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Abstract

This article offers an examination of the nature and functions of (Egyptian) coregencies and discusses indicators for New Kingdom coregencies in particular. The focus lies on typical types of evidence, such as double dates and pictorial sources, and their applicability during this period. These considerations are put to the test by a case study in which the established criteria are applied to the three coregencies attributed to Akhenaten (with Amenhotep III, Smenkhkare, and Neferneferuaten)..

Project References

Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

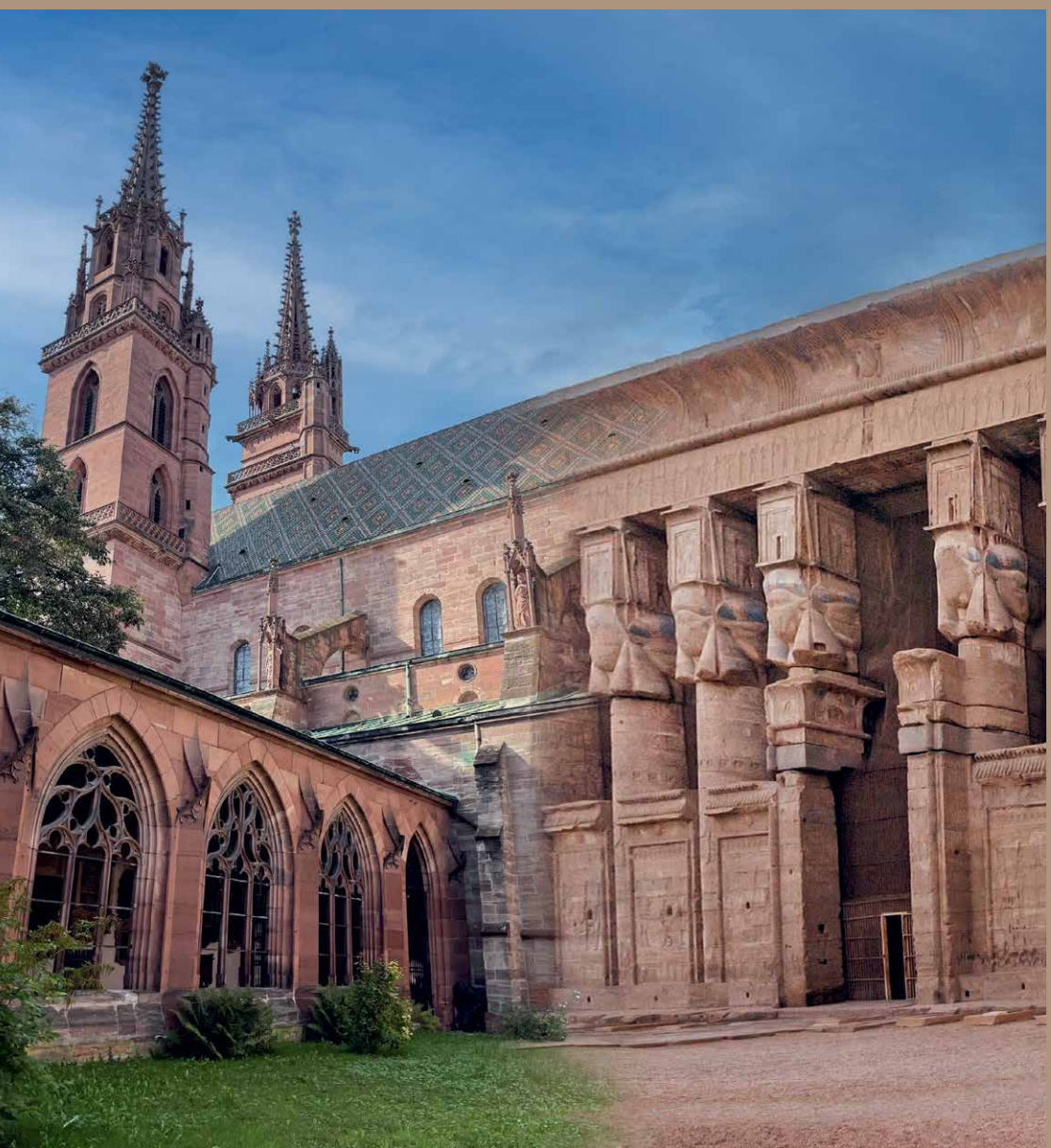
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Current Research in Egyptology 2023

Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Symposium, University of Basel, 10-14 September 2023

Edited by
L. Dogaer, C.H.W. Fong, E.L. Hertel, M. Kilani, G.K.H. Lunden



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Introduction

We at the department of Egyptology of The University of Basel, Switzerland, were excited to be elected as the hosts for the twenty-third Current Research in Egyptology Conference, which was held on 10th-15th September 2023. Despite the age of the university itself, the chair of Egyptology in Basel was established comparatively recently, in 1957 for Ursula Schweizer. She can be considered the founder of German-speaking Swiss Egyptology which was the culmination of work in and cooperation with Egyptological institutes in Germany and France, not to forget those of French-speaking Switzerland who at this point already had a long history of independent and international cooperative work with France concentrated around, for example, the Universities of Geneva and Neuchâtel. From the very beginning, this form of cooperation has been central to Egyptology in Switzerland and Basel, and the current department of Egyptology strives to uphold this legacy. It was therefore our great pleasure to invite more than 70 young Egyptologists from around the world to join us in person, with several more joining us online, to present research from Italy, Egypt, Portugal, England, Wales, the USA, Australia, France, Japan, Cuba, Brazil, and several other countries in the form of 87 paper presentations and 17 poster presentations on a variety of topics, such as religion, history of Egyptology, archival research, scientific and digital methods, reports on archaeological excavations, methodological issues and many others.

As a new trial, we also introduced a new 10 minute-presentation format to the regular CRE structure, next to the already existing 20 minute and poster presentations. The 10 minute-presentations were aimed at introducing newly started projects or still ongoing research.

The organising committee, consisting of a team of ten doctoral candidates and postdoctoral researchers, would like to express its gratitude to all the people who have helped to realise this conference. First and foremost, our gratitude goes towards the University of Basel and the Department of Ancient Civilizations, especially the Basel Egyptology team and Prof. Dr. Susanne Bickel in particular. She moreover welcomed all the participants in the opening keynote lecture, presenting Egyptological research at Basel. Our other two keynote speakers, Dr. Giuseppina Lenzo and Prof. Dr. Sandrine Vuilleumier, completed the presentation of Egyptological research in Lausanne and Basel respectively.

The organisation of the conference would not have been possible without our sponsors. A heartfelt thank you goes towards the Egyptology Research Group at the University of Basel, Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft, eikones - Zentrum für die Theorie und Geschichte des Bildes, Studentische Körperschaft der Universität Basel (SKUBA), Basler Forum für Ägyptologie, Fonds zur Förderung der Altertumskunde, Max Geldner Stiftung, Uni Basel Forschungsfonds Nachwuchsförderung and the Doktoratsprogramm der Basler Altertumswissenschaften.

After four days filled with presentations, the last day of the conference was used to explore the broader Basel area. While one group went for a hike in the mountains, another group visited the Roman site Augusta Raurica. Two tours were kindly offered by Dr. Thomas Hufschmid and Cedric Grezet, one in the ancient theatre and one of the current excavations. The excursions were a nice ending to a successful conference!

We would of course also like to thank all the contributors who sent in a paper as well as extend our gratitude towards Archaeopress and to Mike Shurer in particular. Finally, we would like to thank the members of our scientific committee, and the additional scholars who reviewed the articles. We are looking forward to CRE 2024 in Liverpool and wish the organisers all the luck in the world!

The Editors

Organizing Committee

Alexis Den Doncker, postdoctoral assistant at the Department of Egyptology at the University of Basel.

Lauren Dogaer, doctoral candidate in the SNF-PRIMA Project 'Beyond the Text: New Funerary Compositions from the Greco-Roman Period: Textualities and Archaeology in Thebes'.

Cyprian H.W. Fong, doctoral candidate in the SNF-PRIMA project 'Beyond the Text: New Funerary Compositions from the Greco-Roman Period: Textualities and Archaeology in Thebes'.

Elena Hertel, doctoral candidate in the SNF-FNRS project 'Crossing Boundaries: Understanding Complex Scribal Practices in Ancient Egypt'.

Charlotte Hunkeler, doctoral candidate and university assistant at the Department of Egyptology at the University of Basel.

Jacqueline M. Huwyler, doctoral candidate at the Department of Egyptology at the University of Basel.

Marwan Kilani, postdoctoral fellow, head of the SNF Ambizione project 'Like the conversation of a Delta man with a man from Elephantine! Exploring the interactions between dialectal realities, Levantine loanwords, and sociolinguistic dynamics in New Kingdom Egypt'.

Geirr Lunden, doctoral candidate in the graduate school of eikones – Center for the Theory and History of the Image.

Tarek Mohamed, doctoral candidate and ESKAS scholarship holder at the Department of Egyptology at the University of Basel.

