

MATERIAL
FOR
A REVISION OF THE HISTORY
OF
THE HERESY PERIOD OF THE XVIIITH DYNASTY
BY
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INTRODUCTION.

It is now 17 years since the discovery of the tomb of Tut'ankhamûn, and with the death of Howard Carter last year, passed our last hope of seeing a scientific publication of the tomb. It is unlikely that the British Government will supply funds for the purpose.

Lack of funds has compelled the closing down of the Egyptian Exploration Society's work at El-'Amarna (last under my friend Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury), and the site is to pass into other hands, after 22 years

of British work, with an interregnum of four years of German work. After Mr. Pendlebury's last season⁽¹⁾, he took the wise course of publishing, in a handy and cheap form, a work dealing with the site⁽²⁾ while it was still fresh in his memory, in which he sums up what is known of the site, and attempts to reconstruct the history of the whole period. Moreover he gives a full bibliography of works dealing with El-'Amarna.

Since the death of Dr. Howard Carter I have reflected carefully on the 'Amarna history and I believe at this moment that I am in a position to elucidate certain obscurities. Although I bring forward a certain amount of material hitherto unpublished, my aim has been, generally speaking, to balance probabilities and to deduce from their study certain conclusions. If, on the one hand, these conclusions take into account all the accepted facts, and, on the other, explain reasonably some of the inconsistencies hitherto regarded as insoluble, I submit then that they are entitled to serious consideration; my chief endeavour, indeed, has been to indicate clearly where fact ends and speculation begins.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMBS OF TUTANKHAMUN AND EYE.

It is only comparatively recently that several new facts have come to light which throw definite light on the Heresy Period. Among these may be mentioned the discovery of a fragment of a statuette at El-'Amarna⁽³⁾ which definitely shows that Amenophis III was alive after Akhenaten's

⁽¹⁾ FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part II (Part III is in preparation).

⁽²⁾ PENDLEBURY, *Tell El Amarna* (Lovat Dixon and Thompson, Ltd.) 1935. I owe much to Pendlebury for suggestions,

some of which I elaborate in Chapter II.

⁽³⁾ Now in the Cairo Museum (*Journal d'entrée*, no. 65966). It bears the name of Amenophis III, Akhenaten and the later form of the cartouches of the Aten. It was found by Mr. Pendlebury.

ninth year of reign and co-regent with him. The tomb in the Royal Valley at El-'Amarna has been shown, by the predominance of Nefertete's name on it, to have been hers, although perhaps originally intended for both her and Akhenaten and perhaps the daughter Maketaten, and that it had never been used by him⁽¹⁾. Smenkhkeré', Akhenaten's son-in-law and favourite, seems to have been the person found undisturbed in a coffin with all names erased, in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes⁽²⁾, deposited with the Atenistic shrine of Queen Tyi and other objects from her funerary furniture⁽³⁾. Evidence comes from El-'Amarna that Akhenaten, in about his 16th year of reign, became estranged from Nefertete, and that he and Smenkhkeré' associated closely together in one part of the town, while Nefertete and Tut'ankhaten were closely associated in another. Further, it is known that Akhenaten gave 'Ankh-khepruré'-Mer-en-wa'-en-ré' (Smenkhkeré') one of the names of Nefertete, namely Nefer-nefru-aten⁽⁴⁾. Tut'ankhamûn, on his return to Thebes and to the worship of Amûn, completed the colonnade of Amenophis III at Luxor Temple⁽⁵⁾ and decorated it with scenes celebrating the occasion, and had, at any rate, cut quartzite colossi of himself, the faces of which were identical with those of his Karnak statues⁽⁶⁾ and that on his gold mask from his tomb⁽⁷⁾, apparently for a projected mortuary temple at Madînet Habu. The colossi⁽⁸⁾ were used by his successor,

⁽¹⁾ PENDLEBURY, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXXI, pp. 123-125. The scenes are still unpublished. Akhenaten's Canopic chest, which has been wonderfully restored from small fragments, and is now exhibited in the Cairo Museum, was certainly not used for him or for anyone else.

⁽²⁾ ENGELBACH, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXXI, pp. 98-113 and DERRY, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-119. A précis is given on pp. 151-152.

⁽³⁾ DAVIS, *The Tomb of Queen Tiye* (1907).

⁽⁴⁾ NEWBERRY, *J. E. A.*, XIV, p. 7.

⁽⁵⁾ ENGELBACH, *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, Part III; photograph on p. 69.

⁽⁶⁾ LEGRAIN, *Statues de rois et de particuliers I* (*Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire*), Pl. LVII and ENGELBACH, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, XXXVIII, p. 24.

⁽⁷⁾ CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-ankhamen*, II, Pl. LXXIII. There is some doubt, however, whether the mask was not originally made for Smenkhkeré' (see footnote 1, p. 139).

⁽⁸⁾ HÖLSCHER, *Medinet Habu* (Morgentland), Vol. 24, Pl. 14, Fig. 33 (now in the Cairo Museum, *Journal d'entrée*, no. 59869).

Eye⁽¹⁾, and were subsequently usurped by Haremhab. Tut'ankhamûn reigned at least nine years, and in that time or less such kings as Ramesses I, Setnakht, and Siptah found time to make tombs of a size far exceeding that in which Tut'ankhamûn was found.

Tut'ankhamûn's tomb is of a smallness out of all proportion to the magnificence of his funerary equipment; its chambers are quite unlike those found in the tombs of other kings, the general scheme of which is a descending passage, with or without stairs, with chambers opening out of the main passage. Parts of the entrance to the tomb had had to be cut away before the largest sections of the shrines could be admitted into it, and, lastly, the arrangement of the tomb was such that the four large shrines had to be placed in the burial chamber in the reverse orientation from that for which they were designed (plates XXI and XXII). The last fact is almost proof positive that the tomb in which Tut'ankhamûn was found was not made for him.

For whom, then, was the tomb in which Tut'ankhamûn lay designed, and where is the tomb which Tut'ankhamûn must have designed for himself?

The answer to the first question seems to be that Tut'ankhamûn was buried in the tomb that had been designed for Eye during the nine years he had been all-powerful at Thebes. It would not be without precedent for him to have a tomb in the Royal Valley; Maherpra, Userhêt, Amenemôpet and the parents of Queen Tyi had been similarly honoured. The suggestion is due to Mr. Alfred Lucas, and I consider it most likely.

As to the so-called "Tomb of Queen Tyi" even if we assume that the queens of the late XVIIIth dynasty period were buried in the Royal Valley, it is very unlikely that it was ever designed for her, since it is smaller than that of her parents, and it would be expected that during the long years that she was the favorite wife of King Amenophis III, she would have collected a funerary equipment far greater and more sumptuous than theirs. When Tyi died and where she was buried must remain an open question for lack of evidence; in fact we are entirely ignorant on the subject of the burials of queens in the XVIIIth dynasty,

⁽¹⁾ HÖLSCHER, *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute* (ed. Breasted), I, Pl. 33.

except that some of the earlier ones were buried at El-Deir El-Bahari⁽¹⁾.

Tyi is known to have visited her son Akhenaten in his 12th year⁽²⁾, probably immediately following Amenophis III's death, and possibly to warn him that all was not well with either the country or the empire. It is then that Akhenaten is likely to have given her a gilt shrine, bearing the cartouches of the Aten, his name and figure, hers, and one cartouche of his father (since the second contained the name of Amûn⁽³⁾). It is expressly stated on it that Akhenaten had made it for her, so that it was obviously made at El-Amarna. I suggest that Tyi could not refuse the gift, and took it with her to Thebes, where it would naturally pass into the royal store in her palace at Madinet Habu or into the hands of the undertakers, where, I also suggest, it was subsequently discovered (p. 139).

After about 17 years of reign, Akhenaten took Smenkhkerê, who had married his eldest daughter Meritaten, into co-regency, and who went to Thebes, possibly to effect some kind of reconciliation with the priesthood of Amûn⁽⁴⁾. Akhenaten and Smenkhkerê seem to have died about the same time, the one at El-Amarna, the other at Thebes. Tutankhaten succeeded to the throne, having married Ankhesenpaaten, Akhenaten's second surviving daughter. It is now that evidences from Tutankhamûn's burial throw light on subsequent events. The inlaid gold "trappings" which covered Tutankhamûn's mummy show traces of having been usurped for him; the inlay containing his name has, in places, been let into the space occupied by a previous name, and a patch put on the back. In the four gold miniature Canopic coffins found with Tutankhamûn, the cartouches, which occur at irregular intervals in the long inscriptions on the insides of each, have all been usurped, sometimes in so slovenly a manner that the original name of Smenkhkerê, called Ankhe-khepru-rê Mer-en-wa-en-rê Nefer-nefru-Aten (+ epithet?) can be distinctly traced. The inscriptions made for Smenkhkerê have no connection with the Aten worship, but consist of a hymn to Rê, and give figures of anthropomorphic deities (pl. XXIII). They cannot have been made under the Atenistic

⁽¹⁾ WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amûn at Thebes* (New York 1932).

⁽²⁾ PENDLEBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁽³⁾ DAVIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15 and Pls. XXXI-XXXIII.

