

The Amarna Succession

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Bill Murnane had many admirable qualities, but the one that impressed me most was his open-mindedness as a scholar. Bill was always concerned about facts, and he valued them much higher than theories. He was always ready to embrace new interpretations if they could be shown to be more consistent with the facts than previous ones, even at the expense of his own theories, published or otherwise. This article treats a subject for which hard facts are few and theories many. It concerns a period of Egyptian history that interested Bill more than any other, one that his own work has significantly elucidated. I don't know whether he would have agreed with its interpretations or not, but I wish he were here to discuss them with.

THE SCENE OF FOREIGN TRIBUTE in the tomb of Merire II at Amarna, often called the “durbar,” provides the last clear view we have of the Amarna Period before the accession of Tutankhamun. Dated to the second month of Akhenaten's twelfth regnal year, it shows Akhenaten and Nefertiti together with their six daughters, Meritaten, Meketaten, Ankhes-enpaaten, Neferneferuaten Jr., Neferneferure, and Setepenre.¹ The scene provides the last securely dated appearance of all seven women as well as the first dated attestation of the later name of the Aten.² Between this point and the accession of Tutankhamun, the events of Amarna history are much less lucid.

Most of the questions in this shadowy period center on the identity behind two sets of pharaonic cartouches, both characterized by the element $\text{ḥnh-hprw-r}^{\text{c}}$ in the prenomen. One set, belonging to a king named Smenkhkare, always has the form ($\text{ḥnh-hprw-r}^{\text{c}}$) ($\text{smnh-k3-r}^{\text{c}} \text{ dsr-hprw}$); the other, of a king named Neferneferuaten, regularly appears as ($\text{ḥnh-hprw-r}^{\text{c}}$ plus epithet) (nfr-nfrw-jtn plus epithet); the epithets usually identify this king as “desired of Akhenaten,” using one of the two parts of Akhenaten's prenomen ($\text{nfr-hprw-r}^{\text{c}} \text{ w}^{\text{c}}\text{-n-r}^{\text{c}}$). In the second set, elements of both cartouches are occasionally marked as feminine: the prenomen as $\text{ḥht-hprw-r}^{\text{c}}$ and the relative form “desired” in the epithets as mrt ; in addition, the epithet “desired of Waenre” in the nomen

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- 1 N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, II. *The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, ASE 14 (London: EEF, 1905), p. 38 and pl. 38. The second month of Akhenaten's regnal years was 2 *pri*; his accession took place in 1 *pri*: W.J. Murnane, “On the Accession Date of Akhenaten,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, eds. J.H. Johnson and E.F. Wente, SAOC 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), pp. 163–67.
 - 2 The Aten's name was changed sometime after its last attestation in the colophon of the Later Proclamation on boundary stela A and B at Amarna, dated to the last day of Month 12 in Regnal Year 8. It is possible that the change occurred even later than Regnal Year 12: see M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon* (Collection de l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité vol 3 (Lyon & Paris: Université Lumière-Lyon 2, 1998), pp. 110–18. I thank M. Gabolde for his comments on an earlier draft of the present article.

is occasionally replaced by *3ht n h(j).s* “effective for her husband,” and the names can be followed by the feminine attributes *ʿnh.tj dt* “alive forever” and *m3ʿt hrw* “justified.”³

Both sets of cartouches are associated with Akhenaten. In the case of Smenkhkare, the two kings appear together on one object only, a calcite jar from the tomb of Tutankhamun on which Smenkhkare’s cartouches follow those of Akhenaten, both subsequently erased (Carter 405, Fig. 1).⁴ Evidence for Neferneferuaten’s association with Akhenaten is more substantial: apart from the epithets noted above, her cartouches follow his on at least two objects, a box from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter 1k, Fig. 2) and a fragmentary stela found at Amarna.⁵ Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten are each associated as well with Meritaten as chief queen, the former in a scene in the tomb of Merire II at Amarna and the latter (together with Akhenaten) on the

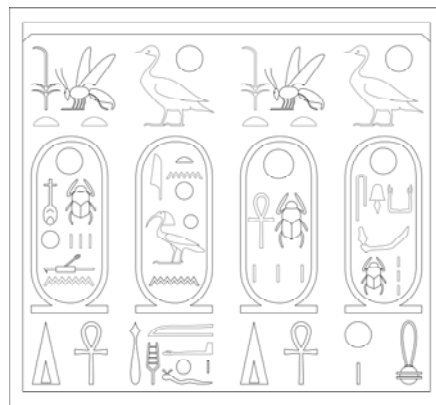


Fig. 1. Inscription on Jar 405 from the Tomb of Tutankhamun

box just cited.⁶

At least one of these kings have served for a time as coregent with Akhenaten. The primary evidence for Smenkhkare as coregent is the jar that once displayed his

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- 3 J.P. Allen, “Nefertiti and Smenkh-ka-re,” *GM* 141 (1994), pp. 7–17; M. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 147–62, 213–219.
- 4 C.E. Loeben, “No Evidence of Coregency: Zwei getilgte Inschriften aus dem Grab von Tutanchamun,” *BSEG* 15 (1991), pp. 82–90; idem, “No Evidence of Coregency: Two Erased Inscriptions from Tutankhamun’s Tomb,” *Amarna Letters* 3 (1994), pp. 105–109. See Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 224–26. Fig. 1 is based on Loeben’s reconstruction; darker signs represent those for which traces are preserved.
- 5 J.R. Harris, “Neferneferuaten Regnans,” *AO* 36 (1974), p. 13 (1a); Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 178–83, 162–66 and pl. 24a. On the stela, the dual cartouches of Neferneferuaten are carved over an original single cartouche of Nefertiti and a column of text identifying a daughter of Akhenaten, probably Meritaten: J.P. Allen, “Two Altered Inscriptions of the Late Amarna Period,” *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp. 117–21; M. Gabolde, “Le droit d’aînesse d’Ânkhesenpaaton (À propos de deux récents articles sur la stèle UC 410),” *BSEG* 14 (1990), pp. 33–47. See also W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 173–75. Fig. 2 here is based on Gardiner’s hand copy, available at <http://www.ashmolean.museum/gri/carter/001k-c001k-3.html>.
- 6 Davies, *Amarna II*, pl. 11; Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 178–83. Gabolde argues that the names of Neferneferuaten and Meritaten on the box denote the same person, but a reference to two individuals remains the simplest and most transparent interpretation of the evidence: see W.J. Murnane, “The End of the Amarna Period Once Again,” *OLZ* 96 (2001), col. 18.

cartouches side by side with those of Akhenaten. The juxtaposition, however, is not conclusive proof of a coregency;⁷ the jar could have been dedicated by Smenkhkare in memory of his deceased predecessor. Examples of Neferneferuaten's cartouches together with those of Akhenaten are subject to the same caveat.

