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The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty*

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Ever since Lise Manniche published her very ingenious article on “The Wife of Bata”¹ it has been suggested that Akhenaten’s “greatly beloved wife” Kyia was of Mitannian origin.² The assumption mainly rests on the evidence of the ‘unofficial’ title *t3 špst* given to her on two wine docketts from Amarna and the occurrence of this same title on a Theban funerary cone (Fig. 1a) of a certain Bengay,³ who was “overseer of the domain (‘*3 n pr*) of *t3 špst Nhrn*”.⁴ In view of the rarity of the title *t3 špst* these two ladies have been equated, and Kyia has been tentatively identified with the Mitannian princess Tadu-Ḥeba. Unfortunately, the funerary cone in question is one that has been published in handcopy only, and no facsimile of its text is available, making it even more difficult to date than is normally the case with cones whose owners are not known from other sources. In this particular case, however, it is possible to shed some further light on Bengay, for his name does appear in one or two further documents.

Manniche herself suggested that the Bengay mentioned on the cone was identical to the owner of two further funerary cones, Nos. 260 and 528. The first of these (Fig. 1b) belongs to a Beng(a)y who was “steward (*imy-r pr*) of Henutempeṯ”. According to Helck these two titles, ‘*3 n pr* and *imy-r pr*, refer to what is essentially the same function,⁵ although his argument that the two are distinguished mainly by the position they occupy in a given text in relation to their holder’s name is less convincing.⁶ Graefe⁷ believes the two titles are very similar but not identical, mainly because they are listed as separate titles in the Twenty-first Dynasty Decree of Amenhotep son of Hapu, but he admits that in several cases one and the same man may be called *imy-r pr* in one instance and ‘*3 n pr* in another, and suggests that apart from a slight difference in rank the distinction may have lain “auf der Ebene der Höflichkeit”. Perhaps the keyword here is formality rather than politeness; *imy-r pr* appears to represent the

*A shortened version of part of this article was read at the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists in Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995. Prof. G.T. Martin subsequently read a draft of that part at Saqqâra and I am very grateful to him for his critical remarks. I dedicate the final, greatly expanded version to Herman te Velde, in affection and admiration.

¹ L. Manniche, “The Wife of Bata”, *GM* 18 (1972), 33–38.

² E.g., D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten, The Heretic King* (Princeton 1984), 150; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London 1988), 285–286; C.N. Reeves, *JEA* 74 (1988), 100; B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore/London 1991), 137 n. 168; M. Gabolde, *BSEG* 16 (1992), 38 with n. 56.

³ On the name *Bng(ḥ)y*, which is almost certainly Semitic, see T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1992), 93–94, N 184 - N 185.

⁴ G. Daressy, *Recueil de cônes funéraires*, MMAF 8 (Paris 1893), No. 237; N. de Garis Davies/M.F. Laming Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones I* (Oxford 1957), No. 527.

⁵ W. Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 165; id., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden/Köln 1958), 102–103.

⁶ Cf. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, *ÄgAbh* 37 (Wiesbaden 1981), II, 81–82.

⁷ loc. cit.

formal title, whereas $\epsilon_3 n pr$ is the version for less formal and administrative use,⁸ although the latter form does occasionally appear in funerary inscriptions as well.⁹ This agrees well with the occurrence of the informal phrase (with definite article) $t_3 \dot{s}pst Nhrn$, without name, on the cone on which the $\epsilon_3 n pr$ title is used.

If these two men Bengay are indeed identical, as seems likely, it is very probable that the name of the “noble lady from Mitanni” on cone No. 527 is actually preserved on No. 260; according to this cone, she was called Henutempet.¹⁰ The name Henutempet is not very common; Ranke only lists three examples,¹¹ one from the Old Kingdom, one on a Middle Kingdom stela, and one on a stela in the British Museum (belonging to one Sipair) which he dates to the Second Intermediate Period, but which more likely belongs to the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹² Two further examples may be noted, both on coffins belonging to members of the royal family of the Eighteenth Dynasty; to these we shall return later.