Sayed Soliman, doctoral candidate and ESKAS scholarship holder at the Department of Egyptology at the University of Basel.

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Felix Bloch
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Rethinking New Kingdom Coregencies and a Case Study on the Amarna Period

Charlotte Dietrich
University of Vienna/Austrian Academy of Sciences

Abstract

This article offers an examination of the nature and functions of (Egyptian) coregencies and discusses indicators for New Kingdom coregencies in particular. The focus lies on typical types of evidence, such as double dates and pictorial sources, and their applicability during this period. These considerations are put to the test by a case study in which the established criteria are applied to the three coregencies attributed to Akhenaten (with Amenhotep III, Smenkhkare, and Neferneferuaten).

Keywords

Coregency, Dyarchy, Amarna, Akhenaten, Neferneferuaten, Smenkhkare, Ankhkheperure.

Introduction

Akhenaten has been credited with no less than three coregents over the course of his 17-year reign: Amenhotep III, Smenkhkare, and Neferneferuaten (if the latter two are regarded as two separate individuals; see discussion below). Accepting all coregencies at their proposed maximum duration (Amenhotep III: 12 years; Neferneferuaten: three years; Smenkhkare*:* an unclear short period of time; perhaps less than one year) would leave about one year of sole rule to Akhenaten. Each of these alleged coregencies remains controversial, and several diverging historical models have emerged.

To examine these proposed coregencies, it is necessary to provide a definition of such a governmental arrangement and then to establish appropriate criteria for accepting or rejecting sources as indicators of coregency.

Terminology: coregency vs dyarchy

Coregency is the temporary state in which a monarchical office intended for a single individual is held by several concurrently and cooperatively.[1] After the demise of a coregent, the remaining ruler retains his position and may either rule alone until his death or appoint a new coregent at any point in time. Thus, coregencies can be used to support or consolidate forms of 'closed' autocratic succession (i.e. appointed or hereditary; cf. Kurrild-Klitgaard 2000, 2004) by pre-emptively granting the eventual successor the office, title, and rank that he will continue to hold independently after his predecessor's death. In addition to this consolidation of dynastic continuity and preparation of a successor for his governmental duties, coregencies may also be used for other political purposes such as building dynastic

[1] For other definitions of coregency, see Beckerath 1984: 11; Beckerath 1997: 74; Bierbrier 2008: 54-55; Brand 2000: 309; Helck 1982: 155; Sankiewicz 2011: 131-132; Shaw & Nicholson 2002: 72; Simpson 1956: 214; Tanner 1974: 127; Thiele 1983: 321. Simultaneous reigns of kings ruling over different parts of the country, even if in peaceful recognition of each other's kingship, are not to be regarded as coregencies (cf. Helck 1982: 155; Murnane 1977: 87; *contra* Skuse 2017: 99).

identity, expressing political unity or balancing competing factions (cf. Billows 1996; Criscuolo 2017: 13-14; Huß 2001: 274, 311; Minas-Nerpel 2014: 150, 156-157; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 24-25; Skuse 2017: 89, 99-101) and have been employed by various monarchies throughout history.[2]

Coregencies must be distinguished from dyarchies, in which the government of a polity is regularly shared between two individuals (or institutions; cf. Goodblatt 2020: 57; Law 2010; on different forms of dyarchies/dual kingships, see Sahlins 2011: 63-66). There may be various precautions to balance the dual leadership (e.g. divided tasks, complementary functions) but since the shared leadership is mandatory, a dyarch must be replaced upon his demise. A typical example of a dyarchy is the dual kingship of Sparta, where two dynasties (Agiads and Eurypontids) each appoint one king (Griffith-Williams 2011; Millender 2018; Sahlins 2011).

Egyptian coregencies

Besides the unanimously accepted coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (Assmann 1987; Chappaz 1993; Dorman 2006; Keller 2005; Maruéjol 2014; Taterka 2016: 21-28),[3] the existence of coregencies in Egypt before the Ptolemaic joint rules (i.a. Chauveau 1997; Minas-Nerpel 2014; Murnane 1977: 94-109) remains debated. Despite suggestions of potential earlier coregencies (e.g. coregencies between Narmer and Hor Aha, cf. Dreyer 2021, or Djet and Den, cf. Cervelló-Autuori 2005: 34-35), special attention has been given to several coregencies from the Middle Kingdom (i.a. Connor 2022; Jansen-Winkeln 1997; Murnane 1977: 1-29; Obsomer 1995: 35-155; Saladino Haney 2020: 39-97; Schneider 2006: 170-175; Willems 2022: 693-695) and New Kingdom (i.a. Brand 2000: 309-333; Murnane 1977: 30-87; Redford 1967: 50-56). A monograph on Egyptian coregencies by William Murnane (1977; reviews by Redford 1983; Spalinger 1979) has not settled the debate either, as not only the evidence pertaining to specific coregencies, but also the very existence of coregencies in general remains controversial. At times, they are dismissed as they are regarded to be in fundamental conflict with Egyptian royal ideology by placing '*two Horuses*' (Gardiner 1961: 129-130; Taterka 2019: 45) on the throne (Christophe 1951: 371-372; Laboury 2010: 87-88; Obsomer 1995: 35-36; Taterka 2019: 45; Uphill 2001).

While this statement is true, it should be noted that a monarchical system is the very precondition for coregencies. If shared leadership were demanded ideologically, it could not be suspended by leaving a remaining former coregent to carry the affairs on their own, but the deceased coregent would have to be replaced, effectively leading to a dyarchy. Coregencies can only occur in monarchical systems that are designed for a single ruler, making their exceptionalism one of their characteristics. The opposition of the incompatibility of coregencies with royal ideology and their existence in spite of this has been repeatedly commented on (by Beckerath 1997: 74; Gardiner 1961: 129-130; Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 115-116; Minas-Nerpel 2014: 148-149; Redford 1983: 181; Spalinger 1979: 189).

Coregencies can bridge the dogmatics and pragmatics of power by temporarily foregoing the ideology that consolidates the rule of a singular king in order to avoid a crisis (e.g. unstable succession) and thus preserve the system by facilitating an otherwise uncertain power transition. The ambiguity required to ideologically justify the rule of either one or two kings would only be detrimental to the stability

[2] Among them is the Vietnamese Trần dynasty (ruling Đại Việt in the 13th-14th centuries), during which an older ruler would receive the title *Thái thượng hoàng* 'Emperor Emeritus' after appointing a junior king (cf. Taylor 2013: 125-126; Vu 2017: 20; Wolters 1986: 370). Similarly, Andean tradition would pass on rule to the most capable son, whose succession would at times be supported by installing him as coregent before his predecessor's death (Covey 2006: 188-190 [n. 74]; D'Altroy 2014: 114-115, 177, 194-195; see also Astete 2012).

[3] This coregency is both precedent and exception given that the 'appointed' coregent (i.e. Hatshepsut) was senior in age and expectedly died before the younger Thutmose III. It is by all means unlikely that this coregency was established for the sake of stabilising the royal succession (cf. also the comments by Beckerath 1997: 75 [n. 315]); a discussion of the specific motivations, however, cannot take place here.

of the monarchical system, since only one of these two options could be fulfilled at any given time, permanently leaving an ideological vacuum for the other.

Therefore, the (non-)existence of coregencies should not be a blanket judgement but requires an individual assessment of each case by examining indicative features in inscriptional and iconographical sources.

Indicators of coregency

A great variety of textual, iconographical, architectural or archaeological sources or features may point towards a coregency (see Murnane 1977); and not all can be discussed here. Instead, this article will focus on typical – namely double dates and pictorial evidence showing two kings as coregents – rather than particular types of evidence for coregency.

The most widely accepted diagnostic feature of a coregency is a so-called double date (Depauw 2007: xi; Goedicke 1992: 18-19, 52-59; Helck 1982; Minas-Nerpel 2014: 148; Murnane 1977: 1); interestingly, even scholars who reject the Middle Kingdom coregencies such as R. Delia have not argued against the persuasiveness of double dates themselves, but have rather doubted the interpretation of certain inscriptions as such (Delia 1979: 27).[4] In general, double dates indicate the same point in time according to two different calendrical or dating systems, synchronising their respective date computations. Besides the regnal year counts of joint rulers (Dorman 2006: 67 [n. 108]), double dates may equate a variety of systems such as the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars (Pestman 1967: 5, 22, passim; Samuel 1962: 31-32, 34-37), the Egyptian civil and lunar calendars (Depuydt 1997: 83-84, 163-175) or the Egyptian regnal and financial years (Depauw 2007: x; Paulissen and Vandorpe 2019; Pestman 1967: 6, 20, passim). As evidence for a coregency, a double date should include the names and regnal year counts of both rulers, as is the case in Demotic double dates (e.g. *ḥ3.t-zp* X *i.ir ir ḥ3.t-zp* Y *n n3 pr-ʿ3ʿ.w.s.w KN1 KN2* 'regnal year X which makes regnal year Y of the pharaohs[LPH] KN1 KN2'; Boswinkel and Pestman 1982: 139-140 [86]; Chauveau 1997; Depauw 2002: 114-115; Martin 2009a: 206-207 [xxii-xxiii]; Van't Dack *et al.* 1989: 110-114).

