

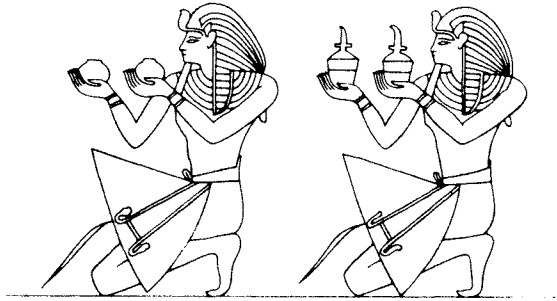
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION* • NO. 40



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# ANCIENT EGYPTIAN COREGENCIES



*BY WILLIAM J. MURNANE*

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	"Ägyptologische Abhandlungen." Wiesbaden, 1960-.
Abh. Mainz	"Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse." Wiesbaden, 1950-.
ADAIK-ÄR	"Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Ägyptologische Reihe." Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1958-.
ADAW	"Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Klasse." Berlin, 1945-.
AEO	Sir Alan H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1947.
ÄF	"Ägyptologische Forschungen." Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1936-.
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> . Chicago, 1884-1941.
AnOr	"Analecta Orientalia." Rome, 1931-.
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 3d ed., rev., Princeton, 1969.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> . Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969-.
APAW	"(Königliche) Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse." Berlin, 1804-1907.
AR	J. H. Breasted. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . 5 vols. Chicago, 1906-7.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900-.
ASAW	"Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse." Leipzig, 1850-.
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> . New Haven, 1919-.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901-.

- BiOr* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden, 1943-.
- BMMA* *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 1905-.
- BSA* "Memoirs of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Egyptian Research Account." London, 1896-1953.
- BSFE* *Bulletin de la société française d'Égyptologie*. Paris, 1949-.
- CAD* University of Chicago. I. J. Gelb et al., eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago, 1956-.
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 10 vols. Cambridge, 1923-39. 3d ed., rev., 1970-.
- CGC* "Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire." Cairo-Berlin-Vienna, 1901-.
- CdE* *Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels, 1926-.
- CDEAE* Centre de documentation et d'études de l'ancien Égypte. "Collection scientifique." Cairo, 1964-.
- CoA* J. D. S. Pendlebury et al. *The City of Akhenaten*. 3 vols. (= *MEES* Vols. 38, 40, 44) London, 1923, 1933, 1951.
- Deir el Bahari* E. Naville et al. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. 6 vols. (= *MEES* Vols. 12-14, 16, 19, 27, 29) London, 1894-1908.
- DFIFAO* "Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire." Cairo, 1934-.
- EES-ASE* "Egypt Exploration Society Archaeological Survey of Egypt." London, 1893-.
- EES-ThTS* "Egypt Exploration Society Theban Tomb Series." London, 1915-.
- El Amarna* N. de G. Davies et al. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. 7 vols. (= *EES-ASE* Vols. 13-18, 35) London, 1903-.
- FIFAO* "Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire." Cairo, 1924-.
- GM* *Göttinger Miszellen*. Göttingen, 1972-.
- HO* "Handbuch der Orientalistik." I. Abteilung (Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten). Leiden, 1952-.
- IFAO-BdE* "Bibliothèque d'étude de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire." Cairo, 1908-.



## ABBREVIATIONS

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JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.</i> New York, 1968-.
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i> Baltimore, 1949-.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</i> Boston, 1962-.
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> London, 1914-.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i> Chicago, 1942-.
KRI	K. A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.</i> Oxford, 1969-.
LÄS	"Leipziger ägyptologische Studien." Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1935-39.
LD	K. R. Lepsius. "Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Expedition 1842-1845)." Berlin, 1849-59.
LdR	H. Gauthier. <i>Le Livre des rois d'Egypte.</i> 5 vols. (= <i>MIFAO</i> Vols. XVII-XXI) Cairo, 1907-17.
MÄS	"Münchener ägyptologische Studien." Berlin, 1962-.
MBPAR	"Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte." Munich, 1915-.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.</i> Berlin and Wiesbaden, 1930-.
MEES	"Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs." London, 1888-.
Mem. Miss.	"Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire." Paris and Cairo, 1883-1934.
MH	Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey. <i>Medinet Habu.</i> 8 vols. (= <i>OIP</i> Vols. VIII, IX, XXIII, LI, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, XCIII, XCIV) Chicago, 1930-70.
MIFAO	"Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire." Cairo, 1902-.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.</i> Berlin, 1953-.
NAWG	"Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Phil.-hist. Klasse." Göttingen, 1895-.

- OIP* University of Chicago. "Oriental Institute Publications." Chicago, 1924-.
- Or* *Orientalia*, Nova Series. Rome, 1932-.
- PA* "Probleme der Aegyptologie." Leiden, 1953-.
- PIFAO*, "Esna" "Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale: Esna I-V." Cairo, 1959-69.
- PM* B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, and E. Burney, eds. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. 7 vols. Oxford, 1927-51. 2d ed., rev., 1960-.
- PMMA* "Metropolitan Museum of Art. Publications of the Egyptian Expedition." New York, 1916-.
- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. London, 1879-1918.
- RdE* *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris and Cairo, 1933-.
- RIFAO* "Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale." Cairo, 1930-.
- RIK* Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Vols. I, II. (= *OIP* Vols. XXV, XXXV) Chicago, 1936.
- RT* *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris, 1870-1923.
- SAE-TIN* Service des Antiquités d'Égypte. "Les Temples imergés de la Nubie." Cairo, 1911-.
- SAK* *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg, 1974-.
- SAOC* Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization." Chicago, 1931-.
- SBPAW* "Sitzungsberichte der (Königliche) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse." Berlin, 1882-1921.
- Sinai* A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*. 2 vols. (= *MEES* Vol. LXV, in 2 parts) 2d ed., rev. London, 1952-55.
- TTS* "Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series." Oxford, 1963-.
- UGAÄ* "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens." Leipzig and Berlin, 1896-.

<i>Urk</i>	G. Steindorff, ed. "Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums." Leipzig and Berlin, 1903-.
<i>VAB</i>	"Vorderasiatische Bibliothek." Leipzig, 1907-.
<i>VAS</i>	"Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin." Leipzig, 1907-.
<i>VIO</i>	"Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung." Berlin, 1950-.
<i>Wb</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. plus 5 vols. Belegstellen; Leipzig and Berlin, 1926-63.
<i>WVDOG</i>	"Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir, 1902-1908." Leipzig, 1900-37.
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> . Berlin, 1886-.
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig and Berlin, 1863-.
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> . Leipzig and Wiesbaden, 1847-.
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> . Leipzig and Wiesbaden, 1873-.



## PREFACE

Any working Egyptologist will agree that discussions of alleged coregencies bulk large in the literature concerned with the history of ancient Egypt. Over the years scholars have accumulated a large body of material that suggests that a number of the pharaohs ruled jointly with their predecessors for at least a part of their reigns. Sometimes we are lucky enough to have direct proof, but often the interpretation of the evidence is in dispute. The books and articles generated by these controversies, moreover, confine themselves in the main to individual cases, and there have been few attempts to study coregencies in a wider context. A collection of the sources and a critical analysis is badly needed, and this study aims to supply both.

An earlier version of this book was presented as a dissertation to the Department of History at the University of Chicago in 1973. Although in the present version a number of details have been changed, the purpose is very much the same. The first chapters will assemble the materials bearing, first, on the coregencies that are firmly attested, and then on the hypothetical cases. This preliminary survey will in its course clear the decks of the more dubious bits of "evidence," leaving a residue for which plausibility can be neither denied nor finally maintained. These residual materials will be subjected to a comparative analysis that will seek to define the limits of meaning inherent in each genre, and on the basis of this investigation it may be possible to assess more closely their value as evidence. A discussion of the uses of coregencies in Egyptian history, together with an appendix on the meaning of two frequently encountered Egyptian terms, will bring this work to a close.

The dissertation that forms the basis of this book was written in 1972-73 and revised for publication in 1974-75. Since then, unavoidable delays in the editing of the manuscript have allowed me to update it from time to time, although the range of my subsequent reading has actually been somewhat wider than the additions to the final version reflect.

It is a pleasure to remember at this point all those who have contributed to the writing of this book. First place must go to Klaus Baer and Edward F. Wente, my two chief mentors in Egyptology, who have guided every stage of my training, super-

vised the dissertation, and recommended that it be published: for all these things, as for innumerable professional and personal kindnesses, I am deeply grateful. Thanks is also due to my third reader, Charles Hamilton, whose comments have contributed to tightening the argument at many places, and who has checked my inclination to make myself more obscure than necessary. I appreciate the abiding interest of John A. Brinkman, currently Director of the Oriental Institute, and also his willingness to include this study among the Oriental Institute publications. Richard A. Parker, who read the approved manuscript, will find many of his observations gratefully incorporated into the finished text. Individually, I would like to thank Lanny Bell, Robert Biggs, Bernard Bothmer, Ricardo A. Caminos, Stanley Gevirtz, Labib Habachi, George R. Hughes, F. Filce Leek, Jean Leclant, Geoffrey T. Martin, William L. Moran, Charles F. Nims, Donald B. Redford, Herman Te Velde, Steffen Wenig, and John A. Wilson. I often found reason to discuss problems relating to this study with these scholars, and their comments have always encouraged a productive line of research. I am particularly grateful to John D. Schmidt and to Cynthia Sheikholeslami for allowing me to read articles not yet published. Special thanks go to John Romer and Frank Howard for their painstaking work on the illustrations. Last, but hardly least, Olga Titelbaum of the editorial office has lavished much time and care on the publication of this book, and her efforts are warmly appreciated.

A still wider debt stems from my association with the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey since 1972. The chance to work in Egypt and the freedom with which I delved into files both in Luxor and Chicago have contributed immeasurably to the outcome of this project. I can only thank the Field Directors during my tenure, E. F. Wente and Kent R. Weeks, for their support, and also my colleagues past and present—James P. Allen, Mark Ciccarello, Charles C. Van Siclen III, and Franklin J. Yurco—for their company and advice.

None of this would have been possible, however, without the aid and encouragement of my parents. This book is for them.

Chicago  
May 14, 1976

## THE COREGENCIES OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

The Twelfth Dynasty begins with the first clearly attested instances of joint rule in Egyptian history. A fortunate abundance of chronological material fixes their position beyond any doubt and the subsidiary evidence is also plentiful, so it is fitting that they be considered first in a discussion of what was typical of the institution of coregency and of the traces it left in the Egyptian monuments.

The most reliable evidence for a coregency is a double date, that is, a document jointly dated to regnal  $x$  of one king and regnal year  $y$  of another. In ancient Egypt the basis for these dates was what we call the "civil calendar": a year of 365 days, consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, grouped by fours under three seasons (Akhet, "Inundation"; Proyet, "Seed"; and Shomu, "Harvest"), and supplemented by five epagomenal, or extra-yearly, days to make up the required total. A king's regnal years were reckoned in terms of the civil calendar, but began with the king's accession day (e.g., II Shomu 26) rather than with the calendric New Year on I Akhet 1. The resulting discrepancy between civil and regnal years was resolved during the Middle Kingdom by an arbitrary synchronization of the two systems. Whenever the king died (or took a coregent) the new king's first regnal year consisted only of the interval between his accession and the next New Year's Day. Thereafter, both the civil and the regnal years began on I Akhet 1, and the smooth interrelation of civil and regnal years (as well as of the two coregents' regnal years) was maintained.<sup>1</sup> The regularity of this system may have been exploited during the Twelfth Dynasty by having coregencies proclaimed on New Year's Day,<sup>2</sup> but there is no solid evidence for this custom. Hatshepsut, while speaking of her fictitious coronation by her father, does say that "he knew the virtue of an accession on New Year's Day,"<sup>3</sup> but all that can fairly be drawn

1. A. H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31 (1945) 11-28.

2. C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt - A New Study* (London, 1968) pp. 100-101.

3. *Urk* IV 261; cf. p. 262, 7-8; cf. however D. B. Redford, "On the

from this passage is the elegant conceit of beginning the regnal and civil years simultaneously. In any case, the correlation of the civil year with the dating systems of both partners seems to have been maintained.

Since few of the original monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty remain standing, such sources are of limited usefulness in supplying evidence for coregencies. Fortunately this sort of material can be regarded in most cases as subsidiary, for the presence of double dates for the earliest coregencies supplies unequivocal assurance. Only when double dates fail, as they do late in the Twelfth Dynasty, must the monuments bear the principal burden of proof, and the analysis of this material can serve as an introduction to the problems we will be facing with the hypothetical coregencies discussed further on in this book.

#### AMENEMMES I AND SESOSTRIS I

The stela of Antef (CCG, No. 20516)<sup>4</sup> is dated to the thirtieth year of Amenemmes I and the tenth year of Sesostris I, establishing a coregency that lasted a decade. The stela of Nesmont<sup>5</sup> also bears the titularies of both kings, but here the names of Amenemmes I precede those of his son, and only the dateline of the elder king ("regnal year [twenty]-four") is given. A brown sandstone stela noted briefly by Engelbach may have borne a similar inscription, but little more than the kings' names can be made out on this badly weathered monument.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these jointly inscribed pieces, numerous other monuments stemming from this coregency period are ascribed to one of the partners alone. For Amenemmes I there are only two such single-dated monuments:

Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *JNES* 25 (1966) 119-20; idem, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 (1965) 107-22; idem, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967) pp. 3-27.

4. H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo II* (Berlin, 1908) 108-11: Amenemmes I died on III Akhet 7 of this year (Sinuhe R 5-8, in A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* ["*Bibliotheca aegyptiaca*" II (Brussels, 1932)] p. 3).

5. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig, 1924) pp. 81-82.

6. R. Engelbach, "The Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert: A Preliminary Report," *ASAE* 33 (1933) 70 and n. 3; omitted by W. K. Simpson, "The Single-dated Monuments of Sesostris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956) 214-19.



- a) A graffito at Aswan dated to "regnal year 22 under the Majesty of Sehetepre (sic)."<sup>7</sup>
- b) Another graffito, from Korosko, apparently dating to a military campaign during "regnal year 29 of King Sehetepibre, living forever, (when) we came to overthrow Wawat . . . ."8

The single-dated monuments of Sesostri I are more numerous, especially toward the end of the coregency.

- c) An Aswan graffito, dated to the first regnal year, contains both the date and the royal names within one large cartouche.<sup>9</sup>
- d) A text from the Wadi Hammamat dated to Sesostri's second regnal year.<sup>10</sup>
- e) The Berlin Leather Roll, containing a copy of a royal rescript dated to Sesostri's third regnal year.<sup>11</sup>
- f) The stela of Khnumakht (CCG, No. 20518), dated as follows: "regnal year seven under the Majesty of King Kheperkarē, living forever; I was born in regnal year one of the Son of Rē Amenemmes, the Good God Sehetepibre, m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw forever."<sup>12</sup>

7. J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I: De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894) 34, n. 81. The date is read as "year 23" in *PM* V 248, with no justification for the different figure.

8. H. Brugsch, "Die Negerstämme der Unā-Inschrift," *ZÄS* 20 (1882) 30; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941) p. 16.

9. W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt (1887)* (London, 1888) Pl. X, No. 271.

10. G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957) pp. 89-90 (No. 67).

11. The standard edition is A. de Buck, "The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll," in *Studia aegyptiaca I (An Or XVII [1938])* 48-57. A recent study by H. Goedicke, "The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029)," in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* ("Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilung aus der ägyptischen Sammlung" VIII [Berlin, 1974]) pp. 87-104, contains some notable advances, but I am unable to agree with his quite arbitrary predating of this and other documents ascribed to the early years of Sesostri I.

12. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine II* 113-14; but this passage could also be translated "the one who was born," etc. (see R. Anthes,

- g) Three stelae, all dating to Sesostris I's ninth regnal year (Louvre C-2 and C-3, and Leyden V.2).<sup>13</sup>
- h) Two stelae from the tenth year of Sesostris I (CCG, Nos. 20026 and 20515).<sup>14</sup>

Even though the Twelfth Dynasty is poorly represented among surviving pharaonic buildings, some fragments may stem from the coregency of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I.

- i) The funerary chapel of Amenemmes I, surviving in poor condition, was excavated by the French at Lisht.<sup>15</sup> Several blocks show in the same scene either the names or the figures of the two kings apparently facing one another. Fig. 111, for example, shows the top of a double scene wherein Sesostris I ("given life") offers to his father ("given life like Rē"); behind the elder king stands Edjō (left) and very probably Nekhbet (right). Fig. 113 shows the two kings' Horus names facing one another, that of Sesostris being qualified with the epithet *nswt ds.f*, literally "the king himself," which also occurs elsewhere in the building where the junior partner is depicted or referred to (e.g., Figs. 110, 112). The apparent restriction of this epithet to Sesostris I may give the impression that the junior partner here represented the more active, executive member of the coregency,<sup>16</sup> but it seems more likely that it means that Sesostris was personally involved in the dedication of the temple. His very prominence, in fact, may signify that he supervised the dec-

"The Legal Aspect of the Instruction of Amenemhet," *JNES* 16 [1957] 183, n. 31).

13. A. J. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles de la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie* (Paris, 1889) Pls. II-III; P. Vernus, "La Stèle C 3 du Louvre," *RdE* 25 (1973) 217-34; P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II* (Leiden, 1909) 4, pl. VI.

14. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine I* (1902) 33-34, and II 105-8.

15. J. E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoires sur les fouilles de Licht* (*MIFAO* VI [1902]) pp. 94-97.

16. This view is expressed by Simpson in *JNES* 15 (1957) 218-19, but it seems improbable. Note that in the 12th Dynasty temple at Medinet Madi, *nswt-ds.f* is used by both Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV, apparently during their coregency (S. Donadoni, "Testi geroglifici di Medinet Madi," *Or* 16 [1947] 338-40 at E, and 348-50 at O).

oration of his father's chapel after the latter's unexpected demise. Apparent references to the living Amenemmes I throughout the building need not mean much, since the epithet "given life" and its variants are attached indifferently to living or dead kings throughout Egyptian history (see Appendix).

- j) Fragments of a temple of Amenemmes I and Sesostris I at Qift have been recovered from beneath the Ptolemaic temple. Although the earlier temple is quite ruined, the surviving pieces show the two kings in alternating scenes rather than together in any one tableau.<sup>17</sup> Although temples built by known coregents (see Chap. 2) do sometimes show this arrangement, we cannot be sure that the temple at Qift belonged to this genre.
- k) From Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim in the Sinai comes a battered group statue of four kings seated side by side before a table. Inscriptions identify them as Sesostris I, Amenemmes I, Mentuhotep II (Nebhepetrē), and Mentuhotep III (Sankhkarē).<sup>18</sup> Both pairs of kings were "father and son," but for the present only a far-fetched analogy with the Twelfth Dynasty pair would suggest that the two Mentuhoteps ever shared the throne. Since the texts are not dated, it is not clear whether this piece reflects the coregency or whether it was dedicated by Sesostris I simply to commemorate particularly distinguished predecessors.

#### SESOSTRIS I AND AMENEMMES II

The stela of Wepwawetō (Leyden V.4)<sup>19</sup> supplies a double date, regnal year 44 of Sesostris I being equal to the second year of his son, Amenemmes II. Since Sesostris I reigned slightly longer than 45 regnal years<sup>20</sup> we may assume that the coregency extended

17. *PM* V 125.

18. *Ibid.*, VII 357; *Sinai* I, Pl. XXII. *PM*, repeating the mistaken conjecture of Petrie (*Researches in Sinai* [New York, 1906] pp. 96, 123), identifies the last king as Snofru.

19. Boeser, *Beschreibung* II, Pl. IV.

20. The Turin Canon of Kings, when complete, evidently gave an exact number of years, months, and days for each member of the 12th Dynasty. Full details survive only for Amenemmes IV and Sobeknofru, at the top of col. vi (A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* [Oxford, 1959] Pl. III); only a portion survives of the totals for the earlier kings, but a clear "forty-five years" for Sesostris I is followed by the tips of two signs that formed

into Amenemmes II's fourth regnal year. As with the previous coregency, there are several single-dated monuments, although only one belongs to the senior partner:

- l) Regnal year 43 of Sesostri I is mentioned in the tomb of Amenemhēt at Beni Hasan.<sup>21</sup>

Once again, however, the single-dated monuments of the junior partner are relatively numerous:

- m) The stela of Amenemhēt (CCG, No. 20541), dated to regnal year two of Amenemmes II,<sup>22</sup> contains an account of the owner's career that will be discussed in Chapter 5.
- n) The stela of Simont, dated to Amenemmes II's third regnal year,<sup>23</sup> recounts the owner's birth and youth under Amenemmes I (*m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*) and his career under Sesostri I (described as "living forever"). Although the stela is dated to the reign of Amenemmes II, this king is not even mentioned in the narrative portion of the text.
- o) The stela of Kay, also dated to Amenemmes II's third year.<sup>24</sup>
- p) Rock text No. 5 at Gnaui-Sheyma, dated to "regnal year three under the Majesty of the Horus Hekenma'at, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkaurē [i.e., Amenemmes II]." There follow the personal names of the dedicants, "Bebi's son . . ." and "Ameny, live, prosper, be healthy, *m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*."<sup>25</sup>
- q) A text from Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim dated to regnal year four of Amenemmes II.<sup>26</sup>

part of the word for "month" (Pl. II, col. v). Sesostri I thus ruled a full forty-five regnal years plus a fraction, and died in his forty-sixth regnal year.

21. *LdR* I 271 (XXIII B).

22. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II 161-62.

23. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c.*, in *the British Museum* II (London, 1912) Pl. 21 (No. 145 [828]).

24. H. W. Müller, "Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches," *MDAIK* 4 (1933) Pl. 33 (1); text, K. Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Egypte*, 3<sup>e</sup> série (Leipzig, 1895) Pls. VIII-IX g.

25. G. Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* I (*SAE-TIN* [1911]) 114; II, Pl. 108 d.

26. *Sinai* I, Pl. XXI A; II 88 (No. 73).

## AMENEMMES II AND SESOSTRIS II

A double date for the coregency of Amenemmes II with Sesostris II is found on the stela of Hapu from Aswan,<sup>27</sup> "made in regnal year three under the Majesty of the Horus Seshemutowy, King Kha'kheperrē [i.e., Sesostris II], corresponding to regnal year 35 under the Majesty of the Horus Hekenma'at, King Nubkaurē [i.e., Amenemmes II]."<sup>28</sup> Here, notably, the junior partner precedes the elder, who is relegated to an apparently secondary position. This is the highest date known for Amenemmes II, as the Turin Canon is too damaged here to be much help. For Sesostris II there are three single-dated monuments:

- r) Stela Alnwick Castle No. 2, giving the date "regnal year one, refurbishing (*smnh*) his monuments in God's Land."<sup>29</sup> The remainder of the text gives the titles of the official in charge of the work.
- s) The stela of Senusret, dated either to the second (*apud* Piehl) or third (*apud* Gayet) regnal year of Sesostris II.<sup>30</sup> In any case, the monument falls within the coregency period.
- t) A text from the Wâdi Hammâmât, dated to Sesostris II's second regnal year.<sup>31</sup>

At this point we may pause to survey the ground already covered. It is clear that, at least early in the Twelfth Dynasty, the throne was regularly passed on through coregencies, and a few characteristic points emerge.

1. The coregencies of the period are all known to us from double-dated documents. All surviving examples of this genre,

27. De Morgan et al., *Catalogue I* 25 (No. 178). This copy shows "year 36" for Amenemmes II, but AR I 278, n. b indicates that the squeeze showed "year 35," and he cites the concurrence of Sethe, who examined the squeeze with him.

28. The royal names are inscribed vertically along the sides of the text, Sesostris II on the left, Amenemmes III on the right.

29. A. Erman, "Stelen aus Wâdi Gasûs bei Qoşêr," *ZÄS* 20 (1882) 204-5.

30. K. Piehl, "Petites notes de critique et de philologie," *RT* 4 (1883) 119; cf. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: stèles*, Pl. XXVIII, and Simpson, *JNES* 15 (1956) 214-16.

31. J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiéroglyphiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât (MIFAO XXXIV [1912])* pp. 72-73, Pl. XXVI (No. 104).

however, are private monuments, and no official documents are yet known to bear the datelines of both sovereigns. The probability that such documents once did exist does not diminish the significance of the surviving single-dated rescripts, for these show that the existence of a coregency did not compel the use of double- at the expense of single-dated documents.

2. Single-dated monuments from the coregency period are rather more numerous. For instance, Amenemmes I is named on a monument inscribed during an expedition quite late in his reign (*b*, above), even though it is his son who seems to have been directing military operations during this period.<sup>32</sup> The depiction of the senior partner as living or dead at the time that a given monument was executed seems to be haphazard (cf. *f*, *n*, and *p*, as against *a* or *o*, above).

3. Although the remains of most Middle Kingdom structures are too fragmentary to serve as proof, it seems likely that temples erected during a coregency reflected the coregency. A true representative of this genre may be the Qift temple (*j*).<sup>33</sup> The funerary chapel of Amenemmes I (*i*) may not belong to this genre, for here the association of the two kings may reflect no more than Sesostri I's desire to memorialize his father after the latter's death.

None of the remaining kings of the Twelfth Dynasty are clearly associated on double-dated monuments. Many scholars, however, believe that Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV were coregents, while others maintain that the latter predeceased his father, who then ended his reign as coregent with his daughter Sobeknofru, last ruler of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>34</sup> Since the case for these and for other coregencies of the later Twelfth Dynasty rests on the interpretation of associated figures and texts, these materials can hardly be treated any differently from those that bolster later, hypothetical coregencies. The cases from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty will therefore also be considered as doubtful, despite current scholarly agreement on at least one of them.

32. Sinuhe R 11-14, B 48-51 in Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 4-5, 17-18.

33. Cf. the arrangement of scenes in the Amada temple of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II (see Chap. 2, at references to nn. 96-101).

34. P. E. Newberry, "Co-regencies of Amenemmes III, IV and Sobeknofru," *JEA* 29 (1943) 74-75; M. Valloggia, "Amenemhat IV et sa corégence avec Amen-

## SESOSTRIS II AND SESOSTRIS III

The only evidence for the coregency of Sesostris II with Sesostris III is a scarab on which the two kings' names are associated.<sup>35</sup> Simpson has called attention to a dedicatory inscription from the reign of Sobekhotep III in which the latter renewed benefactions previously enacted by Sesostris II and Sesostris III, but he quite rightly dismisses this inscription as evidence of a coregency inasmuch as the original grants could have been successive rather than simultaneous.<sup>36</sup> An account papyrus from Kahun with entries beginning in Sesostris II's nineteenth year and extending into the first year of Sesostris III also falls short of proving a coregency,<sup>37</sup> although it does attest that if the two kings ever shared the throne, it was for only a few months.

## SESOSTRIS III AND AMENEMMES III

Scholarly opinion is divided on the coregency of Sesostris III and Amenemmes III, and the evidence is difficult to interpret.

- u) A block from among the ruins of the Twelfth Dynasty temple at Tell el-Qirqafa bears a text that apparently refers to the renewal of Amenemmes I's original monument by his successors: "(1) . . . Lord of the Two Lands, Kha'kaurē; Golden Horus Kheper; the Good God, Master of the Ritual, [bodily] son of Rē, Sesostris (III), given life forever. (2) . . . Amenemmes, in renewing what was done by [Sesotr]is, given life [forever]."<sup>38</sup> But the objection that

emhat III," *RdE* 21 (1969) 107-33.

35. P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings* (London, 1906) Pl. VI.8.

36. *JNES* 15 (1956) 214.

37. This document, referred to misleadingly as a double date by R. Weill (*XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, royauté de Haute Egypte et domination Hyksos dans le Nord* [IFAO-BdE XXVI (1953)] p. 166), lists deliveries made from IV Proyet 1 in year 19 to II Proyet 30 in a year 1, with the year change on I Akhet 1 (L. Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung des Mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte," *ZÄS* 37 [1899] 91-92); but inasmuch as the Turin Canon lists 19 full years for Sesostris II (Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pl. II, col. v 23), he must have reigned into his twentieth year. Possibly Sesostris III's accession year absorbed his father's incomplete twentieth year in the reckoning of the Illāhūn papyrus (cf. W. F. Edgerton, "Chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 1 [1942] 312-14).

38. *PM* IV 9; E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft El Henneh and the Land of*

was raised with respect to the same sort of material above, under the coregency of Sesostri III with his father, applies here as well. If the "Amenemmes" of the text is indeed Amenemmes III, we are only informed that he renewed his father's benefaction, and there is nothing to indicate that the two kings acted simultaneously.

- v) The names of both kings appear unexplainably on an altar from Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim.<sup>39</sup> At the back of the recess in front of the piece, a text proclaims "life to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nyma'atrē—he made it as his [monument for . . . .]" Below this, a scene on the front panel shows an unidentified king presenting an offering table to Hathor, while underneath is written "[regnal year] six under the Majesty of this [god] and under . . . .,"<sup>40</sup> probably Amenemmes III.<sup>41</sup> On the right-hand panel, Hathor presents life, dominion, and stability to "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha'kaurē [i.e., Sesostri III], given life," behind whom is a figure of the intendant Harwerrē (he also appears on the left and rear panels of this piece). The name of Sesostri III is also preserved in the border above the scene on the right panel. Given the restricted career of Harwerrē in the Sinai, a piecemeal decoration of the altar (begun under Sesostri III, finished in year six of Amenemmes by Harwerrē) can be discounted. The status of Sesostri III, be he coregent or revered predecessor, remains a mystery. There is no decisive evidence either way.
- w) Two scarabs juxtapose the two kings' praenomina,<sup>42</sup> and another two associate the throne name of Amenemmes III with the name of a "Son of Rē Sesostri."<sup>43</sup> The identity

*Goshen (1885) (MEES V [2d ed., 1888]) p. 22, Pl. 9 (A-3).*

39. *Sinai I*, Pl. XXV (No. 89); II 96-97.

40. The sense of the double ḥr is probably "under the Majesty of this [god], namely," referring to the king's figure (probably Amenemmes III) on the front panel below. The date is surely year six, as the grouping (  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{III} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ } \end{matrix} )$  suggests that a tick has fallen out.

41. Cf. *Sinai II* 95-99 (Nos. 88-90).

42. G. C. Pier, "Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago," *AJSL* 23 (1906) 85, Pl. II (No. 116); Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. VI, 11.

43. Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. VI, 10; W. M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections* (London, 1889) No. 270.



of this Sesostris and how this grouping of names bears on a coregency are both unclear.



- x) A stela from the Cairo Museum (CCG, No. 20691) is inscribed above the text with the names of both kings: "the Good God, Master of the Ritual, Kha'kaurē, beloved of Wepwawet, Lord of the Necropolis" on the right, and "the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Nyma'atrē, beloved of Osiris" on the left.<sup>44</sup>
- y) The stela of Nebipusenusret displays, in the top register, two figures of the deceased facing into the center, where is inscribed the name of "the Good God, Kha'kaurē, the triumphant (*m3'-hrw*)," accompanied by such epithets as "beloved of Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land" and "beloved of Osiris-Wennefer, Lord of Abydos." The text below, however, speaks of the owner's career under Amenemmes III alone, and Sesostris III is not mentioned again.<sup>45</sup>
- z) One of the rock texts from Kumma (RIK 129) gives what has been considered a regnal date of Amenemmes III and Sesostris III: "regnal year 23, II Proyet . . . under the Majesty of the Good God, Nyma'atrē, given life, (and) under the Majesty of the Good God, Kha'kheperrē."<sup>46</sup> Simpson has proposed that the year be read as "15" and that the king's name be taken as "Kha'kaurē," or Sesostris III.<sup>47</sup> The first suggestion seems improbable: the grouping of the signs (  $\begin{smallmatrix} \overline{\text{N}} \\ \text{||} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$  is in line with contemporary examples from Sinai, Wadi Hammamat, and Nubia, where the arrangement UNITS/TENS, or TENS , or           TENS seems to be  
UNITS                      UNITS - TENS  
the rule, while the reading "15" (written  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{||} & \overline{\text{N}} \\ \text{||} & \text{||} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$  would be uncharacteristic. I would agree, however, that it is probably Sesostris III rather than his father who is mentioned in this text: comparison of the plate in the publication with the original photograph (OI 3337) suggests that only the tops of the signs are preserved, so that

44. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II 318-19.

45. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* II, Pls. 1-2 (No. 175 [101]).

46. D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Ports I: Semna Kumma* (Boston, 1960) 169, Pl. 103 F.

47. W. K. Simpson, "A Tomb Chapel Relief of the Reign of Amenemhet III and Some Observations on the Length of the Reign of Sesostris III," *CdE* 47 (1972) 53.

one could read the third group as , or perhaps the whole cartouche as .48

A coregency at once suggests itself. The Kumma text would thus be a single dating under both kings, such as is found on the Nesmont stela from Amenemmes I's twenty-fourth year. The case is made even more attractive by an observation by Goyon, who has pointed out that the officials serving at the Wadi Hammamat in year 14 of Sesostris III were still in office, with the same titles, during the second and third years of his son.<sup>49</sup> An interval of about two decades seems to be required by the standard chronology, for the Turin Canon assigns a minimum of thirty years to Sesostris III,<sup>50</sup> but officials on comparable expeditions to Sinai seem not to have remained in the same job for such long periods.<sup>51</sup> It is tempting to suppose that Amenemmes became his father's partner during the latter's second decade on the throne, and that the preeminence of the junior partner may help to explain why no date higher than Sesostris III's nineteenth year is attested in the monuments.<sup>52</sup>

There are, however, serious objections to supposing that Sesostris III was alive during his son's twenty-third regnal year. Parker has demonstrated, successfully in my opinion, that Sesostris III's seventh year fell in 1872 B.C. and that Amenemmes IV's ninth year was 1790 B.C.<sup>53</sup> The uncertain length of Sesostris III's reign permits minor adjustments in this interval, but to cut out two decades is plainly out of the question. How, then, account for the apparent double date? A survey of the rock inscriptions at Semna and Kumma suggests an answer. First, the bulk of these texts were inscribed under Amenemmes III; only one of them (tentatively ascribed to Sesostris I) is earlier,<sup>54</sup> and a few are later;<sup>55</sup> *not one*, however (with

48. Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, p. 156 and Pl. 100 F (RIK 85) shows a similar instance, where the *k3* is smudged.

49. Goyon, *Hammamat*, p. 22.

50. Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pl. II col. v 24.

51. W. J. Murnane, "A Note on the Personnel of the Sinai Expeditions in the Reign of Amenemmes III," *GM* 15 (1975) 27-33.

52. Edgerton, *JNES* 1 (1942) 310-13.

53. R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (SAOC, No. 26 [1950]) pp. 63-69.

54. Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, p. 132 (RIS 9).

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 (RIS 16, under Amenemmes IV), 141 (RIK 11, under

the exception of RIK 129), seems to be dated to the reign of Sesostriis III. Second, when the name of Sesostriis III does appear in these texts (and it does frequently), it occurs in the context of a *htp-di-nswt* formula, an invocation designed to secure the reversion of funerary offerings from various gods.<sup>56</sup> An appeal to the deified Sesostriis III during the late Middle Kingdom is especially apposite at this site, for here the king enjoyed a special divine status, similar to that of Snofru at Sinai. As the "resident djinn" of the Sinai mining area, Snofru appears sometimes to be coeval with the living king. One stela is dated to "regnal year 26 under the Majesty of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Master of the Ritual, Nyma-atrē—living forever, beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Turquoise—and of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Snofru, the triumphant."<sup>57</sup> On another stela, from regnal year nine (of Amenemmes IV), Snofru appears on the right half offering to Sopdu, while on the left an unidentified king (Snofru or Amenemmes IV) officiates before Khentekhtai.<sup>58</sup> RIK 129, then, is probably similar, preserving what has the appearance of a double date of the living Amenemmes III associated with his deceased father and divine "coregent," Sesostriis III, Lord of Kumma.

#### AMENEMMES III AND AMENEMMES IV

It has been suggested that Amenemmes III took both his children as coregents. If this were so, Amenemmes IV would have predeceased his father, who in turn would have been outlived by his daughter. Since the evidence for each of these coregencies is different, we shall deal with them separately. For Amenemmes III's coregency with his son, the evidence proposed is as follows:

aa) Kahûn Papyrus VI, 21 recto, dates to the forty-fifth

Sobeknofru), 131 (RIS 2-3, under Sekhemrē Khutowy); note too the cryptic "regnal year 1, corresponding to regnal year . . . 44" (p. 132 [RIS 7]).

56. Ibid., pp. 136 (RIS 21), 146 (RIK 33), 147 (RIK 52-53), 150 (RIK 63), 156 (RIK 85), 160 (RIK 104), 166 (RIK 120), 167 (RIK 123); a few other texts simply give his name, followed by *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*: pp. 135 (RIS 18), 159 (RIK 100).

57. *Sinai I*, Pl. XXXVI (No. 104); the *mry* is positioned directly after Hathor's name and title, before those of Snofru.

58. Ibid., Pl. XLV (No. 122).

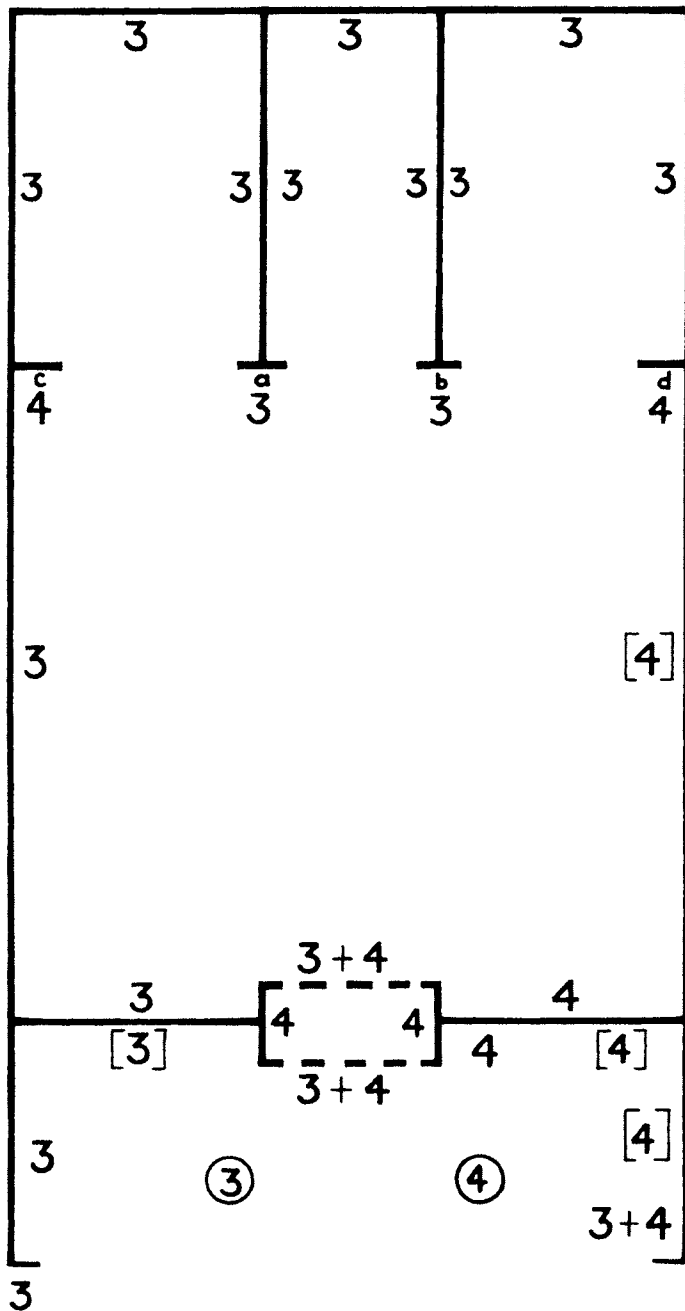


Fig. 1.—Temple of Medinet Madi

year of a king who, on paleographic grounds and by virtue of the high year date, must be Amenemmes III. On the verso of this text are dates in the ninth and tenth years of a king who is believed to be Amenemmes IV. Both identifications are based on the concurrence of these dates with the highest known regnal years for these two kings (forty-sixth and tenth, respectively),<sup>59</sup> so the proposed equivalence is tempting, although unproved.<sup>60</sup>

- bb) The Twelfth Dynasty temple at Medinet Madi reflects participation of both Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV in its decoration.<sup>61</sup> The facade and inner court are schematically divided into a west and an east side, the former dominated by Amenemmes III, the latter by his son (see Fig. 1). The three sanctuaries, however, appear to be the work of Amenemmes III alone, since only he is represented in reliefs and inscriptions from this part of the building. Possibly the coregency was initiated shortly after the decoration of this section was begun, since the reveals at the sanctuary entrances are divided between Amenemmes III (at a and b) and Amenemmes IV (at c and d) in a manner different from the usual line of demarcation for their work. Perhaps also the text of Amenemmes IV on the reveals of the outer gateway, referring to the building as "the [goodly and efficient] temple of his father, Nyma'atrē," was added after the end of the coregency. As evidence for a sole reign by Amenemmes IV, then, this material is neutral.
- cc) A pedestal from Karnak bears on opposite sides the titularies of Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV, each affirming that he "made" the piece for Amun-Rē.<sup>62</sup>
- dd) A statuette of a queen, also from Thebes, shows the titularies of the two kings in parallel positions.<sup>63</sup>

59. F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898) Pls. XIV-XV, p. 40 (l. 9).

60. Valloggia (*RdE* 21 [1969] 107-8, 132-33), while arguing for a coregency, does not accept this equivalence, opting instead for a four-year coregency, beginning in Amenemmes III's forty-seventh year.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-16; Donadoni, *Or* 16 (1947) 333-52, 506-24.

62. Valloggia, *RdE* 21 (1969) 116-18.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

- ee) The stela of Sethemsaef displays, flanking the name and titles of its owner, the cartouches of both kings, each "given life forever."<sup>64</sup>
- ff) The stela of two assistant treasurers, Senusret and Sobek-hotep, shows at the top in opposite corners the praenomina of Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV, again both "given life."<sup>65</sup>
- gg) Two objects show what are apparently conflated cartouches of the two kings: the stela of Khuy and a wooden toilet box found in Theban Tomb No. 25.<sup>66</sup> The cartouche on the stela shows a roughly carved *www* below the *ⲗⲉ*, which overlaps it a bit; perhaps this was a mistake, or a misinterpretation of the hieratic sign for *ⲗ*, which often accompanies the writing of *m3't*. The *www* in the cartouche on the toilet box, however, is written above the *m3't*, and cannot, therefore, be explained away as simply a mechanical error. Possibly these garbled cartouches represent the sort of mistake that could occur when both names were in common use (i.e., during a coregency).<sup>67</sup>
- hh) Two scarabs show the nomen and praenomen of Amenemmes III flanking the Horus name of Amenemmes IV.<sup>68</sup>
- ii) The next two pieces, a small plaque and a cylinder seal, are identically laid out and similarly inscribed, except that the cylinder bears the throne name of Amenemmes III while the plaque bears that of Amenemmes IV. The accompanying texts, however, are identical, showing (in a cartouche) "the Son of Rē Ameny" juxtaposed with "the Good God, Amenemmes." In his republication and discussion of

64. *Ibid.*, p. 118-19.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 119 (Louvre Stela C-7).

66. The stela appears *ibid.*, pp. 119-20, Pl. 13; the toilet box, in the Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London, 1912) pp. 55-56, Pls. LXVIII-XLIX. Note, however, that the deposit in which the box was found may be dated to the 13th Dynasty (Bruce Williams, "Archaeology and Historical Problems of the Second Intermediate Period" [Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975] I 160).

67. Curiously similar is the confusion in Pap. Berlin 9784 (A. H. Gardner, "Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun," *ZAS* 43 [1906] 28-29), where the nomina of both Amenophis III and Amenophis IV are written identically (cf. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 142).

68. Valloggia, *RdE* 21 (1969) 120.

these pieces, Valloggia contends that the epithet "Good God" sets off Amenemmes III from his son in both cases and accentuates his preeminent status.<sup>69</sup> Since the texts read simply "Amenemmes," however, without specifically naming Amenemmes III, it seems more likely that the hypochoristicon applies to the owner of the praenomen in each case, i.e., to Amenemmes III on the cylinder and to his son on the plaque.<sup>70</sup> It is, moreover, quite doubtful that the epithet "Good God" would have been applied exclusively to the senior partner in a coregency,<sup>71</sup> so the bearing of either of these pieces on the problem at hand is questionable.

- jj) The decoration of the royal shrine at Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim seems to be evenly divided between Amenemmes III (left) and Amenemmes IV (right). Černý assigns the entire shrine to the latter on the basis of the dedicatory text (No. 123 A), the sense of which does imply that Amenemmes IV claimed responsibility for the building.<sup>72</sup> His claim does not, however, rule out the possibility that he finished and took credit for a monument begun during the coregency, although the exact date of either king's contribution seems hard to establish.

In sum, there is a substantial body of material on which the names of the two kings are associated symmetrically (*bb*, *cc*, *dd*,

69. Ibid., pp. 121-22. The plaque is British Museum No. 22879; for the cylinder, see now T. G. H. James, *A Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII* (Brooklyn, 1974) 54, Pl. XXXVII (No. 126).

70. In the propagandistic Prophecy of Nefertiti, "Ameny" is used to represent Amenemmes I (W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* ["Kleine ägyptische Texte" (Wiesbaden, 1970)] pp. 49-51 [XIIIa]); cf. similar abbreviations for other pharaohs in the New Kingdom (K. Sethe, "Der Name Sesostri. 8. Der Kurzname Ramses' II.," *ZÄS* 41 [1904] 53-57) referring both to a living king (*MH* VIII, Pl. 636, p. 13) and to a dead one (Amenmesse, in J. Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124 (British Museum No. 10055)," *JEA* 15 [1929] 243-58), as well as in compound place names (most references to Ramesses II in Sethe's article, above).

71. Both Sesostri. III and Amenemmes III are *ntr nfr* on Stela CGC, No. 20691 (Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine II* 318-19) and this term also applies retrospectively to Sesostri. I when he was still coregent with Amenemmes I (Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 5; G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* [Paris, 1956] p. 120).

72. *PM* VII 349; *Sinai I*, Pls. XLVI-XLVII; II 127-31.

ee, ff, and hh), and at the temple of Medinet Madi (bb) this association is conspicuously carried out over a large area. Although no double date has been found, a coregency would provide a plausible explanation for this association. How long a coregency may have lasted is another matter. Valloggia, the most recent student of the problem, believes it was short enough to permit Amenemmes IV some years of sole rule. While I do not dispute his basic conclusions, I cannot agree with all the inferences he draws from the material. I have already noted my disagreement concerning his treatment of ii, but his view of the funerary stela from the Louvre (ff) requires more comment. This monument, inscribed with the names of both kings, commemorates two assistant treasurers named Senusret and Sobekhotep. The assistant treasurer Sobekhotep is attested at Sinai in the forty-first and forty-second years of Amenemmes III, but his colleague there is referred to as "Senusretsonb's son Khuysobek."<sup>73</sup> Valloggia would nonetheless identify this Senusretsonb with the Senusret named on the stela,<sup>74</sup> and on the assumption that the Sinai text must antedate both the coregency and the stela that attests it, he places the beginning of the coregency no earlier than Amenemmes III's forty-third year, one year later than the last reference to Sobekhotep at Sinai.<sup>75</sup> Since Valloggia credits Amenemmes III with a reign of forty-seven years, and since a reign of over nine years is known for Amenemmes IV from the Turin Canon, it would follow that the latter outlived his father.

But on second view all this is less convincing. The alleged abbreviation of Senusretsonb's name on the stela appears curious, since it would have been this monument par excellence that would "cause his name to live" throughout eternity. Even if the identification were granted, however, is it certain (1) that both these men were dead before the stela was made, or (2) that their disappearance from Sinai is necessarily to be explained by their deaths? Well-to-do Egyptians thought it prudent to prepare for burial long before they were overtaken by death, so it is at least conceivable that the stela may have been commissioned before year 42, when Sobekhotep is last attested among the living. Another point to consider is the high turnover on the Sinai expeditions of Amenemmes III's reign; Sobekhotep may well have been transferred

73. *Sinai I*, Pls. XI-XII (Nos. 27-28); II 68-69.

74. Valloggia, *RdE* 21 (1969) 127, citing the earlier conclusions of Helck on this point.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-28.



to a post in Egypt proper after year 42. Valloggia's argument that a coregency had not yet begun in year 42 further rests on the fact that Amenemmes IV is nowhere associated with his father before that date—but in fact Amenemmes IV is not associated with Amenemmes III in a dated context at any point whatsoever in the latter's reign, and as Simpson was the first to demonstrate, single-dated monuments of either partner can occur at any point during a coregency. Since it cannot be proved that Amenemmes III's latest monuments from Sinai do not belong to this class, Valloggia's case for year 43 as the earliest possible date for the beginning of the coregency loses much of its force.

Once again, however, the sheer volume of inscriptions at Sinai during the later Twelfth Dynasty helps us to find an answer. From the reign of Amenemmes IV the first Sinai expedition that we know about, led by one Count Simont, is dated to his fourth year. Subsequent expeditions from years 6, 8, and 9 were under the command of the "God's Treasurer and Chief Intendant of the Treasury" Djafy-Horemso.<sup>76</sup> Neither of these men is mentioned in the records of Amenemmes III's expeditions during his years 40-45<sup>77</sup>—in fact none of the people attested on Amenemmes IV's expeditions are mentioned at all under his father. It is inconceivable that each king should have sent an independent expedition to Sinai in the same year—the cost and trouble of such wasteful duplication would have been excessive.<sup>78</sup> Since Amenemmes III sent an expedition to Sinai every year during his years 38-45 except for year 39, and since the two kings would not have mounted expeditions separately, we know that Amenemmes IV's years 4-9, during which he is known to have mounted four expeditions, cannot have fallen during his father's years 38-45. This leaves two possibilities: either Amenemmes IV's fourth year fell before Amenemmes III's thirty-eighth year—between years 30 and 38, when no expeditions at all are attested for Amenemmes III—or it fell after the last of the old king's expeditions in year 45. The second of these alternatives is clearly to be preferred. There is no reason to push Amenemmes

76. *Sinai I*, Pls. XXXVI (No. 118), XLII-XLIII (Nos. 119-20), XLVIII (No. 121), and XLV-XLVI (Nos. 122-23).

77. With the possible exception of year 43, all the expedition commanders are known: *ibid.*, Pls. XXV (No. 106), XI-XIII (Nos. 27, 28, 30), XVII-XVIII (Nos. 53-54).

78. The sheer mass of these expeditions raises doubts that more than one would have been organized in a given year; see the discussion of H. Goedicke, "The Inscription of *Hr-wr-r'*," *MDAIK* 18 (1962) 14-25 for some of the difficulties involved.

IV's reign as far back as before his father's year 38, and Parker's calculations make the second solution all the more probable. It seems much more likely that the coregency fell toward the end of Amenemmes III's lifetime. This king's highest attested date is in his forty-sixth year,<sup>79</sup> and he reigned fewer than fifty years. Thus, if his forty-sixth regnal year were hypothetically equated with year four of his son, and if he reigned as long as forty-nine full years, the latter would have survived his father by at least two years.<sup>80</sup> Taken by themselves, then, the monuments allow a maximum of seven years for the coregency, but Parker's calculations suggest that two years is nearer the mark. As yet, no double date has been discovered to provide a fixpoint for the beginning of the coregency,<sup>81</sup> but the chances are that Amenemmes III's forty-sixth year marked its close.

## AMENEMMES III AND SOBEKNOFRU

The coregency of Amenemmes III with Sobeknofru has never been widely accepted and, in the light of the discussion above, it would seem impossible. The evidence will be reviewed here, however, because it is typical of arguments in support of other hypothetical coregencies.

kk) From the Labyrinth at Hawâra come fragments of architraves and pillars that bear on some surfaces the names of Amenemmes III and on others those of the queen regnant Sobeknofru.<sup>82</sup> These separate inscriptions probably attest the work of these rulers at different times rather than during any coregency.

ll) A faience plaque, also from Hawâra, displays on a rectangular field "the Good God, Nyma'atrē, given [life]" (left) and "the daughter of Rē, Sobekshedtinofru, may she live and be powerful" (right); between these two texts runs the inscription, "beloved of Dehdehet," and to the right of the rectangle that contains all of these texts we find, once again, the praenomen of Amenemmes

79. Parker, *Calendars*, pp. 68-69.

80. The Turin Canon assigns to Amenemmes III a reign of 40 + x years, and to his son a reign of nine years, three months, and twenty-seven days (Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pls. II, col. v 25, and III, col. vi 1).

81. No. RIS 7 (Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, p. 132) is enigmatic at best.

82. LD II 140 a-i; Text II 15, 19-20.

III, "the Good God, Nyma'atrē, given all life."<sup>83</sup>

- mm) A fragment of alabaster relief in Berlin is laid out somewhat similarly: on the left is a rectangle with the words, "the Good God, Nyma'atrē," the beloved of Sobekshedti, while on the right another rectangle is inscribed for "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sobekkarē [i.e., Sobeknofru] . . . ." <sup>84</sup>
- nn) A block of granite, also from Hawâra, bears a fragmentary dedication with the words "[she made it] as her monument for her father, living forever."<sup>85</sup> This sort of formula is typical of the renewal of monuments for previous rulers and probably dates to a time after the elder ruler's death.
- oo) Finally, in the central rib of a fragment of a papyri-form column the names of Amenemmes III and his daughter are juxtaposed. The two Horus names face one another, while to the left of the king's *serekh* is his praenomen, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Nyma'atrē,"<sup>86</sup> Two features set this piece apart: first, the falcon atop Sobeknofru's *serekh* is marked with a feminine .t, yielding "the Female Horus," etc.; second, the falcon standing over Amenemmes III's *serekh* is unusually depicted as presenting the signs of life and dominion to the opposite figure. Habachi has argued that this pose is more characteristic of a god bestowing favor from on high than of a living coregent vis-à-vis his partner, and the observation seems just. Kings are often shown receiving life from their deified predecessors (e.g., Tuthmosis III from Sesostris III in the Semna temple),<sup>87</sup> and if that is the purport of this inscription, Amenemmes III as represented here would have been dead. Sometimes, however, the roles of donor and recipient are reversed: Queen Tiyi and some of her daughters are var-

83. W. M. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890) Pl. 11 (1); Labib Habachi, "Khatâ'na-Qantîr: Importance," *ASAE* 52 (1954) 462, Pl. XII B; cf. J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄF, Vol. 23 [1964]) p. 29.

84. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin* (Berlin, 1967) p. 42 (No. 428) and plate therewith.

85. Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954) 463, Pl. XIII B.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-67, Pls. XIV-XV.

87. *LD III* 54 b.

iously portrayed as offering the sign of life to an enthroned Amenophis III;<sup>88</sup> these women were probably alive when these scenes were inscribed, and perhaps no more is meant by this portrayal than the extending of customary good wishes.

Apart from these considerations, however, we should remember that Amenemmes III and his daughter were themselves representatives of kingship, and thus were gods in their own right. The perspective of the great Western religions, which posits a gulf between the nature of God and of king, is misleading if applied to ancient Egypt, where no such distinction was perceived. All kings throughout pharaonic history had ascribed to them to some extent the essence of godlike being that infused the kingship (*nswyt*). In his role of king (*nswt*), whether alive (as a manifestation of the god Horus) or dead (as Osiris), the divinity of the pharaoh was recognized by his subjects, and the conceptualization of the king's person as the "body" (*hm*) that served as the god's vehicle on earth enabled men to deal with the king's purely mortal aspects.<sup>89</sup> At least once in the course of history this affinity between king and god was carried a step further, for during the Amarna period the divine solar disk, the Aton, functioned as a sort of "over-king," and as such could be perceived as Akhenaten's elder coregent.<sup>90</sup> In this light, the two falcons on the column fragment may well represent either a living or a dead Amenemmes III in the act of conferring life (literally and/or symbolically) on his daughter, the queen regnant Sobeknofru. Since the range of meaning implicit in this vignette does not depend on whether the king was alive or dead at the time, the value of the piece in any argument for or against a coregency is nil.

None of this material is particularly compelling proof that Amenemmes III ever ruled jointly with Sobeknofru. We have seen,

88. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, plate facing p. 216.

89. See H. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich* (ÄA II [1960]) *passim*; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Ann E. Keep, trans. [London, 1973]) pp. 16-41.

90. J. Assmann, "Die 'Häresie' des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna Religion," *Saeculum* 23 (1972) 109-26. Scenes showing Akhenaten receiving life from the Aton are many (e.g., Aldred, *Akhenaten*, Pls. XLII-XLIII, XLVII).

moreover, that Amenemmes IV did enjoy a sole reign, and on this ground alone a coregency between Amenemmes III and Sobeknofru is impossible.

ADDENDUM I. THE COREGENCY OF MENTUHOTEP IV WITH AMENEMMES I

No account of Middle Kingdom coregencies would be complete without a consideration of the proposed coregency of Mentuhotep IV with Amenemmes I. Although Mentuhotep IV's position in the Eleventh Dynasty is still in doubt,<sup>91</sup> he is usually regarded as having been its last ruler,<sup>92</sup> and his vizier Amenemhēt has been identified as the founder of the following dynasty, Amenemmes I.<sup>93</sup> Evidence for a possible coregency during the period of transition between dynasties includes the following:

pp) A fragment of a slate vessel found at Lisht shows on its outer surface the inscription "beloved of the Mistress of Dendera, the Horus Nebtowy, the son of Rē, Mentuhotep (IV), given life forever." On the other side, corresponding to the interior of the vase when it was intact, is the Horus name of Amenemmes I (*Wḥm-mswt*) accompanied by the same sort of epithet, only in larger hieroglyphs.<sup>94</sup>

qq) An apparently earlier titulary for Amenemmes I is recorded on an offering table from Sebennytus. The Horus and Two Ladies' Names here are *šḥtp-ib-t3.wy*, "Who pacifies the hearts of the Two Lands," and the Golden Horus Name is *sm3*, "Uniter."<sup>95</sup> In view of the fact that Amenemmes I's more usual Horus name, *Wḥm-mswt*, is consistently used in all other monuments from his reign, it has been suggested that the variants recorded above represent an earlier form that was abandoned after Amenemmes became sole ruler on the death of Mentuhotep IV.<sup>96</sup> While this is plausible

91. W. K. Simpson, "Historical and Lexical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions," *JNES* 18 (1959) 26-28.

92. A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961) pp. 124-25.

93. Simpson, *JNES* 18 (1959) 27, n. 21.

94. H. E. Winlock, "Neb-ḥepet-Rē' Mentu-ḥotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *JEA* 26 (1940) Pl. XXI, facing p. 117.

95. J. Daressy, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée d'Alexandrie," *ASAE* 5 (1904) 124-25.

96. J. von Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie durch Amenemmes I.," *ZÄS* 92 (1965) 4-10. I find von Beckerath's arguments against a 13th Dynasty date for the piece quite convincing.

enough, there is no hard proof. The name *Wḥm-mswt* itself has connotations of a "renaissance," and changes in a king's Horus name had earlier served to signal shifts in policy,<sup>97</sup> so that if the Sebennytus titulary does belong to Amenemmes I it can just as well be placed early in his reign and undoubtedly carries some special significance. While the change to the later, normal titulary might indeed refer to the transfer of royal power to the new dynasty following the extinction of the Eleventh Dynasty ruling house, it might also allude to something else, of which we know nothing. Given the prevailing interpretation of the Sebennytus titulary, moreover, the vase fragment from Lisht (itself the sole evidence for the coregency) would have to postdate Mentuhotep IV's death. No secure conclusion can be based on such shaky "evidence."

#### ADDENDUM II. DOCUMENTS FROM THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The names of kings from the Thirteenth and Seventeenth dynasties appear to be associated on several objects. The chronological uncertainties of this era are such that nothing much can be proved by these pieces, and they are presented here simply to complete the record.

- rr) A Late Period ostrakon (the "Rubensohn Plaque") juxtaposes a horizontal text of Khutowyrē Wegaf with a vertical column that names "the son of Rē Sesostris, given life like Rē forever."<sup>98</sup> This inscription probably represents a student copyist's transcription of disparate inscribed blocks on Elephantine (where the piece was found), therefore its value as contemporary evidence is nil.<sup>99</sup>
- ss) A statue base found at Medâmûd bears texts of two kings on its front face. At the top, a horizontal text names Sedjefakarē Amenemmes VII; below, a series of three rectangular enclosures contains inscriptions of this king (center) and of Khutowyrē Wegaf (sides).<sup>100</sup> A coregency

97. A. H. Gardiner, "The First King Mentuhotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 42-51.

98. G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection. XLIX. Le roi Ougaf (𓏏𓏏𓏏) et la plaquette Rubensohn," *ASAE* 8 (1907) 250-52.

99. Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 30-31.

100. F. Bisson de la Roque, J. J. Clère, and E. Drioton, *Rapport sur*

is unlikely, for the Turin Canon lists Wegaf and Amenemmes VII as the first and fifteenth kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty. If this piece was not in fact usurped from Wegaf, it seems likely that Amenemmes VII dedicated the object for his predecessor.<sup>101</sup>

- tt) A limestone block that was reused as a sarcophagus in later antiquity is schematically divided between Sekhemrē Khutowy and Auyibrē Hor, third and fourteenth kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The central element, "May live" etc., divided these kings' Horus names from one another, so there is no doubt that the doorway (if such it was) was deliberately divided between them.<sup>102</sup>
- uu) A faience plaque, now in Berlin, associates Auyibrē's nomen with the praenomen of Amenemmes III,<sup>103</sup> undoubtedly for a commemorative purpose.
- vv) A sandstone block from Karnak, probably part of a doorway, associates the names of Kha'sekhemrē Neferhotep I and Kha'neferrē Sobekhotep I on opposite surfaces.<sup>104</sup> These texts would thus have appeared on opposite sides of the doorway, and there is no reason to suppose that they were inscribed simultaneously rather than in succession.
- ww) A fragment of a stela in the British Museum preserves in the lunette the name of King Usermontu, while in the top-most horizontal line Nebhepetrē Mentuhotep II is mentioned.<sup>105</sup> Again, the purpose must have been commemorative, perhaps associating Usermontu with one of his predecessor's foundations.
- xx) Finally, a bronze statue of Harpocrates from the Saite period associates several personalities of the Seventeenth Dynasty. On the socle, a text on the right-hand

*les fouilles de Médamoud (1927) (FIFAO V [1928]) pp. 85 (Fig. 61), 129-31 (No. 437).*

101. Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, p. 30.

102. P. Montet, *Nécropole royale de Tanis III: Le Tombeau de Chéchang III à Tanis* (Paris, 1960) 71-72, Pl. XXVIII.

103. Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, p. 235, at XIII.14 (7).

104. A. Mariette, *Karnak: Etude topographique et archéologique* (Leipzig, 1875) Pl. 8 n, o.

105. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts V* (London, 1914) Pl. 18 (No. 41434).

side names "the Good God Swadjenrē, the triumphant," while the left side names "the Good God Neferkarē, the triumphant." Front and back are inscribed with the names of two princes(?) in cartouches—Binpu and Ahmose.<sup>106</sup> That these utterly obscure people should have been remembered so long after their deaths is in itself remarkable, and the assumption of a posthumous ancestor cult is as likely as any.

These seven pieces neatly illustrate the pitfalls of this sort of material, for despite the association of kings' names on all of them, not one is decisive proof of a coregency. With the Twelfth Dynasty, as we have seen, it is otherwise. The earliest coregencies are beyond dispute, and although after Sesostri III the evidence is less conclusive, it would be surprising if the institution of coregency had not continued to be used to guarantee the autocrat a smooth succession to the throne while he was destroying the semifeudal power of the nomarchs. A closer look at the coregencies of the Twelfth Dynasty will have to wait until the final chapter of this book. Here we have been concerned mainly with the materials that attest particular cases, and while the evidence does not controvert the generally accepted model of an interlocking succession of corulers during this period, the chain is far from solid.

#### ADDENDUM III. A CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE COREGENCIES OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

Reexamination of the Nile inscriptions at Semna has yielded a new high date for Amenemmes IV—his thirteenth regnal year.<sup>107</sup> At the same time it has been reaffirmed (1) that the Sothic date in a regnal year 7, recorded on a papyrus from Illâhûn, must belong to Sesostri III and must fall in 1872 B.C.; (2) that year 30 of Amenemmes III must fall in 1813 B.C.; and (3) that year 9 of Amenemmes IV must fall in 1790 B.C.<sup>108</sup> These fix-points provide a framework for the second half of the Twelfth

106. G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités I* (Cairo, 1906) 55-56.

107. The text is presently unpublished, but is discussed by Barbara Bell, "Climate and the History of Egypt: The Middle Kingdom," *AJA* 79 (1975) 229, n. 11, and by R. A. Parker, "The Sothic Dating of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC No. 39 [1976]) pp. 188-89.

108. Parker in *Studies Hughes*, pp. 177-89.



Dynasty that differs in some respects from the framework underlying the conclusions voiced earlier in this chapter, particularly those regarding the last three rulers. Moreover, the absolute length of the first half of the dynasty is determined by the double-dated monuments that establish the overlapping points of the first four reigns, as well as by the equivalence of Sesostris III's first regnal year with Sesostris II's last regnal year (his year 20; see n. 37). The only major uncertainties are (1) the length of Amenemmes II's reign beyond his thirty-fifth year, although the synchronism with Sesostris II makes this of small importance; (2) the questionable coregency of Sesostris III with Amenemmes III that began in the former's thirty-seventh year and lasted less than four years—if it took place at all;<sup>109</sup> and (3) the total reigns for the last three kings of the dynasty. The difficulty is compounded by the fragmentary condition of the Turin king-list and also by the apparent inconsistency of its figures: for while the kings in the first half of the dynasty are assigned regnal year totals that include coregencies at either end of their reigns (e.g., over forty-five years for Sesostris I and over nineteen years for Sesostris II), the completely preserved figure given to Amenemmes IV—nine years, three months and twenty-seven days—falls short of his new high date of year thirteen. It is possible that the missing years belonged to this king's coregency with his father and in the Turin king-list were absorbed into the reign of Amenemmes III, but the anomaly is disturbing and there is no way of knowing whether such anomalies affect other reign totals as well. The following chart<sup>110</sup> reflects both the established fixpoints and the highest number of regnal years preserved for these kings on the monuments.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Egyptian Year of the Dynasty</i>
1991 Amenemmes I, Year 1	1
1971 Amenemmes I, Year 21 = Sesostris I, Year 1	21
1962 Amenemmes I, Year 30 (last) = Sesostris I, Year 10	30
1930 Sesostris I, Year 42 (last year of sole reign)	62
1929 Sesostris I, Year 43 = Amenemmes II, Year 1	63

109. The Turin Canon gives Sesostris III a reign of  $30 + x$  years (Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pl. II, col. v 24), so his reign was a maximum of thirty-nine years and a fraction.

110. Adapted from Parker, *Calendars*, p. 69, but incorporating the new material bearing on the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

1926	Sesostris I, Year 46 (last) = Amenemmes II, Year 4	66
1898	Amenemmes II, Year 32 (last year of sole reign)	94
1897	Amenemmes II, Year 33 = Sesostris II, Year 1	95
1895	Amenemmes II, Year 35 (highest) = Sesostris II, Year 3	97
1879	Sesostris II, Year 19 (last full regnal year)	113
1878	Sesostris III, Year 1 = Sesostris II, Year 20 (last)	114
1872	Sesostris III, Year 7	120
1843	Sesostris III, Year 36	149
1842	Amenemmes III, Year 1 (= Sesostris III, Year 37?)	150
1813	Amenemmes III, Year 30	179
1798	Amenemmes III, Year 45 = Amenemmes IV, Year 1	194
1797	Amenemmes III, Year 46 (highest) = Amenemmes IV, Year 2	195
1790	Amenemmes IV, Year 9	202
1786	Amenemmes IV, Year 13 (highest)	206
1785	Sobeknofru, Year 1(?)	207
1782	Sobeknofru, Year 4 (last?) <sup>111</sup>	210

The above scheme assumes that the Turin Canon's total for Amenemmes IV is that of his sole reign only, and it treats Amenemmes III's forty-sixth year, the highest attested for him, as his last. But the total for Amenemmes III in the Turin king-list is  $40 + x$  years (see n. 80), so theoretically he could have died as late as his fiftieth regnal year. The Turin Canon also states that the Twelfth Dynasty lasted 213 years, one month and seventeen days,<sup>112</sup> and the total length of the dynasty reached in our above hypothetical tabulation comes so close to this figure that one is sorely tempted to take it seriously.<sup>113</sup> The following is an attempt

111. The Turin Canon assigns Sobeknofru a reign of three years, ten months and twenty-four days (Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pl. III, col. vi 2), the last fraction being in her fourth regnal year.

112. Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, Pl. III, col. vi 3.

113. Parker (*Calendars*, pp. 68-69) follows a suggestion of Griffith in emending 213 to 223 in order to account for all reigns and coregencies. As Parker tabulates them, however, all of the periods of "sole" rule actually also include each king's term as junior partner, so that the years of the coregencies are counted twice. One cannot rule out that the total for the Twelfth Dynasty given in the Turin Canon is an artificial figure of this sort, perhaps reached by simple addition of the figures assigned to each king's reign, but the total adjusted length of the dynasty derived from contemporary documents is so close to the unemended total 213 that the latter may well be chronologically accurate. In any case (pace J. von Beckerath, "Die Chronologie der XII. Dynastie und das Problem der Behandlung gleichzeitiger Regierungen in der ägyptischen Überlieferung," *SAK* 4 [1976] 50-53, whose reconstruction





## THE COREGENCIES OF THE NEW KINGDOM AND THE LATER PERIODS:

## A SURVEY

In the chapter that follows we will discuss the coregencies of the New Kingdom, the Third Intermediate Period, the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the period of the Roman emperors. The evidence over this long period of time shows a greater variety than during the Middle Kingdom, and some types (perhaps due to the accident of survival) are more likely to be found in some periods than in others. Double dates, for example, seem not to occur during the New Kingdom, but they appear once more during the Third Intermediate Period, and they occur extensively in the Greek and Demotic documents of the classical period. But by far the most important evidence is that of the monuments, and it is this material that will form the basis for the later stages of this study.

*THE COREGENCIES OF THE NEW KINGDOM*

During the Middle Kingdom the regnal year had been arbitrarily synchronized with the civil calendar. As of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, this easy equivalence no longer prevailed. Instead each king's accession day initiated the regnal year, which ran until the anniversary of the accession in the following year. Since the year number changes on each anniversary, it is sometimes possible to compute the approximate accession date of a king when this date itself is not attested.<sup>1</sup> When the earlier, more regular dating system was abandoned some potential problems for dating coregencies arose. If, for example, the two partners came to the throne on different days (as did Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II), their regnal years would correspond neither with the civil year nor with each other. It may be due to such difficulties that the Egyptians avoided using double dates during the New Kingdom. A double date from this period may yet be unearthed, how-

1. W. Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich," *Analecta Biblica* XII ("Studia Biblica et Orientalia III: Oriens Antiquus" [Rome, 1959]) 113-28; D. B. Redford, "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *JNES* 25 (1966) 113-24.

ever, so that the *argumentum ex silentio* remains, as ever, inconclusive. With the regnal year no longer coinciding with the civil year, one possible solution would have been to require the junior partner to begin his own dating after the death of his father, starting either with his own first year of sole rule or with the first year of the coregency. We do not know what was done in most cases, although we shall argue that in the Nineteenth Dynasty Ramesses II did neither of these things. The evidence, regrettably, is too scanty to permit a more general conclusion to be drawn.

#### HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III

During the first twenty years of his reign, Tuthmosis III found himself overshadowed by his aunt, the queen dowager and later queen regnant Hatshepsut. The steps that led her to usurp the royal dignity are still obscure, but the process seems to have been a gradual one. Later, when she was already "king," Hatshepsut would claim that it was her father, Tuthmosis I, who had designated her as king and taken her as his coregent.<sup>2</sup> This assertion may represent the basis for Hatshepsut's legitimacy as she saw it, but contemporary evidence presents a rather different picture. Monuments from the reign of Hatshepsut's husband, Tuthmosis II, and from the early reign of Tuthmosis III prove that during this period she bore no titles more exalted than those customarily assigned to a royal consort of the purest royal blood.<sup>3</sup> The tomb biography of Ineny (an "overseer of the granaries of Amun" whose active career extended from the time of Amenophis I into the early reign of Tuthmosis III) confirms this observation and comments, with unusual frankness, on the political situation shortly after Tuthmosis III's accession to the throne:

[Tuthmosis II] went to heaven and joined the gods. His son stood in his place as King of the Two Lands, and he began to rule on the throne of him who had begotten him, (while) his sister, the God's Wife Hatshepsut, managed the affairs of this land. The Two Lands were governed according to her plans, and work was done for her.<sup>4</sup>

2. *Deir el Bahari* III, Pls. LVI-LVIV; *Urk* IV 241-65; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 265-74.

3. For Tuthmosis II see *Urk* IV 144; for Tuthmosis III, *ibid.*, pp. 201-2 (near text of II Shomu 8 in Tuthmosis III's second year).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

Thus, on the death of Tuthmosis II his male heir nominally ruled Egypt, but all effective power was concentrated in the hands of the deceased king's sister and wife Hatshepsut. The new king counted for so little, in fact, that his name was not even mentioned in Ineny's résumé of his accession to the throne, nor is it preserved elsewhere in the tomb. From the beginning, then, Hatshepsut ruled Egypt in all but name.

