

THE NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS OF MEMPHIS

Historical and Iconographical Studies

by

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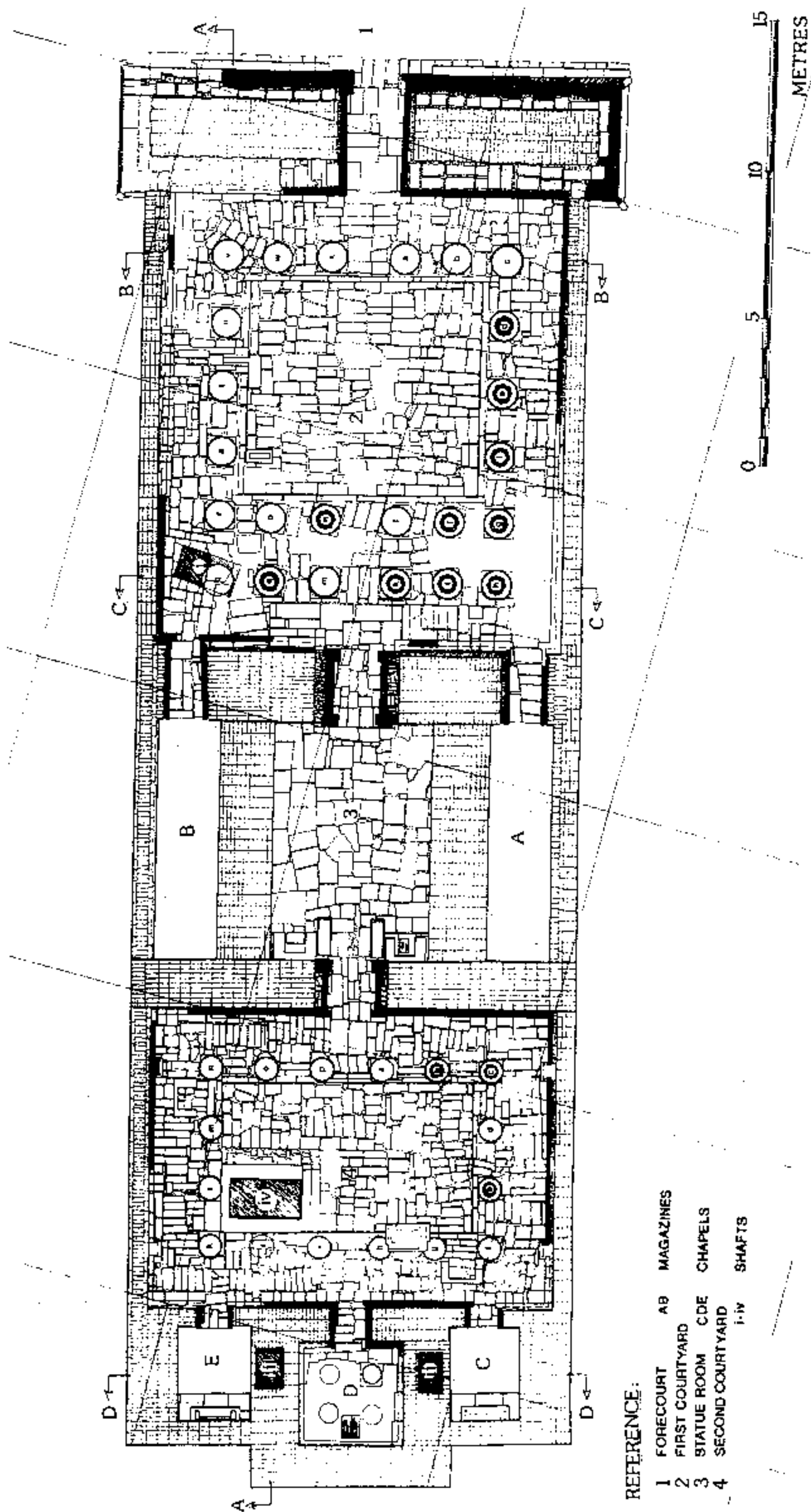
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Chapter One

Horemheb, Prince Regent of Tutankhamun

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Fig. 2 The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb. Plan by K. J. Frazer.
Reproduced from *MTH* 1, Pl. 5.

1 | Horemheb, Prince Regent of Tut'ankhamun

ONE of the many problems connected with the final decades of the Eighteenth Dynasty revolves around the exact nature of the position of Horemheb before he finally became king. What was his precise role during the reign of Tut'ankhamun and what was his position *v/s-ā-v/s* Ay both before and after the latter had succeeded Tut'ankhamun? The broad outlines of the dynastic history following the Amarna episode are clear enough and need not be discussed here at any great length: the young Tut'ankhaten began his reign in Akhetaten, the city of his birth, but before his second year he changed his name to Tut'ankhamun and abandoned Amarna in favour of Memphis,¹ the traditional royal residence, and Thebes, the seat of Amun, the god of kingship and the most important god worshipped in Egypt at the time. After a reign of at least 9 years he was succeeded by Ay, who reigned for another 4 years before Horemheb ascended the throne. However, precisely because these historical facts are so well-established and, at least at first sight, seem perfectly straightforward, they have tended to obscure our appreciation of the role played by Horemheb during the reign of Tut'ankhamun. Of course it has long been recognized that Horemheb acted as regent for Tut'ankhamun, but the mere fact that Ay preceded him on the throne has led to the assumption that even after Horemheb had become regent, Ay must in some way have outranked him.² On the other hand, this assumption depends to a great extent on one's appreciation of the events following Tut'ankhamun's sudden death which caused the temporary eclipse of Horemheb and led to Ay's accession, and these events are still largely unknown. It seems best, therefore, to approach the question with an open mind, and to start with an examination of the monuments which document Horemheb's pre-royal career,

¹ Cf. J. van Dijk and M. Eaton-Krauss, "Tutankhamun at Memphis", *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 35-41 and Chapter 8 below.

² Thus Martin, *MTH* 1, 42; 165. Even more outspoken is Schulman, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 58-59, who writes that "it was Ay who was the most powerful man in the land, though nominally after the king. It would then seem hardly credible, since this was the case, that Horemheb's power and authority in the land would have, at that time, exceeded Ay's, particularly so since Ay did follow Tut'ankhamun on the throne while Horemheb remained a private subject." Cf., however, Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, 36: "He [i.e., Ay] was outranked by the generalissimo Horemheb".

when the foundations for his future ascension of the throne of Egypt were laid.

Sources dating from the time before Horemheb's accession are not numerous.³ If we leave aside the vexed question of whether or not he is to be equated with the Amarna official Paatenemheb, there are strictly speaking only five inscribed monuments which come into this category.⁴ First of all there is the Memphite tomb, rediscovered in 1975 by the joint expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Leiden Museum; it includes a great many loose relief blocks in various museum collections in Egypt, Europe, and North America. Two statues showing Horemheb as a scribe are known, a virtually complete one said to be from Memphis, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,⁵ and a very damaged one from Karnak, now in Cairo,⁶ the latter is dated by cartouches of Tut'ankhamun. An inscribed doorway in the Louvre consisting of two jambs and a round-topped lintel⁷ undoubtedly belongs to Horemheb as well. It was rejected by Hari (who wrongly describes the monument as a *stèle fausse porte*) on the following grounds: certain titles found in the Memphite tomb are lacking from the Louvre doorway, and the style, the carving of the hieroglyphs, and the writing of certain words (no details are given) date it clearly ("*manifestement*") to the time *before* Amenhotep IV. In my opinion such an early date is impossible because of the elaborate pleated costume and the pointed "Nubian" wig of the

³ Among the vast literature on Horemheb there are two monographs which deal extensively with his pre-royal career. In 1935 Kurt Pflüger wrote a doctoral thesis on *Horemheb und die Amarnazeit*, but regrettably only the second part of this work, entitled *Horemhebs Laufbahn bis zur Thronbesteigung*, was subsequently published (Zwickau, 1936). In 1964 Robert Hari published his Geneva thesis on *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet, ou la fin d'une dynastie*, the first part of which, some 130 pages, is devoted to the pre-royal career of Horemheb. Inevitably, both works are now largely out of date due to the rediscovery of the Memphite tomb.

⁴ Cf. also the list, with brief discussion, in *MTH* I, 161-162.

⁵ MMA 23.10.1; see Hari, *op. cit.*, 42 for bibliographical references; *MTH* I, 22 n. 1 with Pl. 155A-C; and see P. F. Dorman et al., *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Egypt and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1987), 66-67 for a recent colour photograph showing the statue without the earlier restoration of the damaged nose. A fragmentary statue of an anonymous Late Eighteenth Dynasty official in Sydney is assigned to Horemheb in a forthcoming article by Karin Sowada.

⁶ Cairo CG 42129; Hari, *op. cit.*, 45ff. (bibl.) with Figs. 6-10 and Pl. viii.

⁷ Louvre C 68-70; Hari, *op. cit.*, 18ff. (bibl.), Fig. 1 and Pl. 1.

kneeling figures of Horemheb, which date the monument to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, not to the pre-Amarna era.⁸ I can find nothing in the hieroglyphs to contradict this date. The Horemheb of the Louvre doorway is not only *imy-r mš' wr (n nsw)* "generalissimo (of the king)" but also bears the title *iry-p't* "Hereditary Prince" (standing on its own). It is highly unlikely that there were two different men called Horemheb with this combination of titles living at the same time, and there can be no doubt that the Louvre doorway belongs to "our" Horemheb. Although it was clearly designed for a vaulted mud-brick chapel, its dimensions (w. 0.92 m) make it impossible to allocate it to the Memphite tomb. It was apparently acquired by Drovetti in Luxor;⁹ one might speculate that it originally came from a small votive chapel at Abydos.¹⁰ Finally, there is the Coronation Text inscribed on the back of a statue in Turin¹¹ showing Horemheb with his Queen Mutnodjmet and presumably dating from his first year as king.

Somewhat less certain is a relief block from the Memphite tomb of Ptahemhat Ty,¹² in which an anonymous "royal scribe, Hereditary Prince, and general" is shown heading a group of high officials attending the funeral of the tomb-owner. Spiegelberg¹³ was the first to identify this anonymous figure as Horemheb, and this identification has been widely accepted. On the other hand, Schulman¹⁴ has rightly pointed out that the three titles mentioned on the Berlin block were also held by Nakhtmin, and since we do

⁸ The pointed "Nubian" wig does not appear before the reign of Akhenaten and is originally worn by Nefertiti only; see the discussion by M. Eaton-Krauss, *CdE* 56 (1981), 252-258, where the earlier literature is cited. At Amarna non-royal individuals wearing this wig are usually female attendants on the princesses, but male examples occur as well, e.g. J. D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (Brooklyn, 1965), No. 35.

⁹ This is the reason why it is assigned to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb of (a different) Horemheb (TT 78) in PM II²/2, 156 (called "frame of stela"), a connection rightly rejected by both Hari, *op. cit.*, 20-27, and A. & A. Brack, *Das Grab des Horemheb. Theben Nr. 78* (Mainz, 1980), 73-74.

¹⁰ Similar doorways with a round-topped lintel are Leiden K. 9, Vienna 90, and Berlin 8172; all three are inscribed with the so-called "Hymn to Abydos", cf. KRI I, 357ff.

¹¹ Turin 1379; Hari, *op. cit.*, 208ff. (bibl.) with frontispiece, Figs. 60-63, and Pl. xxxvii-a-b.

¹² Berlin 12411, the so-called "Berlin Trauerrelief", cf. PM III²/2, 711-712.

¹³ W. Spiegelberg, "Die Datierung des Berliner 'Trauerreliefs'", *ZAS* 60 (1925), 56-58.

¹⁴ A. R. Schulman, "The Berlin 'Trauerrelief' (No. 12411) and Some Officials of Tutankhamun and Ay", *JARCE* 4 (1965), 55-68.

not know the exact date of the tomb of Ptahemhat Ty, it is possible that Nakhtmin is meant, not Horemheb. In addition to these monuments there are the Restoration Stela of Tut'ankhamun,¹⁵ which probably dates to the king's first regnal year¹⁶ and which, although it does not mention Horemheb, enumerates the reforms carried out while he acted as regent for Tut'ankhamun,¹⁷ and perhaps also the scenes and texts in the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel es-Silsilah.¹⁸

From a chronological point of view the Coronation Text (Fig. 3) is obviously the last in this series of documents, but at the same time it is the only one to give a more or less coherent, narrative account of Horemheb's pre-royal career, and we shall therefore begin our discussion with this inscription. Apart from the formal titulary at the beginning, the text can be roughly divided into two sections.¹⁹ The first of these (ll. 2-12) deals with the exalted position of Horemheb at the court of an unnamed king, which must

¹⁵ Cairo CG 34183 and the fragmentary duplicate CG 34184 + fr. Varille; Hari, *op. cit.*, 128ff. (bibl.) with Figs. 43-45 and Pl. xxi-xxii.

¹⁶ Pace J. R. Harris, "The Date of the 'Restoration' Stela of Tutankhamūn", *GM* 5 (1973), 9-11, whose dating of the stela to Year 3 or 4 is based on the assumption that the name change from Tut'ankhaten to Tut'ankhamun did not take place before Year 3. Cf., however, M. Eaton-Krauss, *BIOr* 47 (1990), 553 with n. 96. Harris himself admits that the available space at the beginning of the text favours the restoration "Year 1".

¹⁷ Cf. *MTH* I, 162 [6]. This may have been the principal reason why Horemheb usurped the stela after he had become king himself. Helck's suggestion that the great Decree of Horemheb might also originally have been a work of Tut'ankhamun (*OdE* 48 [1973], 264-265) has been refuted by J.-M. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb* (Brussels, 1981), 212-213.

¹⁸ Cf. *MTH* I, 162 [7]. The two graffiti on the islands of Sehel and Konosso (*ibid.*, 161 [4]) are probably not by Horemheb. Nor do I believe that there is any evidence to suggest that the Leiden stela Inv. No. F 1926/1.1 (W. D. van Wijngaarden, *OMRO* 7 [1926], 1-3; id., *Maesterwerken der Egyptische kunst te Leiden* [Leiden, 1938], no. 42; Pflüger, *op. cit.*, 12-13) has anything to do with our Horemheb; cf. Hari, *op. cit.*, 17-18, who rightly rejects the connection, although both his statement that the name Horemheb is not attested before the 18th Dynasty and that only three men beside the famous Horemheb bear this name (i.e. the Leiden stela, Louvre C 68-70, and TT 78) are wrong: the name occurs on a Late MK stela in Vienna (no. 65; cf. Ranke, *ÄPN* I, 248: 7) and in Leiden alone there are at least two further 18th Dynasty stelae mentioning a Horemheb (V 1 and V 43, the latter [temp. Tuthmosis IV] in its turn connected with the famous Horemheb by Helck, *OLZ* 49 [1954], 221-222; *Zur Verwaltung*, 371-372, 487, again without any proof).

¹⁹ See for the text Sir Alan Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Horemheb", *JEA* 39 (1953), 13-31, Pl. ii; *Urk.* IV, 2121-2124.

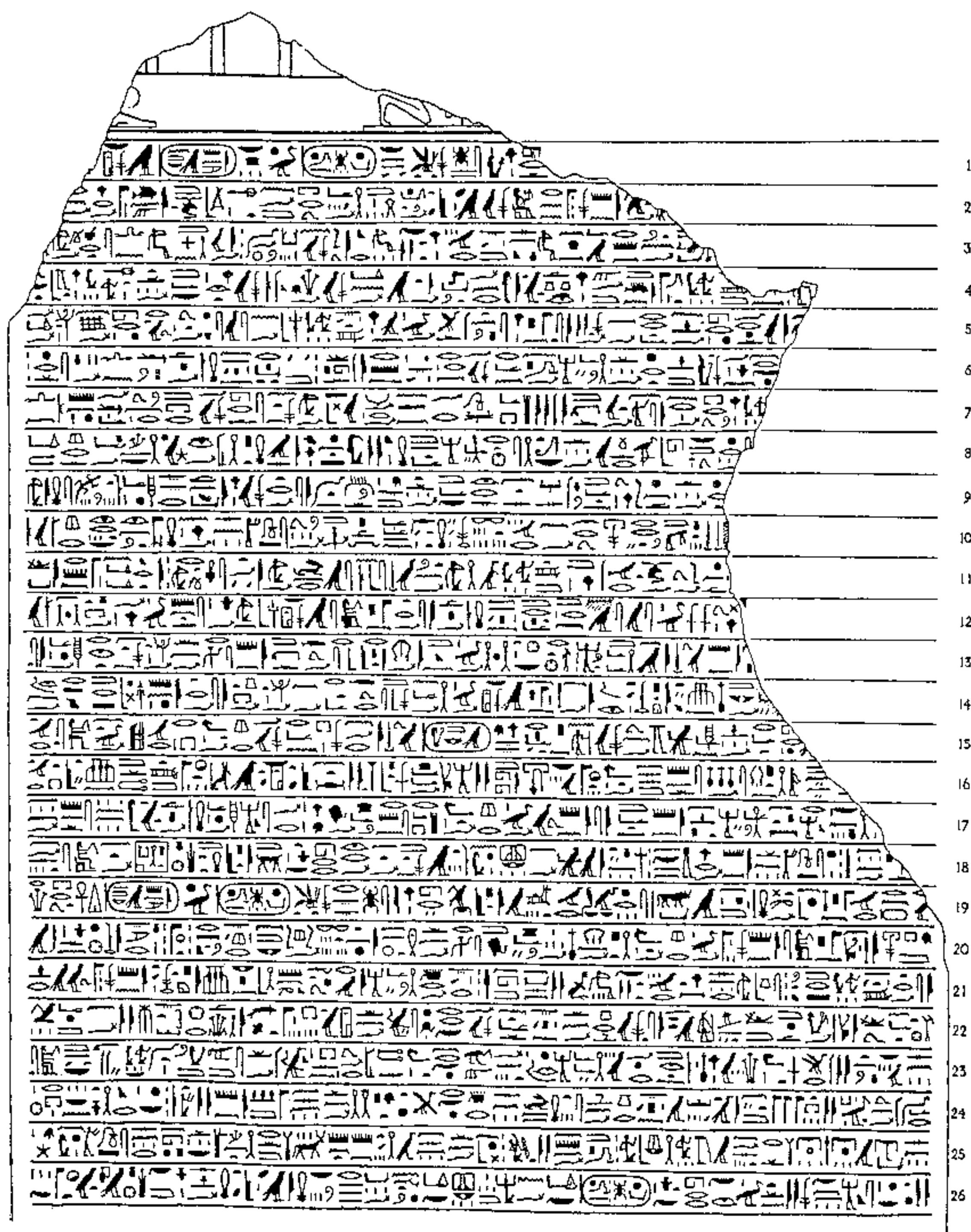


Fig. 3. The Coronation Text of Horemheb. Reproduced from *JEA* 39 (1953), Pl. ii.

surely be Tut'ankhamun, a position which he says he owed to his local god Horus of Hutnesu. This god "distinguished his son in the sight of the entire people" (l. 5) in preparation for the day that he would be given the kingship, and this fact did not escape the attention of the king, who was "content with his dealings and rejoiced at the choice of him" (l. 6). The king therefore "appointed him as Supreme Chief (*r-hry*) of the land in order to enforce the laws of the Two Shores as Hereditary Prince of this entire land (*iry-p't n ts pn ml qd.f*)" (l. 6). Over a period of many years, Horemheb thus "governed the Two Lands as (the king's) deputy (*sw hr idn ts.wy*)" (l. 9) and the king's courtiers as well as the rulers of foreign lands conducted their business with him rather than with the king (l. 10). At the beginning of the second part of the text (l. 12) this extraordinary position of Horemheb is again emphasized by calling him not only "Supreme Chief" and "Hereditary Prince of this entire land", but also "Eldest Son of Horus (*ss smsw n Hrw*)", i.e. of the king, a title which can only refer to the position of the Crown Prince. The rest of the text (ll. 13-26) describes the actual coronation ceremonies and need not concern us here.

