# Tutankhamun at Memphis

By J. VAN DIJK and M. EATON-KRAUSS

(Tafel 4)

When G. LEGRAIN first published the copy of Tutankhamun's restoration decree as preserved on the monumental stela he had excavated at Karnak[1]) he noted that the edict had been issued from *pr ʾ3-ḫpr-kʾ-Rʿ*. LEGRAIN located this royal residence at Memphis,[2]) supposing it was identical with *pr ʾ3-ḫpr-kʾ-Rʿ* mentioned on CG 34187, a stela from Giza dated to Ay's third regnal year.[3]) Certainly, an institution of the same name existed at Memphis at least into the reign of Sethos I.[4]) Thus there is no reason to doubt that the restoration decree was promulgated at Memphis.[5]) It does not necessarily follow, however, that when the court removed from Tell el Amarna early in Tutankhamun's reign the king and his entourage established permanent residence at Memphis, as is often inferred.[6]) On the basis of the numerous monuments associated with Tutankhamun at Thebes and the prominence afforded Amun during the reign, G. MASPERO proposed that the residence was transferred not to Memphis but rather 'back' to Thebes.[7]) There is evidence, if admittedly meagre, that associates Tutankhamun with the palace complex at Malqata.[8]) In addition, the epithet adopted by the king with the name change from Tutankhaton to Tutankhamun (*ḥqʾ Jwnw šmʿj*) affiliates him specifically with the most Theban of Theban institutions, Karnak Temple.[9])

[1]) CG 34183 = PM II², 52f.; initial publication: G. LEGRAIN, *RecTrav.* XXIX, 1907, 162ff. See also the translation, with improved readings, of J. BENNETT, *JEA* 25, 1939, 8ff., and the recent rendering into German of H.A. SCHLÖGL, *Echnaton – Tutanchamun. Fakten und Texte,* Wiesbaden 1983, 85ff. (A new translation, with commentary, is being prepared for publication by G. FECHT.)

[2]) LEGRAIN, *op.cit.,* 170 (20).

[3]) PM III², 18, to which now add C. M. ZIVIE, *Giza au deuxième millénaire, BdE* 70, Cairo 1976, 177ff., item NE 47. The stela was found in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx; presumably the land donation its text records refers to localities in the vicinity; cf. W. HELCK, *Materialien,* 201, 294.

[4]) W. SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I.,* Strasbourg 1896, Text 10f. with pls. III–IIIa (line 5) and Text 15 with pl. V (line 3); cf. HELCK, *op.cit.,* 633.

[5]) Cf. BENNETT, *op.cit.,* 12 (25), contra G. MASPERO, in T. M. DAVIS et al., *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou,* London 1912, 116.

[6]) See note 10, below, for selected references.

[7]) *Op.cit.,* 116. MASPERO, like the authors cited below, note 10, did not specify what the term 'residence' should imply. Cf. the definition suggested by HELCK, *LÄ* V 246, s.v. *Residenz.*

[8]) Not only the document sealing and two ring bezels published by W. C. HAYES, *JNES* 10, 1951, figs. 33 (S 125), 34 (R 21–22) respectively, but also the inscribed fragment of a door jamb usurped by Horemhab (*ibid.,* fig. 37, upper right). HAYES, *ibid.,* 239, suggested that Horemhab's nomen replace Amenhotep III's, 'hacked out by the Atenists'. To our knowledge, however, comparable 'usurpations' of a monument of Amenhotep III by Horemhab are unknown (PM II², 313, top, not withstanding; *LD* III 119b clearly shows traces of Tutankhamun's names, not those of Amenhotep III, under Horemhab's).

[9]) For the localization of *Jwnw šmʿj,* see R. STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, 173f.

As far as sheer numbers are concerned, documents linking Tutankhamun with the Memphite area cannot compete with those deriving from Thebes, but the archaeological circumstances are significantly different, since there is nothing preserved in the Memphite region comparable to the monumental cult centres of Karnak and Luxor Temples.

Nowadays, opinion is divided between proponents of the view that Memphis was Egypt's 'capital' during Tutankhamun's reign and those who support Thebes' claim. But neither camp has argued its case in detail.[10]) A catalogue of documents from the Memphite area that date to Tutankhamun's reign should provide a basis for a reasoned discussion of the question.[11]) This article considers two such documents bearing Tutankhamun's names that have not been adequately treated previously.

