

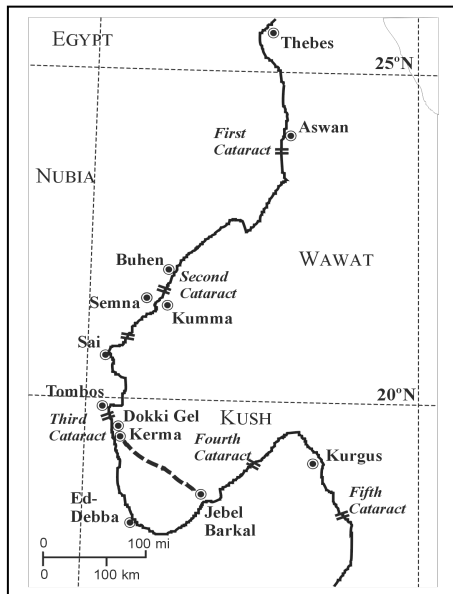
The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Newsletter

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HATSHEPSUT IN KUSH?

Tim Kendall



Map of general area

A series of intriguing recent finds and observations suggests that Hatshepsut *may* have been more personally involved in Upper Nubia (“Kush”) - and at an earlier age - than anyone has heretofore suspected. These data, although far from conclusive, offer possible new light on the female king’s career, while bringing more clarity to the earliest phase of the Egyptian conquest of the northern Sudan and offering new clues about when and how the Amun cult may have been introduced there.¹

Upper Nubia was first penetrated in the New Kingdom by an Egyptian army led by Hatshepsut’s father, Thutmose I, in his Year

2 (about 1502 BC).² It has long been known that he and his grandson Thutmose III (some seventy years later) left nearly duplicate inscriptions on the great quartz outcrop known as the Hagar el-Merwa, near Kurgus, Sudan. This rock, just downstream from the fifth cataract, is the farthest point known to have been reached by Egyptians on the Nile. A recent complete re-examination of it by Vivian Davies and a British Museum team has not only much clarified these texts but has also revealed many previously unrecorded graffiti.³ These indicate that Thutmose I traveled not only with an army but also with an entourage of priests, scribes, courtiers, and members of his own family. Among the newly discovered names are those of Thutmose’s chief wife (Hatshepsut’s mother) Ahmose, the crown prince Amenmose (known to have died about Year 4), and a royal daughter (whose name, now illegible, was written within a cartouche).⁴ Only two daughters of Thutmose I are known, Hatshepsut and Neferubity, and according to Davies the preserved traces better fit the name of Hatshepsut.⁵ This presents us with the real

possibility that, as a princess about twenty years old, she journeyed with her father, mother, and eldest brother to the upper limits of Nubia!

Continued next page



¹ This article is a summary of a lecture I had intended to present at the SSEA Symposium on Hatshepsut in Toronto on Saturday, Nov. 4, 2006. Unfortunately, due to a problem with my plane reservation, I was unable to fly that day and thus regrettably was unable to participate in the program.

² By the middle chronology. For a review of the sources, see, for example, D.B. Redford, *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 36-37, R. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London: The Rubicon Press, 2000), pp. 70-73, and Louise Bradbury, “Following Thutmose I on his Campaign to Kush,” *KMT* 3, no. 3 (Fall, 1992), 51-59, 76-77.

³ Vivian Davies, “New Fieldwork at Kurgus: The Pharaonic Inscriptions,” *Sudan & Nubia* 2 (1998), 26-30; idem., “Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions,” *Sudan & Nubia* 5 (2001), 46-58.

⁴ Davies, *Sudan & Nubia* 2 (1998), p. 29, pl. xxxvii; idem. *Sudan & Nubia* 5 (2001), pp. 50, 53, 54, fig. 8, 56

⁵ Ibid. 2001, p. 57. Davies initially stated, “The hieroglyphs...do not convincingly fit the name of any of the attested daughters of either Thutmose I or Thutmose III”. Later, in C. Roehrig, ed. with Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen Keller, *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 52, he wrote, “Although [the princess’s] name, rather

clumsily carved and now somewhat effaced, is of uncertain reading, the traces are perhaps more compatible with ‘Hatshepsut’ than with ‘Neferubity’.” Despite the uncertainty of this name, it is clear from the evidence that Hatshepsut’s parents and closest siblings accompanied the expedition, and, since at least one princess (whether Hatshepsut or not) was present, there seems a good possibility that she, too, could have been. She would certainly have been old enough to make such a journey.

Thutmose I's inscription on the Hagar el-Merwa marked the new southern boundary of the Egyptian empire. Over the short text he carved an image of the god Amun-Re in novel guise as a man with ram's head (**fig. 1**).⁶ Under the text, the god's name was written again as Kamutef ("Bull of his Mother"), apparently indicating that the criocephalic image was a form of Amun's self-generating and ancient fertility aspect, which in Egypt usually took the form of Min, a mummiform man with erect phallus.⁷

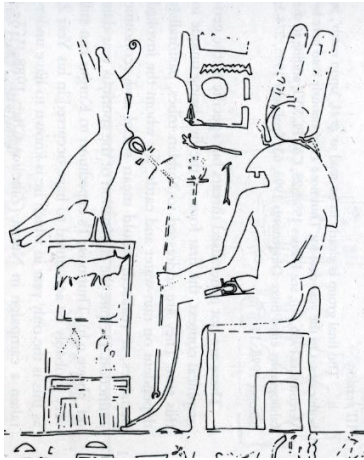


Fig. 1. The god Amun as represented on the Hagar el-Merwa (Kurgus) inscription of Thutmose I. From V. Davies, *Sudan & Nubia 5* (2001), p. 49, fig. 4.

