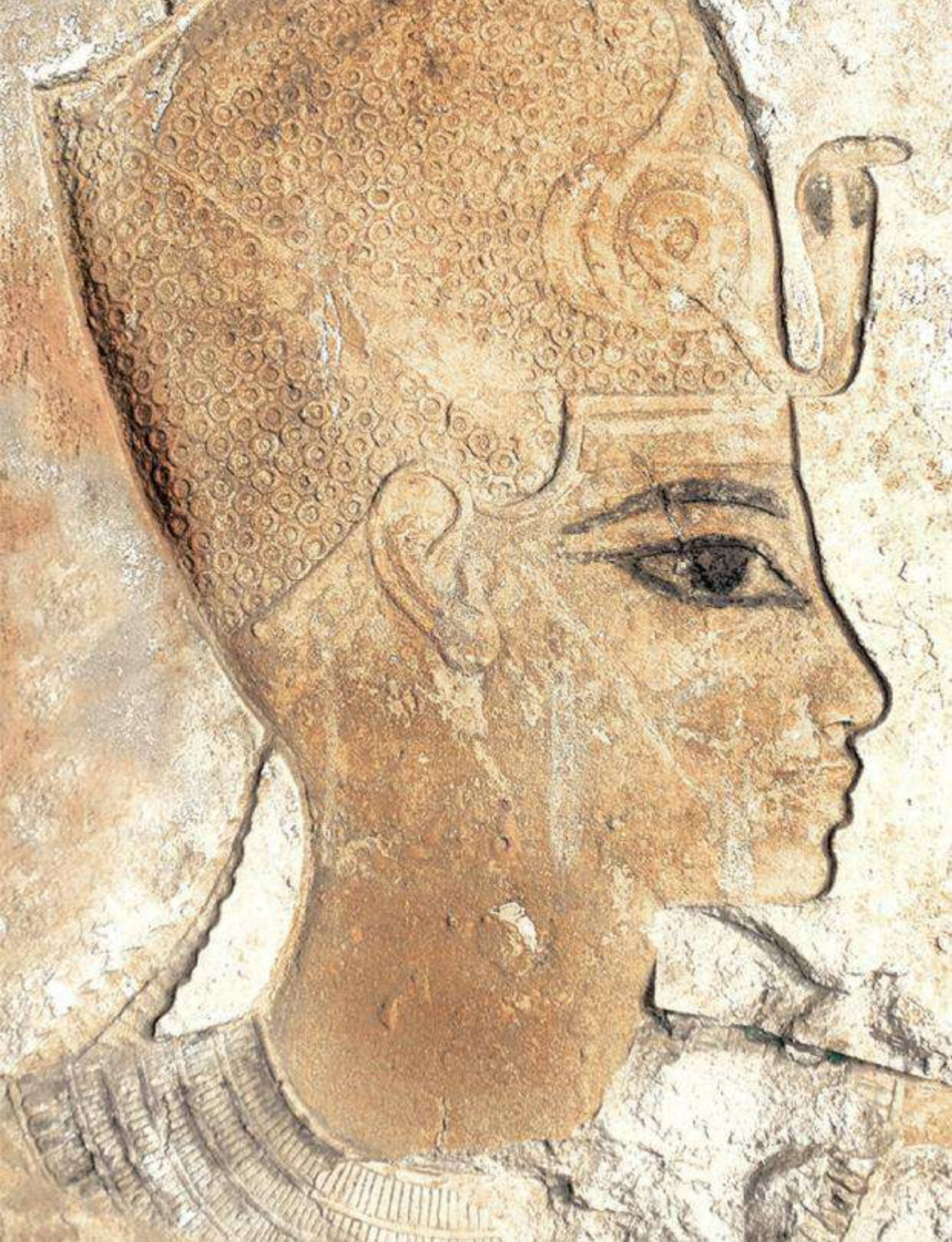


AMARNA LETTERS

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Essays on
Ancient Egypt
ca. 1390 - 1310 BC
Volume Five, Summer 2015

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P.O. Box 1499
Weaverville, NC 28787-1499, USA
Printed by CreateSpace in the United States of America
ISBN

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Publisher: Carl J. Kojis
Editor/Designer: Dennis C. Forbes
Distributed by Amazon.com

Front Cover: Black-granite life-size standing statue of King Tutankhamen,
found in the Karnak Cachette in 1904 and today in the collection of
the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt. Photograph: Kmt/Forbes

Frontispiece: Pigmented sunk-relief portrait of Amenhotep III,
on a reused block from his memorial temple, today displayed at the
site of the Memorial Temple of Merneptah, the west bank at Luxor, Egypt.
Photograph: Kmt/Forbes

Contents Page: Small limestone head of young Tutankhamen, from
a pair-statue with the god Amen. Provenance unknown but today in
the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Photograph: Kmt/Forbes