The first is a stela fragment, itself broken in two, that SELIM HASSAN found in the environs of the Sphinx.[12]) A king and the smaller figure of a queen (of which only the head with headdress is partially preserved) occupy the left-hand half of the lunet. The faces of both figures have been hacked out, as well as the inscription that identified the royal lady. The figure that occupied the right-hand half of the lunet has been thoroughly erased, almost as if the surface were to be recarved. Above the erased area, Tutankhamun's cartouches are inscribed, prefaced *nb tȝwj* and *nb ḥʿw*. Both the praenomen and nomen have suffered what could well be accidental damage; at any rate, neither cartouche has been attacked like that of the queen nor hacked like the faces of the figures.

HASSAN believed the cartouches identified the king, and that the scene in its pristine state depicted Tutankhamun, accompanied by Ankhesenamun, venerating the Sphinx.[13]) But the passive attitude of the king is incompatible with HASSAN's suggestion, since the hands should be raised or he should proffer some gift were he depicted paying homage to a deity.

The hieroglyphs inside the cartouches and the epithets prefacing them face leftward, the reverse of the expected orientation for a text labelling a figure facing rightward. Could the cartouches have identified the figure once depicted below them? But if so, why did they escape erasure? Alternatively, if they name the king at the left, why were they not damaged like the face of the figure? Thus the existence of the cartouches is paradoxical, in any case. Should

[10]) Cf., e.g., ZIVIE, *LÄ* IV 28 with note 64, s.v. *Memphis*; B. LÖHR, *SAK* 2, 1975, 186; SCHLÖGL, *op.cit.*, 54; M. EATON-KRAUSS, *LÄ* VI, s.v. *Tutanchamun* (in press); etc. – all implying Memphis to be the capital under Tutankhamun. (In this connection, cf. E. HORNUNG, *RdE* 27, 1975, 125 n. 1, who believes it possible that a tomb was planned for Tutankhamun at Saqqara.) – A. BADAWI, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, Cairo 1948, 82, described Memphis as the administrative center but assigns to Thebes the role of royal residence (note, however, the existence of *pr Nb-ḫprw-Rʿ* in the environs of Memphis, *ibid.*, 61). Cf. I. E. S. EDWARDS, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (exhibition catalogue), The British Museum 1972, 18, who refers to the move to Thebes where Tutankhamun and his queen 'lived, it seems, in the former palace of Amenophis III on the west bank of the Nile' (cf. note 8, above), but describes Memphis as the administrative center of Egypt during the reign (*ibid.*, 19). (See also the comments of G. T. MARTIN, in *First International Congress of Egyptology, Cairo, October 2–10, 1976 – Acts*, W. F. REINEKE, ed., Berlin 1979, 457 ff., who suggests that from the time of Amenhotep III, Memphis was Egypt's administrative center while Thebes functioned as sacerdotal 'capital'.) E. F. WENTE, in *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (exhibition catalogue), The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1976, 27, writes: 'Amarna was abandoned as the capital in favor of Memphis and Thebes.' C. ALDRED, *Akhenaten. Pharaoh of Egypt – a new study*, New York/Toronto/London/Sydney 1968, 85, decides in favour of Thebes.

[11]) Such a catalogue is to be included in the study of Tutankhamun's reign, in preparation by EATON-KRAUSS.

[12]) *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets, Excavations at Giza* VIII, Cairo 1953, fig. 72. See PM III², 42, to which now add ZIVIE, *Giza*, 176 f., item NE 46. In his field notes, S. HASSAN records that the stela was 'picked out of the sand E. of Sphinx Temple'.

[13]) *Op.cit.*, 99 f.

they not name the king at the left, where was his label situated? If the interrupted vertical line in front of the figure represents the remains of a register to accommodate the royal names and if it was comparable to that in front of the queen, then the amount of space left for the figure to the right would be considerably diminished. If Tutankhamun were shown at the right, in what attitude was he depicted? A standing figure would have been, exceptionally, smaller than the king opposite, whereas the space is hardly adequate to accommodate an enthroned figure or sphinx upon a pedestal[14]) whose head, again, would have been on a lower level than the pharaoh vis à vis.