A relief found at Memphis, apparently showing a male king behind a larger figure, has often been cited as evidence of a coregency between Smenkhkare (as the smaller figure) and Akhenaten (as the larger).⁸ The identification of the smaller figure as Smenkhkare was based on a second block from the same site, which preserves the ends of his cartouches and that of a queen, probably Meritaten.⁹ The cartouches, however, are juxtaposed directly with those of the Aten, at the same level and approximately the same size, which must indicate that Smenkhkare was depicted as the primary figure in the scene below.¹⁰ Both blocks are preserved only in drawings; additional drawings of the first block, recently published, indicate that the scene probably depicted an Amarna princess behind one of her parents.¹¹

Several stelae from the end of the Amarna period show a male and female king, who must be Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten (Figs. 3–4).¹² These have been interpreted as anachronistic scenes carved after Akhenaten's death,¹³ but the nature of the interaction between the two individuals indicates that they were depicted as living. It is therefore likely Neferneferuaten's reign was at least partly contemporary with that of Akhenaten.

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- 7 See Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, pp. 213–15.
- 8 P.E. Newberry, "Akhenaten's Eldest Son-in-Law 'Ankhkheperurē'," *JEA* 14 (1928), p. 8 Fig. 3.
- 9 Newberry, *JEA* 14 (1928), p. 8 Fig. 4. For the seated woman at the end of the queen's cartouche, cf. Harris, *AO* 36 (1974), pp. 13 (1a) and 17 (2a, 2d).
- 10 The scene seems to depict the king presenting a building to the Aten: see, however, B. Löhr, "Ahanjāti in Memphis," *SAK* 2 (1975), p. 158. If so, it is unlikely that he was facing another figure of comparable size on the other side of the Aten.
- 11 J. Málek, "The 'coregency relief' of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare from Memphis," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. by P. Der Manuelian (Boston, 1996), vol. II, pp. 553–59. The identification of the smaller figure as a woman was suggested by B. Löhr, *SAK* 2 (1975), pp. 156–57.
- 12 Berlin 17813: here Fig. 3, reproduced from Gabolde, *BSFE* 155 (2002), p. 38. Berlin 20716: here Fig. 4 (author's drawing). The sex of the junior king was first noted by J.R. Harris, "Nefertiti Rediviva," *AO* 35 (1973), pp. 5–9. On the "Coregency Stela" (UC 410 + Cairo JE 64959), the secondary addition of Neferneferuaten's cartouches over that of Nefertiti (see n. 5, above) seem to refer to the figure below them: R. Krauss, "Neues zu den Stelenfragmenten UC London 410 + Kairo JE 64959," *BSEG* 13 (1989), pp. 83–87; Allen, *JARCE* 25 (1988), pp. 117–21; Gabolde, *BSEG* 14 (1990), pp. 33–47, and *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 162–66. Nothing but the figure's rear lower leg is preserved, but it presumably represented Nefertiti in the original and therefore a female king in the altered version of the stela. See the drawing in Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pl. 24a.
- 13 M. Gabolde, in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges: Echnaton und das Ende der Amarnazeit*, eds. A. Grimm and S. Schoske, *Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung* 10 (Munich: Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, 2001), pp. 29–30; idem, "La parenté de Toutânkhamon," *BSFE* 155 (2002), pp. 38–39.

Akhenaten's reign probably ended in his Regnal Year 17, to judge from two jar labels with that date: one was found in the king's burial complex in the Royal Tomb at Amarna; on the other, the higher date was replaced by Regnal Year 1 of another king.¹⁴ The highest date known for Neferneferuaten is Regnal Year 3, in a graffito from the tomb of Pairi at Thebes (TT 139).¹⁵ The sole date associated with Smenkhkare—Regnal Year 1, in a label on a jar of wine from “the house of SMENKHKARE”—could come from the reign of Tutankhamun; even if it is Smenkhkare's, it is doubtful that he ruled for more than a year.¹⁶

Depending on the length of Neferneferuaten's coregency with Akhenaten, the accession of Smenkhkare could have occurred as early as the year of Akhenaten's death or at most three years later. The graffito dated to Regnal Year 3 of Neferneferuaten was written by a “lay-priest and scribe of god's offerings of AMUN in the temple of ANKHKHEPERURE in Thebes.” The existence of offerings to Amun in this structure—perhaps her mortuary temple—has long been seen as evidence that her reign extended for a time beyond that of Akhenaten, in whose final years the name of Amun had been proscribed.¹⁷ Further indications of her sole reign may exist in a few of her cartouches that bear unique epithets not associated with Akhenaten: *mr jtn* “desired of the Aten” and *p3 hm 3ht-jtn* “the incarnation of Akhetaten,” in the prenomen; and *hk3* “ruler,” in the nomen.¹⁸ If Smenkhkare also served as Akhenaten's coregent, however, then Neferneferuaten's reign must have coincided completely with that of Akhenaten. Given the probable length of Smenkhkare's reign, any coregency between him and Akhenaten could not have lasted for more than a few months, since he appears in place of Akhenaten in the tomb of Merire II.

The data therefore indicate that Neferneferuaten became king sometime in the period of Akhenaten's Regnal Year 15–17 and that she was succeeded by Smenkhkare, who ruled less than a year. This gives a maximum of three to four years and a minimum of one year or less between the death of Akhenaten and the accession of Tutankhamun.

14 G.T. Martin, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, Part VI: *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna*, vol. II: *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Architecture*, ASE 39 (London: EES, 1989), p. 27, p. 60 no. 522 and n. 3; J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III: *The Central City and the Official Quarters*, EEM (London: EES, 1951), vol. II, pl. 95, no. 279. The latter jar was originally labeled *rnpt-hsb 17 bjt* [...] “Regnal Year 17: honey [...]”; this was erased and the label *rnpt-[hsb] 1 j[rp ...]* “Regnal Year 1: w[ine ...]” added beneath it.

15 A.H. Gardiner, “The Graffito from the Tomb of Pere,” *JEA* 14 (1928), pp. 10–11 and pls. 5–6.

16 Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, vol. II, pl. 86, no. 35. For the probable length of Smenkhkare's reign, see Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 219–21.

