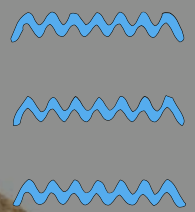


# NILE



BECAUSE YOU LOVE ANCIENT EGYPT

**BUBASTIS**

City of the  
Cat Goddess

**GREAT PYRAMID**

Clues to its Construction

**WOMEN OF POWER**

**TUTANKHAMUN'S**

TREASURES





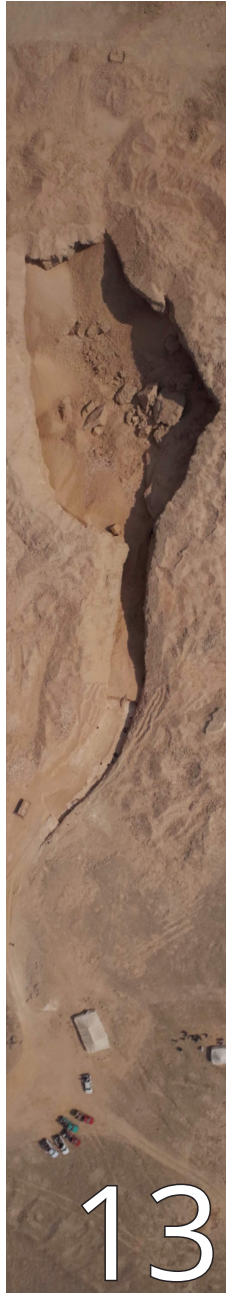
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## MARSH BIRDS OF THE GODS

**Lesley Jackson**

The last article in a four-part series on bird symbolism in ancient Egypt.

**Lesley Jackson** takes a look at the waterbirds that inhabited Egypt's marshes.



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**Roland Enmarch**

How research by **Roland Enmarch** and the Hatnub Epigraphic Project led to a discovery that could offer clues to how the Great Pyramid was constructed.



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## WOMEN OF POWER AND INFLUENCE

**Brian Alm**

The first article in a three-part series on the remarkable royal women of ancient Egypt who, out of duty or ambition, stepped beyond the ancient world's traditional roles and shaped Egypt's history.



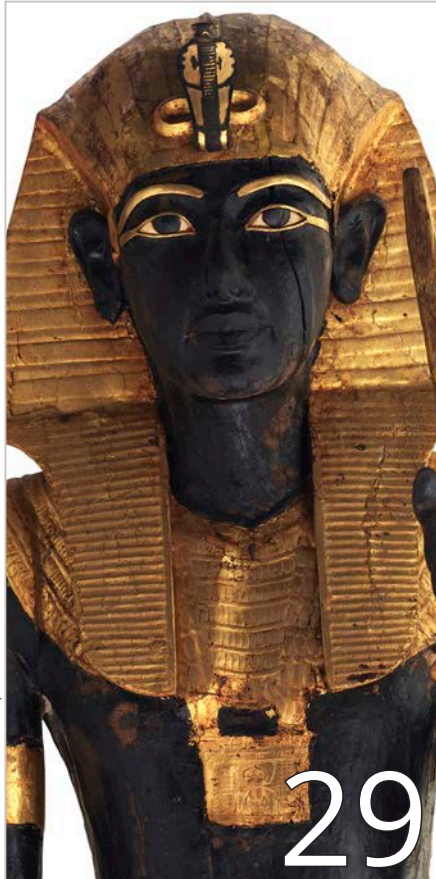
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## QUEENS OF EGYPT

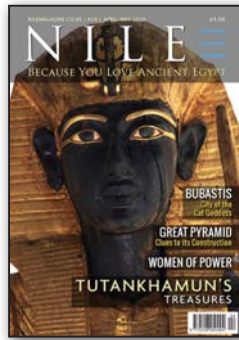
**Jeff Burzacott**

A new National Geographic exhibition in Washington, D.C., showcases Egypt's powerful women: from the founding queen of the New Kingdom, Ahmose-Nefertari, to Egypt's last queen and reigning pharaoh, Cleopatra.

# NILE



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## THE COVER

### TUTANKHAMUN IN PARIS

Jeff Burzacott

After wowing sellout crowds in Los Angeles, Tutankhamun's world tour continues. This time, the blockbuster exhibition hits Paris.

We take a close look at more of the stunning pieces from Tutankhamun's tomb.

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## FROM THE EDITOR

**WRITTEN ON A WALL** in the fabulously-decorated tomb of Nefertari, the beloved Great Royal Wife of Ramesses II, is a tribute from a mourning pharaoh to his beautiful wife:

*“Just by passing, she has stolen away my heart.”*

Except... it's not on that wall. It's not really anywhere—except someone's imagination, who put it on the internet. And now it's everywhere. But it *sounds* plausible. And that's one of the reasons why, wherever possible, if an author quotes an ancient Egyptian text, I track down the original hieroglyphic words. Sometimes, like the romantic line above, they don't exist. Sometimes they exist but have changed dramatically through the retelling. By sourcing the original texts, both you and I can be assured that what is quoted is authentic. And besides, I'm a firm believer in the idea that to truly understand the ancient Egyptians, we must turn to the words they left behind.

So when I was a little unsure of my translation of a text for Brian Alm's article on *Women of Power and Influence* (page 41), I reached out for help from the invaluable Egyptologists Electronic Forum run by Aayko Emya. I'm grateful to those that responded with help and advice: Peter Sullivan PhD, Ted Loukes, Mila Guerassimova, Rhio Barnhart,

Thomas Chiodini, John Sarr, Prof. Joachim Quack, and Christian Casey at Brown University in Rhode Island.

In fact, Christian has now come on board as a language specialist to help solve those tricky hieroglyphic passages, and to share his love for ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. Welcome Christian! Many of the hieroglyphic passages in this issue have benefitted from Christian's expertise.

There are also a handful of belated thank yous that I'd like to mention. Firstly, to Franck Monnier, co-author of the recently-published *The Great Pyramid: Operations Manual*, for his terrific diagram of Abu Simbel in the last issue of NILE (p. 47). Dr. W. Raymond Johnson, director of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, kindly sourced some hieroglyphs from Medinet Habu for the same issue (p. 20). François Olivier of Meretseger Books frequently provides fabulous hi-res photographs, and also makes a selection of Digitized Treasures freely available to everyone. These are hi-res scans of fabulously-illustrated, classic books. To download your free copies, just head to [meretsegerbooks.com](http://meretsegerbooks.com)

Welcome to issue #19. As always, I hope you enjoy your NILE time!

Jeff Burzacott ☰  
[editor@nilemagazine.com.au](mailto:editor@nilemagazine.com.au)

# NILE


















When it came to describing this calcite canopic jar lid—just one of the treasures found in Tutankhamun’s cosy tomb—Howard Carter needed just one word: “perfect”.

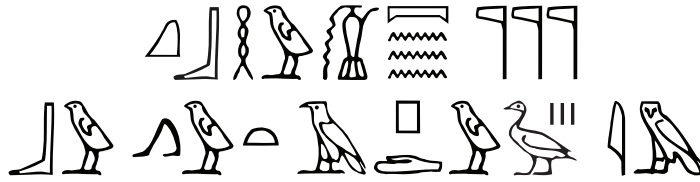
The lid, bears a royal face, with details sparingly highlighted in red and black—but whose face is it? The vast majority of the tomb’s treasures were likely to have been appropriated from recent regal internments. Possible candidates for the original owner of Tutankhamun’s canopic equipment are Nefertiti and the enigmatic Smenkhkare.

This stunning lid is part of the blockbuster exhibition, *TUTANKHAMUN—THE TREASURE OF PHARAOH*, which is now on at the Grande Halle de la Villette in Paris. This leg of the world tour runs through to 15 September 2019. In this issue we take a close look at some of the star attractions in the exhibition; it starts from page 29.

CALCITE STOPPER FOR NORTHWEST  
CANOPIC JAR, KING’S HEAD  
18TH DYNASTY, REIGN OF TUTANKH-  
AMUN  
VALLEY OF THE KINGS, KV 62 TREASURY  
CALCITE (ALABASTER)  
H. 24 cm, W. 19 cm  
© LABORATORIOROSSO, VITERBO/ITALY  
JE 60687 / GEM 347-c

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2 <sup>ND</sup> I.P.	1650-1550	15  16  17 	
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	3100-2890	1	

(A\* = Abydos Dynasty)



“THE MARSHES OF THE GODS,  
THE PLACE TO WHICH THE BIRDS COME.”

