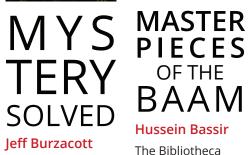
£4.90 NILEMAGAZINE.CO.UK | #17 | DECEMBER 2018 - JANUARY 2019 AAAAA SCOVER ANCIENT EGYPT TODAY FINDING NEFERTITI XOX PHOTO © LABORATORIOROSSO VITERBO/ITALY

NILE





We knew this photo was perfect for the last issue. But what we didn't know was whose coffin it was. Thankfully, the good people at The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge came to the rescue!



ΑΓ Δ **Hussein Bassir**

The Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities Museum (BAAM) was opened in 2002 within the spectacular new Library of Alexandria. Dr. Hussein Bassir, the BAAM's director, showcases some of his favourite pieces.



Nicky Nielsen

In this first chapter of a five-part series on royal residences in the eastern Nile Delta, Egyptologist Dr. Nicky Nielsen explores Tanis; its fascinating history, its abandonment and rediscovery.



A new exhibition now showing at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden includes spectacular artworks from across Europe. Take a detailed look and explore some of the most amazing pieces.





BENU Jan Koek

Who was Benu? We look at this bird of resurrection through the hieroglyphic texts of the ancient Egyptians. And did Benu inspire the story of the legendary phoenix?

NILE #17 | DECEMBER 2018 / JANUARY 2019

NILE





THE COVER

Finding Nefertiti Traugott Huber

We all read the breaking news back in May regarding the final scans of KV 62. No hidden tomb of Nefertiti, no golden treasures, and not the greatest sensation of the 21st century! KV 62 was apparently the Tomb of Tutankhamun. But what if we told you that Nefertiti *was* buried there after all?

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FROM THE EDITOR

O, WE HAVEN'T GONE CRAZY (YET). That is indeed one of Tutankhamun's canopic coffinettes on the cover. So why is it there when the cover story is clearly about Nefertiti? It's because that coffinette wasn't Tutankhamun's originally; it once belonged to Nefertiti's funeral ensemble, when she was entombed as pharaoh. So what happened to Nefertiti's burial—and where is her mummy? Enjoy Traugott Huber's fascinating article from page 39.

There has been another big run of discoveries over the past few months, with mummies and coffins turning up everywhere, it seems. The cartonnage example on the right is our favourite. It was one of eight that were discovered near the Middle Kingdom White Pyramid of Amenemhat II at Dahshur, about 40 kilometres south of Cairo. The mummies date to Egypt's Late Period (664–332 B.C.), which shows that even some 1,200 years after his death, the site chosen by Amenemhat II was still considered hallowed ground.

Welcome to issue #17. As always, I hope you love your NILE time!

Jeff Burzacott = editor@nilemagazine.com.au



The wig and beard on this coffin are painted Egyptian Blue to imitate lapis lazuli: the gemstone thought to be the hair of the sun-god Re (with who the deceased no doubt hoped to be reborn every morning).





The mummy board on the cover of issue #16 has been identified.

Meet Nespawershefyt $\underline{\neg}$ $\overset{\sim}{\times}$ $\overset{\sim}{\times}$ $\overset{\sim}{\Sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\Sigma}$ But you can call him Nesamun $\sum \sqrt{4}$ for short.

Have you ever found yourself thinking, "I know that face, but I just can't place the name." That was the case as we put together the last issue of NILE (#16, Oct–Nov 2018). Our cover story was a fascinating tale of coffin reuse. (It turns out that residency in one's coffin was often rather temporary.) A study by Dr. Kara Cooney, and (UCLA), and supported by the American Research Center in Egypt, showed that the vast majority of the hundreds of 21st-Dynasty coffins she has examined, show evidence of having been constructed for a previous tenant. (See facing page for more on that.)

So when we spotted the photo of a mummy board shown opposite, we knew it would be perfect for issue #16's cover. Based on its design (divided into vignettes, busily decorated, and with a golden varnish), we knew this was from the 21st or early 22nd Dynasty (ca. 1070–890 B.C.)— precisely the period when coffin reuse was rampant.

The only thing we didn't know was where the mummy board was, and to whom it belonged. Thankfully, the good people at the Fitzwilliam Museum at the University of Cambridge got in touch to say, "that's ours!" Our mystery mummy board now had a name, a museum accession number (E.1.1822), and a story: Nespawershefyt was a priest and supervisor of scribes and craftsmen at Karnak Temple around 1000 B.C. And yes, his coffins—or at least parts of them—had a previous life.

The "1822" in the accession number tells us that Nespawershefyt's coffin set was one of the very first artefacts in the fledgling Fitzwilliam Museum's Egyptology collection, gifted by two Cambridge graduates in 1822, just a few years after the museum was founded in 1816. At the time, only one man on the planet would have been able to fully read Nespawershefyt's name. 1822 was the very year that French scholar Jean-François Champollion first announced his theories on the hieroglyphic script.

Nespawershefyt's name means "the one who belongs to the Great One of the Ram's Head", a reference to the god Amun who could be depicted as a man with a ram's head. Also on his coffins and mummy board, is the shortened version of his name, Nesamun. It's tempting to imagine that this was the name he used casually with his friends and family. We'll be presumptive and call him Nesamun from this point too.

The reason that Nesamun may be familiar is that he made headlines in 2016 as the Fitzwilliam was marking its bicentenary anniversary celebrations with an exhibition called *Death on the Nile*, featuring its remarkable collection of Egyptian coffins. Close examination of the lid of Nesamun's inner coffin lid had revealed several 3,000-year-old fingerprints. It appeared that the craftsmen decorating the lid had been impatient and moved it before the varnish had dried.

The curators also noticed that patches of varnish covering hieroglyphic text appeared darker from being varnished twice. This is normally a sign of reuse:

It's a match. This is Nespawershefyt's/Nesamun's mummy board which lay directly on the deceased's body. While the mummy board showed no evidence of reuse, Helen Strudwick, Associate Curator at the Fitzwilliam Museum, states that "a coffin artisan in ancient Egypt had to deal creatively with many practical problems and sometimes restrictions on materials available.... Objects always had to be tailored to cost, but the finish had to meet the high aspirations of the customer." © THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE. ACC. NO. E.1.1822

Block statue of Djed-Khonsu-luef Ankh

Surviving early childhood in ancient Egypt could be an uncertain proposition, so parents often called upon the power of the gods to help the newest member of the family make it through. One way to achieve this was to give the child a name that could serve as a wish for protection.