How long this state of affairs continued is still uncertain. Schott believed that Hatshepsut became king on II Proyet 29 in Tuthmosis III's second year, when Amun delivered an oracle in her favor at the temple of Luxor,<sup>5</sup> but this determination, based on a reading of one of the blocks from the historical inscription of the "Chapelle Rouge," seems premature. The inscription is divided into two parts that are easily distinguishable because the hieroglyphs face in opposite directions. The first part has to do with Amun's confrontation of Hatshepsut at her palace in Karnak and with her coronation at the temple of Ma'at. The second consists of Hatshepsut's speech of thanksgiving, in which she cited several oracles that had foretold her coronation. The date adduced by Schott belongs to one of these earlier oracles and has no demonstrable connection with Hatshepsut's coronation at Karnak.<sup>6</sup> All we know is that this event took place after II Shomu 8 of year two and before IV Proyet 2 of year seven, on which day work began on the first tomb of Senenmut (Th. T. No. 71): the debris of this project soon covered the burial of Senenmut's parents nearby, and it is this burial, which contains several seals belonging to Hatshepsut as king, that provides a *terminus post quem* for her accession.<sup>7</sup> The most recent study of the question returns to the earlier theory that places Hatshepsut's assumption of the kingship actually in year seven,<sup>8</sup> although the evidence—positing a connection between a "mixed" lot of scarabs found near Deir el-Bahari that bear royal and nonroyal names of Hatshepsut, and the beginning of work on the temple in year seven—

5. S. Schott, "Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatshepsût," (NAWG [1955, No. 6]) pp. 195-219; cf. OI photographs (negative numbers 6557-58, 6578-82, 6585, 6587, 6704-08, 6724, 6727, 6729, 6758-59).

6. J. Yoyotte, "La Date supposée du couronnement d'Hatshepsout," *Kêmi* 18 (1968) 85-91.

7. W. C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 78-80.

8. R. Tefnin, "L'an 7 de Touthmosis III et d'Hatshepsout," *CdE* 48 (1973) 232-42.

is not totally convincing. Certainly the material that we have does not rule out an earlier "accession" for Hatshepsut.

More important are the implications of Hatshepsut's usurpation and its long-range consequences. The Chapelle Rouge account of Hatshepsut's coronation describes how Amun, with his retinue of gods in attendance, sallied forth on that fateful day, "but without making his divine manifestations at any station of the king." The effect of this behavior and of the events that followed was to promote Hatshepsut's claim by expressing, at the very least, Amun's misgivings concerning Tuthmosis III's ability to rule alone. Notably, however, the god's gesture stopped short of being a complete rejection: Tuthmosis III remained on the throne alongside Hatshepsut who, from her accession on, acted publicly as the senior partner in a coregency with her nephew. This assertion of superiority, more plainly visible in the monuments of this coregency than in those of any other, surely fooled no one. It had as its complement an illuminating peculiarity of Hatshepsut's reign—namely, her sharing of Tuthmosis III's system of regnal dating. The queen apparently did not begin dating her reign from her own accession, but rather from that of her nephew, projecting the term of her effective kingship from the death of her husband, Tuthmosis II.<sup>9</sup> In this way, both indirectly and through the propagandistic narrative of the Chapelle Rouge, Hatshepsut defined the nature of her claim to the royal dignity as something she had been entitled to by rightful succession, and implied that she had merely neglected to assert her rights until Amun's intervention forced her to do so. The narrative from the Chapelle Rouge hints at Tuthmosis III's incompetence as the reason for the god's decision, but for dynastic reasons this theme seems not to have been stressed. When in her temple at Deir el-Bahari the queen set forth an alternative justification for her accession, she sought it in the past—in her alleged divine birth and her nomination by Tuthmosis I—rather than in her nephew's inadequacy.

Dated material of both the single- and double-dated varieties has come down from this coregency period in abundance. Because of the uncertain date for the coregency's beginning, a few documents that antedate regnal year seven have been included in the following compilation.

9. D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967) p. 55.



- a) A stela found at Karnak North, attacked during the Amarna period and badly restored thereafter, seems to bear the date I Shomu 16 in regnal year 4. The text describes a grant of property by Tuthmosis III to the chief steward Senenmut, from which Senenmut was to set up certain endowments. The authority conferring these benefits is Tuthmosis III, but in a text on the left side of the stela there is mentioned another endowment made by Hatshepsut as king.<sup>10</sup> Both the date and the significance of the reference to Hatshepsut are challenged by Tefnin, who argues that "year four" could have been recut from a possible "year twelve" on the original, and that the text that mentions the queen need not be contemporary with the main text on the front of the stela.<sup>11</sup> Although the damaged condition of the piece and the inadequacy of its publication make it difficult to check Tefnin's interpretation, the content of the text on the side does seem to be a continuation of the substance of the main text rather than the stuff of which later additions usually consist.<sup>12</sup> The principal uncertainty concerning the dating of Hatshepsut's assumption of the kingship is that the date engraved on this stela is that on which the original decree making the grant was issued. Some time could have elapsed between the enactment of the grant to Senenmut and the setting up of the stela at Karnak, and it is conceivable that Hatshepsut could have become king during this time and the original text of the decree could have been emended to include her name. While we cannot prove that this did indeed happen, our inability

10. L.-A. Christophe, *Karnak Nord III (FIFAO XXIII [1951])* 86-88, Pl. XV; cf. W. Helck, "Die Opferstiftung des *Šn-mwt*," *ZÄS* 85 (1960) 23-24.

11. Tefnin, *CdE* 48 (1973) 235-36; but the date, examined by me at Karnak, shows no evidence of recutting, and "4" seems more likely than "12." Pace Hayes, *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 79-80, it is not certain that the "regnal year 7" inscribed on a jar sealed under the name of the God's Wife Hatshepsut (from the tomb of Senenmut's parents) belongs to Tuthmosis III and not his father; see below, Chap. 3, at references to nn. 90-91.

12. And sometimes the amount of material to be inscribed was underestimated, requiring a continuation on another stela—e.g., the second Kamose stela (Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital [ADAIK-ÄR, Vol. 8 (1972)]*)—or on the sides—e.g., the Abydos decree at Nauri (F. Ll. Griffith, "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," *JEA* 13 [1927] 193-208; note the abbreviations, that become more frequent as the text progresses).

to prove otherwise reduces the value of this piece in determining the start of the coregency.

- b) Two inscriptions from Sinai, dated to Tuthmosis III's regnal year 5, show the king offering to Hathor, the mistress of Sinai.<sup>13</sup> Hatshepsut is neither mentioned nor depicted in either inscription.<sup>14</sup> Most of Hatshepsut's monuments at Sinai, whether they do or do not include Tuthmosis III, are undated.<sup>15</sup>
- c) The vizier Amunwosre dates his installation in office under Tuthmosis III to the king's fifth year, I Akhet 1; but this text, coming from Amunwosre's tomb (Th. T. No. 131), is almost certainly retrospective.<sup>16</sup> Significantly, however, Amunwosre functioned as vizier through Tuthmosis III's twenty-eighth year, well beyond the coregency period; he was succeeded by his nephew, Rekhmirē.<sup>17</sup> Clearly, then, his career was not blighted by his tenure during Hatshepsut's reign, even though she must have agreed to his appointment in the first place.
- d) It has been suggested that Nebwafwy, high priest of Osiris under Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II, was promoted twice during the coregency, in regnal years six and nine.<sup>18</sup> It would appear, however, that these are not regnal dates at all, but rather the number of calendar years spent by Nebwafwy in each of his offices.<sup>19</sup> If so, these promotions

13. *Sinai I*, Pl. LVI-LVII (Nos. 175-76); II 150-51.

14. Tefnin (*CdE* 48 [1973] 239-40) suggests that Hatshepsut may have been erased from one of these stelae, but this seems to me unlikely.

15. Several of the undated inscriptions at Sinai were made for Hatshepsut alone: *Sinai I*, Pls. LVI, LVIII (Nos. 177, 178, 182, 183); II 151, 153, 154; cf. also an undated inscription credited to both kings (*ibid.*, I, Pl. LVIII [No. 184]; II 154).

16. *Urk IV* 1380-84, top; cf. discussion by W. Helck, "Die Berufung des Viziers Wsr," in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (VIO, No. 29 [1955])* pp. 107-17.

17. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs (PA III [1958])* pp. 290-96, 436-37.

18. Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966) 118-19, interpreting *Urk IV* 208-9.

19. Against Redford's proposal that *r rnpt* 11/6/9 be rendered "at regnal year 11" etc., note that the word is written *rnpt*, "calendar year," throughout; also *r* is attested in the sense of "for (a period)" (H. Goedicke, "A Neglected Wisdom Text," *JEA* 48 [1962] 31; W. K. Simpson, "The Nature of the Brick-work Calculations in *Kah. Pap. XXIII, 24-40*," *JEA* 46 [1960] 107).

could have taken place during the latter part of Tuthmosis III's reign rather than during the coregency.

- e) Several ostraca associated with the tombs of Senenmut and his parents and with the start of work on the Deir el-Bahari temple survive from regnal year seven.<sup>20</sup> As we have said above, it is apparent that by that time Hatshepsut had become king.
- f) In a series of reliefs, the return of Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt is dated to a regnal year nine that is presumably hers.<sup>21</sup> Tuthmosis III appears at one end of the series, however, in this way acquiring some share in his coregent's display.<sup>22</sup>
- g) Two ostraca are preserved from year 10. One of them, related to the hauling of stone for the Deir el-Bahari temple, is dated to I Shomu 10.<sup>23</sup> The other is dated simply "year 10," but is stamped with Tuthmosis III's cartouche.<sup>24</sup>
- h) The eleventh regnal year is attested on a stela from Sinai, but the person by whom it appears to be dated is Hatshepsut's daughter, the God's Wife Nefrurē.<sup>25</sup> This unusual representation has prompted speculation that at this time a campaign had been set afoot to secure for Nefrurē the same independent royal status that Hatshepsut herself enjoyed at her nephew's expense.<sup>26</sup> On the stela Nefrurē appears offering to Hathor, commonly a royal prerogative, and the epithets that accompany her ("living forever" and "stability and dominion like Rē") are similarly regal in tone, which details support the assumed connection of the regnal date in the lunette with the figure depicted below. This attempt (if such it was) did not, however, ultimately diminish Tuthmosis III's

20. Hayes, *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 78-81, at A, D, E.

21. *Deir el Bahari* III, Pls. LXIX-LXXXI.

22. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXII.

23. W. C. Hayes, "A Selection of Thutmocide Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri," *JEA* 46 (1960) 31, Pl. IX (No. 2).

24. *Ibid.*, Pl. XI (No. 15).

25. *Sinai* I, Pl. LVIII (No. 179); II 151-52.

26. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 84-85; but there is no real evidence that Nefrurē ever married Tuthmosis III (W. C. Hayes, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III," *CAH* II/1 [3d ed.] 317.

authority, probably because Nefrurē died before her position could become more of a threat.<sup>27</sup>

- i) Another stela from Sinai is dated to Tuthmosis III's thirteenth year; Hatshepsut is mentioned in a prayer on the north edge.<sup>28</sup>
- j) In his tomb biography the herald Yamunedjeh dates his service from the fifteenth year of Tuthmosis III.<sup>29</sup> Like the vizier Amunwosre, Yamunedjeh continued to serve his master after the end of the coregency.
- k) The two great obelisks at Karnak are dated as having been begun "in regnal year 15, II Proyet 1, and finished in year 16, IV Shomu, last day" in the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>30</sup>
- l) Very closely allied in time is the stela dated to "regnal year 16 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ma'atkarē [i.e., Hatshepsut], beloved of Sopdu, lord of the east; (and) the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperkarē [sic; i.e., Tuthmosis III], given life, stability, and dominion like Rē, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the Turquoise."<sup>31</sup> In a sense this is a double date, even though, as we have said earlier, the dating systems of the coregents were artificially synchronized.
- m) An ostrakon from Thebes, listing men for work on the tomb of Senenmut, is dated to regnal year 16, I Akhet 8. This is considered to be the last dated reference to Senenmut, who vanishes from sight, perhaps in disfavor, toward the end of the coregency.<sup>32</sup>
- n) After the erection of the Karnak obelisks Hatshepsut busied herself with other building projects in the Karnak complex. This activity is attested by a fragmentary text from the

27. CAH II/1 (3d ed.) 318; cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 363.

28. *Sinai* I, Pl. LXI (No. 180); II 152.

29. *Urk* IV 940.4-5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 950.11 for the cartouche of Tuthmosis III.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 367.3-4.

31. *Sinai* I, Pl. XIV (No. 44); II 74.

32. Hayes, *JEA* 46 (1960) 40, Pl. XI (No. 15); on the "fall" of Senenmut see Barbara Switalski Lesko, "The Senmut Problem," *JARCE* 6 (1967) 113-17, and A. Schulman, "Some Remarks on the Alleged 'Fall' of Senmūt," *JARCE* 8 (1969-70) 29-48.

central sanctuary that she built. The text begins with her titulary and is dated "regnal year 17, I Akhet, last day."<sup>33</sup>

- o) A graffito belonging to a viceroy of Kush, whose name is disputed, is dated to year twenty of a king who is either "Menkheperre" (Tuthmosis III) or "Menkheprure" (Tuthmosis IV).<sup>34</sup>
- p) Also from this year is the stela of Nakht from Sinai. Under a lunette enclosing the date "regnal year 20" appear Hatshepsut (right) and Tuthmosis III (left) offering to the local deities.<sup>35</sup> The exact parallelism shown here may or may not reflect the coregents' relations at this time.
- q) Finally, a graffito from the step pyramid complex at Saqqara provides the last precisely dated reference to the queen, in regnal year 20, III Proyet 2, under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (in that order).<sup>36</sup> Hereafter there are no monuments for Hatshepsut, and by the time Tuthmosis III launched his first Syrian campaign in his twenty-second regnal year she was certainly either dead or out of the way. How long she lasted beyond this last dated reference is a matter of conjecture.

The above survey of the dated monuments from this coregency period already illuminates several of its most important features. One is that in all of the jointly shared monuments except one (p) Hatshepsut precedes Tuthmosis III. The one exception shows the two rulers on a parallel footing, and it is dated late in the coregency. Everywhere else the queen's titulary is placed before that of her nephew in the dated texts, or her figure is depicted preceding his own. Another feature is the distribution of Tuthmosis III's single-dated monuments. These occur with greatest frequency outside Egypt—in Sinai (b, i) and Nubia (o). Within Egypt he seems to have been subordinated to Hatshepsut, at least

33. *Urk* IV 367.9-14.

34. J. H. Breasted, "Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition," *AJSL* 25 (1908) 47-48.

35. *Sinai* I, Pl. LVII (No. 181); II 152.

36. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid I* ("Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara" [Cairo, 1935]) 80, F; an ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari (Hayes, *JEA* 46 [1960] Pl. X, No. 11) is dated to IV Proyet [x] in regnal year twenty, but neither king is named.

on the dated monuments that survive. Both of the references to Tuthmosis III in private tombs (c, j) are retrospective, having been executed when Tuthmosis III was already ruling alone. While such an imbalance in favor of Hatshepsut within the borders of Egypt may be the result of the chance survival of monuments, the prevailing impression is that the queen was supreme in her time, while her nephew was reduced to an honorably subordinate role until quite late in the coregency.

This impression is confirmed by the undated monuments that survive in abundance for this period. Both within and outside Egypt we find many monuments credited to Hatshepsut alone,<sup>37</sup> and in jointly inscribed monuments almost invariably she assumes the leading position. Nowhere is she subordinated to Tuthmosis III. A few examples may suffice.

- r) Vatican Stela No. 130. This late copy of an original Eighteenth Dynasty stela depicts, in the scene above the text, Hatshepsut followed by Tuthmosis III. The rebuilding project described in the text below is treated entirely as Hatshepsut's doing.<sup>38</sup>
- s) The dedicatory inscriptions on doorways of the Wadi Halfa temple mention in some places Hatshepsut (later altered by Tuthmosis III in his own or his predecessors' favor), in others Tuthmosis III.<sup>39</sup>
- t) Various episodes of the Opet Feast as depicted in the Chapelle Rouge show Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (generally in that order) accompanying the bark of Amun on its journey.<sup>40</sup> Since the building of the chapel post-dates the erection of the great obelisks at Karnak in

37. E.g., the West Silsilah cenotaphs of Hepusonb (No. 15) and of Senemut (No. 16) (R. A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I: The Shrines* [EES-ASE XXXI (1963)] 42-56, Pls. 34-44), and the Qurnah tomb of Senemioh (Th. T. No. 27: *Urk* IV 494-516; *PM* I/1 [2d ed.] 241-43). For the single monuments of Hatshepsut at Sinai, see above, n. 14.

38. K. Sethe in *Urk* IV 311-12; seen by the writer in Rome, in the spring of 1972.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14, 382; cf. W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC, No. 8 [1933]) pp. 5-11.

40. For a recent list of the published blocks and their provenience, see M. Gitton, S. Négroni, and J. Yoyotte, "La Chapelle rouge: quelques instruments de travail," *Kêmi* 19 (1969) 296-303. In all but one of the blocks (OI Negative No. 6588) Hatshepsut precedes Tuthmosis III, and in this one case the two kings face one another from opposite ends of a bark.

year 16,<sup>41</sup> these scenes reflect the coregents' relations at a fairly late stage in their association.

- u) Undated private monuments also attest the coregency. The cenotaphs at Gebel Silsilah belonging to Minnakhte<sup>42</sup> and Ahmose,<sup>43</sup> for instance, both show the cartouches of both monarchs inscribed above the entrances. Similarly, the statue of Inebny in the British Museum records that it was "made by the favor of the Good Goddess, mistress of the Two Lands [Ma'atkarē]—may she live and endure forever like Rē!—and of her brother, the Good God, master of the ritual Menkheperre, given life like Rē forever."<sup>44</sup> Also surviving the coregency period are a number of tombs in the Theban necropolis.<sup>45</sup> In most of these only Hatshepsut is named, but one (Djehuty, Th. T. No. 110) displays Tuthmosis III's figure on the southwest wall of the broad hall in a position corresponding to the queen's figure on the northwest wall.<sup>46</sup> Since references to Hatshepsut cease abruptly soon after the beginning of the coregency (even though out-and-out persecution of the queen seems to have begun only later in Tuthmosis III's reign),<sup>47</sup> the mere mention of the queen in these tombs dates them to the coregency period. Last among the private monuments covered here are two sets of graffiti belonging respectively to Wadjronpet (at Gebel Hammâm)<sup>48</sup> and to Penyati (at Shaṭṭ er-rigâl).<sup>49</sup> In each case it is the

41. *PM* II (2d ed.) 67 VII.111-14.

42. Caminos and James, *Silsilah* I 74-77, Pls. 56-59.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25, Pls. 16-19.

44. *Urk* IV 464-65, especially 464:7-8.

45. Theban Tombs Nos. 71 (Senenmut, *PM* I/1 [2d ed.] 139-42), 125 (Duaneh, *ibid.*, pp. 237-41), 252 (Senimen, *ibid.*, p. 337), 73 (Amenhotep(?), T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* ["Private Tombs at Thebes" I (Oxford, 1957)] pp. 1-10, Pls. I-IX), and 110 (Djehuty; see N. de G. Davies, "Teḥuty, Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* [London, 1932] pp. 279-90, Pls. 35-44).

46. Davies, "Teḥuty," in *Studies Griffith*, pp. 281-82, Pls. 35, 41 (west wall, north side: deceased before [Hatshepsut]); pp. 282-83, not illustrated (west wall, south side: deceased before Tuthmosis III, described as being of inferior execution compared with the scene on the north side).

47. C. F. Nims, "The Date of the Dishonoring of Hatshepsut," *ZÄS* 93 (1966) 97-100.

48. *Urk* IV 394-95.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 52.1-8. The Penyati of these texts is probably identical with the man whose correspondence was published by T. E. Peet, "Two Eight-

kings who are mentioned first, followed by the name of the official who inscribed the texts. The text of Penyati is especially interesting in two respects. Penyati had visited Shatt er-rigal three times earlier (under Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis II) so that his graffito mentioning Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut is the fourth and last of the series. Moreover, the cartouche of Hatshepsut is followed by the epithet *wḥm ʿnḥ*, "repeating life," which seems to be used exclusively in references to deceased persons.<sup>50</sup> Its appearance here suggests that Hatshepsut was only recently dead when the graffito was inscribed, before the new policy regarding her memory was generally known.

- v) British Museum Stela No. 370 [1015] displays the praenomina of Hatshepsut (erased) and Tuthmosis III under the winged disk in the lunette.<sup>51</sup>
- w) The names of both coregents also appear on a statue of the chief steward Senenmut in the New York Metropolitan Museum. The kings' Horus names are mentioned on the top of the sistrum held by the figure, and their praenomina occur on the left side; in both places Hatshepsut's name appears first.<sup>52</sup>
- x) A number of scarabs jointly inscribed for Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut attest the coregency.<sup>53</sup>
- y) In Hatshepsut's great temple at Deir el-Bahari and to some extent in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu<sup>54</sup> we find examples of decoration by both coregents.

eenth Dynasty Letters: Papyrus Louvre 3230," *JEA* 12 (1926) 70-74 (where the suggestion is credited to Spiegelberg).

50. *Wb* I 341.3-5; but also in a prospective sense, see M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" VIII [Brussels, 1938]) pp. 159-60, at CLXXIV, in a private house, with no funerary context).

51. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c.*, in *the British Museum* V (London, 1914) Pl. 35.

52. Hayes, *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 86-88 and Pl. XII.

53. E.g., F. S. Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée égyptien I: Les Scarabées royaux* (Beirut, 1971) 75; W. M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections* (London, 1889) No. 894.

54. Joint work of the two monarchs is scattered around the Deir el-Bahari temple as follows: *Deir el Bahari* I, Pls. XX-XXI, XXII-XXIV (northwest Hall of Offerings); II, Pls. XL (shrine of Anubis, doorway), XLV (same, parallel scenes); III, Pls. LXV-LXVI (pillars of middle colonnade, north,



In neither case are these monuments "shared" between the two kings, since at Deir el-Bahari and initially at Medinet Habu the dominant role was unquestionably Hatshepsut's. There are, however, a number of places where she and Tuthmosis III are associated in the same or in adjoining scenes or texts.

- z) Lastly, there is evidence that Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III founded a temple at Hierakonpolis while they were coregents. The building itself has been destroyed, but a tablet from the foundation deposit names "the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Ma'atkarē—may she live!—beloved of Horus, Protector of his Father" on the obverse side, while the reverse is inscribed for "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre—may he live forever!—beloved of Horus of Nekheb."<sup>55</sup>

To sum up, the coregency of Tuthmosis III with Hatshepsut is one of the longer associations on record. It lasted at least thirteen years and left traces that are commensurate, both in number and variety, with its considerable length. It must be emphasized, however, that it was not a typical coregency, for the royal dignity was not conferred on Hatshepsut through normal channels—she took it as her due. There is really no way of knowing whether relations between the partners were amicable: later evidence suggests that they were not. The important point is that the materials display a determined facade of normality while emphasizing the overall predominance of Hatshepsut. For this

showing alternating reliefs of the coregents), LXXXII-LXXXIII (after Punt reliefs, showing the kings associated in different roles); IV, Pls. LXXXVIII-XCI (marginal texts mentioning the kings), XCII, XCV (Hathor Shrine, showing Tuthmosis III in an area dominated by Hatshepsut), XCIX, C, CIII (same), CV (Hathor Shrine, inner sanctuary, showing the kings in a joint offering scene); V, Pls. CXX, CXXI-CXXVI, CXXX, CXXXIII-CXXXV, CXXXVII-CXXXVIII (upper court, with parallel scenes of the coregents, one [CXXXVII] showing both kings offering together), CXLI (sanctuary, Tuthmosis III), CXLIII (same, showing both coregents); VI, Pls. CLIII-CLV (lower colonnade, south side, marginal texts). Some of these joint representations are mentioned by Eric Uphill ("A Joint Sed Festival of Thutmose III and Queen Hatshepsut," *JNES* 20 [1961] 248-51). For the joint decoration of the small temple at Medinet Habu, see U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (OIP XLI [1939]) pp. 11-13, Fig. 10.

55. J. Weinstein, "A Foundation Deposit Tablet from Hierakonpolis," *JARCE* 9 (1971-72) 133-35, with plate.

reason, the materials from their joint reign are exceptionally helpful in establishing both the fact and the nature of their coregency.

#### TUTHMOSIS III AND AMENOPHIS II

Even though it is not attested by a double date, the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II is strongly supported by chronological evidence from their reigns. Amenophis II's accession date is known to have been IV Akhet 1. The date of his father's death is also known, III Proyet 30, and under the system of regnal dating used during the New Kingdom his successor should have come to the throne on the following day, IV Proyet 1. To explain the fact that the actually attested accession day is either eight months later or four months earlier one must postulate either an interregnum or a coregency. Recent scholarship seems to be unanimous in preferring the latter alternative.<sup>56</sup>

Supporting evidence has been sought among the documents from the early reign of Amenophis II. His stelae from Memphis and Karnak record that he undertook a "first campaign of victory" in his seventh regnal year.<sup>57</sup> But there is another reference to a first campaign of victory in the stela from the temple at Amada, a monument dated to III Shomu 15 in year three.<sup>58</sup> It has been argued that the two campaigns cannot have been the same, and that Amenophis II must have renumbered his foreign campaigns after the end of the coregency, so that the "first" campaign of the Memphis stela would actually have been his second.<sup>59</sup> These are plausible

56. For the accession date, see *Urk* IV 1343; cf. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 25-26; for the death of Tuthmosis III, *Urk* IV 895-96; cf. the discussions of D. B. Redford ("The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II," *JEA* 51 [1965] 121-22) and R. A. Parker ("Once Again the Coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II," in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* [SAOC, No. 35 (1969) pp. 75-82]). But Rainer Stadelmann, in conversation with me, raises an interesting caveat, suggesting that the name of the season "Proyet," given in the tomb of Amenemhab for the death of Tuthmosis III, is erroneous. If it is emended to "Akhet," the sequence of events (III Akhet 30, death of the old king; IV Akhet 1, accession of the new) leaves no room for a coregency.

57. *Urk* IV 1299-1309, at 1301.3, 15. A Karnak stela that closely parallels the Memphis version supplies the internal chronology of the campaigns (1310-16).

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 1287-99 (parallel texts of the Amada and Elephantine stelae, with fragments of the latter in Cairo and Vienna).

59. E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem

arguments, to be sure, and it seems unlikely that the year number on the Amada stela reflects a sculptor's mistake. The Elephantine version of the text may or may not have borne the same date as the Amada stela,<sup>60</sup> but the colophon of this version (there is no colophon at Amada) is dated to regnal year four.<sup>61</sup> Surely, then, the main text refers to an earlier decree, and since its contents are virtually identical with those of the Amada stela, both were probably issued at the same time.

To what, however, do these year numbers refer? The initial dates ("regnal year three" etc. on the Amada stela) are followed on both stelae by Amenophis II's full titulary, and then by a long-winded mélange of honorific phrases that accounts for better than half the text. Only after this array is the rhetorical purpose of these monuments stated, namely, to commemorate Amenophis II's improvements in his father's temples.<sup>62</sup> The colophon of the Elephantine version, dated to "regnal year four" and apparently inscribed at the same time as the main text above it,<sup>63</sup> embodies subsidiary decrees concerning the provisioning of the temple and ritual observance in it. Since the initial date on the Elephantine stela was certainly earlier than that on the colophon, it follows that the actual carving of the stela must have taken place in year four at the earliest, and possibly even later. The initial date, then, can have nothing to do with the actual emplacement of the stela in the temple, but must be connected with the *raison d'être* of the monument, Amenophis II's beautification of the temple. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the date on the colophon seems to refer to the promulgation of the additional decrees recorded there. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the date of the main text applies to either the original decree commanding the improvements, the beginning of the work, or its completion—which of these is uncertain. If so,

Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs," *ZDPV* 69/2 (1953) 158-59; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (2d ed. rev.; *ÄA*, Vol. 5 [1971]) p. 156, n. 106. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 118-21 gives a useful summary of the arguments.

60. C. Kuentz, *Deux stèles d'Amenophis II (IFAO-BdE X [1925])* Pl. III.

61. *Urk* IV 1299; cf. the colophons on Boundary Stelae A and B at Amarna, *El Amarna V*, Pl. XXXIII.

62. *Urk* IV 1294. Note that the initial date at the Memphis stela refers to the event that follows the protocol, the capture of Shamash-Edom (1301; cf. 1310).

63. P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1909-26) Pl. XII (at No. 34.019); the colophon begins in the middle of the third line from the bottom.

the initial date on the Amada stela should also refer in some way to Amenophis II's work at the temple, and the actual installation of the stela may have taken place much later.

None of this really matters, of course, if the "first campaign of victory" preceded III Shomu 15 in regnal year three—but is this really certain? It is significant that the historical details, as well as the circumstances of the erection of the stela, are recounted in a passage that follows the specification of all the improvements on the temple:

His Majesty caused this stela to be made and established in this temple at the Station of the Lord (L.P.H.), inscribed with the Great Name of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of Rē Amenophis II, in the house of his fathers, the gods,<sup>64</sup> after his Majesty had returned from Upper Retjenu when he had overthrown all his enemies while extending the borders of Egypt in his first campaign of victory.<sup>65</sup>

The killing of the seven chiefs of the region of Takhsy and the hanging of their corpses from the walls of Thebes and Napata are next described, and the text concludes with a glorification of the king. In this passage, then, we are told certain details about the first campaign, and also that the stelae at Amada and Elephantine were set up on the king's return. It is even possible that both stelae were set up by the official delegation sent down to Napata after the campaign, but here we are only guessing. The vital question is, Is there necessarily a connection between the "first campaign" and the initial date of the stelae? The answer, I believe, is "no."

The case for a "first campaign" prior to year three has always rested on the assumption that the initial date of the Amada stela (and of its mate at Elephantine) provided a *terminus post quem* for this expedition. This assumption in turn depends on another assumption—that the initial date and the date of the setting up of the stelae are connected. This last assumption is not merely unproven, it is demonstrably false. We have shown that the Elephantine stela contained two separate decrees, the one almost certainly dated identically with the Amada stela, and the second dated in year four, no less than two months later.

The style of carving appears the same as that of the main text, and there is no reason to suspect that it is a later addition.

64. Var. Elephantine: "in the house of Khnum, Lord of ꜥebḥu."

65. *Urk* IV 1296.

Neither date has anything to do with the date of the erection of the Elephantine stela itself, although it is theoretically possible that the inscription was made during year four. Nor is the work on the temple specifically connected with either the "first campaign" or the erection of the stela. All that the text says is that the stela was commissioned after the king had returned from abroad, and this information is contained in a passage that follows the description of "improvements" to the temple, a passage that has no thematic relation to this description. I would suggest that the proper relationship of these two sections is the following: On III Shomu 15 of year three Amenophis II authorized(?) the improvements in his father's temple; although the work itself was carried out with dispatch, the commemorative stela was not set up until after the "first campaign" of year seven, probably in year eight;<sup>66</sup> this was sufficiently late in the day so that the subsidiary decrees of year four could be included as a colophon to the Elephantine stela. If this reasoning is accepted and its bearing on the Amada stela conceded, Amenophis II's alleged "first campaign" prior to his seventh year vanishes.

There are several possible objections to the above interpretation, none of them particularly forceful. It may be argued that the interval between the original decree and its memorialization as proposed here is excessively long. We should keep in mind, however, that virtually all Egyptian inscriptions were necessarily antedated, simply because the carving of a stela (or a wall) took time. The antedating of texts by as much as several years, moreover, was not very uncommon.<sup>67</sup> It has been argued that the account of the "first campaign" on the Amada stela is inconsistent with the accounts on the Karnak and Memphis stelae.<sup>68</sup> In part, this impression has resulted from misguided efforts to bring the dates of the year seven campaign into harmony with the initial date of the Amada stela; as we have shown above, this date has nothing to do with any campaign. Another objection may be that the episode of the seven chiefs of Takhsy is not mentioned on either the Memphis or the Karnak stela. This argument from

66. *Ibid.*, p. 1314; having been on the plains of Sharon on III Shomu 6, the king arrived back in Memphis on III Shomu [x], less than five months before the beginning of his next regnal year; see Edell *ZDPV* 69/2 (1953) 158, Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 121.

67. See Sève-Söderbergh, review of Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte*, in *BiOr* 13 (1956) 122.

68. Edell, *ZDPV* 69/2 (1953) 158-59; Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 120-21.

silence, as has already been pointed out,<sup>69</sup> carries no weight. The accounts of Amenophis II's Syrian campaigns, like the famous "Annals" of Tuthmosis III they resemble, were probably drawn from the daybooks kept by the expedition and are thus highly selective, stressing certain episodes and omitting others. Even the closely parallel versions on the Memphis and Karnak stelae, notably, differ in some details.<sup>70</sup> Further, the itinerary of the expedition of year seven indicates that Amenophis II was at that time operating in the vicinity of Takhsy.<sup>71</sup> There is no reason, therefore, why the episode of the Takhsy chiefs could not have taken place during this "first campaign of victory" in year seven, to be memorialized on the stelae at Amada and Elephantine although omitted from the less rhetorical accounts at Memphis and Karnak. The apparent incompatibility of these records may simply reflect the greater knowledge of events by Amenophis II's contemporaries than has been vouchsafed to modern Egyptologists. Everybody at the time of the erection of the stelae knew that Amenophis II's first campaign had been fought in year seven; the consequent failure to specify the date has led to an unexpected historical "problem" for us today.

The Amada stela is nonetheless helpful in determining the length of the coregency. Its main purpose, as we have seen, was to commemorate certain improvements made by Amenophis II in the temple of his father. Since, as we shall see, the Amada temple was decorated by Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II jointly during their coregency, it is probable that Tuthmosis III had died before III Shomu 15 in his son's third year. Admittedly this is again something of an argument from silence, but the conclusion seems reasonable on the basis of the general usage of renewal formulas in Egyptian monuments: living kings usually renew monuments for dead ones. The length of the coregency would thus have been less than three years. Astronomical evidence is of further aid in fixing its duration, despite the problems that

69. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 121.

70. H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches* (ADAW [1947] No. 2 [1949]) pp. 50-54; the selectivity that went into the composition of the related Memphis and Karnak accounts of Amenophis II's campaigns can be noted best in W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22* (Berlin, 1961) pp. 32-39.

71. For the location of Takhsy, see Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 119, n. 4; AEO I 150\*-53\* ("near Kadesh"); for its position on Amenophis II's itinerary see Helck, *Beziehungen*, pp. 156-60 and map on p. 162.

hedge the exact dating of Tuthmosis III's reign.<sup>72</sup> We know that Tuthmosis III died in his own fifty-fourth regnal year after a reign of fifty-three years, ten months, and twenty-six days.<sup>73</sup> If his reign had begun in 1490 and ended in 1436, as Parker believes, the coregency would have lasted exactly two years and four months, the accession of Amenophis II having taken place on IV Akhet 1 in 1439.<sup>74</sup> If, however, Tuthmosis III had begun his reign in 1504 and died in 1450, Amenophis II would have come to the throne in 1453. The alternative calculation does not affect the length of the coregency, which remains two years and four months.<sup>75</sup>

Two documents allow us to glimpse Amenophis II as crown prince. In the tomb of Min, mayor of This, "the king's son Amenhotep" is shown being given archery lessons.<sup>76</sup> And in his own Sphinx stela, the king boasts retrospectively of his athletic prowess and of the favor it brought him in the eyes of his father.<sup>77</sup> Dated monuments of the elder coregent fail after II Shomu 14 of his fifty-first regnal year, well over one year before the beginning of the coregency.<sup>78</sup>

72. Parker (in *Studies Wilson*, pp. 75-82, and idem, "The Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II," *JNES* 16 [1957] 39-43) argues that Tuthmosis III ascended the throne in 1490; the higher date of 1504 is maintained by W. C. Hayes and M. B. Rowton in "Chronology I. Egypt—To the End of the Twentieth Dynasty," in *CAH* I/1 (3d ed.) 173-239, and by W. J. Murnane, "Once Again the Dates of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II," *JANES* 3 (No. 1, Autumn, 1970-71) 1-7. See now E. F. Wente, "Thutmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975) 265-72.

73. *Urk* IV 895-96.

74. Parker, *Studies Wilson*, pp. 79-82. On the verso of Pap. Leningrad 1116 A an issue of grain for the manufacture of bread and beer for the next *Psḏntjw* Festival (the day on which the lunar month began) was made between III Shomu 6 and III Shomu 10 in what was apparently Amenophis II's nineteenth year. It is reasonable to assume that at the time of this issue the festival was imminent, falling on or shortly after III Shomu 10. In 1420 B.C. the lunar month began on III Shomu 11, agreeing with the data on the Leningrad papyrus and placing Amenophis II's accession year in 1439/38 B.C.

75. See now Wente, *JNES* 34 (1975) 267-68.

76. *Urk* IV 976-77; *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 227 (5) IV.1.

77. *Urk* IV 1276-83. It was once believed that the future Amenophis II was in charge of the dockyards near Memphis while acting as crown prince (Hayes, in *CAH* II/1 [3d ed.] 369), but the documents supporting this supposition have been convincingly redated to the middle of Amenophis II's own reign, and the "Prince Amenophis" mentioned in them was probably his own son (Redford, *JEA* 51 [1965] 107-12).

78. *Urk* IV 811.10.

Amenophis II's earliest royal monument is probably the Sphinx stela. The relevant portion of the text opens with the statement that the king had come to the throne as a "goodly youth" shortly after his eighteenth birthday (l. 11). The text then plunges into a retrospective account of Amenophis II's activities before he became king, culminating in the feats of horsemanship which so impressed Tuthmosis III that he resolved to bequeath his kingdom to this son of his.<sup>79</sup> Meanwhile, Amenophis was entrusted with the training of horses from the royal stables (ll. 19-23), and it was in pursuing this task that the prince took his charges out for exercise to the Giza plateau, vowing to perpetuate the names of Khufu and Kha'frē at the site of their funerary monuments: "(but) he still put it in his heart—so he said—until that which his father Rē had decreed for him should come to pass" (ll. 25-26).<sup>80</sup> Subsequently, when he was "made to appear as king,"<sup>81</sup> he fulfilled his vow by erecting the stela that records these events.<sup>82</sup> As this summary will have indicated, this is a far cry from the self-assured conqueror of later years. At this stage apparently Amenophis II had nothing better to boast about than his juvenile athletic achievements, a situation that seems most likely in the period shortly after he became king. The stela would thus appear to have been set up during the coregency period.

Neither Amenophis II nor any of his subjects refers directly to the coregency in the surviving monuments. The royal scribe Tjaneny, for instance, notes that he served Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, and Tuthmosis IV in sequence, saying nothing to indicate that these reigns may have overlapped.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, the high priest of Osiris Nebwa'wy, after mentioning his service under

79. Redford's arguments (*JEA* 51 [1965] 117-18) for placing this episode during the coregency are unconvincing. Note, among other things, that Tuthmosis III is made to say of his son, *ntf jr·f nb n t3 dr·f*, "he will act as the lord of the entire land" (*Urk* IV 1281.19; see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [3d ed., rev.; Oxford, 1957] sec. 373.2).

80. Translation by J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 244-45.

81. *Urk* IV 1283.5: *m-ḥt nn sh'w ḥm·f m nswt*. If the verb form is a passive *sdm·f*, as Redford (*JEA* 51 [1965] 117, n. 5) suggests, why could not the agent who caused the young king's accession have been Tuthmosis III, rather than a god?

82. It may be coincidental, but Tuthmosis IV performed a similar benefaction at Giza shortly after his own accession. His stela is dated III Akhet 19 (*Urk* IV 1540), about one month after his presumed accession in II Akhet (Redford, *JNES* 25 [1966] 120).

83. *Urk* IV 10004-5. The cartouches of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II lack any qualifying epithet; Tuthmosis IV is "given life like Rē forever."



Tuthmosis III, goes on to say that "his son, King Okheprurē, living forever, continued to show favor to me. He gave to me an image of his father, King Menkheperre, given life, (to be) his portable-statue-of-millions-of-years in the house of his father Osiris."<sup>84</sup> No very sinister meaning need be attached to this reticence. Tjaneny's inscription was made during the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and both he and Nebwa'wy seem to have been more concerned with stressing their meritorious service under both kings than with the minutiae of historical fact. Similarly, on the Sphinx stela, Amenophis II is interested only in eulogizing his own youthful prowess, his favor in his father's eyes, and the eventual fulfillment of a vow when he became king. In none of these cases is the coregency relevant to the message conveyed in the inscription. Less easy to explain, however, is a passage in the tomb biography of Amenemhab that seems not merely to omit mention of a coregency but actually to deny that one existed:

Now the king [i.e., Tuthmosis III] completed his period of many good years in valor, in [po]wer and in justification, beginning with regnal year one down to regnal year fifty-four, III Proyet, last day, under the [Majesty of] King Menkheperre, the triumphant. He went up to heaven, joining the solar disk, and the god's limbs were commingled with the one who made him. And at first light, when the morrow had come,<sup>85</sup> (then) the sun was risen, the sky was bright, and King Okheprurē, the son of Rē [Amenophis II], given life, was established on the throne of his father. He alighted on the *serekh*, he received the lordship.<sup>86</sup>

Why, if there was a coregency, should the situation have been described in this way? A solution is suggested by the wording of the passage, which begins with a bald statement of the chronological facts of Tuthmosis III's reign. Then the level of the action switches from the mundane to the cosmic. The description of Tuthmosis III's death and of his assumption into heaven is modeled on a famous passage in one of the classics of Egyptian literature, the Tale of Sinuhe.<sup>87</sup> In both places, the departed

84. Ibid., pp. 1494-95. The epithet "given life" attached to Tuthmosis III does not itself tell us whether he was alive or dead at this time (see Appendix, below).

85. W. Westendorf, "Zu zwei Tagesformeln der ägyptischen Literatursprache," ZÄS 79 (1954) 67-68.

86. In Th. T. No. 85: text, Urk IV 895-96.

87. A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* ("Bibliotheca aegyptiaca")

King is treated as a divine being, and his translation into the next world is regarded as nothing less than the reintegration of his parts into the deity from which he had sprung. At this point the text of Sinuhe falls back into the mundane consideration of the plot against Sesostris I. In Amenemhab, however, the language continues in the same elevated, poetic vein: a new day dawns, and Amenophis II is revealed enthroned in the place of his father. Like Horus, he comes to rest on the *serekh*, the model palace facade, as the living embodiment of the first of his own "great names." Just as the death of Tuthmosis III is not treated in this passage as merely the passing of an ordinary human being, neither is the accession of Amenophis II treated as merely the elevation of but another mortal ruler. Rather he appears, gloriously illuminated by the rising sun of a new day, in the role of Horus, successor to the dead Osiris. I suggest that the description of events on this level of myth does not preclude the historicity of a coregency; it simply views the succession on an archetypal plane that renders such considerations irrelevant. There is therefore no "conspiracy of silence" about the coregency here on the part of either Amenophis II (who, as I have suggested, did not suppress or renumber any of his foreign campaigns in order to de-emphasize the coregency) or his subjects.

Like the other coregencies so far discussed, the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II left tangible relics of its existence.

- a) A number of scarabs and small plaques survive, inscribed with the names of Amenophis II and his father.<sup>88</sup>
- b) In one of the rooms south of the granite sanctuary at Karnak there are two statue groups, one of them Tuthmosis III and Amun, the other Amenophis II and Amun. It is tempting to suppose that they were set up at the same time, to create a similar impression to that of the juxtaposition

II [Brussels, 1932]) p. 3: "King Sehetepibrē ascended to heaven, joining with the solar disk, and the god's limbs were commingled with the one who made him." For the grammatical constructions of this and related passages, see W. Schenkel, "Beiträge zur mittelägyptischen Syntax," ZÄS 92 (1965) 68-72.

88. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II (New York, 1959) 144; Matouk, *Corpus* I 75; H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc., in the British Museum* I: *Royal Scarabs* (London, 1913) 161 (No. 1368) and 165 (No. 1671). For this last reference I am indebted to C. C. Van Siclen.

of names or figures in a relief. It is also unprovable.<sup>89</sup> We have no evidence that these statues were not arranged together at some later time, and they cannot be accepted uncritically as memorials to the coregency.

- c) Leyden Stela V.11 shows two kings seated facing one another across a laden offering table. Both are described as "the Good God . . . living like Rē forever." The text underneath is a simple *ḥtp-dj-nswt* formula invoking Amun-Rē King of the Gods and the royal ka of Tuthmosis III on behalf of a woman name Henutnofret.<sup>90</sup>
- d) Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II are associated in several Theban tombs. In that of Dedi (No. 200) they are seen seated together under a sunshade, reviewing troops; here Tuthmosis III is seated behind Amenophis II.<sup>91</sup> In Noferonpet's tomb (No. 43) the tomb owner presents a bouquet to two kings seated under a canopy; the king at the rear is Amenophis II; although the top of the figure in front is destroyed, along with his names, he is generally identified as Tuthmosis III.<sup>92</sup> Finally, in the tomb of Amenmose (No. 42), at the east end of the north wall, a painted stela shows two kings seated back to back; the cartouche on the left is Tuthmosis III's; although the one on the right is blank, it is plausible to infer that it was Amenophis II's,<sup>93</sup> especially as the cartouches and partial titularies of these two kings face one another above the door to the shrine in this tomb.<sup>94</sup>

89. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 116, with references.

90. P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II* (Leiden, 1909) Pl. VII, No. 8.

91. The actual scene in the tomb is now destroyed, but Wilkinson's rough hand-drawing is reproduced in Ali Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (*MÄS*, Vol. 21 [1969]) p. 38, Fig. 1.

92. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 84 (3); cf. Radwan *Darstellungen*, pp. 4-5; W. Helck, "Das thebanische Grab 43," *MDAIK* 17 (1961) 103, *Abb.* 3, and 106; but cf. C. Aldred, "The Second Jubilee of Amenophis II," *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 5, where the two kings are identified as Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV.

93. Nina M. and N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmosë and Another* (*EES-ThTS* V [1933]) p. 33.

94. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIX. The coregents may also be represented in Th. T. No. 172 (Mentuwy) in which two kings (their names broken away) seated on thrones face one another and are individually greeted by the tomb-owner (*PM*

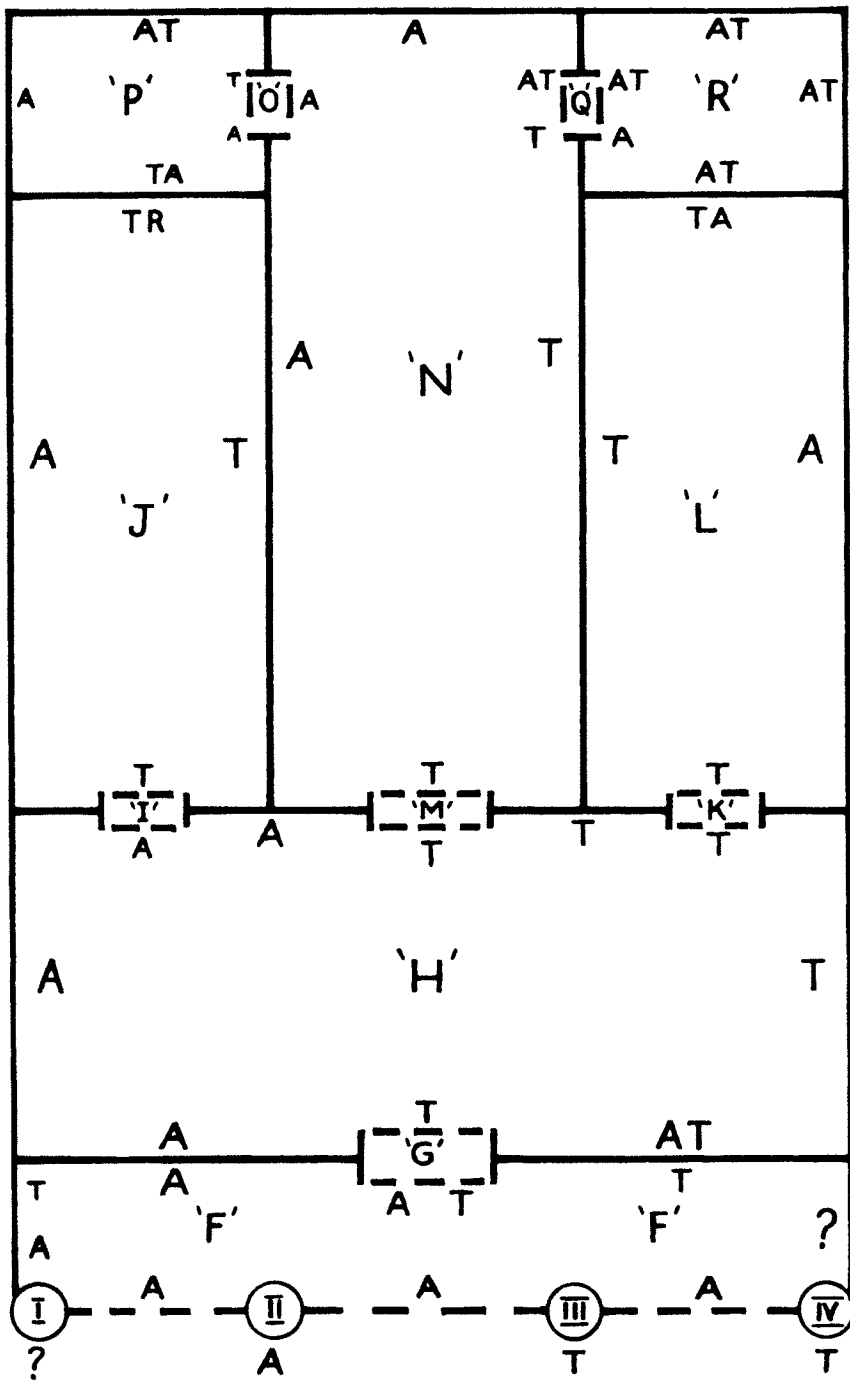


Fig. 2.—Temple of Amada, inner section

- e) The most important monument to survive from this coregency period is the temple at Amada. Redford has cast some doubt on this attribution, suggesting that Amenophis II merely filled in the blank spaces in a building nearly completed by his father.<sup>95</sup> This position, I believe, is difficult to sustain, as is the more radical attribution of the entire decoration to Amenophis II. The only alternative is that both kings decorated the temple during their coregency, as the following analysis should make clear.

In the account of his improvements at the Amada temple, Amenophis II pointedly refers to it as a building "which his father, King Menkheperre made for his fathers, all the gods."<sup>96</sup> While this is not a very detailed statement, it is more reasonable to suppose that it refers to the temple as substantially finished before Amenophis II made his additions rather than to an undecorated shell. The distribution of decoration within the temple provides confirmation of this supposition. Throughout the building (see Fig. 2) reliefs and inscriptions of the two kings seem to be arranged to balance one another; the sheer extent of this juxtaposition creates the impression of joint authorship.<sup>97</sup> In the portico (F) and the broad hall (H) Tuthmosis III appears to dominate the north half of the building, and Amenophis II the south half.<sup>98</sup> The same is true in the central (N) and south (J) sanctuaries: Amenophis II appears on the south walls (J 1-7, N 1-3), Tuthmosis III on the north walls (J 8-15, N 4-6). In the north sanctuary (L) the positions are reversed: Tuthmosis III appears on the south wall, closest to the Sta-

I/1 [2d ed.] 280 [3]; cf. Radwan, *Darstellungen*, p. 5 and n. 16). But I doubt (as against Radwan, *Darstellungen*, pp. 95-96) that two coregents are shown in Th. T. No. 143; it seems more likely that here the same king is represented in action in three distinct vignettes (spearing a lion, enthroned, shooting an arrow; *PM* I/1 [2d ed.] 255 [3]).

95. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 116.

96. *Urk* IV 1494; cf. similar claims made by Amenemmes IV on behalf of Amenemmes III at Medinet Madi (S. Donadoni, "Testi geroglifici di Medinet Madi," *Or* 16 [1947] 349-50).

97. The plan and the references are from Mohamed Aly, Fouad Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada IV* (*CDEAE* [1967]) passim.

98. With a few exceptions: (H) 7-9, 13 belongs to Amenophis II; and (F) 14-15 belongs to Tuthmosis III.

tion of the Lord (L 1-8), while Amenophis II appears on the opposite, north wall (L 9-12). The rear (west) walls of Rooms J and L are divided between the kings, each of whom is represented by one or more scenes. In the surviving portions of these damaged walls Tuthmosis III appears more often than his son (J 16-20, L 15-19). In the central sanctuary, the rear wall is taken up by the stela which was, of course, erected later by Amenophis II. The scenes in the two side rooms are evenly divided between the two rulers (P and R). The cumulative effect is one of a deliberate and schematic distribution of credit to both kings. Amenophis II's scenes, then, could hardly have been "left blank" by Tuthmosis III except by design, which seems unlikely. The question remains, Could his son have planned this juxtaposition as a memorial to his father and/or the coregency? The following observations will show that this is unlikely.

Although the distribution of the scenes on the walls of the temple seems to favor neither Tuthmosis III nor Amenophis II, the "ownership" of the doorways is somewhat less evenly divided. Of twelve doorways, seven (G 7-11, I 5-8, K on both sides, M on both sides, and O 5-9) are inscribed with the names of Tuthmosis III alone. Only two (I 1-4 and O 1-4) are inscribed with the names of Amenophis II alone. The remaining three (G 1-6, and Q on both sides) are divided between the two kings. This situation might be compared with that at the temple at Deir el-Bahari, where of thirteen doorways, six appear to belong to Hatshepsut<sup>99</sup> and not one to Tuthmosis III alone.<sup>100</sup> It is hard to imagine that Amenophis II would have yielded pride of place to such an extent if he was in fact entirely responsible for the work; of all the pharaohs, he was the least retiring of a singularly immodest lot. A final piece of evidence that Tuthmosis III was involved in the decoration is found in the vertical texts that flank the

99. *Deir el Bahari* I, Pl. XVII; II, Pls. XXXIX-XL; IV, Pl. CI; V, Pl. CXXXIV (two doors flanking central doorway).

100. Of the seven doorways that were jointly decorated by Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, only three are shared equally (*ibid.*, IV, Pls. XCV, CXXX, and CXXXIV). On the others, the coregents share only the lintel, while the jambs belong to Hatshepsut alone (IV, Pl. CIII; V, Pls. CXX, CXXI, and CXXXVII).

doorways inside rooms (P) and (R) (O 5-9 and Q 5-9). The first of these reads, "the son of Rē, his beloved, Tuthmosis, he made (it) as his monument for his father Rē, Lord of Heaven, so that he might effect 'given life forever.'" The second is identical, but the name in the cartouche is Amenophis II's.<sup>101</sup> All in all, there can be little doubt that the interior of the Amada temple was decorated by Amenophis II and Tuthmosis III jointly during their coregency.

- f) It is conceivable that buildings at El Kab and at Kumma were erected or decorated during the coregency. The evidence is rather sketchy, however, and each king's contribution could have been made separately.<sup>102</sup>

Although the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II did not last for many years, it is remarkably well attested from every standpoint. The chronological data, as we have seen, are quite firm, and the monuments, though few in number, add considerable support. The silence of the literary sources, given their nature, is not surprising; this lack of clearly dated material from the coregency period may be due both to its short duration and the chances of survival. Coregencies of comparable length in the Middle Kingdom (for example, the coregencies of Sesostris I and Amenemmes II, and of Amenemmes II and Sesostris II) are much more richly attested in dated inscriptions, but most of these are dated private monuments of a sort that occurs less frequently in the New Kingdom.

#### SETY I AND RAMESSES II

In the great dedicatory inscription that he placed in the temple of his father Sety I at Abydos, Rameses II speaks of his earliest career in the following terms:<sup>103</sup>

101. The "Amenhotep" in (Q) 5-9 was hacked out during the Amarna period and restored during the 19th Dynasty, and it is probably correct as it stands; the name "Tuthmosis" seems to have been respected by Akhenaten's agents here as elsewhere. These inscriptions are probably what Aldred (ZÄS 94 [1967] 6) means when he refers to the participation of both kings in the foundation ceremonies at this temple, for these rituals are not shown on the walls.

102. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965) 116, with references.

103. *KRI* II/6 327.10-328.5.

It was Menma'atrē who nurtured me, and the All-Lord himself advanced me when I was a child until I could (begin to) rule, (since already) when I was in the egg he had given the land to me. The officials kissed the ground before me when I was installed [as] eldest [son]<sup>104</sup> and hereditary prince<sup>105</sup> on the Throne of Geb, and when I reported concerning the [affairs] of the Two Lands as commander of the infantry and of the chariotry. When my father rose up before the people, I being (yet) a child in his arms, [he] said concerning me: "Raise him up as king so that I [may see] his beauty while I am alive." [He caused to be summoned] the chamberlains to affix the diadems on my brow. "Place the Great One [that is, the crown] on his head"—so he said concerning me when he was on earth . . . . He equipped me with private apartments and with female royal attendants who were like unto the beauties of the palace. He selected for me women throughout [this land(?)], charioteeresses<sup>106</sup> for . . . his(?) . . . the palace(?),<sup>107</sup> harem-women and female companions.<sup>108</sup>

This account traces Ramesses' elevation in two steps: his appointment as heir apparent, with the titles "eldest son" and "hereditary prince," and later his coregency with Sety I. A further allusion to the first of these periods is found in the Kûbân stela

104. Against a purely honorific sense for this term proposed by J. J. Janssen ("La Reine Nefertari et la succession de Ramsès II par Merenptah," *CdE* 38 [1963] 35-36), some sense of seniority must surely apply to it in connection with Prince Ramesses, who is designated "eldest" (*smsw*) son of Ramesses II and "elder" (*smsw*) brother of Kha'emwēse on their West Silsilah stela (F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis* [ÄA, Vol. 27 (1973)] pp. 16, 128, *Abb.* 29).

105. The interpretation of *jry-p't* as "crown prince" (as in Gardiner, *AEO* I 14\*) has been disputed or qualified (see Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, p. 18) because in certain contexts, especially when referring to nonroyal persons, the title seems to have the sense of "king's delegate." Still, the distribution of *jry-p't* among attested kings' sons shows that it was held by relatively few of them, and not a few "eldest kings' sons" who bore the title later became kings (e.g., Ramesses II [*LdR* III 31], Merneptah [pp. 95-96], and Sety II [pp. 125-26]). Like the term "king's son," which has a primary meaning when attached to royal offspring and a secondary meaning when applied to high officials, *jry-p't* must be interpreted according to its environment.

106. *Wb* III 298.2-3 (*t3j-hnr* = "die Zügel führen").

107. *Šddjw* = *šdj.t* (*ibid.*, IV 568.3, "Palast o.ä. [eines Gottes]"); This word, however, is attested only in the late period.

108. Despite the determinatives that suggest the reading *hnm-st*, this is probably a Ramesside spelling of *hnmst*, "female companion."



of Ramesses' third year, wherein the courtiers (in the course of a long eulogy) address him as follows:

Everything has come to your attention since you (began to) govern this land. While (yet) you were in the egg you managed affairs in your office as child-heir (*hrd jry-p't*). The business of the Two Lands was told to you when you were (yet) a child with the sidelock. No monument came to pass without being under your supervision. No commission came to pass without you. While you were (yet) a lad of ten years you acted as chief of the army.<sup>109</sup>

Although this passage has been interpreted as referring to the period of the coregency,<sup>110</sup> it seems more likely that it concerns Ramesses' activities as crown prince alone.<sup>111</sup> The verb translated above as "govern," for instance, is *jdn*, with the connotation "deputize,"<sup>112</sup> rather than *ḥꜥ3*, the term par excellence used when referring to the sovereign power of the king. Moreover, the text specifically says that Ramesses performed the described activities in his capacity as "child heir," not king, and particular emphasis is laid on his extreme youth as holder of his various offices.

Thus, while neither account is free of hyperbole, together they convey a composite account of Ramesses II's early years that is probably more accurate than not. When he was quite young, perhaps no older than ten years of age, Ramesses was appointed eldest king's son and heir apparent. During this apprenticeship he performed a number of administrative functions that groomed him for kingship. These tasks included supervisory responsibility for public works and in the two branches of the armed forces, and possibly also an associate role in other departments of the government.

The monuments allow us several glimpses of Ramesses when he was crown prince.

109. P. Tresson, *La Stèle de Koubân (IFAO-BdE IX [1922])* pp. 6-7, ll. 16-17.

110. By both K. C. Seele (*The Coregency of Ramses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak [SAOC, No. 19 (1940)]* p. 27) and J. D. Schmidt (*Ramesses II: a Chronological Structure for his Reign ["Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies" (Baltimore, 1973)]* p. 154).

111. See A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961) p. 259.

112. *Wb* I 154.1-2; cf. Haremhab's use of this word to describe his extraordinary power under Tut'ankhamun (A. H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 [1953] 14, 21, and ll. 9-10 of the inscription: "now he was governing [*jdn*] the Two Lands for a period of many years").

- a) At Abydos, in his father's temple, he appears four times with Sety in the hall of ancestors—three times before the gods and once before the list of kings.<sup>113</sup> In all cases he is portrayed as a boy with the titles "eldest king's son, heir apparent."<sup>114</sup>
- b) Ramesses is associated with his father on two private votive pieces: on a limestone votive tablet at the Oriental Institute in Chicago "the king's son of his body whom he loves, Ramesses" follows "the Osiris Sety I";<sup>115</sup> and on the stela of May in Brussels the king is followed by "the first king's son (s3-nswt tpy) of his body, Ramesses."<sup>116</sup>
- c) Ramesses also played a part in his father's war reliefs on the north exterior wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak. His figure appears in two scenes west of the doorway, but in neither case is it in the version originally inscribed on the wall. Breasted was the first to discern that in two places a figure has been inserted over the existing texts. One figure is seen helping Sety I slay a Libyan foeman (right),<sup>117</sup> while the other walks behind the king's chariot (left).<sup>118</sup> At a later stage both figures appear to have been replaced by Prince Ramesses, the figure on the left (that is, the one following the chariot) having been turned around in the process to face back toward the figure of Sety with the Libyan. On the basis of these observations Breasted had suggested that Ramesses was not initially Sety's heir, and that the figure whom he had replaced in these reliefs was an elder brother who had died young.<sup>119</sup>

113. *PM* VI 25 (223)-(225), (228)-(230); cf. Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 47-48, and Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, p. 155. Since only the figure at (225) wears the sporran in which are carved the royal names (using the early praenomen), it seems likely that these figures were being executed as the coregency began.

114. *LdR* III 31.2, B-D (s3-nswt smsw n ht·f, jry-p't).

115. Labib Habachi, "La Reine Touy, femme de Séthi I, et ses proches parents inconnus," *RdE* 21 (1969) 45-46 and Pl. 3 b (OI 10507).

116. L. Speleers, "La Stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles (E 5300)," *RT* 39 (1921) 113-16 with Pl. IV facing p. 232.

117. For location, see H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (2d ed., rev.; *OIP* LVI [1941]) Pl. X, Fig. 5, 3 A.

118. *Ibid.*, Fig. 5, 4.

119. J. H. Breasted, "Ramesses II and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs

This identification has not been universally accepted. Eduard Meyer has argued that all these insertions were the work of Ramesses II, and has offered the rather lame explanation that the original erased figures were "trial runs" for the final version.<sup>120</sup> Breasted's observations, however, appear to be accurate as far as they go, and recent examination of the wall by members of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey has yielded additional information. The original figure (who appears at least three times elsewhere in the battle reliefs)<sup>121</sup> seems not to have been a prince at all, but an official, the "troop captain (*ts-pdt*) and fan-bearer Mehy." Moreover, the title "first-born king's son" in scene 3 A, which Breasted thought belonged to the original figure, really belongs to the later figure of Prince Ramesses himself.<sup>122</sup> Since two contemporary documents show that Ramesses did hold this title, there seems little reason to doubt his right to the throne.<sup>123</sup> His installation as eldest son and heir, mentioned above in the great dedicatory inscription from Abydos, was in the nature of a formal confirmation of his born status, and not an emergency "promotion" upon the death of an elder brother.

- d) A rock stela near Aswan preserves the last (albeit indirect) reference to Ramesses during his tenure as crown prince.<sup>124</sup> The text, dedicated during the ninth regnal year of Sety I, describes the heroic efforts required to transport stone for obelisks, "while his [i.e., the king's] eldest son was directing them and performing benefactions for his Majesty." The description of this son as an

of Seti I," *ZÄS* 37 (1899) 130-39.

120. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II/2 (2d ed., rev.; Leipzig, 1928) 456, n. 2; followed by Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 23-26, and by E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (4th ed., rev.; "Clio: Les Peuples de l'orient Méditerranéen" II [Paris, 1962]) p. 387.

121. Nelson, *Key Plans*, Pl. X, Fig. 5, at 2, 16, 20.


122. All of these observations, including the newly discovered text of Mehy (ibid., Fig. 5, 3 A), were made by members of the Epigraphic Survey, J. P. Allen, F. J. Yurco, and myself, in the course of preparing an integral publication of the Sety I battle reliefs. The data are cited here with the kind permission of the Field Director, K. R. Weeks.

123. As does Edgerton, *Thutmosid Succession*, p. 31.

124. Labib Habachi, "The Two Rock Stelae of Sethos I in the Cataract Area Speaking of Huge Statues and Obelisks," *BIFAO* 73 (1973) 119-23.

"eldest" (*smsw*) son of the king parallels other applications of this term to Ramesses II; and at this point in the reign of Sety I it could hardly have been anyone else.

It has been thought that the next step in Ramesses' career, his association as his father's coregent, is commemorated in Sety I's mortuary temple in the Theban Necropolis (the "Qurnah" temple). Here, on the north wall of the small hypostyle hall in the chapel dedicated to Ramesses I, the Theban Triad and Sety I preside over the coronation of Ramesses II. It may be that the account of Ramesses' coronation in the Abydos dedicatory inscription is reproduced here, invested with the trappings of the Egyptian myth of kingship.<sup>125</sup> The corresponding scene on the south wall, however, shows Ramesses II before the Theban Triad and before Ramesses I, even though the latter was surely not alive at the time of his grandson's accession.<sup>126</sup> Both these scenes, in fact, convey what is predominantly a religious truth: that Ramesses' kingship is grounded in the support of the gods and of his two immediate ancestors. A strictly historical interpretation is misleading, even though the north scene does conform essentially to the facts given in the Abydos dedicatory text.

Of more direct historical interest is a fragmentary stela from Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim, the only one of the Sinai inscriptions that may stem from this coregency period.<sup>127</sup> The scene at the top depicts two kings (distinguished by the bulls' tails attached to their kilts) facing one another across a tall vase stand. Below, the official 'Ashahebused stands to the right of a damaged text that mentions "the son of Rē Sety Merneptah, and his royal son (  ) Userma'atrē [ . . . ]<sup>128</sup> . . . like(?) Hathor, Lady

of the Turquoise; Lord of Diadems Ramesses Meryamun, endowed with life like Rē . . . ." Significantly, it is the persons of both kings that are mentioned here (as opposed to installations named after them), so we may safely attribute this monument to their coregency.<sup>129</sup>

125. See Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 27-30; location in *PM* II (2d ed.) 417 (102).

126. *PM* II (2d ed.) 417 (100) II.2.

127. *Sinai* I, Pl. LXVIII (No. 250); II 176-77.

128. More of the cartouche survives below the "Userma'atrē," but it is impossible to tell from the plate whether there were traces of *stp.n-R'* or any other epithet.

129. Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, p. 158.

Inside Egypt proper the coregency left such wide traces that its existence seems beyond reasonable doubt. If (like Hatshepsut in relation to Tuthmosis I) Ramesses II had claimed a coregency that had never in fact existed, he would have had to falsify monuments on a colossal scale—a matter not only of antedating texts but also of affecting an obsolete style of decoration used by his father, which he himself quickly abandoned, in a very selective manner. We may reject this supposition, both on the basis of the Abydos dedicatory inscription and in the absence of any solid evidence contradicting it. The problem with this coregency is not to establish that it existed, but to define its exact length and the nature of its imprint on the monuments. Fortunately this imprint can be followed quite clearly. In his earliest reign Ramesses II had not yet developed the long praenomen ("Userma'atrē Setepenrē") that would prevail during most of his reign. Instead, he used simply "Userma'atrē," sometimes compounded with various epithets such as "tit-Rē," "iua'-Rē," and "ḥeḫa-Wēse." Also, at the start of his reign Ramesses tended to imitate the fine raised relief of his father's monuments, which he soon abandoned in favor of the faster if less elegant alternative of sunk relief. As a general rule it is the early praenomen in conjunction with the use of raised, and subsequently of sunk relief, that is characteristic for the coregency period.<sup>130</sup>

The exact accession date of Ramesses II is still unknown, but it has been established that he came to the throne between I Akhet 16 and III Akhet 10.<sup>131</sup> Monuments from his earliest reign would appear at first glance to be plentiful, but in fact very few pieces can be shown to have actually been inscribed at that time.

a) Year 1, II Akhet 25.<sup>132</sup> This date occurs in a battered

130. Seele, *Coregency*, passim. Schmidt (*Ramesses II*, pp. 156-58, 167) disputes the development of the praenomen in this fashion, but his objections fail to take into account the individual pieces (other than those to be discussed below) that, taken together, form a corpus of materials on which the "early" praenomen is used exclusively; *LdR* III 53 (LXIII), 54 (LXVII), 60 n. 2, 66 (CXII-III), 68 (CXL-CXLII), and 69 (CXLIII). Later on the early praenomen is used occasionally as a variant of the final, long praenomen (i.e., on the Mit-Rahinah colossus, *LD* III 142 e-h) but as a listing of the early dated monuments shows, the longer form does not occur where the earlier praenomen is in use predominantly.

131. J. Larson, "The Date of the Regnal Year Change during the Reign of Ramesses II," *Serapis* 3 (1975-76) 17-21.

132. *PM* VII 108 (92); *LD* III 189 a; cf. *Text* V 148; most recent copy by

inscription inside the great temple of Abu Simbel, and it has generally been ascribed to Ramesses II ("Userma'atrē Setepenrē, the Great God").<sup>133</sup> Collation of the text reveals, however, that the author of this inscriptions is Sety II,<sup>134</sup> so neither the date nor the form of the praenomen has any bearing on this coregency.

- b) Year 1, III Akhet 23. This is apparently the day on which Ramesses left Thebes after the Feast of Opet in his first year. It occurs, however, in the great dedicatory inscription that Ramesses caused to be inscribed in the eastern part of his father's temple at Abydos and that he took over and finished in his own name.<sup>135</sup> The three references to the affairs of year one (ll. 22, 26, and 72) all have to do with events that were well in the past when the text was put on the wall. It is thus quite unlikely that this inscription, which uses the long praenomen, was itself executed in year one of Ramesses' reign.
- c) Year 1, III Akhet (*sic*). The first prophet of Amun Nebwenenef dates his induction to office in this manner, with the space for the day number unaccountably left blank.<sup>136</sup> In any case, the reference to year one is almost certainly retrospective, since the tomb was obviously begun after Nebwenenef moved from his home in Abydos to Thebes, and after he had earned the right to carve out one of the most imposing tombs in the Theban Necropolis. Thus, as in the Abydos inscription, the long form of the praenomen that is used here is not contemporary with year one.
- d) [Year 1, . . .] Proyet 20. This block, found in the mor-




J. Černý and E. Edel, *Abou Simbel, salles intérieures* ("Centre de documentation et d'études de l'ancien Egypte" [Cairo, n.d.]), G 14.

133. E.g., by D. B. Redford ("The Earliest Years of Ramesses II and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor," *JEA* 57 [1971] 112, n. 2) and also by myself ("The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 [1975] 159), among others.

134. See now Kitchen, review of Schmidt, *Ramesses II: a Chronological Structure for his Reign*, in *JEA* 61 (1975) 266 (at reference to Year 1-D). For a deified king as "the Great God" see Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II (ADAIK-ÄR*, Vol. 5 [1969]) p. 34.

135. Text in *KRI* II.6 323-36, at lines 26, 30, and 76.

136. Theban Tomb No. 157; *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 267 (8); text collated by me, in the spring of 1972.

tuary complex of Kha<sup>c</sup>frē,<sup>137</sup> is plausibly dated to year one because the short form of the praenomen is used.<sup>138</sup> The reading "Proyet" has been challenged by Schmidt, who believes that the trace above the sun disk could be  as easily as .<sup>139</sup> Hölscher's photograph is admittedly dim, but the sign appears too pointed for , which usually shows a more generous curve and should, moreover, be a bit thicker.<sup>140</sup> There is thus no reason to dispute the accepted dating.

- e) Year 1, III Shomu 10. This dated stela from Silsila is especially significant in that it employs four variants of the early praenomen: "tit-Rē" (l. 1), "heka-Wēse" (l. 8), "iua<sup>c</sup>-Rē" (l. 9), and "mery-Rē" (l. 10).<sup>141</sup> Notably, too, the stela is dated in the last third of the first regnal year and thus provides a chronological peg, proving that the changeover to the longer form of the praenomen had not occurred before that time.
- f) A stela found at Giza, now in the British Museum, is dated simply to "regnal year one." It was already fragmentary when it was discovered, and the praenomen is broken away.<sup>142</sup>

There are in addition two documents that I believe to be incorrectly assigned to Ramesses II's first year:

- g) On the eastern exterior wall of Ramesses II's triple shrine in the Luxor temple and extending over onto the wall of the pylon are three lines of text, the third of which begins with a "regnal year one" attributed to Ramesses II.<sup>143</sup>

137. U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten" I [Leipzig, 1912]) p. 114, Abb. 167.

138. K. Sethe, "Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenwechsel dieses Königs," *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 112.

139. Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, p. 66 B.

140. C. Kuentz (*La Face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramses II à Louxor* [Cairo, 1971] Pls. XXIV, XXV) shows two contemporary examples.

141. P. Barguet, "Les Stèles du Nil au Gebel Silsileh," *BIFAO* 50 (1952) 49-63; Schmidt (*Ramesses II*, pp. 23 l B and 167) misreads the epithet *tjt-R'* as *stp.n-R'*.

142. Kitchen's text, in *KRI* II.6 337, is the most reliable.

143. M. Abd el-Razik, "Some Remarks on the Great Pylon of the Luxor Temple," *MDAIK* 22 (1967) 68; followed by Redford, *JEA* 57 (1971) 110.

What we have here, however, seem to be three marginal inscriptions, belonging to Sety II, Ramesses III, and Ramesses IV.<sup>144</sup>

- h) Theban Graffiti Nos. 225 and 298 have also been ascribed to the earliest part of the reign, the latter apparently being dated to II Shomu 16 of Ramesses II's first regnal year.<sup>145</sup> Reference to the facsimile, however, suggests that the praenomen is to be read "Userma'atrē Setepenamun," or Ramesses IV.<sup>146</sup> The author of the text, Amennakht son of Ipy, is well known, moreover, and his naming of his sons in our graffito establishes without any doubt the attribution of this graffito to the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>147</sup> Theban Graffiti Nos. 298 and 225 should therefore be struck from the list of the dated monuments from Ramesses II's first regnal year.

In sum, not one single monument that can be established with certainty to be contemporary with Ramesses' first year bears the final, longer form of his praenomen. Of eight monuments only three—*d*, *e*, and *f*—properly belong in year one. Two others—*b* and *c*—recount events that occurred in year one but were themselves inscribed later, while three—*a*, *g*, and *h*—do not belong to the reign of Ramesses II at all. All the retrospectively dated monuments employ the final form of the praenomen which, on the basis of *e*, we know Ramesses had not yet adopted as of the first two-thirds of his regnal year one. Sometime between the date of *e* and the end of his second year he did become "Userma'atrē Setepenrē," but the surviving monuments are too damaged to enable us to pinpoint the date of the change more precisely.<sup>148</sup>

144. See W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II: Two Addenda," in *GM* 19 (1976) 41-42, and also Kitchen, review of Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, in *JEA* 61 (1975) 266 (at reference to *Year 1-G*).

145. W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inscripfen und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis* (Heidelberg, 1921) p. 26; cf. p. 21 (No. 225). This attribution is accepted by Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, pp. 24, 74, n. 40.

146. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Pls. 25 (No. 225), 34 (No. 298); see also Kitchen, *JEA* 61 (1975) 266 (at reference to *Year 1-F*).

147. On Amennakht son of Ipy see the text volume of Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, pp. 99-101.

148. *KRI* II.6 344-45. The Aswan stela has been collated by me with Labib Habachi and F. J. Yurco. The date is wrongly questioned by Schmidt (*Ramesses II*, p. 25 [2 A]); on this see also Kitchen, *JEA* 61 (1975) 266, at



The connection between the change of Ramesses II's praenomen and the transition from his coregency to his sole rule is strongly supported by the nature of his earliest reliefs. This evidence has been discussed by me previously in some detail.<sup>149</sup> The information derived from the monuments decorated during the coregency may thus be summarized as follows:

(1) The Ramesseum

The earlier form of Ramesses' praenomen does not appear in any of the surviving reliefs of his mortuary temple, the Ramesseum. Excavation at the site has yielded a number of foundation deposits, however, and insofar as these are published they seem to use the simple name "Userma'atrē" exclusively.<sup>150</sup> Since the burying of such deposits usually occurred during the earliest stages of construction, their appearance here suggests that the simple praenomen was being used very early in Ramesses' reign. The absence of the long praenomen appears to indicate that "Userma'atrē Setepenrē" had not yet been adopted when these objects were made.

(2) The Temple of Beit el-Wali

In his discussion of the temple of Beit el-Wali Seele followed the interpretation of Roeder, who distinguished four periods of decoration in this building.<sup>151</sup> The republication of the reliefs by the Epigraphic Survey has resulted in a simplification of this model, and today only three stages are discerned: first, raised relief, with the early praenomen of Ramesses II; second, sunk relief, also with the early praenomen; and finally, in a few places that were probably added when the building was virtually completed, the later long form of the praenomen in sunk relief.<sup>152</sup> The change

Year 2-A. Of the other contemporary monuments, the stela from Sinai (*Sinai* I, Pl. LXXVIII [No. 252]) records a bare "regnal year two," and the stela found by Breasted on Sai (*AJSL* 25 [1908] 98) is so badly damaged that its attribution to Ramesses II was considered doubtful by its discoverer, and in any case, no month or day are recorded here.

149. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 153-90.

150. J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (*BSA* II [1898]) Pl. XV.ii (10); cf. *PM* II (2d ed.) 442.

151. G. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* (*SAE-TIN* [1938]) pp. 154-56; followed by Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 33-40.

152. H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* ("Memoirs of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition" I [Chicago, 1967]) pp. 3-5 (Ricke), 7-9 (Hughes, a slightly different view, but no

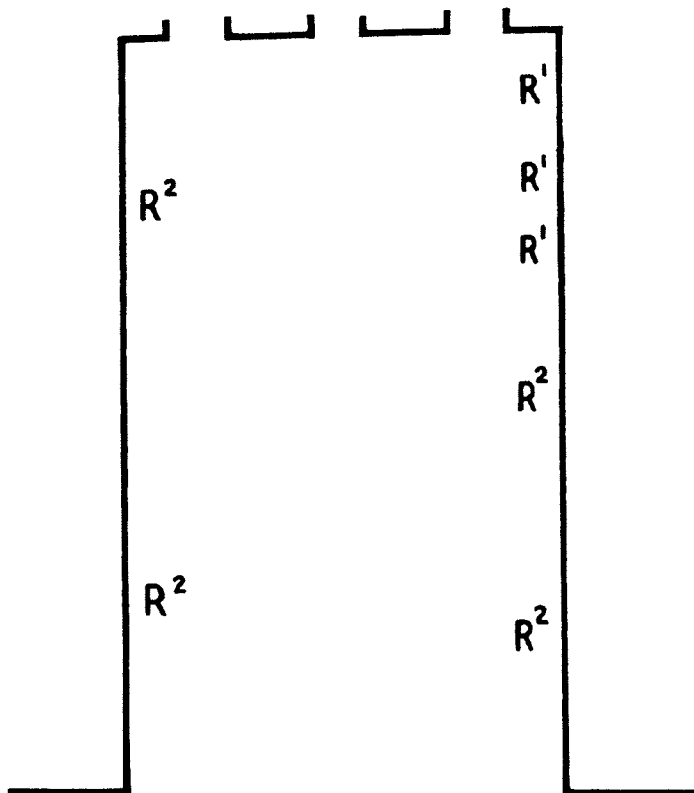


Fig. 3.—Forecourt of the Beit el-Wali Temple

KEY TO FIGURES 3-5, DEALING  
WITH RAMESSES II AND SETY I

Key to figures 3-5, dealing  
with Rameses II and Sety I

- R<sup>1</sup> Rameses II, early praenomen,  
raised relief
- R<sup>2</sup> Rameses II, early praenomen,  
sunk relief
- R<sup>3</sup> Rameses II, final praenomen,  
sunk relief
- R<sup>4</sup> Rameses II, final praenomen,  
raised relief
- R<sup>e</sup> Rameses II, early praenomen,  
relief unknown
- R<sup>f</sup> Rameses II, final praenomen,  
relief unknown
- B Rameses II, raised relief,  
type of praenomen unknown
- S<sup>1</sup> Sety I, raised relief
- S<sup>2</sup> Sety I, sunk relief
- I Sunk relief

in the style of relief is clearly visible in the courtyard (see Fig. 3), beginning midway on the north wall and dominating the south wall; but in the courtyard the simple form of the praenomen is used throughout.<sup>153</sup>

Further indications that this temple is of early date are the persons represented on its walls. Several scenes depict the viceroy of Kush Amenemopet, the first of the two Nubian viceroys who served both Sety I and Ramesses II; this man was probably succeeded by the second viceroy, Yuni, during the coregency.<sup>154</sup> Also represented several times is the "heir apparent, first king's son of his body" Amunhiwenemef, who in one of the scenes is joined by another son, Kha'emwēse.<sup>155</sup> The name Amunhiwenemef is possibly a variant of "Amunhikhopeshef"; this prince may be the well-known elder son of Ramesses II rather than a scantily attested first-born son who died early in the reign.<sup>156</sup> In any case, there is no compelling reason to believe that these princes were deceased when Beit el-Wali was decorated, nor that the Kha'emwēse represented here is other than Ramesses II's fourth son.<sup>157</sup> A later date for the temple has been suggested because in one of the inscriptions on the south wall of the court<sup>158</sup> Ramesses II's Horus and Golden Horus names are compounded with the epithet "possessor of Jubilees (like Rē)," an epithet presumably introduced only after the first jubilee in his thirtieth year.<sup>159</sup> The evidence for the earlier date far outweighs this evidence. Kings who never celebrated a jubilee were sometimes called "possessor of Jubilees,"<sup>160</sup>

different with respect to the proposed sequence of decoration as it affects the coregency).

153. Ibid., Pl. 7 (cf. Pls. 8-9), Pl. 10 (cf. Pls. 11-15).

154. Ibid., Pls. 8, 15; G. A. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," *JEA* 6 (1920) 39-40; Seele, *Coregency*, p. 36.

155. Ricke et al., *Beit el-Wali*, Pls. 8-9, 15.

156. As persuasively argued by Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, pp. 9-11.

157. Pace Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 34-36.

158. Ricke et al., *Beit el-Wali*, Pl. 9.

159. That is the view of Schmidt (*Ramesses II*, pp. 157-60), even though he accepts the placement of the Nubian viceroys. But the later form of the Horus name is "Lord of Jubilees like Ptah-Tanen" (*LdR* III 43 [XXX], 44 [XXXII], 45 [XXXIII], 51 [LV A], 60 [XCIX C], and 64 [CXVII]), while the variant found at Beit el-Wali, "Lord of Jubilees like Rē," is characteristic for Ramesses' earlier titulary (see now Kitchen, *JEA* 61 [1975] 268-69).

160. E.g., Ramesses IV (*LdR* III 179 [IV], 180 [IX-X], 181 [XIV], 185 [XXX], 188 [LII], 189 [LIII]) and Ramesses VI (ibid., p. 199, XXIX A): and note the jubilee iconography on the pectorals of Tut'ankhamun discussed by E. Feucht, *Die Königlichen Pektoriale. Motive, Sinngehalt, Zweck* (Bamberg, 1967) pp. 50-54, Pls. VI-VII (13, 14).

and the gods are often depicted conferring jubilees on kings long before they celebrated any.<sup>161</sup> The sense of the epithet here is probably that Ramesses, as king, had the potential for many jubilees in the future, and this has no bearing on ascribing an early date to the Beit el-Wali temple.

(3) The "Qurnah" Temple of Sety I<sup>162</sup>

The "Qurnah" temple was Sety I's mortuary establishment in the Theban Necropolis. There was in addition a chapel provided here for the cult of Ramesses I who, perhaps owing to the shortness of his reign, seems not to have been able to make these provisions for himself.<sup>163</sup> In the rear (west) portions of the temple the decoration is in Sety's name alone. When the porch of the hypostyle hall was reached, however, Sety allowed his coregent Ramesses II to participate in its decoration. The style of decoration in both the porch and the hypostyle, as well as in part of the vestibule to the chapel of Ramesses I, is raised relief, and it is the early praenomen of Ramesses II that is used; in both respects these areas of the temple correspond to the first stage at Beit el-Wali. The second stage, corresponding to the second stage at Beit el-Wali, is in sunk rather than raised relief but again uses the early praenomen of Ramesses II. In the vestibule to the Ramesses I chapel sunk relief is used extensively,

161. Thus Ramesses III is granted jubilees prospectively at Medinet Habu (the following plates in *MH*: I 13, 16, 17, 19; V 289-91, 295, 309 C, 310 C, 316, 329, 337; VI 364-68; VIII 612-14). More revealing is a scene from the birth room at the Luxor temple, in which the newly born Amenophis III is cradled in the arms of Amun-Rē while Hathor as Mut stands before him holding a *rnpt*-staff laden with jubilees (H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* [*JÄA*, Vol. 10 (1964)] Pl. 11). Similarly, the hovering vulture can symbolically confer jubilees upon a king in scenes not even remotely connected with their celebration (the following plates in *MH*: I 16; II 111; III 218 A, 221, 241 A; V 291). To be sure, jubilees can be conferred at a jubilee (E. Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)* [*MEES X* (1892)] Pl. V), but clearly this motif is not restricted to a jubilee context.

162. The temple is as yet unpublished, and most of my observations are based on many visits in 1972 and 1973; for a detailed discussion, see Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 165-70.

163. Note also that Sety I constructed a chapel for Ramesses I at Abydos; S. Schott, "Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos" (*NAWG* [1964, No. 1]) *passim*.

and Room XXXIV<sup>164</sup> was begun entirely in this style. Both these rooms, however, were finished completely in sunk relief after the point at which the long praenomen, "Userma'atrē Setepenrē," was adopted. This style of decoration, with the names of the two kings still associated, extends onto the portico outside the building, a section that is clearly the work of Ramesses II alone. The predominance of Ramesses in this area suggests that Sety had died before it could be decorated, leaving his son to finish the job.

The status of Sety I in the last two decoration periods is ambiguous. During the second period he continues to appear regularly in alternating scenes with his son, so it seems likely that the coregency was still in effect when the change from raised to sunk relief was made. In one scene in the vestibule to Ramesses I's chapel, however, Sety is shown in the company of Amun and Khonsu receiving worship from Ramesses II. The elder king is referred to as "the triumphant," but there is good reason to suppose that the lost cartouches of Ramesses II here still contained the shorter form of his praenomen used during the second period.<sup>165</sup> Sety "the triumphant" is depicted more frequently among the gods worshipped by his son during the third period, when the final praenomen was in use, but the earlier prominence of Sety I as an actor in scenes alternating with those of his son decreases sharply here. If the epithet *m3'ḥrw* is taken seriously, one must reckon with the possibility that Sety had died during the second period, but the association of both kings' names on the portico suggests that Sety may have survived into the third period, when Ramesses II was already referred to as "Userma'atrē Setepenrē." We may be certain of at least three things: (1) Sety I was the dominant partner in the earliest stage in the hypostyle, for a frieze of his cartouches runs along the tops of the reliefs representing him in alternation with Ramesses II; (2) Sety was certainly dead when the bulk of the work on the portico was executed by Ramesses II; and (3) all of Ramesses' claims to have "renewed" the monument for his father occur after he had adopted the final form of his praenomen. This last observation adds strongly to the reasons for doubting that Sety I had died before the third stage had begun.

#### (4) The Abydos Temple of Ramesses II

Only a few remarks can be devoted to the Abydos temple of

164. Locations: *PM* II (2d ed.) 417-20.

165. *Ibid.*, 419 (113) a-b; see Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 167-68.

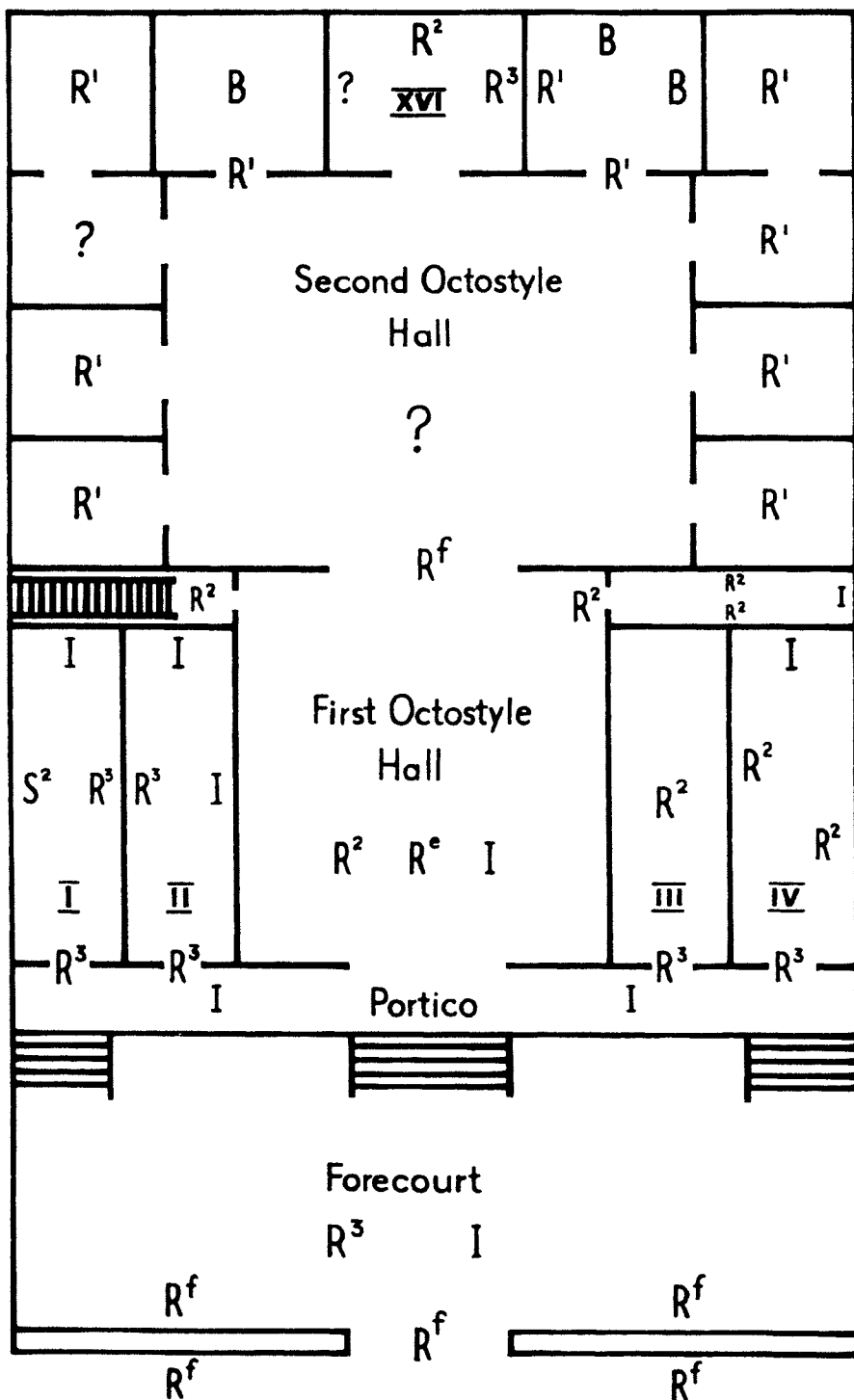


Fig. 4.—Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos

Rameses II, which is largely unpublished.<sup>166</sup> The bulk of our information on relief and types of praenomina derives from Seele's study, supplemented to some extent from private sources.<sup>167</sup>

Here, as in the Beit el-Wali and "Qurnah" temples, we may distinguish three stages of decoration (see Fig. 4). The first, marked by a combination of raised relief and use of the early praenomen, is concentrated in the rooms around the second (inner) octostyle hall. In this area only the back wall of Room XVI bears sunk relief of the second period (as before, with the early praenomen). The final form of the praenomen, seen on a neighboring wall in this room, may overlie an original scene in raised relief.

In the rooms surrounding the first (outer) octostyle hall, raised is supplanted by sunk relief. Here as at Qurnah the second period seems to have been shorter than the first, for of the rooms facing out on the portico only two (III and IV) were completely decorated in this style, using the early praenomen; the remaining two (I and II) reflect the encroachment of the third period, when Rameses had already adopted his final praenomen. Notably, it is in Room I that Sety I (as a cult figure) makes his sole appearance in the temple, in a context apparently divided between the second and the third periods.

#### (5) The Temple of Sety I at Abydos

Rameses' participation in the temple of Sety I at Abydos during the coregency was minimal. In the Hall of Lists (see Fig. 5, X), where he appears as a prince, the sash of one of the figures is inscribed in sunk relief with his earlier kingly praenomen. Whether or not the figure itself was executed in an anachronistic style after Rameses was already king, this name belongs to the first period. In Stairway Y' there are scenes showing Rameses as king offering to Sety I and Isis. These scenes are executed in raised relief and the early form of the praenomen is used.<sup>168</sup> The name on the sash may have been done at about the same time.<sup>169</sup>

166. *PM* VI 33-41.

167. Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 45-46, supplemented by photographs made available by E. F. Wente and checked by me on the site.

168. Seele (*ibid.*, p. 48) says that these are sunk reliefs, but he probably based his statement on the very simplified drawing in A. Mariette, *Abydos, description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville* I (Paris, 1869) Pl. 50; cf. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 162 (with Fig. 6, p. 164).

169. Seele, *Coregency*, p. 48, based on Mariette, *Abydos*, Pl. 46; cf.

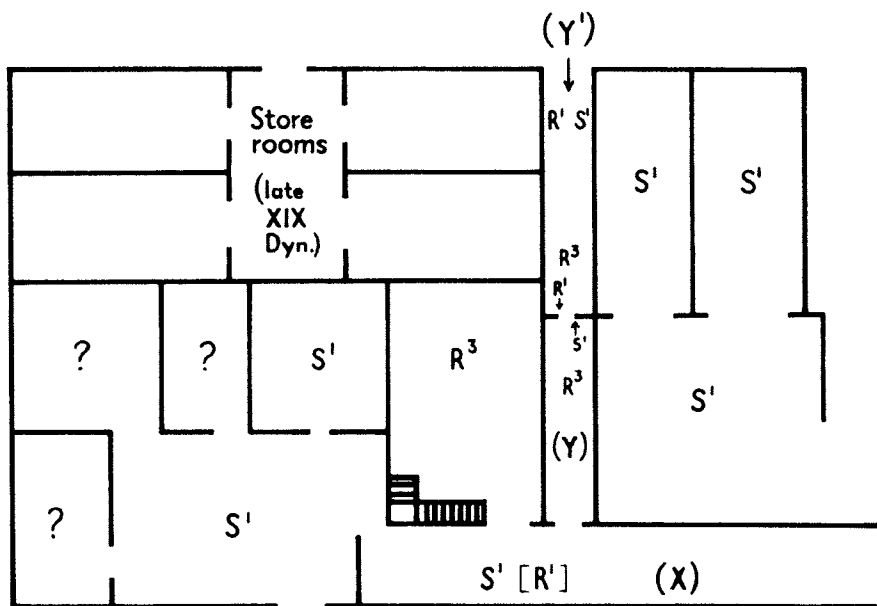


Fig. 5.—Temple of Sety I at Abydos, south wing



This is the extent of Ramesses II's early participation in his father's temple. No scenes with the earlier praenomen in sunk relief occur here, and it may well be that work on Ramesses' own temple nearby precluded a more extensive association.

When Ramesses resumed work in this temple, Sety I had already died and his son had become "Userma'atrē Setepenrē." The state of the building at this time is described in a passage of the great dedicatory inscription referred to above:<sup>170</sup>

Now (regarding) the mansion of Menma'atrē, its front and its back were in the process of construction when he entered heaven. Its "monument"<sup>171</sup> had not been completed, the pillars had not been erected on its terrace and its cult image was on the ground:<sup>172</sup> it had not been fashioned as a divine image(?)<sup>173</sup> of the goldsmiths' workshop.<sup>174</sup> Its offerings [that is, offerings for it] had come to an end, and the staff of the temple likewise.

The accuracy of this account is confirmed in the decoration of the temple. The building's rear (the south wing) was finished by Ramesses II and his successors.<sup>175</sup> Ramesses himself, using his later praenomen, inscribed a renewal text in Stairway Y',<sup>176</sup> and both the "Bull Corridor" (Y) and the "Hall of Barks" (Z) were entirely decorated at the same time.<sup>177</sup> At the front of the temple, the pillars that had not yet been erected at Sety's death can only be those of the portico, which were entirely decorated

Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 162-63 (with Fig. 5). The handling of small decorative details in sunk relief amidst a context of raised relief is not uncommon (A. Calverley and M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, ed. A. H. Gardiner [4 vols.; London, 1933-58] I, Pls. 7, 11; II, Pl. 11).

170. *KRI* II.6 326.3-5.

171. J. Vandier, *Mo'alla. La Tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (*IFAO-BdE* XVIII [1950]) p. 211, cited by P. Barquet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rē à Karnak* (*RIFAO* XXI [1962]) p. 58; perhaps translate "architectural elements."

172. Perhaps in the sense of "neglected" or "abandoned"; T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (*PMMA* XIX [1962]) p. 26 (52).

173. *rḥ.t n.f* = *rḥ.n.f* (*Wb* II 445.11; cf. J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* [*TTS* II (1965)] p. 14).

174. J. J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ships' Logs* (Leiden, 1961) p. 32.

175. *PM* VI 23-27; Merneptah and Sety II are mentioned.

176. *Ibid.*, VI 26 (238) e-f; Mariette, *Abydos* I, Pl. 49 a.

177. *PM* VI 25-26, at Y and Z.

by Ramesses,<sup>178</sup> since those in the first hypostyle had already been inscribed by Sety when his son usurped them.<sup>179</sup> The two courts and the pylon in front of the first hypostyle were entirely decorated by Ramesses, and they had probably not yet been built at the time of Sety's death.<sup>180</sup> Notably, these massive additions and usurpations were all accomplished after the adoption of the long praenomen. In another part of the dedicatory inscription Ramesses does say that "it was in regnal year one that he began to fashion his [i.e., Sety's] image,"<sup>181</sup> but this statement is open to more than one interpretation. It may be pure hyperbole, like so much else in Egyptian laudatory texts; it may refer to the meager work in the early style that was very probably done during the first regnal year; or, less probably, it may place the date of the resumption of Ramesses' work in the temple after Sety's death toward the end of regnal year one. As of this writing, the second alternative seems most likely.

(6) The Great Hypostyle Hall in the Temple of Amun at Karnak

In an earlier article, I have dealt in detail with the decoration of the great hypostyle hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>182</sup> Accordingly I will give only a very brief résumé here. The conversion of the court between the second and third pylons into a hypostyle hall was the work of Sety I, and decoration of its interior evidently proceeded from north to south. When Sety turned the site over to his son, the entire north section had already been decorated and Sety's work had begun to invade the south half. At the outset Ramesses was content to add his own materials (at first in raised relief, using the early praenomen, and later in sunk relief, using the same praenomen—corresponding to the first and second stages seen in other temples). The sur-

178. *Ibid.*, p. 5, top.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 6, bottom. As against the impression conveyed by A. Mariette (*Abydos* I 14) and E. Zippert (*Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos' I. zu Abydos* [Berlin, 1931] pp. 20-21 with *Skizze* 3 [followed by Seele, *Coregency*, p. 49]). Sety seems not to have completed the first hypostyle. Only the columns bear traces of usurpation by Ramesses II (as "Userma'atrē Setepenrē"), whereas the decoration of the walls all seem to be Ramesses' original work (and use the final praenomen); see now A. Rosalie David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos (ca. 1300 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973) p. 30.

180. *PM* VI 3 (13)-(18), (34)-(37), 5 (38)-(41); see David, *Ritual*, pp. 16-17.

181. *KRI* II.6 331.6 (l. 76).

182. See Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 170-83.

faces not covered during these two periods were finished in sunk relief, after the adoption of the final praenomen. Then, however, or perhaps later, several developments took place that differ from the treatment given to others of Ramesses' early monuments. First, all of the material from the first period (raised relief, early praenomen) was recarved into sunk relief, and the cartouches updated to the final praenominal form. The decision was apparently based at least in part on aesthetic considerations, inasmuch as the earlier cartouches in sunk relief (from the second period) were for the most part permitted to remain as they were. Almost certainly at the same time, a large portion of Sety I's work was usurped by his son, evidently with the purpose of pushing Ramesses' "territory" into the north half of the hall. The practical result of this activity was to convey the impression from the east-west axis that the entire hall was the work of Ramesses II; just beyond the limit of visibility from the central aisle all of Sety's work in the north half was respected. Thus, what had been the slight predominance enjoyed by Sety was neatly reversed, and Ramesses' usurpation of his father's reliefs in the south half fostered the misleading impression that the hall had been divided between them equally from the very beginning.

Some features of the decoration in the hypostyle hall deserve more extensive comment. On the south wall, at either side of the doorway, the bark of Amun is represented.<sup>183</sup> Seele maintained that the canopy that covers the actual shrine of the god was decorated in such a way as to combine in a sort of rebus writing the praenomina of Sety I and Ramesses II, and he discerned this feature in the decoration on both sides of the doorway in question—on the west, where the scene was originally in the raised relief of the first period, and on the east where it was in the sunk relief of Ramesses' second period.<sup>184</sup> My own examination, however, would modify Seele's conclusions somewhat. On the west side the *wsr-* of Ramesses' praenomen has been added in four places: (a) to the right of and over the *m3't*-feather held by the large hawk-headed *RĒ*, and (b) over three of the four *ankhs* held by the winged goddesses above (these three had been erased, while the fourth remains unaltered). On the east side no such usurpation took place; Seele appears to have been misled by the small photographs he used. The original canopies, then, were not jointly inscribed by the

183. Location: Nelson, *Key Plans*, Pl. IV, Fig. 6 at 99-100, 117; *PM* II (2d ed.) 47 (158) III.2, 48 (159) III.1.

184. Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 68-75.

coregents, as Seele believed, but contained elements of Sety I's praenomen alone—a curious anomaly, since the king whose name occurs in the surrounding reliefs (even those that have been changed) is incontestably Ramesses II. Possibly the artists simply copied a similar canopy that occurs in Sety I's reliefs on the north wall, but if, as Seele believed, the decoration of the actual canopy was faithfully reflected on the wall, it is apparent that the influence of Sety I was very strong in both the first and the second periods of decoration at Karnak.<sup>185</sup>

This influence should be kept in mind while considering another feature of Ramesses' reliefs in the hypostyle hall, the extensive depiction of Sety I as a god. In the Qurnah temple Sety I "the triumphant" occurs only once during the second period, and is more characteristic of the third period, after Ramesses had adopted his final praenomen. At Karnak, Sety "the triumphant" and "the Osiris" Sety I are found in both the first and second periods—stages during which, as we have seen in other temples, he seems to have been alive and active. If the apparent correlation between style of relief and the personal activity of the senior coregent is maintained throughout these monuments, it seems likely that the living Sety I was represented here in his Osiride aspect. While it is true that this state was predominantly associated with a deceased king, it occasionally was associated with a living monarch.<sup>186</sup>

#### (7) The Triple Shrine at Luxor

Although the triple shrine at Luxor is recognized as one of the earliest monuments built by Ramesses II, it has hitherto not been connected with the coregency. The final form of the king's praenomen is employed throughout its decoration, and neither the

185. Location: Nelson, *Key Plans*, Pl. IV, Fig. 10 at 278, 291; *PM II* (2d ed.) 44 (153) III.1, 45 (154) III.1; see now Murnane, *GM* 19 (1976) 42-43. Note, too, that the representation of the bark of Amun on the south half of the west wall also shows a canopy decorated for Sety I (Seele, *Coregency*, p. 55, Fig. 16).

186. Note that a living Sety I (accompanied by his son, the future Ramesses II) appears as an "Osiris King" on the Oriental Institute plaque discussed above (see Habachi, *RdE* 21 (1969) Pl. 3 b), perhaps as the god of his mortuary temple (H. H. Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Rē of United-with-Eternity," *JNES* 1 [1942] 127-55; J.-L. Christophe, "La Salle V du temple de Sethi I<sup>er</sup> à Gournah," *BIFAO* 49 [1950] 117-80) or perhaps simply in anticipation (Murnane, *JNES* 34 [1975] 173-79).

history nor the location of the building suggests any tie with the senior coregent. All the more surprising is it, then, to find on the west wall of the shrine of Amun a representation of the god's portable bark seemingly with both kings' names worked into the design on the canopy. The dominant element in the rebus, as in comparable examples in the hypostyle hall at Karnak, is "Menma'atrē," but the central figure of Rē here grasps an *wsr* that is part of the original, raised relief. The resulting combination, "Userma'atrē" with "Menma'atrē," is precisely the juxtaposition that Seele thought he saw in the hypostyle hall, but here it is clearly part of the initial design and not an afterthought. We know that the triple shrine was completed on IV Akhet 1 + x of Ramesses II's third regnal year, that is, after he had spent two full years plus one to three months on the throne. If the work was begun in his regnal year one, it probably came late in the year, for other monuments begun at the same time (Beit el-Wali, Abydos) include decoration in the king's earliest style, whereas the triple shrine has none. The evidence of Sety I's influence, limited as it is, probably reflects the coregency, unless the artists mechanically copied the design of Sety's canopy after his death. While this cannot be ruled out, I believe it is unlikely. The full, elaborate version of the canopy does not appear very often in relief, but when it does, it reflects the current occupant(s) of the throne. In any case, the deliberate association of the two kings in the design is evidence of their coregency and may indicate an extension of Sety's reign into the dated, personal tenure of his son.<sup>187</sup>

#### (8) The Tomb of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings

A sequence of decoration styles consistent with that described above can be found in Ramesses' own tomb in the Valley of the Kings (No. 7). In the first corridor and on the thicknesses leading into the second, all the cartouches in the main decoration show the early simple praenomen. The examples closest

187. The canopy (location: *PM* II [2d ed.] 310 [39]) is reproduced in a drawing by R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz (*Le Temple de l'homme: Apet du sud à Louqsor* III [Paris, 1957] 385, Fig. 300), but the *wsr* was missed. The most pertinent parallel is on the west wall of the forecourt in the Temple of Khonsu (*PM* II [2d ed.] 230 [17]-[18] III), in which Herihor officiates but it is Ramesses XI (living, albeit powerless) whose name appears on the canopy. For the date of the completion of the triple shrine, see Kuentz, *La Face sud*, Pl. XXV, and Redford, *JEA* 57 (1971) Pl. XX.

to the door, in fact, bear witness to a curious mistake. Instead of *Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-r<sup>c</sup>*, the first two signs have been unaccountably reversed, yielding *M3<sup>c</sup>.t-wsr-r<sup>c</sup>*, and although in several instances the error had clearly been corrected, the masking plaster has since fallen out, leaving the original mistake clear. The only places the later complex form of the praenomen occurs in the front hall are on the thicknesses of the exterior doorway (south side) and in the marginal inscriptions at the base of the wall toward the west end of the first hall. These can be plausibly dated to a later stage of the decoration, for the main texts on the walls show nothing but the earlier name. The inscriptions in Corridor B are presently inaccessible, but farther inside the tomb, where the decoration can be examined, Ramesses is consistently called "Userma'atrē Setepenrē."<sup>188</sup> Apparently the tomb was begun very early in Ramesses' reign (perhaps before the spelling of his name was completely familiar), the earliest decoration being that near the entrance.

#### Summary

The foregoing review of the evidence indicates that Ramesses II's earliest work forms a distinct period in itself, marked by use of the earlier praenomen and by a transition from raised to sunk relief. Although we can follow this development into Ramesses' second regnal year, the evidence falls short of pinpointing precisely when Sety I died. It is clear, however, that the additions and usurpations that must have occurred after Sety's demise took place when Ramesses had become "Userma'atrē Setepenrē." As a working hypothesis, at least, we can say that Ramesses adopted his final praenomen after his father's death, and that all work that uses the earlier praenomen falls during the coregency period.

It has been customary to credit Ramesses II with a long coregency with his father. Seele, in particular, was convinced that Ramesses began to number his regnal years after the death of his father, and that the coregency lasted as long as a decade. In his tabulation of monuments dated to year one, however, Seele included materials inscribed during all three stages of decoration, some of which are now recognized as retrospective. Since the interval between Ramesses' accession date (placed by Seele in II Proyet) and the appearance of the final praenomen seemed much too

188. *PM I* (2d ed.) 505-6 (2)-(3), with references, supplemented by personal observation.

short to accommodate the king's extensive building program during the first two stages, Seele proposed that a distinction be made between Ramesses' coronation (as coregent) and his accession (as sole ruler), arguing that these were widely separated events. Under this scheme of things Ramesses would still have been using the first and second styles of decoration when Sety died, but would have adopted the final form of his praenomen by the latter third of his first formally numbered regnal year as sole ruler. This solution has a certain plausibility and has been accepted by many scholars.<sup>189</sup>

There are nonetheless several problems with this interpretation. We know now that Ramesses did not accede to the throne in II Proyet, that he was still using the early praenomen in the final third of his first regnal year, and that the final praenomen is not attested before the end of year two. Beyond this, there is no compelling evidence, in either Sety's monuments or Ramesses', that requires a long coregency. In the temple of Beit el-Wali Ramesses speaks of refurbishing the temples of the gods "four times" (4 *sp*),<sup>190</sup> but the sense here is more probably "four-fold"<sup>191</sup> than "on four occasions." It is also curious that as coregent Ramesses would have been invested with what appears to be full kingly status, but at the same time denied the right to his own dating system from the outset. There is no precedent for anything like this except in the disreputable case of Hatshepsut—and it is unlikely that her example would have commended itself to Ramesses II!<sup>192</sup>

The alleged scope of Ramesses' building activity during the coregency has also been exaggerated. Seele believed that "several years, perhaps even a decade" would be needed to accommodate the fact that "several hundred reliefs were carved on the walls

189. Seele, *Coregency*, pp. 29-30, 78-79, followed by Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 445; R. O. Faulkner, "Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III," in *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 225; W. Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägyptens* (HO III [1968]) p. 184. But Schmidt (*Ramesses II*, pp. 158-60) and Drioton and Vandier (*L'Égypte*, p. 631) do provide for an overlap in the two dating systems.

190. Ricke et. al., *Beit el-Wali*, p. 22, Pl. XX.

191. See *Wb* III 436.18, 437.6; cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" I [Brussels, 1932]) p. 37.8.

192. Similarly perilous is any later parallel, notably to Ptolemy I and II, whose two-year coregency was reckoned entirely according to the elder king's dating system (A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* [MBPAR, Vol. 43 (1962)] pp. 25-28.

of various temples and other monuments" during this time.<sup>193</sup> Without disparaging Ramesses' accomplishment, this is an overstatement. By himself Ramesses built only two temples—the Beit el-Wali temple and the smaller temple at Abydos—and only the first of these had been substantially completed when Sety died. The three other buildings in which his earlier work appears (his father's Abydos temple, the "Qurnah" temple, and the Karnak hypostyle hall) were all built in the first instance by Sety I, and Ramesses was merely associated in the decoration. We do not have any figures on the strength of the labor force employed in these projects, but it must have been considerable. All in all, it does not seem that the two years or less that precede the adoption of the final praenomen was too short a time to accommodate all the work done under the earlier praenomen of Ramesses II.

Some support for Seele's "undated" coregency could be adduced from the great dedicatory inscription at Abydos. This text was inscribed on the portico of the first court of the temple of Sety I—that is, in the part that Ramesses built following his father's death. In this inscription (as also in the surrounding area) Ramesses uses the final form of his praenomen and Sety I is treated as deceased. In the scene above the main text Sety appears, as the "Osiris, King Menma'atrē, the triumphant,"<sup>194</sup> and there are a number of references to him in the text that imply that he was dead when it was composed. The text opens with a speech in which Ramesses professes his devotion to Osiris—both to the god and also to "his father, he being in the Netherworld."<sup>195</sup> Then he describes how he, "the Lord of the Two Lands, arose as king to act as Protector-of-his-Father during regnal year one on his first journey to Thebes, after he had fashioned statues of his father—that is, King Menma'atrē: one in Thebes and the other in Memphis, in the temple(s) which he had built for them, (this being) in excess of the beauty of that one which was in Towēr-Abydos."<sup>196</sup> Ramesses' benefactions for "the monuments of his father which are in the cemetery" are mentioned briefly, and the narrative continues: in year one, III Akhet 23, just after the Feast of Opet, Ramesses left Thebes on his way north to the capital, Piramesse, in the Delta.<sup>197</sup> On the way he stopped

193. Seele, *Coregency*, p. 29.

194. *KRI* II.6 324.1.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 324.6.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 324.12-14.

197. *Ibid.*, p. 325. Redford (*JEA* 57 [1971] 112, n. 3) believes that the mention of Pira'messe here is anachronistic, but it seems likely that



at Abydos, arriving toward the end of the month, as attested by the inscription in the tomb of Nebwenenef: "regnal year one, III Akhet [blank space follows] after his Majesty had come north from the Southern City, having done what his father praises . . . in his beautiful Feast of Opet . . . . Making a landing at the Canal of the Thinite Nome."<sup>198</sup> Returning to the dedicatory text, we find that Ramesses discovered the monuments of earlier kings at Abydos in ruins, "half of them being in the process of construction . . . ." <sup>199</sup> The temple of Sety I was also found to be incomplete; "its front and its rear were in the process of construction when he [Sety I] entered heaven."<sup>200</sup>

No true king of Egypt could have remained unmoved by such desolation. Ramesses instantly had the members of his court summoned, listened to a lengthy eulogy of himself that they had thoughtfully prepared, and then announced his intentions. In contrast to the slothfulness of his predecessors he would "renew" the monuments at Abydos, in particular his father's temple. As a digression, he describes his elevation to the coregency by Sety (see above, the beginning of this section) and his zeal in promoting his father's interests thereafter—for instance, "I fashioned my father [that is, a statue] in gold in the first year of my appearance (as king)."<sup>201</sup> After another, even longer eulogy from the courtiers, there is a description of how the temple was finished and endowed, at the same time that similar "renewals" were going on in Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis.<sup>202</sup> The inscription concludes with two long speeches, one by Ramesses II addressed to his father, enumerating his benefactions on his father's behalf and requesting his intercession before the gods; and another by Sety I "the triumphant, being an efficacious Ba like Osiris," rejoicing "concerning everything which his son had done" and boasting about "all his beauties to RĒ-Harakhty and to

the capital was founded under Sety I, if one accepts its location as Qantîr: see E. Uphill, "Pithom and Raamses: Their Location and Significance," *JNES* 28 (1969) 22.

198. K. Sethe, "Die Berufung eines Hohenpriesters des Amon unter Ramesses II.," *ZÄS* 44 (1907) Pl. 1, ll. 1-3; cf. the description of Ramesses' arrival at Abydos in the great dedicatory inscription, *KRI* II.6 325.11-13.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 325.14-15.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 326.3.

201. *Ibid.*, p. 328.7-8.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 331.6-13. In this section, moreover, Ramesses speaks of his having begun to fashion Sety's statue in year one, although the context has to do with work done on the temple after Sety's death.

the gods who are in the Netherworld."<sup>203</sup>

The above-described visit to Abydos took place at most two months after Ramesses' accession. The fact that the temple is said to have been unfinished then as a result of Sety I's death is a point in favor of Seele's dating of the coregency, but a possible difficulty with this interpretation lies in the sequence of decoration in the temple itself. We have seen that only a few of the reliefs were executed during Ramesses' "first period," and that the bulk of his work—certainly the completion described above—was executed in sunk relief, using the final praenomen. At the time of his visit to Abydos in year one, Ramesses was still using the earlier praenomen, and he was still using it some seven months later. As far as we know, the final praenomen could have been adopted anytime thereafter, but it is in fact unattested until the end of year two. In his own temple at Abydos, all three "periods" of Ramesses' early decoration are represented, but in Sety's temple we find only the first, very scantily, and then the third, in overwhelming abundance. The absence of the "second period" could be explained under Seele's chronology if the young king had first ordered his father's building completed, but then diverted local manpower and resources to his own temple once the few scenes in the south wing had been carved. Notably, however, nothing like this seems to have been done elsewhere. In West Thebes, for example, the decoration of the Qurnah temple proceeded uninterrupted, despite the laying of the foundation of Ramesses' mortuary complex nearby. The discontinuity at Abydos is therefore the exception. The hiatus in the decoration of Sety I's temple, which does not occur in any other of Ramesses' early monuments, is anomalous. Why there, and nowhere else?

There are in addition inconsistencies in the text of the dedicatory inscription itself. The visit to Thebes in year one is described as having been Ramesses' first journey to that city. Is it conceivable that he never visited Thebes earlier, during the coregency? The extent of his early work at Thebes, both on the east and west banks, seems to belie such a supposition. Also, after the description of his elevation to the throne Ramesses speaks of benefactions that he commissioned on his father's behalf, notably a golden statue fashioned in his first year as king. This sounds suspiciously like the statues spoken of elsewhere in connection with his journey in year one.<sup>204</sup> Moreover, the com-

203. *Ibid.*, p. 334.10-13.

204. Although Breasted (*AR III* 110, n. a) dismisses this reference (see n. 201) as an anachronism.

pletion of the temple is described as having taken place while similar "renewals" were going on in Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis. As we have seen, no renewals did in fact take place until Ramesses had adopted the final form of his praenomen.

All of these difficulties are resolved, I believe, if Seele's distinction between "coronation" and "accession" is abandoned, and if it is recognized that Ramesses, in eulogizing his zeal for his father's monuments, conflated his early visit to Abydos with his completion of Sety's temple after his death. Under this scheme of events, soon after Ramesses was made coregent he made his first journey to Thebes. Stopping at Abydos on the way back, he commemorated his presence with the few scenes that occur in the south wing of Sety's temple and founded his own temple nearby. It is understandable that he would have concentrated now on this structure rather than on his father's temple (for which he was not responsible), and thus no reliefs of the young king's "second period" appear in the great temple. When Sety died, Ramesses—probably exaggerating the chaotic state of the Abydos cemetery—took over his father's project, "making monument upon monument, two benefactions at one time, they being in my name and my father's name."<sup>205</sup> By this time, of course, he was already "Userma'atrē Setepenrē," so that the decoration could have been resumed immediately in the portions of the temple that were erected on Sety's death. At the same time it would be natural for Ramesses to project the beginning of his completion of the temple back to the few reliefs he had executed as coregent. That he should have done so would not have been very extraordinary, for exaggeration in claims concerning renewals is common in Egyptian texts. In the Qurnah Temple, for example, Ramesses claims that on the south half of the great architrave spanning the portico he "erected" the temple; but on the north half he admits that he only renewed it.<sup>206</sup> The Abydos dedicatory inscription is not contemporary with the events it describes and, as the summary given above shows, it is a highly conventionalized and artificial composition. Its purpose, clearly enough, was to celebrate Ramesses' zeal in honoring the memory of his father, but the historical events it uses to this end are subordinated to this purpose. For all its value, it is still a secondary source as far as the events of year one are concerned,

205. *KRI* II.6 329.1-2.

206. *PM* II (2d ed.) 209 bottom; Champollion le Jeune, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices Descriptives* I (Paris, 1844) 296 (only the north side; the text on the south side was seen *in situ*).

and less weight should be given to it than to the totality of evidence supplied by the more contemporary monuments.

The coregency of Ramesses II with Sety I, then, was probably not different from earlier periods of joint rule. Its length is to be defined from the beginning of Ramesses' first regnal year until the adoption of the final form of his praenomen, a period of one or two years. In terms of Sety's regnal years, the coregency cannot be fixed precisely. It seems not to have begun before Sety's ninth year, during which an "eldest son" of Sety was still active. This individual's function as leader of a quarrying expedition is consistent with the duties expected of a high official or a crown prince (as described in the Kubban stela) and at this late date it is hard to imagine anyone but Ramesses in this position. The highest date currently known for Sety I is IV(?) Shomu 13 in his eleventh year.<sup>207</sup> A longer reign has been proposed, using data drawn from the careers of the high priests of Amun. In the inscription of Bekenkhons's statue in the Munich Glyptothek, seventy years of service in various offices are listed following eleven years as stablemaster for Sety I. Since the statue seems to have been dedicated under Ramesses II, and since Rome-Roy, Bekenkhons's successor, may have assumed the high priesthood in the same reign, it follows that these seventy years do not fit into Ramesses' own reign of sixty-six years but must be projected back into his father's reign, which would appear to give Sety a minimum of fifteen regnal years.<sup>208</sup> This argument is unconvincing, however: surely Bekenkhons rounded off the odd months he spent in each of his offices, so that his career was probably shorter than he claims.<sup>209</sup> Nowhere is it said that Ramesses II appointed Rome-Roy as high priest, for it appears that the agent responsible for advancing Rome-Roy's career was Amun-Rē himself. Ramesses appears to have honored Rome-Roy earlier in his career, but the date of his appointment as high priest is not clear.<sup>210</sup> In either

207. G. A. and M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal, Part 3: The Stela of Sety I," *ZÄS* 69 (1933) 73-78.

208. M. L. Bierbrier, "The Length of the Reign of Sethos I," *JEA* 58 (1972) 303.

209. For the texts see M. Plantikow-Münster, "Die Inschrift des B3k-n-ḥnsw in München," *ZÄS* 95 (1968) 117-35.

210. As against H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (PA I [1953]) p. 25; and G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 1929) p. 257. For the relevant documents, see idem, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon, Romé-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929) pp. 4-16 (I), 23 (III.d).

case, all the events specifically ascribed to Ramesses II's reign fall comfortably within its known length, so that there is no need to explain any conflict between the texts and this figure by lengthening the reign of Sety I. If Sety reigned only into his eleventh year, a coregency could have begun as early as year nine. On the basis of a free-standing stela at Sinai, several scholars have suggested that it began a year earlier,<sup>211</sup> but the main texts on both sides are dated to I Proyet 2 in Sety's eighth year and the reference to Ramesses II is not to the king himself but to an installation named after him; this text, moreover, is carved on the edge of the stela and was probably added after the main text.<sup>212</sup> In any case, if Ramesses was acting as crown prince in Sety's ninth year, as the Aswan stela implies, the coregency could hardly have begun before this time, so we can assign this episode to the final two years of Sety's reign, whether he ruled for eleven years or longer.

#### THE COREGENCIES OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The period that spans the end of the Twentieth Dynasty through the establishment of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Egypt is replete with episodes of joint rule. Most of these were not coregencies in the proper sense, but rather condominiums, involving peaceful coexistence of rival kinglets in different parts of the country. At the start of this period the kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty at Tanis were the nominal overlords of the high priests of Amun who held sway in Upper Egypt. The Theban pontiffs, however, frequently claimed the trappings of royalty within their domain, and elements of the kingly style infused the priestly dignity in varying degree, to the extent that two high priests (Herihor and Pinudjem I) ended by claiming full royal status. Their pretensions were not intolerable to the northern kings, however, so that friendly relations were maintained throughout the dynasty, and it is even possible that the kingly pretensions of Pinudjem I were recognized in a building jointly dedicated with Psusennes I at Tanis.<sup>213</sup> Egypt was brought back under

211. Schmidt, *Ramesses II*, pp. 158-60; cf. discussion in Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 388.

212. *Sinai I*, Pl. LXVIII (No. 247); II 175-76.

213. For this monument see P. Montet, "Quelques découvertes récentes de Tanis," *BSFE* 6 (1951) 30—but the royal names occur on separate blocks. For the internal relations of the rulers during this period see J. Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dy-

unified rule by Shoshenq I, founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, but this arrangement endured less than a century. Thereafter the country was increasingly fragmented into a number of independent principalities, and the Nubian invader Pi'ankhy (Piyi) could reckon the number of "kings and princes" who submitted to him by name.<sup>214</sup> Strong regional authority survived the unification of Egypt under the Nubian and Saite dynasties. For all that the Delta princes prudently recognized the kingly authority of the Kushite monarchs, a few quasi-independent "kings" of the eastern Delta are attested late in the Twenty-fifth and early in the Twenty-sixth dynasties.<sup>215</sup>

The three "coregencies" to be discussed here fall in the later stages of this period and span crucial years in the career of a central (if often unnamed) figure in local events. This was the High Priest Osorkon, son of Takelot II and presumptive heir to the throne.<sup>216</sup> In due course, Osorkon found himself cheated of both the crown and his pontificate, for Takelot II was buried by another claimant who ascended the throne as Shoshenq III.<sup>217</sup> The latter opposed the pretensions of Osorkon, and in Shoshenq III's sixth year we find Harsiēse (II) functioning as high priest in Thebes.<sup>218</sup>

#### SHOSHENQ III AND PEDUBAST I

The next round seems to have involved a strengthening of the hand of the Thebans at the expense of their overlords in Tanis. Nile Quay Inscription ("Kar.") No. 24 is dated to the twelfth

nasty," in *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 635-57; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973) pp. 243-86.

214. AR IV 439-40; cf. J. Yoyotte, "Les Principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie Libyenne (Etudes d'histoire politique)," *Mélanges Maspero* I/4 (*MIFAO* LXVI/3 [1961]) 121-79. On the reading of Pi'ankhy's name see now G. Vittmann, "Zur Lesung des Königsnamens ( ⲡⲣⲁⲕⲏⲩ )," *Or* 43 (1974) 12-16.

215. The later kings at Tanis are discussed by Kitchen (*Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 396-97), to which add Gauthier (*LdR* III 412 [i] and IV 16 [xv]) for the block juxtaposing the cartouches of Wahibrē (i.e., Psamtik I) with those of a probably contemporary King Neferkarē (believed by Gauthier [followed by *PM* IV 66] to be Shabaka).

216. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 332 and n. 495.

217. *Ibid.*, p. 333 and n. 498.

218. Nile Quay Inscription No. 23; J. von Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and Their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)," *JARCE* 5 (1966) 46, 51 (23).

year of an unnamed king corresponding to the fifth year of Pedubast I, the probable founder of the Twenty-third Dynasty at Thebes; the high priest is Harsiēse.<sup>219</sup> The primacy of the first date formula over Pedubast's regnal year suggests that the unnamed king was Pedubast's suzerain, and the identity of this king, so perfunctorily recognized in Thebes, has been much debated. Both Pami<sup>220</sup> and Shoshenq v<sup>221</sup> seem unlikely candidates, for the resulting chronology would bring Pedubast's reign down into the middle of the Eighth Century, with no room for the later kings of his line. More probably the unnamed king is Shoshenq III,<sup>222</sup> who may have been forced to recognize an independent monarch at Thebes in return for support against Osorkon in Middle Egypt. "Kar." No. 24 comes from the fifth year of this association, when Pedubast still acknowledged his coregent's ascendancy but apparently regarded himself as the main force in local affairs.

#### PEDUBAST I, IUPUT I, AND SHOSHENQ III

Eleven years later we find that Pedubast had formed an alliance with Iuput I, founder of the Twenty-third Dynasty at Leontopolis.<sup>223</sup> "Kar." No. 26 records the synchronism of Pedubast's sixteenth with Iuput's second year.<sup>224</sup> Shoshenq III (now in his twenty-third regnal year) was still king in Tanis, but he had evidently composed his quarrel with the High Priest Osorkon. The latter now made annual visits to Thebes in his master's name, from Shoshenq's twenty-second to his twenty-ninth regnal years (Pedubast's years 15-22).<sup>225</sup> The High Priest Harsiēse (II) was also in office during this period, however, being attested in

219. Ibid., pp. 46-47, 51 (24).

220. J. von Beckerath, *Abriss der Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1971) p. 49.

221. W. F. Albright, "New Light from Egypt on the Chronology and History of Israel and Judah," *BASOR* 130 (April 1953) 10, n. 30 (referring to this king as "Sheshonq IV").

222. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 335-38; K. Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt. Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," *JNES* 32 (1973) 9-10 (secs. 9-10).

223. With Baer (*JNES* 32 [1973] 15, 22 [secs. 19, 20, 30 a]), I would separate the Theban from the Leontopolitan "branch" of the 23rd Dynasty: cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 128-30, 336.

224. Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 47, 52 (26).

225. R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (*AnOr*, Vol. 37 [1958]) pp. 168-71; cf. pp. 124-25.

Pedubast's nineteenth year (year 26 of Shoshenq III).<sup>226</sup> The political situation that would best explain these curious facts would seem to be an entente cordiale: Osorkon's reentry into the Thebaid seems to have been peaceful enough,<sup>227</sup> and the "Chronicle" text wherein he describes his checkered career was carved—albeit not too prominently—on the side walls of the Bubastite Portal at Karnak.<sup>228</sup> Pedubast is attested during this period in his eighteenth and nineteenth years,<sup>229</sup> and in his twenty-third year (probably his last) there was another high priest, Takelot,<sup>230</sup> to replace Osorkon's old rival, Harsiēse. High Priest Takelot continued into the reign of Pedubast's successor, Shoshenq IV, and they are named together in "Kar." No. 25 from Shoshenq's sixth year.<sup>231</sup> This date fell sometime during Shoshenq III's fourth decade of reign at Tanis,<sup>232</sup> but the era of good feeling was drawing to a close. On <I> Shomu 26 of Shoshenq III's thirty-ninth year, while the High Priest Osorkon was in Thebes celebrating the Festival of Amun with his brother, the General of Heracleopolis Bakenptah and his troops "smote all who would fight against them."<sup>233</sup> The impression of a successful takeover is strengthened by the abrupt change in the date formulas of the Nile quay inscriptions. Shoshenq IV and High Priest Takelot vanish, and in their place we have an account for Shoshenq III's thirty-ninth year naming the High Priest Osorkon.<sup>234</sup> A date in Shoshenq III's forty-ninth year is attested in an oracle papyrus from the Thebaid, and it seems likely that he was recognized there until his death.<sup>235</sup> The Nile quay inscriptions, however, do not mention him or any other king of his line again. Instead, these records are dominated by the last significant local ruler to hold sway until the Nubian invasion, Osorkon III.

226. "Kar." No. 27 = Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 47, 52 (27).

227. Caminos, *Chronicle*, pp. 164-65 (secs. 270-71).

228. Location and references: *PM* II (2d ed.) 35-36 (125)-(127).

229. "Kar." 27, 28 = Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 47, 52 (27, 28).

230. Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) pp. 47, 52 (29).

231. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 52 (25).

232. Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973) 16 (sec. 21).

233. G. Legrain, "Notes prises à Karnak: I. Fragments des annales des prêtres d'Amon," *RT* 22 (1900) 55-56; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 340; but cf. Caminos, *Chronicle*, p. 180, n. 2; for the month date of the festival, see S. Schott, *Altaegyptische Festdaten* (*Abh. Mainz*, No. 10 [1950]) p. 106.

234. "Kar." No. 22 = Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 46, 51 (22).

235. Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973) 7 (sec. 4 g).



## OSORKON III AND TAKELOT III

"Kar." No. 13 records a synchronism of year twenty-eight of King Userma'atrē-Setepenamun Osorkon-Siēse-Meryamun with year five of his son [. . .]-Setepenrē Takelot-Siēse-Meryamun.<sup>236</sup> These kings have been identified as Osorkon II and Takelot II, assuming that the traces of "Setepenrē" are more typical for Takelot II than for Takelot III.<sup>237</sup> The *stp.n.X* formula varies in no fewer than five kings' names during this period, however, and the additional evidence favoring a coregency for Osorkon III and Takelot III contrasts with the utter silence concerning any coregency for the earlier kings.<sup>238</sup> It has been argued that a reign covering three decades is impossible for Osorkon III—and if he began dating his regnal years after the death of Shoshenq III (in 783 B.C.)<sup>239</sup> one might be forced to agree. Under this scheme, Osorkon's twenty-eighth year would have been 755, the seventh year of Takelot III<sup>240</sup> 754/3, and there would barely have been time for the invasion of Kashta, the installation of the Nubian vassal Amenrud, and the appointment of the divine votaress Amenardais I before the accession of Pi'ankhy in 753.<sup>241</sup> There is, however, no reason why Osorkon III might not have become king following the end of the reign of Shoshenq IV at Thebes,<sup>242</sup> even though he would have continued to recognize the Twenty-second Dynasty rulers in his domain.<sup>243</sup> This state of affairs would also require that Osorkon III be to some extent the creature of the High Priest Osorkon—assuming that they were not one and the same person.<sup>244</sup> In any case, if Osorkon III's accession is placed soon after the triumph of Shoshenq III's party in his year thirty-nine (794 B.C.), Osorkon's twenty-eighth year would be 766, and the seventh year of Takelot 764, leaving more than a decade for the eruption of

236. "Kar." No. 13 = Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 50 (13).

237. Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 45.

238. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 92-93, 126-27, 131.

239. Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973) 6-11, 15-21.

240. G. Daressy, "Inscriptions inédites de la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie," *RT* 18 (1896) 51; I am indebted to E. F. Wente for this reference.

241. On a possible tradition of a short reign for Kashta, see Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973) 20 (sec. 28 n).

242. Suggested by Wente in a forthcoming review of Kitchen's study, and cited by permission of the author.

243. Years 49 (of Shoshenq III) and 4 (of Pami?) mentioned in an oracle papyrus from Thebes (Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 348).

244. This is not impossible, albeit a long chance. If Osorkon was fif-

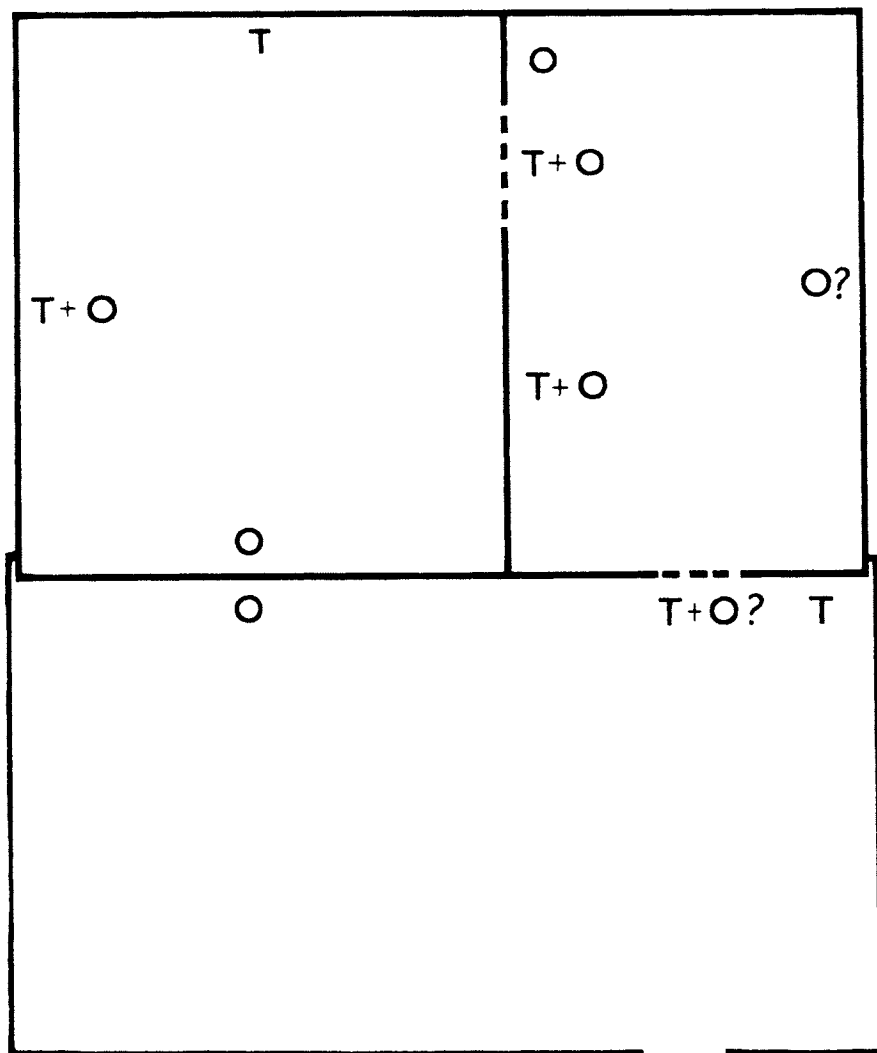


Fig. 6.—Temple of Osiris Ruler-of-Eternity

Kashta into Upper Egypt and all of the events that followed up until the accession of Pi'ankhy.

If the above reconstruction is correct, Osorkon III was at various times associated in one way or another, though not necessarily as a coregent, with Shoshenq III, Pami, and Shoshenq V, even though there are no double dates, and even though only Shoshenq III and (probably) Pami are attested on documents from Thebes. The association with Takelot III, on the other hand, was a true coregency with a son and heir of the royal house at Thebes. There are two supplementary monuments from the coregency period. The first, a statue found in the Karnak Cachette and now in the Cairo Museum, associates their names in the following rather odd manner: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Takelot-Siēse-Meryamun, the Lord of the Two Lands; Son of RĒ Osorkon-Siēse-Meryamun, the Lord of Diadems."<sup>245</sup> Here, it seems, the kings' nomina are subsumed into one titular, probably to mark the coregency.

A more extensive association is to be found in the earlier section of the temple of Osiris Ruler-of-Eternity at Karnak.<sup>246</sup> Both kings are represented on what was originally the facade of the building (now the south wall of the forecourt): Osorkon III (O) with his daughter, the divine adoratrix Shepenwepet I, to the east of the doorway, Takelot III (T) to the west (see Fig. 6).<sup>247</sup> Two enthroned kings are shown seated back-to-back on the lintel over the doorway, but the cartouches are lost.<sup>248</sup> In the first of the two interior rooms the juxtaposition becomes more marked: the doorway leading into the inner chamber is decorated on the north jamb with the names of Osorkon III, on the south jamb with those of Takelot III; the lintel was probably held in common by both kings, since the praenomen employed by both, "Userma'atrē," is all that appears here.<sup>249</sup> To the north (left) of the doorway

teen years old in year eleven of Takelot II, he would have been about thirty at the accession of Shoshenq III, sixty-nine at his takeover of the Thebaid in year 39, and close to a hundred when he died.

245. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers III* (Cairo, 1914) 28 (No. 42211); cf. *LdR III* 385, n. 5; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Egypte*, p. 533; Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973) 18 (sec. 24 h, 1).

246. To be published; see D. B. Redford, "An Interim Report on the Second Season of Work at the Temple of Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Karnak," *JEA* 59 (1973) 16-30.

247. *PM II* (2d ed.) 205 (9)-(10).

248. *Ibid.*, p. 205 (11), lintel: Horus (left) and Thoth (right) present staves bearing jubilees to the kings.

249. *Ibid.*, p. 206 (17), wrongly naming only Takelot III here.

the kings are represented individually; in the upper register is Osorkon III wearing the *atef*-crown and dressed in the jubilee robe;<sup>250</sup> the cartouche of the bottom scene is cracked, but it belongs without question to Takelot-Siêse-Meryamun (Takelot III).<sup>251</sup> Inside the next room, Osorkon and Takelot balance one another, appearing on opposite walls,<sup>252</sup> and the series is brought to a climax by the joint appearance of the two kings seated back-to-back in the *ished*-tree.<sup>253</sup> The connection between Osorkon's jubilee, his coregency with Takelot, and his appointment of Shepenwepet I as divine votaress is still obscure,<sup>254</sup> but this arrangement did not last long. The invasions of Kashta, Pi'ankhy, and Shabako finally imposed a newly unified government on Egypt and ended for a time the varieties of political expression that have been illustrated in these pages.

#### THE PTOLEMAIC COREGENCIES<sup>255</sup>

Coregencies were frequent among the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt, and they are best attested by the double dates that turn up in Greek and Demotic documents. These documents, together with Greek and Latin historical sources, are the principal repositories of information on this period, and their abundance has overshadowed the evidence of contemporary monuments in Egypt. As pharaohs, however, the Ptolemies built extensively throughout the land, and their monuments continued to follow the artistic traditions of Egypt's past. In individual cases these monuments throw light on historical situations that the written sources describe in detail, so that some of the Ptolemaic coregencies are reflected by the monuments in familiar ways.

250. For a parallel see the jubilee scenes in the tomb of Kheruef, *PM* I/1 298 (5) I.1-2.

251. *Ibid.*, II 206 (12), wrongly naming both kings as Osorkon III.

252. *Ibid.*, p. 206 (19), (21).

253. *Ibid.*, p. 206 (22).

254. Wente, in a forthcoming review, suggests that Shepenwepet was installed as divine votaress at the same time that Takelot III was made coregent, and that the decoration of the chapel reflects this situation. If, with Wente, we accept that the jubilee was meant to be celebrated at Osorkon's thirtieth regnal year, this would have been seven years after the start of the coregency.

255. The numbering of the Ptolemies in this section follows P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* ("Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava" XV [Leiden, 1967]). *PM* (both editions) recognizes sixteen Ptolemies and uses a different numbering than is used here.

## PTOLEMY I SOTER AND PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS

The coregency of Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus lasted two years (284-282 B.C.) and was reckoned entirely by Soter's regnal years during this king's lifetime. On his accession to sole rule, Philadelphus renumbered his regnal years to encompass the coregency period.<sup>256</sup> The supporting evidence in the monuments is disappointingly scanty. The now destroyed temple of Ptolemy I at Kôm el-Aḥmar may have been built jointly by the coregents, but the work of Ptolemy II found in it may have been done after the elder king's death.<sup>257</sup> The other monuments in which both rulers are represented either reflect successive work by these kings or were memorials to Ptolemy I by his son. The Qift temple to Min and Isis (rebuilt under Ptolemy II and having in it at least one reference to Ptolemy I) appears to be such a memorial,<sup>258</sup> while the Min chapel at El-Salâmûni may well have been decorated by Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II in succession.<sup>259</sup> Joint appearances of the two kings as deified rulers are fairly common under their successors, but this seems to bear no relation to their short coregency.<sup>260</sup>

## PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR AND PTOLEMY V EPIPHANES

Ptolemy V Epiphanes effectively succeeded to the throne in the summer of 204 B.C. on the death of his father, Ptolemy IV Philopator. Since 209-208 B.C., however, he had been nominally coregent, although he was only an infant at this time. The as-

256. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 25-28; Pestman, *Chronologie*, p. 12; but note the hesitation of C. Preaux, in her review of Samuel (*CdE* 39 [1964] 217), on the retrospective dating of Ptolemy II.

257. *PM* IV 126.

258. *Ibid.*, V 123-25.

259. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

260. For example, the frieze on the lintel of the Ptolemaic propylon south of the Khonsu temple at Karnak portrays two rows of divinities, ending in Ptolemy I and Berenice I (right), and Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (left), carved under Ptolemy IV (*ibid.*, II [2d ed.] 225 [1]-[2]). But compare *ibid.*, VI 142 (65): Ptolemy IV before Ptolemy III, Ptolemy II, and Ptolemy I, with their wives and attending deities (Edfu temple, outer vestibule); *ibid.*, 158 (302)-(305): Ptolemy VIII before Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V, with their wives (Edfu, corridor). Neither Ptolemy IV nor Ptolemy V were coregents with their predecessors, and Ptolemy III was not coregent with Ptolemy II. Clearly these rows of kings have to do with nothing more than ancestor worship.

sociation is reflected in contemporary documents,<sup>261</sup> but has left no traces in the Egyptian monuments.

PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR, PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II,  
AND CLEOPATRA II

During Ptolemy VI Philometor's earliest years his mother Cleopatra I acted as regent (180-176 B.C.). On her death the young king reigned alone for another six years, but found himself overtaken by events. In 170 the Seleucid King Antiochus IV invaded Egypt and captured Ptolemy, but the citizens of Alexandria, rebelling against the dreaded rule of a Seleucid puppet, deposed Ptolemy VI and elected his brother, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, to reign in his place. On Antiochus's departure, however, a reconciliation was achieved, and Ptolemy VI formally took his brother Ptolemy VIII and his sister Cleopatra II as coregents. This coregency seems to have lasted six years (the last documents that attest it are dated 164 B.C.), at which time the brothers had a falling out and Ptolemy VIII fled the country, leaving Philometor on the throne of Egypt until his death in 145 B.C.<sup>262</sup> References to this coregency on the monuments are both frequent and explicit.

- a) From the western part of the Serapeum at Saqqara comes a stela dated to the sixth year of the three coregents.<sup>263</sup>
- b) Renewal texts in the names of the three coregents occur in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>264</sup>
- c) In the temple of Khnum at Esna, the facade of the columned hall displays scenes depicting Ptolemy VI with Cleopatra II, while the hymn to Khnum inscribed at the base mentions Ptolemy VIII along with the other two coregents.<sup>265</sup>

261. Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 36, 40-42.

262. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 140-43; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 46-55; cf. T. C. Skeat, "Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology," *JEA* 47 (1961) 107-12, questioned by P. M. Fraser in his Greco-Roman bibliography, *JEA* 48 (1962) 148 (34).

263. *PM* III 215.

264. *PM* II (2d ed.) 465 (33) c-d.

265. *PM* VI 116 (32)-(33); cf. S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna II (PIFAO, "Esna" [1963])* 7-11 (secs. 2-4), 39-40 (sec. 17); the texts refer to Ptolemy VI by both nomen and praenomen, but Ptolemy VIII is called only "his brother Ptolemy."

- d) Finally, the temple at Deir el-Medinah contains sections executed jointly by these coregents.<sup>266</sup> They are shown individually in associated scenes throughout the temple and, once, in a relief that formerly stood on the north wall of the porch,<sup>267</sup> they appear as a group: Ptolemy VI (identified by his nomen and praenomen) is followed by Ptolemy VIII (referred to as "his brother" and identified only by the nomen "Ptolemy" [P] in one cartouche) and by Cleopatra II (C); see Fig. 7.

