

ART UNDER
AKHENATEN and NEFERTITI

Senior Project submitted to
The Division of Art, Music, Drama, Dance, Film, and Photography,
in the field of Art History,
at Bard College

by
David C. D. Gansz

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
May, 1982

Dedication

This essay is respectfully dedicated to
Dr. Hugo Munsterberg
for his patience during the two years in
which it was prepared, and for providing its
author with Gunter Grass novels as a necessary
prevention against total immersion in Atenism.

Likewise I dedicate the work to my parents,
for without their general support of my scholarly
interests it would never have reached fruition.

Preface

I am gratefully indebted to Ms. Lucy Gans, of the Westtown School, for introducing me to the art of Akhenaten's time, its importance, and the inextricable nature of Theology and art in general.

My thanks are due to Dr. Bernard Bothmer of the Brooklyn Museum for his willingness to share expertise on the subject.

Thanks also to Lee Doyon and John Kochmer, doctoral candidates at Yale University in Anthropology and Biology, respectively, who recognized the importance of the work to varying degrees and shared insights, support, and lively debate on the topic from Jungian and other vantage points.

I ask that the reader refer to the first three Figures throughout the essay when necessary. Figure #1 is a map of the Nile with important locations indicated which will appear in the body of the text. Figure #2 is a chronological list of Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs that provides the essay's time frame. Figure #3 is a simplified genealogical chart of the main characters in the drama that is about to unfold.

David C. D. Gansz
Germantown, New York
May 3, 1982

Table of Contents

Chapter	I.	Introduction.....	Page 1
	II.	Stylistic Precursors.....	Page 7
	III.	The Incipient Amarna Phase.....	Page 18
	IV.	Akhenaten.....	Page 39
	V.	Nefertiti.....	Page 67
	VI.	Princesses and the Royal Family.....	Page 88
	VII.	Wildlife.....	Page 112
	VIII.	Tutankhamun: The Aftermath.....	Page 125
	IX.	Conclusions.....	Page 136
		Endnotes.....	Page 141
		Figure Sources.....	Page 150
		Bibliography.....	Page 157

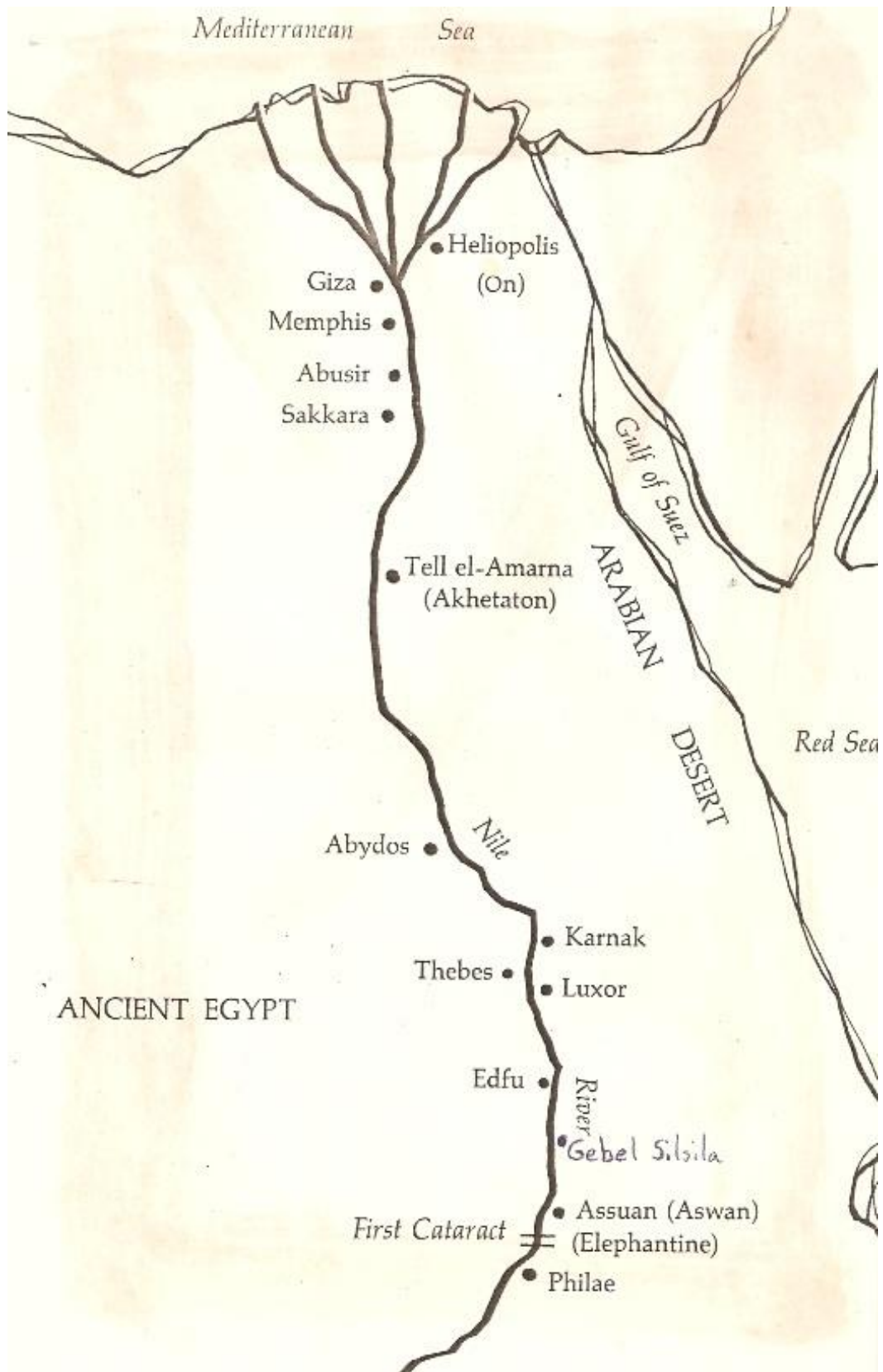


Figure #1

DYNASTY XVIII

Ahmose	1559-1531 B.C.
Amenhotep I	1534-15-4 B.C.
Tuthmosis I	1514-15-2 B.C.
Tuthmosis II	1504-1489 B.C.
Tuthmosis III	1490-1436 B.C.
Hatshepsut	1489-1469 B.C.
Amenhotep II	1444-1412 B.C.
Tuthmosis IV	1414-14-5 B.C.
Amenhotep III	1405-1367 B.C.
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)	1378-1362 B.C.
Smenkhkare	1366-1363 B.C.
Tutankhaten (Tutankhamen)	1362-1353 B.C.
Ay	1353-1349 B.C.
Haremheb	1349-1319 B.C.

DYNASTY XIX

Ramesses I	1320-1318 B.C.
------------	----------------

Figure #2

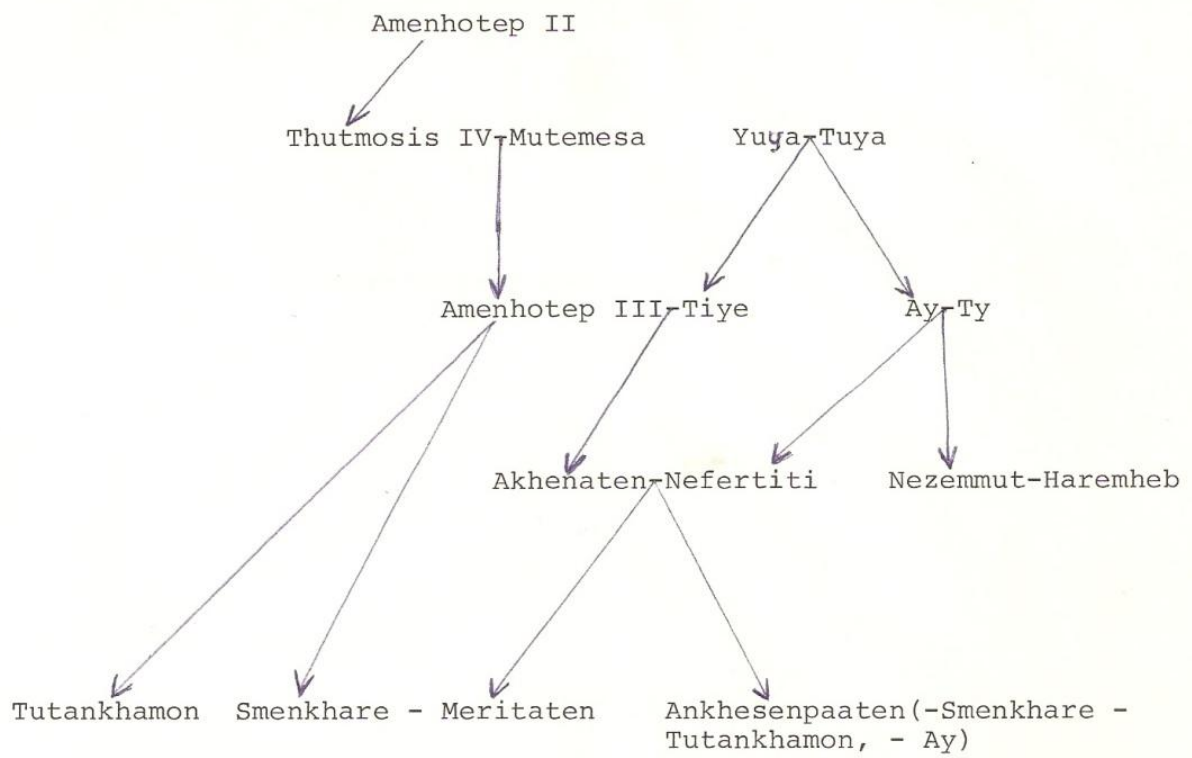


Figure #3

I. Introduction

Perhaps no other period in man's ancient past has excited more controversy and scholarly debate than the reign of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (a.k.a. Amenophis IV or Akhenaten) for a seventeen year period c. 1378-1362 B.C. He came to power in the New Kingdom, more precisely in the latter part of the illustrious Eighteenth Dynasty. The New Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty began simultaneously with the expulsion of foreign Hyksos rulers from the Nile lands, and a new age of imperialism was ushered in. Ahmose expelled the Hyksos in 1550 B.C., and the first half of the dynasty was marked by military expansion, re-establishing Egypt's dominion over Nubia and Syria/Palestine to the East. This Empire was established under Thutmosis III and, by the reign of Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, the Egyptians were relaxing in the delights of Nubian gold wealth and the treasures of provincial and foreign lands alike. "Roughly, it may be said that for two hundred years, from 1600 to 1400 B.C., Egypt was the great military power of the ancient world."¹

Artistic styles during the first half of the dynasty were basically a general patriotic reversion to pre- Hyksos styles. Pharaohs were depicted in poses of military accomplishment, generalized to two scenes—at war in a chariot, and smiting enemies by hand. Tomb art reflected this imperialism in the addition of new foreigners bearing gifts as their nations were added to Egyptian domains. Somewhere between 1411 and 1375 B.C. Amenhotep III established an artistic canon which was codified to set a number of stances in which figures could be represented, with figural proportions symbolizing social importance. "Now the canons of art were regarded as a distinctly religious tradition, and the methods of treating the human figure then in vogue had in the first place the sanction of the priesthood of Amon".²

In religion, Amenism dominated from its power base at Thebes due to the fact that Ahmose, a Theban Pharaoh, had expelled the Hyksos. Thebes gained this dominance over Heliopolis which, with its Re religion, had ruled in Old and Middle Kingdom times, i.e. from the Fifth Dynasty onwards. Although Amen-Re was initially popular at Thebes, Amen himself came to the fore in the New Kingdom. The High Priest of Amen and Pharaoh's Vizier were usually one and the same office. Meanwhile, The Book of the Dead was popular, propounding a method whereby the deceased could successfully traverse the Osirian underworld to achieve paradise in

the hereafter. These religious ideas propounded at Thebes were the sole source of artistic subject matter. As archaeologists rightly attest, the majority of existing ancient Egyptian art-works were either discovered in or were intended for tombs of the Pharaoh, his family, and high ranking court officials, priests and military officers. The remainder was architectural ornamentation (colossal monoliths, etc.) or of a secondary, utilitarian use (the latter constituting only a very small percentage of total artistic output). Thus the generalization that Egyptian art was predominantly sacred in nature holds true in that tomb art concerned the well being of the deceased's Osirian Ba, Ka and Akh souls in the afterlife.

Upon this setting came Amenhotep IV. He wrestled power from the Theban priests and moved the capital to present day Tel-el-Amarna, where he had an entire city constructed (where nothing had previously stood). Subsequently, he ordered an "outburst of iconoclastic fury. Agents were dispatched throughout the land to break up the images of the gods, particularly those of the influential Amun of Thebes, and to excise their names from monuments, great and small".³ This included hacking the Amen portion of his father's, Amenhotep III's, name out of cartouches, and a changing of all royal names to Aten derivatives. Thus Amenhotep IV became Akhenaten. Instead of the Theban polytheism with a pantheon of worldly deities and underworldly deities of the Osirian type, Akhenaten instituted Atenism, supposedly the first monotheistic religion in world history.

It seems Atenism may have, in some ways, been a reversion to facets of the solar cult established in the Old Kingdom and prevalent through the Middle Kingdom. Thutmose III mentioned the Aten as bringing him military victory at one point, while having himself depicted in garb of the Old Kingdom Pharaohs. Likewise, Amenhotep III built an Aten temple and dedicated an Aten barge to his wife. But in these cases the Aten was merely one of scores of Egyptian deities while under Akhenaten it was the sole god, represented in art as the solar disc and worshipped in religion as the life-giving power behind the physical manifestation of the sun. Osirian faith was entirely abandoned, as was the idea of three distinct souls. No gods were accepted besides the Aten.

Akhenaten's immediate successors treated Atenism and the Amarna court in an extremely reactionary way. They moved the capital back to Thebes and reverted to Amenism.

Amarna itself was destroyed as were all available artistic representations of Akhenaten, his wife Nefertiti, the Aten, and the Amarna court. Amarna and Atenism was the Achilles heel, so to speak, to Egyptians of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, and they pretended that Akhenaten had not existed. Their extreme desire to erase those seventeen years of history was matched by extreme military zealotry directed at the Amorites, Mitannis (who employed Khabiru mercenaries), and the joint Hittite/Syrian empire—all of which had risen to question Egypt's imperial dominance during Akhenaten's reign.

So successful were attempts to erase Akhenaten from history and personal memory, that only in the late Nineteenth century A.D. did archaeologists bring Akhenaten back to light. British archaeological teams collected artworks during the 1890's, followed by German expeditions in 1912-1913, the French in the 1920's, British in the early 1930's, and Germans again in the late 1930's. Investigation into this strange man, his art and his religion, ceased following World War II, and resumed only in the 1970's by American teams, particularly from the University of Pennsylvania.

These latest findings (i.e. during the past fifteen years) revealed a great wealth of information concerning Nefertiti, which shall be discussed in the body of this text. But during the first thirty-five years of this century, scholars from all fields were highly intrigued by the historical figure of Akhenaten and his religion of Atenism. All of the great Egyptologists of that period concentrated diligently upon unraveling the myth surrounding the man. Flinders Petrie, Sir Wallis Budge, Henri Frankfort, and N. DeGaris Davies devoted time and writings to the problem. Howard Carter became involved by discovering the tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922—Tut being Akhenaten's half-brother and a successor to him as Pharaoh.

Likewise a host of intellectuals from other fields became enamored with the subject, and authors saw Akhenaten not only as the first monotheist, but the first true individual in history and the first truly conscious one at that. Historians of religion sought connections between Atenism and Syrian solar worship as well as Hebraic monotheism. Akhenaten's 'Hymn to the Aten', discovered on a tomb wall, was endlessly compared to Psalm 104 of the Old Testament. Thomas Mann, the great German writer, in a letter to a friend on Christmas Day, 1925, said, "I have decided from now on to occupy myself with something entirely different, and am looking

forward to talking to you about Abraham and Hammurabi; Joseph and Amenhotep IV.”⁴ His series of Joseph novels resulted.

Likewise the Vienna psychoanalytic circle showed a great interest in the subject. Carl Jung, in his autobiography, reported;

During the Psychoanalytic Congress in Munich in 1912, someone had turned the conversation to Amenophis IV (Ikhnaton). The point was made that as a result of his negative attitude toward his father he had destroyed his father’s cartouches on the steles, and that at the back of his great creation of a monotheistic religion there lurked a father complex. This sort of thing irritated me, and I attempted to argue that Amenophis had been a creative and profoundly religious person whose acts could not be explained by personal resistances toward his father. On the contrary, I said, he had held the memory of his father in honor, and his zeal for destruction had been directed only against the name of the god Amon, which he had everywhere annihilated; it was also chiseled out of the cartouches of his father Amonhotep. Moreover, other pharaohs had replaced the names of their actual or divine forefathers on monuments and statues by their own, feeling that they had a right to do so since they were incarnations of the same god. Yet they, I pointed out, had inaugurated neither a new style nor a new religion.

At that moment Freud slid off his chair in a faint. Everyone clustered helplessly around him. I picked him up, carried him into the next room, and laid him on a sofa. As I was carrying him, he half came to, and I shall never forget the look he cast at me. In his weakness he looked at me as if I were his father. Whatever other causes may have contributed to this faint—the atmosphere was

very tense—the fantasy of father-murder was common to both cases.

At that time Freud frequently made illusions indicating that he regarded me as his successor.⁵

Freud completed Totem and Taboo in 1912 and, as a continuation, wrote, between 1934 and 1936 in England, Moses and Monotheism. Akhenaten was the star character of the book in which Freud hypothesized that Moses was an Egyptian and, furthermore, a strict believer in the Aten monotheism which then evolved into Hebraic Yahwehism. Jung, an Egyptologist at heart, unfortunately never wrote about Akhenaten.

Since World War II, very little has been written about Akhenaten, and his name is no longer mentioned among intellectuals. At least no significant scholarship has been done which is original, despite Immanuel Velikovsky's work, Oedipus and Akhenaten, which is thoroughly Freudian. However, the Egyptologist Cyril Aldred has catalogued many of the Amarna artworks and written on Akhenaten in the past ten years. Likewise, the University of Pennsylvania archaeologists have unearthed new and interesting materials.

In this present work the author hopes to reopen, based on recent findings and old alike, the question of Akhenaten for scholarly discussion. He has chosen to do so by concentrating on the artistic works from Amarna. The reader should realize that "Religion was the major patron of the arts, so we must learn to know the religious concepts that took form in that art",⁶ for, with Akhenaten we find "the King had linked art indissolubly with his religious innovations."⁷

The common means of approaching Amarna art and religion in the first half of this century was to see it as a revolution. Indeed, to an archaeologist covering a period of time almost four thousand years ago, a period of even a century appears minute. But herein we shall adopt an evolutionary argument which dispels the mythical notion of one artistic style and religion one day, and another the next. The obvious argument against an evolutionary argument concerning Egyptian art is the fact that artists had few of their previous master's finished works to draw upon, as these were, for the most part, sealed away in tombs for eternity. But the inherent psychological disposition which created the art could not be silenced, and shows itself.

Thus Amarna art will reflect a stage in the history of man's consciousness, and the necessary starting point of its stylistic medium in art lies in the Theban tomb paintings from a half-century prior to Amarna. This will disprove Aldred's claim that "Akhenaten's innovations were mostly in the choice of subject matter; style remained unchanged in its fundamentals and consisted in the faithful acceptance of all the old conventions with the willful distortion of some of them."⁸ As we shall see, this comment seriously under-estimated stylistic innovations at Amarna.

II. Stylistic Precursors

The first Eighteenth Dynasty tomb art which may be cited as a stylistic precursor to that of the high Amarna style is in the tomb of Nakht in Western Thebes, (Tomb Number 52). The paintings there were executed c. 1425 B.C. One magnificent fragmentary detail from the tomb is now in the British Museum, London, (Figure #4). Nakht, the priest of Amen at Thebes under Amenhotep II (1444-1412 B.C.) is here shown fowling in the marshlands of a Nile paradise, as such tomb scenes represented the deceased's pleasures in the afterlife. His pose is standard canonical representation for one hunting. The same stance, with one hand grasping prey and the other raised to strike, was used to depict the Pharaoh smiting his enemies. Although reserved as a depiction for warrior Pharaohs during times of both defense (most particularly against the Hyksos) and imperial conquest, we shall later see that such depictions of Akhenaten are curiously absent from Amarna art.



Figure #4

Although Nakht's posture and situation in this painting reflect nothing unordinary (although there has been scholarly debate concerning whether he wields a wooden throw-stick or symbolically powerful serpent), one stylistic facet literally shines through. The colors are remarkably vivid and deep in hue. One must realize that the painting was executed in gouache on white plaster over a mud and straw mixture. What affects the tonal qualities in this instance is the addition of a surface coat of darkened varnish, providing the deep tint. "In fact these 'protected' works were exposed to greater risks than the others, since the varnish tends to flake away, dragging off the pigment with it".⁹ While such color emphasizes the figures against the white background, the blues in particular add an invigorating freshness to the abundant wildlife, the reeds, and the fish beneath Nakht's papyrus boat. As we shall see, Amarna art favored such scenes of abundant flora and fauna, perhaps due to the belief in the Aten's comprehensive life-giving force, and employed color similarly to convey such liveliness.

Nakht's proportions are typical of the pre-Amarna canon in that he towers above his wife, who assumes a relegated position at the boat's rear, and totally dominates his small daughter. This girl's pose again is standard as she, with her grasping hand, connects Nakht with the Lotus, or symbol of life in the hereafter. Her gesture is not implicitly or explicitly affectionate as will be the interactions between Akhenaten and his daughters in Amarna art.

Yet Nakht's tomb paintings prove innovative in this respect also. One has only to look at a fragment from another wall. Figure #5 now is in the Louvre, Paris. It is a festival scene for the now eternal Nakht, also executed in a quick drying medium on stucco background. "In his striving towards naturalism the artist here has endeavoured to capture the passing impressions of casual intercourse. Groups of guests and dancers are connected by gesture as well as by actual contact."¹⁰ Whereas the tiered, linear strips are conventional, the interactions of figures within each strip are not. Stiff, rigid poses at times give way to more lyrical renderings. Figure #6, a detail, is a beautiful example. A servant girl is shown stroking the chin of an elegantly attired lady.

The three ladies in Figure #6 are staggered in an effort to create some degree of depth, and all assume the same rigid pose. All heads are shown in profile but include the full eye. Spatial ambiguities are left as such. For example, one might wonder where the servant girl's

right arm has disappeared to, or that of the middle lady amongst those seated. Also, the lower torsos of the seated figures are hurriedly sketched-in compared to the more well delineated features of the upper torsos. These facts all suggest the typical preoccupations of the Egyptian artist with strict posturing of figures and their uniformity. What stands out as unconventional here is the individual attention to the servant girl, not as much in her appearance, but in her action. The meticulous attention paid by the artist to the relationship between a servant girl and relatively unimportant lady in the tomb art of an important priest is radical. Such closeness was previously reserved for the representation of the Pharaoh and a god. The servant girl's gesture should be remembered as the prefiguring of a scene we shall later discuss, the famous painting now in the Ashmolean museum, Oxford, which depicts two of Akhenaten's daughters, one of which strokes the chin of the other in similar fashion

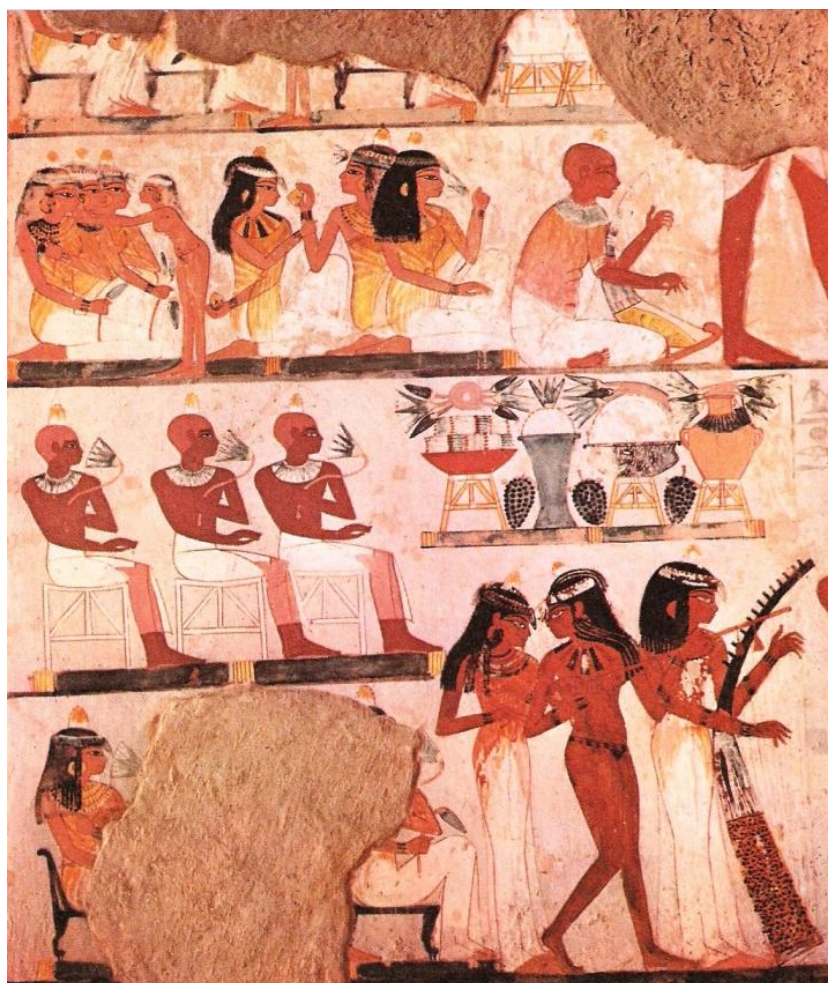


Figure #5

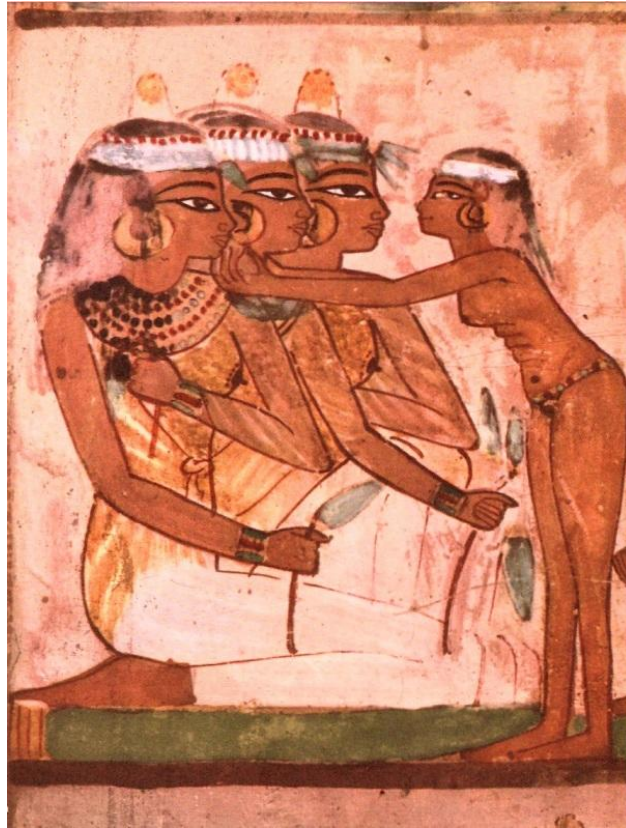


Figure #6

Figure #7 shows the action taking place behind the servant girl's back. Two ladies offer fruits to each other, the one reaching out to grasp the other's arm. Such an action is repeated on another wall of the same tomb where, in Figure #8 (now in the British museum, London), on the bottom register a seated lady offers a scented Lotus blossom to another while, to the right, a piece of fruit is again offered. The gesture of offering is not in itself unique considering previous tomb paintings, but the added degree of personality given these figures through their touching one another is unique indeed.

One noteworthy feature of the woman to the left of Figure #7 is her clothing. Her left arm is clearly intended to be shown behind the frontal drape of her garment. The artist has, with a very light application of color, rendered the cloth transparent so the arm is visible. Again and again we shall see this treatment of garments when Amarna artists depicted Nefertiti. Moreover, in Amarna art, the transparency of clothing is utilized in stone sculpture as well by finely incised lines.

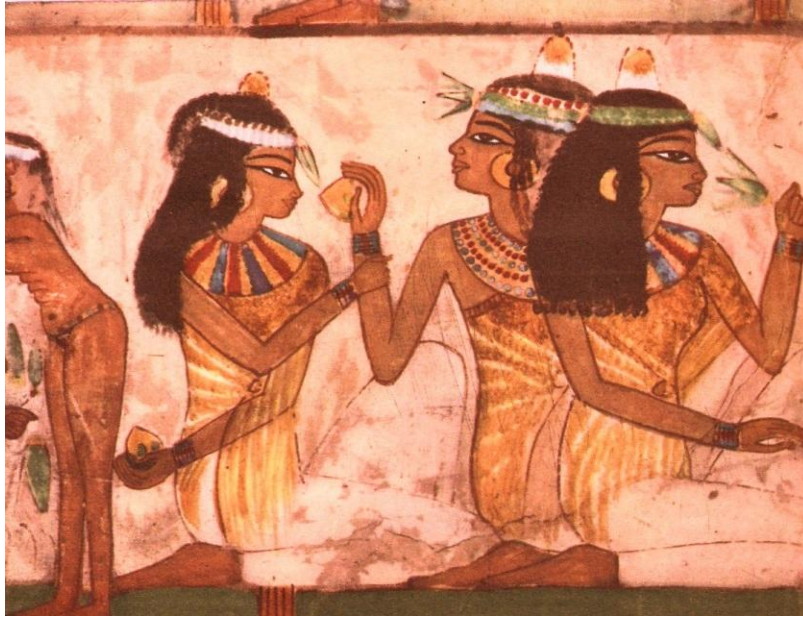


Figure #7

The lower register of Figure #5 is immediately marked by innovation in that the three musician girls overlap their horizontal band and extend well up into the register above. In Amarna art these horizontal bands will be done away with altogether, and scenes will actually continue around the corners of tomb walls. The women themselves are detailed by what might be called a new naturalism. “These young women are admirably individualized, each head being quite unlike the others.”¹¹ Taking the middle figure, in Figure #9, we see some standard features of pre-Amarna art concerning planar transition. The face is seen in profile, again with the full eye visible, and the shoulders are seen in front view. But the left breast is seen from the front, instead of in profile as Egyptian convention dictated (one has only to compare the women’s breasts in Figure #6). This aspect has been called “a striking departure from earlier convention.”¹² Amarna stone carving would feature this when depicting Nefertiti.

Thus far Nakht’s tomb has shown a number of conventional as well as innovative stylistic traits. Some of the long-standing conventions still evident in Nakht’s tomb did not appear at Amarna. For example, the hunting scene, used in the earliest mastabas and Middle Kingdom tomb chapels, and readily adaptable to warrior Pharaohs smiting their enemies, is conspicuously absent at Amarna. But the other innovative features would reappear intact or in altered form.

Let it suffice to say here that each innovation would be exploited to an extreme degree in Amarna.



Figure #8

The plant gum and resin varnish which had attained common usage under Akhenaten's predecessor, Amenhotep III, and adds such life to Nakht's tomb, cannot be found at Amarna simply because the tomb paintings were destroyed (with the exception of the aforementioned work in Oxford of two princesses) or archaeologists have yet to unearth them. Yet the same intense surface coloring remains on incised Amarna stone blocks, thus indicative of the influence.

The figures in Nakht's tomb that overlap their horizontal wall band will, in Amarna, lead to a doing away with such bands and the advent of paintings which do not use an individual tomb wall as a frame, so to speak, but extend around corners.

The rendering of clothing in places in a transparent manner again appears at Amarna but again on stone as no paintings are extant. There the clothing will be almost entirely “see through”, revealing Nefertiti’s entire beautiful body and Akhenaten’s distorted physique. In addition, this transparency will often afford the viewer a glimpse of Nefertiti’s full breast from a frontal position, something scholars agree had its advent in Nakht’s tomb paintings.

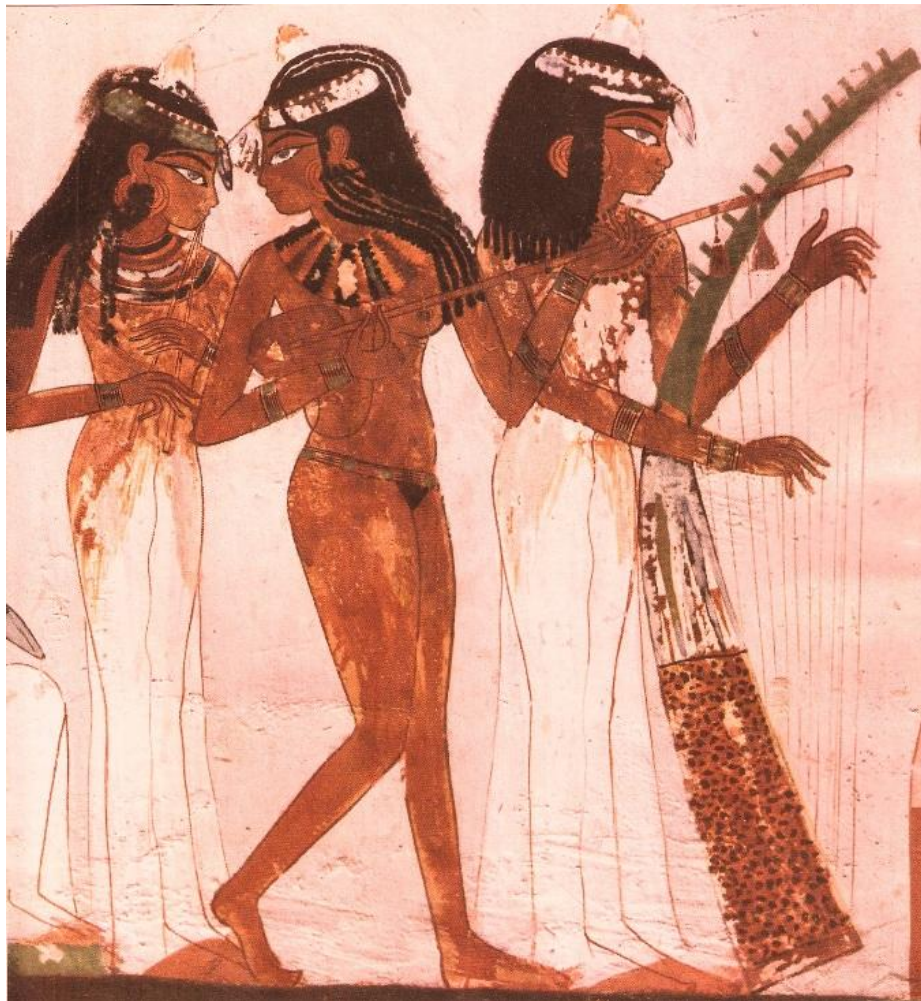


Figure #9

Furthermore, the contact of secondary characters so evident in the servants and banqueting young ladies, where the fixed stare becomes a gaze indicative of human interaction, and mere gestures become actual human contact, will be reflected in the loving interactions between Akhenaten and Nefertiti as well as his daughters. Thus still figures become vivified, and the otherworldly pose resembles more the actions of the living.

Finally, the abundant wildlife favored by the artist of Nakht's tomb will appear repeatedly in Amarna art, thus dispelling the notion of some scholars that such scenes were a direct influence from Crete. We shall see them as an inherent artistic predisposition rather than a mere importation. In summary, "The process of evolution that led Theban painting from simplicity to subtlety and from solid classicism to graceful mannerism...we can see in the tomb of Nakht."¹³

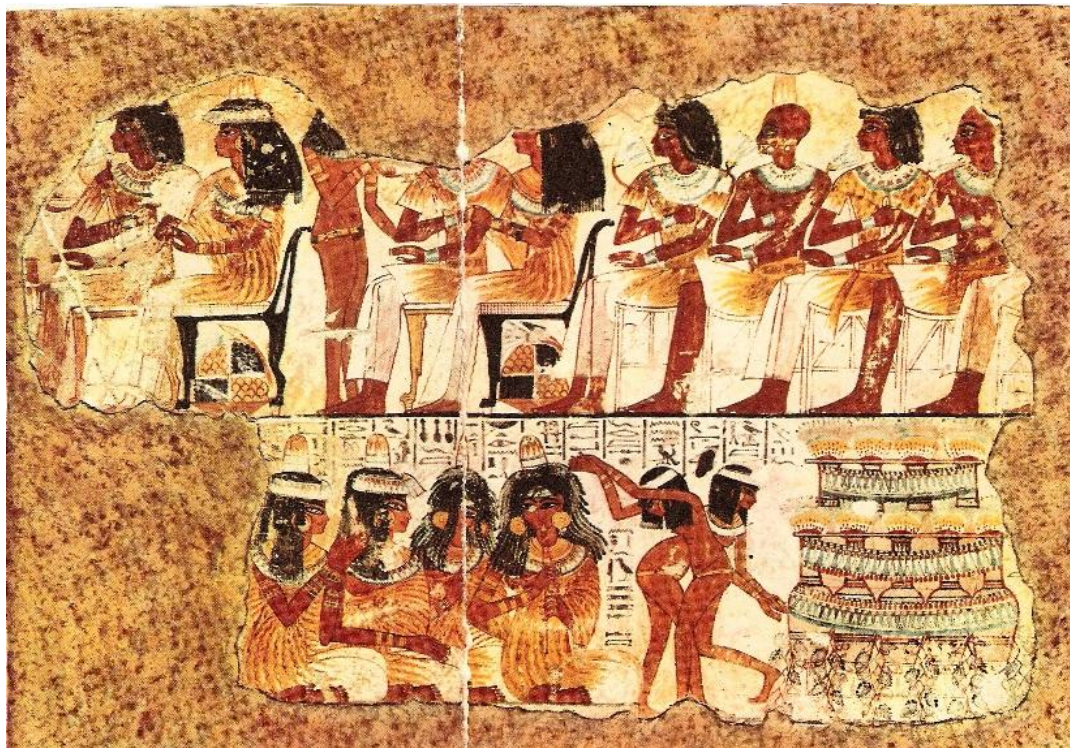


Figure #10

Before turning our attention entirely to the incipient phase of Amarna art, one other tomb painting bears relevance as a precursor. The tomb is that of Neb-Amun at Thebes (c. 1400 B.C.), as yet unlocated. Again the technique is gouache on white plaster (stucco) over a mud and straw foundation, and the finishing touch is a coating, a varnish which produces the bright colors as seen in Figure #10 (located in the British Museum, London). As in Nakht's tomb, the scene is an Osirian Banquet, or "Feast of the Valley" for the deceased Neb-Amun. Horizontal bands are employed, as are the seated figures wearing perfume-cones of aromatic oils on their heads and holding Lotus flowers. The partial overlapping of these figures and inability to distinguish

between right and left hands (usually two right hands are present) are common attributes of the conventional New Kingdom artists' treatment of two dimensional space. But in Figure #11 we may investigate the lower register more closely. Here two musician girls are seen with, upon close inspection, clearly delineated right and left hands. And both face forward. Whereas previously persons were represented in profile with one full eye visible on the side of the head, these two display both eyes looking out at the viewer. Heretofore only defeated barbarians were shown facing front and then only rarely. Such personages (prisoners, et al) were deemed debased, hence unfit for portrayal in the canonical mode. Thus this frontal display of the full face showing is "as unusual as the emphatic overlapping of the dancers"¹⁴ directly to the right. The full face with both eyes and a nose "placed in a perspective-like way in the face"¹⁵ reflects an unprecedented degree of naturalism, "a practice hitherto unheard of".¹⁶

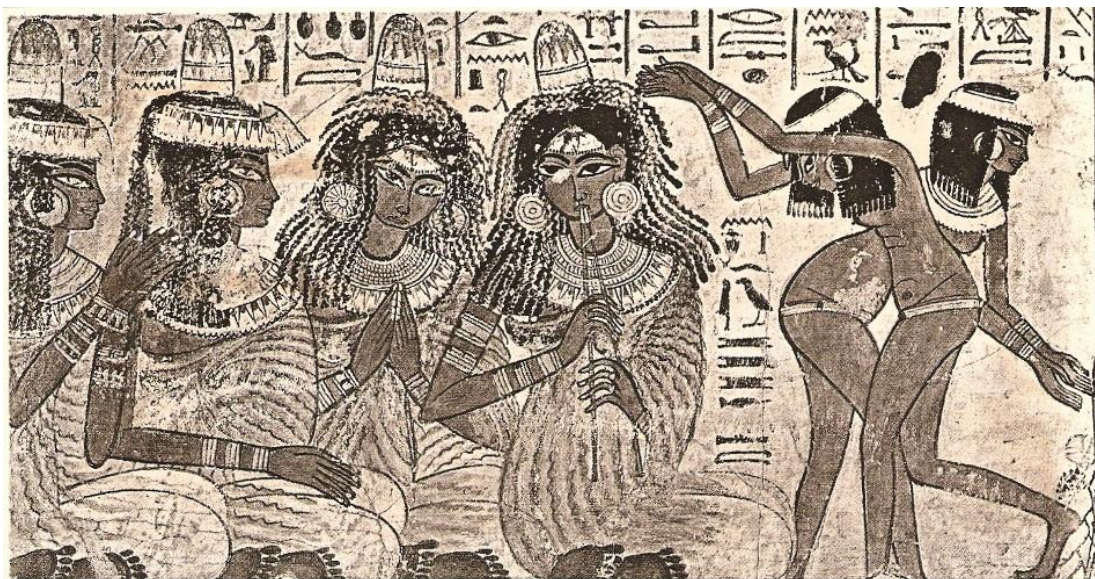


Figure #11

In addition, adding to the natural rendering, the artist has realistically shown the soles of the musicians' feet with the proper anatomical detail of five toes with clearly delineated right/left feet. Elsewhere in the fragment, and in all known Egyptian art previously, feet were shown from a side profile or slightly raised angle which would not allow separate toes to be defined. There is one exception, though, to this statement which should be qualified. Figure #12 shows a blind harpist, seated with one foot protruding out from beneath his clothed leg. The harpist would

have been assumed to be sitting, cross-legged, without the addition of that foot by the artist. But its addition makes his presence all the more realistic. Figure #12 is merely a detail of Figure #6. The harpist appears in the Tomb of Nakht.

