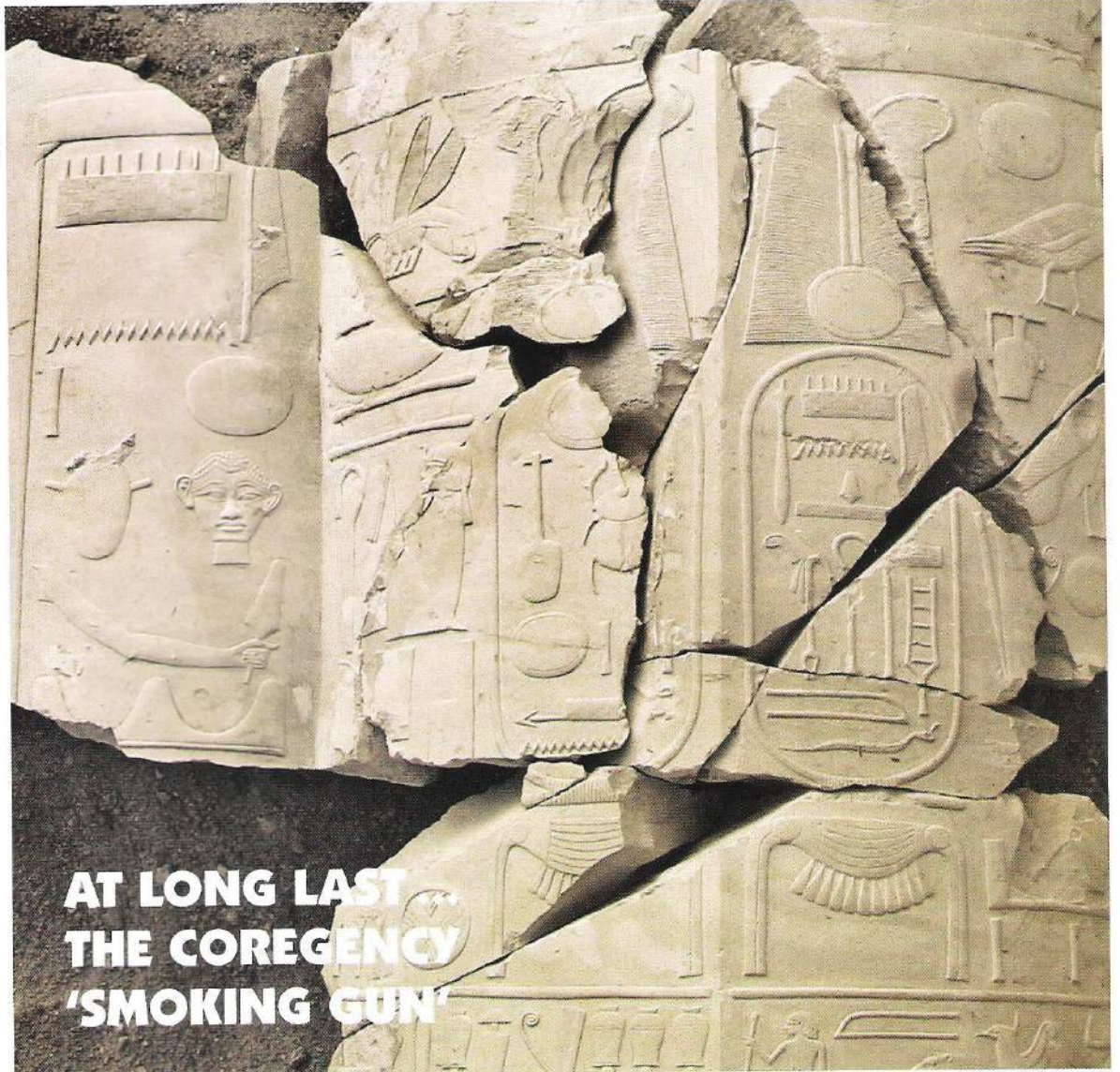


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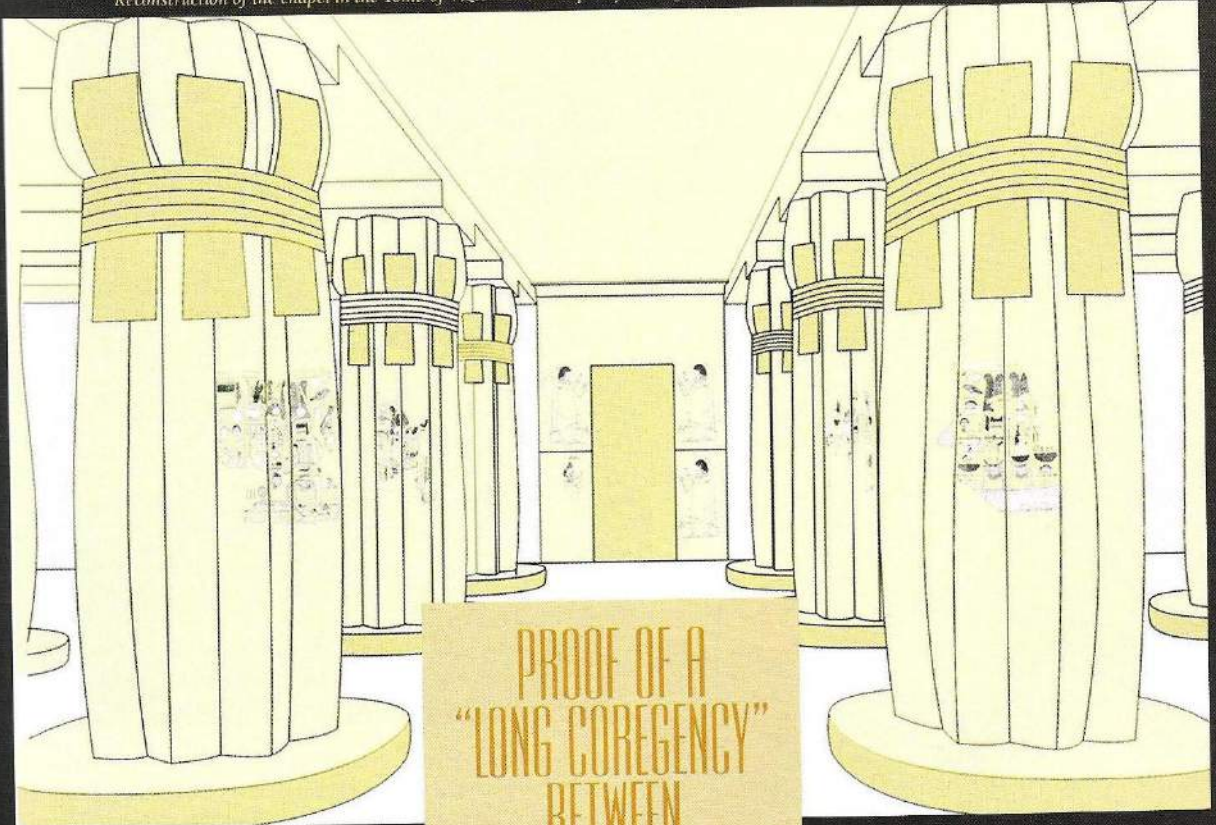