Altogether, it seems more likely that the cartouches, regardless of their orientation and state of preservation, do identify the king facing rightward. The erased figure might then have depicted an official venerating his king, as tentatively restored in Figure 1. The minimal outlines recognizable in the abraded area on the photograph published by HASSAN suggest a figure slightly bowing forward. The upper line of the head would seem to be visible and the same applies to the line of the lower part of the chest. The area to the right suggests an elbow pointing backward, which might indicate that the man was holding an object in his left hand, and this in turn would appear to agree with the slightly deeper erasure below the righthand end of the *pt*-sign. The other hand was presumably raised in adoration. The text identifying the courtier could have been inscribed behind him. The stela itself would then be a private, rather than a royal, monument documenting the loyal service of an official at Tutankhamun's court.

No exact parallel can be cited for the reconstruction. Elsewhere Ay is shown accompanying his sovereign, and once paying homage to him in a similar attitude but different context.[15]) However, these documents derive from the Thebaid whereas no monument known to date from the Memphite area associates Ay and Tutankhamun, making an identification of the courtier as Ay speculative.[16]) Should the reconstruction of the fan over the courtier's shoulder be correct, eligible candidates would include Horemhab, Maya and Nakhtmin, as well as Ay – all bore the title 'Fan Bearer on the Right of the King'.[17])

The questions concerning the stela do not end with the identification of the figure, should the reconstruction prove feasible. Why was the erasure effected?[18]) And when?[19]) Were the royal figures attacked at the same time the official's image was removed? Or at some later

[14]) Depictions of Tutankhamun (deified) as a sphinx are discussed by L. BELL, *Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun, Mélanges* G. E. MOKHTAR I, 31 ff.

[15]) Representations of Ay in the following of Tutankhamun derive from the decoration of a building initiated by the latter in Karnak; see RAMADAN SA'AD, *Karnak* V, 1970–1972, Cairo 1975, 93 ff. Ay is depicted hailing Tutankhamun (accompanied by Ankhesenamun) on a strip of gold foil from KV 58: DAVIS et al., *Harmhabi,* 128, fig. 4. (See the discussion of this material by O. J. SCHADEN, *The God's Father Ay,* University of Minnesota diss. 1977, 137 ff.

[16]) To the monuments naming Ay as pharaoh that come from the Memphite region may now be added two small finds from Horemhab's Saqqara tomb: see MARTIN, *JEA* 64, 1978, 9 with pl. III: 2, and IDEM, *JEA* 65, 1979, 16 with pl. III: 3.

[17]) Horemhab and Maya may be considered comparatively unlikely, however, since evidence for the defacement of their depictions as evinced on the stela is not forthcoming. On the basis of the treatment of the statue group CG 779, it seems that Nakhtmin's memory was persecuted.

[18]) Was another to be carved in its place? Or was the intent to disassociate the courtier from Tutankhamun? In this connection, the erasures of the courtier Ay's figures from the reliefs at Karnak cited in note 15 above may be compared.

[19]) Cf. the suggestion of EATON-KRAUSS, forthcoming in *Karnak* IX, regarding the erasures mentioned in the preceding note.