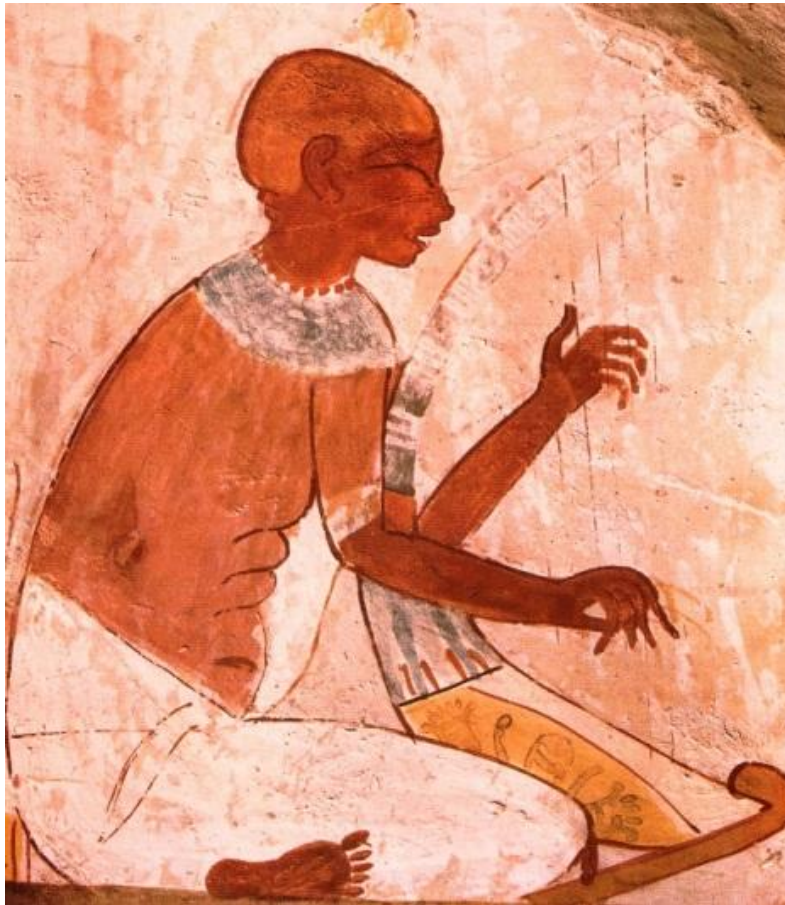


Figure #12

From the scenes of abundant wildlife and lyrical human gesture and touch in the tomb of Nakht, through the advancing naturalism evident in depiction of the human form in the tomb of Neb-Amun, we are about to embark upon the beginnings, pinnacle, and eventual decline of the Amarna style proper. Bear in mind, however, that the bark upon which we may traverse that short span in a distant age is not one of Osiris, and no clearly defined horizon is in the offing. But as Cyril Aldred so rightly said of the precursors we have thus far discussed, “this new freedom could lead to bold innovations, such as the representation of singers and dancers shown

full face in the novel frontal view, or the twisting posture of the dance, or the woman turning to invite her fellow diner to taste the fruit she holds in her hand. These passages in the paintings in the tombs of Nakht...Nebamun and others are the most precious among the legacies that ancient Egypt has bequeathed us, and they testify to a new force gathering beneath the fabric of Egyptian art that was shortly to erupt.”¹⁷

III. The Incipient Amarna Phase

Tomb number fifty five in Western Thebes is that of Ramose (formerly Pthahmose), Vizier of Upper Egypt and governor of the Theban capital during the co-regency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. The tomb layout is shown in Figure #13. The dating of Ramose can be deduced from the fact that Akhenaten's name still appears as Amenhotep IV on the tomb inscriptions. Also, the tomb is found in Thebes because the move to Amarna had not yet been made. A rough date for the Theban tomb, then, would be 1365 B.C. Ramose himself was half-brother of one Amenhotep whose titles included "controller of works in Memphis" and "Treasurer and Overseer of the Double Granary of Egypt"¹⁸ under Amenhotep III. Amenhotep was, most probably, the Northern Vizier simultaneously with Ramose until his death during the co-regency when the latter would have assumed both positions. Some writers, furthering Sigmund Freud's Moses and Monotheism argument, claim that Ramose, or "son of Ra", was the historical Moses, or "son". They argue his tomb is empty because he had fled with the last of the court adherents to the Aten doctrine (here the 'Exodus') upon Akhenaten's downfall, thus was not buried in Egypt. Indeed, both his Theban tomb and one believed to have been begun for him in the hills surrounding Amarna were found empty. But, as Aldred argues, the Theban tomb was probably "left unfinished on account of the early death of Ramose".¹⁹

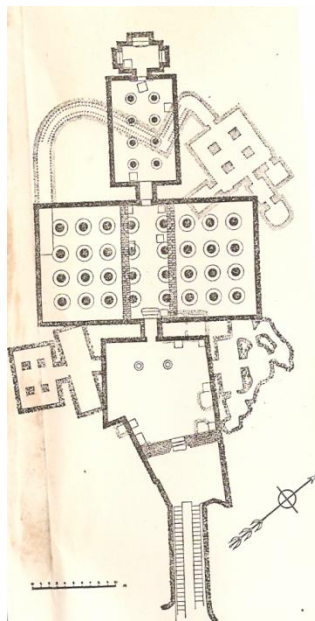
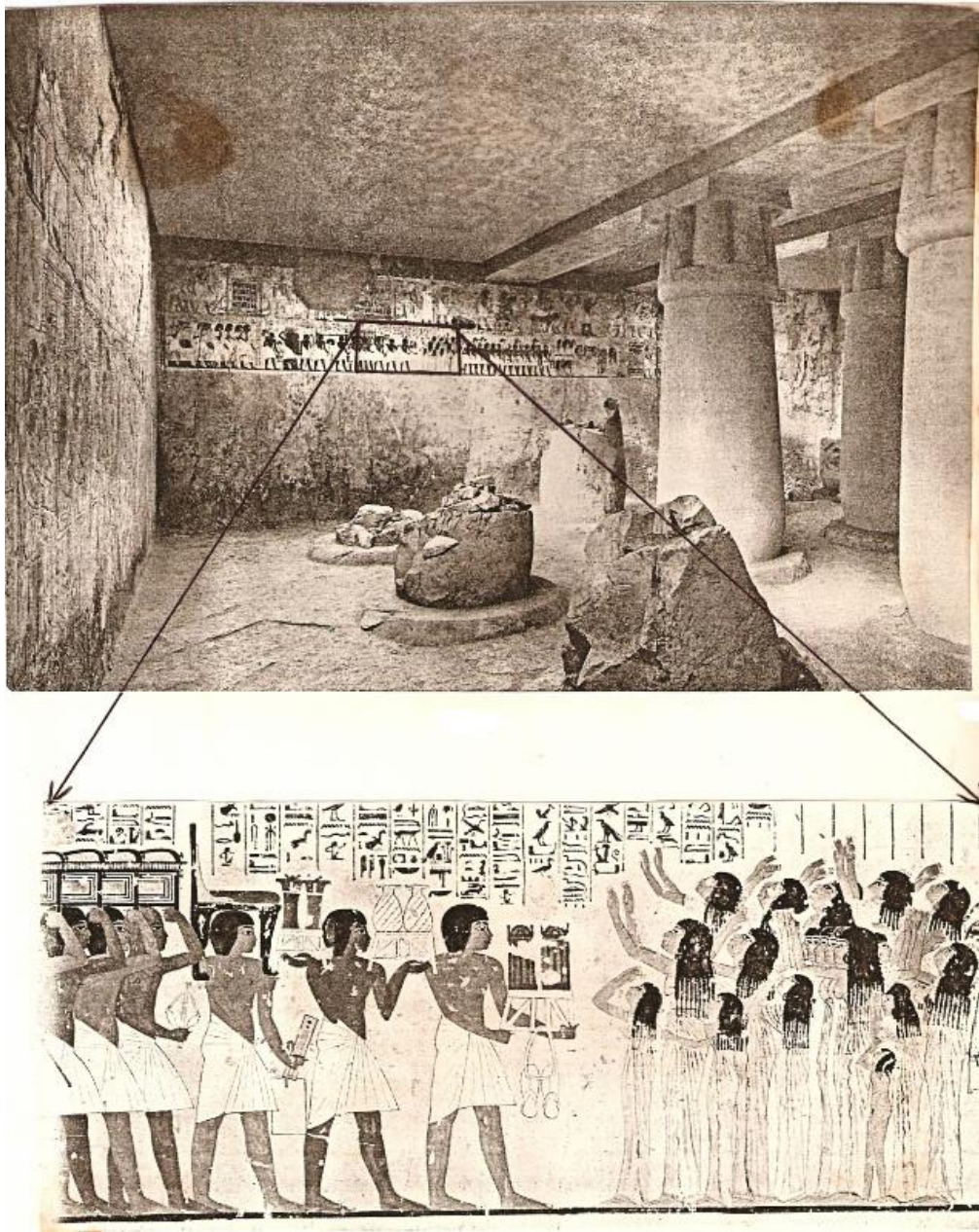


Figure #13



Figures 14 & 15

A partial glimpse of the interior of Ramose's tomb can be seen in Figure #14. Discovered in 1879, the burial chamber itself is fifty-five feet below ground level. These paintings were the common gouache on thin plaster, but on a limestone wall requiring no mud and straw surfacing to smooth out rough hewn rock as in previous Theban tombs. Here the wall paintings are

conventionally arranged in horizontal registers, although in this instance reduced to only two bands. Figure #15 is a detail from the lower register. Thematically, the left portion is a typical procession of men bearing offerings in standard poses. These offerings were Ramose's objects he used in life, here being deposited in his 'mansion of eternity'. And the right portion, shown in a color detail in Figure #16, portrays a group of female mourners, common in tomb art as far back as the Early Kingdom. They would actually have been professional mourners who were hired for the occasion. The only represented exception is Ramose's wife, here distinguishable only by the attendant girl supporting her. The group is characterized by ungirt garments. They raise their arms in the familiar gesture of mourning, and pour dust on their heads while tears are shown running down their cheeks. But what one writer describes as the "ordered diversity"²⁰ of the scene is, relative to its predecessors, far more diversified than ordered. Although the execution is hurried and not meticulous, color usage is limited to broad areas of a single black and yellow, the drapery is not detailed, and anatomical correctness is lacking in the full-eyed profiles and lack of differentiated hands, the figures as units show a great deal of freedom over previous attempts to show such a group.



Figure #16

One has only to compare the group with the mourners bearing offerings in Figure #17. The latter are from the tomb of Kheruef (number 192) at Thebes, contemporaneous with Ramose'. (Kheruef was steward and royal scribe for Amenhotep III's Queen). They appear as overlapping parallel contours, the familiar technique, with all faces the same and identical bodily proportions. Ramose' mourners, on the other hand, are far more individualized in height, gesture and angles at which the heads and arms bend. Clearly some are young, some old, some thin, some heavy. Notice how one girl looks in the opposite direction from all others in the group. Moreover, the artist has attempted to individualize the facial expressions somewhat.



Figure #17

The naturalism and expressiveness, or emotional qualities, conveyed in Ramose' mourners evolved from the earlier static figures, and led to Figure #18 for example. These mourners are in the funerary boat of the sculptors Nebamun and Ipuky (number 181 at Thebes), roughly contemporaneous with Ramose' (c. 1365 B. C.). The figure shows a frenzied and chaotic group of women. Their mouths are opened in cries in some cases, and the freedom of their arm movements is far more evident. Likewise the tones of skin color vary. Compositionally, though, their "hysterical gesturings...form a smoothly flowing curve leading

the eye towards the prow of the boat”.²¹ The delineation of personal facial expression of these mourners led Aldred to call the scenes “a revolutionary visual feature in an art which had sought hitherto to express grief by means of intellectual symbols”.²² The importance of individualized attention to the emotions of persons “none of them lacking in spirituality”,²³ and particularly those in grief, will become apparent later when we see a touching scene of Akhenaten and Nefertiti at the funeral of one of their daughters.

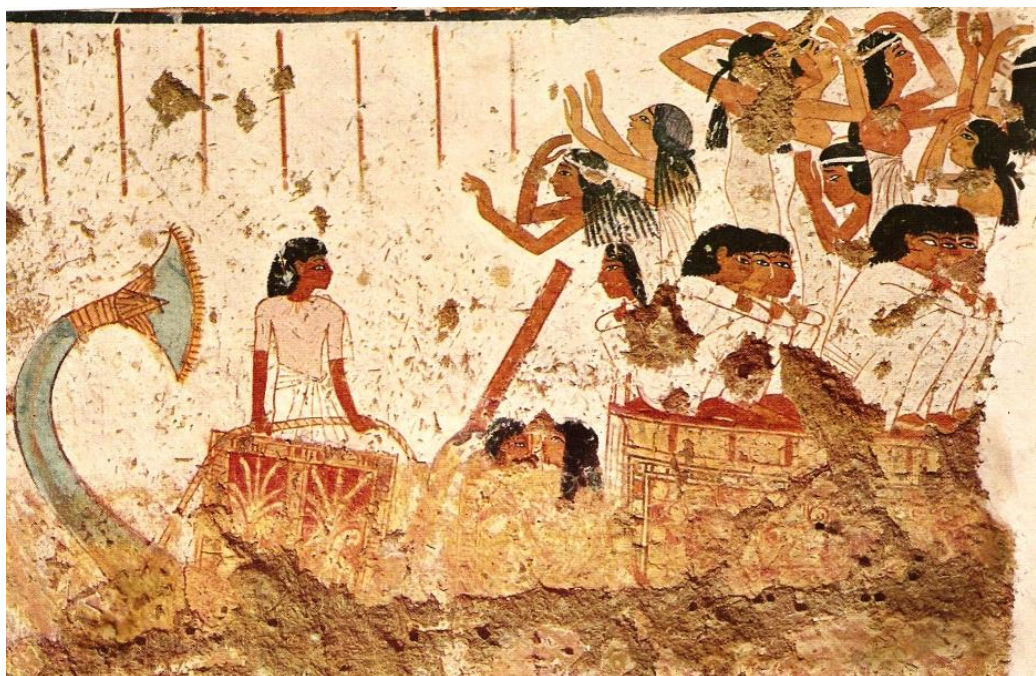


Figure #18

Ramose’ tomb walls are immediately and most importantly striking in terms of their subject matter. Tombs prior to the Amarna period (Figure #19 for example) and immediately thereafter (see Figure #20) dealt almost exclusively with the Osirian afterlife, specifically the deceased’s journey through the underworld. Relevant magical texts placed in context were from the Book of the Dead (or Book of Coming Forth by Day), especially the “Book of What is in the Underworld”. Figure #19 is an unfinished relief on the Theban tomb wall of Horemheb, a quarter of a century prior to the Amarna period. This, as well as Figure #20, from Theban tomb number 9 of Ramses IV, constructed in 1140 B.C. (i.e. during the Nineteenth Dynasty, a century after the Amarna period) show the deceased undergoing the ritual passage of the sun through the night, vicariously in sun barges. The only association of the Osirian faith to Ramose’ tomb can

be seen on the South wall,²⁴ where a single funerary bark displays the symbols of Osiris and Isis (seen to the far left of the upper register in Figure #14). “From this it would appear that Akhenaten’s ideas were hardening against burial according to any vestiges of the old Osirian rites which were anathema to his reformed doctrine”.²⁵

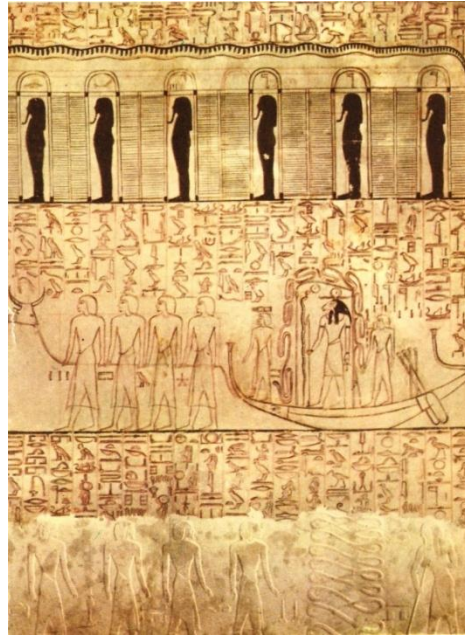


Figure #19

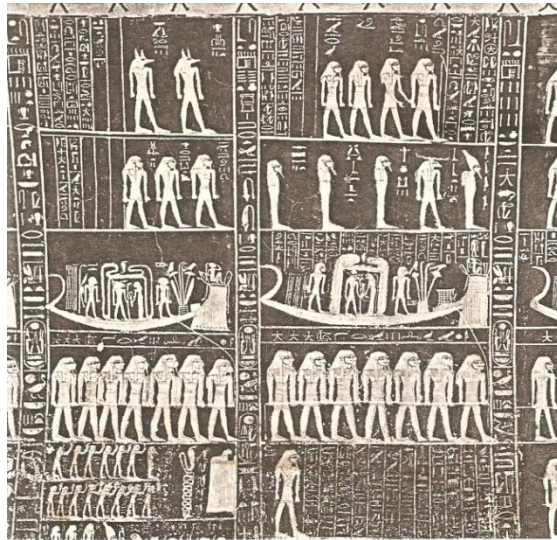


Figure #20

From an iconographic standpoint this is of extreme importance and a few words are necessary to mark the passing of Osirian beliefs as a source for tomb art scenes. The Osirian trilogy was one permeating all of Egyptian religious variations, reigning supreme in a pantheon of gods up to Akhenaten's time. Despite the dependence of individual cities and localities upon their own patron deity or trilogy of such deities, Osiris, Isis, and Horus comprised the sole trinity associated with the afterlife, having its beginnings at Abydos. In the myth, Osiris, supreme celestially, was killed by his brother Set, who scattered his bodily parts upon the earth. Isis collected the pieces and the "reconstructed" Osiris descended to become god of the underworld. Osiris' son, Horus, later had revenge by slaying Set and establishing himself as god of the heavens, appearing as the falcon headed sun deity (later adapted by Akhenaten in representations as the falcon-headed Re-Herakhty). The deceased Pharaoh or high official would be taken, in artistic scenes, through the sun's cycle into the underworld (cycle of darkness) whereupon Anubis, the jackal headed deity, would weigh the individual's heart against the sacred feather of Truth (Maat). The enthroned Osiris presided over the ritual and determined those worthy of the afterlife. Abruptly, though, upon Akhenaten's revitalization movement the Osirian afterlife ceased to exist. Although one's physical body was supposedly retained, hence continued mummification and scenes of the deceased at festive banquets eating with the guests, the good automatically received eternity while those not so good were annihilated. The constant transformation of Horus as Re, daily undergoing a change from living deity by day to a dead god at night and resurrected at dawn, was replaced by the Aten, which illuminated the worlds of the living and dead. Akhenaten, as the medium of the Aten with men, was known as "the patron of the dead in whose control all privileges and means of happiness for both worlds lay".²⁶ Often the deceased was shown in an extremely small scale in comparison to Akhenaten in his own tomb!

This radical departure from entrenched religious belief was most significant, then, in that there was a sudden lack of subject matter for tomb walls. What appears to have taken the place of the Osirian trilogy was a new trilogy of deities, namely the Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti. The implications of this apparent deification of Nefertiti will be dealt with in a later chapter.

Ramose' tomb indicates that a radical stylistic change-over took place in tomb art subsequent to the religious changeover about which we have spoken. Indeed, two reliefs on opposite sides of a doorway in the west wall of the tomb's great hall would seem to bear this out.

In Figure #21 we see the left half, depicting Amenhotep IV (the name change to Akhenaten was a few years off) seated on a throne beneath the state baldachin, receiving a blessing of “eternity of rule”²⁷ from the goddess Maat. This low relief is completely carved, and in the purely classical style. The Pharaoh holds the crook and flail, insignia of Osiris, showing his position. His shoulders are stiff and face forward. The artist’s lack of ability to render space creates the ambiguities of the figure’s left arms appearing to be behind the right, when their left sides are actually closer to the viewer. A continuation of the scene depicts Ramose presenting Amenhotep IV with a bouquet of Herakhty, i.e. not Horus/Re or any of the previous pantheon of deities.

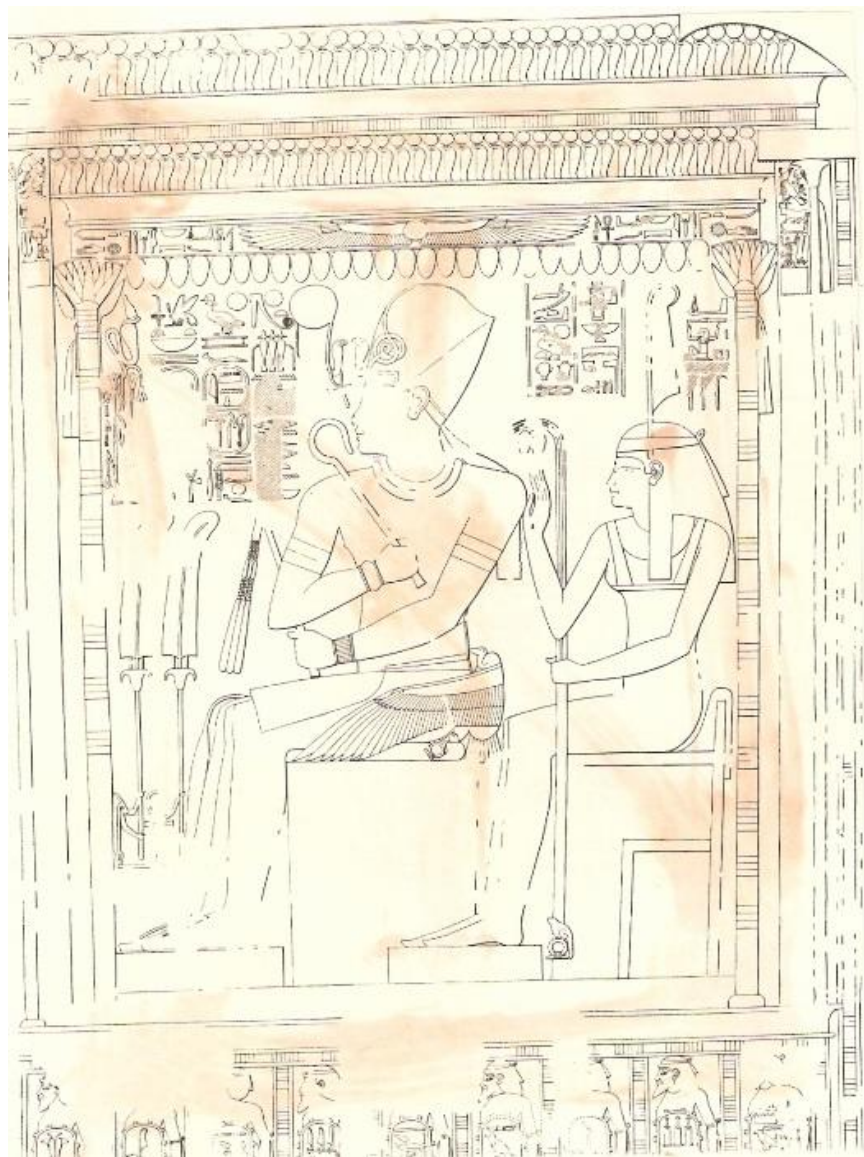


Figure #21

Figure #22 is directly opposite Figure #21 on Ramose's tomb wall. Both are low relief, but lack of available photographs has led scholars to depend upon Norman DeGaris Davies' initial line drawings (which, as can be seen here, are excellent). The differences between the two are startling. Here Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti are at their Window of Appearances presiding over Ramose's investiture. Immediately apparent is the first known representation of the Aten sun disc. This was the only symbolic icon of Atenism and would appear time and time again at Amarna. It always appears at the top of a scene and, as here, extends in arms terminating in hands. These hands offer, alternately, the Ankh symbol of life and scepter of power and well-being to the royal couple. We may note that an Ankh is offered to the nostrils of the two as the "breath of life". Also, and this is a rarity, the two rays extending beyond all the others terminate in hands which hold up Amenhotep IV's right arm as he blesses Ramose, indicating that this particular Pharaoh is a medium of the Aten's life and power forces. One thinks of Exodus 17:10-13, where Yahweh's power is conveyed through Moses' arm so Joshua can prevail over Amalek in battle.

In addition to the Aten symbol, agreed by scholars to be the first such representation, the figures of Amenhotep and Nefertiti are rendered in a comparatively revolutionary style. The Pharaoh's shoulders are not awkwardly bent towards the viewer so as to be seen from the front in their entirety. Instead we see what is obviously the side of his right shoulder. Furthermore, the arms overlap indicating that spatially his right arm is closer to the viewer. The garments on his shoulders are transparent over the right arm, allowing this distinction to be made. The entire thrust of his body leans away from the previous stiffness of the seated figure in Figure #21. The pivotal axis is in his hips, while the torso leans to the right with one arm resting gently on the sill and the other is suspended by the Aten's rays. The thinly drawn out, elongated appearance of his figure was foreshadowed by the mourning women in the same tomb (Figure #16). There is a certain grace and lightness to the pose, despite distortions in Amenhotep's physique. His stomach protrudes; his hips are flabby; his breasts appear enlarged.

Nefertiti shares the same bodily constitution. Although her figure is more slender, her buttocks protrude. Likewise, with her representation the artist has avoided spatial ambiguity by placing her left hand emphatically over her right upper arm. Most remarkable, though, are Nefertiti's facial features. Her jaw protrudes and drops in a graceful curve. This is a re-

emulation of Amenhotep's head. The extension of his forehead and nose from the base of the crown to the end of the nose is astounding, appearing as almost a straight line. His lips are thick and his jaw is as prominently extended as Nefertiti's.

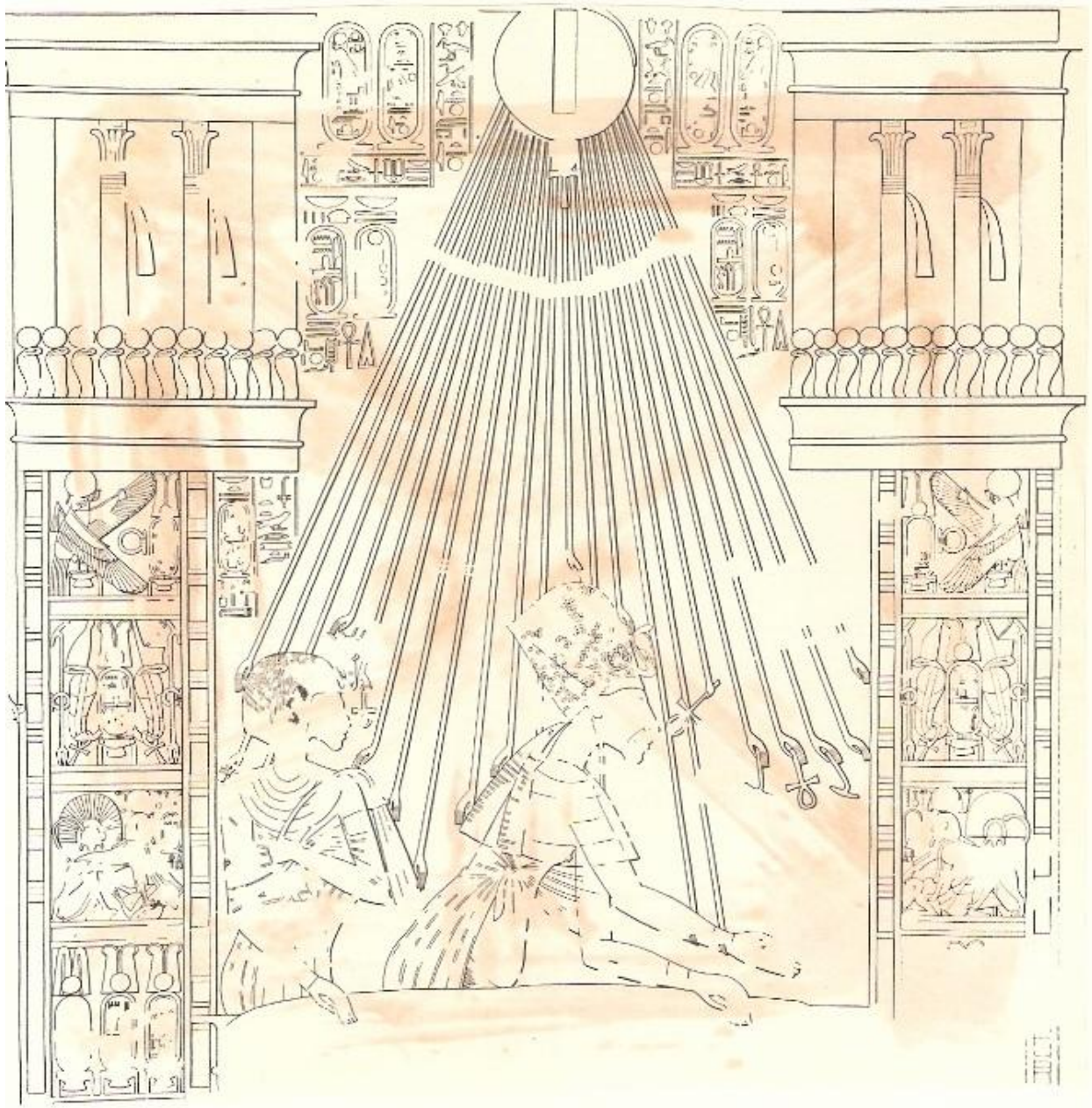


Figure #22

We must note that the Figure about which we have been speaking (#22) was left unfinished. Obviously the court had moved to the new capital of Amarna during execution of

the work. So the tomb was left unfinished. This fact, more than any other, has been indicative of the very revolutionary nature of Amarna art. The majority of—in fact almost all—scholars cite these two works side by side to prove their argument that stylistically a revolution had taken place. However, we have heretofore argued along evolutionary lines, citing relevant precursors in Theban tombs of the prior half-century. What proof exists for the evolutionary argument?

One piece of evidence usually regarded by scholars as contrary to the revolutionary argument requires a comparison. Figure #23 is a low relief from the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes. Amenhotep III and his Queen Tiye (Akhenaten's mother) are depicted at a Sed feast, receiving a presentation from Kheruef. The Pharaoh holds the Osirian crook and flail, while names of localities conquered by him appear in boxes below the couple. The two appear in the old stylistic canon (pre-Amarna), and the block is almost a mirror image of Amenhotep IV's portrayal in Figure #21 in Ramose's tomb. This would be the typical rendering of the Pharaoh and his wife during Amenhotep III's reign before the Amarna revolution.

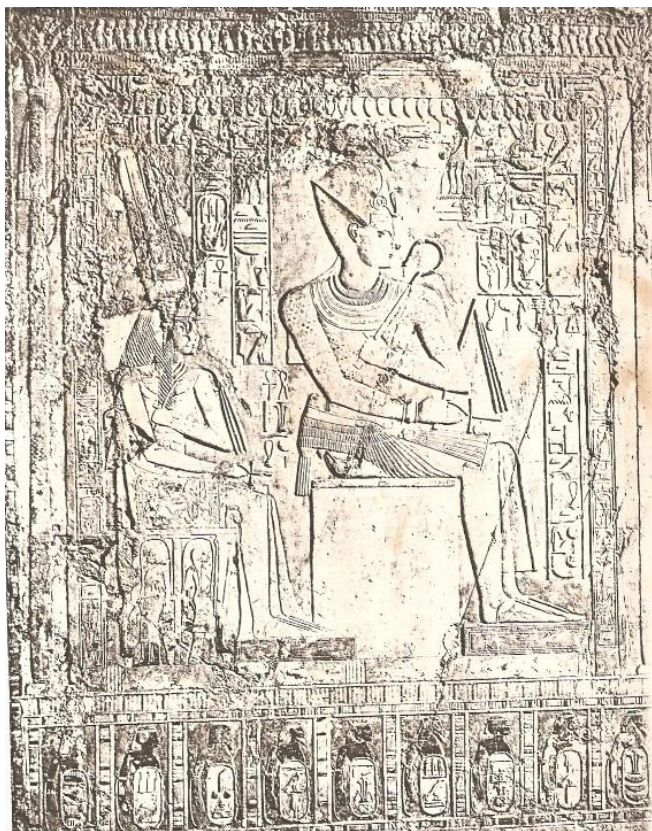


Figure #23

Yet the British Museum houses a piece, excavated in 1924, (Figure #24) which indicates the “revolution”, so-called, effected artistic styles earlier than scholars had previously thought. The piece is a painted limestone stella from a house shrine, showing Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye in front of an altar heaped with offerings. As Figure #22 relates to #21, so #24 relates to #23. This is in the Amarna style, with the Aten appearing above the couple, extending short rays—one of which offers the Ankh to the Pharaoh. He sits in a slouch, with his right arm hanging limply and resting on his leg. He portrays the obvious Amarna corpulence, with flabby stomach and breasts.



Figure #24

This piece of evidence must be discarded, though, for the simple reason that it originated from the house of Pinhasy at Amarna (i.e. not Thebes). Furthermore, the Pharaoh's praenomen is repeated in place of his nomen (as the name Amen, referring to a god, was not allowed under

Aten monotheism). These facts prove conclusively that the piece was made in Amarna under Akhenaten. This should have been clear to scholars from the representation of the hands and feet. The Pharaoh's hand is clearly his right one, and the feet feature a full set of five toes—both features of the high Amarna style and unattributable to Amenhotep III's reign or his co-regency with Akhenaten.

While it had been argued that Figure #24 was a prototype of the Amarna style because of the squat figure of Amenhotep III, we must compare Figure #25, a line drawing by Davies from a painting on the North wall of Mahu's tomb at Amarna. Here, while Akhenaten and Nefertiti are seen in the Full Amarna style, with protruding stomach, buttocks, thighs and breasts, transparent drapery (in places), elongated limbs, and five toed feet, they exhibit the same squat figures as Amenhotep III in Figure #24. The high Amarna style would have them proportionately much taller, but their squatness is a matter of practicality allowing room for the hieroglyphics above, as Amenhotep III is squat in order to fit into the small shrine setting while dominating it.



Figure #25

What figure #24 suggests, importantly, is that the Amarna style was a retroactive canon. We see the previous Pharaoh, Akhenaten's predecessor now deceased, portrayed in the Amarna style. Although photographs are not available, Cyril Aldred notes, "The Vizier Ramose, for instance, suddenly appears in his tomb with the elongated shaved skull, the lean face, hanging jaw, and long thin neck of the elect, in contrast to his orthodox appearance on the opposite side of the same wall."²⁸ As we shall later see, Akhenaten's court followers immediately adopted the same fashion in which to have themselves represented, and an important artist was amongst them.

Is there any evidence, then, that could be used to support an argument for the evolution of the Amarna style, out of prior works in the old canon into the high Amarna style proper? Yes, indeed evidence has come to light, aided by the archaeologist's trowel, to prove just that.

Early in his reign, Akhenaten opened sandstone quarries at Gebel el Silsila, south of Thebes (see map, Figure #1) for the purpose of building an Aten temple at Karnak. The quarry was stratified such that regular blocks measuring approximately twenty by ten inches could be extracted. These blocks have been dubbed 'talatat'. The rapid quarrying methods left rough edges, so gypsum plaster was used to fill in cracks and blemishes, and spread over the entire surface, making the sandstone appear like white limestone. The soft stone was easily incised, and the surface plaster was painted.

In the burst of iconoclastic fury directed at Atenism by Horemheb and the Ramessides, the Aten temple was first desecrated by having the names and, sometimes, features of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the Aten hacked out. Then the building was entirely dismantled, and the stone used as foundation and fill for the Second, Ninth, and Tenth Pylons of the Great Temple of Amen. Figures #26 and 27 show the Ninth and Tenth Pylons, respectively.

Donald Redford and Ray Winfield Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, have collected some 40,000 talatat from these pylons and are using computers to re-piece them. What is appearing is a transitional phase between the Amenhotep III canon and high Amarna art, both stylistically and in subject matter.