**AT LONG LAST
THE COREGENCY
'SMOKING GUN'**



4 2>

**NEW DISCOVERY IN ASASIF TOMB 28 - THE COREGENCY CONUNDRUM
CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE FOR AN AMENHOTEP III/IV COREGENCY
AMENHOTEP III COLOSSI UNVEILED - ORIGINS OF EGYPTIAN MUMMIFICATION
BATTLEFIELD DEATHS OF TWO KINGS - NEW TOMB FOUND AT ABYDOS
NILE CURRENTS - FOR THE RECORD - & MORE**



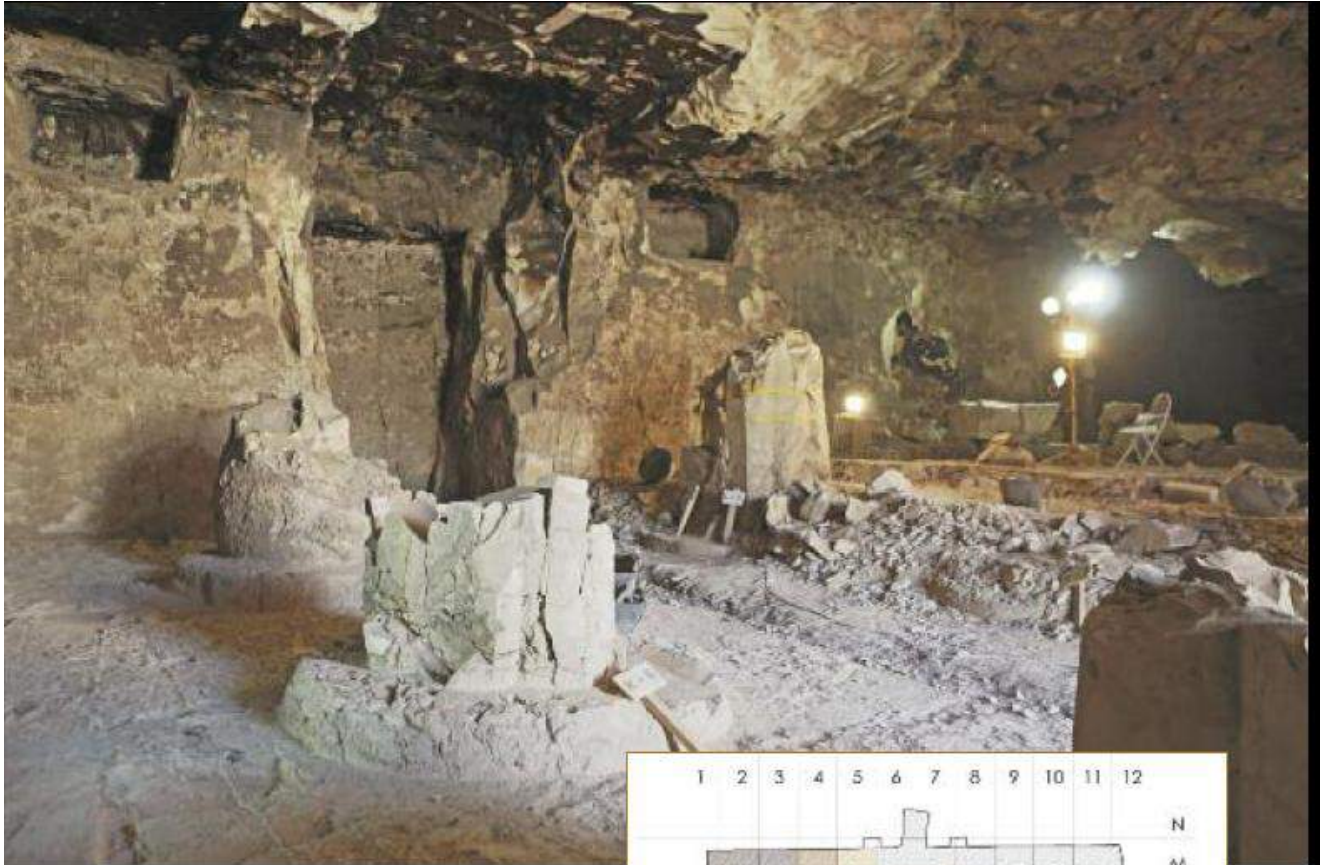
The Vizier Amenhotep-Huy Project was begun in 2009, conducted by the Institute of Studies of Ancient Egypt (IEAE, Madrid, Spain), and has continued annually since that time. The most recent season of excavations was from October 3 to December 15, 2013. An article published in this Journal (Vol. 22, No. 2, summer 2011) reported on the first two years of the IEAE work, as well as the provisional conclusions that could be made, in the light of the results obtained until then.¹ In 2013 a preliminary report was published of the excavations carried out in Asasif Tomb 28 from 2009 until 2012.² During these years of excavation in the chapel of AT28, it has been

PROOF OF A
"LONG COREGENCY"
BETWEEN
AMENHOTEP III
&
AMENHOTEP IV
FOUND IN THE
CHAPEL OF VIZIER
AMENHOTEP-HUY
(ASASIF TOMB 28)
WEST LUXOR

by
Francisco Martin Valentin
& Teresa Bedman

I.E.A.E. & Fundación Gaselec

possible to prove that the site was used during the Third Intermediate Period to prepare mummies of persons belonging to the high clergy at Karnak, whose bodies were interred in other tombs excavated in the courtyard of Vizier Amenhotep-Huy. In fact, it has also confirmed the relationship of some of those individuals whose mummified remains were deposited in the chapel during the Twenty-second Dynasty, at the time of Sekh-emkheperre Osorkon I (924-889 BC). This conclusion has resulted from discovery of strips of leather with images representing that king in the presence of a goddess wearing the Red Crown³ (probably, Neith).