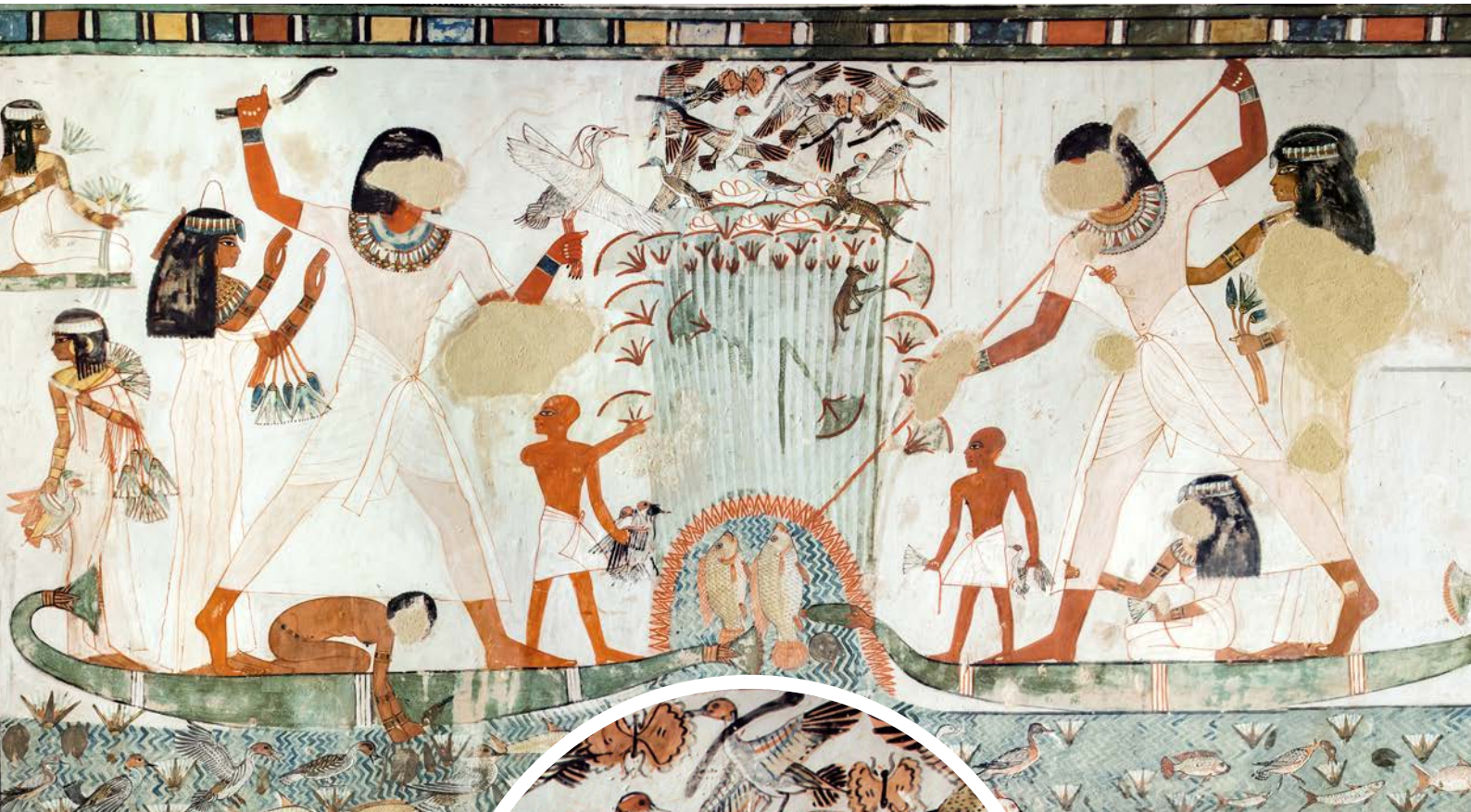
The Abydos Cenotaph of Seti I



DUCK COSMETIC BOX © THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM, BALTIMORE. INV. NO. 71.519.

*The wings of this charming cosmetic container pivot outward, revealing a storage compartment. The pintail duck is connected to fertility and regeneration, so a cosmetic container in this shape would have helped the makeup work its magic! This piece is dated to Egypt's New Kingdom.*

# MARSH BIRDS OF THE GODS



© MANNA NADER



## LESLEY JACKSON

This is the last article in a four-part series on bird symbolism in ancient Egypt. Lesley Jackson takes a look at the waterbirds that inhabited Egypt's marshes.

**A**LTHOUGH PRIMARILY A DESERT COUNTRY, ancient Egypt was well endowed with wetlands along the Nile and in the Delta. Before clearance, draining and water management, there would have been vast stretches of a variety of wetland habitats including almost impenetrable papyrus swamps. These places, teeming with all forms of life, provided a very sharp contrast to the arid deserts which bordered them.

As well as being aesthetically pleasing, they were very productive and a source of freely available food in the form of fish and wildfowl. Wetlands were also liminal places: a meeting of land and water which shifted with the seasons, and a place which was neither land nor water. Because of this they were of great spiritual significance.



The tomb of Menna  and his wife Henuttawy  (TT 69) was likely built in Thebes in the early reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390 B.C.).

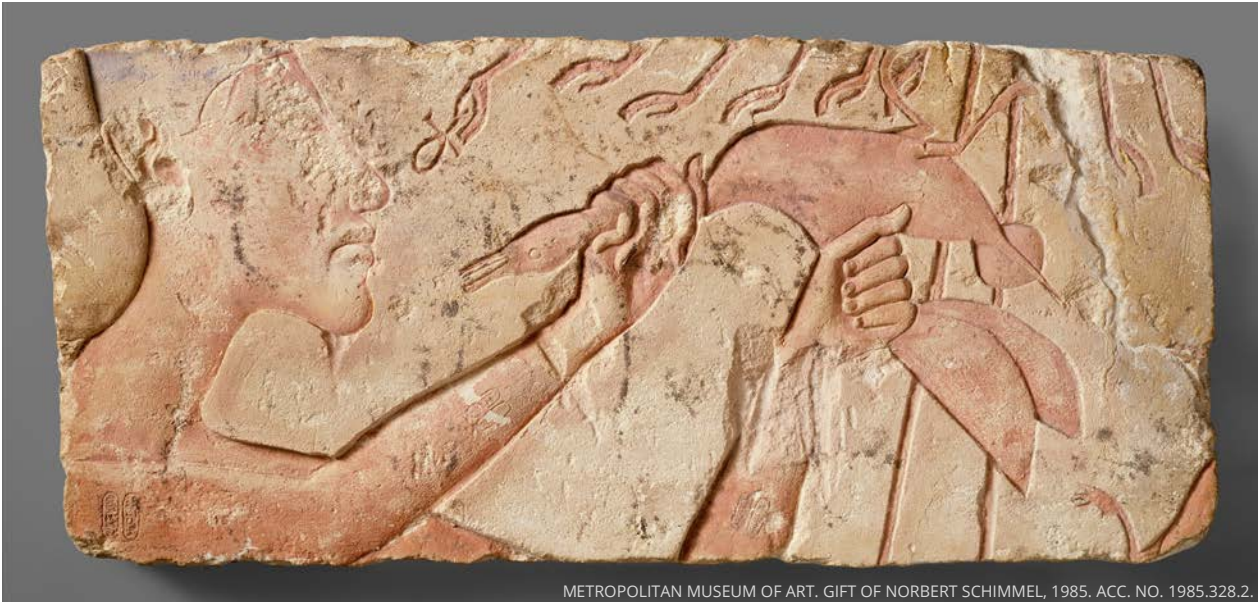
To the ancient Egyptians, the Nile's lush marshes, teeming with wildlife, were synonymous with fertility and rebirth, and this "Hunting in the Marshes" scene from TT 69 is rich in sexual symbolism.

Menna and Henuttawy are shown twice, standing on a papyrus skiff, either side of a papyrus thicket. On the left-hand side, Menna knocks birds from the sky with a throwstick, while on the right, he spears two fish.

These dynamic scenes showcase Menna's power to tame the Egyptian wilds, and therefore maintain maat (the Egyptian concept of divine harmony and order), as well as demonstrate his strength (and, possibly, sexual vigour).

Henuttawy holds lotuses, symbols of regeneration, and her fine linens are particularly figure-hugging, which helps to stir her husband's "creative" forces into action.

As we'll read in this article, waterfowl such as ducks and geese are linked to Egyptian origin stories, and so scenes like this, featuring abundance and fertility, help to guarantee the tomb owner's daily rebirth in the afterlife.

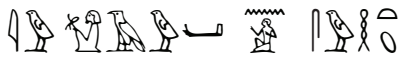


This “duck-throttling” scene probably originated from Akhetaten, the city founded by Akhenaten on the site of what he regarded as the proper home of Aten—his god of light. This divine luminous power was delivered via the sun disk, with life-giving rays reaching out and ending in human hands.

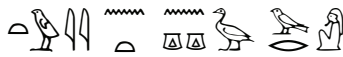
In this block, probably from a temple relief, Akhenaten wrings the bird’s neck and presents it to Aten as an offering. The webbed foot of a second duck appears in the lower right, which connects to a second block, identified by W. Raymond Johnson, Director of the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental

Institute of Chicago as one in the Ny Carlsberg Museum in Copenhagen (AEIN 1776). The Copenhagen block features Akhenaten’s second wife Kiya, also offering a hapless duck towards the rays of Aten.

Akhenaten’s flirtation with Aten was famously short-lived, and blocks like the one above were later removed from Akhetaten, largely during the Ramesside period, to provide ready-made masonry for building projects throughout Egypt. This block was likely found in the ruins of the Temple of Thoth at Hermopolis, across the river from Akhetaten.



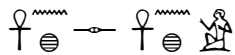
“I have guarded the egg



of the Great Cackler.



As it is sound, I am sound,



As it lives, I live,



As it breathes air, I breathe air!”


(The Book of the Dead, Chapter 59)

The biological problem of a gander laying an egg was conveniently overlooked. Goslings, like many other water birds, are precocial and hatch fully fledged, able to run around and feed themselves immediately. Did this suggest life springing spontaneously from the divine egg laid by the Great Cackler?