There is, however, no broadly accepted double date prior to the Third Intermediate Period.[5] Subsequently, there is no consensus on the formulaic make-up of Middle or New Kingdom double dates. The same inscriptions have been repeatedly postulated to bear or not to bear double dates, with the acceptance or rejection of a given inscription as featuring a double date usually being congruent with the acceptance or rejection of the corresponding coregency (e.g. the discussion by Delia 1979, 1982; Murnane 1977, 1981). In some cases from Ramesside times, governmental participation of a successor was assumed, but the term of coregency was rejected on the grounds of a lack of an independent year count, again highlighting the importance given to double dates in scholarly discussion and effectively elevating them from indicator to a *conditio sine qua non* of coregency despite their philological construction and very existence continuously being debated (for an overview, see Brand 2000: 309-310, 313, 314). While the fact remains that a double date universally accepted as such would make it difficult to argue against a coregency, this conflation of the existences of double dating and coregency deserves reconsideration.

In case of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, synchronisations of two separate regnal year counts in the strict sense do not occur. Hatshepsut, instead of reckoning her reign from her accession onwards, adopted the regnal year count and computation of Thutmose III (Chappaz 1993: 93; Dorman

[4] *'(...) these private inscriptions do not prove the existence of coregencies when there is not a single royal inscription from the period which bears a double date and names two kings.'* (Delia 1979: 27).

[5] In the Third Intermediate Period, a construction *rnp.t-zp* X *n.tj (m) rnp.t-zp* Y occurs in double dating formulae (cf. Beckerath 1966: 45, 50 [13]; Broekman 2002: 174), accepted as a double date by e.g. Delia 1979: 26; Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 252; Murnane 1977: 91; Payraudeau 2014: 83-85; doubts have been voiced by Uphill 2001: 91-92.

2006: 53-54, 67 [n. 108]; Hornung 2006: 201; Keller 2005: 96; similarly, a joint regnal year count was also used in some Ptolemaic coregencies, cf. Minas-Nerpel 2014: 148). Since both rulers could use the regnal year count jointly or alone without mentioning the respective other ruler ('single dating'),[6] dating formulae which include both rulers prove their identical counts. In a formula including both rulers, mentioning the identical regnal years of both separately would be redundant (* 'year X under the majesty of KN1 which makes year X under the majesty of KN2'). Therefore, if a dating formula consists of a single regnal year and the names of two kings who both refer to this very regnal year as belonging to both their respective reigns. E.g. on a graffito in Tangur: *rnp.t-zp 12 ꜣbd 3 prữ.t sw 12 ḫr ḥm n(.j) nṯr-nfr ⸢Mꜣ ꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥw⸣ ḏỉ ꜥnḫ ḫr ḥm n(.j) nṯr-nfr ⸢Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥw⸣ ḏỉ ꜥnḫ* 'regnal year 12, 3rd month of the Peret-season, day 12 under the majesty of the good god ⸢Maatkare⸣, given life (and) under the majesty of the good god ⸢Menkheperre⸣, given life'; Breasted 1909: 105; Chappaz 1993: 94 [n. 50]; Hintze et al. 1989b: 289, 1989a: 172 Nr. 562; PM VII: 157), this, in my opinion, may be classified as a variant of double dating. [7]

But even if their classification as double date is rejected, this presents us with the interesting case of a certain coregency with not every coregent reckoning his reign from his own accession. Instead of synchronising two divergent year counts, the existing count is replicated and employed by both rulers, perhaps simplifying administrative application. This shows that while a double date is an indication of coregency, coregencies do not necessarily use two regnal year counts; thus, the absence of double dates does not exclude a coregency with absolute certainty. Dorman (2006: 67 [n. 108]) and Gabolde (1998: 88) consider double dating in the New Kingdom nearly impossible since the accession dating system employed in this period (contrasting the assumed predating system in the Middle Kingdom) would result in unsynchronised changes of the regnal years (both most likely again different from the calendrical year change), making concordant dating impossible and the entire double dating system excessively complicated. An avoidance of such divergent regnal year counts and the resulting absence of double dates has been repeatedly suspected for certain Egyptian coregencies, especially during the New Kingdom (cf. Hornung 2006: 199, 211; Murnane 1990: 93 [n. 90]; Redford 1967: 50-51; Seele 1940: 33). Therefore, the historical question of the existence of coregencies and the chronological question of the practice of double dating cannot be answered at once despite their inevitable entanglements.

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[6] On the dating formulae during the coregency, see also Chappaz (1993: 93-96) and Dorman (2006: 53-54), who point out that no proper dating formula with only Hatshepsut's name is known (i.e. **rnp.t-zp* X *ḫr ḥm n(.j) nswt-bjt ⸢Mꜣꜥ.t-kꜣ-Rꜥw⸣*). Nevertheless, Hatshepsut may be mentioned alone in connection to dates, implying the regnal year to be hers, as is the case on an obelisk in Karnak (*šꜣꜥ.n ḥm=j kꜣ.t r=s m rnp.t-zp 15 ꜣbd 2 prữ.t sw 1 nfr.jjt-r rnp.t-zp 16 ꜣbd 4 šmw ꜥrḵ.jj ỉrỉ.n ꜣbd 7 m šꜣꜥ.t m ḏw* 'My (=Hatshepsut) majesty has ordered the work on it in regnal year 15, 2nd month of the Peret-season, day 1 until regnal year 16, 4th month of the Shemu-season, last day, (that) makes seven months from the beginning (of the work) in the mountain (=quarry).'; Selim 1991: 102). Since Hatshepsut's titulary alone occurs repeatedly all throughout the entire set of inscriptions, whereas Thutmose III is not mentioned at all, it must have been her intent to present these regnal years as pertaining to her reign. If we imagine that it was any other king mentioned alone in such a set of inscriptions with mention of a regnal year, assigning that regnal year to precisely the mentioned king's reign would be considered certain beyond any doubt as well. In the meantime, dating formulae from the time of the coregency (at least regnal years 7-20) only referring to Thutmose III include two on IS180 (Tallet 2018: 321, 367; *|1 rnp.t-zp 13 ḥ〈r〉 ḥm {r} n(.j) |2 Ḥrw Kꜣ-nḫt-ḥ-ỉ-m-Wꜣs.t nb.tj Wꜣḥ-nsw.j[jt ...]* 'regnal year 13 under the majesty of Horus Kanakht-Khaiemwaset the Two Ladies Wahnesu[it...]' and *|1 rnp.t-zp 13 ḫr ḥm n(.j) |2 nṯr-nfr ⸢Mn-ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥw⸣ ḏỉ ꜥnḫ* "regnal year 13 under the majesty of the Good God ⸢Menkheperkare⸣ given life" on the main sides of the stela; note, however, that Hatshepsut's name does occur on the side of the stela, but not as part of a dating formula), a graffito in Abka (Hintze et al. 1989a: 38 no. 64; *rnp.t-zp 16 ḫr ḥm n(.j) nṯr-nfr ⸢Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥw⸣ ḏỉ ꜥnḫ* 'regnal year 16 under the majesty of the Good God ⸢Menkheperre⸣ given life') and another one from Shelfak (Hintze *et al.* 1989a: 90 no. 365; *|1 rnp.t-zp 18 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 16 ḫr ḥm n(.j) |2 nswt-bjt ⸢Mn-ḫpr-Rꜥw⸣ ḏỉ ꜥnḫ mj Rꜥw |3 mrữ.jj nswt-bjt ⸢Ḥꜥỉ-kꜣ.w-Rꜥw⸣* 'regnal year 18, 4th month of the shemu-season under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ⸢Menkheperre⸣ given life like Re, beloved of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt ⸢Khaikaure⸣ (=Senusret III)'). The practice of both single-dating and double-dating during coregencies with divergent regnal year counts also occurs in Ptolemaic times (Van't Dack *et al.* 1989: 110-114).

[7] Murnane 1977: 38 [l]; see also Taterka 2019: 45 [n. 16: ' "double" dates'].

Accepting that double dates, despite being the most agreeable of indicators of coregencies, may not always be used by them has two main consequences. First, it limits the chronological impact of coregencies which is mainly based on double-dating with divergent reckonings. Without it, the regnal year count would likely work as if no coregency had occurred, eliminating the need to subtract the length of a coregency from the younger coregent's reign length in greater schemes of historical chronology, which often rely on the addition of reign lengths to determine a certain interval. Secondly, this highlights the importance of other sources for detecting coregencies, as evidenced by the prominence of iconographic material in many coregency debates.

Since, of course, not every depiction of two kings is sufficient to indicate a coregency, it is essential to define a number of criteria for such depictions, which must bridge the contradiction between conveying the individual authority of each ruler and, at the same time, the harmonious coexistence of their reigns.

