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The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period (*c.*1550–1352 BC)

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Archaeological discoveries in the 1980s and 1990s, combined with the re-examination of older inscriptional evidence, suggest that the reunification of Egypt took place only in the last decade of the twenty-five-year reign of Ahmose (1550–1525 BC), first king of the 18th Dynasty. Thus the dynasty may be said to have begun officially around 1530 BC, but it was already well under way during Ahmose's reign. Indeed, the nature of the Egyptian state at the beginning of the dynasty was surely mainly a continuation of forms and traditions that had never been entirely disrupted by the internal squabbles of the Second Intermediate Period. It must have been in part the commanding faith in those traditions that enabled Ahmose's predecessors in the 17th Dynasty to consolidate a power base among other powerful Upper Egyptian families. As Ahmose and his successors later moved to assure their family's dynastic line, they created or modified aspects of the kingship that, together with external pressures from the north-east and south, profoundly affected the rest of the 18th Dynasty.

Ahmose and the Beginning of the New Kingdom

The inscriptions in the tomb of Ahmose, son of Ibana, at Elkab describe the defeat of the Hyksos by his namesake King Ahmose, as well as the latter's siege of the stronghold of Sharuhen in southern Palestine, and his campaigns in Kush, the capital of which was the city of Kerma near the third Nile cataract. The completion of this Nubian

campaign was left to Amenhotep I (1525–1504 BC), and a series of monuments on the island of Sai commemorated the victories of both rulers; it is possible that all of these were erected by Amenhotep I, but the fact that Ahmose was active in the region is not disputed.

Early 18th-Dynasty levels at Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) record the name of Ahmose, and the several kings who succeeded him. During this time, several monumental buildings decorated with Minoan frescos were in use at the site (see Chapter 8). Certainly this fact suggests that there was increased contact with the Aegean, even if only through itinerant artists commissioned to undertake or oversee the work. Since weapons found in the small coffin of Queen Ahhotep I (mother of Ahmose), in her tomb in western Thebes, illustrate Aegean or east Mediterranean motifs and craft techniques applied to Egyptian objects, the exotic foreign elements prized in the Delta appear to have been valued in Thebes as well, at least in an adapted form. Actual Aegean objects contemporary with the early 18th Dynasty are far more difficult to document in Egypt, although Egyptian small-trade items occur in fair numbers in Crete, and to a lesser degree on the Greek mainland. However, it remains unclear (if not doubtful) whether there was direct diplomatic exchange between Egypt and Crete in the early 18th Dynasty. Ahmose and his immediate successors may instead have continued to participate in an east Mediterranean exchange system, just as the Hyksos had. Whatever the case, the creativity in forging an Aegeanizing style, as seen on the objects of Ahmose's time, as well as the Minoan-style paintings at Tell el-Dab'a, did not survive the early part of the 18th Dynasty. Ultimately, as was frequently the case in periods of strong kingship, traditional Egyptian iconography dominated. The few elements that persisted (the 'flying-gallop' motif, for example) were quickly adapted to more familiar iconographic contexts.

Ahmose's most immediate construction project appears to have been within the capital of Avaris, which he had wrested from the Hyksos. Manfred Bietak's excavations have identified an early 18th-Dynasty palace platform abutting a Hyksos fortification wall. Seals naming the rulers of the 18th Dynasty between Ahmose and Amenhotep II have been found in later strata, but Bietak considers that Ahmose was the builder of the original palace complex decorated with Minoan frescos. He may have had other building projects in the Delta region, but Avaris was certainly planned to be a major centre—quite likely commercial—for the new government to utilize. It is clear from excavations during the 1980s and 1990s that Memphis was also

redeveloped in the early 18th Dynasty: as the river moved eastwards, land was reclaimed and used for new settlement. Ceramic sequences and royal scarabs indicate that, already in the reign of Ahmose, Memphis was being resettled following a hiatus that may correspond to the wars between Thebes and Avaris, described in Chapter 8.

The temple monuments from the last years of Ahmose's reign constitute the foundations of a traditional pharaonic building programme, honouring gods whose temples had flourished in the Middle Kingdom—Ptah, Amun, Montu, and Osiris. Ahmose certainly venerated the traditional deities of Egypt's cult centres. Ahmose's affiliations with the moon-god Iah (represented in the 'Ah' element of his name) are best attested in the inscriptions on the jewellery of Ahhotep I and Kamose (1555–1550 BC), which describe Ahmose as 'son of the moon-god, Iah'. This god's major cult centre is unknown, despite the ubiquitous presence of the 'Ah' element in the royal family names. Perhaps, at the very time that he effected the reunification, Ahmose began to have his name written with the lunar crescent of Iah pointing its ends downward. All monuments showing this form of the name Ahmose must, therefore, date after years 17 or 18 of his reign. Being the first king in more than 100 years to be able to erect monuments for the gods of both southern and northern Egypt, Ahmose opened limestone quarries at Maasara with a view to building at Memphis, the old and venerated northern centre, and also at Thebes, the home of Amun and Montu. Although his constructions at Memphis have not been found, some from Thebes, and elsewhere, are still extant.

Ahmose undoubtedly made significant contributions to the cult of Amun at Karnak. If he had lived longer, he would perhaps have begun the rebuilding in stone of far more buildings there, but his surviving monuments nevertheless comprise a doorway and several stelae, as well as perhaps a boat shrine, probably located near the entrance ways to the temple. His desire to be recognized as Amun's pious dedicant would, therefore, have been apparent not only to those whose priestly offices or élite status gained them access to the god's home, but also to the lesser inhabitants of Thebes who were able to visit the front courtyards only at festival times.

Several limestone stelae recording major episodes connected with Karnak temple are known from Ahmose's reign—probably all from the last seven or so years of the reign. On two stelae discovered in the foundations of the Third Pylon at Karnak, the king presents himself as a propitiator and benefactor to the temple. On one of these, the so-called Tempest Stele, the king claims to have rebuilt the tombs and

pyramids in the Theban region destroyed by a storm inflicted on Upper Egypt by the power of Amun, whose statue appears to have been left in extreme want. Ahmose describes the fact that the land was covered with water and that he had brought costly goods to support the restoration of the region. The other stele from the Third Pylon (known as the Donation Stele) records the purchase by King Ahmose of the 'second priesthood of Amun' on behalf of his wife, the god's wife of Amun, Ahmose-Nefertari. The cost of this office was paid to the temple by the king, thus making him its benefactor again, and also securing the tie between the god and the royal family.

A third stele of Ahmose, from the Eighth Pylon court at Karnak, dates to year 18 of his reign; it extols the universal power of the royal family, and details the cult equipment that Ahmose had fashioned and dedicated to Karnak temple: gold and silver libation vessels, gold and silver drinking cups for the god's statue, gold offering tables, necklaces and fillets for the divine statues, musical instruments, and a new wooden boat for the temple statue's processions. The objects donated by the king to Karnak are the most essential cult furniture, and their dedication may indicate that the temple was utterly without precious metal objects at this point. It is impossible to say whether this would have been due to the action of a great storm, as the king asserts in the Tempest Stele, but temple cult objects, along with royal burial objects, might also have been important financial resources for the Thebans during the arduous years of the 17th Dynasty.

It is important to note the great dearth of precious metal objects known from Upper Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. Only with the funerary equipment of Ahmose's mother, Ahhotep, and the mummy of Kamose is there evidence again of extravagant gold royal funerary objects, such as were known in the Middle Kingdom. Despite the claims of tomb-robbers several hundred years after the Second Intermediate Period, that they had robbed the gold-laden body of King Sobekemsaf II of the 17th Dynasty, only comparatively modest coffins and funerary objects have been recovered for the period preceding Ahmose. Could the king's Karnak inscriptions have been an official explanation for the impoverishment of the Theban region and, more importantly, Ahmose's role in restoring the riches of the Karnak temple and its god? This is not to suggest either that there was no tempest in Ahmose's reign or that there was no purchase of the 'second priesthood' for Ahmose-Nefertari, but rather that these particular events might have been recounted on the stelae simply in order to suit historico-religious purposes.

Royal and Élite Tombs in the Late 17th and Early 18th Dynasties

Ahmose also built monuments at a number of other sites traditionally favoured by kings, including Abydos, the major site of Osiris's cult. These remains, currently being excavated and analysed by Stephen Harvey during the 1990s, are known to have included pyramid monuments as well as temples. Abydos had long been a site that honoured Osiris and the royal ancestors who had merged with Osiris at their deaths. Pyramids were used to mark the Theban tombs of the 17th Dynasty kings, and their brick remains may still have been visible in the Theban region of Dra Abu el-Naga as recently as the nineteenth century. Although the body of Ahmose was found in the royal mummy cache at Deir el-Bahri (see below), the location of his tomb remains unknown.

Ahmose's mother, Ahhotep, was almost certainly buried in the Theban cemetery, as were kings and queens from earlier in the dynasty. Excavation in the region during the 1990s has focused on what may be one of these royal tombs, and, although no certain evidence yet exists, Daniel Polz's work at Dra Abu el-Naga has shown the continuity of this north Theban cemetery from the 17th to the early 18th Dynasty. He has also demonstrated the existence of élite tomb clusters (each comprising smaller graves scattered around a large tomb), in which single free-standing cult structures may have been shared by several adjacent graves. These clusters of graves are located on the desert floor beneath the Dra Abu el-Naga hills, just south of the entrance to the Valley of the Kings. The royal tombs, some of which were perhaps reused Middle Kingdom chapels, are cut into the hills themselves, overlooking the lesser graves.

So far, the archaeological evidence suggests that funerary wealth was indeed curtailed in the 17th Dynasty, and that decorated tombs were almost unknown in Thebes at this time. Still, the practice of clustering the graves of the élite and the slightly less wealthy beneath royal burial places, despite recalling the old practice of burying followers near the king, may also reflect some new organizational pattern (although without further study it is impossible to conclude more). It is interesting to point out in this regard, however, that in the Saqqara region a non-royal cemetery of the time of Ahmose and Amenhotep I consisted of surface graves, described as rich. Since the burial places of the highest officials of these two reigns (viziers, high priests, treasurers) are largely unknown, identifying the patterns of cemetery development could ultimately help to locate missing tombs. Such work has

already been undertaken by Geoffrey Martin and Martin Raven in central Saqqara south of Unas' causeway, and by Alain Zivie in North Saqqara.

The bodies of some rulers and the coffins and funerary equipment of others were moved from their original locations in antiquity (and perhaps also in more recent times). Priests of the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period reburied some royal mummies in a tomb near Deir el-Bahri, where the mummies of Ahmose and Seqenenra Taa (*c.*1560 BC) were found, both placed in non-royal coffins of slightly later date. The large outer coffin of Ahmose's mother, Ahhotep, made probably at the time of her death (perhaps as late as the reign of Amenhotep I), was also found in the cache, although her inner coffin (presuming both belonged to a single queen named Ahhotep) was found earlier in what may have been her tomb. It contained objects naming both Ahmose and Kamose. The area of Dra Abu el-Naga continued for centuries to be associated with the royal family of Ahmose and with Ahhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari particularly, and later Ramessid tombs, chapels, and stelae in the region venerated their memory.

The cemetery area itself changed dramatically, however, after the early 18th Dynasty. Once royal tombs were no longer being constructed at Dra Abu el-Naga, it retained its status as the most élite portion of the Theban necropolis only for another thirty years or so, up to the reign of Hatshepsut (1473–1458 BC). With the establishment of the Valley of the Kings as the royal burial ground, a few élite burials began to be placed in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, the line of hills to the south of Deir el-Bahri. The clusters of valley shaft tombs, largely without chapel structures, followed the movement of the cemetery southward, and through the reign of Hatshepsut, and into that of Thutmose III (1479–1425 BC), shafts were dug into Deir el-Bahri and the Asasif to make family tombs of one or more chambers similar to those at Dra Abu el-Naga. With the sudden increase of wealth held by the élite in the later reign of Thutmose III, this practice seems to have largely disappeared. Tomb-builders were kept busy excavating and decorating rock-cut tombs at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna for the growing royal administration.

Amenhotep I and the Nature of the 18th Dynasty

Like his father, Amenhotep I may not yet have been an adult at his accession, particularly since another elder brother had been a

designated heir only about five years earlier. There may have been a brief co-regency with Ahmose to ensure the peaceful transition and continuity of the recently established Dynasty, and his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari, certainly figured prominently in his reign. In a general way, Amenhotep I's reign was a continuation of his father's; buildings that may have been conceived by Ahmose were constructed, and military expeditions in the south, completing earlier campaigns, were carried out. Despite this apparent lack of personal *imprimatur*, Amenhotep I was successful as a ruler in his own right. This is perhaps best borne out by the fact that, soon after his death, both he and his mother were deified and worshipped at Thebes, especially at Deir el-Medina, the royal tomb-workers' village.

Deir el-Medina, situated in western Thebes to the south of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, was built early in the 18th Dynasty to house the craftsmen who would build and decorate the royal tombs. Thutmose I is the earliest attested royal name from contemporary monuments, but Amenhotep I and his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari, were patron-deities of the village throughout the New Kingdom and quite likely from the founding of the settlement. Not only were there cult centres for the two in the town, but most houses of the Ramessid era contained in their front rooms a scene honouring the king and queen. The factors linking Amenhotep I and his mother with the necropolis region, with deified rulers, and with rejuvenation generally was visually transmitted by representations of the pair with black or blue skin—both colours of resurrection. The third month of *peret* was devoted to (and named after) Amenhotep I, and within Deir el-Medina several rituals that dramatized his death, burial, and return took place during that period. However, Amenhotep I was a major god of the region and as such had festivals throughout the year. It is probable that the king and his mother became important deified rulers because of their connection to the beginning of the New Kingdom and their activity in building on the west bank of the river.

Amenhotep's military successes and consequent financial gains from Nubia began to improve the overall economy of Egypt, and his temple monuments made a significant impact as symbols of royal power. Military action against Nubians south of the second cataract took place around year 8, judging from inscriptions dating to years 8 and 9. Although it is not possible to ascertain with certainty, this may be the campaign described in the tombs of Ahmose, son of Ibana, and Ahmose Pennekhbet at Elkab. It is important to point out, however, that both of these men's autobiographies derive from tombs constructed

long after the events retold in their narratives—as much as sixty or seventy years after.

According to Ahmose, son of Ibana, he himself carried the king to Kush, where 'his Majesty killed that Nubian bowman in the midst of his army' and then pursued the people and cattle (presumably inland). Ahmose was later rewarded with gold after bringing the king back to the Nile Valley in two days, from an area designated as the Upper Well. An extremely eroded stele left at Aniba and bearing a date in year 8 records that the Bowmen (*iuntyu*) and the Eastern Desert dwellers (*mentyu*) delivered gold and large quantities of products to the king. This stele may commemorate the fact that the successful expedition to Kush was followed up by an official visitation to a secure part of Lower Nubia by the royal family.

By the end of Amenhotep I's reign, the main characteristics of the 18th Dynasty had already been established: its clear devotion to the cult of Amun of Karnak, its successful military conquests in Nubia aimed at extending Egypt southwards for material rewards, its closed nuclear royal family (which avoided political or economic claims on the kingship), and a developing administrative organization presumably drawn from powerful families and collateral relations, primarily associated, at this point, with the regions of Elkab, Edfu, and Thebes. However, only a small number of the tombs of the high officials of the first two reigns have so far been located.

The Monuments of Amenhotep I

It has been pointed out that Amenhotep I enjoyed at least a dozen years of peaceful rule during which he was able to revive traditional activities associated with monument building: the opening of the Sinai turquoise mines (and consequent expansion of the Middle Kingdom Hathor temple at the Serabit el-Khadim mines), the quarrying of Egyptian alabaster at Bosra (in the name of Ahmose-Nefertari) and at Hatnub, and the opening of work at the sandstone quarries of Gebel el-Silsila, providing most of the stone necessary to rebuild Karnak temple.

Amenhotep I built at several of the sites where his father had been active: at Abydos, for example, he erected a chapel that commemorated Ahmose himself. Following successes in Upper Nubia, Amenhotep dedicated monuments on Sai Island, including a statue similar to that of his father and perhaps some type of building, judging from the survival of blocks inscribed in his name and that of his mother, Ahmose-Nefertari.

