

# SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



*Bulletin No. 13*

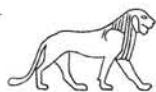
2009





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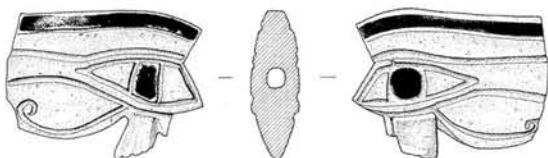
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*Front cover:* The head of a Kushite king, excavated in 2008, from the Amun temple at Dangeil. It has been tentatively identified as Aspelta (593-568 BC) based upon comparisons with statues of this king discovered at Jebel Barkal and Dokki Gel-Kerma. (Photo © J. R. Anderson, Berber-Abidia Archaeological Project).



# A name with three (?) orthographies: The case of the ‘king’s son, overseer of southern foreign lands, Penre’

Tamás A. Bács

Subsequent to the publication of four funerary cone fragments belonging to a ‘king’s son’ and ‘overseer of southern foreign lands, Penre’ found in association with a shaft situated at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Thebes (Bács 2002), the clearance of the shaft and its related burial chamber has been completed in three fieldwork seasons.<sup>1</sup> Lying just outside TT 66’s court, immediately north of its northern court wall, the shaft (defined henceforth as Shaft ‘3’) was originally surmounted by a mud-brick superstructure of unknown design (Figure 1).

5.6 x 4.1m section, enclosing a shaft with an aperture of 2.4 x 1.1m.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the shaft had originally been sealed with limestone rubble, covered by large, irregular, limestone flakes that had been strengthened with a light mud mortar and subsequently provided with a mud-brick casing, bonded with the same material.<sup>3</sup> Surviving to a height of three-courses in some places, the latter’s original height is impossible to determine.<sup>4</sup> To the east of this structure the remains of a platform-like construction, preserved to a width of 2.3m, was also cleared. Of this, only the lowest six courses (laid as headers) survived, with its last course resting on the edge of a further, steep fall in the slope of the bedrock. Without further excavation that would give broader exposure, however, its relationship with the shaft’s superstructure remains obscure. Moreover, due to a slight difference in orientation between the two, this latter feature could very well turn out to be an unrelated retaining wall that was built upon an, as yet, unexcavated tomb façade, situated lower down the slope.

As already noted above, the overall dimensions and

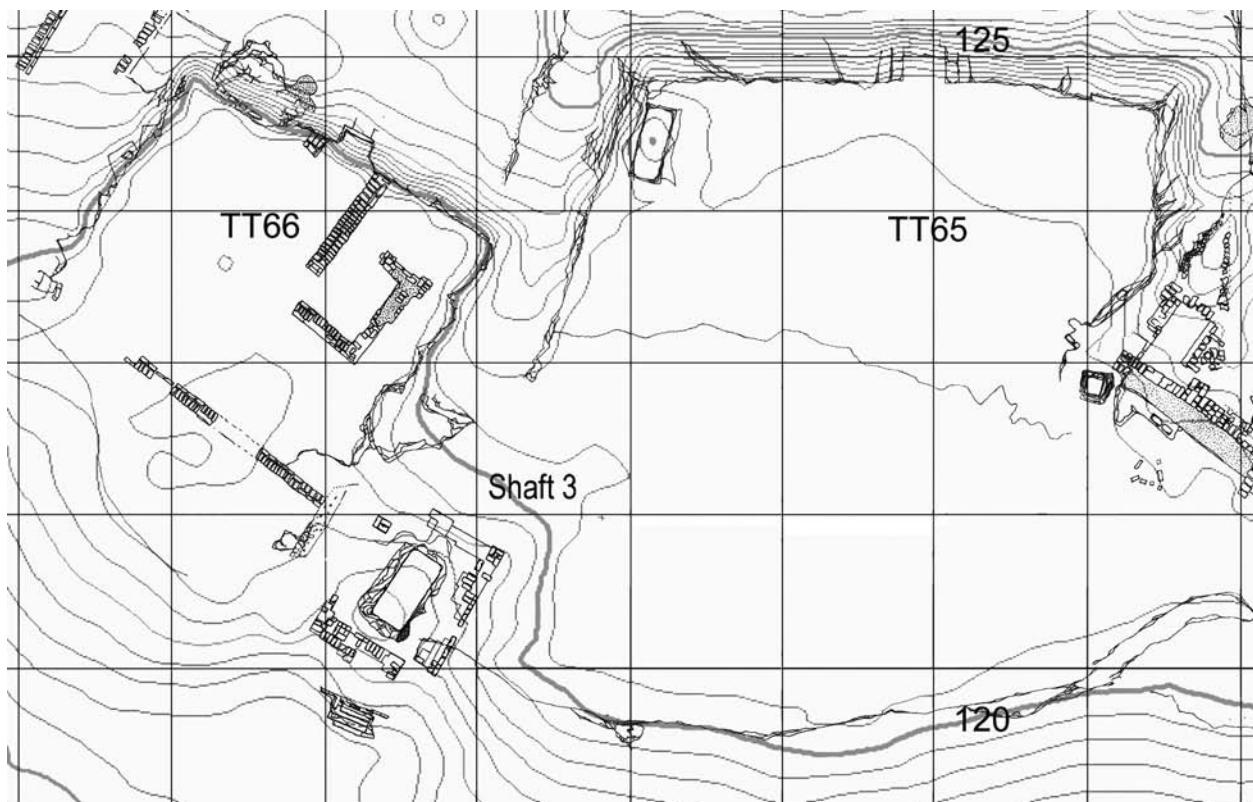


Figure 1. Position and plan of Shaft ‘3’ (drawing Marcell Nagy) (scale 1:250).

