

²² Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 31.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 23-24.

these stelae also refer to the prince as “*Iḥ-ms dd (n)=f S3-p3-ir*,” confirming that Sapair was an epithet rather than a given name. A third stele of the same period, with an inscription but no surviving image, writes the name in the same fashion.²⁵

Both of the decorated stelae, CG 34004 (**III.11**) and UC 14219 (**III.1**), depict the prince as a young man, with no obvious markers of childhood – much like the Louvre statue. In both stelae, he wears an *ibis* wig, broad collar and kilt, but no sandals. The Cairo stele depicts the prince in the mode of a venerated deceased person, grasping a lotus in his right hand and a folded cloth in his left.

Vandersleyen points out a similarity between the facial features of Ahmose Sapair as depicted on the Cairo stele (**III.11**) and those of the prince represented by the Louvre statue: both images depict a young man or boy with large eyes, high, slanted eyebrows, fleshy cheeks and a soft nasolabial crease.²⁶ Identifying individuals in Egyptian art on the basis of apparently individualized features is difficult, however – note, for example, the tendency during the mid-late 12th Dynasty and the Amarna Period of modeling the facial characteristics of other individuals on those of the reigning king. It is tempting to see a connection between Ahmose Sapair and the Louvre prince, but the evidence supporting this connection is equivocal.

A similarly tenuous theory has been put forward by C. Bennett to account for Ahmose Sapair’s uniquely prominent position as a venerated ancestor. Bennett proposed that Ahmose

²⁵ Ibid., 23. The stelae in question are Cario CG 34004, University College 14219, and Karnak North 95 (Vandersleyen’s documents 1, 19 and 15, respectively).

²⁶ Ibid., 23.

Sapair was the father of Thutmose I, making Thutmose I a collateral successor to Amenhotep I.²⁷

Like Vandersleyen and Barbotin, Bennett also proposes that Ahmose Sapair was likely to have been a child of Seqenenre Ta'a and Ahhotep. However, he argues that Ahmose Sapair would have been a younger brother of Ahmose I, and the heir of his nephew Amenhotep I in the event that the latter did not produce a child.²⁸ Bennett concludes that since Amenhotep I apparently did not produce an heir, it would make sense for a son of this theoretical uncle to fill that role. As a result, the putative “Ahmose-X” “would be the genealogical link between the later kings of the 18th dynasty and the dynastic founder, and would therefore very likely be regarded as a royal ancestor in later times.”²⁹

The greatest problem with Bennett’s theory about the paternity of Thutmose I is the existence of a child mummy, reburied in the Deir el-Bahri cache during the 21st Dynasty, labeled “[Ahmose Sa]pai[r]”.³⁰ Bennett concludes that the mummy was misidentified by the 21st Dynasty priests, and that it perhaps belonged to yet another son of Seqenenre Ta'a named Ahmose (despite the fact that the surviving text preserves part of the epithet “Sapair,” rather than the name Ahmose).³¹ Here we enter highly speculative territory. Bennett’s major objection to the identification of the mummy as Ahmose Sapair is that the prince’s possible status as a

²⁷ C. Bennett, “Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapaïr,” *GM* 141 (1994): 35-37.

²⁸ Ibid., 36.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ The mummy is CG 61064, the coffin CG 61007. Coffin published in G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*. CGC 21 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1909), 9-10, pl. X. Mummy published in G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies*. CGC 72 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1912), 22-25, pl. XIX.

³¹ Bennett, “Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapaïr,” 36-37.

deceased heir to the throne would be “inadequate” to explain his later prominence as a cultic figure.³² However, this is hardly sufficient grounds for rejecting the identity of the prince as assigned by the priests who reinterred the body. Nor is there any clear indication in the historical record of any connection between Ahmose Sapair and Thutmose I.³³

As of yet, there remains no particularly satisfactory explanation for Ahmose Sapair’s later importance. His role as the subject of a private cult at Thebes will be discussed further below. Contemporary monuments belonging to Ahmose Sapair are comparatively scarce. Although his tomb has not been identified, historical and archaeological evidence point to a location somewhere in the vicinity of Dra Abu el-Naga.

Ahmose Sapair was evidently buried in his own pyramid tomb (as opposed to sharing a burial with a parent), a fact which is indicated in the Abbott Tomb Robbery Papyrus. According to the Abbott account, the pyramid tomb of a “*ny-sw.t Th-ms S3-p3-ir*” was among those in the Dra abu el-Naga area inspected and found intact.³⁴ The name and epithet of the prince are enclosed in a cartouche and followed by divine determinatives. The reasons behind the scribe’s erroneous description of Ahmose Sapair as a “king” are unclear. Winlock suggests that the scribe of the P. Abbott account may have been working from a written report containing a scribal error of “*ny-sw.t*” for “*s3 ny-sw.t*;” or, alternatively, the 20th Dynasty scribes were confused by a possible late 17th/early 18th Dynasty tradition of occasionally giving princes the

³² Ibid., 36.

³³ See, for example, discussion in B. van Assche, “Ahmose Sapair: Discussing the Identity of a Deified Prince,” JSSEA 37 (2010), 120-121.

³⁴ P. Abbott 3, 13. T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 38, pl. II.

royal title *s3 Rˁ* (“Son of Re”). Winlock cites a near-contemporary seal of the early 18th Dynasty prince Siamun containing the *s3 Rˁ* title, speculating that the scribes of the Abbott account may have been confused by a similar writing of Ahmose Sapair’s name.³⁵ However, Winlock’s identification of this individual as the prince Siamun as opposed to a 17th dynasty king has been called into question, and there is no other evidence for the use of *s3 Rˁ* by princes during the 18th Dynasty.³⁶

II.2 – Pyramidion and Ushabtis of Prince Ahmose

A fragmentary pyramidion belonging to a “King’s Son Ahmose” was discovered at Dra Abu el-Naga in the late 19th century, as well as a pair of fragmentary ushabtis.³⁷ They were part of a “series of miscellaneous objects found in the mummy pits and the rubbish above them,” apparently in or near the tomb of Djehuty (*temp. Hatshepsut*).³⁸

³⁵ Winlock, “Tombs of the Seventeenth Dynasty Kings,” 223.

³⁶ See further discussion below.

³⁷ Northampton (Marquis of), W. Spiegelberg and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1908), 18 (item 20) and Pl. XVII, 8.

³⁸ Ibid., 17.

II.2.a – Pyramidion of Ahmose A?/Ahmose Sapair?

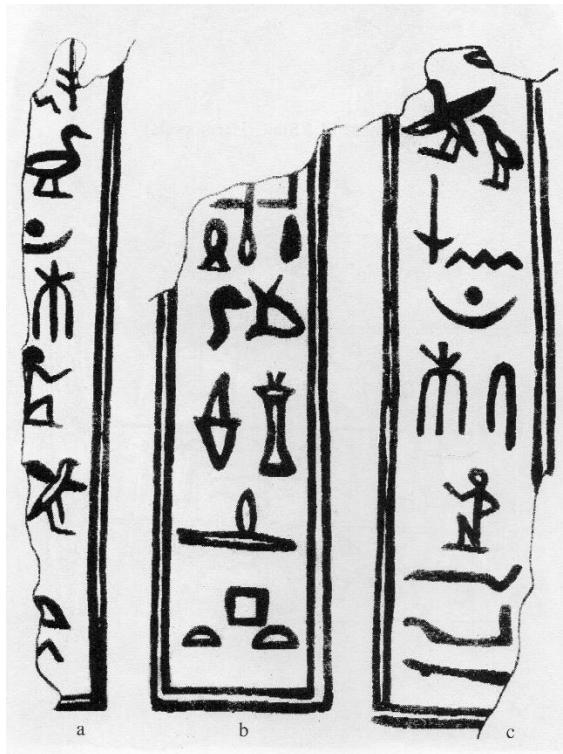


Figure 6 – Copy of texts from the pyramidion of Ahmose A. From Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes, Egypt. Current location unknown. Material and dimensions unknown. Late 17th-early 18th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 69 (doc. 13).

It is not entirely clear that these objects did in fact belong to the burial of Ahmose Sapair, since the “Sapair” epithet is missing from the preserved inscriptions. However, the fragmentary text on the pyramidion contains phrases evocative of this distinctive epithet, perhaps providing another clue to the origin of the name.³⁹ The prince is described as “[. . .] *s3 ny-sw.t Ṭh-ms p3(?) ir.n[. . .]*” and later “[. . .] *p3 irw ny-sw.t Ṭh-ms m3c hrw*” – “[. . .] the king’s son Ahmose, whom [. . .] made;” “[. . .] the one whom the king engendered, Ahmose, true of voice.”

³⁹ C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 32.

II.2.b – Various ushabtis of Ahmose A?/Ahmose-Sapair

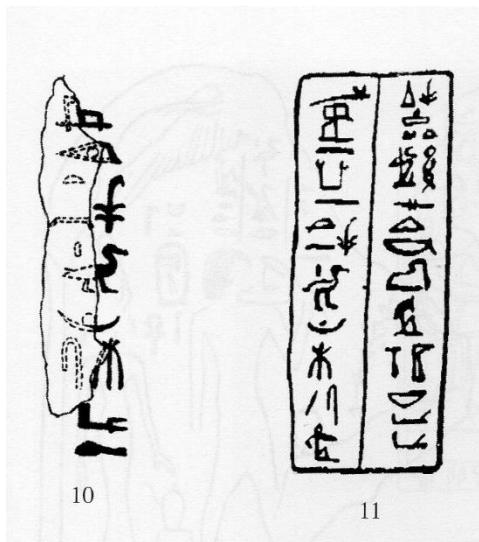


Figure 7 – Texts from ushabtis naming a King's Son Ahmose. From Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes, Egypt. Current location unknown. The inscription at left is from a wooden ushabti, coated with plaster and painted, about 24 cm long. The inscription at right is from an unpainted wooden ushabti, about 13 cm long. Late 17th/Early 18th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *lahmès Sapair*, 69 (docs. 10 and 11).

The descriptions of the Ahmose ushabtis in the publication by Northampton et al. are somewhat more detailed than that of the pyramidion, but no photographs are included.⁴⁰ The larger and more elaborate of the pair is a painted mummiform figure wearing a long wig and broad collar, with the torso and limbs enveloped in a white shroud encircled by yellow bands. The wig and broad collar are painted green, while the face is painted yellow. The text (pictured above at left, fig. 7) is painted on a vertical yellow band down the front and center of the torso. The text reads *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t T^h-ms m3c hrw* ("The Osiris, the King's Son Ahmose, true-of-voice").

⁴⁰ Report on Some Excavations, 31-32, nos. 11 and 16.

The second Ahmose ushabti from this context is smaller and simpler in its design. It is unpainted, decorated only with a hieratic text consisting of an offering formula: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Pth Skr*⁴¹ *Wsir ntr s3 nb Dd(.w)* (2) <di>=f pr.t hrw n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t T^h-ms

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Ptah, Sokar and Osiris, great god, Lord of Busiris, (2) that he might <give> invocation offerings for the Ka of the King’s Son Ahmose.”

Other contemporary ushabtis from the same area include the epithet Sapair in their inscriptions; at least one example was found in the very early 18th Dynasty tomb of Tetiky (TT 15).⁴² Newberry’s description of the context of this object (or set of objects) is quite limited. The Sapair ushabti was among several (inscribed with various personal names) found in niches in the west wall of the courtyard of the tomb of Tetiky.⁴³ The ushabtis were placed inside the niches in miniature sarcophagi made of various materials. Newberry does not specify whether the title *s3 ny-sw.t* was found on the Sapair ushabti.

Recent excavations by the Djehuty Project, under the direction of J. M. Galán of the CSIC, have uncovered further material in the same area that is inscribed with the name of Ahmose Sapair. The Djehuty Project’s 2013 excavations in the courtyard of Djehuty’s tomb revealed the uninscribed coffin of a child, apparently dating to the late 17th or early 18th Dynasty, and several ushabtis and scraps of linen inscribed with the name of Ahmose Sapair.⁴⁴ It

⁴¹ Written *Srk*.

⁴² P. Newberry, “The Funerary Statuettes from the Tomb of Teta-Ky” (in Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, ed., *Five Years’ Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*, London: Oxford University Press, 1912), 20.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁴ Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. “XII campaña del Proyecto Djehuty.” Communication, April 3rd 2013. Accessed at http://documenta.wi.csic.es/alfresco/downloadpublic/direct/workspace/SpacesStore/e1a25599-1cf9-4dab-9b7f-6687b29c254c/03abril2013_DOCUMENTACION_2013.pdf on August 30, 2013.

is unclear as of yet whether there is any connection between the burial of the child and the ushabtis – the plain, undecorated coffin is unlikely to have belonged to a royal child, especially one with Ahmose Sapair's apparent status. It is also notable that the texts on the ushabtis and textiles do not contain the title *s3 ny-sw.t*. Furthermore, the name Ahmose is written with the moon sign facing downward, suggesting that this material was produced some time after Ahmose Sapair's death. Further excavation is needed to clarify the connection (if any) between the ushabtis and the child burial; whether or not the Ahmose Sapair named on this material is the prince or a non-royal individual of the same name; and if the ushabtis are possibly votive objects relating to Ahmose Sapair's later status as a cult figure rather than standard burial equipment.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ J. M. Galán, personal communication, August 30, 2013.

II.3 – The Mummy and Coffin of Sapair (CG 61064 and CG 61007)



Figure 8 – CG 61007. Coffin of Ahmose Sapair. Discovered at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes (TT 320); original provenance uncertain. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The coffin may date to the mid-late 18th Dynasty. Sycamore wood with pitch or resin, original precious metal embellishments now removed. 1.22 m high by 40 cm wide (at shoulders). Image from G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*. CGC 21 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909), pl. X.

A coffin and mummy⁴⁶ apparently belonging to Ahmose Sapair were reburied in the royal cache at Deir el-Bahari (TT 320) in the 21st Dynasty, along with other royal mummies originally buried at Dra Abu el-Naga. The mummy has been identified on the basis of a heavily damaged inscription, of which only the partial epithet [S3-]p3-i[r] survives.⁴⁷ Although Vandersleyen believes that this is the prince's original coffin,⁴⁸ Dodson points out that it "is wholly dissimilar to those of Amosis and Siamun A, and has much more in common with examples of the Tuthmoside period."⁴⁹ The coffin is of the black and gold type that became popular in the mid-late 18th Dynasty, while the facial features are strongly suggestive of the late Thutmoside style that emerged during the reign of Thutmose IV and reached maturity under Amehotep III. The badly damaged mummy is that of a small child, perhaps 5-6 years old.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ CG 61007 and 61064, respectively.

⁴⁷ Daressy, *Cercueils*, 9-10.

⁴⁸ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 32.

⁴⁹ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose", 92, n. 43.

⁵⁰ G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 24-25; Pl. XIX.

II.4 – The Mummy and Coffin of Siamun A (CG 61059 and CG 61008)



Figure 9 – CG 61008. Coffin of Siamun A. Discovered at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes (TT320); original provenance uncertain, possibly Dra Abu el-Naga. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Early 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Ahmose. Cedar wood with paint, inlays and gold leaf now missing. 1.65 m high by 45 cm wide (maximum width). Image from G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*. CGC 21 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909), pl. IX.

The prince Siamun (A), who was a near-contemporary of Ahmose Sapair, may also have been buried in the Dra Abu el-Naga cemetery. Siamun died as a child, and his body was reinterred in the TT 320 cache in a coffin very similar in style to that of Ahmose I.⁵¹ Circumstantial evidence suggests that Siamun may have been a son of Ahmose – namely, the nearly identical appearance of their coffins and the presence of Siamun alongside Ahmose and other members of Ahmose’s family in later scenes relating to the cult of the early 18th Dynasty royal family.⁵²

A brief text on the foot of the coffin identifies the prince as *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t (S3-Imn) m3c-hrw* (“The Osiris, King’s Son Siamun, true-of-voice”). Note that Siamun’s name is written in a cartouche. However, this seems to have been an addition by the 21st Dynasty priests who reburied the prince.⁵³ Also of note is the fact that a hieratic docket on the mummy’s bandages seems to identify him as a *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“King’s Eldest Son”). This reading is uncertain.⁵⁴

II.5 – Stamp Seal of “Son of Re, Siamun”

In 1858, Auguste Mariette discovered a pair of limestone stamp seals of nearly identical workmanship at Dra Abu el-Naga, one inscribed with the name (*Skn-n-R*) and the other with

⁵¹ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 91. The coffin is CG 61008, published in Daressy, *Cercueils*, 10, pl. IX. The mummy, CG 61059, consists essentially of a disarticulated skeleton; see Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 18 (no illustration).

⁵² See, e.g., the depiction of the Lords of the West from the tomb of Inherkhau (TT359).

⁵³ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 91, n. 37.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 91.

(*S3 Rˁ S3-Inn*)|.⁵⁵ While the use of the epithet *s3 Rˁ*, along with the enclosure of the name in a cartouche, seemingly indicates kingship, a king of this name is otherwise unattested. Winlock speculated that the Siamun seal belonged to a custodian of the prince Siamun's tomb, which was presumably located somewhere in Dra Abu el-Naga.⁵⁶

K. Ryholt theorized that, given the Siamun seal's similarity to the Seqenenre seal, the former was more likely to belong to a roughly contemporary king. Ryholt suggested that Siamun was the otherwise unattested nomen of Seqenenre's predecessor Senakhtenre.⁵⁷ However, two recently discovered inscriptions from the Temple of Ptah at Karnak have since demonstrated that Senakhtenre's nomen was Ahmose.⁵⁸

If the seal did belong to a prince named Siamun, the use of the *s3 Rˁ* title remains an unexplained anomaly. Winlock suggested that it may have been a title granted to the heir to the throne during this period, although he offers no other examples (except the hypothetical *S3 Rˁ Th-ms S3-p3-ir*).⁵⁹ The cartouche for princes is attested in other contexts, however – the 21st Dynasty priests who reburied Siamun inscribed his name on his coffin within a cartouche (although it was originally written without one), and his name also appears in a cartouche in Ramesside depictions of the Lords of the West.⁶⁰ A hieratic inscription on Siamun's bandages

⁵⁵ A. Mariette and G. Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie par Auguste Mariette-Bey* (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1872), 17; pl. 52.

⁵⁶ Winlock, "Tombs of Kings," 223.

⁵⁷ K. S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997), 280.

⁵⁸ S. Biston-Moulin, "Le roi Sénekht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVIIe dynastie" *ENIM* 5 (2012), 61-71.

⁵⁹ Winlock, "Tombs of Kings," 223 n. 4.

⁶⁰ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 91, n. 37.

may be read “*s3 ny-sw.t smsw*,” which has been taken by Dodson to mean that at least for a time he held the position of heir to the throne.⁶¹

II.6 – The Burial of Prince Amenemhat B (MMA 1021 and Associated Material)



Figure 10 – MMA 19.3.207. Coffin of Prince Amenemhat with associated offerings. Thebes, Asasif, Cliff Tomb MMA 1021, coffin ca. 19th-20th Dynasty, original burial ca. early-mid 18th Dynasty. Painted wood with stucco and gesso, 104.4 cm by 30.6 cm by 35.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Photograph by Megaera Lorenz, May 2015.

⁶¹ Ibid. However, see **Chapter 9** for my discussion of the significance of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the 18th Dynasty.



Figure 11 – MMA 19.3.210. Pectoral buried with Prince Amenemhat depicting Amenhotep I with bound captives. Thebes, Asasif, Cliff Tomb MMA 1021, ca. late 18th Dynasty-20th Dynasty. Painted wood, 11 cm by 8.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Photograph by Megaera Lorenz, May 2015.

At least one prince was probably buried in a tomb in the cliffs at Deir el-Bahri during the early-mid 18th Dynasty (MMA 1021). The mummy of an infant, approximately one year of age at

death, was found outside the small, undecorated tomb.⁶² The mummy had clearly been rewrapped after the original plundering of the tomb, and was buried in a repurposed coffin (MMA 19.3.207a, b) with the prince's name (Amenemhat) roughly painted over that of the original owner. The excavator of the tomb and mummy, A. Lansing, thought that the coffin belonged stylistically to the 22nd Dynasty.⁶³ In fact, the coffin appears more likely to belong to the Ramesside period, and MMA copy currently dates it to the 20th-21st Dynasty.⁶⁴ To make matters more confusing, the text on the coffin seems to describe the owner as a *ny-sw.t bi.ty*, *nb t3.wy* ("King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands").⁶⁵

The full text reads: *dd mdw in Wsir ny-sw.t bi.ty nb t3.wy Imn-m-h3.t m3c hrw h3y mw.t(=i) Nw.t p(s)s=t <two unclear horizontal signs> hr=i* ("Recitation by the Osiris, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Amenemhat, true-of-voice: O⁶⁶ (my) mother Nut, may you stretch yourself over me"). This is an incomplete version of a prayer that originally occurred in the Pyramid Texts (as part of PT 368), eventually entering the corpus of

⁶² A. Lansing, "Excavations at Thebes, 1918-19." *BMMA* 15 (1920): 4-12.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁴ MMA Collection Online, "Coffin, reused for Prince Amenemhat," <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545660> (accessed 11/17/2014). See also W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Vol. 2, The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 52.

⁶⁵ Lansing, "Excavations at Thebes," 9.

⁶⁶ Written here as the verb *h3y*, "descend."

New Kingdom funerary texts as BD 178.⁶⁷ It is attested on several other New Kingdom coffins.

See, for example, the 18th Dynasty coffin of Henut-wedjebu.⁶⁸

The mummy itself had been badly damaged during the plundering of the tomb in antiquity, and was rewrapped, presumably when it was interred in the new coffin. A large wooden shield-shaped pectoral (MMA 19.3.210) was placed on the mummy's chest. The pectoral is decorated with a scene of Amenhotep I grasping a pair of foreign captives, one Nubian and one Asiatic, by the hair. Lansing, incorrectly assigning this object to the early 18th Dynasty on the basis of style, assumed that it belonged to the original burial equipment of the prince.⁶⁹ In fact, the pectoral is more likely to have originated in the 19th-20th Dynasty, and was probably contemporary with the coffin.⁷⁰

The presence of the pectoral led both Lansing and, later, W. Hayes, to believe that the prince was a son of Amenhotep I. Hayes further proposed, on the basis of the coffin's inscription, that the child was briefly a king, perhaps a coregent of his father.⁷¹ G. Robins has disputed these hypotheses. First, the representation of Amenhotep I on the pectoral does not necessarily indicate a filial relationship between Amenhotep I and the child, especially given the deceased Amenhotep I's special status as a deified patron of the Theban Necropolis. Second,

⁶⁷ For discussion of this passage in the context of the Pyramid Texts, see H. Hays, "The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and its Continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2006), 113-114. The deceased takes on the role of Osiris, the eldest son of Nut, who offers her protection in the form of "spreading herself over" him.

⁶⁸ Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis, no. 2292. Published in A. Kozloff and B. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 312-317.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁰ Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 52.

⁷¹ Ibid., 52.

the inscription on the coffin describing the owner as a king could be the result of scribal error – possibly resulting from incomplete copying of a text on the original burial equipment linking the mummy filially to a king.⁷²

Despite these misgivings, Robins agreed with Lansing and Hayes that the mummy was probably that of a royal child. The location of the tomb near royal monuments at Deir el-Bahri, the re-interment of the mummy after plundering, the inscription on the coffin indicating a royal connection, and the presence of mummified meats in the vicinity of the tomb all point to a royal burial.⁷³ Robins suggested that this infant prince might be identified with Thutmose III's son Amenemhat (mentioned in a text from Thutmose III's festival hall at Karnak, see discussion in section I).⁷⁴ Dodson pointed out in his survey of 18th Dynasty royal sons that the extreme youth of the deceased prince seems at odds with his appointment to an administrative office.⁷⁵

II.7 – Inscriptions of Prince Mery[amun] in TT 22

A shift in burial practices for royal sons apparently took place sometime during the early-middle years of the 18th Dynasty. Specifically, from this point on, there is little evidence to suggest that princes continued to be buried in their own tombs within the Theban Necropolis. This change may have corresponded to the establishment of the royal necropolis in the Valley of the Kings or an increase in the number of princes living, working and possibly also being buried outside of Thebes. Few, if any, independent princely burials are clearly attested from the

⁷² G. Robins, "Amenhotep I and the Child Amenemhat," *GM* 30 (1978), 72-74.

⁷³ Ibid., 74. See also Lansing, "Excavations," 8.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose," 96, n. 81.

latter half of the 18th Dynasty, and most of the princes whose ultimate resting places are known were buried with their fathers or other relatives.⁷⁶

An anomalous example is the burial of the otherwise unattested prince named *Mry-[Imn]*. This prince, who apparently died as an adult, partially usurped TT 22, the T-shaped rock-cut painted tomb of a royal butler named *W3ḥ*.⁷⁷ Although the tomb was probably built during the reign of Thutmose III, it is difficult to estimate when exactly the usurpation took place. However, the defacement of the prince's name indicates a date before the Amarna period, so Mery[amun] can be placed somewhere between the reigns of Thutmose III and Akhenaten.

Mery[amun]'s name and titles appear only twice in the tomb. Both instances are in the text associated with two scenes on the narrow west wall⁷⁸ of the tomb chapel, depicting the deceased fishing and fowling with his family in the top register, and overseeing the harvest of grapes and the preparation of fowl in the lower register. Wah's name and titles were painted over and Mery[amun]'s were inserted in their place.⁷⁹ Both texts are published by R. Mond.⁸⁰ The text associated with the fishing and fowling scene reads *s3 ny-sw.t [. . .] ny-sw.t wḥb ḥ.wy mr.y nb t3.wy [. . .]* ("King's Son [. . . of the?] king, pure of hands, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands [. . .]"). The first lacuna, as represented in Mond's transcription, appears too small to contain the prince's name. In Siegfried Schott's unpublished photograph of the scene, there

⁷⁶ For further discussion of 18th Dynasty princely burial practices, see **Chapter 11**.

⁷⁷ *PM I:1*, 37-38. A plan and the texts mentioning the prince were published by R. Mond, "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904," *ASAE* 6 (1905), 75. Mond believed that the tomb had originally belonged to Mery[amun], and was later usurped by Wah.

⁷⁸ According to the plan in *PM I:1*, 30; curiously, Mond's plan depicts a different orientation for the tomb which would place the same wall to the north.

⁷⁹ D. Polz, "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole," *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 304.

⁸⁰ "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes," 75.

appears to be an *n* beneath the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, with no obvious lacuna between the *n* at the bottom of the first column and the words *ny-sw.t w^cb* at the top of the next.⁸¹

In the lower register, the tomb owner sits in a baldachin overseeing his vineyards and the trapping and preparation of birds. Mery[amun]’s name has been inserted into the text surrounding the figure of the tomb owner: *shm(h)-ib m33 snfr sd3-hr m k3.t sh.tyw sh.t 3pd.w in s3 ny-sw.t Mry[-Imn]*

“Taking pleasure in seeing beautification, taking amusement from the work of the fishermen and the netting of birds by the King’s Son Mery[amun].”

Porter and Moss describe Mery[amun] as an “Eldest son of the King.”⁸² However, it is unclear from either of the surviving mentions of Mery[amun] that his titles include *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*. Porter and Moss also mention that the name of his wife, *H3.t-šps.t*, appears in the tomb, but do not specify where.⁸³

It is surprising that a King’s Son (especially if he was, as Porter and Moss claim, an Eldest King’s Son) would appropriate a relatively humble private tomb and that his modifications to the tomb would be so limited. As Polz points out, most of the original inscriptions were left intact.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Schott photograph 3158. The text in question appears in the three far right columns at the top of the upper register. Schott’s photographs are available online from the University of Trier’s “Digitale Schott-Archiv,” <http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/schott.php?ac=e&id=1184> (Accessed 7 August 2016).

⁸² *PM I:1*, 37.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ “Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung,” 304.

II.8 – Burial of Prince Webensenu and Associated Materials in KV 35



Figure 12 – CG 5032. Lid of a canopic jar, probably matching CG 5031 (canopic jar of Webensenu). Thebes, Valley of the Kings, KV 35, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II. Limestone with yellow, blue and green pigment, 13 cm h, diameter ca. 16 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois* (1898-1899) (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pl. 50.



Figure 13 – CG 24270. One of the ushabtis of Webensenu. Thebes, Valley of the Kings, KV 35. 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II. Acacia wood with pigment, 34 cm h. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois (1898-1899)* (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pl. 26.



Figure 14 – CG 24271. One of the ushabtis of Webensenu. Thebes, Valley of the Kings, KV 35. 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II. Acacia wood with pigment, 30 cm h. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from G. Darresy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois* (1898-1899) (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pl. 26.

At least two royal sons of the late 18th Dynasty were buried in the tombs of their fathers, as were several royal daughters. A canopic jar and four ushabtis inscribed with the name of a *s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 ssm.wt Wbn-sn.w* (“King’s Son and Overseer of Horses Webensenu”) were found in KV 35, apparently objects belonging to one of the original occupants of the tomb.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois* (1898-1899) (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), 244-245 and pl. 50 (canopic jar, CG 5031, and probable matching lid, CG 5032), 103-104 and pl. 26 (shabtis, CG 24269-24273).

The canopic jar (CG 5031), according to Daressy's description, is 28 cm high with a maximum diameter of 21 cm, made of "alabaster" (probably calcite) with blue pigment in the inscriptions.⁸⁶ The text is as follows:

(1) *dd mdw Is.t ink.(n=t) ḫ.wy=t [hr]* (2) *n.ty im=t stp.t-s3 hr Ims.ti* (3) *n.ty im=t im3ḥ.y [hr Ims.ti] Wsir* (4) *s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 ssm.wt Wbn-sn.w*

"(1) Recitation: O Isis, (you have) embraced with your two arms⁸⁷ (2) the one who is within you, giving protection to Imseti (3) who is within you, and the one revered [before Imseti], the Osiris, (4) the King's Son and Overseer of Horses Webensenu."

Two of Webensenu's ushabtis (CG 24269, CG 24270) were inscribed with a fairly lengthy text, and three (CG 24271-24273) with a shorter text, with only slight variations between ushabtis. The longer text, a variant of the standard "Ushabti Spell" (BD 6) is as follows (from CG 24269):

(1) *shd s3 ny-sw.t Wbn-sn.w dd=f* (2) *i ḫ3b.ty ipn ir ḫš.tw ir hsb* (3) *.tw r ir.t k3.t nb.t irr.t m hr.t-ntr* (4) *r srwd sh.t r smh.yt* (5) *wdb.w r hn.t ḫy n i3b.tt n imn.tt* (6) *istw hw n=k sdb.w im* (7) *m s r hr.wt=f mk wi k* (3) = *k*

"(1) The Bright One, the King's Son Webensenu, who says:⁸⁸ (2) 'O these ushabtis, if one calls, if one reckons (3) (me) to do every work which is done in the Necropolis, (4) to cultivate the fields, to irrigate (5) the river banks, to ferry sand to the east (or) to the west – (6) while obstacles are placed for you there – (7) as a man at his duties, 'Here I am,' so you shall say."

⁸⁶ Ibid., 244.

⁸⁷ Lit. "you have embraced your two arms upon."

⁸⁸ Lit. "he saying."

The shorter text, consisting of Webensenu's name, title and epithets, is as follows (from CG 24271):⁸⁹

s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mr=f Wbn-sn.w m3c-hrw hr Wsir [. . .]⁹⁰ ntr c3

"The King's Son of His Body, his beloved, Webensenu, true-of-voice before Osiris, the Great God."

Both G. E. Smith and A. Dodson have argued that the mummy of the unknown prince (CG 61071) found in tomb chamber Jc (along with the "Younger Lady" (CG 61072) and the "Elder Lady" (CG 61070)) is that of Webensenu.⁹¹ Dodson suggested that all three of these mummies were probably original occupants of the tomb, largely on the basis of their lack of burial equipment, wrapping or labels.⁹² Smith noted that all three mummies were embalmed in the same manner as Amenhotep II himself, suggesting that they were contemporary.⁹³

However, recent genetic testing on the mummies CG 61072 and CG 61070 suggests that these two mummies were probably Tutankhamun's mother and grandmother, respectively.⁹⁴ If this is true, then it is reasonable to speculate that CG 61071 may have been a member of the same immediate family, perhaps a brother of Akhenaten (perhaps the prince Djutmose) or an otherwise unattested brother of Tutankhamun.

⁸⁹ Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois*, 104.

⁹⁰ A small lacuna follows *Wsir*, but I would not expect to find anything here that is not in the preserved text. It is unclear what might be missing here, except perhaps for a divine determinative (e.g. a falcon on a standard).

⁹¹ G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 38-42.

⁹² Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose," 93 (n. 64).

⁹³ Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, 41.

⁹⁴ Z. Hawass, Y. Z. Gad, S. Ismail et al., "Ancestry and Pathology in King Tutankhamun's Family," *JAMA* 303 (2010), 641.

II.9 – Canopic Jars (CG 46037-9 and MFA 03.1129) and Possible Mummy of Prince Amenemhat

C in KV 43



Figure 15 – MFA 03.1129a-b. Thebes, Valley of the Kings, KV 43, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Limestone, 37 cm. h. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, USA. JPG, <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/canopic-jar-and-lid-of-prince-amenemhat-130277>. (Accessed July 16, 2015).

A son of Thutmose IV named *Imn-m-h3.t* (otherwise attested in TT64, see below) was apparently buried in the tomb of his father. Four canopic jars belonging to a prince Amenemhat were found in KV 43 (CG 46037-9 and Boston MFA 03.1129a-b).⁹⁵ The badly damaged mummy of a boy was found propped against a wall of an annex off the burial chamber (Side Chamber D in the original excavation report).⁹⁶ The tomb also contained material associated with the burial of a daughter of Thutmose IV named Tinetamun.⁹⁷ Although E. Thomas suggested the possibility that this material may represent a reburial of Amenemhat,⁹⁸ Dodson has argued that the presence of canopic jars is evidence in favor of the prince being an original occupant of the tomb.⁹⁹

Text of CG 46037: (1) *dd mdw in Is.t ink.n=t [‘.wy=t hr]* (2) *n.tt im=t stp.t-s3 hr [Ims].ti*
(3) *n.ty im=t im3h.y [hr Hp.y] Wsir* (4) *s3 ny-sw.t Imn-m-h3.t m3c-hrw*
“(1) Recitation by Isis:¹⁰⁰ You have embraced [with your two arms] (2) the one who is within you, giving protection to [Imse]ti (3) who is within you, and the one revered [before Imseti], the Osiris (4), King’s Son Amenemhat, true-of-voice.”

⁹⁵ H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904), 6-7.

⁹⁶ Ibid, x, Fig. 3. An excavation photograph of the mummy’s head and upper torso is published in Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” Pl. 5.3.

⁹⁷ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 95, n. 73.

⁹⁸ E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Trenton: Moorman, 1966), 81.

⁹⁹ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 94-95, n. 73.

¹⁰⁰ The formula *dd mdw in* (“Recitation by . . .”) is used in the texts of all of the canopic jars of Amenemhat (although I cannot say definitively that this is the case for CG 46039, which is missing the first part of its inscription). However, the goddesses named in each formula are normally the addressees, rather than the speakers, of each of these protective spells. Because this error is perpetuated consistently in each text, I have chosen to translate the texts as they are written.

Text of CG 46038: (1) *dd mdw in Nb.t-hw.t shn(.n)=t ḡ.wy=t hr n.tt* (2) *im=t stp.t-s3 [hr Hp.y] n.ty* (3) *im=t im3ḥ.y hr Hp.y* (4) *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t Imn-m-h3.t m3c-hrw*

“(1) Recitation by Nephthys: You have united your two arms with the one who (2) is within you, giving protection [to Hapy] who (3) is within you, and the one revered before Hapy, (4) the Osiris, King’s Son Amenemhat, true-of-voice.”

Text of CG 46039: (1) [*dd mdw in Srk.t ink.n=t ḡ.wy=t hr*] *n.tt* (2) [*i*] *m[=t stp.t-s3 Kbḥ-sn.w=f n.ty]* (3) *im=t im3ḥ.y [hr Kbḥ]-sn.w=f* (4) *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t Imn-m-h3.t*

“(1) [Recitation by Selket: You have embraced¹⁰¹ with your two arms the one] who is (2) within [you, giving protection to Qebehsenuef, who is] (3) within you, and the one revered [before Qebeh]senuef, (4) the Osiris, King’s Son Amenemhat.”

Text of MFA 03.1129a-b: (1) *dd mdw in Ni.t [ink.n=t ḡ.wy=t] hr n.tt* (2) *im=t stp.t-s3 hr [Dw3-mw].t=f n.ty* (3) *im=t im3ḥ.y hr Dw3-mw.t=f* (4) *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t Imn-m-h3.t*

“(1) Recitation by Neith: [You have embraced with your two arms] the one who (2) is within you, giving protection to [Duamu]tef, who is (3) within you, and the one revered by Duamutef, (4) the Osiris, King’s Son Amenemhat.”

¹⁰¹ Or possibly “united your two arms with . . .,” cf. CG 46038.

II.10 – Canopic Fragments of Prince Menkheperre B



Figure 16 – Canopic Jar Fragments of Menkheperre, including Strasbourg Fragment 1396. Thebes, Western Wadi, Tomb WB1. Calcite, exact dimensions unknown (see photograph for scale). 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Image from P. Litherland, “Three Fragments in the Strasbourg Collection.” Article on-line. <http://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-linstitut-degyptologie/piece-en-vedette/piece-en-vedette/article/three-fragments-in-the-strasbourg-collection/> (Accessed 6/13/2016).

Fragments of a prince Menkheperre’s canopic jars appeared on the antiquities market in the early 20th century as part of a group of royal burial materials (mostly belonging to queens and princesses) that was generally thought to have originated from one or more tombs in the Valley of the Queens.¹⁰² Recent excavations by the New Kingdom Research Foundation demonstrate that they actually originated from a group of shaft tombs known as WB1 in the

¹⁰² G. Legrain, “Fragments de Canopes,” ASAE 4 (1903), 138; and “Notes d’inspection XI-XV,” ASAE 5 (1904), 139-41. See also A. Dodson and J. Janssen, “A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants,” JEA 75 (1989), 137-138.

Wadi Bariya of western Thebes.¹⁰³ Canopic jars and a storage jar docket naming Menkheperre were discovered in the WB1 burial group alongside material naming a King's Wife Nebetnuhet. The assemblage can be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, suggesting that Menkheperre was probably a son of Amenhotep III by the royal wife Nebetnuhet. This Menkheperre, then, must be a different individual from the King's Son Menkheperre named on the statue of Huy from the British Museum (**IV.15**), which can be dated to the reign of Thutmose III.

A fragment in the Strasbourg Institute of Egyptology (No. 1396), which has been matched with one of the jars excavated from WB1, is inscribed with the text (1) [. . .] *n.tt im[=t . . .]* (2) *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t Mn-hpr-R^c*

"(1) [. . .] the one who is in [you . . .] (2) the Osiris, King's Son Menkheperre."¹⁰⁴

Two more fragments now in the Cairo Museum also name the prince. These are published by Legrain in *ASAE* 4.¹⁰⁵ They are Legrain's documents 6 and 7.

Text of document 6: (1) *dd mdw Is.t ink.n=t^c.wy=t*¹⁰⁶ (2) *hr n.ty im=t stp.t-s3 n(?)*¹⁰⁷ (3) *Ims.ti n.ty im=t im3h.t hr Ims(ti)* (4) *Wsir s3 ny-sw.t Mn-hpr-R^c m3^c-hrw*

¹⁰³ P. Litherland, "Three Fragments in the Strasbourg Collection." Pièce en vedette. Institut d'égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg. Article on-line. Available from <http://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-l'institut-de-gyptologie/piece-en-vedette/piece-en-vedette/article/three-fragments-in-the-strasbourg-collection/>. Accessed 7 August 2016. This group of tombs is discussed in Litherland, *The Western Wadis of the Theban Necropolis* (London: New Kingdom Research Foundation, 2014), 71-80. However, this description is extremely preliminary and does not reflect the finds discussed above.

¹⁰⁴ Legrain, "Notes d'inspection," 140.

¹⁰⁵ Legrain, "Fragments de canopes," 139.

¹⁰⁶ Written *n=t*.

¹⁰⁷ Written twice.

“(1) Recitation: O Isis, you have wrapped your two arms (2) around the one who is within you, giving protection to (3) Imseti, who is within you, and the one revered before Imseti, (4) the Osiris, King’s Son Menkheperre, true-of-voice.”

Text of document 7: (1) [dd] *mdw Ni.t i[c]-hr [.]* (2) *im=t stp.t-s3 [hr Hp.y n.ty]*
(3) *im=t im3h.y hr Hp.y* (4) *Wsir Mn-hpr-R^c m3^c-hrw*

“(1) Recitation: O Neith, [you have] purified the face (?) [of the one who] (2) is within you, giving protection [to Hapy who] (3) is within you, and the one revered before Hapy (4), the Osiris Menkheperre, true-of-voice.”

II.11 – Group Burial of 18th Dynasty Royal Children in KV 40

In spring 2014, a team from the University of Basel, led by S. Bickel, excavated a mass burial of members of the court of Amenhotep III in the Valley of the Kings.¹⁰⁸ This tomb is laid out similarly to the nearby KV 30, with a central chamber surrounded by three side chambers.¹⁰⁹ It is located directly adjacent to KV 64 in the southern branch of the southwest wadi of the Valley. The tomb was originally built during the 18th Dynasty, probably during the reign of Amenhotep III, whose name is inscribed on seal impressions and vessel fragments from the tomb.¹¹⁰ Material from the tomb was probably plundered and reused during the 21st

¹⁰⁸ KV 40. S. Bickel, “Surprising Discovery in the Valley of the Kings. KV 40: A Cache of 18th Dynasty Princesses and Princes,” *KMT* 25:3 (2014), 22-33.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 22-24.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 30.

Dynasty, and several members of local priestly families were buried in the tomb during the 22nd Dynasty.¹¹¹

According to preliminary reports, the badly looted tomb contains the remains of approximately 50 people, of which more than 30 are probably from the tomb's original 18th Dynasty period of use. Inscribed material indicates that these individuals were family and "members of the entourage" of Amenhotep III.¹¹² The vast majority of the original occupants of the tomb were female, and many held titles associating them with the royal court. Ten previously unattested princesses from the "House of the Royal Children" are identified on articles from the tomb. Additionally, four male royal children are attested on jar docketts from the tomb.¹¹³ Most of the tomb occupants were adults, but excavators also found the remains of several exceptionally well-mummified infants.¹¹⁴

Analysis of this material is still in its early stages, and the human remains found in the tomb have not yet been identified directly with individuals named on the inscribed materials. Once further information is available, this discovery will add considerably to our current understanding of 18th Dynasty royal child burials. The presence of other non-kingly burials in the same part of the valley (e.g. KV 64, KV 32) suggests the possibility of other royal child

¹¹¹ Ibid., 22.

¹¹² Ibid., 30.

¹¹³ Ibid., 32.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

burials in the vicinity. The KV 40 burial is also interesting as an antecedent to the possible mass burial of the sons of Ramesses II in KV 5.¹¹⁵

b. Other Theban Monuments of 18th Dynasty Princes

Aside from evidence of actual burials, a number of monuments dedicated by or belonging to princes – some clearly funerary in nature, but others from temple settings – have survived at Thebes. Most of these date to the early part of the 18th Dynasty (through the reign of Thutmose III).

¹¹⁵ It is unclear how many princes may have been interred in KV 5, but the presence of numerous canopic jar fragments, ushabtis and a small quantity of human remains suggests that at least a few of the sons of Ramesses II were indeed buried there. For an overview of KV 5, see K. Weeks, *KV 5: A Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of the Sons of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2005).

II.12 – Funerary Stele of Prince Ahmose A (BM EA69673)



Figure 17 – BM EA69673. Original provenance unknown, probably Thebes, late 17th or early 18th Dynasty. Limestone, 29.3 cm by 18 cm. The British Museum, London, UK. Trustees of the British Museum. JPG, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=120994&partId=1. (Accessed October 19, 2016).

A funerary stele belonging to a *s3 ny-sw.t T'h-ms* in the British Museum (EA69673)

appears to be contemporary with the Louvre statue discussed above (II.1).¹¹⁶ Since the object was purchased, there is no indication of provenance. However, given the date of this monument and Ahmose A's well established associations with Thebes, it is most likely from the Theban Necropolis.

Like the Louvre statue, this stele is inscribed with an offering formula invoking Ptah, Sokar and Osiris. In the text above the scene, the prince is referred to as *s3 ny-sw.t T'h-ms m3c hrw(?)*, followed by a curious repetition of the *s3 ny-sw.t* title. The text *s3 ny-sw.t T'h-ms m3c hrw* is also inscribed in a vertical column behind the figure of the prince.

The top of the stele is decorated with a pair of *Udjat* eyes on either side of a *shen* ring. The offering formula is inscribed immediately below this decoration, and the scene of the prince receiving offerings is beneath the text.

The stele depicts the prince in the traditional attitude of a beatified deceased person. He sits on a chair with lion feet, holding a lotus to his nose with his upraised left hand. His right hand hovers above his knees.¹¹⁷ He wears an *ibis* wig, a broad collar, a pleated kilt, and a bracelet on his right wrist. His costume and general appearance are similar to those of the Louvre statue, which may represent the same individual.

¹¹⁶ J. Bourriau, "Museum Acquisitions, 1985. Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1985 by Museums in the United Kingdom," *JEA* 73 (1987), 193. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, doc. 17 (discussed in detail on p. 24).

¹¹⁷ This precise pose – i.e., seated and holding a lotus and/or jar of scented oil to the nose – seems to originate at least as early as the late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period. See, for example, the stele of Neferiu in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (12.183.8).

Another figure stands to the right, facing the prince. He holds a bouquet of lotus buds and blossoms in his upraised left hand. In his right hand, he clutches a pair of ducks by their wings. His costume is similar to Ahmose's, but slightly more elaborate, with the addition of a necklace that hangs below his breasts, a pair of armlets above his left elbow and an anklet on his left ankle. The identifying text behind this individual is damaged, but may be read as [*in . . .*] *Mhi s^cnh rn=f* ("[It is . . .] Mehi who causes his name to live"). The damaged portion of the text presumably contains a title (one might expect *hm-k3* here, cf. II.14 below), and traces of a seated man determinative are visible just before the name. It is difficult to say what relationship this individual may have had with prince Ahmose. Mehi, in carrying out the prince's funerary cult, plays a role that was often fulfilled by a son. If this were the case, it would complicate any attempt to identify the prince of this stele with Ahmose Sapair. Mehi could also be a funerary priest unrelated to the prince.

Full text of the offering formula at the top of the stele: (1) *htp di [ny-sw.t] Pth Skry Wsir ntr Ᵽ nb 3bd.w* (2) *di=sn pr.t hrw t hnwk.t k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t* (3) *[c]nh ntr im n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t I^ch-ms m^c3 hrw (?) s3 ny-sw.t*

"(1) An offering which the [king] gives to Ptah, Sokar and Osiris, great god, Lord of Abydos, (2) that they might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, and every good and pure thing (3) by which the god lives, for the *ka* of the King's Son Ahmose, true-of-voice (?), King's Son."

Vandersleyen describes the style of the stele as “assez gauche, très ‘deuxième période intermédiaire,’”¹¹⁸ an assessment that is supported by the writing of the name *Iḥ-ms* (with the points of the moon facing up). Whichever prince Ahmose is represented here, he is almost certainly a contemporary of the Louvre prince and the Ahmose who eventually founded the 18th Dynasty.

¹¹⁸ *Iahmès Sapaiř*, 24.

II.13 – Stele Dedicated to an Unknown Individual (MMA 90.6.130)



Figure 18 – MMA 90.6.130. Original provenance unknown, probably Thebes, late 17th or early 18th Dynasty. Limestone, ca. 23 cm by 23 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, New York, USA, gift of James Douglas, 1890. From E.-A. Hassan, “The Funerary Stela Fragment of Unknown Person in MMA 90.6.130.” *GM* 154 (1996), pl. I.

A stele in the Metropolitan Museum of Art represents a prince Ahmose as one of the dedicators of the stele.¹¹⁹ Most of the top register of the stele is missing, but the legs of a standing figure are visible at right, facing a group at left which seems to consist of at least three seated figures. Several offering bearers are depicted in the bottom register, all standing and facing right. At least five figures are represented in the lower register, although the far left portion of the scene is damaged. Like II.12, this monument is unprovenanced, but probably originated in Thebes.

The first offering bearer in the group, at far right, is labeled *s3 ny-sw.t T^h-ms* ("King's Son Ahmose"). The word *ms* is spelled unusually, with a figure of a squatting woman giving birth (Gardiner B3 or B4). This sign was misinterpreted by E.-A. Hassan, who read the name as *T^h-h3.ty* and interpreted it as a title ("heart of the moon").¹²⁰

Ahmose is depicted in a simple *ibs* wig, broad collar and short kilt. He grasps a duck by the wings in his left hand (labeled simply *di.t*).¹²¹ The figure directly behind him is identical except for his name (*Dhw.ty*), which is not accompanied by a title. They are followed by three female figures, each holding up a different type of offering. The names of only the first two are preserved: *T^h-htp* and *T^h-ms*. The female Ahmose's name is written in a more typical manner – *ms* is written with Gardiner's F31 (three fox tails) followed by the phonetic compliment *s* (folded cloth). In all cases, the points of the moon sign face up. The paleography of the stele

¹¹⁹ MMA 90.6.130, Vandersleyen's document 22 (op. cit., discussed in detail on p. 35-36; line drawing on p. 76). Previously published in E.-A. Hassan, "The Funerary Stela Fragment of Unknown Person in MMA 90.6.130." *GM* 154 (1996), 35-42.

¹²⁰ "Funerary Stela Fragment," 38.

¹²¹ Another possible reading is *di.n(=i)* ("I have given . . ."). The low, broad sign beneath *di* is unclear and can be interpreted either as a *.t* or an *n*.

and the names of the offering bearers indicate a date in the reign of Seqenenre Ta'a or early in the reign of Ahmose.¹²² The questions of which prince Ahmose is represented here, and the identities of the honored individuals in the upper register, remain open.

II.14 – Statue of Prince Ramose (Liverpool SAOS E 609)

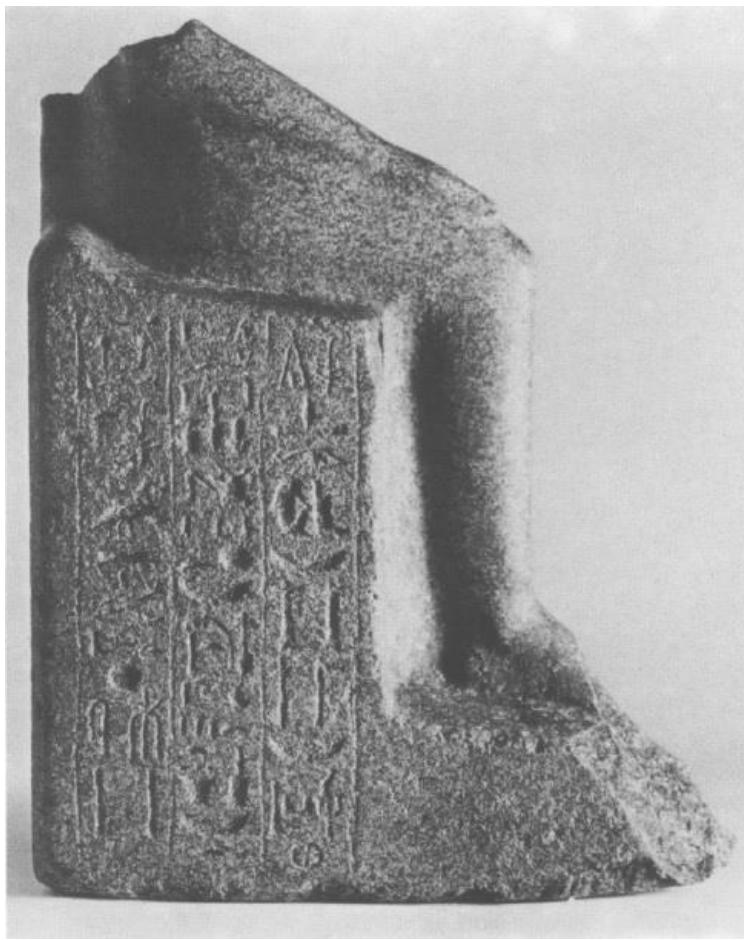


Figure 19 – Liverpool SAOS E 609. Funerary statue of Ramose. Pink granite, 24.7 cm h (preserved height), 13.3 cm w, 22.8 cm l (length of base). Original provenance unknown, probably Thebes, Egypt. Now in the collection of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose I. Image from S. R. Snape, “Ramos Restored: A Royal Prince and His Mortuary Cult.” *JEA* 71 (1985), pl. XX, 1.

¹²² Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 35-36.

A pink granite statue of a prince Ramose at the SAOC in Liverpool represents a rare parallel to the Louvre statue of Ahmose.¹²³ Stylistically, the statue may be dated to the early 18th Dynasty.¹²⁴ The parentage of Ramose is unknown, but he may have been a contemporary or near-contemporary of Wadjmose, a son of Thutmose I. Dodson has suggested that he may have been a son of Ahmose or Amenhotep I.¹²⁵

The Liverpool statue is broken just above the waist, so the head and most of the torso and arms are missing. The feet are also badly damaged. The prince is seated on a block throne with his hands resting on his lap, a similar pose to the Louvre statue of Ahmose. He wears a long robe (or perhaps a kilt) that ends just above the ankles.¹²⁶

The right side of the throne is inscribed with a simple offering formula: *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb Dd.w ntr 3 nb 3bd.w di=f pr.t-hrw t hnkt k3.w 3bd.w h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wcb.t hnkt rnp.wt nb.t n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t mr=f Rc-ms m3c hrw*

“An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, that he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, every good and pure thing, and every offering of vegetables for the ka of the King’s Son, his beloved, Ramose, true of voice.”¹²⁷

A single line on the back of the throne identifies the dedicator of the monument: *in hm-k3=f scnh rn=f K3-hri* (“It is his ka-priest who causes his name to live, Ka-Heri”).¹²⁸ A ka priest of

¹²³ Liverpool SAOS E 609, published in S. R. Snape, “Ramose Restored: A Royal Prince and His Mortuary Cult.” *JEA* 71 (1985), 180-183.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 180.

¹²⁵ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 92.

¹²⁶ Snape, “Ramose Restored,” 180; pl. XX.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 180.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

this name is attested in several early 18th Dynasty sources, which helps confirm the date of the statue.¹²⁹

Although there are no other definite contemporary references to Ramose, two later sources may refer to the same prince. One is a fragmentary stele from the Chapel of Wadjmose. The other is an image of the prince among other deified royal ancestors in the Ramesside tomb of Khabekhnet.¹³⁰ This combination of evidence indicates that Ramose, like several of his contemporaries, was the subject of a mortuary cult that remained active at least into the 19th Dynasty.¹³¹ On the basis of Ramesside material, S. Snape has hypothesized that Ramose's cult was centered at the Chapel of Wadjmose.¹³²

Since all of Ramose's provenanced attestations are from Thebes, it is probable that the Liverpool statue came from Thebes as well. It is plausible that the Chapel of Wadjmose is its specific point of origin. Ramose's other monuments will be discussed further below.

II.15 – The Chapel of Wadjmose

One of the most notable princely monuments of the early 18th Dynasty, which will be discussed in detail in **Chapter 4**, is the so-called Chapel of Wadjmose in western Thebes.¹³³ This small mud-brick temple is located just south of the Ramesseum. Wadjmose was almost

¹²⁹ Ibid., 181; Ranke, *PN* II, 321.

¹³⁰ Snape, "Ramose Restored," 181-183.

¹³¹ Ibid., *passim*.

¹³² Ibid., 182-183.

¹³³ *PM* II, 444-446; G. Daressy, "La chapelle d'Uazmès." *ASAE* 1 (1900), 97-108; W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes: 1896* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1897), 3, and plan, pl. XXVI; A.-M. Loyrette, "Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès." *Memnonia* 3 (1992), 131-140, pl. XXIV-XXVI.

certainly a son of Thutmose I and is attested in other contemporary monuments, notably the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab (**IV.5**).¹³⁴ The Wadjmose chapel contained numerous votive monuments dedicated to Wadjmose himself as well as several other members of the early 18th Dynasty royal family.¹³⁵ The chapel may have been founded as early as the reign of Thutmose I, and continued to function into the reign of Ramesses II (with an apparent interruption after the reign of Amenhotep III).¹³⁶ The cult of Wadjmose seems to have been especially active under Thutmose III.¹³⁷

II.16 – Statue of Wadjmose (Published by Gardiner, 1937)

Wadjmose himself was probably depicted in a badly damaged limestone statue published by A. Gardiner.¹³⁸ The preserved height of the statue was 14 cm, with a base measuring 5 cm by 12.5 cm. The statue was dedicated by a lector-priest of the cult of Wadjmose, and Gardiner speculated that the object may have originally come from the chapel of Wadjmose. The object is unfortunately without certain provenance – Gardiner purchased it from “an old curiosity shop near the British Museum.”¹³⁹ Gardiner’s publication of the object does not include an illustration, but the description suggests a similar format to the statue of

¹³⁴ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 92. See also Loyrette, “Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès,” 131-132.

¹³⁵ Snape, “Ramos Restored,” 182.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 182-183; Loyrette, “Les monuments,” 133-134.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 134-135.

¹³⁸ A. H. Gardiner, “A Priest of King Thutmose III and Prince Wadjmose.” *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 358-359.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

Ramose from Liverpool (**II.14**): a seated figure in an ankle-length robe or kilt with his hands resting on his lap.¹⁴⁰ The only surviving inscription, from the left side of the seat, is as follows:

ir.n w'b n (Mn-hpr-R)| m Hnk.t-^{nh} hry-hb [n] s³ ny-sw.t (W3d-ms)| P3-w³h

“Made by the wab-priest of Menkheperre in Henket-ankh, the lector priest [of] the King’s Son Wadjmose, Pawah.”¹⁴¹

Here, as in several other monuments of Wadjmose, the prince’s name is enclosed in a cartouche. The possible significance of the cartouche in the writing of princes’ names will be discussed in **Chapter 11**.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 358.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

II.17 – Statue of Nebnefer and Tawosret (Cairo BN 104)



Figure 20 – Cairo BN 104. Statue of Nebnefer and Tawosret. Sandstone, 80 cm h (surviving height), 53 cm w, 66 cm l (length of base). Originally from Thebes, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III. Image from D. Metawi, “A Brother for Thutmose III (Cairo Museum BN 104),” *JEA* 99 (2013), 102, fig. 1.

A recently published statue in the Cairo Museum (BN 104) represents an individual who seems to have been a prince, but does not bear the title *s3 ny-sw.t*.¹⁴² The statue depicts a *wb-k* priest named Nebnefer with his wife Tawosret. The pose is typical of private pair-statues of the period, depicting the husband and wife seated with their arms around each other. Much of the upper part of the statue is missing – both figures are missing their heads, and most of Nebnefer’s torso and arms are missing as well. Tawosret’s torso is broken diagonally from her right shoulder to left hip.¹⁴³

What is preserved of Nebnefer’s costume is typical of statues of this type from the early-mid 18th Dynasty. He wears an ankle-length kilt and clutches a folded cloth in his right hand, which rests on his lap. He wears sandals, while his wife is barefoot.¹⁴⁴ The inscriptions on the statue are also typical of official (non-royal) statuary, except for Nebnefer’s unusual filiation.

A line of text down the center of Nebnefer’s kilt is as follows: [p]r.t nb.t *hr* [*wdh.w n Mw.t(?) n k3 n . . .] n hr(i) s3 tpy n Mn-hpr-R*, *Nb-nfr, m3c-hrw*

“Everything which [g]oes forth upon [the offering table of Mut(?) for the ka of . . .] the first overseer of the phyle of Menkheperre, Nebnefer, true-of-voice.”

The skirt of Tawosret’s dress is similarly inscribed: *prr.t nb.t hr wdh.w n Mw.t [. . .] n k3 n hm.t=f nb.t pr T3-wsr.t m3c.t-hrw*

¹⁴² D. Metawi, “A Brother for Thutmose III (Cairo Museum BN 104).” *JEA* 99 (2013), 101-116.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 101, Fig. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 103.

“Everything which goes forth upon the offering table of Mut [.] for the ka of his wife, the mistress of the house Tawosret, true-of-voice.”

The inscription on the side of the seat next to Nebnefer is a standard offering formula invoking *Wsir, ntr ḥk3 d.t* (“Osiris, great god, ruler of eternity”). Here Nebnefer is given fuller titles and a filiation: *wb-ḥk n Imn m hnkt-chnh Nb-nfr m3ḥ-hrw ms.n wr.t hnrt-chnh, mw.t ny-sw.t, m3t hrw*

“*Wab-aq* priest of Amun in Henqet-ankh, Nebnefer, true of voice, born of the great chief of the musical troupe of Amun in Henqet-ankh, the King’s Mother, true-of-voice.”¹⁴⁵

On the side of the seat next to Tawosret, another offering formula is inscribed, this time invoking *Imn-R ḥry-ib m hnkt-chnh Mw.t nb.t Isr.w Hw.t-Hr.w hr.t-tp sm.t Inpw imy-w.t*

“Amun-Re who dwells in Henket-ankh, Mut, lady of Isheru, Hathor, foremost one of the desert, and Anubis who is in the place of embalming.”

Here Nebnefer is described as *wb-ḥ3 n Imn-R m hnkt-chnh Nb-nfr* (“great wab-priest of Amun-Re in the Henket-ankh, Neb-nefer”).¹⁴⁶

The King’s Mother in question is not identified by name, but Metawi argues that she was probably Isis, mother of Thutmose III.¹⁴⁷ The style of the statue and references to Thutmose III and his Theban mortuary temple, the Henket-ankh, indicate that the statue dates

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 103-105.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 108-109.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 107.

to sometime during or immediately after the reign of Thutmose III (perhaps early in the reign of Amenhotep II). Greek inscriptions on the base of the statue help narrow down the original provenance of the object to Deir el-Bahri, on the basis of their similarity to contemporary inscriptions by the same author(s) at that site. The statue was probably originally located in Thutmose III's Djeser-akhet temple, but must have been relocated to Hatshepsut's temple after Djeser-akhet was destroyed in the late New Kingdom.¹⁴⁸

This statue is interesting for several reasons. First, the unusual filiation creates a question about Nebnefer's identity. Namely, was he actually a king's son, or a son of the unnamed *mw.t ny-sw.t* from a previous or subsequent union with a non-royal individual? Metawi points to several later sources (all dating to the Ramesside period) that indicate the presence of a posthumous funerary cult for a King's Son Nebnefer at Thebes.¹⁴⁹ One of these monuments (stele Cairo JE41469) associates the Nebnefer in question with other deified royal figures of the early 18th Dynasty, namely Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari.¹⁵⁰ It is probable, but not certain, that the individual represented in these Ramesside monuments was the same Nebnefer, meaning that he was either the son of a king or later identified as such.

Metawi suggests that "Nebnefer was a younger brother of Thutmose III and therefore a royal prince who passed out of the direct line of succession."¹⁵¹ If so, this evidence lends credence to Dodson's assertion that the sons of deceased kings generally did not identify

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 106-114.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 115-116.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Published in B. Bruyère, *Mort Seger à Deir el Médineh* (MIFAO 58, Cairo: 1930), 210, fig. 109; more recently in Y. El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir El-Medina during the New Kingdom* (Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2015), 126-128.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 116.

themselves in terms of their relationship to either their fathers or the reigning king.¹⁵² The expression on this monument of Nebnefer's relationship with his mother may have been highlighted in order to draw attention to their shared connection with the Henket-anhk, the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. It is also a roundabout way of expressing the fact that Nebnefer was a brother of Thutmose III. The direct expression of such a relationship was apparently incompatible with Egyptian kingship ideology – the title *sn ny-sw.t* is virtually unattested during most periods of Egyptian history.¹⁵³

This statue also provides an unusual glimpse into the career of an 18th Dynasty royal son after the reign of his father, if indeed Nebnefer was the son of a king. The texts on the statue provide three different titles for Nebnefer and associate him with the cults of Amun-Re and Thutmose III. The inscriptions on the statue link him explicitly to the Henket-anhk, a mortuary temple of Thutmose III located north of the Ramesseum.¹⁵⁴ The probable provenance of the statue, as suggested by the later Greek inscriptions, may also link Nebnefer to the cult of Thutmose III at his later mortuary temple, the Djeser-akhet. Metawi reconstructs his career as follows:

He most likely entered the temple ranks as a '*w'b*-priest of Amun-Re in Henket-anhk'.

With training and experience, and after having performed the necessary initiation

¹⁵² Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 88-89.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 88, n. 13. For a detailed discussion of the title and its uses, see Jean Revez, *L'évolution du rôle des frères du roi dans les modalités successorales en Égypte ancienne* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, in press).

¹⁵⁴ This temple is mentioned in the inscriptions of the *chapelle rouge* at Karnak, suggesting that it was originally built during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. See P. Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III" (in E. Cline and D. O'Connor, eds., *Thutmose III: a new biography*. The University of Michigan, 2006), 207.

rituals, he acquired the privilege of being admitted into the sanctuary of that temple (*w'b-k n Imn m hnkt-nh*). At the same time, he may have acquired of the title *w'b-3* (senior *w'b*-priest). Then, he advanced into becoming a ‘chief of the first priestly phyle of Thutmose III’. Presumably in the last years of Thutmose III’s reign, at a time coinciding with the construction of *djr-3ht*, he became affiliated with that temple as well. He probably continued to serve at the two memorial temples throughout the reign of Thutmose III, and possibly during the early years of Amenhotep II’s reign.¹⁵⁵ If Metawi’s assessment is correct, then Nebnefer spent much of his career serving as a priest in the cult of his presumably older brother. This raises the question of whether such a career trajectory was typical for 18th Dynasty princes who survived into the reigns of their brothers.

¹⁵⁵ Metawi, “A Brother for Thutmose III,” 114-115.

II.18 – Statue of Djhutmose A (CG 923)

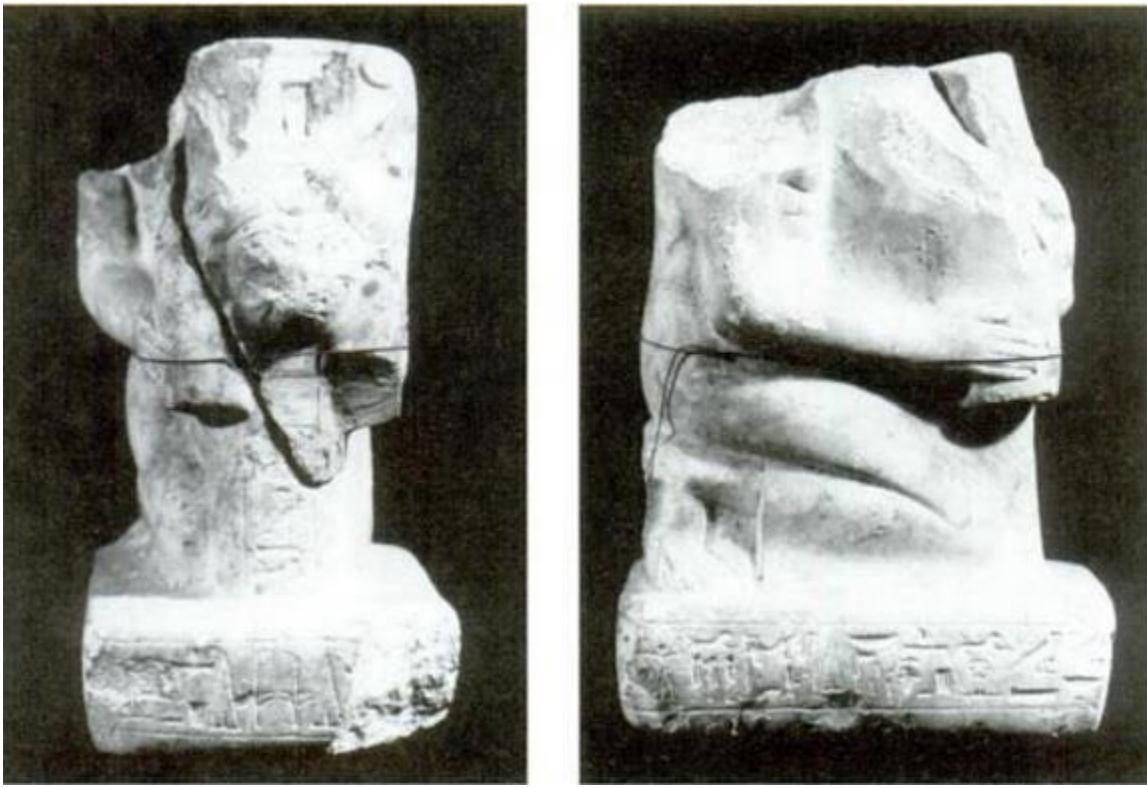


Figure 21 – CG 923. Sistrophoric statue of Djhutmose A (Thutmosis IV). Limestone, 30 cm h, 15 cm w, 20 cm l. Originally from the Temple of Mut, Karnak, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik die 18 Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), pl. 12.

The latest known Theban monument belonging to an 18th Dynasty Prince is a fragmentary calcite statuette of a *s3 ny-sw.t m3r mr=f Dhw.ty-ms* ("True King's Son, his beloved, Djhutmose") from the temple of Mut at Karnak.¹⁵⁶ This prince can probably be safely identified as the future Thutmosis IV on the basis of the name of the statue's dedicatory, the Royal Tutor

¹⁵⁶ CG 923, published in L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, vol. III (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire 11. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1930), 156. See also B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmosis IV*, 43-44 and pl. I fig. 1-4.

Heqareshu. Thutmose IV was depicted retrospectively as a prince on the lap of Heqareshu in TT 64 (VI.7), a tomb probably belonging to Heqareshu's son Heqaerneheh (also a royal tutor).¹⁵⁷

The statue represents a kneeling figure holding a Hathor-headed sistrum before it. The head and shoulders are missing, so, as is the case with many statues of 18th Dynasty princes, relatively little can be said about hairstyle, diadems or other elements of royal iconography. The figure is dressed in a mid-calf length kilt, and has “fat-folds” below the breasts, a characteristic of late 18th Dynasty art. The text includes invocation offerings to Mut on behalf of the king’s son Djutmose, who is described not only as a “true King’s Son, his beloved” but also a “King’s Son, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands.”¹⁵⁸

Mirrored offering formulae start at the front center of the base and wrap around the right and left sides. Both inscriptions come together at the back, where a single writing of the name *Dhw.ty-ms* serves as the ending for both lines.

The inscription wrapping around the right side reads: *htp (di) ny-sw.t Mw.t wr.t nb.t 3šr.w shtp.t nb ntr.w di=s ndm-ib rš.w k3 hs.t bnr mr.wt n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t Dhw.ty-ms*
“An offering which the king (gives) to Mut the Great, Lady of Asheru, who propitiates the lord of the gods, that she might give happiness, exalted joy, praise, and sweetness of love to the Ka of the King’s Son Djutmose.”

The inscription wrapping around the left side of the base is as follows: [*htp*] *di ny-sw.t [Mw.t nb.t 3]šr.w nb.t p.t hn.wt ntr.w di=s ḫnh wd3 snb n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t mr nb t3.wy Dhw.ty-ms*

¹⁵⁷ PM I:1, 128-9. See further discussion below.

¹⁵⁸ Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 156.

"An [offering] which the king gives to [Mut, Lady of A]shetu, mistress of heaven, lady of the gods, that she may give life, prosperity and health to the Ka of the King's Son, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, Djhutmose."

This statue is unusual for its reference to a royal tutor, whose role with respect to the monument is unclear. In most monuments featuring royal nurses or tutors, the nursling plays a subordinate role, while the nurse or tutor is the focal point of the monument.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 44.

c. Monuments from Areas Outside Thebes

II.19 – Giza Naos of Amenmose (Louvre E. 8074)



Figure 22 – Louvre E. 8074. Naos of Amenmose. Originally from Giza. Limestone, 25 cm by 25 cm. 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose I. Now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. Image from A.-M. Loyrette, “Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès,” *Memnonia* 3 (1992), pl. XXIV.

The remaining monuments of princes all derive from areas outside Thebes, predominantly Giza. The earliest of these is a fragment of a naos inscribed for Amenmose, a *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son") of Thutmose I. The object was purchased in Giza in 1885 by E. Grébaut.¹⁶⁰ The text is as follows:¹⁶¹

Top of the naos: *hsb.t 4 hr hm n [ny-sw.t b]i.ty [nb t3.wy] (3-hpr-k3-R) | s3 R c n h.t=f (Dhw.ti-ms) | mri Hr-m-3h.t [di nh] mi R c d.t*

"Regnal year 4 under the majesty of the [King of Upper and L]ower Egypt, [Lord of the Two Lands] Aakheperkare, Son of Re of his body, Thutmose, beloved of Horemakhet, [given life] like Re forever."

Left side of the naos: *pr.t pw ir.n s3 ny-sw.t smsw imy-r3 mšc wr n it=f (Imn-ms) | nh d.t r swtwt hr s[d3]-hr [. . .]*

"It is a going forth which the King's Eldest Son and Generalissimo of his father, Amenmose, living forever, made in order to travel while taking re[creation . . .]"

The text on the right side is virtually obliterated.

This document is remarkable in several ways. First, it appears to provide unequivocal evidence for a filial link between Thutmose I and Amenmose. It is also one of the few documents relating to an 18th Dynasty prince that is associated with a specific date (Thutmose I's regnal year 4). It has been taken as the earliest evidence for the New Kingdom royal cult of

¹⁶⁰ E. Grébaut, "Inscription inédite du règne de Thotmès Ier." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 7 (1886), 142. The text has since been published in Sethe, *URK* IV, 91 (36) and Breasted, *Ancient Records* II, 321.

¹⁶¹ Text published in C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (BdÉ 70. Cairo: IFAO, 1976), 53; photographs, pl. 4.

Horemakhet at Giza, the first in a series of similar votive objects left by various New Kingdom princes and pharaohs (most famously Thutmose IV's "Dream Stele," see VI.9).¹⁶² Additionally, it is one of the only (seemingly) definite examples of an 18th Dynasty prince holding a military title (*imy-r3 mšc wr n it=f*) – furthermore, a title that is otherwise unattested during the New Kingdom.¹⁶³

The text contains a number of other peculiarities as well: the unusual use of the royal epithet *'nh d.t* after the prince's name (which is also written in a cartouche), the remarkable similarity of the preserved text to that of the "Dream Stele" of Thutmose IV, and the strange paleography of the word *swtwt* (a unique spelling, written in partial group writing with the *s3* bilsiteral in place of *s*) have all been the subject of comment by a number of authors.¹⁶⁴

The unusual nature of the document has aroused suspicion regarding its authenticity. As early as 1904, A. Erman suggested that the naos was not a genuine 18th Dynasty document, but a pseudo-historical text created by a Ramesside priest of Horemakhet attempting to boost the reputation of the god by linking the cult to earlier royal figures.¹⁶⁵

C. Zivie dismissed Erman's argument that the text was an invention of the Ramesside period.¹⁶⁶ She pointed out that the writing of *swtwt*, although unusual, was not impossible for

¹⁶² J. Assmann, "Harmachis," LÄ II, 992.

¹⁶³ H. Hohneck, "Hatte Thutmosis I. wirklich einen Sohn namens Amenmose?" GM 210 (2006), 61. The title *imy-r3 mšc wr* (sans *n it=f*) is attested in the late 18th Dynasty, and was not an uncommon title for princes during the 19th-20th Dynasties.

¹⁶⁴ See Hohneck, "Hatte Thutmosis I.," 60-64; Zivie, "Giza," 54-55; A. Erman, "Ein neues Denkmal von der grossen Sphinx" (originally published in 1904; reprinted in Erman, *Akademieschriften I*, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1986), 542-543.

¹⁶⁵ Erman, "Ein neues Denkmal." Note that Erman also tried to make a similar argument about the Dream Stele of Thutmose IV! See Erman, "Die Sphinxstele" (originally published in SPAW (1904), 428-444, reprinted in *Akademieschriften I*), 525-541.

¹⁶⁶ Zivie, "Giza," 54-55.

the 18th Dynasty – group writing was already in use early in the 18th Dynasty, and it is also possible that the strange orthography was the result of a later restoration.¹⁶⁷

More recently, H. Hohneck has argued that the naos is a modern forgery, an enticing piece of falsified historical evidence created “um das Interesse der Ägyptologen zu wecken.”¹⁶⁸ If this were the case, then the piece must have been created by someone who possessed a detailed knowledge of both the Egyptian language and the history of the 18th Dynasty. The strange (possibly unique)¹⁶⁹ spelling of *swtwt* is, in my view, evidence against this object being a modern piece; a modern forger would be unlikely to invent an entirely new orthography for a reasonably common word.

Amenmose is attested in two other documents: a scarab of unknown provenance from the Petrie Museum (UC 11930)¹⁷⁰ and a scene in the tomb of Pahery. The scarab, inscribed only with the name of the prince and the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, is not particularly helpful for establishing the historicity of the Amenmose naos. The scene in the tomb of Pahery (IV.5) is strong evidence in favor of Amenmose as a historical figure and a son of Thutmose I, so even if the naos is a later creation, its composer was at least familiar with the historical Amenmose.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 54. Examples of group writing are attested as early as the late Old Kingdom. See W. F. Edgerton, “Egyptian Phonetic Writing, from Its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty.” *JAOS* 60 (1940), 486.

¹⁶⁸ Hohneck, “Hatte Thutmosis I.,” 64.

¹⁶⁹ See *WB* IV, 77 (17) and *Belegst.* IV-V, 20 (77,17).

¹⁷⁰ W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (BSAE 29. London: School of Archaeology in Egypt: 1917), 18.2.51, pl. XXIV. Also published in Hohneck, “Hatte Thutmosis I.,” 60 and fig. 1.

II.20 – Giza Stelae “A,” “B” and “C”

If the Amenmose naos is genuine and belongs to the 18th Dynasty, it forms part of a corpus of 18th Dynasty royal material at Giza to which both kings and princes contributed. Three other stelae relating to the Horemakhet cult, and probably dedicated by at least two 18th Dynasty princes, are attested. These monuments are known today as Stelae “A,” “B” and “C,” designations used in their original publication by S. Hassan.¹⁷¹ All three stelae were damaged in antiquity, and the name(s) of the princely donor(s) are missing from two of them – apparently intentionally erased. All three stelae are now lost.¹⁷² Hassan does not say where the stelae were found, but it is likely that all three came from the temple of Amenhotep II in the Sphinx temple precinct.¹⁷³

Stelae A and B are both inscribed with the throne name of Amenhotep II, who is represented as a statue standing before the sphinx. For these two stele, at least a *terminus ante quem* can be established sometime during the reign of Amenhotep II. Stele C represents a similar statue, but the name of the king in question is missing, making the stele more difficult to date.

¹⁷¹ S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), 83-91.

¹⁷² B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmosis IV*, 58, 64.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 58.

II.20.a – “Giza Stele C”

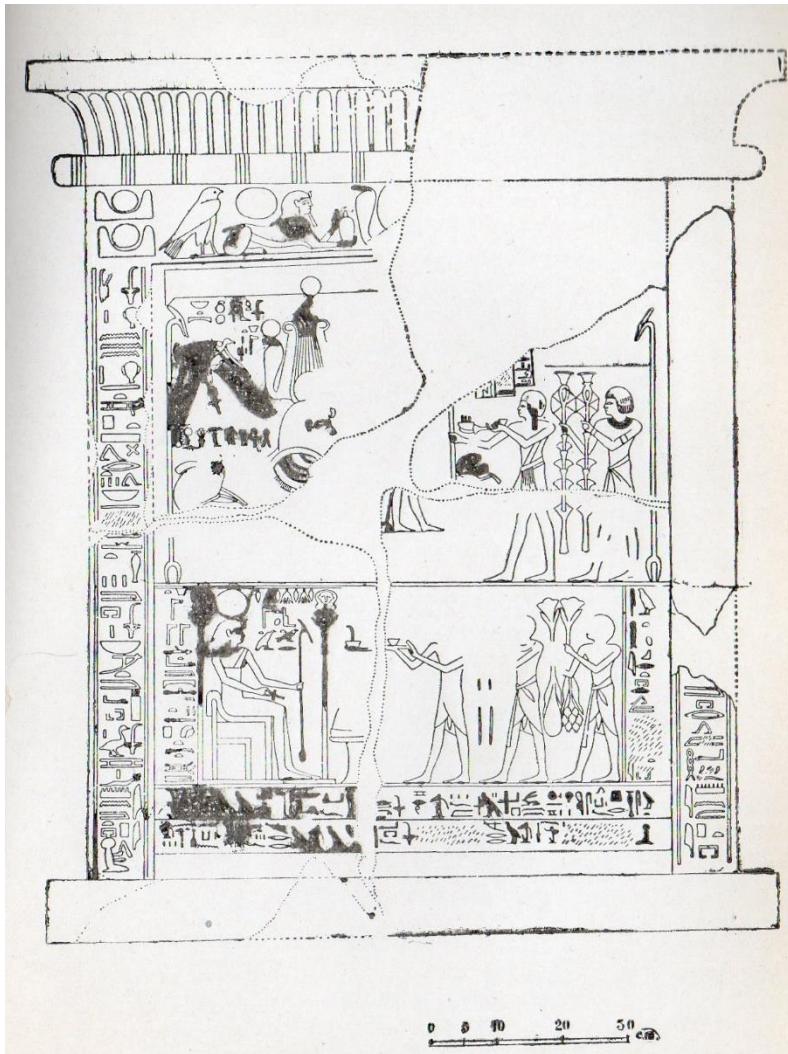


Figure 23 – Giza Stele C. Limestone, exact dimensions unknown (see scale on drawing). From Giza, Egypt. Current location unknown. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from S. Hassan, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1949), fig. 41.

The name of the Stele C prince (*Imn-m-ip.t*) is preserved, along with an elaborate series of titles and epithets. The stele was smashed – perhaps part of the same destructive effort during which the names of the princes of Stelae A and B were erased. Hassan has suggested that all three stelae represented one or more brothers of Thutmose IV, who intentionally

defaced and/or destroyed these monuments in an effort to discredit the true heir(s) to the throne.¹⁷⁴

Stele C appears to have been executed in a somewhat different style from A and B, although Hassan and Zivie have both dated it to the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁷⁵ On the basis of this apparent stylistic difference (which is difficult to assess due to the quality of Hassan's photograph of the object), Dodson suggested that it may have belonged to an earlier date. He tentatively suggested that Amenemopet was a son of Thutmose III, although he provided no supporting evidence for this speculation.¹⁷⁶ B. Schmitz argued that the stele could not belong to the 18th Dynasty, since the prince is given the titles *iry-p̄t, h3.ty-̄* – which she argued were otherwise unattested for 18th Dynasty princes.¹⁷⁷ On this basis, she assigned the stele to the 19th Dynasty.¹⁷⁸ However, B. Bryan has since provided evidence that may date the stele more securely to the mid-late 18th Dynasty. A previously unpublished stele from Saqqara, JE 20221 (IV.11), depicts a *s3 ny-sw.t Imn-m-ip.t* with his nurse. This monument, which probably depicts the same prince, can be safely dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV.¹⁷⁹

Stele C is a rectangular, naos or false-door shaped stele with a cavetto cornice on top. The “frame” of the stele is inscribed on both sides (although part of the right side is missing), as

¹⁷⁴ Hassan, *The Great Sphinx*, 90-91.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 90; Zivie, *Giza*, 105 and 265-6.

¹⁷⁶ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 93.

¹⁷⁷ However, see the use of this title by Ahmose B, II.25. Ahmose B was apparently unknown to Schmitz, and is not discussed in her publication.

¹⁷⁸ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 305.

¹⁷⁹ B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 65-66 and fig. 6a-b.

is the flat inset panel, which is divided into two illustrated registers.¹⁸⁰ Bryan notes that the shape of the stele, as well as the style of the monument, is consistent with other Memphite stelae of the mid-18th Dynasty; she also notes an archaic simplicity and formality in the poses of the figures. However, the prince also wears a *shebyu*-collar, which is characteristic of late 18th Dynasty royal iconography (reign of Thutmose IV on) and also consistent with the decoration of stelae A and B.¹⁸¹

The top register of the stele depicts the prince, shown wearing a short kilt with an apron and a sidelock over an *ibs* wig, offering incense to the sphinx, who wears an *atef*-crown and rests on a pedestal. The prince holds a narrow vertical object in his right hand, the top and bottom of which are now missing, and a burning brazier in his left. A second man, dressed similarly to the prince but not wearing a sidelock, stands behind the prince. He holds a bouquet in each hand. A statue of a king, now badly damaged, is represented between the sphinx's paws. Behind the sphinx is a figure of the vulture goddess Nekhbet, identified in a brief text as *Nhb.t hd.t Nhn nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w* ("Nekhbet the White of Nekhen, mistress of heaven, lady of the gods"). A text beneath Nekhbet and behind the figure of the sphinx reads *s3 ‘nh dd w3s snb h3=f mi R* ("Protection, life, stability, dominion and health behind him like Re").

The lower register depicts the prince followed by two other male figures, all carrying offerings before a seated figure of Isis.¹⁸² Isis is identified as *3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr hnw.t ntr.w w* "t m p.t nn <mi>.ty=s tp.t n.t Itm" ("Isis the great, divine mother, lady of the gods, unique in heaven,

¹⁸⁰ Hassan, op. cit., 87-89; photo, fig. 69.

¹⁸¹ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 64.

¹⁸² Hassan, *The Great Sphinx*, 88, fig. 69.

without equal, the foremost one of Atum"). She holds a *w3s* scepter in her left hand and an ankh in her right. Although she is clearly identified as Isis in the accompanying text, her iconography is Hathoric – she wears the horns and solar disk on her head. She sits on a block throne inside a kiosk. The roof of the kiosk is supported on either side by slender lotus(?)¹⁸³ columns topped with Hathor heads, and a row of alternating lotus buds and blossoms hangs from the roof.

In the bottom register, the prince again holds an incense burner, this time in his right hand. His left hand is raised to greet the figure of Isis. His two companions carry bouquets and bunches of fruit. The figure of the prince is damaged, and his head is missing. He appears to be wearing a different garment in the bottom register from the one he wears in the register above, a short kilt with no obvious apron. The two figures behind the prince are similarly dressed, in short kilts with sashes that hang just below the knee.

A damaged inscription in front of the prince in the top register includes the titles *iry-p.t*, *h3.ty-t*, presumably referring to Amenemopet.¹⁸⁴ In the bottom register, the prince is described as *sw.h.t ikr.t pr m [... Imn-m]-ip.t* ("Excellent egg who came forth from [his father(?), Amunem]opet").¹⁸⁵ The more lengthy inscriptions below the bottom register and along both sides of the "frame" of the stele provide fuller epithets for the prince, which are unique in the corpus of 18th Dynasty material relating to royal sons.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ The tops of both columns are damaged.

¹⁸⁴ Zivie, *Giza*, 108.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 109.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 109; 106.

Below the bottom register: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Hr-m-3h.t ntr ⲉ3 nb p.t di=f hs[.wt]=f m-b3h ny-sw.t mr.w=f m imy-ḥ wnn tp t3 hr šms k3=f hr hs.wt* (2) *n.t ntr nfr n k3 n šms ny-sw.t r nmt.wt=f mrr.w Hr m ḥ=f[s3] ny-sw.t [n h.t=f? mr=f?] mrr.w n sn.w=[=f Imn-m-ip.t]*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Horemakhet, great god, lord of heaven, that he might give his praises in the presence of the king, his beloved,¹⁸⁷ with the one who is in the palace, he being upon the earth while following his ka, carrying the praises (2) of the good god, for the ka of the one who follows in the footsteps of the king,¹⁸⁸ who is beloved of the Horus in his palace, the King’s Son [of his body or his beloved], beloved of his brothers, [Amunemopet].”

The vertical column on the left side of the “frame”: *šms ny-sw.t hr mw hr t3 tm t3š r nmt.wt nb t3.wy [c3] hs.wt m pr ny-sw.t nb mr.t m ḥ s3 ny-sw.t mr=f Imn-m-ip.t*
“Follower of the king upon water and upon land, who is never separated from the footsteps of the Lord of the Two Lands, great of praises in the house of the king, possessor of love in the palace, King’s Son, his beloved, Amenemopet.”

The vertical column on the right side of the “frame” (of which only more than half is missing, with only the lower part surviving): [. . .] *pr m h̄.w=f Imn-m-ip.t*
“[. . .] who came forth from his body, Amenemopet.”

As Bryan points out, one of the remarkable aspects of this stele is that all the preserved titles and epithets of the prince focus solely on his close relationship with the king. He is given no priestly, military or administrative titles; only generic titles of rank (*iry-p̄.t*, *ḥ3.ty-ḥ* and of course *s3 ny-sw.t*). It is partially for this reason that Bryan concludes that Amenemopet was not

¹⁸⁷ Presumably the king is the beloved of the god.

¹⁸⁸ Lit. “who follows the king with respect to his footsteps”

the owner of Stela B (who is given more specific titles of office). She also notes that the names of the owner(s) of both A and B were erased, while Amunemopet's was not.¹⁸⁹

The use of the epithet "beloved of his brothers" is intriguing, and may hint at the identity of the other male figures depicted on the stele. They are similar in scale and attire to Amunemopet, which also suggests the possibility that these figures were meant to be brothers of the prince.

¹⁸⁹ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 65.

II.20.b – Giza Stele A

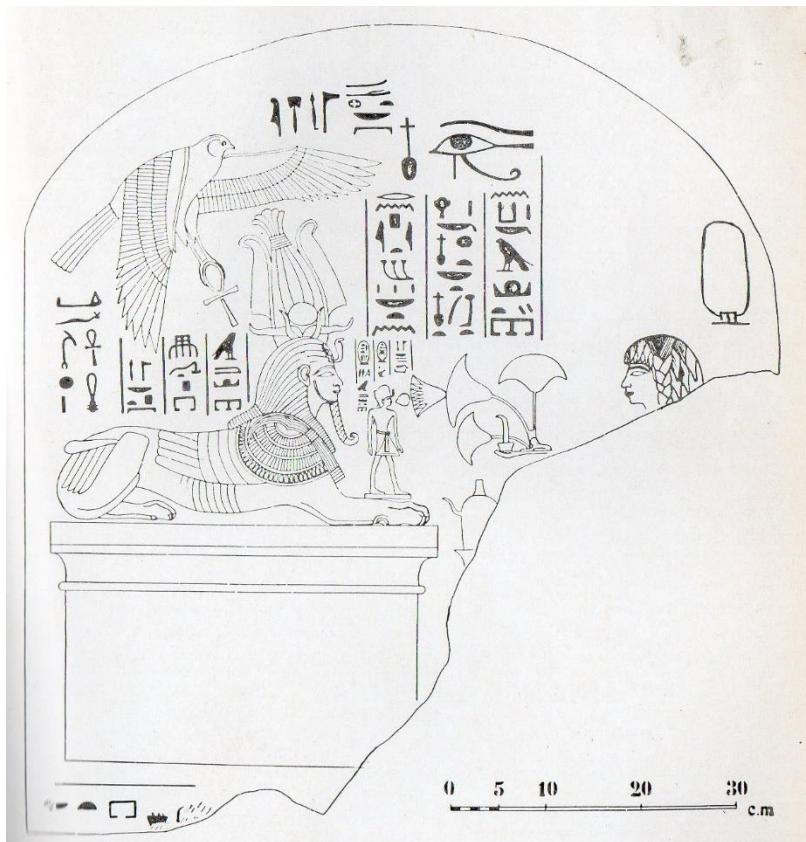


Figure 24 – Giza Stele A. Limestone, 78 cm h (preserved height). From Giza, Egypt. Current location unknown. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from S. Hassan, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1949), fig. 39.

The identity (or identities) of the owner(s) of Stelae A and B has been the subject of considerable debate. Of the two, Stela A is more badly damaged, and thus more difficult to evaluate. The preserved text of Stele B gives several of the owner's titles, but *s3 ny-sw.t* is not among them. On this basis, Schmitz has questioned whether either of these stelae represent royal sons at all – she argues that both stelae may have been owned by *sm*-priests of Ptah,

which would account for their sidelocks.¹⁹⁰ However, the name of the owner of Stele B was written in a cartouche (the outlines of which were still visible on the stele despite the erasure of the name, as reported by Hassan), which suggests that he was in fact a royal personage; and Hassan's drawing of Stele A also shows a cartouche.¹⁹¹

Stelae A and B are both round-topped, and simpler in design than Stele C. Stele A represents a man standing at right, holding a bouquet of lotuses and an incense burner before the sphinx, who reclines on a pedestal with a statue of the king (identified as Amenhotep II) between his paws. The king wears the blue crown and a short kilt. The blossoms of the bouquet held by the prince bend toward the nose of the king. The sphinx is elaborately decorated with folded wings, a broad collar, and an *atef* crown.

A falcon, identified as *Bhd.t(y) ntr ⲉ s3b šw.t* ("(Horus) of Behdet, great god, multi-colored of plumage") flies above the sphinx clutching an ankh in its talons. A short vertical line of text behind and beneath the falcon reads *di=f nh w3s mi R* ("May he give life and dominion like Re"). A large *nfr* sign and *wd3.t* eye are positioned at the top middle of the lunette, directly to the right of the falcon.

The lower right side of the stele (and presumably the inscribed area below the lunette) is missing, so only the head of the prince is visible, but he wears a wig and sidelock. The text pertaining to the prince himself was carefully erased, while the texts referring to the king and

¹⁹⁰ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 304.

¹⁹¹ S. Hassan, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1949), 188-190, fig. 39 and 40.

the god were left untouched.¹⁹² The preserved text identifies the sphinx as *Hr-m-3h.t* and provides a simple offering formula to the god.

Text in front of the prince: (1) *rnp.y.t nb.t n* (2) *hr=k nfr h.t nb.t nfr.t w'b.t* (3) *n k3=k Hr-3h.ty*

“(1) Every plant-offering for (2) your beautiful face, every good and pure thing (3) for your Ka, Horakhty!”

Small text above the statue of the king: (1) *ntr '3 nb t3.wy nb hpš* (2) *(3'-hp̄.w-R')| s3 R'*
(3) *(Imn-htp hk3 ntr Iwn.w)| mry Hr-m-3h.t*

“(1) Great God, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of strength (2) Aakheperure, son of Re (3) Amenhotep, Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, beloved of Horemakhet.”

Text above/behind the sphinx: (1) *Hr-m-3h.t* (2) *hnt stp.t* (3) *ntr '3 nb p.t*
“(1) Horemakhet, (2) foremost of the sanctuary of Thoth, (3) great god, lord of heaven.”

A longer text below the lunette is almost entirely missing, with only traces of the first line remaining.

¹⁹² Ibid., fig. 39; Hassan, *The Great Sphinx*, 84-85, fig. 67.

II.20.c – Giza Stele B

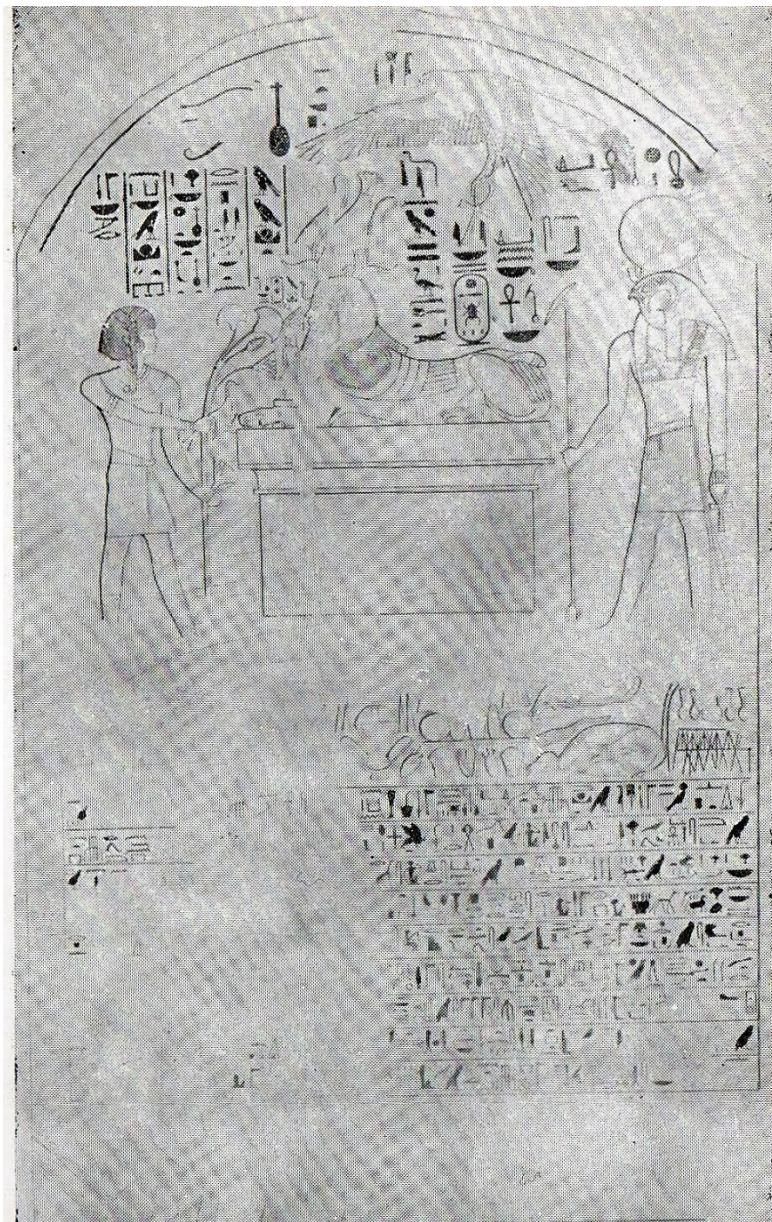


Figure 25 – Giza Stele B. Limestone, 1.7 m h, 1 m w. From Giza, Egypt. Current Location Unknown. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from S. Hassan, *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo: Government Press, 1949), fig. 40.

Stele B is better preserved. The style and quality of this stele, as well as the text, are quite similar to those of Stele A, suggesting that they were contemporary. Stele B was smashed

into four pieces, and some of the text immediately before and behind the prince (presumably containing his name and titles) was erased. The offering formula before the sphinx is nearly identical to that on Stele A.¹⁹³ In this case, the prince is depicted standing at left, holding a duck and a bouquet of lotuses before the sphinx and the small statue of Amenhotep II. This time the flowers bend to the noses of both the king and the sphinx. Behind the sphinx at far right is a figure of Re-Horakhty as a falcon-headed man with a sun disk on his head, holding an ankh in his left hand and a *w3s* scepter in his right. A figure of Hor-Behdet flies above the sphinx. The prince is clad in a short kilt, *ibs* wig and sidelock. He wears a *shebyu*-collar in addition to a broad collar and an earring, and he wears armlets on his upper arms and bracelets on his wrists. He is portrayed with the stocky build associated with the style of the mid-late 18th Dynasty (reigns of Amenhotep II-Amenhotep III). A large *nfr* sign and *w3d.t* eye are positioned at the top of the stele above the short offering formula to the sphinx. A small register below this scene is crowded with images of food offerings, including fruits and vegetables, loaves of bread, butchered animals and offering vessels.

The texts of the lunette are as follows. Text above/in front of the flying falcon: *Bhd.t(y)*
nb pt ntr ⲉ3 s3b šw.t
“(Horus) of Behdet, lord of heaven, great god, multi-colored of plumage.”

Text above the prince: (1) *rnp.y.t nb.t n* (2) *hr=k nfr h.t nb.t nfr.t w3b.t* (3) *n k3=k hr-m-3h.t*
(4) *ntr ⲉ3 nb mr [. . .]*¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Ibid., 85-87, fig. 68.

¹⁹⁴ Presumably this lacuna contained the name (and title(s)) of the prince; these signs were intentionally erased.

“(1) Every plant offering for (2) your beautiful face, every good and pure thing (3) for your Ka, Horemakhet, (4) great god, lord of love [. . .]”

Text in front of the sphinx: *Hr-m-3h.t* (“Horemakhet”).

Small text above the statue of the king: *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (3-hpr.w-R)* | *mr Hr-m-3h.t*

“Great God, Lord of the Two Lands Aakheperure, beloved of Horemakhet.”

Text behind/above the sphinx: (1) *dd mdw in R Hr-3h.ty s3 n h.t(=i) mry(=i)* (2) *nb t3.wy (3-hpr.w-R)* | (3) *di.n(=i) n=k nh w3s nb* (4) *snb nb*

“(1) Words spoken by Re-Horakhty: ‘Son of (my) body, (my) beloved, (2) Lord of the Two Lands Aakheperure, (3) (I) have given to you all life and dominion, (4) and all health.’”

Text behind the falcon/above Re-Horakhty: *di=f nh w3s mi R*

“May he give life and dominion like Re.”

The extensive offering formula inscribed on the lower part of the stele provides a great deal of detail about the owner of the stele, although certain crucial information (his name and, presumably, the title *s3 ny-sw.t*) is missing. The left side of the inscription is also heavily damaged. The text is as follows:

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Hr-3h.ty ntr 3 s3b sw.t Hr-m-3h.t hnt stp.t di=f pr.t-hrw mw t3w sntr mrh.t n k3 n [. . . .]* (2) *m-m s3h.w k hr hm=f nn smi.tw stp-s3 r ny-sw.t bi.ty imi-ib [. . . .] mw(?) pr m hnt* (3) *hr.w nb hr=f sf.yt=f m hr.w 3 ??¹⁹⁵ mdw.w(?)=fp.t gr t[. . .] ndm(?) wt di.n=s sgr sr [. . . .] n [. . .] w* (4) *n nb t3.wy hr.y-tp imy-r3 ssm.wt s3b t3y.ty iry Nhn hm ntr M3.t r3 shrr m t3 r dr=f w3h ib sdm=f mdw.wt [. . . .]* (5) *iry-p.t h3.ty- sm hrp s3d.wt nb(.t) it*

¹⁹⁵ Two illegible vertical signs, followed by a third that is possibly to be read *mdw*.

ntr mr ntr¹⁹⁶ ḫk hr sšt3 n s.t wr.t wstn rd r rwd šps.y [.] (6) mtr hmt.n=f in.w wčb ḫ.wy hr
 shtp.y shtp=f wp p.t r t3 nfr ḫ.wy hr shkr ntr¹⁹⁷ hrw [.] (7) ntr [.] wčb dbč.w hry sšt3 m
 hw.t Pth m s[. . .] ms ntr.w sm m hw.t Skr [.] (8) m [.] nm? [. . .] m s.t tn hs=tn ny-
 sw.t nb hh tm [.] (9) [. s]čh[.w?] =f swh.t ntr pr.t hnt=f dm=(tn)? r[n]

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Horakhty, Great God, multi-colored of plumage,
 and Horemakhet, foremost of the Sanctuary of Thoth, that he might give invocation offerings of
 water, air, incense, and oil for the Ka of [.] (2) among the dignitaries, who enters before
 His Majesty without being announced, who protects the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the
 favorite [.] waters(?) which come forth from the canal(?),¹⁹⁸ (3) while every face is before
 him, his majesty being in the faces of the multitude, [. . .] his words (?), the people being silent
 [. . .] kindness (?), it caused to be silent the fortelling (?)¹⁹⁹ [.]²⁰⁰ (4) of the Lord of the
 Two Lands, chief overseer of horses, dignitary, one-of-the-curtain, Keeper of Nekhen,²⁰¹
 prophet of Ma’at, mouth which satisfies in the land to its limit, kindly one, who listens to the
 words [.] (5), hereditary nobleman and count, sem-priest, controller of every kilt, god’s
 father whom the god loves, who enters into the secrets of the Great Place, whose leg strides

¹⁹⁶ *it* and *mr* are both paired with a single *ntr* sign.

¹⁹⁷ The *s* is written before *ntr*, followed by the *hkr* ideogram; Zivie proposes the reading *shkr ntr* based on textual parallels (*Giza*, 103, note (t)).

¹⁹⁸ This phrase is left untranslated by Zivie (*Giza*, 99, note (f)). Hassan simply normalizes to “per em Khent” (*The Great Sphinx*, 87). The group  appears at the end of a large lacuna. *hnt* is determined with a *pr* sign rather than a canal.

¹⁹⁹ This passage is very difficult. Hassan translates “The people speak according to his words, everybody becomes silent when he fortells” (*The Great Sphinx*, 87). Zivie notes that the damage to the text and the quality of the photograph make it difficult to render a “coherent translation” (*Giza*, 101, n. (h)).

²⁰⁰ Bryan and Hassan were able to distinguish the title *hry-iḥ.w* at the end of this line, but it is omitted by Zivie.

²⁰¹ Or “Mouth of Nekhen”; see *WB* II, 390 (5).

unhindered toward the august staircase [.] (6) [. . . man of (?)] rectitude who tripled the revenue (?), whose two hands are pure while carrying the incense burner, who satisfies the one who separates the sky from the earth, beautiful of hands with respect to the adornment of the god (on) the day of [.] (7) the god(?) [.] pure of fingers, one who is privy to the secrets in the Mansion of Ptah in the procession (?)²⁰² of the one who begat the gods²⁰³, semi-priest in the mansion of Sokar [.] (8) in (?) [.] traverse (?) [.] in this place, may you praise the king, the lord of eternity, and Atum [.] (9) [.] his dignity (?), the egg of the god which came forth before him. May (you) pronounce [his] name [.]”

This text emphasizes the closeness between the prince and the king, but also states that the owner of the stele held a number of administrative, military and priestly positions, including various judicial positions, oversight of chariotry, and priesthoods connected with Ptah, Ma'at and Sokar – a range of offices unattested for any other prince of the period and possibly suggestive of the status of heir. Putting aside dramatic speculations about Thutmose IV's attempts to dispose of his older brother(s) and seize the throne for himself, it is unclear why this individual (possibly the same as that in Stele A) suffered a *damnatio memoriae*.²⁰⁴

Several possible identities have been put forward for the prince of Stela B. He shares titles with several other contemporary princes, including Amenhotep B (mentioned in the royal

²⁰² Hassan, *Great Sphinx*, 87; Zivie suggests restoring the word *st3* (as in “drag” or “pull”) under *m* – the word is badly damaged, with only a door-bolt *s* partially visible.

²⁰³ An epithet of Ptah; see Zivie, *Giza*, 103, n. (v).

²⁰⁴ This theory, first published by Selim Hassan in *The Great Sphinx*, may actually be attributed to his assistant Dorothy Eady, a.k.a. Omm Sety. See Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 38-39.

shipyard record P. BM 10056, see **V.1**), Khaemwaset, who left graffiti at Sehel (**II.22**), and Webensenu, who was apparently buried in KV 35 (**II.8**).

D. Redford has proposed that the Stela B prince is the Amenhotep of P. BM 10056 (**V.1**), who held the titles *sm* and *s3 ny-sw.t*.²⁰⁵ This identification is based on several shared characteristics between the princes of the two documents: both are *sm*-priests, both are apparently sons of Amenhotep II, and both seem to have been active in the Memphite region (the apparent origin P. BM 10056).

The prince of stela B may have shared the title “Master of Stables” (*hry-ih.w*) with the *s3 ny-sw.t* Khaemwaset who left two graffiti at Sehel (see below). B. Bryan reads the title *hry-ih.w* at the end of the surviving portion of line 3 of the Stela B text, although this title is missing from other copies and translations of the text.²⁰⁶ She proposes on this basis that the Stela B prince may have been Khaemwaset.²⁰⁷ B. Schmitz has questioned the status of Khaemwaset – as well as the owner of Stela B – as a true royal son on the basis of the apparent rarity of the title *hry-ih.w* among 18th Dynasty princes.²⁰⁸

Bryan argued that the most likely candidate for the identity of the Stela B prince was Webensenu, a prince who seems to have been buried in the tomb of Amenhotep II (see discussion above, **II.8**).²⁰⁹ The most obvious link is that Webensenu held the title of *imy-r3*

²⁰⁵ Redford, “Coregency,” 114.