First of all, both coregents must be part of the same scene, i.e. they must not be visually set apart by structural elements such as colour bands or separation lines, and preferably engaged in the same action (Brand 2000: 329-330; Murnane 1977: 200-201 [5]), since adjacent scenes in which each king is involved in a different action may occur for various other reasons such as a tomb owner living and serving under both kings or a royal successor completing (the decoration of) monuments of his predecessor.

Both coregents have to be clearly indicated as royal and equal in that royal status. They both should appear in royal costume and be given captions with royal titles, epithets and cartouches. They may be set apart from other figures by hierarchical proportion, but not from each other (see also Davies 2004: passim, esp. 62-63; Gabolde 1998: 88; Keller 2005).

Finally, the most difficult requirement to assess is if both kings are depicted as being alive, as only then the state of their joint rule would be conveyed. This excludes mainly scenes in which one king performs an offering ritual before another since such scenes do not allow for any precise conclusions on the chronological relation between officiant and beneficiary (or a group of beneficiaries to each other; see also the comments by Brand 2000: 329; Redford 1967: 116). Neither private individuals such as Inherkhau (TT 359; El Shazly 2015: 104; LD III: 2d) or Khabekhenet (TT 2, Berlin ÄM 1625; LD III: 2a) offering to members from several generations of the Ahmosid royal family nor Seti I and the future Ramesses II before their predecessors in Abydos (Redford 1986: 18-20) are to be considered contemporary to these beneficiaries. Similar caution must be exercised when looking at several kings receiving offering such as Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in the tomb of Neferrenpet (TT 43; Hartwig 2020).

Depictions fitting these characteristics are known from the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Despite the observations of Hatshepsut implying a dominant position within the coregency through her precedence (Dorman 2006: 56-57; Sankiewicz 2011, 2015) the fact remains that both were depicted as rulers and as such equal in rank even if a division of tasks or a certain hegemony of one of them had been in place. This equity of rank is expressed by their royal titularies, epithets and cartouches, their equal height (no hierarchical proportion) and their royal iconography, primarily in regards to their costume, jewellery and regalia (cf. Davies 2004; Keller 2005). The kings are depicted as '*twin rulers*' (Keller 2005: 96) in similar royal ornate and of the same height, both engaged in cultic activities such as carrying out a shared offering (cf. Brand 2000: 329-330; e.g. on the Chapelle Rouge: Burgos & Larché 2015: 106; Stephan 2008: 51; at Deir el-Bahari: Naville 1901: pl. CV; on stela Gregorian Egyptian Museum 22780: Botti & Romanelli 1951: 84-85, pl. LIX [128]) or partaking in a procession (e.g. on the Chapelle Rouge: Burgos & Larché 2015: 48, 51, 61, 62, 98, 99, 114; Stephan 2008: 44, 46-48, 93).

Notably, the iconographic or textual inclusion of the coregent in inscriptions or depictions during the coregency was not obligatory (cf. Dorman 2006: 49; Jansen-Winkeln 1997: 118; Murnane 1977: 191, 200

[2], see n. 6). The appearance or mention of only one of the coregents does not automatically imply the end of the coregency or a rift between the two.

Akhenaten's coregents

Since the 19th century (e.g. Petrie 1896: 208), coregencies between Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and his predecessor Amenhotep III or his successor(s) *ʿnḫ-ḥpr.w-Rʿw* (± epithet) have been debated. The problem is perhaps best epitomised by a small group of representations which may be interpreted as displaying coregents. Two unfinished stelae show two figures with *uraei* feasting, one (Berlin ÄM 20716)[8] displaying a standing silhouette with a blue crown pouring a liquid from a flask into a bowl[9] held by a seated ruler with a headcloth, the other (Berlin ÄM 17813)[10] characterized by two seated figures, one with a double crown turning around to cup the chin (David 2020a) of the other wearing a blue crown. The left figure with the blue crown shows various feminine characteristics such as a female breast, a concave neckline and an overall slenderer figure than the other. Details of her dress cannot be made out, but a straight hem, parallel to the ground and almost reaching her ankles, is visible. The right figure with the double crown is most likely a male as he is depicted with a broader build and a concave neckline. His garment is slightly shorter than the other, with a curved hemline that hangs slightly lower at the front. Especially on stela Berlin ÄM 17813, both rulers are of the same size with no hierarchical proportion setting them apart and their direct interaction suggests both are alive. A fragmentary seal impression shows a similar motif of two seated figures with royal headgear and uraei, with the right figure turning back to face the other behind it (Berlin ÄM 21331; here, the two seated figures are accompanied by a third standing silhouette, most likely a king's daughter; Breuer 2012; Krauss 2007: 299-301 [figs. 3-4]). The right figure on this impression is identified by a cartouche next to the Aten above as ⸢*Nfr-ḥpr.w-Rʿw Wʿ-n(.j)-Rʿw*⸣, but a second cartouche on the other side of the sun disc, perhaps referring to the second seated figure, is badly damaged.[11] Again, the seated figures with royal attributes are not separated by hierarchical proportion and interact directly with each other. Finally, two fragmentary impressions from a seal found in the house of Ranefer (N49.18) at Amarna show two figures underneath the Aten's rays seated opposite each other, one wearing a headcloth and a red crown and the other a blue crown, both holding a *heqa*-sceptre (CoA I: 11, 14, pl. X [6]; one impression is now in the Ashmolean Museum, no. 1921.1149; cf. Harris 1973: 8 [n. 22]; Krauss 2007: 301 [fig. 3]).

All of these depictions can be dated stylistically to the Amarna period. It has been observed that in several depictions, a royal figure wearing a blue crown displays attributes employed by women in Amarna art such as breasts, concave neck or slightly smaller size in comparison to male figures (esp. Berlin ÄM 20716 and 17813, but also the impressions from the house of Ranefer). If one would accept these as depictions of coregents, the only conclusion which could be drawn are that coregency took place during the Amarna period, involving Akhenaten and another ruler of unclear identity, who was apparently female. Such conclusions should, however, be treated with caution as the precise description and therefore interpretation of these objects is hampered by their fragmentary or incomplete state

[8] Allen 2016: 10-11 [fig. 4]; Freed 1999; Harris 1973: 7-8; Krauss 2007: 300 [fig. 2]; Laboury 2010: 339-341 [fig. 6-4a]; PM IV: 205; Weber 2012.

[9] For the motif of the feasting king in Amarna art, see David 2020b: 285-343; some examples of pouring liquid into a bowl or cupped hand have been collected by Bouillon 2019; Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985: 19-20, 27 n. 121, 33-34; Freed 1999; Riefling 2016.

[10] Allen 2016: 10-11 [fig. 3]; Dodson 2020a: 71 [fig. 78]; Krauss 1978: 102, 2007: 300 [fig. 2]; Laboury 2010: 339-340 [fig. 6-3]; PM IV: 232

[11] Krauss (2007: 300-301) argues that a sun disc is preserved that allows for a reconstruction of the name of Nefertiti. The seal is in a very bad condition in the area of this second cartouche and such a reconstruction is quite far from certain based on the photographs published by Krauss (2007: 301 [fig. 3]) and provided by the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (< https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/548 [last accessed 12/11/2023] >). A collation of the original might help, but this could not be undertaken in preparation for this article.

(forgoing iconographical detail and inscriptional clarification besides the one cartouche of Akhenaten) and the limitation in detail dictated by the medium/object type of impressions of seals into mud.

Since Akhenaten's coregent remains unidentified in these sources, the proposed candidates and their compatibility should be reviewed.

The early coregent: Amenhotep III

A coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is one of the most prominent coregency debates with a wide variety of chronological models proposed or refuted. Supporters of the hypothesis may favour either a 'long' (e.g. Giles 2001: 25-137; Johnson 1996; Martín Valentín and Bedman 2023; Vandersleyen 1995: 402-407) or a 'short' joint rule (e.g. Harris 1975: 100; Reeves 2001: 77-78; see also the comments by Lull 2019: 80); the alleged coregency has been rejected by e.g. Beckerath 1984; Campbell Jr. 1964: 6-30; Hornung 1964: 71-78; Krauss 1978: 6-9; Redford 1967: 88-169. There is no double date which would synchronise their regnal year counts; the postulated coregency relies on iconographical and circumstantial evidence instead.

In order to assess whether or not they point towards a coregency, depictions which place both kings in close proximity to each other are of special interest. Indeed, there is a group of offering scenes of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten officiating before Amenhotep III from Nubian Temples – from Soleb[12] and from the main temple crypt at Sesebi (Morkot 1988: 160-161; PM VII: 173; Spence 2018: 125) – and the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192; Epigraphic Survey 1980: pls. 11-13; for further investigation of the tomb's decoration in connection to the coregency debate, see Dorman 2009). In the latter, Amenhotep III is accompanied by his King's Great Wife Tiye. Despite Tiye living well into her son's reign, no final conclusion can be drawn whether Amenhotep III is alive in this scene; as discussed above, offering scenes in which supposed coregents appear as officiant and beneficiary cannot be cited as conclusive evidence. The temple scenes show Amenhotep III as the deified *Nb-Mꜣʿ.t-Rʿw nb-tꜣ-stj* 'Nebmaatre-Lord-of-Nubia' (on this divinity, see Bickel 2013; Bryan 1992: 106-108; Davies 2015; Goedicke 1992; Pamminger 1993) and adjacent scenes show Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten officiating before other divinities such as Amon-Ra (for Soleb, see Schiff Giorgini 1998: pls. 19, 21-23, 2002: 354-356, 2003: 190-194 [figs. 189b-c]; for Sesebi, see PM VII: 173). The divine status of Nebmaatre-Lord-of-Nubia only adds to the already discussed difficulties of arguing for a coregency using offering scenes and is another reason to not consider these scenes sufficient evidence.