On a third funerary cone (No. 528) (Fig. 1c), thought by Manniche to belong to the same owner, Bengay bears the simple title of $w^c b$ -priest of Amun, and as such he almost certainly occurs again on a fourth cone (No. 519) (Fig. 1d), not considered by Manniche, which belongs to the $w^c b$ -priest of Amun Ahmose, son of Beng(a)y. Whether this $w^c b$ -priest of Amun Bengay is really identical with the steward of the Mitannian princess remains uncertain, but a final monument mentioning a man with that name may well refer to the latter official. On a stela in Leiden,¹³ which can be dated to the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten, a man Bengay is shown receiving offerings in the company of his wife Tanetmennefer and his brother, the royal butler and steward Maaninakhtef. On a companion stela in the Louvre¹⁴ with an almost identical layout the owner of both stelae, Paser, is shown offering in the same way to his grandfather, who is also called Paser. B. Geßler-Löhr has therefore argued that the older Paser and Maaninakhtef belonged to the same generation and has connected Maaninakhtef with the royal butler of that name who served under Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV.¹⁵ If so, Maaninakhtef’s brother Bengay must of course be dated to the same period. It is true that on the Leiden stela Bengay does

⁸ Cf. the usages of $rmt iswt (n p_3 hr)$ and $\epsilon_3 n iswt$, as against $sdm-\epsilon_3 (m st-m_3\epsilon t)$ and $imy-r iswt$, resp.; the latter designations are used in “more formal and chiefly funerary hieroglyphic inscriptions”, while the former belong to “the spoken language and ... the administrative jargon”, J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50 (Cairo 1973), 43ff. Cf. also J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d’Amon sous le pontificat de Pinedjem II*, MRE 5 (Brussels 1986), 359: “Les titres formés au moyen de $\epsilon_3 n$... ‘le grand de ...’ font leur apparition au Nouvel Empire, et semblent équivalents à ceux correspondants composés de $imy-r_3$...”, with further examples listed in his n. 1.

⁹ E.g., alabaster shabti of May in Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet A.A.a.16, on which both titles occur; cf. J. van Dijk, *OMRO 71* (1991), 8 n. 6 = id., *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen 1993), 74 n. 34.

¹⁰ Helck, “Kija”, *LÄ III*, 423 n. 4, states categorically that the name on the cone should be read $hnwt t_3w$ instead of Davies’s $hnwt-m-pt$, but he produces no evidence for this.

¹¹ *PN I*, 243, 7 with addition on p. xxvi.

¹² BM 906: E.A. Wallis Budge, *British Museum – A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London 1909), 141–142 (No. 502).

¹³ Inv. TV (= Leemans V 93); P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, VI: *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches*, Abt. III: *Stelen* (The Hague 1913), 9, Pl. XIX (No. 29); cf. E. Drioton, *RdE 1* (1933), 23–25, 28–30, Pl. V:2.

¹⁴ Louvre C 65; E. Drioton, op. cit., 23–28, Pls. IV-V:1.

¹⁵ B. Geßler-Löhr, in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath*, HÄB 30 (Hildesheim 1990), 53–57.

not bear any titles except for the ubiquitous *sš nsw*, but his close family relationship with a high court official like Maaninakhtef makes it probable that he, too, held a fairly important office, especially since he was still remembered two generations later, despite the fact that neither he nor his brother Maaninakhtef appears to have had a direct family connection with the owner of the stela.

All of this falls short of proving that the *špst Nhrn* of Bengay's funerary cone cannot possibly be identified with Kyia, but it seems far more likely that this princess belonged to the reign of Tuthmosis IV, who was, after all, the first to conclude a diplomatic marriage with a Mitannian princess after a long period of hostility between Egypt and Mitanni. In fact, Henutempet may well have been the official Egyptian court name given to the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, whom Tuthmosis IV married and whose actual name is not mentioned in the Amarna Letter (EA 29) which refers to this marriage.¹⁶ The phrase *t3 špst Nhrn*, 'the noble lady of Mitanni', without a name, might even suggest this, for such a phrase would make good sense if there was only one such princess, but less so once there were more (Kelu-Ḥeba, Tadu-Ḥeba). It would seem that the coffin of the Henutempet mentioned on Bengay's funerary cone was found in the Deir el-Bahari royal cache (TT 320).¹⁷ It is a reused early Eighteenth Dynasty coffin, painted black with inscriptions in yellowish white with details in red; the name of the original owner has been erased everywhere, but only on the vertical band of text running down the centre of the lid has it been replaced with the name Henutempet, spelled in exactly the same way as on the cone of Bengay. No title or filiation is given and her name is not enclosed in a cartouche,¹⁸ but the fact that her badly rewrapped and mutilated mummy¹⁹ was reburied where it was strongly suggests that she was connected with the royal family of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁰

The connection of the Mitannian princess mentioned on Bengay's funerary cone with Kyia would thus appear to be untenable. It has already been pointed out by J.R. Harris that the name *Kyiz*, although fairly rare, is by no means unique and does not itself suggest a foreign origin.²¹ There is no reason to believe that it represents a shortened form of the Hurrian name Kelu-Ḥeba, as has been suggested by Redford and, in a modified form, by M. Gabolde, or that it was the Egyptian name given to Tadu-Ḥeba, as proposed by Manniche and Helck. In fact, if foreign princesses received Egyptian names, these were more likely to be official court names such

¹⁶ W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore/London 1992), 93; cf. Bryan, op. cit., 118–119.