Amenhotep I's interest in Delta sites and at Memphis remains unverified, but Karnak figured prominently in his designs. A large limestone gateway at Karnak, now reconstructed, was decorated with jubilee festival decoration. According to its inscription, this was a 'great gate of 20 cubits' and a 'double façade of the temple'. It may once have been the main south entrance that was later replaced by the Seventh Pylon. To the east the king built a stone enclosure around the Middle Kingdom court, with chapels on the interior of the wall. These chapels contained scenes depicting the king, the god's wife, Ahmose-Nefertari, and other temple personnel performing the ritual for Amun, and dedications on behalf of the 11th-Dynasty rulers. Thutmose III dismantled all these chapels and rebuilt them in sandstone some forty or fifty years later, but blocks and lintels with offering texts were found in several locations within Karnak. A jubilee peripteral chapel for Amenhotep I probably stood along the southern alleyway and was of a type similar to that of Senusret I (1956–1911 BC) from the 12th Dynasty. Indeed, the style of Amenhotep I's relief carving on the limestone monuments at Karnak so consciously emulated that of Senusret I's artisans that some blocks have been difficult to assign to the proper ruler.

Clearly Karnak's function as a site for venerating the kingship was central to Amenhotep I's construction plans. Whether that emulation included celebrating a royal jubilee prior to thirty years of reign (the ideal time a king waited before his first *sed*-festival), or whether he erected the monuments in anticipation of ruling three full decades, is unknown. Several of Amenhotep I's buildings, none the less, mention the jubilee, such that it is certain the king intended to claim the honour, just as did the great Middle Kingdom rulers.

Limestone jambs unearthed from the foundations of the Third Pylon at Karnak provide a list of religious festivals and their dates of celebration. Anthony Spalinger's study of these blocks has indicated that in his festal calendar, as in most things at Karnak, Amenhotep I was heavily influenced by 12th-Dynasty calendars. Amenhotep I also had a bark shrine built for the god Amun and erected (most likely) in the west front court of the temple.

Across the river from Karnak, Amenhotep I left funerary monuments in the bay of Deir el-Bahri and to the north and east along the edge of the cultivation. Built from mud brick, the Deir el-Bahri monument has been reconstructed with a pyramid, but only a few bricks naming Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari were found there *in situ*. No tomb has been certainly identified for either.

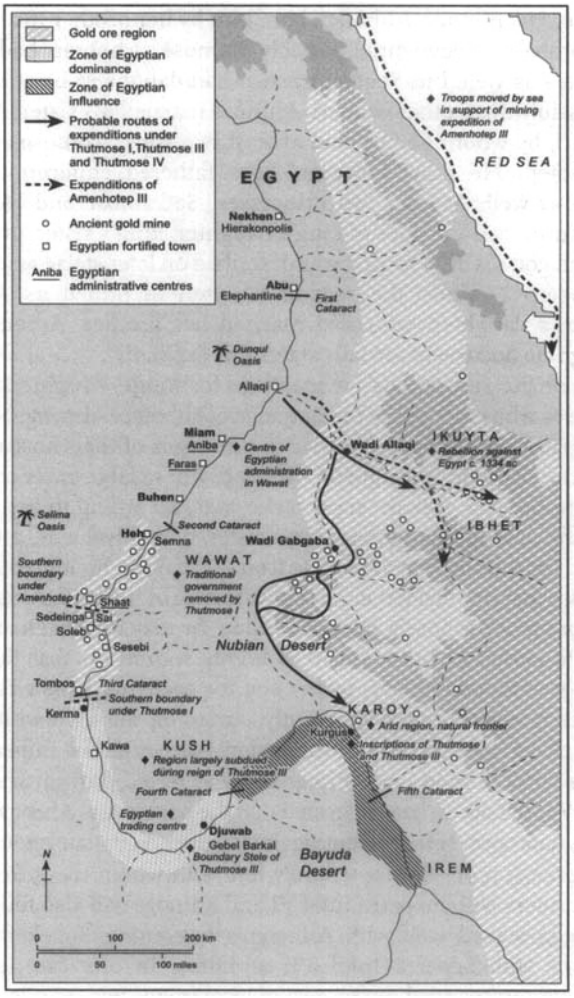
The building sites of Amenhotep I and his successors may relate to the question of where and how astronomical observations for calendrical purposes were carried out (see Chapter 1). Some discussions have argued that Elephantine may have housed an observatory for Sothic sightings, and recently a graffito from the Hierakonpolis region has suggested that some sightings took place in desert locations. Renewed interest in the cult sites between Aswan and Thebes during the 18th Dynasty does indicate a similar concern with the natural phenomena associated with these cults, such as the rise of the dog-star Sirius (Sopdet/Sothis), the beginning of the rise of the Nile, and attendant lunar cycles. The existence of a festival calendar recorded on papyrus for the reign of Amenhotep I (Papyrus Ebers verso), raises the possibility that the king wished to rework earlier calendars.

The Significance of the Royal Women of the Early 18th Dynasty

A number of princesses, some of whom were also royal wives, are known from the royal cache of mummies at Deir el-Bahri. They were offspring of rulers from the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, and their names are often known also from late New Kingdom private tomb chapels that venerated the royal family of the early 18th Dynasty. The titles held by these women, and the absence of husbands other than kings, show the limitations that were placed on females born of the king. The success of the dynastic line in the early 18th Dynasty was certainly attributable, in part, to a decision to limit access to the royal family. In economic terms, this would have meant that holdings gained in the wars were not divided with families whose sons married a princess. The kings were therefore free to enrich military followers as they wished, and thereby build new constituencies. Followers such as Ahmose, son of Ibana, and Ahmose Pennekhbet are two examples of these new members of the élite, but legal documents later in the New Kingdom inform us of other men whose fortunes derived from grants by Ahmose.

In political and religious terms, the closed royal family apparently reached back into the Middle Kingdom (and the Old Kingdom before it), when princesses were frequently married to kings or associated throughout life with their reigning fathers. In order to assure the exclusivity of the line, however, the family of Seqenenra and Ahhotep apparently established the additional prohibition that royal daughters were to marry no one other than a king. This was not the case in the

Old and Middle kingdoms, at least not always, since we know examples of high officials marrying kings' daughters, but, once the custom was established at the end of the 17th Dynasty, it persisted through the 18th Dynasty. Only with the reign of Rameses II do we again have definite evidence of princesses marrying anyone other than kings.



Map of Egypt and Nubia between the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep III (*c.*1550–1352 BC)

There were no enfeebling effects on the kinship line as a result of this practice, because it did not mean that the kings themselves were only able to marry princesses. Indeed, throughout the 18th Dynasty, kings were most commonly born to their fathers by non-royal secondary queens, such as Tetisheri. If our understanding of the documentation is correct, then Tetisheri bore both the mother and father of King Ahmose. His mother, Ahhotep, bore him by her brother (full or half), most probably Seqenenra, possibly Kamose. Ahhotep had several daughters as well, but Seqenenra also had daughters by at least two and possibly three other women. Ahmose married his sister, Ahmose-Nefertari, by whom he fathered at least two sons, Ahmose-ankh and Amenhotep. He may, however, have fathered children by other women as well. At least two princesses, Satkamose and (Ahmose-) Merytamun, had the titles of king's daughter, king's sister, great royal wife, and god's wife. The first was described on later stelae as a sister of Amenhotep I, while the second is often identified as Ahmose-Nefertari's daughter, who also married her brother, Amenhotep I, although no document actually states this explicitly.

Despite the restrictions on marriage for kings' daughters, several princesses who emerged as major queens (Ahhotep, Ahmose-Nefertari, Hatshepsut) were extremely active in the reigns of their husbands and heirs. Ahmose's mother, Queen Ahhotep, whose large outer coffin was found in the Deir el-Bahri royal cache, was, according to her titles on that coffin, a king's daughter, king's sister, great royal wife, and king's mother. On Ahmose's year 18 stele from Karnak, he honoured Ahhotep with titles that implied her *de facto* governance of the land. Although we are ignorant of Ahmose's age at accession, he may have been only a boy for some period of his reign. It is highly significant that the queen mother was honoured later by her son for pacifying Upper Egypt and expelling rebels. Ahhotep apparently carried on the fight without successful challenge from within the region—although the implication is that the family's hold on the kingship was tested during this period. Claude Vandersleyen has suggested that the battles that Ahmose fought against Aata and Teti-an were against Upper Egyptian enemies, the latter perhaps representing a family line with whom the 17th Dynasty Theban rulers Nubkheperra Intef VI and Kamose had also fought (and this would accord well with Ahhotep's honouring Sobekemsaf, the widow of Nubkheperra Intef VI, at Edfu). In any case, Ahhotep apparently commanded the respect of local troops and grandees to preserve a fledgling dynastic line, and she continued to function as king's mother well into the reign of Amenhotep I.

Perhaps not long after year 18 of Ahmose's reign, Ahhotep ceded pride of place to Princess Ahmose-Nefertari, who may have been her daughter. Ahmose's Donation Stele at Karnak (mentioned above) is the first known monument on which Ahmose-Nefertari figures; she is described on this stele as king's daughter, king's sister, king's great wife, god's wife of Amun, and, like Ahhotep, mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt. Ahmose and Ahmose-Nefertari are depicted with their son, Prince Ahmose-ankh. Only a few years after this inscription was made, in year 22, Ahmose-Nefertari claimed the title of king's mother, although it is not known whether the designation referred to Ahmose-ankh or Amenhotep. In any case, the queen survived her husband Ahmose and even her son Amenhotep I, and still held the position of god's wife of Amun in the reign of Thutmose I (1504–1492 BC).

Ahmose-Nefertari used the god's wife title more frequently even than that of great royal wife. She also operated independently of both her husband and her son in monument building and cult roles. When she died, a stele of a non-royal contemporary recorded simply that 'the god's wife . . . had flown to heaven'. The emphasis on her role as priestess was perhaps due to the independent economic and religious power ceded to the office of god's wife by Ahmose. The Donation Stele records Ahmose's creation of a trust relating to the 'second priesthood of Amun', whose benefices were then granted to the god's wife in perpetuity, to be passed on, without interference, to whom she wished. The institution of the divine adoratrice, an office separate from the god's wife but also held by Ahmose-Nefertari, was also mentioned on the Donation Stele. The economic holdings of the priestess institution apparently continued to grow, such that some 100 years after Ahmose's death, and following reorganization of the descent of the offices, the produce of the 'house of the adoratrice' were a significant focus of account papyri.

Ahmose-Nefertari functioned as great royal wife and particularly god's wife of Amun throughout her son's reign. No certain wife is known for Amenhotep I of his own generation, although it is often presumed that the 'king's daughter, god's wife, great royal wife, united to the white crown, lady of the two lands' (Ahmose-)Merytamun, whose coffin was found in a tomb at Deir el-Bahri, was his sister and consort. It should be noted, however, that the only connection between the two is the fact that her coffin (like those of Ahhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari) dates stylistically to Amenhotep I's reign. There are no monuments of this date that refer to (Ahmose-)Merytamun, apart from a possible reference to her on a monument in Nubia. On his year

8 stele, the figure of Amenhotep I was followed by king's mother Ahmose-Nefertari and a second god's wife, king's daughter, sister, and king's wife (not 'great') whose name was later restored as Ahmose-Nefertari, before Horus of Miam (Aniba). This may instead have been Merytamun, who had been elevated to queen, but then predeceased Ahmose-Nefertari. Monuments that represent the presence of female royal family members at border regions are attested several times in the 18th Dynasty, perhaps following an older tradition. There are representations of this type at Sinai, the Aswan rock outcrops, and Nubia from the first to the fourth cataracts, in the Middle and New kingdoms. Perhaps they are meant to link the queens and princesses to Hathor, goddess of foreign lands, whose role as daughter of the sun-god was to be protective of her father.

Another female family member in the early 18th Dynasty was Amenhotep I's daughter, king's sister, and god's wife, Satamun, who is known both from her coffin in the royal mummy cache and from two statues at central and southern Karnak. Attested from the reign of Ahmose onwards, she never became queen, but appears to have been honoured by Amenhotep I, along with Ahmose-Nefertari, for her priestly role as Amun's wife. Even in the Ramessid Period, Satamun and Merytamun were both venerated as members of the family of Ahmose-Nefertari and were included in scenes depicting the deified royal family. Precise chronology of the early 18th Dynasty and specific genealogy of the family appears to have been as obscure to the late New Kingdom Thebans as it is to us today, so we cannot rely on these votive references to provide secure parentage.

It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding the kings' apparent ability to marry as many women as they wished, no offspring of Amenhotep I have been identified with certainty, despite his twenty-year reign. A king's son Ramose known from a statue now in Liverpool may have been from the Ahmosid family, but his specific parentage is not given. None the less, perhaps owing to the stability provided by Amenhotep's rule, the succession passed without event to Thutmose I, who is not known to have been a member of the Ahmosid family.

Thutmose I and his Family

The first succession of the 18th Dynasty that did not descend from father to son did not result in a lengthy reign. In 1987 Luc Gabolde published a study of the chronology of the reigns of Thutmose I and II, estimating eleven years for the former and three for the latter. The

short duration of Thutmose I's rule was in inverse proportion to its impact on the character of later 18th-Dynasty kingship. Thutmose's interest in the military and economic exploitation of Nubia may have built upon the efforts of Amenhotep I, but his expedition to Syria opened new horizons that led later to Egypt's important role in the trade and diplomacy of the Late Bronze Age Near East. The effect of Thutmose's efforts on cultural material generally is most visible today in Thebes and Nubia, but the importance of Memphis, and regions further north, is also evident.

Thutmose I's father is unknown, but his mother was named Seniseneb, a rather common name of the Second Intermediate Period and early 18th Dynasty. The families of both Ineni and Hapuseneb (high priest of Amun under Hatshepsut) contained female members with this name. Seniseneb appeared behind Thutmose I and in front of Ahmose-Nefertari on the Wadi Halfa copy of the coronation stele of Thutmose's first regnal year. Seniseneb's parentage is equally unknown, but she had no title during her son's reign other than 'king's mother'. Thutmose's principal wife was Ahmose, who had the titles 'king's sister, great royal wife'. Claude Vandersleyen has assumed that she was Thutmose's own sister, primarily because she lacked the title 'king's daughter'. The king would then have been attempting to recreate the situation of the two preceding reigns, with brother and sister rulers. Her name may suggest, however, that Ahmose was a member of Amenhotep I's family, perhaps by Prince Ahmose-ankh, and that it was her important connection to the Ahmosid family that facilitated Thutmose's accession to the throne. At present Ahmose's origins and the succession of Thutmose cannot be better explicated.

It was by Ahmose that Thutmose I fathered the future Queen Hatshepsut and probably also a princess called Nefrubity, to judge from the latter's appearance with them in scenes from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. The 'god's wife of Amun', Ahmose-Nefertari, died in the reign of Thutmose I and was replaced by Hatshepsut. By a non-royal wife, Mutnefret, the king fathered the future King Thutmose II (1492–1479 BC); the female parentage of his two other sons, Amenmose and Wadjmose, is uncertain, but the latter was honoured along with Thutmose I on a statue of Mutnefret dedicated by Thutmose II in the chapel on the south side of the Rameseum. Indeed, it has been suggested that this chapel was a family funerary temple; it would have been, therefore, more specifically a family temple for Thutmose I's heirs by Mutnefret.

The Monuments of Thutmose I

Thutmose I and his viceroy Turi left monuments and inscriptions at a number of sites in Upper and Lower Nubia. Several brick installations may date from his reign in the region of Kenisa (at the fourth cataract) and at Napata. Blocks from buildings (or fragments of blocks) have survived at Sai Island, held at least since Ahmose's reign, and traces remain at Semna, Buhen, Aniba, Quban, and Qasr Ibrim. The probability is that, apart from stelae, the monuments were small in scale, comprising stone elements within brick structures. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut may well have reconstructed brick buildings of this type in sandstone, particularly at Semna and Buhen. Within the traditional borders of Egypt, Thutmose I left indications of building at Elephantine, Edfu (probably), Armant, Thebes, Ombos (near the late 17th- to early 18th-Dynasty palace centre at Deir el-Ballas), Abydos, el-Hiba, Memphis, and Giza. Votive objects dedicated in his name have been found in Sinai at the temple of Serabit el-Khadim.

The materials from Thebes, Abydos, and Giza are of particular interest. Giza became a major pilgrimage site during the New Kingdom, as the location of the tombs of Khufu and Khafra, and as the cult place for the god identified with the Great Sphinx, Horemakhet ('Horus in the horizon'). It is no coincidence that the monuments at Giza, like those at Abydos and Karnak, emphasized the veneration of rulers. Like Ahmose and Amenhotep I before him, as well as the next four monarchs, Thutmose I chose to embellish cult places that promoted the connections between king and god and between king and king. However, he seems to have associated himself with distant royal precursors rather than immediate ones.

At Abydos, Thutmose I left a stele recording his contributions to the temple of Osiris. Instead of honouring his royal predecessors directly, he donated cult objects and statues. According to the stele, priests then proclaimed him as the offspring of Osiris, whose intended role was to restore the divine sanctuaries with the vast wealth given to him by the earth deities Geb and Tatjenen. Thutmose I did not choose to honour the two previous kings, perhaps because their monuments stressed the Ahmosid family line of which he was not a part; instead he wished to claim his kingship from the great gods themselves. As a royal ideology, divine descent was common to the 18th-Dynasty kings, but it may well have received its first emphasis in the reign of Thutmose I. It was subsequently consistently exploited in royal inscriptions from Hatshepsut (1473–1458 BC) to Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BC).

