



HAL
open science

Hatshepsut at Karnak

Luc Gabolde

► **To cite this version:**

Luc Gabolde. Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands. José M. Gàlan (CSIC); Peter F. Dorman (University of Chicago); Betsy Bryan (Johns Hopkins University). Creativity and innovation in the reign of Hatshepsut : Papers from Occasional proceedings of the Theban workshop 2010, 69, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, pp.33-48, 2014, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations (SAOC), 9781614910244. halshs-00752752

HAL Id: halshs-00752752

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00752752>

Submitted on 7 Jun 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Copyright

OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut

edited by

José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, and Peter F. Dorman

Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010

2014

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION • NUMBER 69
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	vii
Program of the Theban Workshop, 2010	
Preface, <i>José M. Galán, SCIC, Madrid</i>	viii

PAPERS FROM THE THEBAN WORKSHOP, 2010

1. Innovation at the Dawn of the New Kingdom. <i>Peter F. Dorman, American University of Beirut</i>	1
2. The Paradigms of Innovation and Their Application to the Early New Kingdom of Egypt. <i>Eberhard Dzierzek, Heidelberg and Leverkusen</i>	7
3. Worldview and Royal Discourse in the Time of Hatshepsut. <i>Susanne Bickel, University of Basel</i>	21
4. Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands. <i>Luc Gabolde, CNRS (UMR 5140)</i>	33
5. How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power? <i>Dimitri Laboury, University of Liège</i>	49
6. Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in The New Kingdom. <i>Betsy M. Bryan, The Johns Hopkins University</i>	93
7. The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut: The Temple at Deir el-Bahari Example. <i>Zbigniew E. Szafranski, University of Warsaw</i>	125
8. The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahari. <i>Catharine H. Roehrig, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>	139
9. Remarques sur l'architecture du spéos artémidos. <i>Jean-Luc Chappaz, Museum for Art and History, Geneva</i>	157
10. The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency. <i>J. J. Shirley, University of Pennsylvania</i>	173
11. The Inscribed Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11). <i>José M. Galán, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid</i>	247
12. The Composition of the Opening of the Mouth in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11). <i>José M. Serrano, University of Seville</i>	273
13. Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture: The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and Their Socio-Cultural Contexts. <i>Andrés Diego Espinel, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid</i>	297
14. Unconventional Versions: The Theban Tomb of Puiemra, Second Prophet of Amun under Hatshepsut. <i>Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap, University of Heidelberg</i>	337
15. Mitanni Enslaved: Prisoners of War, Pride, and Productivity in a New Imperial Regime. <i>Ellen F. Morris, Barnard College, New York</i>	361
16. A View from Elkab: The Tomb and Statues of Ahmose-Pennekhet. <i>W. Vivian Davies, British Museum, London</i>	381
17. Overseers of Southern Foreign Lands and Thebes in the Reign of Hatshepsut. <i>Tamás A. Bács, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest</i>	409
18. An Unusual Architecture of Hatshepsut in Nubia. <i>Charles Bonnet, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris</i>	425

19. The Part of Hatshepsut in some Architectural Programs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty.
Dominique Valbelle, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV/UMR 8167 435

List of Abbreviations

GENERAL

BD	Book of the Dead	i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
BM	British Museum, London	KV	Valley of the Kings
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn	lit.	literally
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately	m	meter(s)
CG	Catalogue Général of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo	MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
col(s).	column(s)	n(n).	note(s)
JdE	Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo	NN	personal/royal name
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare	no(s).	number(s)
cm	centimeter(s)	O.	ostrakon
col(s).	column(s)	OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
CT	Coffin Text	P.	papyrus
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others	pers. comm.	personal communication
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example	p(p).	page(s)
esp.	especially	pl(s).	plate(s)
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth	PT	Pyramid Text
fig(s).	figure(s)	TT	Theban Tomb
FM	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	var.	variant, variation
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place	vol(s).	volume(s)

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

Davies, Puyemrê	Norman de Garis Davies. <i>The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes</i> . 2 volumes. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series 2–3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1922–1923.
Roehrig, Hatshepsut	Catharine H. Roehrig, editor. <i>Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh</i> . New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.
KRI	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> , 8 volumes. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1975–1990.
KRITA	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated</i> , 5 volumes. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1993–2008.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck et al. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 6 volumes and indexes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
L.D.	Carl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–1859.
L.D. Text	Carl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text</i> . 5 volumes. Edited by Édouard Naville. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.
LGG	Christian Leitz, ed. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . 8 volumes. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
PM I ²	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , Volume 1: <i>The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs</i> , and Part 2: <i>Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, 1994.

- PM II² Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- PM IV Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 4: *Lower and Middle Egypt*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.
- PM V Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 5: *Upper Egypt: Sites*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.
- PM VI Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 6: *Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
- PM VII Bertha Porter, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 7: *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute and Ashmolean Museum, 1952.
- PM VIII² Jaromir Málek. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Volume 8: *Objects of Provenance Not Known, Part 2: Private Statues (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period). Statues of Deities*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1999.
- Urk. I Kurt Sethe. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903.
- Urk. II Kurt Sethe. *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904–16.
- Urk. IV Kurt Sethe. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 4, fasc. 1–16. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906–1909. 2nd rev. ed., 1927–1930. Continued by W. Helck, fasc. 17–22. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955–1958.
- Urk. VII Kurt Sethe and W. Erichsen. *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 7. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1935–.
- Urk. VIII Kurt Sethe and Otto Firchow. *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 8. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.
- Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 volumes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926–1963.

Bibliography

- Abd el-Maksoud, Mohamed, and Dominique Valbelle
2011 "Tell Héboua II." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 62: 1–17.
- Aharoni, Yohanan
1967 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. London: Burns & Oates.
- Aksamit, Joanna
1997 "Die großen Personen des thebanischen Hofes: Die Verwaltung Ägyptens zur Zeit der Hatschepsut und des Thutmosis III." In *Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatschepsut: Ägyptische Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (National Museum in Warsaw, November 20, 1997–February 20, 1998). Warsaw: National Museum.
- Allen, James P.
2002 "The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut." *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 16: 1–17.
2005 *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Writings from the Ancient World 23. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Allen, Thomas G.
1974 *The Book of the Dead, or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their own Terms*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- al-Maqdissi, Michel; Daniele Morandi Banacossi; and Peter Pfälzner
2009 *Schätze des alten Syrien: Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- Altenmüller, Hartwig
1972 *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 24. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2009 "Die Wandlungen des Sem-Priesters im Mundöffnungsritual." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38: 1–32.
- Álvarez Sosa, Milagros
2009 "Origen y primera elaboración de la viñeta 110 del Libro de la Salida al Día." *Trabajos de Egiptología* 5: 49–65.
- Aly, Mohamed; Fouad Abdel-Hamid; and Michel Dewachter
1967 *Le temple d'Amada*, Vol. 4: *Dessins - Index - Tables de concordances*. Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte.
- Andrássy, Petra
2009 "Symbols in the Reisner Papyri." In *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo*
Script from Prehistory to Modern Times, edited by Petra Andrássy, Julia Budka, and Frank Kammerzell, pp. 113–22. *Lingua Aegyptia – Studia Monographica* 8. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.
- Andrews, Carol
1990 *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*. London: British Museum Press.
- Arnold, Dieter
1974 *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, Vol. 1: *Architektur und Deutung*. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 8. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1976 *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 17. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1979 *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 21. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Arnold, Dorothea
1991 "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26: 5–48.
- Assmann, Jan
1969 *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik*, Vol. 1. *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 19. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.
1970 *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnehymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*. *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 7. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
1983 *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*. Theben 1. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1984 *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*. *Urban-Taschenbücher* 366. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
1992 *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: C. H. Beck.
1995 *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*. Translated by Anthony Alcock. *Studies in Egyptology*. London: Kegan Paul International.
2003 "The Ramesside Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT 183) and the Ritual of Opening the Mouth." In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed-

- ited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, pp. 53–60. London: British Museum Press.
- 2005 *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Abridged and updated by the author. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 2006 “Das Sendungsbewusstsein der Hatschepsut.” In *Jn.t dr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, edited by Gerald Moers, Heike Behlmer, Katja Demuß, and Kai Widmaier, vol. 1, pp. 59–72. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie.
- 2009 “Der Mythos des Gottkönigs im alten Ägypten.” In *Mensch – Heros – Gott: Weltentwürfe und Lebensmodelle im Mythos der Vormoderne*, edited by Christine Schmitz and Anja Bettenworth, pp. 11–25. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Assmann Jan; Eberhard Dziobek; Heike Guksch; and Friederike Kampp, editors
- 1995 *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung (Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.-13.6.1993)*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Aston, Barbara G.
- 1994 *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 5. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Aufrère, Sydney H.
- 1991 *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, Vol. 2: *L'intégration des minéraux, des métaux et des 'Trésors' dans la marche de l'univers et dans la vie divine*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 105. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 2005 “La destruction des arbres et des cultures des villes à l'occasion d'un siège, le saccage des récoltes et du couvert végétal lors des guerres.” In *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'Univers végétal: croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne* 3, edited by Sydney H. Aufrère, pp. 49–57. *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 15. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier 3.
- Ayad, Mariam F.
- 2003 *The Funerary Texts of Amenirdis I: Analysis of Their Layout and Purpose*. Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University. UMI Pub. No. 3087233.
- 2004 “The Selection and Layout of the Opening of the Mouth Scenes in the Chapel of Amenirdis I at Medinet Habu.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41: 113–33.
- Bacchi, Ernesta
- 1942 *Il rituale di Amenhotpe I*. Turin: R. Museo di Torino.
- Backes, Burkhard
- 2010 “Das Massaker von Herakleopolis: Ein Beitrag zum *Buch der Himmelskuh* und Totenbuch-Spruch 42.” In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, edited by Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 15–23. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bács, Tamás A.
- 1998 “First Preliminary Report on the Work of the Hungarian Mission in Thebes in Theban Tomb No. 65 (Nebamun/Imiseba).” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54: 49–64.
- 2002 “A New Viceroy of Nubia.” In *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, edited by Tamás A. Bács, pp. 53–67. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 17. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University.
- 2006 “The Tip of a Horn: The Possible Origin of an Iconographic Theme in the Elite Tombs of New Kingdom Thebes.” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46: 3–16.
- 2009 “A Name with Three (?) Orthographies: The Case of the ‘King’s Son, Overseer of Southern Foreign Lands, Penre.’” *Sudan and Nubia* 13: 30–37.
- Bács, Tamás A.; Zoltán I. Fábrián; Gábor Schreiber; and László Török, editors
- 2009 *Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis: A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt*. Budapest: Mester Nyomda.
- Bács, Tamas A., and Gabor Schreiber
- 2009 “The Early New Kingdom on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna and el-Khokha.” In *Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis: A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt*, edited by Tamas A. Bacs, Zoltan I. Fabian, Gabor Schreiber, and László Török, pp. 61–64. Budapest: Institute of Classical Studies, Eötvös Loránd University.
- Baines, John
- 1983 “Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society.” *Man* 18: 572–99.
- 1986 “The Stela of Emhab: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72: 41–53.
- 1987 “Practical Religion and Piety.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73: 79–98.
- 1990 “Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 1–23.

- 1991 "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice." In *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, edited by Byron E. Shafer, pp. 123–200. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 1995 "Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation." In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, pp. 3–47. Probleme der Ägyptologie 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Baines, John, and Christina Riggs
2001 "Archaism and Kingship: A Late Royal Statue and Its Early Dynastic Model." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 87: 103–18.
- Bakir, Abd el-Mohsen
1952 *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Bakr, Muhammad Ibrahim; Helmut Brandl; and Faye Kalloniatis
2010 *Egyptian Antiquities from Kufur Nigm and Bubastis*. Museums in the Nile Delta 1. Berlin: Museen im Nildelta.
- Baldwin, Carliss Y., and Kin B. Clark
2000 *Design Rules, Vol. 1: The Power of Modularity*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Baldwin, Carliss Y.; Christoph Hienerth; and Eric von Hippel
2006 "How User Innovations Become Commercial Products: A Theoretical Investigation and Case Study." *Research Policy* 35/9: 1291–1313. <http://www.people.hbs.edu/cbaldwin/DR2/BHVRODEOKayakHBSWPv2.pdf>.
- Baly, T. J. C.
1930 "Notes on the Ritual of Opening the Mouth." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16: 173–86.
- Barbotin, Christophe
2004 "Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari." *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 24: 9–14.
2008 *Âhmôsis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie*. Les grandes pharaons. Paris: Pygmalion.
???? **???? Please provide reference -- Shirley**
- Barbotin, Christophe, and Jacques-Jean Clère
1991 "L'inscription de Sésôstris I^{er} à Tôd." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91: 1–32.
- Barguet, Paul
1962 *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: essai d'exégèse*. Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire 21. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Barry, Dave
1994 "The Right Stuff," *Miami Herald*, March 27, 1994.
- Barta, Winfried
1963 *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*. Münchner ägyptologische Studien 3. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.
1973 "Bemerkungen zu einem alten Götterhymnus." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 25: 84–91.
- Barthelmess, Petra
1992 *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Barwik, Mirosław
1998 "The so-called 'Stundenritual' from Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, edited by Christopher J. Eyre, pp. 109–17. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 82. Leuven: Peeters.
1999 "Typology and Dating of the 'White'-type Anthropoid Coffins of the Early XVIIIth Dynasty." *Études et Travaux* 18: 7–33.
2010 "Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari." In 8. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples*, edited by Monika Dolinska and Horst Beinlich, pp. 1–12. Akten der ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen; Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3/3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Baum, Nathalie
1988 *Arbres et Arbustes de l'Égypte Ancienne: La liste de la tombe thébaine d'Ineni (No. 81)*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bavay, Laurent
2007 "La tombe thébaine d'Aménémopé, vizir d'Amenhotep II." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 45: 7–20.
- Bedier, Shafia
1994 "Ein Stiftungsdekret Thutmosis' III. aus Buto." In *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur: Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Martina Minas-Nerpel and Jürgen Zeidler, pp. 35–50. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Beinlich-Seeber, Christine, and Abdel Ghaffar Shedid
1987 *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56)*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 50. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Bell, C. Gordon, and Allen Newell
1971 *Computer Structures: Readings and Examples*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Bell, Lanny
 1985 "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 251–94.
 1998 "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor." In *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Byron E. Shafer, pp. 127–84, 281–302. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Bell, Martha
 1987 "Regional Variation in Polychrome Pottery of the 19th Dynasty." *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 1: 49–76.
- Benson, Margaret, and Janet Gourlay
 1899 *The Temple of Mut in Asher*. London: John Murray.
- Berman, Lawrence M.
 2002 "False-door of Puyemre." In *The Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, exhibition catalog, edited by Erik Hornung and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 138–39. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.
- Berman, Lawrence M., editor
 1990 *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Papers presented at the International Symposium Held at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, 20–21 November 1987). Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Bernhauer, Edith
 2002 "Details zur Rekonstruktion der Hathorpfeiler vom Satet-Tempel auf der Insel Elephantine." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 58: 85–88.
 2005 *Hathorsäulen und Hathorpfeiler: Altägyptische Architekturelement vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Philippika, Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2010 *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung*. Philippika, Marburger altertumskundliche, Abhandlungen 27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Betrò, Marilina
 2009 "History of the Researches in TT 14." In *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga: The Tomb of Huy (TT 14); Preliminary Results*, edited by Marilina Betrò, Paolo del Vesco, and Gianluca Miniaci, pp. 59–70. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.
- Beylage, Peter
 2002 *Aufbau der königlichen Stelentexte vom Beginn der 18. Dynastie bis zur Amarnazeit I*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bickel, Susanne
 2014 "Die Zäsur im Weltbild und die Interpretation der Geschichte." In *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit*, edited by Susanne Bickel. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 22. Basel: Schwabe.
- Bickel, Susanne, and Jean-Luc Chappaz
 1988 "Missions épigraphiques du fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Speos Artemidos." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève* 12: 9–24.
 1993 "Le Spéos Artémidos: un temple de Pakhet en Moyenne-Égypte." In *Hatchepsout, femme pharaon*, pp. 94–101. Les dossiers d'archéologie 187. Dijon: Faton.
 2000 "À la recherche d'une image d'Hatchepsout: Quelques aspects méconnus du règne d'Hatchepsout." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 17: 23–32.
- Bierbrier, Morris L.
 1980 "Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medîna." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66: 100–07.
 1982 *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum, Part 10*. London: British Museum.
- Bietak, Manfred
 1994 *Pharaonen und Fremde: Dynastien im Dunkel* (Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Ägyptologischen Institut der Universität Wien und dem Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut Kairo, Rathaus Wien, Volkshalle, 8. Sept.–23. Okt. 1994). Vienna: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien.
 2005 "Neue Paläste aus der 18. Dynastie." In *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, edited by Peter Jánosi, pp. 131–68. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 25. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bietak, Manfred, and Irene Fostner-Müller
 2005 "Ausgrabungen eines Palastbezikes der Thutmosidenzeit bei Ezbet Helmi/Tell el-Daba." *Ägypten und Levante* 15: 65–100.
- Bietak, Manfred; Nanno Marinatos; and Clairy Palivou
 2007 *Taureador Scenes in Tell El-Dab'a (Avaris) and Knossos*. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 43. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Billing, Nils
 2002 *Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*. Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 5. Uppsala: Uppsala University, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.
- Binder, Susanne
 2008 *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*. Australian Centre for Egyptology, Studies 8. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.