¹⁷ CG 61017; PM I/2², 662; G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cairo 1909), 24–26, Pl. XV (reproduced in R.B. Partridge, *Faces of Pharaohs: Royal Mummies and Coffins from Ancient Thebes* [London 1994], 42 fig. 21).




¹⁸ Cf. Bryan, op. cit., 118 on the apparent lack of status of Amenhotep III's Mitannian and Babylonian wives.

¹⁹ CG 61062; G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo 1912), 20ff, Pl. 15 (reproduced in Partridge, op. cit., 41 fig. 20).

²⁰ C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London/New York 1990), 212 and 251 ascribes this coffin to Ahmose-Henutempet, daughter of Seqenenre-Ta'a II and Ahhotep I. This princess of the blood, whose name is written in a cartouche, was not buried in the royal cache, however, but elsewhere in the Theban area, probably at Dra' Abu el-Naga', see PM I/2², 604; her coffin, now lost, was seen by early Egyptologists long before the Deir el-Bahari cache was discovered, see L. Troy, *GM* 35 (1979), 87 (I: C4); M. Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie* (Paris 1984), 16 n. 35. The same error is made in Partridge, op. cit., 40–42, where Henutempet is called Queen (!) Ahmose-Hentempet.

²¹ J.R. Harris, *CdE* 49 (1974), 26 n. 9. See also the excellent discussion in T. Schneider, op. cit., 207–209 (N 438), who concludes that the name cannot be used as evidence in a discussion of Kyia's origin.

as Henutempet or Ma^cat-Hor-neferu-Re (the Egyptian name given to Ramesses II's Hittite princess), rather than a hypochoristicon or *Lallname* of the Kyia type. In short, there is no evidence to suggest that Akhenaten's second wife Kyia was of foreign extraction.

The latest datable occurrence of Kyia's name is on a wine docket from Amarna mentioning Akhenaten's Year 11,²² but the exact date of her disappearance, whether through death or through a fall from favour, has so far remained uncertain. One of the Amarna blocks from Hermopolis (438/VIIA) (Fig. 2)²³ throws new light on this question: the erased inscription which originally mentioned Kyia has been replaced by a text mentioning Ankhesenpaaten in conjunction with the prenomen of Akhenaten. The new text includes a few signs which have so far baffled commentators, mainly because the sculptor made a mistake by leaving part of the original text untouched. The original inscription contained the 'captions' for a scene showing Akhenaten in the company of his "greatly beloved wife" Kyia. The text began on the missing block to the right of the present one with Akhenaten's nomen (*s3 R^c nḥ m m3^ct, nb ḥ^cw, 3ḥ-n-itn, 3^c m ḥ^cw.f*), followed by Kyia's formal titulary (*ḥmt mrrty 3t n(t) nsw bity* etc.) which, of course, includes Akhenaten's prenomen. In the new version, the beginning of the inscription was replaced by further names and epithets of Akhenaten himself which were intended to join up with the prenomen originally contained in Kyia's titles; the last columns of the text, which originally contained the end of Kyia's titulary and her name, were replaced by a text identifying the woman in the scene as "the King's daughter of his body, his beloved, Ankhesenpaaten". The new epithets of Akhenaten leading up to his prenomen begin with *hq3 nfr, mry 'Itn*, followed by a group of signs which Roeder called "nonsensical".²⁴ R. Hanke recognized that the last sign of the enigmatic group was the genitive *n* from the original *ḥmt mrrty 3t n(t) nsw bity* which the sculptor forgot to erase, but he too was unable to explain the group as a whole.²⁵ I believe the signs in question read *nḥt ḥpš*, "victorious of sword". Roeder actually published two different photographs of the block, and the smaller one shows clear traces of  at the top of col. 3. The  and the  at the end of col. 2 are very clear on this photograph and can in fact be identified on the other photo as well.

It has already been noted by Perepelkin, that the epithet *nḥt ḥpš* is found in inscriptions which display the late form of the Aten cartouches.²⁶ It can in fact be associated with Akhenaten's Nubian campaign, which took place in his Year 12. It

²² Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London 1894), Pl. XXV: 95; Reeves, *JEA* 74 (1988), Pl. XV: 1. Aldred, op. cit., 227, is probably right that a further docket (Fairman, in *CoA* II, Pl. LVIII: 16) should be dated to Year [1]6 rather than Year 6 because of the designation *ḥry b^cḥ* for the vintner, which had replaced the customary *ḥry k3mw* by Akhenaten's Year 13, but does this docket really refer to Kyia? All it says is "wine of the estate of the noble lady of ..." (contrast the Year 11 docket: "wine of the estate of the noble lady Ky[ia]"), and it might thus equally well refer to a different "noble lady" from Akhenaten's harīm. Cf. also Manniche, op. cit., 37 n. 18; Reeves, op. cit., 100 n. 39.


