

Amen-Hotep III y su tiempo

I JORNADAS TEMÁTICAS

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Amenhotep III: Uncles, Brothers, Sons, and the Serapeum

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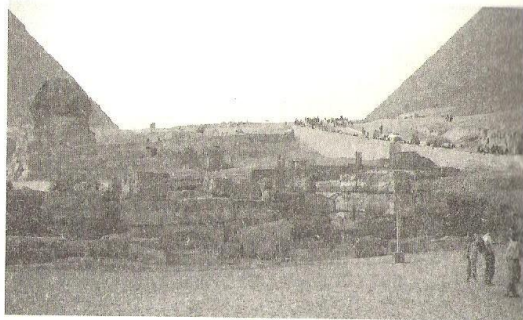
Until the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, our sources for non-ruling male members of the royal family are distinctly threadbare. The reasons for this are unknown, except that from the end of the Fourth Dynasty onwards they seem in general to have no longer occupied the high offices of state that they had up to that time¹, and thus appear on monuments but infrequently. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, up to the reign of Amenophis II, less than a dozen princesses are known, from a mixture of royal and private monuments.² The latter are actually often our best source, in the form of the memorials left by officials who had acted as royal tutors. A number of such monuments exist from Tuthmoside times onwards, the first being depictions of Amenmose and Wadjmose, sons of Tuthmosis I, in the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab.³ The watershed for princely documentation, however, is the reign of Amenophis II, a period that saw a number of areas of innovation.⁴

¹ Cf. N. STRUDWICK, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, (London, 1985), 312-3.

² For a listing, documentation and discussion of the royal princesses of the dynasty, see A. DODSON, "Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty", *JEA* 76 (1990), 87-96.

³ DODSON, *JEA* 76, (5, 6).

⁴ On the reign in general, see P. DER MANUELIAN, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987).



GIZA. The Eighteenth Dynasty Sphinx Temple lies just right of the centre of the photograph. From here came a series of stelae, dedicated by princes of the reign of Amenophis II (author's photograph).

Princely burials are obscure, but the interment of at least one of Amenophis II's sons took place in the tomb of the king himself (KV 35), where were found the canopics, shabtis, and almost certainly the mummy of Webensennu.⁵ The latter is probably also named on the block statue of Minmose, from Karnak, together with his brother, Nedjem.⁶

Most interestingly, however, Amunhotpe B, son, and probably heir, of Amenophis II, is mentioned as *sm*-priest of Ptah in P.BM EA 10056, and is probably to be equated with the owner of "Stela B", from Giza.⁷ The latter was possibly the user of a cartouche, but had his names completely erased in antiquity. This is one of the first examples of a high sacerdotal post being held by a senior prince of the blood during the New Kingdom,⁸ and it is perhaps significant that his brother, Ahmose, was also to be given the High Priesthood at Heliopolis (see below).

⁵ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 93 (14).

⁶ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 94 (15).

⁷ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 93 (12).

⁸ Suggestions making Amosis' son, Ahmose-ankh, Second Prophet of Amun, are without basis (cf. DODSON, *JEA* 76, 91 n. 36).



PRINCE DJHUTMOSE A, the future Pharaoh Tuthmosis IV, together with his tutor, from a graffito on the island of Konosso (after De Morgan).

What is perhaps most striking about Stela B, however, are the erasures. Now, another son of Amenophis II was Djhutmose (A), owner of a statuette from the Temple of Mut at Karnak⁹, and later king as Tuthmosis IV. His famous "Dream Stela" from in front of the Great Sphinx records that his assumption of the throne was as the result of the "deal" he made with the god then manifest in the huge image, Haremakhis. Under this, the god would give the prince the throne, in exchange for his clearing away the sand that engulfed much of the sphinx¹⁰. Seen against the background of the erased names and titles of Prince Djhutmose' apparent eldest brother, Amenhotpe B, the picture is fairly clear: the latter was displaced by foul play, and a younger sibling (whose mother seems not to have been the senior wife) usurped his place, with the "Dream Stela" formulated as part of the propaganda campaign to justify Tuthmosis IV's actions¹¹. There is also some evidence that the senior wife of Tuthmosis III, Merytre, who was still alive at her son,

⁹ CG 923; DODSON, *JEA* 76, 93 (13).