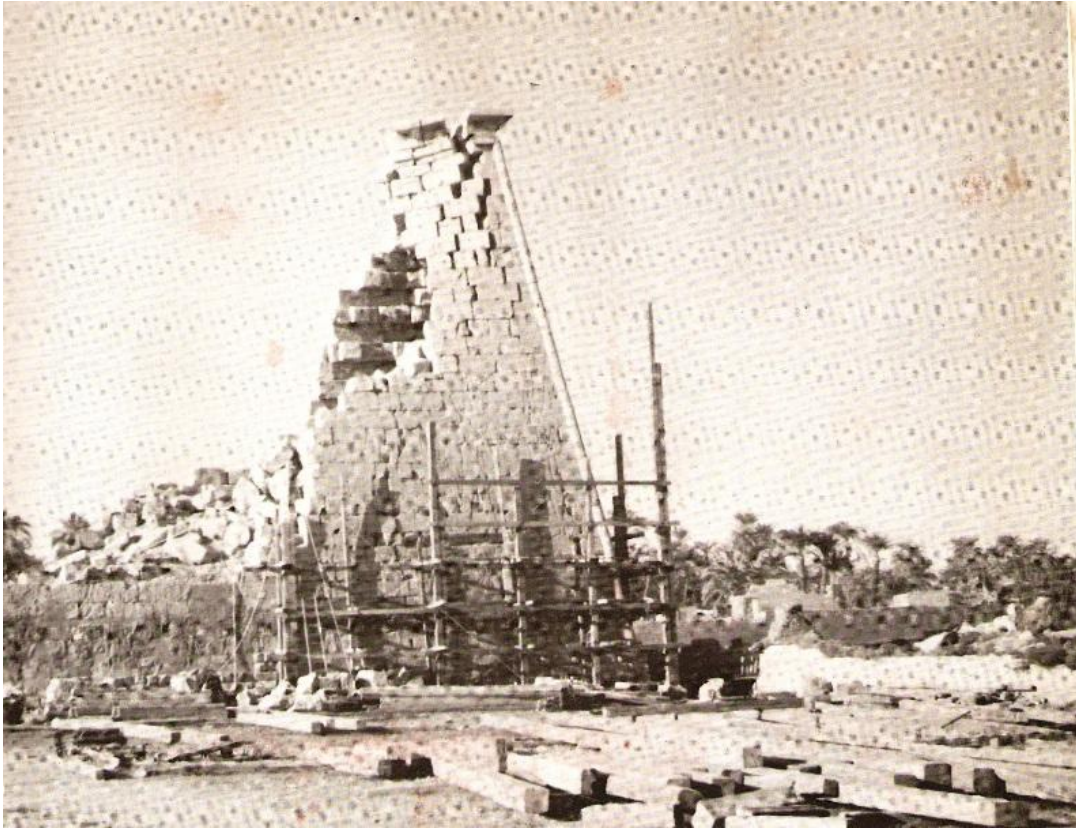


Figure #26

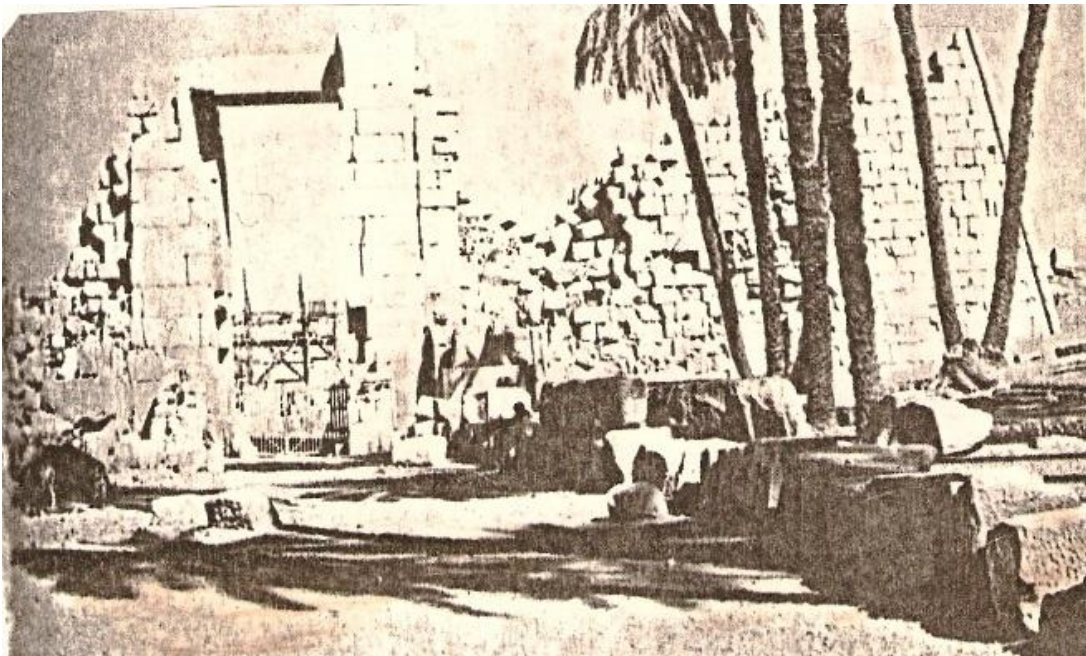


Figure #27

Figures #28 and 29 were both retrieved from the Tenth Pylon. Both show the falcon headed Re-Herakhty flanked by an image of Amenhotep IV. In the latter (Figure #29) we see that the Pharaoh's image has been defaced. These are two of but a small number of representations of Re-Herakhty as a falcon-headed man with the sun disc upon his head encircled by a uraeus (i.e. small snake designating sovereignty). An inscription suggests the rise of Re-Herakhty. Amenhotep IV is shown in a sandstone carving at the Gebel Silsila quarry worshipping Amen-Re, but the text describes him as "the first prophet of Re-Harachte, Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon, in his name Shu (sunlight) which is Aten."²⁹ Re-Herakhty incorporated two of the three manifestations of Re, namely Khepera (Dawn) and Atum (sunset), while Re (Noon) was ignored. As an Amarna foundation inscription indicates, Re-Herakhty was associated with the Aten: "my father Ra-Horakhti Aton liveth, the great and living Aton whom no artificer hath known".³⁰



Figure #28

So, in Figure #28 Re-Herakhty "bears the early didactic name of the Aten but not yet enclosed within cartouches".³¹ Whereas Herakhty probably described the sun's physical manifestation, the Aten could not be represented truly via art because it referred to the "Heat which is in Aton", or "Effulgence which comes from Aton".³² An abstract symbol was adapted for artistic purposes, probably an elaboration of the hieroglyphic for sunshine. In Figure #28,

then, Amenhotep IV stands beneath the earliest Aten symbol with ankhs radiating from its disc in association with uraei.

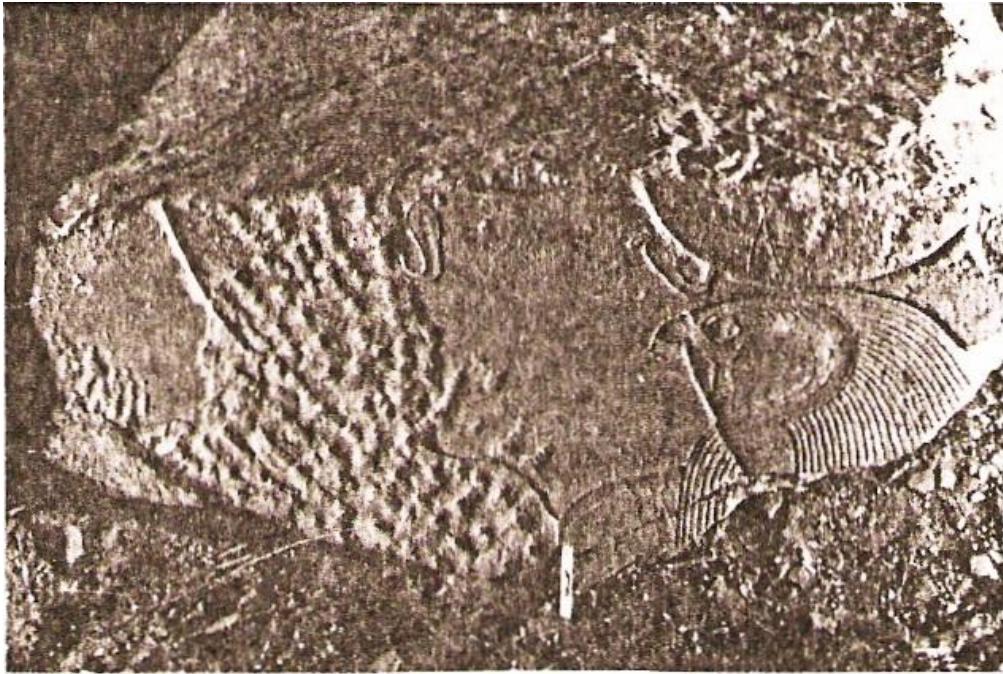


Figure #29

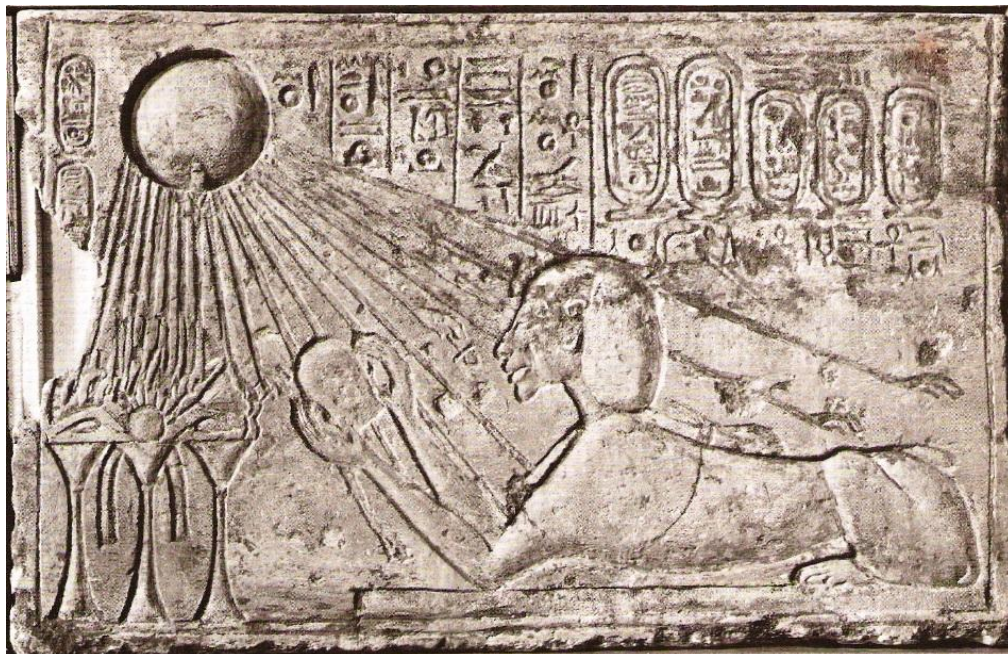


Figure #30

The anthropomorphic falcon version of Herakhty was relegated the position of “Re, ruler of the horizon”, whose incarnation was the sphinx. Figure #30 confronts us with the strange depiction of Akhenaten as that sphinx. His head appears on a lion’s body, as he offers a libation vessel and floral offerings at the left. As the work is sunk relief on Limestone, it originated at Amarna, the inscriptions bearing this out as Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti are named and the Aten appears with rays. This depiction explains Amenhotep IV’s earliest praenomen, Neferkheprure-Waenre or “Beautiful like the forms of Re, the unique one of Re”,³³ as well as the inscription above the sphinx, calling him “Fashioner of the Horizon of the Aten in Akhetaten”.³⁴

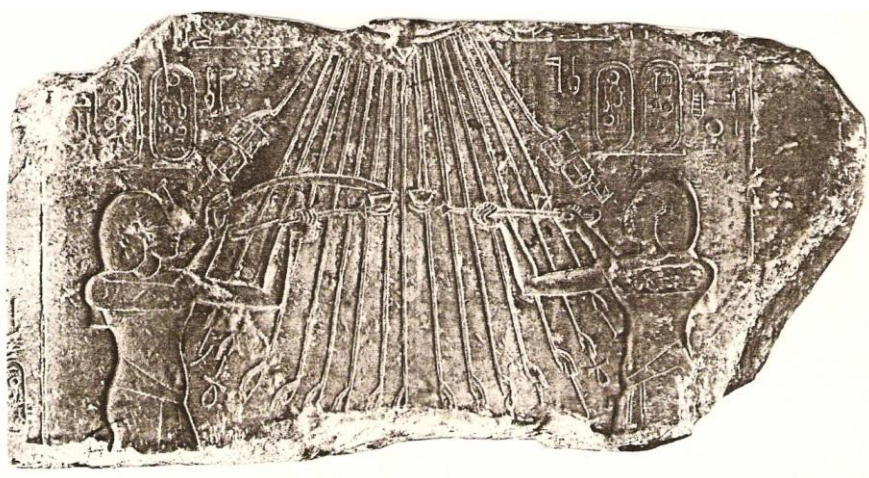


Figure #31

Returning now to the important transitional Karnak talatat, Figure #31 shows Akhenaten in a mirror image pose, making offerings to the now finalized Aten form. The Aten is a radiating sun disc encircled by a uraeus having an ankh around its neck, accompanied by its name in two large cartouches. The Amenhotep nomen now appears as Akhenaten. Stylistically, whereas Figure #28 followed the canon of Amenhotep III in the rigid posture of Amenhotep IV’s appearance (the symbols, as we have shown, were not canonical), we now see the new bodily proportions. “There is surely an attempt in the over-grown jaw, pot-belly and prominent buttocks to render the curious anatomy of the king, albeit in a very discreet manner”.³⁵ The amount of distortion is, perhaps, midway between the two portrayals of Akhenaten in Ramose’s tomb (Figures #21 and 22), yet both of the later, non-canonical renderings would have been done “by the same craftsmen responsible for the traditional style of work”³⁶ according to Aldred.

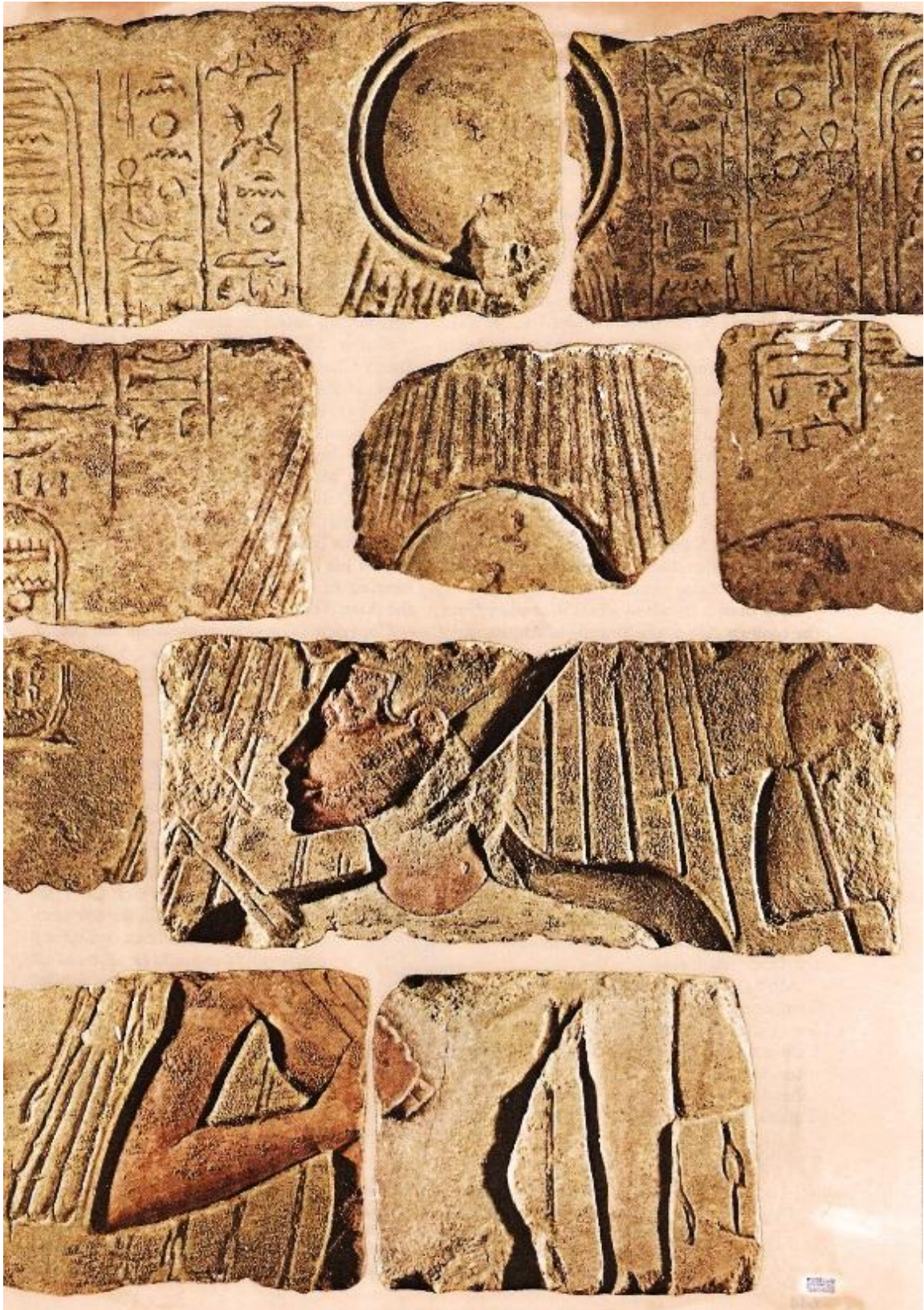


Figure #32

Figure #32 shows a typical work of the transitional phase, beautifully reconstructed from nine talatat. The Aten disc, encircled by uraeus, shines down upon Akhenaten. While his shoulders display some of the stiffness and angularity of the previous style, the thrust of his right arm, well defined breasts, slender waist, receding forehead, thick lips, protruding jaw, and long thin neck are all indicative of the new style initiated at Karnak. Traces of the original body paint are visible.

Clearly, at Karnak “The Aten Temple’s human figures prove that traditionalism had yielded to the distorted Amarna style well before the new city was built”³⁷ at Amarna. In terms of style, previous scholars argued a revolution abruptly from old to new. “This view has been supported by the interpretation put upon the scenes in the Theban tomb of the Vizier Ramose...The discovery of the Karnak talatat, however, has rather upset this view, for they testify that the revolutionary art was already well established at Karnak before the exodus of the king and his followers to the city of the Aten. It seems probable, in fact, that further research will push the appearance of this revolutionary style ever earlier...”³⁸ As the previous chapter suggested, this author sees stylistic precursors in the Theban tombs. Therefore, we shall discard Aldred’s statement that “there seems a good case for considering that this revolutionary style existed in the imagination of Akhenaten from the very first art and was imposed”³⁹ to express the new Aten doctrine. Stylistically this is not so, although it is entirely plausible iconographically.

As Ramose’ tomb testifies, “it would seem that the Osirian Funerary ritual was abandoned; although the layout of the tombs remained the same, prayers to the Aten took the place of the customary mortuary texts”.⁴⁰ Likewise Akhenaten appears to have invented the Re-Herakhty and Aten symbols, as well as dictating the symbolic representation of the Aten, Akhenaten, Nefertiti trilogy. Thus the post-Osirian lack of subject matter was replaced, and Akhenaten’s retroactive application of his new symbols affected representations of Amenhotep III, for example, as we saw in Figure #24.

“When Akhenaten did away with the concrete representation of his god and replaced its image by the symbol of the rayed sun disc, he also banished most of the traditional iconography of temple reliefs. New subjects had to be invented...The new subjects for representation, as we shall see, were concerned with life under the beneficent rule of the new sun god. For these

scenes the same lively expression was instinctively chosen as had already appeared as modest asides in the Theban tomb paintings”⁴¹ (such as we saw in the previous chapter of this essay). The infusion of more genre type court scenes of Akhenaten with Nefertiti and their children would soon come to the fore. We must first, however, concentrate on representations of the Royal Couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, separately and together.

IV. Akhenaten

Although the Karnak Aten temple was destroyed and the talatat removed, several colossal sculptures of Akhenaten remain. Scholars have determined that twenty-eight of these large representations of the king were placed around the temple, and several have been found in situ. Figure #33, now in the Cairo Museum, is one such figure. This, as the others, is uniformly thirteen feet in height. The name Amenhotep appears in the cartouches on the shoulders, stomach and wrists, as the move to Amarna had not been made during this, the incipient phase of the co-regency with Amenhotep III.

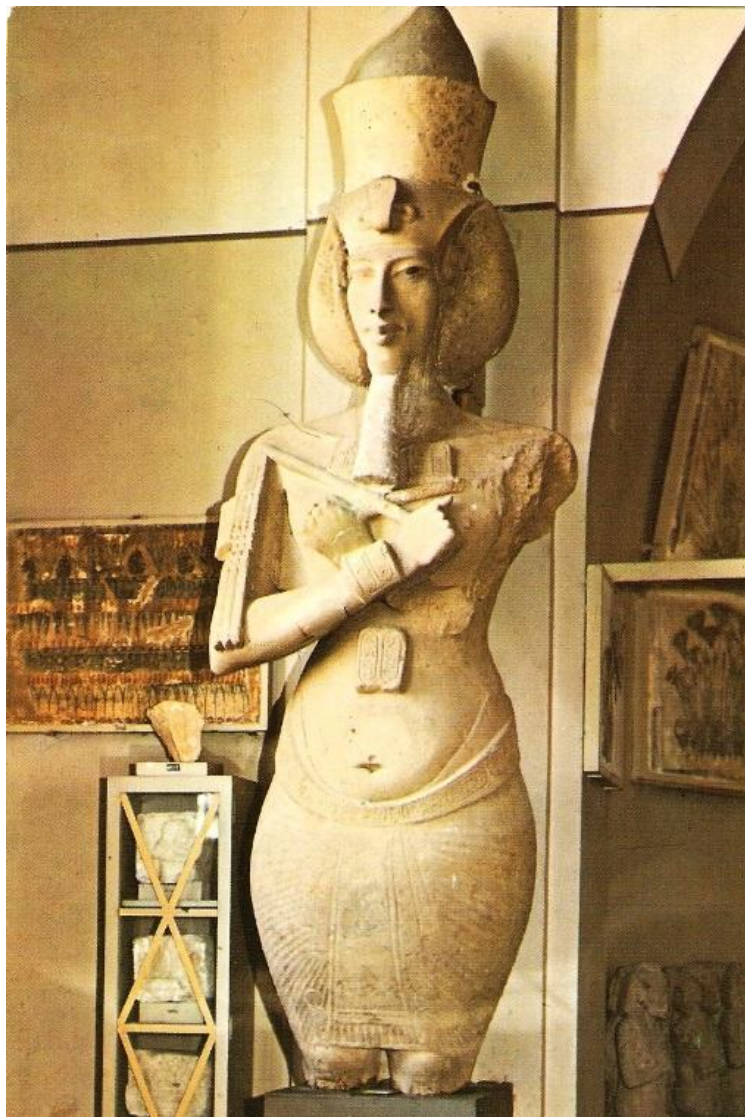


Figure #33

Done in limestone, and decorated with surface paint, this would have adorned the huge temple, which some have estimated to be as much as a mile in length.⁴² Akhenaten appears in the Osirian type pose, with crook and flail, yet these two elements imply emblems of power and dominion rather than Osirian connotations as he wears normal clothing of the living Pharaoh instead of being garbed in the shroud of eternity. The headdress and false beard are typical of the old canon, but his bodily proportions are not. As in the transitional reliefs we have already discussed, Akhenaten here features the massive thighs, rounded buttocks, protruding stomach (featuring a never-before-seen horizontal navel), slim waist, long thin neck, and thin face with protruding jaw and thick lips. In addition, “The Karnak colossi representing Akhenaten introduced at a blow a number of novelties that entered into the conventions of Egyptian sculpture and remained there for a century or so”.⁴³ These features were modeled eyes, naturalistic eyebrows, fleshy ears, thick lips, and modeled collarbones and neck tendons.

Figure #34, also in Cairo, confronts us with the most controversial of these Akhenaten statues from Karnak, which has been attributed to the hand of the master Amarna sculptor, Bek. “The astonishing feature of this example is that the king is shown naked and without genitals, although the sculpture is apparently finished. The androgynous nature of his physique is here emphasized by the voluminous breasts and hips and plump thighs”.⁴⁴ Moreover, the remains of the ears reveal that they were shown as pierced. This representation led archaeologists and scholars prior to 1883 to believe that Akhenaten had actually been a woman masquerading as a man (as Hatshepsut had), or else he was a victim of castration. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that Amenhotep III had himself portrayed in woman’s garb at times, and Akhenaten will “appear in a loose gown like a woman’s, unconfined by a sash”.⁴⁵ Fragments of other colossi make it quite impossible to identify the statues as Akhenaten or Nefertiti on anatomical grounds alone. It has been supposed that Akhenaten dictated this representation of himself to take the hermaphroditic form of the Aten, which generated itself from neither father nor mother. Samson, Vanier, Westendorf and Aldred alike see in the work “a deliberate attempt to create a hermaphrodite—the mother and father of mankind”.⁴⁶ J. A. Wilson stated more specifically that “the karnak colossi of Akh-en-Aton may not present him as effeminate or distorted but as the bisexual god Hapi, the creator who united both sexes”.⁴⁷

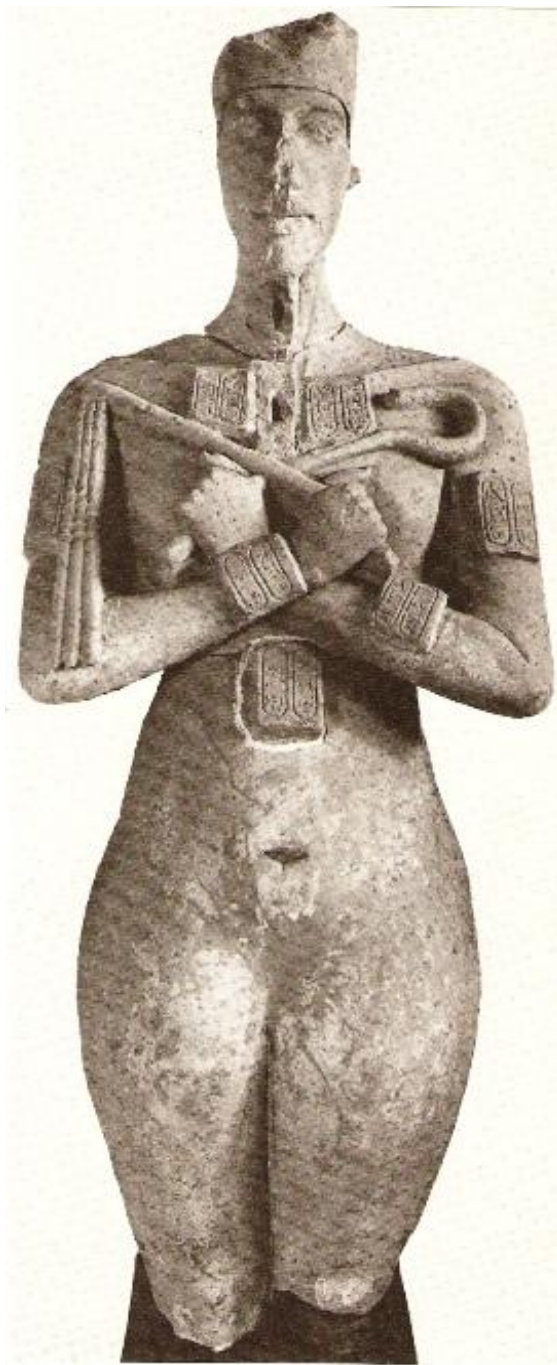


Figure #34

The style of these colossi features a hip span much wider than that of the shoulders, whereas the reverse had usually been the case. But, more importantly, the hands and feet show meticulous detail and naturalistic rendering. Figure #35 shows Akhenaten's sandaled foot in a sculptor's trial piece. This may be compared to an Old Kingdom relief of a foot, seen in Figure

#36. The former displays the five toes, which “appears to be an innovation of the king’s sculptors”.⁴⁸ Figure #37 reveals the apprentice’s stages in the production of a foot in sculpture. Figure #38 is a foot from a composite statue (composite statues were an Amarna innovation which we shall discuss in the next chapter). The toenails are cut in intaglio to receive inlays, probably of red stone or faience. Indications of folds in the skin are evident. Figure #39 is a beautiful Amarna example of feet in relief, the right and left well differentiated by inner and outer sides, with the right showing five toes.



Figure #35



Figure #36

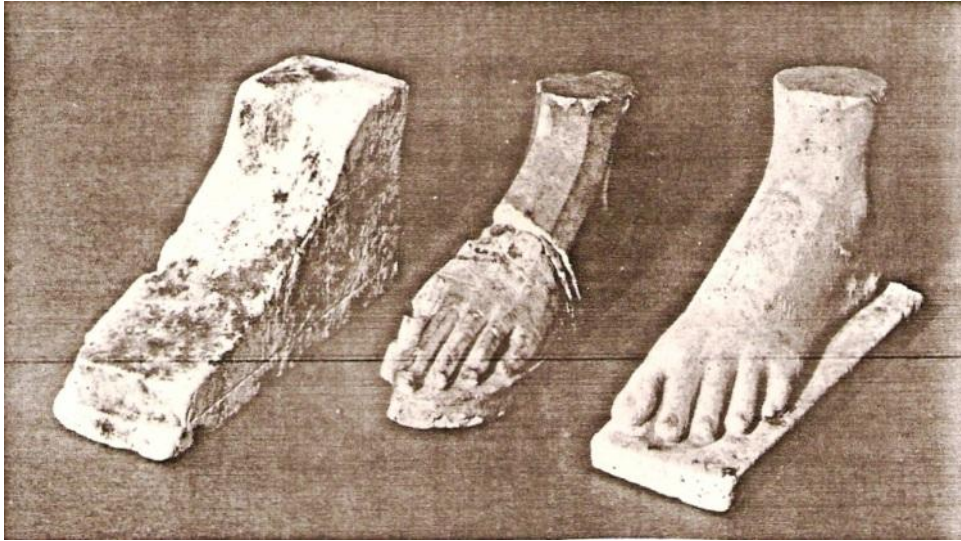


Figure #37



Figure #38



Figure #39

Likewise, the hands in the colossi are equally well rendered as far as naturalism. And this was reflected in reliefs as well. “One of the discoveries of Amarna artists was the importance of the hand in conveying a mood as well as an action. The fingers of Amarna hands are made long and are re-curved in an elegant sensitivity. The gestures of these hands assist in the dramatic presentation of a scene, just as they do in paintings of seventeenth-century Europe”.⁴⁹ Figure #40 is a wonderful example. The artist has, in carving the limestone, strayed into a realm of abstraction in an attempt to convey the gesture by elongation. There can be no doubt that this is a right as opposed to left hand. Prior to the Amarna period, both feet were seen in their inferior aspect without distinguishable toes, with each pair of hands appearing as two identical versions of the same hand. These were mere symbols of feet and hands, canonized. But, as we saw in the Theban tombs, feet show toes (in Figures #11 and 12) and hands become differentiated (Figures #11 and 22). This process reached its full maturity in the Akhenaten sculptures and elsewhere in high Amarna art. Thus the artist stepped out of the confines of two-dimensional space in Theban painting and perfected anatomical detail in the reality of space in reliefs and sculpture at Amarna.



Figure #40

The colossi were offshoots, on a grand scale, of shawabti figures. The shawabti were figurines of the deceased placed in the tomb. (Initially they were figures of servants who would aid the deceased in the afterlife replacing actual live ‘sacrifices’ of servants who were sealed in the tomb). “Despite all the arts of the mummifier, there would come a time when the actual frame of the man as he was in the days of his flesh would finally crumble into dust, and then the portrait statue would remain the last refuge of the Ka”,⁵⁰ or effective spirit, to re-enter the earthly existence. The artist strove for an image which at least resembled the deceased somewhat. “Once they were completed, the statues were brought to life by the ceremony of ‘opening the mouth’, so that they could step freely from their timeless state into life, that is, into the course of time. In its timeless form, the statue is the space from which the enclosed person can emerge periodically for physical activity—that is, for life—and to which he can return in due course for further rejuvenation.”⁵¹ The artist, therefore, was designated ‘preserver of life’.



Figure #41

Figure #41 shows a statuette of Akhenaten, from the Brooklyn Museum, flanked by two shawabtis of Yuya (who was grandfather to both Akhenaten and Nefertiti) from the Metropolitan Museum. The former was executed in 1360, while the latter two date from 1400 B.C. The Yuya shawabtis were prepared for his tomb and show him in the Osirian wrappings and headdress. But in Akhenaten's case, there is no Osirian afterlife to prepare for. Thus he appears wearing the kilt, apron, sandals and crown of his normal earthly appearance. In fact, the seven and a half inch painted limestone figure was probably never intended for a tomb, as it was excavated in a private Amarna house. The artist represented the Pharaoh as faithfully as possible within the stylistic conventions of the early Amarna period, showing the protruding stomach, enlarged breasts, protruding jaw and receding forehead. Particular attention, again, has been paid to the clasped hands and feet.



Figure #42

As the Amarna style progressed, the distortions of Akhenaten's physique become more radical. Comparing the figure we just discussed (#41), with Figure #42, serves as an example. The latter is an unfinished Alabaster carving now in Berlin. Seen in profile, the buttocks are now extremely exaggerated, while the head is distorted to the point of appearing deformed. Meanwhile the head is thrust forward on the long neck and the arms have been freed from the sides as in the more stiff posture of the previous figure. Figure #43, a wooden statuette of Akhenaten also in Berlin, reveals the extent of the high Amarna style in carved and sculpted depictions of the king. The profile shows a protruding stomach, pronounced buttocks and enlarged breasts. The angular distortion of the head is extreme. From the front, it is evident that great care was taken in carving the hands, particularly the right which is partially clenched. Likewise, the feet are detailed.



Figure #43

One might wonder if this was how Akhenaten actually appeared, and a great deal of scholarly debate in the first half of this century hinged on the possibility of his having a genetic glandular disorder of some sort. As his mummified body has never been found, this cannot be determined, but it does not seem likely for, as we have seen, during his co-regency with Amenhotep III, he was represented with a normal physique (which may, although, be attributable to the stylistic canon). Moreover, many of his court followers adopted such distorted artistic representations for themselves. Therefore it is likely that the new style was a mixture of naturalistic tendencies, which had been underlying Theban art during the previous half-century, and encouragement from Akhenaten himself (dictating religious ideals). The naturalism is evident in a portrait mask of a royal official of Akhenaten, seen in Figures #44 and 45, now in Berlin. The brown-white plaster 'mask' is actually a cast of a master sculptor's work which students would copy in their teacher's workshop. The sculpture from which the model was made has not been found. The official has been tentatively identified as Ay, Nefertiti's father who became Pharaoh after Tutankhamun. Although not a mask of his actual face, the work captures personalized features such as forehead wrinkles, prominent cheekbones, and strong neck.

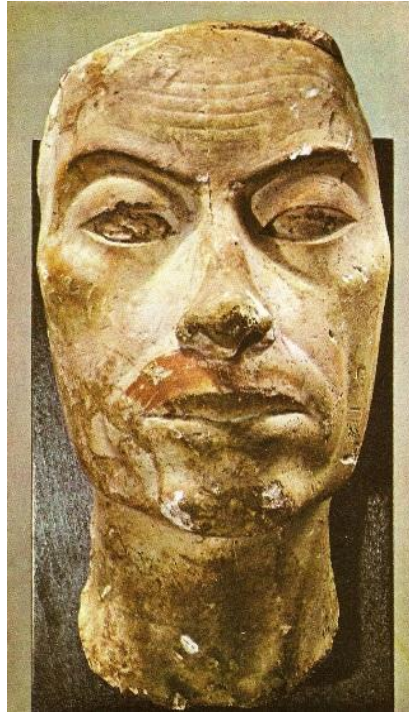


Figure #44



Figure #45

By comparison, Figures #46 and 47 are two views of a fragmentary sculpted head of Akhenaten, now in Munich. Here the naturalism of the wrinkle from the nostrils to mouth is wedded with the distorted Amarna style indicative of the Aten's elect. It should be noted that both Ay's portrait and this of Akhenaten are contemporaneous. In Akhenaten's case, the thick lips, upturned and drawn back on the protruding jaw (yet gracefully curving chin), sharply contrast Ay's firm, downturned mouth.



Figure #46



Figure #47

While the fragment exhibits the extremities of Amarna facial distortion, Figure #48, now in Berlin, is a more restrained portrayal of Akhenaten. Done in gray-white plaster, it is, as Ay's portrait, a cast from a finished sculpture done in two parts and joined by a seam in the middle of the face. Again, the head is life size, but was certainly not a caste taken from Akhenaten's actual face. It served as a model for student sculptors, as it was found in the workshop of the master sculptor Thutmosis at Amarna. Amarna characteristics are evident in the fully modeled ears with holes for earrings, the slanting eyes, thin jaw, thick lips, and facial creases. Despite its restraint, the face exhibits none of the austerities of Figure #49, for example, a sculpture of Thutmosis III done at Karnak a century before Akhenaten. The Thutmosis head is so typical of Egyptian art both prior to and after the Amarna period, that it is quite often mistaken for the famous head of Tutankhamun (see Figure #135). The Thutmosis and Tut heads indicate that the artist sought an idealized portrait which would, in the Osirian sensibility, remain an eternal representation capable of perpetual life for the Ka. The major difference in Amarna art is the artist's disregard

for abstracting an idealized portrait, while concentrating on freeing a lively likeness from the stone of the actual figure being represented, and remembering the Aten cult's disposition towards symbolic stylization of the elect.

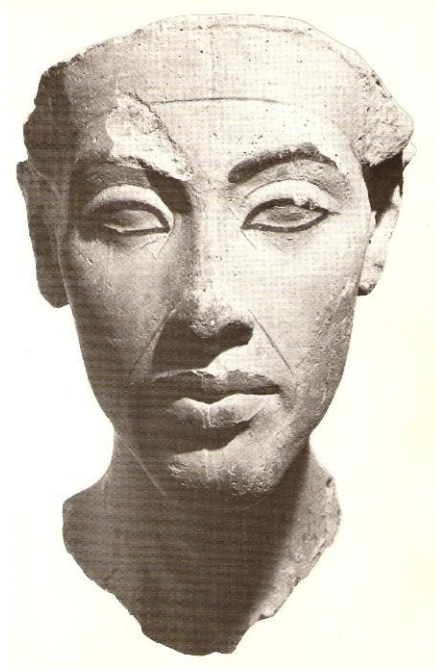


Figure #48



Figure #49

While, as we have said, Akhenaten could not guide the artists' hands personally in the sense of dictating style, he could dictate specific attributes that the art should feature in a symbolic respect as a theological necessity evident in Atenism. Thus the propensity towards naturalistic details in hands, feet, and facial features, was a psychic disposition already showing itself in Theban tomb art, while the hermaphroditic inclinations in bodily and facial distortions were an imposed religious ideal. Akhenaten's choice of these distortions perhaps, as some writers suggest, stemmed from a personal psychological makeup which reverted to archaic art forms. It would be ridiculously fruitless to suggest that Akhenaten had ever seen any archaic Egyptian artworks, but the images of the unconscious are not contingent upon the external world. Figure #50 includes five sub-figures which display the closeness of Amarna art to archaic styles. Numbers one and three are drawings of Akhenaten as represented in Amarna art, while two and four are depictions of kings from archaic statuettes discovered in Abydos by Professor Petrie. The elongated skull with receding forehead are common to both sets, as are the protruding jaw. Finally, number five is an archaic statuette also found by Petrie in its entirety. The thin face and wide hips and thighs remind us of the Karnak colossi of Akhenaten, particularly in the faces (see Figure #51, now in the Louvre, Paris). Our consideration of a possible archaic reversion will become more lucid in the discussion of Nefertiti in the next chapter.