²⁰⁶ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 60.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 62.

²⁰⁸ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 274.

²⁰⁹ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 62-63.

ssm.wt (“Overseer of Horses”) while the prince of Stela B was *hry-tp imy-r3 ssm.wt* (“Chief Overseer of Horses”). Bryan also points out that Webensenu’s link to the tutor Minmose (see IV.2), who was active in Tura during the reign of Amenhotep II, suggests that the prince may also have spent at least some time in the Memphite region. Finally, Webensenu’s association with Minmose may also suggest that Webensenu was older than Thutmose IV – Minmose’s career can be traced back to a point relatively early in the sole reign of Thutmose III, and it is likely that he died early in the reign of Amenhotep II.²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Ibid., 48-49, 63.

II.21 – Stele of *Pn-tp-ih.w*



Figure 26 – Stele of Pentepihu worshipping Horemakhet. Giza, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. Limestone, 31 cm by 36 cm. Image from U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 108, fig. 159.

Another Giza stele of roughly the same period may depict another prince worshipping Horemakhet. The stele is badly damaged. Its current whereabouts are unknown, but it was found near the pyramid of Khafre.²¹¹ It is a round-topped stele, of which only the illustrated top

²¹¹ Originally published in U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 108; fig. 159. Description, text and commentary in Zivie, *Giza*, 164-165.

portion survives. The scene illustrated on the stele is remarkably similar to those on Stelae A and B: a man presents a bouquet to the sphinx, which lies on a pedestal and wears the *atef*-crown. Nekhbet, in the form of a vulture, hovers protectively behind the sphinx, clutching a *shen*-ring. There is a sun disk at the top of the scene.

It is difficult to tell from Hölscher's photograph whether the figure at right holding the offering is wearing a sidelock. The offering formula inscribed at the top right of the stele refers to him as a *hry pd.t s3 ny-sw.t [. . .] Pn-tp-ih.w* ("Troop Commander,²¹² King's Son, [. . .] Pentepihu").²¹³ This unusual name has also been variously read [. . .]*pn-tp-k3.w*²¹⁴ or *P3-n-tpi.t-ih.w*.²¹⁵ It is unclear whether the lacuna in front of the name contains part of the name or part of a title, e.g. *s3 ny-sw.t n Imn* or *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš*, both of which were held by non-royal individuals during the 18th Dynasty.²¹⁶

The full preserved text is as follows: (1) *wdn n R^c-Hr-3h.ty hh* (2) [. . .] *m k3.w* [. . .] (3) *t-hd sntr* (4) *in hry pd.t s3 ny-sw.t* (5) [. . .] *Pn-tp-ih.w*
"(1) Offering to Re-Horakhty: millions (2) [of . . .] being cattle [. . .] (3) and conical incense²¹⁷ (4) by the Troop Commander, the King's Son (5) [. . .] Pentepihu."

Just as she did with the naos of Amenmose and Stelae A, B and C, Schmitz dismissed the possibility that the stele of Pentepihu belonged to a true royal son. The only justification given

²¹² Lit. "Master of Bowmen," see discussion of this title in **Chapter 9**.

²¹³ Zivie, *Giza*, 165.

²¹⁴ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmoser", 96.

²¹⁵ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 274.

²¹⁶ Zivie, *Giza*, 166; Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 263-266.

²¹⁷ The phrase *t-hd*, literally "white bread," may refer to various other objects of a similar conical shape. When combined with *sntr*, it refers to a conical form of incense. See *WB* V, 210.

for this evaluation is that “Name und Amtzbezeichnung lassen ihn eher als einen Mann bürgerlicher Herkunft erscheinen.”²¹⁸ However, while there are no other certain attestations of royal sons holding the title *hry pd.t* during the 18th Dynasty, there was at least one other individual who held this title in conjunction with the title *s3 ny-sw.t*. This combination of titles (in the order *s3 ny-sw.t hry pd.t*) was inscribed on a whip handle found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (**II.30**).²¹⁹ The identity of the owner of this object is uncertain, but it may have belonged to Djutmose B (for whom the title is otherwise unattested) – see further discussion below.

The name certainly falls outside any of the expected patterns for 18th Dynasty princes, but this alone should not be sufficient grounds for dismissing the possibility that the stele represents an otherwise unknown royal son.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 274.

²¹⁹ Cairo JE 61997. Dodson, “Crown Prince Djutmose”, 96; *PM* I(2), 582; Carter catalogue 332, 333. See cards 333-12 and 333-13. Available online via The Griffith Institute, “Tutankhamun: Anatomy of an Excavation – The Howard Carter Archives” (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2000-2004), <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=128.135.100.114-1430065733&qno=1&curr=333> (Accessed April 26, 2015). Discussed briefly in H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, vol. III (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1933), 97.

II.22 – Sehel Graffiti of Khaemwaset

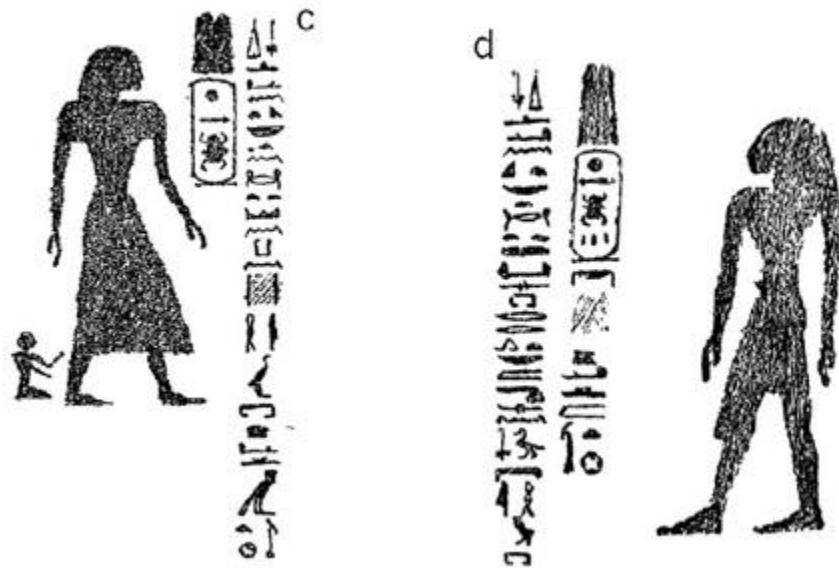


Figure 27 – Two Graffiti of Khaemwaset from Sehel. Sehel Island, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep II. Image from A. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2014), 14, fig. 8 c-d.

Two graffiti at Sehel name a *s3 ny-sw.t hry ih.w H̄-m-W3s.t* (“King’s Son and Overseer of Stables Khaemwaset”).²²⁰ One of these²²¹ depicts a standing male figure in a shin-length kilt, facing the text at right; a much smaller figure kneels behind him. Directly in front of the larger figure is a cartouche topped by double plumes, containing the throne name ‘*B-hpr(.w)-R*’. The column of text at far right reads *htp di ny-sw.t nk.t nb.t St.t n k3 n [s3 ny-sw.t(?) hry] ih.w H̄-m-w3s.t*

²²⁰ Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2014), 13-14, fig. 8c, d; J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique I* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1894), 90, no. 87, and 102, no. 228.

²²¹ Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, fig. 8c.

“An offering which the king gives to Anuqet, Lady of Sehel, for the *ka* of the [King’s Son(?) and overseer] of stables Khaemwaset.”²²²

The second of these graffiti²²³ depicts a male figure facing text at left. This time he wears a short kilt with a sash or apron that ends just below the knees. The inscription is in two columns, the second of which is interrupted by a cartouche of ‘3-*hpr.w-R*’ surmounted by double plumes, above the sign *nwb* and another sign, now missing. The main text of the inscription reads as follows: *htp di ny-sw.t ‘nk.t nb.t St.t di=s prr.t nb m-b3h=s n s3 ny-sw.t hry ih.w H-m-w3s.t*

“An offering which the king gives to Anuqet, Lady of Sehel. May she give everything which comes forth before her to the King’s Son and overseer of stables Khaemwaset.”

Schmitz argued that this Khaemwaset was a “Titularprinz” on the basis of his unusual title (*hry ih.w*), the lack of other contemporary graffiti apparently written by princes, and the fact that the name Khaemwaset was otherwise unattested for a prince of this period (ca. the reign of Amenhotep II).²²⁴ Note, however, that Bryan claimed to be able to distinguish the title *hry ih.w* in a damaged portion of the text of “Giza Stele B,” so there may be a parallel attestation of this title for another 18th Dynasty prince.²²⁵ The name Khaemwaset itself is part of the *nb.ty* name of Amenhotep II, so it would not be surprising if it appeared among the names of Amenhotep II’s children.

²²² The lacuna before *ih.w* does not appear quite large enough to contain both *s3 ny-sw.t* and *hry*.

²²³ Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, fig. 8d.

²²⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 274.

²²⁵ See discussion above, **II.20.c** and Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 60.

II.23 – Sehel Graffito of Djhutmose X

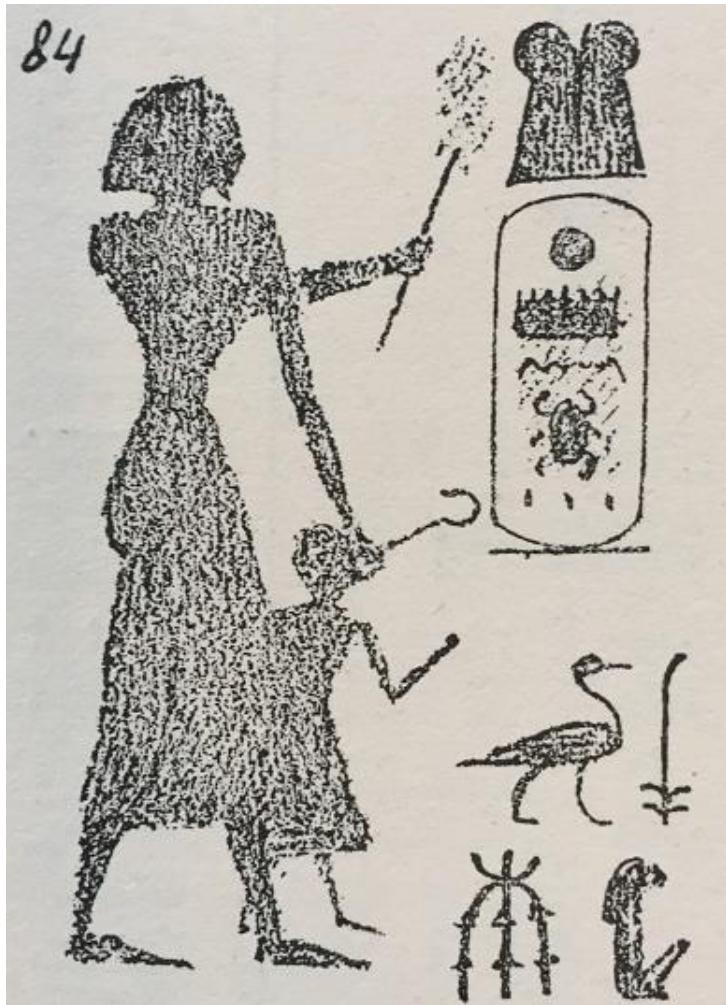


Figure 28 – Sehel Graffito of Djhutmose X. Sehel Island, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose IV. Image from J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1894), 90, no. 84.

Another graffito from Sehel names a *s3 ny-sw.t Dhwty-ms.*²²⁶ The name and title are inscribed beneath a cartouche of *Mn-hpr.w-R*, topped with double plumes. Two figures stand at left, facing the cartouche. The taller figure appears to be dressed in a calf-length kilt. He

²²⁶ De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments I*, 90, no. 84.

extends an ostrich-plume fan toward the cartouche with his left hand and grasps a short *hk3* scepter in his right. He is partially overlapped by a much smaller figure who stands in front of him, also dressed in a calf-length kilt and with his left hand raised.

This graffito is very similar in iconography and composition to a near-contemporary graffito at the same site of Amenhotep III's Viceroy of Kush, Merymose.²²⁷ It is possible that the individual represented here is also a "King's Son of Kush" rather than an actual royal son. However, there was no Viceroy of Kush dating to the reign of Thutmose IV named Djutmose, as far as I am aware. The office was held during this time by an Amenhotep, also attested at Sehel under the full title *s3 ny-sw.t n Kšy*.²²⁸

The reading of the name in the cartouche was questioned by Newberry, who claimed that both he and H. Winlock examined the graffito and found that "it does not read (*Mn-hpr.w-R'*) |, as given by de Morgan."²²⁹ Unfortunately, he suggests no alternative reading.

²²⁷ Ibid., 91, no. 96.

²²⁸ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 250-254.

²²⁹ P. Newberry, "The Sons of Thutmose IV," *JEA* 14 (1928), 84, n. 4.

II.24 – Stele of Ahmose B (Berlin 14200)

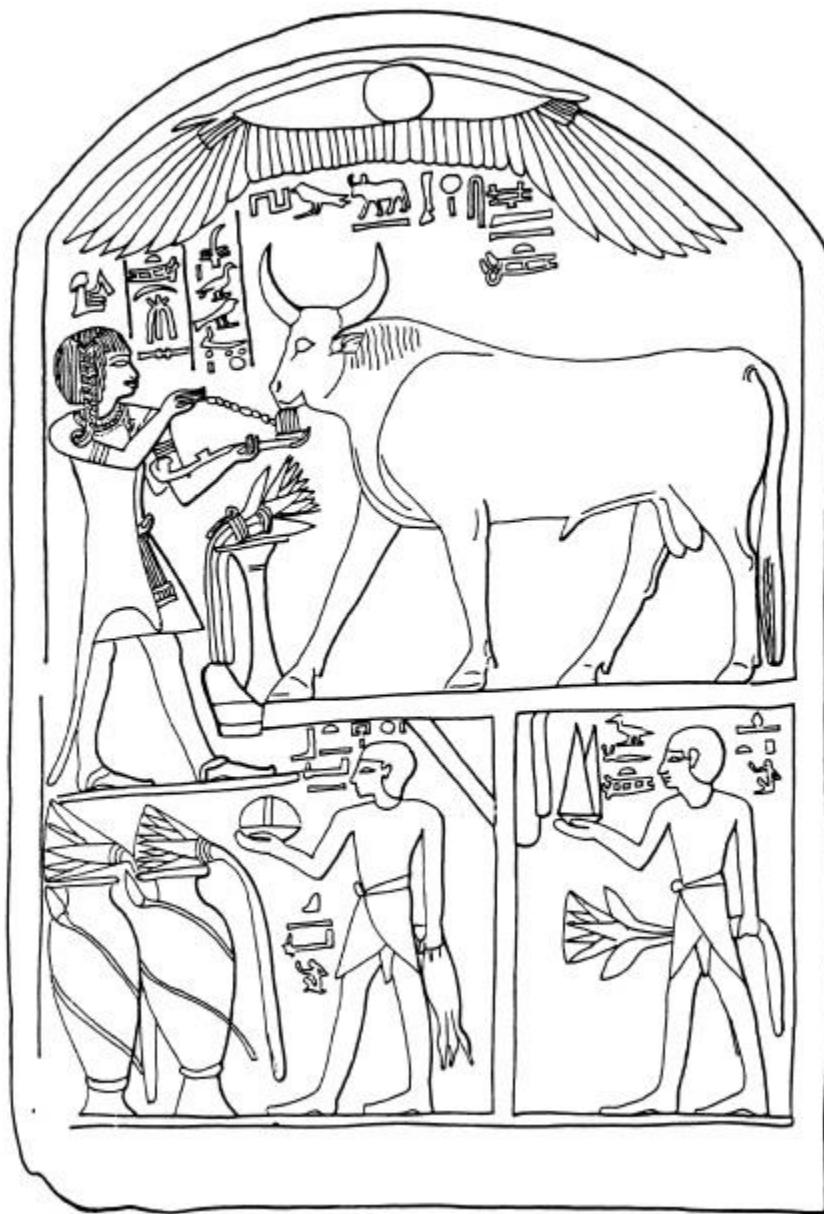


Figure 29 – Drawing of Berlin 14200. Stele of Qen and Atumhotep depicting Ahmose B worshipping the Mnevis Bull. Original limestone, 55 cm by 38.5 cm. Provenance uncertain, probably Heliopolis, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose IV. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Berlin. Image from M. Moursi, “Corpus der Mnevis-Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis-Stiere in Heliopolis II,” *SÄK* 14 (1987), fig. 1.

A prince named Ahmose (henceforth “Ahmose B”) has been identified by B. Bryan as a probable son of either Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV who was active during the reign of Thutmose IV.²³⁰ He is known from three monuments: a stele probably originally from Heliopolis (Berlin 14200),²³¹ a statue that probably originated in Coptos (CG 589),²³² and a statue from Gebelein (Cairo JE 36412).²³³ This prince has previously been dated to the 19th Dynasty or even the Saite Period.²³⁴ However, Bryan has assigned CG 589 and Berlin 14200 to the reign of Thutmose IV on a stylistic basis.²³⁵ W. Ghoneim has argued that Ahmose was actually a son of Thutmose III who survived well into the reign of Amenhotep II.²³⁶

The Berlin stele, dedicated by a *btn n Pr-R* named *Kn*, may be compared to some of the cultic stelae of Ahmose Sapair discussed below in **Chapter 4**. The prince is depicted acting as an intermediary between the donor(s) of the stele (Qen and his son) and a deity, in this case the Mnevis bull. In the upper register, the prince stands at left, facing the bull, who stands at right. The bull is supported on top of a large divine standard, which elevates him slightly above the

²³⁰ Ibid., 67-69.

²³¹ A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1934), 27, fig. 12; S. Morenz, “Rote Stiere – Unbeachtetes zu Buchis und Mnevis” (in *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed. O. Firchow. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), 241-242, fig. 2 (photograph); M. Moursi, “Corpus der Mnevis-Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis-Stiere in Heliopolis II,” *SÄK* 14 (1987), 225-227, fig. 1.

²³² Transcriptions of texts in U. Bouriant, “Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte,” *RT* 7 (1886), 127-128; and L. Borchardt, *Statuen II*, 144-145, pl. 106. Translations published in: M. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (MÄS 26, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972), §32; M. El Alfi, “Recherches sur le personnel des temples d’Héliopolis” (Dissertation, 1974), Doc. 31, pp. 38-42; B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 68; and a partial transliteration and translation in D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re* (ADAIK 16, Berlin: Achet Verlag, 1999), 149-150 (with transliteration).

²³³ W. Ghoneim, “Eine Statue des Prinzen und Hohepriesters von Heliopolis Ahmes (Cairo JE 36412).” *SAK* 21 (1994), 95-106.

²³⁴ See, for example, M. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester*, §32. S. Morenz (“Rote Stiere,” 241) argued for a date in the Saite Period on the basis of the apparently “classical” representation of the two offering bearers in the lower register of the Berlin stele, which seemed at odds with what he thought must be a post-Amarna date for the stele.

²³⁵ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 67.

²³⁶ Ghoneim, “Eine Statue des Prinzen.”

prince. An offering table with a lotus bouquet rests on the standard just in front of the bull. The scene is topped by a winged solar disk.

Prince Ahmose offers an incense burner to the Mnevis bull. The costume of the prince is reminiscent of that worn by Djutmose B in his monuments (see below). He wears a round wig with curled sidelock, a broad collar, a short stiff kilt with an elaborately decorated belt (a schematic representation of the “astronomical tools” that were part of the attire of the Chief of Seers), and a panther skin. His arms are adorned with armlets and bracelets and he wears sandals. The text before the prince describes him as *s3 ny-sw.t wr m33.w R^c-Itm T^ch-ms* (“King’s Son, chief of seers of Re-Atum, Ahmose”). The text above the bull identifies him as *Mr-wr whm n R^c s^cr m3^c.t n Itm* (“Mnevis, the herald of Re, who causes *ma’at* to ascend for Atum”).

The space directly beneath the prince’s feet is occupied by two large offering vessels, each with a lotus blossom draped over the top and the stem of a lotus bud winding around the body of the vessel. To the right of these vessels, on either side of the vertical pole of the divine standard, are the figures of *Kn* and his son *Itm-htp*. Both are dressed identically, with close-cropped hair and short kilts. *Kn* holds up a bowl filled with small rounded objects (figs or dates?) with his right hand and grasps three ducks in his left hand, which hangs at his side. A brief text which begins by *Kn*’s head and continues beneath his upraised right arm identifies him as *btn n pr R^c Kn* (“*btn* of the House of Re, Qen”). To my knowledge, the title *btn n pr R^c* is otherwise unattested.²³⁷

²³⁷ The Wörterbuch cites Berlin 14200 as the only attestation, see *WB I*, 484 (17) and *Belegst. I*, 78.

Kn's son stands behind his father at far right. He holds up a pair of very tall conical loaves in his right hand and grasps a lotus blossom and two buds with his left, which hangs at his side. A short inscription which begins in front of his face and continues behind his head reads *s3=f'itm-htp* ("His son Atumhotep").

II.25 – Coptos Statue of Ahmose B (CG 589)



Figure 30 – CG 589. Statue of Ahmose B. Sandstone, 54 cm h. Originally from Coptos, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. Image from L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privateuten* II (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1925), pl. 106.

Ahmose's statue from Coptos (CG 589) gives a very full list of the prince's titles and epithets. Like most of the other statues of royal sons discussed here, it is broken at the waist. The prince is depicted sitting on a block throne, wearing a long kilt with a protruding apron decorated with the "astronomical tools" of a Heliopolitan high priest. His right hand rests flat on his lap, while his left hand clutches a folded cloth. This is a strong three-dimensional parallel to many two-dimensional representations of deified 18th Dynasty princes (see below, **Chapter 4**). The statue is inscribed on both sides of the throne, the back pillar and the front of the kilt.

Borchardt and Bouriant's transcription of the texts are both marred by numerous errors, which have influenced published translations. These errors are summarized by El-Alfi in his 1974 dissertation.²³⁸ In the absence of photographs of the inscriptions, I am following the transcriptions and transliterations of El-Alfi and D. Raue.²³⁹

Left side of the throne: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Hr-Mn Gb.tiw 3s.t mw.t ntr km3(.t) nfr.w=f di=sn hsy.w rš.wt*²⁴⁰ (2) *thhw.t*²⁴¹ *pḥ nn m krs.t nfr.t m-h.t i3w.y w3ḥ* (3) *n k3 n iry-pc.t h3.ty-c smr c3 n mr.wt w*²⁴² *hr hw=f n t3 r-dr=f sḥ nfr n sdm n* (4) *=f im3hy dd hs.wt stp n ny-sw.t hnt t3.wy r ir.t š3.t.n=fnb m pr* (5) *it(=f) Itm phr m sb.ty m k3.t rwd.t smnh hr hr.t d.t md.wt*²⁴³ (6) *mh*

²³⁸ "Recherches sur le personnel," 41-42.

²³⁹ "Recherches sur le personnel" and D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, 149.

²⁴⁰ The spelling of this word is playful – a lion followed by three šw signs; see *WB* II 454.

²⁴¹ I am following D. Raue's reading (*Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, 149, n. 3). A playful spelling is employed here

which may also be read *t3y-k3 hw.wt* ("bull-calf of the palaces"):  . This is perhaps a punning allusion to the Mnevis bull or even the prince Ahmose himself.

²⁴² Read *c3* by Borchardt (144) and El-Alfi (39); read *w*^c by Raue (149). The third sign in the group *smr c3 (?)* is apparently also ambiguous, being variously transcribed as *c3* or *w*^c(.ty).

²⁴³ Bryan reads this phrase as *shm hr hr.wt d.t md.wt* ("one who supervises the affairs of the serfs and the cattle stalls") (*Reign of Thutmose IV*, 68) while Raue reads it as a continuation of the description of the building project begun in the previous clause.

hrmw²⁴⁴ ḥs3.w šnw.wt²⁴⁵ hr tñr p.t Twñ.t pr R²⁴⁶ m hb.t (7) hw-dfȝ.w m hr.t-hrw n.t rȝ nb nn sp

hpr mit.t dr (8) pȝw.t in sȝ ny-sw.t mȝ mr=f n s.t-ib=f wr-mȝ.w mr.n Rȝ Th-ms

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Horus-Min of Coptos and Isis, mother of the god who created his beauty, that they might give praises, joy (2) and exultation, and death²⁴⁷ with a good burial after a lasting old age (3) for the *ka* of the hereditary noble and count, the companion great of love, alone in the entire land, the well-heeded dignitary,²⁴⁸ (4) the venerated one, enduring of praises, whom the king selected before the Two Lands in order to carry out everything that he ordained in the house of (5) (his) father Atum, (namely): surrounding (it) with a wall as an enduring work, endowing (it) with eternal offerings, (with) (6) full cattle-stalls and plentiful aviaries, and granaries approaching the sky, while Heliopolis and the House of Re are in festival (7) (with) food offerings in the course of every day. Never has the like been done since (8) the primordial time (except) by the true King’s Son, his beloved of the seat of his heart, the Chief of Seers, beloved of Re, Ahmose.”

Right side of the throne: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Mn Gb.tiw sȝ ȝs.t bnr mrw(.t) di=f hs.wt=f m-bȝh* (2) *ny-sw.t wnn [m]-bȝh tȝ hr šms kȝ=f hft hs.wt n.t hr ny-sw.t n kȝ* (3) *n iry-pȝ.t hȝ.ty-ȝ it ntr mry ntr hry-sȝtȝ hm nb smi.w n=f hr tȝ.wy whm rȝ* (4) *bi.ty n sȝh.w dd.tw.n=f imn.t n.t ib r sȝr.t n Hr* (5) *hw.t ȝ.t pri hr mȝ.t n nb tȝ.wy nh.w m ȝ=f n [. . .].w* (6)=*f r=fnd Hr Hr.w in sȝ ny-sw.t mȝ*

²⁴⁴ A variant of *ḥmw* (“aviary”); see *WB* II 481. Bryan reads phrase (with the preceding sign) as *ns hrw m w* (“a pleasing tongue in the estates”), *Reign of Thutmosis IV*, 68.

²⁴⁵ Borchardt’s copy of this line contains a number of errors that make reading difficult. I am following Raue’s reading of this passage.

²⁴⁶ The solar disk appears to be a *nw* sign in Borchardt’s transcription.

²⁴⁷ *WB* I, 534.

²⁴⁸ Lit. “the dignitary to whom it is good to listen”

mr=f(7) imy-r3 pr.wy-hd imy-r3 pr.wy-nbw imy-r3 k3.wt nb.t n.t ny-sw.t imy-r3 k3.w imy-r3

šnw.ty(8) imy-r3 3h.wt wcb.t n.t Itm nb Iwn.w htm mdc.wt hr ūy.t=f wr m33.w Th-ms

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Min of Coptos, son of Isis, sweet of love, that he might give his praises before (2) the king, being in the presence of the land while following his *ka*, in accordance with the favors from the king for the *ka* (3) of the hereditary noble and count, the God’s Father beloved of the god, the one privy to the secrets of every shrine, to whom the condition of the Two Lands is reported, who repeats the speech (4) of the King of Lower Egypt to the dignitaries, to whom one confides the hidden things of the heart concerning that which Horus of the great palace caused to ascend, (5) who comes forth bearing *ma’at* for the Lord of the Two Lands, the bouquets in his hand for his [offering?] (6) to the nose of Horus of Horuses by the true King’s Son, his beloved, (7) overseer of the houses of silver, overseer of the houses of gold, overseer of all royal works, overseer of cattle, overseer of the double granaries, (8) overseer of the pure fields of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, who seals documents with his certificate, the chief of seers Ahmose.”

Front of the skirt: (1) *iry-pc.t h3.ty-c sd3w.ty bi.ty smr wcy.ty stp n ny-sw.t ti sw m hwn r(2)h.w²⁴⁹ b3k=f t3 r sdsr pr Itm shr.w dw.t (3) hr=f s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f wr m3.w ikr m sc̄h=f Th-ms*

“(1) The hereditary nobleman and count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, chosen by the king while he was a wise youth (2) so that he might work the land for

²⁴⁹ Bryan reads this phrase as *hwn-nfr rh.w* (*Reign of Thutmose IV*, 68), but the *nfr* sign does not appear in Borchardt’s copy and is not read by Raue (*Heliopolis und des Haus das Re*, 149).

him in order to consecrate the temple of Atum, driving away evils (3) from it, the true King's Son, his beloved, chief of seers, excellent in his rank, Ahmose."

Back pillar: [s³ ny-sw.t m³^c mr=f] wr m³.w mr n R^cT^ch-ms di.tw h³=f hft k³=f m-b³h=f
iwny pw m³^c hrw

"[The true King's Son, his beloved], chief of seers, beloved of Re, Ahmose. May [protection] be placed behind him while his Ka is in his presence, he being a pillar, true of voice."

II.26 – Gebelein Statue of Ahmose B (Cairo JE 36412)

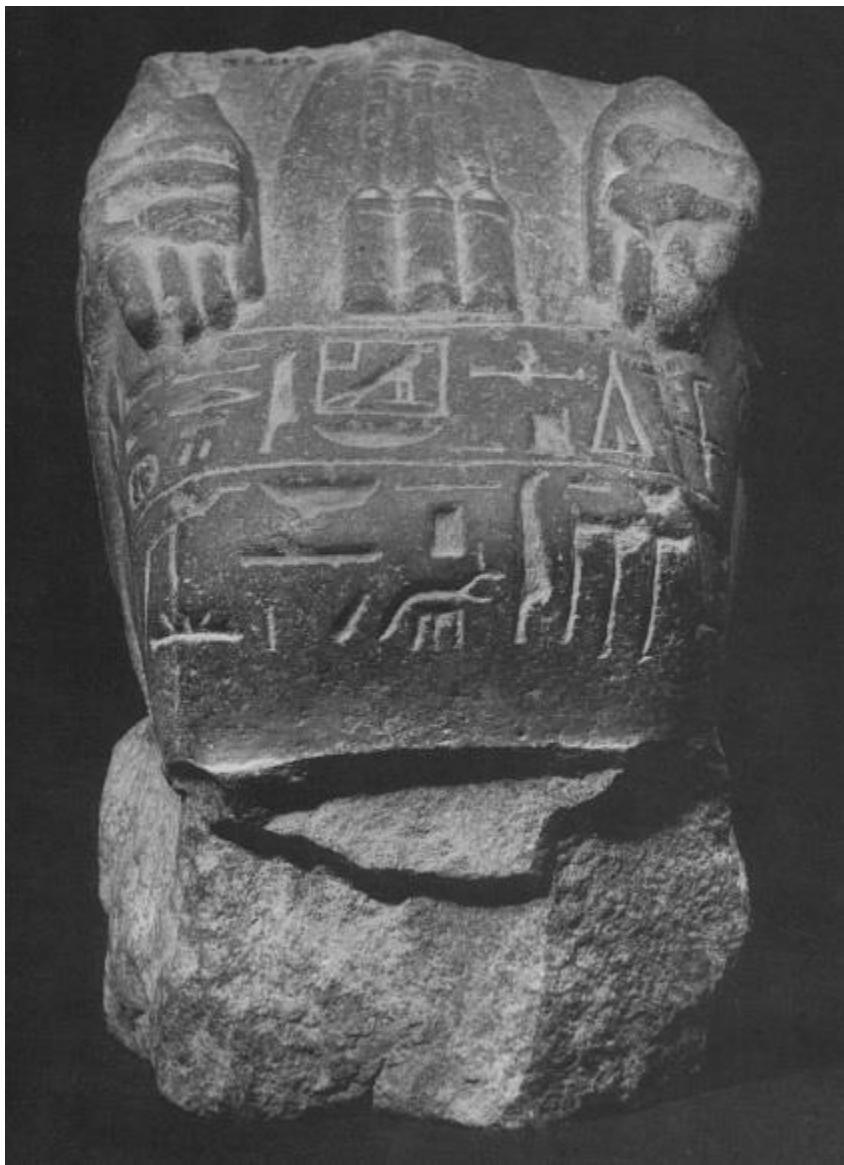


Figure 31 – Cairo JE 36412. Statue of Ahmose B. Silicified sandstone, 29 cm h (surviving height), 32 cm l, 19 cm w. Originally from Gebelein, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. Image from W. Ghoneim, “Eine Statue des Prinzen und Hohepriesters von Heliopolis Ahmes (Cairo JE 36412),” SAK 21 (1994), pl. 10.

In 1994, W. Ghoneim published a third monument associated with Ahmose B.²⁵⁰ This statue, Cairo JE 36412, was found at Gebelein in 1902, and probably originated from the local temple of Hathor.²⁵¹ The statue depicts the prince in a kneeling position. Only the hands and legs are preserved. He wears a long kilt with an elaborate tasseled belt and a priestly panther skin. The panther skin is decorated with a stylized, star-like pattern. The distinctive decorative elements on the belt may be stylized representations of pouches containing astronomical tools or surveyor's equipment. This detail is paralleled on contemporary statues of other priests (CG 711 and Turin 1377) as well as the other known representations of Ahmose (CG 589 and Berlin Stele 14200).²⁵²

In the Gebelein statue, Ahmose holds the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt in his hands, which rest on his thighs palm up – a pose with few parallels in Egyptian statuary. Two papyrus plants rest in the palm of his left hand, three lotus blossoms in his right.²⁵³ The stems of the plants are draped over his legs and extend to the statue base on both sides. The skirt of his kilt is inscribed below the apron. The back column is also inscribed, and traces of inscription still remain on the left side of the base.

Text on the skirt of the kilt: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) Inr.ty* (2) *nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w*
Inp.w nb t3-hd

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Hathor, mistress of Gebelein, (2) mistress of heaven, lady of the gods, and Anubis, lord of the Bright Land . . .”

²⁵⁰ Ghoneim, “Eine Statue des Prinzen.”

²⁵¹ Ibid., 95.

²⁵² Ibid., 96.

²⁵³ Ibid., 95-97, plates 10-14.

The offering formula presumably continued on the base of the statue, but most of the inscribed surface is now obliterated. A trace remains on the left side. A reclining jackal is clearly visible in Ghoneim's photograph.²⁵⁴ Ghoneim interprets this as either a writing of *Inp.w* or part of the title *hr.y-sšt3*.²⁵⁵ The latter interpretation is supported by the fact that this title appears on CG 589.

Text on the back pillar: [. *s3 ny-*] *sw.t wr m3.w it-ntr Tḥ-ms m3c-hrw*

"[.] King's [son], Chief of Seers, God's Father Ahmose, true-of-voice."

The text across the knees clarifies the provenance of the statue and identifies it as a votive offering to Hathor of Gebelein.²⁵⁶ It is interesting that this prince, whose base of operations would have been Heliopolis, is attested in monuments from two separate Upper Egyptian cities as well. There are no definite attestations of Ahmose B at Thebes.²⁵⁷

Ghoneim has argued on the basis of stylistic, philological and historical considerations that Ahmose was a son of Thutmose III.²⁵⁸ Stylistically and iconographically, Ghoneim places all of Ahmose's known monuments somewhere during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Some of the phraseology of the texts of CG 589 is also paralleled in the inscriptions of a Senenmut statue, CG 579.²⁵⁹ Ghoneim points out that placing Ahmose in this period would fill part of the apparent vacancy in the position of High Priest of Re at Heliopolis during the period

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pl. 12.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 97.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 97-98.

²⁵⁷ However, see discussion of the identity of one or more individuals simply called *Tḥ-ms* on several votive Theban stelae below, **Chapter 4**.

²⁵⁸ "Statue des Prinzen," 101-105.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 103; specifically, the phrases *smi.w n=f hr t3.wy* and *w hm r3 (4) bi.ty n s3h.w.*

between the early 18th Dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III.²⁶⁰ Finally, Ahmose's known monuments seem to come from sites associated with Thutmose III's building program, which explains his presence in Coptos and Gebelein.²⁶¹

II.27 – Statuette of Djhutmos B as a Priest (Louvre E2794/N792)



Figure 32 – Louvre E. 2749. Statue of Djhutmos B grinding grain. Probably originally from Memphis, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III. Schist, 10.5 cm l., 5 cm h., 2.8 cm w. Image from A. Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JEA* 76 (1990), pl. V, 2.

Several monuments from the Memphite region can be associated with Djhutmos (B), a son of Amenhotep III.²⁶² The image of Djhutmos with Amenhotep III from Chapel I of the Serapeum has already been discussed above (I.3). Within the burial chamber associated with

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 103. The office was held by Sennefer and Amenemhat during these periods, respectively. See M. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes*, §27 and §29.

²⁶¹ Ghoneim, "Statue des Prinzen," 105.

²⁶² Designated "Djhutmos B" by Dodson in order to distinguish him from "Djhutmos A," the future Thutmose IV ("Crown Prince Djhutmos," 95).

the chapel, several ceramic and calcite vessels inscribed with the name of the prince were also found, which now reside in the Louvre.²⁶³

Also in the Louvre is a schist statuette of the prince, depicted as a priest grinding grain.²⁶⁴ The prince is shown lying on his belly with his knees slightly bent and feet flexed so that his toes rest on the ground. His arms are stretched forward in front of him in the act of grinding grain on a small quern. His head is raised and his gaze fixed ahead. He wears an *ib*s wig with a sidelock, a kilt, and a panther skin, a costume suggestive of both his status as a prince and as a *sm*-priest of Ptah.

The statuette is inscribed on the front and the right and left sides. The inscriptions are as follows:²⁶⁵

Left side: *ink hm ntr pn šps.w nd=f*

“I am the servant of this august god, his miller.”

Right side: *shd n hn.t²⁶⁶ s3 ny-sw.t sm Dhw.tj-ms*

“The Illuminated One of the resting place(?), the King’s Son, the Sem-priest Djhutmose.”

Front: *sntr n psd.t im.t hr.t-ntr’Imn.t*

“Incense for the Ennead which is in the western necropolis.”

²⁶³ Ibid., 88. These vessels are N. 482, N. 484 A-B, N. 455 and N. 455 B, and AF 153. See Mariette, *Le Sérapéum*, 125.

²⁶⁴ Louvre E2749/N792. Published in Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 87-88 and pl. V, fig. 2.

²⁶⁵ Published in A. H. Gardiner, “A Statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose,” ZÄS 43 (1906), 56. Gardiner had not seen the original statue. His publication is based on a copy of the inscriptions sent to him by the Louvre’s curator of Egyptian antiquities at the time, G. Bénédite.

²⁶⁶ *n ln.t*: This small group of signs is ignored in Dodson’s translation (“Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 88). He leaves *shd* untranslated.

II.28 – Ushabti of Djhutmose (VÄGM 117-97)



Figure 33 – VÄGM 117-97. Ushabti of Djhutmose B. Probably originally from Memphis, now in the Verein zur Förderung des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Steatite, 9.8 cm by 5.1 cm by 5.2 cm. Image from D. Wildung, “Le frère aîné d’Ekhnaton. Réflexions sur un décès prématuré,” *BSfÉ* 143 (1998), p. 11.

An elaborate steatite ushabti figure of Djhutmose, probably from the Memphite region, was obtained by the Verein zur Förderung des Ägyptischen Museums Berlin in the late 1990s.²⁶⁷ This small object depicts the mummiform figure of the prince lying on a bed with the head²⁶⁸ and feet of a lion. A human-headed *ba* bird, sculpted in the round, rests on Djhutmose’s

²⁶⁷ VÄGM 117-97; published in D. Wildung, “Le frère aîné d’Ekhnaton. Réflexions sur un décès prématuré,” *BSfÉ* 143 (1998), 10-18.

²⁶⁸ A single small lion head is preserved on the right side of the head of the bed (viewed front-on), but a notch on the left side suggests that another head may have been affixed to that side at one time as well.

chest with its wings and human arms spread in a protective embrace.²⁶⁹ The *ba* wears a tripartite wig and clasps a *šn* in each claw. Kneeling figures of Nephthys and Isis are depicted in relief at the head and foot ends of the bed, respectively. Isis kneels on top of a *nwb* sign, and both rest their hands on *šn* symbols.

The prince himself is mummiform, but wears a round wig with a curled sidelock. He also wears a broad collar with falcon-head terminals. The prince has the round, childlike face and large eyes characteristic of the final decade of Amenhotep III's reign.

The right and left sides of the bed are inscribed identically: *hd s3 ny-sw.t sm Dhw.ty-ms m3c hrw*

"The Bright One, King's Son and *Sm*-priest Djutmose, true-of-voice."

A third inscription runs from just below the *ba*-bird's tail to the toes of the mummiform figure: *sm Dhw.ty-ms m3c hrw*

"The *Sm*-Priest Djutmose, true-of-voice."

²⁶⁹ This form of ushabti, with a protective *ba* bird on the chest, seems to have originated during the reign of Amenhotep III; Wildung, "Le frère aîné d'Ekhнатon," 17.

II.29 – Sarcophagus of *T3-Mit* (CG 5003)



Figure 34 – CG 5003. The sarcophagus or canopic chest of Ta-Mit. Originally from Mit Rahina. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III. Limestone, 64 cm by 44 cm by 64.8 cm. Image from H. Hohneck, "Alles für die Katz? Nochmals zum 'Katzensarkophag' des Prinzen Thutmosis." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 141 (2014), 117, fig. 1 (after Wildung).

The most complete known list of Djutmose's titles is given on a monument from Mit Rahina, a small sarcophagus or canopic chest for a cat named Ta-Mit ("The She-Cat"). The texts on this unusual object state that it was dedicated by Djutmose, presumably for a beloved pet.

The cat is represented on both long sides of the box – on one side as a living cat sitting before an offering table, and twice on the other side as a sitting cat and an anthropoid mummy with a cat head. Isis and Nephthys are depicted kneeling in protective positions on each end. The prince is described as *s3 ny-sw.t smsw imy-r3 hm.w-ntr m šmč.w t3-mh.w wr hrp hm.w sm* (“King’s Eldest Son, Overseer of Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Controller of Works (i.e. High Priest of Ptah) and *sm-priest*”) in inscriptions on the vaulted lid of the box.²⁷⁰

The full texts of the monument are as follows:

Middle of the lid: (1) *dd mdw i(n) Wsir T3-mi3.t dd=f i²⁷¹ mw.t=<i> Nw.t psš.n=t hr=i rdi(2).tw=i m ihm.w-sk imy(.w)=t nn²⁷² mwt=i T3-mi3(.t) m3č-hrw*

“(1) Recitation by the Osiris Ta-Mit, who says:²⁷³ ‘O my mother Nut, you have spread yourself over me, while I am placed (2) among the indestructible stars which are in you. I shall not die, (namely) Ta-mit, true-of-voice.’”

Left side of lid: *ir hr-č n s3 ny-sw.t smsw mr=f wr hrp hm.wt sm Dhw.ty-ms*

“Made under the supervision of the King’s Eldest Son, his beloved, the Great Controller of Works and *sm-priest* Djhutmose.”

Right side of lid: *ir hr-č n s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 hm.w ntr m Šmč.w Mh.w wr hrp hm.wt sm Dhw.ty-ms*

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 88. See also L. Borchardt, “Ein Katzensarg aus dem Neuen Reich,” ZÄS 44 (1907), 97 and S. el-Shabban, “The Cat’s Coffin of *Dhwty-ms* in the Cairo Museum,” *Discussions in Egyptology* 46 (2000), 65-78.

²⁷¹ Written with the seated man (Gardiner A1) rather than the expected standing man with upraised arm (Gardiner A26). Possibly the result of scribal confusion in which the expected suffix pronoun after *mw.t* was transposed into initial position.

²⁷² Written *n.t*. The reading *nn* is suggested by Hohneck, “Alles für die Katz’,” 113.

²⁷³ Lit. “he saying.” Presumably the masculine suffix pronoun is used here and throughout the inscriptions in reference to Ta-Mit in the masculine role of “the Osiris.”

"Made under the supervision of the King's Son, Overseer of Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, Great Controller of Works and *sm*-priest Djhutmose."

Head end of the lid, above the image of Nephthys: *dd mdw in Wsir T3-mi3(.t) nn nn.t*

"Recitation by the Osiris Ta-Mit: 'There is no weariness . . .'"

This text continues on the left edge of the lid: *nn g3h ḥ.wt T3-mi3.t m3c hrw hr ntr ḥ3*
" . . . and there is no tiredness of the limbs.' Ta-Mit, true-of-voice before the Great God."

Foot end of the lid, above the image of Isis: *dd mdw in 3s.t p̄hr.n=i ḥ.wy(=i) r ḥ3=k Wsir*
"Recitation by Isis: 'I have encircled²⁷⁴ you with (my) two arms, Osiris.'"

Right edge of lid: *dd mdw in Nw.t s3(=i) pn Wsir iw ḥk3 t3.wy Hr p(w) ms(.n) 3s.t*
"Recitation by Nut: 'This is (my) son, Osiris, heir of the Ruler of the Two Lands. It is

Horus, whom Isis bore.'"

Right side of the box, between the two figures of Ta-Mit: *im3hy.t hr T3-mi3.t*
"Revered before Ta-Mit."

Two vertical columns are inscribed on the foot end of the box, to the right and left of Isis, respectively: (1) *dd mdw in Is.t Gb ḥ.wy=k(y) ḥ3* (2) *Wsir T3-mi3.t shd=k hr=fwn(.w)*
ir.ty=f(y) m3c hrw

"(1) Recitation by Isis: '(O) Geb, your two arms are around (2) the Osiris Ta-Mit, while
you illuminate his face, his two eyes being open, (namely, the one) true-of-voice.'"

Likewise, two columns are inscribed on either side of Nephthys on the head end of the
box: (1) *dd mdw in Nb.t-hw.t p̄hr.n=i ḥ3* (2) *n sn=i Wsir T3-mi3.t m3c hrw*

²⁷⁴ For the idiom *p̄hr ḥ3* (to "go around"), see *WB I*, 545.

“(1) Recitation by Nephthys: ‘I have encircled (2) my brother, the Osiris Ta-Mit, true-of-voice.’”

Two vertical columns are inscribed on the right side of the box, beginning on the lid and ending at the base of the box. On the left, nearest the foot end: *im3hy.t hr Hpy Wsir T3-mi(3.t) m3c hrw*

“The one revered before Hapy, the Osiris Ta-Mi(t), true-of-voice.”

On the right, nearest the head end: *im3hy.t hr Kbh-sn.w=f Wsir T3-mi(3.t)*

“The one revered before Qebehsenuef, the Osiris Ta-Mi(t).”

The same configuration of texts is present on the sides left side of the box and lid. On the left, nearest the foot end: *im3hy(.t) hr Dw3-mw.t=f Wsir T3-mi(3.t) m3c hrw hr ntr 3*

“The one revered before Duamutef, the Osiris Ta-Mi(t), true-of-voice before the Great God.”

On the right, nearest the head end: *[im3hy.t h]r Ims.ty Wsir T3-mi(3.t) m3c hrw*

“[The one revered be]fore Imsety, the Osiris Ta-Mi(t), true-of-voice.”

Recently H. Hohneck has questioned the authenticity of this object.²⁷⁵ Hohneck’s objections are based on a series of minor stylistic, philological, and paleographic anomalies which, in his view, are numerous enough to suggest that the sarcophagus is probably a fake.²⁷⁶ He suggests that this object could have been made by the same sophisticated “school” of

²⁷⁵ “Alles für die Katz?” ZÄS 141 (2014), 112-131.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 116 ff.

forgers that ostensibly created the Giza naos of Prince Amenmose (II.19; see discussion above).²⁷⁷

Like the Amenmose naos, if the Ta-Mit sarcophagus were a forgery, it would have to have been created by a person or persons with an in-depth understanding of Egyptology in general and the history of the 18th Dynasty in particular. Hohneck presents a lengthy list of objects from which the forger(s) might have drawn inspiration to create this unusual monument, including the fragments from the Serapeum (I.3) which could have suggested the idea of Djhutmose as an “animal lover.” He argues that the otherwise unattested title of Djhutmose (“High Priest of Ptah”) that appears on the sarcophagus could have been borrowed from Ramesses II’s son Khaemwaset, who held this title along with that of *sm-priest*.²⁷⁸

I am inclined to accept the monument as genuine. Virtually all known forgeries of ancient Egyptian art are copies or pastiches of already existing monuments. Even if this monument is forged, it is unlikely that a modern forger created such a unique and extraordinarily convincing object, particularly with such sophisticated and historically well-informed inscriptions, without reference to a genuine monument.

The list of titles given for Djhutmose on this monument suggests that he would have wielded considerable authority as a high-ranking priest at Memphis. If the unknown prince buried in KV 35 is Djhutmose, then he must have attained these offices during childhood or early adolescence. In any case, it is clear that Djhutmose predeceased his father.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 125.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

II.30 – Whip Handle of Djhutmose B(?) (Cairo JE 61997)

A whip handle from the tomb of Tutankhamun is inscribed with the name of a prince Djhutmose. The full inscription reads *s3 ny-sw.t hry pd.t Dhw.ty-ms m3c-hrw* ("King's Son and Troop Commander Djhutmose, true-of-voice").²⁷⁹ It is possible that this object originally belonged to Amenhotep III's son, whose monuments are discussed above.²⁸⁰ If so, it was presumably placed in Tutankhamun's tomb as an heirloom. However, the other title associated with this prince (*hr.y pd.t*) is not consistent with Djhutmose's other monuments. The cryptic writing of *m3c-hr.w* with a cluster of flowers suggests that the object was inscribed during or shortly before the Amarna period.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Discussed briefly above; Cairo JE 61997, Carter Catalogue 333-12 and 333-13.

²⁸⁰ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose," 96.

²⁸¹ WB II, 17.

Chapter 4: Category III – Objects and Monuments Relating to the Cult of the Royal Family

Although the worship of royal ancestors had a lengthy history in Egypt, it was not until the New Kingdom that it began to take the form of the worship of individual royal figures.¹

Before that time, royal ancestors were worshipped as an anonymous collective, the *ȝh.w* and *šms.w Hr* (“transfigured spirits,” “followers of Horus”). While the practice of royal ancestor worship in the New Kingdom seems to have begun within the royal family, it was adopted by non-royal individuals early in the 18th Dynasty. The nature and implications of this expansion of the royal ancestor cult will be investigated in more detail in **Chapter 11**.

While the cult of the 18th Dynasty royal family (especially at Thebes) reached its peak in the Ramesside period, its roots can be traced to the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty and even the late 17th.² In this discussion, the 18th Dynasty material will be the primary focus; later material will be briefly summarized. The most prominent subjects of this cult were Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, who were particularly revered at Deir el-Medina. However, several other kings, queens and a number of princes were also the subjects of cultic activity, particularly in Thebes, from early in the 18th Dynasty.

The royal ancestor cult was celebrated formally in royal contexts from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and received special attention during the reign of Thutmose III. The *Akh-Menu* at Karnak was dedicated at least in part to the celebration of Thutmose III’s royal ancestors.³

¹ H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), 89-90.

² See, for example, the Louvre statue of Ahmose discussed above (**II.1**).

³ *PM* II, 111-112.

Thutmose III also seems to have been involved in the cult of Wadjmose and is represented worshipping Wadjmose and Thutmose I in contemporary monuments (e.g. **III.24**).

At roughly the same period, private monuments dedicated to deceased 18th Dynasty kings, queens and princes began to appear in Thebes and the surrounding environs, with a few examples showing up considerably farther north (e.g. Middle Egypt and the Fayyum).

Since many of these monuments are difficult or impossible to date with any precision, and many are without provenance, I will present the material in this chapter thematically rather than chronologically or geographically. The monuments discussed here are organized as follows:

a. Monuments of Ahmose Sapair

- i) Ahmose Sapair as an active figure (i.e. monuments that depict Ahmose Sapair in the role of an active intermediary between the deceased and the gods)
- ii) Ahmose Sapair as a passive figure (i.e. monuments that depict Ahmose Sapair as the object of worship). Several monuments of this type depict figures that cannot be identified as Ahmose Sapair with certainty (**III.6-III.10**). I will begin with these, then move to monuments that probably or definitely depict Ahmose Sapair.
- iii) Unclassifiable. The final Ahmose Sapair monument that I will discuss is so fragmentary that it is difficult to determine the nature of the prince's role.

b. Monuments associated with the chapel of Wadjmose

a. Monuments of Ahmose Sapair

i. Ahmose Sapair as an active intermediary for the deceased

The earliest known prince to become subject of an 18th Dynasty cult was Ahmose Sapair, whose role as a divine intermediary may go back to the late 17th Dynasty (see discussion of the Louvre statue of Prince Ahmose above, II.1). If Ahmose Sapair is the same as the Ahmose represented in the Louvre statue, then his cult was initiated by members of his immediate family. It did not take long for this cult to spread to the private sphere. The earliest votive objects depicting Ahmose Sapair as a subject of private worship can be dated to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.

C. Vandersleyen has attempted to compile a comprehensive list of monuments of Ahmose Sapair or individuals who are possibly Ahmose Sapair.⁴ He lists 16 stelae that can be securely dated to the 18th Dynasty and three that belong to the 18th or 19th. Additionally, the prince was featured in the decoration of a tomb dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (TT 161), where he was depicted in the company of the deified Amenhotep I. He was also represented in a small statuette, now in St. Petersburg. Of these objects, 5 refer to their subject simply as “Ahmose,” and another 5 call him only “Sapair.”⁵ In some of these cases, the identity of the prince as Ahmose Sapair can be established through contextual clues (e.g. the presence of other deified members of the Ahmosid family, like Ahmose-Nefertari) or the presence of the title *sʒ ny-sw.t*. However, not all of these individuals can be identified as Ahmose Sapair with

⁴ C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 39-46.

⁵ Ibid., 48-49.

complete confidence, and a few are unlikely to be Ahmose Sapair but may represent other 18th Dynasty princes.⁶

These objects typically depict their subject as a) an intermediary in the worship of other divinities or b) in the more passive role of a direct recipient of worship, either alone or in the company of other deified royal figures – or, in one case, standing behind Amun (Cairo JE 41773, III.13).⁷ The latter category (Ahmose Sapair in a passive role) significantly outnumbers the former (Ahmose in an active role). Interestingly, objects which depict Ahmose Sapair as an active intermediary (5 in all) mostly or entirely date to the early-mid 18th Dynasty. Later monuments almost exclusively depict him in a passive role as a recipient of worship (however, monuments of this type are attested from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty alongside those showing the prince in a more active role).

⁶ Ibid., 25-26, 33-34.

⁷ Vandersleyen's document 8. Ibid., 40; 66-67 (illustrations).

III.1 – Stele of Ahmose Sapair Adoring a God (UC 14219)



Figure 35 – UC 14219. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, early 18th Dynasty. Limestone, 34.5 cm by 17.2 cm. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. JPG, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17466> (Accessed October 20, 2016).

Vandersleyen's Document 19 (London, UC 14219)⁸ is a triangular stele that depicts the prince in an attitude of worship, standing and facing right with his arms upraised. The first line of the inscription associated with the prince is damaged, but the preserved text, to the right and left of the figure, is as follows: (1) [dw³ R^c(?) m] pr(.t)=f^c3(.t) dw (2) in s³ ny-sw.t T^ch-ms (3) dd n=f S³-p³-ir

"(1) [Adoration of Re(?) at] his great coming forth, invocation (2) by the King's Son Ahmose (3) who is called Sapair."

Vandersleyen describes this stele as a private monument honoring the prince,⁹ but both the text and the image on the stele make it clear that the Sapair is an active figure, worshipping a deity (whose name and possibly image are now missing), perhaps on behalf of the dedicator of the monument. Such a representation of the prince is in keeping with the apparent function of the Louvre statue of the King's Son Ahmose (**II.1**). The UCL stele was found in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, suggesting an early connection between the deified prince and the Theban Necropolis.

⁸ Ibid., 42; 73 (illustration); H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, Part One: The New Kingdom* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 34, pl. 27.3 (line drawing). See *PM I*, 809 for further bibliography.

⁹ Ibid., 19.

III.2 – Stele of Padju (CG 34005)



Figure 36 – CG 34005. Stele of Padju. Probably from Armant, early 18th Dynasty (after reign of Amenhotep I). Limestone, 43 cm by 29 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I* (Cairo: IFAO, 1909), pl. V.

Vandersleyen's Document 2, a stele of Padju (CG 34005),¹⁰ depicts the King's Son Ahmose Sapair standing behind Amenhotep I, both facing the seated god Montu. A winged solar disc is depicted above the scene. The king and prince are depicted as equal in stature. Ahmose Sapair's costume is quite similar to that worn by the prince in the Louvre statue (*ibid.* wig, broad collar and kilt). The lower part of the stele is inscribed with an offering formula for a man named *P3-dw*, who is depicted kneeling, with his hands upraised in worship, in the lower right-hand corner of the stele. Padju appears to have two titles. The first, *wi [. . .]y n nfr=f* ("The sole [. . .] of his god"), is broken. He is also a *sdm ḥš n Mntw* ("Servant of Montu"). The stele is from Upper Egypt, presumably Armant, as indicated by the reference in the offering formula.¹¹

Text in front of Montu: (1) *Mnt[w] nb* (2) *Iwny*

"(1) Mont[u], Lord (2) of Armant"

Text above Amenhotep I: (1) *ntr nfr (Dsr-k3-R)* | (2) *s3 R (Imn-htp)* | (3) *di ḥnh d.t*

"(1) The Good God Djeserkare, (2) Son of Re Amenhotep, (3) given life forever."

Text above Ahmose Sapair: (1) *s3 ny-sw.t T̄h-ms* (2) *S3-p3-ir*

"(1) King's Son Ahmose (2) Sapair."

Text in front of Amenhotep I: *dw3 ntr R-Mn[tw? . . .]*

¹⁰ Ibid., 39, 60 (photograph); Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, 10-11, pl. V; Gauthier, *Livre des rois II*, 188 (5).

¹¹ Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, 10-11, pl. V.

“Adoration of the god Re-Mon[tu? . . .]”

Text of the offering formula, lower register:

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Mntw nb Iwny* (2) *Tnn.t Iwny.t Hr[. . .]*¹² (3) *nd-hr it=f di=sn pr.t-hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd[.w . . .]* (4) *kbh.w [.] nh[. . .]* (5) *ntr i[m=sn?] n k3 n w*ri** (6) *[. . .]i n ntr=f sdm-*ri*s n* (7) *Mn[i]w P3-dw m3*ri*-hrw* (8) *di=f dw3 n nb=f m hr.t hrw* (9) *[n.t r*ri*] nb*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Montu, Lord of Armant, (2) Tjenenet and Iunet, and Horus [. . .] (3) Protector of His Father, that they might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl [. . .] (4) libations [. . . and all good and pure things by which(?)] (5) the god [lives(?) . . .] for the *ka* of the unique (6) [. . .] of his god, the servant of (7) Mon[t]u, Padju, true-of-voice, (8) that he might give praises to his god in the course (9) of every day.”

Neither of the royal figures in the upper register is mentioned in the offering formula at all, further underscoring their role as intermediaries rather than direct objects of worship.

¹² Very small lacuna, perhaps space for a divine determinative.

III.3 – Stele of Nebsu (CG 34029)



Figure 37 – CG 34029. Stele of Nebsu. Thebes, Karnak, 18th Dynasty. Sandstone, 44 cm by 27 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from P. Lacau, *Stèles I*, pl. XXII.

Vandersleyen's Document 3 (CG 34029)¹³ depicts the King's Son Ahmose Sapair sitting at right in front of a table of offerings, facing Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Sitamun. The king and both queens are seated on simple thrones, as is the prince. Ahmose-Nefertari embraces Amenhotep I, and Sitamun embraces Ahmose-Nefertari. Amenhotep I holds an axe (or perhaps a crudely rendered flail) in his left hand and an ankh in his right. His left arm is bent with his hand resting against his chest. A winged solar disc is depicted above the scene. Ahmose Sapair is depicted in the typical pose of a venerated deceased person, with his left hand resting on his lap and his right hand held to his chest, holding a folded cloth. His attire is simple, with a wig, kilt, and the suggestion of a collar. The nature of Ahmose Sapair's participation in this scene is somewhat ambiguous. Although he is seated and his pose is passive, he is separate from the tightly clustered group of other deified royalty and depicted at a smaller scale. He faces them across the offering table, but it is unclear whether he is the offerer or one of the recipients. It is possible that both senses are intended. In either case, he is engaging the other divine royal figures by virtue of being face-to-face with them, so here he seems to be acting as an intermediary for the dedicatees of the stele, who are depicted in the lower register.

In the lower register of the stele, a group of three figures echoes the group of Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari and Sitamun. A woman is seated before a table of offerings, holding a lotus bud to her nose, while two men sit behind her, each embracing the figure in front of him. Their names are *Imn-m-ip.t*, *Mhy*, and *Imn-m-ip.t*. No titles are given. Interestingly,

¹³ Ibid., 39-40, 61 (photograph); Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* I, 63-64, pl. XXII; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, 189 (9); D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga: Benben, 1986), 49, no. 15.

the offering formula inscribed to the right of these figures is dedicated *n k3 n ny-sw.t Dsr-k3-R*^c (“to the *ka* of the King Djeserkare”). The royal name is written without a cartouche. It is dedicated by a scribe named *Nb-sw* (not pictured on the stele), “for his lords” – presumably the deified royals pictured in the upper register. The inscription suggests that this monument was dedicated to the mortuary cult of Amenhotep I himself. However, the representation of the three private individuals in the lower register clearly indicates that the monument was intended for the benefit of their funerary cults as well.

The stele comes from Karnak.¹⁴ The date is uncertain, with estimates ranging from the early 18th Dynasty¹⁵ to the Ramesside period.¹⁶ The simplicity of the costume of the figures suggests a date before the end of the 18th Dynasty.

The text in the upper register consists simply of the names and titles of the four royal figures pictured, written above the head of each figure, from right to left: *s3 ny-sw.t T^ch-ms S3-p3-ir* (“The King’s Son Ahmose Sapair”), *ntr nfr (Dsr-k3-R)* (“The Good God Djeserkare”), *hm.t ntr (T^ch-ms Nfr.t-iry)* (“The God’s Wife Ahmose-Nefertari”), *hm.t ntr (S3.t-Imn)* (“The God’s Wife Sitamun”).

Text above the scene in the lower register: *Imn-m-Ip.t Mhy Imn-m-Ip.t*
“Amenemopet, Mehya, Amenemopet.”

¹⁴ Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, 63-64, pl. XXII. In Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, 28, pl. LXXXIX, the stele is described as coming from the “rubble of the ancient village”.

¹⁵ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 39.

¹⁶ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 49, no. 15.

Offering formula, right side of lower register: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir hnty imn.tiw ntr* ⿼
hk⿼ (2) *d.t di=fpr.t hrw t hn⿼.t k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t w⿼b.t ⿼nh <ntr im>=sn* (3) *n k3 n ny-sw.t Dsr-*
k3-R⿼ m3⿼-hrw ir n ss Nb-sw n nb.w=f

"(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Great God,
Ruler of (2) Eternity, that he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl and
every pure thing <by which the god> lives, (3) for the *ka* of the King Djeserkare, true-of-voice.
Made by the scribe Nebsu for his lords."

III.4 – Private Stele, Name of Dedicant Lost (CG 34036)

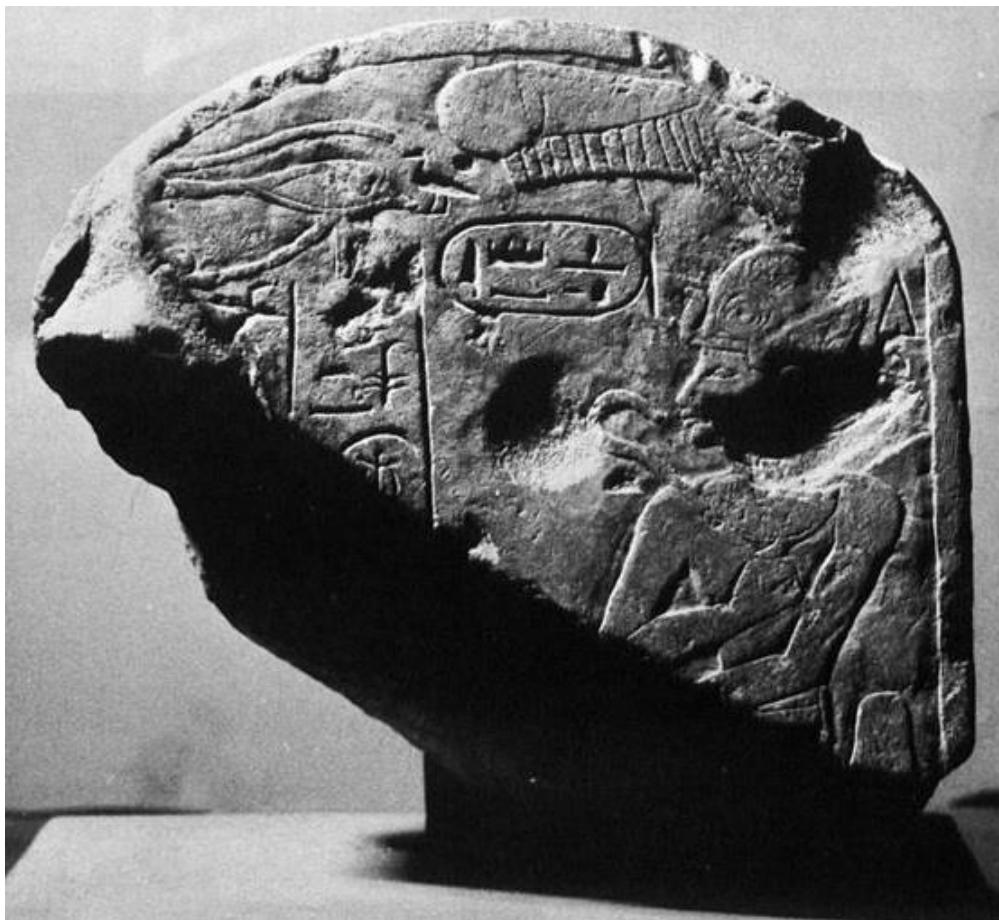


Figure 38 – CG 34036. Stele depicting Ahmose Sapair and Amenhotep I. Limestone, 20 cm h (preserved height), 19 cm w. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Amenhotep II. Probably from Thebes. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from C. Vandersleyen, “L’identité d’Ahmès Sapair.” SAK 10 (1983), pl. XVII.

Vandersleyen’s Document 4 (CG 34036)¹⁷ is fragmentary. Only the top right portion of the stele is preserved, with a diagonal break cutting from top left to just below the waist of the seated figure of Amenhotep I at right. The king is pictured sitting at right on a throne, holding a

¹⁷ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 40, 62 (photograph). Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*, 70 (no illustration).

crook to his chest with his right hand. He wears the *khepres* crown and a broad collar. He is identified only by his nomen, (*Imn-htp*)|, written above and to the left of his face in a cartouche.

Two columns of text facing the king identify the *s3 ny-sw.t Th-ms S3[-p3-ir]* (“King’s Son Ahmose Sa[pair]”). Presumably a figure of the prince once stood at left, facing the king. The difference in status of the two figures is indicated by their apparent difference in stature. The preserved portion of the stele shows that there was not enough room for a depiction of Sapair at the same height as the king. The top of the lunette is decorated with a solar disc that extends a wing over the figure of Amenhotep I, but not Sapair – instead, an *udjat* eye is depicted to the left of the solar disc.¹⁸

Stylistically, this stele appears somewhat later than the previously discussed examples. Vandersleyen suggests it may date to the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁹ The provenance of this stele is unknown, but Vandersleyen assigns it to the Theban region (“pas Karnak”).²⁰

¹⁸ Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* I, 70.

¹⁹ Lahmès Sapair, 40.

²⁰ Ibid., 40.

III.5 – Stele from Hermopolis Depicting Ahmose Sapair and Other Royal Figures

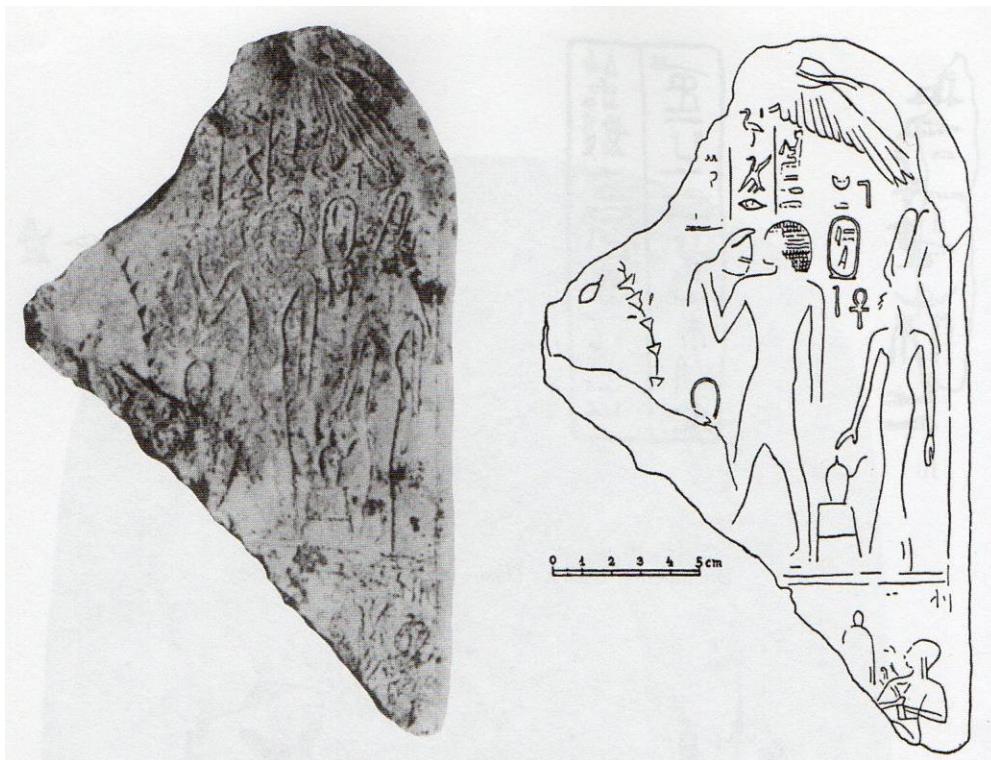


Figure 39 – Stele of Ahmose Sapair. From Hermopolis, Egypt. Limestone, 24.2 cm h by 15.2 cm w. 18th Dynasty.
Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 70 (doc. 14).

The final monument which can be assigned safely to the category of objects representing Sapair as an active figure or intermediary is a fragmentary stele from Hermopolis, Vandersleyen's Document 14.²¹ The provenance of this stele is interesting, because it indicates that the cult of the early 18th Dynasty royal family had spread well beyond Thebes before the end of the 18th Dynasty. According to Balcz and Bittel, who originally published the stele, it was

²¹ Ibid., 41, 70 (illustrations); H. Balcz and K. Bittel, "Grabungsbericht Hermopolis 1932." *MDAIK* 3 (1932), 38-39; G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939* (Hildesheim: Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg KG, 1959), 302-303, pl. 69 k.

found in the rubble on the east side of the pylon of Amenemhat II, along with several other fragmentary stelae, mostly dedicated to Thoth.²²

The upper register of the stele depicts [T^rh-ms] S3-p3-ir m3^r hrw ("[Ahmose] Sapair, true-of-voice") standing in front of a floral offering, presumably to a deity now missing (the left portion of the stele is badly damaged). The *hm.t ntr Mry(.t)-Imn* ("god's wife Meritamun") stands behind him, in front of a low stand bearing a vessel. She is depicted on a smaller scale than Sapair. The prince holds a lotus blossom and buds in his right hand, with the bloom turned toward his nose. According to G. Roeder, he holds an ankh in his left hand, which is not visible in Balcz and Bittel's drawing or Roeder's photograph.²³ A further indication of the prince's divine status is the presence of a winged sun-disk in the upper portion of the lunette which extends its right wing over Ahmose Sapair and Meritamun. Sapair wears an *ibs* wig as in other contemporary representations.

Another remarkable aspect of this monument, also not immediately apparent in the published illustrations, is the presence of a second royal prince in the lower register. Only the top right corner of this register is preserved. A woman's head is visible, with an unguent cone on top of her hair. Behind the woman is the figure of a small boy with his hair in a sidelock. He is only visible from the waist up, but according to Roeder he is probably in a striding pose. His arms are bent with his fists at his chest, and he holds a crook in his right hand and possibly a flail in his left. According to Roeder, the text above the boy (barely visible in photographs)

²² Balcz and Bittel, "Grabungsbericht Hermopolis," 38.

²³ G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 302-303, pl. 69 k.

identifies him as the “Königssohn, Thut-môse.”²⁴ In the absence of further contextual information, it is difficult to say which Djhutmose is represented here. Thutmose I is generally not thought to have been a King’s Son, although the evidence for this hypothesis is hardly conclusive.²⁵ Other possible candidates include Thutmose II, III, or IV before accession or Djhutmose (B), the son of Amenhotep III. Of these, only Thutmose IV (Djhutmose A) and Djhutmose B are attested as princes in other known monuments. The style of the monument, with its slender and attenuated figures, suggests a date earlier than the reign of Amenhotep III.

ii. Ahmose Sapair as a passive recipient of worship

Monuments depicting Ahmose Sapair as a passive object of worship are more numerous and generally more repetitive in their design than those depicting him as an intermediary in the worship of other divine figures. However, there is still considerable variation. Vandersleyen’s documents 16, 18, 20, 21, 34, 39, 40 and 41 all depict the subject seated in front of an offering table alone (i.e., without other deities present), in some cases in the presence of one or more worshippers.²⁶ This is the most common type of Ahmose Sapair monument. On all of these stelae, the prince is represented in the typical attitude of a venerated deceased person, usually

²⁴ Ibid., 302-303. The name of the prince is visible in the photograph (pl. 69 k), but the title is not legible.

²⁵ For example, see discussion in Bennet, “Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapaïr,” 35.

²⁶ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, p. 42ff. Doc. 16: BM EA 360, stele probably from Deir el-Medina, late 18th Dynasty; Doc. 18: BM EA 76761, small blue faience stele or plaque, provenance lost, probably reign of Amenhotep III; Doc. 20: London UC 14233, stele from the Ramesseum, late 18th or early 19th Dynasty; Doc. 21: London UC 15518, stele from Thebes, early 18th Dynasty; Doc. 34: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 137, stele, provenance unknown, estimated by Vandersleyen to date to reign of Thutmose I-Thutmose III; Doc. 39: BM EA 275, stele from Thebes, 18th Dynasty; Doc. 40: BM EA 932, stele, provenance unknown, 18th Dynasty; Doc. 41: Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969-211, stele, provenance unknown, late 18th or early 19th Dynasty.

seated on a throne or chair and holding a lotus in one hand which bends to meet his nose, and occasionally a folded cloth in the other. The monuments I will discuss here range in date from the early 18th Dynasty to the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty; however, this is a format that would continue well into the Ramesside Period.

The remainder of the Ahmose Sapair monuments to be discussed here consist of a series of stelae and, in one case, a tomb scene, depicting Ahmose Sapair in the company of other deities. In most cases, he is depicted with other deified 18th Dynasty royals. In one unique example, he is pictured with Amun. Several monuments of this type (i.e. depicting Ahmose Sapair with other deities, especially royalty) are attested from the 19th and 20th Dynasties as well.

The individual(s) represented on several of the stelae of the more common type (the object of worship depicted alone) cannot be always be identified as Ahmose Sapair with complete certainty. Vandersleyen's documents 39-41, in particular, are suspect, since they lack both the title *s3 ny-sw.t* and the epithet Sapair (see further discussion below).

III.6 – Stele of Nakhy (BM EA 360)



Figure 40 – BM EA 360. Dedicatory stele of Nakhy and “Satpair.” Probably from Deir el-Medina, Thebes, Egypt. Now in the British Museum, London, UK. Limestone, 23.7 cm h by 16 cm w. Late 18th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 71 (doc. 16).

Vandersleyen questions the identity of the person represented on his Document 16 (BM EA 360), who is identified simply as *S3.t-p3-ir m3c hrw* ("Satpair true-of-voice").²⁷ This stele was probably found at Deir el-Medina (although the provenance is not recorded in British Museum records) and was dedicated by a *sdm-čš n(.t) Imn.tt N3hy* ("Servant of the West, Nakhy"). The stele depicts Nakhy offering flowers to Satpair, who sits on an elevated chair with lion feet. Satpair rests his left hand on the offerings piled on the table in front of him and holds a lotus bud in his right hand, which bends to meet his nose.

The stele is inscribed with five vertical columns above the scene and a single horizontal line at the bottom of the stele.

Top of the stele, left two columns: (1) *S3.t-p3-ir* (2) *m3c hrw*

"(1) Satpair, (2) true-of-voice."

Top of the stele, right three columns: (1) *šsp htp <in> S3.t-(2)p3-ir hs.y n* (3) *Rc wcb zp 2*
"(1) Receipt of offering(s) <by> Sat(2)pair, praised of (3) Ra, doubly pure."

Bottom of the stele: *ir n sdm-čš n(.t) Imn.tt N3hy*

"Made by the Servant of the West Nakhy."

In addition to the feminine writing of the name "Satpair," Vandersleyen calls attention to "l'allure très efféminée du personnage,"²⁸ citing the earring, large collar, and trailing sash on

²⁷ *Iahmès Sapair*, 42, 71 (illustrations); discussed p. 33-34. M. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc.* Pt. 10 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982), 10, pl. 7 (photograph and line drawing, text only).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

the kilt worn by Satpair. Vandersleyen compares the latter to those worn by Ramesses II's chief wife Nefertari in representations from her tomb.²⁹

However, many of these costume elements, as well as the androgynous physique of the "Satpair" represented in this stele, are normal for depictions of male royal figures during the final part of the 18th Dynasty, starting with the reign of Akhenaten.³⁰ The princes on the Giza stelae from as early as the reign of Amenhotep II are depicted wearing earrings (see discussion above). This object is almost certainly part of the active and long-lived cult of Ahmose Sapair at Deir el-Medina.³¹

²⁹ Ibid., 34.

³⁰ See, for example, the depiction of Tutankhamun on the small golden throne from KV 62 (Cairo JE 62028), in which the young king is dressed in a kilt with trailing sashes and sports a similar physique to the "Satpair" of BM 360.

³¹ See Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, and "Curator's Notes," British Museum Collection Online (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=177423&partId=1), accessed 3/18/2014.

III.7 – Copenhagen Stele Depicting Ahmose (Ny Carlsberg AEIN 137)

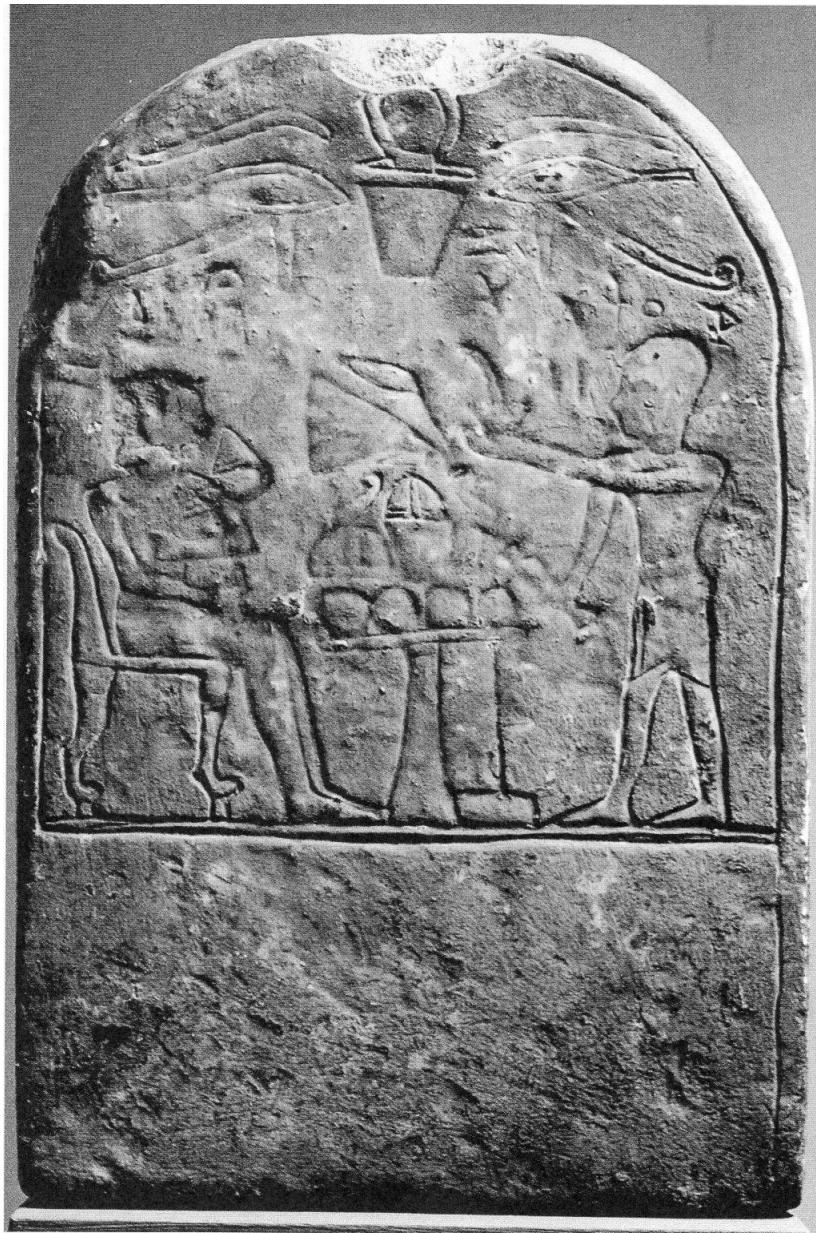


Figure 41 – Ny Carlsberg AEIN 137. Stele of Ahmose Sapair(?). Limestone, 26 cm h, 18 cm w. 18th Dynasty. Original provenance unknown. Now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 90.

Documents 34, 39, 40 and 41 identify the honored deceased person simply as *I^rh-ms.*

The text of Vandersleyen's Document 34 (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg AEIN 137) is badly damaged, and it is possible that the other expected titles and epithets were present at one time, but are no longer legible.³² The depiction of Ahmose is consistent with other early-mid 18th Dynasty representations of Ahmose Sapair, but is also quite generic in nature. It is impossible to prove or disprove that this stele represents Ahmose Sapair without further evidence.

The scene on the stele is topped by two *udjat*-eyes on either side of a *shen*-ring atop a *wesekh*. The deceased person is seated at left on a lion-footed chair. He holds a lotus blossom to his chest with his left hand, and the stem bends so that the blossom meets his nose. He holds a folded cloth in his right hand, which rests on his lap. He wears a broad collar and what appears to be a knee-length kilt. He also wears a short wig, but the damage to his head and face make it difficult to determine the exact nature of the headdress. The badly weathered text above this figure identifies him as *I^rh-ms.*

Another man stands at right, pouring a libation onto an offering table and holding up a burning brazier. He is bald and wears a short kilt. The text associated with this figure is largely illegible.

³² Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 45, 90 (photograph); O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes* (Copenhagen: Glyptotheque ny Carlsberg, 1948), 57-58, pl. 77; R. Demarée, *The 3^h ikr n R^c-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1983), 165, C8; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt II (1550-1080)* (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1998), 52-53, n. 9. Note that Demarée dates this stele to the "late New Kingdom" and Koefoed-Petersen describes it as Ptolemaic(!), while both Vandersleyen and Jørgensen date this object to the early-mid 18th Dynasty (Thutmose I-Thutmose III).

III.8 – Stele of Ahmose Dedicated by Mainakht (BM EA 932)

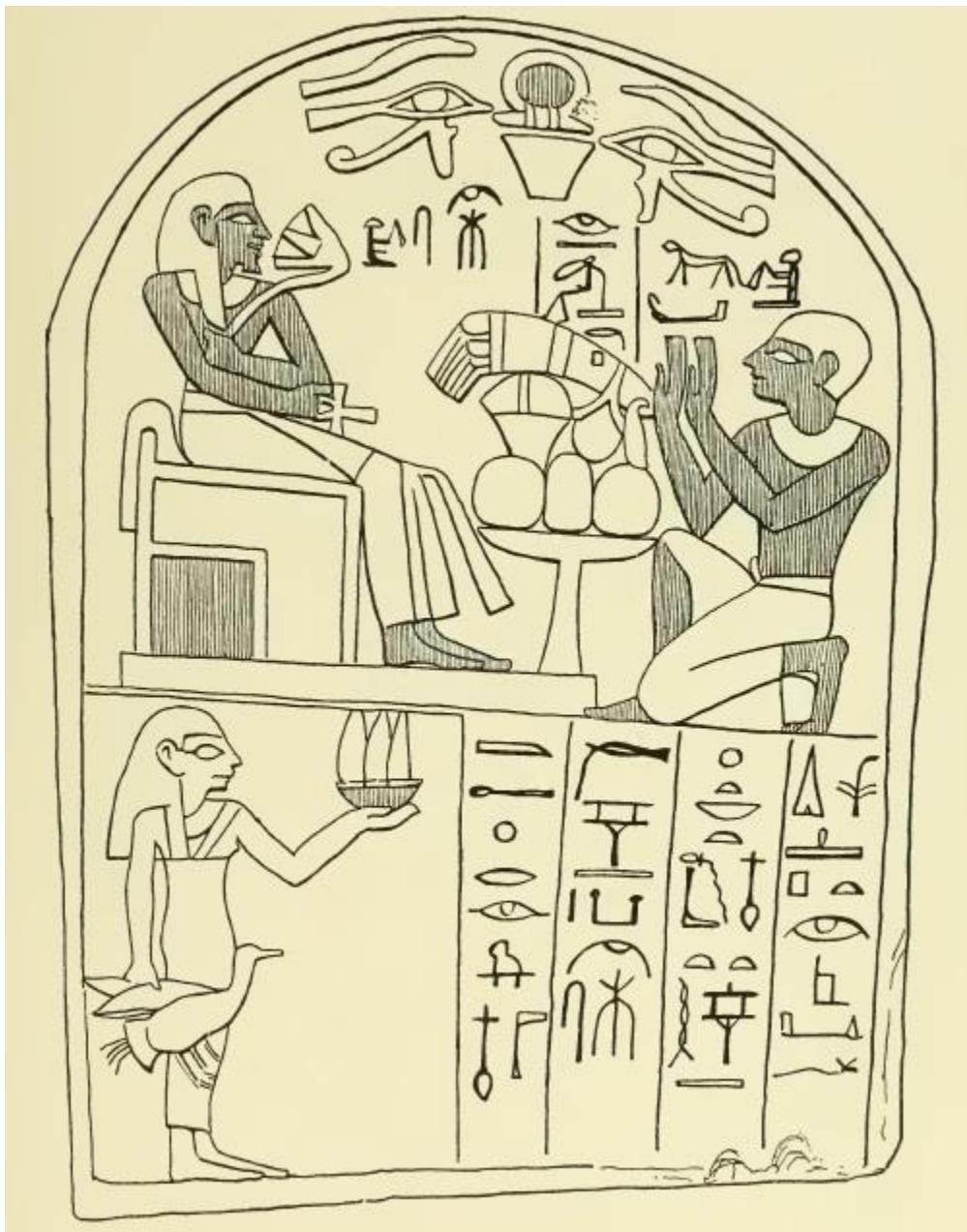


Figure 42 – BM EA 932. Stele of Ahmose. Provenance unknown, early 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Ahmose? Limestone, 36.5 cm by 29 cm. Drawing from H. R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, pt. V (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914), pl. 22.

Document 40 (BM EA 932)³³ is something of an anomaly among Vandersleyen's Ahmose monuments. The dating of this round-topped stele is uncertain and the provenance unknown. Vandersleyen describes the style as “assez archaïque,” but assigns the stele to the 18th Dynasty.³⁴ Other sources have dated it to the 17th Dynasty or the beginning of the 18th.³⁵ While the *Tḥ-ms* represented on this stele cannot be securely identified as Ahmose Sapair, he does seem to be a royal figure.

At the top of the stele, two *udjat*-eyes are carved on either side of a *shen*-ring above a *wesekh* sign. Ahmose is depicted on the left of the top register, sitting on a block throne in front of an offering table. He and the offering table are elevated on a low platform. He wears a *nemes* headdress (with no uraeus) and holds an ankh in his right hand, which rests just above his lap. He holds a lotus in his left hand, which is bent to his chest. He is dressed in an ankle-length kilt. Despite his kingly headdress, this individual is simply identified as *Tḥ-ms*, with no cartouche, titles or epithets.

On the right hand side of the stele, a man faces Ahmose, kneeling on one knee with his hands raised in adoration. He has close-cropped hair or a skullcap, a broad collar, and a long kilt. The text in front of him reads *ir.n hrd n k3p M̄i-nḥ.t* (“Made by the Child of the Royal Nursery, Mainakht”). This text also suggests that the *Tḥ-ms* in question may have been a prince

³³ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 46, 94 (photograph); H. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, V (London: British Museum, 1914), pl. 22; A. Schulman, “Some Observations on the *ȝḥ ikr n R*-Stelae,” *BiOr* 43 (1986), 339-340, C21.

³⁴ Ibid., 46.

³⁵ See Hall (*Hieroglyphic Texts*), who dates the stele to the 17th Dynasty; Schulman suggests a date in the early 18th Dynasty partially on the basis of other attestations of the name Mainakht (“Some Observations,” 340).

– as a Child of the Royal Nursery, Mainakht would have been closely associated with the royal offspring.³⁶

A woman is depicted in the lower register at left, facing the offering formula. She carries a bowl of conical loaves in her upraised left hand and grasps a duck by the wings in her right, which hangs at her side. The offering formula is dedicated to *Tḥ-ms* himself, suggesting that this may be a funerary stele of the prince(?) rather than a cultic monument:

*htp di ny-sw.t Wsir di=fh.t nb.t nfr.t w3b.t t3w ndm mhy.t n k3 n Tḥ-ms m3c hrw hr Wsir
ntr ⲉ*

“An offering which the king gives to Osiris, that he might give every good and pure thing, and a sweet north breeze for the *ka* of Ahmose, true-of-voice before Osiris, the great god.”

Vandersleyen points out that the Ahmose represented on this stele does not have the “allure juvénile” characteristic of depictions of Ahmose Sapair.³⁷ The costume and iconography of this Ahmose are also quite distinctive. Before the Amarna period, Ahmose Sapair was almost invariably depicted wearing an *ibis* wig. From the end of the 18th Dynasty on, he was occasionally represented with a sidelock. To my knowledge, no securely identified representation of Ahmose Sapair shows him wearing a *nemes* headdress. Other princes of the

³⁶ For discussion of the title *hrd n k3p* in the 18th Dynasty, see Bryan, *Reign of Thutmoses IV*, 261-263.

³⁷ *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 46.

18th Dynasty were occasionally depicted wearing the *nemes* in posthumous representations, however – see, for example, Siamun as one of the “Lords of the West” in TT 359.³⁸

³⁸ Drawing in Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, bd. 5, pl. 2. Siamun’s name is written in a cartouche, and his headdress is adorned with a uraeus.

III.9 – Stele of Ahmose (BM EA 275)



Figure 43 – BM EA 275. Stele of Ahmose. Limestone, 29 cm by 19.5 cm. Provenance unknown, now in the British Museum, London, UK. Late 18th Dynasty-early 19th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 93 (doc. 39).

Vandersleyen's document 39 (BM EA 275)³⁹ is a rectangular, naos-shaped stele of uncertain provenance. It depicts a figure named *Tḥ-ms*, without titles or epithets. He sits on a lion-footed chair. His right hand hovers above his lap; his left hand rests against his chest, clutching a lotus that bends to meet his nose. He wears a shoulder-length layered wig topped with an unguent cone, a broad collar, and an ankle-length kilt. His dress and appearance are consistent with two other representations of an "Ahmose" sans titles and epithets, Vandersleyen's Documents 37 and 38, both of which Vandersleyen assigns to the 19th Dynasty.⁴⁰ The right portion of the upper register is occupied by a large offering table.

In the lower register, the dedicator of the stele is depicted at right with his hands upraised. To his left is a brief hymn of praise to *Tḥ-ms*: (1) *rdi(.t)*⁴¹ *dw3 n Tḥ-ms snk* (2) *htp di(=i) dw3.w n hr=k nfr* (3) *sdm=k spr.n=i n k3 hry* (4) *hr.ty n hw.t-wsh(.t)* (?) *Whm.tw=i (?)* "(1) Giving adoration to Ahmose, praising, (2) making content, while (I) give adoration to your beautiful face (3) that you might hear that (concerning) which I have petitioned, for the *ka* of the chief (4) stoneworker of the *Hut-weskhet*(?),⁴² Wehemtui(?)".

³⁹ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 45, 93 (illustration); S. Lowry-Corry, E. Hawkins, and the British Museum, *Tablets and Other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore, Now Deposited in the British Museum* (London: W. Nicol, 1843), pl. 23 (2); PM I, 808; Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts VII*, pl. 12; Schulman, "Some Observations on the *3h ikr n R*-Stelae," *BiOr* 43, 340-342, C22.

⁴⁰ Hanover KM 1935.200.185 and 1935.200.199. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 45, 92 (photographs).

⁴¹ I am taking this, *snk* and *htp* as a series of infinitives.

⁴² Possibly to be read *hw.t-k3*. See discussion in A. Schulman, "Some Observations," 340-342.

III.10 – Stele of the *3h ikr n R* Ahmose (Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969-211)



Figure 44 – Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969-211. Stele of the “Excellent Spirit of Re Ahmose.” Provenance unknown. Now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, France. Limestone, 20.2 cm h by 18 cm w. Late 18th-early 19th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 95 (doc. 41).

Vandersleyen's Document 41 (Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969-211)⁴³ depicts an *3h ikr n R^cT^h-ms* ("Excellent spirit of Re Ahmose"). The provenance of this stele is unknown. It can be dated to the very end of the 18th Dynasty or the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. There are four short columns of text at the top of the stele. The left two columns identify the venerated individual, while the right two refer to the dedicator of the stele. The first of the rightmost columns is virtually obliterated, but the name *T^h-ms* is preserved in the second column. It is unclear whether this is the name of the dedicator of the stele (pictured below this text) or some sort of indication of his relationship to the deceased.

The *3h ikr n R^cT^h-ms* sits at left on a lion-footed chair, holding a folded cloth in his right hand, which rests on his lap, and a lotus in his left, which rests against his chest. He wears a short wig with a curled sidelock and unguent cone, an earring, a broad collar, and a pleated kilt characteristic of the late 18th-early 19th Dynasty. The dedicator of the stele stands at right, pouring a libation onto a low offering table with his right hand and holding a bouquet up to Ahmose with his left.

While this *T^h-ms* is given no titles aside from *3h ikr n R^c*, his iconography is consistent with that of other late 18th Dynasty representations of princes. It is most similar to the near-contemporary representation of Satpair in BM EA 360 (**III.6**).

⁴³ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 46, 95 (photograph); R. J. Demarée, *The 3h ikr n R^c-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983), 162-163 (**C6**), pl. XIX.

As Vandersleyen points out, there is at present no way to identify any of these individuals (represented in **III.7-III.10**) as Ahmose Sapair.⁴⁴ There is an alternative possibility that must be explored as well, although it must also remain within the realm of speculation for now. In the lower register of the list of deified royals from the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2), the final prince is called simply *Iḥ-ms*, followed by the epithets *di nh mi R* ("given life like Re").⁴⁵ He is iconographically identical to the other princes in the group, including Ahmose Sapair, who is depicted in the register above. His name is enclosed in a cartouche, clearly indicating his royal status. However, he is not given the title *s3 ny-sw.t*. It is reasonable to speculate that this Ahmose may be the same as at least some of the individuals depicted in Vandersleyen's documents 34-41.

The two obvious candidates for the identity of this second Ahmose are Ahmose-ankh (**I.1**) and Ahmose B (discussed above, **II.24-II.26**). The latter seems somewhat more probable in light of the facts that a) his name is a better match and b) most of the Ahmose stelae discussed above probably date to the mid-18th Dynasty and later. However, it is curious that either one of these princes would be commemorated in their later cultic monuments with no titles to indicate their royal status.

⁴⁴ *Iahmès Sapair*, 34.

⁴⁵ *PM I:1*, 7.

III.11 – Stele of Kenres (CG 34004)



Figure 45 – CG 34004. Stele of Kenres. Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Ahmose. Limestone, 66 cm by 33 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from Lacau, *Stèles I*, pl. IV.

One of the earliest stelae that definitely represents Ahmose Sapair as an object of worship is Vandersleyen's Document 1 (CG 34004).⁴⁶ This document was already briefly discussed in II.1. It was dedicated to a Great Steward of the King's Mother, *Knrs*. It originated from Dra abu el-Naga.

This round-topped stele, which can be dated stylistically to the early 18th Dynasty, differs slightly in format from the standard type of Ahmose Sapair stele that would come into use later in the dynasty. The prince is depicted standing at right. He wears a featureless *ibis* wig, a broad collar and bracelets. He wears a short kilt under a sheer, mid-calf length skirt. He holds a lotus to his nose with his right hand and a folded cloth in his left hand, which hangs at his side.

Kenres, to whom the stele's offering formula is dedicated, stands facing Ahmose Sapair at left. His costume is nearly identical to Ahmose Sapair's, but lacking the bracelets and with less detail on the broad collar. Kenres is slightly shorter than Sapair in stature. He holds a lotus in his left hand, which he extends toward Ahmose Sapair. He clutches a folded cloth in his right hand. Except for the extended left arm, his pose mirrors that of Ahmose Sapair. An offering table stands between the two figures. The entire scene is topped by a pair of *udjat* eyes on either side of a *shen*-ring.

⁴⁶ Lacau, *Stèles I*, 9-10, pl. IV; Gauthier, *Livre des rois II*, 188 (40; PM I, 800; Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 23, 39, 58-59 (photographs).

The text above Ahmose Sapair identifies him as *s3 ny-sw.t Th-ms dd (n)=f S3-p3-ir* (“King’s Son Ahmose who is called Sapair”). The text above Kenres identifies him as *Knrs[s] m3c-hrw* (“Kenr[es], true-of-voice”).

Parts of the offering formula below the lunette scene have been intentionally defaced, presumably during the Amarna period. The text is as follows: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb Dd[w.]* (2) *Inpw hnt Imn.tt di=sn* (3) *pr.t hrw t.w k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t nfr.t wcb.t* (4) *nh.t ntr im=sn n k3 whm imy-r3 pr wr n mw.t ny-sw.t* (5) *Knrs m3c-hrw in imy-r3 pr=f Isw-nh-nb-ms whm-nh*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of Bus[iris] (2) and Anubis, foremost of the Westerners, that they might give (3) invocation offerings of bread, cattle, fowl and every good and pure thing (4) by which the god lives, for the *ka* of the herald and Great Steward of the King’s Mother (5) Kenres, true-of-voice. By the steward of his house Isuankhnebmes, repeating life.”

Presumably the dedicant, Isuankhnebmes, was a steward of Kenres himself who chose to donate a funerary monument to his deceased employer. It is harder to pin down the nature of Ahmose Sapair’s relationship to the dedicatee of the stele, with whom he interacts in the illustrated portion of the monument.

A near contemporary stele⁴⁷ of a Great Steward of the King’s Mother *K3rs* specifies that the King’s Mother in question is Ahhotep.⁴⁸ It is tempting to postulate that *K3rs* and *Knrs* are

⁴⁷ Reign of Amenhotep I.

⁴⁸ CG 34003. Lacau, *Stèles I*, 7-9, pl. IV.

variant spellings of the same name, and that the same individual is represented on both stelae. If both individuals are the same, then one may speculate that the private cult of Ahmose Sapair was an outgrowth of a royal cult that initially spread to officials who were close to members of the royal family (and perhaps close to Ahmose Sapair himself). Ahhotep was among the family members of the prince Ahmose A mentioned in the texts of Louvre E 15682 (**II.1**).

III.12 – Abydos Stele of Inay (CG 34080)

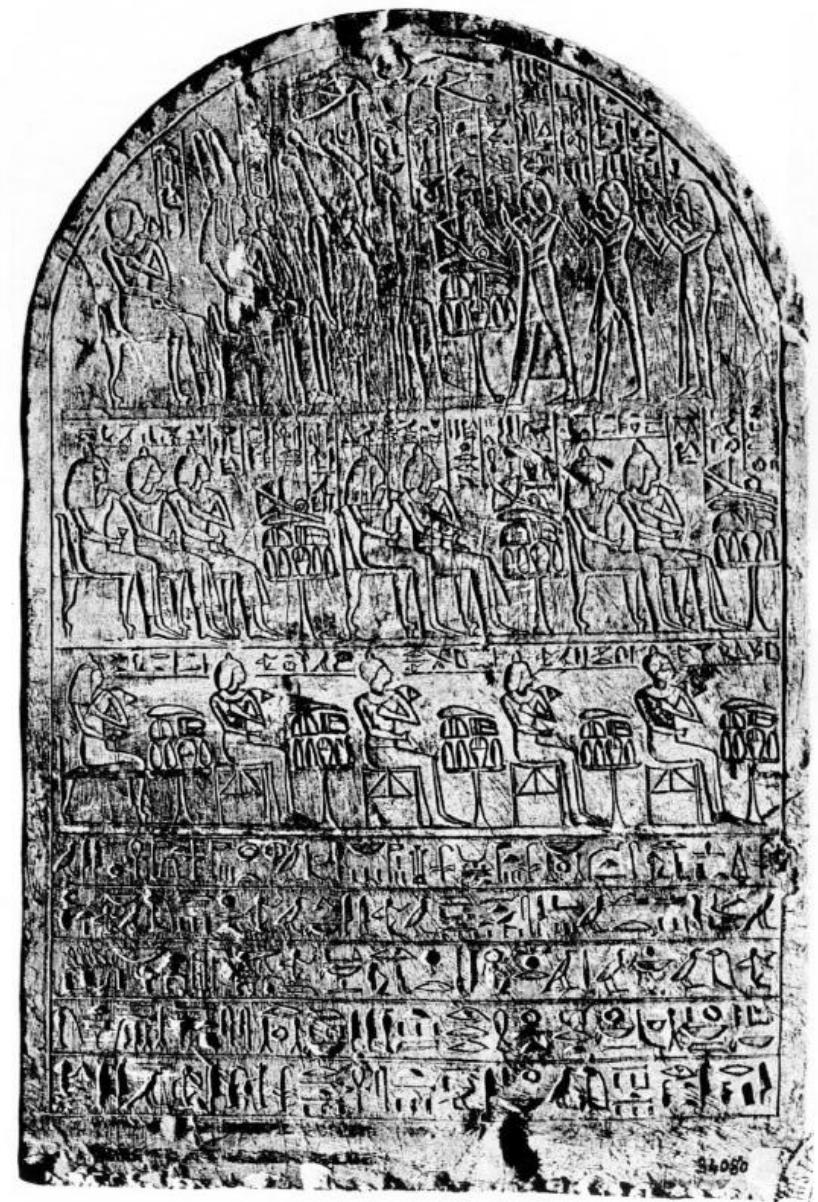


Figure 46 – CG 34080. Stele of Inay. Abydos, 18th Dynasty, ca. Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. Limestone, 72 cm by 48.5 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from Lacau, *Stèles II*, pl. XLI.

Vandersleyen's Document 5 (CG 34080), a round-topped stele from Abydos, depicts a prince Ahmose in the top register in the company of Ahmose-Nefertari and Osiris.⁴⁹ The style of the stele indicates a date in the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period, and the presence of the Mayor of Thinis Setepihu among the honored persons on the second register may suggest a date sometime in the reign of Hatshepsut or early in the sole rule of Thutmose III.⁵⁰ The stele was dedicated by a *sš ny-sw.t In3y* ("Royal scribe Inay") who is depicted worshipping the three deities at the top of the stele. His father and wife stand behind him. A plurality of individuals, presumably relatives of Inay, are shown seated in the second and third registers of the stele.

Although Vandersleyen confidently asserts that this stele depicts Ahmose Sapair,⁵¹ it is notable that the prince represented here is simply called *Tch-ms m3c hrw*, without any further titles or epithets. He sits at far left on a lion-footed chair (in contrast to the block thrones of Osiris and Ahmose-Nefertari) and holds a lotus to his nose with his left hand and a folded cloth above his lap in his right hand. His attire is consistent with contemporary representations of Ahmose Sapair: he wears an *ibs* wig, broad collar, and calf-length kilt. The three human worshippers at right are separated from the deities at left by an offering table. The entire scene is topped with a pair of *udjat*-eyes on either side of a *shen*-ring. The inscriptions of the upper register are as follows:

⁴⁹ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 34, 40, 63 (illustration). A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Wiesbaden: LTR-Verlag, 1982, orig. 1880), 393-394; G. Daressy, "Lettre à M. Maspero à propos de quelques points de son mémoire sur les momies de Deir el-Bahari," *RdT* 13 (1890), 146; Lacau, *Stèles II*, 127-129, pl. XLI; Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 14-15.

⁵⁰ Roehrig, *ibid.*, 15.

⁵¹ *Iahmès Sapair*, 34.

Text above Osiris: (1) *Wsir nb* (2) *ȝbdw*

“(1) Osiris, Lord of (2) Abydos.”

Text above Ahmose-Nefertari: *hm.t ntr n.t Imn (Iḥ-ms Nfr.t-iry)| ḥnh.ti*

“God’s Wife of Amun Ahmose-Nefertari, may she live.”

Text above Ahmose: *Iḥ-ms mȝc hrw*

“Ahmose, true-of-voice.”

Text above/before Inay: (1) *rdi.t iȝ.w n nb nhḥ* (2) *sn tȝ n Wnn-nfr* (3) *di=k wn=i m nn* (4) *hsy.w n.ty m šms wȝ.wt=k* (5) *n kȝ n sš ny-sw.t Inȝy* (6) *it=f tbw.ty ny-sw.t Nby* (7) *hm.t=f nb.t pr Iwnȝ*

“(1) Giving praises to the Lord of Eternity, (2) kissing the earth to Wennefer, (3) that you might cause that I exist by means of those (things) (4) which are praised of the one who is a follower of your paths (5) for the *ka* of the royal scribe Inay, (6) his father the royal sandal-bearer Neby (7) and his wife, the mistress of the house Iuna.”

In the second register, three groups of people are depicted on lion-footed chairs, with an offering table before each group. The first two groups (right and center) are male-female couples, while the final group consists of two men and a woman.

Text before/above the first couple: (1) *ḥȝ.ty-ȝ n Tny* (2) *Sȝ-tp-(3)-ih.w* (4) *mnȝ.t ny-sw.t Tin.t-iwn.t*

“(1) Mayor of Thinis (2) Satep(3)ihu (4) and the Royal Nurse Tinetiunet.”

Text before/above the second couple: (1) *imy-r³ k^{3.w} n In-hr* (2) *Ti-mi-R^c* (3) *m^{3c}-hrw hr*
Wsir (4) *hm.t=f wr.t hnr S^{3.t}-In-hr*

“(1) Overseer of cattle of Onuris (2) limire (3) true-of-voice before Osiris (4) and his wife,
the overseer of the musical troupe Satanher.”

Text before/above the final group: (1) *s³ ny-sw.t In³y* (2) *s^cnh rn n* (3) *it=f tbw.ty ny-sw.t*
(4) *Nby* (5) *hm.t=f nb.t pr Iwn³ m^{3c}.t-hrw*

“(1) (It is) the royal scribe Inay (2) who causes to live the name of (3) his father, the royal
sandal-bearer (4) Neby (5) and his wife, the mistress of the house luna, true-of-voice.”