Among the graffiti on the Hagar el-Marwa, we are also astonished to find the name of a High Priest of Amun.⁸ If we cannot be absolutely certain whether this man accompanied Thutmose I or Thutmose III, the new image of Amun manifested here implies that an important new understanding of the nature of the god had been reached since the start of Thutmose I's campaign, which in turn implies the presence of such a high level theologian. If Thutmose I was accompanied by a High Priest of Amun, we would have to conclude that his "journey to the end of the earth" was conceived not merely as a military foray but also as a journey of religious discovery, in which the king anticipated that he might well discover the source of the Nile flood and the god, his divine father, thought to preside over it.

Dating evidence indicates that Thutmose I launched his Nubian expedition late in Year 1. He sailed south from Egypt with a fleet of ships, stopped at Sai, and arrived at the third cataract when the Nile was in full flood in late summer, early in Year 2. Soon afterwards, he engaged the king of Kush in a decisive battle, which resulted in complete victory for the

Egyptians, who then burned the Kushite capital at Kerma.⁹ The king remained in Kush throughout Year 2, consolidating his conquest, probably administering loyalty oaths to all the chiefs of Kush, building two forts,¹⁰ and traveling to Kurgus and back. Late in Year 3, he sailed back into Egypt, slaughtering a captive Kushite prince as he approached Thebes and displaying the corpse on the prow of his ship.¹¹

Unfortunately, the surviving texts are short on details and long on hyperbole, and leave many questions unanswered. Of most interest to us here is what happened between the battle at Kerma and the king's visit to Kurgus. What route did he follow? How large a force accompanied him? How long did he take to go and return? His Tombos stele merely states, "(He) trod the two extremities (of the earth) with his mighty sword, seeking battle, (but) he found no one who faced him. (He) penetrated valleys that the ancestors knew not, which the wearers of the double crown had not seen."¹²

Logic – and logistics – suggests that the king would have sailed his fleet 200 km upstream, beyond Kerma, as far as modern ed-Debba, Sudan, the point beyond which further sailing upstream is impossible. Disembarking there, he would have taken his force on foot along the north bank of the Nile the remaining 320 km to Kurgus. This region was probably not heavily populated. The march would have taken him past many small villages, where, displaying his overwhelming might, he would have received the hospitality of all the local chiefs, who would also have had to open their grain stores to supply his column. After reaching Kurgus and making his monument, the king probably would have returned only as far as modern Karima/Jebel Barkal (just downstream from the fourth cataract) and then returned to Kerma via the desert road, 190 km long. In this way he would have bypassed any possible resistance downstream that might have massed to meet him on the return.

The location of one of the two forts said to have been built by Thutmose was probably Kerma – that is, its northern suburb Dokki Gel, where Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle have, over the past several seasons, excavated the remains of a small Egyptian religious complex and palace.¹³ During the 2005-06 season, they discovered a lowest level, destroyed by fire, with blocks with fragmentary cartouches of Thutmose I.

Thutmose I reigned twelve years, until 1492, and was succeeded by a son by a minor wife, Thutmose II. Judging by the age of the latter's mummy (about thirty years¹⁴), he probably came to the throne about 17 years old. That means

⁶ Davies, *Sudan & Nubia 5* (2001), figs. 3, 4, 5. On the origin of the Amun with ram's head, see L. Török, *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art: The Construction of the Kushite Mind (800 BC – 300 AD)* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 15, 19, 21, and references; Dominique Valbelle, "L'Amon de Pnoubis," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 54 (2003), 191-217.

⁷ Claude Traunecker, "Kamutef" in D.B. Redford, ed, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 221-222.

⁸ Davies, *Sudan & Nubia 5* (2001), p. 53.

⁹ Dominique Valbelle, "Egyptians on the Middle Nile," in D. Welsby and J.R. Anderson, eds. *Sudan: Ancient Treasures* (London: British Museum, 2004), p. 95.

¹⁰ Davies in Roehrig, ed. 2005, p. 53 and notes.

¹¹ Andrea Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III (Monumenta Aegyptiaca VIII)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), pp. 65-81; for English translations, see J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. ii (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), p. 34, and see pages 24-36.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

¹³ Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, *Des Pharaons venus d'Afrique* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 2005), pp. 27-33.

¹⁴ Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *Royal Mummies in the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo: American University Press, 1997), p. 29.

he would have been about 9 years old at the time of his father's Nubian campaign. Being very young and not a child of Queen Ahmose, he would not have accompanied his father on the campaign. Hatshepsut, who was at least ten years older than he, was already married to him at his coronation and became his "great royal wife."