²³ G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim 1969), Pl. 111.

²⁴ op. cit., 56 ("unsinnig"); 287 ("unsinnige Schriftzeichen"); 290 ("Veränderungen [welche] besonders schwer festzustellen und zu erklären sind").

²⁵ R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien*, HÄB 2 (Hildesheim 1978), 160.

²⁶ Y.Y. Perepelkin, *The Revolution of Amenophis IV*, I (Moscow 1967; in Russian), § 68; cf. I. Munro, *GM* 94 (1986), 85. According to Perepelkin this form of the Aten cartouches appears from Year 12 onwards, §§ 25, 29; cf. Munro, 82.

occurs on the Amada stela (CG 41806) which records this campaign, and which, as A.R. Schulman has shown, is dated to Year 12, just like its companion stela at Buhen.²⁷ It is also echoed, it seems, in a prayer to Akhenaten in the tomb of Meryre II, who addresses the King with the words “... it is your sword/strong arm (*hps*) which protects the Two Lands”, in a context which deals with Akhenaten’s dominion over Egypt’s foreign territories.²⁸ Kyia’s presumed downfall and the subsequent erasure of her name may therefore have occurred roughly around the same time. This would agree well with a recent proposal by M. Gabolde,²⁹ who has argued very convincingly that Baketaten was a daughter of Akhenaten and Kyia, not of Amenhotep III and Tiye, as previously believed. Baketaten is shown under the wings of her grandmother Tiye in the tomb of Huyu which contains scenes explicitly dated to Year 12 showing the presentation of tribute which Schulman has associated with the Nubian campaign of that same year.³⁰ It has also been noted that Nefertiti appears with the title *hmt-nsw ʿ3t* (rather than *wrt*), which had formerly belonged to Kyia, in several inscriptions in the tomb of Meryre II, including the one which contains the Year 12 date.³¹ All of this admittedly circumstantial evidence suggests that Kyia’s disappearance occurred in or shortly before Akhenaten’s Year 12. The only known wine docket mentioning Baketaten appears to be dated to Year 13.³² One wonders, therefore, whether she perhaps inherited her mother’s estate.

Hermopolis block 831/VIIIC, which contains the only reference to Tutankhaten before he became king, is justly famous. It is therefore all the more surprising to find that only one photograph, and not a particularly good one, has ever been published of this crucial piece of evidence.³³ The three short columns of text on the block read “the King’s bodily son, whom he loves, Tutankhuaten”, and may well have continued on the missing adjacent block with the name of the prince’s mother, now one of the major historical questions of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty. The handcopy of the text provided in Roeder’s publication is unsatisfactory in that it does not adequately deal with all the traces visible on the photograph. The text as it stands consists of three columns which appear to be practically complete (Fig. 3b). Col. 1 ends with traces of the *f* (i.e. the horns of the viper sign) of *s3 nsw n ht.f* and does not require comment. Col. 2 continues with the expected *mry.f*, “his beloved”, which is written in a peculiar orthography, with the hoe sign  for *mr* and an ideographic stroke between *mry* and the suffix; this writing is, as far as I know, unparalleled in Amarna texts, at least as far as the epithet “his beloved” as applied to Akhenaten’s children is concerned. The next group is *twt*, followed by a large blank space not commented on by Roeder; traces of a small circular or oval sign at the top of this space, in the centre of the column,

²⁷ A.R. Schulman, “The Nubian War of Akhenaten”, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches II* (Paris 1982), 299–316; see especially p. 301 n. 16 and 302 n. 24 on the reading of the Year 12 date on both stelae. Cf. also W. Helck, *SAK* 8 (1980), 118–119.

²⁸ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II*, ASE 14 (London 1905), Pl. XXX.





²⁹ M. Gabolde, “Baketaton fille de Kiya?”, *BSEG* 16 (1992), 27–40.








³⁰ Schulman, *op. cit.*, 311–312.

³¹ C.N. Reeves, “A Further Occurrence of Nefertiti as *hmt nsw ʿ3t*”, *GM* 30 (1978), 61–69 (following earlier discussions by Y.Y. Perepelkin and J. Samson).

³² H.W. Fairman, in *CoA III*, Pl. LXXXVI: 42.

³³ Roeder, *op. cit.*, Pl. 106.

suggest that there was a determinative of *twt* here, i.e. either  (A53) or  (A22), for both of which there are parallels on objects from the King's tomb.³⁴ The third column contains the rest of the name, spelled in the unparallelled form (*twt*)-*ḥw-itn*, followed by a determinative, probably the seated man with the flagellum  or , for which there is ample space.