Taken at face value, this unique document presents us with a very clear picture of Horemheb's position during the reign of Tut'ankhamun: that king had not only appointed him as his deputy who effectively, and with the king's explicit approval, ruled Egypt, but he had also given him the position of Hereditary Prince and Eldest Son of Horus, i.e. of Crown Prince, destined to eventually succeed him on the throne of Egypt. Gardiner has already stressed this point, referring to the well known passage from the *Inscription dédicatoire* of Ramesses II, where he tells how he was chosen by his father Seti I to succeed him and was "inducted as Eldest Son and Hereditary Prince upon the throne of Geb".²⁰ But can the text actually be taken at face value? Some authors have indeed questioned this. Alan Schulman, for example, wondered "just how much literal credence should be given to his [Horemheb's] account ... of this appointment with its extraordinary powers for the administration of Egypt ... Even in these earlier portions of his autobiography [the Coronation Text] it is most likely that Horemheb would have exaggerated his role and authority to put himself in the best possible light, and to prepare

²⁰ *JEA* 39 (1953), 110. Cf. *KAR* II, 327: 13-14.

the reader of the text favorably for the later portion, by showing that when he did finally take the throne, he was merely putting the divine stamp of approval on a *fait accompli*.²¹ On the other hand, Gardiner and others have rightly pointed to the titles mentioned in Horemheb's Memphite tomb, titles which on the whole agree very well with the picture emanating from the Coronation Text. These scholars had to work from the many fragmentary scenes on individual blocks in various museum collections. As a result of the rediscovery of the tomb most of these blocks can now be studied in their original context, and a considerable number of additional inscriptions have been found. The date of the tomb has now also been established beyond any doubt as being the reign of Tut'ankhamun. His cartouches, although later usurped by Horemheb as king, have been found on a block which adjoins the famous gold of honour scene, a large portion of which is in Leiden.²² The royal couple depicted in this scene and in the adjacent scene 76, which shows Horemheb acting as an intermediary between the king and a group of subject foreign rulers, are therefore to be identified as Tut'ankhamun and 'Ankhesenamun. This makes it very unlikely from the start that any titles or honours claimed by Horemheb in the inscriptions in the tomb are fictitious: the Coronation Inscription may, according to some, have been composed in order to re-write history, but the same cannot possibly be said of the inscriptions in the Memphite tomb, which are contemporary with Horemheb's pre-royal career and which must, at least in theory, have been composed with the king's consent. A comparison of the tomb with the Coronation Text is enlightening.²³ The Coronation Text begins by saying that the king "rejoiced at the choice of him"; in the tomb Horemheb was "chosen by the king above the Two Lands in order to govern the people". He was, according to the Coronation Text, appointed as "Supreme Chief of the Land"; in the tomb he calls himself "Great Chief of the People", "Great Chief of the Entire Land",

²¹ *JARCE* 4 (1965), 60-61. See also Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1939), 81.

²² *MTH* I, scene 72; see for the cartouches Pl. 96 (lower) and 108 with the commentary on p. 88.

²³ For the location in the tomb of the individual titles cited in the following paragraph see the lists provided in *MTH* I, 162-164, as well as the index, *ibid.*, 171-174.

"Foremost of the Two Lands". In the Coronation Text, Horemheb is given the position of "Hereditary Prince of this Entire Land"; likewise the inscriptions in the tomb call him "Hereditary Prince of Upper and Lower Egypt" and the title "Hereditary Prince" (*iry-p't*) on its own, i.e. not as part of the stereotype sequence *iry-p't h'ty-' sdswty-dity smr-w'ty* etc., is very frequent in the tomb and often stands alone. Helck and Gardiner have amply demonstrated that the title *iry-p't* when it stands alone contains the notions of "ancient descent and lawful inheritance" and is virtually synonymous with our "Crown Prince".²⁴ In this function Horemheb governs the Two Lands as the king's deputy, according to the Coronation Text (*sw hr idn tswy*); in the tomb he is called "Deputy (*idnw*) of the king in every place", "Deputy of the King (or: of His Majesty) in the Entire Land". The Coronation Text says that he "enforced the laws of the Two Shores"; in the tomb he "leads the Two Lands and establishes the laws (*smn hpw*)²⁵ of the Two Shores". In the Coronation Text, the king's councillors come to him bowing at the gates of the Palace; in the tomb he is the "foremost" or the "greatest of the greatest of the king's courtiers", the one "who repeats the speech of the king to his courtiers". The line in the Coronation Text which says that "the chieftains of the Nine Bows approached him and paid honour to him as to a god" is not matched by a title in the tomb, but the famous scene showing Horemheb acting as an intermediary between the king and a group of subject foreign rulers illustrates it eloquently. The only title in the Coronation Text which is, perhaps just by chance, not directly paralleled in the tomb is that of "Eldest Son of Horus". But this title does occur in the neighbouring tomb of Horemheb's intimate colleague and collaborator Maya. Maya's tomb was almost certainly built at roughly the same time as that of Horemheb. Its magnificently decorated pylon gateway contains a long autobiographical inscription, which is of great interest, even though it is unfortunately incomplete.²⁶ For our present purposes the final line is

²⁴ Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 10; cf. Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer*, 80-82; id., "Rpt auf dem Thron des Geb", *Orientalia* 19 (1950), 416-434; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 14*-19*.

²⁵ This is a *royal* epithet, found as the *Nebty* name of Amenhotep III, the last king before the Amarna interval; cf. Maya's use of the second half of the same name, *sgrrh tswy*, which Tutankhamun himself also incorporated into his titulary, see *OMRO* 71, 8 = below, p. 75.

²⁶ Cf. my preliminary remarks on this text in *JEA* 74 (1988), 12.

especially relevant. It too is incomplete, but the text does seem to indicate that "it was the Eldest Son (*ss smsw*)"... who ordered the building of Maya's tomb. Given the date of Maya's funerary monument, this "Eldest Son" can hardly be anyone else but Horemheb.

Not only Horemheb's titles and functions prove to be in perfect agreement with each other in the Coronation Text and the Memphite tomb, however. There is yet another striking parallel between the two texts, one which throws further light on Horemheb's position under Tut'ankhamun. In the Coronation Text, Horemheb compares himself as Hereditary Prince with the god Thoth: "All his plans were like (i.e., as well-balanced as) the gait of the ibis, his actions were the image of the Lord of Hesret, he rejoiced at Ma'at like the Beaky One" (l. 8) and, like Thoth, he "wakes up in the morning in order to present Ma'at".²⁷ This extraordinary comparison with Thoth, which is only rarely attested elsewhere,²⁸ is paralleled in the text on the great stela of Horemheb in the British Museum, which was originally set up in the Outer Courtyard of the Memphite tomb.²⁹ The lunette of the stela depicts Horemheb adoring Rē'-Harakhty, Thoth, and Ma'at. The main text of the stela is a long Hymn to Rē', which ends with the statement that Horemheb "presents Ma'at to your Majesty (Rē') daily" (ll. 17-18). At the end of the text the other two deities are briefly invoked, and here Thoth receives the following address: "May you cause the royal scribe Horemheb to stand firmly by the side of the sovereign, as you are at the side of the Lord of the Universe, as you foster him when he comes forth from the womb" (ll. 19-20). Horemheb thus compares himself to the god Thoth who raises the young sun-god.³⁰ Just as Tut'ankhamun as the divine pharaoh is the living incarnation of Rē' upon earth, so Horemheb presents himself *ex officio* as the living

²⁷ Maya also "enters the palace bearing Ma'at", cf. n. 25 above.

²⁸ The vizier Rekhmīrē' in particular calls himself the "heart" of the king and implicitly defines his relation to the king as that of Thoth vis-à-vis Rē', see G. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (Paris, 1960), 10-11.

²⁹ BM 551 = *MTH* I, no. 7.

³⁰ Cf. *MTH* I, 31 with n. 13. Cf. the epithet of Queen Tiy standing behind her husband Amenhotep III: *wnn.s m šms hm.k mī Mj't šms R'* "she is in the following of Your Majesty like Ma'at following Rē'", *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, by the Epigraphic Survey (Chicago, 1980), Pl. 24-26.

embodiment of Thoth, Rē's deputy on earth.

There may even be another, more subtle reference to this identification in the tomb. On the South wall of the Inner Courtyard a great scene shows Horemheb being awarded the gold of honour by Tut'ankhamun in recognition of his military achievements.³¹ The cartouches of the king and the words "given life like Rē" are orientated towards the left, in the same direction as the figure of the king underneath. In front of the cartouches there is a further epithet, describing the king as "beloved of" a god whose name ends in ...*ty*. Theoretically, this god could be either Rē-Harakhty or Thoth (*Dhwtj*), but the former's name is rarely spelled with the group -*ty*, at least not in the tomb, where his name occurs in many inscriptions.³² The text is therefore probably to be read as "beloved of Thoth", but where is this god? In similar scenes which show the king enthroned, when he is called beloved of a certain god or goddess, the epithet is usually added *behind* the cartouches and follows the same orientation as the cartouches.³³ In the case of Horemheb, the epithet stands *before* the cartouches and faces in the opposite direction to the cartouches. Such an arrangement normally occurs when the king is directly facing the deity in question,³⁴ which is not the case here. Or is it? Perhaps the most likely interpretation of this curious arrangement is that the epithet refers to the major figure facing the king, that of Horemheb himself: the god Thoth is present in the person of Horemheb. A parallel can be

³¹ *MHT* I, no. 72, Pl. 107–108. See Fig. 4.

³² Cf. *MHT* I, 88, where (Rē-)Harakhty is preferred. The only writing of this name with the ending -*ty* occurs in a *horizontal* line on the BM stela (l. 3), where the context puts emphasis on the three separate elements composing the name of the god: *R' pw, Hr w Jh ty* "He is Rē, Horus of the Horizon"; cf. the "normal" writings in l. 1 and in the lunette of the stela.

³³ See, e.g., Tuthmosis III "beloved of Osiris" in TT 161, L. Manniche, *JEA* 72 (1986), 68–69, no. 62; Tuthmosis III "beloved of Amun-Rē" in TT 89, C. K. Wilkinson and M. Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York, 1983), 27 Fig. 20; Amenhotep III "beloved of Amun-Rē", also in TT 89, A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1969), Pl. xxi.

³⁴ See, e.g., Amenemhat II "beloved of Min", H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I: Reversals* (New York, 1977), 104 Fig. 106; Tuthmosis IV "beloved of Amun-Rē", BM 1515 = J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *La chapelle de Khâ* (Cairo, 1939), Pl. xii; Horemheb "beloved of Taweret" in Gebel es-Silsilah, *LD* III, 120a; Ramesses II "beloved of Atum", G. Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali* (Cairo, 1938), Pl. 43.

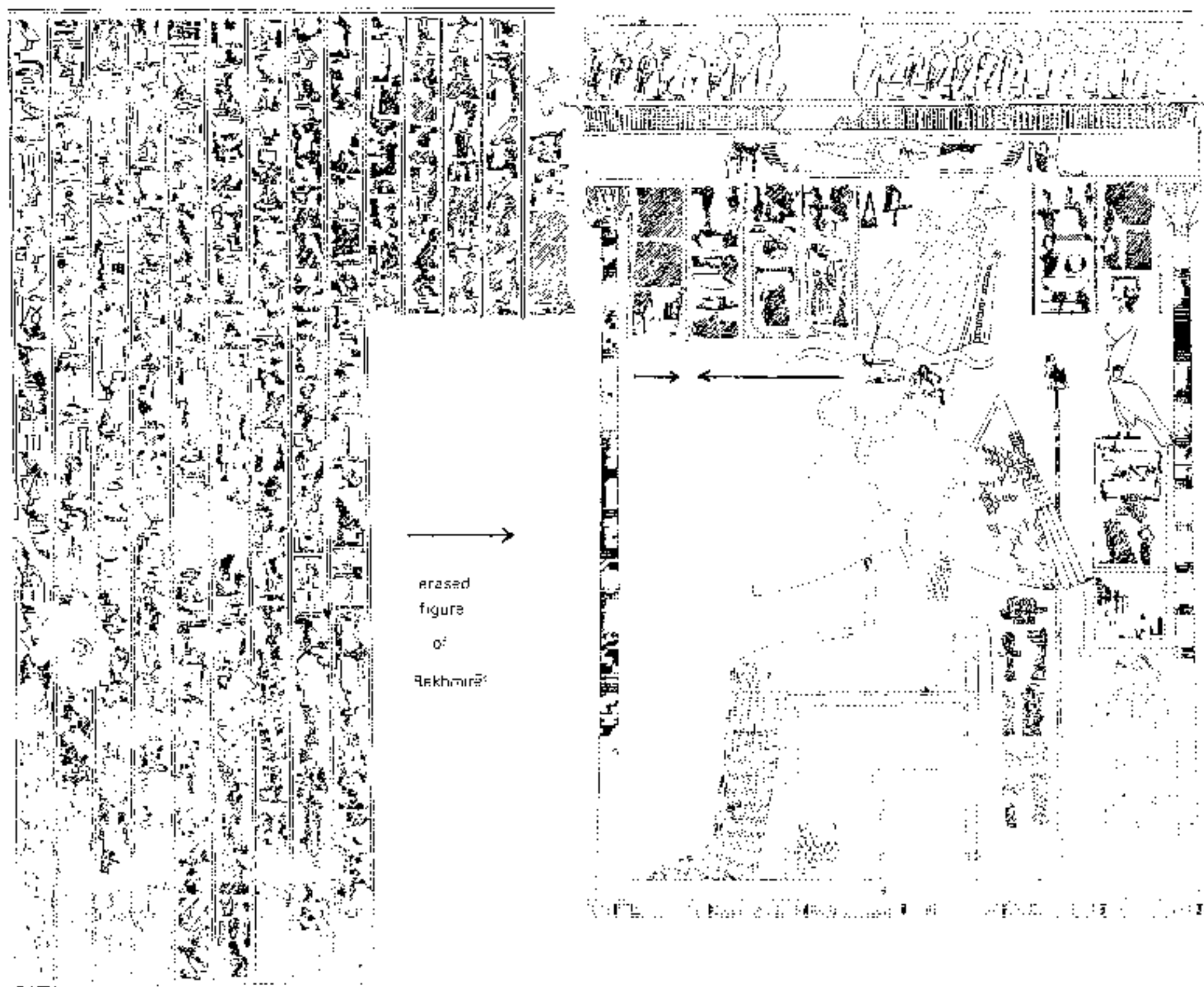


Fig. 4. Rekhmirē' and Tuthmosis III "beloved of [Ma'at]".
After N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes*, Pl. xiii-xiv.