The bottom register depicts five figures seated alone, each with an offering table before
him or her. The first four figures (from right to left) are men, seated on backless stools. The final
figure is a woman, who sits on a lion-footed chair. A series of short horizontal inscriptions at the
top of the register identify each figure:

(1) *w^cb n In-hr Nb* (2) *s³ Mryw* (3) *sn=f w^cb P³-rn* (4) *H^c-m-W³s.t* (5) *sn.t=f Ir.t*
“(1) The *wab*-priest of Onuris, Neb; (2) the scribe Meriu; (3) his brother, the *wab*-priest
Paren; (4) Khaemwaset; (5) his sister Iret.”

An offering formula occupies the bottom portion of the stele:

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir hk³ d.t nb nh^h ny-sw.t n³tr.w Wp-w³.wt Šm^{c.w} T³-mh³w n³tr.w nb.w*
3bd.w psd.t imy.t hr.t-n³tr nhy.w (2) *m m^{3c}.t dr.w isf.t mtⁿ wi ii.kwi hr=tⁿ w^cb.kwi h³t(3)=i w^cb.w*
ink wd³ hr R^c m^{3c} hrw hr Wsir di=k htp=i m hn^w sh-n³tr=k hr šsp (4) *k³=k r^c nb m h³b=k n pr.t*

‘3.t R^c mi irr.tw m hsy m pr=k r nh^h ssn.t ndm n mhy.t w^cb(.t) (5) irp irt.t n k³=tn w^cb.w r^c nb in
s³=tn s^cnh rn=tn s³ ny-sw.t In³y m³c-hrw

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, ruler of eternity, lord of perpetuity, King of the Gods, and the Opener of the Ways of Upper Egypt and the Delta, all the gods of Abydos, the Ennead which is in the necropolis, the ones who live (2) on *ma’at* and drive out chaos. Behold me, I have come before you while I am pure and my heart (3) is pure. I am whole before Re, justified before Osiris. May you cause that I be peaceful within your divine booth while receiving (4) your *ka* every day in your festival of the great coming forth of Re like one who acts as one praised in your house forever, (and grant)⁵² the smelling of the sweetness of the pure north wind. (5) Wine and milk for your pure *ka(s)* every day! It is your son who causes your name(s) to live, the royal scribe Inay, true-of-voice.”

C. Roehrig has suggested that the prince represented on this stele was not Ahmose Sapair, but the Ahmose-ankh of the donation stele.⁵³ This is a reasonable suggestion in light of this Ahmose’s association with Ahmose-Nefertari on the stele, but such an association is not conclusive evidence. Ahmose Sapair was also frequently depicted with both Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I, simply because they were the other two most prominent personages in the 18th Dynasty royal ancestor cult.

Nevertheless, the absence of the Sapair epithet (or the title *s³ ny-sw.t*) may cast doubt on Vandersleyen’s identification. Perhaps this prince is to be equated with the *T^h-ms* depicted

⁵² *ssn.t* here is an infinitive referring back to the initial *di=k*.

⁵³ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 15.

in the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2), who also lacks the title *s3 ny-sw.t* (see discussion above). If this stele does date to the late reign of Hatshepsut or early in the sole reign of Thutmose III, then it is unlikely that Ahmose B is represented here, since he apparently lived at least into the reign of Amenhotep II. The Ahmose of CG 34080 was probably deceased at the time the stele was created, as indicated by the epithet *m3c hrw* and his status as an object of cultic activity.

One of the people represented on the stele is a royal nurse (*mn.t ny-sw.t*) named *Ti-n.t-Iwn.t*. She is depicted in the second register, embracing the Mayor of Thinis Satepihu. The text does not specify which child was in her care, but it is tempting to associate her (as Roehrig does) with the *I'h-ms* depicted at the top of the stele.⁵⁴ This royal nurse is otherwise unattested.

Given the nature of this monument and the strong associations between the cults of Ahmose Sapair and other deified royalty in the Theban Necropolis (particularly Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I), I am inclined to accept Vandersleyen's assertion that this monument depicts Ahmose Sapair.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

III.13 – Sheikh Said Stele of Penha (Cairo JE 41773)



Figure 47 – Cairo JE 41773. Stele of Penha. Limestone, 90 cm h by 60 cm w. Originally from Sheikh Said, Egypt. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 18th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 66 (doc. 8).

Vandersleyen's Document 8 (Cairo JE 41773)⁵⁵ came from Sheikh Said, adding to the evidence of a cult of Ahmose Sapair in Middle Egypt during the 18th Dynasty (see also the stele from Hermopolis, discussed previously in III.5).

This round-topped stele is dominated by the scene at the top, which takes up more than half of the surface of the stele. The donor of the stele kneels at right with his hands raised in an attitude of worship. At left is a large image of Amun, sitting on a block throne before an offering table. Amun holds a *was*-scepter in his left hand and an ankh in his right. A solar disc at the top of the scene extends a wing over the figure of the god (the right side is wingless). A text above and to the right of Amun identifies him as *Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sdm htp* ("Amun-Ra, king of the gods, benevolent listener"). A tiny figure of a prince, identified as *s3 ny-sw.t S3-p3-ir*, is lightly carved behind Amun's throne. He stands with his arms at his sides, holding a lotus in each hand. He wears an *ibs* wig, broad collar and short kilt.

A hymn of praise is inscribed below the scene:

(1) *rdi.t i3.w n Imn sn t3 n nb hm̄n.w di=f^cnh wd3 snb hr hs mr n k3 smr whm šd* (2) *mr⁵⁶ wr m rh̄y.t s^c3.n ny-sw.t sik(r).(n) bi.ty ir.n nb t3.wy k3=fpr m h.t* (3) *hr=fs^ch=f iw=f m h.t=fr*

⁵⁵ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 40, 66-67 (illustrations); text in A. B. Kamal, "Rapport sur les fouilles faites dans la montagne de Sheïkh Saïd." ASAE 10 (1910), 145-147; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 189; PM IV, 192.

⁵⁶ Transcribed as *mr.t* by Kamal, "Rapport sur les fouilles," 146. However, the text here is damaged on the actual stele, so Kamal may have misunderstood a chip in the stone for a *.t*.

spr(?)⁵⁷.tw dd=f mh hr mnḥ n nb t3.wy hs ntr nfr wn ir.wy wb3(?) (4) ḥnh.wy m ir.t⁵⁸ 3ḥ.w n ny-sw.t hr Wsir tp bw dd ir.t mr b3g hr rdi.t m hr=f (5) n nb=f n k3 t3i sry.t n hm=f Pn-h3

“(1) Giving adoration to Amun, kissing the earth to the lord of the Ogdoad, that he might give life, prosperity and health before the one praised and beloved of the *ka* of the companion who recites the written word, (2) beloved, great one among the commoners, whom the King of Upper Egypt made great, whom the King of Lower Egypt made excellent, whom the Lord of the Two Lands made, his *ka* having come forth from (his) body (3) before him. As for his dignity, it came forth from his body in order to petition(?), he saying, ‘Be satisfied⁵⁹ with the young man of the Lord of the Two Lands, the praised one of the Good God; open of eyes, open(?) of (4) ears, being one who did(?) effective things for the king before Osiris who is upon the place of the one who causes to be done what the weary one desires while placing (something?) before him (5) for his lord. For the *ka* of the standard bearer of his majesty, Penha.”

⁵⁷ 

⁵⁸ Clearly written *ir.t* ( |) as in “eye.” A possible alternative translation would be “as an effective eye of the king,” but the word 3ḥ.w is written as a plural. Possibly *ir.t* here is a defective writing of the imperfective active participle *irr*, perhaps influenced by the references to eyes and ears in the preceding clause.

⁵⁹ Or “consider, think about” – see Sinuhe, Berlin 3022, 199.

III.14 – Stele of Sennefer (Turin 1455)



Figure 48 – Turin 1455. Stele of Sennefer. Limestone, 56 cm h by 37 cm w. From Deir el-Medina, Thebes, Egypt. Now in the Museo Egizio, Turin, Italy. 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II or later. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 85 (doc. 31).

Vandersleyen's Document 31 (Turin 1455)⁶⁰, a stele from Deir el-Medina, depicts Ahmose Sapair in the company of several 18th Dynasty royal figures, the latest of whom is Amenhotep II. This object must therefore be dated no earlier than the reign of Amenhotep II. If this object does date to the reign of Amenhotep II himself (as Vandersleyen suggests),⁶¹ then the living king is represented here as the subject of private worship. In any case, the stele can be confidently assigned to the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period: the text identifying Thutmose III in the upper register has been partially erased, presumably during the Amarna era.⁶²

The upper register of the stele represents four deified royal figures seated below a winged solar disk. All four sit on cubic thrones. The figures are arranged around a central bunch of lotus blossoms and buds. Amenhotep I sits at left with Ahmose-Nefertari behind him, embracing him. Amenhotep I holds a crook in his left hand (bent to his chest) and an ankh in his right (resting on his lap). Their pose is mirrored by Thutmose I and Thutmose III at right. Amenhotep I and Thutmose III both wear *khepresh* crowns, while Thutmose I wears an *atef* crown combined with a *nemes* headdress.

Text above Ahmose-Nefertari: *hm.t ntr (I^rh-ms Nfr.t-iry)| ‘nh.ti mry(.t) Imn-R nb p.t*
("God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari, may she live, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven")

⁶⁰ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 44, 85 (illustration); A. Fabretti, F. Rossi and R. V. Lanzoni, *Regio museo di Torino. Antichità egizie* (Rome: Presso la Direz. Gen. delle Antichità e Belle Arti, 1881), 121-122; Gauthier, *Livre des rois II*, 189 (8); PM I, 734; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 46 (2).

⁶¹ Ibid., 44.

⁶² T. Moore, "The Lords of the West in Ramesside Tombs" (in P. Creasman, ed., *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings & Ancient Thebes: Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*. Wilkinson Egyptology Series I. University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, 2013), note 8.

Text above Amenhotep I: *ntr nfr (Dsr-k3-R)* | *di nh d.t*

“The Good God Djeserkare, given life forever.”

Text above Thutmose I: *ntr nfr (3-hpr-k3-R)* | *di nh mi R d.t*

“The Good God Aakheperkare, given life like Re forever.”

Amenhotep II and Ahmose Sapair are depicted at right on the lower register, facing the donor of the stele, Sennefer. The difference in status between these two royal men and the four royal people represented in the upper register is apparent both in their placement and their smaller scale. Amenhotep II’s pose is the same as that of Amenhotep I and Thutmose I. He wears an *ibs* wig with a fillet and uraeus. The text directly in front of him identifies him as *ntr nfr (3-hpr.w-R)* | *di nh* (“The Good God Aakheperure, given life”).

Ahmose Sapair (identified as *S3-p3-ir.t m3c hrw*) sits behind Amenhotep II, but does not embrace him. The prince sits on a lion-footed chair, holding a folded cloth on his lap in his left hand and a lotus, which bends to meet his nose, in his right. He wears the *ibs* wig, a broad collar, and an ankle-length kilt – the typical iconography of pre-Amarna representations of Ahmose Sapair.

Sennefer, the donor of the stele, kneels at left, facing Amenhotep II and Ahmose Sapair with his arms raised in an attitude of praise. The brief text before Sennefer is as follows:

*rdi.t n ntr nfr sn t3 n hm.t ntr in Sn-nfr m3c hrw dd=find hr nb ntr pn sps hm.t ntr Nfr.t-iry
nh.ti*

"Giving (praise) to the good god, kissing the earth to the God's Wife by Sennefer, true of voice, while he says 'Greetings' before (his) lord, this noble god, (and) the God's Wife Nefertari, may she live."

The text does not specify the identity of the apparently singular masculine deity who is the subject of Sennefer's worship; only Nefertari is mentioned by name.

The separation of Amenhotep II and Ahmose Sapair from the rest of the group is interesting. If this stele were dedicated during the reign of Amenhotep II, it would certainly explain Amenhotep II's apparent difference in status compared to the royal figures in the upper register. As a living king, he would presumably embody some divine attributes, but would not be equal to a deceased and deified king. Ahmose Sapair, who is represented as a beatified deceased person, is depicted on the same level (and at the same scale) as the living king. Both could be represented here in the capacity of intermediaries between the worshipper and the deified royals in the upper register. However, they also seem to be acting as the recipients of worship – they interface directly with the worshipper, Sennefer, rather than with the deities who are the main focus of the monument.

III.15 – Stele Depicting Ahmose Sapair and Ahmose-Nefertari (RC 1586)



Figure 49 – RC 1586. Stele of Ahmose Sapair and Ahmose-Nefertari. Provenance unknown. Now in the Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose, California, USA. Limestone, 17.3 cm h. 18th or 19th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 83 (doc. 28).

Vandersleyen's Document 28, a stele of uncertain provenance in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum (RC 1586)⁶³, depicts Ahmose Sapair sitting across from Ahmose-Nefertari. They sit on either side of an offering table bearing two lotuses, each blossom turned to face one

⁶³ *Iahmès Sapair*, 44, 83 (illustration). A brief description of this object is offered in L. Schwappach-Shirriff, "Votive Stele of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari," *Rosicrucian Digest* 81:1 (2003), front matter.

of the recipients. Ahmose-Nefertari, seated at right, holds a queenly flabellum to her chest in her right hand and an ankh on her lap in her left. She wears the plumed headdress of a God's Wife. She sits on a block throne. Ahmose Sapair sits at left. His iconography is typical of other 18th Dynasty representations of Ahmose Sapair: he wears the *ibis* wig, a broad collar and an ankle-length kilt. He holds a lotus blossom, which curves to meet his nose, in his left hand, and a folded cloth in his right. He sits on a lion-footed chair.

Text in front of and above the prince identifies him as *s3 ny-sw.t ḫ-h-ms S3-p3-ir m3r hrw* ("King's Son Ahmose Sapair, true-of-voice"). A column of text in front of Ahmose-Nefertari reads *hm.t ntr (ḥ-ms Nfr.t-iry)| nh.ti* ("God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari, may she live"). The stele is otherwise uninscribed. Vandersleyen dates this object to the 18th or 19th Dynasty. The depiction of Ahmose Sapair closely resembles most pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty representations of this prince; later images tend to depict him with a more elaborate hairstyle (e.g. a layered Nubian or lappet wig, with or without a sidelock).

III.16 – Stele of Amenemopet (London UC 14233)



Figure 50 – UC 14233. Thebes, Ramesseum, 18th-19th Dynasty. Limestone, 13.8 cm by 12 cm. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. JPG, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17560>. (Accessed June 30, 2015).

Vandersleyen's Document 20, UC 14233, is one of several 18th Dynasty monuments representing Ahmose Sapair as the sole recipient of worship (although Vandersleyen suggests a possible 19th Dynasty date).⁶⁴ The stele was found at the Ramesseum.

Only the decorated upper portion of the stele survives. It is broken diagonally, with a greater portion of the left side surviving. The scene is topped with two *udjat*-eyes on either side of a *shen*-ring above a *wsh* sign.

(Ahmose) Sapair sits at left, apparently on a cuboid throne with a low back. His iconography is consistent with other pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty examples. He wears an *ibs* wig and broad collar, and holds a lotus to his chest with his left hand. The stem curves so that the blossom meets his nose. In his right hand, which rests above his lap, he holds a folded cloth.

The dedicant of the stele stands at right, holding an object (perhaps a vessel with a lid or stopper) in his upraised left hand. Only his head, right shoulder and left hand and forearm are preserved, so it is difficult to say much about his costume. His hair is cropped short.

The text before and above (Ahmose) Sapair reads: (1) *s3 ny-sw.t S3-p3-ir* (2) *m3c-hrw* (“(1) King’s Son Sapair, (2) true-of-voice”).

A horizontal line above the dedicant reads *ir.n ‘hw Imn-m-ip.t* (“Made by the oven-heater Amenemopet”). The name Amenemopet is carved over a different name, probably Minmose.

⁶⁴ Lahmès Sapair, 42, 74 (photograph); PM I, 681; Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* I, 47, pl. 37.3; Demarée, *The 3h ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 169-170, C11c.

III.17 – Stele Depicting Ahmose Sapair (London UC 15518)



Figure 51 – UC 15518. Probably from Thebes, 18th Dynasty. Limestone, 9 cm by 6.5 cm. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. JPG, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#23289>. (Accessed July 2, 2015).

Vandersleyen's Document 21 (UC 15518) is a small votive stele, uninscribed except for the name of Ahmose Sapair.⁶⁵ The provenance of the stele is unknown, but Stewart suggests that it is "probably from Thebes."⁶⁶ There is also little about the stele to suggest a specific date,

⁶⁵ *Iahmès Sapair*, 42-43, 75 (photograph); Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae I*, 46-47, pl. 37.2; Schulman, "Some Observations," 331, C15.

⁶⁶ *Egyptian Stelae I*, 46.

although it is stylistically similar to other Sapair monuments dating to the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period.

The stele is topped by a pair of *udjat* eyes on either side of a *shen*-ring. Ahmose Sapair is seated at left on what appears to be a lion-footed chair (although the lower part of the stele is damaged, so the actual feet of the chair are missing). He holds a lotus to his nose with his left hand, and his right hand rests on his lap. He wears an *ibis* wig and broad collar. An offering table stands before him at right. A text above the offering table identifies the seated figure as *Tch-ms S3-p3-ir*, with no further titles or epithets.

III.18 – Blue Faience Votive Stele of Ahmose Sapair (BM EA 76761)



Figure 52 – BM EA 76761. Provenance unknown, ca. reign of Amenhotep III. Blue glazed faience, 6.9 cm by 9 cm. The British Museum, London. JPG, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1443690&partId=1&museumno=76761&page=1 (Accessed July 2, 2015).

Vandersleyen's Document 18 is a small faience plaque or stele, similar in composition to III.17.⁶⁷ The bottom portion of the stele is missing. Ahmose Sapair is seated at left. Only his head and upper torso are preserved. He holds a lotus to his chest with his left hand, and the stem bends so that the blossom meets his nose. The lower part of his right arm is missing. He wears a broad collar and shoulder-length wig topped with an unguent cone. An offering table

⁶⁷ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 42.

stands before him at the center of the stele, while the rightmost part of the stele is occupied by a column of text.

Text above Ahmose Sapair and the offering table: (1) *s3 ny-sw.t T^h-ms* (2) *S3-p3-ir* (3) *m3c-hrw*

“(1) King’s Son Ahmose (2) Sapair (3) true-of-voice.”

Text to the right of the offering table: *ir.n M3=i-n(?)⁶⁸[. . .]*

“Made by Maien(?)[. . .]”

Stylistically, this object may be dated to the late 18th Dynasty. Vandersleyen assigns it to the reign of Amenhotep III.⁶⁹

III.19 – Statuette of Ahmose Sapair (St. Petersburg Hermitage Museum 752)



Figure 53 – St. Petersburg Hermitage Museum 752. Statuette of Ahmose Sapair. Provenance unknown. Now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. Blue glass, 3.7 cm h. Late 18th Dynasty. Image from C. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005), 81 (doc. 27).

⁶⁸ See Ranke, *PN I*, 143 for various similar names.

⁶⁹ *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 42.

Vandersleyen's Document 27 (St. Petersburg Hermitage Museum 752)⁷⁰ is presumably a cultic object, but unfortunately contextual evidence is minimal. This tiny blue glass statuette represents Ahmose Sapair sitting on a cubic throne with his hands resting on his lap. He wears an *ibis* wig and broad collar. An inscription on the back-pillar identifies him as *S3-p3-ir.*

⁷⁰ *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 43-44, 81 (illustration); W. Golénischeff, *Ermitage Impérial. Inventaire de la collection égyptienne* (Leipzig: Impr. W. Drugulin, 1891), 92; *PM* VIII: 2, 555, record 801-627-850. Vandersleyen provides additional bibliography, but his citations are incomplete and I have been unable to find full information about the other publications that he cites.

III.20 – Painted Fragment from the Tomb of Nakht, TT 161 (Paris, Musée Rodin)

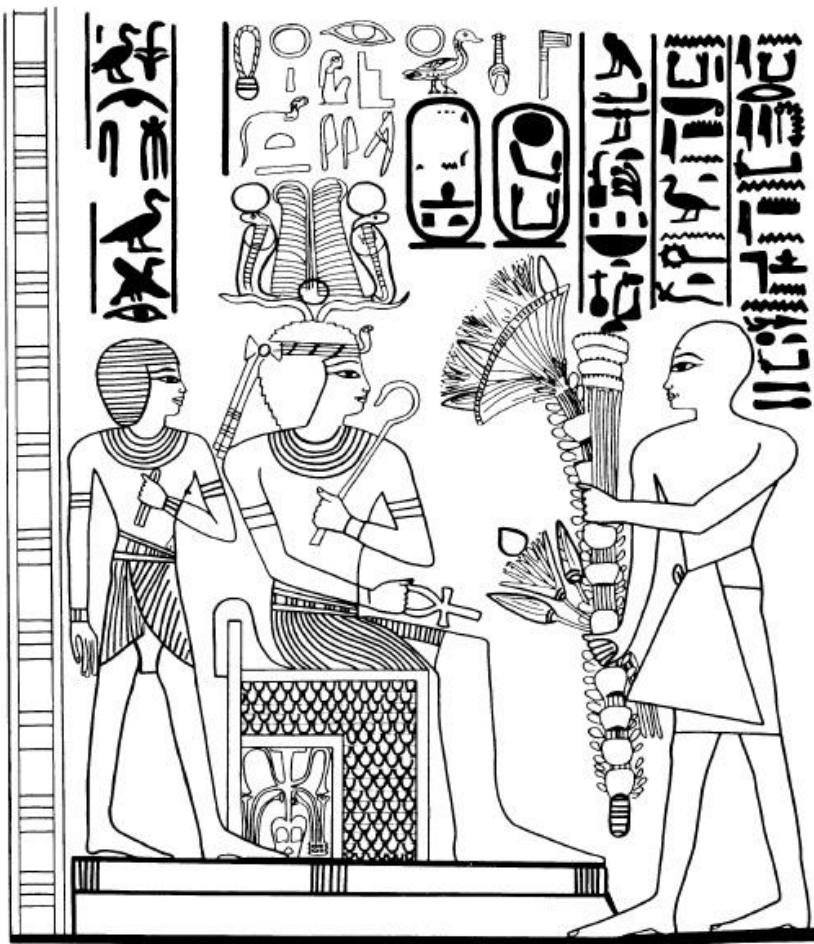


Figure 54 – Copy of painting from the Tomb of Nakht (TT 161). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Thebes, Reign of Amenhotep III. Original painted plaster on limestone. Drawing from L. Manniche, “The Tomb of Nakht, the Gardener, at Thebes (No. 161), as Copied by Robert Hay,” *JEA* 72 (1986), fig. 8 (after Hay).

A fragment from the Tomb of Nakht (TT 161), now in the Musée Rodin in Paris, depicts Ahmose Sapair with Amenhotep I.⁷¹ A more complete version of the scene was copied by R. Hay

⁷¹ *Iahmès Sapair*, doc. 25, 43, 81 (photograph); Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 189 (14); M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle, *La tombe de Nakht. Notice summaire* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1929), pl. facing p.

in the 1820s-1830s, shortly after the tomb's discovery.⁷² The scene originally appeared above a false door in the entrance to the shrine at the back (roughly northernmost) end of the hall of the tomb chapel. The scene and false door appear to the right of the doorway to the shrine, opposite a parallel scene on the left side of the doorway in which the tomb owner offers to the deified Thutmose III.

Hay's copy shows Nakht standing at right, holding an elaborate bouquet in both hands. In contrast to the deified royalty at left, his costume is minimal: he wears no jewelry, his head is shaved and he is dressed in a short kilt.

Amenhotep I is enthroned at left on a cubic throne, elevated slightly on a dais. He wears an *atef*-crown atop an *ibs* wig adorned with a diadem. He also wears a broad collar, bracelets and armlets. He clutches a crook to his chest in his left hand and holds an ankh in his right hand, which rests just above his lap. The throne is decorated with an inset *sm3-t3.wy* symbol and a *rishi* pattern.

Ahmose Sapair stands behind Amenhotep I on the dais. He is depicted on a smaller scale than either Amenhotep I or Nakht. He wears an *ibs* wig, broad collar, bracelets and armlets, and a *šndy.t* kilt. He clutches a folded cloth to his chest in his left hand. His right hand is empty and hangs at his side.

17; *PM* I, 275 (7); Lise Manniche, "The Tomb of Nakht, the Gardener, at Thebes (No. 161), as Copied by Robert Hay," *JEA* 72 (1986), no. 64: fig. 6 (copy of text), 69 (translation), fig. 8 (right, drawing from copy by Hay).

⁷² Manniche, "The Tomb of Nakht," 55.

Text above Nakht: (1) *ms rnp.wt nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t* (2) *n k³=k [s³] Imn n h.t=f* (3) *in k³ry n htp ntr n Imn Nht m³^c-hrw*

“(1) Bringing all good and pure vegetables (2) for your *ka*, [son] of Amun of his body, (3) by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amun, Nakht, true-of-voice.”

Text above Amenhotep I: *ntr nfr (Dsr-k³-R^c)| s³ R^c (I[m]n-htp)| mry Wsir mi R^c d.t*

“The Good God Djeserkare, Son of Re A[m]enhotep, beloved of Osiris, like Re forever.”

Text above Ahmose Sapair: *s³ ny-sw.t T^ch-ms S³-p³-ir*

“King’s Son Ahmose Sapair.”

This tomb dates to the reign of Amenhotep III. The scenes of royal ancestor worship depicted at the entrance to the shrine anticipate similar representations in tomb chapels of the Ramesside period.

iii. An unclassifiable monument of Ahmose Sapair

III.21 – Fragmentary Stele of Ahmose Sapair (North Karnak Inv. 95)

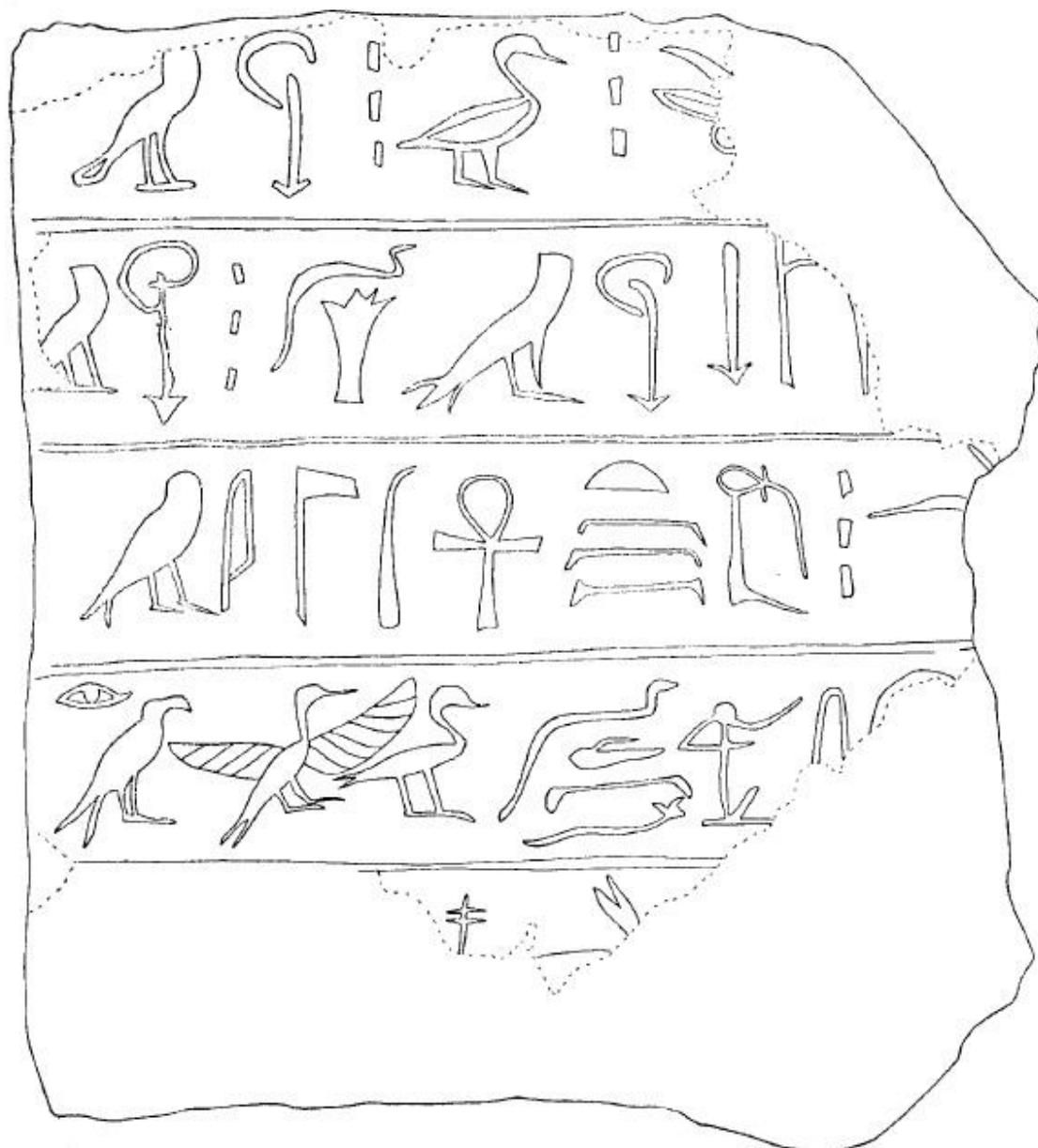


Figure 55 – Karnak North Inv. 95. Copy of a fragment of a stele naming Ahmose Sapair. Karnak, early 18th Dynasty. Original limestone, 20 cm by 18 cm. Drawing from A.-P. Zivie, “Fragments inscrits conservés à Karnak-nord,” *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 78, no. 8.

An inscribed fragment of a stele from Karnak (KN 95, Vandersleyen's Document 15)

mentions Ahmose Sapair.⁷³ The fragment appears to come from the lower left portion of a stele, and Zivie speculates that it may in fact be part of CG 34036 (III.4).⁷⁴

The fragmentary text is as follows: (1) [. *h3 m*] *k3.w 3pd.w h3 m* (2) [.] *sntr h3 m md.w(t) h3 m* (3) [. *nfr?*].*w[t?]* *w**c**b.t cnh.ti ntr im* (4) [= *sn s3 ny-sw.t? T'h-m*] *s dd n=f S3-p3-ir* (5) [.] *Wn-nfr(?)* [.]

"(1) [. 1000 of] cattle and fowl, 1000 of (2) [.] incense, 1000 of oil, 1000 of (3) [. every good(?)] and pure [thing] by which the god lives (4) [. King's Son(?)
Ahmo]se who is called Sapair (5) [.] Wennefer(?) [.]"

The writing of Ahmose Sapair's epithet with the additional qualifier *dd n=f* suggests that this monument is quite early. It is tempting to restore the phrase *n k3 n* in the lacuna at the beginning of line 4. The placement of Ahmose Sapair's name in the text after the list of desired offerings is suggestive of the idea that the offering formula is intended for the prince. If this is the correct interpretation, then KN 95 may be a funerary monument for the recently deceased Ahmose Sapair rather than an object dedicated to the cult of the deified prince.

⁷³ Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, 42, 70 (line drawing); A.-P. Zivie, "Fragments inscrits conservés à Karnak-nord," *BIAO* 72 (1972), 77-78, no. 8.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 78.

b. Monuments of Wadjmose

III.22 – Chapel of Wadjmose

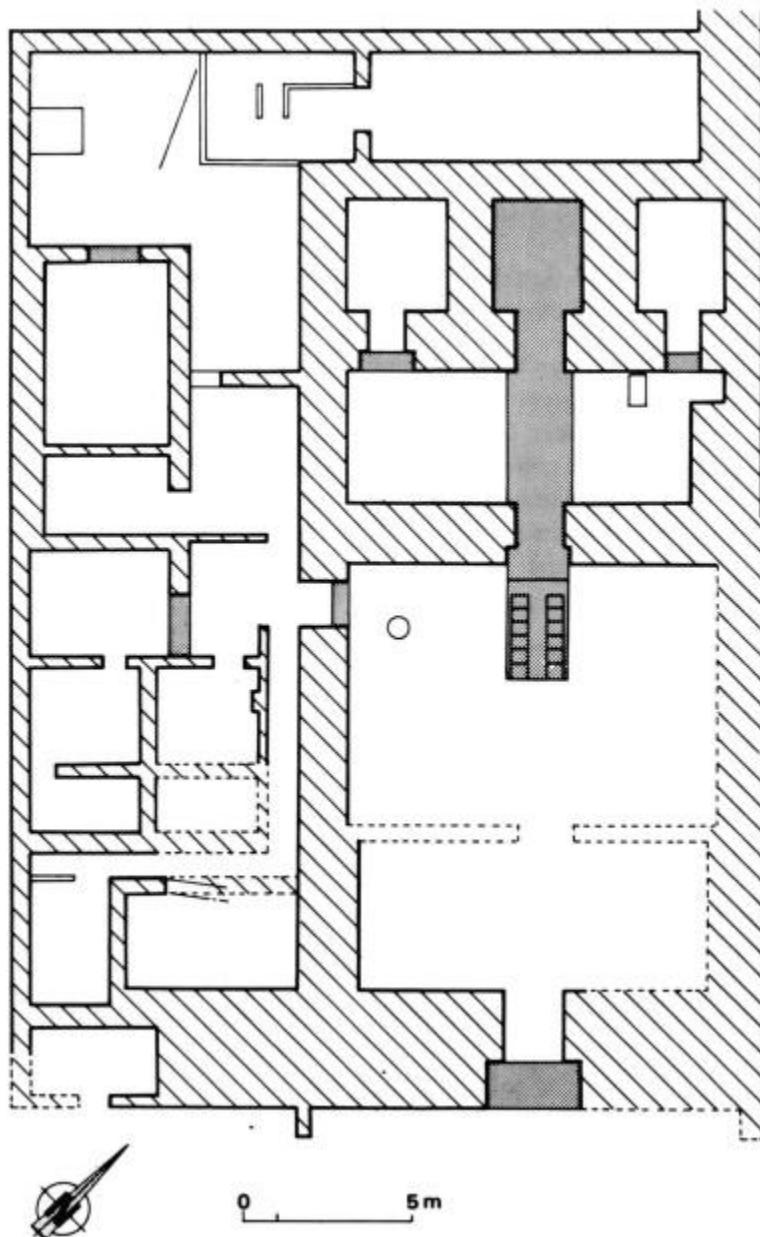


Figure 56 – Plan of the Chapel of Wadjmose. Luxor, West Bank. Originally constructed ca. reign of Thutmose I. Plan from A.-M. Loyrette, “Un monument de la XVIIIème dynastie en bordure du Ramesseum: la chapelle d’Ouadjmès.” *Memnonia* 1 (1990/1991), 122, fig. 2 (after Maspero).

Aside from that of Ahmose Sapair, the largest and most active known cult of an early 18th Dynasty prince was that of Wadjmose, already touched upon briefly in **II.15**. The chapel of Wadjmose, a small structure located just south of the Ramesseum, was excavated in the 1880s by G. Daressy. Most of the structure has since disappeared.⁷⁵

This chapel was probably built during the reign of Thutmose I or Thutmose II, but it seems to have been later modified by Amenhotep III. The chapel consisted of a pylon, two courtyards, and an upper level off of which were located three small sanctuaries. The pylon, second (outer) court, and some additional structures on the south and west sides of the building were probably added during the reign of Amenhotep III. The building was later renovated during the reign of Ramesses II, probably around the time of the construction of the Ramesseum.⁷⁶

The chapel yielded several monuments dedicated to the cult of the prince Wadjmose, ranging in date from perhaps as early as the reign of Thutmose I through the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁷ Several other deified royal individuals were also represented in this material, suggesting

⁷⁵ A.-M. Loyrette, “Un monument de la XVIII^e dynastie en bordure du Ramesseum: la chapelle d’Ouadjmès.” *Memnonia* 1 (1990/1991), 117; G. Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmes.” *ASAE* 1 (1900), 97-108.

⁷⁶ Loyrette, “Un monument,” 119-121. Plan, fig. 2, p. 122. Based on G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien* I (Cairo: IFAO, 1890-1900), pl. IV.

⁷⁷ Daressy’s publication of the monuments recovered from the chapel (“La chapelle d’Uazmes”) contains virtually no information regarding the specific find-spots of objects excavated from the chapel. Daressy wrote that most of the objects recovered from the chapel were found outside of their original contexts and scattered about “dans le vestibule, soit dans le dallage, soit dans le décombres qui le remplissaient,” with only one (a statue of Mutnofret) seemingly still in situ.

that this chapel served as a center for the worship of other members of the 18th Dynasty royal family as well.⁷⁸

III.23 – Door Jamb (?) of Imhotep (Cairo JE 27818)

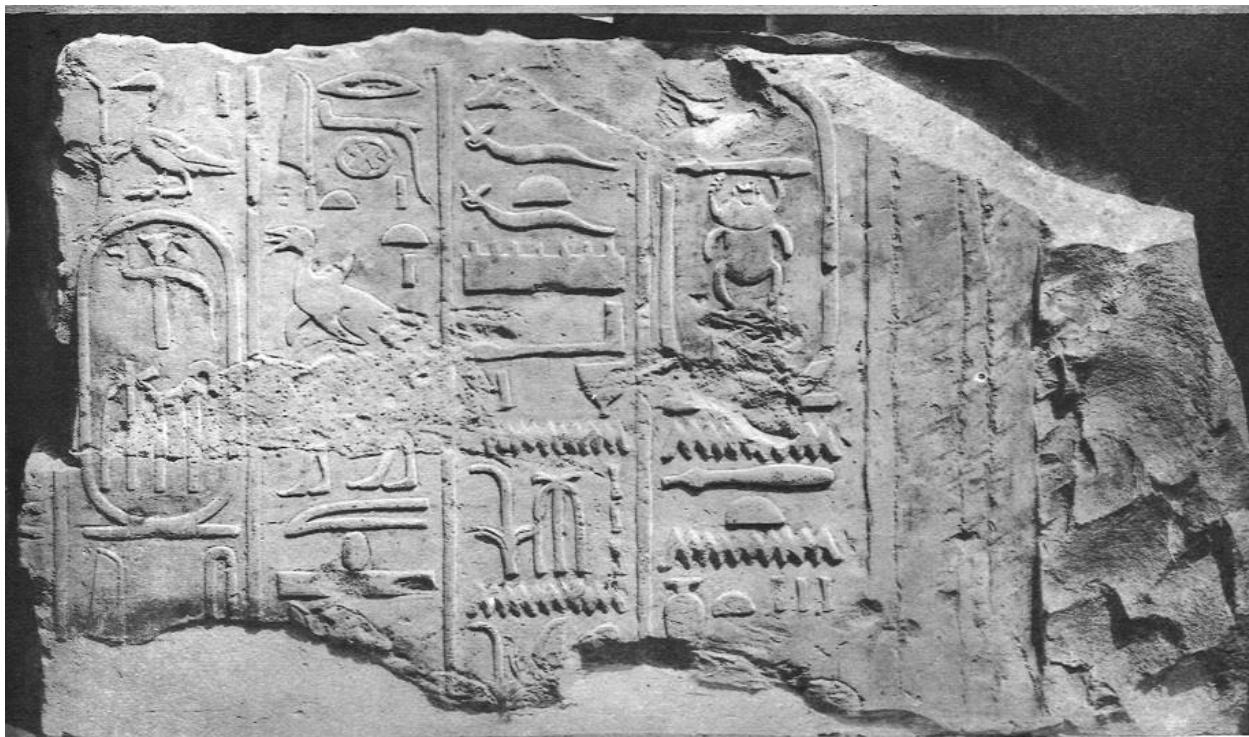


Figure 57 – Cairo JE 27818. Chapel of Wadjmose, Thebes, ca. Reign of Thutmose I. Limestone, 26 cm. by 40 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. From E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien I* (Cairo: IFAO, 1890-1900), pl. VI.

⁷⁸ See discussion in Snape, “Ramosse Restored,” 181-183; S. Quirke has suggested that the Wadjmose chapel was the original site of the Khenmetankh, the mortuary temple of Thutmose I. He proposes that the chapel became a general cult center for members Thutmose I’s family after Hatshepsut relocated her father’s main cult center to her own temple at Deir el-Bahri. This theory is based in part on the depiction of Thutmose III worshipping Thutmose I on the stele of Senimes from the Chapel of Wadjmose (see III.24). See Quirke, “Kerem in the Fitzwilliam Museum,” *JEA* 76 (1990), 174.

The monuments from the chapel that were specifically dedicated to Wadjmose have been summarized by A.-M. Loyrette, while a more thorough description of most of the monuments and texts from the chapel was published by Daressy in 1900.⁷⁹ Some of the earliest monuments from the chapel were dedicated by individuals who were close to the prince during his lifetime. One of these monuments belonged to an Imhotep who bore the title *it mn^c*.⁸⁰ This title has been variously interpreted as “foster father”⁸¹ or “tutor’s father.”⁸² C. Roehrig has also suggested that the title may indicate seniority among the various tutors associated with the children of Thutmose I.⁸³

Imhotep’s name and titles, as well as his association with the prince, are preserved on a fragment of a stone architectural element, perhaps part of a door jamb. Imhotep is described as foster father to multiple children of the king (*it mn^c n ms.w ny-sw.t bi.ty*, “Foster father of the children of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt”). Other attestations show that he held several other prestigious titles, including *t3i.ty s3b t3.ty* (“the one of the curtain, chief justice and vizier”).

The text as preserved reads in full:

⁷⁹ Loyrette, “Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès”; Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmes.”

⁸⁰ Loyrette, “Les monuments,” 133. Brief description and photograph published in E. Grébaut and G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien I* (Cairo: IFAO, 1890-1900), 8, pl. VI; text in Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmes,” 107 (doc. 21); discussion in Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 23-24.

⁸¹ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 23.

⁸² See discussion in Loyrette, “Les monuments,” 133.

⁸³ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 24. The other two tutors associated with Wadjmose are Itawy (depicted in the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab) and possibly Senimes.

[. . .] (1) *sʒ ny-sw.t (W3d-ms)| is[.t?]* (2) *ir imy-rʒ niw.t tʒ.ty Ti-m-htp iw* (3) *ir(w)=f it mnč n ms.w ny-sw.t bi.ty* (4) (*č3-hpr-k3-R*)| *n č3.t n hsy.wt=f*

"[. . .] (1) the King's Son Wadjmose. Indeed, (2) as for the overseer of the town and vizier Imhotep, (3) he was made⁸⁴ foster father to the children of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (4) A'akheperkare on account of the greatness of his praises."

This is one of several texts in which Wadjmose's name is written in a cartouche.

⁸⁴ *sdm(w)=f* passive.

III.24 – Stele of Senimes (Cairo GC 34016)



Figure 58 – CG 34016. Chapel of Wadjmose, Thebes, Reign of Thutmose III. Limestone, 40 cm. w. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. From Grébaut and Maspero, *Musée égyptien* I, pl. II.



Figure 59 – Detail of CG 34016. From Grébaut and Maspero, *Musée égyptien I*, pl. II

One of the earliest datable monuments from the chapel was dedicated by another royal tutor named Senimes.⁸⁵ C. Roehrig has argued that Senimes' charge was actually a son of Thutmose III, also named Wadjmose.⁸⁶ Even if this is the case, the prince represented in the lunette of the stele is undoubtedly Wadjmose, the son of Thutmose I. In addition to his role as a royal tutor,⁸⁷ Senimes also served as a lector priest in the funerary cult of Wadjmose. Senimes was later succeeded in this office by his son, S-a'a.⁸⁸ Two fragmentary statues of S-a'a were discovered at the chapel (see **III.25** and **III.26** below); the name of the prince is preserved on

⁸⁵ CG 34016. Grébaut and Maspero, *Musée égyptien I*, 4-5, pl. II; Daressy, "La chapelle," 101-103; Lacau, *Stèles I*, 32-36, pl. X; text in *Urk.* IV, 1065-1070; legal aspects of the text discussed in A. Théodoridès, "Le testament dans l'Égypte ancienne," *RIDA* 17 (1970), 148-182; discussed in Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 85-89.

⁸⁶ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 85-86, 88-89.

⁸⁷ Albeit possibly for a different Wadjmose, as mentioned above.

⁸⁸ Loyrette, "Les monuments," 133-4.

one, but obliterated on the other (although the title *s3 ny-sw.t* and part of the cartouche are intact). In the latter case, the prince is invoked alongside Amun as one of the deities of the *htp di ny-sw.t* formula.⁸⁹

The stele of Senimes dates to regnal year 21 of Thutmose III. Thutmose III himself is pictured in the scene at the top of the stele, participating in the cult of his grandfather Thutmose I and the deified prince. Thutmose III stands at right, facing an offering table and holding up a lit brazier in his right hand. His left hand, holding an ankh, hangs at his side. He wears the blue crown. At left, on the other side of the offering table, a larger figure of Thutmose I is seated on a block throne. His right hand, which rests just above his lap, holds a flail and an ankh. In his left hand, he clutches a crook to his chest. He wears a nemes headdress.

Prince Wadjmose stands behind Thutmose I at far left. He is depicted at a much smaller scale than either of the kings, but his costume suggests that he is not an extremely young child. His iconography is quite similar to that of roughly contemporary (i.e. early-mid 18th Dynasty) representations of Ahmose Sapair: he wears a curled blunt *ibs* wig with no sidelock, a broad collar, and a simple short kilt. His right hand hangs at his side, and he holds a lotus to his chest with his left hand. The lotus blossom bends away from Wadjmose, as if attracted to Thutmose I (the main focus of the scene) rather than to the nose of the prince. The text in front of Wadjmose reads *s3 ny-sw.t m3r mr=f (W3d-ms)| m3r hrw* (“True King’s Son, his beloved, Wadjmose, true of voice”). Thutmose I is identified as *ntr nfr (‘3-hpr-k3-R’)| di ‘nh* (“The Good

⁸⁹ Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmès,” 99-100 (items 3 (CG 570) and 4 (no inv. number given)).

God Aakheperkare, given life”), and Thutmose III, in similar fashion, as *ntr nfr (Mn-hpr-R)*| *di nh* (“The Good God Menkheperre, given life”).

A vertical text to the right of the figure of Thutmose III provides a date and describes the nature of the document: (1) *hsb.t 21 3bd 3 pr.t sw 25 hr hm n [ny-sw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R)]* (2) *s3 R* (*Dhw.ty-ms nfr hpr*)| *nh d.t r nhb imy.t-[pr.w ir.n mn]* (3) *n s3 ny-sw.t W3d-ms Sni-ms n hm.t[=f Hwd3r m] rn.w=f iry hm.t=f Hwd3[r s3=f S-3]* (5) *s3.t=f T3-i[ry s3.t=f S3.t-Imn]*

“(1) Regnal year 21, month 3 of Peret, day 25 under the majesty of [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre], (2) Son of Re Thutmose Nefer-kheper, given life for ever and ever. Testam[ent made by the tutor] (3) of the King’s Son Wadjmose, Senimes, for [his] wife [Hudjar in] his names⁹⁰, with respect to his wife Hudja[r, his son S-a’ā], (5) his daughter Ta[iry, and his daughter Sitamun].”

The main text of the stele, as indicated above, is an *imy.t-pr* for the wife of the *mn* *n s3 ny-sw.t W3d-ms Sni-ms*.⁹¹ The broken text records both the will of Senimes and some sort of legal dispute over the contents of the will between his wife and children. The text hints at the long career of Senimes, who, in addition to being the tutor of a royal prince, had also served as

⁹⁰ I am uncertain of the reason for the plural here, unless it refers back to Thutmose III or Amun (invoked in the oath formula at the end of the text), both of whom could be said to have multiple names. The formula *m rn.w=f nb* (“in all his names”) is used in reference to various deities, including Sokar, Atum and Amun. For a text containing several examples of this phrase, see the 19th Dynasty stele of Tia published in E. Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 162-166.

⁹¹ Full text published in *Urk.* IV, 1065-1070; the *imy.t-pr* itself is translated and discussed in detail in A. Théodoridès, “Le testament dans l’Égypte ancienne,” *Revue internationale des droits de l’antiquité*, ser. 3, 17 (1970), 148-182.

a palace guard since the reign of Thutmose I and as a “controller of the palace” during the reign of Thutmose III.⁹²

It is curious that a legal document of this nature would be left as a votive monument in a chapel dedicated to the cult of a deceased prince. Loyrette proposed an interesting explanation for the presence of this stele. She sees the deceased prince as an oracular intercessor in Senimes’ legal proceedings.⁹³ This assessment of the deified Wadjmose’s role is supported by the inscriptions on a statue of Nebnefer, probably from the same chapel, which dates to the reign of Amenhotep III.⁹⁴ However, it should be noted that Wadjmose is not invoked in the oath formula of the final lines of the text – in fact, only Thutmose III and Amun are mentioned (ln. 15-16).⁹⁵

III.25 – Statue of S-a'a (Cairo GC 570)

Two statues of S-a'a, the son of Senimes, were found in the chapel of Wadjmose. The more complete of the two – CG 570⁹⁶ – is inscribed with an offering formula that invokes a prince (name lost, but presumably Wadjmose) alongside Amun-Re.

⁹² Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 87.

⁹³ Loyrette, “Un monument de la XVIIIe dynastie,” 121-123.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 123; pl. XXVI-XXVIII. See **III.29**, below.

⁹⁵ Legal oath formulae typically invoked the names of gods or the living king. In some cases the names of non-royal individuals (specifically local rulers who had assumed semi-kingly authority) could be used in oaths. See J. A. Wilson, “The Oath in Ancient Egypt,” *JNES* 7 (1948), 129, n. 3. I do not know if there are any examples of a deified deceased person being named in a legal oath of this sort.

⁹⁶ Daressy, “La chapelle,” 99-100 (no. 3); Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 119-120, no photograph.

Borchardt provides no photograph in his publication of this statue. The statue is limestone, 37 cm. in height. Borchardt describes it as a statue of a man dressed in a robe, squatting with his knees drawn up and his arms resting across his knees. His left hand lies flat on his right forearm, while his right hand rests on his left arm and clutches a plant (tentatively identified by Borchardt as an artichoke). This description is strongly suggestive of a block statue. The base of the statue is now missing. The protruding back pillar is inscribed on the back and both sides, and a line of text is also inscribed on the front of S-a'a's garment.

Text on the front of the robe: *w'b hry-hb.t S-³ m³-hrw dd n=f H³r m³-hrw*

"The wab-priest and lector priest S-a'a, true-of-voice, who is called Khar, true-of-voice."

Text on the back-pillar, back side: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Imn-R^c nb ns.wt t³.wy s³ ny-sw.t*
([W³d-ms?]) . . .] (2) *wdn hr shtp.t n nb.w nh³ n k³ n w'b [. . .]*

"(1) An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, and the King's Son [Wadjmose? . . .] (2) An offering upon the offering table of the lords of eternity for the *ka* of the *wab-priest* [. . .]"⁹⁷

Text on the back-pillar, left side: *hn w'b [. . .] dd=f i hm.w-ntr sntri.w w'b.w hry.w-hb.t*
s³ nb rm³t nb dm rn=i s³

⁹⁷ In both Borchardt and Daressy's copies, the final lacuna appears too small to contain S-a'a's name or a full writing of the title *hry-hb.t*.

“Command(?) of the *wab*-priest [S-a'a?] who says,⁹⁸ ‘O god’s servants, incense bearers, *wab*-priests, lector priests, every scribe, every person: pronounce my name often.’”

Text on the back-pillar, right side: *w'b* [.]

“The *wab*-priest [.]”

Although the name of the prince mentioned in the back-pillar inscriptions is lost, a trace of a cartouche remains. The presence of a cartouche and the context of the monument suggest that the prince is probably Wadjmose.

III.26 – Fragment of a Statue of Khar (S-a'a)

Daresty published a tiny fragment of another squatting statue which probably also represents S-a'a, although only his nickname, Khar, is preserved in the remaining inscriptions.⁹⁹ The surviving text is as follows: (1) [. . .] *n s3 ny-sw.t W3d-ms* (2) [. . .] *H3r m3c-hrw*

“(1) [. . .] of/for the King’s Son Wadjmose (2) [. . .] Khar, true-of-voice.”

In this case, Wadjmose’s name is not written in a cartouche.

⁹⁸ Lit. “while he says.”

⁹⁹ “La chapelle,” 100 (doc. 4).

III.27 – Stone Slab of Pawah

Other individuals associated with the cult of Wadjmose are represented as well, including a *hm-k3* priest named Pawah who is likely to be the same person who dedicated the statue published by Gardiner (see above, **II.16**). Pawah is mentioned in a badly worn inscription on a stone slab.¹⁰⁰ He is depicted kneeling and pouring out a libation. The text referring to Pawah is damaged, but his name and titles, *hm-k3 P3-w3h m3c-hrw* (“The *hm-k3* priest Pawah, true-of-voice”) and a few words of an offering formula are preserved. A vertical column is inscribed with the name and epithets of Wadjmose: *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f (W3d-ms) | m3c hrw* (“The King’s Son, his beloved, Wadjmose, true-of-voice”). Loyrette suggests that the use of the epithet *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* must refer back to a now missing reference to Wadjmose’s father, Thutmose I.¹⁰¹ However, other near-contemporary monuments with complete texts demonstrate that this epithet need not be used in connection with the name of a king – the phrase *mr=f* simply refers back to the *ny-sw.t* in “*s3 ny-sw.t.*”¹⁰²

III.28 – Fragments of a Throne from a Seated Statue

Wadjmose is mentioned in a text on a fragmentary chair or throne, apparently part of a group statue.¹⁰³ Most of the preserved text consists of generic offering formulae invoking Ptah,

¹⁰⁰ Daressy, “La chapelle,” 107, doc. 22; Loyrette, “Les monuments,” 134.

¹⁰¹ “Les monuments,” 134.

¹⁰² See, e.g., **II.14** and **II.20.a.**

¹⁰³ Daressy, “La chapelle,” 100, item 6.

Sokar, Amun-Re and Montu. A text on the thickness of the back of the chair names Thutmose I and Wadjmose together: (1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (3-hpr-k3-R)| di nh* (2) *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t[=f] (W3d-ms)*

"(1) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands Aakheperkare, given life. (2) The King's Son of his body, Wadjmose."

III.29 – Statue of Nebnefer (Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History 1103)



Figure 60 – Brussels 1103. Statue of Nebnefer. Probably from the Chapel of Wadjmose, Thebes. Reign of Amenhotep III. Limestone. 25.5 cm h. Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History. From J. Capart and W. Spiegelberg, “Une statuette du Temple de Wazmose à Thèbes,” *Annales de la Société d’Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16 (1902), 162, fig. 1.

The Nebnefer statue currently resides in the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels.¹⁰⁴ It was obtained from an antiquities dealer in Luxor, but the texts on the statue strongly suggest that it originated from the chapel of Wadjmose. The statue can be dated with certainty thanks to a historical inscription on the back of the throne describing Nebnefer's promotion to the Chief of Measurers of Amun (*hry h3.w n Imn*) in Amenhotep III's 20th regnal year.

The statue is broken at the waist and the upper part is missing. The feet and part of the base are also missing. Nebnefer is depicted sitting on a cubic chair inscribed on the sides and back. He wears an ankle length kilt with a pleated apron, typical of the late 18th Dynasty. His hands rest on his lap, with his right hand clutching a folded cloth. The left hand is damaged.

A figure of a woman is carved in relief on the chair beside Nebnefer's right leg. She is identified as *s3.t=f Nfr(.t)* ("His daughter Neferet"). A second female figure is carved beside his left leg, accompanied by the text *Ntr=s-t3-nfr* ("Netjerestanefer"). A short text by Nebnefer's right foot reads: (1) *n k3 n hry h3y[. . .]* (2) *dd=f[.]* ("For the *ka* of the Chief of Measurers [. . .] (2) who says [.]").

The apron of Nebnefer's kilt is inscribed with a single vertical band of text: *pr(r).t nb.t hr shtp n Imn m Ip.t-sw.t n k3 n hry h3.w n Imn Nb-nfr m3c-hrw*¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Registration no. 1103. Capart and Spiegelberg, "Une statuette du Temple de Wazmose à Thèbes," *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16 (1902): 160-169. Text in Helck, *Urk. IV.21*, 1884-1886. Discussed briefly in Loyrette, "La chapelle," 123, pl. XXVI-XXVIII, and Idem., "Monuments," 136.

¹⁰⁵ Cryptic writing:



. See *WB* II, 17.

"Everything which comes forth upon the offering table of Amun in Karnak for the *ka* of the Chief of Measurers of Amun, Nebnefer, true-of-voice."

Wadjmose is mentioned in the offering formulae on both sides of the chair. The final line of the inscription on the right side of the chair seems to associate him with the donor of the monument, whose name is lost. The full text is as follows:

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir hnty Imn.tt m rn=f* (2) *pw n Wn-nfr dd krs n ir mr(?)¹⁰⁶=f* (3) *i3w n dd sw m ib=f n k3 w^c ikr m^c* (3) *nfr bi3.t w3h-ib mr.w rmf* (4) *ss3 m i3.wt=f rh nm.twf=f sdd nn inn sp=f* (5)¹⁰⁷ [in . . .] *m^c-hrw s^cnh rn=f s3 ny-sw.t W3d-ms m^c-(hrw)*

"(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, in this his name (2) of Wennefer who gives a good burial to the one who does his desire(?) (3) and old age to the one who places himself in his heart, for the *ka* of the truly excellent unique one, (3) good of character, patient, whom people love, (4) competent in his office, sure-footed¹⁰⁸, who causes to give (?) without one who can take away his conduct (?). (5) [It is . . .], true-of-voice, who causes his name to live (and?) the King's Son Wadjmose, true-(of-voice)."

The inscription on the left side of the seat is more illuminating. The final lines of the text contain an exhortation and warning to priests associated with the cult of the chapel:

¹⁰⁶  . Perhaps a sportive writing of *mr* ()?

¹⁰⁷ A horizontal line below the main text.

¹⁰⁸ Lit.: "who knows his steps."

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Imn-R*^c *ny-sw.t ntr(.w) ntr w*^c *hpr m sp t[p]* (2) *di=f*^c*nh wd3 snb ndm-ib*
m hms dd=f^c*k* (3) *pr r pr=f hnm.n=f hs.wt Imn n k3 hry* (4) *h3.w n Imn Nb-nfr dd=f iri*¹⁰⁹ *hm-ntr*
(5) *w*^c*b kt.w n.ty tm kb n p3 tw.t n hry [h3.w n Imn Nb-nfr s3 ny-sw.t W3d]-ms* *h3=f m drf*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, King of the God(s), sole god who came into being in the primordial time, (2) that he might give life, prosperity and health and joy in resting. He grants entry (3) and egress from his temple, *after* he has joined with the ones whom Amun praises. For the *ka* of the chief (4) of measurers Nebnefer, who says, ‘As for (any) god’s servant, (5) *wab* priest, or small one (?) who fails to make a libation to this statue of the Chief [of Measurers of Amun Nebnefer, the King’s Son Wadj]mose shall fight [against him] in writing.’”

The implication seems to be that the prince will make oracular pronouncements against any priest who is negligent of Nebnefer’s cult statue.

The inscription on the back of the chair establishes a date for this statue late in the reign of Amenhotep III:

(1) *[hsb.t] 20 3bd 2 3h.t [hr] hm n ny-sw.t bi.ty (Nb-m3^c.t-R*^c*)| s3 R*^c *(Imn-htp hk3 W3s.t)|*
nh d.t mry Imn [nb ns.wt] (2) t3.wy hnt Ip.t-sw.t h^c*.w hr s.t Hr nh.w mi R*^c *r*^c *nb hrw pn is.t*
[hm=f] (3) [m Hw.t-k3-Pth m pr] Pth-rsy-inb=f nb nh t3.wy wp(w).t(y)(?) ii hr=s ss ny-sw.t im.y-
r3 pr H^c*-m-hr n htm.ty bi.ty hm ntr tp.y n Im[n] (4) [Mr.y-Pth wd=tw] m pr-3 nh wd3 snb imm*

¹⁰⁹ For *ir*.

š3(?)=tw hr.y h3.yt n šnw.t htp-ntr Nb-nfr m-hr it.w (5) [m iw^c n it=f hry h3.yt]¹¹⁰ hwy di=(t)w r
 s.t=f m šnw.t htp ntr n Imn ḥ^c.n ir.w mi dd.tw (6) [nb.t dd.in hm-ntr tpy n Im]n Mry-Pth m3^c-hrw
 hft sš ny-sw.t imy-r3 pr H^c-m-hr iry it=k Imn nb ns.wt t3.wy (7) m wd.wt=f nb.t mn p.t mn ir.wt=f
 mn w3ḥ n d.t ir.w m-b3ḥ htm.ty bi.ty hm ntr tpy n (8) Imn Mry-Pth hm ntr 2.nw nn <hm> ntr
 3.nw Imn-m-h3.t hm ntr 4.nw S3-Mw.t sš ny-sw.t H^c-m-hr imy-r3 pr Nht-Sbk

“(1) [Regnal year] 20, month 2 of Akhet [under] the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, Son of Re Amenhotep Ruler-of-Thebes, given life, beloved of Amun, Lord of [Thrones] (2) of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak, he having appeared upon the Horus throne of the living like Re every day.¹¹¹ Now, on this day [his majesty] (3) [was in Memphis in the temple of] Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands. A messenger(?)¹¹² had come concerning it: ‘The royal scribe and steward Khaemher to the sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt and First Prophet of Amu[n] (4) [Meryptah: It is commanded] in the Palace, I.p.h. – Let one ordain(?) the chief measurer of the granary of the divine offering Nebnefer in the presence of his ancestors, (5) [as the heir of his father, the chief of measurers] Huy, that (he) might be placed upon his seat in the granary of the divine offering of Amun.’ Thereupon [everything] that had been said was done. (6) [Then the First Prophet of Amu]n Meryptah, true-

¹¹⁰ Restoration suggested by Helck, *Urk.* IV.21, 1885.

¹¹¹ Spiegelberg and Capart (“Une statuette,” 165-166) instead read *ḥ^c.w* as a plural noun, “diadems,” translating this passage as “aimé d’Amon [quel Amon, seigneur des] trônes des deux terres, dans Opet [assuré] les diadems sur le trône d’Horus des vivants, comme Ra, chaque jour.” It is not clear to me that there is sufficient room at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 1 to contain the text necessary for this restoration – presumably “[smn(w).n Imn nb ns.wt]” or similar.

¹¹² Written “*wp.t.*” Certainly the basic sense is that some sort of communication had come, but *wp.ti* (“message,” “communication”) does not agree with the following masculine form *ii* (presumably a stative, i.e. “A messenger(?) had come”). Perhaps this is an abbreviated writing of *wpw.ty* (“messenger”).

of-voice, said before the royal scribe and steward Khaemher, ‘May your father Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, do everything that he has commanded. As heaven endures, so his actions endure, lasting and enduring forever.’ Done in the presence of the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the First Prophet of (8) Amun Meryptah, the Second Prophet Anen, the Third Prophet Amenemhat, the Fourth Prophet Samut, the royal scribe Khaemher, and the steward Nakhtsobek.”

Like the stele of Senimes (**III.24**), this monument records a specific incident in the life of its owner, in this case his promotion to the office of “Chief of Measurers” in the granary of Amun. It is a curious choice for a dedicatory monument in the mortuary chapel of a prince, unless one considers the possibility that Nebnefer was crediting the deified Wadjmose for his good fortune. The offering formula on the left side of the chair clarifies Wadjmose’s oracular function, suggesting that the deified prince could influence the affairs of the living by responding favorably or unfavorably to written petitions.¹¹³ Although it is not directly stated in the text of the Nebnefer statue, it is possible that the Wadjmose oracle was consulted in the decision to promote Nebnefer to the office of “Chief of Measurers.”

¹¹³ Loyrette, “Un monument,” 123.

III.30 – Stele Fragment of Binpu

Daressy records a fragmentary stele, of which only the text naming the dedicator of the monument survives.¹¹⁴ This portion of the text reads: *ir.n [. . .]mt hw.t R^c m pr Imn Bnpw* (“Made by the [. . .] of the Mansion of Re in the House of Amun, Binpu”).¹¹⁵ The lacuna after *ir.n* appears fairly short in Daressy’s copy, but it is possible that the title *s3 ny-sw.t* was written before the broken title [. . .]*mt*.¹¹⁶

While the surviving text gives no indication that the individual named is a prince, a prince Binpu is named in a small number of post-18th Dynasty monuments. In the list of deified royalty in the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2)¹¹⁷, Binpu is listed alongside Wadjmose and Ramose and identified as a *s3 ny-sw.t*, with his name placed in a cartouche.

Binpu is also named on a bronze statuette which appears, stylistically, to belong to the Late or Greco-Roman Period. The original provenance is lost, but it was purchased in Luxor. A drawing of this unusual object appears in Mariette’s *Monuments divers*.¹¹⁸ The statuette depicts Horpakhered or a similar child god in a striding pose. Four names in cartouches are inscribed around the base of the statue. The name (*Bn-pw*)| appears on the front of the base and (*T^ch-ms*)| on the back. The texts on the left and right sides name Swadjenre (the 16th

¹¹⁴ “La chapelle d’Uazmes,” 104, doc. 14.



¹¹⁶ Perhaps [. . .]*mt* is the priestly title *stm*. Certainly there are cases in which the *t* and *m* are graphically transposed. The writing *stm* for *sm* seems to have arisen in the 19th Dynasty (see *WB* IV, 119), which would be a case against the dedicator of this monument being a 17th-18th Dynasty prince.

¹¹⁷ *PM* I:1, 7.

¹¹⁸ P. 14 and pl. 48, b.

Dynasty king Nebiriau I) and Neferkare (presumably Nebiriau II, also of the 16th Dynasty), respectively.

Given the extreme rarity of the name Binpu (the three examples mentioned above are the only ones cited in Ranke's *Personnenamen*¹¹⁹), the possibility that all three of these examples refer to the same person must be considered.¹²⁰ Binpu's presence in the Chapel of Wadimose certainly fits well with his appearance alongside Ramose and Wadimose in TT2. The TT2 list was composed at a time when the Wadimose chapel and its associated cults were experiencing a revival of activity. The statuette is more difficult to explain, but may represent a much later development of the Theban cult of royal ancestors in general (hence the peculiar assortment of royal names from different periods).

It must be reiterated that the stele from the Wadimose chapel does not seem to refer to Binpu as a prince, although the title may have been among the parts of the text now lost. It is also important to note that this Binpu seems to be a participant in the cult rather than one of its subjects. It is possible that the later monuments of Binpu represent later confusion about his identity, or that, as a participant in the cult of his royal relatives, it was not necessary or appropriate for Binpu to identify himself as a prince (see the statue of Nebnefer discussed above, **II.17**, for another possible example of this phenomenon).

¹¹⁹ *PN* I, 96.

¹²⁰ G. Daressy hinted at this possibility in his open letter to Maspero, "Lettre à M. Maspero a propos de quelques points de son mémoire sur les momies de Deir el-Bahari, *RdT* 13 (1890), 145.

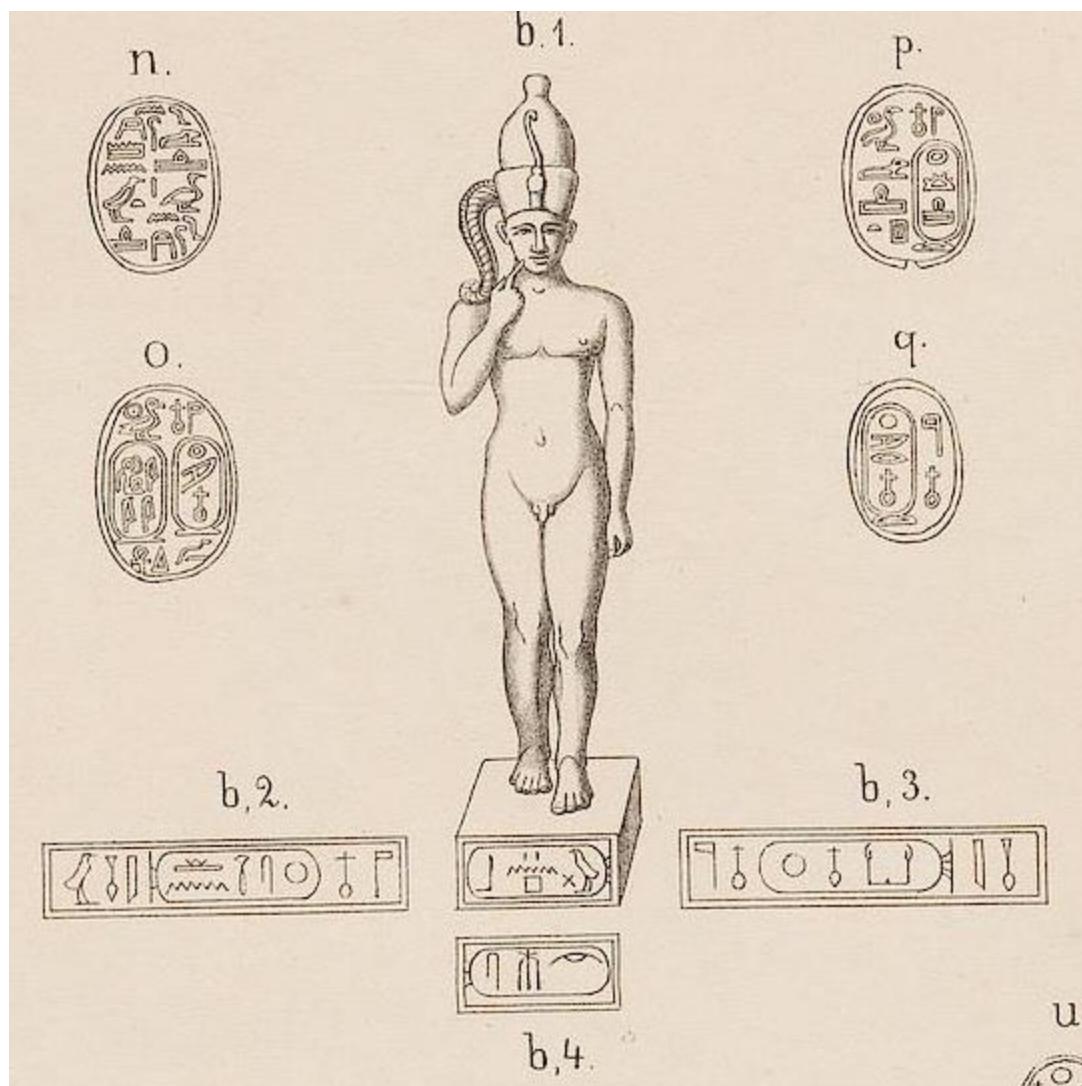


Figure 61 – Boulaq Museum 2953. Statue of a child god. Bronze. Original Provenance Unknown, Late Period or Greco-Roman Period. From A. Mariette-Pacha and G. Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pl. 48.

A. Dodson and D. Hilton have identified Binpu as a son of Seqenenre Ta'a and Ahhotep I, for reasons that are not adequately explained.¹²¹ The evidence outlined above suggests that his floruit was more likely to have been the 18th Dynasty during/after the reign of Thutmose I.

¹²¹ *Complete Royal Families*, 126, 129.

III.31 – Fragment of a Statue of Ahmose B(?)

The Binpu fragment raises the question of whether other untitled princes may be represented among the objects from the Wadjmose chapel. Daressy briefly describes a fragmentary statue of a squatting man, which can be dated to the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period based on the intentional mutilation of the name of Amun in the inscription.¹²²

The surviving inscription is as follows: *ḥ3.ty-‘ smr ‘3 n mr.t imy-r3 k3.w n Imn Tḥ-ms in s3.t n s3.t=f s‘nh rn=f* (“Count, companion great of love, Overseer of Cattle of Amun Ahmose. It is the daughter of his daughter¹²³ who causes his name to live.”). The titles and epithets listed here are consistent with those of Ahmose B (see **II.25**). An Ahmose (without kingly or princely titles) also appears among the deified royalty in TT2, which would be consistent with Ahmose’s presence in the Chapel of Wadjmose.¹²⁴

III.32 – Miscellaneous Ramesside Material

A few monuments from the Chapel of Wadjmose can be dated to the 19th Dynasty. The cultic activity of the chapel seems to have been restored by Ramesses II, perhaps around the time that he built the Ramesseum. The chapel was dismantled at some point after the reign of Ramesses II.¹²⁵ Of particular interest with regard to Ramesses’ work on the chapel is a

¹²² Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmes,” 100 (doc. 5).

¹²³ See **Chapter 1** for discussion of compound kinship terms.

¹²⁴ PM I:1, 7. Also see discussion above, **III.10**.

¹²⁵ Loyrette, “Les monuments,” 139, n. 27; as demonstrated by the presence of bricks stamped with the name of Wadjmose in Ramesside levels at Deir el-Medina.

fragmentary stele published by Daressy.¹²⁶ It makes reference to a statue of the *s3 ny-sw.t R^c-ms*, presumably the same prince depicted in the statue published by Snape (II.14).¹²⁷ The stele and statue both point to a subsidiary cult of Ramose at the chapel.

The fragmentary text of the stele hints at a temporary lapse in cultic activities at the chapel, presumably during the Amarna Period. A heavily broken passage contains the phrase [. . .] *dr-h3[.w n . . . (]Ir-n-[R^c?])|* (“[. . .] since the time of [. . .] Ir-en-Ra”).¹²⁸ Ir-en-Ra was an epithet of several 18th Dynasty kings, including Amenhotep III. Ramesses II’s interest in restoring the chapel is consistent with the resurgence of private worship of the 18th Dynasty royal family during the Ramesside Period.

Several 18th Dynasty princes are represented in Ramesside material from the Wadjmose chapel and from various other sites in and around Thebes. Of these, Ahmose Sapair is the most widely attested. Other 18th Dynasty princes appearing in Ramesside material include Wadjmose, Ramose, Nebnefer and Binpu. This material will be discussed in further detail in

Chapter 11.

¹²⁶ “La chapelle d’Uazmes,” 105-106, item 17.

¹²⁷ Snape, “Ramose Restored,” 182.

¹²⁸ Daressy, “La chapelle d’Uazmes,” 105.

Chapter 5: Category IV – Private Monuments Featuring Princes

This chapter will address private monuments depicting princes in the company of non-royal individuals. Most or all of these people were involved, in some capacity, with the upbringing of the royal children with whom they are depicted. In contrast to funerary or votive monuments of deified princes, which could also be dedicated by private individuals, these monuments depict relationships that existed between princes and their close non-royal associates during life. Princes tend to take a secondary role in these monuments, with the primary focus being on the non-royal person to whom the monument was dedicated.

The material is presented as follows:

- a. Monuments of royal nurses and tutors. These monuments belonged to non-royal people unrelated to the royal children that they cared for, most of whom held titles relating to their role in the upbringing of royal children (“Royal Nurse,” “Royal Tutor,” etc.).
 - i. Statuary
 - ii. Two-dimensional representations from tomb contexts
 - iii. Graffiti
- b. Other private monuments depicting princes. This small category comprises monuments that certainly or probably belonged to blood relatives of royal children who did not hold royal titles themselves.

Within these subcategories, I have attempted to arrange the material in chronological order. However, some of this material is difficult to date with precision.

a. Monuments of royal nurses and tutors

Unique to the 18th Dynasty are numerous monuments belonging to individuals who were involved in the upbringing of royal children: specifically, nurses and tutors of royal children, and “foster siblings” of the king. This phenomenon has been explored thoroughly by C. Roehrig in her dissertation.¹ In this section, I will discuss monuments featuring royal sons. Monuments retrospectively depicting princes who became kings will be discussed in **Chapter 7**.

One of the remarkable features of these monuments is that many (but not all) feature the royal child in a secondary position. The primary focus is on the royal tutor or nurse, who is typically depicted in a protective or nurturing posture. In most cases, the royal charge is depicted as a child.

i. Statuary

The two most common types of representation of royal children with their nurses and tutors were a) reliefs and paintings in the tombs of nurses, tutors and their family members and b) statues representing royal nurses and tutors with their charges. Statues of nurses and tutors

¹ “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 1990.

with royal children were typically set up in temple contexts (most from the temple of Amun at Karnak)², and would have been more public than analogous representations in tomb chapels.

Statues of nurses and tutors with royal children first began to appear during the reign of Hatshepsut. The earliest known example is a retrospective depiction Hatshepsut as a miniature king with her nurse, Sitre (**VI.2**).³ Such images were not without precedent – depictions of kings as children being nursed by queens or goddesses appeared in the Old Kingdom.⁴ Additionally, an unusual Middle Kingdom statue depicts a princess nursing her son.⁵

Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure was depicted in numerous statues of this type, and, in fact, these account for the majority of statues of nurses and tutors with royal offspring.⁶ Male royal children were typically depicted with male “tutors” (*mn̄* or *it mn̄.t*) rather than female “nurses” (*mn̄.t*).⁷ Some exceptions will be addressed below and in **Chapter 7**.

² Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 275, n. 11.

³ Ibid, 272 ff.

⁴ Ibid., 273-274; see, for example, the statue of Pepy II and his mother, Brooklyn Museum, 39.119.

⁵ Brooklyn Museum of Art 43.137, published in C. Ziegler (ed.), *Queens of Egypt from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco: Grimaldi Forum, 2008), 164, 320-321 (cat. 149).

⁶ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 276-284.

⁷ The functional differences between “tutors” and “nurses” are not entirely clear, since primary sources say little about their roles. However, it is probable that at least some royal nurses were actually involved in the breastfeeding of royal children (see discussion of the nurse Baky and Amenhotep II in Chapter 7, **VI.5**), while there is evidence that some male “tutors” taught their charges practical skills (e.g. archery, see **IV.6**) and brought them on official expeditions (**IV.13-IV.14**) in addition to acting as guardians. See Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 314ff, for discussion of the titles and functions of royal “nurses” and “tutors” during the 18th Dynasty.

IV.1 – Statue of Senneferi with Siamun B (CG 1112)



Figure 62 – CG 1112. Block statue of Senneferi with the prince Siamun B, viewed from above. Probably from Thebes, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III. Black granite or granodiorite, 32 cm by 32 cm. Image courtesy of C. Roehrig.

A black granite or granodiorite block statue of uncertain provenance (CG 1112) depicts a tutor (*it mn^{c.t}* – “foster father”) named Senneferi holding a prince named Siamun.⁸ The provenance of this statue is uncertain. Senneferi is well attested in other monuments datable to the reign of Thutmose III.⁹ He was primarily a treasurer (*imy-r³ sd^{3.t}*), and his role as a royal tutor is not mentioned in other monuments.¹⁰ The prince Siamun depicted in the statue

⁸ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 285, pl. 11; originally published with no photograph in Borchardt, *Statuen IV*, 64; E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 267, pl. 28 (6.16-45).

⁹ W. K. Simpson, *LÄ V*, 856-857.

¹⁰ While it is possible that a different person is represented here, the Senneferi depicted in CG 1112 shares both a name and a title (*imy-r³ sd^{3.t}*) with the Sennefri of TT 99 and several other contemporary monuments.

(Dodson's Siamun B) is otherwise unknown.¹¹ The statue is badly damaged, with the heads of both the tutor and the prince missing, but it is apparent that the format was similar to that of many of the Senenmut and Neferure statues. The prince is wrapped inside the cloak or kilt that covers Senneferi's knees, and his head must have been positioned just below Senneferi's chin. Senneferi's hands were originally visible on top of his knees, but are now lost (or perhaps deliberately defaced).

The text identifying Senneferi and the prince is inscribed in two columns on either side of Siamun's head, both of which read *it mn^c.t s³ ny-sw.t S³-Imn imy-r³ sd³.t Sn-nfri* ("Foster Father of the King's Son Siamun, Overseer of the Treasury Senneferi"). The prince's name and title seem to have been partially erased. The offering formula on the front of the kilt makes no reference to the prince or Senneferi's role as a royal tutor (although it should be noted that the final line of the text is missing due to damage to the feet). The text is as follows:

(1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb 3bdw¹² ntr* ⿼ *hk3 d.t di=fpr.t-hrw t hnkt* (2) *k3 3pd h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t nh.t ntr im=sn m hr.t hrw n.t r^c nb* (3) *n k3 n iry-p^c.t h3.ty-^c htm.ty bi.ty smr w^c mrr¹³ ntr hr tp n t3 r* (4) *dr=fw^c rs-tp n shm.n=f m kdd hr* (5) *shr Hr nb t3.wy ir.wy ny-sw.t m niw.wt šm^c.w* (6) *nh.wy=f m sp3.wt t3-mh.w wd3 dd mty* (7) *h3.ty nn ir.n=f sp sn m rmt špš(?)¹⁴* [. . .] (8) [.]

¹¹ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 93.

¹² Erroneously transcribed by Borchardt: *Wsir tp nb dw-bw*

¹³ Transcribed by Borchardt as *mr.t*. The reason for the apparent feminine ending of *mr.t* is unclear. Assuming that this is not a transcription error by Borchardt, then possibly the epithet ⿼ *mrw.t* ("great of love") was intended. The photograph in Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, pl. 28, shows a low sign between *ntr* and *mr* which could be read as a *t* or an *r*.

¹⁴ Perhaps an erroneous writing of *šps*?

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of Abydos, great god, ruler of eternity, that he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, (2) cattle, fowl and every good and pure thing by which the god lives in the course of every day (3) for the *ka* of the hereditary nobleman and count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, whom the god loves(?) upon the earth to (4) its limit, the sole wakeful one over whom sleep has no power¹⁵ in the presence of (5) the enemy of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands; the two eyes of the king in the towns of Upper Egypt, (6) his two ears in the districts of Lower Egypt, hale one who causes the (7) heart to be precise without him (having to) act twice, being an august(?) person [. . .] (8) [.]”

¹⁵ This passage is difficult, but this seems to be the basic sense intended here. A literal translation would be “while he does not prevail over sleep,” which is the opposite of the expected meaning.

IV.2 – Block Statue of Minmose with Two Princes (CG 638)

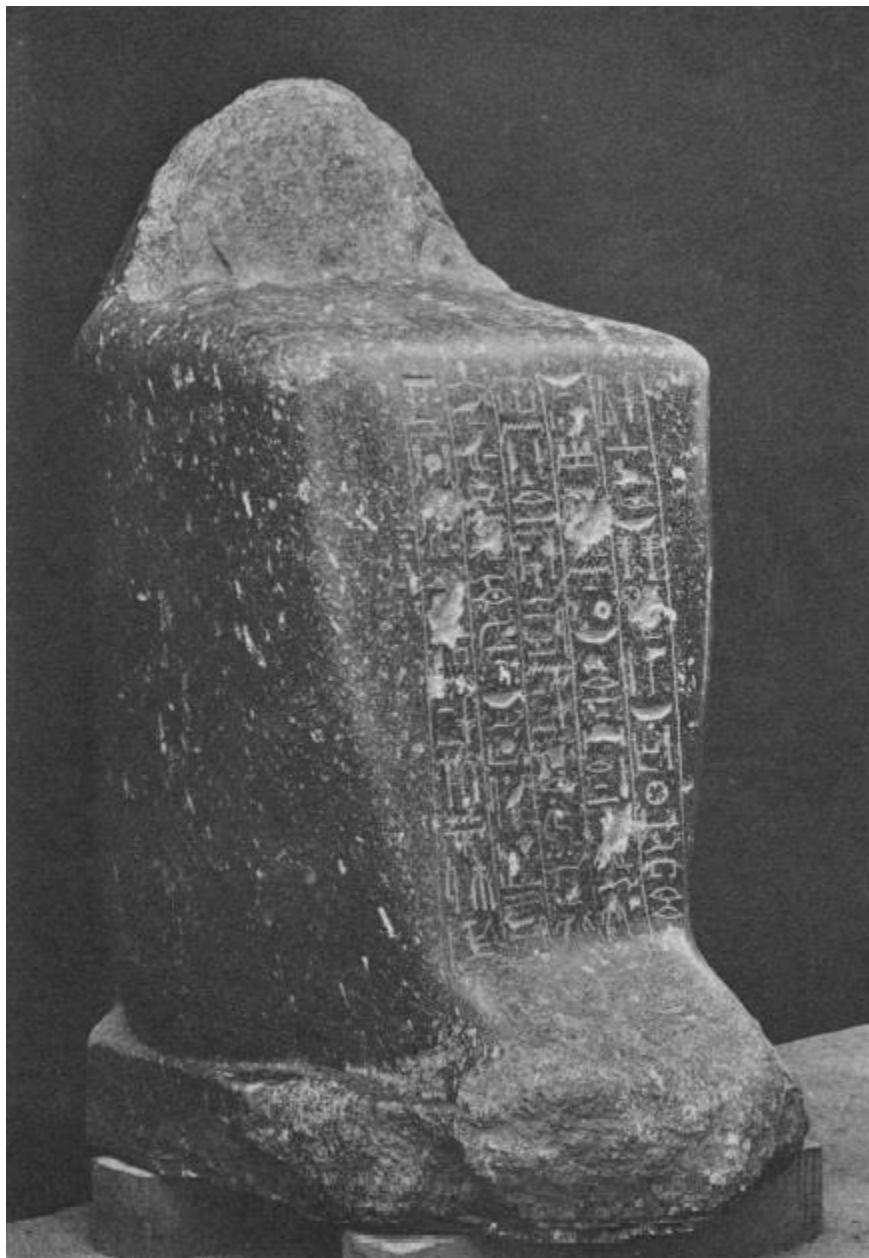


Figure 63 – CG 638, Statue of Minmose with Two Princes. Black granite, 1.09 m. high. Karnak, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten II* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1925), pl. 117.

A second block statue dating to the reign of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II depicts an official named Minmose with two princes – a unique configuration for statues of this type.¹⁶ This statue was found at Karnak. As in the statue of Senneferi, the princes' heads, although now missing, apparently once emerged from Minmose's cloak. In this case, their heads were positioned on either side of Minmose's.

The inscriptions on the statue make no reference to any titles associated with the tutelage of royal children, but such an omission was not uncommon for statues of this type (as the form of the statue itself suggested the nature of the relationship).¹⁷ The names of the princes are inscribed in front of their heads on the top surface of the statue, along with brief offering formulae.

Before the prince on the right: *prr.t nb.t hr shtp n Wsir m hr.t-hrw nt r^c nb n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t mr=f Ndmi*

"Everything which goes forth upon the offering table of Osiris in the course of every day for the *ka* of the King's Son, his beloved, Nedjemi."

Before the prince on the left: *h3 m h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t prr.t m-b3h Wsir n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t mr=f W[bn-sn.w]*

"1000 of every good and pure thing which goes forth before Osiris for the Ka of the King's Son, his beloved, W[ebensenu]."

¹⁶ CG 638. Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 285-286, pl. 12 and 13; Borchardt, *Statuen II*, 186-187, pl. 117.

¹⁷ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 277, 286.

Text on the front of the statue: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb Ddw ntr ⲉ3 nb 3bdw di=f prr.t*
(2) *nb.t hr shtp=f m hr.t-hrw n.t r⠁ nb krs.t nfr.t m-ht i3w.t* (3) *n k3 n hmww ikr hs ntr=f s⠁3.n ny-*
sw.t dr hrd.w=f ph i3w.t (4) *n gm=tw wn=f ir dd.wt nb=f hw s(w) hr-⠁ m smnh* (5) *mn.w=f n nhh*
imy-r3 k3.wt m r3-pr pn ss ny-sw.t Mn-ms m3⠁ hrw (6) *ir.n s3b N3-ii m3⠁-hrw* (7) *ms (n?) nb.t [pr]*
Ry[.]

“(1) An offering which the King gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos,
that he might give everything that comes forth (2) upon his offering table in the course of every
day and a good burial after old age (3) for the *ka* of the excellent craftsman, praised of his god,
whom the king made great since his childhood, who reached old age (4) without one finding
fault with him, who did what his lord said, who protected him(?)¹⁸ at once(?), being one who
ennobled (5) his monuments for eternity, the overseer of works in this temple, the royal scribe
Minmose, true-of-voice. (6) Made by¹⁹ the nobleman Naiy, true-of-voice, (7) born (to) the
mistress [of the house] Ry[.].”

Of the two princes named on this statue, Nedjemi is otherwise unattested, but
W[ebensenu] may be the same individual buried in the tomb of Amenhotep II, discussed in
II.8.²⁰ The reading *Wbn-sn.w* on the Minmose statue is based on a damaged inscription, of
which only the quail chick and solar disc are visible.

¹⁸ I.e. protected his lord?

¹⁹ I have taken this to be the dedicatory formula “*ir.n PN*” (“Made by PN”), but the following line suggests the alternative reading *ir n s3b N3-ii* (“engendered of the dignitary Naiy”).

²⁰ A hypothesis espoused by Dodson, “Crown Prince Djutmose,” 93, n. 65.

Minmose is attested as an overseer of works during the reign of Thutmose III, but he seems to have lived into the reign of Amenhotep II. The text of CG 638 contains an interesting reference to Minmose's relationship to the king: he is one *s3.n ny-sw.t dr hrd.w=f* ("whom the king made great since his childhood"). C. Roehrig interprets this passage to mean that Minmose's relationship with the king could be traced to the king's (rather than Minmose's) childhood.²¹ Which king is meant here is unclear, but if Minmose began his career under Thutmose III and survived into the reign of Amenhotep II, then perhaps the implication is that he was close to the heir, Amenhotep II, during his youth.

Roehrig also suggests that these princes may have been sons of Thutmose III, and therefore brothers of Amenhotep II.²² If so, then Webensenu's presence in the tomb of Amenhotep II would be surprising, assuming KV 35 is the original location of Webensenu's burial and not a later reinterment. I am unaware of any other possible examples of princes being buried with their brothers who attained kingship. In any case, even if the princes represented here are sons of Thutmose III, it is possible that this statue represents a different prince Webensenu from the one buried in KV 35 or that "Webensenu" is an incorrect restoration of the damaged name.

²¹ "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 92.

²² Ibid., 95.

IV.3 – Statuette of Tjenuna and Temy (BM EA 35400)



Figure 64 – BM EA 35400. Block statuette of Tjenuna with the King's Son Temy. Glazed steatite, 6.9 cm by 3.9 cm by 4 cm. Provenance unknown, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III. Now in the British Museum, London, UK. Trustees of the British Museum. JPEG, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=676153001&objectId=100842&partId=1 (Accessed 8/5/2015).

A small green glazed steatite block statuette depicts a tutor named Tjenuna holding a prince named Temy (*s3 ny-sw.t Tmy*).²³ The provenance of the statue is uncertain. A mention of

²³ BM EA 35400. Ibid., 286, pl. 14; R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentyperns*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1992), v. 1, 388-389 and v. 2, pl. 101 a-b. Pictures of all four inscribed sides of the statue are published in G. Robins, *Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom: Ancient Egyptian Art from the British Museum* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1995), 28-29.

the *pr Mn-hpr.w-R* ("Estate of Menkheperure") on the base of the statue indicates a date during or after the reign of Thutmose IV. The prince Temy (read *Jtmw* by R. Schulz) is otherwise unknown.²⁴ C. Roehrig hypothesizes that Temy may have been a variant of the name Siatum.²⁵

Siatum is attested on a stele of another tutor named Meryre, probably Memphite in origin, which can be dated stylistically to the late 18th Dynasty (**IV.12**).²⁶ The same prince, or a prince of the same name, is named on the mummy label of his daughter, a princess *Nbtis* or *Nbiw*.²⁷ If Temy is the same as Siatum, then it is reasonable to date this statuette to the reign of Amenhotep III, since both attestations of Siatum may be placed in or near this period.

The statue of Tjenuna is only 6.9 cm tall. It is remarkable for being the only block statue of a prince and tutor which has survived completely intact. Temy's head emerges from the top of the statue in front of Tjenuna's face. Temy is depicted as a small child with a sidelock. Aside from the presence of the prince's head, the configuration of the piece is typical for a block statue – Tjenuna's hands are visible, crossed and resting on the knees, with the right hand in a fist and the left hand open, palm down.

The name and title of Temy are inscribed across the knees, in front of Temy's face: *s3 ny-sw.t Tmy* ("The King's Son Temy"). A vertical line running from Tjenuna's knees to the tops of his feet gives the name *Tw-nw-n3*.

²⁴ Schulz, *Die Entwicklung*, 388-389.

²⁵ "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 248; 286. Possibly a playful writing in which the *s3* does double duty for "*s3 ny-sw.t*" and "*S3-Itm*".

²⁶ Vienna 5814, published by D. Berg, "The Vienna Stela of Meryre." *JEA* 73 (1987), 213-216.

²⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt* II, 144, fig. 90; Berg, "The Vienna Stela of Meryre," 213; A. Dodson and J. Janssen, "A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants." *JEA* 75 (1989), 136-137. To be discussed further in **Chapter 6, V.2**.

A line of text on the back of the statue identifies Tjenuna as *imy-r3 ih.w n Imn Tw-nw-n3* (“Overseer of the Cattle of Amun, Tjenuna”).

An offering formula is inscribed around the base of the statue: (front) *htp di ny-sw.t Imn-R^c nb pt* (right) *di=f h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t* (back) *spd-hr hs mry* (left) *n k3 n imy-r3 pr n pr Mn-hpr.w-R^c*

“(front) An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, lord of heaven (right) that he might give every good and pure thing, (back) alertness, favor and love (left) for the *ka* of the steward of the estate of Menkheperure.”

This Tjenuna is likely to be the same individual who owned TT 76, which can be dated to the reign of Thutmose IV.²⁸

²⁸ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 246-248.

IV.4 – Statue of Sobekhotep with Amenhotep Merykhepesh (Brussels E.6856)



Figure 65 – Brussels E.6856. Statue of Sobekhotep with Amenhotep Merykhepesh. Black granite, 36 cm by 32 cm by 37 cm. Provenance uncertain, probably from the Fayyum, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Now in the Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels. Image from B. van de Walle, “Précisions nouvelles sur Sobek-hotep fils de Mîn.” *RdÉ* 15 (1963), pl. 12.

An unusual statue, dating to the reign of Thutmose IV, depicts a prince *Inn-htp Mry-hps* seated on the lap of his tutor, the treasurer Sobekhotep.²⁹ Presumably this is Dodson's "Amenhotpe C," the future Amenhotep III.³⁰ The configuration of the statue is unique: Sobekhotep sits cross-legged with a tight kilt across his knees, in the common pose of scribal statues. The prince is seated on Sobekhotep's lap with his feet resting on the base of the statue. Sobekhotep embraces the prince and holds him close with both hands, which rest flat against the prince's torso. The heads of both figures are missing, but there may be remnants of a sidelock on the right side of Amenhotep's head. Amenhotep wears a *šndw.t* kilt.³¹

Roehrig interprets Amenhotep's appearance as that of "an adolescent or young adult" rather than a small child.³² She characterizes this statue as "the first example of a tutor statue (a statue where the main figure is a man), where the nursling is shown retrospectively as a miniature adult."³³ However, the only indication of the prince's age is his attire – his appearance is otherwise ambiguous, particularly since his head is so badly damaged. The other three statues of princes with tutors provide little basis for comparison, since only the heads of

²⁹ Brussels E.6856. Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 218-219, 287-288, pl. 15; Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 70-71; B. van de Walle, "Précisions nouvelles sur Sobek-hotep fils de Mîn," *RdÉ* 15 (1963), 80-85, pl. 12; J. Capart, "Une statue de Sebekhotep, précepteur royal," *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 10 (1938), 83-86, fig. 8-9.

³⁰ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 94.

³¹ Note that this type of kilt also appears on representations of deified princes, e.g. **III.20**, **III.24**. The *šndw.t* kilt originated in the 4th Dynasty as a royal costume element, but this type of kilt began to appear in representations of non-royal men (usually in funerary contexts) in the First Intermediate Period (see L. Zelenková, "The Royal Kilt in Non-Royal Iconography? The Tomb Owner Fowling and Spear-Fishing in the Old and Middle Kingdom," *BACE* 21 (2010), 141-166). In representations of deified princes, it is possible that the use of this particular kilt has something to do with their divine and/or deceased status. In the case of the statue under discussion here, the *šndw.t* kilt may be indicative of Amenhotep's status as heir.

³² "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 287.

³³ Ibid.

the princes are (or were originally) visible, and in most cases these are damaged or missing. The depiction of the prince in a kilt is consistent with the contemporary representations of princes in the tomb of Heqaerneheh (TT64, to be discussed further below, IV.8; note, however, that these princes wear short uneven kilts rather than *šndw.t* kilts).³⁴ The TT64 princes appear to be older children or young adolescents, but not adults – their proportions appear more juvenile than those of the adults in the scene, including the retrospectively depicted “king’s son” Thutmose IV.

The prince represented in the Sobekhotep statue is also distinguished by his titles and epithets, inscribed beside his feet on either side. To the right of the prince’s feet, when viewed from above: *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t[=f mr=f?]* (“King’s Son of [his] body, [his beloved?]”). To the left: *[Imn]-htp mry-hpš* (“[Amen]hotep, beloved of the strong-arm”). The epithet *mry-hpš* is otherwise unattested.³⁵

A pair of offering formulae are inscribed on the apron of Sobekhotep’s kilt, in columns perpendicular to the legs of the prince.

Text to the right of the prince’s legs (when viewed front-on from above): (1) *htp di ny-psw.t Sbk [Šd.ty] Hr hr-ib Šd.t* (2) *di=sn prr.t nb.t hr shtp=sn m hr.t-hrw* (3) *n.t ṛ nb n k3 n iry-p̣.t h3.ty-̣ it ntr mr ntr* (4) *t3y-hw hr imn.t ny-sw.t imy-r3 sd3.t Sbk-htp m3̣-hrw*

³⁴ P. Newberry, “The Sons of Tuthmosis IV.” *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XII.

³⁵ As far as I am aware; cf. van de Walle, “Précisions nouvelles,” 84, n. 3.

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Sobek [the Shedite] and Horus who is in the midst of Shdet (2) that they might give everything which comes forth upon their offering table in the course of (3) every day for the *ka* of the hereditary nobleman and count, god’s father beloved of the god, (4) fanbearer on the King’s right side and treasurer Sobekhotep, true-of-voice.”

Text to the left of the prince’s legs: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir [hr-ib T3]-š ntr ⲉ* (2) *di=f šsp sn.w dd k3=f m* (3) *hb=f nb n p.t n t3 n k3 n iry-p̄.t* (4) *hb.ty-‐ hs.y n ntr nfr imy-r3 sd3.t Sbk-htp*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris [who is in the midst of the Land-of]-the-Lake, the great god, (2) that he might allow the receipt of the bread offerings which his *ka* gives at (3) each of his festival(s) of heaven and of earth for the *ka* of the hereditary nobleman (4) and count, praised of the good god, the treasurer Sobekhotep.”

The texts strongly imply an origin for the monument in the Fayyum, with invocations to the gods of Crocodilopolis and the Fayyum Oasis. Presumably this statue is from a temple context somewhere in the Fayyum region.

ii. Two-dimensional representations

Two-dimensional representations of princes with their nurses and tutors are more common than statues. Most representations of this type appear in the tombs of nurses, tutors,

or their relatives. A small number of stelae representing nurses and tutors with royal children are also attested.

IV.5 – Images of Princes in the Tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3)



Figure 66 – Scene from the Tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3). Pahery and Wadimose receive offerings from Pahery's children. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III. Facsimile from J. J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri. Monuments and Wall Drawings of El-Kab I.* (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895), pl. VI. Image courtesy of the General Research Division, The New York Public Library. "Paheri's unofficial life and amusements: Paheri dandling prince Uazmes [Uadjmes]." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed August 6, 2015. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-8ab1-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

One of the earliest known depictions of an 18th Dynasty prince with a royal tutor is a scene from the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3).³⁶ A prince Wadjmose is depicted as a small child sitting on the lap of his tutor Pahery, who embraces the prince with both hands. A group of Pahery's children approach from left in two registers, carrying offerings. C. Roehrig has postulated that the Wadjmose in this scene is a son of Thutmose III (during whose reign the tomb was constructed), not to be confused with the probable son of Thutmose I of the same name.³⁷ The iconography of the prince is very similar to that of Ahmose-Ankh in the Donation Stele (see I.1): he is naked except for an amulet that hangs at his chest from a wide strap, and wears a braided and curled sidelock. Wadjmose faces Pahery with his right hand at his side and his left hand resting on Pahery's chest. Wadjmose appears to be pointing with one or more fingers of his right hand in an apotropaic gesture.³⁸

A short inscription before and above Pahery and Wadjmose identifies the figures in the scene: (1) *shmh-ib m h.t nb.t ir.t hrw nfr šsp nd.t-hr dw3.t* (2) *Nhb-k3.w in mn̄y* (3) *n s3 ny-sw.t W3d-ms* (4) *h3.ty-᳚ Nh̄b* (5) *P3-hry* (6) *m3᳚-hrw*

³⁶ J. J. Taylor, *The Tomb of Paheri* (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895), pl. VI.

³⁷ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 83-85.

³⁸ Since Wadjmose's right hand is damaged in this relief, I cannot absolutely confirm that he is performing a pointing gesture rather than a simple dangling open hand (cf. Ahmose Sapair in III.20). However, photographs of this scene show the fingers of Wadjmose's hanging right hand angling sharply towards Pahery's knees in a manner that does not suggest a typical relaxed/resting position; nor do all of the fingers appear to be fully extended. I was recently able to examine a high quality close-up photograph of the scene which does seem to show the hand in a pointing position (see figure 115). Furthermore, while Lepsius' drawing of the scene shows all of the fingers on Wadjmose's right hand fully extended, other details of the drawing are clearly incorrect (e.g. the shape of Wadjmose's pectoral amulet), which calls his rendering of the hand into question (see LD III, pl. 10, b).

"(1) Taking recreation with everything, making holiday, receiving gift(s), praising (2)
Nekhebkau by the tutor (3) of the King's Son Wadjmose (4) the mayor of El-Kab (5) Pahery (6)
true-of-voice."



Figure 67 – Scene from the Tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (Tomb 3). Pahery presents offerings to the princes Wadjmose and Amenmose and to his parents, Itrury and Kem. 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III. Facsimile from J. J. Tylor, *The Tomb of Paheri. Monuments and Wall Drawings of El-Kab I* (London: Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895), pl. XV. Image courtesy of the General Research Division, The New York Public Library. "Sides of the niche." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed August 7, 2015.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-8aba-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

The same tomb contains another representation of a prince Wadjmose – possibly an older prince of the same name – as an adult. He is depicted sitting alongside his brother Amenmose on the east side of the statue niche in Pahery's tomb.³⁹ Amenmose is positioned behind (to the left of) Wadjmose, but the slight overlap between the figures indicates that they should be understood to be sitting side-by-side. The two princes are iconographically identical.

³⁹ Taylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. XV.

Each wears an *ibis* wig, broad collar and mid-calf length kilt. They clutch folded cloths to their chests with their left hands, while their right hands rest on their laps. Both sit on lion-footed chairs, although Amenmose's has a high back while Wadjmose's does not.

Pahery is depicted to the right of Amenmose and Wadjmose, facing the two princes across an offering table, with his right hand raised and extended. He holds a folded cloth in his left hand, which hangs at his side. Pahery's parents, Itrury and Kem, sit behind Wadjmose and Amenmose at far left.

Several columns of text above the scene identify the revered individuals: (1) *s3 ny-sw.t* (2) *W3d-ms* (3) *sn=f mr=f* (4) *s3 ny-sw.t* (5) *Imn-ms* (6) *mn^cy n s3 ny-sw.t* (7) *W3d-ms* (8) *It-rw-(9)-ry m3^c-hrw* (10) *nb.t pr Km* (11) *m3^c.t-hrw*

“(1) The King’s Son (2) Wadjmose, (3) his brother, whom he loves, (4) the King’s Son (5) Amenmose, (6) the tutor of the King’s Son (7) Wadjmose,⁴⁰ (8-9) Itrury, true-of-voice, (10-11) and the Mistress of the House Kem, true-of-voice.”

It is interesting that Amenmose is identified in terms of his relationship with his brother.

An offering formula is written above Pahery: (1) *ir.t htp di ny-sw.t in* (2) *h3.ty-^c P3-hry* (3) *dd=f iw w^cb h.t* (4) *nb.t ir.wt* (5) *n k3=tn*

⁴⁰ Precisely the same title applied to Pahery in the scene in which he holds the juvenile Wadjmose on his lap.

“(1) Making an offering-which-the-king-gives by (2) the mayor Pahery (3) who says⁴¹, ‘It is pure,⁴² (namely) (4) everything which was done (5) for your *ka*(s).’”

A generic list of desired offerings is written beneath the offering table.

This image is quite different from most depictions of princes with their tutors, because the focus is not on the nurturing relationship between tutor and prince. In fact, the scene is in keeping with contemporary cultic representations of princes. They are depicted as venerated deceased adults, and their scale and positioning in the scene underscores their importance. They are positioned in front of Itrury and Kem and appear to be depicted on a marginally larger scale. All four figures are considerably larger than Pahery.

⁴¹ Lit. “while he says”.

⁴² The impersonal use of the stative with *iw*; see Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, §196.

IV.6 – Images of Amenhotep II as a Prince from the Tomb of Min (TT 109)



Figure 68 – Copy of a relief of Min and Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) from the Tomb of Min (TT 109). Thebes, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III. Drawing from P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIII^e dynastie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891), fig. 4.

The tomb of the mayor of Thinis, Min (TT 109)⁴³, also dating to the reign of Thutmose III, contains two images of the future Amenhotep II as a prince.⁴⁴ One of these closely parallels the representation of Pahery with Wadjmose on his lap. In this badly damaged scene, Min holds Amenhotep on his lap and cradles the back of the prince's head with his hand, while the prince

⁴³ P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIII^e dynastie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891), 362-370; PM I:1, 226-227.

⁴⁴ The future Amenhotep II is Dodson's "Amenhotep A" in "Crown Prince Djutmose," 92.

rests his left hand on Min's left shoulder. Amenhotep wears a sidelock over shaved or closely cropped hair. The faces of both figures are damaged, and neither figure is preserved below the waist. Amenhotep appears to be a small child. The prince's dangling right hand is damaged, but the extended middle and index fingers visible in the drawing in Virey's publication suggest that he may be pointing in an apotropaic gesture.⁴⁵

The scene is accompanied by a damaged text: [. . .]*rp rs-tp n nb t3.wy w^c mn^ch n n_r nfr*
[.]*w hr hr.wt pr ny-sw.t hrp k3.t* [.]*n itr.w^c imy-r^c m^cs^c n itr.w imn.ty hr-tp imy-r^c*
Šm^c s^csm hb n Wsir [.]*y*

"[. . . c]ontroller, vigilant one of the Lord of the Two Lands, excellent one of the Good God [.] concerning the affairs of the king's house, controller of works [.] of the great canal, overseer of the workforce of the western canal, chief and overseer of Upper Egypt, who leads the festival of Osiris [.]"

According to C. Roehrig, a line at the end of this text identifies Min as *it mn^cy s^c3 ny-sw.t* *Inn-htp* ("Foster Father of the King's Son Amenhotep").⁴⁶ However, this portion of the text is missing from Virey's copy.

⁴⁵ As in the depiction of Wadjmose and Pahery in IV.5, the exact nature of the gesture is unclear. The possibility that an apotropaic gesture is represented in these two scenes will be discussed further in **Chapter 10**.

⁴⁶ "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 197.