On starting the area’s excavation and after the controlled removal of the top c. 800mm layer of the spoil-bank overlaying it, a heavily eroded rectangular structure missing its south-western corner appeared (Figure 2). Measuring 7.9 x 4.1m, it had been built on the 60° slope of the natural bedrock. Further clearance exposed an inner division of a c.

construction of the shaft’s mud-brick casing suggest that it may have carried some kind of superstructure, possibly a

<sup>2</sup> In cubits (*i.e.* the royal cubit of 523mm), the whole construction therefore measured c. 15 x 8c, the shaft area 10.5 x 8c, and the shaft itself 4.5 x 2c.

<sup>3</sup> The average size of the bricks used is 300 x 130 x 80/90mm.

<sup>4</sup> At its surviving highest point (the north-eastern corner) the third, uppermost brick still has mortar adhering to its upper surface indicating the presence of at least one more course. Claiming, however, that this in any way indicates the full height is entirely conjectural.

<sup>1</sup> In seasons 2002, 2004, and 2005 respectively. For preliminary reports on the work of the TT 65 Project of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, see *Annales du Service* (forthcoming).

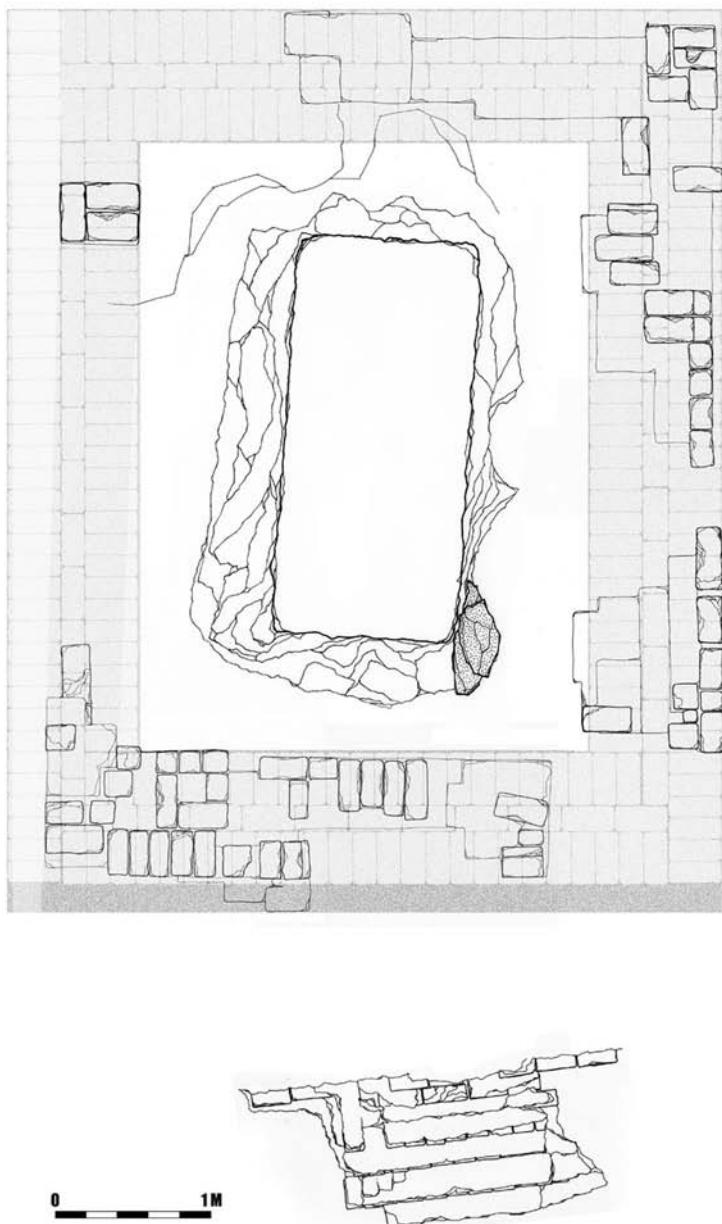


Figure 2. Plan of Shaft '3' (drawing Marcell Nagy) (scale 1:50).

simple chapel. It is far too elaborate for the mere purpose of protecting the mouth of the shaft, a practice otherwise well attested from the Theban necropolis. On the other hand, tomb complexes with standing mud-brick architecture, built during the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, while not uncommon, display a slightly different general layout. Ranging from the elite tomb complexes such as TT 15 (Kampp 1996, 194–196) or MMA 5A P2 (Lilyquist 1997, 312 fig. 3) to the middle-class structures on the plain of Dra Abu el-Naga (Polz 1995), their basic arrangement shows these to have comprised a chapel and an open court in which the shaft was habitually located. Admittedly though, these were all built on relatively level ground and with ample building space available. Restricted space and the steep slope of the hill, however, may explain why the shaft itself was positioned within the supposed chapel in the case of Shaft '3'. Outside Thebes this practice

is not unknown, as illustrated for instance by the rock-cut tombs of Hierakonpolis (Friedman 2001) or the pyramid tomb of Amenemhat at Debeira West (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991) and of Siamun at Tombos respectively (Smith 2003, 138–143).