At Karnak, Thutmose I left an indelible mark. He enlarged and completed an ambulatory worked on by Amenhotep I around the Middle Kingdom court, and he extended its walls westwards to join two new pylon gates (the Fourth and Fifth) which he built as the entrance to the temple. He then finished the court space between the two gateways. He also completed the decoration of Amenhotep I's alabaster chapel at Karnak, which appears to be his only claim to direct connection with his predecessor. In northern Karnak, he replaced a monument of Ahmose with his 'treasury', but appears to have preserved a block from the earlier structure and built it into his own.

The Policy of Thutmose I in Nubia and Syria-Palestine

Thutmose I's campaign to Nubia was very likely the true death knell to Kush and its capital at Kerma. The tombs of three of his officials—Turi (king's viceroy of the south), Ahmose, son of Ibana, and Ahmose Pennekhbet—all contained descriptions of this campaign, which probably took place during the second and third years of his reign. The longest description of the major battle, however, was inscribed on the rock outcrop of Tombos, at the third cataract, a stone's throw from the entrance to Kerma. The king's inscription described the campaign's successes in the third and fourth cataract regions, in vividly violent terms: 'The Nubian bowmen fall by the sword and are thrown aside on their lands; their stench floods their valleys . . . The pieces cut from them are too much for the birds carrying off the prey to another place.'

Thutmose's armies (like those of Amenhotep I before him) then struck out eastwards away from the Nile Valley and into the desert behind Kerma, eventually reaching the fourth cataract area around Kurgus and Kenisa. Since the river makes a great bend between the third and fourth cataracts, a west–east overland route connected the two cataracts. Thutmose I then left an inscription at Kenisa. According to Ahmose, son of Ibana, on his consequent return from Kerma to Thebes, 'his Majesty sailed northward, all countries in his grasp, with that defeated Nubian bowman [probably the ruler of Kush] being hanged head down at the [front] of the [boat] of his Majesty, and landed at Karnak'.

Following this success, Thutmose I led his army to Syria for a first campaign in that region. No doubt well aware of the Mitanni overlords in the vicinity, the king steered clear of direct confrontation with them, and, following several local successes, departed southwards to Niy, where he may have hunted elephants. The descriptions of this

expedition derive only from the tombs of Ahmose Pennekhbet and Ahmose, son of Ibana, both built and decorated in the reign of Thutmose III (and later). They characterize Syria as the Mitanni aggressor with accompanying epithets otherwise unknown until late in the fourth decade of Thutmose III's reign. No document contemporary with the reign of Thutmose I mentions this campaign.

Map of Egypt and the Levant, showing the limits of incursions into the Near East between the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep III (*c.*1550–1352 BC)

Egyptian engagement with Mitanni was extremely limited in the early 18th Dynasty. Skirmishes with Mitanni vassals first occurred during Thutmose I's reign, but the conquest of north-eastern regions did not occur until at least thirty-six years later, when Thutmose III began his Syrian expedition. Perhaps Thutmose I, on his brief expedition to Syria, encountered enemies and military technology beyond the capability of Egypt's armies, which almost certainly had fewer chariots than Mitanni at the time. Newly found relief fragments of the time of Ahmose at Abydos, however, show that chariots were already being depicted at the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Had Thutmose I made substantial territorial or material gains, it is difficult to believe that Mitanni would not have been mentioned more frequently on the preserved monuments of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, or Hatshepsut. It is instead far more likely that Thutmose I simply found the Mitanni vassals to be superior military powers and that he departed after leaving an inscription and perhaps conducting an elephant hunt in the region of Niy, which lay to the south of the Mitanni-dominated cities.

A brief reference to Thutmose I's Syro-Palestinian expedition has been preserved in a fragmentary inscription at Deir el-Bahri, associated with the description of Hatshepsut's Punt expedition. This text, which essentially celebrates the fame of Thutmose I, mentioning elephants and horses, as well as the region of Niy, suggests that, in the time of Hatshepsut, Thutmose I was vaunted primarily for bringing back the exotica of the land of Niy, rather than for having conquered Mitanni.

The Tomb of Thutmose I and Royal 'Ancestor Worship'

Thutmose I's original burial location remains a subject of debate. His name occurs on sarcophagi from two tombs in the Valley of the Kings (KV 20 and KV 38), but there is no agreement on which of the locations is earlier or whether either was originally excavated for Thutmose. The body of the king may be among those from the royal cache, but this too is uncertain. Two coffins of Thutmose I, usurped for Pinudjem I (one of the chief-priests of Anum at Thebes in the 21st Dynasty), contained an unidentified mummy, which may possibly be the body of the king himself. One of his high officials, Ineni, describes his overseeing of the work on Thutmose's tomb: 'I oversaw the excavation of the cliff tomb of his Majesty, in privacy; none saw, none heard.' His vague description of the tomb as a *heret*, usually taken to mean 'cliff' tomb, may indicate a location in the Valley of the Kings, but the question remains unsettled.

There is no known funerary temple for Thutmose I; bricks bearing his name—and some bearing both his and Hatshepsut's—are attested from several locations near Deir el-Bahri's 'valley temple'. A chapel honouring Thutmose I was included by Hatshepsut in her temple, but this does not necessarily mean that he had no funerary cult before her reign. Rather, she venerated her ancestral line within her funerary temple, because such temples were both 'family' shrines and temples honouring the union between the god Amun and the king. This 'ancestor worship' was already evident in the monuments of Ahmose and Amenhotep I at Abydos, while non-royal tomb chapels of contemporary and mid-18th-Dynasty date frequently included niches or scenes venerating living and deceased family members.

The Brief Reign of Thutmose II

The highest preserved year date for the reign of Thutmose II is his first, and scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that his reign lasted for no more than three years. Hatshepsut, the half-sister of Thutmose, served as his great royal wife and was also god's wife of Amun. Like Ahmose-Nefertari, from whom she inherited her religious role, Hatshepsut was frequently featured in the reliefs decorating the Theban monuments of her husband, most commonly in the guise of god's wife. Thutmose II's brief tenure has left few records of external activities, but the Egyptian army continued to quell uprisings in Nubia and brought about the final demise of the kingdom of Kush at Kerma.

The nearly ephemeral nature of Thutmose II's rule is underlined by the paucity of his monuments generally, and their absence in the north of Egypt. Thutmose II left no identifiable tomb (not unusual in the early 18th Dynasty) or any completed funerary temple. There are indications that the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri was originally begun in the reign of Thutmose II, perhaps even then under the queen's direction. However, it may have been intended as his (and her) funerary cult location. A small temple near Medinet Habu was erected for him by Thutmose III, perhaps carrying out a plan already contemplated by Thutmose II.

Thutmose II's only major monuments are from Karnak: a pylon-shaped limestone gateway was erected at the front of the Fourth Pylon's forecourt. Both the gate and another limestone structure of unknown type were later dismantled and the blocks placed in the Third Pylon foundations. The gateway has been reconstructed in the

Karnak 'Open Air Museum'. The structure with raised relief scenes contained a preponderance of scenes of the king, some showing him with Hatshepsut, and some depicting Hatshepsut alone. This building was completed in the first years of Thutmose III (during the Hatshepsut regency); following her accession, the queen's agents actually replaced the small boy-king's name in a few places with her own cartouches. On one face of a four-sided pillar fragment Thutmose II is shown receiving crowns, while two other sides bear reliefs of Nefrura (his daughter) and Hatshepsut receiving life from the god. This monument may have been created after Thutmose II had died, but it is undeniable that Hatshepsut was already an important influence on the monarchy before her brother's death.

Other constructions in the name of Thutmose II are known from Napata, where Thutmose I may already have left building remains. At Semna and Kumma, as well as at Elephantine, there are surviving blocks from buildings of Thutmose II. In addition, recent exavations at Elephantine have revealed a statue that was dedicated by another ruler (presumably Hatshepsut) in the name of her 'brother'; Vandersleyen notes that there is also an identical uninscribed royal torso in the Elephantine Museum.

The only known military expedition of Thutmose II's reign is recorded on a rock-cut stele at Sehel, south of Aswan. It is dated to the first year of his reign and describes a local uprising in Kush that was punished with the death of all involved, except for one son of the ruler of Kush, who was brought back as a hostage, evidently resulting in the restoration of peace. Clearly this was a minor rebellion, but the family of the local Kerma king was still active, so the action was brutal and swift. This effectively ended Egypt's major problems with Kush. Inhabitants of the region were pursued through the desert from near an Egyptian fortress on the river.

Ahmose Pennekhbet notes in his funerary inscriptions that numerous Shasu were brought away as prisoners for Thutmose II during an otherwise unattested campaign. Since the ethnic term Shasu could refer to peoples of either Palestine or Nubia, this brief entry probably referred to the year 1 Nubian expedition. It is important to note again, however, that these autobiographies were carved on the wall several decades after the events they describe. The effects of creating a single narrative may have made any single entry somewhat less than complete.

Thutmose II's mother, Mutnefret, was alive in his reign, to judge from the statue dedicated for her in the Wadjmose chapel at Thebes

mentioned above. Although the king's age at accession (and death) is unknown, it is quite possible that he was younger than his sister and wife Hatshepsut. She was the offspring of Thutmose I and Ahmose, the queen officially recognized in the previous reign. A stele of Thutmose II's reign shows the king followed by Ahmose and Hatshepsut. Apparently the latter was already 'god's wife of Amun' in the reign of Thutmose I, following Ahmose-Nefertari's death. Thutmose II was not so young that he could not father a child, however, since Nefrura is portrayed at Karnak with him and Hatshepsut.

The Regency of Hatshepsut

The fifty-four-year reign of Thutmose III began in his early childhood with Hatshepsut, his aunt and stepmother, acting as regent. According to Ineni, whose funerary 'autobiography' ended just before Hatshepsut became ruler: 'his [Thutmose II's] son was set in his place as king of the Two Lands upon the throne of him who engendered him. His sister, the god's wife Hatshepsut, executed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her counsels. Egypt worked for her, head bowed, the excellent seed of the god, who came forth from him . . . '. Ahmose Pennekhbet's inscription similarly refers to Hatshepsut's regency in unabashed terms, not only describing her as god's wife but also calling her Maatkara, which was her chosen throne name (prenomen).

It has been argued that Hatshepsut saw herself as Thutmose I's heir even before her father died, thus implying that the dating of Thutmose III's rule may have applied to her own reign as much as to the child king's. It is also possible that she capitalized on the role of 'god's wife of Amun', its economic holdings, and its connection to the family of Ahmose-Nefertari (possibly Hatshepsut's own genealogical link, through her mother, Ahmose) in order to support her regency in a manner similar to her female predecessors, Ahhotep and Ahmose-Nefertari. She also appears to have been preparing Nefrura for the same type of role.

However, once Hatshepsut had given herself a throne name and begun to transform herself publicly into a king, she can have had only one certain earlier model to follow: Sobekkara Sobekneferu (1777–1773 BC), the woman who ruled at the end of the 12th Dynasty (see Chapter 7). Hatshepsut did not attempt to legitimize her reign by claiming to have ruled with or for her husband Thutmose II. Instead she emphasized her blood line, and in the period before she had taken a throne name the royal steward Senenmut left an inscription at Aswan

(commemorating the quarrying of her first obelisks), naming her as: 'king's daughter, king's sister, god's wife, great royal wife Hatshepsut'. At Deir el-Bahri, scenes and texts of Hatshepsut claim that Thutmose I had proclaimed her as heir before his death, and that Ahmose had been chosen by Amun to bear the new divine ruler. Hatshepsut had the same pure genealogy as Ahmose-Nefertari, Ahhotep, and Sobekneferu. The latter was never a queen: she was a king's daughter, whose embodiment of the pure family line was apparently sufficient to maintain her rule as pharaoh. Hatshepsut must have felt she embodied the same aspects, and for nearly twenty years she was correct.

Her only known offspring (by Thutmose II) was Nefrura, who was frequently described as 'king's daughter' and 'god's wife', and also, more than once, 'mistress of the two lands' and 'lady of Upper and Lower Egypt'. The debate continues as to whether she was wife to Thutmose III during the co-regency period, but she did appear as god's wife with him as late as the twenty-second or twenty-third year of his reign. At some time Thutmose III replaced her name with that of Sitiah, whom he married after his sole rule began. If Nefrura was ever 'king's great wife' to Thutmose III, the king must have ended the formal relationship soon after Hatshepsut's disappearance in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his reign. Children born to Nefrura are not explicitly identified, although the prince Amenemhat has been suggested as her son on purely circumstantial grounds.

Hatshepsut's Ambitious Building Projects

As ruler, Hatshepsut inaugurated building projects that far outstripped those of her predecessors. The list of sites touched by Thutmose I and II was expanded in Upper Egypt, to include places that the Ahmosid rulers had favoured: Kom Ombo, Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), and Elkab in particular, but also Armant and Elephantine. Both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III left numerous remains in Nubia: at Qasr Ibrim, at Sai (a seated statue of the queen recalling those of Ahmose and Amenhotep I), Semna, Faras, Quban, and especially Buhen, where the queen built for Horus of Buhen a peripteral temple of a type common in the mid-18th Dynasty. The scenes on the walls of the temple originally included figures of both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, but he later replaced her name with his own and that of his father and grandfather. The Buhen temple (now entirely moved to the Khartoum Museum) contains scenes of Hatshepsut's coronation and veneration of her father.

Memphis may have received attention from Hatshepsut as ruler. An alabaster jar fragment from the region of the Ptah temple has been identified, but, more significantly, the colossal Egyptian alabaster sphinx that sits within the south wall of the Ramessid temple precinct may have formed part of an earlier approach to the temple and was very likely accompanied by a second sphinx. The Hatnub quarries, probable source of stone for the sphinx, were located in Middle Egypt, not very far from another of her monuments, the rock-cut shrine at Beni Hasan that is now called the Speos Artemidos. Apart from the evidence of quarrying at Hatnub, there is no record of 18th-Dynasty kings building in Middle Egypt before Hatshepsut, and her lengthy inscription at Speos Artemidos documented that she was the first to restore temples in the area since the destructive days of the wars with the Hyksos. During those wars, Middle Egypt was a strategic region, owing to the roads stretching through the Western Desert to oases, and thence south to Nubia.

Hatshepsut claimed in her inscription to have rebuilt temples at Hebenu (the capital of the Oryx nome), at Hermopolis, and at Cusae, and to have acted for the lioness-goddess Pakhet sacred to the region around the Speos itself. This work must have been carried out under the supervision of Djehuty, overseer of the treasury and also nomarch in Herwer in Middle Egypt, as well as overseer of priests of Thoth in Hermopolis. The inscriptions in his tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga mention the numerous works he supervised on behalf of Hatshepsut, and invoke a number of regional deities, including Hathor of Cusae. The gods of those cult centres (Horus, Thoth, and Hathor, respectively) therefore received—like the other deities of Nubia and Egypt—a new share of the economic resources of Egypt.

However, no site received more attention from Hatshepsut than Thebes. The temple of Karnak grew once more under her supervision, with the construction work being directed by a number of officials, including Hapuseneb (her high priest of Amun), Djehuty (the overseer of the treasury, mentioned above), Puyemra (the second priest of Amun), and, of course, Senenmut (the royal steward, also mentioned above). With the country evidently at peace during most of the twenty years of her reign, Hatshepsut was able to exploit the wealth of Egypt's natural resources, as well as those of Nubia. Gold flowed in from the eastern deserts and the south; the precious stone quarries were in operation, Gebel el-Silsila began to be worked in earnest for sandstone, cedar was imported from the Levant, and ebony came from Africa (by way of Punt, perhaps). In the inscriptions of the queen and her

officials, the monuments and the materials used to make them were specifically detailed at some length. Clearly Hatshepsut was pleased with the amount and variety of luxury goods that she could acquire and donate in Amun's honour; so much so that she had a scene carved at Deir el-Bahri to show the quantity of exotic goods brought from Punt. Likewise, Djehuty detailed the bounties from Punt that Hatshepsut donated to Amun, and he also described the electrum from the mines in the Eastern Desert, with which he was entrusted to embellish Karnak. Djehuty, Hapuseneb, and Puyemra all described participating in the making of the ebony shrine donated at Mut's temple of Isheru at Karnak. Work in that temple was conducted for Hatshepsut by Senenmut, whose name occurs on a gate excavated there, but Hapuseneb also left a statue in the precinct.

