

**Social status of elite women of the
New Kingdom of ancient Egypt:
A comparison of artistic features.**

By Anette Olivier

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Ancient Near Eastern Studies

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Supervisor: Prof PS Vermaak

June 2008

Declaration

I, Anette Olivier, herewith declare that “Social status of elite women of the New Kingdom of ancient Egypt: A comparison of artistic features” is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

.....

Anette Olivier

Student Number: 04804716

.....

Date

Supervisor: Prof PS Vermaak

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to all those who afforded me the possibility to conduct this research and complete this dissertation. In particular, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to:

- My supervisor, Prof Fanie Vermaak, Head of the Department of Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, University of South Africa, who rendered invaluable guidance, assistance and important support throughout this work.
- The University of South Africa for providing me with financial support during this study.
- Mrs Rosalind Janssen, former curator of the Petrie Museum, University College, London, who has assisted me greatly in my studies. She gave me excellent advice during the research and proof reading of this manuscript.
- Dr Neal Spencer and Dr Richard Parkinson of the Department of Egypt and Sudan, British Museum, London, for their friendly help during our valuable discussions at various private viewings held at the British Museum.
- Prof Peter F. Dorman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago for sharing his unpublished research on the harem with me.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Daan and our children, on whose constant encouragement, support and love I have relied on throughout my research.

In memory of my late mother.

Summary

Representational artistic works were researched as visual evidence for the social, political, religious and economic lifestyles of the ancient Egyptian elite. The aims were to comprehend the status of elite women and to challenge the hypothesis that during the New Kingdom they enjoyed an increased social status in comparison to that of their predecessors.

Many artistic works were analysed (tomb and palace wall scenes, statues, obelisks and personal artefacts), on the quest for evidence for the roles of elite women in events, practices and rituals at the time when the objects were created. Various international museums were visited and personal observations are correlated with expert publications.

The study concludes that the status of elite women in the New Kingdom was both significantly different and exalted in comparison with the status of their counterparts during earlier dynasties.

Key Terms

New Kingdom; elite women; ancient Egyptian art; queens; roles; profiles; Hatshepsut; Nefertiti; Nefertari, El Amarna; Deir el-Bahri; Thebes.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	5
Introduction	5
1.1 Hypothesis	6
1.2 Methodology	6
1.3 Sources	7
1.4 Composition	9
Chapter 2	11
Artistic overview of ancient Egyptian art	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Sources for ancient Egyptian Art	19
2.3 Conclusion	35
Chapter 3	37
Chronological history of ancient Egyptian Art	37
3.1 Predynastic Egypt (ca 5000-3100BC)	37
3.2 The Early Dynastic Period (ca 3100-2686BC; Dynasties I – II)	38
3.3 Old Kingdom (ca 2686-2181BC; Dynasties III-VI)	42
3.4 First Intermediate Period (ca 2181-2040BC; Dynasties VII - X)	55
3.5 Middle Kingdom (ca 2040-1650BC; Dynasties XI – XIII)	58
3.6 Second Intermediate Period (ca 1750-1550BC; Dynasties XIII – XVII)	72
3.7 New Kingdom (ca 1550-1069BC; Dynasties XVIII – XX)	73
3.8 Conclusion	102
Chapter 4	105
The roles of elite women of the New Kingdom	105
4.1 Introduction	105
4.2 King's Wife	112
4.3 Female Pharaoh	118
4.4 Co-Regent	120
4.5 King's Mother	121
4.6 King's Secondary Wife	122
4.7 King's Daughter	123
4.8 King's Sister	125
4.9 Religious Roles	126
4.10 Roles of elite women during festivals and rituals	132
4.11 Elite women in War	134
4.12 Diplomatic Roles	136
4.13 Conclusion	137

Chapter 5	139
Profiles of elite women of the New Kingdom	139
5.1 Ahhotep	139
5.2 Ahmose-Nefertari	141
5.3 Ahmose-Merytamun	145
5.4 Ahmose	146
5.5 Hatshepsut	147
5.6 Neferura	155
5.7 Tiaa	156
5.8 Mutemwiya	157
5.9 Queen Tiye	157
5.10 Nefertiti (Nefertiti-Neferneferaten)	161
5.11 Ankhesenamen (Ankhesenpaaten)	168
5.12 Kiya	169
5.13 Mutnodjmet	170
5.14 Tuya, Mother of Ramesses II	172
5.15 Nefertari	173
5.16 Isetnofret	176
5.17 Merytamun	178
5.18 Tawosret	181
5.19 Wives of Ramesses III	183
5.20 Wives of the Later Ramesside Monarchs	183
5.21 Conclusion	184
Chapter 6	185
Conclusion	185
Bibliography	187
Appendix A - Ancient Egyptian Chronology	201
Appendix B - The Museums	213
Appendix C - List of Figures	219

Chapter 1

Introduction

From the earliest times, all civilisations have undergone change. Metamorphosis in one part of a cultural system resulted in fluctuation in other parts of that system (Haviland 1996:418). Cultural change is therefore “a change within a certain society/community, which is adopted by the whole people or group as their own” (Vermaak 2002:3). Such changes were infrequent in ancient Egypt since continuity was preferred with earlier periods of history, being visualized as ideal. For centuries, no direct cultural change took place until the arrival of the Hyksos (ca. 1800BC) who introduced a new political structure (Shaw *et al.* 2003:136). Ancient Egypt experienced a major cultural change during the New Kingdom, especially during the reign of Akhenaten. New Kingdom Egypt influenced the rest of the Ancient Near East due to her control of large parts of the Ancient Near East (Vermaak 2000:5). Therefore, it can be said that ancient Egyptian history displays examples of both cultural continuity as well as cultural change (Wilkinson 2003:12).

Social scientists have repeatedly observed that, when a society had gone through extensive change, it will have a changed structure with newly gained social relationships and with elevated status for the particular individuals in whom such changes are manifested. In ancient Egypt the changes that were experienced are reflected in contemporary artistic works (Vermaak 2002:5).

Art from ancient Egypt is a uniform and exact representation of the actual life of the day, the visual manifestation of societal values. It did not allow the craftsmen the degree of freedom of expression that is associated with Western artists. Representational art from the First Dynasty up to the end of the New Kingdom is a record of vast magnitude as well as reliable visual evidence of the social, political, religious and economic lifestyles of ancient Egyptian royalty. Multiple advances occurred in artistic works over the centuries resulting in detailed examples that, millennia later, can still be studied to evaluate the status of elite women.

The term “elite women” can be defined as those women who had positions in relation to the king. This relationship could have been through their family ties, a social relationship with the king or those women who occupied high ranks in the temple. Women married to high ranking officials were also recognised as “elite women”.

1.1 Hypothesis

According to Ruiz (2001:259) most of our information on the ancient Egyptian lifestyle can be gained from representational art. Aspects such as tombs, palace walls, obelisks and personal artefacts offer information on the lifestyles of the ancient Egyptians. Additional information is available via literature such as papyri and ostraca.

This study researches the detail of the subjects in artistic works, challenging the hypothesis that **elite women of the New Kingdom enjoyed an increased social status.**

Reliable and non-contradictory evidence in the artistic works was studied, leading to a conclusion that the life of elite women in the New Kingdom was significantly different, enhanced and exalted in comparison to that of elite women during earlier dynasties.

1.2 Methodology

In order to form a holistic view of the lifestyle of the ancient elite women, this study began with an extensive search and literature review of publications on the lifestyles of the ancient Egyptians in general. Typical sources consulted were publications from subject experts in books, journals, reviews and academic databases. From the initial review, it became evident that purpose or function is displayed in most Egyptian artistic works with females as their subject.

From conducting the literature review, a decision was made to narrow the primary research field by focussing the study on representational art. These artistic works (paintings, sculptures, reliefs and architecture¹) were then visually examined and analysed in the search for proof and evidence of the historical events, practices, roles, changes and rituals at the time when the object was created.

Typical activities engaged in during the primary research were to study and analyse the:

- physical appearances of elite women (i.e., dress code, hairstyles, jewellery, royal regalia, especially crowns and headdresses)
- poses of the subjects (sitting, standing, kneeling, frontality)
- facial expressions
- the subject's environment and position therein
- materials, composition and chronology of the objects

¹ Only the reliefs in temples and palaces were included in this study. Architecture as such was not researched.

The process of linking and relating the detail in the artefact with historical events, practices, roles, cultural changes and rituals proved to be very beneficial. This was specifically because argument and substantial evidence enabled the roles of elite women to be interpreted, classified and recorded.

The available evidence was then categorised and presented in two sections, accentuating the advances in the status of elite women of the New Kingdom. Chapter 4 focuses on the roles and Chapter 5 on the profiles of elite women of the New Kingdom. Both chapters extensively record the period when a certain status was gained.

A conclusion was then reached through comparing the status of elite women during earlier periods to that of their New Kingdom counterparts as evidenced by the representational artistic works.

1.3 Sources

1.3.1 Primary Resources

From the literature review (1.3.2) it became clear that primary research should be conducted focusing on an in-depth visual analysis of available museum artefacts. This research could offer evidence into the lifestyles of the women from the Predynastic to the Twentieth Dynasty, reflecting and recording events, practices, roles, changes and rituals at the time when the artefact was created.

Primary research was conducted by means of visual examination of selected objects and correlating the elements of the subject with the period in which the object was created. Specific attention was given to the statues, paintings and reliefs. Additional visual material was gathered from the sources studied in the secondary research and some of the photographs used in the dissertation were taken on various visits to museums in England as well as in Europe and Egypt.

It was considered necessary to visit the following museums during the period of this study to view appropriate objects both on public display as well as those stored in their vaults and warehouses of the museums. (See Appendix B: "The Museums".)

- Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England (2006)
- British Museum, London, England (2005,2006,2007, 2008)
- Ägyptische Museum, Berlin, Germany (2006)
- Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt (2007)
- Luxor Museum, Luxor, Egypt (2008)

- Museo Egizio, Turin, Italy (2007)
- Petrie Museum, University College London, England (2005,2006,2007, 2008)

The above visits to the various international museums resulted in opportunities to exchange views with subject experts and curators on the observations of this study.

A need for supplementary knowledge was addressed by attending the following short courses at various universities and academies:

- School of Continuing Education, University of Reading. 2005. "Archaeology of Writing". P Woodman.
- Bloomsbury Academy, University College of London. 2005. "Citizens and Subjects: Urban life from Egypt to Mesopotamia". Dr Paul Collins and Lucia Gahlin.
- Bloomsbury Academy, University College of London. 2005. "Hieroglyphic Course – 2005". Dr Mark Collier and Dr Bill Manley.
- School of Continuing Education, University of Reading. "Investigating Egyptian Objects". Rosalind Janssen. (Previous curator of the Petrie Museum).
- Bloomsbury Academy, University College of London. 2006. "Hieroglyphic Course – 2006". Dr Mark Collier and Dr Bill Manley.
- School of Continuing Education, University of Reading. 2007. "Objects in Egyptian Collections". Rosalind Janssen. (Former curator of the Petrie Museum).

1.3.2 Secondary Resources

The literature review was conducted, making use of books, articles and other publications by reputable Egyptologists, anthropologists, archaeologists etc to gain the best up-to-date information on the lifestyles of ancient Egyptian elite women. In particular the fundamental studies of Gay Robins – most notably her "*The Art of Ancient Egypt*" (1997) and "*Women in Ancient Egypt*" (1998) – had been extensively used, together with the more popular work of Joyce Tyldesley, recently appointed to a lectureship at the University of Manchester.

Older books were also consulted such as the 1908 "*Queens of Egypt*" by Janet Buttles to gain an insight into the assumptions made by earlier Egyptologists. These older books often formed the basis upon which new research conclusions were made and subsequently published.

In excess of 120 publications were studied and consulted as evidenced in the Bibliography.

Electronic databases and **Internet Websites** were mainly used to access professional organisations' official websites such as those of the Egyptian Exploration Society, museums

and universities. Information was therefore gained on archaeological excavations and the preservation of objects discovered during these excavations. Some of the photographs used in this dissertation were gained from electronic databases and internet websites. Care was taken at all times to use only official and trustworthy websites.

Journals and **Trade Magazines** are reliable sources that reflect the current opinions of professionals who are actively involved in the industry. Correlations were made with publications by subject experts over the past century on tomb and palace walls scenes, obelisks and personal artefacts. The sources mentioned in bibliographies of published articles were extensively checked and consulted.

1.4 Composition

Chapter 2 records the research done on the art of ancient Egypt, reflecting the lifestyles of the ancient Egyptians from the Predynastic Period up to and including the New Kingdom, specifically using the representational art on tombs-, palaces- and temple walls, obelisks, statues and personal artefacts as prime sources. Sufficient material was available to form a holistic overview which serves as the departure point for an in-depth study of these subjects in the later part of this study.

Chapter 3 is a chronology of the artistic works of the various dynasties: what advances, such as Amarna Art, were experienced and how the roles of the kings and elite women were portrayed in the artistic works. This chapter offers conclusive evidence, in the representational art, that there was a substantial difference between the status of elite women of the earlier dynasties and that of their New Kingdom counterparts.

An in-depth study was conducted into the roles of elite women and how these developed and matured over many dynasties, as recorded in **Chapter 4**. The aim was to discover a correlation between the implied elevation in the status of New Kingdom elite women and the roles they played in society, as reflected in the artistic works.

Profiles of elite women were created from the findings and provide evidence for their roles. These are recorded in **Chapter 5** and describe specific women with respect to their origin, ascension to a position of high status, the roles they played as well as their physical appearance, religious connotations and ultimate legacy.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusion of the study and the argument supporting the hypothesis that the status of elite women of the New Kingdom was both significantly different and elevated in comparison to that of their counterparts during earlier dynasties.

Chapter 2

Artistic overview of ancient Egyptian art

This chapter² documents the research into the art of ancient Egypt, from the Predynastic Period up to and including the New Kingdom. Specific attention is afforded as to how the various art works depict the lifestyle of the ancient Egyptians.

The subjects in these artistic works were analysed as unique resources concerning the status and lifestyles of elite women of this period. Representational art on tombs-, palaces- and temple walls, obelisks, statues and personal artefacts provided prime sources of information.

The chapter reflects the holistic overview of the subjects in ancient Egyptian art, by evaluating the lifestyles of the ancient Egyptians. This enables a continuous comparison³ between the statuses of elite women of the earlier dynasties with that of their New Kingdom counterparts.

2.1 Introduction

Bianchi (1995:2533-2554) defined three principles in Egyptian art, namely:

- “Egyptian art is the visual manifestation of societal values formulated by an elite representing less than five percent of the total population of the country;
- The art created for this elite was a canonical enterprise, conforming to established criteria that remained relatively invariable over time and that did not allow craftsmen the degree of freedom of expression that one associates with Western artists;
- As a visual means of expressing these societal values, Egyptian art may be regarded as an extension of the system of hieroglyphs, because the rules regulating the design of any given hieroglyph are precisely those governing the composition of any given visual images”.

Predynastic Egyptian artistic works developed from cave art to formal architectural and monumental aspects in the Old Kingdom. “Egyptian art is part of a cultural continuum that

² This chapter supplies background information on the development of art over the centuries as well as the appearance of elite women of the earlier dynasties in the artistic works.

³ These comparisons were made throughout the study and are recorded in the text rather than in a single table.

emerged during the Predynastic Period, centuries before Egypt became a unified kingdom” (Russman *et al.* 2001a:16).

Ancient Egyptian art is a uniform exact representation of actual life and nature that followed a set of rules established by the earlier rulers and artisans. The artistic works are characterised by simple lines and shapes, flat areas and colour that reflect the order that emerged from the art, influenced by elements such as deities, pharaohs, politics and religion and the environment (Crystal 2006). Aspects such as sunk (*relief en creux*) or raised (*bas-relief*) reliefs, statues including portraiture or architectural elements were all developed to represent humankind, nature and the environment (Erman 1971:398)

A three-dimensional art style, as the official art, is mainly visible in portraiture/statues and derives from the palace bureaucracy (Vermaak *et al.* 2000:4). These types of artistic works were produced in the frontalism style and particularly appeared where the statues were in set positions such as kneeling, standing, seating or striding.

Two-dimensional artistic styles are known as the non-official art that appears on potsherds, wall paintings, reliefs, etc (Vermaak *et al.* 2000:4). In most of the paintings the head of the character was drawn in profile, the complete eyes drawn in and the torso is seen from the front. The legs are turned to the same side as the head, with one foot placed in front of the other. The head is at right angles to the body. This pose is known as frontalism.

Vassilika (1995:1) is of the opinion that the face, limbs and lower part of the bodies were generally shown in profile in two-dimensional works. Mortals were always portrayed shorter than the deities and the rulers, females shorter than males, and children the smallest of all. Schäfer (1986:17) affirmed that facial features developed to a high quality of workmanship over the centuries. He further suggests that the artist never used a person that he knew to paint the faces.

Each dynasty produced its own style, form, colour, etc. Various poses and styles were developed over the years of which the so-called frontalism style⁴ was used throughout the Pharaonic Period. The style was especially popular under the pharaohs because it reflected their connection with the universe and the gods. It also reflected the pharaoh as a god himself. Akhenaten introduced a more relaxed and revolutionary pose into the frontalism

⁴ According to Schäfer (1986:312; 336), frontality in art can also mean “unconditional self-willed readiness to obey higher power” or the opposite “a superior dignity that demands respect”. Therefore, poses in sculptures often reflect these aspects. Schäfer quotes Julius Lange on his “law of frontality” which closely links frontality with symmetry and re-iterates the fact that these two aspects or “levels will always appear simultaneously in the physical form of the work although they can be separated where a “mathematical construction is used as a helping basis for a genuine work of art in perspective””.

style during the Amarna Period (Aldred 2004:172-173). By contrast, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties once again reflect the rigid form of the frontalism style.

According to Bianchi (1995:2533-2554), the stereotype male figure of ancient Egyptian art became an artistic icon. Figures were portrayed striding forward, with hands beside the body or one hand across the chest and the other beside the body. (See Figure 21). The same pose was used in seated figures as can be seen in Figure 23 (Russman *et al.* 2001a:16). Most of the statues were attached to a backpillar (introduced in the Fourth Dynasty) which was normally inscribed. (See Figure 21 for the backpillar). The inscriptions, according to Russman *et al.* (2001a:16), contained a prayer and the name and titles of the owner (Bianchi 1995:2533-2554). The inscriptions reflect the cultural concerns of the elite and do not concern the person as he or she was envisaged as part of larger society. The real purpose of the backpillar is debatable and according to Russman *et al.* (2001a:16) it could merely be symbolic. However, this cannot be confirmed.

The artistic works were initially designed to be symbolic and to convey a message from either the gods or the kings to the Egyptian people. Hieroglyphic inscriptions⁵, designs, colour and materials are all elements that formed part of these symbolic depictions. By understanding these symbols, ancient Egyptian art conveys the real meaning of the object (Wilkinson 1994:8). The artistic works are unique in their appearance as they often convey simplicity and complexity at the same time. Each piece was commissioned with a specific purpose in mind such as immortality and guidance to the afterlife. Robins (1986:255) indicates that art was subject to constant change, resulting in variations that occurred in relief style, proportions of the human body and the modelling of the body in two- and three dimensional forms.

The pharaoh was the powerful master of the universe and was loved, worshipped and venerated by his subordinates. As the god among humans he was not represented on the same levels as the rest of his family because this would “diminish his real stature in life” (De Beler 1997:28). Therefore, physical representations of the king were extremely important as he was the son of the god, the privileged intermediary between gods and humans and responsible for the order of Ma'at (De Beler 1997:28). Ruiz (2001:263) has commented that most of the personal images developed by the artists illustrate the figure of the ruler in the

⁵ Hieroglyphs were the earliest form of the Egyptian script and the longest-lived. The first hieroglyphs appeared during the late Predynastic Period and they lasted until AD394, a time span of three and a half thousand years. Hieroglyphs were confined to religious and monumental contexts. The signs are mainly pictorial or iconic in character. Over the years, new signs were developed due to innovations such as the horse and chariot or a new type of sword. Improvements in existing hieroglyphs were constantly experienced. Hieroglyphic writing became an integral part of ancient Egyptian artistic works appearing in the form of incised reliefs on monuments, statues and wall paintings.

prime of life – young, virile, strong and perfectly healthy. The supreme wish of every mortal was to forever stay young. It was of the utmost importance for an Egyptian king to be seen as flawless, handsome with an athletic, muscular body (Tyldesley 2001:29). (See Figures 46 & 47). The heroic portrayal of the pharaoh was often associated with the Homeric type hero and therefore colossal statues of kings and queens dominated the religious sites. The great temples in the main cities and the colossal funerary structures reflect the ambitions and ideologies of the pharaohs (Aldred 2004:142).

Ancient Egyptian art contrasts with modern art as the latter expresses the creator's/artist's imagination, emotions etc. By contrast, Egyptian art developed to reflect the desire of how people wished to be, whether it was as a living human being in the afterlife or under the influence of the gods. Ancient Egyptian art was never meant to be decorative. F MacDonald (1999:6), H Wilson (1997:142) and G Robins (1986:7) all emphasised the fact that all Egyptian art had a purpose and that it was not the intention to imitate accurate images of men and women but to reflect:

- the king's ideology;
- foreign/diplomatic relationships resulting in the expansion of Egypt's frontiers and the gain of wealth
- a reflection of the king's relationships with his immediate family such as his mother, his queen consort or principal wife, and his daughters
- the queen as an icon of the state

According to Schäfer (1986:9), Egyptian art “exists from a certain point in the known historical period, onwards, and this point is close to 2700BC”. He further suggests that there is a possibility that earlier art, which formed the base of later Egyptian art, was introduced by foreign peoples such as the Asians or the Libyans. This statement implies that there was only one route from Babylonia to Greece – via Syria, Asia Minor, the islands and Egypt, resulting in the spreading of culture that included various art techniques. This suggests a substantial influence of Egyptian art on neighbouring and foreign countries and vice versa. Schäfer (1986:9) further suggests that Egypt is the only ancient civilisation to observe the development in art while Vassilika (1995:1) proposes that ancient Egyptian art “has been viewed as the most visually evocative of ancient societies and, at the same time, the most conservative”.

Purpose or function was the ideal displayed in most of the female Egyptian sculptures. Their representation in the artistic works was a symbol of their functions in life as well as the connection between their dress codes and their roles (Schlossman *et al.* 1976:349).

The power of the ancient Egyptians is displayed to the outside world by means of beautiful buildings, carvings, paintings, clothes, jewellery etc. Both Robins (1986:7) and Wilson (1997:143) suggest that the decoration of tombs and temples had a ritual purpose and that it reflected the major figures of the tomb owner, namely the king and the gods. Women portrayed on formal tomb paintings of the Old- and Middle Kingdoms suggest that their main task was that of a wife and mother. From the New Kingdom onwards, elements of woman's role as queen (or king) were reflected in the artistic works and the aspect of only mother and wife became a secondary feature. Elite women were never portrayed working, in total contrast to slave girls and ordinary women. MacDonald (1999:6) states that the artistic works clearly reflect the differences between men and women, emphasizing male power and dominance in society. Her statement is supported by the fact that sculptures of women (frequently) and children (during the Old- and Middle Kingdoms) were smaller, reflecting their subordinate role to their husbands. During the New Kingdom, however, women's roles changed as they appeared more and more on the social scenes leading to them mostly being represented on precisely the same scale as their husbands (Seawright 2001).

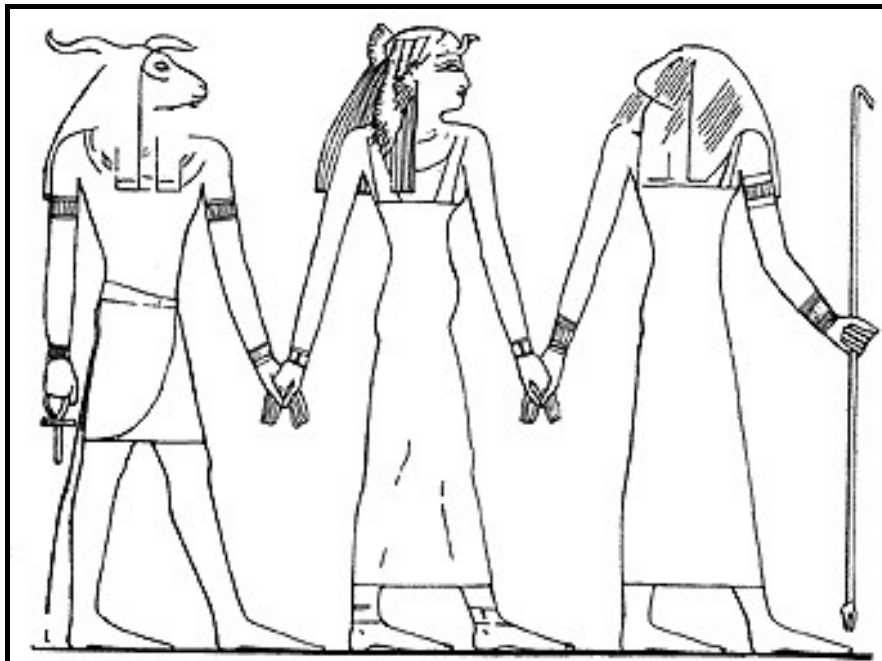


Figure 1: Line drawing of a pregnant Queen Ahmose on her way to the birth room (Seawright 2000)⁶

⁶ The original painting has faded so much that a line drawing is used to represent the picture. The original painting is on the birth colonnade in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri.

Even during pregnancy (as can be seen in Figure 1 of the pregnant queen Ahmose) paintings were carefully and evasively drawn. The stomach of the queen is shown as only slightly rounded. The drawing derives from the temple of Deir el-Bahri where she is seen led to the birth room by the deities Khnum⁷ and Heqet⁸. Ahmose is shown dressed in a sheath dress with straps over the shoulders and wears the vulture cap over the tripartite wig (Seawright 2000). All three figures are in the frontal style. In total contrast with the original depiction of the physical appearance of the king of ancient Egypt, Akhenaten introduced a more natural style in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The royal family as well as his subjects were portrayed in unusual, unflattering ways. Statues of the royal couple and private statues emphasised the deformation of the body. Hieroglyphs of this period, however, do not reflect the new artistic styles (Seawright 2000).

Appearance was important, and hairstyles, clothing and headdresses could portray status, role in society and political stance. Female dress codes, jewellery, make-up and headdresses became important aspects of their daily physical appearance. Such aspects mentioned above were also noticeable on the images of elite women (Schäfer 1986:16). Eighteenth Dynasty women were also often portrayed with items such as fruit⁹, animals or birds in their hands.

The physical appearance of any civilisation is reflected by its approach towards clothing, hairstyles, make-up, jewellery, etc. Even the people of ancient civilisations acknowledged the above elements as fundamental. Cleanliness was an important aspect that contributed to the physical appearance of the ancient Egyptians (Freed *et al.* 1982:199). The reason was the dry, hot climate. Notably, in the temples the priests had to wash themselves in the sacred lake before entering the sanctuary of the god (Sauneron 2000:36). Cleaning was done by using the water of the Nile as well as perfumed oil. The perfumed oil¹⁰ was particularly popular with elite women who used it to rub into their skins.

According to Tiradritti (2004:50), the female figure was portrayed in art, throughout the whole of the Pharaonic history, as eternal with permanent youth and the archetypal beauty. An

⁷ Khnum was the god of Elephantine, of fertility, water and as the great potter he created children and was the *ka* at their conception. He also assisted Heqet during the birthing process (Lurker 1998:64)

⁸ Heqet was the female complement of Khnum and acted as a divine midwife during the birth (Lurker 1998:62)

⁹ The pomegranate was especially important as it was a symbol of love and fertility. During the Amarna Period, the women of the royal family replaced goddesses who were associated with love and fertility (Nelson Atkins Museum, Kansas City).

¹⁰ Oils and unguents were made of incense, aromatic wood, myrrh, coconut and other plant materials as well as animal fat. In the tomb of Tutankhamen a jar of oil was found which was analysed in 1926 and consisted of an animal fat and spikenard (component of incense). Spikenard was not native to Egypt and was probably imported from the Himalaya region. Oils that were used in the mummification process also contained natron (Website of Tour Egypt).

exception is the portrayal of Nefertiti as a middle age woman (Figure 42). The representation of the female body could be related to fertility, and it was used to relay “the ideal of eternity upon which the whole of Egyptian culture was premised and the promise of perpetual reincarnation” (Tiradritti 2004:50), Seawright (2001) suggests that during the Old and Middle Kingdoms women were sometimes portrayed on smaller scales, an aspect that changed dramatically during the New Kingdom when women enjoyed a larger prominence in society as mirrored on the representational art. The importance of status was always reflected in the placing and sizes of the figures with the tomb owner the tallest, followed by his consort; secondary wives and children were on a slighter smaller scale. Servants were always portrayed as the smallest since they were at the bottom of the society ladder (Wilson 1997:143).

Wilson (1997:143) emphasises the fact that tomb paintings were never meant to be seen by the human eye once the tomb was sealed since it was built only for the benefit of the owner and his family. The scenes in the tombs often portrayed the good things in life such as continuous sunshine and abundant harvests (Wilson 1997:143). The paintings also honoured the gods and the king.

The sun, the Nile, the gods, death, birth and the afterlife were important aspects of the culture, all being reflected in the lifestyles of the ancient Egyptians as well as in their art. The annual inundation of the Nile was regarded as a miracle and formed a large part of the Egyptian’s daily lifestyle since all living creatures and plants were depended on this phenomenon. The two names the ancient Egyptians gave to their country, *Kemet* (black land) and *Desheret* (red land) reflected the cosmic struggle between the forces of order and the forces of chaos of which Osiris represented the ordered world while Seth epitomised chaos (Robins 1997:14). An anthropomorphic religion existed where the gods were often portrayed with the heads of animals or birds: the cow (Hathor), lion (Sekhmet), crocodile (Sobek), falcon (Horus), hippopotamus (Taweret) and ibis (Thoth) (Hart 2004:76, 187, 201, 87, 210, and 214). The regular cycle of the seasons where planting and harvesting are linked in a continual battle with the river, contributed to the spiritual life of the ancient Egyptians (Lurker 2002:14).

Other characteristics and/or subjects of ancient Egyptian art, include animal life, plants and water. All three elements played an important role in daily life.

The two flowers (papyrus and lotus) symbolised the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt. They were often represented in architecture, especially on the top of columns or above door frames. In many cases the column would form the stem of the plant with the flower on the top. Schäfer (1986:22) has also suggested that, towards the end of the New Kingdom,

flowers were used extensively for decoration on various artistic works such as wall- and floor tiles. Flowers became also motifs for jewellery. Lotus flowers were also used in a funerary context since they symbolised the deceased person as he or she entered the underworld and was also reborn (Shaw *et al.* 2003:164). Water lilies were associated with the sun-god, Re. Ancient artists depicted the “youthful morning sun, in the form of the god Nefertem, emerging from a lotus flower” (Howard 1999). In many of the tombs, the deceased person is shown with a lotus flower to the nose, symbolising the inhaling of “divine perfume” (Shaw *et al.* 2003:164). The scent of the flowers also indicated the presence of the god. The lotus and papyrus further symbolised the primeval waters of Nun from which the ancient Egyptians believed life began.

The papyrus, on the other hand, was the symbol of fertility and therefore associated with the Hathor cult (Schäfer 1986:21). It was also known as the epitome of things green, young, fresh and new. Green was a lucky colour and the papyrus stem was used to represent the idea of good fortune and health (McDevitt 1997-2000). The colour “green” was also associated with Osiris since he bore the epithet “The Great Green” (Lurker 2002:50).

Before completion of any artistic work, be it sculptures or reliefs, the product had to go through a religious ritual called the Opening of the Mouth. This ritual would re-animate the deceased person and was carried out in the temples. It bestowed the capacity to support the living *ka*, and allowed it to receive offerings. According to Parsons (1999) it was performed on cult statues of gods, kings, and private individuals, as well as on the mummies of both humans and Apis bulls. It was even performed on the individual rooms of temples and on the entire temple structure. The ritual allowed the mummy and statue, to eat, breathe, see, hear and enjoy the offerings and provisions presented by the priests.

By studying the earlier paintings of the ancient Egyptians a conclusion can be drawn that the earthy colours of the land such as red, orange and brown influenced the artistic works. Colour was used to improve these works: to enlighten the objects of daily life as well as those items destined for the afterlife. By making use of colour, the ancient Egyptians established a unique element in artistic works that was not visible in any other culture of antiquity (James 1994:5). Schäfer (1986:71) suggests that colour was applied to represent the colours of the object as seen from a close view. The earthy colours of the land, yellow and brown, were also used to paint the difference between men and women (Schäfer 1986:71).

Smith (1998:1-3) argues that the ancient Egyptians' views on death, afterlife and rebirth resulted in the application of naturalistic elements in their artistic works and that Mesopotamia, to the contrary, moved away from natural forms in sculptures and more

towards formal patterns. Smith (1998:1-3) also argues that the view of the ancient Egyptian towards death, afterlife and rebirth is closely “connected with the naturalistic elements in Egyptian art and is primarily responsible for the impulse to produce portraiture which is a feature of the best of Egyptian sculpture”.

2.2 Sources for ancient Egyptian Art

According to Ruiz (2001:259) most of our information on the Egyptian lifestyle can be readily obtained from representational art. Aspects such as tombs, palace walls, obelisks and personal artefacts supply this information needed. The remainder of the information is available to us via textual sources: papyri and ostraca of which the earliest examples are the hieratic temple account books from Fifth Dynasty Abusir. Paintings inside tombs were carefully designed but were not composed to illustrate balance and unity since they were not exposed to everyone. Indeed they had to “be capable of magical activation on behalf of the tomb owner” (James 1994:17).

2.2.1 Wall/Ceiling Decorations

Thousands of tombs, necropoleis, mastabas, rock-cut tombs, pyramids and simple sand graves were found in Egypt from the north to the south. All with one purpose: to prepare the deceased person for his/her journey to the afterlife (De Beler 1996:76). For the ancient Egyptians, the finalé of life on earth was the beginning of a new life: the afterlife, where the soul would dwell in the heavens and on earth.

Pyramids (according to De Beler 1996:76) can thus be seen as a symbolic stairway to heaven, enabling the deceased pharaoh to join the sun-god, Re in the sky. The type of burial clearly indicates the status of the owner - the wealthier the owner, the more elaborate his/her grave/tomb. The sarcophagi, deep inside the tomb, originally contained richly decorated coffins with the mummy of the deceased person resting inside the inner coffin. However, most of these are no longer *in situ*.

The covering of wall-surfaces with scenes representing the ruler's relationship with the gods also served as a glorification of the king's activities on earth as well as representing the recreation of life for the deceased (Smith 1998:3). According to Wilkinson *et al.* (1996:33) wall- and ceiling decorations in tombs reflect the eternal world of the deceased king *viz.* the cosmos. These decorations¹¹ consist of paintings and/or carvings. Carvings could consist

11 The New Kingdom and Late Period delivered artistic works made from harder stone such as sandstone, granite and quartzite. There were three stages of decoration in relief carving: first, each scene was drawn in colour on the stone surface, including the hieroglyphs in the inscription. Secondly, the outline of each figure carved and the background cut away. Thirdly, a final carving of the figures diminishes the outlines and shaped the inside details. The surfaces were flattened and

of either raised or sunk relief although the latter was more popular inside tombs. The incised (sunk) reliefs were often painted. Images or hieroglyphs were either done in sunk relief (previously known as *relief en creux*, now known as incised relief) or raised reliefs (*relief bas*) or often both (Aldred 2004:27). Sunk reliefs were mostly used on outside walls that were directly exposed to the sun, although raised reliefs could also be used. This type of relief was popular in the Amarna Period. Tomb scenes often represented the idealised versions of recurrent events and everyday happenings such as annual rituals, harvesting of grain and cyclical events that included birth, death and rebirth. Such scenes enabled the deceased to be kept secure in his/her family surroundings (Russman *et al.* 2001g:73).

Wall paintings in the tombs of the New Kingdom, excluding those of El Amarna, display the following:

- the journey of the sun beneath the earth (Eighteenth Dynasty)
- an emphasis on the importance of Osiris and the other gods as well as the journey of the sun in the heavens (Nineteenth Dynasty)
- the sun's journey through the earth and the heavens (Twentieth Dynasty).

The characteristics of reliefs during the reign of Amenhotep III reflect a new approach with raised or very deeply cut carvings. Figures of the king show a youthful appearance and over large, slanting eyes. The El Amarna tomb scenes mainly depict the relationship of the royal family with the sun-disc, the Aten (Wilkinson 1996:35).

The tomb walls also contained spells from the "Book of the Dead", instructions to the deceased person for his journey to the afterlife. These texts started off as Pyramid Texts (Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period), the Coffin Texts (Middle Kingdom) and the Book of the Dead (New Kingdom). Paintings on tomb walls and grave goods, however, are a better source of information on the daily life of the subordinates, although they also reflect religious aspects. (Russman *et al.* 2001a:17).

With the dawn of the New Kingdom, a drastic change was experienced when Thutmosis I introduced a new concept for funerary complexes (Wilkinson 2002:91). Pyramids were no longer in use. The tombs were separated from the funerary temples and were cut into the

smoothed. The outline of the scene was then drawn upon grid lines which were laid out in designs before the artisans started carving. Aldred (2004:28) implies that where painted reliefs could not be used because the surfaces were too weak to take the chiselling, paintings were executed on plastered surfaces.

cliffs on the west side of the Nile opposite Thebes. These new tombs became known as the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens¹² (Siliotti 1996:13).

2.2.2 Statues/Portraiture

The portraiture of the ancient Egyptians is probably the earliest type of this art form in the world that has survived. Russman *et al.* (2001b:32) argues that the ancient Egyptians could therefore be seen as the inventors of portraiture.

Edwards (1891:113-157) was of the opinion that ancient Egyptian sculpture developed from funerary representations since these images were found in tombs, representing the dead. Such images were not supposed to be exposed to the living. Schäfer (1986:17) indicates that the development of portraiture changed to be statuary very early in the history of ancient Egypt. He supports the opinion of Edwards that sculptures were originally associated with the cult of the dead where offerings were made to the deceased person.

Ranke (1935:45) supports both Edwards and Schäfer by suggesting that the tomb statue was seen as the new dwelling place of the soul if the body should perish, which of course happened, even with mummification. Apart from tomb statues, royal and private statues were placed in temples from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Statues of non-royal individuals served as a memorial to the deceased and often joined the royal statuary to act as intermediaries between the people and the gods (Wilkinson 2000:63). Statues were not created as decoration, but rather to play a primary role in the cults of the gods, the king and the dead. They were “designed as places where these beings could manifest themselves in order to be the recipients of ritual actions” (Gay Robins 1996:19). Therefore, statues were made from a material that was desirable such as quartz, travertine, gneiss and greywacke. During the Middle Kingdom, temple statues consisted only of male figures apart from a statue of the mother of the vizier Ankhu. The situation changed during the New Kingdom when statues of women were also included in the statuary of the temples (Wilkinson 2000:63).

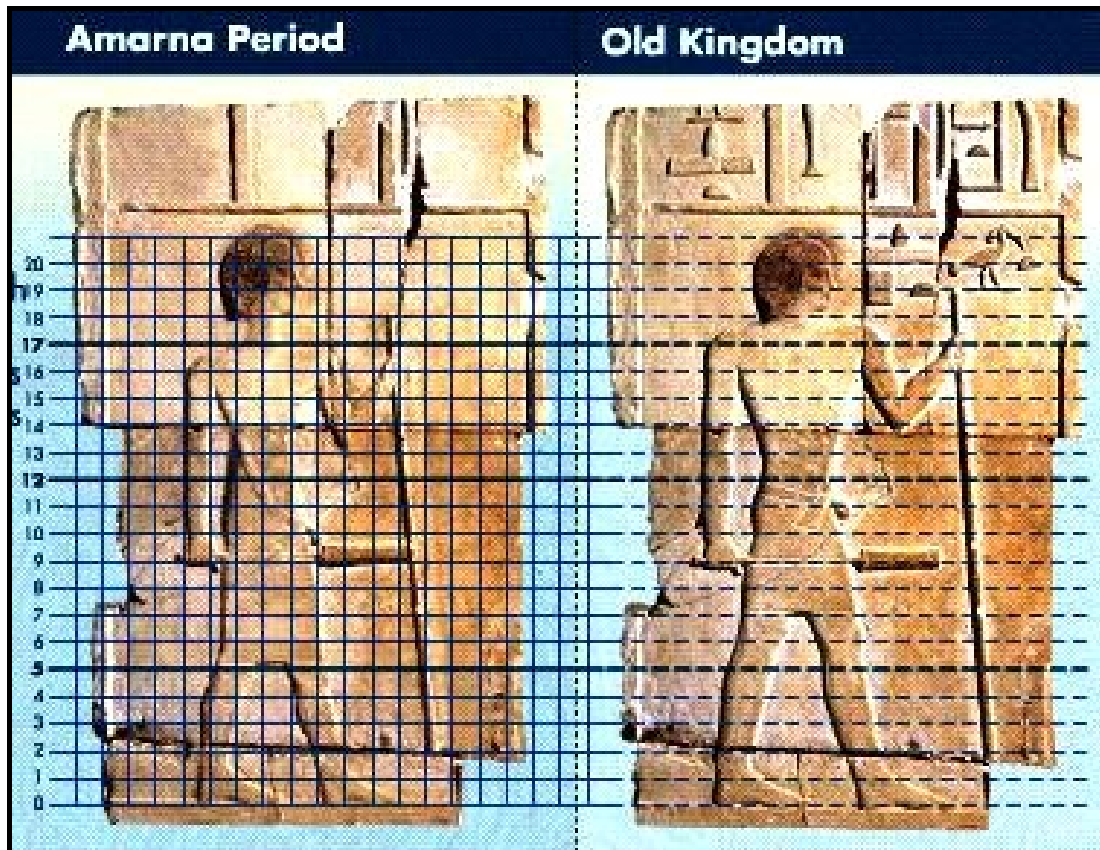
¹² Approximately eighty tombs have been found so far in the Valley of the Queens and sixty three tombs in the Valley of the Kings (Siliotti 1996:13).



Figure 2: Statue of Khasekhem – Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

The first proper statues can probably be dated back to the Predynastic Period. Some of these statues were crudely made while others such as those of Second Dynasty King, Khasekhem (Figure 2), were perfectly made from stone, particularly limestone. Those statues that did survive were few in number and severely damaged as can be seen in this damaged statue of Khasekhem (Schäfer 1986:12; Aldred 2004:44).

The development of statues as an art form can probably be ascribed to the fact that the demand for tomb and temple statuary increased due to wealth and prosperity - aspects that were “reflected in the technical progress of the arts” (Aldred 2004:44). Wealth also enabled the government to open sandstone quarries on the banks of the Nile at Gebel es-Silsileh to supply sufficient material for such statuary (Aldred 2004:143).



Figures 3 and 4: Gridforms – Brooklyn Museum, New York

Figures were laid out in three-dimensional style on a grid¹³ consisting of seventeen squares between the soles of the feet and the upper eyelid. (Figures 3 & 4). Details of the work were meticulously drawn according to the grid pattern, and the results were both graceful and elegant. The craftsmen worked according to a framework that allowed them to produce sculptures of a high order and strict conventions of form, body proportions and styles were followed (James *et al.* 1989:10). According to Azarpay (1995:2507-2519) certain points of the body had to relate to particular grid lines. The grid was a useful guide but although fixing of the body parts by the artist could vary and could be changed. In the Late Period, a twenty-one squared grid line was introduced, resulting in a longer body and a shortening of the legs. This related to the New Kingdom styles but the proportions were still based on the Old and Middle Kingdom forms (Vassilika 1995:2). The portrayal of more than one figure in the work led to the placing of all the figures either on the same grid or on different grids, depending on the outlay and result of the individual piece. Robins (1997:151) further suggests that the

¹³ In sculptures, the grid system was also used making use of fourteen squares from the sole to the hairline. Robins suggests (1986:33) that the grid system was designed to ensure correct proportions for the human figure, but it could have been used for other items as well. Small figurines could develop into large statues.

artefact changes during the Amarna Period resulted in a change in the grid to adapt the proportions of figures whereas the standing figure was permitted to be only eighteen squares in earlier periods, the revised proportions demanded a total of twenty squares to fit the new dimensions (Robins 1997:151).

Wilson (1997:142) implies that all art works were produced according to strict rules that influenced the conventions of shape, colour, canon and proportions. These factors make Egyptian art recognizable and differentiate it from any other artistic works.

Statues often formed part of a building and from the Old Kingdom onwards, statuary formed part of walls and columns. Statues of the king comprise a magical representation: the connection between the god and the ruler. Such statues were portrayed in the contemporary style and are the official art form (Aldred 2004:124). The features of the king were the archetype of royal portraits. This practice, according to James *et al.* (1989:11) was “distinctly self-glorificatory” and was mainly found during the New Kingdom.

Private statues were popular where the man and his wife are portrayed together with the woman embracing her husband. An aspect, which is often confusing, is the fact that often when women were portrayed with men the relationship between the statues cannot immediately be determined. The only way to solve this aspect is by deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions (Robins 1986:27).

The creation of private sculptures¹⁴ required royal permission, and it was a matter of what the relationship was between the king and the commissioner of the art work that influenced permission for the task (James *et al.* 1989:12). Schäfer (1986:16) implies that “votive” statues are the representations of their owners in life and death and the ancient Egyptians believed that by offering to these sculptures, their owners could benefit from a divine intervention either directly or indirectly. Most of the statues were not exposed to the populace except for the colossal ones. Such statues personified the deceased person in which, according to religious beliefs, the *ba* of the deceased dwelt. They are known as funerary or mortuary statues (James *et al.* 1989:10).

Statues were always placed in niches, shrines or gates where their frontality could be seen. The frontal pose of the sculptures, whether standing, seating or kneeling, reflects the three-dimensional elements (Robins 1996:21). Ancient Egyptian representations, whether sculptured in two- or three dimensions, were always accompanied by hieroglyphic (“the words of the gods”) text (Wilkinson 2003:9). Inscriptions on the statues were therefore, highly significant and consisted of prayers and the identity of the owner (James *et al.*

¹⁴ A “private sculptor” is defined as a sculpture belonging to a non-royal person, possibly a high official or somebody that could afford private sculptures (Robins 1997:38).

1989:10). Names on statues were of vital importance and by changing the name, the identity of the person represented, also changed. Examples are the images of Hatshepsut that were destroyed by her successor, Thutmosis III (Dorman *et al.* 2005:267).

Robins (1986:27) believed that formal scenes always carried a ritual purpose since they depict the worlds of the gods and the dead. Royal sculptures became part of architecture and were found in temples where the king as high-priest performed the cult activities in honour of the specific deity.



*Figure 5: Seneb and family – Egyptian Museum, Cairo*¹⁵

¹⁵ Seneb and his family are shown here on a limestone statue that dates back to the Fifth Dynasty. His wife is embracing him, suggesting protection. Their two children are placed in front of Seneb, making his deformity less apparent and acting as his legs. Seneb was a high official during the reign of Pepy I and was responsible for the textile workers. The skin colour of Seneb and his son differ from that of his wife and daughter - Seneb and his little boy are painted in the reddish-brown paint associated with males. His wife and daughter are painted in a lighter colour, reflecting the principle used for painting women. The pose of both children is typical: one finger in the mouth and a characteristic side-lock.

Facts such as illnesses and deformity were never shown. Dwarfs, normally seen as deformed, were an exception but were treated differently according to representational art and texts (Kozma 2005:303-311). (See Figure 5). They enjoyed, in many respects, a lavish lifestyle since they were employed by the pharaohs as personal attendants, animal tenders, jewellers and entertainers. Dwarfs enjoyed high rank in society and therefore were often buried in lavish tombs close to the pyramids as was the case in the Old Kingdom. Well-known dwarfs were Seneb (Figure 5) and the gods, Ptah and Bes. Ptah was associated with regeneration and rejuvenation while Bes was the protector of sexuality, childbirth, women and children (Kozma, 2006:303-311).