This block statue was made for a Theban priest at Karnak Temple. By calling him Djed-Khonsu-Iuf-Ankh $\begin{array}{c} & & \\ &$

Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh worked at the Amun Temple complex at Karnak during the 26th-Dynasty reign of Psamtek I (ca. 664–610 B.C.). This is the king whose colossal statue is currently being retrieved (in thousands of fragments, great and small) from the ruins of the sacred precinct at ancient Heliopolis (modern Matariya).

Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh's block statue shows him seated with his knees drawn up to his chest and his arms folded on top of his knees. He is wearing a wrap-around robe that covers his body and reduces it to a simple block-like shape. This had the double benefit of protecting the figure from breakage, as well as offering a handy flat surface for inscriptions.

The statue was discovered in May 1904; one of more than 350 unearthed in the Karnak Cache. This was an intentionally buried collection of statuary dating from pharaonic Egypt's earliest periods through to the Ptolemaic era (which is when it was buried).

Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh dedicated two almost identical block statues of himself at Karnak, commemorating his priestly service to Amun and the god's consort, Amunet. The back pillar of the one shown here includes one of Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh's proud titles:

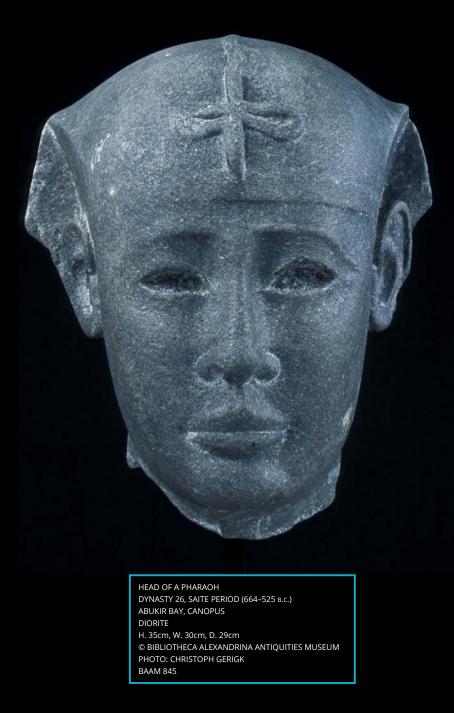
"Wab priest of Amunet within Karnak"

Hopefully, by reading the words on Djed-khonsu-iuf-ankh's statue, we are all helping perpetuate his parents' greatest wish when he was born: that he will live.



BLOCK STATUE OF DJED-KHONSU-IUF-ANKH 26TH DYNASTY, REIGN OF PSAMTEK I (ca. 664–610 b.c.) LUXOR, KARNAK TEMPLE SCHIST H. 44cm, W. 16.5cm, D. 21.5cm © BIBLIOTHECA ALEXANDRINA ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM PHOTO: E. OMAR BAAM 597

Head of a Pharaoh



This royal head was discovered during underwater excavations of the ancient (and mostly submerged) city of Canopus, not far from the eastern suburbs of modern Alexandria.

While the sculpture is uninscribed, its features can suggest to us when it was made—and perhaps, even for who.

The head is wearing a royal nemes headdress, the brow of which features a cobra with its body twisted into two large loops. The eyebrows slope sharply down from the eyes, which have lost their inlays. The nose has a prominent bridge in the middle and wide nostrils. The mouth is wide with pouty lips, and beneath them, the statue's false beard has broken off.

With all that in mind, this piece probably dates to the Late Period's 26th Dynasty; what is known as the "Saite Renaissance". This was a period of renewal, when Middle and Old Kingdom texts and art styles were revived after periods of occupation firstly by the 25th Dynasty Nubian kings, and then the Assyrian war machine. It was also when the Greek presence increased in the Delta region, as Greek trading posts were opened and Greek mercenaries were employed in the army.

Shown here is likely one of those 26th-Dynasty kings who made Sais (hence "Saite Renaissance") their royal residence. But which pharaoh is it?

The shape of the nose, the distinctive brow arches, and the prominent cheekbones have led archaeologists to recognise features that are typical of the 26th Dynasty's King Apries (ca. 589–570 в.с.). For greater confidence, however, we look at the subtly-slanting eyes and the rendering of that straight mouth with those pouty lips. These features are practically identical to a confirmed head of King Apries in the Bologna Museum in northern Italy.

It is often repeated that royal portraits are largely idealised and far from true likenesses of the people they represent. While there is a pharaonic artistic framework to work within, we can see here that there is plenty of room to individualise a portrait.

British Egyptologist Sally-Ann Ashton is an expert on identifying Egyptian royal sculpture. On her website *kemetexpert.com*, she explains that "life-size stone statues... were often placed at the entrances to temples or palaces with the intention of promoting the king. Inscriptions were not always visible on statues [and pretty much worthless to a largely illiterate population anyway], and so the iconography (symbols) and the facial features needed to also play a part in assisting with identifying who the statue represented."

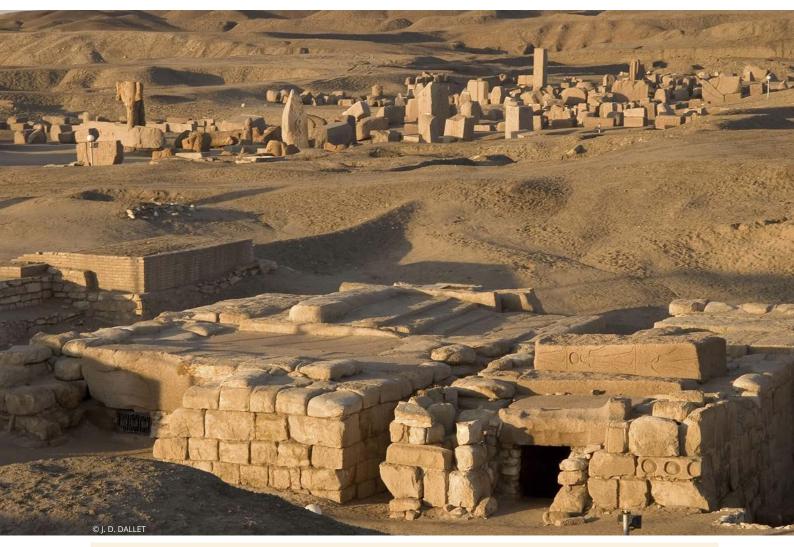
While at first glance, much ancient Egyptian art looks much the same, this piece shows that, despite spending over a thousand years beneath the Mediterranean, the individualised features of (probably) King Apries can help us identify this otherwise anonymous head. As Sally-Ann Ashton muses, "I really do not understand why a portrait would look nothing remotely like the subject."