⁽⁴⁾ PENDLEBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

régime at El-ʿAmarna, but must have been made at Thebes. They prove that Smenkhkeré^c, while at Thebes, had reverted, as far as the scenes and inscriptions on his funerary furniture are concerned, to the burial customs of the kings prior to the heresy. A close examination of the four shrines of Tutʿankhamûn, reveals the fact that in the inside and front of one, the second outermost, every cartouche, which originally must have been of Smenkhkeré^c, has been changed to that of Tutʿankhamûn (Pl. XXIV). The other shrines bear no signs of re-appropriation. Furthermore, on the shrine in question, and on the others, the inscriptions and the scenes are quite unconnected with Atenism, being of the same solar and Osirian nature as those in the older burials in the Royal Valley. This bears out the same fact as the small gold coffins, namely that Smenkhkeré^c had reverted to the religion of his forefathers, which is amply confirmed by a graffito at Thebes bearing his name, consisting of a long prayer to Amûn⁽¹⁾. Smenkhkeré^c had quitted El-ʿAmarna as a coregent king, and, taking into account Akhenaten's great regard for him, would presumably have taken a vast quantity of gold with him, probably in the form of ingots. Pendlebury remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 29) : "It has always been somewhat of a mystery that a boy of nine or ten should have remained at Amarna, and been able to withstand the pressure of all Egypt for an immediate return to Thebes. But while Nefertiti lived there was no backsliding." It seems to me, on the contrary, that Nefertete had every reason to hate the Aten and Smenkhkeré^c. I suggest, in the absence of any conclusive evidence to the contrary, that Tutʿankhaten, on learning of Smenkhkeré^c's death, almost immediately proceeded to Thebes, bearing Smenkhkeré^c's provisional coffin, his canopic vases, his corner bricks bearing the name of Akhenaten and a few other objects of Smenkhkeré^c which were found at El-ʿAmarna⁽²⁾, and claimed the throne. That the departure was almost immediate is likely, since Tutʿankhaten or his ad-

⁽¹⁾ GARDINER, *The Graffito from the Tomb of Pere*, *J. E. A.*, XIV, p. 10.

⁽²⁾ DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 26 ff. The fragments of the wooden box found, strangely enough, with Tutʿankhamûn's funerary

furniture (see NEWBERRY, *J. E. A.*, XIV, p. 7) recording Smenkhkeré^c's co-regency and change of name, may well have been brought to Thebes at the same time as the other objects mentioned.

visers (who may have included Nefertete and Eye), would be anxious to get the gold into his hands, especially if the quantity Akhenaten had given Smenkhkeré^c was unknown. A further reason for hurry would be that Smenkhkeré^c during his short life at Thebes, must have obtained a certain amount of popularity, at any rate with the priests of the Theban necropolis, which Tut^cankhaten, or more probably Nefertete and Eye, would have wished to neutralise. One should always hesitate before trying to gauge the workings of an oriental mind, the more so in the case of a boy-king who lived over 3000 years ago. I suggest, with the utmost diffidence, that Tut^cankhaten and Nefertete brought down Smenkhkeré^c's pre-royal regalia, and that one of them, or perhaps Eye, explained to the priests how matters had stood at El-^cAmarna in the matter of the change in Smenkhkeré^c's name with that of Nefertete, of which the Theban authorities may well have been ignorant. Be that as it may, Tut^cankhamûn (as he had then become) usurped king Smenkhkeré^c's unfinished funerary furniture at Thebes and claimed his gold ⁽¹⁾, since there was no other heir to claim them. The priests cut out the name of Smenkhkeré^c from his ^cAmarna furniture, intending to bury him in a small uninscribed, vacant tomb opposite to that which had been constructed for the noble, Eye. A hypothesis which meets the facts of the case is that the party about to bury Smenkhkeré^c found, among Tyi's effects—she being probably dead at the time—the shrine which Akhenaten had given her some years before at El-^cAmarna, and which would never have been used for her burial at Thebes, since it bore his name and figure. Having decided to get rid of this unpleasant memento by burying it with Smenkhkeré^c, they either erected it or put it piece by piece in the tomb and sealed it up. The other trivial objects of Tyi's found in the tomb may have been overlooked at Tyi's burial and found with the shrine. As to the person for whom the empty tomb was intended, I suggest that it was made for Haremhab, a general, and seemingly the most powerful noble at Tut^cankhamûn's court, after Eye.

The second question is whether Tut^cankhamûn, during his nine years' reign, constructed a tomb for himself, or at any rate began one. The

⁽¹⁾ There is no trace of usurpation on Tut^cankhamûn's gold coffin.

answer seems to be simpler than the riddle of the "Tomb of Queen Ti'yi". The balance of probability is strongly in favour of the tomb in the Western Valley, bearing the erased name of King Eye, being that constructed for Tut'ankhamûn. It must be remembered that Tut'ankhamûn came to the throne at 10 years old, and during his reign he completed the colonnade begun by Amenophis III in Luxor Temple, on which he made reliefs celebrating the return to the worship of Amûn, and he had officially re-opened all the temples, and given large donations to the priesthood. At the time of his death he would have any number of years "expectation of life". The natural action of a king, in spite of that, would be to get his tomb finished as soon as possible, in case of unfortunate eventualities, in which case the tomb, at his death, would be complete as regards being cut out to its full length. There was no hurry, once the main portions of the work on his funerary equipment had been done, and a mortuary temple perhaps envisaged.

At the death of Tut'ankhamûn, his tomb in the Western Valley and his sarcophagus and lid were probably merely roughed out, particularly as there are no traces of a name under the hammered-out cartouches of Eye, just as there are none on the colossi found in Eye's funerary temple.

Eye reigned three years and eleven months at least⁽¹⁾. He came to the throne as an oldish man by marrying 'Ankhesenamûn, Tut'ankhamûn's widow⁽²⁾, whom he must have known from her infancy. He had been married years previously to a woman named Ty, who had been nurse to Nefertete⁽³⁾ at El-'Amarna where he had had a fine tomb⁽⁴⁾. He had appropriated Tut'ankhamûn's uninscribed colossi designed perhaps for the latter's future funerary temple. Why not his tomb also? The granite sarcophagus in the Western Valley tomb, when it was finished and inscribed by Eye⁽⁵⁾ is almost exactly like the quartzite sar-

⁽¹⁾ Stela in the Cairo Museum, *Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire* (unpublished), no. 34187, also BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 428.

⁽²⁾ NEWBERRY, *J. E. A.* (XVIII), p. 50.

⁽³⁾ But see PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*

(XVIIth-XVIIIth Dynasty), p. 241.

⁽⁴⁾ DAVIES, *The Rock tombs of El-Amarna*, V, p. 16.

⁽⁵⁾ Now in the Cairo Museum. *Guide* no. 624. It has been considerably restored.

cophagus—which had a pink granite lid—found with Tut‘ankhamûn. A strange feature is that, in the sarcophagus-chamber of the Western Valley tomb ⁽¹⁾, where Eye took the unprecedented step of being depicted with his wife, although their figures and names have been cut out (presumably by Haremhab), the cartouches of his queen, cannot have held the name of ‘Ankhesenamûn, but they are exactly of the right size for the name of Ty.

At first sight, the action of Eye in marrying a young widowed queen in order to obtain the throne and then appropriating her late husband’s colossi and tomb, and, above all, by putting his older wife’s figure in the latter, seems outrageous, but several considerations have to be borne in mind before passing judgement. First, the queen had been left without a protector at an age presumably under 18, and seems to have been making representations to the Hittite king to send her a son whom she might marry and make him king of Egypt, an unwise proceeding, to say the least. Secondly, Eye never usurped Tut‘ankhamûn’s furniture, even his gold coffin. Thirdly, he had (if my suppositions are correct) given up his own tomb in the Royal Valley to Tut‘ankhamûn, since the latter’s was not ready, representing himself in it performing the last rites for Tut‘ankhamûn. Lastly he appears to have placed Tut‘ankhamûn on the throne and had been his right hand man throughout his reign; in fact everything serves to show that he had the greatest affection for the boy-king.

Eye, on his becoming king, began an ambitious mortuary temple at Madînet Habu, and probably finished it. There were no foundation deposits bearing the name of Tut‘ankhamûn (or of Haremhab who subsequently usurped it). Tut‘ankhamûn’s uninscribed colossi lying in the neighbourhood were erected in it, probably when it was finished. As regards a tomb, Tut‘ankhamûn had been buried with due pomp in the Valley of the Kings, and there was a good tomb, without an owner, in the Western Valley, with no one with a right to it except Eye. The death of ‘Ankhesenamûn, some time after Eye came to the throne, might explain why he took Tut‘ankhamûn’s colossi and why he depicted

⁽¹⁾ *L., D.*, III, Taf. 113 c.

the wife of his youth, Ty, in his tomb, and why he left the taking over of the Western Valley tomb until it was too late.

In the tomb in which Tut'ankhamûn was found, the sarcophagus is of very hard painted quartzite, being of exactly the same stone and painted in the same manner as that of his colossi possibly made for a future mortuary temple. A sequence of events which would meet the observed conditions would be that Tut'ankhamûn was intending to make a quartzite sarcophagus to replace the granite one in his tomb in the Western Valley, but that the lid had not been completed and perhaps not even begun at the time of his death. Eye, compelled by force of circumstances to bury Tut'ankhamûn in the empty tomb constructed for himself before he obtained the throne, caused the lid of the sarcophagus in the Western Valley tomb to be sent over to be used with the quartzite one, since the lid of the one could be made to fit the other, and that an accident occurred to the lid and the damage was concealed with pink plaster.