The god Amun is sometimes identified with Gengenwer although his sacred animal is the ram. Originally a local Theban god, Amun became the supreme deity for much of Egypt and was combined with the sun god Ra as Amun-Ra. For us, there is no obvious reason for Amun’s association with the goose—particularly the belligerent

and destructive Egyptian Goose, but the link was definitely clear to the Egyptians; they kept flocks of Egyptian Geese in his temples for sacrifice.

Amun, in particular, suffered under the 18th-Dynasty “heretic” pharaoh Akhenaten, who ordered the destruction of many depictions of Egyptian Geese. A fragment from an edifice at el-Amarna depicts him wringing the neck of a pintail duck as an offering to his new god Aten (above). There are plenty of depictions of the dispatching of wildfowl in this way but never by a king. Is this a reference to Akhenaten obliterating Amun as an offering to the Aten? Although the pintail isn’t specifically sacred to Amun it is a symbolic enough gesture given that Akhenaten couldn’t have killed an Egyptian Goose in such a fashion.

The Earth god, Geb, was also associated with the goose, and sometimes equated to the Great Cackler. His name,  was written with the hieroglyph of a goose and, although usually depicted as a man, he was sometimes shown as a white-fronted goose.

As with Amun, Geb is not an obvious god to have an association with geese. He was a chthonic god personifying the earth and the underworld, and was associated with the fertility of the earth and livestock. Vegetation and especially grain was considered to grow out of his body. Did the sight of geese grazing on crops link the goose with Geb? Perhaps by turning them into his sacred bird it might please Geb and turn the geese into guardians of the harvest rather than its destroyer.

Life in Egypt was never easy, and the natural cycles could be harsh and unpredictable. The Egyptians understood





This is really very significant.  
While we thought for years ramps might have been used to  
build the pyramids, we've now got really well preserved  
archaeological examples with post holes surviving.

ROLAND ENMARCH, UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.



# HATNUB & THE GREAT PYRAMID

HOW MY RESEARCH ON ANCIENT EGYPTIAN  
POETRY LED TO AN AMAZING DISCOVERY



© HANNAH PETHEN

*Inside the main quarry (Quarry P) at Hatnub, where evidence of a ramp/pulley haulage system was recently discovered by the Hatnub Epigraphic Project. It was originally believed that Quarry P was at least partially roofed, and had collapsed since antiquity.*

*However, petrologists state that this simply isn't geologically feasible. At most, there may have been something of an overhang on the south side of the quarry (which has since collapsed), but the quarry has probably always been substantially open cast.*

**WHAT BEGAN AS** an expedition to record the inscriptions of ancient Egyptian quarry workers produced a remarkable discovery about the Great Pyramid at Giza. My colleagues and I in the Anglo-French joint archaeological mission to the ancient quarry site of Hatnub recently revealed the existence of a well-preserved haulage ramp dating to the time of the Great Pyramid, roughly 4,500 years ago.

We think this could significantly change the theories about how the workers who built the monument were able to transport such large blocks of stone to great heights. It could even provide evidence that pulleys were invented hundreds of years earlier than previously documented.

The rock-cut ramp is flanked by two flights of rock-cut stairs, into which are cut post holes that would originally have held wooden posts,

“

The eighth king, Chemmis of Memphis, ruled fifty years and constructed the largest of the three pyramids.... It is said that the stone was conveyed over a great distance from Arabia and that the construction was effected by means of mounds since cranes had not yet been invented at that time....

The Greek historian Diodorus of Sicily lived in the 1st century B.C.—during the tumultuous years of Cleopatra VII, Julius Caesar and Augustus.

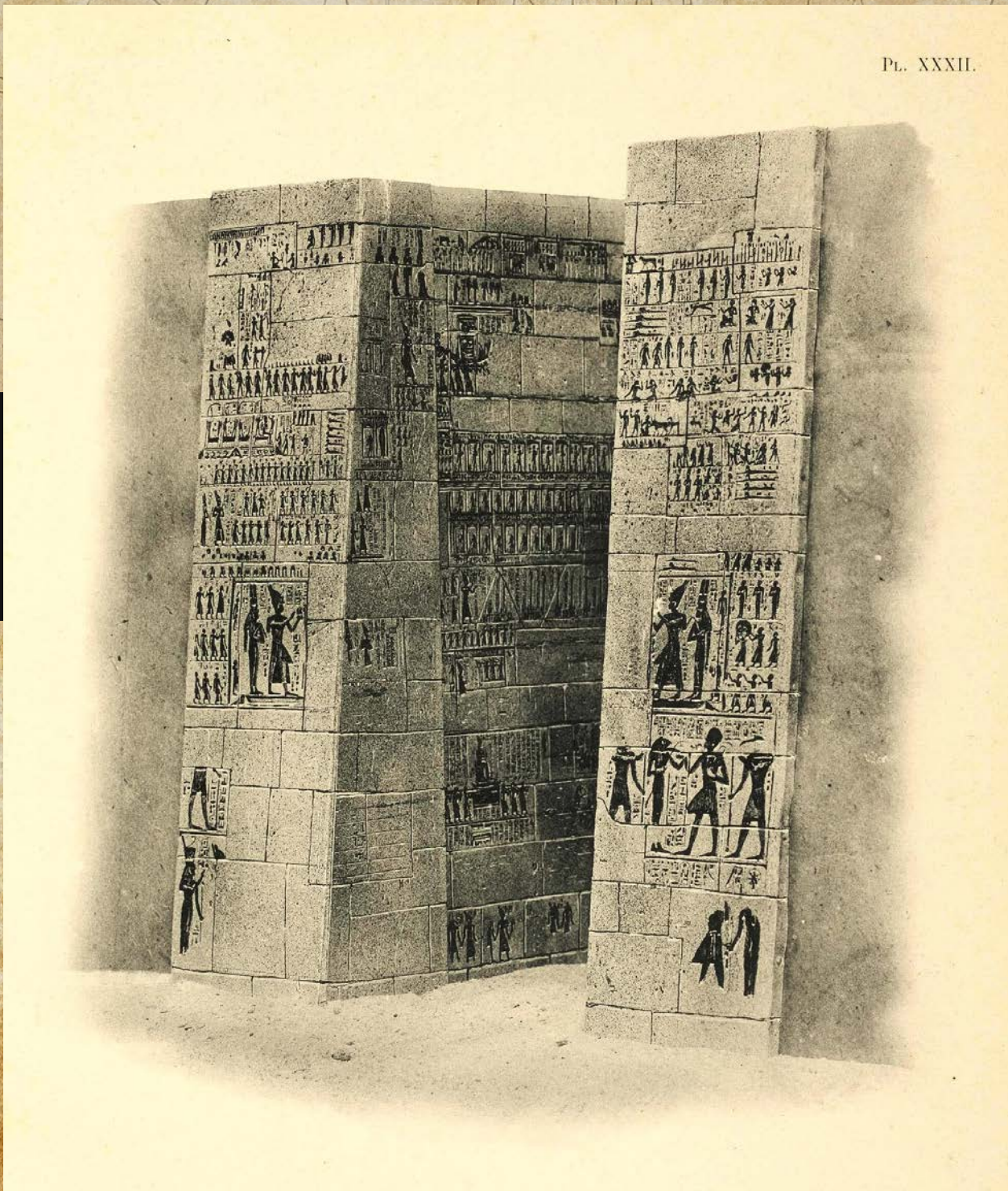
Diodorus wrote extensively about a three-year journey he made through Egypt, including (according to the story he was told) the method of construction of the Great Pyramids.

His mention of “mounds” is generally regarded as a reference to ramps. The Hatnub ramp/pulley haulage system provides one idea of how this may have been done.

now long perished. The pattern of post holes is well enough preserved that we can begin to reconstruct a pulley system that would have been used to lift large blocks of alabaster out of the open-cast quarry.

While some quarrymen would have been stationed above the blocks, hauling them upwards directly, others would have stood below the blocks, pulling downwards. Their ropes would have been lashed round the post holes and attached to the alabaster blocks, so that both groups were exerting force to pull the blocks up out of the quarry.

This stone haulage system makes efficient use of the limited available space on the ramp, and it is reasonable to speculate that this same pulley technology would also have been used in the construction of the Great Pyramid. While pulley systems are well known from Greek civilisation in the first millennium B.C., the evidence from Hatnub pushes their use much further



*"A restoration of the walls of the entrance to the Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great temple of Bubastis"—Image and text by Edouard Naville, 1892.*

"When its remains were unearthed, the hall of Osorkon II. was a mere heap of huge granite blocks; each stone had to be rolled and turned, and paper casts were made of the inscriptions engraved on its sides. When the inscriptions had been copied, order could be brought into this confused mass of writing and figures... and by degrees the form

of the edifice could be recognised....