At Karnak Hatshepsut left, most significantly in terms of her personal *imprimatur*, the Eighth Pylon, a new southern gateway to the temple precinct. Lying along the north–south processional way that connected Karnak central to the Mut precinct, the new sandstone pylon was the first stone-built one on that route. Ironically, evidence of Hatshepsut's building effort is today invisible, since the face of the pylon was erased and redecorated in the first years of Amenhotep II (1427–1400 BC), son of Thutmose III. Nevertheless, Hatshepsut's desire to create a new main entrance was part of a grander plan, designed to ensure that her involvement with the temple would not be forgotten easily. By connecting Karnak to Mut's temple, the queen was perhaps deliberately shifting attention away from Thutmose II's gateway before the Fourth Pylon. She likewise built a temple in the north–south alley dedicated to Amun-Ra-Kamutef, a creator form of the god. Taken together, her constructions at Luxor temple, to the south, which housed the yearly royal renewal festival, the Mut temple, where Amun's consort resided, and the Kamutef shrine formed a set of buildings in which Hatshepsut could describe and celebrate her birth from Amun, gain the favour of the deities for her rule, and expand the claim to divinity for the kingship itself.

Elsewhere in Karnak central Hatshepsut had a palace built for her ritual activities, and she constructed a series of rooms around the central bark shrine where she had depicted her purification and acceptance by the gods. Precisely where she had her great quartzite bark shrine set up remains an issue of debate, but it is now being reconstructed in the Open Air Museum at Karnak. This shrine bears depictions of the processions associated with the Opet Festival (in which Amun of Karnak visited Luxor temple) and the Beautiful Feast

of the Valley. During the latter festival, Amun left Karnak to travel westwards to Deir el-Bahri and the temples of other rulers. This festival became the most prized one on the Theban west bank during the New Kingdom.

Hatshepsut had a tomb excavated in the Valley of the Kings for herself as ruler. Tomb KV 20 appears to be the earliest tomb in the valley, and Hatshepsut had it enlarged to accommodate both her own sarcophagus and a second that had been initially carved for herself but then recarved for her father Thutmose I. Both Hatsheput and Thutmose I may have initially been laid to rest there, but Thutmose III later removed Thutmose I's body to KV 38, which he had built for a similar purpose. The confusion of multiple tombs and sarcophagi for Hatshepsut is not entirely at an end, but research by Luc Gabolde and others has contributed to a better understanding of early work in the Valley of the Kings. The queen also built a temple to Amun at Medinet Habu at the southern end of Thebes. Completed by Thutmose III, this chapel housed an important cult of the god on the west, becoming part of the regular festival processional cycle which included Deir el-Bahri and Karnak, and later also involved Osiris.

The Temple at Deir el-Bahri: A Statement of Hatshepsut's Reign

The temple at Deir el-Bahri remains Hatshepsut's most enduring monument. Built of limestone and designed in a series of terraces set against the cliff wall in a bay formed naturally by river and wind action, the temple called 'Holy of Holies' (*djeser djeseru*) was Hatshepsut's most complete statement in material form about her reign. The design of the temple followed a form known since the First Intermediate Period, and particularly inspired by the 11th-Dynasty temple of Mentuhotep II (2055–2004 BC) just to the south. Terrace temples, however, had continued to be built in the Second Intermediate Period and, more recently, in the early 18th Dynasty (most particularly by Ahmose at Abydos). Hatshepsut borrowed forms developed by many of her royal ancestors; for example, colossal Osirid statues set in front of square pillars on her colonnades resemble closely statues of Senusret I. Hatshepsut's inspiration may instead have been her father, Thutmose I, however, since his Osirid colossi at Karnak, although of sandstone, were similar to those at Deir el-Bahri.

By the time of its completion, the temple contained scenes and inscriptions that carefully characterize a number of projects and events

in the life and rule of Hatshepsut. The most accessible areas, the lower and middle colonnades, showed, for example, a Nubian campaign, the transport of obelisks for Karnak temple, an expedition to Punt to bring back incense trees and African trade products, and the divine birth of the ruler. Officials associated with the work were mentioned by name in the inscriptions, including the treasurer Nehesy and Senenmut. The funerary inscriptions of Djehuty and Senenmut suggest that they were both active in the building and embellishment of the 'Holy of Holies' temple at Deir el-Bahri.

On the south end of the middle terrace, a chapel was constructed for Hathor, goddess of the western cemetery, and it was fronted by a pillared court, whose capitals were fashioned as emblems of the cow-faced deity. Scenes of the king feeding the sacred cow flank the entrance to the chapel itself. On the upper terrace there was a central door into a peristyle court behind which was the main temple sanctuary. Scenes of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley procession decorated the north side of the court, while the Opet Festival appeared on the south. Another enclosed court to the north contained niche shrines to the gods, including Amun, and a large Egyptian alabaster open-air altar for the sun-god Ra-Horakhty. This sun-temple feature was a significant addition to the complex, recalling an old form seen as early as the 3rd Dynasty Step Pyramid at Saqqara. Its meaning for the royal cult was further underscored in rooms on the south of the central court, where the ruler's desire to accompany the sun-god on his daily route through the heavens and the netherworld was expressed in scenes and texts. Hymns describing the deities who governed each hour of the day and night gave Hatshepsut power over time itself so that she could merge with the sun for eternity. On this terrace, too, were chapels for Hatshepsut herself and for her father, Thutmose I. An inscription accompanied a scene of that king declaring his daughter's future reign.

A set of phrases designed to communicate with the few who could read and who would ever see these private areas of the temple allude obliquely to the unusual nature of Hatshepsut's rule. Her high officials are twice warned: 'he who shall do her homage shall live, he who shall speak evil in blasphemy of her Majesty shall die.' It is likely that this was the official court position of the time and that the inscription merely monumentalized a statement well known to élite circles of the time. Hatshepsut was very generous to those who supported her, judging from the sudden increase in large decorated private tombs at Thebes and Saqqara, as well as the increasing number of private

statues dedicated in temples such as Karnak. The ruler appears to have forged a symbiotic relationship with her nobles, so that she became as important to them as they were to her. During this period, for the first time in Theban private tombs, the enthroned ruler appears arrayed like the sun-god himself, acting as an eternal intermediary for the tomb-owner. The Theban tombs of the royal steward Amenhotep (TT 73) and the royal butler Djehuty (TT 110) show Hatshepsut in this manner, and several tombs dating to the sole rule of Thutmose III continued the practice. Such loyalist representations recall the inscribed stelae of the Middle Kingdom élite that described how the 12th-Dynasty kings acted for the good of Egypt.

Foreign Relations in the Reign of Hatshepsut

Hatshepsut's co-regency with Thutmose III was not a period of protracted warfare. There were several Nubian military expeditions that appear to have dealt with local uprisings, but nothing indicates that overall administration of the south by the 'viceroy and overseer of southern countries' was interrupted. The viceroy Seni gave way to Amennakht during Hatshepsut's reign, and the latter ceded to Nehy under Thutmose III's sole rule. At least one other viceroy was in service at the end of Hatshepsut's tenure, but his name is uncertain. Each of these men not only governed Nubia but also supervised construction projects. They oversaw the delivery of Nubian products as 'tribute' to the ruler, but no doubt saw little direct military action.

Hatshepsut's trade mission to Punt was promoted in Egypt as a major diplomatic *coup*. The African products that were brought back, along with gold and incense (including the incense trees themselves), stimulated interest in exotic luxury goods. Soon the Nubian tribute-bearers were pictured in private tomb paintings bringing the same items: ivory tusks, panther skins, live elephants, and, of course, gold. It is not entirely clear how the mission to Punt opened more extensive trade to areas of Africa south of Egypt's control, but it was only after this time that consistent reports of Nubian tribute from the conquered regions were recorded, including lists of the exotic materials obtained.

The possibility exists that Egypt's connection to the Aegean, as attested by the Minoan paintings at Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris), underwent a change during Hatshepsut's reign. Although Avaris continued to be occupied until the reign of Amenhotep II, there is no certain indication that Egypt was in contact with Crete following the first part of the 18th Dynasty. Trade may have been maintained through Cyprus

and the Levant, however, since imported pottery occurs in some quantities. In the reign of Hatshepsut, when delegations of Keftiu (Minoans, judging from the Egyptian representations) appear alongside other foreign emissaries in mural paintings from Theban private tomb chapels, Egypt may have forged its own trade connection with Minoan Crete or Mycenaean Greece. The consistency of the contact, however, is dubious. Similar paintings in the reigns following Hatshepsut show less familiarity with the dress and trade objects from Crete, and scholars have concluded that the trade contact may have been through Syria–Palestine rather than directly.

Thutmose III's Sole Rule

The kingship reverted to Thutmose III alone sometime in the twentieth or twenty-first year of Hatshepsut's reign. He then wasted little time in establishing a reputation both for himself and for Egypt that was to be remembered a millennium later, if somewhat imperfectly. Thutmose III must have carefully assessed his situation as a now mature but unproven ruler and, no doubt with counsel from associates and fellow military colleagues, identified the potential for glory and wealth lying to the north-east. The rewards of conquering Nubia could not belong to Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut had reaped what there was from establishing contact with Punt. The new locale for quick gains was the Levant, where Egypt might gain control of the trade routes that had until then been dominated by Syrian, Cypriot, Palestinian, and Aegean rulers and traders. At the end of some seventeen years of military campaigns, Thutmose III had successfully established Egyptian dominance over Palestine and had made strong inroads into southern Syria. His own reputation was assured, and the proceeds were extravagantly expended on behalf of the temples of Amun and other gods, as well as on those men who followed the king on his quests.

The king did not dishonour the name and monuments of Hatshepsut until the last years of his reign, but instead attempted to fill the landscape of the Nile Valley with reminders of his own reign. It is interesting to note that the artistic style and portraiture of Thutmose III are extremely difficult to differentiate from those of Hatshepsut in her later monuments. Only in his body type did Thutmose choose to be shown somewhat differently, for his images routinely show him with broader shoulders and a heavier upper torso than Hatshepsut in both relief and statuary, and this more virile body type was the one used later by Amenhotep II. The face of Thutmose III continued the

'Thutmoside' profile seen already with Thutmose I, comprising a long nose with slight hump and downturned end, broad at the base. The mouth was wide, with a protruding upper lip due to the overbite that ran in the family.

Thutmose III used his thirty-two years of sole rule to make his name prominent throughout Egypt and Nubia. He was active at Gebel Barkal at the farthest southern point in Nubia, at Sai, Pnubs at the third cataract, Semna, Kumma, Uronarti, Buhen, Quban, Amada, Faras, and Ellesiya, as well as several other locations where blocks are known in his name. His monuments further north are well attested at Elephantine, where he built a temple to the goddess Satet of the first-cataract region, at Kom Ombo, Edfu, Elkab, Tod, Armant, Thebes, Akhmim, Hermopolis, and Heliopolis. A statue of the overseer of works, Minmose, active in the later reign of Thutmose III, listed cult sites at which he worked. He named, in addition to the places mentioned already, Medamud, Asyut, Atfih, and a number of localities in the Delta, including Buto, Busiris, and Chemmis. Although no buildings of Thutmose III have yet been identified in the Delta, Minmose's inscription suggests that he and earlier 18th-Dynasty kings may well have been active there.

Karnak continued to be a favoured site. Thutmose III somewhat ruthlessly restructured the central areas of the temple, removing Amenhotep I's cult chapels of limestone and replacing them in sandstone. Soon after beginning his period of sole rule, he inaugurated the construction of his major building in Karnak: '[Thutmose III is] Effective of Monuments' (*akh menu*). The overall theme of the relief scenes in the building concerns the renewal of Thutmose III's kingship, primarily through the *sed*-festival, which he first celebrated in the thirtieth year of his reign. The veneration of kingship generally fitted well with this purpose for the building and connected it with the chapels around the central court. Later in his reign, Thutmose III had the entire central area redecorated with scenes and particularly inscriptions detailing his campaigns in Asia. These *Annals*, inscribed in the forty-second year of his reign, have become the primary historical record of the king's conquests, containing, as they do, specific episodes of the warfare and lists of booty taken. The enrichment of the Amun temple was enormous as described in the *Annals*: the buildings alone were numerous. The Sixth and Seventh Pylons were added by the king, the latter covered with scenes and inscriptions naming the places over which he claimed mastery. A temple to the god Ptah was built on the north side of the precinct, and a granite bark shrine was made for the

centre of the temple, as well as an Egyptian alabaster one later joined to a shrine of Thutmose IV (1400–1390 BC) and set near the Fourth Pylon. Transformations to the works of Hatshepsut also took place in the reign of Thutmose III and were completed by his son Amenhotep II, but even without these the activity was unceasing. The king's high priests of Amun included the energetic Menkheperraseneb, owner of Theban tomb 86, his nephew of the same name (TT 112), and Amenemhat (TT 97). Amenemhat was probably Thutmose III's last high priest of Amun and largely in service under Amenhotep II, after Menkheperraseneb handed over the office to his nephew for a brief period.

The high priests were responsible not only for Karnak, but for works on Amun's behalf on the west bank as well. Thutmose III was extremely active at Medinet Habu, where he completed the small temple to Amun and also built a memorial temple for his father just to the north. Late in his reign, he converted an elevated shrine at Deir el-Bahri into his own chapel called 'Sacred Horizon' (*djeser akhet*). The tomb of Thutmose III in the Valley of the Kings (KV 34) was hewn high in a cliff, descending deep into the rock face. The walls of the burial chamber are covered with black- and red-painted hieratic renditions of the netherworld texts: the *Litany of Ra*, which calls upon the names of the sun-god to aid the king in his afterlife journeys, and the *Book of what is in the Netherworld* (*Amduat*), which provided the king with a map of the underworld and spells to help him achieve eternal justification.

Thutmose III in the Levant

Almost immediately after his sole rule began, Thutmose III began an expedition to the Levant, where he sought to wrest control of a number of city states and towns who recognized a Mitannian overlord from north-east Syria. Having apparently taken as an excuse the need to deal with local squabbles in Sharuhen and its vicinity, the king went to Gaza from the Egyptian border fortress at Tjaru. Gaza had been under Egyptian rule at least since Ahmose's time, and we presume that Sharuhen's loyalty had been expected since the same reign. The *Annals* record that in this first campaign of his twenty-third regnal year Thutmose III left Gaza and planned his attack on Megiddo from the city of Yehem, a major city-state then occupied by the ruler of Kadesh. It was also protected by a group of chiefs representing regions of the Levant as far as Nahrin (Mitanni and Mitanni-dominated Syria).

Thutmose's inscription indicated that these chiefs should have been loyal to Egypt, and this must be seen as the true threat. Access to Lebanese cedar, copper and tin sources, and other prized products may have been jeopardized by Mitanni overlordship in northern Palestine and the coastal strip.

Once in the field, Thutmose III discovered the actual rewards of war. The spoils were evidently so great that he continued to campaign intermittently, until the forty-second year of his reign, in the regions of northern Palestine, the Lebanon, and parts of Syria. The spoils taken from the battle of Megiddo, together with the peace offerings that ended the seven-month siege of the town, were considerable and included 894 chariots, including two covered with gold, 200 suits of armour and two of bronze belonging to the chiefs of Megiddo and Kadesh, as well as over 2,000 horses, and 25,000 animals. Following the siege of Megiddo, Thutmose III replaced the defeated local chiefs and continued northward in the direction of the Litani River. The luxury objects taken from the several towns he defeated were meticulously described in the *Annals*, and the different classes of captives taken were also enumerated. The campaigns of years 24–32 detailed the king's focus on the Levantine littoral, with its forests and harbours, as well as areas of west Syria. The Egyptian proceeds included a range of materials from precious metals (gold, silver, copper, and lead) to wood, to oils, and even foodstuffs and cereal harvests. The king sent the children of the city rulers back to Egypt to be Egyptianized. According to the *Annals* for year 30, 'whoever died from among these chiefs, his Majesty caused that his son stand in his place'.

If we are correct in assuming that the toponym Nahrin does not feature in Egyptian inscriptions before Thutmose III's eighth campaign (in year 33 of his reign) simply because they were regarded as too powerful to be mentioned on Egyptian royal monuments, then the king's conquest of the Syrian vassals was a truly significant achievement. The hitherto poorly attested state of Nahrin suddenly appears in the later years of Thutmose III's reign in every type of hieroglyphic inscription: in addition to the *Annals* of Thutmose III, the king's apparent crossing of the Euphrates appears in the Gebel Barkal Stele erected at the fourth cataract in Nubia, on a Karnak obelisk, on the Poetical Stele from Karnak, and on the Armant Stele. References to Nahrin also occur among the numerous toponym lists from the reign. The amount of booty taken during the Syrian campaigns was impressive, both for the ruler and for his soldiers. With the exception of the aftermath of the eighth campaign, in year 33, throughout the *Annals*

revenue from Nahrin was listed as booty, either the plunder of the army or what the king captured. Apparently Nahrin did not at this time offer yearly deliveries (*inu*), as the *Annals* clearly indicate by contrasting its one-time delivery after the year-33 campaign with that of other areas designated as 'from this year'. This might be interpreted to mean that the defeated Mitanni vassals alone were the source of Egypt's revenues, not the Mitanni king in his capital, Washshukanni. Although the listed objects and people taken from Nahrin are sizeable, the yearly deliveries from Retenu and Djahy included far more items of precious materials. Clearly Thutmose III was still in the process of warfare with Mitanni.