Although the superstructure's or chapel's eventual architectural form cannot be reconstructed on the available evidence, it could not have been more than a probably vaulted, single-room structure, comparable in size and layout to the chapels belonging to the aforementioned tomb complexes. It may be safe to assume, on the other hand, that it incorporated in some manner funerary cones, four fragments of which were recovered in, or near, the shaft with a fifth one (UC 37987) having been found by the Mond expedition nearby in a shaft within TT 43's court (Bács 2002, 55).

Together, the shaft and presumed superstructure can be interpreted, for the present, therefore, as a self-contained tomb complex. Regarding it otherwise, namely as an outlying subterranean burial apartment of a nearby rock-cut tomb, is problematic because it cannot, as yet, be associated with any of the neighbouring tomb-chapels. The most likely candidate for such a role would be the unfinished chapel TT-NN-24 above TT 66 that also dates to the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, but research carried out here has not uncovered conclusive evidence for such an association to be made.

The rectangular shaft itself (Figure 3) extends to a depth of 11.65m with a 1.7m high burial chamber, measuring 3.2 x 2.6m. Opening to the west at a depth of 9.72m, access to it could be gained by way of roughly cut stairs. The stratigraphy of the shaft's excavated fill indicated a complex depositional history. It clearly appeared from the changing matrix of the fill that it had suffered several phases of disturbance. Even so, the deepest layers in the shaft and the burial chamber's fill represented a more closed context as there seems to have been much less post-depositional disturbance here than in the upper layers. Consequently, the recovered mummified human remains

and grave furniture fragments may be considered as forming a relatively closely related assemblage. Badly plundered and fragmented as the excavated material was, preliminary artefact analysis has shown, nevertheless, that it is an amalgam of grave goods, the chronological range of which extends from the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to that of Amenhotep II. This is further underlined by an initial count of human remains; at least three adults and two infants could be differentiated.<sup>5</sup> In addition, three names appear on fragments, e.g. two males, Penre (canopic jars) and Sennefer (canopic jars, mummy shroud) and a female, Sitamun (canopic jars, Book of the Dead papyrus), but unfortunately the available evidence is insufficient to establish a relationship

<sup>5</sup> The preliminary analysis of the human remains was undertaken by S. Ikram (AUC), who significantly also noted the high quality of mummification observable on all of them.

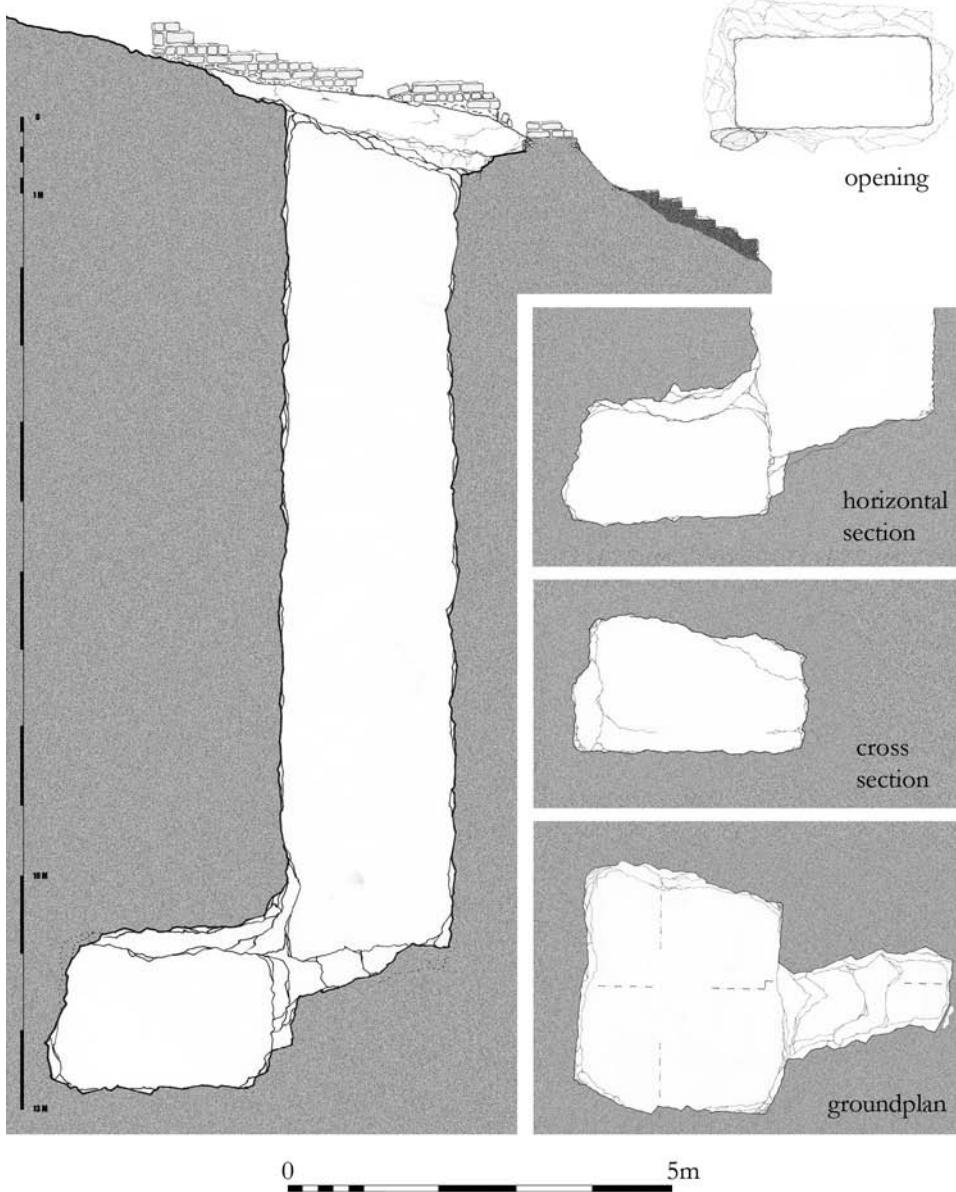
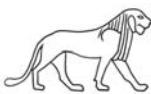