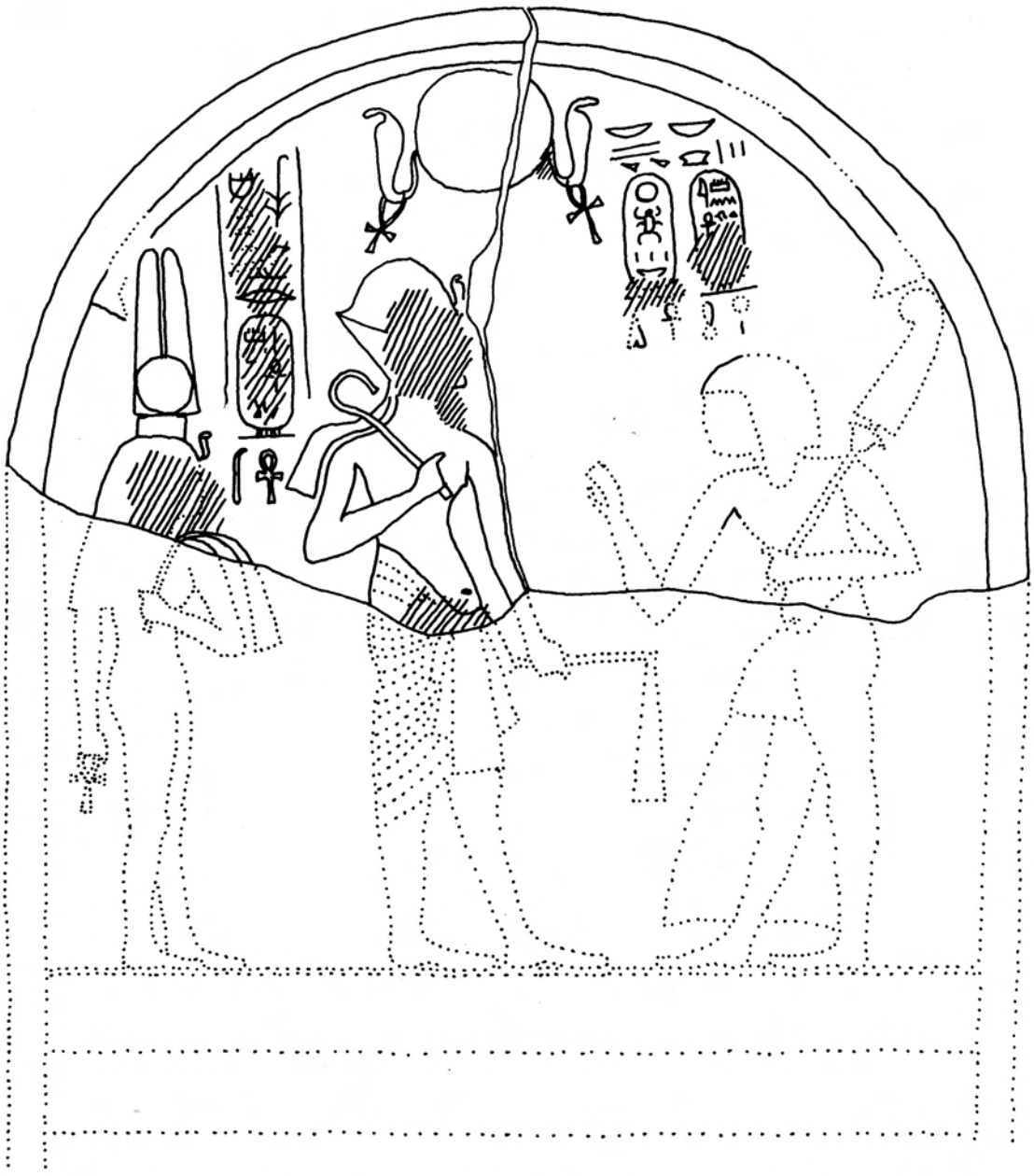


Fig. 1. Restoration of a stela fragment found in the environs of the Sphinx (*Excavations at Giza* VIII, fig. 72).

date? A reexamination of the fragment might be expected to provide clues to aid in answering these queries, and the plausibility of the suggested reconstruction could be tested against the actual traces on the original.[20])

[20]) A recent but unsuccessful attempt to locate the stela in a Giza storeroom was made by SCHADEN, see *NARCE* 129, Spring 1985, 35.

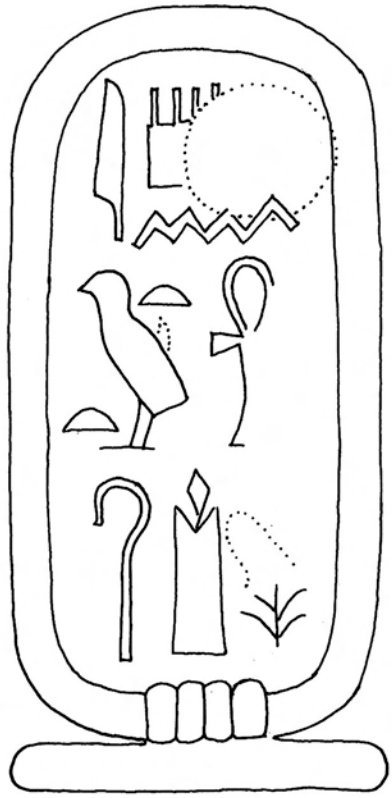


Fig. 2. Cartouche of a limestone doorframe, J.E. 57195 – Reproduction of the approximate relationship of the traces still visible today of Ramses' praenomen inscribed over Tutankhamun's nomen.