- Bjerke, Svein
1965 "Remarks on the Egyptian Ritual of Opening the Mouth and its Interpretation." *Numen* 12: 201–16.
- Blackburn, Robin
1988 "Slavery — Its Special Features and Social Role." In *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour*, edited by Léonie Archer, pp. 262–79. London: Routledge.
- Blackman, Aylward M.
1913 *The Temple of Derr*. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte; Les temples immergés de la Nubie 9. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
1932 *Middle-Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Blumenthal, Elke
1970 *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, Vol. 1: *Die Phraseologie*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig 61. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
1987 "Ptahhotep und der 'Stab des Alters.'" In *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten; Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, edited by Jürgen Osing and Günter Dreyer, pp. 84–97. Ägypten und Altes Testament 12. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bohleke, Briant
1991 *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570–1085 B.C.* Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University.
- Bommas, Martin
2005 "VI. Der Chnumtempel des Neuen Reiches: Dekoration," in "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine, 31./32. Grabungsbericht." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 61: 44–51.
- Bonnet, Charles
2005 "Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan). Rapport préliminaire sur les campagnes de 2003–2004 et 2004–2005." *Genava* 53: 223–38.
2008 "L'occupation égyptienne au Nouvel Empire à Doukki Gel: L'apport de l'archéologie." *Between the Cataracts*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Lajtar, vol. 1, pp. 75–84. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Supplement Series 2. Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.
2009 "Un ensemble religieux nubien devant une forteresse égyptienne du début de la XVIII^e dynastie. Mission archéologique suisse à Doukki Gel-Kerma (Soudan)." *Genava* 57: 95–119.
- Bonnet, Charles, and Dominique Valbelle
2006 *The Nubian Pharaohs: Black Kings on the Nile*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Bontty, Mónica Marie
1997 *Conflict Management in Ancient Egypt: Law as a Social Phenomenon*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Borchardt, Ludwig
1920 *Die altägyptische Zeitmessung*. Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren 1. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
1925 *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. 2. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nr. 381–653. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.
1930 *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. 3. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nr. 654–950. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.
- Boreux, Charles
1932 *Musée National du Louvre: Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes; guide-catalogue sommaire*. Paris: Musées Nationaux.
- Borghouts, J. F.
1973 "The Evil Eye of Apopis." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59: 114–50.
1978 *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*. Nisaba 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Boston Museum of Fine Arts
1982 *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558–1085 B.C.* Exhibition catalog. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1972 *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique: précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
1979 *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Éditions du minuit.
- Bourriau, Janine, and Jacke Phillips, editors
2004 *Invention and Innovation: The Social Context of Technological Change*, Vol. 2: *Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East, 1650–1150 B.C.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Brack, Annelies, and Artur Brack
1980 *Das Grab des Haremheb: Theben Nr. 78*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 35. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

- Brand, Peter J. 1992b "Private Statuary." In *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*, edited by Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan, and Lawrence M. Berman, pp. 237–60. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- 2000 *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphical, Historical and Art Historical Analysis. Probleme der Ägyptologie* 16. Leiden: Brill.
- Breasted, James Henry 1996 "In Women Good and Bad Fortune are on Earth: Status and Roles of Women in Egyptian Culture." In *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Anne K. Capel and Glenn E. Markoe, pp. 25–46. New York: Cincinnati Art Museum.
- Bresciani, Edda 2001 "Painting Techniques and Artisan Organisation in the Tomb of Suemniwet, Theban Tomb 92." In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies, pp. 63–72. London: British Museum Press.
- Brovarski, Edward 1976 "Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahari." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62: 57–73. 2003 "Property and the God's Wives of Amun." In *Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies*, conference organizers and editors Deborah Lyons and Raymond Westbrook. Cambridge: Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies. Available online at <http://chs.harvard.edu/wa/pageR?tn=ArticleWrapper&bdc=12&mn=1219>.
- Brunner, Hellmut 1956 "Mitanni in einem ägyptischen Text vor oder um 1500." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 4: 323–27.
- Bruyère, Bernard 1937 *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935), Part 2: la nécropole de l'est*. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 15. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 2006 "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, pp. 69–122. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2009 ??? Please provide reference -- Bryan
- Bryan, Betsy M. 1986 "The Career and Family of Minmose, High Priest of Onuris." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61: 5–30. 2010 "The New Kingdom Temple of Mut: An Emerging Image." In *Preserving Egypt's Cultural Heritage: The Conservation Work of the American Research Center in Egypt, 1995–2005*, edited by Randi Danforth. San Antonio: American Research Center in Egypt. 1989–90 "An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Group Statue from the Asasif in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection." *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 10: 25–38. 2013 "Just Say No." In *Festschrift in Honor of Dorothea Arnold*, edited by Ogden Goelet and Adela Oppenheim. New York: Egyptological Seminar of New York. 1990a "Private Relief Sculpture outside Thebes and Its Relationship to Theban Relief Sculpture." In *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Papers presented at the International Symposium Held at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, 20–21 November 1987), edited by Lawrence M. Berman, pp. 65–80. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art. 1990b "The Tomb Owner and His Family." In *Das Grab Sobekhotep: Theben Nr. 63*, edited by Eberhard Dziobek, pp. 81–88. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 71. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern. 1991 *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992a "Designing the Cosmos: Temples and Temple Decoration." In *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World*, edited by Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan, and Lawrence M. Berman, pp. 73–115. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis 1912 ??? Please provide reference -- Chappaz
- Budzanowski, Mikołaj 2003 "Sitting Statues of Hatshepsut in Their Architectural Settings in the Temple Djoser-Djeseru at Deir el-Bahri." In *Proceedings of the Second Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists. Egypt 2001: Perspectives of Research, Warsaw, 5–7 March 2001*, edited by Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, pp. 17–28. Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.
- Bull, Ludlow 1932 "A Group of Egyptian Antiquities." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27/5: 130–34.

- Burgos, Franck, and François Larché
2006–08 *La Chapelle Rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*. 2 volumes. Paris: Culturesfrance, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Burkard, Günter, and Heinz J. Thissen
2003 *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. 1: *Altes und Mittleres Reich*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 1. Münster: Lit.
- Cabrol, Agnès
1995 “Une représentation de la tombe de Khâbekhenet et les dromos de Karnak-sud: nouvelles hypothèses; les béliers du dromos du temple de Khonsou et l'intérieur de l'enceinte du temple de Mout.” *Cahiers de Karnak* 10: 33–63.
- Callender, Vivienne Gae
1998 “Materials for the Reign of Sebekneferu.” In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists: Cambridge, 3–9 September, 1995*, edited by Christopher J. Eyre, pp. 227–36. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82. Leuven: Peeters.
2000 “The Middle Kingdom Renaissance.” In *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Ian Shaw, pp. 148–83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2002 “The Innovations of Hatshepsut's Reign.” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 13: 29–46.
2004 “Queen Tausret and the End of Dynasty 19.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32: 81–104.
- Caminos, Ricardo A.
1968 *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 32. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
1974 *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*. 2 volumes. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs 33 and 34. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
1977 *A Tale of Woe: From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
1979 **???? Please provide reference -- Laboury**
1998 *Semna-Kumma*. 2 volumes. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs 37 and 38. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Caminos, Ricardo A., and T. G. H. James
1963 *Gebel es-Silsilah*, Vol. 1: *The Shrines*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoir 31. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Capart, Jean
1934 “Un papyrus du livre des morts aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.” *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres* 20: 243–51.
- Capart, Jean, and Marcelle Werbrouck
1926 *Thebes: The Glory of a Great Past*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Carlotti, Jean-François
2004 “Le ‘siège d'intronisation d'Amon’ et les ‘Annales des prêtres’ de Karnak.” *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 24: 75–97.
2005 “Considérations architecturales sur l'orientation et les proportions de structures du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak.” In *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, edited by Peter János, pp. 169–207. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Carnarvon, 5th Earl of, and Howard Carter
1912 *Five Years' Exploration in Thebes: A Record of Work Done, 1907–1911*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cartwright, Caroline, and John H. Taylor
2008 “Wooden Egyptian Archery Bows in the Collections of the British Museum.” *British Museum Technical Research Bulletin* 2: 77–83.
- Cauville, Sylvie
2002 *Dendara: les fêtes d'Hathor*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 105. Leuven: Peeters.
- Černý, Jaroslav
1945 “The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31: 29–53.
- Champollion, Jean-François
1833 *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie, en 1828 et 1829, par Champollion Le Jeune*. Paris: n.p.
1835–45 *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux*. Paris: Didot. Reproduction Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1969–70.
1844–69 *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux*. 2 volumes. Paris: Didot. Reproduction Genève: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1973–74.
- Chappaz, Jean-Luc
1993 “Un cas particulier de corégence: Hatshepsout et Thoutmosis III.” In *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, edited by Christian Canuier and Jean-Marie Kruchten, pp. 87–110. Ath: Illustra.
1994 “Recherches au Spéos Artémidos: fonction et programme ‘décoratif’ d'un temple ru-

- pestre." In *Ägyptische Tempel: Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992), edited by Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz, pp. 23–31. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 37. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Charpentier, Gérard
1981 *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique*. Paris: Trismégiste.
- Chassinat, Émile
2009 *Le temple d'Edfou 7*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 24. 2nd edition. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Cherpion, Nadine
1987 "Quelques jalons pour une histoire de la peinture Thebaine." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 110: 27–47.
1999 *Deux tombes de la XVIII^e dynastie à Deir el-Medina: nos. 340 (Amenemhet) et 354 (anonyme)*. Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 114. Cairo: Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Cherpion, Nadine, and Jean-Pierre Corteggiani
2010 *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*. 2 volumes. Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 128. Cairo: Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Chesbrough, Henry W.
2003a "The Era of Open Innovation." *MIT Sloan Management Review* 44/3: 35–41.
2003b *Open Innovation: The New Imperative for Creating and Profiting from Technology*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Chevrier, Henri
1934 "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1933–1934)." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 34: 159–76.
1951 "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1950–1951." *Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes* 51: 549–72.
- Christensen, Clayton M., and Joseph L. Bower
1995 "Disruptive Technologies: Catching the Wave." *Harvard Business Review* January–February: 43–53.
- Christensen, Clayton M., and Michael Horn
2008 *Disrupting Class: How Disruptive Innovation Will Change the Way the World Learns*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Clère, Jean-Jacques
1955 "Un nouvel exemple du monogramme *h̑tp-dj-nswt*." In *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843–4 giugno 1943)*, vol. 2, pp. 33–42. Pisa: V. Lischi.
- Cline, Eric H., and David O'Connor, editors
2006 *Thutmose III: A New Biography*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Collier, Sandra A.
1996 *The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California–Berkeley.
- Collins, Lydia
1976 "The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond, 1905 and 1906." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62: 18–40.
- Conrad, Maia
1999 "Disorderly Drinking: Reconsidering Seventeenth Century Iroquois Alcohol Use." *American Indian Quarterly* 23: 1–11.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene
1994 "A Model for the Political Structure of Ancient Egypt." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 45–53. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Cumming, Barbara
1982 *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, fascicle 1. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Curto, Silvio
1970 *Il tempio di Ellesija*. Museo egizio di Torino, Quaderno 6. Turin: Museo egizio di Torino.
- Ćwiek, Andrzej
2003 *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography*. Ph.D. dissertation, Warsaw University. Available online at http://www.gizapyramids.org/pdf_library/cwiek_royal_relief_dec.pdf [accessed 19/03/2014].
2007 "Red, Yellow and Pink: Ideology of Skin Hues at Deir el-Bahari." *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* 43: 23–50.
- Daressy, Georges
1888 "Les carrières de Gebelein et le roi Smendès." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 10: 133–38.
1902 *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 24001–24990. Cairo: Im-

- primerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1917
- Darnell, John C.
 1995 "Hathor Returns to Medamud." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 22: 47–94.
 2004 *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 198. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
 2010 "A Pharaonic *De profundis* from the Western Desert Hinterland of Naqada." In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, edited by Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 39–47. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.
- Daumas, François
 1968 "Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 95: 1–17.
 1972 "Y eut-il des mystères en Égypte?" *Les Conférences de 'l'Atelier d'Alexandrie', Alexandria* 8: 37–52.
- Daumas, François, editor
 1988 *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. 4 volumes. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- D'Auria, Susan; Peter Lacovara; and Catharine H. Roehrig
 1988 *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Davies, Nina de Garis
 1938 "Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24: 25–40.
 1961 "A Fragment of a Punt Scene." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47: 19–23.
 1963 *Scenes from some Theban Tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)*. Private Tombs at Thebes 4. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Davies, Nina de Garis, and Norman de Garis Davies
 1933 *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)*. Theban Tombs Series 5. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Davies, Nina de Garis, and Alan H. Gardiner
 1915 *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82)*. Theban Tomb Series 1. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Davies, Norman de Garis
 1913 *Five Theban Tombs (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati)*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoir 21. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- 1917 *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series 1. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 1920 *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet (No. 60)*. Theban Tomb Series 2. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
 1923 *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (Nos. 75 and 90)*. Theban Tomb Series 3. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
 1925a "The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11: 10–18.
 1925b *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition. Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series 4. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 1930 *The Tomb of Ken-amün at Thebes*. 2 volumes. Publications of Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 5. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 1932 "Tehuti: Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, edited by S. R. K. Glanville, pp. 279–90. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
 1933 *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*. 2 volumes. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 9. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 1934 "Foreigners in the Tomb of Amenemhab (No. 85)." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20: 189–92.
 1943 *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes*. 2 volumes. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 11. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davies, Norman de Garis, and M. F. Laming Macadam
 1957 *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Davies, Vanessa
 2004 "Hatshepsut's Use of Tuthmosis III in Her Program of Legitimation." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41: 55–66.
- Davies, W. Vivian
 1982 "The Origin of the Blue Crown." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68: 69–76.
 2003a "La frontière méridionale de l'Empire: les Égyptiens à Kurgus." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 157: 23–37.
 2003b "Kurgus 2002: The Inscriptions and Rock-drawings." *Sudan and Nubia* 7: 55–57.
 2003c "Sobeknakht of Elkab and the Coming of Kush." *Egyptian Archaeology* 23: 3–6.
 2004 "The Rock Inscriptions at Kurgus in the Sudan." In *Séhel entre Égypte et Nubie: Inscip-*

- tions rupestres et graffiti de l'époque pharaonique*, edited by Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, pp. 149–60. *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 14. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3.
- 2008 “Tombs and the Viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 10: 39–63. Available online at www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_10/davies.aspx.
- 2009a “The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab: Documenting the Family and other Observations.” In *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by Wouter Claes, Herman De Meulenaere, and Stan Hendrickx, pp. 139–75. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 191. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009b “La tombe de Sataimaou à Hagar Edfou.” *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 53: 25–40.
- 2010a “British Museum Epigraphic Expedition Report on the 2007 Season.” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 84: 129–41.
- 2010b “Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data.” In *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, edited by Marcel Marée, pp. 223–40. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2013 “The Tomb of Sataimau at Hagr Edfu: An Overview.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 20: 47–80.
- Davies, W. Vivian, and Elisabeth R. O'Connell
- 2011a “British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu 2010.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 16: 101–32. Available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_16/davies_oconnell_2010.aspx.
- 2011b “British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu 2011.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 17: 1–29. Available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_17/davies_oconnell.aspx.
- 2012 “British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu 2012.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 19: 51–85. Available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_19/davies_oconnell.aspx.
- Davoli, Paola
- 2004 “Mattoni magici da corredi funerari privati nel Museo Egizio del Cairo.” *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 1: 61–81.
- Dawood, Khaled
- 2005 “Animate Decoration and Burial Chambers of Private Tombs during the Old Kingdom: New Evidence from the Tomb of Kairer at Saqqara.” In *Des Néferkarê aux Montuhotep: travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI^e dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire*, edited by Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-el-Naggar, pp. 108–27. *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 40. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.
- de Diego, Ana
- 2003 “Autobiografía de Djehuty: La ‘estela de Northampton.’” *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 13: 117–32.
- Delvaux, Luc
- 1988 “La statue Louvre A 134 du premier prophète d'Amon Hapouseneb.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 15: 53–67.
- 2009 “Hatchepsout, Senenmout et l'atelier de Neferkhaout.” In *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by Wouter Claes, Herman De Meulenaere, and Stan Hendrickx, pp. 245–60. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 191. Leuven: Peeters.
- de Morgan, Jacques
- 1894 *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, Vol. 1: Haute Égypte. Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen.
- DePauw, Mark, and Mark Smith
- 2004 “Visions of Ecstasy: Cultic Revelry before the Goddess Ai/Nehemanit.” In *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, edited by Friedhelm Hoffmann and Heinz-Josef Thissen, pp. 67–93. *Studia Demotica* 6. Leuven: Peeters.
- Der Manuelian, Peter
- 1987 *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- 1999 “Semi-literacy in Egypt: Some Erasures from the Amarna Period.” In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 285–98. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 58. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Der Manuelian, Peter, and Christian Loeben
- 1993 “From Daughter to Father: The Recarved Egyptian Sarcophagus of Queen Hatshepsut and King Thutmose I.” *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 5: 25–61.
- Desroches Noblecourt, Christiane
- 2002 *La reine mystérieuse Hatshepsout*. Paris: Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet.

- Dewachter, Michael
- 1984 "Les 'premiers fils royaux d'Amon': compléments et remarques." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 35: 83–94.
- 1986 *La collection égyptienne du Musée Champollion*. Figeac: Le Musée.
- Diego Espinel, Andrés
- 2007 "Around the Columns: Analysis of a Relief from the Causeway of Unis Mortuary Temple." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 107: 97–108.
- 2009 "Los himnos criptográficos en la tumba de Djehuty (TT 11): Posibles funciones y contextos." *Trabajos de Egiptología* 5/1: 203–20.
- Dodson, Aidan M.
- 1989 "Hatshepsut and 'Her Father' Mentuhotpe II." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75: 224–26.
- 1998 "On the Burial of Maihirpri and Certain Coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists: Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, edited by Christopher J. Eyre, pp. 331–38. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82. Leuven: Peeters.
- Dodson, Aidan, and Dyan Hilton
- 2004 *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson
- Dorman, Peter F.
- 1988 *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*. Studies in Egyptology. London: Kegan Paul International.
- 1991 *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 24. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 1995 "Two Tombs and One Owner." In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dzierzek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 141–54. *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag.
- 1999 "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 83–99. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 58. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- 2001 "Hatshepsut: Wicked Stepmother or Joan of Arc?" *The Oriental Institute News & Notes* 168: 1–6. Available online at <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/nn/>.
- 2003 "Family Burial and Commemoration in the Theban Necropolis." In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John Taylor, pp. 30–41. London: British Museum Press.
- 2006 "The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor, pp. 39–68. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Forthcoming "Compositional Modes in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead."
- Drew-Bear, Marie
- 1979 *Le nome Hermopolite: toponymes et sites*. *American Studies in Papyrology* 2. Missoula: Scholars Press.
- Dreyer, Günter
- 1984 "Eine Statue Thutmosis' II. aus Elephantine." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (Festschrift Wolfgang Helck): 489–99.
- 1986 *Elephantine VIII: Der Tempel der Satet; Die Funde der Frühzeit und des alten Reiches*. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 39. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Dreyer, Günter; Ulrich Hartung; Thomas Hikade; Eva Christiana Köhler; Vera Müller; and Frauke Pumpenmeier
- 1998 "Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 9/10. Vorbericht." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54: 77–167.
- Drioton, Étienne
- 1926 *Rapport sur les fouilles de Mélamoud: les inscriptions*. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 1933a "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1: 1–50.
- 1933b "Le roi défunt, Thot et la crue du Nil." *Egyptian Religion* 1: 39–51.
- 1934 "La cryptographie égyptienne." *Revue Lorraine d'Anthropologie* 6: 5–28.
- 1936 "Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 2: 1–20.
- 1938a "Deux cryptogrammes de Senenmout." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 38: 231–46.
- 1938b "Senenmout cryptographe." In *Atti del XIX congresso internazionale degli orientalisti, Roma, 23–29 settembre 1935*, pp. 132–38. Rome: Tipografia del Senato, G. Bardi.
- 1940 "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 40: 305–427.
- 1944 "La cryptographie par perturbation." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 44: 17–33.
- 1957 "Trigrammes d'Amon." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 54: 11–33.

- 1958 "Amon avant la fondation de Thèbes." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 26: 33–41.
- Drower, Margaret S.
1973 "Syria c. 1550–1400 B.C." In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 2, Part 1: *History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region, c. 1800–1380 B.C.*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger, pp. 417–525. 3rd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dunham, Dows
1970 *The Barkal Temples*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Dunham, Dows, and Jozef M. A. Janssen
1960 *Semna Kumba. Second Cataract Forts 1*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- DuQuesne, Terence
2002 "La déification des parties du corps: correspondances magiques et identification avec les dieux dans l'Égypte ancienne." In *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition*, edited by Yvan Koenig, pp. 239–71. Paris: Musée du Louvre.
2006 "The Osiris-Re Conjunction with Particular Reference to the Book of the Dead." In *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro, and Simone Stöhr, pp. 23–33. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 11. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dziobek, Eberhard
1987 "The Architectural Development of Theban Tombs in the Early Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, edited by Jan Assmann, Günter Burkard, and W. Vivian Davies, pp. 69–79. Studies in Egyptology. London: Kegan Paul International.
1989 "Eine Grabpyramide des frühen NR in Theben." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 45: 109–32.
1992 *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 68. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1993 "Some Kings' Sons Revisited." *Göttinger Miscellen* 132: 29–32.
1994 *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theben Nr. 61 und 131*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 84. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1995 "Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: The Case of User-Amun." In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 129–40. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 1998 *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 18. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 1999 **Dorman: please provide reference**
- Dziobek, Eberhard; Thomas Schneyer; and Norbert Semmelbauer
1992 *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 3. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Eaton-Krauss, Marianne
1977 "The Khat-headdress to the End of the Amarna Period." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5: 21–39.
- Eder, Christian
2002 *Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab. Beiträge zur Bautätigkeit der 13. und 17. Dynastie an den Göttertempeln Ägyptens*. Elkab 7. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Edwards, I. E. S.
1939 *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, Part 8. London: British Museum.
- Egberts, Arno
1995 *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Eichler, Selke S.
1991 **??? Please provide reference -- Diego Espinel**
1998 "Die Reisen des Sennefri (TT 99)." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 26: 215–28.
2000 *Die Verwaltung des "Houses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie*. Studien zur altägyptische Kultur, Beiheft 7. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- el-Achirie, H., and Jean Jacquet
1984 *Le grand temple d'Abou-Simbel*, Vol. 1, Part 1: *Architecture*. Collection scientifique 46A. Cairo: Organisation égyptienne des antiquités.
- el-Awady, Tarek
2009 *Sahure — The Pyramid Causeway: History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*. Abusir 16. Prague: Charles University.
- el-Ayun Barakat, Abu
1981 "The Temple of Kha-'Akhet in Western Thebes." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37: 29–33.