The names of the two kings appear in other buildings—at Karnak,<sup>268</sup> Kôm Ombo,<sup>269</sup> and Edfu<sup>270</sup>—but never on the same surface. Since both had lengthy single reigns, and since both had Cleopatra II as their queen, it is difficult to prove which of these random appearances on temple walls reflect the coregency and which their separate reigns. In any case, the appearance of a king on an architectural element in an area predominantly decorated by another king is hardly proof of coregency.<sup>271</sup>

#### PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR AND PTOLEMY EUPATOR

Ptolemy Eupator, son of Ptolemy VI Philometor, was made coregent in 153 B.C., but he died before his father, in 150 B.C.<sup>272</sup>

266. *PM* II (2d ed.) 402-7.

267. *Ibid.*, p. 403 (15)-(16) I; now in the Berlin Museum.

268. On the first gate of the temple of Ptah, *ibid.*, p. 196; cf. Pl. XVI.4.

269. At the north doorway to the inner hypostyle, *ibid.*, VI 187-88 (58)-(61); but Ptolemy VIII is associated here with Cleopatra II, whom he wed on his return to Egypt in 145 B.C. Probably, then, this surface was carved during his sole rule, and the proximity to Ptolemy VI's work may be coincidental.

270. *Ibid.*, 129 (56), 136 (100)-(103), 138 (134), 139-40, 147 (178), 153-54, 154 (284). Some of this work must have been done during the coregency, since Ptolemy X's building inscription refers to construction in Ptolemy VIII's fifth year, which fell during the coregency period (Pestman, *Chronologie*, p. 51; *PM* VI 166 [328]-[333] base); but it is difficult to disentangle the early work from the late.

271. In the forecourt of the Edfu temple the names of Ptolemy X appear on the lintel and jambs in an area otherwise dominated by Ptolemy IX. Since these two kings, far from being coregents, were actually rivals, it is clear that mere accidental proximity cannot mean much (*PM* VI 128 [53] g-h).

272. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 143-44; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 48-52.

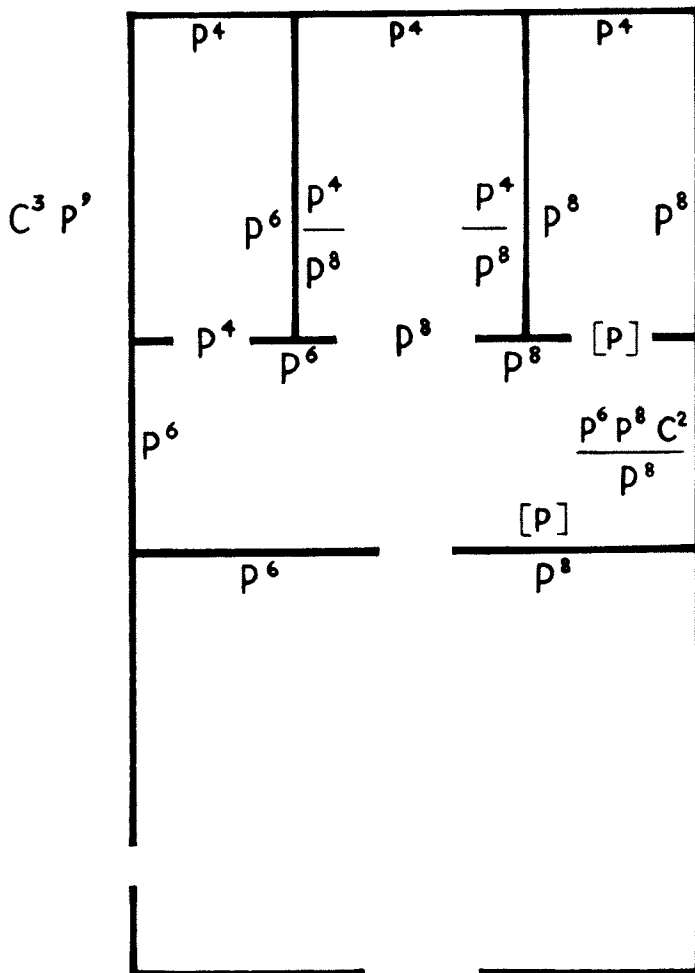


Fig. 7.—Temple of Deir el-Medina



In spite of his ephemeral reign there are several attestations of Eupator in the monuments. He inscribed three lines of text on the propylon of the temple of Mut at Karnak,<sup>273</sup> and he is mentioned, along with earlier Ptolemaic kings, on the columns of the entrance of his father's temple at Dakka.<sup>274</sup> In addition to these monuments, which must be regarded as single-dated (since Eupator never reigned alone), there survives a granite pedestal, probably from the temple at Philae, that once held statues of Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy Eupator, and Cleopatra II.<sup>275</sup>

#### PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR AND PTOLEMY VII NEOS PHILOPATOR

Another son of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator, was associated with his father in 145 B.C., but his father died before the year was out and Neos Philopator was killed when his uncle, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, returned to seize power in Egypt for himself.<sup>276</sup> Neos Philopator is poorly attested in the monuments, and all that survives of his are individual blocks from Tanis<sup>277</sup> and Qift<sup>278</sup> that are attributed to him with some uncertainty.

#### CLEOPATRA III AND ALTERNATELY PTOLEMY IX SOTER II AND PTOLEMY X ALEXANDER I

When Euergetes II died, he bequeathed Egypt to his niece and wife, Cleopatra III, stipulating that she should choose one of his sons to rule with her. Under pressure, she chose Ptolemy IX Soter II, and having survived a challenge from Cleopatra II (sister and former wife of Euergetes II and still alive at the end of his reign) she ruled with Soter II during two periods, 116-110 and 109-107 B.C. Between 110 and 109 B.C. Ptolemy X Alexander I succeeded in driving his brother off the throne, and he ruled briefly with Cleopatra until Soter II's successful return the next year. On his second attempt to seize power, Alexander I managed to expel

273. *PM* II (2d ed.) 256 (2) o.

274. *PM* VII 44.

275. *Ibid.*, VI 256; and for later references to him in hieroglyphic texts, see *LdR* IV 340-41 (X-XI).

276. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 144-45; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 54-56; cf. T. C. Skeat, "Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology," *JEA* 46 (1960) 94.

277. *PM* IV 23.

278. *Ibid.*, V 133; for later references to him in the monuments see *LdR* IV 344-45 (III-IX).

Soter II from Egypt in 107 B.C. and to hold the throne until his own death in 88 B.C. Alexander's coregency with Cleopatra III continued until her death in 101 B.C. After Alexander's death his brother Soter II (now the lone survivor of this "Ptolemaic Succession") returned to Egypt and reigned alone until his death in 80 B.C.<sup>279</sup>

There are several monuments commemorating the association of Cleopatra III with Ptolemy IX Soter II and, notably, they can be grouped according to whether they belong to the youth or the mature years of the king.

- a) In the Birth House at the temple of Edfu, Thoth is depicted writing the names of Ptolemy VIII before a group composed of Ptolemy VIII himself, Ptolemy IX (depicted as a child), Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III.<sup>280</sup> Since the Greek historical sources indicate that Ptolemy IX was not chosen to rule until the death of his father, this scene is apparently retrospective, at least so far as Ptolemy VIII's presence in it is concerned, and it probably reflects the still harmonious state of affairs following Ptolemy VIII's death, before the quarrel between the two Cleopatras.
- b) On the south exterior wall of the temple at Deir el-Medinah two offering scenes depict (1) Ptolemy IX, and (2) Cleopatra III followed by Ptolemy IX.<sup>281</sup>
- c) At the temple of Khonsu at Karnak the same sequence is repeated on the lintel of the doorway leading from the first hypostyle hall into the ambulatory bark shrine: Ptolemy IX is shown preceded by his mother, Cleopatra III.<sup>282</sup> This and the scene just before it probably date to the extreme youth of the king.
- d) In the temple of Isis at Philae a now apparently mature Ptolemy IX takes his place in front of Cleopatra III, who in this scene is accompanied by one of her son's wives, either Cleopatra IV or V.<sup>283</sup> A similar scene

279. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 147-53; and cf. idem, "Year 27 = 30 and 88 B.C.," *CdE* 40 (1965) 376-400; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 64-75.

280. *PM* VI 174.

281. *Ibid.*, II (2d ed.) 407 (34); see our Fig. 6.

282. *Ibid.*, p. 235 (36), on the left side only.

283. *Ibid.*, VI 219 (117), second register.

(not showing Ptolemy's wives, however) occurs among the ruins of the temple of Harweris and Hekat at Qûs,<sup>284</sup> and also at the temple of Edfu.<sup>285</sup>

Joint appearances of the usurper Ptolemy X with his mother are rare, but there is at least one example in the temple at Edfu.<sup>286</sup>

#### CLEOPATRA BERENICE AND PTOLEMY XI ALEXANDER II

On the death of Ptolemy IX Soter II, Cleopatra Berenice reigned alone for six months until, at the insistence of the Roman general Sulla, she was obliged to accept her brother Ptolemy XI Alexander II as her coregent. This she did much against her will, and on the nineteenth day of the coregency she was murdered by her brother, who was himself promptly lynched by the Alexandrian mob.<sup>287</sup>

#### BERENICE IV WITH CLEOPATRA TRYPHAENA, AND SUBSEQUENTLY ARCHELAUS

In the absence of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysios (Auletes), who departed for Rome in 58 B.C., Berenice IV and Cleopatra Tryphaena ruled together for one year until Cleopatra died (57 B.C.). Berenice then ruled jointly with her husband Archelaus until Auletes returned in 55 B.C.<sup>288</sup>

#### CLEOPATRA VII WITH PTOLEMY XII (AULETES) AND PTOLEMY XIII; SUBSEQUENTLY, CLEOPATRA VII WITH PTOLEMY XIV, AND THEN WITH PTOLEMY XV (CAESARION)

Ptolemy XII apparently associated his two children, Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII, with himself on the throne in 51 B.C., and the triple coregency endured until the old king's death the following year. The surviving partners soon quarreled, and in the oft-told struggle that followed, Ptolemy XIII aligned himself with the anti-Roman faction and was killed by Julius Caesar's

284. *PM* V 135.

285. *Ibid.*, VI 164 (315)-(323), 165 (324)-(325).

286. *Ibid.*, p. 167 (337)-(344); Ptolemy X and Cleopatra III also appear elsewhere in the Edfu temple (p. 155 [286] *d*).

287. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 153-54; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 76-77.

288. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 155-65; Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 80-81.

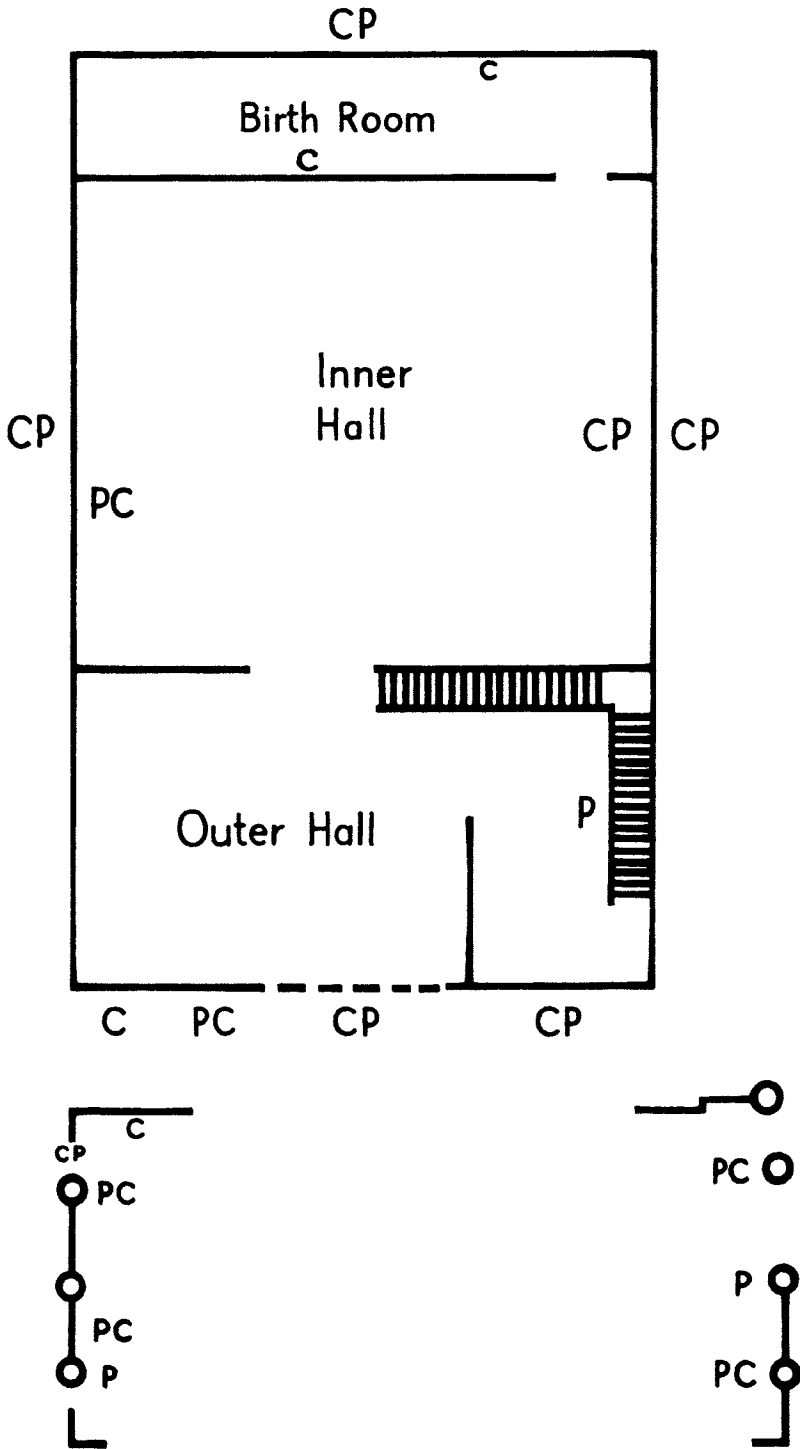


Fig. 8.—Temple of Armant

forces (47 B.C.). Caesar settled the Egyptian question by assigning another coregent for Cleopatra, but this boy (a younger brother, Ptolemy XIV) was a mere figurehead who died in 44 B.C., probably murdered. Later (in 41 B.C., and again in 36 B.C.), Cleopatra took her son by Caesar, Ptolemy XV (Caesarion), as her coregent. Their first coregency was ephemeral, but the second endured until the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty in 30 B.C.<sup>289</sup>

The joint reign of Cleopatra VII with her father and with her two brothers is not attested in the monuments. The first of these coregencies (if it occurred at all) must have been very short, and the other two were marked by a mutual hostility that left little inclination to plan joint representations in Egyptian temple reliefs. The coregency between Cleopatra and her son Caesarion (Ptolemy XV), however, is quite well attested in the monuments that Cleopatra, in a tremendous spurt of building activity, had executed toward the close of her reign.

- a) A stela found at Deir el-Medinah depicts Cleopatra and Caesarion before Amun-Rē and Montu; it is inscribed with a bilingual (Greek and Demotic) text.<sup>290</sup>
- b) The Ptolemaic temple at Armant is jointly decorated by Cleopatra (C) and her son (P); see Fig. 8.<sup>291</sup>
- c) The now ruined chapel of Cleopatra and Caesarion at Qift was probably a similar structure, and the miscellaneous surviving blocks permit us to reconstruct a scheme of decoration not unlike that found at Armant.<sup>292</sup>
- d) Finally, on the rear exterior wall of the temple of Hathor at Dendera there are scenes representing both coregents; the cartouches of Ptolemy XV occur on the base of the wall.<sup>293</sup>

The coregencies of the Ptolemaic dynasty are, thus, on the whole, well attested in the Egyptian monuments, and only the most insecure and ephemeral rulers remain unrepresented. This is aston-

289. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 156-59; the coregency between Ptolemy XII and his children is doubted by Skeat (*JEA* 46 [1960] 91-93), and apparently also by Pestman (*Chronologie*, pp. 82-85).

290. *PM* I/2 (2d ed.) 712.

291. *Ibid.*, V 151-57 (Fig. 13, following p. 154).

292. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 (chapel ruins), 133 (miscellaneous blocks found nearby).

293. *Ibid.*, VI 79 (257)-(260).

ishing when we consider that the memorializing impulse served a subtly different function under the Ptolemies than it had under the native dynasties. Earlier rulers of Egypt were primarily concerned with the safety and prosperity of the country itself, both with respect to foreign enemies and on a cosmic level, inasmuch as the stability of Egyptian society conformed to the ideal of Ma'at. Egyptian temple relief not only commemorated the kings who commissioned it, but perpetuated a vision of divine order within which these kings acted. The Ptolemies, a Macedonian dynasty ruling a conquered country, were not at all concerned with these values. Their policy was conditioned by the memory of Alexander the Great's world empire and by the ensuing death struggle of his successors. In Egypt, the effect of this *damnosa hereditas* was the evolution of the "servile state," that vast revenue-producing machine that served the wider interests of the country's masters and brought Egypt very little in return. Under these circumstances the continued building and decoration of traditional Egyptian temples represented part of the Ptolemies' policy toward the native Egyptian religion. To some extent this policy was a matter of inertia: the native cult practices, after all, were too deeply ingrained to be uprooted from above, nor was there any reason to abolish them. But beyond this, maintaining the native institutions—particularly retaining the large corporations of the local priesthoods—played a role in aiding local administration and giving foreign rule an air of native legitimacy. Perforce the Ptolemies became pharaohs, and thus they absorbed into their persons the full panoply of cultic responsibility that traditionally belonged to an Egyptian king. The succession of rulers and coregents was accordingly reflected on temple walls, as also in the dating formulas on private documents. The apparent sensitivity to political nuance—for example, representing the uneasy condominium of Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III after Ptolemy VIII's death, or of Cleopatra III's regency during the minority of Ptolemy IX—is noteworthy, but it more probably reflects a contemporary view, without the benefit of hindsight, of what seemed then to be a stable political situation, rather than any independent "commentary." The very existence of temple relief at this time was of necessity a loyalist demonstration, put on by the entrenched priesthoods for the benefit of the ruling dynasty, which paid the expense of it. For posterity it is fortunate that this propaganda was occasionally allowed to "speak" so clearly on the political situation of the times.

## THE ROMAN COREGENCIES

The Roman emperors, even though they were more remote from their Egyptian subjects than the Ptolemies, continued to represent themselves as pharaohs in Egyptian temple reliefs. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the several episodes of coregency reflected in the monuments.

## LUCIUS VERUS AND MARCUS AURELIUS

Greek, Latin, and Demotic documents from Egypt abundantly attest the coregency of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius, which lasted from 161 to 169 A.D.<sup>294</sup> Only one reference survives in the monuments, however: at Philae, the cornice of the south wall of Hadrian's gate is decorated with alternating cartouches of the two emperors.<sup>295</sup> A Greek inscription naming them was also seen by Wilkinson in the so-called temple of Serapis in the eastern desert.<sup>296</sup>

## MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS

The coregency of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (177-180 A.D.) is well represented, both in the Demotic documents<sup>297</sup> and in the monuments. At the temple of Khnum at Esna the cornice and frieze of the east face of the columned hall are decorated with a series of composite cartouches for both emperors, "Marcus Aurelius and his son (*hn<sup>c</sup> s3·f*) Commodus."<sup>298</sup> In two scenes in the outer corridor of the temple of Kôm Ombo, a pair of emperors are shown presenting a joint offering to the gods of Egypt.<sup>299</sup> Although

294. *LdR* V 149-50 (II-IV); Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 106-7. The Demotic scribes were still dating documents according to this coregency in 171 A.D.

295. *PM* VI 255; *LdR* V 149 (I), in what he calls "petite temple de Vérus et Marc-Aurèle."

296. D. Meredith, "The Roman Remains in the Eastern Desert of Egypt," *JEA* 39 (1953) 100.

297. Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 106-7. Commodus reckoned his regnal years from his father's accession, and thus his own accession to sole rule is recorded as having occurred in his twentieth year; *ibid.*, p. 109; *LdR* V 106, n. 2.

298. *LdR* V 163 and n. 5; *PM* VI 117 (42)-(47), the north and south parts only; the central section was decorated by Caracalla.

299. Location: *PM* VI 197 (229), (231). The scenes are published in nonfacsimile line drawings by J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G.

they are tentatively identified as Marcus Aurelius and Commodus,<sup>300</sup> the attribution is not wholly secure for either emperor, and the evidence must be reviewed before any conclusions are reached.

The scenes in question form part of a double sequence of reliefs that move in from opposite ends of the wall and culminate in two parallel scenes in the center. The largest number of figures belong to an "Antoninus," with the varying epithets "Who Protects (*nty h̄w*)" or "Protecting Forever (*h̄w dt*)": in our two scenes the latter variant is used and Antoninus occupies the leading position. Gauthier has ascribed this epithet to both Antoninus Pius<sup>301</sup> and Marcus Aurelius;<sup>302</sup> but Antoninus Pius's name seems to occur with this epithet only in examples cited from the Dendera temple; the more usual form, found elsewhere, invariably adds "Eusebes,"<sup>303</sup> so one wonders whether the cartouches in our scenes should in fact be attributed to Antoninus at all, or only to Marcus Aurelius. The identification of the second figure is more complicated still: a literal transcription of his nomen yields *3rwys 's t(?) h̄wt*, which could be "Aurelius— or "Aelius" (?)—A(ntoninu)s Who(?) Protects," i.e., either Commodus or (less probably) Antoninus Pius.<sup>304</sup> An alternative transcription could be *Wrwy Sbst h̄wt*, "Veru(s) Sebasto(s) <Who> Protects," i.e., Lucius Verus.<sup>305</sup> A reasonable case can be made

Jéquier, and A. Barsanti, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 1<sup>e</sup> série, Haute Égypte, III: *Kom-Ombos*, Pt. 2 (Vienna, 1909) 302 (= Fig. 948) and 306 (= Fig. 952).

300. *LdR* V 163, n. 4, followed by *PM* VI 197.

301. *LdR* V 147-48 (L, LI, LVII).

302. For example, *ibid.*, p. 164 (LXI).

303. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-47 (XLIII-XLVI).

304. The reading "Aelius" is doubtful, for this name is invariably spelled with an 'ayin and it occurs in the first cartouche (*LdR* V 145-46 [XLIII, A-B, D; XLIV, XLV, D]). "Aurelius" is better, although the spelling here is aberrant when compared with other examples (*ibid.*, pp. 149 [I], 164 [LXI, A-B], 175 [XLIV, B]). The abbreviation 's, while unusual, would not be unprecedented in Roman cartouches; cf. "Kaisaros T(raianos), living forever like Isis" (*ibid.*, p. 115 [LV, D]), or "Autokrator Kaisaros Titus A(eliu)s Hadrianus" (*ibid.*, p. 146 [XLV, B]). The reversed *t* is presumably a botched writing of <n>*ty*.

305. The hieroglyphic titulary of Verus at Philae, following the standard "Autokrator Caesar," is *Lwky Awrly Wrs 'nh̄ dt* (following Champollion rather than Lepsius; see *LdR* V 149 [I] for references). To obtain "Veru(s) Sebasto(s)" from the cartouche at Kom Ombo would involve emending the initial aleph to *wr*, and  $\square$  (= 'ayin) to  $\updownarrow$  (= *b*), which cannot really be defended except for the fact that the signs bear a general resemblance to one another. For what it is worth, however, the emended cartouche would



for each of these interpretations, given the ambiguity of the spellings employed here. The sequence of reliefs on the right side is completed by three scenes depicting Commodus (nomen erased) and another, obviously added much later, showing Macrinus with his son, Diadumenianus.<sup>306</sup> The overall arrangement of these reliefs is shown in the following chart:

A	A + ?	A	Lost	A	A + ?	C	C	C	M + D
(947)	(948)	(949)	(950)	(951)	(952)	(953)	(954)	(955)	(956)

A - "Antoninus," C - Commodus, M - Macrinus, D - Diadumenianus, ? - unknown partner of "Antoninus"; the reference numbers are to figures in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique* III: *Kom Ombos*, Pt. 2 (Vienna, 1909).

It would seem, from this arrangement, that the initiative in carving scenes 947-52 belonged to "Antoninus," and that the decoration of scenes 953-56 could belong to two later stages—and, indeed, 956 must be of considerably later date than the rest of this material. Since, as I have suggested, "Antoninus" is probably none other than Marcus Aurelius, and since the cartouche of his unknown partner does not resemble any known names of Antoninus Pius in hieroglyphic script, I feel that this enigmatic figure must be either Lucius Verus or Commodus, both sometime coregents of Marcus Aurelius. Given that the choice lies, on the one hand, between retaining the text, with its aberrant spellings of Commodus's names, and, on the other, emending it to obtain "Verus Sebastos," the matter ought best to remain open. If, however, Commodus is his father's partner in these scenes, it seems likely that the reliefs were carved during the coregency, with scenes 953-55 added during Commodus's period of sole rule.<sup>307</sup>

yield a "normal" spelling of the two names. "Sebastos," the Greek equivalent of "Augustus" (= hieroglyphic *nty hw*; see *LdR* V 7 [n. 4], 31 [XXVI, A-B], 34 [XLIII A-B]) is often encountered without its final -s (*ibid.*, pp. 97 [XXXVII], 115 [LV, B, H], 135 [LXXI, B]); and although the Greek word and its Egyptian equivalent are usually substituted for one another, they are occasionally found jointly in the same cartouche (*ibid.*, p. 146 [XLV, B-D]).



306. De Morgan et al., *Kom Ombos*, Pt. 2, pp. 307-10 (= Figs. 953-56).

307. This is not the place to attempt a full paleographic study, but a few points are suggested by the Berlin photographs of the Kom Ombo temple (Ph. K.O. 192-207): the hieroglyphs used in Commodus's cartouches seem larger and more generously cut than those in scenes 947-52, and there seems

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA

The triple coregency of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta (209-11 A.D.) is commemorated on the north and south walls of the hypostyle hall at Esna.<sup>308</sup> Most of the scenes show alternately one or another of the coregents, but one of them depicts Severus, with his wife Julia Domna, followed by Caracalla and Geta, offering to Khnum and to two other deities.<sup>309</sup> The superior status of Caracalla (as an Augustus) with relation to Geta (who only held the rank of Caesar) is reflected not only in Caracalla's precedence but also in the iconography of the figures: Caracalla is crowned with the double diadem and carries the crook and the flail; Geta wears only the crown of Upper Egypt and carries only a *w3s*-scepter and an *'ankh*.<sup>310</sup> Another interesting feature of these scenes is that the name of Geta has been hacked out everywhere (no doubt after his murder by Caracalla in 212 A.D.) and except in the composite scene described above has been replaced with Caracalla's name.<sup>311</sup> Like Commodus, Caracalla has decoration in his own name represented elsewhere, but just as in the case of Commodus, it is impossible to determine whether the decoration relates to his coregency period or to his sole reign. Several Demotic documents survive from this coregency period, as also from one that preceded it, in which Severus associated only Caracalla on the throne with himself (198-209 A.D.), but they all seem to be dated by Severus's name alone.<sup>312</sup>

None of the subsequent Roman coregencies are attested by the monuments. Of the members of the quadruple monarchy that Diocletian initiated, only he is represented in Egyptian fashion, and both during his reign and after his death the Demotic scribes seem to have abandoned the reckoning of regnal years as the main system

to be a clear contrast in the form of the sign *h'*, which is  in 948, 951, and 952, but  in 953 and 955. Perhaps the reliefs and religious texts were all carved at one time, but I would suggest that the kings' names, at least, belong to different periods.

308. *PM* VI 113-14 (16)-(20), 114-15 (25)-(29).

309. *LD* IV 89 c; S. Sauneron, "Les Querelles impériales vues à travers les scènes du temple d'Esné," *BIFAO* 51 (1952) Pl. I.

310. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 115-16.

311. For a full discussion see *ibid.*, pp. 11-18; but cf. *idem*, *Esna* IV (*PIFAO*, "Esna" [1969]) 5.

312. Pestman, *Chronologie*, pp. 108-11.

of dating in favor of an "era of Diocletian."<sup>313</sup> Double and triple datings for the later emperors do still occur in the Demotic papyri, and the impulse to commemorate emperors on monuments was apparently not altogether dead, to judge from an inscription of 374 A.D. on a block from Athribis commemorating a triumphal arch of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.<sup>314</sup> But with the conversion to Christianity of the emperors after Diocletian, all motivation they had had to commemorate themselves in Egyptian temples ceased abruptly. Pharaonic civilization was able to persist under altered conditions in the Roman twilight, but it could not survive when it was altogether ignored.

313. Ibid., pp. 118-27.

314. See the report in "Les Fouilles," *CdE* 14 (1939) 9; for the Demotic documents, see Pestman, *Chronologie*, p. 123.



## THE HYPOTHETICAL COREGENCIES: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

The first two chapters have dealt mainly with coregencies whose existence is guaranteed by jointly dated monuments or similarly compelling evidence. All materials cited there are either known to have come from periods of joint rule, or at the very least could have done so. From here on, however, the way is uncertain. Very often we are reduced to asking ourselves how facts about ancient history can be inferred when no direct evidence is available: in some cases, the intrinsic merits of an argument can be easily established, but all too frequently the results are inconclusive. In this study we shall try to resolve some of the ambiguity by arranging debated materials in categories from which a broader comparative analysis can be made. The first step, of course, is to collect the evidence, and here (as in previous chapters) we shall proceed chronologically, case by case. This chapter will include all the hypothetical coregencies that have been proposed, with the exception of those cases already discussed in Chapter 1. For the most part this preliminary survey will be just that—a diagnostic overview of the evidence prior to final discussion. Where the materials are sufficiently convincing to warrant acceptance or rejection on their own merits, the arguments will be fully treated here. Otherwise, where the reasons adduced for coregencies can be more profitably reviewed in connection with other similar materials, extended commentary will be deferred until Chapter 4.

## PEPI I AND MERNERĒ

The only concrete evidence for the coregency of Pepi I and Mernerē consists of a tiny gold pendant bearing the juxtaposed names of the two kings. It has been suggested that this conical object formed the endpiece of a string of ornaments, several of which would make up the decorative appendage worn in front of a kilt.<sup>1</sup> A coregency would be one explanation for the association

1. E. Drioton, Notes diverses: 2. Une Corégence de Pépi I<sup>er</sup> et de Mérenrê(?), "ASAE 45 (1947) 55-56.

of the kings' names, but we are totally ignorant not only of the motivation behind this feature but also of the precise context of the object. If, for example, it graced the costume of a divine statue rather than of a man, it is not hard to imagine an explanation for the two names (perhaps a refurbishing by Mernerē of equipment dedicated by his father?) that need not encompass a coregency.

Further evidence for a coregency has been seen in the copper statues from Hierakonpolis that are now displayed in the Cairo Museum. These consist of a large statue of a man striding forward, holding a staff; a much smaller statue, evidently of a young man, with his hands hanging at his sides, and to whose forehead was once attached a uraeus; and a deteriorated strip of copper sheeting, from the base, which indicates that the statue was made for Pepi I, either at his first Sed Festival or sometime after.<sup>2</sup> It was Borchardt who originally maintained that these statues formed a group,<sup>3</sup> and this judgment has been accepted ever afterward even by those scholars who do not believe that the group represents Pepi I and his young coregent Mernerē.<sup>4</sup> To those who think that the statues constitute a group, several points can be made in reply: (1) It is still not certain that the two statues were meant to form a group, since they were found not in position but thrown into a pit, the smaller actually stuffed inside the larger. (2) The smaller statue is worked differently from the larger; in particular, it has the drill hole for the uraeus that the larger statue lacks. This difference suggests that either the two statues are not a proper pair or that the smaller one was converted to royal status sometime after its completion (compare the various nonroyal figures in the mortuary temple of Sahurē that were altered to represent his successor, Neferirkarē).<sup>5</sup> (3) An alternative for the group-statue explanation is that the figures may represent the king with his ka, but this would be unusual iconography for sculptures in this genre.<sup>6</sup>

2. J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (BSA IV [1900]) Pls. XLIV-XLV; Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (BSA V [1902]) Pls. L-LI.

3. *Ibid.*, II 45-46.

4. E.g., W. S. Smith, "The Old Kingdom in Egypt in the Beginning of the First Intermediate Period," *CAH I/2* (3d ed.) 192; rejected by W. Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (HO I/3 [1968]) p. 74.

5. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-re<sup>f</sup>* (WVDOG, Vol. 26 [1913]) Text volume, pp. 31-32; Plate volume, Pls. 17, 32-34, 48.

6. For this motif in relief see G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II* II ("Fouilles à Saqqarah" [Cairo, 1938]) Pls. 8, 36; III (1940) Pls.

Chronological arguments are also inconclusive. Manetho states that Pepi II, half-brother and successor of Merneṛē, came to the throne at the age of six and lived to be a hundred years old. The highest known date in Merneṛē's reign is a possible "year after the fifth occasion (of the count)," and if a biennial counting of regnal years was the rule in the Sixth Dynasty (i.e., the "year after the fifth occasion" = regnal year 10), the acceptance of the Manethonian tradition of Pepi II would seem to require a coregency.<sup>7</sup> It now appears, however, that a regular biennial cattle count as the basis for Egyptian regnal dating in the Old Kingdom is open to question. Merneṛē's highest date could thus have been his sixth year,<sup>8</sup> which would account for the evidence without a coregency.

#### MERNEṚĒ AND PEPI II

The concrete evidence for a coregency of Merneṛē and Pepi II also consists of a single small object, this one a cylinder seal from Tell el-Maskhoutah. Here, a line of hieroglyphs naming "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Merneṛē, living forever like RĒ" is placed vertically to the left of a curiously formed *serekh*. The bottom half of this element, instead of displaying the usual palace-facade niching, shows instead a crude representation of a king striking down an enemy who carries a bow and wears a feathered headdress. Above this representation the space normally reserved for the writing of the Horus name is divided in two and contains the Horus names of Pepi II on the left side (with the vertical text mentioning Merneṛē behind it) and of Merneṛē on the right. The hieroglyphs, like the falcons that surmount the *serekh* above each name, face one another. The other texts on this piece give the unnamed owner's titles in connection with the pyramid cults

30, 36. Nothing similar appears to be attested in statuary, however: L. Greven, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königs kult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches* (ÄF, Vol. 17 [1952]) pp. 45-49; U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter* (ibid., Vol. 19 [1956]) pp. 86-90; P. Bargout, "Au Sujet d'une représentation du ka royal," *ASAE* 51 (1951) 205-15.

7. H. Goedicke, "The Abydene Marriage of Pepi I," *JAOS* 75 (1955) 181-83, followed by Smith in *CAH* I/2 (3d ed.) 192. For the dates see *Urk* I 110 (ḥ3t-zp 5, "fifth occasion of the count"); but for a possible year after the fifth count, see p. 256.

8. On the count see now Helck, *Geschichte*, p. 71, n. 8; H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (ÄA, Vol. 14 [1967]) pp. 89-90.

of Isesi (Fifth Dynasty) and of Pepi I, as well as other service titles connected with the central administration.<sup>9</sup>

Once again, the main problem is ambiguity. While a coregency could explain the associated names, other explanations are also possible. The battle scene on the bottom of the *serekh* seems to emphasize the king's warlike role, and it could be that the owner wished to call attention to his military exploits under both kings, conveying all the essential information in very abbreviated form. The literary parallel for this, of course, would be tomb biographies such as Weni's (describing his career under Teti, Pepi I, and Mernerē) or Harkhuf's (describing his service under Mernerē and Pepi II).<sup>10</sup> This alternative, though plausible, remains nevertheless unproved, and we are left guessing as to what the material actually means. Beyond this, I can only repeat that a reign of Mernerē that lasted longer than six years would demand that he be either his father's or his half-brother's coregent. In view of Pepi II's extreme youth at his accession, it is hard to imagine circumstances that would have prompted a coregency with Mernerē—unless, of course, the position of the dynastic family was already weaker than has been assumed.

#### AHMOSE AND AMENOPHIS I

Three objects support the proposed coregency of Ahmose and Amenophis I. The names of the two kings have been found juxtaposed on opposite sides of an amulet,<sup>11</sup> and also on a fragmentary stela from Gebelein.<sup>12</sup> The third item is less direct but more convincing. In the quarrying inscriptions at Ma'şara, dated to Ahmose's twenty-second regnal year, Queen Ahmose Nofretari, the king's consort, is referred to as "king's daughter, king's sister, king's mother, and mistress of the entire land," and as "great king's wife, king's mother, lady of the Two Lands."<sup>13</sup> Unless the title "king's mother" was held in anticipation—an un-

9. J. Clédat, "Deux monuments nouveaux de Tell el-Maskhoutah," *RT* 32 (1910) 41-42.

10. *Urk* I 98-109 (Weni), 124-31 (Harkhuf).

11. G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire. Monuments de la XVII<sup>e</sup> et de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Geneva, 1908) p. 9, No. 15.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 10 (No. 17), representing the two sets of cartouches back-to-back, facing away from one another.

13. *Urk* IV 25; see now G. Vittmann, "Was There a Coregency of Ahmose with Amenophis I?" *JEA* 60 (1974) 250-51.



likely proposition—it would seem that Ahmose Nofretari's offspring was already ruling, and that Ahmose and Amenophis I were coregents in Ahmose's twenty-second year. The length of Ahmose's reign as given by Manetho was twenty-five years, four months, and this figure, if correct, would extend the coregency by another three years.<sup>14</sup>

#### AMENOPHIS I AND TUTHMOSIS I

Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I are associated in an odd, asymmetrical fashion on the walls of the bark shrine that was recovered from the third pylon at Karnak and has now been reerected.<sup>15</sup> For the most part the building is decorated by Amenophis I alone, but Tuthmosis I "owns" the south exterior wall. The extent and position of the younger king's contribution suggests that he finished the building upon his father's sudden demise,<sup>16</sup> and it leaves open the question of a coregency between them.

In passing, there is a possibility that a one-year-old son of Amenophis I, Amenemhēt, was a "nominal coregent" prior to his death.<sup>17</sup> But the inscription on the coffin lid, rewritten in the Twentieth Dynasty and naming the occupant as "King, Lord of the Two Lands," may well be a mistake, as is a similar reference to "King" Ahmose Sapair in Papyrus Abbott III.13.<sup>18</sup>

#### TUTHMOSIS I AND HATSHEPSUT

The elaborate theory of Kurt Sethe, whereby Hatshepsut and the first three Thutmosids supposedly chased one another off the

14. D. B. Redford, "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *JNES* 25 (1966) 114. The variant readings all oscillate between twenty-five and twenty-six years (W. G. Waddell, *Manetho the Historian* ["Loeb Classical Library" (London, 1940)] pp. 100-117; cf. p. 241). But there is no evidence that Amenophis I began his regnal count only after his father's death (*pace* Vittmann, *JEA* 60 [1974] 251).

15. H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947-1948)," *ASAE* 47 (1947) 167, Pls. XXIV-XXVI; cf. D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto, 1967) pp. 51-52.

16. Cf. similarly the alabaster bark shrine of Tuthmosis IV, finished by Amenophis III (see below, nn. 61, 61).

17. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II (2 vols.; New York, 1953-59) 52, 419; see E. F. Wente, "Tuthmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975) 270-71 and n. 41.

18. G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den Akademischen Gebrauch* III (Leipzig, 1910) 18, 1. 13; on Prince Sapaïr see Gauthier in *LdR* II 188-90.

throne for a number of years, is now generally rejected.<sup>19</sup> Hatshepsut's own claim to a coregency with her father Tuthmosis I is contradicted by material from the reign of her husband Tuthmosis II and her nephew Tuthmosis III. Moreover, the account of her own "coronation inscription" from the yet unpublished Chapelle Rouge at Karnak makes it clear that it was Amun-Rē who decreed Hatshepsut's elevation to the throne. This "official version" of recent history must have been current at the outset of Hatshepsut's reign, since her dating system was the same as that already begun by Tuthmosis III, and by implication she had therefore been entitled to rule as of his accession. It is possible, however, that her jubilee was calculated thirty years from the death of her father, reflecting a new basis for her legitimacy in the fictitious testament of Tuthmosis I.<sup>20</sup>

#### TUTHMOSIS II AND TUTHMOSIS III

Some evidence has been presented in support of a coregency of Tuthmosis III with his father Tuthmosis II.<sup>21</sup> A graffito from the step pyramid complex at Saqqara dated to year twenty of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (in that order; see Chapter 2, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, *q*) speaks of "his Majesty" as having been exalted with his father on the Horus Throne of the Living.<sup>22</sup> While this reference could be to Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis II, it seems more likely that it recalls the fiction of Hatshepsut's coronation before *her* father Tuthmosis I, particularly as this text refers to her as male and treats her precedence over Tuthmosis III as a matter of course. The uncertainties are compounded by the failure of the editors to publish either a facsimile or a transcription of the text, but from the wording of their translation it seems equally likely that the reference is merely to the association of a reigning king with his divine father, entirely above the realities of history.

There are somewhat similar problems with a passage from Tuthmosis III's building inscription on the seventh pylon at Karnak,

19. K. Sethe, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I., ihr Verlauf und ihre Bedeutung* (UGAÄ I [1896]); idem, *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (APAW 1932, No. 4); for the decisive refutation see W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC, No. 8 [1933] passim.

20. See now Wentz, *JNES* 34 (1975) 268, n. 22.

21. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 53-54.

22. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid I* ("Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Excavations at Saqqara" [Cairo, 1935]) 80.

where the king states that "my [father] Amon-Rē-Harakhti [granted to me] that (I) might appear [upon the Horus Throne of the Living . . . I having been appointed] before him within [the temple], there having been ordained for me the rulership of the Two Lands, the thrones of Geb and the offices of Khepri *r-gs* my father, the Good God, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Okheperenrē [i.e., Tuthmosis II] given life forever."<sup>23</sup> The interpretation hinges on the meaning of *r-gs*, which can be rendered literally as "at the side of," but which also has an extended meaning, "before."<sup>24</sup> The more literal interpretation might suggest a coregency, but Redford has pointed out that the prototype of Tuthmosis III's coronation story may well be an original (and probably fictitious) text of Tuthmosis I.<sup>25</sup> If so, one could argue that Tuthmosis III was taking a page from his predecessors' book, and at the same time repaying Hatshepsut in her own coin by claiming a totally artificial coregency with *his* father. It seems more likely, however, that the extended meaning of *r-gs*, "before," is the proper translation here. The operative verb in this passage is "ordain, decree," not "enthrone." Moreover, it would seem that if Tuthmosis III had wanted to claim a coregency with his predecessor he would have done so in less equivocal language than this.<sup>26</sup> Far more probably this passage refers to Tuthmosis III's own elevation, when he was nominated by Amun in the physical presence (i.e., *r-gs*) of Tuthmosis II.<sup>27</sup>

#### AMENOPHIS II AND TUTHMOSIS IV

A coregency of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV has been based on apparent anomalies in their celebration of jubilees. Most Egyptologists believe that Tuthmosis IV reigned for less than ten years, and Manetho's figure of nine years, eight months is generally accepted as reliable.<sup>28</sup> In late bilingual texts the jubilee has the connotation "thirty-year festival" (Egyptian *ḥb-sd* = Greek *triakontaetērís*), and the great kings of the New Kingdom—Tuth-

23. *Urk* IV 180.8-12.

24. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed., rev.; Oxford, 1957) p. 134 (bottom).

25. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 74-76.

26. Cf. the specific descriptions of Hatshepsut (*Urk* IV 241-65) and Ramesses II (*KRI* II.6 327-28).

27. *Urk* IV 156-62 (*r-gs* is not used in this account, but it is clear that Tuthmosis II was present).

28. Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966) 120.

mosis III (as sole ruler), Amenophis III, and Ramesses II—each celebrated his first jubilee in his thirtieth regnal year.<sup>29</sup> It is not difficult to suppose that Amenophis II conformed to this tradition, celebrating two jubilees, one in his thirtieth and the other in his thirty-third regnal year, after the customary interval.<sup>30</sup> Tuthmosis IV's claim to have repeated the celebration of a jubilee<sup>31</sup> is, however, curious, especially considering the short reign usually assigned to him. This problem can be resolved by postulating a coregency during which Tuthmosis IV was associated in the "repetition" of Amenophis II's first jubilee, although he did not celebrate any jubilees of his own.<sup>32</sup>

Until fairly recently the main prop of this ingenious argument has been that Tuthmosis IV did not claim to have celebrated any jubilee of his own, but only to have "repeated" one. It is now known, however, that a sandstone building from Karnak, dismantled by Amenophis III, commemorated Tuthmosis IV's first jubilee,<sup>33</sup> proving that, like his father, he had celebrated two such festivals in his own right. All necessity for a coregency to explain the anomalous "repetition" now vanishes, although the accommodation of two jubilees in less than a decade is curious when set against the thirty-year tradition followed by other kings of the dynasty. It is, of course, not impossible that Tuthmosis IV himself reigned for over three decades.<sup>34</sup> The consistency with which the various recensions of Manetho assign a short reign to "Thmosis" is no guarantee that the tradition was correct. The figures for Tuthmosis III ("Misphragmuthosis"), for example, are

29. On Tuthmosis III see E. P. Uphill, "A Joint Sed-Festival of Thutmose III and Queen Hatshepsut," *JNES* 20 (1961) 251; for Amenophis III, W. C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951) 83; for Ramesses II, *LdR* III 42-43.

30. The chronological evidence is summarized by Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966) 119-20; for the intervals between jubilees in the New Kingdom see C. C. Van Siclen III, "The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," *JNES* 32 (1973) 292-94.

31. Mohamed Aly, Fouad Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada IV* (CDEAE [1967]) at pillars I-III, V-VII (location: Pls. 11-15, 16-20, 21-25, 26-30, 31-25, 36-40).

32. C. Aldred, "The Second Jubilee of Amenophis II," *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 1-6.

33. H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954," *ASAE* 53 (1955) Pl. XX between pp. 42 and 43 illustrates one of the pillars; others have been seen by the writer at Karnak.

34. As suggested by E. F. Wente and C. C. van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC, No. 39 [1976]) pp. 229-30, 248-49.

irreconcilable with his known length of reign even when Manetho's figures for Hatshepsut ("Amessis") and the calculated length of the coregency with Amenophis II are added.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the monuments yield no higher date for Tuthmosis IV than his eighth year can be compared with the fact that similar materials fail to attest a date for Sesostris III higher than his nineteenth year, though he actually reigned better than three decades.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, even though a canonical status of sorts must have pertained to thirty years in connection with jubilees, the consistency of this usage in actual practice is still uncertain.<sup>37</sup> One could, of course, explain the jubilees of Sesostris I (year 31)<sup>38</sup> and of Hatshepsut (year 15/16)<sup>39</sup> as having been reckoned from a date during their fathers' reigns,<sup>40</sup> but that still leaves us guessing in other anomalous cases: a jubilee in year two of Nebtowyre Mentuhotep IV;<sup>41</sup> a jubilee of Amenophis I (undated, but his dates in the monuments and in Manethonic tradition do not exceed twenty-one years);<sup>42</sup> and a jubilee of Akhenaten prior to his sixth year.<sup>43</sup> In any event, there is no justification here for positing a coregency for Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV.

Three pieces of monumental evidence have also been cited in support of this coregency:

- a) A statuette of a king in the Louvre bears the name of Tuthmosis IV on the belt buckle and cartouches of Amen-

35. I.e., 25 years, 10 months (for "Misphragmuthosis") + 21 years, 9 months (for "Amessis") + 2 years, 4 months (for the coregency with Amenophis II) = 49 years, 11 months; or, if Tuthmosis III is identified with Manetho's "Memnon," 30 years, 10 months + 21 years, 9 months + 2 years, 4 months = 54 years, 11 months (figures in Waddell, *Manetho*, pp. 101-19); Tuthmosis III reigned 53 years, 10 months, 26 days (Redford, *JNES* 25 [1966] 119).

36. Although R. A. Parker (*The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* [SAOC, No. 26 (1950)] pp. 63-70) assigns one of the Illâhûn fragments to his thirty-second year.

37. W. K. Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I-II," *JARCE* 2 (1963) 59-63.

38. R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (UGAÄ IX [1928]) pp. 76-78 (No. 49).

39. Uphill, *JNES* 20 (1961) 250.

40. Simpson, *JARCE* 2 (1963) 59-63.

41. J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiéroglyphiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (MIFAO XXXIV [1912]) p. 77, Pl. XXIX (No. 110).

42. G. Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak," *ASAE* 4 (1903) 17; Redford, *JNES* 25 (1966) 114-15, with n. 13—but perhaps this building was prepared for a jubilee that was never celebrated.

43. Attested in the Gayer-Anderson relief (see below, n. 160).

ophis II on the base.<sup>44</sup> Aldred argues that the statue represents Tuthmosis IV during the coregency, and insists that it was not usurped from Amenophis II because Amenophis II's cartouches were not usurped. The cogency of this observation can best be judged through a comparison with other materials, in the next chapter.

- b) In the small jubilee temple of Amenophis II at Karnak, between the ninth and tenth pylons, a badly preserved statue group depicts what was probably a god seated on a block throne. In front of this figure's legs, and probably resting on its feet, was another figure: all that remains is an outcropping of stone that might be the legs. Pillet<sup>45</sup> has suggested that the god Ptah was represented here, but Aldred,<sup>46</sup> referring to existing parallels, believes it to have been the figure of a king.<sup>47</sup> On the right-hand side of the group, standing beside the throne, is a smaller figure preserved up to the neck. On its head was the royal *nemes* headdress, its right hand grips the *heka* scepter, and it is dressed in a short kilt. Pillet had regarded the figure as a "prince," but the iconography defines it as a king or a related royal figure. Aldred is inclined to identify the larger standing figure as Amenophis II, wearing the short jubilee garment that would leave his legs bare; he sees the smaller figure as Tuthmosis IV, here associated in his father's festival (as described above). The lack of inscriptions makes this an unprovable proposition, especially since Aldred's other arguments about Tuthmosis IV's anomalous second jubilee are demonstrably false. The traces of this figure on the statue (which I have examined) actually suggest the pillar from which the figure projected, not the figure itself. Once again, a comparison with similar ma-

44. Aldred, *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 5.

45. M. Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)," *ASAE* 24 (1924) 80, Pl. XI.1.

46. *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 4-5 (cf. photograph); for the costume see J. Gwyn-Griffiths, "The Costume and Insignia of the King at the *sed*-Festival," *JEA* 41 (1955) 128; W. K. Simpson, "A Statuette of King Nyneter," *JEA* 42 (1956) 45-49, Pl. IV.

47. Cf. G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* (*CGC* [1906]) 50, Pl. LII; *ibid.*, p. 60, Pl. LXV; L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleute im Museum von Kairo IV* (*CGC* [1934]) 150.

terials can wait for Chapter 4. For the moment it can be said only that the piece owes its significance to the small associated royal figure, but cannot be proved either to represent the two kings Aldred suggests or to have been deposited in the temple during Amenophis II's reign.

- c) Finally, Aldred sees in the unnamed king associated with Amenophis II in the tomb of Neferronpet (Th. T. No. 43) a representation of Tuthmosis IV, not Tuthmosis III.<sup>48</sup> The basis for this argument is the wide streamer hanging from the back of the blue crown that, according to Aldred, does not appear until the middle of Tuthmosis IV's reign.<sup>49</sup> This feature occurs, however, not in the scene that depicts the two kings in Tomb No. 43, but on an entirely different wall on which only one king is shown.<sup>50</sup> If this criterion for dating is valid, not only Tomb No. 43 but also Nos. 143 (name lost)<sup>51</sup> and 172 (Mentuiwy)<sup>52</sup> should be reassigned to Tuthmosis IV's reign or later. But the development of the streamer is not as unilinear as Aldred suggests. Examples of the narrow double streamer (stylistically earlier) occur into the later reign of Amenophis III when the predominant streamer in use was the wide one,<sup>53</sup> so one wonders whether there may not have been similar variability during the time that the wide streamer was becoming established, perhaps even as early as Amenophis II's reign. Moreover, individual kings are sometimes depicted retrospectively in private tombs long after their decease.<sup>54</sup> Why, then, not coregents, particularly if the tomb owner had flourished under their rule? A point that might favor Aldred's view is that in the tomb of Dedi (No. 200) it is the junior partner, Amenophis II, who is seated in front

48. Against *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 84 (3); W. Helck, "Das thebanische Grab 43," *MDAIK* 17 (1961) 103, *Abb.* 3.

49. *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 5, n. 31.

50. Helck, *MDAIK* 17 (1961) 102, *Abb.* 2; *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 84 (4).

51. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 255-56; N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1934-1935. The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition," *BMMA* 30 (November 1935, sec. 2) 51-52.

52. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 279-80, especially at (3); are these necessarily two separate kings? Cf. *MMA* photos 3071-72.

53. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* ("Private Tombs at Thebes" I [Oxford, 1957]) Pls. XXI, XLI.

54. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 183 (pillar A, Tuthmosis III, carved under Amenophis III); V 181 (5), Ramesses III, carved under Ramesses IX.

of his father, Tuthmosis III.<sup>55</sup> Since Amenophis II is in the rear position in Neferronpet's tomb, one could argue that his junior partner, Tuthmosis IV, is in front. Our comparative material, however, is very scanty, and it would be rash to postulate a sequence based on seniority alone. At the El Kab temple, for example, Amenophis III and his father Tuthmosis IV are shown (in that order) seated under a canopy in front of an offering table.<sup>56</sup> Since the accompanying text speaks of the renewal made by Amenophis III for his father, we may assume that the latter was dead when the scene was executed, and that pride of place was here given to Amenophis III because it was he who was responsible for the work. Similar considerations may have affected the sequence of kings in private tombs, especially if the tomb owner wished to stress his service to one king. Thus Tuthmosis III may have been alive and predominant when Neferronpet's tomb was laid out, but deceased by the time Dedi's tomb was decorated—unless Dedi gave precedence to Amenophis II for reasons of his own.<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere there seems to be little consistency in the arrangement of "chronological" sequences of this sort. Sometimes earlier kings are shown in front of their successors,<sup>58</sup> sometimes the tendency is to begin with the most recent king and to move backward through time.<sup>59</sup>

The foregoing admittedly qualifies as destructive criticism. Aldred's theory concerning the identity of Amenophis II's partner in Tomb No. 43 could be correct, and there is no urgent reason why Tuthmosis IV and his father should not have been coregents for

55. Ali Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (MÄS, Vol. 21 [1969]) p. 37, Fig. 1.

56. *PM* V 188 (4), 189 (8).

57. Note that on Leyden Stela V.11, discussed above, both Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II are represented, but the prayer mentions the ka of only Tuthmosis III.

58. *LD* III 1 a, d; *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 384 (5) [Th. T. 306]; G. Foucart, M. Baud, and E. Drioton, *Tombes thébaines: Nécropole de Dirâ<sup>c</sup> Abû'n-Nâga* (MIFAO LVII/2 [1928]) Fig. 12.

59. As in *MH* IV, Pl. 213 A; *LD* III 235; and in private tombs, the parents of the tomb owner can be placed in subsidiary positions: N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* ("Mond Excavations at Thebes" I [London, 1941]) Pls. X-XI.



a while. If I remain skeptical, it is only because there are too many uncertainties to permit a firm conclusion either way.

#### TUTHMOSIS IV AND AMENOPHIS III

There is really no evidence for the coregency of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, but mention should be made of an alabaster bark shrine from Karnak in the construction of which the two kings are said to be "associated."<sup>60</sup> The description is correct but misleading, since Amenophis III only "embellished" (*snfr*) the monument for his father, almost certainly after his father's death, when the shrine was unfinished and before Amenophis III himself decided to pull it down for use inside the third pylon.<sup>61</sup> There is thus no question of a joint building project such as might have occurred during a coregency.

#### AMENOPHIS III AND AMENOPHIS IV/AKHENATEN

The evidence for and against a coregency of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV/Akhenaten has been thoroughly discussed in recent years,<sup>62</sup> and in the following survey we will try not to duplicate arguments voiced elsewhere. Instead, we will group the material into functional categories, the better to clarify the issues and to lay the groundwork for the comparative analyses in Chapter 4. Also, since this study emphasizes the process of deriving historical information from Egyptian materials, the evi-

60. P. Barquet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak (RIFAO XXI [1962])* p. 86 (14).

61. On this chapel, see *PM II* (2d ed.) 71-72. The fragment discussed is not illustrated in print, and I thank the director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Dr. Serge Sauneron, for permission to cite it here.

62. For the coregency are Aldred in numerous articles, and now in *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt - A New Study* (London, 1968) *passim*; also F. J. Giles, *Ikhnaton, Legend and History* (London, 1970) *passim*. A shorter "long" coregency is proposed by K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs. A Study in Relative Chronology* (Liverpool, 1962) *passim*. Against the coregency are E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (ÄA, Vol. 11 [1964]) pp. 71-78; W. Helck, "Die Sinai-Inschrift des Amenmose," *MIO* 2 (1954) 189-207; E. F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore, 1964) *passim*, especially pp. 6-30; and Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 88-169, the handiest and most thoroughgoing summary of the arguments.

dence of the Amarna Letters will not be discussed except in a few pertinent cases.

### 1. The Search for a Chronological Fixpoint

In the search for a chronological fixpoint, three items are generally adduced to define the length of the coregency, with mutually contradictory results.

- a) Amarna Letter (EA) No. 27 is addressed by the Mitannian King Tushratta to Amenophis IV, clearly after the death of Amenophis III.<sup>63</sup> A docket written in hieratic on the side of the letter conveys the additional information that the letter was received when the king was in residence at Thebes,<sup>64</sup> on I Proyet 5 (or 6)<sup>65</sup> in a year that has been variously read as "[regnal ye]ar 2" and "[regnal year 1]2." Scholars have insisted on one or the other of these readings, depending on whether they postulate a long or a short coregency, or none at all. A suggestion that ascribes the date as "regnal year two" of the reign of Smenkhkarē is unconvincing.<sup>66</sup> It has been generally agreed, however, that a "great festival for mourning"<sup>67</sup> referred to in the text must have been the funeral of Amenophis III that had taken place in the recent past, thus bringing Amenophis IV's accession to sole rule into close proximity with the date on the hieratic docket.

Recent research has radically altered the significance of EA 27 on the coregency question. The word that Knudtzon rendered as "mourning," *kimr(um)*, is of uncertain

63. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln I* (VAB II/1 [1915]) 229-41; O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna in akkadischer Sprache* (VAS XI [1915]) pp. 17-21.

64. On the expression *iw·tw m* + place, see E. F. Wente's comments in his review of Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, in *JNES* 28 (1969) 276-77.

65. C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna* (AOAT, Vol. 17 [1973]) p. 44, n. 207; the reading is Černý's.

66. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*, p. 7, n. 1; idem, "On the Chronology and History of the New Kingdom," *CdE* 40 (1965, No. 80) 319, n. 3. If this were a late copy, one would expect a formula like "letter of year x" instead of the actual "which the messengers X and Y brought," by implication "just brought"; moreover, EA 27, both in material and in style, is identical with other "original" letters from abroad and is not of Egyptian manufacture (Kühne, *Chronologie*, pp. 44-45, n. 209).

67. Knudtzon, *Tafeln*, pp. 238-39.

meaning in this context, and none of its other meanings in Akkadian seems to warrant this customary translation.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the very nature and position in time of the "great festival for X" (*i-zi-i-ni rabi ana kimri*) are thrown into doubt because of extensive damage to the passages wherein it occurs, so that crucial subjects, prepositions, and verb tenses are too uncertain to define where or when the festival did (or was to) take place.<sup>69</sup> The debated year date at the start of the hieratic docket has also received some attention, and the most recent examination suggests that "[regnal year] 12" is the proper reading.<sup>70</sup> If the reference to the festival in EA 27 is no longer taken to be a reference to Amenophis III's funeral, however, the fact that the letter was received this late in the reign of Akhenaten loses much of its importance. Tushratta's appeals to Queen Mother Tiyi, which have been seen as evidence of the Egyptian king's youth or inexperience,<sup>71</sup> need in fact be nothing of the sort, but seem rather to be rhetorical adjuncts to the argument: Tushratta is saying, in effect, "promises were made during the reign of your father, and your mother was there, so ask her!" Within the narrow limits of our investigation, EA 27 tells us only that by I Proyet 5/6 of his twelfth regnal year Akhenaten was reigning alone—and this fact was never in doubt from the beginning.

- b) A graffito from Meidum dated to Amenophis III's thirtieth regnal year has been interpreted as alluding to the beginning of a coregency in that year.<sup>72</sup> The brief text may be translated as follows:

Regnal year 30 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebma'atrē, the son of Amun, satisfied (with) Truth, Amen-

68. CAD K 373 s.v. *kimru*; W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch I* (Wiesbaden, 1965) 478; cf. Kühne, *Chronologie*, pp. 43-44, n. 205.

69. Although William L. Moran in a letter to me agrees with Kühne that the festival had not yet taken place when EA 27 was written; see W. J. Murnane, "On the Accession Date of Akhenaten," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC, No. 39 [1976]) pp. 165-66).

70. Kühne, *Chronologie*, pp. 43-44, n. 205; cf. Murnane, "Accession Date," p. 165, n. 18.


71. E.g., by Redford (*History and Chronology*, pp. 145-46).

72. By H. W. Fairman in *CoA III/1*, Chap. 10, "The Inscriptions," p. 156; for the text see W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892) Pl. XXXVI, bottom.

hotep-hik-Wēse; the master of victory, joyful ruler, who loves the one who hates the ill-disposed,<sup>73</sup> causing the male to rejoice<sup>74</sup> on the seat of his father, establishing his inheritance (in) the land.

Some very elevated meanings have been derived from the above, concentrating on the final phrases. A political significance is sought by those who see here a reference to Amenophis IV's elevation to a coregency by his father. Another view has focused on the divine determinative attached to *jt*, "father," and has interpreted "the male" as Amenophis III on the throne of his father Amun during the first jubilee.<sup>75</sup> Both these interpretations overlook vital facts that have a bearing on the meaning of this text. To begin with, the name of the writer is missing—surely the whole *raison d'être* for this sort of text was to "cause one's name to live," and all the other Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti from Meidum are quite conventional in this respect.<sup>76</sup> Almost certainly, this text is not complete—either the remainder had flaked off before the copyists could record it, or (more probably) the writer was interrupted before he had finished. Moreover, although references to the king as an heir (e.g., of Osiris) are frequent enough, the word *t3y*, "male," seems not to be associated with him here.<sup>77</sup> Finally, the three phrases that follow the stock epithets of the king appear to describe specific benefits that flow from him—that is, Amenophis III etc. is pictured as he "who loves the one who hates the ill-disposed, causing the male to rejoice on the seat of his father and establishing his inheritance in the land." It is tempting to suppose that these beneficent manifestations were somehow linked in the writer's thinking, and litigation at once springs to mind as the probable cause. In a legal context the words "male," "seat of his father," and "inheritance" are self-explanatory, and the divine determinative of the word "father" could be explained as refer-

73. *mr(r) msdyw jsft-jb*: *jsft* proper denotes the quality (*Wb* I 129), so *jsft-jb* is probably its personification (cf. *'wn-jb*, p. 172).

74. Written *h3y* (det. ) , probably *hy*, "to rejoice" (*ibid.*, II 483. 6).

75. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 117-18.

76. Cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 40-41.

77. *Wb* V 345.14-15, with references.

ring to a deceased "Osiris."<sup>78</sup> That the text reflects the private concerns of the man who wrote it seems more likely than other, more "historical" explanations,<sup>79</sup> and its value to the coregency debate is therefore nil.

- c) In the Earlier Proclamation on the boundary stelae at Amarna, Akhenaten inveighs against events "worse than what I heard in regnal year 4, worse than what I heard in regnal year 3, worse than what I heard in regnal year 2, worse than what I heard in regnal year 1; worse than what Nebma'atjrē [heard] and worse than Menkheprurē heard."<sup>80</sup> In this passage Amenophis III is cited in the company of Tuthmosis IV, both of whom are witnesses to a state of affairs prevailing long before Akhenaten became king and continuing into the present (presumably, regnal year five). One could argue that "what Nebma'atrē heard" took place during his sole rule, before the inception of a coregency with his son, but the words seem more consistent with a view of Amenophis III as having been deceased from his son's fourth year, if not indeed his first.<sup>81</sup>

## 2. The Alleged Amarna Residence of Amenophis III

A sizable number of items have been regarded as proof that Amenophis III was alive and at least occasionally residing at Akhetaten, the heretic capital, during the middle third of Akhenaten's reign.

- a) Dockets written on wine jars dated to the twenty-eighth and thirtieth years of an unnamed king who is generally acknowledged to be Amenophis III.<sup>82</sup>

78. See Pyr 960 B (N) (K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* II [Leipzig, 1910] 36); Westcar VII 22 (A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* I [Leiden, 1948] p. 80.11).

79. Thus already Griffith, in Petrie, *Medum*, p. 41.

80. This is what seems to be required by the space available on Stela X (*El Amarna* V, Pl. XXXII, ll. 22-23); cf. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" VIII [Brussels, 1938]) p. 116, ll. 9-14.

81. See now J. R. Harris, "Contributions to the History of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *SAK* 2 (1975) 98-101. On the dating of the earlier boundary stelae to year five see L. G. Leeuwenburg, "De Grensstele's van Amarna," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 3 (1944-48, No. 9) 39-49.

82. H. W. Fairman in *CoA* II, Chap. 6, "The Inscriptions," pp. 103-4 and Pl. LVIII:47; *ibid.*, III, Chap. 10, "The Inscriptions," p. 154 and Pl. XCI:168.

- b) A portrait of Amenophis III and Queen Tiyi, executed in the exaggerated revolutionary style, found in a house at Amarna.<sup>83</sup>
- c) The appearance of the praenomina of Akhenaten, Amenophis III, and members of their families on the sarcophagus of Akhenaten's daughter Meketaten and on the sarcophagus lid of Akhenaten himself, both from the royal tomb at Amarna.<sup>84</sup>
- d) The depiction of the two royal families—Akhenaten, Nefer-titi, and their daughters, and Amenophis III, Tiyi, and their daughter Baketaten—back-to-back on the lintel of an inner doorway in the tomb of Huya at Amarna. On the jambs below, moreover, the names of the Aton and of Akhenaten are followed by those of Amenophis III (nomen only, written phonetically) and of Queen Tiyi.<sup>85</sup>
- e) A fragmentary granite bowl inscribed with the praenomen of Amenophis III found near the desert altars at Amarna.<sup>86</sup>
- f) An offering table inscribed with the names of Akhenaten and of Amenophis III from the same general location.<sup>87</sup>
- g) Finally, the names of several estates or institutions compounded with the praenomen of Amenophis III among the modest administrative documents found at Amarna adduced to show that Amenophis III once lived there.<sup>88</sup>

Whether taken individually or as a whole, these materials might be consistent with the idea that Amenophis III lived at Amarna—but they all fall short of proving that he did so. The wine jars (a) could have been reused for some other substance once their original contents had been drunk, and then brought to the heretic capital.<sup>89</sup> Or, alternatively, they might have been brought in-

83. F. Ll. Griffith, "Stela in Honour of Amenophis III and Taya, from Tell el-'Amarnah," *JEA* 12 (1926) 1-2, Pl. I.

84. See now G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna: The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna*, Pt. VII: I. *The Objects* (EES-ASE XXXV [1974] 26-30.

85. *El Amarna III*, Pls. XVIII, XXI.

86. CoA II, Pl. XLVII; pp. 2-3.

87. *Ibid.*, III, Pl. LIV:4-6.

88. P. van der Meer, "The Chronological Determination of the Mesopotamian Letters in the El-Amarna Archives," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 5 (1955-58, No. 15) 78; cf. Fairman in CoA III, Chap. 10, "The Inscriptions," pp. 199-200 for references.

89. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 94.

tact to Akhetaten in the mistaken belief that the wine was still potable; a jar of wine dating back to the thirty-first year of Amenophis III was found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamun,<sup>90</sup> and while it is possible that the wine was recognized as unfit to drink when it was placed in the tomb,<sup>91</sup> the mere fact of its survival for this length of time suggests that old stores were not invariably checked and discarded. The portrait of Amenophis III on the plaque from Amarna (b) may well have been drawn from a living model, but this does not prove that the king was still living when the piece was executed—and indeed, there is reason to suppose that he was already dead and that the piece was inscribed during the sole reign of Akhenaten.<sup>92</sup> The phonetic spelling of Amenophis III's praenomen on his granddaughter's and his son's sarcophagi (c) similarly suggests that the agent responsible for their presence was Akhenaten, so that once again the personal involvement of the old king is thrown into doubt.<sup>93</sup> The depiction of the two families in Huya's tomb (d) could easily have been a gesture in honor of Queen Tiyi, wife of Amenophis III and mother of Akhenaten, from a man who held high office in the heretic capital and was, after all, Tiyi's chief steward. Here, too, the spelling of Amenophis III's nomen is phonetic, the nomen (Amen-hotep) is avoided, and on the jambs the names of Akhenaten precede those of his father. Both the fragmentary granite bowl (e) and the offering table (f) may be objects deriving from the cult of Amenophis III at Amarna; both Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV were worshiped there,<sup>94</sup> and it seems inevitable that Akhenaten's father would have been the object of similar veneration at the heretic capital. And finally, the mention of estates of Amenophis III at Amarna (g), even if they were in fact located in that area, does not prove that the king ever lived there. The besetting difficulty with this evidence is its ambiguity. Seen in one light, it might tend to support a coregency, but it is too weak to prove on its own merits that a coregency did occur.

90. J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (TTS II [1965]) p. 3 (No. 25).

91. Wente in *JNES* 28 (1969) 274.

92. Only the praenomen is written, avoiding use of the nomen "Amenophis" (Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 101-2).

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-11; cf. Martin, *Royal Tomb*, p. 105 (7).

94. *PM* IV 233: a fragmentary stela shows Akhenaten worshipping the Aton in a temple dedicated to Tuthmosis IV at Akhetaten; *El Amarna* V 7: a "steward of the house of Okheprurē" at Amarna is mentioned.

## 3. The Interrelation of Events in the Two Reigns

Some of the more circumstantial evidence favoring a coregency has been found in apparent connections between events that took place during the reigns of Amenophis III and Akhenaten.

- a) In the tombs of Huya and Meryrē (II) at Amarna there is commemorated a ceremonial occasion which, in both places, is dated to II Proyet 12 of Akhenaten's twelfth regnal year. The two tomb owners chose to depict different aspects of this event: in Huya's tomb, the king and queen are seated on a palanquin on their way to the ceremonies;<sup>95</sup> in the tomb of Meryrē (II) they are already enthroned and the festivities are in full swing.<sup>96</sup> Both scenes, however, describe the occasion as a receiving of foreign tribute. The brief text in Meryrē's tomb merely quotes the standard formula mentioning "chiefs of all lands," but the account in the tomb of Huya is more specific and includes "Kharu [i.e., Syria], Kush [i.e., Ethiopia], the West and the East, all countries collected at once, and the Islands of the Sea"—a description which, as Davies noted,<sup>97</sup> is more rhetorical than exact.

Cyril Aldred has made an interesting case for these scenes as evidence of a long coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten. A study of their iconography leads him to suggest that they belong to a genre reflecting celebrations at a king's accession or at an anniversary of this event.<sup>98</sup> Criticism of this view<sup>99</sup> has prompted a further study of tribute scenes in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with the result that all such scenes, along with scenes taken to be the offering of "New Year's gifts" to Pharaoh, are now firmly connected with either the royal accession or its anniversary (i.e., a jubilee). By analogy, the parade of foreign tribute at Amarna would seem to be nothing less than the ceremony that took place on the occasion of Akhenaten's accession to sole rule following the death of his

95. *Ibid.*, III, Pls. XIII-XV.

96. *Ibid.*, II, Pls. XXXVII-XL.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

98. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 114-15; *idem*, "Year Twelve at El-'Amarna," *JEA* 43 (1957) 114-17.

99. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 120-28.



father after a coregency of about eleven years.<sup>100</sup>

If the usage with respect to this type of scene earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty were as restricted as Aldred suggests, the appearance of the "durbar" motif in year twelve at Amarna would indeed be significant. But it is hard to believe that conventions in tomb decoration were as rigid as this. Functionaries such as Kha'emhēt and Kheruef proudly proclaimed their involvement with their master's jubilee,<sup>101</sup> and in the case of both, the kiosk wherein the king sits is inscribed with additional texts reflecting these celebrations.<sup>102</sup> To argue (as Aldred does)<sup>103</sup> that everyone at the time knew that the scenes were related to the king's accession or its anniversary and that therefore it was felt unnecessary to include a descriptive text seems to beg the issue. Modesty was not the besetting sin of Egyptian officialdom.

Aldred's grouping of these gift-giving scenes into a restricted genre rests largely on analogy. He positively identifies the scene to the left of the inner doorway in Surer's tomb (Th. T. No. 48) as having occurred during a jubilee, because the king is shown wearing a short robe similar to the jubilee robe, with an imbricated pattern. This robe, Aldred believes, was worn by the king in his role of *Horus resurgens* at his accession and at the jubilee, and (by implication) at no other time.<sup>104</sup> If this is so, the scene to the right of the doorway, which is said to balance the supposed jubilee scene, must depict a similar event, rather than the presentation of gifts at the calendrical Egyptian New Year, which is its usual interpretation: it must show the tomb owner making his contribution to the newly crowned king's "trousseau" during a ceremony which Aldred believes took place on the first day of I Proyet, the date of the Neheb-kau Feast and the canonical festival day for the accession

100. C. Aldred, "The 'New Year' Gifts to Pharaoh," *JEA* 55 (1969) 73-81; idem, "The Foreign Gifts Offered to Pharaoh," *JEA* 56 (1970) 105-16.

101. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 115 (11), 116 (15) for Kha'emhēt; 298 (5), 299 (6) for Kheruef.

102. See W. Wreszinsky, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* I (Leipzig, 1923) Pls. 88 b, 203.

103. Aldred, *JEA* 56 (1970) 113-14.

104. Idem, *JEA* 55 (1969) 73-76, commenting on Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pls. XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIV A, XL.

of Horus to the throne of Osiris. It would follow that similar scenes depicting such presentations of "New Years gifts" belong to the same genre.<sup>105</sup>

There seems little doubt that Aldred is correct in his interpretation of the scene to the left of the inner doorway in Surer's tomb. True, the scene before the kiosk merely shows the tomb owner presenting staves and bouquets to the king, accompanied by eight other representations of himself, and the inscription within the kiosk ("king's appearance on the Great Throne like his father Rē every day") is noncommittal.<sup>106</sup> But the king's figure is well enough preserved to reveal a peculiar "sporan" projecting out from his kilt, and this feature seems typical only for the king in jubilee.<sup>107</sup> With regard to the other scene, however, we must ask how securely it is identified as a presentation of "New Year's gifts," and also how valid is the principle of equipoise that Aldred depends upon so heavily to "date" scenes of this nature.

In two great presentations of New Year's gifts, in the tombs of Kenamun (Th. T. No. 93) and Sennefer (Th. T. No. 96), the tomb owner's address begins with the words, "Presenting New Year's Greetings . . ." (*ms nḏt-ḥr m wp.t-rnp.t*).<sup>108</sup> No trace of this formula is to be found in Surer's tomb, where its place is taken by another, "Bringing [the monuments (to be) placed] in the Presence for the inspection of the Good God . . ." (*ḥrp mnw rdj.t m-b3ḥ r m33w n ntr nfr*).<sup>109</sup> This formula occurs in three other tombs: in the tomb of Kheruef (Th. T. No. 192), in the context of Amenophis III's third jubilee;<sup>110</sup> in the tomb of Userhēt (Th. T. No. 47), where the tomb owner offers necklaces and other objects to Amenophis III and Queen Tiye;<sup>111</sup> and in that of Amenhotep-Sise (Th. T. No.

105. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pls. XXX, XXXII, XXXIV B-XXXIX, "gifts" in the tomb of Surer.

106. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 3-27.

107. This is the case in the jubilee scenes in Kheruef's tomb, though not in the scene depicting Amunwosre's installation as co-vizier (N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1925-1926. The Work of the Graphic Section," *BMAA* 21 [December 1926, Pt. 2] 3, and Fig. 3 on p. 7).

108. *Urk* IV 1390-91, 1417.

109. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pl. XXXVI.

110. *Urk* IV 1859.

111. *Ibid.*, 1880.

75).<sup>112</sup> The tomb of Userhēt is badly damaged, and the scene that balanced the presentation of gifts is lost. In Amenhotep-Sise's tomb the alleged gift-giving described by the *hrp mnw* formula appears instead to be the royal inspection of manufactures produced by the temple workshops at Karnak that the tomb owner, as second prophet of Amun, apparently supervised.<sup>113</sup> The king's garb is not particularly distinctive here, and there is nothing in either the iconography or the texts that connects this assemblage of objects with his accession or a jubilee. This sequence of scenes, moreover, is not related to those that occupy the other side of the doorway, which show the tomb owner's entry into office: Amenhotep-Sise marches in procession to the temple, and is greeted there by his wife and children; above the figures' heads is an account of his promotion to the rank of second prophet, the happy occasion that is memorialized here.<sup>114</sup> In terms of the owner's career this event would have come earlier than the scenes to the left of the doorway, where Amenhotep-Sise is already functioning as second prophet. Here again, as in the scene balancing it on the left, there is no connection made with either the king's accession or a jubilee; both scenes are entirely private in their concern, commemorating the tomb owner's entry into his highest office and his exercise thereof. In the tombs of Surer and Kheruef, it is true, the royal inspection did take place during the jubilee, when these men stood at the apogee of their careers.<sup>115</sup> The fact that this moment of personal glory in Surer's and Kheruef's lives coincided with their master's jubilee surely influenced the representations they chose for their tombs. In the case of Amenhotep-Sise the scenes that highlight his career are not defined in his tomb decoration except as they relate to the tomb owner

112. N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (EES-ThTS III [1923]) Pls. XI-XII.

113. This according to Davies (*ibid.*, pp. 10-15), and with some plausibility; note that the tomb owner here functions already as second prophet of Amun (Pl. XII, bottom left).

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10, Pls. XIII-XIV.

115. In Kheruef's tomb the primary focus is on Kheruef's reward in the jubilee sequence of year 30: *PM I/1* (2d ed.) 299 (6); texts in *Urk IV* 1365-67. The scene in Surer's tomb is too damaged to specify the exact date.

himself, and there is no reason to suppose that any higher state occasion lay behind them.

The presentation of objects in Surer's tomb, then, seems to be unrelated to the New Year. But does gift-giving on the occasion of the New Year in fact show any connection with the jubilee or the royal accession? Aldred believes that the assemblage of gifts in the tombs of Kenamun and Sennefer represents the "trousseau" of the new king, a collection of equipment for his personal household. By analogy, he would argue that the reinvestment of the king at the jubilee was accompanied by a similar outlay of new personal possessions. To support this view Aldred appeals to the great number of objects shown in the tomb of Kenamun: 450 quivers, 680 shields, 30 gold-tipped ebony staves, 360 bronze swords, 140 bronze daggers, 20 spear throwers, 58 ornamented horsecloths, and two great war chariots. This, he argues, seems incredibly lavish for the yearly production of the royal ateliers, and he suggests that it is more probably the regal outfit supplied to a young king.<sup>116</sup>

Some support for Aldred's "dating" of the scene in Kenamun's tomb is found in the vertical column of text before the throne, where the event is described as "the first occasion of doing good in the great palace" (*sp tpy jr.t bw nfr m ḥ wr*).<sup>117</sup> This probably means that Kenamun is here shown presenting New Year's gifts to the newly enthroned Amenophis II, but it does not automatically imply that all comparable scenes in the Theban tombs took place under these circumstances, any more than a royal appearance (*ḥ.t-nsw.t*) implies the accession or its anniversary every time that such an appearance occurs.<sup>118</sup> The argument from the amount of material assembled relies on a rather arbitrary judgment of what would be suitable for a new king's "trousseau" and what would be unlikely for the annual production of the royal workshops. To me, the amounts given in Kenamun's tomb appear to be modest, and a relatively large proportion of these objects would have

116. Aldred, *JEA* 55 (1969) 79-80.

117. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes (PMMA V [1930])* Pl. XI.

118. See Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 3-27; while the royal accession is, of course, *ḥ.t-nsw.t*, not every *ḥ.t-nsw.t* is the royal accession.

been destined not for the king's own use but for his retinue. We are not, moreover, entirely ignorant of the extent of Pharaoh's wealth on either an annual or an occasional basis. Amenophis III's contributions to the temple of Montu at Karnak, for example, (presumably over the course of his entire reign) included 31,485 and  $\frac{2}{3}$  *deben* of electrum, 25,182 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  *deben* of plain gold, 14,342 *deben* of bronze, and a number of other things as well.<sup>119</sup> The amounts of the various categories of materials in Papyrus Harris, being the royal donations to the various temples during Ramesses III's thirty-one-year reign, are equally staggering. When they are broken down into rough yearly averages, both in terms of raw material and (more frequently) of manufactures designed for use in the temples, the amounts obtained are of the same order of magnitude as those found in Kenamun's tomb.<sup>120</sup> Most of these artifacts were hardly meant for the king's personal use anyway, and this factor, when considered with the probable need to replace worn equipment and to maintain the appointments of the royal household in their accustomed splendor, makes the amounts in Kenamun's tomb quite credible as the record on one year's production from the workshops—which is just what they are described as being.<sup>121</sup> As for the two great war chariots, although precise figures on their life expectancy are lacking, it seems not inconceivable that Pharaoh should have owned more than two of them at any given time.<sup>122</sup>

The presentation of New Year's gifts in the tombs of Kenamun and Sennefer, then, shows no necessary connection with the king's accession or with the jubilee. The accompanying scenes also fail to place the New Year scenes in

119. *Urk IV 1668.*

120. See W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyphische Transkription* ("Bibliotheca aegyptiaca" V [Brussels, 1933]) for hieroglyphic transcription; discussions in H. Schaedel, *Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris* (*LÄS*, Vol. 6 [1936]) *passim*, and more diffusely throughout W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches I-VI* (Wiesbaden, 1960-69). Cf. for comparison the offering list of Osorkon I from Bubastis: E. Naville, *Bubastis (1887-1889)* (*MEES VIII* [1891]) Pls. LI-LII.

121. Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, p. 24, Pl. XIII; *Urk IV 1391.4.*

122. No fewer than fourteen chariots, for example, serve the king, his family, and his retinue at a state occasion under Akhenaten (*El Amarna I*, Pl. X).

any specific context. In Sennefer's tomb the section immediately to the right of the doorway is destroyed, but the remainder shows the tomb owner attending the king at the harvest festival.<sup>123</sup> In Kenamun's tomb, the opposite wall shows first (beside the doorway) a text describing Kenamun's appointment to office, then (farther along the wall) the tomb owner and a friend before Kenamun's mother, who is nursing the young king.<sup>124</sup> In the tomb of Suemnē (Th. T. No. 92) the texts of the presentation scene on the right refer neither to the New Year nor to the jubilee; the balancing scene on the right depicts the tomb owner and his wife before Osiris.<sup>125</sup> A similar presentation of gifts in the tomb of Tjenuna (Th. T. No. 76) seems to be accompanied by a description of Tjenuna's appointment to office, again with no mention of any festival.<sup>126</sup> The array of gifts depicted in the tomb of Amenhotep (Th. T. No. 73) could well have something to do with the New Year, since the owner speaks of gifts for the New Year and Neheb-kau feasts,<sup>127</sup> but it seems more likely that the two occasions are combined here. Aldred wishes to date this scene to Hatshepsut's jubilee, since the two obelisks erected on that occasion have their place among the gifts.<sup>128</sup> Certainly the tomb must postdate the jubilee; but one of the tomb owner's titles was "overseer of the two great obelisks," and in a scene such as we have here, in which there is presented an overview of his career, it would be inconceivable that these monuments should not be represented. If there is a common denominator in all these "gift-giving" scenes it lies in the depiction of the tomb owner in the characteristic performance of his duties. While this could well include activity at a jubilee or shortly after the king's accession, it goes beyond the evidence to claim that immutable conventions of tomb decoration restricted the tomb owner's appearance before the king to state occasions such as these.

123. N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1928-1929. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *BMAA* 24 (November 1929, sec. 2) 41-46, Fig. 8.

124. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 192 (16)-(17).

125. *Ibid.*, p. 188 (4), (7), (8).

126. *Ibid.*, p. 150 (5); *Urk* IV 1577.

127. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 6, Pl. VI.

128. Aldred, *JEA* 55 (1969) 78.

Finally, Aldred's relocation of the "New Year" scenes at the Neheb-kau Feast, four months after the calendrical New Year, seems quite untenable. It is one thing to view this festival as a sort of second New Year, but quite another to contend that when an Egyptian in the New Kingdom referred to *Wp.t-rnp.t*, what he meant was Neheb-kau. The owner of Th. T. No. 73 certainly distinguished between these two occasions in the text that accompanies the vast collection of "gifts" in his tomb,<sup>129</sup> and they are similarly distinguished from one another in the tomb of Amenemhēt.<sup>130</sup> While it is true that both the New Year proper and the Neheb-kau Feast are referred to as *Wp.t-rnp.t*, this is a very specialized usage confined to the temple of Edfu, describing the canonical accession day of the local god, Horus the Behdetite.<sup>131</sup> In common usage, *Wp.t-rnp.t* meant only I Akhet 1,<sup>132</sup> and it remains to be proved that it meant anything else in New Kingdom tombs at Thebes. In the Medinet Habu Calendar of Festivals, I Proyet 1 is called "the day of the Neheb-kau coronation festival of Ramesses III,"<sup>133</sup> thus setting off its unusual status. Ramesses II did sometimes cause his jubilees to be proclaimed on I Proyet 1,<sup>134</sup> but the celebration of the jubilees themselves encompassed the calendrical date of the king's accession apparently without necessary reference to I Proyet.<sup>135</sup> There is thus no reason to suppose that in the New Kingdom the Neheb-kau Feast had usurped the position of the calendrical *Wp.t-rnp.t*. In the revered past (i.e., the Old and Middle Kingdoms) the beginning of the civil and regnal years had coincided, as it was to do once

129. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pl. VI: *m wpt-rnpt*, *m nhb-k3w*.

130. A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (EES-ThTS I [1915])* p. 97, Pl. XXIII; and note the pairing of the two feasts, as two other sets of dissimilar feasts are paired (*m33 nd-ḥr . . . r' n wp-rnpt* and *nhb-k3w*; *r' n tpy-rnpt* and *prrt-spdt*) in Th. T. No. 99 (*Urk IV 538*; cf. Parker, *Calendars*, secs. 164-75).

131. Parker, *Calendars*, secs. 313-14.

132. *Ibid.*, secs. 164-65.

133. *MH III*, Pl. 162, col. 1191.

134. S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Wiesbaden, 1950) pp. 93-94 (No. 87); but note that the announcement in other years was made on I Proyet 17.

135. C. C. Van Siclen III, "The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee," *JNES* 32 (1973) 290-96.

again.<sup>136</sup> Hatshepsut's statement that her father "knew the virtue of an accession on *Wp.t-rnp.t*" is perhaps an echo of this tradition, and it was probably no accident that the vizier Amunwosre's installation in office was staged on I *Akhet* 1 in Tuthmosis III's fifth year. Obviously some of this day's ancient significance still clung to it in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and there is no basis for supposing that it had been displaced by I *Proyet* 1.

Aldred's discussion of the "New Year's gifts" to Pharaoh has been treated at length because his methods here form the basis for a more crucial interpretation of the scenes of foreign tribute in the Theban tombs. These—with one exception in the tomb of Rekhmirē, dated to Tuthmosis III's second jubilee—are specifically identified as the great "durbar" that celebrated the accession of the king. As with the "New Year's gifts," the presents brought to Pharaoh from abroad are considered too lavish to represent the annual tribute spoken of in the historical records, and the scenes themselves present a peaceful aspect that argues against interpreting them as the display of booty from campaigns. The tribute scenes are balanced by other scenes depicting the tomb owner before the king, presenting bouquets, staves, or standards. These scenes Aldred incorporates into the "New Year/Accession/Jubilee" genre, arguing that such audiences can have been held on these special occasions only, since they were represented among the highlights of the tomb owner's career. By analogy, according to him, the scenes of foreign tribute at Amarna must also be related to the king's accession, and the fact that (unlike their earlier counterparts) the Amarna scenes are dated is, "paradoxically," a reinforcement of the overall identification, since Akhenaten's "accession" in year twelve would have occurred not at the proper time for such festivities, but at the end of a long coregency with his father.<sup>137</sup>

Here, as with the "New Year's gifts," Aldred relies heavily on analogy and on the balancing of scenes on opposite sides of the central doorway in the tombs. This

136. A. H. Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31 (1945) 11-22.

137. Aldred, *JEA* 56 (1970) 105-16.



last criterion is as inconclusive here as in the case of the scenes discussed above, and it is easy to find tribute scenes "balanced" by quite unrelated elements.<sup>138</sup> The texts that accompany the presentation of bouquets, staves, etc. (supposedly at the king's accession) are equally vague in defining the occasion on which such homage was rendered. This fact in itself suggests that an ideal is being expressed here, a continuing expression of loyalty rather than the commemoration of a specific historical event. In the tomb of Pehsukher, for example, his wife offers a bouquet to Amenophis II with the following words: "Coming in peace with the Bouquet of Amun, [Lord of the Thrones of] the Two Lands, after doing what is praised daily in the course of every day on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of King Amenophis II."<sup>139</sup> Nor, apparently, is this ritual confined to living kings. Nakht, whose tomb (No. 161) is dated to Amenophis III, presents flowers to Tuthmosis III and Amenophis I with Prince Ahmose-Sapair.<sup>140</sup> The owner of the Ramesside tomb No. 31 at Thebes offers the bouquet of Amun-Rē to Mentuhotep II.<sup>141</sup> Redford has suggested that in the tomb of Nebamun the tomb owner is shown presenting the boat standard to Tuthmosis IV in his sixth regnal year, certainly not the royal accession and not specified as the jubilee.<sup>142</sup> Aldred has shown, however, that the text of year six belongs formally to the adjoining scene that records Nebamun's promotion from ship's captain to Chief of Police on the West of Thebes (*ḥry-Md3y ḥr jmnt.t Njw.t*).<sup>143</sup> Moreover, in the scene previously alluded to, Nebamun appears before the king bearing the boat standard of his earlier office, not the gazelle standard of the Chief of Police. His appearance on the left side of the doorway and on the right

138. E.g., *PM I/1* (2d ed.) 82 (5), 83 (12): a scene of Northern tribute (left wall) balanced by a scene of offerings before the tomb owner and his wife; 182 (15): a scene of Northern and Southern tribute (right wall) balanced by funerary scenes; 255-56 (6): tribute of Punt (right) balanced by funerary scenes (left).

139. *Ibid.*, 180 (4); *Urk IV* 1460.

140. *PM I/1* (2d ed.) 275 (7).

141. *Ibid.*, p. 49 (15).

142. Davies, *Two Officials*, Pls. XXVI-XXVII; cf. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 127.

143. Aldred, *JEA* 56 (1970) 113-14.

side in the tribute scene thus predates Tuthmosis IV's sixth year, or at least the date when Nebamun was promoted in that year. But this in itself is very far from proving that these scenes are to be dated to Tuthmosis IV's accession and to no other time.

The presentations of foreign tribute, like the offerings of bouquets, mostly have only brief, stereotyped texts that neither prove nor disprove Aldred's theories. In one or two instances, however, the fog lifts slightly. In Nebamun's tomb the gifts are defined as ḥ3kw, "booty,"<sup>144</sup> and, given our increased knowledge of the military activity under Tuthmosis IV,<sup>145</sup> it seems reasonable to conclude that tribute extorted through war is represented here.<sup>146</sup> In Th. T. No. 143, however, the text accompanying the presentation of tribute describes the "offering [of every] good and pure thing . . . after the arrival of the Byblos ships. Traveling to [ . . . ], making a good beginning, bearing presents of every [good] product of Punt . . ."<sup>147</sup> This phrasing is not at all bellicose, but suggests rather the activities of a trading fleet similar to that sent out by Hatshepsut. The tomb owner's titles are lost and his precise relation to the venture is unknown, but clearly it was sufficiently important to deserve prominent mention in his tomb. In the tomb of Menkheperresonb (Th. T. No. 86) the presentation of the Northern tribute is described as follows: "Coming in peace to the place where the king is, bearing the bouquet of [Amun . . .] in Kar[nak] after doing what Amun-Rē praises in his festival of Djoserakhet,<sup>148</sup> in his appearances [ . . . ], (and) in his journeying (hn.t.f) of the beginning of the year (tp-rnp.t)."<sup>149</sup> The text, while not ideally clear, suggests that the tomb owner appears before the king on a variety of ritual occasions,<sup>150</sup>

144. Davies, *Two Officials*, Pl. XXVIII.

145. R. Giveon, "Thutmosis IV and Asia," *JNES* 28 (1969) 54-59.

146. Davies, *Two Officials*, pp. 34, 37-38.

147. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 255-56 (6); *Urk* IV 1472-73.

148. On Dsr-3ḥt see E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves (UGAÄ XVI [1952])* pp. 53, 61, where it is localized on the west bank at Thebes as a possible site for the Feast of the Valley.

149. Nina M. and N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmosē and Another (EES-ThTS V [1933])* Pl. III.

150. It seems more idiomatic to render the three clauses introduced by *m* as three separate events rather than as parts of one long phrase; for polysyndeton in texts of the New Kingdom see F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu*

and it is nowhere specifically stated that these include the accession or the jubilee. Finally, in the tomb of Yamunedjeh (Th. T. No. 84) the Nubian peoples are said to appear before the king "bearing their tribute (of) the beginning of the year (*tp-rnp.t*)."<sup>151</sup> This seems to be a clear reference to the tribute mentioned in the historical records,<sup>152</sup> although *tp-rnp.t* here could define the approximate date when the annual tribute was due rather than the beginning of the year *sensu stricto*.<sup>153</sup>

All told, the evidence suggests that the tribute scenes belong not to one restricted genre, but rather to several different types of occasions. Some might indeed be dated shortly after the king's accession, but others appear to represent the piling up of spoils, the presentation of tribute, the massing of products from state trading, or perhaps a composite of such occurrences, conflated to show the typical rather than the particular.<sup>154</sup> The fact that the staples of state trading such as grain and timber are missing from most of these scenes is not very disturbing, for there are similar omissions in the texts purporting to describe the "tribute." Both the texts and the representations accentuate the picturesque and exotic elements

*Stil und Sprache Neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (VIO VI [1952]) pp. 109-10; pace Aldred, *JEA* 56 (1970) 115-16, there is no proof that Amun ventured from Karnak at the *Nhb-k3w* Feast, as would have been necessary if the *hnt* above were to be connected with *Dsr-3ht*.

151. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 168 (5); *Urk* IV 950.

152. To the references cited by Aldred (*JEA* 56 [1970] 109-10) add the Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis III (G. A. and M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal. Pt. 2. The Granite Stela of Thutmosis III," *ZÄS* 69 [1933] 33-35, at ll. 27-32) and the Qasr-Ibrim tribute list, carved under Amenophis II (*Urk* IV 1345-46).

153. What Parker (*Calendars*, secs. 311-15) actually says (cf. Aldred, *JEA* 56 [1970] 116) is that both *tp-rnpt* and *tpy-rnpt* might be used generally to mean either "beginning of the year" or "first day of the year," regardless of what dating system the writer had in mind. On the force of *tp* + noun in these compounds see further A. H. Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to AmUn," *JEA* 38 (1952) 21; C. N. Peck. "Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naqa Ed-Dêr" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1958) pp. 142-43.

154. The scenes in Rekhmirê's tomb, for example, represent the various activities typically covered by the vizier's jurisdiction (*PM* I/1 [2d ed.] 206-14), and the array of gifts shown in Th. T. No. 73 is described by the accompanying text as covering several events where such a display would be appropriate (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 6, Pl. VI).

in these imports from abroad. While foodstuffs and building materials might have been more important for Egypt's economy, then as now they were lacking in glamor.<sup>155</sup>

Aldred's interpretation of the tribute scenes at Amarna, then, remains a hypothesis which the evidence does not really support. While it is true that Akhenaten's accession to sole rule after a long coregency may have been celebrated with a formal presentation of foreign gifts, the fact that "tribute" is offered at this time fails to prove that the king's status had changed recently. The analogies supplied by the Eighteenth Dynasty material do not firmly link the presentation of tribute to the advent of a new king, and there is some evidence that these scenes depict several types of situations. The two bottom rows of jubilating Egyptians in the tomb of Meryrē II do have parallels at the jubilee<sup>156</sup> and, by extension, at the coronation of a new king. But demonstrations of this sort can occur in other contexts as well—for example, when a king is shown triumphing over his enemies—so they are not out of place on related occasions such as when the king receives tribute from abroad.<sup>157</sup> The exact reasons for the "durbar" during Akhenaten's twelfth year remain a mystery, but it is adequately explained as a propagandist adjunct to Egypt's foreign policy toward the petty rulers in her sphere of influence. Its significance need not depend on Akhenaten's hypothetical accession to sole rule after the death of his aged coregent.

- b) A related argument concerns the jubilees of Akhenaten. It is known that Amenophis III celebrated three jubilees—in his regnal years 29/30, 33/34, and 37/38. The traditional view is that his son celebrated only two jubilees—one in Thebes before his sixth regnal year, the second at

155. Note that in the texts the emphasis is on a few stereotyped valuables, typically "silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every precious stone" (the standard sequence, commonly attested); sometimes additional items such as wine, clothing, cattle, and incense, are mentioned (*Urk* IV 907), but the lists are generally consistent in naming only a few objects of greatest value.

156. E.g., on the north side of the portico in Kheruef's tomb: *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 299 (7).

157. *MH* II, Pls. 111-12 (on the window of royal appearances at Medinet Habu); cf. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 128, top.

Akhetaten sometime during his eight or ninth year.<sup>158</sup> Aldred now argues that Akhenaten celebrated three such festivals (in his years 2, 5/6, and 8/9) that ran concurrently with his father's jubilees.<sup>159</sup>

It is quite certain that Amenophis IV's first jubilee was held before he changed his name and moved to the new capital. The Gayer-Anderson relief, indisputably a jubilee scene, was originally inscribed before the king became "Akhenaten,"<sup>160</sup> and the evidence to this effect should become richer once the materials from Karnak are published. A characteristic epithet, "He who is in the Jubilee" (*jmy ḥb-sd*), may have been bestowed on the Aton at this first jubilee, and it is notable that it appears already in the "revolutionary" portrayal of Amenophis IV in the tomb of Ramose,<sup>161</sup> as well as in the still earlier Theban tomb of Parennefer.<sup>162</sup> The first jubilee, then, is not in dispute, but the evidence for the existence of one or more later festivals is indirect and allusive:

(1) Sometime during the eighth or ninth year the didactic name of the Aton underwent a change that included the suppression of the epithet *jmy-ḥb-sd* in favor of a new one, "Lord of Jubilees" (*nb ḥb.w-sd*). It has been plausibly suggested that this change occurred in connection with another jubilee.<sup>163</sup>

(2) In the Gayer-Anderson relief, the rays of the Aton present the king with the signs of life (*ḥj*) and dominion (*w3s*). The same motif is observed on a relief from the tenth pylon at Karnak, now in the Louvre, in which the Aton is shown granting jubilees to Amenophis IV,<sup>164</sup>

158. B. Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and His Names," *JEA* 9 (1923) 168-74; E. Uphill, "The Sed Festivals of Akhenaton," *JNES* 22 (1963) 123-27.

159. C. Aldred, "The Beginning of the El-Amarna Period," *JEA* 45 (1959) 28-33.

160. See now C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973) p. 97 (No. 11), with references.

161. Davies, *Ramose*, Pl. XXXIII.

162. N. de G. Davies, "Akhenaten at Thebes," *JEA* 9 (1923) Pl. XXIII.

163. Gunn, *JEA* 9 (1923) 170-73.

164. Both sets of cartouches changed from "Amenophis" to "Akhenaten"; Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959) 25, where it is also suggested that two persons were originally intended, presumably Amenophis III and his son. This hypothesis seems to be tacitly rejected in *idem*, *Akhenaten*, Pl. 45, text.

and on four other pieces: the revolutionary portrayal of Amenophis IV in the tomb of the vizier Ramose; a stela portraying Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and three of their daughters in a moment of domestic relaxation;<sup>165</sup> a panel, found in the royal tomb at Amarna, showing the king and queen, with two of their daughters, offering to the Aton;<sup>166</sup> and a sandstone fragment of relief from Karnak, showing a queen holding a fly whisk and receiving life and dominion from the Aton.<sup>167</sup> In classifying all of these materials as somehow related to the jubilee, Aldred appeals to the iconography of Osorkon II's jubilee, wherein Horus Behdety appears as a winged disk from the lower edge of which the signs of life and dominion radiate.<sup>168</sup> The extending of both these elements from the god to the king must, then, distinguish the jubilee from other ritual occasions, when only "life" is granted, and since the materials coming from Amarna show both the earlier and later forms of the Aton's names, it seems apparent that at least two jubilees must have been held there.<sup>169</sup>

In reply, it should be noted that only one of the pieces advanced in evidence specifically documents a jubilee: the Gayer-Anderson relief. The fragment from Karnak, since it depicts a queen marching in procession, may or may not come from a jubilee scene. As for the Louvre relief, while it does show the Aton granting jubilees to the king, the occasion represented need not necessarily be a jubilee. Jubilees (or the potential for celebrating them) are among the most frequently attested benefits conferred by the gods, and they form a pendant to the granting of kingship. Thus, in the Qurnah temple of Sety I the young Ramesses II is presented with year staves laden with jubilees, even though the specific scene is a coronation.<sup>170</sup> The same motif occurs in one of the scenes of the divine birth of Amenophis III in the Luxor temple: the baby king is cradled in the arms of Amun-Rē in the presence of Hathor

165. H. Ranke, *Meisterwerke der ägyptischen Kunst* (Basel, 1948) Pl. 51.

166. Martin, *Royal Tomb*, Pl. 54 (No. 395) and pp. 91-93.

167. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 115 (No. 30).

168. E. Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)* (MEES X [1892]) Pl. VI.

169. Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959) 28-31.

170. *LD III* 150 c (note the use of the early form of the praenomen).

and Mut, the latter bearing the year staff with jubilees.<sup>171</sup> Specific portrayals of gods granting jubilees to kings occur, in certain cases, long before the king celebrated his first jubilee. Thus, in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (built and substantially decorated before the king's twelfth year<sup>172</sup>) this motif can be seen rather frequently,<sup>173</sup> though Ramesses III waited the canonical thirty years before holding a jubilee.<sup>174</sup> The same sort of scene sometimes occurs even where it is quite unlikely that the king ever celebrated a jubilee.<sup>175</sup> Clearly, then, kings could receive jubilees on occasions other than the festival itself,<sup>176</sup> so the Louvre relief need not date to the celebration of a jubilee proper. The other pieces adduced by Aldred have nothing in common with jubilee iconography or, indeed, with each other.

On the specific jubilee associations of "life" and "dominion," also, Aldred is on very shaky ground. A disk with essentially the same characteristics as the example from Osorkon III's Festival Hall occurs several times in Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu,<sup>177</sup> and also throughout the war reliefs of Sety I at Karnak.<sup>178</sup> Analogous materials could be multiplied,<sup>179</sup> but it is surely plain that this motif, although it could be asso-

171. H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos* (ÄA, Vol. 10 [1964]) Pl. 11.

172. K. C. Seele, "Some Remarks on the Family of Ramesses III," in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* (VIO, Vol. 29 [1955]) p. 308. The insertion into the Calendar at Medinet Habu of the Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh, dated to regnal year 11 (*MH* III, Pl. 162), tends to support Seele's dating.

173. The following plates in *MH*: I 13, 16, 17, 19; V 289-91, 295, 309 C, 310 C, 316, 329, 337; VI 364-68; VIII 612, 614; the hovering vulture can also symbolically confer jubilees outside that festival (*ibid.*, I 16; II 111; IV 218 A, 221, 241 A; V 291).

174. *LdR* III 162 (XX-XXI): texts of regnal year 29, preparatory to the first jubilee.

175. E.g., B. Bruyère, *Mert-Seger à Deir el Médineh I* (MIFAO LVIII [1929]) Pl. VI (Sethnakht).

176. As well as on jubilees; Naville, *Festival-Hall*, Pl. V.

177. *MH* II 98, 101, 102.

178. H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* (2d ed., rev.; *OIP* LVI [1941]) Pl. X, Fig. 5, at scenes 5, 7, 8, 21, 24.

179. E.g., in Ramesses III's small temple at Karnak, *RIK* I 4, 61, 62.

ciated with jubilees, was not necessarily confined to the occasion of a jubilee.

(3) A scene in the Amarna tomb of Parennefer depicts the tomb owner before Akhenaten, who is enthroned within a kiosk. In front of the king are a large number of offering tables laden with food. The accompanying text seems basically laudatory in content, but it contains the phrase "doubling for you the reckoning of jubilees" in connection with the Aton's benefactions for the king.<sup>180</sup> Aldred argues that, given the abundance of food offerings, the scene represents the "Hall of Eating" episode at the jubilee, and he suggests that this scene would be the one most likely to be shown at Amarna since it avoids emphasis on the traditional participation of the other gods of Egypt, who are commonly shown in other episodes. Since the earlier name of the Aton appears to be used here, Aldred's identification of this scene, if correct, would date it to the second jubilee, in years 5/6.<sup>181</sup>

There is nothing inherently implausible about this argument, but certainty still eludes us. The exclusion of the traditional deities from any jubilees celebrated at Amarna may be surmised, of course, but has it been proved? Geb and Hathor apparently played roles in Amenophis IV's jubilee at Thebes,<sup>182</sup> and Ma'at, Nefertem, and Tatennen are named on scarabs inscribed with the king's praenomen.<sup>183</sup> These materials all probably predate the final break with Amun, but until Akhenaten purified the Aton's titulary in year 8/9, banishing Rē-Harakhti and Shu altogether, it is possible that gods other than the Theban Triad were at least tolerated. We are thus in no position to exclude them from any "intermediate" jubilee that Akhenaten may have celebrated at Amarna, although it seems likely that their presence at the heretic capital would have been muted at best. The main weakness of the Parennefer scene is, again, its lack of specificity. Jubilees can be prom-

180. *El Amarna VI*, Pl. VI.

181. Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959) 27-28.

182. Verbal communication from E. F. Wente; the blocks themselves are still unpublished.

183. H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc., in the British Museum I: Royal Scarabs* (London, 1913) 195 (No. 1947), 302 (No. 2868).



ised under all sorts of circumstances, not exclusively at the jubilee itself.

Support for one or more jubilees at Amarna has been sought also in the vast numbers of outdoor altars found at this site. These, it is argued, would have been specially built for the occasion.<sup>184</sup> Although this is quite possible, the altars may also be associated with some aspect of the normal cult of the Aton who, in his capacity as a solar god, regularly received large *al fresco* offerings of food. Scenes in the private tombs at Amarna almost invariably show piles of offerings outside as well as inside the temples,<sup>185</sup> and the standard scene depicting Akhenaten, accompanied by the queen and the children, offering to the Aton also seems to occur out-of-doors.<sup>186</sup>

In sum, there is hard evidence for only one jubilee—the early festival celebrated at Thebes. A further festival held at Amarna in years 8/9 could be postulated from the change in the Aton's titulary (see 1, above) but it must be admitted that there is no corroborative evidence. There is no reason to suppose that there was an intermediate jubilee, held in years 5/6. Evidence against it may be found in an inscription on a doorjamb from the house of one Pawah at Amarna, in which the owner proclaims to the Aton, "you have caused me to see him [i.e., Akhenaten] in his first jubilee."<sup>187</sup> Although the Aton is not named in this text, and thus no chronological inferences can be made on the basis of its titulary, this monument must postdate the occupation of the town by the official classes (in year six at the earliest). By this time, then, Akhenaten had celebrated only one jubilee, a hybrid affair in which the Aton's influence had rubbed shoulders with more conventional practices. It is possible but not certain that he celebrated one other, in year 8/9. In any case, Aldred's proposed synchronism with Amenophis III's three jubilees seems to be unfounded.

184. Aldred, *JEA* 45 (1959) 28; Uphill, *JNES* 22 (1963) 126.

185. *El Amarna* I, Pls. XI, XII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIII; II, Pl. XIX; III, Pls. VIII, XXX; IV, Pls. XVIII, XX; VI, Pl. VI.

186. *Ibid.*, I, Pl. XXII; II, Pl. V; V, Pls. XV, XVI, XXXIII (under a curved sky canopy); VI, Pls. II, XVI, XXVI.

187. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (Leipzig, 1924) 126 (No. 20375): *dj.k ptr.j sw m p3y.f hb-sd tpy.*

- c) The tomb of Kheruef is another monument that supposedly shows connections between the reigns of Amenophis III and his son. At the front of the tomb, on the entrance and in the front hallway, Amenophis IV is shown in ritual acts, sometimes followed by his mother Queen Tiyi, but once shown offering to both his parents.<sup>188</sup> Further inside the tomb, on the portico leading into the inner columned hall and separated from Amenophis IV's reliefs by a large courtyard, are scenes memorializing Amenophis III's first and third jubilees (in years 30 and 37) and the role played in these by Kheruef.<sup>189</sup> Aldred believes that the decorators began work on the finished surfaces as soon as they were ready to receive decoration, and a corollary to this supposition would be that as one moves into the interior of the tomb one sees progressively later stages of Kheruef's career memorialized on the walls. Accordingly the jubilee scenes of Amenophis III must be later than the scenes near the entrance that depict Amenophis IV, and a coregency seems to be required. According to Aldred, Kheruef was a traditionalist who ignored the developments of the religious revolution, and he was punished by a fall from favor and by destruction of his tomb after Amenophis III died and Akhenaten became sole ruler in years 11/12.<sup>190</sup>

The work of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey in Kheruef's tomb supports, in outline, this proposed sequence of decoration. The scenes in the entrance area and the front corridor are all finished, but the columns in the inner hypostyle are only sporadically decorated, and it appears that work was abandoned suddenly when the tomb owner fell from grace.<sup>191</sup> Once this much is admitted, however, Aldred's interpretation runs into difficulties. The scenes in the front of the tomb were all executed very early in Amenophis IV's reign, before he had "discovered" the Aton and while he was still associated with Queen Tiyi, not Nefertiti. These factors make the entrance to the tomb one of the earliest of Amenophis IV's

188. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 298 (2)-(4).

189. *Ibid.*, 298-99 (5)-(8).

190. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 107-9.

191. Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969) 275, as against Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 116-17.

monuments, hardly later than his second year or years 27-28 of Amenophis III (following the scheme of an eleven-year coregency). The scenes on the portico, however, must postdate Amenophis III's thirty-seventh year, since the portico is all of a piece and the events of the third jubilee are the last events attested there.<sup>192</sup> If Aldred's chronology is followed, there is of necessity an interval of about ten years between the decoration of the entrance and that of the portico.<sup>193</sup> A priori this is not impossible, but the parallels are not encouraging. We have already seen how Ramesses II and Ramesses III accomplished much larger projects in less time; and, under the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, the chief steward Senenmut, who began his first tomb near the end of the seventh regnal year, was already working on another tomb near Deir el-Bahari on I Akhet 8 of year 16, some eight years later.<sup>194</sup> It stands to reason that the first tomb (one of the largest in the necropolis) was substantially finished before the second was begun; and the excavation of the very deep shaft of the second tomb must have been cut short by Senenmut's death or disgrace, which in turn must have occurred before Hatshepsut's own disappearance from the scene some six years later. If, moreover, the tomb of Kheruef were still being worked on toward the end of a long coregency, would one not expect the anachronistic scenes near the entrance to have been altered? Arguments of this sort are inevitably subjective, but, if an appeal to parallels has any meaning, it seems unlikely that as much as a decade could have elapsed during the decoration of the various parts of Kheruef's tomb. A more probable solution is that the right to decorate was granted to Kheruef by Amenophis IV very early in his reign (whether or not Amenophis III was alive at the time) and

192. According to Professor Nims, Field Director of the Epigraphic Survey when the tomb of Kheruef was recorded, there is no evidence that the scenes of the two jubilees were executed separately; in fact it is probable that they were executed simultaneously, and thus the whole portico postdates the third jubilee.

193. W. J. Murnane, "The Hypothetical Coregency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten: Two Observations," *Serapis* 2 (1970) 17-18.

194. W. C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 79; idem, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri," *JEA* 46 (1960) 40.

that in his decoration Kheruef stressed his longer service under Amenophis III at the same time that he acknowledged his indebtedness to the new king. Kheruef's fall may have owed more to his own intransigence than to the withdrawal of Amenophis III's protection. In the rear columned hall of his tomb he is referred to as "steward of Amun" rather than of Queen Tiyi. Since Tiyi's steward at Amarna was Huya, it may be that Kheruef lost his job to a man more willing to move with the times.<sup>195</sup>

- d) One of the most striking tombs at Qurnah is that of the vizier for Upper Egypt under Amenophis III, Ramose. His tomb is especially significant because the more traditional decoration is balanced by several scenes in which the revolutionary, so-called Amarna style appears in full swing. The appearance of the heretic as Amenophis IV in both traditional and revolutionary styles fixes the date of the tomb as being no later than the king's fifth year<sup>196</sup> and perhaps somewhat earlier.<sup>197</sup> Aldred has suggested that decoration in the tomb began when Ramose's career was at its height, and that Ramose died while it was yet unfinished, so that it was hastily completed in paint. One of the painted scenes depicts a Fourth Prophet of Amun called Simut, who is known to have become Second Prophet by the time he died. Aldred would date his promotion no later than Amenophis III's thirty-fourth year, for at this time a contribution of honey for the king's second jubilee was made by one Amenemhēt who held the title "Greatest of Seers" (*wr m33w*). It is known that Queen Tiyi's brother, the Second Prophet of Amun 'Anen, had held the title "Greatest of Seers in the House of the Prince" (*ḥw.t-sr*), and it is proposed that he was now dead, having relinquished the title to Amenemhēt (who is identified with Simut's colleague, a Third Prophet of Amun by the same name) and enabled Simut to take his place as Second Prophet. More evidence for Ramose's death early in Amenophis III's fourth decade as king is that

195. Suggested verbally by E. F. Wente; on the basis of the Aton's names, the tomb of Huya at Amarna should postdate Akhenaten's ninth year.

196. F. Ll. Griffith, "A Contract of the Fifth Year of Amenhotp IV," *PSBA* 30 (1908) 272-75.

197. Davies in *Ramose*, p. 4; C. Aldred, "Two Theban Notables during the Later Reign of Amenophis III," *JNES* 18 (1959) 120.

the vizier fails to appear among the docketts attesting contributions to the king's second and third jubilees (years 34 and 37/8), and that he is conspicuously absent from the roster of officials who are described as present at the endowment of a mortuary temple for Ramose's kinsman Amenhotep, son of Hapu. Since the stela that commemorates this occasion is dated to Amenophis III's thirty-first year, it follows that Ramose lived no longer than this time (i.e., year 4 of Amenophis IV).<sup>198</sup> If the component facts of the arguments were correct, this would be a compelling case for a long coregency.

Regrettably the component facts are very much open to question. The date of Simut's promotion, the identity of the two Amenemhēts, and the succession in the office(s) of *wr m33w* are all debatable,<sup>199</sup> and the significance of Ramose's disappearance from the Malqatta docketts is lessened when one realizes that no one holding the title of vizier appears in these materials after Amenophis III's thirtieth year.<sup>200</sup> Use of the endowment stela of year thirty-one as evidence is also risky, for the piece itself dates to the later New Kingdom and its text employs spellings and verb forms more characteristic of Late Egyptian than of the classical Middle Egyptian still favored for official documents in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>201</sup> This decree, moreover, is not a general endowment, but a specific act that limits the exploitation of slaves working on lands that belong to the mortuary temple, and one suspects that the abuses denounced in the text may have prompted its composition. This suspicion is reinforced by an apparently anachronistic reference to a "Mayor of the West" of Thebes (*ḥ3ty-ꜥ n jmnt.t*); the first holder of this title is attested under Ramesses II.<sup>202</sup> Given

198. Aldred, *JNES* 18 (1959) 113-20; idem, *Akhenaten*, pp. 111-14.

199. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 133-38; but cf. Wente in *JNES* 28 (1969) 275. On the *wr m3.w* of Thebes see Mohamed I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (MÄS, Vol. 26 [1972]) pp. 80-87, although on pp. 48-49 he includes Amenemhēt among the Heliopolitan holders of the title.

200. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 138-39; but his effort to prove that Ramose lived on into the last years of Amenophis III is untenable: see Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969) 276.

201. Murnane, *Serapis* 2 (1970) 18-20.

202. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (PA III [1958]) pp. 429-32; cf. pp. 532-33.

the meager sources that attest this office, it is, of course, not impossible that it already existed under Amenophis III, and it must be admitted that the naming of the vizier Amenhotep and the overseer of the Treasury Meryptah as witnesses to the decree shows familiarity with contemporary materials. Still, one cannot be certain that the decree was not concocted much later (albeit on the basis of good Eighteenth Dynasty sources), and then dated under Amenophis III to give the appearance of greater authenticity.<sup>203</sup> The position of the vizier Amenhotep is curious. If he was vizier for Lower Egypt, it is odd that he, rather than Ramose, his southern colleague,<sup>204</sup> should have been functioning at Thebes. This point has been used as an argument for Ramose's early death, but the problem still remains: Why should the Lower Egyptian vizier be associated with a decree of purely local significance, and why is the Upper Egyptian vizier (whoever he may have been) absent? Even if the northern vizier was the superior of the two (assuming that the royal residence was at Memphis),<sup>205</sup> the absence of the southern vizier is odd—unless, of course, it be supposed that he had just died and that the northern vizier was acting in an emergency capacity. But there are other possible explanations: Ramose may have been sick, or Amenhotep's name may have been handiest when the text was composed posthumously. Although the anomaly persists, one cannot establish Ramose's early death on the strength of it.

As a whole, Aldred's attractive case for a long coregency is not completely disproved, but the facts can just as well be interpreted to accommodate either a short coregency or no coregency at all. Ramose could have served briefly as vizier into the sole reign of Amenophis IV, after the elder king's death; similarly, Simut could have been appointed Second Prophet under Amenophis IV, since the Amun hierarchy was still functioning during his fourth regnal year.<sup>206</sup> The vizier's death and the priest's promotion could have occurred successively before the king changed his name and

203. As argued by A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (IFAO-BdE XLIV [1968]) pp. 67-85, especially 81-85.

204. On this man, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 304-5; cf. pp. 443-44.

205. C. F. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (London, 1965) p. 204, n. 47.

206. D. B. Redford, "The Identity of the High-priest of Amun at the Beginning of Akhenaten's Reign," *JAOS* 83 (1963) 240-41.

moved to the new capital. Only fresh evidence can resolve this impasse.

The four preceding arguments attempt to prove that there had been a coregency by means of elaborate reasoning from circumstantial evidence. In each case, however, the materials can establish at best only a model of what might have happened if the premises were accepted, and in each case it is only too easy to challenge these premises and to supply alternative models. Notably, in one case (c, the tomb of Kheruef) the model required by a long coregency seems so improbable that the entire argument is cast into doubt. The other three cases are not quite so weak, but the burden of proof still rests on those who would argue for a long coregency between Amenophis III and his son.

#### 4. Scenes That Show Amenophis IV/Akhenaten Offering to His Living (or Dead) Father

In two cases the heretic king is shown presenting offerings to a figure of his father Amenophis III.

- a) In the tomb of Kheruef a scene carved on the south wall of the front passage shows Amenophis IV offering to Amenophis III (here described as "beloved of Sokaris"), who is followed by a female figure generally identified as Queen Tiye.<sup>207</sup>
- b) In two scenes on the pylon of the temple of Soleb, Akhenaten appears before the deified "Nebma'atrē, Lord of Nubia."<sup>208</sup> The original identity of the celebrant is uncertain. Fairman, in his personal copies, noted that "Akhenaten" was surcharged over an "Amenhotep," and that the original praenomen was "Neferkheprurē."<sup>209</sup> If so, these scenes were originally executed by Amenophis IV and later revised by him as Akhenaten. Janssen, however, maintains that the original celebrant was Amenophis III himself, and that his cartouches were usurped by his son. If this is also true for the other scenes on the pylon, it would seem that Akhenaten's only original decoration here is on the cornice.<sup>210</sup>

207. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 298 (3) I.

208. J. Janssen, "Appendice: Description de la décoration du pylone, mole nord, salle I," *Kush* 7 (1959) 168, scenes 6-7.

209. *CoA* III 154.

210. Janssen, *Kush* 7 (1959) 166-69, followed by Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 98-99.

Among unpublished copies of this material, the notebooks of Breasted and Davies tend to agree with Fairman's presentation of the evidence, if not always with his conclusions; but clear traces of Amenophis III's praenomen, at any rate, were pointed out by Schäfer in Scene 6 on the pylon.<sup>211</sup> The enlargement of Breasted's photograph published by Schäfer also shows the epithet "Great in his Duration" (*ʿ3 m ḥw·f*) under the cartouches as being flush with the original carved elements on the wall, however, so this epithet could be part of the original inscription. If so, the original celebrant in this scene may well be Akhenaten, since to my knowledge this epithet is connected with no other king. A systematic sorting out of these problems will have to wait on the final publication of the reliefs (now in progress), but Professor Jean Leclant, who studied the material for the Soleb expedition, has kindly summarized his conclusions in a letter:<sup>212</sup>

In all cases, the cartouches of Amenophis III were erased, and then the praenomen and nomen of Akhenaten were surcharged over those of Amenophis III. Even the king's image was in several cases hacked out and replaced . . . . On the cornice, also, there has been surcharging of Akhenaten over Amenophis III . . . . Certainly, all this is very badly damaged: eroded sandstone is very difficult to read [and] one should be aware of the use of plaster which has now fallen away—this is very important. But a very careful examination leads to the result that you will find [expressed above].

Leclant also doubts that "Great in his Duration" applied exclusively to Akhenaten:

In all events, Atenism developed very markedly during the reign of Amenophis III. At Soleb there are many features that can only be explained from a solar, or more precisely, from an Atenist

211. For the evidence of these notebooks, see Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969) 274, and J. H. Breasted, "Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition," *AJSL* 25 (1908) 87-88; for the alternative view see H. Schäfer. "Die frühesten Bildnisse König Amenophis des IV," in *Amtliche Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen (Berliner Museen)* 40 (1919, No. 12) cols. 221-22; cf. idem, "Nochmals die frühesten Bildnisse König Amenophis des IV," *ibid.*, cols. 285-86.

212. Letter of June 10, 1976. The extracts from M. Leclant's letter that are cited in the text have been translated by me into English.



point of view [and] such an epithet surely belongs to this theological framework. It is not surprising to find it as of the reign of Amenophis III [and] in any case, as you will see, only weak traces remain . . . . Please note that the nomen of Amenophis III is written *Imn-ḥtp nṯr ḥk3 W3st*—[that is, an abnormal form, characteristic of Amenophis IV but not of his father].

Leclant and his colleagues have repeatedly examined the Soleb materials at first hand. Their opinions thus carry a great deal of weight and may not be disagreed with lightly, especially on the basis of a photograph that may not register slight irregularities in the surface level of a wall. It is conceivable that "Great in His Duration" may belong to Amenophis III at the very end of his reign, although in all instances of this epithet with which I am familiar it is applied only to Amenophis IV/Akhenaten. Alternatively, the original surface of the wall may have been lightly shaved back to its present level, and the inscription may be secondary. This is the sort of thing that photographs do not show well, and it is to be hoped that these points will be discussed in the publication. For the present, it appears that Amenophis IV was *not* originally associated with the figure of his divine father at Soleb, and the usurpation of the king's name and figures could only have come after the death of Amenophis III.

A striking weakness of most discussions of this evidence is that the scenes have been treated as though historical events were represented. Advocates of a coregency have viewed the Kheruef scene as portraying Amenophis IV before his living father. Others have argued just as spiritedly that in this scene Amenophis III is dead, or that the scene reflects a higher reality, removed from the historical present, thus blurring the relevance of whether the old king is represented as alive or dead.<sup>213</sup> On the assumption that Amenophis IV was originally represented offering to his father at Soleb, it was similarly argued that Amenophis III must be alive in these scenes because there is no evidence that the cult of "Nebma'atrē, Lord of Nubia" survived after his death. This point hardly carries weight, for it must be admitted that

213. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 107-9; Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 113-16; but cf. Wentz in *JNES* 28 (1969) on the sequence of decoration here.

the distinction between the living and the dead in offering scenes, or indeed, the relevance of such distinctions, is unclear.<sup>214</sup> The ambiguity is nicely illustrated by another scene from Nubia in which Amenophis IV offers to his father: in the crypt of the central temple at Sesebi the king is shown with Nefertiti, offering before a group of divinities that includes Geb, Shu, Osiris, Atum, and Amenophis III.<sup>215</sup> It is easy to find similar scenes in which the king thus associated with cosmic deities is dead.<sup>216</sup> But there are also instances in which an elder coregent is apparently worshiped by his son, either associated with one or more gods, or independently, perhaps as the god of his mortuary temple.<sup>217</sup> Clearly, no hard-and-fast rules can be applied to these representations. The most that can be said is that they could be related to a coregency, but they fall short of proving that a coregency ever took place.

##### 5. Material of the Two Kings on Papyri

A group of documents on papyri records a series of business transactions that extended from Amenophis III's twenty-seventh year to the fifth year of Amenophis IV.<sup>218</sup> At least some of the same people seem to have been involved in each of these deals, and one of the papyri groups together three transactions, one dating to year 27 of Amenophis III, the two others to years 2 and 3 of Amenophis IV. The association of these dates has prompted speculation that they also occurred close together during a coregency;<sup>219</sup> on the other side, much ingenuity has been expended in trying to show that the transactions must have taken place over

214. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 95-99, 113-16; cf. Wente in *JNES* 28 (1969) 274.

215. *PM* VII 173.

216. E.g., Ramesses I in the Qurnah temple of Sety I; *ibid.*, II (2d ed.) 408 (5), (7).3; 417 (98).1, (101), (102).II.1; 416 (89); cf. *LD* III 201 c; *PM* VI 142 (165); 145 (200); 146 (216)-(217); VII 35 (11), (12), (15), (21)-(24), (25)-(28).

217. E.g., Sety I in the Qurnah temple (*PM* II [2d ed.] 410 [17].II; 417 [102].II.2) and on the south wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak (pp. 47-48).

218. F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898) Pl. XXXIX; and A. H. Gardiner, "Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun," *ZÄS* 43 (1906) 27-47; the document from Amenophis IV's fifth year is published by Griffith, *PSBA* 30 (1908) 272-75.

219. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 110-11; Giles, *Ikhnaton*, pp. 81-83.

a decade or more.<sup>220</sup> The frequency of such transactions would have depended on the affluence of the participants,<sup>221</sup> and there is, in fact, no solid evidence to exclude either position. Inasmuch as we are virtually ignorant of the circumstances, arguments based on probability are singularly futile, for even the most plausible case is incapable of proof. Since internal criteria fail, the frequency with which materials from different reigns occur on the same document must be examined. This will be done, making reference to comparative materials, in the next chapter.

#### 6. Associated Materials in Building Decoration

Thus far we have seen several examples of decoration in which materials of Amenophis III and his son occur in different parts of the same building. The next five cases seem to reflect a more conscious effort to associate the two kings in one architectural unit.

- a) In the tomb of Surer (Th. T. No. 48), in a scene depicting statues being dragged in procession by groups of men, it is believed that one additional statue has been introduced into the scene as an afterthought when the scene was almost completed.<sup>222</sup> Borchardt has suggested that this was a statue of Amenophis IV inserted at the outset of a short coregency, but no one has taken this argument seriously, for the statue could just as easily be simply another figure of Amenophis III.<sup>223</sup>
- b) A lintel in the tomb of Huya at Amarna (already discussed under 2 d) shows the two royal families back-to-back on separate panels.<sup>224</sup> As an example of the association of two or more kings in tomb decoration it will be discussed in Chapter 4, but here we can examine the internal evidence it supplies. To begin with, the two scenes are not strictly parallel. In the left-hand panel Akhenaten and Nefertiti, seated together, receive the homage of their children. On the right, Amenophis III, seated alone, is

220. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 129-32.

221. Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969) 275.

222. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pl. XXXVII.

223. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40; Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 112-13.

224. *El Amarna III*, Pl. XVIII.

saluted by Queen Tiyi and Princess Baketaten with a gesture commonly reserved for divinities; in contrast, in the left-hand panel Akhenaten's children carry fans, as is customary for attendants before the king. The contrasting portrayals suggested to Davies that Amenophis III was here shown as dead and deified,<sup>225</sup> but proponents of a long coregency generally see the association as evidence for the coregency.<sup>226</sup> The arguments that rage back and forth<sup>227</sup> are ultimately inconclusive. Interpreted literally, the lintel could be a memorial of a coregency, but the tomb owner may well have meant it allusively—perhaps to honor Queen Mother Tiyi (whose steward he was) or to stress the harmonious relations between the senior and junior branches of the family. To decide in a vacuum in favor of any of these options is to ask the clarification of *obscura* by *obscuriora*.

Some help may be found if we consider the lintel in its context within the tomb. It occurs in the back of the first room, above the doorway leading into the second room (i.e., Davies's "north wall"). In the first room proper there are representations of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and Tiyi (without her husband): On the "south wall" at either side of the entrance doorway, Tiyi is seen eating and drinking with her son and daughter-in-law, accompanied by Tiyi's daughter Baketaten and the Amarna couple's two eldest daughters.<sup>228</sup> On the "east wall" Akhenaten leads Tiyi to her "sunshade,"<sup>229</sup> while on the "north wall" (flanking the entrance to the second room) are two scenes showing Huya rewarded by Akhenaten.<sup>230</sup> On the "west wall" are the scenes that provide the *terminus post quem* for the tomb's decoration. Here Akhenaten and Nefertiti are carried in a palanquin to the "parade of foreign tribute," an occasion dated to II Proyet 8 of Akhenaten's twelfth regnal year.<sup>231</sup> This scene, at any rate, was not executed before this date, and it is hardly likely that the deco-

225. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

226. Most recently Aldred, *Akhenaten*, Pls. 52-53.

227. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 105-11.

228. *El Amarna* III, Pls. IV and VI (cf. plan, Pl. I).

229. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII.

230. *Ibid.*, Pls. XVI-XVII.

231. *Ibid.*, Pls. XIII-XIV.

ration of the rest of the room was far removed in time. Indeed, if it is assumed that the decorators followed in the wake of the excavation (as in Kheruef), the lintel over the doorway should have been executed after the rest of the room, including the "durbar" scene of year 12. Although this last point may be incapable of final proof, it seems most probable that the entire tomb was decorated all at one time after the "durbar" had taken place. Certainly there is no good reason to suppose that the lintel was executed first and that the rest of the first room followed, so we must reckon with the likelihood that the portrayal of Amenophis III on the right-hand panel is a retrospective one. In arguing that the lintel reflects the last stages of an eleven-year coregency Aldred has pointed out that Tiye's daughter, Baketaten, is represented as a minor, hardly older than the eldest daughter of Akhenaten;<sup>232</sup> it would follow that she had been born during a coregency. Unfortunately, while the relative ages of Akhenaten's daughters seem to be reflected in the size of the various figures vis-à-vis one another, they are still represented as children in group portraits. Thus Meritaten, who by Akhenaten's twelfth year must have been a mature young woman, is still represented as a child in the latest of the tombs at El Amarna.<sup>233</sup> Baketaten herself is variously shown as much younger than 'Ankhesenpaaten (Akhenaten's third daughter),<sup>234</sup> almost the same size as Meritaten (Akhenaten's eldest),<sup>235</sup> and roughly the same size as her own attendants.<sup>236</sup> Obviously, these representations are not reliable indicators of the princesses' ages. The most that can be said is that Baketaten, since she is portrayed as smaller than Akhenaten's eldest daughter, may have been Meritaten's junior. If it could be shown that Meritaten was born after Amenophis IV came to the throne, Baketaten could have been born after this, during a coregency. Regrettably we do not know when Meritaten was born, although she did receive the perhaps honorific title of King's Wife before Akhenaten changed

232. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, p. 93.

233. *El Amarna VI*, Pl. XXIX.

234. *Ibid.*, III, Pl. VI.

235. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV.

236. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII.

his name and moved to Amarna.<sup>237</sup> Even if the relative ages of the two princesses suggest a coregency, they by no means point to the long, eleven-year coregency as the only solution. If the lintel in Huya's tomb is retrospective, Baketaten may have been represented there anachronistically as a very young child. Perhaps, too, the scale at which she was drawn throughout the tomb may only reflect her status as Tiye's daughter. It cannot be automatically assumed that her size was determined in reference to Akhenaten's own daughters rather than schematically, as a part of the whole composition. Intrinsically, then, the lintel in the tomb of Huya need not represent two coregents, and Davies's view of it as being in commemoration of Amenophis III by Akhenaten and Huya, steward of Amenophis III's widow, seems more reasonable.<sup>238</sup>

- c) Similar arguments are used with respect to the rock relief at Aswan, in which the sculptor Men worships a seated statue of Amenophis III, and the sculptor Bak a figure of Akhenaten (now erased).<sup>239</sup> The form of the Aton's name and epithets, as well as the use of "Nebma'atrē" in both of Amenophis III's cartouches, points to a date for this scene near the end of Akhenaten's first decade, but the fact that it is Amenophis III's statue that is represented hardly suggests an association between living kings in a coregency.<sup>240</sup> Given that Men and Bak (like the kings they each worshiped) were father and son, and given the Egyptian mentality where family ties and tenure in office were concerned, this relief could be nothing more than a bit of conspicuous self-advertisement, prominently displayed for the edification of passers-by and touting a successful record of service by two generations through two reigns.
- d) In the course of his excavations at Athribis, Alan Rowe discovered a fragmentary block on which the nomen of Amenophis IV (*Jmḥtp ntr ḥk3 W3s.t*) and the praenomen of Amenophis III appear to be juxtaposed. It seems clear

237. Talatat block published by W. Helck, "Die Tochterheirat ägyptischer Könige," *CdE* 44 (1969) 24, Fig. 1.

238. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 110-11.

239. *PM* V 249; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen: Life and Death of a Pharaoh* (New York, 1963) p. 125 (Fig. 65).

240. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 99.

that there were originally at least four cartouches (one with each king's nomen and praenomen) and that the names of Amenophis IV and his father were presented in sequence.<sup>241</sup> The block itself is unavailable for study, so there is no control over Rowe's drawing. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the copy, however, still less to suppose that the element *ntr hk3 W3s.t* of Amenophis IV's nomen is an ancient scribal error for the nomen of Amenophis III (*Jmnhtp hk3 W3s.t*).<sup>242</sup> Such a mistake is attested on one of the documents from Kahun, but the writing of Amenophis III's nomen in that document is probably influenced by that of Amenophis IV, who is also mentioned in the text,<sup>243</sup> and it is doubtful that an error of this sort would have occurred in a formal inscription. Nor does the epithet in each case show any variation from the usual form. The second stela of Amenophis III between Aswan and Philae, dated to his fifth year, does show the more complex *ntr hk3 W3s.t*, but the hieroglyphs of the nomen in Lepsius's copy are inscribed backwards<sup>244</sup>—clearly an inept restoration after the Amarna Period.<sup>245</sup> Since the two kings on the Athribis block appear to be Amenophis IV and his father, in that order, it is supposed that they originally appeared together, facing in the same direction within the same scene, and this probable association is taken as evidence for a coregency. But since the block has no architectural context, we cannot be sure that it did not

241. H. W. Fairman, "A Block of Amenophis IV from Athribis," *JEA* 46 (1960) 80-82.

242. Pace Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 142-43.

243. Gardiner, *ZAS* 43 (1906) 28-30.

244. *LD III* 81 g; the cartouche is normalized in J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* I (Vienna, 1894) 4, but my collation of the original (with the kind assistance of Labib Habachi and F. Yurco) vindicates Lepsius's copy. Habachi ("Aménophis III et Amenhotep, fils de Hapou, à Athribis," *RdE* 26 [1974] 23-24) argues that *ntr hk3 W3s.t* was a recognized variant of Amenophis III's praenomen, but the presence of this element only in a restored and possibly incorrect version of the name inspires no confidence. (Note, however, that Leclant may have isolated such a variant for Amenophis III at Soleb [see n. 212 and text], while in the word-square from the tomb of Kheruef [Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, forthcoming] the praenomen of Amenophis IV is written *Jmnhtp hk3 W3st*.)

245. Cf. the first stela, on which the clumsily restored nomen spills out of the cartouche (*LD III* 81 h).

form part of a frieze or dado of cartouches repeated over a broad area.<sup>246</sup> It must be admitted, however, that insofar as juxtaposition is regarded as significant, this piece does support the argument for a coregency, if only between Amenophis III and Amenophis IV.

- e) The most recently noted evidence for a coregency, and possibly the most significant, is a scene inscribed on the east face of the north tower of the third pylon in the temple of Amun-Rē at Karnak. Here the royal barge is shown towing the Userhēt bark of Amun on one of its yearly journeys. On either side of the central cabin of Amun's bark is a large figure of Amenophis III making an offering to the god within the shrine. Behind each of the king's figures there was originally another figure, now erased, in the same stance. Both of these figures are smaller than those of Amenophis III (barely reaching the shoulder) and insofar as they can be made out in their battered state they have the trappings of royalty—both seem to wear the blue crown (the uraeus of which can still be made out on the figure at the stern), and traces of the royal vulture are still preserved above their heads. Both of these figures were deliberately erased in antiquity and were replaced by an offering table (at the prow) and by a large 'ankh holding a fan (at the stern). These details have suggested to several scholars that the erased figures belonged to Amenophis IV<sup>247</sup>—a crucial identification, for both kings would here have been shown acting together within the same context and their association would lend valuable support to a coregency. Our discussion, accordingly, must be in some detail.

First, the most immediately noticeable feature of these figures, especially of that on the prow, is its affinities with the so-called Amarna style instead of with the more traditional iconography found in most of Amenophis III's monuments. There are traces, for example, of the strongly accented belly typical for the time of Akhenaten; and even more revealing is the stance of the figure, with the

246. As suggested by Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 143.

247. R. Sa'ad, "Les Travaux d'Aménophis IV au III<sup>e</sup> pylône du temple d'Amon-Re' à Karnak," *Kêmi* 20 (1970) 187-93; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, pp. 18-19. Barguet (*Temple*, p. 82) and *PM* (II [2d ed.] 61 [183]) suggest that the small figure in each case is a prince, the future Amenophis IV.



thighs crossing one another at a sharp angle. In the Amarna period this feature was ubiquitous for the king and queen, although commoners tended to be shown wearing clothing that obscured the crotch.<sup>248</sup> Earlier, however, the king's kilt was low enough so that the two legs were separated, and this is the iconography of the two larger figures on the third pylon scene.<sup>249</sup> Further infiltration of the revolutionary style appears at the stern of the royal barge on which a king (whose legs also cross) is attended by figures displaying the characteristically exaggerated "Amarna" bow, with bodies bent forward and necks craning up toward the king.<sup>250</sup> During the reign of Amenophis III officials and offering-bearers usually appeared before the king in an upright posture or at most with only a slight forward inclination.<sup>251</sup> Bowing figures do appear before Amenophis III in a section of the Luxor temple built about the time of the king's thirtieth year;<sup>252</sup> these priests are plump, however, whereas the third pylon figures are slender, and their heads are bowed rather than craned upward.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, in the tomb of Kha'emhēt officials appear bowed slightly forward, either in expectation of the reward to be conferred upon them<sup>254</sup> or of necessity in grasping the cattle they are leading.<sup>255</sup> None of these figures bear much resemblance to the attendants depicted on the third pylon. A real parallel, however, is found in the tomb of Nefersekeru (Th. T. No. 107). Here the priests shown performing an ablution of the tomb owner's statue are grouped naturally—that is, their bodies cut across one another instead of being arranged in neatly

248. *El Amarna*, passim (e.g., I, Pls. VI, X, XXV).

249. And ubiquitously elsewhere, e.g., in Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pls. XLI, LIV B (king), XLVII-XLVIII, LII, LV (others); also useful, despite the wretched publication, is the material in A. J. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor* (*Mem. Miss. XV/1* [1894]).

250. First noted by G. Foucart, "La belle fête de la Vallée," *BIFAO* 24 (1924) 53.

251. Gayet, *Louxor*, Pls. XLI, XLIII, L, L bis, LI; Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII, XL; Davies, *Ramose*, Pls. XXX-XXXI; Wreszinsky, *Atlas I*, Pls. 189, 198 (tomb of Kha'emhēt).

252. *PM II* (2d ed.) 98 a.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 320 (118).II.2.

254. Wreszinsky, *Atlas I*, Pl. 204.

255. *Ibid.*, Pl. 206.

overlapping layers as is customary<sup>256</sup>—and one of the figures is bent in what could be regarded as the typical Amarna fashion, with his face turned upward.<sup>257</sup> As a representative of its genre this ablution scene is quite unique,<sup>258</sup> although similar complex groupings (e.g., of wailing women) occur earlier.<sup>259</sup> It would be easy to see a parallel between the composition of this group and that of the crowds of officials who appear before Akhenaten at Amarna,<sup>260</sup> and the fact that Nefersekeru's tomb must of necessity have been carved after Amenophis III's first jubilee makes the analogy even more tempting.<sup>261</sup> Certainly it is fair to say that this tomb, like the scene on the third pylon, displays certain features that look forward to the age of Akhenaten and are quite atypical for the relief of Amenophis III.

Second, fragments of texts associated with the smaller figures have been recovered.<sup>262</sup> The original inscription carved over the offering scene on the prow mentioned "[Amu]n-RĒ, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands . . . Theb[es(?)] . . . given [life] like RĒ." This text was presumably covered with plaster when a later inscription was lightly carved over it in which the words "Amun" and "Karnak" can be discerned, followed by a cartouche with the nomen " . . . Haremhab." These traces are at least unequivocal, something that cannot be said when we turn to the stern of the bark. To the left of the smaller figure here, cut off by the sweep of the fan, is a cartouche. That it was a praenomen is clear from the "-rĒ" at the top, but this is all that remains. A rubbing adds nothing definite to the name that had once been inside the

256. E.g., Davies, *Ramose*, Pls. XIII, XVII, XXIV, XXVI, XXVII.

257. *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 225 (2).II.

258. Cf. the ablution scene on the south stela of the tomb of Paser, across the courtyard from Nefersekeru's tomb (*ibid.*, 218 [1].II), where the grouping is quite conventional.

259. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (PMMA, "Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series" IV [1925] Pls. XX-XXVI; idem, Ramose, Pls. XXIV-XXV.*

260. *El Amarna* I, Pl. VIII.

261. W. Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107," *MIO* 4 (1956) 20-21 (Text B).

262. See W. J. Murnane, "The Bark of Amun on the Third Pylon at Karnak" (paper delivered at the First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, October 6, 1976; forthcoming).

cartouche, but it enables us to delimit its dimensions, for below the block line, extending underneath and to the right of the cartouche, are traces of the words "given life [like] Rē." The distribution of these signs makes it virtually certain that there were two cartouches here originally. All of the second name (aside from a few traces of the cartouche ring) has vanished, but neither name could have been very long. The surviving sun disk can be projected as having been 35 mm. high. The remaining space below this sign (given the row of hieroglyphs under the cartouche) is at most 150 mm. ( $\times 4.3$ ) down to and including the base of the name ring. If the cartouche were ascribed to Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, we would require [*Nfr-hprw*]-*r*<sup>c</sup> [*W*<sup>c</sup>-*n*-*r*<sup>c</sup>] in either of its writings.<sup>263</sup> But cartouches of this king are almost invariably longer,<sup>264</sup> and one would expect the top of the *nfr-* to be visible where the surface to the left of the sun disk is preserved. The same is also true of Haremhab's praenomen (*Dsr-hprw-r*<sup>c</sup> *Stp.n*<sup>c</sup> *r*<sup>c</sup>),<sup>265</sup> and unless it was drastically shortened, down to its very essentials,<sup>266</sup> it would seem that the name(s) inscribed here belonged to someone else.

Third, there are some anomalies in the cutting of the smaller figures that raise doubts as to their originality. Certainly the offering table (at the prow) and the fan (at the stern) were the last versions to be carved. This is clear from surviving traces of paint and from the uniformity of the depth of cut along the deep indentation caused by the removal of earlier relief. In dealing with the smaller figures, it has been assumed that either (a) they were part of an original version and accompanied the larger figures of Amenophis III, or (b) they were the only original figures of Amenophis III, were attacked during the Amarna period, and were replaced by the larger

263. *W*<sup>c</sup>-*n*-*r*<sup>c</sup> written vertically occurs at Soleb (*LD III 110 k*); the more common horizontal writing is found in *El Amarna*, passim.

264. Cf., for example, Martin, *Royal Tomb*, Pls. 7 ( $\times 4.7$ ); 12, No. 299 ( $\times 5.6$ ), 54.1, No. 395 ( $\times 5$ ); *El Amarna IV*, Pl. XLIII ( $\times 7.7$ ); Aldred, *Akhenaten*, Pls. 46 ( $\times 5.4$ ); 107 ( $\times 5.19$ ).

265. For examples see R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet, ou la fin d'une dynastie* (Geneva, 1965) Pls. V-LIII.

266. This apparently occurs only on scarabs; see *ibid.*, Pl. LXI a (Nos. 1-17).

figures under the Ramessides.<sup>267</sup> This last is impossible for several reasons. Akhenaten's agents were fairly thorough in attacking the figures of Amun (as, for example, in the small scenes carved on the side of this bark), but the figure of Amenophis III was generally spared.<sup>268</sup> The smaller figures, moreover, are simply too small to have served as the principal images of the king in a scene like this. Given the customary proportions employed in parallel scenes, the larger figures are much closer to scale.<sup>269</sup> In any case, it is plain from firsthand observation that the large figures must be original—unless, that is, a blank space intervened in Amenophis III's day between the allegedly original smaller figures and the cabin! Far from being exclusively Ramesside in style, the costume of the larger figures is found on other original portraits of Amenophis III, both at the Karnak temple<sup>270</sup> and in the tomb of Kheruef.<sup>271</sup> In sum, there is nothing to commend the idea that the smaller figures were carved before the larger—but the question remains, Were both sets carved at the same time? There are some indications that they were not. Some of the better-preserved traces of the smaller figures (e.g., the feet) seem to follow the indentation caused by recutting, as do the final offering table and the fan. Other traces show curious inconsistencies. A line that is visible at a certain depth in the stone will suddenly vanish (instead of becoming stronger) as the level of the surface rises.<sup>272</sup> One possible explanation for these oddities could be that the smaller figures were inserted following the removal of a pre-Amarna original. These secondary figures would have been lightly carved, with the details being made up in plaster—hence

267. H. Goedicke, review of Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 78 (1974) 300.

268. See, for example, Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924) Pl. III (vignettes on the side of the bark on the third pylon; in all cases here the gods were attacked but the king was spared, although a cosmetic alteration is apparent on one of his figures).