Thutmose II's troubles in Kush began soon after his coronation. News of his father's death had sparked a rebellion there, and the new king was forced to put it down brutally to re-establish Egyptian authority. According to his Aswan stele, troops were dispatched, victory was achieved, and all males among the rebels were executed.¹⁵ The newly discovered burned layer of Thutmose I at Dokki Gel seems to be graphic evidence of this revolt, indicating, too, that it was centered about Kerma. New data also recovered last season reveals that the Dokki Gel complex ("fort"?) of Thutmose I was restored by Thutmose II and Hathsepsut, as his queen, both of whose cartouches were found in the new level. Other fragments of relief found in the same level contained part of figures that had been entirely erased by pecking. The work is reminiscent of the disfigurement visited on the images of Hatshepsut at Karnak and Deir el-Bahri a generation after her death by her stepson and nephew Thutmose III.¹⁶ It is this king's structures that comprise the third level at Dokki Gel.

After the premature death of Thutmose II, about 1479, he was succeeded by his son (by a concubine) Thutmose III, then only a small boy. The situation required a regent, and the new king's step-mother Hatshepsut, then aged about 40, stepped in to take control. By the young king's Year 7 (ca. 1472), Hatshepsut had herself crowned co-king, a position she held until her death, about fifteen years later (ca.1458). Among her many famous achievements – Deir el-Bahri Temple (begun Year 7), the erection of two obelisks at Karnak (Year 7), the sponsorship of an expedition to Punt (Year 9) - she also energetically involved herself in Nubia, building temples at Buhen, Semna and Kumma, and perhaps waging more than one Nubian campaign.¹⁷ On one of these campaigns, dated to Year 12 (i.e. her own fifth year, ca. 1467 BC), the lady is said to have taken the field herself.¹⁸

After the death of Hatshepsut, when Thutmose III became sole ruler, the king was probably little more than 25 years old. By then, Upper Nubia seems to have been completely pacified, and there is little evidence for further warfare there.¹⁹ One would have to conclude, thus, that the real pacification of Kush was achieved by Hatshepsut, during the early years of the coregency. No evidence for her presence, however, has yet been found upstream from Kerma. This could mean either that she played little or no role there, or that the traces of her activities still remain to be found - or that her works were obliterated or usurped by Thutmose III.

Beyond Kerma, the most important Egyptian site is Jebel Barkal, the famous "Pure Mountain", just downstream from the fourth cataract on the right bank (fig. 2).²⁰



Fig. 2: The profile of Jebel Barkal as it appears from the east, showing the natural pinnacle, 75 m high, on its south face.

At least as early as the last decade of Thutmose III's reign, this 95 m high sandstone promontory was the site of an Egyptian fort (which later became a town called Napata), and it had become an important sanctuary of Amun. The earliest dated monument from the site is the king's Jebel Barkal stele, from his Year 47 (about 1428 BC). The text is remarkable because it rather off-handedly identifies Jebel Barkal as Karnak (i.e. "Thrones of the Two Lands"), telling us that it "was called Thrones of the Two Lands before it was known by the people." It also informs us that the hill was the residence of the *ka* of Amun, and it describes a miracle (seen only by night watchmen) by which "a star fell" and the royal uraeus appeared and destroyed with fire an advancing enemy.²¹ He gives us no indication when the mountain had been so identified or when this miracle occurred. In the lunette of the stele the king even tells us that Amun of Jebel Barkal had granted him the kingship "of the Two Lands" while Amun [of Karnak in Thebes] granted him "all foreign lands."

The tradition that this isolated mountain in Upper Nubia was home to an aspect of Amun of Thebes that granted the kingship of Egypt was a powerful one, later seized by the Kushite kings of Dynasty 25 to claim their own authority over Egypt.²² How the site acquired this extraordinary meaning is revealed by a relief at Abu Simbel, which depicts "Amun of Karnak" seated inside Jebel Barkal, while its

¹⁵ Klug 2002, pp. 83-87; Breasted, vol. 2, pp. 48-50.

¹⁶ Peter F. Dorman, "The Proscription of Hatshepsut" in C. Roehrig, ed., 2005, pp. 267-269, fig. 88.

¹⁷ Suzanne Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout: sources et problèmes* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), pp. 219-221.

¹⁸ Labib Habachi, "Two Graffiti at Sehel from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957), 99.

¹⁹ Anthony J. Spalinger, "Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt's Domination over Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III," in Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, eds., *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 2006), 347-369.

²⁰ Timothy Kendall, "Jebel Barkal" in Welsby and Anderson, eds. 2004, pp. 158-161.

²¹ Barbara Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, fasc. 1 (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982), pp. 1-7; G.A. Reisner and M.B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal, Part 2: the Granite Stele of Thutmose III," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69 (1933), pp. 26 (l. 2), 35 (ll. 33-35)

²² T. Kendall, "Kings of the Sacred Mountain: Napata and the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt," in D. Wildung, Ed., *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile* (Paris, New York: Flammarion, 1997), pp. 161-171.

natural, 75 m high pinnacle was depicted as a rearing uraeus wearing a white crown (fig. 3).²³

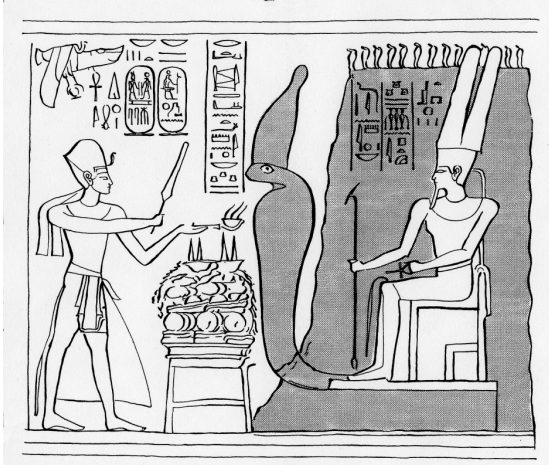


Fig. 3: Relief on the south wall of the great hall, south temple at Abu Simbel, showing Ramses II before “Amun of Karnak” seated inside Jebel Barkal, with the pinnacle appearing as the royal uraeus of the south.