Wilson (1997:143) believes that three-dimensional sculptures hold the spirit or essence of the subject they portrayed. Statues of kings and gods reflect various religious purposes whereas statuary and depictions of ordinary Egyptians were two-dimensional. The depiction had to be perfect, conveying the authority, wisdom, tolerance, piety etc. which made a person fit to enter the Realm of Osiris. Wilson (1997:143) further suggests that facial features were not linked to family characteristics but resembled the superficial characteristics of kingship. Age, stature and physical traits were never emphasised until the reign of Akhenaten who changed the perception of art forever.

Wilkinson (1994:35) suggests that statues of specific individuals with one leg advanced were often placed at the entrances of temples and false doorways to symbolize the deceased person emerging from the underworld to receive offerings. He also implies that royal statues in the striding form are the symbolic association with the god Osiris who the king would become once he journeyed to the underworld. This pose, developed during the Old Kingdom, became the typical stance of the Egyptian noble and successful male figure: feet apart and forward, hands beside the body, head facing forward (See Figures 46 & 47 for an example of the typical male figure pose).

We can conclude that during the New Kingdom, sculptures represented expressive styles: traditional and idealistic. A new style was introduced by Amenhotep III and followed by his son, Amenhotep IV, (Akhenaten) namely to portray a more realistic image and to emphasised the solar cult of the Aten in the artistic works (Robins 1997:149). Akhenaten's images, which were removed from monuments, reflect the tendency to return to the canonical images of the pre-Amarna period (Bianchi 2000:40). The subsequent style of the later Eighteenth Dynasty underwent three phases. Firstly, the statues were grotesque and exaggerated features were used to portray the king; secondly, these exaggerated features became more relaxed, and thirdly, in the late Amarna period the same artistic concepts were used but with a more softened approach (Cultural and Natural Heritage Egypt 2005)

The royal statuary contained some of the finest achievements in Egyptian sculpture (James *et al.* 1989:12). The later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty displays a more natural and realistic style, in contrast with the ideal style of the earlier years of this Period (Bianchi 2000:40).



Figure 6: Wife of ruler of Punt – Deir el-Bahri¹⁶

Obesity was not common in the ancient Egyptian art. The portrayal of the obese wife Ati¹⁷, of the ruler of Punt also known as Parehu (Figure 6) was therefore extraordinary to the ancient Egyptians (Roehrig *et al.* 2005c:152-153). Tyldesley (1995:24) believes that the obese wife of Punt was probably seen as unnatural and unwomanly by the workmen who carved her images on the walls of Deir el-Bahri. Obesity did not denote the athletic, handsome features that were needed to be a king, soldier, etc. A study of the various royal and non-royal images of the Amarna Period reveals that obesity was more acceptable during this period than ever before. (Also see the photo of an obese Hemiunnu, Figure 22).

2.2.3 Temple Architecture

Wilkinson (2000:16) implies that the origins of the ancient Egyptian temple is a mystery, although he makes suggestions that the first temples could have been dated back to 6000 years ago, based on evidence that was found on the Nabta Playa in Nubia, not far from Abu

¹⁶ The original carving is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, whereas a cast of the original is displayed on one of the walls at Deir el-Bahri. There is also a limestone ostrakon with a drawing of the Queen of Punt which is housed in the Ägyptische Museum, Berlin.

¹⁷ Tyldesley (1995:24) suggests that Ati, the wife of the ruler of Punt could have suffered from a syndrome called steatopygic. This means that the buttocks contain a great deal of fat.

Simbel (See Figure 51). Wilkinson describes the appearance of a stone-circle, probably used for symbolic and ceremonial functions, calling it a "proto-temple". The religious activities carried out at the site are unknown, although the inhabitants may have conducted rituals related to the cosmic cycles such as water, sun, earth, life and death (Wilkinson 2000:16).

The oldest preserved temple ruins date back to the Early Dynastic Period when a cult temple was built at Hierakonpolis (City of the Falcon). Wilkinson (2000:16) believes that Hierakonpolis was an important settlement in the Nile Valley and therefore served as a shrine for Upper Egypt during this period.

In Lower Egypt in the Nile Delta, Buto (Pe) was the equivalent of the temple at Hierakonpolis. Unfortunately, lesser archaeological evidence has found; so far this had prevented scholars from carrying out absolute dating (Wilkinson 2000:18; Renfrew *et al.* (2000:117). A third example of early temples is at the site of Abydos where large tombs of the First Dynasty kings are situated, suggesting funerary structures where sacral rituals in honour of the gods were performed. (<http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/-abydos/-abydoskingstombs.html>)

The Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples formed part of the pyramid complex, officially established during the reign of Khafre and associated with the cult of the sun-god, Re. During the Middle Kingdom, Mentuhotep II built a temple at Deir el-Bahri, a site that would later be associated with Hatshepsut (Wilkinson 2000:23).

During the New Kingdom, prosperity and wealth resulted in the building of various temples and religious complexes. Hatshepsut had her famous mortuary temple constructed at Deir el-Bahri, reflecting various aspects such as her divine birth, the journey to Punt and her relationships with her godly father Amun. It is during the reign of Amenhotep III that temple construction reached its peak. The New Kingdom pharaohs built their temples away from their tombs since pyramid building changed to the production of rock-cut tombs in the Valley of the Kings (Wilkinson 2000:24).

Akhenaten exploited the cult of the Aten during the Amarna Period and had temples built at his new city Akhetaten. The temples of El Amarna were decorated with scenes reflecting the new beliefs that Akhenaten introduced, namely the royal family in the presence of the Aten (Wilkinson 2000:45).

Ramses II was known for his temple building projects. Not only did he enlarge the Karnak Temple to its current size, but he also had temples built at Abu Simbel both for himself and his wife Nefertari (Wilkinson 2000:24). Wilkinson (2000:6) argues further that Egyptian temples are of the most outstanding monuments that have survived from the ancient world.

Structures such as the Great Temple of Karnak (the largest religious structure in the world) reflect the architectural designs, decorations, colossal statues and obelisks – art forms that can only be attributed to the ancient Egyptians.

Some of the temples were by the ancient Egyptians as “mansions of gods, models of Egypt and of the universe itself, focal points of Egyptian worship, portals to the divine and perhaps most colourfully, islands of order in a cosmic ocean of chaos” (Wilkinson 2000:6). Robins (1986:252) indicates that temples were places where deities could manifest themselves in their cult statues and where rituals, festivals and ceremonies were carried out by the king and/or the priests to appease the gods in exchange for maintaining the existence of the created world (Ma’at). The temple served as a theatre where symbolic rituals were enacted and where the myriad gods were fed and clothed to ensure the constituency of justice, order and balance.

Temple complexes often acted as fortresses, administrative centres of economic, governmental and commercial aspects, or as royal retreats. Schools and slaughterhouses were situated inside the temples and they were also places where science and scholarship flourished (Wilkinson 2001:7-8).

Researching temple decoration has led to the conclusion that temple art works exploited only the ideologies of the kings and therefore do not reveal information on Egyptian society at large. The decoration of the temple walls, obelisks and pylons mostly reflect the lifestyles of the monarchs, while the hieroglyphs give supporting evidence concerning their ideologies, victories and history.

2.2.4 Ostraca

Ostraca¹⁸ (Ostrakon, singular) is the Greek word that defines “potsherd”. Egyptian ostraca probably dated back to the early Predynastic Period when the first clay pots and vessels were made. Brunner-Traut (1979:1) suggests that ostraca can be found along the Nile Valley where the first settlements such as Badari and Naqada were established. Although writing was yet not developed, it can be assumed that the same images that appeared on the cave paintings were probably transferred to potsherds (Patch *et al.* 1990).

When writing was developed around 3500BC, potsherds or ostraca became the cheap version of papyri, used by schools to train future scribes to write and draw formal inscriptions in the hieratic script. Business aspects such as agricultural inventories, list of workers, private letters and formal literature (love poems and wisdom texts) all formed the subject of

¹⁸ It is generally accepted among Egyptologists that ostraca are a trusted source of information concerning the daily life of the ancient Egyptians.

Ostrakon (Brunner-Traut 1979:1). Ostraca was originally inscribed with the hieratic script which changed later to Demotic Script.

Alongside the written ostraca, figured examples were found, depicting gods¹⁹, goddesses²⁰, the pharaoh and his family, elite people, fauna and flora. Religious scenes painted on ostraca, similar to those found in the tombs of Ramesses V and VI, suggest acts of religious devotion such as votive offerings left by the tomb-builders.

Writing or painting was normally done with paint and a brush but incised potsherds have also been found (Brunner-Traut 1979:3). During the reign of Amenhotep III a new style was introduced when artists painted scenes where the paint was allowed to flow freely. Such paintings were unplanned and no corrections were made as these were not regarded as important.

Potsherds, limestone flakes, or pebbles were used although the latter were not a popular material. Flint and potsherds used for religious aspects were carefully selected and their edges were usually smoothed and trimmed. The ostraca could also bear the name of its creator or the donor (Brunner-Traut 1979:2).

According to Wilkinson (1996:32) an ostrakon reveals the thoughts and feelings of a particular person that created it, in contrast with formal autobiographical texts of the time. Malek (1999:333) argues that limestone ostraca could frequently contain advanced drawings and writing.

Most of the ostraca in museums were found in the rubbish heaps of the workmen's village on the West Bank of Luxor, Deir el-Medina. The museums of Cairo, Turin (Figure 7), Berlin, Stockholm and Brussels display very large numbers. The Petrie Museum in London (Figure 8) also houses nearly 80 ostraca.

¹⁹ Popular gods depicted on ostraca were Ptah, Bes and Thoth.

²⁰ Famous goddesses depicted on ostraca were Isis (Figure 8), Hathor, Taworet, Bes and Meretseger the cobra goddess.

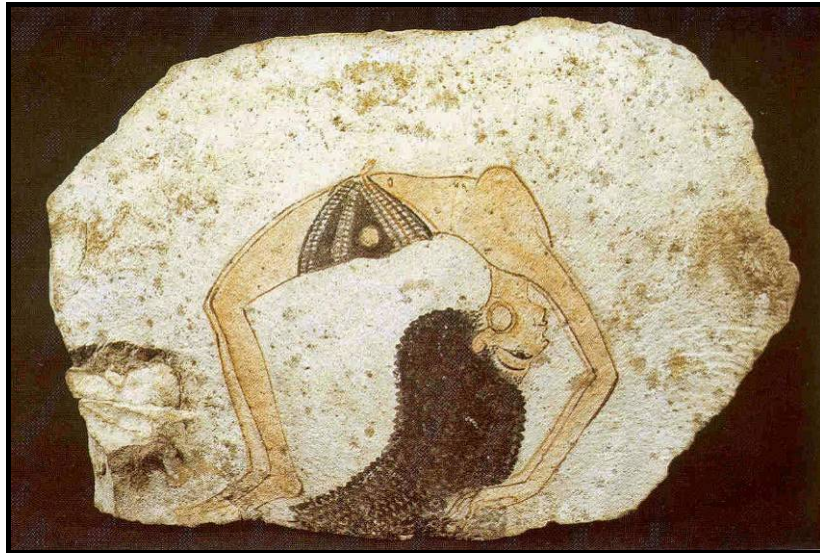


Figure 7: Dancer – Museo Egizio, Turin

One of the most well-known limestone ostraca of the New Kingdom is that of an acrobatic dancer (Figure 7). Bending backwards, her hands touch and her long, curly hair sweeps the floor. She is dressed only in a loincloth, her upper body being naked.



Figure 8: Ostracon showing the goddess Isis – Petrie Museum, London

Figure 8 is an example of a limestone ostracon of Isis from the Petrie Museum, London. The red outline grid is visible. The ostracon reflects the importance the gods and goddesses

played in the daily life of the ancient Egyptians, both royal and non-royal. This ostrakon shows the goddess, Isis, in a kneeling posture with her winged arms outstretched. She was often portrayed with her winged arms embracing the pharaoh or the deceased person (in depictions in private tombs), reflecting her protective attributes. She holds a sheaf of lotus flowers in each hand. These symbols of the sun and rebirth are the emblem of Upper Egypt. The lotus played an important role in the creation myths of the Heliopolitan religious system. It was believed that the sun was enfolded by the lotus flower at night and in the morning was released by the lotus flower to be reborn (Shaw *et al.* 1995:164). The figure of Isis is painted in frontally – the torso to the front, while the head and the knees are facing left. She is dressed in a tight-fitting dress and around her neck is the broad collar (Hart 2004:101). The lotus flowers are large and out of proportion in comparison with the smaller body. Her name originally meant “seat” relating to the hieroglyph, the throne. On the ostrakon, the throne headdress is clearly visible and became her special symbol from the New Kingdom onwards. The provenance of the ostrakon is not known, although it most likely derives from the Deir el-Medina area.

As the archetypal Egyptian wife and mother, Isis became the symbolical mother of the king. She became the link between the deities and royalty since the king was the human manifestation of the god Horus. In daily life of ancient Egypt, Isis was also the protector of the young and was often called upon during accidents or injuries. She was worshipped as the goddess of rebirth, medicine and wisdom. She taught women to grind corn, make bread, spin flax and weave cloth. Isis was also known as the “Eye of Re” (Lurker 2002:72).

During the New Kingdom, Isis was associated with Hathor and adopted the physical attributes of Hathor: the cow's horns and the sun-disc (Lurker 1980:72). The cult of Isis spread beyond the borders of Egypt to countries such as Syria and Italy in the post-Pharaonic periods where her popularity exceeded that of the cult of Osiris. Temples were built in her honour in Egypt of which the most famous is on the Island of Philae. In Lebanon, an Isis temple was built at Byblos. Her cult was also adopted as one of the “Classical Cults” and temples were built in her honour at the Acropolis, and at Pompeii in Italy (Shaw *et al.* 1995:142; Hart 2004:106). The Roman writer, Apuleius, mentioned the cult of Isis in one of his literary works, “*Metamorphoses*” (Bohm 1973:228-231).

Ostraca reflect the daily life of the ordinary man and woman of ancient Egypt and their view on the world, the gods and their rulers.

2.2.5 Papyri

The papyrus, the symbol of Lower Egypt or heraldic plant, was a common plant found in the Nile Delta from the rise of ancient Egyptian civilisation. Strouhal (1997:105) suggests that

papyrus was a symbol of the earth arising from the primeval ocean in Egyptian mythology. The connotation of papyrus was youth, happiness and rebirth, therefore reflecting an additional association with the afterlife. Due to the versatility of the material, it was extensively used for paper, ropes, boat manufacturing and baskets from the Predynastic Period (Andrews 1999; Bernhardt 2000). Scribes used papyrus to compose wisdom-, literary-, business- and administration texts but it could also be painted on.

Malek (1999:235) implies that drawings were first done on papyrus before painting on the tomb walls especially since papyrus was specifically used to produce funerary texts such as the “Book of the Dead”. This composition was written on papyrus for non-royal individuals and placed in their tombs to protect them from evil during their journey to the afterlife. For the royals, the spells of the “Book of the Dead” were painted on tomb walls from papyri. Russman *et al.* (2001f:194) suggest that these paintings (on walls and papyri) can be dated back to the Nineteenth Dynasty (Malek 1999:235).



*Figure 9: Great Harris Papyrus: Ramesses III before the Thebian Triad –
British Museum, London²¹*

One of the famous papyri is the Great Harris Papyrus. (Figure 9).

²¹ The Great Harris Papyrus is one of the longest surviving papyri. It was found in a tomb near Medinet Habu, on the West Bank of Luxor, Egypt, and purchased by the British collector Anthony Charles Harris (1790–1869) in 1855; it entered the collection of the British Museum in 1872. The papyrus is 41 meters long with 1500 lines. The Theban Triad consisted of Amun, Mut and Khonsu.

2.2.6 Personal Objects

Clothing, jewellery and jewellery boxes, amulets and personal toilette objects, such as palettes, mirrors, kohl and kohl sticks, as well as furniture, are all aspects reflecting the daily life of the ancient Egyptians, especially women (Patch 2006:191).

Jewellery- and make-up boxes are some of the most important personal objects that can convey information. Patch (2006:191) further suggests that archaeological findings show that a variety of jewellery forms originate from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Tomb scenes and the context in which the jewellery was found, reflects use and function in ancient Egyptian society. Very little of the jewellery displayed in the artistic works has been found, although Patch believes that it represented true replicas of the originals worn by the population (2006:191,194). Ceremonial, formal and ritual jewellery were mostly worn by elite of the society since these people had the influence to “acquire what was considered the most appropriate adornment” (Patch 2006:191,194). Statues of both women and couples were often adorned with jewellery although the impression is that statuary normally displays little jewellery. Personal adornment was just one of the aspects that underwent change at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. People were often buried together with the jewellery which they worn in life. The most common piece worn by people from all classes was the broad collar (see Figure 90 of a typical example of the broad collar) closely followed by bracelets and armlets. Personal jewellery also included earrings, rings, fillets and diadems (Patch 2006:193).

Charms (or amulets), carved in the shapes of animals were another popular personal object, often found in a burial context. The most popular animal form was the scarab, representing rebirth which was the symbol of the god, Khepri, who personified the morning sun (Patch 2006:193). Specific behaviour in the beetle's life cycle resembled the sun's movement in the sky. The amulets served as protection against disease, injury, infertility, hunger, etc. and were either worn on the person, in the form of bracelets, rings or in a pouch. At home such amulets were placed in wooden boxes or baskets. During the New Kingdom, the heart scarab became popular especially for the elite since they replace the heart as the centre of a person's existence (Patch 2006:193, 214).

An important aspect in the lifestyles of all Egyptians, but especially the elite, was the use of cosmetics to improve appearances. Kohl was used to noticeably enhance the eyes and also served as a medicine. The cosmetic containers often carried the image of Taworet or Ipi, protectors of the home or fertility symbols and images (Patch 2006:215).

Pottery formed a major find in tombs, reflecting the period, design, material, methods and use of colour. The start of the New Kingdom, and the beginning of the Theban Eighteenth

Dynasty, also marked a change in pottery. A ceramic tradition that had existed since the Thirteenth Dynasty was replaced by a pottery style that originated in Upper Egypt and which was fully developed by the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Pottery was imported from Canaan, Cyprus, the Levant and Nubia with Canaanite pottery often being depicted on wall paintings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Allen 2006:223).

Personal artefacts also include wooden objects such as furniture (beds, chairs, boxes, headrests) and game sets (Dreyfuss 2006:254-259).

Clothing conveys the status and occupation of the wearer, because of its style and fabric quality and design. Women wore mostly long, transparent linen garments, often accompanied by a shawl and a sash tied around the waist. Men used to wear the kilt and belt and the peasants wore loincloths. Small children mostly go naked and so did the young female slaves.

Personal belongings were placed inside the tomb – all intended to assist the dead in his/her journey into the afterlife (Harris 1997:178).

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter records the research undertaken on the art of ancient Egypt, from the Predynastic Period up to and including the New Kingdom, specifically the representational art on tombs-, palaces- and temple walls, obelisks, statues and personal objects. These prime sources reflect the daily lifestyle of the ancient Egyptians.

This holistic survey now needs to be challenged by researching art subjects, in a chronological order (as in the next chapter) in order to understand and compare the daily lifestyle of elite women in the early dynastic periods with those in the New Kingdom.

Chapter 3

Chronological history of ancient Egyptian Art

This chapter records, in chronological²² order, the art forms of the various dynasties and considers what advances, such as the Amarna art, were experienced and how the roles of both the kings and elite women were portrayed in the artistic works.

The aim was to find conclusive evidence in the representational art as to whether there was or was not a substantial difference between the status of elite women of the earlier dynasties compared with that of their counterparts of the New Kingdom.

3.1 Predynastic Egypt (ca 5000-3100BC)

Hunter-gatherers of the Predynastic Period settled near the Nile and these new settlements resulted in the division of ancient Egypt into two kingdoms, namely Upper and Lower Egypt in approximately 3200BC (Smith 1998:8). The Predynastic peoples established the first type of art forms, namely cave paintings, depicting their interactions with the local animals. The art comprised mainly geomorphic or polymorphous designs with very little or no information concerning social status (Bianchi 1995:2533).

In the Badarian Period (before 4000BC) the first two-dimensional representations were developed by using the incised method to decorate pottery. Knapp (1988:35) believes that the Badarian people were skilled craftsmen and artists. Metalworking (copper) had already made its appearance as well as the manufacturing of ivory- and clay objects. The Naqada I Period (formerly known as the Amratian Period) that followed the Badarian reflects designs of an animal nature, especially the hippopotamus, and the portrayal of human figures. It was during the Naqada I Period that the first images of women appeared (Scott 1997). These were called “dancers” and comprised small painted figures of women with upraised arms. (Figure 10).

²² The chronology is supplied by Russman *et al.* (2001:260-261). See also Appendix A for a historical chronology composed by Dodson, Tyldesley and Schäfer. According to Schäfer (1986:370) “The Egyptians did not count the years of their history from a single given year. They dated by regnal years of the king. Margins of error in absolute dating are roughly as follows: Early Dynasty, 50-100 years; Old Kingdom, up to 50 years; First Intermediate Period, doubtful. 2134 [BC] is the probable [date] for the beginning of the [E]leventh [D]ynasty; [T]welfth [D]ynasty, dates astronomically fixed; Second Intermediate Period – New Kingdom, about 20 years

The images were mainly outlines or silhouettes of real life figures executed on a smaller scale. The Naqada II Period marked the arrival of triangles, the letters N and Z and floral designs. Human figures were now drawn in different poses (Bianchi 1995:2533).

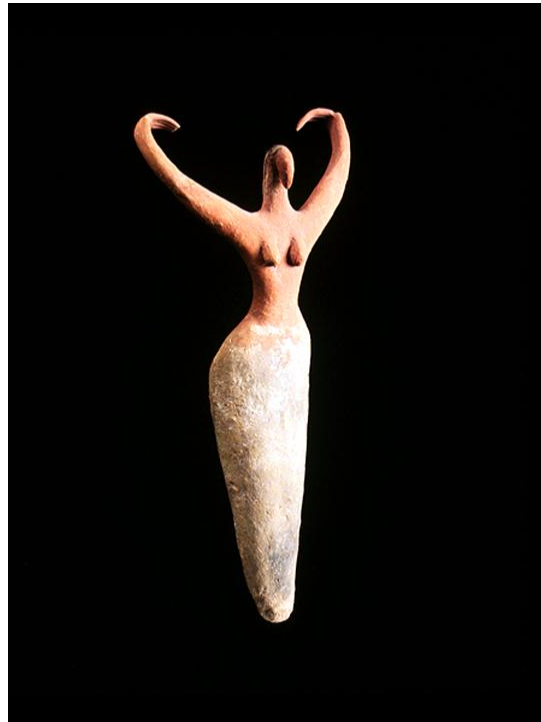


Figure 10: "The Bird Lady" from El-Mamariya – Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York

One of the earliest images of a woman is a terracotta figure (Figure 10) that originates from El-Mamariya and can be dated back to ca. 3500BC. According to the website of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, this figurine is also known as "The Bird Lady". She is sculptured with the movements of a dancer. Her arms are extended above her head, curved in the graceful attitude of a dancer. Extraordinary about this figurine is the fact that there are no legs. Moreover, the face is the beak of a bird (hence the name of "Bird Lady"), while her torso reflects the body of an adult woman, therefore, this figurine was possibly a fertility figure (Glueck 2003).

3.2 The Early Dynastic Period (ca 3100-2686BC; Dynasties I – II)

Towards the end of the Predynastic Period, the population advanced from the Stone Age and copper tools and weapons appeared.

During the First and Second Dynasties religious activities, basic hieroglyphs, an archaic style²³, and two-dimensional imagery were established. The new concept of kingship had evolved: the two crowns (red and white) for the Two Lands (Upper and Lower Egypt) became the double crown and the royal insignia included the *heka*- and the flail sceptres (Robins 1997:33).

Rituals such as the Sed-festival were introduced where it was expected that the king displayed his physical and intellectual abilities to continue his tasks as ruler.

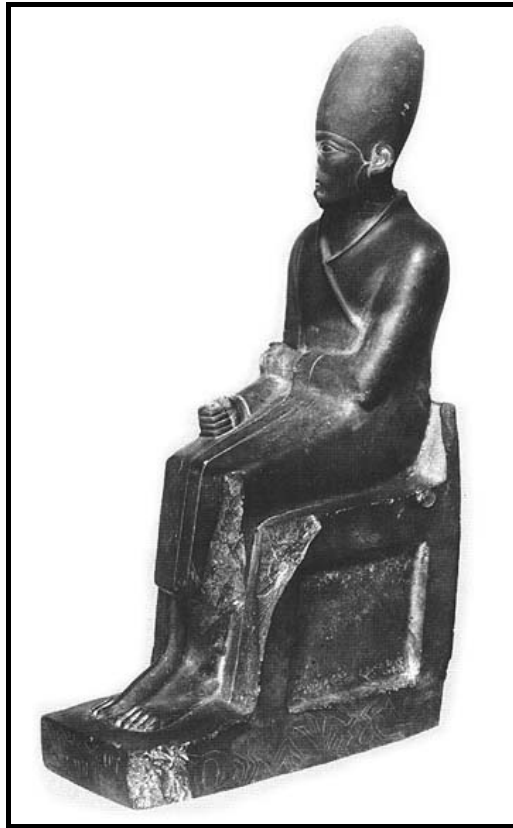


Figure 11: Slate statue of Khasekhem – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Figure 11 shows a slate sculpture of Khasekhem made of green schist in the attire of the Sed-festival and wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. The tomb wall art similarly recorded the Sed-festival, an event that often appears on the tomb walls. This statue also reflects the improvement that was experienced in the sculpturing skills as evidenced by the

²³ Prominent archaism, implied an “imitation or emulation of older works” and was followed until the Third Intermediate Period (Russman *et al.* 2001:40). Archaism was mostly reflected in written texts referring to architecture, personal names, titles and writing. Russman *et al.* (2001:40) further suggest that archaism in art was never an exact copy of the original and that the artists were trained to copy certain characteristics of the original object. Human error prevented them to always make an exact prototype. Russman *et al.* (2001:40) suggest that improvement in the skills of the artisans also influenced the manufacturing of the artwork.

clear lines of the clothing, the position of the hands and arms and the balance of the proportions of the figure. Although not clearly visible, the face is portrayed as more youthful. (Smith 1998:23).

Stone palettes are a standard feature of the Predynastic Period and were used to depict hunts and battles. Two of the most famous stone palettes were the Narmer Palette²⁴ (Figure 12) and the Battlefield Palette (Bianchi 1995:2533-2554; Aldred 2004:32). The former was found at Hierakonpolis and the latter at Abydos. Other palettes were probably used in a “magic ceremony to ensure the success of the hunt” so, it can therefore be assumed that it was for this reason that mythological figures appeared on the Narmer Palette (Aldred 2004:33). The Narmer Palette, made from schist and cast in raised relief, is still unique in its supremacy (Robins 1997:33; Smith 1998:16).



Figure 12: Narmer Palette – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

One of the earliest women portrayed in representational art was the wife of Narmer, Neithhotep, named after the Delta goddess Neith, one of the creator gods of Sais. The goddess Neith had a powerful link with the Early Dynastic queens, and it is probably due to

²⁴ The Narmer Palette (also known as the Hierakonpolis Palette) is a document engraved on stone that illustrates the historical events that seem to have led to the first unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The stone can be seen as the most important object “for the discussion of ancient Egyptian art” (Malek 1999:60). It depicts various divine- and royal iconographical themes. On one side, the king is shown wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt smiting the enemy. The other side shows the king wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt marching in a victory parade after defeating the enemies. Mythical animals are also visible on the palette as well as an early hieroglyphic name of the king, Narmer.

this linkage that Neithhotep became the first queen of a united Egypt. According to Tyldesley (2006:29), she could have ruled the country on behalf of her son, Aha²⁵.

Her name clearly suggests that she could have been from Lower Egypt. However, suggestions that Narmer married Neithhotep for political reasons to ensure a unification of the two lands cannot be proven. Her tomb was found at Naqada (Jonsson 2007).



Figure 13: Relief of Neithhotep²⁶

Figure 13 shows a raised relief, in limestone, claimed to be that of Neithhotep. She is portrayed wearing the vulture cap over the tripartite wig. The carving was done magnificently as the serene expression on her face is beautifully captured. A smile hovers around the mouth and even the ear is meticulously carved.

Meryt-neith was an elite woman of the Early Dynasty who appears on the artistic works. Controversy once surrounded her existence as Petrie originally thought that, according to inscriptions on a stele, she could have been the king Merneit. As “beloved of Neith” or “[the goddess] Neith is satisfied”, she was later re-classified as a queen consort (Tyldesley 2006:28). She must have been a woman of significance as she was afforded a funerary structure at Abydos. Archaeological material related to her was found in a tomb among the

²⁵Aha was succeeded by Djer whose mother was Khenthap and whose name appears on the Cairo Annals Stone. This is a one of collection of inscribed stone fragments known as the royal annals which contain information on Egypt’s earlier kings. The Palermo Stone forms the main part, while a third subsidiary section is in the Petrie Museum at University College of London.

²⁶No other image of Queen Neithhotep was found. This one is from the “Ancient Worlds” website but as mentioned above, the provenance could not be established. Rosalind Janssen, former curator of the Petrie Museum, London, mentioned in a discussion with me that this relief could be an image of a Ptolemaic queen, probably Cleopatra.

male burials at Abydos. Subsidiary tombs found near her tomb, suggest that these could have been the tombs of her workforce. Jonsson (2007) believes that she could have been the wife of Djet, the daughter of Djer and the mother of Den. On the Palermo Stone she is described as the “King's Mother” (Tyldesley 2006:33). Her name suggests that she, as with Neithhotep above, had close links with the local deity of Lower Egypt, Neith. Tyldesley (2006:33) further states that Meryt-neith could have acted as co-regent or pharaoh after the death of her husband, due to the infancy of her son, Den.

Evidence thus suggests that the queens Neithhotep and Meryt-neith had some status in the then exclusively male dominated society during the early stages of Egyptian history.

3.3 Old Kingdom (ca 2686-2181BC; Dynasties III-VI)

The Old Kingdom was characterised by impressive art and architecture. This period formed the basis for the development of art throughout the remainder of Pharaonic Egypt. Some of the architectural features of the Old Kingdom still exist, namely the pyramids and the sphinx of the Giza Plateau near modern day Cairo (Malek 1999:85). These monuments reflected the ideology of the king, the importance of death and the afterlife, and the establishment of a hierarchical society. Aldred (2004:44) implies that “prosperity and confidence was reflected in the technical progress of the arts”.

3.3.1 Tombs



Figure 14: Step pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara



Figure 15: Bent Pyramid of Sneferu at Dahshur



Figure 16: Great Pyramid of Cheops at Giza

The tombs of the Old Kingdom are internationally known as pyramids²⁷. During the early years of the Old Kingdom the archaic style continued to be used, but at the same time these early years were a period of experimentation. Pyramids developed from mastabas leading to the first pyramid: the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara (Figure 14). This is seen as the

²⁷ The well-known shape of the pyramids had its origin in the “conical or pyramidal shape” of the Heliopolis *ben-ben* stone that was probably of a meteoric origin. The *ben-ben* stone was associated with the rising of the sun-god Atum from the primeval waters of Chaos during the Creation of the world (Aldred 2004:58). The purpose of the pyramids was to increase the status of the deceased king, to serve as a tomb and to become the symbols of the building projects of the kings of the Old Kingdom. The pyramids reflect the wealth, power, the changes experienced in kingship, and an increased relationship between the sun god and the king.

first monumental structure in stone (Russman *et al.* 2001a:16). Other building projects completed in the Old Kingdom were the pyramids at Giza and the sphinx. (Figures 16 & 20).

The pyramids can be seen as majestic works of art (Malek 1999:22). Today, they are rather known for their artistic value than for their original purpose, namely tombs. The building of pyramids stretched over a period of nearly 200 years with the start of the real first pyramid, the Step Pyramid, during the reign of Djoser, ca 2628-2609BC. The Fourth Dynasty ended with the pyramid of Menkaure ca 2488-2460BC (Malek 1999:86-95)²⁸.

Today, there are approximately eighty known pyramids in Egypt. Russman *et al.* (2001a:16) states that the Great Pyramid of Cheops (Figure 16) and the Great Sphinx (Figure 20) represent the pinnacle of monumentality in ancient Egyptian art to such an extent that they are even in modern days compared with other colossal structures. The other two pyramids on the Giza plateau were built by Khafre and Menkaure. The design and building of the pyramids from the Fourth Dynasty differed totally from the original Third Dynasty Step Pyramid. The changes to the pyramids can be ascribed to king Sneferu's new plans for the shape of the pyramid (Robins 1997:45). The Bent Pyramid and the Red Pyramid of Sneferu (Figure 15) at Dahshur as well as the Giza Pyramids were built with no steps and the sides were made smooth. In Figures 15 & 16, the smooth surfaces of the Bent Pyramid and the top of the Cheops' pyramid are still visible.

3.3.2 Reliefs/Paintings

During the Old- and Middle Kingdoms, the proportions of the human body in paintings, reliefs and freestanding sculptures were based on an empirical view and not on the proportions of the particular models (Azarpay 1995:2507-2519). Vermaak *et al.* (2000:6) suggest that the proportions of the human body played an important role in drawing and that certain essential parts were emphasised.

Initially, in this period the surfaces of buildings were sparingly decorated, but this soon changed to such an extent that there was scarcely a wall or pylon that was not covered with pictures or hieroglyphic inscriptions. These were ideal for the carving of two-dimensional representations since the surfaces were smooth. Initially only raised reliefs were carved on monuments, but by the end of the Fourth Dynasty, sunk reliefs were introduced into the artistic work (Schäfer 1986:76; Russman *et al.* 2001a:16).

During the Old Kingdom reliefs became popular and very prominent. Schäfer (1986:25) argues that, for monumental purposes, reliefs were more popular than painting. In addition,

²⁸ Malek's (1999:86-95) suggestions on the period of Menkaure do not correlate with that of Schäfer. Schäfer suggests that Menkaure probably lived between 2575-2465BC (1986:370). Gardiner's chronology suggests ca 2620-2480 (1966:430-446).

raised reliefs appear to be more popular than sunk and were mainly used inside buildings. A sunk relief from the tomb of Nefermaat shows uniqueness in the artistic style, namely the infilling sunk reliefs with coloured paste²⁹ (Robins 1997:55).



*Figure 17: Hunting scene in sunk relief, infilled with coloured paste,
Tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum – Egyptian Museum, Cairo³⁰*

This scene in Figure 17, painted on limestone, shows the hunting of wild animals. The leopard (or cheetah) is shown on the top register whereas the foxes³¹ are shown on the lower level. The kneeling hunter is carrying an axe in his left hand and a throwstick (boomerang) in his right hand. Behind him is a small bird.

During the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, the most skilled and naturalistic representational art appeared in animal paintings, a popular subject in tomb paintings. These creatures were painted in much detail, each being recognisable and the particular species easily identifiable. The paintings also included elements such as nesting, mating, habitat and predation. The hunting scene (Figure 17) is a good example of animal art of the Old Kingdom and is from the tomb of Nefermaat of Meidum. Another famous painting from the tomb of Nefermaat is that of the “Meidum Geese”. (Figure 18). These paintings are skilfully painted on plaster, reflecting the artisan's flair for detail.

²⁹ The technique proved to be unsuccessful and was never used again. The reason for this was that the paste dried out and ultimately fell on the ground.

³⁰ According to Edgerton (1936:178) the hunting scene was the first ever such scene to be depicted.

³¹ The thick tails and pointed ears clearly indicate that these are images of foxes and not wild dogs.



Figure 18: Meidum Geese – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Tombs were ideal locations for paintings portraying human activities such as hunting, fowling and fishing. Because the tomb prepared the deceased for the afterlife, these scenes ensured the continuation of his/her elite lifestyle.



Figure 19: Relief from the mastaba of Tepemankh at Saqqara – Petrie Museum, London

Reliefs from Saqqara and Memphis depict scenes of daily life from the end of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties such as the archaic carving (Figure 19) of working craftsmen³² (Russman *et al.* 2001a:16). The raised relief was executed in limestone and originates from the mastaba of Tepemankh³³ at Saqqara. Some of the men are kneeling in front of their workbenches while one man is sitting on a bench or a piece of wood. All the workmen's arms are raised with the various tools clearly visible in their right hands. On the left of the relief two figures are standing upright, carrying items in their hands and on their shoulders.

During the Sixth Dynasty Pyramid Texts appeared on the walls of the Pyramids, suggesting changes in the funerary customs. These reliefs³⁴ reflect the relationship between the deceased king with the gods and the afterlife. The pyramid texts³⁵ describe the journey of the deceased king to the afterlife (Faulkner 1985:11).

3.3.3 Statues/Portraiture

Portraiture in ancient Egypt can be defined as the "reproduction of the same set of distinctively individual features in a variety of works...." (Robins 2001:32). Royal and private statuary, as well as wall paintings and reliefs, reflected the idea that all art served the cult of the gods, the kings, and the dead. In royal statuary, traditional poses were combined with idealistic features and the statues were monolithic (carved out of one piece of stone). During the Old Kingdom royal sculptures developed simultaneously with temple architecture.



Figure 20: Great Sphinx at Giza, Egypt

³² The tendency to show craftsmen at work in artistic works was later less prominent.

³³ Tepemankh was a high official and priest in the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

³⁴ Reliefs are carved scenes on limestone surfaces of tombs, pylons, etc and depict visions of the owner's daily lifestyle.

³⁵ Although there are approximately eight hundred spells, not all of them were displayed on the tomb walls. The tomb of Pepi I contained nearly seven hundred of the spells (Oakes *et al.* 2004:400).

According to Malek (1999:109), the kings of the pyramid era produced large quantities of statues. The Great Sphinx (Figure 20), carved out of limestone, is known as one of the earliest colossal statues and was possibly built by Khafre (Schäfer 1986:27). There is disagreement as to the date of the sculpture. According to Malek (1997:99), suggestions have been made that the sphinx is older than was originally suspected but this statement contradicts the information available concerning the development of art and society at this specific period. The linkage of the lion to royalty makes the sphinx the guardian of the funerary complex at Giza, since it was carved out of limestone in the image of a human-headed lion.



Figure 21: Menkaure and Khamerernebtly II – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Another artistic style that made its appearance during the Old Kingdom is the portrayal of royal and elite couples. The king and queen were portrayed either seated or standing, although standing was less common. Figure 21 shows the couple (Menkaure³⁶ and his wife) in the standing pose and both sculptures are portrayed with their left feet in the advance

³⁶ Menkaure was the owner of the third pyramid at Giza. He also erected two queen's tombs near to his pyramid: one for Rekhete whose tomb inscriptions reveal that she was the King's Daughter and the King's Wife. No names of her father or her husband appear on the walls. The other tomb was for Khamerernebtly II. She was the daughter of Khamerernebtly I and was Menkaure's second wife.

position. Other statues of this style show the female embracing her male companion's shoulders with the woman being invariably placed on the man's left.

Schäfer (1986:318) implies that this pose was also popular when portraying the king with a god. This reflects the protection of the weaker person by the stronger, or allows the weaker person to obtain protection from the stronger. Although the act of embracing is showed, it does not reflect intimacy.

A new statue feature was introduced in the Fourth Dynasty during the reign of Menkaure, namely the backpillar that became a standard feature with standing figures. It can be seen behind the figures of Menkaure and his wife. (Figure 21). Hieroglyphic inscriptions are engraved on the backpillar, denoting the names and titles of the figures.

In Figure 21, Menkaure takes a typical stance: a rigid pose, one foot forward, and hands next to the sides of the body. This stance also reflects his prestigious position (Robins 1986:16; Malek 1999:107). In this schist sculpture Menkaure is wearing the *nemes* headdress on his shaven head and is dressed in a kilt. His wife, Khamerenebty II is shown, dressed in a tight-fitting dress³⁷ that accentuates the contours of her body. On her head is the tripartite wig³⁸, a symbol of royalty. Her own hair is revealed under the wig. She has no royal regalia and wears no jewellery. The queen embraces her husband with her arm encircling his waist. This statue of the queen is sculptured to the same dimensions as the king, in total contrast with the tradition of women portrayed smaller than men. In the New Kingdom, this portrayal would suggest that the queen was equal to the king. In the Old Kingdom, however, the queens had no political equality but enjoyed a divine status due to their association with the cults. The first priestesses were members of the royal family that built the pyramids. The queens served as priestesses in the cults of Hathor, Neith, Thoth and Wepwawet. Thus, the mother of Khafre (Queen Meresankh) was a priestess of the god Thoth whereas Hetepheres (mother of Cheops) was a prophet of her son's cult (Lesko 2002). The tomb of the latter yielded a vast number of luxurious grave goods.

Menkaure is portrayed as the embodiment of a divine king – handsome and muscular (Tyldesley 2006:50). Malek (1999:106) suggests that details in muscles and bone structures appear beneath the skin reflecting an interest for anatomical details. Malek further suggests that the royal sculpture was not supposed to be linked with portraiture, but rather to the aspirations of the ideal of kingship, even though the actual facial features were incorporated in the sculptures. The ancient Egyptians' experimentation with artistic works developed towards the Third Dynasty into the classical form where complete statues and statue

³⁷ This type of dress was worn throughout the history of Pharaonic Egypt.

³⁸ The tripartite wig was used by elite women for centuries.

fragments reflect the seating and standing male pose with the foot advanced (Robins 1986:16; Russman *et al.* 2001a:16). The volumetric nature of Egyptian statuary is cubic, based on the idea of the universe (Aldred 2004:53).

Due to the vast number of statues produced by the owners of the Giza Pyramids, the various styles can be distinguished for the first time. Two types of naturalistic styles have been identified where the only difference between them is the depiction of the muscularity and bone structure beneath the skin (Malek 1999:107). The royal statues of the kings of the pyramid era were smaller than life-size and were placed on pedestals, niches or shrines (Malek 1998:110).

The king's face made his statuary recognisable although the official likeness could change during the reign (Malek 1999:109). Comparing the statues of the earlier pharaohs, such as those of Djoser, Cheops and Menkaure, all have similar elements³⁹ but at the same time it also reflect the differences clearly. For instance, Djoser was often represented with a moustache, an element not found commonly among other statues.

This element of a moustache was imitated by two of his officials making this one of the earliest imitations of the king's features by his subjects. (Figure 23). This feature of imitation dominated the representations of royal individuals by non-royals until the Late Period. Private portraiture in the Old Kingdom gives us the first examples of life-size dimensions (Russman *et al.* 2001b:32-33). Private individuals followed their own trends as well as can be seen in the obese sculpture of Hemiunnu. (Figure 22).

According to Russman *et al.* (2001b:32-33) there are three variances that can be used to distinguish between the portraiture of royals and private statuary. These are:

- private portraiture is all one of a kind - an aspect that has to be accepted as this cannot be verified.
- the dimension of age. Kings were all depicted with young faces, whereas their subjects were portrayed as older.
- both types of statues (imitation and private) were for funerary purposes as the sculptor attempted to maintain the subject's features in an immortal form. The

³⁹ From the Old Kingdom onwards, the pharaoh was portrayed with the false beard, resembling the gods and holding on to the flagellum (resembling Osiris) as well as the *heka* sceptre. On his head was the uraeus which was a representation of Re, destined to protect the king and to resist the enemies. Underneath the uraeus was the *nemes*, the cloth that covered his head. The pharaoh never went bareheaded and either worn the *nemes* or the two crowns without the *nemes*. These two crowns were the double crown, signifying the unification of Lower and Upper Egypt) or the blue war crown (without the *nemes*) on a shaven head. Even the king's dress code, what type of royal regalia he/she carried were all aspects linked to the king's physical appearance and therefore to the ideology of the king (Aldred 2004:142).

difference is that the king's images were placed in royal funerary temples for the cult of the ruler, whereas the private statuary was sealed away in tombs. In these sealed structures, there was at least one statue of the owner reflecting his youth.

During the Old Kingdom, portraiture was extremely formal and was linked to the fact that the statues functioned as cult objects. During the Fourth Dynasty men and women who commissioned statues were related to the king. The statues, therefore, conformed to a conventional style that reflects family images (Aldred 2004:70).

Some scholars describe the features as expressionless. Russman *et al.* (2001b:35) on the contrary, suggests that the faces rather convey confidence, authority and possibly divinity. Another aspect of art works of the Late Old Kingdom, are figures that were often shown in the nude. Russman *et al.* (2001b:35) suggests that the ancient Egyptians regarded the physical appearance of a person as a physical characteristic of the soul.

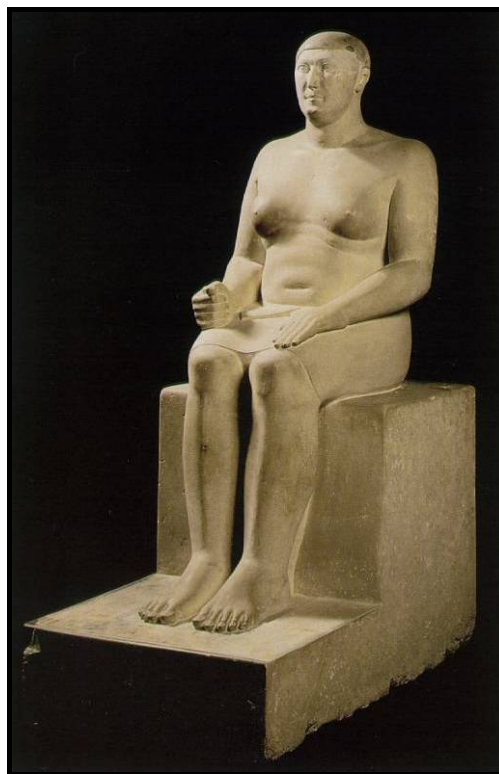


Figure 22: Statue of Hemiunnu - Hildesheim Museum, Germany.

The limestone statue of Hemiunnu⁴⁰ (Figure 22), found in his mastaba close to the Giza pyramids, shows a heavy-weight man seated on a block throne, his right hand clenched in a

⁴⁰ It is believed that Hemiunnu was the architect of the Great Pyramid of Cheops (Kinnear 2007).

fist and his left hand resting on his knee. The statue's head has been restored, especially around the eyes. Scholars acknowledge this statue as one of the best examples of the fine craftsmanship of the period. The expressionless facial features and the smooth workmanship indicate highly skilled stonemasons (Malek 1998:135).

During the Old Kingdom, it was customary to show people in an idealistic and athletic style as can be seen in the portrayal of Menkaure. (Figure 21). Therefore, this portrayal of an obese Hemiunnu is a unique sculpture. The aspect of obesity was only addressed in the Amarna Period due to the realistic style introduced by Akhenaten.

New statue styles were developed where a seated king was presented with a small, kneeling figure of the queen at his feet. This characteristic was not continued in the royal sculpture, but became instead the style for the private statues. Royal statues always formed the basis upon which private sculptures were modelled (Malek 1999:103).

Robins (1997:72) suggests that the sitting posture was more prestigious than the standing posture, therefore, group statues were often shown seated. Small figures of children were also included in group statues, with the children on a much smaller scale, and sculptured between the legs of their parents. Statues of small children can be identified as they were always portrayed with one finger in the mouth and a sidelock. (See Figure 5).



Figure 23: Rahotep and Nofret – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Classical art of the Old Kingdom included the cubic style⁴¹. An example is the seated limestone figure of which the statues of Rahotep (son of Sneferu) and Nofret from Meidum are examples. (Figure 23). A further example of the cubic style is the statue of Ankhnesmerira and the small king, Pepy II. (Figure 24).

The former statues are framed by the white surface of the high back of the seats. The couple's names and titles are presented in the hieroglyphs on the back of the chair. This statue also shows the Nofret sculptured to the same dimensions as her husband. Rahotep's skin is painted yellow-brown with less reddish colour. His moustache reflects an imitation of the statues of Djoser. His wife, Nofret, was painted in the typical light yellow colour of the Old Kingdom. Rahotep's hands are typical of the middle part of the Old Kingdom: one is folded over his stomach while the other one is resting on his lap. Both hands are clenched in the form of fists. Nofret's arms are folded over her stomach, although only one hand is visible. The necklace around her neck is colourful reflecting the colours of the diadem that she wears on the wig. Her dress shows the contours of her body and her breasts are prominent. The ankles of both statues are extremely thick (also see Figure 22) and the toes are widespread. Their eyes are crystal with quartz inlays. When the native workers discovered the statues they were frightened by the eyes and the life-like appearance of the statues (Tyldesley 2006:41). The pair of statues is regarded as one of the Egyptian Museum of Cairo's most appealing pieces. Rahotep is shown clothed in a kilt whereas his wife is clothed in the popular, white, sheath-like gown that was so popular with Egyptian women (Smith 1998:45; Springer 2003).