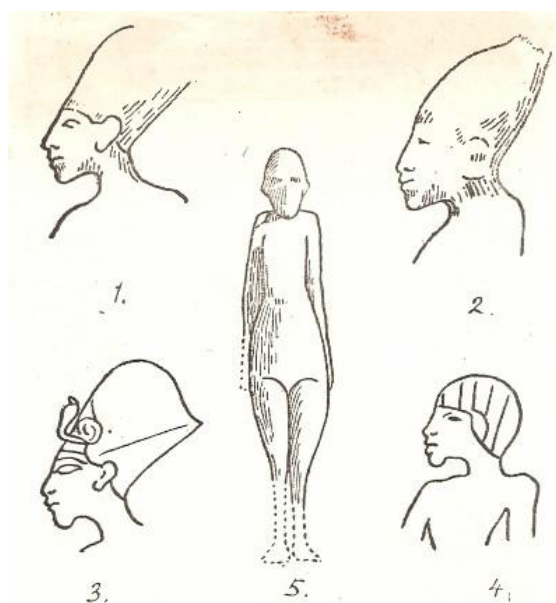


Figure #50

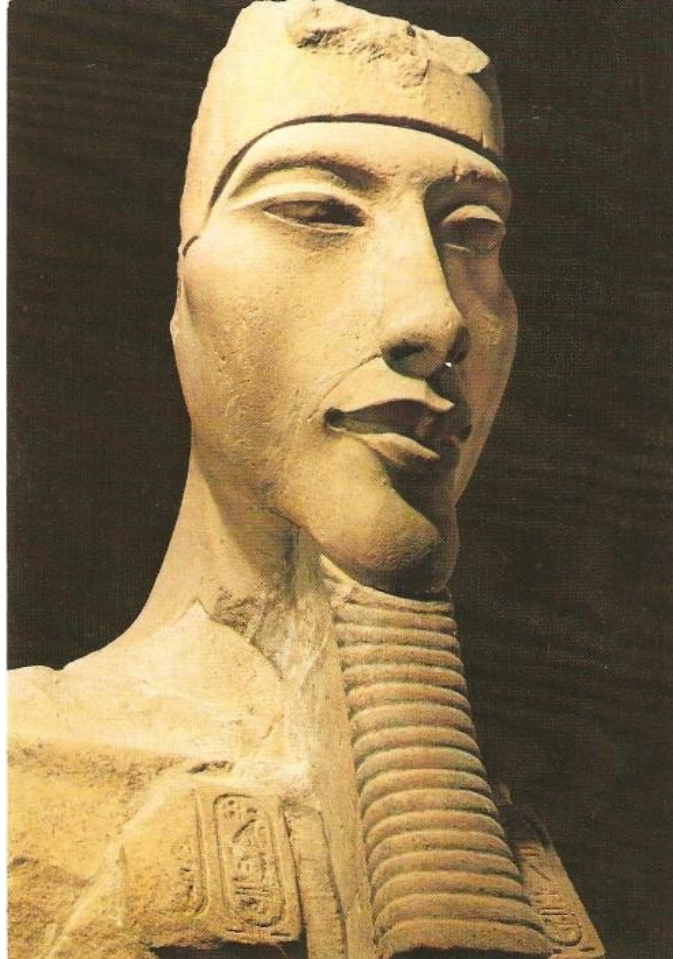


Figure #51

Meanwhile, another Amarna artistic innovation should be mentioned. Figure #52 is a stone fragment of Akhenaten offering to the Aten, while in the context of his cartouche and that of the Aten and Nefertiti. The Aten disc and Akhenaten's headdress are deeply hollowed out for a specific reason. With the hurried move of the capital city from Thebes to Amarna where, in fact, no previous city had ever existed, a great deal of novelty was required in mass production techniques to supply artworks for the city during its construction. One technique was the invention of composite statues, to be discussed in the next chapter. What concerns us here is the use of inlay. Workmen on the site simply cut out silhouettes in intaglio, into which inlays of glass or faience were cemented. These inlays were cast in great numbers in clay moulds. Thus, in this Figure, the colorful Aten disc and headdress would have been inserted. In Figure #53, hollows were left for the Aten disc, Akhenaten's libation vessel, as well as the headdresses of

both Akhenaten and Nefertiti, who follows her husband with a sistrum, or noise making device for religious purposes. Both of these Figures were found by Petrie at Amarna, and are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Figure #52



Figure #53

Another feature of the hastily executed Amarna reliefs is the almost exclusive use of sunk relief. Whereas low relief was used on the softer stones early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the

Amarna limestone allowed more detailed work and sunk relief aided the speed of execution. The technique actually came to prominence in the Karnak sandstone talatat. Figure #54 from Boston, now on loan in Munich, shows two rejoined talatat in sunk relief on sandstone. Akhenaten is encompassed by Aten rays, and his face reflects the angularity and mannerism of the transitional phase under the co-regency. Nefertiti follows, wearing a tall, plumed headdress. She is identified as “Chief wife of the king, Mistress of the Two Lands”,⁵² and traces of red pigment remain on her face. Her spindly arms are typical of Amarna distortion. But this distortion is aided by the sunk relief itself. “Deep sunk relief can produce optical illusions...; limbs, for instance, can appear much more slender than they really are, and other distortions occur as a result of heavy shadows falling on modeled forms. It is thus partly an illusionary quality that gives the Karnak talatat their mannerist appearance”.⁵³



Figure #54

Figure #55 shows the extreme of the effect sunk relief gives. It is a fragment of Alabaster (hard crystalline limestone) found by Petrie in the Amarna Aten temple in 1891, now in the Cairo Museum. The three and a half foot piece portrays the epitome of the high Amarna style. The King's lined face, receding forehead, distorted skull, hanging jaw, thick lips, arched scrawny neck, pronounced breasts and buttocks, bulbous hips, inflated thighs, and thin, spindle shanks, are shared by Nefertiti and his eldest daughter, who follow him. Akhenaten and Nefertiti offer to the Aten, while the daughter rattles a sistrum. The Aten offers the Ankh to the king and Queen. The photocopying process has here rendered the fragment in two different degrees of light, expressing the ability of sunk relief to convey space by light and shade. "Sunk relief, particularly if it was required to be covered with a thin coat of plaster, had to be carved deeper than raised relief, and subtleties of modeling had to be sacrificed to more dramatic light and shade".⁵⁴

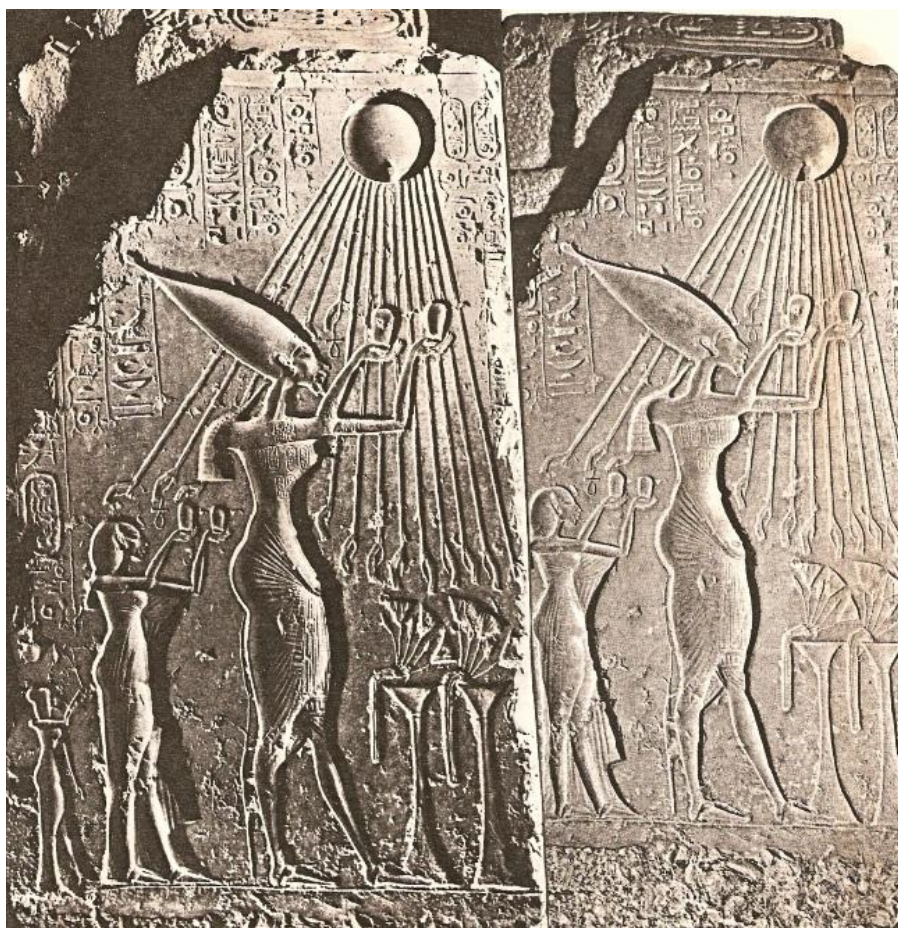


Figure #55

The last three Figures we have discussed featured Akhenaten and Nefertiti together, worshipping the Aten. In each case, Nefertiti is shown behind her husband and on a smaller scale. This was a normal occurrence in Egyptian art during the Eighteenth Dynasty, that the Pharaoh dominated any scene in which he appeared by his size alone. Yet at Amarna, works of this sort are the exception, and not the rule. In Figure #56, for example, in the Ashmolean Museum, Nefertiti is on her husband's scale, shorter only in her woman's bodily constitution. Her pose is extremely graceful, and the artist employed transparent clothing with a few incised lines so that her thighs, stomach, and buttocks are gently rounded to re-emulate Akhenaten's physique. Her right breast is entirely uncovered, thus emphasized. She shares his thin neck and long left arm, likewise his slanting forehead. The banner of her headdress appears blown back over her shoulder as an Aten ray accepts her offering.



Figure #56

Indeed, in Amarna art Nefertiti often shares an equal position with Akhenaten. Figure #57 shows what appears to be Akhenaten receiving envoys at the Amarna court. He sits on a throne adorned with plants symbolic of the united Egyptian Empire while his six daughters appear on two horizontal bands behind him. A closer look at the throne (see Figure #58) reveals the startling fact that Nefertiti is seated beside her husband with an arm around his waist and holding his left hand.

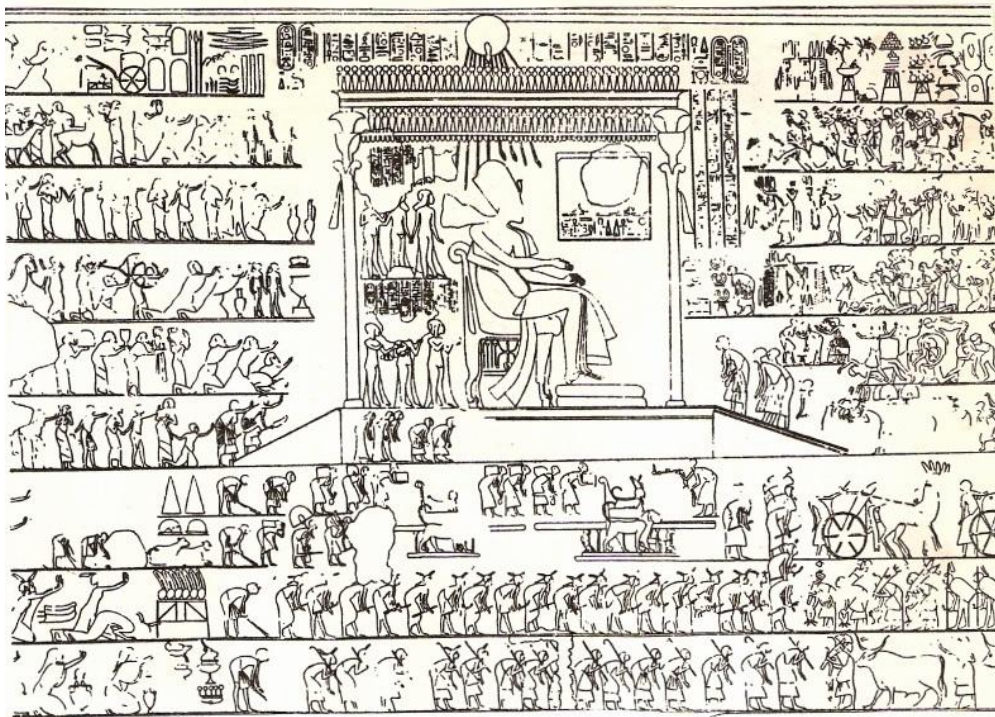


Figure #57



Figure #58

Such closeness between male and female personages was unheard of before the Eighteenth Dynasty, but even then never between a Pharaoh and his wife. Once again, the pre-Amarna Theban tombs provide us with an example. Figure #59 is from tomb number 139 at Thebes, being that of Pa-iry c. 1380 B.C. The parents of the tomb's lord are shown seated at the offering meal. The scene is conventional in that a list of offerings for the Ka appears above the figures, and the father clasps a Lotus, symbol of renewed life. What is unconventional is his wife's closeness to him in that she puts her arm around his shoulders and grasps his right arm. This freedom of expression was radical for its time but acceptable because non-royalty were portrayed in the action.

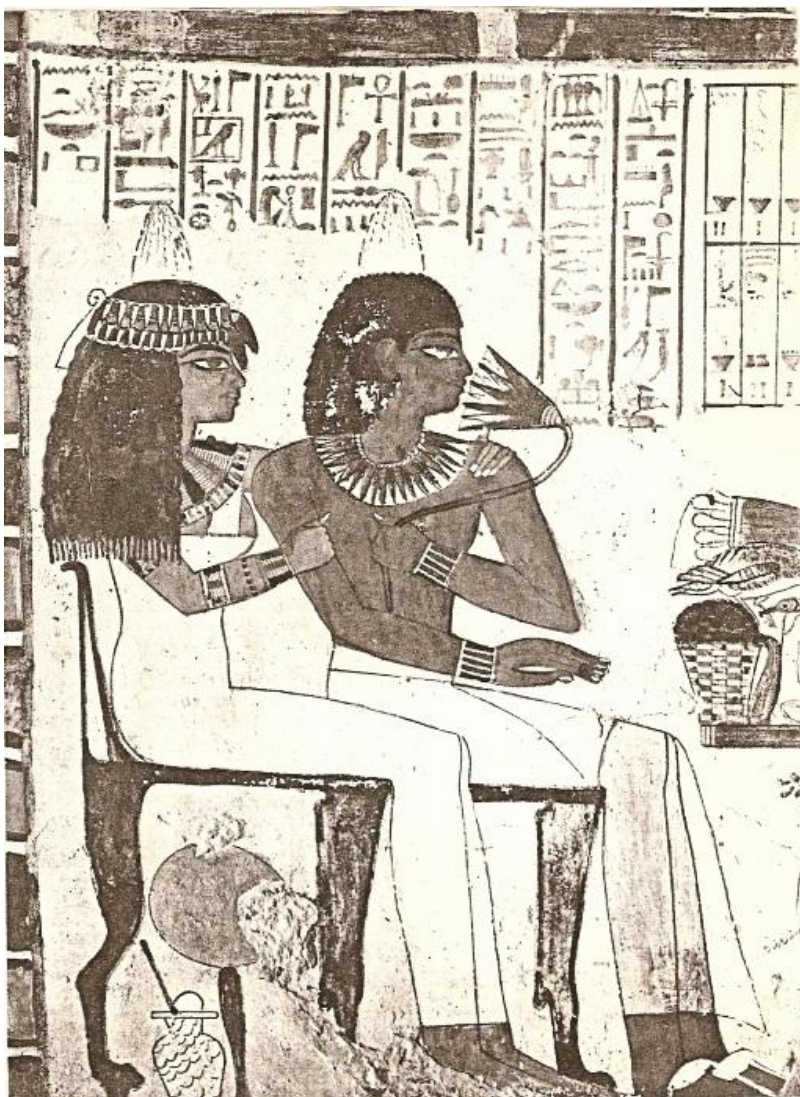


Figure #59

Scenes such as this one from Thebes led not only to the relief of Akhenaten and Nefertiti arm in arm on a single throne, but to more explicit displays of affection also. These we shall see in the family scenes in a following chapter. Let it suffice to say that some writers report a relief in which Akhenaten caresses his wife's breast. Unfortunately, this author was unable to locate such a work; otherwise he would have reproduced it for his readers.

Before moving on to discuss Nefertiti alone, we must consider a specific representational type of Akhenaten or, more precisely, the lack of such representations. Every Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh preceding Akhenaten was depicted in a chariot, either hunting or in battle. The Hyksos had introduced the chariot into Egypt and, as their expulsion marked the beginning of the New Kingdom, the Pharaoh as warrior, either smiting his enemies by hand or in the chariot, was representative of Egypt's new imperialism and empire building. Noblemen also adopted chariot poses. Figure #60 shows Usheret from his Theban tomb (No. 56), hunting from a chariot. Usheret was a nobleman under Amenhotep II, and the tomb dates from c. 1430 B.C., a century prior to Amarna. Figure #61 is a side from a wooden chest in the Theban tomb of Tutankhamun, dating from 1340, a few years after Amarna. The boy-king assumes the same pose in the chariot as Usheret, but here is victorious in battle against Asiatic enemies. "These and similar pictures, which show the king's actions in conventional poses, must not ordinarily be regarded as historical facts, but rather as a depiction of the Pharaoh's potential strength. One of his political tasks was to keep the enemies of Egypt and all evil in general (which might also have been symbolized by the animals of the desert) away from his country, and to annihilate them. The ritual or the ritual representation of this activity, could anticipate the actual event magically, and thus bring about the desired result by acting it out in advance".⁵⁵

At Amarna we are faced with the unusual fact that no such representations of Akhenaten exist. This is not to say that Akhenaten lived in a time of peace. Although he assumed the throne at the height of the Empire, the Hittites, Syrians, Mitanni, and Khabirus (Hebrews?) alike were threatening outlying provinces. Most scholars hitherto have concluded, from the rich storehouse of foreign correspondences found on clay tablets at Amarna, that Akhenaten was a pacifist and ignored his provincials' claims for military assistance. The most recent study⁵⁶ reveals that these provinces were actually rebelling themselves, however. Furthermore, "of the

score or so favored courtiers who were granted tombs at Tell el Amarna by their grateful king, at least half a dozen were military officers”.⁵⁷

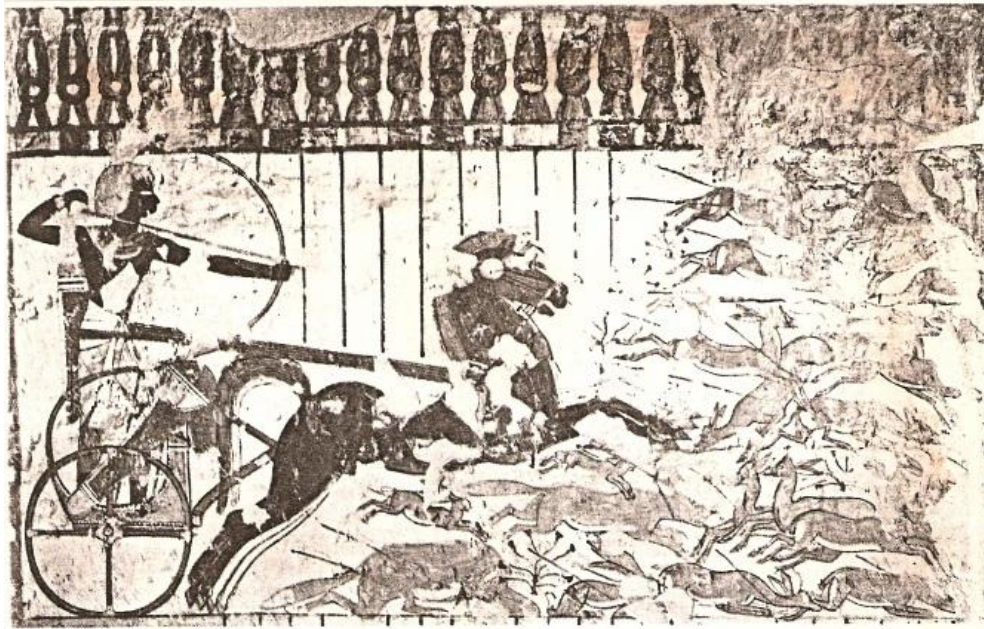


Figure #60

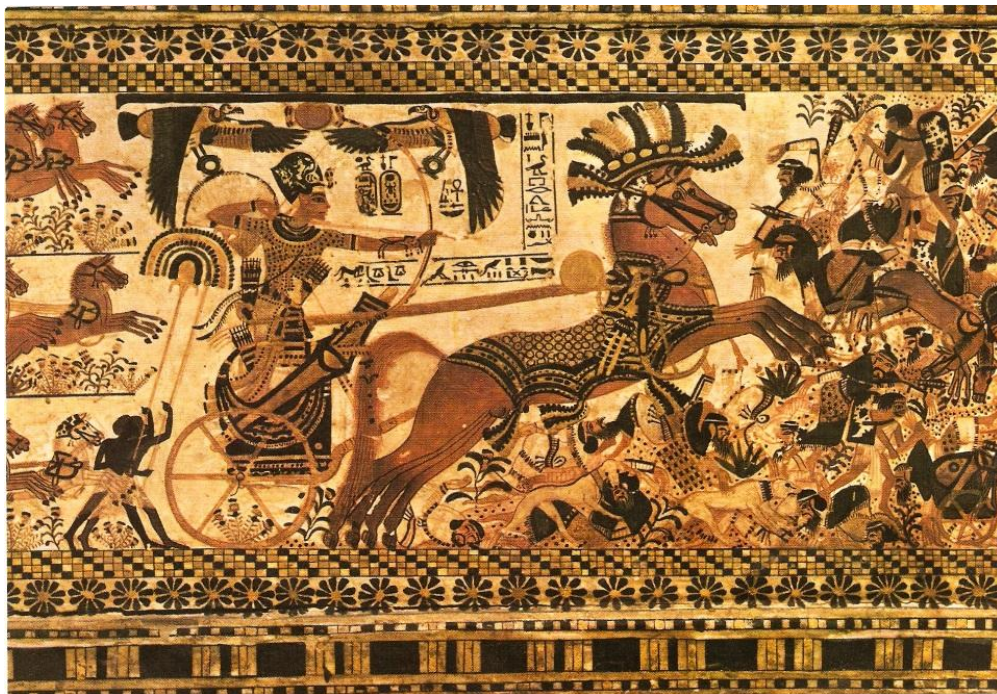


Figure #61

Nevertheless, Akhenaten did appear in chariots. Instead of the hunt or battle, he appears with Nefertiti as in Figure #62. This scene was reconstructed by the University of Pennsylvania team from Tenth Pylon talatat, originally part of the Karnak Aten temple. Akhenaten reins the horses while Nefertiti hangs on in the rear and places an arm around her husband. Both receive protection from the hands of the Aten's rays. Similarly, Figure #63, from the tomb of Panhesy at Amarna, shows Akhenaten racing along in his chariot, his headdress banners and garments flapping in the wind, while Nefertiti chases close behind, whipping the horses in order to catch her husband. Separate Aten discs protect Akhenaten and Nefertiti with their rays, and offer Ankhs to their nostrils. The artist touchingly shows an Aten ray specifically guiding and protecting Akhenaten's hand as he reins his horses.

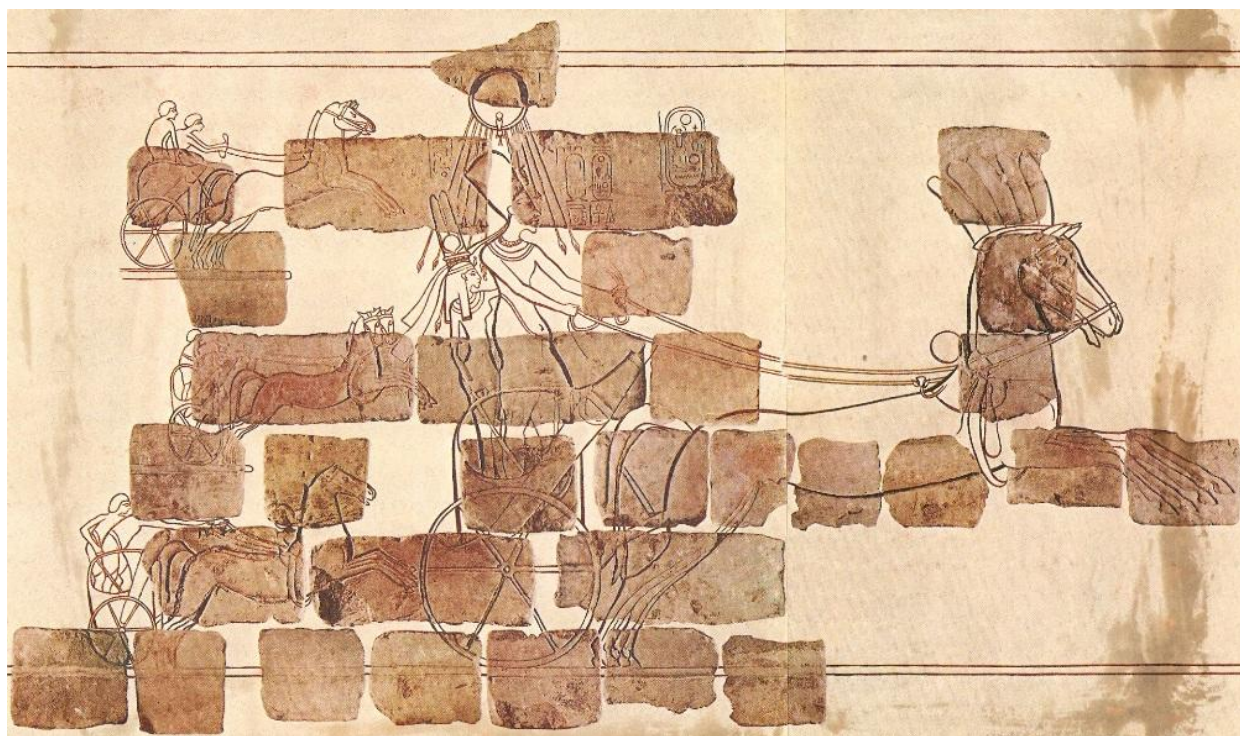


Figure #62

Representations of Akhenaten smiting his enemies are as conspicuously absent at Amarna as are the chariot scenes of hunting and fighting. Smiting scenes are common in Egyptian art and originated with the beginnings of Dynastic civilization on the Narmer palette, c. 3000 B.C., seen in Figure #64. Immediately prior to Akhenaten's time, we see Thutmose III smiting his Asiatic enemies in a limestone relief on the Temple of Amen at Karnak (Figure #65)

while immediately after Akhenaten's time, Ramses II does likewise to his Nubian, Asian, and Lybian enemies in an Abu Simbel temple relief (Figure #66). The only possible depiction of Akhenaten in such a pose is seen in Figure #67. This is a drawing made from the unrolled surface of an elephant tusk carving, 12 cm long, found in house Q481, at Amarna. Functionally, this served as a wrist protector for a rebounding bowstring, but was probably displayed on a life-sized statue. The Pharaoh is shown striking a kneeling Libyan with a sickle while grasping his hair. Re-Herakhty looks on from the left. Due to the complete lack of Amarna traits stylistically, and based on the Pharaoh's likeness, we are probably here dealing with Amenhotep III during the co-regency, and not Akhenaten, however.

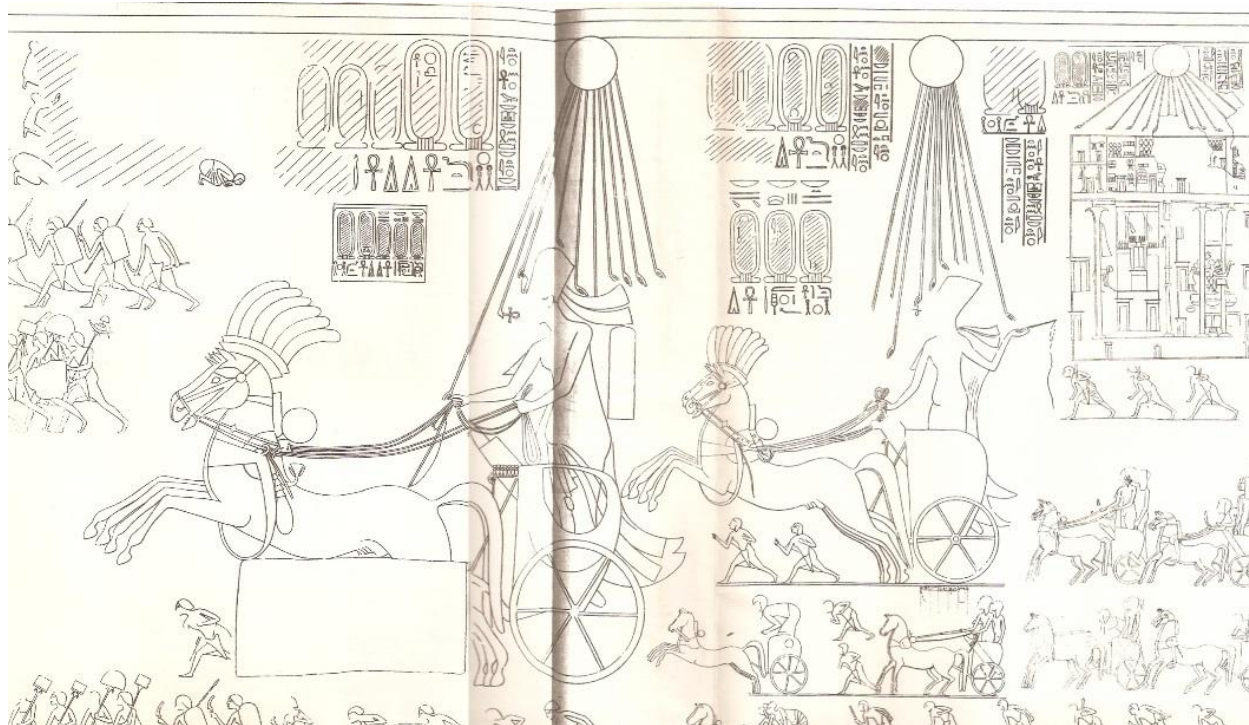


Figure #63

Obviously, the fact that no warrior scenes of Akhenaten have been found does not prove conclusively that none were ever made. "Insufficient evidence has survived from the reliefs at Karnak and at Tell el Amarna to inform us whether this warlike theme was considered proper for the decoration of the girdle walls of the Aten temples".⁵⁸ Perhaps, with the supposed Aten powers Akhenaten received from his distorted appearance in artistic representation, such scenes

were unnecessary displays of power. If any additional chariot scenes are found in the future, “It seems that the subject of the hunt and the creatures of the wild is more likely”⁵⁹ than battles.



Figure #64

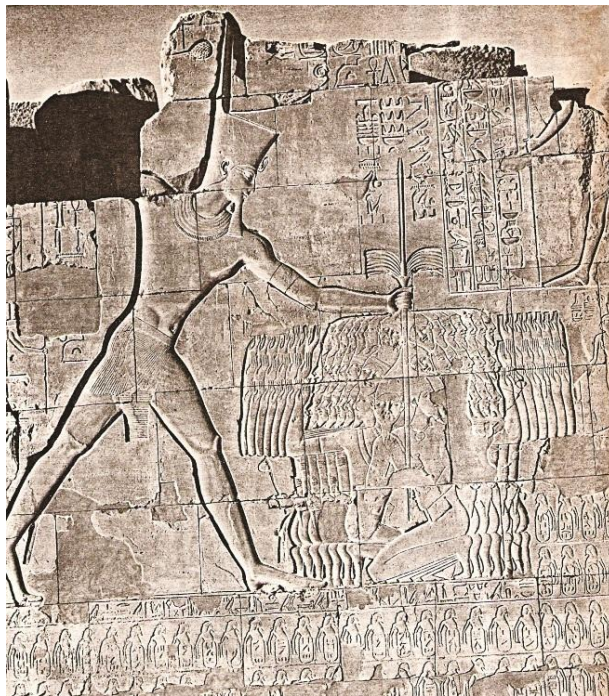


Figure #65

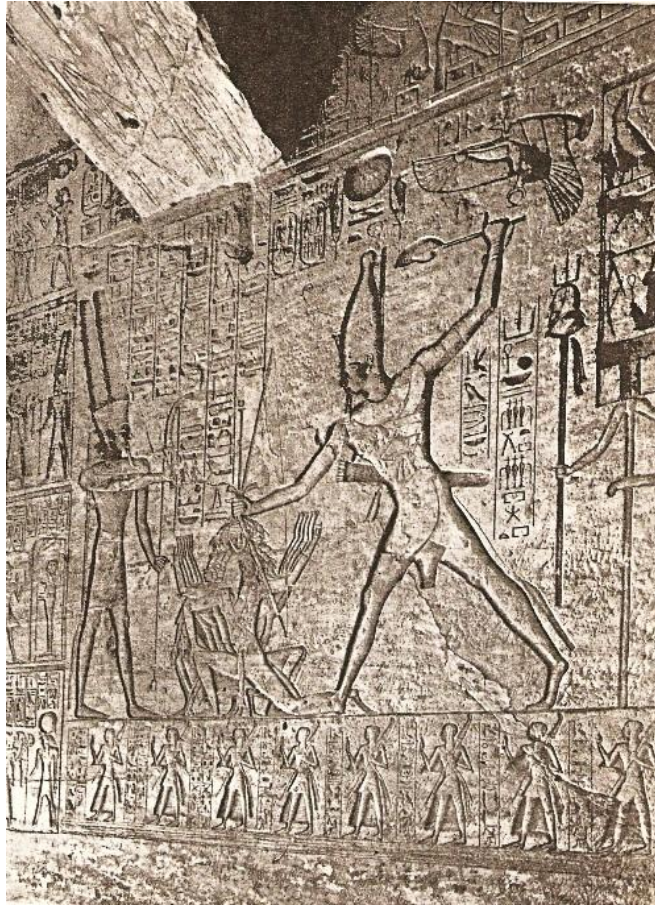


Figure #66



Figure #67

Only one verifiable smiting scene has been found which dates to Akhenaten's time and originated in Amarna. Figure #68 shows a river scene with royal barges. Done in limestone, the work is now in Boston. The two blocks have been rejoined to reveal the stern of Nefertiti's state barge and the prow of Akhenaten's. The stern castle, or kiosk, displays an absolutely incredible spectacle; "Nefertiti is depicted under the protective rays of the Aten as smiting a foe. That the foe is a Syrian woman is evident from her sidelock and cape-like garment".⁶⁰ The Queen? Smiting a Woman?? If the reader feels at this point that Amarna art is indeed peculiar, we must now continue by considering a most peculiar woman—Nefertiti.



Figure #68

V. Nefertiti

Prior to the recent “Treasures of Tutankhamen” exhibition, which popularized the boy-king’s inlaid gold mummy mask, the single most well known ancient Egyptian artwork was the bust of Nefertiti. A profile view of this magnificent work appears in Figure #69, while a front view can be seen in Figure #70. The bust is sculpted in limestone, with its original paint, and is now on display in Berlin. Upon archaeological uncovering, the piece was missing its left eye (an inlay), which has since been replaced for cosmetic purposes. Her long, thin neck, protruding jaw, tightened neck tendons, slanting eyes, receding forehead, and distorted skull shape are all attributable to representations of Akhenaten, beginning with the Karnak colossi. Her blue crown is uncommon for a queen, and probably re-emulates the king’s crown of dominion. The double uraeus on the front of the diadem clearly identifies her. Nineteenth century archaeologists saw such a striking resemblance to Akhenaten based on this bust that they believed Nefertiti was his twin sister. As this piece indicates, she was truly worthy of her name, which translates “The Beautiful One is Come”.

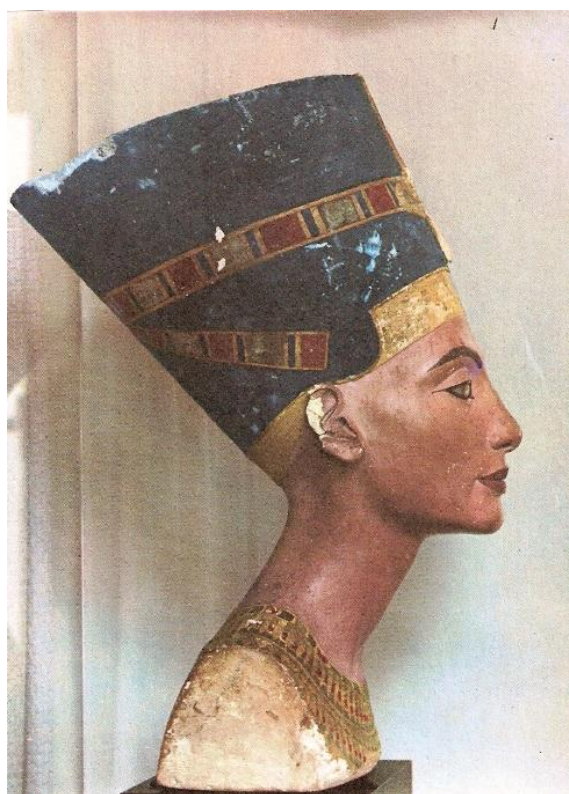


Figure #69

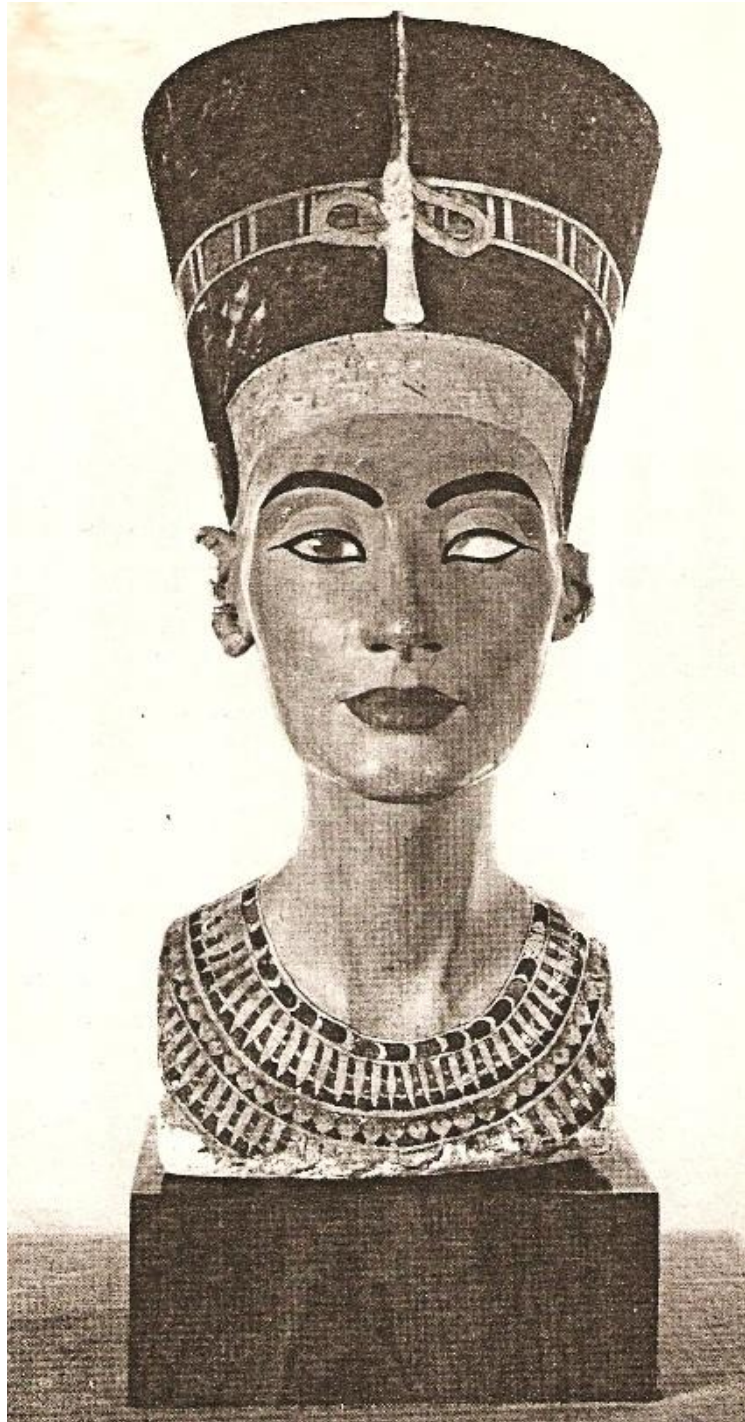


Figure #70

As original as the bust may appear, a precursor to it may be cited. Figure #71 is a similar head, also in Berlin. The subject here is Tiye, Nefertiti's aunt and Akhenaten's mother. The head of Tiye was executed some ten years prior to that of Nefertiti. It exhibits stylistic traits

suggesting the Amarna style. The eyes are slanted and the chin and nose are thin. These eyes are glass inlays, like Nefertiti's. The arched eyebrows are common to Nefertiti as well, the only significant difference here being Tiye's pouting expression contrasting Nefertiti's serenity.