Other ancient images of the pinnacle, however, reveal that it was also conceptualized as a uraeus aspect of Amun himself, ram-headed, in which the rearing serpent motif symbolized the phallus of Kamutef (figs. 4 and 5).²⁴ The mountain, in other words, was perceived not only as a home of the uraeus - hence home of the crown and source of kingship - but also as the birthplace of Amun’s *ka*, the mysterious self-engendering Amun of fertility and royal paternity, who was also the alter-ego of the Creator god of the “Primeval Mound.”

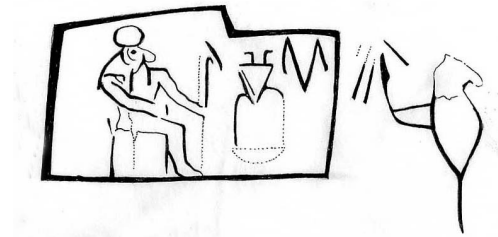


Fig. 4: Graffito from a grotto on the west side of Jebel Barkal showing Amun-Re seated inside the mountain with the pinnacle represented as a uraeiform Kamutef, suggesting its alternate meaning as the phallus of the god.

²³ I am most grateful to Lynn Holden for bringing this relief to my attention in 1987.

²⁴ Note the remarkable statue of Kamutef as a uraeus, dedicated by Taharqa, and found in the Luxor cache. The statue is identified on one side as “Kamutef” and on the other as “Amun, Lord of the Throne/s of the Two Lands.” The curious spelling of the latter epithet associates it both with Karnak (“Thrones”) and with Jebel Barkal (“Throne”), which at that time had become the more common name of the mountain). See M. el-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1991), pp. 52-54; and for “Throne of the Two Lands,” see Török (op. cit. n. 6), p. 21, n. 76.

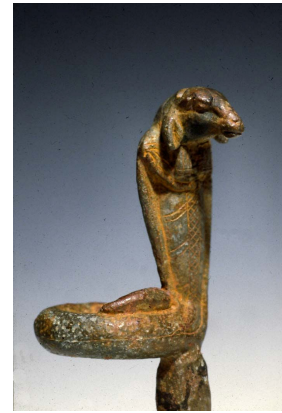


Fig. 5: Small bronze figurine of a uraeiform Amun, apparently symbolizing the Barkal pinnacle, from Jebel Barkal, Temple B 700. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 24.960.

Although no archaeological evidence from Jebel Barkal yet predates the sole reign of Thutmose III, we can assume that the mountain had been visited by his grandfather, whose expedition would have passed it by on the way to Kurgus. If Thutmose I traveled with a High Priest of Amun, one would assume that it was this man who first identified Jebel Barkal as a southern manifestation of Karnak, who first perceived the uraeus in the pinnacle, and who first conceptualized the local Amun as a ram-headed Kamutef. This would explain the god’s first occurrence at the Hagar el-Merwa. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, to find not only that the same Amun is linked to Jebel Barkal in the earliest monuments from the site (dating from Thutmose III), but also that it is he who was honored by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, during their co regency, in temples they built jointly at Medinet Habu and at Luxor.²⁵ Can we assume that these latter temples were built in response to discoveries into the nature of Amun made by Thutmose I in Upper Nubia?

This brings us to Block 287 of Hatshepsut’s Red Chapel at Karnak. The stone bears a text in which the lady states that Amun made a “very great oracle” in the presence of “this good god” (an unnamed king), “proclaiming for me the kingship of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt ... (and) all foreign lands.” The date given is “Year 2, second month of the second season, day 29”. The oracle is said to have been given in “the broad hall of Southern Sanctuary [*Ipet-resyt*].”²⁶ Scholars have long presumed that this text refers to an oracle made in Year 2 of Thutmose III at Luxor (“Southern Sanctuary”). But if true, this requires believing that an oracle predicted Hatshepsut’s kingship in the presence of the young Thutmose III in a festival at Thebes before hundreds of official witnesses, five years before her actual kingship began. There is, however, another possibility, perhaps even more plausible. This is that the queen was

²⁵ Lanny Bell, “The New Kingdom ‘Divine’ Temple: The Example of Luxor,” in B. A. Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1997), pp. 161-162, 177-178. Note that the axis of Luxor, in its final form, is directed south, perhaps indicating the origin of its god (the chthonic Amun) in Upper Nubia, the source of the Nile fertility.

²⁶ I am indebted to Luc Gabolde for bringing this text to my attention. Text discussed in Peter Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London, New York: Kegan Paul, 1988), pp. 22 ff.

referring to an event that took place in Year 2 of her father. In his Year 2, of course, Thutmose I could not have been at Luxor, for he was in Upper Nubia. If the date of his Tombos stele is correct, his fleet arrived near Kerma in Year 2, second month, 15th day. Block 287 tells us the oracle of Amun was given in the presence of the unnamed king in Year 2, fifth month, day 29 - or 126 days later, when Thutmose I could very well have been at Jebel Barkal.