Figure 3. Section of Shaft '3' (drawing Marcell Nagy) (scale 1:100).

between any of them. Whether they represent a family of several generations, interred in a family tomb, or that of unrelated individuals brought together by later activities must for the present remain an open question.

The high quality and wide variety of the finds, despite surviving mostly as small unspectacular fragments, are indicative of high-status burial assemblages. Then again, assigning the items to each of the individual interments is not without serious pitfalls and is open to interpretation as they mostly lack inscriptions and original contexts. The only viable option currently available is to separate them into possible associations. Thus, the impression gained so far from an initial tally of goods points to an uneven distribution indicating one larger assemblage of artefacts and several discrete groups. Assigning this larger assemblage or some of its items conclusively to the 'king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands, Penre', may be beyond definitive proof, but there is a fair

degree of probability for doing so. Arguing for this association might also further strengthen the case for the tomb complex having been primarily prepared for him.

### The Canopic Jar Inscriptions of Penre (*P(3)-n-r'*)

Among the specific items prepared for the burial of Penre, to use the convenient categorisation of tomb goods by Smith (Smith 1992), are fragments of a set of four reconstructable pottery canopic jars (NKM1, Rose in Strudwick 1996, 170) that were painted to imitate alabaster, together with two of the four matching lids.<sup>6</sup> Coated with a yellow varnish, the panels carrying the dark blue hieroglyphic inscriptions on each of the vessels were clearly added later than the painted decoration and were divided into five columns with red dividers. A peculiar, albeit not unparalleled, feature of the inscriptions is that not only the first column but all the others start with the phrase 'Words spoken: ...' (*dd-mdw*), which in these cases are plainly superfluous (e.g. CGC 4085, Reisner 1967). The four texts basically correspond to Sethe's Type VIII (Sethe 1934, 211-239) or Reisner's Type IIIa (Reisner 1899, 61-72) canopic texts:

Penre Type VIII:

*Dd-mdw: 3st ink ḫwy=t hr ntt  
im=t stp-s3=t hr Imsti ↔ nty im=t  
im3hy hr Imsti Wsir NN*

Penre text:

*Dd-mdw: 3st ink ḫwy=t hr ntt im=t stp-s3=t hr Imsti ir  
nty im=t im3hy hr Imsti Wsir ...*

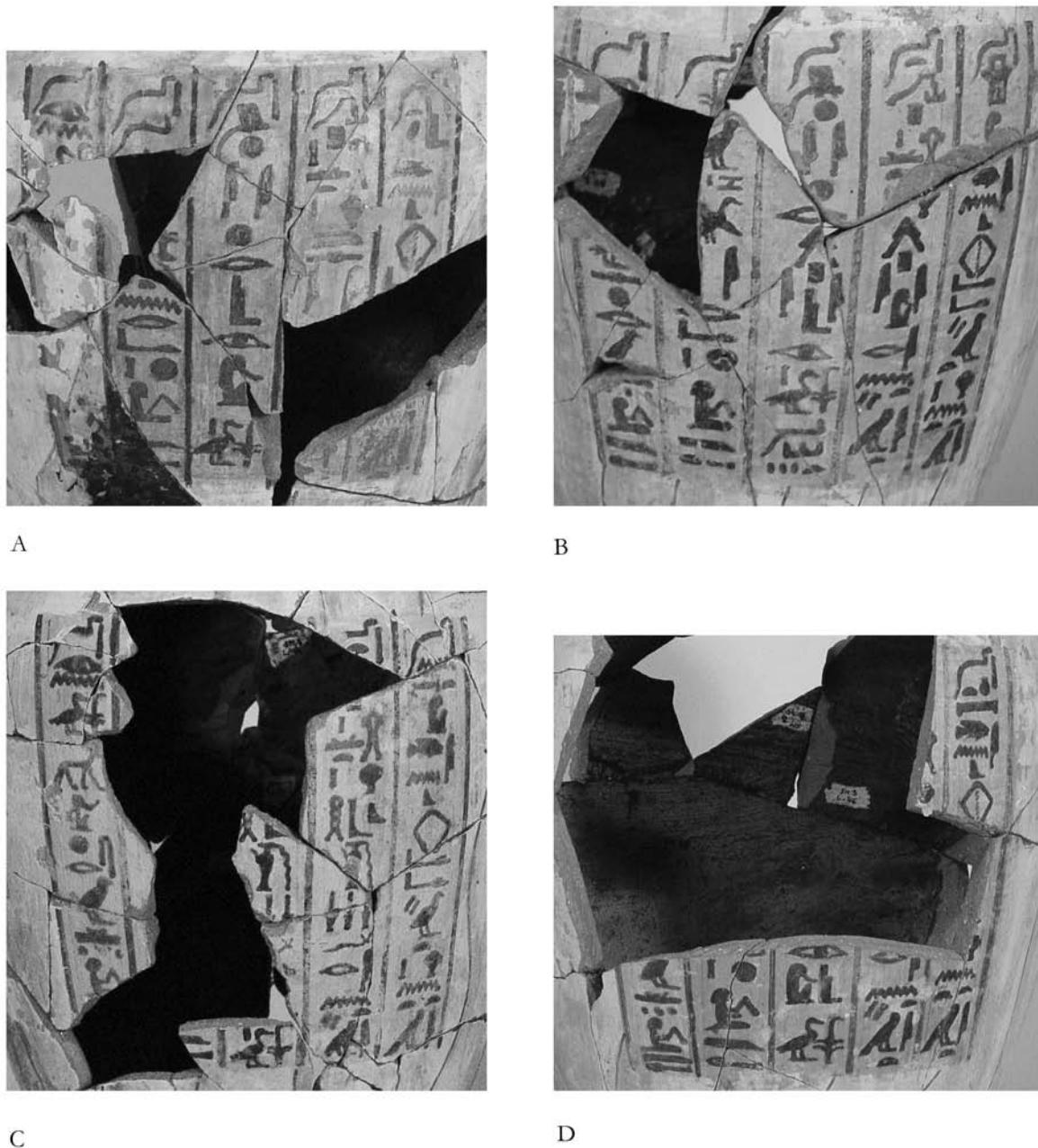
The individual texts run as follows (Plate 1):