17 Neferneferuaten is also associated with gods of the traditional pantheon on a pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter 261p(1), which depicts Nut and mentions Onnophris: see Gabolde, in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges*, p. 29.

18 Allen, *GM* 141 (1994), p. 9; Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 157–61. The epithet *3ht n h(j)s* “effective for her husband” might also date from a time after Akhenaten's death: parallels for its phraseology, noted by Gabolde (*op.cit.*, pp. 156–57), concern Isis's relationship to her deceased husband, Osiris: see Gabolde, in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges*, p. 28, and *BSFE* 155 (2002), p. 39. In at least one instance, however, Neferneferuaten's nomen with this epithet follows the prenomen identifying her as “desired of Neferkheperure” (Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 154).

Tutankhamun's age at death has been estimated as young as 16–17, but the most recent examination of his mummy seems to confirm the usual estimate of nineteen years.¹⁹ With a reign of nine years, he must have become king at the age of ten or eleven.²⁰ Depending on the length of time between Akhenaten's death and his accession, this places his birth between Akhenaten's Regnal Year 7 at the earliest and 11–11 at the latest.

Smenkhkare's age at death is less certain and can only be estimated if the body buried in Tomb 55 of the Valley of the Kings is his—a vexed question. Two physicians who examined the body shortly after its discovery identified it as female, but they seem to have been influenced by the fact that the tomb's excavator, Theodore M. Davis, believed the burial to be that of Akhenaten's mother, Queen Tiya; subsequent examinations have consistently identified the remains as those of a man, who died probably between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.²¹ Royal attributes on the coffin and mummy indicate that the body was that of a king. Since it is male, the king cannot have been Neferneferuaten and must therefore have been either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare.

Substantial epigraphic evidence seems to favor Akhenaten. Canopic jars and magic bricks found in the Theban tomb were intended at one point for him, though his name was later expunged.²² The coffin itself bears pharaonic titularies but was long thought to have been made for Kiya, Akhenaten's junior wife, and subsequently altered for the burial of a king.²³ A recent examination, however, has demonstrated that it was intended originally for Akhenaten himself, and later altered primarily by excising the names within the pharaonic cartouches.²⁴ The burial would therefore seem to be that of Akhenaten, removed from his original resting place in the Royal Tomb at Amarna and reinterred in the Valley of the Kings.

The body's probable age at death, however, argues against this identification. If Akhenaten died between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five in his seventeenth regnal year, he would have been one to eight years old at his accession. The earliest dated mention of his eldest daughter, Meritaten, occurs in the Early Proclamation on boundary stelae K and

19 F.F. Leek, "How Old Was Tutankhamun?," *JEA* 63 (1977), pp. 112–15; SCA press release dated March 8, 2005: http://guardians.net/hawass/press_release_tutankhamun_ct_scan_results.htm.

20 The length of Tutankhamun's reign is based on wine-jar dockets from his tomb: J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, TTS 2 (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1965), pp. 3 and 23–24, nos. 19 and 23–24. For the docket of Regnal Year 10, see P. Tallet, "Une jarre de l'an 31 et une jarre de l'an 10 dans la cave de Toutankhamon," *BIFAO* 96 (1996), pp. 375–82. For Tutankhamun's age at accession, see also Gabolde, *BSFE* 155 (2002), pp. 35–36.

21 R. Germer, "Die Mumie aus dem Sarg in 'KV 55'," in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges*, pp. 58–61. See also Murnane, *OLZ* 96 (2001), col. 22. Davis was also influenced by the arrangement of the body in the coffin, with one arm on the chest and the other by the side, normally the posture of a female mummy. In the face of the consistent identification of the body as male, this anomaly remains unexplained.

22 For the canopic jars, see M. Gabolde, "Under a Deep Blue Starry Sky," in the present volume; for the bricks, H.W. Fairman, "Once Again the So-Called Coffin of Akhenaten," *JEA* 47 (1961), p. 37.

23 As argued by R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien*, HÄB 2 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 171–74 and 195.

24 A. Grimm, in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges*, pp. 101–120. The inscription on the foot was originally addressed to Akhenaten by Nefertiti and was changed so that the deceased himself addressed "My father Re-Harakhti." This supersedes my arguments in *JARCE* 25 (1988), 121–26.

X at Amarna, dated to Month 4 of Regnal Year 5. If this coincides with her birth, she must have been conceived at the latest in Month 7 of Regnal Year 4, when Akhenaten himself would have been five to twelve years old. At the higher of these two ages he may just have reached puberty, but it seems unlikely that he would have fathered children at so early an age. Moreover, talatat from Karnak with the image of Meritaten are almost certainly earlier than Regnal Year 5.²⁵

Despite the clear association of the coffin and burial equipment with Akhenaten, the body itself must therefore be that of another male pharaoh, who can only have been Smenkhkare.²⁶ Its age at death places his birth some eight years before Akhenaten's accession at the earliest (assuming that he succeeded Akhenaten within a year and died at twenty-five) and in Akhenaten's Regnal Year 2 at the latest (assuming that he came to the throne three years after Akhenaten and died at eighteen).

Tutankhamun is attested before his accession as *z3-nswt n ht.f mry.f twt-ḥnw-jtn* "king's son of his body, his desired, Tutankhuaten," on a block found at Hermopolis (Fig 5).²⁷ In general use, the term *z3* "son" can denote not only a first-generation male child but also a grandson, great-grandson, or son-in-law.²⁸ The inscription could have referred to Tutankhamun as "son-in-law" of Akhenaten if he had already been married to Akhenaten's daughter, Ankhesenpaaten, before his accession. The association of these two royal children, if not their marriage, at that time is probably attested by the left half of the block, which records her titulary: *z3t-nswt n ht.f mr]t.f ḥzyt 3t n nb t3wj [ḥnw.s-n-p3]-jtn* "king's daughter of [his] body, his desired, the greatly blessed one of the lord of the Two Lands, [Ankhesenpa]aten."²⁹ Since the two titularies face one another closely, the figures associated with them must have done the same, in an intimate interaction of some sort.

25 For the talatat, see D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 79.

26 It is nonetheless possible that the coffin originally contained the body of Akhenaten when it was moved to KV 55. The alteration of the text on the foot, changing an address to Akhenaten by Nefertiti into one of Akhenaten himself to Re-Harakhti (see n. 24, above) could have been made at that time, prompted by the removal of the coffin from the royal sarcophagus, on whose corners Nefertiti is depicted. The excision of Akhenaten's names from the coffin's cartouches, as well as their erasure on the magic bricks, could have been done subsequently, when these items were appropriated for the burial of Smenkhkare.