The 2013 Season Discoveries

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

During 2013's AT28 excavation, work was focused on the debris covering the chapel's floor. These excavations began in a mid-level, 0.90+ meters from bedrock. After a month of clearance, when the floor of the chapel had almost been reached (at between 0.40+ and 0.05+ meters depth), there began to appear stone fragments of reliefs which, clearly, had formed part of the original decoration of the chapel and had been attacked, including their inscriptions. All of them were uncovered from decoration in the chapel's central hall (in its east-west axis), specifically from the ceiling (architraves),

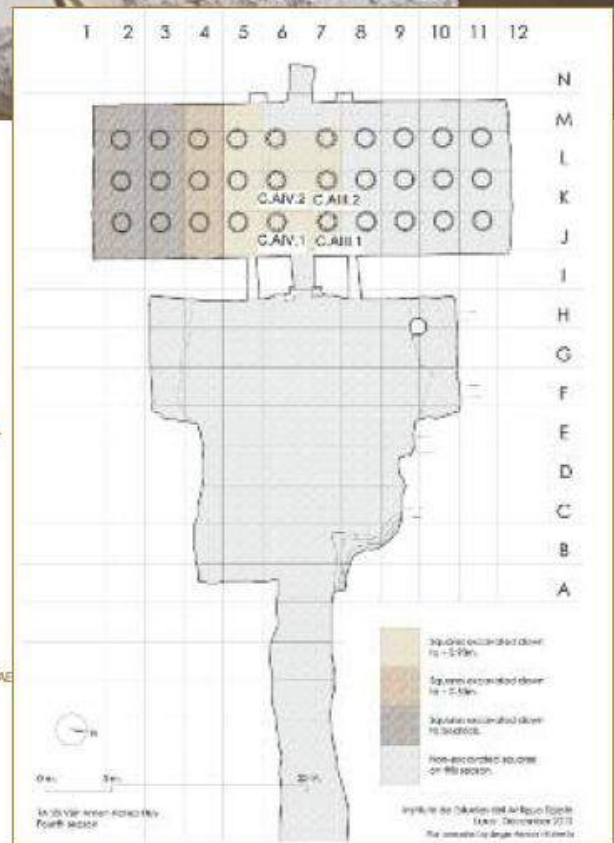
Kmt 18

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

Photo: Gustavo Cabanillas © IEAE

Right, Plan showing the stages of excavation in AT28 from 2011-2013.

Drawing by J. Martín Pájo & S. Alarcón © IEAE



two doors on that axis, and some of the columns existing in this axis. This destruction can be dated no earlier than after Year 35 of Amenhotep III,⁴ since Vizier Amenho-tep-Huy was still building monuments and quarrying stone at Gebel el Silsila for Amenhotep III in Year 35.

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

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

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

Texts Found on the Columns

The inscriptions of the shafts read as follows:

Column AIII.1:

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

Column AIII.2:

1. Son of Re... He who carries (the Crowns) ...; 2. Amen[hotep Ruler of Waset]; 3. [Be-

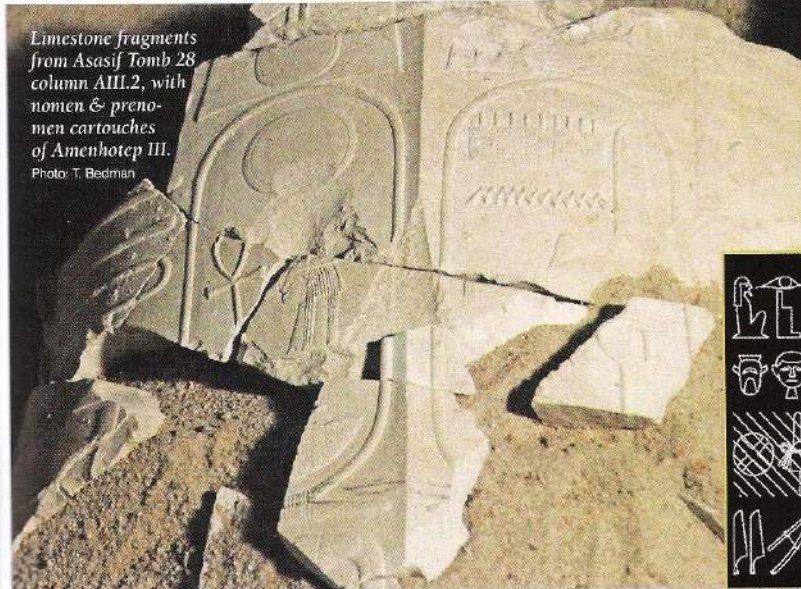
loved] of Hathor; who is over the mountain; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (He who) joins them; 5. [Neb]maatre; 6. Beloved of Osiris, he who resides in [Ta-Ur] (This/Abydos)

Column AIV.1:

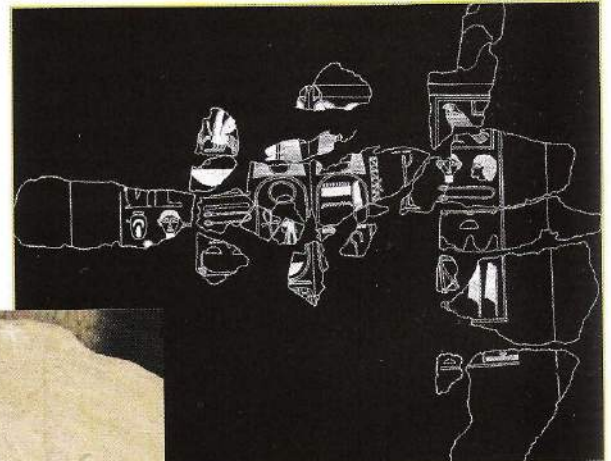
1. Son of Re. One who is in peace, over the Maat; 2. Amenhotep Netjer Heqa Waset, [Great] in his [Lifetime]; 3. Beloved of Hathor, who resides in...; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Rites, Son of Amen; 5. Neferkheperure Waenre; 6. [Beloved] of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and luni (Hermonthis)

Column AIV.2:

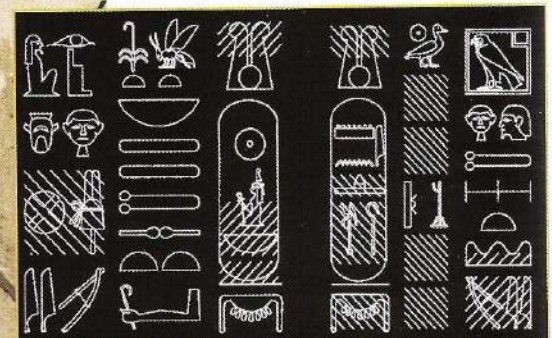
1. Son of Re. He who unites the Two Crowns of Re; 2. Amenhotep Netjer Heqa Waset, Great in his Lifetime; 3. Beloved of Osiris, Lord of Abydos; 4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Ruler of Ipet Isut (Karnak); 5. Neferkhep-