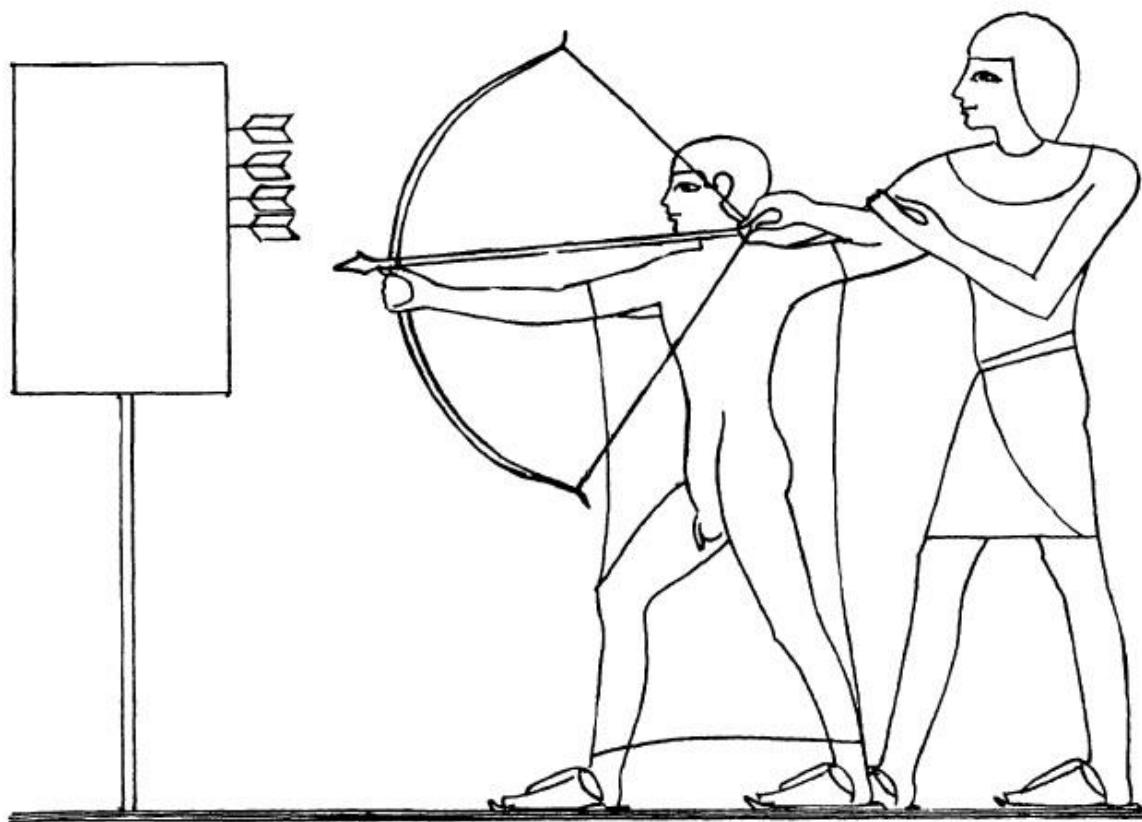


Figure 69 – Scene from the Tomb of Min (TT 109) depicting Min teaching Amenhotep A to shoot. Thebes, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III. Drawing from N. de Garis Davies, “The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935: The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition,” *BMMA* 30, no. 11, pt. 2 (1935), 52, fig. 7.

Another scene from the same wall of TT 109 depicts a unique interaction between a tutor and a prince: Min is shown teaching Amenhotep to shoot a bow and arrow. The scene is now badly damaged, but has been preserved in copies.⁴⁷

Min stands behind Amenhotep at far right. He rests a hand on each of Amenhotep's elbows as the prince draws his bow. Amenhotep is depicted as an older child or a young

⁴⁷ N. de Garis Davies, “The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935: The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition”. *BMMA* 30, no. 11, pt. 2 (1935), 52, fig. 7.

adolescent – he is about a head shorter than Min. He wears close-cropped hair or a skull-cap with no sidelock. He is draped in an apparently featureless ankle-length transparent robe, beneath which he is naked. Min and Amenhotep both wear sandals. Amenhotep aims his arrow at a rectangular target on a stand, which has already been pierced by four arrows. A brief text describes the action in the scene.⁴⁸

Text in front of the prince: *d3.t-hr m sb3 r st.t m wsh.t n.t pr ⸼ ⸼. w. s. n Tny [in s3 ny-sw.t Imn-htp]*

“Taking pleasure in learning⁴⁹ to shoot in the broad hall of the palace, I. p. h., of Thinis [by the king’s son Amenhotep].”

Text describing Min’s actions: *iry-p⠁.t h3.ty-⠁ Mn di=f tp-rd n sb3 r st.t dd=f pd pd.t=k r ⸼ nh.wy=ky sn [. . .]=ky wr [. . .] šs [. . .]=k s3 ny-sw.t Imn-htp ir=k m [. . .]=k*

“(As for) the hereditary noble and count Min, he gives instruction for (the purpose of) teaching to shoot, saying, ‘Stretch your bow to your two ears, open(?) [. . .] your two [. . .] great [. . .](?) king’s son Amenhotep. May you act as (?) [. . .]’”

This scene is unparalleled among images of royal tutors and their charges. As Roehrig points out, it is the only representation that “may, in fact, give some indication of the actual duties of a royal tutor.”⁵⁰ It is also of interest because it has a handful of contemporary or near contemporary parallels in royal art, depicting kings being taught to shoot or assisted in shooting

⁴⁸ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 976-977.

⁴⁹ Lit. “teaching”.

⁵⁰ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 304.

a bow and arrow by deities. A scene in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III at Karnak depicts the god Seth grasping Thutmose III by the shoulders as the king prepares to draw his bow.⁵¹ It is unclear whether the god is actively guiding the king's shot or merely embracing him, but he is clearly offering some kind of support.

A later parallel occurs during the reign of Thutmose IV. The scene on the exterior right part of the chariot found in KV 43 depicts the god Montu riding behind Thutmose IV in the chariot, guiding the king's arms as he draws his bow.⁵²

⁵¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, pl. 36.

⁵² CG 46097. Published in H. Carter and P. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1904), 24ff. See pl. X for a drawing of the scene in question.

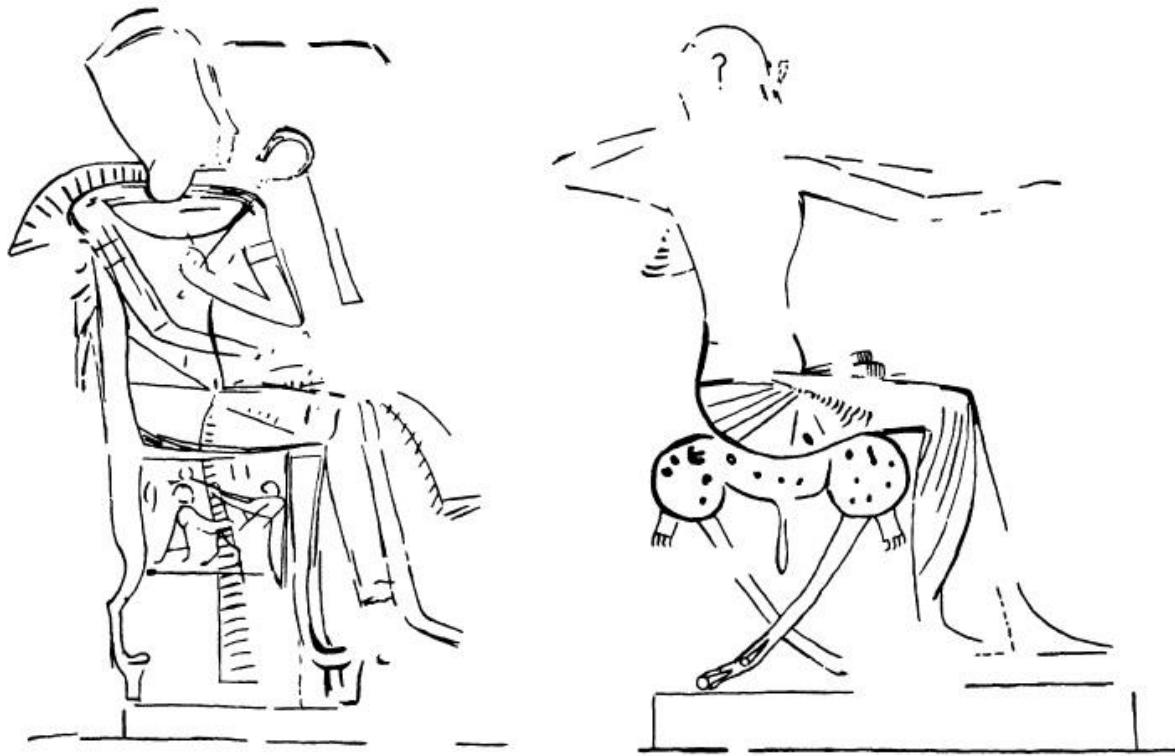


Figure 70 – Copy of a scene from TT 143 possibly depicting a king teaching his son to shoot. Thebes, 18th Dynasty. Drawing from Davies, “The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935,” 51, pl. 6.

An unusual scene in TT 143 (fig. 69) may represent a king teaching his son to shoot, which would be a rare parallel to the TT 109 scene.⁵³ The decoration of TT 143 is unfinished, and the name of the owner is unknown. Davies suggests a date in the reign of Amenhotep II based on the subject matter represented in several of the roughly sketched scenes from the same wall in the tomb. The style of the drawings is suggestive of a date late in the 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep II or later).

⁵³ Davies, “Egyptian Expedition,” 51, fig. 6; PM I:1, 255 (5); Dodson, “Crown Prince Djutmose,” 92, n. 53.

Several unfinished scenes from this tomb, sketched in ink, depict a king or kings engaged in hunting or military activities. The scene in question depicts two seated figures, both facing right. The figure on the left is unmistakably a king: he wears the *hprš* crown and sits on a lion-footed throne, grasping the crook and flail in his left hand, which is bent to his chest.

The second figure is more ambiguous, in part because his head and face are poorly preserved. He sits on a low folding stool covered with an animal skin, and the position of his arms (left extended in front of him, right behind him, bent at the elbow with the missing hand approximately at ear level) suggests that he is drawing a bow. The pose and iconography of the scene are closely paralleled by the image of Tutankhamun drawing a bow while seated on a stool on the small golden shrine.⁵⁴ It is unclear what type of hairstyle or headdress this person is wearing, but Davies' sketch suggests the presence of a uraeus.⁵⁵ If the figure is actually wearing a uraeus, then he is probably a king; 18th Dynasty princes are not depicted wearing uraei except in a few posthumous depictions of a later date (see the posthumous representation of Siamun from TT 359, which dates to the 20th Dynasty).⁵⁶ Another possible explanation is that this is a retrospective depiction of a prince who later became a king.

It is also notable that the two figures in the scene are not obviously interacting in any way, which calls into question the notion that the king on the left is teaching or assisting the person on the right. Contrast this image with the scene of Min and Amenhotep from TT 109,

⁵⁴ For a detailed study of this monument, see M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1985).

⁵⁵ Davies, "Egyptian Expedition," fig. 6.

⁵⁶ Discussed above, III.8.

the scene of Seth embracing Thutmose III as he prepares to shoot, or the image of Montu helping Thutmose IV draw his bow from the chariot found in KV 43. All three of these images depict close physical contact between the pupil and the trainer, which is entirely absent from the scene in TT 143.

IV.7 – Fragment from an Unknown Tomb Possibly Depicting a Nurse Suckling a Prince

(Berlin 18534)



Figure 71 – Berlin 18534. Fragment from an Unknown Tomb. Thebes, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Amenhotep II. Now in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin, Germany. Illustration from O. Keel, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*. OBO 122 (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1992), 96, fig. 41.

A painted fragment from an unknown tomb, now in Berlin, depicts a woman standing and suckling a male child or young man.⁵⁷ The male figure is depicted wearing a transparent robe, with short hair and no obvious sidelock. He raises his left hand to cup his nurse's breast, while she embraces him with her left arm. The similarity of this image to those of Baky with the young Amenhotep II in TT 85 (see discussion in **Chapter 7, VI.5**) suggests that this fragment is contemporary, and possibly from the same tomb. However, the Berlin fragment appears to be stylistically different from the similar images in TT 85. Roehrig suggests that the fragment may have originated from TT 88, which contains numerous parallels to the decoration of TT 85.⁵⁸ There is not enough evidence to say whether the Berlin fragment depicts a royal nurse with a prince or a retrospective image of a king in childhood, like the scenes from TT 85.

O. Keel, in his study of Egyptian tree goddesses, suggested an alternative interpretation. Keel noted what appear to be branches surrounding the nursing woman.⁵⁹ Keel identifies the woman as a tree goddess rather than a human nurse. Images of nursing tree goddesses are attested in other tombs of this period. One example appears in the tomb of Thutmose III, in which the king is depicted nursing from the breast of Isis in the form of a tree (with a human arm and breast).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Berlin 18534. Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 302-304, pl. 36.

⁵⁸ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 303-304. For TT 88 see *PM I:1*, 179-181.

⁵⁹ O. Keel, "Ägyptische Baumgöttinnen der 18.-21. Dynastie: Bild und Wort, Wort un Bild" (in *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden*, OBO 122. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1992), 65-67, 96 (fig. 41).

⁶⁰ Ibid., 64-65, 96 (fig. 40).

Another possible parallel comes from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) in the form of a fragmentary scene depicting the deceased apparently sitting beneath a large sycamore.⁶¹ The human figures in the scene are largely obliterated, so it is difficult to assess how they may have interacted with the tree. However, a lengthy text above the scene provides a clear textual parallel to the scene in Thutmose III's tomb. The sycamore goddess (identified as Nut) addresses the deceased, promising provisions for the afterlife. Alongside various other food offerings, she proffers her own breast milk: (4) *di=i snk=k* (5) *m irt.t=i nh=k sdb=k m bn.ty=i 3w.t=ib snb im* (6)=*sn . . .*

"(4) . . . I shall cause you to suckle (5) from my milk that you might live, and that you eat from my two breasts, for joy and health (6) are in them . . ."

If the Berlin fragment does depict a nursing tree goddess, then there is no reason to assume that the nursling is a royal child as opposed to a non-royal tomb owner.

⁶¹ Ibid., 65-66, 97 (fig. 42).

IV.8 – Scenes Depicting Royal Tutors and Princes in TT 64

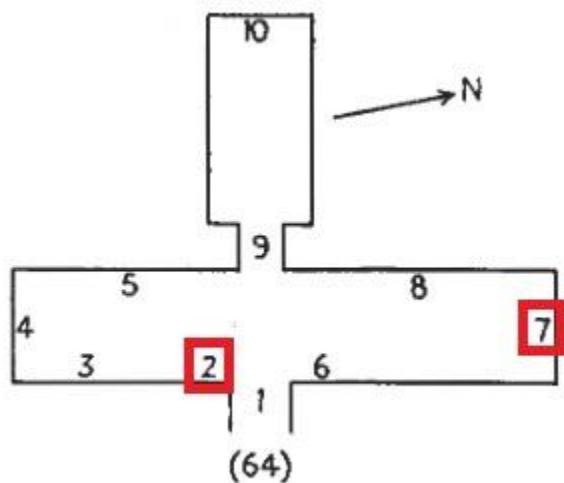


Figure 72 – Plan of TT 64, Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. The locations of the two scenes discussed here are marked in red. Plan from *PM I:1*, 124.



Figure 73 – Scene from TT 64 depicting Heqareshu with Thutmose IV as a prince receiving offerings from Heqaerneheh and several young princes. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from P. Newberry, "The Sons of Tuthmosis IV," *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XII.

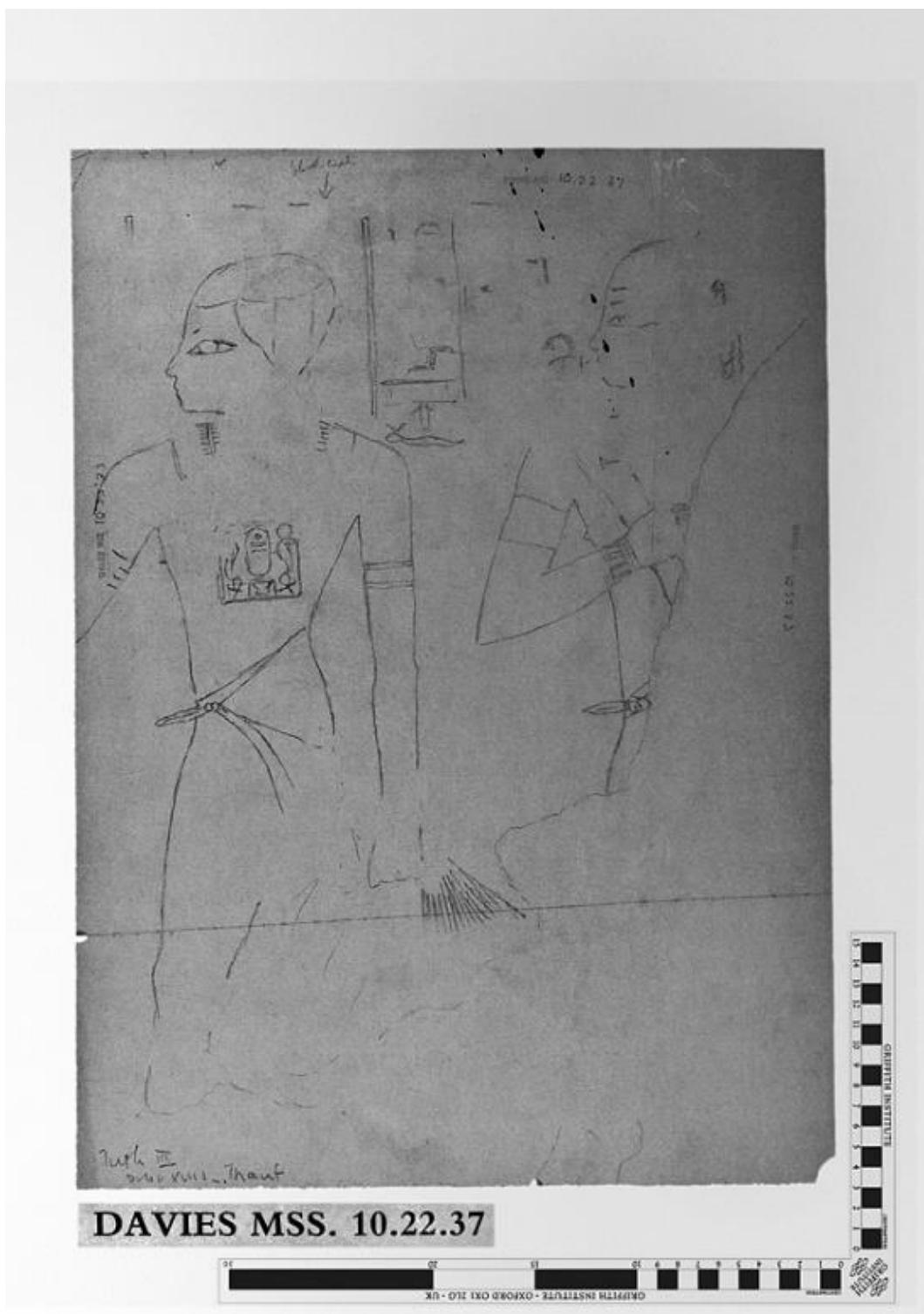


Figure 74 – Davies MSS. 10.22.37. Detail of princes behind Heqaerneheh, upper register. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Tracing by N. Davies and N. de G. Davies. Copyright Griffith Institute, University of Oxford. JPEG, <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT64.html> (Accessed 8/8/2015).

TT 64, a tomb dating to the reign of Thutmose IV, contains a scene apparently representing seven princes, in addition to a retrospective depiction of Thutmose IV himself as a prince.⁶² The scene is now heavily damaged, but a detailed line drawing was published by P. Newberry in 1928,⁶³ based in part upon a drawing made by J. Burton in the 1820s.⁶⁴

This scene appears on the north wall of the vestibule.⁶⁵ The tutor of Thutmose IV, *Hk3-r-św*, sits at left, holding Thutmose IV on his lap. Heqareshu's chair is elevated on a dais. Thutmose IV appears as a miniature king, although he is described with the titles and epithets of a prince (*s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f(Dhw.ty-ms)*), “Eldest King’s Son of his body, Thutmose”). This part of the scene will be described in more detail below (**Chapter 7, VI.7**).

Of more interest for the present discussion are the figures to the right of Heqareshu and Thutmose IV. A younger tutor named *Hk3-r-nhh*, generally thought to be the son of Heqareshu and owner of TT 64,⁶⁶ stands facing Heqareshu and Thutmose IV. He holds a bouquet of flowers in his right hand and raises his left hand, now missing, toward the seated figures.

A small prince stands directly in front of Heqaerneheh, also facing Heqareshu and Thutmose IV. He stands on the dais itself, suggesting a close relationship with Thutmose IV (and perhaps Heqareshu as well) that sets him apart from the rows of princes behind Heqaerneheh. The damaged text in front of the prince identifies him as *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (“King’s Son of his

⁶² PM I:1, 128-129; A. Radwan, *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (MÄS 21. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969), 88-89, pl. XI-XIII.

⁶³ P. Newberry, “The Sons of Tuthmosis IV,” *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XII.

⁶⁴ British Museum Add. MS. 25644, f. 13, 14.

⁶⁵ Scene 7 in PM I:1, 128. See plan in **fig. 72**.

⁶⁶ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 203.

body”), but his name is lost.⁶⁷ However, his special prominence within the scene suggests that this is the prince *Imn-htp* mentioned in the titles of Heqaerneheh above the scene – probably the future Amenhotep III.

It is unclear how old the prince is intended to be, but his small size, childlike proportions, and curled sidelock suggest that he is prepubescent. However, his attire indicates that he is not an extremely young child. He wears a short kilt with a long sash and bracelets on his upper arms and wrists. He wears a pectoral (preserved in a drawing by Champollion) inscribed with the prenomen and nomen of Thutmose IV.⁶⁸ He holds a bouquet close to his chest in his right hand and a green object – possibly a bunch of leaves⁶⁹ – in his left hand, which hangs at his side.

Several columns of text above Heqaerneheh and the prince describe the scene: (4)⁷⁰ *ii.t*
hr nh [n Imn] (5) hft=f htp[=f m] (6) hw.t-ntr=f hsy[.t . . . mn'y n] (7) ms.w ny-sw.t [.] (8)
tiwt (?) m [.] (9) iw.wt(?)=f hsy n ntr nfr mn'y n (10) s3 ny-sw.t Imn-htp Hk3-r-nhh

“(4) Coming bearing a bouquet [of Amun] (5) before him that [he] might be satisfied [in] (6) his divine mansion, praising [. . . by(?)] the tutor of] (7) the king’s children [.] (8) of yours (?) in [.] (9) his movements(?), praised of the Good God, the tutor of (10) the King’s Son Amenhotep, Heqaerneheh.”

⁶⁷ Ibid., 84.

⁶⁸ A reproduction of Champollion’s drawing appears in Newberry, “Sons of Thutmose IV,” 84, fig. 2.

⁶⁹ Roehrig interprets the object in the prince’s left hand as “(perhaps) a staff” (“Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 212), while Newberry describes it as a “sprig of green leaves” (“Sons of Thutmose IV,” 84).

⁷⁰ The previous three columns of this text identify Thutmose IV and will be translated below.

It is likely that the space directly behind Heqaerneheh was originally divided into three registers, each occupied by two princes.⁷¹ The images of the top two princes are partially preserved, but those in the middle register are entirely obliterated. Of the bottom two, only the legs of the prince in front and the right foot of the one behind him survive.

The princes behind Heqaerneheh are depicted at a slightly smaller scale than Amenhotep, although their attire is very similar to his. The princes in the top register wear sidelocks, arm bands, and short kilts with sashes.

The first prince in the top register wears a pectoral similar to that worn by Amenhotep, although in this case only the prenomen of Thutmose IV (*Mn-hpr.w-R'*) is present. In his right hand he holds up a chick with its beak open and wings extended, essentially the hieroglyph



(*t3*). In his left hand, which hangs at his side, he grasps a bird by the wings. Two lines of text in front of this prince's face identify him as *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=fImn-m-h3.t* ("King's Son of his body Amenemhat"). This is likely the same Amenemhat who was buried in KV 43 (II.9).⁷²

The name and much of the figure of the prince behind Amenemhat are lost. Enough remains to show that his titles and iconography are slightly different from those of Amenemhat. He clutches a bouquet to his chest, and the text before him reads *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f[. . .]* ("King's Son, his beloved, [. . .]").

⁷¹ "Sons of Thutmose IV," 84

⁷² Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 94.

It is probable that at least two of these princes (Amenhotep and Amenemhat) were sons of Thutmose IV.⁷³ However, it is not impossible that some of the princes in the scene, whose names are now missing, were siblings of the ruling king and sons of Amenhotep II.⁷⁴

Dodson is of the opinion that prince Amenhotep (Dodson's Amenhotep C, the future Amenhotep III) is also depicted in two other scenes in TT 64.⁷⁵ One of these scenes, which appears on the south-east side of the vestibule directly adjacent to the tomb entrance, depicts the tomb owner pouring a libation over burning braziers, probably accompanied by at least one small prince.⁷⁶

⁷³ Newberry, "Sons of Thutmosis IV," 84; Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose," 94, n. 72; Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 213.

⁷⁴ D. Redford has made the argument that the prince Amenhotep represented in this scene was probably a brother of Thutmose IV rather than his son (and presumably the future Amenhotep III). This argument is largely based on the prince Amenhotep's apparently brotherly relationship with another prince named Aakheperure as represented in one of the Konosso graffiti – the argument being that Aakheperure was probably named after his father (Amenhotep II). However, there is not enough evidence regarding either 18th Dynasty royal naming practices for this argument to be particularly compelling. See Redford, "The Coregency of Thutmose III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 (1965), 113. P. der Manuelian also supports the theory that all of the princes represented in this scene are sons of Thutmose IV. See *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1987), 178–179.

⁷⁵ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose," 94, n. 71.

⁷⁶ PM I:1, 128, scene 2. MMA archives photo T. 2812. See plan in fig. 72 for the location of this scene.

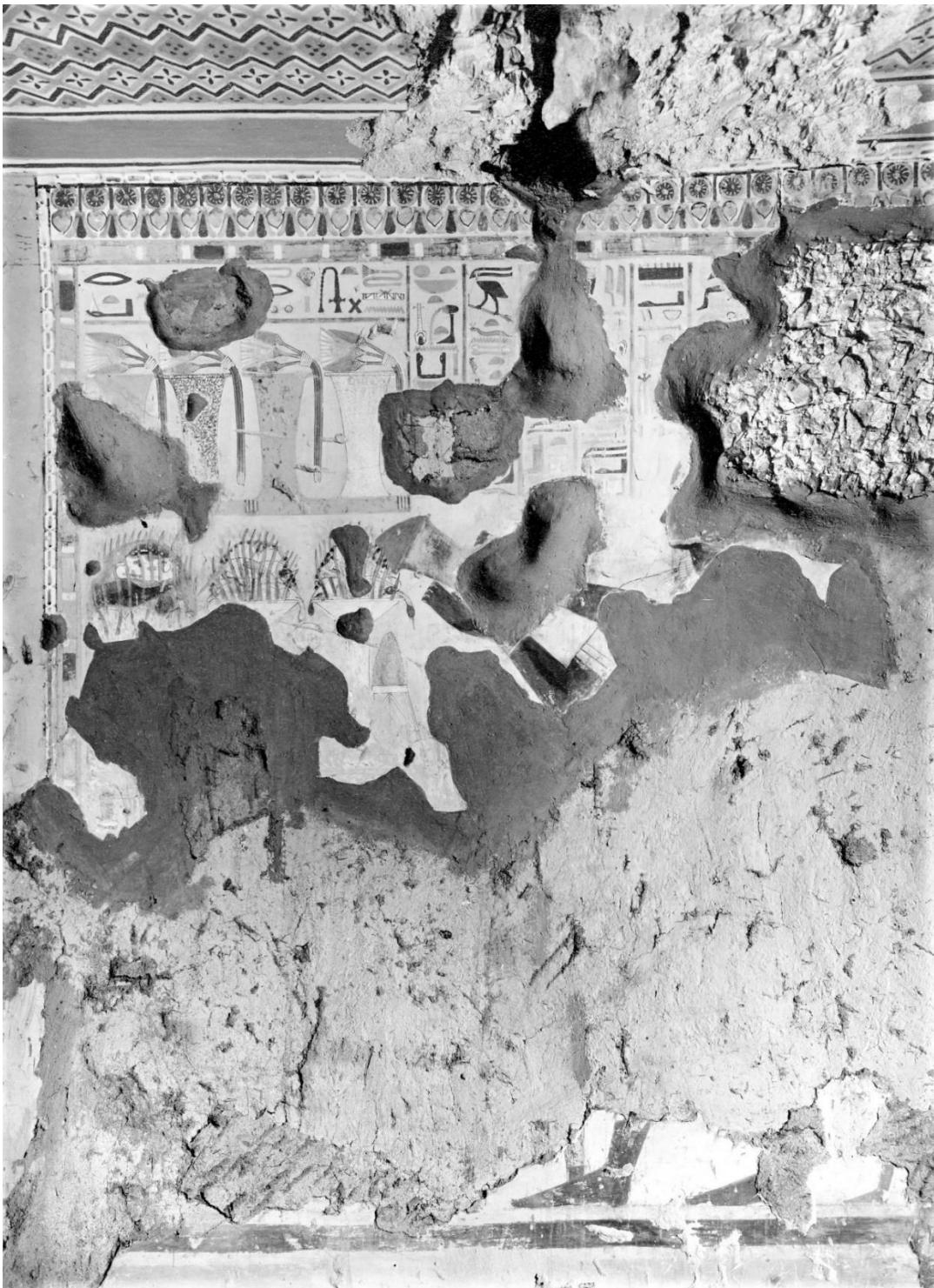


Figure 75 – Scene from TT64 depicting Heqaerneheh with burnt offerings, accompanied by one or more princes. Painted plaster on limestone. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Photograph from the MMA archives, T. 2812. Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This scene is badly damaged. Part of Heqaerneheh's face is visible (his nose can be seen emerging from the broken section in the upper right-hand corner of the scene), along with his right shoulder and parts of both of his hands. His feet are visible at the bottom of the scene, with the foot of one tiny figure (presumably a child) visible behind his left foot. His right foot, striding forward, overlaps what may be the leg of a second small figure in front of him. Heqaerneheh pours a liquid offering from a vessel onto the first of three burning braziers piled with offerings.

A damaged offering formula is inscribed at the top of the scene: (1) *rdi.t [. . .]r hr h.t wdn n* (2) *h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t n k3 nb(?) [t3.wy(?)]* (3) *m hn.t=f n t(?) imn.tt [.]b=f* (4) [.] *m s.t [. . .]* (5) *[hs]y n [ntr] nfr [mr(?)] n nb t3.wy m ^ch* (6) *mn^cy n ms.w ny-sw.t* (7) [.]

“(1) Placing [. . .]⁷⁷ upon the fire (and) an offering of (2) every good and pure thing for the *ka* of the Lord(?) [of the Two Lands(?) . . .] (3) in his water-festival of the western (?) [.] (4) [.] in the place [. . .] (5) [prais]ed of the good [god], [beloved(?)] of the Lord of the Two Lands in the palace, (6) the tutor of the royal children (7) [.].”

The final scene identified by Dodson as depicting Amenhotep C shows a prince seated on the lap of a tutor, much like the scene described above representing Heqareshu and Thutmose IV.⁷⁸ Given the similarity between the two images in question, it is perhaps more

⁷⁷ Presumably some sort of liquid offering.

⁷⁸ PM I:1, 128, scene 3. MMA photo T. 2813.

likely that the latter scene is another representation of Heqareshu and Thutmose IV rather than one of Heqaerneheh and Amenhotep.⁷⁹ This scene will be discussed further in **Chapter 7, VI.7.**

IV.9 – Tutor with Four Princes in TT 226



Figure 76 – Drawing of a scene from TT 226 depicting four princes on the lap of an unknown tutor. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Image from N. de Garis Davies, “The Graphic Work of the Expedition,” *BMMA* 18:12, pt. II (1923), 42, fig. 3

⁷⁹ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 205-206; 297-298.

An unusual scene dating to the reign of Amenhotep III depicts an unknown tutor with four young princes seated on his lap. This image appears in TT 226, a badly damaged tomb dating to the reign of Amenhotep III.⁸⁰ The date of the tomb is made reasonably explicit by the presence of another scene depicting Amenhotep III and his mother Mutemwia. Davies concluded that the princes represented on the tutor's lap were likely sons of Amenhotep III.⁸¹ However, the names associated with the princes, although fragmentary, are clearly not matches for any of the sons of Amenhotep III attested in other sources.

The scene in question, from a pillar near the tomb entrance, depicts the unnamed tutor seated, facing right, with the four children on his lap facing left. An offering table (not depicted in Davies' drawing) stands before them at right. The children are all nude, and the use of red pigment for their skin suggests that they were all male.⁸² The surviving parts of the painting show that the princes wore plaited and curled sidelocks, large earrings, broad collars, pectorals, and armbands on their upper arms and wrists. Their poses are apparently identical, except for that of the boy at far left, who rests his right hand on the tutor's shoulder. The attire and proportions of the four boys suggest that they are young children. They appear to be arranged in descending order by height from left to right (although all of their feet rest at the same level). It is unclear whether this is actually meant to indicate differences in age or if it is simply a reflection of the sloping line of the tutor's lap on which they are seated. The tutor's arms

⁸⁰ PM I:1, 327. A drawing of this scene is published in N. de Garis Davies, "The Graphic Work of the Expedition," *BMMA* 18:12, pt. II (1923), 42, fig. 3.

⁸¹ Ibid., 42–43.

⁸² Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 252.

extend to embrace all four children, with his left hand grasping the shoulder of the boy at far right and his right hand resting across the elbows of the middle two boys.

A loose fragment of plaster from this scene is inscribed with the partially-preserved names of two of the princes, both of which follow the pattern *‘3-hpr-[. . .]-R‘*.⁸³ Both names are preceded by the epithet *s3 ny-sw.t m3‘ mr=f* (“True king’s son, his beloved”). One of these princes may be the same as a *s3 ny-sw.t ‘3-hpr.w-R‘* mentioned in two graffiti from Konosso (IV.13).⁸⁴ In both cases, *‘3-hpr.w-R‘* is named alongside another royal son, *Imn-htp*. One graffito names the *hsy Imn-R‘ (i)t ntr Hk3-rš.w* (“Praised one of Amun-Re, God’s Father Heqareshu”) and the other names the *hrd n k3p Hk3-r-nhh* (“Child of the royal nursery Heqaerneheh”). Both of these men are attested in TT 64, probably the tomb of Heqaerneheh. It is likely that they were father and son, although this relationship is never explicitly stated in the preserved text of the tomb.⁸⁵

Multiple possibilities have been put forward for the identity of the owner of TT 226, and the parentage of the princes represented in the tomb. Newberry believed the tomb belonged to Heqaerneheh, also the probable owner of the earlier TT 64 (apparently constructed during the reign of Thutmose IV; see discussion above).⁸⁶ L. Habachi argued that TT 226 was probably the tomb of Heqareshu, the elder of the two tutors mentioned in TT 64 and the Konosso

⁸³ Newberry, “Sons of Thutmose IV,” 82-83, fig. 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 85, figs. 3-4.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 83-84; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 203-206.

⁸⁶ Newberry, “Sons of Thutmose IV,” 82-84, n. 4.

graffiti, a view which has been also been espoused by Dodson.⁸⁷ Other possible identities include the tutors Meryre,⁸⁸ Tjenuna and Huy.⁸⁹ However, there is no conclusive evidence linking any of these men to TT 226.

Davies concluded that the children represented in TT 226 were sons of Amenhotep III, based on the depiction of that king in another part of the tomb.⁹⁰ Newberry rejected this hypothesis, concluding on the basis of evidence from various other monuments – including the Konosso graffiti and the depictions of princes and their tutors in TT 64 – that these princes were sons of Thutmose IV and brothers of Amenhotep III. The concluding remarks of Newberry's article imply that one of the princes depicted on the tutor's lap is the young Amenhotep III himself.⁹¹ Most – but not all – retrospective depictions of reigning kings during childhood include kingly iconography, such as a uraeus, crown, or diadem (see further discussion of retrospective imagery in **Chapter 7** and **Chapter 10**). The poor preservation of the scene makes it difficult to assess the presence of such iconographic features.

D. Redford has argued, mainly on the basis of the name of the prince Ⲉ-*hpr*[.w]-*R*, that the princes of TT 226 were probably sons of Amenhotep II.⁹² He claims that personal names

⁸⁷ L. Habachi, "Tomb No. 226 of the Theban Necropolis and its Unknown Owner," in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 61-70; Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose," 94, n. 68.

⁸⁸ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose and Another* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), 37. Roehrig ("Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 253) deems this identification unlikely, on the basis of the discovery of Meryre's tomb at Saqqara, although it is not impossible that Meryre owned more than one tomb.

⁸⁹ For Tjenuna or Huy as possible owners of TT 226, see Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 256-257.

⁹⁰ Davies, "Graphic Work," 42-43; PM I:1, 327 (4).

⁹¹ Newberry, "Sons of Thutmosis IV," 85.

⁹² Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," JEA 51 (1965), 113.

based on a royal prenomen tended to be given during the reign of the king to whom the prenomen belonged.⁹³

In response to Redford's argument, C. Roehrig makes the point that "[a]t least two of the princes have names that could correspond to any of the three Dynasty 18 throne names (Aakheperure, Aakheperenre, Aakheperkare), it seems unlikely that both of them could have been named after the reigning king."⁹⁴ However, it is possible that both children could have been named for the same king if one or both of these fragmentary names compounded the prenomen with another element (e.g. *Aakheperure-ankh).

Dodson identified both of the named princes as sons of Amenhotep II, with no clear explanation for this identification.⁹⁵ He also argued, however, that the children depicted in TT 226 were not necessarily all of the same generation.⁹⁶ His hypothesis builds on the idea that TT 226 belonged to Heqareshu, whose depiction in TT 64 as a tutor of Thutmose IV indicates that his career as a royal tutor began under Amenhotep II. If TT 226 really belonged to Heqareshu, then his career may have lasted into the reign of Amenhotep III, meaning that the children in his charge "may be considered as being offspring of one, two or all of Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III."⁹⁷

⁹³ Ibid., n. 7.

⁹⁴ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 256, n. 807.

⁹⁵ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmos," 94.

⁹⁶ Ibid., n. 68.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

IV.10 – Depiction of a Nefertwah Suckling Prince Menkheperure, TT 350

A son of Thutmose IV may be represented in TT 350, although it is possible that this is another retrospective depiction of Thutmose IV himself.⁹⁸ There are no known photographs of this tomb, which is no longer accessible.⁹⁹ *Nfr.t-w3h*, the wife of the tomb owner (whose name is lost) is depicted suckling a prince. According to the description in Porter and Moss, Neferetwah was the “Nurse of the King’s son Menkheperure (Tuthmosis IV).”¹⁰⁰ On the basis of this wording, Roehrig postulates that the prince in question was a son of Thutmose IV rather than the king himself:

If the child is in fact a prince named Menkheperure, it is more likely that he is a son or grandson of Tuthmosis IV, who would not have taken the name Menkheperure himself until he became king. If the boy appears as a miniature king (in which case he should be identified as King Menkheperure, not Prince), one would expect this fact to be noted . . .

.¹⁰¹

However, the description of the image of Heqareshu holding Thutmose IV on his lap in TT 64 is given a similarly vague treatment by Porter and Moss.¹⁰² In the absence of further information, it may be safest to assume that this scene does, in fact, represent a retrospective image of Thutmose IV as a prince.

⁹⁸ PM I:1, 417; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 198-200, 300-301.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 198-199.

¹⁰⁰ PM I:1, 417.

¹⁰¹ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 199-200.

¹⁰² PM I:1, 128, 7: “Deceased with princes offers bouquet of Amun to father with young prince on his knee . . . ”

IV.11 – Stele of Amenemopet and Senetruiu (Cairo JE 20221)



Figure 77 – Cairo JE 20221. Stele of Senetruiu with the prince(?) Amenemopet. Saqqara, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose IV. Limestone, 50 cm by 39 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Image courtesy of C. Roehrig.

A stele from Saqqara depicts a royal child named *Imn-m-ip.t* being suckled by a nurse named *Sn.t-rwiw*.¹⁰³ The stele can be dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Thutmose IV.¹⁰⁴ There is some dispute as to the sex of the royal child in the scene. The identifying text next to the child appears to read *s3.t ny-sw.t Imn-m-ip.t* (“King’s Daughter Amenemopet”) and a contemporary princess of the same name is attested in the tomb of the tutor Horemhab (TT 78).¹⁰⁵ Roehrig asserts that these children are one and the same.¹⁰⁶

Bryan identifies the child as a prince, on the basis of what appear to be male genitalia on the figure of the child, as well as an apparently masculine determinative after the name *Imn-m-ip.t*.¹⁰⁷ If Bryan is correct, then presumably the writing *s3.t ny-sw.t* is scribal error. Bryan suggests that this prince is probably identical with the owner of Giza Stela C, and that the representation of the prince as a small child in JE 20221 is retrospective. However, she also acknowledges the possibility that the JE 20221 prince may be a like-named son of Thutmose IV.¹⁰⁸

The stele clearly depicts Amenemopet as a very young child. He or she is entirely naked and very small in scale, with child-like proportions. The child’s head is shaved except for a curled sidelock. He or she appears to be wearing a small and unadorned broad-collar. Amenemopet faces Senetruiu, who holds her breast to the child’s mouth with her right hand.

¹⁰³ JE 20221. Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 300, pl. 34; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 65-66, fig. 6a-b.

¹⁰⁴ Bryan, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 290-291, pl. 19.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 300.

¹⁰⁷ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 66. Cf. the writing *S3.t-p3-ir* in BM EA 360, discussed above (III.6).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

Amenemopet grasps the nurse's wrist in his or her right hand. Senetruiu embraces the child awkwardly with her left arm, with her upper arm apparently resting on top of Amenemopet's head and her hand resting on the child's chest. Senetruiu sits on a lion-footed chair before an offering table, facing right. The smaller figure of Senetruiu's daughter stands at right on the other side of the offering table, facing the nurse and child. She pours out a libation on the offering table.

The text above Senetruiu's daughter is badly eroded. The word *s3.t* is visible above her head, but her name (if it was ever recorded) is no longer legible.¹⁰⁹ The rest of the text at the top of the scene consists of a brief offering formula:

- (1) [First line badly damaged, probably *htp di ny-sw.t*] (2) *Wsir nb Ddw* (3) *di=f h.t nb.t*
(4) *nfr.t w'b.t n k3 n* (5) *hsy.t n Mw.t* (6) *mn'.t ny-sw.t* (7) *Sn.t-rwiw*
- "(1) [An offering which the king gives] (2) to Osiris, Lord of Busiris, (3) that he might give
(4) every good and pure thing for the *ka* of (5) the one praised of Mut, (6) the royal nurse (7)
Senetruiu."

Text in front of the royal child: *s3.t ny-sw.t Imn-m-ip.t*

"King's Daughter (*sic?*) Amenemopet."

¹⁰⁹ According to Roehrig, the name of Senetruiu's daughter was never inscribed. "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 233, n. 735.

Offering formula below the scene: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir di=fpr.t hrw k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t* (2) *hnk.t(?) irp irt.t ssn.t t³w m mhy.t* (3) ?? *n k3 n mn^c.t ny-sw.t Sn.t-rwiw m³c-hrw(?)*

"(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, that he might give invocation offerings of cattle, fowl and every good and pure thing, (2) beer(?), wine and milk and the smelling of the breath of the north wind (3) ?? for the *ka* of the royal nurse Senetruiu true-of-voice(?)".

IV.12 – Relief Fragment of Meryre and Siatum (Vienna 5814)



Figure 78 – Vienna ÄS 5814. Relief fragment of Meryre with Siatum. Saqqara, 18th Dynasty, ca. Reign of Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III. Limestone, 125 cm by 84 cm. Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Image from D. Berg, "The Vienna Stela of Meryre," *JEA* 73 (1987), pl. 2.

A relief fragment now in Vienna depicts the tutor Meryre holding the prince *S3-Itm* on his lap.¹¹⁰ This relief likely originated in Saqqara (probably from the tomb of Meryre). While some modern discussions of this document describe it as “stele,” it seems to have been part of the decoration of the tomb rather than a free-standing monument.¹¹¹ As it survives, the relief consists of two registers surrounded by an inscribed rectangular “frame.” The monument may be stylistically dated to the reign of Amenhotep III.

In the upper register, Meryre and his wife Baketamun stand facing right with their hands upraised in adoration. An offering table stands in front of Meryre. At far right a statue of Re-Horakhty-Atum, now entirely obliterated except for the end of one of the feet and part of the dais, was probably depicted sitting on a throne.

Text of the upper register, above the figures: (1) [.] *w3d(?) htp.w* (2) [.] *tp.wt* (3) [.] *dw3.t in iry-p^c.t h3.ty-^c* (4) [. . . *imy-r3 htm*] *Mry-R^c dd=fin^d [hr]=k* (5) *R^c-Hr-3h.ty* (6) *Itm nb t3.wy Jwnw* (7) *di=k* (8) *wn=i* (9) *m-m hsy(.w)=k m* (10) *s.wt nfr(.wt)* (11) *n.t* (12-13) *m³c.t*

¹¹⁰ Vienna 5814. PM III:2, 706; H. Brunner, “Der ‘Gottesvater’ als Erzieher des Kronprinzen,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pl. III; D. Berg, “The Vienna Stela of Meryre,” *JEA* 73 (1987), 213-216; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 241-242, 293; Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 66-67; A. Kozloff and B. Bryan, *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 292-293; C. Ziegler, *Queens of Egypt from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco: Grimaldi Forum, 2008), 291-292 (cat. 108). Inscriptions in E. van Bergmann, “Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses,” *RdT* 9 (1887), 47. Text from broken portions of the “frame” can be restored on the basis of an early drawing by Durand published in Berg, “Vienna Stela,” fig. 2.

¹¹¹ Cf. Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 241-242, vs. Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 66-67.

“(1) [.] greens(?) and offerings (2) [.]s (3) [.] praising by the hereditary nobleman and count (4) [. . . and treasurer] Meryre, who says:¹¹² ‘Greetings [to] you, (5) Re-Horakhty-(6)-Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis! (7) May you cause (8) that I exist (9) among the one(s) praised of you in (10) the beautiful places (11-13) of truth.”

Text of the upper register, before Baket(amun): *sn.t=fmr.t=fn s.t-ib¹¹³=fhsy(.t) n ntr nfr nb.t pr B3k.t*

“His sister, his beloved of the seat of his heart, the one praised of the Good God, the mistress of the house Baket.”

The prince appears in the bottom register, seated on the lap of his tutor Meryre. Meryre sits on a lion-footed chair, while Baketamun sits behind him at far left and embraces her husband. The couple’s daughter Tiy, depicted as a miniature adult, stands beside Baketamun. The entire group is slightly elevated on a dais and a low offering table stands before Meryre.

Siatum sits on Meryre’s lap, facing his tutor. His left arm hangs at his side, and he holds a lotus in his right hand, which rests at knee-level. The lotus blossom bends toward Baketamun and Tiy. Siatum wears a short pleated kilt with a sash that hangs behind him. He wears armlets and a *shebyu* collar. He wears a long, plaited sidelock, not curled but sweeping slightly to the right. There is a small perfume cone on the top of his head. There are rolls of fat on the prince’s torso below his breast. Meryre rests his left hand on the back of the prince’s head and holds a

¹¹² Lit. “while he says:”

¹¹³ Written *ib.t=f*.

piece of fruit to the prince's mouth with his right hand. The scale and attire of Siatum suggest that he is an older child or young adult. The text describes him as *s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f S3-Itm* ("King's Son whom his father loves, Siatum"), a variant on the more typical *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*.

At least two people approach Meryre's group from the right side of the scene. Only the leading figure, a man, is fully preserved. He offers a bouquet and a paddle-shaped object (the nature of which may have been clearer if painted details survived).¹¹⁴

Several columns of text identify the figures and describe the action of the bottom register. Above Meryre and his family, from right to left: (1) *iry-p̄.t h3.ty- imy-r3 mn(2) t.(3) n ntr nfr imy-r3 [sd3.t(?)]* (4) *Mry-R̄ sn.t=f mr.t=f* (5) *n s.t ib=f* (6) *hsy(.t)* (7) *n ntr nfr nb.t pr* (8) *B3k.t-Imn m3̄-hrw*

"(1) Hereditary nobleman and count, overseer of (2) nursing (3) of the Good God, the treasurer(?) (4) Meryre, and his sister, his beloved (5) of the seat of his heart, (6) the one praised (7) of the Good God, the mistress of the house (8) Baketamun, true-of-voice."

Text beside Tiy: *s3.t=s Tiy*

"Her daughter Tiy."

Text above Siatum and the offering bearers, from left to right: (1) *s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f* (2) *S3-Itm* (3) *n k3=k ḥ n* (4) *Pth nfr-hr* (5) *hs.tw=f* (6) *mr.tw=f* (7) *Gb(?) w3ḥ.tw* (8) *=f di=f n=k ḥ.w* (9) *nfr [. . .] šms[. . .] ndm-ib ršy [.]*

¹¹⁴ This is quite similar to the object held by Amenhotep C in the first scene from TT 64 discussed above (IV.8), identified variously as a staff or a bunch of leaves.

“(1) King’s Son, whom his father loves (2) Siatum. (3) For your *ka*: a bouquet of (4) Ptah Beautiful-of-Face, (5) may he be praised, (6) may he be loved; (7) and Geb(?), may he be established(?), (8) that he might give to you a good lifetime (9) [in(?)] his(?) following, happiness, and joy [. . . .]”

Offering formula below the bottom register: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t Wsir nb dd.w ntr ⲉ3 hk3 d.t di=fpr.t hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w šs.t [. . .]*¹¹⁵ (2) *irp.w ir.tt [. . .]*¹¹⁶ *ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wꜥb.t ⲉnh ntr im=sn ssn.t ḥ3.w ndm n mhy[.t . . .]* (3) *[. . . itr.w?]*¹¹⁷ *n k3 n iry-pꜣ.t h3.ty-ꜣ sš ny-sw.t imy-r3 pr n hm [. . .]*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of Busiris, great god, ruler of eternity, that he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, alabaster [. . .] (2) wine, milk [. . .] and every good and pure thing by which the god lives. Breathing the sweet breath of the north [wind . . .] (3) [. . . river?]. For the *ka* of the hereditary nobleman and count, royal scribe, steward of the majesty of [. . .]”

The right half of the inscribed frame around the relief is now destroyed, but much of the original text can be restored on the basis of an early drawing by P. Durand.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ A short lacuna followed by vessel determinatives, Gardiner W10 and W24, perhaps associated with the word *šs.t*.

¹¹⁶ This lacuna may have contained the determinatives for *ir.tt*.

¹¹⁷ Only the water and canal determinatives remain.

¹¹⁸ Published in Berg, “Vienna Stela,” fig. 2.

Text from the left side of frame: *htp [di ny-sw.t] R^c-Hr-3h.ty ntr w^c nh m m3^c.t di=f h3.t
mn.ti nn w3h.n=s¹¹⁹ b3 htp hr s.t=f r^c nb 3h m p.t hr R^c w3s m t3 hr Gb n k3 n imy-r3 sd3.wt [.]*

“An offering [which the king gives] to Re-Horakhty, sole god who lives on *ma’at*, that he might cause the corpse to endure¹²⁰ without it ceasing, the *ba* to be content in its place every day, to be glorious in heaven before Re and mighty on earth before Geb. For the *ka* of the treasurer [.]”

Text from the right side of the frame, restored from Durand’s drawing: *htp [di ny-sw.t]
Pth-Skry nb Šty.t di=f šsp sn-t3 m dbh.w df3.w mn(.t) r^c nb n k3 n iry-p^c.t h3.ty bi.ty smr
w^c imy-r3 sd3.wt Mry-R^c [. . .]*

“An offering [which the king gives] to Ptah-Sokar, lord of the *Shetyt* sanctuary, that he might grant the receipt of tribute consisting of food offerings, provisions, and that which is established every day for the *ka* of the hereditary nobleman and count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion and treasurer Meryre [. . .]”

iii. Graffiti

IV.13 – Konosso Graffiti of Amenhotep and Aakheperure

¹¹⁹ For *nn w3h=s?*

¹²⁰ This and the following phrase, *b3 htp* (etc.), are examples of the stative after *rdi*, a special use of the stative in a virtual circumstantial clause. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §315.

Princes are also mentioned alongside their tutors and other close associates in a small number of graffiti, suggesting that princes sometimes travelled with courtiers on official business. Two graffiti in a group from Konosso, discussed briefly above (in association with IV.8-9), mention the princes *Imn-htp* and *'3-hpr.w-R'*, both probable sons of Thutmose IV.¹²¹ Copies of both graffiti were published by Lepsius and later Newberry.¹²² According to the description by Lepsius, the group of graffiti was accompanied by a scene representing princes beneath a double cartouche of Thutmose IV.¹²³ It is unclear how many princes were represented, since the scene was later modified by Apries.¹²⁴ A lengthy inscription dating to year 8 of Thutmose IV was inscribed on the same rock face, suggesting a date for the entire group.¹²⁵

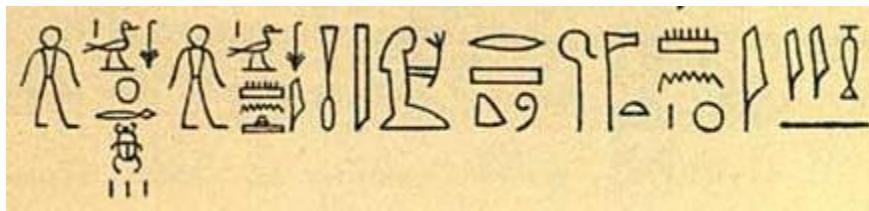


Figure 79 – Copy of Konosso Graffito 23. Konosso, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* IV (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849), 128.

¹²¹ For alternative interpretations see discussion above, IV.8.

¹²² LD IV Text, 127-128; Newberry, "Sons of Thutmose IV," 84-85, fig. 3-4. A publication by Petrie of the first of these two graffiti gave an incorrect reading of Aakheperure as *Šms.w-hpr*, an error which has influenced some other discussions of this monument. See W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (London: Field & Tuer, 1888), pl. I, 23; see Newberry, "Sons of Thutmose IV," 85, n. 1 for a discussion of this issue.

¹²³ LD IV Text, 127-128.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 51.

Each of the two graffiti in question links the two princes to one of the tutors depicted in TT 64. The first (Petrie's Graffito 23) presents the name and titles of Heqareshu in a horizontal line, which reads as follows: *hsy n Imn-R^c (i)t ntr Hk^b-ršw m^a^c hrw*

"Praised of Amun-Re, the God's Father Heqareshu, true-of-voice."

This is followed by two vertical columns with the names and titles of the two princes: *s^b ny-sw.t Imn-htp* ("King's Son Amenhotep") and *s^b ny-sw.t ḥpr.w-R^c* ("King's Son Aakheperure") – each essentially determined by a simple standing male figure. The name of Heqareshu appears in several other inscriptions in the same group, in all cases with the title *it ntr*.¹²⁶



Figure 80 – Copy of Konosso Graffito 32. Konosso, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from P. Newberry, "The Sons of Tuthmosis IV," JEA 14 (1928), fig. 4.

The second inscription (Petrie's Graffito 32) is slightly more elaborate than the first. A horizontal line at the top of the graffito reads: *wḥm ny-sw.t tpy R^c wḥm ḥnh*

¹²⁶ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 202.

“The First Royal Herald Re, repeating life.”

Three vertical columns are arranged beneath this line:

Column 1: *s3 ny-sw.t ‘3-hpr.w-R‘ whm ‘nh*

“King’s Son Aakheperure, repeating life.”

Column 2: *s3 ny-sw.t Imn-htp*

“King’s Son Amenhotep.”

Column 3: *hrd n k3p Hk3-(r)-nhh m3‘ hrw*

“Child of the Royal Nursery Heqaerneheh, true-of-voice.”

The Herald Re, mentioned in the line at the top of the graffito, is also known from TT 201.¹²⁷ The arrangement of the text in this graffito seems to place the two princes and Heqaerneheh in a subordinate position to Re.¹²⁸ It is curious that three of the individuals named here are given epithets that are usually associated with the deceased (*whm ‘nh* and *m3‘ hrw*); only the prince Amenhotep does not receive an epithet. However, some evidence points to the use of these epithets in reference to people who were still alive, so their use here does not necessarily indicate that all of the people listed in this monument except for Amenhotep were deceased at the time of writing.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Newberry, “Sons of Thutmosis IV,” 85.

¹²⁸ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 208.

¹²⁹ For recent discussion of the use of these epithets to refer to living people, see J. Budka, *Der König an der Haustür* (Vienna: AFRO-PUB, 2001), 49-50.

Heqaerneheh's seemingly subordinate position to both Re and the princes, as well as his use of the title *hrd n k3p* ("Child of the Royal Nursery"), may suggest that he had not yet attained the office of tutor at the time when the graffito was inscribed.¹³⁰ However, he already seems to have been closely associated with the princes as a member of the *kap*. The first graffito suggests further that Heqareshu originally tutored at least one child (Amenhotep) who later became a charge of Heqaerneheh, making him tutor to two generations of royal children.¹³¹

To Bryan, the subordinate position of the princes in both texts (as suggested by the configurations of the inscriptions and the lack of titles beyond *s3 ny-sw.t*) suggests that they must have been young children at the time that the graffiti were written.¹³²

¹³⁰ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 209.

¹³¹ Ibid., 203.

¹³² Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 51-52.

IV.14 – Sehel Graffito of Aakheperure and Re

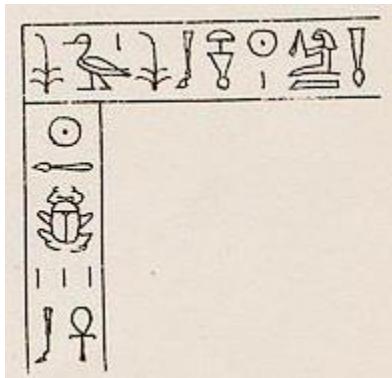


Figure 81 – Copy of a Graffito of the Herald Re and Prince Aakheperure at Sehel. Sehel, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et Nubie* (Paris: A. Franck, 1872), pl. 70, 16.

The prince Aakheperure appears in another graffito at Sehel, again with the First Herald Re.¹³³ The format of this inscription is similar to those at Konosso – Re's name and titles are written in a horizontal line and the prince's name and titles are written in a vertical column beneath Re's. The two lines meet at the left side of Re's inscription, creating a 90 degree angle. Curiously, the text is written in such a way that the title *s3 ny-sw.t* seems to belong to Re rather than Aakheperure. Not only does it appear directly in front of Re's inscription, but an incised line separates it from the rest of the column referring to the prince. It is almost certainly this graffito, rather than the one from Konosso, that resulted in Gauthier's confusion as described by Newberry (Gauthier identified Re as a King's Son in *Livre des Rois*).¹³⁴

¹³³ A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et Nubie* (Paris: A. Franck, 1872), pl. 70, 16.

¹³⁴ Newberry, "Sons of Thutmosis IV," 85; Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 289.

Assuming that this configuration of titles is the result of scribal error, then the horizontal line should be read *wḥm ny-sw.t tpy R^c m3^c hrw* (“The First Royal Herald Re, true-of-voice”) while the vertical column reads *s3 ny-sw.t 3-hpr.w-R^c wḥm nh* (“King’s Son Aakheperure, repeating life”). It is notable that the prince is given the epithet *wḥm nh* in this inscription, just as he was in the Konosso graffito of Re.

The role of Re with respect to the princes Amenhotep and Aakheperure is unclear. He does not hold the title *mn^c ny-sw.t* (“royal tutor”) or any related title, but the inscriptions suggest a close relationship between Re and the princes. It is possible, as in many other monuments depicting tutors and nurses with their royal charges, that the title was simply omitted in these cases because it was considered unnecessary or redundant since the relationship was implied by the nature of the monument itself.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ See several examples discussed in Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 271 ff.

b. Other private monuments depicting princes

IV.15 – Statue of Huy with Royal Children (BM EA1280)



Figure 82 – BM EA 1280. Statue of the Priestess Huy with Royal Children. Quartzite, 28 cm by 53 cm by 61 cm (surviving height). Probably from Thebes, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III. Now in the British Museum, London, UK. Image from G. Robins, “An Unusual Statue of a Royal Mother-in-law and Grandmother” (in A. Leahy and J. Tait, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, EES, 1999), fig. 2.

Outside of the realm of monuments dedicated to the cults of deified princes, monuments of nurses and tutors make up the vast majority of private monuments depicting princes. A notable exception is BM EA1280, a statue of a priestess named Huy with a royal child on her lap and four others carved in relief on the right side of her chair.¹³⁶ Four of these children are princesses, but one of the children depicted on the side of the throne is prince Menkheperre A. In previous publications, this prince has been considered identical to Menkheperre B, whose canopic jars are discussed in **Chapter 3, II.10**. However, the burial of Menkheperre B can now be dated securely to the reign of Amenhotep III, while the statue of Huy probably dates to the reign of Thutmose III. Therefore it is highly unlikely that the same Menkheperre is represented in this monument and the canopic jars discussed above (**II.10**).

The statue depicts a seated woman (Huy) wearing a close-fitting, ankle-length dress and sandals. She sits on a simple block throne. A naked female child sits on Huy's lap at a right angle relative to Huy's position. The child is elevated slightly above the level of Huy's lap by a thick folded cloth and Huy's right hand, which passes beneath the child's thighs just behind the knees. The child's left hand rests on her own thigh, and her right arm appears to be bent up at the elbow. Both figures are broken above the waist.

Four children are depicted in procession on the right side of the throne, carved in sunk relief. The first, third and fourth figures are identical in scale, pose and dress. The second figure

¹³⁶ PM I:2, 789; G. Robins, "Meritamun, Daughter of Ahmose, and Meritamun, Daughter of Thutmose III," GM 56 (1982), 82-83; A. Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmos," 92 and pl. V.1; G. Robins, "An Unusual Statue of a Royal Mother-in-law and Grandmother" (in A. Leahy and J. Tait, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, EES, 1999), 255-259.

is depicted on a much smaller scale than the others and is slightly overlapped by the striding left leg of the third figure. All four of these children are depicted in long, featureless ankle-length robes. They wear curled sidelocks over shaved or close-cropped hair. The first child holds a lotus in his left hand, which is clasped to his chest; the lotus blossom bends to meet his nose. The other three children hold their left hands in the same position, but do not carry lotuses. The first child also carries an *ankh* in his right hand, which hangs at his side. The last two children carry sistra in their right hands.¹³⁷

An inscribed band runs from Huy's knees to the end of her skirt just above the ankles. The text reads: *prr.t nb.t hr wdh.w n [Imn] Mw.t n k3 n dw3.t-ntr n.t [Imn] Hwy*

"Everything which comes forth upon the offering table of [Amun] and Mut for the *ka* of the Divine Adoratrice of [Amun] Huy."

A projecting base beneath the feet of the child in Huy's lap identifies the child with a horizontal band of text: *s3.t ny-sw.t Nb.t-iwn.t*

"King's Daughter Nebetiunet."

Each of the children on the side of the throne is identified with a short vertical column of text. Before the first figure: *s3 ny-sw.t Mn-hpr-R*

"King's Son Menkheperre."

¹³⁷ The objects in the hands of all three children look very similar, but a close inspection reveals that the two princesses definitely carry Hathor-headed sistra. A similar representation of a sistrum being held by the loop rather than the handle appears in a relief of Neferure from Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (see **Chapter 10, fig. 109**).

Above the second (smallest) figure: *s3.t ny-sw.t Is.t*

“King’s Daughter Isis.”

Before the third figure: *s3.t ny-sw.t (Mry.t-Imn)*

“King’s Daughter Merytamun.” She is the only royal child depicted on the statue whose name is enclosed in a cartouche.

Before the fourth figure: *s3.t ny-sw.t Mry.t-Imn*

“King’s Daughter Merytamun.”

A lengthy offering formula is written on the left side of the throne: (1) *htp di ny-sw.t [Imn]-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w Mw.t nb.t Išr.w di=sn šsp* (2) *hs.wt ntr nfr ndm-ib rš.wt r^c nb iw.t pr.t*¹³⁸ *r hw.t-ntr=f h^c.w w^cb* (3) *wd^b snb m^b hr=f nn ir.t b m hb.w=f n Ip.t-s.wt* (4) *wnn hr t^b m r^b-pr=f hr ir.t hss.yt k^b=f m* (5) *hr.t-hrw n.t r^c nb n k^b n hsy.t mry.t nb t^b.wy wr.t hnrt* (6) *m pr [Imn] wr.t hnrt m pr R^c dw^b.t ntr n.t* (7) *[Imn] dw^b.t ntr n pr Itm ms.t hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t Hwy*

“(1) An offering which the king gives to [Amun]-Re, king of the gods, and Mut, lady of Isheru, that they might cause the receiving of (2) the favor of the Good God, happiness, joy every day, coming and going to and from his temple, a pure, (3) sound and healthy body, seeing his face without ceasing in his festivals of Ipet-sut, (4) being upon the earth in his temple, doing that which his *ka* praises in (5) the course of every day. For the *ka* of the one whom the Lord of

¹³⁸ This group is written sportively:



the Two Lands favored and loved, the great one of the musical troupe (6) in the house of [Amun], the great one of the musical troupe in the house of Re, the Divine Adoratrice of (7) [Amun], the Divine Adoratrice of the house of Atum, who bore the Great Royal Wife, Huy."

A shorter offering formula is written on the back pillar of the statue: [. . .] *Iwnw di=f pr.t-hrw t hn̄k.t k3.w 3pd.w kbb.t irt.t pr.t m-hr(y.t) nb ntr.w m hb.w=f nb n(.t) p.t n t3 n k3 n wr.t hnr.t n [Imn] Hwy*

"[. . . of] Heliopolis, that he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, cool water and milk which have come forth before the lord of the gods in all his festivals of heaven and of earth, for the *ka* of the great one of the troupe of [Amun], Huy."

The identity of Huy's royal daughter is not specified, but Robins has argued that the queen in question was probably Thutmose III's wife Meritre Hatshepsut.¹³⁹ Meritre Hatshepsut held the titles *hm.t ntr* and *hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t* and was of non-royal birth. The names of two of the royal children depicted on the statue, Menkheperre and Isis, suggest a relationship to Thutmose III, since these were Thutmose III's throne name and the name of Thutmose III's mother, respectively. Finally, erasures of the name of Amun in some of the inscriptions place the statue before the Amarna period, and stylistic features suggest a date between the reigns of Thutmose III and Thutmose IV.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Robins, "Meritamun," 83.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Since Huy herself was not a royal wife, the prince and princesses represented on this monument were probably Huy's grandchildren rather than her own children (who presumably would not hold the title *s3(.t) ny-sw.t*).¹⁴¹ If Robins' assessment is correct, this would make the royal children represented here the offspring of Thutmose III and Meritamun Hatshepsut.

It is unclear why Nebetiunet is represented in the round and in direct contact with Huy while her (apparent) siblings are relegated to a relief scene on the side of the throne, but some difference in status, or in the nature of the relationship between Huy and her various grandchildren, is indicated. It is striking that Menkheperre is depicted as completely identical in stature, appearance and costume to the two princesses named Meritamun; only the inscriptions and the items that they carry set these three royal children apart. Menkheperre carries items that suggest that he is deceased and/or of divine status (lotus and *ankh*), while the last two children in the group carry sistra, suggesting a ritual function – perhaps as members of the *hnrt* of which Huy was the leader.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 82.

IV.16 – Statue of a Woman with Four Royal Children (Cairo JE 98831)



Figure 83 – Cairo JE 98831. Statue of a Women with Four Royal Children. Limestone with carnelian and frit inlays and traces of gold leaf, 94 cm h. Bubastis, 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Image from C. Ziegler, *Queens of Egypt: From Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco: Grimaldi Forum, 2008), 293, cat. 110.

JE 98831¹⁴² is a relatively recent discovery. The inscriptions on the base were completely erased in antiquity, so it is impossible to determine the identity of the woman and children represented here.¹⁴³ The statue was discovered at Bubastis, but it may have derived originally from Thebes.¹⁴⁴ It is possible that this object belongs to the category of statues representing royal children with a nurse, as previous publications have suggested.¹⁴⁵ However, its composition parallels that of IV.15 so closely that they must be considered together as examples of the same type, possibly representing at least some of the same individuals.

Stylistically, JE 98831 may be dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty, ca. the reigns of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II.¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is contemporary or near-contemporary with the statue of Huy (IV.15). Huy was apparently a relative of the royal children with whom she was depicted – presumably a grandmother. It seems reasonable, based on the striking similarities between these two statues, to suggest that JE 98831 represents royal children with a relative rather than a nurse. The extraordinarily high quality of the carving of JE 98831, along with the use of precious materials to enhance various details of the statue (gold leaf with stone, metal and frit inlays), is also suggestive of the unusually high status of the main subject.

¹⁴² M. Saleh, "Varia from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo," in H. Guksch and D. Polz, eds., *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 358-361, figs. 8-10 and pl. 19; C. M. Sheikholeslami, *The Egyptian Museum at the Millennium* (Cairo: The Egyptian Museum, SCA Press, 2000), no. 22; C. Ziegler, *Queens*, 293; E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 271-272, pl. 30.

¹⁴³ Saleh, "Varia," 359.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid; Saleh speculates that the statue originated in Thebes and was later "brought to the Delta for usurpation."

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Saleh, "Varia," 358; Ziegler, *Queens*, 293.

¹⁴⁶ Saleh, "Varia," 359; Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, 271.

The statue depicts a woman seated on a lion-footed chair with a low back, wearing an elaborate wig, a broad collar and an ankle-length dress. Her eyes and eyebrows are inlaid with a variety of materials. She holds a total of four children on her lap: three small children stand with their backs against her chest, while a fourth sits further forward, in a position perpendicular to that of the woman.

The fourth child, a girl, is depicted at a larger scale than the other three. Only her legs, feet and right hand are preserved. Surviving traces show that she held a *mn̄.t* necklace in her left hand. The girl's upper torso was apparently broken away in antiquity and was at one time reattached with a tenon and mortise.¹⁴⁷ Her position is nearly identical to that of the princess Nebetiunet in the statue of Huy (**IV.15**) – like Nebetiunet, she is supported by a folded cloth beneath her buttocks and the right hand of her adult caretaker beneath her thighs. Her feet rest on the seat of the chair. Her right hand rests flat on her right thigh. The adult woman's left hand is missing, but it probably rested on the girl's lower back.

The three other children appear to be infants or toddlers. They are all nude, wear curled sidelocks and are adorned only with heart-shaped amulets suspended around their necks with wide straps. The amulets are inlaid with carnelian. These royal children all hold their right hands to their (heavily damaged) faces, apparently in the traditional pose of childhood. Although identical in scale and costume to the children on either side of him, the middle child is marked

¹⁴⁷ Saleh, "Varia," 359.

as a boy by the presence of male genitalia. The princess at right embraces the middle child (to her left) with her left arm, while the other two children's left arms hang at their sides.

A monkey is carved in relief in the space beneath the chair on both sides of the statue. The monkey on the right side of the chair holds a mirror with a papyrus umbel handle, while the one on the left holds a kohl tube.

Chapter 6: Category V – Miscellaneous Documents Mentioning Princes

A small number of miscellaneous documents, which do not fit into any of the categories discussed above, make reference to 18th Dynasty royal sons. These documents are presented in chronological order.

V.1 – Records of a Royal Shipyard (P. BM 10056)

British Museum Papyrus EA 10056 is a rare example of an 18th Dynasty administrative document that contains references to a prince. The prince in question, a *s3 ny-sw.t sm Imn-htp* (“King’s Son and *sem* priest Amenhotep”), has been variously identified as a son of Thutmose III (possibly Amenhotep II himself) or of Amenhotep II, making him a brother of Thutmose IV.¹

The fragmentary and faded papyrus is a record from a royal shipyard, concerned primarily with the distribution of lumber to craftsmen who were employed making ships.² The *s3 ny-sw.t Imn-htp* appears several times in the text, functioning as the overseer of the distribution of timber to the ship builders.³ In some of these passages he is given the title *sm* in addition to *s3 ny-sw.t*. No other titles are preserved, but the prince is clearly acting in an

¹ See discussion in Redford, “Coregency,” 109-111. In my view, Redford convincingly argues that this document should be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, as it forms part of a group with the contemporary Leningrad Hermitage Museum Papyri 1116A and 1116B in which Amenhotep II is named as the reigning king. All three documents share the same paleography and apparently contain records of activities at the same shipyard.

² Translation and commentary are published in two parts by S. R. K. Glanville, “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056,” ZÄS 66 (1931), 105-121, partial paleography and hieroglyphic transcription *1-*8; and ZÄS 68 (1932), 7-41.

³ Glanville, “Records” I, 106.

administrative capacity in the text. While several other office-holding princes are attested (see **Chapter 3** for several examples), this is a rare example of a document describing the actual duties and responsibilities of one of these princes.

The prince is mentioned in the text of the recto in 10/1 and possibly in 16/1; he appears on the verso in 2/6, 3/2, 3/8, 4/2 and 9/9. In each case he is involved in the distribution of various types of lumber, either directly or through a deputy. A translation of relevant excerpts from the texts follows:

Column 10, recto: (1) *3bd tpy 3h.t sw I3 šdy.t m n3 n šmm.wt n.ty* (2) *m p3 mstyr in s3 [ny-sw.t] Imn-htp* (3) *mr hst.t 7*

“(1) First month of Akhet, day 13. Apportioned from these storehouses which are (2) in the chancellery⁴ by the [King’s] Son Amenhotep: (3) *mr*-wood, *hst.t*-wood – 7.” (A list of additional materials follows.)

Column 15-16, recto: (14) *3bd tpy 3h.t sw I[7 šd.yt] m n3 n šmm.wt n.ty m p3 š* (16/1) [*in s3 ny-sw.t (?) T]mn-htp hrd n [k3]p Tw[. . .]*

“(15/14) First month of Akhet, day 1[7. Apportioned] from these storehouses which are in the lake (16/1) [by the King’s Son (?) A]menhotep and the Child of the [Royal Nurser]y lu[. . .]” (The next two lines are broken, but seem to contain the names of several other individuals and possibly indicate that the material in question was to be used to create oars.)

⁴ L. Lesko and B. S. Lesko, *DLE I*, 207.

Column 2, verso: (5) 3bd 3 3h.t sw 29 rdi.t [n hmw.w] wr Tity (6) [in (?)] s3 ny-sw.t sm
Imn-h̄t[p . . . m n3 n] šmm.wt m p3 [. . .] (7) [hr]-s3 pr n wd3 m p[3 š . . .] Hn3ny

“(5) Month 3 of Akhet, day 29. Giving [to the] chief [workman] Tity (6) [by(?)] the King’s Son and *sm*-priest Amenhotep [p . . . from these] storehouses in the [lake(?)] (7) [in] back of the estate of the storehouse in th[e lake . . .] Henany . . .” (List of materials follows.)

Column 4, verso: (1) 3bd 1 Pr.t sw 14 šdy.t m p3 š m n3 n wnh.w in (2) s3 ny-sw.t sm Imn-h̄tpw ‘n-h̄tr.w Imn-m-Ip.t (3) Sw-l Tsy Šby-Bl rdi.t n (4) hmww wr Tw-n3 r wg3.w

“(1) First month of Peret, day 14: Apportioning from the (storehouse in) the lake from these planks by (2) the King’s Son and *sm*-priest Amenhotep, Anheteru, Amenemopet, (3) Su-el, Tesy, and Shebyba’al. Giving to (4) the chief workman Tuna to be (used as) planks: . . .” (A list of materials follows.)

Column 9, verso: (8) hsb.t 30(?) 3bd 3 pr.t sw 4 [š]dy.t m n3 n šmm.wt (9) n.ty m p3 š in s3 ny-sw.t Imn-h̄tp.w Imn-m-Ip.t (10) H3w-nfr sš ny-sw.t Hwy s3 Kn-n3 ‘n-h̄tr.w (11) m dr.t hmww wr Mntw r w3h whr.t n wi3 ny-sw.t (12) Pr.w-nfr

“(3) Regnal year 30(?), month 3 of Peret, day 4: [A]pportioning from the storehouses (9) which are in the lake by the King’s Son Amenhotep, Amenemopet, (10) Hawnefer, the royal scribe Huy, son of Qenna, and Anheteru (11) into the hand of the chief workman Montu in order to set up the dockyard of the royal barge (12) Perunefer: . . .” (A list of materials follows.)

V.2 – Mummy Label of Nebetia (RMS 1956.154)



Figure 84 – RMS 1956.154. Mummy Label of Princess Nebetia. Wood with ink inscription, 59 mm by 40 mm. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, reign of Amenhotep III. Now in the Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK. Image from A. Dodson and J. Janssen, "A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants," *JEA* 75 (1989), pl. X [1].

In 1857, A. H. Rhind excavated a badly plundered tomb on the east side of Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna.⁵ The tomb consisted of a large, undecorated chapel connected to a burial chamber by a sloping shaft. The outer door of the tomb still bore a recognizable seal of Amenhotep III.⁶ The floors of the tomb were littered with the remains of plundered mummies, fragments of coffins

⁵ A. H. Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862), 83-87.

⁶ Ibid., 83.

and wrappings. Rhind found fourteen wooden mummy labels with hieratic docketts among the debris.⁷

The mummy labels (which are now in the collection of the Royal Museum of Scotland) and other related materials have since been published by A. Dodson and J. Janssen.⁸ The labels name several princesses, some with clearly-stated filiations. Two are identified as daughters of King Menkheperure (Thutmose IV).⁹ Paleographic evidence suggests that the labels were written in the late 20th or early 21st Dynasty. Dodson and Janssen have argued on this basis that the bodies were reinterred during the reign of Psusennes I, in keeping with the regnal year date listed on one of the labels (year 27).¹⁰

RMS 1956.154 names a King's Daughter Nebetia, who is filiated with a prince. The text is as follows: (1) *hsb.t 27 3bd 4 pr.t* (2) *hrw 2 s3.t ny-sw.t* (3) *Nb.t-i3 s3.t s3*¹¹ (4) *ny-sw.t S3-Itm* "(1) Regnal year 27, month 4 of *peret*, (2) day 2. King's Daughter (3) Nebetia, daughter of the King's (4) Son Siatum."

It is on the basis of the regnal year date in this text that Dodson and Janssen dated the reinterment of the bodies to the reign of Psusennes I.¹² The filiation of the princess demonstrates, in unambiguous terms, that the title *s3.t ny-sw.t* could be used to refer to a royal

⁷ Ibid., 84.

⁸ A. Dodson and J. Janssen, "A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants," *JEA* 75 (1989), 125-138.

⁹ Tiaa (RMS 1956.163) and Py-ihia (RMS 1965.159).

¹⁰ "A Theban Tomb," 75.

¹¹ Actually *ny-sw.t* on this line and *s3* at the beginning of the next due to honorific transposition.

¹² "A Theban Tomb," 75.

granddaughter during the 18th Dynasty – an example of an extended use of a kinship term.¹³

This example raises the question of whether *s3 ny-sw.t* may have been used at this time to describe royal grandsons as well.

The prince Siatum named as the father of Nebetia may be the same individual depicted in Vienna 5815 (see IV.12).¹⁴ The style of the Vienna relief fragment suggests a date consistent with that of the original burial of Nebetia.

V.3 – Jar Seal from Malqata naming Prince Amenhotep (Seal KK)



Figure 85 – Drawing of Seal Impression “KK” from Malqata. Thebes, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Amenhotep III. Drawing from W. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III,” *JNES* 10:3 (1951), fig. 27 (KK).

¹³ Ibid., 136. Such uses are well attested in non-royal contexts. See discussion in **Chapter 1**.

¹⁴ Ibid., 136-137.

A single seal impression on a jar stopper from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata names a King's Son Amenhotep, presumably the future Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.¹⁵ The stopper was one of numerous examples excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition between 1910 and 1920, from "magazines and rubbish heaps widely distributed over the palace area."¹⁶

The seal impression consists of an oval containing a vertical hieroglyphic inscription, which reads as follows: [. . .]d pr s3 ny-sw.t m3^c Imn-htp
"[. . .] of the estate of the True King's Son Amenhotep."

It is not clear what kind of commodity the jar contained. The first sign of the word describing the jar's contents (apparently a low, broad sign) is missing. Perhaps a variant spelling of d ("fat" or "oil") is represented here. The word *pr* is placed after the name and title of the prince, presumably for reasons of honorific transposition.

Hayes dates the seal impression to sometime before Year 28 of Amenhotep III – in other words, well in advance of any of Amenhotep III's *sed*-festivals, with which most of the Malqata jar dockets are associated. This assessment is based on the notion that Year 28 was the year in which the supposed coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV began (presumably, after assuming kingship, Amenhotep IV would no longer be referred to as a "King's Son").¹⁷ I am

¹⁵ W. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10:3 (1951), 159 and fig. 27 (KK).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 159. The possibility of a coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is still unresolved. Two relatively recent articles addressing this subject are W. R. Johnson, "Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations," *JEA* 82 (1996): 65–82 and P. Dorman, "The Long Coregency Revisited: Architectural and Iconographic Conundra in the Tomb of Kheruef," in *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and*

inclined to reject the “long coregency” hypothesis¹⁸ and would assume that this seal dates to one of the *sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III.

Hayes also speculates that the modifier *m3c* after the title *s3 ny-sw.t* was meant to distinguish the “true” prince Amenhotep from a like-named King’s Son of Kush mentioned in several contemporary documents.¹⁹

History in Memory of William J. Murnane, ed. P. J. Brand and L. Cooper (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 65-82. Johnson argues for a long coregency primarily on art historical grounds and on the basis of various representations of Amenhotep III at Amarna. The gist of his hypothesis is that the various stages of Akhenaten’s religious program corresponded with – and were part of – Amenhotep III’s “living apotheosis as the sun god,” spread out over the three *sed*-festivals that took place during the last 8-9 years of Amenhotep III’s reign (“Amenhotep III and Amarna,” 80-82).

Dorman has argued against the long coregency, largely on the basis of the abrupt stylistic shift that is present in the tomb of Kheruef, which is datable by textual and iconographic evidence to the very end of Amenhotep III’s reign and the very beginning of Amenhotep IV’s. Furthermore, Dorman points out that Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten’s usurpation of Amenhotep III’s temple at Soleb, under the long coregency model, would have to have taken place shortly after Amenhotep III’s first *sed*-festival (“Long Coregency Revisited,” 78-82).

While Johnson’s hypothesis is intriguing, and I agree that the final years of Amenhotep III must have had a powerful impact on the early development of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten’s unique theology, I feel that Dorman’s argument is ultimately more convincing. At this point, there is no satisfactory answer to the problems presented by Dorman that would allow for the existence of a lengthy coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

¹⁸ See previous note.

¹⁹ Hayes, “Inscriptions,” 159.

V.4 – Graffito from Meidum Possibly Describing the Selection of a Prince as Heir (Meidum
Graffito No. XVIII)

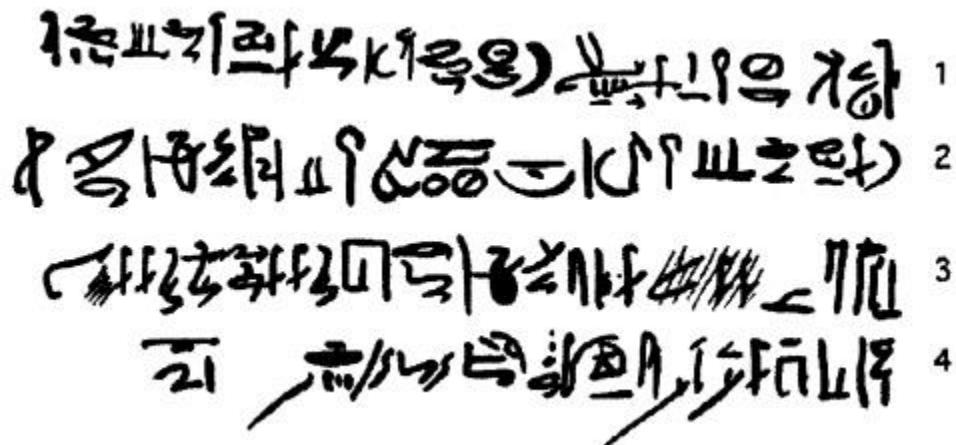


Figure 86 – Copy of Meidum Graffito XVIII. Meidum Pyramid Temple, reign of Amenhotep III. Drawing from A. Dodson, “On the alleged ‘Amenhotep III/IV coregency’ graffito at Meidum,” *GM* 221 (2009), fig. 1, after W. M. F. Petrie, *Medium* (London: D. Nutt, 1892), pl. xxxvi (XVIII).

An exceptional graffito from the pyramid temple at Meidum, dating to Year 30 of Amenhotep III, may describe the promotion of one of Amenhotep III’s sons to the status of heir to the throne.²⁰ Assuming that this interpretation is correct, the late date of the document suggests that the future Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is meant. The style of extant funerary statuettes of the older prince Djutmose suggest that he died at around this time.²¹ However, no prince is named in the text.

²⁰ Originally published in W. M. F. Petrie, *Medium* (London: D. Nutt, 1892), pl. xxxvi (XVIII); recently discussed in A. Dodson, “On the Alleged ‘Amenhotep III/IV Coregency’ Graffito at Meidum,” *GM* 221 (2009), 25–28.

²¹ Dodson, “On the Alleged,” 27–28.

The brief hieratic text reads as follows: (1) *hsb.t 30 hr hm n ny-sw.t bi.ty (Nb-m3c.t-Rc)| s3*
Imn htp m3c.t) (2) (Imn-htp hk3 W3s.t) nb nht hk3 3w.t-ib mr (3) msdy isf.t-ib rdi.t h3y t3y (4) hr
s.t it=f smn iw3.wt=f [m] t3

"(1) Regnal year 30 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre, son of Amun, content (with) *ma'at*, (2) Amenhotep Heka-Waset, lord of strength, ruler of joy, who loves (3) the one who hates false-heartedness: causing the male (offspring) to rejoice²² (4) upon the seat of his father and establishing his inheritance [in] the land."

The ambiguous language of the text and the use of a divine determinative after *it* in line 4 have generated a great deal of discussion about the nature of the event described in the last two lines. It has been variously interpreted as a reference to the beginning of the putative coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV;²³ a description of Amenhotep III symbolically taking the throne of his divine father Amun-Re during his first Sed-Festival;²⁴ a non-royal person commemorating the establishment of his inheritance from a deceased father (i.e., an "Osiris" worthy of a divine determinative);²⁵ or a description of the selection of a prince (presumably the future Amenhotep IV) as heir to the throne.²⁶

²² *h3y*, possibly a writing of *hy* ("rejoice"). See W. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (SAOC 40. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 126.

²³ See H. W. Fairman, "The Inscriptions," in J. D. S. Pendlebury, ed., *The City of Akhenaten, Part III: The Central City and Official Quarters* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951), 156-157. See V.3 for further discussion and literature on a possible coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

²⁴ D. Redford, *History and Chronology*, 117-118.

²⁵ Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 126-127.

²⁶ Dodson, "On the Alleged," 27-28.

A. Dodson has argued for the latter interpretation, which fits well with earlier 18th Dynasty retrospective descriptions of kings publicly proclaiming the selection of an heir.²⁷ Such accounts are undoubtedly fictionalized, at least in part, but it is not unreasonable to speculate (as Dodson does) that they were based on actual practice.

²⁷ Ibid.; see, for example, the “historical” accounts of Hatshepsut’s and Thutmose III’s selection for the throne, described in their temples at Deir el-Bahri and Karnak, respectively.

Chapter 7: Category VI – Retrospective Depictions of Kings as Princes

Retrospective depictions of reigning kings as princes are fairly common in the 18th Dynasty, appearing in both royal and private contexts. This practice seems to have begun during the reign of Hatshepsut, who was depicted as a child in her “*Légende de la Jeunesse*” reliefs at Deir el-Bahri¹ as well as a statue depicting the youthful Hatshepsut with a royal nurse.² The appearance of these retrospective representations corresponds with a general change in the contexts in which royal sons were depicted. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in **Chapter 11**. The monuments in this section are presented in chronological order (to the extent possible).

VI.1 – The Divine Birth and *Légende de la Jeunesse* of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri

Hatshepsut eventually presented herself as a traditional male ruler, but she was not brought up as male and is described as a female child even in the pseudo-historical account of her selection as heir.³ Thus, she falls somewhat outside of the main scope of this dissertation. However, her contribution to the retrospective representation of male 18th Dynasty princes is too important to ignore.

¹ *PM* II(2), 118-119.

² Cairo JE 72412.

³ She is represented as a male child in the associated reliefs, however; see, for example, E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari III* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898), pl. LVI.

A series of texts and reliefs from Hatshepsut's mortuary temple *Djeser-Djeseru* at Deir el-Bahri depicts the divine conception and birth of Hatshepsut, as well has her selection for kingship and her coronation by both the gods and her human father, Thutmose I.⁴ Since this material has already been much discussed in other literature, I will keep my description relatively brief.⁵

The episodes of Hatshepsut's divine conception and birth are strongly reminiscent of the story of the conception and birth of the first three kings of the 5th Dynasty in the Westcar Papyrus (P. Berlin 3033) – a document probably dating to the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period, although some or all of the stories preserved in the text may have been written at an earlier date.⁶ The similarities indicate that Hatshepsut was drawing on previously established ideas about the divine predestination of royal children who would later attain kingship.

The first scene in the series depicts Amun before a divine council.⁷ Much of the text is missing, but enough remains that it is clear that Amun is prophesying the eventual kingship of

⁴ The scenes and text of Hatshepsut's divine conception, birth and early childhood are published in Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896), 12-18 and pl. XLVI-LV. The text is published in *URK IV*, 215-234, and translated in Breasted, *Ancient Records 2*, 78-86. The material dealing with Hatshepsut's selection as heir and eventual coronation are published in Naville, *Deir el Bahari III*, 1-9 and pl. LVI-LXIV; *URK IV*, 241-265; and Breasted, *Ancient Records 2*, 87-100. These scenes and texts occupy the north half of the middle colonnade, the southern half of which is dedicated to the Punt expedition and other events that took place during Hatshepsut's reign.

⁵ The entire cycle of scenes has been analyzed in detail by H. Brunner in *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines Altägyptischen Mythos* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1964), passim. For a more recent discussion of how the divine birth sequence may relate to the adjacent Punt scenes, see C. Barbotin, "Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari," *CRIPEL* 24 (2004), 9-14.

⁶ For discussion of the date of P. Westcar and further bibliography on this issue, see H. M. Hays, "The Historicity of Papyrus Westcar," *ZÄS* 129 (2002), 26-27, n. 60.

⁷ Naville, *Deir el-Bahri II*, pl. XLVI.

Hatshepsut. In the following scenes, Amun consults with Thoth, who tells Amun about Queen Ahmose, mother of the future king; Thoth then leads Amun to Ahmose.⁸

The next scene depicts the divine conception of Hatshepsut.⁹ The union between the god and queen is depicted in a highly symbolic manner, with the couple seated facing each other on a raised sky-shaped platform. The platform is supported by the goddesses Neith and Selket, who sit on a bed or couch with lion heads and feet. The accompanying text is more explicit than the relief. Amun takes the form of Ahmose's husband, Thutmose I, and enters the queen's bedchamber while she sleeps. Ahmose is awakened by the divine scent of the god, and they have intercourse, after which Amun announces to Ahmose that he has impregnated her with Hatshepsut:

. . . (Hnm.t-Imn H3.t-šps.t)| hm rn n s3.t pn¹⁰ (w)d.n=i m h.t=[t pri] m r3=t iw=s r
ir.t [nsw]y.t mn[h.t] m t3 pn r-dr=f b3=i n=s < . . . >=i n=s w3š=i n=s wrr.t=i n=s swt
hk3.t(y)=s(y) t3.wy ss̄m=s ‘nh.w nb.w [.]

“. . . Indeed, the name of this daughter whom I have placed in [your] body is Khenemet-Amun Hatshepsut [. which came forth] from your mouth. She shall do excellent kingship in this entire land, my soul being hers, my < . . . > being hers, my honor being hers, my crown being hers. She is the one who will rule¹¹ the two lands, while she leads all the living [.]”

⁸ Ibid., pl. XLVII.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Note the use of the masculine demonstrative adjective.

¹¹ Independent 3rd f. s. pronoun + future participle. See B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924), 59 (5).

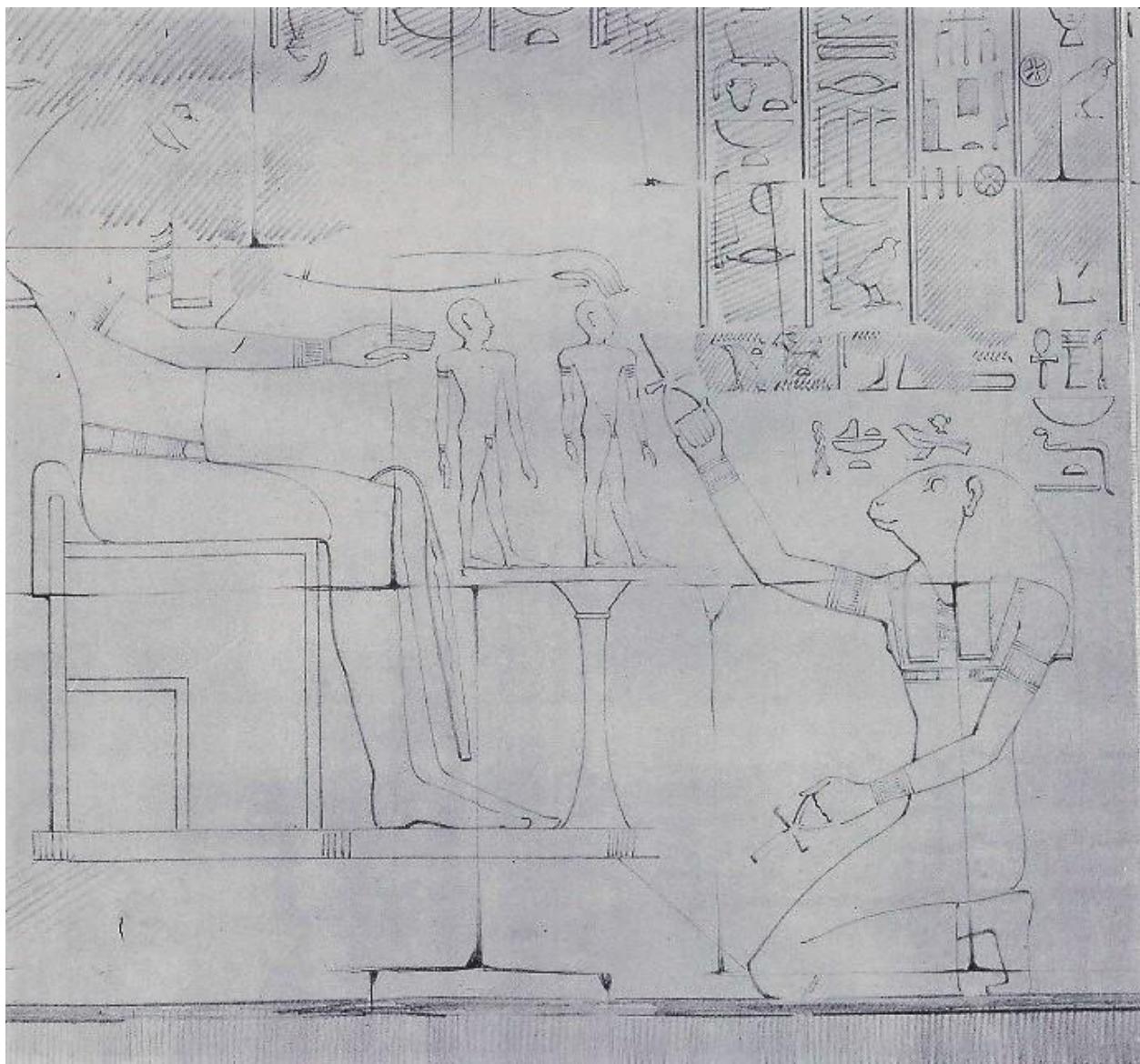


Figure 87 – Detail of a scene depicting Khnum creating Hatshepsut and her *ka* as male infants, while Heqet grants them life. Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty, reign of Hatshepsut. Image from E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896), pl. XLVIII.

Amun is then depicted commanding the god Khnum to create Hatshepsut and her *ka*.¹²

Hatshepsut and her *ka* are depicted for the first time in this sequence of scenes as a pair of

¹² Naville, *Deir el-Bahri II*, pl. XLVIII.

small male children on the potter's wheel of Khnum. The goddess Heqet kneels before the two child figures, extending an *ankh*. Both of the child figures are depicted nude, with male genitalia, wearing armlets on their upper arms and bracelets at their wrists. They may also wear collars of some sort, but there is no sign in Neville's copy of a sidelock on either figure. In the accompanying text, Khnum endows Hatshepsut with the preordained divinity and kingship promised to her by Amun. The text uses feminine endings and pronouns to describe Hatshepsut.

The next several scenes depict the gestation and birth of Hatshepsut. The birth scene depicts Ahmose seated, holding the newborn child in her lap, on a block throne atop two stacked lion beds.¹³ The mother and child are surrounded by goddess-midwives, with two registers of deities beneath them. The goddess of childbirth, Meskhenet, is seated at right, presiding over the entire scene.

¹³ Ibid., pl. LI. I am unaware of the exact significance of the double-layered lion beds in this scene and the nursing scene (ibid., pl. LIII), except that the "stacking" in both cases serves the overall composition of the scene. In the birth scene, the space under each bed forms its own register, helping to divide the supporting groups of deities into hierarchies. The two-tiered bed in the nursing scene helps balance the composition with the adjacent registers of gods holding the *kas* of the infant Hatshepsut. While this "stacking" is typical of representations of beds in the context of divine birth scenes, I am disinclined to accept the explanation that this is a normal aspective representation of a bed (R. Ritner, personal communication, 2016). Items of furniture with four legs (such as chairs, beds or couches) were normally represented in profile with two legs visible, apparently with the assumption that the presence of four legs was understood. For numerous examples, see E. Cummins, "Word, Object, Image: The Bed as a Sign in New Kingdom Egyptian Art" (PhD diss., Emory University, Atlanta, 2013). While Cummins does make note of the "two-tiered" beds in the Hatshepsut scenes, she does not provide an explanation for this phenomenon (ibid., 74-75).

Lion beds were typically associated with funerary rites, since the lion was associated with resurrection, while royal thrones often sported lion heads, starting in the Old Kingdom. The implications of resurrection and kingship are both appropriate in a royal birth scene. For discussion of the history and symbolic significance of the lion bed, see W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1963), 4-7.

The next two scenes depict Hathor presenting the infant Hatshepsut to Amun.¹⁴ These are followed in turn by an elaborate scene depicting the nursing of the infant Hatshepsut by Ahmose and Hathor.¹⁵

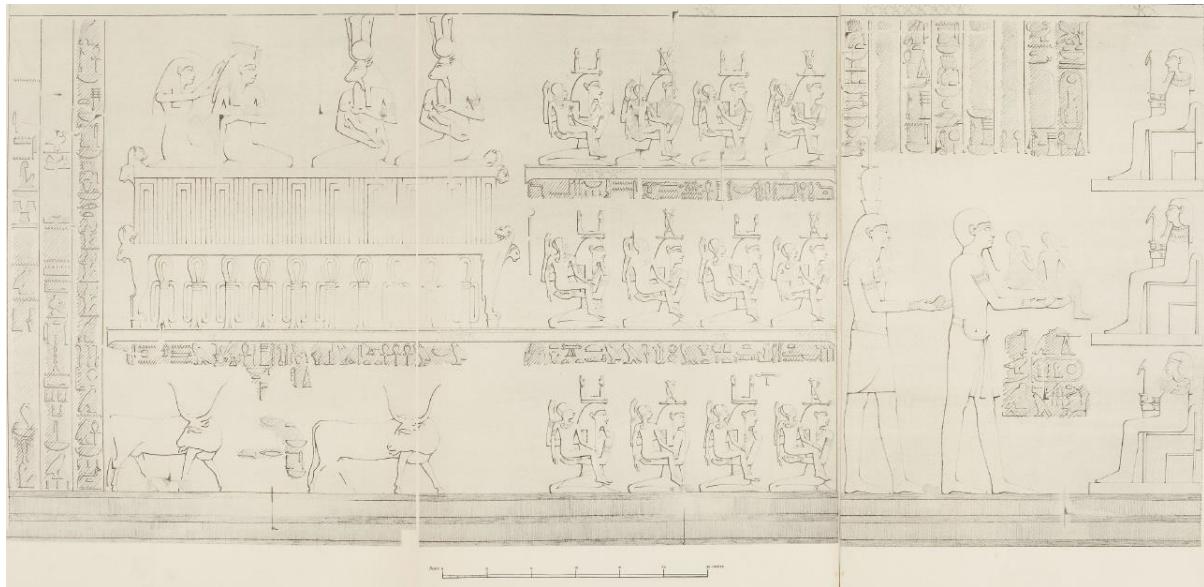


Figure 88 – Scene depicting the nursing of the infant Hatshepsut and her *kas*. From the middle colonnade of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, Thebes, Egypt. 18th Dynasty, reign of Hatshepsut. Image from E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896), pl. LIII.

The leftmost portion of the nursing scene depicts Ahmose kneeling on a two-tiered lion couch in the upper register, facing two Hathor figures. Another woman, presumably a goddess, kneels behind Ahmose, supporting Ahmose's head with both hands. Ahmose's arms and torso are damaged, but the position of her arms suggests that she may be cradling the infant Hatshepsut. Each of the two Hathors, who kneel at right facing Ahmose, suckles a tiny infant –

¹⁴ Ibid., pl. LII.

¹⁵ Ibid., pl. LIII.

Hatshepsut and her *ka*. A parallel scene in the lower register depicts two fully bovine Hathors, each nursing a now-erased infant.

The right half of the scene is dominated by three registers, each consisting of four kneeling deities (alternating gods and goddesses, wearing Ka and Neith emblems on their heads, respectively). These figures kneel with their knees facing left and their heads turned to the right. Each of these figures holds a young Hatshepsut, now depicted as an older child with a curled sidelock, broad collar, armlets and bracelets. The badly damaged text in the columns on the far left side of the scene refers to *mn.t hm.t=s hn k3.w=s nb.w* ("the nursing of Her Majesty together with all her Kas"). Presumably the twelve children represented at right are the multiple *kas* of Hatshepsut.

At far right, the gods Heku and Hapi approach three generic seated gods. Hapi holds up the infant Hatshepsut and her *ka*. Both of the small Hatshepsut figures are badly damaged, but they appear to hold their index fingers to their mouths in the traditional pose of a small child.

In the remaining two scenes in the series, Thoth and Amun commune over Hatshepsut and her *ka*, followed by an obscure scene which seems to depict the establishment of Hatshepsut's regnal years or lifetime.¹⁶ Anubis is depicted at far left, bending to roll a large disk before him.¹⁷ Anubis walks behind Khnum. At center are two registers, each containing a pair of kneeling goddesses presenting Hatshepsut and her *ka* to another kneeling deity (a Nile god in

¹⁶ Ibid., pl. LIV-LV.

¹⁷ Probably the lunar disk, as suggested by Naville, ibid. For an extensive discussion of this motif, see R. Ritner, "Anubis and the Lunar Disc," *JEA* 71 (1985), 149-155.

the upper register and a goddess in the lower) while the goddess Seshet looks on, holding a reed pen (presumably to record the length of Hatshepsut's life). Seshet is followed at far right by another Nile god.

In most of these scenes, the figure of the infant Hatshepsut is badly damaged, and the associated texts are too repetitive and formulaic to shed much light on the nature of the imagery. The images of Hatshepsut being suckled by the queen and Hathor resemble contemporary or near-contemporary depictions of princes with their nurses or tutors. Such images of the youthful king being held or nursed by a maternal figure have much earlier antecedents, upon which Hatshepsut was undoubtedly drawing. Old Kingdom examples include the statue of Pepy II as a miniature ruler on the lap of his mother, Ankhnes-meryre II,¹⁸ and an even earlier relief of the 5th Dynasty king Niuserre suckling at the breast of Sekhmet.¹⁹

The birth and nursing scenes are followed immediately by a series of scenes and texts depicting Hatshepsut's transition into young adulthood and her public selection by the gods and her human father, Thutmose I, as heir to the throne. She is purified by Khonsu and Amun (in a scene where the figure of the young "prince" Hatshepsut has been entirely obliterated) and then presented by Amun to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁰

¹⁸ Brooklyn Museum of Art 39.119.

¹⁹ From Niuserre's pyramid temple at Abusir. Photograph and drawing published in L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907), 40-41.

²⁰ Naville, *Deir el Bahari III*, pl. LVI.

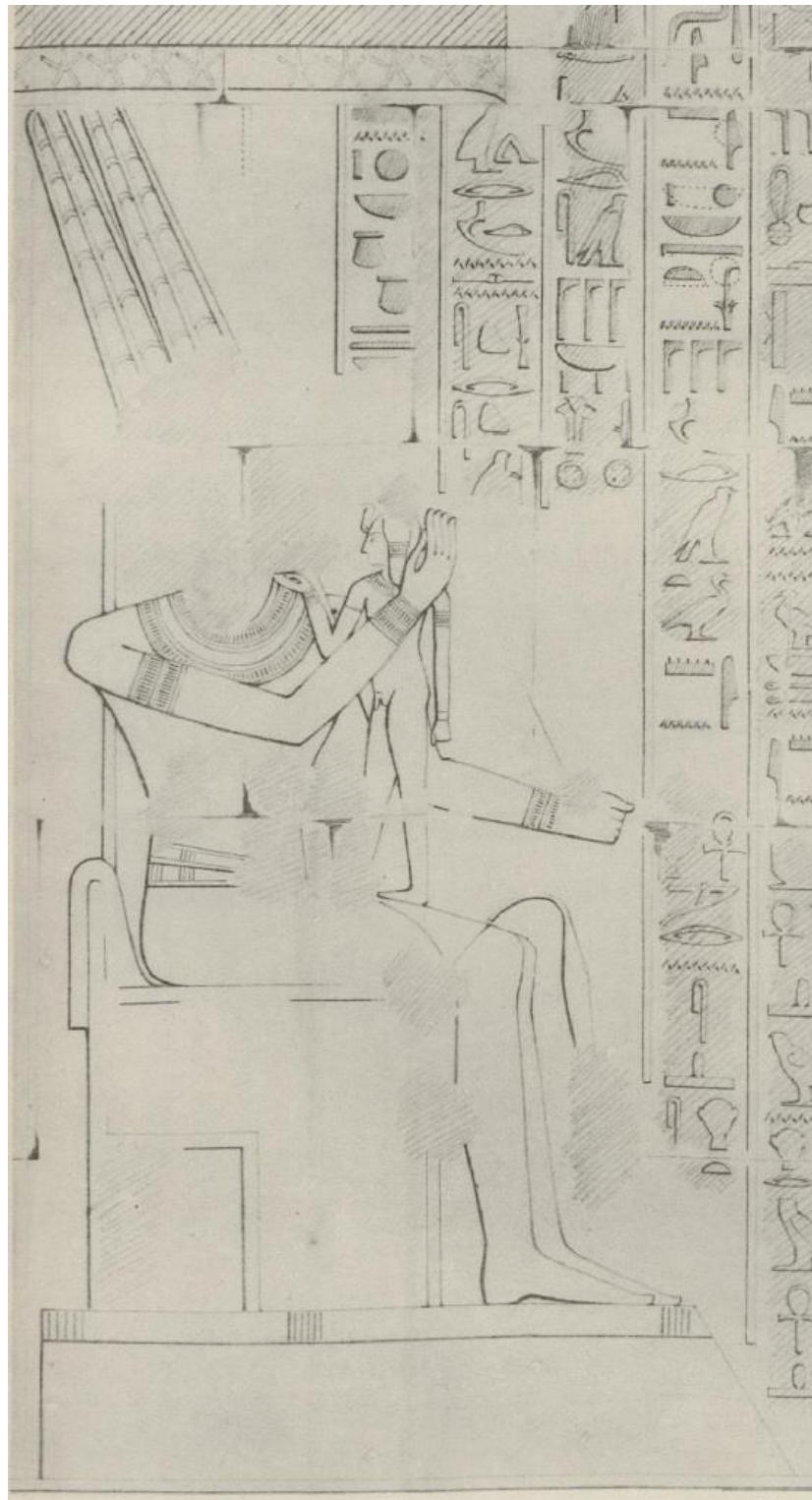


Figure 89 – Detail of Amun with the infant Hatshepsut as a male prince. Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut. Image from Naville, *Deir el Bahari III*, pl. LVI. Image cropped from original.