- el-Bialy, Mohamed
 1999 "Récentes recherches effectuées dans la tombe n° 42 de la Vallée des Rois." *Memnonia* 10: 161–78.
- Eldamaty, Mamdouh
 2005 "Zur Bedeutung der leeren Kartuschen." *Göttinger Miscellen* 207: 23–36.
 2010 "Die leeren Kartuschen von Akhenaten." In *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, edited by Sue H. D'Auria, pp. 79–81. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 38. Leiden: Brill.
- el-Din, Mohi
 1994 "Discovery of a Tomb of the Late Old Kingdom below the Rock Tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswân." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 50: 31–34.
- el-Enany, Khaled
 2003 "Le saint thébain Montouhotep-Nebhépetrê." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 103: 167–90.
- el-Hawary, Amr
 2010 *Wortschöpfung: Die memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pije: Zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25. Dynastie*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 243. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- el-Sabbahy, Abdul-Fattah
 1992 "Kings' Sons of Kush under Hatshepsut." *Göttinger Miscellen* 129: 99–102.
- el-Sayed, Rafed
 2011 *Afrikanischstämmiger Lehnwortschatz im älteren Ägyptisch: Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-afrikanischen lexikalischen Interferenz im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 211. Leuven: Peeters.
- el-Tanbouli, M. A. L., and A. F. Sadek
 1974 *Garf Hussein, Vol. 2: La cour et l'entrée du spéos*. Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte.
- Elias, Edward E.
 1979 *Elias' Practical Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of the Middle East: English-Arabic, Compiled by Edward E. Elias*. Cairo: Elias' Modern Publishing House & Co.
- Emery, Walter B.
 1965 *Egypt in Nubia*. London: Hutchinson.
- Emery et al.
 1979 ??? Please provide reference -- Bryan
- Engelmann-von Carnap, Barbara
 1995 "Sozial Stellung und Grabanlage: Zur Struktur des Friedhofs der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie in Scheich Abd el-Qurna und Chocha." In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 107–28. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
 1998 "Zur zeitlichen Einordnung der Dekoration thebanischer Privatgräber der 18. Dynastie anhand des Fisch- und Vogelfang-Bildes." In *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, edited by Heike Guksch and Daniel Polz, pp. 247–62. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- 1999 *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie: Analyse von Position, Grundrissgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 15. Berlin: Achet.
- 2003 "Zwei Gräberensembles in Khokha-Süd: Zur Konzeption der Bilder in Seitenanlagen am Grabhof der 18. Dynastie." In *Egypt — Temple of the Whole World: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, edited by Sibylle Meyer, pp. 21–39. Studies in the History of Religions 97. Leiden: Brill.
- Englund, Gertie
 1999 "The Border and the Yonder Side." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 101–09. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Epigraphic Survey
 1981 *The Temple of Khonsu 2. Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall*. Oriental Institute Publications 103. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
 1994 *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1. The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*. Oriental Institute Publications 112. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
 2009 *Medinet Habu 9. The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Vol. 1: The Inner Sanctuaries*. Oriental Institute Publications 136. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Erman, Adolf
 1911 *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Eyre, Christopher J.
 1987 "Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom." In *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marvin A. Powell, pp. 167–222. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

- 1996 "Is Egyptian Historical Literature 'Historical' or 'Literary?'" In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by Antonio Loprieno, pp. 415–33. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Fábián, Zoltán I.
1995 "Notes on the Opening of the Mouth in Theban Tomb 32." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47: 11–22.
2004 "Preparation for the Cult of Djehutymes: The Opening of the Mouth Ritual." In *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes (TT 32)*, edited by László Kákósy, Tamás A. Bács, Zoltán Bartos, Zoltán I. Fábián, and Ernő Gaál, vol. 1, pp. 89–129. *Studia Aegyptiaca, Series Maior I*. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.
- Fairman, Herbert Walter, et Bernhard Grdseloff
1947 "Texts of Ḥatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33: 12–33.
- Fakhry, Ahmed
1939 "A New Speos from the Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III at Beni-Hasan." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 39: 709–23.
- Farag, Nagib, and Zaky Iskander
1971 *The Discovery of Neferwptah*. Cairo: Ministry of Culture, Antiquities Department of Egypt.
- Faulkner, Raymond O.
1935 "The Verb *i* 'to Say' and Its Developments." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21: 177–90.
1981 "Abnormal or Cryptic Writings in the Coffin Texts." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67: 173–74.
- Fay, Biri
1995 "Thutmoside Studies." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51: 11–22.
- Fazzini, Richard A.
1984–86 "Report on the 1983 Season of Excavation at the Precinct of the Goddess Mut." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 70: 287–307.
2011 ??? Please provide reference -- Bryan
- Fazzini, Richard A., and William Peck
1983 "Excavating the Temple of Mut." *Archaeology* 36/2: 16–23.
- Feldman, Marian H.
2006 *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 B.C.E.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Finley, Moses I.
1998 *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. Expanded edition edited by B. D. Shaw. Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- Finnestad, R. B.
1978 "The Meaning and Purpose of Opening the Mouth in Mortuary Contexts." *Numen* 25: 118–34.
- Firth, Cecil M., and James E. Quibell
1935 *The Step Pyramid*, Vol. 1: *Text*. Excavations à Saqqara 14. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Fischer, Henry George
1972 "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 5: 5–23.
1976 "More Emblematic Uses from Ancient Egypt." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11: 125–28.
1977a "The Evolution of Composite Hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12: 5–19.
1977b *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1: Reversals*. Egyptian Studies 2. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
1978 "Another Example of the Verb *nh* 'Shelter.'" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64: 131–32.
1987 "Notes on the Macclisfield Collection." *Göttingen Miszellen* 95: 35–44.
1996 *Varia Nova*. Egyptian Studies 3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner
1998 *Die Vision von der Statue im Statue: Studien zum Altägyptischen Mundöffnungsritual*. Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- Franco, Isabelle
1988 "Fragments de 'Livre des Morts' –sur toile– découverts dans la Vallée des Reines." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 88: 71–82.
- Franke, Detlef
2010 "When the Sun Goes Down ...': Early Solar Hymns on a Pyramidion Stela from the Reign of Sekhemra-shedtauy Sobekemsaf." In *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, edited by Marcel Marée, pp. 283–302. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192. Leuven: Peeters.
- Franzmeier, Henning
2010 "Die magischen Ziegel des Neuen Reiches – Material und immaterieller Wert einer Objektgruppe." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 66: 93–105.

- Friedman, Renée F. 2001 "The Dynastic Tombs at Hierakonpolis: Painted Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty." In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies, pp. 106–12. London: British Museum Press.
- Friedman, Renée F.; Amy Maish; Ahmed G. Fahmy; John C. Darnell; and Edward D. Johnson 1999 "Preliminary Report on Field Work at Hierakonpolis: 1996–1998." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36: 1–35.
- Fukaya, Masashi 2007 "Distribution of Life Force in the Festival of the Valley — A Comparative Study with the Opet Festival." *Orient* 42: 95–124.
- Gaballa, Gaballa A. 1976 *Narrative in Egyptian Art*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Gabolde, Luc 1987a "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatchepsout-pharaon à l'ouest du IV^e pylône." *Cahiers de Karnak* 8: 143–58.
- 1987b "La chronologie de règne de Thoutmosis II, ses conséquences sur la datation des momies royales et leurs répercussions sur l'histoire du développement de la Vallée des Rois." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 14: 61–82.
- 1990 Review of *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*, by Peter F. Dorman. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 47/5–6: 636–41.
- 1991 "Un fragment de stèle au nom d'Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91: 161–71.
- 1993 "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak." *Cahiers de Karnak* 9: 1–82.
- 1995 "Autour de la tombe 276: pourquoi va-t-on se faire enterrer à Gournet Mouraï au début du Nouvel Empire?" In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 155–65. *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag.
- 1998 *Le "grand château d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak: la décoration du temple d'Amon-Ré au Moyen Empire*. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres, Nouvelle Série, 17. Paris: Édition de Boccard.
- 2000 "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout à Karnak." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 17: 41–50.
- 2002 ??? Please provide reference -- Galán
- 2003 "Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak." *Cahiers de Karnak* 11: 418–55.
- 2004 "La stèle de Thoutmosis II à Assouan, témoin historique et archétype littéraire." In *Séhel, entre Égypte et Nubie: inscriptions rupestres et graffiti de l'époque pharaonique*, edited by Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, pp. 129–48. *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 14. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry–Montpellier 3.
- 2005 *Monuments décorés en bas-reliefs, aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 123. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 2008 "Des livres des morts qu'on cherche sans les trouver et d'autres qu'on trouve sans les chercher." *Kyphi* 6: 25–42.
- In press* "Réexamen des jalons de la présence de la XVIII^e dynastie naissante à Saï." *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 30.
- Gabolde, Luc, and Marc Gabolde 1989 "Les temples 'mémoriaux' de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhamon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques)." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 89: 127–78.
- Gabolde, Luc, and Vincent Rondot 1996 "Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout réemployée à Karnak-Nord." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 96: 177–227.
- Gabra, Sami 1932 "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de l'Université Égyptienne à Touna (Hermopolis Ouest)." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 32: 56–77.
- Galán, José M. 1995 *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 40. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- 2007a "An Apprentice's Board from Dra Abu el-Naga." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 93: 95–116.
- 2007b Theban Tomb 11. Season Report. Available online at http://www.excavacionegipto.com/campana/nota_prensa07_ing.jsp.htm [accessed 2013].
- 2007c "The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11–12) at Dra Abu el-Naga." In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, edited by Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, pp. 777–87. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 150. Leuven: Peeters.

- 2009a “Early Investigations in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11).” In *Sitting beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, edited by Diana Magee, Janine Bourriau, and Stephen Quirke, pp. 155–81. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 185. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009b “An Intact Eleventh Dynasty Burial in Dra Abu el-Naga.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 35: 32–35.
- 2009c “Los patios de entrada a las tumbas tebanas en época de Hatshepsut-Tutmosis III y los patios de Djehuty (TT 11) y de Baki en Dra Abu el-Naga.” *Trabajos de Egiptología* 5/1: 249–64.
- 2013 “The Book of the Dead in Djehuty’s Burial Chamber.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 42: 21–24.
- Forthcoming “11th Dynasty Burials Below Djehuty’s Courtyard (TT 11) in Dra Abu el-Naga.” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 18.
- In press “Nut on the Ceiling of the Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11).” In *Essays for John Baines*, edited by Richard B. Parkinson, Elizabeth Froid, and Angela McDonald. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Galán, José M., and Francisco L. Borrego
2006 “Funerary Cones from Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11–12).” *Memnonia* 17: 195–208.
- Galán, José M., and Gema Menéndez
2011 “The Funerary Banquet of Hery (TT 12), Robbed and Restored.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 97: 143–66.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
1920 “The Graffiti.” In *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet (No. 60)*, by Norman de Garis Davies, vol. 1, pp. 27f. Theban Tomb Series 2. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- 1946 “Davies’s Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32: 43–56.
- 1947 *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1957 *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 1975 *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Gardiner, Alan H., and Jaroslav Černý
1957 *Hieratic Ostraca*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardiner, Alan H.; T. Eric Peet; and Jaroslav Černý
1952–55 *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2 volumes. Egypt Exploration Society, Memoir 45. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Gardiner, Alan H., and Arthur E. P. Weigall
1913 *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- Gasse, Annie, and Vincent Rondot
2003 “The Egyptian Conquest and Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom: The Testimony of the Sehel.” *Sudan and Nubia* 7: 40–46.
- 2007 *Les inscriptions de Sehel*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire 126. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Gauthier, Henri
1910 “Variétés historiques.” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 10: 193–208.
- 1912a *Le livre des rois d’Égypte*, Vol. 2: de la XIII^e à la fin de la XVIII^e dynastie. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale 18. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie.
- 1912b *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*. Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte: Les temples immergés de la Nubie 6/2. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- 1925 *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, Vol. 2. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Gayet, Albert
1894 *Le temple de Louxor*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 15. Paris: Leroux.
- 1897 *L’exploration des ruines d’Antinoë et la découverte d’un temple de Ramsès II enclos dans l’enceinte de la ville d’Hadrien*. Annales du Musée Guimet 26/3. Paris: Leroux.
- Geisen, Christine
2004 *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep aus der 13. Dynastie: Ein Textzeuge aus der Übergangszeit von den Sargtexten zum Totenbuch*. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totentexte 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Geßler-Löhr, Beatrix
1990 “Zur Schreibung von *m³-hrw* mit der Blume.” *Göttinger Miscellen* 116: 25–43.
- Gestermann, Louise
1998 “Die ‘Textschmiede’ Theben: Der thebanische Beitrag zu Konzeption und Tradierung von Sargtexten und Totenbuch.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 25: 83–99.
- 2002 “Vermächtnisse des Mittleren Reiches — Beobachtungen zu einigen funerären Texten.” In *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies Offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, edited by Tamás A. Bács, pp. 233–44. *Studia*

- Aegyptiaca 17. Budapest: Universit  E tv s Lor nd.
- Gilbert, Pierre
1953 "Le sens des portraits intacts d'Hatshepsout   Deir el-Bahari." *Chronique d' gypte* 28: 218–22.
- Gillen, Todd J.
2005 "The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's *Chapelle Rouge*, Part 1: *bi3.yt* ("Wonder") and the Divine Oracle; Part 2: Translation." *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 16: 7–28.
- Gilroy, Thomas D.
2002 "Outlandish Outlanders: Foreigners and Caricature in Egyptian Art." *G ttinger Miszellen* 191 (2002): 35–52.
- Gitton, Michel
1978 "Variation sur le th me des titulatures de reines." *Bulletin de l'Institut Franais d'Arch ologie Orientale* 78: 389–402.
1984 *Les divines  pouses de la 18^e dynastie*. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 61; Annales litt raires de l'Universit  de Besanon 306. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Giveon, Raphael
1974 "Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai. Preliminary Report." *Tel Aviv* 1: 100–08.
- Glanville, S. R. K.
1928 "The Letters of Aahm se of Peniati." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14: 294–312.
1932 "Scribes' Palettes in the British Museum: Part I." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 18: 55–61.
- Gnirs, Andrea M.
1996 "Die  gyptische Autobiographie." In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by Antonio Loprieno, pp. 191–241. Leiden: Brill.
1996 *Milit r und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*. Studien zur Arch ologie und Geschichte Alt gyptens 17. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
2006 "Das Motiv des B rgerkriegs in Merikare und Neferti: Zur Literatur der 18. Dynastie." In *jn.t dr.w: Festschrift f r Friedrich Junge*, edited by Gerald Moers, Heike Behlmer, Katja Demu , and Kai Widmaier, vol. 1, pp. 207–65. G ttingen: Seminar f r  gyptologie und Koptologie.
- Gnirs, Andrea M.; Elina Grothe; and Heike Guksch
1997 "Zweiter Vorbericht  ber die Aufnahme und Publikation von Gr bern der 18. Dynastie der thebanischen Beamtennekropole." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch ologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 53: 57–89.
- Godron, G rard
1971 "Recherches sur quelques inscriptions hi rographiques de la XVIII^e Dynastie d couvertes   Faras." *Orientalia* 40: 373–85.
- Goedicke, Hans
1986 "Inana as Inventor." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2: 35–41.
1988 "The Scribal Palette of Athu (Berlin Inv. Nr. 7798)." *Chronique d' gypte* 63: 42–56.
- Goelet, Ogden Jr.
2010 "Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead." In *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, edited by Sue H. D'Auria, pp. 121–32. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 38. Leiden: Brill.
- Goldwasser, Orly
1995 *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142. Fribourg: Universit tsverlag; G ttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1997 "Itn — the "Golden Egg" (CT IV 292b–c [B9C^a])." In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, edited by Jacobus van Dijk, pp. 79–84. Egyptological Memoirs 1. Groningen: Styx.
2010 "How the Alphabet Was Born from Hieroglyphs." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 36/2: 40–53.
- Gol nischeff, Wladimir S.
1882 "Notice sur un texte hi rographique de Stabel Antar (Sp os Artemidos)." *Recueil de travaux relatifs   la philologie et   l'arch ologie  gyptiennes et assyriennes* 3: 1–3.
1885 "Notice sur un texte hi rographique de Stabel Antar (Sp os Artemidos)." *Recueil de travaux relatifs   la philologie et   l'arch ologie  gyptiennes et assyriennes* 6: 20.
- Goma , Farouk
1973 *Chaemwese: Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*.  gyptologische Abhandlungen von Memphis 27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1986 *Die Besiedlung  gyptens w hrend des Mittleren Reiches*, Vol. 1: *Ober gypten und das Fayyum*. T binger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/66. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Goring, Elizabeth
1997 "Cyril Aldred: 'A Very Cautious Young Man.'" In *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, edited by Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle, pp. 3–8. London: Kegan Paul International.

- Goyon, Jean-Claude
1972 *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte: le rituel de l'embaumement, le rituel de l'ouverture de la bouche, les livres des respirations*. Littératures Anciennes du Proche Orient 4. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Graefe, Erhart
1981 *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution des Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*. 2 volumes. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
n.d. "Das Stundenritual: Vorwort zur ersten Internetversion des Textes." Available online at http://www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/iaek/_v/stundenritual/stundenritual.pdf [accessed 10/11/2010].
- Grajetzki, Wolfram
2000 *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*. Schriften zur Ägyptologie A2. Berlin: Achet-Verlag.
2005 "The Coffin of the 'King's Daughter' Neferuptah and the Sarcophagus of the 'Great King's Wife' Hatshepsut." *Göttinger Miscellen* 205: 55–65.
- Grallert, Silke
2001 *Bauen-Stiften-Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinchriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*. 2 volumes. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo Ägyptologische Reihe 18/1–2. Berlin: Achet.
- Grapow, Hermann
1936a *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung ägyptischer Texte*. Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien 7. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
1936b "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 72: 12–39.
1958 *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*. Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 5. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Grdseloff, Bernhard
1952 "Deux remarques." *Archiv Orientalní* 20: 482–86.
- Griffin, Kate
2007 "An ꜥḥ ikr n Rꜥ Stela from the Collection of the Egypt Centre, Swansea." In *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by Thomas Schneider and Kasia Szpakowska, pp. 137–47. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 347. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Grimm, Alfred, and Sylvia Schoske
1999 *Im Zeichen des Mondes: Ägypten zu Beginn des Neuen Reiches*. Munich: Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst.
- Guermeur, Ivan
2005 *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes, recherches de géographie religieuse*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Guksch, Heike
1978 *Das Grab des Benja, gen. Paheqamen: Theben No. 343*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 7. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1994 *Königsdienst: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 11. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
1995 *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb: Theben Nr. 87 und 79*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 34. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Gundlach, Rolf, and Andrea Klug
2004 *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gutbub, Adolphe
1961 "Un emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse." In *Mélanges Maspero*, Vol. 1: *Orient ancien*, fascicle 4, pp. 31–72. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 66. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Habachi, Labib
1952 "Khata'na-qantir: Importance." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 52: 458–70
1957 "Two Graffiti at Sehēl from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16: 88–104.
1959 "The First Two Viceroys of Kush and Their Family." *Kush* 7: 45–63.
1981 *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 23. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Habachi, Labib, and Charles C. Van Siclen III
1977 *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Hall, Harry Reginald
1914 *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, Part 5. London: Bernard Quaritch.