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

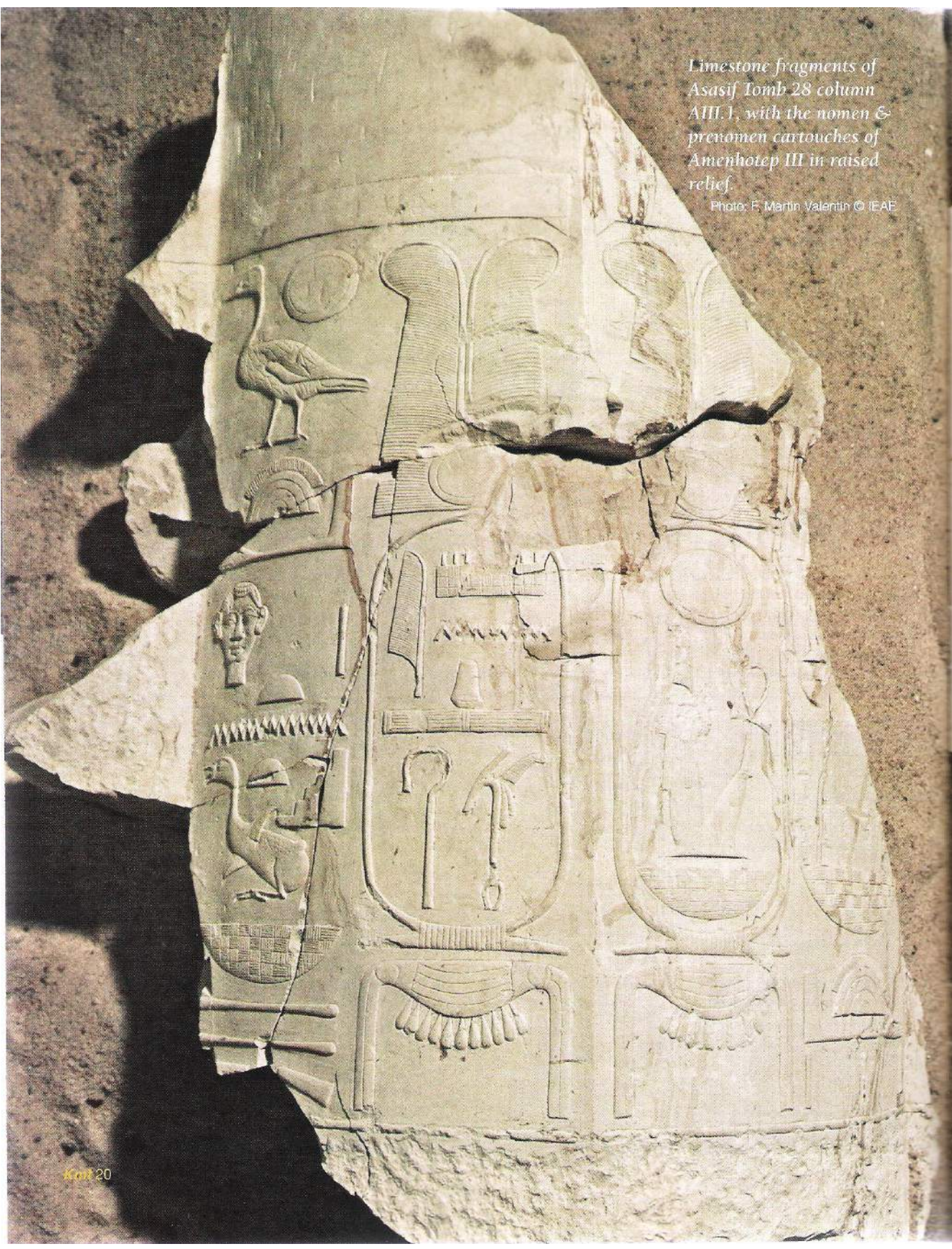


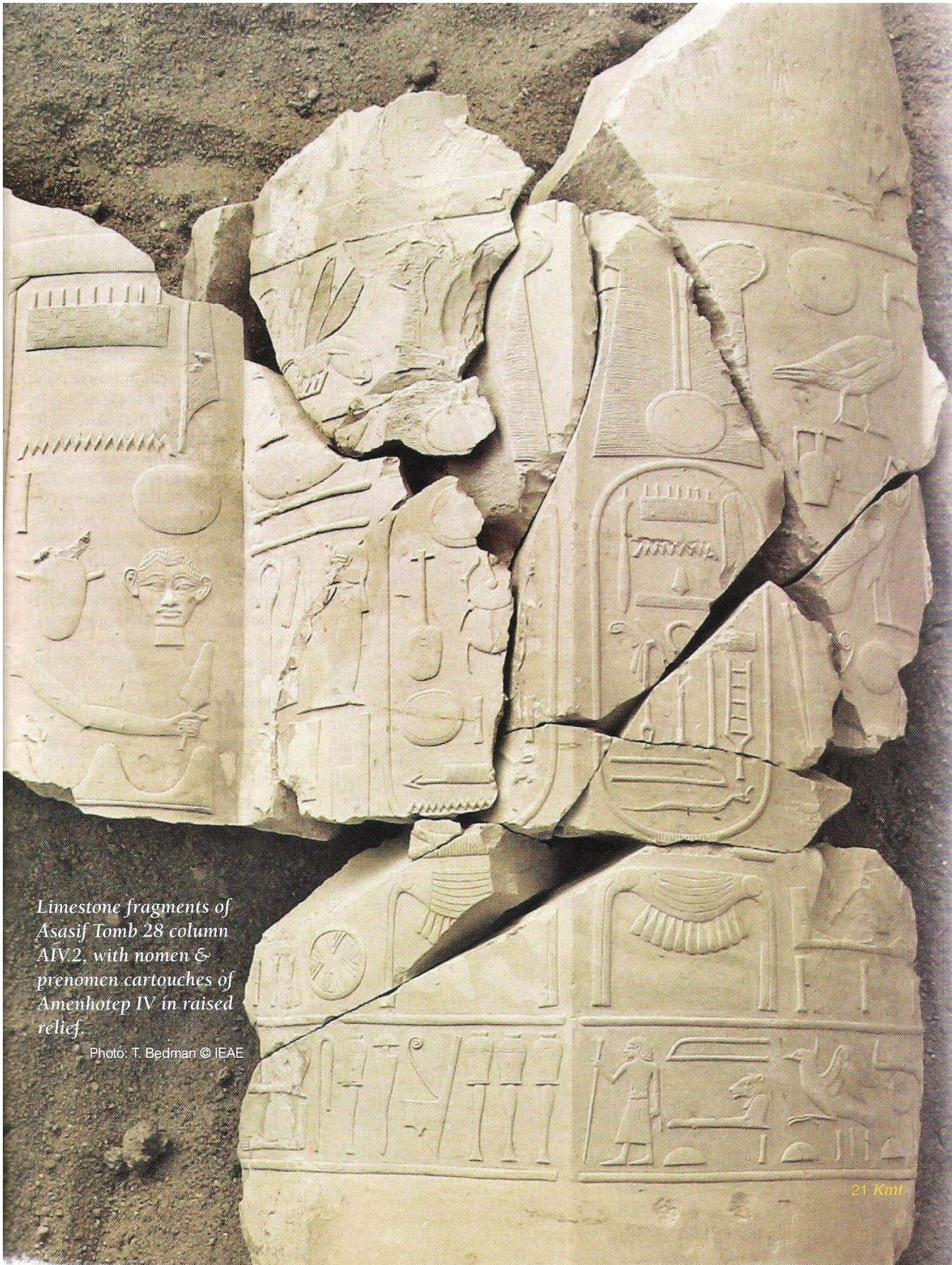
Above, Full inscriptions from column AIII.2. Drawing: Fernando Boéz © IEAE Below, Reconstruction of the column AIII.2 text.