So far the inscription, although it displays a number of anomalies, is perfectly straightforward. Close examination of the photograph, however, reveals that there are traces of what appears to be an underlying, i.e. erased, text (cf. Fig. 3b). Unfortunately, the quality of this photograph (or of its reproduction in the book) leaves something to be desired, and more than a few disconnected signs cannot be made out, but it seems clear that in col. 2, directly below the  of *mry.f*, there is an , and directly underneath this, touching the upper part of the back of the  of *twt*, a circular sign. A vertical trace beneath the throat of this *w* ends at the same level as the circular sign and may well be the lower end of a , suggesting the word *itn*. In col. 3, below the  and crossing the neck of the  in *ḥw* are traces of another , the V-shaped horns of the viper and its head being particularly clear. Without further photographs or, better still, access to the original block, it is impossible to decipher or reconstruct the whole of the original text, but it would be surprising, at least to me, if these traces turned out to be completely illusory.

Roeder made the plausible suggestion that block 56/VIIIA (= 612/VIIA) (Fig. 3a) constitutes a companion block to 831/VIIIC.³⁵ Both blocks have virtually the same height (21.5 and 23 cm, resp.) and the same depth (20.5 and 21 cm); both display the same arrangement of three short columns, each of which measures 8 cm in width on both blocks, although the orientation of the text is towards the right on the one and the other way round on the other. The reverse of both blocks shows the same decoration of wine leaves and grapes in raised relief. The text on 56/VIIIA reads “the King’s bodily daughter, whom he loves, the one greatly favoured by the Lord of the Two Lands”, followed by a name of which only the beginning of the group *-itn* towards the end survives. The reconstruction of the text as given on Roeder’s plate suggests that the last column contained the cartouche with the prenomen of Akhenaten, followed by the name of Merytaten; in the text of the volume, however, Roeder interprets this column as containing only the name of Ankhesenpaaten, which seems far more likely. The published photograph, which has been reproduced on an even smaller scale than the Tutankhaten block, is not good enough to enable one to judge whether this inscription, too, is secondary, but this is not impossible in view of the fact that many occurrences of the names of both Merytaten and Ankhesenpaaten on these blocks have been carved over original texts mentioning *Kyia*.³⁶ The position

³⁴ A53: H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford 1989), nos. 227b (original text) and 269f, both in “Tutankhaten”; A22/23: *ibid.*, nos. 48i (2), 48j (2), 398 (in “Tutankhaten”); the latter sign is also used in “Tutankhamun”, but only on objects which retain Atenist names and inscriptions (nos. 79, 91, 351).

³⁵ Roeder, *op. cit.*, Pl. 105; cf. his pp. 40, 57 and 88.

³⁶ Although I no longer believe it to be unlikely that *Kyia*’s name would have been replaced by that of her son Tutankhaten if the birth of the latter was the cause of her fall from grace (cf. my “*Kyia Revisited*”, in *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, Abstracts of Papers*, 50), the traces visible on blocks 831/VIIIC and 56/VIIIA, which appear to be in a magazine at Hermopolis, are of considerable importance, and it therefore remains essential that these blocks should be re-examined

of the names of Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten side by side on two matching blocks strongly suggests that these two royal children were already married at the time these inscriptions were (re)carved.³⁷

It is often assumed that Kyia was the mother of Tutankhaten and it has been speculated that the fact that, unlike Nefertiti, she had been able to produce a male heir to the throne caused her downfall (although not necessarily her death). It seems very unlikely that Amenhotep III and Tiye could have been Tutankhaten's parents, because, as M. Gabolde has argued,³⁸ Tiye was simply too old to have been his mother, even if a maximum coregency of Amenhotep III and IV of some 12 years is assumed. Nefertiti does not appear to be very likely either, in view of the total absence of Tutankhaten from the multitude of monuments depicting Nefertiti with her six daughters.³⁹ A similar objection might be raised against Kyia being Tutankhaten's mother, for if Kyia was the mother of Baketaten, as seems probable, it is odd that only her orphaned daughter is shown in the care of her grandmother, Queen Tiye, and not her son Tutankhaten, unless the latter had only just been born. In other words, *if* Tutankhaten was a son of Kyia, he must have been born in or just before Akhenaten's Year 12. This might support the idea that Kyia disappeared from the scene because her producing an heir posed a threat to the position of Nefertiti as Akhenaten's chief queen. It would also imply that Tutankhaten was about 5 or 6 years of age when Akhenaten died⁴⁰ and that his marriage to his half-sister Ankhesenpaaten had then already been arranged, possibly to ensure the young boy's eventual accession.