- Hallmann, Silke
2006 *Die Tributzeneen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 66. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Harari, Ibrahim
1959 "Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis à la reine Ahmès-Néfertari." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 56: 139–201.
- Hardwick, Tom
2003 "The Iconography of the Blue Crown in the New Kingdom." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89: 117–41.
- Haring, Ben J. J.
2013 "The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom." In *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, pp. 607–37. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I/104. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Hartleben, Hermine, editor
1986 *Jean-François Champollion: Lettres et journaux écrits pendant le voyage d'Égypte*. Collection Epistémè. Paris: Christian Bourgeois (reprint).
- Hartmann, Hartwig
1993 *Necheb und Nechet: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kultortes Elkab*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mainz.
- Hartwig, Melinda K.
2004 *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 B.C.E.* *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 10, Série Imago 2. Turnhout: Brepols.
2010 "The Tomb of a ḥṣty-ꜥ, Theban Tomb 116." In *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, edited by Sue H. D'Auria, pp. 159–67. *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 38. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Harvey, Stephen P.
2007 "King Heqatawy: Notes on a Forgotten Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Name." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards, pp. 343–56. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cahier 36. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Hawass, Zahi
2009 "The Unfinished Obelisk Quarry at Aswan." In *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*, edited by Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, vol. 1, pp. 143–64. Cairo: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
- Hawass, Zahi, and Jennifer Houser Wegner, editors
2010 *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*. 2 volumes. Supplément aux *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 39/1–2. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Hawass, Zahi, and Mahmoud Maher-Taha
2002 *Le tombeau de Menna (TT N° 69)*. Cairo. Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Hayes, William C.
1933 "Statue of the Herald Yamu-nedjeh in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 33: 6–16.
1935a *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIIIth Dynasty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
1935b "The Tomb of Nefer-khēwet and His Family." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30: 17–36.
1942 *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Senmūt (No. 71) at Thebes*. Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 15. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
1946 "A Selection of Thutmose Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46: 43–52.
1948–49 ??? Please provide reference -- Shirley
1957 "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15: 78–90.
1959 *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Vol. 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1960 "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46: 29–52.
1972 *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*. New York: Brooklyn Museum. Reprint of a 1955 edition.
1973 "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Thutmose I to the Death of Amenophis III." In *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 2, Part 1: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region, c. 1800–1380 B.C.*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger, pp. 313–416. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1990 *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Vol. 2: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)*. Revised edition. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Haynes, Joyce L.
1977 "The Development of Women's Hairstyles in Dynasty Eighteen." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 8: 18–24.

- Hays, Harold M., and William Schenck
 2007 "Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tombs." In *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 97–115. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Hegenbarth-Reichardt, Ina
 2006 *Der Raum der Zeit: Eine Untersuchung zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen und Konzeptionen von Zeit und Raum anhand des Unterweltbuches Amduat*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 64. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hein, Irmgard
 1991 *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*. Göttinger Orientforschungen 4/22. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Helck, Wolfgang
 1952 "Die Bedeutung der ägyptischen Besucherinschriften." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 102: 39–46.
 1955 "Die Berufung des Vezirs Wsr." In *Ägyptologische Studien: Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, edited by Otto Firchow, pp. 107–17. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
 1958 *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Leiden: Brill.
 1961 *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Vol. 1, Part 1: *Die Eigentümer*. a) *Die großen Tempel*. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 10. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
 1967 "Einige Bemerkungen zum Mundöffnungsritual." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 22: 27–41.
 1971 *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2nd edition. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1981 "Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer." *Göttinger Miszellen* 43: 39–41.
 1983 *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. 2nd edition. Kleine Ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1994 "Die Männer hinter dem König und Königswahl." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 121: 36–51.
 1996 "Ein verlorenes Grab in Theben-West: TT 145 des Offiziers Neb-Amun unter Thutmosis III." *Antike Welt* 27: 73–85.
- Hermann, Alfred
 1940 *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 11. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
 1959 *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Herold, Anja
 2009 "Objekte und Bildquellen: Aspekte ägyptischer Waffentechnologie — von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches." In *Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten: Altägypten und seine Nachbarkulturen im Spiegel aktueller Forschung*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Carola Vogel, pp. 187–216. Krieg in der Geschichte 34. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Heye, Heike
 2008 "Typisch anders?" In *Zeichen aus dem Sand Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, edited by Eva-Maria Engel, Vera Müller, and Ulrich Hartung, pp. 254–72. Menes: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hinkel, Friedrich W.
 1998 "Appendix." In *Semna-Kumma*, Vol. 2: *The Temple of Kumma*, by Ricardo A. Caminos. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 38. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Hintze, Fritz, and Walter F. Reineke
 1989 *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanischen Nubien*. 2 volumes. Publikation der Nubien-Expedition 1961–1963, 1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hobsbawn, Eric, and Terence Ranger, editors
 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodjash, Svetlana, and Oleg Berlev
 1982 *The Egyptians Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.
- Hoch, James E.
 1994 *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hoffmeier, James
 2004 "Aspects of Egyptian Foreign Policy in the 18th Dynasty in Western Asia and Nubia." In *Egypt, Israel and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch, pp. 121–42. Probleme der Ägyptologie 20. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

- Hofmann, Eva
2011 "Zwischen den Zeiten – Das thebanische Grab des 'Königssohns' Tetiki (TT 15)." *Imago Aegypti* 3: 42–55
- Holthoer, Rostislav
1976 "Coptic Graffiti in Speos Artemidos." *Studia Orientalia* 45: 97–99.
- Homburg, Christian, and Harley Krohmer
2009 *Marketingmanagement: Strategie – Instrumente – Umsetzung – Unternehmensführung*. 3rd edition. Wiesbaden: Gabler.
- Hope, Colin A.
1989 *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom: Three Studies*. Victoria College Archaeology Research Unit, Occasional Paper 2. Burwood: Victoria College Press.
- Hornung, Erik
1961 *Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1, Philologisch-historische Klasse 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1963 *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*. 2 volumes. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 7 and 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1975 *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei): nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, Vol. 1: Text. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2. Geneva: Éditions des Belles-Lettres.
1976 *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei): nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, Vol. 2: Übersetzung und Kommentar. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 3. Geneva: Éditions des Belles-Lettres.
1982 *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 46. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1983 "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltbuch." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 13: 29–34.
1985 "Zur Symmetrie in Kunst und Denken der Ägypter." In *Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel* (Symposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982), pp. 71–77. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 18. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1986 *Les dieux de l'Égypte: le un et le multiple*. Monaco: Éditions du Rocher.
1987 *Texte zum Amduat, Part 1: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1. bis 3. Stunde*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 13. Geneva: Éditions des Belles-Lettres.
- 1992a *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*. Translated by Elizabeth Bredeck. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
1992b *Texte zum Amduat, Vol. 2: Langfassung, 4. bis 8. Stunde*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 14. Geneva: Éditions des Belles-Lettres.
1994 *Texte zum Amduat, Vol. 3: Langfassung, 9. bis 12. Stunde*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 15. Geneva: Éditions des Belles-Lettres.
1999 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
2006 "The New Kingdom." In *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, edited by Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, pp. 197–217. Leiden: Brill.
- Hornung, Erik, and Elisabeth Staehelin
1976 *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*. Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Houlihan, Patrick F.
2001 *Wit and Humor in Ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press.
- Höveler-Müller, Michael
2006 *Funde aus dem Grab 88 der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan (Die Bonner Bestände)*. Bonner Sammlung von *Aegyptiaca* 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hugonot, Jean-Claude
1989 *Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Hyysalo, Sampsa
2007 "User Innovation, Design Space, and Everyday Practices: Rodeo Kayaking Case Revisited." *Proceedings of the Nordic Consumer Policy Research Conference 2007*: 1542–58. Available online at www.kuluttajatutkimuskeskus.fi/files/.../proceedings_consumer2007.pdf.
- Inconnu-Bocquillon, Danielle
2001 *Le mythe de la déesse lointaine à Philae*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 132. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Iwaszczuk, Jadwiga
2009 "Surprising Name Stones from the Metropolitan House Storeroom, Luxor." In *Proceedings of the Fifth Central European Conference of Egyptologists. Pułtusk 22–24 June 2009*, edited by Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska and Jadwiga Iwaszczuk, pp. 55–63. Pułtusk: Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology.
Forthcoming *Ritual Topography of Thebes in the Time of Hatshepsut*. Ph.D. dissertation, Polish Academy of Sciences.



- Jacquet, Jean
 1967 "Observations sur l'évolution architecturale des temples rupestres." In *Nubie, par divers archéologues et historiens*, pp. 69–91. Cairo: Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne.
 1983 *Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}: étude architecturale*. Karnak-Nord 5. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Jaeger, Bertrand
 1982 *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperre*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 2. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
 1983 *Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}: étude architecturale*. Karnak-Nord 5. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- James, Thomas G. H.
 1974 *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, Vol. 1: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*. Wilbour Monographs 6. New York: Brooklyn Museum.
- Jankhun, Dieter
 1969 "Torse en calcaire d'une statuette d'orant." *Kêmi* 19: 67–69.
- Jansen-Winkel, Karl
 2012 "Zu Sprache und Datierung des Amduat." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98: 87–106.
- Janssen, J. J., and R. M. Janssen
 1996 *Getting Old in Ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press.
- Jaritz, Horst
 1980 *Elephantine III. Die Terrassen vor den Tempeln des Chnum und der Satet*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 32. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Jasnaw, Richard, and Mark Smith
 2010–11 "As for Those Who Have Called Me Evil, Mut Will Call Them Evil: Orgiastic Cultic Behavior and Its Critics and Ancient Egypt." *Enchoria* 32: 9–53.
- Jenni, Hanna
 1998 "Der Papyrus Westcar." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 25: 113–41.
- Johnson, W. Raymond
 1998 "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning." In *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, edited by David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline, pp. 63–94. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kahl, Jochem
 1996 *Steh auf, gib Horus deine Hand: Die Überlieferungsgeschichte von Altenmüllers Pyramidentext*
- *Spruchfolge D*. Göttinger Orientforschungen 4, Ägypten 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1999 *Siut-Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 13. Leiden: Brill.
 2006 "Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge." *Göttinger Miszellen* 211: 25–29.
 2007 "Ra is My Lord": *Searching for the Rise of the Sun God at the Dawn of Egyptian History*. Menes: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2010 "Archaism." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. Available online at <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025qh2v> [accessed 12/11/2010].
- Kaiser, Werner
 1980 "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Achter Grabungsbericht. Satetempel: Architektur und Reliefdekor des Tempels der 18. Dynastie." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 36: 254–64.
 1993 "Hatchepsout à Eléphantine." In *Hatchepsout, femme pharaon*, pp. 102–09. Les dossiers d'archéologie 187. Dijon: Faton.
 1995 "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine, 21./22. Grabungsbericht VII. zum Chnumtempel des Neuen Reiches." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51: 147–64.
 1998 *Elephantine: Die antike Stadt: Offizielles Führerheft des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*. Cairo: n.p.
- Kampp, Friederike
 1994 "Vierter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 50: 175–88.
 1996 *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. 2 volumes. Theben 13. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
 2003 "The Theban Necropolis: An Overview of Topography and Tomb Development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside Period." In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John Taylor, pp. 2–10. London: British Museum Press.
- Kanawati, Naguib
 2005 "Decoration of Burial Chambers, Sarcophagi and Coffins in the Old Kingdom." In *Studies in*

- Honor of Ali Radwan, edited by Khaled Daoud, Shafia Bedier, and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah, pp. 55–71. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 34. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- 2010 *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom*. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Karkowski, Janusz
- 1972 "The Problem of the Origin of the Thutmoside Blocks Found in Faras." *Études et Travaux* 6: 83–92.
- 1978 "Quelques remarques sur les temples de Bouhen." *Études et Travaux* 10: 69–81.
- 1981 *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*. Faras 5. Warsaw: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne.
- 1990 "Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980." *Études et Travaux* 14: 349–63.
- 2003 *The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex*. Deir el-Bahari 6. Warsaw: Éditions Neriton.
- Kawai, Nozomu
- 2010 "Ay versus Horemheb." *Journal of Egyptian History* 3/2: 261–92.
- Kees, Hermann
- 1953 *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 1. Leiden: Brill.
- 1960 "Wêbpriester der 18. Dynastie im Trägerdienst bei Prozessionen." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 85: 45–56.
- Kemp, Barry
- 2000 "Soil (Including Mud-Brick Architecture)." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, pp. 78–103. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendall, Timothy
- 1978 *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and Play of Senet, an Ancient Egyptian Funerary Game*. Belmont: Kirk Game Company.
- Kessler, Dieter
- 1981 *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Malawi und Salamut*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/30. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A.
- 1986 *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1110–650 B.C.)*. 2nd edition. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- 1999 *Rameside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Notes and Comments, Vol. 2: Rameses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.
- Kjølby, Annette
- 2007 *New Kingdom Private Temple Statues: A Study of Agency, Decision-making and Materiality*. Part I. Ph.D. dissertation, Københavns Universitet.
- Klemm, Rosemarie, and Dietrich Klemm
- 1981 *Die Steine der Pharaonen*. Munich: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst.
- 2008 *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Klug, Andrea
- 2002 *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca VIII. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Konrad, Kirsten
- 2006 *Architektur und Theologie: Pharaonische Tempelterminologie unter Berücksichtigung königsideologischer Aspekte*. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kozloff, Arielle P.
- 2006 "The Artistic Production of the Reign of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, pp. 292–324. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kozloff, Arielle P.; Betsy M. Bryan; and Lawrence M. Berman, editors
- 1992 *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Krauss, Rolf
- 1992 "Das Kalendarium des Papyrus Ebers und seine chronologische Verwertbarkeit." *Ägypten und Levante* 3: 75–96.
- Krauss, Rolf, and Hans Goedicke
- 1998 "Der Denkstein Berlin 15699: Eine Ägyptologen Fälschung." *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 35: 203–20.
- Kruchten
- 1992 ??? Please provide reference -- Chappaz
- Kruchten, Jean-Marie, and Luc Delvaux
- 2010 *La tombe de Sétaou*. Elkab 8. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Kubisch, Sabine
- 2008 *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.–17. Dynastie*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderchrift 32. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kuhlmann Klaus P.
- 1979 "Der Felstempel des Eje bei Achmim." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 35: 165–88.

- Kwasnica, Andrzej
 2001 "Reconstruction of the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard." In *Królowa Hatshepsut i jej świątynia 3500 lat później / Queen Hatshepsut and Her temple 3500 Years Later*, edited by Zbigniew E. Szafranski, pp. 81–97. Warsaw: Agencja Reklamowo–Wydawnicza A. Grzegorzczak.
- Laboury, Dimitri
 1998 *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III: essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*. Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 5. Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres.
 2000 "De la relation spatiale entre les personnages des groupés statuaires royaux dans l'art pharaonique." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 51: 83–95.
 2006 "Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor, pp. 260–91. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
 2007 "Sennefer et Aménémopé, une affaire de famille." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 45: 43–52.
 2010a *Akhénaton. Les grands pharaons*. Paris: Pygmalion.
 2010b "Portrait versus Ideal Image." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. Available online at <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/9370v0rz>.
- Forthcoming "Citations et usages de l'art du Moyen Empire à l'époque thoutmoside." In *Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Die Konstruktion historischer Zeit in der 18. Dynastie*, edited by Susanne Bickel, pp. 1–18. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 22. Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres.
- Lacau, Pierre
 1909 *Stèles du Nouvel Empire (CG nos. 34001–34189)*. Catalogue général du Musée du Caire 45. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Lacau, Pierre, and Henri Chevrier
 1956 *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, Vol. 1: Texte*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
 1969 *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, Vol. 2: Planches*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
 1977 *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, Vol. 1, Texte*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
 1979 *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, Vol. 2, Planches*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Lacovara, Peter
 1997 *The New Kingdom Royal City*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Lansing, Ambrose, and William C. Hayes
 1937 "The Egyptian Expedition, 1935–1936." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 32/2: 3–39.
- Lapp, Günther
 1997 *The Papyrus of Nu*. Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1. London: British Museum Press.
 2004 *The Papyrus of Nebseni*. Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum 3. London: British Museum Press.
 2006 *Totenbuch Spruch 17*. Totenbuchttexte 1. Basel: Orientverlag.
 2008 *Totenbuch Spruch 125*. Totenbuchttexte 3. Basel: Orientverlag.
- Laskowski, Piotr
 2001 "A Note on the Building Activity of Thutmose III in Elkab." In *Proceedings of the First Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists. Egypt 1999: Perspectives of Research, Warsaw 7–9 June 1999*, edited by Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, pp. 81–84. Warsaw: Warsaw University, Institute of Archaeology.
 2006 "Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor, pp. 183–237. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Leblanc, Christian
 1980 "Piliers et colosses de type 'osirique' dans le contexte des temples de culte royal." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 80: 69–89.
 1982 "Le culte rendu aux colosses 'osiriens' durant le Nouvel Empire." *Bulletin Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 82: 295–311.
 2008 "Nehy, prince et premier rapporteur du roi. Deux nouveaux documents relatifs au vice-roi de Nubie, sous le règne de Thoutmosis III." *Memnonia* 19: 103–12.
- Legrain, Georges
 1915 "La litanie de Ouasit." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 15: 273–83.
- Leprohon, Ronald J.
 2010 "The Royal Titulary in the 18th Dynasty: Change and Continuity." *Journal of Egyptian History* 3/1: 7–45.
- Lepsius, Carl Richard
 1842 *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Alterthums, Theils zum erstenmale, Theils*

- nach den Denkmälern Berichtigt. Leipzig: G. Wigand.
- Lichtheim, Miriam
- 1945 "Songs of the Harpers." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4: 178–212.
- 1975 *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1976 *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1997 *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientales 155. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lilyquist, Christine
- 1989 "The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23: 5–68.
- 1995 *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 1997 "A Foreign Vase Representation from a New Theban Tomb (The Chapel for MMA 5A P2)." In *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East. Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*, edited by J. Phillips, pp. 307–43. San Antonio: Van Siclen Books.
- 2003 *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Limme, Luc
- 2008 "Elkab, 1937–2007: Seventy Years of Belgian Archaeological Research." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 9: 15–50.
- Lipińska, Jadwiga
- 1968 "Preliminary Report on the Reconstruction Works of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 40: 139–52.
- 1977 *The Tempel of Thutmosis III: Architecture*. Deir el-Bahri 2. Warsaw: Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne.
- Loffet, Henri, and Valérie Matoïan
- 1996 "Le papyrus de Varzy." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 47: 29–37.
- Loprieno, Antonio
- 1988 *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 48. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1997 "Slaves." In *The Egyptians*, edited by Sergio Donadoni, pp. 185–219. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lorand, David
- 2008 "Quatre scarabées de cœur inscrits à tête humaine." *Chronique d'Égypte* 83: 20–40.
- Lorton, David
- 1990 "The Aswan/Philae Inscription of Thutmosis II." In *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, edited by Sarah Israelit-Groll, vol. 2, pp. 668–79. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- 1999 "The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt." In *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Michael B. Dick, pp. 123–210. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Louant, Emmanuel
- 2000 *Comment Pouiemrê triompha de la mort: analyse du programme iconographique de la tombe thébaine n° 39*. Lettres Orientales 6. Leuven: Peeters.
- Luciani, Marta
- 2006 "Ivory at Quatna." In *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, edited by Ernst Czerny, Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab, vol. 3, pp. 17–38. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149. Leuven: Peeters.
- Luft, Ulrich
- 2010 "Die Stele des Sn-nfr in Deir el-Bersha und ihr Verhältnis zur Chronologie des Neuen Reiches." In *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer H. Wegner, vol. 1, pp. 333–74. *Cahier, Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 39. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Luiselli, Maria Michela
- 2004 *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17 (P. Kairo CG 58038)*. *Kleine ägyptische Texte* 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2008 "Personal Piety." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. Available online at <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nelc/uee/1053> [accessed 11/10/2010].
- Lull, José
- 2004 *La astronomía en el antiguo Egipto*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.
- Lüscher, Barbara
- 2006 *Die Verwandlungssprüche (Tb 76–88)*. Totenbuchttexte 2. Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches. Basel: Orientverlag.
- 2009 *Die Fähmannsprüche (Tb 98–99)*. Totenbuchttexte 4. Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches. Basel: Orientverlag.