269. Cf. the examples illustrated *ibid.*, Pls. IV–XIII, and add W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet. Die Festzugdarstellungen im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luxor* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieghin-Expedition in Ägypten" V [Leipzig, 1931]) Pl. II; *RIK* II, Pl. 84.

270. See Murnane, "Bark of Amun," for details.

271. *Ibid.*, I/1 (2d ed.) 298 (3).

272. For a full discussion see Murnane, "Bark of Amun."

the vagaries of the cutting. No traces of any distinct earlier relief have been discovered by the epigraphers who have examined this scene from time to time,<sup>273</sup> but it remains possible that the offering table, carved over the figure in front, may have been resurrected from an original version of this element that had been carved by Amenophis III. Based on the parallels, one would expect an offering table here anyway,<sup>274</sup> and on epigraphic grounds there appears to be no objection to this hypothesis. Thus I believe it is reasonable to doubt that the smaller figures formed part of Amenophis III's original relief on the third pylon.

Interpreting these data presents its difficulties, since none of them points in any single direction. Haremhab's authorship of the final version on the prow (i.e., the offering table and the text above it) has been shown, so the insertion of the smaller kings' figures must have come before his time. It is also clear that Akhenaten's praenomen is too long to fit into the cartouche associated with the figure behind the cabin and the same applies to Smenkhkarē ('nh-ḥprw-r<sup>c</sup> mry W<sup>c</sup>-n-r<sup>c</sup>) and Ay (Ḥpr-ḥprw-r<sup>c</sup> jry m3<sup>c</sup>t). Only a pharaoh with a short name would do—and here we have a choice between Amenophis III (Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>) and Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun (Nb-ḥprw-r<sup>c</sup>). Since both the larger and smaller figures seem to be performing the same function, it makes little sense that they should both have represented Amenophis III. On the other hand, the dimensions of the cartouche could fit Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's praenomen,<sup>275</sup> and it may be significant that a figure of Amenophis III was shown on board the bark of Amun in the Opet Feast reliefs executed under Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun in the great colonnade at Luxor.<sup>276</sup> This gesture was not really anachronistic—there is no question that Amenophis III is personally involved—but rather allusive: the last great ruler before the Amarna heresy is honored by the king who has restored Amun and who expanded Amenophis III's temple at Luxor. A

273. E. F. Wente, C. C. Van Siclen III, and Murnane (1972-73); J. P. Allen, F. J. Yurco, and Murnane (1974/75); and Caminos (1975/76).

274. See Murnane, "Bark of Amun."

275. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, Pls. XIV (× 3.8), XXXII (× 3.7), although longer examples are attested (Pl. XXVII, two examples [× 5.7 and × 6.2]).

276. Wolf, *Opet*, pp. 31, 61-62 (No. 28), Pl. II.

similar gesture could perhaps be envisaged at Karnak, with Tut'ankhamun the restorer inserting himself into Amenophis III's Opet procession. The original offering table would be replaced by the young king's figure, which would also be inserted in the blank space behind the parallel image of Amenophis III at the stern.<sup>277</sup> The great king's grandson could thus commemorate his piety and stress his connection with the famous kings of his dynasty. This claim Haremhab could not match, for his only connection with the royal house was through his wife, Mutnedjmet, who owed her own connection to her sister's marriage to Akhenaten.<sup>278</sup> All of these considerations may have been part of a complex of reasons why Haremhab merely inserted his name above the (restored?) offering table on the prow, while the rest of the scene was returned to the custody of Amenophis III once the name and figures of Tut'ankhamun had been eliminated. Such a reconstruction does explain the anomalies described above. It is presented here with all due reserve until something better can be demonstrated.

The relief on the third pylon, then, is not as strong evidence for a coregency as had at first been thought. The two smaller figures are not demonstrably original and they probably did not represent Akhenaten. The only perceptible Amarna influence that is contemporary with Amenophis III lies in the bowing figures on the stern of the king's barge. Their presence here could be explained if a coregency were in progress and if the revolutionary influence of Amenophis IV's early work were seen as permeating Amenophis III's reliefs.<sup>279</sup> At most, however, this would be evidence for a coregency of Amenophis III with Amenophis IV—not with Akhenaten.

277. The space behind the king who rows the bark seems not to have been worked under Amenophis III; see Murnane, "Bark of Amun."

278. There is no proof that Nefertiti, whose sister Mutnedjmet was, descended from the royal family; see the discussion in Hari, *Moutnedjemet*, pp. 171-74.

279. For a close contemporary example of this intermingling of styles, note the stela published in D. Randall MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos (MEES XXIII [1902])* Pl. XXXII, p. 84; the suggestion of Nims ("The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV," *JNES* 32 [1973] 182-83) that the two styles were in simultaneous use in Ramose's tomb at Thebes seems cogent.

In the preceding discussion I have attempted to isolate the particular burden of proof borne by each piece of evidence and to distinguish the concrete from the merely speculative. Many of the proofs advanced for this coregency fall into the latter category, and only one piece—the block from Athribis—has, in my opinion, much plausibility. Precisely how much weight is to be attached to juxtapositions of names or figures is one of the questions to be investigated in Chapter 4, and a final decision on the coregency of Amenophis III and his son must necessarily wait until then.

#### AKHENATEN AND SMENKHKARĒ

Scholars generally concede that Akhenaten and his son-in-law Smenkhkarē were coregents for a time,<sup>280</sup> and the most debated questions about this coregency concern the length, if any, of Smenkhkarē's independent reign and the politico-psychological aspects of his association with Akhenaten. Happily there is no need for us to delve into the second problem, nor into a recent suggestion that Smenkhkarē was Nefertiti in disguise.<sup>281</sup> Our concern is with the coregency alone. The supporting evidence (which, as we shall see, varies distinctly in worth)<sup>282</sup> may be grouped in four categories.

##### 1. Representations of Unnamed Figures Thought to be Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē

Many pieces thought to be representations of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē are fragmentary and partly for this reason do not inspire much confidence. One can hardly be certain, for example, that the two pairs of legs on the fragmentary stela EA 34/42 belong to two kings.<sup>283</sup> Hermopolis Block 446/VII shows the middle of a woman's body between the remains of two unidentified humans;<sup>284</sup> she is identified as either 'Ankhesenpaaten or Meritaten, and the

280. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 170-82; Helck, *CdE* 44 (1969) 203-11.

281. J. R. Harris, "Nefernefruaten," *GM* 4 (1973) 15-17.

282. Collected by G. Roeder, "Thronfolger und König Smench-ka-Rê (Dynastie XVIII)," *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 43-74; but cf. the criticisms of Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 171-72.

283. Amarna Stela 34/42 (CoA III 45, Pl. LXXIII 8-9; Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 47 (C.III.2).

284. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) Pl. V b (C.IV.2).

two on either side as her father and her husband,<sup>285</sup> but there is no decisive proof for this. Some other pieces are more complete, but the identities of the persons represented are no more certain. On an unfinished stela a king (wearing the blue crown) stands before another, seated king and pours a drink into his goblet.<sup>286</sup> In view of the fact that the solar disk dominates the scene, one of these kings must be Akhenaten—but is this Smenkhkarē waiting on his father-in-law,<sup>287</sup> or the heretic serving Amenophis III?<sup>288</sup> Parallels show Nefertiti pouring a drink for Akhenaten<sup>289</sup> and Tutankhamun being anointed by 'Ankhesenamun<sup>290</sup>—but also Tutankhamun anointing his own wife.<sup>291</sup> Another alleged representation of the coregents occurs on a limestone plaque bearing what appear to be sculptor's models of two royal heads:<sup>292</sup> the younger head, fuller of face, has been identified as Smenkhkarē's, the more drawn-looking one as Akhenaten's.<sup>293</sup> Despite arguments to the contrary,<sup>294</sup> it seems undeniable that two different persons were represented here, but this hardly proves that both of them were alive when the exercise was carried out. Ambiguity also bedevils the small stela belonging to one Pase. This notorious piece shows two kings seated before an offering table under the radiating arms of the Aton. The figure in the foreground, wearing the double crown, is turned to face his companion, wearing the blue crown, and the former is chucking the latter under the chin. Aside from the text claiming ownership, carved horizontally under the scene, the guidelines intended to contain an inscription have been left blank. It seems clear, however, that the two sets of cartouches at either side of the Aton were meant for his didactic names, while the three cartouches above the offering table belong to the two kings.<sup>295</sup> There is no question that two sovereigns are depicted here, but the iconography of the rear figure

285. Ibid., p. 49; idem, *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis. II: Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* ("Pelizaeus Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung," Vol. 6 [Hildesheim, 1969]) 63 (Kap. III N 4 a).

286. Ibid., pp. 48-49 (C.III.3).

287. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, Pl. 83.

288. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, p. 147 (Fig. 85).

289. *El Amarna II*, Pl. XXXII.

290. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, Pls. VI, VII A.

291. Ibid., Pl. IX A.

292. CoA III, Pl. LIX 1 (No. 32.75).

293. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 49 (C.III.6).

294. E.g., Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 172.

295. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 184 (No. 114).



could be that of a female,<sup>296</sup> and the three cartouches might have been meant for the praenomen and nomen of the front figure (i.e., Akhenaten) and for his queen.<sup>297</sup> Only exceptionally, however, are two kings represented with three rather than four cartouches;<sup>298</sup> moreover, the problem could be illusory if the figure taken to be Smenkhkarē were indeed Nefertiti—unless, that is, a male Smenkhkarē took over some of that lady's characteristics vis-à-vis Akhenaten when he assumed her name.<sup>299</sup> At present, all that can be said with certainty about this stela is that it represents two rulers who may be the coregents Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē.<sup>300</sup> Another Hermopolis block (736/I) has been interpreted as showing the two kings in a similar pose,<sup>301</sup> but the identification of these fragmentary legs and torsos is quite speculative. Finally, the statuette known as the "kissing kings" is equally dubious; in fact the figure seated on the king's lap bears no mark of sovereignty and the round bonnet it is wearing leaves little doubt that it is female.<sup>302</sup>

There are, however, some fragments that probably do represent the coregents. Hermopolis 406/VII shows two pairs of adult legs followed by a smaller female figure.<sup>303</sup> Roeder is probably

296. J. R. Harris, "Nefertiti Rediviva," *Acta Orientalia* 35 (1973) 5-13; but see now Sayed Tawfik, "Aton Studies: 3. Back Again to Nefer-nefru-Aton," *MDAIK* 31 (1975) 159-68.

297. Suggested by E. F. Wente.

298. Amenophis IV (two cartouches) offering to Amenophis III (nomen only) and Tiye: *PM* I/1 (2d ed.) 298 (2); Ptolemy VI (two cartouches) associated with Ptolemy VII (as "his brother, King Ptolemy"): S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna* II (*FIFAO*, "Esna" [1963]) 7-11, 39-40 (Esna temple); *PM* II (2d ed.) 403 (15)-(16).I (Deir el-Medina temple).

299. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, p. 163; on Nefertiti's divine role see Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, pp. 19-20, and J. A. Wilson, "Akhenaten and Nefertiti," *JNES* 32 (1973) 235-41.

300. The dating of this stela to late in the reign of Akhenaten, on stylistic grounds (Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, pp. 58-66, 184), might support this view; but given the rough workmanship of the piece, is the attribution to the late rather than to the middle period certain?

301. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 49-50 (C.IV.3); idem, *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis*. I: *Hermopolis, 1929-39* ("Pelizaeus Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung," Vol. 4 [Hildesheim, 1959]) Pl. 41 q.

302. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 165 (Fig. 54); cf. similar caps worn by princesses of the queen, pp. 177 (No. 105), 189 (No. 120), 190-91 (No. 121), 192 (No. 123), *pace* Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 51 (C.V.1).

303. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 50 (C.IV.5); idem, "Amarna-Blöcke aus Hermopolis," *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 164, Pl. XI.1.

correct in seeing the two males here as Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē, because the first two figures are wearing kilts with uraeus sashes, an exclusive prerogative of kings. The third figure may, however, belong to one of the younger daughters, rather than to the already mature Meritaten.<sup>304</sup> Another block, Hermopolis 461/VII, shows most of the head and shoulders of Akhenaten, directly behind which there is a hand raised in adoration. Since this hand is on the level of Akhenaten's blue crown, Roeder argues that the lost figure behind the king must have been Smenkhkarē, not Nefertiti.<sup>305</sup> The position of this hand in relation to the figure in front is reminiscent of the gesture of Ay's wife Tiye in their tomb at Amarna.<sup>306</sup> It is a fact, however, that Nefertiti is always represented smaller than her husband and her hand never appears so high behind him.<sup>307</sup> Finally, a jar sealing from Amarna (Berlin 21 331) shows two seated figures and behind them a standing, almost effaced female under the Aton's rays. The rear seated figure wears a blue crown and his arm is placed familiarly on the shoulder of the front figure, who wears some sort of wig and whose face is turned toward his partner.<sup>308</sup> Roeder is surely correct in arguing that the front figure is not the queen seated on Akhenaten's lap,<sup>309</sup> and the group could thus represent Akhenaten embracing Smenkhkarē, with Meritaten or one of his other daughters standing behind them. The seal was found in the same context as another that mentions Princess 'Ankhesenpaaten, however, so it

304. It has been suggested that Meritaten was the mother of "Meritaten Junior" (Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs*, Pls. 109 [478/VII A], 159 [364/VIII]) and her younger sister, Meketaten, probably had a child when she died (Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 241-42), as did possibly Akhenaten's third daughter, 'Ankhesenpaaton (Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs*, Pls. 19 [243/VI], 200 [PC 192]). Pace W. Helck ("Die Tochterheirat ägyptischer Könige," *CdE* 44 [1969] 22-25), it would seem impossible that Prince Tut'ankhaton was the father (see now F. F. Leek, *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* [TTS V (1972)] pp. 19-20). On the claims of Kiya, Akhenaten's other wife, to have been the mother of the younger Amarna princesses see now J. R. Harris, "Kiya," *CdE* 49 (1974) 25-30.

305. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 50 (C.IV.4), Pl. v a.

306. *El Amarna* VI, Pl. XXXVIII (upper).

307. *Ibid.*, I-VI, passim. The only exception known to me is in the royal tomb at Amarna (U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, and G. Jéquier, *Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Egypte*, Pt. I: *Les Tombes de Khoutatonou* [Mem. Miss. VIII (Cairo, 1903)] Pl. VI), and this anomaly may be due to the arrangement of the figures under the Aton's rays.

308. Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 48 (C.III.5), with Fig. 1.

309. Aldred (*Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 134) illustrates the latter pose.

may represent this princess together with her father and Prince Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhuaton.<sup>310</sup>

## 2. Figures of Smenkhkarē Presumably Associated with Akhenaten

A block found at Memphis depicts Smenkhkarē advancing behind a larger figure, mostly vanished but wearing a long, flowing robe.<sup>311</sup> Smenkhkarē is identified on an adjoining block by his two cartouches, along with a cartouche for Meritaten. As of this writing, these blocks have not been relocated for study,<sup>312</sup> and no photograph is available. The drawing reveals two points, however, that are worth mentioning. First, there is Smenkhkarē's smaller size in relation to the large figure in front of him; second, and more important, is the fly whisk that he bears, quite uncharacteristic for royal iconography but completely in order for an official attending the king.<sup>313</sup> One suspects that Smenkhkarē's was originally a nonroyal figure that was altered to reflect his new royal status. If so, this alteration could as easily have taken place after the elder king's death as during the coregency.

## 3. Names of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē Associated on Various Objects

A fragmentary stela found at Amarna, now at University College, London (No. 410), was inscribed with the kings' names and probably their figures as well.<sup>314</sup> The cartouches—two for Akh-

310. For these objects see Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958) 48.

311. *PM* III 220; P. E. Newberry, "Akhenaten's Eldest Son-in-Law, 'Ankhkheprurē'," *JEA* 14 (1928) 8, Figs. 3-4.

312. J. R. Harris, "Desiderata," *GM* 11 (1974) 9.

313. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, Pls. 52-53 (royal children); *El Amarna* I, Pls. VIII, XXX (officials). See Borchartdt, *Sa3ḥu-re<sup>c</sup>* I 31-32; II, Pls. 17, 32-34, 48; cf. the transformations effected by kings on their earlier princely figures at the Ramesseum and at Medinet Habu: *PM* II (2d ed.) 438 (19)-(20), 502 (105), (107). Beatrix Löhr, on the other hand ("Aḥanjāti in Memphis," *SAK* 2 [1975] 155-57), suggests that the smaller figure on the Memphis block was originally a woman's. This would be in line with speculation on the supposed identity of Smenkhkarē with Nefertiti (see Harris, *GM* 4 [1973] 15-17), but this fragment should be found and collated before firm conclusions are drawn.

314. Julia Samson in *CoA* III 231-33, Pls. CVII.2-3, CVIII; idem, *Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Key Pieces from the Petrie Collection* (London, 1972) pp. 103-6, Pl. 55; G. T. Martin, review of Samson, *Amarna*, in *JEA* 60 (1974) 268; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part One: The New Kingdom* (Warminster, 1976) p. 22, Pl. 12.

enaten, followed by two for Smenkhkarē—are located to the right of the central sun disk on Fragment *a*; a similar set of names may have stood to the left of the disk, but this portion of the stela is lost. Underneath, the joining of the several fragments now reveals that two figures had stood on either side, both pairs facing the middle of the stela. The figures on the right (Cairo Fragment), under the preserved cartouches, are indubitably a man followed by a woman. The figures on the left (Fragments *b* + *c*) are less well preserved; all that can be said of the front figure is that it wore a long, transparent gown that hung to its ankles (sometimes a feature of the king's costume), while behind the rear leg of the second figure there falls a streamer that can be a feature of either a king's or a queen's dress.<sup>315</sup> What could be reconstructed from these traces is a scene that showed two couples—Akhenaten with Nefertiti(?), and Smenkhkarē with Meritaten—facing one another under the disk's rays. The parallel between this and the lintel from the tomb of Huya (see 6*b*)—itself probably a commemorative piece—is striking, and if the title before Smenkhkarē's nomen is to be read "sole lord" (*nb w'*), as Stewart tentatively proposes, the stela could be dated to Smenkhkarē's sole rule, after the senior partner's death. Regrettably, the traces are interpreted differently by others who have studied the original (Sampson, Martin); "Lord of the Strong Arm" (*nb ḥpš*) may possibly to be derived from Martin's copy. Even so, the placement of this monument in a coregency period remains dubious, given the parallel. Since the juxtaposition of the names of the two kings is doubtfully related to the male and female figures beneath them, there is reason to question the nature of the association of the two pairs of cartouches—whether indicative of a genuine coregency or a result of posthumous memorialization.

A box found in the tomb of Tut'ankhamun also bears the names of Akhenaten with those of Smenkhkarē (called "Nefernefruaton Beloved of Wa'enrē") and Meritaten; two knobs belonging to this piece are inscribed for Smenkhkarē alone.<sup>316</sup> The significance of the "Nefernefruaton"-name will be discussed presently, while the whole question of such juxtaposition as a criterion for coregency must be reserved for Chapter 4.

315. For the streamer as part of the queen's costume, see Davies, *Amarna* I, Pl. XXII (also worn by Akhenaten). The other features discussed in the text are all standard usage.

316. Newberry, *JEA* 14 (1928) 4-5; the knobs were noticed by me in the Cairo Museum.

Finally, the cartouches of Akhenaten, Smenkhkarē, and Meritaten seem to have figured in the decoration of the "window room" of the great gate at the north end of Akhetaten. Regrettably, this material is not fully published and no information on the form of Smenkhkarē's name there is available.<sup>317</sup>

4. Appearance of Smenkhkarē in a Tomb Belonging to a Contemporary of Akhenaten.

Smenkhkarē (with this nomen) and Meritaten appear to have been represented on the north (i.e., back) wall of the front chamber in the tomb of Meryrē II at Amarna. If the tomb was carved from the front, this would have been one of the last reliefs to be executed, and in fact no work beyond this point seems to have been done. The scene itself appears to have been hastily sketched in ink; only the cartouches were carved and these quite roughly.<sup>318</sup> There is no evidence that the cartouches, now mostly removed by thieves, were ever those of Akhenaten and Nefertiti,<sup>319</sup> and there is no way of knowing whether they were carved during or after the coregency.

The foregoing review has yielded some unequivocal cases in which the names and figures of Akhenaten and his son-in-law are juxtaposed. The schematic association of their names in a building at Amarna (see 3, above) is especially plausible as proof of a coregency, although other occurrences could be interpreted as posthumous memorials. This uncertainty, in turn, raises the problem of Smenkhkarē's sole reign: was it substantial,<sup>320</sup> ephemeral,<sup>321</sup> or nonexistent?<sup>322</sup> The evidence is so meager

317. J. D. S. Pendlebury, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah, 1931-1932," *JEA* 18 (1932) 144. But G. T. Martin has informed me that no reference to this material is found in the papers that Pendlebury deposited with the Egypt Exploration Society, so it is not likely that a more specific discussion will appear.

318. *El Amarna* II 43-44, Pl. XLI.

319. *PM* IV 213-14 (9)-(10), misinterpreting Davies in *El Amarna* II 43-44; cf. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 175, n. 36.

320. Helck, *CdE* 44 (1969) 203-8.

321. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 172-82; cf. Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969) 278.

322. Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs*, pp. 380-81; cf. other references in Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 176, n. 37.

that even a substantial review would probably add very little, but a few observations can be offered toward the end of an eventual solution.

Akhenaten's successor is known to us under two basic variants of his names. The variants, in turn, show certain internal differences, as may be appreciated from the tabular summary below.

- A-1. PRAENOMEN:  $\text{'nh-hprw-r'}$ .  
 NOMEN:  $\text{Smnh-k3-r' dsr-hprw}$ .

From Memphis, the relief of Smenkhkarē discussed above in section 2; from Amarna, the cartouches in the tomb of Meryrē II discussed in section 4, a pair of hieratic docketts dated to a regnal year one,<sup>323</sup> a clay sealing,<sup>324</sup> a stamped mud brick,<sup>325</sup> and innumerable ring bezels and clay molds.<sup>326</sup>

- A-2. PRAENOMEN:  $\text{'nh-hprw-r' . . .}$   
 NOMEN:  $\text{Smnh-k3-r' dsr-hprw}$ .

From Amarna, a seal impression; the additional epithet in the praenomen is broken away.<sup>327</sup>

- B-1. PRAENOMEN:  $\text{'nh-hprw-r' mrj W'-n-r'}$ .  
 NOMEN:  $\text{Nfr-nfrw-jtn mrj 3h-n-jtn}$ .

From Amarna, Stela London University College 410 (see 3, above) and a fragmentary block with three preserved columns of text: "son of Rē Nefernefruatōn Beloved of . . . / king's daughter of his body . . . ('Ankhes) / enpa-Aton . . ." <sup>328</sup> Another occurrence of the "Nefernefruatōn" name claimed by Roeder<sup>329</sup> is so fragmentary that the king in question could easily be Akhenaten.

323. CoA III 164, Pl. LXXXVI 35-36.

324. Ibid., II, Pl. L 29.

325. Ibid., III 150, 194 (F), Pl. LXXXIII iii.

326. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894) Pl. XV 92-105; CoA I 23, 170-72; II 15-16, 23, 25, 31-35, 38, 41-43, 46-47, 50, 52, 56-57.

327. CoA III, Pl. C 23-24.

328. Ibid., pp. 231-32 (Stela London UC 410); Roeder, *Amarna Reliefs*, Pl. 10 (826/VIII A), p. 380.

329. Ibid., p. 380, Pl. 19 (989/VIII A).

- B-2. PRAENOMEN:  $\text{'}nh\text{-}hprw\text{-}r^c\text{ }mrj\text{ }W^c\text{-}n\text{-}r^c$ .  
 NOMEN:  $Nfr\text{-}nfrw\text{-}jtn\text{ }mrj\text{ }W^c\text{-}n\text{-}r^c$ .

From Thebes, the graffito of year 3 in the tomb of Parē<sup>330</sup> and a canopic shrine usurped by Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun, where the nomen was Nefernefruatōn + epithet.<sup>331</sup>

- B-3. PRAENOMEN:  $\text{'}nh\text{-}hprw\text{-}r^c\text{ }mrj\text{ }Nfr\text{-}hprw\text{-}r^c$ .  
 NOMEN:  $Nfr\text{-}nfrw\text{-}jtn\text{ }mrj\text{ }W^c\text{-}n\text{-}r^c$ .

From Thebes, the box from Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's tomb (see 3, above).

What emerges most clearly from this review is that the king was known predominantly as "Smenkhkarē" at Amarna but mostly as "Nefernefruatōn" elsewhere, including the inscriptions on the usurped materials prepared for his tomb at Thebes and on the highest dated document from his reign. The existence of a "Mansion of 'Ankhkheprurē in Thebes" (also mentioned in the graffito of year 3) lends further weight to the theory that the king had moved to Thebes by the end of his life.<sup>332</sup> The "didactic" form of the earlier name, compounded with "-rē," need not suggest that this was not a personal name borne prior to Smenkhkarē's accession in the city of the Aton.<sup>333</sup> Akhenaten's two youngest daughters bore similarly constructed names—Nefernefrurē and Setep(et)enrē—and the heretic himself was sometimes informally referred to as "Wa<sup>c</sup>enrē," with no cartouche.<sup>334</sup> Reference to a "house of Smenkh-

330. A. H. Gardiner, "The Graffito from the Tomb of Pere," *JEA* 14 (1928) 10-11. The epithets at the end of both cartouches are only partially preserved, and although the traces in the praenomen could yield *mr Jtn* (as proposed by Tawfik, *MDAIK* 31 [1975] 167), the reading of the nomen seems to be *mr W<sup>c</sup>-n-(R<sup>c</sup>)*. The simplex of the praenomen,  $\text{'}nh\text{-}hprw\text{-}r^c$ , also occurs in this text as a part of the name for the temple, but this is surely an abbreviation of the full name being used at this time.

331. R. Engelbach, "Material for a Revision of the History of the Heresy Period of the XVIIIth Dynasty," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 137. An apparently unpublished object yields another variant:  $\text{'}nh\text{-}hprw\text{-}r^c\text{ }mry\text{ }Jtn$  (praenomen) and  $Nfr\text{-}nfrw\text{-}Jtn\text{ }'p3?'\text{ }hk3$  (nomen): see Harris, *GM* 4 (1973) 15.

332. K. A. Kitchen, "Further Notes on New Kingdom Chronology and History," *CdE* 43 (1968) 320.

333. As maintained by P. Munro, "Die Namen Semenech-ka-Re's," *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 113-16, followed by Helck, *CdE* 44 (1969) 207.

334. For examples of this use of  $W^c\text{-}n\text{-}R^c$  see *El Amarna* IV, Pls. XVIII, XXI, XXXIII col. iii; V, Pls. II (l. 14), XXIX (l. xi); for the two daughters see II, Pl. XXXVIII.

karē the triumphant (*m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw?*)" on a wine jar dated to a regnal year one is not firm evidence that the king held this name at his death.<sup>335</sup> The restoration of the *m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* is speculative, given the traces,<sup>336</sup> and the distribution of the king's names at Amarna makes it unlikely that this is a posthumous reference. The object most commonly found with the king's name at Amarna is the ring bezel, and every one of these pieces appears to refer to him as "Smenkhkarē," never as "Nefernefruaton." The latter form of the name is attested at the heretic capital only by a single stela and by a fragment of a building (B-1 in the table above), and the weight of the evidence does suggest that he became "Nefernefruaton" only after having been known for a substantial period as "Smenkhkarē." On Docket No. 35, moreover, the vintner's title is *ḥry-b<sup>c</sup>ḥ*, the form attested after Akhenaten's twelfth year. Up until the heretic's thirteenth year the form used was *ḥry-k3mw*, and this title comes into use again under Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun, as attested by wine jars in his tomb dated from his years four through nine.<sup>337</sup> At Amarna a number of dockets dated to years one and two employ the *ḥry-b<sup>c</sup>ḥ* form,<sup>338</sup> but one of these documents (dated to a year one) uses *ḥry-k3mw*.<sup>339</sup> This could indicate that the vintner's title changed again during Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's first year, and thus our Docket No. 35 would belong to the reign of Smenkhkarē. Regrettably this argument is not as solid as it looks because these titles show a degree of fluctuation and *ḥry-k3mw* occurs sporadically during Akhenaten's last years.<sup>340</sup> The same might have been true during Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's first year as well,<sup>341</sup> but this bare possibility does not detract from the greater likelihood of the dating to Smenkhkarē. It is perhaps significant that dockets from regnal year three are quite rare at Amarna,<sup>342</sup> and none of these are wine jars. This situation could be explained by the assumption that the vintage of year three was directed to Thebes, where the king (as "Nefernefruaton") was clearly active at this time. If it is further assumed that the foundation of Smenkhkarē's mortuary temple at Thebes was a break

335. CoA III, Pl. LXXXVI 35.

336. Ibid., Pl. XCVIII 35.

337. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, pp. 21-24 (Nos. 1-23).

338. CoA II, Pl. LVIII 11; III, Pls. LXXXVI 35, 58, LXXXIX 121, XC 165.

339. Ibid., Pl. LVIII 55.

340. Ibid., Pls. LXXXVI 37 (year 13), LXXXV 23 (year 14), LXXXVIII 76 (year 16), LXXXVI 51 (year 17).

341. Helck, *CdE* 44 (1969) 207.

342. CoA III, Pl. XCV 280 (honey); Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 32 (oil).



with the past that would have been feasible only after Akhenaten's death, the maximum length of the coregency could be set at two years. It would be at about the same time that the "Nefernefruaton" name appeared, in which Akhenaten figures in the same role that the traditional gods were to hold in the nomina of the Ramesside kings (e.g., Ramesses Meryamun).<sup>343</sup> Taken cumulatively the evidence may indicate that Akhenaten died during Smenkhkarē's second year, and this probability may as well serve until a more definite chronology can be established.

TUT<sup>c</sup>ANKHAMUN AND AY

The materials that have been adduced to support the coregency of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun and Ay are unfortunately either inadequately published or not published at all. The following discussion does not pretend to say the final word, but it may have some provisional value until the materials are better known.

- a) A fragment of a small obelisk, now in Strassbourg, is inscribed with three *nb.tj* names: sides *a* and *c*, *šm pḥty, dr . . .*; side *b*, *ntr(j)-ḥ(w)*; and side *d*, *m3<sup>c</sup> pr-psdt(?)*.<sup>344</sup> The first name is more plausibly assigned to Ay (*nb.tj* name: *šm pḥty, dr Sttjw*)<sup>345</sup> than to Sety I: Sety's *nb.tj* name can be *šm pḥty, dr pdt-psdt*, but the most frequently used form is *šm ḥpš* etc.<sup>346</sup> The other two names have no parallels, and despite attempts to identify them with names of Smenkhkarē<sup>347</sup> or Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun<sup>348</sup> they remain a mystery. Smenkhkarē's *nb.tj* name is thus far unknown, while Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun is usually called *nfr-ḥpw, sgrḥ t3wy*,<sup>349</sup>

343. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 177.

344. W. Spiegelberg, "Varia. LXXI. Neue Königsprotokolle aus der Echnatonperiode," *RT* 26 (1904) 143-44; cf. Harris, *GM* 11 (1974) 9. For *pr-psdt*, the temple of the Heliopolitan Ennead in Heliopolis, see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* II (Cairo, 1925) 78.

345. *Idem*, *LdR* II 375-78 (VI, VII, XII, XVI).

346. The three occurrences of *šm-pḥty* are *ibid.*, III 10 (II), 22 (XXXIV), and 21 (XXXIX).

347. *Ibid.*, II 363 (II).

348. K. C. Seele, "King Ay and the Close of the Amarna Age," *JNES* 14 (1955) 177, n. 50.

349. For examples see *Urk* IV 2054-59.

and exceptionally *wr ḥ Jmn*.<sup>350</sup> Haremhab is consistently called *wr bj3w m Jpt-swt*.<sup>351</sup> The unfamiliar names on the Strassbourg fragment could be variants belonging to any of these kings, or even to Ay himself.<sup>352</sup> In any case, the material is too ambiguous to serve as proof of a coregency.

- b) In the early 1950s Chevrier extracted numerous fragmentary architraves, square pillars, etc. from the second pylon at Karnak.<sup>353</sup> These are in the process of being copied and published,<sup>354</sup> so the following comments, based on my own observations at Karnak, are in the nature of an interim report. The architrave fragments are inscribed on both sides, the "recto" with a single line, the "verso" with a double line of text, Ay's titulary being carved above that of Tut'ankhamun. The two kings are also named on blocks that apparently form part of separate scenes, and their names occur separately on the square pillars as well. Apart from the architraves, then, it would appear that Ay's and Tut'ankhamun's names were not widely juxtaposed in this temple.<sup>355</sup> There is also at least one block, carved in raised relief and elegantly painted, on which Ay's cartouches, though now erased, were apparently original. Some portion of this building, then, was probably erected by Ay himself, but the nature of his contribution—whether jointly with Tut'ankhamun or following his death—remains problematical. Notably, on the "verso" of the architraves it is Ay who enjoys pride of place above Tut'ankhamun. Such precedence by a titular junior partner over a senior would not be without precedent (e.g., Hatshepsut over Tuthmosis III), and it would be consistent with Ay's alleged role of elder statesman under Tut'ankhamun. But the material also lends itself to the view that

350. Ibid., p. 2062 (No. 788).

351. *LdR* II 384 (IX C), 388 (XXIV), 389 (XXVIII), 390 (XXXVI A), 391 (XXXVIII, XLI); the amulet (p. 392 [XLIII]) is not conclusively identified as his.

352. Cf. the "festival names" of Tuthmosis III, *ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

353. H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1951-1952)," *ASAE* 52 (1954) 230, Pl. I; *idem*, *ASAE* 53 (1956) 8, Pl. I.

354. O. Schaden, "Tutankhamun and Ay Blocks from Karnak" (abstract of a paper) *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 80 (1972) 39-40.

355. Personal observation at Karnak; *pace* the doubts of Hari, *Moutnedjemet*, pp. 177-78.

Ay was an interloper in his predecessor's building, and it may be significant that one of the pillar fragments that bears Ay's name describes the structure as "the mansion of Nebkheprurē [i.e., Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun] in Thebes" (*ḥwt Nb-ḥprw-r<sup>c</sup> m W3st*). Obviously no definitive statement regarding the building's history can be made before the whole corpus of material has been studied, but compelling proof for a coregency is not to be found here.

It must be re-emphasized that our knowledge of historical events during the immediate post-Amarna period is sketchy indeed. Clearly Ay was on the throne very shortly after Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's death, as he appears as king in the wall paintings of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's tomb.<sup>356</sup> Beyond this, there is no certainty that Ay progressed from a position of virtual regency (as vizier) to the kingship during Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's lifetime,<sup>357</sup> nor can it be established that such an association between a very aged man and an adolescent would be "by its very nature, exceedingly improbable."<sup>358</sup> The onus of proof lies on the proponent of a coregency, and it must be said that evidence to support a coregency so far is not good.

#### AY AND HAREMHAB

The possibility that Ay designated Haremhab as his heir apparent and even raised him to coregent has been posited on the basis of an ambiguous reference to Haremhab before his coronation as "eldest son of Horus" (*s3 smsw n Ḥr*), the Horus in question being identified with his predecessor, King Ay.<sup>359</sup> The passage that contains this expression is from Haremhab's coronation inscription, recounting the culmination of his rise in power and influence at the end of the Amarna period:

[Now when many days] had passed over these things, the eldest son of Horus being supreme chief and Hereditary Prince of this entire land, lo, this noble god of Hnēs, his heart desired to establish his son, and [he] commanded . . . Amūn. Then did Horus proceed amid rejoicing to Thebes, the city of the Lord of Eternity, his

356. *PM* I/2 (2d ed.) 570 (8).

357. Seele, *JNES* 14 (1955) 176-77.

358. C. Aldred, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 69-70.

359. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

son in his embrace, to Ipet-esut [i.e., Karnak], in order to induct him into the presence of Amūn, for the handing over to him of his office of king and for the making of his period (of life). And lo, [Amūn] . . . [had arisen] in his beautiful festival of Southern Opet [i.e., Luxor]. Then did the Majesty of this god see Horus, lord of Hnēs, his son with him in the King's Induction (*bs-nsw.t*) in order to give to him his office and his throne.<sup>360</sup>

A translation of this passage has been quoted in extenso to support what appears to be the preferred meaning—namely, that Haremhab's divine sponsor was the Horus of his native town rather than the reigning king. The god's "paternity" is established earlier in the text,<sup>361</sup> and the emphasis throughout is on Haremhab's exceptional qualities and on the successes he achieved, quite significantly in despite of the reigning authority: "[And the people were happy] at the utterance(s) of his mouth, he being summoned before the Sovereign, when it, the Palace, fell into rage, and he opened his mouth and answered the king and appeased him with the utterance of his mouth."<sup>362</sup>

The contrast between such rash, vacillating behavior and the quiet, purposeful efficiency of the Egyptian ideal,<sup>363</sup> here personified by Haremhab, could not be stronger. Not only does the coronation inscription allude specifically to the sponsorship of the Horus of Hnēs in Haremhab's advancement to the kingship, its tone is actually inimical to the identification of this "Horus" as the preceding king.

#### HAREMHAB AND RAMESSES I

A coregency of Haremhab and Ramesses I is suggested on the basis of what seems originally to have been a miniature obelisk inscribed with the names of the two kings. The piece was broken in antiquity and probably altered to serve as a weight, so the inscriptions are much damaged. Nonetheless it is possible to read elements of Haremhab's titulary on two of the four sides. The one remaining undamaged side yields traces of a Horus name

360. Translation adapted from A. H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 (1953) 15, ll. 12-14.

361. *Ibid.*, p. 14, ll. 4-5.

362. *Ibid.*, p. 14, l. 7.

363. On this model for behavior see G. Posener, "Literature," in J. R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* (2d ed., rev.; Oxford, 1971) pp. 226-27; cf. R. J. Williams, "Egypt and Israel," *ibid.*, p. 278.

(w3d-*nswyt*) and a *nb.tj* name (*wḥm rnpwt mj Jtmw*) that most plausibly belong to Ramesses I.<sup>364</sup> The form of the *nb.tj* name used here, a variant of the more usual *ḥ<sup>c</sup> m nswt mj Jtmw*,<sup>365</sup> lends particular force to the argument that this is an early monument of Ramesses I and probably dates to a coregency with his predecessor.

#### RAMESES I AND SETY I

When Sety I built his memorial chapel for his father Ramesses I at Abydos he set up a stela in its courtyard that memorialized his piety and described the events during his own and his father's reign leading up to the building of the chapel. This important historical text mentions that Sety had carried out military and administrative functions for his father while the latter was still alive, and this passage has been interpreted to mean that he and Ramesses I had been coregents.<sup>366</sup> The lines in question can be translated as follows:

Behold, I am a son who is effective on behalf of the one who fashioned him, who causes [his name?] to live . . . . I [was] successful (*sbq*) in doing what he said. Let me proclaim what I did in his presence until I began to rule (*nfryt r ḥq3.j*) the Two Banks: it was like the Bull of Righteousness that I came forth from the womb, I being filled with the ways of the instruction (*šḥrw sb3yt*); while he was a Sun [or "Rē"?] who gave out sunbeams on his own behalf (*djw n.f stwt*), I was with him, like a star, at his side . . . . I [smote] for [him] the Fenkhu-people, I brought back for him the dissidents from upon the deserts, I protected Egypt for him according to his desire, and I tied on his kingship for him therein, like Horus on the throne of Wenennefer [i.e., Osiris]; I selected righteousness for him every day, and I lifted it up while it was at my breast . . . . I assembled his army and caused it to be of a single heart; I sought out for him the situation of the Two Lands, and I performed my deeds of valor (*ḥpš.j*) for him in protecting his limbs while in foreign lands whose names are not known; I acted the bold and energetic man (*pr-<sup>c</sup> qn*) in his presence until [or "so that"?] he opened his eyes to my goodness. When he joined heaven, I [stood] in his place.<sup>367</sup>

364. C. Aldred, "Two Monuments from the Reign of Ḥoremḥeb," *JEA* 54 (1968) 100-3 with Figs. 1-4 and Pl. XVII.1.

365. *LdR* III 2-8.

366. R. O. Faulkner, "Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III," *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 216.

367. S. Schott, "Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I.

The exact import of this eulogy is not clear. Sety does say that the events to be described are those down to the period of his sovereign rule, and he portrays himself as a star, subordinate to the brilliance of the king/sun, his father. There is, however, the ambiguous phrase, "I tied on his [i.e., Ramesses'] kingship for him [or "on his behalf"?] therein, like Horus," etc., which could mean either that Sety consolidated his father's kingship or assumed it himself. It must be admitted that the sense of the passage as a whole, particularly the final two sentences, tends to give the impression that Sety was king in all but actual name until the death of his father.<sup>368</sup>

A recently published statue base from Medâmûd, however, reopens the question, for two sets of inscriptions carved symmetrically on opposite sides formally divide this piece between the two kings. The text on the right side is: "live the Good God, the likeness of RĒ who shines on the Two Lands like the Horizon-dweller; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, joyful ruler, Lord of the Two Lands MenpehtyrĒ, given life like RĒ forever"; on the left is, "live the Good God, the star of the land, at whose appearance everyone lives; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands Menma'atrĒ, given life like RĒ forever." On the upper side of the base, in front of where the statue would have been, is the name of "the Good God Menma'atrĒ [apparently altered from "MenpehtyrĒ"], given life."<sup>369</sup> This last detail insures that the original donor of the statue was Ramesses I, and if it is assumed that the inscriptions on the sides were carved at the same time as the above, the piece must count as strong evidence favoring a coregency. Regrettably one cannot be certain that Ramesses was alive at the time simply on the basis of the fact that both kings are referred to as *ntr nfr*, "Good God," since the deceased Ramesses I is referred to in this manner at several points in the chapel built for him in Sety's Qurnah temple.<sup>370</sup> The reference to Sety's "appearance" (*h'c·f*) is similarly deceptive, for this term need not necessarily pertain to

in Abydos" (*NAWG* [1964, No. 1]) 19-21, cf. Pl. II; *KRI* I 111.7-15.

368. Cf. the view of L.-A. Christophe, "La Carrière du prince Merneptah et les trois régences ramessides," *ASAE* 51 (1951) 335-72, who denies that there was any true coregency under the 19th Dynasty practice of kingship.

369. A.-P. Zivie, "Un Monument associant les noms de Ramsès I et de Séthi I," *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 99-104, Pl. XXVIII.

370. Pace Zivie, *ibid.*, p. 105 (a): scenes located at Nelson, *Key Plans*, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1, 294, 310, 312.

the king's accession,<sup>371</sup> and it might be used here only because of Sety's "stellar" image. It is this last, however, that is the most convincing evidence that the entire piece was carved during Ramesses I's lifetime, for here, as on his son's historical inscription, Ramesses is the "sun" and Sety is only the "star" beside him.<sup>372</sup> If this locution is considered unlikely after Ramesses' death, the alternative of coregency becomes very attractive.

Further support for this coregency has been sought in the stelae of Ramesses' second and Sety's first regnal years which were set up at Wadi Halfa. Since their wording is practically identical, it is thought that both were set up during a coregency.<sup>373</sup> The association of the two kings' names on Ramesses' stela, however, is confined to a marginal inscription apparently added by Sety and attesting his continuing interest in the monument.<sup>374</sup> Sety's own stela is probably a confirmation of the endowment made by his father, and would logically have been issued on his accession to sole rule. For if the endowment had been a joint venture from the very beginning, why the need for two stelae instead of one?

#### SETHNAKHT AND RAMESSES III

A coregency of Sethnakht and Ramesses III was suggested by Budge<sup>375</sup> and Petrie,<sup>376</sup> but the question seems not to have been dealt with more recently.<sup>377</sup> The basis for a coregency is one of the chapels in the so-called Sanctuary of Ptah between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens, a monument apparently

371. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 3-27.

372. Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 109-14.

373. Faulkner, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 216; texts, *KRI* I 2-3 (Ramesses I), 37-38 (Sety I).

374. Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972) 109-10.

375. E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt: From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30: V. Egypt under Ramesses the Great* ("Books on Egypt and Chaldaea" XIII [London, 1902]) 146-47.

376. W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt III: From the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties* (3d ed., rev.; London, 1925) 136.

377. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt: From the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (2d ed., rev.; London, 1925) pp. 457-77; idem, "The Decline and Fall of the Egyptian Empire," *CAH* II (1st ed.) 172; J. M. A. Janssen, *Ramses III* (Leiden, 1948) p. 17; Faulkner, *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 241.

decorated jointly by Ramesses III and his predecessor.<sup>378</sup> The chapel consists of two panels to the left and right of a central recess. On the right-hand panel Ramesses III, followed by the vizier Hori, offers to Rē-Harakhti; on the left-hand one, Sethnakht offers to Amun-Rē, and he is followed by a man whose titles are lost except for "god's father, beloved of the god" (*jt-ntr, mry-ntr*) at the bottom of the first column, and a -t in the final column, perhaps belonging to "vizier" (*t3ty*). If so, the figure is probably also that of Hori, whose career spanned the reigns of Sety II through Ramesses III.<sup>379</sup> The inscriptions at the sides of the central shrine (as well as those below the two panels) are mostly gone, and they do not yield any significant information. On the lintel, however, kneeling figures of Ramesses III (on the right) and Sethnakht (on the left) face one another, and behind these figures a frieze of *hkr*-signs, vultures, and cartouches of Ramesses III (right) and Sethnakht (left) continues over the panels. There is little doubt that the association was deliberate, and a coregency is as plausible an explanation as any.

#### NEPHERKHERES AND PSUSENNES I

In the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis were found two bow finials on which his name is juxtaposed with that of Nephherkheres.<sup>380</sup> A coregency is viewed by some scholars as a probable explanation for these pieces,<sup>381</sup> although others have been reluctant to decide this on the basis of such meager evidence.<sup>382</sup>

#### PSUSENNES I AND AMENEMOPE

A fragmentary mummy bandage preserves the text, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Amenemope, year 49." Since it is impossible

378. Bruyère, *Mert-Seger* I 37-39, Pl. V; collated by me in the spring of 1972.

379. Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 460-62, plus bibliographic details added in Černý's review, *BiOr* 19 (1962) 143.

380. P. Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis II: Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951) 105 (Nos. 413-14), 108 (Fig. 44 at No. 413).

381. K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973) p. 71.

382. E. F. Wente, "On the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967) 155, n. 4; J. Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 645.



that both Psusennes I and his son Amenemope enjoyed reigns of forty years or more,<sup>383</sup> scholars have sought to explain the bandage text by postulating a coregency. The original would thus have read, "[year x of] King Amenemope, year 49 [of King Psusennes I]."<sup>384</sup> If it is further believed (following Africanus's copy of Manetho) that Psusennes ruled (alone) for forty-six years, his year 47 would have been equal to year 1 of Amenemope and the total length of the coregency would have been about three years.<sup>385</sup> This is plausible enough, but not conclusive; the bandage fragment may preserve parts of two completely unrelated texts,<sup>386</sup> although admittedly the reconstruction would tally with similar date-lines from this period. More serious objections can be based on the interpretation of Manetho's figures (so erratic for the Eighteenth Dynasty and perhaps also unreliable here) and of the date-line itself. Notably, the two sets of regnal years may simply follow one another without any of the formulas (e.g., *nty m*, *hft*) that normally express equivalence in double dates.<sup>387</sup> If the missing year of Amenemope be restored as "1," the text may merely indicate that his accession year fell within the civil year that was also regnal year 49 of Psusennes I, that is, following the old king's death.

#### OSORKON I AND SHOSHENQ 'II'

The name "Shoshenq II" is generally given to the Pharaoh Heqakheperrē Shoshenq, whose burial was discovered in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis.<sup>388</sup> Kitchen has argued convincingly that the form of his praenomen belongs to the earlier part of the Twenty-second Dynasty, before standardization had set in under Osorkon II.<sup>389</sup> At about the same time there is mention of a Shoshenq who was a son of Osorkon I by Ma'atkarē, daughter

383. See now Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 24-39.

384. Hornung, *Chronologie*, pp. 103-4; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 32-34.

385. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 33, n. 143; cf. Waddell, *Manetho*, p. 155.

386. Wente, *JNES* 26 (1967) 173.

387. J. von Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and Their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)," *JARCE* 5 (1966) 50 (13), 51 (24), 52 (26) with the formula *nty (m)*; de Morgan, *Catalogue I* 25 (No. 178) with the formula *hft*.

388. Montet, *Nécropole royale de Tanis II* 36-63.

389. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 119.

of Psusennes II. On two monuments of this man, who was a high priest of Amun and an army leader, his name is enclosed in a cartouche as "Shoshenq Meryamun."<sup>390</sup> It is entirely plausible that this individual is identical with Heqakheperrē Shoshenq, and unless it can be proved that Takelot I did not succeed his father immediately on the latter's death it would seem that there can have been no sole reign for this Heqakheperrē. Like Ptolemy Eupator, he must have reigned solely as his father's junior partner during a coregency.<sup>391</sup>

#### OSORKON II AND HARSİĒSE

Cairo Statue 42208 preserves a text of High Priest and King Harsiēse, carved on the top of the stela held by the figure. Another text, naming Osorkon II, is inscribed on the panther skin that the figure is wearing.<sup>392</sup> Given the probable limits of Harsiēse's career within the reign of Osorkon II, it seems likely that the statue commemorates a "coregency" along the lines of the familiar Twenty-first Dynasty model. Like several of the Theban pontiffs before him, Harsiēse assumed the royal dignity in Upper Egypt as the nominal "partner" of the dynastic ruler at Tanis. His death put an end to this adventure, and Osorkon II moved quickly to fill the vacuum with a more loyal and less over-mighty subject. The disintegration of the country into several virtually independent principalities was arrested for a time, but the "reign" of Harsiēse was a harbinger of things to come.<sup>393</sup>

#### PI'ANKHY AND SHABAKO

The coregency of Pi'ankhy and Shabako was proposed by Hall<sup>394</sup> because Pi'ankhy, described as "living forever" (*ḥꜣ dt*), is mentioned on British Museum statue No. 24,429, which dates to Shabako's fifteenth year. The probability of this association has

390. G. Legrain, "Le Dossier de la famille Nibnoutirou," *RT* 30 (1908) 89; *LdR* III 331 (xxviii 1, D-E).

391. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 117-20.

392. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes III* (CGC [1914]) 20-21.

393. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 108, 314-16; for a different, more inimical view of this coregency see H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* ("Probleme der Aegyptologie" IV [Leiden, 1964]) pp. 109-14.

394. "The Ethiopians and Assyrians in Egypt," *CAH* III (1st ed.) 277.

been disputed on chronological grounds by Leclant and Yoyotte.<sup>395</sup> Furthermore, as will be shown below in an appendix, the mere use of such an epithet with respect to a king is hardly good reason to believe that he was alive at the time, especially when there is evidence to the contrary.

#### SHABAKO AND SHEBITKU

It has been suggested that Nile Quay Inscription No. 33 shows that Shebitku was crowned during his own third regnal year, the occasion being his accession to sole rule following a coregency with his predecessor Shabako.<sup>396</sup> The relevant passage reads as follows: "Now his Majesty appeared in the mansion of Amun the god (*hwt Jmn ntr*), inasmuch as he [i.e., Amun] caused for him his appearance on behalf of the two serpent goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, like Horus on the throne of Rē."<sup>397</sup> Arguments against the proposed coregency have been based on chronological improbabilities,<sup>398</sup> and in fact the text itself need not refer to an accession or coronation at all. Rather, it seems simply to record an "appearance" of Shebitku in the temple of Amun during his third year and to acknowledge the god's influence in securing his initial "appearance" as king. These two occasions are not represented here as having been identical, and there is no reason to suppose that they were.

When recent refinements in chronology are taken into account, however, a coregency for Shabako and Shebitku seems to be required. Shabako began ruling in 713 B.C. and reigned at least into his fifteenth year, that is, 699 B.C. This would seem to leave ample room for Shebitku (for whom regnal year 3 is the highest known

395. J. Leclant and J. Yoyotte, "Notes d'histoire et de civilization éthiopiennes. A propos d'un ouvrage récent," *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 25, n. 3; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 378.

396. L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* ("Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte" II [Cairo, 1935]) pp. 74-77; M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I: The Inscriptions* (London, 1949) 19.

397. Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966) 53 (No. 33).

398. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51 (1951) 24-27; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 383. A coregency would seem to be required if Manetho's dates are adhered to as a minimum for the period (A. Spalinger, "The Year 712 B.C. and its Implications for Egyptian History," *JARCE* 10 [1973] 95-101), but the failure of dated monuments higher than Shebitku's third year raises doubts; see K. Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt. Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXIV," *JNES* 32 (1973) 24-25 (VII).

date) before the accession of Taharqa in 690 B.C. But there is reason to believe that Taharqa was already on the scene more than a decade earlier. In connection with Sennacherib's third campaign, the Book of Isaiah 37:8-9 (followed by 2 Kings 19:8-9) records a rumor that "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia" was advancing into Palestine with an army. The reference to Taharqa as king in 701 B.C. would be an anachronism, but if we consider the phrase "king of Ethiopia" to be a reference based on his later accession to the throne, his appearance on the scene as early as 701 B.C. has important implications. Taharqa himself tells us (Kawa stelae IV, 7-10, and V, 13-14, 19) that he came north into Egypt as a young man at the behest of King Shebitku. From this it follows that as of 701 B.C. at the latest, Shebitku was already on the throne. If so, his reign would have overlapped that of Shabako by at least two whole years (mid-701 to mid-699 B.C.). One might argue, of course, that the entire reference to Taharqa in 701 B.C. should be dismissed—but whence would such an anachronism come? It would seem reasonable to account for it by supposing that Taharqa was indeed present, as a king's son, and that he was retrospectively "promoted" in the Biblical record after he had become king. This determination would give Shebitku a coregency of at least two years with his predecessor Shabako.<sup>399</sup>

For the record, mention should be made of a stela in the Turin Museum that depicts Shabako and Shebitku (the one seated behind the other) facing two other persons across an offering table. The piece is an acknowledged modern production, however, so the association of the two kings in it should not be taken in evidence.<sup>400</sup>

#### SHEBITKU AND TAHARQA

The case for a coregency of Shebitku and Taharqa has been evolved from the inscriptions left by Taharqa at the Gem-Aton temple at Kawa. Inscription IV (ll. 7-16) records that King Shebitku sent for Prince Taharqa and that the latter, on his way from Nubia, passed the site of the temple and noted its ruinous condition. After he became king, Taharqa called to mind "this

399. For Taharqa's advent in Egypt, see Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I* 15, 28, and Pls. 8, 10. The chronological factors can be pieced together from the sources cited in the preceding footnote. The entire question will be discussed by Franklin J. Yurco in a forthcoming study, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign and the Coregency of Shabaka and Shebitku."

400. A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. V. Lanzzone, *Regio Museo di Torino. Antichità egizie* (Turin, 1882) p. 126 (No. 1467).

temple which he beheld as a youth in the first year of his reign," and, in the present inscription, dated to his own sixth year, he ordered it rebuilt. If, as the above translation suggests, the visit to the temple occurred during Taharqa's first year as king, it must follow that he was associated on the throne shortly after his arrival in Thebes. And since Taharqa waited to begin his building operations at Kawa until his sixth year, it seems plausible that the coregency lasted for some time before the younger king was able to begin putting his own projects into effect.<sup>401</sup> Confirmation for this solution is sought in another inscription (Kawa V, l. 10) also dated to year six, that mentions "four goodly wonders within one year, even the sixth year of my reign." It is argued that only two of these wonders have been mentioned up to this point in the text—the very high Nile and the great rain-storm in Nubia; the text goes on to mention these two once again, together with Taharqa's coronation and the visit of Queen Mother Abar, to make up four roughly concurrent "wonders."<sup>402</sup> Again it would follow that if Taharqa's accession to sole rule took place during his sixth year, he would have had a five-year coregency with Shebitku. A shorter coregency, considered possible in view of the absence of any double dates during Taharqa's second to fifth years, would give a maximum length of one year to the coregency but would still be based on the previously cited interpretation of Kawa Inscription IV.<sup>403</sup>

All of this evidence, as it turns out, is rather fragile. The nonoccurrence of double dates is hardly significant, especially in the light of the great number of single dates that occur in otherwise well-attested coregency periods.<sup>404</sup> If the verb form in the passage from Kawa Inscription IV is analyzed as a second tense, it yields quite a different meaning: "it was in the first year of his reign that he remembered this temple which he had seen as a youth."<sup>405</sup> The alleged equivalence between Ta-

401. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* I 15-16, 18 (n. 30).

402. *Ibid.*, p. 19 (n. 30).

403. G. Schmidt, "Das Jahr des Regierungsantritts König Taharqas: Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie," *Kush* 6 (1958) 121-30.

404. Q. K. Simpson, "The Single-dated Monuments of Sesostri I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956) 214-19.

405. *sh3.n.f hwt-ntr tn m3(3).n.f m hwn m rnpt tpyt nt h'y.f.* For the delaying of the adverbial adjunct until the end of a sentence, see J. Barns, "Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 58 (1972) 164 (a).

harqa's first year of rule and his visit to Kawa is thereby undermined, and the interpretation becomes more compatible with another passage from Inscription V (ll. 14-15): "I received the crown in Memphis after the hawk had soared to heaven."<sup>406</sup> As Leclant and Yoyotte have pointed out, this sentence explicitly states that Taharqa was crowned only after Shebitku's death,<sup>407</sup> and there is little to commend the alternative theory that the coronation referred to in this inscription applies merely to the junior partner's elevation after his senior coregent's death. Such a distinction, in fact, seems foreign to Egyptian usage,<sup>408</sup> and the more straightforward interpretation of this passage is to be preferred. As for the four "wonders" that lend such support to the coregency theory, these need not include the coronation and visit of the Queen Mother at all, but may be simply the four natural phenomena that by their beneficial results ameliorated the disastrous effects of a high Nile in Egypt and torrential rains in Nubia: "(1) it [i.e., the inundation] caused the cultivation to be good throughout for my sake; (2) it slew the rats and snakes that were in the midst of it; (3) it kept away from it the devouring of locusts; (4) it prevented the south winds from reaping it."<sup>409</sup> The wonders (*bj3w*) of Taharqa, in fact, are quite similar to the extraordinary natural occurrences that qualified as "wonders" (*bj3t*) during the second year of Nebtowyrē Mentuhotep IV in the Wadi Hammamat,<sup>410</sup> and it is tempting to suppose that the sort of "divine manifestation" covered by the term *bj3* embraces such phenomena more comfortably than it would the diverse events proposed by Macadam.<sup>411</sup> The impression that Taharqa had to wait until Shebitku's death to perform suitable benefactions at the Gem-Aton temple seems also to be mistaken. Inscription III at Kawa records a series of donations made by Taharqa from

406. *šsp.n.j ḥ'j m Jnb-ḥd m-ḥt ḥr bjk r pt* (Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* I 28); this may be another second tense: "It was after the hawk had soared up to heaven that I received the diadem in Memphis."

407. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51 (1951) 17-27; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 387.

408. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 26-27.

409. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* I 27 (inscr. V, ll. 11-12); cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51 (1951) 22-24.

410. Couyat and Montet, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, pp. 77 (no. 110 B, l. 2), 97 (No. 191, l. 2); cf. translations in W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben* (ÄA, Vol. 12 [1965]) pp. 263-64 (No. 441), 267-68 (No. 444).

411. On this term and its associates see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3-* (Cologne, 1971) pp. 135-36; he accepts, however, Macadam's reasoning on the *bj3wt* of Taharqa's sixth year (p. 119).

his second through his eighth regnal years. The repairs and alterations made on this temple became a matter of crucial importance, it would seem, only after the extraordinary rainfall of year six had wiped out the brick and soil defenses that Taharqa claimed to disapprove of earlier.<sup>412</sup> Since these observations are made retrospectively from Taharqa's sixth year, the reflections on the inadequacy of the building are probably a matter of hindsight, especially since they justified the labor and expense of repairing the temple once the rains had done their worst.

In sum, all these events can be adequately explained from the information that the Kawa inscriptions plainly give us, and there is no need to postulate any coregency.

#### TAHARQA AND TANTAMANI

Since the end of the last century a coregency for Taharqa and Tantamani has been maintained by some scholars on the following grounds:

- a) The famous Dream Stela of Tantamani begins its narrative with a date, "regnal year one of his being caused to appear (*nt shꜥ·f*) as king [. . .]: it was in the night that his Majesty beheld a dream, etc."<sup>413</sup> Then, after the substance of this vision has been related, we are told that "when his Majesty appeared on the Horus Throne in this year,<sup>414</sup> it was a departing that his Majesty made— as when Horus departed from Akhbīt—from the place in which he was."<sup>415</sup> The royal journey to Napata and his northern campaign are subsequently described.<sup>416</sup> Schäfer<sup>417</sup> would have us understand that Tantamani had been "caused to appear" by his uncle Taharqa, and that on Taharqa's death "in this (very) year" Tantamani proceeded to Napata for a formal coronation, and only then undertook his adventure in the north. This interpretation,

412. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I* 4, 14, 19 (n. 30).

413. *Urk III* 61, at ll. 3-4 of the text; *AR IV* 496 (sec. 922).

414. Following H. Schäfer, "Zur Erklärung der 'Traumstela,'" *ZÄS* 35 (1897) 68; Breasted's translation (*AR IV* 469 [sec. 923]), "in this first year," involves an unnecessary expansion of the text's clear *m rnpt tn*.

415. *Urk III* 62-63 (at l. 6 of the text).

416. *Ibid.*, 63-65; *AR IV* 469-70 (sec. 923-25).

417. *ZÄS* 35 (1897) 67-70, followed by Breasted, *AR IV* 467 n. c and 469 n. d; and by Helene von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ägyptischen Spätzeit* (*ÄF*, Vol. 14 [1955]) p. 48.

though solidly grounded in the text, may not be required. As pointed out by Kitchen,<sup>418</sup> the agent who caused Tantamani's "appearance" could have been a god (perhaps Amun), and it may not be accidental that the genre of religious literature to which Tantamani's stela belongs is most notably represented earlier by the Sphinx Stela of Tuthmosis IV, to whom kingship over Egypt was also promised in a dream. A few similarities do in fact suggest that the two texts may indeed be distantly related: Tuthmosis's preroyal status, that of "a 'puppy' like Horus in Akh-bīt," has its parallel in that of Tantamani, who departs "as when Horus departed from Akh-bīt";<sup>419</sup> and the wording of the two oracles, one spoken by the god, the other explained as the interpretation of Tantamani's vision, also bear a resemblance to one another:

Tuthmosis IV: "(I) shall give to you my kingship on earth before the Living. You shall elevate its White Crown and its Red Crown, (being) on the Throne of Geb, the *jry-p't*.<sup>420</sup> The land, in its length and breadth, is yours."<sup>421</sup>

Tantamani: "Yours is Upper Egypt—take to yourself Lower Egypt. The Two Ladies [i.e., the double uraeus] are risen on your brow. The land in its length and breadth is yours."<sup>422</sup>

Allowing for the different circumstances and imagery, this is still a remarkable parallelism, implying at least that by the Seventh Century there was a prescribed formula for such utterances. If so, the wording of the opening passages of Tantamani's narrative may have been determined by the literary model from which these texts were prepared, and not by any political circumstances.<sup>423</sup>

418. *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 173.

419. *Urk* IV 1541:1.

420. For the divine origins of this title and its applications see W. Helck, "Rp't auf den Thron des Gb," *Or* 19 (1950) 416-34.

421. *Urk* IV 1542:18-1543:2.

422. *Urk* III 62 (at l. 5 of text).

423. Compare, for example, a similar reliance on an earlier text that compromises the historicity of an alleged episode in the reign of Osorkon II, as discussed by Van Siclen, *JNES* 32 (1973) 296-99.



It should be emphasized, finally, that the supposed coronation that follows Tantamani's appearance "on the Horus Throne in this (very) year" has no foundation in the text. The king, we are told, journeyed with a large following to Napata, and on his arrival entered the temple of Amun. There he honored Amun of Thebes with festal garlands and dedicated festival offerings to Amun of Napata—and then sailed north into Egypt. This sounds as if Tantamani was securing the Nubian and Egyptian gods' blessing before setting out—a logical step—rather than participating in coronation ceremonies following the death of Taharqa.<sup>424</sup>

- b) Associated material of Taharqa and Tantamani in the chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb'ankh at Karnak<sup>425</sup> has persuaded several scholars that these two monarchs were at some time coregents.<sup>426</sup> Others have suggested, to the contrary, that Tantamani's reliefs were added to pre-existing work by Taharqa,<sup>427</sup> but this seems difficult to prove. The elder king's reliefs are scattered through the building, not clustered in one place, and both kings formally share cer-

424. The problem created by Tantamani's two references to his accession may be resolved if we regard his narrative as topical rather than strictly chronological. Compare, for example, Kawa Inscription No. V, that begins with a description of the flooding and the four wonders in Taharqa's sixth year, shifts back abruptly to the king's journey to Egypt before his accession, next deals with events early in his reign, and then with the visit of the Queen Mother sometime later (Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I* [Text] 23-28); or the larger Sphinx Stela of Amenophis II, the narrative of which begins with the king's accession ("Now his Majesty arose as king as a goodly youth . . ." [Urk IV 1279:8-1281:7]), then reverts to his preroyal career (ibid., 1281:8-1283:4) before concluding with the benefactions performed after he became king (ibid., 1283:5-14). Since Tantamani's stela begins with a date in regnal year one, when the dream took place, the specification "in this (very) year" indicates only that a short time had elapsed between the omen and the king's response.

425. A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1872-89) Pls. 79-87.

426. Von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, p. 48, and also Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> Dynastie dite Ethiopienne (IFAO-BdE XXXVI [1965])* p. 352.

427. E.g., Kitchen (*Third Intermediate Period*, p. 173), who suggests as an alternate explanation that Tantamani resumed decoration that had been left unfinished by his predecessor; and PM II (2d ed.) 278, proposing that Tantamani had usurped the chapel from Taharqa.

tain elements.<sup>428</sup> Thus, while it cannot be ruled out that some scenes in which Taharqa's name appears may have been originally his work, others were plainly carved under his successor, and it is equally possible that the latter had all of the reliefs inscribed during his brief reign in Egypt. Even if this last were true, it is still not clear whether Taharqa's role here was that of senior coregent or that of an ancestor whose prior kingship was the source of Tantamani's own legitimacy. Discussion of this point will be resumed in Chapter 4.

#### NECTANEBO I AND TEOS

The evidence for the coregency of Nectanebo I and Teos is derived entirely from Greek and Demotic sources. It was recognized by Meyer<sup>429</sup> that the Greek writer represented Teos as active in diplomatic affairs before his accession as king in 361 B.C. Manetho assigns eighteen years to Nectanebo, and two to Teos, a total of twenty years for the two reigns;<sup>430</sup> according to the Demotic Chronicle (IV 13-15), Nectanebo enjoyed only sixteen years of independent rule,<sup>431</sup> but if the following two years and three months are assigned to the coregency (365-363/2) and one year to Teos's sole rule, the total for both reigns still comes to about twenty years, as in Manetho. If this analysis reflects the facts, Manetho would seem to have assigned the two full years of the coregency to Nectanebo, the partial year to Teos.<sup>432</sup>

428. Taharqa embraced by Isis (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pl. 79 recto = *PM II* [2d ed.] 278 [1]); Taharqa's name above a doorway inscribed for Tantamani (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pl. 80 left = *PM II* [2d ed.] 278 [2]); above a doorway of Tantamani, a double scene showing both kings embraced by Osiris-Ptah and running (Tantamani left, Taharqa right: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pl. 83 = *PM II* [2d ed.] 278 [6]); a doorway with the titles of Taharqa, and to the right, Taharqa receiving life from Montu (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pl. 85 = *PM II* [2d ed.] 278 [6 c, 7]); Tantamani censuring Osiris-Ptah, followed by Taharqa libating Osiris-Ptah (Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Pl. 87 = *PM II* [2d ed.] 278 [10]).

429. E. Meyer, "Ägyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit," *SBPAW XVI* (1915) 292.

430. Waddell, *Manetho*, pp. 182-83 (Africanus *apud* Syncellus).

431. W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris, nebst den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* ("Demotische Studien," Vol. 7 [Leipzig, 1914]) p. 18, Pl. VII.

432. J. H. Johnson, "The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source," *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 1-17.

The tabulation of hypothetical coregencies can be closed here, though future scholarship may well suggest others.<sup>433</sup> The corpus of materials assembled in the last three chapters can now be used as the basis for a typological analysis in Chapter 4.

433. For instance, adjustments have been proposed in the chronology of the Libyan period, yielding a synchronism between Takelot II and Pedubast (C. Sheikholeslami, "A New Chronology for Dynasties XXII and XXIII and its Consequences for Egyptian History," unpublished paper summarized in *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 80 [1972] 40). Inasmuch as the author's case has not yet been developed in print, it would be unfair to comment on it here.



## THE HYPOTHETICAL COREGENCIES:

## THE COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE AND CONCLUSIONS

In the first two chapters we assembled a broad sampling of materials that come from known coregency periods. This evidence, which indicates the range of what is typical in the monuments jointly erected by two kings, can be divided into categories for further study as follows:

1. *Double dates.* Equivalent regnal dates for two kings occur early in the Twelfth Dynasty with a doubtful example linking Sesostri III and Amenemmes III. In the New Kingdom, double dates of a sort occur during Hatshepsut's coregency with Tuthmosis III, but, since their dating systems are identical, these are actually single dates under both kings. At the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the nineteenth year of Ramesses XI is equated with the first year in the "Renaissance" era,<sup>1</sup> and another document is dated in year seven of this new era "under" Ramesses XI.<sup>2</sup> Coregencies and synchronisms in the Libyan period are attested mainly through double dates, and joint datings become numerous in the Greek and Demotic documents. The chances of survival may have something to do with the nonoccurrence of double dates from some of the New Kingdom coregencies, but this is surely not the only explanation. After all, even the Middle Kingdom coregencies that were quite short (e.g., that of Sesostri I with Amenemmes II) are nonetheless attested through double dates. The paucity of such materials in the New Kingdom is perhaps to be explained by a growing emphasis in private monuments on formal commemorative gestures, and a movement away from what may have been regarded

1. T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930) Pl. XXIII and p. 131 (Pap. Abbott verso A 1, 19); cf. J. Černý, "Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 639-40.

2. C. F. Nims, "An Oracle Dated in 'The Repeating of Births,'" *JNES* 7 (1948) 157-62.

as irrelevant details. With few exceptions,<sup>3</sup> chronological particulars are absent from the very sources that had previously supplied them, although still found where they serve a special memorializing purpose (e.g., at Sinai and in the Wadi Hammamat).<sup>4</sup>

2. *Single dates within a coregency period.* The use of independent dates by individual partners occurs in all periods. It is quite clear that the absence of a coregent from his partner's date formulas etc. need not mean that the latter was ruling alone.
3. *Jointly decorated buildings.* Buildings decorated by both rulers are one of the most characteristic traces left by a coregency, although one quite vulnerable to the ravages of time and man. Notable examples occur under Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut; Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II; Sety I and Ramesses II; and Osorkon III and Takelot III. Under the Ptolemies we find joint building projects of Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII, and Cleopatra II; and of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV. Hypothetical projects of this sort are found under Amenemmes I and Sesostris I, and under Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II.
4. *Participation by the junior partner in the senior partner's mortuary temple.* Few firmly established examples of participation by the junior partner in the decoration of a mortuary temple have survived. For example, was Amenemmes I's temple decorated during or after the coregency? In the New Kingdom Tuthmosis III was extensively associated in the decoration at Deir el-Bahari before he widened his share by usurpation. The classic example is Ramesses II's participation in the Qurnah temple of Sety I.
5. *Joint appearance by both coregents within one scene.* No cases where both coregents appear in one scene survive from the Middle Kingdom. Later there are joint appearances by Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut (Deir el-Bahari and Karnak); Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II (in private tombs); Sety I and Ramesses II; Osorkon III and Takelot III; Ptolemy VI,

3. E.g., the autobiography of Amenemhab (*Urk* IV 895-96).

4. E.g., *Sinai* I, Pl. LXXI (No. 250), associating Sety I and Ramesses II.

Ptolemy VIII, and Cleopatra II; Ptolemy IX (and later Ptolemy X) with Cleopatra III; and Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XV. Of the Roman emperor coregents who appear on the monuments, only Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and also Septimius Severus with his sons are associated in single scenes.

6. *Juxtaposition of coregents' titularies on architectural elements in buildings not formally shared by them.* Random juxtaposition of coregents' titularies in buildings they did not formally share has been seen under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III; Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II; Ptolemy XV and Cleopatra VII; Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius; Marcus Aurelius and Commodus; and Septimius Severus and his sons.
7. *Joint renewal texts.* There is an example of a joint renewal text under Ptolemy VI, Ptolemy VIII, and Cleopatra II (small temple at Medinet Habu).
8. *Jointly inscribed statues.* Groups of jointly inscribed statues are found in the Middle Kingdom for Amenemmes I and Sesostri I (associated with two kings of the Eleventh Dynasty). There is one jointly inscribed statue from the reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. From later periods there have been cited statues naming Osorkon III and Takelot III, and also Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy Eupator.
9. *Juxtaposed cartouches or figures on undated stelae or graffiti.* Examples of juxtaposition on undated stelae or graffiti occur under Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut; Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II; Sety I and Ramesses II; and Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV.
10. *Jointly inscribed smaller objects (scarabs etc.).* The range of jointly inscribed smaller objects is the same as in 9.