Another source often brought up in the discussion is a lintel in the tomb of Huya (AT 1; Davies 1905a: 1-25, pls. I-XXV; Hesse 2013: 14-16 [AT 3 (1)], 51, 59, 110) showing Akhenaten with Nefertiti opposite four daughters in the left and Amenhotep III opposite Tiye and Baketaten in the right panel (Davies 1905a: 15, pl. XVIII). As both scenes are set apart by a separation line, they cannot be used as an indication of coregency – after all, Huya was the steward of Tiye, mother of Akhenaten and King's Great Wife of Amenhotep III, but had also relocated to Amarna, so he had connections to both reigns which would justify the portrayal of both generations of the royal family.

Another interesting case are the depictions of Amenhotep III on the great barque Userhat on the 3rd pylon at Karnak. The king is depicted twice on the barque, one figure offering in front of Amun's shrine and another figure astern steering with an oar. In both instances, a smaller royal figure following Amenhotep III has been erased. It has been suggested that this smaller figure should be identified as

[12] The scenes showed at some point Akhenaten officiating before Nebmaatre (for the scenes, see Schiff Giorgini 1998: pls. 11, 19, 21-23, 2002: 354-356, 369, 2003: 190-194 [figs. 189b-c], 214 [fig. 204]); the cartouches accompanying the officiant have, however, been reworked, and at some point also contained the names of Amenhotep III. The discussion of the number and sequence of adaptions in the captions remains unresolved (see Murnane 2013; Schiff Giorgini 2002: 20, 36, 354-356, 368-369, 371).

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, who followed his father and senior coregent and was removed after the Amarna period (Giles 2001: 83-84; Reeves 2001: 75-76). In the last detailed study of this scene, Murnane 1979 concluded that these smaller royal figures were added during the reign of Tutankhamun, who inserted himself into the scene in the course of his restoration programme and who was later removed under Horemheb as part of a secondary restoration. This view is challenged by W.R. Johnson (personal communication), who will undertake a new study of these scenes, the results of which may shed light on the matter. But even if Akhenaten was indeed depicted following his father Amenhotep III and later erased, his significantly smaller size would not meet the established criteria for a scene with coregents.

In conclusion, since none of the above-discussed indicators of coregency occur in the known sources, these sources cannot be considered evidence for a coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. For this reason, a model of successive, non-overlapping reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is favoured.

The later coregent(s): *ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw*

Titularies and identities

The presence of a ruler other than Akhenaten at Amarna was noted early on. When C.R. Lepsius and the Prussian expedition visited Amarna in the 1840s, they recorded the names and titles of a king (*〈ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw〉 〈Smnḫ-kȝ-Rʿw Ḏsr-ḫpr.w〉*) and his King's Great Wife (*〈Mrỉ(.jjt)-ʾItn〉*) in the tomb of Meryre ii (AT 2; LD III: 99a; for the tomb, see Davies 1905b: 23-42, pls. XXVIII-XL; Hesse 2013: 17-18 [AT 4 (2)], 51, 58, 110). When N. de Garis Davies prepared the publications of the Amarna elite necropolis (1901-1907), the inscription had suffered damage, but the accompanying scene – which had never been finished and was only preserved as a sketch – could be included: a royal couple in the typical Amarna style under the rays of the Aten (Davies 1905b: pl. XLI).

The King's Great Wife was subsequently identified with Meritaten, the daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, thus settling the relative chronology of the two kings. The identification of Smenkhkare as the son-in-law of Akhenaten (with perhaps some other genealogical link to the wider royal family) by P.E. Newberry (1928) was widely accepted.

Just how prevalent this conception of one other Amarnian ruler by the name of Smenkhkare became can be observed by the treatment of some objects emerging after Smenkhkare's place in the family tree had been established this way. A wooden box (GEM 354/Cairo JE 61500a-b/Carter 001k; Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 4 [1k]; Gabolde 1998: 178-183, 2015: 78 [fig. 16]; Harris 1974: 11 [a], 13 [fig. 1a]; Urk. IV: 2024 [770]; Kemp 2016: 13-14 [fig. 3]; Krauss 1978: 88 [g. 1]; Newberry 1928: 4-5; Sandman 1938: 168 [CXCIV]; Tawfik et al. 2018: 179-181 [figs. 1, 3]) found in the sloping passage of Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) contains a vertical line of inscription on its lid, reading:

> ↓ |[1] *nswt-bjt ʿnḫ-m-mȝʿ.t nb-tȝ.wj 〈Nfr-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Wʿn(.j)-Rʿw〉 zȝ-Rʿw ʿnḫ-m-mȝʿ.t nb-ḥʿỉ.w 〈ʒḫ-n-ʾItn〉 ʿȝ-m-ʿḥʿ(.w)=f nswt-bjt 〈ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Mrỉ(.jj)-Nfr-ḫpr(.w)-Rʿw〉 zȝ-Rʿw nb-ḥʿỉ.w 〈Nfr-nfr.w-ʾItn Mrỉ.(jj)-Wʿn(.j)-Rʿw〉 ḥm.t-nswt wr.t 〈Mrỉ.(jj)t-ʾItn〉 ʿnḫ.tj ḏ.t*
>
> Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives in truth, Lord of the Two Lands 〈Neferkheperure Waenre〉 Son of Re, who lives in truth, Lord of Appearances 〈Akhenaten〉 great in his lifetime, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt 〈Ankhkheperure beloved of Neferkheperure〉 Son of Re, Lord of Appearances 〈Neferneferuaten beloved of Waenre〉 King's Great Wife 〈Meritaten〉 may she live forever.

Besides the intricacies of the interpretation of this inscription,[13] the two cartouches in the middle share nothing but the *ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw*-element with the titulary from the tomb of Meryre ii (AT 2). Nevertheless, H. Carter dubbed it the "*box of Smenkhkare*" (Carter 1933: 17-18; see also < http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/001k-c001k-1.html >).

A similar case is the recent first edition of an ivory fragment from the von Bissing collection now kept in the Egyptian Museum in Munich (ÄS 7342; Willeitner 2022a, 2022b). The surviving caption shows a typically Amarnian cartouche cluster:

> *↓|[1] ⸢ʿnḫ-Rʿw-ḥḳ͗-ỉḫ.tj-ḥʿi̯-m-ỉḫ.t⸣ |[2] ⸢m-rn=f-m-Rʿw-i̯t-i̯wi̯-m-ỉtn⸣ (→|[3] ... ↓|[4-6] ...) ↓|[x+7] nb-t͗.w ⸢Nfr-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Wʿ-n(.j)-Rʿw⸣ |[x+8] nb-ḫʿi̯.w ⸢ỉḫ-n-ỉtn⸣ (→|[x+9] ...) ↓|[x+10] nb-t͗.w ⸢ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Mri̯(.jj)-Wʿ-n-(.j)-Rʿw⸣ ↓|[x+11] nb-ḫʿi̯.w ⸢Nfr-nfr.w-ỉtn ỉḫ.t-n-ḥj=s⸣*
>
> ⸢May live Re, Ruler of the Two Horizons, who rejoices in the horizon⸣⸢in his name as Re, the father, who has come as Aten⸣ (...) Lord of the Lands ⸢Neferkheperure Waenre⸣ Lord of Appearances ⸢Akhenaten⸣ (...) Lord of the Lands ⸢Ankhkheperure beloved of Waenre⸣ Lord of Appearances ⸢Neferneferuaten effective for her husband⸣.

Smenkhkare's name, again, is not among those present. Nevertheless, the object was interpreted as an attestation of '*Smenkhkare as Coregent*' (Willeitner 2022b). This is of course based on a model in which Neferneferuaten and Smenkhkare were one and the same ruler who at some point altered his names, similar to Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and Tutankhaten/Tutankhamen – nevertheless, the use of the precise name inscribed on the respective object (i.e. Neferneferuaten or Ankhkheperure) in the title would have been more descriptive.