Mr. Alfred Lucas has pointed out to me that the height of Tut'ankhamûn's outer coffin, which lay on a bier, was too great for the granite lid of the quartzite sarcophagus to be closed down on it. The lid had, therefore, to be raised again in order that the carpenters could cut away the top of the foot of the coffin. This was done *in situ*, since chips were found inside the sarcophagus. The unsightly cut was covered up with the black resinous material⁽¹⁾ which had been poured over the mummy and the innermost (gold) coffin. At first sight this seemed to prove that the bier and the outer coffin had not been made for the quartzite coffin. But an indication that another explanation must be sought is the fact that the north and south sides of the innermost shrine had to be lengthened by cutting it back with adzes, spoiling part of the gold decoration, before it could be assembled round the sarcophagus; the length of the overhang of the cornice of the sarcophagus had been forgotten! Had the shrine been designed for the granite coffin in the "Tomb of Eye" the error would have been worse, since the granite sarcophagus is slightly longer than that of quartzite. In other words, there was a careless error in both cases on the part of the carpenters.

⁽¹⁾ CARTER, *The tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, II, Pl. LXVI.

Another suggestion of Mr. Lucas's, that the crack across the granite lid was occasioned during its raising or lowering after it had been found that it could not be put into place, is extremely likely.

The granite lid of the sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tut'ankhamûn is some 15 cms. shorter than would be required for the sarcophagus usurped by Eye, but 10 cms. too narrow. Hence, with a slight reduction in length, the lid of the latter could be used for the other, with an overlap of 5 cms. on either side, unless the sarcophagus and lid were still in the rough (p. 140), when there would probably be no overlap.

A further indication that the lid of the sarcophagus from the "Tomb of Eye" was used for the quartzite sarcophagus is that, recently, all the fragments of the granite sarcophagus were brought to the Cairo Museum, and there are no fragments which might belong to a lid.

Haremhab had, before his accession, a tomb at Memphis and a splendid tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes in which, although unfinished at the time of his death, he may well have lain. His detestation for Eye may have been due to the fact that Eye had beaten him in the race for the throne (see Chapter IV, pp. 158-160), since we do not know for certain by what *right* Haremhab ascended the throne. Pendlebury's idea that it was "on his own merits"⁽¹⁾ appears unlikely at that period. His reason for cutting out Tut'ankhamûn's name, above all in the obvious manner in which he usurps his name on his Karnak stela⁽²⁾ wherein Tut'ankhamûn describes the bad conditions under the Aten régime, still elude us. The theory that Haremhab did not consider Tut'ankhamûn's conversion back to the old faith sincere, seems to be somewhat weak; a much stronger reason is indicated.

Whether Eye ever lay in his usurped tomb in the Western Valley cannot be proved definitely, but it is extremely unlikely that he did. Although robberies by officials and others were rife in the royal valleys, it seems that kings were not in the habit of tampering with royal burials once they had been closed and sealed. Even Akhenaten did not do so. Haremhab, after he had come to the throne, left the burial of Tut'ankhamûn

⁽¹⁾ PENDLEBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

no. 560 also see LEGRAIN, *Rec. trav.*,

⁽²⁾ Now in the Cairo Museum. *Guide*

t. XXVII, 1907, p. 162.

alone, although he must have been perfectly aware of its exact location, and the same applies to the cachette of Smenkhkheré'. The fact that each occurrence of Eye's name and that of his wife were cut out points to its having been done before Eye was ever put in it and not after. If precedent counts for anything, Eye was probably buried in some unnamed cachette in the Royal Valley, or elsewhere.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRANSFER, BY AKHENATEN, OF THE CAPITAL FROM THEBES TO EL-AMARNA.

Akhenaten was obviously bodily and mentally abnormal; his bodily abnormalities are revealed in all his statues (Pl. XXV) and his mental abnormalities are manifest from his overpowering hatred of the Theban god Amûn and by his subsequent conduct at El-Amarna.

His hatred for the god Amûn led him into closing the temples of Amûn and those connected with his worship and erasing the name of Amûn from all statues in the temples and from the chapels of the tombs of the Theban nobles. Even his father's second cartouche, which contained the name of Amûn, was not spared.

That Akhenaten began his depredations in the temples and tombs at Thebes during his coregency with Amenophis III is very unlikely, since Amenophis III had always been an ardent devotee of the god Amûn, although he apparently had no objection to his son's revival of the cult of the Aten, and even to his making a temple in its honour in Karnak. But both Amenophis III and Tyi must have clearly seen whither their son's heretical tendencies were leading—it must indeed have been common knowledge—and I suggest that Amenophis III brought strong persuasion to bear to induce Akhenaten to leave Thebes. What the nature of that persuasion was we are entirely ignorant, but Akhenaten apparently left Thebes imagining it to be of his own free will. At any rate he swears

on a boundary stela of his fourth year⁽¹⁾ that no one directed him to Akhetaten, but that he found it himself, and orders that if he or his family die elsewhere they shall be brought back to Akhetaten.

Akhenaten left Thebes accompanied by a vast number of craftsmen, and certain nobles either followed him or accompanied him. Pendlebury⁽²⁾ ascribes their reasons for accompanying Akhenaten to El-Amarna as "gain or conscience sake". Col. Elgood, on the other hand, suggests, in a note to me: "Are there not always men ready to follow the rising star and leave the declining planet?" Both these suggestions may be true and are not, indeed, incompatible. No doubt that, when Akhenaten was at Thebes, plenty of men would be willing to follow him in his Aten worship, where they would probably be by no means popular with the Amûn faction. After Akhenaten left Thebes for a desert Utopia far away, the nobles would be loth to leave their estates and to follow him. To me, some compulsion is indicated, or fears for their personal safety after their protector had left. The point is interesting, although it does not affect the history of the period. The nobles, at any rate, migrated to El-Amarna, there to witness, what must have been to them, the wildest travesties of religion as they had previously understood it, and the most fantastic habits of the king in public.

How soon Akhenaten's violent anti-Amûn campaign began after the death of Amenophis III and Tyi is very uncertain, and the names of his agents who carried out the work are equally so. That Akhenaten was enabled to break up the powerful priesthood of Amûn all over the country shows the great sanctity of the king in the eyes of the people: the king can do no wrong. It further shows that there was no question of his being the rightful king on the death of Amenophis III (see suggested genealogical tree on page 160).

⁽¹⁾ DAVIES, *The Rock tombs of El-Amarna*, V, pp. 29 and 30. Pendlebury (*op. cit.*, p. 16) gives an extract from one of Akhenaten's boundary stelae whereon he states that he has prepared for the Mnevis Bull of Heliopolis and for the Chief of the Seers (Chief Priests of Heliopolis) in the Eastern Mountain of

Akhetaten and that they shall be buried there. Akhenaten also erected a quartzite stela at Heliopolis on which he and his family are depicted prostrating themselves before the Aten. This is exhibited in the Cairo Museum (Gallery 11, Ground floor).

⁽²⁾ PENDLEBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The theory that Akhenaten was encouraged by the priests of Ré at Heliopolis in his campaign against Amûn is suggested as a possibility by Pendlebury, and is one to which I was once strongly attracted. Akhenaten may indeed have tried to curry favour with the Heliopolitans at El-‘Amarna⁽¹⁾ but, to my mind, any active interference by them with the local god of Thebes would have been likely to result in civil war. Heliopolis had no cause of complaint against Amûn; the name of Amûn had already been hyphenated with that of Ré in all the Theban temples. The kings, for hundred of years previously, however much they had been devotees of Amûn, had been buried with a solar or Osirian ritual, in which Amûn had little or no part. Why, then should they interfere with the agents of the king in his dealings with a Theban god as long as he left Ré alone? That Akhenaten did not violate the tombs of his forefathers in the royal valley at Thebes, even when their names and funerary objects contained the name of Amûn, may have been due to fear of the Heliopolitans and possibly of the priesthood of Abydos, who must have had close relations with the priests of the royal necropolis at Thebes. On the other hand, Akhenaten’s agents may merely have been instructed to erase the name and figures of Amûn from every monument on which it was visible to the priests or to the public.

The dates in the following table are only very approximate, but they may be of service in enabling the reader to follow the sequence of events and ascertain the relative ages of the persons concerned. I am assured by Mr. Pendlebury that no monument has been found at El-‘Amarna of a higher regnal date than year 17 for King Akhenaten.

⁽¹⁾ See p. 145, footnote 1.

APPROX. DATE.		SMENKH- KERÊ'.	TUT'ANKH- AMÛN.	NEFERT- ETE.	MUT- EBNERTI.	AKHEN- ATEN.	TYI.	AMEN- OPHIS III.	SIT-AMÛN.
1411	Amenophis III ascends the throne by be- trothing(?) himself to Princess Sit- Amûn.....	...	...	...	...	...	13	18	5
1410	Amenophis III marries Tyi.....	...	...	...	...	...	14	19	6
1409	Akhenaten born.....	...	...	...	...	0	15	= 20	7
1400	Nefertete born.....	...	...	0	...	9	24	29	= 16
1395	Mutebnerti born.....	...	...	5	0	14	29	34	= 21
1392	Smenkhkerê' born.....	0	...	8	3	17	32	37	= 24
1386	Akhenaten becomes co-regent with Amen- ophis III. Marries Nefertete.....	6	...	14	9	23	38	43	30
1381	Akhenaten leaves Thebes for El-'Amarna..	11	...	19	14	28	43	48	35
1378	Tut'ankhamûn born at Thebes.....	14	0	22	17	31	46	51	= 38
1375	Amenophis III dies at Thebes.....	17	3	25	20	34	49	54	41
1374	Tyi visits El-'Amarna.....	18	4	26	21	35	50	—	42
1369	Smenkhkerê' becomes co-regent with Akhen- aten and goes to Thebes. Akhenaten dies at El-'Amarna and Smenkhkerê' at Thebes. Tut'ankhamûn (as Tut'ankhi- aten) becomes king and goes to Thebes.	<u>23</u>	9	31	26	<u>40</u>			
1360	Tut'ankhamûn dies at Thebes. Eye marries his widow and obtains throne.....	...	<u>18</u>	...	35?				
1356	Haremhab obtains the throne (by marrying unknown heiress?).....	...	...	...	39?				