The participation in the conquest of Syria, including Nahrin, by a newly formed Egyptian military élite is commemorated in at least eleven Theban tombs from the reign of Thutmose III and early in that of Amenhotep II, in addition to numerous private statue and stele inscriptions (tombs TT 42, 74, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 100, 131, 155 and 200). In these tomb chapels, the emphasis was upon the captives of military expeditions and upon the wars or soldiers themselves, as much as it was upon luxury items acquired from foreign deliveries. The military aspect of Egyptian–Mitanni encounters was to be short lived, however. Instead, the prestige of things Syrian began to soar. Tombs decorated after the first decade of Amenhotep II's rule celebrated the revenues as foreign impost, particularly of an exotic nature, the elements of conquest being formalized within celebratory processions. For example, in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93), decorated late in the reign of Amenhotep II, there is no text describing the Syrian wars, no accounting of booty as in Suemniwet's chapel (TT 92), or presentation of the foreign chiefs' children, as in Amenemheb's (TT 85). Instead, one wall shows the New Year's presents for the king. Among them are numerous weapons and coats of armour, as well as two chariots. The label for the chariot in the higher register boasts of the wood being brought from the foreign country of Nahrin, while a chariot below it is designated for use in warfare against the southerners and the northerners. A pile of Syrian-style helmets is beneath the upper chariot, while a heap of ivory is beneath the lower one—clearly an allusion to former warfare in the two regions (Asia and Nubia respectively).

Also among the New Year's gifts in Kenamun's tomb is a group of glass vessels imitating marble. This type of glass was particularly characteristic of north-east Syria and northern Iraq. Indeed, the large-scale introduction of core-formed glass into Egypt may well have been

a direct result of the Mitanni wars. Quite possibly first developed in Mitanni centres, such as Tell Brak and Tell Rimah, glass vessels quickly became among the prized objects copied (and frankly improved upon) in Egypt. Silver and gold vessels (often described in the booty lists as 'flat bottomed') associated with the Mediterranean littoral (referred to as the 'workmanship of Djahy') also came as revenue from Nahrin (in year 33), and, as with glass, Egyptian-style copies of these Syrian vessels rapidly became fashionable. The famous flat-bottomed silver vessel inscribed for the soldier Djehuty under Thutmose III is just such a bowl a gold bowl of Djehuty, also at the Louvre, may be a modern copy of the silver one, and there are numerous representations of them from temple and tomb walls in Thebes.

Along with Syrian-style luxury items came the gods of the region, and it is in the reign of Amenhotep II that the cults of the Asiatic deities Reshef and Astarte were heavily promoted in Egypt. It is significant that the fashion for Mitanni-style items far outlasted the fashion for military decoration. A special type of gold lion award that was issued to soldiers in the Syrian campaigns is not found after the early reign of Amenhotep II, but Syrian-style metal and glass vessels continued to be status symbols throughout the 18th Dynasty and were copied in a variety of forms within Egypt. Likewise, the scenes of presentation of Mitanni war captives and booty gave way after the early reign of Amenhotep II to the preferred scene of foreign representatives offering their prized luxury objects in obeisance to the pharaoh.

In the iconographical transformation of Mitanni from arch-enemy to a compliant source for prestige luxury goods, we can track Egypt's path towards an alliance with Nahrin. It is not certain that the three wives of Thutmose III buried in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud (in western Thebes) were Syrian, but their names were certainly Asiatic and their wealth in gold was profound. This perhaps reflects the changing Egyptian view towards the east—the same king who campaigned to conquer Retenu and Nahrin for twenty years then married women from the region and showered them with riches. Despite the battles of Amenhotep II yet to be fought in Syria, Egypt's interest in peace was imminent at the close of Thutmose III's reign.

Thutmose III's wives included one woman called Sitiah, daughter of a royal nurse. She had the titles of 'great royal wife' and—in one surviving text—'god's wife'. If she in fact replaced Nefrura in the priestess's position, it was only until Thutmose III's daughter Merytamun was old enough to take up the role. Sitiah is not definitely known to

have had any children, while the mother of Amenhotep II, Merytra, appears to have produced several children. Merytra (daughter of Huy, a divine adoratrice of Amun and Atum, and chief of choristers for Ra) apparently gave birth to Amenhotep, Princess Mery(t)amun, prince Menkheperra, Princesses Isis and another Mery(t)amun, and a small Princess Nebetiunet. Merytra as queen appeared in the temple of Medinet Habu and in the tomb of Thutmose III. A third wife, Nebetta, and a Princess Nefertiry are depicted in the royal tomb.

Amenhotep II

It is not known whether any members of Hatshepsut's branch of the family (descended from Queen Ahmose) were still alive at the end of Thutmose III's reign. The ageing king, however, did take his son Amenhotep as co-regent in the fifty-first year of his reign, and then shared the monarchy with him for a little more than two years. The so-called dishonouring of Hatshepsut, which had begun around year 46 or 47, may have paved the way for the joint rule, for Amenhotep II himself completed the desecration of the female king's monuments. In order to eliminate the claims of Hatshepsut, and her family line, her monuments were systematically adjusted: some were obscured by new work; some were mutilated to remove any evidence of her name; and many were altered such that the names of Thutmose III or Thutmose II replaced those of Hatshepsut. Since Thutmose sought to destroy the memory of the queen twenty-five years after her disappearance, it is unlikely that this was carried out as pure vengeance against his step-mother, particularly since the king had retained a number of Hatshepsut's officials, who completed their career and built tombs with the name of Thutmose III prominently inscribed in them. Perhaps the death of men who served both rulers, such as Puyemra, second priest of Amun, and Intef, the mayor of Thinis (the region of Abydos) and governor of the oases, also vitiated objections to the execration of Hatshepsut.

Amenhotep II's reign was a pivotal one in the early New Kingdom, although today it is often dwarfed by the shadow of his two predecessors and his successors in the late 18th Dynasty. During a reign of nearly thirty years (with a highest known regnal year of twenty-six) the king had military successes in the Levant, brought peace to Egypt together with its economic rewards, and faithfully expanded the monuments to the gods. In his own time Amenhotep II commanded recognition most particularly for his athleticism, and his monuments

often allude to this capability. As a young man, the king lived in the Memphite region and trained horses in his father's stables (if we are to believe the inscription he left on a stele at the Sphinx temple at Giza). His greatest athletic achievement was accomplished when he shot arrows through copper targets while driving a chariot with the reins tied around his waist. The fame of this deed was monumentalized not only in the stele inscription from Giza but in carved relief scenes in Thebes. It was also miniaturized on scarabs that have been found in the Levant. Sara Morris, a classical art historian, suggests that Amenhotep II's target shooting success formed the basis hundreds of years later for the episode in the *Iliad* when Achilles is said to have shot arrows through a series of targets set up in a trench.

The majority of Amenhotep II's reign was peaceful, providing a lengthy period of stability. Several administrative papyri from his reign document flourishing agricultural and industrial organizations in several areas of Egypt. A well-developed bureaucracy was at work, and Amenhotep II appears to have made good use of the services of administrators. He encouraged men who had served his father to stay on, and he installed close friends of his own in key roles. Several Middle Kingdom literary compositions were recopied at this time, suggesting a growing interest in cultural refinement rather than military valour. Although royal art remained as idealized and highly formal as it had been in the reign of Thutmose III, painting style in non-royal contexts began to betray an artistic individualism that was later to be accentuated.

Amenhotep II's Building Programme

Amenhotep II left buildings or additions to standing monuments at nearly all the major sites where his father had worked. In the first three years of his reign, constructions in the names of the two kings were erected, most notably at Amada in Lower Nubia, where a temple celebrating both equally was built to honour Amun and Ra-Horakhty, and at Karnak, where both kings participated in eliminating the vestiges of Hatshepsut's monuments by masking them with their own. In the court between the Fourth and Fifth pylons the columns added and the masonry placed around the queen's obelisks carried sometimes the name of one ruler and sometimes the name of the other. It remains impossible to say whether the alterations were effected simultaneously (during a co-regency) or consecutively.

He left monuments at Pnubs on Argo Island, at Sai, Uronarti, Kumma, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim, Amada, Sehel, Elephantine, Gebel Tingar

(a chapel near the quartzite quarry on the west bank at Aswan), Gebel el-Silsila, Elkab, Tod (a bark chapel of the co-regency), Armant, Karnak, Thebes (including his tomb, KV35 in the Valley of the Kings and a now-destroyed funerary temple), Medamud, Dendera, Giza, and Heliopolis. A temple construction of limestone was the object of the reopening of the Tura quarries in year 4 of the reign, but the location of that temple is uncertain; it was not the king's funerary temple at Thebes, since that structure was built of sandstone and brick.

The sites where Amenhotep II's construction efforts left the deepest impressions were Giza and Karnak, despite the fact that the king's work at Giza was not particularly ambitious. None the less, he built a temple to the god Horemakhet, the sun-god identified with the Great Sphinx. It has been noted that, since the time of Thutmose I's reign, the area around the Sphinx was frequented by princes and pilgrims who visited the great pyramid complexes of Khufu and Khafra. The Sphinx and its amphitheatre became the site of a cult of royal ancestors, including Amenhotep II himself and his son, Thutmose IV, who set up the Sphinx Stele between the paws of the great lion statue. The cult of Horemakhet and the royal veneration continued into Roman times, such that pilgrims left votive offerings in the enclosure wall of the amphitheatre or in the chapels if possible. Amenhotep II's dedication of a small temple to Horemakhet (also described as Hauron on the king's foundation deposit from the site) was thus an important development in the history of the Sphinx as a focus of worship. His own sons left stelae in his temple, some bearing depictions that indicate that a statue of Amenhotep II once stood against the breast of the Sphinx. Mark Lehner has reconstructed the appearance of the Sphinx with this 18th-Dynasty statue in place.

When Amenhotep II had finished his programme of erasures on the monuments of Hatshepsut at Karnak, he was able to concentrate on preparations for the royal jubilee at this temple. Just as Thutmose III had constructed the festival temple known as 'Effective of Monuments' in the precinct of Amun at Karnak, so Amenhotep II created a building for his *sed*-festival. His pavilion, as reconstructed by Charles Van Siclen, was a court of relief-carved square pillars with decorated walls on the sides. Dated to the later part of his reign both by its artistic style and its inscriptions, it fronted the temple's south entrance at the Eighth Pylon, effectively creating a new main gateway to the complex, just as Hatshepsut had done before him. In front of this *sed*-festival court were the estates of Amun, or gardens that produced vegetables and other sweet plants. The pillars carried the unusual dedication of 'a

first occasion of repeating [or "and repetition of"] the *sed* festival' which may imply that he had already celebrated a jubilee before building this court. These formulas are, however, difficult to interpret and may simply be wishes expressed for the king's coming jubilees. Following an old tradition, Amenhotep II's relief decoration in the festival pavilion contained elaborate royal regalia for the king, that particularly emphasized solar connections—for example, multiple sun discs on top of crowns, and tiny falcons set above the sun discs, creating identity with the falcon-headed Ra-Horakhty.

The small temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri had used similarly extravagant solar symbolism and was also a monument dating to the period after the king's jubilee preparations had been made. Amenhotep II's festival building included scenes of his mother, Merytra, who served as his queen and, more importantly, 'god's wife of Amun'. The building was dismantled at the end of the 18th Dynasty, to accommodate alterations of the quadrant by Horemheb (1323–1295 BC), and it was later rebuilt in a different architectural form by Sety I (1294–1279 BC) at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.

Amenhotep II also built a temple to Amun in northern Karnak, a precinct later dedicated to Montu of Thebes. However, the blocks of this building now form part of the foundations of a temple constructed under Amenhotep III and later adapted in the Ptolemaic Period. Its original function remains unknown. Other gateways and blocks from North Karnak, however, indicate that the king was interested in developing this sector, perhaps because of its position in terms of extending the north–south axis of the central part of Karnak. Stone door elements from a palace of the king were found north of the temple proper, perhaps indicating the location of a ceremonial residence for Amenhotep II. The king's interest in Montu's temple at Medamud some 8 km. to the north is perhaps also notable, since later there was certainly a processional way between northern Karnak and Medamud.

Amenhotep II in the Levant

Amenhotep II carried out two campaigns in Syria, the first probably in year 7, the latter in year 9. These are described on stelae left at Amada, Memphis and Karnak. The first campaign concentrated on the defeat of unaligned chiefs and rebellions among recently acquired vassals. Among the latter, the region of Takhsy, mentioned in the Theban tomb of Amenemheb (TT 85), was a primary, and successful, target.

The seven defeated chiefs of that region were taken back to Thebes, head-down on the royal barge, where six were hung upon the temple wall. One was carried all the way to Napata, in the Sudan, where his body was hung, no doubt as an example to the local population. According to the stelae, the plunder claimed from Amenhotep's first campaign comprised a staggering 6,800 *deben* of gold and 500,000 *deben* of copper (1,643 and 120,833 pounds respectively), along with 550 *mariannu* captives, 210 horses, and 300 chariots. The second campaign in year 9 was largely carried out in Palestine.

Apart from the standard toponyms in 'name rings', none of the monumental texts of Amenhotep II contains a hostile reference to Mitanni or Nahrin (despite the fact that the inscriptions narrated his Syrian campaigns)—and this is probably intentional. Instead of Thutmose III's designation, 'that foe of Nahrin', Amenhotep II several times uses the archaic Egyptian generic term *setjetyu* ('Asiatics'). The language of the stelae, composed after the conflicts had ended, in year 9 or later, reflects the fact that peace with Mitanni was at hand. Indeed, the Memphis stele contains an addition at the end, reporting that the chiefs of Nahrin, Hatti, and Sangar (Babylon) arrived before the king bearing gifts and requesting offering gifts (*hetepu*) in exchange, as well as asking for the breath of life. This was certainly the first official announcement of the creation of a Mitanni peace, although good relations with Babylon and others already existed in the reign of Thutmose III.

The importance of Amenhotep II's new alliance with Nahrin was underlined by its exposition in a column inscription from the Thutmosid *wadjyt*, or columned hall, between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak. This location was significant, because the hall was venerated as the place where Thutmose III received a divine oracle proclaiming his future kingship. In addition, the association of the hall with the Thutmoside line going back to Thutmose I, the first king to venture to Syria, made it a logical place to boast of the Mitanni relationship. The inscription singles out Syria, stating: 'The chiefs (*weru*) of Mitanni (*My-tn*) come to him, their deliveries upon their backs, to request offering gifts (*hetepu*) from his majesty in quest of the breath of life.' By the close of Amenhotep II's reign the portrayal of Mitanni, so recently the vile enemy of the king, was brought into line with that of Egypt's other close allies. In monuments within the Nile Valley, these brother kings of Babylon, Hatti, and Nahrin were always portrayed as suppliants who requested life from the Egyptian king. The hard-won peace with Syria is betrayed, however, by Amenhotep II's enthusiasm for it.

Clearly Amenhotep II considered this alliance to be a boon at home as well as abroad.

Royal Wives in the Mid-18th Dynasty

A number of princes can be documented for the reign of Amenhotep II: Amenhotep, Thutmose, Khaemwaset(?), Amenemopet, Ahmose, Webensenu, and Nedjem, as well as the unnamed Princes A and B known from stelae left at Giza. Perhaps another, named Aakheperura, was born late in Amenhotep's reign, or in Thutmose IV's. In striking contrast to earlier reigns, princesses are difficult to document. The plurality of young royal males is in contrast to the earlier part of the dynasty when adult princes appeared to be scarce, perhaps because they died on military campaigns, or from childhood illnesses. The scarcity of princes, perhaps due in part to the dynastic preference for princess sisters as queens, may have inspired rulers to take minor queens in addition to their great royal wives. These 'royal wives', such as Nebetta and the three Levantine queens of Thutmose III, all mentioned above, were probably distinct from court females of unknown rank with whom the kings had sexual liaisons. The latter women, such as Mutnofret, Isis, Tiaa, and Mutemwiya, produced sons who became king and promoted their mothers as queens. It is not known, however, which women (apart from Tiaa, mother of Thutmose IV) were the mothers of Amenhotep II's numerous offspring.