- Mackay, Ernest
1916 "Note on a New Tomb (No. 260) at Draḥ Abu'l Naga, Thebes." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3: 125–26.
- Málek, Jaromír
1992 "A Meeting of the Old and New: Saqqâra during the New Kingdom." In *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, edited by Alan B. Lloyd, pp. 57–76. Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 8. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Manniche, Lise
1977 "Some Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Sexual Life." *Acta Orientalia* 38: 11–23.
1989 *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
1997 "Reflections on the Banquet Scene." In *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver*, edited by Roland Tefnin, pp. 29–36. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 7. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
2010 "The Cultic Significance of the Sistrum in the Amarna Period." In *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, edited by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, vol. 2, pp. 13–26. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Marée, Marcel
2010 "A Sculpture Workshop at Abydos from the Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Dynasty." In *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, edited by Marcel Marée, pp. 241–81. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192. Leuven: Peeters.
- Mariette, Auguste
1880 *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, Vol. 3. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Maruéjol, Florence
2007 *Thoutmosis III et la corégence avec Hatshepsout. Les grands pharaons*. Paris: Pygmalion.
- Maspero, Gaston
1883 "Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 21/2: 62–79.
1896 *The Struggle of the Nations: Egypt, Syria, and Assyria*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Mathieu, Bernard
1996 *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne*. Bibliothèque d'étude 115. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- 2000 "L'énigme du recrutement des 'enfants du kap': une solution?" *Göttinger Miszellen* 177: 41–48.
- Matzker, Ingo
1986 *Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 3/297. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Mauric-Barberio, Florence
2001 "Le premier exemplaire du *Livre de l'Amdouat*." *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 101: 315–50.
- McClain, J. Brett
2007 "The Terminology of Sacred Space in Ptolemaic Inscriptions from Thebes." In *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 85–95. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- McDowell, Andrea
1998 "Legal Aspects of Care of the Elderly in Egypt to the End of the New Kingdom." In *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Marten Stol and Sven P. Vleeming, pp. 199–221. *Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East* 14. Leiden: Brill.
- McLeod, Wallace E.
1982 *Self Bows and other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*. Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 4. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Meeks, Dimitri
1980 *Année lexicographique*, Vol. 1: 1977. Paris: Imprimerie de la Margeride.
1981 *Année lexicographique*, Vol. 2: 1978. Paris: Imprimerie de la Margeride.
- Megally, Mounir
1971 *Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 53. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
1977 *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIII^e dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 71. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Mekhitarian, Arpag
1978 *Egyptian Painting*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Meskel, Lynn
1999 *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*. Social Archaeology Series. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

- Meyer, Christine
1982 *Senenmut: Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. Hamburg Ägyptologische Studien 2. Hamburg: Borg.
- Meyer, Eduard
1913 "Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellungen der Fremdvölker." *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 38: 769–801.
- Minas-Nerpel, Martina
2006 *Der Gott Chepri: Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 154. Leuven: Peeters.
- Miniaci, Gianluca
2009 "The Necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga." In *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga. The Tomb of Huy (TT 14): Preliminary Results*, edited by Marilina Betrò, Paolo del Vesco, and Gianluca Miniaci, pp. 14–33. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.
- Montet, Pierre
1961 *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, Vol. 2: To-chemâ, la Haute Égypte*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Montserrat, Dominic
1996 *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Moran, William L.
1992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Morenz, Ludwig D.
1996 *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2002 "Zu Formen, Gründen und Wegen der Textüberlieferung in der altägyptischen Kultur (Teil 1)." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129: 130–41.
2002–03 "Der Mond: Über Königsnamen, Visuelle Poesie, Metaphorik und Zeitgeist in der Mitte des 2. Jt. v. Chr." *Bulletin de la Société Égyptologique de Genève* 25: 121–30.
2006a "Der 'Fisch an der Angel' (Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 133: 51–55.
2006b "Zweifaches graphisches Spiel: Getreidegott (npr) und -Zeichen sowie Erntezeit und Sichel-Zeichen. Assoziationsreiche Visuelle Poesie im hyksoszeitlichen El-Kab." *Göttinger Miscellen* 209: 53–57.
2008 *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen: Visuelle Poesie im Alten Ägypten*. Pictura et Poesis: Interdisziplinäre Studien zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Kunst 21. Cologne: Böhlau.
- Morkot, Robert
1987 "Studies in New Kingdom Nubia, 1. Politics, Economics and Ideology: Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia." *Wepwawet* 3: 29–49.
- Morris, Ellen F.
2005 *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 22. Leiden: Brill.
2006 "Bowing and Scraping in the Ancient Near East: An Investigation into Obsequiousness in the Amarna Letters." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65: 179–95.
- Muhammed, Abdul-Qader
1966 *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*. Antiquities Department of Egypt. Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices.
- Müller, Hans Wolfgang
1953 "Ein ägyptischer Königskopf des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur Stilentwicklung der Plastik der 18. Dynastie." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, 3/4: 67–84.
- Müller, Matthias
2005 "Die Krönungsinschrift der Hatschepsut." In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge*, Vol. 2: Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte, edited by Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm, pp. 197–212. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Müller-Roth, Marcus
2008a *Das Buch vom Tage*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 236. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2008b "Das Leichentuch des Pa-heri-pedjet." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 135: 142–53.
- Münch, Hans-Hubertus, and Gerald Moers
2005 "Kursorisches zur Konstruktion liebender Körper im pharaonischen Ägypten." In *Perspectives on the Song of Songs*, edited by Anselm C. Hagedorn, pp. 136–49. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 346. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Munro, Irmtraut
1987 *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie: Kriterien ihrer Datierung*. London: Kegan Paul International.

- 1990 "Der Totenbuch-Papyrus des Veziers Wsr-Jmn." *Göttinger Miszellen* 116: 73–78.
- 1994 *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo: Textband. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1995 *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes (pLouvre E. 11085) aus der frühen 18. Dynastie. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Murmann, Johann Peter, and Koen Frenken
2006 "Toward a Systematic Framework for Research on Dominant Designs, Technological Innovations, and Industrial Change." *Research Policy* 35: 925–52. Available online at econ.geo.uu.nl/frenken/murmannfrenken.pdf.
- Murnane, William J.
1977 *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 40. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Murnane, William J., and Kent R. Weeks
1980 *United with Eternity: A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Nagy, István
1983 "Statue-bloc de Thotmès, premier fils royal de Nekhbet." *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 60–61: 3–8.
- Nasr, Mohammed
1985 "The Tomb of Thay (Theban No. 349)." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 12: 75–100.
- Navelle, Édouard
1886 *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*. Berlin: A. Asher & Co.
1895 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part 1: The North-Western End of the Upper Platform*. Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 13. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
1896 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part 2: The Ebony Shrine, Northern Half of the Middle Platform*. Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 14. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
1898 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part 3: End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*. Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 16. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
1901 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part 4: The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*. Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 19. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
1906 "The Life and Monuments of the Queen." In *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, by Édouard Naville and Howard Carter, pp. 1–74. Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân el Molûk 2. London: Constable & Co.
- 1908 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part 6: The Lower Terrace, Additions and Plans*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 29. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Navratilova, Hana
2006 "The Phraseology of the Visitors' Graffiti. A Preliminary Report of the Graffiti Data Base." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005* (Proceedings of the conference held in Prague, June 27–July 5, 2005), edited by Miroslav Barta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromir Krejci, pp. 83–107. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University.
2007 *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara. The Visitors' Graffiti* 1. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Needler, Winifred
1983 Review of *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten*, by Edgar B. Pusch. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 20: 115–18.
- Nelson, Harold H.
1949 "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8: 201–32, 310–45.
- Newberry, Percy E.
1894 *Beni Hasan II. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoir* 2. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
1900 "A Statue of Hapu-senb, Vezîr of Thothmes II." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22: 31–36.
1907 *Scarab-shaped Seals. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 36001–37521*. London: Constable & Co.
- Niedziółka, Dariusz
2001 "Some Remarks on the Graffito of Senenmut at Aswan." In *Proceedings of the First Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists*, edited by J. Popielska-Grzybowska, pp. 85–104. Warsaw Egyptological Series 3. Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology.
2002 "On the Obelisks Mentioned in the Northampton Stela of Djehuti, Director of the Treasury during Hatshepsut's Reign." In *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000*, edited by Zahi Hawass, vol. 2, pp. 407–15. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
2009 "The Mysterious Structure *sjar.t-m3a.t* in the Northampton Stela of Djehuti." In *Proceedings of the Third Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists*, edited by J. Popielska, O. Bialostocka, and J. Jwaszczuk, pp. 137–55. Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia 1. Pultusk: Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology.

- Northampton, Marquis of; Wilhelm Spiegelberg; and Percy E. Newberry
 1908 *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9*. London: Constable & Co.
- Nutz, Reiner
 2010 "Zur ideologischen Verortung von *t3-ntr* und Punt." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39: 281-88.
- Obsomer, Claude
 1995 *Sésostris I^{er}: étude chronologique et historique du règne*. Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne 5. Brussels: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne.
- Ockinga, Boyo
 2006 "The Shroud of *Tny*, R92: An Early Example of *Book of the Dead* 100 on Linen." In *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, edited by Karin Sowada and Boyo Ockinga, pp. 179-89. Sydney: Meditarch.
 2007 "Use, Reuse, and Abuse of 'Sacred Space': Observations from Dra Abu al-Naga." In *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 139-62. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- O'Connor, David
 2009 "The Middle Colonnade at Deir el-Bahari: Compositional Integrity and 'Intertextuality' in Egyptian Art." In *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*, edited by Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, vol. 2, pp. 325-37. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- O'Connor, David, and Eric H. Cline, editors
 1998 *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Okamoto, Yoshitomo
 1972 *The Namban Art of Japan*. Translated by Ronald K. Jones. New York: Wetherhill/Heibonsha.
- Onstine, Suzanne Lynn
 2005 *The Role of the Chantress (Šm'yt) in Ancient Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1401. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Oppenheim, Adela
 2011 "The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur." In *Abusir and Saqqara in 2010*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, vol. 1, pp. 171-88. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Osborne, Robin
 2008 "Introduction: For Tradition as an Analytical Category." *World Archaeology* 40/3: 281-94.
- Osing, Jürgen
 1992 *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyet Sulṭan*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 88. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Otto, Eberhard
 1952 *Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 16. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
 1960 *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. 2 volumes. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pamminger, Peter
 1992 "Nochmals zum Problem der Vizekönige von Kusch unter Hatschepsut." *Göttinger Miszellen* 131: 97-100.
- Pantalacci, Laure, and Claude Traunecker
 1998 *Le temple d'el-Qala'a, Vol. 2: relevé des scènes et des textes: couloir mystérieux, cour du "Nouvel An," Ouabet, Per-nou, Per-our, Petit vestibule*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Pardey, Eva
 1997 "Der sog. Sprecher des Königs in der 1. Hälfte der 18. Dynastie." In *Essays in Honour of Prof. Jadwiga Lipinska*, pp. 377-97. Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1. Warsaw: National Museum in Warsaw.
- Parkinson, Richard B.
 1997 *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940-1640 a.c.* Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks.
 2002 *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*. New York: Continuum.
 2008 *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun*. Masterpieces of Ancient Egyptian Art in the British Museum. London: British Museum Press.
 2009 *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry: Among other Stories*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Parkinson, Richard B., and Stephen Quirke
 1992 "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the Book of the Dead." In *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, edited by Allan B. Lloyd, pp. 37-50. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Parlebas, Jacques
 1975 "Sur l'origine de la valeur *Dḥwtj* de Θ et le groupe $\overline{\Theta \text{ I I I}}$ dans les noms de personnes." *Göttinger Miszellen* 15: 39-43.
- Patterson, Orlando
 1982 *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Pawlicki, Franciszek
- 1990 "Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari." *Études et Travaux* 14: 15–28.
- 1999 "Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1997/1998." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10: 119–30.
- 2007 "Princess Neferure in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: Failed Heiress to the Pharaoh's Throne?" *Études et Travaux* 21: 109–27.
- Peet, T. Eric
- 1926 "Two Eighteenth Dynasty Letters: Papyrus Louvre 3230." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 12: 70–74.
- 1977 *The Great Tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms. Reprint of the 1930 edition published by the Oxford University Press, London.
- Penden, Alexander J.
- 2001 *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 B.C.)*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 17. Leiden: Brill.
- Pérez-Accino, José Ramón
- 2009 "La tumba de Puimra." In *120 años de arqueología española en Egipto*, pp. 124–27. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura — Sociedad estatal de conmemoraciones culturales.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders
- 1897 *Six Temples at Thebes*. London: B. Quatrich.
- 1904 *Abydos 3. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 25*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- 1917 "Racial Types at Abu Simbel." *Ancient Egypt* 4/2: 57–61.
- Phillips, Jacke
- 2006 "Why?... And Why Not? Minoan Reception and Perceptions of Egyptian Influence." In *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, edited by Ernst Czerny, Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab, vol. 2, pp. 293–300. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149. Leuven: Peeters.
- Piacentini, Patrizia
- 1990 *Le lettere di Ippolito Rosellini nella Biblioteca estense di Modena*. Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche 8. Pisa: Giardini.
- Piccione, Peter A.
- 1984 Review of *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten*, by Edgar B. Pusch. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 70: 172–80.
- 1999 "Like Father, Like Son: New Discoveries in the Tombs of Ahmose and Rây in Ancient Thebes, Egypt." Available online at <http://piccionepeople.cofc.edu/t2p2/weblecture.html> [accessed 2012].
- Piehl, Karl F.
- 1886 *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte*. 2 volumes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Pignattari, Stefania
- 2008 *Due donne per il trono d'Egitto: Neferuptah e Sobekneferu*. Imola: La Mandragora.
- Pinch, Geraldine, and Elizabeth A. Waraksa
- 2009 "Votive Practices." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. Available online at <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nelc/uee/1831> [accessed 11/11/2010].
- Poitevin, Ephrêm
- 1854 "Notices sur Ahmès, dit Pensouvan." *Revue archéologique* 11: 65–73.
- Poloczanin, Waldemar
- 1980 "The Upper Portico of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari." In *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut: Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission 1972–1973*, pp. 66–90. Warsaw: State Enterprise for the Conservation of Cultural Property Information Center Press.
- Polz, Daniel
- 1990 "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 46: 301–336.
- 1991 "Jamunedjeh, Meri und Userhat." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47: 281–91.
- 1995 "Dra' Abu el-Naga: Die thebanische Nekropole des frühen Neuen Reiches." In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 25–42. *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 2007 *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 31. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- 2008 "Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut und das Tal der Könige — Eine Skizze." In *Zeichen aus dem Sand, Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, edited by Eva-Maria Engel, Vera Müller, and Ulrich Hartung, pp. 525–33. *Menes: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- 2009 "Der Hohepriester des Amun Minmonth und seine Grabanlage in Theben." In *Texte-Theben-Tonfragmente: Festschrift für Günter Burkard*, edited by Dieter Kessler, Regine Schulz, Martina Ullmann, Alexandra Verbovsek, and Stefan Wimmer, pp. 337–47. Ägypten und Altes Testament 76. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Popko, Lutz
2006 *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Ahmosiden- und Thutmosidenzeit. Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens, kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 2.* Würzburg: Ergon.
- Posener, George
1955 "Urk. IV, 139, 2–7." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 10: 92–94.
1975 "La piété personnelle avant l'âge amarnien." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 27: 195–210.
- Preys
2007 ??? Please provide reference -- Bryan
- Pumpenmeir, Frauke
1998 *Eine Gunstgabe von seiten des Königs: Ein extra-sepulkrates Schabtidopot Qen-Amuns in Abydos.* Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 19. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Pusch, Edgar B.
1979 *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten.* 2 volumes. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 38. Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Quack, Joachim Friedrich
2006 "Fragmente des Mundöffnungsritual aus Tebtynis." In *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, edited by Kim Ryholt, pp. 69–150. CNI Publications 30. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute.
- Quibell, James E.
1898 *The Ramesseum.* British School of Archaeology in Egypt 2. London: B. Quaritch.
- Quirke, Stephen
1996 ??? Please provide reference -- Shirley
2001 *The Cult of Ra: Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt.* New York: Thames & Hudson.
2003 "Measuring the Underworld." In *Mysterious Lands*, edited by David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke, pp. 161–81. London: University College London Press.
2004 *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt, 1850–1700 B.C.* London: Golden House.
2009 "The Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge, Production and Power: Middle Kingdom Evidence." In *Egyptian Royal Residences: 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and John H. Taylor, pp. 111–30. *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen* 4,1, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2013 *Going Out in Daylight –prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead; Translation, Sources, Meanings.* Golden House Publications, Egyptology 20. London: Golden House Publications.
- Ragazzoli, Chloé
2010 "Weak Hands and Soft Mouths: Elements of a Scribal Identity in the New Kingdom." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 137: 157–70.
2011 "Lire, inscrire et survivre en Égypte ancienne: les inscriptions de visiteurs du Nouvel Empire." In *Les lieux de savoir, Vol. 2: les mains de l'intellect*, edited by Christian Jacob, pp. 299–321. Paris: Albin Michel.
In Press "'The Pen Promoted My Station': Scholarship and Distinction in the New Kingdom Biographies." In *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, edited by Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic. Copenhagen: Centre for Identity Formation.
- Ragazzoli, Chloé, and Elisabeth Froid
2013 "Writing on the Wall: Two Graffiti Projects in Luxor." *Egyptian Archaeology* 42: 30–33.
- Randall-MacIver, David, and Arthur C. Mace
1902 *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899–1902.* Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 23. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Ranke, Hermann
1935 *Die ägyptischen Personennamen.* 3 volumes. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Ratié, Suzanne
1979 *La reine Hatchepsout: sources et problèmes.* Leiden: Brill.
- Raue, Dietrich; Felix Arnold; Peter Kopp; and Cornelius von Pilgrim
2011 "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 67: 181–207.
- Raven, Maarten J.
2009 "Insinger in ElKab." In *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by Wouter Claes, Herman De Meulenaere, and Stan Hendrickx, pp. 195–212. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 191. Leuven: Peeters.
- Redford, Donald B.
1967 *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies.* Near and Middle East Series 23. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- 1990 *Egypt and Canaan in the New Kingdom*. Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.
- 1992 *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2003 *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 16. Leiden: Brill.
- Régen, Isabelle
- 2002 “Les ‘briques magiques’ du vizir Ouser (ép. Thoutmosis III): Reconstitution de l’ensemble (Caire JE 37621, Avignon A 59).” In *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, edited by Mamdouh Eldamaty and May Trad, vol. 2, pp. 991–1002. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- 2010 “When the Book of the Dead does not Match Archaeology: The Case of the Protective Magical Bricks (BD 151).” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15: 267–78. Available online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_15/regen.aspx [accessed 10/02/2010].
- Reichwald, Ralf; Frank Thomas Piller; Christoph Ihl; and Sascha Seifert
- 2009 *Interaktive Wertschöpfung: Open Innovation, Individualisierung und neue Formen der Arbeitsteilung*. Wiesbaden: Gabler.
- Reineke, Walter F.
- 1977 “Ein Nubienfeldzug unter Königin Hatshepsut.” In *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Erika Endesfelder, K.-H. Priese, Walter F. Reineke, and Stefan Wenig, pp. 369–76. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Reisner, George A.
- 1920 “The Viceroys of Ethiopia.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 28–55, 73–88.
- Reisner, George A., and Mary B. Reisner
- 1933 *Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal, Part 2: The Granite Stela of Thutmose III*. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Richter, Barbara
- 2008 “The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of the Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44: 73–104.
- Ricke, Herbert
- 1939 *Der Totentempel Thutmoses’ III.: Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 3. Cairo: n.p.
- Ritter, Thomas
- 1995 *Das Verbalsystem der königlichen und privaten Inschriften. XVIII. Dynastie bis einschließlich Amenophis III.* Göttinger Orientforschungen 30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rizzo, Jérôme
- 2005 “Jardins des délices, jardins de la misère.” In *Encyclopédie religieuse de l’univers végétal*, edited by Sydney H. Aufrère, pp. 3–20. *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 15. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry–Montpellier 3.
- Robb, John
- 2008 “Tradition and Agency: Human Body Representations in Later Prehistoric Europe.” *World Archaeology* 40/3: 332–53.
- Roberson, Joshua
- 1999 “The Early History of ‘New Kingdom’ Netherworld Iconography: A Late Middle Kingdom Apotropaic Wand Reconsidered.” In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 427–45. New Haven: Yale University; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Robins, Gay
- 1979 “The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 54: 197–217.
- 1990 Review of *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, by Lana Troy. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76: 214–20.
- 1994 *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 1999a “Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480–1350 B.C.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 36: 55–69.
- 1999b “The Names of Hatshepsut as King.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85: 103–12.
- 2010 “Space and Movement in Pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tomb Chapels.” In *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, edited by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, vol. 2, pp. 129–42. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Roeder, Günther
- 1913 *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1924 *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 2*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- 1938 *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali*. Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte; Les temples immergés de la Nubie 13. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.