In the latter scene, the figure of the young Hatshepsut is clearly visible. Amun is seated on a block throne, facing right. Hatshepsut stands on Amun's lap and reaches out with her right hand to cup Amun's chin. Amun reaches up with his right hand to cradle the back of Hatshepsut's head. Hatshepsut is represented as a young child, nude, with male genitalia. She wears armlets and bracelets on both arms, a broad collar and a curled sidelock. She also wears a uraeus, which is consistent with the preordained nature of her kingship, as described in the accompanying text (spoken by the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt to Amun): (2) . . . *rdi.n=k n=s b3=k [s]hm=k w3s=k hk3.w=k wr(r).t=k* (3) *iw=s m h.t n ms.t=s . . .*

" . . . (3) It was while she was in the belly of the one who bore her (2) that you gave to her your power, your might, your respect, your magic and your crown of Upper Egypt . . . "

A lengthy text accompanying the next scene describes Hatshepsut's growth to maturity and a visit to the temples of Lower Egypt with her father, Thutmose I. The relief accompanying this text is largely destroyed, but the preserved portion appears to show Hathor (and several other deities, now missing) leading Hatshepsut before Atum. The outline of Hatshepsut's erased figure is that of an adult, dressed as a king and wearing the blue crown.²¹

The first part of the text focuses on the development of Hatshepsut's god-like demeanor and physical appearance as she reached maturity. Next comes a description of Hatshepsut's journey to Lower Egypt, where she communes with "all the gods of the South and North" who have come to meet her there. Among these gods is Hathor, described in the text as "her (i.e.

²¹ Ibid., pl. LVII-LVIII.

Hatshepsut's) mother" (In. 5). This is also the first time in the sequence of scenes that Hatshepsut is filially linked to her human father Thutmose I (specifically called *it=s*, also In. 5). The gods echo the promises of kingship made repeatedly throughout the preceding texts, proclaiming that she will administer Egypt, renovate its monuments, and control all foreign lands.

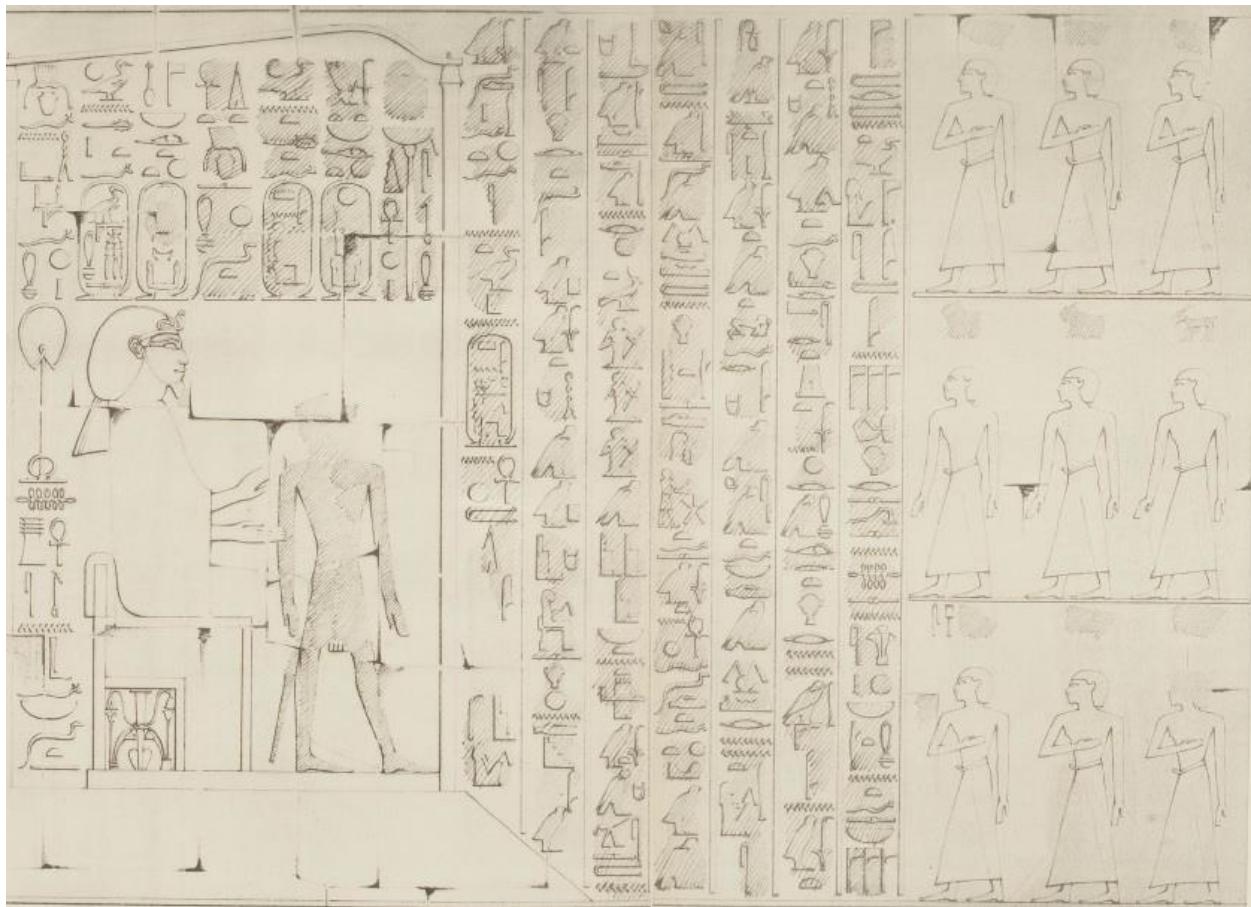


Figure 90 – Scene depicting Thutmose I presenting Hatshepsut as his heir before the court. Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, reign of Hatshepsut. Image from Naville, *Deir el Bahari III*, pl. LXI.

The final scenes and texts in the series depict Hatshepsut's coronation and recognition as king before the gods and humanity. Most interesting, for the purposes of the current discussion, is the scene depicting Thutmose I presenting Hatshepsut to the court as his successor.²² Thutmose I is seated at far left beneath a sunshade on a block throne. He is dressed in a shroud, giving him a mummiform appearance, and wears a *khat* headdress. His hands emerge from the shroud to rest on Hatshepsut's right shoulder and elbow. Hatshepsut stands before her father. Both figures face right. Hatshepsut has been erased, but the silhouette is that of a miniature adult or an older child or adolescent, dressed as a king in a short kilt, bull's tail and blue crown. Three registers at far right each contain three courtiers, facing Thutmose I and Hatshepsut.

In the accompanying text, Thutmose I presents Hatshepsut to the court as his heir:

(12) *sw dd hm=f hft=sn s3.t(=i) pn (Hnm.t-Imn H3.t-šps.wt)* | *nh=t di=i s.t m s.ti(t)=i (13)*
tw is hr.t ns.t=i pw swt hm pw hms.t(y)=s(y) hr hnd=i pw (14) bi3 wd=s mdw n rhy.wt m s.wt nb.t
n.t nh sw.t hm ssm=s tn (15) sdm=tn mdw=s dmd²³=tn hr wd.t=s dw3.t(y)=f(y) s(.t) swt nh=f
dd.t(y)=f(y) h.t dw m (16) w3 hm.t=s swt mt=fir hm sdm.t(y)=f(y) nb dm rn n hm.t=s (17) swt hm
iw.t(y)=f(y) hr- r s r.t hr-ny-sw.t mi ir.t hr rn n hm=i n swt (18) ntr(.t)=tn s3.t ntr ist in ntr.w nh
hr=s stp=sn s3=sn h3=s r nb mi.t²⁴ wd.n it=s nb ntr.w

²² Ibid., pl. LXI.

²³ For *dmd*.

²⁴ For *mi*.

“(12) Then His Majesty said before them, ‘This is (my) daughter, Khenemetamun Hatshepsut – may she live – whom I am causing²⁵ to (act) as this successor of mine, (13) she being indeed the one who is upon my throne. Surely she is the one who shall sit upon this wondrous throne of mine, (14) while she governs the common people in every place of the palace. She, surely, shall lead you! (15) May you listen to her speech, may you assemble at her command.

“As for one who shall adore her, he shall live; as for one who says something evil in (16) the path of her majesty, he shall die. Indeed, as for the one who shall listen to everything that the name of her majesty proclaims, (17) surely he shall come at once in order to obtain(?)²⁶ that which is granted by the king in accordance with what was done on account of the name of my majesty, because she (18) is your goddess, the daughter of a god. Indeed, it is the gods who fought for her, surrounding her with their protection²⁷ daily, in accordance with what her father, the lord of the gods, commanded.”

While these events are clearly fictionalized, it is important to parse out the true nature of what is being represented here. Breasted interpreted the scene with Thutmose I as “a coronation, in the presence of the superseded monarch and the court.”²⁸ While Hatshepsut obviously did not supersede her father as king, this scene does seem to represent a coronation

²⁵ Virtual relative circumstantial *sdm=f* modifying the personal name Khenemetamun Hatshepsut. For this usage see J. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 274.

²⁶ See Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 214, for this specific usage of *s'r.t*.

²⁷ The phrase *stp=sn s3=sn h3=s* does not translate well directly into English. Perhaps something like “while they protected (or wrapped/clothed?) their protection around her.”

²⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records* 2, 96.

– a symbolic depiction of the transfer of kingship from the (deceased) father to his heir. However, it has been interpreted more recently as a fictionalized representation of a “normal practice” in which the king formally proclaimed his heir before the court.²⁹ Aside from the highly ambiguous “Coregency Graffito” dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (**V.4**), there is little evidence to support such a practice beyond clearly fictionalized retrospective accounts like those of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (see **VI.3**). In general, living heirs to the throne seem to have maintained a low profile during the 18th Dynasty. This issue will be discussed further in **Chapter 11**.

²⁹ Dodson, “On the Alleged ‘Coregency’ Graffito,” 27.

VI.2 – Statue of Hatshepsut with Her Nurse, Sitre (Cairo JE 56264)



Figure 91 – Cairo JE 56264. Statue of the nurse Sitre with Hatshepsut on her lap. Sandstone, approx. 1.54 m. high. Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Hatshepsut. Image from H. Winlock, “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes,” *BMMA* 27:3 (1932), fig. 6.

The first surviving example of a statue depicting a royal nurse or tutor holding a royal child dates to the reign of Hatshepsut, and depicts Hatshepsut herself with her nurse, Sitre.³⁰ The life-sized sandstone statue was excavated at Deir el-Bahri, where it was found in a fragmentary state.³¹ Winlock speculated that it may have originally stood in the gallery where the nursing scenes (described above in VI.1) are represented.³²

The statue closely resembles the somewhat later statue of Huy and Nebetiunet (see above, IV.15), as well as the Old Kingdom example of Pepy II and his mother (discussed briefly above in VI.1). Hatshepsut is depicted as a miniature king, wearing a *šndyt* kilt and sandals, sitting on Sitre's lap at a right angle to Sitre. Hatshepsut's feet rest on a protruding stool or platform decorated with the *sm3-t3.wy* symbol, with the Nine Bows inscribed beneath her feet. Hatshepsut's upper body from the hips up is almost entirely obliterated, but part of her right arm is visible wrapping around Sitre's waist.

Sitre sits on a block throne with a high back, reminiscent of the *s.t* hieroglyph ().

She cups her right breast with her right hand in order to offer it to her nursling. Her left arm is

³⁰ Cairo JE 56264. Published in Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 32-35, 272-276, pl. 1-2; see also B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary V* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), 1273; C. Roehrig, "The Statue of the Royal Nurse Sitre with her Nursling Maatkare Hatshepsut," in E. Eldamaty and M. Trad, eds., *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002), 1003-1010; Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, 253-254, pl. 22.

³¹ H. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition 1927-1928," *BMMA* 23:12 (1928), 14, 20; H. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition 1930-1931," *BMMA* 27:3 (1932), 5, 10, fig. 6.

³² Winlock, "Egyptian Expedition 1930-1931," 10.

lost, but may have supported Hatshepsut's head or back, as in parallel representations of women nursing small children.³³

The throne is inscribed on both sides with a simple offering text (on the left side) and a dedicatory inscription (on the right). Both inscriptions are badly damaged, but a close parallel to the offering formula (apparently a draft of the same text) appears on an ostracon now in Vienna (No. 29).³⁴ Using the ostracon, the offering text can be restored as follows:

*htp di ny-sw.t (M3C.t-k3-R3)| Wsir hnty Imn.tiw ntr 3 nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw t3 hnkt k3 3pd h3 m
h.t nb.t nfr.t w3b.t t3w ndm n mhy.t³⁵ n k3 n mnC.t wr.t šd.t nb.t t3.wy S3.t-R3 dd n=s In.t m3C.t-hrw*

"An offering which the king gives to Maatkare and Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos: an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl, thousands of every good and pure thing and the sweet breath of the north wind for the *ka* of the Chief Nurse who nurtured the Lady of the Two Lands, Sitre who is called Inet, true-of-voice."

The text on the right side of the throne reads: *ir.w m [hs.]t [h]r ny-sw.t (M3C.t-k3-R3)| di
3nh n mnC.t wr.t šd.t [.]*

"(It) was made³⁶ as a [favo]r [b]y King Maatkare, given life, for the Chief Nurse who nurtured [.]"

³³ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 33.

³⁴ Winlock, "Egyptian Expedition 1930-1931," 5, 10. Text of the ostracon is published in A. Wiedemann, "On a Monument of the First Dynasties of Egypt," *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887), 183-184.

³⁵ This phrase only appears in the statue inscription, not in the text of the ostracon.

³⁶ Stative.

VI.3 – The *Texte de la Jeunesse* of Thutmose III at Karnak

At some point after the death of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III modified the decoration of the “Hatshepsut Suite” at Karnak. Among his additions was an inscription now known as the “Texte de la Jeunesse,” a Königsnovelle describing a mystical event that occurred during the youth of Thutmose III.³⁷ The text describes an encounter between Thutmose III and a statue of his divine father Amun, which seems to represent an omen of Thutmose’s preordained kingship. The text is interesting in many respects, not the least of which is that it describes, in retrospect, the early career of a prince who would eventually become king.

Part of the opening line of the text is badly damaged, but the first clearly readable portion of the text opens with a statement of the filial relationship between Thutmose III and Amun:

(1)[.] *it=i pw ntf ink s3=f wd.n=f n(=i) wnn hr ns.t=f isk wi m imi ss=f wtt.n=f wi m mt.t n.t ib* (2) [. *nn grg.]w nn iwms m-m dr wn hm=i m inpw tiw m wd_h im r3-pr=f n hpr bs=i r hm-ntr* (3) [. *m3]c hm=i iw=i m km3.w ti.t Iwn-mw.t=f mi nhnw Hr m 3h-bi.t c_hc.kwi m w3dy.t mh.tt* (4) [.] *dsr.w nw 3h.t=f shb.n=f p.t t3 m nfr.w=f šsp.n=f bi3.wt c₃.t st.wt=f m ir.wy p_c.t mi pr.t Hr-3h.ty rhy.t di=sn n=f* (5) [*t3w].t r3-pr=f wn in hm=f hr ir.t n=f sntr hr sd hr sm3c n=f c₃b.t c₃.t m iw3.w wnd.w c_w.t h3s.wt* (6) [.] *hr phr w3dy.t hr gs.wy=s nn 3m³⁸-ib hnti.w ir.wt=f hr d_cr hm=i m s.t nb.t rh.n(=i) wi is iw=f*

³⁷ *URK IV*, 155-176.

³⁸ For c_m.

*hn.w (7) [. di.n=i wi hr h.t m-b3h=f dwn.n=i hr] s3t.w h3m.n(=i) wi m-b3h=f di.n=f wi hr
h3.t hm=f s^ch^c.kwi r^ch^c.w n nb wn in=f hr bi3.wt hr=i*

*(8) [. nn m iw]ms iw=sn idr.w m hr.w rm^ct.w s^cst3.w m ib.w ntr.w rh nn [. . .]i [. . .
]=f nn rh st n wn.t wp st [sn=f n=]i^c3.w hr.t wn=f n=i sb3.w 3h.t=s^cp.n=i r p.t m bik ntr m33(=i)
bs=f im.i-p.t dw3=i hm=f (9) [.]h nb m3.n=i hpr.w 3h.wt 3h.ty hr w3.wt=f s^ct3.wt m p.t
smn.n wi R^c ds=f s^ch.kwi m h^c.w=f hr.w-tp=f w^c.tyt=f mn.ti m-(11) [h3.t=i^cpr.k]wi m
3h.w=f nb.w ss33.kwi m s3r.t ntr.w mi Hr ip.n=f d.t=fr pr it=i Imn-R^c kn.kwi m s^ch.w ntr m (12) [
. smn.n=f] h^c.w=i*

“(1) [.] He is my father, I am his son. Indeed, it was while I was that which was in his nest that he commanded my existence³⁹ upon his throne. It was from the desire of his heart⁴⁰ that he begat me. (2) [. without falsehood]s and without untruth therein: while my majesty was a youth,⁴¹ indeed a weaned child, in his temple, my initiation as a God’s Servant not having occurred, (3) [. the temp]le⁴² of my majesty. I was in the form and shape of Iun-mutef, like the child Horus of Chemmis, while I was standing in the northern hypostyle hall (4) [.] splendor of his horizon. As he made heaven and earth festive with his beauty, so he received great wonders, his shining in the eyes of the patricians being like the

³⁹ Lit. “commanded for me existing,” taking *wnn* as an infinitive.

⁴⁰ Possibly lit. “with righteousness of heart”? The exact meaning of this idiom is unclear. See *WB* II, 168 and 173 (for *mtr ib*).

⁴¹ Lit. “puppy”

⁴² As in the temple of the head. Perhaps the lacuna contains a reference to the prince wearing a sidelock, in keeping with the theme of his extreme youth at the time that these events supposedly occurred.

emergence of Re-Horakhty. (As for) the commoners, they were giving him (5) [praise]
his temple.

“Thereupon his majesty⁴³ made incense for him upon the flame while setting up a great offering for him consisting of oxen, short-horned cattle, and flocks of the hill-country. (6) [.] going around the hypostyle hall on both of its sides, those who were in front not understanding his actions, while seeking my majesty in every place. It was when he stopped that I knew myself indeed. (7) [.] I placed myself on my belly before him, while I stretched out upon] the ground. I bowed myself down before him; he placed me before his majesty. I was caused to stand at the station of the Lord.⁴⁴ Thereupon he was in wonderment on account of me.

“(8) [. It is not a false]hood. They were removed from the faces of the people, (namely) the secrets in the hearts of the gods,⁴⁵ while the one who knew this [. . .] his(?) [. . .]. There was none who knew it, while one who revealed it did not exist.

“(9) [. He opened for] me the doors of heaven, and (likewise) he opened for me the gates of its horizon. It was as a divine falcon that I flew to the sky, while (I) beheld his emergence (as) that which is in heaven, and while I gave praise to his majesty. (10) [.] every(?) [. . .]. It was upon his secret roads in heaven that I saw the glorious forms of Akhty, Re himself having established me, while I was dignified with [his] crowns which were upon his

⁴³ Presumably Thutmose II.

⁴⁴ I.e. the king.

⁴⁵ Presumably the sense here is that the motives of the gods are outside of the understanding of ordinary people (i.e. “removed/made distant” from their faces – thus out of their line of sight and imperceptible).

head, and while his uraeus was established on (11) [my brow I was equipped] with all his splendors, while I was made wise with the wisdom of the gods, like Horus when he assessed himself at the house of my father Amun-Re, and while I was completed with the dignity of a god in (12) [. he having established] my crowns."

At this point, the text continues with a description of the establishment of Thutmose III's royal titulary, followed by a discussion of the royal authority that had been granted to Thutmose III by his divine father and the works that he had carried out in Amun's honor.

The opening lines of the text take great pains to emphasize the youth of the future king. In the second line he is described as *inpw* (a "royal child," but literally "puppy," a term for both princes and princesses specific to the 18th Dynasty⁴⁶), and a *wdh* (a very young or recently weaned child⁴⁷). Traces at the end of the lacuna at the opening of the third line may make reference to the prince wearing a sidelock. This is followed by a statement that he is in the "shape and form of *Iwn-mw.t=f*". This has generally been interpreted as a reference to the prince serving as a *Iwn-mw.t=f* priest.⁴⁸

The *Iwn-mw.t=f* was an important figure in the cult of the royal *ka*. L. Bell describes the *Iwn-mw.t=f* as "a form of *sem*-priest, usually thought of as a mortuary priest responsible for the

⁴⁶ WB I, 96; Belegst. I, 17.

⁴⁷ WB I, 410.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., A. Spalinger, "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII," SÄK 24 (1997), 272.

cult of the royal *ka*; symbolizing the eldest son and successor of the king, he is represented wearing a leopard skin and having the side-lock of youth.”⁴⁹

Given the context of the reference in the “Texte de la Jeunesse,” however, another interpretation suggests itself. *Iwn-mw.t=f* was also a deity – a form of Horus, the divine embodiment of sonship and the role of the *sem*-priest, and perhaps a divinized form of the very concept of kingship itself.⁵⁰ In light of the comparison to Horus of Chemmis that immediately follows the reference to *Iwn-mw.t=f* in ln. 3, and the numerous preceding references to the prince as a small child, it is probable that Thutmose III is likening himself to the divine entity *Iwn-mw.t=f* rather than referring to a stage in his priestly career.⁵¹ Additionally, considering the extremely young age at which Thutmose III formally attained kingship, it is unlikely that he ever exercised any priestly office before becoming a king.

The second line, on the other hand, contains an unmistakable reference to the prince not yet having attained the office of *hm-ntr* priest. The implication may be either that he did eventually hold this office (again, unlikely given his very young age at accession) or was intended to at some point.

Although it differs in details, the themes addressed in the “Texte de la Jeunesse” are similar to those expressed in Hatshepsut’s “Legende de la Jeunesse” – namely, the divine paternity of the prince; the preordained nature of his kingship; the public acknowledgement of

⁴⁹ L. Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*,” *JNES* 44 (1985), 260.

⁵⁰ S. R. W. Gregory, “The Role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom Monuments of Thebes,” *BMSAES* 20 (2013), 26–27 and *passim*.

⁵¹ A notion supported by Gregory, “The Role of the *Iwn-mwt.f*,” 28.

his special qualities during his childhood before the gods, the king and the court; and his ability to interact directly with the gods even as a youth.

VI.4 – Representation of Amenhotep II as a Nursling in the Tomb of Kenamun (TT 93)



Figure 92 – MMA 30.4.72. Facsimile of a painting from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) depicting Amenhotep II on the lap of his nurse. Original from Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Facsimile by Charles K. Wilkinson. Tempera on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, USA. Photograph by M. Lorenz.

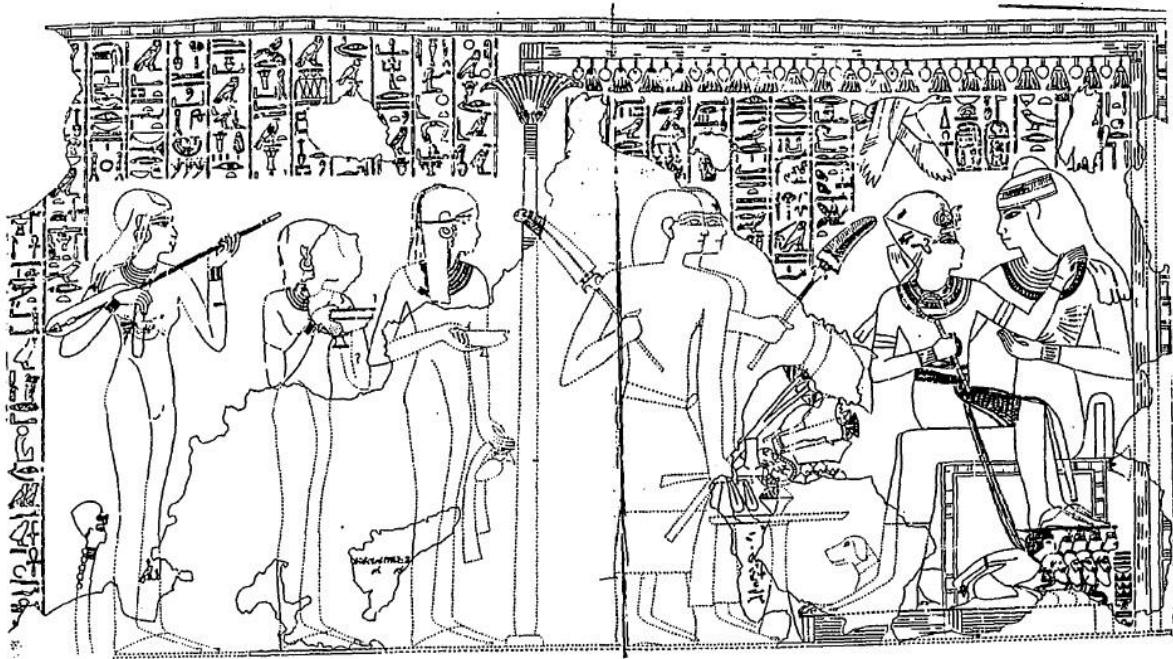


Figure 93 – Copy of the full scene depicting Amenhotep II in the lap of his nurse. Tomb of Kenamun, TT93, Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), pl. IX.

The 18th Dynasty king most frequently represented in retrospective texts and images was Amenhotep II. A remarkable number of nurses, tutors and foster siblings are associated with Amenhotep II.⁵² He appears as a child or miniature king in several private tombs dating to his reign, as well as a royal monument from Giza documenting an event that purportedly happened during his youth.

One of Amenhotep II's nurses is depicted several times in the tomb of her son Kenamun (TT 93).⁵³ The name of this royal nurse is damaged in every inscription in which it appears in the

⁵² Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 111ff.

⁵³ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 111-121. *PM I:1*, 190-194, plan on p. 186. Originally published in N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930).

tomb, but Davies tentatively reconstructed it as Amenemopet.⁵⁴ C. Roehring has questioned this reconstruction on the basis of surviving traces of the name in the tomb inscriptions. Too little remains of the name to arrive at a definite conclusion.⁵⁵ Although her name is lost, her titles are preserved, and these are indicative of the special status held by nurses and tutors whose charges eventually attained kingship. She is described as *mn̄.t wr.t šd.t ntr* ("Great Nurse who nursed the god").

A large scene in the transverse hall of the tomb depicts Kenamun's mother holding the young Amenhotep II, in the form of a miniature king, in her lap.⁵⁶ Kenamun's mother sits on a block throne with a low back, elevated on a dais. She is inside a bower or sunshade supported on the left side by a narrow column with a papyrus terminal. The top of the kiosk is festooned with alternating lotus buds and blossoms. Two men stand side by side in front of the dais, with a low offering table just in front of them; each man grasps a short ostrich plume fan in one hand and a bouquet and folded cloth in the other. Three young women or adolescent girls approach the bower from the left. The first two carry bowls or goblets, while the one at far left plays a lute.

The nurse is the largest figure in the scene, and even seated the top of her head is higher than that of any of the other figures in the group.⁵⁷ She is dressed in festive attire with a perfume cone on her head and a garland of flowers in her hair. Amenhotep II sits on her lap,

⁵⁴ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, 19.

⁵⁵ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 119-121.

⁵⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, 19-20, pl. IX; Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 114-117, 294-295, and pl. 26-27.

⁵⁷ In fact, she is life-sized; Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 116.

facing her. He wears the blue crown, a broad collar, armlets and bracelets on both arms and a short kilt with bull tail and elaborately decorated apron. In his right hand he grasps a crook and a series of leads which are attached to the necks of nine bound and kneeling foreign captives whose heads support his sandal-clad feet. Amenhotep II rests his left hand on his nurse's shoulder. The nurse supports the back of Amenhotep II's head with her right hand. With her left hand, she either supports his left elbow or holds her breast in the traditional nursing pose (this portion of the scene is damaged, so the exact nature of the action is unclear). A bird hovers protectively above Amenhotep II's head – not the expected Mut vulture or Horus falcon, but a goose or duck. A dog rests at the nurse's feet.

Text above Amenhotep II: *ntr nfr (‘3-hpr.w-R‘) nb h‘(.w) (Imn-htp Hk3-Iwnw)| di ‘nh*

"The Good God Aakheperure, Lord of Appearance(s) Amenhotep Ruler of Heliopolis, given life."

Text above the nurse: (1) *m3‘.t wr.t* (2) [.] (3) *m3‘.t-hrw hr ntr ‘3*

"(1) The great nurse (2) [.] (3) true-of-voice before the great god."

Text above the men in the bower: (1) *iry-p‘.t h3.ty-‘ ir.wy n ny-sw.t ‘nh.wy n bi.ty* (2) *ir.n nb t3.wy k3=f t3y-hw hr wnmy ny-sw.t sd.ty Hr mr=f* (3) *ir(w).n n=f wr.w hms n ‘3.t n wr hms[=f]*
(4) *imy-r3 nfr.wt n.t [I]mn* (5) *imy-r3 k3.w Šm3w T3-mhw* (6) *imy-r3 pr wr n [Pr-nfr]* (7) *[Kn-Imn m3‘-hrw(?) . . .]*

"(1) Hereditary nobleman and count, the two eyes of the King of Upper Egypt and two ears of the King of Lower Egypt, (2) whose *ka* the Lord of the Two Lands made, fan-bearer on

the king's right hand, foster-child of Horus,⁵⁸ his beloved, (3) to whom the great ones bowed⁵⁹ on account of the greatness of [his being?] great of favor, (4) overseer of the cows of [A]mun, (5) overseer of the cattle of Upper and Lower Egypt, (6) great steward of [Peru-nefer] (7) [Kenamun, true-of-voice(?) . . .]."

Text before the faces of the bound captives: *t.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.t št3[.t]*

"Every land and every mysterious foreign country."

Text above the female offerers and musician: (1) *shmh-ib m33 bw-nfr* (2) *hs hb.t šm*^c (3) *h^c.t ršw.t m ib* (4) *m33 w[. . .] hm=f* (5) *m hnt n š(?) n Pr-nfr* (6) *wrh ntjw* (7) *gs m b3k.w ir.t* (8) *hrw nfr ts w3h.w* (9) *m t-n.t ht=k ssn r fnd=k* (10) (*Imn-htp*)| *ir=k n=n nhh* (11) *m [rnp.wt(?)]* *nfr.w[y]* *hr=k m h^c.t ny-sw.t htp.ti hr sw.t wr.t* (12) [.] *ntr=k hr nh w3s n hr=k (n.t?) mry.t* *h^cw R^c m33=f sw nh n=f tm [. . .]*

"(1) Taking recreation, seeing something good: (2) singing, dancing, music (3) and jubilation, rejoicing in the heart (4) (at) seeing the [. . .] of his majesty (5) before the garden(?) of Peru-nefer. (6) Anointing (with) myrrh, (7) anointing with moringa oil. Making (8) holiday, tying on garlands (9) in your orchard.⁶⁰ A lotus to your nose, (10) Amenhotep! May you grant to us an eternity (11) in [years(?)]. How fair is your face in royal appearance, being satisfied⁶¹ upon

⁵⁸ Read by Davies as "adorner of Horus," albeit with a note that there is possibly a "more than sportive connection" with the title *sd.ty ny-sw.t* ("foster child of the king"). *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, 11, n. 3.

⁵⁹ *sdm(w).n=f* relative.

⁶⁰ *t-n.t ht* is a set phrase meaning "orchard" or "arbor," literally "room of tree(s)." See *WB I*, 160.

⁶¹ A stative, presumably referring to the antecedent *h^c.t ny-sw.t*.

the great throne. (12) [.] your god, bearing life and dominion for your face (of) love(?).

(As for the one) at the sight of whom Re rejoices,⁶² life is for him without [. . .]”

VI.5 – Images of Amenhotep II with his Nurse Baky in the Tomb of Amenemhab (TT 85)

Another of Amenhotep II’s numerous nurses was a woman named Baky, who is represented several times in the tomb of her husband Amenemhab (called Mahu).⁶³ This well-preserved tomb is located at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

Amenemhab himself was a military officer whose career spanned the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. He was also a “child of the (royal) nursery” (*hrd n k3p*) who seems to have had a close relationship with the young Amenhotep II. In fact, the autobiographical text recorded in the tomb contains a reference to this relationship, as spoken by Amenhotep II: *rḥ.n(=i) kd=k ti wi m sšy m wn=k šms.wt it=i* (“It was while I was in the nest, you being in the following of my father, that (I) knew your form.”).⁶⁴

⁶² Lit.: “Whom Re rejoices when he sees him.” *ḥrw R* is a relative *sdm=f* with Re as the subject and the antecedent omitted.

⁶³ TT 85. *PM I*(1), 170-175; P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891), 224-285; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 166-171.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

Baky is depicted with the young Amenhotep II three times in the tomb, and in each case she is nursing the king.⁶⁵ These images, along with Baky's distinctive epithets, suggest that she was a wetnurse for the prince.⁶⁶

Two of these scenes were prominently placed on pillars near the entrance to the tomb. In both cases, the nurse Baky sits with the young Amenhotep II on her lap in front of an offering table, while her husband Amenemhab stands before them presenting offerings.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 169-171, 298-300, pl. 32-33.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 169; these epithets include *nfr.t snk* ("one who suckled perfectly") and *hnm n Hr šnb.t=s* ("one whose bosom was united with Horus").



Figure 94 – Scene of Bakty nursing Amenhotep II from TT 85, left-hand pillar by tomb entrance. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. MMA photograph T. 2588 (detail). Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In one of the two scenes (on the left-hand side), Bakty sits at right, facing left, while Amenemhab stands at left facing her with his right hand raised.⁶⁷ A heavily laden offering table

⁶⁷ MMA photograph T. 2588. Text in Virey, *Sept tombeaux*, 277-278.

stands between them. Baky sits on a low-backed block throne with the small figure of the prince on her lap. She appears to be offering her breast to the prince with her left hand. Her right arm extends behind the prince's head and shoulders (now destroyed), and her hand seems to rest on the prince's right hip. The prince grasps both of her wrists with his own hands. The figure of the child is largely destroyed, but the traces suggest that he is wearing the same sheer, ankle-length robe that he wears in the other scenes in the tomb.

Text above Baky: *mn^c.t wr.t n.t nb t3.wy [hsy.t] n ntr nfr nb.t pr B3ky m3^c.t-hrw*

"Chief nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, [praised] of the Good God, the mistress of the house Baky, true-of-voice."

Text above Amenemhab: *ir.t htp di ny-sw.t [m hr.t-hrw n.t(?)] r^c nb in sn(?)⁶⁸[. . .] hsy n ntr nfr idnw n m3^c hrd n k3p mr nb=f[.]*

"Making an offering which the king gives [in the course of(?)] every day by the one who kisses/smells(?) [. . .], praised of the good god, lieutenant of the army, child of the royal nursery, beloved of his lord [.]"

⁶⁸ According to Virey's transcription:

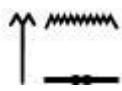




Figure 95 – Scene depicting Bakty nursing Amenhotep II, right-hand pillar by tomb entrance. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. MMA photograph T. 2588 (detail). Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In the right-hand scene, the positions of the figures are reversed, with Bakty at left and Amenemhab at right.⁶⁹ This time Amenemhab reaches across the offering table to extend a bouquet of Amun to Bakty's nose. The damage to this scene is significantly worse than that of its

⁶⁹ MMA photograph T. 2588.

counterpart on the left-hand pillar. However, it is possible to see in this scene that the prince Amenhotep has shaved or close-cropped hair and a long, sheer robe. Baky offers him her breast with her right hand, and her left arm is around his shoulder. Amenhotep's left arm and hand are obliterated, but his right arm is extended slightly, and he grasps an *ankh* in his right hand.⁷⁰

Text above Baky and Amenhotep II: *ndm.t mnd⁷¹ snb.t snk mn^c.t wr.t n nb t3.wy [hnm].n hr šnb.t=s wd.t r sp nfr hkr.t ny-sw.t B3ky m3^c.t-hrw*

"One sweet of breast, one healthful of nursing, chief nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, with whose breast Horus united, who strove to do good,⁷² the royal ornament Baky, true-of-voice."

Text above Amenemhab: *ii.t r [.]mh n hb=f n wp.t rnp.t in iry-p^c.t h3.ty-^c šms ny-sw.t ir⁷³ nmt.wt=f [m?] rsy mh.t idnw mš^c [Imn-m-]hb*

"Coming in order to [.] for his festival of the New Year by the hereditary nobleman and count, follower of the king according to his movements [in?] the south and north, the lieutenant of the army [Amenem]hab."

⁷⁰ According to Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 299; not visible in MMA photograph.

⁷¹ For *mnd*.

⁷² This phrase does not translate well into idiomatic English. *wd sp nfr* can mean "do a good deed," but the use of the preposition *r* in this case suggests intent. See also the phrase *wd c r . . .* ("extend the hand in order to [do something]").

⁷³ For *r*.

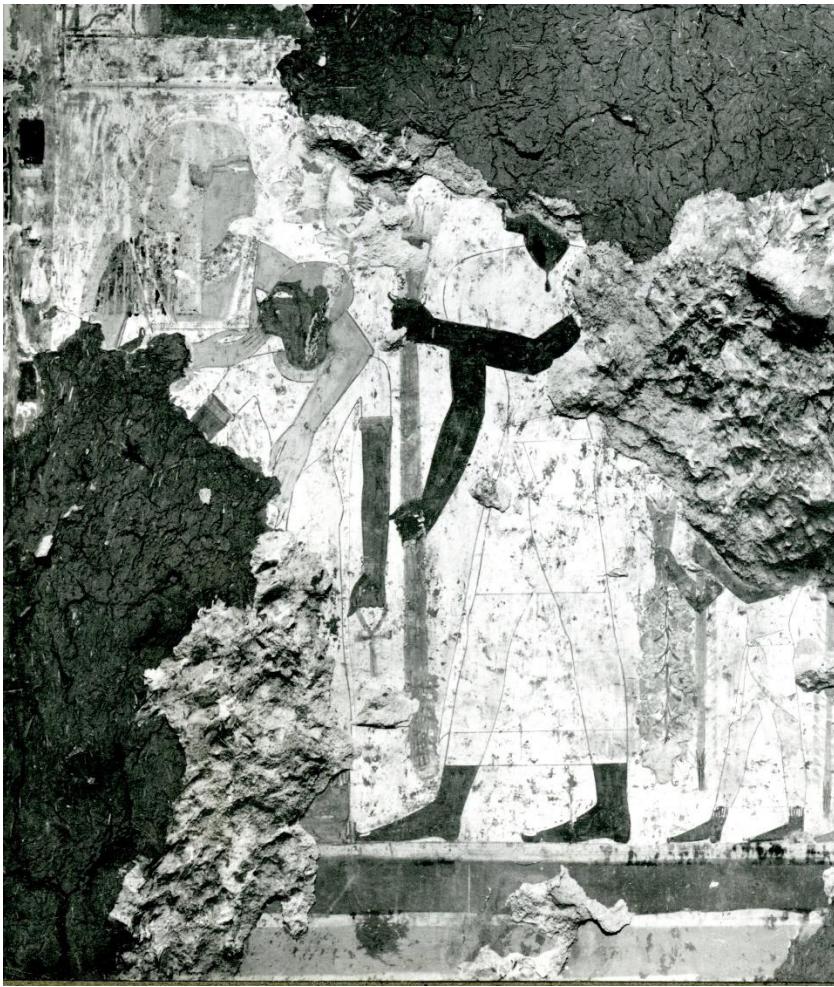


Figure 96 – Scene depicting Baky standing and nursing Amenhotep II before offering bearers, from the transverse hall of TT 85. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. MMA photograph T. 2572 (detail). Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The third scene is from the transverse hall of the tomb (in which the two decorated pillars described above are also located), on the north wall. Baky is depicted standing while nursing Amenhotep II as a prince.⁷⁴ They are approached by several men carrying bouquets.

⁷⁴ MMA photograph T. 2572.

Baky stands facing right. She offers her breast to the prince with her right hand. Her left arm is wrapped around the prince's shoulder, and her left hand rests on his abdomen.

The prince has close-cropped hair but no sidelock. He wears armlets and bracelets and what appears to be a *shebyu* collar. He is dressed in a loose-fitting, sheer robe, underneath which he is nude with his genitalia visible. He holds an ankh in his left hand, which hangs at his side. His right arm is raised and his right hand may rest on Baky's elbow, but this portion of the scene is obliterated. He wears no obvious diadems or other pharaonic regalia.

Amenhotep appears to be an older child in this scene, well beyond the expected age for weaning in pharaonic Egypt (ca. three years old).⁷⁵ However, this image is reminiscent of images of reigning kings as adults or adolescents suckling from the breasts of goddesses – a type of imagery that may be traced back to the Old Kingdom.⁷⁶ While Baky's epithets strongly suggest that breastfeeding was a real part of her relationship with Amenhotep II, this image need not be read as a literal representation of that relationship.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 88-89.

⁷⁶ See again the image of Sekhmet nursing Niuserre (cited in note 19 above). Such imagery also appeared in numerous monuments of the 18th Dynasty, e.g. the scene from the tomb of Thutmose III depicting the king standing and suckling from the breast of Isis in the form of a tree goddess, P. Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II* (Cairo: IFAO, 1932), pl. 24.

⁷⁷ See Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 319-320, and 331-336, for discussion of the role of the wetnurses of 18th Dynasty royal children.

VI.6 – The Great Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II

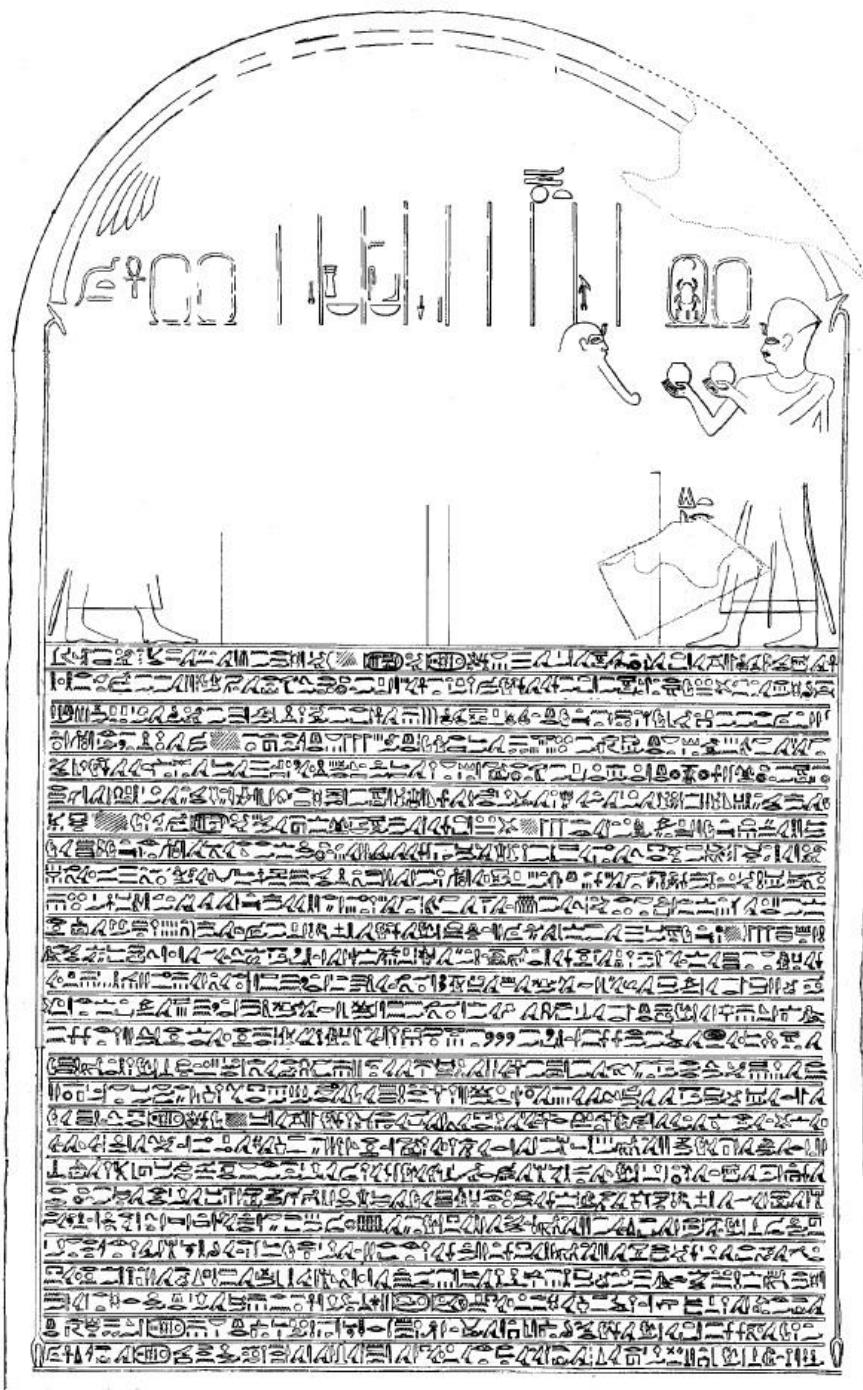


Figure 97 – Line drawing of the Great Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II. Original limestone, 4.25 m by 2.53 m by .53 m. Giza, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. Image from A. Varille, “La grande stèle d’Aménophis II à Giza,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 31-38, pl. XLI.

Amenhotep II erected a large stele at Giza, dedicated to the Great Sphinx (Hor-em-akhet).⁷⁸ This monument is part of a tradition that seems to have originated during the reign of Thutmose I, and of which the Giza naos of the prince Amenmose may be the earliest example (see discussion in II.19 above). The Amenhotep II stele, which was erected on the north-east side of the sphinx, was discovered by S. Hassan in 1936.

The scene from the lunette of the stele is badly damaged, but enough survives to show that the decoration consisted of two mirrored scenes of Amenhotep II making offerings to a small-scale figure of the sphinx atop a tall platform. The right-hand scene is the better preserved of the two, showing Amenhotep II in the blue crown and a priestly leopard skin offering a pair of *nw* jars to the sphinx. The entire composition is flanked by a pair of *w3s* scepters, and a long arched sky sign stretches over the top of the lunette. A trace of a wing, probably belonging to a winged solar disk, is visible at the top left above the cartouches of the king. The word *Bhd.t* is visible over the vertical columns of text above the right-hand scene, suggesting that a flying figure of *Hr-Bhd.t* may have been carved at the top of the lunette on that side.

The text begins with an encomium describing Amenhotep II's divine heritage and preordained kingship. This is followed by a lengthy narrative that begins with a description of various feats of strength carried out by the king early in his reign. This portion of the text

⁷⁸ Originally published by S. Hassan, "The Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II," *ASAE* 37 (1937), 129-134, pl. I-II. Translation and drawing in A. Varille, "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza," *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 31-38, pl. XLI. Text in *URK* IV, 1276-1283. Transcription, translation and commentary in Zivie, *Giza*, 64-89.

includes an account of the young king's prowess with a bow, including the shooting of arrows through a copper target – a feat which was also recorded on a block now in the Luxor Museum.⁷⁹ The references to archery are interesting in light of their connection to the archery scene in the tomb of Min (see discussion above, IV.6), providing an unusual example of well-documented continuity in the activities of a royal son pre- and post-accession.

The narrative then turns to an event which supposedly took place while Amenhotep II was still a prince:

(19) *ist ir m wn=f m inpw mr=f ssm.wt=f ḥ=f im=s(n) rwd-ib pw hr b3k st rh ki iry ss3 m pḥ st ḫ k m shr.w tw sdm.tw* (20) *m pr ny-sw.t in it=f Hr k3 nht Ḥ-m-W3s.t ndm ib n hm=f sdm=f st ḥ.w m dd=tw r s3=f smsw*

ti sw hr dd m ib=f ntfr=f nb n t3 dr=f nn tkk=f hb ib m kn.t ḥ (21) m nht iw=f m hwn nfr n mr.t n s3r.t=f nn sw r nw n ir.t k3.t Mntw mkh3.n=f ib d.t(=f) mr=f nht in ntr dd m ib=f ir.t r mk.t n=f Km.t r (22) *dhn n=f t3 dd.in hm=f (n) n.tyw r gs=f imi di=tw n=f ssm.t nfr.t wr.t m ihw n hm=i n.ty m Jnb.w(-hd) dd n=f mky st snrw st titi st srwh st šnt.w r=k* (23) *hr m-ḥt rd(w) m hr s3 ny-sw.t r mky m ssm.t (n.t) ihw n ny-sw.t ist rf sw hr ir.t rdy.t m hr=f Ršp ḫstirtw ḥw im=f hr ir.t mrr.t nb.t ib=f* (24) *shpr.n=f ssm.w nn mi.tt=sn n wrd.n=sn hft t3i=f hnr n ḥ3c.n=sn fd.t m shsh ḳ*

⁷⁹ Luxor Museum J. 129.

nhb=f(st) m Mn-nfr m t3.yt w3h=f r hnw n (25) Hr-m-3h.t ir=f3.t im hr pn^cn^c st hr m3 ss3
 n hnw pn n (Hnm.w-hw=f(wi))| (H^c=f-R^c)| m3^c hrw 3b.n h3.t=f s^cnh rn=sn dd=f m ib=f hr hr⁸⁰=f
 r hpr.t wd.n n=f(26) it=f R^c
 m-ht nn sh^cw hm=f m ny-sw.t wr.t htp=s (m) s.t=s m wp.t=f ti.t R^c mn.ti r h^c=s t3 mi
 tp.t=f htp hr nb=sn (3-hpr.w-R^c)| hk3=f t3.wy h3s.t nb.t dm3(.w) hr (27) tbw.ty=f sh3.t in hm=f
 swtwt sd3y hr=f r-h3.w mr.w Hr-m-3h.t wd=tw rdi.t ir.tw hnw im=s mn wd im=s m inr hd ht⁸¹
 hr=f m rn wr (3-hpr.w-R^c)| mr Hr-m-3h.t di nh d.t

“(19) Now, when he was a young prince, he loved⁸² his horses, while he rejoiced in them.⁸³ He was tenacious in working them, knowing the character thereof, skillful in training them, understanding⁸⁴ (their) ways. It was heard (20) in the palace by his father, the Horus, Mighty Bull, Khaemwaset, the heart of his majesty being joyful when he heard it, having become happy⁸⁵ because of what was said about his eldest son.

While he⁸⁶ was saying in his heart, ‘He is one who shall act as a lord of the entire land without his attacker. (His) heart shall dance with strength, rejoicing (21) with might. He is a youth, perfect of love, who is not yet wise. He has not yet reached the time of⁸⁷ doing the work

⁸⁰ For hr.t? See Zivie, *Giza*, 88, n. (vvv).

⁸¹ A k is written beneath ht, for reasons unclear.

⁸² sdm=f in a non-initial main clause after ist ir . . .

⁸³ I am translating the sdm=f/n sdm.n=f forms throughout in the past tense, since the narrative is clearly set in the past relative to the date of composition.

⁸⁴ Lit. “entering.”

⁸⁵ h^c.w, 3rd m. s. stative in a circumstantial clause. I am taking ib n hm=f as the antecedent.

⁸⁶ I am reading ti sw hr dd m ib=f and the direct speech that follows as a circumstantial clause preceding the main clause beginning with dd.in hm=f.

⁸⁷ Lit. “He is not at (r) the time.”

of Montu, while he has neglected the thirst of (his) body, as he loves might. It is the god who places it in his heart to act in order to protect Egypt for him, (22) and in order that the land might bow down to him,' – then his majesty said (to) those who were beside him, 'Let him be given very fine horses from the stable of my majesty which is in Memphis. Say to him, "Protect them, instill fear in them, trot them, handle them should (they) rebel against you.""

(23) Now afterwards,⁸⁸ the king's son was commanded⁸⁹ to protect the horses (of) the stable of his majesty. Now, as he was doing what had been commanded of him,⁹⁰ Reshep and Astarte were rejoicing because of him, while (he) was doing everything which his heart desired. (24) He raised horses *without their equal*. They would not⁹¹ become weary when he seized the reigns. They would not⁹² drip sweat during a long gallop.

"It was in Memphis that he yoked (them) in secret.⁹³ He stopped at the resting place of (25) Horemakhet; he spent time taking them⁹⁴ around and around while observing the workmanship of this resting place of Khnum-Khufu and Khafre, true-of-voice, his heart having desired to cause their names to live. Until that which (26) his father Re ordained for him occurred, he placed (it) in his heart as⁹⁵ his wish.

⁸⁸ *hr m-h̥t*

⁸⁹ *sdm(w)=f* passive with subject omitted. Lit. "(it) was put before the king's son"

⁹⁰ Lit. "what had been put before him"

⁹¹ This is an *n sdm.n=f* (and therefore "present tense"); however, given the temporal setting of the narrative, I am translating this phrase into the gnomic/habitual past.

⁹² See previous note.

⁹³ Meaning uncertain; see discussion in Zivie, *Giza*, 87, n. qqq.

⁹⁴ The horses.

⁹⁵ Lit. "under".

“After these (things), his majesty was made to appear as king. (As for) the uraeus, she came to rest (in) her place upon his brow, while the image of Re was established at its station, the land being like its original condition, being at peace under its⁹⁶ lord, Aakheperure, while he ruled the Two Lands and every foreign land (27) was bound together beneath his sandals. Then his majesty recalled traveling and taking his leisure in the vicinity of the pyramids of Horemakhet. It was there⁹⁷ that one commanded that a resting place be built, while a monument of white stone was being established there, its face having been inscribed with the great name of Aakheperure, beloved of Horemakhet, given life forever.”

Although this text contains many of the same tropes as the “*Legende/Texte de la jeunesse*” narratives of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the events described in the Amenhotep II stèle are comparatively mundane. The explicitly supernatural elements that occur in the Hatshepsut and Thutmose III texts and the later “Dream Stele” of Thutmose IV (a close parallel to the Amenhotep II text otherwise) are absent from the “Great Sphinx Stele.” The focus is on the strength and skill of the young prince (which are recognized by his human father in the text) and his youthful admiration for the monuments of an earlier age.

⁹⁶ Lit. “their”.

⁹⁷ “there” – presumably in reference to the area “in the vicinity of the pyramids of Horemakhet” mentioned in the previous clause. This passage must refer to the small temple that Amenhotep II built just north of the Sphinx. See Zivie, *Giza*, 110-122 for a description of this monument and associated material.

VI.7 – Thutmose IV in the Tomb of Heqaerneheh (TT 64)



Figure 98 – Scene from TT 64 depicting Heqareshu with Thutmose IV as a prince receiving offerings from Heqaerneheh and several young princes. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from P. Newberry, "The Sons of Tuthmosis IV," *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XII.



Figure 99 – Detail of scene depicting Heqareshu with Thutmose IV on his lap from TT64. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose IV. MMA photograph T. 2820 (image cropped from original). Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Like his father, Thutmose IV was the subject of several retrospective representations, both private and royal. He probably appears twice as a prince in the tomb of Heqaerneheh,

both times with his tutor Heqareshu.⁹⁸ The better preserved of the two scenes has already been partially described above (**IV.8**). Heqareshu sits at left on a lion-footed chair, elevated on a platform, with Thutmose IV – in the form of a miniature king – on his lap. Heqaerneheh and several princes, presumably sons of Thutmose IV, approach with offerings from the right.

Heqareshu's advanced age and high status are indicated not only by his scale and position within the scene, but also by the presence of fat rolls on his torso. He is dressed in a long kilt and broad collar. His right hand rests on Thutmose IV's thigh, and his left hand cradles the back of the prince's head.

Thutmose IV faces Heqareshu, with his feet resting on a stool decorated with images of bound captives (the Nine Bows). He clasps a crook to his chest with his right hand, while his left hand hangs at his side, grasping an ankh. He is elaborately dressed, possibly wearing a wig or the blue crown (most of his head is missing, and a wig has been restored by Newberry), a shirt with either a scale or a *rishi* pattern and a short kilt with a bull's tail. He also wears a broad collar, armlets and bracelets and a pectoral inscribed with his prenomen (Menkheperure Setepenre).

Remarkably, the text above Thutmose IV identifies him simultaneously as a King's Son and a king: (1) [s³ ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f] mry=f (2) s^C3.n 'Imn ds=f r [nb n] (3) šnn.t 'It^Cn nb t3.wy (Mn-hpr.[w]-R^C)

⁹⁸ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 204-206, 295-298, pl. 28-29.

“(1) [King’s Eldest Son of his body], his beloved (2) whom Amun himself made great in order that (he) be [lord of] (3) everything that the Aten encircles, Menkheper[u]re.”⁹⁹

While most kings were also King’s Sons, the simultaneous use of both sets of titles is otherwise unattested, as far as I am aware.

The text above Heqareshu emphasizes the tutor’s close relationship to the king both before and during his reign: (1) [šms ny-sw.t m s.t] nb.t (2) hsy n imi ‘h it ntr šdi ntr (3) mrr.w ity (4) mn‘y n [s3 ny-sw.t smsw (5) n h.t=f (Dhw.ty-ms H‘-h‘.w)| Hk3-rš.w]

“(1) [Follower of the King in] every [place], (2) praised of the one who is in the palace, god’s father, who nurtured the god, (3) whom the sovereign loves, (4) tutor of [the king’s eldest son (5) of his body, Thutmose Khakhau, Heqareshu].”

As far as I know, there are no other surviving retrospective representations of a reigning king as a prince alongside his own children. It is also possible that at least some of the children represented here are brothers of Thutmose IV rather than his children, an idea which has been supported by D. Redford.¹⁰⁰ However, I am also unaware of any similar representations of a reigning king with his siblings during the 18th Dynasty. The existence of such a depiction would be surprising given the ideological taboo associated with recognizing the existence of king’s brothers. The composition of the scene suggests the idea that two generations are represented

⁹⁹ Note that this text has been restored from an earlier copy by James Burton, in the British Museum manuscript *Add. MS. 25644*, f. 13, 14.

¹⁰⁰ “The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II,” *JEA* 51 (1965), 113.

here, with the children (Heqaerneheh and the sons of Thutmose IV) paying homage to their fathers (Heqareshu and Thutmose IV).



Figure 100 – Scene from TT64 depicting a tutor with a prince or miniature king on his lap (far left). Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II. MMA photograph T. 2813. Image courtesy of C. Roehrig, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A similar scene from the east wall of the south end of the vestibule depicts a tutor (presumably Heqareshu) holding a prince or miniature king in his lap while seated in front of a table of offerings. The poses of the two figures are largely identical to those of Heqareshu and Thutmose IV as represented in the parallel scene on the north wall, but the miniature king

holds a bouquet to his own nose with his right hand instead of a crook. Most of the figure of the king/prince is missing (with only the torso and arms remaining), but the preserved portion of the figure indicates that he is not as elaborately dressed as the figure of Thutmose IV in the other scene discussed above and does not wear a sidelock.¹⁰¹ He wears a translucent shirt and is adorned with bracelets, armlets, a broad collar and a large, square pectoral. A horizontal oval at the top of the pectoral may be a cartouche, but it contains no obvious inscription.

VI.8 – Possible Representation of Thutmose IV as a Prince in TT 350

A nursing scene in TT 350, already described above in **IV.10**, may be a retrospective depiction of Thutmose IV. Unfortunately, only an incomplete description from Porter and Moss exists, as the tomb is not accessible and no photographs of the scene are published.¹⁰² The nursling in question is described by Porter and Moss as “prince Menkheperure (Thutmose IV).” If this identification is correct, the use of the prenomen suggests a retrospective depiction.

¹⁰¹ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 298.

¹⁰² Ibid., 300-301; *PM I.1*, 417.

VI.9 – “Dream Stele” of Thutmose IV

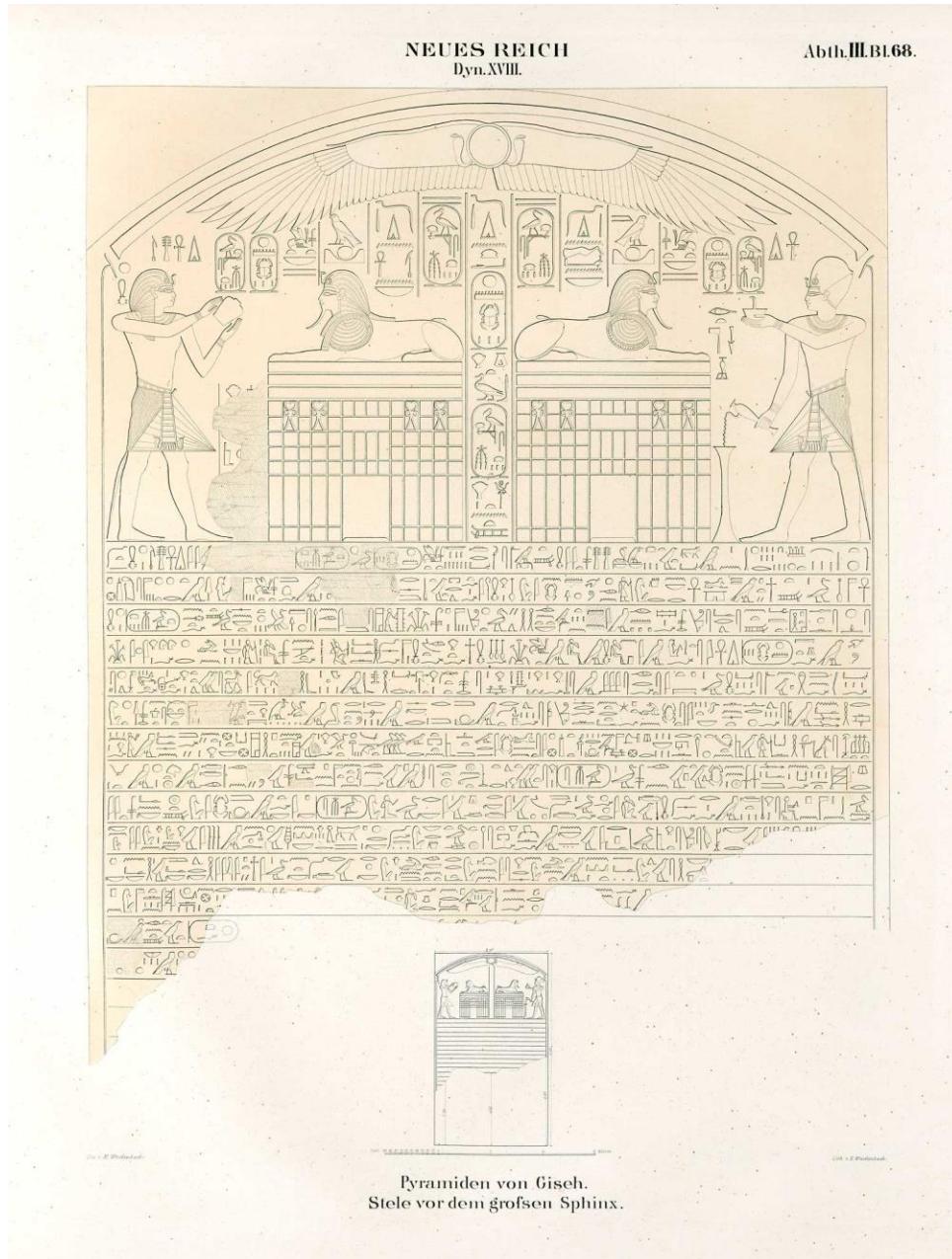


Figure 101 – Drawing of the Dream Stele of Thutmose IV. Original red granite, 3.61 m h. by 2.18 m w. Giza, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose IV. Image from Lepsius, *Denkmäler III*, bd. 5, pl. 68.

In the tradition of several other royal and princely monuments at Giza already discussed, Thutmose IV erected a large granite stele between the paws of the Great Sphinx honoring the god Horemakhet.¹⁰³ The text of the stele describes an episode from the king's youth, much like that recounted in Amenhotep II's "Great Sphinx Stele." One notable difference is the presence of a supernatural element (the dream or vision experienced by the prince), which was absent from the Amenhotep II stele.

Like the naos of Amenmose (**II.19**), the authenticity and date of this stele have been questioned.¹⁰⁴ More recent analysis suggests that the monument does actually belong to the reign of Thutmose IV, and that some of the peculiarities of the text are the result of successive modifications during the Amarna period and the 19th Dynasty.¹⁰⁵

The lunette of the stele is decorated with mirrored scenes of Thutmose IV as an adult king making offerings to the sphinx. On both sides, the sphinx wears a *nemes* headdress and rests on a platform decorated with a palace façade. In the scene at left, Thutmose IV offers a jar and wears a *nemes* crown. At right, he offers a lit brazier in his left hand and pours a libation with his right while wearing the blue crown. The whole scene is topped with a winged solar disk and flanked by *was* scepters.

¹⁰³ For discussion, translation of the text and bibliography, see Zivie, *Giza*, 125-145. Text in Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1540-1544.

¹⁰⁴ Erman, "Die Sphinxstele," 428-444. Zivie, *Giza*, 267, n. 1.

¹⁰⁵ A theory espoused early on by W. Spiegelberg in "Die Datierung der Sphinxstele," *OLZ* 7 (1904), 288-291; recently supported by Zivie, *Giza*, 267; see also Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 144-150.

As in the naos of Amenmose, the main text of the stele opens with a regnal date ("Year 1, third month of Akhet, day 19"). The brief encomium draws attention to Thutmose IV's divine heritage and his restoration activities at various temples throughout Egypt. A description of Thutmose's youthful encounter with the sphinx follows:¹⁰⁶

(4) . . . *ist hm=f m inpw mi Hr nhn m (3h)-bi.t nfr.w=f mi Nd-hr-it=f m3.t(w)=f mi ntr ds=f h^c mš^c.w n mr.t=f ms.w ny-sw.t sr.w nb.w wn hr ph.ty=f hr ihi(h) (5) nht=f whm.n=f šn.w wsr.w=f mi s3 Nw.t*

ist ir=f sm sd3-hr=f¹⁰⁷ hr h3s.t Inb(.w)-hd hr w3.t=s rs.w(t) mh.tt hr sti.t r hb m hm.t bhs m3i.w w.t h3s.t (hr?) swtwt hr wrty.t=f ssm.wt=f h3h sy (6) r t3w hn^c w^c-w^c m šms.w=f n rh.n st rm̄t nb

ist hpr wnw.t=f n.t rdi.t srf n šms.w=f r stp.t Hr-m-3h.t r gs Skr m R3-st3.w Rn(n)w.tt m T3-Mw.t m hr.t Mw.t [hnt?] by ntr.w mh.tt nb.t n S3.t rs.w(t) Shm.t (7) hnt.t H3s Sth Dw3.w hk3 smsw s.t dsr.t n.t sp tp.y r-h3.w nb.w hr-^ch3 w^c.t ntr n ntr.w r 3h.t imn.tt Jwn.w ist šsp n Hpr.i wr c3 htp m s.t tn wr b3.w dsr šf.yt šw.t R^c hn.t hr=f iw n=f hw.t Hw.t-k3-Pth niw.t nb n.ty hr gs(.wy)=fy c.wy=sn m dw3.w n hr=f (8) hr c3b.wt c3.t n k3=f

w^c m nn hrw hpr iw.t pw ir.n s3 ny-sw.t (Dhw.ty-ms)| hr swtwt hr tr n mtr.t sndm pw ir.n=f n šw.t n.t ntr pn c3 it.n sw cwy nkdd m 3.t R^c m wp.t (9) gm.n=f hm n ntr pn šps hr mdw.t m r3=f ds=f mi mdw it hr s3=f m dd m33 wi irk dḡi wi irk s3=i (Dhw.ty-ms)| ink it=k Hr-m-3h.t Hpr.i-R^c-Itm di(=i) n=k ny-sw.ty (10) [=i tp t3=i hnt cny.w iw]=k r wts hd.t=s dšr.t=s hr s.t Gb

¹⁰⁶ Much of the text that is now missing has been restored by Zivie on the basis of earlier copies; *Giza*, 127, n. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *ist ir=f sm sd3-hr=f*: literally, "He is doing the act (of) amusing his face," i.e. entertaining himself, taking recreation.

*iry-p^c.t iw n=k t³ m 3w=f wsh.t=f shd.t 3h.t nb r-dr df(3) hr=k nw hnw t³.wy in.w 3 n h3s.t nb
h^c.w nw 3 m rnp.wt iw hr=i n=k ib=i n=k iw¹⁰⁸=k n=i*

(11) [mk shr=i mi wnn m šn.w h^c.w=i nb stp] hsw (w)i š^cy n h3s.t t³ wn.t.n=i hr=f sin.n=i
r rdi.t ir=k n.tt wn m ib=i rh.kwi r dd ntk s³=i nd.ty=i s3h rk mk wi hn^c=k ink (12) [sšm=k
(iw?)¹⁰⁹ s^crk.n=f mdw.t tn wn.in s³ ny-sw.t pn gg.w(?) n sd]m=f [nn dr rh.n=f
mdw ntr pn rdi.n=f gr] m ib=f dd=f [. . . my si=n r pr=n n niw.t] hrp¹¹⁰=sn 3b.wt n ntr pn (13)
[in.t=n n=f k3.w rnp.wt nb di=n dw3 n wn.w imi.w h3.t ntr.t šps nn(?) (H^c=f-R^c)|]
twt ir n Itm-R^c-Hr-m-3h.t [. . . .] (At this point the text becomes extremely fragmentary.)

“(4) Now, when his majesty was¹¹¹ a young prince like the child Horus of Chemmis, his beauty was like that of He-who-protects-his-father, while he was seen¹¹² like the god himself. It was on account of his love that the army rejoiced, while all the royal children and chiefs who were under his might were flourishing. (5) (As for) his strength, he repeated (its) circuit, while his power was like (that of) the son of Nut.

“When he made a pastime of enjoying himself upon the plateau of Memphis upon its southern and northern paths, while shooting at a copper target and hunting lions and desert

¹⁰⁸ Written *ii*.

¹⁰⁹ Not present in Zivie’s reconstruction of the text.

¹¹⁰ Written *hw*.

¹¹¹ Like the retrospective narrative in the Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II (**VI.6**), this passage from the “Dream Stele” is written in the historical present. I have chosen to render my translation in the past tense, since the action described here clearly takes place in the past relative to the composition of the stele (and events described later in the narrative).

¹¹² I.e., he looked like the god.

flocks and travelling upon his chariot, his horses were faster¹¹³ (6) than wind, together with each one in his following, without any man knowing it.¹¹⁴

“Now, when his hour happened for giving rest to his entourage at the sanctuary of Horemakhet beside Sokar in Rosetchau and Renenutet in Tchamut (which is) in the necropolis, Mut [who is before?] the horns of the gods of the north, the mistress of southern Sat, Sekhmet (7) who is before Khas, Seth, Duau and Heka, the eldest one of the sacred place of the primordial time in the vicinity of the lords of Kher-aha and the divine road of the gods (which leads) to the western horizon of Heliopolis; and when the very great statue of Khepri rested in this place, great of power, sacred of majesty, the shadow of the sun alit upon him,¹¹⁵ while the estate of Hutkaptah and every town which was upon its two sides came to him, their arms being (raised) in adoration of his face, (8) bearing great offerings for his *ka*.

“One of these days, it happened that¹¹⁶ the King’s Son Thutmose arrived while traveling at the hour of midday. He rested in the shadow of this great god. It was in the moment of Re being at zenith that sleep and slumber seized him. He found this august god *speaking with his own mouth*, like a father speaking to his son, saying, ‘Look at me! Behold me, my son Thutmose! I am your father, Horemakhet-Khepri-Re-Atum. (I) shall give to you [my] kingship (10) [upon my land before the living. You will] lift up its White Crown and its Red Crown upon

¹¹³ Non-initial main clause with adjectival predicate.

¹¹⁴ Presumably this means that there were no witnesses (aside from the prince’s entourage) to the young Thutmose’s adventures on the plateau and his encounter with the Sphinx.

¹¹⁵ Khepri, i.e. the Sphinx.

¹¹⁶ Lit. “One of these days happened.” *hpr* is a stative. This is a fixed narrative phrase that often appears before the *sdm pw ir.n=f* construction in Middle Egyptian texts. See e.g. the Prophecy of Neferti (P. Hermitage 1116B), ln. 2.

the throne of Geb, the hereditary noble. The land belongs to you in its length and its breadth, (and) everything which the eye of the Lord of All illuminates. The provisions of the interior of the Two Lands will be with you (along with) the great tribute of every foreign land and a lifetime¹¹⁷ great in years. My face is yours, my heart is yours. You are mine.

“(11) [Behold, my condition is like one who is in distress, while my entire body is ruined.] The sand of the desert, namely, that upon which I am, has turned against me. It is in order to cause you to do that which is in my heart that I hastened, I knowing that you are my son, my protector. Approach! Behold, I am with you. I am (12) [your guide.]’

“He completed this speech. Thereupon the prince was astounded because of] his hearing [these entire, while he knew the words of this god, he placed silence in his heart], saying [. . . ‘Come, let us go to our house of the town.] Let them provide an offering for this god [that we might bring him cattle and all (sorts of) produce. Let us give adoration to those who were before this august goddess Khafre], a statue which was made for Atum-Re-Horemakhet”

The remaining fragments of the text are in reference to the young Thutmose’s plans for the cult of Khepri/Horemakhet, including a reference to something (perhaps a monument) “for Khepri in the western horizon of Heliopolis”.¹¹⁸ It is not clear whether the narrative ever enters the actual kingship of Thutmose IV in the damaged/missing portion of the text. However, the phrase *hm=i* (“my majesty”) once appeared in a section of ln. 17, now destroyed. Given

¹¹⁷ Lit. “duration of time”.

¹¹⁸ Ln. 18.

contemporary retrospective depictions in which Thutmose IV is represented as a prince and a king simultaneously (see VI.7), the use of the honorific *hm=i* does not necessarily imply that Thutmose is speaking as a king at this point in the text.

While the text of the Dream Stele contains a number of close parallels to the text of Amenhotep II's Great Sphinx Stele, it is also similar to Thutmose III's "Texte de la Jeunesse" (VI.3) in several respects – specifically, the emphasis on the future king's youth and similarity to various child deities (e.g. the youthful Horus of Chemmis), as well as the supernatural elements in the narrative, in which the prince interacts directly with the god. Some of the wording of the text also closely resembles that of the Amenmose naos (II.19), the brief text of which contains references to the prince "traveling" (*swtwt*) in order to "take recreation" (*sd3-hr*) – presumably in the vicinity of the Sphinx.

VI.10 – Divine Birth Scene of Thutmose IV (Bryan fig. 39)



Figure 102 – Relief of Thutmose IV as a small child in the lap of a goddess. Limestone, dimensions unknown. Provenance uncertain, possibly Memphis or Abydos, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose IV. Now in Paris, France. Image from B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), fig. 39.

A fragmentary relief now in Paris apparently depicts part of a divine birth cycle of Thutmose IV.¹¹⁹ Thutmose is depicted as a young child on the lap of a large seated figure. The adult faces left and the prince faces right. The adult figure, of whom only the legs and right arm survive, is seated on a block throne. This figure is probably a goddess. An incised line above her ankles indicates that she is wearing a sheer, form-fitting dress. Her right forearm descends from above and behind the prince to support his right arm, suggesting a nursing pose similar to that depicted in the contemporary stele of Senetruiu and Amenemopet (**IV.11**).

The prince is entirely nude, and wears an *ankh* amulet around his neck. Most of his head is missing, but his curled sidelock, which extends below shoulder level, is clearly visible. He is depicted in a manner consistent with other 18th Dynasty representations of very young princes. His right arm hangs by his side, and his left is raised, presumably to touch his nurse's shoulder or hold her breast.

Another figure stands at left, facing the seated nurse. Most of this figure is now missing, but both hands and most of the left arm are preserved. Bryan suggests that this is probably a Ka figure.¹²⁰ The left arm is extended, holding a tall staff or standard (perhaps, as Bryan suggests, either a *rnp.t* sign or a *k3* standard).¹²¹ Connected *'nh*, *dd* and *w3s* symbols dangle from the figure's left forearm, which passes through the loop of the *'nh*. The right hand holds up a cartouche containing Thutmose IV's prenomen, *Mn-hpr.w-R*.

¹¹⁹ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 206, fig. 39. According to Bryan, the object was "seen in Paris in 1988," but she provides no further details about its whereabouts.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 206.

¹²¹ Ibid.

VI.11 – The Divine Birth Scenes of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple



Figure 103 – Relief depicting the divine conception of Amenhotep III. Thebes, Luxor Temple, 18th Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. OIM Photograph 10269. JPG image: <http://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/#D/PA/2010276/H/1444187978304> (Accessed 10/6/2015).

The divine conception and birth of Amenhotep III are depicted in a series of reliefs in the “Birth Room” of the Luxor Temple.¹²² The birth scenes are located in a chamber adjacent to the offering hall, possibly a precursor to the *mammisi* of Late Period and later temples.¹²³

The Amenhotep III conception and birth reliefs parallel those of Hatshepsut (**VI.1**) very closely, with minor variations. In this case, Amenhotep III’s mother Mutemwia is impregnated by Amun in the guise of the king (Thutmose IV). The most notable difference is the absence of the scenes in which the young prince is recognized as heir by his human father. The sequence ends with Amenhotep III’s coronation by the gods, with no corresponding ritual taking place in the more mundane realm of the royal court.

¹²² PM II, 326-328, plan XXXII; description and some photographs in C. Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1912), 1-62; Brunner, *Geburt*, 6-7, 10-11, 13-166.

¹²³ R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 73.

VI.12 – Tutankhamun in the Tomb of His Nurse, Maia, at Saqqara (Bubasteion Tomb I.20)

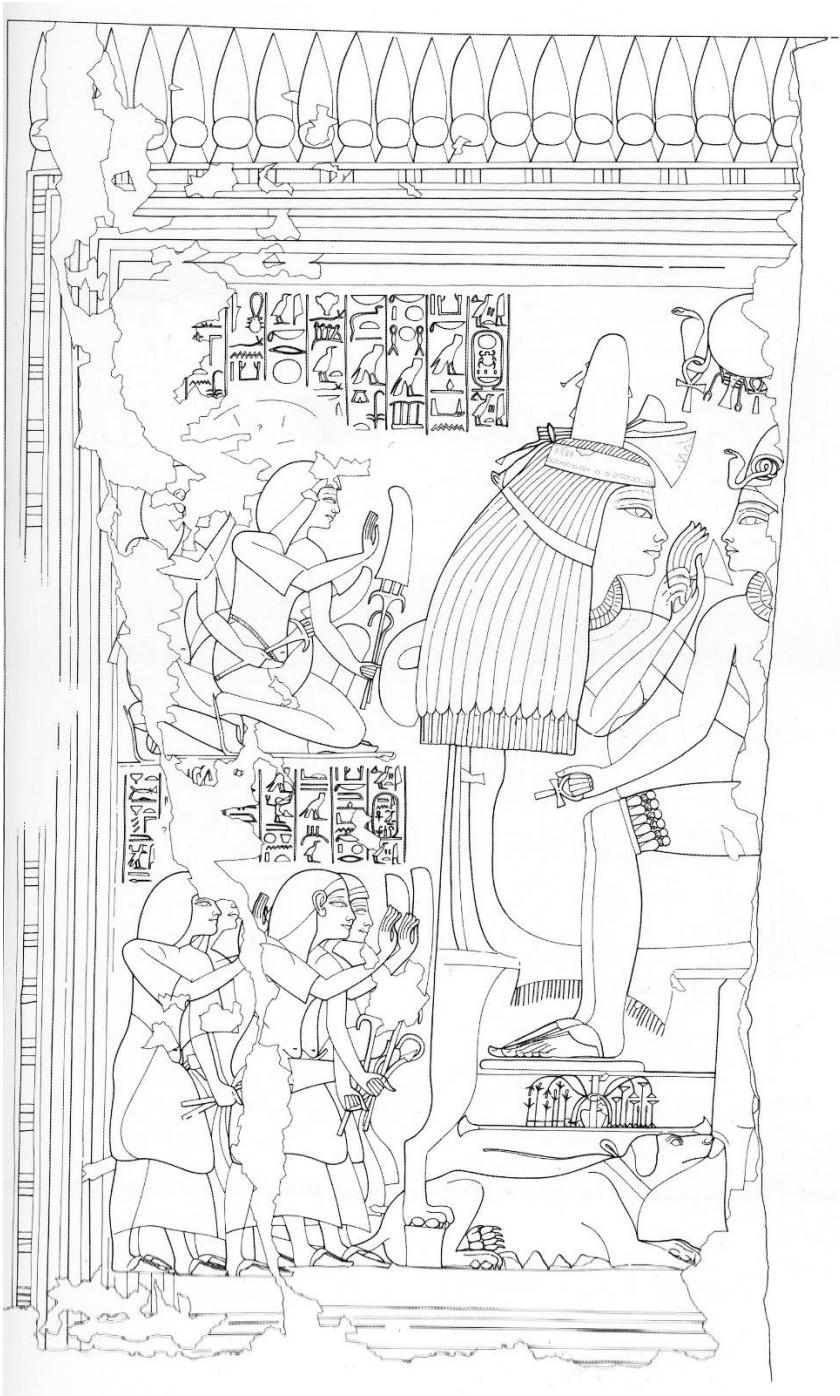


Figure 104 – Copy of a relief of Tutankhamun in the lap of his nurse Maya from Bubasteion Tomb 1.20. Saqqara, 18th Dynasty, reign of Tutankhamun. Image from A. Zivie, *La tombe de Maïa: Mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem* (Toulouse: Caracara Edition, 2009), pl. 21.

In 1996, A. Zivie discovered the tomb of Tutankhamun's wetnurse, a lady named Maia.¹²⁴ Among Maia's numerous titles and epithets were *mn.t ny-sw.t* ("Royal Nurse"), *šd.t ntr* ("She Who Nursed the God") and variants. She was also a *wr.t hnr.t* ("Great One of the Kheneret").¹²⁵

The tomb contains a relief of Tutankhamun as a miniature king in the lap of his nurse.¹²⁶ The scene appears on the north part of the east wall of the first chamber of the tomb chapel. Only the leftmost 1/3 of the scene is preserved, since much of the wall was destroyed during a later modification of the tomb.

The surviving portion of this scene closely parallels the depiction of Amenhotep II with his nurse in TT93, and the similarities are discussed in detail by Zivie.¹²⁷ Maia is seated on a lion-footed chair with Tutankhamun seated on her lap, facing her. Maia wears a plaited wig with a fillet, topped by an unguent cone and a cluster of lotus blossoms and buds. She wears a *shebyu* collar. Her left arm extends behind Tutankhamun's torso in a gesture of support, but her left hand is in the missing portion of the scene. Her right arm is bent and her right hand is raised in front of Tutankhamun's face, but the hand and forearm were modified at some point from their original position. Traces of the original carving are still visible, showing that she initially held a

¹²⁴ A. Zivie, "The Tomb of the Lady Maïa, Wet-Nurse of Tutankhamun," EA 13 (1998), 7-8; Id., *La tombe de Maïa: Mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem* (Toulouse: Caracara Edition, 2009).

¹²⁵ Zivie, *La tombe de Maïa*, 92.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 30-31 (description of scene and texts); 98-102 (discussion of similarities to scene in TT 93); fig. 10 (partial reconstruction); pl. 21 (drawing), 52-55 (photographs).

¹²⁷ Ibid., 98-102.

lotus blossom to Tutankhamun's nose with her fingers curled and the stem of the flower pinched between her thumb and index finger.

Tutankhamun's features and proportions are childish, but he is depicted at a relatively large scale, so that his head and shoulders are level with Maia's. He wears a *khepresh* crown, uraeus and *shebyu*-collar. The apron of his kilt is decorated with a row of uraei topped with sun-disks. His sandaled feet rest on a platform, possibly a stool or footrest attached to Maia's chair, above a *sema-tawy* symbol built into the base of the chair. He holds an ankh in his right hand. Tutankhamun's left arm is missing, but the partial restoration published by Zivie offers the possibility that his left arm was bent with his fist resting against his chest.

There is a solar disk above Tutankhamun's head. A uraeus with an ankh around its neck emerges from the left side of the disk, while a series of *was*, *djed* and *ankh* symbols are suspended from the bottom of the disk. A female dog with prominent teats reclines beneath Maia's chair.

Two registers directly behind Maia depict a total of six unnamed dignitaries. The two in the top register kneel while the four in the bottom register stand, all with their right hands raised in a gesture of praise. Each man holds a fan and staff in his left hand. They are dressed in lappet wigs, shirts with flared sleeves and mid-calf length kilts with billowing aprons.

Text in the upper register: (1) *iw.ty* (*Nb-hpr.w-R*) | *iw.ty* (2) *k3=k m htp di n*(3)=*k R* *nh*
m hb-(4)*sd d.t m ns.t ny-sw.t* (5) *hr=f ssp.tw=fk[y(?) . . .]* (6) *iw=k r R* (7) *mi-kd=fn k3* (8) [*hsy.t*
n (?)] *ntr nfr [mn.t] ny-sw.t* (9) [*sd.t h* *ntr (?) M* *i3 m3-hrw (?)*]

“(1) Welcome, Nebkheperure! Welcome (2) (to) your *ka* in peace. May Re give to (3) you eternity in Sed-festival(s) (4) and eternity on the royal throne (5) before him. May he be received¹²⁸ (?) [. . .] (6) You will become Re, (7) like his form. For the *ka* of (8) [the one praised of (?)] the Good God, the royal [nurse] (9) [who nourished the body of the god (?) Maia, true of voice (?)].”

Text in the lower register: (1) *iw.ty* (*Twt-ꜥnh-Imn Ḥkȝ-Iwnw-šm*)| *iw.ty* (2) *kȝ=k m htp di n=k R* (3) *tȝ.wy m ȝw* (4) *m kȝ m wsh ntȝ* (?) (5-7) [(text extremely fragmentary) . . . *mn*.t *ny-sw.t*] (8) *šd.t h* *ntr M*iȝ *mȝ-ḥrw*

“(1) Welcome, Tutankhamun, Ruler of Southern Heliopolis! Welcome (2) (to) your *ka* in peace. May Re give to you (3) the Two Lands in length, (4) in height and in breadth, and that which (?) (5-7) [. royal nurse] (8) who nourished the body of the god, Maia, true-of-voice.”

¹²⁸ Zivie translates line 5 as “Sa face, elle est illuminée [. . .].”

VI.13 – Statue of a Nurse Holding a Prince, Names Lost (JE 91301)



Figure 105 – Cairo JE 91301. Statue of a royal nurse holding a prince. North Saqqara, late 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Tutankhamun-reign of Horemheb. Limestone, 100 cm. by 35 cm. by 41 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Image from W. B. Emery, “Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra, 1968-9,” *JEA* 56 (1970), 8, pl. XIV, 1.

This statue from Saqqara depicts a kneeling woman cradling a male child on her lap.¹²⁹

The statue was found in the sacred animal necropolis of North Saqqara, within the entrance of the Baboon Catacomb, in two separate pieces (the head of the child had become separated from the rest of the statue).

There is some disagreement as to the nature of the figures represented – the statue was originally identified by Emery as a depiction of Isis nursing the infant Horus, an assessment supported by G. Martin.¹³⁰ Much later, E. Hastings suggested the possibility that this statue depicts a royal nurse and child rather than a divine mother and child, although she identified the child as a princess due to the lack of obvious genitals.¹³¹ However, a more recent examination of the statue by J. van Dijk has revealed that the child does indeed have male genitalia, which are still present but damaged.¹³²

¹²⁹ Cairo JE 91301. W. B. Emery, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra, 1968-9," *JEA* 56 (1970), 8, pl. XIV, 1; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka* (London: EES, 1979), 61, pl. 53 (no. 211); E. A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra, 1964-76* (London: EES, 1997), 9-11 (no. 20), 75-76 (inscriptions), pl. X-XII; C. M. Sheikholeslami, *The Egyptian Museum at the Millennium* (Cairo: The Egyptian Museum, SCA Press, 2000), no. 23; E. L. Ertman, "Types of Winged Scarabs: Tutanchamun's Use of the H-winged Scarab," in M. Eldamaty and M. Trad, *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World I* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002), 333-343; E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 273-275, pl. 31; J. van Dijk, "A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard-Bearer: Notes on Three Late Eighteenth Dynasty Statues," in S. H. D'Auria, ed., *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 326-330.

¹³⁰ Emery, "Preliminary Report;" Martin, *Tomb of Hetepka*. Both authors also suggest a much later date for the statue, with Emery noting that "[t]he Greek influence is obvious" and Martin tentatively assigning a date in the Late Period. Emery's late date is based on what he considered to be the nurse/goddess's unusually naturalistic pose, but similar poses for nursing women are attested much earlier. Cf. the Middle Kingdom example, Brooklyn Museum of Art 43.137, cited above.

¹³¹ Hastings, *Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis*, 10. Hastings was also the first author to suggest a date in the late 18th Dynasty, based on the style of the object and the costume of the female figure in particular.

¹³² Van Dijk, "A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard-Bearer," 330.

The woman kneels on her right knee, while her left leg is drawn up to support the child's back. The kneeling posture is rare in representations of nurses and tutors with royal children, but it has parallels in other depictions of women nursing infants (including the determinative for the word *mn^c.t*). Furthermore, it is strongly reminiscent of the images of goddesses nursing the infant Hatshepsut in the divine birth scenes from Deir el-Bahri (see VI.1, fig. 88).¹³³

The nurse supports the child's head with her left hand, while her right hand passes beneath his legs and her fingers curl up to grasp his left thigh. Her face and the top of her head are damaged, but it is clear that she had large, almond-shaped eyes which were once inlaid. She wears an elaborate plaited wig and a form-fitting gown which exposes her breasts. She is also adorned with a broad collar and bracelets.

The royal child sits on the nurse's lap in a position perpendicular to the nurse, facing the nurse's right. He is depicted as a very young child, nude except for an elaborate scarab-shaped amulet on a wide strap¹³⁴ and a cuff bracelet on his right wrist. He wears a curled sidelock over a skull-cap or close-cropped hair. His eyes and eyebrows are outlined with dark pigment. His left arm is broken off, but remaining traces show that his left hand rested on his thigh. He leans back against his nurse's left leg and hand, while his buttocks and thighs are supported by the nurse's right hand and what appears to be a stacked pair of cushions balanced on the nurse's right thigh. His feet rest on a low platform, which is made up of a group of tiny bound captives.

¹³³ See Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 278-279, for discussion of this pose, which also appears in a statue of Senenmut with Neferure (CG 42116).

¹³⁴ Ertman, "Types of Winged Scarabs," identifies this as a "Type 3 H-winged scarab," a type first attested during the reign of Thutmose IV.

The child's pectoral and the presence of the bound captives under his feet strongly suggest that he is not only a royal child, but a king depicted retrospectively as a prince. Blatantly royal symbolism of this type is atypical of representations of non-reigning princes in the 18th Dynasty (see discussion in **Chapter 10**).

The identity of the woman as a royal nurse, noted by Hastings (after consultation with C. Roehrig),¹³⁵ has been confirmed by van Dijk, who was able to examine the statue and its inscriptions closely. The inscriptions around the base of the statue were damaged and partly obscured when the base of the statue was modified at a later date, but van Dijk published the remaining traces.¹³⁶ The inscriptions wrap around the base of the statue in paired horizontal lines, to be read contiguously on each side before moving to the next side (see illustration).

¹³⁵ *Sculpture*, 11, n. 6.

¹³⁶ "A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard-Bearer," 328 (translation), fig. 8a (copy of inscriptions with diagram of their positions).

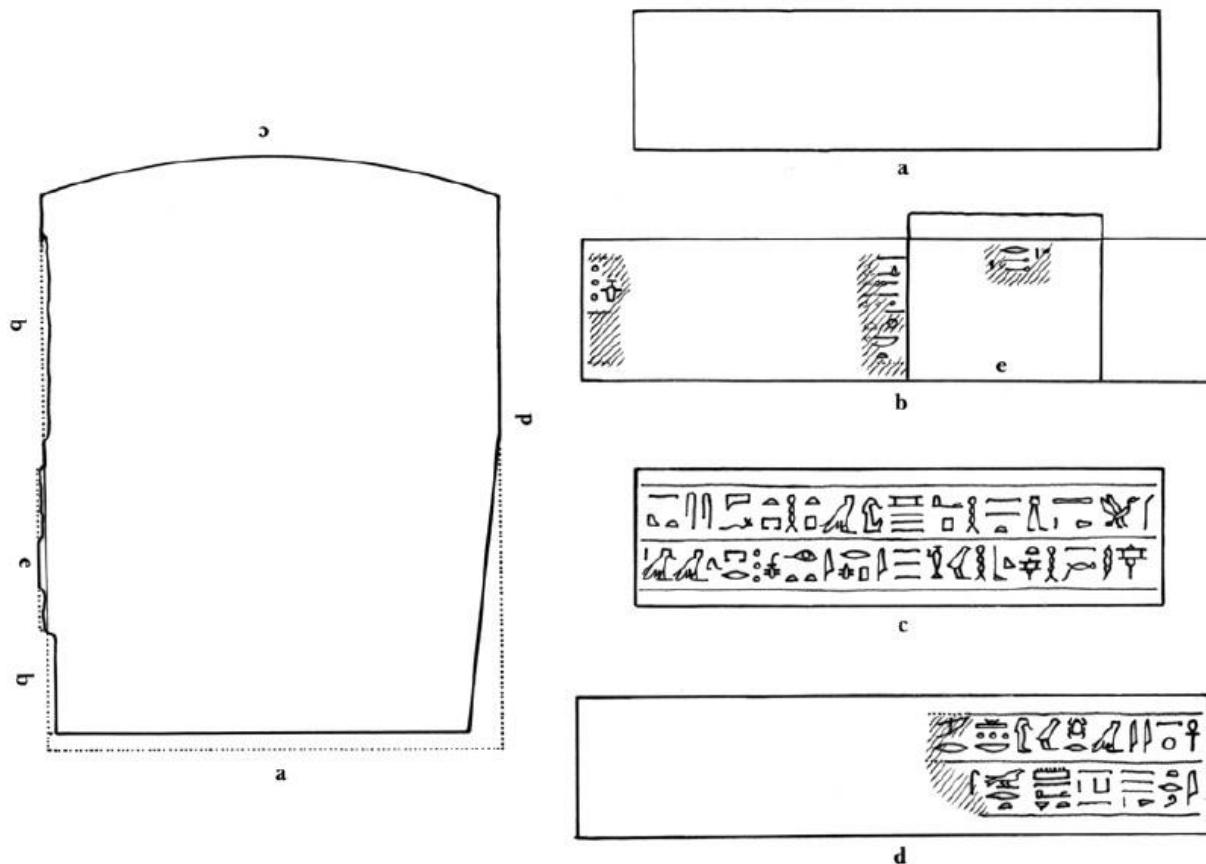


Figure 106 – Texts of Cairo JE 91301 and their positions on the base of the statue. Image from J. van Dijk, “A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard-Bearer,” 329, fig. 8a.

For the sake of clarity, I am following van Dijk’s numbering of the lines: (Side a, 1-2) [htp
*di ny-sw.t] (b, 3) [. . .] di=sn [. hn.k.t?] (b, 4) h.t nb.t [w'b.t nfr.t (?)] (c, 5)
 km3 t3 inn.t Hcp m tph.t=f ssn.t (c, 6) t3w ndm n mhy.t kbh irp irt.t pr.(t) m b3 (d, 7) 'nhy m hpr.w
 nb mr[=s] (d, 8) itrw n k3 n mn'.t wr.t [s3?] ny-sw.t [.]*

“(a, 1-2) [An offering which the king gives to] (b, 3) [. . .] that they might give [. . .
 . . . beer?] (b, 4) and every [good and pure (?)] thing [(possibly “by which the god lives”)
 (c, 5) which the earth produces and which Hapy brings forth from his cavern, the smelling (c, 6)

of the sweet north wind, cool water, wine and milk, going forth as a (d, 7) living *ba* in any form which [she] desires [.] (d, 8) the river, for the *ka* of the great nurse of the king's [son?].”

The presence of the title *mn^r.t wr.t* strongly indicates a date in the 18th Dynasty for this statue, as does the general style of the object. More specifically, it seems to belong to the very end of the 18th Dynasty. Sheikholeslami tentatively identified the figures in the statue as Maia and Tutankhamun, without further elaboration.¹³⁷ Ertman noted that the type of “H-wing” scarab worn by the prince was particularly common in royal art from the reign of Tutankhamun.¹³⁸

The bound captives beneath the prince’s feet are clearly indicative of the child’s royal status. The closest parallel may be found in the retrospective depiction of Amenhotep II in lap of his nurse in TT93 (**VI.4**). In the scene from TT93, the prince, as a miniature king, sits on his nurse’s lap while his feet rest on the backs of bound captives. The presence of this kingly iconography in JE 91301 suggests that this statue is a retrospective depiction of a reigning king as a prince in the arms of his nurse. Although it is unusual for kings to be retrospectively depicted as small nude children during the 18th Dynasty (as opposed to older children or miniature adults in kingly attire), there is precedent for this type of representation in the divine birth cycle of Hatshepsut (**VI.1**).

¹³⁷ *The Egyptian Museum*, no. 23.

¹³⁸ “Types of Winged Scarabs,” 338-339.

Chapter 8: Category VII – Princes in Literature

Princes were popular figures in Egyptian literature from a very early period. Egyptian literary texts can be extremely difficult to date, since the date at which a text was recorded or copied does not necessarily correspond to the period in which the work originated. Only one relevant literary text can be dated with some certainty to the 18th Dynasty.

VII.1 – The Doomed Prince (P. Harris 500, vs.)

The so-called “Tale of the Doomed Prince” was recorded on the verso of P. Harris 500.¹ The political landscape represented in the narrative suggests a date in the late 18th Dynasty, when Egypt and Mitanni were on peaceful terms and the Mitanni kingdom had not yet fallen.² The language of the text is essentially literary Late Egyptian, combined with elements of Middle Egyptian – also suggesting a date in the late 18th or early 19th Dynasty.

Interestingly, the prince is not explicitly fated for kingship in the preserved portion of the story. The unnamed king at the beginning of the tale prays to the gods for a son, and the

¹ BM EA10060. Hieratic facsimile in Möller, *Lesestücke II*, Taf. 21-24. Hieroglyphic transcription in A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 1-10. Translated in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 200-202, and W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 75-79.

² W. Helck, “Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen,” in *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, ed. J. Osing and G. Dreyer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 218-219.

gods grant his request (4,1-4,2). Despite his birth by divine decree, the prince is not said to have divine parentage; he is conceived in the normal fashion by his human parents (4,2).

Throughout the first part of the story (roughly until he marries the princess of Naharin) the prince is called *p3 hr̥d* (“the child”) determined by a seated child wearing a uraeus and a falcon on a divine standard. The royal/divine nature of the prince is thus made visually explicit, even though it is not addressed directly in the text. In the latter half of the story, however, he is generally called *p3 šri* (“the youth”) with no royal or divine determinatives.

The special nature of the prince is revealed not only in his own actions and achievements, but in the way other characters react to him. For reasons that are never explained in the preserved text, the prince conceals his true identity from the Syrian princes that he encounters in Naharin (5,11-5,12). They are struck by his physical appearance (addressing him as *p3 šri nfr*, “beautiful youth,” 5,10-5,11) and welcome him warmly to their group. His exceptional physical prowess is demonstrated by his successful attempt to reach the window of the princess of Naharin (6,5-6,6).

The princess is immediately smitten with the Egyptian prince, but her father reacts poorly to the news that an “Egyptian fugitive” has won the contest for his daughter’s hand (6,10-6,11). Once he finally meets the prince, the ruler of Naharin is impressed by the prince’s “majesty” or “dignity” (*šfy.t*): (7,1) . . . *iw t3y=f šfy.t hr* (7,2) *‘k m p3 wr* (“(7,1) And his majesty (7,2) entered into the chief.”). The ruler of Naharin’s attitude toward the prince immediately changes, and he welcomes the young man warmly as a son.

Of the prince's encounters with his three fates (decreed by the Seven Hathors shortly after his birth), only the first is fully preserved. The prince's wife kills the snake that comes to attack the prince, but she and the prince ultimately give credit to the prince's patron deity, Pre, for protecting him:

(8,5) . . . *iw=s hr dd n=fptr di p3y=k ntr w^c m n3y=k s3y m dr.t=k iw=fr s3[=k]*

(8,6) *wdn n P3-[R^c] hr dw3=f hr sk3 b3.w=f m hr.t-hrw n.t r^c nb*

"(8,5) . . . And she said to him, 'Look, your god has placed one of your fates in your hand! He will protect [you from now on(?).] Then they made] (8,6) an offering to P[re] while praising him and exalting his power every day."

The implication is that Pre is ultimately in control of the prince's destiny, and that he will also protect him from the remaining two fates (the dog and the crocodile). It is unclear whether the prince is ultimately destined for kingship in Egypt, but such an outcome would be consistent with Egyptian royal ideology: the eldest son, with the favor of the gods, succeeds his father.

Part III: Analysis and Conclusions

Chapter 9: The Relationships, Titles and Offices of 18th Dynasty Princes

I. Kinship and Royal Sons in the 18th Dynasty

a. The Expression of Kinship

The expression of kinship in the representation of 18th Dynasty princes is paradoxical.

The title *s3 ny-sw.t* defines its bearer in terms of his relationship to the king – whether that relationship be literal, extended or metaphorical. However, it is extremely uncommon for a specific filial relationship between a male royal child and either parent to be directly expressed during this period. Retrospective monuments depicting reigning kings as princes are the exception – in these cases, kin relationships between princes and their parents may be openly expressed (see e.g. **Chapter 7, VI.1, VI.6, VI.9**).

This reticence regarding the explicit expression of filiation seems to have been reserved for male royal children. There are several examples of 18th Dynasty documents naming the parents of princesses.¹ The expression of other types of kin relationships with respect to princes

¹ For an example discussed in this dissertation, see the mummy label of Nebetia (**V.2**). The mothers of queens and princesses were commonly specified from quite early in the 18th Dynasty; see, for example, a statue of Ahmose-Nebetta in the Louvre (N 496) – the inscriptions on the statue describe her as “born of the Great Royal Wife and King’s Mother Ahhotep” (M. Gitton, *Les devines épouses de la 18e dynastie* (Paris: Presses Univ. Franche-Comté, 1984), 16, no. 36).

was also acceptable: for example, collateral kinship (i.e. relationships between siblings) is openly described in a few 18th Dynasty monuments depicting princes. Notable examples include the Louvre statue of Ahmose A (**II.1**) and the scene depicting the brothers Wadjmose and Amenmose together in the tomb of Pahery (**IV.5**). In **II.1**, the King's Daughter Ahmose is explicitly identified as Ahmose A's sister. Similarly, Amenmose is identified as Wadjmose's brother in **IV.5**.

A filial relationship between a prince and his daughter is also attested in **V.2**, the mummy label of Nebetia – she is described as the “daughter of the King’s Son Siatum” as well as being a “King’s Daughter” herself.²

The lack of specificity about the parentage of princes creates a problem in understanding the familial relationships of 18th Dynasty royal sons. In some cases, a prince’s parentage is so strongly implied that there is little room for question. See, for example, the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**), in which Ahmose-Ankh is depicted as a child in the company of both his parents. Similarly, the inscriptions on the Louvre statue of Ahmose A (**II.1**) leave little doubt that Seqenenre-Ta'a is addressing the prince as his son (although this is not explicitly stated).

However, in many cases the parentage of the prince in question is more ambiguous. Sometimes prosopographical or stylistic clues can narrow down the period of the monument, suggesting a general floruit for the prince depicted. In some cases, a prince is represented

² The implications of this extended use of the title *s3.t ny-sw.t* will be discussed further below.

alongside one or more kings or queens, but the relationships between these figures are unclear. This occurs in several of the monuments of Ahmose Sapair, in which he is represented alongside various deified kings and queens who were probably not (or simply could not have been) his parents. See, for example, the stele of Sennefer (Turin 1455, **III.14**), in which Ahmose Sapair is depicted with several 18th Dynasty kings, and is placed in direct proximity to Amenhotep II.

The relationship between the princes and the retrospectively depicted Thutmose IV in TT 64 (**IV.8** and **VI.7**) is also difficult to parse, resulting in a variety of conflicting interpretations.³ Since two different generations of royal tutors are depicted (Heqareshu and his son Heqaerneheh), it is tempting to see the princes accompanying the younger tutor as the children of the retrospectively depicted Thutmose IV. However, it is also possible that all of the King's Sons depicted in this scene (including Thutmose IV) belonged to the same generation, or that multiple generations are represented.

The case of the royal granddaughter Nebetia (**V.2**) also raises the question of whether royal grandsons could be called "King's Son" in the extended sense, but the lack of specificity about the parentage of princes makes this question difficult to answer (see further discussion below, under **1. *s3 ny-sw.t***).

In this section, I will present a list of the princes discussed in this dissertation with parental information provided where available. The names of princes who became kings are

³ For various interpretations, see discussion in **IV.8**.

italicized, and retrospective depictions are noted. I have CAPITALIZED the names of kings whose only princely attestations are retrospective.

Table 1: King's Sons of the 18th Dynasty

Name	Period active	Father	Mother	Documents
Ahmose A (=Ahmose Sapair?)	Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a	Seqenenre-Ta'a	Aahhotep	II.1, II.2, II.12(?), II.13(?), III.7(?), III.8(?), III.9(?), III.10(?), III.12(?)
Ahmose Sapair	ca. Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a	Seqenenre-Ta'a(?)	Aahhotep(?)	II.3, III.1, III.2, III.3, III.4, III.5, III.6, III.7(?), III.9(?), III.10(?), III.11, III.12(?), III.13, III.14, III.15, III.16, III.17, III.18, III.19, III.20, III.21
Siamun A	ca. Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a or Ahmose	Seqenenre-Ta'a(?) or Ahmose(?)	Aahhotep(?) or Ahmose-Nefertari(?)	II.4, II.5(?)
Ahmose-Ankh	Reign of Ahmose	Ahmose	Ahmose-Nefertari	I.1
Ramose	Early 18 th Dynasty	Thutmose I(?)	Unknown	II.14
Binpu	First half of the 18 th Dynasty?	Unknown	Unknown	III.30, III.32

Table 1, continued.

Wadjmose ^a	Reign of Thutmose I	Thutmose I	Unknown	II.15/III.22, II.16, III.23, III.24, III.25(?), III.26, III.27, III.28, III.29, IV.5
Amenmose	Reign of Thutmose I	Thutmose I	Unknown	II.19, IV.5
HATSHEPSUT	Thutmose I- Hatshepsut/Thutmos e III	Thutmose I	Ahmose	VI.1, VI.2 (both retrospective)
THUTMOSE III	Thutmose II- Thutmose III	Thutmose II	Isis	VI.3 (retrospective)
Nebnefer	ca. Reign of Thutmose II-Reign of Amenhotep II	Thutmose II(?)	Isis(?)	II.17 ^c
Amenemhat A	Reign of Thutmose III	Thutmose III	Neferure(?) ^d	I.2
Siamun B	Reign of Thutmose III	Thutmose III(?)	Unknown	IV.1
Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II)	Thutmose III- Amenhotep II	Thutmose III	Meritre- Hatshepsut	IV.6, VI.4-6 (retrospective)
Amenemhat B	First half of 18 th Dynasty	Unknown	Unknown	II.6
Menkheperre A	ca. Reign of Thutmose III	Thutmose III(?)	Meritre- Hatshepsut(?)	IV.15
Mery[amun]	ca. Thutmose III- Akhenaten	Unknown	Unknown	II.7
Ahmose B	ca. Thutmose III- Thutmose IV	Possibly Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, or Thutmose IV	Unknown	II.24, II.25, II.26, III.31(?)
Nedjemi	ca. Thutmose III- Amenhotep II	Thutmose III or Amenhotep II	Unknown	IV.2
Amenhotep B	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II	Thutmose III or Amenhotep II	Unknown	V.1

Table 1, continued.