Limestone fragments of
Asasif Tomb 28 column
AIII.1, with the nomen &
prenomen cartouches of
Amenhotep III in raised
relief.

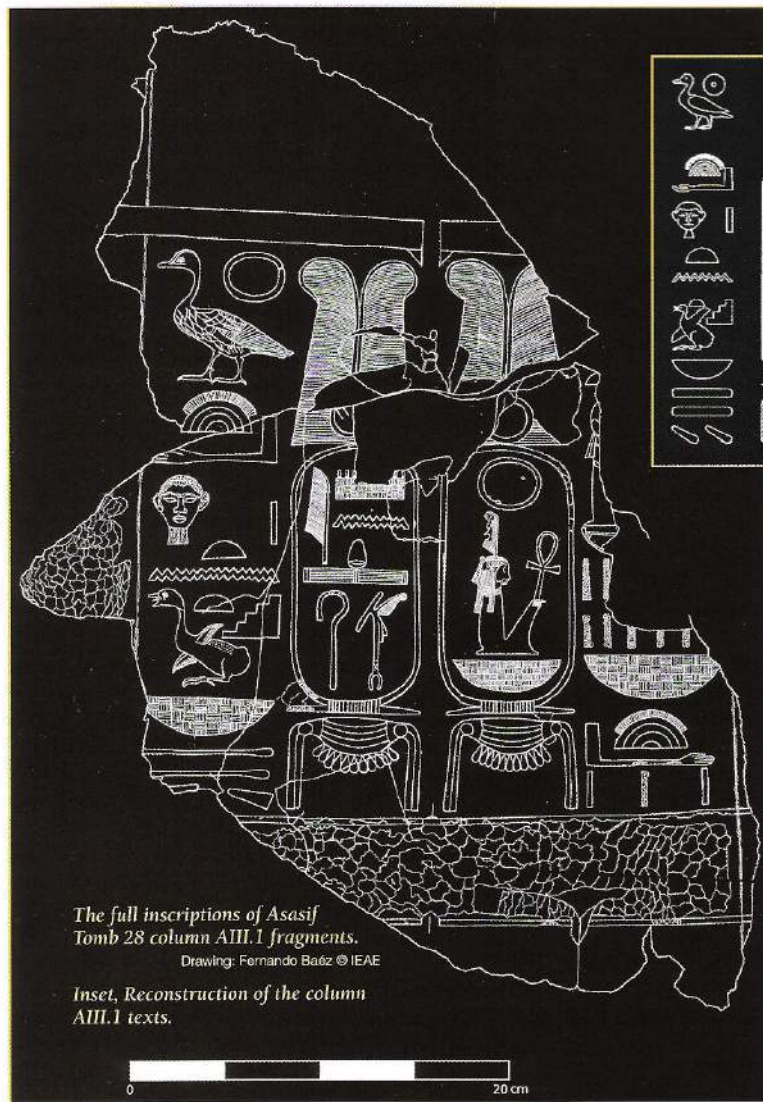
Photo: F. Martin Valentin © IEAE





*Limestone fragments of
Asasif Tomb 28 column
ATV.2, with nomen &
prenomen cartouches of
Amenhotep IV in raised
relief.*

Photo: T. Bedman © IEAE



The full inscriptions of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIII.1 fragments.
 Drawing: Fernando Baéz © IEAE
 Inset, Reconstruction of the column AIII.1 texts.

erure Waenre; 6. [Beloved] of Amen-Re who resides in (Set)-Djeseret (the necropolis of Waset/Thebes)

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

The Chronological Accuracy of the Inscription of Column AIII.1

The most important inscription of these four we have discovered is that of the *Kmt* 22

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

The ceremony of King Amenhotep III's "Appearance in the Tjentjat"

is fully described and documented as having occurred during the First Sed Festival of Amenhotep III. This event is exactly dated to Amenhotep III's Year 30, second month of the third season (*Shemu*), day 27, and is depicted in the Tomb of Kheruef (TT192).⁸ That relief scene shows Amenhotep III seated on his throne, wearing the Double Crown, receiving the homage of courtiers and high dignitaries. In front of the Tjentjat is a depiction of several royal daughters. It is inscribed: "Introduction of the great royal children (msw wrw n[swt]) [in the presence of his Majesty]. In their hands, 'nemset' vessels of gold and 'senbet' vessels of electrum, in order to perform the rituals in the Jubilee. Causing them to be present, next to the steps of the throne in the presence of the King, when in the Tjentjat."⁹

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

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

Characteristics & Meanings of the T28A Discovery

The set of texts collected from the shafts of the four T28A columns constitute what is called a "unicum." That is, a written archaeological document, with-

out parallel among remains known to belong to the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. There is absolute certainty about their continuity, without interruption or any lapse of time, during the preparation of the decoration of the chapel of the Vizier Amenhotep Huy.