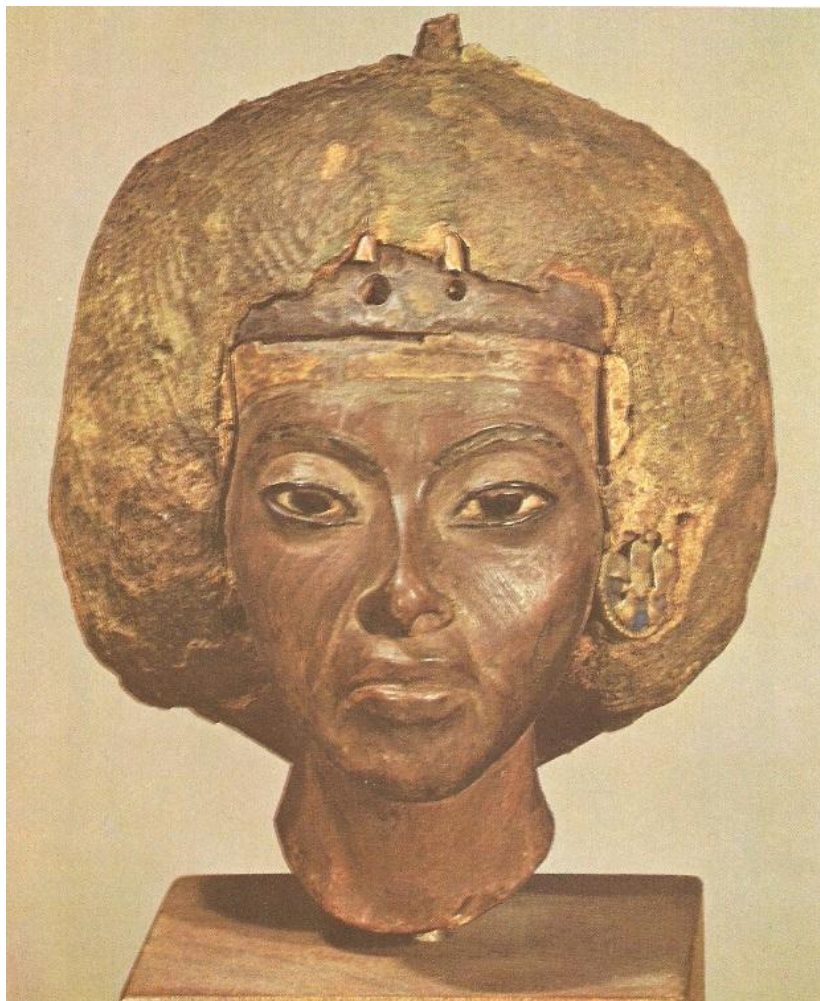


Figure #71

Like the plaster casts of Akhenaten's and Ay's faces, some scholars suggest that Nefertiti's bust was a master sculptor's work which served as a studio model for lesser craftsmen to use when fashioning their likenesses of the queen. But its function was probably the same as Tiye's, although the bust is in limestone and Tiye's head is carved from Yew. Tiye's head is finished, and the neckline suggests that "it was evidently intended for insertion into a separately made body, perhaps of a different material".⁶¹ That is to say it was part of a composite sculpture. Composite statues were an invention of the Amarna period. Often finished composites were a

variety of colored stones. So a finished work might feature feet, head, arms, and hands in jasper, quartzite, and granite on a body of white limestone. It seems many were done in wood but, with the exception of Tiye's head, these have not survived. Inlays, usually of opaque glass, were widely used as adornments, as we saw in the bust of Nefertiti and Tiye's head.

Figure #72 is a yellow-brown quartzite head of Nefertiti, now in Berlin, which was intended for such a composite statue at Amarna. The tenon on top of the head indicates that a crown of a contrasting material would have been placed upon it, while a tenon at the neck's base suggests the body was sculpted in yet another type of stone (probably, as we said, of white alabaster, to look like clothing). Nefertiti's eyes and eyebrows are painted in, and her ears stick out to be seen from the front when the headdress was on. The tenon is large enough to support her characteristic tall headdress, unlike the blue one of her bust portrait. Her elongated neck and forehead, with the chin thrust forward slightly, are in keeping with the Amarna aesthetic.

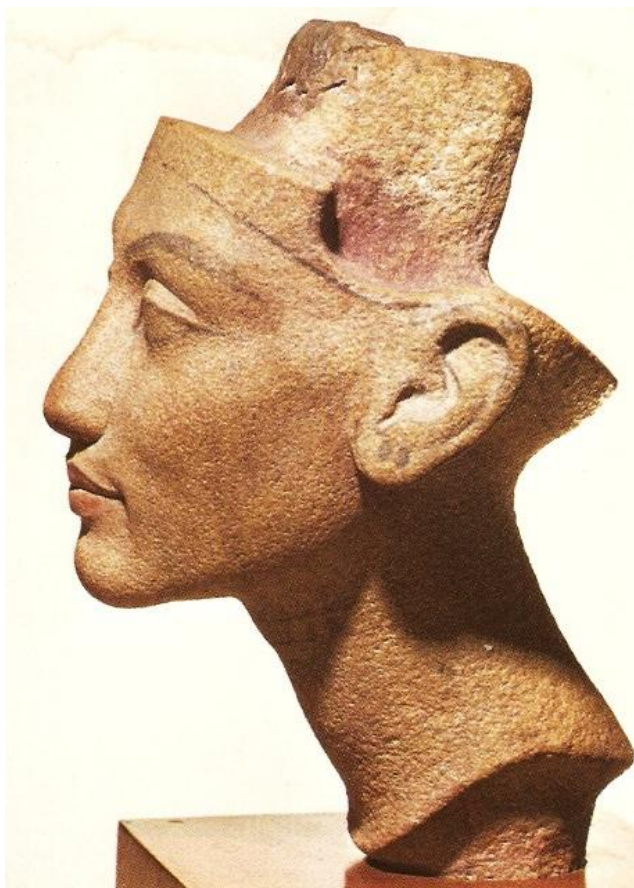


Figure #72

Figure #73 shows how various bodily parts would have been attached to the body. Wood was an easier medium because tenon slots and mortise holes and pegs were easier to fashion and apply. The novelty of composites was the Amarna solution to making quality sculptures in a short time while the city of Amarna was being constructed. Also, it is during Akhenaten's reign that "statuary on a really enormous scale in great quantities makes its appearance",⁶² as the Karnak colossi attest. Whereas, at Karnak, the sandstone was more easily carved, the Amarna limestone necessitated a group of artists each working a separate piece of the body to save time. In the composites, garments were sometimes made separately. Some writers have argued that the hermaphroditic colossi simply lacked such a garment but, as we have just shown, the Karnak works were not composites. Likewise we cannot say, as some writers have, that the colossi had exaggerated faces because they were to be seen from below, as much smaller composites exhibit the same facial style. The composites allowed artists to specialize, with particular attention to anatomical detail in the feet and hands, as we saw in the last chapter, and to heads as the Nefertiti bust and Tiye examples testify. This attention to the parts assured the perfection of the whole upon final assembly.

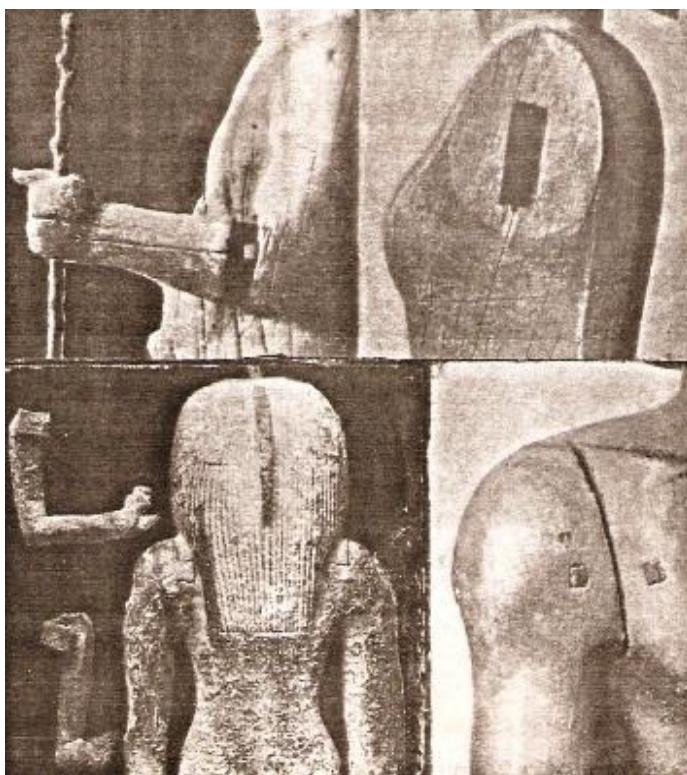


Figure #73

As suggested earlier, from Ramose' tomb until the end of the Amarna period, images of the Osirian trilogy were replaced by images of the Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti. Likewise, "the Amarna texts provide us with three deities".⁶³ This is an odd happening indeed. Usually a queen was shown with her Pharaoh as a consort only, always relegated a secondary position. But, as we saw in the previous chapter, Nefertiti assumed a role in relief works where her physical stature was on a par with Akhenaten, and she worshipped equally with him. Figure #74 was found by Petrie at Amarna in 1891, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Done in yellow sandstone, it shows Nefertiti in sunk relief worshipping the Aten. She wears a tall crown, as determined by the angle of the forehead, ending in a streamer. The exaggerated thin neck and large ear are her most prominent features in the Amarna style, as well as the spindly arms and clearly defined hands whose fingers clasp bunches of flowers for the Aten. The semi-circle in front of her face is the extent of an Ankh symbol which an unseen Aten offers her.

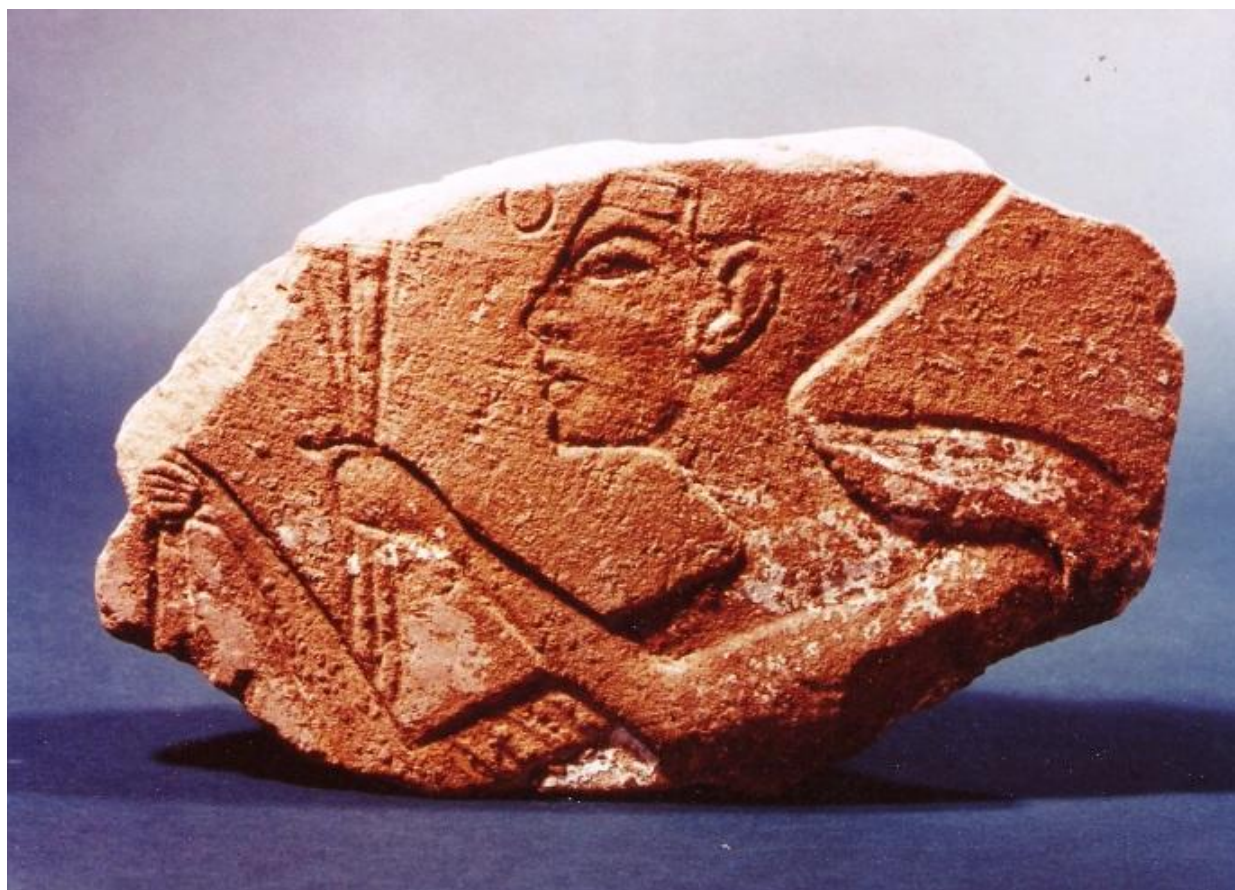


Figure #74

Numerous other examples of Nefertiti worshipping alone exist and a few deserve particular attention as artworks. Figure #75, for example, now in the Cleveland Museum, is a stone fragment of her, bearing its original paint. The colors are extremely vivid and reflect the degree of attention to color which artists had taken in the Theban tomb of Nakht. The deep ‘Egyptian blue’, as it has been called, on the headdress, was a popular color which some suggest was exported to Crete where Minoan frescoes take it up. Nefertiti’s face is red, which is rare considering most women were shown in yellows (as the mourners in Ramose’s tomb were). This alone suggests that the artists were emphasizing her equality with Akhenaten, by employing the same skin tone for both of them. The hands of the Aten rays are done in yellow with red outlining of the fingers. Again, Nefertiti is shown breathing the Ankh of benevolent life. Her facial features are in the extreme Amarna mode, with the eye appearing as a thin elongated slit, and the thin jaw extending. The crease from the base of her nose to the side of her mouth matches that used on Akhenaten’s face, particularly the Munich fragment seen in the last chapter (Figure #47). This has led to confusion as to whether Nefertiti or Akhenaten is really represented here. The decision becomes even more difficult because of the blue Nubian style wig she wears. “The appearance of the Queen in this style of hairdressing has often resulted in her being confused with men”.⁶⁴

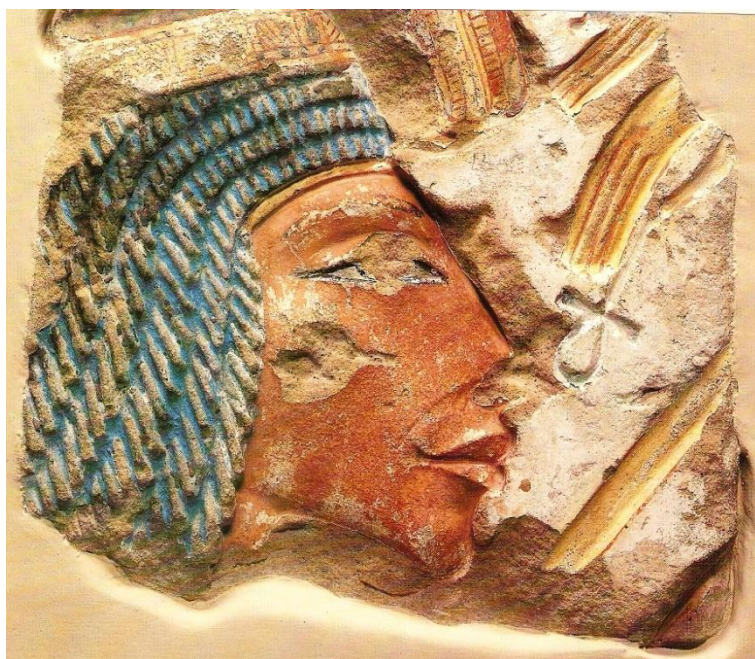


Figure #75

A similar portrayal is seen in Figure #76, done in sunk relief on sandstone at Karnak, and now on loan to the Brooklyn Museum from a private collection. Again, traces of red are visible on Nefertiti's skin, and traces of blue on her wig. She raises her arm to present an offering while breathing the Ankh. "The emaciated features of the Queen, her hollow cheeks, slit eyes, lined jaw, and hanging chin, duplicate the characteristics of her husband's face. Such likenesses often result in a confusion of identity".⁶⁵

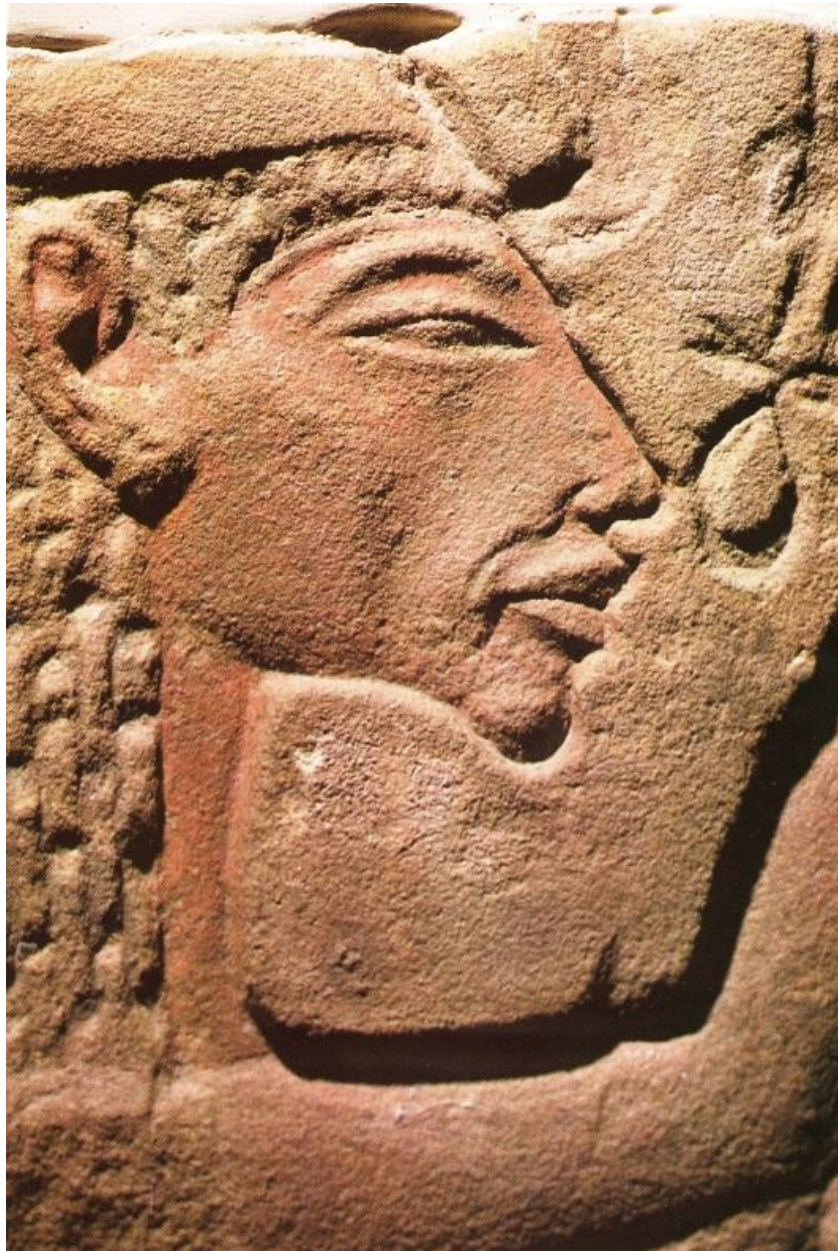


Figure #76

Figure #77 is a fragment of sunk relief from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Discovered by Petrie at Amarna, it depicts Nefertiti presenting an offering. She wears the same Nubian wig and, although its color no longer remains, it was probably blue. The sunk relief technique here affords dark shadows in places and emphasizes delineation. The right arm crossing the upper torso is clearly defined by outline on its underside and avoids the harshness of a horizontal by a slight curve up to the elbow. The right shoulder and upper side of her left arm are deeply cut and result in extreme shadow effects. The artist added two skin creases on Nefertiti's neck, and the end of her left earring is shown dangling by her throat.



Figure #77

The work is exceptional as a relief due to the detailed, rounded form of her left breast with protruding nipple. Her upper body is not bared, however, as meticulous lines were incised to hint at a shawl, which can be seen tied beneath the exposed breast and extends upwards and to the left to conceal the right breast. The transparent nature of the gown is evident in its gentle sweep from the knot up to cover Nefertiti's left arm, and harkens back to the gowns of the

women in Nakht's tombs. This relief of Nefertiti serves as a fine example of the Amarna convention whereby the royal personages are identified by bodily 'brands' or 'tattoos' of their cartouches. They appear here on both her arms and thrice on her chest. The cartouches reveal that Nefertiti had added the praenomen Nefer-neferuaten, and the Aten element, written first for reasons of honor, is here and elsewhere regularly emphasized by a backward writing. "This reversed writing in a cartouche is so unusual that it stands out with an emphasis like capitalized letters in modern writing. Even her gifted husband did not enjoy this eye-catching relation to the god".⁶⁶

Thus far, the Figures we have considered indicate that not only "in opposition to all tradition, the queen is shown upon the same scale of size and importance as that of her husband",⁶⁷ but in addition it seems that "she had officiated as a sort of high priestess in the Aten cult, a virtual equal of the king".⁶⁸ "She alone makes offerings to the Aten on a par with the king".⁶⁹ While it might be argued that the fragments we have just seen, which show Nefertiti worshipping alone, presumably in their full form included Akhenaten preceding his queen before the altar, the Karnak talatat once again prove otherwise. They show that not only was Nefertiti an intermediary between man and the Aten, as Akhenaten was (and as previous Pharaohs' relationships to Re), she was worshipped as a goddess. This event was unprecedented in Egyptian history and was never afterwards repeated.

Ray Winfield Smith discovered, in the talatat from the Amen temple pillars at Karnak, a propensity for Nefertiti representations in the sandstone reliefs, far outnumbering those of Akhenaten. Moreover, reconstruction of the talatat pieces revealed pillar structures bearing images of Nefertiti alone. Some of these pillars were taken nearly intact by Horemheb's workers and used to fill the pylons. They were symbolically placed therein upside down, showing Horemheb's disgust for Atenism. Likewise, many of the talatat had Nefertiti's face and cartouches hacked out of them.

On the Karnak talatat, "usually the carved representations show Amenhotep IV accompanied by Nefertiti and a daughter or two, in the worship of the sun disc. Some of the talatat from the Second Pylon are exceptional, since they show the homage to the Aton by Nefertiti alone, accompanied by one or two daughters. Enough of them may now be

reconstructed on paper to show rectangular pillars about six meters high”.⁷⁰ Figure #78 shows an artist’s rendering of how the pillars probably appeared. Smith concluded that they constituted a temple of twenty eight such pillars—a temple exclusively to Nefertiti consisting of likenesses of Nefertiti and her daughters only. As Smith states, “her courtyard is a ceremonial structure I believe to be unique in the history of Egyptology”.⁷¹

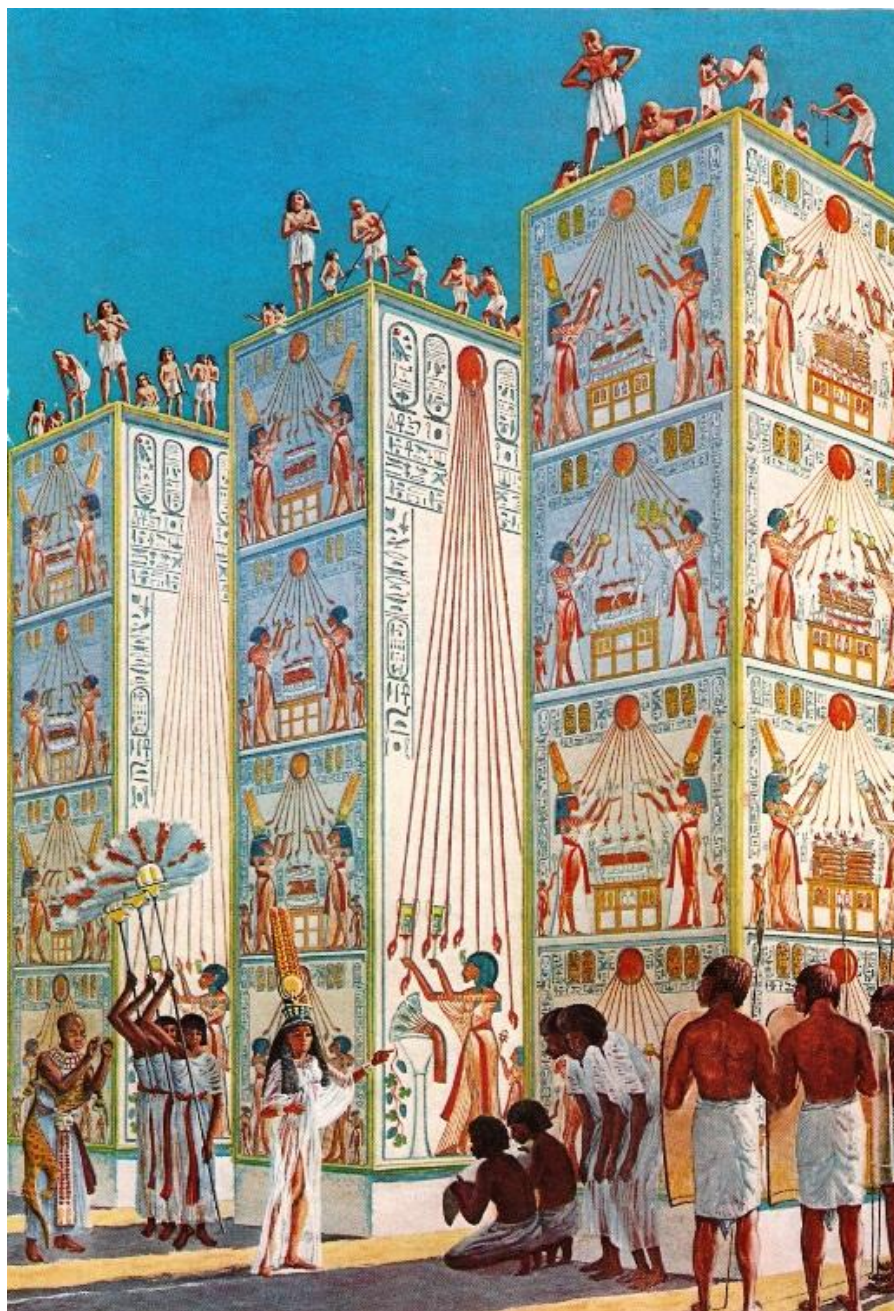


Figure #78

“The scenes on the pillars consist solely of representations of Nefertiti making offering to the Aton. Elsewhere in the Aton religion, whether at Karnak or Amarna or elsewhere, Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is normally accompanied by Nefertiti. She stands behind him in offering scenes, she is with him at the Window of Appearances, she rides with him in chariots, she sits with him in family scenes. On these pillars, however, Nefertiti is always shown without her husband. She may be attended by one or two daughters, but this worship of the sun god is her exclusive prerogative”.⁷² Smith makes a more generalized statement concerning the temple when he calls it “an extravagant and splendid exaltation of femininity. The pillars bore not a single figure of Akhenaten, nor even any inscriptional mention of him. In fact, nothing masculine—not a courtier, fan bearer, or even a male animal—appears on the pillar blocks”.⁷³

Already we have seen that Nefertiti is depicted on the same scale with Akhenaten and worships equally with him. Furthermore, as we saw at the conclusion of the previous chapter, “Nefertiti is pictured on the side of a boat’s cabin smiting an enemy. Such scenes of power and terror on the cabins of boats or on Kiosks are elsewhere restricted to kings or gods. She thus showed her independent power”.⁷⁴ In addition, her praenomen with the Aten reversed showed her closeness to the god. Now we find that she had her own temple. Thus “We are compelled to reappraise the stature of Nefertiti. We believe that, while still in her teens, she was recognized with a large courtyard exclusively dedicated to her person and containing no existence of her Pharaoh husband. Such a tribute, to our knowledge, was never accorded any other Egyptian queen, before or after Nefertiti”.⁷⁵ “She enjoyed an eminence beyond that of other queens of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, leaving out of account Hatshepsut who pretended to the role of king-god”.⁷⁶ Aldred claims, without reservations, that “Nefertiti plays the part of a goddess”.⁷⁷ This now appears conclusive in that an inscription concerning Nefertiti’s childhood nurse gives that nurse the title of “governess of the goddess”.⁷⁸ We may safely conclude, then, that Nefertiti was a goddess, and appeared as one of a trinity with her husband and the Aten.

One might wonder what sort of goddess Nefertiti was taken to be, i.e. what attributes of divinity she portrayed. Again the artworks symbolically speak for themselves, and provide clues as to her status. Figure #79 is interesting in this respect. Found by Petrie at Amarna in 1891, it is now housed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The figure is sunk relief on hard white limestone (Alabaster). The effects of the sunk relief on light and shade can be seen by

comparing the color photograph, done in one lighting, with Figure #80, the same work in black and white under different lighting. The scene is typical in that Nefertiti offers a formal bouquet to the Aten whose ray touches the uraeus on her headdress while a daughter follows with sistrum. There are, however, two untypical features. “The addition of the horn and tall plumes of the king’s ibes crown to the Queen’s tall cap is unusual, but it is also found on the heads that form the finials of the rudders of her state barge”,⁷⁹ as we had seen in Figure #68. A fragment exists showing Akhenaten wearing the same headdress. “This and the Ashmolean fragment provide the only known examples of a nontraditional crown worn by both King and Queen. The implication seems to be that the two are to be considered equal, even if they are often depicted on different scales”.⁸⁰

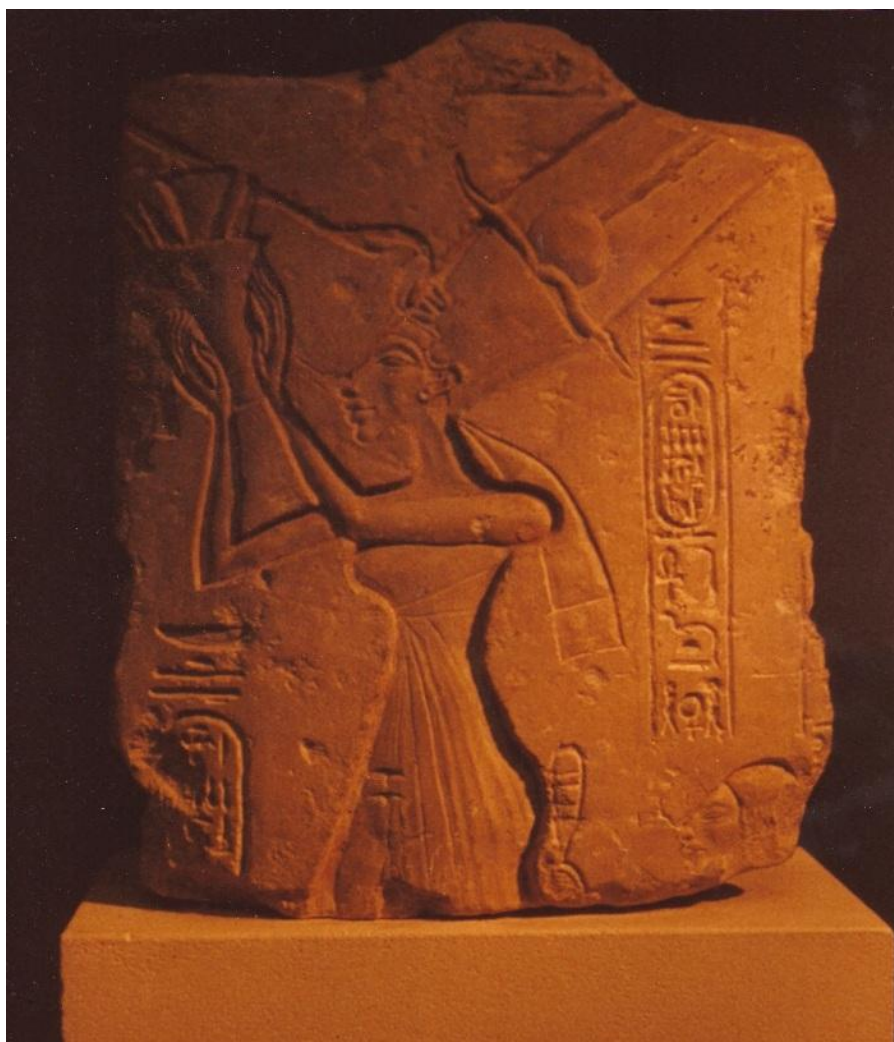


Figure #79



Figure #80

More importantly, this rendering of Nefertiti shows extreme exaggeration of the body. The artist has, with a minimum of incised lines, covered her body with a transparent gown. As Aldred states, “The salient feature of this relief is its apparent eroticism. The exaggeration of the breast, buttocks and pubic mound must have been a deliberate emphasis on the part of the artist and his patron”.⁸¹ This should not imply that Nefertiti was some sort of goddess of eroticism. Her symbolic meaning is more related to a most curious feature of the relief. She has, like the Karnak colossi of Akhenaten, an Amarna navel, i.e. a horizontal one. What is striking here is that she in fact has two such navels.

Figure #81 sheds light upon how we may interpret Nefertiti as a goddess. Now in the Louvre, Paris, this torso of the Queen was carved in dark red quartzite and is ‘clothed’ in a

transparent robe which is knotted under her right breast, thus exposing the shoulder. Aldred's description of the piece stresses her erotic nature again when he says, "The luxuriant curves of the Queen's body, with its slender waist and ample thighs, and enormous buttocks emphasize her significance as an erotic symbol".⁸² It seems more plausible that Nefertiti was a symbol of fertility and fecundity rather than merely an 'erotic symbol' as Aldred thinks. Elsewhere, Aldred writes more correctly that "like her husband, she is to be regarded as a deity, perhaps as a Venus figure".⁸³

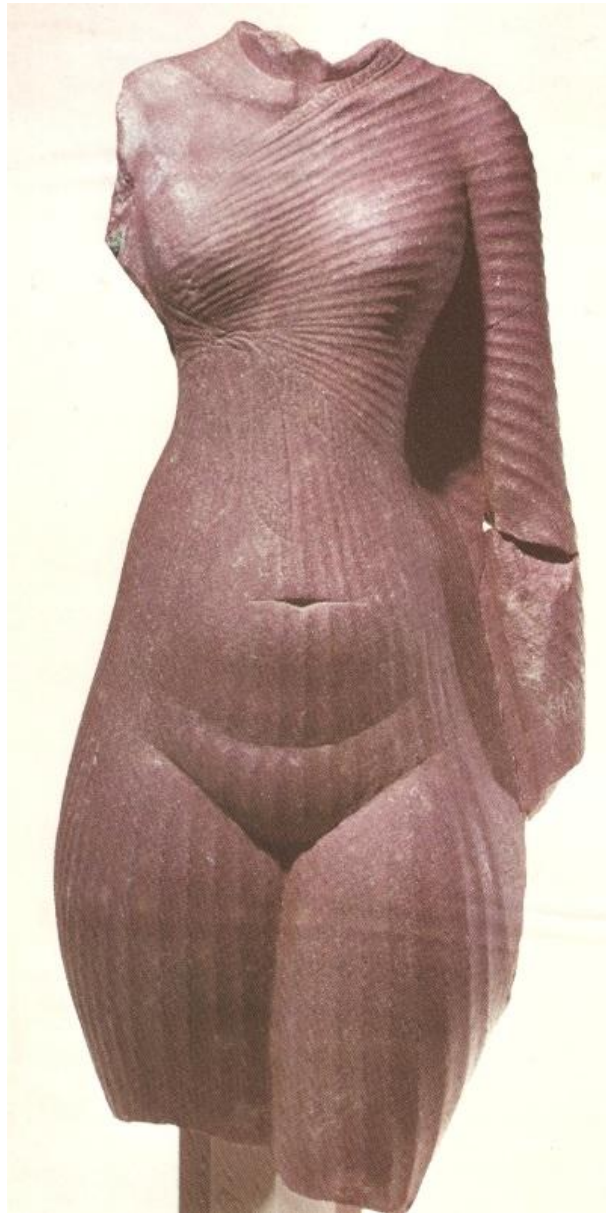


Figure #81

Figure #82, a detail of the previous Figure, shows, via her distorted body, a direct psychological correspondence with the Venus of Willendorf, for example. As we suggested in the last chapter that Akhenaten's Karnak colossi resembled archaic works, so it appears that Nefertiti's torsos compare with archaic Egyptian Venus figures such as the Fourth millennium B.C. example seen in Figure #83, now in the Brooklyn Museum. We might further suggest that the hermaphroditic colossi attempted to portray Akhenaten, himself, as such a Venus type. Perhaps at Amarna we are speaking of a psychological reversion of sorts.

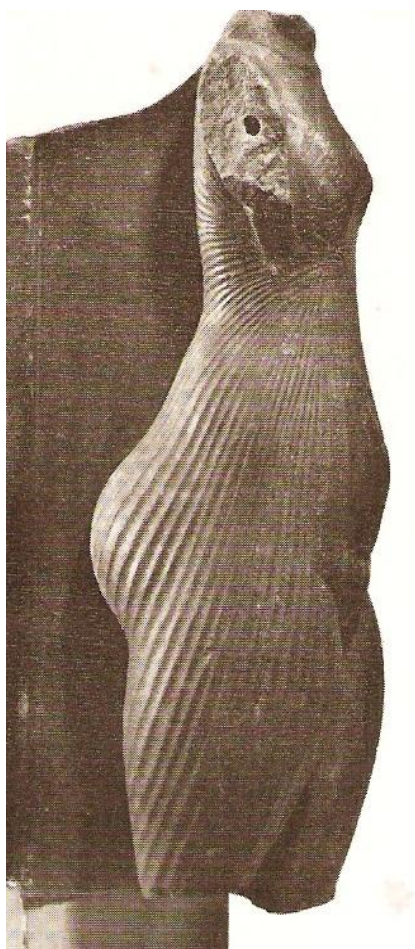


Figure #82

One particular work reveals an interesting addition to the Venus-figure argument. Figure #84 shows Nefertiti's lower torso in sunk relief on sandstone from Memphis. Her pubic mound, thighs, and buttocks are overly emphasized as in the previous work we discussed. And, once again, the torso feigns concealment by a transparent gown. Aldred is correct in stating that "The

carving of female figures in such a manner as to reveal a naturalistic form beneath the clothing was an innovation of the Amarna sculptors”.⁸⁴ But what the Amarna artists perfected in stone relief and sculpture was anticipated by the painters of Nakht’s tomb walls as we saw in Chapter II. Nevertheless, that argument is unimportant relative to the radical nature of this work’s subject matter.

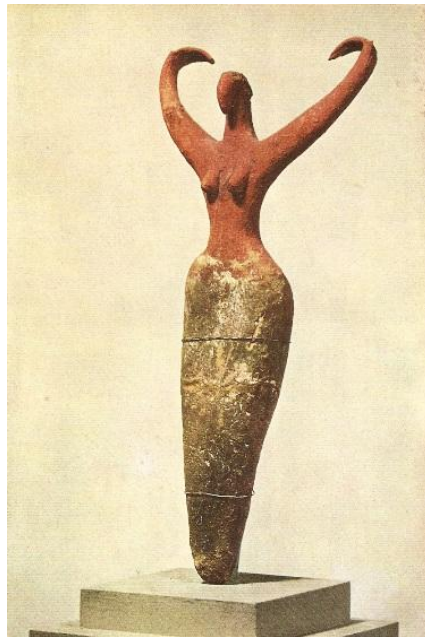


Figure #83



Figure #84

As Wilson detected in reliefs of Nefertiti, both her nomen and praenomen (Nefer-neferu-Aten) “are normally written facing in the same direction as the figure of the Queen, but Aton is written backwards and facing her. That the Aton graciously faces the Queen in her cartouche is an extraordinary honor”.⁸⁵ The fragment we are here discussing (Figure #84) goes one step beyond that. Nefertiti not only faces the Aten cartouche—she embraces it. Her arms extend side by side, with her left hand holding the front of the cartouche and her right hand the rear. This is, moreover, an ingenious method of conveying space by the artist. Unfortunately, the right hand in the color photograph appears somewhat like a mere shadow of the left hand. The author apologizes for this. The work is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. To this author’s knowledge, it has never been reproduced or written about. The author was forced to hastily take the photograph while a security officer had turned his back, and in so doing had not focused properly.