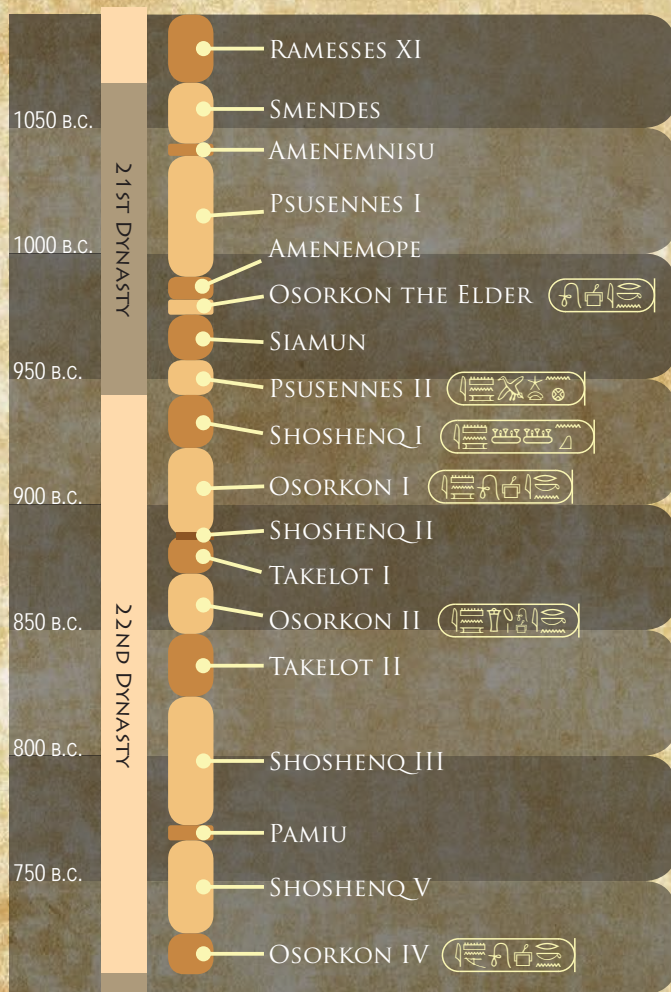
"The discovery of the form and of the nature of the building on which these inscriptions were engraved, enables us to estimate the amount of these valuable texts which have been lost. In fact, not much more than one-third has been preserved...."



# BUBASTIS

In this second chapter\* of a five-part series on royal residences in the eastern Nile Delta, Egyptologist Dr. Nicky Nielsen explores the history and development of the city of Bubastis, the main cult centre of the cat goddess Bastet.

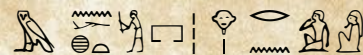
\*Part 1 of this series: *Tanis*, appeared in NILE #17, Dec–Jan 2019.



RAMESSES III'S GLORIOUS DEFEAT of a group of Libyan invaders, known as the Meshwesh, is commemorated on the enormous 41-metre long Great Harris Papyrus, now in the British Museum (EA 9999). In this lengthy text, Ramesses claims that he not only soundly crushed the Libyans in battle, but also took their chiefs captive:

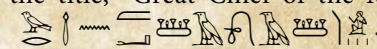


*"I settled their leaders*

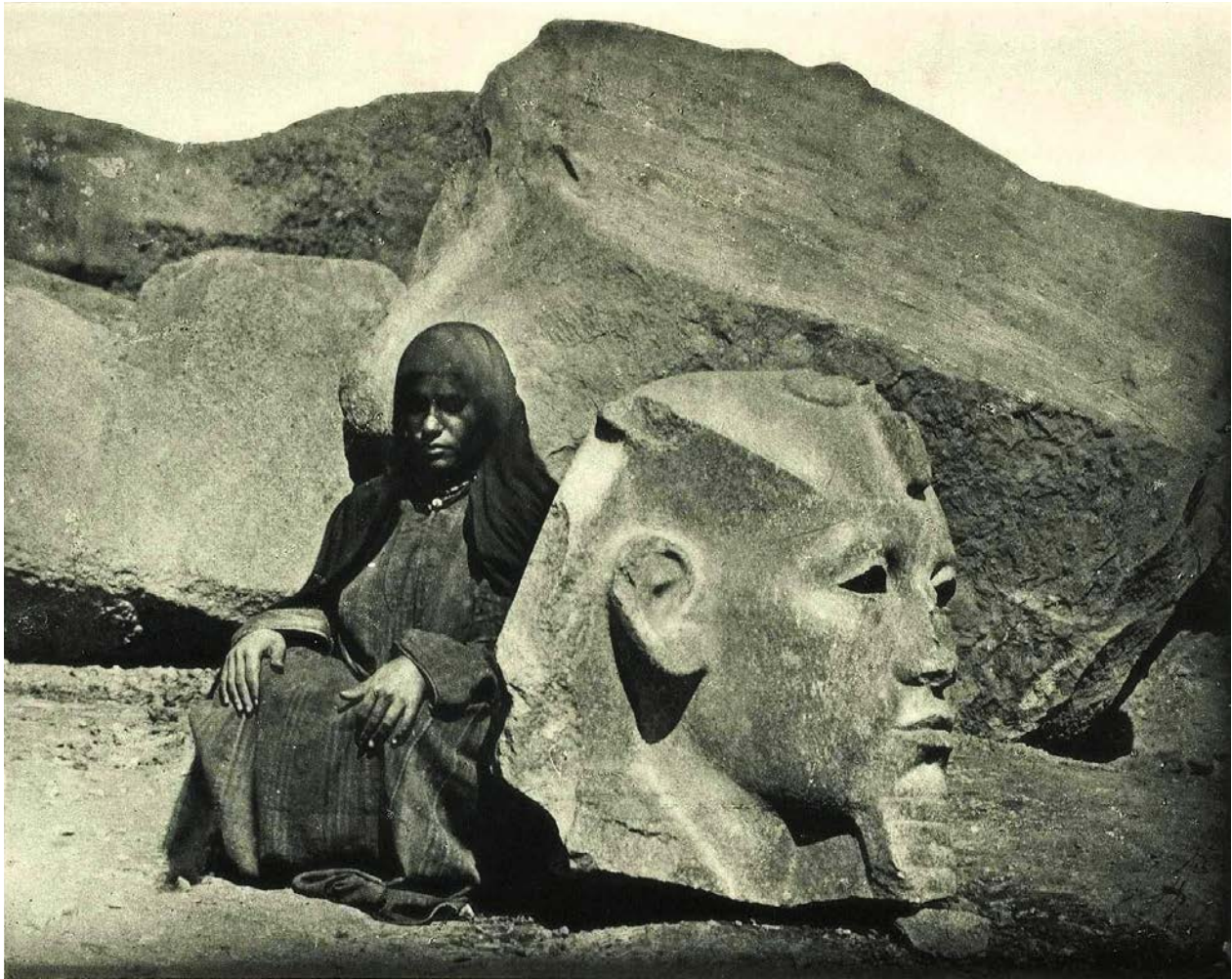


*in strongholds in my name."*

Alongside their Sea People allies, the captive Libyan tribes were forcibly settled at various sites in the Nile Delta as the Egyptian New Kingdom began drawing to a definitive close. Over time, the descendants of these captives grew into an increasingly powerful political unit, with their leaders often maintaining the use of the title, "Great Chief of the Meshwesh":



(LEFT)  
The rulers of Egypt's 21st and 22nd Dynasties. Those mentioned in this article have their hieroglyphic cartouches beside their names.



“To the epoch of the Hyksos belong the two finest monuments discovered at Bubastis... it was clear that there were two twin statues.... Thus the entrance of the temple of Bubastis was adorned with two colossal statues of the same size exactly, which had been most wantonly destroyed”—*Edouard Naville, Bubastis: (1887–1889), London, 1891.*

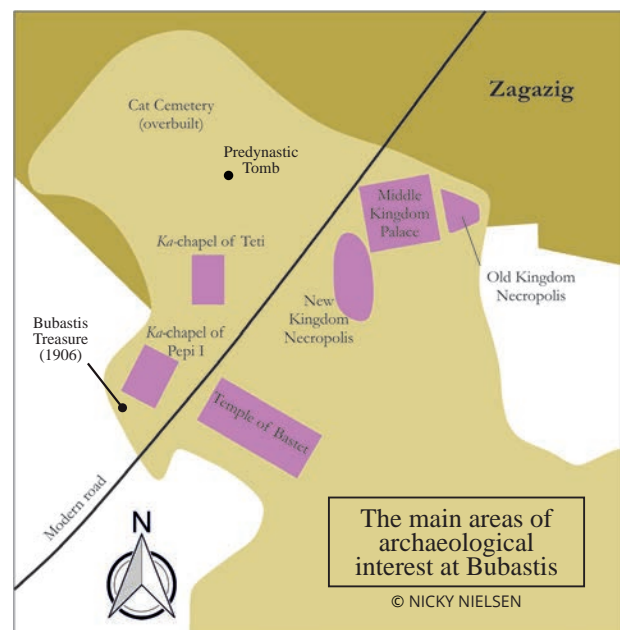
*This is Naville's 1888 photo of his newly-discovered granite head of Amenemhat III (12th Dynasty), now in the British Museum (EA 1063).*

*Although this statue, and its twin, were inscribed with the name of the 22nd Dynasty's Osorkon II, Naville thought the facial features looked non-Egyptian, and attributed them to the foreign Hyksos rulers of the Second Intermediate Period (15th Dynasty), over 700 years earlier.*

ent elements: to the far north, and sadly overbuilt by the modern city of Zagazig, was the remains of a cat cemetery excavated by Eduoard Naville (1844–1926) during his work at the site for the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society). This area was also described by Herodotus in his Histories: “The cats when they are dead are carried away to sacred buildings in the city of Bubastis, where after being embalmed they are buried.”

South of this cemetery are the two *ka*-chapels of Teti and Pepi I (see page 27), along with significant mud-brick architecture which belonged to later structures. East of the chapels lie the main cemeteries with tombs dating from the Old Kingdom through to the Ramesside Period, over a thousand years later. It is also in this area, in between the Old Kingdom and New Kingdom cemeteries that recent excavations have unearthed the aforementioned Middle Kingdom palace.