CHAPTER III.

THE “TOMB OF QUEEN TÌYI”.

Since the belief that the cachette of Smenkhkeré^c was really the Tomb of Queen Tyi and the bones found therein those of Akhenaten, seems to die hard, I feel it necessary to devote this chapter to the discussion of the opinions expressed by the authors of the volume and by others who were present at the discovery, or who were connected with it. They reveal the lengths to which archaeologists were prepared to go to prove true what was to them an *idée fixe*, that the bones must have been those of Akhenaten!

Weigall⁽¹⁾, then the Chief Inspector of Antiquities says “I interpret the facts in the following manner :—Firstly Queen Taia was buried in the tomb, but it was entered later by the agents of Akhenaton whose orders were to erase the name of Ammon wheresoever it was found. After Akhenaton had died and had been buried at El-Amarna the court returned to Thebes under King Tut-‘ankh-amūn⁽²⁾. The body was brought up to the old necropolis of his fathers and was placed in the tomb of his mother. A few years later when his memory came to be hated, the priests removed the mummy of Taia from the tomb which had been polluted by the presence of “that criminal”, as Akhenaton was now called, erased the king’s name, and left him the solitary and nameless occupant.” One reason why this cannot be true is that Akhenaten’s agents did not open the tombs in the royal valley (see p. 146) secondly, where did they put the body, coffins, and funerary furniture of Tyi? Maspero’s explanation is even more bizarre, he says⁽³⁾ : “ Dr. Elliot Smith, who studied the skull minutely, pronounced it to be the skull of a man aged

⁽¹⁾ WEIGALL, *J. E. A.*, VIII, *The Mummy of Akhenaten*, p. 198.

⁽²⁾ Davies, describing his find (*op. cit.*, p. 4) says that he found several *lead* seals of Tut-‘ankhamūn in the tomb. Weigall (*J. E. A.*, VIII, p. 197), refer-

ring to the tomb says: “Scattered about in the rubbish were fragments of small *clay* sealings inscribed with the name of King Tut-‘ankh-amūn”.

⁽³⁾ DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

about twenty-five or twenty-six years. Whether or not he be right about the age is a matter for anatomists to decide; there is evidence, however, that the body discovered in Davis's vault is that of a man, and that man Khuniatonu (Akhenaten) *if we must accept the testimony of the inscriptions*. Such being the facts, how are we to reconcile them and explain satisfactorily the presence of Khuniatonu's body amidst Tiyi's furniture. This paradoxical combination may either have been made on purpose, or be the result of some mistake on the part of the persons who executed the transfer. In the first case, we ought perhaps to conjecture that, not wishing to prevent any harm being done to the king by some fanatical devotee of Amon, the hidiers wanted the people to believe that the body they were burying was Tiyi's : accordingly they took with it Tiyi's catafalque and Tiyi's small furniture, the only exception being the canopic jars which from the shape of the face, I assume to be Khuniatonu's. I must confess that I look on this explanation as being too far-fetched to hold good. The second supposition seems to me to be nearer the truth : the dead members of Khuniatonu's family must have been taken out of their tombs and brought over to Thebes with such articles of furniture as it was thought they needed most. Once there, they most have been kept quietly for a few days in some remote chapel of the Necropolis, as were the mummies of Setuï I and the Pharaohs before reaching their last retreat at Deir el-Bahari. When the time came for each to be taken to the hiding-place which had been prepared for them in the Bibân el-Molûk, the men who had charge of these secret funerals mixed the coffins, and put the son where the mother ought to have been. Visitors to the Cairo Museum who have seen the coffins of Iouïya and Touïyou, and how like they are to each other⁽¹⁾, will not wonder at such a confusion having been made, especially if we suppose that the transfer took place at night time. I think that Davis's vault was originally designed for Tiyi and for Tiyi's furniture, but that Khuniatonu's mummy was buried in it by mistake. There is still some chance that Khuniatonu's appointed tomb may be discovered in the Bibân el-Molûk with Tiyi's mummy lying in state among her son's property."

⁽¹⁾ QUIBELL, *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, 1908.

Two conflicting statements by Davis and Maspero deserve recording. Davis writes on page 4 : “A short while ago I found a small pit tomb *about three hundred feet from Tiye’s tomb*. . . . It was filled with white jars sealed with covers. . . . I have recently found in one of the jars a bundle of mummy-cloth which had been used for the protection of some fragile objects. On spreading it there appeared hieroglyphs reading ‘Good God, Lord of Egypt. Loved by Min. Year VIth’”. Maspero, writing about 1910 ⁽¹⁾, states : “In a vase *from the tomb of Queen Tiye* and of Khouniatonou, M. Théodore Davis found a piece of material, on one of the borders of which was written in black ink the following legend : ‘The Good God, Master of the Two Lands, Nabkhouprouriya, loved by Minou. Woven in year 6’. This small text is important for two reasons. As Mr. Davis saw very well, the conclusion can be drawn from it that the transfer of the mummy of Amenhotep IV and the funerary furniture of Queen Tiye to the cachette where they were discovered two years ago, took place at the earliest in year VI of Toutankhamon, shortly after he had renounced definitely the cult of Aton and his name Toutankhamon. Further, we now possess a date, the first yet known, of this pharaoh.” A full account of what apparently happened is given by Carter and Mace in *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, I, pp. 76, 77.

The first to make a complete study of the coffin found in the cachette known as the “Tomb of Queen Tiye” was M. G. Daressy ⁽²⁾, who observed that certain parts of all the inscriptions had been removed and a seated bearded figure meaning “I” or “me” (applied to a god or king) had been put in the place of a previous pronoun. In the one case where the original pronoun was left unchanged, it was seen to be a seated female figure. He deduced that the coffin had been made for a woman and adapted for a man, and that man must, of necessity, have been Akhenaten. He concluded that the coffin was originally made for Queen Tyi. In 1930 Prof. D. E. Derry suggested that I should revise the whole question of the coffin inscriptions and ascertain whether I could glean any further information, as we were certain that the age given by Elliot

⁽¹⁾ *Rec. trav.*, 32, p. 88. The translation and the italics are mine.

⁽²⁾ DARESSY, *Le cercueil de Khu-n-Aten* (*Bull. Inst. franç. du Caire*, t. XII).

Smith on the bones could not be reconciled with the events of Akhenaten's reign. Elliot Smith⁽¹⁾ gave the age of the body as about 25 to 26 years of age, but makes the reservation that it may be younger or older. In a further publication⁽²⁾ Prof. Elliot Smith considered that the skull "exhibits in an unmistakeable manner the distortion characteristic of the condition of hydrocephalus", and adds that "the bones cannot be regarded as those of a perfectly normal person, so that there is a possibility—though it is nothing more—that the process of ossification may not have followed the usual course, but have been delayed". This 'possibility' was naturally seized on by historians with avidity, in a frantic attempt to reconcile Akhenaten's seventeen years of reign, with his 6 daughters, and with the known events during his lifetime, with dire results. A recent example is seen in Carter's work⁽³⁾.

The results of Prof. Derry's and my studies were delivered at a joint lecture at the Cairo Scientific Society in 1930, and were published in the *Annales du Service*⁽⁴⁾ in 1931. Since the matter of Akhenaten's age at death is all important for the unravelling of the history of the Heresy Period, I do not hesitate to give a *résumé* of our enquiries here. Prof. Derry, had managed to piece together the skull far more completely than Prof. Elliot Smith had had the opportunity of doing, and had over 20 years accumulation of anthropometric statistics additional to those of Elliot Smith. Prof. Derry concluded, after giving his reasons very fully, that the bones were not more than 23 years of age. Further, he shows that the skull was unusually strongly platycephalic. The reverse result would be that resulting from hydrocephaly, which produces a skull of globular form. Furthermore, the skull, though unusual, is almost identical in every way with that of Tutankhamûn, and the author suggests that the two were in all probability brothers (see page 160).

My own researches, although they brought to light much interesting matter connected with the period, left many problems unsolved. The coffin was undoubtedly begun for a non-royal woman and adapted for

⁽¹⁾ Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies*
(*Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire*), p. 51 ff.

⁽²⁾ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

⁽³⁾ Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, III, pp. 10 and 11.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. p. 135, note 2.

use by a king. The canopic jars give absolute proof that they were made for a non-royal person and somewhat clumsily converted for use of some-one who was royal. Considerations of space in the inscriptions preclude that woman to have been Tyi, if even part of her usual titulary was used, or of Nefertete, unless it was after her disgrace, and she had been deprived of her title. This last possibility had not occurred to me at the time I wrote the article, and it may deserve a re-examination of the coffin. The one fact that shows definitely that Akhenaten did not lie in the coffin is that, at the end of one text, the phrase Mer-en-wa^c-en-Ré^c (beloved of Akhenaten) occurs; this cannot have been used of himself, but it is a known and common epithet of Smenkhkeré^c. Moreover the constantly repeated title which follows the erased cartouches, namely “The beautiful child of the Aten” is never used elsewhere of Akhenaten. I do not insist that I have cleared up all this puzzling, altered and erased text, but I do maintain that the inscriptions, though of a king, are not those of Akhenaten.


If that king is not Akhenaten, then it must be Smenkhkeré^c; there is no other choice!