Since Jebel Barkal is repeatedly called “Karnak” or (southern) “Sanctuary [*Ipet*]” in local texts dating from Thutmose III to Napatan times, and since both Luxor and Jebel Barkal were sacred to Amun-Kamutef, it seems as likely that Hatshepsut is referring to Jebel Barkal as to Luxor, which were surely conceived as manifestations of each other.²⁷ If Block 287 describes an event (imaginary or otherwise), which she claimed happened on the Nubian campaign of Thutmose I some thirty years previously – when she *may* have been with her father - probably very few veterans of the expedition would have still been alive to challenge her veracity. One must thus wonder if Thutmose III’s own claims of receiving the kingship from Amun at Jebel Barkal and his own drive to reach the Hagar el-Merwa were propelled as much by a desire to equal the achievements of his grandfather as those of his powerful stepmother.



Tim Kendall received his doctorate from the Dept. of Mediterranean Studies, Brandeis University, in 1974 and joined the Dept. of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), Boston. He became intensely interested in the Museum’s archaeological material from the Sudan, which then lay largely in storage. In 1981-84, he formed a traveling exhibition from this material (Kush, Lost Kingdom of

the Nile), with the aim of getting it on view at the MFA in its own permanent gallery, which opened in 1992. Subsequently, he organized or assisted with eight more exhibitions on ancient Sudanese or African themes, one of

²⁷ The relationship between Luxor and Jebel Barkal and their gods has been documented by P. Paminger, “Amun und Luxor – Der Widder und das Kultbild,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992), 93-140. For Luxor, see Lanny Bell, “The New Kingdom ‘Divine’ Temple: The Example of Luxor,” in Byron, E. Shafer, *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 127-184. At Thebes, Karnak Temple was known as *Ipet-sut* (literally “Sanctuary of the Thrones”), while Luxor was called *Ipet-resyt* (“Southern Sanctuary”). During the New Kingdom the Great Amun temple at Jebel Barkal was also called *Ipet-sut* (see fig. 3). During the early Napatan Period, it still retained its original name (See T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török, eds. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum [FHN]: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, vol. 1 [Bergen: University of Bergen Press, 1994], p. 62). In later Napatan times it continued to be called variously “*Ipet-sut* of Napata,” “*Ipet-sut* of Amun of Napata,” “Golden *Ipet-sut*,” and “*Ipet-sut* House of Gold” (FHN II, pp. 443, 444, 478, 480). In his stele the Napatan king Nastasen mentions the god of Luxor, Amenemopet (“Amun in the Sanctuary”), as if he were housed at Napata (FHN II, p. 484). He also speaks of a “temple of Thebes” at Napata (FHN II, p. 488). See also note 24 above.

which was on display at the National Museum of African Art in Washington, DC until 2005. In 1986, he received a permit to reopen excavations at the site of Jebel Barkal, and from 1986 to 1997 he directed the MFA expedition there. In 1999 he joined the African-American Studies Dept. of Northeastern University, Boston, where he currently teaches Ancient African History. Through generous private support, he continues his fieldwork at Jebel Barkal annually under the auspices of the Sudan Antiquities Board (NCAM). He has served as a vice-president of the International Society of Nubian Studies (1994-2000), and in 2004 received an honorary doctorate from the University of Khartoum, Sudan for his contributions to the archaeology and ancient history of the Sudan. Map by Peter Robinson.

BRUCE G. TRIGGER

JUNE 18, 1937 – DEC 1, 2006

Bruce Graham Trigger was born in Preston, Ontario, on 18 June 1937, as the only son of John Wesley Trigger, an operator at the Ontario Hydro Station, and his wife Gertude Trigger, née Graham. He cited his family’s varied ethnicities (English, Scottish, and German), and the resulting diversity in their respective attitudes to children, political, and social issues, as lying at the base of his early interest in cultural relativism. This approach would play an important role in his later work’s focus in the area of cross-cultural comparisons, and it is this domain for which he is primarily known in Egyptology. Beginning with studies such as the chapter “Egypt and the Comparative Study of Early Civilizations” in K. Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, 23–56 (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), and “The Narmer Palette in Cross-Cultural Perspective” (in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 409–19. Bamberg: Urlaub, 1979), he later delved deeper, with his monograph *Ancient Egypt in Context* (Cairo: AUC, 1993), a study of various key features in the socio-cultural behaviour of seven pre-modern societies. This was followed – ten years later – by the much-expanded volume *Understanding Early Civilizations – A comparative Study* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003). Trigger stated to have spent twelve years of research on this project, rendering its subject matter a central element of both his academic interests and career. Despite finding striking cultural similarities in a number of areas, Trigger maintained that cross-cultural differences were in no way less important than such similarities, and in his work he always explored both in detail. Also, unlike many of his colleagues with a predominantly archaeological background, Trigger combined the study of textual and archaeological evidence in these works, and it was his refusal, throughout his career, to be bounded by any one particular scholarly method or trend, that allowed him to push the limits of his discipline(s).