Finally, a few words must be devoted to another woman who played an important role at Akhenaten's court. Her name appears on a shabti dating from the Amarna Period⁴¹ which has been known since the beginning of this century, when it was seen at a dealer's in Luxor by G. Legrain, who published a copy of the text inscribed on it a few years later.⁴² The shabti first entered the collection of Omar Pasha Sultan and was published in the auction catalogue of his antiquities after his death (Fig. 4).⁴³ It was subsequently acquired by King Farouk I, in whose collection it was when E. Drioton examined it in 1943.⁴⁴ Presumably it was then transferred to the Cairo Museum along

by an experienced epigrapher.

³⁷ Confirming Redford's speculation that Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten were united "perhaps while Akhenaten yet lived" (*Akhenaten, the Heretic King*, 193).

³⁸ Gabolde, *op. cit.*, 39.

³⁹ *Pace* G. Robins, "The Mother of Tutankhamun", *DE* 20 (1991), 71–73.

⁴⁰ This in turn would agree rather well with recent estimates of Tutankhamun's own age at death as about 16 or 17.












⁴¹ All known Amarna shabtis have been published by G.T. Martin, "Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period", *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 109–129, Pls. 8–19.








⁴² G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection, LXV: Sur un oushebtu du temps de Khouniatonou et le scarabée n°. 5993 de Turin", *ASAE* 10 (1910), 107–108.

⁴³ *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan, Le Caire. Catalogue descriptif* (Paris 1929), no. 378, Pl. LVII. I am extremely grateful to Richard Fazzini for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant pages of this rare publication and to Mary Mc Kercher for taking a photograph of Pl. LVII for me, reproduced here as Fig. 4. See on this collection J.F. Aubert, "Les statuettes funéraires de la collection Omar Pascha", *CdE* LI No. 101 (1976), 58–71.

⁴⁴ "Trois documents d'époque amarnienne, I: La statuette funéraire de la dame Ipy", *ASAE* 43 (1943), 15–25.

with the rest of the King's collection, but attempts to locate it there have remained unsuccessful.⁴⁵

The owner of this shabti has entered Egyptological literature as the "royal ornament" Py, even though occasional references to this mysterious lady describing her as a "concubine" (*Nebenfrau*) of Akhenaten – a misinterpretation of the titles on the shabti – were quickly and rightly refuted by E. Graefe.⁴⁶ The reading of her name, however, is somewhat of a problem. In the auction catalogue it is given as "Hapi"; Legrain read it as Py, whereas Drioton, while giving the first sign of the name as a tall vertical stroke, interprets this as a , reading the name as Ipy (cf. Fig. 5).⁴⁷ Unfortunately the crucial part of the name is not completely visible on the only available photograph, but a suggestion as to the true identification of the owner of the shabti may nevertheless be ventured. It is apparent from the photograph that some signs in the text have been rather badly executed, particularly in the last few lines of the text, where the craftsman had to work in an awkward space.⁴⁸ The first sign of the name is obviously a maladroitly carved tall vertical sign, interpreted as a  in the auction catalogue (as implied by the form "Hapi") and as a  by Drioton. I would suggest it is a . The following , which is not questioned by either Legrain or Drioton, probably represents the two vertical strokes  which in Amarna inscriptions regularly replace the two diagonal strokes of the sign ; the vertical form of this sign is also used in the word *šbty* in l. 8 and in three occurrences of *iry* in ll. 8 and 9. The name then reads    , which is the normal way of writing the name of Ay's wife Ty.

One of Ty's known titles was *ḥsyt ʿst nt W-n-Rʿ* "the one greatly favoured by Wa-en-Re" (i.e. Akhenaten),⁴⁹ and this title also appears to be present on the shabti, along with another title of Ty, *ḥkrt nsw*, "royal ornament". Legrain read the sign following the group *ḥsyt* as a mere horizontal line (and misinterpreted the papyrus-roll determinative  as ). Drioton replaced it with , reading *ḥsyt mʿst*. Both Legrain's and Drioton's readings were rejected by Graefe, who identified the sign in question as , i.e. the Amarna form of , reading "*ḥzyt mrjt*", "Geliebte Gelobte".⁵⁰ This reading is not very likely, however, as *mry* "to love" is never written with the bookroll determinative. The disputed sign is carved in the difficult curved area at the front of the ankle; on the published photograph it appears as a thin, slightly irregular horizontal line, which was no doubt meant to be an  .