Perhaps the most famous structure at Bubastis lies even further south on the tell: the great temple of Bastet itself. Looking at the site today, it is perhaps difficult to imagine



# TUTANKHAMUN PARIS

JEFF BURZACOTT

**Y**OUNG TUTANKHAMUN PAID DEARLY for the sins of his (probable) uncle, Akhenaten. As the last male blood relative of the “heretic” pharaoh, Tutankhamun was caught in the backlash against Akhenaten, who upended generations of tradition and elevated his god of light, Aten, to that of creator god supreme. Denied the traditional funerary cult designed to sustain his deified soul, the location of Tutankhamun’s tomb (KV 62) was also likely cut from official inspection lists. When a flash flood churned through the Valley of the Kings, possibly within a year of his burial, all physical signs of Tutankhamun’s tomb were obliterated.

While the ancient Egyptian traditionalists may have been satisfied that Akhenaten’s legacy had disappeared, the absence of Tutankhamun’s tomb from the official records meant that the “boy king” missed out on one final round of state activity.

Around 250 years after Tutankhamun’s death, the bullion-hungry High Priests of Amun ordered the official dismantling of the gilded burials in the Valley of the Kings. Tutankhamun’s tomb, packed with funerary treasures, remained safe from this devastating salvage. Now, thanks to the official snub that he received some 3,000 years ago, Tutankhamun’s treasures are safe—and on a world tour!

After wowing sellout crowds in Los Angeles, TOUTANKHAMON—LE TRÉSOR DU PHARAON (Tutankhamun—the Treasure of Pharaoh) debuted at the Grande Halle de la Villette in Paris in March. This is the third stop on a 10-country world tour which ends at the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where the artefacts will go on permanent display. Enjoy this close look at some of the stunning pieces.

(RIGHT)

*This gilded figure of a solar falcon was found among the tangle of chariot parts in the Antechamber of KV 62. The base is carved to fit the draught pole in front of the chariot chassis. In this way the king—the embodiment of Horus—is led by the god himself.*

*A solar disk above the bird’s head bears a second disk which forms part of the king’s Throne Name, Neb-Kheperu-Re. Three ankhs hang down from the disk, suggestive of Akhenaten’s Aten, whose rays ended in human hands holding live-giving ankhs.*

SOLAR FALCON HORUS FIGURE  
18TH DYNASTY, REIGN OF TUTANKHAMUN  
VALLEY OF THE KINGS, KV 62 ANTECHAMBER  
WOOD, GESSO, GILDING  
H. (FALCON) 18 cm, H. (DISK) 19 cm  
© LABORATORIOROSSO, VITERBO/ITALY  
GEM 1875



GOLD SQUATTING FIGURE AND CHAIN OF KING AMENHOTEP III  
 18TH DYNASTY, REIGN OF TUTANKHAMUN  
 VALLEY OF THE KINGS, KV 62 TREASURY  
 GOLD, GLASS  
 H. (FIGURE) 5.5 cm, L. (CHAIN) 54 cm  
 © LABORATORIOROSSO, VITERBO/ITALY  
 JE 60702 / GEM 189



It has been over 50 years since treasures from Tutankhamun's tomb first arrived in France. The 1967 exhibition featured 32 objects from KV 62 (including the king's golden mask), supplemented by 13 other pieces from Cairo's Egyptian Museum. While the iconic mask is deemed too valuable to leave Egypt again, the current exhibition sees over 150 Tutankhamun artefacts on show, with more than 60 of these travelling outside of Egypt for the first (and last) time.

In 1967, proceeds from the Tutankhamun exhibition helped fund the campaign to save the monuments of Nubia—including Abu Simbel—threatened by the construction of the dam at Aswan. Both the exhibition and the rescue project were overwhelming successes. This time, the long anticipated Grand Egyptian Museum benefits.

Well over a million people visited the 1967 exhibition. The crowds were so great that display information had to be remade in large-format versions and placed above each case so that everyone could see them. In 2019, organisers are expecting similar numbers before Tutankhamun and his fabulous treasures travels to its third stop in London. The Paris exhibition runs to September 15.

(ABOVE)

*Tutankhamun never met his grandparents. Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye died around five years before the young king was born. When, all too soon, Tutankhamun joined them, he was accompanied in his tomb by a solid gold pendant of a squatting king, strung on a heavy, woven gold chain (above).*

*The figure wears the khepresh (or Blue Crown), and holds a sceptre and flail, the insignia of an Egyptian pharaoh. The king's feet are bare, and around his neck is a string of tiny, coloured beads. Amazingly, all of this detail was packed into a statuette just over 5.5 cm high.*

*The pendant was found alongside a tiny coffin inscribed with the name of Queen Tiye. Inside the coffin was a lock of her hair. Howard Carter figured that the golden figure and the lock of hair were buried with Tutankhamun as heirlooms in remembrance of his grandparents.*

*Indentations in the little figure's earlobes indicate that they are pierced. While some sources state that Amenhotep III was never depicted with pierced ears, and so the golden figure must therefore represent Tutankhamun, there are actually several examples of an ear-pierced Amenhotep III. It's likely therefore that Howard Carter was right, and this little statuette was a treasured keepsake from Tutankhamun's grandfather.*



GILDED WOODEN STATUETTE OF TUTANKHAMUN RIDING A BLACK VARNISHED PANTHER  
18TH DYNASTY, REIGN OF TUTANKHAMUN  
VALLEY OF THE KINGS, KV 62 TREASURY  
WOOD, GOLD LEAF, BLACK RESIN, GESSO  
H. 85 cm  
© LABORATORIOROSSO, VITERBO/ITALY  
JE 60714 / GEM 11552

*This gilded statue of Tutankhamun (or perhaps Nefertiti—see below) standing on the back of a panther, evoked the dangers that could impede the dead king's rebirth.*

*The walking panther on which the king is standing is believed to represent Mafdet, a goddess who protected the sun during his journey through the netherworld at night.*

*The slightest scratch of Mafdet's claws were believed to be instantly lethal to the snakes and scorpions that could pose a threat to the sun. In this way, the panther was clearing the path for the king—who was assimilated with the sun god—for his journey towards rebirth at dawn.*

*You can see the original at La Grande Halle de La Villette in Paris.*

**(ABOVE)**

In the late 1970s, Tutankhamun's funerary wonders toured the U.S., with more than eight million people seeing the exhibition. One artefact, in particular, caught the scholarly attention of a Philadelphia doctor named Bernadine Paulshock. Shortly afterwards, in 1980, she penned an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, where she wrote, "there is a statue among the recently exhibited relics of Tutankhamun that shows him with such well defined breasts that were it not for the uniquely pharaonic headgear, it would readily be called an image of a young woman".

Paulshock thought that the breasts may have been a visible

symptom of a genetic disease. However, DNA tests on Tutankhamun's mummy have since cleared the young king of any such genetic malady. In fact, some Egyptologists rather suspect that Bernadine Paulshock's first impression may have been the correct one—and that young woman's name was Nefertiti.

The theory goes that after the death of her husband, Akhenaten, followed by that of her brother-in-law, Smenkhkare, Nefertiti assumed office—perhaps as coregent to Smenkhkare's young son, Tutankhamun. This feminine-looking statue would have been made during her short reign.



### TT 223: THE TOMB OF KARAKHAMUN

Conservation and Reconstruction of the Offering Scenes  
in the Entrance Area to the First Pillared Hall

Dr. Elena Pischikova, Director, South Asasif Conservation Project



PHOTOGRAPH: KATHERINE BLAKENEY. © SOUTH ASASIF CONSERVATION PROJECT

*It's easy to see why the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) adopted this dog as their symbol. A masterpiece of 25th-Dynasty art, Karakhamun's hunting dog, with its marvelously-curved tail, sits beneath his master's chair in a scene in the tomb's First Pillared Hall (see plan on page 37). The dog was discovered in the early days of the SACP's*

*excavation of the tomb in the summer of 2006, and gave the team hope that artistic treasures had indeed survived. A more ruined mirror image of the dog retains a vestige of colour, and reveals that the dog's collar, stylishly wrapped three times around the neck and knotted at the back, was once painted red.*

### EGYPT'S 25th DYNASTY

The "Victory Stela" of the Nubian pharaoh Piye proudly documents his total conquest of Egypt, after the surrender of his last northern rival, the Libyan king Tefnakht at Sais. But for Piye, this wasn't just a military victory; acting by the will of Amun, the king was set on restoring order to a politically divided Egypt which had also lost its way spiritually. In doing so, Piye founded Egypt's 25th Dynasty.

The stela was discovered in 1862 in the ruins of the Temple of Amun at Napata, the Nubian capital from where Piye reigned.

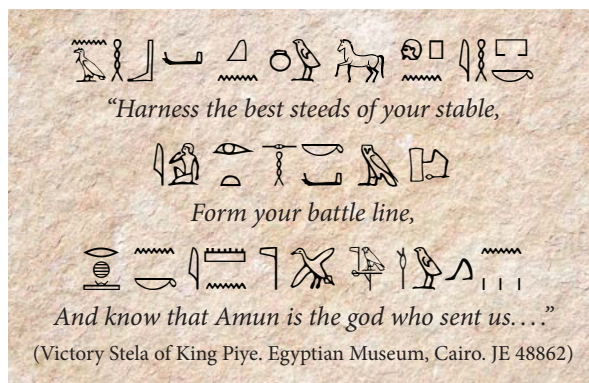
While it seems that the Nubian pharaohs swept into Thebes with a massive sense of entitlement, considering themselves as the true successors of Egypt's great imperial rulers, the 25th-Dynasty kings may well have had part Egyptian ancestry.