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Proof of an Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV “Long Coregency” Found in the Chapel of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy (Asasif Tomb 28, West Luxor)

by **Francisco Martin Valentin**
& **Teresa Bedman**

The Vizier Amenhotep-Huy Project was begun in 2009, conducted by the Institute of Studies of Ancient Egypt (IEAE, Madrid, Spain), and has continued annually since that time. The most recent season of excavations was from October 3 to December 15, 2013. An article published in *Kmt* (Vol. 22, No. 2, summer 2011) reported on the first two years of the IEAE work, as well as the provisional conclusions that could be made, in the light of the results obtained until then.¹ In 2013 a preliminary report was published of the excavations carried out in Asasif Tomb 28 from 2009 until 2012.² During these years of excavation in the chapel of AT28, it has been possible to prove that the site was used during the Third Intermediate Period to prepare mummies belonging to persons of the high clergy at Karnak, whose bodies were interred in the courtyard of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy. In fact, it has also been possible to confirm the relationship between some of those individuals whose mummified remains were deposited in the chapel during the Twenty-second Dynasty, at the time of Sekhemkheper Osorkon I (924-889 BC). This conclusion has resulted from the discovery of strips of leather with images representing that king in the presence of a goddess wearing the Red Crown (Neith?).

The 2013 Season Discoveries

It has also been confirmed that AT28 belonged to Amenhotep III's vizier and mayor of Waset (Thebes), Amenhotep-Huy; that work in the chapel was suddenly halted between the years 30 and 35 of the king's reign; and that decoration of the chapel was attacked and destroyed a little time after Amenhotep III's Year 35.

During 2013's AT28 excavation, work was focused on the debris covering the chapel's floor. These excavations began in a mid-level, 0.90+ meters from bedrock. After a month of clearance, when the floor of the chapel had almost been reached (at between 0.40+ and 0.05+ meters depth), there began to appear stone fragments of reliefs which, clearly, had

Limestone fragments of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIV.2, with nomen & prenomen cartouches of Amenhotep IV in raised relief. Photo: T. Bedman © IEAE

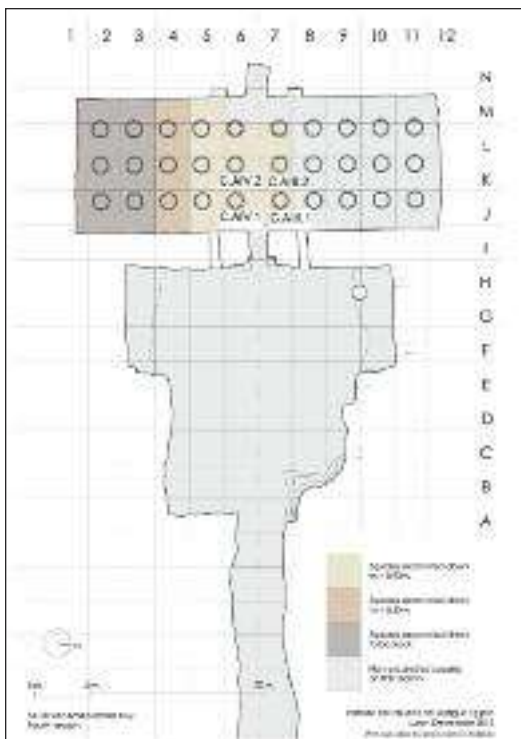




Above, View of the central corridor of the chapel of AT28 during the 2013 excavations.

Photo: F. Martin Valentin © IEAE

Below, Plan showing the stages of excavation in AT28 from 2011-2013. Drawing by Martin Rojo © IEAE



formed part of the original decoration of the chapel and had been attacked, including their inscriptions. All of them were recovered from decoration in the chapel's central hall (in its east-west axis), specifically from the ceiling (architraves), from the two doors on that axis and some of the columns existing in this axis. This destruction can be dated no earlier than after Year 35 of Amenhotep III,⁴ since Vizier Amenhotep-Huy was still building monuments and quarrying stone at Gebel el Silsila for Amenhotep III in Year 35.

On November 4, 2013, there appeared in the central corridor of the chapel, at a height of 0.05+ meters above bedrock, a series of limestone shaft-fragments belonging to the chapel's papyriform columns existing in this part of the chapel. These fragments were from the first and second columns in the first row, on the southern half of the tomb colonnade. The discovered fragments contained inscriptions clearly showing the nomen and prenomen cartouches of Amenhotep IV in elegantly cut raised-relief.

Similarly, in the next few days, at the same level of remains, (0.05+ meters above bedrock), were found fragments belonging to the shaft of the second column of the first row in the northern half of the colonnade. These fragments also contained inscriptions showing Amenhotep III's nomen and prenomen cartouches. During the 2010-2011 seasons, several fragments of reliefs belonging to the shaft of another column

had been found, the first one of the first row, in the northern half of the colonnade.⁵ When the remains of those columns were studied, it was found that they comprised a set (four columns in total) and that they were the only ones which had received decoration on their shafts before construction of the chapel ceased (at an unspecified time, but after Year 35 of the reign of Amenhotep III). These columns belonged to the same row on each side of the central corridor of the chapel.