¹⁰ For a recent treatment of this text, see B. BRYAN, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 144-50.

¹¹ Pace the arguments of *Thutmose IV*, 57 ff (see my review in *JEA* 80 (1994), 248-9).

Amenophis II's, death also suffered at the hands of Tuthmosis IV¹².

Not all the brothers of Tuthmosis IV were, however, the subject of disgrace. Amenemopet was owner of stela C at Giza,¹³ which was not mutilated, as well as in all probability Cairo stela JE 20221.¹⁴ Another, Ahmose, seems to have become High Priest of Re at Heliopolis late in Amenophis II's reign, and probably served on into Tuthmosis IV's reign.¹⁵ Others are known via their commemoration by their tutors.

The guardian of many of the sons of Amenophis II was Heqareshu, whose name appears on the Mut-Temple statuette of Djhutmose A, and may accompany him on Konosso graffito 84. As part of his duties, Heqareshu seems to have taken charges on a visit, or visits, to the southern boundary of Egypt proper, at Aswan. On the rocks of Konosso and Sehel, we have records of Princes Akheperure and Khaemwaset, respectively¹⁶, the former prince once alongside Heqareshu, and once alongside his son, Heqaerneheh. The former's tomb, TT 226,¹⁷ also names Akheperure, together with Akheper(ka/en)re, clearly another sibling, plus two other princes whose names are lost, but who are likely to be include Khaemwaset and a further brother, the four boys being shown seated upon Heqareshu's lap.

The most historically significant charge of Heqareshu, Tuthmosis IV, is represented, as a miniature king, on his lap in TT 64, belonging to his son, Heqaerneheh¹⁸. Also shown thrice in the tomb is

Amenhotpe C, Tuthmosis IV's heir, and who is also commemorated alongside his uncle,¹⁹ Akheperure, and their tutors, Heqaerneheh and Heqareshu, in the aforementioned Konosso graffiti. Heqareshu would thus appear to have been responsible for Amenophis II's offspring, his son for the children of the reigning king.

The aforementioned scene in TT 64 which includes Tuthmosis IV and Heqareshu has Amunhotep C and Heqaerneheh shown on the right, together with a series of other princes, only two of whom are partially preserved. By their association with Heqaerneheh, they are probably younger brothers of Princes Amunhotep. Only one name survives, that of Amenemhat B, who died young and was buried with his father in KV 43.²⁰ The identity of the remaining children is obscure, although one may be the Princes Siatum known from a relief of his tutor, Meryre, datable on stylistic grounds to the reign of Tuthmosis IV/Amenophis III, and a label which names him as the father of a lady reburied under the Twenty-first Dynasty.²¹

The brothers, uncles and grand-uncles of Amenophis III are thus relatively well-documented, if unevenly. Likewise is the eldest of the sons borne to the king and his Great Wife, Tiye. Much ill-informed speculation has surrounded the status of the offspring of this union, with some suggestions that the opprobrium posthumously heaped upon Tiye's son, Akhenaten was derived from her non-royal birth. This is based upon the so-called *heiress theory* of royal inheritance, formulated on the basis of doubtful evidence in the late nineteenth century, and still surprisingly often quoted in spite of its wholesale demolition by

¹² Cf. BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, 96-9.

¹³ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 93 (11) where he is dated to Tuthmosis III's reign; for this more satisfactory dating, dating, see BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, 64-6.

¹⁴ BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, 65-6, pl. II (6 a).

¹⁵ BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, 67-9; for this dating, see DODSON, *JEA* 76, 80, 249.

¹⁶ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 94 (16, 18).

¹⁷ PM I², 327; attribution by LABIB HABACHI, "Tomb No. 226 of the Theban Necropolis and its Unknown Owner" *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Helck (Wiesbaden, 1968), 64-70.

¹⁸ PM I², 128-9; although re-attributed to Heqareshu by Habachi, Fs Schott, 69-70, the sum of the texts from the tomb (Urk. IV, 573-4) supports Heqaerneheh's ownership.

¹⁹ Perhaps a child of Amenophis II's old age, and thus not much older than his nephew, given the presence of the tutors.

²⁰ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 94-5 (20).

²¹ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 95 (21); DODSON and JANSSEN, "A Theban Tomb and its Tenants", *JEA* 75 (1989), 128-9.