What emerges, then, is an image of Nefertiti as a life giving intermediary between the Aten and man. She was, in fact, “serving as the mother goddess for the Egyptians”.⁸⁶ This is most evident in interactions with her daughters. Figure #85, for example, shows Nefertiti fondling one of her daughters. Although some have identified the woman as the girl’s wet nurse, her gown is knotted under the right breast and she wears the short Nubian wig. Both of these features indicate the woman is Nefertiti. The limestone work originated at Amarna and is now in a private New York collection. The sunk relief is particularly deep, as can be sensed by the light and dark contrasts brought out by photocopying (see Figure #86). “Very exceptionally, her well-developed breasts are shown frontally, a posture usually reserved in Dynasty XVIII for musicians”,⁸⁷ as we saw in Figure #9 from Nakht’s tomb. The artist’s emphasis on Nefertiti’s breasts and her interaction with the child point to her life supporting function.

This theme of Nefertiti conveying the Aten’s life giving powers is summed up in one touching scene, found in Hermopolis and now in the Brooklyn Museum. In the relief (Figure #87, and a detail in Figure #88) she wears the blue Nubian wig, with a uraeus and streamer down the neck, and embraces her daughter. As in Figure #77 the artist has shown two folds of skin in Nefertiti’s neck and copied them on the daughter. Both Nefertiti and her daughter wear identical earrings.



Figure #85



Figure #86



Figure #87

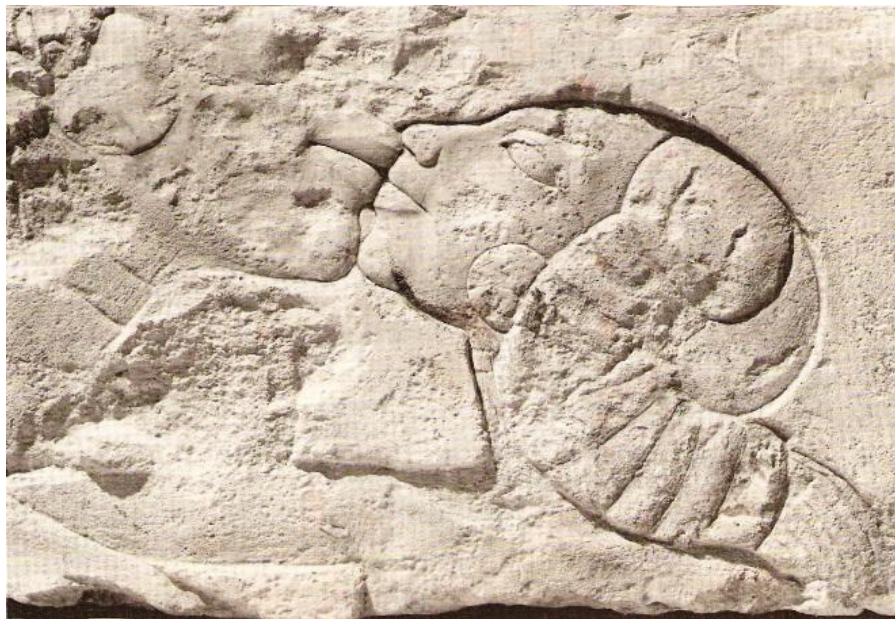


Figure #88

Symbolically the work is important because the Aten offers an Ankh to Nefertiti's nostrils, which she in turn passes on by imparting the breath of life through a kiss to her daughter. Never, before or after, does such a scene occur in Egyptian art. This work was horribly mutilated following the Amarna age. Nefertiti was literally defaced, and the

hieroglyphics hacked out. The Pharaohs following Tutankhamun were responsible, as were their priests of Amen. Significantly, it was not just the military Pharaoh, Horemheb, who attacked Amarna art and razed the Karnak temples of Aten and Nefertiti for Pylon fill. His predecessor, it seems, was initially responsible. His predecessor was sole Vizier to the young Tut and, upon Tut's death, moved the capital back to Thebes from Amarna and reverted from Atenism to the previous Amenism. That predecessor was Ay, Nefertiti's father. For Ay and the Amen priests, Nefertiti was "guilty of the heresy of accepting worship as a goddess. Just as Hatshepsut, a century earlier, had committed the heresy of parading as a god-king, with the result that her statues were posthumously smashed and her temple attacked, so Nefertiti had exceeded the acceptable limits. For the priests the Aton may have been an aberration, but it was a form of Re. Akhenaten may have been criminally culpable in cutting off the dominance of the priests of Amon, but the king was in the legitimate line, born as the Horus and as the son of Re. For these priests it was intolerable that a queen should arrogate divinity to herself".⁸⁸

Scholars assume that Nefertiti died at Amarna, and the eldest daughter, Meritaten, rose to take her place. That is purely conjecture and cannot be deduced from the artistic representations of the daughters that we shall look at next, in the following chapter. The involvement of Ay will become more interesting, however, as we review scenes of the royal family. In them it appears that Tiye, Akhenaten's mother, held sway over her son and was influential in his court. Through her the feminine element was psychologically fused to the point that Akhenaten was shown as a hermaphrodite and Nefertiti became a goddess. Where does Ay, the acknowledged villain, fit into this drama? Tiye was his sister, Nefertiti his daughter, and Akhenaten his nephew.

VI. Princesses and the Royal Family

The daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, as many as six at one time, surprisingly shared the spotlight, so to speak, with their parents in artistic works to an unprecedented degree. Their prominence rose as the Amarna period progressed. Figure #89, for example, is a boundary stella which Akhenaten had erected during the surveying and initial building stages of Akhetaten, i.e. Amarna, or the city of the Aten. As photographs do not exist, we are again relying on Davies' fine line drawing. This stella dates from the incipient Amarna phase, contemporaneous with the Karnak talatat. Two daughters rattle sistrum behind their worshipping parents. Whereas an artist would previously have depicted both daughters as the same size, scaled down from Akhenaten, these two are individualized in that one is obviously older, thus shown as taller. Their poses are still rather stylized and formal, as the smaller one is but a miniature version of the taller.

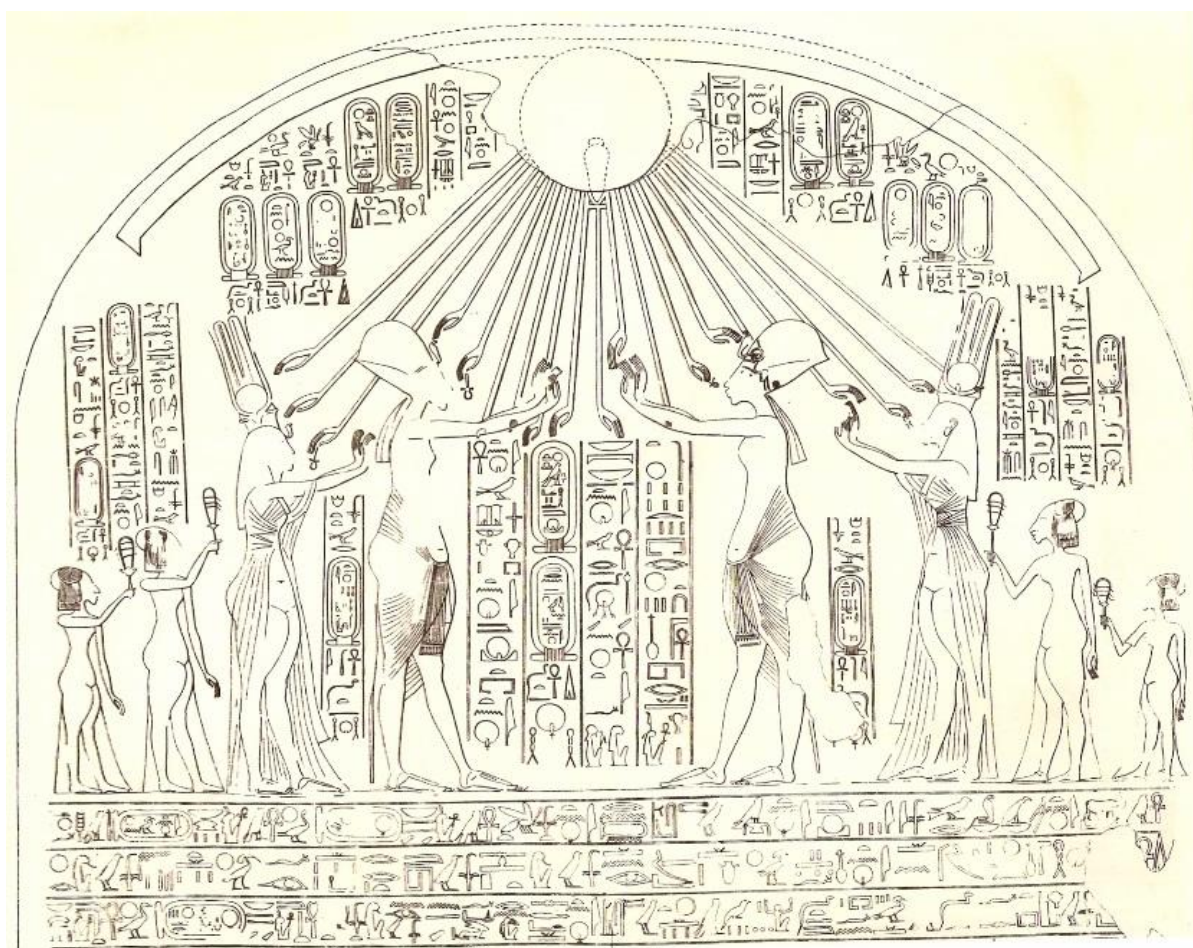


Figure #89

A slightly later work (from Ipy's Amarna tomb), seen in a Davies drawing in Figure #90, features a third daughter in a similar scene. Akhenaten and Nefertiti offer large amounts of food to the Aten, while presenting their personal cartouches to be blessed. The daughters follow behind with sistrum, all in a standard pose. They all have the characteristic “over-slender lower legs, inflated thighs, elongated skulls, receding foreheads and immense eyes”,⁸⁹ but each is shown as a different height and with distinctive facial features. Yet they still appear as copies of Nefertiti in that they are depicted with developed breasts (perhaps symbolic of their future fertility powers).

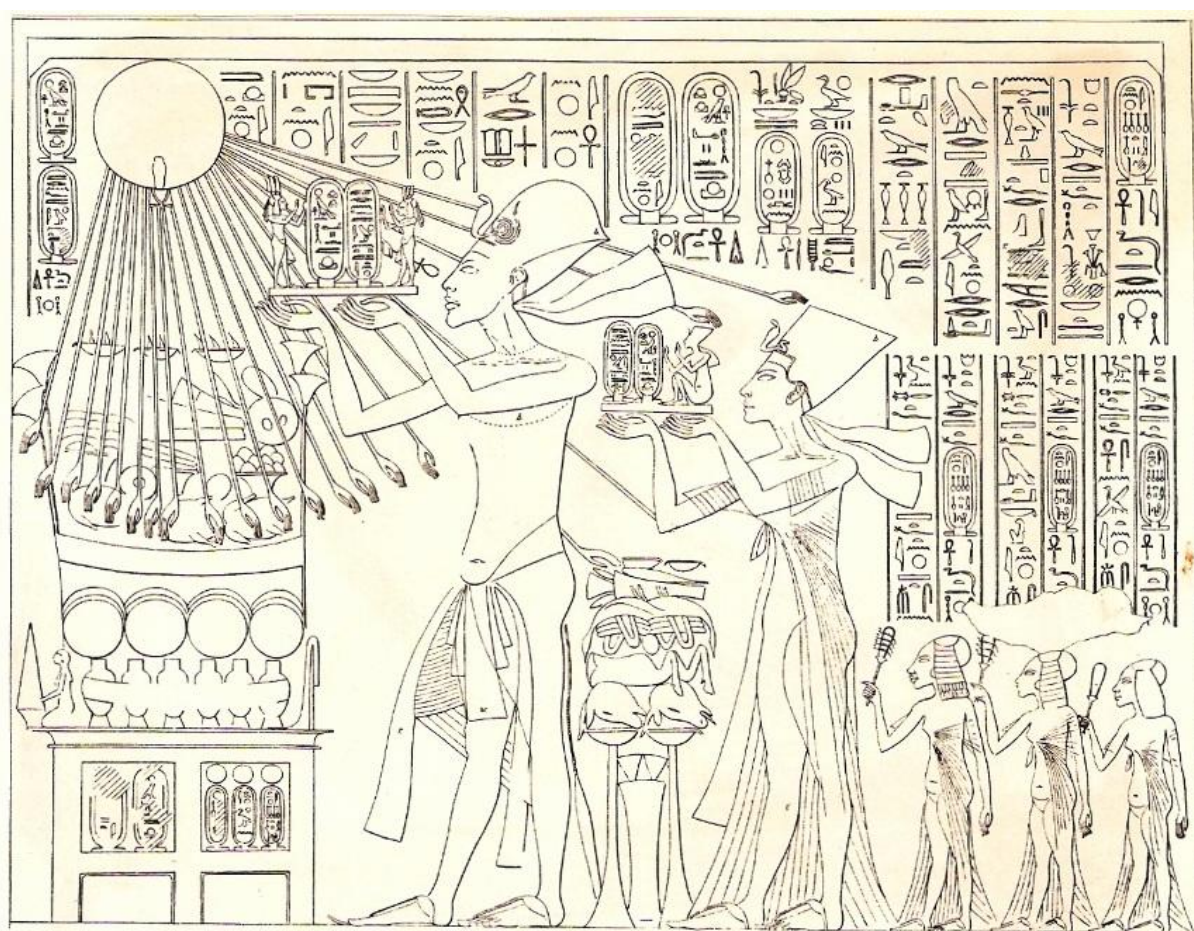


Figure #90

Another Davies drawing, in Figure #91, shows a radical treatment of the daughters both stylistically and in subject matter. It originates from Amarna as a relief on the east wall of the partially completed tomb intended for Nefertiti's father, Ay. (As we know, Ay outlived both

Nefertiti and Akhenaten, as well as Smenkhkare and Tut, to become King himself). The scene is Ay's Investiture and, as in Ramose's Investiture, the royal couple stand at the window of Appearances. They throw gold collars and other gifts down to Nefertiti's parents (Ay and Ty). Two Aten rays grasp Akhenaten's midriff to guide his actions in the event. The immediately striking fact is that two of the royal couple's daughters hold trays of gifts as well, and the one to the left playfully re-emulates her father's action by tossing a gold collar. The participation of royal children in such an important state occasion, with horizontal bands of foreign dignitaries present, is truly astounding. Moreover, men are shown in chaotic, jubilant dance behind the honored recipients, making the occasion far more festive than stately. Meanwhile, Nefertiti fondles the head of Ankhesenpaaten, who strokes her mother's chin. Each of the three daughters is distinctly individual in size, pose, bodily constitution and facial expression. Thus the Amarna artists conveyed the children as individuals, whereas "earlier artists had usually been content to repeat the mature forms of older people on a small scale, without much interest in the child itself."⁹⁰

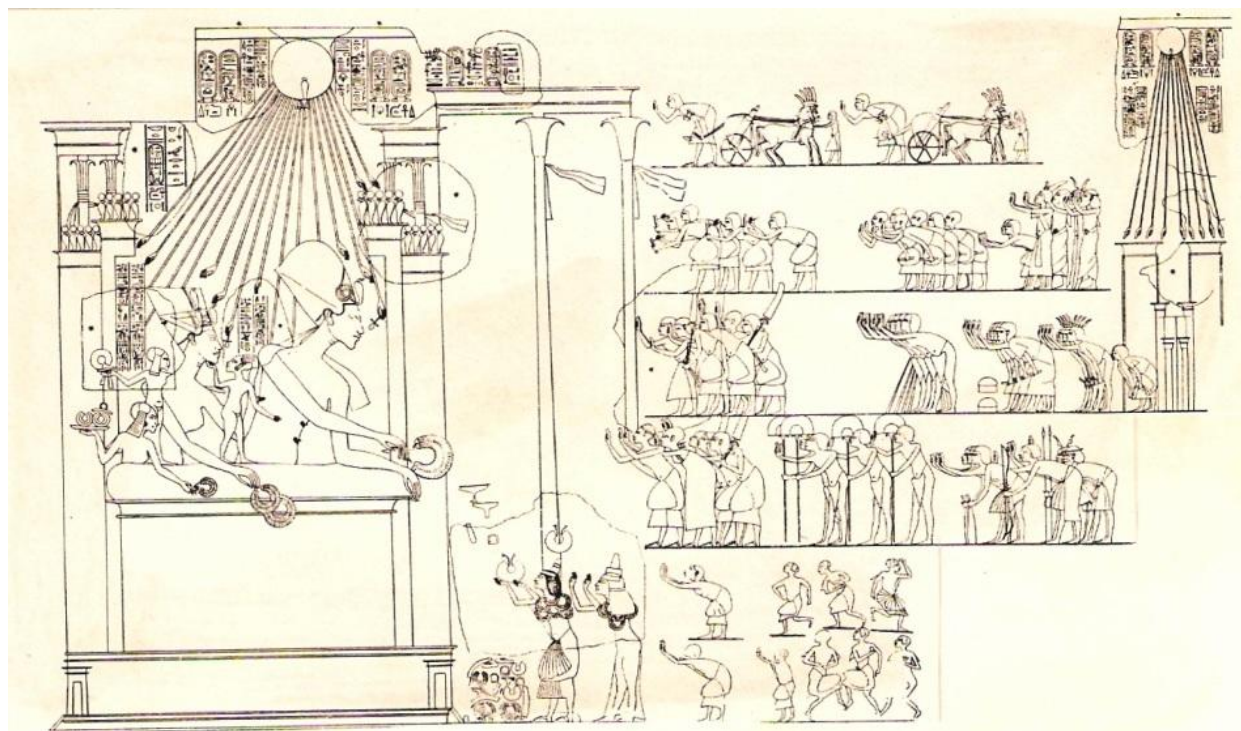


Figure #91

With the Investiture scene as an example, we see that “In place of the lonely pharaoh dealing with the affairs of state before the god of the temple, every act is performed by Akhenaten in company with his consort and his eldest daughter or daughters. This emphasis upon a divine family officiating in the holy precincts is...a conscious or subconscious effort to appeal to that concept of family so dear to the Egyptian psyche.”⁹¹ “It is a feature of the new concept of a divine family that each member of it should be distinctive. Akhenaten and Nefertiti on these stelae are not shown in exactly the same pose, and the figures of the daughters are carefully differentiated except when they participate as sistrom players at the worship of the Aten. This emphasis upon individuality, particularly in children, is a new feature of Egyptian art and is perhaps an expression of that delight in personal achievement that is characteristic of the age.”⁹²

While individualistic portrayals of royal family members came to the fore during the Amarna period, family scenes arose which depicted them in settings other than worshipping and state affairs. As these family scenes were of a uniform size and were discovered by archaeologists in private Amarna houses, there seems no doubt among scholars that a cult of the family existed for private worship. “Evidently family worship centered around a shrine in which a representation of the royal family was kept, sometimes behind wooden doors that could be opened to reveal the image.”⁹³ Shrines to the royal family in private houses were unexceptionally unique to the Amarna period.⁹⁴

Figure #92 is a stone relief shrine image from such a private house setting at Amarna, now in Cairo. Akhenaten and Nefertiti both sit on thrones adorned by plants symbolic of the union of Egypt. Both receive Ankhs from the Aten, which itself appears beneath hieroglyphs for ‘sky’. The interplay of the children in the scene is its most significant facet. Akhenaten presents a gold earring to the eldest daughter, while holding two more on his lap. Nefertiti caresses the heads of both the standing daughter, and a daughter seated on her lap. The third daughter balances gracefully on her mother’s knee and reaches back to stroke her chin. Overall, the scene shows a relaxed atmosphere which had never been seen before in Egyptian art and was never seen again. Akhenaten rests on one arm and slouches while he interacts with one daughter, while Nefertiti is occupied with all three girls, particularly the two on her lap who touch each other. No static gestures are to be found in the work as each elongated limb lyrically points or touches.

A final note of interest is Nefertiti. Not only does she sit on a throne equal to the King's, she wears a unique headdress similar to that in her bust portrait. As part of the family cult, "There is strong evidence that Nefertiti held divine status at an early age. Prayers were addressed to her, indicating that people believed she had the power of granting human requests."⁹⁵

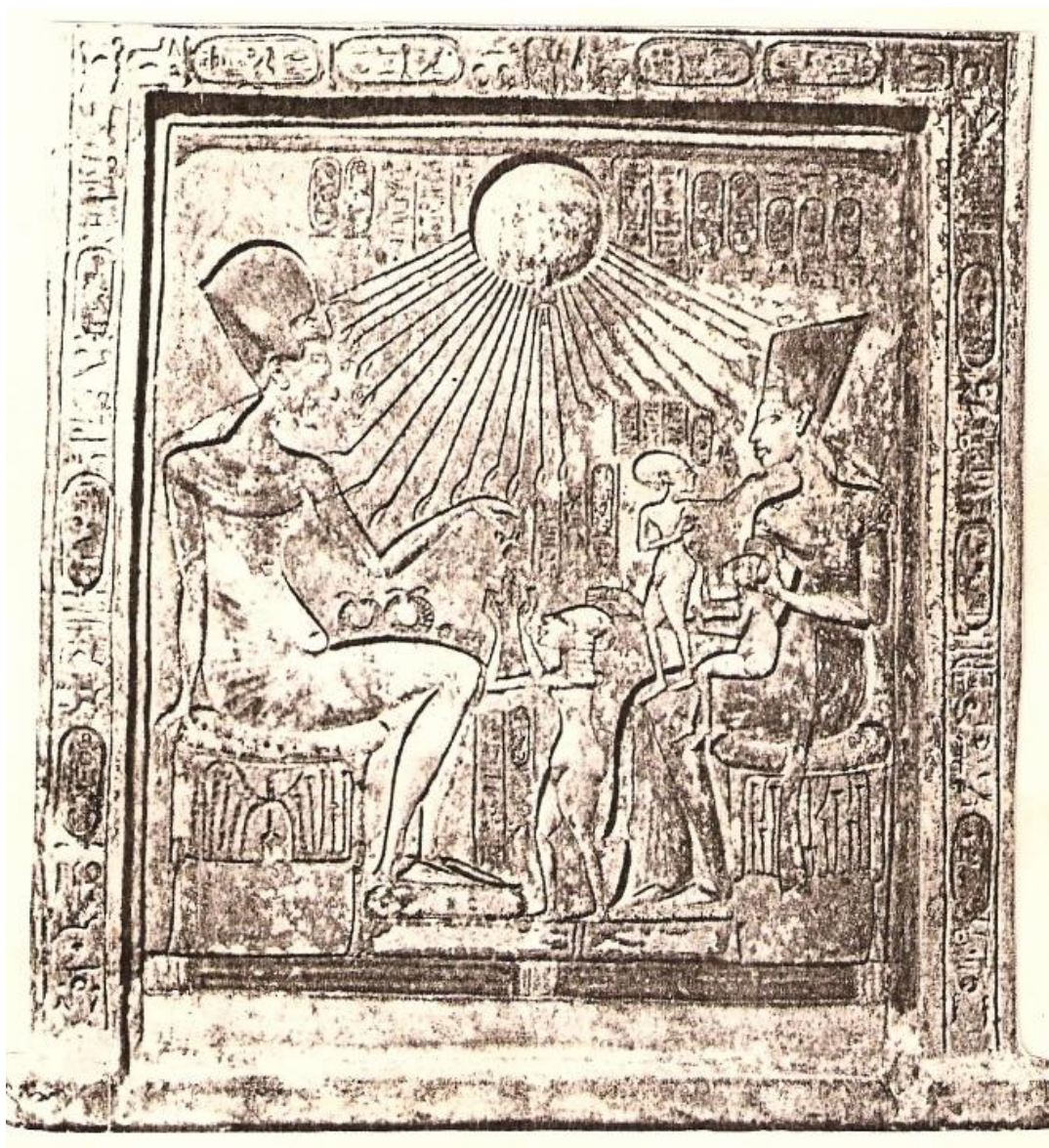


Figure #92

The Louvre houses an incredible family scene of great intimacy which, unfortunately, is only fragmentary (Figure #93). The limestone piece was excavated by Howard Carter and Petrie in a private Amarna house in 1891, intended for a chapel devoted to the cult of the royal family.

“The subject of the scene, which has been plausibly reconstructed [by Davies, as seen in Figure #94], is unprecedented.”⁹⁶ Nefertiti is seated on her husband’s lap with two of their daughters. Aldred reports that, to his knowledge, only twice in the history of Egyptian art is such a scene attempted in any way, but in both of those cases “the proprieties are observed.”⁹⁷ With this work, it is conclusive that at Amarna “worship of the royal and divine family had replaced the long-established cults of trinities composed of god, goddess, and their offspring.”⁹⁸ It is terribly unfortunate that the remainder of the relief does not exist, as it is meticulously executed with particular attention to distinctions between right and left feet, even in the minute details of the children.

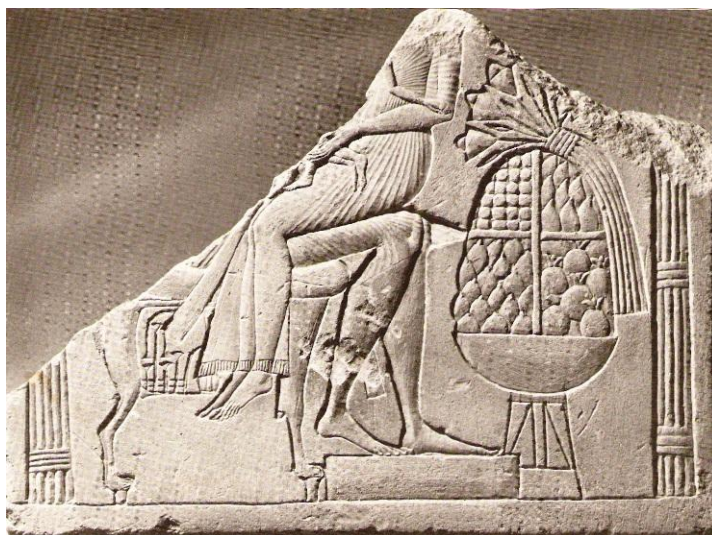


Figure #93



Figure #94

Perhaps the finest of the Amarna house-shrine scenes of the royal family is now in Berlin. It is, at least, the most widely publicized. Seen in Figure #95, the rectangular stella is carved in sunk relief on limestone. “The present example is the most celebrated of its kind, and surely no more appealing domestic conversation piece has survived from antiquity.”⁹⁹ Akhenaten and Nefertiti sit on cushioned stools and, as in the previous two shrine pieces, their sandaled feet rest on hassocks. An interesting note is Nefertiti’s stool with plants symbolic of the union of Egypt worked ajour between the rails whereas Akhenaten’s is plain, thus emphasizing her position of strength as a fertility goddess in this family scene. Four wine jars on stands to the left add a festive flavor to the domestic scene.



Figure #95

Here, though, the daughters are the center of focus. Akhenaten holds and kisses Meritaten, an unique depiction. Meanwhile she strokes his chin and points to Nefertiti who holds Meketaten on her lap. Meketaten attracts her mother's attention with her left hand and, with a facial expression of delight, points to the action taking place between Akhenaten and her sister. The third daughter, Ankhesenpaaten, rests on Nefertiti's shoulder, playing with the uraei pendant hanging from her mother's crown. Each daughter appears naked, with the characteristic deformed Amarna skull, and is the object of the artist's attention in an individual way. The artist took pains to render depth by placing Akhenaten's right arm between his daughter's legs. (Another interesting feature is the artist's addition of two Ankhs being offered to each of the royal pair, something which appears nowhere else in Amarna art).

As Aldred so rightly states, "Within this traditional composition there is a contra-pposto of different elements, especially evident in the pose of the two eldest daughters, who, while turning their backs to each other, are linked by the childish gesture of the pointing forefinger, thus creating a psychological unity to reinforce the artistic cohesion of the design."¹⁰⁰ Of the three daughters here shown, Meketaten died in childhood, Meritaten was queen to her uncle Smenkhkare until her death, and Ankhesenpaaten was queen to both her paternal uncles Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen, and her maternal grandfather, Ay.

No scholar has yet ventured any speculation concerning why Akhenaten had his artists create icons of the royal family which stressed Nefertiti and their daughters. This author believes sufficient suggestive evidence is available to implicate Akhenaten's mother, Tiye, as an influence. The evidence hinges on representations of a little known god, called 'Bes', which figures prominently in Amarna amulets despite Atenism's banning of all other gods.

The Bes gods were dwarfs who, during the Twelfth Dynasty, became known as "helpers of the sun-god."¹⁰¹ The usual representation was as a male, but examples in Dynasty XII show "a female goddess (who) holds serpents in her hands."¹⁰² We are immediately reminded of the faience Snake Goddess from Cretan Knossos, dating from the Amarna period (see Figure #96). The Cretan goddess was symbolically dual in nature as both life giver (hence the breasts) and destroyer (hence the serpents). The Bes became acceptable to the Egyptian court at an interesting point in her history—during the reign of the female Pharaoh Hatshepsut, "proved by a

relief in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the famous picture of the confinement of Queen Ahmose when giving birth to Queen Hatshepsut.”¹⁰³ Thus Bes figures were known as “a helper at birth”¹⁰⁴ and beyond, in that they would “fight for the life of a child in the same way as they once fought against the enemies of the solar child. Once more they destroy the enemies of Re, who are also enemies of the sick child.”¹⁰⁵ Their function, then, unlike the Knossos Goddess, was solely to grant life.



Figure #96

So far, so good. But how does the finding of a single Beset (that “much rarer and evasive female of the Bes-Family”)¹⁰⁶ of Amarna fit into the story, and how is Tiye involved? Three beds and three chairs have been discovered which belonged to Tiye. The chairs themselves were covered with an astonishing total of eleven Bes figures. “By the evidence of these three chairs alone one can measure the importance of the Bes-gods in the life of Queen Tiye.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, stylistically, these were “quite obviously the prototype of the dancing Bes figures...in Amarna.”¹⁰⁸ “Altogether one feels the impact of a certain missionary zeal anxious to spread the

good news about the Bes-gods who protected the lives of women and children: a missionary zeal which shows itself in full strength in her son Akhenaten.”¹⁰⁹

We must now ask, what evidence exists to suggest that Tiye influenced Akhenaten concerning these matters of female fertility and power, and the life-giving power of childbearing? Even the great Egyptologist, Sir Wallis Budge, as early as 1904 stated of Akhenaten that “it is supposed, and with much probability, that the intensity of his love for Aten and his hatred for Amen-Ra were due to his mother’s influence.”¹¹⁰ The Aten was an androgynous deity. How was the high-patriarchal Heliopolitan sun worship infused with the feminine element to bring about Atenism? Was Tiye so enthralled by her femininity that she held sway over Akhenaten in this respect psychologically? It appears that the answer to the last question is a definite ‘yes’, with artistic evidence as proof.

First, ‘In the Theban tomb of Kheruef, Queen Tiye is shown seated upon a throne which carries a picture of her as a sphinx trampling her enemies.”¹¹¹ This not only explains Nefertiti’s similar representation (Figure #68) as a powerful woman defeating all other females; the sphinx was, as we recall, a manifestation of Re-Herakhty, that god of the intermediate phase between Amen-Re worship and Atenism. Thus the feminine element entered a previously male godhead. Furthermore, Figure #97 is a Davies drawing of a relief in the tomb of Huya, Queen Tiye’s steward, at Amarna. Concerning Tiye at Amarna, scholars “are generally agreed that she visited Akhetaten, or resided there, after the death of her husband,”¹¹² Amenhotep III. In the amazing scene we see here, Akhenaten leads Tiye (i.e. his mother, not his wife Nefertiti) by the hand into her ‘sunshade’ temple at Amarna, seen to the far left. The two are followed by Tiye’s daughter, Beketaten.

Immanuel Velikovsky, although perhaps an intelligent man, saw this drawing and, assuming a radical Freudian position, claimed that Akhenaten had married his mother and fathered Beketaten by her. Because of Akhenaten’s iconoclasm against polytheism, which included defacing his father’s monuments (ridding the name of the god Amen from Amenhotep III), Velikovsky concluded that Akhenaten was the historical Oedipus, and wrote Oedipus and Akhenaten: Myth and History, which sold well in paperback. We cannot take such Von Danikenesque ramblings seriously, and should suggest a Jungian interpretation rather than the

patriarchally-biased Freudian approach. “The conquest of the Mother-Goddess-Sphinx by Oedipus, the youth winning his manhood, was the basic archetypal myth of a patriarchal psychology, as in Freud.”¹¹³

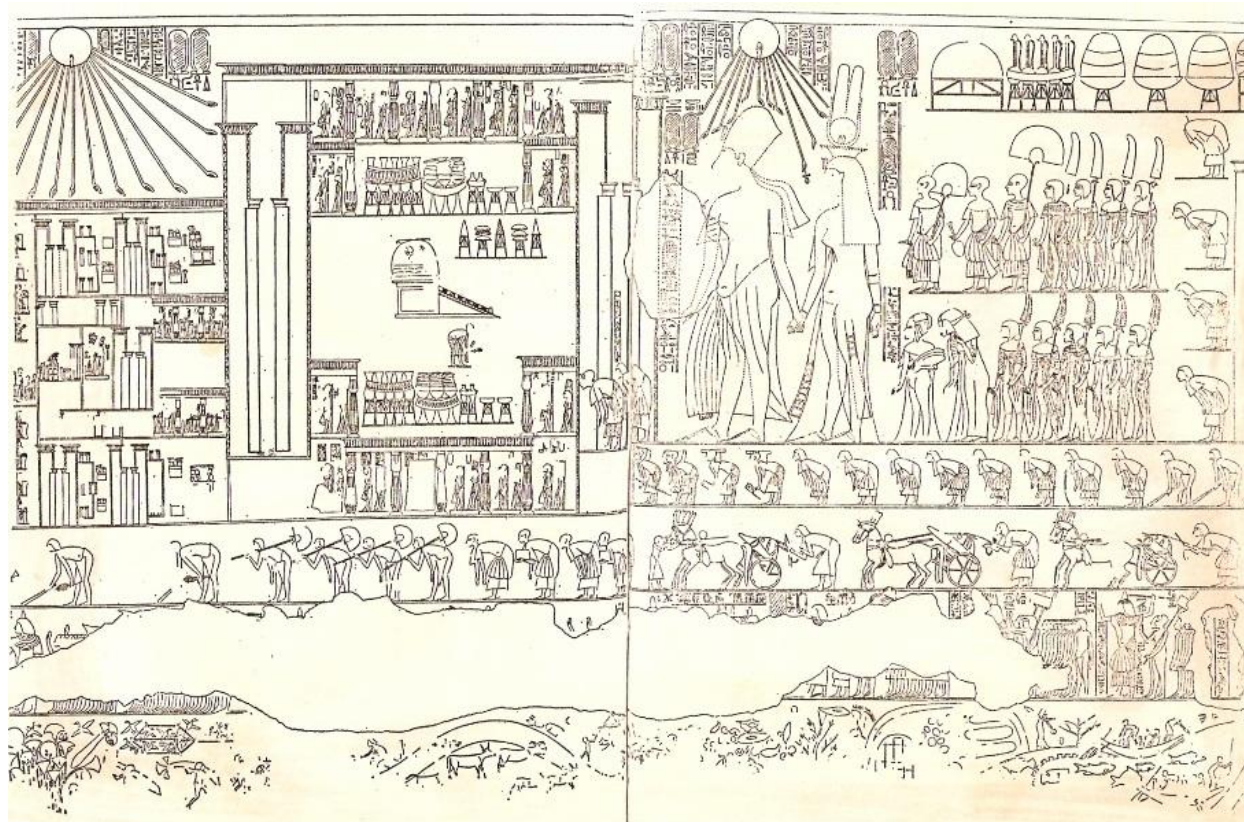


Figure #97

The sunshade temple towards which Akhenaten and his mother walk arm in arm was unique to Tiye and Nefertiti, who is shown entering one on the Karnak talatat and in Amarna itself, once with a daughter. It is not surprising, then, that “the significance of the ‘sunshade’ temples in the case of the queens and senior princesses was the daily union of the royal women with the god by means of the sunbeams.”¹¹⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that such temples ever existed for men.

Huya’s tomb has provided two other indications of Tiye’s dominance of her son. Figure #98, a Davies line drawing, shows Tiye seated to the left, with her daughter, Beketaten, beside her. She sits facing Akhenaten, with Nefertiti seated behind him tending her two children. The

Aten does not appear as the scene is of a festive gathering indoors at night. The three drink wine and baskets of fruit are to be seen (notice Nefertiti's daughter grabbing a piece to the right). The importance of this scene lies in the fact that Tiye wears a crown more ornate than that of both Nefertiti and Akhenaten. Furthermore, she commands Akhenaten's attention, while he turns his back on Nefertiti. Figure #99 tells the same story. The relief scene is from the east side of the south wall in Huya's tomb. Again, we are relying on Davies' fine line drawing. A festive scene is depicted beneath the Aten. At this state banquet, Tiye is seated to the right with Beketaten, while Akhenaten again faces her from the left and Nefertiti is relegated to a position with her daughters behind Akhenaten's back. The Aten offers Ankhs to Tiye, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti, while blessing the food. Akhenaten is engaged in devouring a skewer of meat while Nefertiti attacks a whole roast duck with one hand. Tiye appears in charge of the scene as she makes a blessing of her own with her right hand, while slipping a morsel of food to Beketaten with her left. Again, Tiye wears an elaborate headdress while Akhenaten and Nefertiti do not. These two family scenes of festive lounging about, where the figures are comfortably seated with their feet on hassocks, are, in this writer's opinion, the definite precursors to the royal family cult icons found at Amarna. While Tiye as royal mother, psychologically symbolic of the good feminine element, dominates here, the cult scenes proper exclude her probably due to her death, or due to a wish for the Trinitarian formula (Aten, Akhenaten, Nefertiti) only.