A final argument in favour of assigning the shabti to Ay's wife Ty is the fact that the Omar Pasha collection contained two further Amarna shabtis, one of wood, the other of white faience, which are both inscribed for Ay himself.⁵¹ Judging from the photographs, the wooden shabti has been carved from the same highly polished wood as Ty's shabti; like the latter it measures 24 cm in height. It bears a striking stylistic similarity to the shabti of Ty, particularly in the way the facial features have been carved. Both shabtis probably came from the same workshop and may have been made

⁴⁵ Cf. Martin, *op. cit.*, 114–115, no. 6, with bibliography.

⁴⁶ E. Graefe, "Zu *Pjj*, der angeblichen Nebenfrau des Achanjati", *GM* 33 (1979), 17–18.

⁴⁷ The sign in question is represented by a small vertical stroke in Legrain's copy. Martin, who did not see the original, follows Drioton's copy, but inadvertently left out the crucial stroke.

⁴⁸ Cf. Drioton's textual notes, *op. cit.*, 16.

⁴⁹ *Berlin 17555; Aeg. Inschr.* II, 267–268 (see note 54 below).

⁵⁰ *GM* 33, 17 with n. 7.

⁵¹ Martin, *op. cit.*, 118–119, nos. 14 and 15, Pls. 15 (right) and 16 (left).

by the same craftsman. They may even originally have formed a pair and may have been found together. Nothing is known about the provenance of these three shabtis, nor of that of a further shabti of Ay in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.⁵² G.T. Martin suggests that they may have been destined originally for Ay's Amarna tomb (no. 25), and then for another as yet undetected tomb at either Saqqâra or Thebes which Ay may have prepared for himself during the reign of Tutankhamun.⁵³ Further possibilities would be Akhmîm, Ay's probable hometown, and Tuna el-Gebel. The only other item of funerary equipment known from Ay's pre-royal career, a decorated wooden box in Berlin, was acquired in Akhmîm, although it was alleged to have come from Tuna el-Gebel.⁵⁴ This box is the only object on which Ty's title *ḥsyt ʿst nt W^c-n-R^c*, which is absent from the Amarna tomb, occurs; her name is also spelled exactly as it is on the Omar Pasha shabti, with vertical *||*. It is true that no tombs or objects dating from the Amarna Period have yet been discovered at Tuna el-Gebel,⁵⁵ but from the ibis catacombs comes a cubit rod of the Treasury scribe Panehsy with cartouches of Amenhotep III in which the element "Amun" has been erased.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that at least one other Amarna Period shabti, Cairo JE 39590, is said in the *Journal d'Entrée* to have come from Tuna el-Gebel.⁵⁷ Whatever the original provenance of the shabtis of Ay and his wife Ty, it seems very probable that they came from the same tomb as the Berlin box. Meanwhile, the phantom royal favourite Hapi/Ipy/Py can safely be dismissed from the list of women belonging to Akhenaten's inner circle.

⁵² *ibid.*, 118, no. 13, Pl. 15.

⁵³ *ibid.*, 118 with n. 23.

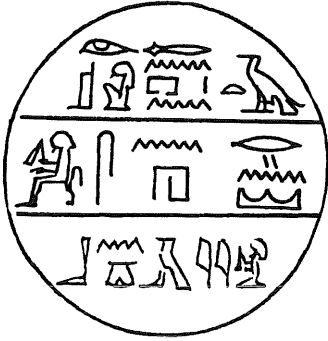
⁵⁴ Inv. Nr. 17555; W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin 1967), 56 (no. 583) with fig.; G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II/1: Inschriften des Neuen Reichs: Statuen, Stelen und Reliefs* (Leipzig 1913), 267–268; O. Schaden, *The God's Father Ay* (diss. University of Minnesota, 1977), 88–93.

⁵⁵ On the largely unexplored New Kingdom necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, which is situated north of the Amarna Boundary Stela A, see D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*, Beihefte TAVO B30 (Wiesbaden 1981), 109–115.

⁵⁶ S. Gabra, "Coudée votive de Touna el Gebel Hermopolis Ouest. La Khemenow pa Meket des Egyptiens", *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 129–135.

⁵⁷ Martin, *op. cit.*, 111 (no. 1) with n. 13.

- Figs. 1a-d** Funerary cones of Bengay (a-c) and his son Ahmose (d). After N. de Garis Davies (ed. M.F. Laming Macadam), *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones I* (Oxford 1957).
- Fig. 2** The inscriptions on Hermopolis block 438/VIIA. The shading indicates the parts which have been recarved.
- Fig. 3a** Hermopolis block 56/VIIIA.
- Fig. 3b** Hermopolis block 831/VIIIC with traces of an earlier, erased inscription.
- Fig. 4** Shabti of Ay's wife Ty. After *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan, Le Caire. Catalogue descriptif* (Paris 1929), Pl. LVII.
- Fig. 5** Titles and name on the shabti according to Legrain (a) and Drioton (b), with variant readings given in *Cat. Coll. Omar Pacha* (d) and Graefe (c). The lowermost line (e) gives the reading proposed in the present article.