I take this opportunity of replying to a criticism of Howard Carter (or whoever wrote the introduction to his Vol. III)⁽¹⁾. He remarks “Recently, Mr. Engelbach, Curator of the Cairo Museum, based from the formulae inscribed on the coffin, gave reasons for believing the remains to be Smenkh-ka-Ra, but, as Dr. Alan Gardiner has pointed out to me, the inscriptions refer to a woman and not to a man”, and thus briefly dismisses the matter. I have never denied this; indeed I quote Daressy and even give a facsimile of the inscription on which the original female pronoun appears. The inscriptions however were certainly converted for use for a man, and even the author of the introduction cannot deny that male bones were found in the coffin. The phraseology of the footnote clearly shows that it was written hurriedly, at the last moment, by a man who was unacquainted with the results of Prof. Derry’s and my researches, in an attempt to explain away the awkward facts we had raised which conflicted with his preconceived ideas regarding Akhenaten.

⁽¹⁾ CARTER, *op. cit.*, p. 10, footnote 1.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARENTAGE OF NEFERTETE, SMENKHKERË^c AND TUT^cANKHAMÛN.

During the XVIIIth dynasty, and perhaps long before and afterwards, the king appears to have attained the throne by marrying his predecessor's eldest surviving daughter by the heiress, or at any rate the senior heiress. I can find no proveable exceptions in the XVIIIth dynasty. The advent to the throne of Amenophis III offers puzzles which I maintain are not insoluble when certain circumstances are taken into consideration. He married Tyi, a commoner, and he was the son of Mutemwia and Thutmosis IV. Mutemwia is described as ⁽¹⁾ and King's Great Wife and King's Mother, but there is nothing to prove that she was heiress to the throne, or even a King's Daughter. Akhenaten succeeds Amenophis III, and there is no mention of marrying the heiress. On the other hand, Akhenaten's successors, Smenkhkerë^c, Tut^cankhamûn and Eye adhere strictly to the apparent law of inheritance.

In the island of Konosso, near Philae, a block was found on which Thutmosis IV, in the seventh year of his reign, is depicted slaying prisoners accompanied by a woman called I'aret, who is described as King's Daughter, King's Sister and King's Great Wife⁽²⁾. In an inscription at Sarabit el-Khâdim, she is described as King's Daughter only⁽³⁾, while on a scarab in the Fraser collection she is called King's Great Daughter⁽⁴⁾. On the grounds of probability, I'aret must surely be the heiress (as opposed to Mutemwia) through whom Thutmosis IV obtained the throne. To return to Amenophis III; in addition to Tyi, he certainly married a woman called Sit-Amûn, and she is mentioned in conjunction with the

⁽¹⁾ H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, II, no. 101, p. 205.
p. 301.

⁽²⁾ WEILL, *Inscriptions du Sinaï*,

⁽³⁾ L., *D.*, III, Taf. 69 e.

⁽⁴⁾ GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

king's name on several monuments, on one of which ⁽¹⁾ she is described as King's Wife, Tyi having an exactly similar title (Plate XXVI, 1). In the tomb of Yuya and Thuyu were found two chairs, one for a child of about 5 years old and one of normal size, both bearing the name of Sit-Amûn. On the larger chair ⁽²⁾ she is called the "King's Great Daughter, whom he loves". On the back of the smaller chair ⁽³⁾ is a scene in gilt *repoussé* work which bears traces of subsequent re-gilding. It depicts Tyi, who is described as King's Great Wife, seated on a chair, with a cat below it, in a papyrus skiff being fanned by two girls. The girl behind her is described as "King's Daughter whom he loves", but bears no name. The girl in front is described as "King's Daughter, whom he loves, praised by the Lord of the two Lands, Sit-Amûn", the name, like Tyi's, being written in a cartouche. Neither chair bears the cartouche of Amenophis III. The smaller chair proves that when the girls were some five years old, Tyi had already been married to Amenophis III. Whether the phrase "Beloved by the Lord of the Two Lands" implies betrothal is quite unknown, but it may be so. The evidence from the chairs of Sit-Amûn seems to make it quite clear that at the death of Yuya and Thuyu, Sit-Amûn was more or less grown up but was not officially married to Amenophis III. The evidence from the smaller chair seems to show that there has been a deliberate desire on the part of the king to be vague regarding the parentage of the two young princesses at the court where Tyi was already installed as favourite wife, and Tyi may well have fostered the popular idea that Sit-Amûn was her child, although Sit-Amûn does not appear on the colossal dyad from Medinet Habu of Amenophis III and Tyi and three of their daughters ⁽⁴⁾, neither does she appear with them in the temple of Sôleb, where two others of their

⁽¹⁾ *Journal d'entrée*, no. 67962.

⁽²⁾ QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, Pl. XL.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI. Another chair, uninscribed, also designed for a small child, was found in the tomb, also a miniature chariot, doubtless intended for use with a pair of donkeys.

⁽⁴⁾ In the Atrium of the Cairo Museum, *Guide* no. 610. The eldest daughter, in the centre, is called Hent-ta-neb(?) and that on the left Nebt-aha'. The name of the daughter on the right is illegible (see GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 341. 342).

daughters are shown⁽¹⁾. Nowhere in the tomb is the relationship of Sit-Amûn to Tyi definitely stated. That she was the daughter of a king alone is definite. Parts of what was once a very fine alabaster bowl received in the Museum in 1895 and 1932⁽²⁾, and shown on Plate XXVI, 2, appear at first sight to place Sit-Amûn's parentage beyond a doubt as a daughter of Amenophis III and Queen Tyi. The inscription was identical on four faces of the vase, where it *was* stated Sit-Amûn was King's Daughter and King's Wife, born of the King's Great Wife, Tyi. The name Sit-Amûn has been completely erased and, in its place the cartouche of the king has been repeated. At first sight it would appear that Akhenaten was responsible for the erasure of the cartouche of Sit-Amûn. Akhenaten would, however, certainly not take the trouble to replace the name with another cartouche four times; he would merely have cut out the name of Amûn and left it at that. The bowl cannot have been made at El-'Amarna, since the name of Amûn would not occur on it. We have therefore to assume that it was made at Thebes and that the inscription was *incorrect*. As to the cause of the error, I have already stated that the current belief among the people may well have been that Sit-Amûn was Tyi's daughter, although she does not appear as such on any statue or scene on which Tyi is depicted. The bowl may well have been made shortly after Amenophis III's official marriage to Sit-Amûn. It was a fine piece of work, but the statement implying that Amenophis III had married his own daughter would never do on a court monument. The Theban sculptor therefore altered the cartouche in order to make the inscription read the complete nonsense which it does now. As to the reason for its being sent to El-'Amarna we can only conjecture. It was obviously not a monument to be kept at Thebes. It was showy and could give no offence to Akhenaten, who might indeed imagine that the name containing the word Amûn had been effaced out of deference to

⁽¹⁾ L., D., III, Taf. 866. The daughters are called Èset and Hent-mer-heb (see GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 341).

⁽²⁾ *Journal d'entrée*, nos. 30996 and 59283. The inscribed portions were

found by Mr. Pendlebury of the Egypt Exploration Society to whom I owe permission to reproduce the face shown in the plate. All four faces will be shown in *The City of Akhetaten* III.

when Sit-Amûn was a little child and she may well have been brought up in the house of Yuya and Thuyu. I suggest that Amenophis betrothed himself to Sit-Amûn almost immediately on the death of Tuthmosis IV and married Tyi about a year later; at any rate there is no hint in the tomb that Amenophis III had definitely made Sit-Amûn his wife. This being the case, Yuya and Thuyu—and surely Tyi herself—would realise that although she could become the favourite wife of Amenophis III, her son and his could not legally obtain the throne unless he married the eldest daughter that Amenophis III might have by the heiress Sit-Amûn; and I suggest that child was Nefertete. She, if the XVIIIth dynasty tradition was carried on, would give Akhenaten unquestioned right to the throne, especially after the death of Amenophis III (see page 145).

In the suggested family tree on page 160, the heiresses are marked with an asterisk; Smenkhkere^c and Tutankhamûn being full brothers, see p. 151, and Nefertete their full sister.




The reason for Sit-Amûn being, as it were, kept in the background is difficult to explain other than by her complete domination by the personality of Tyi. This may well be the reason of the inclusion, by Anknesenamûn, in Tutankhamûn's tomb, of the lock of hair of Tyi, her grandmother, in addition to the gold statuette of her grandfather. It will be seen on page 160 that, assuming that my theory is correct, the kings from Eye to Tuthmosis IV all married the senior surviving heiress, and it is extremely probable that Haremhab must have done the same.


Up to a few years ago the position seemed to be fairly clear regarding the succession of Haremhab. The sister of Nefertete is shown on the wall of the tombs of Parennûfer and Eye at El-Amarna, and her name was read Mutnedjemet, which was the name of a woman on Haremhab's colossal granite group, now in Turin. This would make his succession clear. Sethe⁽¹⁾ has, however, shown that Nefertete's sister should read Mutebnerti and not Mutnedjemet, and this is accepted by the foremost scholars of to-day. Borchardt's assertion that Mutnedjemet is the correct reading is based on a misunderstanding⁽²⁾.


⁽¹⁾ *Ä. Z.*, XLII (1905), pp. 134, 135. *königl. Sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*.

⁽²⁾ *Bericht der philol. histor. Kl. der* *zig*, p. 259, note 3.