Towards the end of the Old Kingdom, subjects were portrayed in a different way, namely their arms beside their bodies and when seated, the hands resting on the lap (Robins 1997:72).

⁴¹ Schäfer (1986:321-323) suggests that the word "cubism" in ancient Egyptian art can only be used when "it was used to refer to the perception and formation of a work as an external process". In the case of Ankhnesmerira and Pepy II the little boy's body is set at right angles to that of his mother, forming a cube. Both statues are in the frontal position. (See Figure 24).

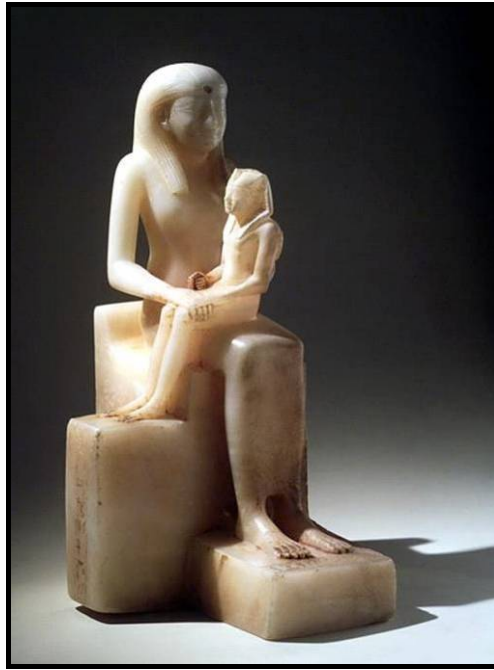


Figure 24: Ankhnemesmerita and Pepi II – Brooklyn Museum, New York

In the travertine statue (Figure 24) of Pepy II⁴² and his mother Ankhnemesmerita (also known as Ankhnemespepi II), Pepy II as the king, is represented much smaller than his mother, resulting in the assumption that his mother was his co-regent⁴³ (Robins 2000:67).

Ankhnemesmerita, with the title “Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the God's daughter, the revered one, beloved of the god Khnum” is shown here seated (Tyldesley 2006:61). She wears the tripartite wig and the vulture headdress,⁴⁴ that became the insignia of queens from the Fifth Dynasty onwards, is absent in this sculpture. The queen supports the young boy with her left hand while her right hand rests on his knees. The boy's head is covered with the *nemes*, indicating his royal status. In contrast with the traditional portrayal of sculptures, the space between her arms and her body, her feet, dress and legs and the throne itself, has been carved out. Traditionally, these spaces were not so treated. This sculpture shows a tender scene between the queen and her young son leading, Tyldesley to

⁴² Tyldesley states that Pepy II outlived many of his children and grandchildren as he ruled for 90 years. He was succeeded by his sister Nitocris who was described by Manetho as a noble and lovely woman with fair skin and red cheeks. As no evidence exists of a son, Tyldesley suggests that Nitocris became a female king. Unfortunately, no definite archaeological evidence on her existence is forthcoming, but her name is included in the Turin Canon (1995:216; 2006:63).

⁴³ Tyldesley (2006:41) implies that nowhere is it clearly stated that Ankhnemesmerita ruled as regent for her young son.

⁴⁴ The wearing of the headdress associated the queens with the goddess Nekhbet when shown in human form. The headdress was then transferred to the human form of her partner, the cobra goddess Wadjet, and was therefore changed to the uraeus. It was assumed that the queen also had a divine aspect and therefore the headdress was worn until the Ptolemaic Period (Tyldesley 2006:61).

suggest (2006:61) that the statue symbolises the divine mother Isis and her infant son Horus. The composition reflects the aspect of frontality that was associated with formal statues. The appearance on this statue type is known as “cubic form” due to its association with the block form.

The later part of the Old Kingdom witnessed an increase in tomb building due to an expansion in the bureaucracy and the service sector, resulting in funerary monuments being built not for only kings but also for high ranking officials (Smith 1998:76). However, smaller statues appeared in tombs (Robins 1997:71). Pyramids were still used as tombs, but they were smaller and of poor quality. Today they are simply heaps of rubble, in total contrast with the pyramids of the Fourth Dynasty with the Giza pyramids still standing. At the end of the Fifth Dynasty the first Pyramid Texts appeared on the tomb walls of the tomb of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty (Malek 1999:94).

The Sixth Dynasty marked the end of the Old Kingdom. Increasing economic problems affected the central government as high officials gained more power and the king's power weakened. By the end of the of this Dynasty changes in funerary customs occurred resulting in new types of private burials when high officials (nomarchs) started to build their own tombs in their nomes. Here they boasted about their personal triumphs and virtues. The power of the vizier increased although this official still operated under the king (Knapp 1988:111). The end of the period marked the demise of gigantic pyramids, but the decoration of walls and tombs was of the highest quality. Such decorations reflect all aspects of daily life.

3.4 First Intermediate Period (ca 2181-2040BC; Dynasties VII - X)

During the First Intermediate Period, ancient Egypt was divided into two parts namely Herakleopolis in the north and Thebes in the south. During this period there were no remarkable events or development in artistic works. Some reliefs of the nomarchs of Elephantine at Aswan were roughly cut and the paintings were generally of a low standard. This period was marked by chaos in the government with the viziers gaining more power. Famine and civil war added to the chaos (Knapp 1988:122). Egypt was now divided into provincial regions and although the local art was not of a high quality, it displayed aspects of liveliness and originality (Aldred 2004:108). In the early years of the Intermediate Period, it was only in Memphis that artistic development continued. A terrible drought and the cultural changes associated with it, resulted in a change of statuary and art forms. Princes from Thinis, Dendera, Mo'Alla, Asyut and Thebes, based their statuary on the Sixth Dynasty's traditions: frontalism, use of space, positioning of the body, feet, arms, dress code, etc. Facial aspects copied from the Old Kingdom are the staring eyes, thick lips, heavy chin and

muscles around the mouth and nose. The facial features now display brutal and cruel characteristics (Aldred 2004:109-111) which would form the foundation for the statuary of the Middle Kingdom. Thus a new type of archaism was created with this revised portrayal (Aldred 2004:109-111).

Aldred (2004:108) believes that the lack of quality of local art was compensated by the liveliness and originality that is seen in the artistic products of the First Intermediate Period.

3.4.1 Reliefs

During the First Intermediate Period, tombs were rock-cut and sparsely decorated with scenes in poor quality raised relief. Most of these scenes depict either soldiers reflecting the political instability of the period or offering scenes (Malek 1999:157; Aldred 2004:111). The same hieroglyphs were used as in the Old Kingdom and the pictorial characters did not change during this period. The reliefs that survive were mostly carved on stele and were placed on the rectangular panels above the tomb entrances.

The most famous elite women of the First Intermediate Period were Princess Kawit, Queen Nofru, Queen Ashayt, Queen Kemsit and Queen Tem from the Eleventh Dynasty.



Figure 25: Queen Kemsit – British Museum, London

Queen Kemsit (Figure 25) could have been of Nubian origin, although this statement cannot be confirmed (Russman *et al.* 2001c:88). She was also known as the “Sole Favourite of the King” and was possibly a priestess in the cult of Hathor. This beautiful raised relief still shows its vibrant colours, reflecting the tradition of the First Intermediate Period artistic style.

It was cut with multiple levels overlaying each other. The hair (typical of the Nubian style), jewellery (broad collar) and feathered dress⁴⁵ were decorated in an incised style. To the right of Queen Kemsit, who is holding a vase of scented ointment to her nose, there might have been a small figure of a standing servant (Russman *et al.* 2001c:88). The relief was done on limestone and then painted.

During this period the raised reliefs stand very high, while the sunk reliefs were cut very deep. There was a layering of different levels in the carving and surfaces were carved with intricate details and patterns. However, overall, the artistic skills of the artisans of the First Intermediate Period were not of a high quality (Robins 1997:83).

3.4.2 Paintings

Paintings were popular methods of decorating the less elaborate tombs of this period. This could have contributed to a shortage of skilled sculptors and stone-masons. Typical examples of these paintings were found in the tombs of Ankhtifi at Mo'Alla, Ity at Gebelein, and Set-ka of Aswan. Paintings in all three of these monuments bear a close resemblance to each other, i.e. their agricultural scenes (Smith 1998:81). Smith further suggests that one of the best preserved paintings in the style of the First Intermediate Period is the agricultural scene in the tomb of Djar at Thebes which shows a pack of donkeys loaded with bags of grain and two farmers busy ploughing the fields with two oxen.

The paintings found in Upper Egypt are a reflection of the changes in the tradition of art works of the Old Kingdom, since combinations of colour and softer nuances were introduced (Smith 1998:80).

3.4.3 Statues/Portraiture

The craftsmen of this period introduced the group aspect found in wooden statuary. That private statuary was made from wood, is evidenced from workshops in the necropolis in Asyut. The manufacture of wooden sculptures demonstrates a moving away from the tradition of stone sculptures in the preceding dynasties. The wooden figurines display aggressive facial features and their appearance reflects their brutal power (Malek 1997:157; Aldred 2004:111). Many of these wooden figurines were servant statuettes, for example offering bearers, craftsmen, agriculturalists.

⁴⁵ The feathered pattern on the dress of Kemsit must have religious connotations as these types of garments were associated with gods and goddesses. Her dress code reveals that, "she had a high rank in the cult, and could sometimes stand in for the goddess herself" (Russman *et al.* 2001:88).



Figure 26: Wooden statue of Wepwawetemhet – Boston Museum of Fine Arts

The wooden statue (Figure 26) is a typical example of this period. It portrays Wepwawetemhet, an official from the First Intermediate Period. He is shown in a striding position, dressed in the typical kilt, a staff in his left hand, a short and a curly wig on his head. The expression in his staring eyes and brusque facial features, together with the long fingers, are a reflection of the artistic style of this period (Smith 1998:84).

Although the statues of this period were mainly carved in wood, we have evidence that stone artistic works were still produced during this period. However, only a few examples, mainly of seated figures, have survived (Malek 1997:157).

3.4.4 Architecture

Building activities of the First Intermediate Period were on a much smaller scale with only one known pyramid built, viz. that of Merykare. This pyramid was situated near Saqqara in the Memphite necropolis (Malek 1998:156). Middle Kingdom (ca 2040-1650BC; Dynasties XI – XIII)

3.5 Middle Kingdom (ca 2040-1650BC; Dynasties XI – XIII)

The Middle Kingdom was founded by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, a vizier, at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, who was responsible for the re-unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The kings of the Twelfth Dynasty were responsible for the “re-establishment and restoration of the chaos”⁴⁶.

Following Mentuhotep II was Amenemhet I, also known as “Ameni the triumphant” who was a true devotee of the god Amun. Itj-towy (in the Fayum, but precise location is not known) was the new capital established by Amenemhet II who was one of the Twelfth Dynasty kings responsible for the restoration of the ecology. He made his son Senusert I co-regent. During the reign of Amenemhet I, campaigns to Nubia obtained gold, building stone and various other metals. Relationships were also formed with Syria-Palestine, Anatolia and the Aegean (Knapp 1988:163).

Senusert III was responsible for campaigns against Nubia, defending the borders of ancient Egypt in the South. His restructuring of the administrative aspects resulted in the monarchs' decreasing power and an increase in the power of the viziers. These officials would administer the three regions: Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt. The last two rulers of the Middle Kingdom were Amenemhet IV and Queen Sobekneferu.

3.5.1 Tombs

Pyramids of the Middle Kingdom were badly built and reduced soon afterwards to heaps of rubble and sand. Their funerary reliefs and statues originated from the Memphite Old Kingdom and, according to Russman *et al.* (2001a:18) the “Old Kingdom classicism and naturalistic beauty had been transformed into a new, more muted style”. Private tombs and temples contained statues and inscriptions that requested passers-by to pray to the owner.

The remarkable monument of this dynasty was Mentuhotep II's mortuary complex, built against the cliffs of western Thebes at Deir el-Bahri (Wilkinson 2000:23). Mentuhotep II had various wives. Queen Nofru was followed by Princess Kawit, (Figure 28) the royal companion of Mentuhotep II, who was known as the “Sole Favourite of the King”. Tem was also a wife of Mentuhotep II and known as the mother of Mentuhotep III. Her tomb⁴⁷ was one of the largest burial sites ever found with a beautiful travertine and sandstone sarcophagus (Grimal:1992).

The plans of the complex changed four times and took 25 years to build, resulting in the employment of a large number skilled work force. The result was delicate reliefs and new

⁴⁶ The reclamation and the improvement of the irrigation systems that were introduced in the Fayum region resulted in a stronger economic development and improved administration skills. The king was re-instated in his role and was seen as the “Good Shepherd” of his flock. According to Knapp (1988:160) the period was known as the “Golden Age” for literature. Various private letters and other literary works on papyri were excavated in the modern day area of Beni Hasan, Egypt.

⁴⁷ The tomb of Tem was situated at Deir el-Bahri inside the funerary complex of Mentuhotep II.

archaic features. The temple later became part of three complexes that were built at this site. The others were that of Hatshepsut and her nephew, Thutmose III.

The Coffin Texts originated in the Middle Kingdom and succeeded the earlier Pyramid Texts. Whereas the Pyramid Texts were only used by the elite of the Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts were made available to all levels of the society who could afford them (Oakes *et al.* 2004:402). They consisted of spells that were inscribed inside the coffins in hieroglyphic script. The function of the Coffin Texts provided a guarantee of survival in the afterlife. In accordance with the Coffin Texts, the first ushabtis made their appearance during this period. These little figurines represented the servants of the deceased person acting as their magical substitutes in the afterlife (Ellison 1999b:176; Shaw *et al.* 2003:69).

The tombs of the later kings of the Twelfth Dynasty were examples of the changes experienced in the designs for mortuary buildings. The pyramid complexes now included a new entrance, an upper enclosure as well as all the traditional features of the pyramid: a pyramid temple and the subsidiary tombs and pyramids of the queens (Ellison 1999b:176).

3.5.2 Reliefs

Painting was the more popular medium for decorating the tombs of the Middle Kingdom, while the reliefs are of a poor quality and mainly contained elements that were influenced by their Old Kingdom counterparts (Aldred 2004:121). There are rare examples of reliefs which became more delicate and formal, characterising the official Theban style⁴⁸. Sunk reliefs became more common towards the end of the Middle Kingdom but the stele produced using this technique are of poor quality, whereas raised reliefs of the earlier part of the Middle Kingdom are of a very high quality. The complex of Mentuhotep II is known for its painted reliefs with scenes associated with the deities Osiris, Hathor, Amun and Mentu and the king himself (Aldred 2004:114).

⁴⁸ The Theban style originated in the Middle Kingdom showing statues with their hands flat on their thighs when seating and/or standing. Heavy wigs relate to female hairstyles which were typical of the Hathorian headdress: the heavy tripartite wig, the feathers, the cow's horns, resting on a flat crown or diadem, and the sun-disc (Aldred 2004:148).



Figure 27: Watercolour painting of a queen of Mentuhotep III – Walter Tyndale⁴⁹

This watercolour (Figure 27) is of one of the queens of Mentuhotep III⁵⁰ by Walter Tyndale (1856-1943). It was copied from a limestone relief that was found in the tomb of Mentuhotep III at Deir el-Bahri and is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. It represents the queen in a frontal position, holding a lotus flower and an ankh. She is dressed in a blue sheath dress held up by two straps. On her head is a tight-fitting cap and around her neck a broad collar.



Figure 28: Princess Kawit – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

⁴⁹ Walter Tyndale was an English artist who lived during the turn of the 20th century and was known for his illustrations of his travels (Chris Beetles 1998). The original relief is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁵⁰ Mentuhotep III was known for the inventive style of reliefs that were produced during his reign of which Figure 27 is a good examples.

Princess Kawit's sarcophagus is one of the best examples of a limestone, bas-relief sculpture of the Theban court. It contains a hairdressing scene that obviously reflects the princess's daily toilette routines (Tyldesley 2006:67). In the scene (Figure 28), Kawit is seated on a high chair, while drinking from a cup. In her other hand is a mirror. The male servant on the left is pouring some more liquid into a cup, while a female servant is busy arranging her hair. The princess is wearing a short wig, a long sheath dress and the broad collar. The female servant is also clothed in a sheath dress and she wears the tripartite wig. The male servant is dressed in a kilt and a tight-fitting cap on his head. Two of the figures are in the frontal pose. The third one, the servant girl, is sculptured from the side. Tyldesley (2006:67) suggests that this scene could also be a literal representation, reflecting sexual activities and rebirth. The pouring of the liquid could represent the sexual act since the word to "pour" is the same as the word for "ejaculate". The hairdressing could reflect eroticism, while the mirror represents fertility and fecundity.

3.5.3 Paintings

Most of the Middle Kingdom paintings are from a funerary context. Approximately thirty-nine tombs were built in the Beni Hasan area where a powerful family of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties cut their tomb-chapels into the cliffs on the eastern side of the Nile and decorated them with wall paintings. These painted scenes contain elements of daily life such as hunting, wrestling, battle and siege warfare. Other scenes include children playing games and girls dancing (Malek 1998:196).

3.5.4 Statues/Portraiture

The development of art in the Middle Kingdom was influenced by the changes that took place in the social and political structures⁵¹. Royal or official statues were introduced during the Twelfth Dynasty and were especially designed for the funerary monuments of the rulers. Over life-size, they were much larger than previously, display great physical power as well as an overall progression in the statuary and portraiture (Aldred 2004:124). The proportion of the figures was based on that of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties and was executed in both two- and three-dimensional styles. The male figures were shown with broad shoulders and thick, muscular limbs, whereas female figures were slender with no muscularity. The proportions of the statuary were based on the grid lines of the Old Kingdom (Robins 1997:106-109). The

⁵¹ The king was also now portrayed in an immortal, "heroic warrior-like image" re-iterated in the contemporary royal hymn, sung by the subjects on ceremonial visits to Upper Egypt (Kührt 1998:165). Furthermore, the king of the Twelfth Dynasty was now associated with the god Osiris, whose cult had risen to extreme heights (Aldred 2004:128). The unification of Upper and Lower Egypt resulted in the introduction of the Theban style used for royal representations (Russman *et al.* 2001:35).

significance of the progress in the artistic work during the Middle Kingdom can be appreciated from the vast number of statuary that has survived⁵². The official statuary originates during the reign of Senusert I. Grim facial expressions depicts the king as a “ruthless overlord” and portray the “burden of kingship” (Kührt 1998:166; Aldred 2004:124).

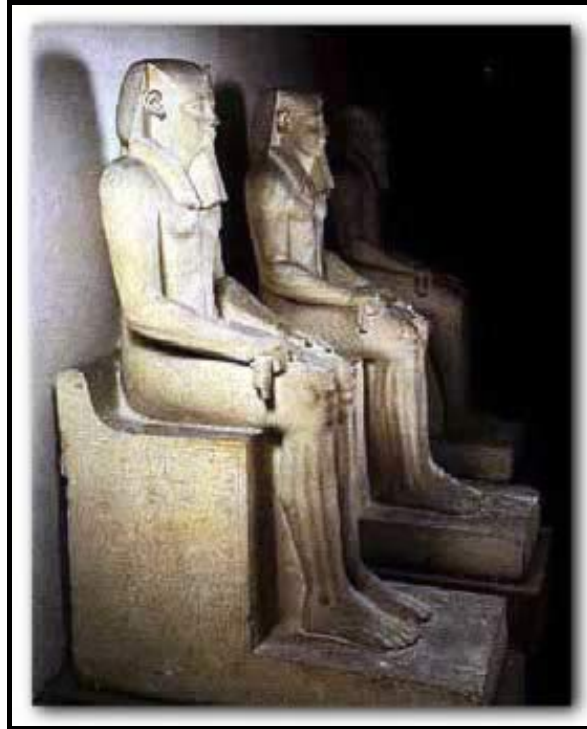


Figure 29: Two of ten statues of Senusert I – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Further examples of this art form are the ten limestone statues of Senusert I (Figure 29) that possibly formed part of his funerary temple. They were found in a pit known as the Lisht cachette and are now on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The king is seated on a throne with his hands resting on his lap: the left being shown with the fingers outspread while, the right is holding onto a piece of rolled cloth (often seen on the statues of nobles). The way Senusert I's hands are shown, reflect influences from the Old Kingdom, especially to that of the Khafre statues. He is wearing the *nemes* headdress and the false beard and is clothed in the kilt. The sides of the throne show the unification symbols (lotus and papyrus) of Upper and Lower Egypt (El Shahawy 2005:110).

⁵² It was felt necessary to include a larger number of examples of the statuary or portraiture art form from this period in this dissertation. This is in recognition of the large number of artefacts that have survived from the Middle Kingdom.



Figure 30: Sphinx Statue of Senusert III – Metropolitan Museum, New York

The sphinx⁵³ of Senusert III (Figure 30) is according to Aldred “among the supreme masterpieces of the Middle Kingdom” (2004:126). It reflects the strength and ferocity of a lion, but also the grim expression on the human face. Lions were the divine guardians against evil and therefore closely associated with kingship. The Senusert III sphinx is seen wearing a *nemes*, a symbol of kingship. A diadem with the cobra uraeus is also visible. This statue is carved from a single block of anorthosite gneiss. The transition of human head to a lion body is skilfully concealed by the *nemes* and the mane, which takes the form of a wrap made of cloth.

⁵³ The kneeling or crouching sphinxes were often found at the entrances to temples and palaces.



Figure 31: Statue of Queen Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet – Louvre Museum, Paris

A statue⁵⁴ made of diorite of “Queen Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet, the Great”, the mother of Senusert III and the wife of Senusert II is shown here (Figure 31) seated with her hands on her lap, a pose typically of the Middle Kingdom that originates from the late Old Kingdom. Her back is resting against a backpillar that constituted part of the cubic form that makes up the whole statue. The Louvre Museum website further suggests that this is an “exemplary model of a traditional hieratic Egyptian statue”. Although not clearly visible, the queen’s dress and jewellery are simple although the uraeus is clearly visible, depicting her royal status. The way the cobra is portrayed, suggests a similarity to an open lotus. Her dress is typical of the fashion style introduced during Senusert I’s reign. The seat is smooth and not inscribed on the sides as was normally the case. The only inscription is at the front of the base and according to the official website it reads as follows:

⁵⁴ According to information obtained from the website of the Louvre Museum, this piece is a rare monument since only twelve statues of queens of this era have been found. It is well preserved and fully intact, although evidence of re-sculpturing is visible, for instance, between the legs, on the arms, and behind the forearms. The date of this re-sculpturing is not known, and makes the mystery surrounding the statue even more fascinating.

“An offering given by the king and Hathor, mistress of the sycamore, consisting of a going forth of voice with bread, beer, oxen, poultry, alabaster, fabrics, all things good and pure with which a god exists...
“For the noble, full of grace, full of praise, gentle in love, adorned by Khnum, infant of Wadjet...
“For whom we do all that is spoken, the spouse of the king, his beloved, Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet the Great, may she live forever.”

The Louvre’s website further suggests that this queen acted as a cult figure since various statues of her were found in sanctuaries, although this one is the only one that is intact.

Towards the end of the period, Amenemhet III introduced, according to Aldred (2004:126), a new style that reflected the changes in political and social structures “..... the torso to be modelled only summarily, the pectoral muscles to be joined together in a merely decorative gadroon, and the navel to be placed at the base of a deep ventral furrow. The sternal notch disappears, and the corners of the *nemes* headdress rise into prominent peaks”.

Statues in block⁵⁵ form soon became popular for temple sculptures and lasted until the New Kingdom. (Figure 32). The block statue is the most simplified form of the art of the Middle Kingdom. In some cases the statue was wrapped in a cloak that leaves the hands, head, and sometimes the feet, exposed. These block statues were mainly found in Abydos, the great cult centre of Osiris of the Middle Kingdom. The statue type was introduced to connect the owner with the cult of a specific god or the funerary cult of a specific king. This could assure protection in the afterlife and the right on the daily offerings (Russman *et al.* 2001d:96). The heads are replicas of the king, therefore the wearing of the *nemes* headdress. These statues were mass produced and sold to visitors visiting shrines of popular gods during the annual festivals and were found everywhere.

⁵⁵ The block statue first appears at the end of the Sixth, beginning of the Seventh Dynasty (Aldred 2004:133). Aldred argues that the idea of the block statue is the symbolizing of the deceased as a *hesy* (sanctified being).

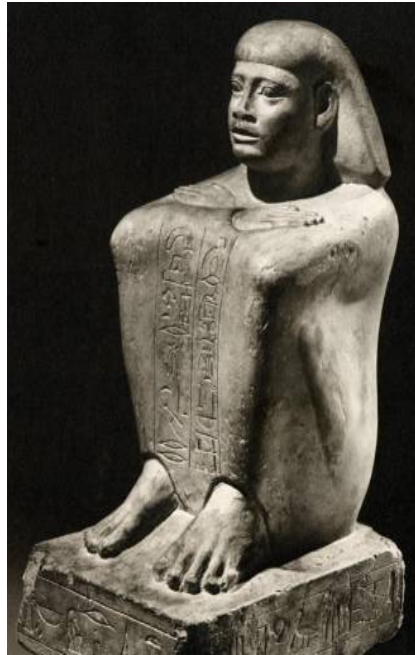


Figure 32: Block Statue of Sa-Hathor – British Museum, London

Figure 32 is a limestone block statue of Sa-Hathor, a treasurer in the army at Abydos, seated on the ground with his arms folded on his drawn-up knees, his feet showing below. This is one of the earliest block statues. The face is expressionless while his position suggests respect, humbleness and obedience towards his superior. His body is draped in a cloak and on his head is the *nemes*. Hieroglyphic text appears between his legs (Russman *et al.* 2001d:96).



Figure 33: Sobek-em-inu (Ameny) - National Museum of Israel, Jerusalem

A second type of sculpture shows a statue of a seated man, Sobek-im-inu an official of the Middle Kingdom, with legs crossed in the manner in which the scribes were regularly portrayed or the legs were often covered by a long garment. (Figure 33). These statues were mostly found in temples (Malek 1998:192). The left hand of the statue (Figure 33) is resting against the chest while the right rests on his lap. He is wearing a wig, and it appears as if he is looking upwards. The statue is made of granite.



Figure 34: Statue of Queen Nofret – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Individual statues of queens and elite women became more common during the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty. The statue of a seated Queen Nofret (Figure 34) is a typical example of the artistic style of the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty. Noticeable is the large Hathorian wig that was popular for elite women of the Middle Kingdom (Aldred 2004:133). Part of the headdress was the uraeus, and she wears a pectoral inscribed with her husband's name, although it is not visible from the photo. Nofret (or Nefret) was the wife of Senusert II. She is seated in the typical Middle Kingdom pose. Her right hand rests on her lap, while the left arm is bending over her stomach touching the right. Her feet are placed apart from each other, the toes clearly visible. The ankles are thick. (See also Figure 22). The pose and size of the body parts resemble the style of the Old Kingdom.



Figure 35: Torso of Sobekneferu – Louvre Museum, Paris

One of the most imposing women of the Middle Kingdom was Sobekneferu (Nefersobek) the sister and successor of Amenemhet IV and the last ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty (Malek 1998:205). She used a mixture of feminine and masculine titles, and as the daughter of Amenemhet III, was probably responsible for the deification of him as the god of the Fayum. Her tomb has not yet been found, although architectural fragments suggest that her building activities were centred on the Fayum area. Figure 35 of the headless quartzite torso, shows Sobekneferu wearing the female shift dress underneath a kilt. Evidence that her headdress was the *nemes* is also reflected in the statue (Tyldesley 1006:74-75). This style was later followed by Hatshepsut.

The Turin Canon (Figure 36) ascribes Sobekneferu a reign of nearly 4 years.



Figure 36: Fragments of the Turin Canon – Museo Egizio, Turin ⁵⁶

The Theban style aimed to represent the character or personality of the owner, namely pessimistic and distrustful as stance kingship became more hefty. Twelfth Dynasty portraiture reflects the ideology of the king and private representations were few. The Thirteenth Dynasty follows the tendency established in the Twelfth Dynasty (Russman *et al.* 2001b:36).

Private images imitating Senusert III and Amenemhet III occurred in the Thirteenth Dynasty, the facial expressions of both kings being often incorporated in private assignments. Russman *et al.* (2001b:36) suggest that it is the only time in the history of Egyptian art when non-royal or private sculptures were based on the style of earlier kings and not on that of the current rulers.

⁵⁶ The Turin Royal Canon, is a unique papyrus, written in hieratic, currently in the Museo Egizio, Turin. The text dates to Ramesses II and mentions the names of all Egyptian rulers preceded by the register of gods that it was believed, ruled over Egypt before the Pharaonic era. Interesting facts from this papyrus are the inclusion of the Hyksos kings who were often omitted in king lists. The document was worked on by Champollion (Malek 1982:93-106).



Figure 37: Wooden statue of an unknown woman – British Museum, London

The space between the legs is often negative space that forms part of the carving or the background. In the case of the wooden statue (Figure 37) the negative space was carved out. According to Russman *et al.* (2001e:113) the shape of the body of this unknown woman is different from Old Kingdom female figures and therefore represents the “ideal of female beauty in the Middle Kingdom”. Her face is an imitation of Amenemhet III and not Senusert III since it reflects the full cheeks and narrow eyes of Amenemhet III. The trend of the period was to imitate the two kings in private portraiture, even in the facial features of the elite women. The physical appearance portrays a thin waist, wide hips, and upper thighs and is in total contrast with the heavy, manly face. The reason the figure’s face is sculptured in this fashion, is that it was probably done on recommendation of the queen.

Russman *et al.* (2001e:113) further suggest that most of the statues are in a prayer pose, the hands in front of the face. This statue is therefore unique because the palms of the hands are instead shown facing backwards and are hanging beside the body.

3.5.5 Architecture

Robins (1997:87) is of the opinion that Nebhepetre Mentuhotep built his mortuary complex at Deir el-Bahri due to his connection with Hathor. In the mortuary complex were six chapels

that belonged to his five wives and therefore formed part of their tombs. For a period that was insignificant the prominence of these five women is quite unique. Robins further suggests that renovation work was done on these monuments in the Nineteenth Dynasty after it was damaged during the Amarna Period (1997:88).

3.6 Second Intermediate Period (ca 1750-1550BC; Dynasties XIII – XVII)

The start of the Second Intermediate Period saw the disintegration of the Egyptian state as a whole when independent units were formed. The end of the Thirteenth Dynasty witnessed the arrival of the first foreign rulers, the Hyksos or “king-shepherds” (Kührt 1998:174). Under the rule of Salitis, they established a new city, Avaris, in the eastern Nile delta. The Hyksos re-united Upper and Lower Egypt and formed vassal states. According to Kührt (1998:174), their kingdom stretched as far south as Aswan, making the Theban kings their subjects. Knapp (1988:169) suggests that they could have been of a Syro-Palestine origin and/or from a Semitic-speaking Canaanite group as evidenced by Palestine pottery that was found in their settlements on the eastern Nile Delta.

The Hyksos adopted the ancient Egyptian religion and worshipped the god Seth whom they compared with the Semitic god Resheph. They also adopted the Egyptian writing (hieroglyphs) art, rebuilt and repaired existing temples while their scribes copied Egyptian literary and scientific works. The rulers also adopted the hieroglyphic script. At the same time, the Hyksos introduced the horse and the chariot, the composite bow and new types of daggers and swords into Egypt. The features and style of the sculpture of the latter part of the Middle Kingdom display the potential influence of art, religion and culture on the Hyksos rulers (Aldred 2004:140).

The ancient Egyptians fully accepted this foreign rule and administration and even intermarried with the Hyksos (Knapp 1988:170). Kührt (1998:174) suggests that Egypt under the Hyksos experienced a material prosperity and that trading took place between them and the Nubians. Except for the mention of a queen Tany, no other names of Hyksos queens have been found. Tany may have been the sister and consort of the last ruler of the Hyksos, Apepi or Apophis.

Towards the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, a queen's status was still related to that of her husband's status, although they were afforded a more prominent role in the society. The individuality of the queen and her divinity were increasingly emphasised. The new Theban kings whose lives were dedicated to the expulsion of the Hyksos, needed strong partners and these were often found among their sisters (Tyldesley 2006:80).

Tetisheri⁵⁷ was the wife of a Theban king Seqenenre Taa I and one of the main characters of the Seventeenth Dynasty as she was deified after her death (Tyldesley 2006:81). After her death, her grandson, Ahmose, erected a cenotaph in her honour at Abydos, the cult centre of Osiris. Seqenenre Taa II married his two sisters Inhapy and Ahhotep, elevating Ahhotep to his consort. Following the death of Seqenenre Taa II in battle against the Hyksos, his eldest son, Kamose, inherited the throne but died soon afterwards. After his death, Ahmose, the youngest son of Seqenenre Taa II and Ahmose became the new ruler. Ahhotep was the patron of the army and as such responsible for encouraging the soldiers to fight off the Hyksos rule. It was during the reign of Ahmose that the final expulsion of the Hyksos occurred (Tyldesley 2006:84).

Ahhotep's burial yielded a large number of valuable grave goods, including model boats, her honorary sword, her necklace of golden flies and a chariot. A coffin discovered by Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga, gives the title of Ahhotep: "The King's Great Wife Ahhotep (Tyldesley 2006:84).

3.7 New Kingdom (ca 1550-1069BC; Dynasties XVIII – XX)

For thousands of years the Egyptian art form never deviated from its form. Schäfer (1986:13) suggests that during the Second and Third Dynasties Egyptian art gained characteristics which survived for several millennia and never became rigid; the art was "well proportioned and strongly thought out, and expresses itself with great consistency" (Schäfer 1986:13. The ancient Egyptians found pleasure in expressing the human form in art. A code of frontalism was introduced during the Early Dynastic Period, which style lasted until the New Kingdom when Akhenaten changed the style. Frontalism was then re-introduced during the latter part of the New Kingdom, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Changes in artistic work were experienced with each new Dynasty, being influenced by the ideology of its ruler (Vermaak *et al.* 2000:4).

The start of the New Kingdom saw Egypt once again unified which resulted in a major impact on the culture of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Tiradritti 2004:60). The borders of Egypt now stretched from Nubia to the Syrian border and included the gold mines of Nubia and Sinai, resulting in wealth for the pharaoh and making him a significant factor in the political connections within the ancient Near East (Robins 1997:122).

⁵⁷ A seated statue of a woman originally thought to be a statue of Tetisheri, was purchased by the British Museum in 1890. In 1984 Vivian Davis, the curator of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, realised that this statue was forged. He compared the inscriptions of the statue with that of a damaged statue at the French Institute in Cairo and concluded that the British Museum statue was a forgery (Tyldesley 2006:81). I had the privilege of viewing this piece during a private viewing session in the vaults of the British Museum in 2007.

The New Kingdom is recognised as a period when a renaissance in ancient Egyptian art was experienced. The king's international exposure and subsequent victories were displayed in relief form on the temple walls - depicting heroic images of the warrior pharaoh. This period is known as the "Golden Empire" due to its prosperity and wealth (Tyldesley 2001:ix). Sites such as Memphis thrived with the building of new palaces, administrative buildings, workshops and arsenals. Commercial trade with the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations took place, as well as increasing trade relationships between Egypt, Asia, Levant and the rest of the Aegean. The temple at Avaris contained Minoan elements, suggesting that Ahmose probably employed Cretan artists to decorate its walls⁵⁸. Temples were the largest land owners after the king and their estates were found in all parts of ancient Egypt (Malek 1998:211-218).

Temple complexes in honour of the new principal god, Amun⁵⁹ (at Karnak) were erected, as well as mortuary temples (Deir el-Bahri), obelisks and colossal statues (Hatshepsut; Ramesses II). Malek suggests that the royal sculpture workshops were busier than ever before due to a large demand for statuary (1998:217). Artistic styles from the Middle Kingdom, such as the block statue, were still in use during the Eighteenth Dynasty as can be seen in the block figure of Senenmut, advisor to Hatshepsut. (See Figure 45). Archaism is hard to recognise in the New Kingdom since most of the sculptures were then images of the particular individual: however, earlier art styles such as pose, proportion and physical appearances were copied. The faces of the private statues did not resemble the king's image any longer with one exception: the image of Amenhotep, son of Hapu who based his representations on the characteristics of his royal master, Amenhotep III (Russman *et al.* 2001b:42)

The Asiatic factor, due to continuing relationships with the Ancient Near East, was now included in the art, as well as foreigners from neighbouring countries such as the Nubians and Asia (Simpson 1998:143). Colour played an important role and vibrant paint accentuates the walls of tombs such as that of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens. During the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III domestic and daily life⁶⁰ scenes on tomb walls became more frequent and the depictions are those of opulence and wealth. The artistic style became more impressionistic, showing a development in the skills and imagination of the

⁵⁸ Bulls were religiously significant for the ancient Egyptians as they were linked to the solar cults. The scenes of bulls on the citadel of Avaris reflect a Minoan religious origin (Tyldesley 2006:88).

⁵⁹ During the New Kingdom, the cult of Amun expanded with the religious capital being situated at Thebes. Amun was interpreted as a manifestation of the ancient sun-god of Heliopolis, Re-Horakhty (Shaw *et al.* 2003:124). Images of Amun, previously showing only the feathered crown and the flat crown now included the symbol of the sun-disc (Hart 2004:6).

⁶⁰ Aspects such as parties, craftsmen at work, hunting, fowling, fishing and agricultural scenes were all depicted on the tomb walls.

artists. Elaborate wigs, garments, jewellery and scarabs emphasised the newly gained status of elite women in society, and they are moreover portrayed in a more sensual way (Malek 1998:241).

Statues, comprising couples and individuals in various poses (kneeling, sitting and standing) together with architecture as part of domestic buildings were all executed in stone. Other technology such as glass making, and the manufacturing of small objects in faience increased, reflecting the renaissance in the artistic works of the New Kingdom (Malek 1998:255).

Thutmosis I and his successors were known as the warrior kings due to their extensive campaigns in Nubia and Syria during the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Thutmosis I's expedition to Syria opened up the trade and diplomatic relationships of the Late Bronze Age in the Ancient Near East. Thutmosis I was also known for his building projects such as his Karnak obelisk. He is mainly known for being the "real architect of the dynastic programme", (Kührt 1998:191) and instigated new ideas such as abolishing the pyramids as royal tombs and introducing a new style, namely rock-cut tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Nearby Valley of the Queens became the burial ground for the queens, which means they no longer share their final resting place with their husbands, fathers, etc. This would have a lasting effect on the future of the New Kingdom (Kührt 1998:191). Kührt (1998:191) suggests further that a new court was established at Memphis where a royal palace was built and where military campaigns of the period were planned.

Amenhotep III was renowned for his material wealth, self-deification and for maintaining political stability in Egypt during the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Freed *et al.* (1999:21) suggest he built "more and larger monuments than any king before him" including temples at Karnak. Amenhotep III is the pharaoh with the largest number of remaining statues, and it is suggested that over 250 were found. These statues were created over his entire life and are the most complete portraiture of all the pharaohs. He is particularly known for the two statues of himself, the so-called Colossi of Memnon⁶¹. (See Figure 50).

⁶¹ The colossi of Memnon (Figure 50) were named by the Greeks after the king, Memnon, who was killed by the Greek hero, Achilles in the Trojan War. A single block of granite was used to make one of the statues. The Roman emperor Septimus Severus was responsible for the restoration of the statues (Freed *et al.* 1999:22).



Figure 38: Colossal statue of Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye and daughter -
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

A second pair of limestone, colossal statues of Amenhotep III and his wife, Queen Tiye, is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. (Figure 38). Amenhotep's hands are resting on his lap, reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom, while Queen Tiye is embracing him with one arm while her left hand is placed on her lap. She is wearing the heavy wig with modius and uraeus and is dressed in the typical sheath dress. Both their faces look relaxed and smiling – a pose typical of this period. Amenhotep III is wearing the *nemes* headdress, false beard and the uraeus. In Figure 38 they are portrayed with their youngest daughter, Beketaten. This statue group originates from Medinet Habu. A unique feature of this statue is that the royal couple are both portrayed at the same height, reflecting Queen Tiye's increased feature of social status (Shahawy *et al.* 2005:190).

Amenhotep IV, the heretic king of Egypt, moved his capital from Thebes to Akhetaten (now known as El Amarna) in his seventh regnal year, changed his name to Akhenaten and introduced a completely new religion, namely that of the sun-disc, the Aten⁶².

The reign of Akhenaten not only resulted in a major cultural change in the religion, but his different views and opinions were also represented in the artistic works of the Amarna Period, known as the "Amarna Art". The proportions of the human figure changed

⁶² The Aten is defined as "the medium through which the divine power of light comes into the world" (Metropolitan Museum 2007).

dramatically and Akhenaten established a pattern which had never been attempted before, namely to portray the human being in its reality with the addition of fine details, such as toes, fingers, etc.

According to Johnson *et al.* (1999:47) the “pre-occupation with the present rather than the eternal art is one of the hallmarks of Amarna Art”. He further suggests that “the eternity of the gods and the endlessly repeating present of nature and humanity had converged”. The royal family, (Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye, Akhenaten and Nefertiti) took on the identities of the gods themselves, respectively Atum, Hathor and Tefnut.

Akhenaten was not pretentious in being shown as a man with a sagging belly, prominent breasts and an unflattering visage. In portraying the female form, the genital region and the breasts were exposed by the wearing of sheer clothing. The new style that Akhenaten introduced also influenced the images of Nefertiti. Akhenaten and Nefertiti sometimes look so similar that it can be difficult to differentiate who is depicted in the specific image (Aldred 2004:172-173). (See Figures 92-93 for the images of Akhenaten and Nefertiti that support this statement).

These new artistic styles of the New Kingdom were not a break-away from the traditional forms but rather a shift from static and monumental elements to a more naturalistic style, using traditional motifs and designs. This change in art also coincided with the prominence that was given to the Aten in the compositions. Akhenaten's new artistic style can be seen today as one of the “most appealing and attractive styles ever created” (Russman *et al.* 2001a:20).

Images give an insight into the life styles of these elite women. It can be established that they played an important part in contemporary ceremonial and religious life. Arnold (1996:85) remarks that the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose delivered a vast number of female images, each a masterpiece which reflects different aspects of the elite women.



Figure 39: Relief of The Triad of Amarna⁶³ – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

In this scene (Figure 39), a typical relief of the Amarna Period, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the Aten can be seen in the normal pose. The sun-disc is in the centre of the picture and at the top of the composition, whereas the royal couple, at even side, are embraced by the rays of the sun. The Aten offers the ankh equally to the royal couple. The Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti can thus be seen as a divine family triad replacing the earlier Theban.⁶⁴ In the artistic works of Amarna the role of the royal couple was displayed on private “shrine reliefs”. These private shrines clearly indicated that a cult existed based on the royal family (Robins1997:157). The relief shown above was found in one of these “shrines” in a private home⁶⁵. The relief was carved on a limestone stele.

In the past, the temple and tomb scenes had depicted the gods and goddesses carrying out rituals. At the start of the Amarna Period all this changed and scenes of the royal family replaced the images of gods and goddesses, reflecting the religious revolution at Thebes. No private worship of deities was allowed since the royal couple were the only people to

⁶³ Amarna Triad - Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti ;

⁶⁴ Theban triad - Amun, Mut and Khonsu.

⁶⁵ No information is available in which private house this stela was found. El Shahawy (2005:210) states that this relief where people is shown in this pose, could relate to the later Christian icons.

worship the Aten, and as such acted as divine intermediaries between non-royal and the one god (Robins 1997:157).

Various suggestions as to Nefertiti's role as a female pharaoh have been made by scholars over the years. Although the art of the Amarna Period reflects her high status and importance in the cult of the Aten, it does not confirm her status as female pharaoh. Fletcher (2001) suggests that Nefertiti was actively involved in her husband's reforms. She is shown wearing the royal regalia, smiting enemies, and there is suggestions that she ruled the country after Akhenaten's death under the name Smenkhare Neferneferaten (Arnold 1997:85).

The Aten was a faceless sun disk that could not be associated with the old gods of ancient Egypt since these were eternalised in statues and worshipped. With the Aten and his faceless appearance, the images of the royal family were noticeably enhanced to such an extent that they became the ones worshipped rather than the god. With the abstract image of the Aten as the new god, a new phase began – that of a monotheistic approach (Capel *et al.* 1996:112).

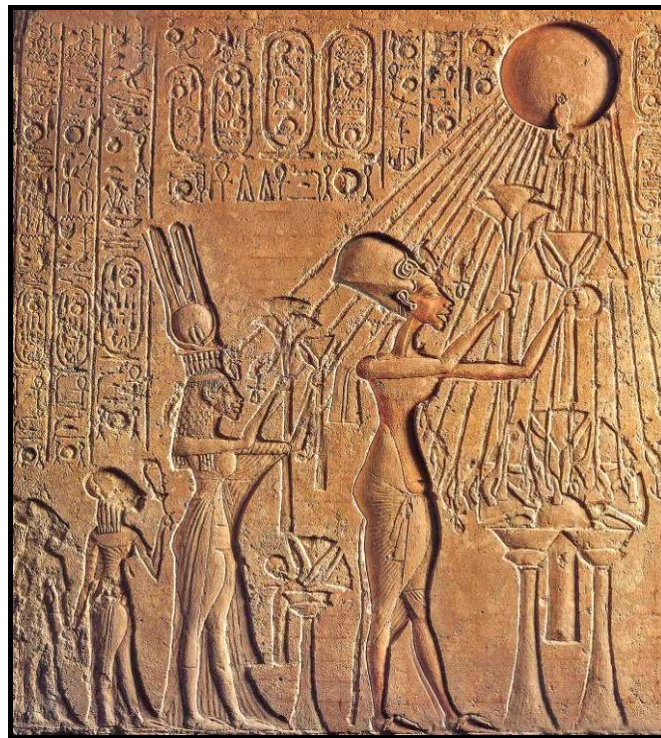


Figure 40: Relief of Royal family worshipping the Aten – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

The limestone slab⁶⁶ (Figure 40) with sunk carvings of the Amarna royal family was found in the ruins of the royal tomb at the site. They are worshipping the Aten whose appearance dominates the scene. The carving of the deeply, sunk Aten reflects this statement. The Aten's rays, ending in little hands, reach out to the royal couple transferring to them life and prosperity, in the form of the *ankh*⁶⁷ and the *was*⁶⁸ sceptre. The rays also touch and embrace the three offering tables. The hands of the royal family are stretched out (the gesture for rejoicing) as they make offerings of lotus flowers to the Aten who is placed in the top right corner. Clearly visible is the uraeus on the sun-disc (Wilkinson 2003:27; Shahawy 2005:212).

Nefertiti is not wearing her traditional platform crown but rather a headdress that was associated with the goddess, Tefnut⁶⁹ (Shahawy 2005:212). This consists of a modius with uraeus and a sun-disc surrounded by cow horns and double feathers. The headdress suggests that this carving was executed in the pre-Amarna Period. Their daughters are portrayed with them, each wearing the youthful side-lock. Akhenaten is dressed in a short pleated kilt with an attached ox-tail. On his head are the blue war crown (*khepesh*) and the uraeus (Shahawy 2005:212).

The new Amarna art style is noticeable in this carving since they are portrayed in a lifelike posture – prominent breasts, sagging stomachs, unconventional facial features, such as elongated heads, and also plump thighs (Aldred 1988:8).

In all of the later Amarna styles, Akhenaten was portrayed with an oblong head, thick lips and a sagging belly with pertinent breasts. No other pharaoh was ever portrayed in such a way where his shortcomings are emphasised (Arnold 1996/97:19-32). One of the many debates as to why Akhenaten was so portrayed was that it probably emphasised his power as the pharaoh who was responsible for one of the major cultural changes in Egyptian history. Another element is also debated namely that there is a possibility that he suffered from Marfan's Syndrome⁷⁰.