[Name missing]	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II	Thutmose III or Amenhotep II	Unknown	IV.7
Webensenu	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.8, IV.2(?)
Amenemopet A	ca. Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.20.a, IV.11(?)
Pentepihu	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.21
[Name missing]	Reign of Amenhotep II	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.20.b
[Name missing]	Reign of Amenhotep II	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.20.c
Khaemwaset	Reign of Amenhotep II	Amenhotep II(?)	Unknown	II.22
<i>Djhutmose A (Thutmose IV)</i>	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II	Tiaa	II.18, III.5(?) IV.8/VI.7 (retrospective), IV.10/VI.8(?), VI.9 (retrospective), VI.10 (retrospective)
Menkheperure (=Thutmose IV?)	ca. Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV?	Unknown	IV.10/VI.8 ^e
Amenemhat C	ca. Reign of Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV	Unknown	II.9, IV.8
[Name lost]	ca. Reign of Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV	Unknown	IV.8
Aakheperure (=Aakheper[. . .]re A or B?)	ca. Thutmose IV	Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV	Unknown	IV.13, IV.14
Djhutmose X	Reign of Thutmose IV(?)	Thutmose IV(?)	Unknown	II.23

Table 1, continued.

Amenhotep Merykhepesh (probably =Amenhotep <i>C/Amenhotep III</i>)	Reign of Thutmose IV	Thutmose IV	Mutemwia(?)	IV.4
<i>Amenhotep C/Amenhotep III</i>	Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV	Mutemwia	IV.8(?) ^f , IV.13(?) ^f , VI.11 (retrospective)
Temy (=Siatum?)	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV(?)	Unknown	IV.3
Siatum	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III	Unknown	IV.12, V.2
Aakheper[. . .]re A	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III	Unknown	IV.9
Aakheper[. . .]re B	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III	Unknown	IV.9
[Name lost]	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III	Unknown	IV.9
[Name lost]	ca. Thutmose IV- Amenhotep III	Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III	Unknown	IV.9
Menkheperre B	Reign of Amenhotep III	Amenhotep III	Nebetnuhet	II.10
[Four princes, names unpublished]	Reign of Amenhotep III	Amenhotep III	Unknown	II.11
Djhutmos B	Reign of Amenhotep III (died ca. year 30)	Amenhotep III	Tiye(?)	I.3, I.4(?), II.27, II.28, II.29, II.30(?)

Table 1, continued.

<i>Amenhotep D (Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten)</i>	Amenhotep III-Akhenaten	Amenhotep III	Tiye	I.4(?), V.3, V.4(?)
<i>Tutankhaten (Tutankhaten/Tutan khamun)</i>	Reign of Akhenaten-Tutankhamun	Amenhotep III or Akhenaten ^g	Unknown ^h	I.5, VI.12 (retrospective)

^a Note that C. Roehrig has postulated the existence of two separate princes named Wadimose, one a son of Thutmose I and the other a son of Thutmose III. She suggests that the prince tutored by Pahery (**IV.5**) and Senimes (**III.24**) was the younger of these two princes. “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 83-85, 85-86, 88-89.

^b Hatshepsut is known from pre-kingship monuments, but she only appears as a “prince” retrospectively.

^c Identified only as the son of an unnamed King’s Mother.

^d For discussion of Neferure as Amenemhat A’s mother, see P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 79.

^e This prince is attested only in an unpublished and minimally described scene from TT 350, and it is possible that this is a retrospective depiction of Thutmose IV.

^f Some have identified this prince as Amenhotep B (a probable son of Amenhotep II).

^g Recent DNA studies indicate that the mummy from KV55, tentatively identified as Akhenaten or Smenkhkare, was the father of Tutankhamun. Z. Hawass, Y. Z. Gad, S. Ismail et al., “Ancestry and Pathology,” 641.

^h The “Younger Lady” from KV35 has been identified as the mother of Tutankhamun and sibling of the KV55 mummy. *Ibid.*

As this table demonstrates, it is not always possible to tell whether some of these princes are a single individual or several like-named people. Additional problems arise when the name of the prince in question is damaged or obliterated.

b. Titles and Epithets Indicating Kinship or Other Types of Relationships between Princes and other Royal Family Members

In general, the most obvious identifiers of royal family members at any period in pharaonic history are titles and epithets expressing kin relationships. These titles usually identify their holder with respect to his or her relationship with a king, but may refer to other

members of the royal family as well. The titles King's Son (*s3 ny-sw.t*) and King's Daughter (*s3.t ny-sw.t*) were used with extended or metaphorical senses during some periods, which can make it difficult to identify "true" royal offspring.⁴

B. Schmitz, in her study of the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, noted that "born princes" and "titular princes" are relatively easy to distinguish during the 18th Dynasty thanks to a number of factors. Notably, the parents of non-royal "King's Sons" were frequently named (while those of royal King's Sons generally were not); representations of royal children often include clear indications of their royal status, e.g. the use of cartouches and other royal symbolism; and the honorific use of "King's Son" in the 18th Dynasty was usually associated with specific civil, military or priestly offices (e.g. "King's Son of Kush," "First King's Son of Nekhbet," etc.).⁵

Titles and epithets indicating familial or other types of close relationships between royal sons, kings and other family members will be discussed in this section.

1. *S3 ny-sw.t*

Table 2: Occurrences of the Title *s3 ny-sw.t* in 18th Dynasty Monuments

Title	Name	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>s3 ny-sw.t</i>	Ahmose A Ahmose A?/Sapair? Ahmose Sapair	II.1 II.2.a II.12 II.13 III.1 III.2 III.3	Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a? ca. Seqenenre-Ta'a-Ahmose ^a

⁴ See B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, passim.

⁵ Ibid., 265-266.

Table 2, continued.

<i>s³ ny-sw.t</i> (contd.)	Ahmose Sapair (contd.)	III.4 III.11 III.13 III.15 III.17 III.18 III.20 Siamun A Wadjmose	II.4 II.16 III.23 III.24 III.25? ^b III.26 III.29 IV.5 ^c	
				Reign of Ahmose? Reign of Thutmose I
	Amenmose	IV.5		Reign of Thutmose I
	Menkheperre A	IV.15		Reign of Thutmose III
	Siamun B	IV.1		Reign of Thutmose III
	Amenhotep A ^d	IV.6		Reign of Thutmose III
	Mery[amun]	II.7		Thutmose III-Akhenaten
	Amenhotep B	V.1		Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
	Webensenu	II.8		Reign of Amenhotep II
	Djhutmos A (T. IV)	II.18 VI.9 ^e		Reign of Amenhotep II
	Pentepihu	II.21		Reign of Thutmose IV
	Khaemwaset	II.22		ca. Reign of Amenhotep II
	Ahmose B	II.24 II.26		ca. Reign of Amenhotep II
	Amenemhat C	II.9		Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
	Amenhotep C	IV.8 IV.13		Reign of Thutmose IV
	Aakheperure	IV.13 IV.14		Reign of Thutmose IV
	Djhutmos X?	II.23		ca. Reign of Thutmose IV
	Amenemopet (B)?	IV.11		ca. Reign of Thutmose IV
	Temy	IV.3		Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III

Table 2, continued.

<i>s3 ny-sw.t</i> (contd.)	Menkheperre B Djhutmose B Siatum Djhutmose B?	II.10 I.3.a II.27 II.28 V.2 II.30	Reign of Amenhotep III Reign of Amenhotep III Reign of Amenhotep III ca. Amenhotep III-Akhenaten
----------------------------	--	--	---

^a Approximate lifetime of prince; monuments described in this dissertation range from ca. late 17th-early 18th Dynasty through the end of the 18th Dynasty.

^b The name of the prince is missing, but it was written in a cartouche, and context suggests Wadjmose is the most likely candidate.

^c Note that one of the princes represented in this tomb may be a separate, younger Wadjmose, perhaps a son of Thutmosis III.

^d Amenhotep II.

^e Retrospective.

^f Erroneously(?) written *s3.t ny-sw.t*

Background: *S3 ny-sw.t* (“King’s Son”) was the title most commonly used by 18th Dynasty princes. This title is first attested in the Early Dynastic Period and continued to be used into the Late Period.⁶ The actual use and meaning of the title evolved considerably over time.

In the Early Dynastic Period and early Old Kingdom, the title seems to have designated “real” royal sons, who held most of the high administrative offices in the land. By the end of the 4th Dynasty, these positions were increasingly held by non-royal officials, who were often granted the title *s3 ny-sw.t* as an indication of rank rather than royal kinship. During the early 5th Dynasty, the honorific *s3 ny-sw.t* was dropped, and the title was again used only to designate biological king’s sons – who now typically played ritual roles rather than occupying administrative positions. The use of *s3 ny-sw.t* and other titles of rank (e.g. *iry-pC.t*) in

⁶ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 3-10, 325-326.

association with certain offices saw a resurgence at the end of the 5th Dynasty. However, the title never regained its former status, and such metaphorical uses remained relatively uncommon throughout the rest of the Old Kingdom.⁷

Evidence for the use of the title in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom is quite scarce. In fact, only three individuals bearing the title *s3 ny-sw.t* are known from the First Intermediate Period, and the title is completely unattested in the 11th Dynasty (although a number of King's Daughters are known from this period).⁸

The title *s3 ny-sw.t* came back into use in the 12th Dynasty, albeit remaining rare in comparison to its well-attested feminine counterpart. The few known examples seem to have been true royal sons rather than honorific title-holders.⁹

The use of *s3 ny-sw.t* and its variants saw a dramatic revival in the Second Intermediate Period (13th Dynasty-17th Dynasty). At this point *s3 ny-sw.t* could apparently be used in literal, extended (i.e. used to indicate other kinds of kin relationships, e.g. brothers of reigning kings)¹⁰ and metaphorical senses, creating difficulty in sorting out the actual significance of the title.¹¹ W. Helck suggested that the metaphorical or honorific use of *s3 ny-sw.t* in the 17th Dynasty at least in some cases denoted military officials appointed directly by the king to manage various

⁷ Ibid., 167-171.

⁸ Ibid., 172-183. See also Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families*, 80-89.

⁹ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 186-189.

¹⁰ See the altar of Sobekhotep III from Sehel. Sobekhotep is depicted with several members of his family, including his (non-royal) father and two brothers, the latter both bearing the title *s3 ny-sw.t*. Drawing published in Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families*, 105.

¹¹ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 245-246.

municipalities – the direct antecedent to the “King’s Son of Kush” of the 18th Dynasty.¹² The title *s3 ny-sw.t* in these cases would indicate that these individuals acted as direct representatives or deputies of the king – a meaning falling well within the established metaphorical range of *s3* in pharaonic culture.¹³

Schmitz also found several examples of Second Intermediate Period “King’s Sons” holding specific priestly offices with which the *s3 ny-sw.t* rank was connected. The parents of some of these individuals are known, making their non-royal status clear.¹⁴ Schmitz argued that these priestly “King’s Son” offices were the antecedents of similarly titled positions that appeared in the 18th Dynasty (e.g. “First King’s Son of Amun”).

In the 18th Dynasty, there are numerous well-established examples of the title *s3 ny-sw.t* being used by non-royal individuals in association with specific offices. These offices can be divided up into two broad categories: military/administrative, and religious.¹⁵

The best attested of the former category is the *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš* (“King’s Son of Kush”), a position which first appeared early in the 18th Dynasty (the first definite holder of this office – Ahmose Turi – served during the reigns of Amenhotep I and Thutmose I). Early variants or related titles include *s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 h3s.wt rsy.t* (“King’s Son and Overseer of the Southern

¹² W. Helck, “Überlegungen zur Geschichte der 18. Dynastie,” *Oriens Antiquus* 8 (1969), 281-283.

¹³ See **Chapter 1**.

¹⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 257-262.

¹⁵ Ibid., 263ff.

Foreign Lands") or *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš imy-r3 h3s.wt rsy.t* ("King's Son of Kush and Overseer of the Southern Foreign Lands").¹⁶

It is possible that other non-royal military officials also held the "King's Son" rank. Schmitz provides one example whose non-royal parents are known: the *hry pd.t* ("troop commander"), *imy-r3 mśc* ("overseer of the army"), *imy-r3 h3s.wt rsy.t* ("overseer of southern foreign lands"), *hrp h3s.wt m Hnt-hn-nfr* ("controller of foreign lands in Khenthennefer") and *s3 ny-sw.t* ("King's Son") Tutu.¹⁷ Note that one of these titles (*imy-r3 h3s.wt rsy.t*) was also held by Ahmose Turi, a known King's Son of Kush.¹⁸ The other two examples (Pentepihu, **II.21**, and Khaemwaset, **II.22**), to be discussed below, are more ambiguous. The parents of these individuals are not named and they are otherwise unattested.

The "King's Son" title was associated with several 18th Dynasty priestly offices as well, including the hereditary office of *s3 ny-sw.t tpy n Nhb.t* ("First King's Son of Nekhbet") and *s3 ny-sw.t tpy n Imn* ("First King's Son of Amun").¹⁹ Both titles are attested for the entire 18th Dynasty until the Amarna Period. Similar titles were associated with other contemporary cults, but are not as common.²⁰

During the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, there are some isolated examples of the "King's Son" title in association with royal and non-royal funerary cults. In the case of the

¹⁶ Ibid., 267-268.

¹⁷ Ibid., 273.

¹⁸ Ibid., 268.

¹⁹ Ibid., 276-281.

²⁰ Ibid., 282-284.

royal funerary cult, the sole attestation (dating to the reign of Thutmose III) is of a *wrb*-priest and *s3 ny-sw.t tpy n (C3-hpr-k3-R)* (“First King’s Son of Aakheperkare”) named Amenhotep. In this case, the office seems to have been parallel to similarly-titled offices associated with 18th Dynasty cults of various deities, discussed above.²¹

The two examples associated with private funerary cults, dating to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, consist of a pair of identical scenes depicting unnamed lector priests bearing the additional title *s3 ny-sw.t*. The “King’s Son” rank was also sometimes associated with the office of lector priest during the Second Intermediate Period, so it is possible that this connection persisted into the early 18th Dynasty.²²

Royal Sons with the Title *s3 ny-sw.t* in the 18th Dynasty: Contextual clues indicate that most or all of the people attested from the 18th Dynasty who held the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, in its simplest form, were biological royal sons.²³ However, Schmitz questioned the status of some of these individuals as “true” royal sons. Schmitz applied these reservations to people who held the title *s3 ny-sw.t* in conjunction with other titles or offices which she believed to be incompatible with true royal son status during the 18th Dynasty.

Schmitz categorizes Pentepihu (**II.21**) and Khaemwaset (**II.22**) as “Titularprinzen.”²⁴ Another individual who may belong to this category is Djutmose X (**II.23**).

²¹ Ibid., 285-286.

²² Ibid., 286-287.

²³ The small number of apparent exceptions may be examples of people using an abbreviated version of a longer title, e.g. *s3 ny-sw.t (n K3)*. See further discussion below.

²⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 274.

The text of Pentepihu's stele is badly damaged (even the reading of the name is uncertain), but he clearly holds the title *s3 ny-sw.t* in conjunction with the military title *hry pd.t* ("Troop Commander"). Schmitz describes Pentepihu as "einen Mann bürgerlicher Herkunft" solely on the basis of his otherwise unattested name and his military office. Neither of these is sufficient grounds for suggesting that this man was not a biological king's son. In fact, several royal sons of the 18th Dynasty held military offices (see further discussion below under the specific titles in question). The title *hry pd.t* in conjunction with *s3 ny-sw.t* is also attested in an unambiguously royal context, on the whip handle of Djutmose B(?) from the tomb of Tutankhamun (**II.30**).

The context and style of Pentepihu's monument are also strongly suggestive of his royal status, since several other monuments of this type, most dating to roughly the same period, were constructed in the same area by both princes and kings (see **II.19**, **II.20.a-c**, **VI.6**, **VI.9**).

Schmitz is dismissive of Khaemwaset's royal son status for similar reasons:

Drei Dinge sprechen dafür, in ihm einen Titularprinzen zu sehen: a) der Titel und damit das Amt *hry-ihw* ist nicht bei gebürtigen Prinzen belegt, b) mir ist in der 18.Dyn. kein gebürtiger Prinz bekannt, der ein Graffito hinterlassen hätte, und c) unter den gebürtigen Prinzen der Zeit Amenophis' II. gibt es keinen namens *Hr-m-W3st*.

Again, none of these reasons are particularly compelling. While Khaemwaset is the only prince discussed here who definitely holds the title *ḥry-ih.w* (“overseer of stables”),²⁵ other 18th Dynasty princes held titles associated with chariotry (see **II.20.c**, **II.9**; further discussion of these specific examples below). The names of other 18th Dynasty princes also appear in various graffiti at Sehel (**IV.14**, possibly **II.23**) and Konosso (**IV.13**), although in all of these cases except for **II.23** the princes are featured alongside tutors and other officials, and so were not the (sole) authors of the graffiti. Finally, while Khaemwaset’s name is otherwise unattested among princes of this period, it is part of the titulary of Amenhotep II and thus falls within expected naming patterns for 18th Dynasty princes (see discussion in **II.22**).

The status of Djutmose X, the author of another graffito at Sehel (**II.23**) is also ambiguous. The graffito probably dates to the reign of Thutmose IV, although P. Newberry and H. Winlock disputed the reading of this king’s throne name as part of the graffito.²⁶ Several princes and kings of the name Djutmose are known, but as far as I am aware there is no other evidence for Thutmose IV having a son of this name. However, the most damning evidence against this Djutmose as a “true” royal son is the similarity between this graffito and other examples from the same context depicting known holders of the title *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš* (“King’s Son of Kush”) – in some cases using the abbreviated writing *s3 ny-sw.t*.²⁷ The possibility must be considered that this Djutmose is an otherwise unattested King’s Son of Kush.

²⁵ B. Bryan claims that this title appears in the damaged text of Giza Stele B (**II.20.c**), but it does not appear in modern copies of the text. See *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 60.

²⁶ Newberry, “Sons of Thutmose IV,” 84, n. 4.

²⁷ See the very similar graffito of Merymose from the same context, de Morgan’s no. 96 (*Catalogue des monuments I*, 91).

Ultimately, I do not find Schmitz's arguments against the status of Pentepihu and Khaemwaset as "true" royal sons to be convincing. Both princes held titles that were definitely or probably held by other 18th Dynasty princes, and I do not consider their names to be evidence against their royal status. While it is possible that reigning kings were restricted to a limited pool of names during much of the 18th Dynasty,²⁸ there is no indication that such restrictions applied to royal sons. I am, however, inclined to believe that Djutmose X was a "King's Son of Kush" rather than the biological son of a king, largely because of the context in which his graffito was found and its similarity to known "King's Son of Kush" graffiti in the same context.

Ahmose B (**II.24, II.25, II.26** and **III.31(?)**), who also held the variant title *s3 ny-sw.t m3r mr=f* ("True King's Son, His Beloved"), has also been the subject of debate. In this case, there has been disagreement over the time period to which he belonged, rather than his status as a true royal son. He is entirely unmentioned in two of the previous major publications on 18th Dynasty princes,²⁹ and earlier publications assigned him to the Ramesside or Late Period.³⁰ However, B. Bryan and W. Ghoneim have since convincingly argued that Ahmose B's floruit was the mid-late 18th Dynasty.³¹

Evidence for extended uses of *s3 ny-sw.t* during the 18th Dynasty is limited. There is one clear example of the use of *s3.t ny-sw.t* in reference to a royal granddaughter: the King's

²⁸ See discussion in **Chapter 11**.

²⁹ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*; Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose."

³⁰ See **II.24**.

³¹ Bryan, *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 67; Ghoneim, "Eine Statue," 95-106. See also discussion in **II.24-II.26**.

Daughter Nebetia, who was in fact the daughter of a King's Son named Siatum (**V.2**). However, there is no definite evidence that male royal descendants beyond the first generation could inherit the "King's Son" title during this period.

Possible evidence for the extended use of *s3 ny-sw.t* during the 18th Dynasty may be found in inscriptions from the Luxor Temple referring to Amenhotep III as the "father" of Tutankhamun.³² The question of Tutankhamun's parentage is still open, but recent DNA analysis of some of the 18th Dynasty royal mummies suggests that Amenhotep III was probably Tutankhamun's grandfather.³³ However, it must be noted, first of all, that the reliability of these results have recently been called into question due to the extreme fragility of ancient DNA;³⁴ and second, Tutankhamun's claim to a filial relationship with Amenhotep III may simply reflect the beginnings of the *damnatio memoriae* of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun's desire to associate himself with a more politically acceptable predecessor.

The basic title *s3 ny-sw.t* appears in most of the categories of monuments discussed in this dissertation, specifically categories **I**, **II**, **III**, **IV**, **V** and **VI**. It is possible that, at least in some cases, it was an abbreviation of a longer variant title, e.g. *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son").

³² L. D. Bell, "La parenté de Toutankhamon." In *Louqsor, temple du ka royal*, ed. Anonymous, 45-47 (Dijon: Faton, 1992).

³³ Hawass et al., "Ancestry and Pathology," 641.

³⁴ See E. Lorenzen and E. Willerslev, "King Tutankhamun's Family and Demise," *JAMA* 303:24 (2010), 2471.

2. *S3 ny-sw.t mr=f* and Variants

Table 3: Occurrences of the Title *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* and Variants in 18th Dynasty Monuments

Title	Name	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>s3 ny-sw.t mr=f</i>	Ramose	II.14	Reign of Thutmose I?
	Wadjmose	III.27	Reign of Thutmose I
	Nedjemi	IV.2	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
	W[ebensenu]?	IV.2	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
	Amenemopet A	II.20.a	Reign of Amenhotep II
	[Name lost]	IV.8	Reign of Thutmose IV
	Menkheperre B	II.10	Reign of Amenhotep III
<i>s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f</i>	Siatum	IV.12	Reign of Amenhotep III
<i>s3 ny-sw.t mr nb t3.wy</i>	Djhutmose A (T. IV)	II.18	Reign of Amenhotep II

Background: *S3 ny-sw.t mr=f* (“King’s Son, His Beloved”) seems to have been used exclusively by true royal sons during the 18th Dynasty and, according to Schmitz, the entire New Kingdom.³⁵ It was rare or unattested before the 18th Dynasty, although the epithet *mr=f* was added to other variants of the *s3 ny-sw.t* title (e.g. *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mr=f*) as early as the 4th Dynasty.³⁶

Royal Sons with the Title *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* in the 18th Dynasty: After the most basic form of the title, *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* is the most common variant of *s3 ny-sw.t* among 18th Dynasty royal sons. This specific variant, with no further qualifications to the title (i.e. *m3f*, *n h.t=f*, etc.), is attested 7 times during the 18th Dynasty, the first instance appearing ca. the reign of Thutmose I and the last during the reign of Amenhotep III (see **Table 3**). Examples of this title are attested

³⁵ *Untersuchungen*, 305.

³⁶ Ibid., *passim*; see Table 7 (p. 343) for specific examples dating to the Old Kingdom.

in monuments of categories **II** (monuments belonging to/dedicated by princes), **III** (monuments honoring deified princes) and **IV** (private monuments representing princes). References to the king's love also appear frequently in other common variants of the *s3 ny-sw.t* title (see below).

Two unique sub-variants are also attested: *s3 ny-sw.t mr nb t3.wy* ("King's Son, Beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands") and *s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f* ("King's Son Whom His Father Loves"). The first dates to the reign of Amenhotep II, and refers to Djutmose A, the future Thutmose IV (**II.18**). The second refers to Siatum, a son of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III (**IV.12**).

There is no clear pattern associated with the use of *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*. In most cases, it is used without other titles of rank or office. The exception is **II.20.a**, the Giza stele of Amenemopet A. Amenemopet used several epithets denoting his close relationship to the king, as well as the rank-titles *iry-p^c.t* and *h3.ty-^c* (see further discussion of these titles below).

3. *S3 ny-sw.t m3^c* and Variants

Table 4: Occurrences of the Title *s3 ny-sw.t m3^c* and Variants in 18th Dynasty Monuments

Title	Name	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c</i>	Amenhotep D ^a	V.3	Reign of Amenhotep III
<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f</i>	Wadjmose Djutmose A (T. IV) Ahmose B Aakheper[. . .]re A Aakheper[. . .]re B	III.24 ^b II.18 II.25 IV.9 IV.9	Reign of Thutmose I Reign of Amenhotep II Amenhotep II- Thutmose IV Reign of Amenhotep III Reign of Amenhotep III
<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f n s.t-ib=f</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II- Thutmose IV

^a Probably Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

^b While Wadjmose was probably a son of Thutmose I, this monument dates to the reign of Thutmose III.

Background: *s3 ny-sw.t m3c* (“True King’s Son”), with or without further qualifiers, is quite rare before the New Kingdom. Schmitz gives one pre-New Kingdom example of *s3 ny-sw.t m3c*, dating to the 13th Dynasty.³⁷

Royal Sons with the Title *s3 ny-sw.t m3c* and Variants in the 18th Dynasty: There are seven attestations of this title from the 18th Dynasty. Examples range in date from the reign of Thutmose III through the reign of Amenhotep III. Versions of this title occur in monuments of categories II, III, IV and V. The most common variant, occurring five times, is *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f*.

Schmitz asserts that the sole example of *s3 ny-sw.t m3c* without further qualifiers from the 18th Dynasty (V.3) is actually an abbreviated writing of the longer, more common title *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f* (“True King’s Son, His Beloved”).³⁸ She translates the full version of the title as “King’s Son Whom He Truly Loves.”³⁹ This interpretation is difficult to justify, since it takes *m3c* as an adverbial modifier of *mr=f*, at odds with Egyptian word order.

A longer variant of the title is attested once, in one of the monuments of Ahmose B (II.25).⁴⁰ Ahmose B is called *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f n s.t-ib=f* (“True King’s Son, His Beloved, of the Seat of His Heart”). The phrase *n s.t-ib=f* may be understood more idiomatically as “his

³⁷ *Untersuchungen*, 238.

³⁸ Ibid., 238, 295, n. 1.

³⁹ Ibid., 238.

⁴⁰ The title also appears in its more typical form on the same monument.

favorite,”⁴¹ an epithet which is in keeping with the special status of this prince as evidenced by his unusual array of titles and offices.

The title *s3 ny-sw.t m3^c* (*mr=f*) could be used in conjunction with other variants of *s3 ny-sw.t*. It was rarely used with other titles of rank or office, with the exception of its use by Ahmose B (II.25).⁴² Its use seems to have been exclusive to true royal sons during the 18th Dynasty.

4. *S3 ny-sw.t smsw* and Variants

Table 5: Occurrences of the Title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* and Variants in 18th Dynasty Monuments

Title	Name	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw</i>	Ahmose A Siamun A Amenmose Amenemhat A Djhutmose B	II.1 II.4 ^a II.19 I.2 II.29	Reign of Seqenenre-Ta'a Reign of Ahmose Reign of Thutmose I Reign of Thutmose III Reign of Amenhotep III
<i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h^c.w ntr</i>	Ahmose-Ankh	I.1	Reign of Ahmose
<i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f</i>	Djhutmose A (T. IV) ^b	VI.7	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f mry=f</i>	Djhutmose A (T. IV) ^b	VI.7	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV

^a Reading of the title uncertain.

^bRetrospective.

⁴¹ WB IV, 4.

⁴² In this case the title appears at the head of a lengthy series of titles of office: “the true King’s Son, his beloved, overseer of the houses of silver, overseer of the houses of gold, overseer of all royal works, overseer of cattle, overseer of the double granaries, overseer of the pure fields of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, who seals documents with his certificate, the chief of seers Ahmose.”

Background: The title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“Eldest King’s Son”) and its variants *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f/n h.t=f smsw* (“Eldest King’s Son of His Body”) first appeared in the 4th Dynasty and continued to be used sporadically throughout the Old Kingdom.⁴³ In its earliest occurrences, it was used almost exclusively for true royal sons. One example of a non-royal person holding the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* is attested from the transition between Dynasties 4 and 5,⁴⁴ otherwise, all holders of the title before the 6th Dynasty seem to have been of royal origin. In keeping with the trend of “title inflation” that took place at the end of the Old Kingdom, *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* became more common during the 6th Dynasty and was no longer used exclusively by true royal sons.⁴⁵

The implications of the title are difficult to discern even in its original usage. It was probably never used in the literal sense of “Eldest King’s Son.” Several 4th Dynasty kings had more than one son who held the title.⁴⁶ Therefore, it does not seem to have indicated firstborn status. It is also unlikely to have indicated the status of eldest *living* son: during the reign of Khafre, it was held by at least six different princes. If each of these princes was the eldest living king’s son in succession, then the royal children of this period must have suffered an extraordinarily high mortality rate.⁴⁷ In fact, a few of these princes probably survived beyond

⁴³ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 45-46.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 92-95.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 96-97.

the reign of their father, which may suggest that the title could be used concurrently by more than one prince of the same generation.⁴⁸

H. Junker⁴⁹ argued that the title was used by the eldest son of each royal wife, which could certainly account for the simultaneous use of the title by several royal sons. However, Schmitz found definitive evidence that a 4th Dynasty prince could be the eldest son of a queen without holding the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*.⁵⁰

Schmitz ultimately concluded that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was an indication of rank rather than age or birth-order.⁵¹ A “King’s Son” could eventually be promoted to the rank of “Eldest King’s Son” – after first attaining the intermediate rank of “King’s Son of His Body” (*s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*).⁵² M. Baud generally agreed with Schmitz’s interpretation of the use of these titles in the Old Kingdom as markers of rank or prestige, but found no evidence for a straightforward system of promotion from one rank to another.⁵³ As far as I am aware, there is no evidence to suggest that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* indicated the status of heir during the Old Kingdom.

S3 ny-sw.t smsw continued to be used during the First Intermediate Period, but evidence is so scarce that the title’s use is even more difficult to assess for this period than during the Old

⁴⁸ See e.g. Iunre, Iunmin and Ankhmare in Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families*, 56-58.

⁴⁹ H. Junker, *Giza II* (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G., 1934), 35-37.

⁵⁰ *Untersuchungen*, 97. This does not necessarily disprove Junker’s hypothesis, but it does demonstrate that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was not a title that *had* to be used by a queen’s eldest son.

⁵¹ Ibid., 102.

⁵² Ibid. For discussion of *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*, see below.

⁵³ M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l’Ancien Empire*, vol. 1 (Cairo: BIFAO), 179-181.

Kingdom.⁵⁴ After a hiatus in the 11th Dynasty (during which the masculine title *s3 ny-sw.t* is unattested in any form; see above), the title resurfaces in the 12th Dynasty. Schmitz suggests that *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, particularly in combination with the title *iry-p.t*, may have indicated the status of heir during the 12th Dynasty. However, since only one *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* is known from the 12th Dynasty (*Imni*, the future Amenemhat II), this hypothesis is impossible to confirm.⁵⁵

The title is rare during the 2nd Intermediate Period, with most examples coming from seals and lacking the necessary context to determine the function of the title. The sole exception (aside from Ahmose A, **II.1**) is a fragment of an obelisk inscribed with the name of a *s3 ny-sw.t smsw Nhsy*, probably the 14th Dynasty king Nehesy. While Nehesy did attain (localized) kingship, his use of the *smsw* qualifier is not, as Schmitz points out, sufficient evidence to suggest that the title was used by crown princes during this period.⁵⁶

Royal Sons with the Title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* and Variants in the 18th Dynasty: The meaning of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the 18th Dynasty has been investigated in previous literature, with conflicting results. B. Schmitz concluded that the title was used in its literal sense during this period, with the specific connotation of first-born (as opposed to eldest surviving) son.⁵⁷ Schmitz did not take the title to be a direct indication of the bearer's status as

⁵⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 172-175.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 187.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 214-215.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 297-299.

heir, although first-born princes “von Geburt aus gewisse Ansprüche auf die Thronfolge hatte.”⁵⁸

A. Dodson, on the other hand, has taken the title to mean “Crown Prince” on the basis of Kitchen’s analysis of the use of *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the Ramesside period.⁵⁹ Kitchen described *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* as a “purely political term denoting the declared heir-apparent” (as opposed to *s3 ny-sw.t tpy*, “First King’s Son,” which seems to have referred to the eldest surviving son).⁶⁰ However, as the discussion above demonstrates, the meaning of this title was not necessarily stable from one period to another, and therefore its use during the 18th Dynasty must be examined separately from the way it was used in later periods.

In its most basic form (*s3 ny-sw.t smsw*), this title appears five times in the material discussed in this dissertation. The earliest example (**II.1**) dates to the reign of Seqenenre Ta’ā, and so properly belongs to the end of the 17th Dynasty.

Three variant forms are attested, two of which come from the same monument (**VI.7**) and refer to the same prince. Ahmose-ankh (**I.1**) bears the unique title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n ḥr.w ntr* (“Eldest King’s Son of the God’s Body”), while Thutmose IV is retrospectively called *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* (“Eldest King’s Son of His Body”) and *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f mry=f* (“Eldest King’s Son of His Body, His Beloved”) in TT 64 (**VI.7**).

⁵⁸ Ibid., 299.

⁵⁹ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmos,” 88, n. 10.

⁶⁰ K. A. Kitchen, “The Twentieth Dynasty Revisited,” *JEA* 68 (1982), 121.

Putting all examples, including the variants, in chronological order, reveals a pattern already observed by Schmitz: five of the 9 kings of the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period (Ahmose, Thutmose I, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III) have a single attested “Eldest Son” – as does the final king of the 17th Dynasty (Seqenenre Ta’ā).⁶¹ Ahmose may have had a second *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* if the docket on Siamun A’s mummy wrappings has been read correctly.

Quite striking is the fact that only one of the title-holders in question (Djutmose A/Thutmose IV) actually attained kingship, and in his case the only attested uses of the title are retrospective, and in combination with the qualifier *n h.t=f*. There is no compelling evidence to support the idea that *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was an explicit designation of the status of heir during the 18th Dynasty. In contrast to the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (see below), the use of this title generally does not correlate with eventual kingship or (in the case of princes who predeceased their fathers) special funerary honors.⁶²

Another notable aspect of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* is that it seems to have been restricted in its use mainly to documents of categories I (royal monuments) and II (monuments belonging to princes) with the single exception of VI.7. In other words, the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was apparently not relevant or appropriate in most representations of princes in the monuments of their non-royal associates, or in cultic depictions of princes. In this respect, the use of *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* parallels the use of most titles of rank and office, which also do not

⁶¹ *Untersuchungen*, 297.

⁶² E.g. burial in a royal tomb.

usually appear in monuments of type **III** (monuments of deified princes) or **IV** (private monuments).

Finally, princes who held the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* did not use the title consistently. Djhutmose B, for example, is known from perhaps as many as six or seven monuments (not all can be definitely identified with Djhutmose B), but he is called *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* in only one (**II.29**).

Two possible interpretations suggest themselves: a) the qualifier *smsw* was often omitted from the full title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, perhaps for the sake of brevity or when it was deemed inappropriate for the context; or b) the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was bestowed at some point during the holder's lifetime and appears only in monuments created after the prince in question was "promoted" to the rank of *smsw*.

There is little clear support for either explanation. However, of these two possibilities, the former seems more likely. Of the various attested monuments of Djhutmose B, a handful are probably posthumous (e.g. **II.28**, which is definitely a funerary object). If the *smsw* title had been bestowed upon him at some point during his lifetime and was consistently used after that point, one would expect it to appear in his funerary monuments. Note that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was not incompatible with funerary representations, as demonstrated by its appearance on the funerary statue of Ahmose A (**II.1**), and possibly on the mummy wrappings of Siamun A (**II.4**).

It appears more probable that, for reasons unclear, the title was often abbreviated or omitted. There exist demonstrable examples of this sort of abbreviation for other titles – see, for example the use of *s3 ny-sw.t* for *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš* (“King’s Son of Kush”) in the graffito of Merymose at Sehel.⁶³ Similarly, it has been suggested that the masculine title *mn*^c (“tutor”) may have been an abbreviated form of the title *it mn*^c (“foster father,” lit. “father of nursing”).⁶⁴

Unfortunately, the sample size is too small to suggest any definite conclusions regarding the significance of *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the 18th Dynasty. However, the high status of the princes who used the title and the special nature of their relationships with the reigning king are suggested by the types of monuments in which they appear. Ahmose-Ankh, Amenemhat A and Djhutmose B are all among the small handful of princes who appear in royal monuments (although Djhutmose B is not given the *smsw* title in any attested monuments of this type). Similarly, Ahmose A’s funerary statue (**II.1**) was dedicated by members of the royal family (including his father, Seqenenre Ta’ā), while Amenmose is given the title in conjunction with a rare historical inscription linking the prince to a reigning king, presumably his father (**II.19**). Finally, Thutmose IV used the title retrospectively, presumably to indicate his special status before attaining kingship (**VI.7**).

⁶³ De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments I*, 91, no. 96.

⁶⁴ Roehrig, “18th Dynasty Titles,” 322-323.

5. *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and Variants

Table 6: Occurrences of the Title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and Variants in 18th Dynasty Monuments

Title	Name	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f</i>	Wadjmose Amenhotep- Merykhepesh ^a Amenhotep C Amenemhat C	III.28 IV.4 IV.8 IV.8	Reign of Thutmose I Reign of Thutmose IV Reign of Thutmose IV Reign of Thutmose IV
<i>s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f</i> <i>mry=f</i>	Webensenu Amenhotep- Merykhepesh? ^b Tutankhaten	II.8 IV.4 I.5	Reign of Amenhotep II Reign of Thutmose IV Reign of Akhenaten

^a Probably =Amenhotep C

^b Reconstructed. A lacuna after *h.t[=f]* may contain the further qualifier *mry=f*.

Background: The earliest attestations of the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (“King’s Son, of His Body”) are roughly contemporary with those of *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“King’s Eldest Son”). It first appears as a masculine title in the early 4th Dynasty, but the feminine equivalent is attested as early as the 3rd Dynasty.⁶⁵ Schmitz concluded that this title, like *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, was an indication of rank even in its earliest uses – i.e., it was not meant to be a literal indication of blood relationship to a king.⁶⁶ In the early Old Kingdom, *s3 ny-sw.t* alone was sufficient to indicate a filial relationship to a king. Therefore, the addition of *n h.t=f* was not necessary to indicate a blood relationship, and may have served to emphasize an additional special relationship between the title holder and the king.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 44.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 66.

The title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* is attested in an extended sense quite early in the Old Kingdom – it was used, for example, by Nefermaat I's son Hemiunu.⁶⁸ It is also probable that the title was used in a metaphorical or honorific sense as early as the 4th Dynasty, i.e. by people who were not actually of royal ancestry.⁶⁹

S3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f virtually vanished from use as a masculine title at the end of the Old Kingdom, and did not return to regular use until the beginning of the New Kingdom. A single example of a *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* is attested from the 12th Dynasty.⁷⁰ In contrast, the feminine version of the title remained in use throughout the entire period between the Third Dynasty and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and beyond (with the possible exception of the First and Second Intermediate Periods, for which data are too limited to make a determination).⁷¹

Royal Sons with the Title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and Variants in the 18th Dynasty: The masculine title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* saw a revival in the 18th Dynasty. In its simplest form, it appears on three monuments and in reference to four different princes. The earliest of these potentially dates to the reign of Thutmose I (**III.28**), but is possibly much later. It comes from

⁶⁸ I.e. the grandson of a king rather than a literal “king’s son.” Ibid., 67-68.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 70ff.

⁷⁰ The prince in question is a son of Senusret I named Imeny, who is also the only attested “Eldest King’s Son” of the 12th Dynasty. Ibid., 186-187.

⁷¹ A single princess of the 13th Dynasty is attested with the title *s3.t ny-sw.t n.t h.t=f* (ibid., 210). Schmitz says very little about the significance of the feminine title *s3.t ny-sw.t n.(t) h.t=f* (“King’s Daughter of His Body”) at any period, except to note that, by the late Old Kingdom, it had lost its literal sense of “biological daughter of the king” and was sometimes used metaphorically (*Untersuchung*, 113). However, bearers of this title from the Middle Kingdom on seem to have been “true” princesses. The meaning(s) of this feminine royal title and the reasons for its persistence (in contrast to the masculine counterpart) require closer examination. An in-depth study of the use of this title by royal women may provide insight into the significance of the masculine title *s3 ny-sw.t n-h.t=f*; however, such a study is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

the context of the Chapel of Wadjmose, which contained dedicatory monuments ranging in date from ca. the reign of Thutmose I through the 19th Dynasty. Unfortunately, Daressy's description of this fragmentary statue provides no information that might help determine the date of the composition, and as far as I know it is otherwise unpublished.

With the possible outlier of **III.28**, the other examples date to the late 18th Dynasty (specifically, the reign of Thutmose IV). Two princes holding the same title (Amenhotep C and Amenemhat C) appear in **IV.8/VI.7** (the scene from TT 64 depicting two royal tutors and several princes). In the same scene, Thutmose IV himself is depicted retrospectively with the combined title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* ("Eldest King's Son, of His Body").

The variant *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mry=f* appears in a shabti of Webensenu dating to the reign of Amenhotep II (**II.8**) and one monument (**I.5**) dating to the Amarna period. It may also be attested in the reign of Thutmose IV in reference to Amenhotep Merykhepeshef (**IV.4**), but in this case *mry=f* is a restoration. A lacuna appearing after *n h.t* appears too long to contain the pronoun *=f* alone. A restoration of *mry=f* is reasonable here in light of near-contemporary examples of the variant title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mry=f*.

S3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f and its variants appear in monuments of categories I (royal monuments), II (monuments belonging to princes), III (monuments depicting deified princes) and IV (private monuments). At least two princes holding this title went on to attain kingship: Amenhotep-Merykhepeshef (the future Amenhotep III, probably identical with Amenhotep C) and Tutankhaten. Likewise, Thutmose IV used the *n h.t=f* qualifier retrospectively in

conjunction with *smsw*. The apparent use of the title by multiple princes of the same generation⁷² (see IV.8/VI.7) may suggest that it was not a signifier of the status of heir; however, the example in question is open to interpretation, and does not necessarily indicate that these princes held the title at the same time. The implications of this representation will be discussed further below.

6. Miscellaneous Titles and Epithets Indicating Royal Filiation and Other Kin

Relationships

A small number of unique titles and epithets were used by 18th Dynasty princes to indicate the nature of their relationship(s) to a king or another member of the royal family. One of the earliest examples of such is the epithet *p3 irw ny-sw.t* (“The One Whom the King Made”) which appears on the pyramidion of a prince Ahmose (probably Ahmose A/Ahmose Sapair, II.2.a), dating to the late 17th or very early 18th Dynasty. In a fragmentary portion of the same text, the prince is called *p3(?) ir.n[. . .]* (“The One(?) Whom [. . .] Made”). These epithets may have eventually evolved into the later form Sapair, which seems to have been a posthumous nickname of Ahmose A.⁷³

Two of the princes who left monuments at Giza during the reign of Amenhotep II used epithets suggestive of divine birth. Amenemopet A, in addition to holding the title *s3 ny-sw.t*

⁷² If indeed these princes were of the same generation; see discussion under IV.8.

⁷³ See discussion in II.2.a.

mr=f (“King’s Son, His Beloved”), describes himself as *swḥ.t ikr.t pr m [ḥ.w=f?]* (“excellent egg which came forth from [his body?]”) and [. . .] *pr m ḥ.w=f* (“[. . .] who came forth from his body”) (II.20.a). The expression *swḥ.t ikr(.t)* is typically used in reference to kings as the offspring of gods (usually Amun or Re, occasionally Atum) – the imagery here is explicitly royal.⁷⁴ The phrase *swḥ.t ikr(.t)* first appeared as a kingly epithet during the 18th Dynasty and was fairly common during the mid-late part of the dynasty (Thutmose III-Amenhotep III). Its usage continued during the Ramesside period.⁷⁵

The text of the roughly contemporary Giza Stele B (II.20.c) contains the phrase *swḥ.t ntr pr.t hnt=f* (“the egg of the god which came forth before him”⁷⁶). The passage in question is broken, so it is not entirely clear whether the epithet refers to the owner of the stele or to the king. The phrase appears in the context of an appeal to readers of the monument to praise the king and Atum on behalf of the stele’s owner. However, the epithet *swḥ.t ntr pr.t hnt=f* is immediately followed by an entreaty to “pronounce [his] name,” presumably in reference to the owner of the monument. Given the immediate context of the phrase and the monument’s other parallels to the stele of Amenemopet A, I would argue that it is highly probable that the epithet is used here in reference to the owner of Stele B rather than to a king.

⁷⁴ Cf. an inscription on an ebony couch of Tutankhamun, describing the king as *ti.t R^c swḥ(.t) ikr(.t) pr m ḥ.w=f* (“Image of Re, excellent egg who came forth from his body”), in Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1989), 20 (no. 47); the *swḥ.t ikr(.t)* epithet was also used by Seti I, Luxor Temple, east architrave inscription, east face, in Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1998), 47.

⁷⁵ N. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1986), 97, n. 239.

⁷⁶ Presumably the sense here is that the egg emerged from the body of the god into the space before him (i.e. the god).

Titles or epithets denoting relationships between princes and family members other than a king are rare during the 18th Dynasty. One possible example is Nebnefer (**II.17**), who is described as *ms.n wr.t hnr Ⲉ(.t) Imn m ḥnk.t-‘nh mw.t ny-sw.t m3t hrw* (“whom the great overseer of the musical troupe of Amun in Henqet-ankh, the King’s Mother, true-of-voice, bore”). Nebnefer is thus indirectly described as a king’s brother, a relationship which is virtually never expressed directly at any period of pharaonic history. The queen in question is not named (nor is the king to whom she was mother). However, if D. Metawi is correct in identifying her as Isis, the mother of Thutmose III,⁷⁷ then it is likely that Nebnefer was also a royal son – unless he was the product of a previous or subsequent marriage of Isis, and thus a non-royal half-brother of a king.⁷⁸

A rare direct reference to a collateral relationship between two princes appears in the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (**IV.5**). In the scene depicting Wadjmose and Amenmose seated together as adults, Amenmose is called *sn=f mr=f s3 ny-sw.t Imn-ms* (“His brother, his beloved, the King’s Son Amenmose”). The antecedent of *sn=f mr=f* is presumably Wadjmose, whose name and title appear directly before those of Amenmose (as does his figure in the accompanying scene).

⁷⁷ “A Brother for Thutmose III,” 107.

⁷⁸ I am unaware of any cases of prior marriages or subsequent re-marriages of King’s Wives to non-royal men. One possible exception is the apparent marriage of Ankhesenamun to Ay after the death of Tutankhamun; however, this union presumably took place contemporaneously with Ay’s attainment of kingship. The only evidence for the marriage of Ay and Ankhesenamun is a faience ring bearing both of their names in cartouches. This object was originally described by P. E. Newberry in “King Ay, the Successor of Tut’ankhamūn,” *JEA* 18 (1932), 50. It was later obtained by the Berlin Museum (Inv. No. 1920/73). See D. Ulrich and R. Krauss, “Ein gläserner Doppelring aus Altägypten,” *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 19 (1982), 199–212.

Finally, Amenemopet A, the prince of Giza Stele C (**II.20.a**), bears the unusual epithet *mrr.w sn.w=f* (“beloved of his brothers”). In fact, this epithet was deemed important enough to place between the prince’s name and his more standard (but damaged) royal kinship title, *sʒ ny-sw.t* [. . .].⁷⁹ It is possible that the other male figures represented on the stele were Amenemopet’s brothers.

7. Untitled King’s Sons

In a few cases, the title *sʒ ny-sw.t* (or any variant thereof) is entirely absent, but the individual in question can be identified as a royal son by means of contextual or comparative evidence. In most of the cases discussed in this dissertation, the absent title was probably present at one time in lost or damaged inscriptions (see, e.g., Giza Stelae A and B, **II.20.b-c**). However, in a number of examples, the title is simply omitted.

This phenomenon appears to be most common in documents of **category III** (monuments associated with the cult of deified deceased princes), and may also occur in **category II** (monuments dedicated to or by princes). The *sʒ ny-sw.t* title is omitted from several of the monuments definitely or possibly belonging to Ahmose Sapair (**III.5-III.10**, **III.12**, **III.14**, **III.17**, **III.19**). In some of these examples, particularly **III.7-III.10**, it is unclear whether or not the person represented is Ahmose Sapair or even a royal person (although **III.8** depicts a person in

⁷⁹ It is likely that the lacuna that appears at this point in the text contained the qualifier *mr=f*, since the title *sʒ ny-sw.t mr=f* is preserved in another part of the inscription.

kingly attire). However, iconography, the use of the distinctive Sapair epithet and contextual information – such as the presence of other deified royal figures in the same scene as the prince – are sufficient in the other examples to positively identify the person in question as Ahmose Sapair.

The title was generally present in the earliest monuments belonging to Sapair, but its inclusion seems to have become less important as he became a well-established cult figure later in the 18th Dynasty. The tendency to omit the *s3 ny-sw.t* title may have contributed to later confusion about the identity of Ahmose Sapair. See, for example, the erroneous identification of Ahmose Sapair as a king in the Abbott Tomb Robbery Papyrus (discussed in II.1).

Among the objects discovered at the Wadjmose chapel is a statue dedicated to an Ahmose without princely titles (III.31). The statue is fragmentary, but surviving inscriptions indicate that the object was dedicated by Ahmose's granddaughter (whose name is not preserved) as a funerary monument. Aside from the omission of *s3 ny-sw.t*, this Ahmose's titles are consistent with those of Ahmose B.

There is also evidence for the omission of the *s3 ny-sw.t* title in reference to princes as participants in cultic activity related to the royal family. One possible example of this phenomenon is the fragmentary stele of Binpu from the chapel of Wadjmose (III.30). It is clear from the surviving text that Binpu was the dedicator of the monument rather than the dedicatee. The surviving inscription which provides his name and titles does not include any princely titles, although it is possible that *s3 ny-sw.t* could have appeared in a small lacuna

before his broken priestly title. Unfortunately, there are no published photographs of this monument, as far as I am aware, so the size of the lacuna and its possible contents are difficult to judge.

A second possible example of an untitled king's son participating in a royal cult has already been discussed above: namely, the statue of Nebnefer and his wife (**II.17**). Here Nebnefer acts in the capacity of a priest for the cult of a king who was, presumably, a relative: his brother, Thutmose III. These examples leave open the question of whether other "untitled" 18th Dynasty royal sons may be attested, but cannot be identified as such due to a lack of further evidence.⁸⁰

The reasons for the omission of the title in these cases are unclear. In the case of Ahmose Sapair, the use of the *s3 ny-sw.t* title seems to have become optional after a certain point. Perhaps this is because his status as a deified royal ancestor in the more general sense had become more important than his specific status as a prince, or because he was such a well-known figure that it was not always deemed necessary to specify his royal identity.⁸¹

The other cases are more difficult to assess, because they are more isolated. Perhaps in some contexts related to the cult of the royal family (i.e., in which a prince was acting as a participant rather than the object of worship), the use of the King's Son title was considered inappropriate, or at least optional. This was certainly not always the case, as demonstrated by

⁸⁰ This will be discussed further in **Chapter 11**, §d.

⁸¹ Cf. the tendency, in some depictions of royal tutors with their charges, to omit titles associated with the guardianship/tutelage of the royal child, presumably because the nature of the monument was sufficient to express the role of the guardian in relation to the child. See Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 277, 286.

an early monument depicting a “King’s Son Ahmose” as an offering bearer on a stele belonging to an unknown – but probably royal – individual (**II.13**). Note, however, that this monument belongs more properly to the end of the 17th Dynasty, and that conventions governing the representation of royal children evolved during the formative years of the 18th Dynasty.

In the case of the statue of Nebnefer and Tawosret (**II.17**), a possible explanation presents itself. Nebnefer’s monument indirectly identifies its subject as a king’s brother. In this specific case, the avoidance of any royal kinship titles may stem from an effort to describe Nebnefer’s relationship to Thuthmose III – the specific king named in the monument – without running afoul of the taboo surrounding the use of the kinship term *sn ny-sw.t* (“King’s Brother”).⁸² In other words, Nebnefer’s relationship to his royal *brother* is more important in this context than his relationship to his (presumably deceased) father.

It is more difficult to say why the title would be absent from the monuments of Binpu and Ahmose in the temple of Wadjmose. However, both of the monuments in question are fragmentary, and it is possible that the “King’s Son” title is simply lost due to damage in one or both cases.

⁸² This issue is discussed in detail in J. Revez’s dissertation on the role of the “King’s Brother” in pharaonic Egypt, “Frere du roi,” and also in his article “The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* ‘Brother,’” *JARCE* 40 (2003), 130. See also **Chapter 1** of this dissertation.

c. Discussion and Conclusions

Types of royal kinship titles: The princes of the 18th Dynasty used a wider variety of royal kinship titles than the princes of any previous period in pharaonic history. The group of royal kinship titles or epithets used during this period can be divided into several distinct categories:

a) *Titles that had remained in continuous or near-continuous use since the Old Kingdom or earlier (*sʒ ny-sw.t*, *sʒ ny-sw.t smsw*)*. These titles seem to have been used exclusively for “true” royal sons in the 18th Dynasty (that is, individuals who were descended from a king).⁸³ It is unclear whether they could be used in an extended sense (i.e. for royal grandsons or other lineal descendants).

b) *Titles from earlier periods that had mostly or entirely fallen out of use, and were apparently revitalized during the 18th Dynasty.* The most clear-cut example of this type is the title *sʒ ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and its variants, which almost entirely disappeared as a masculine title after the Old Kingdom. It is possible that the apparent disappearance of this title reflects the limitations of available data on princes from the First Intermediate Period through the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. However, a sufficient number of princes of the Second Intermediate Period are attested to suggest that the title was, at the very least, uncommon during this period.

⁸³ In the few 18th Dynasty cases where *sʒ ny-sw.t* was used by a non-royal individual, it seems to have been an abbreviation of a longer title, e.g. *sʒ ny-sw.t n Kš* (“King’s Son of Kush”). See discussion of the title *sʒ ny-sw.t* above.

The *n h.t=f* qualifier experienced a revival in the late 18th Dynasty (beginning ca. the reign of Thutmose IV), although it is possible that it was in use earlier (see III.28, an undated but presumably posthumous monument of Wadjmose). Like *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, this title seems to have been restricted to true royal descendants during the 18th Dynasty.

c) *Previously unattested (or rare) titles of royal kinship (s3 ny-sw.t mr=f, s3 ny-sw.t m3c* and their variants). Both *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* and *s3 ny-sw.t m3c* (*mr=f*, etc.) were exclusively used by individuals of royal birth during the 18th Dynasty. As discussed above, *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* (“King’s Son, His Beloved”) is unattested before the New Kingdom, although the *mr=f* qualifier was sometimes appended to longer royal kingship titles (*s3 ny-sw.t smsw/n h.t=f*) in earlier periods.

Although *s3 ny-sw.t m3c* (“True King’s Son”) is attested once in the 13th Dynasty,⁸⁴ the usual form of this title in the 18th Dynasty is *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f* (“True King’s Son, His Beloved”). It is difficult to say whether a direct connection can be drawn between the lone 13th Dynasty example and the fairly common occurrences of this title during the 18th Dynasty, since it is absolutely unknown during the remainder of the Second Intermediate Period.⁸⁵

d) *Unique titles and epithets expressing royal kinship.* A small number of unique epithets expressing royal kinship are attested during the 18th Dynasty, including *p3 irw ny-sw.t* (“The One Whom the King Made,” in reference to Ahmose A, possibly related to the epithet or nickname

⁸⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchung*, 238. It is impossible to determine, from the available information, whether or not this person was actually of royal birth.

⁸⁵ It is possible that the title was in use during the Second Intermediate Period but no examples have survived. In any case, it is not possible to draw a direct line between the 13th Dynasty example and the 18th Dynasty usage based on the evidence currently available.

Sapair); and variants on “Excellent/Divine Egg,” which appear in the Giza stelae (**II.20.a** and **II.20.c**). The latter are remarkable in that they are also attested as kingly epithets during the 18th Dynasty (see discussion above).

Comments on patterns of title usage: For many of these titles and epithets, the evidence is too limited to draw definite conclusions regarding their use and meaning during the 18th Dynasty. However, an examination of the distribution of titles suggests patterns of usage.

The data demonstrate that individual princes could hold multiple titles or epithets expressing royal kinship. In most cases, it is difficult to assess whether these titles were held simultaneously or consecutively over a prince’s lifetime. The two princes for whom the greatest number of titles are attested are Wadjmose and Djhutmose A (Thutmose IV), each of whom held at least four royal kinship titles.

For Wadjmose, the titles *s3 ny-sw.t*, *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*, *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f*, and *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* are attested. Wadjmose’s profusion of titles may be attributable in part to his exceptionally large number of monuments (ten in all dating to the 18th Dynasty, including his chapel, **II.15/III.22**). Since most or all of Wadjmose’s known monuments were created posthumously over a significant span of time, it is unclear how many of these titles he would have used during his lifetime and how many may have been assigned after his death.

Wadjmose is called *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* on a slab from his chapel, part of an object dedicated by a funerary priest who served in the mortuary cults of both Wadjmose and

Thutmose III (**III.27**; for another monument of the priest Pawah mentioning Wadjmose, see **II.16**). This monument presumably dates to sometime after the reign of Thutmose III.

Wadjmose is called *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f* in a monument that can be dated securely to the reign of Thutmose III (**III.24**). This is the stele of Senimes, a private monument which also bears the unusual distinction of depicting the prince in the company of his father, Thutmose I. Senimes was the tutor of a King's Son Wadjmose – possibly a separate individual from the Wadjmose of the funerary cult who is depicted in the lunette of **III.24**.⁸⁶ Assuming that only one Wadjmose is represented here, then Senimes would have been close to the prince during his lifetime.

Finally, Wadjmose is called *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* in an undated and fragmentary group statue from his chapel (**III.28**). It is possible that this object, like **III.24**, represented Wadjmose in the company of Thutmose I – who is also named in the surviving inscriptions.

Aside from the generic *s3 ny-sw.t*, all of Wadjmose's royal kinship titles emphasize his emotional and physical closeness to his father. There is no direct evidence that Wadjmose ever held the status of heir, but it is apparent that his status as a royal son was exceptional. In

⁸⁶ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 81-82, 85-86, 88-89. Roehrig's argument for two separate princes named Wadjmose hinges in part on the scenes from the tomb of Pahery at El-Kab (**IV.5**). In one scene, a prince Wadjmose is depicted as an adult in the company of Pahery's father, Itrury (also clearly stated to be the tutor of a "King's Son Wadjmose"); in the other, a small prince Wadjmose is depicted sitting in the lap of Pahery. As Roehrig states, "If, indeed, Pahery and his father were tutors of the same Wadjmose, it is odd that Pahery is shown with the prince on his lap as a young child . . . , while Itruri is shown in a scene with the full grown prince and his brother Amenmose seated in front of Itruri and his wife" (82). Note, however, that the latter scene represents both the princes and Pahery's parents as venerated deceased persons. In such contexts, 18th Dynasty princes are almost invariably represented as adults (see **Chapter 10**). Therefore, this scene should not necessarily be read as an indication that Wadjmose ever attained adulthood.

addition to being the subject of a prominent local cult in Thebes, Wadjmose was depicted at least once in the company of his father (albeit on a private rather than royal monument). He was also granted the unusual distinction of having his name frequently placed in a cartouche, an honor that few other 18th Dynasty princes received.⁸⁷

Djhutmose A, who eventually attained kingship (as Thutmoses IV), held the titles *s3 ny-sw.t*, *s3 ny-sw.t mr nb t3.wy*, and *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f* as a prince. These three titles are all attested on a single monument dedicated by the prince's tutor, Heqareshu (**II.18**). Thutmoses IV was retrospectively given the titles *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* and its variant, *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f mry=f*, in the tomb of the same tutor (**IV.8/VI.7**).

The concurrent use of three princely titles for Djhutmose A on the statue **II.18** indicates that multiple royal kinship titles could be held *simultaneously* by a single prince. It is also notable that Djhutmose A's attested titles closely resemble those of Wadjmose. In addition to the basic title *s3 ny-sw.t*, both held the title *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f* and variants of *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*. Both also used the qualifier *n h.t=f*, although Djhutmose A used it retrospectively and in combination with *smsw*.

Although there are no other attested cases of an 18th Dynasty prince holding such a high number of royal kinship titles, several seem to have held at least two or three. Most commonly, princes for whom more than one royal kinship title is attested held one variant title in addition to the basic title *s3 ny-sw.t*. This group includes Wadjmose's brother Amenmose (*s3 ny-sw.t*, *s3*

⁸⁷ See further discussion in **Chapter 10**.

ny-sw.t smsw), Amenemhat C (*s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*), Djhutmose B (*s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t smsw*) and Siatum (*s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f*).

At least three royal kinship titles are attested for Ahmose B: *s3 ny-sw.t* and *s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f*, as well as the unique variant *s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f n s.t-ib=f*. Both of the latter titles appear in the same monument, a funerary statue of the prince from Coptos (II.25). While there is no evidence to suggest that Ahmose B ever held the status of heir to the throne, he did hold an unusual array of titles of rank and office (to be discussed below). The number and quality of his monuments, as well as his exceptionally high number of titles and offices, indicate that he was both a high-ranking prince and an active member of the royal administration. Likewise, Websensenu held the titles *s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*, and *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mr=f*. Webensenu's special status is indicated by the fact that he was honored by a burial in the tomb of his father, Amenhotep II, whom he apparently predeceased.

If Ahmose A is to be identified with Ahmose Sapair, then he held at least two royal kinship titles (*s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t smsw*) and at least two unique epithets probably or possibly expressing royal kinship (*p3 irw ny-sw.t* and the apparently posthumous epithet *S3-p3-ir*).

Amenhotep C is called both *s3 ny-sw.t* and *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*. Both titles appear in TT64 (IV.8). It is likely that Amenhotep C was identical with Amenhotep-Merykhepesh (the future Amenhotep III), for whom the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* is also attested, possibly alongside the variant *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mry=f* (see IV.4).

For most of the other known 18th Dynasty princes, only a single royal kinship title is attested. This is probably due at least in part to the limited number of surviving monuments associated with each of these princes.

Conclusions: On the basis of the evidence laid out above, I propose a number of hypotheses about the meanings and functions of the title *s3 ny-sw.t* and its variants during the 18th Dynasty.

1) With the exception of a small number of specific administrative and priestly titles (*s3 ny-sw.t n Kš*, *s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 h3s.wt rsy.t*, *s3 ny-sw.t tpy n [DN]*), *s3 ny-sw.t* and its variants were used exclusively by people of royal blood during the 18th Dynasty. There is too little evidence to determine whether the masculine title *s3 ny-sw.t* or any of its variants could be used in the extended sense (e.g. for royal grandsons and other lineal descendants). However, there is clear evidence that the female offspring of princes could use the title *s3.t ny-sw.t* during this period.

2) The title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son") was not associated with the status of heir during the 18th Dynasty. I have found no correlation between the use of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* and its variants and the eventual attainment of kingship, except for the singular retrospective use of the variant *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* by Thutmose IV (**VI.7**). To elaborate,

among the 18th Dynasty kings for whom pre-kingship monuments have survived, there are no attested (non-retrospective) uses of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*.⁸⁸

While B. Schmitz's hypothesis that *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* designated the status of first-born son cannot be ruled out, the evidence supporting this idea is not particularly strong. One would expect, as Schmitz pointed out, that first-born princes would automatically have some claim to the throne.⁸⁹ Again, if such were the case, one would also expect a stronger correlation between the use of the *smsw* title and eventual kingship.

Furthermore, I would argue that the use of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* by Amenmose is evidence against the meaning "King's First-Born Son." In the tomb of Pahery (**IV.5**), Wadjmose and Amenmose appear side-by-side as beatified deceased adults (fig. 67). Although they are depicted as equals in terms of scale and iconography, Wadjmose is placed in initial position, and Amenmose is defined in terms of his relationship to Wadjmose (*sn=f mr=f*, "his brother, his beloved"). If Amenmose were the first born son of Thutmose I, one would expect their positions to be reversed. On the other hand, the text of the Giza naos of Amenmose (**II.19**) suggests that Amenmose was already an adult early in the reign of Thutmose I.⁹⁰ It is possible that Amenmose was in fact the eldest son of Thutmose I, but for some reason did not attain the

⁸⁸ In contrast, *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* ("King's Son of His Body") is attested in pre-kingship monuments of at least two princes who became kings, and is also associated with special funerary honors for princes who predeceased their fathers. See further discussion below.

⁸⁹ *Untersuchungen*, 299.

⁹⁰ The text is dated to Thutmose I's fourth regnal year, and the prince is given a high-ranking military title (*imy-r3 ms3 wr n it=f*, "Generalissimo of His Father"). Assuming that Amenmose actually exercised this office in his father's fourth year, then he must have been at least a young adult at the time, and was therefore born before Thutmose I became king.

same status as his younger brother Wadjmose – perhaps because Wadjmose was born *after* Thutmose I had become king (and was thus born a King’s Son rather than attaining this rank later in life).⁹¹

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that Ahmose may have had two sons who used the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (or variants thereof) – which, if true, would also argue against the meaning of “King’s First-Born Son.” It could, however, lend credence to the reading of this title as “King’s Eldest (surviving) Son.”

The evidence for Ahmose having two “eldest sons” is not strong. Ahmose-Ankh (**I.1**) is given the variant title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h3.w ntr* (“Eldest King’s Son of the God’s Body”) in the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari. The mummy wrappings of Siamun A (**II.4**), who has been identified as a son of Ahmose based on the similarity between the coffins of Siamun A and Ahmose, may be inscribed with the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*. However, the reading of this title is uncertain, and a stylistic similarity between the coffins of Ahmose and Siamun A is not sufficient evidence for a filial relationship.

The actual significance of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* during the 18th Dynasty remains obscure. Given the restricted range of contexts in which *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was used (see further discussion below), I would argue that it may have been an indicator of rank among royal sons,

⁹¹ Unfortunately, this hypothesis – i.e. that a prince’s status might be affected by birth before vs. during the reign of his father – is difficult to evaluate due to a lack of evidence. In general during the 18th Dynasty it is difficult to determine when a prince was born with any degree of precision, so I am unaware of any parallel situations in which a king had children who were born before he attained the throne.

much as it was in its earliest uses. It never appears with other titles of rank (e.g. *iry-p̄.t, h3.ty-‘*) which may suggest that it superseded, or was incompatible with, other rank titles.

3) The title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and its variants show a much stronger correlation than *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* with the eventual attainment of kingship. It is likely that all but three of the holders of the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (Wadjmose, Webensenu and Amenemhat C) acceded to the throne. All three of those princes seem to have predeceased their fathers, and all three were given special honors after death. Wadjmose's extraordinary status after death as evidenced by his numerous cult monuments, as well as the frequent (and exceptional) use of a cartouche in the writing of his name, suggest that he may have attained the status of heir before his premature death. Likewise, Websensenu and Amenemhat C were both honored with burials in their fathers' tombs, suggesting that they held special status during life.

The most damning evidence against the use of *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and its variants as an indication of the status of heir is the simultaneous use of this title by Amenhotep C and Amenemhat C in TT 64 (**IV.8**). However, this scene clearly does not depict an actual moment in time – in the same scene, Thutmose IV is depicted as a prince in the lap of his tutor and as a reigning king simultaneously. Therefore, the use of the same title by Amenhotep C and Amenemhat C in this scene should not necessarily be taken as an indication that these princes actually held the title at the same time or even that they belonged to the same generation.

While it is likely that Amenhotep C was identical with Amenhotep-Merykhepesh and the future Amenhotep III, his identity remains open to interpretation. It is also impossible to

determine whether Amenemhat C ever held the status of heir. One intriguing but hardly conclusive piece of evidence in favor of Amenemhat C as an heir is the presence of the *t3* bird in his hand in the TT 64 scene. *T3* (“fledgling, chick”) is an epithet of Horus, and also has connotations of predestined kingship.⁹² This will be discussed further in **Chapter 10**.

4) The other variant male royal kinship titles discussed above do not have easily definable patterns of use. *S3 ny-sw.t m3r* (*mr=f*), *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f* and their variants were used across almost all monument types and over a span of nearly the entire 18th Dynasty, and seem to have been compatible with other royal kinship titles. They show no positive or negative correlation with the eventual attainment of kingship, as versions of both titles were used both by princes who eventually became kings and those who did not. The use of these titles will be examined in conjunction with titles of rank and office below.

II. Titles of Rank and Office

In addition to titles and epithets expressing familial relationships, 18th Dynasty princes could hold a variety of titles and epithets relating to rank or office. In general, these titles and epithets were not exclusive to princes and could be held by non-royal individuals during the 18th Dynasty as well. I have divided these titles and epithets into two basic categories: those expressing rank or social standing, and those related to the ownership or exercise of an office.

⁹² *WB* V, 341. Retrospective depictions of kings as princes sometimes use “chick” or similar language to describe the royal child; see e.g. the “Text de la Jeunesse” of Thutmose III (**VI.3**) in which the youthful Thutmose III is described as “that which is in the nest.”

a. *Titles and Epithets Expressing Rank or Social Standing*

Titles and epithets of rank or social status (e.g. a position of favor within the royal court) are uncommon in 18th Dynasty princely monuments, and are almost exclusively limited to monuments of **category II** (monuments belonging to princes). Specifically, they appear most frequently in the monuments of Ahmose B (who held an unusually high number of kinship, rank and office titles) and in the monuments of the Giza princes (**II.20.a-c**). All of these monuments can be dated to approximately the same period, ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV.

1. *iry-p^c.t and h^b.ty-*^c

Background: *Iry-p^c.t* and *h^b.ty-*^c are titles of rank with an extremely lengthy history. *Iry-p^c.t* is generally translated as “prince” or “hereditary nobleman,” while its original literal sense may have been “member of the body” or similar.⁹³ It may have been used exclusively by members of the royal family during the Early Dynastic Period.⁹⁴ Eventually it came to designate individuals of high status at court who were close to, but not necessarily relatives of, the king. Along with *h^b.ty-*^c, the title *iry-p^c.t* was relatively common among courtiers of the 18th Dynasty.⁹⁵ In the Ramesside period, its use as a princely title was revived. By the reign of

⁹³ P. Kaplony, “Iripat,” *LÄ* III, 177.

⁹⁴ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 8.

⁹⁵ See, for example, a number of officials who served under Thutmose III, including the Overseer of the Seal Senneferi and the Overseer of Works in the Temples, Minmose. Horemheb used the title *iry-p^c.t* alone, seemingly as an indication that he was the intended heir to the throne during the reign of Tutankhamun. See the Coronation Stele of Horemheb, published in A. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Horemheb,” *JEA* 39 (1953), 13-31. Although this particular usage (i.e. to indicate heir status) may be retrospective, Horemheb did hold the title *iry-p^c.t* (along with *h^b.ty-*^c) before he attained kingship. These titles appear in texts from his private tomb at Saqqara. See G. T.

Ramesses II, the use of *iry-p.t* (without *ḥ3.ty-*) as part of a prince's titulary had come to designate his status as heir to the throne.⁹⁶ However, there is no evidence that *iry-p.t* had this connotation in the 18th Dynasty before the very end of the Dynasty, when it was used in this way by Horemheb (who was not of royal ancestry) in a retrospective account of his ostensible selection for kingship during the reign of Tutankhamun.⁹⁷

The meaning and use of *ḥ3.ty-* ("count," "mayor") varied greatly from one period to another. During much of the Old Kingdom, it was a title of rank within the court – specifically for princes during the early Old Kingdom, but eventually being applied to a wide range of different types of officials.⁹⁸ During the Middle Kingdom, it was used as a title of office rather than rank, referring specifically to local military commanders associated with fortresses and outposts, and eventually to town mayors. However, by the 18th Dynasty, *ḥ3.ty-* had once again become a generic title of rank held by officials in a variety of offices.⁹⁹

The use of *iry-p.t* and *ḥ3.ty-* by 18th Dynasty princes: The combination of *iry-p.t* and *ḥ3.ty-* appears in the monuments of Amenemopet A (**II.20.a**), Giza Prince B (**II.20.c**) and Ahmose B (**II.25**). *ḥ3.ty-* appears by itself in a monument from the Wadjmose chapel dedicated to an Ahmose without princely titles who is probably identical with Ahmose B (**III.31**).

Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamūn, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), Appendix I, for a list of Horemheb's pre-kingship titles and epithets as attested in the tomb.

⁹⁶ Fisher, *Sons of Ramesses II*, 123.

⁹⁷ See note 117.

⁹⁸ W. Helck, "Hatia," *LÄ* II, 1042.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

II.20.a, **II.20.c** and **II.25** are all roughly contemporary (reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV). **II.25** is more difficult to date, but the surviving inscription suggests it was a funerary monument dedicated by the beneficiary's granddaughter. If the Ahmose of this monument is identical with Ahmose B, who was active ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV, then a date in or near the reign of Amenhotep III would not be unreasonable.

Schmitz concluded that the titles *iry-p.t* and *ḥ3.ty-* were not used by princes in the 18th Dynasty, nor any other titles of rank.¹⁰⁰ On this basis, she dismissed the princes of the Giza stelae as either "titular princes" or true royal sons of the Ramesside period rather than the 18th Dynasty. Ahmose B is entirely omitted from her discussion. However, the stylistic and historical evidence, as outlined in **Chapters 3** and **4**, strongly suggests that all of these princes and their monuments belong to the 18th Dynasty. Therefore, I must conclude that while the use of *iry-p.t*, *ḥ3.ty-* and other titles of rank was unusual for 18th Dynasty princes, these titles were not incompatible with the status of "Royal Son." Rather, their use by princes seems to have been limited to specific contexts (mainly monuments belonging to princes, see **category II**) and possibly to a limited period of time, namely the middle the 18th Dynasty (when such monuments were relatively common).

¹⁰⁰ *Untersuchungen*, 301-302.

2. Other Titles and Epithets of Rank

In addition to *iry-p̄.t* and *ḥ3.ty-č*, Ahmose B and the princes of the better preserved Giza stelae (**II.20.a and c**) used an array of other titles and epithets associated with high-ranking members of the court. Many of these titles can be traced back at least as far as the Old Kingdom.

Amenemopet A (**II.20.a**), while notably avoiding specific titles of office, used a number of titles and epithets suggesting the exceptional closeness of his relationship to the king. He is described as *šms ny-sw.t r nmt.wt=f* (literally “follower of the king with respect to his footsteps”), *mrrw Hr m ḥ=f* (“who is beloved of Horus in his palace”) and *šms ny-sw.t hr mw hr t3 tm t3š r nmt.wt nb t3.wy [‘3] hs.wt m pr ny-sw.t nb mr.t m ḥ* (“follower of the king upon water and upon land, who is never separated from the footsteps of the Lord of the Two Lands, great of praises in the house of the king, possessor of love in the palace”).

Parallels to some of Amenemopet’s epithets may be found in the tomb of Amenemheb Mahu (TT 85), a military official who served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II and whose wife, Baky, was a Royal Nurse for the young Amenhotep II.¹⁰¹ Like Amenemopet, Amenemheb used the epithet *šms ny-sw.t r nmt.wt=f*, sometimes with the further qualification *hr h3s.wt rsy.t mh.tt* (“upon the lands of the south and north”).¹⁰² At one point the epithet is followed by the

¹⁰¹ *PM* I:1, 170-175. Retrospective images of Amenhotep II from this tomb are discussed in **VI.5**.

¹⁰² Sethe, *URK* IV, 900, e and g.

phrase *hr mw hr t3 hr h3s.t nb.t* (“upon water, upon land, upon every foreign land”)¹⁰³ – also closely paralleling Amenemopet’s epithet *šms ny-sw.t hr mw hr t3*.

These epithets make perfect sense in reference to Amenemheb, a military official whose tomb biography asserts that he accompanied the king on various royal expeditions. However, in Amenemopet’s case, they seem oddly devoid of context. This is not the only case in which a dichotomy seems to exist between an 18th Dynasty prince’s titles (or lack thereof) and his actual activities and responsibilities. This phenomenon will be discussed further in the concluding remarks.

The prince of Giza Stele B (**II.20.c**) is given a number of titles of office (see below under the discussion of each title) as well as numerous titles and epithets of rank. Interestingly, Giza Prince B’s epithets are generally consistent with those of not only an intimate of the king, but also a high-ranking civil or judicial official, such as a vizier. However, he is given no specific titles of civil or judicial office. Among his titles and epithets are *s3b* (“Dignitary”), *t3y.ty* (“One of the Curtain”), *iry Nhn* (“Keeper of Nekhen”), *r3 shrr m t3 r dr=f* (“mouth which satisfies the land to its limit”), *hrp šnd.wt nb(t)* (“Controller of Every Kilt”) and *hm ntr M3c.t* (“Prophet of Ma’at”)¹⁰⁴ as well as variants of *hry s3t3* (“one who is privy to secrets”).

S3b and *t3y.ty* are both terms associated with the office of vizier, appearing together in the compound title *t3y.ty s3b t3.ty* (“One of the Curtain, Dignitary (or Judge) and Vizier”).¹⁰⁵ In

¹⁰³ Ibid., 899, b, ln. 7.

¹⁰⁴ A judicial rather than priestly title; see discussion below under “Other Priestly Titles.”

¹⁰⁵ WB 5, 344.

the texts of Giza Stele B, however, the *tȝ.ty* element is conspicuously absent. However, several of Giza Prince B's other titles and epithets were also connected to the vizierate during the 18th Dynasty. The specific combination *sȝb iry Nhn* is well-attested during the Old Kingdom, when it seems to have referred to a type of judicial official who worked closely with the vizier.¹⁰⁶ During the New Kingdom, *iry Nhn* was an epithet held by several viziers.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, *hm ntr Mȝt* is a judicial title that can be traced back to the Old Kingdom, which in the New Kingdom seems to have become associated with the office of vizier.¹⁰⁸ Finally, the title *hry sȝd.wt nb.t*, which originated as a religious title associated with ritual attendance to the king,¹⁰⁹ was also used by several New Kingdom viziers.¹¹⁰

Giza Prince B is called a *hry sȝtȝ m hw.t Pth* ("one who is privy to secrets in the Mansion of Ptah") as well as *'k hr sȝtȝ n s.t wr.t* ("one who enters into the secrets of the Great Place"). *Hry sȝtȝ*, by the New Kingdom, had become a title with a wide range of applications indicating special access or expertise.¹¹¹ In this case, the title is clearly used in connection to the prince's priestly activities.

¹⁰⁶ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and Their Holders* (London: KPI, 1985), 189.

¹⁰⁷ A. R. al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006), 166.

¹⁰⁸ Strudwick, *Administration*, 178; al-Ayedi, *Index*, 336.

¹⁰⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 316.

¹¹⁰ Al-Ayedi, *Index*, 449-450.

¹¹¹ See recent discussion in S. Z. Balandi, "The Title *hry-sȝtȝ* to the End of the New Kingdom," *JARCE* 45 (2009), 319-348.

Giza Prince B also holds the title *sd3w.ty bi.ty* (“Seal-Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt”), an extremely common title indicating administrative authority in the most general sense.¹¹²

Ahmose B is given a number of relatively generic epithets in his extensively inscribed statue from Coptos (**II.25**), including *smr* (“companion, courtier”), *s3h* (“dignitary”), and *im3hy* (“venerated one”). He is also *hry-s3t3 hm nb* (“one privy to the secrets of every shrine”), in keeping with his status as a high-ranking religious authority.

b. Titles of Office

In general, titles of office are more commonly attested for 18th Dynasty princes than titles of rank. However, they are similarly limited in the contexts in which they appear. Titles of office for princes do not appear in monuments of category **IV** (private monuments depicting princes) and are extremely rare in monuments of category **III** (monuments of deified princes). They are most common, to an overwhelming degree, in monuments of category **II** (monuments belonging to princes), but they also appear in **I** (royal monuments), **V** (administrative documents and miscellaneous small objects) and **VI** (retrospective depictions of kings as princes). In the following sections, I will discuss each title of office used by an 18th Dynasty prince or multiple princes, and I will also investigate the types of contexts in which these titles appear and how they were used in conjunction with royal kinship titles.

¹¹² For numerous New Kingdom examples, see al-Ayedi, *Index*, 453-457.

1. *sm*

Table 7: Use of the Title *sm* by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>sm</i>	Amenhotep B	V.1	Thutmose III-Amenhotep
	Giza Prince B	II.20.c	II
	Djhutmose B	I.3.a	Reign of Amenhotep II
		I.3.b	Reign of Amenhotep III
		II.27	
		II.28	
		II.29	
<i>sm m hw.t Skr</i>	Giza Prince B	II.20.c	Reign of Amenhotep II

The *sm* (later *stm*) priest is first attested in the Early Dynastic Period. At that point, the role of the *sm* was strictly funerary – *sm* priests carried out important funerary rites (particularly the Opening of the Mouth) while acting in the capacity of eldest son of the deceased.¹¹³ The title *sm* was eventually attached to the high priests of Ptah and Sokar, probably because of the mortuary associations of these deities.¹¹⁴ By the New Kingdom, the role of the *sm* had expanded considerably. From the middle of the 18th Dynasty on, a *sm*-priest was attached to every temple. These priests acted in an administrative capacity, overseeing the distribution and management of temple property and participating in judicial affairs.¹¹⁵

The priestly title *sm* occurs in seven documents referring to 18th Dynasty princes, in reference to a total of three individuals. The earliest occurrence (V.1) probably dates to the late reign of Thutmose III or the early reign of Amenhotep II, and is roughly contemporary with

¹¹³ B. E. Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals,” in B. E. Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 12.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 10-11.

¹¹⁵ E. Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 25.

II.20.c. The best-documented princely holder of this title during the 18th Dynasty is Djhutmose B, the son of Amenhotep III. The title *sm* for Djhutmose B is attested in five documents.

In addition to the simple title *sm*, Giza Prince B also holds the more specific variant *sm m hw.t Skr* ("Sm-priest in the Mansion of Sokar"). The divine affiliations of Amenhotep B and Djhutmose B are not specified in their titles, but various monuments of Djhutmose B indicate that he was involved in the cults of Ptah and the Apis bull.

The royal dockyard records mentioning Amenhotep B (**V.1**) provide an unusual picture of the actual duties of an office-holding prince. Curiously, the functions performed by Amenhotep B are entirely administrative (as opposed to cultic), but he is given only the priestly title *sm* and the royal kinship title *s3 ny-sw.t*. The prince seems to have been in charge of the distribution of lumber at the dockyard. It is unclear whether this function was associated in any way with his role as a *sm* priest, or indeed how typical such activities were for royal sons.

Giza Prince B and Djhutmose B both used the title *sm* in conjunction with other priestly and (in the case of Giza Prince B) military and administrative titles. Djhutmose B was also an *imy-r3 hm.w-ntr m šm'w t3-mhw* ("Overseer of God's Servants of Upper and Lower Egypt") and *wr hrp hm.w* ("Chief Director of Craftsmen," i.e. High Priest of Ptah at Memphis). He may have also held the military title *hry pd.t* ("Troop Commander"), but it is uncertain whether this title refers to the same Djhutmose (see **II.30**). Giza Prince B was also an *it ntr mr ntr* ("God's Father, Beloved of the God") and *hry-tp imy-r3 ssm.wt* ("Chief Overseer of Horses").

2. *hm ntr* and variants

Table 8: Use of the Title *hm ntr* and Variants by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>hm ntr</i>	Thutmose III ^a	VI.3	Reign of Thutmose II ^b
<i>hm ntr M3.t</i>	Giza Prince B	II.20.c	Reign of Amenhotep II
<i>imy-r3 hm.w-ntr m Šm'w T3-mhw</i>	Djhutmos B	II.29	Reign of Amenhotep III

^a Retrospective; the text specifies that his “induction to be *hm-ntr* had not occurred” as of the time of the events described, so his eventual attainment of the office is implied.

^b Period at which these events supposedly occurred.

The office of *hm ntr* priest first appeared at the end of the 1st Dynasty.¹¹⁶ These priests had access to the divine image in the temple sanctuary, and they were responsible for carrying out daily offering rituals and caring for the divine image. The highest-ranking *hm ntr* priests wielded considerable economic and administrative authority, and were appointed directly by the king.¹¹⁷

It is possible that at least three princes of the 18th Dynasty held the title *hm ntr* (“God’s Servant,” “Prophet”) or a related title. However, not all of these cases are clear-cut.

The earliest possible case of a prince being associated with a form of this title dates to the reign of Ahmose. The “Donation Stele” of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**) deals, in part, with the queen’s possession of the title *hm(.t) ntr sn.nw n Imn* (“Second Prophet of Amun”). The damaged text refers to Ahmose-Nefertari’s right to transmit the title(s)/office(s) in her possession “from son to son and heir to heir.” However, the nature of the text is ambiguous, and it is unclear whether the relevant passages refer to the queen’s transmission of the Second

¹¹⁶ Shafer, “Temples,” 10.

¹¹⁷ Teeter, *Religion and Ritual*, 25-27.

Prophet title or the God’s Wife title (see discussion in I.1). In either case, it is possible that the prince Ahmose-Ankh, represented in the illustrated portion of the stele, is depicted in his capacity as heir to his mother’s priestly office(s).

It would presumably be possible for a prince to exercise the office of Second Prophet of Amun, although there is no good evidence that an 18th Dynasty royal son ever actually attained this office. It is known to have been held by other members of the royal family later in the dynasty (e.g. Anen, brother of Amenhotep III’s chief queen Tiye).¹¹⁸

It is also possible that Ahmose-Ankh was represented on the Donation Stele as heir to his mother’s “God’s Wife” title – an office that the prince could not exercise, but could presumably transmit to his female descendants.

A more direct, but still ambiguous, association between a prince and the title *hm ntr* occurs in a text from the reign of Thutmose III. In the “*Texte de la Jeunesse*” of Thutmose III (VI.3), the king describes his oracular selection for kingship at a time when his initiation into the role of *hm ntr* “had not occurred.” The implication may be that the prince was eventually destined to hold this office. However, it is also possible that the writer’s intention was merely to underscore the remarkable nature of the encounter between Thutmose and Amun by pointing out that the young prince did not hold an office that lent itself to close encounters with the god.

¹¹⁸ Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 47.

The first definite reference to a prince holding a variant of the *hm ntr* title dates to the reign of Amenhotep II (**II.20.c**). Among Giza Prince B's many titles is *hm ntr M3.t* ("God's Servant of Ma'at"). However, this specific variant form of *hm ntr* was not a true priestly title, but a judicial one. It was associated with viziers during the Old Kingdom, eventually spreading to other high-ranking officials toward the end of that period.¹¹⁹ It was used by a number of officials of the 18th Dynasty, particularly during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,¹²⁰ and was quite common as part of the titulary of viziers during the Ramesside period.¹²¹ Giza Prince B's use of this title is consistent with his use of several other archaic administrative titles and titles of rank.

Finally, a single monument of Djhutmose B (**II.29**) includes an unambiguous attestation of a priestly title, *imy-r3 hm.w-ntr m Šm'w T3-mhw* ("Overseer of God's Servants in Upper and Lower Egypt"). The title suggests a position of great importance in the administration of Egypt's major religious institutions. During the late 18th Dynasty, it may have been specifically associated with the role of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.¹²²

¹¹⁹ See discussion above; also F. Vervloesem, "De titulatuur van Qar en de plaats van zijn functies in de administratie van het Oude Rijk," Paper "Instellingen van het Oude Nabije Oosten" (Leuven, 2006), 12.

¹²⁰ See discussion above and al-Ayedi, *Index*, 449-450.

¹²¹ C. Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht," in R. Gundlach and A. Klug, eds., *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 289.

¹²² Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 47.

3. *it ntr* and variants

Table 9: Use of the Title *it ntr* and Variants by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>it ntr</i>	Ahmose B	II.26	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>it ntr mr ntr</i>	Giza Prince B Ahmose B	II.20.c II.25	Reign of Amenhotep II Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV

The title *it ntr* (“God’s Father”) is poorly understood. Some difficulty arises from the fact that during some periods, *it ntr* was used with at least two distinct meanings: first, as a priestly title, and second, as a title or epithet indicating some sort of close relationship to the royal family.¹²³

During the New Kingdom, *it ntr* priests were involved in ritual activity in the temple, including care of the divine image and participation in daily offering ceremonies. They also had some involvement in the administration of temple property.¹²⁴

The exact meaning of the non-priestly epithet *it ntr* is less clear, and has been interpreted in a variety of ways, including father-in-law of a king, non-royal father (or other relative) of a king, or advisor to a king (i.e. someone who assumed a “fatherly” relationship to a king in the metaphorical sense).¹²⁵ The latter interpretation seems most likely, given that there is little evidence to support a close familial relationship, by blood or marriage, between most God’s Fathers and members of the royal family during the 18th Dynasty.

¹²³ Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 351 ff.

¹²⁴ Teeter, *Religion and Ritual*, 23-24.

¹²⁵ Roehrig, “18th Dynasty Titles,” 352-356.

While *it ntr* was not uncommon among high-ranking officials and individuals close to the royal family,¹²⁶ it was not a title commonly used by princes during the 18th Dynasty. Only two princes using this title are attested, both of whom were active ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. Ahmose B is called both *it ntr* (II.26) and *it ntr mr ntr* (“God’s Father, Beloved of the God,” II.25). Giza Prince B is also given the longer variant *it ntr mr ntr* (II.20.c). Both of these princes used an array of titles consistent with elevated positions in the court and civil administration. It is unclear in these cases whether the priestly office was meant or the courtly epithet. Both princes held other priestly titles, so it may be reasonable to assume that the former sense was intended. If, however, these princes were acting as “advisors” to a king or kings, then the implication is that they had relatively lengthy careers that spanned the reigns of more than one king. It is unlikely that a king’s son would assume the role of “God’s Father” with respect to his own royal parent.

4. Other priestly titles

Table 10: Use of other Priestly Titles by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
[. . .] <i>mt hw.t R^c m pr Imn</i>	Binpu	III.30	Thutmose I-Amenhotep III?
<i>w^cb-^c3 n Imn-R^c m hn^ck.t-^cnh</i>	Nebnefer	II.17	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
<i>w^cb-^ck n Imn m hn^ck.t-^cnh</i>	Nebnefer	II.17	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II
<i>hr(i) s^c tpy n Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Nebnefer	II.17	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II

¹²⁶ Including several royal tutors; ibid.

Table 10, continued.

<i>wr m3.w</i>	Ahmose B	II.25 II.26	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>wr m3.w R^c-Itm</i>	Ahmose B	II.24	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>wr-m3.w mr n R^c</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>wr hrp hm.w</i>	Djutmose B	II.29	Reign of Amenhotep III

The remaining priestly titles are anomalous – i.e., only attested in a single instance and/or for a single prince.

A fragmentary monument from the chapel of Wadjmose (**III.30**) names a [. . .]*mt hw.t R^c m pr Imn* named Binpu. It is not entirely clear that this person was actually a prince, but a like-named prince of the 17th or 18th Dynasty is known from a small number of Ramesside and later monuments (see discussion in **III.30**). The date of the monument is impossible to determine, but later monuments representing Binpu suggest that he was contemporary or near-contemporary with Wadjmose and Ramose.

Binpu's only preserved title in the fragmentary stele from the Wadjmose chapel is damaged, but it is clear that he was employed in the "Mansion of Re in the Temple of Amun." It is possible that the [. . .]*mt* at the beginning of the title is part of the word *s(t)m*, in which case Binpu may belong to the group of 18th Dynasty princes who were also *sm*-priests.

Nebnefer, who was active ca. the reigns of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II, held a number of titles associated with the cults of Amun and Thutmose III at Thutmose III's mortuary temple, the Henket-Ankh. As a *w^cb-^ck n Imn m hnkt-^cnh* ("Priest-who-enters of Amun in Henket-Ankh"), Nebnefer would have been a fairly high-ranking member of the temple personnel, with direct

access to the sanctuary and statue of Amun.¹²⁷ He was also a *wrb-3 n Imn-R* *m hnk.t-3nh* (“Great Wab-priest of Amun-Re in Henket-Ankh”) and *hr(i) s3 tpy n Mn-hpr-R* (“First Overseer of the Phyle of Menkheperre”). Both titles indicate that he held a position of seniority among the temple staff. As discussed in II.17 and above, Nebnefer’s status as a king’s son is uncertain. He is not given the title *s3 ny-sw.t*, although he is identified as the son of a “King’s Mother.” Because of the nature of Nebnefer’s role in the cult of Thutmose III – presumably his brother – it is possible that this text’s peculiar reticence with regard to Nebnefer’s parentage had to do with the author’s desire to express the contextually important but ideologically taboo sibling relationship between Nebnefer and Thutmose III.

In addition to holding the priestly titles *sm* and *it ntr mr ntr* (“God’s Father, Beloved of the God”), Ahmose B was the only prince to hold the office of *wr m3.w* (“Chief of Seers”). In II.24 and II.25, this title is expressed more fully as *wr m3.w R-Itm* (“Chief of Seers of Re-Atum”) and *wr m3.w mr n R* (“Chief of Seers, Beloved of Re”), respectively. These titles were specifically associated with the high priest of Re at Heliopolis, although Ahmose seems to have participated in the cults of numerous deities and deified royalty (including Hathor of Gebelein, the Mnevis Bull, and possibly the deified prince Wadjmose – see III.31).¹²⁸

Finally, there is a single attestation for Djhutmos B holding the title *wr hrp hm.w* (“Chief Controller of Works”), part of the titulary of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis. This is

¹²⁷ Metawi, “A Brother for Thutmose III,” 106.

¹²⁸ Ghoneim, “Eine Statue des Prinzen,” 100 and *passim*.

one of a number of titles otherwise unattested for Djutmose, appearing only in the inscriptions of the cat sarcophagus from Mit Rahina (**II.29**).

5. Titles related to the care of cattle

Table 11: Use of Titles Related to the Care of Sacred Cattle by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>imy-r3 ih.w n t3-i[ry.t]</i>	Amenemhat A	I.2	Reign of Thutmose III
<i>imy-r3 k3.w</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>imy-r3 k3.w n Imn</i>	Ahmose B?	III.31	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV

A small number of princes are attested who held titles associated with the care of cattle – specifically cattle belonging to state temples. A passage from the inscriptions of Thutmose III's Festival Hall at Karnak (**I.2**) describes the appointment of the *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* Amenemhat to the position of *imy-r3 ih.w n t3-i[ry.t]* ("Overseer of Stables of the Milk-Cow"). In this case, the cattle in question were cows of Retjenu, possibly obtained during one of Thutmose III's Palestinian expeditions¹²⁹ and subsequently donated to the temple of Amun at Karnak (or perhaps to Thutmose III's Mansion of Millions of Years, mentioned a few lines previously).¹³⁰ The fragmentary text suggests that this group of cows was set aside for the purpose of

¹²⁹ Or possibly as part of the regular tribute that Egypt exacted from its northern subjects after Thutmose III's series of campaigns in Syria-Palestine. For a discussion of the establishment of tribute/tax payments from Egypt's vassals during the reign of Thutmose III, see D. Panagiotopoulos, "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke aus der Levante: die ägyptische Nordexpansion in der 18. Dynastie aus Strukturgeschichtlicher Sicht." *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000), 147-152.

¹³⁰ Gardiner, "Thutmose III Returns Thanks," 15.

providing milk to be used in temple rituals.¹³¹ A similar royal allotment of sacred cattle is described in a near-contemporary text of the Royal Butler Neferperet,¹³² who was given the responsibility of caring for a group of cattle plundered during an expedition to Djahy. The cows were designated for the purpose of providing milk for offering rituals at the *Henket-Ankh*.

Ahmose B held the title *imy-r3 k3.w* (“Overseer of Cattle”). A monument from the Chapel of Wadjmose (**III.31**) names an Ahmose who was an *imy-r3 k3.w n'Imn* (“Overseer of Cattle of Amun”). Although this Ahmose is given no royal kinship titles, his other titles are consistent with those of Ahmose B. If they are the same individual, then presumably *imy-r3 k3.w n'Imn* is the fully expressed version of the shorter title that appears in **II.25**. While Ahmose B’s title is reminiscent of that of Amenemhat A, it implies much more far-reaching administrative authority over livestock associated with the temple(s) of Amun.

6. Titles associated with charitry and the care of horses

Table 12: Use of Titles Associated with Charitry and the Care of Horses by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>hry ih.w</i>	Khaemwaset Giza Prince B?	II.22 II.20.c	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II Reign of Amenhotep II
<i>imy-r3 ssm.wt</i>	Webensenu	II.8	Reign of Amenhotep II
<i>hry-tp imy-r3 ssm.wt</i>	Giza Prince B	II.20.c	Reign of Amenhotep II

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² CG 42121; text published in *Urk.* IV, 1020.

There are three examples of princes holding titles relating to the care of horses, all dating to the reign of Amenhotep II. The association between princes of this period and chariotry is underscored by contemporary royal monuments that retrospectively depict both Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV as skilled horsemen in their youth.

In the Great Sphinx Stele (**VI.6**), Amenhotep II describes how his youthful love of horses led his father to put him in charge of training horses from the royal stable at Memphis. Similarly, the retrospective sequence from the Dream Stele of Thutmose IV (**VI.9**) begins with an account of the young Thutmose exploring the Giza plateau in his chariot.

The prince Khaemwaset, who left graffiti at Sehel (**II.22**), is given the title *hry ih.w* (“Master of Stables”). *Hry ih.w* was a title connected with chariotry, and the holders of this title worked closely with military personnel. However, the position seems to have been largely administrative, rather than military, in nature. The stablemasters oversaw the care of teams of horses belonging to the royal Residence.¹³³ While B. Schmitz concluded that Khaemwaset was a “Titularprinz” partially on the basis of this title (see above), the position of stablemaster hardly falls outside the realm of potential responsibilities for a royal son of the mid-late 18th Dynasty. The other evidence presented in this section strongly suggests that princes were significantly involved in chariotry at this period.

¹³³ A. R. Schulman, “The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination.” *JARCE* 2 (1963), 94-95.

Two contemporary princes, Webensenu and Giza Prince B, hold variants of the title *imy-r3 ssm.wt* (“Overseer of Horses”). Webensenu is given this title on funerary objects found in KV 35 (**II.8**). Giza Prince B held the rank of *hry-tp imy-r3 ssm.wt* (“Chief Overseer of Horses,” **II.20.c**). The title *imy-r3 ssm.wt* indicates a position of command within the chariotry division of the military, but little is known about the actual functions of this office.¹³⁴

B. Bryan also claimed to be able to make out *hry ih.w* among Giza Prince B’s titles in a damaged portion of the stele inscription.¹³⁵ The possibility must be considered that Giza Prince B was one and the same as either Webensenu or Khaemwaset, given the similar titles shared by all three princes.¹³⁶

7. Other military titles

Table 13: Other Military Titles Used by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>imy-r3 ms^c wr n it=f</i>	Amenmose	II.19	Reign of Thutmose I
<i>hry pd.t</i>	Pentepihu Djhutmos B?	II.21 II.30	ca. Reign of Amenhotep II ca. Amenhotep III-Akhenaten

Two military titles outside the realm of chariotry are attested for 18th Dynasty Princes.

Amenmose, a son of Thutmose I, holds the dual distinctions of being the first known prince of

¹³⁴ Ibid., 95.

¹³⁵ Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 60.

¹³⁶ See discussion under **II.20.c**; also Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 62-63.

the 18th Dynasty to hold any title of office, and the only prince of the period to hold the title *imy-r3 mšc wr n it=f* (“Generalissimo of His Father”). This title appears on Amenmose’s Giza naos (**II.19**), which is inscribed with an unusual and badly damaged historical inscription. Schmitz observes that, since the text is dated to the fourth year of Thutmose I’s reign, Amenmose must have been born well before his father acceded to the throne. It is also probable that Amenmose already had a well-established military career before his father became king – and thus already would have held one or more offices before assuming the additional role of “King’s Son.”¹³⁷ While the title *imy-r3 mšc wr* would become quite common among princes of the 19th Dynasty, it is otherwise unattested for a prince of the 18th Dynasty.¹³⁸

Two King’s Sons are attested with the title *hry pd.t* (“Troop Commander,” lit. “Overseer of the Bow”). The title *hry pd.t*, which first appeared in the 18th Dynasty, referred to a high-ranking military officer, just subordinate to the General (*imy-r3 mšc wr*).¹³⁹ The title appears in the Giza stele of the otherwise unattested Pentepihu (**II.21**), dating approximately to the reign of Amenhotep II. The other example appears on a whip handle from the tomb of Tutankhamun, naming a *s3 ny-sw.t hry pd.t Dhw.ty-ms* (**II.30**). Since this object is apparently an heirloom, its original date is difficult to determine; however, the distinctive writing of *m3c-hrw* after the prince’s name suggests a date in the late 18th Dynasty (see discussion in **II.30**). It is possible that the Djhutmos in question was Djhutmos B, probably an uncle of Tutankhamun. The title *hry*

¹³⁷ Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 297.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 317.

¹³⁹ See discussion in J. J. Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere,” in S. Bar, D. Kahn, and J. J. Shirley, eds., *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 295, n. 14.

pd.t is otherwise unattested for Djhutmose B, whose other titles are confined to the realm of priesthood and temple administration.

8. Miscellaneous civil and administrative titles

Table 14: The Use of Civil and Administrative Titles by 18th Dynasty Princes

Title	Name of Title-Holder	Document	Floruit of Title-Holder
<i>imy-r3 pr.wy-hd</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>imy-r3 pr.wy-nbw</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>imy-r3 k3.wt nb.t n.t ny-sw.t</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>imy-r3 šnw.ty</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV
<i>imy-r3 3h.wt w'b.t n.t Itm nb Twnw htm md'.wt hr 'y.t=f</i>	Ahmose B	II.25	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV

In general, there are few examples of 18th Dynasty princes holding titles outside of the realm of the military and the priesthood or temple administration. The exception is Ahmose B, who was active ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV and possibly began his career under Thutmose III. In addition to his various priestly offices, Ahmose B held a number of offices associated with the oversight of state- and temple-owned resources.

In his statue from Coptos (II.25), Ahmose B is described as “overseer of the houses of silver, overseer of the houses of gold, overseer of all royal works, overseer of cattle, overseer of the double granaries, overseer of the pure fields of Atum.” These titles mesh well with the description of the prince’s activities as inscribed on the left side of the statue. Ahmose B claims

to have been selected by the king for the task of overseeing construction work on the temple of Atum in Heliopolis and allotting various resources to the temple. The prince's administrative titles may have fallen under the general umbrella of his work as High Priest of Re/Re-Atum at Heliopolis.

Ahmose B's contemporary, Giza Prince B, held a variety of priestly and military titles, in addition to numerous epithets associated with civil/judicial office (including *hm ntr M3c.t*, see above). As discussed above, some of these epithets are specifically associated with the office of vizier. However, the text of Giza Stele B (**II.20.c**) gives no specific titles of civil office – only epithets and titles of rank suggestive of the prince's status within the royal administration.

c. Patterns of Distribution of Titles of Rank and Office

Table 15: 18th Dynasty Princes and Titles of Kinship, Rank and Office

Name	Floruit	Royal Kinship Titles/Epithets	Rank Titles	Office Titles
Ahmose A	Seqenenre-Ta'a	<i>s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t smsw, p3 irw ny-sw.t</i>		
Ahmose Sapair (=Ahmose A?)	Seqenenre-Ta'a or Ahmose	<i>s3 ny-sw.t</i>		
Siamun A	Ahmose?	<i>s3 ny-sw.t</i>	<i>s3 Rc?</i>	
Ahmose-Ankh	Ahmose	<i>s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.c.w ntr</i>		
Wadjmose	Thutmose I	<i>s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t mr=f, s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f, s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f</i>		
Amenmose	Thutmose I	<i>s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t smsw</i>		<i>imy-r3 ms3c wr n it=f</i>

Table 15, continued.

Ramose	ca. Thutmose I?	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t mr=f</i>		
Binpu	Thutmose I-Amenhotep III?	[no contemporary titles survive]		[. . .] <i>mt hw.t R^c</i> <i>m pr'Imn</i>
<i>Thutmose III</i>	Thutmose II-Thutmose III			<i>hm ntr^a</i>
Menkheperre	Thutmose III	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i>		
Siamun B	Thutmose III	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i>		
Amenemhat A	Thutmose III	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i> <i>smsw</i>		<i>imy-rʒ ih.w n tʒ-</i> <i>i[ry.t]</i>
Amenhotep A/Amenhotep II	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i>		
Nebnefer	ca. Thutmose II-Amenhotep II			<i>w^cb-ʒ n Imn-R^c</i> <i>m hnkt-ʒ nh,</i> <i>w^cb-ʒ k n Imn m</i> <i>hnkt-ʒ nh, hr(i)</i> <i>sʒ tpy n Mn-hpr-R^c</i>
Amenhotep B	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i>		<i>sm</i>
Nedjemi	Thutmose III-Amenhotep II	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t mr=f</i>		
Mery[amun]	Thutmose III-Akhenaten	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t</i>		
Giza Prince B	Amenhotep II	<i>swh.t ntr pr.t</i> <i>hnt=f</i>	<i>iry-p^c.t</i> <i>hʒ.ty-ʒ,</i> <i>sʒb, tʒy.ty,</i> <i>iry Nhn,</i> <i>hm ntr</i> <i>Mʒ^c.t,</i> <i>sdʒw.ty</i> <i>bi.ty, hrp</i> <i>šnd.wt</i> <i>nb(.t), hry</i> <i>sʒtʒ m hw.t</i> <i>Pth</i>	<i>sm, sm m hw.t</i> <i>Skr, it ntr mr ntr,</i> <i>hry-tp imy-rʒ</i> <i>ssm.wt</i>
Webensenu	Amenhotep II	<i>sʒ ny-sw.t, sʒ ny-sw.t mr=f^b,</i> <i>sʒ ny-sw.t n h.t=f mr=f</i>		<i>imy-rʒ ssm.wt</i>

Table 15, continued.

Amenemopet A	Amenhotep II	<i>s³ ny-sw.t mr=f, sw^h.t ikr.t pr m[h^c.w=f?]</i>	<i>iry-p^c.t h³.ty-</i>	
Khaemwaset	ca. Amenhotep II	<i>s³ ny-sw.t</i>		<i>hry ih.w</i>
Pentepihu	ca. Amenhotep II	<i>s³ ny-sw.t</i>		<i>hry pd.t</i>
Djhutmose A/ <i>Thutmose IV</i>	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t, s³ ny-sw.t mr nb t³.wy, s³ ny- sw.t m³^c mr=f, s³ ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f (retrospective), s³ ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f mry=f (retrospective)</i>		
Ahmose B	Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t, s³ ny-sw.t m³^c mr=f, s³ ny- sw.t m³^c mr=f n s.t-ib=f</i>	<i>iry-p^c.t, h³.ty-^c, hry-s^ct³ hm nb, smr^c n mr.wt, s^ch nfr n sdm n=f, im^chy</i>	<i>it n^ctr, it n^ctr mr n^ctr, wr m³.w, wr m³.w R^c-Itm, wr- m³.w mr.n R^c, imy-r³ k³.w, imy- r³ k³.w n Itm, imy-r³ pr.wy-hd, imy-r³ pr.wy- nbw, imy-r³ k³.wt nb.t n.t ny- sw.t, imy-r³ šnw.ty, imy-r³ 3h.wt w^cb.t n.t Itm nb Twnw htm md^c.wt hr c^y.t=f</i>
[Name Lost]	Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t mr=f</i>		
Amenemhat C	Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t, s³ ny-sw.t n h.t=f</i>		
Amenhotep C/Amenhotep III?	Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t, s³ ny-sw.t n h.t=f</i>		
Aakheperure	Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t</i>		
Djhutmose X	ca. Thutmose IV	<i>s³ ny-sw.t</i>		

Table 15, continued.