It is not surprising that in terms of sheer weight there is more material from the longer than from the shorter coregencies. Shorter coregencies did, however, leave their mark—rather substantially for the joint reign of Sety I and Ramesses II, and somewhat surprisingly (considering its ephemeral length) for that of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy Eupator. In any

case, we have here a reasonably broad sampling of material that typifies the traces left by coregencies in the monuments. Most of the categories reflect official work done under the coregents: associated building projects, joint dedication of statues, and the like. Other categories (e.g., tomb decoration, scarabs), however, although no doubt officially inspired, have more to do with an individual's memorializing impulse than with state policy. The role of such personal factors must have varied with the circumstances of each coregency. The official record would doubtless reflect the length of the association, the kings' personal relations, and their enterprise; the second, more private sort of record would reflect the king's impact on his contemporaries, and also his posthumous reputation. We are not always in a position to evaluate the relative importance of these imponderables—and, as we shall see shortly, the Egyptians were quite capable of using the same motif to express two different phenomena. Even so, it seems clear that coregencies generally left certain imprints on the physical evidence for Egyptian history, and it is reasonable to expect that a historical coregency, even if it is not securely attested, would still have "behaved" in the same way.

A classification of the evidence available for unproved coregencies would not only identify points of similarity between this evidence and that for proved coregencies but could also help to establish the range of meaning inherent in particular types of material—a necessary task if one is to deal with the many pieces that do not compel but at the same time may still encourage belief in a coregency if other evidence were forthcoming. The following survey of such material is offered in the hope of clarifying some of these problems.

#### JUXTAPOSED MATERIALS IN AN ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

The association of two kings' figures or names in ancient buildings is frequently cited as evidence for coregencies. This association generally occurs in one of two ways:

- a) *Parallel distribution of decoration in each king's name throughout a building or a portion thereof.* This has been seen under Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV (the temple at Medinet Madi and the "Shrine of Kings" at Sinai), Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (a block from Athribis bearing



their cartouches), Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē (the window room of the north gate at Amarna), Tut'ankhamun and Ay (the temple fragments at Karnak), and Sethnakht and Ramesses III (the jointly decorated shrine in the sanctuary of Ptah near Deir el-Medina).

Buildings that were decorated during a coregency may show a widespread balance of decoration by the two kings. This occurs most notably in the Amada temple of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II (see Fig. 2), and in the rooms of the Qurnah temple shared by Sety I and Ramesses II.<sup>5</sup> The question of sponsorship is of crucial importance, however, for extensive parallel decoration can also occur where there was no coregency at all. In the rows of shrines to the north and south of Amun's granite sanctuary at Karnak, for example, Amenophis I appears on walls to the right of the entrance of each room, while Tuthmosis III is represented on the opposite wall. The king responsible for the decoration, however, left his "signature" in the inscriptions covering the facades of the doorways, and not surprisingly he is Tuthmosis III in each case.<sup>6</sup> The sponsorship of Tuthmosis III in the decoration of the Semna temple is similarly clear, despite the considerable role played by Sesostris III in its reliefs and inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Another similar situation is found in the great central colonnade of the Luxor temple, where the columns and the end walls at the north appear to be decorated alternately by Amenophis III and Tut'ankhamun (subsequently usurped by Haremhab). In this case the reason for the juxtaposition is surely Tut'ankhamun's desire to associate himself with the memory of a revered predecessor. The juxtaposition of the two kings' names is widespread here, but although "ownership" of the hall is claimed for Amenophis III, the decoration is specifically attributed to Tut'ankhamun.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, the senior partner (Tuth-

5. W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and his Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975) 165-70.

6. For these chapels see *PM* II (2d ed.) 92-93, 96, and P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (*RIFAO* XXI [1962]) pp. 124-27; the juxtaposition between Amenophis I and Tuthmosis III is carried out with few exceptions (Rooms 2 and 5 on the north side).

7. D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I: Semna Kumma* (Boston, 1960) Pls. 15 B, 84 B; cf. *LD* III 47 a, 48 a.

8. The bibliography available for this hall is gathered by *PM* II (2d ed.) 312-16 (although, *pace* p. 313 top, the name of Haremhab inside the colonnade always overlies that of Tut'ankhamun, never that of Amenophis III). For an account of the decoration of the columns see L. Borchardt, "Zur Ge-

mosis III and Sety I, respectively) seems to have been actively involved in the decoration of the Amada and Qurnah temples, which in my opinion were inscribed during coregencies. The "ownership" of doorways etc., in the Amada temple tends, if anything, to be in Tuthmosis III's favor, making it improbable that his son executed all of these reliefs. The distribution of both kings' names throughout the building seems equally to rule out that Amenophis II inserted himself where his father had left empty space. In the Qurnah temple Sety I is very prominent in the rooms he decorated with Ramesses II. The frieze of cartouches that runs along the top of the walls in the hypostyle, for example, belongs to Sety alone, even though the distribution of decoration on the walls, columns, abaci, and ceiling is generally quite evenly divided between the two kings. In the vestibule to the chapel of Ramesses I and in Room XXXIV the later work of these coregents is surmounted by a frieze that alternates their two names. The characteristic elements of a building decorated by coregents, then, is widely distributed juxtaposition of both kings' reliefs, coupled with unmistakable sponsorship by both. Insofar as the temple at Medinet Madi (decorated by Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV) conforms to this model, it may be safely assigned to their coregency period.

Other examples in this category are less clear. The nature of the decoration in the window room at Amarna is uncertain owing to its incomplete publication. If, however, the cartouches of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē alternated in a frieze, a coregency seems the most likely explanation in this distinctly nonmortuary context. The shrine in the "Sanctuary of Ptah," divided between Sethnakht and Ramesses III, suggests a coregency—but this monument is, after all, very small. If, moreover, the vizier Hori appeared in both panels (as seems likely) the shrine may merely reflect his service under both kings and not be part of the official "record" of a coregency. The occurrence of Ay's names on the fragments from Tut'ankhamun's temple at Karnak is also suspect: on all surfaces shared by them Ay's name is carved in first place, so he may have inserted himself into his predecessor's un-

schichte des Luqsortempels," *ZÄS* 34 (1896) 127-34. In numerous places, both on columns and on the north end wall, it is made clear that Tut'ankhamun (and later, Sety I) claim to be working on a monument they attribute to Amenophis III, but the only original decoration of that king found inside the colonnade is on the doorway on the south side, i.e., the original facade of Amenophis III's temple.

finished building. As for the "Shrine of Kings" at Sinai, it may have been decorated during a coregency of Amenemmes III with his son, but the date is not easy to establish. Texts in Amenemmes III's half mention a Ptahwēr, who was probably the commander on the last known expedition of the reign in year 45.<sup>9</sup> Inscriptions on the opposite side name Amenemmes IV and Djaf-Horemso, commander in this king's years 6 through 9.<sup>10</sup> Although Djaf-Horemso does claim responsibility for the structure, he seems not to have been working contemporaneously with Ptahwēr and may only have finished what Ptahwēr had begun. Both these stages could have taken place during the coregency, but it seems that Amenemmes III relinquished the project to his son (just as Sety I ceded work in the Karnak hypostyle hall to Ramesses II).

The block from Athribis, bearing cartouches of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (see Chap. 3, sec. 6, d), has been listed in category a because it may reflect an overall pattern of decoration—either a group of scenes in which both kings appeared together<sup>11</sup> or a frieze of cartouches.<sup>12</sup> The all-important context is missing, however, so the meaning behind this juxtaposition is unclear. The confusion is compounded because, unfortunately, this phenomenon is not confined exclusively to living kings, as the following example makes clear. During the coregency of Sety I with Ramesses II, the names of these two kings were associated over a wide area in buildings such as the Qurnah temple. Throughout, however, there was clear stylistic evidence that could date this work to the earliest part of the junior partner's reign. This alternation of the kings' cartouches continues on the portico of the Qurnah temple, but with telling differences. Throughout this section, Ramesses II uses the final form of his praenomen, "Userma'atrē Setepenrē"; further, by weight of "ownership" of the reliefs and from specific claim, it seems clear that Ramesses was working alone, very probably after his father's death. Sety's role in the portico, except for the juxtaposition just mentioned, is minimal. He is the protagonist in only a few isolated and unimportant scenes; in others his role is merely that of an observer, and it is his son who is the main actor. It seems likely that the later association of the kings' names reflects not the core-

9. *Sinai II* 112 (No. 108), 129-30 (No. 124).

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-31 (Nos. 123, 125); cf. pp. 122-26.

11. H. W. Fairman, "A Block of Amenophis IV from Athribis," *JEA* 46 (1960) 80-82.

12. D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967) p. 143.

gency but Ramesses' involvement in the completion of his father's temple.<sup>13</sup> This interpretation receives some support from the decoration of the ceiling in the doorway leading from the vestibule into the sanctuary proper of Ramesses I. Here, against a background of stars, the cartouches of Sety I and his father are repeatedly juxtaposed, even though Ramesses I was surely dead when this section was decorated.<sup>14</sup> The intent is plainly commemorative. Although the chapel "belongs" to Ramesses I, Sety I makes it clear that he was intimately connected with this posthumous monument. Other examples of decoration effected by a later generation in the name of a predecessor are not hard to find. The tomb chapel of Amenardis at Medinet Habu displays a frieze of the tomb owner's cartouches above the facade, but it was clearly Amenardis's successor, Shepenwepet II, who built and inscribed the chapel.<sup>15</sup> Shepenwepet's own chapel, adjoining that of Amenardis, was built for her by her successor, Nitocris, who was not too shy to place her own cartouches alongside those of Shepenwepet on the facade.<sup>16</sup> Commemorations of this sort may span several generations. A lintel found on the island of Saï displays the cartouche of "the Good God Menkheperrē" flanked at either side by the nomen (left) and praenomen (right) of Amenophis I.<sup>17</sup> A fragmentary jamb found at Karnak north is inscribed in the names of Pinodjem II (front, left column) and Amenophis I (rear, right column),<sup>18</sup> and a similar memorializing intent must lie behind the bald juxtaposition of Amenophis III's and Tut'ankhamun's cartouches on a block found by Lepsius.<sup>19</sup>

Clearly, then, one cannot always tell on the grounds of iconography alone whether a given instance of juxtaposition may be attributed to a coregency or represents simply a memorialization. A good case in point is the alternation of names for Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis III, first on a limestone lintel found in the temple of Osiris at Abydos,<sup>20</sup> and also on the portal of the

13. Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 168-70.

14. Location: *PM* II (2d ed.) 418 (105), ceiling (not discussed).

15. U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu V: Post-Ramesside Remains* (*OIP* LXVI [1954]) 20-23, Pl. 13 B-C.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-26, Pl. 14 A.

17. J. Vercoutter, "Nouvelles fouilles de Saï," *BSFE* 58 (June, 1970) 28.

18. J. Jacquet, "Fouilles de Karnak Nord, cinquième campagne, 1972," *BIFAO* 73 (1973) Pl. XX, p. 209.

19. *LD* III 119 a.

20. W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos I* (*MEES* XXII [1902]) Pls. LXI.2, LXIV (middle), pp. 43-44.

eighth pylon at Karnak.<sup>21</sup> On the portal Tuthmosis II's names lie over those originally carved for Hatshepsut,<sup>22</sup> but this change was made long after Tuthmosis II had died. A similar example of revisionism may lie behind the alternation of their names on the Abydos doorway, where both sets of cartouches are original.<sup>23</sup> One may legitimately ask whether the intention was commemorative (as on the lintel from Saï mentioned above) or historical, attesting a coregency (as in the joint decoration of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III).<sup>24</sup> The other parallels are similarly ambiguous. The doorways to the shrines at Karnak built in place of Amenophis I's earlier structures display only the name of Tuthmosis III (see above), but texts naming Amenophis I, apparently alone, occur on the reveals of one shrine (No. 11, south) and on the inner jambs of at least one other (No. 13, south).<sup>25</sup>

Deceased kings may also appear as protagonists in posthumously carved scenes, performing the same ritual functions as their living counterparts in neighboring reliefs. At the Qurnah temple Ramesses I appears thus in an offering scene in the vestibule to his cult chapel,<sup>26</sup> and the chapel that Sety built for his father at Abydos contains further examples. On the west wall of this building, the two kings appear in balancing offering scenes: in the top register Sety I offers to Harsiēse and Osiris (left) and Ramesses I offers to Osiris and Isis (right); below, Sety offers to Horus Protector of his Father (left) and Ramesses to Isis (right). Both kings are represented identically, yet Ramesses I was clearly dead when the reliefs were carved, for the jambs of the doorway attribute the chapel to his son.<sup>27</sup> Somewhat similar is the appearance of Amenophis III in one scene on Tuthmosis IV's unpublished alabaster shrine from Karnak: in the top register Amenophis III, followed by Atum, advances into the presence of Amun-Rē; below, Tuthmosis IV is conducted by Montu before the same god. To the right of these scenes a ver-

21. *PM II* (2d ed.) 175 (520) a-b, e-f.

22. W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC, No. 8 [1933]) pp. 17-18.


23. *Ibid.*, p. 38 (sec. 87).

24. E.g., *Deir el Bahari IV*, Pl. XCV; V, Pls. CXXX, CXXXIV.

25. Personal observation; note, however, that the interior doorways of Rooms 12 and 19 (south side) and Rooms 3, 6, 7, and 8 (north side) were decorated by Tuthmosis III.

26. *PM II* (2d ed.) 418 (105); Murnane, *JNES* 34 (1975) 167 and n. 50.

27. S. Schott, "Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos" (*NAWG* [1964], No. 1) Pls. 9, 10.

tical inscription informs us that Amenophis III (his praenomen, here as in the scene to the left, unusually written ) "is

beautifying (*snfr*) the monument of his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheprurē, in order that his name might be lasting and enduring in the house of his father Amun."<sup>28</sup> A more intimate association is preserved in the El Kab temple in two identical scenes inside the sanctuary, at either side of the doorway. Here the two kings are shown seated on thrones, both facing in the same direction. Amenophis III is seated in front of his father, and the vertical text that separates the two figures is as follows: "now it is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebma'atrē who is beautifying (*snfr*) this monument of [or 'for?'] his father, the Good God Menkheprurē for ever and ever."<sup>29</sup> In both these cases, the monument in question is described as originally belonging to Tuthmosis IV, so perhaps the sense of *snfr* is really "to bring to a close,"<sup>30</sup> specifying Amenophis III's role in completing his father's monuments. Similar "remembrances" can be seen in Amenhotep II's unique appearance among the Roman reliefs of the Kalabsha temple<sup>31</sup> or in the references to Pepi I in the Greco-Roman temple at Dendera,<sup>32</sup> probably due to these kings' having erected earlier buildings at these sites. Private tombs, usually the most faithful mirrors of the current ruler (at least in the Eighteenth Dynasty), occasionally acknowledge the kings of the past. In the tomb of Haremhab (Th. T. No. 78) the cartouches of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenophis III are grouped together in one scene, while an adjoining prayer appeals not to the living king but to the royal ka of Tuthmosis III.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in the tomb of Amenmose (Th. T. No. 89), the tomb owner is shown presenting a fan to Tuthmosis III, even though the tomb was decorated during the reign of Amenophis III.<sup>34</sup> A more concretely historical reference is found in the

28. I am indebted to the late Serge Sauneron, past director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, for permission to discuss this material.

29. *PM* V 188-89 (4), (8); J. J. Tylor, *The Temple of Amenhetep III* ("Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab," Pt. 3 [London, 1898]) Pls. VIII, X.

30. *Wb* IV 163 2, 13; for this sense of *nfr*, see *ibid.*, II 262; cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3d ed., rev.; Oxford, 1957) secs. 307, 351.

31. *PM* VII 14 (20)-(21).

32. *Ibid.*, VI 71 (198), 87 (83)-(84), 90 (129).

33. *Ibid.*, I/1 (2d ed.) 155 (11).

34. *Ibid.*, p. 183 (Pillar A); Nina M. and N. de G. Davies, "The Tomb of Amenmosē (No. 89) at Thebes," *JEA* 26 (1940) 131-32, 134 (Wall K).

tomb of Setau at El Kab, where one scene depicts Ramesses III on the occasion of a visit to El Kab by the vizier Tō in the king's twenty-ninth year,<sup>35</sup> while on another wall we find a text dated to Ramesses IX's fourth year.<sup>36</sup> From all these cases it becomes apparent that a king who is mentioned or represented is not always the king under whom the inscription was made, and that royal names and figures may be associated in decoration for a variety of reasons not connected with coregency.

Sometimes, particularly in later temples, we find decoration of several kings juxtaposed in ways that may be misleading. The facade of the temple of Esna, for example, is evenly divided between Claudius (left) and Vespasian (right), which may mean either that Vespasian deliberately associated his name with Claudius's or that the temple was decorated in piecemeal fashion.<sup>37</sup> The latter solution appears more likely, inasmuch as two of the intercolumnar walls were decorated by Claudius,<sup>38</sup> two others that balance them were inscribed under Nero,<sup>39</sup> and the final two at either end were carved under Domitian.<sup>40</sup> It is inconceivable that all of this decoration was done under Vespasian, for whatever Claudius's posthumous reputation may have been, it seems unlikely that Nero would have been the object of anyone's pious renewal. Much more probably the temple was decorated in fits and starts, an impression that is reinforced inside, where the decoration of the columns seems to be quite random. Here Domitian decorated the columns that give onto the central aisle (Nos. 3-4, 9-10, 15-16) and had begun work on Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 11. The remaining columns in the south half were done under Trajan (Nos. 5-6, 11-12, 17-18), who also completed Nos. 1-2 in the north half. On No. 11, however, he had to work not only around Domitian's earlier contribution, but also around a small addition by his predecessor Nerva. In the north half, the remaining columns (Nos. 7-8, 13-14) were substantially the work of Hadrian, but some of Trajan's work already appears on No. 13, and No. 8 is almost entirely decorated by Antoninus Pius.<sup>41</sup>

The upshot of this recital is simply that coherence in dec-

35. *PM* V 181 (5).

36. *Ibid.*, p. 182 (9).

37. S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna II* (*PiFAO*, "Esna" [1963]) 103-7 (46-48); cf. p. 100.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-49 (66-70).

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-88 (87-91).

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-39 (57-62), 173-80 (79-83).

41. *Idem*, *Le Temple d'Esna III* (1968) *passim*.

orative policy was the exception at Esna rather than the rule. Domitian came as close as anyone to achieving this coherence, but after his death the contributions of the Antonine monarchs were sporadic, as indeed they might well be. The role of foreign rulers as pharaohs of Egypt became increasingly a charade during the Roman domination, and in any case there was not the same urgency that had impelled native kings to record their deeds and benefactions in the traditional ways. Association of scenes and names became haphazard: the inner face of the east propylon at Dendera, for example, had its lintel decorated under Augustus, but the jambs were carved under Nero.<sup>42</sup> The native pharaohs of the pre-Roman period had not been so dilatory, although anomalies do occur, as (for example) on the much-usurped eighth pylon at Karnak. Originally the relief on this pylon had been the joint project of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Later the queen's work was substantially eliminated by a cutting back of the surface of the wall, not only on the jambs but also on the faces of the pylon itself. The earliest work was not altogether obliterated, however, for the speech of Tuthmosis I giving thanks to Amun for his daughter's accession as king remains intact, as does Hatshepsut's lightly usurped cartouche on the north face of the east tower.<sup>43</sup> Presumably Hatshepsut's figures at the extreme east end were removed, for the divine figures carved in their place were attacked during the Amarna period and subsequently replaced by Sety I, who substantially recarved the king's figure in the lower register and also the texts of both upper and lower scenes.<sup>44</sup> On the west tower the uppermost register follows roughly the same pattern—the east side of the wall, closest to the passage, preserves the original relief, while the divine and royal figures at the west end have been changed. Here, however, Sety was content to usurp only Tuthmosis II's cartouches, so that most of the alterations in the Thutmocide relief can still be seen fairly clearly. Below this, however, the two lowest registers show completely new reliefs—of Ramesses III!<sup>45</sup> No substantial trace is preserved of any earlier scenes, leaving two possible alternatives: either the original Thutmocide reliefs were allowed to remain until the Twentieth Dynasty, when the wall was again cut back to

42. *PM* VI 108 (inner face).

43. *Ibid.*, II (2d ed.) 174 (518).

44. This recutting encompasses not only the cartouches (Barguet, *Temple*, p. 263, n. 7) but also the trunk, at least, of the figure, which is garbed more elaborately than are Thutmocide parallels.

45. *PM* II (2d ed.) 174-75 (519); Barguet, *Temple*, p. 263, n. 1.



receive Ramesses III's reliefs, or Hatshepsut's inscriptions were all removed during the Eighteenth Dynasty and the wall was not immediately reused but allowed to lie "fallow" for over two centuries. The appearance of the wall suggests the latter alternative, for the very top of the upper scenes of Ramesses III seems to be on the same level as the Thutmoside reliefs of the top register, and one would expect more irregularity if the lower part of the wall had been cut back later. Only a thorough survey of this wall, with the proper equipment, could provide a definite answer.

- b) *Isolated instances of juxtaposition at more or less close quarters.* Examples have been quoted for Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I (the latter's appearance on the south wall of Amenophis I's alabaster shrine at Karnak), Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV (joint appearance in the tomb of Neferonpet?), Amenophis III and Akhenaten (the lintel in the tomb of Huya, the relief of Men and Bek at Aswan), Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē (the latter's appearance, in a context otherwise dominated by Akhenaten, in the tomb of Meryrē II at Amarna; Smenkhkarē behind Akhenaten[?] on a block found at Memphis), and Taharqa and Tantamani (Chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb'ankh at Karnak).

As we have seen in the previous section, isolated cases of juxtaposition cannot be easily interpreted. Symmetrically balanced scenes depicting a king acting alongside his deceased predecessor do occur, so the parallel representations of Amenophis III and Akhenaten (in both the tomb of Huya and the relief of Men and Bek at Aswan) do not necessarily mean that Amenophis III was alive concurrently with Akhenaten. In each case the association can be explained by referring to the owners' careers. The two sculptors did in fact serve both kings; quite conceivably they served in succession, since each man appears before one king only—and, notably, the preserved figure of Amenophis III is a statue.<sup>46</sup> As steward to the queen mother, Huya could indeed claim some kind of relationship to Amenophis III and Akhenaten—and, as I have suggested above, the position of the lintel in the tomb suggests that this was one of the last elements to be carved, postdating the scenes of Akhenaten's "durbar" in year twelve. Neither piece by itself is convincing evidence for the coregency.

46. Redford, *History and Chronology*, p. 99.

The figure of Smenkhkarē on the Memphis block does not seem to have been originally royal, and the analogy of similar changes effected within the processions of princes in other reliefs of the Ramesside age points in this case to a date after the older king's death. Smenkhkarē's earlier nomen was used in this relief, however, so it remains possible that the figure was altered during a coregency. In the tomb of Neferronpet the two kings seated together have not been positively identified as Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV. This scene may represent the coregents Amenophis II and Tuthmosis III, instead, and may memorialize their role in the tomb owner's career. In any case, while the close association of two figures may indeed betoken a coregency (e.g., that of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut), the El Kab reliefs of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III remind us that the same iconography may serve a memorial purpose as well. Even weaker is the evidence of the associated scenes of Tuthmosis I and Amenophis I at Karnak, and of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē at Amarna. In both cases the contribution of the later king was small and asymmetrical, and it seems only too likely that each took up where his predecessor had left off. Tuthmosis I's work on the south face of his father's shrine at Karnak may be compared with that of Amenophis III on the alabaster shrine that he completed on behalf of his father. And in the tomb of Meryrē II at Amarna, the scene representing Smenkhkarē occurs on a back wall that, judging from its position, was probably decorated later than the rest of the tomb. Here, as on the Memphis block, however, the king's nomen again appears as "Smenkhkarē," and this is the only indication that might date the scene to a coregency period.

The last cases to be considered are more ambiguous. The block from Athribis—for many, the only compelling evidence for Amenophis IV's coregency with his father—falls short of proving what has been claimed for it. Parallel examples of juxtaposed cartouches do not necessarily show coregency to be the most likely explanation, and without the all-important context provided by the rest of the original building, the data could mean any one of several things. If, as Fairman suggests, the cartouches stood above figures of the two kings facing in the same direction, the scene could in fact date from a coregency, although the primacy of Amenophis IV calls to mind again the El Kab reliefs in which Amenophis III sits in front of his deceased father. Moreover, the close proximity of the cartouches really favors Redford's suggestion that they formed part of a frieze or dado, a usage that may reflect either a coregency or the completion of the father's work by the son. Similar juxtapositions

have been noted between Amenemmes III and Sobeknofru (see Chap. 1, *mm* and *oo*), for whom a coregency now seems impossible. The relationship between Taharqa and Tantamani in the Osiris-Ptah chapel at Karnak is also a problem. No building text ascribes this monument to either king, but Tantamani's contribution is unquestionably the larger. For reasons stated in Chapter 3, it is possible that all the decoration (including material in Taharqa's name) was done under Tantamani, but while representations of the two kings do balance one another in two places, such juxtaposition is not typical throughout the building. Even if it were, the fact might prove as little as the associated names of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun and Amenophis III in the festival colonnade at Luxor, and we have already noted the balanced scenes of Ramesses I and II in the chapel the latter built for his grandfather at Abydos when no coregency was involved. Such data, in sum, neither prove nor rule out the existence of coregencies.

#### JUXTAPOSITION OF ROYAL NAMES ON OBJECTS

- c) *Objects of medium size.* The names of two or more kings are sometimes found inscribed on what for lack of a better term we may call objects of medium size. Examples have been cited for Sesostris III and Amenemmes III (altar from Sinai); Amenophis III and Akhenaten (sarcophagi from royal tomb, offering table from Amarna); Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē (box in the tomb of Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun); and Haremhab and Ramesses I (small obelisk).

Two points should be kept in mind as we turn to an examination of these pieces: first, that juxtaposition of royal names in ancient buildings has already been shown to have different meanings depending on its context; and second, that the ritual purpose intended for most of the objects under discussion is not precisely known. Of the Sinai altar, for example, we can say with some confidence that it was probably inscribed during the sixth year of Amenemmes III; this, at least, is stated on the front, and the attendant Harwerrē (depicted on the sides with Sesostris III) is attested in Sinai at no other time. Beyond this, however, we are reduced to unprofitable speculations: the altar may have been dedicated to Sesostris III's cult; Harwerrē may have been commemorating his service to the older, deceased king; or a coregency may have been still in effect—the piece in itself tells us nothing to resolve our uncertainty.

The same ambiguity attaches itself to the offering table from Amarna, although here the principal juxtaposition (which is confined to the sides) is not between Amenophis III and his son but between Amenophis III and the Aton, who, significantly, is qualified as the king's living father.<sup>47</sup> It is tempting to posit a thematic connection between Akhenaten's divine and physical fathers on this piece and to see the offering table as dedicated to the cult of Amenophis III at Amarna.<sup>48</sup> After all, Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV were worshiped there (see Chap. 3, note 94), and it is carrying skepticism too far to deny Amenophis III tangible remains of a cult he must have had at the heretic capital. The box from Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun's tomb, on the other hand, was an object of daily use, and the knobs bearing Smenkhkarē's later cartouches suggest that it belonged to him. Notably, though, it is Akhenaten's name that appears first on the box itself, followed by the names of Smenkhkarē and Meritaten, so one might argue that this precedence implies the relationship of two living kings. We are on fairly firm ground, however, in dealing with the names of Amenophis III on the sarcophagi of Akhenaten's daughter Meketaten (as on Akhenaten's own sarcophagus), since here they probably served a simple genealogical purpose regardless of whether the old king was alive or dead at that time. The names of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II are juxtaposed on the latter's ebony shrine from Deir el-Bahari,<sup>49</sup> and also on a wooden door from the same temple.<sup>50</sup> The former case can fairly be considered an error, since the shrine is exclusively Tuthmosis II's work and the cartouche of Tuthmosis I is isolated, although by no means the only mistake on the piece.<sup>51</sup> The doorleaf from the *Hnmt-<sup>c</sup>nḥ* temple, however, is a genuine instance where juxtaposition occurs in a mortuary context; that is, Tuthmosis II contributed the doors to his father's temple. Similar would be the association of Akhenaten's and Amenophis III's cartouches on the shrine of Queen Tiye found in Tomb No. 55 in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>52</sup> The old king was surely dead when this piece was dec-

47. CoA III 155 (g) with Fig. 22; cf. Pl. LXIV 4-6.

48. Thus too Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 111-12.

49. *Deir el Bahari II*, Pl. XXVII.

50. H. E. Winlock, "Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I," *JEA* 15 (1929) 57, 64-65; the door appears to be from the *Hnmt-<sup>c</sup>nḥ* temple of Tuthmosis I (pp. 65-66).

51. As notes by Naville in *Deir el Bahari II* 2 (e.g., the feminine endings on Pls. XXVIII-XXIX).

52. T. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Queen Tiye* (London, 1910) Pl. 31, p. 13.

orated, for it was supplied by Akhenaten to his mother, not by Amenophis III to his wife.<sup>53</sup> Where the purpose of such pieces is known, then, there is a range of alternative explanations, and coregency is not the most common.

Similar reservations could apply to the small obelisk that juxtaposes the names of Haremhab and Ramesses I, and here there is the additional uncertainty as to whether the titulary on side 4 of the piece belongs to Ramesses at all. The names are similar to his usual titles, but not exact copies of them, so it is at least possible that they were "festival names" of Haremhab before they were adapted for use by his successor. Not dissimilar is another small obelisk, found in the courtyard between the ninth and tenth pylons at Karnak: on two adjoining sides the usual titulary and in one case the praenomen of Ramesses III are preserved; the remaining two sides, however, preserve two other Horus names (*wsr-ḥpš* and *ḥꜥ m ḥdt*) and *nbtj* names (*ḥ3 ḥr mšꜥ·f nn snwy·f* and *dw3 Rꜥ m sktt*) that are not characteristic for this king or for anyone else.<sup>54</sup> The only alternative is to consider them festive variants of Ramesses III's own names, and the same explanation may well apply to the obelisk fragments in the Royal Scottish Museum (Haremhab and ?) and in Strassbourg (Ay and ?). These considerations, of course, do not diminish the *prima facie* probability of a coregency if the two royal protocols do in fact belong to Haremhab and Ramesses I.

d) *Statuary*. Supposed group statues from Hierakonpolis and Karnak have been interpreted as representing the figures of Pepi I and Amenophis II associated with their successors and presumably coregents, Mernerē and Tuthmosis IV. More frequently it is the names of two kings that one finds associated on statuary. The cases that have been cited in proof of coregencies involve Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV (see Chap. 1, *cc* and *dd*), Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV (Louvre statue), Ramesses I and Sety I (statue from Medāmūd), and Harsiēse and Osorkon II (Karnak statue, Cairo 42208).

In this genre, as in ancient buildings, symmetrical decoration and joint sponsorship count for a great deal. Signifi-

53. Redford, *History and Chronology*, pp. 109-10.

54. *PM* II (2d ed.) 184; M. Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)," *ASAE* 24 (1924) 82-83.

cantly, the pedestal from Karnak (Chap. 1, cc) preserves matching dedications by Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV, each claiming to have "made" the monument. Since there is no reason to doubt these claims, it follows that the piece was a joint donation, made during the coregency in the name of both kings. The queen's statuette (Chap. 1, dd) and the Medâmûd statue base, bearing the inscriptions of Ramesses I and Sety I (see Chap. 3, at reference to n. 369), also have joint symmetrical inscriptions. Their brevity can be taken in one of two ways—either they were dedicated during a coregency or they were donated by Amenemmes IV and Sety I respectively in their predecessors' names. The first piece, however, may be compared to the Karnak pedestal, already plausibly assigned to the kings' coregency period, while the texts on the Medâmûd statue echo the phrasing of Sety I's account of his early career in the Abydos stela, referring to Ramesses I as a "sun" and to Sety as the "star" at his side. In that stela these expressions define Sety's relation to his father before the latter's death—whether as regent or coregent the text does not clearly say. The Medâmûd statue, I believe, tilts the balance in favor of the second alternative.

The statue from the Louvre, bearing the name of Tuthmosis IV and cartouches of Amenophis II (see Chap. 3, at reference to n. 44), is a different matter, however, for here the names of two kings are preserved on different surfaces. The division is not symmetrical, nor are the kings' names placed in any particular relationship with one another. The possibility of usurpation has been denied because the earlier king's cartouche has not been erased,<sup>55</sup> but this argument may be questioned on two counts. Not every king who placed his name on a predecessor's monument, after all, meant to obliterate his royal ancestor entirely. The marginal inscriptions that occur ubiquitously throughout Egyptian temples attest the willingness of many later kings to associate themselves with the work of an earlier king without disputing that king's prior "ownership." Other monuments, moreover, actually contradict the argument for usurpation. The two granite sphinxes from Nebesha, for example, comfortably bore the names of Sety II on the chest, Sethnakht on the shoulder, Ramesses III on the front of the wig, and the chancellor Bay on the base.<sup>56</sup> Another sphinx, from Tanis, has Merneptah's names on the shoulders, those of Ramesses II on the base, and those of (probably) Psu-

55. C. Aldred, "The Second Jubilee of Amenophis II," *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 5.

56. *PM* IV 8.

sennes I on the chest.<sup>57</sup> A statue of a private individual, now in the Cairo Museum, has inscribed on his shoulder the names of Hotepsekhemwy, Ra'neb, and Nynetjer of the Second Dynasty,<sup>58</sup> while another statue (from Tell Edfu) bears on the back column the names of Tuthmosis II and on the sides the praenomen of Tuthmosis III.<sup>59</sup> There is no hard evidence to prove that any of these kings were coregents, and in most cases a coregency is out of the question. These parallels would therefore argue against a coregency for Amenophis II and Tuthmosis II based on the statue in the Louvre.

There remain the supposed group statues. These are the copper statues from Hierakonpolis, allegedly Pepi I and Mernerē, and the group statue from Amenophis II's jubilee temple at Karnak, supposedly of Amun(?) supporting a large figure of Amenophis II(?), with a small figure of Tuthmosis IV(?) on the side. In neither case are the persons firmly identified, and in the first case it is neither certain that the smaller statue was originally royal, nor that it initially formed a group with the larger figure. Even if we grant all the necessary assumptions, however, the interpretation of such groups is not an open and shut case. Thus, Amenemmes I and Sesostri I, who were coregents, are represented in a group statue with Nebhepetrē/Mentuhotep II and S'ankhkarē/Mentuhotep III.<sup>60</sup> The two Eleventh Dynasty kings could have been coregents (although there is no evidence that they were), but they were surely not associated with the two later rulers except by ties of official memory. Here, again, juxtaposition of figures can mean any one of several things; we cannot even be certain that the group did not serve some cultic function unrelated to any coregency. Another statue, found near Tell el-Yahudieh and now in the Cairo Museum, consists of an enthroned Osiris flanked by two royal figures, the one on the right being inscribed with the name of Merneptah, the one on the left with that of Ramesses II.<sup>61</sup> A

57. Ibid., pp. 16-17; cf. E. F. Wente, "On the Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty," *JNES* 26 (1967) 156 and n. 12.

58. L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo I* (CGC [1911]) 1-2 (No. 1).

59. A. E. P. Weigall, "A Report on Some Objects Recently Found in Sebakh and Other Diggings," *ASAE* 8 (1907) 44; cf. G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire. Monuments de la XVII<sup>e</sup> et de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Geneva, 1908) p. 52, No. 82.

60. *Sinai I*, Pl. XXII (No. 70); cf. Chapter 1, k.

61. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten IV* (CGC [1934]) 108, Pl. 170 (No. 1208), and Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary V* (Munksgård, 1966) No. 1368, both erroneously referring to "two statues of the same king."

coregency between these kings seems out of the question: Ramesses reigned only part way into his sixty-seventh year,<sup>62</sup> and a contemporary business document records the transition between his last year and Merneptah's first.<sup>63</sup> Whatever the significance of this group statue may have been, it is no proof that the two kings ever shared the throne. If, as Aldred supposes, the smaller figure on the Karnak group must be Tuthmosis IV, could he not have dedicated the piece for his father's temple after the latter's death? Or, if there are in fact coregents represented in the statue—and this remains to be proved—why could they not have been Amenophis II with his father, Tuthmosis III? Whichever solution is adopted, one is compelled to illuminate *obscura* by *obscuriora*, and this is perhaps the best indication that these materials can shed no light on the problems they are meant to address.

- e) *Stelae*. Juxtaposed names and/or figures of supposed coregents have been encountered on stelae, including examples for Sesostri III and Amenemmes III (Chap. 1, x and y), Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV (Chap. 1, ee and ff), Ahmose and Amenophis I (Gebelein Stela; see Chap. 3, at reference to n. 12), and Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē (Stela U.C. 410; see Chap. 3, at reference to n. 314).

The comparative material continues to show the same variability that has been found earlier. The titularies of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I, for example, face one another at either side of the great votive stela from his mortuary chapel at Deir el-Bahari, now in the Louvre.<sup>64</sup> The sense here is clearly dedicatory: Hatshepsut built the chapel, after all, in her own temple. Her association with her father betokens her involvement in a monument that, nonetheless, is formally "owned" by him. Sety I's activity vis-à-vis his father in the Qurnah temple is depicted in much the same spirit. Beyond this, a number of pieces indicate a tendency to associate two or more kings for private reverential purposes:

62. The figure preserved by Josephus (W. G. Waddell, *Manetho the Historian* ["Loeb Classical Library" (London, 1940)] pp. 102-3, 108-9) is 66 years, 2 months; cf. W. Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Thronbesteigungsdaten im Neuen Reich," *Analecta Biblica* ("Studia Biblica et Orientalia III. Oriens Antiquus" [Rome, 1959]) 120-21.

63. A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London, 1948) p. 30.

64. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929) 57, 64-65, Pls. XI 2, XII.



- (1) Cairo 34.037 depicts Ahmose followed by Ahmose-Nofretari, facing Amenophis I, also followed by his mother; both kings are seated before offering tables. The bottom register is divided between two individuals (the "servitor of Amun" Huy and the "w<sup>c</sup>b-priest and deputy" Sementawy) offering prayers to the kings. Neither the style of the figures nor the text indicates that this piece is contemporary with the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>65</sup>
- (2) British Museum No. 347 [690] represents an offering stand under a winged disk, at either side of which two kings in Osiride garb and posture face the center. On the left side the figures wear the crown of Upper Egypt, and the front figure is identified with the names of Amenophis I; on the right, the front figure (wearing the double crown) is similarly identified; the rear figure, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, is identified as "Nebhepetrē," that is, Mentuhotep II.<sup>66</sup>
- (3) A limestone stela in the Metropolitan Museum in New York shows the cult servant Kenamun before two enthroned kings; in front, wearing the 3tf-crown, is Amenophis I; behind him, with the royal nemes-headress, is Sesostris I. The prayer below seems to be addressed to Amenophis I alone.<sup>67</sup>
- (4) A fragment of relief (perhaps a votive piece from a tomb) depicts two groups of deities, seated back to back, receiving an offering from two kings who stand at opposite edges of the piece. On the right, Amenophis I offers to a ram-headed Amun-Rē, and to Khnum, Satis, and Anukis; on the left, Tuthmosis III offers to Amun-Rē, Mut, Khonsu, and Hathor.<sup>68</sup>
- (5) Turin Stela 1454, in its top register, represents the tomb owner before an offering table and the portable

65. P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I* (Cairo, 1909) 70-72, Pl. XXIV.

66. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c., in the British Museum VI* (London, 1922) Pl. 30.

67. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 50, Fig. 24.

68. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts VI*, Pl. 42 (No. 369 [163]).

shrine of Amenophis I; in the second register the prayer (continued onto the side) is addressed to both Amenophis I and Tuthmosis IV.<sup>69</sup>

- (6) Finally, Turin Stela 1455 assembles what must seem a veritable convention of Eighteenth Dynasty kings. In the top register, at either side of a lotus plant, sit Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nofretari (right) and Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III (left); below, in the bottom register, the left side is occupied by a kneeling figure and the prayer, "giving (praise) to the Good God, kissing the ground to the king's wife by Sennefer, the triumphant; he says, 'hail to you, O august god, and king's wife Nofretari, may you live . . .'" To the right of this group sit Amenophis II (in front) and Prince Sapaïr.<sup>70</sup>

These examples show that coregency is not necessarily implicit in associated royal names or figures on stelae—but how relevant are the examples to the cases at hand? Notably, these pieces are nearly all votive in nature, serving the cult of a deceased king or associating two or more venerated rulers on a private memorial. The stelae listed under *e*, however, are either official monuments with no apparent funerary purpose, or else votive stelae that belonged to individuals who may have lived during the kings' lifetimes. Perhaps the associated names, thus baldly juxtaposed, symbolize that the owner pursued his career under the two kings in succession; but in the Twelfth Dynasty examples the same sort of juxtaposition is found on monuments that name coregents. The protocol of Queen Ahmose-Nofretari on the Maâsara inscription of Ahmose's twenty-second year, moreover, suggests that one of her sons, probably Amenophis I, was already king, and if Manetho's figure for Ahmose's length of reign is correct, a coregency of at least three years seems in order. Further, on Stela U.C. 410 the names of Akhenaten and Smenkhkarê face in the same direction, with Akhenaten's in first place, suggesting that it was he who was the dominant partner and primary donor of the stela. Despite the reservations that must attend any argument from associations of this sort, it must be admitted that coregencies in the above cases would strain neither the evidence nor the imagination.

69. *Turin Catalogue* (1882) p. 121.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

f) *Small objects.* Names of possible coregents have also been found associated on very small objects: for Pepi I and Mernerē (pendant), Mernerē and Pepi II (cylinder seal), Mentuhotep IV and Amenemmes I (vase fragment), Sesostris II and Sesostris III (scarab), Sesostris III and Amenemmes III (scarab), Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV (scarab), Amenemmes III and Sobeknofru (plaque), Ahmose and Amenophis I (amulet), Akhenaten and Smenkharē (jar sealing), and for Psusennes I and Nephherkheres (bow finials).

In his collection of historical scarabs Petrie called attention to what he termed "reissues" by later kings of their predecessors' scarabs.<sup>71</sup> Properly speaking these are not reissues at all, as they make no pretense at greater antiquity. Instead, the name of the current pharaoh is associated with one or more of his revered ancestors, although one rarely finds more than two kings named on one piece. One notable exception to this rule is a small plaque that is divided into six squares, each containing the praenomen of a Twelfth Dynasty pharaoh and listing *in toto* all the sovereigns of the dynasty down to Amenemmes III.<sup>72</sup> Other examples associate the names of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III with that of Menes;<sup>73</sup> and that of Sety I with those of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III.<sup>74</sup> More often, however, a king will commemorate only one of his predecessors. Thus, a late Middle Kingdom scarab associates Sesostris III with Auyibrē (I?),<sup>75</sup> and another combines the praenomina of Kha'neferrē (Sobekhotep IV) with the praenomen of Kha'ankhrē (Sobekhotep I).<sup>76</sup>

71. W. M. F. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections* (London, 1889) pp. 9-10.

72. *Ibid.*, No. 272; cf. also the set of marble balls (Royal Scottish Museum Nos. 1972.228-32) inscribed with the names of the six earliest kings of the First Dynasty, and cited here by courtesy of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. For these objects, see A. F. Shore, "A 'Serpent'-Board from Egypt," *British Museum Quarterly* 26 (1962-63) 88-91, with Pl. XXXIII (for which reference I am indebted to J. M. Scarce).

73. P. E. Newberry, *The Timins Collection of Ancient Egyptian Scarabs and Cylinder Seals* (London, 1907) Pl. VI, p. 20 (No. 104).

74. British Museum No. 16580 (unpublished, cited by kind permission of the Museum authorities).

75. G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection, XXIII. Une Scarabée à double nom royal," *ASAE* 6 (1905) 137-38.

76. Ashmolean Museum No. 1892-445 (unpublished, cited by kind permission of the Museum authorities). On these two kings, see J. von Beckerath,

From the New Kingdom we have scarabs of Tuthmosis III and Sesostris I,<sup>77</sup> Hatshepsut and Sesostris II,<sup>78</sup> Hatshepsut and Sesostris III,<sup>79</sup> Tuthmosis III and Sesostris III,<sup>80</sup> Tuthmosis III and Amenemmes II,<sup>81</sup> Tuthmosis III and Sobekhotep IV,<sup>82</sup> Tuthmosis III and Amenophis I,<sup>83</sup> Amenophis III and Mentuhotep IV,<sup>84</sup> Amenophis III and Tuthmosis III,<sup>85</sup> Sety I and Tuthmosis III,<sup>86</sup> Sety I and Amenophis III,<sup>87</sup> Ramesses II and Tuthmosis III,<sup>88</sup> Merneptah and Tuthmosis III,<sup>89</sup> and Ramesses III and Tuthmosis III.<sup>90</sup> The name of Tuthmosis III is especially frequent in this genre, and in the later dynasties we find it associated with the names of Siamun, Pi'ankhy, and Necho.<sup>91</sup> A few examples can be found where the names of kings who reigned in succession are associated, as on two Twenty-second Dynasty scarabs with the names of Shoshenq I and Osorkon I placed side by side.<sup>92</sup>

When a particularly distinguished forebear is named, the meaning of the juxtaposition seems clear—either to enhance the virtues of a reigning king by a flattering comparison or to place the current reign under the aegis of one of the great rulers of the past. Thus, the propaganda that attended Hatshepsut's lust for respectability encompassed an appeal to the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, and the many posthumous references to Tuthmosis III need no other explanation. But this commemorative usage is not confined to the great kings of the past and includes such relative nonentities as Mentuhotep IV, Amenemmes II, Sesos-

*Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄF, Vol. 23 [1964]) pp. 233-34, 246-50.

77. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, No. 942.

78. *Ibid.*, No. 944.

79. *Ibid.*, No. 949.

80. *Ibid.*, No. 952.

81. F. S. Matouk, *Corpus du scarabée égyptien I: Les Scarabées royaux* (Beirut, 1971) 75.

82. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, No. 956.

83. *Ibid.*, No. 957.

84. Ashmolean Museum No. 1962-168 (unpublished amuletic prism, cited by kind permission).

85. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, Nos. 1269, 1270, 1272.

86. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1443-52.

87. British Museum No. 28716 (unpublished, cited by kind permission).

88. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, Nos. 1567-68.

89. *Ibid.*, No. 1616.

90. *Ibid.*, No. 1652.

91. Matouk, *Corpus I* 75.

92. *LdR III* 315 (XLIII-XLIV).

tris II, etc. An appeal to the not very glorious memory of these kings seems unlikely, so one looks for another explanation. It may be that the restoration of an ancient monument would sometimes prompt the issue of a commemorative scarab.<sup>93</sup> When names of consecutively reigning kings are associated, however, these alternative possibilities are often clouded, especially since this sort of material is likely to be taken *ipso facto* as proof of a coregency. Scarabs do associate the names of known coregents (e.g., Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III)—but Shoshenq I and Osorkon II, who are not otherwise known to have been coregents, are similarly joined.<sup>94</sup> Even more telling is the joint scarab of Sesostris II and Sesostris III, already cited. We know from a papyrus document that the former's nineteenth year (probably his last) was followed by his successor's first. As in the case of Rameses II and Merneptah, this evidence makes a coregency quite improbable. Ambiguity of meaning is, as always, the main problem. Thus the bow finials associating Nepherkheres with Psusennes I could have been made by the latter for his predecessor,<sup>95</sup> but found their way into his tomb instead; alternatively, they could commemorate a short coregency. Given the range of meaning in these materials and the lack of subsidiary evidence, the possibilities can only be kept open.

PAPYRI WITH DATES OF TWO KINGS  
ON THE SAME OR ON RELATED SURFACES

In our discussion of the coregency of Amenemmes III with Amenemmes IV, mention was made of a papyrus fragment dated on the verso to regnal year 45, and on the recto to years 9-10. The wide gulf between these dates suggests that they could belong to different kings, and their cocurrence on one sheet of papyrus raises the possibility that these were the coregents Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV. A similar argument is used to suggest that transactions ranging from the twenty-seventh year of Amenophis III through the fifth year of Amenophis IV might

93. Perhaps to be used in foundation deposits, for example; see U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu IV: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III*, Pt. II (OIP LV [1951]) 47-48.

94. K. Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," *JNES* 32 (1973) 6 (sec. 2).

95. See Wentz, *JNES* 26 (1967) 155-56 on the order of these two kings.

be compressed into a more plausible span of time if there had been an eleven-year coregency.

On papyrus, just as on statuary, the type of juxtaposition is crucially important. In cases where seemingly disparate dates occur in one document, are they merely different entries made at separate times, or do they form part of a deliberate grouping of dated material? The fact that one of the Eighteenth Dynasty papyri assembles the transactions of year 27 (of Amenophis III) and years 2 and 3 (of Amenophis IV) suggests that this document represents a later compilation, and not the original records. Such a compilation, in turn, suggests a lawsuit. Egyptian tenacity where property was concerned could and sometimes did lead to lawsuits spanning a generation or more. The lawsuit described in the Inscription of Mes, for example, extended from the late Eighteenth Dynasty into the reign of Ramesses II,<sup>96</sup> and the Brooklyn Museum papyrus published by Hayes documents another case that lasted from the later Twelfth Dynasty into the Thirteenth.<sup>97</sup> If litigation were the reason for the juxtaposition of widely scattered dates in the Eighteenth Dynasty papyri, the presence of such dates within one document would hardly be good evidence for a coregency.

The Twelfth Dynasty document, moreover, can be profitably considered with the remaining fragments of the archive from which it came. The fragment with which we are concerned consists of a pair of accounts, the verso (year 45) dealing with an estate called *Htp Snwsrt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*, while the recto is concerned with another estate, the name of which is broken but begins with *hwt . . .*<sup>98</sup> The estate *Htp Snwsrt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* turns up fairly frequently in the Kahûn papyri. Its most notable appearance outside our text is in Pap. No. XIII.1, in the twenty-sixth year of Amenemmes III.<sup>99</sup> Generally references to this estate occur in or after Amenemmes III's fortieth year.<sup>100</sup> One badly fragmented papyrus does, however, preserve a scattering of dates

96. A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes: A Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Judicial Procedure* (UGAÄ IV/3 [Leipzig, 1905]) p. 32.

97. W. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1955) pp. 11-16, 127-29.

98. F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898) Pls. XIV-XV (VI.21).

99. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI.

100. *Ibid.*, Pls. XV (VI.13, dated to year 40 + x), XVIII (VI.22, dated to year 44; V.2 has a broken date).

with reference to this estate in what is presumably Amenemmes III's reign, to wit, years 15(?), 34, 36, and 44.<sup>101</sup> Probably this papyrus (Pap. No. VI.21), with its reference to years 9-10 and 45, is but another collection of data from widely separated years. Other instances of such compilations over a long period of time are not hard to find in the Kahūn collection. The enumeration of a household in years 1-2 of Sekhemrē-Khutowy contains references to years 26 and 40 of another king.<sup>102</sup> A copy of a will dated to year 44 (probably of Amenemmes III) is followed by another will dated to year 2 (of Amenemmes IV? Sobeknofru?).<sup>103</sup> Similarly, in the collection of papyri from Illahūn we have documents dated to a year 7 (recto) and a year 13 (verso) of Sesostris III;<sup>104</sup> year 6 (recto) and year 24 (verso) of either Sesostris III or Amenemmes III;<sup>105</sup> year 11 (recto) and year 31 (verso);<sup>106</sup> and year 6 (? recto) and year 9 (verso).<sup>107</sup> The late Middle Kingdom papyrus in Brooklyn, already mentioned, contains a main text dated successively to years 10, 31, and 36 (probably of Amenemmes III), as well as a group of subsidiary texts, added later, dated to years 5(?) and 6 of a predecessor of Sobekhotep III, and to years 1-2 of Sobekhotep III himself.<sup>108</sup> Nor is this phenomenon confined to Middle Kingdom papyri. Several of the documents relating to the tomb robbery scandals of the late Twentieth Dynasty bear not only original texts dated late in the reign of Ramesses IX, but also additional entries from the "Renaissance" era, between twenty and thirty years later.<sup>109</sup> The miscellany of texts on the verso of Pap. Sallier IV is variously dated from Ramesses II's fifty-sixth year to the third year of his successor, Merneptah, a span of thirteen years.<sup>110</sup> The Turin Taxation Papyrus is dated to Ramesses XI's twelfth

101. Ibid., Pls. XXII-XXIII (III.1).

102. Ibid., Pls. X-XI (IV.1).

103. Ibid., Pls. XII-XIII (I.1).

104. E. Lüddeckens and U. Kaplony-Heckel, eds., *Ägyptische Handschriften I* ("Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland," Vol. 19.1 [Wiesbaden, 1971]) 7 (No. 10, P:10.012 A, B).

105. Ibid., p. 24 (No. 41, P:10.052).

106. Ibid., p. 25 (No. 44, P:10.056).

107. Ibid., p. 41 (No. 73, P:10.089 b).

108. Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, pp. 11-16.

109. Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, pp. 29, 129-31 (Pap. Abbott), 53-60 (Pap. BM 10054), 2, 114-15 (Pap. BM 10053).

110. R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954) pp. 357 (10.1), 360-61 (13.1), 367 (17.1).

year (recto) and again to his fourteenth year (verso).<sup>111</sup> Clearly none of these associated dates are equivalent to one another, and by analogy the dates on the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty Kahûn papyri are probably consecutive rather than concurrent. There are sufficient examples to show that a wide scattering of dates is not uncommon in administrative documents, inasmuch as these often require information from more than one period or include data accumulated by accretion. Double dates must have been supplied when they were needed (e.g., the docket in the Abbott Papyrus that supplies the synchronism between Ramesses XI's reign and the "Renaissance"). Papyrus, moreover, was not inexpensive, so it is not unusual to find documents reused several times, often for quite different purposes. For example, on the verso of a papyrus preserving the Middle Kingdom version of "The Contendings of Horus and Seth" there appears a list of workmen;<sup>112</sup> another list of workmen, dated to year 29 of an unknown king, occupies the verso of a medical work;<sup>113</sup> a similar list appears on the verso of the Turin Canon of Kings;<sup>114</sup> and this enumeration could be extended further with no difficulty.

In sum, the comparative materials assembled here do not lead to the conclusion that the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasty papyri from Kahûn preserve concurrent as opposed to successive dates. The Eighteenth Dynasty set of documents may well derive from a lawsuit or from a series of transactions over a span of fifteen years, and any attempt to prove otherwise must founder on our complete ignorance of the participants' circumstances. Regarding the Twelfth Dynasty papyrus, even if the dates do belong to two separate kings (and this has not been proved), a close relationship such as that of a coregency is not required.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have attempted to determine the range of meaning that is inherent in certain classes of material. The results can now be applied to the evidence that was marshalled in Chapter 3 in support of the hypothetical coregencies, and although some of these determinations are liable to change with the discovery of clearer evidence, it is hoped that the investigations will at least have served to clarify some of the issues.

111. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, pp. xiii, 35-44.

112. Griffith, *Kahun and Gurob*, Pls. III, XXVI a (VI.12).

113. *Ibid.*, Pls. V-VI, XXVI a (VI.1).

114. A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959) *passim*.



## PEPI I AND MERNERĒ

Once we set aside the copper statues from Hierakonpolis (see under *d*), the only evidence for a coregency of Pepi I with Mernerē is the pendant bearing both kings' names (under *f*). This juxtaposition, as we have seen, is by itself ambiguous, and the literary evidence proves nothing either way. Mernerē, we know, reigned at least into his sixth regnal year, and there is to date no support for the figure of seven years assigned to him by Manetho. According to the Manethonian tradition, Pepi II, a younger son of Pepi I, succeeded Mernerē at the age of six. If Mernerē's tenure on the throne was in fact seven years (or longer), or if Pepi II was born before his father's last year in office, a coregency (of Mernerē with either his father or his younger brother) would be required to accommodate Pepi II's alleged youth at his accession. Unfortunately, there is no way in which the doubts concerning these possibilities or about the tradition itself can be resolved. Thus, Pepi II could plausibly have been the child of his father's last year, and could have succeeded to the throne after his brother's reign of nearly six years.

## MERNERĒ AND PEPI II

The association of the names of Mernerē and Pepi II on a seal (under *f*) is inconclusive, since this piece may simply commemorate the owner's service under both kings. There is, moreover, no reason why Mernerē should have associated the child Pepi II on the throne with him, except as a response to familial and political pressures which are themselves unknown. On all counts, a coregency appears highly doubtful.

## MENTUHOTEP IV AND AMENEMMES I

The evidence for the coregency of Mentuhotep IV with Amenemmes I is ambiguous. The vase bearing both kings' names (under *f*) could have served either a votive or a memorial purpose, especially since elements belonging to Amenemmes I's later titulary appear on this piece. If, on the other hand, the identity of the vizier Amenemhēt with the later king is maintained,<sup>115</sup> he may well have legitimized his position by becoming his pred-

115. CAH I/2 (3d ed.) 492-95.

ecessor's coregent. Mentuhotep IV's subsequent disappearance from the king lists is curious, but a coregency is still not improbable.<sup>116</sup>

#### SESOSTRIS II AND SESOSTRIS III

A scarab (under *f*) does associate the names of Sesostris II and Sesostris III, but in a contemporary account the nineteenth year of Sesostris II was followed by the first year of his son. Since this document is itself a summary, it seems probable that it was dated retroactively (the year change is reckoned on New Year's Day) and that the fraction of Sesostris II's final year of rule was absorbed for the record into Sesostris III's accession year. The likelihood that this solution is correct is enhanced by the Turin Canon, which assigns to Sesostris II nineteen full years and a fraction. Although one cannot altogether exclude the possibility that these kings were coregents for a few months (at the most), it seems more likely that the scarab served a purely commemorative purpose.

#### SESOSTRIS III AND AMENEMMES III

Much of the evidence for the coregency of Sesostris III and Amenemmes III turns out on closer examination to be illusory, but a few pieces (stelae in Cairo and the British Museum [under *e*], scarabs [under *f*], the Sinai altar [under *c*]) bear contemporary juxtapositions of the kings' names. This phenomenon, as we have seen, is not very reliable in itself, and on chronological grounds a coregency of one or two decades is plainly impossible. Amenemmes III could have been associated with his father for a few years, but the chronology of such a coregency would depend upon the still unknown length of their reigns.

*Addendum.* As the manuscript was going to press, J. von Beckerath's discussion of the Twelfth Dynasty coregencies ("Die Chronologie der XII. Dynastie und das Problem der Behandlung gleichzeitiger

116. Note, for example, that Tut'ankhamun's burial was probably restored under Haremhab (C. Aldred, *CAH* II/2 [3d ed.] 75; H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen I* [London, 1923] 54, 133-40), despite this king's wholesale usurpation of Tut'ankhamun's monuments and the latter's subsequent disappearance from the official list of kings (on which see S. Sauneron, "La Tradition officielle relative à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie d'après un ostracon de la Vallée des Rois," *CdE* 26 [1951] 46-49).

Regierungen in der ägyptischen Überlieferung," *SAK* 4 [1976] 45-57) came into my hands. Although extended discussion is out of the question here, I am indebted to him for evidence bearing on the coregency of Sesostri III and Amenemmes III that I had overlooked earlier: on blocks located in the Berlin Museum (*Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* I/3 [Leipzig, 1913] 138, 268 [= Nos. 15801-03]) there is a fragmentary coronation inscription that deals with the formulation of Amenemmes III's "Great Names," apparently in the presence of his father, Sesostri III. Since this text is a Twelfth Dynasty prototype of Hatshepsut's own coronation inscription at Deir el-Bahari, describing her fictitious elevation by her father (cf. *Deir el Bahari* III, Pl. LXII), it might well be taken to represent an actual event, the form of the inscription being later borrowed to give added weight to Hatshepsut's claims (as noted by S. Schott, "Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatschepsût" [*NAWG* (1955, No. 6)] pp. 201-202). Given the widespread use of coregencies in the Twelfth Dynasty, it seems unlikely that the original was merely a propagandist effusion on behalf of Amenemmes III, so this evidence tilts the balance in favor of a coregency that began in Sesostri III's thirty-seventh year and lasted (at the latest) into his fortieth.

#### AMENEMMES III AND AMENEMMES IV

The volume of symmetrically divided decoration spread across a wide variety of monuments makes the coregency of Amenemmes III and Amenemmes IV virtually certain. The monuments suggest a maximum length of seven years, but the total is actually probably closer to two.

#### AMENEMMES III AND SOBKNOFRU

Since it is all but certain that Amenemmes IV survived his father, the coregency of Amenemmes III with Sobeknofru seems impossible. The materials that associate Sobeknofru with her father must therefore all be commemorative.

#### KINGS OF THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

It is significant that all true cases of associated names during this period are the names of kings whose reigns were probably far apart. Thus, Khutowyrē Wegaf (XIII.1) is associated with Amenemmes VII (XIII.15), Sekhemrē Khutowy (XIII.3)

with Auyibrē Hor (XIII.14). We have only the sequence of the Turin Canon to guide us here, and the shortness of reigns during this period suggests that there must have been at least a few coregencies. In the end, however, our documentation is too meager to permit a decent reckoning of probabilities.

#### AHMOSE AND AMENOPHIS I

Ahmoṣe-Nofretari, wife of King Ahmoṣe and mother of Amenophis I, is described as a king's mother on a stela dated to her husband's twenty-second year. Since this title does not seem to have been granted in anticipation, a coregency is virtually certain and, using the Manethonian figure of twenty-five years for Ahmoṣe's reign, it must have lasted a minimum of three years.

#### AMENOPHIS I AND TUTHMOSIS I

The sole evidence for a coregency of Amenophis I with Tuthmosis I is that Tuthmosis I decorated the south wall of Amenophis I's alabaster shrine at Karnak, and it seems probable that this was a question of completing an unfinished monument. If Tuthmosis I came to the throne by marriage, his accession would have been rendered smoother by a coregency with his predecessor. This could well be what happened, but the material evidence is nil.

#### TUTHMOSIS I AND HATSHEPSUT

Between Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut there was definitely no coregency. Hatshepsut's claim to this effect was a propagandistic effort to legitimize her accession to the throne and may be an elaboration of her original justification, which stressed the intervention of Amun.

#### TUTHMOSIS II AND TUTHMOSIS III

The text on which the coregency of Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis III has been based is ambiguous, and only the lintel from Abydos (see at reference to n. 20) preserves an apparently original juxtaposition of the kings' names in the context of a building project. This association may be commemorative, and the existence of a similar element decorated by the third and fourteenth kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty lends no support to

the case for a coregency. Moreover, in what seems to be an unvarnished reflection of the political situation at the time, Ineny's tomb biography does refer to a period following Tuthmosis II's death during which Hatshepsut, as Queen Dowager, ruled as virtual regent for the young Tuthmosis III. This could be interpreted to mean that Tuthmosis III's accession followed his father's death, but the words "King X went to heaven and joined the gods; his son stood in his place" etc., are plainly formulaic (the same words are used to describe the "accession" of Amenophis II following the death of his coregent, Tuthmosis III) and convey only that one king's reign followed another's. A coregency with Tuthmosis II may have been one of the reasons why Tuthmosis III survived the ambitions of his aunt, but more evidence is needed to prove this hypothesis.

#### AMENOPHIS II AND TUTHMOSIS IV

There is no clear association of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV in the monuments except as father and son, and thus no reason to suppose that they were ever coregents.

#### TUTHMOSIS IV AND AMENOPHIS III

No evidence exists favoring the coregency of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III. In fact, evidence against such a coregency might be inferred from the fact that the son, using an unusual, perhaps early writing of his praenomen, finished his father's alabaster shrine at Karnak (see Chap. 3, at reference to nn. 60, 61).

#### AMENOPHIS III AND AMENOPHIS IV/AKHENATEN

Despite the impressive quantity of evidence mustered for the coregency of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, none of it can be reckoned as convincing proof. The infrequent associations of the kings' figures (the Huya lintel, the Aswan relief [see under *b*]) or their names (the royal sarcophagi from Amarna [under *c*], the offering table [under *c*], the Athribis block [under *a* and under *b*, at reference to nn. 11, 12]) can all be explained as commemorative, and neither the fact of juxtaposed cartouches nor the context of these materials encourages any other belief. Nor, it seems, did the relief on the third pylon at Karnak originally represent Amenophis III and his son. Despite the wealth of interpretive nuance that has been lavished on these materials, there-

fore, it seems that the physical evidence for the coregency is about nil.

Other, more circumstantial arguments were discussed in Chapter 3 and found wanting. Two additional ones may be stated briefly here, however, since they tend to keep the question open. In one of the letters of the Amarna archive sent by Burnaburiash II to Tut'ankhamun (Nipkhururia = Nebkheprurē) the Babylonian king speaks of events in the reign of Kurigalzu I, his "father," and also mentions that both his and Tut'ankhamun's "fathers" had enjoyed amicable relations. If these two passages are connected—if, in other words, Tut'ankhamun's father belonged to Kurigalzu's generation—the Egyptian king's "father" in EA 9 would be Amenophis III, inasmuch as Akhenaten exchanged letters only with Burnaburiash and (perhaps) with his physical father, Kadashman-Enlil I.<sup>117</sup> Tut'ankhamun himself refers to Amenophis III as his "father" in the inscription on the granite lion from Soleb, now in the British Museum,<sup>118</sup> and if this claim is taken seriously it must follow that there had been a long coregency. Tut'ankhamun reigned over nine full years, and he was less than eighteen years of age when he died,<sup>119</sup> so that Amenophis III could not have been the father referred to unless he survived into his son's second decade on the throne. The difficulty with this simple equation is that we are by no means certain that Burnaburiash is speaking to Tut'ankhamun in plain genealogical terms. The first section of EA 9, that dwells on the good relations between the kings' two "fathers," clearly refers to their predecessors, and possibly also to their physical fathers; Tut'ankhamun's father could thus be seen either as Amenophis III or Akhenaten. But Kurigalzu, who is mentioned in an entirely different context in the second section of the letter, was Burnaburiash's grandfather, so that the Akkadian term *abu* must connote "(fore)father" here as elsewhere,<sup>120</sup> just as the usage of *jt*, "father," in Egyptian can show the same variability.<sup>121</sup> One can therefore not rule out the possibility that it is Tut'ankhamun's "ancestor" Amenophis III rather than his "father" who is referred to in both places. To the extent that this genealog-

117. EA 9:1-20 (J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln I* [VAB II/1 (1915)] 88-91).

118. C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt - A New Study* (London, 1968) pp. 96-97.

119. F. F. Leek, *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun* (TTS V [1972]) pp. 19-20.

120. CAD A/1, p. 72 (*abu* 3a, col. i bottom).

121. *Wb* I 141.16.

ical question remains unresolved, however, the long coregency remains a remote possibility.

The other argument has to do with stylistic features in the art of the period. We have already noted that certain peculiarities in the original carving on the third pylon, and also in the tomb of Nefersekeru at Thebes, foreshadow developments that were to appear full grown in the Amarna period. Many of the same features had appeared earlier in painted tombs, but their invasion of relief seems to have been quite sudden. Moreover, unlike most of the examples cited as evidence of supposed interrelations between the two reigns, these can be assigned only to the reign of Amenophis III. Nefersekeru's main title was "Steward of the House of Nebma'atrē (called) "Aton Gleams,"" perhaps a name for the Malkatta complex,<sup>122</sup> and it seems reasonable to suppose that this reference was to the current occupant, Amenophis III. Moreover, Nefersekeru boasts of having acted as "Controller of the Two Thrones" in his master's first jubilee,<sup>123</sup> proving that the tomb was decorated during the last decade of the reign—hardly later, in view of the traditional Eighteenth Dynasty style that is otherwise characteristic of this monument. The bowing figures on the third pylon, similarly, are contemporary with the main figures of Amenophis III and formed part of the original as an integral composition. Nims has already pointed out that there is a strong likelihood that the traditional and "revolutionary" styles coexisted for a time during the early reign of Amenophis IV,<sup>124</sup> and the same may well have been true during the later years of Amenophis III. Perhaps these developments had a momentum of their own that was not influenced primarily by politics, and perhaps we are not in a position to appreciate how gradual the process really was. Nonetheless if Amenophis IV is regarded as the catalyst for the dissemination of these stylistic features, their sporadic appearance during his father's reign argues in favor of a coregency. In that case Amenophis III would have shared the throne with Amenophis IV, and the coregency would have ended before the latter became Akhenaten.

122. W. C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951) 178-79.

123. W. Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107," *MIO* 4 (1956) 17, 20 (Text B).

124. C. F. Nims, *JNES* XXXII 181-87.

## AKHENATEN AND SMENKHKARĒ

The sum of the evidence favors a coregency between Akhenaten and Smenkhkarē, and I have argued above that it was probably over when Smenkhkarē moved from Akhetaten to Thebes toward the end of his second year.

## TUT'ANKHAMUN AND AY

The evidence of the Karnak blocks (under *a* and *b*) is that Ay inserted himself into a temple initially belonging to Tut'ankhamun, but proof for a coregency is lacking.

## AY AND HAREMHAB

The mythological account of Haremhab's coronation inscription, stressing the sponsorship of the Horus of Hnēs, is no evidence that Haremhab claimed his appointment from the hands of Ay, the previous occupant of the Horus Throne.

## HAREMHAB AND RAMESSES I

Both Haremhab and his successor Ramesses I are named on the small obelisk of the Royal Scottish Museum (under *c*), and a coregency is not an implausible explanation. Ramesses I was not of royal blood, so a coregency with Haremhab (himself a commoner, but one who had legitimized his position by long tenure and many benefactions to the orthodox religion) might have been helpful.

## RAMESSES I AND SETY I

The Medâmûd statue (under *d*), taken in conjunction with Sety I's account of his early career, in the stela at Abydos, strongly suggests that he had a coregency with Ramesses I. It probably began after II Proyet 20 of Ramesses' second regnal year, however, since this date occurs on Ramesses' Buhen stela, which is itself inscribed with a marginal text of Sety, and is followed by a virtually duplicate stela dating to Sety's first year, IV Shomu 30. Given the evidence that Ramesses' reign was exceedingly short, the coregency could hardly have lasted more than a few months.



## SETHNAKHT AND RAMESSES III

A short coregency between Sethnakht and Ramesses III is not impossible, but the evidence is slight and ambiguous.

## NEPHERKHERES AND PSUSENNES I

The sole evidence for the coregency of Nepherkheres and Psusennes I may as easily represent a commemorative as a contemporary association, and we do not know enough about the period to assess the inherent plausibility of the case.

## PSUSENNES I AND AMENEMOPE

A coregency of Psusennes I and Amenemope is not really improbable, given the great age of the former at the time of his death. The evidence, however, falls short of establishing it.

## OSORKON I AND SHOSHENQ 'II'

Given the anomalous status of King Hekakheperrē Shoshenq 'II,' it seems safer to assign him a coregency with Osorkon I than to assume that he ever reigned alone.

## OSORKON II AND HARSIIĒSE

The career of Harsiēse seems to fall entirely within Osorkon II's reign, and it seems that he adopted royal honors within the Thebaid while acknowledging the overlordship of the ruler in Tanis.

PI<sup>ˆ</sup>ANKHY AND SHABAKO

There is no evidence that Pi<sup>ˆ</sup>ankhy was alive during Shabako's reign.

## SHABAKO AND SHEBITKU

The alleged textual proofs for the coregency of Shabako and Shebitku are not successful, but both chronological considerations and, much less compellingly, Manetho's figure for the

length of Shebitku's reign seem to require a coregency.<sup>125</sup>

#### SHEBITKU AND TAHARQA

The texts adduced to support the coregency of Shebitku and Taharqa can be explained otherwise, and there is no other evidence for this coregency.

#### TAHARQA AND TANTAMANI

No decisive evidence can be claimed for the coregency of Taharqa and Tantamani, though it cannot be ruled out either.

#### NECTANEBO I AND TEOS

The written sources suggest a coregency between Nectanebo I and Teos lasting just over two years.

When I first undertook the comparative analysis that has formed the bulk of this chapter, I hoped to discover consistent and mutually exclusive patterns that would illustrate the adaptation of formal decoration in Egyptian monuments to concrete historical situations. My results do not always match this expectation. Political conditions, to be sure, are often reflected in the decoration of buildings and objects alike—but the same iconography can "describe," for example, a son's completion of his father's project or a dedication made by one king for a predecessor. In some cases the actual situation may be revealed by subsidiary materials, but the greater number of bald juxtapositions lack a wider context and must remain, for the time being, ambiguous. Insofar as the evidence for individual coregencies falls into this last category, the determinations must themselves be incomplete. New facts, as they are uncovered, will undoubtedly resolve some of the inconclusive cases above, and entirely new coregencies may be revealed. At any rate, I hope that the extended discussion in the last chapters will have illustrated some of the problems that bedevil our interpretation of ancient sources. A noted Assyriologist has pointed out that in this regard the materials

125. Waddell, *Manetho*, pp. 166-69; cf. Spalinger, *JARCE* 10 (1973) 98-100.

for ancient history often do not permit us the luxury of deciding what we must believe, but only what it seems reasonable to believe.<sup>126</sup> By determining the limits of meaning inherent in these materials we can hope to make the above proposition less subjective.