- 1959 *Hermopolis 1929-1939: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten, in Verbindung mit zahlreichen Mitarbeitern.* Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 4. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Roehrig, Catharine H.
- 1990 The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (*mn't nswt*), Royal Tutor (*mn' nswt*), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (*šn/šnt mn' n nb tšwy*). Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- 1995 "The Early Middle Kingdom Cemeteries at Thebes and the Tomb of Djari." In *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, edited by Jan Assmann, Eberhard Dziobek, Heike Guksch, and Friederike Kampp, pp. 255-70. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 12. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 2002 "The Statue of the Royal Nurse Sitre with her Nursling Maatkare Hatshepsut." In *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World: Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, edited by Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad, vol. 2, pp. 1003-10. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- 2006 "The Building Activities of Thutmose III in the Valley of Kings." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline, and David O'Connor, pp. 238-59. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Roehrig, Catharine H., and Peter F. Dorman
- 1987 "Senimen and Senenmut: A Question of Brothers." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 3: 127-34.
- Romano, James
- 1976 "Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 97-111.
- Romer, John
- 1982 *Romer's Egypt: A New Light on the Civilization of Ancient Egypt.* London: M. Joseph.
- Rondot, Vincent
- 1997 *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: les architraves.* Paris: Arthaud.
- Ronsecco, Paolo
- 1996 *Due libri dei morti del principio del Nuovo Regno: Il lenzuolo funerario della principessa Ahmosi e le tele del sa-nesu Ahmosi.* Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, serie prima - Monumenti e Testi 7. Turin: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali.
- Rosellini, Ippolito
- 1832-44 *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia disegnati dalla spedizione scientifico-letteraria Toscana in Egitto.* Pisa: Capurro.
- Roth, Ann Macy
- 1992 "The Psš-kf and the 'Opening of the Mouth' Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78: 113-47.
- 1993 "Fingers, Stars, and the 'Opening of the Mouth': The Nature and Function of *ntrwj*-blades." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79: 57-79.
- 1999 "The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration." *Journal of the American Center in Egypt* 36: 37-53.
- Roth, Martha T.
- 1995 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.* Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Russmann, Edna R., editor
- 2001 *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum.* London: British Museum Press.
- Russo abd El Samie, Barbara
- 2002 "Due frammenti di stele votive da Gebelein." *Aegyptus* 82: 27-45.
- Ryan, Donald P.
- 2000 "Pottery from the Valley of the Kings: Tombs KV 21, 27, 28, 44, 45, and 60." *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 6: 11-26.
- 2010 "Field Seasons in the Royal Necropolis: The Second Phase of the Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Project." *KMT* 21/4: 30-44.
- Saleh, Mohamed
- 1984 *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches: Texte und Vignetten.* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 46. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Saleh, Mohamed, and Hourig Sourouzian
- 1987 *Musée égyptien du Caire, catalogue officiel.* Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Sampsell, Bonnie M.
- 2003 *A Traveler's Guide to the Geology of Egypt.* Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press.
- Sandman, Maj
- 1938 *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten.* Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

- Sankiewicz, Marta
- 2008 "Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari." *Études et Travaux* 22: 199–214.
- 2011 "The 'Co-regency' of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in the Light of Iconography in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2010* (proceedings of the eleventh annual symposium, Leiden University, the Netherlands, January 2010), edited by Maarten Horn, Joost Kramer, Daniel Sollman, Nico Staring, Carina van den Hoven, and Lara Weiss, pp. 131–44. Oakville: David Brown Book Co.
- Satzinger, Helmut
- 1985 "Zur kryptographischen Beischrift eines 'Gabenbringers.'" *Göttinger Miszellen* 86: 31–32.
- Sauneron, Serge
- 1968a "Les inscriptions ptolémaïques du temple de Mout à Karnak." *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* 45: 45–52.
- 1968b "La statue d'Ahmosé, dit Rourou au Musée de Brooklyn." *Kêmi* 18: 45–50.
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny
- 1957 *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs. Private Tombs at Thebes 1*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 1958 "Eine Gastmahlsszene im Grabe des Schatzhausvorstehers Djehuti." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16: 280–90.
- Scheil, Vincent
- 1894 *Tombeaux thébains de Mâi, des graveurs, Rat'es-erkasenb, Pâri, Djanni, Apoui, Montou-m-hat, Aba*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 5, fascicle 4, pp. 541–656. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Schiaparelli, Ernesto
- 1893 "Un'iscrizione inedita del regno di Amenofi I." In *Actes du huitième congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*, part 4, pp. 203–08. Leiden: Brill.
- Schmitz, Bettina
- 1976 *Untersuchungen zum Titel z3 nswt "Königssohn."* Habelt Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 2. Bonn: Habelt.
- Schneider, Thomas
- 1992 *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 114. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1994 *Lexikon der Pharaonen: Die altägyptischen Könige von der Frühzeit bis zur Römerherrschaft*. Zürich: Artemis.
- 1999 "Zur Herkunft der ägyptischen Bezeichnung wrryt 'Wagen': Ein Indiz für den Lautwert von <r> vor Beginn des Neuen Reiches." *Göttinger Miszellen* 173: 155–58.
- 2002 "Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrischanatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung." *Ägypten und Levante* 12: 257–72.
- 2003 *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*, Vol. 2: *Die ausländische Bevölkerung*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2010 "Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period." *Ägypten und Levante* 20: 373–403.
- Schnell, Scott
- 1997 "Sanctity and Sanction in Communal Ritual: A Reconsideration of Shintô Festival Processions." *Ethnology* 36: 1–12.
- Schnittger, Marianne
- 2008 *Hatschepsut: Eine Frau als König von Ägypten*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Schoske, Sylvia
- 1990 "Kunst – Geschichte: Bemerkungen zu einem neuerworbenen Königskopf im Ägyptischen Museum (SMPK) Berlin." In *Studien zur ägyptischen Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Marianne Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, pp. 81–93. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 29. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Schott, Siegfried
- 1950 *Altägyptische Festdaten*, Vol. 1. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 10. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 1953 *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstenale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 11. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 1961 *Kanais: Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wâdi Mia*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1/6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1990 *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schulman, Alan R.
- 1976 "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperrē." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 117–30.
- 1986 "The Royal Butler Ramessessemi'on." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61: 187–202.
- Schulz, Regine
- 1992 *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenann-*

- ten “Würfelhockern.” 2 volumes. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Schumpeter, Joseph Alois
1964 *Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung: Eine Untersuchung über Unternehmergewinn, Kapital, Kredit, Zins und den Konjunkturzyklus*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
- Schwaller de Lubicz, R. A.
1999 *The Temples of Karnak: A Contribution to the Study of Pharaonic Thought*. Rochester: Inner Traditions.
- Schwartz, Theodore, and Lola Romanucci-Ross
1974 “Drinking and Inebriate Behavior in the Admiralty Islands, Melanesia.” *Ethos* 2: 213–31.
- Seidel, Matthias
1996 *Die königlichen Statuengruppen, Vol. 1: Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 41. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Seidlmayer, Stephan J.
1991 “Eine Schreiberpalette mit ägyptischer Aufschrift (Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus / Frankfurt a. M. Inv.-Nr. IN 1899).” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47: 319–30.
2006 “Landscape and Religion — The Region of Aswan.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1: 223–35.
- Seiler, Anne
2005 *Tradition und Wandel: Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 32. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Selim, Hassan
2003 “The Stela of T3 ‘b’t in the Cairo Museum.” In *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, edited by Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel, and Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami, pp. 253–58. Bibliothèque d’Étude 138. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Serrano, José M.
2003 “Djehuty en Hermonthis y en Dra Abu el-Naga: problemas de identidad.” *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 13: 133–45.
2009 “El ritual de la Apertura de la Boca en la tumba de Djehuty (TT 11).” *Trabajos de Egiptología* 5/2: 243–58.
2010 ??? Please provide reference -- Serrano
2011 “A Contribution to the Study of the Tekenu and Its Role in the Egyptian Funerary Ritual.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 138: 150–62.
- Forthcoming “Nuevas perspectivas en torno a los rituales funerarios a partir de la tumba de Djehuty (TT11): las escenas de la capilla.” *IV Congreso Ibero de Egiptología - IV Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología* (Lisboa, septiembre 2010).
- Servajejan, Frédéric
2004 *Les formules des transformations du Livre des Morts à la lumière d’une théorie de la performativité*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 137. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Sethe, Kurt
1908 “The Enigmatical Inscription of the Tomb of Tehuti (Die enigmatischen Inschriften).” In *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-1899*, edited by the Marquis of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and Percy E. Newberry, pp. 3*–12*. London: Constable & Co.
1924 “𓄏 m-ḥn.w ‘im Innern’ eine Rebuspielerei.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 59: 61–63.
1928 *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen, Vol. 2: Der Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus: Ein Spiel zur Thronbesteigung des Königs*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 10. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
1934 “Das alte Ritual zur Stiftung von Königstatuen bei der Einweihung eines Tempels.” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 70: 51–56.
- Shaw, Mary, and David Garlan
1996 *Software Architecture: Perspectives on an Emerging Discipline*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Shedid, Abdel Ghaffar
1988 *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis’ II.: Untersucht an den thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Shehab el-Din, T.
1997 “The Title ‘mdw-j3wj’ ‘the Staff of Old Age’ ‘Uk-kazat al-šaykuka.’” *Discussions in Egyptology* 37: 59–64.
- Sherratt, Andrew
1995 “Alcohol and Its Alternatives: Symbol and Substance in Pre-industrial Cultures.” In *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*, edited by Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, pp. 11–46. London: Routledge.
- Shirley, J. J.
2005a *The Culture of Officialdom: An Examination of the Acquisition of Offices during the Mid-*

- 18th Dynasty. Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University.
- 2005b “Usersatet: Childhood Friend or Palace Elite?” Paper presented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 22–24, 2005, Cambridge, MA.
- 2008 “Politics of Placement: The Development of the 18th Dynasty Theban Necropolis.” Paper delivered at the 10th International Congress of Egyptologists (ICE), May 22–29, 2008, Rhodes.
- 2010a “One Tomb, Two Owners: Theban Tomb 122 — Re-use or Planned Family Tomb?” In *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, vol. 2, pp. 271–301. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- 2010b “Viceroy, Viziers and the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty.” *Journal of Egyptian History* 3/1: 73–113.
- 2011 “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.” In *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature* (Proceedings of a conference at the University of Haifa, 3–7 May 2009), edited by Shay Bar, Dan’el Kahn, and J. J. Shirley, pp. 291–319. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 52. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- 2013a “Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses.” In *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, edited by J. C. Moreno Garcia, pp. 521–606. *Handbuch der Orientalistik I/104*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- 2013b “New Kingdom Royal Butlers: From Palace Servants to Royal Emissaries.” Paper presented at the 64th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 19–21, 2013, Cincinnati, OH.
- Shorter, Alan W.
1930 “The Tomb of Aahmose, Supervisor of the Mysteries in the House of the Morning.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16: 54–62.
- Shukanau, Aliaksei
2013 “New Stone Sculptures of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari.” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 22: 152–59.
- Silverman, David P.; William Kelly Simpson; and Josef Wegner, editors
2009 *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Silverthorne, Sean
2006 “How Kayak Users Built a New Industry.” Q&A with Carliss Y. Baldwin. *Working Knowledge* (Harvard Business School), July 24, 2006. Available online at <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/5462.html>.
- Simpson, William Kelly
1963 *Heka-nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna*. New Haven: Peabody Museum; Philadelphia: University Museum.
1965 *Papyrus Reisner II: Transcription and Commentary*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
2003 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. 3rd edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Smilgin, Agata
2012 “Sandstone Sphinxes of Queen Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari: Preliminary Remarks.” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 21: 255–60.
- Smith, Mark
1993 *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
2009 *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Stuart Tyson
1992 “Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 48: 193–231.
2003 *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt’s Nubian Empire*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, William Stevenson
1983 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*. Revised with additions by William Kelly Simpson. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Smith
1989 ??? Please provide reference -- Szafranski
- Smith
1998 ??? Please provide reference -- Szafranski
- Sourouzian, Hourig
1983 “Une chapelle rupestre de Merenptah dédiée à la déesse Hathor, maîtresse d’Akhoy.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 39: 207–23.
1994 “Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l’époque thinite jusqu’à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III.” In *Homages à Jean Leclant*, Vol. 1: *Études pharaoniques*.

- niques, edited by Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, pp. 499–530. Bibliothèque d'Étude 106. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Spalinger, Anthony J.
- 1980 "A Fragmentary Biography." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10: 215–28.
- 1993 "A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 44: 161–84.
- 2006 "Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt's Domination of Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III." In *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor, pp. 344–69. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 2009 *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 33. Leiden: Brill.
- Spence, Kate
- 2007 "Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy: Hatshepsut's Foundation Deposits at Deir el-Bahri." In *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by Thomas Schneider and Kasia Szpakowska, pp. 353–71. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 347. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Spencer, A. Jeffrey
- 1979 *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Spencer, Patricia
- 1984 *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm
- 1900 "Die Northampton Stele." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 22: 115–25.
- 1902 "Eine Künstlerinschrift des Neuen Reiches." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 24: 185–87.
- 1908 "Kurneh and the South-Eastern Draḥ abu'l Negga." In *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898–1899*, Marquis of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and Percy E. Newberry, pp. 13–19. London: Constable & Co..
- 1917 "Varia." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 53: 91–115.
- 1918 "Der ägyptische Possessivartikel." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 54: 104–10.
- Spieser, Cathie
- 2000 *Les noms du pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 174. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Staehelin, Elisabeth
- 1989 "Zum Ornat an Statuen regierender Königinnen." *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève* 13: 145–56.
- Stahl, Peter
- 1986 "Hallucinatory Imagery and the Origin of Early South American Figurine Art." *World Archaeology* 18: 134–50.
- Sternberg-El-Hotabi, Heike
- 1992 *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und das Ritual "Hathor das Trankopfer darbringen": Nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. *Rites égyptiens* 7. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Strudwick, Nigel
- 1996 *The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnumose, and Amenose at Thebes: (nos. 294, 253, and 254)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- 2013 "The Tomb of Senneferi: Theban Tomb 99." Available online at <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/index.html> [accessed 2013].
- 2009–10 "Use and Re-use of Tombs in the Theban Necropolis: Patterns and Explanations." *Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 28: 239–61.
- Strudwick, Nigel, and John H. Taylor, editors
- 2003 *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*. London: British Museum Press.
- Szafranski, Zbigniew E.
- 1985 "Buried Statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre and Amenophis I at Deir el-Bahari." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 41: 257–63.
- 2001a "Deir el-Bahari: The Temple of Hatshepsut: Season 1999/2000." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 12: 185–205.
- 2001b *Królowa Hatszepsut i jej świątynia 3500 lat później / Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, edited by Zbigniew E. Szafranski. Warsaw: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza A. Grzegorzcyk.
- 2007 "King(?) Neferure, Daughter of Kings Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut." *Études et Travaux* 21: 139–50.
- 2008 "Deir el-Bahari: Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2005/2006." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 18 (Reports 2006): 269–84.