Amenemopet B(?)	ca. Thutmose IV	<i>s3.t(sic?) ny-sw.t</i>		
Temy	Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t</i>		
Amenhotep-Merykhepesh/ <i>Amenhotep III</i>	Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f, s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f [mry=f?]</i>		
Djhutmos B	Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t smsw</i>		<i>sm, imy-r3 hm.w-ntr m šm'w t3-mhw, wr hrp hm.w, hry pd.t^c</i>
Siatum (=Temy?)	Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t, s3 ny-sw.t mrr it=f</i>		
Aakheper[. . .]re A	Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f</i>		
Aakheper[. . .]re B	Amenhotep III	<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c mr=f</i>		
Amenhotep D/ <i>Amenhotep IV</i>	Amenhotep III-Akhenaten	<i>s3 ny-sw.t m3^c</i>		
Tutankhaten/ <i>Tutankhamun</i>	Akhenaten-Tutankhamun	<i>s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mry=f</i>		

^a Retrospective; his eventual attainment of this office is implied.

^b Possibly not in reference to Webensenu, name restored

^c Identity of this prince is uncertain, possibly not Djhutmos B.

An examination of the distribution of titles of rank, office and royal kinship among 18th

Dynasty princes reveals several interesting patterns, which are be outlined below.

1. Temporal distribution of titles of rank and office

The first clear example of a prince holding a title of office dates to the reign of Thutmose I. Thutmose I's son Amenmose held the high-ranking military position of *imy-r3 ms̥c wr n it=f* ("Generalissimo of His Father"). However, as noted above, Amenmose was probably born before his father became king, and likely held some sort of military office before that time as well.

Aside from the anomalous example of Amenmose, there is little evidence for princes holding titles of office before the reign of Thutmose III. It is implied in the *Legende de la Jeunesse* that Thutmose III himself may have at some point held the office of *hm ntr* (see above and VI.3), but he was likely too young to have ever exercised the duties of that office before assuming kingship.

While several office-holding princes are attested during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, there is relatively little evidence for princes holding offices or titles (aside from royal kinship titles) after that point. Although numerous sons of Thutmose IV are attested, none of them are known to have held any offices or titles of rank. Likewise, the only son of Amenhotep III who obviously exercised any type of office is Djutmose B.

2. Distribution of titles across monument categories

In addition to the notable pattern of distribution of princely titles and offices over time, there are also distinct correlations between the presence of such titles and the type(s) of monuments in which these titles appear.

Princes are never given titles of rank or office in monuments of **category IV** (non-royal monuments featuring princes). Titles of rank and office are also very rare in monuments of **category III** (monuments relating to the cult of deified deceased princes). The two possible counter-examples (Binpu, **III.30**, and Ahmose B(?), **III.31**) are ambiguous. In both cases, it is unclear whether the individual in question is actually a prince or simply someone who shares a name with a known prince, since neither uses any royal kinship titles. Furthermore, it is likely that these two objects were dedicatory monuments set up in the names of their respective owners in the context of the Wadimose cult, rather than objects relating to the cult of a deified Binpu or Ahmose B. There is no strong evidence that either of these princes was incorporated into a royal ancestor cult before the 19th Dynasty. Thus, they may belong more properly to **category II**.

Most monuments in which princes are given titles of rank or office belong to **category II** (objects created for/by princes), with a few examples belonging to **category I** (royal monuments) and one in **category V** (miscellaneous; in this case, an administrative document).

3. Correlation between titles of office/rank and eventual attainment of kingship

There is no immediately apparent link between a prince holding a particular title or office and the eventual attainment of kingship. If anything, there appears to be a negative correlation: none 18th Dynasty princes who definitely held titles of rank or office went on to become kings.

Retrospective references to the princely careers of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV suggest that these kings may have held offices or at least had responsibilities of various sorts before attaining kingship: plans for a priestly career for Thutmose III may be implied in the *Legende de la Jeunesse* (VI.3),¹⁴⁰ while Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV seem to have been involved in chariotry before attaining kingship (see VI.6 and VI.9, respectively). However, while pre-kingship monuments are known for both Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, no surviving examples contain any reference to either prince holding offices or any titles aside from royal kinship titles.

4. Relationship between titles of office/rank and royal kinship titles

Most of the basic royal kinship titles held by 18th Dynasty princes (*s3 ny-sw.t*, *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, *s3 ny-sw.t mr=f*, *s3 ny-sw.t m3c mr=f*) seem to have been compatible with titles of rank and/or titles of office. The use of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* is particularly interesting in this

¹⁴⁰ However, in light of Thutmose III's extreme youth at the time of his father's death, it seems doubtful that he ever exercised any office in a practical capacity before attaining kingship.

respect. Of the five princes who held the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* in its basic form, three (Amenmose, Amenemhat A, and Djhutmose B) are known to have held titles of office. It is implied that Ahmose-Ankh, who held the unusual variant *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n ḥ.w ntr*, was the heir to at least one of his mother's titles of office (see discussion of I.1).

Furthermore, unlike most of the other standard titles of royal kinship (which may appear across most categories of monuments), the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was primarily restricted in its use to the same types of monuments in which princes could use titles of rank and office – primarily categories I (royal monuments) and II (monuments belonging to princes), the sole exception being a retrospective use by Thutmose IV in VI.7. While not all princes who held titles of office also held the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, there does seem to be a positive correlation between the use of this title and the use of titles of office.

On the other hand, *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* does not appear with titles of rank (e.g. *iry-p̣.t*, *h3.ty-‘*). The fact that these titles never coincide may lend credence to the hypothesis that *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was itself a title of rank for 18th Dynasty princes that presumably superseded other rank titles. However, it is also possible that examples of the concurrent use of these titles simply have not survived.

Conversely, *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* correlates negatively with other titles (of both rank and office), and appears in monuments of types I (royal monuments), III (monuments of deified princes) and IV (private monuments), but there is only one confirmed use of this title in category II (monuments belonging to princes; the object in question is a canopic jar, see II.8).

As discussed above, *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* correlates positively with eventual kingship, while *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* does not. Like *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* never appears in conjunction with other titles of rank (*iry p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c*, *s3b*, etc.). All of the princes who held this title but did not attain kingship seem to have predeceased their fathers. In these cases, the title is associated with special honors such as a Theban mortuary temple (Wadjmose) or shared burial with kings in the Valley of the Kings (Webensenu, Amenemhat C).

5. General discussion/conclusions

The data presented above suggest that a limited array of titles and professions were available to royal sons during the 18th Dynasty. In general, they seem to have been restricted to positions either within the priesthood and temple administration, or in the military and military administration – particularly in relation to chariotry. While Giza Prince B holds titles and epithets strongly suggestive of a high-ranking judicial office (specifically that of vizier), no judicial office is specified.

The temporal distribution of title-holding princes is particularly striking. Except for the outliers Amenmose (reign of Thutmose I) and Djhutmose B (reign of Amenhotep III), all other datable examples belong to the middle of the 18th Dynasty – specifically the reigns of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II. Princes with titles of rank or office are entirely unattested during the reign of Thutmose IV, with the possible exception of Ahmose B, whose career may have begun during the reign of Amenhotep II or even Thutmose III and continued into that of Thutmose IV.

The limited evidence for title- or office-holding princes early in the 18th Dynasty corresponds to a general lack of data on princes outside of cultic and funerary contexts. Non-funerary representations of princes did not become common until after the reign of Hatshepsut, which represents a turning point in the representation of royal children in several respects.

During the reign of Hatshepsut, monuments of **category IV** (private monuments depicting princes) – particularly representations of royal children (of both genders) with non-royal caretakers – first emerged and became common. Additionally, to this period belong several of the earliest 18th Dynasty depictions of one particular royal child as a prominent title-holder. After Hatshepsut attained full kingship, her daughter Neferure took on the title of God's Wife of Amun. The position had been previously held by King's Wives (Ahmose Nefertari and Hatshepsut) but as far as I am aware, there is no evidence to suggest that either woman held the title God's Wife of Amun as a King's Daughter.¹⁴¹ Neferure was represented in an unprecedented number and variety of monuments for a royal child, in both passive and active roles. Neferure's status arose from unusual circumstances – specifically, the need for someone to fill roles traditionally occupied by a Chief Royal Wife during the reign of Hatshepsut.¹⁴² However, this unique situation undoubtedly had an impact on later representations of royal children, both male and female, as well as on their roles as active participants in religious

¹⁴¹ For discussion of Neferure's unusual prominence in monuments from the reign of Hatshepsut and her career as a God's Wife, see G. Robins, "The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt," in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Canberra: Croon Helm, 1983), 75-77.

¹⁴² Ibid., 76. See further discussion in **Chapter 11**.

administration in particular. During the subsequent reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, royal sons emerged as prominent members of the court and as holders of military, religious and possibly civil offices.

More inexplicable is the sudden dearth of title-holding princes after the reign of Amenhotep II. Numerous princes are attested during the period from the reign of Thutmose IV to the reign of Akhenaten. However, only one (Djhutmos B) seems to have held any titles of office. One must consider the possibility that the burgeoning number of high-profile office- and rank-holding princes active during the reign of Amenhotep II may have contributed to succession-related conflict, as suggested by the deliberate destruction of several princely stelae of this period at Giza (**II.20.a-c**). The use of cartouches and blatantly royal epithets (e.g. *swḥ.t ikr.(t)*, etc.) by the owners of these stelae suggests that they may have had kingly aspirations.

In any case, although princes fell from prominence as title- or office-holders after the reign of Amenhotep II, they continued to be featured in non-royal monuments (**category IV**) and various princely monuments (**category II**), such as dedicatory statues and funerary objects, for the remainder of the 18th Dynasty until the end of the Amarna period (after which point the line of familial succession ended and a dynastic shift occurred).

I have already noted that a discrepancy seems to exist in some cases between the titles held by princes and their actual duties and responsibilities. During the reign of Thutmose III, Amenhotep A (the future Amenhotep II) is represented learning archery as a child (**IV.6**). Amenhotep II's retrospective account of his youth in the text of the Sphinx Stele describes how

the prince was put in charge of training horses from the royal stables, by order of the king himself (**VI.6**). However, no extant monuments of Amenhotep A/Amenhotep II attest to him holding any titles or offices related to chariotry, military service or military administration.

Similarly, in **V.1**, we see a prince and *sm* priest (Amenhotep B) distributing building supplies to workers at a royal shipyard. Amenhotep B is given the titles *s3 ny-sw.t* and *sm*, neither of which seem to have any direct bearing on his responsibilities in the shipyard storehouses.

The appearance of princes in graffiti from Sehel and Konosso (**IV.13**, **IV.14**) indicate that royal sons occasionally traveled abroad with members of the court, presumably on official business. However, it is unclear from these laconic inscriptions what role the princes played in such expeditions. The epithets of Amenemopet A, in the text of his stele at Giza (**II.20.a**), hint that this prince may have accompanied a king (presumably his father) on military excursions, but he is given no relevant titles of office and no further details are provided.

Finally, the prince of Giza Stele B (**II.20.c**), in addition to his military and priestly titles, holds a number of epithets and titles of rank that were associated with high-ranking civil or judicial positions during the New Kingdom – specifically, the office of vizier. However, the expected title of office *t3.ty* (“vizier”) is absent from the surviving text.

The distribution of titles of rank and office across the different categories of monuments discussed in this dissertation strongly suggests that the use of such titles for princes was restricted to certain contexts. They are notably absent from monuments of **category IV** (private

monuments depicting princes), most of which represent princes as children with their non-royal caretakers. In these cases, the focus is primarily on the non-royal person and his or her nurturing relationship with the prince. A few princes of the 18th Dynasty are known only from monuments of this type. It is possible that some of these individuals held titles of office, but no attestations survive.

Likewise, titles of rank and office are generally absent from monuments of **category III** (monuments of deified princes). In general, however, the princes who were incorporated into the royal ancestor cult and thus are most commonly represented in monuments of this type were active during the early part of the 18th Dynasty, at which point there is little evidence for princes holding titles or offices.

In general, monuments of **category II** (monuments belonging to princes) are most likely to depict princes a) as (living) adults and b) as the primary focus of the monument in question, so it is unsurprising that these monuments contain the most information about the careers of princes who survived to adulthood.

Chapter 10: Iconography and Symbolism in the Representation of 18th Dynasty Royal Sons

The iconography of representations of royal children during the New Kingdom has already been treated in a recent publication by G. Xekalaki, so my discussion will be relatively brief.¹ The visual and symbolic representation of royal sons evolved over the course of the 18th Dynasty and also varied considerably based on context.

In this chapter, I will examine representations of royal sons within each context (that is, category of monument, as laid out in the **Data Chapters**) addressed in this dissertation. Visual representations of princes appear in monuments of categories I (royal monuments), II (monuments dedicated by/to princes), III (monuments dedicated to deified princes) and IV (private monuments representing princes). I will touch generally on **category VI** monuments (retrospective depictions of kings as children) in terms of how they relate to contemporary images of princes who did not attain (or had not yet attained) kingship.

1. Visual Representations of Princes in Royal Monuments (Category I)

As discussed in **Chapter 2**, monuments of this type are rare, but those that survive are variable in format and content. The earliest 18th Dynasty representation of a prince in a royal context is the depiction of Ahmose-Ankh with his parents on the “Donation Stele” of Ahmose-

¹ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*.

Nefertari (**I.1**, fig. 1, fig. 107 [detail]). This image is unique in the corpus of 18th Dynasty depictions of royal sons, although it shares certain characteristics with more typical examples.

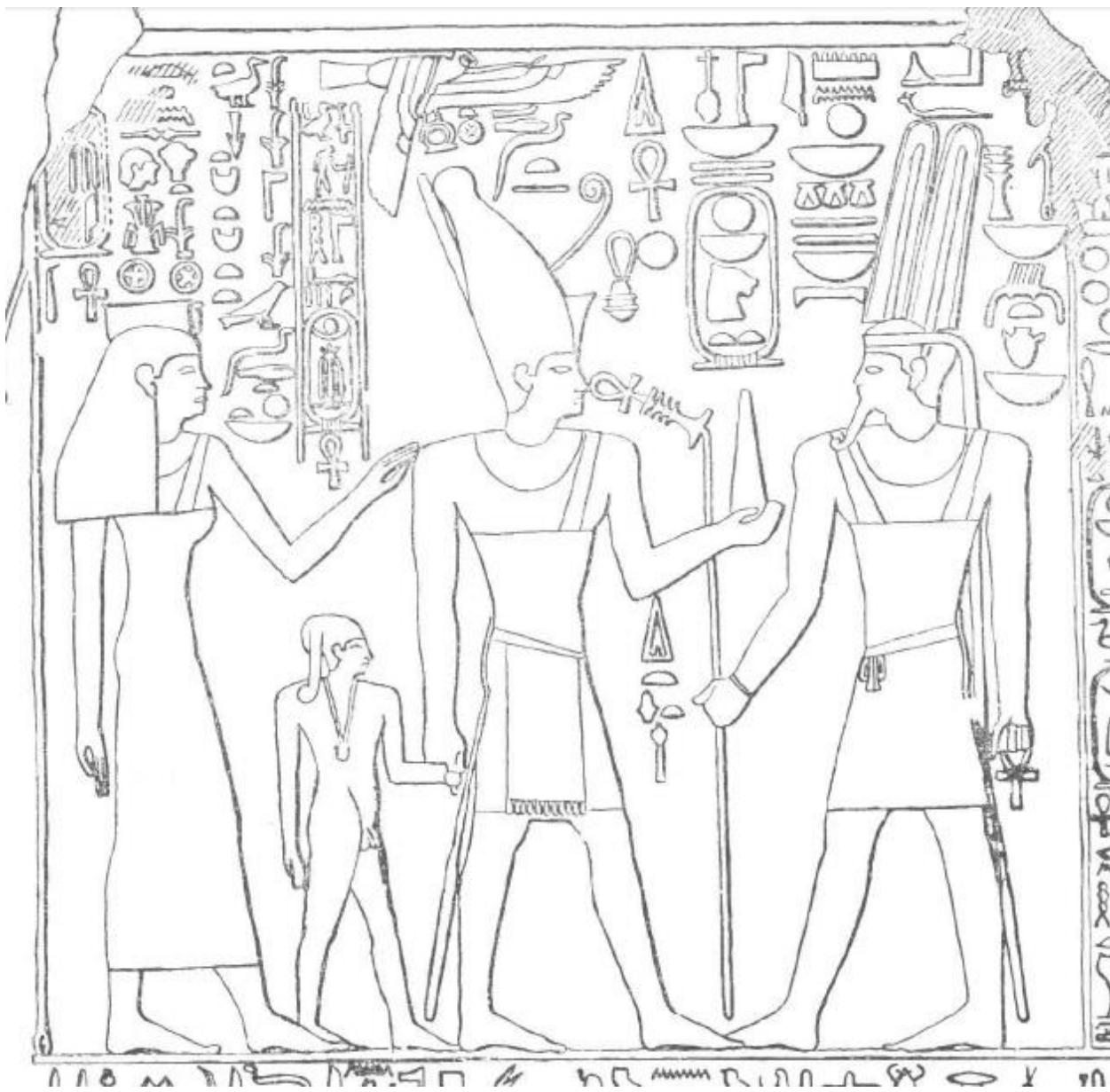


Figure 107 – Detail, Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari. Karnak, 18th Dynasty, reign of Ahmose. Now in the Luxor Museum, Luxor, Egypt. Drawing from I. Harari, “Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis à la reine Ahmès Néfertary,” *ASAE* 56 (1959), pl. II.

I have already described this monument in detail in **Chapter 2**. In this discussion, I will touch upon several details pertaining to the representation of the prince Ahmose-Ankh.

Ahmose-Ankh's general age is indicated by his small stature and childlike proportions and musculature, his nudity, his curled sidelock, and the nature of his physical contact with his father (he grasps Ahmose's index finger). The sidelock, at this point, was a general symbol of immaturity that would not come to be associated specifically with royal offspring (of all ages) until much later in the 18th Dynasty.² However, the heart amulet worn by the prince is more explicitly royal – and divine – in its associations.

The Donation Stele bears the first definite depiction of a heart amulet in Egyptian art (as opposed to actual surviving examples of heart amulets, which are attested from Theban royal contexts dating back to the 11th Dynasty).³ It is possible that a 13th Dynasty royal statue depicted a King's Son wearing a heart amulet, but the amulet itself is damaged and only traces survive to indicate its presence.⁴

Until the reign of Amenhotep II, the use of the heart amulet motif was confined entirely to royal contexts, and especially Theban royal monuments. From the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, it began to appear as part of the regalia of some non-royal individuals who held high-ranking positions in the royal court. These amulets were presented to select officials as a mark of royal favor. The motif fell from use during the Amarna period but re-emerged in the 19th

² Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 60-62.

³ R. Sousa, "The Meaning of the Heart Amulets in Egyptian Art," *JARCE* 43 (2007), 59.

⁴ Cairo JE 98831; see Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 71 and pl. 10, fig. 6.

Dynasty, primarily in funerary contexts. In the Third Intermediate Period and later, the amulet became part of the iconography of certain deities – particularly child gods such as Horpakhered, Ihy and Nefertum.⁵

While the heart amulet eventually took on a variety of associations, during the early 18th Dynasty it seems to have been primarily a mark of royalty and/or divine birth. As a mark of royal favor for officials in the later part of the 18th Dynasty, it may have implied an honorific acceptance of the favored individual into the king's family.⁶

Ahmose-Ankh is not the only 18th Dynasty royal child depicted wearing a heart amulet: the motif appears again on a mid-18th Dynasty statue of a woman (possibly a member of the royal family herself) holding four royal children in her lap (**IV.16**, fig. 83). The amulet is worn by the three smaller, standing children positioned against the woman's chest – two girls and one boy. This example demonstrates that the heart amulet could be worn by both princes and princesses and so was not exclusive to male royal children.

The association between the heart amulet and child gods may have already been established by the end of the 18th Dynasty. A small limestone relief fragment in the Brooklyn Museum (36.965), dated stylistically to the Amarna period, depicts a young archer in a chariot. He wears a curled sidelock and broad collar, and a heart amulet is suspended from a cord

⁵ Sousa, "Heart Amulets," 60-62.

⁶ Ibid., 66-67.

around his neck (fig. 108). This is likely to be a representation of the god Shed (“The Savior”),⁷ who rose to prominence during the Amarna period and was frequently depicted as a juvenile or adolescent archer wearing a sidelock.⁸

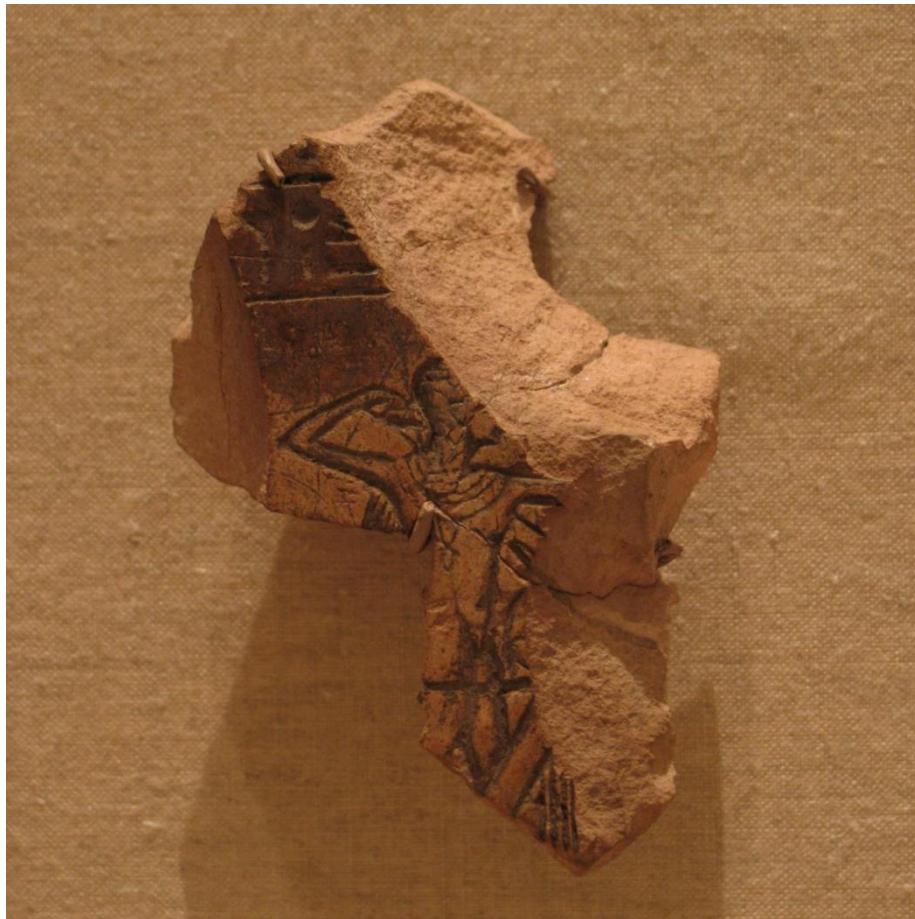


Figure 108 – Relief of a royal or divine youth in a chariot. Brooklyn Museum 36.965. Late 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Akhenaten-Horemheb. Provenance unknown. Now in the Brooklyn Museum, NY, USA. Limestone, 5.5 cm x 8.2 cm. Image from the Brooklyn Museum Collection online, <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3418/> (accessed 3/15/2016).

⁷ Shed was a minor apotropaic deity whose functions and iconography were very similar to those of Horpakhered. Shed and Horus were eventually syncretized to become Horus-Shed (“Horus-the-Savior”). See R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 135.

⁸ For discussion of this relief and its significance, see H. Brunner, “Kein Amarna-Prinz, sondern ein Gott,” *GM* 78 (1984), 49-50.

There is a significant temporal gap between the depiction of Ahmose-Ankh wearing the heart amulet and the earliest attested depictions of child gods wearing the same amulet. However, it is not unreasonable to postulate a connection between these images. In the text of the stele, Ahmose-Ankh is unambiguously described as the offspring of a god (presumably Amun) and part of a divine triad with his parents – i.e., a divine child.

Young royal children in the 18th Dynasty are also depicted wearing a variety of other pectoral amulets, including ankhs (**VI.10**, fig. 102), scarabs (**VI.7**, fig. 98-99; **VI.13**, fig. 105) and cartouches containing the name(s) of the reigning king (**IV.8**, figs. 74 and 112). The examples in **VI.10**, **VI.7** and **VI.13** are all retrospective depictions of reigning kings as princes.

Another important characteristic of the representation of Ahmose-Ankh is the written symbolism of Ahmose-Ankh's name. Ahmose-Ankh is one of the few royal sons whose name incorporates a cartouche. Only the "Ahmose" element is enclosed by the cartouche, indicating that it is a direct reference to the name of the king Ahmose. The name may be read as "(King) Ahmose Lives," a meaning which may suggest that the child represents a reborn and rejuvenated incarnation of Ahmose himself. The name structure (KN) | -*nkh* is not unprecedented for royal sons, although I do not know of any 18th Dynasty parallels.⁹

Earlier publications have already addressed the similarities between the depiction of Ahmose-Ankh and later retrospective depictions of 18th Dynasty kings as children in divine birth

⁹ E.g. Amenemhat-anhk of the 12th Dynasty, a probable son of Amenemhat III; see Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 187-189.

cycles.¹⁰ Given the unique nature of this image and the fact that a prince named Ahmose-Ankh is otherwise unattested, I must address the possibility that the royal child depicted on the Donation Stele was not a real individual, but a generic representation of a royal heir. As such, Ahmose-Ankh would represent the King's Son (and heir) *par excellence* – an eldest son (taking *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* at its face value) who embodied divine and royal qualities at an extremely early age and whose very name indicates that he was a living (re)incarnation of his royal father. Whether or not Ahmose-Ankh was a real person, his depiction in this monument foreshadows the symbolism that would typify later representations of divine/royal children.

No other non-retrospective images of 18th Dynasty princes from royal monuments are attested until the reign of Amenhotep III. Too little survives of the fragment in the Petrie Museum (**I.4**, fig. 3) to determine what sort of activity the person represented may have been engaging in, or even if he was definitely a prince. However, the lost Serapeum relief described by Mariette (**I.3.a**) and the similar scene fragment in Munich (**I.3.b**, fig. 2) both depicted a prince (probably Djutmose B in both cases) participating in ritual activity in the company of a king (Amenhotep III).

According to Mariette's description of **I.3.a**, the prince was depicted echoing the actions of his father, with both figures offering incense to the Apis bull. The prince stood behind the king, in a secondary and supportive position. In the Glyptotek relief (**I.3.b**, fig. 2), very little of the figure of the king survives, but the basic composition is similar to that of the scene

¹⁰ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 98; Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 71.

described by Mariette. The prince stands behind the king with an offering jar in his right hand and his left hand raised in adoration. He wears the leopard-skin garment of a *sm*-priest. The head and one paw of the leopard skin are visible over his right shoulder. A small fan- or flower-shaped object, probably the counterpoise of a collar or necklace, emerges from behind his left shoulder. He also wears a curled sidelock over a short wig, but in this case, the significance of the sidelock is unclear. By the reign of Amenhotep II, the sidelock at least occasionally appeared in representations of adult princes, especially those engaged in ritual activity (see further discussion below). However, it was also part of the costume of the High Priest of Ptah, an office specifically associated with Djhutmose B in only one monument (the Mit Rahina cat sarcophagus, **II.29**, fig. 34).

The prince is depicted in small scale compared to the figure of the king in front of him, and his features are childlike. However, the difference in scale may simply indicate the difference in status between the two figures, and the prince's youthful appearance is consistent with the style of royal representation adapted late in the reign of Amenhotep III. It is unlikely that Djhutmose is intended to be an extremely young child in this scene, given his apparent priestly office. However, it is possible that he is meant to be an older child or adolescent.

During the 18th Dynasty, the closest parallels to these representations of Djhutmose B assisting his father with ritual activity are contemporary depictions of King's Daughters acting as priestesses in the company of their parents. Early examples are attested from the reign of Hatshepsut. See, for example, the now badly vandalized relief from the Bark Sanctuary at Deir el-Bahri depicting Neferure standing behind Hatshepsut (later usurped by Thutmose III) as the

latter presents liquid offerings to the bark of Amun and several deified royal figures including a princess, Neferubity (fig. 109).¹¹

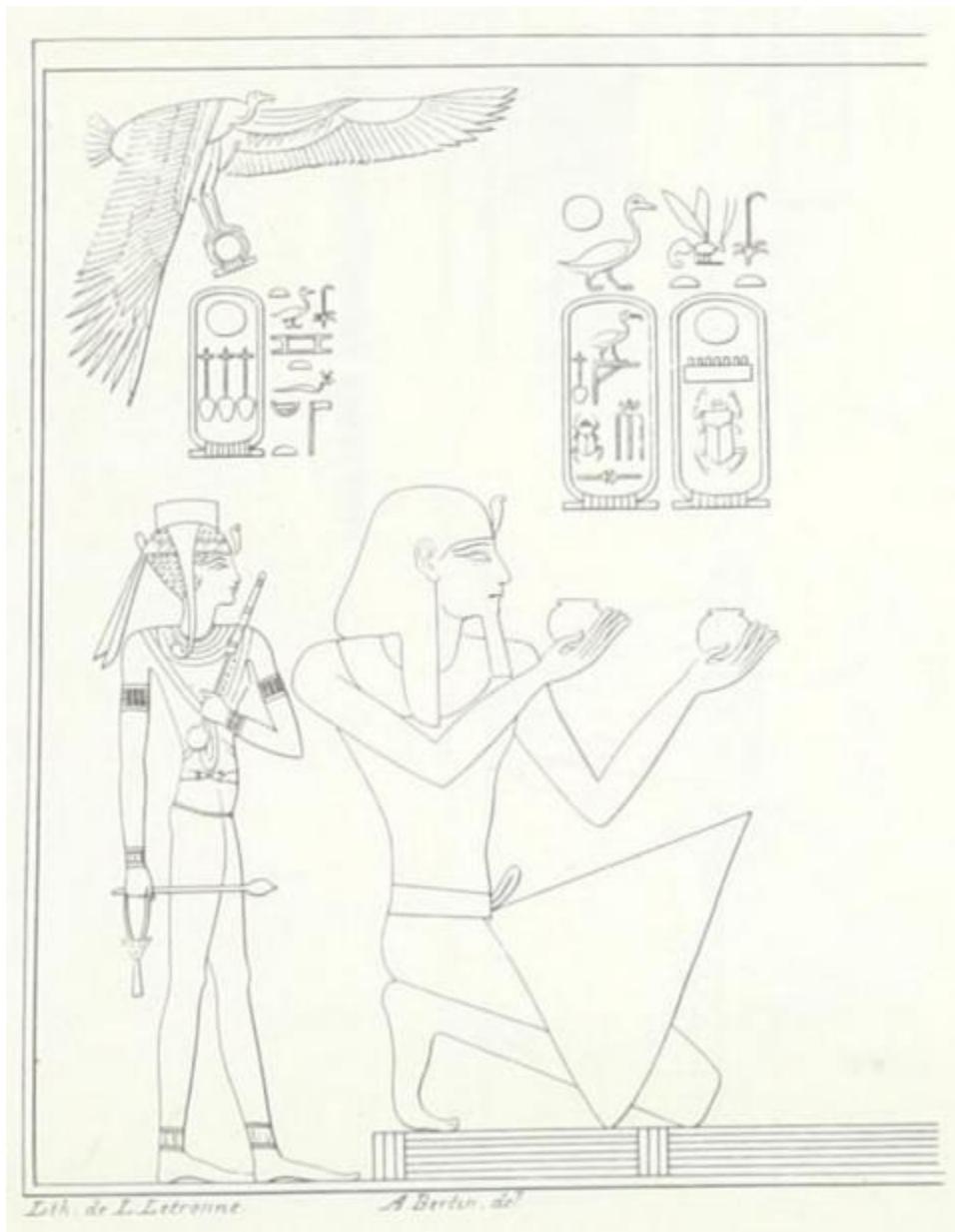


Figure 109 – Copy of a section of relief from Bark Sanctuary of Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri depicting Neferure standing behind Hatshepsut (names emended to those of Thutmose III). Thebes, 18th Dynasty,

¹¹ PM II, 365-6. A fragment of the relief of Neferure is now in the McManus Galleries as Dundee 67.244 (<http://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/princess-neferure>).

reign of Hatshepsut. Drawing from J. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* II (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1835), pl. cxcii.

In the Deir el-Bahri relief, Neferure is clearly depicted as a child: she wears a sidelock, is mostly nude and has small breasts suggestive of early pubescence. While her pose is relatively passive, she wears attire and carries accoutrements suggestive of her royal and priestly status. She wears a diadem with a uraeus and a flat modius crown. She clutches a *menat*-necklace to her chest in her left hand. In her right hand, which hangs at her side, she carries a Hathor-headed sistrum and a pear-shaped mace.¹² The mace, traditionally a symbol of kingly authority, emerged as part of the equipment of the God's Wife of Amun during the 18th Dynasty.¹³

While king's daughters appeared in a small number of royal contexts during the reign of Thutmose III (typically following their father in ritual scenes),¹⁴ they were not frequently depicted in royal monuments until the reign of Amenhotep III and the subsequent Amarna period.¹⁵ During the reign of Amenhotep III, royal daughters were represented, usually in groups, as active participants in ritual alongside their parents in both royal and private monuments.¹⁶ In most cases, they are depicted in a supportive role in the context of Amenhotep III's *sd*-festivals.

Amenhotep III drew heavily on imagery from Hatshepsut's monuments, particularly the representation of the king as a divine child. Perhaps the re-emergence of both male and female

¹² Gardiner T3.

¹³ Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period," 252.

¹⁴ See e.g. Cairo JdE 38574, Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, chart 4.I.15.

¹⁵ Ibid., 158-159.

¹⁶ Ibid., chart 4.I, esp. 22, 23 and 25.

royal children in royal art during the reign of Amenhotep III also reflects his appropriation of earlier 18th Dynasty royal motifs. I have already discussed the implications of the representation of Ahmose-Ankh in the Donation Stele above. During the reign of Hatshepsut, images of royal children (particularly Neferure) often directly paralleled representations of Hatshepsut as a nursling in the divine birth cycle. In the vein of the monuments of Ahmose (see I.1) and Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III may have chosen to represent his own children not only in supportive ritual roles, but also as symbols of the general idea of the divinely created royal child – and thus aspects or extensions of the king himself in his child-god form.

While royal depictions of Djutmose B show him engaging in different types of ritual activity from his sisters (the presentation of offerings rather than the production of sacred music), there are still clear parallels. The prince follows the king and echoes his movements, reinforcing and supporting the ritual action of the king while also being present as an obvious symbol of the king's fecundity.

It is likely that the text of the Hermopolis block naming Tutankhaten (I.5, fig. 4) once accompanied a visual representation of the prince. Since this hypothetical scene is not preserved, little can be said about it except that the arrangement of the text on the block suggest that the figure of Tutankhaten may have faced that of a princess (possibly Ankhesenpaaten).¹⁷ The columns of text associated with Tutankhaten and the princess are placed in apposition, facing one another with a space in between them. The text naming

¹⁷ Allen, "The Amarna Succession," 13-14.

Tutankhaten (at left) is written from right to left, while the epithets of the princess (at right) are written left to right. The opposing directions and relative positions of the texts indicate that they were associated with figures standing or sitting in a face-to-face position.

I am unaware of any equivalent composition dating to the 18th Dynasty, in which two royal children – particularly a princess and a prince – are shown directly adjacent and facing one another. However, similar depictions of mature royal couples (i.e. kings and queens) are quite common during the Amarna period.¹⁸ Previous authors have put forward the suggestion that such a representation may indicate that Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten (if indeed she is the princess mentioned on the Hermopolis block) were already married at the time that this monument was created.¹⁹

2. Visual Representations of Princes in Monuments Dedicated by or to Princes (Category II)

Category II encompasses a much larger number of monuments than **category I**, and clear patterns of visual representation in **category II** monuments are more easily discernable.

¹⁸ For example, Berlin Museum 15000, a painted relief depicting a queen holding mandrake blossoms to the nose of a king. While this piece has been variously interpreted as a depiction of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, Smenkhabre and Meritaten, or Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten, the latter interpretation seems most likely as the king is depicted resting on a walking stick. This object was recently published in F. Seyfried, ed., *Im Licht von Amarna: 100 Jahre Fund der Nofretete* (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2012), cat. no. 202.

¹⁹ Allen, "The Amarna Succession," 13-14. See also J. van Dijk, "The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. J. van Dijk (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), 38-39.

For the purposes of this discussion, I will subdivide the **category II** monuments into three broad subcategories:

- a. Funerary equipment (coffins, canopic jars and ushabti figures)
- b. Stelae and other two-dimensional representations
- c. Statuary

While certain developments are observable in all three of these subcategories over the course of the 18th Dynasty, some types of objects are not as well-represented as others.

a. Funerary equipment:

Only a few objects of this type have survived, as relatively few princely burials are known from the 18th Dynasty. Only a very small number of coffins for 18th Dynasty princes are attested, and most of these do not seem to be original. However, as the following discussion will demonstrate, surviving evidence suggests that the coffins of 18th Dynasty princes were largely indistinguishable from private examples.

The coffin of Ahmose Sapair (**II.3**, fig. 8) is of the black and gold variety that first appeared in the mid-18th Dynasty, and in style it resembles examples dating to ca. the reign of Amenhotep III. It is highly unlikely, therefore, that this was Ahmose Sapair's original coffin. In overall style and iconography, it bears a very strong resemblance to the outer coffin of Yuya,²⁰

²⁰ CG 51002. T. M. Davis, G. Maspero et al., *The Tomb of Louiya and Touiyou* (London: A. Constable and Co., 1907), 4-5 and pl. VII.

and it is likely to have been of similar quality before the precious materials that decorated it were stripped away.

The iconography of the coffin is not explicitly royal, and in fact correlates well to contemporary private examples. The subject is depicted wearing a long wig with alternating stripes of black and (formerly) gold. He wears a broad collar and cuff bracelets, and his hands are crossed over his chest, emerging from a black shroud that envelopes the entire figure. Traces of a winged figure are visible on the chest just beneath the crossed arms. Two horizontal bands cross the body, intersecting with a single vertical band that extends from chest to toes. Figures of deities, probably the Four Sons of Horus, were once represented in the spaces on the sides of the coffin between the horizontal bands.

The coffin of Siamun A (**II.4**, fig. 9) is more likely to be original but is similarly devoid of royal symbolism. It is an anthropoid *rishi* coffin of simple design, adorned only with a long wig and broad collar with falcon-head terminals and painted with a feather pattern. Only the inscription on the feet, added by the priests who reinterred Siamun in the early 21st Dynasty, indicates the royal status of the coffin's owner (by means of both the royal kinship title *s3 ny-sw.t* and the use of a cartouche in the writing of Siamun's name).

The coffin of Amenemhat B (**II.6**, fig. 10) is also wholly devoid of royal iconography and is stylistically consistent with private examples dating to the Ramesside period. The single line of text down the middle of the coffin, running from just below the figure's crossed arms to the ends of his toes, has clearly been modified, with the original owner's name painted over. This is

not Amenemhat's original coffin, nor was it designed specifically for his use. Although the coffin is quite tiny and was clearly made for a child, the design is generic and appears to represent a miniature adult: he wears no sidelock, but rather a wig with long, angled lappets hanging in front of his shoulders, typical for representations of high-status men in the late 18th Dynasty and Ramesside period.²¹ He appears to be wrapped in a featureless yellow robe or shroud from which his hands and bare feet emerge. He wears cuff bracelets (only one is visible) and a broad collar.

Canopic jars belonging to 18th Dynasty princes are similarly generic. Canopic jars (or fragments thereof) are attested for three 18th Dynasty princes: Webensenu (**II.8**, fig. 12), Amenemhat C (**II.9**, fig. 15), Menkheperre B (**II.10**, fig. 16). All of these examples are similar in design, with simple anthropocephalic lids devoid of uraei, sidelocks or other indications of royal or princely status.

Only a small number of ushabtis belonging to 18th Dynasty princes have survived. A number of ushabtis inscribed for Ahmose A/Ahmose Sapair have been discovered at various locations throughout the Theban Necropolis (**II.2.b**), but these are poorly published and their nature is not entirely understood. Four ushabtis of Webensenu were found in the tomb of Amenhotep II (**II.8**, fig. 13-14), and these are entirely generic in their design: mummiform, with long tripartite wigs.

²¹ See, for example, the more elaborate 19th Dynasty example of the inner coffin of Khonsu, MMA 86.1.2a-b (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/544705>).

One ushabti is known for Djhutmose B (II.28, fig. 33), and it is by far the most elaborate surviving ushabti of an 18th Dynasty prince. However, it is unclear that any of the imagery depicted on this object is explicitly princely or royal. The body of the prince rests on a lion-bed, a type of furniture associated with embalming and represented in both royal and non-royal contexts.²² The detail of the *ba*-bird on the chest of the mummy is also attested in other contemporary ushabtis of high-ranking individuals, including Tiye's brother Anen.²³ This imagery is essentially a three-dimensional rendering of the vignette associated with Chapter 89 of the Book of the Dead.²⁴ The presence of Isis and Nephthys, although unusual on an ushabti, are also not unexpected elements in a private funerary object.

The only element of Djhutmose's costume that may indicate his royal status is his hairstyle, a curled sidelock over a short wig. Wildung identifies the sidelock as part of the attire of a *sm*-priest (rather than a prince).²⁵ This assessment is somewhat misleading, in that *sm*-priests were not consistently represented wearing sidelocks during the 18th Dynasty. However, the sidelock was part of the distinctive costume of the *sm*-priest of Ptah, a title which is attested for Djhutmose B on the cat sarcophagus from Mit Rahina (II.29). It is possible, therefore, that the sidelock on the shabti figure is symbolic of Djhutmose's status as High Priest of Ptah rather than as a King's Son.

²² See, for example, the early 18th Dynasty tomb of Renni at El-Kab (EK7), which contains a relief of the deceased as a mummy on a lion bed. *PM* V, 283 (9-10).

²³ Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, the Hague (inv. no. 82/196). Published in F. J. E. Boddens Hosang, "The Shabti of Anen in the Hague," *JEA* 76 (1990), 178-179.

²⁴ D. Wildung, "Le frère ainé d'Ekhnaton," 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

Another statuette of Djhutmose B that may be categorized as “funerary equipment” is the small schist sculpture from the Louvre depicting the prince as a priest grinding grain (II.27, fig. 32). A number of near-contemporary parallels to this statuette are known, including a very similar piece belonging to a High Priest of Ptah named Ptahmose.²⁶ Gardiner suggests that these “divine miller” statues were a throw-back to the “servant-statues” of the Old Kingdom, which eventually gave way to the more generic mummiform ushabtis.²⁷ Again, the form and iconography of this statue probably reflect Djhutmose’s priestly status rather than his role as a prince.

b. Stelae and other two-dimensional representations:

I know of only nine two-dimensional representations of 18th Dynasty princes that may be assigned to **category II**. However, there is considerable overlap among some monuments of **category II** and the types that may be assigned to **category III** (monuments related to the cult of deified princes), so some of these objects straddle the blurred line between both categories. The defining parameters of these categories are discussed in the **Introduction** and in the opening paragraphs of **Chapters 3** and **4**. In all cases, the prince in question is represented as either an adult or a mature adolescent.

²⁶ This and other examples are discussed in A. H. Gardiner, “A Statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose,” ZÄS 43 (1906), 55-59.

²⁷ Ibid., 57-59.

From the late 17th or very early 18th Dynasty, there are two stelae representing Ahmose A which may be categorized as funerary stelae. The first of these (**II.12**, fig. 17) strongly resembles many of the cultic monuments of Ahmose Sapair. However, it may be distinguished from a **category III** monument because the inscription is dedicated to the *ka* of Ahmose A himself rather than a third-party beneficiary. The nature of **II.13** (fig. 18) is less clear, but it is likely to be a funerary stele honoring a person whose name is now lost. In this case, a prince Ahmose (probably Ahmose A) is depicted in the lower register as one of the dedicators of the monument. Both representations are entirely generic, with no distinctive iconography to set the prince(s) in question apart from any other high-ranking man of the period. **II.12** (fig. 17) uses the typical iconography of an honored deceased person (in use since the Old Kingdom) sitting on a lion-footed chair and sniffing a lotus.

The remainder of the two-dimensional **category II** depictions of princes may be dated to the middle of the 18th Dynasty, ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. None of these monuments is funerary, and, except for the Sehel graffiti (**II.22**, fig. 27, **II.23**, fig. 28), all depict princes engaging in ritual activity.

It is at this point, ca. the reign of Amenhotep II, that the sidelock begins to appear on representations of adult princes – at least when princes are depicted in ritual contexts. It is possible that this period marks the beginning of the sidelock as an overt symbol of royal filiation, i.e. a hairstyle worn by both juvenile and adult royal offspring. However, since sidelocks were also worn by certain types of priests, it can be difficult to determine whether its presence in these cases indicates royal or priestly status.

The sidelock appears on the princes of Giza stelae A, B and C (**II.20.a-c**, figs. 23-25), in combination with other distinctly royal symbolism (cartouches, in the case of stelae A and B) and epithets.²⁸ All three of these stelae depict princes presenting offerings to Horemakhet. It is unclear in published photographs whether or not the otherwise unattested King's Son Pentepihu also wears a sidelock on his Horemakhet stele from Giza (**II.21**, fig. 26).²⁹

Ahmose B is also depicted wearing a sidelock on a stele (**II.24**, fig. 29), probably from Heliopolis. In this case, the prince is clearly represented acting in his capacity as a priest (the "Chief of Seers of Re-Atum"). While sidelocks were a normal part of the costume of some types of priests, I have found no indication that this hairstyle was typical for the Heliopolitan High Priest of Re. In fact, these priests were usually depicted as bald, an element that entered their iconography during the Middle Kingdom and persisted into the New Kingdom.³⁰ In this case, the sidelock may be a reference to Ahmose's status as a prince rather than his role as a priest.

The graffiti of Khaemwaset and Djutmose X depict their subjects in essentially passive poses and in generic costumes. Khaemwaset is depicted in both of his graffiti (both discussed in **II.22**, fig. 27) as an adult man standing in a striding posture with his arms hanging by his sides, empty-handed. Since he is represented in silhouette, only the general shape of his costume can be described. In one (fig. 27, left) he wears a shoulder-length wig, a short-sleeved tunic and a calf-length kilt. In the other (fig. 27, right), he wears a long (at least shoulder-length) wig and a

²⁸ See above for discussion of royal epithets used in reference to princes in these monuments, specifically "excellent egg" and variants.

²⁹ Hölscher (*Grabdenkmal*, 108) describes Pentepihu's hairstyle as a "short wig ending in curls."

³⁰ Moursi, *Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes*, 155-157.

short kilt with a knee-length sash. He holds no objects to indicate his status, office or ritual activity.

The graffito of Djhutmose X (**II.23**, fig. 28) is more problematic. It appears in a context with other graffiti belonging to men holding the title *s3 ny-sw.t n Kš* ("King's Son of Kush") and is iconographically similar to several of these. The adult figure in the graffito holds two objects, a *hk3* scepter and a damaged object that is probably an ostrich plume fan. These are typical emblems of the Viceroy of Kush and appear in other graffiti at the same site.³¹

G. Xekalaki interpreted the smaller figure in the graffito as a child and identified him as the "King's Son" named in the text, theorizing that the larger figure was an unnamed tutor.³² However, the smaller figure could be an attendant of the larger man, depicted at a smaller scale to indicate a difference in status. Other graffiti in the same context depict King's Sons of Kush with small-scale figures accompanying them.³³

c. *Statues*

I know of seven statues of 18th Dynasty princes that may be classified as **category II** objects. Four of these (**II.1**, fig. 5; **II.14**, fig. 19; **II.16**³⁴; and **II.25**, fig. 30) are traditional funerary

³¹ Eg. the nearby graffito of Merymose, who was King's Son of Kush under Amenhotep III. The Merymose graffito is nearly identical in composition to that of Djhutmose, minus the smaller figure, and in fact the text merely identifies Merymose as a "*s3 ny-sw.t*" without any further qualifiers.

³² Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, chart 3.I.21.

³³ See, for example, Sehel Graffito 28, in De Morgan et al., *Catalogue des Monuments*, 86. This graffito represents a "King's Son and Overseer of Foreign Lands" accompanied by three tiny figures.

³⁴ As far as I know there are no published images of this statue. Gardiner's description suggests that this statue closely resembled **II.14**, the statue of Ramose.

statues, all following the same basic format: the subject is depicted as an adult, seated on a block throne with his hands resting on his lap. In all cases, the statue is inscribed with offering formulae for the *ka* of the prince. Private funerary statues following this format have a long history, dating back to the Old Kingdom.³⁵ Examples of the type presented in this dissertation range in date from the end of the 17th Dynasty to ca. the reign of Thutmose IV. The three earlier examples (**II.1**, **II.14**, **II.16**) may have been eventually incorporated into the long-lived Theban ancestor cult associated with various late 17th-early 18th Dynasty royal figures. Thus, they straddle the blurred line between **categories II** and **III**.

Unfortunately, the heads of all of these statues are missing, with the exception of that of **II.1** (fig. 5). It is therefore impossible to say anything regarding hairstyles or the presence of absence of diadems or other royal headdresses in most cases. The statue of Ahmose A (**II.1**) wears an *ibis* wig, but no sidelock. A drill-hole at the back of the wig suggests the possible presence of a diadem at one time. It is impossible to say whether this was an original element of the statue or a feature that was added at a later date.

The Coptos statue of Ahmose B (**II.25**, fig. 30) holds a folded cloth in one hand. This element is present in many of the two-dimensional monuments of **category III** (see discussion below). This cloth was certainly not a marker of royal status, as it appears frequently in funerary representations of non-royal individuals from the same period. Xekalaki interprets the folded

³⁵ See, for example, the Brooklyn Museum statue of Irupaptah (37.20E), which dates to the 5th Dynasty: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3938/Seated_Statue_of_the_Superintendent_of_the_Granary_Irukaptah.

cloth or sash as “an emblem of office” and a “symbol of court status” held by courtiers in 18th Dynasty representations.³⁶ During the 19th Dynasty, a long cloth sash held in the hand was part of the regular iconography of princes, particularly in processional scenes in temple contexts; Xekalaki treats the folded cloth and long sash as variants of the same emblem.³⁷

During the 18th Dynasty, however, the folded cloth emblem in the hands of princes (and non-royal individuals) seems to have been restricted mainly to funerary monuments. I would suggest that the folded cloth in representations of 18th Dynasty princes was typically an indication of their status as beatified deceased persons. The significance of the folded cloth will be discussed further below.

In this statue (**II.25**), as on his other monuments (**II.24**, fig. 29; **II.26**, fig. 31) Ahmose is dressed in the costume of his office, specifically that of the Chief of Seers of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. The apron of his kilt is decorated with stylized astronomical tools, a typical element of the costume of the Heliopolitan high priest. The presence of costume elements related to office – particularly priestly offices – are typical of **category II** representations of office-holding princes, as they are in equivalent monuments of non-royal individuals.

The four other **category II** statues presented here are from temple contexts, and these take a variety of forms, all of which have parallels in private statuary of the 18th Dynasty. The statue of Nebnefer (**II.17**, fig. 20) is, as far as I know, the only surviving depiction of a prince

³⁶ *Symbolism*, 62. The folded cloth appears in the hands of high-ranking men as early as the 4th Dynasty. See H. G. Fischer, “An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues,” *MMJ* 10 (1975), 9-21, for a discussion of this motif and its relationship to the “enigmatic object” appearing in the hands of men in private statuary.

³⁷ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 62. I am not convinced both symbols represent the same type of object (see below).

with his wife.³⁸ This monument is also unique in its oblique approach to Nebnefer's royal identity in the inscriptions (see discussion in **Chapter 9**). As with most contemporary statues of princes, Nebnefer's head is missing, so nothing can be said about his hairstyle. He does, however, hold the folded cloth on his lap, as in the statue of Ahmose B discussed above (**II.25**, fig. 30). The inscriptions on the statue do in fact suggest that Nebnefer and his wife were deceased at the time that the statue was dedicated – the text consists of offering formulae for the couple, and their names are followed by the epithet *mȝr hrw*.³⁹

The statue of Djhutmose A from Karnak (**II.18**, fig. 21) is a sistrophore,⁴⁰ a type of statue that was quite common in the 18th Dynasty from the reign of Hatshepsut on.⁴¹ These statues typically appear in temple contexts. The head and shoulders of the Djhutmose A statue are missing, but the surviving portion of the statue does not differ significantly in its appearance from other contemporary statues of the type.⁴²

The kneeling statue of Ahmose B from Gebelein (**II.26**, fig. 31) is more unusual in its design, but also has a contemporary, and seemingly non-royal, parallel: a statue of a Great Overseer of Works and *sm*-priest named Ptahmose.⁴³ Inscriptions on the Ptahmose statue indicate a date in the reign of Thutmose IV. Like the Ahmose B statue, the Ptahmose statue

³⁸ There is evidence that other 18th Dynasty princes married or at least had children. See, e.g., the mummy label of the Princess Nebetia, daughter of Prince Siatum (**V.2**).

³⁹ Which strongly suggests, but does not prove, the deceased status of Nebnefer and Tawosret.

⁴⁰ I.e. a sistrum-bearing statue, typically representing the subject kneeling and resting his hands on an oversized sistrum.

⁴¹ Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik*, 49.

⁴² For various examples, see *ibid.*, pl. 9-14.

⁴³ CG 584; Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik*, 290-291, pl. 43.

depicts its subject wrapped in a priestly leopard skin and wearing an elaborate tasseled belt,⁴⁴ kneeling with his hands palm-up on his thighs. The primary difference between the two statues is in the objects in Ptahmose's hands: Ptahmose holds a length of banded cloth decorated with ankh-signs in his left hand, and a small monkey stands beside his right hand. Bernhauer associates these objects with his involvement in a royal *sed*-festival and his role as the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, respectively.⁴⁵ The striking similarities between the two statues suggests that the distinctive pose and iconography of the statue of Ahmose B (II.26), like those of the Ptahmose statue, are probably indicative of his status as a High Priest rather than his role as a royal son.

The significance of the papyrus and lotus plants in the hands of the Ahmose B statue are not explained by Bernhauer or by Ghoneim in his publication of the statue.⁴⁶ Ghoneim mentions in his initial description of the statue that Ahmose holds a pair of papyrus plants in his left hand and three lotus buds in his right,⁴⁷ but in his discussion of the statue's iconography he addresses only the lotus blossoms.⁴⁸ These he interprets as a symbol of regeneration and an offering to Hathor of Gebelein (one of the deities to whom the statue is dedicated). However, I suggest that the presence of the two plants may be an oblique reference to Ahmose's connection to Atum, who was sometimes given the kingly epithet "Lord of the Two Lands."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Of a design which differs somewhat from that on the Ahmose statue, but found on other representations of High Priests of Ptah at Memphis. Ibid., 291.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 290-291, n. 1.

⁴⁶ Ghoneim, "Eine Statue des Prinzen."

⁴⁷ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 98-99.

⁴⁹ See A. Nibbi, "Some Notes on the Two Lands of Ancient Egypt and the 'Heraldic' Plants," *Discussions in Egyptology* 37 (1997), 37.

I.e., the presence of the heraldic plants are perhaps symbolic of Atum's dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt. On the other hand, the combination of papyrus and lotus plants are not uncommon as generic offerings to various deities or to the souls of the deceased.⁵⁰ In either case, I see no compelling reason to view these plants as symbolic of Ahmose B's royal status.

Both the statue of Ahmose B and that of Ptahmose are missing their heads, so their hairstyles cannot be commented on or compared. The surviving portions of their costumes suggest that both men are depicted primarily in their respective roles of High Priest of Re at Heliopolis and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.

The evidence outlined above strongly suggests that in most cases, representations of princes in **category II** monuments are iconographically indistinguishable from those of non-royal men in equivalent contemporary monuments. The costumes of princes depicted on these monuments tend to be either generic or representative of the princes' (non-royal) offices. Similarly, emblems and objects held by princes in these representations (e.g. plants, bolts of cloth) have no obvious royal associations and also tend to occur in contemporary representations of non-royal people. The Horemakhet stelae from Giza (**II.20.a-c**, figs. 23-25; and **II.21**, fig. 26), which emphasize the royal nature of their subjects both textually (with the use of special epithets and cartouches) and visually (with sidelocks on adult princes), are the only apparent exceptions to this pattern.

⁵⁰ For a royal example of the former, see Seti I offering papyrus and lotus plants to Nut and Geb in a scene on the east wall of the First Osiris Hall in the temple at Abydos. *PM VI*, 19 (177-178).

3. Visual Representations in Monuments Relating to the Cult of Deified Princes (Category III)

21 documents discussed in this dissertation contain visual representations of deceased, deified princes (monuments of **category III**). In some cases, these monuments are difficult to distinguish from normal funerary monuments dedicated to princes. However, the difference may be indicated by inscriptions on the monument or by the presence of other deified royal figures. In monuments of this type, princes (and other deified royalty) are typically present in the role of funerary deities, and thus are not the primary beneficiaries/dedicatees of these monuments in cases where funerary offering formulae are present.

The vast majority of the examples discussed here represent Ahmose Sapair, although in some cases this identification is not definite (see in particular **III.7-III.10**). A single monument (**III.24**) depicts Wadjmose.

The difficulty of distinguishing Ahmose Sapair monuments from representations of other (non-royal) venerated ancestral spirits is largely due to the generic nature of these images. Just as in **category II** monuments, princes in **category III** monuments tend to be depicted without any overtly royal iconography (except for a few possible exceptions discussed below). Monuments that definitely depict Ahmose Sapair are generally identifiable as such only because the prince's name and/or titles are fully written or because other deified royalty are present, not because of any distinctive element of Ahmose Sapair's iconography.

Aside from minor variations in pose and the presence or absence of gods and/or other deified royalty, these monuments are remarkably consistent in their depictions of deified princes. Without exception, the prince in question is represented as an adult or possibly an adolescent (never an infant or young child), typically wearing an *ibs* wig and broad collar. The style and length of the kilt varies over time, but this is the most variable costume element. In a small number of cases, the prince wears bracelets and/or armlets (**III.11**, fig. 45; **III.20**, fig. 54).

The sidelock did not become a typical element in the representation of deified princes until circa the Amarna period (see **III.6**, fig. 40; **III.10**, fig. 44). Ahmose Sapair, Wadjmose and other deified princes of the 18th Dynasty – who were never represented with sidelocks in monuments predating the end of the 18th Dynasty – were frequently (but not always) represented wearing sidelocks (usually over an adult hairstyle, such as an *ibs* wig) when they appear in monuments of the Ramesside period.⁵¹

In general, the costume of these deified princes is indistinguishable from that of contemporary deceased elite males (see comparative examples in fig. 110).

⁵¹ See, for example, the princes among “Lords of the West” in the tombs of Khabekhnet (TT 2) and Inherkhawy (TT 359).



Figure 110 – Left: A typical votive representation of the deified Ahmose Sapair. UC 14233. Thebes, Ramesseum, 18th-19th Dynasty. Limestone, 13.8 cm by 12 cm. The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL, London. JPG, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17560> (Accessed June 30, 2015). Right: A funerary stele belonging to a courtier named Aamtiu. MMA 19.3.32. Thebes, Asasif, early 18th Dynasty. Limestone, 55.5 cm by 34 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, USA. JPG, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545595> (Accessed March 16, 2016).

In figure 110 (above), a simple example of a votive Ahmose Sapair stele is shown at left, and an early 18th Dynasty funerary stele of a non-royal man is shown at right. Both Sapair and the courtier Aamtiu are depicted in the typical posture of a deceased elite male (seated, sniffing a lotus) and in similar costume (*ibis* wig, broad collar and kilt).

The major notable difference between the two representations is the presence of female relatives (wife and daughter) in supportive/subservient positions in the Aamtiu stele.

Interactions of this type between princes and their female relatives are entirely absent from **category III** monuments. This may be due at least in part to the probability that neither Ahmose Sapair nor Wadjmose, the two princes with major 18th Dynasty cults, lived long enough to marry or have children. Additionally, such intimate and informal familial groups are unusual in representations of deities or royalty (before the Amarna period). Family groupings of this sort are also absent from representations of venerated non-royal spirits in the *3ḥ ikr n Rˁ* genre of votive stelae, which are more closely analogous to **category III** princely monuments than ordinary funerary representations.⁵²

An object that appears very frequently in the hands of beatified deceased princes is a lotus blossom, or sometimes a blossom with one or more buds. The presence of the lotus is not indicative of the princes' royal status, but rather of the fact that they are deceased. This is also a common element of representations of non-royal deceased people (see further discussion below). A deified prince is depicted holding a lotus in 15 of the monuments in this category (III.5, III.6, III.7, III.8, III.9, III.10, III.11, III.12, III.13, III.14, III.15, III.16, III.17, III.18, III.24).

When a deceased prince (or non-royal person) is depicted holding a lotus, the lotus usually bends to meet the nose of its holder. However, if a divine figure of higher status than the prince (such as a god or deified king) is present in the same scene, the lotus may bend *away* from the figure of the prince as if attracted to the more powerful divine entity (see III.13, fig.

⁵² For numerous examples of this type of stele, see R. J. Demarée, *The 3ḥ ikr n Rˁ-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983). Note that private monuments of deified princes (and other royalty) begin to appear considerably earlier than *3ḥ ikr n Rˁ* stelae, which did not become common until the Ramesside period. See *ibid.*, 186ff.

47, and **III.24**, fig. 59, in which the lotus blossoms are attracted to Amun and Thutmose I, respectively). I am unaware of any parallels to this phenomenon in depictions of non-royal deceased persons, who are generally unlikely to appear seated directly adjacent to gods or deified royalty on similar monuments.⁵³

In eight of the monuments in this category, the prince holds a folded cloth (**III.3**, **III.7**, **III.10**, **III.11**, **III.12**, **III.14**, **III.15**, **III.16**, **III.20**). When the folded cloth is present, it usually – but not always – appears in conjunction with a lotus (see **III.7**, **III.10**, **III.11**, **III.12**, **III.14**, **III.15**, **III.16**). As discussed above, the folded cloth is not restricted to representations of princes, but also appears frequently in the hands of non-royal people.

The significance of the blue lotus in Egyptian funerary art is well-established.⁵⁴ The lotus was a symbol of divine creation, rejuvenation and fertility, and the motif of a venerated deceased person holding a lotus to his (or her) nose may be traced back at least as far as the late Old Kingdom.⁵⁵ Although the folded cloth motif is nearly as ubiquitous as the lotus and frequently appears in the same contexts, it has received relatively little attention in modern literature.

⁵³ Even *3h ikr n R^c* stelae usually represent the venerated spirit seated alone rather than in close company with other divine figures. Note, however, a similar phenomenon in the private funerary stele of Meryre (**IV.12**) in which the prince Siatum holds a lotus that bends to meet the nose of his tutor's daughter. In this case the implication may be that the prince himself is not deceased, and that the lotus is intended as an offering for the family of his tutor. See further discussion below.

⁵⁴ See, for example, the discussion in L. Manniche, "Reflections on the Banquet Scene," in R. Tefnin, ed., *La peinture égyptienne ancienne* (Brussels: FÉRÉ, 1997), 30-31.

⁵⁵ See MMA 12.183.8, false door of Neferiu (Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period): <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/543863>.

The lotus and folded cloth frequently appear together in the hands of elite males in funerary art.⁵⁶ While it appears far more frequently in the hands of men, I have also found a number of examples of women holding the cloth bolt in funerary contexts.⁵⁷ The gender disparity may be due in part to the typical composition of funerary monuments, in which women are frequently shown embracing male relatives with one or both hands.

Xekalaki noted that the folded cloth (or “sash”) was “the earliest emblem seen on the hands of New Kingdom King’s Sons,” citing the depiction of Wadjmose and Amenmose as adults in the tomb of Pahery (**IV.5**, fig. 67) as the earliest – and *only* – example from the 18th Dynasty.⁵⁸ Since Xekalaki’s analysis did not include most overtly funerary depictions of princes, presumably she was not aware of the frequency with which the folded cloth appears in depictions of beatified 18th Dynasty princes.

Xekalaki interpreted the folded cloth as an emblem of rank or office. However, this interpretation conflates the simple white folded cloth that appears in the examples discussed here with the long looped sash that begins to appear in the hands of officials during the late 18th Dynasty (ca. the reign of Amenhotep III).⁵⁹ Long sashes of the latter type are carried by

⁵⁶ Examples are very numerous, but for one 18th Dynasty example similar to the objects discussed here, see Brooklyn Museum 85.113 (stele of Ba):

https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3917/Stela_of_Ba.

⁵⁷ For an 18th Dynasty example, see BM EA 2301 (funerary pair statue of an unknown man and woman): http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=120809&partId=1&museumno=2301&page=1.

⁵⁸ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 62.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 62.

princes in processional scenes from Ramesside temples. However, I am unconvinced that these two types of cloth object are identical in meaning and function.

I postulate that the short folded cloth, like the lotus, was a symbol indicating the deceased status of its holder. Aside from the obvious practical association between strips of linen and the process of mummification, linen had a wide range of religious associations. The dressing of the god was an important part of regular temple ritual, and votive objects were frequently wrapped in linen as well. Linen was particularly important in the cult of Osiris, who was wrapped in a shroud of divinely created cloth after his death. Likewise, the deceased, as part of the process of entering the divine sphere, would receive the “dress of Renenutet” or the “cloth of the two goddesses” (a reference to the bandages woven by Isis and Nephthys for the mummification of Osiris).⁶⁰ A stylized bolt of white linen in the hand could function as a simple visual signifier of the beatified status of its holder without explicitly depicting the person as a wrapped/shrouded mummy. Whatever the significance of the folded cloth, it is certainly not an iconographic element that is unique to representations of princes, nor is there strong evidence that it symbolized rank or office.

Other objects appear in the hands of deified princes very rarely. The deified royal figure in III.8 (fig. 42) holds an ankh, and also wears a *nemes* headdress. This representation is highly unusual, and the identity of the person in question is unclear. It is possible that this is a

⁶⁰ C. Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt: The Shroud, the Secret and the Sacred*. Kindle Edition (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), location 2806.

representation of the king Ahmose rather than a prince, but his name is not enclosed in a cartouche.

According to G. Roeder's description, Ahmose Sapair holds an ankh in his left hand in **III.5** (fig. 39), the stele from Hermopolis.⁶¹ However, Ahmose Sapair's left hand is badly damaged and the ankh is not visible in published drawings and photographs. If the ankh is/was actually present, it would not be entirely unique in the corpus of 18th Dynasty representations of princes. Menkheperre A carries an ankh in the procession of royal children on the side of the statue of Huy (**IV.15**, fig. 82; see further discussion of this monument below).⁶² It is possible that a second prince represented in the lower register of **III.5** (fig. 39) holds a crook and flail, but this portion of the relief is also severely damaged, and the nature of the objects in his hands is not clear.

When deified princes are represented with other canonized royal figures or deities, the overall composition of the monument often indicates the relative statuses of the various figures in the scene. Typically, princes are depicted behind other divine/royal figures (**III.2**, **III.12**, **III.13**, **III.14**, **III.20**, **III.24**) and often on a smaller scale, suggesting that they held a lower place in the hierarchy of cultic figures.

⁶¹ G. Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 302-303.

⁶² Note that the ankh is also not unknown in New Kingdom representations of non-royal venerated ancestors. See, for example, Manchester Museum no. 1554, a 19th Dynasty stele representing an *ȝb ikr n R* named Ptahhesi, published in Demarée, *The ȝb ikr n R-Stelae*, 60-62, pl. VI and XIV. Ptahhesi holds a lotus in his left hand and an ankh in his right, in a configuration quite similar to the objects held by Ahmose in **III.8**.

Particularly interesting in this regard is **III.14** (fig. 48), which depicts Ahmose Sapair behind Amenhotep II, with both positioned in the register beneath the other four deified royal figures in the scene (Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Thutmose I, Thutmose III). The implication is that, in the hierarchy of divine royalty depicted on this stele, Ahmose Sapair and Amenhotep II (perhaps the reigning king at the time of composition?) were roughly equal in status, but not as important in this context as the figures in the upper register.

Given the overwhelming lack of royal symbolism in depictions of deified princes and the very small number of princes who were represented in this type of cultic context during the 18th Dynasty, I would argue that the royal status of these individuals was secondary to their reputation as powerful spirits in **category III** monuments. Indeed, as discussed in **Chapter 9**, Ahmose Sapair's royal kinship titles were sometimes omitted entirely in his votive monuments, particularly in the latter half of the 18th Dynasty.

4. Visual Representations of Princes in Private Monuments (Category IV)

The iconography of depictions of 18th Dynasty princes in private monuments (primarily monuments of royal nurses and tutors with princes) has been examined in detail in previous studies.⁶³ Therefore, I will confine my discussion to a few general remarks and to specific elements of these monuments that have not been discussed previously.

⁶³ Particularly Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," and Xekalaki, *Symbolism*.

Monuments of this category differ from those of other types discussed in this dissertation in that a) the prince(s) represented are not the primary focus of the monument and b) princes in these monuments are almost always depicted as children. These monuments were meant to showcase the special relationship between non-royal caretakers and the royal children that they cared for – and thus, by extension, the close bond between the owner/main subject of the monument and the royal family.

Category IV representations of princes often show strong parallels with retrospective depictions of kings as children (**category VI**) and in general seem to use more explicitly royal imagery than most contemporary representations of princes. In some cases, the iconographic parallels between **category IV** images of princes and retrospective depictions of kings as children are so strong that it is difficult to tell the difference. See, for example, the statue of a woman with an unknown male royal child (**VI.13**, fig. 105), which is virtually indistinguishable from **category IV** images of nurses with princes in most respects. The presence of bound captives beneath the child's feet and the H-wing scarab amulet around his neck are the only surviving hints that this statue may in fact be a retrospective representation of a king with a royal nurse. Both of these elements have close parallels in contemporary two-dimensional representations of kings with royal nurses and tutors.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ In **VI.7**, Thutmose IV wears an H-wing scarab pectoral and rests his feet on a stool decorated with images of bound foreign captives. Similarly, in the nursing scene from the tomb of Kenamun (**VI.4**), Amenhotep II is depicted resting his feet on the heads of a group of bound foreigners whom he also holds by a series of leads extending from his right hand. In both of these cases, however, the kings in question are depicted as miniature adults in full royal regalia. It is unclear why the person in **VI.13** is depicted as a child with only subtle indications of his royal status. However, for possible parallels see retrospective images of Amenhotep II as a child in the tomb of

In contrast to the other types of monuments examined in this dissertation, the sidelock is a nearly universal feature of **category IV** depictions of princes. In all statues of this category in which the prince's head is preserved, a sidelock is clearly present (see **IV.3**, fig. 64; **IV.4**, fig. 65 [only traces survive]; **IV.16**, fig. 83). It is present in almost all two-dimensional representations as well, with two notable exceptions: two unusual scenes from the tombs of Pahery (**IV.5**, fig. 67) and Min (**IV.6**, fig. 69). Both of these tombs also feature more conventional scenes in which one of the princes in question appears as a small child with a sidelock in the arms of his tutor.

One of the two scenes depicting princes the tomb of Pahery (**IV.5**, fig. 67) represents Wadjmose and Amenmose as adults without sidelocks. In this case, the absence of the sidelock may be explained by the context of the representation. In this scene, Wadjmose and Amenmose are depicted as revered deceased persons (along with Pahery's parents). This representation conforms perfectly with the conventions typically used for depictions of deceased princes, as demonstrated in the discussion of **category II** and **III** monuments above. They appear as young adults in a passive, seated pose, each holding the characteristic folded cloth emblem (see discussion above). Note that this does *not* necessarily indicate that these princes died as adults, since funerary representations of princes during the 18th Dynasty seem to universally depict their subjects as adults regardless of their actual age at death.⁶⁵

Amenemhab (**VI.5**). Most of these scenes are badly damaged, but the surviving material suggests that Amenhotep II is depicted as a juvenile with little or no royal regalia (although he does hold an ankh in at least two scenes).

⁶⁵ It is likely, however, that Amenmose died as an adult, since he already seems to have held a high-ranking military office early in the reign of Thutmose I (see **II.19**).

The roughly contemporary tomb of Min (**IV.6**) also contains a unique scene depicting Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) as an adolescent or older preadolescent with close-cropped hair and no sidelock (fig. 69). This distinctive hairstyle also appears on retrospective depictions of Amenhotep II as a prince in the tomb of Amenemhab (**VI.5**, figs. 94-96). The archery scene from the tomb of Min, while unique among depictions of 18th Dynasty princes, has strong royal parallels (see discussion in **IV.6** and fig. 70). This is a rare (for the 18th Dynasty) visual representation of a prince conforming to what Xekalaki refers to as the “mythologem of the powerful adolescent,” a type of representation that would become far more common for princes in the Ramesside period.⁶⁶

The almost ubiquitous presence of the sidelock in **category IV** monuments is directly related to the fact that princes in these monuments are almost always depicted as children. As such, it is probably more of a marker of age than of royal status, *per se*. The royal nature of these children may be visually indicated in other ways, e.g. through elements of costume or the presence of specific objects in their hands.

Several princes in **category IV** monuments are depicted wearing pectoral amulets. As discussed above, pectoral amulets also appear on royal children on monuments of types I (depictions of princes in royal monuments) and **VI** (retrospective depictions of kings as princes). A wide variety of types are represented: Ahmose-Ankh wears a heart amulet in the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**, fig. 107), and in the divine birth scene relief of Thutmose IV

⁶⁶ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 74-76.

(VI.10, fig. 102) the king is depicted as a nude child wearing an ankh amulet. The unidentified prince (probably a retrospectively-depicted king) in the statue of a nurse and royal child from Saqqara (VI.13, fig. 111) wears an elaborate “H-wing” scarab amulet.



Figure 111 – Detail of Cairo JE 91301. Statue of a nurse with a prince on her lap. The prince wears an H-wing scarab pectoral. North Saqqara, late 18th Dynasty, ca. reign of Tutankhamun-reign of Horemheb. Limestone, 100 cm. by 35 cm. by 41 cm. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Image from M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Unknown Tutankhamun* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pl. III, b.

Pectorals on princes in **category IV** monuments are similarly variable in their design.

Wadjmose wears a heart amulet in the scene from the tomb of Pahery in which he is

represented as a small child in the lap of his tutor (**IV.5**, fig. 66). The heart amulet is also worn by three royal children in the statue from Bubastis (**IV.16**, fig. 83).

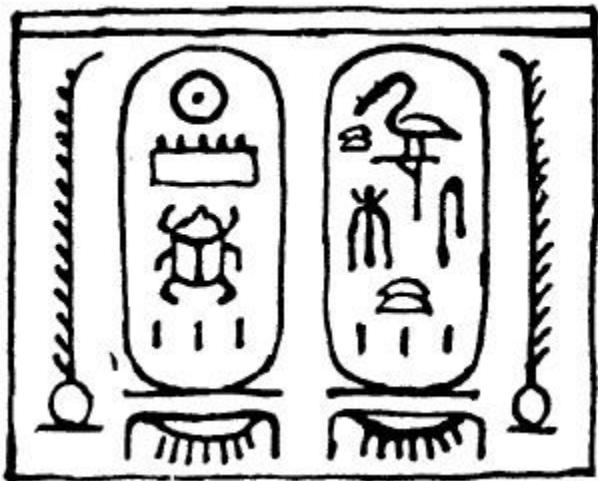


Figure 112 – Royal name pectoral worn by Amenhotep C in the TT64 offering scene (**IV.8**), now lost. Copy of drawing by Champollion, image from P. Newberry, “The Sons of Tuthmosis IV,” *JEA* 14 (1928), 84, fig. 2.

At least two princes in TT 64 (**IV.8**) are depicted wearing pectorals, including the retrospectively represented Thutmose IV. In the surviving examples from this context, the pectorals contain the prenomen of Thutmose IV. Amenemhat C’s pectoral consists of Thutmose IV’s prenomen in a cartouche above a *nwb* sign, flanked by uraei with solar discs on their heads (fig. 74). An early copy by Champollion suggests that Amenhotep C also originally wore a square pectoral containing both the nomen and prenomen of Thutmose IV over *nwb* signs, flanked by palm fronds (*rnp.t*) atop shen-rings (see fig. 112).⁶⁷ The other princes in the scene may have worn similar adornments, but these are now lost. In the two surviving retrospective images of

⁶⁷ See Newberry, “Sons of Tuthmosis IV,” 84, fig. 2.

Thutmose IV in this tomb, the king/prince wears an “H-wing” scarab pectoral topped by a horizontal cartouche (**VI.7**, fig. 113).



Figure 113 – Detail of Thutmose IV on the lap of his tutor Heqareshu from TT 64 (**VI.7**). Thutmose IV wears an H-wing scarab pectoral. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose IV. Drawing from P. Newberry, “The Sons of Tuthmosis IV,” *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XII. Image cropped from original.

Finally, the four princes in the scene from TT 226 (**IV.9**, fig. 76) all wear pectorals, of which only the general trapezoidal or, in one case, rectangular shape can be discerned. It is possible that some of these pectorals were of a similar type to the royal name pectorals worn

by Amenhotep C (fig. 112) and Amenemhat C (fig. 74) in the scene from TT 64 (**IV.8**). However, the trapezoidal shape of some of these amulets is consistent with the shape of lotus blossom pectorals appearing on non-royal children in some tomb scenes of the mid-late 18th Dynasty (see below, fig. 114).

Given the frequent appearance of pectoral amulets in representations of royal children, it is interesting that an elaborate pectoral was part of the burial equipment of the infant prince Amenemhat B (**II.6**, fig. 12). This shield-shaped pectoral, which represents Amenhotep I smiting a group of foreign enemies, may not have been part of the prince's original burial (see discussion in **II.6**). However, its presence is consistent with depictions of living princes wearing large pectoral pendants, often decorated with explicitly royal imagery.

While I have found some examples of non-royal children wearing pectoral amulets in private monuments of the 18th Dynasty, the variety of amulets appearing in these representations is relatively limited. Preadolescent male and female children are occasionally shown wearing large lotus pectorals in fishing and fowling scenes. See, for example, the fishing scenes from the tombs of Nakht (TT52; fig. 114)⁶⁸ and Nebamun (BM EA37977).⁶⁹ These pectorals are similar in shape to the poorly preserved examples worn by the royal children in **IV.9** (fig. 76), although at least one of these has a more rectangular shape suggestive of a royal name pectoral.

⁶⁸ *PM* I:1, 101 (6).

⁶⁹ Available from the British Museum Collection Online, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=119661&partId=1&people=99952&object=19796&page=1 (Accessed June 25 2016).



Figure 114 – Detail of a non-royal male child wearing a lotus pectoral in a fishing and fowling scene from the tomb of Nakht (TT 52). Original from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes, Egypt. Facsimile by N. de Garis Davies, L. Crane and F. Unwin. MMA 15.5.19e, I-m. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC, New York, USA. Image from MMA collection online, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548578>. Accessed June 25 2016. Image cropped from original.

Various objects may appear in the hands of princes in **category IV** representations, although only some of these have any obvious bearing on their status as royal children. I have already discussed the folded cloth in the hands of Wadjmose and Amenmose in the tomb of Pahery (**IV.5**, fig. 67). The lotus, another object associated with both royal and private funerary

representations, is held by Menkheperre A in the statue of Huy (**IV.15**, fig. 82) and by Siatum in the stele of Meryre (**IV.12**, fig. 78). However, an important distinction must be drawn between the two representations. Menkheperre's lotus bends to meet his own nose, suggesting that this is probably a posthumous image. Siatum's lotus bends away from Siatum to meet the nose of Tiy, the daughter of his tutor Meryre. The implication may be that Siatum was not deceased at the time that the monument was created, but that he held the lotus as an offering to the family of his tutor. Meryre himself offers a piece of fruit to Siatum, perhaps a symbol of the nurturing relationship between the tutor and his charge.

On the statue of Huy (**IV.15**, fig. 82), Menkheperre A carries an ankh in addition to a lotus. It is highly unusual, but possibly not unique, for a prince to be depicted holding an ankh during the 18th Dynasty. Ahmose Sapair may have held an ankh on the stele from Hermopolis (**III.5**, fig. 39), but the relevant part of the stele is badly damaged (see discussion above); likewise, the Ahmose depicted on **III.8** (fig. 42) holds an ankh, but it is not clear that this person was actually a prince rather than a king. Both **III.5** and **III.8** are posthumous representations of deified royal figures. Kings retrospectively depicted as princes are also occasionally shown to hold ankhs (see **VI.5**, figs. 95-96; **VI.7**, fig. 98; **VI.12**, fig. 104).

The combination of the ankh and the lotus in the image of Menkheperre A may be indicative of his status as a deceased royal person. The ankh also parallels the sistra held by the three princesses who accompany Menkheperre A in the same scene. These objects are very similar in shape, but the sistrum is an explicitly feminine symbol. The ankh in the hand of the prince maintains the visual balance of the composition but is also free of feminine associations

and is therefore more appropriate than a sistrum in the hands of a prince. The royal children in this scene are otherwise identical in appearance and costume.

Several objects are held by princes in TT 64 (**IV.8**). In this case, the objects are clearly intended to be offerings for the enthroned Heqareshu and Thutmose IV. Amenhotep C carries a bouquet in his right hand and a less easily identifiable object (possibly a bunch of leaves) in his left (fig. 73). The prince who appears behind Amenemhat C carries a bouquet in his surviving hand, while Amenemhat C carries two birds. He holds a peeping hatchling in his upraised right

hand (in the form of the hieroglyph , *t3*), and holds a duck by the wings in his left hand (fig. 74).

It is tempting to find some special significance in the hatchling, since the word *t3* (“fledgling, chick”) and the general concept of a chick or hatchling both have royal connotations. *T3* is an epithet of Horus,⁷⁰ and, more indirectly, the young (future) king is sometimes called the “Horus in the nest.”⁷¹ Amenemhat C bore the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (“King’s Son of His Body”) and was buried in the tomb of Thutmose IV, both of which suggest that he may have been an heir who died prematurely (see discussion in **Chapter 9** and **Chapter 11**). If Amenemhat C was ever an heir, the hatchling bird in his hand would be a fitting allusion to his special status. Hatchlings and eggs do occasionally appear in depictions of funerary offerings and other funerary contexts because of their associations with fertility and rebirth, so

⁷⁰ *WB* 5, 341.

⁷¹ *WB* 3, 484.

there may not be sufficient grounds to assume that the chick's presence in this context reflects on the status of its holder.⁷² However, it is unusual for a hatchling to appear in the hand of an offering bearer in a scene of this type. An interesting royal parallel occurs in a scene from the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, in which a princess approaches Ramesses III and his chief wife carrying an offering of eggs and chicks.⁷³

Finally, I would like to remark briefly on the poses and gestures that are typical of category IV images of princes. C. Roehrig has already described and classified most of the images of this type in great detail.⁷⁴ In general, it may be said that the poses of royal children in these monuments are passive, with only a few exceptions (e.g. IV.6, fig. 69 [prince practicing archery]; IV.8, fig. 73 [princes presenting offerings]). The emphasis is on the pseudo-parental relationship between the adult caretaker and the child. Typically, the adult caretaker embraces the prince, who sometimes offers a reciprocal gesture of affection.

Two scenes dating to the reign of Thutmose III may show very young princes performing an apotropaic gesture.⁷⁵ One of these is the scene of Wadjmose in the lap of Pahery (IV.5, fig. 115) and the other is a nearly identical scene depicting Amenhotep A in the lap of Min (IV.6, fig.

⁷² R. Bailleul-LeSuer, "From Kitchen to Temple: The Practical Role of Birds in Ancient Egypt," in R. Bailleul-LeSuer, ed., *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2012), 29.

⁷³ R. Bailleul-LeSuer, personal communication, 2016. For the scene in question, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 340.

⁷⁴ "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," passim, but especially chapter 2 (271 ff.).

⁷⁵ I have already discussed the uncertainty of the gesture being depicted here in both cases, see discussion in IV.5 and IV.6. Unfortunately, the hand in question is damaged in both scenes. Drawings and facsimiles of the Wadjmose scene (IV.5) depict the prince with an open hand, but photographs I have examined appear to show a pointing gesture. I am indebted to B. Vanthuyne for taking several high-resolution photographs of the scene in question at my request, and to the Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab for giving me permission to use one of these photographs in this dissertation (see figure 115).

116). Both princes appear to point downward with the first and second fingers of their right hands. A similar gesture is performed by two of the princesses in the famous Berlin stele of Akhenaten and Nefertiti.⁷⁶ In the Amarna example, the princesses point upward (in the direction of Aten at the center of the stele) with only their index fingers.



Figure 115 – Detail of the right hand of Wadjmose from the scene depicting Wadjmose on the lap of Pahery from Tomb 3 at El Kab. Photograph by Bart Vanthuyne, October 2016. Image courtesy of the Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab.

⁷⁶ Inv. 14 145, published in D. Arnold, ed., *The Royal Women of Amarna* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), fig. 88. The nature of the gesture is discussed on p. 100.



Figure 116 – A prince performing an apotropaic gesture. Copy of a relief of Min and Amenhotep A (Amenhotep II) from the Tomb of Min (TT 109). Thebes, 18th Dynasty, Reign of Thutmose III. Drawing from P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIII^e dynastie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891), fig. 4.

The gesture performed by the princes in IV.5 and IV.6 brings to mind the two finger amulets frequently found on mummies starting in the Late Period. These amulets were typically placed near the embalming incision on the lower torso of the mummy (fig. 117).



Figure 117 – Example of a Two Finger Amulet, MMA 66.99.182. Late Period, provenance unknown. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, USA. Glass, 8.1 cm (length). Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Online: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550994> (accessed 3/15/16).

M. Pezin and F. Janot have suggested that the amulet of the two fingers was meant to represent the hand of the embalmer, or perhaps of Anubis himself, performing a magical gesture of healing over the embalming incision. The corpse, having been purified by means of the removal of the bodily fluids via the incision, was magically restored by the god through the proxy of the human embalmer.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ M. Pezin and F. Janot, "La 'pustule' et les deux doigts." *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 364-365.

The two finger amulet may also be an allusion to two passages in the Pyramid Texts (spells 1208 and 980). Both passages mention the two fingers of a god (in one case Re, and in the other, the unnamed “god of the scale”). In these contexts, the magical gesture performed with the two fingers was meant to facilitate the deceased pharaoh’s passage into the heavens.⁷⁸ It is possible that the princes in these scenes were shown performing this gesture for the benefit of their deceased caretakers for similar reasons, i.e. to magically restore them after death and/or to ease their passage into the afterlife.

5. General Discussion and Conclusions

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the analysis presented above. While there are rare exceptions in each grouping of monuments, certain conventions are generally followed in the visual representation of princes that are highly dependent on context.

Princes are typically represented as adults except in monuments of **category IV**, which highlight the special pseudo-filial relationships between royal children and non-royal caretakers. One of the rare exceptions to this rule is the depiction of Ahmose-Ankh in the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**, figs. 1 and 107). This is, however, a royal monument, in which the prince serves the specific and unusual function of representing part of a divine triad. He is also the result of the sacred relationship between his parents and the god Amun.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

I have already addressed the possibility that “Ahmose-Ankh” was a symbol or personification of the idea of a King’s Son rather than a historical prince. Whether or not this is the case, his presence on the monument is highly symbolic. Here the prince is depicted as a very young child, dependent upon adult caretakers (in this case, his parents). This image has its strongest parallels in monuments of **category VI** (kings retrospectively depicted as princes) and **category IV** (representations of princes with non-royal caretakers). The **category IV** images are strongly imitative and derivative of those of **category VI**: both emphasize the nature of the prince (or child-king) as a divinely created infant.

In contrast, monuments of **categories II** and **III**, which include funerary monuments and dedicatory monuments created by/for princes and representations of deceased princes as venerated ancestral spirits, universally represent their royal subjects as adults. This seems to have been the case regardless of whether the prince in question was an adult at the time that the monument was created: there is strong evidence that some of these individuals died in childhood. The other known **category I** representations of princes also depict their subjects as adults.

It is also generally the case that princes are not iconographically distinct from other elite males in most contexts. Outside of **category IV** representations, 18th Dynasty images of princes are strikingly devoid of specifically royal symbolism. In monuments of **category II**, princes are typically depicted either in an entirely generic fashion or in the costume of their profession (most often in the cases of princes who were also high-ranking priests).

The major exceptions are the Giza stelae, which seem designed to emphasize the royal nature of their subjects. The Giza stelae A-C (**II.20.a-c**, figs. 23-25), combined with the naos of Amenmose (**II.19**, fig. 22), the stele of Pentepihu (**II.21**, fig. 26) and the sphinx stelae of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV (**VI.6**, fig. 97; **VI.9**, fig. 101) suggest a strong tradition of royal males participating in a combined cult of Horemakhet and the reigning king at Giza during the early-mid 18th Dynasty. In this context, it was apparently considered important to underscore the filial relationship between the princely owners of these monuments and their fathers.

In stelae A and B, the princes' names are written in cartouches. This was also true of the earlier Amenmose Naos (**II.19**, fig. 22), of which only part of the text – and no image or vignette – survives. In addition, the texts of stelae B and C refer to the princes in explicitly royal terms as divinely created "eggs." These princes are depicted as adults wearing sidelocks, a hairstyle that is otherwise reserved for children or specific classes of priests. The sidelock is a symbol of youth and, by extension, it symbolizes the concept that the wearer is (someone's) child, grown or otherwise. In the Giza stelae, the presence of the sidelock seems to have been meant to underscore the filial relationship between these princes and the reigning king (probably Amenhotep II in all cases). All of the Giza princes are shown participating in the cult of Horemakhet, which was closely connected to the cult of the reigning king. It is unclear whether Pentepihu, another apparently royal owner of a Giza stele dedicated to Horemakhet (**II.21**, fig. 26), also wore a sidelock.

It is possible, as discussed above, that the sidelock was used to indicate Ahmose B's royal status in his stele from Heliopolis (**II.24**, fig. 29). Djhutmos B also wears a sidelock in all of

his surviving monuments, but this was part of the ordinary costume of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and thus may be indicative of his priestly office rather than his identity as a king's son. In any case, the common thread in all of these examples (the Giza stelae and the monuments of Ahmose B and Djutmose B) is that all of these princes are depicted engaging in ritual activity. The appearance of the sidelock on adult princes in some of these monuments may signal the beginning of its use as a marker of royal status among the (adult) offspring of kings, a use which would emerge fully during the Ramesside period (see further discussion below).

With a small number of (possible) exceptions, representations of princes in **category III** monuments are entirely generic until ca. the Amarna period. Many of these monuments bear a strong resemblance to the *ȝh ikr n R* stelae that became common (especially in the Thebaid) during the New Kingdom. Starting in the Amarna period, deified deceased princes are occasionally depicted wearing a sidelock over an adult hairstyle (e.g. **III.6**, fig. 40). This mode of representation persisted into the Ramesside period, at which point the sidelock seems to have become part of the standard symbolic code for royal offspring, juvenile or adult.⁷⁹ Sidelocks continued to appear on non-royal children after the end of the 18th Dynasty; however, the sidelock on adults or older children now emerged as a signifier of royal status.

The reasons behind this change are unclear, but it is notable that it coincides roughly with the rise of the private cult of the child god Shed, who was typically represented as an

⁷⁹ See, for example, the images of princes among the "Lords of Eternity"/"Lords of the West" in the Ramesside tombs at Deir el-Medina. Living princes of this period are also regularly depicted wearing sidelocks, as in the processional scenes of Ramesses II's sons in temple contexts.

adolescent or young adult wearing a sidelock. She was also frequently portrayed as an archer, charioteer and master of animals – elements that conform well to mid-18th Dynasty portrayals of princes and young kings in the “powerful adolescent” mode.⁸⁰

The transition to the 19th Dynasty was also characterized by the regular appearance of both male and female royal children in royal contexts. In representations of this type, royal children are inevitably depicted in a supportive role *vis-à-vis* the king in which their dependence on, and filial relationship with, the king is emphasized. Group representations of royal sons in the Ramesside period should perhaps be compared to the (female) *ms.w ny-sw.t* in Amenhotep III’s sed festival scenes, who are also depicted as adults wearing sidelocks. Similarly, the daughters of Akhenaten, who are regularly shown participating in ritual activity with their parents, are always depicted wearing sidelocks even into adulthood. The sidelock, in these cases, would serve as a visual reminder that the wearer was a “child” of the king (no matter his or her actual age at the time).

Explicitly royal iconography is most likely to appear in depictions of princes with nurses, tutors or other caretakers. In these monuments, royal children may wear a variety of amulets and even perform magical gestures (**IV.5**, figs. 66 and 115; **IV.6**, fig. 116). The composition of most of these scenes closely parallels images of child gods or kings being held or suckled by gods or goddesses, and in fact the “royal child with nurse/tutor” image seems to have developed directly from royal prototypes. Images of the infant Hatshepsut in the arms of a

⁸⁰ Xekalaki, *Symbolism*, 15.

divine wetnurse in the reliefs at Deir el-Bahri are echoed by a statue (possibly from the same context) of Hatshepsut in the lap of her human nurse, Sitre (**VI.2**, fig. 91). The same imagery was soon adopted for both male and female royal children, beginning with representations of Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure in the care of various individuals (mostly Senenmut). The rare image of the future Amenhotep II practicing archery in the tomb of Min (**IV.6**, fig. 69) also conforms closely to contemporary royal prototypes, depicting a king shooting under the guidance of a god.

It is clear that a close relationship to a royal child meant, by extension, a close relationship to the reigning king. It is possible that royal children – both male and female – in **category IV** scenes were symbolic proxies of the reigning king, or of the general idea of youthful kingship. Such symbolism would not be mutually exclusive with these images as representations of genuine relationships between royal children and their caretakers.

The imagery of the royal child seems to have taken on a special ideological significance during the reign of Hatshepsut, and this significance persisted throughout the rest of the 18th Dynasty. It seems plausible, and indeed quite likely, that royal children in previous periods benefitted from the care and guidance of non-royal individuals; it was only in the 18th Dynasty that it became important – presumably to both the royal family and the individuals entrusted with the care of their children – to explicitly represent these relationships. The extent to which the royal family directly influenced or endorsed private representations of this sort is unclear, but the public nature of some of these monuments (e.g. the various statues of nurses and

tutors with royal children that would have been set up in temple contexts) certainly suggests royal approval.

Chapter 11: Conclusions

In contrast to the immediately preceding periods (Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period), the 18th Dynasty preserves a relatively large quantity of data relating to royal sons. However, the exact nature of the role(s) played by these individuals – both ideologically and practically speaking – remains elusive.

A picture of the ideal 18th Dynasty King's Son may be assembled from royal and literary sources of the period. The Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**) is one of the earliest 18th Dynasty monuments to depict a royal child, and this representation set a precedent for a number of later developments in the 18th Dynasty mythos of divine kingship. Ahmose-Ankh is a divinely-created child, both the eldest son of the king (*s3 ny-sw.t smsw*) and the offspring of a god (*n h3.w ntr*), presumably Amun. Therefore, like the pharaoh, he embodies both human and divine characteristics. While he is not mentioned by name in the main text of the stele, it is implied that he is the heir to the priestly office(s) held by his mother Ahmose-Nefertari, thus ensuring the continuation of the royal family's special connection to the burgeoning national cult of Amun-Re (see discussion in **I.1**).

The idea of a royal child (and more specifically, a future king) as the result of a sacred union between Amun and the God's Wife was expanded upon by Hatshepsut in her *Légende de la Jeunesse* inscriptions at Deir el-Bahri (**VI.1**). While Hatshepsut was drawing on ideas that had

been established in earlier periods,¹ the royal birth cycle at Deir el-Bahri represents an extraordinarily detailed and fully developed expression of these ideas. The young Hatshepsut is presented as a divine being whose creation and eventual kingship were preordained by the gods. She is simultaneously the “son” of Amun and of her human father, Thutmose I. Her kingly destiny and special qualities are openly acknowledged by the gods, the king, and the court.

The idea that the special characteristics of the future king were recognized at an early age via divine selection and royal proclamation is expanded upon in Thutmose III’s *Texte de la Jeunesse* (VI.3). The text emphasizes the prince’s extreme youth at the time of his oracular recognition by Amun, and he is overtly compared to at least two child-gods (Iun-mutef and Horus of Chemmis).

Retrospective monuments depicting kings as more mature princes focus on the exceptional strength, physical beauty and charisma of the prince. The idea of the older prince(ss) as a beautiful and charismatic youth is expressed in a passage from the “historical section” of the *Légende de la Jeunesse*:²

¹ Cf. the passages in the Westcar cycle giving the account of the conception and birth of the first three kings of the 5th Dynasty. Like Hatshepsut’s divine birth cycle, the Westcar tale of Ruddjedet describes the birth of divinely conceived royal children, born to a human mother, who are preordained for kingship even before birth. They are described in the text as the “children of Re,” although the details of their conception are not specified (see p. 9, ln. 10). Like Hatshepsut, they are delivered by an entourage of divine midwives at the behest of their father (Re). Fragments of a divine birth cycle from the Middle Kingdom have been discovered recently at the causeway of Senusret III’s pyramid temple at Dahshur, suggesting another early prototype. See A. Oppenheim, “The early life of pharaoh: divine birth and adolescence scenes in the causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur,” in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2010* 1 (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2011), 171-188.

² Urk. IV, 245-246.

(2) *hpr hr hm.t=s 3.ti r h.t nb.t nfr m3 n=s r h.t nb(.t) im-m(?)=s m ntr kd=s m ntr ir=s*

(3) *h.t nb.t m ntr 3h=s m ntr hpr hm.t=s m hwn.t nfr.t rnp.ti W3d.t imi.t 3.t=s*

“(2) Then Her Majesty became great more than anything, while it was beautiful to look at her more than anything, her (??) being like a god, her form being like a god, her doing (3) anything being like a god, her splendor being like a god, her majesty having become a beautiful, vigorous youth, Wadjet in her moment.”

Similarly, the young Thutmose IV is described in the “Dream Stele” (**VI.9**) in terms of his godlike appearance and strength, while Amenhotep II’s physical power and innate understanding and skill in the management of horses are addressed at length in the text of the “Sphinx Stele” (**VI.6**).

These same characteristics are reflected in the literary example of the “Doomed Prince” (**VII.1**). His creation was divinely ordained, although it is not explicitly stated that he has divine blood or that a god was directly involved in his conception. He matures into a youth of exceptional strength, physical beauty and charisma, who is able to overcome his “fates” (forces of chaos) with the assistance of his wife (whose role as a protective figure is reminiscent of that of Isis *vis à vis* Osiris and Horus) and the protection of the gods (especially his patron deity Pre). Presumably this prince was ultimately destined for kingship; like the retrospectively depicted kings in the monuments discussed above, he has the qualities of an ideal heir.

All of these individuals – both the retrospectively portrayed kings and, most likely, the fictitious prince of “The Doomed Prince” – were not just royal sons, but predestined kings. In

fact, there seems to be little room in this mythos of divine kingship for royal sons who were *not* heirs. The notion of a “King’s Brother” was unacceptable during most periods of Egyptian history, since the term *sn* (“brother”) had connotations of equality.³ The ideal situation, then, was that each king would have a single son who was divinely created and predestined for the throne, a *de facto* king from birth.

The idea of the king as a semi-divine figure was not new to the 18th Dynasty. However, during this period, the exact nature of the king’s divine heritage seems to have become more clearly defined. The expansion of the cult of Amun-Re at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty and the strong ties between this cult and the royal family played an important role in the development of the distinctly 18th Dynasty mythos of divine kingship. Royal sons of the 18th Dynasty negotiated a delicate balance between this developing mythos and reality, and the difficulty in reconciling these spheres of existence is reflected in the way princes appear (or do not appear) in the historical record.

While it is difficult to say much about the lives and careers of 18th Dynasty princes due to the limited nature of the surviving evidence, a number of conclusions may be drawn based on the evidence presented in this dissertation. Some of these conclusions contradict earlier assumptions about the nature of the role of princes during the 18th Dynasty, which have shaped current understandings of the history of the period.

³ J. Revez, “Frère du roi,” *passim*. A rare exception is a reference to Thutmose III as the “brother” of Hatshepsut on a private statue, BM EA 1131 (for the text, see *Urk.* IV, 464, 7-8). However, this monument dates to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, when both were reigning as kings who were at least nominally equal in status.

In the following pages, I will present my conclusions about the role of the heir during the 18th Dynasty; about the family lives and careers of 18th Dynasty princes who were not destined for kingship; and about 18th Dynasty practices surrounding the burial and posthumous cults of 18th Dynasty princes. Finally, I will examine the nature of 18th Dynasty royal sons as “royal” vs. “private” individuals.

a. The “Crown Prince” in the 18th Dynasty:

It may be possible to identify, on the basis of various factors, at least a small number of 18th Dynasty princes who were heirs to the throne. However, an in-depth analysis of the data suggests that some previous assumptions about the “Crown Prince” during the 18th Dynasty do not hold true.

In the past, it has been generally accepted that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (“King’s Eldest Son”) was indicative of the status of heir during the 18th Dynasty.⁴ This assumption has been based in part on the use of the title during the Ramesside period⁵ and partially on the seemingly logical conclusion that the “Eldest Son” – in accordance with well-established ancient Egyptian tradition – would automatically fall first in line for inheritance of his father’s office.⁶ However, as already established by B. Schmitz in her study on *s3 ny-sw.t* and related titles, the meaning of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* was not clear-cut, and its use seems to have had no

⁴ See, e.g. Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” 88; Roehrig, “Eighteenth Dynasty Titles,” 27.

⁵ Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose,” n. 10.

⁶ See **Chapter 1**.

obvious connection with birth order or inheritance during most periods.⁷ My analysis of 18th Dynasty material indicates strongly that the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* did not correlate with eventual kingship, as indicated in the discussion of titles and offices in **Chapter 9**.

It is unclear to what extent birth order or seniority factored into the selection of heirs during the 18th Dynasty. In general, it is extremely difficult to determine the birth order or even the specific parentage of 18th Dynasty princes. In any case, birth order was almost certainly not the only determining factor in the selection of the heir, since the king's (literal) eldest son could potentially die prematurely or otherwise be deemed unfit for kingship.

As outlined in the previous discussion in **Chapter 9**, there is a positive correlation between eventual kingship and the use of the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* ("King's Son of His Body") in both pre-kingship and retrospective contexts. Variants of this title were used by at least six 18th Dynasty princes (although one of these was a retrospective use by a reigning king), three of whom became kings and three of whom seem to have predeceased their fathers.

- 1) *Wadjmose* – A son of Thutmose I who predeceased his father and was given the special honor of a small mortuary temple (**II.15/III.22**) in the Theban Necropolis, near the later site of the Ramesseum. His name is frequently (but not always) written in a cartouche in postmortem monuments. He was one of a small number of princes to become part of an active royal ancestor cult during the 18th Dynasty.

⁷ See discussion in this dissertation, **Chapter 9**, and Schmitz, *Untersuchungen*, 102; however, Schmitz did hypothesize that *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* may have meant "King's First-Born Son" during the 18th Dynasty, *ibid.*, 297-299.

- 2) *Webensenu* – A son of Amenhotep II who died prematurely and was honored with a burial in his father's tomb in the Valley of the Kings.
- 3) *Djhutmose A/Thutmose IV* – Thutmose IV retrospectively uses the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n h.t=f* in TT 64 (**VI.7**).
- 4) *Amenemhat C* – A son of Thutmose IV who predeceased his father and was buried in the tomb of Thutmose IV in the Valley of the Kings.
- 5) *Amenhotep C/Amenhotep Merykhepesh* – Probably the future Amenhotep III, son of Thutmose IV.
- 6) *Tutankhaten/Tutankhamun* – The sole surviving pre-kingship attestation of Tutankhaten gives him the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f mr=f* (**I.5**).

Of the three 18th Dynasty princes who carried this title and did not survive to attain kingship, all were given special funerary honors. Webensenu and Amenemhat C were buried in the tombs of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, respectively. While Wadjmose's burial place remains unknown, he is the only prince of the period for whom a dedicated funerary temple is attested.

If the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* did indicate the status of heir during the 18th Dynasty, what is the significance of the epithet *n h.t=f* during this period? On the surface, it seems to indicate a biological relationship to the king, but this was presumably a feature shared by all true royal sons. The unique but similar epithet used by Ahmose-Ankh in the Donation Stele of Ahmose-Nefertari (**I.1**) may suggest an alternative explanation.

In the Donation Stele, Ahmose-Ankh is called *s3 ny-sw.t smsw n ḥ.w ntr* (“Eldest King’s Son of the God’s Limbs/Body”). The god in question must be Amun-Re, the divine husband of Ahmose-Nefertari. The prince is the son of the human king Ahmose, but he may simultaneously be said to have issued from the body of the god.

Is it possible, then, that the phrase *n h.t=f* (“of His Body”) refers not to the body of the king, but to that of the god – or perhaps to both? Such a meaning would certainly be in line with the 18th Dynasty mythos of the king’s divine conception and birth. Perhaps the royal family of the 18th Dynasty adapted the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* – which had largely fallen out of use for princes after the Old Kingdom – in order to reflect new developments in kingship ideology.

There is scant evidence for the pre-kingship careers of 18th Dynasty crown princes. On the basis of earlier assumptions about the significance of the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*, previous literature on the subject suggested that heirs to the throne would have held high-ranking military or priestly offices. Thutmose I’s “eldest son” Amenmose, for example, was a “generalissimo of his father” (see II.19), while Djutmose B – generally considered to be the original heir of Amenhotep III before his premature death – was a High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.⁸ The idea that such career trajectories were typical for 18th Dynasty crown princes has become deeply entrenched in modern scholarly narratives of the period; see, for example,

⁸ For the traditional Egyptological narrative of Djutmose B as heir to the throne, see e.g. D. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 37; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 259; and Dodson, “Crown Prince Djutmose,” *passim*.

D. Redford's assertion that Djhutmos B, "who stood in line for the throne . . . was stationed in Memphis as high priest of Ptah, as were most heirs apparent during the 18th Dynasty."⁹

However, there is virtually no evidence to support this idea. Among 18th Dynasty princes who became kings, no pre-kingship offices are recorded. In fact, with the exception of Hatshepsut, there are no surviving pre-kingship attestations of *any* kind for any 18th Dynasty king prior to Amenhotep II.

Of the princes bearing the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* who predeceased their fathers, only one – Webensenu – is known to have held a title of office. He was an *imy-r3 ssm.wt* ("Overseer of Horses"), which is consistent with contemporary retrospective accounts of crown princes being actively involved with the training and management of horses from the royal stables.¹⁰ If Webensenu was the owner of Giza Stele B (II.20.c) as B. Bryan has suggested,¹¹ then he may have also been a *sm* priest and a God's Father, both of which are among the titles of the Stele B prince.¹²

There is also little evidence to support the idea that the public proclamation of an heir, as depicted in *Légende de la Jeunesse* and other retrospective royal documents, was actually "normal practice."¹³ While it is possible that the graffito from Meidum (V.4) commemorates such a proclamation, the nature of the text is ambiguous. Such an overt public declaration

⁹ Akhenaten, 37.

¹⁰ See esp. the Great Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II (VI.6).