*Canopic Jar A:*

<sup>1</sup> Words spoken: Isis, unite [your arms around that] which is in you,

<sup>2</sup> Words spoken: delimit your protection about Imseti, [with respect to who is in you];

<sup>6</sup> A 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty canopic jar is shown in Carnarvon and Carter 1912, 34. For a similar piece of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, see that of a foreman Teti in Hayes 1990, 228 fig. 135; such are also depicted in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 79), see Guksch 1995, Taf. 40. On pottery canopic jar lids in general, see more recently Dorman 2002.



*Plate 1. Canopic jar inscriptions of Penre.*

<sup>3</sup> Words spoken: honoured before <Imseti> (a), the Osiris, king's son (b),

<sup>4</sup> Words spoken: overseer of southern [foreign lands], Penre, justified,

<sup>5</sup> Words spoken: born of the king's son, [the dignitary, Sekheru (c)], justified.

#### *Canopic Jar B:*

<sup>1</sup> Words spoken: Nephthys, unite your arms around that which is in you,

<sup>2</sup> Words spoken: delimit your protection about Hapy with respect to (d) who is in you;

<sup>3</sup> <Words> spoken: honoured before Hapy, the Osiris, king's son, overseer of southern

<sup>4</sup> Words [spoken]: foreign lands, Payre, justified,

<sup>5</sup> Words spoken: born of [... king's] son Sekheru, justified.

#### *Canopic Jar C:*

<sup>1</sup> Words spoken: Neith, unite your arms around that which is in you,

<sup>2</sup> Words spoken: delimit your protection about Qebehsenuef (e), with respect to who is in you;

<sup>3</sup> [Words spoken: honoured before Qe]behsenuef, [the Osiris,] king's son,

<sup>4</sup> [Words spoken: overseer of southern foreign lands, Payre/ Penre], justified,

<sup>5</sup> Words spoken: born of the king's son, the dignitary, Sekheru, [justified].



### Canopic Jar D:

- <sup>1</sup> Words spoken: Nut (f), unite [your arms around that] which is in you;
- <sup>2</sup> [Words spoken: delimit your protection about Duamutef], with respect to who is in you;
- <sup>3</sup> [Words spoken: honoured before Duamutef], the Osiris, king's son,
- <sup>4</sup> [Words spoken: overseer of southern foreign lands, Pay/Pen]re, justified,
- <sup>5</sup> [Words spoken: born of the king's son, the dignitary, Sekher]u, justified.

a. An error of omission (see also in Sethe 1934, 3\*) similar to Canopic Jar B's leaving **mdw** out of the phrase **Dd-mdw**.

b. In contrast to his funerary cone texts, where Penre is given the title 'first king's son' (**sA-nswt tpy**, Bács 2002, 54, 66-67), the canopic jars consistently use only 'king's son' (**sA-nswt**), coupled with 'overseer of southern foreign lands'.

c. The name of Penre's father is already known from the funerary cones, where, however, he is only named as 'the dignitary, Sekheru' (**sAb %xrw**, Bács 2002, 54, 66-67). Significantly, this designation here is further augmented by the title of 'king's son' (**sA-nswt**).