Almost 400 years earlier, during the 20th Dynasty, Egyptian forces stationed in northern Nubia to manage valuable trade routes were recalled north to defend the country against a confederation of "Sea Peoples".

It seems, however, that some of the Egyptian troops and colonists had married into the local community, and their Egyptian-Nubian descendants continued to flourish, following a fusion of cultural practices.

In time, the society that had been forged by these blended families grew to become one of the most enduring kingdoms in African history, with their rulers embracing the local

manifestation of Amun as their divine father. Around 743 B.C., the reigning king, Piye, sailed into the heart of Thebes and claimed the throne of Egypt.





*Before and After #2. These two images illustrate the incredible level of detailed reconstruction undertaken by the SACP.*

*Upon clearance of the Tomb of Karakhamun, the team found that quarrying and ceiling collapse had completely destroyed the monumental entrance to the First Pillared Hall.*

*The 2018 season saw the finished reconstruction of the entrance and the start of work in*



*reconstructing the vaulted ceiling of the Tornische.*

*The architectural elements were rebuilt with new limestone, and ancient fragments were inserted into pockets carved in the new stone. As further fragments are identified, new pockets can be carved to accommodate them.*

*The beautifully coloured cavetto cornice is a unique feature, recreating a temple space within an elite tomb.*

and lunette and two pilasters (above). This meant that new structures and casing had to be made from new limestone to support ancient fragments inserted into “pockets” carved into the new stone.

The quality of carving in this area is the highest in the whole tomb. The reconstructed scenes include three large-scale offering scenes on the Tornische south wall and the east wall of the First Pillared hall (see facing page), two small offering scenes on the front and back lintels of the entrance door frame, processions of offering bearers on the pilasters, offering texts of the door frame and chapters from the Book of the Dead on the pilasters and the thickness of the entrance.

The figure of Karakhamun at the offering table on the north part of the east wall (page 38) is his best preserved and most skillfully carved “portrait”, executed in shallow sunk relief with sharp edges and delicate modeling on the face featuring pronounced Kushite features.

The pillars in the First Pillared Hall were badly damaged

by the collapse of the rock ceiling, but what remains shows that they were carved with carefully-executed hieroglyphic text. Thankfully, thousands of fragments have been retrieved from the debris and carefully conserved. The pillars are currently enclosed in wooden boxes for protection, and reconstruction will be performed during the 2019 season.

Moving west, the Second Pillared Hall has now been covered with a wooden roof for temporary protection for the hall’s decoration for the period of reconstruction.

Until recently, the tombs of the South Asasif have never been properly cleaned, surveyed or recorded. The South Asasif Conservation Project is planning to finish conservation and reconstruction of the Kushite and early Saite tombs of the South Asasif necropolis within the next five years and open them to the public.

You can discover more about the ongoing work of the South Asasif Conservation Project at <https://southasasif.wordpress.com>.

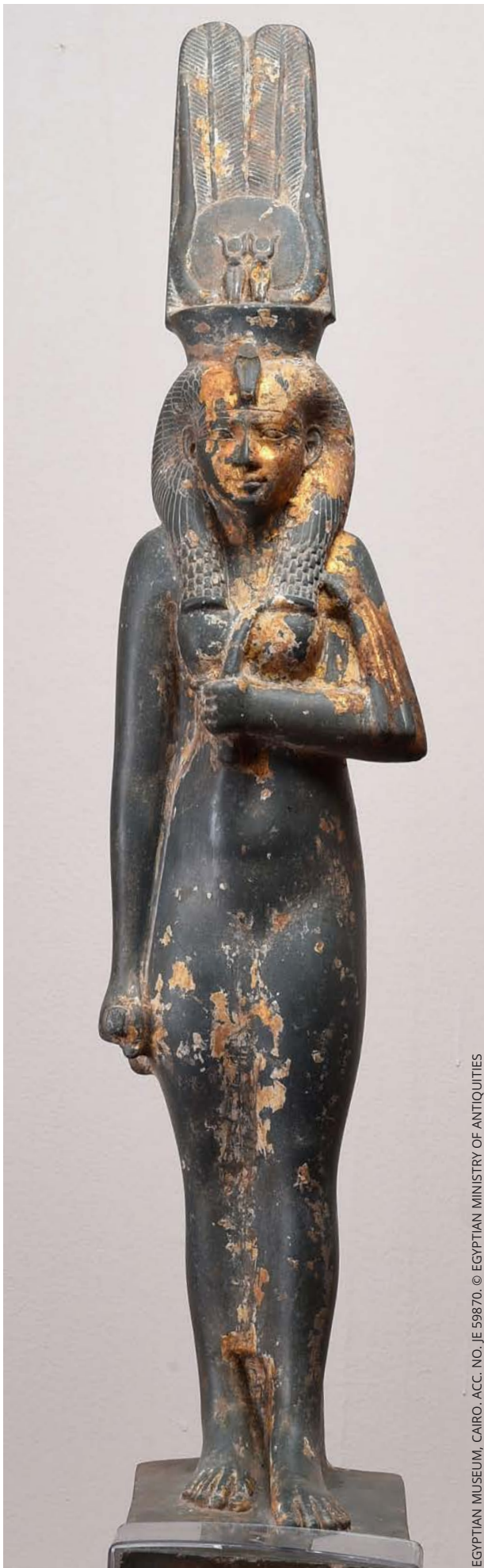
# of & WOMEN POWER & INFLUENCE

The first article in a three-part series on the remarkable royal women of ancient Egypt who, out of duty or ambition, stepped beyond the ancient world's traditional roles and shaped Egypt's history.



*Nineteenth-century French artist Emile Prisse d'Avennes recorded this image of Queen Nefertiti from the Tomb of Meryre (TA 4) at Amarna. While the debate continues over whether Nefertiti ruled as pharaoh, she certainly enjoyed pharaonic-level privileges and influence at Amarna.*

**BRIAN ALM**



EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO. ACC. NO. JE 59870. © EGYPTIAN MINISTRY OF ANTIQUITIES

Tutankhamun, and to many including myself it seems likely that there were two: Nefertiti-Neferneferuaten, who co-ruled with Akhenaten and then briefly on her own, and Smenkhkare, who was probably a younger brother of Akhenaten. But the uncertainty of all this places Nefertiti in the next category also.

### 3 POSSIBLE-PROBABLE

- Merneith (1st Dynasty, see page 46)
- Khentkawes I (5th Dynasty, page 47)
- Neitiqerti (6th Dynasty, see below)
- Possibly even Neithhotep (wife of Narmer, 1st Dynasty), but that is really too speculative to count—and Nefertiti, as mentioned above.

It remains uncertain whether these women ruled as full-fledged kings or simply as regents but with kingly authority. A case for kingship may be imagined, but the hope of certainty has long since vanished in the depths of time. Indeed, there is no contemporary evidence that Neitiqerti was a woman, or even that she existed; she is included on the basis that she appears in later Egyptian and Greek histories. We might label this category “The Jury’s Still Out.”

Thus far we have four women who were kings, one who almost certainly was, and three more who may have been: a total of eight. Now we come to some who might as well have been.

### 4 REGENTS

Many Great Royal Wives served as regents for their minor sons, assuming sole rule as de facto monarchs, some of whom were especially conspicuous in this interim role. Several of the most powerful and prominent regents appeared in the 18th Dynasty:

- Ahhotep, who ruled for her son Ahmose (page 49)
- Ahmose-Nefertari for Amenhotep I (page 50)
- Hatshepsut for Thutmose III (page 43)