It was observed that the unextended name ⸢*ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw*⸣ always accompanied the ⸢*Smnḫ-kʾ-Rʿw Ḏsr-ḫpr.w*⸣ cartouche, while the extended ⸢*ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw + Mri̯.jj*-[Akhenaten]⸣ always coincided with ⸢*Nfr-nfr.w-ỉtn Mri̯.jj*-[Akhenaten]/*ỉḫ.t-n-ḥj=s*⸣ (Allen 1988: 126, 1991: 84-85; Gabolde 1998: 153-157; Harris 1992: 60-61). Additionally, the use of feminine endings (*ʿnḫ.**t**-ḫpr.w-Rʿw*; *ỉḫ.**t**-n-ḥj=s*) or feminine pronouns (*=s*) is a specific feature of the Neferneferuaten group.[14] It remains up to debate whether these are the titularies of two distinct rulers (Allen 1988, 1991; Dodson 2009, 2020a; Gabolde 1998) or the result of a name change of one king (Harris 1973, 1974; Kemp 2016; Newberry 1928; Reeves 2023; Willeitner 2022a, 2022b) and – in either case – in which sequence these names occurred.[15]

ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw as coregent(s)

A coregency with Akhenaten has been proposed for all three thinkable bearers of the name ⸢*ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw*⸣ – that is, two distinct rulers Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten or one name-changing ruler Smenkhkare-Neferneferuaten/Neferneferuaten-Smenkhkare. Whereas a coregency proved for one of the rulers in a model with two distinct rulers Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten could be transferred to a model with one name-changing ruler Smenkhkare-Neferneferuaten/Neferneferuaten-Smenkhkare,

[13] The traditional interpretation assumed names and titles of three individuals: Akhenaten, Neferneferuaten, and Meritaten. Gabolde (1998: 178-179) suggested that only two individuals are present, namely Akhenaten and three cartouches indicating that the King's Daughter Meritaten had become Neferneferuaten (for criticism of this view, see e.g. Eaton-Krauss and Krauss 2001: 95-96).

[14] These female markers were first collected by Krauss (1978: 29-35), who assumed that Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten were two different *nomina* of Ankhkheperure (Krauss 1978: 90), but regarded Ankhetkheperure as a different individual. The epithet *ỉḫ.t-n-ḥj=s* was discovered by Gabolde 1998: 153-157.

[15] Helck (2001: 62) and Krauss (1978: 90-91) cite the association of Smenkhkare with a year 1 and Neferneferuaten with year 3 to conclude the sequence of the names, while Reeves (2023: 270) suggested that the epithets of Neferneferuaten referring to Akhenaten are linked to their coregency whereas their omission occurred only after Akhenaten's death, marking the beginning of Neferneferuaten's/Smenkhkare's sole rule.

a coregency proved in this latter model cannot be transferred to both rulers in a model of two distinct rulers. Proof of coregency would have to be demonstrated for each of the two. Therefore, this article adopts a model of two distinct rulers, since the results then could theoretically be adopted for the alternative model of one name-changing ruler as well.

A simple juxtaposition of two royal titularies is of course not sufficient to point towards a coregency (see above). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while the names of Neferneferuaten appear on a total of three objects in connection to those of Akhenaten (Munich ÄS 7342 [for bibliography, see above]; GEM 354/Cairo JE 61500a-b/Carter 001k [for bibliography, see above]; London UC 410+Cairo JE 64959; Gabolde 1990, 1998: 90 [n. 797], 155 [fig. 4], 162-165, 2005: 281, 2015: 76-77, 80; Harris 1974: 11 [b], 13 [fig. 1b]; Krauss 1989; Martin 2009b; Stewart 1976: 22, pls. 12, 52.2), the name of Smenkhkare does so on only one (Cairo JE 62172/Carter 405; Beinlich & Saleh 1989: 185 [405]; Gabolde 1998: 5, 224-226 [fig. 7]; Harris 1992: 58; Loeben 1994).

Especially interesting are two inscriptions which most likely constitute captions to depictions. The first of these is the ivory fragment Munich ÄS 7342, for which the accompanying motif is very difficult to narrow down. The only certainties are the Aten disc with rays ending in hands and a garland – similar garlands appear on offering tables or on booths connected to funerary depictions (e.g. in the royal tomb at Amarna [AT 26; room γ, wall B; Lehner et al. 1989: 45-48, pls. 68-69] or the tomb of Tutankhamun [KV 62, burial chamber, eastern wall; Robins 2007: 324-325 [fig. 1]]; for funerary booths in general, see Arnst 2021) – being part of the composition. The second is the fragmented stela London UC 410+Cairo JE 64959 ('coregency stela'). It is most likely part of a group of stelae of modest size and in rectangular shape, the carved scenes usually showing selected members of the Amarnian royal family under the rays of the Aten in various configurations of affectionate and relaxed poses. The accompanying inscriptions are usually limited to the cartouches and epithets of the Aten and the depicted family members (Fitzenreiter 2005, 2008; Ikram 1989). Many of the characteristics of London UC 410+Cairo JE 64959 can be found in other examples of this group, suggesting that the preserved captions identified the depicted family members (of whom four pairs of feet survive, indicating a minimum of four included individuals). These two objects with preserved captions but uncertain accompanying scenes present an almost inverted case to the stelae (Berlin ÄM 17813 and 20716) with unfinished scenes and missing captions, both presenting themselves as potential sources but ultimately lacking sufficient information.

But perhaps the remains of a decorated pillar (see fig. 5) constitute a different case. A talatat from Hermopolis with two torus moldings (406/VII; Hanke & Roeder 1969: 386; pls 12; 16 [406/VII], see figs. 1 and 5) has often been called the 'coregency block'. On one of its decorated sides (406/VIIA) it shows the legs and feet of three left-facing figures; two of them tall and of equal proportions in front of two offering stands followed by a third smaller and almost entirely preserved figure shaking a sistrum which by her elongated shaved skull and streamer may be recognised as King's Daughter. This is a clear departure from a common composition of the Amarna period showing a triad of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and a daughter underneath the Aten with a clear hierarchal proportion distinguishing the king from his wife and her in turn from their daughter (e.g. Cooney 1965: 8-9; Davies 1905b: pl. XLI). The tall figures have distinguished near and far feet (cf. Eaton-Krauss 2016: 12; Russmann 1980: 63-64) and wear sandals. The left figure closest to the offering stands wears a transparent garment reaching the calves. The clothing of the second tall figure, which is second from the left, is also transparent, but slightly longer and with a different hem shape, resembling that of the dress of the short figure of the King's Daughter.[16] Both tall figures wear a royal apron with a row of uraei. Due to their resemblance in both height and royal markers (i.e. royal aprons and distinguished feet), these two tall figures have been

[16] It is, however, not necessarily a distinctly female type of clothing, as a garment with a similar hem shape and also tied under the chest is worn by Akhenaten, again in combination with an apron (e.g. in the tomb of Mahu [AT 9]; Davies 1906: pls. XV,

suggested to be Amarnian coregents. W.R. Johnson identified a joining talatat (777/VIIIC; Hanke and Roeder 1969: 397; pl. 6 [777/VIII]; Johnson 2020, see fig. 1) with the torso, head and lower part of the crown of the second tall figure, showing a female with a concave neck wearing a tall – most likely blue – crown with a streamer and a dress knotted underneath her breast. Her left arm is hanging next to her body whereas the right one is raised, most likely presenting an offering. The reverse side of the same block (777/VIIIA, see fig. 2) shows again a female royal, this time right-facing, wearing a tall crown with a streamer and uraeus, a double-orb-earring, a dress knotted under her breast, raising her right hand with an offering while having an ankh-sign held to her nose. This last detail confirms that the Aten disc was depicted above the figures, who were offering to him. Most likely, another iteration of the same or a similar composition is found on another side of the original 'coregency block', 406/VIID (see fig. 4), showing the short figure of the King's Daughter with her right hands raised (again, most likely to shake a sistrum) following a much taller figure in a long transparent garment. Thus, decoration from three sides of the pillar 406/VII+777/VIII and two of its torus mouldings are preserved (for reconstruction and measurements, see Johnson 2020).

By all accounts, the reconstructed scene of three figures, two of them of the same size, dressed in similar royal costume and jointly offering to the Aten parallels similar compositions from the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut and qualifies as a depiction of coregents, leading to the question of the identification of these three figures.

Yet another block from Hermopolis – 826/VIIIA (Gabolde 1990: 45 [fig. 9], 2015: 80; Hanke & Roeder 1969: 398, pls 7, 10 [826/VIII]; Helck 2001: 61-62; Laboury 2010: 343 [fig. 6-6]) – gives partial titularies of Neferneferuaten and Ankhesenpaaten (see below). Already J.P. Allen (1991: 74, followed by Johnson 2020: 767-768; Kawai 2023: 117-118) suggested it belongs to the same monument as the 'coregency block' 406/VII, thus identifying the small figure on 406/VIIA+777/VIIIC as the King's Daughter Ankhesenpaaten and the second tall figure in front of her as Neferneferuaten.