Prof. Battiscombe Gunn has kindly looked into this matter for me in conjunction with Mr. N. de G. Davies and an extract from a letter from Mr. Davies to Prof. Gunn is given below ⁽¹⁾. Haremhab is not mentioned in connection with any other woman but Mutnedjemet, and she is almost certainly his wife ⁽²⁾. Even if he was definitely married to her it does not by any means follow that he was not married to the heiress of the Heresy Period as well. If he had married Mutebnerti he would have had no claim to the throne while Nefertete was alive, but after her death his claim would certainly outweigh that of Eye. On the other hand, if Haremhab had married Meritaten, the widow of Smenkhkêrê, he would have a claim superior to that of Tutankhamûn. It is clear, from the action of Eye, how much store was set on marrying the heiress, and we can be almost certain that Haremhab was of the same point of view.

⁽¹⁾ "The matter is clear in Sethe, who shows that it is a question of the reading of the sign , . The latter is found in Parennufer (Berlin Squeeze), and from it I restored Panehsy (*El-Amarna*, II, p. 14) and read it *Ndm*. Sethe declares however that that form  though approximating to *ndm* always reads *bnr*, and I accepted this in *El-Amarna*, VI (notes pp. 4, 18), and then called the princess Benretmut instead of Nezemetmut as I had called her before.

I think Prof. Borchardt wrote me about it before I saw Sethe's article and I do not know what he means by my "Mittheilungen nach den Originalen" since the one "original" was the Berlin Squeeze and the other the reading in Ay which is plainly . Evidently I disregarded Borchardt before I wrote *El-Amarna*, VI.

If  can read *bnr*, then the only support for Nedemetmut is overthrown, and if it *must* read *bnr*, then Nedemetmut ought never to have been mentioned.

I regret to see that I am responsible for Borchardt's misstatement that she appears *twice* in the tomb of Ay.

Borchardt does not seem to have known of the appearance of the princess in the tomb of Parennufer and got mixed in consequence."

⁽²⁾ BREASTED, *Ancient records*, III, § 22 fol., but see also GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, p. 395, note 1. Following Mr. Brunton's suggestion that Haremhab's wife's name on his Turin Statue might conceivably read Mutebnerti, to make assurance doubly sure, I wrote to Prof. G. Farina, Superintendent of the Antiquities of Turin, enquiring about this point and I have to thank him for his courteous and prompt reply to the effect that, in both places where the name occurs, the sign under discussion is accompanied by the phonetic complement $\leftarrow m$ making the name Mutnedjemet certain.

Although there is at present not a vestige of proof that Haremhab married either Mutebnerti or Meritaten, both these possibilities must be taken into consideration; the latter possibility could be a reason for Haremhab considering the whole of Tutankhamûn's reign to have been irregular. An explanation, for which again there is no proof, as to the reasons for Haremhab's apparent acquiescence in the succession may have been that he was unable to withstand Eye who, unlike Haremhab, had been in El-'Amarna throughout its history and was more powerful than he. This explanation would also account for Haremhab's, apparent hatred for Tutankhamûn, to judge from the manner in which the latter's monuments were usurped. We know so little of the conditions governing the marriage or betrothal of a king to his predecessor's eldest daughter except that it was in some way essential for succession to the throne; still less do we know whether a brother could succeed a king at his death if the former had married a younger sister of the heiress; above all if the heiress were alive. Eye evidently considered that his marriage with the widow of his predecessor gave him a clear title to the throne, although Tutankhamûn succession might well be open to dispute.

Whatever Smenkhkêr's character may have been, or his relations with Akhenaten, he was king; he had been coregent with Akhenaten ⁽¹⁾, who was undoubtedly a king by absolute right, moreover he had married his predecessor's eldest daughter. About the only certain thing in this exasperating period is that Tutankhamûn reigned nine years, and that he died between the age of 17 and 19 years with strong probability for 18 years. Are we to believe that a lad of nine at most went to Thebes, convinced the Theban authorities that his brother should not have a king's burial and usurped his funerary furniture? In that, or any other age, the idea is absurd, unless the boy had an exceedingly powerful man at his side, possibly with ulterior motives in his mind. The same error was made in the past generation when the body found in the "Tomb of Queen Tiye", whose bones indicated, in those days, that he was 25 or 26 years of age was thought to be that of Akhenaten, and scholars were asked to believe that the king broke up the very powerful priesthood of Amûn at Thebes when he

⁽¹⁾ NEWBERRY, *J. E. A.*, XIV, p. 7.

to Thebes? There is nothing to show that the name of the Aten was taboo in Thebes. When the defacement of the tombs and temples at El-^cAmarna took place, the emblem of the sun and the cartouches of the Aten were mostly spared. It was Akhenaten only whose name and figures were mercilessly defaced. The change of name probably took place within a short time of the king's arrival at Thebes, since his funerary furniture, apart from his palace furniture, uniformly bear the name of Tut^cankhamûn⁽¹⁾.

To attempt to date events at El-^cAmarna after the death of Akhenaten by means of inscribed sherds from wine-jars is, to my mind, labour lost, since no jars from that locality bear the name of the king. The produce of the royal vineyards was surely continued after the departure of the court to Thebes and probably exported there.

Evidences for the change of Tut^cankhamûn's name to Tut^cankhaten, should be sought in Thebes rather than in El-^cAmarna, although some valuable negative evidence is obtained from the latter site in the study of objects such as scarabs or faience rings, which are easily lost or broken, from the wide area of the town. The relative number of the scarabs, etc. of Smenkhkerê^c to Tut^cankhamûn is surprisingly high, since the former reigned only about a year at El-^cAmarna, and points to an early rather than a late departure of Tut^cankhamûn to Thebes after his succession.

The figures are as follows⁽²⁾ :

Smenkhkerê ^c (nos. 92-105) ⁽³⁾	14
Meritaten (106, 107)	2
Nebkheprurê ^c (108-115)	8
Nebkheprurê ^c with references to Amen-Rê ^c (116? 118-121) ⁽⁴⁾ ..	5
'Ankhesenpaaten (90-91)	2

⁽¹⁾ Of the 143 faience finger-rings found in the tomb of Tut^cankhamûn none bears his earlier name nor that of the queen.

⁽²⁾ PETRIE, *Tell El-Amarna*, Pl. XV.

⁽³⁾ Two more bezels of Smenkhkerê^c and two of 'Ankhesenamûn are shown in FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, II, Pl. XLIX nos. 1A; 2 k-G d.

⁽⁴⁾ In FRANKFORT and WOOLLEY, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, p. 14 the number of ring-bezels found is stated. Those of Smenkhkerê^c number 2 and those of Tut^cankhamûn 18. None is drawn and the excavation numbers(?) quoted are useless for determining how Tut^cankhamûn's name is written or whether the name of Amûn figures on any of them.

The presence of Amen-Ré on scarabs of Nebkhepruré can be explained by supposing that the king, on his succession to the throne, had definitely resolved, or been persuaded, to return to the worship of Amûn but had not, then, decided to change his name. In all the objects from the mounds, presents no doubt given in large numbers at accessions, etc., no object occurs to my knowledge on which Tutankhamûn's personal name figures; all bear his throne-name Nebkhepruré, and may well have been distributed immediately prior to the king's departure for Thebes, perhaps to give a hint of his intentions. Once he had left, no more would be given out. A secondary inference may perhaps be drawn. The rings, etc. of Nebkhepruré are almost the same in number as those of Smenkhkeré, implying an unreduced population for a year or more, and suggesting that the inhabitants remained at El-Amarna until they were sure that the king was firmly established at Thebes. If there were any delay before the inhabitants of El-Amarna definitely returned to Thebes there would be expected to have been, during that period, a larger amount of communication between the two towns than ever before. There would hence be nothing surprising if rings, etc., bearing the name of Tutankhamûn were found at El-Amarna especially if he had given out a new series at Thebes to celebrate his change of name.

Two objects from the tomb of Tutankhamûn at first sight offer puzzles; the throne (Plate XXVII)⁽¹⁾ and the ceremonial chair (Plate XXVIII)⁽²⁾. On the back of the former is represented a scene of the king and queen, with their Amûn names, beneath the emblem of the sun, the rays terminating in hands, the disk being flanked by the Aten cartouches. On the sides of the chair, however, the king is called Nebkhepruré and Tutankhaten. The chair, which has been clumsily converted from a stool, bears the Aten name of the king throughout, and on the top of the back are represented the names of the Aten (in its later form), engraved in minute characters below the sun-disk. That they were made at El-Amarna and sent to Thebes is more unlikely than that they were made at Thebes before the change of name occurred. There was no shame in the names or

⁽¹⁾ CARTER and MACE. *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII and LXIV.

⁽²⁾ CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, III, p. 112.

emblem of the Aten at Thebes, and although Tut'ankhamûn may have changed the name on the back of the throne for political reasons, he left the chair as it was until the day of his death. The only other published monument of Tut'ankhaten is a small limestone stela now in Berlin⁽¹⁾. It represents Nebkheprurê-Tut'ankhaten, clad in a flowing robe, making floral offerings to Amen-Rê and Mât. Its provenance is uncertain, but its extreme importance lies in the fact that it shows that the king had definitely returned to the worship of the Theban deities before he changed his name. As to the date at which the change of name occurred, the only certain thing is that from wine-jars found in Tut'ankhamûn's tomb, it was previous to his 4th year.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LENGTH OF TUT'ANKHAMÛN'S REIGN.

The hieratic inscriptions on the wine jars were transcribed by my friend Prof. Jaroslav Černý, and photographs of his hieroglyphic versions have been stuck against the entry of each in the *Journal d'Entrée* of the Museum⁽²⁾. They may be divided into two classes, one giving the year of the vintage of the estate of the House of Aten on the Western Canal which may (but not necessarily) have come from El-'Amarna; these number 12 and are given as dating to the following years : 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 9 and one illegible. The second class gives the year of vintage of the estate of Tut'ankhamûn (not Tut'ankhaten). These number 7 and are given as dating to the following years : 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 9, 9. It will be noticed that there is no mention of years 6, 7 or 8 in either class.