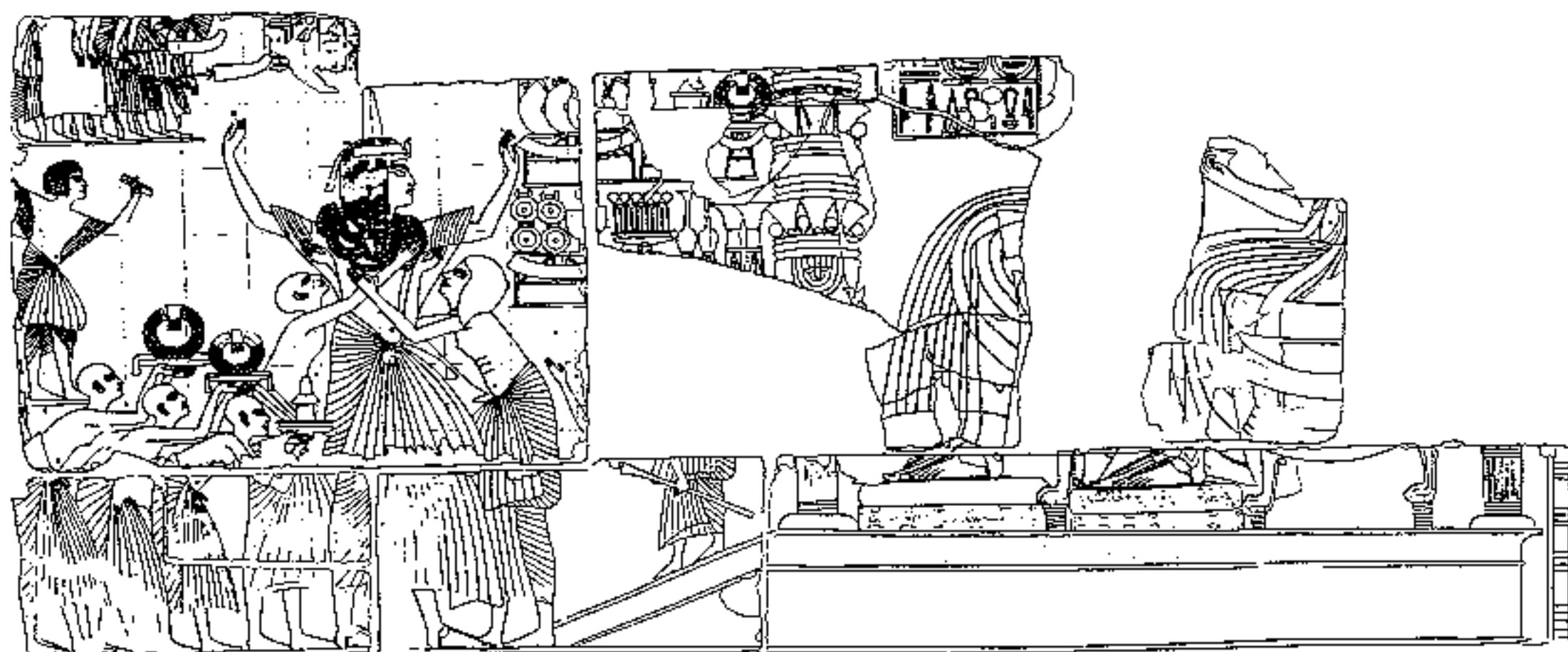


Fig. 5. Horemheb and Tut'ankhamun "beloved of [Thoth]".
After *MTH* I, Pl. 107-108.

found in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmirē' (TT 100). In a much damaged scene³⁵ the vizier stands before Tuthmosis III who is shown enthroned in a kiosk (Fig. 5). The king is identified by a short text which includes his cartouches; in front of these and written in the opposite direction is the epithet "beloved of [...]". The name of the deity has been erased; Davies suggested "[Amūn, lord of the thrones of Egypt]", presumably because he ascribed some other erasures in the tomb to the "Atenists". In another scene,³⁶ however, Rekhmirē' is shown "holding a court session to hear cases in the hall of the vizier" while seated under a baldachin which is supported by six columns, each of these columns is inscribed with a small panel containing the cartouches of Tuthmosis III and, facing these, the epithet "beloved of Ma'at". Underneath the cartouches and the epithet, and agreeing in direction both with the figure of the vizier and with the epithet are inscribed the name and titles of Rekhmirē'. In two further texts elsewhere in the tomb³⁷ the name of the goddess Ma'at has been reversed to correspond with the direction of the figure of the tomb-owner, presumably, as Fischer has suggested, because Ma'at "was thought to emanate from the person of the Vizier".³⁸ In both the kiosk scene and in the court session scene the figure of the vizier has been completely erased, and it is very probable that the erasure of the epithet in the kiosk scene was carried out at the same time, and that it once read "beloved of Ma'at". Ma'at, the goddess of justice and order, is embodied in the person of the vizier, the highest judicial authority of the land apart from the king himself.³⁹ In the scene in the tomb of Horemheb the same

³⁵ N. de G. Davis, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes* (New York, 1943), 16, Pl. xiii-xiv.

³⁶ *op. cit.*, 30-31, Pl. xxiv-xxv.

³⁷ *op. cit.*, Pl. lxiv (middle register) and lxvi (upper register).

³⁸ Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* I, 90-92.

³⁹ Two further examples, both involving a reversal of the epithet "beloved of Amun" occur in the Theban tombs 73 and 106. In TT 73, the tomb-owner offers New Year gifts to Hatshepsut who is seated in the throne kiosk (T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* [Oxford, 1957], Pl. i-iii). Behind him, however, are several statues of Amun, and the scene undoubtedly takes place in the temple of Amun (cf. PM I²/1, 143), which suffices to explain the reversal of the epithet. The same probably applies to the reward scene in TT 106 (Paser), see S. Gabra, *Les conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1929), Pl. iv; the only other scene on the wall, which immediately follows it (cf. PM I²/1, 221 [5]-[6]) shows Paser inspecting the work of craftsmen in the Temple of Karnak. The reward ceremony may therefore also have taken place in the

device is used to demonstrate that Horemheb embodies the god Thoth. This intimate relationship between Horemheb and Thoth is also documented in the texts on the Metropolitan scribe statue of Horemheb, in which he again says of himself: "I am one who establishes the laws for the king (*smn hpw n nsw*) and gives instructions to the courtiers, being one skilled of speech".⁴⁰ Of course one might expect a connection with Thoth on a statue which depicts the owner as a scribe, but the lengthy hymn to Thoth inscribed on the scroll held by Horemheb clearly goes beyond this. Assmann has commented on the emphasis on law and legislation, on memory and knowledge in this text, and has characterized the hymn as a "self-portrayal of Horemheb" in which he defines his relation to the king in terms of the relationship between Rē' and Thoth.⁴¹

Perhaps we may even take the argument one step further. In his new edition of the Book of the Celestial Cow, Hornung has argued convincingly that this religious composition does not date back to the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period, as has often been maintained, but is a newly created text from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, composed either during the reign of Amenhotep III or, perhaps more likely, immediately after the death of Akhenaten.⁴² As a matter of fact, the earliest, albeit incomplete, version of the text is found on the Shrines of Tut'ankhamun. The subject of the text is well known: when Rē' has become old and grey, mankind begins to plot against him; Rē' then decides to order his daughter, the fierce lioness Hathor-Sakhmet, to annihilate them; after a while he regrets his decision, however, and with the famous beer-with-red-ochre trick he manages to save some of them. But Rē' no longer wants to rule mankind and retreats onto the

temple, hence again the reversal. In all of the cases discussed the king is supposed to be in the presence of the deity mentioned in the text, whether this deity is actually depicted or not; cf. the *imut*-symbols from the tomb of Tut'ankhamun (nos. 194 and 202), inscribed with his cartouches plus the reversed epithet "beloved of Anubis", H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen II* (London/New York, 1927), Pl. vi.

⁴⁰ Inscription around base, 2 (b-c), see H. E. Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), Pl. iv.

⁴¹ J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich/München, 1975), 631-632; cf. also Pflüger, *Horemheb*, 44-45.

⁴² E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1982), 79-81.

back of the Celestial Cow to become "the Old One who is in the Netherworld". He then summons the god Thoth and orders him to govern the world in his stead: "Now that I am here ... and will bring light and sunshine in the Netherworld, you shall be there and write (i.e. administer) [and bring peace to those who are there, whom we had created and who yet rebelled against us. ... You will take my place, my successor! You will be addressed as Thoth Successor of Rē'ī]"⁴³ Of course one can read this text as a mythological story only, as a story which explains the function of Thoth as the moon-god replacing the sun-god at night, when the latter shines in the Netherworld. But the emphasis on administration and peaceful rule suggests a further implication. Would it be too far-fetched to view this text as the mythological expression of the political situation of the time, as a religious sanctioning of the position of Horemheb who effectively ruled Egypt instead of the king, bringing back peace and law and order after the chaos which was the result of Akhenaten's rebellion? One is reminded of another passage in the Coronation Text, where Horemheb says that "he was summoned before the sovereign when chaos had broken out in the palace, and had opened his mouth and answered the king and reassured him with the words of his mouth" (l. 7). This might well mean that it was Horemheb who advised the king to abandon Amarna and make a fresh start at Memphis and Thebes. This would imply that Horemheb seized power immediately after the death of Tut'ankhamun's predecessor. Such an early date may seem rather surprising, but it tends to be confirmed by evidence from the Memphite tomb, as we shall see in the following paragraphs. To this end we shall now proceed with a survey of its building history and of the various stages of its decoration.

NOT a great deal is known yet about the building process of Late Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesside tombs in Memphis. A unique group of three papyri from the reign of Ramesses III⁴⁴ found in one of the smaller rooms in the mastaba

⁴³ ed. Hornung, verses 230-238. The passage between [] is omitted from the version on the Shrines of Tut'ankhamun, which breaks off in the middle of verse 234; that it does nevertheless belong to the original version of the text is very likely, however, since, when the text resumes in verse 306 it does so in the third pers. sing. which refers back to verse 287, where the man who recites the text is introduced.

⁴⁴ Cairo JE 52002-52004. Only the first of these papyri has been published so far, see P. Posener-Kriéger, "Construire une tombe à l'ouest de Mn-nfr (P. Caire 52002)", *RdE* 33

of Ni'ankhba⁴⁵ along the north side of the Unas Causeway at Saqqâra contains a report on the daily progress of the work on the tomb of the official May under the supervision of the scribe Buqentuf. Only the very first stages are documented, however: assembling the work force and their provisions and tools, clearing the terrain,⁴⁶ and, in the second papyrus, an activity described as *trr*, perhaps levelling the bedrock with a layer of rubble,⁴⁷ and the beginning of the actual building with blocks of stone (*Inr dbt*⁴⁸). A further papyrus, dating from Year 16 of Ramesses III, and now partly in Vienna, partly in New York,⁴⁹ undoubtedly belongs to the same dossier, even though it was obviously found long before the Cairo group.⁵⁰ Unfortunately the text is very fragmentary, especially in the portion containing the journal; the activities mentioned include the arrival of a load of gypsum and of further supplies for the workmen, and the cutting of stones. Work on the site began on IV *pwt* 6 of Year 15 and the last entry is an unknown day in III *shwt* of the following year, a period of at least seven months. Within this period no mention is made of any sculptors or painters decorating the tomb, and the time necessary to finish the whole project must have been considerably longer. Lack of comparative material makes it impossible to judge whether

(1981), 47–58, although both it and JE 52003 are available in transcriptions by Kitchen (KRI/ VII, 263–268). The third papyrus, said to be a letter, remains unpublished.

⁴⁵ That this is the exact provenance of the papyri, and not merely the area "près du mur d'enceinte sud de la Pyramide à Degrés, dans le sable" (Posener-Kriéger, 47) can be inferred from J. E. Quibell/A. Oliver, "An Ancient Egyptian Horse", *ASAE* 26 (1926), 172–176. The large Old Kingdom mastaba with a main hall of about 12 metres square containing 16 pillars mentioned by Quibell is the Sixth Dynasty mastaba of Ni'ankhba, for which see PM III²/2, 629–630.

⁴⁶ The term used here (*pm*) probably implied the demolishing of earlier structures, like the remains of Old Kingdom mastabas.

⁴⁷ This meaning would also suit the only other occurrence of the word, pLansing 12:1, where one might translate "it (i.e. the mansion which Ra'ia has built for himself) is well-founded like a work of eternity"; cf. R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 414.

⁴⁸ *Hb*, V 554, 14.

⁴⁹ pVienna 38 + MMA 3569; KRI/ VII, 268–273.

⁵⁰ The connection between these papyri is evident from the occurrence of the names of both Buqentuf and of a songstress of Thoth called Tarenet who is mentioned several times in pCairo JE 52003, apparently acting as an agent for Buqentuf's principal. The Vienna papyrus was partly published by E. von Bergmann in 1886; its provenance is unknown.

the building history of this Twentieth Dynasty tomb represents a typical case, but even if it does not it seems fair to assume that the tomb of Horemheb, which is much larger and better constructed than most Ramesside tombs, must have taken at least a year to build and probably much longer to decorate. Although the two types of monument are not wholly comparable, and the number of workmen employed at the Memphite tomb of Horemheb is unknown, the time needed to complete a royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings may give a further indication of the time involved. Černý noted that it took about two years to cut a royal tomb and that decorating it took much longer than that.⁵¹ In one Twentieth Dynasty tomb the decoration was finished in Year 4,⁵² but this concerns only a painted decoration, not the much more time-consuming carving of reliefs. The underground parts of Horemheb's Memphite tomb are roughly half the size of his later royal tomb and largely undecorated, but the additional construction and decoration of the superstructure probably balances this out. All in all, it would seem to be safe to assume that the whole project would have taken about three or four years to complete. Of course the actual time involved may have been even longer if, as seems likely from the architectural evidence, the work did not continue uninterrupted but was executed in stages.

Three building phases have been distinguished in the publication of the tomb.⁵³ It is thought to have originally consisted of a structure of fairly modest size with two courtyards, rather like the neighbouring tomb of Ra'mose, except for the fact that Horemheb's inner courtyard, unlike Ra'mose's, contained a limestone pavement and revetment as well as 16 pillars. The original, undecorated outer courtyard was then turned into a statue room flanked by two magazines and a new outer courtyard was added on its east side. Finally, the north and south walls of this new outer

⁵¹ *CAH* 3 II, 622.

⁵² D. Valbelle, *"Les ouvriers de la tombe": Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (Le Caire, 1985), 91.

⁵³ *MTH* 1, 8-15. It should be pointed out that the two descriptions of the three phases given there (pp. 8-10 and 10-15 resp.) do not quite agree. Thus the building of two west-east walls abutting the east wall of the Inner Courtyard are part of Phase 1 (p. 10 with Fig. 2), whereas on p. 13 the construction of these walls is ascribed to Phase 2 (b). Similarly, the subdivision of the supposed original outer courtyard to form a Statue Room flanked by magazines is first described as being part of Phase 2 (p. 10 with Fig. 3), then as Phase 3 (c) (p. 14).

courtyard were extended, and its east wall demolished and replaced by a great pylon. A forecourt, as yet incompletely excavated, was added on the east of the pylon. The reconstruction of these three phases is due to the much admired work of Kenneth J. Frazer and is based on the examination "of the foundations, the brick sizes, the courses and jointing of the core structure, the inclined or battered east faces of the three main cross-walls (pylons), the original and later gate spaces, the wall mud-plaster and its gypsum finish, and finally the limestone architecture and the wall revetment".⁵⁴ Since these investigations were carried out, however, more comparative material has come to light, notably from the excavation of the contemporary tombs of Ra'mose and Maya, and some of the features which were originally thought to indicate a change of plan can now be observed in the tomb of Maya as well. While this does not automatically imply that no such changes did in fact occur, it does mean that they are perhaps rather less certain than indicated in the publication. In my opinion, the only change of plan which is beyond doubt is the last one, the extension of the Outer Courtyard and the addition of the great pylon. Not only do remnants of the original east wall survive under the pavement of the Outer Courtyard, but the bricks of the extended part of the north and south walls have been laid in a different manner from those of the original walls.⁵⁵ It is probably no coincidence that the Outer Courtyard is the only area to show a significant difference in architectural lay-out between the tombs of Horemheb and Maya, which are otherwise very similar indeed. Maya's Outer Courtyard contains a mud floor and, at its west end, a paved portico with six columns; the main pylon is entirely built of mud-brick, only the actual gateway being supplied with a limestone pavement and revetment. Rather than supposing that Maya's forecourt was unfinished at his death,⁵⁶ it seems much more likely at the moment to assume that Horemheb's Outer Courtyard was at first designed to look very similar to that of Maya, with a single row of columns at its west end, a mud floor, and mud-brick walls. Only at some later stage was it decided to turn this courtyard into a true peristyle court, with a limestone

⁵⁴ *MTH* I, 9-10.

⁵⁵ See *MTH* I, Pl. 5 (between B-B and the pylon) and 11 (upper).

⁵⁶ *JEA* 74 (1988), 4.

pavement and impluvium and a pylon cased with limestone blocks. The prestigious doubling of the row of columns on the west side necessitated the extension of the courtyard and hence the removal of its original east wall. Presumably the limestone revetment of the Outer Courtyard was also added at this stage,⁵⁷ which would explain why its relief decoration was left unfinished despite the fact that work on the tomb, as we shall see shortly, was probably begun as early as the first year of Tut'ankhamun.

In general, the earliest part of a tomb to be decorated was the central chapel in the west; from there the work proceeded eastward. This was the logical procedure, for if the tomb-owner died before the work on his funerary monument was completed, it was important for at least the offering chapel, the most essential part of the superstructure, to be finished.⁵⁸ Later extensions of the building were added to the front (i.e., the eastern side) of the monument, not to the area containing the chapels. Since the decoration of Horemheb's tomb, apart from the reliefs in the Outer Courtyard which we have assigned to a later extension of the original, undecorated courtyard, appears to have been finished, there is no direct evidence that here, too, the work of the outline draughtsmen, sculptors, and painters began in the westernmost parts of the tomb. Nevertheless, it is probably significant that the only surviving references, apart from (uninscribed) statues and a loose stela fragment, to Horemheb's first wife Amenia, with whom he originally intended to be buried in the tomb, occur in the Central Chapel⁵⁹ and in the

⁵⁷ At present there is no firm evidence that the Outer Courtyard of Maya ever contained a decorated limestone revetment outside the roofed area of the portico.

⁵⁸ In the tomb of Paser even the central stela was left unfinished (Martin *et al.*, *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra*, Pl. 7, 8, 13), and work on the walls of the chapel had only just begun when the owner died (*ibid.*, Pl. 11). "Loose" elements like round-topped stelae and statuary may, at least in some cases, have been commissioned elsewhere, then set up in the tomb before the decoration of the latter was completed. This would explain why such largely unfinished tombs as those of Paser or Ra'mose contained beautifully and completely carved stelae (Paser: BM 165; see *op. cit.*, Pl. 8-9; Ra'mose: Berlin 7306; see PM III²/2, 733), and also why such stelae often differ in style and quality from the rest of the tomb decoration, cf., apart from the case of Paser, the stelae and reliefs in the tomb of Apuia: J. E. Quibell & A. G. K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Cairo, 1927), Pl. 9 (round-topped stela) and Pl. 10-13 (reliefs and central stela).

⁵⁹ Block 112a, *MTH* I, Pl. 125. It has been correctly relocated in the Central Chapel by Charles C. Van Siclen III, "The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb and Its Cult Chapel", *JAE* 6 (1990), 195-203, although it must be stressed that the rest of his reconstruction of the Central Chapel is

Inner Courtyard.⁶⁰

So far we have only discussed the superstructure of the tomb. Interestingly, however, the substructure, entered through the main shaft (Shaft iv⁶¹), can also be shown to consist of an original section and a later extension (Fig. 6). The shaft itself is, like so many New Kingdom tomb shafts in the area, a re-used Old Kingdom one, the burial chamber of which (Room M) was taken as the starting point for the cutting of a series of further shafts, rooms and passages which originally ended with Room H.⁶² This first phase contained two large rooms, F and H, thought to have been intended as the burial chambers of Horemheb's first wife and of Horemheb himself, respectively. Only Room F actually fulfilled its purpose, as is evident not only from the remnants of decayed wood (presumably of one or more coffins) and of a black substance on the side of the sarcophagus pit, but also from the fact that the corridor (E) leading to it (and to it only) was blocked off and sealed.⁶³ A number of inscribed fragments of wine amphorae⁶⁴ found in Room F and in some areas higher up (A, B, C, E, and L)⁶⁵ mention "the Hereditary Prince, the royal scribe Horemheb" and a Year 1⁶⁶ of an unknown

demonstrably wrong. Amenia is also shown in scenes 113 and 114 (+ Fig. 19A, mentioning *snt.f mrt. [f]!*) in the entrance passage of the Central Chapel, though in both scenes only her feet survive.