Texts Found on the Columns

The inscriptions on the four shafts read as follows:

Column AIII.1:

1. Son of Re. He Who appears in the Tjentjat. Lord of the Two Lands 2. Amenhotep Ruler of Waset; 3. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Crowns; 4. Nebmaatre; 5. Beloved of Ptah...and Sokar

Column AIII.2:

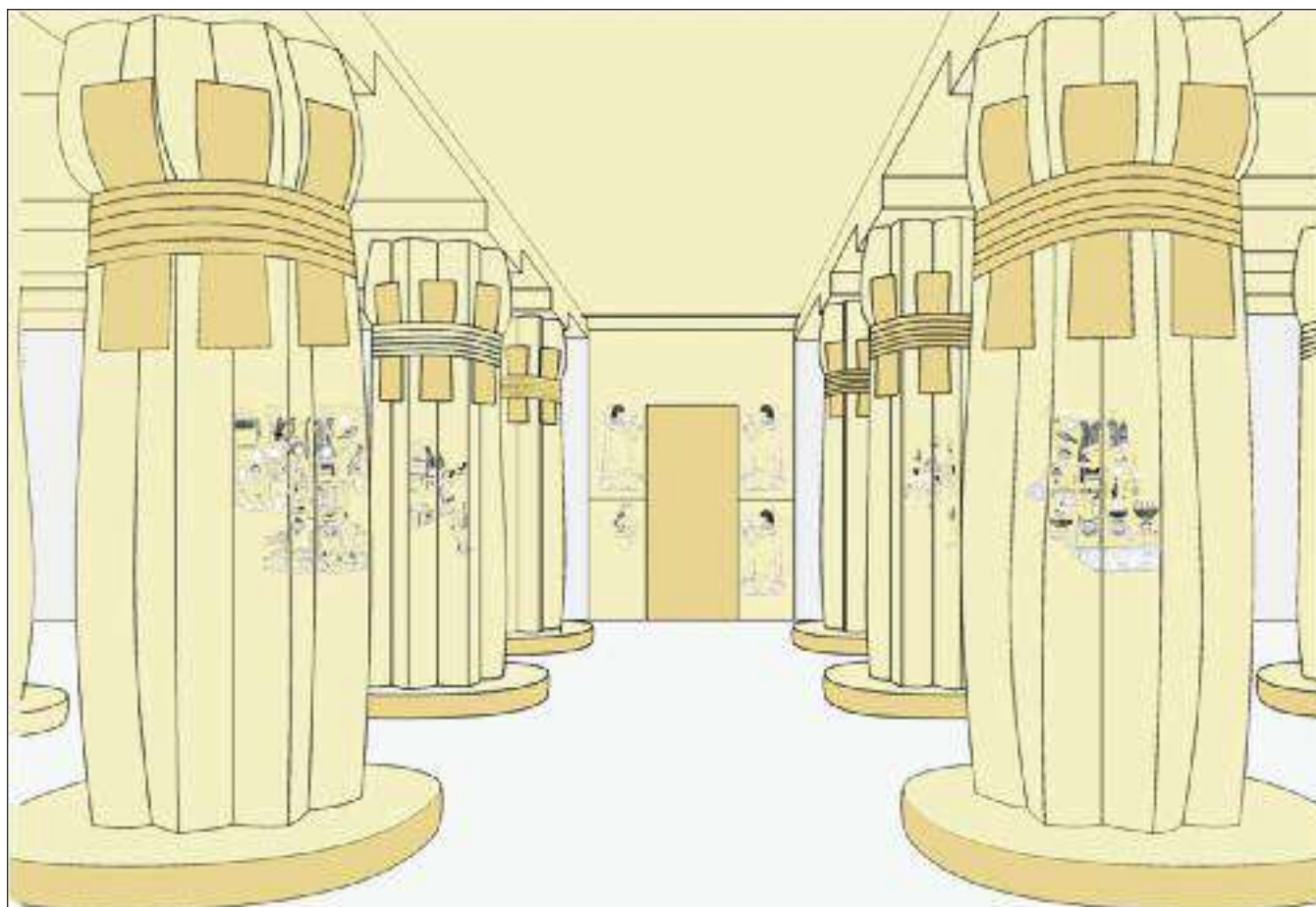
1. Son of Re... He who carries (the Crowns) ...; 2. Amen[hotep Ru-ler of Waset]; 3. [Beloved] of Hathor, who is over the mountain; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (He who) joins them; 5. [Neb]maatre; 6. Beloved of Osiris, he who resides in [Ta-Ur] (This/Abydos)

Column AIV.1:

1. Son of Re. One who is in peace, over the Maat; 2. Amenhotep

Reconstruction of the chapel in the Tomb of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy (Asasif Tomb 28), with door-jamb reliefs & column inscriptions indicated.