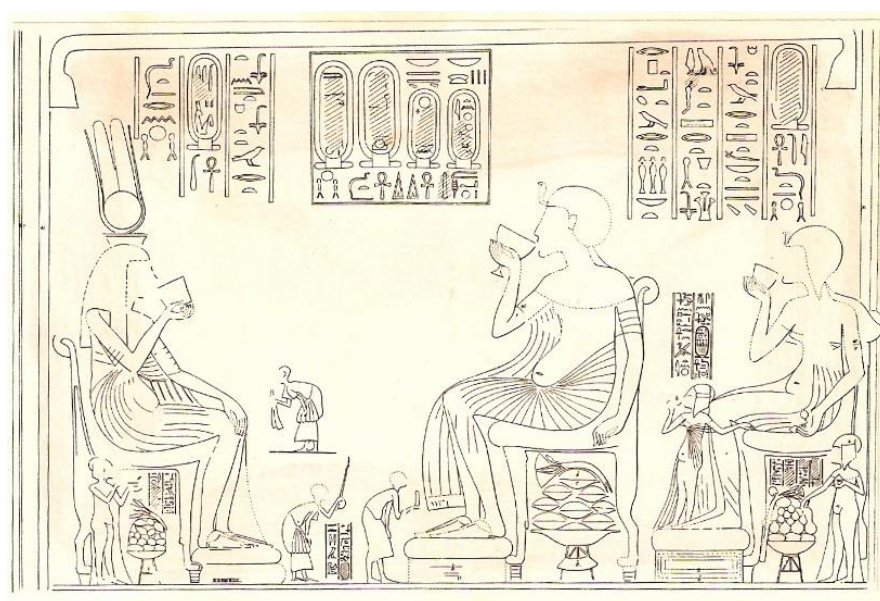


Figure #98

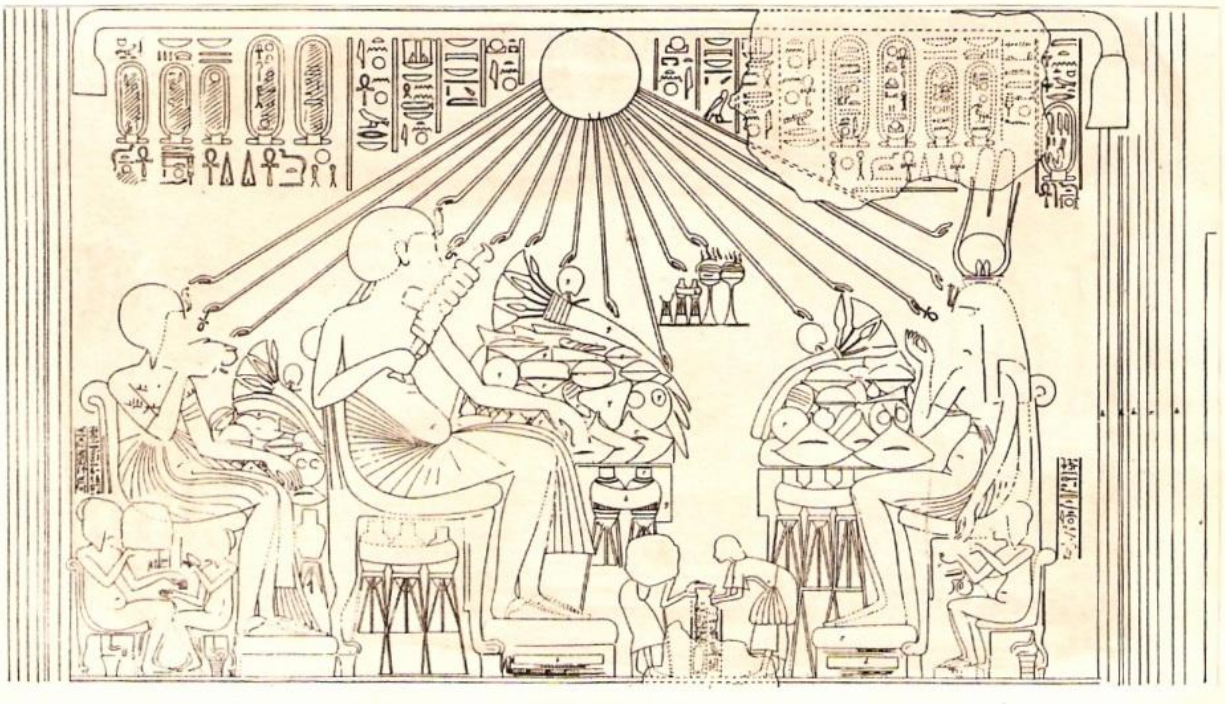


Figure #99

Obviously, then, when we speak of women in Egyptian art, “It was not until the time of Akhenaten’s mother, Queen Tiye, and his wife, Queen Nefertiti, that their roles became so prominent. Both women, to judge from inscriptions and reliefs, shared the public lives of their husbands to a greater extent than most earlier queens.”¹¹⁵ Their life giving fertility powers were, to Akhenaten, worthy of inclusion in a single godhead, the Aten, which was prompted by Tiye’s love for the Bes gods and resolution with Amenism through Re-Herakhty. Akhenaten’s daughters were a furthering of this idea in physical manifestation. One writer has suggested that the Amarna Bes figures “with their girlish faces, are impersonations of the king’s daughters.”¹¹⁶ Thus the daughters figured prominently in Amarna art, particularly after Tiye’s death and the supposed death at Amarna of Nefertiti. “Meritaten, Akhenaten’s eldest daughter and heiress, was in any case important even before the accession of Smenkhkare and herself, since she replaced Nefertiti in the reliefs in Maru-Aten (El-Hawatch) at Amarna under Akhenaten, while still only entitled ‘King’s Daughter.’”¹¹⁷

It comes as no surprise, then, that at Amarna “Inscriptions praise the Queen with flattering epithets and give the pedigrees of her daughters in the usual detail.”¹¹⁸ Likewise, we

find torsos of the princesses remaining at Amarna that are similar to the Venus-figure of Nefertiti discussed earlier (Figure #81). Figures #100 and 101 are frontal and profile views, respectively, of such a torso. This example was discovered by Petrie at Amarna in 1891, and is now in the collection of University College, London. Done in a pale, reddish-brown, fine-grained quartzite, the piece lends itself to a smoothly rounded, voluptuous finish. Actually, it is done in such high relief as to appear almost freestanding. The sculptor has emphasized the young girl's breasts and pubic mound, as well as emphasizing the horizontal navel. All of these features suggest the girl's potential fecundity as a Venus-type figure. The protruding stomach, and flabby buttocks and thighs, characteristic of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, literally round out the figure.

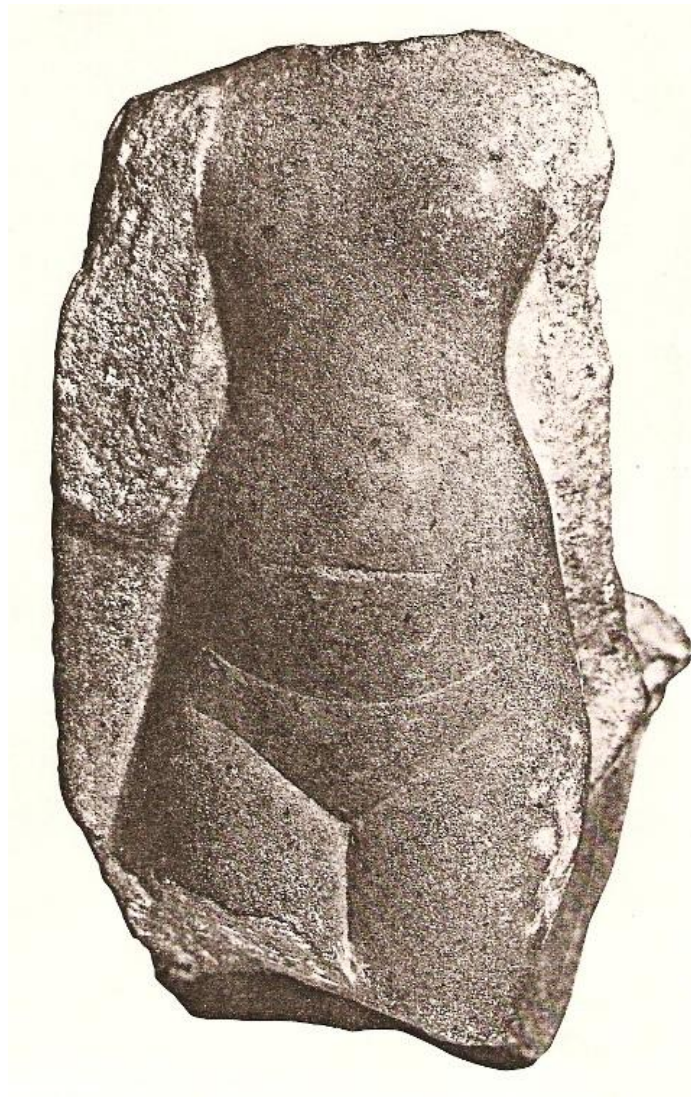


Figure #100

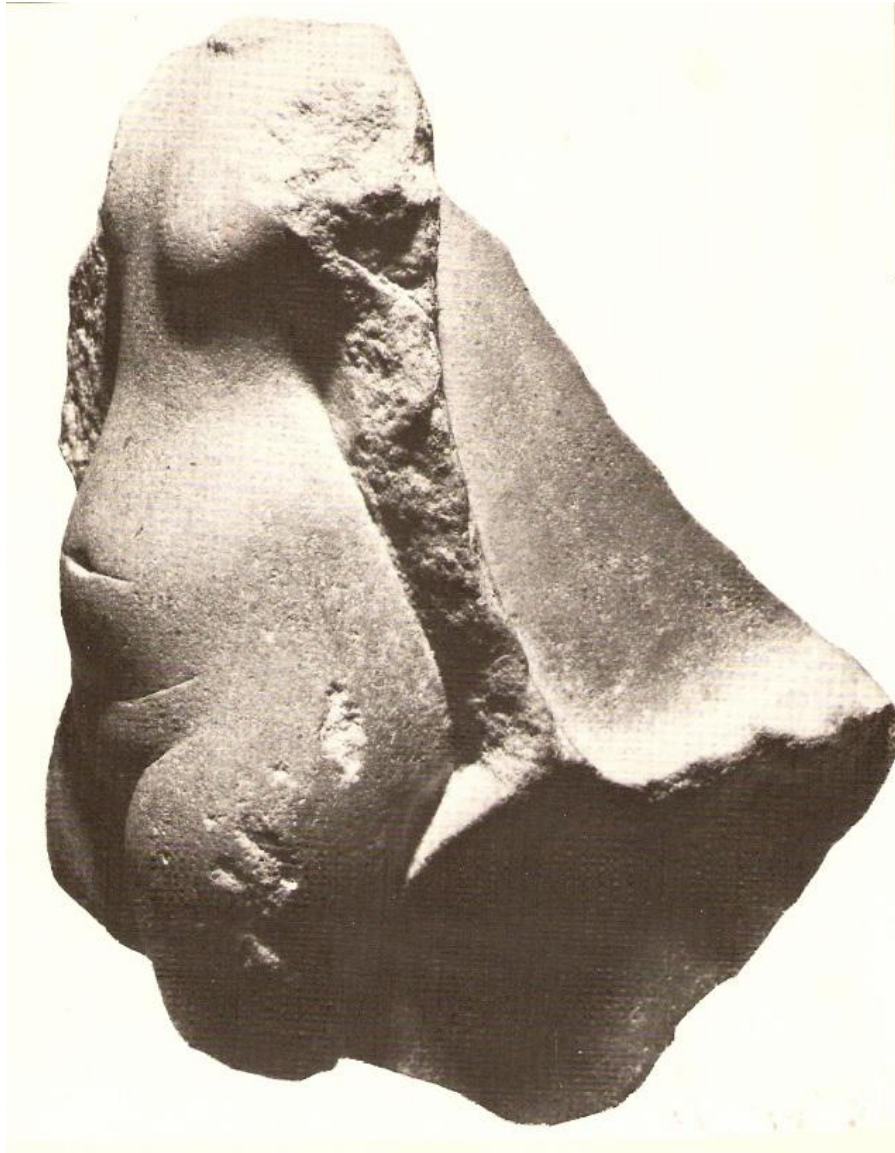


Figure #101

As we mentioned earlier, concerning the daughters, “one of the innovations of the Amarna Period was the representation of children as persons in their own right and not as adults on a miniature scale.”¹¹⁹ Previously, the child’s anatomy was perhaps shown as an adolescent version of the mother. Figures #102 and 103 show the most celebrated rendition of daughters in the Amarna style, the two photographs done in different lighting to reveal the color. The fragment was excavated by Petrie in 1891 in a room of the King’s House (House 13) at Amarna. It is now the prized possession of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It is from a wall painting done in glue tempera on the mud-brick backing covered by plaster, and measures approximately

one foot by one foot. It is but a portion of a much larger scene, shown in Figure #104, which “perhaps was a source of inspiration for the design of a number of the family stelae.”¹²⁰

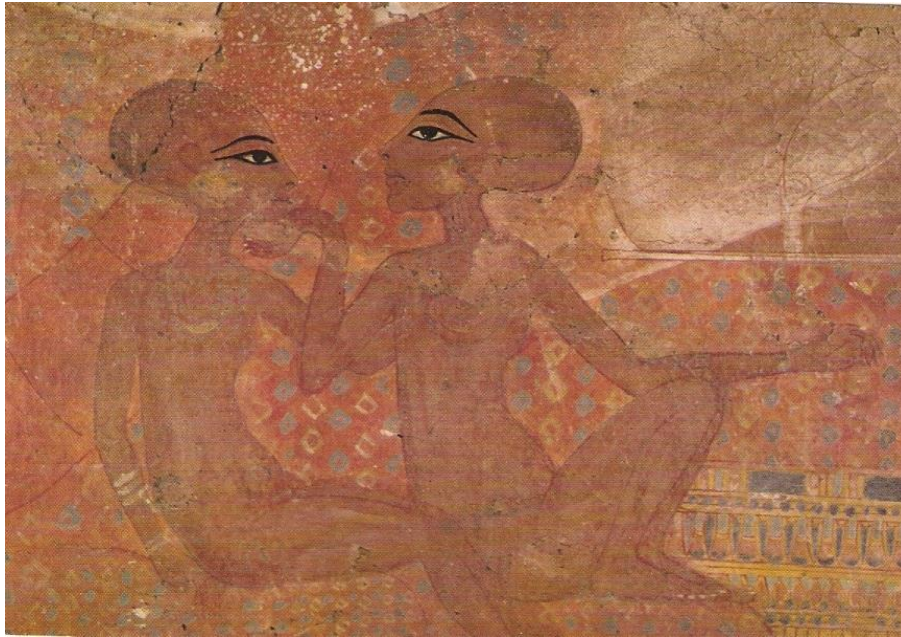


Figure #102



Figure #103

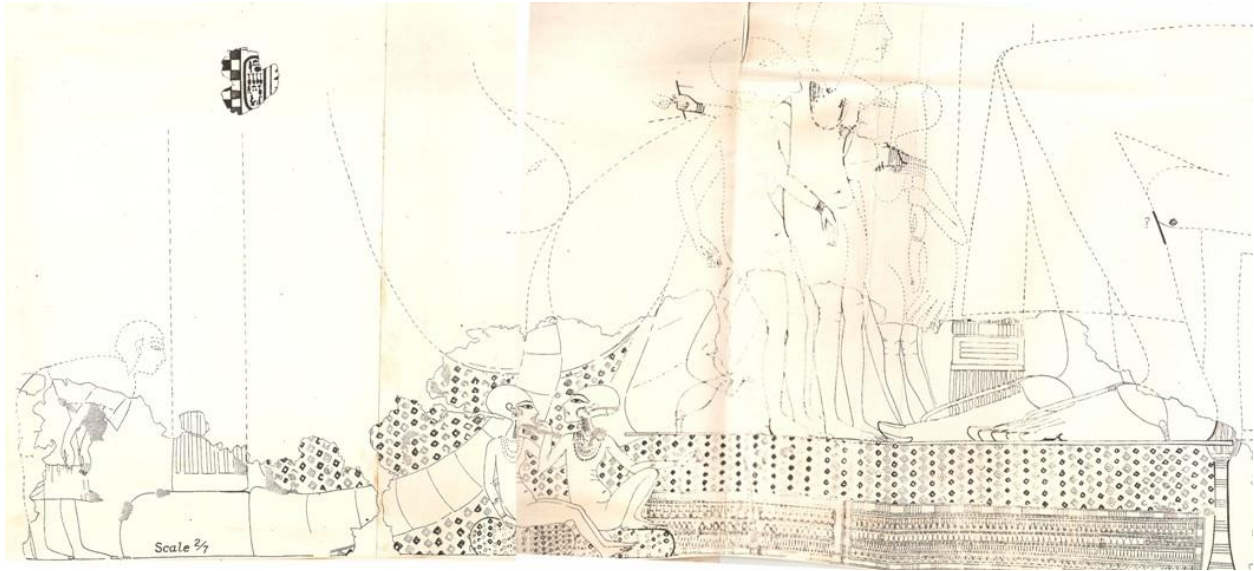


Figure #104

The large scene, in Davies' drawing, shows the King and Queen with their six daughters. Akhenaten sits on a cushioned stool while Nefertiti squats on a cushion with an arm around her eldest daughter. The three eldest daughters are in the middle, with Meritaten centered, her arm around Ankhesenpaaten on the right, with Meketaten on the other side. Sotepenre sat on her mother's lap, but only her hand remains.

The two daughters playing at their mother's feet, in the fragment, are Neferneferuatentasherit and Neferne-fervre. Their heads show the extreme distortion of the Amarna style, and the slanting eyes are typical. Their feet are well differentiated, and accented by individually painted toenails. The famous Egyptian blue seen previously on Nefertiti's Nubian wig, and as far back as the fowling scene in Nakht's tomb, is here employed in dots indicating string necklaces around both their necks. Likewise it appears in the decorative background of alternating blue and gold diamonds. The daughter to the left wears several bracelets on her right forearm.

The posture of the figures is one of subtle grace and charm as they relax in a slouched position, one with legs extended and the other with them drawn up. The same relaxed slouch can be seen in an unpublished relief of a daughter now in Vienna. Seen in Figure #105, the single curve from the armpit, around the buttocks, to the underside of the knee, re-emulates the

Ashmolean figures in stone. (Again the author apologizes for his lack of skill in hastily focusing when a museum guard's back is turned).



Figure #105

The gesture of the daughter to the right, who gently caresses her sister's chin (the sister replying by placing an arm around her), was foreshadowed by such intimacy and caressing as was first seen in Nakht's tomb at Thebes. The extent of the intimacy, here at Amarna, takes its exemplary form. Although no author has previously made the connection, the pose of these two daughters is copied almost exactly in a limestone sunk relief stella in Berlin. The stella, seen in Figure #106, probably originated in Amarna and is unfinished, as the cartouches attest. It dates from late in the Amarna age, probably five years after the painting of the daughters, and shows Akhenaten, on the right, caressing the chin of his co-ruler, Smenkhkare. Smenkhkare's hanging right arm, with hand on the cushion, and his left arm around Akhenaten, is a precise copy of the daughter's actions in the painting. Likewise, Akhenaten's caressing arm and hand, as well as his

somewhat outstretched left arm and gaze directed backwards are almost copies, differing only in a slight degree of angularity. It is entirely possible that the sculptor, who identifies himself as “Pasi, captain of the state barge[?] Khaemmaat”,¹²¹ had seen the fresco of the daughters while in Amarna. One must remember that they were not in a tomb, hence could be seen by a select few from the court and the public. As an art student, it seems entirely plausible that Pasi was shown the masterpiece of Amarna wall painting.

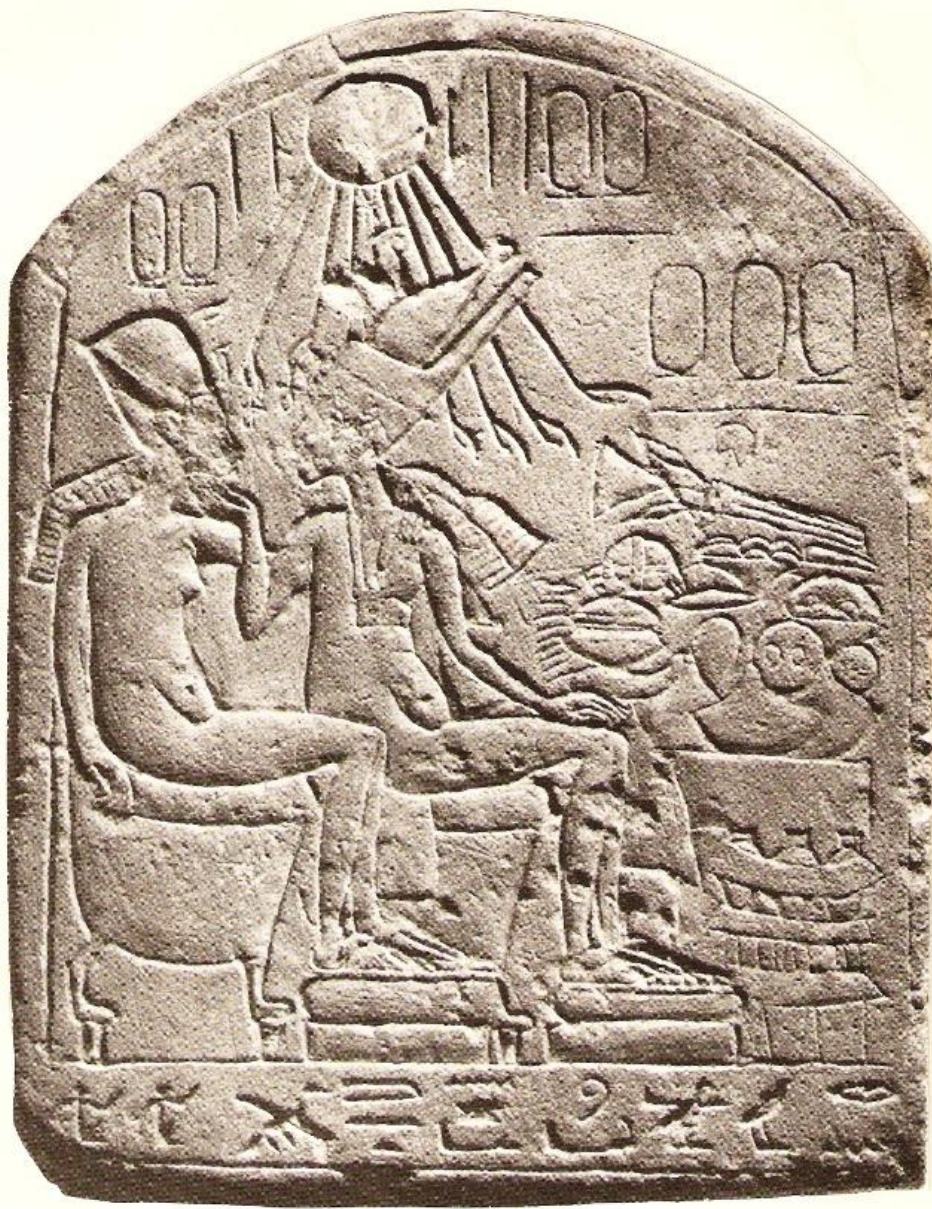


Figure #106

It is interesting to note that both scholars and the public accept the fresco of the daughters as a wonderfully graceful and touching scene of intimacy, while in the relief of Smenkhkare and Akhenaten, “The intimacy suggested by the latter’s caressing gesture led Newbery to postulate a homoerotic relationship between the rulers.”¹²² This way of thinking is no more advanced than Akhenaten’s narrow minded successors, who brutally defaced the stella. Fortunately, “this suggestion has been rejected by scholars who have proposed instead that the caress implies merely family approval or dynastic recognition,”¹²³ as the fresco of the daughters proves.

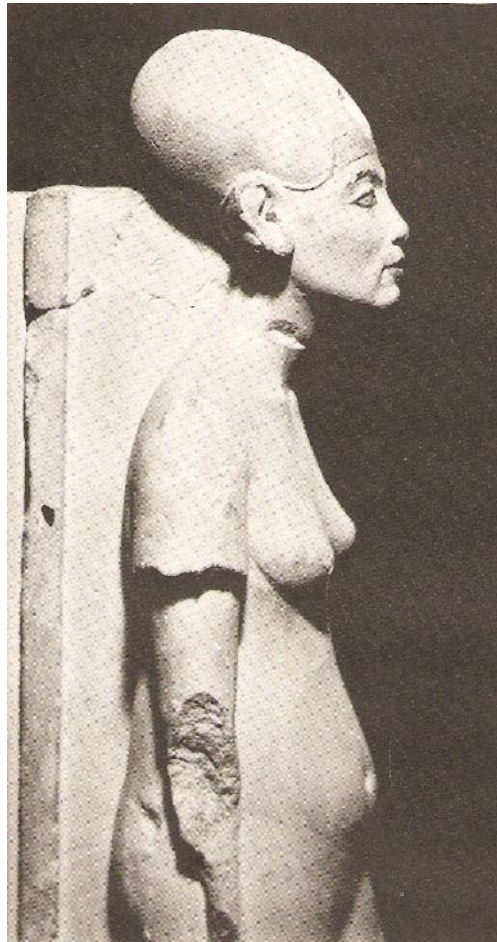


Figure #107

The treatment of Amarna princesses as individuals is a major innovation. For example, as the torsos suggested budding womanhood, especially in the breasts, the figures by no means were mere copies of Nefertiti’s mature form, seen in a Berlin statue (Figure #107). Artists went to such lengths in portraying the daughters that they can clearly be distinguished from one

another. In Figure #108, for example, “To judge from her stubborn little chin, the daughter officiating with the King was probably Meritaten, and the relief may have been made at a time when she was playing a prominent part in Amarna politics, after her mother’s disappearance but before her own marriage to Smenkhkare.”¹²⁴ In the full relief, Meritaten follows the worshipping Akhenaten, but in Figure #109 we see a detail of her deformed cranium, covered with an elaborately plaited sidelock painted in Egyptian blue. She rattles a sistrum to officiate the offering. A large rectangular area above her head once included her names and titles, but these were viciously hacked out in the Amarna aftermath, along with the King’s face.

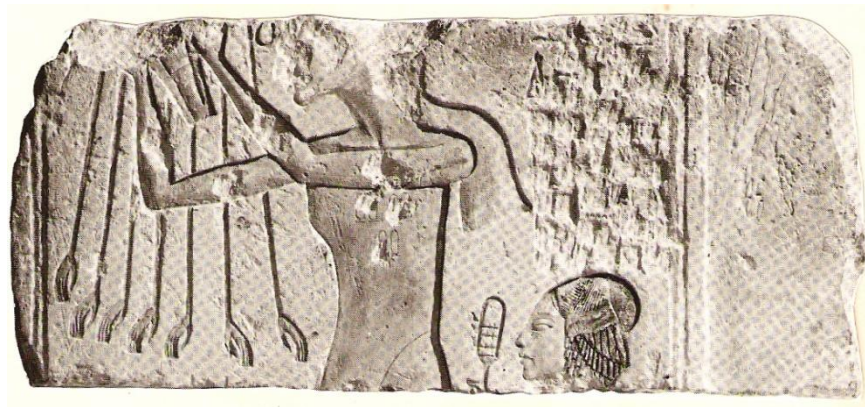


Figure #108



Figure #109

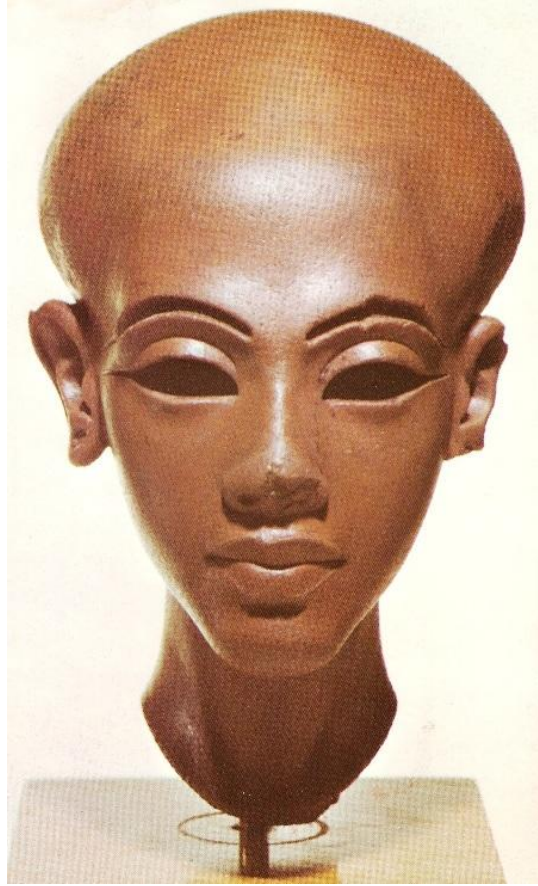


Figure #110

The Amarna princesses enjoyed the rare honor of having large scale composite statues made of them to enhance their stature in the Amarna court. Figure #110 shows the head of one such composite, while Figure #111 is the same head seen profile. Undoubtedly it is one of the masterpieces of Amarna and, in this writer's opinion, surpasses in beauty even the bust of Nefertiti. Found in an Amarna sculptor's workshop in 1912, it is now in Berlin. The material is brown quartzite with a high polish. A tenon at the base of the neck indicates it was intended for a composite body, while the eyes and eyebrows are deeply hollowed to receive inlays, probably of glass. A trace of red paint is still visible on the lips. The skull is extremely distorted in its elongation, and the eyebrow and crease of the eye extend back almost as far as the ears. The right ear is curved, a feature of Amarna art which would still be evident in Tut's time, and is pierced to receive an earring. The skull distortion may have been based on an actual genetic peculiarity in the family, but is here greatly exaggerated to designate the princess as one of

Aten's elect, as well as for aesthetic purposes. Exactly which daughter is represented cannot be determined, but "the determined chin suggests Merytaten. Whoever she may have been, the head must be placed among the masterpieces of the Amarna Period, impressive alike for the consummate handling of the gem-hard intractable stone and for the impression it gives of an aloof and unselfconscious juvenile charm".¹²⁵

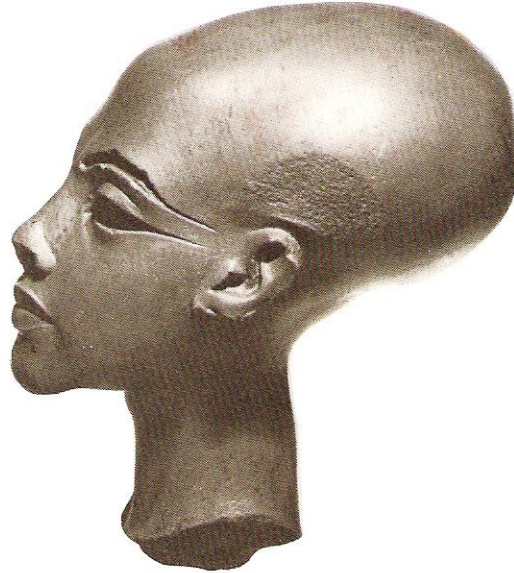


Figure #111

As the princesses show, "Never again was the female form, with its curves and roundness, handled as sensitively and delicately as by the artists in Tel-el-Amarna."¹²⁶ That the artists directed so much attention to the daughters reveals the Amarna inclination towards the feminine aspect of the Aten and the importance of the princesses to the cult. The importance is verified in Figure #112, a drawing of a relief in one of the Royal Tombs at Amarna reserved for Meketaten's burial. In the upper register the mourning parents are seen, with Akhenaten leading the grieving Nefertiti by the arm towards the bedroom of the dead princess. They appear under the Aten's protective rays. The lower register shows Akhenaten, again with Nefertiti by the hand, weeping over the dead Meketaten on her death-bed. "The old device of the overlapping contours, which, for instance, so disturbs our appreciation of the crowd of mourners in the tomb of Ramose, is used only on the verges of compositions where onlookers are represented acting as

units, cohorts of troops...ladies in waiting, etc. In the scene of mourning in the Royal Tomb, all the weepers are carefully distinguished by posture, a remarkable achievement in a composition which invariably called for groups of professional mourners.”¹²⁷

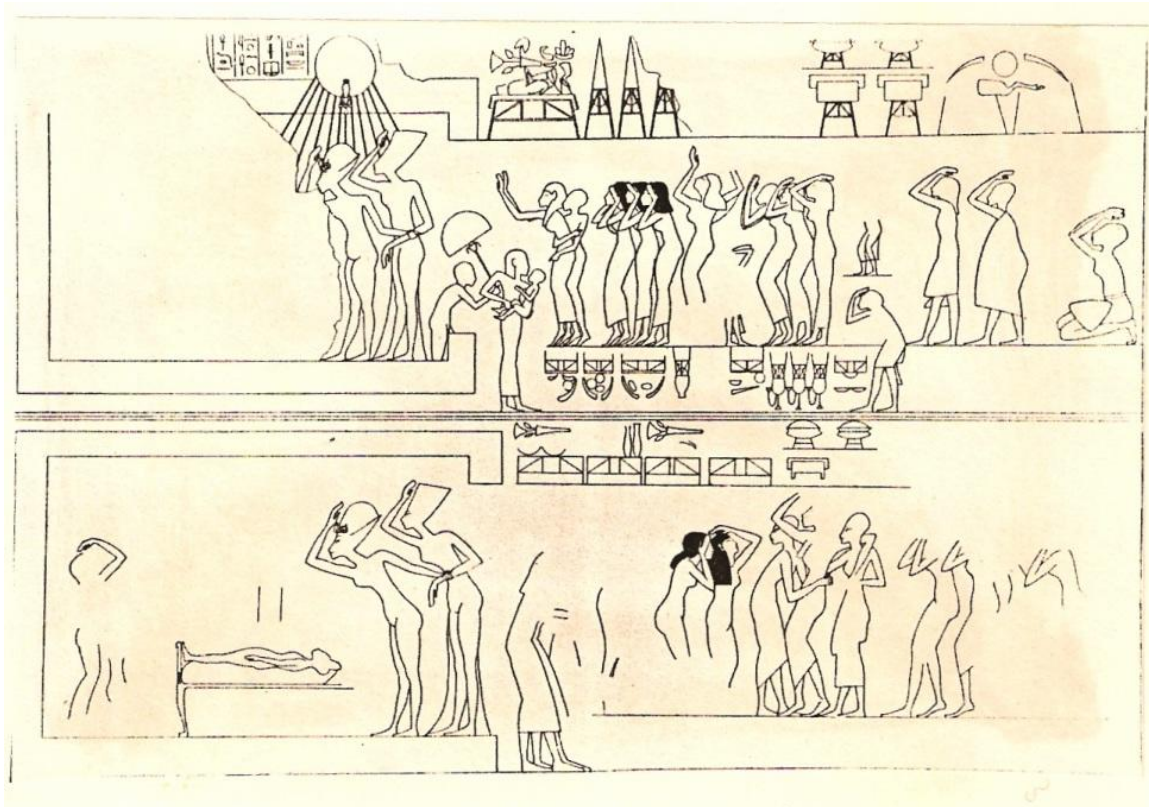


Figure #112

VII. Wildlife

As we have seen, when Osirian scenes were prohibited on tomb walls and in palace and house art at Amarna, large areas of space were opened for novel artistic themes. The most popular scenes were those of nature—both plants and animals. They evolved from earlier fowling scenes in the Theban tombs, with Nakht's providing the best example. Whereas the Theban scenes centered around the Pharaoh's (or the deceased's) actions within a natural setting, often dominating that setting via hunting, at Amarna the artists concentrated strictly on depicting wildlife alone, untouched by man.



Figure #113

Figure #113 shows a detail of the wildlife in a fowling scene in Nakht's tomb. The majority of the birds are of a standard design and are executed to appear the same size. Color varies only in that flat, decorative aspect where design patches are varied, e.g. the head of the bird in the lower right is green while all others are red. This flat, decorative quality makes them appear static, frozen in air, and incapable of flight despite the busied jumble of elements in the composition. Figure #114, on the other hand, progresses a step beyond the Theban works. Here

we see a single shrike in the marshes, from a wall painting in a room of the North Palace at Amarna. It is a detail of a continuous scene of bird life which covers the entire wall. The Amarna artist has departed from the linear conventions of the Theban example, and his design is built up more by brush strokes. The graceful curve of the back, downturned feathers of the tail, realistic emphasis of talons, and expressive gesture of the turned neck are all indicative of the artist's concentration on portraying a single bird with individual characteristics, unlike the mere decorative nature of the birds at Thebes. The major difference between Theban and Amarna wildlife scenes hinges on the fact that, at Amarna, the scenes were specifically devoted to wildlife, while at Thebes the plants and animals were secondary to the human who was honored by and in the painting. Thus "In wall-painting, landscape has become a subject of study in its own right, as one understands for instance from the frescoes in the North Palace at Amarna."¹²⁸



Figure #114

As mentioned earlier, the haste with which Amarna was constructed necessitated artistic measures which aided the hurried process. Composite statues and the use of inlays in bas-relief were two Amarna innovations answering this problem. Many of the reliefs were incised, rather than fully carved in relief, to save time. Likewise, the flora and fauna scenes on Amarna walls were done without any preliminary drawing or outline. Some scholars suggest, on this basis, that

the naturalism of these scenes is merely affected due to the rush in which the city itself was completed. Figures #115 and 116 suggest otherwise. The first is a Theban wall painting of a garden pool, while the second is a painted Amarna pavement done in tempera and following the same basic design structure as its Theban counterpart. The Theban example, dating fifty years prior to Amarna, is indicative of flat design patterns which convey no sense of life. The scene is, in fact, representative of an idealized, thus abstracted, nature existing in the Osirian afterlife. The Amarna example, on the other hand, reveals a flurry of flourishing life. The pool teems with fish and the bushes are packed with birds. This was intended to portray a mortal and earthly nature scene. Although the execution may have been hasty, an equal amount of time would have been required to complete the meticulous detail in the Amarna work as would have been required to outline and paint the Theban wall.



Figure #115

The freedom from conventional stylistic restraints in Amarna art had exemplified itself in that persons were depicted in architectural settings, e.g. indoor festive scenes and at the Window

of Appearances, instead of in horizontal rows. Likewise, in nature scenes, “each wall is considered as an entity and covered with one complete scene.”¹²⁹ But this new freedom did not burst upon the Amarna scene in quite the revolutionary way that this might imply. Its adoption was swift, but intermediate phases were necessary to achieve it. Figure #117 is a beautiful example of this intermediate Amarna period where horizontal bands were giving way to ‘all over’ scenes. The drawing is taken from a wall painting in an eastern Amarna house. Whereas five distinct registers characterize the right portion of the scene, showing men giving thanks to Aten in the morning, the left shows three loosely outlined bands set at an angle. The registers are distinct, but not enough to detract from the scene in which there are “antelopes jumping up the mountain and ostriches executing ‘dances’ of thanksgiving.”¹³⁰

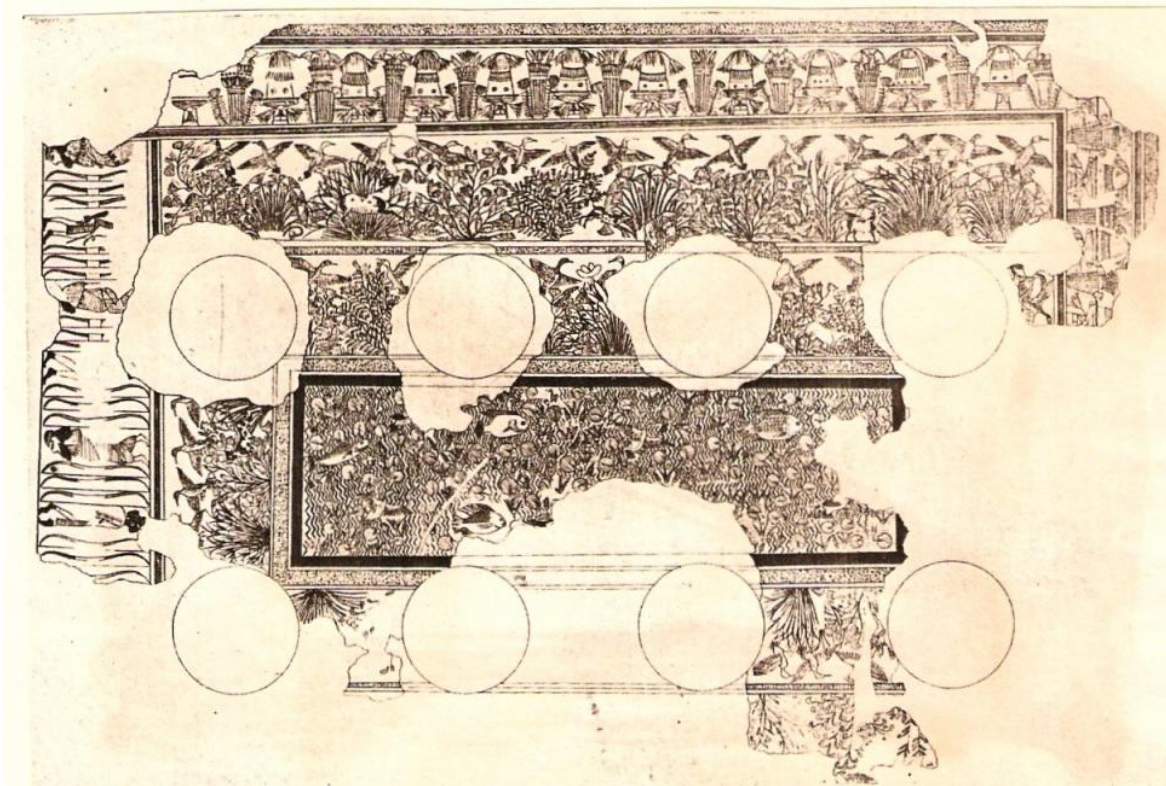


Figure #116

It could be argued that pre-Amarna artists had worked from a grid structure previously traced on the wall, hence the regular canon and stiff posturing within the horizontal registers. The Amarna artists, in their hurry, eliminated the grid step, hence their figures were not mathematically proportionate as the figures varied. But the Theban tombs show a moving away

from the grid structure in the finished work although the grid was used, along with outline, to set up the scene. In fact, at Amarna, “The old system of arranging figures in rows like lines of hieroglyphs was not totally abandoned, but now we find large scale scenes in which figures are arranged around buildings, fields, and streams.”¹³¹ In some places the scenes know no boundaries within a room, as they are spread over entire walls and, in some instances, continue from wall to wall, as in the ‘Green Room’ of the Northern Palace which showed painted wildlife continuously unbroken on all four walls.