126. T. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA* 52 (1957) 94-95.



## THE DYNAMICS OF THE COREGENCY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Although discussions of individual coregencies abound in the literature of Egyptology, comparatively little attention has been paid to the question of how the institution worked. This is understandable, for an adequate treatment of the subject would require not only a reliable count of all coregencies but also a knowledge of the circumstances in each case. As we have seen, existing materials are often scanty, and some determinations are apt to be overturned by future discoveries. This study, then, is frankly provisional, but it can at least indicate directions where answers may lie.

The general silence on the dynamics of the ancient Egyptian coregency is broken by three exceptions. Simpson, in his important study of the single-dated monuments of Sesostris I, has argued that, as the junior partner, he was the dominant executive force in his coregency with Amenemmes I, and he suggests that the same pattern applied to other cases in the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Earlier, Christophe's study of the preroyal career of Merneptah had convinced him that coregencies were incompatible with the theory of kingship prevailing in the Ramesside period, and that only regencies (the successor being king in all but name) were possible.<sup>2</sup> In recent years the coregencies of the Eighteenth Dynasty have been intensively studied by Cyril Aldred, leading to the following conclusions:

1. Every king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (possibly excepting Tuthmosis IV and Tut'ankhamun) was coregent with a junior and/or senior partner; this would include a coregency for Haremhab and Ramesses I. The figures in Manetho preserve, albeit in garbled form, the number of years in which each king reigned alone exclusive of coregency periods.

1. W. K. Simpson, "The Single-dated Monuments of Sesostris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956) 214-19.

2. L.-A. Christophe, "La Carrière du prince Merneptah et les trois régences ramessides," *ASAE* 51 (1951) 335-72.

2. The junior partner, as in the Twelfth Dynasty, was the executive, dynamic force in the duumvirate inside Egypt, although foreign rulers continued to correspond with the senior partner until his death.

3. There were two separate courts and two administrations that served each coregent respectively and had little to do with one another. The court of the elder partner lapsed at his death, and its members were but rarely incorporated into the junior partner's entourage. Exceptions were frequently made for military men, however, whose field experience made them too valuable to waste.<sup>3</sup>

Some of these generalizations have already been discussed in previous chapters. It has been noted, for example, that while coregencies were fairly frequent in the Eighteenth Dynasty, they seem not to have been as regular as Aldred suggests. Hatshepsut's association with Tuthmosis III was blatantly a coregency by usurpation, while the function of Amenophis II vis-à-vis his father seems to have been that of a "staff of old age." We are not well informed about other cases, although it hardly seems likely that Smenkhkarē's association with Akhenaten resembled either of these models. This variability does not encourage belief in either the regularity or the uniformity of coregencies in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is also difficult to maintain that coregencies lapsed altogether during the later New Kingdom. The fact that certain individuals achieved quasi-royal authority in certain functions (e.g., Princes Khaemwēse and Merneptah) does not prove that "regency" precluded "coregency"; and there is now good reason to believe that both Sety I and Ramesses II were formally invested with the kingship before their fathers' deaths. We have also seen (Chap. 3, n. 35) that Manetho is not to be accepted uncritically as a guide to relative chronology. Garbled his figures surely are, but this fact does not constitute an escape clause for Aldred's untenable first conclusion.

Leaving all this aside, however, there are still some valid questions we can ask. What was the relation of the junior to the senior partner? Was it always the same? Were there two courts

3. C. Aldred, "The Second Jubilee of Amenophis II," *ZÄS* 94 (1967) 3-4; *idem*, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt - A New Study* (London, 1968) pp. 103-4; *idem*, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *CAH* II/2 (3d ed.) 69; *idem*, "Two Monuments from the Reign of Horemḥeb," *JEA* 54 (1968) 100-103.

or administrations under a coregency? How did individual coregencies come into being? For that matter, just what is a coregency?

The formal installation of a coregent is described in the great dedicatory inscription from Abydos, in which Ramesses II recounts how his father appeared before the people<sup>4</sup> and announced his decision to raise his son to the kingship ("Raise him up as king that I [may see] his beauty while I am alive"). The chamberlains (*jmy-ḥnt*) were summoned to set the royal diadems on Ramesses' brow, and he was then ready to exercise the functions of kingship ("Let him give commands to the Sun-people"—[This is what] he said [concerning me] as he wept for the greatness of the love of me in his body").<sup>5</sup> Hatshepsut's account of her fictitious coronation by Tuthmosis I is also valuable, and it confirms the main outlines of the later account in greater detail. A formal royal audience was held in the palace, and before the entire court the old king pronounced his intentions: "(As for) this daughter (of mine), Hatshepsut-United-with-Amun—may she live!—I am installing [her] as my veritable successor (*sty·j tw*).<sup>6</sup> Indeed, this is the occupant of my seat! Surely it is she who will sit on my wonderful throne!"<sup>7</sup> Following the joyful demonstration provoked by these words, the king caused the lector-priests (*hry.w-ḥb*) to be summoned "in order to announce her Great Names of the Receiving of her Dignities of King of Upper and Lower Egypt."<sup>8</sup> The new queen's titulary was thus formally proclaimed<sup>9</sup>—and to the extent

4. Christophe, in *ASAE* 51 (1951) 359-60, renders the phrase *wn ḥ<sup>cc</sup> jt·j* as a past continuous tense, denoting repeated action over a number of occasions, not the single appointment of a coregent. But in Middle Egyptian this would be \**wn jt·j ḥ<sup>cc</sup>·f* (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [3d ed., rev.; Oxford, 1957] sec. 472.2), and *wn sdm·f* in Late Egyptian is usually an *irrealis* (A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* [2d ed., rev.; Leipzig, 1933] sec. 536), with an aberrant use as a simple past tense (M. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Egyptien* [Moscow, 1973] sec. 442 [p. 393]). There is no reason, therefore, to doubt that this passage refers to the inception of the coregency.

5. *KRI* II 328.3-4.

6. Dividing differently from Sethe (*Urk* IV 257.8) and emending *js* to *jst*. Breasted (*AR* II 97, n. 'f') is correct enough in maintaining that *sty* does not mean "coregent," but given the ambiguous sense of the passage, this is beside the point (and cf. *Wb* IV 8, where *sty* can mean "representative" as well as "successor"); the literal, etymological meaning would be something like "throne-holder."

7. *Urk* IV 257.5-9.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 261.1-4.

9. For the whole passage, see *ibid.*, pp. 255-61; *AR* II 94-99.

that it became immediately operative Hatshepsut was no longer to be regarded as princess or even as heiress apparent, but as king.

We know, of course, that this is not what happened. Hatshepsut acted as royal consort for her father's successor, Tuthmosis II, and did not usurp the royal dignity until early in her nephew's reign. The important thing here is the observance of the forms. In laying claim to the five "Great Names" while her father was still alive, Hatshepsut was investing herself with the very hallmarks of kingship. Whenever the elements of the titulary are formally conferred, when the personal- and throne-names are written in cartouches and exclusively used in address, there is no choice but to regard the subject as a king. Evidence in each case may be sought in the contemporary record, and we must confess that the nature of Hatshepsut's claim is obscure, for her "enthronement" by Tuthmosis I is probably fictional and the text does not rule out that her "Great Names" were proclaimed in anticipation of her successful takeover two decades later. With Ramesses II, however, there seems to be little doubt, for the assumption of the royal diadems during the old king's lifetime is specifically described and a distinct praenomen sets off Ramesses' earliest monuments from later materials in his reign. Recently it has been suggested that Ramesses II was only "prince-regent" before his father's death (a variant of Christophe's earlier denial of Ramesside coregencies), but although this proposal has not yet been fully developed in print,<sup>10</sup> it appears *prima facie* unconvincing. The only place in which Ramesses may appear as prince-regent is in the Hall of Lists of his father's temple at Abydos, where one of the four princes' figures wears a sash decorated with cartouches of the earlier throne-name. But (a) is it certain that the names were inscribed at the same time as the rest of the sash? The name-rings may have been left blank in the first instance, as on many pieces of New Kingdom statuary and relief,<sup>11</sup>

10. So far, see *KRI* I 188, 192 (secs. 78, iii and v), and K. A. Kitchen, review of Schmidt, *Ramesses II, A Chronological Structure for His Reign*, in *JEA* 61 (1975) 268-69.

11. A few examples: statues of Sesostri III are found with the plaque on the belt inscribed (G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* I [*CGC* (1906)] 8-9 [Nos. 42.011, 42.012]), but similar statues a few years later are uninscribed here (under Amenemmes III: *ibid.*, pp. 10-12 [Nos. 42.014, 42.015, 42.016, 42.020, on Pls. VIII, IX, X, XI]). In the temple of Sety I at Abydos there are similar inconsistencies with bark soles (inscribed: A. Calverley and M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, ed. A. H. Gardiner [4 vols.; London, 1933-58] I, Pls. 10, 22, 27,



and the fact that the names are carved here in sunk relief (as opposed to the raised relief employed for the figures) might argue that they were carved during different periods. Moreover, (b) even if this text and the figure were carved at the same time, they may represent Ramesses as heir designate, a period during which the Abydos and Kûbân narratives tell us that he was involved in supervising numerous projects, before he became coregent. The one does not rule out the other, and the formulation of the royal titulary while the subject was still a prince is an inconclusive argument either way. The early royal monuments all reveal Ramesses II in the accustomed trappings of a young king, and if we admit that some of these were carved during the lifetime of Sety I, it seems difficult to prove that Ramesses was merely a prince when he was styling himself as king. Overall, the term "coregent," with its implications of full royal status, still seems an accurate description of Ramesses II in his earliest reign.

After the coronation the new ruler would be formally recognized as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, with all the majesty implied by this title. In theory he was on an equal footing with the senior partner, although each king might have special functions that would make him dominant in one sphere or another, and we shall see that this was sometimes expressed concretely; but on a formal level there was nothing to set one king above the other. Both partners had full titularies and enjoyed all the powers that the king possessed on the level of myth. The junior partner can be seen performing all the essential functions of the kingship, and his official acts do not require the senior coregent's seal. Any real difference in status is not expressed formally, unlike the usage in the Roman model that has come to dominate Western political terminology, in which the form reflects the substance. In this model, *imperium*, the ruling power, was a specific, limited grant conferred by the people on the executive, and it could be exercised by several officials, either as equals (e.g., the consuls) or with overriding authority (called *imperium maius*).<sup>12</sup> In Egypt, however, such limitations did not apply on the conceptual level. The ruling power was viewed as a gift of

30; unscrubed: 6), pectorals (II 4: three with empty cartouches, one with the king's name, one completely empty), and socles of portable sledges (III 14 [inscribed], 9 [blank]).

12. For a useful summary on the limits of *imperium* see E. T. Salmon, *A History of the Roman World from 30 B.C. to A.D. 138* ("Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World" VI [London, 1966]) pp. 339-41.

the gods and as embodied in an individual who himself partook of divine being. His power might sometimes be delegated to a "deputy" (*jdꜣw*) or to a "viceroy" (*s3-nswt*, or "king's son"), but these men were carefully defined as representatives, not as holders of royal authority. Kingship in Egypt, once granted, was complete and absolute: neither coregent could be more *nswt* than the other.

In theory, then, coregency implied full collegiality—but the practice seems to have been otherwise. It is a pity that our best information on the behavior of individual coregencies comes from the Greco-Roman period, with good sources but minimal relevance to the institution in Pharaonic Egypt. Under the Ptolemies the trappings of the native monarchy were still observed but the traditions of government were neither those of ancient Egypt nor of the Macedonian monarchy familiar to the new ruling class. Ptolemy I held Egypt by virtue of successful seizure following the death of Alexander the Great. Consequently, he and his successors had to maintain themselves against the other "successor states," over a diverse immigrant and native population inside the country, and against rival claimants belonging to the royal family. It is this last factor, indeed, that accounts mostly for the use of coregencies by the Ptolemies. Ptolemy I associated his son on the throne, as Ptolemy II, in order to secure his rights against those of elder sons by a previous marriage.<sup>13</sup> The coregency of Ptolemy VI with Ptolemy VIII was an affair of convenience that had existed *de facto* but became *de jure* when the latter (who had been elected by the Alexandrians following his brother's capture by the invader Antiochus IV in 170 B.C.) refused to step down after the Seleucid king had retired.<sup>14</sup> Later, under the will of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra III was obliged to choose one of her sons to rule with her; on this legal basis her subsequent associations with Ptolemies IX and X can be explained.<sup>15</sup> One might have expected that similar compromises would have lessened the chance of dynastic infighting and insured a smoother succession. Regrettably this supposition proved totally mistaken in some other cases: the coregencies of Cleopatra Berenice with Ptolemy XI, and of Cleopatra VII with her two brothers all ended in bloodshed. The only stable coregencies were those in which the senior partner appointed his heir to rule with him: Ptolemy I with Ptolemy II, Ptolemy VI with his sons, and Cleopatra VII with

13. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides I* (Paris, 1903) 94-101.

14. *Ibid.*, II (1904) 11-21.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

Ptolemy XV. The frequent coregencies of the Ptolemaic house seem to have been more a response to exceptional conditions than a regular, well-ordered means of transmitting power—by which standard they often failed.

Roman coregencies were even more remote from the Egyptian historical experience. Since the time of Augustus the emperors had co-opted their successors, but in subordinate positions: full collegiality was achieved only during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius with Lucius Verus (161-169 A.D.).<sup>16</sup> Such coregencies are an element in the transition of the Roman form of government from the Augustan principate to the imperial despotism of Byzantium. While it is interesting to find them reflected on Egyptian monuments, they have nothing to do with a model derived specifically from Egypt.

In Pharaonic times our best sources of information concern a coregency that already, by pride of place, is the *locus classicus* of the institution: that of Amenemmes I with Sesostris I. We are fortunate in possessing a number of literary works that speak eloquently, if indirectly, of the tensions prevailing during this period. Through these sources we are able to reconstruct the circumstances attending the inception of this, the first attested coregency.

Our inquiry begins on the day of the old king's death, on II Akhet 7 of Amenemmes I's thirtieth regnal year (which was also the tenth year of his son, Sesostris I). With this event, the action of the "Story of Sinuhe" commences: Amenemmes' death, his assumption among the gods, and the mourning at court are all tersely described. The tone here is reverential, and nothing indicates that anything might have been amiss until "the Friends of the palace were sent to the western side [of the Delta] to let the king's son know the affairs which were happening in the King's House (*sšmw ḥpr m ḥnwty*)."<sup>17</sup> The young king's response was swift: "he tarried not at all—the Falcon flew away with his followers without letting the army know it." Meanwhile, other developments were taking place: "now the king's children who were accompanying him in this army were sent for, and one of them was summoned. Now, I was standing by and I heard his voice as he spoke, as I

16. M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome" XIX [Rome, 1959]) pp. 1-5.

17. O. D. Berlev ("The King's House in the Middle Kingdom," International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1960, XXV/1 [Moscow, 1962] 143-48) identifies *ḥnwty* with the interior apartments.

was at a far-off vantage point (? = *jm·j m 'r w3*).<sup>18</sup> It was this overheard conversation that caused Sinuhe to flee in panic: "I did not plan (*k3*) to reach this Residence [i.e., the Capital], for I calculated (*hmt.n·j*) that there would be strife and I did not expect [lit. "say"] that I would live after him [i.e., the king]."<sup>19</sup>

From this summary we can infer the following events: Amenemmes I died—we are not specifically told that it was through foul play, but certain courtiers subsequently traveled into the western desert and met the army, which was returning from a Libyan campaign directed by Amenemmes' coregent and heir. Their news was disturbing enough to cause Sesostris I to lead his bodyguard on a flying march back to the capital, a move accomplished with such speed and secrecy that the rest of the army remained ignorant of it. The atmosphere is definitely that of a crisis, and this episode has been identified with another incident recounted in the "Instruction of Amenemmes I." This passage, that follows an introduction in which the old king (as the narrator) warns his son against false supporters and rails against traitors in his own retinue, proceeds as follows:<sup>20</sup>

It was after supper, when night had fallen; when, resting on my bed, I took a moment's relaxation, for I was weary, and my heart began to follow slumber. Then, weapons were distributed in a plot<sup>21</sup> concerning me, and I became like a snake of the desert. I awoke to fighting while I was by myself<sup>22</sup> and I found that it was a face-to-face combat of the Guard.<sup>23</sup> If I had quickly seized

18. H. J. Polotsky, "The 'Emphatic' *sdm.n.f* Form," *RdE* 11 (1957) 113; A. de Buck, "Some New Interpretations in Sinuhe," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932) pp. 57-60. Alternatively, W. V. Davies ("Readings in the Story of Sinuhe and Other Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 61 [1975] 45-46) suggests that *w3* here is related to the word "curse" (*Wb* I 246.14) and translates as follows: "I being in the nearness (or 'vicinity') of a conspiracy."

19. A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* ("Bibliotheca aegyptiaca" II [Brussels, 1932]) pp. 3-9; but the reading at R 31 (*r-s3 nn*) is the *lectio difficilior* and may thus be preferable to the *r-s3·f* of other versions.

20. W. Helck, *Der Text der "Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn"* ("Kleine ägyptische Texte" [Wiesbaden, 1969]) pp. 38-53 (secs. vi-viii c).

21. Taking *nd-r* as a noun phrase, "taking of counsel," following the text of Car. 5.

22. Thus despite the arguments of R. Anthes, "The Legal Aspect of the Instruction of Amenemhet," *JNES* 16 (1957) 189, followed by Helck, "*Lehre*," p. 52.

23. The sense of *hwny-r-hr*, "face-to-face encounter," is neutral (see J. A. Wilson, "The Descendants of *hwny-r-hr*," *ZÄS* 68 [1932] 56-57)—but are

weapons in my hand<sup>24</sup> I would have caused the cowards<sup>25</sup> to retreat because of my aggressiveness(?).<sup>26</sup> But there is no one who can be brave at night, no one who can fight alone. Nothing successful can come to pass without a protector. Indeed, the eruption<sup>27</sup> occurred when I was without you, when the courtiers had not yet heard that I was bequeathing to you, when I had not yet sat down with you.<sup>28</sup> Now I shall advise you!<sup>29</sup>

This passage has often been interpreted as describing the assassination of Amenemmes I, and the entire "Instruction" has been regarded as a posthumous composition written in order to justify

the guards the enemy here?

24. For the crucial contrary-to-fact conditional sense of this phrase, see J. Lopez, "Le Papyrus Millingen," *RdE* 15 (1963) 32-33.

25. *ḥm*, with the same root as "to retreat" (R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962] p. 169).

26. *M-ʿ b3b3* is obscure (Helck, "*Lehre*," p. 53; R. O. Faulkner, "Some Notes on 'The Teaching of Amenemmes I to His Son,'" in *Griffith Studies*, p. 71). It seems to qualify the verb *ḥt*, but I doubt that it means "desist from" violence (this would be *ḥt r* + object, *Wb* III 342.18); so perhaps *m-ʿ* is "because of"; see G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (IFAO-BdE) XII [2d ed., rev.; 1955] 250-51 sec. 509.

27. Other renderings: "murder" (Helck, "*Lehre*," p. 59); "injuries" (R. O. Faulkner, in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* [New Haven, 1972] p. 195); "bloodshed" (J. A. Wilson in *ANET* [3d ed., rev.] p. 419). But *st3w* in medical contexts has the connotation of the swelling or pustulant secretion of a wound (H. von Deines and W. Westendorff, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* II ["Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter" VII/2 (Berlin, 1962)] pp. 819-20); perhaps it should be translated more generally, as "excrescence," or even "the abominable thing" (as suggested by A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings*, trans. A. M. Blackman [New York, 1966] p. 73).

28. For the variant readings see Helck, "*Lehre*," pp. 55-56; but Millingen's *n sdm.t.f* is the *lectio difficilior* (see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, sec. 402; J. Barns, "Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 58 [1972] 160-61, against H. Satzinger, "*Sdm.t.f*, 'Schliesslich Hörte Er,'" *JEA* 57 [1971] 58-69). On the expression *ḥms ḥnʿ*, cf. Westcar 9.19, "dwell with (someone)" (Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 170), which in Demotic and Coptic becomes "to marry (someone)" (*ḥms jrm*; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen, 1954] p. 309; cf. pp. 39, 312 for the interchangeability of *jrm* and *ḥnʿ* in early Demotic).

29. The translation ". . . so as to advise you" in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I. The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley, 1973) p. 137, is misleading: after commands *jḥ* can sometimes be rendered "so that . . ." (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, sec. 40.3), but it should begin an independent sentence here.

Sesostris I's harsh treatment of the rebels.<sup>30</sup> A late date for the work is suggested by internal evidence, consisting of allusions to events that occurred during the last decade of Amenemmes I's reign,<sup>31</sup> and it is confirmed by the note on the scribe Khety, the supposed author of the work, in Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (verso 6,11-7,2), which states that

it was he who made the book which is the Instruction of King Sehe-  
tepibrē when he had gone to rest, when he had joined heaven and  
when he had entered among the Lords of the Necropolis.<sup>32</sup>

The grammar of the passage has been disputed,<sup>33</sup> although not very successfully,<sup>34</sup> and there have also been attempts to "second guess" the author of Chester Beatty IV and deny the validity of his information, even though he had access to a stream of tradition that we possess in mere fragments.<sup>35</sup> The most cogent sense of this passage seems to be that Khety composed the "Instruction" after the death of Amenemmes I, and the contents of the work itself mark it as a posthumous "testament" of the old king.

From here it is but a short step to connect the attack described in the "Instruction" with the events in "Sinuhe." Later on in this tale, when the aged Sinuhe is forgiven and allowed to return home, it is said that "he left this land in fear of you [i.e., Sesostris I]."<sup>36</sup> Sinuhe's titles, listed at the beginning of the work, make it clear that he was employed in the royal *harim*, and the news brought by the loyal courtiers does concern events

30. A. de Buck, "The Instruction of Amenemmes," in *Mélanges Maspero I* (MIFAO LXVI/2 [1935-38]) 847-52; idem, "La Composition littéraire des enseignements d'Amenemhat," *Museon* 59 (1946) 183-200; Simpson, ed., *Literature*, pp. 193, 195, n. 7.

31. G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 1956) pp. 73-78.

32. A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series I* (London, 1935) 43-44; II, Pls. 20-20a (verso 6, ll. 13-14).

33. Anthes, *JNES* 16 (1957) 186.

34. Anthes questions the circumstantial force of the last three clauses, suggesting that the phrases, "he has gone to rest," etc., refer to Khety himself. Clauses that begin with *jw* should not introduce a new thought in this way, however, but depend on what precedes, which in this case is the main clause, *mntf jr šfdw*, etc. (Korostovtsev, *Grammaire*, pp. 356-77 ["Praesens II, II a"]).

35. Pace A. H. Gardiner, "The Earliest Manuscripts of the Instruction of Amenemmes I," *Mélanges Maspero I* (MIFAO LXVI/2 [1935-38]) 495-96.

36. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 39 (B 277-78).

in the *ḥnwty*, the inner apartments of the palace. In the "Instruction" the old king is made to conclude his account of the attack by asking indignantly, "Had women ever marshalled troops? Had tumult ever been nurtured in the Residence?"<sup>37</sup> From all indications the plot came from the women's quarters, and the ease with which Sesostriis quelled it suggests that it remained localized among a few dissidents. It is not difficult to argue from all this that Sinuhe's flight betokened a guilty conscience, that he was in some way involved in the old king's death and in the conspiracy against his heir.<sup>38</sup>

There is in the text of the "Instruction," however, a major stumbling block to this proposed reconstruction: Amenemmes says that the attack occurred "before the courtiers had heard that I was bequeathing to you, before I had sat down with you." When Amenemmes I died his son had already been king for close to a decade, even though the text of "Sinuhe" refers to him as a "king's son." The grammar of the "Instruction" is clear at this point—it cannot be emended or otherwise explained away<sup>39</sup>—and what it specifies is that the attack took place ten years earlier, before Sesostriis had been designated heir apparent. It follows that Amenemmes survived to appoint his son coregent and to rule with him for another decade. It appears also that there were two quite distinct plots: the earlier one, aiming at the death or captivity of Amenemmes I, was frustrated and resulted in the appointment of the coregent ("Nothing successful can come to pass without a protector"); the second took place after the old king's death and was directed solely against Sesostriis I. The "Instruction" is generally regarded as the articulation of the young king's hard line against dissidents,<sup>40</sup> and such a policy is implicit in the entire tone of the work. Amenemmes is made to crystallize his experience on the throne, and the "Instruction" acts as his political testament, whether or not it was revealed in a dream<sup>41</sup> or (more probably) "discovered" in his papers after his death. The advice he is made to give is uncompromising, and the lesson is driven home by the apt parallel between the attack ten years earlier and the present outbreak. Now, with his father's

37. Helck, "Lehre," pp. 61-62 (ix a-b).

38. On Sinuhe's origins, position at court, and possible complicity in the conspiracy, see Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 93-94, 103-4.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 86; de Buck, *Mélanges Maspero* I 851; *idem*, *Museon* 59 (1946) 198.

40. Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 61-68.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72, discussion and references.

advice ringing in his ears (and in everyone else's) Sesostris need not hesitate to wreak bloody vengeance on his enemies.

When propaganda is written, it is usually for a specific purpose. The contents of the "Instruction," together with other scraps of evidence, suggest that it was used to justify a fearful repression following Amenemmes I's death. "Sinuhe" is thematically related to the earlier work, but its shifting emphasis, away from the hard line of the "Instruction," betokens improved relations between the royal house and its people. A regime based on terror could not last. Kings rule not through fear, but by Ma'at. Thus "Sinuhe" begins with the flight of an erring subject, but it builds inexorably to his reintegration in Egyptian society through the bounty of a merciful king.<sup>42</sup>

Was Sinuhe involved in the plots following the old king's death? There are indications to the contrary, and throughout the narrative Sinuhe insists that he was accused of no specific crime.<sup>43</sup> From a real fugitive this might be a self-serving claim, but in a work of propaganda it cannot be ignored. More positively, while Sinuhe was living in Syria, he claims that "the messenger who would go north, or south to the Residence, would stay with me."<sup>44</sup> If everybody knew that Sinuhe had been plotting against the crown, why these continued contacts with the court? The reasons for Sinuhe's flight are unclear, especially since we are ignorant of what it was he overheard: one presumes the contemporary audience would have known. If he had been a conspirator himself, however, overhearing details of this conspiracy, would he have felt himself in danger unless he already knew the plot had failed? Sesostris had departed "without letting the army know it": there is no indication that Sinuhe was privy to this secret, so he would have been as much in the dark as anyone. On the other hand, if we assume that he was loyal to his king, there are still reasons why news of a plot might disconcert him. This outbreak, like the conspiracy ten years earlier, seems to have begun in the women's quarters and Sinuhe, as a functionary of the *harim*, would be automatically suspect: the fact that there were "king's children who were accompanying him in this army" suggests that Sesostris wanted to keep an eye on them, and at the first sign of trouble his vengeance might be wide and indiscriminate. As a loyalist,

42. Ibid., pp. 87-115.

43. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 16-17 (B 38-43), 31-32 (B 183-85), 37 (B 256-60).

44. Ibid., p. 24 (B 94-95).



however, Sinuhe might well be marked for death if the plot succeeded. Certainly he feared for his life, for he admits that he "calculated that there would be strife" and did not expect "to live after him" (or "this"). Either way, his position was unenviable, for even if we accept his basic loyalty to the king we may well imagine that, alone, in the darkness, with whispers of treason all around, Sinuhe despaired of trusting anyone with his discovery. One cannot presume to read the minds of the ancients, even with a character whose motivation is implicit in the text. I would suggest, nonetheless, that the factors just discussed can explain why Sinuhe panicked and took to his heels. He had apparently intended to go south, toward the Twelfth Dynasty's homeland, but the famous rudderless boat left him on the eastern borders of Egypt instead.<sup>45</sup> By this time, guilty or not, he was in a painfully exposed position: to go back now would be to risk the danger not only of his connections, but of his flight as well. He could only go forward, into exile. How many people, one wonders, found themselves in similar situations? The composition of "Sinuhe" itself suggests that not a few persons were involved, and other exiles are surely implied at a later point in Sinuhe's story:

(Then) Amunenshi—he was the ruler of Upper Retjenu—brought me, (and) he said to me, "You shall be happy with me, and you shall hear the speech of Egypt." He said this because he knew of my wisdom: the men of Egypt who were there with him had borne witness for me.<sup>46</sup>

Even more frustrating to Sinuhe and his colleagues was that his flight, based as it was on fear and suspicion, was hard to explain. When Amunenshi asks for the latest news from the Residence, Sinuhe disclaims all knowledge: speaking "evasively,"<sup>47</sup> he remarks cryptically that "King Sehetepibrē has proceeded to the horizon, (and) no one knows what has happened on account of it."<sup>48</sup> In fact, Sinuhe knew perfectly well that *something* had happened, but an admission of knowledge would have raised issues that for the time being he preferred not to discuss.

45. H. Goedicke, "The Route of Sinuhe's Flight," *JEA* 43 (1957) 77-85.

46. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 15-16 (B 30-34).

47. The examples cited by *Wb* I 52.7-8 permit some range of meaning; "half truths" (in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I 225) is also apt.

48. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 16-17 (B 36-43).

Up to this point the story has emphasized the fearsome aspect of the king, but the eulogy that follows introduces a new theme that is to dominate the rest of the work. Sinuhe reminds Amunenshi that the king is a fierce warrior—but he is also "a possessor of kindness, one whose sweetness is great: it is through love that he conquers."<sup>49</sup> Concrete evidence for this characterization is to emerge later, but at this point the narrative takes over once more: Sinuhe prospers in Syria, making an advantageous marriage, amassing wealth, and becoming a person of influence, but it soon is clear that all this is dust and ashes in the mouth of a homesick man ("I am one who is rich in dependents: my house is beautiful, my place is spacious—(but) my memories are in the palace!").<sup>50</sup> In this passage, Sinuhe tastes the full bitterness of his alienation, but his deliverance is at hand: the king's letter arrives, urging Sinuhe to come home—for his own good—so that he may see to his tomb and enjoy immortality. The amelioration of the king's dread aspect seems complete, but we are treated to one last glimpse of Sesostris's shadow side when Sinuhe appears at the foot of the throne and, forgetting his own protestations of innocence and the royal safe-conduct, throws himself on his lord's mercy: "Behold, I am in your presence. Life is yours! Let your Majesty do as he pleases."<sup>51</sup> The legacy of the "Instruction" does not die easily, but it is formally exorcized by the hymn of appeasement sung by the king's children.<sup>52</sup> Only then does the king assure the fugitive that "he shall not fear, he shall not give himself up to terror."<sup>53</sup> Ma'at, the divine harmony of existence, first violated by the conspiracies early in the dynasty, has finally been reestablished: the king is secure on his throne—but more important, he is now at peace with his subjects.<sup>54</sup>

The point of this extended discussion is that the original sources can be reconciled to convey a coherent historical picture that was later misunderstood. The Manethonian tradition of a

49. *Ibid.*, p. 21 (B 65-66).

50. *Ibid.*, p. 29 (B 154-55).

51. *Ibid.*, p. 37 (B 263).

52. H. Brunner, "Das Besänftigungslied im Sinuhe (B 269-279)," *ZÄS* 80 (1955) 5-11; on the contrasting aspects of Sesostris I in this composition see Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 94-101.

53. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 39 (B 279-80).

54. For other examples of Ma'at as inner and outer harmony see H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1961) p. 72.

King Amenemmes who was murdered by his eunuchs<sup>55</sup> can plausibly be traced back to the "Instruction" and would thus reflect an interpretation such as modern scholars have been prone to offer—and, notably, the attribution of this fate to Amenemmes II indicates at least that the tale was garbled in transmission. What seems clear, in the end, is that the coregency of Sesostri I with his father grew out of a crisis, an attempted subversion of the monarchy that was barely averted by the appointment of a young and capable coruler.

Considering the circumstances of his accession, it is not surprising to find Sesostri I acting as a "staff of old age" to his father (although he is never described as such), and the old king's words on the advisability of a "protector" seem to be fulfilled in the functions that Sesostri performs as coregent. At the beginning of "Sinuhe" we meet him returning from a campaign against the Libyans.<sup>56</sup> In the ode praising Sesostri I that Sinuhe expounds to Prince Amunenshi, this function is generalized: Sesostri is the one who punishes the desert dwellers and who reports to his father in the palace after carrying out what he has decreed.<sup>57</sup> Apparently the warlike functions of kingship fall within Sesostri's customary sphere of action, although he does not dominate the field: a graffito written during a Nubian expedition late in the coregency is still dated by Amenemmes I.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, although the kings' formal status is the same, in practice the junior partner is not completely his own man: at the start of "Sinuhe" he is referred to as the "eldest king's son,"<sup>59</sup> even though he had been coregent for nearly a decade. More significant, Sesostri "reports to" his father at the ends of campaigns, and foreign rulers such as Amunenshi seem to be officially unaware of his existence, although this may be only a literary device. As we have seen, there is no contradiction between the titular equality of the coregents and the specific different roles they were called upon to play.

Although, as Simpson believed, Sesostri I was indeed the dynamic partner in the coregency with his father, the situation

55. W. G. Waddell, *Manetho the Historian* ("Loeb Classical Library" [London, 1940]) pp. 66-71.

56. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 4-6 (R 11-16); cf. Simpson (*JNES* 15 [1956] 219), who suggests a "semiretirement" for the elder king.

57. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 19 (R 74-75).

58. H. Brugsch, "Die Negerstämme des Unâ-Inschrift," *ZÄS* 20 (1882) 30.

59. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 4-5 (R 11-13); cf. p. 6 (R 17-19).

between him and his son Amenemmes II may well have been different. The stela of Amenemhēt, dated to Amenemmes' second year (i.e., year 44 of Sesostris I), contains the following description of the owner's career:

It was to this my city which I came with a commission of the king's business, in order to replenish it (with) w<sup>c</sup>b-priests and servants (*mrwt*) of the royal account of the Son of Rē Amenemmes, living forever, on behalf of the city overseer of his Majesty when (he was) a "puppy"<sup>60</sup> (*jnpw*). Now after he pulled this land together, and when Rē gave him the ruling power of Horus, and when Edgō had made him to be a "Horus Protector of his Father," he singled me out, he caused me to advance as an excellent man and one known to his ka.<sup>61</sup>

A close analogy is supplied in a tomb-chapel relief now in Boston, where the owner claims, "I acted as a Follower of the King's Son (*šmsw s3-nswt*) for the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nyma<sup>c</sup>atrē the triumphant while he was a 'puppy.' [He] praised [me]."<sup>62</sup> Here, apparently, Amenemmes III is described as a "puppy" before he came to the throne, a usage paralleled in the other Middle Kingdom example, in the Berlin Leather Roll, where Sesostris I speaks of his youth: "I conquered as a baby; I was powerful in the egg; I wielded authority (*hry.n.j tp*) as a 'puppy'; and it was as a youth (*nḥn*) that he [i.e., Rē-Harakhti] promoted me to be the Lord of the Two Shares, before the swaddling clothes were loosed for me."<sup>63</sup> The term "puppy" applies to Sesostris I and Amenemmes III before they ascended the throne, but

60. On this use of *m* see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 125 (sec. 162.6).

61. H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo II* (Berlin, 1908) 161-62 (No. 20541).

62. W. K. Simpson, "A Tomb Chapel Relief of the Reign of Amunemhet III and Some Observations on the Length of the Reign of Sesostris III," *CdE* 47 (1972) 47-48, 50 (o).

63. A. de Buck, "The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll," in *Studia aegyptiaca I* (*AnOr*, Vol. 17 [1938] 49 [I. 9-10]) 52. H. Goedicke's translation "he made me richer than 2 possessors-of-income" (in "The Berlin Roll (P Berlin 3029)," in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* ["Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilung aus der ägyptischen Sammlung" VIII (Berlin, 1974)] pp. 94-95 [q]) might not be incorrect in another setting, but the symbolism of this passage, which emphasizes the king's promotion by Rē-Harakhti, clearly refers to Horus's winning of his "case" against Seth before the Lord of All, so the more traditional translation (after de Buck) may be preferred.

Amenemmes II commanded a "royal account" and was served by a "city overseer" while still a *jnpw*, a situation difficult to imagine if he were not already king. The New Kingdom understanding of "puppy," describing indifferently a king or prince of tender years,<sup>64</sup> seems thus to have the same range of meaning in the Middle Kingdom as well. It would be going too far to suggest that this is the technical term for "coregent"—indeed, I doubt that any such term can be isolated at present<sup>65</sup>—but insofar as it applied to Amenemmes II as king during his father's lifetime, it implies that he was still quite young. It is thus noteworthy that he was also called upon to act formally as a "Horus Protector of his Father" vis-à-vis the old king, the same role that Sesostriis I had actually carried out for his own father, even though the circumstances were probably quite different.

Analogies to these two situations can be read into later coregencies. The appointment of a junior partner as the "staff" of his father's old age may be the essence of Amenophis II's relations with Tuthmosis III, or of Sety I's with Ramesses I. The securing of the heir's rights was a factor in the coregencies of Ptolemy I with Ptolemy II, of Ptolemy VI with his sons, and of Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XV. A variation on this theme, where the junior partner forced him- or herself onto the throne, is encountered several times in the Ptolemaic dynasty and earlier— notably with Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, but also possibly with the vizier Amenemhēt (i.e., Amenemmes I) and Mentuhotep IV, and with Teos and Nectanebo I. For the rest, there is little but unprofitable speculation, although we can say that most coregencies appear to be reactions to a challenge, real or potential, to the royal authority. Coregency was one safeguard against factionalism and civil war. Through co-option the dynasty might hope to survive the threats of usurpation and dynastic feuds without going to pieces.

The different circumstances surrounding each coregency explain to some extent the variability of the junior partner's real status.

64. H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (ÅA, Vol. 10 [1964]) pp. 27-29.

65. Goedicke (in *Festschrift des Berliner Museums*, p. 95 [u]) sees the phrase *jmt.n.f wy r jmy-ḥ*, "he [ . . . ] led me to (be) and inhabitant of the palace" (Berlin Leather Roll I, 8), as a specific reference to Sesostriis I's appointment as coregent. I would agree that it does allude to the inception of his reign, but the sense seems more generalized than technical. The precise meaning of the verb is unknown, and moreover the expression *jmy-ḥ* is simply an elegant term for the king, with no implication that he was coregent (*Wb* I 73.4, and cf. *Belegstellen* I 12 for references).

Sesostris I was clearly the dynamic partner opposite his old and perhaps enfeebled father, although he is also seen "reporting" to the latter. The apparent youthfulness of Amenemmes II, however, may indicate that his father still controlled affairs during the coregency. Hatshepsut, the junior partner, was conspicuously the commanding member of her coregency with Tuthmosis III, but her real power probably sprang from her greater age and experience, and from her longer acquaintance with the civil service under the previous reigns. Tuthmosis III's real status progressed from a low point at his aunt's accession to what must have been a position of real authority by the end of the coregency. Notably, the only dated monument that depicts them as equals comes from the twentieth regnal year, and Tuthmosis III's leadership in the Syrian campaigns of years 22/23 hardly followed a complete inexperience with the country's military machine. Toward the end of his own reign Tuthmosis III associated himself with a young and energetic coregent, Amenophis II. Contemporary references have more to say for Amenophis's sheer physical exuberance than for his good sense,<sup>66</sup> however, so he may have been his father's "strong arm" and little else. Later, Sety I appears similarly to have acted as the "staff" of his father's old age, and the campaign he fought against the Shasu Bedouin in his first year may have fallen during a coregency.<sup>67</sup> Notably, the sources for this association speak of Sety as a "star" appearing beside the sun-king, Ramesses I, suggesting that the junior partner "reported" to the elder, as in the Twelfth Dynasty. On the other hand, a text from Sinai that has been mentioned in Chapter 2 refers to Sety and "his royal son" Ramesses II in that order, a locution that could be interpreted as expressing a lower form of kingship for the second-named king. If this were so, however, one might expect more evidence of Ramesses' subordinate status in the monuments he left us from his earliest years, where he appears to be acting independently as king. I would therefore see the above reference as expressing the filiation of the two rulers (essentially as in the stela of Nesmont during the reigns

66. See, for example, the comments of Tuthmosis III on the great Sphinx stela (transl. Wilson, *ANET* [3d ed., rev.] p. 244), not to mention the stela of the Nubian viceroy Usersatet, "a copy of a decree which his Majesty made with his own hands . . . as he was drinking and having a [good] time," *Urk* IV 1343-44; W. Helck, "Eine Stele des Vizekönigs Wšr-Št.t," *JNES* 14 (1955) 22-31; for the significance of this episode, see *idem*, *Das Bier im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 66-69.

67. *PM* II (2d ed.) 53-54 (166)-(167), bottom register; for the date see W. J. Murnane, "The Accession Date of Sethos I," *Serapis* 3 (1975-76) 23-33.

of Amenemmes I and his son, but more specifically), although it seems likely that Ramesses' sphere of interest as coregent was more restricted. We know that he had been schooled in military and administrative duties while still a prince, and one of his first actions as king was to appoint a new First Prophet of Amun (perhaps as his father's agent in Upper Egypt). But aside from the battle reliefs at Beit el-Wali—and these may have exaggerated the real events—it is notable that the first rumblings of war came from Western Asia, in Ramesses' fourth year,<sup>68</sup> well after the coregency ended. Earlier the king's activities were dominated by the building program that contributed so much to his posthumous reputation in Egypt itself, and as Ramesses may still have been quite young at his accession,<sup>69</sup> it is not improbable that he simply followed in his father's wake while enjoying a formal equality with him. This argument admittedly rests on the iconography and attributes of Ramesses' figure in his earliest relief, as also on his claim to have been made king by Sety during his lifetime. It is conceivable that Sety's appearance on the south wall of the Karnak hypostyle hall as a living Osiris vis-à-vis his son could represent the older man as a sort of over-king at this time, but the usage is quite isolated and it would be rash to impose one particular interpretation on evidence that could accommodate several.

Insofar as we know the historical setting of Pharaonic coregencies, then, they seem to be consistent with the pattern observed in the Ptolemaic period. Throughout, it is important to distinguish the formal rank and title of the two partners from their real authority. Their relationship, it appears, was determined not so much by tradition as by the circumstances that brought a coregency into being, a situation that would call for the balancing of their mutual strengths and weaknesses. Any differences in power and ability were masked by the mantle of kingship that clothed both partners equally and individually. On this formal level, the historical realities were often sacrificed to the mythical role that defined the king's responsibilities to the gods

68. *KRI* II 1.

69. The final report on the royal mummies is not available as of this writing, but discussion with F. Filce Leek and J. E. Harris confirms doubts that Ramesses was as old as a century at death (as reported in E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* [Princeton, 1966] p. 242); for now see J. E. Harris and K. R. Weeks, "X-raying the Pharaohs," *Natural History* 81 (1972, No. 7) 59.

and the community: the designation "Horus Protector of his Father," for example, applied equally to young coregents, "staffs of old age," and kings who were never their predecessor's coregent, and it referred to the relation of the current "Horus" king as his predecessor's legitimate successor, regardless of the actual situation.

During a coregency two kings stood at the apex of the social pyramid. Since in theory they were of equal authority, this situation must have required some adjustment in the normal channels of communication between the crown and the administration. The question is, How fundamental were these adjustments? Aldred has suggested an answer in terms of his theory of two courts, whereby each king headed an administrative system that served him alone and had no connection with his coregent's establishment. This theory has not been seriously challenged, although some scholars have expressed caution in defining the scope of these courts.<sup>70</sup> A review of the contemporary evidence may yield particulars that can speak to the validity of this conception.

An Egyptian king does seem to have been provided with his own household at his accession. Ramesses II describes in some detail the personnel he was allotted, and Sesostri I "flew off" to the capital with his retainers on hearing of his father's death. In both cases Aldred would see the working of the two courts,<sup>71</sup> but this is scarcely credible. The staff of Ramesses' household, as it is described, is exclusively female—and even if we may imagine that Pharaoh was not served only by bevvies of beautiful girls, the account hardly supports the case for a separate administration. The fact that Sesostri I commanded the services of a personal bodyguard does not imply that he headed an administration totally divorced from that of his father; and, in this case especially, both coregents appear to have acted in consort, with the younger king "reporting to" the elder. Notably, too, it is always one "Residence" (*hnw*) par excellence that is referred to,<sup>72</sup> not the hypothetically separate residences of coregents. The theory of the two courts, moreover, finds no support in the careers of contemporary officials during the Twelfth Dynasty. Some men may have begun their careers during a coregency—

70. K. A. Kitchen ("Further Notes on New Kingdom Chronology and History," *CdE* 43 [1968] 317) limits the "courts" to serving officials and sources of supply.

71. Aldred, *Akhenaten*, pp. 102-4.

72. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 3 (R 8), 9 (R 30-31).



e.g., the Amenemhēt of Cairo Stela 20541—but there were others who apparently divided their services between the rulers. Nesmont, for example, gives precedence to Amenemmes I in the dating formula, but in the text he employs an unusual pluralized form for the clichés that testify to his loyalty and esteem under the coregents: "their true servant, their beloved, their praised one, the one who does all that they praise daily in the course of every day."<sup>73</sup> Simont dates his stela to the third year of Amenemmes II, but all the details that he provides have to do with his services to Amenemmes I and Sesostris I—the latter of whom must have been alive during this, his last full year as king. The relative prominence of the coregents, or the attachment of an official to one or another of them, cannot really be inferred from jointly inscribed monuments. Certain Twelfth Dynasty private stelae (e.g., Wepwaweto and Hapu) show the junior partner as dominant, others (e.g., Nesmont) show the opposite, and still others are either neutral (e.g., Antef) or ambiguous (Simont). Such materials, meager as they are, suggest that there was no rigid division of loyalties between coregents. Although certain tasks may have been performed at the behest of one of the kings (e.g., those connected with building operations), the essential services—administration of justice, foreign policy, etc.—were probably administered each from a single office that served the crown.

In the New Kingdom, also, the theory of two courts seems difficult to sustain. Both Puyemrē<sup>74</sup> and Sennefer<sup>75</sup> survived their early service under Hatshepsut and continued their careers into the sole reign of Tuthmosis III. The biographical inscription of Ineny conveys an accurate impression of how matters stood before the coregency (i.e., Tuthmosis III was nominally king, but Hatshepsut controlled affairs), and it seems unlikely that any drastic reorganization would have been needed once she assumed the diadem, particularly since there is no evidence for the function-

73. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig, 1924) p. 81, 14-15.

74. Cairo statue executed in the reign of Hatshepsut (*Urk* IV 521-22); tomb decorated in the sole reign of Tuthmosis III (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes* [*PMMA*, "Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series" (New York, 1922)] *passim*).

75. Cenotaph in West Silsila under Hatshepsut (R. A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I: The Shrines* [*EES-ASE XXXI* (1963)] pp. 30-34, Pls. 22-25 [shrine 11]); tomb under Tuthmosis III (*PM* I/1 [2d ed., rev.] 204-6) at Sinai during his sole reign (*Sinai* I, Pl. LXIII [No. 194], II 158-59).

ing of two courts during the long coregency with her nephew. A large number of officials also served, in sequence, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II.<sup>76</sup> These men consisted not only of military officers (e.g., Amenemhab) but also civil officials such as the old king's vizier (Rekhnirē), a Steward of the Gold Lands of Amun (Sennefer), a High Priest of Osiris (Nebwa'wy), and a Chief Builder for all the Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt (Minmose). During the coregency of Sety I and Ramesses II the viceroys of Kush, Amenemope and Yuni, served both kings in sequence,<sup>77</sup> and the vizier Paser was in office throughout the reign of the father and into the second decade of the son.<sup>78</sup> Even assuming a long coregency for Amenophis III and Akhenaten, the theory of two courts seems inadequate to explain the facts. The vizier Ra'mose is last attested at Amenophis III's first jubilee (year 30, hypothetically year 3/4 of Amenophis IV), but he would have been serving the junior partner at the same time. It is, after all, Amenophis IV who appears as the dominant living element in Ra'mose's tomb, which would have been executed at about this period, while Amenophis III is mentioned only in the text of a prayer on the east wall.<sup>79</sup> If there was a long coregency (which I do not accept), the evidence from Ra'mose's tomb would argue against two administrations for Egypt at this time. The same problem occurs in the tomb of another contemporary, Kheruef. The appearance of Amenophis IV in scenes near the entrance strongly suggests that the tomb was given to Kheruef by this king's favor, but inside, on the portico, only the jubilees of Amenophis III are shown. One could argue that Kheruef began his service under Amenophis IV, changed his loyalties to Amenophis III, and remained in his retinue until the old king's death, when he fell from grace under Akhenaten. This reconstruction can be neither proved nor refuted, but as a hypothesis it seems farfetched. There has been no suggestion that during any previous coregency the question of "loyalty" had ever come up in this way. Moreover, Kheruef's employer

76. Amenemhab (*Urk* IV 896-97); Tjanenny (pp. 1004-5); Amenmose (pp. 1021-22); Rekhnirē (pp. 1159-60); Minmose (pp. 1141-45, 1148); Nebwa'wy (pp. 207-9, 1494-95).

77. G. A. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia," *JEA* 6 (1920) 38-40; cf. K. C. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramesses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* (SAOC, No. 19 [1940]) p. 36.

78. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (PA III [1958]) pp. 311-15, 447-51.

79. *Urk* IV 302-4, 442-44; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* ("Mond Excavations at Thebes" I [London, 1941]) Pl. XIII.2.

was technically not the king but Queen Tiyi, who was on good terms with both her husband and her son throughout her lifetime. Even under a long coregency, Kheruef would have belonged to both camps—or neither—but, as suggested above, it seems more probable that Kheruef received his tomb during or after a short coregency of Amenophis III with Amenophis IV.

All in all, then, the theory of two courts is not convincing; nor does the liaison between the coregents and the administration appear to have disrupted the normal lines of authority. To be sure, each partner must have had his own household, properties, and sources of revenue, since each had to maintain himself in the customary royal splendor. But this is a far more modest arrangement than the proposed splitting of the government into two potentially hostile camps.

The management of foreign relations during a coregency remains to be discussed. One aspect has already been covered—as we have seen, the running of military campaigns was often the junior partner's special area. But the conduct of diplomacy while two kings sat on the throne is less easy to document. The narrative of "Sinuhe" implies that Syrian princes like Amunenshi recognized Amenemmes I, the elder partner, until his death; in the latter part of the paean to Sesostri I, the protagonist urges Amunenshi to write to the new king.<sup>80</sup> "Sinuhe" is not a reliable source for diplomatic forms, however, for we have already seen how, for rhetorical purposes, it ignores the lengthy coregency of Amenemmes I and his son, much as Amenemhab's tomb biography was later to ignore the coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. As his father's "strong arm" in foreign affairs, it seems unlikely that Sesostri would have been an unknown quantity abroad but his precise status in foreign eyes is unclear. The same ambiguity envelops the relations of other warrior-coregents with the foreign powers of their day. The isolated reference to Ramesses II at Sinai as Sety I's "royal son" is hardly clear evidence for the coregent's subordinate position outside Egypt, particularly in view of the military role often assigned (although not in this coregency) to the junior partner. We have no way of knowing, at least from the Egyptian monuments, how or whether the kings of Babylon, Mittani, etc., "recognized" the presence of two rulers in Egypt.

There is extant a corpus of diplomatic correspondence in the Amarna archive that might have been expected to shed some light

80. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, pp. 18-22.

on this problem, but in fact this material is not very helpful. Letters 10-11 were written by the Babylonian King Burnaburiash II to Akhenaten during the ascendancy of his daughter Meritaten.<sup>81</sup> If we could be certain that Akhenaten had already associated Smenkhkarē as coregent, these letters might prove that at least in this case the senior partner held the upper hand in dealing with foreign rulers. Unfortunately, although Meritaten's rise to prominence seems to correspond with Smenkhkarē's association with Akhenaten, it is by no means certain that she had not become "First Lady" somewhat earlier.<sup>82</sup> Letter 23, written by King Tushratta of Mittani to Amenophis III, bears a hieratic docket dated to his "regnal year 36, IV Proyet," toward the end of the regnal year.<sup>83</sup> This would support the idea that Amenophis III played the predominant role in foreign correspondence if, given the present view of the limits of his reign, a coregency of longer than two years is accepted. Such a distribution of authority is particularly likely since it cannot be demonstrated that there was a division of labor in which Amenophis III handled the royal letters and Akhenaten corresponded with the vassals.<sup>84</sup>

The problem is that we do not know whether there was indeed a coregency, or, if so, how long it was—it could easily have begun after EA 23 was written, and we are not in a position to say it did not. The corpus of Amarna Letters has been interpreted in various ways over the years, but no resolution has been reached. Significantly, the most recent study of the royal letters, while leaning in favor of an eleven-year coregency, ultimately pronounces a verdict of *non liquet*.<sup>85</sup> Any firmer determination must be left to scholars more conversant with cuneiform than I am; for the present, the Amarna archive is of little use. Later, it is true, Teos seems to have been a responsible agent for Egyptian policy

81. E. F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore, 1964) pp. 49-50; C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna (AOAT XVII [1973])* pp. 63-72.

82. See for example W. Helck, "Amarna-Probleme," *CdE* 44 (1969) 200-208; and for literature on this controversy see Kühne, *Chronologie*, p. 63, n. 304.

83. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln I (VAB II/1 [1915])* 180-81; *mjtt*, "copy," must imply an original duplicate here, for the composition of this and other tablets is the same as that of other, original tablets from Wester Asia (Kühne, *Chronologie*, pp. 44-45, n. 209).

84. D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967) p. 155.

85. Kühne, *Chronologie*, pp. 125-33.

during the reign of his father Nectanebo I, even before he became coregent<sup>86</sup>—but does this prove anything as a general rule? It seems likely that foreign rulers followed their own sense of what was proper in corresponding with the court of Egypt,<sup>87</sup> but it is not certain that they always favored the senior partner, particularly if the younger king was patently the more competent.

As we reach the conclusion of our study, it can be seen that, although a few main features are clear, relevant materials are scanty indeed. On the formal level, the status of both kings was the same. Beyond this, the moving spirit of a coregency was often the senior partner, at whose behest the heir assumed the crown. The few cases in which the junior partner forced his (or her) way onto the throne—Hatshepsut, Ptolemy VIII, possibly Amenemmes I—are exceptions that prove the rule. The younger coregent often appears to be the more dynamic, but this impression is due to the kinds of activity that his greater youth and flexibility enabled him to perform. The classic case of this arrangement is the coregency of Sesostris I with Amenemmes I, with the younger partner acting as war leader in the field and "reporting" to his father after the campaign. The advantages of such an association are particularly evident during the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the king was expected to direct a vigorous foreign policy in person: an old or enfeebled monarch did not have to abdicate one of the crown's most important functions to a subordinate, but could entrust it to a co-ruler whose rank was formally equivalent to his own. This pattern was followed at least twice during the New Kingdom (Amenophis II with Tuthmosis III, Sety I with Ramesses I) but it did not prevail in all cases. Ramesses II, for example, appears as a chastiser of Nubians and Syrians in the temple at Beit el-Wali, but the first of these campaigns could not have amounted to very much, and the earliest confrontations with Asia in Ramesses' reign took place after his father's death. It is also doubtful whether Amenophis IV, Smenkhkarē, or Ramesses I, as junior co-rulers, were in a position to pursue military goals for their senior partners. Sety I and Ramesses II did, as coregents, involve themselves in domestic affairs—but the machinery for running the country al-

86. E. Meyer, "Ägyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit," (*SBPAW XVI* [1915] 292); A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948) p. 413.

87. Suggested by Kitchen in his review of Campbell's *Chronology*, in *JEA* 53 (1967) 180-81.

ready existed in the hierarchy of officials who transacted the state's everyday business with its subjects. In the careers of Amenhotep son of Hapu (during the reign of Amenophis III) and of Princes Kha'emwēse and Merneptah (under Ramesses II), moreover, we see a considerable delegation of kingly authority over the administration to nonroyal individuals. It seems, then, that these functions could be filled safely by someone who did not (or did not yet) possess the aura of royalty.

Ultimately, it appears that coregencies were a dimension of dynastic politics. In the Twelfth Dynasty the experiences of Amenemmes I (first as usurper, then associated with his "protector" Sesostri I) probably laid the foundation for the practice during the rest of the dynasty of securing the succession preponderantly through coregencies. Coregents in the early New Kingdom present a picture that is more diverse but less detailed. One was patently a usurper, and we know of two others who might have been "strong arms" for aged fathers; of the remaining cases nothing certain is known. Significantly, however, coregencies were frequent. Six kings—Amenophis I, Hatshepsut, Amenophis II, Smenkhkarē, Sety I, and Ramesses II—are all but certain to have been junior coregents, and at least three others (Tuthmosis III, Amenophis IV, and Ramesses I) may have been so also. Although this form of transition seems not to have been invariable, it occurred often enough to suggest that a smooth and orderly succession counted for a great deal and that such a succession was not believed to be certain in the event of the old king's sudden death. Perhaps it was the dynasty of Yitch-Towe that suggested coregencies as a means of meeting the situation, and it was almost certainly the long reign of Ramesses II that broke up the pattern, for coregencies after his time are few and widely scattered. The institution seems to have flourished again during the Third Intermediate Period, during which time it usually reflected condominiums between rulers who controlled different parts of Egypt. It was revived on a grand scale only by the Ptolemies, in an apparent (and unsuccessful) attempt to check dynastic infighting.

In sum, the coregency was an arrangement designed to preserve the integrity of the dynasty when outward hostilities or inner dissension threatened to dissipate royal authority. The secret of its success lay in its very informality, for the real power and duties of each coregent could be apportioned as the situation required. On the level of myth the junior partner could be regarded as a "Horus Protector of His Father," regardless of whether he was able or willing to assume this role in practice. Conceivably, the treatment of Sety I as a living Osiris is an isolated

attempt to deal with the status of the elder partner on a mythical plane. First and last, however, the coregency was a pragmatic affair—an ad hoc disposition of power that remained something of an anomaly, given Egyptian religious and political ideas. The presence of two Sons of Rē, of two Horus kings occupying the throne at the same time, was not a situation that could be easily integrated into the standard conceptual framework. Perhaps the Egyptians' failure to come to grips with coregency on this level may argue as eloquently as anything for the exceptional and practical nature of the institution in the political life of this ancient people.





APPENDIX: *DJ-ḥNḥ* AND *M3ḥ-ḥRW*

In Egyptian texts the names of both kings and private individuals are often accompanied by epithets which, if they are taken literally, appear to indicate whether the person is alive or dead. *Dj-ḥNḥ*, "given life," and its variants, "may he/she live (forever),"—*ḥNḥ(.tj) (dt)*—are confined to kings and their families. The precise meaning of *m3ḥ-ḥrw* is disputed,<sup>1</sup> but the general sense is "justified," often supplemented with the phrase, *ḥr ntr ʿ3*, "before the Great God." In a funerary context, it refers to the vindication of a person's soul in the next world and it can apply to royalty and common folk alike. Generally speaking these terms can mean "living" and "deceased," respectively.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these basic meanings, however, both *dj-ḥNḥ* and *m3ḥ-ḥrw* have extended or supplementary meanings. These exceptional uses will be discussed here insofar as they affect our understanding of the historical information to be gleaned from Egyptian texts.

The primary meaning of *dj-ḥNḥ* describes the condition of a currently living person. But there is also a historical use of the term, in narrative, in which it is attached to the name of a deceased king when his actual exploits are discussed. The classic example of this usage appears in the biography of Amenemhab. Here, in the context of the campaigns fought during his lifetime, Tuthmosis III is always referred to as "given life";<sup>3</sup> but, after the king's death has been described, he is given the epithet

1. R. Anthes, "The Original Meaning of *m3ḥ-ḥrw*," *JNES* 13 (1954) 21-51; idem, "Note Concerning the Great Corporation of Heliopolis," *JNES* 13 (1954) 191-92.

2. A few examples: The autobiography of Ahmose-Pen-Nehbet describes the author's career under kings Ahmose, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis II, all *m3ḥ-ḥrw*, "down to this Good God, King Menkheperre (i.e., Tuthmosis III), given life" (*Urk* IV 34; cf. 35-39). In the tomb of Nebamun Tuthmosis II and Queen Nebetu are both *m3ḥ-ḥrw*, while Tuthmosis III is *dj-ḥNḥ* (*ibid.*, p. 150.12-17). In the tomb of the vizier Amunwosre the reference to Tuthmosis I *m3ḥ-ḥrw* is contrasted with Tuthmosis III *dj-ḥNḥ* (*ibid.*, p. 1382.11; cf. 1380.12). Finally, in Tuthmosis III's own tomb, the deceased king and his earlier Sitioh (both *m3ḥ-ḥrw*) are shown with Queen Merytrē-Hatshepsut II, who was still alive (*ibid.*, p. 602).

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 891.6, 892.11.

"justified,"<sup>4</sup> and it is the reigning king Amenophis II, who is "given life" in the remainder of the text.<sup>5</sup> There are, it is true, counterexamples wherein a man may describe his activities under kings of the past, all of whom are "justified."<sup>6</sup> The historical usage of "given life" occurs frequently, however, and it was a recognized stylistic option in literary composition.<sup>7</sup>

Other exceptional uses of *dj-<sup>c</sup>nh* are less easy to explain. It is not uncommon, for example, to find kings referred to as "given life" in their tombs or in monuments clearly meant to be commemorative. Thus Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun is described with this epithet not only on furniture transferred from daily use to his tomb,<sup>8</sup> but also on the shrines that were specifically manufactured to contain his mortal remains after death.<sup>9</sup> Objects from the burial of Amenophis II similarly employ *dj-<sup>c</sup>nh* and *m<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup>hrw* without apparent discrimination.<sup>10</sup> Even in his mortuary temple the king is predominantly described as "given life," a phenomenon seen in

4. Ibid., p. 895.17.

5. Ibid., pp. 896.7, 897.2.

6. Cf. the stela of Wepwaweto, recounting the owner's birth and youth under Amenemmes I *m<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup>hrw* (P. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altentümer in Leiden* II [14 vols.; Leiden, 1908-25] Pl. IV); also the tomb biography of Ahmose Son of Ebana, who describes his career under the earliest kings of the 18th Dynasty, all *m<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup>hrw* (Urk IV 2-8).

7. E.g., with respect to Tuthmosis I during the reign of Tuthmosis II (ibid., p. 138.17); Tuthmosis II under Tuthmosis III (p. 180.11-12); Tuthmosis I under Hatshepsut (pp. 219.3, 246.13, 259.6); Tuthmosis I under Tuthmosis III (p. 1066; cf. p. 1069.9); Tuthmosis III in the tomb of Rekhmirē, decorated under Amenophis II (pp. 1159-60); Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV under Amenophis III (p. 1589.10-12); Tuthmosis IV, referred to in the birth room of Amenophis III, Luxor Temple (p. 1714.7); Amenophis III, perhaps retrospectively, in the tomb of Kheruef (pp. 1858-60, 1865-67, 1869-70). It is uncertain whether the statue of Tuthmosis III that was given by Amenophis II to Nebwa<sup>c</sup>wy (p. 1495.2-3) represented the old king as living or dead, for the donation might have occurred during the coregency.

8. Ibid., pp. 2049-60.

9. A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon* (New York, 1955) Fig. 41 (between pp. 121 and 122); Pls. 24, 26, 27, 29, 38, 39, 40-46, 53, and 66 (variously *m<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup>hrw* and *dj-<sup>c</sup>nh*). Cf. ibid., Pl. 5 (King Ay on the wall of the burial chamber, offering to Tut<sup>c</sup>ankhamun as Osiris: both figures *dj-<sup>c</sup>nh*) and Fig. 28 (between pp. 69 and 70: the "vulture ceiling" of Shrine III with alternate rows of cartouches qualified with both epithets in regular alternation).

10. Urk IV 1363-64.

the Old and Middle kingdoms<sup>11</sup> as well as in the New.<sup>12</sup> Given the ancient Egyptian's belief in the power of words, the response to the question, "What's in a name?" would be "Everything!" Perhaps they were taking no chances.

Finally, we often find royal persons who were clearly dead, being described, in apparently mechanical fashion, as "given life." This can occur in references to their mortuary establishments<sup>13</sup> and in other contexts as well.<sup>14</sup> Parenthetically, it seems that the epithet "beloved of Osiris," when coupled with "given life," in no way marks its possessor as dead.<sup>15</sup>

11. G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II II* (Cairo, 1938) Pls. 17, 57; and also the mortuary temple of Amenemmes I, representing him and his son as *dj-ḥḥ* (J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* [MIFAO VI (1902)] pp. 94-97).

12. Thus throughout the mortuary temples of Sety I at Qurnah (examined by me) and Abydos (A. M. Calverley and M. F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, ed. A. H. Gardiner [4 vols; London, 1933-58] passim); in the chapel at Abydos built by Sety I for Ramesses I (S. Schott, "Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos," *NAWG* [1964, No. 6] Pls. 9, 10); throughout the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (*MH I-VIII* passim); and in the Osireion, where Merneptah sporadically has both epithets (H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II* [MEES XXXIX (1933)] Pls. LXXI-LXXII).

13. *Urk IV* 26-27 (stela of Ahmose for his grandmother, described as both *m3-ḥrw* and *dj-ḥḥ*); p. 136.8 (a priest of Tuthmosis I "given life" in Tuthmosis III's mortuary temple, mentioned in the tomb of Yamunedjeh); p. 1459 (Tuthmosis III "given life" in references to his mortuary temple after his death).

14. Thus the three Inyotef kings of the 11th Dynasty, all described as "living" in a scene dominated by Mentuhotep II (Labib Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 [1963] 46-47, with Fig. 22); also Amenemmes IV and Snofru, both "given life" (*Sinai I*, Pl. XLV [No. 122]); Ahmose Nofretari *ḥḥ.tj* in the temple of Ramesses III and Karnak (*RIK I* Pl. 51 B) and in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* [PMMA, "Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series" IV (1925)] Pls. IX, X); Amenophis II and Sesostris III, both "given life" at the Kummah Temple (*LD III* 67 b); so too Tuthmosis III and Sesostris III in the Semna Temple (*Urk IV* 197); Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III "given life" in the latter's temple at El Kab (J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab III: The Temple of Amenhetep III* [London, 1898] Pls. VIII-IX); Amenophis III in reliefs of Tut'ankhamun in the Luxor Temple (*Urk IV* 2038.10); Alexander IV with Tuthmosis III, both "given life" (*LD IV* 4 a; from Karnak).

15. *Urk IV* 45.9-10 (year 10 of Amenophis I *mry Wsjr, dj-ḥḥ*); p. 1759 (a statue at Karnak of Amenophis III *mry Wsjr . . . dj-ḥḥ*); cf. *KRI II* 310 (living Ramesses II *mry Wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw, dj ḥḥ dt*).

$m3^c-hrw$ , in addition to its literal connotation, has a prospective, anticipatory sense, attested since the Middle Kingdom for both kings<sup>16</sup> and common people.<sup>17</sup> Throughout the New Kingdom and later, this prospective usage is widespread, occurring often with the names of private persons, as well as members of the royal family.<sup>18</sup> During the New Kingdom, however, it is but rarely used for kings. Two possible examples occur early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, although it is in fact far from certain that the kings in question were still living at the time.<sup>19</sup> In the representa-

16. Amenemmes I  $m3^c-hrw$  during the coregency, in his son's seventh year (CGC, No. 20518); Sesostri I  $m3^c-hrw$ ,  $\text{'nh} \text{dt} \text{r} \text{nhh}$  in his third year (Berlin Leather Roll; but the  $m3^c-hrw$  may have been added to this later copy); similarly the nomarch Nehri of the Hare Nome in his eighth year (references to the three documents cited above in R. Anthes, "The Legal Aspect of the Instruction of Amenemhet," *JNES* 16 [1957] 182-83, nn. 28-31 with discussion). For Mentuhotep II as  $m3^c-hrw$  in his lifetime see Habachi, *MDAIK* 19 (1963) 22, Fig. 6; cf. A. H. Gardiner, "The First King Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 49-50.

17. H. G. Fischer, "A God and a General of the Oasis on a Stela of the Late Middle Kingdom," *JNES* 16 (1957) 225 and Pl. XXXII, facing p. 230, l. 3.

18. The tomb owners of almost any Theban tomb chapel are  $m3^c-hrw$  in anticipation of the day of their death, even though they were alive when the tombs were decorated (K. C. Seele, *The Coregency of Ramesses II with Seti I and the Date of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* [SAOC, No. 19 (1940)] pp. 61-62). Penyati describes himself as  $m3^c-hrw$  in his graffiti at Shatt er-rigal (*Urk* IV 52.7). The officials who visited Sinai often left memorials of themselves with this epithet or the phrase  $nb-jm3h$ , "possessor of reverence," which normally appears in the protocol of the deceased (*Sinai* I, Pls. LII [No. 142], LV [No. 170], LXV [No. 219]). Similarly, Princess Mutnofret appears qualified as  $m3^c-hrw$  on a statue of her father Tuthmosis II, even though the piece is hardly funerary in nature (*Urk* IV 154). The same generalized anticipatory usage is found in the lists of living persons on the Ewelot Stela (G. Legrain, "Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897," *ZAS* 35 [1897] 14-16).

19. In his tomb biography Ahmose Son of Ebana describes his career under four kings, all  $m3^c-hrw$ . If Ahmose died under the last of these, Tuthmosis I, the use of the epithet would indeed be anticipatory (*Urk* IV 2.10, 2.13, 6.17, 8.4); it may, however, merely reflect the fact that the tomb was decorated under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III by Ahmose's descendant, Paheri (*PM* V 182). Even more problematical is the stela of an unknown man from Edfu (*Urk* IV 29-31) mentioning Kings Sobekhotep (II?), Ahmose, and Tuthmosis I, with Queens Ahhotep and Ahmose. Since Tuthmosis I, called  $m3^c-hrw$  like the others, is the latest of the kings named, Sethe speculated that the owner of the tomb had died during this reign--but we might as plausibly speculate that the career of Nebwa'wy went no further than Tuthmosis III's reign (*ibid.*, pp. 207-9) if he were not attested under Amenophis II (*ibid.*, pp. 1494-95).

tion of the Min Feast at the Ramesseum, the statue of the living Ramesses II, along with the statues of his ancestors, is described as  $m3^c-hrw$ , but the figure of the king himself is not given this epithet.<sup>20</sup> In Room III of his temple at Abydos, however, Ramesses II's name is qualified with  $m3^c-hrw$  several times in a text almost surely inscribed during his lifetime.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Sety I, we have seen that he is described as an "Osiris" on a plaque carved before the elevation of his son Ramesses to the coregency.<sup>22</sup> There are also occurrences of "the Osiris" Sety I  $m3^c-hrw$  in the hypostyle hall at Karnak<sup>23</sup> and also in the Qurnah temple<sup>24</sup> which would seem to have been carved while the king and his son were still coregents.<sup>25</sup> It is quite possible, as Seele argued,<sup>26</sup> that Sety appears here as a royal statue<sup>27</sup> or even as the god of his mortuary temple.<sup>28</sup> Other deified kings are referred to as "given life";<sup>29</sup> but (unlike Sety in this instance) they are not represented alongside their still living successors, where the parallel "Osiris/Horus" would automatically suggest itself.

In sum, in most cases  $dj-nh$  does not tell us whether a king was dead or alive unless it is contrasted with  $m3^c-hrw$ , and it

20. *MH* IV, Pls. 213-14.

21. References in *PM* V 36 (31)-(32).

22. OI No. 10507 (photograph in Labib Habachi, "La Reine Touy, femme de Séthi I, et ses proches parents inconnus," *RdE* 21 [1969] Pl. 3-b; cf. pp. 45-46).

23. *PM* (2d ed., rev.) II 47-48 (158) I.4, II.3, III.3; 48 (159) I.4, II.5, III.1.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 419 (113), lintel.

25. For Ramesses II as crown prince and coregent, see Chap. 2; cf. W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975) 153-90.

26. Seele, *Coregency*, p. 62 (sec. 93).

27. Thus, for example, on the south wall of the hypostyle hall (at H. H. Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations* [2d ed., rev.; *OIP* LVI (1941)] Pl. IV 113) Sety  $m3^c-hrw$  appears inside a shrine, while his son (dressed as a Yunmufef priest) offers to "the Osiris Sety I  $m3^c-hrw$ ," the occasion being described as a "royal appearance ( $h^c-nswt$ ) in the house of his father Amun . . . ."

28. H. H. Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Re of United with Eternity," *JNES* 1 (1942) 127-55; L.-A. Christophe, "La Salle V du temple de Sethi Ier à Gournah," *BIFAO* 49 (1950) 117-80.

29. Thus a statue of the living Ramesses II is referred to as "the royal living ka" (Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* [ADAIK-ÅR, Vol. 5 (1969)] p. 19) and, when he is qualified as living or dead in his divine aspect, it is always with  $dj-nh$  or its variants, never  $m3^c-hrw$  (*ibid.*, pp. 25, 28).

seems to be attached to royal names quite mechanically. During the Middle Kingdom, *m3'ḥrw* can be attached to the king's person in a prospective sense. This usage can occur during the New Kingdom, too, but more frequently it denotes less the person of the king than his embodiment of the principle of kingship, either as a member of the corporation of royal ancestors or as the god of his mortuary establishment.