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

As evidenced by these AT28 contemporary inscriptions, Amenhoteps III and IV were, at the time of Amenhotep III's First Jubilee, simultaneously kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.

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

Consideration of a "Long Coregency" between the sovereigns has been largely rejected to date, chiefly because it was difficult to understand how it would

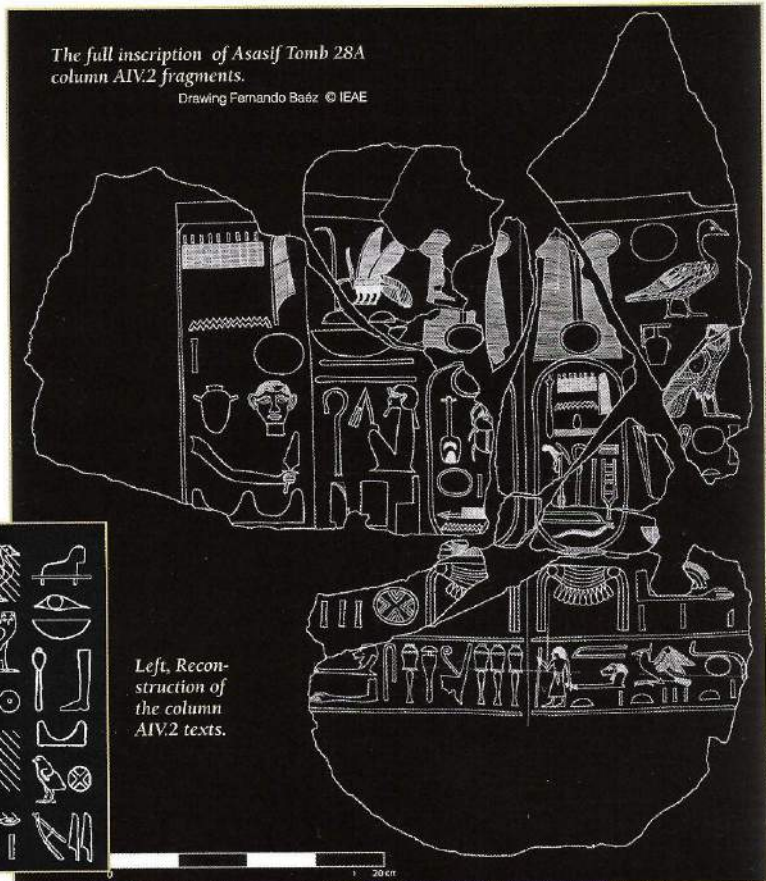
have been possible for two courts to co-exist in "parallel," each with different viziers and separate administrative and religious organizations. But what is now being proposed is a reconsideration of a historical phenomenon represented by the joint rule for more than ten years of father and son, during a period of transformation by Amenhotep III, when he was consumed by his Heb Sed preparations, by virtue of which, he became a new deified being, the "resplendent Aten." Thus, both kings represented a religious and political fiction, by which, ultimately, only one ruler (Amenhotep IV) would exist, albeit, alongside his newly divine father — who henceforth would be the god Aten-Tjehen Nebmaatre, and never more King Amenhotep Ruler of Waset — still living, however.

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

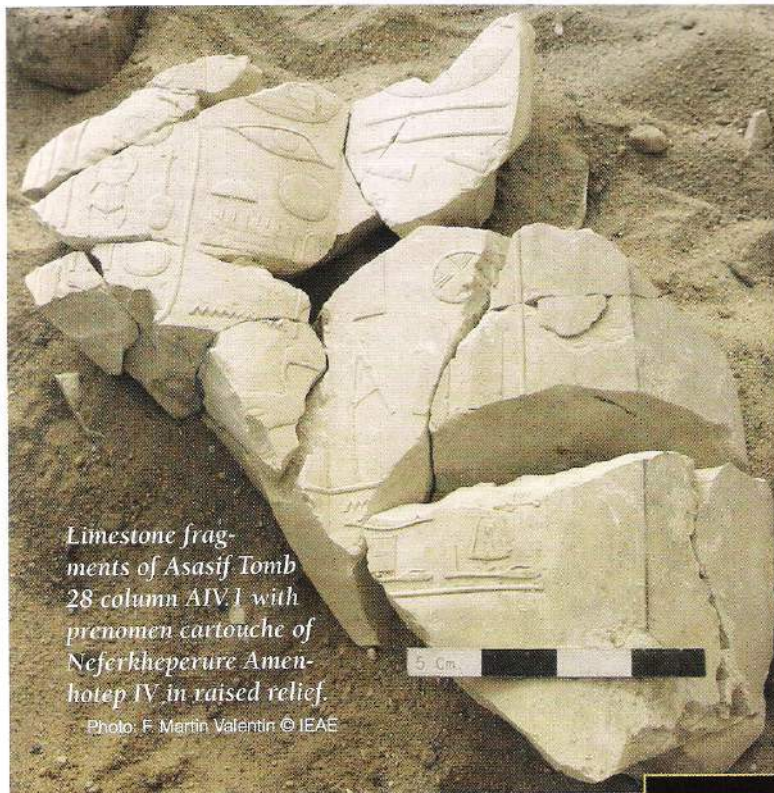
A good test of what is said here is that all the known examples in other tombs of the Theban necropolis — wherein can be found inscriptions men-

The full inscription of Asasif Tomb 28A column AIV.2 fragments.

Drawing Fernando Baéz © IEAE

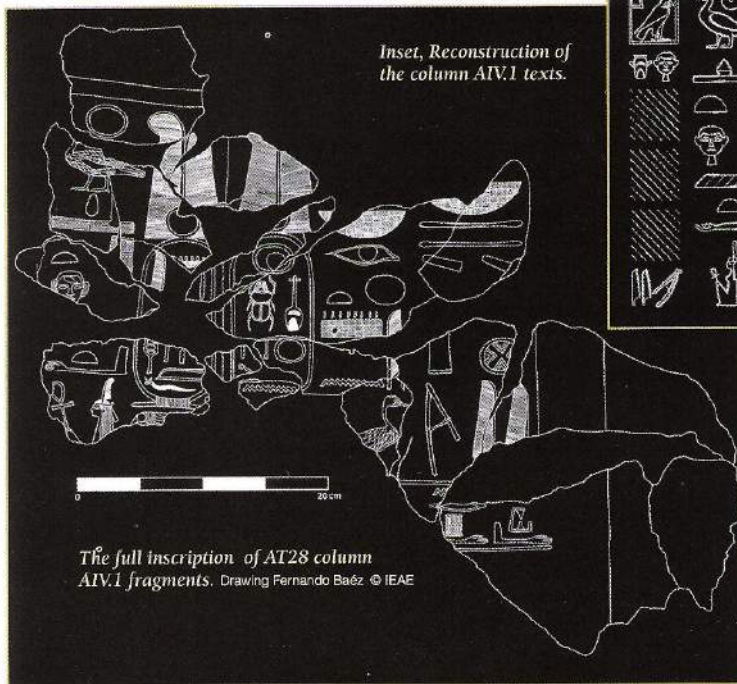


Left, Reconstruction of the column AIV.2 texts.