Gay Robins and others in the 1980s.²² On the basis of this work, showing that the parentage of a king's mother was wholly irrelevant to his legitimacy, there can be no doubt that a her offspring were from the outset considered to be first in line for the throne.



The Crown Prince, Overseer of the Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Ptah and sm-Priest of Ptah, Djhutnose B, eldest son of Amenophis III. This corn-grinding statuette may have come from Saqqara (Louvre Museum N 792=E 2749; author's photograph).

In fact, no source confirms the assumption that the Djutmose B,²³ heir of Amenophis III, was Tiye's son, but the circumstantial evidence clearly points in this direction, in particular the lack of any known wife of Amenophis III prior to the last decade or so of his reign, by which time Djhutnose was long dead. The prince emulated his great-uncle, Amenhotpe B, in entering the service of the god Ptah of Memphis, as his *sm*. Rather more is known about him than his ill-fated relative, although he too was not to inherit the throne that had been destined for him. Moreover, he was to add the High Priesthood itself and the office of

²² G. ROBINS, "A critical examination of the theory that the right to the throne of ancient Egypt passed through the female line in the 18th Dynasty", *GM* 62 (1983), 67-77.

²³ DODSON, *JEA* 76, 95 (23).

Overseer of Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt to his list of titles. Thus, at death, he was one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, as Crown Prince, as head of one of the country's oldest and wealthiest cults, and with central responsibility for every priesthood in the country.

Of his monuments, most if not all, are from the Memphite area, not unnaturally, in view of his office. He seems, like the later *sm*-priest and son of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset, to have had responsibility for the Apis bulls of Memphis, and it is through this connection that his filiation can be established. Evidence for the existence of the Apis—a bull of distinctive markings—goes back to the very earliest times. An inscription on a bowl formerly in the Michaelides Collection, naming the Horus Aha alongside Apis, appears to bear out a statement by the Roman writer Aelian that the cult was founded by Menes (= either Horus Narmer or Aha).²⁴ The Fifth Dynasty *Annals*, as preserved on the Palermo Stone, mention the Apis twice in sections probably referring to the reigns of two First Dynasty kings, Horus Den and Anedjib.

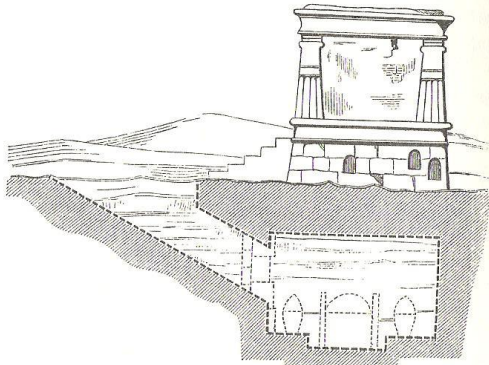
In spite of this very early evidence for the cult, nothing is known of the fate of the bulls after death until some years into the New Kingdom. It has been suggested that the Old Kingdom burial-place of the bulls might be represented by the extensive galleries that lie under the western part of the Step Pyramid enclosure, but to date no definitive evidence has been forthcoming.²⁵ Alternatively, it is possible that their remains may have been simply deposited within the precincts of the Ptah temple itself,²⁶ which lay in the

²⁴ W.K. SIMPSON, "A Running of the Apis in the Reign of 'Aha and Passages in Manetho and Aelian", *Orientalia* 26 (1957), 139-42.

²⁵ M. IBRAHIM and D. ROHL, "Apis and the Serapeum", *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 2 (1988), 23, seconding an old idea of Mariette's. These galleries are, however, more likely to be overbuilt tombs of the Second Dynasty, including one royal example: DODSON, "The Mysterious Second Dynasty", *KMT* 7 : 2 (1996), 24.

²⁶ Such relatively informal disposal is suggested by Sir R. Mond and O.H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, I (London, 1934), 7.

Old and Middle Kingdoms some considerable distance to the west of the surviving Ramesside remains around the modern Colossus Museum at Mit Rahina.²⁷



Section of the tomb of Apis I, buried by Prince Djhutnose B (restoration after Mariette).