⁶⁰ Column panel 91, *MTH* I, Pl. 126. Although many more column panels survive from the Outer than from the Inner Courtyard, those from the Outer Courtyard all depict Horemheb on his own, see *MTH* I, Pl. 36-40. Scene 4 (*MTH* I, 28, Pl. 20; cf. *JEA* 63 [1977], 18 [1]) in the Outer Courtyard is, as I hope to demonstrate elsewhere, of Ramesside date.

⁶¹ We shall not deal with the other three shafts here. Shaft i is an Old Kingdom shaft which was left untouched by Horemheb's builders and which was only re-used in the Ramesside period; Shafts ii and iii were, in my opinion, cut down through the partition walls between Chapels C-E in the Late Period, a common phenomenon at Saqqāra, and did not yet exist in the New Kingdom (see *MTH* I, 137ff. for a different view, but cf. now also *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 91).

⁶² See the plans of the substructure in *MTH* I, Figs. 23-25 (pp. 141-143).

⁶³ *MTH* I, 147-148.

⁶⁴ A total of 7 dockets of this type was recorded, although some of them are incomplete fragments. I was able to examine most of these in 1983; they will be published by Dr C. J. Eyre in *MTH* II.

⁶⁵ The amphorae were obviously taken out of Room F by the robbers in order to inspect them under better light conditions; none of these dockets were found in Room H or beyond.

⁶⁶ Not Year 2, as repeatedly stated in various preliminary reports, see *JEA* 64 (1978), 9; *JEA* 65 (1979), 16; *L'Égyptologie en 1979* II (Paris, 1982), 276.

king

These wine docket almost certainly provide us with the approximate date of the burial of Amenia, Horemheb's first wife, and consequently with a *terminus ante quem* for the earliest stages of the construction of the tomb in which she was interred. It is therefore of crucial importance to establish whether the Year 1 date refers to the reign of Tut'ankhamun or to that of his successor Ay. Martin⁶⁷ has repeatedly argued in favour of the latter possibility, even though in the final publication of the tomb the question was left open. The evidence suggesting Ay consists of two very fragmentary seal impressions over the doorway of Corridor E which leads to the burial chamber,⁶⁸ and two limestone plaques with the prenomen of Ay.⁶⁹ The evidential value of these finds, however, is, in my opinion, highly questionable, at least as far as their bearing on the date of the burial of Amenia is concerned. The traces on the seal impressions are so minute and their reading is so problematical that their connection with Ay must remain dubious; in fact, they may well represent a form of the necropolis seal with the jackal over nine bound enemies, which is also found on the blocking of Passage L.⁷⁰ The two plaques, as well as an associated miniature stela showing an unnamed king (probably also Ay), come from the bottom of Shaft iv and from the adjacent passageway to room A, north of (i.e., *in front of*) the first blocked and sealed doorway.⁷¹ Their small size (h. 6.6 cm and 5.0 cm, resp.) and poor quality as well as the fact that they are made of limestone suggests that they were not part of the burial equipment, but carved *in situ* from stone chippings and intended as amulets or votive objects by the workmen employed in the construction of the tomb. Similar miniature objects of limestone were found during the excavation of the

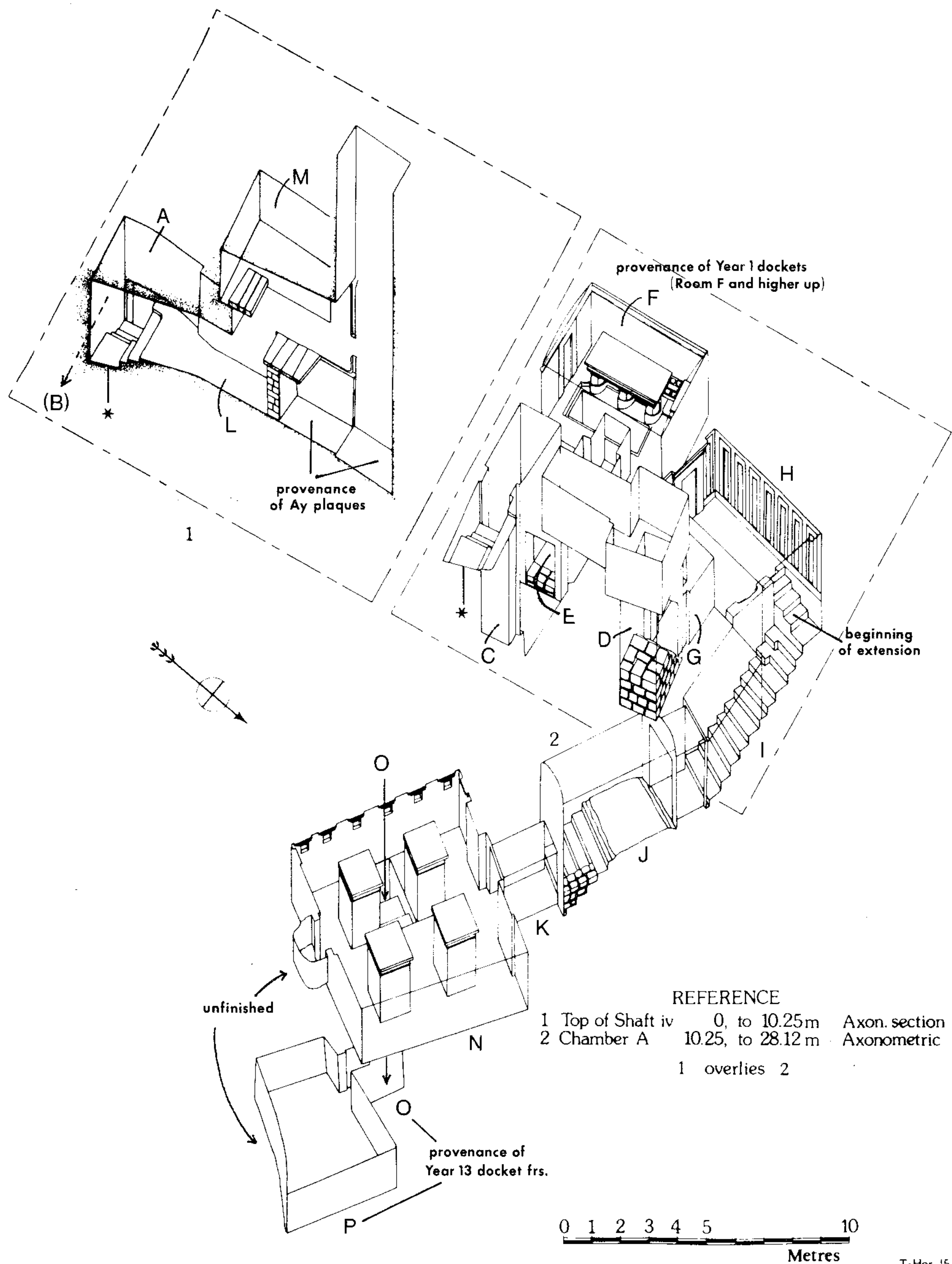
⁶⁷ Cf. *L'Égyptologie en 1979* II, 276; *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 93.

⁶⁸ *MTH* I, 147 with Fig. 28, where their interpretation is called problematical.

⁶⁹ *JEA* 64, Pl. iii: 2 (Cat. 61; Excav. No. 77-S81) and 65, Pl. iii: 3 (Cat. 65; Excav. No. 78-S8); see also the miniature limestone stela showing an anonymous king, *JEA* 64, Pl. iii: 1 (Cat. 62; Excav. No. 77-S82). The Cat. Nos. are those of the forthcoming publication by H. D. Schneider, *MTH* II, to whom I tender my sincere thanks for information on their provenance.

⁷⁰ *MTH* I, 145 with Fig. 27.

⁷¹ Cat. 65 is from the bottom of the shaft itself, Cat. 61 and 62 are both from the area immediately beyond.



T-Hor 15
1979 KJF

Fig. 6. The Burial Complex of Horemheb.
Axonometric projection by K. J. Frazer.
Reproduced from *MTH* 1, 143, Fig. 25 (annotated).

neighbouring tomb of Tia, sometimes in association with artists' sketches on pottery sherds. Their provenance strongly suggests that they are in fact to be considered as intrusive material from *above* ground which at some stage during the work was swept or thrown down the shaft, which must have been left open for a considerable time after the burial of Amenia. But even if they were originally deposited downstairs, all that these plaques indicate is that work on the tomb of Horemheb was still (or again) in progress after Ay had become king. While none of this proves that the Year 1 mentioned in the wine dockets from Room F cannot possibly refer to Ay, the case for a date in the reign of Tut'ankhamun is, I believe, much stronger.

First of all, as we shall see below, it is almost certain that Horemheb was no longer Hereditary Prince after Ay had mounted the throne, as is evident from the fact that at least two other persons bear the title *hry-p't* during Ay's reign, as well as from the decoration of Horemheb's tomb itself. Furthermore, there is a seal impression on a sherd of a wine amphora which mentions "the Estate of the Aten in Heliopolis".⁷² The same seal impression is "the most common by a long way" of those found on stamped jar-handles at Amarna.⁷³ Its exact original provenance within the underground complex is uncertain, but, unless the amphora in question was re-used, for which there is no evidence,⁷⁴ it makes most sense to connect this seal impression with the Year 1 dockets associated with the burial of Amenia.⁷⁵ Although the vintners employed at the various estates of the Aten still used the old designation "wine from the Estate of Aton (*pr itn*)" in Year 9 of Tut'ankhamun,⁷⁶ when the Aten temples to which these vineyards belonged

⁷² Excav. No. 77-S47; cf. *JEA* 64, 9.

⁷³ H. W. Fairman, in *Q24* III: 1, 182 with Fig. 23 A, B; cf. *Q24* II, 108 ("a very common design") with Pl. Ivi AA. On the Aten Temple in Heliopolis see B. Löhr, "Aḥanjāti in Heliopolis", *GZM* 11 (1974), 33-38, who notes that during the reign of Tut'ankhamun the cult of Amun was re-installed in Heliopolis (referring to G. Daressy, *ASAE* 18 [1919], 205).

⁷⁴ Two further seal impressions, both on jar-handles, give the prenomen (Excav. No. 77-S78) and the nomen (Excav. No. 77-S97) of Horemheb as king; cf. *JEA* 64, 9 with Pl. iii: 3.

⁷⁵ The alternative possibility is to connect it with the later burial of Year 13 of Horemheb as king, which is certainly much more difficult, although perhaps not entirely impossible.

⁷⁶ J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Oxford, 1965), Nos. 18, 20-22. A "Temple of the Aten" (*hwt p.t itn*) in Memphis is mentioned as late as the early years of Seti I (*KRI* I, 279: 14), and this has been interpreted to indicate that this temple was still

were probably no longer functioning as such, the frequency of this particular seal impression at Amarna itself suggests that the Year 1 mentioned in the dockets is that of Tut'ankhaten, who began his reign at Amarna. The wine dockets themselves may provide additional confirmation; in most of them, the vineyard from which the wine came is called "the *b'h* of the Hereditary Prince, the royal scribe Horemheb". Helck has shown that in Year 13 of Akhenaten the designation of the vintner on Amarna wine dockets changed from the customary *hry-kjmw* to *hry-b'h* and that this designation was used until Year 1 of Tut'ankhamun, when the older name was re-introduced.⁷⁷ The Year 1 dockets from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb do not mention the vintner, but the word *b'h* on its own does not, as far as I can see, occur in Amarna dockets before Year 13 either,⁷⁸ and the vineyard/vintner combinations *b'h / hry-kjmw* or *kjmw / hry-b'h* in one single docket do not exist.⁷⁹ Taken together, the seal impression mentioning the Aten Temple of Heliopolis and the Year 1 dockets strongly suggest that the burial of Amenia took place not long after the wine harvest of Year 1 of Tut'ankhamun. Consequently, work on the construction of the tomb must already have begun in Year 1, and this in turn agrees well with the evidence of the reliefs in the

functioning at that time (Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 179; B. Löhr, *SAK* 2 [1975], 146-147). The text deals with the confiscation (*nhm*) of timber from temples and private houses in Memphis, and Helck has drawn attention to the astonishing quantity of high quality imported timber which was in private hands in those days (*Materialien* V, 296). One wonders whether this could have been the result of the looting of the traditional temples after they had been closed down by Akhenaten.

⁷⁷ W. Helck, *OLZ* 60 (1965), 560-561; id., *Materialien* IV, 728. Cf. also J. Černý, *JEA* 50 (1964), 38-39; R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (Hildesheim, 1978), 6, 179-181. I fail to see why any Year 1 docket from Amarna always has to refer to Smenekhkarē' and not to Tut'ankhamun just because Years 2 and 3 can only be the former's, as Krauss has argued. If Tut'ankhamun abandoned Amarna before the wine harvest of his Year 2, as seems likely, his later years are not to be expected there, but Year 1 dockets could refer to either of the two kings. Cf. Helck's revision of his earlier opinion, *CdE* 44 (1969), 207.

⁷⁸ Cf. however *CoA* III, Pl. lxxxvi: 5f, mentioning a *kjmw* in Year 17; on the other hand, the unpublished docket BM 55679 appears to mention a [*hry*]-*b'h* in Year 10 (Černý, *loc. cit.*).

⁷⁹ The combination of the term *b'h* '3 for the vineyard and *hry-kjmw* for the vintner is common in Ramesside wine dockets, see e.g. W. Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraka & Papyri found by J. E. Quibell, in the Ramesseum, 1895-6* (London, [1898]), Nos. 142, 143, 156, 162, 175 etc.; Y. Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératique de Deir el-Médineh* II (Cairo, 1980), no. 6375.

superstructure.

As we have already seen, depictions of Amenia occur only in the Central Chapel and in the adjacent Inner Courtyard. In the Central Chapel she is depicted as a standing female mummy supported by the goddess Nephthys.⁸⁰ This is a highly unusual, if not unique scene, not only because of the depiction of Nephthys,⁸¹ but also because female mummies receiving funerary offerings independent of their deceased husbands are exceedingly rare in private tombs before the end of the New Kingdom. The wife of the tomb-owner is of course often depicted receiving offerings together with her husband, and sometimes the mummies of the couple are shown together in the funerary rites. Usually, however, it is the husband's mummy which is depicted while the bereaved widow is shown kneeling in front of him and weeping, even though in actual life she must in many cases have died before him. I know of no other cases where the mummy of the tomb-owner's wife is depicted in this manner, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this particular scene in the Central Chapel of Horemheb indicates that Amenia had already died when this chapel was decorated. If this is correct, it means that she died during the reign of Tut'ankhamun, for the reliefs in the Inner Courtyard, and hence those in the Central Chapel, are firmly dated to that reign by the twofold depiction of Tut'ankhamun and his Queen. If, then, Amenia had died towards the end of Year 1 or in the first half of Year 2 of Tut'ankhamun, her burial chamber must have been ready by the time the official seventy-day period of mummification was over. The planning of the whole project and the early stages of the work must therefore have begun as early as Year 1 of Tut'ankhamun, and possibly even earlier. The reliefs in the Inner Courtyard are dated by the fragmentary and usurped cartouches of Tut'ankhamun, in which traces of the epithet *ḥqꜣ Twꜣw šm'w* "Ruler of Southern Heliopolis (Karnak)" survive; they were, therefore, certainly carved after the name change from Tut'ankhaten to Tut'ankhamun and the

⁸⁰ *MTH* I, 114-115 with Pl. 125.

⁸¹ Perhaps this scene shows the goddess not so much as sister of Isis, but as a female counterpart of Anubis, who is often shown supporting male mummies in comparable scenes (e.g., J. E. Quibell, *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* [Cairo, 1912], Pl. lxxix: 1) and who is sometimes called a son of Nephthys, cf. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967), 29-30.

abandonment of Amarna.⁸² The chapels and the Inner Courtyard, and almost certainly the whole tomb as it was originally designed, were therefore built and decorated within the first four years of the reign of Tut'ankhamun. Such an early date agrees well with the occurrence of a military regiment called "Beloved of the Aten" in scene 79 on the west wall of the Inner Courtyard⁸³, a name which is hardly to be expected after the beginning of the reign of Tut'ankhamun; indeed, it has been taken as an indication that the whole tomb must date to the reign of Akhenaten.⁸⁴ An early date is also suggested by the Amarna-like style of the representation of the royal couple in scene 76⁸⁵ and by the manner in which the two figures of Horemheb, standing back to back, have been depicted in this scene: a close parallel for this is found in the Theban tomb of Ra'mose (TT 55), which dates to the reign of Amenhotep IV.⁸⁶

The date of the last phase in the construction of the tomb, the extension of the Outer Courtyard, is considerably more difficult to establish. The relief decoration in this part of the superstructure was never finished; obviously, the work on the tomb was abandoned at some stage. Unfortunately, no cartouches have survived in the preserved parts of the Outer Courtyard which could help us determine when this happened, but two points in Horemheb's career immediately spring to mind: the death of Tut'ankhamun followed by the presumed temporary eclipse of Horemheb, or the death of Ay followed by the accession of Horemheb as King of Egypt. In itself it is not impossible that Horemheb decided at some later point in the reign of Tut'ankhamun to extend his funerary monument, which had been completed a few years before, even though the reason for such a decision remains unclear, particularly since a promotion, the prime occasion for an enlargement of the tomb, was hardly possible in his case: the next step up the scale from being Hereditary Prince and Deputy of the King in the Entire Land, the titles held by Horemheb since

⁸² Cf. van Dijk/Eaton-Krauss, *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 35. For the usurped cartouche in scene 76 (*Nb-hprw-R'*) see *MTH* I, 97 n. 7.

⁸³ *MTH* I, Pl. 117.

⁸⁴ J. D. Cooney, *JEA* 30 (1944), 2-4; cf. also Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 244 (contrast *JEA* 39 [1953], 9, where he still opted for the reign of Tut'ankhamun).