TANI S

The NORTHERN THEBES

In this first chapter of a five-part series on royal residences in the eastern Nile Delta, Egyptologist Dr. Nicky Nielsen explores the Third Intermediate Period capital of Tanis; its fascinating history, its abandonment and rediscovery.

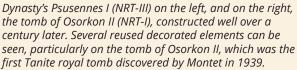
(This page) Granite columns lie scattered on the eastern side of the Amun Temple complex at Tanis, the remains of a small temple. These are inscribed with the cartouches of 22nd-Dynasty pharaoh Osorkon II, carved over the top of those by Ramesses II. Photo © Mike Shepherd Images



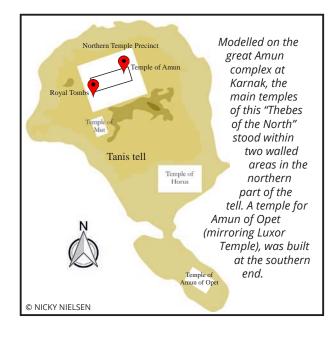
The pharaohs of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties turned their back on Thebes and built their tombs in the south-western part of the precinct of Amun at Tanis.

In this photo we are looking across the royal tombs to the ruins of the Temple of Amun; the foundations of the Temple Pylon of the 22nd-Dynasty King Osorkon II can be seen on the left of the above photo.

The two tombs in the foreground are that of the 21st



The walls seen here were completely hidden by a mudbrick structure that was built by Shoshenq III (825–773 в.с.) when he had his tomb built nearby at a higher level.



The story of Tanis is in a sense a story of reuse and renewal. The city's religious architecture during the Third Intermediate Period (1069–747 в.С.), was largely built using Ramesside and Middle Kingdom materials from elsewhere in the Delta. The Tanite rulers were buried with jewellery assemblages which included pieces originally buried with New Kingdom rulers in Thebes. But despite this prudent reuse of materials, Tanis was a centre of power and commerce in its own right—not merely an afterthought to earlier royal capitals. It remains today, as it was intended to be, a true rival to the City of Amun; a Thebes in the North.

HISTORY and LAYOUT

Little is known about the early history of Tanis, or *Djanet* \Im_{\otimes} as it was known to the ancient Egyptians. The earliest remains found at the site so far are elements of a wide but modest cemetery occupying the top of the natural mound where Psusennes I chose to develop his major



"This temple, a thousand feet from end to end, stood up above the surrounding houses, and over its long flat roof towered up the colossal statue... the great Ramessu, head, shoulders, and body even, above everything else, with stony eyes gazing across the vast plain. The temple was worthy of the capital of Lower Egypt, replete with noble statues of the older kings, of the most magnificent work, and dominated in every part by the royal splendour of the Smiter of Nations, the Strong Bull, the Destroyer of His Enemies, Ramessu, Beloved of Amon...."—From Petrie's published account of his excavations, Tanis I: 1883–1884 (London, 1885). This photo shows the extensive flood damage which occurred during Flinders Petrie's excavation of the site.

including Psusennes I's silver coffin and golden funerary mask, Sheshonq II's falcon-headed inner coffin, and the decorated gold and silver dish of General Wendjebauendjedet, who was privileged to be buried in the royal tomb complex of Psusennses I.)

The location of the royal burials within the bounds of the religious quarter of Tanis is unusual but not unexpected given that the Tanite rulers did not have access to a remote and easily-guarded area like the Valley of the Kings.

Montet's discovery and subsequent excavation of the vast royal treasures would perhaps otherwise have caused a large media frenzy, but the timing of the discovery—on the eve of World War II—meant that the newspapers had little space for covering archaeological discoveries within their pages.

Another equally notable discovery (if entirely fictional), was also made at Tanis in the 1930s—the discovery of the Holy Ark of the Covenant by Dr. Henry Walton "Indiana" Jones Jr. according to *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981).

TANIS TODAY

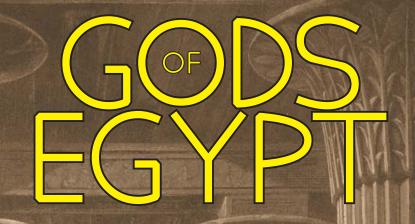
After 25 years of studying, mapping and excavating at Tanis, Montet finally finished work there in 1956. Less than ten years later, in 1964, the Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis (MFFT) was created to pick up from where Montet left off, and is today directed by Dr. François Leclère. Tanis remains an area of intense archaeological interest as the MFFT team methodically re-examine areas explored in the past (with new technology and improved techniques), excavate new sectors, and record and conserve the delicate decorations in the royal tombs.

Recently the MFFT completed a 50-hectare magnetic survey in the central plain, revealing for the first time a detailed plan of the ancient settlement that accompanied the temple complex.

VISITING

It is possible to visit the site from Cairo with a tour, although relatively few organised tours go directly there.

RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN SHOWING UNTIL 31 MARCH 2019



One of the last temples constructed in Egypt was the Ptolemaic and Roman Temple of Esna, around 50km south of Luxor (shown here). It was dedicated to the ram-headed creator god, Khnum. And the warrior goddess, Neith. As well as Khnum's wife, Nebetu. Plus Nebetu's feisty alter-ego, Menhyt. Oh, and not forgetting Khnum and Nebetu's child, Heka. And then there is... well, you get the idea—there are a lot of Egyptian gods. But why so many? A massive exhibition now showing at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden looks at the **Gods of Egypt**.

THIS IMAGE WAS PUBLISHED IN 1841 BY THE FRENCH ARCHITECT HECTOR HOREAU, BASED ON SKETCHES HE MADE DURING HIS VISIT TO EGYPT IN 1838. COURTESY OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Mummy case of Peftjauneith 涎空验

Late Period, 26th Dynasty (664-525 B.C.)

he 26th-Dynasty pharaohs ruled in the wake of the departing Assyrians who had conquered Egypt and expelled the Nubian pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty. The 26th-Dynasty rulers (often referred to as Saite after their capital city of Sais in the western Nile Delta), drove an active building program and a renaissance of Egyptian art which recalled the styles of the Old Kingdom, along with the 12th and 18th Dynasties. These were regarded as high points in their history, and the 12th and 18th Dynasties in particular signalled the arrival of a new order after what were seen as periods of instability and occupation.

Corresponding with the growing influence of the Saite rulers, their local creator and warrior goddess, Neith, grew in stature, and it was in this environment that a man whose name included hers, Peftjauneith, served the palace.