⁶⁶The artefact is probably a model made by the artist Bek, the chief royal artist in the earlier years of the Period. Although not clearly visible, there are red lines on the slab, indicating that this was only a model.

⁶⁷ The ankh was the symbol for "the divine conferral of eternal life" (Shaw *et al.*. 2003:34).

⁶⁸ The was sceptre was associated with prosperity and well-being (Shaw *et al.*. 2003:304).

⁶⁹ Tefnut was the wife of Shu, the god of sunlight and air, who wore the sun-disc and two ostrich feathers.

⁷⁰ Marfan's syndrome (according to the Marfan organisation website) is a genetic condition that affects the connective tissue that is throughout the body. This syndrome can affect the skeleton, eyes, heart and blood vessels, nervous system, skin and lungs. More important is that it affects fertility.



*Figure 41: Carnelian Plaque of Royal Family of Amarna – Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*⁷¹

Affection was another element introduced into the artistic works of the Amarna Period. Figure 41 is an example of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, displaying affection which is not common in the portrayal of a male and a female before the Amarna Period (Vassilika 1995:62). The “Royal Embrace” is actually an unfinished plaque of carnelian, featuring Akhenaten, Nefertiti and two of their six daughters. In a society where the ruler was divine, this type of scene was unacceptable. The Aten religion which Akhenaten had instituted and his new art style was heretical, and in total contrast with the iconography of previous rulers since it steered away from the aspect of frontalism and other artistic rules (Vassilika 1995:62). The Amarna style ended with the death of Tutankhamen.

The delineation of hands and feet were obviously thought to be important, as is seen in many of the paintings and relief carvings, reflecting the artisans' sense of detail. Finger- and toenails were often clearly visible on the art forms, particularly reliefs and statues (Aldred 2004:176-178). No difference was made between the colour of males and females as was the case in earlier periods when flesh tones were shown as dark brown for males and light brown-to-yellow for females. During the Amarna Period, flesh was consistently shown as dark brown, for both sexes (Rutherford 2006). The connotation is that the darker colours

⁷¹ The figures are vague and only the contours of the bodies are visible. According to Vassilika (1995:62) the plaque is one of the largest known semi-precious worked stones from Ancient Egypt.

reflect the life blood. As is normal in Egyptian art, commoners are shown with two left feet (or two right feet).

Artistic works of the New Kingdom also reflect aspects such as old age, whereas little or no portraits and paintings exist from the Old and Middle Kingdom showing this aspect. Old age was indicated by facial lines and bald patches on the top of the head (Simpson 1998:142). Thus, the well-known Berlin head (Figures 88 & 89) of Nefertiti is in total contrast with the portrayal of Nefertiti when she was older. (Figure 42). In her later years, she was known as a “*Wise Woman*”, a title previously held by her mother-in-law Queen Tiye (Arnold 1996/97:19-32).



Figure 42: Statue of Nefertiti – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin

Arnold further suggests that this limestone statue of Nefertiti, (Figure 42) found in the Thutmose workshop, reflects the once beautiful queen as an unhappy, middle-aged woman (Arnold 1996/97:19-32). The body and iconography indeed point to Nefertiti, but the statue does not reflect her beauty. On the contrary, her facial features are not feminine and her unsmiling mouth displays bitterness. The deep, vertical furrows portray a different view of

Nefertiti's once beautiful facial features. Apart from reflecting deterioration in the physical appearance of the queen such as sagging cheeks, drooping breasts and tummy, it also reflects another aspect of her personality: that of sadness. She is wearing a transparent dress of which only the sleeves can be distinguished. On her head is a tight-fitting cap over an obviously shaved head and she has a pair of sandals on her feet (Wildung 1999:21). This statue is just one of the various images of Nefertiti at various stages of her life.

In the late Eighteenth Dynasty a young king, Tutankhamen, re-instated the god, Amun, as state god and moved back to Thebes from El Amarna. He was often portrayed with his young wife, Ankhesenamun, in various scenes such as that of the "Golden Throne" (see Figures 96 & 97). His untimely death, and the subsequent discovery of his tomb in 1922, resulted in a worldwide interest in ancient Egyptian history and its artefacts. The Eighteenth Dynasty ended with the death of Horemheb who was an army general. He died without an heir and appointed the future Ramesses I as his successor before his death (Knapp 1988:180).

Following the Amarna Period, the cult of the god Amun was re-instated. The later part of the New Kingdom was marked by the artistic work of Ramesses II, whose statues and structures are still known for their sheer size and quantity. Succeeding kings often personified this monarch by taking his name and attempting to imitate his monumentality (Knapp 1988:182).

Ramesses I was the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty whose rulers came from the Nile Delta and not from Thebes. The Ramesside rulers' main task was to prevent the expansion of the Hittites into Syria. Sety I, the successor of Ramesses I, was succeeded by Ramesses II with Nefertari as his favourite wife. She was known as the "King's Wife". Ramesses II was in continuous conflict with the Hittites, an aspect that was finally resolved by signing a treaty with the Hittites and a diplomatic marriage between Ramesses II and a Hittite princess (Kührt 1998:204-209; Shaw *et al.* 2003:241). A beautiful temple at Abu Simbel (See Figure 103) was built in Nefertari's honour where she appeared on a colossal scale beside depictions of her husband. She was buried in the most beautiful tomb ever constructed for a queen in the Valley of the Queens (McDonald 1996:2).

Ramesses II lived to the ripe old age of ninety plus and ruled for approximately sixty-seven years. He fathered approximately one hundred children and was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Merneptah. The artistic works of Ramesses II never developed into major styles and many of his faces on his monuments were based on the Amarna style. According to Russman *et al.* (2001a:23) statues appear to be "coarse, bloated and exophthalmic". These elements were recurrent on statues of Ramesses II's successors as well as those of the non-royals.

During Merneptah's reign, the country was in turmoil due to constant conflict with the Libyans in the west and the threats of the so-called Sea Peoples who were terrorising the Mediterranean, including Egypt (Knapp 1988:181). Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty developed major building projects that were limited due to a lack of funds. This resulted in the closing of various trade routes that had for many years enabled the various international communities to have contact (Tyldesley 2006:167). At the same time this period was marked by worker demonstrations and the first known sit-down strike in history. Conspiracies to assassinate this king reflect the co-operation of the harem officials, government personnel, and army officers (Knapp 1988:182).

Reliefs and paintings of the New Kingdom are more logical and more ambitious. Examples of two-dimensional art of this period occur in the tomb of Nefertari and in various private tombs (Russman *et al.* 2001a:23).

By the end of the New Kingdom the rest of the Ancient Near East experienced an economic failure due to poor harvests which therefore, led to food shortages. The bureaucracy became more and more corrupt and the king's rule was questioned by the priests of Amun. Political turmoil may have resulted in the weakening of Egypt's power at the end of the New Kingdom. By the end of the twelfth century BC, her world empire collapsed (Knapp 1988:182).

Most of the tombs of the New Kingdom are in the Valley of the Kings and Queens opposite modern day Luxor. The first tombs were cut into the cliffs by Thutmose I, followed by tombs that were placed in the slopes or in the valley's floor (Amenhotep III), ending with the Ramesside tombs that were proper rooms entered through rock spurs that protrude from the valley's sides (Wilkinson 1996:21). The royal tomb of El Amarna was situated approximately six kilometres from the city of Akhetaten. According to Reeves *et al.* (1996:119) the tomb shows evidence that it was unfinished and hastily built.

3.7.1 Reliefs

Thutmose III was known as the Napoleon of ancient Egypt (Lesko 1991:12) due to his successful campaigns as far as the Euphrates in order to gain control over Syria and Palestine. His reign was the starting point for the portrayal of successful army campaigns on the walls of temples. Shown on these walls were scenes where the smiting of the enemies by the king was shown (Malek 1999:215). Military campaigns were an important feature of the reign and war scenes became common. From then on the military prowess and heroic exploits of the pharaoh became common on the walls of temples, tombs and on pylons until the Amarna Period.

During the Amarna Period, the reliefs portrayed the royal couple and often their daughters, worshipping the Aten. The royal couple therefore, took the place of the gods of the Theban period since a monotheistic cult developed with no other gods being portrayed on the reliefs (Robins 1997:157).

The remains of the buildings and their art work, such as the reliefs of Ahmose and Amenhotep I at Karnak of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, show a continuation of the style of the Thirteenth Dynasty and its traditions but with only two relevant new traditions incorporated into the art: the Blue Crown of the pharaoh and the lotus sceptre of the queen, resembling rebirth after death (Aldred 2004:147).

On the walls and columns of Karnak, Ramesseum and Abu Simbel, the victory scenes of Sety I and Ramesses II, are carved out in detail. These scenes depict the smiting of enemies which also reflect the symbolism of keeping the temple pure and free from outer influences. Therefore, these scenes “ensure, on a cosmic level, the survival of the ordered world” (Robins 1997:178). Secondly, these scenes depict the power of the king and his important position in the world as a divine figure.

3.7.2 Paintings

Wall paintings became more effective during this Period and were mostly commissioned by high officials of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Most of the mural paintings that survived derive from royal tombs and little has come from the houses and palaces of ancient Egypt. Rare examples of wall paintings from the Royal Palace at El Amarna and a few private houses are now in various museums such as the British Museum, Cairo Museum, Ashmolean Museum, Petrie Museum, etc (James 1985:37).

The royal tomb paintings distinguish these structures from non-royal individuals since they give detailed information on the lifestyles of the royal families. They also reflect the journey of the deceased ruler to the afterlife (Wilkinson *et al.* 2002:3-37).

The demand for artistic works originates from the wealth enjoyed by the bureaucracy. This was readily obtained from booty from conquered lands, the result of the expansion of Egypt's frontiers. The reliefs of the early Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties reflect the journey of the sun through the cosmos, the importance of Osiris and the other gods of the Netherworld. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, only burial chambers were decorated. This changed during the Nineteenth Dynasty when all tomb walls and ceilings were decorated.

The tombs in the Valley of the Kings were mainly decorated with painted reliefs or wall and ceiling paintings. The scenes derived from the sacred “Book of the Dead”, and also included images of the gods and the family of the deceased ruler (Aldred 2004:146).

The most famous funerary temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty is that of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Wall paintings and painted reliefs include Hatshepsut's divine birth, her relationships with the deities Amun and Hathor, and her famous expeditions to Punt. After her death her images were defaced and deliberately damaged, by her nephew, Thutmosis III. Her name was also not mentioned on the king list of Sety I. The only monument that escaped this violation of her images is the Chapelle Rouge at Karnak. Various scenes on the walls reflect the:

- acknowledgement of Hatshepsut as king by Amun,
- Festival of Opet,
- offering scenes to Amun, etc.

Tomb paintings often contain elements of water activities such as fishing and water as a way of transport. The Nile played an important part in the life of the ancient Egyptians and the tomb owner is continuously portrayed hunting, fishing and fowling in the Fayum marshes or the Nile itself.



Figure 43: Fowling in the marshes - Tomb of Nebamun at Thebes, British Museum, London

In this painted limestone wall painting (Figure 43), one of eleven fragments from the unidentified Theban Tomb of Nebamun, the tomb owner⁷² is seen here fowling in the

⁷² Nebamun was the Overseer of the Granary during the reign of Amenhotep III. This scene does not reflect an activity to get food but portrays a sport activity. The tomb is situated near Luxor. Eleven

marshes, balancing himself on a papyrus skiff. The paintings can be distinguished from others of a similar kind due to the quality of the drawing and the use of the colour. Although much of the green on some of the other fragments is fading, this particular fragment has retained much of its colour.⁷³

Nebamun is shown here dressed in the traditional kilt, wig and the broad collar. His right hand is clinging onto the legs of a duck while his left is ready to throw the throwstick to kill the birds. His wife is dressed in the traditional pleated dress. She is wearing the short wig and diadem with the scented wax cone on her head. The object in her right hand is not clearly visible, but could be a bunch of papyrus flowers. Beneath his legs is the figure of his little daughter, who is shown with the sidelock and is naked. She is wearing the broad collar and a necklace. The three figures are surrounded by the wild life of the marshes: geese, birds and ducks in all forms of action both flying and stationary. Below the papyrus boat fish are seen swimming in the water of the Nile. On the left hand side of the picture is a bush of papyrus plants. Just above the right foot of Nebamun is the image of a cat, acting as a decoy for the birds. It was recently discovered that gold leaf had been placed on the eye of the cat (2007:British Museum).

fragments of the wall paintings were found and are currently located in the British Museum where it has been restored for exhibition in 2008.

⁷³ This specific fragment was viewed by me in the vaults of the British Museum assisted by Dr Neal Spencer, a curator from the British Museum. Dr Spencer kindly gave his views on the colour and the general condition of the painting. Eleven of these fragments are currently in restoration.

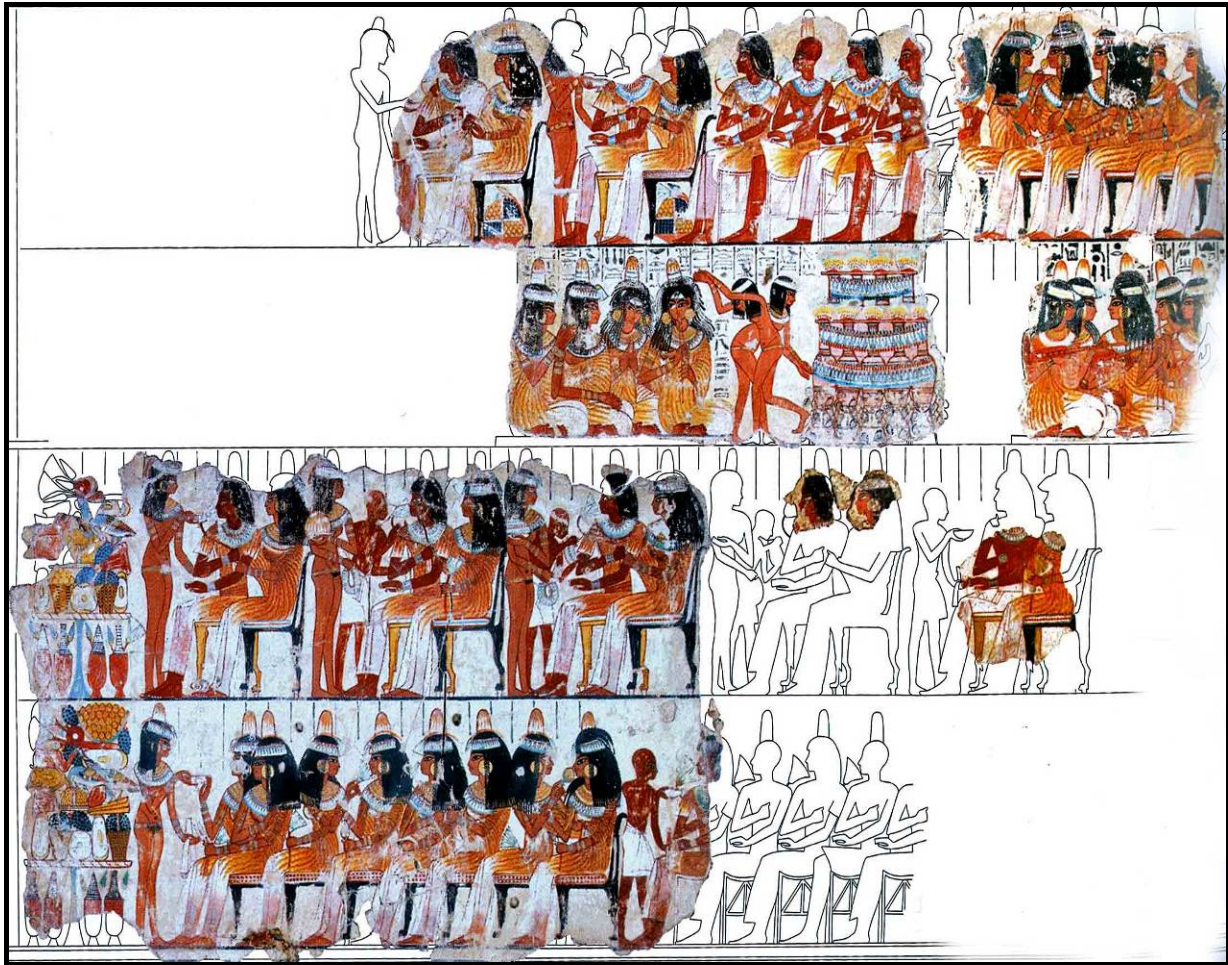


Figure 44: Banquet scene from the Tomb of Nebamun, 18th Dynasty – British Museum

The portrait paintings of the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty reflect specific attributes such as simplicity in the pose of figures as well as rigidity. In the example of a second wall painting from the tomb of Nebamun, (Figure 44), a scene was painted suggesting the celebration of rebirth and a new life for the male and female guests. No food is being consumed although drinks are served by naked servants.

The elite ladies in all the registers are dressed in white robes waiting to be served by the waitress who is totally naked except for her headdress and a necklace (See registers 1, 3 & 4). The ladies placed third, fourth, seventh and eighth on the bottom register are obviously in conversation while the rest are facing the servant. Behind the ladies is a male servant, serving a group of men. On the right hand side of the picture only the legs of a male guest is visible. The ladies are dressed in festive clothes with wigs, diadems, necklaces and big earrings. On their heads are scented cones consisting of oxen fat or tallow, mixed with myrrh or incense. When the cones melted, the fragrance was released. However, no examples of the cones have ever been found, so the existence of such a commodity is often debated. It

could simply have been invented purely for funerary paintings (1999:Canadian Museum of Civilisation Corporation)

The guests are entertained by musicians and dancing girls who are visible on the second register of the painting. The dancing girls are naked which was typical for the portrayal of young servant girls. The musicians left of the dancing girls (2nd register) are shown clapping their hands and playing the flute. They are presumably sitting on the floor since their feet and knees, clearly visible, are twisted. The non-frontal appearance of the dancing girl in the front is a break in the usual principle of Egyptian frontalism. The New Kingdom dances were more relaxed and with more graceful movements than the jumping and stamping of the Old Kingdom portraiture.

The rigidity of the guests is clearly visible. Contrasting to the stiffness of the guests, the dancing girls on the second register are shown with more freedom, their bodies obviously swaying to the sound of the music (Spencer 2003:3). Exell (2005:17) suggests that natural depictions such as these dancers and musicians (2nd register) illustrate the fact that the ancient Egyptian artists had the expertise to draw and sculpt realistically. She further suggests that minor figures such as the musicians are responsible for the population of “the luminal areas of Egyptian art” (Exell (2005:17)

Schäfer (1986:16) believes that the rigidity of the figures in the artistic works cannot be ascribed to incompetence but rather to vitality and confidence. A new colour style was introduced by Ramesses II. This technique was applied to the tomb paintings in Nefertari's tomb but unfortunately, these aspects are no longer visible on the images. New experiments with shading were carried out, resulting in darker areas around the mouth, the folds of the sleeves, and used to accentuate the nostrils and the lips. The lips were painted bright red while the skin had a softer tone (Smith 1998:213).

During the Nineteenth Dynasty, Sety I started a new tradition, namely to paint all the walls and the ceilings of the tombs. According to Robins (1997:168), this was done to portray the king and his deities as well as the journey of the sun through the heavens. Painted reliefs were popular. The outlines were drawn on the walls before carving of the reliefs or painting could start.

3.7.3 Statues/Temples

The New Kingdom was founded by a Theban Dynasty whose representations were influenced by the artistic works of the early Middle Kingdom which was also based at Thebes. Ahmose, the founder of the New Kingdom, became a “Homeric champion” (Aldred 2004:142), a facet reflected in his colossal statues and other representational art. In the

middle and later part of the New Kingdom, images of queens were often incorporated into the colossal statues of their husbands.

Wealth was brought to the country by Thutmosis I (Tyldesley 2000:86) who conquered Nubia and the lands south-west of the Euphrates, leaving a rich legacy for his descendants. Egypt was now the richest and most powerful state in the ancient world. There was a great demand for luxurious possessions which included statuary, supported by the enormous wealth of the rulers of the New Kingdom.



*Figure 45: Block figure of Senenmut –
British Museum, London*



*Figure 46: Block statue of Senenmut
and Neferura⁷⁴ – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin*

During the early New Kingdom, sculptures still contained elements that were inherited from the Middle Kingdom such as the block form and the sphinx (Wilson 1986:10). The block- or cloaked figure originates from the Middle Kingdom and was used until the Third Intermediate Period, being mostly associated with non-royals (Bianchi 2000:33). Bianchi suggests that the “form is evocative of the original mound of creation that emerged from the waters of chaos when they were struck by the initial rays of the sun on the first day of the world”. Other scholars regard the block figure as an illustration of the resurrection of the god Osiris from his burial box. An example of the block form in the Eighteenth Dynasty, is the statue of Senenmut, (Figure 45) the trusted advisor of Hatshepsut (Aldred 2004:133). No evidence was found of pharaohs or women portrayed in the block form. The statue was made of a reddish brown quartzite. Senenmut was depicted on a few block statues such as this one

⁷⁴ Neferura was the daughter of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis II. She was looked after by Senenmut, the trusted advisor of Hatshepsut.

made (Figure 46) of granite of him with Neferura on his lap. He is wearing the *khat* headdress and she is shown with the typical youthful sidelock. On her forehead is the uraeus.



Figure 47: Statue of Amenhotep III -
Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 48: Statue of Thutmose III -
Rosicrucian Museum complex in San Jose

Sculpted figures stand or sit with a formal, stiff and rigid pose as can be seen in the statue of Amenhotep III, made of granite, (Figure 47) and that of Thutmose III (Figure 48). These two statues reflect the typical stance of an ancient Egyptian male during the New Kingdom. The faces appear calm and serene, tilted towards the sky (in the case of Thutmose III, Figure 48) where the sun god dwells. Both the figures are shown in the striding pose, while the body adopts a rigid stance. This posture was adopted from the Old Kingdom by later rulers. In both the figures, the hands are formed into fists and hang beside the body. The statue of Thutmose III wears the Pharaonic beard, *nemes* headdress with the uraeus and a kilt. Both the statues display the frontal position with strong, muscular bodies. The statue of Amenhotep III (Figure 47) is particularly shown in his prime. Similarly, the schist statue of

Thutmosis III, (Figure 48) depicts all the elements of what a king should be: flawless, handsome and with an athletic muscular body. Known as the Warrior King, his body clearly reflects his military education. He wears the *nemes* headdress and the uraeus and false beard, all symbols of kingship. His facial features are strong. The eyes are slanted, the nose perfectly formed with the hint of a smile and the lips are full. This statue illustrates the aesthetics introduced by Hatshepsut, a technical quality and precision to express realism and idealism (Egyptian Museum, Cairo official website).

Amenhotep III introduced his new art style by having his facial features carved in various styles. Russman *et al.* (2001b:36) suggest that these facial features could range from babyish, naturalistic, mask-like, and even in some cases, an elderly appearance. It was only in the middle 1980's that it was established that the babyish features could be linked to the fact that Amenhotep III became king at a very young age. Amenhotep III therefore, started to introduce a new artistic style⁷⁵ which was completed by his son, Amenhotep IV, later known as Akhenaten. Amenhotep III followed an agenda of self-deification and therefore the portraiture played a role in conveying this divine message.



Figure 49: Akhenaten with his distorted bodily features – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

⁷⁵ This new art style was developed to present the owner of the statuary as normal and natural as possible.

Akhenaten was known as the heretic king, and with the appointment of the two sculptors Bek (Chief Sculptor) and his successor, Tuthmose, a total change in the artistic styles was experienced (Aldred 2004:21). The “Amarna Style” succeeded in softening the harsh portrait styles introduced by Senusert III and Amenemhet III in the Middle Kingdom. He is dressed in a short, pleated skirt. Around his wrists and on his arms are bracelets that contain the cartouches of Ro-Horakhty, the deified solar disk. He is wearing the false beard and holding a flail in his left hand; it is assumed that the *heka* sceptre was in his right hand. On his head is the *nemes* headdress with the uraeus as well as the double crown. His distorted body form is clearly visible. In this sculpture, he is visibly different from the statues of his father, Amenhotep III (Figure 47), and Thutmosis III (Figure 48).

The portraiture of the women of Amarna reflects physical beauty and an aspect of naturalism. The influence of this style is also visible in the portraiture of Tutankhamen (Russman *et al.* 2001b:37).



Figure 50: The twin colossi of Amenhotep III (a.k.a. the Colossi of Memnon) on the West Bank, Luxor

Colossal statues promoting the power and authority of the pharaoh became more popular during the New Kingdom (McDonald 1996:16). According to Aldred (2004:93) the first appearance dates back to the Old Kingdom of which the Great Sphinx is the earliest surviving example.

During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty the most important colossal statues were those erected by Amenhotep III and Ramesses II. The twin colossi of Amenhotep III, made from quartzite, (Figure 50) are situated on the West Bank of Luxor. The pharaoh's hands are folded in his lap, typical of Theban art. A much smaller figure of his wife, Tiye, and his mother, Mutemwiya, are pictured alongside his legs.

Malek (1999:308) argues that colossal statues are often regarded as the “hallmark of the Ramesside Period”. Ramesses II was especially known for his building projects such as the colossi of both himself, his consort wife Nefertari, and small statues of their daughters at Abu Simbel. (See Figure 51). Other colossi of Ramesses II are at his Nubian temple of Wadi es-Sebua, Derr and Gerf Hussein (McDonald 1996:16).

The Ramesside Period reflects an increase in monumental structures. The Ramesside kings established themselves in the Nile Delta but continued to resume their building projects at Thebes. In total contrast with the exact representational material of El Amarna, Ramesses II never had a portrait reproduction. The reason for the lack of royal portraiture in the Late New Kingdom could be attributed to the fact that no specific artistic style was developed (Russman *et al.* 2001b:37). The sculptures and reliefs became monotonous, depicting many battle scenes such as Ramesses II's Battle of Qadesh, portrayed on the walls of his temple at Abu Simbel (Figure 51) and the Ramesseum (Aldred 2004:188).



Figure 51: Large Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel



Figure 52: Statue of Hatshepsut -



Figure 53: Statuette of Thutmose III⁷⁶ -

Metropolitan Museum, New York

Another characteristic of the statuary of the New Kingdom is the pose of the kneeling figure. Robins (1986:31) demonstrates that only a few grids, relating to kneeling figures, survived. Approximately nine squares were used from the hairline to the lower border of the buttocks, and another two from the heel to the ball of the foot since the toes are always portrayed as bent under the foot.

In Figure 52 Hatshepsut is shown in the kneeling pose with offering vases (nu-jars) in her hand. This pose was often associated with the offering of wine but also the general element of offering (Robins 1997:128). That the pose became popular in the New Kingdom can be seen in the similar statue of Thutmose III, (Figure 53). Hatshepsut is wearing the *nemes* headdress and the false beard. She is dressed in the royal kilt, traditionally wore only by male rulers. The statue, made of granite, is that of a male and little femininity is visible. She has no breasts and her face looks like that of a man although the waist is thinner than the hips, suggesting a woman. The wearing of the kilt and the *nemes* headdress resembles the

⁷⁶ This black bronze statuette of Thutmose III is one of the earliest known New Kingdom royal bronze statuettes (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York official website). The bronze was darkened to reflect the metal inlays such as the gold nipples and the rim of the left eye. The body was cast in solid bronze.

attire of Sobekneferu from the Middle Kingdom. (See Figure 35 for an image of Sobekneferu). Thutmosis III is also shown (Figure 53) with an offering in the hand, wearing the *nemes* headdress and the kilt.

The military campaigns of Thutmosis III, were depicted on reliefs on temple walls where the pharaoh “was portrayed as a warrior who carried out the wishes of Amun by destroying Egypt’s enemies” (Malek 1999:212). Depictions of the smiting of enemies work was another aspect of Egyptian art which evolved during the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Aldred (2004:163) suggests that by the time Thutmosis IV commenced his reign, the prim formality of the tomb paintings had changed to styles that reflected the influence of foreign countries, wealth and new ideas. Erotic elements appeared in the art work of the ruling class that was expressed in representational art as well as in love poems. Female nudity reached a peak during the reign of Akhenaten as well as the accentuation of the female body. The realistic art introduced by Akhenaten became the visual manifestation of his new policy (Saggs 1989:290).



*Figure 54: Statue of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye with one of their children –
Petrie Museum, London*

New artistic works were established during the reign of Amenhotep III. Representations of his subjects were based on the likeness of the king and the royal imagery was based on his self-deification (Russman *et al.* 2001a:20). The imperial role was reflected in the court and in the elite society being particularly seen in fashion. Amenhotep III succeeded his father Thutmosis IV and married the unknown lady, Tiye. Queen Tiye had her own royal sculptor, Yuti. The new tendency was to portray all people, including royal, elite and non-elite, as real as never before. Depiction of the non-royals was different from the traditional styles of the previous periods.

Figure 54 shows a unique limestone sculpture of Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye and one of their children. This statue was originally associated with Akhenaten and Nefertiti but it is now confirmed as that of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye. In this sculpture, they are holding hands and all three the statues are portrayed with the left feet advanced. Both the figures reflect the plumpness in the figures.

The dress code changed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, when more sensual dress codes were introduced, showing naked bodies covered in a sheer material, as can be seen in Figure 54: a statue of Amenhotep II, Queen Tiye and their daughter. Although Amenhotep III's genitals are not shown, the pubic area of Queen Tiye is clearly visible.

The Theban style of the Eighteenth Dynasty included elements such as flat hands on the thighs of figures either seated or standing. Statues and sphinxes of the queens were portrayed with the Hathorian or the Tefnut headdress while the guardian lion is portrayed with the face of the pharaoh. Wigs, sheath dresses and the broad collar were still fashionable adornments all dating back to the fashion style of the Middle Kingdom. The wig was longer covering the shoulders with triple pigtailed hanging down the back.

The New Kingdom is renowned as a period when a renaissance in the art was experienced. Although artistic works were in general based on the Middle Kingdom, there were new influences, ideas and techniques. Wealth and status were the main elements of the New Kingdom society and the prosperous life styles of the elite are reflected in their colourful decorated tombs at Western Thebes and later at El Amarna (Wilson 1986:10).



*Figure 55: Unfinished clay model of Nefertiti's head⁷⁷ –
Ägyptische Museum, Berlin*

The traditional style used for statues and sculptures moved away from the earlier depictions to a more expressive style during the Eighteenth Dynasty, as can be seen in the various depictions of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. More detail was attached to the facial features as evidenced in the model-bust of Nefertiti (Figure 55) as well as the accentuation of the female body (see Figures 92 & 93) (Russman *et al.* 2001b:37). This unfinished clay model of Nefertiti's head shows the particular details of her facial features, notably her full sensuous mouth and narrow eyes. She is shown with a diadem on her head. Although the features are close to perfection, work still needed to be done to smooth down the whole statue. Around her neck, lines suggest that the broad collar was in the process of being depicted.

During the Amarna Period non-royals were also depicted with narrow shoulders, slender limbs, short lower legs, drooping stomachs and pronounced buttocks (Robins 1997:151).

Most of temples of the New Kingdom were built in and around Thebes where the political centre of this period was located. These structures contained an enormous number of private or votive statues that were permitted to be placed in the temples by grace and in

⁷⁷ This unfinished clay model of Nefertiti's head is one of many unfinished works that were found in the workshop of the sculptor, Thutmosis (Arnold *et al.* 1996:47)

favour of the king. They were placed in here for a mortuary purpose since offerings were presented to them. The temples were the “showcase” of the wealth and the power of the reformed state. Massive constructions were built in the honour of the gods, containing the shrine of the specific deity in the sanctuary. The winged Horus, guardian lions and sphinxes would adorn the entrances to these temples. On the pylons the victories of the king over “human and animal predators” (Aldred 2004:146) would be portrayed. Sacred lakes were also an external feature.

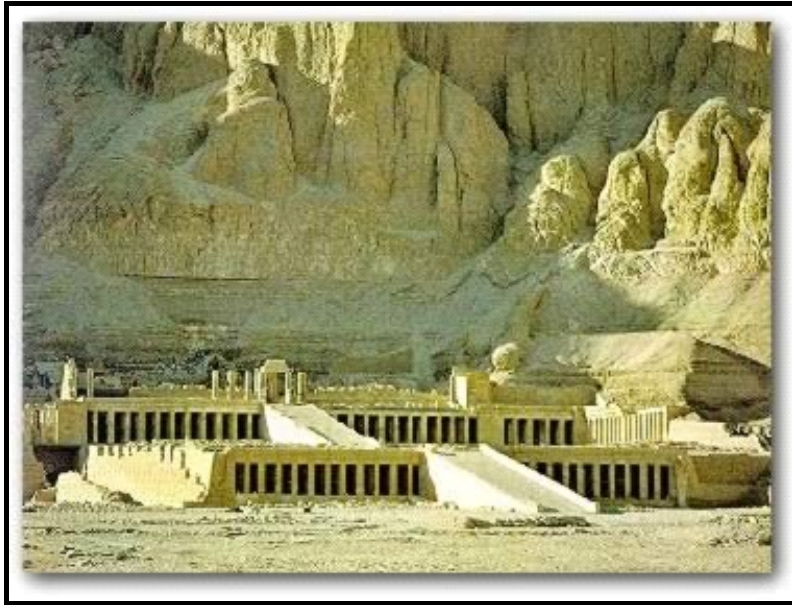


Figure 56: Mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut - Deir el-Bahri

The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Figure 56) is also known as “*djeser-djeser*”, (“sacred of sacreds” or “sublime of the sublimes”). Parsons (2003b) suggests that this temple was one of the masterpieces of Pharaonic architecture and designed by one of the greatest temple builders of ancient Egypt. Most scholars identify the builder as Senenmut who held the title of Overseer of Works. The structure has distinct features of Minoan architecture with its open colonnades, monumental staircases, elevated platforms and the amalgamation with the landscape. It was built in a valley at the base of desert cliffs on the west bank of the Nile, facing the temple of Amun at Karnak and overlooked by the “Peak of the West” where the goddess, Meretseger lived that was in control of the Theban necropolis (Parsons 2003b).



*Figure 57: Statue of a small lion-maned sphinx of Hatshepsut –
Metropolitan Museum, New York*

According to Aldred (2004:142) approximately two-hundred statues adorned the halls of the mortuary temple. The entrance to the temple was lined with sphinxes and incense trees that were brought from Punt by the expedition of Hatshepsut. Two of the sphinxes are copies of the earlier lion-maned sphinxes of Amenemhet III of the Middle Kingdom and can respectively be found in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. (Figure 57). According to Keller *et al.* (2005:166) the twin sphinxes do not reflect the power of the pharaoh but rather a “tranquil expectancy”. These authors further suggest that the twin sphinxes were placed in such a way so they could “greet” the visitors to the temple. This was in total contrast with earlier sphinxes which reflected the notion of guardianship. The two sphinxes have an aura of lightness around them. The sculptors of the Metropolitan Museum sphinx dearly envisaged the earlier youthful, feminine features of the monarch (Keller *et al.* 2005:166).

The portico of the temple at Deir el-Bahri is decorated with scenes of the marshes of Lower Egypt. On the other walls, the quarrying and transportation of Hatshepsut’s obelisks from Aswan to Karnak are portrayed, her exploitation of the land of Punt, as well as her divine conception and her subsequently divine birth. Most of these reliefs still reflect the influence of the Middle Kingdom.

Various other temples formed part of the complex such as those dedicated to Hathor, Amun and Anubis. An altar was also built where Ro-Horakhty was worshipped. Inside the temple was a shrine built by Hatshepsut in honour of the cow-goddess, Hathor in the guise of a cow that suckles and protects the queen (Carter 2003:45; Aldred 2004:20, 157).

Aldred (2004:151) states that the temple was built by Hatshepsut to associate herself with her godly father, Amun. She believed she was of divine birth, claimed the right to the throne, and declared herself king. Her decision to become pharaoh was supported by her viziers, the priesthood of the god Amun, as well as the High Priest, Hapusoneb. According to Tyldesley (1994:226) the following text appears on the walls of the Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple at to confirm Hatshepsut's statement that she was designated to succeed her father:

“Then his majesty said to them. “This daughter of mine I have appointed as successor upon my throne. She shall sit on this marvellous dais. She shall direct the commons in every sphere of the palace. It is she who will lead you. Obey her words and unite yourselves at her command”.

Throughout the temple Hatshepsut is portrayed as a male, wearing a kilt and a *nemes* headdress. Her body was originally portrayed as female with slender limbs and full breasts. A good example of elegance can be seen where Hatshepsut wears the kilt and the *nemes* headdress. (See Figure 80 for this representation). Towards the end of her reign, she was portrayed as more muscular with additional male features.

At Karnak is the Chapelle Rouge that was started by Hatshepsut and completed by Thutmose III. It formed part of the Temple of Amun and mainly contained scenes of the Opet Festival (Wilkinson 2000:94, 156-157). The building was intended as a barque shrine for the god Amun and the starting and ending point of the processions (Benderitter, 2001).

The Temple of Karnak (Ipet-Iset) is one of the largest temple complexes ever built in the world. The main precinct is that of the god Amun, the principal god of the New Kingdom (excluding the Amarna Period). Two other precincts were built in honour of Mut and Khonsu, Amun's wife and son, also known as the Thebes triad (Wilkinson 2000:164). Remains of an earlier precinct dates back to the Middle Kingdom Successive kings of the New Kingdom constantly added on, restored, redecorated and enlarged the temple until it reached the dimensions it has today (Wilkinson 2000:164). Apart from the various temples, another main component is the obelisks of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut that form part of the Amun temple. Amenhotep IV built a precinct in honour of the new god Aten and made use of existing stones for the columns. The Hypostyle hall was (according to Weeks 2005:81) the idea of Ramesses I, but constructed by Sety I and by his son, Ramesses II. Various reliefs of Ramesses can be found on the columns, reflecting his relationship with the deities, (Amun, Mut, Khonsu and Hathor) as well as his power over the Nubian and Asiatic enemies.

The third temple complex that needs to be addressed is situated at Abu Simbel⁷⁸ and was built by Ramesses II. According to Wilkinson (2000:226) “the Great Temple of Abu Simbel is probably the most impressive of all the Egyptian monuments in the area”. The colossal statues of Ramesses II at its entrance are some of the largest statues made in ancient Egypt. Smaller statues of his wife, Nefertari, his mother and daughters fill the gaps between the kings. Other scenes depicted on the outside of the temple and flanking the sides of the statues, are war scenes portraying carved figures of Egypt’s enemy. A stele outside the temple records the marriage of Ramesses II to a Hittite princess. Inside the sanctuary there are four statues – those of Ptah, Amun, Re and the self-deified statue of Ramesses II himself.

Ramesses II built another temple, the Smaller Temple, in honour of his principal wife, Nefertari. The entrance to the temple is flanked by colossal statues of both the king and the queen. The inside of the temple is decorated with images of Hathor.

The artistic features of the Pharaonic Period were closely linked to the roles of the subjects portrayed in the artistic works. Therefore, the roles of the women of the New Kingdom were closely linked to the occupations of their husbands, and as such, they were portrayed according to their status. At the same time, some of the women were raised to the top level of the society where they acted as co-regents and regents. The “King’s Wife” became part of her husband’s rule and for the king to reign without a consort was an offence against Ma’at, the divine order of the universe.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has recorded, in chronological order, the art forms of the successive dynasties, describing the various advances that were experienced and how the roles of the kings and elite women were portrayed.

The findings are that the artistic works reflect that, in the early dynasties of Egyptian history, the male ruler was the icon of the state, the earthly god and the divine ruler. The elite women had their own rank and status in society according to that of their husbands. Various interpretations can be made from looking at the proportions and size of statues of queen in relation to those of kings. During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the art emphasised male power and dominance, whereas in the New Kingdom, women’s roles changed, and they appeared more prominently on the social scenes. This resulted in them often being represented on the same scale as their husbands, clearly indicating that their role was of equal standing. During the larger part of the Old and Middle Kingdoms the royal family’s

⁷⁸ See Figure 51 for a picture of Abu Simbel

visibility in society was low key, but the royal wives always enjoyed a high status. Although they were not politically involved, they could own property, did enter into legal- and commercial transactions. A vast number of statuary survives from the Middle Kingdom when individual statues of queens and women, in general, became more common from the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty. Ahhotep was the first women to lay the foundations for the transformation of elite women when ancient Egypt experienced major cultural changes from the start of the New Kingdom. This resulted in the public acknowledgement of elite women in society. Their roles changed, and they often operated politically, religiously and commercially beside their husbands on a far bigger scale than previously. These cultural advances were recorded in both the statuary and painted images. The artistic works show that elite women of the New Kingdom were more exposed to the outside world, were more assertive in their actions and were far more respected in society. With the renaissance experienced in the artistic works during the New Kingdom, images reflecting the status and daily life style of elite women appeared more frequently and accurately. The reign of Akhenaten not only resulted in a major cultural change in religion, but his different views and opinions were also represented in the "Amarna Art", a style extensively recording the lifestyles of the royal women of this period. Before the Amarna Period, the temple and tomb scenes depicted the gods and goddesses carrying out rituals. This changed during the Amarna Period when scenes of the royal family replaced the traditional images of gods and goddesses, so that new temple art subjects appeared. The women from the privileged classes were designated by their names on tomb walls and these included their titles and epithets. They played an important role in the religious cults of the various gods.

There is then conclusive evidence in the representational art that there was a substantial difference between the status of elite women of earlier dynasties and the status of their New Kingdom counterparts.

The roles played by elite women developed and matured over successive dynasties. Further analysis was conducted, focussing on the specific roles of elite women and development of these roles. The question was asked as to whether this development was aligned to evidence of the elevated status of elite women of the New Kingdom. This analysis is recorded in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

The roles of elite women of the New Kingdom

This chapter identifies how the roles played by elite women developed and matured over successive dynasties.

The aim is to find a correlation between the implied elevation in the status of elite women during the New Kingdom and the roles that they played in society, as reflected in the artistic works.

4.1 Introduction

From the Early Dynastic Period women were portrayed in their roles as “King's Wives” and “King's Mothers” on the representational artistic works of ancient Egypt. One of the earliest women so portrayed, was Neithhotep, the wife of Narmer (Tyldesley 2006:29). Elite women of the Old and Middle Kingdom were distinguished on artistic works by certain royal insignia such as crowns and symbols (ankh, uraeus). Similar to their counterparts of the New Kingdom, such women were closely associated with the cults of the deities such as Neith, one of the creator goddesses of Sais. Suggestions have been made they could have been priestesses in the temple. As the “King's Wife”, the women of the earliest dynasties often appeared with their husbands and small children on art forms (Malek 1999:107). My research has discovered that these depictions were not typical during the early New Kingdom, however, this style re-appeared during both the Amarna Period and the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The roles of ancient Egyptian elite women were not that exceptional for their time since they equated on the social ladder with their counterparts of Mesopotamia. Although elite women of Mesopotamia were mainly associated with the temples, they also enjoyed high status in society at large, making them equal to elite women of ancient Egypt (Grajetzki 2005:1). Watterson (1991:23) suggests that women were not allowed to hold positions in administrative offices and had no political power. Another similarity that the ancient Egyptian women shared with their counterparts in Mesopotamia is the office of “God's Wife” which Leick (2001:117) suggests “signified a very important female office which may have implied a close connection to the religious sphere”.

Lesko, in contrast to Watterson, suggests that inscriptions on tomb walls imply that although women occupied positions such as judges and viziers, these could merely have been only honorific titles (1991:6). Although no Egyptian law journals survived sufficient information is

available to evaluate the judicial rights of women. It can be safely assumed that the royal woman would have had more rights than the peasant woman in the street.

From the early dynasties elite women were involved in legal- and business matters. They owned their own estates and were often economically powerful. The “King's Mother” and the “King's Wife” enjoyed special status and were distinguished by particular royal insignia such as specific type of crowns and symbols such as the ankh and the uraeus. From the Middle Kingdom onwards names of queens appeared on their own cartouches, an aspect that was originally only attributed to the king (Grajetzki 2005:1). The New Kingdom, especially the Eighteenth Dynasty can be “termed the heyday of Egyptian queenship” according to Grajetzki (2005:46). The reason for this is that the first official female pharaoh emerged and roles such as “King's Wives”, “King's Mother” and “King's Daughters” became more official. Elite women such as Hatshepsut, Queen Tiye, Nefertiti and Nefertari played major roles in society and in the cults of Amun, Hathor and the Aten. This status was well represented on the art works such as statuary, reliefs and paintings. The Eighteenth Dynasty also marked the appearance of the title of “God's Wife”, with the first holder being Ahmose-Nefertari. The role of the “God's Wife” was not clearly stipulated, although Bryan (see 4.9.1) suggested a few functions that could have been associated with the title. An important aspect of this role was that the holder benefitted from the wealth that was accumulated as she had her own estates and an official office, and the influence she had (Grajetzki 2005:46).

“Great Royal Wives” (also known as the “King's Wives”) and “King's Mothers” sometimes had to act as co-regents when the official heir was still too young to carry out the task following the death of his predecessor, such was the case with Ahmose-Nefertari and Hatshepsut. This role as co-regent was thus created more by the immediate pressing need for a ruler after the early death of the current pharaoh, than as part of succession planning.

In ancient Egypt, the queen⁷⁹ represented the feminine aspect of kingship in the royal monuments. Through her husband's semi-divine position, she was set apart from the rest of Egyptian women. These royal women were members of a large collective royal household that consisted of other wives, mothers, sisters, daughters and close female relatives of the ruling king (Tyldesley 2006:6).

⁷⁹ According to Lana Troy (1986:2) the term “queen” as we know it today implies either the wife of the ruling king or a ruler herself. Joyce Tyldesley (1998:24) suggests that the word “queen” did not exist in the ancient Egyptian language, and that they were called either “King's Great Wife” or “Mother of the King” or “King's daughters”, etc. These titles were of cardinal importance during the New Kingdom.

Divinity was given to the queens, although they were mortal souls. Queenship matched the power of the king and the two could not exist without each other (Robins 1993:42).

Three main types of queens can be identified:

- great royal wife *mwt nsw wrt*,
- king's mother *mwt nsw* and
- king's wives *mwt nsw*.

The women of ancient Egypt had their own rank and status in society according to those of their husbands. At the top of the list of elite women were the “King's Wife” and the “King's Mother”, followed by the “King's Daughters”, “King's Sister”, the secondary wives and/or concubines. The secondary wives often came from the higher upper classes, or in the later part of the period, from foreign countries under the flag of diplomatic marriages (Arnold 1996:14).

From studying various artistic works such as paintings, statues and reliefs, my research concluded that elite women of the New Kingdom played a far bigger role in society as their counterparts from earlier dynasties. When a comparison was made between their representations in the artistic works with those of earlier dynasties, it became obvious that elite women of the New Kingdom were more exposed to the outside world, were more assertive in their actions, and were far more respected in the society. Therefore, elite women of the New Kingdom can be seen as role models for those of later dynasties.

The women from the privileged classes were designated by their names on tomb walls; these include their titles and epithets. They played an important role in the religious cults of the various gods (Roehrig *et al.* 1996:13). The role of women in ancient Egypt was to be “The Mistress of the House” and “The Mistress of the Heaven” (Capel *et al.* 1996:9) As “Mistress of the House”, she was a wife, mother, lover, carer and responsible for the smooth running of the household including the servants and the harem. She was associated with the goddess Isis who was regarded as the perfect wife and mother (Tyldesley 1994:253; Tyldesley 2006:13). Sexuality was important since the woman was responsible for producing the heir who would either succeed as pharaoh or be generally responsible for the upkeep of the family ancestral cult.

Representational art, such as stone figures, tomb paintings and reliefs convey to us the best images of the ancient Egyptian women (Tyldesley 1994:19). Tyldesley is of the opinion that most of the principal female figures on representational art are from the upper class, and that the art conveys their relationship to a particular male figure, whether it is as mother, sister, wife or daughter. During the earlier years of the Pharaonic Period, women were always

portrayed smaller than their male counterparts, depicting their secondary roles. The tomb owner's wife was always shown as his companion and support and therefore occupied a secondary place in the particular art work. Children and servants were portrayed on a smaller scale, reflecting their minor status. Pair statues were popular where a husband and his wife are sculptured together, showing the woman in a supportive role (Lesko 1991:6).