⁸⁵ *MTH* I, Pl. 110 A-115 and the commentary on this aspect, p. 94.

⁸⁶ *PM* I/1, 110 (12): II; Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), Pl. xxxiv; M. Baud, *Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine* (Cairo, 1935), Pl. xi.

the early years of Tut'ankhamun, was nothing less than the kingship itself, and this was still in the lap of the gods. On the other hand, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that this last stage in the construction of the tomb does indeed belong to the reign of Ay. In the section dealing with the burial of Amenia and with the early history of the tomb we have interpreted the two limestone plaques with cartouches of Ay (and the miniature stela depicting an anonymous king, probably Ay) found at the bottom of the shaft and in the adjacent area in front of the first blocked doorway as being products of the workmen employed in the construction of the monument, rather than objects from the burial equipment of Amenia. If this is correct, it follows that some work on the tomb was carried out during the reign of Ay. Theoretically, this could have been work in the underground complex only,⁸⁷ but if we assume that work on the decoration of the Outer Courtyard was abandoned at the death of Tut'ankhamun, we are faced with the somewhat unlikely situation that work underground was continued or resumed during the reign of Ay, while at the same time the unfinished decoration of the Outer Courtyard was left untouched. It seems more likely that the extension and decoration of the superstructure was carried out during the reign of Ay, and this assumption agrees well with the indications provided by the decoration itself.

Unfortunately, not a great deal remains of the limestone revetment in the Outer Courtyard; judging from the surviving blocks, work had progressed further on its north than on its south wall, but the limestone casing of the pylon was left completely undecorated. On the other hand, the relief panels on the columns appear to have been nearly finished: the scenes and texts have been carved, and only the pleating of Horemheb's costume is lacking. Six more or less complete panels plus a considerable number of fragments have survived.⁸⁸ When one compares the titles mentioned on these column panels with the titles elsewhere in the tomb, a striking difference emerges: there is not a single occurrence of the title *iry-p't* "Hereditary Prince" standing on its own, i.e. with the meaning of Crown Prince, in these inscriptions, nor is there any reference to Horemheb's position of King's Deputy. The title

⁸⁷ But see p. 32 above, where an original provenance *above* ground is suggested for these plaques.

⁸⁸ *MTH* I, Pl. 36-40

"Hereditary Prince" occurs only in the stereotype sequence *hry-p't hsty-r* (*sdjwty-bity*) *smr w'ty*, a group of purely honorific titles held by many high officials which totally lacks the implication that the holder was Crown Prince. The only exception is fragment 39d ("the Hereditary Prince Horemheb"), but this fragment was actually found in the Inner Courtyard, as was duly noted in the publication,⁸⁹ and there can be no doubt that it does indeed belong to a column in that part of the tomb; not only is it the only relief panel to show the pleating of Horemheb's costume, but it also contains a kneeling figure of Horemheb preceded by 5 columns of text only, as on the two surviving panels in the Inner Courtyard,⁹⁰ without the deities shown on the panels from the Outer Courtyard. The absence of the all-important *hry-p't* title must be significant, and since it is almost certain, as we shall see, that Ay appointed someone else to this function, it provides further confirmation that the extension of the Outer Courtyard is to be dated to the reign of Ay.⁹¹

This leads us to the most crucial scene in the Outer Courtyard, which is at the same time perhaps the greatest masterpiece to have emerged from the excavation of the tomb, the relief block No. 21 (Fig. 7).⁹² This block shows two main figures, one of whom is depicted on a much larger scale than the other. The smaller man on the left has obviously just been awarded the gold of honour by the man on the right. Above the scene are the tantalizing ends of seven columns of text, but as with so many isolated blocks, the most important part of this text was inscribed on the missing block which was once positioned above it. The names of both men were doubtless mentioned in the missing portion, and their identification is the major problem in the interpretation of the scene. In the publication it is first pointed out that,

⁸⁹ *MHT* I, 48.

⁹⁰ *MTH* I, Pl. 126, Nos. 90 and 91.

⁹¹ I strongly suspect that the inner doorjambs of the Statue Room entrance (nos. 57 and 58; *MTH* I, Pl. 50, 56-57) also belong to the last phase of the decoration, temp. Ay. No. 58 is unfinished to the same extent as the column panels in the Outer Courtyard, while no. 57 is even less finished. Although the titles inscribed on these jambs are still of the highest order, the title *hry-p't* is no longer among them.

⁹² *MTH* I, 40-43, Pl. 32, 34; *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 54-55, Fig. 18; H. D. Schneider, *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 146-147 (1990), 97 (colour photograph).

although one would obviously expect the larger figure to be the king, who is shown rewarding high officials with the gold of honour in all known parallels of the scene, the king cannot be meant here, since the dress worn by the large figure bears no royal characteristics. Two possible solutions are then suggested: either the larger figure is that of Ay before he became king, rewarding Horemheb with the gold of honour, or it is that of Horemheb himself, "exercising quasi-royal powers in deputizing for the sovereign in a ceremonial in which hitherto the king had been the chief participant. The smaller figure would then be a high-ranking contemporary of Horemheb in the army or civil administration. The direction of the text relates to the large figure, and the titles mentioned are elsewhere used of Horemheb in the tomb".⁹³ This last option is considered to be the correct one, and the smaller figure is then tentatively identified as Para'messu, who, after Horemheb had become king, was appointed Hereditary Prince and who eventually succeeded him as Ramesses I.⁹⁴

There are some slightly disturbing features in this interpretation, however. First of all, there is the total lack of parallels, despite the considerable number of gold of honour scenes in tombs at Thebes, Amarna, and elsewhere, including the scene in the Inner Courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb itself. In all of these scenes it is the king who rewards his servant with the gold of honour, not a private individual. That Tut'ankhamun "was perhaps considered too young to perform this duty"⁹⁵ is belied by the scene in the Inner Courtyard, which was certainly decorated before the Outer Courtyard; that the king "might even have been incapacitated on this occasion"⁹⁶ lacks credibility, for it is far more likely that the ceremony would then have been postponed until he was again able to perform it. Even if one assumes that the king was not always personally present at the

⁹³ *MTH* I, 42.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 42-43. The same interpretation is adopted in *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 54, and by Schneider, *Phoenix* 22, 17. The "gold of honour" scene in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) quoted by Schneider, where Maya is involved in the ceremony, is not a true parallel: it is King Horemheb himself who is shown rewarding Neferhotep, not Maya, who merely acts as an intermediary between Neferhotep and the king and who is depicted facing the king, not the recipient of the honours.

⁹⁵ *MHT* I, 42.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

ceremony, it is unlikely that his absence would then have been emphasized in a scene in which the tomb-owner obviously took great pride. After all, priests deputized for the king in the temple ritual as a matter of course, but it is the king himself who is shown performing these rituals in the temple reliefs, not the priest representing him. It is certainly true that the text inscribed above the scene agrees in direction with the larger figure and that the titles mentioned in the first column of this text are those of Horemheb, but this can be explained by comparing it with a scene in the Amarna tomb of Meryrē.⁹⁷ Here the tomb-owner receives the gold of honour from Akhenaten, who, incidentally, is leaning on a staff in much the same way as the large figure on the block;⁹⁸ the text inscribed in front of the figure of the king records his speech: "What is spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ... : 'Let the Overseer of the Treasury reward the High Priest of the Aten in Akhetaten Meryrē', put gold around his neck, on his back, and on his feet, because of his obedience to the instructions of Pharaoh ...'". The titles of Meryrē happen to be inscribed at the end of the first column, but because they form part of the speech of the king, they agree in direction with his figure, not with that of the much smaller figure of Meryrē.⁹⁹ The same might easily apply to the scene on the block of Horemheb,¹⁰⁰ and the position of the titles of Horemheb mentioned on it do therefore not necessarily mean that the larger figure must be him rather than the king. In fact, the way the larger figure stretches out his right arm and his open palm towards the recipient of the honours and the group of servants who are adjusting the gold of honour around his shoulders suggests that he is indeed addressing them.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I (London, 1903), Pl. xxx. See Fig. 8.

⁹⁸ Cf. *MTH* I, 42 n. 1.

⁹⁹ Similarly, Seti I addresses his courtiers in a reward scene from the tomb of Hormin at Saqqâra (Louvre C 213): "Give a great quantity of gold to the praised one, the overseer of the royal harîm Hormin, ...", cf. *KA* I, 309: 4.

¹⁰⁰ It should also be noted that the king's speech refers to the recipient of the honours in the third person; not enough survives of the text on the Horemheb block to enable us to see whether this was the case here too, but it may be significant that the only suffix found in it is the third pers. sing. -/ in col. 6.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the gestures of Horemheb and the Egyptian interpreter in scene 76 in the Inner Courtyard, *MTH* I, Pl. 111-115, or the exchange between the chief of police and the vizier in the tomb of Mahu, Davies, *Amarna* IV, Pl. xxvi, to mention only two examples.

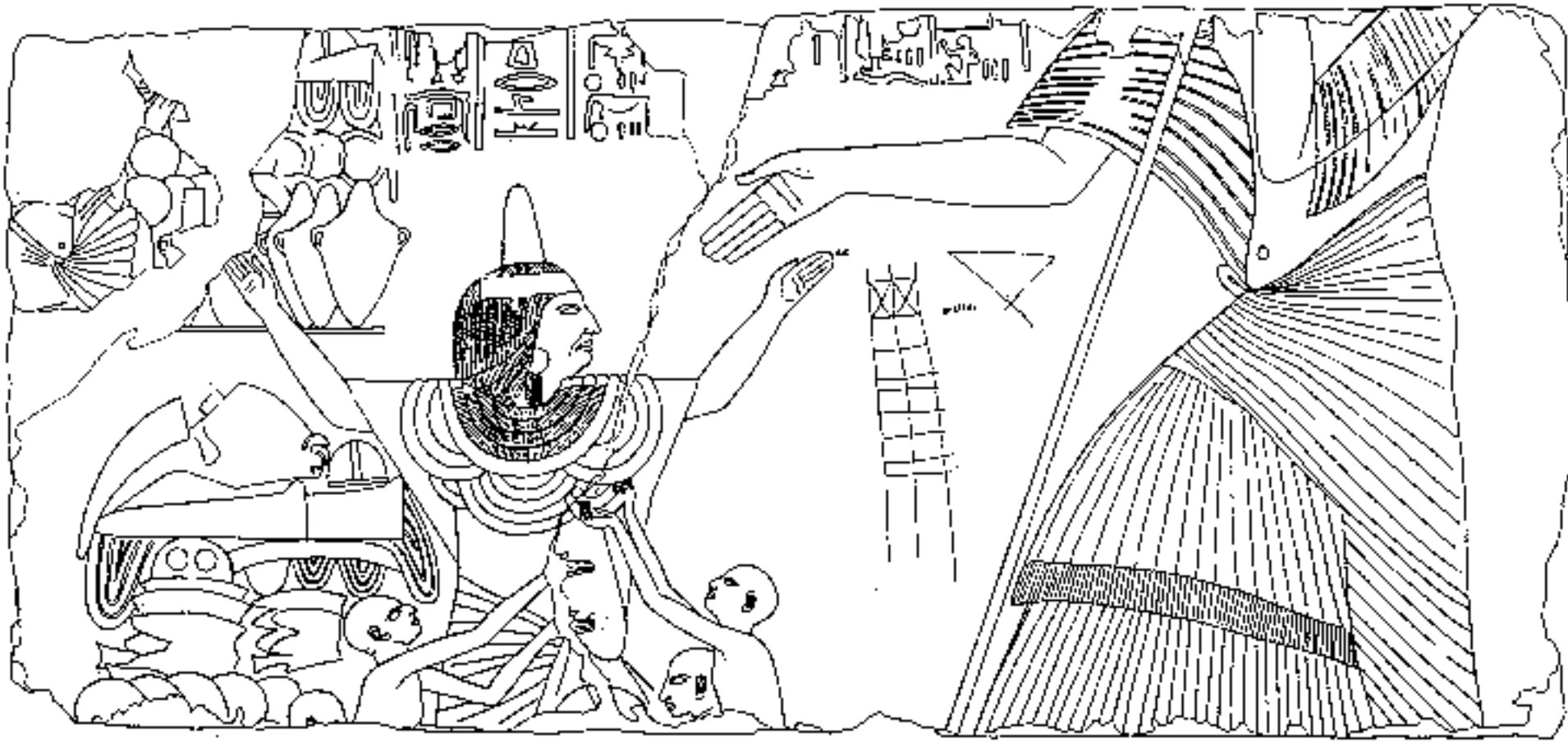


Fig. 7. Relief block no. 21 from Horemheb's Outer Courtyard.
Reproduced from *MTH* I, Pl. 34.

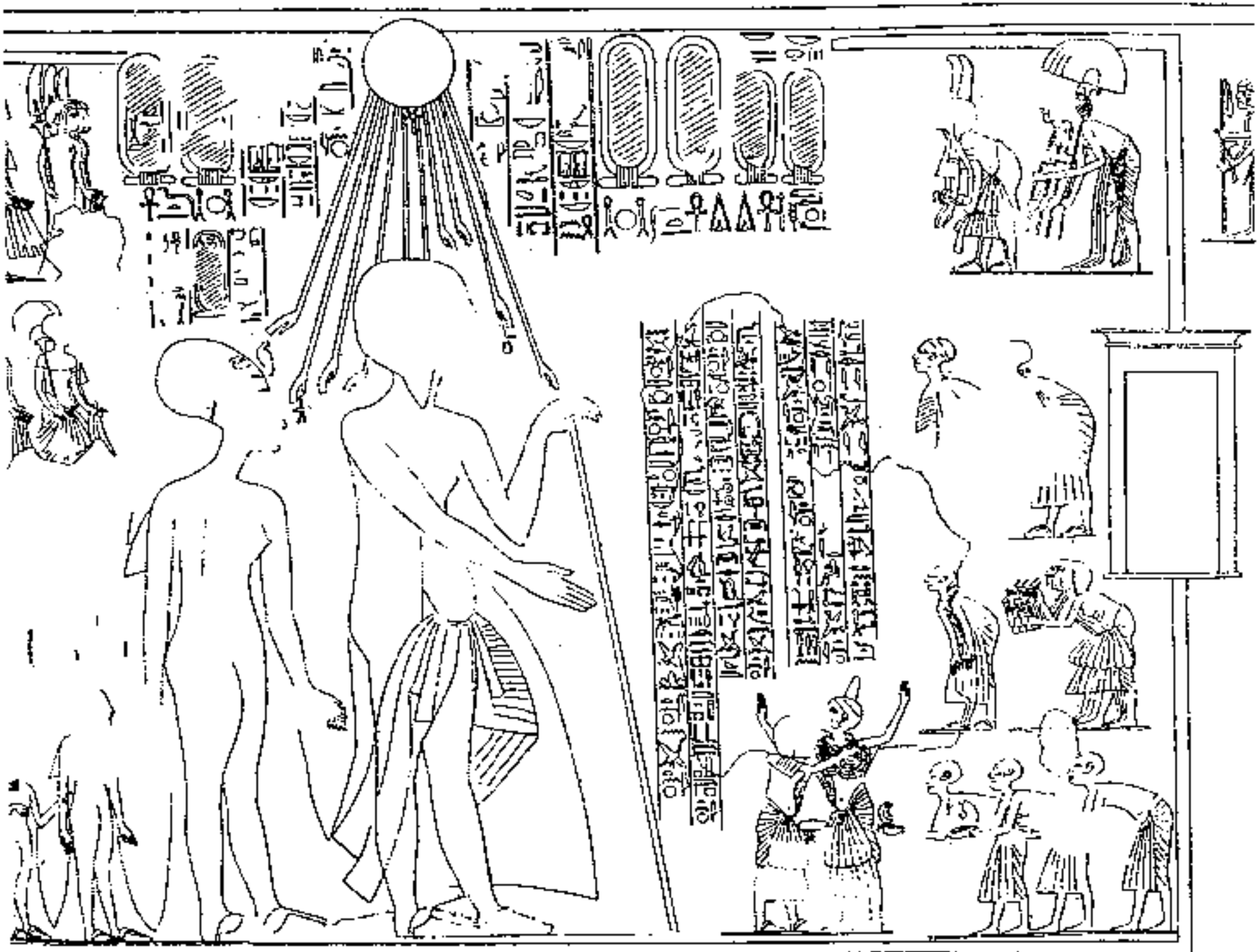


Fig. 8. Reward scene in the tomb of Meryrē at Amarna.
Reproduced from N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I, Pl. xxv.

I therefore propose to identify the larger figure as that of the king. The smaller figure, with its remarkably realistic features, would then be that of Horemheb himself, and the relief would thus provide us with the only surviving "true" portrait of the great man.

Obviously, the main obstacle to the proposed identification remains the dress of the larger figure. Since the head and shoulders of this man are missing, it is impossible to say whether he wore any crowns or whether an original (as opposed to an added) uraeus was attached to his brow. The pleated costume shown on the block is worn by Horemheb himself in several reliefs in the tomb as well as by many other non-royal officials from the Late Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. Similar, albeit not wholly identical, pleated costumes are sometimes worn by royal figures as well, but they are almost always distinguished by the royal "sporrán" or decorated panel attached to the front of the lower part of the dress. Exceptions do occur, but they can usually be explained by other features. Symbolic representations of Tut'ankhamun¹⁰² and Ramesses II¹⁰³ as a child show the king in a pleated costume without the sporran, but its absence may be inherent to the childlike depiction of the king, or it may simply be due to his squatting posture. In a scene in the burial chamber of Tut'ankhamun and in another on his small golden shrine the king does not wear a sporran either, but in both cases the skirt is supplied with pleated sashes not normally worn by private individuals.¹⁰⁴ This latter type of dress is also regularly worn by Akhenaten, as in the reward scene in the tomb of Meryrē',¹⁰⁵ but in some other cases, especially in "domestic" scenes, he wears a simple pleated costume without any royal attributes.¹⁰⁶ A headless Amarna style statuette of the aged Amenhotep III in the Metropolitan Museum, New York¹⁰⁷ does not bear any royal characteristics either, and were it not for its inscriptions, the statue

¹⁰² Ointment container from the tomb, no. 240 *bis*; see H. Carter, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. lxxiv.