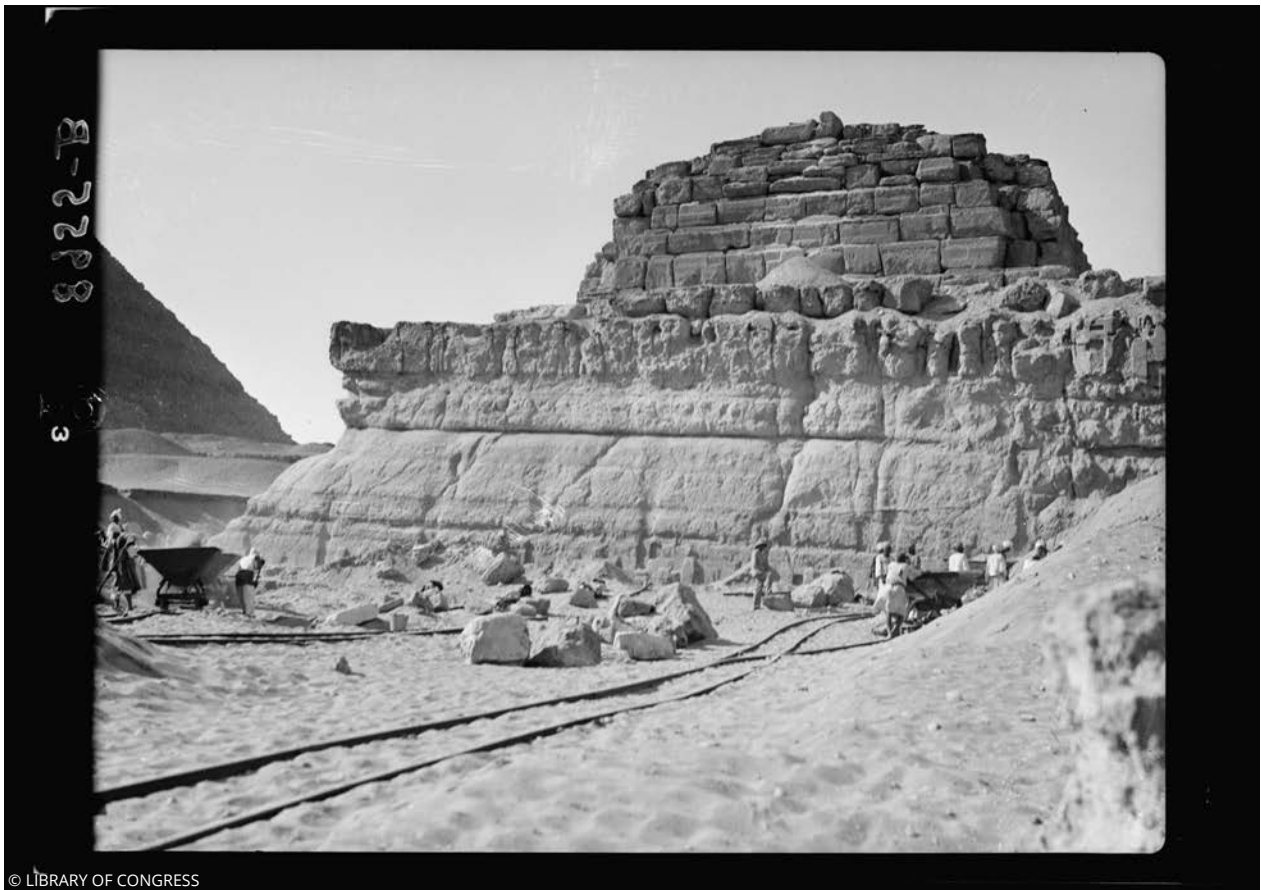
We might wonder what the 18th Dynasty would have been like without the presence early on of Ahhotep, and Tetisheri before her. In *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, Egyptologist Ann Macy Roth makes the point that “women effectively ruled Egypt for almost half of the approximately 70 years preceding Hatshepsut’s accession.”

We might also ponder whether the institution of the God’s Wife of Amun (Category 6) would ever have risen to the position it did in the Third Intermediate Period without the driving force of these three women in the 18th Dynasty.

*This 25th-Dynasty statue of Shepenwepet II—the daughter of the Kushite King Piye—was once fully gilded to showcase her divine status.*

*Shortly after Piye asserted his authority in Thebes, he arranged for Shepenwepet II to be adopted within the ranks of the God’s Wives of Amun at Karnak Temple. Because of this prestigious role, she is shown here wearing the twin plumes of the god Amun.*

*The statue was discovered in 1933 in the grounds of the Memorial Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.*



© LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Khentkawes' "step-pyramid" comprises a large mastaba-like structure built on top of a large pedestal, left behind as the rock surrounding it was quarried for the giant Giza pyramids.

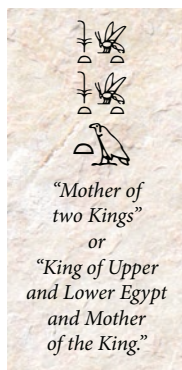
It's a fitting tomb for a queen mother whose children may have founded a dynasty. This photo was taken in 1934 during excavations by Egyptian Egyptologist, Selim Hassan.

## KHENTKAWES I

The actual royal role of Khentkawes I, 5th Dynasty (about 2400 B.C.), is confusing, but sufficient enough to include her as a woman of power and influence. The confusing thing is that an ambiguous inscription (below) on her mastaba tomb could be read either as "Mother of Two Kings" or as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Mother of the King." The second interpretation may be less likely, however, as her name never appears in a royal cartouche.

Khentkawes I was apparently the wife of Userkaf, the Dynasty's founder, and so maybe she was simply the mother of the subsequent two pharaohs: Sahure and Neferirkare. However, as Joyce Tyldesley notes in *Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt*, a door jamb from her tomb shows her "sitting on the throne, wearing a false beard and uraeus and carrying a scepter." The single uraeus was worn only by kings at this time; it didn't adorn kings' wives until the Middle Kingdom, 500 years later. The "blatant assumption of kingly regalia," as she says, leads Tyldesley to believe that Khentkawes ruled Egypt in some capacity.

The size and grandeur of her mastaba tomb on the Giza Plateau signal royal status; some have even thought that it was originally intended to be a fourth Giza pyramid. She emphasized her close relationship to the sun god Ra, in



this time of the Sun Kings, and the crown prince Sahure was too young to rule on his own when his father Userkaf died after only eight years on the throne, so it seems likely that she did rule as regent.

A story written during the early Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1650 B.C.), but set in the Old Kingdom, has been interpreted to tell the story of the divine births of Khentkawes' husband, Userkaf, her son Sahure, and possible grandson, Nyusera. This may be an 800-year-old folk-memory of an influential royal matriarch, where Khentkawes is presented as a king's mother impregnated by god (and in need of some divine help):



"Ruddjedet was suffering and her labour was difficult.



Then said the majesty of Re, lord of Sakhbu,



To Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet (goddess of birth),



Heket and Khnum:

# QUEENS OF EGYPT

A new National Geographic exhibition in Washington, D.C., shines a light on the lives (and afterlives) of the royal women of ancient Egypt. From the founding queen of the New Kingdom, Ahmose-Nefertari, to Cleopatra VII, Egypt's last queen and pharaoh—a span of more than 1,400 years.

Martina Minas-Nerpel from Swansea University tells us that “while the king was the unquestioned political and religious figurehead of Egypt, queens had a complex role with more power than is usually recognized. Wife and mother, the Egyptian queen also had divine status, serving as the earthly embodiment of Hathor and thus ‘a regenerative medium for the king in his role as representative of the sun god on earth’ (Silke Roth, 2009).”

Now, let's have a closer look at some of the fabulous artefacts from *Queens of Egypt*.

REPLICA BUST OF NEFERTITI,  
CA. A.D. 1913–1932.

ORIGINAL: 18TH DYNASTY,  
REIGN OF AKHENATEN,  
CA. 1353–1336 B.C.

RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUHEDEN,  
LEIDEN, NETHERLANDS.  
CAT. F 1932/5.1.

PHOTO BY MARK THIESSEN/  
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC.

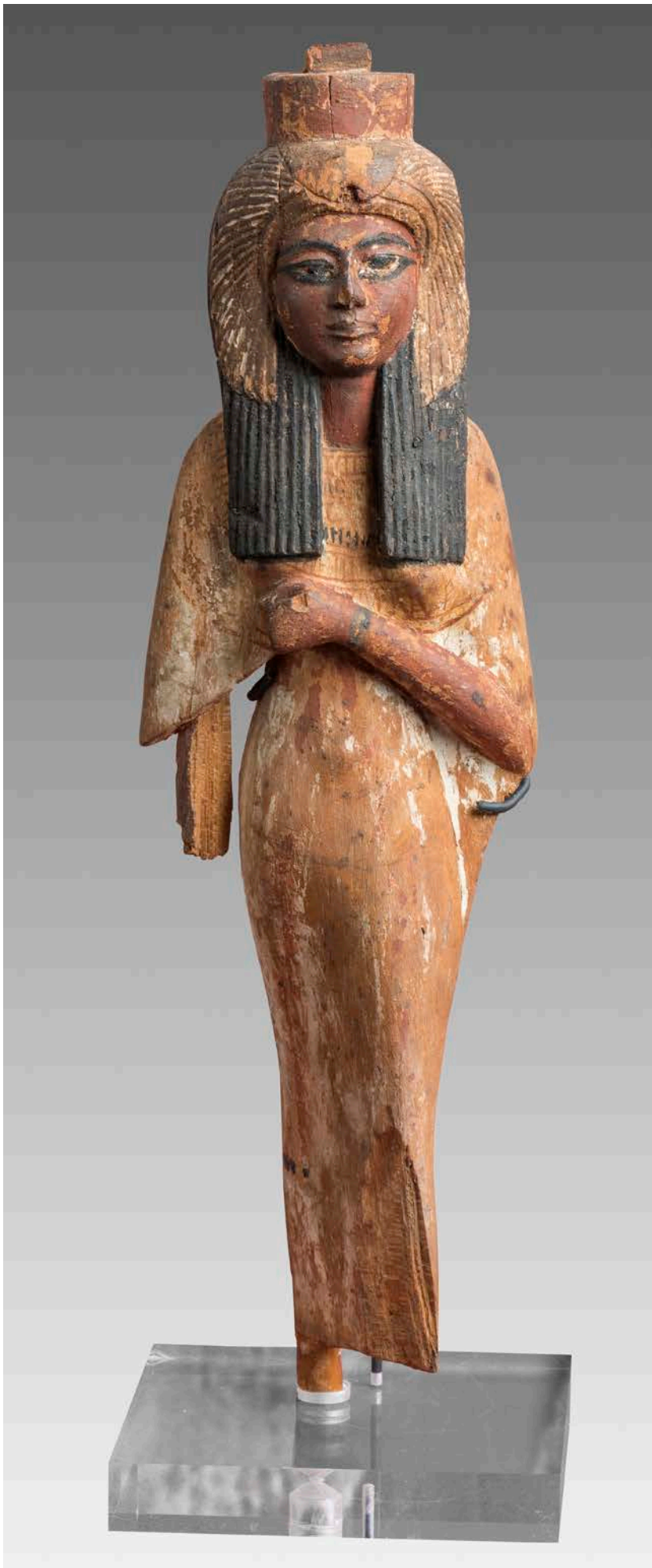
QUEENS OF EGYPT EXHIBITION  
ORGANIZED BY POINTE-À-CAL-  
LIÈRE, MONTRÉAL ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND HISTORY COMPLEX AND  
MUSEO EGIZIO, TURIN,  
IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE  
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.