27 G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis 1929–1939*, ed. R. Hanke, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 6 (Hildesheim: Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1969), pls. 105 (56–VIII A) and 106 (831–VIII C). For the join of the two halves, see Gabolde, in *Das Geheimnis des goldenen Sarges*, p. 26, and *BSFE* 155 (2002), p. 40, from which Fig. 5 here is adapted. Gabolde's drawing indicates traces of an earlier text under the three righthand columns, but Roeder's photograph shows only incidental damage and no signs of erasure.

28 D. Franke, "Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen," *LÄ* VI, col. 1033.

29 The third column shows only *j[t]n*. Roeder restored Akhenaten's cartouche in the lacuna above, and read the name as *mr[t]-j[t]n*. Ankhesenpaaten, however, is the only Amarna princess with whom Tutankhamun is associated, and the lacuna suits the first part of her name. The space beneath *j[t]n* probably contained a seated figure, comparable to that at the end of Tutankhamun's name on the right.

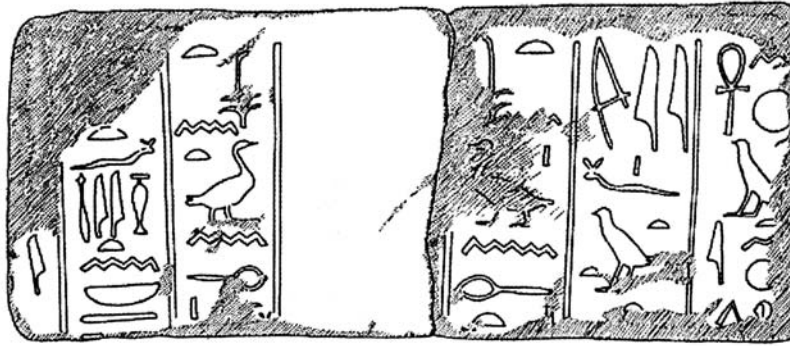


Fig. 5. Block from Hermopolis naming Tutankhamun and [Ankhesenpa]aten

Despite this relationship, however, in the context of Amarna the additional phrase *n ht.f mry.f* “of his body, his desired” probably indicates a more direct, lineal descent from a king. Akhenaten’s daughters are regularly called *z3t-nswt nt ht.f mrt.f* “king’s daughter of his body, his desired,” where the phraseology refers to a child sired by the king himself. The same wording also precedes the names of his granddaughters; in that case it may indicate merely lineal descent from the king, unless Akhenaten fathered his own grandchildren, as has been suggested. The latter possibility will be examined below; in any case, the terminology on the Amarna block identifies Tutankhamun as at least a direct lineal descendant, if not the son, of a king rather than merely the son-in-law of one.

If the term *z3* “son” was meant literally, the king in question would seem to be either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare. Neferneferuaten is also a possibility, even though the Hermopolis block uses the masculine pronoun *f* “his” in referring to this king. She would then have been Tutankhamun’s mother rather than his father, but the inscriptions of Hatshepsut provide a precedent for the use of masculine pronouns to refer to a female pharaoh. Akhenaten’s father, Amenhotep III, could have sired Tutankhamun only if he lived on after Akhenaten’s accession. Once a central theory in the history of Amarna, such a coexistence, if not coregency, is now generally considered improbable. Although it was revived a few years ago on artistic grounds,³⁰ the theory has now been disproved decisively by analysis of the decoration of the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192).³¹ Aya calls Tutankhamun *z3.f* “his son” on blocks of a structure in Karnak begun by Tutankhamun and completed by Aya.³² This reference cannot have denoted literal parentage, because the Hermopolis block identifying Tutankhamun as a king’s son was carved before either man came to the throne; nor was Aya the father-in-law of Tutankhamun. He could have been Tutankhamun’s grandfather or great-grandfather—most likely maternal, since he came to the throne only after Tutankhamun—but this possibility is unenlightening

30 W.R. Johnson, “Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations,” *JEA* 82 (1996), pp. 65–82.

31 P. Dorman, “The Long Coregency Revisited: Architectural and Iconographic Conundra in the Tomb of Kheruef,” in the present volume. For Tutankhamun’s use of the term “father” in reference to Amenhotep III, see D. Redford, “Once Again the Filiation of Tutankhamun,” *JSSEA* 9 (1978–79), pp. 111–15.

32 O.J. Schaden, “Report on the 1978 Season at Karnak,” *NARCE* 127 (1984), p. 46 and pls. 2–4.

because no children of Aya are known. The reference to Tutankhamun as “his son” may merely reflect Aya’s pre-pharaonic title *jt-ntr* “god’s father” (retained in his pharaonic nomen), which commemorated his role as mentor of Akhenaten—a function he may also have exercised for Tutankhamun.

Among Akhenaten, Neferneferuaten, and Smenkhkare, the first seems *a priori* the likeliest candidate for Tutankhamun’s parent, and is generally considered as such. He could certainly have sired Tutankhamun in his Regnal Year 7, since he had already produced at least two daughters by that time. The chief difficulty with this theory, however, is Akhenaten’s appointment of a female coregent before his death. Egyptian history demonstrates that the son of a pharaoh had first claim to the throne—if not the son of the chief queen, then one by another woman within the immediate royal family. It is possible that Akhenaten deliberately repudiated this tradition in appointing Neferneferuaten as coregent, but in the absence of any evidence to that effect such a motive is mere speculation. Neferneferuaten’s coregency therefore most likely indicates that Akhenaten was not the father, nor the grandfather, of Tutankhamun, and the same is true for his relationship with Tutankhamun’s predecessor, Smenkhkare.

In fact, the history of Amarna suggests a determined but frustrated effort on the part of Akhenaten to produce a male heir. With his chief queen, Nefertiti, he had six daughters by Regnal Year 12. His marriage to Kiya, which occurred before the name-change of the Aten between Regnal Years 8–12, can be understood as partly if not primarily motivated by the need to beget a son, even by a wife other than the chief queen; she too, however, gave him only a daughter.³³ In a final attempt to sire a male successor, Akhenaten may then have turned to his oldest daughters, at least two of whom produced daughters before the end of his reign: Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten, who appear with their daughters, respectively Meritaten Jr. and Ankhesenpaaten Jr., in altered reliefs from Amarna that originally depicted Kiya with her daughter.³⁴

The parentage of Akhenaten’s granddaughters seems clear from their titles but has been the subject of debate nonetheless. The granddaughters are regularly identified as *z3t-nswt nt ht.f mrt.f N t3 šrjt ms.n z3t-nswt nt ht.f mrt.f N* “King’s daughter of his body, his desired, N Jr., born of King’s daughter of his body, his desired, N,” sometimes with the king identified as Akhenaten and occasionally with the additional specification *ms.n*

33 Kiya’s name occurs in conjunction with the early name of the Aten on a vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 20.2.11): Fairman, *JEA* 47 (1961), p. 29. For her daughter see Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pp. 190–92. Her name is lost, but Gabolde has suggested she was the “king’s daughter” named Baketaten, who appears with Queen Tiya in the tomb of Huya at Amarna: M. Gabolde, “Baketaton fille de Kiya?,” *BSEG* 16 (1992), pp. 27–40; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, Part III: *The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, ASE 15 (London: EEF, 1905), pls. 4, 6, 9, and 17–18.