It was not only his able procreative powers that separated Amenhotep II from his predecessors. Unlike those before him, this king had no publicly acknowledged wife other than his mother, Merytra, who served as 'great royal wife' for much of Amenhotep's reign. The absence of wives might be considered a conscious rejection of the dynastic role played by princesses as queens and 'god's wives of Amun' from the establishment of the dynasty through to the reign of Hatshepsut. Perhaps Thutmose III and Amenhotep II now realized that queens like Hatshepsut, who represented the dynastic family, could be dangerous if they were too wealthy and powerful. In addition the queen-turned-king's usurpation of the throne may have given Thutmose III and Amenhotep II a particular incentive to produce sons. This conclusion further motivated kings to choose as great royal wives women from outside the main royal line, as did Thutmose III in choosing Sitiah and Merytra.

The Legitimization of Thutmose IV

The succession of Thutmose IV appears to have had no recognition at all by Amenhotep II, either by co-regency or announced intent. On a statue dedicated in the reign of Amenhotep II by Prince Thutmose (later Thutmose IV) in the Temple of Mut at Karnak, the tutor accompanying the prince, named Hekareshu, was designated simply as nurse of the royal children; however, after Thutmose's accession, Hekareshu was retrospectively termed 'god's father' and 'nurse of the king's eldest son'. Although Merytra may have appeared on Thutmose III's late monuments, Thutmose IV's mother, Tiaa, cannot be certainly attested on a monument of Amenhotep II's other than as a later addition by Thutmose himself. There is no evidence before her son's reign that Tiaa's position influenced the succession.

Royal nurses (male and female), together with tutors from the ranks of retired courtiers, nurtured and educated royal children during the 18th Dynasty. The burgeoning documentation for princes at this time is thus probably no accident at all. Competition among the swelling ranks of capable young princes, particularly with the cessation of regular military campaigns in Asia after the first decade of Amenhotep II's reign, is not difficult to imagine. And competition can erupt unexpectedly into struggle among ambitious youths. The story of Thutmose IV's elevation to the kingship related by the Giza Sphinx Stele inscription has been interpreted in the past to suggest that he was not the legitimate heir, but it need tell us no more than that royal ideology often drew upon divine legitimization in the New Kingdom. The sheer romance of the 'Sphinx Stele' is perhaps a good enough reason to quote part of it here:

> Now the statue of the very great Khepri [the Great Sphinx] rested in this place, great of fame, sacred of respect, the shade of Ra resting on him. Memphis and every city on its two sides came to him, their arms in adoration to his face, bearing great offerings for his *ka*. One of these days it happened that prince Thutmose came travelling at the time of midday. He rested in the shadow of this great god. [Sleep and] dream [took possession of him] at the moment the sun was at zenith. Then he found the majesty of this noble god speaking from his own mouth like a father speaks to his son, and saying: 'Look at me, observe me, my son Thutmose. I am your father Horemakhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum. I shall give to you the kingship [upon the land before the living]. . . . [Behold, my condition is like one in illness], all [my limbs being ruined]. The sand of the desert, upon which I used to be, (now) confronts me; and it is in order to cause that you do what is in my heart that I have waited.'

The request addressed to Thutmose to excavate the Sphinx from the sand was answered, and the king's retaining wall around the

amphitheatre, as well as a set of stelae set up around the arena, document his work in the region. Possibly his construction efforts were intended to distract attention from problems with the succession. The suggestion of a struggle for the throne can be seen in several monuments dedicated by Thutmose's brothers at their father Amenhotep II's Giza Sphinx temple. They were found broken and mutilated, and their defacement suggests some sort of *damnatio memoriae*, but there is presently no way to demonstrate what provoked it. Prince Webensenu is the most likely son of Amenhotep to have been the owner of defaced Giza stelae A and B. Webensenu's canopic jars and *shabtis* were found in Amenhotep II's tomb (KV 35 in the Valley of the Kings), but it is difficult to know when they were placed there. We may suppose that this prince was of some importance, but more than this is not possible. The defaced Giza stelae should thus not be ignored as evidence of a struggle, but we cannot confirm or deny that Thutmose IV was the usurper.

The Monuments of Thutmose IV

Thutmose IV's reign of at least eight years was brief but active. It is a commonplace observation that Egyptian rulers built numbers of monuments in direct proportion to the amount of peace and affluence they enjoyed. As king, Thutmose IV had the wealth and peace, but time apparently was cut short. He began construction at most of Egypt's major temple sites and at four sites in Nubia. The original sizes of the monuments and of their remains vary greatly, but in general he added to pre-existing temples. The distribution of Thutmose IV's monuments, within the context of the mid-18th Dynasty, is unremarkable. He honoured the established cult centres and was hardly an iconoclast. On the other hand, at several locations he left certain harbingers of things to come. Indeed we may suggest that he deliberately followed in the footsteps of his grandfather and father, building additions to their temples, and in similar fashion suggested new sites and monuments to his son.

Monuments of the reign have been found at the following places: in the Delta at Alexandria, Seriakus, and Heliopolis (?); in the Memphite region at Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, and the city of Memphis itself; in the Faiyum at Crocodilopolis; in Middle Egypt at Hermopolis and Amarna; and in Upper Egypt at Abydos (where he left a chapel of brick with limestone revetments), Dendera, Medamud, Karnak, Luxor, western Thebes (where he built a mortuary temple and a tomb, KV43, in the

Valley of the Kings), Armant, Tod, Elkab, Edfu, Elephantine, and Konosso. In Nubia he left blocks at Faras (?) and Buhen. He decorated the peristyle court at Amada, began a building at Tabo (later completed by Amenhotep III), and left a foundation deposit at Gebel Barkal. In addition, some decoration was carried out in the Hathor temple at the Serabit el-Khadim turquoise mines in Sinai.

The king's interest in the sun-gods may be documented throughout his building campaigns and in his inscriptions as well. At Giza, he devoted himself not to a display of equestrianism and archery, but to the god Horemakhet and the Heliopolitan cult. He made no reference to Amun-Ra on the Sphinx Stele, allowing the northern deity (Horemakhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum) to dominate both as sun-god and as royal legitimator. Given that Amun, even on Amenhotep II's Sphinx Stele, was the primeval creator and the god who determined the kingship, Thutmose's omission of Amun from his stele must surely have been deliberate, perhaps reflecting both the increasing importance of the Heliopolitan gods and the political influence of the north itself as the administrative centre of Egypt.

At Karnak, the king shifted the main axis back to east–west, thus reducing the importance of Amenhotep II's north–south entranceway. Placing a porch and door before the Fourth Pylon, Thutmose IV probably first left the original court untouched and changed only the monumental doorway itself. He erected a porch for the Fourth Pylon doorway with columns made of wood (ebony and *meru* according to an inscription), probably gilded with electrum. This porch would have been a protected space used during court rituals, and two contemporary representations of it have been preserved.

A few years later he created a new appearance for the Fourth Pylon limestone court erected by Thutmose II. Over the earlier limestone walls, Thutmose IV built a sandstone peristyle court elaborately decorated with reliefs showing treasures donated by the king to the god Amun. This was to have commemorated the celebration of a first jubilee planned without waiting for thirty years to elapse, as was certainly the case with Amenhotep II too. The style of Thutmose's sculpture from Karnak changed in the last years of rule, becoming more elaborate and expressive.

The king also erected a single obelisk at the eastern end of the precinct at Karnak. It had been produced for Thutmose III but lay in the stone workshop for thirty-five years until Thutmose IV ordered it to be set up. It became a focus of the solar cult place designed by Thutmose III, and it was placed directly on the temple axis.

Thutmose IV in Syria-Palestine and Nubia

With regard to foreign policy in the east, Thutmose IV's contacts with Mitanni are best considered in the context of the pre-existing peace with that power. This situation would have restricted military activity to campaigns against either upstart Egyptian vassals or Mitanni kinglets asserting pressure on the Egyptian city states. Thutmose IV took a daughter of the Mitanni ruler Artatama as wife, in order to seal a diplomatic relationship with the king.

The best-known inscription noting military activity for Thutmose IV is the laconic dedication text on a statue at Karnak that consists of a single line: 'from the plunder of his Majesty from [. . .]na, defeated, from his first campaign of victory'. The toponym referred to on his Karnak dedication (and a statue base from Luxor temple) is likely to have been in Syria, given the several references in the Amarna Letters to the king in that region. The two most likely cities to restore on the Karnak dedication would have been Sidon (*Zi-du-na*), where Thutmose IV was known to have travelled and where Egypt clearly lacked support in the Amarna period; or Qatna, near Tunip in Nukhashshe (an amorphous area to the east of the Orontes). Whether the toponym was Qatna or Sidon or some other city, the northern Levant remains the likely area for the main campaign. This is all the more evident since the Mitannian king Artatama would have been impressed by a show of strength at his doorstep, particularly if negotiations for a diplomatic renewal were in progress.

A scene in the tomb of the standard-bearer Nebamun (TT 90) records the man's promotion in year 6 and shows the Chiefs of Nahrin before the king in his kiosk. Captives also appear in this scene and are rare enough after the reign of Amenhotep II that they should be taken seriously. However, as captives taken in a campaign against both Mitanni vassals and rebellious Egyptian city states, these foreigners make the statement of Egypt's obvious superiority over Mitanni. Such an assertion of dominance would have been appropriate at the moment of Egypt's treaty renewal with Washshukanni. It may be that, rather than help us to document a war against the Mitanni ruler, this scene informs us of the date for Thutmose IV's diplomatic marriage with the Syrian princess.

In the southern regions of Palestine, Thutmose can only be said to have taken punitive action against Gezer; actual warfare cannot be proven, but some of the population of this town were transported to Thebes. It is presently impossible to prove that the Levantine holdings

of Egypt at the end of Thutmose's reign were not similar to those of Amenhotep II. And it is similarly impossible to demonstrate that Artatama I could have been dealing from a position of strength when he decided to form a brotherhood with Thutmose IV. Thutmose never fought the Mitanni ruler directly, but his power in the far northern provinces was intact. Thus Artatama may have been renewing a diplomatic relationship established under Amenhotep II, or he may have been reaching an accord to achieve stability for the region as a whole (particularly as the threat of a united Assyria and Babylon may already have been looming). The Egyptians were hardly disgraced in this peace—they appear to have given up nothing.

Turning to the areas south of Egypt, there is no clear attestation of Thutmose IV's military activity in Nubia proper. The Konosso Stele, carved on the rock south of Aswan, details a journey by Thutmose IV over the gold-mine routes east of Edfu; it is very likely that the Nubians were interfering with gold transports, attacking from hiding places in the high desert where the mines themselves were located. Since the expedition terminated at Konosso, it is possible that the king used the Wadi el-Hudi to return, having taken an elliptical route eastwards through the Wadi Mia, then south, then westwards back to the Nile Valley. There is, however, little in the text to imply any major warfare against these Nubians. Rather, this was a desert police action that merited attention because of a threat to transportation through the desert.

Kingship and Royal Women in the Reign of Thutmose IV

Thutmose IV may have begun a course that Amenhotep III completed, particularly in deliberately identifying himself with the sun-god. At Giza, on one stele he was shown wearing the gold *shebiu*-collar and armlets strongly associated with the solar deity's favour. These jewels are often shown on representations of the king in funerary contexts, but on this stele (as well as on an ivory armlet from Amarna, and on the king's chariot) Thutmose IV is shown wearing them as a living ruler. Thutmose IV left a statue of himself as falcon king at Karnak (now in the Cairo Museum), and on a relief from his sandstone court at Karnak a statue of the king as falcon was pictured among other royal statuary. In these images the divine and solar aspects of the kingship are supreme.

The trend of elevating the royal associations with Egypt's major gods (as seen in Thutmose III's veneration of his own and earlier kingships

in his jubilee temple within the precinct of Amun) became even more prominent during Thutmose IV's reign. While never abandoning the notion that the dynastic line was best strengthened by marriage of the king to a king's daughter (for both political and economic reasons), Thutmose IV, like Amenhotep II, increasingly emphasized divine associations of royal females. He placed his mother in the role of 'god's wife of Amun', as if she were the goddess Mut herself. This was her primary role, although Tiaa also held the titles of 'king's mother' and 'great royal wife' during most of Thutmose IV's reign. Monuments with her name are known from Giza, the Faiyum, Luxor, Karnak, and the Valley of the Kings. This intentional association with the mother-goddess Mut was supplemented by iconographic and inscriptional connections between Tiaa and the goddesses Isis and Hathor. The king appears to have apportioned the ceremonial roles of priestess and queen among Tiaa and two other great royal wives. Tiaa appears in the Karnak jubilee court of her son, where she holds a mace while witnessing the monument's foundation ceremony. In Amenhotep II's jubilee pavilion Merytra (name later changed to Tiaa) was shown likewise holding a mace and a sistrum in her other hand. The imagery here probably signifies these queens' status as 'god's wives of Amun'. The mace became a standard iconographic element of the 'god's wives' later on.

A non-royal wife Nefertiry, attested in Giza and Luxor temple, was 'great royal wife' alongside Tiaa during the earlier years of rule, and Thutmose capitalized on this mother–son–wife triad (as did Amenhotep III later) to portray roles—for example, at Luxor temple—where he, as both god and king, accompanied his mother and wife goddesses enacting the roles of mother, wife, and sister-goddesses. Later, after Nefertiry had apparently either died or been set aside, he followed the trend of his family and married a sister, whose name may be read as Iaret. It is possible that he may have had to wait for Iaret to reach a marriageable age. Amenhotep III's mother, Mutemwiya, was never acknowledged by Thutmose IV, either as major or minor queen, but a statue of Amenhotep's court counsellor, the treasurer Sobekhotep (buried in TT 63), shows the Prince Amenhotep in a favoured position before his father's death. The tomb of Amenhotep's royal nurse, Hekarnehhe (TT 64) also shows the young heir, but, since the tomb was completed in Thutmose IV's reign, Mutemwiya does not appear. Several other princes are mentioned in texts in Hekarnehhe's tomb, as well as in a rock graffito at Konosso, but it is not clear whether these are sons of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV.

Amenhotep III

The thirty-eight-year reign of Amenhotep III was primarily a period of peace and affluence. The construction of royal monuments during the reign was on a scale with few parallels, and the retinue of the king left tombs, statues, and shrines that rivalled those of many former rulers. Sadly, as in most periods, it is impossible to compare the fortunes of the rich with those of the poor. Whether the peasant's life was economically improved due to the overall wealth in Egypt is unknown. The official documentation might suggest that the population as a whole enjoyed prosperity at some point, since Amenhotep III and his granary official Khaemhet boasted of the 'bumper' crop of grain harvested in the king's crucial jubilee year 30. The king was remembered even 1,000 years later as a fertility god, associated with agricultural bounty. Still, this type of evidence is hardly unbiased, so we must admit our ignorance.

It is probable that Amenhotep III was a child at his accession. A statue of the treasurer Sobekhotep holding a prince Amenhotep-merkhepesh probably shows the king shortly before his father's death, and a wall painting in the tomb of the royal nurse Hekarnehhe (TT 64) describes the tomb-owner as the royal nurse of Prince Amenhotep, portraying the prince as a youth rather than a small naked child. The age of the king at accession could have been anywhere between 2 and 12, with a later age perhaps to be preferred given that Amenhotep's mother, Mutemwiya, was barely more visible than Tiaa and Merytra, the preceding two kings' mothers. A regency by Mutemwiya appears unlikely, and, if the king was indeed a small child at accession, his rule was conducted for him quite unobtrusively. An alternative possibility might be that members of Queen Tiye's family assisted the king in his early rule. A scarab dated in year 2 of Amenhotep's reign established the early date of his marriage to Tiye, and the identification on another scarab of the queen's parents, Yuya and Tuya, underscores their prominence. There is, at present, no documentary evidence that Tiye's family acted as a power behind the throne. This presumption has become so strong, however, that other non-royal 'king-makers', such as Ay (whose name in Egyptian resembles that of Yuya), have been thought to be from the same Akhmim family. The discovery of colossal statuary of the late 18th Dynasty at Akhmim, along with some of Amenhotep III, appears to give support to this idea, in so far as that geographic region benefited during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun/Ay.

The Divinity of Amenhotep III

Recent discussions of the reign of Amenhotep III have suggested that he was deified during his lifetime, not only in Nubia, where he built a cult temple for himself, but also in Egypt proper. Raymond Johnson has argued that Amenhotep III's insistent identification with the sun-god in his monumental iconography and inscriptions should be understood as his deification, and he further contends that Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (1352–1336 BC) transformed his deified father into the disembodied solar disc Aten, thereby worshipping the living Amenhotep III as the sole god of the world. The view that Amenhotep IV worshipped his father as the Aten (albeit after his death) was earlier espoused by Donald Redford. It must be observed that, at the same time, such a transmogrification would have deprived the father of both his physical existence and his name, and it would also have forced Amenhotep III to participate in the ruination of the god celebrated in his own name, Amun. Although the interpretation of Amenhotep III as his son's god carries within it the unmistakable influence of modern Freudian psychology, Egyptian notions of the king's relationship to the gods might support the basis of this idea.