Peftjauneith was an inspector of the royal temple estates in the Delta, but, thankfully, was buried at Saqqara, where the dry desert conditions preserved his burial assemblage much better than the damp Delta environment would have.

The celestial goddess Nut dominates the inside of his coffin lid (right); her black skin, studded with stars, representing the night sky. From Peftjauneith's point of view, Nut stretches out across the overhead sky as the vault of heaven, arms and legs extended, and her hair seemingly on end. This last feature is an artistic device to portray her hair falling forward as she looks down.

The red evening sun sits just below her neck, having just been swallowed by the goddess at dusk. Further along her body, the crescent moon is about to be born, emerging as the sun descends. This scene evokes the daily rebirth of the deceased's body, just like the sun and moon.

On either side of Nut are the twelve hours of the day and night, personified as women with either a sun disk or star. It is this cycle of sun, moon and stars that Peftjauneith would have wanted to join. Also on his wish list would have been to be reborn as Osiris, Nut's son. The goddess giving birth inside the coffin also creates a powerful symbol of transformation.

As an aside, Peftjauneith lived around 650 B.C., and was possibly a contemporary of Psamtek I, the pharaoh whose pieces of colossal statue continue to be retrieved from the Heliopolis mud. (See NILE issue #12).





RAM SPHINX WITH KING TAHARQA

Late Period, 25th Dynasty (690-664 B.C.), from Kawa, Gneiss, H. 106cm

he only male pharaohs ever depicted wearing a double uraeus were the Kushite rulers of Dynasty 25. It may be that the twin cobras on their brows proclaimed the pharaohs' dominion over the two kingdoms: Egypt and their native homeland, Nubia.

King Taharqa was the fourth Nubian pharaoh to reign over Egypt. This statue emphasises the divine nature of the king, enjoying the blessing and protection of Amun in his ram form. A hieroglyphic inscription runs around the sides of the plinth and proclaims Taharqa as:

The Nubian connection with Amun in his ram form goes back to the colonial occupation of Nubia during the

early New Kingdom. In an apparent attempt to endear themselves to the locals, the Egyptian occupiers embraced the chief local ram deity as an ancient aspect of Amun, who, in Thebes, was depicted as a man.

The Nubian pharaohs ensured that their control over Egypt was relatively short-lived by attracting the ire (and army) of the mighty Assyrians. Taharqa had supported an anti-Assyrian campaign in Palestine and was forced back to his homeland. The Nubian form of Amun, however, had already been embraced by Egypt's pharaohs. Today's visitors to the Temple of Amun at Karnak enter between two rows of ram-headed sphinxes, erected by Ramesses II.

The above statue, discovered in Kawa, north of Khartoum in 1931, is on special loan from the British Museum for the *Gods of Egypt* exhibition. This is the first time it has left the museum in 85 years. That also might have something to do with the fact that it weighs 1,500 kilograms!



COLLECTION AND PHOTO © RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN. INV. AH 165.

$\mathsf{Pectoral}\;(\mathsf{Chest}\;\mathsf{amulet})$

New Kingdom, 18th-19th Dynasty (ca. 1500-1200 B.C.), Wood, glass, stone, gold, H. 10cm

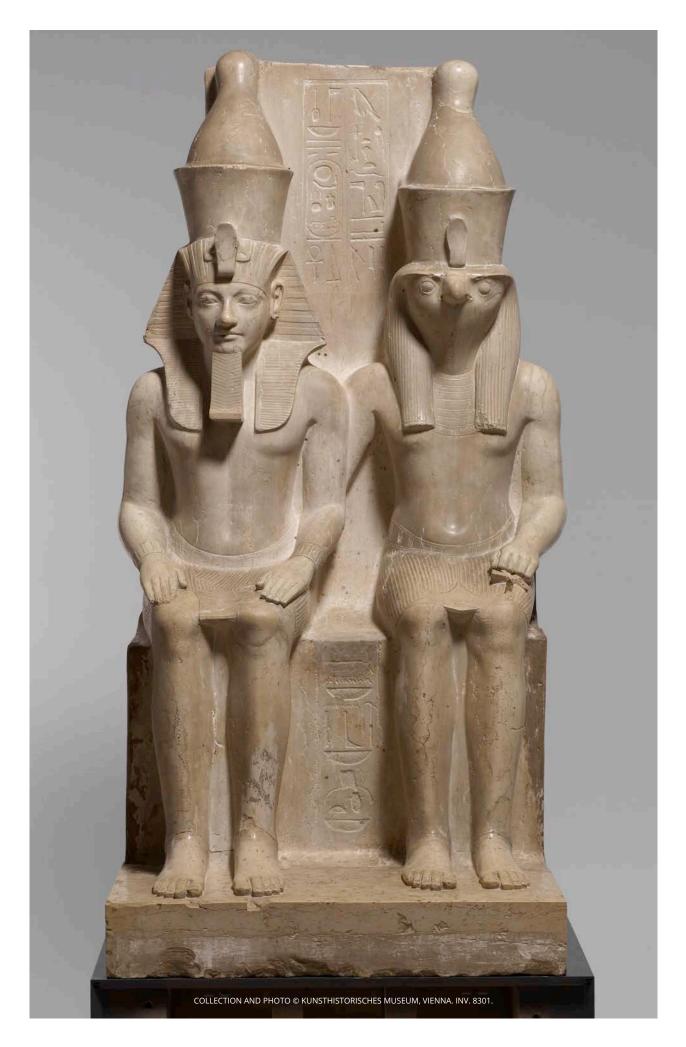
hepri was an aspect of the sun-god Re, embodied as a scarab beetle. And he was a heavy-lifter. When the sun needed to be pushed up from the primeval mound at the beginning of time, that was Khepri. When Re's sacred barque needed towing through the winding ways of the netherworld, Khepri did it. And when the reborn sun needed a nudge from the netherworld to burst forth at dawn, Khepri was there.

And because each sunrise was a fresh start—creation beginning anew—Khepri became a powerful symbol of eternal self-regeneration. It's no wonder that forwardthinking Egyptians were interred with scarab amulets like the one above.

This is known as a pectoral, to be worn on the chest, which was a particularly potent spot, given that it served as a heart scarab. These were very popular amulets, as the scarab was asked to not testify against the deceased during the final judgment in the afterlife. The flat underside was often inscribed with the "Heart Scarab Spell" from Chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead:

$$\begin{array}{c} \textcircled{} & \end{array}{} & \textcircled{} & \end{array}{} & \textcircled{} & \end{array}{} & \rule{} & \rule{}$$

Either side of the pectoral we see Isis (left) and Nephthys (right), the sisters of Osiris (god of resurrection), kneeling and adoring Khepri. This connected the deceased with that magical moment when, in the middle of the netherworldly night, the sun united with Osiris, and received the power to be reborn in the morning. This pectoral gave the deceased eternal life.