Drawing by A. de La Asuncion & D. Garcia. © IEAE





Above, Limestone fragments from Asasif Tomb 28 column AIII.2, with nomen & prenomen cartouches of Amenhotep III. Photo: T. Bedman

Opposite, Limestone fragments of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIII.1, with the nomen & prenomen cartouches of Amenhotep III in raised relief. Photo: F. Martin Valentin © IEAE

Netjer Heqa Waset, [Great] in his [Lifetime]; 3. Beloved of Hathor, who resides in...; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Rites, Son of Amen; 5. Neferkheperure Waenre; 6. [Beloved] of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and Iuni (Hermonthis)

Column AIV.2:

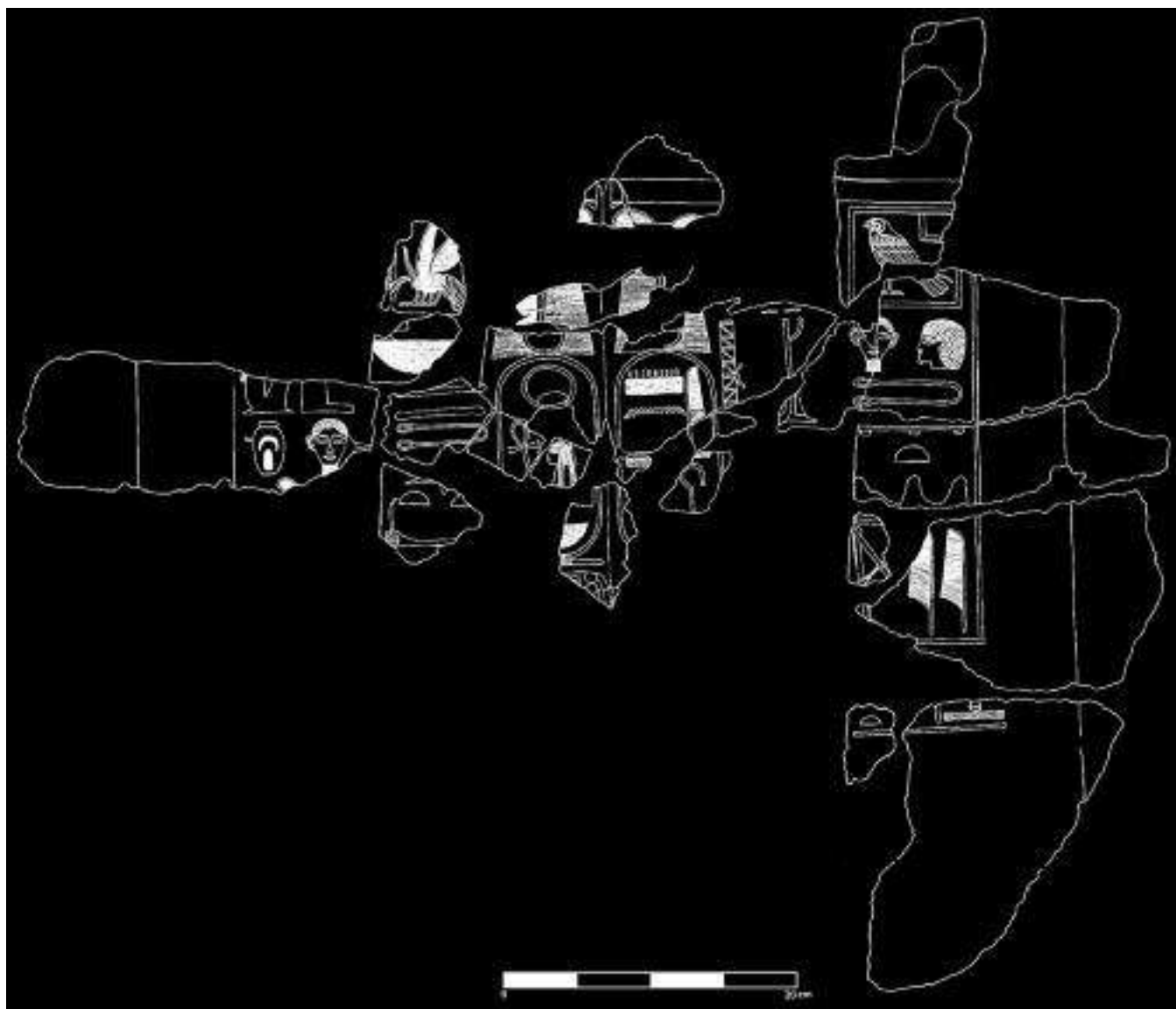
1. Son of Re. He who unites the Two Crowns of Re; 2. Amenhotep Netjer Heqa Waset, Great in his Lifetime; 3. Beloved of Osiris, Lord of Abydos; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Ruler of Ipet Isut (Karnak); 5. Neferkheperure Waenre; 6. [Beloved] of Amen-Re who resides in (Set)-Djeseret (the necropolis of Waset/Thebes)

Up until now Vizier Amenhotep-Huy is only attested until Amenhotep III's Year 35, at which time he disappears and is presumed to have died. These column fragments represent the first and only known documented association of this individual with Amenhotep IV, with some very significant chronological implications.

The Chronological Accuracy of the Inscription of Column AIII.1

The most important inscription of these four we have discov-





Above, Full inscriptions from column AIII.2. Drawing: Fernando Baéz © IEAE Below, Reconstruction of the column AIII.2 text.