While there is at present no text or iconography within Egypt proper that identifies Amenhotep III as a cult deity during his lifetime, all kings (whom Jaromir Malek describes in Chapter 5 as *netjeru neferu*, 'junior gods') were considered to be major gods at their decease and were frequently invoked as intercessors by their successors and by private persons as well. Moreover, it is arguable that Amenhotep III intended to be identified with the sun-god from the time of his first jubilee in years 30–31, since scenes representing that festival show him taking the specific role of Ra riding in his solar boat. The degree to which Amenhotep III was associated with the sun-god on monuments might well have encouraged the view that, having merged with the sun, as the king was expected to do after death, he was present in Akhenaten's deity, the solar disc Aten. To claim that this was Akhenaten's intention remains a psychologically informed speculation.

It is also noteworthy that Amenhotep III named his own palace complex 'the gleaming Aten' and used stamp seals for commodities that may be read 'Nebmaatra [his prenomen] is the gleaming Aten'. Of course, sealings are economic documents and could as such refer to the palace complex itself; they might, therefore, have been intended to be read as 'the gleaming Aten of Nebmaatra'. What is certain is that the

association of the Aten with Amenhotep III was well established in his own documentation prior to the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

It is impossible at this point to prove or disprove Johnson's argument. There are no stelae or statues that were, with certainty, dedicated to Amenhotep III as a major deity within Egypt in his lifetime—much less as the Aten. The deification of Rameses II, some 100 years later, was accompanied by significant numbers of monuments, both royal and private, that identified the god Rameses in a number of cult locations within Egypt proper. These monuments date from the reign of Rameses himself and do not refer to the king as 'beloved of X-deity' (as the numerous monuments of Amenhotep III do). They name Rameses himself as the god and show him being offered to, usually as a statue. Nothing of this type exists for Amenhotep III in Egypt, and the examples that most closely parallel monuments offered to gods cannot be safely assigned to the king's lifetime. One stele from Amarna shows Amenhotep and Tiye receiving food offerings under the bathing rays of the Aten. While this might be seen to contradict Johnson's thesis that Amenhotep III *was* the Aten, it is perhaps significant that it derives from the late years of Akhenaten's reign. It therefore raises the question as to whether the king and queen were still alive, or whether the stele, from a private house owner's shrine, venerated the deceased royal couple to invite their intercession. Such votive stelae offered to deceased kings were common in houses at Deir el-Medina both earlier and later than the Amarna Period.

A major obstacle is our inability to ascertain whether Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten ruled as co-regents for an appreciable length of time. Were this proposition (supported by Johnson's thesis) to be demonstrated, then objects venerating Amenhotep III and made in Akhenaten's reign could be seen as worship of him as a living deity, but not necessarily as the Aten. Co-regency was rare enough in ancient Egypt that scholars remain uncertain as to whether it had consistent hallmarks (see Chapters 1, 7, and 10). After years of debate, we are no closer to a resolution of the debate about co-regency or about the deification of Amenhotep III as the Aten. It might not be unfair to suggest, however, that Amenhotep III would have been pleased that, 3,350 years after his death, it is difficult to ascertain whether he ruled as a living god or merely strived to give that impression.

The Building Programme of Amenhotep III

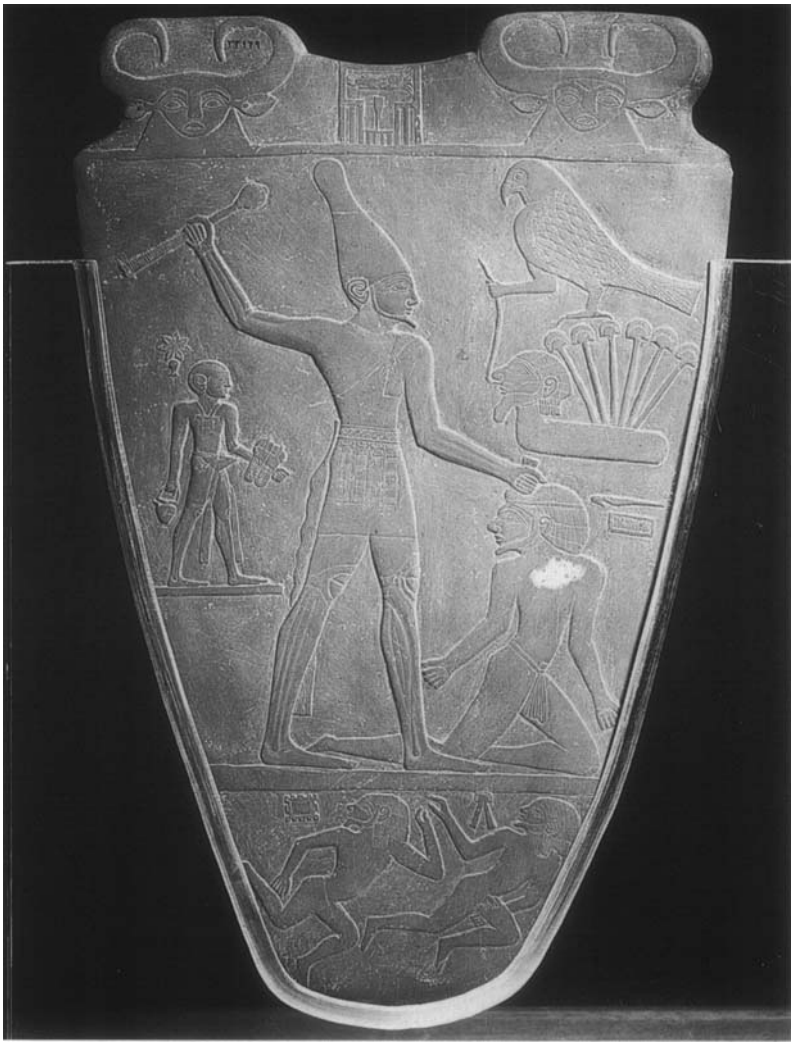
It may be fair to describe the numerous constructions of Thutmose III as a building programme, in that he developed and expanded cults at a number of sites, including Amada (for Amun and Ra-Horakhty), Karnak (the East Temple for the sun-god and his own festival building), and Hermopolis. More importantly, however, at Karnak his impact was thematic and left the dramatic impression of the warrior pharaoh whose victories simultaneously honoured the king himself and the god Amun. The geographic regions that he conquered appear there in eternal captivity to the god, and the king proudly claimed Amun's favour when he built his festival temple known as 'Effective of Monuments', a cult place that overshadowed those of his royal predecessors at Karnak. Thutmose III's divinity as he designed it for eternity described him as the 'best among equals', referring to the earlier kings of Egypt. This divinity gained him entrance to the council of supreme deities such that he shared the solar boat with Ra and was introduced before Amun.

Amenhotep III's building programme gave him space to design an eternal divinity for himself that reached beyond Thutmose III's vision. He consistently identified himself with the national deities, not his deceased royal predecessors, and he represented himself as the substitute for major gods in a few instances. In addition, his buildings document an unparalleled emphasis on solar theology, such that the cults of Nekhbet, Amun, Thoth, and Horus-khenty-khety, for example, were heavily solarized during Amenhotep III's reign. Trends apparent in 18th-Dynasty funerary literature reveal that the sun's cyclicity and its potential for fertility or famine were manifest in the world and in the ruler, but monuments and objects made in Amenhotep III's time may have disseminated these notions more widely. It is impossible to ascertain whether the intellectuals of the age influenced the royal iconography or were requested to formulate it.

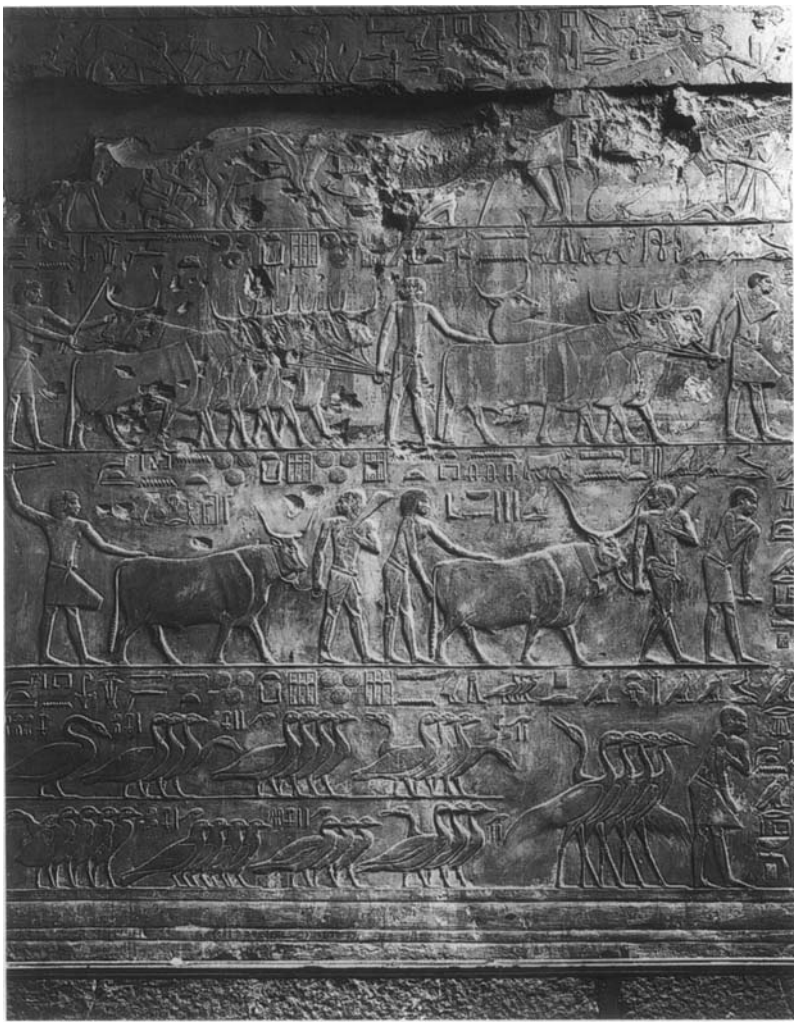
Amenhotep built temples or shrines in Nubia at Quban, Wadi es-Sebua, Sedeinga, Soleb, and Tabo Island. There are building elements or stelae in his name at Amada, Aniba, Buhen, Mirgissa, and Gebel Barkal (perhaps reused in the latter). There are statues or scarabs in his name at a variety of sites, including Gebel Barkal and Kawa, and most of the statues originated at other sites, particularly at Soleb. In Egypt proper the king built a shrine at Elephantine (now destroyed) and completed a chapel at Elkab, probably partially erected by his father. Some 20 km. south of Thebes Amenhotep III built a temple at Sumenu, site

1. (*right*) In this 'king-list', on a wall in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, *c.*1300 BC, Sety and the young prince Rameses (the future Rameses II) bring offerings to the list of names of kings written out in a continuous sequence from the 1st to the 19th Dynasty. Certain kings' names (and sometimes whole dynasties) were omitted from the list when the priests at Abydos regarded them as illegitimate.

2. (*below*) This body of a child, excavated in 1994 at Taramsa-1, near the temple of Hathor, at Dendera, is the earliest Egyptian so far identified, dating to *c.*55,000 BP.



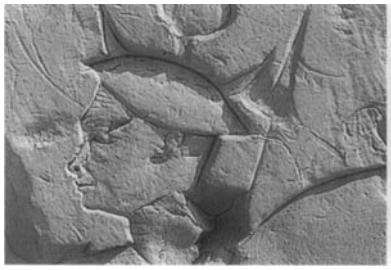
3. One of the most famous Dynasty 0 artefacts, the Narmer Palette, was excavated from the so-called Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis, *c.*3000 BC. This side shows King Narmer wearing the White Crown and smiting a captive foreigner held by the hawk-god Horus.



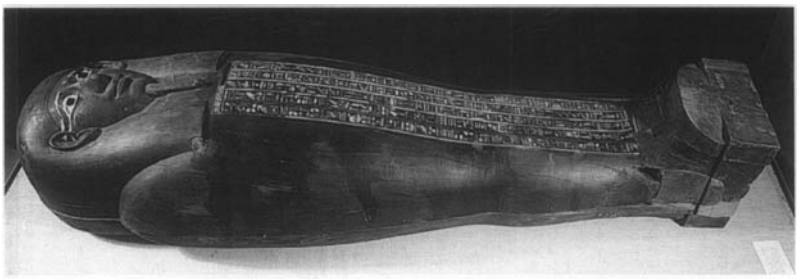
4. The late 5th Dynasty *mastaba*-tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqara includes a depiction of the inspection of cattle, perhaps for taxation purposes.

5. (*top*) This rectangular 11th Dynasty slab-stele was probably originally erected in the tomb of Wahankh Intef II at western Thebes. The scene shows the king offering beer and milk to Ra and Hathor, and the accompanying text contains a long hymn that the king addresses to both deities. The relief work on this stele represents a superb example of the emerging 'court' style of the early 11th Dynasty.
(*bottom*) Slab stele of Djary (a military commander in Intef II's service) from his *saff*-tomb in the necropolis of el-Tarif. It is an excellent example of the bold—even bizarre—style of provincial art at this date. This is evident not only in the representation of Djary and his wife seated on a bench to receive funerary offerings, but also in the peculiar shapes and unusual arrangements of many of the hieroglyphs, betraying the considerable distance that separates this piece from Old Kingdom artistic conventions.

6. (*top*) Many Middle Kingdom tombs contained funerary models depicting scenes from daily life. This model, from the tomb of Meketra at Thebes, portrays the cattle census, a regular event, whereby the necessary amount of royal tax on livestock would have been calculated.
7. (*below*) An example of a Tell el-Yahudiya ware juglet of a type which occurs in level E/1-b/1 at Tell el-Dab'a during the 15th Dynasty.



8. (*top*) the palace of the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, *c.*1180 BC, contained these faience tiles decorated with detailed figures of foreigners.
9. (*bottom left*) By the Ramessid period, the Egyptian army had begun to incorporate many mercenaries from the eastern Mediterranean whose distinctive physical features and weapons were faithfully reproduced by the artists of the time, as in this detail of a Sherden soldier in the depiction of the Battle of Qadesh on the external walls of the temple of Rameses II at Abydos.
10. (*bottom right*) The upper part of the triumphal stele of the Kushite ruler Piy from Gebel Barkal shows the provincial rulers of Egypt standing and prostrating themselves before Piy (whose figure was later erased).



11–13. (*top left*) An avenue of 30th Dynasty sphinxes of Nectanebo I stretching northwards from the pylon of the Luxor temple towards the temple of Amun at Karnak. 30th Dynasty activity in this temple-complex asserted continuity with the long tradition of architectural work on the site and also with the many great kings in whose names these structures were erected.
(*top right*) Detail of a cartouche of Nectanebo I in the oldest standing section of the temple of Isis at Philae. The prenomen (first cartouche) reading *Ḥpr°-k3-r* is identical to that of Senwosret I, one of the greatest pharoahs of the 12th Dynasty, doubtless intentionally. The earliest cult buildings at Philae were 26th Dynasty, but Nectanebo I's architectural work greatly enhanced the cult site, and was clearly intended to promote the shrine as a major centre of Isiac worship.
(*bottom*) The inner coffin of Petosiris from the burial chamber of his tomb at Tuna el-Gebel, probably dating to the second Persian Period. Almost 2m. long and made of highly valuable pine inlaid with well-formed coloured glass hieroglyphs, this piece is unequivocally Egyptian in character, unlike some of the decoration in the tomb chapel. The text consists of a version of Ch. 42 of the *Book of the Dead*. The language, like that of the *Book of the Dead* as a whole, is the long obsolete classical Egyptian which would only have been intelligible to the learned at this period.

14. (*left*) Mummy portrait of a young lady from Hawara, wood, encaustic, and paint. Roman period, 2nd century AD.
(*right*)Mummy of a young boy with inserted portrait in encaustic on wood, Roman Period, early 2nd century AD.

of a cult to the crocodile Sobek. Although the temple itself remains elusive, numerous objects from it and the cemetery associated with its town, have come to light since the 1960s.

It is in Thebes that Amenhotep's penchant for the colossal is most visible today. The Colossi of Memnon were the towering quartzite images of Amenhotep that protected the king's first pylon at his funerary temple (the single largest royal temple known from ancient Egypt). More fragments of colossal sculpture have been found within his mortuary temple than in any other known sacred precinct. Buildings on the east bank of the Nile at Thebes included a series of constructions at Karnak, as well as Luxor temple, which was entirely rebuilt.