34 Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pp. 142–45 and 150–53. The term “Jr.” is used here as a translation of the phrase *t3-šrjt* “the younger,” always appended to the eponymous names of the daughters’ daughters. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 285, regards the granddaughters as “phantom children,” invented to replace Kiya’s daughter in the altered reliefs. This is based primarily on the belief that the daughters were too young to have had children before Akhenaten’s death, but the altered reliefs must be regarded as *prima facie* evidence to the contrary. This question will be addressed in what follows.

hjm̄t-nsw̄t wr̄t (nfr-nfrw-jtn nfrtj-j.tj) | ʕnh.tj “born of Chief Queen NEFERNEFERUATEN NEFERTITI, alive” (and variants).³⁵ These titles traditionally have been understood as a statement that Akhenaten sired his own granddaughters.³⁶ Since Nefertiti is clearly cited in the granddaughter’s titularies only as parent of the senior Meritaten or Ankhesenpaaten, however, the same could be true for Akhenaten, and it has been argued that the junior daughters were fathered not by Akhenaten but by his sons-in-law Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun, or were Akhenaten’s daughters by Kiya.³⁷

The suggestion that Meritaten Jr. and Ankhesenpaaten Jr. were daughters of Kiya is improbable, since one or the other of their names replaces that of Kiya’s daughter in scenes where Kiya’s own name was altered to that of Meritaten or Ankhesenpaaten. Moreover, the name of Nefertiti’s fourth daughter, Neferneferuaten Jr., indicates that daughters designated as “Jr.” were named after their own mother. The possibility that Akhenaten’s granddaughters were fathered by Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun depends in part on when the reliefs naming the daughters were recarved.

Decoration of the monuments to which the altered reliefs belonged was begun in the first half of Akhenaten’s reign but largely completed after the name-change of the Aten.³⁸ The recarving to honor the junior daughters must then be somewhat later still, certainly no earlier than the second half of Akhenaten’s reign.³⁹ The altered scenes depicted Akhenaten with his daughters and granddaughters, and the complex from which most of the reliefs derive was evidently abandoned before his death.⁴⁰ Tutankhamun therefore could not have fathered Ankhesenpaaten Jr., since he did not reach puberty until after his accession. This in turn makes it unlikely that Smenkhkare sired Meritaten Jr., even though he would have been old enough to do so in Akhenaten’s final years; in any case, he and Meritaten are not attested as husband and wife before he became king.

35 E.g., Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pls. 19 (234-VI) and 106 (451-VIIA). See D. Redford, “Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, II,” *JARCE* 12 (1975), pp. 11–12.

36 E.g., H. Brunner, “Eine neue Amarna-Prinzessin,” *ZÄS* 74 (1938), pp. 104–108; J.A. Wilson, “Akh-enaton and Nefert-iti,” *JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 235–36; R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches*, HÄB 7 (Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978), pp. 114–17.

37 W. Helck, “Die Tochterheirat ägyptischer Könige,” *CdE* 44 (1969), pp. 24–25; idem, “Tochterheirat,” *LÄ* VII, cols. 15–16; J.R. Harris, “Kiya,” *CdE* 49 (1974), p. 30 n. 6. See also Redford, *JARCE* 12 (1975), p. 12; G. Robins, “*hmt nsw wr̄t* Meritaton,” *GM* 52 (1981), pp. 75–81.

38 J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, Part I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-ʕAmarneh*, EEM 38 (London: EES, 1923), pp. 148–56. Of 79 instances, Pendlebury recorded 25 with the early name and 64 with the later name (in 10 instances the early name was changed to the later). The blocks from Hermopolis show a similar ratio (23 early vs. 55 late): Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pls. 1–201.

39 The reliefs could not have been recarved until after the death—or disappearance—of Kiya, whose name and image in them were replaced by those of Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten. No clear evidence exists for the date of that event. The *pr t3 špst* “house of the noblewoman” cited in a wine-jar docket of Regnal Year [1]6 cannot be linked with certainty to Kiya, despite arguments to the contrary: e.g., Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 169. Gabolde (*loc.cit.*) also dates the recarving after the death of Meketaten, which occurred after her last dated appearance in Regnal Year 12, because she does not figure in the altered reliefs. This has some validity, though it is an argument from silence.

40 Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* I, p. 165.

The weight of evidence thus indicates that Akhenaten himself was the father of his two granddaughters. The altered reliefs showing him with Meritaten or Ankhesenpaaten and their daughters suggest as much in the hieroglyphic filiations of the granddaughters. The scenes themselves originally depicted Akhenaten with his wife and daughter;⁴¹ the altered reliefs can be read in the same manner, despite the fact that they identify the senior women only as *z3t-nswt* “king’s daughter” rather than *hjmt-nswt* “king’s wife.”⁴²

Akhenaten’s final attempts to father a male heir may not have been limited to his relationship with Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten. Scenes in Room *gamma* of the Royal Tomb at Amarna depicting the death of their sister, Meketaten, indicate that she died in childbirth.⁴³ No husband of hers is known; apart from mere speculation, the likeliest candidate for the father of her child is also Akhenaten. The child itself is also unknown, although it has often been identified as the one shown on Wall A of Room *gamma* being carried by a nurse away from the chamber in which Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted mourning the body of Meketaten.⁴⁴ In front of the nurse and child, two partly-destroyed columns of hieroglyphs give the name [...] *t ms.n* [...] (*nfr-nfrw-j[tn] nfrtj-j.tj*) *‘nh.tj dt nhh* (Fig. 6).⁴⁵ Despite the usual assumption that this identified a grandchild of Nefertiti, the lacuna in the first column has room enough only for the titulary of one of her children.⁴⁶ Moreover, the hieroglyphs face right and therefore pertain to the nurse, who faces in the same direction, and not to the child, who is turned to the left.⁴⁷ The inscription here is virtually identical to that which identifies the figure of Akhenaten’s eldest daughter on Wall B in the same room and can be restored on that basis as [*z3t-(n)swt n ht.f mrt.f [mr]t-[jtn] ms.n [hjmt-nswt wrt ...] (nfr-nfrw-j[tn] nfrtj-j.tj) ‘nh.tj dt nhh* “[King’s

41 E.g., Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pl. 29.

42 As noted by G. Robins, *GM* 52 (1981), p. 75. The reasons for this discrepancy are unclear. Since Akhenaten’s concern was to produce a male heir, he could have tried to do so with his daughters without naming them “king’s wife,” since they were already allied to the royal line as “king’s daughters,” a relationship closer than that of “king’s wife.” For a son born to such a union, his status as *z3-nswt n ht.f* “king’s son of his body” would have been enough to secure his succession.