Obenga (1992:168) suggests that "the equality between men and women in Egyptian antiquity was an integral part of the divine order. Hence it was quite natural for women to be fully integrated into Pharaonic Royalty".

Table 1 (next page) was prepared as a visual aid or graphic illustrating the roles that elite women of the New Kingdom fulfilled. Its frequent consultation will significantly assist the reader through the remainder of this chapter.

	King's Wife	Pharaoh	Co-regent	King's Mother	King's Sister	King's Daughter	King's Secondary Wife	God's Wife	Women in War	Diplomatic Roles
Eighteenth Dynasty										
Ahhotep	•		•	•		•				
Ahmose-Nefertari	•		•	•	•	•		•		
Ahmose-Merytamun	•				•	•		•		
Ahmose	•			•						
Hatshepsut	•	•	•		•	•		•	•	
Neferura						•		•		
Tiaa	•			•				•		
Mutemwiya	•			•			•			
Queen Tiye	•			•						
Tadukhepa										•
Nefertiti	•								•	
Ankhesenamun	•					•				
Merytaten	•					•				
Mutnodjmet	•				•**			•*		
Kiya							•			
Nineteenth Dynasty										
Tuya	•			•						
Nefertari	•								•	
Isetnofret	•			•		•	•			
Maathorneferure										•

Merytamun	•					•				
Tawosret	•	•	•							
Twentieth Dynasty										
Iset Ta-Hemdjet	•						•			
Tiy	•						•			
Wives of the Late Ramesside Kings	•									

*Mutnodjmet could have been a “God’s Wife” while married to Horemheb

**Mutnodjmet was not the King’s Sister but was known as “The Sister of the King’s Great Wife” (Tyldesley 2006:240).

Table 1 – Matrix of the roles of the elite women of the New Kingdom

Table 1 demonstrates certain role attributes, such as the title of “King’s Wife”, relate to all of the women apart from Neferura and Kiya. “God’s Wife” was associated with the queens during the earlier and later part of the New Kingdom and then mainly in the Later Period. The middle part of the New Kingdom, viz. the Amarna Period, does not reflect the role of Queen Tiye as “God’s Wife”, although Tyldesley (2006:140) suggests that Mutnodjmet could have borne this title while married to Horemheb. Nefertiti, because of her association with the god Aten, could be seen as a “God’s Wife” especially since she often conducted rituals for the Aten, a role mostly ascribe to the king. These rituals must not be compared to those conducted in honour of the god Amun.

The “King’s Mother”, the “King’s Wife” and “King’s Sister” are titles that originated in the Early Dynastic Period. During the Old Kingdom the “King’s Mother” played a more important role than that of the “King’s Wife”, and tombs of “King’s Mothers” were often built beside those of their sons. In total contrast with the Old Kingdom, the first and last part of the Middle Kingdom shows no elite woman with the title of “King’s Wife” (Grajetzki 2005:29). The role of the “King’s Sister” was also important since she often became his wife as indicated in the table for Ahmose-Nefertari, Hatshepsut, Akhenaten and Ramesses II’s daughters (Robins 1998:27).

Ancient Egyptian kings led a polygamous lifestyle⁸⁰, resulting in the establishment of women's quarters where most of the female of the royal court resided. The women of the harem⁸¹ included the following: the principal wife, king's mother, the king's other wives, single female family members of the king and his wife, such as his unmarried and widowed sisters, the mother-in-law, aunts, nieces, widowed sisters, concubines and the female slaves (Tyldesley 1995:180).

This living accommodation could therefore be classified as a harem, but it also meant "The Royal Apartments" or "Royal Women Quarters" (Tyldesley 1995:180). At the same time it should be noted that these living quarters do not resemble the typical harem of the Ottoman period. In the Egyptian sense of the word, the harem was merely a place where all the female family members of the king lived with the royal children. A hierarchical order existed in the harem with the principal wife as the main character, together with the "Overseer of the Harem" who was accountable for the institution (Ruiz 2001:215). It functions as an administrative institution inside the palace walls where all the women of the royal court resided as well as all the children (Shaw *et al.* 2003:119).

Evidence of harems has been found at the palace site of Medinet el-Ghurab, Memphis, and Medinet Habu (Figure 58) at Thebes (Robins 1998:39). The king and the nobles kept large harems and scenes of them might have been painted on tomb walls, especially these of the "Overseers of the Harem".



Figure 58: Windows of the Harem clearly visible above the entrance of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

⁸⁰ Ramesses II claimed that he fathered approximately one hundred children by various women. These women lived in the Royal Harem and many of them were probably diplomatic brides. Most of his children died before him, including the crown prince. Ramesses II was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Merneptah (Tyldesley 2001:241).

⁸¹ Ruiz (2001:16) states that the existence of harems can be dated back to the Early Dynastic Period.

All the women of the royal harem did not travel with the royal family but were instead housed in permanent harem palaces (Tyldesley 1994:187). The harem elite wives were also known as queens, but had no official duties and no private estates to administer. They also had no special burial places, since they lived a hidden life, away from the political and religious life. Harems were not for entertainment alone, but served to ensure a constant supply of male heirs evidenced by the case of Thutmose III and later on, Ramesses II (Ruiz 2001:17). For example, since Hatshepsut had no male heirs, her successor Thutmose III, was the son of Isis, a secondary wife of Hatshepsut's husband, Thutmose II (Tyldesley 2006:94).

The consort wife was the most important. She is depicted on tomb paintings, carrying out social tasks such as feasting, offering, receiving tribute and is referred to as the pharaoh's "beloved wife". The principal wife normally produced the apparent heir to the throne and therefore the crown prince enjoyed a privileged lifestyle. Children of concubines had no legal rights on the throne (Cotterill 1991:76–86).

Harem treachery sometimes took place with the best example of being that of Ramesses III whose secondary wife, Tiy, employed men to kill the king in order to install her own son on the throne. The conspirators were caught and arrested. Details of this trial are recorded on the Judicial Papyrus of Turin. The fate of Tiy is not recorded in this papyrus, but it is probable that she was forced to commit suicide (Shaw *et al.* 2003:119).

It can also be seen from Table 1 that the role of "Women in War" was more prominent in the Eighteenth Dynasty than was the case in the later Dynasties of the New Kingdom.

4.2 King's Wife

Only in the Fourth Dynasty was the title "King's Wife" (*hmt nswt wrt*) officially introduced, although it clearly originates from the First Dynasty title, "She who sees Horus"⁸². The title was ascribed to the woman who married the king, i.e. the queen. A second title was attributed to the "King's Wife" namely "Lady of the Two Lands" (*nebt tawy*). Grajetzki (2005:7) suggests that not all Old Kingdom royal women used the title of "King's Wife" and that they probably continued to use the titles, "She who sees Horus" and "She who carries Horus". Grajetzki (2005:3) further demonstrates that these queens shared with the king exclusive rights to pyramid tombs, solar boats, and funerary literature resulting in their divine status (Lesko 2002). During the Thirteenth Dynasty the title of "Great King's Wife" appears for the first time. In the later periods this title was changed to "King's Principal Wife". It was also during this period that the first cartouches of the "King's Wife" were attested, an aspect

⁸² The king was seen as the personification of Horus. This title of the queen linked her to the king and emphasises the intimate relationship between them.

originally only ascribed to a king, although during the Twelfth Dynasty, cartouches were already used by the “King's Daughter” (Grajetzki 2005:35). In the New Kingdom the queens had their own tombs in the Valley of the Queens or else, they were buried in the same tombs as their husbands. They were also allowed to have their own funerary temples. These aspects therefore suggest that the Eighteenth Dynasty indicates the “heyday of Egyptian queenship” (Grajetzki 2005:46).

The “King's Wife” played an important role in society since she was seen as the future “King's Mother”. The queen's role was to bear a son who would later take his father's place and bestow offerings for the deceased ancestors who was an important factor in the culture of ancient Egypt⁸³ (Shaw *et al.* 2003:238). A second important role was the expectation that the queen acts on behalf of her husband or son in political and religious aspects if needed (Robins 1998:41; Tyldesley 2006:9). (A good example is where Nefertiti is portrayed offering to the Aten in absence of the king as this ritual was only attributed to the king). This results in scholars' belief that the ancient Egyptians needed not only a king but also a consort; therefore no ancient Egyptian king was ever unmarried (Tyldesley 2006:6).

As the “King's Wife” (and often the “God's Wife”) the queens were associated with the Kamutef myth⁸⁴ confirming their semi-divine connection with the goddesses Isis⁸⁵ (the consort wife of the god Osiris) and Mut (the wife of Amun and the creator goddess of Thebes) (Lurker 2002:71). This connection resulted in the representation of the “King's Wife” as the “perfect Egyptian queen and mother” (Robins 1998:41).

Since the “Great Royal Wife” was an official state consort, she would often be the sister, half-sister or daughter of the reigning king, pointing towards the element of the “heiress theory”⁸⁶ (Robins 1998:26)⁸⁷. Amenhotep III introduced such father-daughter marriages by

⁸³ “The divinity of kingship was an important part of the Egyptian system of beliefs and the social structure”, according to Oakes *et al* (2004:342). Therefore, just as it was expected that the gods be looked after on a daily basis, it was also expected that food- and drink offerings should be brought to the tomb of the deceased king (De Beler 1997:56). In the Eighteenth Dynasty the king envisaged himself as an “offspring of Amun”.

⁸⁴ The Kamutef myth reflects the impregnation of the sky goddess Nut by the sun god Re. The sun died at night and was reborn of Nut in the morning. The sky goddess was seen as both mother and consort of the god.

⁸⁵ The goddess Isis was often portrayed suckling the young infant, Horus, embodying the “symbolic mother of the king” (Shaw *et al.* 2003:142).

⁸⁶ For centuries scholars believed that the right to the throne was through the female line of the royal family, often resulting in the marriage of a brother and sister or half-sister. Robins (1998:27) believes however, that no evidence was found in Egyptian texts of the term “heiress”. Therefore, research on the Eighteenth Dynasty suggests that this line of descent did not exist. I did not rule out the fact that brother-sister marriages took place in the Eighteenth Dynasty as clearly can be seen from the marriage of Hatshepsut with her brother Thutmose II.

⁸⁷ In the following paragraphs I have made extensively used of Gay Robins' views on the queenly insignia.

marrying his daughter Sitamen who assisted him in his duties alongside her mother, Tiye. She also held the title of “King’s Wife” although she never took priority over her mother (Tyldesley 2006:121)⁸⁸. This type of brother-sister or father-daughter marriages did not occur among the ordinary people. Such incestuous marriages mainly took place to protect the royal family from influences outside (Robins 1998:27).

Dating back to the Middle Kingdom, the title “King’s Wife” was first used by Meretseger, the wife of Senusert III whereas the title of “Great Royal Wife” originated in the Eighteenth Dynasty and referred to the first lady of the land. Meretseger was the first royal wife to have a cartouche. Dodson (2005:21) states that by the end of the later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the title of “King’s Wife” was occasionally bestowed on more than one wife.

A long line of “Great Royal Wives” came from the insignificant town of Akhmim near the modern town of Sohag. The town was the cult centre of the fertility god, Min, and the hometown of Yuya and Thuya. Their daughter, Tiye, the wife of Amenhotep III was the first “Great Royal Wife” from the Eighteenth Dynasty to come from Akhmim. The following “Great Royal Wives” also originate from here (Farrugia *et al.* 2007:18-22):

- Nefertiti
- Mutnodjmet
- Sitre (mother of Ramesses I)
- Tuya, wife of Sety I
- Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II

Robins (1998:23) suggests that by addressing aspects of the royal insignia, such as the intricate crowns worn by the queens, one can figure out the significance of divine queenship. One of the oldest such insignia of the “King’s Wife” is the vulture headdress⁸⁹ which consisted of a tight-fitting cap, forming the body of a vulture with the two wings on either side of the head. The head of the vulture is at the front protruding from the forehead. A second queenly headdress worn was the uraeus, which consisted of a hair band, decorated at the front with the head of a cobra. From the Fifth Dynasty the uraeus became part of the queen’s insignia and from then onwards was worn throughout Pharaonic history. Since the uraeus was associated with the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet, their headdress symbolised the divine aspect of queenship (Robins 1998:23). The two headdresses were

⁸⁸ It should be noted that not all sisters of the king became his wife, but they instead formed part of his harem where all the female members of the king’s family and his concubines resided.

⁸⁹ Mut, the wife of Amun, wore the vulture headdress of the New Kingdom due to the link between her name and the word for mother (*mwt nswt*) (2002:Seawright).

often worn together. Moreover, the vulture cap and uraeus were often accompanied by straight falcon plumes which origin is unknown. It is Queen Tiye who started to wear the Hathorian⁹⁰ (*hemhemet*) crown which consisted of the feathers, cow horns and sun-disc together with the uraeus. This queen also introduced the double uraeii worn with the double feathers. Her modius was often decorated with rows of cobra heads (Green 2000:62) of various heights as can be seen in the colossal statue of the queen with Amenhotep III. (See Figure 86). Green (2000:62) further suggests that the double uraeii were worn only by the principal royal women. During the Amarna Period the *shuty* (or falcon plumes) was incorporated in the Hathoric crown. Green (2000:73) states that since Nefertiti often wore the Hathoric diadem at Amarna this headdress was also associated with the religious cult of the Aten. The platform crown that was worn by Nefertiti was never worn by any other queen afterwards.

Representational art often shows the queen holding the ankh symbol in one of her hands, symbolising her superiority over her subordinates and divinity in life. It therefore places her in a funerary context (Robins 1998:24).

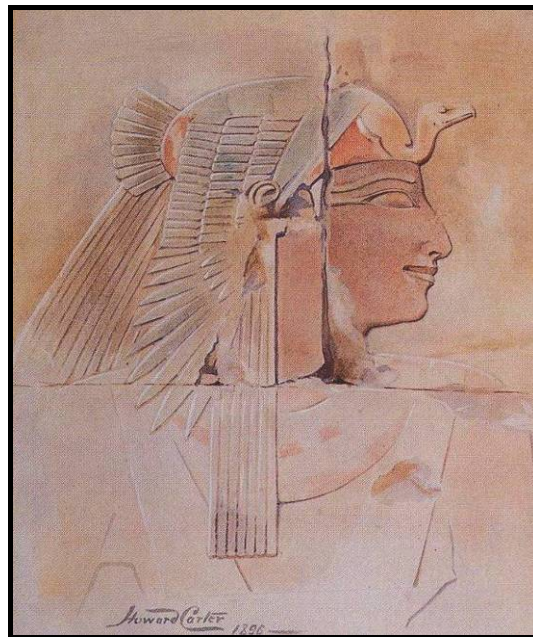


Figure 59: *Watercolour painting of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari – Howard Carter*⁹¹

⁹⁰ The Hathoric crown was introduced during the reign of Amenhotep III and consisted of a platform modius with attached cow's horns surrounding the solar disc of Hathor. The *shuty* (falcon plumes) was attached at the back of the disc (Green 2000:72).

⁹¹ The painting is part of a selection of watercolours held in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society in London. According to Naunton (2004:7-9) this is a watercolour from a relief at Deir el-Bahri but Rosalind Janssen (former curator of Petrie Museum, London) suggests that this painting could be that of Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsut on her way to the birth room or *mamissi*. I obtained the photograph from the society.

A unique watercolour executed by Howard Carter in 1896 of a raised relief of Ahmose-Nefertari (Figure 59) depicting both the headdresses: the vulture cap and the uraeus over a tripartite wig. The queen is dressed in a white dress adorned with the broad collar. Her facial features are represented as soft with a smiling mouth. Even in the painting, the make-up of the eyes is clearly visible: the black lines of both eyebrows and eyes stretch into the hairline on the side of the head. The original is a wall painting in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (See Figure 56). Naunton (2004:7) further suggests that this painting is “a testimony to Carter’s remarkable ability to convey the subtleties of raised relief carving, in addition to the colour and form of the ancient scenes”.

Robins (1998:26) implies that there is no written evidence as to how the “King's Wife” or Principal Queen was selected. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the kings’ principal wives were divided into those who were of royal birth and those who were non-royal.

Tyldesley (2006:142) believes that the age of powerful women came to an end at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The queens of this period were mostly overshadowed by their husbands and, apart from Nefertari, only a few monuments have survived reflecting the lives of the queens of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The Twentieth Dynasty particularly is a barren field with respect to their monuments, statuary and other artistic works. This is due to the weakened economic situation. Little is known of the kings of this period and even less information is available about their wives. By the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the country was once again split in two, a situation that had been experienced for centuries (Tyldesley 2006:171).



Figure 60: *Incised fragment reflecting the hieroglyphic word for “Great Royal Wife” –*

Petrie Museum, University College London

The prominence of the role of “King’s Wife” or “Great Royal Wife” is illustrated by part of the hieroglyphic word for “Great Royal Wife” (*hmt nswt hwrt*) in this pink quartzite relief fragment found at El Amarna. (Figure 60). It can therefore be assumed that it applies to Nefertiti.

According to Tyldesley (2006:86-171) the following were “King’s Wives” from the Eighteenth Dynasty:

- Ahmose-Nefertari (See also Chapter 5.2)
- Ahmose-Merytamun (See also Chapter 5.3)
- Ahmose (See also Chapter 5.4)
- Hatshepsut (See also Chapter 5.5)
- Tiaa (See also Chapter 5.7)
- Mutemwiya (See also Chapter 5.8)
- Tiye (See also Chapter 5.9)
- Nefertiti (See also Chapter 5.10)
- Ankhesenamen (See also Chapter 5.11)
- Kiya (See also Chapter 5.12)
- Mutnodjmet (See also Chapter 5.13)

The “King’s Wives of the Nineteenth Dynasty were:

- Tuya (See also Chapter 5.14)
- Nefertari (See also Chapter 5.15)
- Isetnofret (See also Chapter 5.16)
- Merytamun (See also Chapter 5.17)
- Tawosret (See also Chapter 5.18)

Iset ta-Hemdjert was a “King’s Wife” of the Twentieth Dynasty. The other queens of this Dynasty are less familiar and may also have been called “King’s Wives”⁹². They were:

- Henuttawi
- Tawerettenru

⁹² Information on the roles and profiles of these royal women is not readily available and was therefore not analysed in this dissertation.

- Nubkhesbed
- Isis
- Baketwernel II
- Titi
- Tiy
- Tentamun

4.3 Female Pharaoh

The two female pharaohs (see Chapters 5.5 and 5.18 for their profiles) of the New Kingdom played unique roles in the Egyptian history. Hatshepsut's contribution occurred during a time when strong war kings such as Thutmose I, II and III shaped the political scene. Tawosret was the last ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Tyldesley 2001:263). A third name can possibly be added to this short list, namely that of Nefertiti. Various suggestions were made over the years by scholars that Nefertiti could have been the pharaoh, Smenkhare, and that she took over the roles after the death of Akhenaten (Reeves *et al.* 1999:91; Van Dijk, 2008).

De Beler (1997:28) writes that the king was the son of the gods, and intermediary between deities and humans. He was also responsible for maintaining Ma'at, i.e. justice, truth, order, trust and all elements of stability. Frankfort (1952:6) believes that the pharaoh was never deified as he was "divine in essence". The ruler was therefore in charge of the society's relations with the supernatural.

The female pharaoh, Hatshepsut, acted as if she was a male monarch. She followed the traditions of a king, making her a god among humans. She wore a false beard like Osiris and carried the *heka* sceptre and the flail. She had worn the eye of Re, the uraeus, on her forehead as well as the *nemes* headdress (De Beler 1997:28). As King of Egypt, Hatshepsut also has worn the royal kilt with the belt. On the latter was her cartouche, reflecting her new name Maat-ka-re meaning: "The proper manifestation of the sun's life force" (Dorman *et al.* 2005:88). As king, she followed the kingly tradition by building temples and a funerary complex.

The king was also the head of the government, the head of religion and the head of the army. Hatshepsut fulfilled all these roles. Foreigners were subdued during her military campaigns against the vassals of the south and the east (Tyldesley 2006:99).

The king's physical appearance was important. Therefore he/she was always portrayed as muscular, with a youthful face and body. (See Figures 47 (Amenhotep III) & 48 (Thutmose

III). Hatshepsut was originally portrayed as a female king on the art works (see Figure 61) an aspect that changed in her later years when she adopted a male guise (see Figures 51 & 62) (Keller *et al.* 2006:160).



Figure 61: Statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

This red granite statue of a youthful Hatshepsut (Figure 61) shows her dressed in female attire. She is portrayed in the New Kingdom pose: seated with the hands flat on the lap. On her head are the *nemes* headdress and the uraeus, two items that associate her with a male king. The feminine dress, suggests the statue originates from the earlier part of her reign.

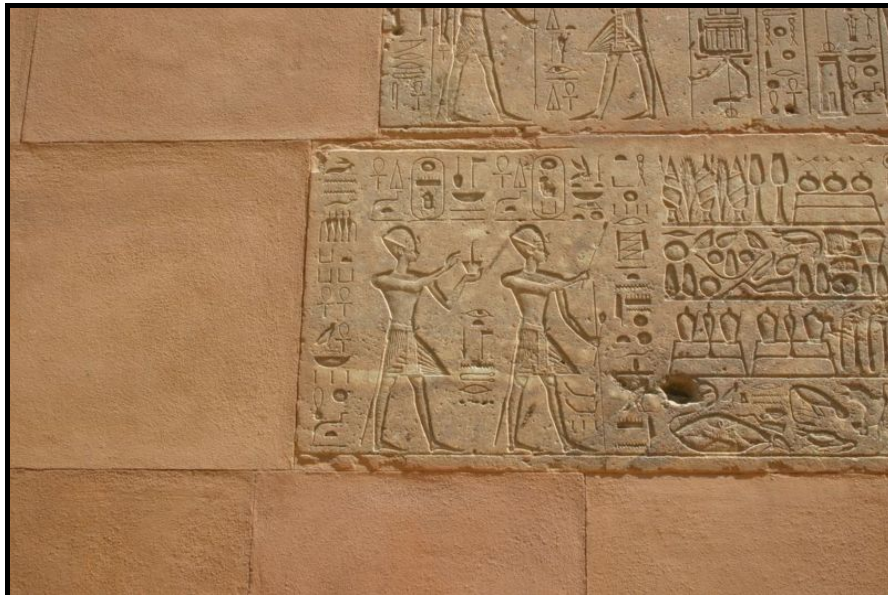
Tawosret, the wife of Sety II, is only known from objects found in the Gold Tomb (Grajetzki 2005:79).

Seven elite women might have been pharaohs:

- Meryt-Neith, First Dynasty (see Chapter 3.2)
- Nitocris, Sixth Dynasty (see footnote in Chapter 3.3.3)
- Sobekneferu, Twelfth Dynasty (see Chapter 3.5.4)
- Hatshepsut, Eighteenth Dynasty (see Chapters 3.7, 4.2, 4.3, 4.8, 4.9 and 5.5)
- Nefertiti (possible as Smenkhare – see Chapters 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.9 and 5.10)
- Tawosret, Nineteenth Dynasty (see Chapter 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 5.18)
- Cleopatra, Ptolemaic Dynasty (not discussed in this dissertation)

4.4 Co-Regent

Only Ahhotep, Ahmose-Nefertari, Hatshepsut, possibly Nefertiti and Tawosret acted as co-regents during the New Kingdom (Shaw *et al.* 2003:290). (See Chapters 5.1, 5.2, 5.5 and 5.18 for their profiles). Co-regency implies two kings ruling simultaneously. In ancient Egypt this feature was introduced during the Middle Kingdom to “ensure that the transfer of power took place with the minimum of disruption and instability” (Shaw *et al.* 2003:72). A co-regency was adopted when the ruler was campaigning in neighbouring countries or when the king died and his successor was still too young to rule. It was mostly the mothers of the kings who took up the position of co-regent, giving the young king time to learn the trade and prepare himself to take up sole rule (Roth *et al.* 2005:11).



*Figure 62: Incised relief of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as co-regents –
Chapelle Rouge, Karnak*

According to Murnane (1980:2) the physical evidence left behind by attested co-regencies double-dated monuments, obelisks and buildings decorated by both rulers such as the Chapelle Rouge at Karnak depicting Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as co-regents. (Figure 62). In this relief, both the co-regents are shown making offerings. They are both dressed in the kingly attire, namely royal kilt and crown. The Chapelle Rouge was constructed of black granite with red quartzite walls, and originally disassembled by Thutmose III. The stone were later used for the foundations of the Third Pylon of the Amun Temple during the reign of Amenhotep III.

Ahmoese-Nefertari became the co-regent of her son Amenhotep I and it is believed that she lived well into the reign of Thutmose I as she was depicted on the walls of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Hatshepsut followed in the footsteps of her ancestral grandmother, Ahmoese-Nefertari, and became the co-regent of her father, husband and stepson - Thutmose I, II and III. After seven years of co-regency Hatshepsut declared herself king of Egypt (Allen *et al.* 2005:88).

There are suggestions that the mother of Amenhotep III, Mutemwiyet, could have been his co-regent although no written evidence is available to support this statement (Tyldesley 2006:114).

Suggestions by scholars (Reeves *et al.* 1999:91 and Van Dijk, 2008) were made in the past that Nefertiti could have been acted as co-regent with Akhenaten.

Tawosret, wife of Sety II of the Nineteenth Dynasty, became the co-regent of Sety II's successor, Siptah (Tyldesley 2006:163). She was never known as a "King's Mother" because Siptah was the son of one of her husband's secondary wives. After the death of Siptah, Tawosret became the last female king of the New Kingdom.

4.5 King's Mother

To be the "King's Mother" (*mwt nswt*) was an important role of the New Kingdom society, as established by Tiaa, the mother of Thutmose IV (Tyldesley 2006:112). Of all the women in the king's harem, the "King's Mother" and the "King's Wife" were the most important women due to their status and divine connections (Robins 1993:40). This former position was important since it came second in seniority to that of the "God's Wife of Amun". No specific duties were attributed to the "King's Mother" except that of acting on behalf of her son or as co-regent when her son, was still too young to rule (Farrugia *et al.* 2007:19). Examples of latter are Ahhotep, Ahmoese-Nefertari and Hatshepsut.

Ahhotep, Ahmoese-Nefertari, Ahmoese, Tiaa, Mutemwiyet, Queen Tiye, Tuya and Nefertari all had the title of "King's Mother". (See Chapters 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.14 and 5.15 for profiles of these queens). The Eighteenth Dynasty marks a period where many "King's Mothers" were non-royals, such as Queen Tiye and Nefertari (Green *et al.* 1996:7, 10).

The Seventeenth Dynasty queen, Ahhotep, took reigns in her own hands following the death of her husband and Kamose, her eldest son. Her second son, Ahmoese I, eventually became the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Ahmoese-Nefertari was the mother of Amenhotep I with whom she functioned in a cult: they were worshipped by the workers of Deir el-Medina. Centuries later she was painted with her

son on the walls of the Theban tomb which reflects the royal couple's importance in the cult (Tyldesley 2006:90). (See Figure 73).

In the New Kingdom it was believed that the king was the son of Amun, therefore a divine liaison occurred between the mother of the ruler and the god. Two such liaisons between the queen and the god Amun occurred in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Firstly, it was Hatshepsut's mother Ahmose, who was impregnated by the god Amun, (disguised as Thutmose I) resulting in Hatshepsut's divine birth as depicted on the walls of her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri (Tyldesley 2006:97). (See Figure 1 for the birth scene of Hatshepsut). According to Tyldesley (2006:97) Amun handed over the symbol of life, the ankh, and told Ahmose that her daughter had been chosen to be the future king of Egypt. In the heavens, the creator god Khnum created the baby and her double (*ka*) on the potter's wheel. Nine months later the child was born. The temple walls show the naked, male-like body of the future king, Hatshepsut.

The second divine liaison was that of Mutemwiyat, the mother of Amenhotep III. As was the case with Ahmose, Mutemwiyat was also impregnated by Amun, disguised as her husband, Thutmose IV. She gave birth to a divine son, Amenhotep III who copied Hatshepsut as having his divine birth portrayed on the walls of the temple in Luxor (Tyldesley 2006:114).

At the royal court of El Amarna, Queen Tiye enjoyed a privileged position as the mother of Akhenaten. Her influence on her son's regime spread beyond the borders of Egypt, and she played a prominent role in the diplomatic correspondence viz. the so-called Amarna Letters exchanged between Egypt and the rest of the Near East (Tyldesley 2006:118).

4.6 King's Secondary Wife

The secondary wife (*hmt nsw*) of the king had no special rights and no special titles, unless she was the "King's Mother": a title which would then have been bestowed upon her by her son (Tyldesley 2006:18).

Although little evidence has been found that could identify the tombs of secondary wives, a burial tomb found in the Valley of the Cemetery of the Apes (Gabbanat el-Qurud) at Western Thebes, contained grave goods such as headdresses and wigs that probably belonged to three foreign wives of Thutmose III. Their names which appeared on the canopic jars found inside the grave reflect a Syrian-Palestine origin. Hardly any other information is available on this subject (Tyldesley 2006:112).

Dodson *et al.* (2004:26) confirm that it was common practice for the king to have more than one wife and that these particular individuals had their own ranks and status starting with the "King's Mother" and the "King's Wife".

In many cases the mothers of the heir apparent were often not the principal wives of the ruling pharaoh and were therefore known as secondary wives. Therefore, they could not always claim the title of “King's Wife” but due to their relationship with the future pharaoh, they could insist on the title of “King's Mother” and were acknowledged to be “queens”. A woman who needs to be mentioned in this category is Kiya, the secondary wife of Akhenaten. Although she was not known as “King's Wife”, she was Akhenaten's favourite secondary wife.

The following are the secondary wives: (See Chapters 5.12, 5.14 and 5.16 for their profiles).

- Kiya (secondary wife of Akhenaten who never wore the uraeus although she participated in the ritual of the Aten. Her origins are unknown)
- Isetnofret and Maathorneferure (secondary wives of Ramesses II. Maathorneferure was a diplomatic Hittite bride).
- Tuya (Ramesses III's secondary wife and responsible for plotting to assassinate the king).

4.7 King's Daughter

Women of royal birth, and only children of a royal couple, could claim and were known as the “King's Daughters” (*st nswt*) (Robins 1998:25-28). There are many examples where a non-royal became queen, but such a person could never claim the title of “King's Daughter”, as they would never share the iconography and titularies of the “King's Mother” or principal wives (Robins 1998:23). Examples in this category of queens who were never known as the “King's Daughters”, are Queen Tiye, Nefertiti and Nefertari (Lorenz 2000).



Figure 63: Obelisks of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I - Karnak Temple, Luxor

Hatshepsut is probably the most famous “King’s Daughter”, although she is rather known for her role as king. (See Chapters 5.5 for her profile. Other roles can be viewed in Chapters 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9). She was a royal princess and the daughter of Ahmose and Thutmose I who was known for his foreign policies (Tyldesley 2001:2). Together with her father, Hatshepsut erected two obelisks at the Karnak Temple (Figure 63). The two red granite obelisks of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut at the Karnak Temple were erected in honour of the god Amun.

The two daughters of Hatshepsut were Neferura and Merira-Hatshepsut. The former inherited the title of “God’s Wife” (See Figure 82) while Merira-Hatshepsut⁹³ married Thutmose III (Seawright 1999). (See Chapter 5.6 for the profile of Neferura).

The next group of “King’s Daughters” are those of Akhenaten. Literary and archaeological evidence prove that Akhenaten and Nefertiti had six daughters although Green *et al.* (1996:10) refer to nine. These daughters were often portrayed in the art work attended by their parents. In some cases Akhenaten and Nefertiti openly show their affection for their children (Spence 2002:1). They were known as “The King’s Daughters of his Flesh” (Green *et al.* 1996:11). (See Chapter 5.11 for the profile of Ankhesenamun (Ankesenpaaten)).

⁹³ Little information is available on the second daughter of Hatshepsut and she is therefore not discussed in this dissertation.

Two of their daughters became the “King’s Wife” respectively of Smenkhare (Meritaten) and Tutankhamen (Ankhesenpaaten later known as Ankhesenamen). A third daughter, Meketaten, died during childbirth as depicted on one of the walls of the Royal Tomb at El Amarna. Arnold *et al.* (1996:11) implies that she could have been one of the older siblings since she appears on some of the blocks from the Karnak temple. The other three daughters were:

- Nefernefruat-en-Tasherit
- Neferneferaten
- Setenpenre

The third group of famous daughters are those of Ramesses II. Some of them also became “King’s Wives” but only three are known to us: Bintanath I, Merytamun and Nebettawi (Tyldesley 2006:156-157). (See Chapter 5.17 for the profile of Merytamun. The roles/profiles of Ramesses II’s other daughters are not discussed in this dissertation).

Very little is known of the “King’s Daughters” for the remainder of the Nineteenth Dynasty’s rulers. During the Twentieth Dynasty monarchs’ daughters became “God’s Wives” again. However, this time they were now fully devoted towards the title, since they had to be virgins and were not allowed to marry.

4.8 King’s Sister

The title of “King’s Sister” (*snt nswt*) was often related to the title of “King’s Wife” since the sister of the king sometimes became his wife. This practice became more popular during the New Kingdom although it was occasionally attested in the Middle Kingdom. We have various examples of kings who married the “King’s Sister”, namely:

- Ahmose I and Ahmose-Nefertari
- Amenhotep I and Merytamun
- Thutmose II and Hatshepsut

The title of “Sister of the King’s Chief Wife Nefertiti-Neferneferaten” is synonymous with the title “King’s Sister” in the case of Mutnodjmet (“The goddess Mut or mother is the Sweet One”), Nefertiti’s sister. (See Figure 99). Scholars believe that she was the only blood sibling of Nefertiti, as per evidence obtained from the Amarna tombs. Although always in the background, she was often portrayed with the Royal Family, especially with the three older daughters of Nefertiti. In the tomb of Ay and Tey, Mutnodjmet is portrayed as a spectator during a reward ceremony where tomb owners are showered with golden gifts by Nefertiti and Akhenaten.

4.9 Religious Roles

From the Old Kingdom, royal or elite women played important roles in the temple. They acted as priestesses in the cults of Hathor⁹⁴, Neith, Thoth and Wepwawet. For instance, the mother of Khafre, Meresankh, was a priestess of the god Thoth whereas Hetepheres, mother of Cheops, was a prophet in the cult of her son and also a high official in the mortuary cult of Redjedef, the predecessor of her husband (Lesko 2002).

Tyldesley (1995:246) implies that with the deification of Ahmose-Nefertari and her son Amenhotep I, some of the national gods started to take on specific attributes and characteristics during the New Kingdom. The king as a god himself, as well as the high priest, had been the only person allowed to communicate with his fellow deities. However, this changed dramatically in the New Kingdom when queens such as Hatshepsut, Nefertiti and Nefertari started to address the gods in their own right.

4.9.1 God's Wife⁹⁵

The title of "God's Wife" (*hmt ntr*) is one of the most important that elite woman (either the "King's Principal Wife" or the "King's Mother") of the early Eighteenth Dynasty could hold. According to Dorman (ca. 1999-2001)⁹⁶ the title of "God's Wife" could be used either on its own or in conjunction with other royal titles such as "King's Wife", "King's Sister", "King's Daughter", etc., and mainly reflects an association with a cultic venue. Dorman further suggests (ca. 1999-2001:9) that the title of "God's Wife of Amun" became an important primary title and not merely one of ritual significance from the reign of Ahmose. Ahmose-Nefertari is often referred to only as "God's Wife" as can be seen on the "Donation Stele" (Dorman ca 1999-2001:5). (See Chapter 5.2 for a translation of this stele).

The "God's Wife" was in control of vast estates and offices and wielded a considerable economy but no political power (Dorman ca 1999-2001:9). (See Chapter 5.2 for the economic aspects of the office). Queen Ahmose-Nefertari was the first holder of the title, which was bestowed on her by her husband Ahmose I (Grajetzki 2005:46). Dorman (ca 1999-2001:4) suggests that it is uncertain whether the office could in the early Eighteenth Dynasty have multiple holders of the title.

⁹⁴ The sistrum and *menat* necklace were two important objects used in the cult of Hathor. (See Figure 106 for an example of the *menat* necklace)

⁹⁵ This title was used in the early and middle New Kingdom, and was associated with the god Amun. It appears that during the Middle Kingdom there were also "God's Wives", but they were associated with the gods Min and Ptah. The title re-surfaced during the Third Intermediate Period (Ellison 1999).

⁹⁶ Prof Dorman kindly allowed me to use this paper although it was never published. This paper formed part of a series of lectures, the Theban Workshop, that was held at the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA, during 1999-2000.

Once the title of “God’s Wife” was granted to a queen it was used throughout her lifetime and passed on to successor after her death. Other elite women who held this title either received it from their husbands or fathers, or as an inheritance from their mothers (Robins 1998:149-156). Examples are:

- Merytamun inherited the title from her mother, Ahmose-Nefertari. (See Chapter 5.3 for Merytamun’s profile).
- Hatshepsut inherited the title from Ahmose-Merytamun. Ahmose, her mother, never held the title of “God’s Wife” (See Chapter 5.5 for Hatshepsut’s profile)
- Neferura inherited the title from her mother, Hatshepsut. (See Chapter 5.6 for Neferura’s profile).
- Tiaa, mother of Thutmose IV. The title was bestowed on her after the death of her husband, Amenhotep II. (See Chapter 5.7 for the Tiaa’s profile).
- Mutnodjmet, sister of Nefertiti and “King’s Wife” of Horemheb. (See Chapter 5.13 for Mutnodjmet’s profile).
- During the Twentieth Dynasty Ramesses VI bestowed the role of “God’s Wife” and “Divine Adoratrice” on his daughter, Isis. She was banned from marriage and from then on the title was linked to virginity and the office of the High Priestess of Amun (Shaw *et al.* 2003:113).

The “God’s Wife” also participated in the ritual where she had to stimulate the God Amun with her hand during religious ritual. Therefore, the title of “God’s Hand”, was associated with the title of “God’s Wife” (Tyldesley 2006:93) and according to Wilkinson (2004:94) it can be assumed that the queen fulfilled the role of consort to this god. Certain rituals and actions carried out by the “God’s Wife” included musical activities such as the playing the sistrum. The music performances indicate a non-sexual activity carried out to appease the deity before engaging in a sexual act with the god. As previously discussed, this liaison between the “Great Royal Wife” and Amun suggests that the crown prince was actually a child of the god and his “Great Royal Wife”, rather than the offspring of the ruler (Ellison 1999a).

Ellison (1999a) seems unsure what exactly the function or duties of the “God’s Wife” were, although he suggests that the post could have mainly hold a sexual connotation. Bryan (2000: 3–15) suggests the following duties of the “God’s Wife of Amun”:

- Participation in the procession of priests for the daily liturgies of Amun
- Bathing in the sacred lake with the pure priests before carrying out rituals

- Entering the most exclusive parts of the temple such as the holy of holies with the High Priest
- Joining the High Priest, calling the god to his meal
- Reciting a menu of food offerings being presented to Amun
- Burning of wax effigies of the god's enemies to maintain divine order
- Shaking the sistrum before the god to appease him
- Assisting the god as the "God's Hand" in a sexual activity. Through this action she performed the role as the god's wife.

Robins (1998:136) supports Bryan's idea by referring to depictions of the "God's Wife" where she is shown "directly before the god, adoring, offering, presenting ma'at or four calves, and conducting foundation rites" Dorman (ca 1999-2001:10) supports Robins' and Bryan's idea that the "God's Wife of Amun" was an important element in the "preservation of the world, human as well as divine".

The "God's Wife" had her own cartouches, comprising of a pre-nomen and a nomen associated with the goddess Mut of whom she was the earthly incarnation (Ellison 1999a). The title also came with its own estate and a staff consisting mainly of predominantly male officials. The main domain of the "God's Wife" was the Amun's Temple at Karnak. It appears that over time the title and office of the "God's Wife" accumulated major wealth (Shaw *et al.* 2003:113).

The attire of the "God's Wife" consists of the following: a simple sleeveless sheath dress, a headband and double feathers. The headband can be placed over a short wig with the loose ends of the former hanging down the back (Robins 1998:151). (See Figure 82 of Neferura as the "God's Wife"). The double feathers minus the sun-disc were particularly worn by the "God's Wives". They also wore the headdress for the "King's Wife": uraeus, modius and double feathers, horns and a sun-disc, and holding the "fly whisk" sceptre. Robins (1998:151) believes that the iconography of the "God's Wife" shows a difference between her costume and that of a priestess. Moreover, after the Eighteenth Dynasty, she mostly wore royal insignia such as the double feathers, horns, sun-disc, vulture headdress and the uraeus or double uraeus.

During the reign of Hatshepsut the title of "Divine Adoratrice" was held by the daughter of the High Priest of Amun and in the reign of Thutmose III by either the "King's Mother" or the "King's Wife" (Ellison 1999a). This title was also closely linked to the "God's Wife" as well as

the “God’s Hand” from the Third Intermediate Period⁹⁷ onwards. Robins (1998:150) implies that both Ahmose-Nefertari and Hatshepsut often preferred this title above that of principal wife. The latter continued to use this title even during her co-regency years and only passed it on to her daughter, Neferura, after she became king. From the reign of Amenhotep III onwards until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty no evidence exists that there were holders of the title of “God’s Wife”.

Forbes (2001:62) states that the title of “God’s Wife” was revived during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The fact that an unmarried daughter of Ramses VI could have held the title of “God’s Wife” suggests that the holders of the Twentieth Dynasty could have been unmarried “King’s Daughters” (Wilkinson 2004:94). This could have been the starting point for the practice in the Twenty First Dynasty (Grajetzki 2005:46).

Thuya, the mother of Tiye and wife of Amenhotep III, was the “Superior of the Harem of Min and Amun” at Akhmim and, according to Farrugia *et al.* (2007:19) this position was next in line to that of the “God’s Wife of Amun”.

4.9.2 Roles of elite women in the temple

From the earliest times women played an important role in the performance of temple rituals. Most of these temple priestesses were in the service of goddesses such as Hathor⁹⁸. Robins (1998:144) suggests that during the New Kingdom the number of female priestesses dropped significantly and that only a handful survived, resulting in a dominant male priest population. The job description of priestesses meant they were never allowed to hold positions in the administration or to teach. It is possible that they were either not literate or that their literacy was not acknowledged by their male counterparts. The new tasks of elite women in the temple were as musicians⁹⁹ and companions to the “God’s Wife” when she was carrying out her rituals (Robins 1993:145).

⁹⁷ In the Third Intermediate Period, especially in the Twenty First and Twenty Second Dynasties, the High Priests of Amun ruled in Thebes with their daughters as the “God’s Wives”. By the end of the Twenty Third Dynasty the country was ruled by the Kushite kings, with their virgin daughters as “God’s Wives of Amun” (Bryan 2000:7).

⁹⁸ Hathor was a goddess which could appear in three forms: woman with the ears of a cow; a cow; woman wearing the headdress consisting of a wig, horns and sun-disc. Hathor, in the manifestation of Sekhment, was seen as the “eyes of Re”. She was known as the royal mother and was also connected to music and the sistrum is therefore directly associated with Hathor. She was known as “Lady of the West” and “Lady of the Western Mountain”. Outside Egypt she was known as “Lady of Byblos”. Although Memphis was her cult centre where she was known as “Lady of the Sycamore”, Dendera was her principal cult centre (Shaw *et al.* 2003:118-119).

⁹⁹ Musicians in this case implies sistrum players only.



Figure 64: Statue of the chantress Enehy – Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore¹⁰⁰

A limestone statue (Figure 64) of a priestess of Hathor, Enehy¹⁰¹ from the Nineteenth Dynasty, is inscribed with the words “Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven”. In her left hand is a sistrum, the symbol of her profession as chantress or priestess of Hathor (Capel *et al.* 1996:96). Her clothing and elegant hairstyle suggest that she was affluent and could probably afford a luxurious burial. The inscriptions down the front of her skirt read as follows:

“Everything which goes forth before the lords of the necropolis: bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, libation-water and all good and pure things for the ka of Osiris, the Mistress of the House, the Chantress of the Mistress of Heaven, she of the southern sycamore, Nehy, the true voice”.

It was a sign of rank for a woman to hold religious posts within the local temple. These women were not as such priestesses but rather “the favoured ones” or “*hesyt*”. This title was also used by the female members of the royal household, and sometimes also referred to the king's concubines. The “*hesyt*” were singers, dancers and musicians who recited the sacred hymns and prayers to entertain the god in the daily rituals. The chantress was the

¹⁰⁰ The inscription of the statue inspired the title of a catalogue of an exhibition that was organised by the Cincinnati Museum of Art. The exhibition, held in 1996 and 1997, only included artefacts from North American collections. Unfortunately, the statue was too fragile to be transported, but it was still included in the catalogue.

¹⁰¹ According to Capel *et al.* (1996:42) two identical statues of Enehy were discovered. Champollion, who had obtained the statues, sold them to the Walters Art Gallery and to the Reverend Theodore Pitcairn. The Pitcairn statue was sold later again to the Matsuoka Museum of Art in Tokyo.

leader of the choir or the orchestra, while the Matron of “God's Harem” was in charge of the female temple personnel (Capel *et al.* 1996:42).

One such a chantress was Meryt, one of the wives of Sennefer, the mayor of Thebes and Superintendent of the Granaries of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep II. Figure 65 is a painting from the tomb of Sennefer. She is seen offering him two necklaces on a plate: one with three amulets including a djed column, and the other one comprising the scarab necklace. Sennefer is seated on a chair, wearing a kilt, a shirt and the broad collar. He is also wearing the special necklace marking him as mayor of Thebes which was given to him by Amenhotep II. Meryt is wearing the traditional white dress and shawl and a curly wig with a diadem. Elsewhere in the tomb, she is portrayed with a sistrum and the menat necklace, suggesting that she was closely associated with the cult of Hathor and indicates her role as chantress. Following artistic conventions, Sennefer's skin is a reddish-brown whereas hers reflects a yellowish colour. As non-royals, Meryt's hands are shown as two left hands (Andrews 1999).



Figure 65: Wall painting of Sennefer and Meryt as portrayed on the walls of the Theban tomb of Sennefer

4.10 Roles of elite women during festivals and rituals

The Egyptian calendar, full of dates, marks the many religious festivals which reflected the people's relationships with their gods. The king was always present at these occasions and can be seen as the "main character" and the beneficiary of the festival (Frankfort 1952:1). When a monarch died, the land plunged into misery as the established order collapsed. Certain funerary rituals would then be carried out before the coronation of his successor.

The festivals of the New Kingdom took the form of various themes such as celebrating the return of the warlords from victorious battles, or the coronation day of the new king, and/or the anniversary days of the coronation. These types of celebrations were often portrayed on the monuments such as temple walls and tomb paintings (Ruiz 2001:172-178). In some cases, such as the Opet festival, the cult images of the deities Amun, Mut and Khonsu were moved from Karnak and taken to the temple of Luxor to the accompaniment of rituals, music, dance, etc. Following these ceremonies the statues were placed on a royal barge and taken back to the Karnak temple (Frankfort 1952:7).

The most important festivals were:

- The New Year Festival or Opening of the Year (a celebration of rejuvenation/rebirth and the start of the New Year)
- Festival of Wagdy or Festival of Thoth (the event was connected with the mortuary rituals)
- The Opet Festival (statues of Amun, Mut and Khonsu journeyed from Karnak to Luxor)
- The Festival of Sokar (a joyous festival in honour of the god of the underworld, Osiris)
- The Beautiful Festival of the Valley (Festival where the living were connected with the dead. The procession was accompanied by acrobats and musicians, especially sistrum players)
- The Heb-Sed Festival (a celebration of the thirty year anniversary of the king) (Springer *et al.* 1999)



Figure 66: Opet Festival (Kjeilen, 1996)¹⁰²



Figure 67: Incised relief of Nefertiti and princess from the Aten Temple at Karnak –
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

¹⁰² Representation of the statues of Amun, Mut and Khonsu on their ritual journey from Karnak to Luxor during the Opet Festival (Kjeilen:1996)

According to Tyldesley (2007) the “Mansion of the Benben Stone”¹⁰³, known in Egyptian as *hwt-bnbn*, was situated in the Karnak Temple and associated with a solar cult. Nefertiti, in her early years, acted as a priestess for these rituals as evidenced by a Talatat stone discovered at the site. Tyldesley further suggested that Meritaten, and her younger sister Meketaten, were depicted on the walls of the *hwt-bnbn* temple assisting their mother in these rituals. Figure 67 is an incised relief depicting Nefertiti offering to Aten in the *hwt-bnbn* Temple. At the bottom right of the relief, is the head of one of the princesses, probably Meritaten. She is holding a sistrum in her right hand. Nefertiti is shown wearing her traditional blue crown surmounted by a headdress consisting of plumes, horns and the sun-disc.