Whatever arrangements had previously existed, they underwent dramatic revision in the reign of Amenophis III, with the prime-mover likely to have been Prince Djhutnose, who initiated the monumental interment of the Apis bulls, a tradition which was to last until the late Ptolemaic Period. For this first interment a site was chosen due-west of the Sixth Dynasty pyramid of Teti,²⁸ north-west of Djoser's Step Pyramid, and on the very western edge of the Saqqara necropolis.

²⁷ Cf. D. JEFFREYS and L. GIDDY, "Towards Archaic Memphis", *Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1992), 6-7; ongoing work by the Egypt Exploration Society clearly shows an eastward movement of the Nile channel over the millennia, with the likelihood that Rameses II's building work was carried out on land only recently made available by the retreat of the river.

²⁸ From which direction access was usually had: cf. J. MALEK "A Meeting of the Old and New", in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, ed. Alan B. Lloyd (London, 1992), 71-2.



A fragment of relief that may come from the now-disappeared chapel above the tomb. It shows a king followed by a figure attired in a panther skin, wearing a sidelock and offering an ointment jar. The traces of text above are consistent with the names and titles of Prince Djhutnose B (Munich, State Collection of Egyptian Art GL. 93; author's photograph).

The tomb (designated A by its excavator, Mariette) comprised two elements. On the surface was a cavetto-corniced platform, approached by a flight of steps; upon this stood a naos-roofed chapel, supported at the corners by columns, with walls ornamented with reliefs.²⁹ In these, Thutmose was shown with his father offering incense to his sacred bull (now dubbed "Apis I").³⁰ Both chapel and reliefs have now disappeared. However, there is in Munich a relief fragment showing a king followed by (...) *sm* (...) *ms*, who is attired in a panther skin, wears a sidelock and offers an ointment jar.³¹ While the image has been attributed to

²⁹ MARIETTE-PACHA, *Le Sérapeum de Memphis*, I (Paris, 1882), 117, fig. 1 Such a basic form is common for small shrines: cf. S. IKRAM, "Domestic Shrines and the Cult of the Royal Family at el-"Amarna", *JEA* 75 (1989), 89-101.

³⁰ MARIETTE, *Le Sérapeum de Memphis*, (Paris, 1857), 8 ; id. *Sérapeum* (1882), 124.

³¹ Munich GL. 93 (S. SCHOSKE, *Schönheit. Abglanz der Göttlichkeit. Kosmetik im Alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 59 (4).

the reign of Amenophis II, the style suggests more the time of the third Amenophis, with the remains of the text certainly capable of restoration to give Djhutmose's name and titles. It is thus very possible that this piece represents part of the chapel of the first Apis tomb. An incomplete interior frieze-text³² is now wholly lost. Another probable fragment of the chapel names the Four Sons of Horus, Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, who seem particularly prominent in Apis burials.

In front of the steps, a sloping passage led down to a rectangular chamber, which appears to have been largely robbed. The principal objects recovered were a set of magic bricks, found in niches in each wall of the chamber,³³ and a number of stone and pottery vessels, some inscribed with the prince's name³⁴ and, most impressively, four huge canopic jars.³⁵

The latter are similar in size, shape and workmanship. Regarding the lids, Lawrence Berman notes that their

Features echo those of the king slanted, almond-shaped eyes, with incised lines over the upper lids, full mouth, the upper lip thicker than the lower. This is no run-of-the-mill representation, but a contemporary portrait type. Similar features may be seen in some of the canopic jar lids from the tomb of Aper-el.³⁶

The vases themselves are of a fairly tall form, with high shoulders, and lacking the *waist* to be seen on some jars of Amenophis III's time.³⁷

³² MARIETTE, *Serapeum* (1857), 8.

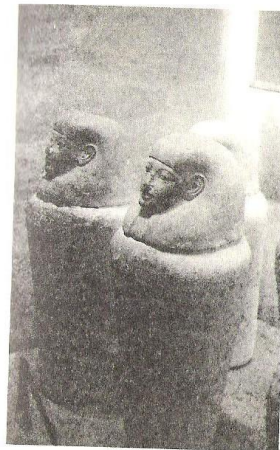
³³ IM.5336-9 = N. 842; J. MONNET, "Les briques magiques du Musée du Louvre", *RdE* 8 (1951), 151-62, pl. 8-9.