Curiously enough, the only other individual of this name is known from Nubia. In the subordinate text of the Gebel Agg inscription that is dated by Van Siclen now somewhere to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (late Thutmose III – early Amenhotep II) a Sekheru is named with two others (Van Siclen 1997).<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, his title is mostly lost, with Van Siclen being able only to suggest the tentative restoration of 'scribe' based on the surviving traces. Van Siclen's other suggestion, namely that the name could be a short version of the more widely used **Nfr-sxrw**, while plausible, remains for the moment unproven (Van Siclen 1997, 411j). Although the location of the inscription associating him with Nubia is highly tempting, neither the date, nor the title allows for equating him with the father of Penre.

d. Without known analogies in other canopic texts, all four texts insert the preposition **r**, written as **ir** (Allen 2000, 85) before the phrase **nty im=t** introduced by the relative adjective **nty**.

e. In canopic texts the goddess Neith usually forms a fixed pair with Duamutef (Sethe 1934, 18), although this could vary (Raven 2005, 43-46).

f. More rarely the goddess Nut appears instead of Selket, see Reisner type IIIa, No. 16 (= canopic jars inscribed for Queen Ahmose-Nefertari from TT 320), Reisner 1899, 66. Another 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty parallel is offered by the canopic jar of a certain **WAD-rn** (Turin canopic vase 19007 = cat. 3459), where Nut is also paired with Duamutef (Dolzani 1982, 19).

The canopic texts apparently add two new details relating to Penre to the information already provided by the funerary cones. One is the 'king's son' title of his father Sekheru, that indicates, even if vaguely, the socio-political background of

the family. Without further qualification, or additional titles, however, it is difficult to determine whether the 'king's son' title qualifies as an honorific one, as argued by Dewachter in the case of Kenamun, the steward of Amenhotep II (Dewachter 1980, 72-73) or whether it links Sekheru with a priestly function known to have been associated with the title (Schmitz 1976, 276-287). It should also be added that based solely on the title it is even uncertain whether Sekheru would have exercised this function at Thebes, or in another town or city.

A concurrent problem is raised by Penre's 'first king's son' (**sA-nswt tpy**) title, as it appears on his funerary cones, alongside that of 'overseer of southern foreign lands'. Following Schmitz's conclusion, drawn from the title's analysis as one signifying a cultic/priestly function (Schmitz 1976, 281; Bryan 2006, 110-111), more recently Valbelle has called into question Penre's status as a genuine viceroy of Kush (Valbelle 2007). While not denying the possibility entirely, she prefers to regard Penre as a lower level official, since, as pointed out by Murnane in connection with the comparable title of 'overseer of northern foreign lands' (Murnane 1997), that of 'overseer of southern foreign lands' would have also been borne by such lower ranking officials. Part of her argument is based on a statue fragment discovered at Pnubs (Dokki Gel), belonging to a Penre, who also sported the title of 'overseer of southern foreign lands', but seemingly not that of 'king's son' (Valbelle 2006; 2007). As no filiation is given in the preserved part of the statue's autobiographical text and the text is damaged exactly at the point where the title 'king's son' could have possibly stood, an identification with the Penre of Shaft '3', however tempting and likely, must remain conjectural (Valbelle 2007, 158-166). Unfortunately, the evidence of the canopic texts in this respect is again less supportive than it appears at first sight. It consistently presents Penre's string of titles as 'king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands', without the 'first' element in the former. Viewed by itself and taken at face value, this combination would normally identify him as a viceroy. However, the possibility of 'king's son' being here only an abbreviation for the fuller title of 'first king's son of Amun' cannot be discounted, although it would be highly unusual for such a prestigious title, one which supersedes all others, to be abbreviated in such a way - all the more so, as there would have been ample space in the columns, if required, for at least the word **tpy**.

The other point of special interest provided by the canopic texts, is the variant writing of Penre's names. Thus, while Canopic Jar A displays the form **P(A)-n-ra** (*PN*i, 109 no. 13), Canopic Jar B uses **PAy-ra**.<sup>8</sup> Variant writings of this type are not unparalleled, as is demonstrated by other examples, such as the two forms of the name **P(A)-n-AbDw** and **PAy-AbDw**. Cited as an illustration by Spiegelberg, in his discussion of the possessive article, he previously noted that the Coptic possessive prefix **pa**, reflects the drop of the genitive **n** in pronunciation (Spiegelberg 1918, 104). Explaining it as

<sup>7</sup> I owe thanks to Péter Gaboda for the reference.

<sup>8</sup> Canopic Jars C and D are missing fragments in the relevant sections.

reflecting actual phonetic reality, Černý and Groll also made note of the dropping of the **n** from its pronunciation which resulted in **pA-n** being written as **pn** (Černý and Groll 1978, 5-6). Furthermore, both Spiegelberg and Gardiner added that being foremost a feature of names the demonstrative/possessive **pAy** (and **tA**) appears as a variant of the possessive compound **p(A)-n**, “he-of” (and **tA-n.t**, “she-of”) in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Spiegelberg 1918, 104; Gardiner 1957, 86 § 111 Obs.). Additionally, one variant of *The Tale and Laments of Khuninpu* (Amherst frags. A 5) indicates that in cases in which the toponym **Mdnit** displays an orthography **Mdit**:\*Mato, an earlier drop of the **n** should be presumed (Kuhlmann 1992, 207).<sup>9</sup>

The use of variant writings in the texts of the same set of objects is intriguing in itself, but equally significant is the possibility it provides for further attribution. If orthographic variability was acceptable to the degree in which it was allowed to appear in the canopic texts of an individual, then the prospect of additional variants turning up on other objects of the same person cannot be discounted either.<sup>10</sup> The case, in point, is a statue fragment (OIM 1568) which has received little attention since Quibell published it among his Ramesseum finds (Quibell 1898, No. 40, pl. XXVII-1). Its relevance here is explained by the fact that its owner was an otherwise unknown ‘overseer of southern foreign lands’ named Pare. Accepting the form Pare (**P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>**, cited in *PN i*, 114 no. 11) as a variant spelling of Payre (**P<sup>y</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>>P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>**), *i.e.* Penre, then, raises the practical possibility of ascribing the statue fragment to the Penre of Shaft ‘3’.