Music played an important role in festivals and rituals where priestesses made use of ceremonial dances and instruments, such as the harp, tambourines, clappers, sistra and menat necklaces. The sistra and menat necklaces were both cult symbols of the goddess Hathor (Oakes *et al.* 2004:367). Religious dancers were specially trained at temple schools and had their own protector god, Ihy, the “Sistrum Player” (Ruiz 2001:169). Both priests and priestesses had their own dress code that comprised of a long, simple dress for the priests and a simple sheath dress with a headband for the priestesses.

According to Ruiz (2001:164) three daily rituals were carried out where priests would burn incense and clean, cloth, feed and anoint the statue of the god. Daily offerings, such as the food and drink presented to the gods, are displayed on tomb- and temple walls.

Where festivals were organised to celebrate and honour the gods, they could last for several days. Such celebrations were aligned with the social calendar and some, such as the harvest festival, took place annually (Springer 1999-2005).

4.11 Elite women in War

During the New Kingdom various kings emerged as warlords and heroes such as the influential Ahmose II, Thutmose III and Ramesses II. Behind them were the king's wives, mothers and daughters who supported their husbands, sons and fathers.

How did the queens of the New Kingdom operate during war? Were they involved, or in a supportive role? According to Fletcher (2003) female combat was common. She suggests

¹⁰³ The *Benben* Stone was a freestanding sacred stone at Heliopolis, symbolising the primeval mound, and it was believed that the rays of the sun-god Atum Re first touched the stone which was in the shape of a *benben*. At creation it probably formed the basis for the obelisk and the pyramid (Shaw *et al.* 2003:52). Shaw *et al.* further suggest that the gilded capstone of both the obelisk and the pyramid is called the *benbenet*. During the reign of Akhenaten the *benben* was associated with the worship of the Aten at Karnak. It appeared in a different form in El Amarna, suggesting that a change in the worship of the Aten had developed (Tyldesley 2005:126).

that “although such scenes are often disregarded as illustrating 'fictional' or ritual events, the literary and archaeological evidence is less easy to dismiss”. Royal women could undertake military campaigns and were rewarded for their active roles in conflict. Evidence of women in war has been found throughout the three millennia of ancient Egyptian history in female burials that contain weapons. A good example is that of Ahhotep who received the highest military award from her son Ahmose I, namely a necklace with three golden flies and an inscribed, honorary sword for her participation in the war against the Hyksos. (See Figure 71). The flies were the “medal” used to reward high-ranking Egyptian soldiers, an award which represented the highest military decoration of the Late Middle Kingdom (Tyldesley 2006:88). These objects made her tomb the richest female burial ever found in ancient Egypt and the Minoan style objects were made from the finest gold, copper, wood and electrum inlaid with lapis lazuli. A stele that was found in Karnak describes her involvement in military aspects, and constitutes the earliest written proof that an Egyptian queen regent could exercise authority and power.

Fletcher (2003) believes that the neighbouring countries “were clearly shocked by the relative freedom of Egyptian women” The fact that women were portrayed publicly supporting their husbands in activities such as religious rituals or at any other levels of society was not the type of practice that was acknowledged by the rest of the Ancient Near East. Strong women were regarded as “enemies of the state” and, consequently, seen as a threat to the government (Fletcher 2003).

Queens were also portrayed smiting their enemies, executing prisoners, or firing arrows at both male opponents and the non-royal women were showed habitually stabbed and overpowered invading soldiers. An example is a stele showing Nefertiti smiting the women of the enemy, and also depicting her driving a chariot. These type of actions were normally only associated with the king (Fletcher 2005).

Fletcher (2005) further suggests that Hatshepsut had at least one military campaign where she was responsible for the destruction of the southern lands.



Figure 68: Drawing of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in their chariots as portrayed in the chapel of the priest Merya at El Amarna (Hoyra, 1999-2007)

In Figure 68 Nefertiti is shown driving her own chariot during a ceremonial procession in the company of her husband, an activity normally only attributed to kings. Therefore, the scene from the chapel of the priest Merya at El Amarna, reflects the influence Nefertiti had in the social structure of the Amarna Period as well as her relationship with her husband. Although she is portrayed on a much smaller scale than her husband, both are embraced by the rays of the Aten. On either side of the scene, they are accompanied by foot soldiers and soldiers in chariots (Hoyra 1999-2007).

4.12 Diplomatic Roles

The term diplomatic brides refer to all the foreign women or princesses who were married to the king and who came from foreign countries such as Asia. They arrived with rich dowries and resided in the harem. (See Figure 58 of Medinet Habu, one of the harem palaces). These marriages were based on the political and diplomatic ties that Egypt had with foreign powers to ensure good relationships between the two rulers (Robins 1998:30).

Two types of diplomatic marriages existed in ancient Egypt. The first was where the father of the bride was on equal status with the pharaoh and where the two rulers would address each other as “brother”. The second type was where the father of the bride was a vassal of the Egyptian king and therefore on a lower level of the society. In such a case the father of the bride would address the king as “my lord, my god, my sun god” (Robins 1993:30).

The Amarna Letters that were found near El Amarna in 1887 gave evidence for the political ties between Egypt and the Hittites and resulted in the discovery of the existence of diplomatic marriages. The first such marriages took place during the reign of Amenhotep III, one his brides being Tadukhepa from Mitanni who was mentioned seven times in the

Amarna Letters. Tadukhepa's later history is still debated today as some scholars believe that she could have been Kiya, the secondary wife of Akhenaten. This statement cannot, however, be verified although the idea that Kiya was of foreign origin should not be ruled out (Arnold *et al.* 1996:14).

The second series of diplomatic marriages took place during the reign of Ramesses II. A treaty was signed between the pharaoh and the Hittite king, Hattusili III, which was sealed with gifts. It was further strengthened by the arranged marriage between the daughter of Hattusili and Ramesses II. The new Hittite bride received an Egyptian name: Maathorneferure, and she became the principal wife of her husband. Figure 69 depicts the broken statue of Ramesses II and Maathorneferure from Tanis (Tyldesley 2006:159). It is possible that the statue was made from red sandstone although this cannot be confirmed.



Figure 69: Broken colossal statue of Ramesses II and Maathorneferure - Tanis

4.13 Conclusion

The "King's Wife" or "Great Royal Wife" played an important role in society. The consort wife was the most important figure during the New Kingdom. The title of "King's Wife" originates from the earliest times, but it was only during the New Kingdom that the wife of the ruler became more prominent in the society, and was seen as of equal status to the king. Hatshepsut was the only "Great Royal Wife" who became a regent after her husband's death. The title and role of "God's Wife" was mainly associated with the queens of the New Kingdom, although there is evidence that it originated during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. Apart from their involvement in the cult of Hathor, elite women were also associated in the cult of Amun as the "God's Wife". This title is one of the most important that

elite woman of the early Eighteenth Dynasty could hold, the bearer being associated with Amun as his consort wife. "God's Wife" was associated with the queens during the earlier and later part of the New Kingdom. Over time the title and the office of the "God's Wife" accumulated major wealth. To be the "King's Mother" was an important role in New Kingdom society. The title originates from the earliest periods when the "King's Mother" enjoyed a higher status in society than the "King's Wife". The "King's Sister" was similarly an important title since she sometimes became the king's wife. It was occasionally used during the Middle Kingdom but more frequently during the New Kingdom. The title of "Co-regent" was introduced during the Middle Kingdom and relates to a period in history when two kings ruled simultaneously. The two female pharaohs of the New Kingdom, Hatshepsut and Tawosret played unique roles as co-regent. The title "of King's Daughter" was used from the earliest periods. Much evidence is available of "Women in War". Especially notable is the fact that Ahhotep received from her son the three golden flies, the highest military decoration of the Late Middle Kingdom. "Women in War" during the New Kingdom had more authority than their predecessors to act in a war situation. We have seen that the first diplomatic marriage took place during the reign of Amenhotep III.

There is thus sufficient proof in the titulary of elite women of the New Kingdom that the usage of titles and the responsibilities associated with these, correlate with the implied elevation in their status.

Chapter 5

Profiles of elite women of the New Kingdom

Profiles of elite women are presented in this Chapter and describe each specific woman with respect to origin, ascension to a position of high status, the roles played as well as her physical appearance, religious connotations and her ultimate legacy.

The order of presentation is chronological and not in any way an indication of the relative importance of the women.

5.1 Ahhotep

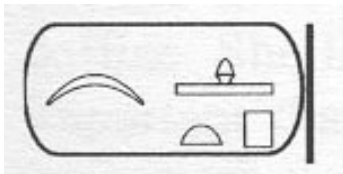


Figure 70: Statue of Queen Ahhotep¹⁰⁴ - Louvre Museum

A Seventeenth Dynasty queen, Ahhotep (Figure 70) was the daughter of the Theban king Seqenenre Taa II. The line started with Seqenenre Taa I who was married to Tetisheri a

¹⁰⁴ Portraiture of Ahhotep is scarce. This image is from an on-line article written by Edward T Babinski (and paraphrased by MR Bunson) who suggests that the statue is housed in the Louvre Museum. The material the statue was made of is unknown.
(<http://encyclopedia.edwardtbabinski.us/wiki/index.php/A%27ahhotep>)

commoner's daughter from the Theban area. Their son, Seqenenre Taa II, married one of his sisters, Ahhotep (Dodson 2004:122; Tyldesley 2006:82). Dodson *et al.* (2004:126) and Tyldesley (2006:82) further suggest that Ahhotep was the first woman to bear the titles of "Great King's Wife", "King's Mother", "King's Daughter" and "King's Sister". She gave birth to at least four children whose names all include "Ahmose". After the death of Seqenenre Taa II and his son, Kamose, Ahmose I became the new ruler. Since he was still too young to rule, his mother Ahhotep, took control of the government as co-regent, rallied her troops and continued the fight to expel the Hyksos. This action is the first proof that a queen regent was authoritative (Tyldesley 2006:84).

An inscribed stele found at Karnak, describes Ahhotep's involvement in military operations. It thus provides written proof that an ancient Egyptian queen had stepped into the political arena to defend her country. The inscription on the stele reads as follows (Editore *et al.* 2007:121):

"Let's pray to the queen
The mistress of both lands
Whose name is honoured everywhere, the great ruler,
Great Royal Wife, Royal Sister, life, great in favour and health, Royal
Daughter
Beloved Royal Mother
She is the one who has accomplished the rites
And has care for Egypt. She has maintained the power
She has brought back her fugitives and collected together her deserters
She has pacified Upper Egypt, she has quashed the rebellion
The King's Wife Ahhotep given life".



Figure 71: Necklace of three golden flies that Ahhotep received as a military reward –

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

For her participation in the freedom war, she was rewarded with a necklace of three golden flies (Figure 71) and an inscribed ceremonial axe. The flies were the “medal” used to reward high-ranking Egyptian soldiers and represent the highest military decoration from the Late Middle Kingdom onwards (Tyldesley 2006:88).

Ahhotep also became famous for her prominent position in the Theban religious establishment of Amun, of Karnak.

She was thus the first woman to lay the foundations for the transformation of the position of elite women since she played a major role in society on both a diplomatic level and in the religious rituals. Her son, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty and her daughter, Ahmose-Nefertari would further change the course of New Kingdom history.

5.2 Ahmose-Nefertari

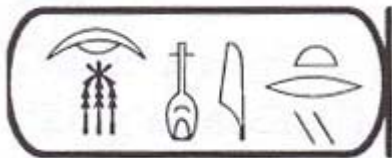


Figure 72: Wooden statue of Ahmose-Nefertari – Museo Egizio, Turin

Ahmose-Nefertari (Figure 72) was the sister-wife and co-regent of Ahmose I, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the great-grandmother of the pharaoh Hatshepsut. She became the first high profile queen of the New Kingdom being one of the most brilliant and influential queens (Robins 1998:42).

In this painted, wooden figure (Figure 72) Ahmose-Nefertari is shown dressed in the typical long, sheath dress whereas her shoulders are covered with a shawl. She is wearing the vulture headdress over her tripartite wig under the uraeus and the flat crown. On the statue's head, is a hole which suggests that it originally contained an uraeus. Her left arm is kept close to the abdomen while the hand is clenched in a fist. It is possible that there was an object in the left hand although it cannot be confirmed. The right arm is also clenched in a fist and is beside her body. Her left foot is in an advanced position, typical of the royal stance that dates back to the Old Kingdom. Her face is painted a dark colour and the slanting eyes are clearly visible. The colour of the face does not reflect her ethnic origin.

Ahmose I bestowed the religious title of "God's Wife" upon his wife, Ahmose-Nefertari. (See Chapter 4.9.1 for this role). Other titles attributed to her were "King's Mother", "King's Principal Wife", "Mistress of the Sky" and "Lady of the West". (See Chapter 4.5 and 4.2 for an explanation of these roles). The title of "God's Wife of Amun"¹⁰⁵ appears on the Donations Stele of Ahmose I in the temple of Amun at Karnak. The stele also reflects the purchase of the title, "The Second Priest of Amun" which was later bestowed upon Ahmose-Nefertari (Tyldesley 2006:88). Robins (1998:43) believes that the stele and its contents are actually a legal document that reflects the establishment of an office to administer the goods and lands of the queen and her heirs. The office was a priestly one that gave the bearer of the title an important position in the Amun cult.

The following is a translated extract, from the text on the "Donation Stele" as per Bryan (2000:3):

"[Year x] month three of Inundation, day 7 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebpehtyre, the son of Re, Ahmose, living forever and ever.

Done in the presence of [the council?] of the lands of the city and the servants of the temple of Amun. What was said in the majesty of the palace, life!, prosperity!, health!, in... [saying]: ...[I have given] the office of the second priest of Amun to the god's wife, great royal wife,

she united to the beauty of the white crown, Ahmose-Nofretari, may she live! [It] was done for her in an imyt-per, from son to son, heir to

¹⁰⁵ Amun (or Amun Re) was one of the most important gods of Ancient Egypt. His temple at Karnak is the longest surviving religious complex of the New Kingdom. In Thebes he was the local deity and was described as the king of gods.

heir [without allowing a challenge] against it by anyone forever and ever, because the office I have seen before me.

The list thereof:

gold: 160 pieces shenau, possibly a writing of seniu

silver: 250

copper: 67 of an object made of copper, each one of 6 shenau.

I have given it to her for 4 pieces, totalling 200.

Clothing 200 with the value of 400 shenau. I have given them for 200.

Wigs, 80, 10 with the value of 210 shenau, reckoning of it as 150.

Ointment, 13 pots for 78; reckoning of it as 50.

Grand total in shenau: 1,010.

I have given to her male and female servants, and four hundred oipe of barley and six arouras of inundated land as an excess over 12 the 1010 shenau. Her office will be at the value of 600 shenau. The office is completed for her, it being endowed

She said: "Indeed I am satisfied with the price. Let it be done according to it, without allowing that it be challenged by anyone forever and ever." She gave an oath concerning it: "as my lord lives for me."

She came at the front of the council of the city of Thebes together with the servants of the temple of Amun in order to record in writing the office which was placed under the control of the god's wife, great royal wife Ahmose-Nofretari, may she live!, clothed in a shawl deriving from the exchange price, consisting of one of the 200 shawls which my majesty gave. For she is a nemhet, without anything.

Indeed my majesty has caused that one build a house for her separate from any petition which she says, consisting of what a brother gives to her in order to make revenue for her, it being removed from challenge.

Then she praised god on behalf of his majesty in the presence of the courtiers, saying: "He clothes me, while I have nothing; he causes that I am rich, while I am orphaned."

Sealed in the presence of the king himself. [One gave] the imyt per in the presence of the portable bark of Amun at his festival of Choiak [in the] southern festival hall in the presence of the king himself, in the presence of the god's wife and great royal wife Ahmose Nofretari, may she live!, in front of all together, and the courtiers who are in the following of his majesty [remainder of column empty; continues horizontally below], and the entire council of magistrates djadjat.

Then the majesty of this god said: "I am her protector. A challenge to her shall not occur forever by any king who shall arise in the following of future generations. But only the god's wife Nefertary. It belongs to her from son to son forever and ever in accordance with her office of god's wife. There is not one who shall say, 'Except for me'. There is not another who can speak".

After the death of her husband, Ahmose I, Ahmose-Nefertari acted as regent for her young son, Amenhotep I, until he was old enough to take power. As evidence quarry inscriptions, opposite Memphis and Asyut, state that she undertook various building projects due to her economic power (Lesko 1991:12).

Ahmosenepet (Ahmose-Nefertari) outlived both her husband, son and daughter. Robins (1998:44) is of the opinion that she was still around when Thutmose I came to power since an image of her is attested on a stele that was erected by this king in his first regnal year.

Ahmosenepet's importance did not end with her death because she and her son Amenhotep I was deified and worshipped by the workmen of Deir el-Medina as the patron of their necropolis and goddess of resurrection. This cult lasted until the end of the New Kingdom (Tyldesley 2006:90).



Figure 73: Wall painting of Ahmose Nefertari – British Museum

Figure 73 is a tomb painting of Ahmosenepet from the walls of the Late Ramesside Theban tomb of Kynebo¹⁰⁶. She is dressed in typical queenly attire: white dress with blue and red belts, her body clearly visible through the transparent garment. On her head is the vulture cap associated with Mut, the wife of Amun, consisting of a crown topped with a solar disc and two feathers. The uraeus cobra on her brow and the flail sceptre clearly indicate her royal status. The colour of her skin is black symbolising new life, rather than reflecting her

¹⁰⁶ Kynebo was a priest under Ramesses VIII and bore the title of Overseer over the Secrets of the Estates of Amun.

ethnic origin. In her left hand is the blue lotus¹⁰⁷ the symbol of rebirth which is often held by deceased women (British Museum Website).

Ahmoise-Nefertari in the words of Flinders Petrie was “..... the most venerated figure of Egyptian history” (<http://www.whenweruled.com/articles.php?lng=en&pg=7>).

5.3 Ahmoise-Merytamun

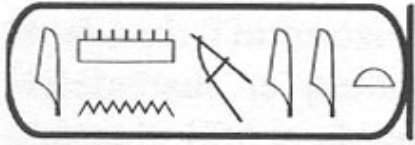


Figure 74: Ahmoise-Merytamun – British Museum

Ahmoise-Merytamun (Figure 74) was the daughter of Ahmoise-Nefertari and the sister-wife of Amenhotep I. Information about her is almost nonexistent, but it is known that apart from the title “Great King's Wife”, she also held that of “God's Wife”, which she inherited from her mother. Grajetzki (2005:50) suggests that she also held the titles of “King's Sister” and “King's Daughter”. (See Chapters 4.2, 4.9.1, 4.8 and 4.7 for the explanation of the roles).

¹⁰⁷ The lotus was symbolic of rebirth: It closes at night and sinks underwater. In the morning it re-emerges from the water and blooms again, reflecting life after death (Shaw *et al.* 2003:164). The blue lotus was often shown in tomb scenes; banquet guests hold the flower in front of their noses.

Most of the evidence derives from her tomb in Deir el-Bahri. A badly damaged mummy of an unknown woman (probably Ahmose-Merytamun) was found in tomb TT320 at Deir el-Bahri together with other mummies such as: Seqenenre Taa II; Ahmose-Nefertari; Ahmose I; Amenhotep I (husband of Ahmose-Merytamun); Thutmose II and III; Sety I; Ramesses I, II, III and a few other elite people. All these mummies formed part of the Deir el-Bahri Cachette and over 50 bodies were found (Clayton 1994:103).

Merytamun died without producing an heir, implying that Thutmose I may have been adopted into the royal family to succeed Amenhotep I. Tyldesley (2006:91) suggests that Merytamun's mummy was desecrated during the Twenty First Dynasty and then re-bandaged. Scientific research showed that she suffered from arthritis and scoliosis (Tyldesley 2006:91).

This limestone bust (Figure 74) shows her wearing the tripartite wig¹⁰⁸ underneath the uraeus, depicting her royalty. The bust was originally discovered by Balzoni in Karnak.

5.4 Ahmose

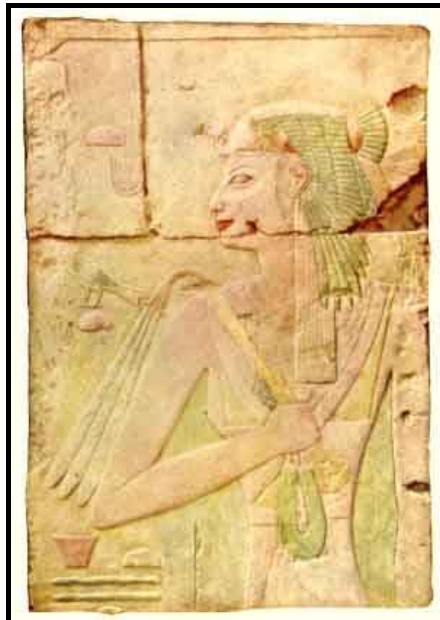


Figure 75: Raised relief of Queen Ahmose – Deir el-Bahri

¹⁰⁸ The British Museum Website implies that this wig could have been one of the earliest Hathorian wigs wore by a queen.

Ahmose was the wife of Thutmose I and the mother of Hatshepsut (Roth *et al.* 2006:11). Although information on her background is vague, Tyldesley (2006:92) suggests that she could have been a daughter of Ahmose-Nefertari and her husband Ahmose. This would make her the sister of Amenhotep I and was probably therefore the reason she was known as the “King’s Sister”. (See Chapters 4.2, 4.5 and 4.9.1 for an explanation of Ahmose’s roles). She was referred to as the “King’s Daughter” and never held the title of “God’s Wife”. Ahmose stayed very much in the background during her husband’s reign but became more prominent during that of Hatshepsut.

She is portrayed on the walls of her daughter’s temple at Deir el-Bahri where a raised relief (Figure 75) shows her dressed in the sheath dress with shoulder straps which accentuates her very narrow waste. On her head is the vulture cap over a tripartite wig and in her right hand the flail sceptre. The left arm is damaged. The colours are still clearly visible: green of the vulture cap and her bright red lips. Green is also visible on the wall behind the figure and on the handle of the flail. Although the relief is partly damaged, Ahmose’s features are clearly visible, notably her slanted eyes and smiling mouth.

5.5 Hatshepsut



Figure 76: Kneeling statue of Hatshepsut as king of ancient Egypt –

Metropolitan Museum, New York

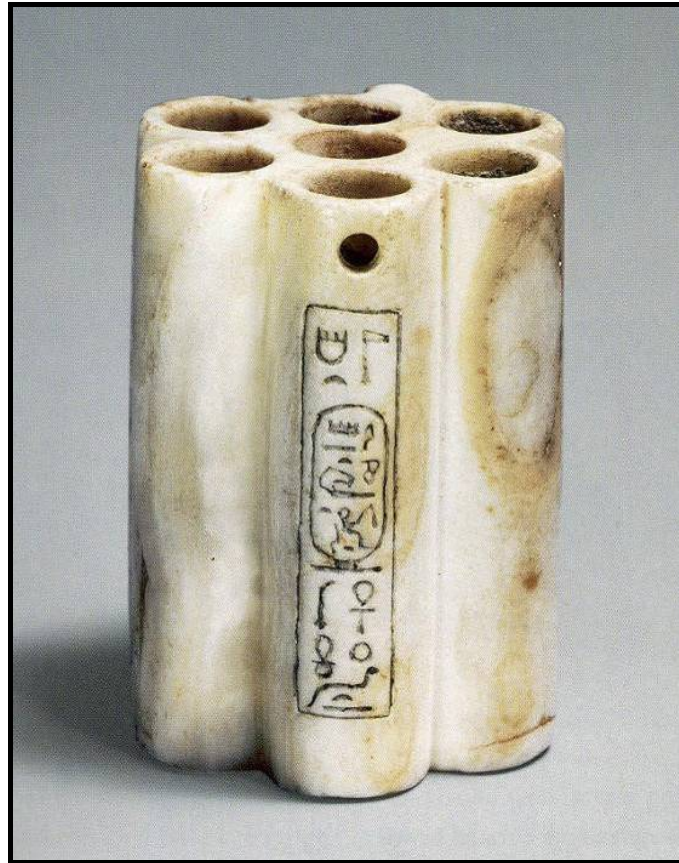
Hatshepsut (Figure 76) descended from a long line of dynamic women such as Ahhotep, Ahmose-Nefertari and her own mother Queen Ahmose. She was one of only six women who ruled as kings in ancient Egypt. Her father, Thutmose I, was renowned for his war campaigns against Syria and Nubia. He defeated the Kushites and pushed the ancient Egyptian borders far to the south. Roehrig (2005d:52) suggests that it is possible, due to evidence found at Hagr el-Merwa¹⁰⁹ that Hatshepsut accompanied her parents to a place called Kurgus in Nubia. In Figure 76 Hatshepsut is portrayed in the kneeling position with offerings for Amun in her hands. She is wearing the White Crown with the uraeus on her head, the false beard is attached to her chin and she is dressed in the kilt. A backpillar is visible behind her shoulders. She is portrayed as a male figure with no breasts and a naked, muscular torso, an aspect only introduced later in her reign.

According to Monges (1993:8) controversy ensued following the deaths of Thutmose I and his sons over who should be the next ruler. It can be assumed that Hatshepsut's succession to the throne was through her matrilineal heritage since her mother, rather than her father, was of royal descent. In this connection Roehrig *et al.* (2005e:3) suggest that Ahmose, Hatshepsut's mother, could have been a sister of Amenhotep 1 leading to her claim as rightful heir to the throne. However, in ancient Egypt succession was purely male. Therefore her step-son, Thutmose III, automatically became the new ruler. Hatshepsut originally used the title of "Princess", "King's Daughter" and "King's Sister" (Robins 1998:46). (See Chapter 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9.1, 4.10 and 4.11 for a description of Hatshepsut's roles).

Hatshepsut believing herself to be born from the god Amun and her mother Ahmose, continued to propagate her divine birth after the death of her father. The walls of the middle colonnade at Deir el-Bahri depict scenes legitimising her rule as king by decree of her father, Thutmose I. These scenes depict her being introduced to the court and various deities as the heir apparent and successor to the throne (Robins 1997:126). Robins further states that Hatshepsut was the first king to have her divine birth so depicted on reliefs.

Hatshepsut also held the title of "God's Wife", which she inherited from Ahmose-Merytamun, the daughter of Ahmose-Nefertari. (See Chapter 4.9.1 for the role of "God's Wife"). As crown princess it was a title that she had probably held before her marriage to Thutmose II. Following her marriage she also held the title of "King's Great Wife. (See Chapter 4.2 for a description of this role). On the kohl jar (Figure 77) the name of Hatshepsut is associated with her role as the "God's Wife".

¹⁰⁹ Hagr el-Merwa was a quartzite rock consisting of native rock drawings and possibly a great spiritual importance to the indigenous people of the area. This was where Thutmose I carved his stela and was probably the boundary marker for the Egyptian border.



*Figure 77: Kohl jar of Hatshepsut with the horizontal inscription of the title “God’s Wife” –
Metropolitan Museum, New York*

On this kohl jar (Figure 77) Hatshepsut’s birth name (Khenemet Amun Hatshepsut) as well as the words “God’s Wife” are written in hieroglyphs on a horizontal level. It was made of travertine or Egyptian alabaster. The kohl jar is an imitation of a reed bundle, which was normally tied together with leather strips to form holders for make-up. It originally also contained a lid and was probably manufactured when she was still married to Thutmose II. Inside the little holes are still remains of cosmetics (Arnold *et al.* 2005:216).

As the wife of Thutmose II, Hatshepsut was known as the “King’s Wife”. She abandoned this title after the death of her husband, when she became first co-regent and then king in her own right. During her time as “King’s Wife”, she did not wield any power and there was no suggestion that she would ever be any more important (Dorman *et al.* 2006:87). Indeed, Hatshepsut was the only “Great Royal Wife” who became a regent after her husband’s death.

From marriage with Thutmose II only two daughters were born: Neferura and Merira-Hatshepsut. (It is assumed that the second daughter, Merira-Hatshepsut became the wife of Thutmose III (Seawright 2004).

It is commonly accepted that Hatshepsut became the co-regent of Thutmose III after the death of her husband, Thutmose II. (See Chapter 4.4 on the role of the co-regent). In her seventh year as co-regent she declared herself king and took over control of the country. She received the titulary of all five royal names as follows:

- “Horus, Powerful-of-Kas”
- “Two Ladies, Flourishing-of-Years”
- “Female Horus of Fine Gold, Divine of Diadems”
- “”King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare (Truth is the Soul of Re)”
- “Daughter of Re, Khenmet-Amun Hatshepsut (the One who is joined with Amun, the Foremost of Women”

As pharaoh of ancient Egypt Hatshepsut carried out cult activities associated only with kings and accepted the royal iconography, and roles. (See Chapter 4.3 on the role of Pharaoh).

Keller *et al.* (2005:160) imply that her full transformation into a kingship icon is mainly visible in the statuary from the temple at Deir el-Bahri. The best-preserved examples are the Osiride statuary from the upper portico, where colossal standing and kneeling figures depict a feminine Hatshepsut, whereas the seating examples reflect a more masculine appearance. The series of Osiride statues depict Hatshepsut covered by the Sed-festival, jubilee and cloak whereas her legs are in a mummy form. These statues were based on the freestanding, cloaked figures of Mentuhotep II, in his temple at the same site, and the mummiform examples of Amenhotep I (Keller *et al.* 2006:158). She wears the male attire, inherited from the pharaohs before her, and clearly intended to follow the trend. Although keen to emphasise her male appearance, these aspects did not hide her female features. She also abandoned the titles and insignia of a queen, choosing to adopt the attributes of a male king.

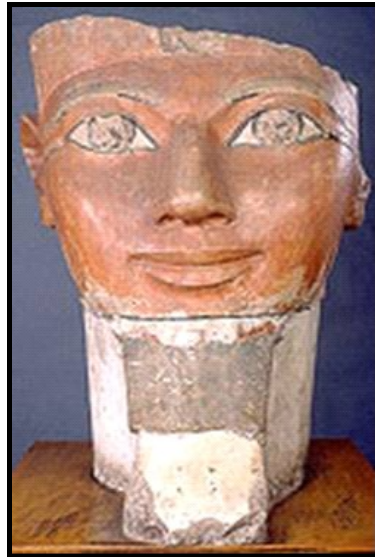


Figure 78: Head of Hatshepsut with false beard – Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Although this representation of Hatshepsut (Figure 78) is shown with curving eyebrows, wide eyes, high cheekbones, a beautiful formed nose, full lips is smiling, the bust could as well be that of a male. The queen is portrayed in an idealized Osirian¹¹⁰ form but with delicate feminine features. Cosmetic lines are clearly visible and well preserved colours noticeably enhance the expression of her face. This style was originally introduced by her father, Thutmose I (Aldred 1993:148). The head is made of limestone which was painted and formed part of one of her statues at Deir el-Bahri.



*Figure 79: Statue of small lion-maned sphinx of Hatshepsut –
Metropolitan Museum, New York*

¹¹⁰ Osirian form implies the way in which Osiris was represented with his arms across the chest and holding a flail and the *heka* sceptre. He was dressed in a long robe with the Atef crown on his head and wears the false beard and the broad collar. This bust of Hatshepsut (Figure 78) shows only the false beard as the rest has been lost.

Sphinx¹¹¹ statues were made of Hatshepsut, portraying her with the typical pharaonic beard. They are the total opposite of other more feminine depictions. Two lion-maned sphinxes (Figure 79) were placed with others on the stairs leading to the entrance of her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri where they acted as “hosts” to visitors rather than guardians. Whereas the other sphinxes lining the entrance were made of granite, these two lion-maned sphinxes were made of limestone and reflect the youthful appearance of the female pharaoh. They could originate from an earlier period in her reign, possibly during the co-regency phase (Keller *et al.* 2006:166). (Figure 79). Both the sphinxes have inscriptions, reading “Maatkare, beloved of Amun, given life forever”. There is a small difference between the texts on the twin sphinxes – the one in Cairo contains masculine pronouns, referring to the king, whereas those in the Metropolitan Museum are female (Keller *et al.* 2005:166; Partridge 2005:48).



Figure 80: Seated statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum, New York

¹¹¹ Sphinxes, with a lion body and a head resembling the reigning king, dated back to the Old Kingdom; they were envisaged as the protectors of the mortuary complexes (Keller *et al.* 2006:164). The earliest known sphinx erected is close to the Giza pyramid complex.

In the crystalline limestone statue of Hatshepsut (Figure 80), she is depicted as the idolization of a female Egyptian king. This statue reflects the attitude, proportions, physical features and material that were used to produce a statement of royal divinity. According to Keller *et al.* (2006:172) Hatshepsut's feet are resting on an inscription of the Nine Bows.¹¹² Her shoulders are broader, the waist is thicker, and there is a slight evidence of breasts, probably reflecting the gradual transformation from female to male pharaoh. The statue shows Hatshepsut dressed in the kilt, complemented by the beaded belt and the bull's tail pendant, the traditional attire of male royalty. On her head is the royal *nemes* and the double uraeii. Her hands are resting on her lap, an aspect commonly seen in statuary of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the pose having been adopted from the later part of the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom.

As king, Hatshepsut was closely involved in building projects such as her Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple as well as the contribution of many obelisks. She was therefore known as the "Building Pharaoh". Moreover, she is remembered for her expedition to Punt¹¹³ from where her soldiers brought back luxurious products. The Egyptians envisaged Punt as a garden of Amun, described as (Dunn 2005b):

"Turning my face to sunrise I created a wonder for you, I made the lands of Punt come here to you, with all the fragrant flowers of their lands, to beg your peace and breathe the air you give".

The following is an inscription relating to the journey to Punt that appears on the walls of her mortuary temple (Vess 2007).

"The boats were heavily loaded with the marvels of the land of Punt, all the beautiful plants of Ta-Netjer, heaps of gum of myrrh, with trees of flourishing myrrh, with ebony and pure ivory, with green gold of Amu, with a tishepes-tree and khesit-spice, with ihemet-myrrh, incense and black eye-paint, with baboons, long-tail monkeys and dogs, with skins of southern panthers and with servants, along with their children. Never was brought the likeness of this to any king who has existed, since the primeval times".

Although not physically involved in military warfare, Hatshepsut supported her co-regent, Thutmose III. He was known as a great military strategist who attended military training in Syria. Together they formed a great army under Hatshepsut's rule. This army travelled to

¹¹² The Nine Bows are also known as the traditional enemies of Egypt (Wilkinson 2003:19).

¹¹³ Punt was a place that was exotic and mysterious but which exact location is still unknown. It was the place where goods from all over Africa were brought for trading: exotic animals such as giraffes and the sacred Cynocephalus baboons to spices, food, ivory, ebony and skins of animals that were used by the Egyptian priests. The baboons were used during rituals and for entertainment. The journeys were long as Punt. It also supplied the Egyptians with incense, a plant originally known as antyu and myrrh. The myrrh trees were planted in front of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut and their roots are indeed still there. Incense was produced near Punt in the region of Utjenet (God's Land) (Dunn 2005b).

Punt to get luxurious goods and went with Thutmosis III on his military campaigns (Shaw *et al.* 2003:289).



Figure 81: Raised relief of running soldiers during the Opet festival – Deir el-Bahri

Scenes of Hatshepsut's soldiers participating in the Opet festival (Figure 81) are on the east wall of the upper terrace of her mortuary temple. They portray running soldiers carrying branches and axes. The Opet festival was the celebration of the god Amun when his image was transported from his temple at Karnak to the temple of Luxor. Hatshepsut's personal connection with the god Amun was a main feature in many of the images to be found on the walls of her mortuary temple. The soldiers are wearing short, curly wigs; their torsos are naked and they are wearing either a kilt or a type of loincloth. Their bodies are painted in the rational brown. Roehrig *et al.* (2005a:154) is of the opinion that the soldiers were from Nubian origin.

It could have been that towards the end of her reign, Hatshepsut was seen as an "enemy of the state" upon which she suddenly disappeared, her monuments were desecrated and her name was omitted from the king list. This was the worst punishment that could be inflicted on a deceased king, since it would also have an impact on ancestral worship (Tyldesley 1995:229).

5.6 Neferura¹¹⁴



Figure 82: Princess Neferura as the God's Wife – Red Chapel, Karnak Temple, Luxor

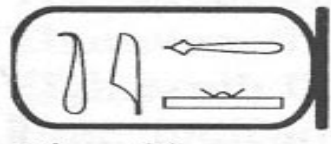
Neferura inherited the title of “God's Wife” after her mother, Hatshepsut, became king. She also used the title “King's Daughter”. (See Chapters 4.7 and 4.9.1 for the descriptions of the description of these roles).

As a young girl she was tutored by Senenmut, the Overseer of Hatshepsut's building activities leading Tyldesley to believe that Neferura may have had a good education. After Hatshepsut became king, Neferura became her mother's consort, but was never known as the “King's Wife”. Tyldesley (2006:98) suggests that most of Egypt's royal children were not exposed to the world outside the harem. Neferura, therefore, was an exception as she was often portrayed with Senenmut, on block statues. (See Figure 46). She is no longer mentioned towards the end of her mother's reign.

This relief (Figure 82) of Neferura as the “God's Wife” was carved on the walls of the Red Chapel at Karnak Temple, Luxor. It shows her in the typical attire of a “God's Wife”: long, sheath dress with straps over the shoulder; the headband with tassels down the back of her head.

¹¹⁴ I could not find a cartouche with Neferura's name.

5.7 Tiaa



Tiaa was the “King’s Wife” of Amenhotep II and the mother of Thutmose IV. She bore the titles of “King’s Wife”, “King’s Mother” and “God’s Wife of Amun”. (See Chapters 4.2, 4.5 and 4.9.1 for a description of the respective roles). She only became “God’s Wife of Amun” after the death of her husband and during the reign of her son. Some of the inscriptions on the representational art describe her as the earthly counterpart of Hathor, Isis and Mut. As “King’s Mother” she played important political and religious roles. Tiaa set the prototype for the rest of the New Kingdom.

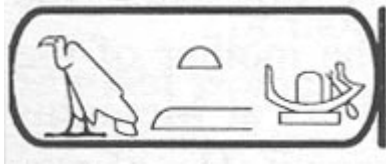


*Figure 83: Statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa –
Egyptian Museum, Cairo*

This grey granite statue is a unique statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa and was found in the Temple of Karnak at Luxor. Figure 83 depicts her wearing the tripartite wig, vulture headdress, and the uraeus. Her garment is a long, sheath dress and she is wearing the broad collar around her neck. Tiaa’s left hand is on her lap. Thutmose IV is dressed in the loincloth with a short wig underneath the uraeus. His right hand is on his lap, holding onto an ankh sign. The unique feature of this statue, is that although the two figures are not closely seated, they embrace each other, reflecting their mutual support (Tyldesley

2006:112). The backpillar is visible between the two statues and his feet are resting on the nine bows. (See footnote 112 for more information on the nine bows).

5.8 Mutemwiya



Mutemwiya¹¹⁵ was the mother of Amenhotep III and one of the principal wives of Thutmose IV. As was the case with Ahmose mother of Hatshepsut, she was supposed to be impregnated by the god Amun. Therefore, as with Hatshepsut Amenhotep III also believes that he enjoyed a divine conception as depicted on the walls of the Luxor temple which was dedicated to Amun. Mutemwiya only received her honorary status after her son became king. He depicted her in his mortuary temple, and she also appears on the Colossi of Memnon (Figure 50) as the mother of Amenhotep III (Tyldesley 2006:115).

5.9 Queen Tiye



Figure 84: Statue of Queen Tiye – Louvre Museum, Paris

¹¹⁵ The sole statue of Mutemwiya is a broken fragment with only her legs visible which is housed in the British Museum. She sits on a boat, protected by the wings of Mut, suggesting, as her name implies, a close association with this goddess (Tyldesley 2006:115).

Queen Tiye was the daughter of wealthy parents from Akhmim in Middle Egypt. Yuya and Thuya were not from royal descent. Her father was the “Overseer of the Horses” and also carried the titles of “God's Father” and “Prophet of Min”. Thuya, her mother, was the Superintendent of the royal harem. Arnold (1997:7) argues that the members of Tiye's family were “old retainers” of the Thutmose line, a military family from Middle Egypt with close connections to royalty. Some scholars (according to Arnold 1996:7) argue that Tiye came from a wealthy family who had close connections to royalty. It is also argued that her father could have been of Asiatic descent. Tiye probably married Amenhotep III at a very young age, becoming a dominant force in her husband's reign. She enjoyed a high status in society, as proved by the incorporating of her name in Pharaonic titularies (Aldred 1991:146).

In this incomplete steatite statue of Tiye (Figure 84) from the Louvre Museum, she is shown wearing the “feather” dress with the broad necklace. Her facial features are carefully sculpted in detail. On her head is the long wig under the vulture cap, triple uraeii, modius and two feathers¹¹⁶. She is holding a flail in her left hand while her right hand is beside her body. On her right is part of Amenhotep III's arm visible. A backpillar with an unusual shape is visible behind the statuette. The top of the backpillar is rounded in contrast with the traditional flat top. She was often portrayed with her husband in the art works and this statue reflects the new artistic style that was introduced by Amenhotep III (Louvre Museum Website).

Queen Tiye was never known as the “God's Wife” although she was connected with the harem of Amun, her mother being the Superior of that institution. Moreover, at Sedeinga, she was assimilated with the goddess Hathor (Aldred 1988:140).

This was probably the first official marriage, exposed in public. Amenhotep's affection for his wife is attested in the temples and mostly notably at Sedeinga, a temple built to promote her deification in her own lifetime as well as a gigantic artificial lake that he built for her at Malkata at Western Thebes (Reeves *et al.*, 1999:83).

According to Cyril Aldred (1988:219) Queen Tiye can be seen as the “doyenne of the senior queens who have left evidence of their sojourn at El Amarna”. In support of this statement Reeves *et al.* (1999:83) imply that scenes from the tomb of Kheruef (Steward of the Great Royal Wife) depict Queen Tiye as her son's sole companion. Her influence on society during her son's reign is also attested in the correspondence from the Mitannian King Tushratta addressed to her directly in the Amarna Letters.

¹¹⁶The triple uraeii suggests that she is the principal wife and the future king's mother.



*Figure 85: Wooden Head of Queen Tiye -
Ägyptische Museum, Berlin.*



*Figure 86: Wooden head of Queen
Tiye with headdress – Ägyptische Museum,
Berlin.*

Figures 85 & 86 detail one of the most beautiful representations of an ageing Queen Tiye, found at Medinet el-Ghurab. Figure 85 shows Queen Tiye without the Hathorian headdress while Figure 86 shows her with it. The head is made of wood and the facial features are clearly visible: the droopy mouth, narrow eyes and the normal nose¹¹⁷. She is wearing the shorter wig, adorned with jewellery. Below the wig, part of the diadem is visible as well as a tight-fitting head cap. The double uraeus are absent and was probably fitted where the two holes are in the front of her head. The visible earring is made of gold and lapis lazuli. The make-up of the eyes does not stretch, as was earlier fashion, towards the hairline on the side of the head. Arnold (1997/97:19-32) argues that the double feathers and sun-disc crown found nearby were part of the headdress. Figure 86 shows the same figurine of Queen Tiye with the (Figure 71) Hathorian headdress. The sun-disc is surrounded by the cow's horns, reflecting the Hathorian influence whereas the feathers reflect the influence of Isis.

Another black granite statue¹¹⁸ of Queen Tiye was discovered in 2005 at the Mut temple at Karnak. In what is one of the finest statues of the queen (Figure 87) discovered so far, she is shown wearing the tripartite wig and a modius crown with a triple uraeus in front (Kamil

¹¹⁷ The noses of previous queens had always been shown, in a tilted position.

¹¹⁸ The final resting place of this statue is unknown.

2006). She is dressed in a close-fitting garment with a shawl and a floral necklace. Her nipples are covered in a floral adornment of which the meaning is unclear. Her closed eyes are almond-shaped and the lips are unsmiling. She is holding the flail in her left hand (not visible in this picture). (See Chapters 4.2 and 4.5 for the roles of Queen Tiye, namely “King’s Wife” and “King’s Mother”).

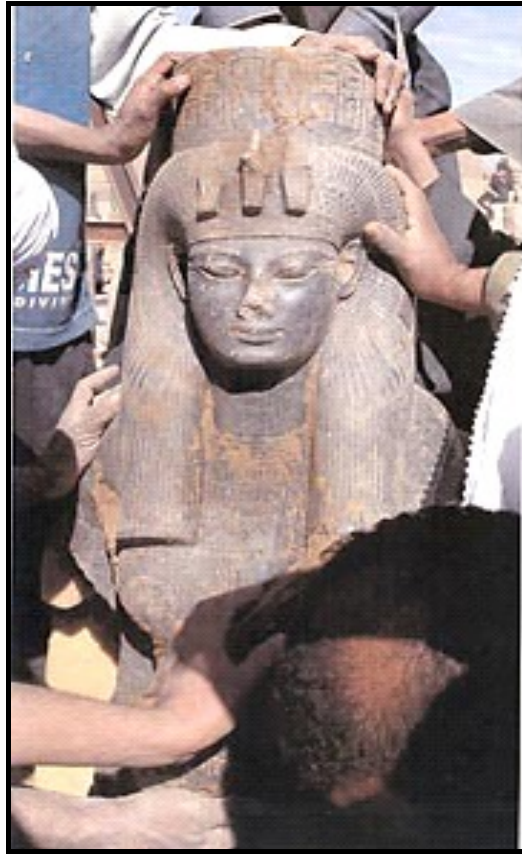


Figure 87: A “new” statue of Queen Tiye (Kamil, 2006)

been a direct descendent of Ahmose-Nefertari (Tyldesley 1998:231) but if this was the case, she would have borne the title of “Wife of Amun”, pointing directly to her being a heiress in the direct line of descent. Tyldesley (1998:42) states that Petrie¹²⁰ believed that, because of her name, Nefertiti could have been a foreigner.

Nefertiti was the principal wife of Akhenaten. (See Chapter 4.2 for her role as “King’s Wife”). She was never known as the “King’s Daughter” or “King’s Sister”, but various other titles were attributed to her:

- “Great of Praise”
- “Lady of Favour”
- “Great in the Palace”
- “Perfect of Face”
- “Beautiful with Plumes”
- “King’s Great Wife whom he love”
- “Lady of the Two Lands”

In 1912 the famous painted, limestone bust of Nefertiti (Figures 88 & 89) was discovered which is now on display in the Ägyptische Museum, Berlin¹²¹. The object does justice to her legendary and extraordinary beauty as described by Akhenaten on his Boundary Stele. Similar beauty is evidenced on various royal statuary and painted images.

The bust consists of a carved piece of limestone that was plastered and painted. (Figure 88). The features are real and not exaggerated and the lips are painted bright red. The make-up around the eyes does not stretch into the hairline as was tradition while the eyebrows are accentuated. The fact that the one eye is missing have led some to surmise that she could have been blind in that eye, since true to the rules of the Amarna art everyone should be portrayed very close to reality (Mann, 1995). The other suggestion is that the sculpture was unfinished and the eye not yet fixed. A third option is that it simply disappeared over the years. The neck is long and slender while the head is probably elongated (See Figure 92) under the flat-topped crown. A beautiful necklace adorns her neck. (See Figure 90).

¹²⁰ According to Tyldesley (1998:43) Petrie was a strong believer in the unproven theory that Nefertiti could have been the Mitanni princess, Tadukhepa. New evidence, according to Tyldesley (1998:46) suggests that Nefertiti was not a foreigner, but rather the daughter of a wealthy Egyptian. This is where the suggestion originates from that she could have been the daughter of Ay, an army officer.