Limestone fragments of Asasif Tomb 28 column AIV.1 with prenomen cartouche of Neferkheperure Amenhotep IV in raised relief.

Photo: F. Martín Valentín © IEAE



Inset, Reconstruction of the column AIV.1 texts.

The full inscription of AT28 column AIV.1 fragments. Drawing Fernando Baéz © IEAE

Opposite, The Tomb of Kheruef (TT192) raised-relief depiction of Amenhotep III (accompanied by Hathor & Q.Tiye) seated in the Tjentyat kiosk during his First Heb-Sed. Photo adapted from Plate 25 of *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192, the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago, 1967*

tioning the father and son — are always dated after Year 30 of Amenhotep III; and there Amenhotep IV is proclaimed as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenhotep Netjer Heqa Waset, with his father present only as Nebmaatre.¹¹

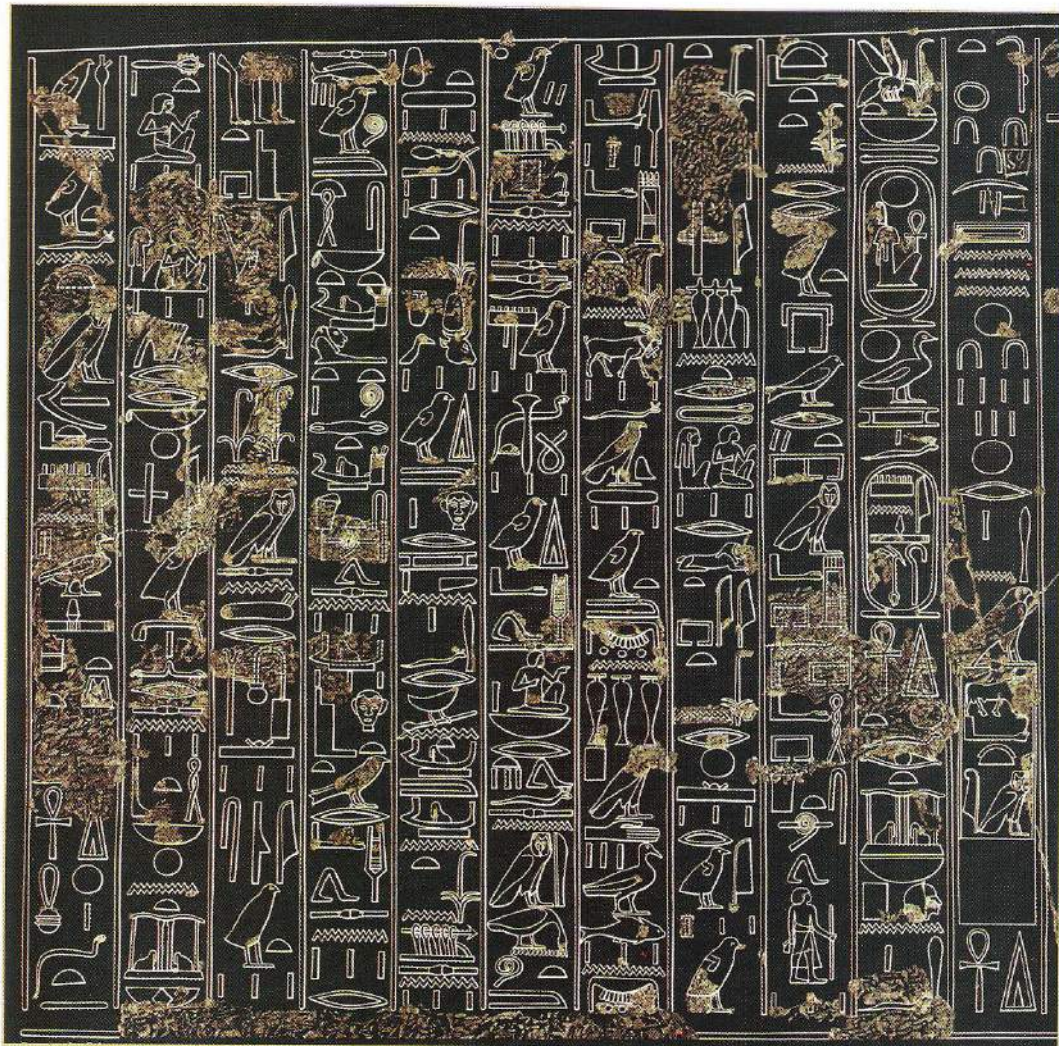
In the case of Kheruef's TT192, both sovereigns are represented as kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, but are sufficiently separated in their representations on the walls of the tomb, thus cited by scholars opposed to the so-called "Long Coregency" as evidence that Amenhotep III was already dead when represented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

We can understand, therefore, without difficulty the scheme developed to transform the reigning king, Amenhotep III, into an independent god, with his own theology. To become the

god Atum-Re in the form of the Aten, Amenhotep III needed, alongside him, another king to facilitate the cult of this new deity. Thus, he necessarily required that his heir practice this new formulation of political-religious power in Egypt.

The solar cycle of Heliopolis provided the *dramatis personae* for the roles that each one of the royal family would perform in this sort of "religious mystery play." Amenhotep III would be the god Atum-Re, who would deliver





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

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

his kingdom on earth to his son, the god Shu — in this case, Amenhotep IV. The goddess Tefnut, wife of Shu, would be Nefertiti, spouse of the new co-ruler. Amenhotep III's Great Royal Wife Tiye would play the role of the divine Hathor, the heavenly cow, a divinity very compatible with the sun.¹³

In view of this evidence, we argue that really there was a chronological overlapping of Amenhotep III/Nebmaatre and Amenhotep IV/Neferkheperure, first, as kings, and then in a co-existence, after the First Jubilee of Year 30: one, as pharaoh, and the other, as a living divinity, at least from Year 30 of Amenhotep III until the time of his death, commonly agreed in the year 38/39 of his reign.¹⁴ Thus, there was a

definite "coregency" between the kings, at least during the decade from Year 30 to Year 39, with Amenhotep IV then occupying the throne of Egypt alone after Amenhotep III had died.