527



260



528



519

Fig. 1

a	b
c	d

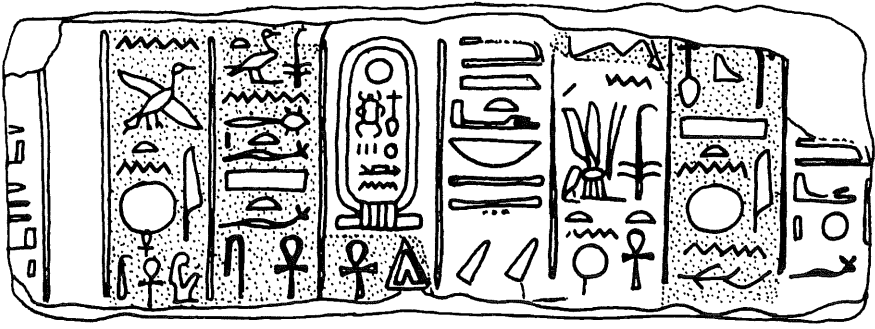


Fig. 2

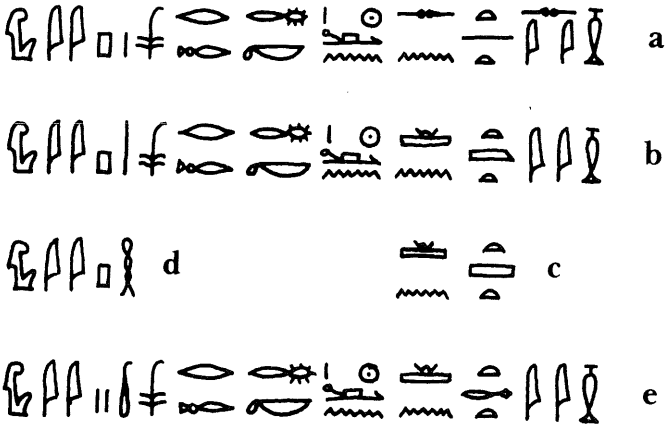


Fig. 5

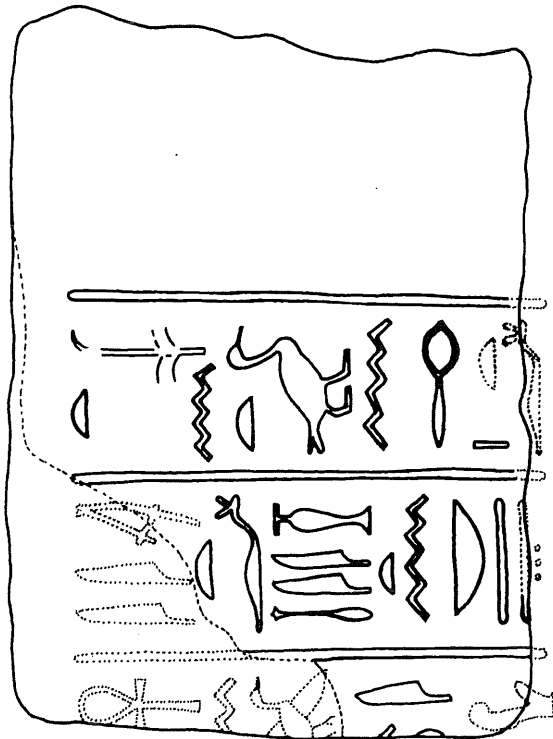


Fig. 3a

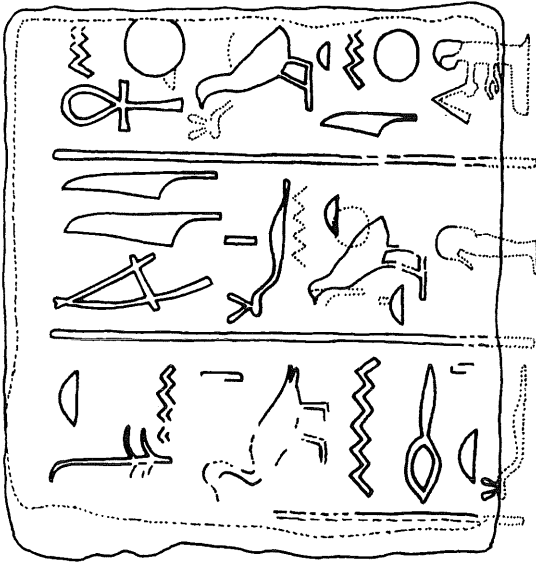


Fig. 3b



Fig. 4