The second monument is the limestone doorframe J.E. 57195, removed by E. BARAIZE from a building located southwest of Chephren's Valley Temple, a structure customarily described as the Resthouse of Tutankhamun.[21]) In fact, it seems to have been a vast mud-brick establishment whose foundation predated Tutankhamun's accession.[22]) The inscription on the doorframe is the only traceable document linking Tutankhamun with the complex.[23]) As exhibited in the Cairo Museum, the jambs bear the pristine cartouches of Ramses II (nomen at the left, praenomen to the right), while the architrave bears a rectangular field surmounted by

[21]) PM III², 41 to which now add ZIVIE, *Giza*, 176, item NE 45. Contrast HELCK's attribution of the doorframe to a supposed extension, added by Tutankhamun, to the Harmakhis Temple of Amenhotep II (first in *OrAnt* 5, 1966, 12, and subsequently in *Beziehungen*², 454 n. 74; *LÄ* II 1055); cf. STADELMANN, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten, PÄ* 5, Leiden 1967, 84. This building and its relationship to the cult of Ḥauron are discussed in a forthcoming study of that god by J. VAN DIJK.

[22]) A conclusion based upon the archaeological work at the site by the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. Sphinx Project that will be considered in the second volume of the project's report, *The Great Sphinx of Giza II: The Site*. We are indebted to M. LEHNER for sharing this information with us in advance of the publication.

[23]) I.e., it was the only item inscribed for Tutankhamun that was recorded by E. BARAIZE. With the kind permission of J. YOYOTTE it was possible for EATON-KRAUSS to consult the records of the BARAIZE expedition to Giza. The so-called LACAU – BARAIZE Archive, property of the Centre GOLÉNISCHEFF, is currently on loan to the ARCE Sphinx Project. The cooperation of M. LEHNER is also gratefully acknowledged.

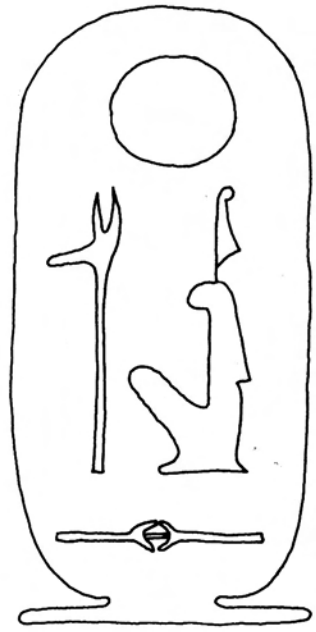


Fig. 3. Cartouche of a limestone doorframe, J.E. 57195 – Rendering of Ramses II's praenomen from the right-hand jamb.

a *pt*-sign. This panel encloses the cartouches of Ankhesenamun and Tutankhamun, described as beloved of Ḥauron, all cut in incised relief. Traces of larger cartouches surmounted by ostrich feathers and sun disks have been interpreted as evidence that the lintel was usurped by Tutankhamun from a predecessor.[24]) In fact, these traces represent the remains of Ramses II's cartouches that were superposed on a thick layer of plaster applied over the panel. The excavation photograph[25]) (Taf. 4) clearly shows remains of the palimpsest cartouches (that were larger than those of Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun) and the plumes with sun disks surmounting them. Figure 2 reproduces the approximate relationship of the traces still visible today of Ramses' praenomen inscribed over Tutankhamun's nomen.[26]) In addition to the large sun disk that is quite clear at the top of the cartouche, the trace of one upright ear of the *wsr*-sign's animal head is preserved over the back of the quail chick, and the knees of the squatting *maat*-figure are cut deeply into the (now damaged) sedge plant of Tutankhamun's epithet. These traces should be compared with Figure 3, the rendering of Ramses II's praenomen from the righthand jamb.

Apparently, the plaster was removed by the excavator in order to reveal fully the earlier inscribed panel beneath. Only thus was it possible to include a detailed description of the preserved coloring of the original inscription in the excavation notes.[27]) Among the same notes,

[24]) So G. Posener, *JNES* 4, 1945, 240f. with fig. 1.

[25]) The print was provided by M. Lehner and is reproduced here with the permission of J. Yoyotte.

[26]) The drawing was made in March 1985 with the generous cooperation of Dr. Mohamed Saleh, Director of the Cairo Museum.