THE NORTH WALL PART 2: FINDING NEFERTITI



Dr. M. Traugott Huber, Ägyptologie-Forum Zürich

Where is Nefertiti?

She is one of ancient Egypt's most famous queens, yet details of her burial, and the whereabouts of her mummy, have proved elusive. Until now.

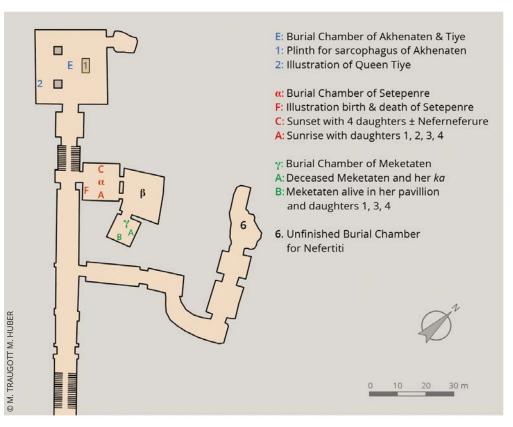
In Part 1 of this article (NILE #14, June–July 2018), Traugott Huber revealed that the painted scenes in Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) documented instead the amazing career of Nefertiti first queen, and then pharaoh.

Now in Part 2, he investigates the evidence for Nefertiti's burial in KV 62, her relationship with the ephemeral Smenkhkare, the circumstances of her death, and, finally, the whereabouts of Nefertiti's mummy! The Royal Tomb (TA 26) in the royal Wadi of Akhetaten (after Lehner in Martin, 1989).

Akhenaten marked the limits of his brand new city with what we now call Boundary Stelae, carved into the surrounding cliffs.

These stelae (around 16 in all) described the buildings he planned to erect to honour the Aten, and also set out plans for the burials of himself, Nefertiti (see below), and their only daughter at that stage, Meritaten.

While Akhenaten and other family members were indeed interred in TA 26 (see diagram, right), it appears that both Nefertiti and Meritaten were buried at Thebes. Why? Read on, dear reader.



rebranded as Tutankhamun. For nearly 100 years since the tomb's discovery in 1922, Nefertiti, Akhenaten and Aten have gone unrecognised.

These ingenious alterations adapted the tomb decorations for the burial of the next pharaoh. KV 62 was reused. It is undisputed that the boy-pharaoh Tutankhamun was buried there, just as it is undisputed that many objects bearing the name and/or likeness of Pharaoh Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten (Nefertiti) were found in the tomb. These included Nefertiti's canopic coffinettes and her sarcophagus, but neither her coffin nor her mummy.

So now we ask the five biggest questions:

- 1. Was a tomb built for Nefertiti in the Valley of the Kings?
- **2.** If so, why is it such a small tomb for a mighty queen and Pharaoh of Egypt?
- 3. Was Nefertiti buried in KV 62?
- **4.** If so, was she buried behind or in front of the Burial Chamber's North Wall?
- 5. What happened to the mummy of Nefertiti?

WAS A TOMB BUILT FOR NEFERTITI IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS?

As prescribed in the early boundary stela surrounding the holy city at Amarna, it was Akhenaten's explicit will that Nefertiti be buried within his tomb at Akhetaten: Let a tomb be made for me (Akhenaten)

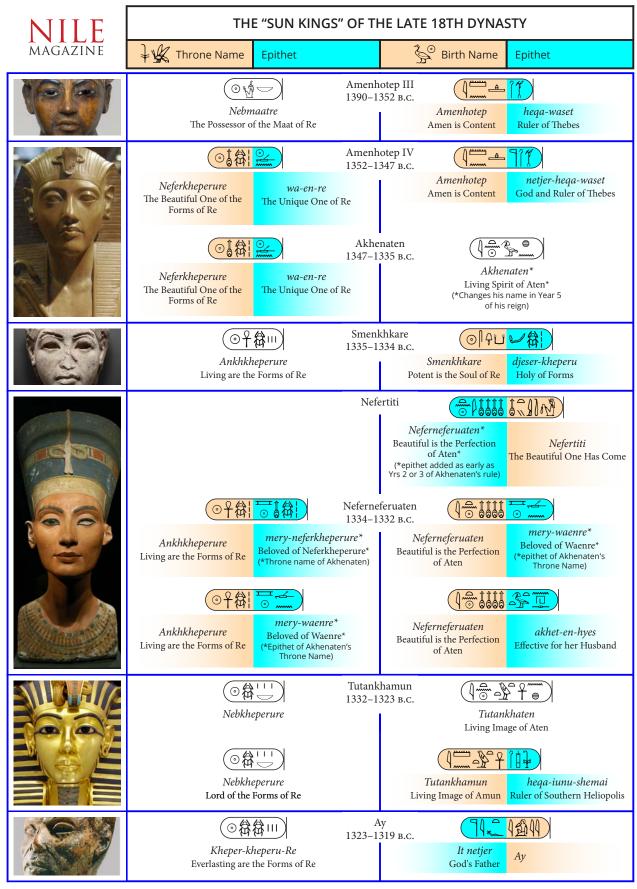
Let the burial of the King's Great Wife,

Nefertiti, be made in it."

From Boundary Stela "K" at Amarna, outlining Akhenaten's wishes for his burial and that of Queen Nefertiti.

The advanced preparations within the Amarna Royal Tomb (TA 26) exclude any doubts (see diagram, above). However, the right-hand portion of TA 26 was never finished, and no other tomb at Amarna appears to have allowed for the burial of Nefertiti. On the contrary, towards the end of the reign of Akhenaten, work on KV 62 must have started, most likely in parallel with KV 55, the tomb of Nefertiti's dire competitor, Kiya. This tomb was discovered in a ruined state in 1907. Inside was found a mummy (not much more than a skeleton) which is often linked to Smenkhkare. In my book, *Who was the Father of Tutankhamun*, and in this article, I demonstrate that Smenkhkare followed his elder brother Akhenaten as pharaoh of Egypt.

Although unfinished, KV 55 has a similar layout to KV 62: a likewise rightward turn, and is also small—barely 15 meters across. Based on the available evidence, this



It can be hard to tell your Ankhheperures from your Neferkheperures—and which one is Nebkheperure again? This handy table should help. The order of succession and dates of their reigns are as proposed by the author.