Černý's readings have been amply confirmed by Dr. Alan Gardiner and Prof. Battiscombe Gunn, to the latter of whom I sent photographs of all the inscriptions on the jars dating to year 9. To explain the absence

⁽¹⁾ ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, XXXVIII (1903),
p. 112 (with illustration).

⁽²⁾ These can be seen by scholars on
giving a day's notice to the keeper.

of any jars of either class dated to years 6, 7 and 8 is somewhat difficult. I suggest, with some diffidence, that at the end of the vintage of year 5, the roots of the vines, or perhaps those of the most esteemed varieties grown at El-'Amarna, were sent down to Thebes, when they would be ready for year 9. Mr. Pendlebury, who has had experience of vine-growing in Crete, writes to me that the idea is perfectly possible, but adds that there must have been some perfectly good vineyards at Thebes which would have carried on through years 6-8. Mr. Brunton suggests that bad vintages might be an explanation of the absence of wine from years 6, 7 and 8, which is also a possibility.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, ETC.

Although much of the help I have received is acknowledged as it is used, I must state that I owe to Mr. Guy Brunton, among other matters, the collecting of a complete bibliography of the objects of Princess Sit-Amûn¹⁾; to Prof. D. E. Derry for the medical details connected with the bones of Smenkhkerê' from the so-called "Tomb of Queen Tîyi"; to Mr. Alfred Lucas for first-hand information on the excavations of the tomb of Tut'-ankhamûn, much of which has never been published, and to Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury for information, and permission to use it, from his forthcoming volume *The City of Akhenaten III*. I regret that, for the past three years, our contact has been by letter only. All the friends mentioned above have read this memoir, in whole or in part, both in its early and late stages, and have been free in their comments and prolific in their suggestions of alternative possibilities, and have also saved me from many

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Brunton has recently pointed out to me that, in an interesting essay on "Amenophis III and his Successors", on pages 105-138 of Mrs. (W. M.) Brunton's collection of miniatures published under the title of *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1929). Prof. S. R. K. Glanville suggests rather vaguely that Sit-Amûn may be the mother

of certain members of the 'Amarna royal family, but he takes it for granted that she was the daughter, at any rate of Amenophis III. He also remarks that Queen Mutemwia is generally accepted to have been the Mitannian woman whom Tuthmosis IV is known to have married, a fact that I omitted to mention on page 153.

errors in matters of fact. The result of their efforts has been that I have had to rewrite the whole article at least twice. I have also to thank Mr. J. Leibovitch for typing, and preparing my manuscript for the press; also for several pertinent references. Lt.-Col. P. G. Elgood, author of *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, has been kind enough to read the finished typescript carefully and to suggest certain amendments or amplifications, most of which I have found time to incorporate. Isma'il Eff. Shehâb, Chief Photographer to the Cairo Museum has taken all the photographs for the plates, and my best thanks are due to him for the great trouble he has taken to bring out the various points which I have wished to illustrate.

Though I have been fortunate in having the contents of the Tomb of Tut'ankhamûn continually accessible to me, I have been more so in being in almost daily contact with most of those who have made different aspects of the Heresy Period their special study.

In conclusion, the rather revolutionary ideas I express in this article are only justified by its somewhat vague title : *Material for a Revision of the Heresy Period of the XVIIIth dynasty*, and I do not expect any student or scholar will accept them *en bloc*; indeed I would not wish them to do so. I cannot help feeling that evidence will surely be forthcoming—perhaps from El-'Amarna—by means of which the essential blocks from the now chaotic pyramid of reasoning built about the history of the Heresy Period, may be put into their true place. If I have been able to suggest the position of even one of these blocks, my labour will have been amply repaid.

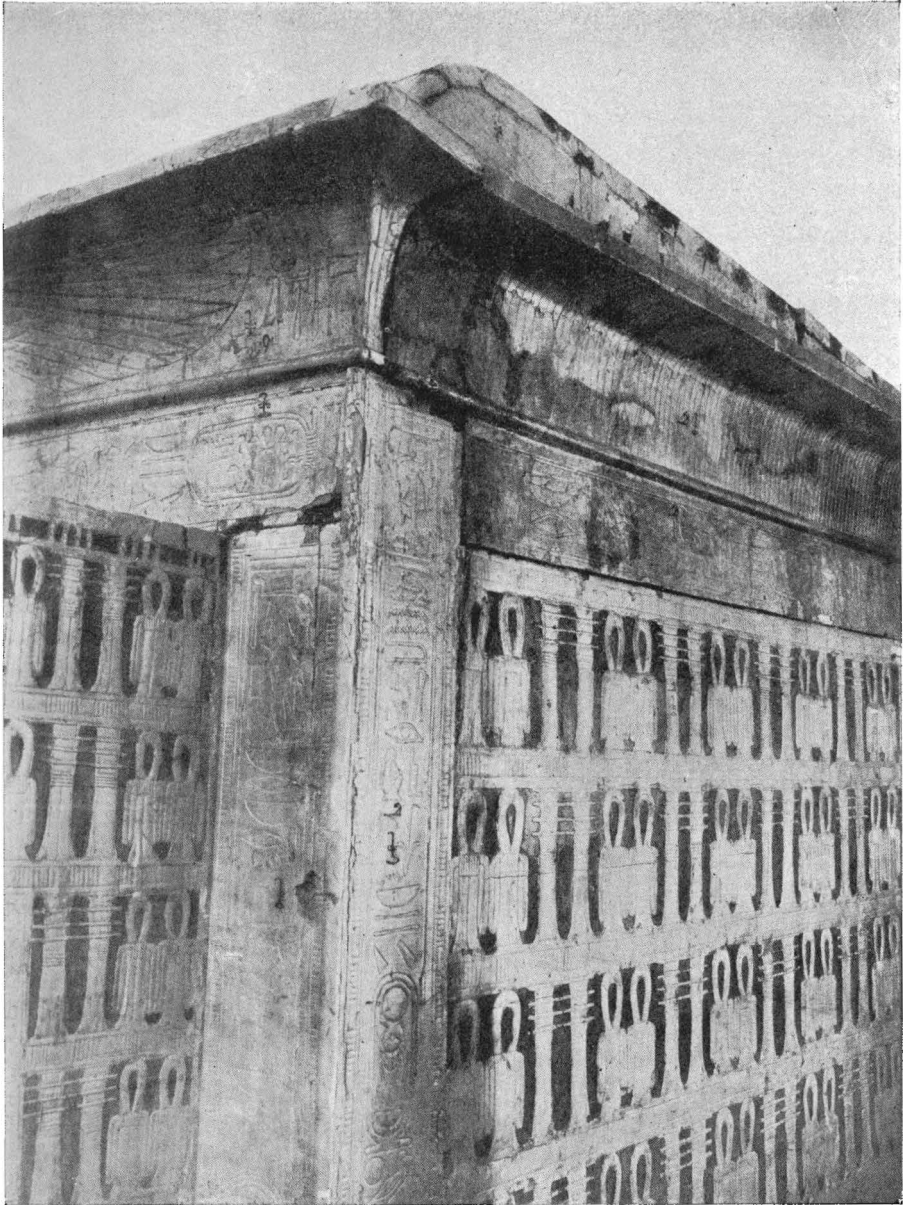
R. ENGELBACH.



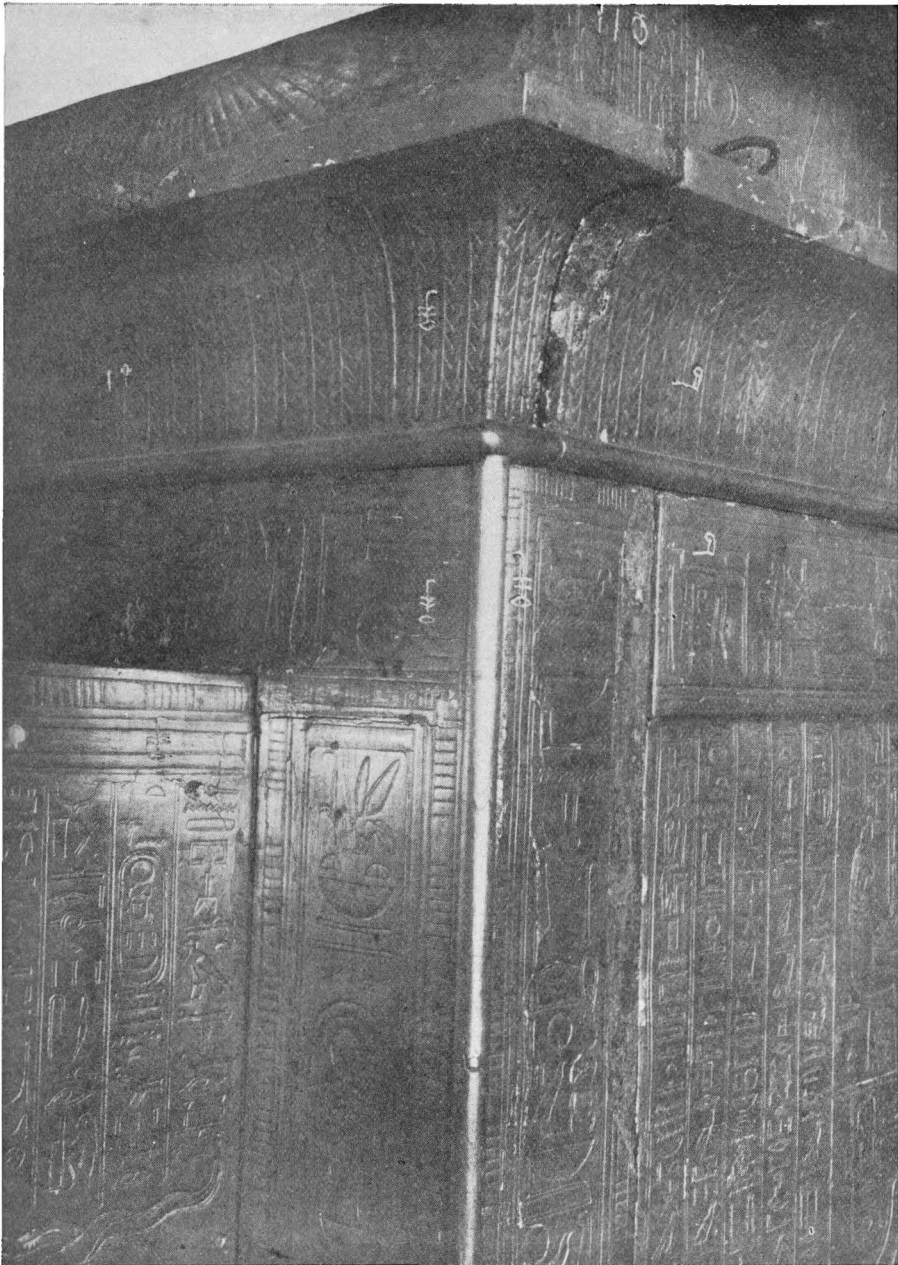
1. Part of painted quartzite colossus of Tut'ankhamûn, usurped by Haremhab, from the latter's mortuary temple at Madinet Habu (Cairo Museum).