¹¹ *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 62-63.

¹² Note that the title "God's Father" was also used in conjunction with the title "Overseer of Horses" by both Yuya and Ay.

¹³ As described by Dodson, "'Coregency' Graffito," 27.

might have presented an ideological problem if the divinely recognized and preordained future king died prematurely. On the other hand, the use of a special title (*s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*) and the exceptional burial honors given to crown princes who died prematurely – if indeed these phenomena were associated with the status of heir – suggest that their position was acknowledged in some way.

The evidence presented here suggests that, for most of the 18th Dynasty, heirs to the throne were relatively low-profile figures, at least in terms of how they appear – or do not appear – in public monuments and in the range of titles and offices that were available to them. While their status may have been indicated (at least in some cases) by the use of a special royal kinship title (*s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* and variants), there is little evidence to suggest that heirs to the throne typically held high-ranking civil, priestly or military offices.¹⁴ The probable heirs who predeceased their fathers (Wadjmose, Webensenu and Amenemhat C) left few, if any, pre-mortem monuments.¹⁵ Additionally, as mentioned above, princes of the period who did eventually become kings tend to be quite poorly attested (or entirely absent) in pre-kingship contexts, especially during the first half of the 18th Dynasty.

If we view the role of the crown prince as a type of office in itself, then this may go some way toward explaining the apparent incompatibility between heir status and other high-ranking civil, religious and military offices. The office of Kingship encompassed all of these areas

¹⁴ However, their duties and responsibilities are indirectly suggested in retrospective monuments (see discussion above in Part 1).

¹⁵ Although see above for the possibility that Webensenu is one of the princes of the defaced Giza Stelae. Note also that some or all of these princes may have died as children, which may also explain their relatively small number of pre-mortem attestations.

of administration, and so the heir must have been trained accordingly. As outlined above, retrospective monuments of reigning kings, pre-kingship monuments and some monuments of princes who were probable heirs suggest that – at least starting ca. the reign of Thutmose III – crown princes were actively involved in certain military, priestly and administrative duties and training, even if their titles of office did not reflect the full range of these duties. I suggest, then, that the title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* (“King’s Son of His Body”) should be interpreted both as a title of rank/status and as a title of office. What that office entailed must have depended at least in part on the age of its holder. It is more difficult to explain why so few pre-kingship (or pre-mortem) monuments of heirs are attested.

It is possible that some or all of the princes represented on the enigmatic Giza stelae (particularly **II.20.a-c**) were hopefus for the throne, given their use of explicitly royal epithets and iconography (and cartouches, in the case of stelae A and B).¹⁶ It is also possible, however, that the unusual representation of these princes as overtly royal figures was related to the context and content of the monuments themselves. These stelae were a special type of monument characteristic of a local royal cult traditionally celebrated by royal males during the 18th Dynasty. In such a context, it may have been appropriate to emphasize the specific role of the dedicators of these monuments as King’s Sons (and thus reflections/extensions of their royal fathers).

¹⁶ See discussion above in **Chapters 9 and 10**. Note that Amenemopet A, the owner of Stele C (**II.20.a**) did not write his name in a cartouche, nor were his name and royal kinship titles erased as in the cases of stelae A and B. This stele may or may not have been deliberately smashed, but it was not defaced in the same manner as its companions.

In any case, the intentional destruction of these stelae and of much of the text referring to the names and titles of their owners¹⁷ suggests that these monuments were later deemed unacceptable, but the reasons behind this apparent *damnatio memoriae* are impossible to determine with any certainty. B. Bryan has argued that the owner of stele B – and probably A as well –was likely to have been Webensenu.¹⁸ Bryan states that the owner (or owners) of these stelae was “intentionally disgraced” through the destruction of his (or their) monuments.¹⁹ However, if Webensenu was indeed the owner of these monuments, I would suggest an alternative interpretation. I have argued above that Webensenu was probably an heir to the throne who died prematurely. If any or all of the Giza princes were in fact heirs who predeceased their father or were otherwise passed over for succession, then a public expression of their semi-kingly status might have become ideologically incompatible with the eventual succession of another prince (presumably Thutmose IV). The subsequent destruction of these monuments does not necessarily indicate “disgrace” or even a dispute over succession, but rather a politically and ideologically necessary adjustment of the public record.

On a somewhat tangential note, I would like to comment briefly on the apparent correlation between personal names and eventual kingship in the 18th Dynasty. From the reign of Amenhotep I through the reign of Amenhotep IV, every 18th Dynasty king (with the exception of Hatshepsut) was named either Amenhotep or Thutmose. Given the variety of personal names among princes of the period who never attained kingship, this pattern appears unlikely

¹⁷ See discussion in Chapter 3, II.20.a-c.

¹⁸ *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 62-63.

¹⁹ Ibid., 59.

to be the result of chance. This phenomenon is briefly touched upon by Bryan in her discussion of the succession of Thutmose IV:

By virtue of his given name, Thutmose may have been considered a favored prince, while Webensenu may not have been. (This, however, is an unproven argument, since kings could certainly change their names at will.)²⁰

The possibility must be considered that at least some crown princes had given names that were changed at or shortly before the assumption of kingship. Such a possibility might explain why many kings of the 18th Dynasty are seemingly absent from the historical record before coming to the throne. As far as I am aware, this hypothesis has not been presented in any previous literature, except for B. Bryan's oblique suggestion referenced above. Unfortunately, such a possibility is impossible to prove with the evidence currently available.

b. The Families and Careers of 18th Dynasty Princes:

Virtually nothing can be said about the family lives of most 18th Dynasty princes, aside from those who eventually attained kingship. In **Chapter 9**, I discussed the apparent taboo associated with naming the parents of royal sons. This reluctance to specify the filiation of princes may have had something to do with the ideological delicacy of the role of King's Sons (see further discussion below).

²⁰ *Reign of Thutmose IV*, 73.

While sibling relationships between royal children could be openly acknowledged (see e.g. the sisters of Ahmose A in **II.1**, and the brothers Wadjmose and Amenmose in **IV.5**), such relationships were often implied rather than explicitly stated. When multiple royal children are depicted together, as in many monuments of **category IV**, it may be unsafe to assume that all of these children belonged to the same generation.²¹ See, for example, previous discussion of the representation of several princes alongside the retrospectively depicted Thutmose IV in TT 64 (**IV.8/VI.7**).

Also elusive is the question of whether 18th Dynasty princes who survived to adulthood typically married or had children of their own. There is clear-cut evidence of at least one King's Son fathering a daughter, who inherited her father's royal status – the "King's Daughter" Nebetia, a daughter of Siatum, is known from a mummy label (**V.2**). The identity of Nebetia's mother remains unknown.

It is also possible that Ahmose B (probably a son of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II) had children and grandchildren. An Ahmose who shares several of Ahmose B's titles is attested on a fragmentary monument from the chapel of Wadjmose (**III.31**). The dedicator of the monument is "the daughter of his (i.e. Ahmose's) daughter." If this monument did belong to Ahmose B, it is notable that his royal kinship title(s) are either omitted or missing.

Evidence for the marriage of 18th Dynasty princes is ambiguous and very scarce. While the presence of children is suggestive of marriage, it is certainly not proof. We know virtually

²¹ As acknowledged by Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmos," 89.

nothing of the types of sexual relationships that would have been typical, acceptable or openly acknowledged for non-reigning royal males during this period.²²

According to Porter and Moss, inscriptions in TT 22 (**II.8**) name a Hatshepsut as the wife of the otherwise unattested prince Mery[amun].²³ However, I have been unable to find any reference to this Hatshepsut in publications of the relevant texts from the tomb.

I am aware of only one other possible attestation of the wife of a prince, from the pair statue of Nebnefer and his wife Tawosret (**II.17**). The inscriptions on the statue provide no information about Tawosret except that she was a “mistress of the house.” Nebnefer himself is identified as the son of a King’s Mother rather than as a “King’s Son.” The ambiguity of his royal status has already been discussed at length above.

There is little clear-cut evidence regarding the pre-kingship family lives of princes who eventually attained the throne. However, I have already discussed the probability that Thutmose I had already fathered at least one child (Amenmose) before becoming king. This situation may have been exceptional, however, since Thutmose I may have been of non-royal blood (or at least not a first generation “King’s Son”).²⁴ The Hermopolis Block of Tutankhaten (**I.5**) has also been cited as evidence that Tutankhaten was already married to Ankhesenpaaten

²² Similarly, evidence for the family lives of princesses who did not become queens is scarce. I am unaware of any clear-cut evidence for princesses not holding the title “King’s Wife” marrying or having children of their own. One possible exception is Akhenaten’s daughter Meketaten. Scenes from the royal tomb at Amarna depict a royal infant in the arms of a nurse by Meketaten’s funeral bed, leading to the suggestion that the princess died in childbirth. However, see discussion in **Chapter 2, I.5**, for alternative interpretations of this scene.

²³ *PM I:1*, 37.

²⁴ See C. Bennett, “Thutmose I and Ahmes-Sapair,” 35. Note, however, that there is no direct evidence to suggest that Thutmose I was *not* a King’s Son; there is simply a lack of evidence regarding his parentage, which is typical for 18th Dynasty royal males.

before attaining the throne. However, this premise is based entirely on the juxtaposition of the names and titles of Tutankhaten and those of a princess (whose name is now lost).²⁵

Even in funerary monuments belonging to princes, where one would expect siblings, wives and children to be present, family members are generally not mentioned. Funerary priests and sometimes courtiers who were close to princes in life are more likely to fill supportive familial roles within the funerary cult. See, for example, various early monuments of Wadjmose dedicated by his tutors and funerary priests (e.g. III.23, III.24,²⁶ II.16). However, most surviving funerary monuments of 18th Dynasty King's Sons belong to princes who died prematurely, perhaps while too young to marry or father children (this seems to have been the case for both Ahmose A/Sapair and Wadjmose). If more funerary monuments belonging to mature princes are eventually discovered or identified, then more evidence for these types of familial relationships may begin to emerge.

The major exception to this rule is the funerary statue of Ahmose A, now in the Louvre, which was dedicated to the prince by his parents and siblings (II.1). Note that this monument properly belongs to the end of the 17th Dynasty, at which point the distinctive royal ideology of the 18th Dynasty was still in its nascent stages. Furthermore, if Ahmose A was an heir who died early (unclear, given the fact that his only attested royal kinship titles are *s3 ny-sw.t* and *s3 ny-sw.t smsw*), then this might explain the unusually blatant association between this prince and

²⁵ J. van Dijk, "The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. J. van Dijk (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), 38-39.

²⁶ If indeed Senimes was tutor to Wadjmose, son of Thutmose I, and not a hypothetical younger Wadjmose, son of Thutmose III.

his royal parents. Note that Wadjmose, who was probably a prematurely deceased heir, was also openly associated with his father in a small number of monuments from his chapel (**III.24**, **III.28**).

As already established above, the open acknowledgement of parental relationships are unexpected in monuments of King's Sons, but may be more likely to occur in the monuments of heirs (whose royal/divine status was more openly acknowledged than that of princes who were not immediately in the line of succession). The absence of siblings, wives and children in the funerary monuments of princes is more difficult to explain. The fact that these types of relationships are usually unattested in funerary contexts does not necessarily indicate that these relationships did not exist. Wadjmose, for example, may have died too young to have had a spouse or children. However, he must have had at least two brothers (Amenmose and Thutmose II) and possibly a third (Ramose), and two sisters (Hatshepsut, Neferubity). None of them appear as obvious participants in the funerary cult of their brother.

I can only speculate on the reasons for this phenomenon. In general, it is rare to see depictions of royal children participating in funerary cults after the late 17th/early 18th Dynasty. For examples involving Ahmose A and his siblings, see **II.1** (a funerary statue dedicated to Ahmose A by his parents and siblings) and **II.13** (a stele dedicated to an unknown deceased person on which Ahmose A and his siblings are depicted as offering bearers). Nebnefer (**II.17**) was a priest in the funerary cult of his brother Thutmose III, but in this context Nebnefer's royal status is only indirectly acknowledged. If royal children (and perhaps, by extension, royal grandchildren) were not typically expected (or allowed?) to participate in familial royal cults

during most of the 18th Dynasty, this would explain the absence of siblings and children from the funerary monuments of princes. However, no obvious explanation presents itself for the reason that royal children could not or did not typically participate in the funerary cults of their immediate relatives.

I will tentatively suggest that the reticence regarding the role of royal children in the cults of their relatives had something to do with the traditional role of the king in the funerary cult of his predecessor(s). Turning again to the mythological prototype of Osiris and Horus, the reigning king, acting in the role of “eldest” (or only?) son, was responsible for maintaining the cult of his deceased father/predecessor. Perhaps, within the royal family, participation in the cult of a deceased king and, by extension, other royal ancestors, was officially the prerogative of the reigning king. Ancestor worship by a royal child outside of the line of succession, if obviously presented as such, might then have created unwanted implications about the role of that individual within the royal family.

Aside from the occasional mention of sibling relationships in a small number of monuments, the only familial-type relationships that are frequently and openly acknowledged for 18th Dynasty princes (in surviving material) are those between princes and their non-royal caretakers. Presumably, most of these individuals were unrelated to the princes that they cared for, with one or two possible exceptions. The statue of a priestess named Huy with several royal children (**IV.15**) obliquely suggests that Huy was the grandmother of at least some of the royal children with whom she is depicted. The offering text on the throne describes Huy as one “who bore the Great Royal Wife,” who was presumably the mother of the royal children represented

on the monument. A second statue of very similar design may also represent a female relative with several royal children (**IV.16**). The existence of such monuments suggests that the relatives of non-royal individuals who married into the royal family could be involved in the upbringing of royal children.²⁷

In addition, A. Zivie has speculated that Tutankhamun's nurse Maia (**VI.12**) was none other than the princess Meritaten.²⁸ This theory is based largely on the (very uncertain) restoration of the name "Meritaten" in association with the image of a nurse holding an infant – presumed to be Tutankhaten – in the scenes representing the death of Meketaten from the royal tomb at Amarna. If Maia was Meritaten, then her own royal status must have been deliberately suppressed in the context of her role as a royal nurse in relation to Tutankhamun. I

²⁷ To touch briefly on the general fortunes of non-royal people who married into the royal family: we know that at least some of the non-royal affinal relatives of the king could hold high ranking priestly, military and administrative offices, and were occasionally given other special honors such as burial in the Valley of the Kings. This is not particularly surprising, given the prestige that was seemingly associated with any familial-type relationship with a member of the royal family (see discussion of royal nurses and tutors below). Huy (the owner of **IV.15**) was a Divine Adoratrice of Amun and Atum and an overseer of the *hnw*-women (priestly musicians) in the temples of Amun and Re. The Divine Adoratrice title would later become closely connected with the office of God's Wife of Amun, but it is very poorly attested in the 18th Dynasty. It is therefore difficult to judge its exact significance at the time that Huy's monument was created. We also have a great deal of information about the status of various members of the immediate family of Tiye, Great Royal Wife of Amenhotep III. Tiye's mother, Tjuya, was a priestess of Min, Hathor and Amun. Like Huy, Tjuya was a *wr.t (n.t) hnr.t* ("Great One of the Musical Troupe") in the temple of Amun. Tjuya's relationship to the king is defined even more overtly than that of Huy: she is called *mw.t ny-sw.t n(.t) hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t* ("King's Mother of the Great Royal Wife"). I am unaware of any direct evidence that Tjuya was involved in the upbringing of Amenhotep III or any of his siblings. Tiye's father, Yuya, was a "God's Father" who also held an array of titles and offices reminiscent of those of several mid-18th Dynasty King's Sons, including *imy-r3 k3.w n Mn nb Ipw* ("Overseer of Cattle of Min, Lord of Ahmim") and *imy-r3 ssm.wt idn.w n hm=f m t3-n.t-htr* ("Overseer of Horses, Deputy of His Majesty with respect to the Chariot Troops"). Tiye's brother, Anen, was a Second Prophet of Amun. Yuya and Tjuya were honored with a burial in the Valley of the Kings. It is difficult to say how many of the high offices held by the members of Tiye's family were attained before Tiye married Amenhotep III, but their marital connection with the royal family was surely associated in some way with their prestigious positions within the military and religious administration. Yuya and Tjuya were buried together in a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 46). For general discussion of the family of Tiye, see L. Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign," in D. O'Connor and E. Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press), 5-6.

²⁸ A. Zivie, *La tombe de Maïa*, 109-113.

am unaware of any precedent for this type of hypothetical “demotion” of a King’s Daughter or King’s Wife. Indeed, such a dramatic reduction in status seems entirely atypical for an 18th Dynasty royal woman. Royal women in the 18th Dynasty tended to *accumulate* royal kinship titles throughout their lives, often holding several simultaneously (e.g. “King’s Daughter, King’s Wife, King’s Mother”).²⁹

If we were to assume that Maia and Meritaten were in fact one and the same, the only plausible explanation that occurs to me for her change in status would be that the *damnatio memoriae* of Akhenaten was already well underway at the point that her tomb was decorated. If Meritaten’s royal/divine status derived entirely from her familial relationship(s) with Akhenaten, then a diminution of her status may have resulted from Akhenaten’s own fall from legitimacy.³⁰ This is essentially the explanation put forward by Zivie.³¹ However, even if this were the case, I can think of no satisfactory reason that Meritaten’s royal status could not have been reframed in terms of her familial relationship with Tutankhamun, whatever the exact nature of that relationship might have been.

While evidence for the family lives of 18th Dynasty princes is scarce, more can be said about their careers. Titles and offices are recorded for several princes, particularly in the mid-

²⁹ See L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 107 and further discussion below.

³⁰ Most of the active proscription of Akhenaten’s memory seems to have taken place during the reigns of Horemheb and his successors. For a brief discussion, see P. Brand, “Usurpation of Monuments,” in W. Wendrich, ed., *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010).

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025h6fh>, 5. Note, however, that there is evidence for Tutankhamun distancing himself from Akhenaten during his own reign, in the form of references to Amenhotep III as the “father” of Tutankhamun in inscriptions from Luxor Temple. See Bell, “La parenté de Toutankhamon.”

³¹ *La Tombe de Maïa*, 112.

late 18th Dynasty. As discussed in **Chapter 9**, evidence for princes holding offices is most abundant ca. the reigns of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II. It is difficult to say whether this apparent rise in the number of title-holding princes actually reflects a change in the level at which king's sons were allowed to participate in the administration of the country, or if it is the result of an accident of preservation (or an increase in the number of royal offspring, although this would not account for the lack of office-holding princes in the immediately following period, during which time numerous princes are also attested).³²

Evidence for princes holding high-ranking civil offices is scarce, but military and priestly careers seem to have been fairly common during this period. Most 18th Dynasty prince-priests did not hold extremely high-level priestly offices, i.e. High Priest or high ranking "Prophet" positions at major state temples. However, at least two 18th Dynasty princes (Ahmose B and Djutmose B) did hold such high-ranking priestly offices: Ahmose B was the High Priest of Re-Atum at Heliopolis, while Djutmose B was the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and the Overseer of Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt. I have found no evidence to suggest that high-level priestly offices of this type were part of the typical career trajectory for an heir to the throne. Furthermore, while princes obviously could attain High Priest positions, most of the known holders of these offices do not seem to have been members of the royal family.³³

³² However, there is a general increase in the presence of royal children (both male and female) in the historical record starting in the reign of Hatshepsut, correlating with a rise in the number of retrospective depictions of the king as a child. It is possible that the increased ideological importance of royal children at this period was accompanied by a corresponding change in their political status and the range of titles and offices available to them.

³³ See Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 48, for a brief discussion of the occupants of the office of High Priest of Ptah at Memphis immediately before and after Djutmose B's tenure in office. See M. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (MÄS 26, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag,

Therefore, my analysis contradicts the often-repeated notion that, during the 18th Dynasty, high-ranking priestly offices (particularly the office of High Priest of Ptah at Memphis) were typically or frequently held by King's Sons and especially crown princes.³⁴

Among the princes who had military careers, offices associated with the administration of chariotry and the royal stables seem to have been the most common. I have already noted a correlation between these types of duties and eventual kingship. There is also evidence for other male royal relatives who were not King's Sons holding offices of this type. Queen Tiye's father Yuya was an Overseer of Horses, as was Ay (whose precise relationship to the royal family remains unclear).³⁵

Aside from the obvious information provided by titles, a small amount of information about the official duties and activities of princes may be gleaned from other sources. Graffiti from the border between Egypt and Nubia (**II.22, IV.13, IV.14**) suggest that princes may have participated in royally sponsored expeditions. I have also noted (in **Chapter 9**) that several of the epithets of Amenemopet A parallel those of contemporary military officials who accompanied the king on foreign expeditions. There is precedent for this type of activity on the

1972), *passim*, on the office of High Priest of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. Note, however, that the similarly prestigious offices of Second Prophet of Amun and Chief of Seers of Re (in Upper Egypt) were held by Tiye's brother Anen during the reign of Amenhotep III – a member of the royal family by marriage. Anen's relationship to Tiye is confirmed by an inscription on the coffin of Tjuya naming him as her son and mentioning his post as Second Prophet of Amun (see Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III," 6).

³⁴ I have already discussed this issue in the context of the notion of Crown Princes regularly holding the office of High Priest of Ptah in Memphis (see above and Redford, *Akhenaten*, 37). See also A. Zivie, *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2007), 19, for the idea that the High Priest of Ptah office was occupied by a series of princes during the 18th Dynasty.

³⁵ Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 42-43, 87-88.

part of princes in earlier periods. See, for example, the opening scene from the story of Sinuhe, in which Sinuhe accompanies the future Senusret I on an expedition in Libya.³⁶

At least one of the princes for whom we have evidence of participation in foreign expeditions was a probable heir (Amenhotep C, who appears in two of the graffiti of **IV.13**). The overtly royal language used in the Giza Stele of Amenemopet A (**II.20.a**) may suggest that this prince was also an heir (see above). Since participation in foreign military expeditions was a routine aspect of kingship during most of the 18th Dynasty, field experience of some sort might have been part of the training of the heir.

Khaemwaset's presence abroad is also not unexpected, given his position as an officer of the chariots (*ḥry ih.w*, "Overseer of the Stables" – see **II.22** and discussion of this title in **Chapter 9**). More difficult to explain is the presence of Aakheperure in graffiti at Konosso (alongside his brother Amenhotep C and the "Child of the Royal Nursery" Heqaerneheh, **IV.13**) and Sehel (accompanied only by the First Royal Herald Re, **IV.14**). Perhaps, like many of the children of the *k3p*, at least some princes who were not in the direct line of succession were prepared from an early age to accompany the future king on royal expeditions. It is unfortunate that we do not know Aakheperure's ultimate fate, i.e. whether he grew to adulthood or what kind of position he may have held within the royal court.

³⁶ However, given evidence for a coregency between Amenemhat I and Senusret I, it is possible that the latter was acting as a reigning king in this situation rather than as a "King's Son." See Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 2-5 for evidence of a coregency between these two kings. For a recent translation and bibliography on the Tale of Sinuhe, see W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 54-66.

Additionally, the royal shipyard records now in the British Museum (**V.1**) suggest that some princes engaged in administrative duties beyond those suggested by their titles: the text contains several references to a King's Son and *sm* priest named Amenhotep overseeing the distribution of various ship-building materials.

In light of the evidence outlined above, I hypothesize that a fundamental change in the status of royal sons took place over the course of the first half of the 18th Dynasty, with princes fully emerging as active – or at least more highly visible – participants in Egypt's religious and military administration during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. During the earliest part of the 18th Dynasty, princes may have been confined to a more “behind-the-scenes” role, reminiscent of the situation during much of the Middle Kingdom.

With few exceptions, representations of princes from the early 18th Dynasty are funerary or cultic. The two notable exceptions are the representation of Ahmose-Ankh with his parents on the Donation Stele (**I.1**) and the Giza naos of Amenmose (**II.19**). Starting in the reign of Hatshepsut, royal children began to appear much more frequently in both royal and private monuments, and the range of types of monuments in which they were represented increased significantly.

The reasons for these changes are unclear, but I suggest that they were related to emerging developments in kingship ideology. During the reign of Hatshepsut, the idea of the royal child as a symbol of divinely ordained kingship appeared as a fully developed element of the royal mythos. At this time both male and female royal children were brought to the fore in

the context of their relationship(s) with members of the court. Monuments of **category IV** (private monuments depicting princes) suggest that these relationships were both practical and symbolic in nature. A close relationship with a royal child was laden with ideological potency. Many monuments belonging to royal nurses or tutors draw an obvious parallel between the relationship of caretaker and royal child and that between a deity and a young king. In her own portrayal of herself as a (male) child nursed by goddesses, Hatshepsut echoed earlier images of kings being nursed by deities.³⁷ At the same time, and perhaps from the same context (her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri), Hatshepsut was depicted retrospectively as a child in the arms of her human nurse (**VI.2**). This imagery was then extended to Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure with her own caretakers, and from there to other royal children.

A number of these monuments also hint at the more pragmatic aspects of the relationship between nurse/tutor and royal child. As discussed above, graffiti at Konosso and Sehel (**IV.13, IV.14**) naming princes and their non-royal associates suggest that at least some royal children accompanied members of the court on official business. A scene from the tomb of Min at Thebes (**IV.6**, fig. 69) depicts Min training the future Amenhotep II in archery – a rare depiction of a tutor teaching a practical skill to one of his royal charges. Additionally, the involvement of members of the court in the upbringing of royal children allowed potential kings

³⁷ See **VI.1** for discussion and examples of earlier parallels.

to grow up with a circle of well-known and trusted associates, many of whom would become important members of the future royal administration.³⁸

Hatshepsut's reign also brought royal children into the limelight as active members of the royal administration. Specifically, Hatshepsut's daughter Neferure is prominently featured in monuments of Hatshepsut's reign as both a princess and a God's Wife of Amun. The reasons for Neferure's prominence may derive at least in part from the unusual circumstances of Hatshepsut's reign – i.e. Hatshepsut, acting as King, needed someone to fill the various ideological and political roles normally occupied by a Great Royal Wife or King's Mother.³⁹ However, royal and private representations of Neferure seem to have helped create a template for the more prominent representation of both male and female royal children not only as symbols of youthful kingship (when portrayed as children) but also as functional members of the administration.

c. Burials and Funerary Cults of 18th Dynasty Princes

One of the most puzzling issues surrounding princes during the 18th Dynasty is the question of where most of them were interred. Funerary monuments and materials survive for only a few 18th Dynasty princes, and actual burials are even rarer. However, recent discoveries

³⁸ Roehrig, "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 337. This idea is addressed directly in text from the tomb of Amenemheb, husband of Amenhotep II's nurse Baky (**VI.5**).

³⁹ G. Robins, "The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt," 76.

in the Valley of the Kings and surrounding environs have shed some light on this issue. Based on the evidence presented in this dissertation, I suggest the following:

- 1) During the earliest part of the 18th Dynasty (Ahmose-Amenhotep I or Thutmose I), at least some king's sons were buried in the Theban necropolis in their own tombs. Known or probable burial places for princes from this period are Dra Abu el-Naga and Deir el-Bahri.

Materials related to the burials of Ahmose A (probably identical with Ahmose Sapair; see **II.2**) and the near-contemporary Siamun A (**II.5**) have been found at Dra Abu el-Naga. The Abbot Tomb Robbery papyrus confirms that Ahmose Sapair was buried in a pyramid tomb located in Dra Abu el-Naga, and claims that this tomb was still intact at the time of writing (20th Dynasty). Both Ahmose Sapair and Siamun were eventually reinterred in TT 320 at Deir el-Bahri (see **II.3** and **II.4**).

The infant prince Amenemhat B was buried in a tiny, undecorated cliff tomb at Deir el-Bahri (**II.6**). While earlier publications have assigned this prince to the early-mid 18th Dynasty (with estimates ranging from the reign of Amenhotep I to the reign of Thutmose III), the original date of this burial remains ambiguous. The prince seems to have been reinterred in a coffin of a later date (19th-20th Dynasty), presumably after the original burial was plundered.

- 2) It has been suggested in earlier publications that some princes were buried in the Valley of the Queens, along with other members of the royal family, during the mid-late 18th

Dynasty.⁴⁰ This would establish a precedent for the use of the Valley of the Queens as a necropolis for princes during the Ramesside period. However, the evidence for 18th Dynasty use of this area for princely burials is equivocal. Previously discovered canopic material associated with Menkheperre B (a son of Amenhotep III, see II.10), once thought to derive from the Valley of the Queens, is now known to have come from a group burial in the Western Wadis of Thebes (tomb WB 1).⁴¹

- 3) It may have been customary during the mid-late 18th Dynasty for some princes who predeceased their fathers to be buried in their fathers' tombs. A small number of 18th Dynasty princes were buried in the Valley of the Kings, presumably in the tombs of their fathers (although in some cases the original burial place is uncertain since the bodies were possibly relocated at a later date). All of the known 18th Dynasty princes buried in the tombs of kings are juveniles, which supports the hypothesis that this type of burial was reserved for princes who died young and/or predeceased their fathers.

This practice may have continued as late as the reign of Amenhotep III, if the unknown prince in KV 35 can be identified as Djutmose B. However, this identification seems unlikely. The KV 35 mummy is that of a young adolescent, probably too young to have attained the high-level priestly offices held by Djutmose B. Furthermore, most or all of Djutmose B's surviving monuments likely derived from the Memphite region,

⁴⁰ See G. Legrain, "Fragments de Canopes," *ASAE* 4 (1903), 138; Idem., "Notes d'inspection XI-XV," *ASAE* 5 (1904), 139-41; and A. Dodson and J. Janssen, "A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants," *JEA* 75 (1989), 137-138.

⁴¹ See discussion in II.7.

suggesting that he was probably buried in or near Memphis rather than at Thebes (see further discussion below, under point 5).

It is possible that this practice was, at least originally, reserved for prematurely deceased heirs to the throne. Webensenu and Amenemhat C were both buried in the tombs of their fathers (Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, respectively), and both used the royal kinship title *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*, which may imply crown prince status.

The idea that a prematurely deceased heir would receive special burial honors seems at odds with the notion that kingship was preordained at conception, and therefore future kings should/could not die before attaining kingship. However, even the act of selecting an heir carried an inherent ideological risk, since early death of the heir was a very real possibility. In any case, the elevated status of these particular princes – whether or not they were actually heirs – is strongly suggested by the combination of their specific royal kinship titles and their interment within royal tombs.

Certainly by the Amarna period and probably much earlier,⁴² the practice of burying royal children in the tombs of their fathers was extended to King's Daughters and other female relatives. The text of the "Earlier Proclamation" on the boundary stelae at Akhetaten explicitly states that the royal tomb was planned to accommodate the burials of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the couple's eldest daughter Meritaten.⁴³

⁴² There is some evidence for this practice earlier in the dynasty: a canopic jar belonging to a princess named Tinetamun was found in the tomb of Thutmose IV (see II.9).

⁴³ The relevant passage is best preserved in stelae K (lines 17-19) and X (lines 19-20). See W. Murnane and C. C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 25 (transcription), 41

Additionally, the remains of two mummified stillborn female fetuses were interred in the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁴⁴

- 4) During the reign of Amenhotep III, some royal children, both male and female, were interred in group burials in or near the Valley of the Kings. Several juvenile princes and princesses were buried with other members of the 18th Dynasty royal family and court in KV 40 (**II.11**). The ages and identities of the princes from this group are not yet known/published.

A similar, but much smaller, burial from the same time period was recently discovered in the Western Wadis near Malqata. A group of shaft tombs from this small necropolis, designated WB1, contained materials associated with the burials of prince Menkheperre B and at least one Royal Wife of Amenhotep III (Nebetnuhet) (see **II.10**).

It is unclear, as of yet, whether this tradition of burying royal children together with female relatives and members of the court was an innovation of the reign of Amenhotep III. Future excavations in the Theban Necropolis may yield similar burials dating to the reigns of earlier 18th Dynasty kings.⁴⁵

(translation). This plan was apparently modified after the premature death of Akhenaten and Nefertiti's second daughter, Meketaten. See B. Kemp, "The Amarna Royal Tombs at Amarna." Online article, Amarna Project Website (2016), <http://www.amarnaproject.com/documents/pdf/Amarna-Royal-Tombs.pdf> (Accessed June 26 2016). Originally written for The Akhetaten Sun (Amarna Research Foundation newsletter), January 2016 issue.

⁴⁴ Designated 317a and 317b by Howard Carter. For a recent discussion and scientific analysis of these remains, see Z. Hawass and S. N. Saleem, *Scanning the Pharaohs* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016), 107-116.

⁴⁵ Clusters of pit tombs are associated with a small group of queens' tombs, dating to ca. the reigns of Thutmose II-Thutmose III, in Wadis A-D of the Valley of the Kings. It remains to be seen whether these pit tombs belonged to

Material published so far suggests that several of the royal children buried in KV 40 were juveniles. Since Menkheperre B's body has not survived, it is unclear how old this prince was when he died. However, I will tentatively speculate, based on the available evidence, that princes who were buried in groups with their siblings and other relatives were probably those who did not survive to adulthood. In fact, with few exceptions, the only princes for whom we do have a great deal of evidence concerning their final resting places are those who did not survive to adulthood. This brings us to my final point, concerning princes who survived to adulthood and were not in line for succession.

- 5) During the mid-late 18th Dynasty, some princes who survived to adulthood and/or outlived their fathers may have been buried in one or more necropoleis outside of Thebes. The evidence presented above does not account for the burials of most of the known 18th Dynasty princes. During the second half of the dynasty, a great deal of the surviving material associated with princes derives from areas outside of Thebes. It is not unreasonable to surmise that many princes who grew to adulthood would have been buried in or near the areas where they lived and worked.

Various princely monuments associated with the cult of Horemakhet at Giza suggest that a number of 18th Dynasty princes were at least active in the area during the

offspring or other relatives of the royal women buried in the queenly cliff tombs in this region. See C. Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 3-4.

early-mid 18th Dynasty, but these monuments do not necessarily indicate that Memphis was their primary place of work or residence (see **II.19-II.21**). However, at least two 18th Dynasty princes were unambiguously associated with Lower Egyptian locales: Djhutmose B and Ahmose B.

As High Priest of Ptah, Djhutmose B would presumably have resided in or near Memphis. All of his surviving monuments for which a provenance is known originated from the Memphite region. Unfortunately, the provenances of the two funerary statuettes of Djhutmose B (**II.27, II.28**) are uncertain, but these are likely from the Memphite region as well. The burials of a number of other 18th Dynasty High Priests of Ptah, and associated materials, are attested at Saqqara.⁴⁶ It is probable that Djhutmose B's tomb is also located somewhere in the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara.

In contrast, Ahmose B's monuments cover a remarkable geographic range. He is known from a stele from Heliopolis (**II.24**), a statue from Coptos (**II.25**) and a statue from Gebelein (**II.26**). It is likely that he is also the Ahmose depicted in a fragmentary statue from the Chapel of Wadjmose in western Thebes (**III.31**). However, as High Priest of Re-Atum at Heliopolis, the Heliopolitan region was undoubtedly his primary residence and base of operations. It is possible that his tomb resides somewhere in the extensive but badly plundered necropolis of Heliopolis at modern Ain Shams/Matariya.

⁴⁶ See A. Zivie, "La localisation de la tombe du grand-prêtre de Ptah Ptahemhat-Ty," *RdÉ* 35 (1984), 200-203, for evidence of the burial of at least one 18th Dynasty High Priest of Ptah in the necropolis of Saqqara North; see also I. Gamer-Wallert, "Das Grab des Hohenpriesters des Ptah, *Mry-Pth*, in Saqqara," *Die Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), 99-129.

To summarize, I propose that, during the earliest part of the 18th Dynasty, princes were likely to have been buried in their own tombs at Thebes. During the latter part of the 18th Dynasty, princes who died as children and/or predeceased their parents may have been buried with relatives. There is clear-cut evidence for this practice during the reign of Amenhotep III, but little evidence from earlier periods as of this time.

From at least the reign of Amenhotep II on, heirs who died before attaining kingship were buried with their fathers. Finally, royal sons who were *not* in the line of succession and who survived to adulthood may have been buried near their places of work or residence, much like non-royal elite men of similar office and/or rank. Unfortunately, there is very little positive evidence to support this hypothesis. Furthermore, since no tomb built for an 18th Dynasty prince has survived, we cannot say anything about how their tombs might have differed from those of non-royal men. However, the surviving monuments of princes who were not in line for the throne do not tend to represent them in a manner that emphasizes their royal status.

As far as I am aware, the possibility that the princes known to have been buried in their father's tombs were prematurely deceased heirs has never been addressed in previous literature. While Dodson noted the presence of these burials in his overview of 18th Dynasty princes, he was unable to offer a specific explanation as to why some princes were buried in royal tombs beyond the suggestion that such measures may have been taken when a prince

died before a suitable tomb could be completed.⁴⁷ Dodson's analysis was heavily influenced by the assumption that princes bearing the title *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* (rather than *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f*) were heirs to the throne. This assumption necessitates a very different – and, I feel, less cogent – interpretation of the evidence at hand than the one I have presented here.

In addition to princely burials and related materials, there is extensive evidence for long-lived funerary cults associated with a small number of princes of the late 17th-early 18th Dynasty. During the 18th Dynasty, these cults were restricted to a select group of princes with major funerary monuments in or around Thebes. Later, during the Ramesside period, other 18th Dynasty princes were worshipped in an expanded Theban royal ancestor cult.

During the 18th Dynasty, two princes became the subjects of major funerary cults: Ahmose Sapair and Wadjmose. Ahmose Sapair is likely to be identical to the late 17th Dynasty prince Ahmose A, a son of Seqenenre Ta'a and Ahhotep (see discussion in II.1). It is unclear why Ahmose Sapair assumed such a prominent role as a cultic figure after his death, but his reputation as a powerful revenant seems to have begun with his own immediate family and gradually spread from there to the private sphere. His was the first major royal ancestor cult to develop at Thebes, predating those of Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I. The evidence that I have outlined in this dissertation demonstrates that Ahmose Sapair's status as a cultic figure was already well established in the early 18th Dynasty, contradicting assertions in earlier

⁴⁷ Dodson, "Crown Prince Djutmose," 90.

literature that the practice of royal ancestor worship did not emerge during the 18th Dynasty until ca. the reign of Hatshepsut or later.⁴⁸

The Louvre statue of Ahmose A/Ahmose Sapair (**I.1**) is unique for the period, in that it is a funerary monument dedicated to a prince by his own parents and siblings. If Ahmose A and Ahmose Sapair were the same person, then the inscriptions on the statue presage Ahmose Sapair's later role as a minor funerary deity. Ahmose's family members ask for his "good assistance in the necropolis" in exchange for the maintenance of his funerary cult.

Other early monuments of Ahmose A/Ahmose Sapair were dedicated by individuals close to the royal family. The stele of Kenres from Dra Abu el-Naga (**III.2**) belonged to a "Great Steward of the King's Mother," the King's Mother in question probably being Ahhotep herself.⁴⁹ This is one of the first monuments in which Ahmose Sapair is unambiguously represented as a cultic figure. That is to say, this stele is not a funerary monument of Ahmose Sapair, but of Kenres. Kenres is the subject of the offering formula, but he is depicted making offerings to Ahmose Sapair in the lunette scene. Ahmose Sapair is represented here in the capacity of an intercessor for the deceased.

During and after the 18th Dynasty, the cult of Ahmose Sapair was closely linked with those of several other deified royal figures who were worshipped as patron saints of the

⁴⁸ El-Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship*, 11-13.

⁴⁹ See discussion in **III.11**. Kenres may be identical to a Kares with identical titles who is known from a near-contemporary monument, CG 34003. Kares was specifically said to be the Great Steward of Ahhotep.

Theban Necropolis, particularly at Deir el-Medina. He was most frequently represented with Ahmose Nefertari and/or Amenhotep I (see **III.3**, **III.12**, **III.14**, **III.15**).

Despite his strong connections with the Theban Necropolis and associated royal ancestor cults, the worship of Ahmose Sapair spread beyond Thebes relatively early in the 18th Dynasty. Outside of Thebes, 18th Dynasty Ahmose Sapair monuments are attested from Abydos (**III.12**), Armant (**III.2**), Hermopolis (**III.5**) and Sheikh Said (**III.13**). The earliest of these is probably the stele of Padju from Armant (**III.2**), which dates to the early 18th Dynasty during or just after the reign of Amenhotep I.

The cult of Ahmose Sapair continued without obvious interruption through the course of the rest of the New Kingdom, with his latest known monument dating to the 21st Dynasty.⁵⁰ During the 19th Dynasty, he was incorporated into a large group of late 17th-18th Dynasty royal ancestors who were worshipped *en masse* in Thebes during the Ramesside period as the “Lords of the West” or “Lords of Eternity.”⁵¹

The only other prince who featured prominently in an 18th Dynasty cult was Wadjmose, a son of Thutmose I. I have already suggested that Wadjmose may have been an heir to the throne who died prematurely, which may explain why he was granted the unusual honor of a small mortuary temple separate from his tomb (the location of which is unknown). Like Ahmose

⁵⁰ The coffin of Butehamun from Deir el-Medina, Turin 2236. See Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair*, doc. 32, p. 44 (bibliography), 86-88 (illustrations).

⁵¹ See the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2 at Deir el-Medina, reign of Ramesses II, *PM* I:1, 10 (7)) and the tomb of Inherkhawy (TT 359 at Deir el-Medina, reign of Ramesses IV, *PM* I:1, 422 (4)) for the most complete examples of such royal ancestor groups. See below for further discussion of the development of the Ramesside royal ancestor cult.

Sapair, Wadjmose's cult spread from his immediate family and individuals involved in his upbringing to the broader private sphere.

Aside from this commonality, the trajectory of Wadjmose's rise to semi-divine status is somewhat different from that of Ahmose Sapair. Surviving evidence suggests that, unlike that of Ahmose Sapair, Wadjmose's cult was confined to Thebes during the 18th Dynasty, and more specifically to his funerary chapel on the west bank (**II.15/III.22**).

S. Quirke has suggested that the Wadjmose chapel was originally the Khenmetankh, the mortuary temple of Thutmose I.⁵² This hypothesis is based in part on the fact that the chapel seems to have served as a funerary cult center for several other royal figures in addition to Wadjmose, making it a "unique 'royal family temple.'"⁵³ Quirke hypothesized that Hatshepsut transferred the cult of Thutmose I to her own mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, leaving his original temple to continue functioning as a focal point for the cults of various members of Thutmose I's immediate family: "a royal cult temple without its focal royal cult."⁵⁴

I am inclined to accept the more straightforward explanation that the chapel of Wadjmose was originally built for Wadjmose himself. He is by far the most frequently represented royal person among the surviving monuments from the chapel. The earliest monuments from the site were dedicated by people who were involved in the prince's

⁵² "Kerem in the Fitzwilliam Museum," 174.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

upbringing. Among these are Wadjmose's *it mn*^c (probably meaning "senior tutor" or similar) Imhotep (**III.23**), and the royal tutor Senimes (**III.24**).⁵⁵

Additionally, several monuments from this chapel were dedicated by priestly personnel associated with the funerary cult of Wadjmose. The aforementioned royal tutor Senimes was also a lector priest of Wadjmose, as was his son S-a'a (**III.25**, **III.26**). A *hm-k3* priest of Wadjmose named Pawah is attested on two monuments: a statue of Wadjmose (**II.16**, of uncertain provenance but probably from the Wadjmose chapel) and an inscribed stone slab from the chapel (**III.27**). The text of the statue tells us that Pawah was also a *hm-k3* priest of Thutmose III in the Henketankh.

In addition to the shared personnel between their funerary cults, there is another connection between Thutmose III and the chapel of Wadjmose. Thutmose III is depicted worshipping Thutmose I and Wadjmose together on the stele of Senimes (**III.24**). Thutmose III may have sought to associate himself with the cult of Wadjmose because of the close connection between Wadjmose and Thutmose I. Familial ties with Thutmose I became a focal point of legitimization for both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Wadjmose was associated with his father more overtly than usual for an 18th Dynasty prince, and the two were named (and/or depicted) together on at least two monuments from the chapel (**III.24**, **III.28**).

Over the course of the 18th Dynasty, Wadjmose came to represent a powerful spirit who could intervene in the affairs of the living. It is unclear whether, as in the case of Ahmose

⁵⁵ As discussed in **III.24**, possibly the tutor of a like-named Wadjmose, son of Thutmose III.

Sapair, Wadjmose's reputation as a spiritual intercessor began with his immediate family or if it only developed later among non-royal participants in the prince's funerary cult. The text on the statue of Nebnefer (**III.29**) from the Wadjmose chapel claims that the spirit of Wadjmose would contend "in writing" against any priest who neglected Nebnefer's cult statue. Loyrette has suggested that the stele of Senimes (**III.24**) may also hint at the oracular role of the deceased prince.⁵⁶ The text of the stele is a record of a legal case, which is unexpected in the setting of a funerary cult. It is possible that Senimes credited Wadjmose with influencing the positive outcome of his case.

In the reign of Ramesses II, the Wadjmose chapel was restored, apparently after a period of neglect following the reign of Amenhotep III. Like Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, Ramesses II sought to legitimize his kingship by associating himself with royal figures of earlier periods. A Theban cult of 18th Dynasty royal ancestors – mostly kings, queens, God's Wives and princes of the early part of the Dynasty – flourished during the Ramesside period, starting in the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁷

I hypothesize that several figures may have entered the Ramesside royal ancestor cult due to their association with the chapel of Wadjmose. A King's Son Ramose, whose only surviving 18th Dynasty attestation is a funerary statue (**II.14**) that probably originated from the chapel of Wadjmose, is named in the text of a stele from the Wadjmose chapel, specifically in the context of restorations that took place during the reign of Ramesses II. He also appears

⁵⁶ "Un monument de la XVIIIe dynastie," 121-123.

⁵⁷ See El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship at Deir el-Medina*, passim.

among the Lords of the West in the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2), in close association with Wadjmose and Binpu – the latter being another prince whose only pre-19th Dynasty attestation is from the Wadjmose chapel (see **III.30**). A King's Son Ahmose appears in the same group of princes in the tomb of Khabekhnet; it is possible that this is Ahmose B, who was probably also represented in a statue from the chapel of Wadjmose (**III.31**).

It is unclear why some princes emerged as powerful cultic figures during the 18th Dynasty and others did not. Ahmose Sapair and Wadjmose were both strongly associated with the Theban Necropolis and had major funerary monuments there. However, simply being a king's son with a presence in the Theban Necropolis does not seem to have been sufficient for the development of an active postmortem cult during the 18th Dynasty. Both Ahmose Sapair and Wadjmose were also viewed as powerful spirits that could intervene in the affairs of the living. In the case of Ahmose A/Ahmose Sapair, this reputation seems to have emerged almost immediately after the prince's death, as evidenced by the unusual statue dedicated by the prince's immediate family (**II.1**). It is less clear when Wadjmose's status as a divine intercessor first emerged, and whether this factored into the royal family's decision to honor the prince with his own mortuary temple.

Although other 18th Dynasty princes (including Ramose, Binpu, Nebnefer, and otherwise unknown individuals like Nebenkheru) were featured in the royal ancestor cult of the Ramesside Period, there is little evidence for cultic activity surrounding these individuals during the 18th Dynasty itself. It remains to be seen whether similar cults existed during the 18th Dynasty in association with burials of princes outside of Thebes.

I hypothesize, on the basis of the evidence outlined here, that royal cultic activity associated with a deceased prince (or other member of the royal family) was usually the impetus for the development of private cults surrounding those individuals. Both Ahmose Sapair and Wadjmose were probably princes who predeceased their parents and who seem to have been particularly revered by members of their immediate families after their deaths. The rise of their cults can be traced from immediate family and close associates to the wider private sphere. Similarly, other 18th Dynasty princes and royal family members became the focus of a private cult after a revival of royal interest during the early Ramesside period.

d. King's Sons as "Royalty"

In this section I will briefly discuss the status of King's Sons as "Royal" figures, with particular attention to the contrast between representations of male royal children vs. representations of royal women.

In comparison to their male counterparts, female royal relatives fit more conveniently into defined roles vis-à-vis the king. The structure of the 18th Dynasty kingship mythos had places for king's mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.⁵⁸ In contrast to King's Sons, King's Daughters were relatively frequently depicted on royal monuments; were often depicted with special iconography, such as crowns, diadems, distinctive hairstyles, and royal emblems (e.g.

⁵⁸ See discussion in G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 23ff. See also L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 68–72 (on the emergence of "divinized queenship" during the 18th Dynasty) and 102–114 (on royal women and kinship).

maces or the *hts*-scepter); and were often overtly affiliated to at least one of their royal parents in official monuments. They could also hold special priestly offices that were reserved for royal women, e.g. God's Wife of Amun. In other words, King's Daughters and other female royal relatives were presented as unambiguously royal figures. Female royal roles were seen as complementary to, rather than competitive with, that of the king.⁵⁹

To elaborate, the king's female relatives, especially during the New Kingdom and later, were tied to mythological prototypes and filled specific supportive ritual roles in relation to the reigning king. Most female royal relatives could be represented as various aspects of Hathor, the divine mother-consort of the king who, in the context of the *sd*-festival, was also connected to the king's female children.⁶⁰

Deliberate connections were drawn between the King's Mother and a variety of goddesses who played maternal roles in important divine triads (e.g. Mut and Isis). By the time of the 21st Dynasty, queens were occasionally given the title *mw.t ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd* ("The God's Mother of Khonsu the Child"), a title that not only explicitly identified the king with the child-god Khonsu, but also clearly equated the King's Mother with the goddess Mut.⁶¹

Similarly, both King's Wives and King's Sisters⁶² fit easily into the mythological template. Obvious parallels can be drawn between royal wives, royal sisters and Isis, the sister-wife of

⁵⁹ Robins, *Women*, 55.

⁶⁰ L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 53-72 and 89-91.

⁶¹ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 107.

⁶² Note that the title *sn.t ny-sw.t* ("King's Sister") did not become common until the 18th Dynasty, at which point it also began to be used as a title for King's Wives. See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 106. This blurring of the king-wife and king-sister relationships reflects both mythological prototypes (Osiris/Isis, Shu/Tefnut, etc.) and practical

Osiris. During the Amarna period, the king and queen were represented as the divine sibling pair Shu and Tefnut, highlighting the idea of the queen as the direct feminine counterpart of the king. The idea of the king and queen as divine “siblings” had already been clearly expressed during the reign of Thutmose I, when Thutmose I and his wife Ahmose were depicted together as part of a divine triad with Amun.⁶³

A variety of specialized priestly and ritual roles were available to King’s Daughters during the 18th Dynasty. In at least one case, a King’s Daughter held the office of God’s Wife of Amun, although this role was normally filled by royal wives or mothers.⁶⁴ Collectively, the daughters of the king played an important role in the context of the *sd*-festival as the *ms.w ny-sw.t* (“Children of the King”), a group of priestesses who participated in rituals designed to spiritually rejuvenate the king. In this role, they were associated with Repit, the goddess of the carrying chair.⁶⁵

Additionally, royal women could accumulate multiple royal kinship titles over their lifetimes, reflecting their evolving relationships with one or more kings. A royal woman could, for example, simultaneously bear the titles *s3.t ny-sw.t* (“King’s Daughter”) and *hm.t ny-sw.t* (“King’s Wife”). According to Troy:

reality, since marriages between siblings or other close collateral relatives were common in the royal family during this period.

⁶³ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 136.

⁶⁴ Hatshepsut’s daughter Neferure, who may have taken this role, normally associated queens, in order to act as a necessary counterpart to her mother’s role as king.

⁶⁵ Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 89–91. See also W. Kaiser, “Zu den *msw nsw* der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpw.t*,” *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 261–296. Repit was also the wife of the fertility god Min. They were worshipped together at Akhmim, where Repit was represented as a lioness-headed goddess.

Each level of relationship to the kingship is retained, irrespective of which king is currently in power . . . The progressive accumulation of the titles daughter, sister, wife and mother of the king carries prestige. It indicates seniority within the female collective of the harem, and creates an analogy between the bearer of the title and the female prototype.⁶⁶

In contrast, the royal nature of King's Sons during the 18th Dynasty was handled with great delicacy, especially when princes were depicted as autonomous adults. Princes were rarely represented or mentioned on royal monuments, and their specific parentage was almost never directly addressed. When represented visually, adult princes are usually iconographically indistinct from other elite males, and they usually do not wear crowns, uraei or diadems, or carry royal emblems even in most funerary or cultic representations. In general, they are recognizable as princes only by virtue of the use of royal kinship titles (*s3 ny-sw.t* and variants), and even these were omitted in certain contexts (see discussion in **Chapter 9**). It is impossible to determine the reasons for this reticence about the royal status of princes with any certainty. However, I would suggest that the representation of a non-reigning adult male with royal or kingly attributes was ideologically taboo during most of the 18th Dynasty, as it could be seen as infringing upon kingly prerogatives.

I have already discussed the avoidance of the term "King's Brother" during this and most periods of pharaonic history for the reason that it implied equal or similar status to the king.

⁶⁶ *Patterns of Queenship*, 107.

Similarly, the representation of a non-reigning adult male with royal attributes would have held unavoidable connotations that the person in question was of near-equal status to the reigning king, and could thus be viewed as a competitive entity. Even in cases where putative coregencies existed between various 18th Dynasty kings (e.g. Thutmose III and Amenhotep II), the evidence is usually circumstantial – i.e., the supposed coregents were not depicted or named together in the same contexts, nor did they share overlapping regnal dates.⁶⁷ The notable and unambiguous exceptions are the various depictions of Hatshepsut with Thutmose III acting together as nominally equal rulers. This highly unusual situation apparently proved to be ideologically untenable, and evidence of the coregency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III was expunged from the public record.

Aside from royal kinship titles, overtly royal language and symbolism in association with princes seem to have been reserved for specific contexts – e.g., the Horemakhet monuments from Giza (**II.20.a-c**) or, in some cases, monuments of princes with their non-royal caretakers.

⁶⁷ For discussion of a possible coregency between Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, see Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 44-57. The evidence for this coregency consists mainly of inconsistencies in the dating of various events in Amenhotep II's reign that are otherwise difficult to explain (e.g. a discrepancy of several months between Thutmose III's date of death and Amenhotep II's date of accession and two separate dates for Amenhotep II's "first campaign of victory"). The two kings are also depicted together in a small number of private and royal monuments, but there is no satisfactory evidence that any of these representations predated the death of Thutmose III. Representations of living kings with their deceased predecessors were not uncommon. Furthermore, as Murnane points out, there are no mentions of a coregency in any monuments of Amenhotep II or those of any officials who worked under him. In fact, a passage from a text in the tomb of Amenemhab states plainly that Amenhotep II came to the throne immediately after his father's death. Murnane explains this as a description of the succession "on the archetypal plane," a context in which the mundane details of the transition from one king to another would have been "irrelevant" (*ibid.*, 51-52). In any case, if a coregency between these two kings did exist, it is certainly not something that was routinely or openly addressed in public or private monuments.

The names of a small number of 18th Dynasty princes were occasionally written in cartouches. There is no clear pattern associated with which princes were given the honor of a cartouche. The early 18th Dynasty prince Siamun A's name is written in a cartouche in two 18th Dynasty contexts – on his coffin (**II.4**) and on a stamp seal, presumably associated with his tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga (**II.5**). However, the cartouche on the coffin may have been a late addition by the late 20th Dynasty priests who reinterred the prince in TT 320, and may reflect the Ramesside practice of enclosing the names of many deified 18th Dynasty princes in cartouches.⁶⁸ It is also unclear whether the Siamun named on the stamp seal is Siamun A or an otherwise unknown king of the Second Intermediate Period – especially since he is also given the kingly epithet “Son of Re,” otherwise unattested for any 18th Dynasty prince.

The name of Ahmose-Ankh – who would have been roughly contemporary with Siamun A – is also partially enclosed in a cartouche (see **I.1**). However, assuming that “(King) Ahmose Lives” is the correct reading of Ahmose-Ankh’s name, then the cartouche can be explained as being used to enclose the nomen of the king for whom Ahmose-Ankh was named.

The names of Wadjmose and Amenmose, both sons of Thutmose I, are sometimes enclosed in cartouches. In the case of Amenmose, the only example of the use of a cartouche is from his naos from Giza (**II.19**). For Wadjmose, the use of the cartouche is quite common (see **II.16**, **III.23**, **III.24**, probably **III.25**, **III.27**, and **III.28**). The name(s) of the owner(s) of Giza Stelae A and B (**II.20.b-c**) were also written in cartouches.

⁶⁸ See, for example, most of the princes in the group of royal ancestors from the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2).

If Wadjmose was a prematurely deceased heir to the throne, this may partially explain the use of the cartouche in many of his monuments. However, most princes who were probably or definitely heirs did not use cartouches. It is not clear that Amenmose was ever heir to the throne, but it is notable that his one attested use of a cartouche comes from the same context as Giza Stelae A and B: all were monuments associated with the 18th Dynasty royal cult of Horemakhet at Giza. As discussed above, princely monuments associated with this cult seem to have intentionally played up the royal nature of their dedicators. This is one of the only contexts in which adult princes of the 18th Dynasty are depicted wearing sidelocks and using explicitly royal epithets (“excellent egg” and similar). These monuments were dedicated by non-reigning princes, but they straddle the blurred line between “royal” and “private” monuments.

Private cultic representations of deceased and deified 18th Dynasty princes (**category III**) did not tend to make use of overtly royal symbolism (aside from cartouches in many of the monuments of Wadjmose) during most of the 18th Dynasty. However, this began to change during the Amarna period, when Ahmose Sapair in particular began to be represented with royal iconography (see e.g. **III.6**). This presages developments of the Ramesside period: 18th Dynasty princes who are represented in the context of the Ramesside royal ancestor cult were often depicted with their names written in cartouches, wearing sidelocks, and in some cases holding royal or divine emblems, such as the *ankh* or the crook and flail.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ For the use of cartouches for deified princes, see the royal ancestor scene in TT 2. Note that, unlike those of most of the princes in this scene, Ahmose Sapair’s name is not enclosed in a cartouche. Most of the princes in this scene carry lotuses and folded cloths, typical emblems for non-royal deceased persons. Wadjmose alone carries a *shem*-scepter, which may reflect the special status that he attained in life (perhaps as heir to the throne?) or even his status as an oracular deity who had the power to influence the affairs of the living (see discussion above). In the

The uniquely royal nature of princes is most openly acknowledged in **category IV** monuments, in which princes are typically depicted as children with non-royal caretakers. In such representations, both princes and princesses are usually depicted in intimate contact with their guardians, i.e. seated in the laps of royal nurses or tutors in a nursing pose or in a close embrace. These poses closely parallel representations of kings as children in the company of deities, their royal parents, or their non-royal guardians.

In monuments of this type, princes may wear specifically royal costume elements (such as amulets or pectorals) or hold emblems typically reserved for kings, queens and gods (such as ankhs). These images are obviously derivative of royal prototypes, but interestingly such representations of royal children in the 18th Dynasty began with *female* royal figures (specifically Hatshepsut and her daughter Neferure).

Category IV monuments differ from most of the other representations of princes discussed in this dissertation in that the focus of these monuments is not on the princes themselves, but on private individuals who were close to the royal children in question. These monuments seem designed to emphasize the close relationship between their owners and the royal family (and, hence, the king himself).

As C. Roehrig has pointed out, such representations likely reflected genuine relationships between non-royal caretakers and their charges.⁷⁰ However, the symbolic nature

tomb of Inherkhawy (TT359) the princes' names are not enclosed in cartouches, but Ahmose Sapair carries a crook and flail and a second prince (Wadjmose?) carries a lotus and an ankh.

⁷⁰ "Eighteenth Dynasty Titles," 339.

of these images is also undeniable. I hypothesize that King's Sons (and King's Daughters) in **category IV** monuments simultaneously represented real individuals and functioned as more abstract or symbolic representations of the Divine/Royal Child archetype that took on new significance during the reign of Hatshepsut. In many of these cases, what these children represent in terms of ideology and religious symbolism may be at least as important as their individual identities.

Within a private tomb setting, representations of royal nurses and tutors in close contact with royal children would have reinforced the non-royal caretaker's close connection to both the royal family and the realm of the divine. The magical transformation of the deceased into various deities had long been a crucial element in the successful transition to the afterlife in ancient Egyptian funerary religion. By representing themselves in close contact with a symbolic representation of the Divine Child, the nurse or tutor is in turn equated with the child's divine caretakers. This imagery reinforced the notion of the deceased person's transformation into a variety of protective and generative deities, an idea which is explicitly addressed in several spells from the Book of the Dead.⁷¹

Statues of tutors and nurses with their charges in temple contexts would presumably connect the owner of the monument even more closely to the cult of the king than a more typical dedicatory monument (i.e. a statue without a royal child present) in the same setting.

⁷¹ E.g. Spell 17, in which the deceased is equated with Atum, Isis and Nephthys. K. Cooney, "Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73 (2010), 235-236.

Furthermore, although the format of a block statue, for example, does not directly mimic the typical image of the divine royal child in the arms of a god or goddess, the protective/nurturing connotations of the relationship are obvious in the manner in which the royal child is enclosed within the cloak of the tutor. Statues of royal children with female caretakers tend to more overtly resemble images of divine children with goddesses.

In contrast with **category IV** monuments, monuments that focus on the princes themselves (primarily **category II**) tend to place more emphasis on their subjects as autonomous, private individuals. Aside from the use of royal kinship terms, these monuments focus on princes in the context of their careers within the private sphere (e.g. as priests or military personnel).⁷² In general, this is true even of funerary monuments. The Giza Stelae, which served a unique and special function related to the cult of Horemakhet and the living king, are the exceptions.

Finally, I would like to address A. Dodson's assertion that "the possession of the blood royal lost its political significance once individuals had passed out of the direct line of succession,"⁷³ and that princes played "no part in the administration of the country outside their fathers' reigns."⁷⁴ Is it possible that princes who survived their fathers essentially abdicated their royal status and faded into relative anonymity?

⁷² See, for example, the monuments of Ahmose B and Djutmose B, in which these princes are primarily represented in attire and poses related to their priestly offices.

⁷³ "Crown Prince Djutmose," 89.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 88.

Given the intentional vagueness with which the parentage of 18th Dynasty princes was addressed, such a claim is nearly impossible to assess. Dodson based this hypothesis mainly on the fact that there are no attestations of “King’s Brothers” during the 18th Dynasty, or indeed most periods of pharaonic history.⁷⁵ However, there is no reason to assume that a prince could not simply continue to use the title “King’s Son” after the death of his father (the limited evidence for such continued usage will be discussed below).

Certainly, there is evidence to support the idea that it was not always considered appropriate for a king’s son to openly address his royal heritage. One notable example is the monument of Nebnefer and Tawosret (**II.17**), in which Nebnefer is described not as a king’s son, but as the child of a king’s mother. Similarly, royal kinship titles are seemingly omitted from the monuments of Ahmose B (**III.31**) and Binpu (**III.30**) found at the chapel of Wadjmose. The reasons for the omission of royal kinship titles in these contexts are unclear. However, it is notable that all of these monuments apparently represent princes participating in the funerary cults of other royal males.

On the other hand, the monuments of Ahmose B suggest that at least one prince may have had a career that spanned more than one reign, during which time he was consistently called “King’s Son” (with the possible exception of **III.31**). In his publication of the known monuments of Ahmose B, W. Ghoneim hypothesized that Ahmose B was a son of Thutmose III who survived at least into the reign of Amenhotep II, and possibly into that of Thutmose IV.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid., 88 and n. 13.

⁷⁶ “Statue des Prinzen,” 104.

Stylistically, Ahmose B's monuments may be dated to ca. the reigns of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV. The closest parallel to Ahmose B's unusual kneeling statue from Gebelein (**II.26**) may be assigned confidently to the reign of Thutmose IV.⁷⁷ Ghoneim connects Ahmose B to Thutmose III partly on the basis of the presence of his monuments in Gebelein and Coptos – both are far afield from Ahmose B's home base in Heliopolis, but were sites of major building activity during the reign of Thutmose III.⁷⁸ More convincingly, Ahmose B's Coptos statue (**II.25**) records the prince's oversight of the construction of a new enclosure wall at the temple of Atum in Heliopolis, a project that is also described – in very similar terms – in royal texts from the reign of Thutmose III.⁷⁹

Ghoneim also points out that Ahmose B's hypothetical tenure as High Priest of Re at Heliopolis from the reign of Thutmose III into the reign of Thutmose IV corresponds to an apparent gap in the occupation of that office during the middle of the 18th Dynasty. A Sennefer is known to have served as High Priest of Re at Heliopolis during the first half of the 18th Dynasty, followed by an Amenemhat during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁸⁰

If Ghoneim's interpretation of the Ahmose B material is correct, then we must acknowledge that 18th Dynasty royal sons could and (at least in one case) did maintain careers well after the deaths of their fathers, and at the same time could continue to acknowledge their

⁷⁷ A statue of a High Priest of Ptah at Memphis named Ptahmose, CG 584; Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, 290-291, pl. 43.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 105.

⁷⁹ This project is described in three royal stelae from Heliopolis, all dated to the 47th year of the reign of Thutmose III. See J. Iwaszczuk, "Rebirth of Temples under the Rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: Vocabulary," *Études et Travaux* 28 (2015), 42.

⁸⁰ Ghoneim, "Eine Statue des Prinzen," 103.

royal heritage. However, at this time there is too little evidence to determine whether such cases were typical.

In conclusion, King's Sons in the 18th Dynasty seem to have been acknowledged as royal figures, but tentatively so. Their roles within the practical and ideological spheres of the 18th Dynasty royal family were not clearly defined, and these roles continuously evolved during the course of the 18th Dynasty. The unique development of kingship mythology in the 18th Dynasty created a precarious situation for male royal relatives, whose existence was, by nature, sometimes at odds with the ideal cycle of kingship and succession. In rare cases – such as that of the enigmatic prince(s) of Giza Stelae A and B – the difficulty of reconciling ideology with reality may have necessitated the erasure of individual princes from the public record (or at least a revision of their representation in official or public contexts).

Final Remarks

The aim of this dissertation has been to elucidate the place of the King's Son within the mythological/ideological framework of the 18th Dynasty royal family, and to gain a better understanding of the practical aspects of the lives and careers of 18th Dynasty princes. On the basis of the analysis above, I have drawn several conclusions which have been left unaddressed or have been only obliquely touched upon in previous studies of this subject.

Only heirs and a small number of deceased and deified princes were fully recognized as royal/divine entities during the 18th Dynasty. I hypothesize that this was largely due to the

tension between reality and the ideological nature of succession. Princes not destined for the throne, particularly as adults, were distanced from reigning king through a lack of specificity in regard to their parentage and the absence of overtly royal language and iconography in most representations. In general, their career prospects do not seem to have been very different from those of other high-ranking men, albeit perhaps more restricted in some respects. For most of the 18th Dynasty, princes are distinctly absent from positions within the civil administration.

However, the royal heritage of these men was still reflected in most contexts, in a limited fashion, through the use of royal kinship titles. This is possibly because even princes who were not heirs a) could potentially *become* heirs and b) acted as vectors for the transmission of royal status to their descendants (see, for example, the “King’s Daughter Nebetia,” who was in fact the daughter of a prince). In a small number of contexts, princes’ royal kinship titles were omitted. This occurs most notably in the monuments of princes who were participants in the funerary cults of kings and other royal males. Perhaps this is because, ideologically speaking, the maintenance of the funerary cult of deceased royal ancestors was primarily the job of the reigning king – i.e. the living Horus, the rightful successor of Osiris. Thus, to place an obvious King’s Son who was not in line for succession in this role may have been problematic.

As children, princes could be represented as more overtly royal figures. In certain contexts (i.e. in the company of royal nurses and tutors) both princes and princesses were tied to the idea of the “divine royal child” which became important early in the dynasty, especially

during the reign of Hatshepsut. A juvenile royal male (or female) could be seen as a manifestation of this aspect of kingship rather than as a competitive kingly figure (as an adult prince might). In these contexts the representation of royal children also served to emphasize the special relationship between the royal nurse or tutor and the king.

One of the most important contributions of this study is the revision of earlier understandings of the role of the heir in the 18th Dynasty. I have demonstrated above that the heir was probably not the *s3 ny-sw.t smsw* ("King's Eldest Son") but the *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* ("King's Son of His Body") and that offices previously thought to be associated with the heir during this period (Generalissimo, High Priest of Ptah at Memphis) probably were not so; rather, *s3 ny-sw.t n h.t=f* should itself be seen as a title of office that included military, priestly and civil administrative duties, much like the office of King itself.

The representation of King's Sons during this period was intrinsically linked to the distinctive kingship ideology of the 18th Dynasty. The heir was a royal and semi-divine figure, descended from Amun-Re, and was essentially a manifestation of youthful or incipient kingship. Like the king, he was an "excellent egg" who came from the body of the god (as reflected in the princely epithets "King's Son of His Body"/"of the God's Limbs"). The very name of Ahmose-Ankh suggests he was a living manifestation of his father Ahmose. Perhaps the idea of the heir as an extension of the king is the reason for the burial of prematurely deceased heirs in the tombs of their fathers during at least part of the 18th Dynasty.

The nature of King's Sons is difficult to pin down during the 18th Dynasty in part because their roles were still evolving throughout this period. When we first see them it is only in limited contexts, as deified royal ancestors and as symbols of the Royal Child in both royal and private contexts. The latter type of representation became particularly common after the reign of Hatshepsut, but there is precedent in the reign of Ahmose. Eventually they emerge as individuals with their own lives and careers separate from their status as "royalty." It was not until the following Ramesside period that the idea of an adult or adolescent King's Son as a distinctly royal entity fully emerged, as reflected in their array of special titles and iconography. The development of the sidelock as a specific symbol of royal filiation late in the 18th Dynasty may have served as a way to get around the issue of representing princes as truly "royal" without infringing upon the role of the king himself. The royal sidelock, as a symbol of childhood, visually identified its wearers as junior (and therefore subordinate) to the king.

While this dissertation represents the most comprehensive study to date on the royal sons of the 18th Dynasty, the limitations of time and space have prevented me from fully exploring the context in which these individuals existed. It is my hope that this dissertation will provide a starting point for further exploration of this subject. A comparative study of the representation of royal sons and royal daughters during the 18th Dynasty would be particularly valuable, as would a comparative examination of the roles of royal children in the immediately preceding and following periods of pharaonic history. A thorough examination of any of those topics would require a separate study on a similar scale to the present dissertation.

Bibliography

- Al-Ayedi, A. R. *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006.
- Aldred, C. *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1988.
- Allen, J. "The Amarna Succession." In *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 37, ed. P. Brand and L. Cooper, 9-20. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- _____. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Arnold, D., ed. *The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.
- Assmann, J. "Harmachis." *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Band II: Erntefest-Hordjedef, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, 992-996. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977.
- _____. "Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten." In *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte: Ägypten, Griechenland, Altes Testament, Neues Testament*, ed. H. Tellenbach, 12-49, 155-162. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1976.
- Bailleul-LeSuer, R. Personal communication, 2016.
- _____. "From Kitchen to Temple: The Practical Role of Birds in Ancient Egypt." In *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35, ed. R. Bailleul-LeSuer, 23-32. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2012.
- Balandz, S. Z. "The Title *ḥry-sšt3* to the End of the New Kingdom." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45 (2009): 319-348.
- Balcz, H. and K. Bittel. "Grabungsbericht Hermopolis 1932." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* 3 (1932): 9-45
- Barbotin, C. "Un intercesseur dynastique à l'aube du Nouvel Empire: la statue du prince Iâhmès." *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 55 (2005): 19-28.

_____. "Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari." *Cahiers de decherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 24 (2004): 9-14.

Baud, M. *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire*, 2 vols. Bibliothèque d'étude 126. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1999.

Beinlich, H. and M. Saleh. *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun: mit Konkordanz der Nummernsysteme des 'Journal d'Entrée' des Ägyptischen Museums Kairo, der Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamun's Tomb und der Ausstellungs-Nummer des Ägyptischen Museums Kairo*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1989.

Bell, L. D. "La parenté de Toutankhamon." In *Louqsor, temple du ka royal*, ed. Anonymous, 45-47. Dijon: Faton, 1992.

_____. "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (1985): 251-294.

Bennett, C. "Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapaïr." *Göttinger Miszellen* 141 (1994): 35-37.

Berg, D. "The Vienna Stela of Meryre." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 213-216.

Bergmann, E. van. "Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Alterthümer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9 (1887): 32-63.

Berlandini, J. "Contribution aux 'Princes du Nouvel Empire à Memphis:' le prince Thoutmès, fils d'Amenhotep III, le prince Senakhtenamon, fils de Ramsès II." In *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*. Orientalia Monspeliensis 9, ed. C. Berger and B. Mathieu, 99-112. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1997.

Berman, L. "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign." In *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. D. O'Connor and E. Cline, 1-26. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Bernhauer, E. *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung*. Philippika 27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Bickel, S. "Surprising Discovery in the Valley of the Kings. KV 40: A Cache of 18th Dynasty Princesses and Princes." *KMT* 23:3 (2014): 22-33.

Bierbrier, M. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. Pt. 10.

London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1982.

_____. "Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medina." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980): 100-107.

_____. *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300~664 B.C.): A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation*. Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1975.

Biston-Moulin, S. "Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVIIe dynastie." *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012): 61-71.

Boddens Hosang, F. J. E. "The Shabti of Anen in the Hague." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990), 178-179.

Borchardt, L. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*. Vol. IV: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 951-1294. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire 12. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1934.

_____. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*. Vol. III: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 654-950. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire 11. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1930.

_____. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*. Vol. II: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 381-653. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire 10. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1925.

_____. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*. Leipzig : J. C. Heinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907.

_____. "Ein Katzensarg aus dem neuen Reich." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 44 (1907): 97.

Bouriant, U. "Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 7 (1886): 114-132.

Bourriau, J. "Museum Acquisitions, 1985. Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1985 by Museums in the United Kingdom." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 191-195.

Brand, P. "Usurpation of Monuments." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. W. Wendrich. UCLA: Los Angeles, 2010. Article on-line. Available from <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025h6fh>. Accessed 11 Sept. 2016.

Breasted, J. H. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Vol. 2: The Eighteenth Dynasty. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.

Brunner, H. "Kein Amarna-Prinz, sondern ein Gott." *Göttinger Miszellen* 78 (1984): 49-50.

_____. *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines Altägyptischen Mythos*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 10. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1964.

_____. "Der 'Gottesvater' als Erzieher des Kronprinzen." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86 (1961): 90-100.

Bruyère, B. *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 58. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1930.

Bryan, B. "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. E. Cline and D. O'Connor, 69-122. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

_____. "Property and the God's Wives of Amun." Paper presented at the Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies Conference, Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, August 2003.

_____. "The 18th Dynasty Before the Amarna Period." In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 2d ed., ed. I. Shaw, 207-264. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

_____. *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Bucher, P. *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 60. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1932.

Campbell, C. *The miraculous birth of king Amon-hotep III and other Egyptian studies*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1912.

Capart, J. "Une statue de Sebekhotep, précepteur royal." *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire* 10 (1938): 83-86.

Capart, J. and W. Spiegelberg. "Une statuette du Temple de Wazmose à Thèbes." *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16 (1902): 160-169.

Carter, H. *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen: Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*. Vol. 3. London: Cassell and Company, 1933.

Carter, H. and P. E. Newberry. *The tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*. Theodore M. Davis' excavations: Bibân el Molûk. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904.

Černý, J. "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31 (1945): 29-53.

Champollion, J. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie II*. Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1835.

Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. "XII campaña del Proyecto Djehuty." Communication, April 3rd 2013. Article On-line. Available from http://documenta.wi.csic.es/alfresco/downloadpublic/direct/workspace/Spacestore/e1a25599-1cf9-4dab-9b7f-6687b29c254c/03abril2013_DOCUMENTACION_2013.pdf. Accessed 10 July 2016.

Cooney, K. "Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73 (2010): 224-237.

Cummins, E. "Word, Object, Image: The Bed as a Sign in New Kingdom Egyptian Art." PhD diss., Emory University, Atlanta, 2013.

Daressy, G. *Cercueils des cachettes royales*. Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 21. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909.

_____. *Fouilles de la vallée des rois (1898-1899): nos 24001-24990*. Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 22. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1902.

_____. "La chapelle d'Uazmes." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 1 (1900): 97-108.

_____. "Lettre à M. Maspero à propos de quelques points de son mémoire sur les momies de Deir el-Bahari." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 13 (1890): 145-149.

Davies, N. de Garis. "The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935: The Work of the Graphic Branch of

- the Expedition." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 30, 11:2 (1935): 46-57.
- _____. *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226).* The Theban Tomb Series 5. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933.
- _____. *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes.* Publications of Metropolitan Museum of Art: Egyptian Expedition 5. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930.
- _____. "The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923: The Graphic Work of the Expedition." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 18, 12:2 (1923): 40-53.
- Davis, T. M., G. Maspero, P. E. Newberry, and H. Carter. *The Tomb of Louiya and Touyou.* London: A. Constable and Co., 1907.
- Demarée, R. J. *The ȝb ikr n Rˁ-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt.* Egyptologische Uitgaven III. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983.
- Dickey, E. "Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri." *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004): 131-176.
- Dijk, J. van. "A Cat, a Nurse and a Standard-Bearer: Notes on Three Late Eighteenth Dynasty Statues." In *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: an Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson.* Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 38, ed. S. H. D'Auria, 321-332. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- _____. "The Death of Meketaten." In *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane.* Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 37, ed. P. Brand and L. Cooper, 83-88. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- _____. "The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde.* Egyptological Memoirs 1, ed. J. van Dijk, 33-46. Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997.
- Dodson, A. *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy.* Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014.
- _____. "On the Alleged 'Amenhotep III/IV Coregency' Graffito at Meidum." *Göttinger Miszellen* 221 (2009): 25-28.
- _____. "Crown Prince Djutmose and the Royal Sons of the 18th Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990): 87-96.

Dodson, A. and D. Hilton. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Dodson, A. and J. Janssen. "A Theban Tomb and Its Tenants." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989): 125-138.

Dorman, P. "The Long Coregency Revisited: Architectural and Iconographic Conundra in the Tomb of Kheruef." *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 37, ed. P. J. Brand and L. Cooper, 65-82. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

_____. *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1988.

Eaton-Krauss, M. *The Unknown Tutankhamun*. London: Bloomsbury, 2016.

Eaton-Krauss, M. and E. Graefe. *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1985.

Edgerton, W. F. "Egyptian Phonetic Writing, from Its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 60 (1940): 473-506.

El Alfi, M. "Recherches sur le personnel des temples d'Héliopolis." Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris-IV, 1974.

El-Leithy, H. "Letters to the Dead in Ancient and Modern Egypt." In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* 1, ed. Z. Hawass and L. Brock, 304-313. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003.

El Sabban, S. "The Cat's Coffin of *Dhwty-ms* in the Cairo Museum," *Discussions in Egyptology* 46 (2000): 65-78.

El Shazly, Y. "Divine Princes in Deir el-Medina." In *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 1, ed. R. Jasnow and K. M. Cooney, 407-28. Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2015.

_____. *Royal Ancestor Worship in Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom*. Wallasey: Abercromby Press, 2015.

Emery, W. B. "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqâra, 1968-9." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 5-11.

Epigraphic Survey, The. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, volume 2: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall: with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*. Oriental Institute Publications 116. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1998.

_____. *Medinet Habu, Volume V. The Temple Proper, Part I: The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels Adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall with Marginal Material from the Forecourts*. Oriental Institute Publications 83. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Erman, A. "Die Sphinxstele." Originally published in 1904. Reprinted in *Akademieschriften (1880-1928)*, vol. 1. Opuscula 13, A. Erman, 525-541. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1986.

_____. "Ein neues Denkmal von der grossen Sphinx." Originally published in 1904. Reprinted in *Akademieschriften (1880-1928)*, vol. 1. Opuscula 13, A. Erman, 542-543. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1986.

_____. *Die Religion der Ägypter. Ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1934.

Erman, A. and H. Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926-1931.

Ertman, E. L. "Types of Winged Scarabs: Tutankhamun's Use of the H-Winged Scarab." In *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World* 1, ed. M. Eldamaty and M. Trad, eds., 333-343. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002.

Fabretti, A., F. Rossi and R. V. Lanzone. *Regio museo di Torino. Antichità egizie*. Rome: Presso la Direz. Gen. delle Antichità e Belle Arti, 1881.

Fairman, H. W. "The Inscriptions." In *The city of Akhenaten. Part III: the Central City and the Official Quarters. The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the Season 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society 44, ed. J. D. S. Pendlebury, 143-189. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951.

Faulkner, R. O. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Fischer, H. G. "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 10 (1975): 9-21.

Fisher, M. *The Sons of Ramesses II*. 2 vols. Ägypten und Altes Testament 53. Wiesbaden:

Harrassowitz, 2001.

Franke, D. *Altägyptische Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen im mittleren Reich*. Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien 3. Hamburg: Borg, 1983.

Frankfort, H. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*. Oriental Institute Essay. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948.

Frood, E. *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 26. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.

Gabolde, M. *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*. Collection de l'Institute d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'antiquité Lyon 3. Lyon: Université Lumière-Lyon, 1998.

Galán, J. M. Personal communication, 2013.

Gamer-Wallert, I. "Das Grab des Hohenpriesters des Ptah, *Mry-Pth*, in Saqqara." *Die Welt des Orients* 14 (1983): 99-129.

Gardiner, A. H. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3d ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.

_____. "The Coronation of King Horemheb." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 13-31.

_____. "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 38 (1952): 6-23.

_____. "Adoption Extraordinary." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1941): 23-29.

_____. "A Priest of King Thutmose III and Prince Wadjmose." *Orientalia* 6 (1937): 358-359.

_____. *Late Egyptian Stories*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932.

_____. "A Statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 43 (1906): 55-59.

_____. *The Inscription of Mes: A Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Juridical Procedure*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 4, vol. 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905.

Gardiner, A. H. and K. Sethe. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, Mainly from the Old and Middle*

Kingdoms. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1928.

Gauthier, H. *Le livre des rois d'Égypte : recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique*. Vol. 2, De la XIII^e à la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo 18. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1912.

Ghoneim, W. "Eine Statue des Prinzen und Hohepriesters von Heliopolis Ahmes (Cairo JE 36412)." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 21 (1994): 95-106.

Gitton, M. *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie*. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 306; Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 61. Paris: Presses Univ. Franche-Comté, 1984.

_____. "La résiliation d'une fonction religieuse: Nouvelle interpretation de la stèle de donation d'Ahmès Néfertary." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76 (1976), 65-89.

Glanville, S. R. K. "Records of a royal dockyard of the time of Thuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056. Part II: Commentary." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 68 (1932): 7-41.

_____. "Records of a royal dockyard of the time of Thuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66 (1931): 105-121.

Golénischeff, W. *Ermitage Impérial. Inventaire de la collection égyptienne*. Leipzig: Impr. W. Drugulin, 1891.

Grébaut, E. "Inscription inédite du règne de Thutmès Ier." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 7 (1886): 142.

Grébaut, E. and G. Maspero. *Le Musée égyptien: recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Egypte*. Vol. 1. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1890-1900.

Gregory, S. "The Role of the *Iwn-mwt.f* in the New Kingdom Monuments of Thebes." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 20 (2013): 25-46.

Grimal, N. *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*. Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouvelle série 6. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1986.

Gunn, B. *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924.

Habachi, L. "Tomb No. 226 of the Theban Necropolis and its Unknown Owner." in *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20 August 1967*, ed. W. Helck, 61-70. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968.

Hall, H. R. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. Pt. 7. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1925.

_____. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. Pt. 5. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914.

Harari, I. "Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis à la reine Ahmès Néfertary." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 56 (1959): 139-201.

Haring, B. "The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom." In *Ancient Egyptian Administration*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 104, ed. J. C. M. García, 607-38. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Hassan, E.-A. "The Funerary Stela Fragment of Unknown Person in MMA 90.6.130." *Göttinger Miszellen* 154 (1996), 35-42.

Hassan, S. *The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations*. Cairo: Government Press, 1953.

_____. *The Sphinx: Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations*. Cairo: Government Press, 1949.

_____. "The Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 37 (1937): 129-134.

Hastings, E. A. *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra 1964-76*. Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir 61. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997.

Hawass, Z. "Newly Discovered Scenes of Tutankhamun from Memphis and Rediscovered Fragments from Hermopolis." *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*. Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 19, ed. A. Oppenheim and O. Goelet, 359-366. In press.

Hawass, Z. and S. N. Saleem. *Scanning the Pharaohs: CT Imaging of the New Kingdom Royal Mummies*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016.

Hawass, Z., Y. Z. Gad, S. Ismail, R. Khairat, D. Fathalla, N. Hasan, A. Ahmed, H. Elleithy, M. Ball, F.

Gaballah, S. Wasef, M. Fateen, H. Amer, P. Gostner, A. Selim, A. Zink and C. M. Pusch.
“Ancestry and Pathology in King Tutankhamun’s Family.” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 303:7 (2010): 638-647.

Hayes, W. C. *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B. C.)*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.

_____. “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951): 169-176.

Hays, H. M. “The Typological Structure of the Pyramid Texts and its Continuities with Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature.” Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2006.

_____. “The historicity of Papyrus Westcar.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129 (2002): 20-30.

Helck, W. “Die Erzählung vom Verwunschenen Prinzen.” In *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 12, ed. J. Osing and G. Dreyer, 218-225. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.

_____. *Die Lehre des Djedefhor und die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn. Kleine ägyptische Texte* 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

_____. “Hatia.” In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Band II: Erntefest-Hordjedef, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, 1042. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977.

_____. “Überlegungen zur Geschichte der 18. Dynastie.” *Oriens Antiquus* 8 (1969): 281-327.

_____. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 20 bearbeitet von Wolfgang Helck. Historische Inschriften Amenophis' III. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 20. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.

_____. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 19 bearbeitet von Wolfgang Helck. Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' IV. und biographische Inschriften seiner Zeitgenossen. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 19. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.

_____. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 17 bearbeitet von Wolfgang Helck. Biographische Inschriften von Zeitgenossen Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.

Hoch, J. E. *Middle Egyptian Grammar*. SSEA Publication 15. Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1997.

Hohneck, H. "Alles für die Katz'? Nochmals zum 'Katzensarkophag' des Prinzen Thutmosis." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 141 (2014): 112-131.

_____. "Hatte Thutmosis I. wirklich einen Sohn namens Amenmose?" *Göttinger Miszellen* 210 (2006): 59-66.

Hölscher, U. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*. Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglen Expedition in Agypten 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912.

Hornemann, B. *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966.

Iwaszczuk, J. "Rebirth of Temples under the Rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: Vocabulary." *Études et Travaux* 28 (2015): 29-58.

Johnson, J. H. "The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt." In *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, ed. A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe, 175-186. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996.

Johnson, W. R. "Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996): 65-82.

Jørgensen, M. *Catalogue Egypt II (1550-1080 BC)*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Katalog. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1998.

Junker, H. *Giza II: Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Riches bie den Pyramiden von Giza. Die Mastabas der V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*. Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G., 1934.

Kaiser, W. "Zu den *msw nsw* der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von *rpw.t.*" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 39 (1983): 261-296.

Kamal, A. B. "Rapport sur les fouilles faites dans la montagne de Sheîkh Saîd." *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 10 (1910): 145-154.

Kanawati, N. "The Mentioning of More than One Eldest Child in Old Kingdom Inscriptions." *Chronique d'Égypte* 51 (1976): 235-251.

Kaplony, P. "Iripat." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Band III: Horhekenu-Megeb, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, 177-180. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980.

- Kasparian, B. "La famille égyptienne sous l'Ancien et le Moyen Empire: aspects structurels, sociaux et juridiques." Ph.D. diss., Université de La Rochelle, 2003.
- Keel, O. *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden: drei Fallstudien zur Methode der Interpretation altorientalischer Bilder*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 122. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 1992.
- Kemp, B. "The Amarna Royal Tombs at Amarna." Online Article, Amarna Project Website: <http://www.amarnaproject.com/documents/pdf/Amarna-Royal-Tombs.pdf> (Accessed June 26 2016). Originally written for the *Akhetaten Sun*, Amarna Research Foundation Newsletter, 2016.
- Kitchen, K. A. "The Twentieth Dynasty Revisited." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 116-125.
- Koefoed-Petersen, O. *Les stèles égyptiennes*. Publications de la Glyptothèque NY Carlsberg 1. Copenhagen: Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, 1948.
- Kozloff, A. and B. Bryan. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992.
- Lacau, P. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* II. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 81. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1926.
- _____. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* I. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 45. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1909.
- Lansing, A. "The Egyptian Expedition 1918-1920: I. Excavations at Thebes 1918-19." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 15, no. 12:2 (1920): 4-12.
- Laskowski, P. "Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. E. Cline and D. O'Connor, 183-237. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Legrain, G. "Notes d'inspection XI-XV." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 5 (1904): 133-141.
- _____. "Fragments de canopes." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 4 (1903), 138-149.
- Lepsius, C. R. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien : nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten*

und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät hrsg. und erläutert von C. R. Lepsius. Abth. 3, Bd. 5. Denkmäler des Neuen Reichs. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849-1859.

_____. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien : nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition auf Befehl Seiner Majestät hrsg. und erläutert von R. Lepsius.* Text, Bd. 4. Oberägypten. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849.

Lesko, L. and B. S. Lesko, eds. *A dictionary of Late Egyptian*, rev. ed. Providence: Scribe Publications, 2002-2004.

Lichtheim, M. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings.* Vol. 2: The New Kingdom. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Lilyquist, C. *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.

Litherland, P. "Three Fragments in the Strasbourg Collection." Pièce en vedette. Institut d'égyptologie, Université de Strasbourg. Article on-line. Available from <http://egypte.unistra.fr/la-collection-de-linstitut-degyptologie/piece-en-vedette/piece-en-vedette/article/three-fragments-in-the-strasbourg-collection/>. Accessed 7 August 2016.

_____. *The Western Wadis of the Theban Necropolis. A Re-examination of the Western Wadis of the Theban Necropolis by the Joint-mission of the Cambridge Expedition to the Valley of the Kings and the New Kingdom Research Foundation 2013-2014.* London: New Kingdom Research Foundation, 2014.

Lorenzen, E. and E. Willerslev. "King Tutankhamun's Family and Demise." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 303:24 (2010): 2471.

Lowry-Corry, S., E. Hawkins and the British Museum. *Tablets and Other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore, Now Deposited in the British Museum.* London: W. Nicol, 1843.

Loyrette, A.-M. "Les monuments du prince Ouadjmès." *Memnonia* 3 (1992): 131-40 and pl. XXIV-XXVI.

_____. "Un monument de la XVIIIe dynastie en bordure du Ramesseum: La chapelle d'Ouadjmès." *Memnonia* 1 (1991): 119-25 and pl. XXVI-XXIX.

Macadam, M. F. (ed.) and N. de Garis Davies. *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.

MacDonald, D. N. "Terms for 'Children' in Middle Egyptian: A Sociolinguistic View." *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 5 (1994): 53-59.

Manniche, L. "Reflections on the Banquet Scene." In *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver: actes du Colloque international de Bruxelles, avril 1994*, ed. R. Tefnin, 29-36. Brussels: Foundation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1997.

_____. "The Tomb of Nakht, the Gardener, at Thebes (No. 161), as Copied by Robert Hay." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72 (1986): 55-78.

Manuelian, P. der. *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1987.

Mariette, A. *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*. Reprint, originally published 1880. Wiesbaden: LTR-Verlag, 1982.

Mariette-Pacha, A. and G. Maspero. *Le Sérapéum de Memphis I*. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1882.

_____. *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie par Auguste Mariette-Bey*. Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1872.

Martin, G. T. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*. Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir 55. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989.

_____. *The tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra, 1964-1973*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979.

Mattha, G. *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*. Bibliothèque d'étude 45. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1975.

Menu, B. "La 'stèle' d'Ahmès Néfertary dans son contexte historique et juridique: à propos de: M. Gitton, "La résiliation d'une fonction religieuse: nouvelle interprétation de la stèle de donation d'Ahmès Nefertary", *BIFAO* 76, p. 65-89." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 77 (1977), 89-100.

Metawi, D. "A Brother for Thutmose III (Cairo Museum BN 104)." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 99 (2013): 101-116.

Möller, G. *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*. Vol. 3: Musterbriefe und geschäftliche Texte des Neuen Reiches. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

_____. *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch herausgegeben*. Vol. 2: Literarische Texte des Neuen Reiches. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910.

Mond, R. "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 6 (1905): 65-96.

Moore, T. "The Lords of the West in Ramesside Tombs." In *Archaeological research in the Valley of the Kings and ancient Thebes: papers presented in honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*. Wilkinson Egyptology Series I, ed. P. P. Creasman, 201-225. Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, 2013.

Morenz, S. "Rote Stiere – Unbeachtetes zu Buchis und Mnevis." In *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed. O. Firchow, 238-243. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.

Moret, A. "Un procès de famille sous la XIXe dynastie." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 39 (1901): 11-39.

Morgan, J. de, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jequier, and A. Barsanti. *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de L'Égypte Antique, Premiere Serie. Haute Égypte, Tome Premier: de la Frontiere de Nubie a Kom Ombos*. Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen Imprimeur de la Cour I. & R. Et de L'Universite, 1894.

Morris, E. F. "Paddle Dolls and Performance in Ancient Egypt." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47 (2011): 71-103.

Moursi, M. "Corpus der Mnevis-Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis-Stiere in Heliopolis II." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987): 225-237.

_____. *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 26. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972.

Murnane, W. *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 40. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977.

Murnane, W. and C. C. Van Siclen III. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1993.

Myśliwiec, K. *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*. Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des sciences 18. Warsaw: PWN –

Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976.

Naville, E. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Part III: End of the Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 16. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898.

_____. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Part II: The Ebony Shrine. Northern Half of the Middle Platform. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 14. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896.

Needler, W. *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Occasional Paper 6. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1963.

Newberry, P. E. "King Ay, the Successor of Tut'ankhamūn." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18 (1932), 50-52.

_____. "The Sons of Thutmosis IV." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14 (1928): 82-5.

_____. "The Funerary Statuettes from the Tomb of Teta-Ky." In *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*, ed. Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, 19-21. London: Oxford University Press, 1912.

Nibbi, A. "Some Notes on the Two Lands of Ancient Egypt and the 'Heraldic' Plants." *Discussions in Egyptology* 37 (1997), 23-49.

Northampton (Marquis of), W. Spiegelberg and P. Newberry. *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9*. London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1908.

Oppenheim, A. "The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2010* 1, ed. M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí, 171-188. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2011.

Panagiotopoulos, D. "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke aus der Levante: die ägyptische Nordexpansion in der 18. Dynastie aus Strukturgeschichtlicher Sicht." *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000): 139-158.

Peet, T. E. *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names: Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in the University College, London*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 29. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1917.

_____. *A History of Egypt II. During the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*. London: Methuen, 1905.

_____. *Six Temples at Thebes: 1896*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1897.

_____. *Medium*. London: Nutt, 1892.

_____. *A Season in Egypt, 1887*. London: Field & Tuer, 1888.

Pezin, M. and F. Janot. "La 'pustule' et les deux doigts." *Bulletin de l'Institut française d'archéologie orientale* 95 (1995): 361-365.

Polz, D. "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 46 (1990): 301-336.

Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VI: Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (Excluding Thebes)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991.

_____. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II: Theban Temples*. 2d ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972.

_____. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings V: Upper Egypt: Sites*. 2d ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.

_____. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis. Part 1. Private Tombs*. 2d ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960.

Posener, G. "Le début de l'Enseignement de Hardjedef (recherches littéraires, IV)." *Revue d'égyptologie* 9 (1952): 109-117.

Quirke, S. "Kerem in the Fitzwilliam Museum." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990): 170-174.

Radwan, A. *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*. Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 21. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969.

Raedler, C. "Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht." In *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 1, ed. R. Gundlach and A. Klug, 277-416. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.

- Ranke, H. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Band II: Exkurse, Nachträge, Zusätze und Berichtigungen zu Bd. I. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1952.
- Raue, D. *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 16. Berlin: Achet Verlag, 1999.
- Redford, D. *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. SSEA Publications 4. Mississauga: Benben, 1986.
- _____. *Akhenaten: The Heretic King*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- _____. *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies*. Near and Middle East Series 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- _____. "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 51 (1965): 107-22.
- Revez, J. *L'évolution du rôle des frères du roi dans les modalités successoriales en Égypte ancienne*. Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, in press.
- _____. "The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term *sn* 'Brother.'" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40 (2003): 123-131.
- _____. "Frere du roi. L'évolution du rôle des frères du roi dans les modalités successoriales en égypte ancienne." Ph.D. diss., University of Paris-Sorbonne, 1999.
- Rhind, A. H. *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants, Ancient and Present, Including a Record of Excavations in the Necropolis*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862.
- Riggs, C. *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt: The Shroud, the Secret and the Sacred*. Kindle Edition. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.
- Ritner, R. "Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes." In *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*. Occasional proceedings of the Theban Workshop, ed. P. Dorman and B. Bryan, 97-114. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011.
- _____. *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009.
- _____. "The End of the Libyan Anarchy in Egypt: P. Rylands IX. Cols. 11-12." *Enchoria* 17 (1990): 101-108

- _____. "Review of: Thissen, Heinz Josef. *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi* (P. BM 10508)." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 44 (1987): 641-646.
- _____. "Anubis and the Lunar Disc." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 149-155.
- Robins, G. "An Unusual Statue of a Royal Mother-in-law and Grandmother." In *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*. Egypt Exploration Society, Occasional Publications 13, ed. A. Leahy and J. Tait, 255-259. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999.
- _____. *Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom: Ancient Egyptian Art from the British Museum*. San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1995.
- _____. *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- _____. "The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt." In *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, 65-78. Canberra: Croon Helm, 1983.
- _____. "Meritamun, Daughter of Ahmose, and Meritamun, Daughter of Thutmose III." *Göttinger Miszellen* 56 (1982): 79-87.
- _____. "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms." *Chronique d'Égypte* 54 (1979): 197-217
- _____. "Amenhotpe I and the Child Amenemhat." *Göttinger Miszellen* 30 (1978): 71-75.
- Roeder, G. *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis 1929-1939, Band II*. Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim/Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 6. Hildesheim: Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1969.
- _____. *Hermopolis 1929-1939. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten, in Verbindung mit zahlreichen Mitarbeitern*. Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg KG, 1959.
- Roehrig, C. "The Statue of the Royal Nurse Sitre with her Nursling Maatkare Hatshepsut." In *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World* 2, ed. M Eldamaty and M. Trad, 1003-1010. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002.
- _____. "The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (*mn̄t nswt*), Royal Tutor (*mn̄ nswt*), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sn/snt mn̄ n nb t3wy*). Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1990.

Ryholt, K. S. B. *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 BC*. CNI Publications 20. Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997.

Saleh, M. "Varia from Egyptian Museum in Cairo." In *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, ed. H. Guksch and D. Polz, 353-361. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998.

Schmitz, B. *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt "Königssohn"*. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 2. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GMBH, 1976.

Schulman, A. R. "Some Observations on the $\beta\text{h}\ i\text{kr}\ n\ R^c$ -Stelae." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43 (1986): 302-348.

_____. "The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963): 75-98.

Schulz, R. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten "Würfelhockern."* Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1992.

Schwappach-Shirriff, L. "Votive Stele of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari." *Rosicrucian Digest* 81:1 (2003): front matter.

Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909.

_____. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907.

_____. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV, vol. 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906.

Seyfried, F., ed. *Im Licht von Amarna: 100 Jahre Fund der Nofretete*. Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2012.

Shafer, B. E., ed. *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Shehab El-Din, T. "The Title *mdw-i3wi*, the Staff of Old Age." *Discussions in Egyptology* 37 (1997): 59-64.

Sheikholeslami, C. M., ed. *The Egyptian Museum at the Millennium: a special exhibition in honor of the VIIIth International Congress of Egyptologists, 28 March - 3 April 2000, Cairo, Egypt.* Cairo: The Egyptian Museum, Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2000.

Shirley, JJ. "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere." In *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 52, ed. S. Bahr, D. Kahn, and JJ. Shirley, 291-319. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Simpson, W. K., ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry.* 3d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

_____. "Sennefer." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* Band V: Pyramidenbau-Steingefäße, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf, 856-857. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

Smith, G. E. *The Royal Mummies.* Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 72. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1912.

Snape, S. R. "Ramoses Restored: A Royal Prince and his Mortuary Cult." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 180-83.

Sousa, R. "The Meaning of the Heart Amulets in Egyptian Art." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 43 (2007): 59-70.

Spalinger, A. "Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997): 269-300.

Spiegelberg, W. "Die Datierung der Sphinxstele." *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 7 (1904): 288-291.

Stewart, H. M. *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part I: The New Kingdom.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976.

Strudwick, N. *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders.* London: KPI, 1985.

Teeter, E. *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Théodoridès, A. "Le testament dans l'Égypte ancienne (essentiellement d'après le Papyrus Kahoun VII, 1, la Stèle de Sérimose et le Papyrus Turin 2021)." *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 17 (1970): 117-216.

- Thomas, E. *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*. Trenton: Moorman, 1966.
- Troy, L. *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilization 14. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986.
- Tylor, J. J. *The Tomb of Paheri*. Wall Drawings and Monuments of El-Kab 1. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895.
- Ulrich, D. and R. Krauss. "Ein gläserner Doppelring aus Altägypten." *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 19 (1982): 199-212.
- Van Assche, B. "Ahmose Sapair: Discussing the Identity of a Deified Prince." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 37 (2010): 113-121.
- Vandersleyen, C. *Iahmès Sapaïr: fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682*. Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2005.
- _____. "L'identité d'Ahmès Sapaïr." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 10 (1983): 311-24.
- Varille, A. "La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Giza." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 41 (1942), 31-38.
- Vervloesem, F. "De titulatuur van Qar en de plaats van zijn functies in de administratie van het Oude Rijk." Paper, "Instellingen van het Oude Nabije Oosten." KU Leuven, 2006.
- Virey, P. *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie*. Mission archéologique française au Caire 5:2. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891.
- Walle, B. van de. "Précisions nouvelles sur Sobek-hotep fils de Mîn." *Revue d'égyptologie* 15 (1963): 77-85
- Weeks, K. *KV 5: A Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Tomb of the Sons of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings*. Publications of the Theban Mapping Project 2. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005.
- Wente, E. F. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 1. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Werbrouk, M. and B. van de Walle. *La tombe de Nakht. Notice summaire*. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1929.

Whale, S. *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs*. The Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies 1. Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989.

Wiedemann, A. "On a Monument of the First Dynasties of Egypt." *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887): 180-184.

Wildung, D. "Le frère aîné d'Echnaton. Réflexions sur un décès prématuré." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 143 (1998): 10-18.

Wilkinson, R. H. *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.

_____. *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000.

Willem, H. "A description of Egyptian kinship terminology of the Middle Kingdom c. 2000-1650 B.C." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139 (1983): 152-168.

Wilson, J. A. "The Oath in Ancient Egypt." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 (1948): 129-156.

Winlock, H. "The Egyptian Expedition 1930-1931: the Museum's Excavations at Thebes." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 27:3 (1932): 4-37.

_____. "The Egyptian Expedition 1927-1928: the Museum's Excavations at Thebes." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 23:12 (1928): 3-28.

_____. "Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10 (1924): 217-277.

Xekalaki, G. *Symbolism in the Representation of Royal Children during the New Kingdom*. BAR International Series 2314. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011.

Žába, Z. *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*. Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1956.

Zelenková, L. "The Royal Kilt in Non-Royal Iconography? The Tomb Owner Fowling and Spear-Fishing in the Old and Middle Kingdom." *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 21 (2010): 141-166.

Ziegler, C., ed. *Queens of Egypt: from Hetepheres to Cleopatra*. Monaco: Grimaldi Forum, 2008.

Zivie, A. *La tombe de Maïa: Mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et Grande du Harem (Bub. I.20)*. Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara 1. Toulouse: Caracara Edition, 2009.

_____. *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2007.

_____. "La localisation de la tombe du grand-prêtre de Ptah Ptaemhat-Ty." *Revue d'égyptologie* 35 (1984): 200-203.

_____. "Fragments inscrits conservés à Karnak-Nord." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 72 (1972): 71-98.

Zivie, C. M. *Giza au deuxième millénaire*. Bibliothèque d'étude 70. Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1976.

Online Resources:

The British Museum. "Figure." BM EA35400. Object record. Database on-line. Available from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=100842&partId=1. Internet. Accessed 28 August 2016.

_____. "Statue." BM EA2301. Object record. Database on-line. Available from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=120809&partId=1&museumno=2301&page=1. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.

_____. "Stela." BM EA360. Object record. Database on-line. Available from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=177434&partId=1. Internet. Accessed 20 August 2016.

_____. "Stela/plaque." BM EA76761. Object record. Database on-line. Available from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1443690&partId=1&museumno=76761&page=1. Internet. Accessed 21 August 2016.

Brooklyn Museum. "Fragment of an Archer." 36.965. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3418/>. Internet. Accessed 3 June 2016.

- _____. "Seated Statue of the Superintendent of the Granary Irupaptah." 37.20E. Object Record. Database on-line. Available from https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3938/Seated_Statue_of_the_Superintendent_of_the_Granary_Irukaptah. Internet. Accessed 3 June 2016.
- _____. "Stela of Ba." 85.113. Object Record. Database on-line. Available from https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3917/Stela_of_Ba. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.
- Das Digitale Schott Archive. Schott Photograph 3158. Database on-line. University of Trier. Available from <http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/schott.php?ac=e&id=1184>. Internet. Accessed 7 August 2016.
- Griffith Institute. Theban Tomb Tracings Made by Norman and Nina de Garis Davies. "Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. TT 64, Hekerneheh, Nurse of the King's son Amenophis. Temp. Tuthmosis IV." Gallery on-line. Available from <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT64.html>. Internet. Accessed 28 August 2016.
- The McManus. "Portrait of Princess Neferure." 1977-534/Dundee 67.244. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/princess-neferure>. Internet. Accessed 3 June 2016.
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection Online. "Coffin, reused for Prince Amenemhat." MMA 19.3.207. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545660>. Internet. Accessed 6 August 2016.
- _____. "False Door of the Royal Sealer Neferiu." MMA 12.183.8. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/543863>. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.
- _____. "Inner Coffin of Khonsu." MMA 86.1.2a, b. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/544705>. Internet. Accessed 3 June 2016.
- _____. "Stela of Aamtju." MMA 19.3.32. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545595>. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.

_____. "Two Finger Amulet." MMA 66.99.182. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550994>. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. "Canopic Jar and Lid of Prince Amenemhat." MMA 03.1129a-b. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/canopic-jar-and-lid-of-prince-amenemhat-130277>. Internet. Accessed 7 August 2016.

_____. "Kneeling Amenhotep III as the God Neferhotep." MFA 1970.636. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/kneeling-amenhotep-iii-as-the-god-neferhotep-46185>. Internet. Accessed 20 April 2016.

The Oriental Institute, Chicago. Photograph 10269. Oriental Institute Photo Archives. Database on-line. Available from <http://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/#D/PA/2010276/H/1472880671849>. Internet. Accessed 3 Sept. 2016.

The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology. "Reliefs." UC 14797. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#58081>. Internet. Accessed 5 July 2016.

_____. "Stelae." UC 14219. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17466>. Internet. Accessed 19 August 2016.

_____. "Stelae." UC 14233. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#17560>. Internet. Accessed 4 June 2016.

_____. "Stelae. UC 15518. Object record. Database on-line. Available from <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#23289>. Internet. Accessed 21 August 2016.

Tutankhamun: Anatomy of an Excavation. The Howard Carter Archives. "Chariot and Whip." Carter no. 333. Archive record. Database on-line. The Griffith Institute. Available from <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=128.135.100.114-1430065733&qno=1&curr=333>. Internet. Accessed 11 August 2016.