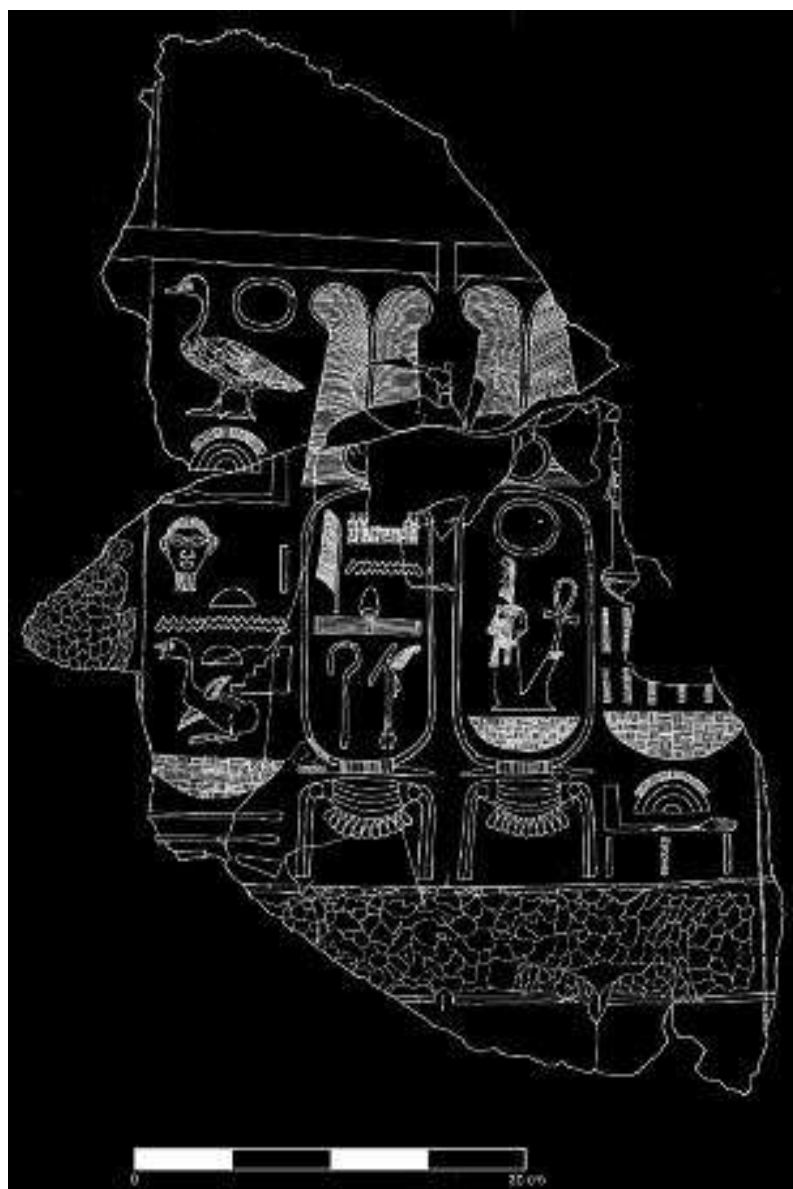
ered is that of the AIII.1 column. It is possible read in it the following: “Son of Re. He Who appears in the *Tjentjat*.”⁶ In itself this text is quite explicit, because it refers to a specific time of the First *Sed*-Festival of Amenhotep III, in Year 30 of his reign. We know that this “appearance” of the king was the moment when — in the presence of courtiers and other officials of the Two Lands — the king, regenerated, received in the *Tjentjat* (Pavilion of Appearances) the crowns of Egypt, as well as the homage of his courtiers. From this moment, the king was ready to resume again his sacred functions.⁷

The ceremony of Amenhotep III’s “Appearance in the *Tjentjat*” is fully described and documented as having occurred during the king’s First *Sed*-Festival. This event is exactly dated to Amenhotep III’s Year 30, second month of the third season (*Shemu*), day 27, and is depicted in the Tomb of Kheruef (TT192).⁸ That relief scene shows Amenhotep III seated on his throne, wearing the Double Crown, receiving

the homage of courtiers and high dignitaries. In front of the Tjentjat is a depiction of several royal daughters. It is inscribed: “Introduction of the great royal children (msw wrw n[swt]) [in the presence of His Majesty]. In their hands, ‘nem-set’ vessels of gold and ‘senbet’ vessels of electrum, in order to perform the rituals in the Jubilee. Causing them to be present, next to the steps of the throne in the presence of the King, when in the Tjentjat.”⁹