Epithets served to distinguish royalty with similar (or the same) core names. For example, just when you think you have a handle on which Neferneferuaten we're talking about (Nefertiti as queen or Nefertiti as pharaoh, depending on the epithet used), along comes Neferneferuaten-tasherit:

1000 K Z J

Neferneferuaten-tasherit was the fourth daughter born to Akhenaten and Nefertiti. "Tasherit" means "the younger", so it appears she was named after her mother.



That beard does look like an afterthought! This is Osiris, welcoming Tutankhamun into the netherworld and inviting the recently-deceased king to become him (and share in his nightly rebirth). Except that it isn't. Revealing new scholarship by Fabienne Haas Dantes suggests that this is Nefertiti, in her pharaonic guise as Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten. The

5. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MUMMY OF NEFERTITI?

In 1332 B.C. all was perfectly settled. The deceased Nefertiti had received a glorious burial. The "Opening of her Mouth" was performed by the next Horus of Egypt in the Valley of the Kings. Nefertiti had a tomb at her preferred location. Although the tomb was quite small—due to her untimely demise—the Burial Chamber was adorned with a marvellous Amarna-style illustration which eternally recalled her achievements and her name. The Amarna Triad was established for eternity.

In addition, Pharaoh Neferneferuaten was laid to rest in the midst of an exceedingly rich tomb. Beneath at least three huge, nested gilded shrines lay an impressive pharaonic red-quartzite sarcophagus. Inside that was a triple set of anthropoid coffins, the outermost of which (now lost) likely illustrated Nefertiti's true face. Within the innermost coffin of pure gold, her carefully prepared pharaonic mummy was placed with both arms crossed over her breast, and perhaps holding two flails. Nefertiti's face was covered with a golden mask with tell-tale pierced ears, and most likely bore her facial traits, such as the infamous oromental grooves.

Egypt had a young new pharaoh from the royal Thutmosid bloodline and a beautiful young queen of the same royal blood. Their grandfather, the divine father Ay, governed the state affairs until the pharaoh was old enough oromental groove, first identified as a distinctive feature by Nicholas Reeves, is clearly seen at the corner of her mouth. Using this new interpretation, Nefertiti is the one being welcomed into the netherworld—by her deceased and deified husband, Akhenaten, and the god under which they

built Akhetaten, Aten. See the full scene on page 40.

to take the reins. The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun, his name change from Tutankhaten, and the move of the capital from Amarna to Memphis followed, likely in Year

three. Maat was reinstated. However, six years after the move from Amarna, the young pharaoh died: unforeseeable, unexpected, and illprepared at the age of 18 years. This catastrophic situation required immediate actions. The deceased had to be buried within the prescribed delay of 70 days. The original tomb of Tutankhamun was started but was far from complete. It was most probably WV 23, the tomb closest to his grandfather, Amenhotep III in the Western Valley. No sarcophagus was yet prepared, no canopic chest was ready, and no golden canopic coffinettes were available. The family decided to open KV 62 and reuse this tomb, along with the majority of its marvellous grave goods, for the young pharaoh.

The reasons for this decision are unknown. An obvious explanation is the lack of any alternative given the time they had available. Also, Queen Ankhesenamun was some four years older than Tutankhamun and, at that time, around the age of 22 years. It may be that a decent burial for her beloved husband and pharaoh was more important than the commemoration of her mother, who had died when she was still a girl.

It should not be forgotten that Tutankhamun had a royal pedigree and Nefertiti did not. In addition, there may not have been much resistance from the disgruntled Amun priesthood. After all, Nefertiti was the prominent second of the heretics from Amarna. Perhaps she was despised



The unresolved right female forearm from KV 35, Chamber Jd, pharaonically flexed at the elbow and with the hand clasped, suggestive of holding a flail. While it is thought that a bent left arm (with a straight right arm) signified a queen

Although the event that this date recorded was not mentioned, the mission director, Jiro Kondo, recognised this as the only hieratic inscription detected in KV 22 and as "an important document in assessing the history of the tomb". In *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*, Dr. Alexander Peden dated this graffito "palaeographically to the middle or late" 18th Dynasty. Thus, in the 3rd month of the 3rd Year of an unknown pharaoh this tomb was entered and something very important happened.

Who was this pharaoh and what happened? Let's line up the suspects and look for a motive:

• Akhenaten. Highly unlikely. No coregency existed between Akhenaten and his father, so it begs the question: Why should Amenhotep IV have ordered the

or princess, a flexed right arm could only mean a pharaoh (male or female), with the left arm similarly bent across the chest to identify the deceased with Osiris. The arm was photographed in February 2003 within KV 35.

reopening of the tomb of his father three years after his burial?

- Queen Tiye and/or her eldest daughter, Queen Sitamun. This was suggested by Peden but is not possible. Queen Tiye is definitely recorded as being alive long after Year 3 of Akhenaten. Based on fragmentary remains, Queen Sitamun *was* buried in WV 22, but this did not happen in Year 3 of Amenhotep IV but, most likely, after Year 30 and before Year 34 of Amenhotep III.
- **Pharaoh Ankhkheperure Smenkhkare** is impossible, as he did not reign for three years.
- Pharaoh Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten is a possibility, but very unlikely. If Nefertiti transferred

YEAR	ACTOR	ACTIVITY IN WV 22
1352 в.с., Year 1 (Amenhotep IV	Burial of his father Amenhotep III
1334 в.с., Year 1 (^С і	Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten	Reburial of Queen Tiye and burial of Meritaten
1323 в.с., Year 1 (^С і	Ау	Reburial of Nefertiti
1315 в.с., Year 3 (^С іш	(Horemheb) Amun priesthood	Destruction of the "heretic" mummy of Nefertiti
са. 1060 в.с.	21st Dynasty Amun priest and later "king" Pinedjum.	Removal of the mummies of Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye, Queen Meritaten, and crown-prince Thutmose to the royal cache in KV 35



The tomb of Nefertari (QV 66) in the Valley of the Queens. The upper west wall of the tomb's antechamber (Chamber C) features various gods flanking the queen's mummified body, lying on a lion-headed bier.

This is an illustrated vignette from Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead; one of the most essential chapters in the "book", which helps the deceased to identify themselves with Atum and Ra and be reborn into whatever form they wished.

On the left is one of the two lions of the akhet-horizon. In the centre is Benu, symbolising the power of the sun god as creator. Standing protectively at the head of the bier is the goddess Nephthys in her form as a kestrel.