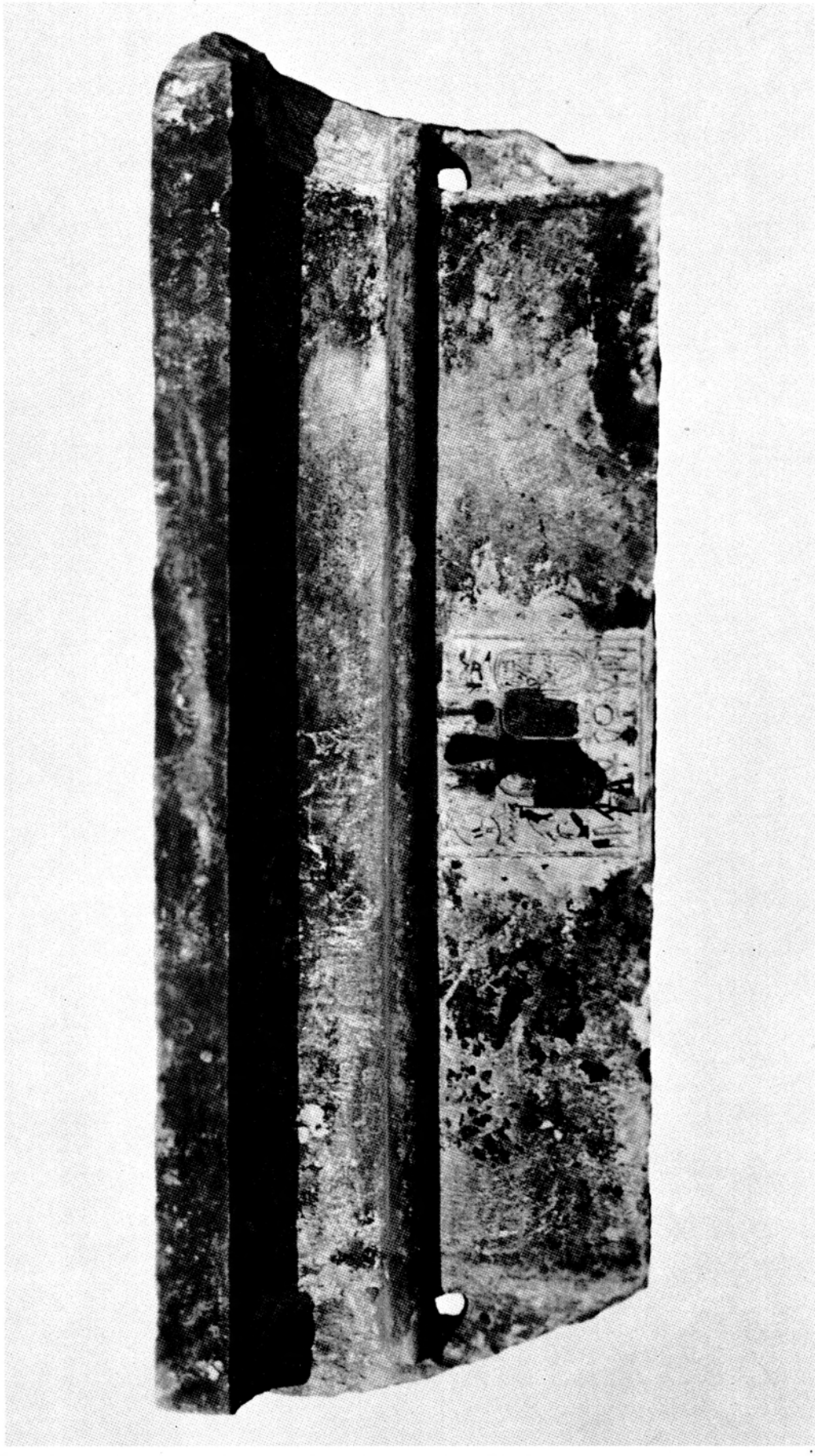
[27]) According to the excavation notes, most of the hieroglyphs retained some blue pigment with the exception of the *mj*-sign (of *mj R*ʿ) and the *ḥ* of Ḥauron that were painted green while the sun disk (of *mj R*ʿ) and *r* (of *wrt*) preserved traces of red.

there is included a rough sketch of Ramses II's cartouches as they appear on 'jambs and a lintel'. These must be those on the doorframe, even though they are not expressly so identified.

Ramses' nomen on the lintel and on the righthand jamb is written simply *Wsr-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*, i.e., without the addition *stp.n-Rʿ* that is presumed to have become de rigueur by the beginning of the second regnal year.[28]) Thus it would seem reasonable to suggest that the usurpation of the doorframe occurred at the onset of the reign, when Ramses II is presumed from other sources to have been active at Giza.[29])

[28]) See, e.g., W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies, SAOC* 40, Chicago 1977, 63ff.

[29]) See the monuments discussed by Zivie, *Giza,* 192ff.



Limestone doorframe, J. E. 57195 („Resthouse of Tutankhamun")