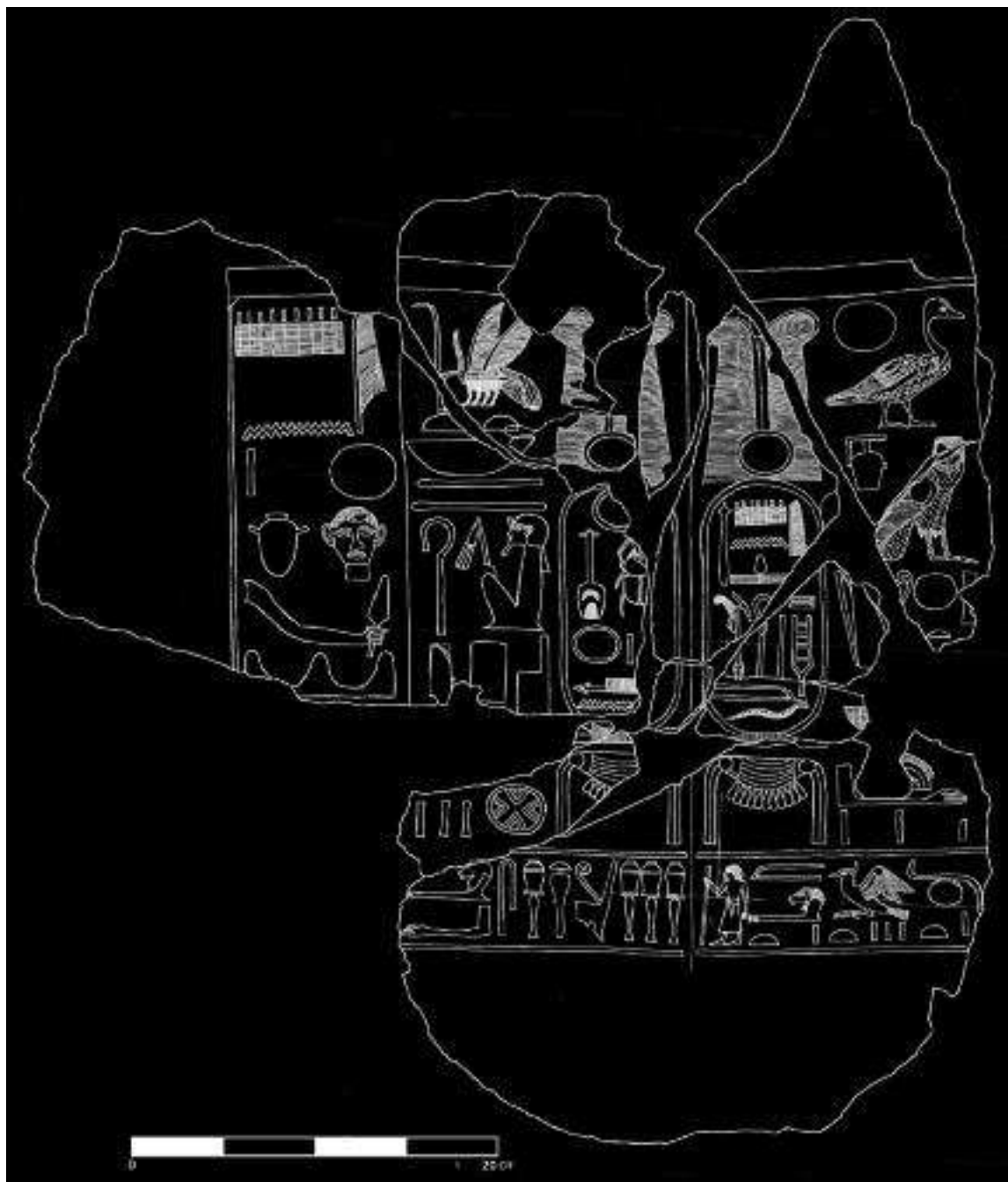
The last text column, inscribed behind this representation, says: “The introduction of the wives in the presence of the King to perform the rituals in the Jubilee, when in the Tjentjat.”¹⁰

It is clear that these three inscriptions — one on column AIII.1 in the Tomb of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy, and other two in the Tomb of Kheruef — all refer to the same ceremony, performed at the same time (a ritual moment).

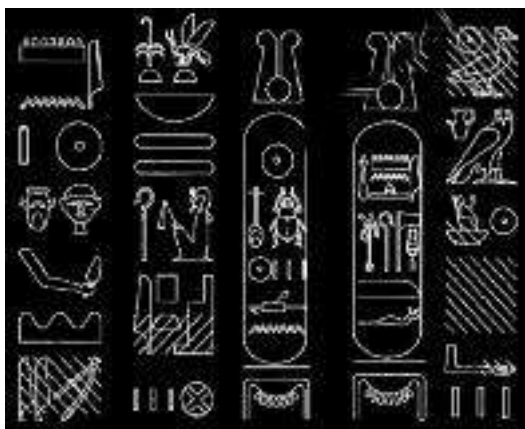


Left, The full inscriptions of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIII.1 fragments. Drawing: Fernando Baéz © IEAE

Above, Reconstruction of the column AIII.1 texts.



The full inscription of Asasif Tomb 28A column AIV.2 fragments. Drawing Fernando Baéz. © IEAE
Below left, Reconstruction of the column AIV.2 texts.



Characteristics & Meanings of the T28A Discovery

The set of texts collected from the shafts of the four T28A columns constitute what is called a “unicum.” That is, a written archaeological document, without parallel among remains known to belong to the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. There is absolute certainty about their continuity, without interruption or any lapse of time, during the preparation of the decoration of the tomb chapel of the Vizier Amenhotep-Huy.