- 2011 "Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Season 2007/2008." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 20: 193–202.
- Tarasenko, Mykola
- 2009 "The BD 42 Vignettes during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period." In *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr, pp. 239–65. Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Taylor, Jeanette Anne
- 2001 *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*. London: Museum Bookshop Publications.
- Taylor, John H.
- 2010 *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. London: British Museum Press.
- Teeter, Emily
- 1990 "Wearer of the Royal Uraeus: Hatshepsut." *KMT* 1/1: 4–13, 56–57.
- Tefnin, Roland
- 1979 *La statue d'Hatshepsut: portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e dynastie*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 4. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Tefnin, Roland, and Catheline Perier-d'Ieteren
- 2002 "Archéologie et conservation-restauration dans les chapelles de Sennefer (TT 96) et Aménémopé (TT 29), à Cheikh abd el-Gournah." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 154: 7–28.
- te Velde, Herman
- 1989 "Mut, the Eye of Re." In *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*, Vol. 3: *Linguistik, Philologie, Religion*, edited by Sylvia Schoske, pp. 395–403. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Toivari-Viitala, Jaana
- 2001 *Women at Deir el-Medina: A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community during the Ramesside Period*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 15. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Traunecker, Claude
- 1986 "Aménophis IV et Néfertiti: le couple royal d'après les talatates du IX^e pylône de Karnak." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 107: 17–44.
- Tylor, Joseph J.
- 1895 *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Paheri*. Egypt Exploration Fund 11. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- 1896 *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*. London: B. Quaritch.
- Tylor, Joseph J., and F. Ll. Griffith
- 1894 *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Ullmann, Martina
- 2007 "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape." In *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 3–25. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Valbelle, Dominique
- 1981 *Satis et Anoukis*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- 2003a "L'Amon de pnoubs." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 54: 191–211.
- 2003b "Kerma. Les inscriptions et la statuaire." *Genava* 51: 291–300.
- 2005 "Kerma. Les inscriptions et la statuaire." *Genava* 53: 251–54.
- 2006 "Hatchepsout en Nubie." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 167: 33–50.
- 2007a "Kerma. Les inscriptions et la statuaire." *Genava* 55: 213–21.
- 2007b "Penrê et les directeurs des pays étrangers méridionaux dans la première moitié de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 58: 157–86.
- 2008 "Les temples thoutmosides de Pnoub (Douki Gel). L'apport de l'épigraphie et de l'iconographie." *Between the Cataracts*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Lajtar, vol. 1, pp. 85–93. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Supplement Series 2. Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.
- 2009 "Kerma. Les inscriptions et la statuaire." *Genava* 57: 109–19.
- Valbelle, Dominique, and Charles Bonnet
- 1996 *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise: Sérabit el-Khadim au Moyen Empire*. Paris: Picard.
- 2003 "Amon-Rê à Kerma." *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, pp. 289–304. Bibliothèque d'Études 138 Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Vandekerckhove, Hans, and Renate Müller-Wollermann
- 2001 *Elkab VI. Die Felsinschriften des Wadi Hilâl*. 2 volumes. Turnhout: Brepols.

- van den Boorn, G. P. F.
1988 *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. Studies in Egyptology. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Vandersleyen, Claude
1971 *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
1995 *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Vol. 2: de la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*. Nouvelle Clio l'Histoire et ses problèmes. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
2005 *Iahmès Sapair: Fils de Séqénehré Djéhouty-Aa (17^e dynastie et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682)*. Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne 8. Brussels: Éditions Safran.
- van de Walle, B.
1972 "Rš-wd³ comme épithète et comme entité divines." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 98: 140–49.
- van Dijk, Jacobus
2005 "Early Christian Apocrypha and the Secret Books of Ancient Egypt." In *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen*, edited by Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten, pp. 419–28. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 59. Leiden: Brill.
- Vanlathem, Marie-Paule
2009 "Historique des deux temples d'Elkab." In *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, edited by Wouter Claes, Herman De Meulenaere, and Stan Hendrickx, pp. 177–85. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 191. Leuven: Peeters.
- Van Siclen III, Charles C.
1999 "New Kingdom Temples at Elkab." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 415–17. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
2008 "An Eighteenth Dynasty Stela of a 'Proficient One' from Thebes." In *The Realm of the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa*, edited by Zahi A. Hawass, Khaled A. Daoud, and Sawsan Abd el-Fattah, pp. 401–04. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 37. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Varille, Alexandre
1941 "L'appel aux visiteurs du tombeau de Khaemhêt." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 40: 601–06.
- 1950 "Quelques notes sur le sanctuaire axial du grand temple d'Amon à Karnak." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 50: 127–35.
- Vassilika, Eleni
2010 *The Tomb of Kha: The Architect*. Turin: Scala.
- Vercoutter, Jean
1959 "The Gold of Kush: Two Gold-washing Stations at Faras East." *Kush* 7: 120–53.
- Verhoeven, Ursula
2009 "Von der 'Loyalistischen Lehre' zur 'Lehre des Kaïrsu': Eine neue Textquelle in Assiut und deren Auswirkungen." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 136: 87–98.
- Vernus, Pascal
1971 "Noms propres juxtaposés au Moyen Empire." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 23: 193–99.
1981 "Omina calendériques et comptabilité d'offrandes sur une tablette hiératique de la XVIII^e dynastie." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 33: 89–124.
1986 *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: répertoire procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XII^e dynastie à la fin de la XVII^e dynastie*. Studia Pohl 13. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- Vinogradov, Alexey K.
2003–08 "Did the Name of Kashta Mean 'the Kushite'? Some Material for the Book of the Kings of Kush." *Kush* 19: 219–39.
- Vischak, Deborah
2006 "Agency in Old Kingdom Elite Tomb Programs: Traditions, Locations, and Variable Meanings." In *Dekorierter Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation*, edited by Martin Fitzenreiter and Michael Herb, pp. 255–76. Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie 6. London: Golden House Publications.
- von Beckerath, Jürgen
1981 "Ein Wunder des Amun bei der Tempelgründung in Karnak." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37: 41–51.
1990 "Nochmals zu Regierung Thutmosis' II." *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 17: 65–74.
1994 *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 39. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
1997 *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 46. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
1999 *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 49. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

- von Hippel, Eric
1988 *The Sources of Innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Voß, Susanne
2004 Untersuchungen zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie. Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Hamburg. Available online at <http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/opus/volltexte/2004/2100/pdf/Dissertation.pdf>.
- Wachsmann, Shelley
1987 *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 20. Leuven: Peeters.
- Waitkus, Wolfgang
2008 *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels*. 2 volumes. *Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia* 2. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.
- Wallet-Lebrun, Christiane
2009 *Le grand livre de pierre: les textes de construction à Karnak*. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 41, *Études d'égyptologie* 9. Paris: Soleb.
- Ward, William A.
1972 *The Shasu "Bedouin": Notes on a Recent Publication*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wasmuth, Melanie
2003 *Innovationen und Extravaganzen: Ein Beitrag zur Architektur der thebanischen Beamtengräber der 18. Dynastie*. *British Archaeological Reports, International Series* 1165. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Weeks, Kent R.
2005 *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Wegner, Josef
2007 *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*. Publication of the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt 8. New Haven: Peabody of Natural History; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
2009 "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos: Considerations on the Origins and Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 103–69. New Haven: Yale University Press; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
2010 "Tradition and Innovation: The Middle Kingdom." In *Egyptian Archaeology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, pp. 119–42. *Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology* 13. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Weinstein, James Morris
1973 *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Welvaert, Eric
1996 "On the Origin of the Ished-scene." *Göttinger Miszellen* 151: 101–07.
- Wente, Edward
1984 "Some Graffiti from the Reign of Hatshepsut." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43: 47–54.
1990 *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 1. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Wente, Edward F., and Charles C. Van Siclen III
1977 "A Chronology of the New Kingdom." In *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977*, edited by Janet H. Johnson and Edward F. Wente, pp. 217–61. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- Werbrouck, Marcelle
1934 *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles. Département égyptien, album*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
1949 *Le temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Werning, Daniel A.
2008 "Aenigmatische Schreibungen in Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches: Gesicherte Entsprechungen und Ersetzungsprinzipien." In *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf*, edited by Carsten Peust, pp. 124–52. *Göttiner Miszellen Beihefte* 3. Göttingen: Seminars für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Universität Göttingen.
- Westendorf, Wolfhart
1999 *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*. 2 volumes. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1/36. Leiden: Brill.
- Western, A. C., and Wallace E. McLeod
1995 "Woods Used in Egyptian Bows and Arrows." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81: 77–94.
- Whale, Sheila
1989 *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs*. *Australian Centre for Egyptology, Studies* 1. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology.
- Wilde, Heike
2003 *Technologische Innovationen im zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus: Zur Verwendung und Verbreitung neuer Werkstoffe im ostmediterranen Raum*. *Göttinger Orientforschung* IV/44. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- 2011 *Innovation und Tradition: Zur Herstellung und Verwendung von Prestigegütern im pharaonischen Ägypten*. Göttinger Orientforschungen, Ägypten 49. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. pp. 431–40. Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beiheft 2. Hamburg: Buske.
- Wohlfarth, Susanne
2002 Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches: Versuch einer ikonographischen und kompositionellen Bestimmung. Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.
- Wolf, Walther
1926 *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Wreszinski, Walter
1914–36 *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Wysocki, Zygmunt
1985a “The Results of Architectural Investigations on Historical Development of the Queen Hatshepsut Temple.” In *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, edited by Lech Krzyzanowski, pp. 35–62. Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works of the Polish-Egyptian Archeological and Preservation Mission Deir el-Bahari 3. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa.
1985b “The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri: The Results of Analysis and Studies on the Meaning of the Lines Retained on the South Revetment of the Middle Courtyard Terrace.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 41: 293–307.
1992 “The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: The Raising of the Structure in View of Architectural Studies.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 48: 233–54.
- Yoshimura, Sakuji, et al.
2003 *The Theban Tomb No. 318 and Other Tombs (Nos. 128, 129, 309, and 317)*. The Report of the Waseda University Excavations on the West Bank of Luxor (II). Tokyo: Waseda University, Institute of Egyptology/Akht Press.
- Yoyotte, Jean
1968 “La date supposée du couronnement d’Hatshepsout.” *Kêmi* 18: 85–91.
- Žabkar, Louis. V.
1975 *Apedemak: Lion God of Meroe. A Study in Egyptian-Meroitic Syncretism*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Zenihiro, Kento
2009 *The Complete Funerary Cones*. Tokyo: Maruzen.
- Zibelius, Karola
1972 *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 1. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- 2011 *Innovation und Tradition: Zur Herstellung und Verwendung von Prestigegütern im pharaonischen Ägypten*. Göttinger Orientforschungen, Ägypten 49. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wilkinson, Charles, K., and Marsha Hill
1983 *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Collection of Facsimiles*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Willems, Harko
1996 *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 70. Leuven: Peeters.
- Wilson, Penelope
1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 78. Leuven: Peeters.
- Wilson-Yang, K. M.; J. McFarlane; and George Burns
1985 “The Degradation of Egyptian ‘Black Granite.’” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 15: 52–54.
- Winlock, Herbert E.
Notebook VII The Metropolitan Museum of Art Theban Expedition, Vol. 7: XVIII Dynasty Temple Architecture: 1929–32. Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Notebook VIII The Metropolitan Museum of Art Theban Expedition, Vol. 8: Hatshepsut Statues and Sphinxes. Compiled by Herbert Winlock, ca. 1929–32. New York: Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
1922 “Excavations at Thebes.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17/12: 19–49.
1924 “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19/2: 5–33.
1926 “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 21/3: 1, 5–32.
1928 “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23/2: 3–58.
1929 “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24/2: 3–34.
1932 “Excavations at the Temple of Deir el Bahri, 1921–1931.” *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 71/6: 321–41.
1942 *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911–1931*. New York: Macmillan.
- Witkowski, Maciej G.
1989 “Le rôle et les fonctions des chapelles d’Anubis dans le complexe funéraire de la reine Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari.” In *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*, edited by Sylvie Schoske, vol. 3,

Zibelius-Chen, Karola

- 2011 "Nubisches" Sprachmaterial in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten: Personennamen, Appellation, Phrasen vom Neuen Reich bis in die napatansische und meroitische Zeit. *Meroitica* 25. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Zivie, Alain-Pierre

- 1984 "Un chancelier nommé Nehesy." In *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, pp. 245–52. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- 2007 *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara*. Translation by David Lorton of *Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara* (Monaco: Rocher, 2003). Ankhtawy: Cara.cara Edition.

Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands

Luc Gabolde, CNRS (UMR 540)

Due to the specific and exceptional circumstances that led Hatshepsut to assume royal prerogatives, the queen has provided us with abundant and developed texts that record the process of her accession to pharaonic status and its justification.

Prolegomena

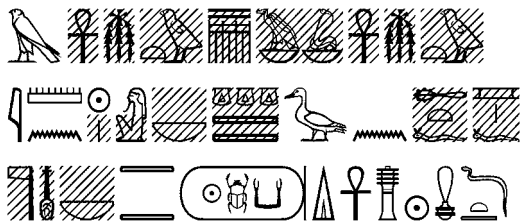
First it has to be stressed that we must keep from considering these texts as pure propaganda, which would be full of exaggerations, boasts, or lies. On the contrary, these compositions must be considered exact witnesses of what happened, even though the filter of the religious faith and of the specific mentality of the Egyptian society of the Eighteenth Dynasty has adorned the speech with a poetic breath and a mystic inspiration. We have to keep in mind that these texts were not accessible to a great number of people: they were intended for posterity and, overall, for the gods, who are supposed to see deep into the consciences. One cannot lie to a deity, and therefore we can consider as truth the numerous claims for the veracity of Hatshepsut, carved on walls of temples, bark chapels, and obelisks.

Now, it is a matter of fact that when we attempt to compare the specific building texts with the architectural remains they are supposed to be related to, we note that they fit extremely well with each other: what the queen says is obviously true and can be checked. Consequently, a similar confident reception must be given to the other records of the queen not related to such concrete elements as architecture.

The Divine Descent

From the Fifth Dynasty onward, it is well known that kings were born of a god (specifically of Ra and of a mortal woman), as it has been described in the tales of the papyrus Westcar. This is the core of their claim to the throne, of their legitimacy to rule Egypt.

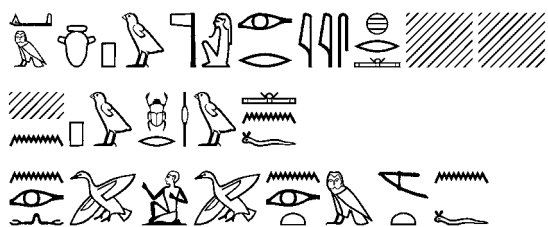
In the Theban area, Sesostris I, who founded anew the temples of Karnak, mentions several times that he is the son of the dynastic god of Karnak, Amun:



“<The One who is> of Amun-Ra [Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands] the son [of his body, his beloved].”
(Gabolde 1998, p. 38, §57)¹

¹ Other mentions in the *Chapelle blanche*: Lacau and Chevrier 1956, p. 73, §§169, 170; p. 75, §180, among many occurrences.

He also declares at Tôt that he usually acts under the god's command:



“What had been decided by the God is that I should accomplish his will [...] and it is what happened, as it is to me that he had given order to act, nobody having (previously) acted as he wanted.” (Tôt, col. 31; Barbotin and Clère 1991, p. 9)

Subsequently, when Hatshepsut became a pharaoh, she also claimed, as the basic principle of her legitimacy, that she was the offspring of Amun. The famous “theogamy” text of Deir el-Bahari precisely describes her conception as the result of the union of her mother, Queen Ahmose, with the god Amun:



“[He made] his shape in that of the Majesty [of] her husband, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare (Thutmose I).” (*Urk. IV 219.11*)

Then a record of the god's decree concerning Hatshepsut is given:



“She will exercise the beneficent kingship in the entire land ...

(she will) rule the Two Lands and lead all the living ones.” (*Urk. IV 221.9, 15*)

Here Amun is considered the source of Hatshepsut's existence and of her kingship. This recognition of Amun as the origin of her legitimacy requires, in return, that the queen act as a very considerate child toward her father.

Reciprocal Gratitude

James P. Allen (in Roehrig, *Hatshepsut*, p. 84) has already shown that the queen's gifts to Amun were seen not merely as a duty but as a privilege granted by the god himself. The dedicatory inscription carved on one of Hatshepsut's obelisks at Karnak expresses this view eloquently.

Wadjet obelisks, east face, speech of the queen for the people in the future (fig. 4.1):



“... rather say:

‘How like her it is, the (present) gratifications toward her father;’ as my god (= Amun) knows them well, which (come) from me.

So, Amun, the lord of the thrones of Two Lands, he made me rule the Black Land and the Red Land as a reward for them.” (*Urk. IV 368.4-8*)

In fact, it appears that there is a double stream of gratitude, which constitutes a perfect illustration of the basic principle of exchange between the god and the humans in Egyptian religion: *do ut des* “I give in order that you give.”

- First stream: actions of gratitude of the queen toward the god; claiming that it is her duty to act for her father, she decides to renew the offerings, to build the temples, in a long enumeration of all the duties of a king.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:



“May your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) make them perfectly accomplished.



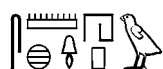
You shall create for me (= Amun) functions/offices,



filling up the granaries, providing the altars with offerings,



introducing the *wab*-priests into their duty,



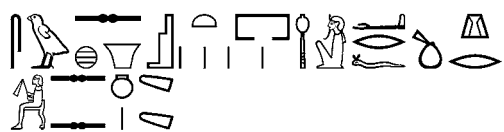
improving the laws,



establishing the rule, making greater the offering tables, increasing the portions,



making more than what was done previously,



enlarging the places of my treasury which enclose the marvels of the Two Shores.” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

- Second stream: actions of gratitude of the god toward the queen; Amun first created her, and then on a second occasion, he promoted her to the royal status of pharaoh.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):

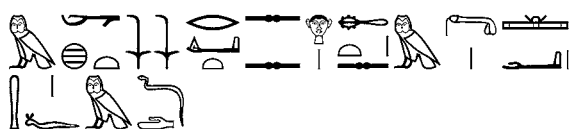


“I am king, by order of my father of whom I am issued.” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186)



Hatshepsut appears clearly as the tool, the instrument of the god’s will. She is the medium on earth, through which god’s wishes shall be accomplished.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen to Amun mentioning the oracle:



“After this, she (= Hatshepsut) placed herself laying on her belly, in front of his Majesty (= Amun), saying:



‘How greater is this than the (other) projects of your Majesty (= Amun’s).



It is you, my father, who planned all what exists.

Anything you would like it happens, I shall make it.'

And the Majesty of this god gave very great oracles, numerous and important." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99, 101)

So, the queen pledges to accomplish any wish of the god, and the oracle is the privileged way for the god to express these wishes. These oracular manifestations of the god's will occur very early in the regency of Hatshepsut. In year 2 of Thutmose III (who is not mentioned, on purpose, by the queen in her record of the scene), an oracle was delivered during the Opet festival at Luxor temple.

Chapelle Rouge, oracle of year 2:



"[...] very great [oracles/miracles] in the presence of this perfect god (= Thutmose III),



in order to foretell to me the kingship of the Two Lands,



Upper and Lower Egypt (being) under my threat,



in order to attribute to me every country,



in order to enlight the victories of my Majesty (= Hatshepsut).



In year 2 (of Thutmose III), second month *peret*, day 26, 6th day of the festival of Amun,



corresponding to the 2nd day of the litanies of Sekhmet,



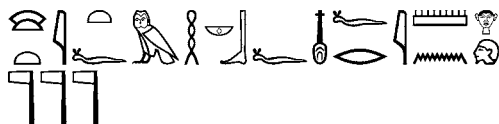
as the Two Lands were foretold to me in the courtyard of Luxor temple.



Lo, his Majesty (= Amun) was giving oracles in the presence of this perfect god (= Thutmose III).



(at the) processional apparition of my father in his beautiful festival, Amun who is at the head of the gods." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 133-34, §179)



We understand here that in these very early years of the regency, Hatshepsut rules effectively. And, even though there is no attempt to deny the existence of Thutmose III (who is alluded to, though not named), it is nevertheless quite significant that, retrospectively, she omitted or avoided mentioning his name.

However, this was not the case in the early representations in Semna, though dated to year 2, 2nd month of *shemu*, day 8, only a few days after the aforementioned oracle (Camino 1998, vol. 1, p. 43, pl. 24), or in the

Netjery-menu at Karnak (Gabolde 2005, p. 10, §12; pp. 172–73) — reliefs that are contemporaneous to these early events and not retrospective records — where Thutmose III is very present as the reigning king.