2. Part of quartzite colossus of Tut'ankhamûn, usurped by Haremhab, from the latter's mortuary temple at Madinet Habu (Cairo Museum).



North-east corner of the outermost shrine, showing indications of orientation and position of the parts composing it. The shrines are now oriented as intended by the makers.



North-east corner of the second outermost shrine, showing indications of orientation and position of the parts composing it.



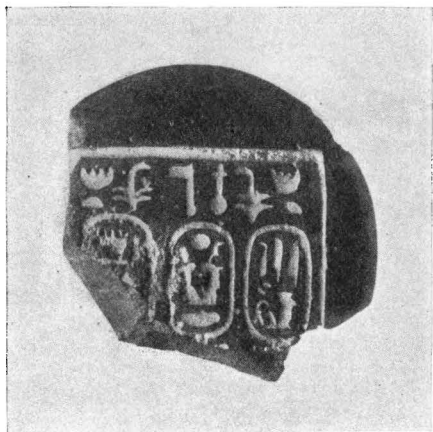
Inside view of one of the gold Canopic coffins of Smenkhkerc', usurped for Tut'ankhamûn.



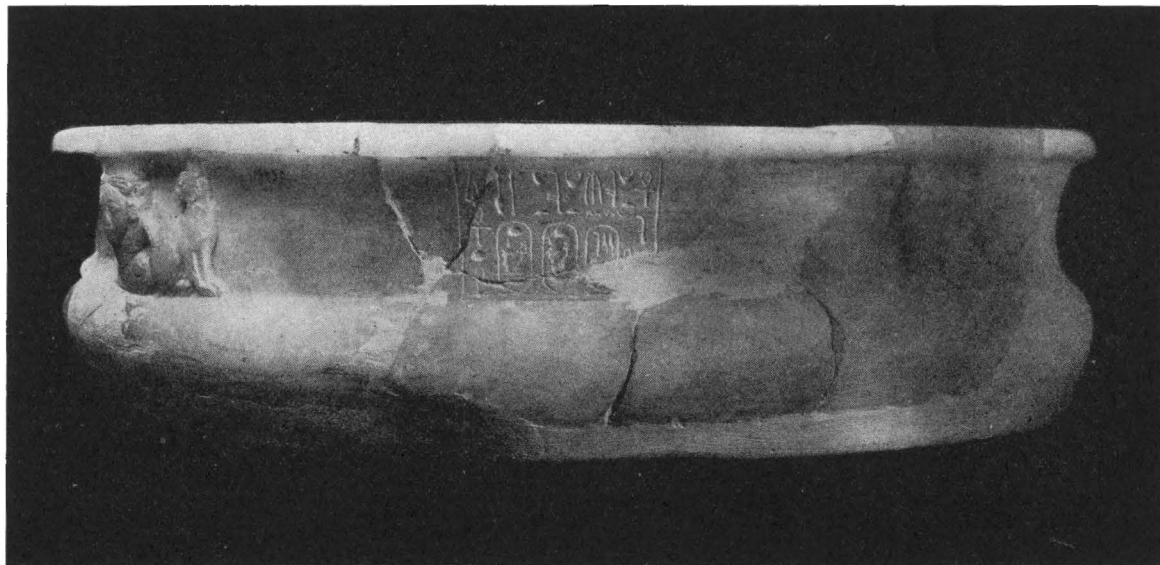
Inside view of part of the second outermost shrine, showing the cartouches changed for Tut'ankhamûn. Note that even the very small cartouche on the head of the king on the extreme right in the sun-boat also bears signs of alteration.



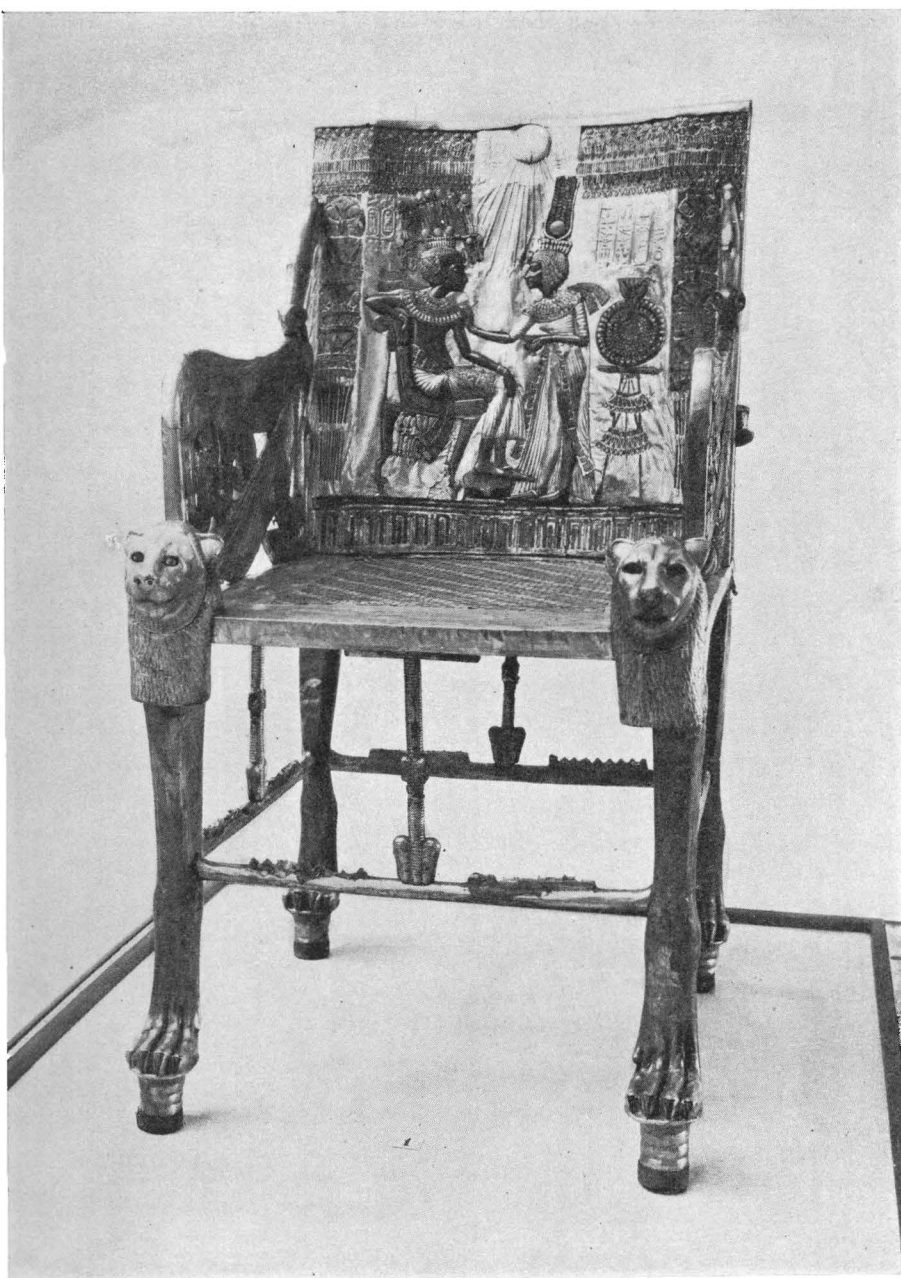
Colossi of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) from his peristyle court at Karnak.
Now in the Cairo Museum.



1. Part of a grey-blue faience knob with cartouches of Amenophis III and his wives Sit-Amun and Tyi. Provenance unknown. Gift of H. M. King Fouad I to the Cairo Museum in 1936. Scale full size.



2. Fragments of an alabaster bowl with erased cartouche of Sit-Amün.
From El-'Amarna, but probably made and altered at Thebes. Cairo Museum; Diameter 0. 40 m.



The throne of Tut'ankhamûn.