One of the outcomes of Trigger’s comparative work was a firm belief in historically and contextually determined sociocultural evolution—a methodological approach that he explored in detail, and redefined, in his book of the same title (*Sociocultural Evolution: Calculation and Contingency*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998). It stood very much against the prevailing academic trend in anthropology and archaeology. In this work, as in others, Trigger took not only a methodological but also a political stand, in making historically informed recommendations on how modern

societies might ward off some of the ecological and political crises facing them.

In the areas of Egyptian and Nubian archaeology, Trigger's work is distinguished in particular by its contributions to settlement archaeology, as well as by its contextual approach, portraying both Egypt and Nubia in their multiple reciprocal relationships. Authoritative expositions of his methodology can be found in works such as his chapter "The Rise of Egyptian Civilization" in B. Kemp, et al. (eds), *Ancient Egypt – A Social History*, 1–70; 349–52; 365–71 (1983) – to this day a standard item on every Egyptology undergraduate's bibliography. The origins of Trigger's career as an Egyptologist lay in his archaeological expertise in Nubia, where he began fieldwork at Arminna West as part of the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition in 1962. His monographs in this area include *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* – his doctoral dissertation (New Haven: Yale University Publications 69, 1965), which – in isolating four factors that determined changes in the population size and settlement distribution in Lower Nubia over 5000 years – brought settlement archaeology to Nubian studies. Other relevant publication contributions are *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West* (1967), *The Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Arminna West* (1970), which hypothesized that Meroitic was part of the Eastern Sudanic language family – a supposition that recent scholarship has been able to confirm, and *Nubia under the Pharaohs* (1976).

Outside of Egyptology, Trigger is known in particular for two major works: *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989; 2nd ed. 2006) – a *tour de force* through archaeological theory and practice from medieval antiquarianism to modern times, and *The Children of Aatentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (2 vols. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976) which has been widely praised for both its content as well as its literary quality. It is his work on the history of Native Canadians that ultimately led to his adoption into the Huron-Wendat nation in 1989.

Trigger's academic career began at the University of Toronto, where he took an undergraduate degree in Anthropology in 1959. He completed his doctorate at Yale in 1963, and his first appointment was as an African Archaeologist at Northwestern University, Illinois. He returned to Canada after only one year, however, as Professor of Anthropology at McGill University, Montreal, where he remained until illness forced his retirement. In the course of almost 50 years of scholarly productivity, Trigger wrote 15 books and over 400 academic articles, chapters and reviews, and he was unquestionably one of the most significant anthropologists and archaeologists of his time. In recognition of this fact, he received multiple honours and awards, including a Fellowship at the Royal Society of Canada (since 1976), its Innis-Gérin Medal (1985), the Prix Léon-Gérin of the Quebec government (1991), and was made an Officer of the National Order of Quebec (2001) and of the Order of Canada (2005), as well as receiving honorary doctorates from the Universities of New Brunswick, Waterloo, Western Ontario, McMaster, and Toronto. His last appointment was as James McGill Professor Emeritus of McGill University in June 2006. Also in 2006, a volume of tributes appeared in his honour (M. Bisson, R. F. Williamson (eds), *The Archaeology of Bruce*

Trigger: Theoretical Empiricism (Montreal et al.: McGill-Queens University Press), which Trigger described as "a highlight" in his career.

Active to the end, Trigger had hoped to complete his comparative study of early civilizations with a history of ancient Egypt that would focus on change in the various aspects of Egyptian society and culture that he had explored in his two earlier volumes. It was not to be. Bruce Trigger died, after a year-long battle with cancer, in Montreal on 1st December 2006, aged 69. His wife of over 40 years, the geographer Barbara Welch, followed him just a few weeks later. They are survived by their daughters Isabel and Rosalyn and grandchildren David and Madeleine.

Katja Goebis

SSEA SCHOLARS' COLLOQUIUM 2006

Lyn Green

On 3 November 2006, approximately 100 SSEA members and non-members converged in the Royal Ontario Museum to hear scholars from the United States, Great Britain, Uruguay, and across Canada present their latest research. In the morning session, Prof. Gene Cruz-Urbe of Northern Arizona University spoke on Roman tour guides in the Valley of the Kings, Prof. John Gee of Brigham Young University presented on Egyptian scribes in Assyria, Steven Larkman of Mount Royal College spoke on the transformation of Hatshepsut, Prof. Greg Mumford of the University of Alabama talked about Egypto-Levantine trade relations at the end of the Ramesside Period, and Prof. Juan Castillos of the Uruguayan Institute of Egyptology elucidated us on the origins of class in ancient Egypt. In the afternoon, Profs. Mariam Ayad and Nigel Strudwick of the University of Memphis spoke respectively on the possible heb-sed festivals of two Nubian God's Wives, and sculpture displayed in the British Museum. Independent scholar Daniel Kolos offered an alternate interpretation of the story of Horus and Seth, and Peter Robinson spoke on scatological references in the Coffin Texts. The day ended with Prof. Vince Tobin of St. Mary's University, speaking on the twilight of Egyptian religion, and Prof. Jean Revez of Université de Montréal/Université de Québec à Montréal presenting a response to an article.