### The Ramesseum statue fragment (OIM 1568) of Pare (**P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>**)

Found by Quibell in an, unfortunately, unspecified area during his excavation in the Ramesseum, the surviving fragment represents the right side of a seated statue (H: 254mm; W: 177mm; D: 84mm).<sup>11</sup> Of the front, only a narrow section has been preserved, with the outline of the owner’s buttock on the top surface and his name by his right leg. While the statue’s back was apparently left roughly finished, without any inscription, a **htp-di-nsw** formula was inscribed on the right side of the block seat (Figure 4). The inscriptions read

<sup>9</sup> I wish to thank Gábor Takács for bringing this reference to my attention.

<sup>10</sup> A similar phenomenon has been highlighted by Davies recently by showing how the viceroy Amenemnekhu had in fact two different names, *i.e.* Inebny/Amenemnekhu, that he alternated on different monuments (Davies 2008).

<sup>11</sup> I would like to thank Emily Teeter for her generous help and for providing details about the piece and the photographs on which the published drawing is based. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago for its permission to use the drawings here and personally to archivist John Larson.

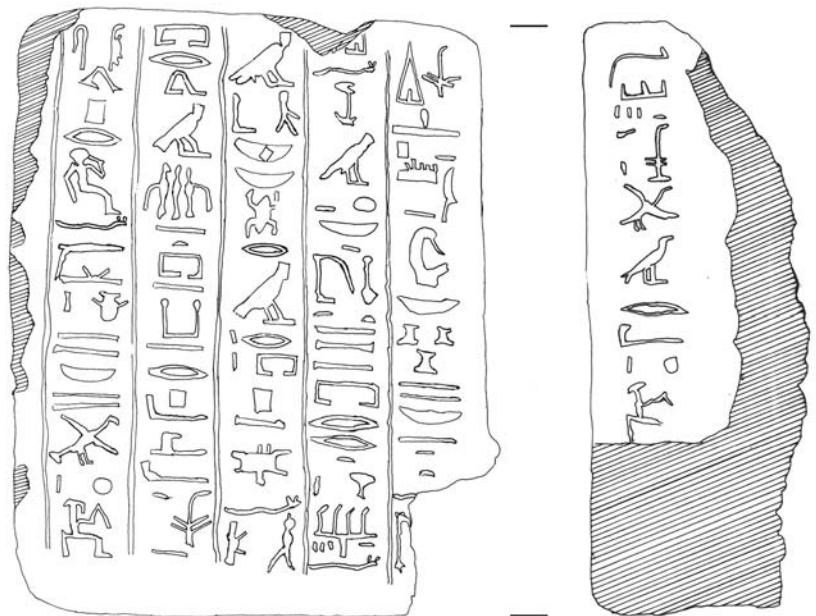


Figure 4. Statue fragment of Pare (OIM 1568) from the Ramesseum (drawing Kata Jasper).

as follows:

Right **imy-r h3swt rsy(t), P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup> [...]**  
edge Overseer of the southern foreign countries, Pare

Back <sup>1</sup> **htp-di-nswt 'Imn, nb nswt t3wy, nb n [...]**

<sup>2</sup> **[di.]f h3 m ht nbt nfrt w<sup>c</sup>bt prrt hr h3wt.f**

<sup>3</sup> **m h3 nb hpr m r-pr pn t3w.f ndm**

<sup>4</sup> **pri m-hnt n k3 n iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty-**

<sup>5</sup> **šmsw -nswt dr hrdw.f mh-ib n nb t3wy P<sup>3</sup>-r<sup>c</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> An offering which the king gives (to) Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of [...] (a),

<sup>2</sup> [so that] he [may give] thousand(s) of everything good and pure coming forth from his table of offerings

<sup>3</sup> in all festivals happening in this temple, his sweet breath

<sup>4</sup> coming forth (b), for the *ka* of the hereditary prince, count,

<sup>5</sup> follower of the king since his childhood (c), confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands (d), Pare (e)

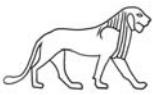
a. About three to four groups are missing that would have comprised more of Amun’s epithets. The remaining traces following **nb nswt t3wy nb t3[...]** do not aid in a meaningful restoration.

b. The phrase seems to be a variant of Barta 1968, 93 (Bitte 79 b); *Urk. iv*, 1020.

c. For the stock phrase also occurring on the statue of Menkheperreseneb, see *Urk. iv*, 993, 15-17; for the literary context, Guksch 1994, 54-56.

d. For **mh-ib**, ‘confidant’ and its various extensions used during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, see Guksch 1994, 37-38, 132-138.

e. Note that just as on the Dokki Gel statue, the name is not followed by **mAa-xrw** (Valbelle 2007, 159-160, pl. XXIII)