One has to imagine a perch extending out of the waters of the Abyss. On it rests a grey heron, the herald of all things to come. It opens its beak and breaks the silence of the primeval night with the call of life and destiny, which 'determines what is and what is not to be.' Rundle Clark, "Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt" (1959)

BENU

Benu wasn't always a heron. When the first Pyramid Texts appeared around 2350 B.C., designed to steer and cushion the dead pharaoh's launch into the realm of the gods, Benu took the form of a small bird, possibly a wagtail.

The passage in the centre is from Utterance (or Spell) 600 from the Pyramid Texts, and describes the exact moment of creation.

Having this text on his burial chamber wall was an Old Kingdom pharaoh's ticket to eternal renewal. These rebirth rites appear to be written to be read aloud. In the darkness of the sealed tomb chamber, however, they were magically activated to recite on repeat forever. The burial chamber must have been a very noisy place.

As the Pyramid Texts trickled

down to become the Coffin Texts and now accessible to society's elite, Benu changed its appearance to that of the heron, which would be its standard form for the rest of

"To sav: O Atum-Kheprer,

you have become high on the hill,

you rise up as the Benben,

in the House of Benu in Heliopolis." (Pyramid Texts, Utterance 600)

Egyptian history. It's been theorised that the switch

from wagtail to heron may reflect a change in the climate from near the end of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2400 B.C.), which saw

> wagtail numbers dwindling. Around this time, large areas of the Middle East were hit with a significant drop in rainfall.

Within Utterance 600 Atum is called upon as the self-renewing force who presses "go" on creation, and Kheprer is the manifestation of the sun god bursting forth at dawn. Therefore, Atum-Kheprer refers to that "first sunrise".



The papyrus of Ani, Royal Scribe and Granary Overseer for Ramesses II, ca. 1250 B.C. (British Museum, EA 10470). This scene is similar to that in the Tomb of Nefertari (previous page), illustrating Chapter 17 in the Book of the Dead.

Here Benu—identified by the hieroglyphs in front of his legs—stands before an altar with a vase and a lotus flower, another symbol of cyclical renewal.

It's interesting that although Ani was himself a scribe, his papyrus was prefabricated, with his name and titles inserted into spaces that had been left for them. Perhaps he had died before could start work on his own—or maybe he simply wanted the luxury of outsourcing it to someone else!

(BELOW)

So popular was Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (and so crucial to a successful forever after) that James P. Allen (Brown University, Rhode Island) describes it as "the most frequently copied of all major Egyptian funerary texts".

This example comes from a papyrus scroll (British Museum EA 9901) discovered in the tomb of Hunefer, who was a "Scribe of the Divine Offerings" under King Seti I—around 25 years earlier than Ani. It was found rolled up inside a figure of Osiris, also now in the British Museum (EA 9861).

We see Hunefer kneeling before a table of offerings in adoration of Benu. The text before Benu states that he is the "ba (manifestation and power) of Ra".



THE CITY OF THE SUN

"Ground Zero" for creation was Heliopolis (*iunu* $[]_{\otimes}$ to the ancient Egyptians). This was the centre of sun worship from the Old Kingdom on (and now a hemmed-in archaeological site surrounded by suburban Cairo, noisy as an Old Kingdom pyramid's burial chamber). Its ancient significance is echoed in the name "Heliopolis", coined by the Greeks, which means "city of the sun".

Aside from Benu (a manifestation of Atum), the chief symbol of creation day was the Benben Stone, kept in the House of Benu at Heliopolis. This divine stone, erected as early as the First Dynasty (ca. 3100 B.C.), symbolised the mound which emerged from the pre-creation watery abyss, personified as Nun, and from where Atum first appeared as the shimmering Benu—as he did with each sunrise.

The Benben Stone has long disappeared, but early inscriptions in the Pyramid Texts show it as a standing stone with a rounded top. However, as Egyptologist Barry Kemp explains in *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, "the rounded shape more frequently jarred on the aesthetics of the Egyptians. It lacked geometric purity. They preferred to convert the rounded top into a purer geometric shape, a pyramid, and the complete stone into a truncated obelisk."

It is likely that the original Benben Stone became the prototype for the pyramidions (apexes) of pyramids and obelisks. The ancient Egyptian name for these pointed tops was *benbenet* $\underline{\Box}$ $\underline{\Delta}$.

Akhenaten, probably the greatest solar devotee in Egypt's history, returned the Benben to a shape closer to its earliest form when he commissioned a new, round-topped Benben Stone for his new city at Amarna (see page 60).

Fifty years later, Seti I—more a fan of the pointy-top look—created something akin to a granite forest of obelisks at Heliopolis. Although most have been hauled away over the centuries by occupying forces, an inscription on one of Seti I's obelisks, now in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome speaks of the vast number that he was responsible for:



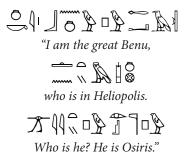
"(he) fills Heliopolis with obelisks of shining rays."

THE BENU/OSIRIS CONNECTION

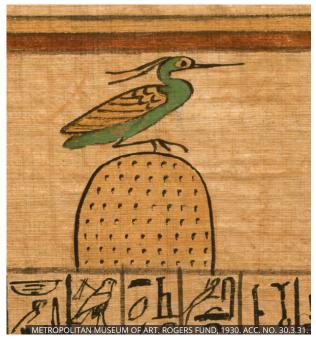
The statue of Panupeker also calls on another god, Osiris, lord of the realm of the dead, and links him with Benu:

"Osiris, residing in the hwt-bnw."

As a symbol of renewal and rebirth, Benu was also considered a manifestation of the resurrected Osiris. One of the forms of Osiris was "Osiris-Neb-Heh" and the form of a mummy with the head of Benu. Coffin Texts Spell 335 makes an even stronger connection between Benu and Osiris:



It is through this association that Benu can also be found on heart amulets, to ensure that the deceased's heart gave a positive account of their life at judgment before Osiris.



A symbol of sunrise and the renewal of life. Benu perches on the primeval hill at the moment of creation, and every morning thereafter when the reborn sun breaks at dawn.

This papyrus is inscribed with a collection of texts from the "Book of the Dead" belonging to a Theban woman named Nany. She lived during the 21st Dynasty when, responding to a power vacuum (the royal house had moved to the Delta), the High Priests of Amun at Karnak stepped-up and ruled as titular kings.