43 Martin, *Royal Tomb* II, pp. 42–48, pls. 63–71. The primary evidence for this interpretation is the booth in which Meketaten is shown being mourned by the royal family (*ibid.*, pls. 68–69), which has been most plausibly interpreted as a birth pavilion (*ibid.*, pp. 45–48). Fragments from the Royal Tomb at Amarna have been reconstructed (on paper) as part of her sarcophagus, with an interior width of 50 cm (1 ft. 7 in.) and a maximum interior length of 3½ feet, probably too small for a woman capable of childbirth: Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 132–34 and pls. 16–17. It is possible, however, that the fragments belonged to Meketaten’s canopic chest (*ibid.*, p. 132 n. 1059); the long inscription on the side of the lid reconstructed on Gabolde’s pl. 17b could have turned the corner at each end (cf. his pl. 17a) on the shorter lid of a canopic chest.

44 Martin, *Royal Tomb* II, pp. 43–45, pls. 63–65.

45 Martin, *Royal Tomb* II, pls. 63–64; Fig. 6 here is reproduced from Martin’s pl. 63. The name in the first column ended in the determinative of a seated person. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 118–19, has interpreted the *t* before this sign as the feet of a quail-chick *w*, but Martin’s pl. 63 shows a *t* and the sign seems clear in Bouriant’s photograph (Martin’s pl. 64), as does the head of the determinative, *pace* C. Vandersleyen, “Les scènes de lamentation des chambres *alpha* et *gamma* dans la tombe d’Akhenaton,” *RdE* 44 (1993), p. 193.

46 As pointed out by Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 119, *pace* Martin, *Royal Tomb* II, p. 44.

47 Cf. Martin, *Royal Tomb* II, p. 44 n. 6, *pace op.cit.*, p. 44. The orientation of the remaining signs is clear in the photograph on Martin’s pl. 64 and is reproduced correctly in Martin’s pl. 63.

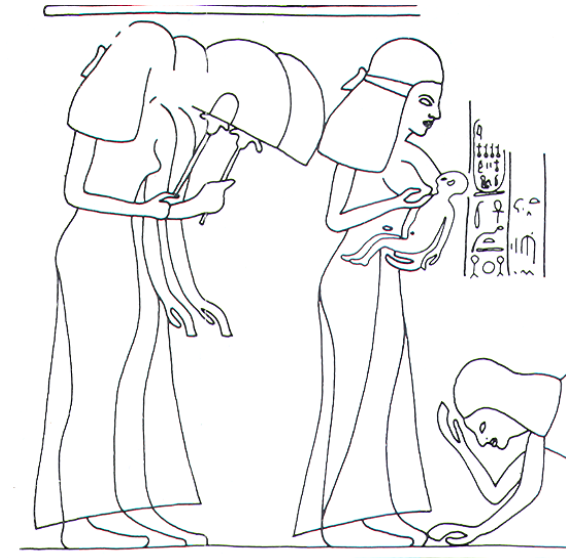


Fig. 6. Nurse and Child from Room *Gamma*

they depict the deaths (from other causes) of the two youngest daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, Neferneferure and Setepenre, who are not depicted with their sisters in the reliefs of Room *gamma*.⁵⁰ If the nursing woman here is also Meritaten, as seems likely, the death of Meketaten must have occurred not long after theirs. Meketaten's child remains unknown, and presumably died with its mother.⁵¹

The events depicted in Rooms *alpha* and *gamma* are not dated but must have occurred after Month 2 of Regnal Year 12, the last dated appearance of the three deceased daughters alive. The scenes in Room *gamma* suggest that Akhenaten first attempted to produce an heir with Meritaten (who had given birth to a daughter), then impregnated Meketaten (who died in childbirth), and had yet to turn to Ankhesenpaaten (who would produce a daughter in turn). Since his union with Meketaten probably occurred only after the birth of Meritaten Jr., the latter must have been at least some nine months or so old by the time of Meketaten's death—and probably even older, if the woman and child in the earlier scene of Room *alpha* are also Meritaten and her daughter.

daughter of his body, his desired, Meri)t[aten], born of the [Chief Queen ...] NEFERNEFERUATEN NEFERTITI, alive forever continually.”⁴⁸

Since Meritaten is shown nursing the child on Wall A, it is probably her own daughter, Meritaten Jr. Similar figures of a nurse and child, without accompanying text, appear in the earlier reliefs of Room *alpha*, in which the nurse is shown walking away from a chamber in which Akhenaten and Nefertiti are mourning.⁴⁹ Martin has interpreted the scenes in this room as those of Kiya's death in childbirth, but Gabolde has a more plausible case that

48 The parallel text is on Martin, *Royal Tomb II*, pl. 68. Both inscriptions are characterized by the determinative following the daughter's name and the position of the final *t* before it, features absent from the names of the other two daughters on Wall B; the determinative may reflect Meritaten's seniority among the daughters, but it could also derive from her status as a mother, unique among Akhenaten's daughters at the time when the reliefs in Room *gamma* were carved. In the parallel text Nefertiti has the titles *hjm̄t-nswt wr̄t mrt.f nbt t3wj* “Chief Queen, his desired, lady of the Two Lands.” The lacuna above her name on Wall A has room enough only for *mrt.f* “his desired” or *nbt t3wj* “lady of the Two Lands” but not both.