This fits well with other depictions suspected to show coregents with one of them being a woman as well as the grammatically feminine markers in the titulary of Neferneferuaten. Overall, the presence of a female ruler by the name Ankh(et)kheperure seems secured and 406/VII+777/VIII+826/VIII suggests that she was indeed part of a coregency arrangement. The appearance of her name following that of Akhenaten in two inscriptions (on wooden box GEM 354/Cairo JE 61500a-b/Carter 001k and ivory fragment Munich ÄS 7342, see above), the latter perhaps being a caption that accompanied a scene showing the coregents Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten. The order Akhenaten – Neferneferuaten in these inscriptions therefore suggests the reconstruction (Gabolde 1990: 45; 1998: pl. XXIVb, see fig. 3) of 826/VIIIA to:

↓|x+1 [nswt-bjt ⸢Nfr-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Wʿ-n.j-Rʿw⸣ |x+2 zꜣ-Rʿw ⸢ꜥḥ-n-ʾItn⸣ →|x+3 ḏi ʿnḫ ʿꜣ-m-ʿḥʿ.w=f] |x+4 [nswt]-⸢bjt⸣ ⸢⸢ʿnḫ-ḫpr.w-Rʿw Mrỉ(.jj)-[...]⸣⸣]↓|x+5 zꜣ-Rʿw ⸢Nfr-nfr.w-ʾItn Mrỉ.jj-[... ⸣ →|x+6 ḏi ʿnḫ ḏ.t nḥḥ] ↓|x+7 zꜣ.t-nswt n(.t) ḥ.t=⸢f⸣ [mrỉ.jjt=f ʿnḫ=s-] |x+8 n-pꜣ-ʾItn [ʿnḫ.tj]

[King or Upper and Lower Egypt ⸢Neferkheperure Waenre⸣ Son of Re ⸢Akhenaten⸣ given life, great in his lifetime, King of Upper and] ⸢Lower Egypt⸣ ⸢⸢Ankhkheperure beloved of...⸣] Son of Re ⸢Neferneferuaten beloved of[... ⸣ given life forever and ever] King's Daughter of his body [beloved of him, Ankhes]enpaaten [may she live].

Yet another talatat join identified by W.R. Johnson (255/VI+482/VII; Johnson 2015: 28-29, 2020: 767-768) bears the lower heads, necks and shoulders of a male with a crown and streamers and a female with

XXIII). It is probably no coincidence that the two female individuals on 406/VIIA+777/VIIIC wear a similar dress distinct from the first (likely male) figure, which is also the case in the scenes in the tomb of Mahu that were just cited.

a layered wig and streamers under the Aten's rays. They are depicted on the same scale, the female being slightly shorter, but not to the extent of hierarchical proportion. It is likely that these two figures can be identified as Akhenaten and his female coregent Neferneferuaten even though no captions are preserved on this join.

Another interesting detail is the already described transparent, calf-length garment with a curved hemline, which is slightly longer at the front, worn by a presumable coregent, in association with the slightly longer garment reaching almost to the ankles, with a straight hemline parallel to the ground line at the front and hanging down only at the very back worn by the female coregent Neferneferuaten on 406/VII+777/VIII. Garments with the very same hemlines are worn by the male and female coregent respectively on the unfinished stela Berlin ÄM 17813. Perhaps even more interestingly, the tribute scene of regnal year 12 in the tomb of Merire ii (AT 2) at Amarna, which famously shows Akhenaten and Nefertiti with almost identical outlines, also clearly shows that one of them wears a an almost ankle-length gown with a straight hemline and the other one a shorter gown with a slightly curved hemline, which hangs slightly lower at the front (cf. Davies 1905b: pl. XXXVII-XXXVIII).

Finally, having covered the two major figures on 406/VIIA+777/VIIIC, the third figure bears discussion. This is a daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, Ankhesenpaaten, who also appears in conjunction with Neferneferuaten on the stela London UC 410+Cairo JE 64959. Usually, when only one Amarna princess is shown, it is the King's Daughter Meritaten, making her the most commonly depicted of the sisters. They follow a set order of depiction (Meritaten, Meketaten, Ankhesenpaaten, Neferneferuaten-Tasherit, Neferneferure, Setepenre), which is only breached upon the death of Meketaten, when she is left out in the row of mourning family members standing in front of her funerary booth (Royal tomb at Amarna [AT 26], room γ, wall B; Martin 1989: pls. 68-71; on the death of Meketaten and the associated lamentation scene, see Boddens-Hosang 1986; Dijk 2009; Martin 2011; Vandersleyen 1993). Interestingly, this is the only case known to me in which Meritaten directly precedes Ankhesenpaaten. Either Meketaten's death occurred so late that only a few depictions were executed showing the remaining sisters in their order and none of these survived or Meketaten continued to be included in scenes carved after her death, either in perpetuation of the former 'complete' royal family or in depiction of earlier ('historical') events in which she had taken part. But for the case at hand, it may be assumed that Meketaten was not included because she was deceased. Meritaten's absence may be explained by various theories. Some scholars have argued that she became the ruler Neferneferuaten (e.g. Gabolde 1998), resulting in her being depicted under this new name and therefore demanding another King's Daughter to be included. In another scenario, Smenkhkare preceded Neferneferuaten as coregent of Akhenaten and was betrothed to Meritaten[17] who, through her promotion to King's Great Wife, could no longer fill the position of the King's Daughter in such a tripartite composition, leaving the next-oldest daughter, Ankhesenpaaten, to take this place. A discussion of the debated details of the historical events is impossible here; it remains only to point out the remarkable presence of Ankhesenpaaten and the simultaneous absence of the King's Daughter Meritaten.

At last, the question of Smenkhkare remains. Whether one assumes one or two rulers named Ankhkheperure, the sequence of Smenkhkare and Neferneferuaten (either as names of the same ruler or as successive, distinct rulers) is still up to debate. For the two-ruler-model adopted here, arguments for both sequences have been brought forward, but none has provided convincing proof.[18] If Smenkhkare

[17] Smenkhkare and the Great King's Wife Meritaten appear in the tomb of Meryre ii (AT 2) and on a damaged block from Memphis (Gabolde 2015: 72, 76 [fig. 12]; Harris 1974: 16 [c], 17 [fig. 2c]; Krauss 1978: 87 [e. 4]; Newberry 1928: 8-9 [fig. 4]).

[18] The sequence Neferneferuaten – Smenkhkare was supported in the past by Allen (1994, 2009) because more evidence connects Neferneferuaten to Akhenaten, leading Allen to assume a coregency between them preceding a short sole rule of Smenkhkare. He later changed his view and supported the order Smenkhkare – Neferneferuaten (Allen 2016; Dodson 2009, 2020a). Arguments include that Neferneferuaten added an epithet to Ankhkheperure in order to distinguish herself from

preceded Neferneferuaten and the coregency of Neferneferuaten and Akhenaten is indeed valid, then one has to assume a coregency between Akhenaten and Smenkhkare as well, although no direct evidence remains of it. If Smenkhkare succeeded Neferneferuaten, then the questions surrounding her coregency (namely, its duration and whether she survived or predeceased Akhenaten) need to be addressed first before reassessing the subsequent possibilities of a coregency of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. Either way, the case for a coregency of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare would be at best circumstantial with the currently available source material.

Conclusions

Initially, double dates and depictions of coregents (that is, scenes including two individuals with royal attributes such as crown, costume or captions with royal titles and cartouches who jointly take part in an action and are not set apart by hierarchical proportion) have been explored as general indicators of coregency. The scarcity of double dates especially in the New Kingdom may be connected to the accession dating system used in this period, which makes conversion of the regnal year counts very complicated. Perhaps the 'junior' coregent did not adopt his own year count until his sole reign in order to avoid such complications. If the coregents did not use divergent regnal year counts, these also need not be equated in a double date.

In the next step, the evidence brought forward for the three proposed coregencies of Akhenaten (with Amenhotep III, Smenkhkare or Neferneferuaten) has been scrutinised as to whether double dates occur after all or if pictorial evidence matches the criteria for a depiction of coregents. Double dates are not known from the Amarna period – most likely to reasons explained above – which leaves pictorial sources as the focal point of the coregency debate. Some depictions of unidentified coregents (esp. Berlin ÄM 17813 and Berlin ÄM 20716) are known, and on one seal impression (Berlin ÄM 21331), one of two possible coregents is identified as Akhenaten. There is no depiction of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten or Akhenaten and Smenkhkare matching the criteria established for pictorial evidence of coregents. There is, however, a talatat assemblage from Hermopolis (406/VII+777/VIII+826/VIII) depicting coregents – one male and one female – and by the caption, the female one is Neferneferuaten. She is likely to be also the female coregent in the scenes with unidentified coregents (Berlin ÄM 17813 and Berlin ÄM 20716) and the male coregent is likely to be Akhenaten. This leaves the coregency of Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten currently as the only Amarnian coregency with substantial and convincing evidence.

Acknowledgments

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the preceding Smenkhkare and that Neferneferuaten is connected to both Amarnian and "orthodox" theology, whereas Smenkhkare is only known in connection to the Amarna religion. Arguments for a sequence Smenkhkare - Neferneferuaten based on the dipinto in the tomb of Pairy (TT 139) as presented by e.g. Dodson (2020b) have been convincingly rejected by a corrected reading by Reeves (2023). Interestingly, for the one ruler model, the order of names is also debated (see n. 15).