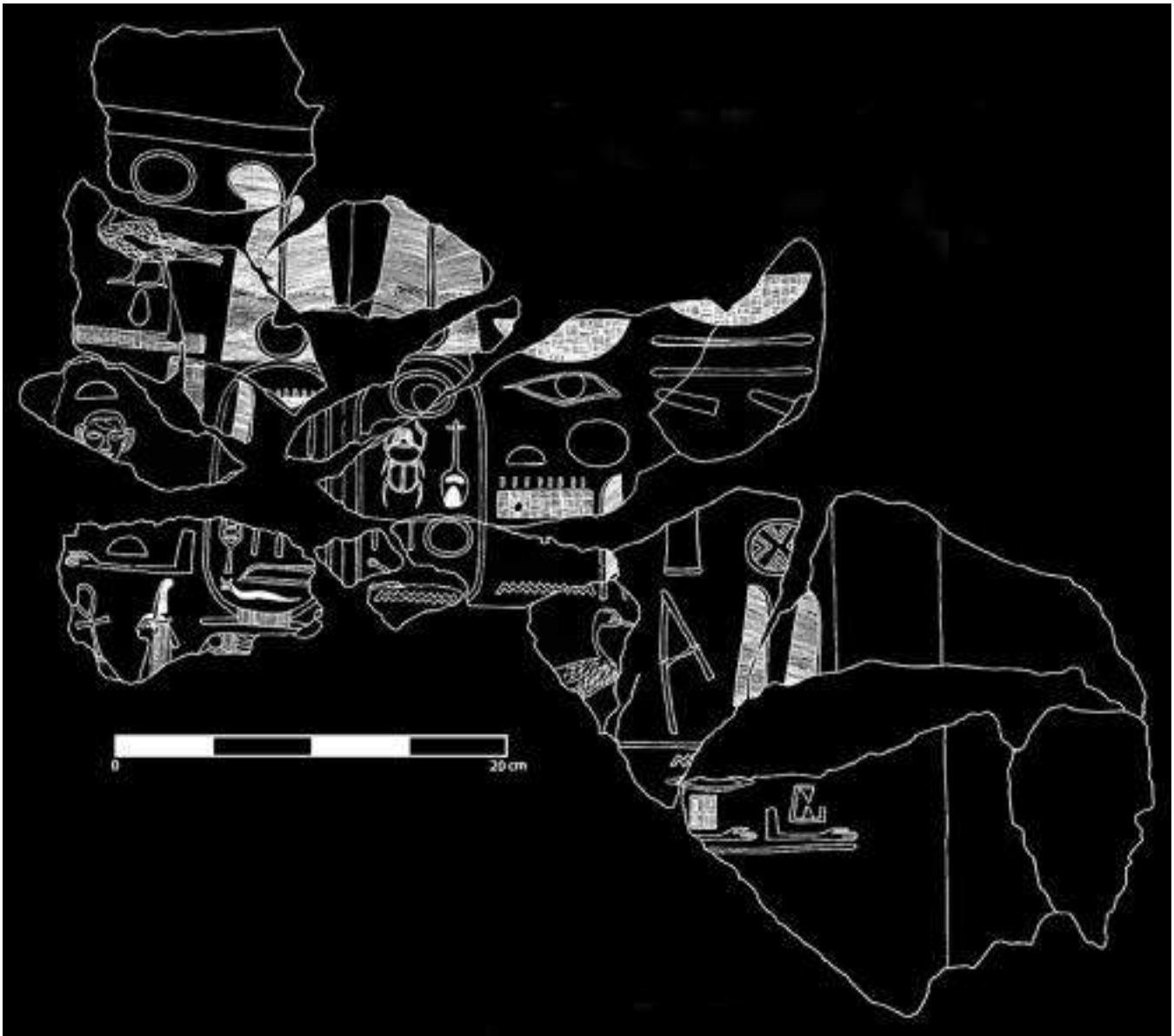
From our archaeological observations, it is obvious that teams of workers assigned to the excavation and decoration of the tomb of the vizier were active in a continuous



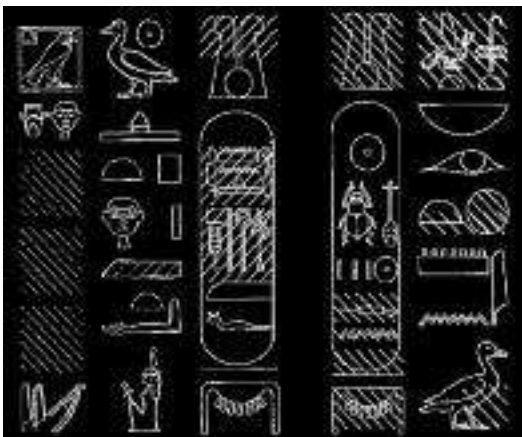
mode, from sometime prior to Year 30 of Amenhotep III's reign, up to when the work was suddenly interrupted and stopped between Year 30 and Year 35, or shortly after that year. The decoration of the chapel was never resumed after the interruption, so it cannot be thought that these column-texts have different dates of execution. Thus, the texts referring to Amenhotep IV are not in any way posterior to Amenhotep III. Therefore, they are emphatic evidence that the decorative plans for the tomb included the mention of the two crowned kings, both, at same time, Sons of Re and rulers of Upper and Lower Egypt.

As evidenced by these AT28 contemporary inscriptions,

Limestone fragments of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIV.1 with prenomen cartouche of Neferkheperure Amenhotep IV in raised relief. Photo: F. Martin Valentin © IEAE



Above, The full inscription of AT28 column AIV.1 fragments. Drawing Fernando Baéz © IEAE
Below, Reconstruction of the column AIV.1 texts.



Amenhoteps III and IV were, at the time of Amenhotep III's First Jubilee, simultaneously kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.