¹²¹ The bust of Nefertiti was excavated by Ludwig Borchardt at the workshop of Tuthmose, the royal sculptor at El Amarna.

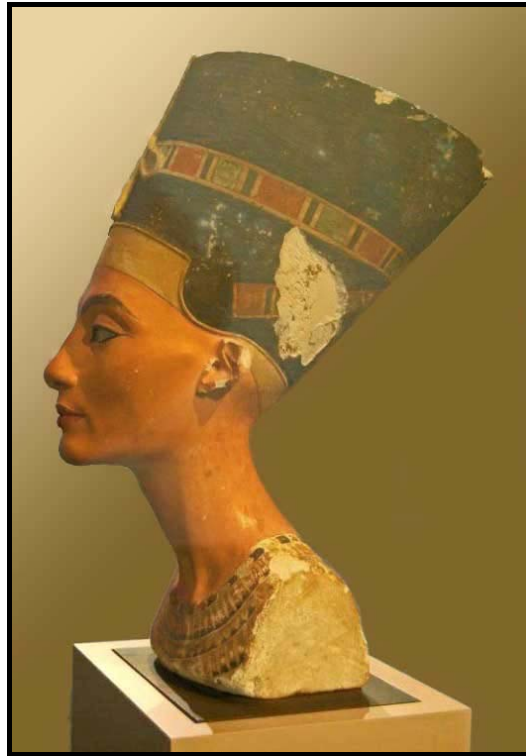
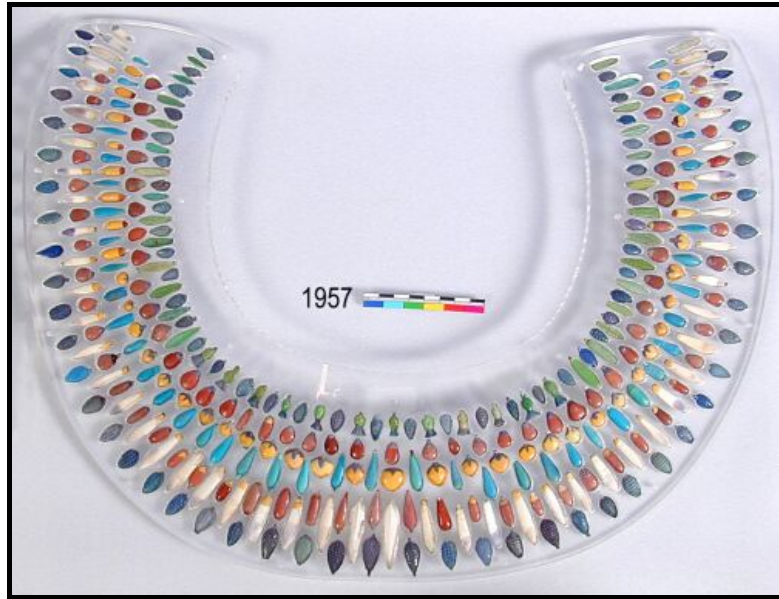


Figure 89: Nefertiti – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin

Apart from the missing eye and a damaged left ear, the statue is still in a beautiful condition. Noticeable from the profile (Figure 89) is the full mouth, long almond eyes with thick eyelashes and the slim neck. Aldred (2004:141) suggests that women of the Eighteenth Dynasty were depicted with the tip-tilted nose which is clearly not the case here.

Another aspect clearly visible from the bust, are the fine lines alongside her mouth, reflecting the maturity of the woman that is portrayed here. These elements were according to Aldred (2004:141), characteristic of how the women of the Eighteenth Dynasty were depicted. She is wearing her famous flat crown with a noticeable head cap beneath. Her head is probably shaven as no evidence of any hair is visible.

An impressive faience broad collar from Amarna survived and is currently on display in the Petrie Museum, London. This beautiful necklace (Figure 90) consists of beads in the form of grapes, white petals, red poppy petals, red date pendants, yellow mandrakes, yellow ovals, turquoise pendants, green- and blue corn flowers, green palm-leaf pendants. There were eight rows of beads some of which are now broken. Conservation of this object has revealed the name of Tutankhamen on one of the turquoise beads (Petrie Museum Website).



*Figure 90: Amarna Necklace –
Petrie Museum, University College of London*

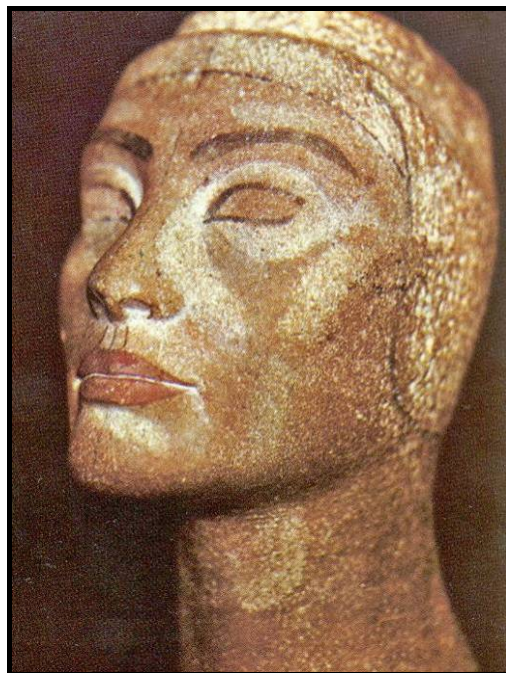


Figure 91: Nefertiti with cap - Egyptian Museum, Cairo

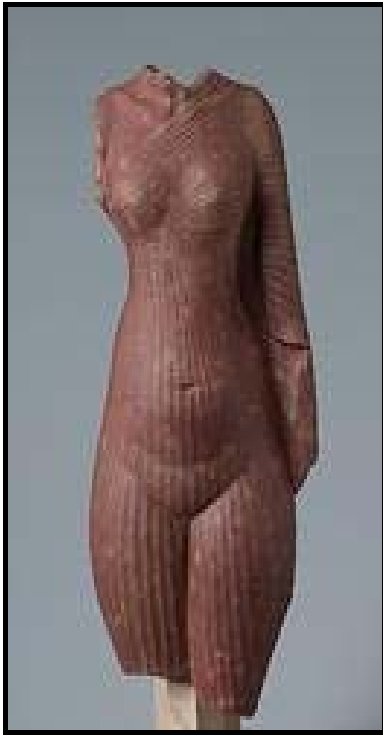
Nefertiti was rarely portrayed wearing wigs, only her trademark crown. (Figures 88 & 89). Figure 91 shows her head as shaven. She is not wearing any wigs as other queens were accustomed to do and she wears a cap. Noticeable is the absence of the elongated shape of the head, it now shows a more normal shape. This object, made from quartzite, is a real

masterpiece and is regarded as one of the most beautiful portraits of Nefertiti. It was originally executed in different parts that were attached together to make the complete product, also known as a composite bust. This method was common practice in the workshops of El Amarna. Clearly visible are the original drawing lines and the incomplete area around the eyes make this piece an unfinished sculpture, "The absence of paint on the eyes, and the quartzite natural colour lend it a subtle charm" (Egyptian Museum, Cairo).

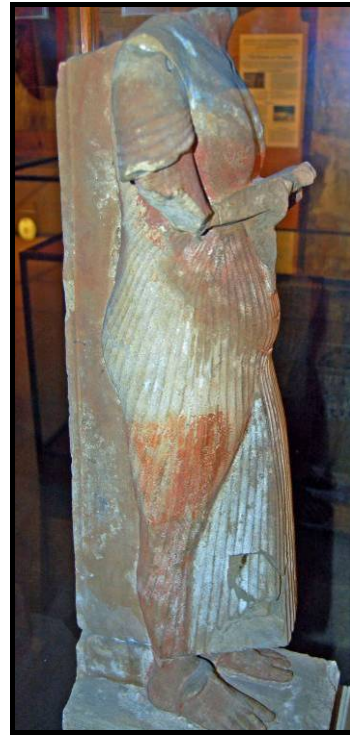
Aldred (1991:260) suggests that Amenhotep IV could have been co-regent until his father's twenty-eight regnal year. In his seventh year of sole rule, he changed his name to Akhenaten and moved his family from Thebes to Amarna (Akhetaten) where he built temples and shrines for the new principal god, the Aten.

According to Robins (1997:150) the portrayal of plumpness in much of the Amarna statuary could have been a way of emphasising female fertility as well as attempting to make a religious statement. In Nefertiti's case this aspect was especially important since she represented the cosmic female principal.

The royal couple were often portrayed in a very similar caption in statuary and sometimes no easy distinction can be made between them. The headless statuettes (Figures 92 & 93) support this statement. Figure 93 on the right is that of Akhenaten and Figure 92 on the left is the statuette of (presumably) Nefertiti. In both the feminine attributes are clearly visible. The sculptors displayed the advanced skills of the artisan as well as the application of the principles of the Amarna style. The secret of both these works was in the outline of the body and the soft drapes of the garment. The statue of Nefertiti (Figure 92) is made of red quartzite whereas Figure 93 was made of sandstone that was painted.



*Figure 92: Nefertiti –
Louvre Museum, Paris*

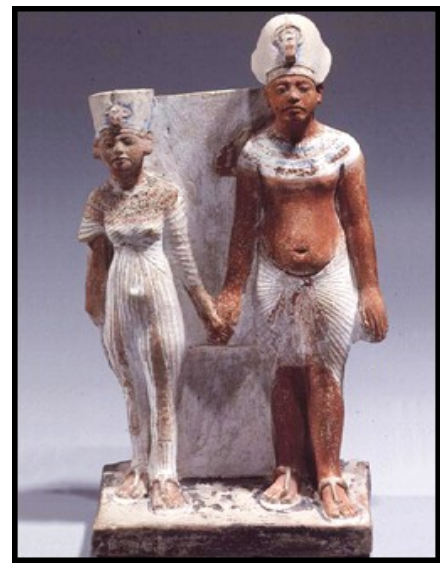


*Figure 93: Akhenaten -
Ashmolean Oxford*

Nefertiti and Akhenaten had six daughters with whom they were often portrayed on reliefs and paintings. There was clearly a closeness between the family members and their public display of affection is a common theme for artistic works during this. Akhenaten's deep affection for his beloved wife and their daughters is eternalised on his boundary stele at Amarna (Lichtheim 1976:49).

"The princess, great in the palace, the fair-faced, adorned with the two plumes: the mistress of joy, endowed with favour, at the sound of whose voice one rejoices, the Great Wife of the King whom he loves, the Mistress of the Two Lands: Nefer-neferu-aten, Nefertiti, living forever."

This public portrayal of the closeness of the royal family forms part of the major change in the artistic works of the Amarna Period. Never before had intimacy between family members been depicted in such a way.



Figures 94 & 95 - Akhenaten and Nefertiti in intimate positions - Louvre Museum, Paris

Figure 94 shows an intimate portrait of Akhenaten, with Nefertiti and their children all sitting on his lap. His slim, nearly feminine legs are painted darker reflecting the earlier tradition darker skin colour for males and his feet are resting on a footstool. The bottom half of Nefertiti and the legs and arm of at least two of his children, are portrayed. She is dressed in her typical, transparent, pleated dress and shawl which was probably painted white. Her legs are clearly visible underneath the transparent garment. In front of the seated couple, an offering table with a basket of fruit and flowers are portrayed. The fragment formed part of a limestone, shrine stele (Arnold et al. 1996:103).

Figure 95 represents an official portrait of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The bodies of the couple on the statuettes are clearly visible, because of the sheer material they are wearing. Their affection for each other is clearly visible, since hand holding couples are rare in ancient Egyptian artwork. The backpillar is clearly visible between the two figures. Nefertiti is wearing her sheath dress and platform crown while Akhenaten wears the royal kilt and a white crown. Both crowns also contain the uraeus. They both wear the broad collars and sandals.. The colour of their skins is darkish red-brown for Akhenaten and a paler red for Nefertiti.

Some scholars such as Van Dijk (2008) suggested that Nefertiti became king after the death of Akhenaten and used the name Smenkhare. Reeves *et al.* (1999:91) supports Van Dijk's opinion and suggest that Nefertiti's rule as Smenkhare was short-lived. Arnold *et al.* (1997:89) contradicts Van Dijk's and Reeves' ideas and suggest that Nefertiti handed the thrown over to Smenkhare, who was the husband of her daughter, Meritaten. Reeves *et al.* (1997:93) suggest further that after Nefertiti became first co-regent and then king, Meritaten took over the role of "Great Royal Wife".

5.11 Ankhesenamen (Ankhesenpaaten)

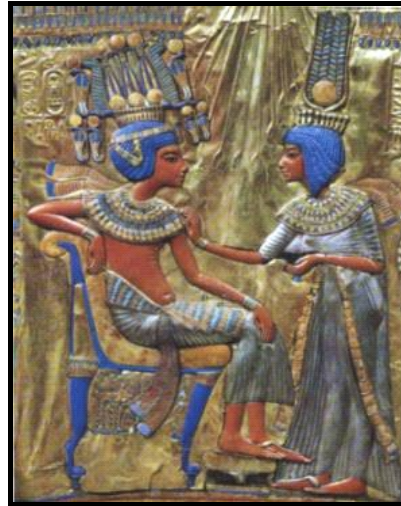
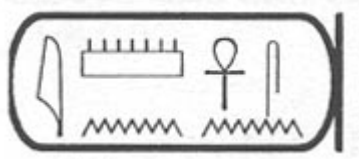


Figure 96 & 97: Tutankhamen's Golden Throne – Egyptian Museum, Cairo¹²²

Ankhesenamen was the third daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti and was married to the boy-king Tutankhamen. Although married only for a short time, she appears to be a loyal Egyptian wife and was frequently portrayed beside her husband. Figures 96 & 97 show the closeness of the royal couple on this plaque that forms part of the “Golden Throne”. Ankhesenamen is offering a flower to Tutankhamen while her other hand is resting on his left shoulder. They are facing each other with their feet, bodies, faces and hands all pointing towards the other. Once again this demonstrates the breakaway from traditional poses where the face, the lower part of the body and the feet were all portrayed sideways, while the torso faced the front. Another feature evident from Figure 97 is the transparent clothes of Ankhesenamen with the contours of her voluptuous body clearly visible. The portrayal of both the figures on the plaque shows the typical Amarna style of depicting bodies fuller and rounder than the normal tendency. Ankhesenamen is wearing the typical Eighteenth Dynasty queenly crown over a short wig: the double feathers, the sun-disc, the modius and the horns.

¹²² Tutankhamen's “Golden Throne” as displayed in the *Egyptian Museum, Cairo*. The entire throne is decorated in heavy gold with an inlaid plaque of the king and the queen on the back of the chair. The arms of the chair have lions' heads and the legs of the throne are those of the lion with even the toenails of the feet clearly visible. The inlays are coloured glass, faience and semi-precious stones. (Reeves 2006:185).

Both the king and queen wear the broad collar. Tutankhamen is dressed in the royal kilt, and is sitting on a chair (throne) with lion-legs. On his head is the composite crown. His feet are resting on a footstool while his right arm exhibits a relaxed pose on the arm of the chair. The rays of the Aten shine down on the royal couple (El Shahawy *et al.* 2005:268).

Tutankhamen and Ankhesenamen moved back to Thebes and abandoned El Amarna. The traditional gods were reinstated and the queen associated herself with the goddess Ma'at to support her husband (Tyldesley 2006:137). Figure 97 indicates that the previously elongated head of Ankhesenamen has been restored to normal proportions.

Because the couple had no surviving children there was no obvious successor to the throne after the untimely death of Tutankhamen. The close ties between the rest of the Ancient Near East and Egypt resulted in Ankhesenamen writing to the Hittite king proposing that his son become her husband and therefore the new pharaoh (Kendall *et al.* 1999:161). Although a prince of the Hittites set off for Egypt, he was killed on the journey and Ankhesenamen eventually married Ay, a commoner who bore the title of “Overseer of all the Horses of his Majesty”. As was the case with her mother, she suddenly disappeared from history and no further information is available about her (Tyldesley 1994:202).

(See Chapter 4.2 and 4.7 for Ankhesenamen's roles of “King's Wife” and “King's Daughter”).

5.12 Kiya

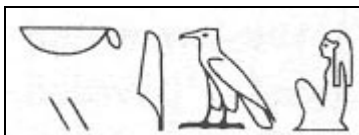


Figure 98: Painted Relief of Queen Kiya – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Kiya, a secondary wife of Akhenaten held “a unique wifely title” although she never became the “King’s Great Wife”. She was also known as “Wife and Great Beloved of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma’at, Neferkheprure-Waenre (Akhenaten)”. Although Kiya was never allowed to wear the uraeus, Akhenaten had honoured her with sanctuaries and her own chapels for worshipping the sun cult. There are strong suggestions that she could have been the mother of Tutankhamen and Smenkhare. Her background is not known to us. She disappeared from the scene around Year 12 of Akhenaten’s reign (Tyldesley 2006:136). This painted, incised relief on a limestone block (Figure 98) from Hermopolis, is an image of Kiya which was later altered to accommodate the image of one of Akhenaten’s other daughters¹²³. She is wearing the short wig and big earrings are visible behind the wig. (See Chapter 4.6 for the role of Secondary Wife). It is believed that she is portrayed undergoing a purification ritual as can be seen from the vertical lines, suggesting water that surrounds her head.

5.13 Mutnodjmet

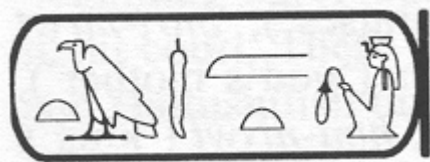


Figure 99: Mutnodjmet and Horemheb - Museo Egizio, Turin

¹²³ The head of Kiya, altered after her death to represent Meritaten. The original Nubian wig has been transformed into a thick sidelock hairstyle.

Mutnodjmet was the sister of Nefertiti but it is as the wife of Horemheb that she is best known. Her full title during the reign of Akhenaten was "Sister of the King's Great Wife". Inscriptions found in the tombs of Ay, May, Panehesy and Parennefer at El Amarna, state that she was the sister-in-law of Akhenaten (James 2001:32). Some scholars, such as Tyldesley (2006:140) have suggested that she was not associated with the Aten cult. On the contrary, James (2001:32) is of the opinion that evidence from tomb reliefs at El Amarna shows she was close to the epicentre of the cult. He suggests that she appears in at "least fourteen (and possibly seventeen) surviving wall reliefs in nine different tombs" (James 2001:32). Those reliefs represent her attitudes, dress code and hairstyles as iconographical. James (2001:35) further suggests that Mutnodjmet was often portrayed in the company of two dwarfs and other servants attending to her needs, which could relate to the fact that she was a votaress in the cult of the Aten. During her marriage to Horemheb she also held the title of "God's Wife of Amun". Little more is known of Mutnodjmet and it is believed that she died during childbirth. Tyldesley (2006:140) suggests that remains of an adult female and a stillborn baby were found in Horemhemb's tomb at Saqqara and that it could have been the body of Mutnodjmet and her stillborn baby. With her death the line of the Akhmim queens ended Tyldesley 2006:140).

In Figure 99, Mutnodjmet and Horemheb are both portrayed in this basanite statue although only the figure of Mutnodjmet has survived. Her right arm is embracing her husband while her left hand is resting on her thigh. Horemheb's left hand is similarly placed while his right is across over his chest holding a sceptre. Only the bottom part of the *nemes* headdress is visible on both shoulders. Mutnodjmet is dressed in a tight-fitting garment with a modius on her head over the tripartite wig. A uraeus forms a prominent part of her headdress. According to Tyldesley (2006:140) the side of the throne shows Mutnodjmet as a winged sphinx.

5.14 Tuya, Mother of Ramesses II

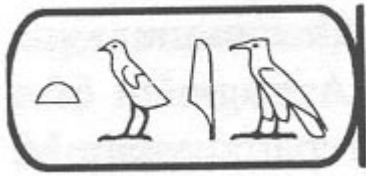


Figure 100: Tuya, mother of Ramesses – Vatican Museum

Tuya (also known as Mut-Tuya) was the principal wife of Sety I, mother of Ramesses II and the daughter of a military man: the lieutenant of chariotry Raia and his wife, Ruia. Tyldesley (2006:143) suggests that two children were born of the marriage, Tia and Ramesses. After the death of her husband, Sety I, Tuya enjoyed a short spell as the “King's Mother”. In Ramesses' mortuary temple the Ramesseum at Western Thebes, a chapel was built in her honour where she was associated with the goddess Hathor (Tyldesley 2006:144). (See Chapters 4.2 and 4.5 for the roles of “King's Wife” and “King's Mother” respectively).

In Figure 100, a granite statue of Tuya is shown wearing an enveloping wig, the platform crown and the uraeus. Her left hand rests flat beside her thigh, while she presumably holds the flail in her right. The statue is made of dark granite with yellow-red intrusions and was found in the Ramesseum from where it was taken to Rome by Calligula in 37-41AD to be placed in the Gardens of Sallust. Today the statue forms part of the Egyptian collection in the Vatican (Bart 2006).

5.15 Nefertari

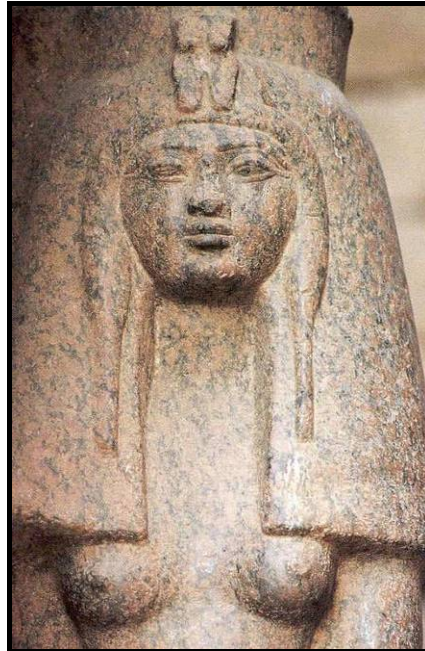


Figure 101: Statue of Nefertari – Abu Simbel¹²⁴

The background of Nefertari is not available to us although it has been suggested that she was a member of the nobility and probably derived from Thebes where she married the future Ramesses II at a young age (McDonald 1996:15). Her life is depicted in detail on the walls of her tomb in the Valley of the Queens, (Figure 102). Nefertari never used the title “King's Daughter” implying that she was not a princess. The royal couple's daughters were Baketmut, Merytamun and Nebettawi. She also gave birth to four sons but all predeceased their father (Tyldesley 2006:146). (See Chapter 4.2 for the role of “King's Wife”).

Early in Ramesses's reign, Nefertari became actively involved in her husband's political affairs. She disappeared from the political scene during his the twenty-first regnal year when she accompanied Ramesses to the signing of a treaty with the Hittite king. After meeting the Hittite royal family, she started a correspondence with Pudukhepa, the queen of Hittites. Below is an extract from one of these letters (Tyldesley 2006:146).

¹²⁴ This statue forms part of one the colossal statues of Ramesses II on the facade of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. It was placed beside the legs of the pharaoh (Figure 51).

“All goes well with me, my sister, and all goes well with my country. May all go well with you too my sister, and with our country and may all go well. I have noted that you, my sister, have written to enquire after my well-being. And that you have written to me about the new relationship of good peace and brotherhood in which the Great King Egypt now stands with his brother the Great King of the Hatti”.

Various titles were attributed to her, reflecting the high role she played in society (McDonald 1996:15). These titles are as follow:

- “The one to whom beauty pertains”
- “Beloved of Mut”
- “King’s Great Wife”
- “Mother of the King”
- “Hereditary Noble Woman” (an honorific designation, reflecting her noble background)
- “Mistress of the Two Lands” (normally a masculine epithet of Egyptian kings, reflecting Nefertari’s role in state affairs).
- “Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt”
- “Who satisfies the gods”
- “For whom the sun shines”
- “Great of Favours”
- “Pleasant in the twin plumes”



Figure 102: Wall painting of Nefertari from her tomb in the Valley of the Queens¹²⁵

¹²⁵ McDonald 1996:10.

As the “Beloved of Mut”, (Figure 102), Nefertari was intensely involved with the cults of Mut and dressed accordingly in the attire of the goddess. She wore the white sheath dress, the vulture headdress, sun-disc, modius or flat crown and the double feathers that were associated with Mut. The same headdress was also worn by Ahmose-Nefertari (Figure 72) of the Eighteenth Dynasty (McDonald 1996:15). The headdress is placed over a tripartite wig. Around her middle is a red belt.

According to Dorman¹²⁶ (1999:4), Nefertari could have held the title of “God’s Wife” as evidenced from one of the inscriptions on her tomb walls. At Gebel el-Silsila, Nefertari was known as the “Mistress of Two Lands”, a title originally held by the king as “Master of the Two Lands”. This suggests that she exercised considerable power in secular affairs (McDonald 1996:16).



Figure 103: Facade of Small Temple at Abu Simel with colossal statues of Ramesses II and Nefertari

Ramesses II can be termed as the “builder king” of ancient Egypt. Not only did he continue his father’s construction activities after his death, but among many projects of his own, he built the temples at Abu Simbel. (Figures 51 & 103). The “Large Temple” (see Figure 51) was originally built to honour the gods Re-Horakhty, Amun and Ptah but ended up honouring the deified Ramesses himself. The “Small Temple” (Figure 103) was built to celebrate Nefertari’s divine role, although it also contains statues of two of her sons, her mother-in-law, Tuya and the daughters of Isetnofret I. There is no difference in the sizes of the statues of the facade (Figure 103) showing the status she enjoyed as the king’s principal wife. It was, of course,

¹²⁶ Professor Dorman kindly supplied me with this unpublished information on the “God’s Wife of Amun”, previously utilised for his own purposes.

tradition to portray the wife on a smaller scale than her husband. The two colossal statues of Nefertari on the facade, shows her wearing the Hathorian cow-horns, solar disk and tall feathers. She carries the sistrum. The other four colossal statues are those of Ramesses II. Beside her own colossi are small statues of one of her daughters. The statues actually appear if they are emerging from the rock itself (Tyldesley 2006:150).

After her death, she was laid to rest in her “Tomb of Eternity” built for her by Ramesses II in the Valley of the Queens.

5.16 Isetnofret

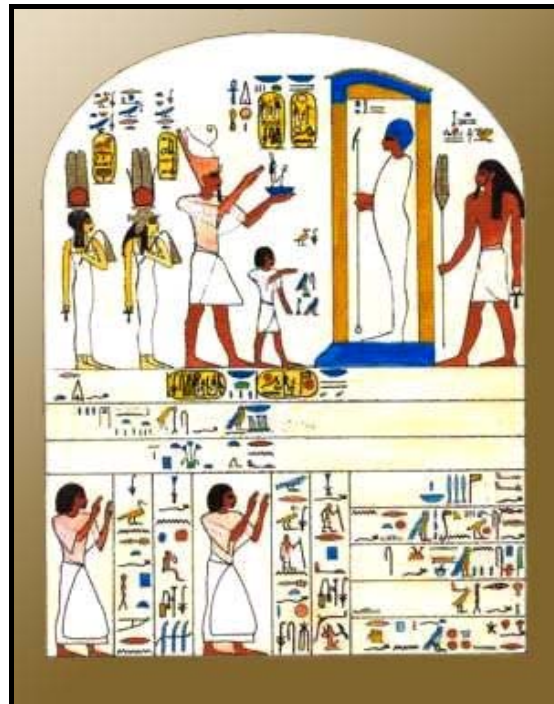
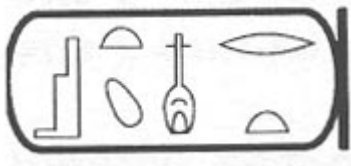


Figure 104: Reproduction of a stela from Aswan showing Ramesses II with his second wife Isetnofret, their daughter, Bintanath and son Khaemwaset. (Bart 2007)

Isetnofret became the consort wife of Ramesses II following the death of Nefertari. (See Chapter 4.2 for the roles of the “King's Wife”). She was also the mother of some of his favourite children. Dodson (*et al.* 2004:171) suggests that Isetnofret was buried in the Valley of the Queens and that the building of her tomb is illustrated on an ostracon. She is also mentioned on the monuments of her dead son, Khaemwaset, who was originally the crown

prince who died young. She was never portrayed among the family statues at Abu Simbel.) Figure 103).

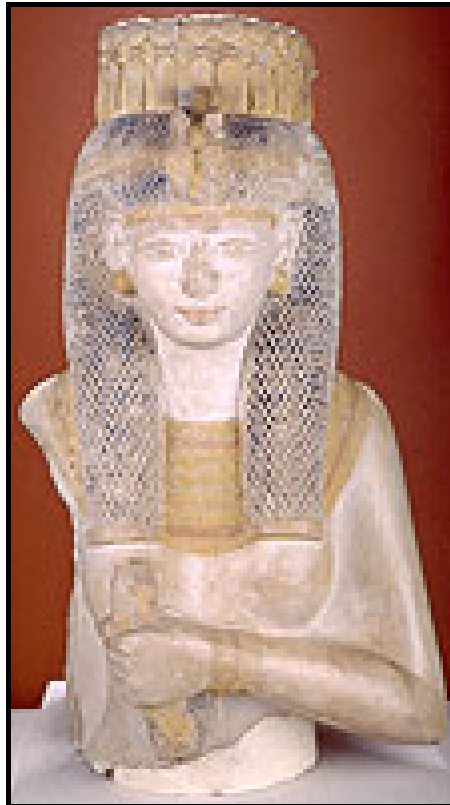
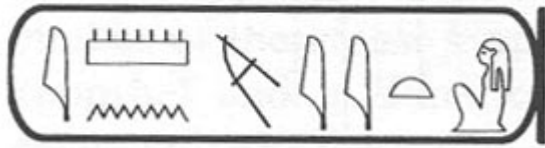
Tyldesley (2006:154) states that she is mentioned in a stele erected at Aswan and also in the Gebel Silsila rock temple, erected by her son, Khaemwaset. Figure 104 is a drawing of Ramesses II and Isetnofret with their children (Bintanath and Khaemwaset) based on the original damaged painting on this stele. It shows Ramesses II in front of the god, Ptah, with Isetnofret, Khaemwaset and Bintanath behind him. She is wearing the vulture cap, the double plumes and the sun-disc. In her right hand is the ankh, and in her left is the papyrus or lotus flower signifying her deceased status. Ramesses II is wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, the royal kilt with offering in his left hand. Both his hands are in the worshipping position.



Figure 105: Funerary linen of Isetnofret – British Museum

Figure 105 is a funerary linen of Isetnofret, wife of Ramesses III. This type of funerary cloth was normally placed on the coffin and was an additional mean of reinsuring that offerings perpetually were presented to the deceased person. Isetnofret is sitting on a chair in front of the offering table being served by her daughter Tiy. She is holding the lotus flower that is a symbol of rebirth in her hand. The flower's stem is curved, a typical New Kingdom feature. Both women are dressed in sheer, white pleated clothes with broad collars and heavy tripartite wigs. In their pierced ears (fashionable for both men and women during the New Kingdom) are large earrings. The little boy, Penpare, is naked but lacks the normal sidelock of the youth (British Museum website).

5.17 Merytamun



*Figure 106: Statue of Merytamun, originally known as “The White Queen” –
Egyptian Museum, Cairo*

Merytamun, the daughter of Ramesses II and Queen Nefertari became one of the consort queens of Ramesses II after the death of her mother and Queen Isetnofret. (See Chapter 4.7 for the role of “King’s Daughter”).

At this point, she also became the “King’s Wife” of her father (Grajetzki 1005:69). (See Chapter 4.2 for the role of “King’s Wife”). Figure 106 is a painted limestone statue of a young girl that was originally known as the “The White Queen”, but is now identified as Merytamun. The statue derives from the Chapel of the White Queen at the Ramesseum. The statue’s face depicts the youthfulness of the young Merytamun, who wears a tripartite wig

underneath a modius, decorated with double uraeii. The lost remainder of the headdress probably consisted of the double feathers and a large sun-disc. The broad collar is clearly visible, and she is wearing large earrings. In her left hand is a menat necklace, suggesting that she was a priestess in the cult of Hathor. She is therefore depicted here as a “Sistrum player of Mut” and “Dancer of Horus”. Her nipples are in the form of a daisy, similar to the statue of Queen Tiye. (Figure 87).

According to Dunn (1999b), Merytamun held the following titles¹²⁷:

- “Priestess of Het-her”
- “Player of the Sistrum of Mut “
- “Songstress of Atum”
- “Menat of Her-Hert”
- “Ritual dancer for Het-Hert”
- “The One who fills the Forecourt with her Fragrance”
- “Superior of the Harem of Amun-Re”
- “The Eldest Daughter of the King and Nefertari with the Splendid Face”
- “Magnificent in the Palace”
- “Beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands”

¹²⁷ Most of these titles were linked to the religious roles Merytamun played in the cults of Hathor and Amun. The other titles are associated with her roles in the palace and as the daughter-wife of Ramesses II – for example the last one, “Beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands”.

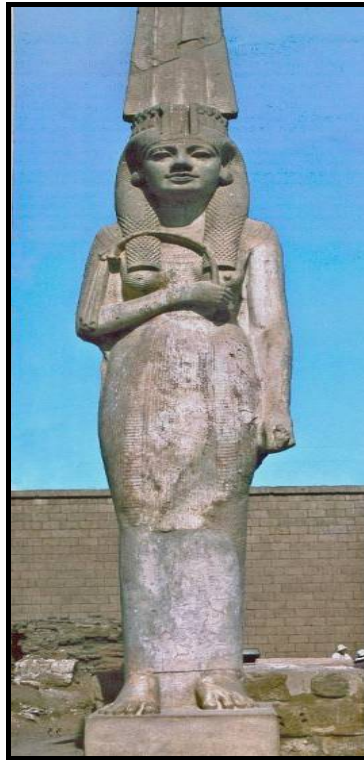


Figure 107: Colossal statue of Merytamun at Akhmim

A colossal statue of Merytamun (Figure 107), made of limestone, was found in the town of Akhmim. This colossal is apparently one of the most beautiful statues ever found. Even the paintwork on the face has survived the elements. Her headdress consists of double plumes, with the modius resting on the wig. In her right hand is the flail, while her left arm is beside her side. She is shown, wearing the popular sheath dress. The facial features are exquisite: a smiling mouth with thick lips, a perfectly formed nose and elongated eyes, suggesting an Amarna influence. The statue is known as “The Bride” Taher (2005:30).

5.18 Tawosret



Figure 108: Tawosret in tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht – Valley of the Kings¹²⁸

Tawosret was the secondary wife of Sety II, ruler at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. As his beloved wife, Sety II ordered a tomb to be built for her in the Valley of the Kings, an honour that was only bestowed upon very few queens (Dodson *et al.* 2004:183).

Sety II died without an heir. Ramesses-Siptah, whose parentage¹²⁹ is unknown, became the new king. As he was still very young, a co-regent was needed and Tawosret took up the reign on his behalf. (See Chapter 4.4 for the roles of co-regent).

¹²⁸ I could not find any evidence for statuary of Queen Tawosret. An image found on the website http://swc2.hccs.edu/proberts/gallery/html/don_ritchson/files/tawosret-and-sethnakht.html, is depicted in Figure 108. The tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht (KV 14) is known as the “Golden Tomb”. It is one of the largest tombs in the Valley of the Kings and a small cache filled with golden jewellery was found there during excavation (Tyldesley 2006:163).

¹²⁹ It is assumed that he could have been the son of a secondary wife and Sety II (Tyldesley 2006:166)

Tawosret was supported by the “Chancellor of the Whole Land”, a man called Bay (Dodson *et al.* 2004:183). His unusual name means that he could have been of Syrian descent. He played a political role for four years and then, much as Senenmut before him, suddenly disappeared. After his death, Tawosret became the sole regent of Egypt and was known as “Daughter of Re, Lady of Ta-merit, Tawosret chosen of Mut” (Tyldesley 2006:164).

Without an heir, previous history was repeated: Tawosret has been compared with Hatshepsut, although her reign was short-lived and less influential. She only reigned for two short years during which, in contrast with Hatshepsut’s reign, the country began to deteriorate. Inflation, food shortages and unrest resulted in political instability.

One of the few surviving images of her (Figure 108) reflects Tawosret dressed in the traditional white dress and the red belt of the New Kingdom. On her head is the short wig, the Atef crown, the sun-disc and uraeus. In her hands are two flails and the wilting papyrus flowers surrounding the figure, suggests rebirth. The image forms part of the wall paintings in the double tomb she shared with her successor, Sethnakht, one of the largest tombs in the Valley of the Kings (Tyldesley 2006:166).

It is suggested that the tomb at first belonged to Tawosret but that Ramses III later used it to bury Sethnakht (Tyldesley 2006:166). Some of the images of Tawosret in the tomb were changed to hold the dead king's names. The deformation of Tawosret's tomb is similar to what happened to Hatshepsut's monuments.

The cause of Tawosret’s demise is unknown. Suggestions have been made that her successor, Sethnakht, disposed of her. On a stele he states that he unseated his predecessor, perhaps referring to Tawosret (Tyldesley 2006:166). With her death, came the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is possible that the mummy of an unknown woman, (now known as “Unknown Woman D”) could have been hers (Tyldesley 2006:166). On the walls of her second tomb in the Valley of the Kings, Tawosret was portrayed as a royal wife and then as regent.

5.19 Wives of Ramesses III

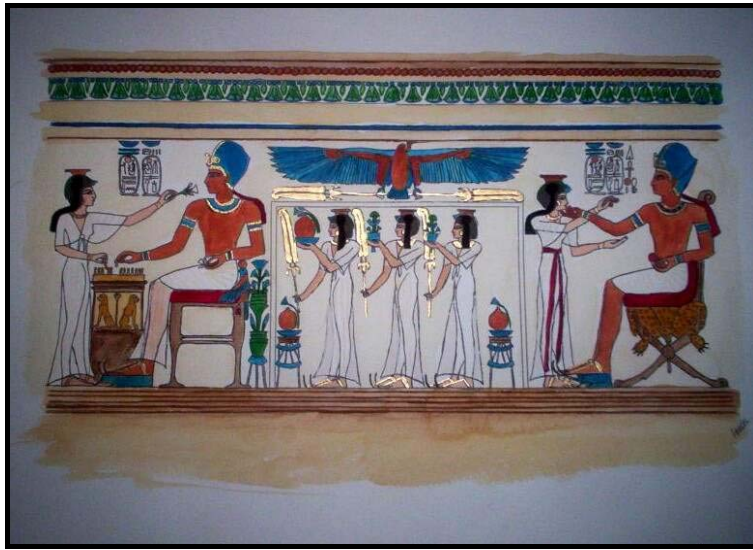


Figure 109: *Drawing of Ramesses III and some of his wives - Bart, 2007.*

Iset ta-Hemdjert was one of the wives of Ramesses III who modelled his reign on that of his great predecessor, Ramesses II. Reliefs (Figure 109) of unnamed wives appear on the walls of the Migdol Gate, which was the site of one of the harem palaces and the entrance to Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (See Figure 58) (Dodson *et al.* 2004:189).

A second wife of Ramesses III was Titi, who carried the title of “Mistress of the Two Lands” and “Chief Royal Wife”. She was also known as “King's Daughter”, “King's Beloved Daughter of his Body”, “His Beloved Daughter” and “King's Sister” (Dunn 1999c).

Tiy was a third and secondary wife of Ramesses III and according to the Papyrus Rollin and the Papyrus Lee, responsible for the attempted murder of her husband to enable her son, Pentaweret, to become king (Tyldesley 2006:167). Ramesses survived the attempt and was succeeded by his son, Ramesses IV. A trial took place, which was recorded in the Turin Judicial Papyrus, and Pentaweret, as well as his mother, Tiy, were probably allowed to kill themselves. At the end of the trial some of the judges were even found guilty of conspiracy and charged with misconduct (Tyldesley 2006:167-170).

In Figure 109 Ramesses is pictured with some of his wives or women from the harem. Bart (2007) states that the painting was based on one that was originally painted by Lepsius, although the clothing is fictional as the figures were naked in the original painting.

5.20 Wives of the Later Ramesside Monarchs

The rest of the Twentieth Dynasty comprised of eight more kings, all called Ramesses. No important elite women came to prominence and by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the country became divided after the death of Ramesses XI (Tyldesley 2006:171).

5.21 Conclusion

The above profiles of elite women end my analysis of the lifestyles of elite women of ancient Egypt.

The next Chapter presents the overall conclusion to the study.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Egyptian art gained its typical characteristics during the Second and Third Dynasties when a code or set of rules viz. frontalism, was introduced and used up to the New Kingdom. Changes in artistic works were experienced during most dynasties being influenced by the ideology of the ruler. The subjects in these are unique resources for studying the status and life styles of elite women over the dynasties, since they recorded their daily activities, their appearances, as well as their dress codes, headdresses, hairstyles, jewellery, attendants, social gatherings and religious activities. The female figure was portrayed in art, throughout the whole of the Pharaonic history, as eternal with permanent youth and the archetypal beauty. Representation of the female body could therefore be related to fertility, and it was used to relay “the ideal of eternity upon which the whole of Egyptian culture was premised and the promise of perpetual reincarnation” (Tiradritti 2004:50). The representation of elite women as art subjects thus serve as a record of their functions in life and society

Various interpretations can be made by studying the proportions and size of a queen's statue in respect to that of the king. During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the artistic works emphasised male power and dominance. Sculptures of women and children are smaller, reflecting their subordinate roles to that of their husband's role. During the New Kingdom, women's roles changed, and they appeared more prominently on the social scene, resulting in them often being represented in artistic works on the same scale as their husbands, showing that their role was of equal standing. Their statues therefore, depict this ideal of purpose and function.

From the start of the New Kingdom Egypt experienced major cultural changes, resulting in a public acknowledgement of elite women. The in-death-status was also recognised as can be evidenced from their names, titles and epithets on tomb walls. Their religious roles increased and they often became part of rituals that were previously ascribed to kings only. Political and commercial roles were added on to their new responsibilities and all these cultural advances were recorded in the statuary and painted images.

The elite women of the New Kingdom thus played a far bigger role in the society than their predecessors. The art works demonstrate that elite women of the New Kingdom were more exposed to the outside world, were more assertive, and became much more respected in society. With the renaissance experienced in the artistic works during the New Kingdom, images reflecting the status and life styles of elite women appear far more frequently.

From my research I therefore found sufficient proof that the changes experienced in the political, religious and commercial structures of the New Kingdom influenced the status of elite women in a positive way. Their daily lifestyle was enhanced due to their achievement and they became icons of the state. Even their status-in-death changed since they had their own tombs in the Valley of the Queens. No longer were their funerary tombs linked to those of their husbands as was the case in the Old- and Middle Kingdoms.

My observations therefore support the hypothesis that elite women of the New Kingdom were stronger, more prominent in society, more influential and that they were in fact equal to their husbands. These women played major roles in the society, in the religious rituals and on a diplomatic level. When they are compared to their counterparts in the rest of the Ancient Near East, similarities are noticeable and therefore they are all equal.

To conclude, the representational art of the New Kingdom significantly and dogmatically reflects the increasing participation of the queens of this period in political, social and religious activities. Elite women no longer played subordinate roles to their husbands but proved themselves to be worthy regents, co-regents and cult leaders. Queenship matched the power of the king, and they existed on a par or even without each other. Elite women of the New Kingdom excelled, became influential figures, operated beside their husbands and became iconic rulers of ancient Egypt in their own right.

Thus, the status of elite women of the New Kingdom was significantly different and transformed from the status of their counterparts in earlier dynasties.

Bibliography

- Alden, A 2007. "Schist". Available at: <http://geology.about.com/library/bl/images/blschist.htm>
- Aldred, C 1988. *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Aldred, C 2004. *Egyptian art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Allen, S 2006. "Pottery and stone vessels in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2006:223-233.
- Ampim, M 2001. "The vanishing evidence of classical African civilisations". Available at: http://images.google.co.uk/imgres?imgurl=http://www.raceandhistory.com/manu/images/Teti_sheri.jpg
- Andrews, M 1999. "An introduction to Egyptian art". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/artoverview.htm>
- Andrews, M 1999. "The mortuary temple of Amenhotep II on the west bank at Luxor". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/amenhotep3temple.htm>
- Andrews, M 1999. "The private tomb of Kheruef at Asasif on the West Bank at Luxor". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/kherueft.htm>
- Andrews, M 1999. "The private tomb of Sennefer on the West Bank at Luxor". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/sennefer.htm>
- Andrews, M 2005. "Ancient Egyptian temple elements: part 1: approach and entrance". Available at: [touregypt.net/featurestories/templeentrance3.jpg](http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/templeentrance3.jpg)
- Arnold, D 1996/97. "Re-installation of the Metropolitan Museum's Amarna art: Queen Nefertiti and the royal women – images of beauty from ancient Egypt", in *KMT: A modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 7/4:18-31.
- Arnold, D, Allen, J & Green, L 1996. *The royal women of Amarna*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Arnold, D 1996. "Aspects of the royal female image during the Amarna Period", in Arnold, Green, Allen (*et al.*) 1996:85-121.
- Arnold, D 2005. "The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:135-141.
- Azarpay, G 1995. "Proportions in ancient Near East" in Sasson 1995:2507-2518.

- Babinski, E T 2008. "A'ahhotep". Available at: <http://encyclopedia.edwardtbabinski.us/wiki/index.php/-A%27ahhotep>
- Bart, A 2007. "Ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://euler.slu.edu/Dept/Faculty/bart/egyptian/html/kings/Ramsses-II.html>
- Bayuk, A 2005. "The Great Sphinx of Giza". Available at: <http://guardians.net/egypt/sphinx/>
- Bedman, T 1997. "Senenmut: a historical view". Available at: <http://www.institutoestudiosantiguoegipto.com/senenmut/en/senenmut.shtml>
- Benderitter, T 2001. "The Red Chapel of Hatshepsut reconstructed". Available at: http://www.osirisnet-.net/monument/chaproug/e_chaproug.htm
- Beetles, C 2007. "The Summer Show 2007, including a major exhibition of Albert Goodwin, RWS (1845-1932)". Available at: <http://www.chrisbeetles.com/>
- Bernhardt, T 2000. "The origin and manufacture of papyrus". Available at: papyri/texts/papyrus.html
- Bianchi, R S 1995. "Ancient Egyptian reliefs, statuary, and monumental paintings" in *Sasson 1995:2533-2554*.
- Bohm, R K 1973. "The Isis episode in Apuleius", in *Classical Journal* 68/3: 228-231.
- Brovarksi, E, Doll, S K, Freed, R E (et al.) 1982. *Egypt's golden age: the art of living in the New Kingdom, 1558-1085BC*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Bruhn, R 2003. "The British Museum celebrating 250 years", in *Archaeological Diggings* 10/3:12-15.
- Bruhn, R 2005. "Mummies in Americas", in *Archaeological Diggings* 12/3:23-25.
- Brunner-Traut, E 1979. *Egyptian artists' sketches. Figured ostraca from the Gayer Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*. Istanbul: Archaeologisch Instituut.
- Bryan, B 2000. "Property and the God's Wives of Amun". Available at: http://www.chs.harvard.edu/_/File/_/women_property_bryan.pdf
- Bryan, C 2004. "The Egyptian in French art: Venus and the vamp", in *Ancient Egypt: The history, people and culture of the Nile Valley* 4/4:15-21.
- Burenhult, G 2004. *The illustrated history of humankind: great civilisations, society and culture in the ancient world*. San Francisco: Fog City Press.
- Canadian Museum of Civilisation Corporation 1999. "Mysteries of ancient Egypt: Royal women". Available at: <http://www.civilization.ca/civil/egypt/egcgov4e.html>

- Capel, A K & Markoe, E 1996. *Mistress of the house, mistress of heaven: women in ancient Egypt*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with Cincinnati Art Museum.
- Capel, A K 1996. "Relief: Nefertiti offering to the Aten", in Capel, Markoe (*et al.*) 1996:112-113.
- Carter, M 2003. "The writings on the wall", in *Archaeological Diggings* 10/2:44-46.
- Carter, M 2005/2006. "The decriminalisation of Hatshepsut", in *Archaeological Diggings* 12/6:3-8.
- Cavendish, R 1992. *Mythology: an illustrated encyclopedia of the principal myths and religions of the world*. London: Tiger Books International.
- Church, M 2000. "Egyptian ushabti". Available at: http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/wsrp/educational_site/usarc/ushabti.shtml
- Clayton, P A 1994. *Chronicle of the pharaohs*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Cohon, R. 2000. "Relief from the tomb of Metjeti". Available at: <http://echoesofeternity.umkc.edu/Mechechyreliefs2.htm>
- Collier, M & Manley, B 1998. *How to read Egyptian*. London: British Museum Press.
- Collon, D 1995. *Ancient Near Eastern art*. London: British Museum Press.
- Coltheart, D C 2002. "Nefertiti, the beautiful one", in *Archaeological Diggings* 9/3:23-26.
- Cotterill, A 1980. *The Penguin Encyclopedia of ancient civilisations*. London: Penguin Group Books.
- Cottrell, L 1961. *Life under the pharaohs*. London: Evans Brothers Limited.
- Crystal, E 2006. "Art in ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.crystalinks.com/egyptart.html>
- Davies, V & Friedman, R 1998. *Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Davies, W V 1982. "The origin of the blue crown", in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68:69-76.
- De Beler, A G 1997. *Pharaohs*. China: Moliere.
- Dodson, A 2002. "Divine queens in Nubia: Tiye at Sedeinga and Nefertari at Abu Simbel", in *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 13/2:58-67.
- Dodson, A & Hilton, D 2004. *The complete royal families of ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.