¹⁰³ Louvre N 522; C. Desroches Noblecourt, in *Ramsès le Grand* (Paris, 1976), p. xxi; C. Ziegler, *The Louvre: Egyptian Antiquities* (Paris, 1990), colour plate on p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ PM I2/2, 570 (8): 2 (Tut'ankhamun [not Ay!] before Nut making *nini*); M. Eaton-Krauss & E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), Pl. xvi.

¹⁰⁵ See n. 97 above.

¹⁰⁶ E. g., Davies, *Amarna* II, Pl. xii, xxiii, xlvi; III, Pl. iv, ix; VI, Pl. iii.

¹⁰⁷ MMA 30.8.74; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II (New York, 1959), 236–237, Fig. 142.

might be taken for a representation of a non-royal person. Admittedly, none of the examples quoted show the king in quite the same costume as the large figure on the block of Horemheb, but the examples cited above prove that its identification as the figure of a king is not entirely impossible. But which king?

Given the date of Horemheb's funerary monument, only two kings could have been depicted here: Tut'ankhamun or Ay. Tut'ankhamun is already shown rewarding Horemheb with the gold of honour in the Inner Courtyard, which, as we have seen, was definitely built before the Outer Courtyard, and unless the scene in the latter refers to a specific event later in the reign, it is perhaps not very likely that such a scene should be depicted twice. If, on the other hand, the decoration of the Outer Courtyard was carried out during the reign of Ay, as we have suggested above, he might very well be the king on the relief. Ay is perhaps the only king of the period who might conceivably be shown in a dress which to all intents and purposes is that of a private official. There is some evidence to suggest that Ay only became king as a temporary solution to the problem of succession posed by Tut'ankhamun's sudden death, and that he was no more than a kind of "caretaker" king.¹⁰⁸ Not only the inclusion of Ay's pre-royal title *it-ntr* "God's Father" in his royal cartouche, which went against all tradition,¹⁰⁹ points to the unusual character of Ay's kingship, but also the scenes in the tomb of Tut'ankhamun and in his own royal tomb. In the former, Ay is shown as "Lord of the Ritual" (*nb irt-ht*), performing the Opening of the Mouth rites for the mummy of his deceased predecessor, a scene not found in any other royal tomb. This scene reflects the abnormal character of Ay's position and it is generally agreed that it serves to stress the legitimacy of his accession.¹¹⁰ He is shown wearing the leopardskin of the Sem priest, and apart from the blue crown nothing in his attire distinguishes his figure as royal; had the head (and the text inscribed above the figure) not been preserved it could easily have been taken for a non-royal priestly figure. The king is hardly ever represented

¹⁰⁸ W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 230. The term "caretaker status" used there is dropped from the second, revised edition of the book (1990; pp. 135-136), but the general idea of Ay as an interim king has remained the same.

¹⁰⁹ O. J. Schaden, *The God's Father Ay* (diss. University of Minnesota, 1977), 220 with n. 15.

¹¹⁰ Murnane, *op. cit.*, 231 n. 80; 2nd. ed., 134.

wearing the leopardskin of the Sem priest; even when he is shown officiating in temple reliefs he is dressed in royal attire, not as a priest, and when he is present in bark processions it is the Sem priest who is shown wearing the leopardskin, not the king. Only in exceptional circumstances is the king himself dressed as a Sem priest, as in a scene in the Hypostyle Hall in Karnak,¹¹¹ where it was probably, as Sethe has shown, prompted by the fact that the office of High Priest of Amun was vacant at the time.¹¹² In the temple of Khonsu, Herihor is also shown officiating wearing the leopardskin,¹¹³ but his royal status is even more ambiguous than Ay's. In his own royal tomb, three scenes show Ay and his wife Ty hunting and pulling papyrus in the marshes,¹¹⁴ scenes which are unique for a royal tomb but extremely common in private tombs.¹¹⁵ In the Theban tomb of Nay (TT 271), the cartouche with the prenomen of Ay occurs without the preceeding title *nsw bity* or any other royal title; the owner is simply called "praised one of Kheperkheperurē".¹¹⁶ Such a designation is unparalleled outside a few fixed combinations like toponyms or dates, as Helck has rightly pointed out.¹¹⁷ There is also the curious fact that in the funerary temple which Ay completed for his deceased predecessor,¹¹⁸ he refers to Tut'ankhamun as his "son", despite the fact that as the living Horus-King he should call the dead Osiris-King Tut'ankhamun his "father", as is implied by the scene in the latter's burial chamber. All of these anomalies point to the abnormal status of Ay's kingship, and such a status could easily be reflected in the scene in Horemheb's Outer Courtyard as well. If the large figure on the block is indeed Ay as king, then the unfinished palace scene on the opposite south wall of the

¹¹¹ PM II², 45 (154): III,1; cf. J. Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte: Domaine du divin* (Paris, 1979), 42 Fig. 25.

¹¹² K. Sethe, "Ramses II. als 'erster Prophet des Amun'", *ZAS* 58 (1923), 54.

¹¹³ G. Foucart, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée* = *BIFAO* 24 (1930), Pl. xiii; *The Temple of Khonsu 1: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, by the Epigraphic Survey (Chicago, 1979), Pl. 19, 21.

¹¹⁴ A. Piankoff, "Les peintures dans la tombe du roi Aï", *MDA/K* 16 (1958), 247-251, Pl. xxi.

¹¹⁵ Cf. the indexes in PM I²/1, 467: 17 a, b, f; PM III²/1, 355: 1 a-c; III²/2, 903: 1 a-c.

¹¹⁶ L. Habachi & P. Anus, *Le tombeau de Nay à Gournet Mar'ei (N° 271)* (Cairo, 1977), 17 Fig. 9, Pl. iv A.

¹¹⁷ Helck, *CdE* 48 (1973), 255.

¹¹⁸ Schaden, *op. cit.*, 148ff., 153-191; M. Eaton-Krauss, *MDA/K* 44 (1986), 1-11.

Courtyard would presumably also have depicted Ay, had it been completed

The date of the second phase of the substructure of the tomb is problematic. At some point in time a staircase was cut in the floor on the north side of Room H which made the false door, carved in the north wall of the room, redundant. Proceeding from the staircase, a further series of rooms and corridors were cut which have a distinctly royal character.¹¹⁹ If the plaques of Ay found in the shaft really come from the underground parts of the tomb, and not, as we have suggested above, from above ground, it would mean that work on the substructure was carried out during the reign of Ay. The royal character of the second phase is difficult to reconcile with such a date, however, for it is almost certain that Horemheb was at that stage no longer acting as Crown Prince and King's Deputy. Of course one might speculate that the extension of the underground complex was already well on its way when Tut'ankhamun died, and that during the reign of Ay work was going on in the last, unfinished rooms. Presumably, work was then abandoned with the death of Ay and Horemheb's own accession. The time span implied by this scheme is rather long, however: if the "royal tomb" plan had been begun during the reign of Tut'ankhamun and reached a point where it could no longer be altered to a more ordinary plan at the death of the king, we have a period of at least another three years until the death of Ay, which, even for a tomb as large as that of Horemheb, seems too long.

A possibility which cannot be ruled out altogether is that the whole of the extension of the underground complex was due to Horemheb as king. At first sight such a date may seem rather unlikely, for although uraei were added to many of the figures of Horemheb in the superstructure once he had become king, and the cartouches of Tut'ankhamun were altered to give the names of Horemheb himself, no attempt was made to turn it into a proper royal monument. On the other hand, there are some arguments in favour of a late date. The royal tomb of Horemheb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 57) is unfinished, and even though it is large and most lavishly decorated with painted raised reliefs, a period of at least 13 years – the minimum length of his reign – should have been long enough to complete it if it was begun in his

¹¹⁹ *MTH* I, 150–156; cf. Fig. 24–25 and Pl. 7. The closest parallels for its plan are the tombs of Tuthmosis IV (KV 43) and Amenhotep III (WV 22).

first year, as appears to have been normal. A comparison with the tomb of Seti I (KV 17), who probably reigned for not much longer than 11 years, confirms this. Seti's tomb is comparable in size and quality of decoration to that of Horemheb, and although it is not quite finished either, its decoration is much more extensive, beginning as it does in the first corridor (A), immediately beyond the entrance stairway, whereas reliefs in Horemheb's tomb do not appear until the well room (E); yet Seti managed to get all this work done within a shorter period of time than Horemheb had had at his disposal, assuming that both tombs were begun in their owners' Year 1. The hastily finished tomb of Ramesses I (KV 16) is less than half the size of Horemheb's and only has a painted decoration, but even so it gives a good indication of what could be achieved within a period of one and a half years at the most.¹²⁰ In her study of the workmen's village of Deir el-Medīna, Dominique Valbelle has suggested that work on the royal tomb of Horemheb did not begin before his Year 7. Two Ramesside ostraca document a major reorganisation of the work force in this year, which included an extension of the village itself, by the mayor of Thebes, Djehutymose, an event which was important enough to be used as a point of reference as late as the reign of Ramesses III. Moreover, an inspection and restoration of the tomb of Tuthmosis IV by the Overseer of the Treasury Maya accompanied by the same Djehutymose took place early in the following Year 8. These facts would agree very well with the start of a major new project in the Valley of the Kings.¹²¹ If work on Horemheb's royal tomb was not begun until his Year 7 or 8, it is quite possible that he originally intended to be buried in the Memphite tomb even after he had become king. This would provide a better explanation for the royal features of the underground complex, which is unparalleled even for the few high-ranking private individuals who were granted a tomb in the Valley of the Kings. It would also explain why the Memphite tomb was used in or shortly after Year 13 for the burial of Queen Mutnodjmet,¹²² for if the royal tomb was only begun in Year 7 or 8, the work was probably still in progress when she died.¹²³

¹²⁰ Cf. D. Valbelle, *"Les ouvriers de la tombe"*, 163.

¹²¹ *op. cit.*, 160–162. For the restoration of the tomb of Tuthmosis IV see C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The decline of a royal necropolis* (London/New York, 1990), 36–37.

¹²² See for now Martin, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979* II, 275–278 and E. Strouhal, *ibid.*, 317–322.

The results of our investigation of the building history of Horemheb's Memphite tomb may be summarized as follows: work was begun in Year 1 of Tut'ankhamun, and was still in its very early stages when Horemheb's first wife Amenia died. She was buried in Room F of the underground complex in the second half of Year 1 or the first half of Year 2 of Tut'ankhamun. Whether all of the underground rooms from A to H were already finished at that stage, or whether work continued after rooms E and F had been blocked and sealed remains uncertain. Above ground the first phase of the building was completed, with three chapels, a peristyle inner Courtyard, a Statue Room flanked by magazines, and an open, mud-brick Outer Courtyard which may or may not have included a portico with six columns at its west end. The relief decoration was probably begun in the westernmost part of the tomb very early in the reign of Tut'ankhamun, perhaps shortly after the time of Amenia's death; the decoration of the Inner Courtyard dates from the time after the king's abandonment of Amarna and the name change from Tut'ankhaten to Tut'ankhamun. The whole of the first version of the tomb including its decoration was probably finished by the end of Year 4.

For the second version of the tomb the original, undecorated Outer Courtyard was extended eastwards and turned into a peristyle court with pavement, impluvium, a limestone revetment, and a massive pylon cased with limestone blocks. This later extension dates to the reign of Ay; its relief decoration was still unfinished when that king died and Horemheb himself mounted the throne. The underground complex was also considerably extended; its plan was directly modelled on the royal tombs of the last kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period. The date of this extension remains uncertain, but it is not impossible that it dates from the first seven years or so of Horemheb as king. In his Year 13 it was used for the burial of his queen Mutnodjmet.

¹²³ Preparations for the burials of both Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III, and Nefertiti appear to have been made in the tombs of their husbands, see for the former Reeves, *op. cit.*, 39, 246, and for the latter Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna II* (London, 1989), 50. Ay's queen Ty too appears to have been buried in his royal tomb, or if she was not her burial was certainly intended there, since she is depicted with him in the paintings of the burial chamber. The Valley of the Queens only acquired the status implied by its modern name in the Nineteenth Dynasty, see C. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou: Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire I* (Cairo, 1989), 14-20.

Now that we have established the date of the various parts of the Memphite tomb with a reasonable degree of certainty, we are in a better position to evaluate the role played by Horemheb during the reigns of his two predecessors. The titles and offices mentioned in the tomb, and especially those of Hereditary Prince and Deputy of the King, make it perfectly clear that the description of Horemheb's pre-royal career in his Coronation Text is basically correct. It is fully supported by inscriptions dating to the period before he became king, in other words, the Coronation Text reflects historical facts rather than being a deliberate distortion of the facts. Not only did Horemheb act as Tut'ankhamun's regent, but he was officially appointed as the king's Crown Prince, destined to succeed him on the throne of Egypt in the event of the king dying without issue. The designation *iry-p't* is the most prominent title in the entire tomb; it is not only found in enumerations of titles on doorjambs and the like, where it is often the last title before Horemheb's name, but in several instances where Horemheb is referred to without his name being mentioned, it and no other title is used, as in the titles of subordinates like "the private secretary (*ss' š't*) of the Hereditary Prince, Sementawy", later replaced by "the army scribe (*ss' mš'*) of the Hereditary Prince, Ra'mose",¹²⁴ or the "army scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands and deputy in place of the Hereditary Prince".¹²⁵ Horemheb was obviously known and referred to as "the Hereditary Prince" *per se*, just as Ay is referred to as "the God's Father" (*pj it-ntr*) in his Amarna tomb.¹²⁶ In this respect the "Hereditary Prince" title takes prominence even over Horemheb's chief military title, *imy-r mš' wr* or *imy-r imyw-r mš'* "Generalissimo". The title *iry-p't* occurs everywhere in the first version of the tomb, from the Central Chapel¹²⁷ to the west wall of the Outer Courtyard;¹²⁸ on the left

¹²⁴ Scene nos. 56 and 70.

¹²⁵ Block no. 101. Further instances include 1. 1 of the BM stela (no. 7), the Zizinia Block (no. 69), the column panel no. 39d (see p. 37 above), and the abacus fr. no. 40ah (not from the Outer Courtyard, as implied in *MTH* 1, 48-49, but found in the neighbouring tomb of Ra'mose in 1986, and probably originally from the Inner Courtyard).

¹²⁶ Cf. Schaden, *op. cit.*, 66. In the pylon gateway of the tomb of Maya a man called Ptahmose is called "the private secretary of the overseer of the Treasury" (*ss' š't n pj imy-r pr-hd*), without addition of Maya's name, cf. *JEA* 74 (1988), 13 n. 23.

hand outer doorjamb (no. 9) of the original entrance gateway it is expanded to "Hereditary Prince of Upper and Lower Egypt". All of these parts of the tomb date to the early years of Tut'ankhamun, and the wine docket associated with the burial of Amenia which we have assigned to Year 1 of Tut'ankhamun also call the tomb-owner "The royal scribe, the Hereditary Prince Horemheb". It is therefore very likely that he was appointed Crown Prince immediately following the accession of Tut'ankhaten, and that he was already in function when the important decision to leave Amarna was made.

Whether Horemheb's appointment was self-instigated is a moot point; even if it was, and, considering the age of the king at his accession, it is hard to escape such a conclusion, it would still be recorded in official inscriptions as the king's personal decision. His appointment was only due to the exceptional circumstances of the time, the previous king had died, and Tut'ankhaten was the only male member of the royal family who was still alive. Earlier in the Dynasty, when Tuthmosis IV had died, the king's eldest son and successor Amenhotep III had been only about twelve years of age, but as he had had several younger brothers,¹²⁹ there had been no need to appoint an outsider as Crown Prince, and the young king's mother Mutemwia had acted as regent. No such options were open when Tut'ankhamun mounted the throne. This itself raises a serious objection against the common assumption that Ay outranked Horemheb, either because of his supposed blood links with the royal family or for other reasons. Had this really been the case, then Ay would have been the logical candidate for the position of Hereditary Prince and King's Deputy, not Horemheb.

There is no indication that Horemheb always intended to succeed Tut'ankhamun; obviously not even he could possibly have predicted that the king would die without issue.¹³⁰ It must always have been understood that

¹²⁷ A recently found block deriving from the southern "screen wall" in the Central Chapel, see *JEA* 77 (1991), 17-18 with Pl. ii: 3-4.

¹²⁸ *MTH* I, nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 14.

¹²⁹ The evidence provided by scenes in the Theban tombs 64 and 226 is somewhat confusing, but TT 64 in particular appears to depict Amenhotep III as Crown Prince with a number of younger brothers, cf. the discussion by B. M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore/London, 1991), 53-57.

¹³⁰ Speculations that Horemheb murdered Tut'ankhamun lack all foundation, as does the suggestion that "Ay's gnawing ambition for power may well have driven him to murder" (N. Reeves, *The*

his appointment as Crown Prince would end as soon as the king produced an heir, and that he would succeed Tut'ankhamun only in the eventuality of an early and/or childless death of the sovereign. There can be no doubt that nobody outranked the Hereditary Prince of Upper and Lower Egypt and Deputy of the King in the Entire Land except the king himself, and that Horemheb was entitled to the throne once the king had unexpectedly died without issue. This means that Ay, not Horemheb, must be considered a usurper, and that it is Ay's, not Horemheb's accession which calls for an explanation. Why was Ay able to ascend the throne upon the death of Tut'ankhamun, despite the fact that Horemheb had at that time already been the official heir to the throne for almost ten years?

Unfortunately there is no direct evidence to answer this question. I believe that a solution may well have to be sought in Egypt's foreign affairs and the impact these had on the political situation at home. This is not a study of Egypt's relations with the various powers in Northern Syria at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and we will have to be brief.¹³¹ During the Amarna Period and after, Egypt was involved in a struggle with the Hittites over territories in Northern Syria and Palestine which had formerly belonged either to her or to the kingdom of Mitanni, with whom Egypt had maintained good relations since the days of Tuthmosis IV. From the Hittite documents known as *The Deeds of Shuppiluliuma*¹³² and other sources it is clear that shortly before the time of Tut'ankhamun's death the Egyptians had launched an attack on Qadesh from the south, while at the same time their Hurrian allies had attacked a Hittite garrison stationed in Murmuriga, a town which had recently been conquered by the Hittites. It did not take the Hittites long

Complete Tutankhamun [London, 1990], 33). Surely, if anyone would have wanted to do away with Tut'ankhamun, the time to do so would have been the days following the death of the last Amarna king, when he was a boy of eight or nine, not after a successful reign of more than nine years. Actually, the cause of Tut'ankhamun's death is unknown, see M. Eaton-Krauss, *BIOr* 47 (1990), 554-555 with nn. 107-108.