49 Martin, *Royal Tomb II*, pls. 58–60.

50 Martin, *Royal Tomb II*, pp. 39–40; Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 107–110.

51 The evidence advanced here indicates that the nursing child shown in Rooms *alpha* and *gamma* is unrelated to the cause of the deaths depicted there. It may then have been included as an affirmation of life in the midst of death; significantly, in both instances the nurse carries her child away from the death scene, in the direction opposite to that of the deceased and mourners: see Murnane, *OLZ 96* (2001), pp. 15–16.

She could not have been more than three years old, however, since she is shown nursing: Egyptian children were weaned by the age of four.⁵² To all appearances, the “durbar” scene of Regnal Year 12 shows Akhenaten’s two oldest daughters before either became pregnant. Meritaten Jr. was therefore born at the earliest nine months later, in Month 11 of Regnal Year 12. Her birth could not have occurred much later than this, since Meketaten’s pregnancy, the birth of Ankhesenpaaten Jr., and the recarving of Kiya’s reliefs to depict the granddaughters with their mothers all had to take place before the end of Akhenaten’s reign.

Akhenaten’s granddaughters were probably born not long after their mothers reached puberty. Egyptian women usually married at thirteen,⁵³ and it seems likeliest that Akhenaten would have turned to each of his three oldest daughters as they reached that age. The date of those events can only be estimated. It is often assumed that the daughters first appeared on Akhenaten’s monuments at their birth, but this cannot have been the case at least with Meketaten, the daughter whose first appearance can be dated most closely. Only Meritaten is mentioned in the text of the Early Proclamation on the Amarna boundary stela, dated to Month 4 of Regnal Year 5; the Later Proclamation of Regnal Year 6, Month 4, mentions Meketaten as well.⁵⁴ If Meketaten was born sometime in the interval, she would have reached thirteen at the earliest after Akhenaten’s death, and her younger sister Ankhesenpaaten would have come of childbearing age even later. Since the latter bore a daughter during the reign of her father, she must have reached thirteen at the latest in Regnal Year 16–17. This places Ankhesenpaaten’s birth no later than Regnal Year 3–4, and that of her older sisters even earlier.⁵⁵

If Meketaten’s first dated appearance in the Later Proclamation of Regnal Year 6 does not indicate that she was born sometime in the preceding year, it must reflect some other important event in her early life; it is hardly feasible that her omission from the text of the Early Proclamation was merely arbitrary. The event that best suits the other evidence is her weaning.⁵⁶ Celebrating her fourth birthday between Month 4 of Regnal Years 5 and 6, she would have reached the age of thirteen in Regnal Year 14 or 15 and subsequently died in childbirth no later than the first month of Regnal Year 16. On that basis, the birth of Meritaten Jr. can be dated between the end of Regnal Year 12, at the earliest, and the beginning of Regnal Year 15, at the latest. In the most likely sequence of

52 To judge from the Instruction of Ani: *tw.k msw.tw m ht jbdw.k ... mnd.s m r.k m 3 rnpwt* “you were born after your months (of gestation) ... and her breast was in your mouth for three years”: J.F. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani*, OBO 141 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), p. 315.

53 E. Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten* (Frankfurt and New York, 1995), pp. 32–33.

54 See W.J. Murnane and C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*, Studies in Egyptology [19] (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1993), p. 175.

55 This makes it impossible for the body from KV 55 to be Akhenaten’s. He could not have fathered his three older daughters before Regnal Year 4 and died thirteen years later at the age of twenty-five or less.

56 The significance of this event can only be surmised: perhaps it was seen as the beginning of her existence as an independent individual. The onset of puberty is also possible but less likely, since Meritaten would have reached that stage before Meketaten yet did not bear a child until some six years later, at the earliest in Regnal Year 12.

events, Meritaten Jr. was born in Regnal Year 14 or 15, Meketaten died in childbirth in Regnal Year 15, and Ankhesenpaaten Jr. was born in Regnal Year 16 or 17.⁵⁷

The final stage in Akhenaten's efforts to plan for his succession was the appointment of a coregent, probably also in Regnal Year 16–17. The identity of this female ruler has been the subject of intense debate. Speculation has centered on two women from Akhenaten's immediate family, Nefertiti and Meritaten. First proposed in 1973,⁵⁸ Nefertiti's candidacy was in the ascendant for a time until the publication of a shawabti of hers, evidence that she died as a queen, not a pharaoh.⁵⁹ General opinion now seems to favor Meritaten; for what it is worth, Manetho's tradition that a king of the late Eighteenth Dynasty was succeeded by "his daughter Akenkherēs" points to a daughter rather than Nefertiti.⁶⁰ The chief difficulty with Meritaten's candidacy is the fact that her cartouche appears with the title *hjm̄t-nswt wr̄t* "Chief Queen" in conjunction with those of both the coregent Neferneferuaten and Smenkhkare (in the latter instance also with their figures). The first juxtaposition seems clearly to identify Meritaten and Neferneferuaten as two different individuals, while the second would involve an unprecedented—and for the Egyptians, perhaps unthinkable—"demotion" of a pharaoh if Meritaten had indeed served as Akhenaten's coregent.⁶¹

Overlooked in the discussion of the coregent's identity is the significance of her nomen, Neferneferuaten—although this was adduced by proponents of Nefertiti as evidence for her candidacy, since she used that name as part of her own from at least Akhenaten's Regnal Year 5 onward. Insofar as can be determined, the primary element in the nomen of a pharaoh always corresponds to the name he (or she) bore before coming to the throne; from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, epithets were usually added to this name in the pharaoh's cartouche, but Akhenaten provides the only example of a complete and consistent change of the nomen's primary element, and even he used his birth name, Amenhotep, at his accession. The evidence of this tradition argues that the coregent bore the name Neferneferuaten before her coronation, and since it now seems clear that the

57 This scenario places the birth of Meritaten within the first two years of Akhenaten's rule, if not before his accession. During that period, Nefertiti does not appear in his reliefs. Her absence, however, does not necessarily indicate that she was married to Akhenaten only later. It may be conditioned instead by the traditional character of the reliefs, which stress the new regime's continuity with the preceding one. Nefertiti is only attested in reliefs carved in the later, innovative Amarna style.

58 J.R. Harris, "Neferneferuaten," *GM* 4 (1973), pp. 15–17, and "Nefertiti Rediviva," *AO* 35 (1973), pp. 5–13.

59 C.E. Loeben, "Eine Bestattung der großen königlichen Gemahlin Nofretete in Amarna? Die Totenfigur der Nofretete," *MDAIK* 42 (1986), pp. 99–107, and most recently, "Une inhumation de la grande épouse royale Néfertiti à Amarna? La figurine funéraire de Néfertiti," *Égypte Afrique et Orient* 13 (1999), 25–30. A recent article has proposed that the two pieces reconstructed by Loeben as a single shawabti of Nefertiti belonged instead to two separate shawabtis, one of Nefertiti and the other of Meritaten: J.-L. Bovot, "Un chaouabti pour deux reines amarniennes?," *Égypte Afrique et Orient* 13 (1999), 31–34.