- Dollinger, A 2004. "Dynasties XVIII to XX. The reassertion of Egyptian power and the building of an empire". Available at: <http://nefertiti.iwebland.com/history18-20.htm>
- Dorman, P F ca 1999-2001. "God's Wife of Amun, with specific reference to the queens of the Eighteenth Dynasty". Paper presented at the Theban Workshop at John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, USA.
- Dorman, P F 2005. "Hatshepsut princess to queen to co-ruler", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:87-89.
- Dreyfuss, R 2006. "Furniture and carpentry", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:254-259.
- Dunn, J 1996a. "Obelisk". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/Obelisk.htm>
- Dunn, J 1996b. "Tutankhamen's perfume". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/-magazine/mag03012001/mag4.htm>
- Dunn, J 1999a. "Crowns of Egypt part II, specific crowns". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/crowns2.htm>
- Dunn, J 1999b. "The queens of Ramesses II". Available at: www.touregypt.net/.../Ramesses2s_queens.htm
- Dunn, J 1999c. "Ramesses III, Egypt's last great pharaoh". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/Ramessesiii.htm>
- Dunn, J 2005a. "Historical papyrus". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/papyrus.htm>
- Dunn, J 2005b. "The wonderful land of Punt". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/punt.htm>
- Dunn, J 2005c. "Queen Nefertiti". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/nefertiti.htm>
- Edgerton, W F 1936. "Two notes on the flying gallop", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56/2:178-188.
- Editore, F M 2007. *Nefer: a donna nell' antico Egitto*. Milano: Da Arta Grafiche Motta.
- Edwards, A A B 1891. "The origin of portrait sculpture, and the history of the ka in Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers". Available at: <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/-edwards/-pharaohs/pharaohs-4.html>
- Ellison, T R 1999a. "God's Wife of Amun". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/godswifehtm>

- Ellison, T R 1999b. "Coffin Texts". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/coffintext.htm>
- Erman, A 1971. *Life in ancient Egypt*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Eternal Egypt 2005. "Famous Egyptian women". Available at: http://www.eternalegypt.org/EternalEgyptWebsiteWeb/HomeServlet?ee_website_action_key=action.display.library&language_id=1
- Exell, K 2005. "Hidden treasures: the ancient Egyptian collection at the Oriental Museum, University of Durham", in *Ancient Egypt The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 7/5:15-19.
- Farrugia, M & Mifsud, A 2007. "The Great Royal Wives from Akhmim", in *Ancient Egypt The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 7/6:18-22.
- Fletcher, J 2001. "From warrior women to female pharaohs: careers for women in ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/egyptians/women-print.html>
- Fletcher, J 2005. "Woman & mother in ancient Egypt". Available at: [2005/02/woman-mother-in-ancient-egyptian.html](http://www.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/2005/02/05022005_woman_mother_in_ancient_egypt.html)
- Forbes, D Spring 2001. "God's Wives of Amen: the divine adoratrices", in *KMT: a Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 12/1:1-12.
- Frankfort, H 1952. "State festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15/1/2:1-12.
- Freed, R E 1982. "Toilette implements", in Brovarski, Doll, Freed (et al.) 1982:199-200.
- Freed, R E, Markowitz, Y J & D'Auria, S H 1999. *Pharaohs of the sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Freed, R E 1999. "Introduction", in Freed, Markowit, D'Auria (et al.) 1999:17-35.
- Fulkner, R O 2004. *The ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. London: British Museum Press.
- Gardiner, A 1966. *Egypt of the pharaohs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Glueck, G 2003. "Art review; fit for a pharaoh: treasures at home in Brooklyn". Available at: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9505E6DE173BF932A25757C0A9659C8B6>
- Grajetsky, W 2005. *Ancient Egyptian queens*. London: Golden House Publications.
- Green, L 1996. "The royal women of Amarna: who was who", in Arnold, Allen & Green 1996:7-15.

- Green, L 2000. "Crowned heads: royal regalia of the Amarna & Pre- and Post- Amarna Period", in *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 11/4:60-75.
- Grimal N C 1992. "A history of ancient Egypt". Available at: http://books.google.co.uk/books?-id=GzTiXt49I0YC&pg=PA173&lpg=-PA173&dq=tomb+of+tem&source=web&ots=DHXm-OF3sl&sig=7j946Ejbsvfvo9Z6rPBF-SkiOb9s&hl=en&sa=X&oi=-book_result-&resnum=1&ct=result#PPR5,M1
- Hall, R 2001. *Egyptian textiles*. London: Shire Publications.
- Harris, N 2000. *The history of ancient Egypt*. London: Chancellor Press.
- Harris, R 2004. "Years 1 – 3: revolution in Thebes". Available at: <http://www.deepfly.org/Akhenaten2.html>
- Hart, G 2002. *Eyewitness: ancient Egypt*. London: Dorling Kindersley.
- Havilland, W A 1996. *Cultural Anthropology*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Hindley, M I 2005. "Who were Nefertiti's parents", in *Ancient Egypt: The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 5/31:20-21.
- Hodge, S 1997. *Art in history: ancient Egyptian art*. Oxford: Heinemann Library, a division of Reed Educational and Professional Publishing.
- Howard, J 1999. "The flowers of ancient Egypt and today". Available at: <http://www.tour.egypt.net/featurestories/flowers.htm>
- Hyora, D 1997. "Nefertiti: the queen in her chariot". Available at: <http://www.nilemuse.com/nefertiti/nefertiti.html>
- Illes, J 1996. "Beauty secrets of ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.egyptmonth.com/-mag-060-12000/mag4.htm>
- James, T G H & Davies, W V 1989. *Egyptian sculpture*. London: British Museum Press.
- Johnson, G B 2000. "Queen Ankhesenamen & the Hittite prince", in *KMT: Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 11/1: 86-87.
- Johnson, W R 1999. "The setting: history, religion, and art", in Freed, Markovitz & D'Auria 1999:38-49.
- Jonsson, K M 2007. "Women in ancient Egypt: reigning queens". Available at: <http://www.philae.nu/akhet/Queens.html>
- Johnstone, J 2005. "Dressing Nefertiti: ancient Egyptian costumes on television", in *Ancient Egypt: The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 5/7:40-44.
- Kamil, J 2006. "An open-door policy". Available at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2006/790/hr1.htm>

- Keller, C A 2005. "The statuary of Hatshepsut", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:158-166.
- Kemp, B 1991. *Ancient Egypt: anatomy of a civilisation*. London: Routledge.
- Kendall, T 1999. "Foreign relations", in Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999:157-161.
- Killen, G 1994. *Egyptian woodworking and furniture*. London: Shire Publications.
- Kinnear, J 2006. "The ancient Egyptian site". Available at: <http://www.ancient-egypt.org/index.html>
- Kitchen, K A 1980. "Review of Ancient Egyptian co-regencies by W J Murnane", in *JNES* 39/2:168-172.
- Kitchen, K A 1991. "The chronology of ancient Egypt", in *World Archaeology* 23/2: 201-208.
- Kjeilen T 1996-2007. "Encyclopedia of the Orient: Opet". Available at: <http://lexicorient.com/e.o/opet.htm>
- Knapp, A B 1988. *The history and culture of ancient Western Asia and Egypt*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Kozma, C 2006. "Dwarfs in ancient Egypt", in *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 140A/4:303-311.
- Kremen, L 1997. "Ancient Egyptian social life". Available at: http://www.bergen.org/AAST/Projects/Egypt/social_report.html
- Lansing, A 1943. "An Eighteenth Dynasty lady", in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1/9:266-270
- Lesko, B S 1991. "Women's monumental marks on ancient Egypt", in *The Biblical Archaeologist* 54/1: 4-15
- Lesko, B S 2002. "Women in the Old Kingdom cults; materials for the study of women and gender in the ancient world". Available at: <http://www.stoa.org/hopper/-text.jsp?doc=Stoa:text:2002.01.0007:section=1>
- Lichtheim, M 1980. *Ancient Egyptian literature the New Kingdom*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lichtheim, M 2006. *Ancient Egyptian literature: the Old and Middle Kingdom*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Liu, R K 2006. "Ornament". Available at: http://0-vnweb.hwwilsonweb.com.oasis.unisa.ac.za/hww/shared/shared_main.jhtml?_requestid=102726

- Lurker, M 2002. *An illustrated dictionary of the gods and symbols of ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames Hudson.
- MacDonald, F 1999. *The other half of history: women in ancient Egypt*. London: Belitha Press.
- Malek, J 1982. "The original version of the Royal Canon of Turin", in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.68: 93-106.
- Malek, J 1999. *Egyptian art*. London: Phaidon Press Limited.
- Mann, J S 1995. "Nefertiti's eyes". Available at: <http://www.sherryart.com/newstory/nefertiti.html>
- McDermott, B 2001. *Decoding Egyptian hieroglyphs*. London: Duncan Baird Publishers.
- McDevitt, A 1997-2000. "Ancient Egypt: the mythology". Available at: <http://www.egyptianmyths.net/colors.htm>
- McDonald, J 1996. *House of eternity: the tomb of Nefertari*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Monet, J 1999. "The coffins of ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/featurestories/coffins.htm>
- Monges, M M 1993. "Reflections on the role of female deities and queens in ancient Kemet", in *Journal of Black Studies* 23/4:561-570.
- Naunton, C 2004. "Careful coloured drawings: the watercolours of the EES", in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24:7-9
- Oakes, L & Gahlin, L 2004. *Ancient Egypt*. London: Hermes House.
- Obenga, T 1992. *Ancient Egypt and black Africa*. London: Turnaround Publishers.
- Olivier, L 2006. "Karnak galleries". Available at: <http://search.pbase.com/search?q=karnak&begin=10>
- Parsons, M 1999. "Education in ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/educate.htm>
- Parsons, M 2003a. "Ancient Egypt royal regalia". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/reg.htm>
- Parsons, M 2003b. "Deir el-Bahri". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/bahri.htm>
- Partridge, B 2004/2005. "Sphinx in ancient Egypt", in *Ancient Egypt: The history, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 6/3:46-52.

- Patch, D C 1990. "Ceramic dishes in reflections of greatness: ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History". Available at: www.carnegiemnh.org/exhibits/egypt/pottery.htm
- Patch, D C 2000-2007. "Egyptian amulets". Available at: http://www.metmuseum.org/TOAH/hd/egam/hd_egam.htm
- Patch, D C 2006. "Jewellery in the early Eighteenth Dynasty", in Roehrig, Dreyfus & Keller 2006:191-195.
- Phillips, S 2005. "The diet of the ancient Egyptians". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/diet.htm>
- Ranke, H 1935. "The origin of the Egyptian tomb statue", in *The Harvard Theological Review* 28/1:45-53.
- Reeves, N 1999. "The royal family", in Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999:81-95.
- Reeves, N 2006. *The complete Tutankhamen*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Renfrew, C & Bahn, P 2000. *Archaeology: theories, methods and practice*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Ritchson, D 2004. "Tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht (KV14)". Available at: http://swc2.hccs.edu/proberts/gallery/html/don_ritchson/files/tawosret-and-sethnakht.html
- Robins, G 1986. *Egyptian painting and relief*. London: Shire Publications.
- Robins, G 1997. *The art of ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Robins, G 1998. *Women in ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Roehrig, C H, Dreyfus, R & Keller, C A 1996. *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Roehrig, C H 1996. "Women's work: some occupations of non-royal women as depicted in ancient Egyptian art", in Capel, Markoe (*et al.*) 1996:13-24.
- Roehrig, C E 2000. "Egypt in the Middle Kingdom (2030-1640BC)". Available at: http://www.metmuseum.org/TOAH/HD/mking/hd_mking.htm
- Roehrig, C H 2005a. "Three reliefs depicting running soldiers", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:154.
- Roehrig, C H 2005b. "Senenmut, royal tutor to princess Neferrue", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:112-113.
- Roehrig, C H 2005c. "Ostrakon with drawing of the queen of Punt", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:152-153.

- Roehrig, C H 2005d. "Thutmoses I and Hatshepsut", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:51-53.
- Roehrig, C H 2005e. "Introduction", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:3.
- Roth, A M 2005. "Models of authority Hatshepsut's predecessors in power", in Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (*et al.*) 2005:9-14.
- Ruiz, A 2001. *Daily life in ancient Egypt*. London: Souvenir Press.
- Russman, E R, James, T G H (*et al.*) 2001. *Eternal Egypt: masterworks of ancient art from the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, in association with the American Federation of Arts.
- Russman, E R 2001a. "A historical overview of Egyptian art", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:16-27.
- Russman, E R 2001b. "Aspects of ancient Egyptian art", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:28-45.
- Russman, E R 2001c. "The royal favourite Kemsit", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:88.
- Russman, E R 2001d. "Block statue and niche stela of Sahathor", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:96.
- Russman, E R 2001e. "Standing woman", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:113.
- Russman, E R 2001f. "Painting and drawing: The World and the Underworld", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:194-195.
- Russman, E R 2001g. "Raised relief: daily life, children", in Russman, James (*et al.*) 2001:73.
- Rutherford, M 2006. "The ancient Egyptian concept of beauty". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/beauty.htm>
- Saggs, H W F 1989. *Civilization before Greece and Rome*. London: Yale University Press.
- Samson, J 1973. "Amarna crowns and wigs: Unpublished pieces from statues and inlays in the Petrie Collection at University College, London", in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59:47-59.
- Sasson, J M 1995. *Civilisation of the Ancient Near East*. London: Scribner's & Sons.
- Sauneron, S 2000. *The priests of ancient Egypt*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Schäfer, H 1986. *Principles of Egyptian art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schlossman, B L & Yourk, H J 1976. "Women in ancient art", in *Journal College Art Association* 35/4:345-351

- Scott, D 1997. "Predynastic, 5500-3100BC". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/ebph5.htm>
- Scott, N E 1964. "Egyptian jewellery", in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22/7:223-234.
- Seawright, C 1996. "Isis, sister of Nephtys, Mistress of Magic". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/godsofegypt/isis2.htm>
- Seawright, C 1999. "Hatshepsut female pharaoh of ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://touregypt.net/historicalessays/hatshepsut.htm>
- Seawright, C 2002. "Headdresses of the ancient Egyptian deities". Available at: http://www.thekeep.org/~kunoichi/kunoichi/themestream/egypt_headdresses.html
- Semling, A E 2001. "Reich der Pharaonen". Available at: <http://www.meinlaegypten.de/start.html>
- Shaw, I & Nicholson, P 1995. *The British Museum dictionary of ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Shira 2002. "Ancient Egyptian art". Available at: <http://www.shira.net/ancient-scenes.htm>
- Siliotti, A 1996. *Guide to the Valley of the Kings*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Smith, W S 1998. *The art and architecture of ancient Egypt*. London: Yale University Press.
- Spence, K 2002. "Akhenaten and the Amarna Period". Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/egyptians/akhenaten_01.shtml
- Spencer, P 2003. "Dance in ancient Egypt", in *Near Eastern Archaeology* 66/3:111-121.
- Springer, I 1999. "Grand festivals in ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/festival.htm>
- Springer, I. 2003. "The latest fashions in ancient Egypt". Available at: <http://www.touregypt.net/magazine/mag01012001/magf4.htm>
- Strouhal, E 1997. *Life of the ancient Egyptians*. London: Opus Publishing.
- Taher, A W 2005. "Meryetamun at Akhmim", in *Ancient Egypt: The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 5/7/31:30-35.
- Takahashi, K 2000. "Ancient Egyptian hairstyles". Available at: <http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/egypt/dailylife/hairstyles.htm>
- Thomas, A P 1996. *Akhenaten's Egypt*. London: Shire Publications.

- Thompson, J C 2005. "Women in the ancient world". Available at: <http://www.womenintheancientworld.com/>
- Tiradritti, F 2004. *Ancient Egypt, art architecture and history*. London: British Museum Press.
- Troy, L 1986. *Patterns of queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history*. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Troy, L 2002. "The ancient Egyptian queenship as an icon of the state", in *Nin* 3:1-24.
- Tyldesley, J 1994. *Daughters of Isis: women of Egypt*. London: Penguin Group.
- Tyldesley, J 1998. *Nefertiti: Egypt's sun queen*. London: Penguin Group.
- Tyldesley, J 2000. *The private lives of the pharaohs*. London: Channel 4 Books.
- Tyldesley, J 2001. "Hatshepsut and Thutmose: a royal feud". Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/egyptians/hatshepsut_02.shtml
- Tyldesley, J 2002. *Egypt's Golden Empire: the dramatic story of life in the New Kingdom*. London: Headline Book Publishing.
- Tyldesley, J 2006. *Chronicle of the queens of Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Underwood, S 2007. "Egypt: the Pyramids of Giza". Available at: http://www.culturefocus.com/egypt_pyramids.htm
- Van de Mieroop, M 2004. *A history of the ancient Near East: ca 3000 – 323BC*. London: Blackwell Publishing.
- Van Dijk, J 2008. "Tutankhamen, the making of a legend". Paper presented at the conference of The Friends of the Petrie Museum, London, May.
- Van Siclen, C C III 1974. "A Ramesside ostrakon of Queen Isis", in *JNES* 33/1:150-153.
- Vassilika, E 2006. *Art treasures from the Museo Egizio*. Turin: Umberto Allemandi.
- Vendel, O 2001. "The spirits of nature: religion of the Egyptians". Available at: <http://www.nemo.nu/ibisportal/0egyptintro/1egypt/index.htm>
- Vermaak, P S & Asher, A 2000. "Art in the ancient Near East": Tutorial Letter for ANE201-E/104/2000. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Vermaak, P S 2000. "Cultural change in the ancient Near East": Tutorial Letter for ANE201-E/102/2000. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Vess, D 2007. "Women in the ancient and medieval worlds". Available at: <http://www.faculty.de.gcsu.edu/~dvess/ids/women/egwomout.html>

- Walker, R 2006. "When we ruled - Queen Ahmose Nefertari of ancient Egypt (flourished c.1709BC)". Available at: <http://www.-whenweruled.com/articles.php?lng=en&pg=7>
- Watterson, B 1991. *Women in ancient Egypt*. London: Allan Sutton Publishing.
- Weeks, K R 2005. *The treasures of Luxor and the Valley of the Kings*. Vercelli: White Star Publishers.
- Whelan, P 2007. *Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th-18th Dynasty stick shabtis in the Petrie Museum and other collections*. London: Golden House Publications.
- Wildung, D 2006. *Egyptian Museum and papyrus collection*. Berlin: Prestel.
- Wilkinson, R 2000. *The complete temples of ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Wilkinson, T A H 2000. "Royal Annals of ancient Egypt: the Palermo Stone and its associated fragments". Available at: <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Royal-Annals-Ancient-Egypt-Associated/dp/0710306679>
- Wilson, E 1995. *British Museum pattern books: ancient Egyptian designs*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Wilson, H 1997. *People of the pharaohs: from peasant to courtier*. London: Brockhampton Press.
- Wilson, H 2004/ 2005. "Papyrus: myth and symbolism", in *Ancient Egypt The History, People and Culture of the Nile Valley* 5/23:20-25.
- Wiseman D J 1999. *Peoples of the Old Testament times*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Wysinger, M 2000. "Ancient Africa black kingdoms". Available at: <http://www.homestead.com/wysinger/ancientafrica.html>
- Yagmin, J & Lieberman, D 2006. "Ancient Egypt 2675 – 332 BC: fashion". Available at: <http://www.bookrags.com/research/ancient-egypt-2675-332-bce-fashion-ahe-01/hairstyles-ahe-01.html>

Appendix A - Ancient Egyptian Chronology

Various ancient Egyptian sources such as monumental inscriptions, literature, funerary biographies, kings' lists, etc. have enabled scholars to reconstruct the life of the ancient Egyptians. Therefore, even the chronology¹³⁰ of ancient Egypt presents problems.

The Annals of the Palermo Stone are fragmentary and of unknown origin. Kitchen (1991:202) is of the opinion that this document "gives a complete sequence of years" for all the early kings until the middle part of the Old Kingdom. The kings list of Sety I and Ramesses II contain all the names of the "legitimate" rulers, excluding names such as Hatshepsut and Akhenaten. The most frequently used documents are those of Manetho, a priest who lived in the third century BC under the Ptolemies (Kitchen 1991:201). He divided the one hundred and thirty pharaohs into thirty dynasties, starting with Narmer and ending with the last of the Ptolemies.

The list of Manetho showed a few discrepancies, such as fictitious dynasties (the Seventh Dynasty has seventy kings in seventy days), some are parallel (Twenty Second- and Twenty Third Dynasties), whereas others have only one representative (the Twenty Eighth Dynasty). The Eighteenth is the best represented with fourteen kings while the Ramesside Period delivered eleven kings by the name of Ramesses (De Beler 1997:17).

Kitchen (1991:201) further demonstrates that during the Nineteenth Century AD Egyptologists grouped these Dynasties in large periods as follows¹³¹:

- Prehistory or Predynastic ca 300 years
- Archaic or "Proto-dynastic" Period > 200 years
- Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period ca 100 years
- Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period 30 – 20 years
- New Kingdom and Late Period (including Third Intermediate Period) 20 – 10 years
- Saite-Persian Periods 0
- Greco-Roman Periods 0

¹³⁰ The chronology used in the Appendix is based mainly on Russman *et al.* (2001:260-261). Additional information on chronology was also obtained from Schäfer (1986:370-372); Dodson (2004:*passim*) and Tyldesley 2006:24, 36, 64, 86).

¹³¹ This table, clearly indicates the margins of dating error (Kitchen 1991:202). This probability correlates with Schäfer (1986:370) in Chapter 3.

Grey sections in the table below indicate discrepancies or non-availability of data.

Early Dynastic Period (ca3100-2686BC)

1st Dynasty (ca 3100-2890BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Narmer	Neithhotep			
Aha	Benerib; Khenthap			
Djer	Herneith; Nakhtneith			
Djet	Meryt-neith			
Wadj				
Den	Seshemetka; Semat; Serethor		ca 2985	
Anedjib	Batirytes			
Semerkhet				
Qa'a				

2nd Dynasty (ca 2890-2686BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Hetepsekhemui				
Reneb				
Ninetjer				
Peribsen				
Sened				
Khasekhem	Nimaathap		ca 2600	

Old Kingdom (ca 2686-2181BC)

3rd Dynasty (ca 2686-2613BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Sanakht	Hetephernebtj			
Djoser		19	2667	2648
Sekhemkhet				
Khaba				
Khuni				

4th Dynasty (ca 2613-2648BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Snefru	Hetepheres 1	24	2613	2589
Cheops	Henutsen; Meritetes	23	2589	2566
Redjedef	Khentetka; Hetepheres II	8	2566	2558
Khafre	Meresankh II; Khamerenebtj I; Persenet; Hekenuhedjet	26	2558	2532
Menkaure	Khamerenebtj II	29	2532	2503
Shepseskaf	Bunefer	5	2503	2498

5th Dynasty (ca 2494-2345BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Regents	Co-	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Userkaf	Khentkawes I		7	2494	2487
Sahure	Neferethanebty		12	2487	2475
Neferirkare	Khetkawes II		20	2475	2455
Shepseskare			7	2455	2448
Raneferef			3	2448	2445
Niuserre	Reptynub		24	2445	2421
Menkauhor	Meresankh IV		7	2421	2414
Djedkare Isesi			39	2414	2375
Unas	Nebet; Khenut		30	2375	2345

6th Dynasty (ca 2345-2181BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Regents	Co-	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Teti	Ipuit I; Khuit		22	2345	2323
Userkare			2	2323	2321
Pepi I	Weret-Yamtes; Nebwenet; Inenek-Inti; Meritetes; Ankhnespepi I; Enkhnespepi II; Nedjeftet		34	2321	2287
Merenre			9	2287	2278
Pepi II	Neit; Wedjebten; Ipuit II; Ankhnespepi III; Ankhnespepi IV		94	2278	2184
Nitocris ¹³²					

¹³² Female Pharaoh

First Intermediate Period (ca 2181-2040BC)

7th/8th Dynasty (ca 2181-2125BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Netjerkare				
Menkare				
Meferkare II				
Neby				
Shemay				
Khendu				
Merenthor				
Nikare				
Tereru				
Neferkare				
Pepysonbe				
Neferkamin				
Ibi				
Khuihapy				
Neferkare II				

9th/10th Dynasty (ca 2160-2025BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Akhtoy I				
Neferkare III				
Akhtoy II				
Senenen				
Akhtoy III				
Akhtoy IV				
Merythathor				
Akhtoy V				
Merykare				

11th Dynasty (ca 2160-2025BC)¹³³

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Mentuhotep I	Neferu I			
Intef I				
Intef II	Iah			
Intef III				

¹³³ Names given in this table are those of the pre-reunification rulers of Thebes.

MIDDLE KINGDOM (ca 2040-1650BC)

11th Dynasty (ca 2040-1985BC)¹³⁴

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Mentuhotep II	Nefru II; Tem; Sadeh; Henhenet; Ashayt, Kawit; Kemsit	51	2055	2004
Mentuhotep III	Imi	12	2004	1992
Mentuhotep IV		7	1992	1985

12th Dynasty (ca 1938-1755BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Amenemhet I	Neferitatjenen	30	1985	1955
Senusert I	Nefru III	45	1965	1920
Amenemhet II		64	1922	1880
Senusert II	Khnemefneferhedjet I; Nefret; Itaweret, Khnemef	6	1880	1874
Senusert III	Sithathoriunet; Mertseger; Khne-metneferhedjet II	19	1874	1855
Amenemhet III	Aat; Hetepi	46	1854	1808
Amenemhet IV	Sobekneferu	9	1808	1799
Sobekneferu		4	1799	1795

¹³⁴ Names given in this table are those of the post-reunification rulers of Thebes.

13th Dynasty (ca 1795-1550BC)¹³⁵

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Amenemhet V				
Mentuhotep VI	Sitmut	15	1675	1650

Second Intermediate Period (ca 1750-1550BC)

14th/15th Dynasty (ca 1750-1650BC)¹³⁶

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Semoen				
Aper-Anati				
Sakirhar				
Khyan				
Apepi				
Khamudy				

¹³⁵ Schäfer (1986:371) is of the opinion that approximately 60 kings ruled during this period.

¹³⁶ During the 15th, 16th and 17th Dynasty Egypt was ruled by the Hyksos and not much information is available on the rulers.

16th Dynasty (ca 1650-1580BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Djehuty	Mentuhotep C			
Sobkhotep VIII				
Neferhotep III				
Mentuhotepi				
Nebiriau I				
Nebiriau II				
Semenre				
Bebiankh				
Sekhemre-Shedwaset				
Dedumose II				
Mentuemsaf				
Senwosret IV				

17th Dynasty (ca 1580-1550BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Rahotep				
Sobkemsaf I	Nubkhaes B			
Inyotef V				
Inyotef VI	Sobkemsaf B; Neferuni			
Inyotef VII	Haankhes			
Sobkemsaf II	Sobkemsaf II			
Seqenenre Taa I ¹³⁷	Tetisheri			

¹³⁷ This period was also known as the Taoside Period.

Seqenenre Taa II	Inhapy; Sitdjehuty; Ahhotep I			
Wadjkheperre Kamose	Ahhotep II			

New Kingdom (ca 1550-1069BC)

18th Dynasty (ca 1550-1295BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Ahmose I	Ahmose-Nefertari; Ahmose-Nebta	25	1550	1525
Amenhotep I	Merytamun	21	1525	1504
Thutmosis I	Ahmose	12	1504	1492
Thutmosis II (Hatshepsut	13	1492	1479
Hatshepsut ¹³⁸		14	1472	1458
Thutmosis III	Sitiah; Meritre- Hatshepsut; Nebtu, Manuwai, Manhata, Maruta	54	1479	1425
Amenhotep II	Tiaa	27	1327	1400
Thutmosis IV	Nefertari, Iaret, Mutemwiya	10	1400	1390
Amenhotep III	Tiye, Sitamun, Isis, Henuttaneb, Gilukhepa; Tadukhepa	38	1390	1352
Amenhotep IV a.k.a. Akhenaten ¹³⁹	Nefertiti; Kiya	16	1352	1336

¹³⁸ Female Pharaoh.

¹³⁹ This period was also known as the Amarna Period.

Smenkhare	Meritaten	2	1338	1336
Tutankhamun	Ankhesenamun	9	1336	1327
Ay	Tiye	4	1327	1323
Horemheb	Mutnodjmet	28	1323	1295

19th Dynasty (ca 1295-1186BC)¹⁴⁰

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Ramesses I	Sitre	1	1295	1294
Sety I	Tuya	15	1294	1279
Ramesses II	Henutmire, Nefertari, Isetnofret I, Bintanath 1; Merytamun, Nebettawi, Maathornefrure	66	1279	1213
Merenptah	Isetnofret II; Bintanath II	10	1213	1203
Menmire Amenmessu	Baketwernel I	3	1203	1200
Sety II	Takhat; Tawosret	6	1200	1194
Ramesses-Siptah		6	1194	1188
Tawosret ¹⁴¹		2	1188	1186

¹⁴⁰ This period is known as The Ramesside Period.

¹⁴¹ Female pharaoh.

20th Dynasty (ca 1580-1550BC)

Name	Wife(s) and Co-Regents	Ruling Period	Starting	Ending
Setnakht	Tiy-Merense	2	1186	1184
Ramesses III	Iset ta-Hemdjert; Tiy	31	1184	1153
Ramesses IV	Tentopet	6	1153	1147
Ramesses V	Henuttawi; Tawerettenru	4	1147	1143
Ramesses VI	Nubkhesbed, Isis	7	1143	1136
Ramesses VII		7	1136	1129
Ramesses VIII		3	1129	1126
Ramesses IX	Baketwernel II	18	1126	1108
Ramesses X	Titi	9	1108	1099
Ramesses XI	Tentamun	30	1099	1069

Appendix B - The Museums¹⁴²

Ägyptische Museum, Berlin (Visited, 2006)

The Museum was established in 1698 by Friedrich III, the Elector of Brandenburg, who acquired a collection of antiquities, which had been assembled by Giovanni Pietro Bellori. This collection also included objects from Egypt. The objects were originally displayed in his palace in Berlin.

The prime reason for the visit to the museum is to study the famous bust of Nefertiti and observe other objects from the Amarna Period.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England (Visited, 2006)

The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England, was established in 1683. A man named John Tradescant who displayed objects to the public for a fee later donated the collection to Elias Ashmole. He in turn presented the collection to the University of Oxford. It comprises of man-made objects and elements of natural specimen that were collected from all over the world.

In 1845 a new museum was built to house the ever-increasing collections and in 1908 the current Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology was established, housing the entire collection.

During the visit special attention was given to the headless statue of Akhenaten and other objects from the Amarna Period such as reliefs, personal objects and wall decorations from the Royal Palace of El Amarna. Replicas of wall paintings from the tomb of Nefertari are also on display.

British Museum, London (Visited 2005, 2006, 2007)

The Museum was established in the mid-eighteenth century under the initiative of Sir Hans Sloane who was a collector of books, manuscripts, works of art, flora and fauna, geology, coins and antiquities. Sloane engaged family and friends to bring back artefacts from their travels abroad and to contribute these items to his collections. By the end of his life, he had all the collections installed at his home, Manor House of Chelsea.

After his death funds were raised by means of a national lottery to purchase the collections and re-established then in a specific place, Montague House, where the Museum is still housed today.

¹⁴² Relevant information concerning the museums is available from their official websites.

The British Museum was visited on various occasions to study objects related to the social status of elite women. Various objects such, as the bust of Ahmose-Merytamun and the fragments of wall paintings from the tomb of Nebamun and Kynebo, were examined during private viewings arranged with the Assistant Curator, Dr Neal Spencer of the Department of Egypt and Sudan. Detailed observation was undertaken of the statues to identify poses such as kneeling, standing and sitting as well as the presence of the backpillar. Other objects studied, contributed to the evaluation of dress code, jewellery, headdresses, wigs and personal items for this dissertation. Coffins were examined to obtain information on decoration; their ownership involved a study of the relevant hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Petrie Museum, University College, London (Visited 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008)

The Petrie Museum is a university museum is at the University College of London and was established in 1892 after the bequest of the writer Amelia Edwards. She donated her whole collection of Egyptian antiquities to the University and Flinders Petrie sold his collection to the museum increasing the numbers of the collection and made it one of the largest collections outside Egypt.

The Petrie Museum was also visited on various occasions where observations were made of personal objects and jewellery, as well as of pottery, ostraca and reliefs. Various private handling sessions were carried out under the supervision of the staff of the Petrie Museum.

Egyptian Museum of Antiquities, Cairo (Visited 2007)

In 1835 the Egyptian Government established the 'Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte', mainly to halt the plundering of archaeological sites, to arrange displays of the excavated objects and to control the export of these artefacts out of the country. The collections were first housed at Boulaq, a suburb of Cairo. Later the collection was transferred to the citadel of Saladin before it finally moved to its current site.

During my visit, various objects were observed examined such as those of Tutankhamen together with mummies, papyri, coffins, statues, reliefs and paintings. The following objects were studied in detail:

- The colossal statue of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye
- A floor mosaic from the palace of El Amarna
- The statues and reliefs from El Amarna
- Statues of Hatshepsut and other rulers of the Thutmoside Period.
- The grave goods of Tutankhamen
- Objects from earlier dynasties

Museo Egizio, Turin (Visited 2007)

The Museum of Turin is one of the oldest museums, founded in 1824 and according to Roveri, (2006:67) “second in importance to that of Cairo”. With this establishment in 1823, approximately eight thousand objects were placed donated by Bernardino Drovetti, the French consul in Egypt during the period following Napoleon’s. The collection was then placed in the Palazzo della Accademia delle Scienze where it is still housed today. Jean-François Champollion had close connections with the museum, being the first person to catalogue the objects.

Ernesto Schiaparelli became director of the museum in 1894 and brought various objects back from his excavations in Egypt. A recent acquisition is the rock temple of Ellesija, built in Nubia by Thutmose III in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In recognition for the archaeological salvage work done by the Italians during the building of the Aswan Dam, the Egyptian government presented the whole temple as a gift to the Italian people.

My visit to the Turin Museum was scheduled to coincide with the exhibition of “Nefer”, focussing on the lifestyles of elite women of ancient Egypt. Many objects reflected their social status such as statues, reliefs, paintings and personal objects. An example was the wooden figurine of Ahmose-Nefertari as the deified queen.

The Turin Museum was also visited to view the various statues of:

- Sekhmet
- Mutnodjmet and Horemheb
- Thutmose III
- Amenhotep II
- Ramses II and others.

Other objects viewed were the ostraca, papyri and various personal artefacts, as well as a replica of the tomb of Nefertari.

An exhibition of the funerary goods from the tomb of Kha was also visited. These artefacts include furniture, cushions, clothes, board games and other household objects. One of the most valuable objects viewed was the Royal Papyrus of Turin dating back to the Nineteenth Dynasty and which contains all the names of the rulers of the kings up to the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England, was founded by Richard, Seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion who bequeathed all his art works and his library to Cambridge

University in 1816. These art works mainly consisted of Dutch paintings which he inherited from his paternal grandfather. The Egyptian collection grew in importance towards the end of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th, benefited from the work of Sir Flinders Petrie, the Egypt Exploration Fund and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Among other notable benefactors, R G Gayer-Anderson (1943) and Sir Robert Greg (1954) deserve to be singled out, since their bequests to the Museum provided the Egyptian collection with some of its most significant objects.

The website of the Fitzwilliam Museum was used to gain information on the history of the objects on display.

Louvre Museum, Paris

Despite a widely held belief, the creation of the Louvre's Department of Egyptian Antiquities was not a direct consequence of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt between 1798 and 1801. The English confiscated the antiquities collected by scholars during that trip, as spoils of war. These included the famous Rosetta Stone, now in the British Museum. A small number of works brought back by private individuals entered the Louvre at a much later date and formed the nucleus of the collection.

The publication of Vivant Denon's "Voyage dans la Haute et la Basse Égypte" in 1802, and the volumes of the "Description de l'Égypte", written by the servants who participated in the Napoleonic expedition between 1810 and 1830, revived public interest in ancient Egypt during the first quarter of the 19th century. This revival went much deeper than the fashion that appeared in furniture design late in Louis XVI's reign. Jean-François Champollion, born in 1790 was a talented linguist who mastered ancient and Semitic languages. He solved the enigma of hieroglyphs in 1822. Eager to promote Egyptian civilization and to combat the prejudices of contemporary scholars, he assisted in creating the Museo Egizio in Turin. He also succeeded in convincing the French king, Charles X, to purchase three of the major collections that came up for sale at the time (Durand, Salt, and Drovetti). By royal decree of May 15, 1826, he was appointed curator of a new department in the Louvre that was inaugurated on December 15, 1827.

The website of the Louvre Museum was consulted to gain information on the history of the objects on display.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The collection of ancient Egyptian art at the Metropolitan Museum ranks among the finest outside Cairo. It consists of approximately 36,000 objects of artistic, historical, and cultural importance, dating from the Paleolithic to the Roman Period (ca. 300,000 B.C.–4th century

AD.). More than half of the collection is derived from the Museum's thirty-five years archaeological work in Egypt which began in 1906 as a response to increasing public interest in the culture of ancient Egypt. Today, almost the entire collection is on display in thirty-two major- and eight study galleries, with the objects arranged chronologically. The holdings reflect the aesthetic values, history, religious beliefs, and daily life of the ancient Egyptians.

The Department of Egyptian Art was established in 1906 to oversee the Museum's already sizable art collection. This collection had been growing since 1874 thanks to individual gifts from benefactors and the acquisition of private collections (such as the Drexel Collection in 1889, the Farman Collection in 1904, and the Ward Collection in 1905). In addition yearly subscriptions had been made from 1895 onward, to the British Egypt Exploration Fund which gave a share of its finds to subscribing institutions. In addition to interpreting and caring for the permanent collection of ancient Egyptian art, the Department's staff continue to excavate at the museum's concessions in Egypt. They also conduct research in preparation for publication of objects in the collection, and organize special exhibitions. While many of these are small thematic exhibitions composed of objects from the museum's collection, the Department also organizes loan exhibitions drawn from collections throughout the world.

The website of this museum was used to obtain photos of statues of rulers of the New Kingdom, particularly Hatshepsut. During 2005, the exhibition "Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh" was held at the museum. The catalogue of this exhibition was purchased and referred to in this study.

The museum catalogue from the 1996/1997 exhibition, "Queen Nefertiti and the Royal Women: Images of Beauty from ancient Egypt" became an invaluable insight into the life of the royal women of El Amarna.

Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts, New York

The Brooklyn Museum, housed in a 560,000-square-foot Beaux-Arts building, is one of the oldest and largest art museums in the America. Its world-renowned permanent collections range from ancient Egyptian masterpieces to contemporary art, and represent a wide range of cultures. The Egyptian collection is one of the largest in the United States and was established in the Twentieth Century. The collections were obtained through purchases and archaeological excavations and one of the most famous artefacts in the Museum is that of the "Bird Lady" (Figure 10). The museum supports the British Egypt Exploration Society. The Charles Edwin Wilbour fund donated a large number of statues, reliefs and papyri documents to the Museum.

The website of the Brooklyn Museum was used to get comment and views on the history of the objects on display.

Boston Museum of Arts

The original MFA opened its doors to the public on July 4, 1876, the nation's centennial. Built in Copley Square, the MFA was then home to 5,600 works of art. Over the next few years, the collection and number of visitors grew dramatically, and in 1909 the Museum moved to its current home on Huntington Avenue.

Today, the MFA is one of the most comprehensive art museums in the world: the collection encompasses nearly 450,000 and is visited by more than a million visitors each year. The art ranges from ancient Egyptian to contemporary: there are also special exhibitions, and innovative educational programmes.

The Egyptian collection of the Museum comprises of 45,000 and the majority of the artefacts was obtained from excavations. The collection included artefacts such as royal and non-royal sculptures, architectural elements, coffins. The artefacts date back to the Predynastic Period until the Greco-Roman Periods.

The website of the Boston Museum of Arts was used to gain information on the technical aspects and the history of the objects displayed. The catalogue of the exhibition held there in 2000 on "Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen" was purchased and used as reference material for the life of the elite people of El Amarna.

Appendix C - List of Figures

- Figure 1: Line drawing of a pregnant Queen Ahmose on her way to the birth room
- Figure 2: Statue of Khasekhem – Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- Figure 3 & 4: Gridforms – Brooklyn Museum, New York
- Figure 5: Seneb and family – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 6: Wife of the ruler of Punt – Deir el-Bahri and Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 7: Dancer – Museo Egizio, Turin
- Figure 8: Ostrakon showing the goddess Isis – Petrie Museum, University College, London
- Figure 9: Great Harris Papyrus – British Museum, London
- Figure 10: The “Bird Lady” – Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York
- Figure 11: Statue of Khasekhem – Egyptian Museum of Cairo
- Figure 12: Narmer Palette
- Figure 13: Relief of Neithhotep
- Figure 14: Step Pyramid, Saqqara
- Figure 15: Bent Pyramid, Dahshur
- Figure 16: Great Pyramid, Giza
- Figure 17: Hunting scene from tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 18: Meidum Geese – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 19: Relief from mastaba of Tepemankh at Saqqara – Petrie Museum, University College, London
- Figure 20: Great Sphinx, Giza,
- Figure 21: Statue of Menkaure and Khamerernebty II – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Figure 22: Statue of Hemmiunnu – Hildesheim Museum
- Figure 23: Statue of Rahhotep and Nofret – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 24: Statue of Ankhnesmerira and Pepy II – Brooklyn Museum, New York
- Figure 25: Queen Kemsit – British Museum, London
- Figure 26: Wooden statue of Wepawetemhet – Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Figure 27: Watercolour painting of a relief of queen of Mentuhotep III in Cairo Museum – Walter Tyndale
- Figure 28: Princess Kawit – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 29: Statues of Senusert I – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 30: Sphinx statue of Senusert III – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 31: Statue of Queen Khenemet-Nefer-Hedjet – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 32: Block Statue of Sa-Hathor – British Museum, London
- Figure 33: Statue of SobekemINU (Ameny) – National Museum of Israel, Jerusalem

- Figure 34: Statue of Queen Nofret – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 35: Statue of torso of Sobekneferu – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 36: Fragments of the Turin Canon – Museo Egizio, Turin
- Figure 37: Wooden statue of unknown woman – British Museum, London
- Figure 38: Colossal statue of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 39: Relief of the Triad of El Amarna – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 40: Relief of royal family of El Amarna – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 41: Camelian plaque of royal family at El Amarna - Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge
- Figure 42: Statue of Nefertiti – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 43: Painting of “fowling in the marshes” from tomb of Nebamun – British Museum, London
- Figure 44: Painting of a banquet scene from the tomb of the Nebamun – British Museum, London
- Figure 45: Block figure of Senenmut – British Museum, London
- Figure 46: Statue of Senenmut and Neferura – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 47: Statue of Amenhotep III – Egyptian Museum, London
- Figure 48: Statue of Thutmosis III – Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose
- Figure 49: Statue of Akhenaten – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 50: Twin colossi of Amenhotep IV and Queen Tiye – East Bank, Luxor
- Figure 51: Large Temple of Ramesses II – Abu Simbel
- Figure 52: Statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 53: Statue of Thutmosis III – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 54: Statue of Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye and daughter – Petrie Museum, University College of London
- Figure 55: Unfinished clay model of Nefertiti – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 56: Mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut – Deir el-Bahri
- Figure 57: Statue of lion-maned sphinx of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 58: Mortuary temple of Ramesses III – Medinet Habu
- Figure 59: Watercolour painting of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari – Egyptian Exploration Society, London
- Figure 60: Part of hieroglyphic word for “Great Royal Wife” – Petrie Museum, University College, London
- Figure 61: Statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Figure 62: Relief of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III – Chapelle Rouge, Karnak Temple
- Figure 63: Obelisks of Thutmosis I and Hatshepsut – Karnak Temple, Luxor
- Figure 64: Statue of chantress, Enehy – Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
- Figure 65: Wall painting of Sennefer and Meryt – tomb at Thebes
- Figure 66: Painting of the Opet festival

- Figure 67: Relief of Nefertiti and princess from Aten Temple at Karnak – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 68: Drawing of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in their chariots
- Figure 69: Statue of Ramses II and Maathorneferure – Tanis
- Figure 70: Statue of Queen Ahhotep – Louvre Museum
- Figure 71: Necklace of golden flies – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 72: Wooden statue of Ahmose-Nefertari – Museo Egizio, Turin
- Figure 73: Wall painting of Ahmose-Nefertari from tomb of Kynebo – British Museum, London
- Figure 74: Statue of Ahmose-Merytamun – British Museum, London
- Figure 75: Relief of Queen Ahmose – Deir el-Bahri
- Figure 76: Statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 77: Kohl jar of Hatshepsut with title of “God’s Wife” – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 78: Statue of head of Hatshepsut – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 79: Statue of lion-maned sphinx of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 80: Statue of Hatshepsut – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Figure 81: Relief of running soldiers – Deir el-Bahri
- Figure 82: Relief of Neferura as “God’s Wife” – Chapelle Rouge, Karnak
- Figure 83: Statue Thutmosis IV and his mother, Tiaa – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 84: Statue of Queen Tiye – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 85: Wooden Head of Queen Tiye – Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 86: Wooden Head of Queen Tiye with headdress - Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 87: Statue of Queen Tiye
- Figure 88: Sculpture of Nefertiti - Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 89: Sculpture of Nefertiti - Ägyptische Museum, Berlin
- Figure 90: El Amarna Necklace – Petrie Museum, University College, London
- Figure 91: Nefertiti with cap – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 92: Headless statue of Nefertiti – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 93: Headless statue of Akhenaten – Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- Figure 94: Relief of royal family of El Amarna – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 95: Statue of Akhenaten and Nefertiti – Louvre Museum, Paris
- Figure 96: Tutankhamen’s Golden Throne – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 97: Golden Throne with Tutankhamen and wife – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 98: Painted relief of Kiya – Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Figure 99: Statue of Horemheb and Mutnodjmet – Museo Egizio, Turin
- Figure 100: Statue of Tuya, mother of Ramesses II – Vatican Museum
- Figure 101: Statue of Nefertari – Abu Simbel

- Figure 102: Wall painting of Nefertari in her tomb – Valley of the Queens
- Figure 103: Facade of Small Temple – Abu Simbel
- Figure 104: Reproduction of a stele of Ramses II and family
- Figure 105: Funerary linen of Isetnofret – British Museum, London
- Figure 106: Statue of Merytamun – Egyptian Museum, Cairo
- Figure 107: Colossal statue of Merytamun at Akhmim
- Figure 108: Wall painting of Tawosret in tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht – Valley of the Kings