The palaeography, phraseology and the style of the inscription all favour an early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date for the statue, a date already suggested by Spiegelberg, who first translated the texts and who also remarked that it may have “stood in a temple, perhaps one of the funerary temples in the neighbourhood of the Ramesseum” (Spiegelberg in Quibell 1898, 19). While the original placement of this statue remains unknown, its association with Penre of Shaft ‘3’ and/or the Penre of Dokki Gel should be given serious consideration based on the name and title. Although only Pare’s ‘overseer of southern foreign lands’ title has been preserved besides his honorific ones, *i.e.*, ‘hereditary prince (**r-pat**)’, ‘count’ (**HAty-a**), it does not rule out his having borne others, including that of ‘king’s son’. In fact, the singular ‘overseer of southern foreign lands’ title would have been quite unusual, as other titles would normally be listed alongside this (e.g. Valbelle 2007, 170-172). Simply stated, the fragment is too small to rule out the possibility that the statue did carry further titles. Thus, one may venture without stretching the evidence too far and exaggerating the strength of the argument, that it did, indeed, include the **sA-nswt** component, possibly on the other side, in the text column beside the left leg.

### Concluding Remarks

There are several interpretations of the evidence promulgated so far, depending on whether one accepts or rejects the identification of the Penre of Shaft ‘3’ with the donors of the Dokki Gel and Ramesseum statues or indeed his viceregalship. Since explicit or definitive proof is admittedly lacking the simplest procedure would probably be to reserve judgement, pending the emergence of future evidence, or to suspend identification for the moment. Nonetheless, it is worth making the point that the most promising interpretation is still to consider Penre (Payre/Pare) of Shaft ‘3’ as a veritable viceroy of Nubia, who set up two of his votive statues in two different temples. Of course one of the main consequences of accepting this interpretation of the facts is that it affects the chronological positioning of Penre’s tenure as viceroy.<sup>12</sup>

On the available evidence at the time of publishing the funerary cones, several possibilities for Penre’s tenure of office were proposed, namely, during the reign of Thutmose III (following Nehy), that of Amenhotep II (preceding or following Usersatet), or that of Thutmose IV (preceding Amenhotep) (Bács 2002, 58-59). In addition, the era of the regency of Hatshepsut and her subsequent joint reign with Thutmose III was also entertained as a further option. However, identifying Penre of Shaft ‘3’ with the Dokki Gel statue’s owner basically removes all the alternatives, except for the last due to the context of the statue fragment. This was found near the western temple’s sanctuary at Dokki Gel, the construction of which was begun by Thutmose I and com-

pleted by Hatshepsut (Valbelle 2006, 50; 2007, 157-158). The temple dedicated to Amun of Pnubs was later demolished by Thutmose III, to make way for his own building. On the other hand, Valbelle has raised objections to Hatshepsut having been the ruler who promoted Penre to the office of viceroy, based upon the masculine designation used for the otherwise unnamed king in the autobiographical text on the statue (Valbelle 2007, 173). Dating Penre’s assumption of office to an earlier reign, however, is now untenable in the light of Davies’s re-examination of Thutmose III’s Year 2 inscription at the temple of Semna (Caminos 1998, 14, 43-47, pls 23-25). His reading of the damaged area, originally containing the name of the viceroy concerned, seems to validate beyond reasonable doubt that it had indeed been that of Seni (Davies 2008, 30-31, pls 5-6). As a further consequence, this would also confirm Seni as the author of the much discussed biographical inscription, also at Semna temple (Caminos 1998, 27-31, pls 18-19; Davies 2008, 30 n. 41). Accordingly, Seni would have been in office from the reign of Thutmose I (from perhaps Year 3, Helck 1958, 419-420) until at the least Year 2 of Thutmose III.

The other end of the chronological frame into which Penre’s tenure could be fitted is provided by the Shalfak inscription of Year 18, the earliest attestation to date of Inebny/Amenemnekhu as viceroy (Hintze and Reinecke 1989, I, 90, no. 365, II, 122, no. 365; Davies 2008). For how long Penre may have occupied the office of viceroy in the intervening years is of course unknown, but it need not have been for many of them. If he was promoted sometime after Year 2, but before Year 7, then the unnamed monarch referred to in the Dokki Gel statue could only have been officially Thutmose III and not Hatshepsut, who would have still been ‘God’s Wife’ (Dorman 2006, 48-49).

Finally, in terms of defining a terminal date of his tenure and possibly the beginning of Inebny/Amenemnekhu’s (setting aside the position of the enigmatic viceroy Se), another find from Shaft ‘3’ may provide an answer. Among the varied ceramic assemblages recovered from the shaft, a reconstructable Canaanite amphora was found. On its shoulder it once bore a two-line docket, now unfortunately faded and for the most part illegible. Significantly enough, however, the first signs of the date read ‘Year 10, third month [...] ...]’, a date which, in this context, not only indicates the sealing of Penre’s burial, but also in all probability his last year in office.

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<sup>12</sup> For more recent reconstructions of the sequence of viceroys including those of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, see Gasse and Rondot 2003; Davies 2005; Spalinger 2006; Davies 2008.

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## Abbreviations

- PM 1/2 = Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss 1964. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part 2. Royal Tombs and smaller cemeteries*. Oxford.
- PN i = Ranke, H. 1935. *Die altägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. I. Glückstadt.
- URK. iv = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Heft 7: Historisch-biographische Urkunden von Zeitgenossen der Hatschepsut*, bearbeitet von K. Sethe. Leipzig 1906; and *Heft 17*, bearbeitet von W. Helck. Berlin 1955.