60 First proposed by R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, pp. 43–53, and argued more recently and extensively by M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 147–85. "Akenkherēs" is evidently the Greek form of the coregent's throne name Ankh(et)kheperure.

61 See n. 6, above. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, pp. 187–226, explains the "demotion" of Meritaten as political expediency, but this is unconvincing.

coregent was not Nefertiti, she must have been the only other woman known by that name: Akhenaten's fourth daughter, Neferneferuaten Jr.⁶²

To judge from the epithet “effective for her husband,” Neferneferuaten served as Akhenaten's wife as well as his coregent.⁶³ Meritaten, in turn, filled the role of the coregent's (or coregents') chief queen, while Ankhesenpaaten acted as senior “king's daughter,” the function formerly exercised by Meritaten.⁶⁴ Akhenaten's motive for the promotion of his youngest surviving daughter over her two older sisters can only be the subject of speculation. If she was in fact his wife, he may yet have hoped to produce a male heir, which neither Meritaten nor Ankhesenpaaten had given him; her status as coregent would also enhance the claim of any son born to such a union. Should he succeed Akhenaten while still a child, the presence of a senior coregent would serve to safeguard that right, as Hatshepsut's coregency had done for Thutmose III earlier in the dynasty. If the union produced no son, however, Akhenaten could still count on a successor from his own direct lineage.

The calculations argued above indicate that Neferneferuaten Jr.'s three older sisters were born by Regnal Year 4. If she was born within a year of them, as seems likely,⁶⁵ she would have turned thirteen in Regnal Year 16–17, allowing her to serve as the prospective mother of Akhenaten's heir. Her appointment as coregent probably dates to the same one- or two-year period. Part of her three-year reign must then have occurred after the death of Akhenaten. It is undoubtedly within that period of sole rule that her association with the traditional gods appeared, along with her Osirian epithet *3ht n h(j).s* “effective for her husband” and her less common “Akhenaten-less” cartouches. This in turn places the short reign of Smenkhkare after that of Akhenaten (and her).⁶⁶ Since

62 The absence of *t3 šrjt* “Jr.” from the coregent's cartouche does not necessarily argue against this identification. It may have been considered inappropriate for a king's nomen but could also have been otiose after the death of the senior Neferneferuaten. The date of Nefertiti's death is unknown; her last appearance is in the scenes in Room *gamma* described above, sometime after her last dated appearance in Regnal Year 12. It has been argued that she survived until the end of Akhenaten's reign or even beyond (see Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 171) but the evidence is unclear and she could have died before the appointment of Neferneferuaten as coregent: see n. 64, below.

63 Neferneferuaten Jr. and another daughter are attested earlier with the title *hjm-t-nswt z3t n ht.f*, but these do not necessarily indicate that they were “king's wife” at the time: see Robins, *GM* 52 (1981), pp. 75–76. If they are not simply errors, they are perhaps to be read as “daughter of the king's wife and of his body.”

64 See M. Gabolde, *BSEG* 14 (1990), 45. Meritaten's service as chief queen may also be reflected in her apparent designation as “mistress” of the royal house in Amarna Letter EA 11: see Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 175. Together with her role as chief queen, this seems clear evidence that Nefertiti had already died.

65 Since her name reflects the initial epithet of her mother's cartouche, she must have been born after the epithet was adopted. Its first dated appearance is in the Early Proclamation of Regnal Year 5, but it also appears in reliefs at Karnak, which are probably earlier: R.W. Smith and D.B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. I: *Initial Discoveries* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), p. 80.

66 Some of the material used for Tutankhamun's burial was originally made for Neferneferuaten as king, most notably her four royal canopic coffins: J. Allen, “The Original Owner of Tutankhamun's Canopic Coffins,” to appear in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for David P. Silverman, ed. by Z. Hawass and J. Houser-Wegner; see also Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, p. 185. The appropriation of this and other elements of her burial equipment indicates that Smenkhkare denied her a pharaonic burial. Whether she or Ankhesenamun was the queen of the notorious *dahamunzu* episode—for which, see Gabolde, *op.cit.*, pp. 187–212—is a question outside the parameters of the present article. It should be

jt jt.f “his father’s father” or *jt jt jt.f* “his father’s father’s father.”⁷⁰ The former would identify Thutmose IV as Tutankhamun’s grandfather, and the latter as his great-grandfather. The epithet’s unusual character suggests that it was meant literally: had Tutankhamun merely intended to honor Thutmose IV as an illustrious ancestor, he would undoubtedly have used the more common term *jt.f* “his father.” Of the two readings, the first is ruled out by the evidence that Tutankhamun’s father was probably Smenkhkare, who was born at the earliest thirty years after the death of Thutmose IV; by the same measure, his mother is not likely to have been a daughter of that king.

The inscription therefore honors Thutmose IV as Tutankhamun’s great-grandfather. This in turn identifies his grandfather or grandmother as a child of Thutmose IV, who must be either Amenhotep III or one of that king’s siblings. Although Amenhotep III had several sisters (or half-sisters), and possibly also brothers (or half-brothers),⁷¹ any of whom could have been grandparents of Tutankhamun, the lock of Queen Tiya’s hair buried with Tutankhamun argues that Amenhotep III himself was Tutankhamun’s grandfather, and Tiya his grandmother. His father, Smenkhkare, was therefore a son of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiya, and a younger brother of Akhenaten.

70 *jtwt.f* “his fathers” is impossible in the context, which refers only to Thutmose IV. The term might also be read as *jtwtj.f* “his dual father,” meaning that Tutankhamun had descended from a son and daughter of Thutmose IV, but this too implies an improbable nonsingular reference to Thutmose IV.

71 For the daughters of Thutmose IV, see B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 120–23. Three or four brothers of Amenhotep III may be represented as children on the lap of the owner of TT 226: N. de G. Davies, *The Theban Tomb Series V: The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmosē, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)* (London: EES, 1933), pl. 30 (E). These are usually seen as sons of Amenhotep III, but the fact that tomb dates to his Regnal Years 1–2 makes it more likely that they were his brothers, and perhaps himself as a child. The only two names preserved, in part, were compounded with the throne name of Thutmose IV’s father, Amenhotep II.