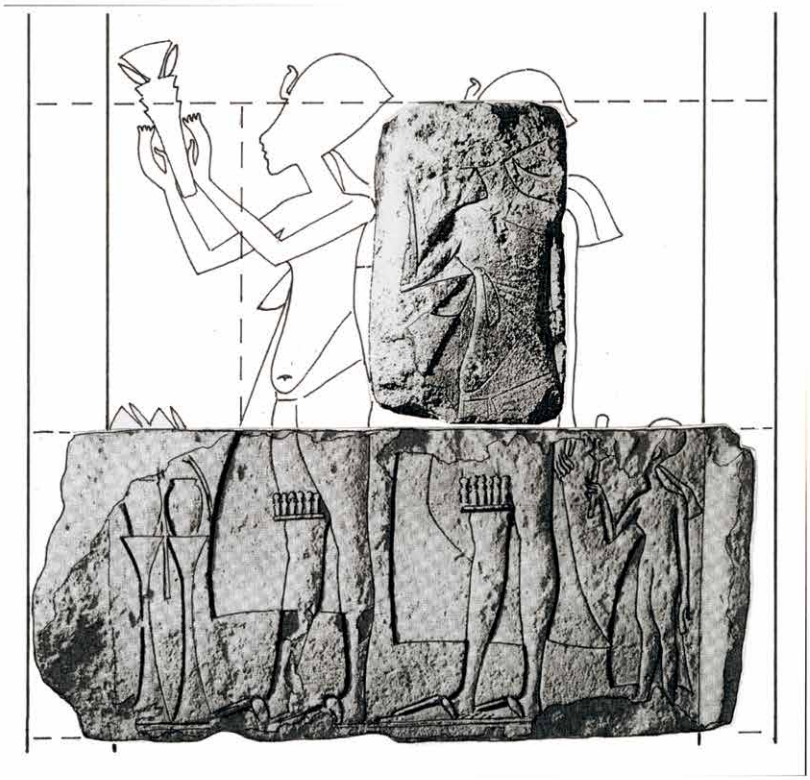


Fig. 1: Hermopolis 406/VIIA + 777/VIIIC; drawing by W.R. Johnson (2020, 764 [Fig. 11])

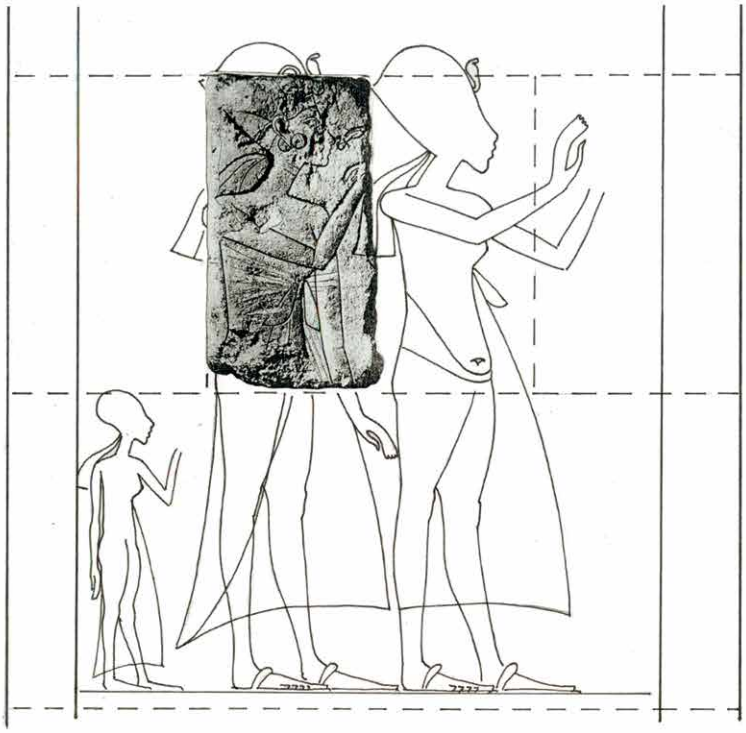


Fig. 2: Hermopolis 777/VIIIA, drawing by W.R. Johnson (2020, 766 [Fig. 13])

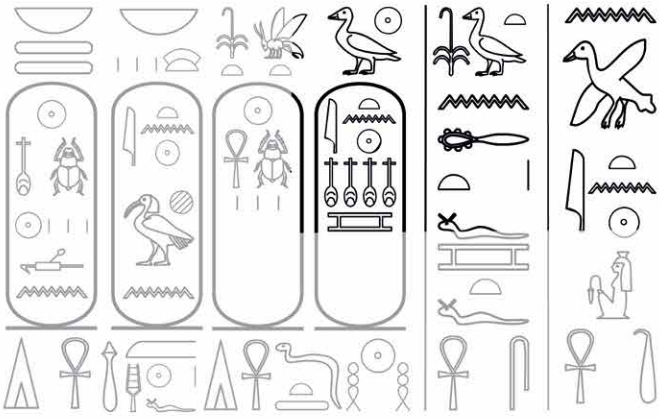


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of the inscription on 826/VIIIA

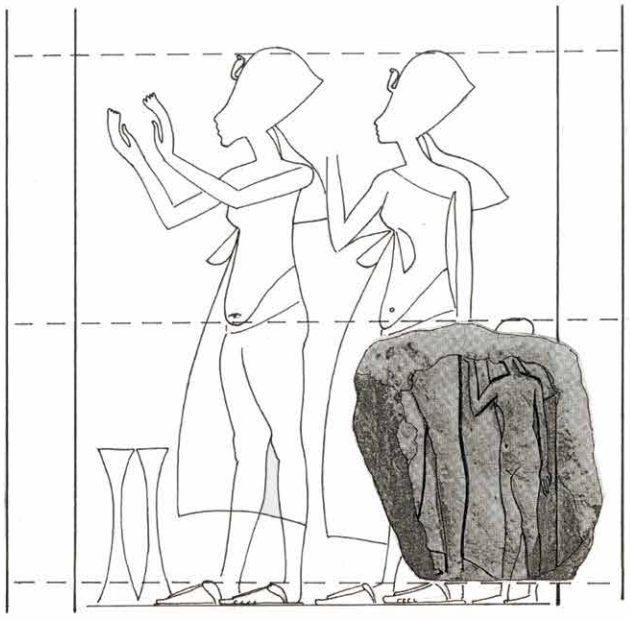


Fig. 4: Hermopolis 406/VIID;
drawing by W.R. Johnson (2020, 765 [Fig. 12])

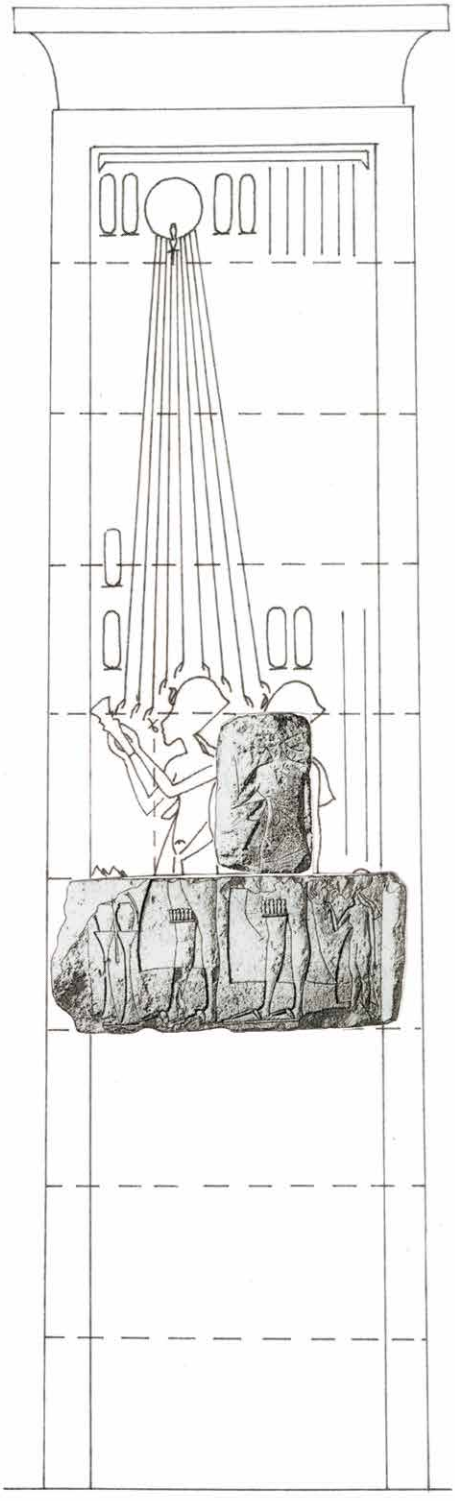


Fig. 5: Hermopolis 406/VIIA + 777/VIIIC;
drawing by W.R. Johnson (2020, 767 [Fig. 14])

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