¹³¹ For an admirable account of these matters see W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak* (Chicago, 1985), especially pp. 1-51 and 177-242 (revised ed., 1990, pp. 1-38 and 115-144).

¹³² H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as told by his son, Muršili II", *JCS* 10 (1956), 41-68, 75-98, 107-130.

to retaliate, however; they recaptured Murmuriga and Shuppiluliuma also sent troops to the south which penetrated into Egyptian territory and dealt the Egyptians a serious blow at Amqa. Shortly afterwards the Hittites conquered Carchemish, the last independent city state in the former territory of Mitanni.

As has recently been shown by Bryce, Hittite sources state unequivocally that the Egyptian defeat at Amqa and the sudden death of Tut'ankhamun took place around the same time, in the late summer or early autumn.¹³³ These events were followed by the famous so-called "*Dahamunzu* episode". From *The Deeds of Shuppiluliuma* and other Hittite sources it emerges that after the death of Nibhururiya, who on philological and historical grounds can only be *Nb-hprw-R'*, Tut'ankhamun,¹³⁴ his widow 'Ankhesenamun "who was Dahamunzu" (= Eg. *ts hmt nsw* ¹³⁵) wrote to Shuppiluliuma asking him for a son: "My husband died. A son I have not. But to thee, they say, the sons are many. If thou wouldst give me one son of thine, he would become my husband. Never shall I pick out a servant of mine and make him my husband!".¹³⁶ This extraordinary request greatly surprised Shuppiluliuma; in fact, he suspected that the Egyptians wanted to have a son of his in order to use him as a hostage in the dispute over Amqa.¹³⁷ The result was a long period of delay during which Shuppiluliuma sent an envoy to Egypt to investigate the truth of the matter. This envoy did not return until the following spring, bringing with him a second letter from the queen, repeating her request, and an Egyptian

¹³³ T. R. Bryce, "The Death of Nibhururiya and its Aftermath", *JEA* 76 (1990), 97-105.

¹³⁴ E. Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 14-15; K. A. Kitchen, *JEA* 71 (1985), Reviews Supplement, 44; Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 225-232 (revised ed., 131-137); Bryce, *JEA* 76 (1990), 97-105. The recent attempt by G. Meyer, *GM* 126 (1992), 87-92, to resurrect at least the possibility of the equation with *Nfr-hprw-R'*, Akhenaten, is in my opinion unconvincing, since she bases her argument on an entirely hypothetical misunderstanding of the Egyptian prenomen by the Hittites, not on existing philological evidence, despite her conclusion that there are "no serious philological objections" against the equation with Akhenaten. The very serious philological objections, conveniently summarized by Kitchen, remain unchanged. As far as historical considerations are concerned, the fact that Tut'ankhamun was the only king who actually died without any male heirs is, it seems to me, decisive, and the equation with *Nb-hprw-R'* therefore hardly requires any "special pleading" (Murnane, *op. cit.*, 232; revised ed., 136).

¹³⁵ W. Federn, "Dahamunzu (KBo V 6 iii 8)", *JCS* 14 (1960), 33.

¹³⁶ Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 94.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, 97.

messenger who was to explain the situation to Shuppiluliuma and convince him of the queen's honourable intentions. In this he succeeded, and Shuppiluliuma's son Zannanza¹³⁸ was finally sent to Egypt. He would never arrive there, however, for he was murdered on the journey.

If Horemheb was Tut'ankhamun's heir designate, and the titles in his Memphite tomb as well as his own later Coronation Decree leave little doubt that this was indeed the case, 'Ankhesenamun's action becomes even more remarkable. At the death of Tut'ankhamun, Horemheb was fully entitled to become the next king of Egypt, yet 'Ankhesenamun passed him over and wrote to Egypt's enemy for a son to succeed her deceased husband. In view of Horemheb's legitimate claim to the throne, there can be little doubt that the queen had a very specific person in mind when she assured Shuppiluliuma that she would "never take a servant of mine and make him my husband". Whether her motives were personal or political, or both, she clearly did not want to marry Horemheb and thereby make him king. That the principal motive was a political one is suggested by the outcome of her marriage with a Hittite prince, had it actually happened. Murnane has therefore rightly interpreted 'Ankhesenamun's overtures as a peace initiative, prompted by those who were willing to come to terms with the Hittites in Syria. Her marriage with Zannanza would have been a diplomatic one, arranged in order to seal a pact between Egypt and Hatti.¹³⁹ This interpretation is confirmed by the queen's second (?) letter, in which she expresses her desire that Egypt and Hatti should become "one country" through her marriage with a son of Shuppiluliuma's.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ I remain unconvinced by Liverani's interpretation of *Za-an-na-an-za* (-as) as the Egyptian title *s3 n nsw*. Quite apart from the fact that the title is *s3 nsw*, not *s3 n nsw* (as Liverani admits himself) and the dubious vocalisation of the word *nsw* (cf. -*un-zu* in *Da-ha-mu-un-zu* (-us)), the suggested analogy with *Dahamunzu* = *t3 hmt nsw* would require the definite article *p3* *P/Bazannanza. Even if the *Deeds of Shuppiluliuma* quote from an Egyptian letter when they mention Zannanza's death, as Liverani argues, it seems unlikely that they would refer to the Hittite prince with an Egyptian title rather than with his own name, which must have been familiar to the Hittite annalist. See M. Liverani, "Zannanza", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 14 (1971), 161-162.

¹³⁹ Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 35-36 (revised ed., 29). See also C. Aldred, *CAH*³ II, 69.

¹⁴⁰ E. Edel, "Ein neugefundenes Brieffragment der Witwe des Tutanchamun aus Boghazköy", in *Orientalistika 2: Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij "Problemi Starega Egipta"* (Ljubljana, 1978),

A major problem in any assessment of the events following the death of Tut'ankhamun is the unusually long time which appears to have passed between his demise and his burial. From the Hittite sources it is clear that he must have died in late summer, towards the end of August.¹⁴¹ If the normal seventy-day period needed for the mummification of the king's body and the preparations for his funeral was observed, he would have been buried in the first half of November. Botanical evidence from his tomb suggests, however, that the burial did not take place until the following spring. Bryce has therefore argued that the burial was delayed for a considerable period, and that the throne was left vacant for several months, pending the outcome of 'Ankhesenamun's appeal to Shuppiluliuma.¹⁴² Murnane also considered this option, but rejected it, arguing that if the king was buried by the end of April at the latest, the time for Zannanza to reach Egypt in time for the burial was uncomfortably short, given the fact that, according to *The Deeds of Shuppiluliuma*, the Hittite envoy only arrived back in Hatti with the queen's messenger "when it became spring".¹⁴³ He therefore prefers an alternative solution, which assumes that Ay mounted the throne immediately, "to stave off other ambitious 'servants', perhaps, and to fill the necessary role of Horus, successor to the dead Osiris, until Ankhesenamun could wed her Hittite prince". He also draws attention to the fact that "the royal myth maintained that on the morning following the death of his predecessor the new king 'arose' on the Horus Throne of the Living", and that an interregnum during which no one was pharaoh is therefore unlikely.¹⁴⁴

Both Bryce and Murnane assumed that Tut'ankhamun's burial took place between the middle of March and the end of April, a date based on Newberry's

33-35 (cf. Edel's own summary in *AEB* 80.465).

¹⁴¹ Bryce, *op. cit.*, 104. That it cannot have been earlier is confirmed by the fact that wine from Year 10 could still be included in the tomb, since the wine harvest took place in late summer, see A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962⁴), 18; in Graeco-Roman times the vintage in the Fayyum took place between the end of July and the beginning of September, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München, 1925), 275 n. 10.

¹⁴² Bryce, *op. cit.*, 104-105.

¹⁴³ Murnane, *op. cit.*, 231-232.

¹⁴⁴ *op. cit.*, revised ed., 133-134 (cf. first ed., 229).

botanical investigation of the wreaths found in the tomb.¹⁴⁵ However, a recent re-examination of this and other botanical material by Renate Germer suggests that the burial actually took place in February or early March.¹⁴⁶ If this is correct, then it is clear that a delay of the burial until the arrival of Zannanza as envisaged by Bryce is no longer possible: Shuppiluliuma's envoy had only returned from Egypt "when it became spring",¹⁴⁷ and if Tut'ankhamun's burial took place in the first half of March at the latest, it is clear that Zannanza would never have been able to reach Egypt in time. The funeral was led by Ay, who must therefore have mounted the throne well before the news of Zannanza's murder arrived in Egypt.

But if Tut'ankhamun's funeral was not delayed because of the time needed until Zannanza could perform the burial rites, why was it delayed at all, as the botanical evidence appears to indicate? In fact, this botanical evidence itself may well need some qualification. It consists of two groups of plant remains, viz. the wreaths on the coffins and a bouquet of persea twigs (*Mimusops schimperi* Hochst.) containing a number of unripe fruits. The flower petals used in the wreaths derive from various species which blossom in the spring, the earliest of which is the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), which flowers from December to March.¹⁴⁸ It is always silently assumed that when these wreaths were put on the coffins of Tut'ankhamun the flowers used in them were still fresh, but this seems highly questionable to me. Germer notes that Tut'ankhamun's wreaths differ very little from those found in tombs of private individuals;¹⁴⁹ other kings too had similar floral collars. It is hard to believe that they were not supplied with wreaths if they happened to die at a time when the flowers were out of season. All that these wreaths tell us is that the flowers used in them were readily available fresh when they were manufactured, for, as Hepper notes, it is

¹⁴⁵ P. E. Newberry, in H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* II (London/New York, 1927), 189-196.

¹⁴⁶ R. Germer, *Die Pflanzenmaterialien aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Hildesheim, 1989), 25-26.

¹⁴⁷ Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 96.

¹⁴⁸ Germer, *op. cit.*, 25. Newberry wrote that "although the water-lily blossoms in the ditches and stagnant pools of Lower Egypt from July to November, it is very probable that being cultivated in garden tanks at Thebes it would flower much earlier in the year", *op. cit.*, 196.

¹⁴⁹ *op. cit.*, 2.

impossible to fold leaves that are already dry.¹⁵⁰ It seems very likely that once they were sewn into collars they could fulfill their purpose just as well when they were dry, for the petals retained their colours for a very long time.¹⁵¹

The persea bouquet containing unripe fruits provides more conclusive evidence. Similar stick bouquets consisting of branches and twigs of evergreen trees like persea or olive have been found in other tombs as well, and there were several more (apparently without fruits) in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Since no flowers were included in such bouquets their *raison d'être* must have been the fresh green leaves, symbolic of youthfulness, vigour, and the renewal of life. The presence of unripe fruits in this particular bouquet (Carter's no. 205) indicates that its twigs were torn from the tree in February or early March at the latest,¹⁵² and it was therefore put inside the tomb around that time of the year. But does this really document the date of Tutankhamun's burial? To answer this question we have to consider its exact location within the tomb: it stood leaning against the south wall in the southwest corner of the burial chamber.¹⁵³ Since the tomb was very small for a royal tomb and an incredible number of objects, both large and small, had to be fitted into a very confined space, the logistics of the main stages of the burial can be worked out fairly easily.¹⁵⁴ The so-called Treasury, which is accessible from the burial chamber only, had to be stocked first. It contained such essential objects as the canopic shrine, the "mystery chest" with the recumbent Anubis jackal on its lid, the black-varnished shrines with the gilded statuettes of divinities, the gilded head of the Hathor cow, and the Osiris bed. These objects were probably deposited in

¹⁵⁰ F. N. Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers: The Botanical Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 10.

¹⁵¹ The colours of the wreaths found in the coffins of some kings in the Deir el-Bahari cache were still preserved when they were discovered in 1881, cf. Newberry, *op. cit.*, 189. It is worth noting that the rubrics of the "spells for wreaths of vindication" in the Book of the Dead (BD 19-20), to which both Newberry and Germer refer, do not specify the use of fresh wreaths.

¹⁵² Germer, *op. cit.*, 25. Carter notes that they were not cut from the tree but torn, cf. *ibid.*, 22.

¹⁵³ Germer, *op. cit.*, 21-22. Cf. Carter's plan of the burial chamber published by Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Reeves, *op. cit.*, 210.

the tomb on the day of the actual burial, since the canopic shrine and the "mystery chest" are often shown in funeral processions together with the coffins and mummy. After the king's mummy had been placed inside the innermost coffin, and the lids of the three coffins had been put in position, itself a delicate and time consuming operation, the process of mounting the four gilded shrines began. The space between the outermost shrine and the walls of the burial chamber was no more than two feet and its roof almost touched the ceiling, and putting the heavy wooden shrines into position in this exceedingly cramped space must have been an extremely difficult and time consuming procedure.¹⁵⁵ Although they were of course new at the time and not nearly as fragile as they were when they were found some 3250 years later, the time needed to dismantle the shrines still gives a good indication: it took Carter and his assistants "eighty-four days of real manual labour",¹⁵⁶ nearly three months. Even if we assume that a number of panels were placed against the west and north walls of the chamber¹⁵⁷ in advance of the burial, as seems logical, it must still have taken a considerable time to erect the shrines, especially since they did not fit exactly at first and required trimming. The paintings on the walls of the burial chamber were probably executed after the erection of the shrines, because they would otherwise have been damaged by the panels leaning against them and by the movements of the workmen assembling the shrines. The west, north, and east walls were painted first; the decoration of the south wall had to wait until a partition wall of solid masonry bonded with heavy logs of wood had been erected between the burial chamber and the antechamber. Only after this wall had been covered with a coat of plaster could it be painted.¹⁵⁸ Then, and only then, could the various objects in the narrow space between the shrines and the walls of the burial chamber be put in position. The bouquet of persea

¹⁵⁵ Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* II, 39-48. Carter notes that the various sections weighed "from a quarter to three-quarters of a ton".

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 41.

¹⁵⁷ The east and south walls could not be used for this purpose because the panels would then have prevented access to the Treasury and to the Burial Chamber itself.

¹⁵⁸ That the south wall was decorated later and perhaps also by different artists than the other walls is confirmed by the use of a different grid on the south wall, see G. Robins, "The proportions of figures in the decoration of the tombs of Tutankhamun (KV 62) and Ay (KV 23)", *GJ* 72 (1984), 27-32.

twigs was found leaning against the south wall, the last to be decorated. The date suggested by the unripe fruits contained in it thus applies to the time just before the blocking and sealing of the doorway left in the south partition wall of the burial chamber, and not to the time of the actual burial of Tut'ankhamun's mummy.¹⁵⁹ If the king died at the end of August and his funeral took place after the usual period of seventy days, at the beginning of November, a date early in February for the blocking and sealing of the burial chamber does not seem wholly impossible in view of the time involved in the operations outlined above, which must have taken weeks rather than days. Even if there was a delay, it cannot have been one lasting nearly half a year as envisaged by Bryce, and a short delay, say of a few weeks, could easily be explained by the young king's death having been so sudden and unexpected, and by the time needed to find a suitable burial place and to assemble the extensive funerary equipment.

From the above it is virtually certain that Ay mounted the throne immediately upon the death of Tut'ankhamun and that there was no interregnum to allow Zannanza to reach Egypt in time for the burial. Since it was Horemheb, not Ay, who was legally entitled to the throne, an explanation must be sought for Ay's *coup d'état*. We have already seen that Egypt was involved in a military conflict with the Hittites in Northern Syria at the time of Tut'ankhamun's death. This lends support to the idea, first put forward by Helck,¹⁶⁰ that Horemheb, being the great commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun's army, was on the battlefield in Northern Syria when the king died, and that he was directly or indirectly involved in the defeat of the Egyptians at Amqa. After all, the reliefs and inscriptions in the Inner Courtyard of the tomb demonstrate that he had been leading Tut'ankhamun's earlier military campaigns in Syria, and in one inscription he boasts that "his name was renowned in the land of the Hittites when he travelled

¹⁵⁹ This in turn proves that the wreaths found on the coffins consisted not of fresh but of dried flowers: the *terminus ante quem* suggested by the flowers is the end of March, which is *later* than the date of the persea bouquet, whereas logically it should have been *earlier* than the bouquet.

¹⁶⁰ W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Leiden, 1958), 373-374; id., *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 182. Helck's idea was dismissed as "unbegründete Spekulation" by E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb im Tal der Könige* (Bern, 1971), 16.

northwards".¹⁶¹ The impression that Horemheb was abroad at the time of the crisis at home which resulted from the sudden death of Tut'ankhamun is further strengthened by the startling fact that Horemheb does not seem to have been involved at all in the burial arrangements for Tut'ankhamun, despite his very close association with the king when the latter was still alive. Even a relatively obscure person like Nakhtmin, who was probably a relative of Ay, and, it should be noted, a subordinate of Horemheb in the army, was allowed to donate a set of shabtis to the dead king, as did Horemheb's close colleague Maya.¹⁶² It is sometimes suggested that the man shown closest to the bier in the funeral procession of Tut'ankhamun in the paintings in his burial chamber represents Horemheb.¹⁶³ From the parallel on the Berlin "Trauerrelief" it seems likely that this man does indeed represent the *hy-p'rt*, but that this function was still held by Horemheb at the time is very doubtful. Even if this figure does represent Horemheb, however, it is distinctly odd, to say the least, that a man who had been the deceased king's Crown Prince designate should be depicted in such a casual and wholly anonymous way.

It is hard to imagine that 'Ankhesenamun could have got away with her actions had Horemheb been in residence at the time of Tut'ankhamun's death. If, however, he was in Northern Syria when the king died, the queen and the peace faction at court who supported her had the perfect opportunity to take action behind his back. Horemheb, being the great commander of Egypt's army, and moreover engaged in a military conflict with the Hittites at the very moment the queen wrote to Egypt's enemy, was probably not among the peace

¹⁶¹ Zizinya Block, *MTH* 1, Pl. 91 and the translation and commentary on p. 80. Evidence for a Syrian campaign under Tut'ankhamun is also provided by scenes on the latter's Karnak funerary chapel which was completed by Ay, and by similar scenes on blocks from another structure of Tut'ankhamun himself; see for the time being Eaton-Krauss, *MDA/K* 44 (1988), 6-7. One scene, which is associated with Tut'ankhamun rather than Ay, includes the depiction of the siege of a Hittite fortress (personal communication by W. R. Johnson, Chicago House, Luxor, who is currently reconstructing the reliefs).