Due to unprecedented demand, an extra session of scholars' papers was scheduled for Sunday afternoon in the Dept. of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations. Independent scholar Dr. Siro Trevisanato offered his own interpretation of the story of Apophis and Seqenenre, and U. of Toronto doctoral student Heather Evans presented a paper on Second Dynasty Chronology. Christina Geisen, also a U. of Toronto doctoral student, spoke of a now vanished Middle Kingdom coffin in the British Museum. The full and fascinating weekend culminated in style with presentations by Dr. Valérie Angenot and Prof. Katja Goebis of the University of Toronto. Prof. Goebis proposed a theory of relativity in Egyptian symbolic language, and Dr. Angenot suggested that there might have been a "horizon of the Aten" in Memphis.

Several of these papers were recorded for future webcasting at <http://www.thessea.org> and abstracts of all the papers can already be found there. In addition, Prof. Castillos has posted his own report on the scholarly papers at <http://www.geocities.com/jjcastillos/colloq06.html>.

SSEA ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2006

Lyn Green

On the evening of November 3rd, members of the society met in the Dept. of Near and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Toronto for our annual meeting. We would like to thank our many SSEA volunteers and especially our hospitality coordinator Arlette Londes and her husband Jean for making the evening so enjoyable.

Prior to the meeting, interim trustee Sylvia Anstey had announced her resignation from the board. We would like to thank her for her participation over the past year, especially her participation in the SSEA renewal last June. Mr. Chris Irie also announced his resignation from the board, although he will continue as a volunteer in his current position of web master at www.thessea.org, and as a member of the Publications Committee. In addition to all his work with the website, Chris has been invaluable in keeping the SSEA afloat financially by enabling us to drastically slash the publication costs of the *JSSEA* and for allowing hundreds of volumes of the *JSSEA* to be delivered to his home, where they were stuffed for mailing. And finally, Gayle Gibson, our president from 1996 to 2006, also announced her retirement from the board. Gayle will still be involved in coordinating the annual symposium, in writing the "Ask an Egyptologist" portion of our website, and as a member of the volunteer committees. We would like to thank her for a decade of tireless work on behalf of the society.

These resignations have resulted in the election of some new board members, and the reassignment of some positions. Vice-president Dr. Lyn Green is now president, while retaining her previous duties as coordinator of the Public Lecture Series in Toronto, the Scholars' Colloquium, and Co-coordinator of the Mini-Lecture Series, as well as remaining active on various committees. Treasurer and mini-lecture coordinator Kei Yamamoto is now vice-president/mini-lecture coordinator. Kei is also very active on a number of committees, especially fundraising. Arlette Londes remains as treasurer and hospitality coordinator. Prof. Gene Cruz-Urbe will continue as editor of the *JSSEA* and president of SSEA/USA. We congratulate him on the successful production of 3 volumes of *JSSEA* in just over a year.

Many of the other trustees will continue in their positions, including Steven Larkman of Mount Royal College (Calgary Chapter representative), Prof. Robert Chadwick of McGill University, Prof. Sally Katary of Laurentian University, Prof. MaryAnn Wegner of the University of Toronto, Prof. Emeritus Vincent Tobin, Dr. Peter Sheldrick of the Dakhlah Oasis Project, Alwyn Burrige of the University of Toronto and Rexine Hummel. Many of these trustees are active on several committees and many took part in the renewal workshop in June, with Prof. Katary and Dr. Sheldrick traveling hundreds of kilometers from northern and southern Ontario to Toronto in order to do so. Dr. Brigitte Ouellet and Nicole Brisson (who are respectively president and secretary of the Quebec Chapter) also remain on the board and are active in the membership and outreach committees. They have also begun the "Egypt in Canada" project profiled in this and previous *Newsletters*. They have been helped in this by Mark Trumpour, who is now a trustee. Mark has already done a tremendous amount of work for the society. With

Karen Gray of York University he conducted member surveys and facilitated the renewal workshop held in June of 2006. He has been very active on a number of committees, especially the Fundraising Committee. Another new trustee is Peter Robinson of Manchester, Great Britain. Peter is a member of the board of the Poynton Egypt Society, as well as that of the SSEA, and we hope he can help us create closer ties with our British counterparts. He has also kindly offered his cartographic services to our publications. Prof. John Gee from Brigham Young University is the third new trustee elected and will be helping to organize the Scholars' Colloquium. Mark Trumpour, Peter Robinson, and John Gee are all members of the Symposium Committee.

SSEA SYMPOSIUM 2006

Gayle Gibson

The 2006 Symposium was devoted to Hatshepsut, and the woman king responded by making it one of our best in many ways. The venue worked well, with space in the lobby for displays of books (Ian Stevens of David Brown Book Co.), Bedouin dresses and jewellery (Benben), and books and curios (Daniel Kolos). Our souk offered refreshments (Arlette and Jean Londes and the Hospitality Committee), and SSEA merchandise (from Christmas and greeting cards designed by Alwyn Burrige and Kei Yamamoto, to exotic brownies and cookies designed by Karen Grey and Deirdre Keleher). Thanks to all who made the hall such a friendly and exciting place, and especially to Daniel Downey who, as Chief Troubleshooter, kept the enemies of Maat at bay.

Dr. Lyn Green, SSEA president, started the day by putting Hatshepsut into context. The pharaoh was one of a family of powerful women, and was able to reign on the firm foundation her ancestors, male and female, had provided. Hatshepsut claimed a special relationship with the god Amun. Dr. Ron Leprohon of the University of Toronto examined the role of propaganda in Hatshepsut's accession to power, and her use of religion to achieve and hold her position. Were the North-South Axis of Karnak and the beautiful Eighth Pylon, which she may have built, advertisements for herself, spurred by ambition, or expressions of a genuine and touching faith?