A New Light on the So-called "Long Coregency"

Consideration of a "Long Coregency" between the sovereigns has been largely rejected to date, chiefly because it was difficult to understand how it would have been possible for two courts to coexist in "parallel," each with different viziers and separate administrative and religious organizations. But what is now being proposed is a reconsideration of a historical phenomenon represented by the joint rule for more than ten years of father and son, during a period of transformation by Amenhotep III, when he was consumed by his *Heb-Sed* preparations, by virtue of which, he became a new deified being, the "resplendent Aten." Thus, both kings represented a religious and political fiction, by which, ultimately, only one

ruler (Amenhotep IV) would exist, albeit, alongside his newly divine father — who henceforth would be the god Aten-Tjehen Nebmaatre, and never more King Amenhotep Ruler of Waset — still living, however.

In the Theban necropolis are several private tombs dated in the reign of Amenhotep III: TT numbers 8, 46, 47, 48, 54, 57, 58, 78, 89, 90, 91, 102, 107, 116, 118, 126, 139, 161, 181, 192, 201, 226, 253, 257, 294, 295, 333, 334, 383, 402, A.24 and C.1, and now Asasif Tomb 28: thirty-three, altogether. Those Theban tombs dating to the reign of Amenhotep IV are TT numbers: 40, 55, 181, 188-192, and now in Asasif Tomb 28: a total of six. None of them — except in the case of the Tomb 28, after the new discovery — have the names of the two kings, father and son, in the same space, as in the chapel of the Tomb of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy.

A good test of what is said here is that all the known examples in other tombs of the Theban necropolis — wherein can be found inscriptions mentioning the father and son — are always dated after Year 30 of Amenhotep III; and there Amenhotep IV is proclaimed as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenhotep Netjer Heqa Waset, with his father present only as Nebmaatre.¹¹

In the case of Kheruef's TT192, both sovereigns are represented as kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, but are sufficiently separated in their representations on the walls of the tomb, thus cited by scholars opposed to the so-called "Long Coregency" as evidence that Amenhotep III was already dead when represented on the south wall in the tomb entrance-corridor, his son worshipping him there.¹²

We can understand, therefore, without difficulty the scheme developed to transform the reigning king, Amenhotep III, into an independent god, with his own theology. To become the god Atum-Re in the form of the Aten, Amenhotep III needed, alongside him, another king to facilitate the cult of this new deity. Thus, he necessarily required that his heir practice this new formulation of political-religious power in Egypt.

The solar cycle of Heliopolis provided the *dramatis personae* for the roles that each one of the royal family would perform in this sort of "religious mystery play." Amenhotep III would be the god Atum-Re, who would deliver his kingdom on earth to his son, the god Shu — in this case, Amenhotep IV. The goddess Tefnut, wife of Shu, would be Nefertiti, spouse of the new co-ruler. Amenhotep III's Great Wife Tiye would play the role of the divine Hathor, the heavenly cow, a divinity very compatible with the sun.¹³

In view of this evidence, we argue that really there was a chronological overlapping of Amenhotep III/Nebmaatre and Amenhotep IV/Neferkheperure, first, as kings, and then in a





coexistence, after the First Jubilee of Year 30: one, as pharaoh, and the other, as a living divinity, at least from Year 30 of Amenhotep III until the time of his death, commonly agreed in the year 38/39 of his reign.¹⁴ Thus, there was a definite “coregency” between the kings, at least during the decade from Year 30 to Year 39, with Amenhotep IV then occupying the throne of Egypt alone after Amenhotep III had, indeed, died.

Conclusions

For many years Egyptology specialists have studied and discussed the possibility of the existence of a coregency between Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV, without having clarified the case and leaving much unresolved, either in favor of or against the matter.¹⁵ From the moment that Pendlebury¹⁶ defended the existence of a coregency between the two sovereigns, based on the first proposal to this effect made by Norman de Garis Davies, the controversy has been a constant one, with the specialists taking strongly opposing positions.

The recent relief-fragment discoveries in Asasif Tomb 28 represent, we believe, the definite evidence for proving a coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, given that we now have documents dated exactly at the beginning of the First *Heb-Sed* of Amenhotep III, in Year 30 of his reign, thus marking the beginning of the so-called “Theban period” of Amenhotep IV: the start of the crisis which would lead to the rupture resulting in Akhetaten. It is, therefore, a period whose research is a priority for understanding the world of Akhetaten and the Amarna “revolution” in its true dimension.



Opposite, *The Tomb of Khereuf (TT192) raised-relief depiction of Amenhotep III (accompanied by Hathor & Q. Tiye) seated in the Tjentjat kiosk during his First Heb-Sed.* Photo adapted from Plate 25 of *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192*, the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago, 1980

Above left, *Text in TT192 which firmly dates the time of Amenhotep III's appearance in the Tjendjat during his First Heb-Sed to Year 30, second month of the third season, day 26.* Adapted from Plate 28 of *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* by the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago, 1980.

Above, *Daughters & wives offering to Amenhotep III in the Heb-Sed Tjendjat, as depicted in TT192 (Tomb of Khereuf).* Photo: T. Bedman © ISAE