Amenhotep's tomb, KV 22, was excavated in a western valley wadi, away from earlier royal tomb locations. Excavations during the 1990s by a Japanese team have carefully mapped this remarkably large and beautifully finished tomb. The body of Amenhotep III himself (or a mummy so labelled) was found in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35).

On the west bank of Thebes, south of the king's enormous funerary temple, was located his enormous palace of 'the gleaming Aten', now termed Malkata after the Arabic designation for the Queen's Valley nearby. Still further south, at Kom el-Samak, the king built a jubilee pavilion of painted mud brick. A Japanese expedition excavated and carefully recorded this building, which is now destroyed. Next to the Malkata complex is the great harbour that Amenhotep created for use during his constructions and habitation at the palace. In the early 1970s the Birket Habu harbour was the subject of an investigation by David O'Connor and Barry Kemp, who also studied the Malkata palace. A Japanese expedition worked at the palace in the 1980s.

Amenhotep was particularly active in Middle Egypt, although little remains of his temple works at Hebenu and Hermopolis. To the north, blocks of brown quartzite with relief decoration remain from the king's great temple in Memphis, 'Nebmaatra United with Ptah'. Colossal quartzite statues of Ptah, reworked by Rameses II, now stand in the foyer of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, but probably derived from the Memphite temple of Amenhotep III. In the 1990s the Egypt Exploration Society with W. Raymond Johnson have investigated limestone blocks of a small temple of Amenhotep reused by Rameses II. The king's interest in Memphis is further attested by his association with the first known Apis-bull burial in the Serapeum through the agency of his son Thutmose, the high priest of Ptah. Building elements at Bubastis, Athribis, Letopolis, and Heliopolis attest to the king's interest

in the eastern Delta. At Athribis a temple was constructed under the supervision of the king's confidant Amenhotep, son of Hapu.

The work of Amenhotep III at Karnak, Luxor, and his funerary temple reveals his interest in stressing the royal identification with the sun-god. After completing the monuments of his father, Thutmose IV, he changed the face of the Karnak temple. At some undetermined point in his reign, Amenhotep III's workers dismantled the peristyle court in front of the Fourth Pylon and the shrines associated with it, using them as fill for a new pylon, the Third, on the east–west axis. This created a new entrance way to the temple, and two rows of columns with open papyrus capitals were erected down the centre of the newly formed forecourt. He also began the construction of the Tenth Pylon at the south end of Karnak, changing its orientation slightly from that of the Seventh and Eighth in order that it led to a new entrance for the precinct of the goddess Mut, for whom he may also have built or begun a temple. Balancing the south-temple complex was a new building to the north of central Karnak, which was a shrine to the goddess Maat, the daughter of the sun-god. Both Mut and Maat could represent the solar eye of Ra, his agent in the world. David O'Connor has noted that the north–south opposition corresponds to heavenly and terrestrial settings, a fact that accords well with the divine roles of Maat and Mut respectively. The rituals and offerings that Amenhotep III provided may have been designed to demonstrate architecturally and inscriptionally his ability, like the sun-god, to create stability in the cosmos. Deeply carved reliefs from a granary within Karnak show the king in elaborate regalia, crowned with multiple solar discs, and bejewelled on his kilt apron and body with solar imagery. In addition, the king's face is childlike, and his body type is thicker and shorter waisted than on most of the temple reliefs. This is a rejuvenated Amenhotep III, who also exhibits the jubilee iconography with elaborated divine, and particularly solar, elements.

The construction of Luxor temple by Amenhotep III may have been carried out in several stages. He replaced an earlier Thutmosid building with a sandstone temple that celebrated the renewal of the divine kingship during the Opet feast, added into it a birth room wherein he was born of the union of Amun-Ra and his real mother, Mutemwiya, and completed the temple with a new cult place for Amun of *Ipet resy*, or Luxor.

The royal penchant for ritual drama was further monumentalized in Amenhotep III's funerary temple. The temple contained large numbers of life-sized and colossal statuary in the form of both well-known

and obscure deities, frequently with human bodies topped by animal heads. These statues represented both the gods of the jubilee and a three-dimensional astronomical calendar to guarantee a propitious festival year. A litany to satisfy Sekhmet, the solar eye of Ra, began the rituals in Thebes, and it was followed in the king's temple in the Sudan, at Soleb, with the ritual propitiation of the deified Nebmaatra, the lunar eye of Ra. After this sequence, the jubilee began in earnest.

Queen Tiye

Tiye was the most influential woman of the king's reign, and she survived her husband by at least a few years. She was so important to him that she not only appears with him on temple walls at Soleb and west Thebes, accompanying him at the jubilee festivities, but she was deified in her own temple at Sedeinga in Upper Nubia and became part of the royal solar programme. As the solar eye of Ra in the Sudan, she would have joined the deity Nebmaatra to return to Egypt and restore order ('Maat') to the world. The role she did not play was that of god's wife of Amun, and it is this fact that accounts for her scarcity on the monuments from Karnak and Luxor. She is known only from a small shrine at Karnak later usurped for Tutankhamun—not at all at Luxor.

After her husband's death, the king of Mitanni, Tushratta, wrote to Tiye asking her to remind her son Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten of the close relationship between him and Amenhotep III. Perhaps upon her own death she was first entombed at Amarna, then moved to either (or both) KV 22 or 55. Tiye gave birth to Satamun, Henuttaneb, Nebetiah, and Isis, all of whom appear on statues and smaller objects associated with the royal couple. Satamun was the most elevated of Tiye's daughters, and chairs made for her were found in the tomb of Yuya and Tuya (KV 46). She bore the title of 'great royal wife' simultaneously with Tiye, while the other daughters were called 'king's wife' or 'king's consort'. The economic and, particularly under Amenhotep III, religious significance of the king's marriage to his own daughters has been discussed a number of times already in this chapter and dates back to the beginning of the dynasty. In pairing his wife and daughter(s) with himself on monuments, Amenhotep encouraged the image of the sun-god accompanied by the mother goddess (Nekhbet, Nut, Isis) and the daughters of Ra (Hathor, Maat, Tefnut). More practically, the king enlarged his own holdings, not by giving his daughters to non-royal men to marry, but by himself marrying into

wealth. He asked for and received a Babylonian princess as wife, and he married two Mitannian princesses (one of the latter, Taduhepa, having reached Egypt only just in time to become a widow and then marry Amenhotep IV).

Male offspring of Amenhotep III and Tiye certainly included Amenhotep IV. The mother of a king's son and *sem*-priest Thutmose, who may have been older than Amenhotep, is unknown. Whether the king had offspring by his foreign wives is unknown, but there are a number of court women, princes, and princesses known by name from funerary objects unearthed near Malkata. Some of these may have been royal family members, others minor wives.

The body of a royal woman was found in the cache of mummies in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35). She has been identified as Queen Tiye on the basis of hair samples matched to strands of the queen's hair carefully boxed in Tutankhamun's tomb. The certainty of this identification is in question, and confusion persists, given that objects in the name of Tiye were found both in KV 22 and in the enigmatic KV 55. The Japanese expedition at KV 22 has found elements of a coffin that could belong to a queen, but whether that would be Tiye or Satamun, the daughter whom Amenhotep III took as great royal wife during his reign, is unknown.

International Relations in the Reign of Amenhotep III

A Nubian campaign took place in year 5 of Amenhotep III's reign and was commemorated on the Island of Sai, as well as at Konosso and along the road south of Aswan. The viceroy of Kush may have supervised the military action, but whether this was Merymose or the earlier office-holder Amenhotep is unknown. Merymose left his own inscription at Semna, describing an action against Ibhet (probably Lower Nubia). The year 5 campaign was in Kush, perhaps even to the south of the fifth cataract. The building of the fortress of Khaemmaat at Soleb, where the king also constructed a temple, may have been intended to prevent further disruptions from Upper Nubia. The earlier Upper Nubian capital at Kerma was almost directly across the river from Soleb, so the site may have been chosen to underscore Kushite subjection to Egypt.

International relations with the rest of the ancient world were conducted through diplomatic missions. The amount of Egyptian material on the Greek mainland increased dramatically in the reign of Amenhotep III, and the names of Aegean cities, including Mycenae,

Phaistos, and Knossos, appear for the first time in hieroglyphic writing on statue bases from the king's funerary temple. Letters between Amenhotep III and several of his peers in Babylon, Mitanni, and Arzawa are preserved in cuneiform writing on clay tablets. These letters, many found in the archive of Akhenaten's capital of Amarna, demonstrate the powerful position enjoyed by Amenhotep III as he negotiated to marry the daughters of other rulers. A strong connection between Amenhotep III andthe Mitanni king Tushratta is apparent in the letters, while the Babylonian king Burnaburiash, who came to power late in Amenhotep's rule, appears more suspicious of Egyptian strength. The mid-14th century BC certainly represents one of the high points of Egypt's influence on the ancient world, and it was the culmination of activities by nearly all the rulers of the 18th Dynasty.

Administration in the 18th Dynasty

The overall administrative structures in use during the 18th Dynasty are characterized both by clear trends and by some inconclusive situations. Too few of the officials of Ahmose and Amenhotep I have been securely identified to indicate the families and regions represented in the early 18th-Dynasty royal retinue. By the middle of the dynasty, however, the kings' closest associates were buried either in Thebes or at Saqqara, with more of our documentation deriving from the southern city. From the reign of Hatshepsut onwards, the élite officials for whom we may expect to find a decorated tomb chapel and burial shaft at Thebes or Saqqara included the vizier, the treasurer (literally the overseer of the seal), overseers of gold and silver houses, royal stewards, overseers of the granary (of Egypt or Amun), the king's son and overseer of southern countries, royal heralds or butlers (often involved in diplomacy), royal nurses (male and female), regional mayors (sometimes buried in their home districts), the high priest of Amun (Thebes), the high priest of Ptah (Saqqara), the second, third, and fourth priests of Amun, and overseers of the army, as well as various levels of royal scribes.

The 18th-Dynasty pharaohs' need to garner support from powerful élite families has been mentioned with respect to scenes of the enthroned ruler in private tombs of the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and powerful families held the positions of vizier and high priest of Amun during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Important members of Thutmose III's retinue, including the vizier User (TT 61 and TT 131), his steward and the counter of grain for

Amun, Amenemhat (TT 82), and the overseer of the granary of Amun, Minnakht (TT 87), had burial chambers with similar versions of the *Litany of Ra* and the *Amduat*. Erik Hornung's recent study of User's texts has underscored the royal prerogatives assumed by élite individuals in the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. One of the two tombs of Senenmut (TT 71 and TT 373) was designed to emulate a royal burial, including an astronomical ceiling such as those later used in the Valley of the Kings. Privileged access to the king arose in other ways as well (for example, through burials granted in the Valley of the Kings). This was true for the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.

In contrast to the élite families well known in the time of his aunt and father, many of Amenhotep II's close associates had earlier served in the military both under Thutmose III and under Amenhotep himself. Such close relations as army service can foster were perhaps made all the stronger by their origins in youth, when the king and his court associates learned to hunt and drive chariots. Usersatet, the 'viceroy of southern countries', may well have been one of these childhood friends who then served as a royal herald abroad under Thutmose III. The inscription on a stele which he left at the fortress of Semna in the second-cataract region contains within it the text of a remarkable letter sent by Amenhotep II to his old friend posted abroad: 'You sit . . . a chariot-soldier who fights for his Majesty . . . the [possessor of a wo]man from Babylon, and a servant from Byblos, of a young maiden from Alalakh and an old lady from Arapkha.' Another man who had served Thutmose III, Amenemheb (TT 85), must have died rather early in Amenhotep II's reign. In an inscription from his tomb, Amenemheb described the appointment of Amenhotep as king and then related how the king spoke to him: 'I knew your character when I was (still) in the nest, when you were in the retinue of my father. May you watch over the élite troops of the king.'

A courtier who perhaps best typifies the whole of Amenhotep II's rule was a friend from the military campaigns and childhood play. The great steward Kenamun fought together with Amenhotep in Retenu. When recognized for his service, Kenamun was appointed as steward of Peru-nefer, the seat of a large naval dockyard and ship-building centre. A royal residence was also active there in the mid-18th Dynasty. Later in his life Kenamun's sinecure included the profitable stewardship of the king's own household. Kenamun appears to have been active for almost the whole of Amenhotep II's reign. His tomb (TT 93) shows elegant stylistic elements known only from tombs painted late

in this three-decade period, but there is no hint that Kenamun survived into Thutmose IV's rule. The decidedly non-military character of Kenamun's chosen tomb-painting themes, coupled with images of the prosperous élite lifestyle, are in harmony with the tone set by tomb paintings contemporary with both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.

Two other men were greatly advanced in the time of Amenhotep II, probably because of early court acquaintance. The vizier Amenemopet and his brother the mayor of Thebes, Sennefer, became extremely affluent owing to the king's attentions. These two men were so influential in the Theban region that they were both afforded burial in the Valley of the Kings, and Sennefer's wife Sentnay, a royal nurse, was interred there as well. Both men also had large tomb chapels at Sheikh Abd-el-Qurna on the Theban west bank (TT 29 in the case of Amenemopet); indeed Sennefer had two tombs (TT 96 upper and lower) in order to accommodate several different female contemporaries, probably including both wives and sisters. The elder daughter of Sennefer, Muttuy, shown on statuary and in the lower part of tomb TT 96, appears to have married a man called Kenamun who succeeded Sennefer as mayor of Thebes. This couple, Muttuy and Kenamun, were contemporaries of Amenhotep III and were interred in tomb TT 162.

Thutmose IV's approach to the administration was to allow the military offices to shrink, replacing them with bureaucrats, often selected from long-established élite families. However, every king had his favourites, and Thutmose IV's was the steward Tjenuna (TT 76). Tjenuna's fragmentary tomb biography suggests he had a personal relationship with Thutmose IV that resembled that of a son to a father: he called himself 'true foster child of the king, beloved of him'. Although there is not sufficient documentation to support the notion that Tjenuna was as powerful as either Senenmut or Kenamun, Thutmose IV may well have trusted his chief steward (who was also steward for Amun) as much as any other single individual. An official called Horemheb must also have been a powerful and close ally, to judge both from the size of his burial (TT 78) and from the fact that it contained a depiction linking him with one of Thutmose IV's daughters, Amenemopet.

The civil officials often represented traditional families of influence. Hepu was vizier in the south during Thutmose IV's reign, and a Ptahhotep administered the north. That the two viziers existed simultaneously is confirmed by the Munich papyrus dated to Thutmose's reign in which both men called 'vizier' appear as judges. Hepu's tomb

(TT 66) is situated in the prestigious cemetery of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a placement that conforms to that of viziers under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Although it is the most deeply placed tomb of the reign, it is rather small and comparatively unimpressive when viewed beside others of the period (for example, TT 76 and TT 63).

Clearly the royal administration prospered during Thutmose IV's rule, court and bureaucratic connections supplanting military ones almost entirely. The rank of 'general' or 'military officer' is practically unknown in the period, while that of 'royal scribe' abounds, such that even the viceroy of Nubia, Amenhotep, came from a 'paper-pusher's' background. The office of 'scribe of recruits' was never so well attested, but the fact that the holders were often clearly court associates suggests the position required not the hardened military man but the loyal civil official. With the exception of the Konosso 'police action' (see above, in the section headed 'Thutmose IV in Syria–Palestine and Nubia'), even the employment to which the levied 'recruits' were put in this period and later remains a mystery. It would not surprise us to find that they were as common in quarry expeditions and building enterprises as in military manœuvres.

The court of Amenhotep III is unusual in being known to us nearly as much from monuments outside Thebes as from those within it. The king's treasurers, Sobekmose and his son Sobekhotep (Panehsy), do not have Theban tombs, but the former was buried in Rizeikat. Tombs of the reign, including one of a vizier, Aper-el, have been discovered at North Saqqara by Alain Zivie, and numerous stelae found in the 19th century at that same site name people from the reign. The king's best-known associates, however, did reside in or leave tombs in Thebes. His viziers Ramose (TT 55) and Amenhotep both built extravagant chapels of carved limestone in Thebes, but the latter's is destroyed. This family, though associated heavily by titles with the Memphite region, may, as William Murnane notes, have in fact been Theban. The chief of the king's granary, Khaemhet, likewise left a relief carved tomb at Thebes (TT 47), as did Queen Tiye's steward, Kheruef (TT 192). The most beloved courtier of all was Amenhotep, son of Hapu, to whom the king granted the privilege of his own funerary temple, overlooking the funerary temple of Amenhotep III himself. Amenhotep, son of Hapu, a military scribe from a Delta family, oversaw the completion of many of Amenhotep III's most challenging monuments; the king's recognition of his service led to his eventual deification in the first millennium BC.