³⁴ N. 482, 484, 455 and AF. 153.

³⁵ Like most material from the Apis tombs, now in the Louvre Museum (N 394 1A-D; DODSON, "The Canopic Equipment from the Serapeum of Memphis", in M.A. Leahy and W.J. Tait (eds.), (London, 2000).

³⁶ *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 324.

³⁷ The jars of Yuya (Cairo CG 51014-7) are similar; Tjuiu's, on the other hand, have a somewhat lower shoulder, and display a definite "waist" (CG 51018-21). Another difference between the couple's jar-sets is that Yuya's are uninscribed.



The canopic jars from Apis Tomb A, belonging to Apis I (Louvre Museum N 394 1A-D; author's photograph).

Aside from a *corn-grinding* statuette, and another statuette³⁸ that, on style, might be argued to belong to him,³⁹ the remaining monument of the prince-priest also has faunal affiliations. It is the coffin of his pet cat, named simply *Ta-Miu* (*The Cat*), and equipped with the full repertoire of funerary texts.⁴⁰ Now in the Cairo Museum, it is a fine little piece, rather unusual in its elaborations and reinforcing a view that Djhutmose was particularly attached to animals.

It allegedly came from the ruins of Memphis, clearly the prince's residence, given his offices.

From the historical point of view, the coffin is important in giving Thutmose's full, and probably final, titulary: Crown Prince, Overseer of the Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Ptah and *sm*-Priest of Ptah. As regards the date of his demise, it is known that the Memphite High Priest during the latter part of Amenophis III's reign was Ptahmose son of Menkheper.⁴¹ It is also not certain that he was Prince

³⁸ Louvre N 792 = E 2749. DODSON, *JEA* 76 (1990), 87-8.

³⁹ British Museum, EA 21979; BRYAN in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 253-4 (46).

⁴⁰ Cairo CG 5003; JE 30172; G. A. REISNER, *Canopics* (Cairo, 1967), 392-4.

⁴¹ A statue of Ptahmose in Florence (1790; B.M. BRYAN in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 241-2 (37) is datable stylistically to the period subsequent to Amenophis III's First Jubilee.



The stone coffin of the pet cat of Prince Djhutmose B (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 5003 = JE 30172).

Djhutmose' direct successor in office, given the considerable degree of doubt concerning the office-holders during Amenophis III's reign. It would appear that Ptahmose son of Vizier Djhutmose was in office at the beginning of the reign,⁴² but the remaining names attached to the position during the reign are difficult to pin down.⁴³ Prince Djhutmose' death seems therefore to have occurred prior to Year 30. Nothing is known of his burial place, but it is most likely that it will have lain in the Memphite area, perhaps within the Ptah enclosure, or in the escarpment cemetery being excavated by Alan Zivie.⁴⁴

There is actually no direct evidence for who followed Djhutmose as heir; it is not impossible that one or two other princes occupied the position before a Prince Amunhotpe took the role – whose status is only hinted at by the fact of his accession as Amenophis

⁴² Cf. BRYAN, *Thutmose IV*, 275.

⁴³ Two from the Berlin Priestly Genealogy (22673) are without contemporary attestation, while others listed by D. WILDUNG, "Hoherpriester von Memphis", *LÄ II*, 1259-60, may be wrongly attributed (his 34) or non-existent (his 32: really the same as 33).

⁴⁴ A.-P. ZIVIE, *Découverte à Saqqarah. Le vizir oublié* (Paris: 1990).

IV/Akhenaten. This may suggest that the interval between Prince Djhutmose' death and Amenophis IV's accession was short. This in turn could be supportive of the latter being in the form of the institution of what was to be a decade-long co-regency, given the likelihood that Djhutmose died some time before Amenophis III's Year 30.⁴⁵

While it is impossible to judge what the rule of *Tuthmosis V* would have been like, his prominence as a prince, in marked contrast to most other kings' sons, and the individuality shown by his innovation regarding burial of the Apis (and of his cat!), would point to a potentially significant reign – and a religiously orthodox one. Its policy would certainly have been very different from that which ensued when Amenophis III's ultimate Crown Prince gained sole occupancy of the throne.

⁴⁵ Cf. most recently, W.R. JOHNSON, "Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations", *JEA* 82 (1996), 65-82.