Conclusions

For many years Egyptology specialists have studied and discussed the possibility of the existence of a coregency between Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV, without having clarified the case and leaving much unresolved, either in favor of or against the matter.¹⁵ From the moment that Pendlebury¹⁶ defended the existence of a coregency between the two sovereigns, based on the first proposal to this effect made by

Norman de Garis Davies, the controversy has been a constant one, with the specialists taking strongly opposing positions.

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



is a priority for understanding the world of Akhetaten and the Amarna "revolution" in its true dimension.

Notes

1. Our first report on the results of excavations and other issues concerning the findings and provisional conclusions in relation to Vizier Amenhotep-Huy was published in summer of 2011: Francisco J. Martín Valentín & Teresa Bedman, "Excavations in Tomb 28 at Asasif, Luxor West Bank, belonging to Vizier Amenhotep called Huy," *Kmt, A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (summer, 2011), 42-53. Our team in the Season 2013 was comprised of: Gustavo Cabanillas, María Dolores Corona, Ahmed Baghdady, Juan Martín Rojo, Ana de la Asunción, Mahmoud Abdellah, Yaser Abd El Rasik, Mohamed El Azaab, Mari Fe San Segundo, Delfina Redondo, Gregorio Francisco, Alejandro Serrano, Daniel González, Lucía Fernández, Verónica Robles, Esther Fernández, Fernando Báez, José Luis García-Vicioso, José Miguel Sánchez-Vicioso, Mario Pérez, Ana Quesada, José Luis Rodríguez, Raquel Pérez, Mahmoud Abd El Rasik.
2. Francisco J. Martín Valentín & Teresa Bedman, "The Tomb of the Vizier Amenhotep-Huy in Asasif (AT 28): Preliminary Results of the Excavation Seasons 2009-2012," *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings & Ancient Thebes. Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, Pearce Paul Creasman, ed., University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition Wilkinson Egyptology Series, Vol. 1 (Arizona, 2013), 181-199.
3. Francisco J. Martín Valentín & Teresa Bedman, 2013: 194 and fig. 11.
4. The latest known date for Vizier Amenhotep-Huy is the first day of the first month

- of *Shemu*, in Year 35 of Amenhotep III. See Ricardo Caminos, "Amenophis III's vizier Amenhotep at Silsilah East," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 210 and note 1.
5. This fourth column, was the first to be discovered during the seasons of 2010 and 2011. See Francisco J. Martín Valentín & Teresa Bedman, 2011: 50, 53.
6. "Hrw Hr TnTAt 'Als Thronestrade auf (Hr) der der König', 'Horus... auf dem Thronestrade,'" *Wb.* V, 384, (I, 9), 385, (1).
7. Marie-Ange Bonhême & Annie Forgeau, *Pharaon. Les secrets du Pouvoir* (Paris, 1988), 300.
8. *The Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*. OIP 102 (Chicago, 1980), Pl. 27-28, 34, 43-45. *Urk.* IV, 1867, 2-4.
9. Wolfgang Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1869, 14-18.
10. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1871, 7-8.
11. Such is the case of the mention of both sovereigns in TT55 of Ramose. See Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1878, 13-14.
12. *The Epigraphic Survey, The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, Pl. 8-9 y 11-13.
- B. Porter & R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, Vol. I, Part I, *The Theban Necropolis* (Oxford, 1960), 298 (5), II; 299 (6).
13. Francisco J. Martín Valentín, *Amenhotep III, el esplendor de Egipto: Una tesis de reconstrucción histórica* (Madrid, 1989), 180-181.
14. The document with the highest date attested to the reign of Amenhotep III is a jar seal found in Malkata which makes mention of the fifth epagomenic day in Year 38 of his reign. See Williams Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951), pp. 35-40, fig. 11, no. 143. See also H.W. Fairman, *The City of Akhenaten*, Vol. II, Chap. 6 "The Inscriptions," 103-104: "...It

is obvious that this is not conclusive evidence, but it is a point which must be reckoned with, and is of the highest significance when taken in conjunction with the slowly, but steadily increasing evidence, that Amenhotep III not only lived on after the accession of Akhenaten, but lived with him at Amarna."

15. The idea that the two sovereigns reigned in common for a long period was launched by Ludwig Borchardt in *Amenophis IV Mitkönig in den letzten Jahren Amenophis III? Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, 1933, 23-29. The problem of the coregency has ignited a huge debate among specialists. See: H. Schlögl, *Echnaton-Tutanchamun, Fakten und Texte*. (Wiesbaden, 3rd. Ed. 1989); F. Aling, *Prosopographical Study of the Reigns of Thutmose IV and Amen-Hotep III*, 1976, 224-229; and William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Corregencies*, SAOC, 40 (Chicago, 1977), 231-233; also Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967). The greatest defender of the long coregency (between eleven and twelve years), was Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London & New York, 1988), 169-182. See also Francisco J. Valentín-Martín, "Indications et evidences d'une corégence entre Amenhotep III et Amenhotep IV dans la nécropole Thébaine," *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, C. J. Eyre, ed. (Leuven, 1998), 741-757. See the exhaustive study of Claude Vandersleyen, in *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil, Vol. 2. (De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire)*, (Paris, 1995), 402-407. Also to be considered are the very important publications of W. Raymond Johnson: "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," L. M. Berman, ed., *Cleveland Museum of Art* (Bloomington, 1990), 24-26; "The Deified Amenhotep III as the Living Re-Horakhty: Stylistic and Iconographic Considerations," *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*: 2 (Turin, 1993), 231-236; "Amenhotep III and Amarna: some new Considerations," *JEA* 82 (1996), 65-82. "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning," *Amenhotep III. Perspectives on His Reign*, David O'Connor & Eric H. Cline, eds. (Ann Arbor, 1998), 63-94.
16. J.D.S. Pendlebury, "The Desert Altars," *The City of Akhenaten*, Vol. II, Chap. V, 102: "...This coregency will also allow Amenhotep III to be the father of Tutankhaten and simplifies the whole chronology of the period."

About the Authors Since 1997 Egyptologist Dr. Francisco J. Martín Valentín has been director of the Instituto de Estudios Egipto (IEAE, Madrid), of which Egyptologist Teresa Bedman is manager. They work together on the Project Vizier Amenhotep-Huy (TA28).