This last monument, the *Netjery-menu*, was founded in the early years of Thutmose III's reign, as recorded in the *Texte de la jeunesse* (*Urk.* IV 166.7–15; Gabolde 2005, pp. 21–26) and was probably located to the east of the *Akhmenu*. The representations of the queen on this building are accompanied by captions that make a clear allusion to the oracles.

Netjery-menu, wall 2 recto, over the queen:



“The noble one, great of favors and of charm, queen of the entire Land,



[the one that this god(?) has placed(?)] at his own places,



the one for whom the miracles/oracles are great in the house of her father,



the king's [daughter], king's [sister], god's [wife] and hand, the great king's wife,



his beloved, the queen of the Two Lands, Hatshepsut,



living, stable, strong,



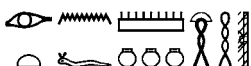
healthy, her heart rejoicing, like Ra, eternally.” (Gabolde 2005, p. 33, §39, pls. III–III*)

Another wall of the same building reveals what was precisely one of the aims of the oracles, to allow the queen to act as a king.

Netjery-menu, wall 3 verso, over the queen:



“[...] The one (= Hatshepsut) whose mind is vigilant to what concerns [him (= Amun)],



the one who makes for him enduring monuments



as the manifestation of a king of Upper and Lower Egypt.” (Gabolde 2005, p. 44, §44, pls. VII–VII*)

Significant here is the evocation of the building activity of the queen, as we know now that it is the privilege of a king to build monuments to the god.

A third scene of the same monument makes more explicit the content of these royal prerogatives.

Netjery-menu, wall 7 recto, over the queen:



“The noble one, great of favors and of charm, queen of the South and of the North, who is [under the <protection> of the] fear



Which Amun <generates>, his protectress: he has subdued [for her the] hearts of the human being;



he has caused her to perform for him the purification rites in his devoted place,



<she>, the king's daughter, king's sister, god's wife,



great king's wife, Hatshepsut,



living, stable, her heart being rejoiced, like Ra eternally."
(Gabolde 2005, p. 59, §61, pls. XIII-XIII*)

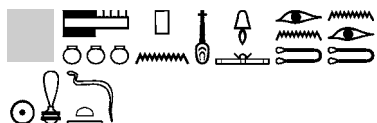
By accomplishing the “purification rites” in the god’s “sacred place,” it must be understood that Hatshepsut was considered responsible for the daily and solemn rituals in the temple of Amun at Karnak. This is precisely the role devoted to a ruling sovereign.

Bark Shrine

Another building of Karnak, which was probably erected in the very last years of the reign of Thutmose II, shows clearly that the queen was already prepared to play this prominent role.

On this monument, which preceded the *Chapelle Rouge* as a bark shrine, Hatshepsut was systematically following her husband-brother while performing the rites. After year 7 of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut, whose status had changed, ordered her representations and titulary to be modified into male ones. The queen was represented alone on one register of the facade. She then introduced a dedication formula that clearly shows that she considered herself as the dedicating ruler. This recalls the role of builder of a sovereign already evoked in the *Netjery-menu*.

Bark shrine, facade, right side, upper register:



“[My (= Amun’s) heart rejoices] of this perfect and achieved monument which you (fem. = Hatshepsut) have made for me, <it is what> you (fem.) have done, like Ra, eternally.” (Gabolde 2005, p. 108, §120)

It has been shown above that the main way for the god to express his will was through oracles — a way that later on was also widely used by Thutmose III² — but it is not the only one. Hatshepsut claims also, several times, that she has had direct access to the god’s thoughts.

Northern Wadjyt obelisk, west face (entrance face):



“My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them),

as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn’t, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe” (*Urk.* IV 363.6–17).

² See the *Texte de la jeunesse* (*Urk.* IV 157.13–159.2), the text of the Seventh Pylon (*Urk.* IV 180.10–12), and the foundation stela of the *Akhmenu* (von Beckerath 1981).

Northern Wadjet obelisk, south face (pathway):



“I have done this with a permanently loving heart/spirit for my father, Amun,



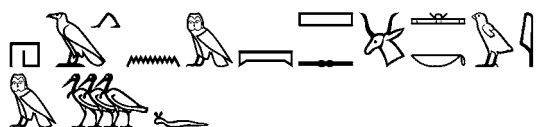
having myself got access to his mysterious revelation of the primeval origins,



having myself experienced his magic efficiency. I have not neglected to take into account what he has decided.” (Urk. IV 363.2–5)



Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):



“... I came back from the sky, having acknowledged his magic power,



knowing occurrences (of his will), as he had informed me that



I would take possession of this land, submitted,



having been elevated myself as I was a young-future-king.



My power, it makes tremble the far-South, the far-North is under my steps.” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186)



Deir el-Bahari, oracle of Punt:



“Having myself entered the schemes of the venerated god.” (Urk. IV 350.13)

Demanding Requests of the God: Destructive Actions Are Required

So, through oracles or by a direct access of the queen to the god’s intimate thoughts, there is a revelation of the wishes of the deity. These wishes are, in fact, mandatory and could be very demanding: the queen shall order actions requiring efforts and eventually destructions. Without the god’s order, they could appear blasphemous. Interesting enough are the different elements of the argumentation put forward by the queen:

- It is necessary to destroy and rebuild what has decayed and is presently in a ruined state. It is necessary not only to replace, but also to enlarge and embellish.
- There are precedents, as other kings have already destroyed in order to rebuild.
- It is mandatory, it is a submission to the god’s will.

Ruined State of the Existing Structures and the Need of Larger Ones

For the first point, the necessity to rebuild and enlarge, there is an eloquent text in the *Chapelle Rouge*, a speech of Amun to the queen:



“May your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) make them perfectly accomplished.



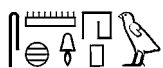
You shall create for me (= Amun) functions/offices,



filling up the granaries, providing the altars with offerings,



introducing the *wab*-priests into their duty,



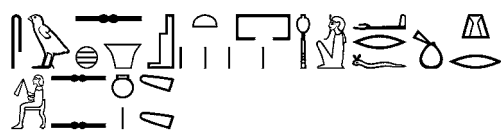
improving the laws,



establishing the rule, making greater the offering tables, increasing the portions,



making more than what was done previously,



enlarging the places of my treasury which enclose the marvels of the Two Shores.



Arrange (on the contrary) monuments in the sanctuaries!



Set <there> the god, following his rule, each one being in adequation with his belongings!



Improve his original state, as required by him,



because it the god's joy the improvement of his laws!



Be it (= a monument) mutilated, then my heart is transpierced at its thought;



so, you shall embellish the temples of the gods, more than what the predecessors had (even) conceived!



So, I declare: ‘I hand over (for you) this land,



I order you to conduct (it) on (my) behalf.’” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124–27)

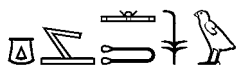
A speech of the gods, transcribed at Deir al-Bahari, echoes this last:



Be twice welcome, O daughter of Amun,



you have supervised your instructions in the country,



you reorganize it,



you make flourish (anew) what had decayed,



you make your memorial of your (*sic*, read “our”) temples,



you provide in offerings the altars of the One who generated you.” (*Urk.* IV 247.12-17)

Precedents

For the second argument, the existence of precedents, three texts can efficiently attest this point. The first one is of high interest because it is supposed to be a quotation of the speech of Amun.

Northern obelisk of the Wadjyt hall, east face I, main vertical inscription:



“Horus ‘Powerful of *kas*,’ king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maat-ka-Ra, beloved of Amun-Ra. Her Majesty has caused the name of her father to be established on this enduring monument,



inasmuch as praise will be so given to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheper-ka-Ra, on behalf of this venerated god (= Hatshepsut).



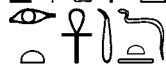
Accordingly, two great obelisks have been erected by her Majesty in a first occasion. Behold what was told by the Lord of the Gods (= Amun):



‘Isn’t it your father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-khepre-ka-Ra,

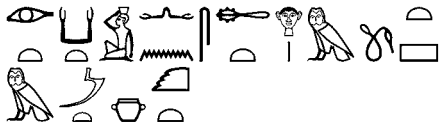


who (first) gave instructions for establishing obelisks? And your Majesty (= Hatshepsut) should renew <these> monuments.’ You acted <then>, being alive, eternally.” (*Urk.* IV 358.2-10)

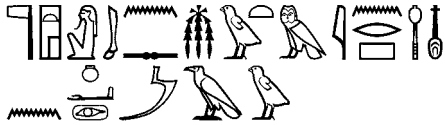


A second text, from the *Chapelle Rouge*, explains the circumstances that must prevail for the destruction and the reconstruction.

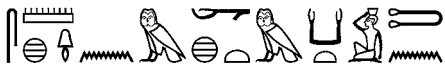
Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:



"<You shall> undertake works without rest, with sandstone and black granite.



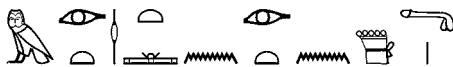
<And concerning> my temple <it shall be> made anew for it what had (previously) been created in beautiful white limestone,



<it shall be> made for the future something perfect of this work.



Didn't kings act (in the past) as a tempest/turmoil, in order to agree the wishes of my Majesty (= Amun)



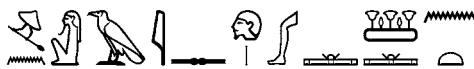
that should be made (anew) what I (= Amun) had ordered the predecessors to make?



Would I discard, really, your laws that I inspired?



Would I ruin, really, the prophecies (to be accomplished) in the future?



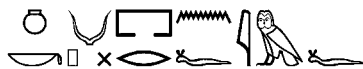
Would I disturb, really, the rules I have determined/conceived for you?



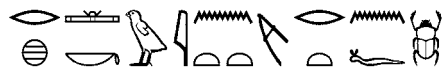
Would I really cause you to turn <your attention> away from my seat?" (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124-27)

A third text makes another reference to the requirement of following previous examples.

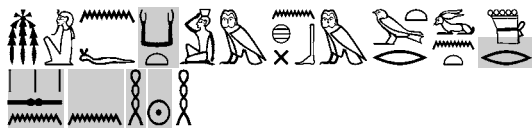
Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen (suite):



"I am one who distinguishes the one from whom he is issued.



Knowing myself what he likes to happen,



I created for him works (of art) in accordance with precedent examples (models), so that they will last eternally." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 150, §188)

As can be seen from these quotations, the precedent provided by glorious ancestors is a good excuse for dismantling and rebuilding.

The God's Will

Support for such important operations is provided by the fact that these actions are the direct result of the god's will.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:



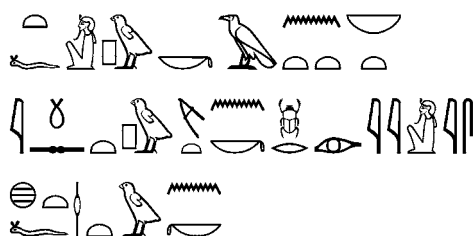
"I have accomplished the plans of the one who created me." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 144, §184)

Text from the Speos Artemidos (end), speech of the queen:



"These are the instructions of the father of my fathers." (Urk. IV 390.17)

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:



"It is you, my father, who has conceived all that exists.

Whatever you wish to be realized, I shall do it,

as you ordered it (to be done)." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 99–101; idem 1979, pl. 184)

Northern obelisk of the Wadjyt, west face (entrance face), speech of the queen:



"My Majesty (= Hatshepsut), knowing his (permanent) ability to be divine,

I acted, then, under his order as it is he who guided me.

I couldn't plan a work without his own action.

It was him who was giving the instructions, <so that> I had no rest for his sanctuary.

I couldn't stray from what he had ordered.

My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them),

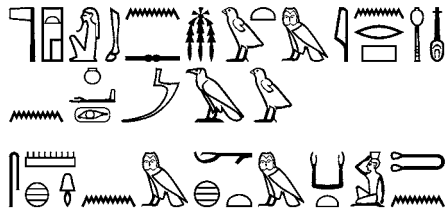
as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn't, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe,

on the contrary, my head was placed toward it (for acting for it = the town)." (Urk. IV 363.6–17)

Hatshepsut Acts for Posterity

By accomplishing the god's wishes and erecting magnificent monuments, Hatshepsut manifests her intention to act for posterity. In that respect she innovates: previous kings were focused on infinity and eternity (*nḥḥ* and *dt*), whereas she has in scope the future and the future generations in a more historical perspective.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of Amun to the queen:



"<And concerning> my temple <you shall> make anew for it what had (previously) been created in beautiful white limestone;

<you shall> make for the future something perfect of this work." (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 124-27)

This preoccupation was already present when the queen had received, through an oracle, the order to organize an expedition to the Land of Punt.

Deir el-Bahari, oracle of year 9 concerning Punt, speech of the queen:



"I shall make great things for the Lord of eternity,



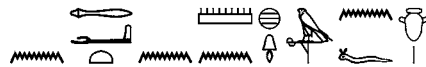
I shall do more than what was done previously,



I shall really cause that one to say in the future:



'How splendid is what she caused to happen.'



Because of the excellence of my wishes for him,



my heart shall organize more than he could expect,



because I am his glory." (*Urk.* IV 350.6-10)

What Happens to Hatshepsut Is Exceptional and Never Happened Before

Hatshepsut is quite conscious of her exceptional destiny. In a long and poetic passage on the *Chapelle Rouge*, she insists on this aspect of her promotion, and there is no doubt that her claim is intentionally ambiguous: her fate was exceptional because she had been promoted to the rank of a pharaoh and had diverted the usual masculine line of transmission of the regalia, but she transformed this originality into an extraordinary result of the god's specific solicitude toward her, reversing more or less the cause and the effect.

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen, under oath, to the courtiers; affirmation of exactness and sincerity:



“Such a thing had not been heard, since the primeval times, when this land raised from the primeval waters.



Not the like had happened to kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, previously, in the first generations.



Such a thing had not been heard, as sweet speech, in the time span of mankind or (even of) the gods.



It never occurred that it happened since the (early) time of Mankind.



It never occurred that it was heard since the time of the (primeval) god.



It has never (been recorded) in the annals of the predecessors, neither had it been recorded as oral [tradition(?)],



except in my case, being (myself) beloved of my generator, as he has acted for me when I was (still) in the nest of Khemnis.” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

There Is No Renunciation

As a reward to Amun for this exceptional destiny, Hatshepsut undertook, in a compulsive way, the construction of particularly exceptional and precious monuments, providing so, herself, the proof of her divine election: six pairs of granite obelisks, four of them covered with figures and texts, the *Chapelle Rouge* exquisitely carved with reliefs and texts. The message is clear: the more she builds, the more she shows the loving approbation of Amun. This resulted in a colossal amount of work, and, even though the task may appear difficult, the queen affirms she would have never given up.

Wadjyt obelisks, west face (entrance face), speech of the queen:



“I couldn’t stray from what he had ordered. My heart was perceiving (the projects) before my father (had emitted them), as I could (directly) enter the concerns of his heart/mind. I didn’t, <then>, turn my back to the town of the Lord of the Universe, on the contrary, my head was placed toward it (for acting for it = the town).” (Urk. IV 363.6–17)

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen:



“And so I declare (as an oath): ‘I shall reveal (this) for the future.

(And if) I abandon, I should not be united with his aura/magic power,

as these events are too important to be hidden/con-cealed!’” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

Exactness and Sincerity: There Is No Lie, No Boast, No Exaggeration

The immediate continuation of this affirmation of tenacity is a statement of sincerity. This statement must be credited at face value, as I already said in my prolegomena. I have no answer to the theological debate questioning the existence – or non-existence – of the god Amun, but I would follow Erik Hornung (1986, p. 22) in considering that the important fact for this debate is that we can take for granted that Hatshepsut did believe in him. Therefore, any text composed for the god must really be considered as deprived of “lie, boast, or exaggeration.” The claims of honesty of the queen read as follows:

Chapelle Rouge, speech of the queen, under oath, to the courtiers; affirmation of exactness and sincerity:



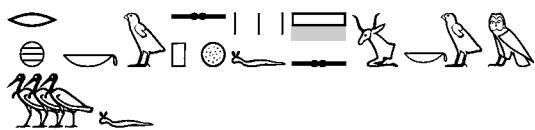
“Keep from saying ‘It is not the case!’ I give exact testimony by [...]

The one who crosses the sky and who cares for the earth

judges without bias

and provides the truth for which I rejoice,

so that she (= the truth) dwells on the prow of his bark.



I know his behavior,
I am aware of (experimented in) his powerful aura/
magic power,



my heart is pleased with his rectitude (uprightness).



All this has really happened.



There is no lying/untruthful speech therein.” (Lacau
and Chevrier 1977, pp. 136, 138)

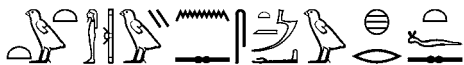
Northern Wadjyt obelisk, east face, speech to the living:



“O you who shall hear this, keep from saying that
what I say is boast ... rather say:



‘How like her it is, the (present) gratifications
toward her father.’” (*Urk. IV 368.4-8*)



Conclusions

As has been shown, Hatshepsut declared on numerous occasions that all that happened to her was a god’s initiative and that all her deeds were intended to give him satisfaction: as the god himself created her in order that she reign as a pharaoh, subsequently, all the building activity she undertook could be considered as ordered or inspired by the god, either through oracles or through the direct access she had to his intimate thoughts. It is not she who acts, but the god who acts through her.

Consequently, all her deeds reflect the god’s will. Therefore, all her deeds are free from criticism, including, first of all, her accession to the throne, a promotion whose legitimacy cannot be questioned. It was not a cynical attitude of the queen: she seems to have been truly convinced of her election by the god. She indeed shows a great faith in the deity for whom she acts and a great submission to the expressions of his will.

There is indeed a sort of mystical dimension in the action of Hatshepsut, which is sensible in the evocation of her journey to heaven: “... I came back from the sky, having acknowledged his magic power, knowing occurrences (of his will), as he had informed me that I would take possession of this land, submitted” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, p. 147, §186). This mystical dimension is found to be almost identical with Thutmose III: “[He opened] for me the door leaf of heaven, he opened for me the gates of its horizon, I flew up to the sky like a divine falcon in order to see his mysterious image which is in the sky, in order to adore his Majesty, etc.” (*Urk. IV 159.11-15*).

This is a prefiguration of the intense theological speculations that flourished later on at the head of the state. It resulted finally in the personal involvement of Amenhotep III in the ascent of the solar cult and in the worship of his deified person. It resulted too in the maturation of Akhenaton’s Atonist theology, who could say in the same intellectual stream, “Nobody knows you except your beloved son Neferkheperure Waenre, the one you instructed in your intentions and your power” (Sandman 1938, pp. 16-17).

Another interesting contribution of Hatshepsut is the way she uses architecture to legitimate her position: she argues that she builds by mandatory order of the god and in order to give him satisfaction. It is a

very subtle component of the process of legitimation: the more she builds, the more she accomplishes the divine wishes; abundance of monuments is the obvious proof of the god's approval.

This seems especially true of monuments of high quality like the obelisks, which are essentially symbolic and have very little "practical" use: they are overall monuments of propaganda and constitute by themselves, for the queen, gigantic proof of Amun's satisfaction and agreement. In that respect Hatshepsut could be considered more or less a precursor, claiming openly her faith, her mystical submission to the god's will, and the use of architectural activity as realization of it.

Today at Karnak, despite the erosion of time and the damage caused by human activity, we can still admire the results of her extraordinary determination. They confirm the legitimate pride with which she could have taken the great achievements of her reign, even though she modestly credits the god with this responsibility.



Figure 4.1. Text of the basis of the eastern face of the northern *Wadjyt* obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak (photo by A. Chéné, © CFEETK)