Nany's titles tell us that she was a Mistress of the House, a Chantress of Amun, as well as a King's Daughter (likely the High Priest and "king" Pinudjem I):



We've spoken a lot about the moment of creation, and its renewal every 24 hours as the sun emerges from the netherworld at daybreak, but what happens next?

In the Heliopolis creation myth, after his spontaneous debut, Atum created the first divine couple by spitting them from his mouth: Shu, the god of luminous space, and Tefnut, the goddess of moisture. Benu played a part in this as well. Coffin Texts Spell 76 tells us that Shu was infused with the life-giving power of Benu's breath. The passage also paints a dramatic picture of the conditions in that first morning:

I (Shu) was wrapped with the breath that came from the throat of Benu

on the day when Atum came into being,

in the flood, in the waters of Nun,

TERIMATEZA

in the darkness and in the gloom."

Benu's divine breath of life is also referred to in Chapter 125 from the Book of the Dead, where the deceased declares their innocence before the gods of judgement:

who gives life to all mankind.

on that day of completing the wedjat in Heliopolis..."

Heracleopolis, just south of the Faiyum, was one of several religious centres where Benu was worshipped. The "lord of breath" is Shu. The completion of the *wedjat* ("Eye of Horus") is the arrival of the winter solstice sun, heralding the start of the plantation season and the return of longer days as the sun rises a little higher each day.

Chapter 83 of the Book of the Dead enabled the deceased's ba (free-moving incarnation) to become Benu. As a form of Osiris and Atum, with their ability to eternally create and be reborn it's no wonder the Egyptians wished to be identified with the "mysterious Benu".



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AKHENATEN'S NEW BENBEN

n 18th-Dynasty stela at the sandstone quarries of Gebel Silsila shows Amenhotep IV honouring Amun-Re. This dates to the early part of his reign, before changing his name to Akhenaten. It's a traditional scene. But in the text below, there are hints of things to come. It records that the stone here was being quarried for "the Great Benben of Re-Horakhty" at Karnak:



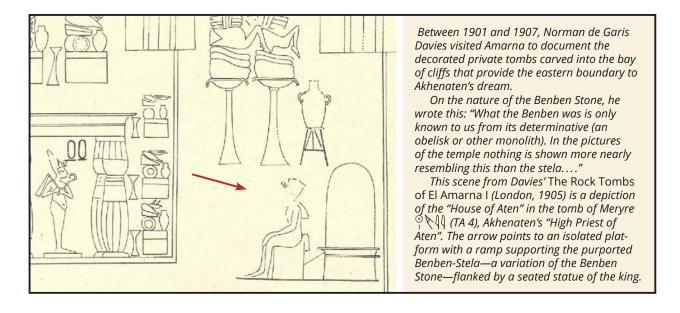
It also describes the king as the "High Priest of Re-Horakhty, who Rejoices in the Horizon in his name of Shu who is in Aten." There was change in the air.

The Benben appears in hieroglyphic text as a squat obelisk, symbolic of the mound upon which Benu perched at the beginning of time. The original Benben was worshipped in the sun-temple at Heliopolis, but some of the stone being quarried at Gebel Silsila was also destined for a new sun-temple at Karnak, named defined for a mer sun-temple at Karnak, named defined for a mer sun-temple at Karnak, named defined for the Benben. This name was reused when, in the fifth year of his reign, Akhenaten transformed the sun disc, Aten, from simply being an aspect of Re, into the supreme creator deity and founded a new city at Amarna.

The central temple precinct, the "House of the Aten", included a new Mansion of the Benben, and it was close to here that a young Howard Carter excavated in 1892 for Flinders Petrie. Carter uncovered the fragmented remains of a large stela, today usually regarded as a new benben stone that Akhenaten had commissioned for his sun city. Petrie wrote that the stela was "built up of small blocks, and bore a life-size figure of Akhenaten (of which the head was found), and doubtless similar figures of the queen and princesses...." (Sadly, the head has since disappeared.)

Akhenaten had apparently reinvented the Benben as a large, round-topped stela standing on a ramped platform, and flanked it with a seated statue of himself wearing the "blue crown". Subsequent excavations have revealed small fragments of red quartzite, attributed to the stela, and diorite pieces of a blue-crowned royal sculpture that may correspond to the images of the statue accompanying the stela.

Some of the Amarna tombs of Akhenaten's aristocracy include Akhenaten's Benben stone as part of the layout of the Great Temple of Aten that decorates their tombs. Two are shown below.



Tomb TA 6 at Amarna is that of Panehsy, 深口 中 為, "Chief servitor of the Aten" and "Overseer of cattle of the Aten in Akhet-Aten". Provisioning the Great Temple with beastly offerings was apparently important to the king. A slaughter yard was located with the temple precinct, with the Benben Stela and royal statue built right next to it!

In The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II (London, 1903), Davies describes this detail from Panehsy's tomb: "On the left hand of the gateway was a great stela set on a high pedestal and reached by a flight of steps or a ramp... which may have been the "Benben...."

Configuration of the second se

The phoenix sacrifices itself on a pyre, looking up at the sun's rays bursting through a cloud. This bronze medal was cast in 1485 in Mantua, northern Italy. The text around the edge reads EXEMPLVM VNICVM FOR [mae] ET PVD [icitiae] ("A unique example of beauty and modesty"), which refers to the profile of a young girl on the other side of the medal. She was Giulia Astallia da Gazzuolo, a character from a story by

Italian author Matteo Bandello (Novella, i, 8). According to the tale, young Giulia drowns herself after being sexually assaulted by the servant of the bishop of Mantua. Giulia Astallia was thus held up as a 15th-century embodiment of chastity and self-sacrifice. The Renaissance-era artists used the phoenix to symbolise some-

The Renaissance-era artists used the phoenix to symbolise something unique or extraordinary, a tradition perhaps inspired by the Roman poet Ovid, who lived during the time of Augustus. He described the phoenix as the "only bird of his kind." Within Christian doctrines, the ultimate self-sacrifice was that by Christ, and the early Christian writers interpreted the phoenix as a symbol of the resurrection.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PHOENIX

id the Classical story of the phoenix develop out of the Egyptian self-renewing Benu? Probably not. But they are, in the end, very likely related. To explain, let's explore the early versions of the phoenix legend.

The story of the phoenix was clearly familiar and probably accepted as fact when, in the 1st-century A.D., Saint Clement of Rome wrote a letter to some rebellious members of the early Christian church. To encourage them to toe the line, and reinforce the truth of Jesus Christ's resurrection (and therefore, the promise of resurrection if they were good), Clement used the story of the phoenix as an example of actual resurrection from the natural world:

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