The morning ended with a talk by Dr. Catharine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. As curator of the traveling exhibition, *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, Dr. Roehrig visited both of Hatshepsut's tombs. As a queen, Hatshepsut had expected to be buried in Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud. This tomb can now only be reached by rappelling from the top of the cliff, and contained the beautiful yellow quartzite sarcophagus now in the Cairo Museum (JE 47032). Her second, royal tomb, KV20, was deeply carved into the Valley of the Kings, and is now largely inaccessible. While we may never be able to scramble along those passages ourselves, thanks to Dr. Roehrig, we now have some idea of them. Dr. Peter Brand of the University of Memphis took us through well known and newly excavated parts of Karnak Temple, to understand Hatshepsut's building program at the most important temple of Amun in Egypt. Among the surprises was a new view of Hatshepsut's relationship with her husband, the little-known Tuthmosis II who seems to have been portrayed as a living kind long after his death.

Andrezji Cwiek of the Archaeological Museum in Poznan has been working at the third terrace of Djoser Djoseru at Deir el Bahri. Dr. Cwiek took us into areas not open to the public, revealing the most recent finds. Once again we saw Hatshepsut working to define her position as a very special princess and queen, and then as the female Horus, by using painting and sculpture to manifest her divine origin and kingly nature. Sadly, Dr. Timothy Kendall, who was to have spoken about Hatshepsut's building program and presence in Nubia, was unable to attend. Your author filled in the time, (though not the shoes,) with an examination of the career of Senenmut, the royal steward, tutor, scribe and engineer often reduced to the role of 'royal boyfriend'. Regardless of the precise relationship between the woman king and her great minister, his career and accomplishments show that he was not merely one of the most important men in the early Eighteenth Dynasties, responsible for many innovations in statuary and tomb decoration, but a polymath and genius on the model of Imhotep and, the later, Amenhotep son of Hapu.

Next year's symposium will be back at the Royal Ontario Museum in the renovated Eaton Auditorium.

PROJECT UPDATE: IN SEARCH OF ANCIENT EGYPT IN CANADA

Mark Trumpour

In the last Newsletter, we asked members for their assistance with our search for ancient Egypt in Canada. The Project is attempting to locate and describe Egyptian artefacts in museums across Canada, and examples of Egyptianising art and architecture. Our most recent letter of support came from the Canadian Federation of Friends of Museums/Fédération canadienne des amis des musées. Thanks to information provided by SSEA members we have identified 33 locations for artefacts and 27 examples of Egyptianising architecture and art at locations that span the country.

As well, we now have information about those who participated in bringing ancient Egypt to their fellow Canadians. While many will know of C. T. Currelly, who acquired many of the items in the Royal Ontario Museum's collection, fewer will know of (to name just a few):

Ontario Methodist minister Lachlin Taylor and former Montreal mayor and businessman James Ferrier, who traveled to Egypt in 1858/59, bringing back Egyptian artefacts to educate and edify people in Canada;

The Abbé Bégin, later to become Archbishop of Québec, who at the request of his Monsignor brought back coffins, mummies and shabtis in 1869 to assist in the training of students at the Séminaire de Québec;



C. D. Sulman & family on camels at Giza (photo courtesy. Mr George Sulman)

Katherine Emma Maltwood, a British "arts and crafts" artist with an interest in ancient religion and culture who is known in "new age" circles as the discoverer of the "Glastonbury Zodiac". She and her husband traveled widely in the 1920s, and the items they collected are now housed in Victoria, the home they adopted in 1938;

Alice Lusk Webster, whose efforts brought together a fine decorative arts collection in St. John New Brunswick, based on items brought back by early sea-captains and a solid cross-section of Egyptian artefacts she obtained from the ROM.

Prominent Regina lawyer Norman MacKenzie who in the early 1900s assembled a fine collection of Egyptian bronzes.

Those who are interested can learn more when the Montreal Chapter presents some of the findings to members on April 18, 2007, and at a four-part series at the ROM given by Mark Trumpour. One session started January 28, 2007 (discount price for SSEA members), and will run again in the fall.

Members who know of "hidden" Egyptian collections or examples of Egyptian-influenced art and architecture should contact either Mark Trumpour, Brigitte Ouellet or Denis Goulet, whose contact information can be found along with other project information on the SSEA website.

Visit our new-and-improved website www.thessea.org. New features include an up-to-date events calendar, monthly columns written by Gayle Gibson and Caroline Rocheleau, the Journals and Newsletters (in a members-only section), reading lists, and mini book reviews. And there promises to be more to come – look for selected lectures to be made available to members online. The site is worth visiting every week or two, as content changes. Many thanks to Chris Irie, SSEA webmaster, member and former trustee.

The opinions expressed in the Newsletter do not necessarily represent the views of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF THE SSEA? The SSEA, with headquarters in Toronto, Ontario and Chapters in Calgary, Alberta and Montreal, Quebec, holds meetings from September through May and features guest lectures on Egyptological topics. Membership includes a volume of the scholarly SSEA Journal and the SSEA Newsletter. To apply for membership, write to the address on the front of this Newsletter.

For updates, schedule changes, and further information, see the SSEA Website at: www.thessea.org