SHOWING AT THE NATIONAL GEO-  
GRAPHIC MUSEUM, WASHINGTON,  
D.C., THROUGH TO 2 SEPT 2019.



One of the most famous pieces of Egyptian art ever discovered. This replica bust of Nefertiti was produced soon after the original was discovered in 1912.

The distinctive, flat-topped blue crown is unique to Nefertiti, allowing us to identify the face. While we don't know how realistic this depiction is, the original—a delicate, life-like masterpiece—ensures that Queen Nefertiti will remain an eternal icon of feminine beauty.



WOODEN STATUETTE OF AHMOSE-NEFERTARI  
DEIR EL-MEDINA  
18TH DYNASTY (ca. 1539–1292 B.C.)  
C. 1389

**T**hey call her the mother of ancient Egypt’s glorious 18th Dynasty—arguably the greatest royal family in history.

As a child, Ahmose-Nefertari saw the end of the war with the foreign Hyksos rulers who had settled in the Delta. Her brother, Ahmose I, had returned home victorious, and founded a new dynasty (the 18th) and a new age of prosperity and dominance—the likes of which Egypt had never seen. We call it the New Kingdom.

Ahmose-Nefertari married her war-hero brother and the royal couple had several children, including the future Pharaoh Amenhotep I. When Ahmose I died, young Amenhotep assumed the throne and the widowed queen had a new role—that of regent until her son was old enough to rule outright. The New Kingdom, therefore, began on the strong shoulders of this powerful and shrewd woman.

Together, Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I inaugurated the royal tomb-builder’s village at Deir el-Medina, and likely selected the Valley of the Kings as the new royal burial ground. They were certainly dear to the workers’ hearts, as Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I were adopted as the village’s patron deities.

Neither Ahmose-Nefertari or Amenhotep I’s tombs have been identified. Their special veneration by the workers could suggest that they may have been the first 18th-Dynasty rulers to build tombs in the Valley of the Kings, but for now, the honour goes to Amenhotep I’s successor, Thutmose I.

This wooden statuette of Ahmose-Nefertari came from the workers’ village of Deir el-Medina and was probably a votive offering, used in asking for the queen’s divine favour.

Here, Ahmose-Nefertari appears with “masculine” reddish skin tones, rather than the traditional female yellow. This is also the case with the tomb painting of Queen Nefertari (no relation), opposite. Because the Egyptians saw fertility and creation as male attributes, it may be that they felt having “masculine-toned” skin would help in becoming a manifestation of Osiris, and sharing in his rebirth.



© HEIDEMARIE NIEMANN



BASALT SCULPTURE OF CLEOPATRA VII  
 DATE OF SCULPTURE: 44-30 B.C.  
 LIKELY FOUND IN ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT, IN THE 1820s.  
 PHOTO COURTESY OF MUSEO EGIZIO, TURIN. C. 1385  
 QUEENS OF EGYPT EXHIBITION ORGANIZED BY POINTE-À-CALLIÈRE,  
 MONTRÉAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY COMPLEX AND MUSEO EGIZIO,  
 TURIN, IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.  
 SHOWING AT THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
 THROUGH TO 2 SEPT 2019.

For many of the people attending the *Queens of Egypt* exhibition there will be one woman they primarily come to see: Cleopatra.

This statue is believed to be one of the few surviving sculptures of the famous queen. As the least “Egyptianized” example, it may indeed be a faithful, contemporary portrait, made during her lifetime. Despite the damage, this statue provides us with the best opportunity to see what Cleopatra VII may have actually looked like.

None of the statues attributed to Cleopatra are authentically inscribed with her name, so to identify a sculpture as hers, we need to look at both style and iconography.

The queen wears a long, braided tripartite wig, crowned by a vulture headdress displaying three uraei (royal cobras). The statue’s short neck and rounded shoulders are typical of the late Ptolemaic Period, and other queens have sometimes been suggested as being the owner. However, the uraei are a dead giveaway: Cleopatra was the only Ptolemaic queen to bear three cobras on her brow.

So what do the three royal cobras mean? Cleopatra never explicitly tells us, so we are left to try and deduce from what we know of the events of her life. Cleopatra researcher and author Geoffrey Prince believes that the triple uraei symbolise her oversight of Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt, and the territories outside of Egypt.

Prince notes that Cleopatra’s triple uraei statues all display a more mature-looking woman, and would coincide with her later title as “Queen of Kings”. This may have come into being after the spectacle known as the Donations of Alexandria. This was a showy public ceremony held by Cleopatra and Mark Antony in which they granted titular authority over vast swathes of Roman territories to each of Cleopatra’s three sons.

Coins minted by Antony at this time describe Cleopatra as *Reginae regum filiorumque regum*: “Queen of kings and of the children of kings” (or possibly “Queen of kings and of her children who are kings”).

patra as *Reginae regum filiorumque regum*: “Queen of kings and of the children of kings” (or possibly “Queen of kings and of her children who are kings”).

Cleopatra VII is often remembered today as a seductress with a tragic end. Yet it was more likely her intelligence, charm and political prowess that Roman historian Cassius Dio described 200 years later, when he wrote of Cleopatra’s “power to subjugate everyone”.



NEW DISCOVERY

# ANONYMOUS PYRAMID BELONGED TO A QUEEN

THE 5th DYNASTY'S QUEEN SETIBHOR WAS PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN

---



PHOTO: MOHAMED MEGAHEH

*Queen Setibhor's pyramid complex was built at the northeast corner of the pyramid of her husband, Djedkare (above).*

*Setibhor's is the largest pyramid complex built for a queen throughout the entire Old Kingdom. Until this point, the use of architectural features such as an enclosure wall, an offering hall, satellite pyramid, and the massive red granite column,*

*shown above, were reserved for temples dedicated to kings.*

*While Djedkare seems to have venerated his queen, his successor, Unas, appears to have not shared the sentimentality. The complex was probably still relatively new when, upon Djedkare's death, Unas may have directed his overseer of works to begin its dismantling.*

**WE HAVE A NEW 5TH DYNASTY QUEEN**, and her name is Setibhor.

For years, archaeologists have been trying to identify the owner of a large pyramid complex (above) at South Saqqara. It sat adjacent to the pyramid of Djedkare, the 5th Dynasty's penultimate ruler (ca. 2400 B.C.).

The mystery pyramid was assumed to have belonged to a favoured queen, and, for the first time, had smaller versions of many of the standard elements typically found in a king's pyramid complex. These included a pyramid temple, storage magazines, colonnaded open court, and even its own small satellite pyramid.

The unusually large size of the queen's pyramid spoke of the high esteem in which she was held by the king. The queen's pyramid temple was excavated by Egyptian archae-

ologist Ahmed Fakhry in the 1950s, but it now seems pretty clear that he missed a spot.

This year, a joint Egyptian-Czech mission has been working in and around Djedkare's pyramid, and recently turned their attention to clearing a portico that once formed part of the queen's complex. One of the red granite columns from the structure remained, and inscribed on it were the name and titles of the owner. It turns out that the queen's pyramid complex belonged to a previously unknown consort—Setibhor—whose name was formerly unattested in the archaeologist record.

Djedkare was the 5th Dynasty's eighth ruler, at a time where it appears the religious landscape was shifting. Every 5th-Dynasty pharaoh before him was a dedicated follower of Ra, and had built a sun temple as an expression of that devotion. Djedkare, however, walked away from an almost



PHOTO: MOHAMED MEGAHED

The north wall of the decorated antechamber of the tomb of Khuwy's tomb, shows the deceased seated at a bountiful offering table, designed to sustain him for eternity.

The hieroglyphs above his head describe Khuwy as the "Sole Friend of the Great House (palace), Overseer of the khentiu-she (attendants) of the Palace, Senior Administrator, Great one of the Ten of Upper Egypt, King's Gentleman, the Revered One, Friend of the House, Khuwy".

The bottom registers illustrate a procession led by Khuwy, heading upstream to Upper Egypt (with the sails filled), and then downstream (rowing with current).

Among the hieroglyphs in the bottom register are texts that speak of "a good procession" (𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒), comment that it has all started off rather well ("it is a good beginning", 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒), and repeat Khuwy's name and titles, "Palace overseer of attendants, Khuwy" (𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒).

During excavation and documentation work in the area surrounding Djedkare's pyramid, the joint mission involving Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities and the Czech Institute of Egyptology made a fabulous discovery: a beautifully-decorated tomb belonging to an official in Djedkare's court named Khuwy.

While only the bottom part of the tomb's decoration is preserved due to the re-use of its white limestone blocks in later times, what remains is stunning. The tomb's ante-

chamber (above) shows Khuwy sitting in front of an offering table (north wall), with an offering list depicted on the east wall.

In contrast to the antechamber, Khuwy's Burial Chamber was undecorated. It was almost completely filled with a large, limestone sarcophagus, which was found entirely destroyed by ancient tomb robbers. However, the mission discovered remains of the body of Khuwy, which shows clear traces of mummification.

# NILE

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