¹⁶² Nakhtmin: 5 shabtis, Carter's nos. 318a, c, 330i, j, k; Maya: shabti no. 318b; miniature coffin (no. 331) with statuette of mummy on bier (no. 331a) and set of bronze implements (no. 331b). For the texts on these objects see H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), 140-141, 164-167.

¹⁶³ See for example Helck, *Militärführer*, 84; Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb*, 17.

faction,¹⁶⁴ and must have considered 'Ankhesenamun's initiative as a stab in the back. Considering these circumstances, it is not at all impossible that Horemheb was responsible for the murder of the Hittite prince, as has often been suggested.¹⁶⁵

News of Tut'ankhamun's sudden and unexpected demise must have reached Horemheb at around the same time as the queen's first letter reached Shuppiluliuma, who was also in Northern Syria at the time, preparing his assault on Carchemish. The seventy-day period between death and burial should have been sufficient for Horemheb to travel back to Egypt and take matters in hand. Whether he did so or not we do not know, but even if he did, it was probably too late when he arrived home, for Ay had forestalled his actions by mounting the throne as an interim "king" who was going to rule Egypt together with 'Ankhesenamun until she could marry Zannanza and make him king. Horemheb was thus confronted with a *fait accompli*. The famous blue fayence ring with the joint cartouches of Ay and 'Ankhesenamun¹⁶⁶ probably dates from this period. It has often been interpreted as evidence for a marriage between the two, arranged to legitimize Ay's kingship, but this is not very likely since Ay's later monuments show that his Great Royal Wife was that same Ty with whom he is already shown on his pre-royal monuments, including his Amarna tomb. Such a marriage would also run counter to 'Ankhesenamun's letters to Shuppiluliuma in which she had stressed more than once that she did not wish to marry one of her subordinates. I would therefore suggest that the ring documents a short period of co-regency of 'Ankhesenamun and Ay, in which the latter functioned as an "interim" king until the arrival of the Hittite prince. Only later, when the Hittite option had fallen through, was Ay's kingship made permanent, and

¹⁶⁴ If we are right in assuming that the Restoration Inscription of Tut'ankhamun reflects the policies of Horemheb as prince-regent (cf. above p. 14), the passage which says that when, during the reigns of Tut'ankhamun's predecessors, "an [army] was sent to Syria to extend the frontiers of Egypt it met with no success at all" (l. 9) hardly testifies to Horemheb's willingness to come to terms with the Hittites.

¹⁶⁵ Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen: Life and death of a pharaoh* (London, 1963), 276; Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, 182; Murnane, *op. cit.*, 35.

¹⁶⁶ P. E. Newberry, "King Ay, the successor of Tut'ankhamūn", *JEA* 18 (1932), 50-52, Fig. 1; R. Krauss/D. Ullrich, "Ein gläserner Doppelring aus Altägypten", *JPK* 19 (1982), 199-212.

from then on 'Ankhesenamun disappears from the scene.

With Tut'ankhamun dead and Ay on the throne of Egypt, Horemheb's chances of becoming king himself looked slim. The absence of the *iry-p't* title from the Outer Courtyard of his Memphite tomb suggests that he was stripped of his crown-princely title, and this is corroborated by the fact that two other high officials were appointed *iry-p't* within the short reign of Ay. Although we do not know which of the two men held the office first, it appears that Ay originally gave the office to his chief physician (*wr swnw*) and chamberlain (*hry-tp nsw*) Nay. This man owned a large rock-tomb in the hills of Qurnet Mura'i (TT 271)¹⁶⁷ which is orientated towards Ay's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. It is almost completely undecorated; only the pyramid chapel above the tomb contains a painted decoration which includes a mutilated cartouche of Ay. Even here many columns of text were left blank and the tomb was therefore almost certainly unfinished when Nay died. The titles listed in the inscriptions in the tomb include those of *iry-p't* as well as *hry-tp Gm [tj r-dr.f?]*, "Great Chief in [the Entire Land?]" and *r-hry wr m [tj r-dr.f?]*, "Supreme Chief in [the Entire Land?]",¹⁶⁸ both titles held by Horemheb when he was Hereditary Prince. It may seem strange that a chief physician was given such an elevated position, but it should be remembered that the same combination of the titles of *wr swnw* and *hry-tp nsw* is also found in the case of Akhenaten's chief physician Pentu, who subsequently became vizier under Tut'ankhamun.¹⁶⁹ The names of Nay's parents have not survived, and for all we know he may have been a relative of Ay. Interestingly, he also bears the title *it-ntr* "God's Father".

The other man who held the title Hereditary Prince was the same Nakhtmin who had donated five shabtis to Tut'ankhamun's funerary equipment. On these he is only called *imy-r mš'* "general" and in one case "fan-bearer on the right of the king", but on the back of the fragments of a superb statue-group of indurated limestone in Cairo¹⁷⁰ he calls himself *iry-p't ss'-nsw*

¹⁶⁷ L. Habachi and P. Anus, *Le tombeau de Nay à Gournet Mar'ei (N° 271)* (Cairo, 1977).

¹⁶⁸ *op. cit.*, 27-30.

¹⁶⁹ Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*, 4.

¹⁷⁰ CG 779 A-B (JE 31629); see for the inscription on the back Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1908 (wrongly dated to the reign of Amenhotep III) and the photograph in E. L. B. Terrace and H. G. Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from The Cairo Museum* (Boston/London, 1970), 138.

Imy-r mš' wr "Hereditary Prince, royal scribe, generalissimo" and also *sj nsw* "king's son". The latter title is followed by a single *n*, preserved on the edge of the fragment, the following signs are missing. Spiegelberg¹⁷¹ has suggested that the missing part of the title be restored as *sj nsw n [Kš]*, "King's Son of Kush", the official title of the viceroy of Nubia which did not imply that the bearer was a son of the king, and in this he is followed by Schulman, who speculates "that Nakhtmin, a potential threat to Horemheb, was sent to Nubia in order to get him out of the way".¹⁷² On the other hand, the names of the viceroys of Nubia of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty are well known: Huy served under Tutankhamun and Paser under both Ay and Horemheb.¹⁷³ Moreover, the "troop commander of Kush" (*hry-pdt n Kš*) Nakhtmin with whom Schulman would identify the purported viceroy appears to be the owner of the Ramesside tomb TT 282.¹⁷⁴ The only title attested for this man is that of troop commander, and had he been promoted to the rank of King's Son of Kush, he would surely have mentioned this title on his funerary objects. It is far more likely that the *n* following Nakhtmin's titles on the statue fragment is the beginning of his name *N[ht-Mnw]* and that his title King's Son should be taken as indicating that Nakhtmin was a relative of Ay. He cannot have been a son of Ay, though,¹⁷⁵ for on another broken statue-group in Cairo,¹⁷⁶ which also calls him "generalissimo", the name of his mother is preserved, she is the *dwst Mnw šm'yt n(t) jst Iwy* "adoratrice of

¹⁷¹ W. Spiegelberg, "Varia, XC. - Über eine Statuengruppe des Kairener Museums", *AT* 28 (1906), 177-178.

¹⁷² A. R. Schulman, "Excursus on the 'Military Officer' Nakhtmin", *JARCE* 3 (1964), 124-126; id., *JARCE* 4 (1965), 62.

¹⁷³ Nos. 14 and 15 in L. Habachi's list in *LA* III, 633.

¹⁷⁴ L. Habachi, "Miscellanea on Viceroys of Kush and their Assistants Buried in Dra' Abu El-Naga', South", *JARCE* 13 (1976), 113-116 (reprinted in *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia* [Cairo, 1981], 111-119). Cf. also M. Dewachter, *B/FAO* 79 (1979), 311-317; R. Morkot, *Wepwawet* 1 (1985), 4.

¹⁷⁵ Thus C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study* (London, 1968), 92-93, who would restore the text as *sj nsw n [ht.f]*, "King's bodily son".

¹⁷⁶ JE 36526; said to be from Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna (Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 177). The statue is of the same material as CG 779 and shows Nakhtmin seated between his mother and his (anonymous) wife. It remains unpublished, apart from its inscriptions, cf. Helck, *Unk.* IV, 1908-1909. Collated in January 1990.

Min, songstress of Isis, Iuy". The name of the father is not mentioned, but since Ay's wife is called Ty and there is no evidence to suggest that he had another wife, Ay cannot have been Nakhtmin's father. Perhaps Nakhtmin was a grandson of Ay; after all, Ay must have been quite advanced in age when he mounted the throne: he was born during the reign of Amenhotep III and was old enough to have been Akhenaten's tutor,¹⁷⁷ while his wife Ty had been Queen Nefertiti's nurse. A family relationship between Nakhtmin and Ay is also suggested by the titles held by Nakhtmin's mother, for Ay is thought to have come from Akhmîm, where as king he dedicated a rock-shrine to Min and Isis and the other gods of Akhmîm.¹⁷⁸ The inscriptions on the façade of this shrine mention a Nakhtmin who was "Overseer of Works of Min in Akhmîm" and who may be the same man as the Nakhtmin who was High Priest of Min and Isis and Overseer of Works in Ay's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, known from stelae in Berlin, Paris, and Geneva.¹⁷⁹ This man has sometimes been identified with the military officer Nakhtmin, but this is perhaps not very likely since the latter does not mention any sacerdotal titles, nor does the priestly Nakhtmin refer to any military offices.¹⁸⁰ Either of the two men may be identical to the Nakhtmin who was married to a sister of Ay's queen Ty called Mutemnub and who had a son called Ay who was Second Priest of Amun and High Priest of Mut as well as Steward of the Estate of Queen Ty in the Domain of Amun during the reign of his namesake.¹⁸¹ While all this falls short of proving that Ay and the general Nakhtmin were related, such a relationship is very probable.¹⁸² It appears, then, that Ay not only promoted

¹⁷⁷ H. Brunner, "Der 'Gottesvater' als Erzieher des Kronprinzen", *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 90-100.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Schaden, *The God's Father Ay*, 258-259.

¹⁷⁹ Schaden, *op. cit.*, 263-266; Schulman, *JARCE* 4, 61 nn. 64-65; R. Harl, "Les stèles de Nakhtmin, Première Prophète de Min et d'Isis", *Geneva: Bulletin du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève* 23 (1975), 5-12.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Schulman, *JARCE* 4, 61-62.

¹⁸¹ Brooklyn 66.174.1; R. A. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity* (San Francisco/Brooklyn, 1975), 86-87, no. 71; S. Sauneron, *Kémi* 18 (1968), 66-78, Pl. xii-xiii; T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* I (Brooklyn, 1974), Pl. lxxxiv, no. 425. Cf. Schaden, *op. cit.*, 267-269.

¹⁸² Cf. J. Yoyotte and J. López, *BIOr* 26 (1969), 14: "Il importera ... de se demander si ce dignitaire ... n'était pas un fils ou un parent du roi Aï, sous lequel il aurait été promu héritier présomptif avec les titres de *wp't* et de *sd-nswt* (comparer le cas du futur roi Horemheb)".

this Nakhtmin to the rank of "generalissimo" but also gave him the position of Hereditary Prince, both offices previously held by Horemheb.¹⁸³

Horemheb, in other words, was put on the sidelines. He retained his rank of *imy-r mš' wr* and a number of other elevated titles and epithets, but he was no longer Hereditary Prince and he may no longer have been in active service. This is suggested by the title "overseer of priests of Horus Lord of Seby" which occurs only once in the tomb,¹⁸⁴ on the inner doorjambs of the entrance of the Statue Room, the decoration of which we have assigned to the reign of Ay.¹⁸⁵ This Horus of Seby is completely unknown from any other sources, and he has tentatively been connected with Horus of Hutnesu, Horemheb's supposed birthplace,¹⁸⁶ who plays such an important role in the Coronation Text. Helck has shown that high officials often received the office of "overseer of priests" (*imy-r hmw-ntr*) of the deities of their birthplace as a "prebend".¹⁸⁷ Perhaps this was part of the compensation Horemheb received when he was forced to relinquish his high position at court. The great reward scene on the north wall of the Outer Courtyard, in which Horemheb, shown as a man "of fairly advanced age, though not necessarily elderly", receives the gold of honour from the hands of King Ay, may well commemorate this occasion. The gold of honour would then amount to a "golden handshake" given to Horemheb when he was pensioned off.

This scene also suggests that Horemheb had resigned himself to his fate, at least temporarily. Perhaps he was only biding his time; at any rate it is unlikely that Ay's accession was part of a political deal struck between Ay and Horemheb, as has been suggested. Such an arrangement between the two men is made improbable by the subsequent treatment of the monuments of both Ay and Nakhtmin after Horemheb finally became king. How Horemheb's accession finally came about is unknown. Maybe the death of Ay enabled him

¹⁸³ Cf. Helck, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 214-215. In this article Helck repeats his assumption that during the reign of Tutankhamun Horemheb himself had also received his *imy-r* title from Ay, a view based on the misconception that Ay outranked him. Cf. already *Der Einfluss der Militärführer*, 81.

¹⁸⁴ *MTH* I, no. 58.

¹⁸⁵ See n. 91 above.

¹⁸⁶ But see the sceptical note in *MTH* I, 59 n. 4.

¹⁸⁷ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 371, 222-223.

to push Nakhtmin aside, or perhaps Nakhtmin had already died before Ay. Once Horemheb was king, he erased all depictions of Ay as a high official on monuments of Tut'ankhamun.¹⁸⁸ Ay's royal monuments received a similar treatment, which differed from Horemheb's handling of the monuments of Tut'ankhamun. The latter were mostly usurped in the usual fashion, although some half-hearted exceptions do occur, especially later in the reign of Horemheb;¹⁸⁹ most notably, however, Tut'ankhamun's tomb was left untouched. By contrast, Ay's cartouches were not just usurped, but in some cases hacked out without being replaced by Horemheb's own, and the figures and names in Ay's royal tomb were deliberately destroyed.¹⁹⁰ The statues of Nakhtmin were attacked too; not only were his names and titles hacked out, but even the statues themselves were smashed.¹⁹¹

A particularly interesting erasure occurs on the Coronation Stela of Tut'ankhamun. The cartouches of Tut'ankhamun have been replaced by those of Horemheb, but the two figures of 'Ankhesenamun which once stood behind those of Tut'ankhamun have been thoroughly erased.¹⁹² It would have been easy for Horemheb to replace her cartouche with that of his own queen

¹⁸⁸ M. Gabolde, "Ay, Toutankhamon et les martelages de la stèle de restauration de Karnak (CG 34183)", *BSEG* 11 (1987), 37-61.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Eaton-Krauss, *MDA/K* 44, 11.

¹⁹⁰ Schaden, *op. cit.*, 280-283, attributes the desecration of Ay's royal tomb to the Ramessides, but later he makes a strong case for Horemheb being the instigator, see *JARCE* 21 (1984), 59-62. He rightly points out (n. 62) that a *damnatio memoriae* as evidenced by the treatment of Ay's tomb "would appear most likely to have been ordered by someone with a more personal interest, that is, a contemporary of Ay (a younger contemporary no doubt, but still a contemporary)", and also that the Ramessides merely continued Horemheb's policy regarding the monuments of the "heretic kings", "had Horemheb left Ay's tomb intact, in all probability the Ramessides would have done likewise".

¹⁹¹ W. Helck, "Nekhtmin", in: *ZA* IV, 371. The famous dyad CG 779 was destroyed almost completely; on the statue group Cairo JE 36526 the name of Nakhtmin was erased on the front, although it escaped attention on the back. Perhaps a mutilated stela fragment from Giza also once showed Nakhtmin adoring Tut'ankhamun, see J. van Dijk/M. Eaton-Kraus, *MDA/K* 42 (1986), 37.

¹⁹² Gabolde, *op. cit.*, has argued that the erased figure was Ay, but see M. Eaton-Krauss, *BIOr* 47 (1990), 554 n. 97, whose interpretation of the traces has been confirmed by a renewed examination of the stela in the Cairo Museum in Feb. 1993, carried out with the kind permission of Dr M. Saleh by the present writer in the company of G. T. Martin. With the aid of a ladder and raking light, clear traces of the original figures and, on the left hand side of the lunette, of the title *hmt nsw wrt* could be seen.

Mutnodjmet, but he chose to do otherwise. One might suppose that Horemheb had not yet married Mutnodjmet when he usurped the stela, but this is highly unlikely, not only because a king could not easily do without a queen, but also because there is evidence to suggest that Mutnodjmet was of non-royal descent,¹⁹³ and therefore married to Horemheb before he became king. A pre-royal marriage of Horemheb and Mutnodjmet is also probable because of the early death of Amenia, his first wife, apart from Amenia and Queen Mutnodjmet we know of no other wives of Horemheb. Obviously the *damnatio memoriae* of 'Ankhesenamun witnessed by the erasures on the Restoration Stela was inspired by personal motives; after all, it had been 'Ankhesenamun who had turned against Horemheb at the most crucial moment in his pre-royal career.

Thus Horemheb finally ascended the throne for which he had been destined some thirteen years before. And, as if to prove that his claim to the throne had been a legitimate one because he had been given the offices of Hereditary Prince and Deputy of the King in the Entire Land, he gave these very same titles to his own future successor, his vizier Para'messu, who was to become Ramesses I.

¹⁹³ On one of her canopic jars in the British Museum (BM 36635; Harl, *Horemheb*, Fig. 58) she is called *šm'yt n(t) 'Imn, ḥsy't n(t) Ḥwt-Hr* "songstress of Amun, praised one of Hathor", titles which are often mentioned in connection with the wives of private officials, but are absolutely unique for a queen before the Twenty-first Dynasty, see L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (Uppsala, 1986), 74. This makes it even more unlikely that Mutnodjmet is to be identified with Mutnodjmet/Mutbeneret, sister of Nefertiti, whom he is supposed to have married in order to legitimize his kingship. Several Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty queens were of non-royal descent, the most famous case being Amenhotep III's spouse Tiye, or at least their royal background, if there was any, is not confirmed by our sources. Nefertiti's own descent is obscure and it is highly dubious that her status as Akhenaten's queen would have made her sister a suitable candidate for the legitimization of Horemheb's kingship. The legitimacy of Horemheb's rule did not depend on a link with the previous royal family, but on his personal election by his god Horus of Hutnesu, as he himself emphasizes in the Coronation Text.