Figure #117

There can be no doubt that Amarna artists concentrated on naturalistic portrayals of even the most menial, domestic animals. Figure #118, for example, shows two horses drawing a chariot of the Vizier to Akhenaten. Done in sunk relief on limestone at Amarna, the fragment is now in the Brooklyn Museum. Previous artists would have considered these animals totally unimportant to the scene, and would have merely outlined them in a staggered stance. Here, although the two are staggered, the head of the horse nearest the viewer is shown in frontal pose. The artist, by doing this, has rendered a spatial element to the work, as well as indicating that the horse is worthy of its own artistic representation as an animal. “The frontal view of the horse’s

head is one of those frequent breaks with tradition in which Amarna art delights.”¹³²

Furthermore, it would lead to such a work as Figure #119, from the Metropolitan Museum. Here the horse is carved in ivory, and is perhaps one of the finest Egyptian ivories known. Its graceful curves have been made into the handle of a whip, while its eyes are inlaid garnet.



Figure #118



Figure #119

More than just a stylistic freedom from canonical art via the Theban tombs, Amarna art's concentration on wildlife scenes and individual animals was a theological necessity. While previous art centered on an individual human being in an Osirian wildlife paradise after death, Atenism concentrated on the Aten's life giving powers to both men and animals in the here and now. The famous 'Hymn to the Aten', a poem found in Ay's intended tomb at Amarna, and thought to be written by Akhenaten himself, is the only existing text describing the nature of the Aten. In it, animals are equal recipients of the Aten's life power. Thus, in the Budge translation, we read, "The birds fly out of their nests and their wings praise thy Ka as they fly forth. The sheep and goats of every kind skip about on their legs and feathered fowl and the birds of the air also live because thou hast risen for them...The fish in the stream leap up towards thy face and thy beams shine through the waters of the great sea."¹³³



Figure #120

In this light, it comes as no surprise that fragments such as Figures #120 and 121 remain from Amarna. The first is a limestone carving of two ibexes, now in the Toledo Museum. The second, in Brooklyn, is a sunk relief on limestone of two young bubalis antelopes. In both cases, the animals' expressive heads have characteristic features all their own. In addition to these fragments, "a scene in the Royal Tomb showed the sun rising upon the temple and ostriches and gazelles rousing themselves from their sleep. This theme was surely not unique, but was

probably inspired by an archetype occurring in the decoration of temple walls. It is possible that it was a sculptural representation of the sentiments expressed in the Hymn to the Aten, showing the entire cycle of the day under the role of the sun god.”¹³⁴ These nature scenes were all geared to “showing the sovereignty of the Aten over all creation.”¹³⁵ In fact, Akhenaten so adamantly believed in the Aten’s power of granting life to all animals that (and archaeologists all agree that the evidence is conclusive) he built “a palace in the northern region of Tell el Amarna that was a sort of zoological garden, with fish ponds, aviaries, and enclosures for cattle, antelope and ibexes.”¹³⁶

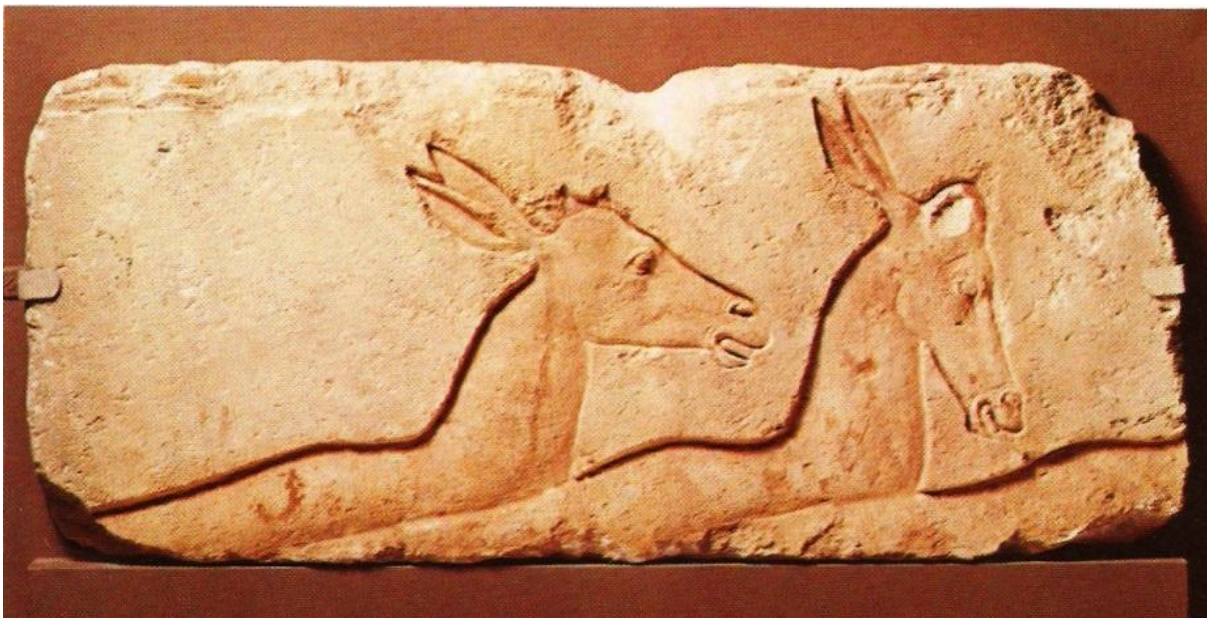


Figure #121

The desire at Amarna for representations of fish and animals was aided by the availability of mass produced decorative objects in glass and faience. At least two large glazing works and a number of glass factories have been found within the city, based on archaeological assessments of midden piles. Figure #122 is a beautiful example of a glass fish vase (flask?) from Amarna, now in the British Museum, London. Filaments of different colored glasses were placed on a glass body of a solid color, then drawn out while heated by means of a comb-like tool, thus simulating the scales. Although it is a precious piece, and finely crafted, its importance lies in its symbolic meaning at Amarna. This is a boliti fish, and “fish, particularly the boliti (*Tilapia nilotica*), appear frequently at that city, painted on walls and floors or depicted on the Faience

tiles and inlays that ornamented the rooms and palaces.”¹³⁷ Since the female bolti preserves her eggs in her body until they are ready to hatch, she thus became to the Egyptians a symbol of that self-creation which was characteristic of the primordial sun god.”¹³⁸ Akhenaten may have been reviving archaic notions concerning the sun god in this respect, for the positive role of the fish was “probably analogous to that assigned to the prehistoric fish-shaped cosmetic palettes...used in cult rites to strengthen the sun...The sun had to pass through the primeval sea during the night to return to the point where it rises, and during this voyage it made use of a fish shape or of fishes as travelling companions. Another way of surviving this voyage was to be swallowed by a fish and conveyed, inside its belly, to the eastern horizon.”¹³⁹ This in conjunction with the scenes of Aten’s sovereignty over all nature, “which had its origin in the sun temples of Dynasty V”,¹⁴⁰ perhaps indicate Akhenaten was looking backwards in time for his religious ideals.

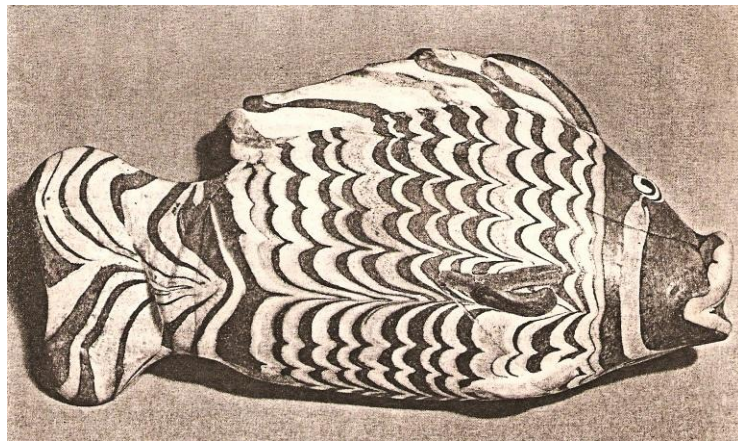


Figure #122



Figure #123

It deserves mention that, prior to Amarna, slaves and soldiers were artistically given the same treatment as mere animals. Whether soldiers were shown running, as the New Kingdom work in Figure #123, or slave laborers working, as in the Theban wall painting of Figure #124, the figures showed no individuality and were seen as secondary characters to be shown in stock poses more to fill up wall space than for any other reason. But the Aten granted life to all men and animals, and if animals could be treated in an individual manner in Amarna art, so could slaves. Again, stylistic precursors are evident in the Theban tombs. Figure #125, from the Tomb of Haremhab (Number 18 at Thebes), shows a Nubian slave dancing in a very free and lively pose, with expressive gestures of the long limbs. The Amarna artists outdid their Theban counterparts, however. Figure #126 shows a previously unpublished relief from Amarna, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The artist has not only rendered this slave in a naturalistic manner; he has composed a truly psychological portrait of the weeping man. The work shows not only the Amarna innovation of representing a heretofore worthless man as an individual singled out from a crowd, but “another innovation—the visual expression of emotion. Egyptian art had always been concerned with transmitting ideas and information by means of symbols. In the Amarna Period symbols were not discarded, but transmuted.”¹⁴¹

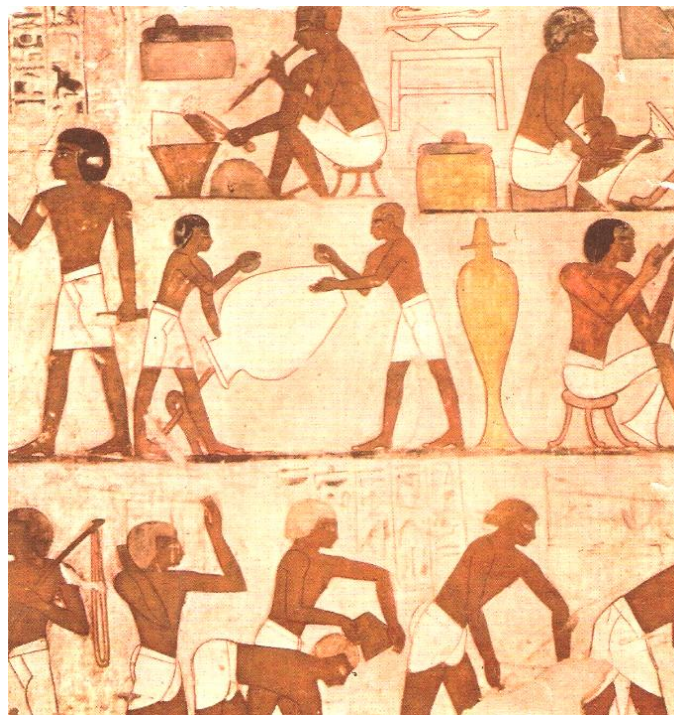


Figure #124

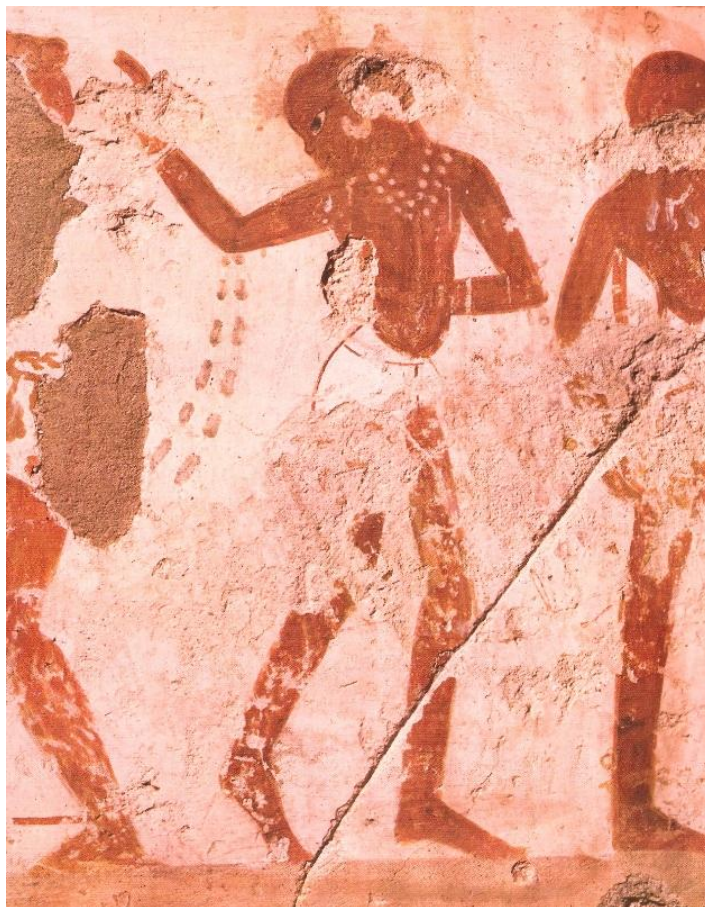


Figure #125



Figure #126

Some scholars have made a case for the importation of wildlife scenes (the idea for such, at least) from Minoan Crete. One writer generalized that “Cretan art may have produced the running animals and the naturalistic forms.”¹⁴² Frankfort suggested that the drawing of feet with five toes was a facet of Aegean painting, for instance. Indeed, a wall painting from the tomb of Seamut at Thebes, c. 1450 B.C., shows Cretan emissaries bearing gifts and “the accuracy of the painter has been vindicated by the discovery of actual vessels akin to those shown in the painting.”¹⁴³ The final years of Minoan Knossos civilization were during Amenhotep III’s time (followed by the mainland Mycenaean civilization). Amarna received delegates “from the islands in the Mediterranean”,¹⁴⁴ and “Late Minoan pottery was freely imported into Egypt during the Amarna Age, probably from Rhodes.”¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, “Late Minoan Post-palatial vases have been found in Tel-el-Amarna.”¹⁴⁶

However, this late Minoan art which found its way to Amarna reflected a “stylistic descent into mass production, a turning away from authenticity, as well as religious feeling, and a conversion of the ancient death rites into acts of bourgeois display and status seeking.”¹⁴⁷ It seems very unlikely that these few painted vases could have effected Amarna art to any degree. Likewise, those who claim that Cretan painting in Knossos could have been an influence (due to the more energetic and impressionistic work quickly executed in fresco by relatively untrained artists) should realize that anyone who has seen these works in the Heraklion Museum must be skeptical of Sir Arthur Evans’s fanciful reconstructions of the work, where in some cases almost eighty percent of a painting originated in his mind, and not that of the Cretan artist.

If any artistic interaction took place between Crete and Egypt, it would have been the former’s adoption of ‘Egyptian blue’ in its frescoes. Furthermore, any Cretan art, which reflected that civilization’s religious preoccupation with a death cult, would have been totally anathema to Atenism’s praise of life.

Although, during the post-Hyksos Thutmose period, foreign artisans began appearing and may have been among Amenhotep III’s court, it is unlikely that they had any effect on the rigid canon. The possibility of foreign influences on Egyptian art is a conjecture based on the possibility of provincial works reaching Egypt during the XVIII Dynasty, her great expansionistic period. It is more probable, however, that this implied strict adherence to an

indigenous Theban style which purposely ignored foreign work, and traversed its own stepping stone into the high Amarna style.

VIII. Tutankhamun: The Aftermath

Those writers who emphasize the revolutionary nature of Amarna art tend to see its termination being as abrupt as its inception. This, however, is not altogether factual. In fact three Pharaohs ruled between Akhenaten's supposed death and the rise of the military general and commoner, Haremheb, and the Amarna style made a gradual disappearance during that time. The first of these rulers was Smenkhkare, a son of Amenhotep III and half-brother to Akhenaten. As we saw in a relief (Figure #106), where Akhenaten and Smenkhkare sit on thrones and intimately converse, they were co-regents at Amarna for at least a few years, although it appears that "Smenkhare had gone to Thebes while Akhenaten remained at Amarna."¹⁴⁸ The validity of this claim does not concern us here, and it should suffice to say that it is known Smenkhkare ruled for a total of only three years and died at age nineteen. He married Meritaten, a daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, and, upon her death, married another daughter, Ankhesenpaaten.

Besides the aforementioned relief of Smenkhkare and Akhenaten, the only other existing artwork featuring Smenkhkare is a beautiful relief, seen in Figure #127, now in Berlin. Done in sunk relief on limestone, and bearing its original paint, it depicts Smenkhkare and his queen. That the relief is complete and not a fragment is evident in that the queen's garment extends around the stone's lower right edge. The piece reportedly came from Amarna, according to an 1899 report, but probably originates from the Memphis area. Obviously "Smenkhare resembled Akhenaten",¹⁴⁹ but the plump cheeks, small mouth and unarched neck differentiate him. His extended, thin limbs, slight paunch and rounded buttocks clearly indicate the work is in the Amarna style. By portraying the King with his left leg crossed behind his right, the artist has added a degree of depth beyond the sunk relief itself.

Smenkhkare's queen, her bare feet differentiated, offers a bouquet of two mandrakes and a lotus bud to him. The extreme distortion of her skull, emphasis on thighs, stomach, and buttocks are all in keeping with the Amarna style. Her long robe is transparent over her buttocks, an Amarna innovation, and is open in the front (yet the artist suggests frontal transparent drapery with a thin film of white paint). Her upraised arms counter those of Smenkhkare, which hang at his side, thus balancing the composition. "Indeed, the short jutting chin of this queen makes her identification as Meritaten virtually certain."¹⁵⁰

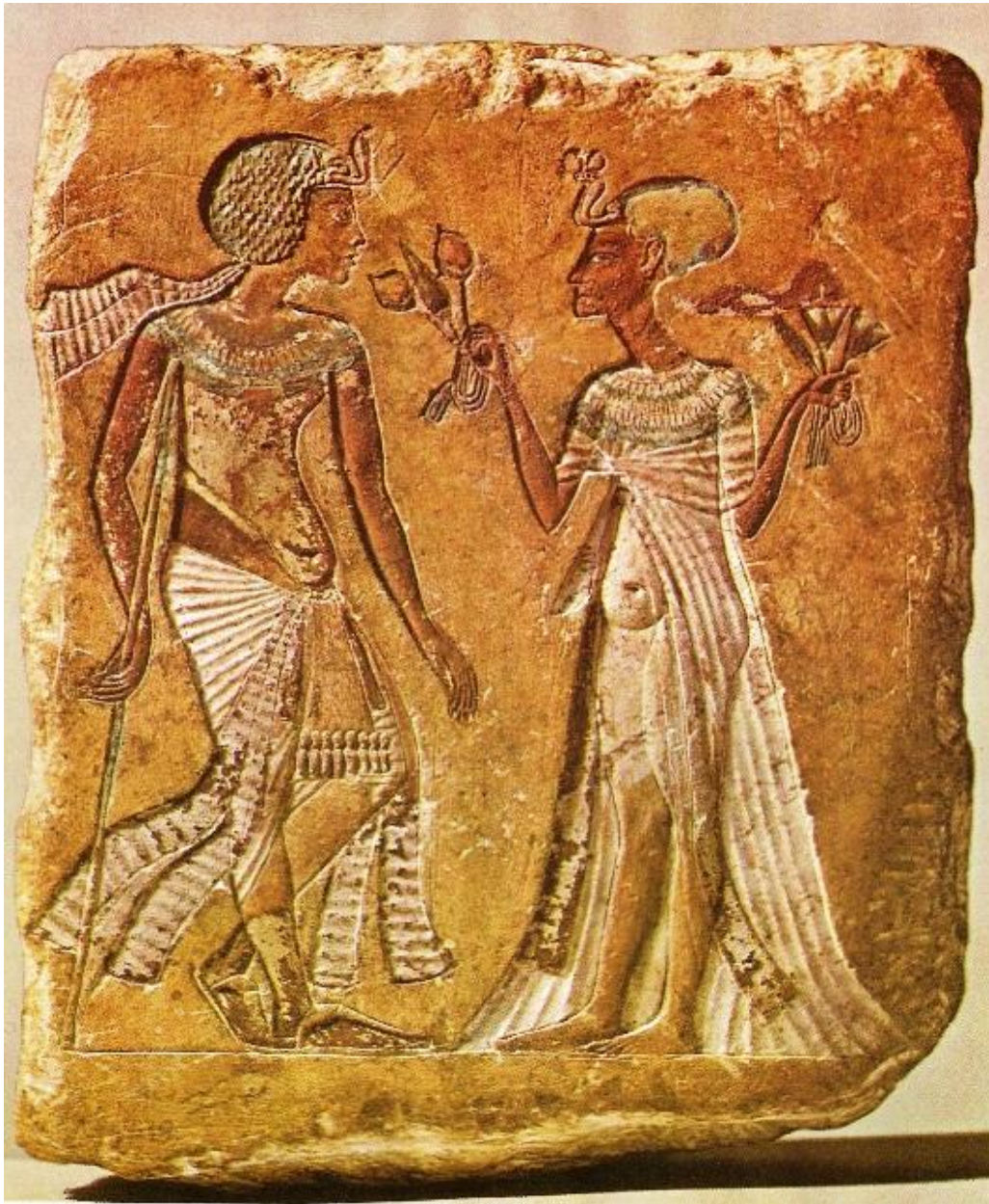


Figure #127

Upon Smenkhkare's supposed death, his brother Tutankhaten assumed the throne, married the widowed Ankhesenpaaten, and ruled for nine years until his death at age eighteen. Ankhesenpaaten was then twice his age. Tutankhaten was, because of his youth, almost entirely under the influence of Nefertiti's father, Ay, who served, however, as Vizier and not co-regent. It was Ay, then, who was responsible for moving the court back to Thebes, while abandoning

Amarna to ruin. With this return, Atenism was denied for a return to Amenism and, as a result, Tutankhaten's name became Tutankhamun, whose Theban tomb (Number 62) was discovered by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon in 1922.

It gives this writer a great deal of pleasure to have brought to light the Amarna art which preceded Tut, as the public who saw the 'Treasures of Tutankhamun' exhibition, when it toured the United States, left that exhibition relatively uninformed concerning the Amarna style and how it appeared in some of the tomb's artworks. It is likely that the works in Tut's tomb exhibiting the Amarna style were actually made at Amarna by Amarna craftsmen anticipating the boy's death.

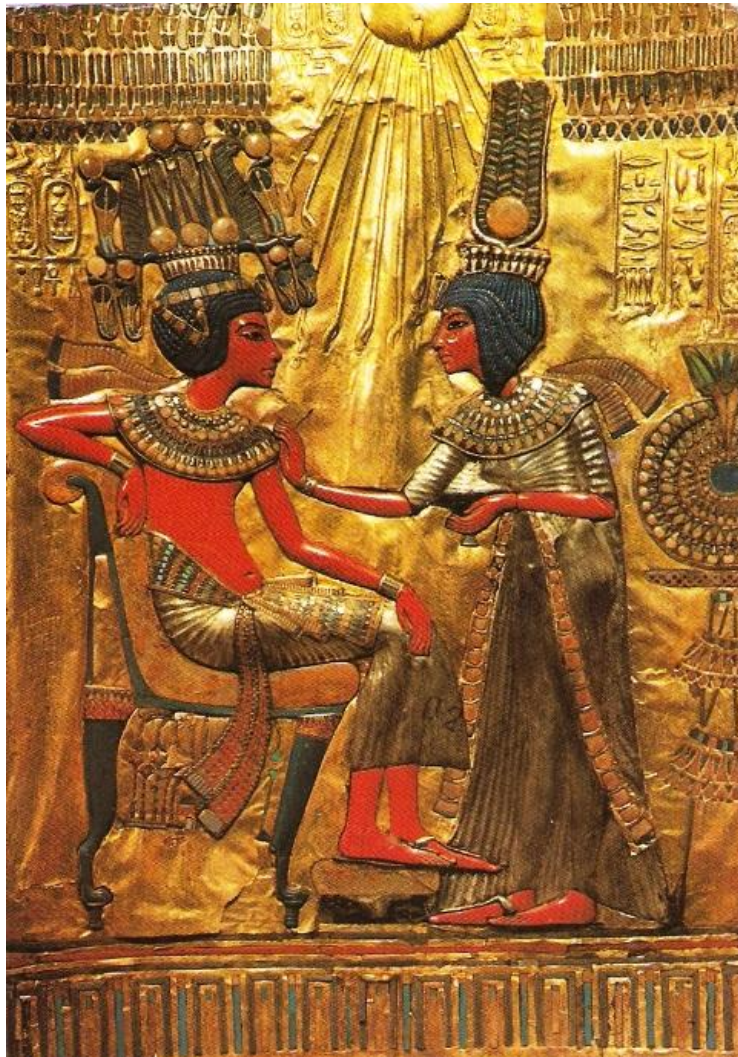


Figure #128

One beautiful example is the back of Tut's throne, seen in Figure #128. Its construction is wood, overlaid with gesso and gold and silver foil, inlaid with colored glass and faience. The name Tutankhaten appears on the armrests, while his new name is on the rear. The Aten and its rays protect Tut and Ankhesenpaaten, holding Ankhs to their nostrils. Tut slouches on a throne adorned with symbolic plants and his feet, clearly with five toes, rest on a hassock. Ankhesenpaaten touches his shoulder and offers him a drink. She wears an elaborate headdress, and her white gown is transparent over her buttocks. The scene can be placed in a class with the Amarna family icons, and Ankhesenpaaten is here "probably identified with the goddess 'The Great Enchantress.'"¹⁵¹ "His slack pose, the pronounced paunch and the domestic nature of the scene even on a state throne are wholly in the Amarna tradition."¹⁵²



Figure #129

Another vestige of Amarna art in Tut's tomb is in gold, from within the golden shrine. Again the scene is relaxed and informal, as seen in Figure #129. Tut is seated on a stool with his feet on a hassock. His limbs are much weightier than in the throne back, and his facial features are hardly distorted. Ankhesenpaaten, on the other hand, slouches and props an elbow on Tut's knee as he pours perfumed oil in her hand. Her transparent gown, ornate crown, and bared breast are Amarna elements, as is the nature of the scene itself. Obviously "one sees attempts to reconcile the classical canon with the more moderate aspects of the Amarna innovations."¹⁵³

A chair in Tut's tomb exhibits a worked gold-side which, along with the previous two works, represents the only known gold pieces to have survived from Amarna. Seen in Figure #130, the gilded design is that of an ibex, prone but chewing a branch. As the chair itself is quite small, it was probably made for Tut in his boyhood and exemplifies the Amarna period's partial preoccupation with wildlife, as discussed in the previous chapter.



Figure #130

The most obvious Amarna representation of Tut is the sculpted head seen in Figure #131. Carved in wood and painted, as was Tiye's, the head is that of Tut as an infant and resembles the carved head of Meritaten greatly (see Figure #110). The skull is elongated and deformed, and the folds of skin beneath the neck are accentuated (in this case as baby fat unlike Akhenaten's

wrinkles). As on Meritaten's head, the eyes are slanted back with the eyebrows as far as the ears. Again the right ear is curved and pierced. So close is this representation stylistically to that of Meritaten, that it probably originated in the same Amarna workshop. Here Tut's head emerges from a base, thus indicating it was not intended for a composite statue. The representation follows an early dynastic myth in which, at the creation of the universe, the lotus rose (a central image in T.S. Eliot's "Burnt Norton") and opened to reveal the young sun-god who dispelled darkness on the face of the waters.

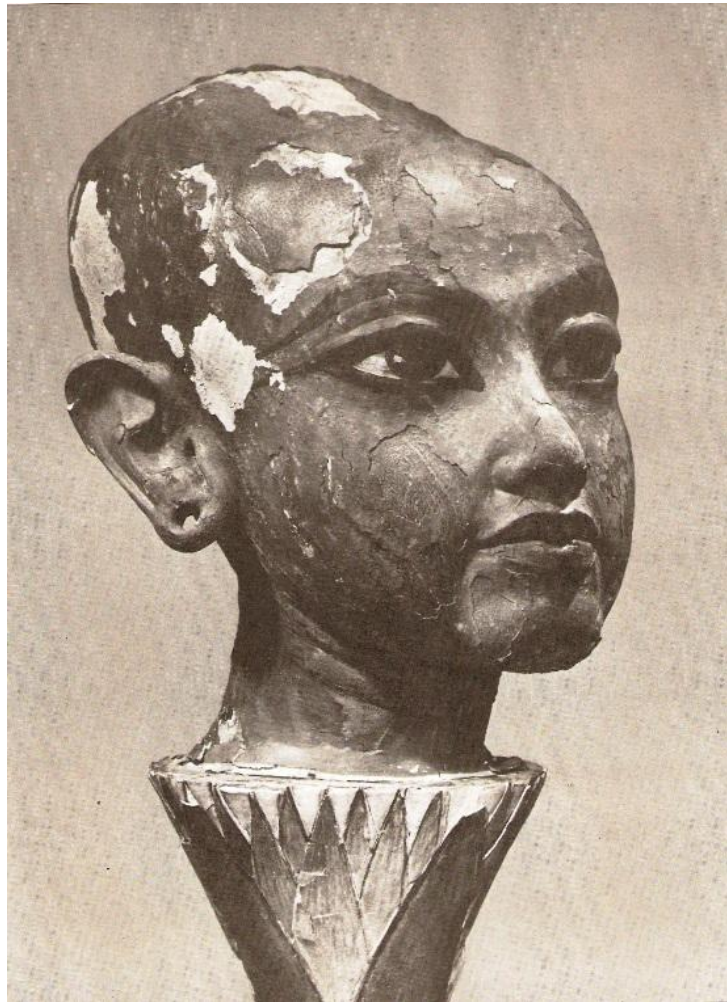


Figure #131

Unfortunately, that is the last of Amarna art as we know it unless, perhaps, archaeologists make significant new finds in the future. The remainder of Tut's tomb was filled with typically Osirian burial goods which reflect little of Amarna art, and certainly none of its religion. The

changeover is evident in Figure #132, from the lid of the large wooden chest. Ankhesenpaaten offers Tut a bouquet while he leans on a staff. The theme and pose is the same as the relief of Smenkhkare and Meritaten which we discussed at the beginning of the chapter. The differences are, of course, striking. Here Tut and his wife have resumed the more stiff poses and angularity of pre-Amarna art. The last trace of Amarna influence is in the Queen's partially transparent robe. Although well executed, one feels none of the vitality and naturalism of an Amarna work. "The fine restraint of gesture is reminiscent of the great period of New Kingdom painting,"¹⁵⁴ unlike the emotional naturalism under Akhenaten.

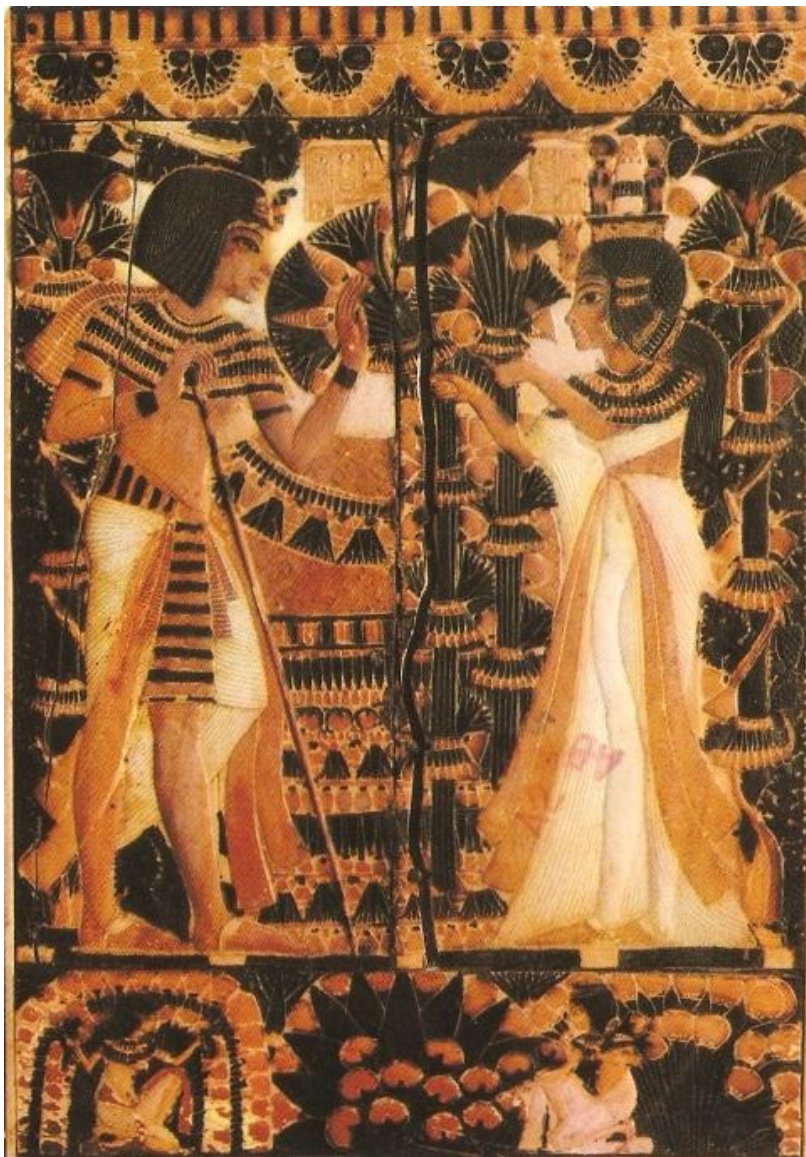


Figure #132

That the Aten religion had been given up is clear in Figure #133. These gilded wood statues are three of the four guardian goddesses of Tut's main canopic shrine. They stood at the shrine's corners. While they exhibit a graceful feminine beauty, their arms are rigid and their stares blank. They are not earthly, but members of the Osirian otherworldly pantheon, one being Isis. In contrast, "At Amarna the figure of Nefertiti takes the place of a goddess at the corner."¹⁵⁵ The remainder of the painting in Tut's tomb is, as in Figure #134, ridiculously crude and simplistic Osirian scenery in the pre-Amarna style. Tut's famed Osirian mummy mask (Figure #135) pales in contrast to the originality of the Karnak colossi of Akhenaten in this writer's opinion.

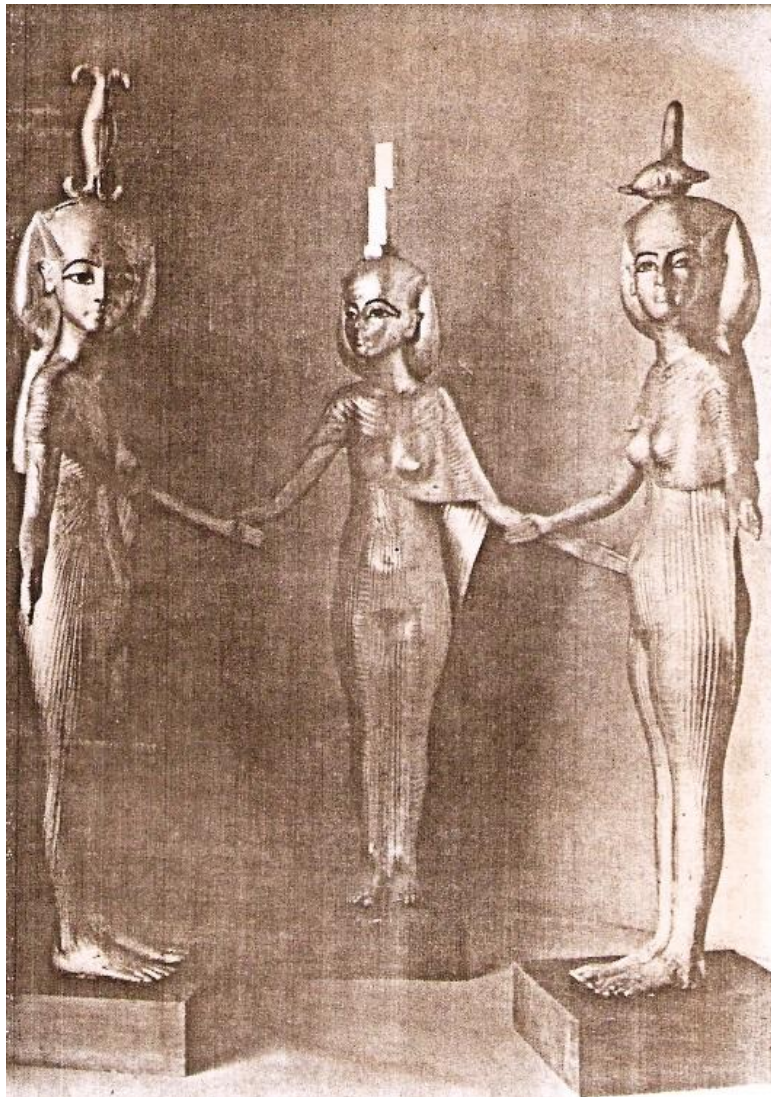


Figure #133

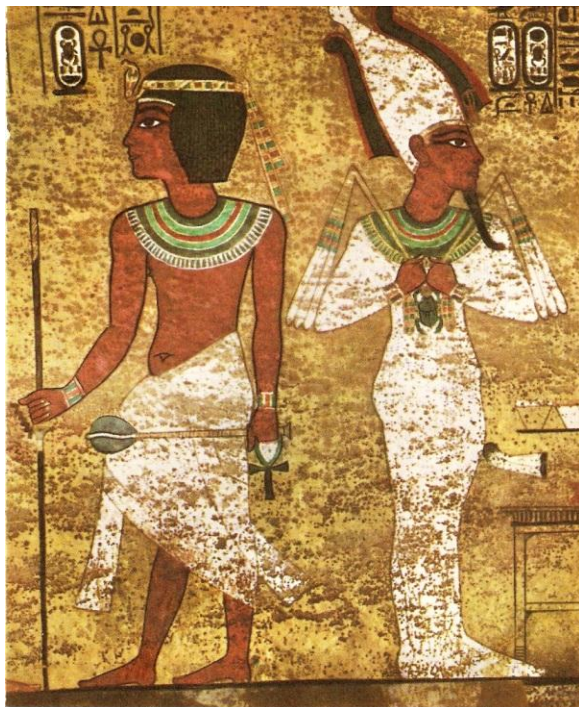


Figure #134



Figure #135

With the return of the capital to Thebes, and reversion to Amenism with Osirian funeral practices, Tut, via Ay, set about trying to recapture that military dominance which Egypt once held, and displayed this in art. He returned to chariot poses, as we saw in Figure #61. Likewise he had himself depicted as a lion on a granite statue at Soleb in the Sudan, directly across from an almost identical piece of Amenhotep III's. The idea was a "lion who stares ferociously at his enemies should they dare to cross his path",¹⁵⁶ a far cry from the Amarna family scenes and the Aten who equally shone in the "land of Syria and Nubia, and Egypt",¹⁵⁷ as expressed in the 'Hymn to the Aten'.



Figure #136

Ay, upon his rising to the throne, probably was responsible for the first outbreaks of iconoclastic fury directed at Amarna art—both its personages and its religious message. But Haremheb was the true criminal in this respect. Haremheb was not a nobleman (literally, and by class) and had served as a military general under both Akhenaten and Tut. His rule was assured when legitimized by the anti-Atenistic Theban priesthood. “As a matter of fact, as soon as his government was in working order he set about energetically to restore the temples and their priesthoods to their former condition of wealth and power”.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, he razed the Aten temples at Karnak, the temple to Nefertiti, and much of the city of Amarna. Amarna art was sought out and destroyed or horribly defaced, as Figure #136 attests, and we are lucky that any pieces have survived. Haremheb went so far as to have Akhenaten’s, Smenkhkare’s, Tut’s, and Ay’s names removed from all existing monuments. He considered himself “the direct successor of Amenhotep III”.¹⁵⁹ During his reign, and into the Nineteenth (Ramesside) Dynasty, people were forbidden to speak of Akhenaten by name. When Akhenaten was mentioned, he was referred to only as “that criminal of Akhetaten”.¹⁶⁰

IX. Conclusions

Despite the complete re-establishment of the pre-Amarna artistic canon in Ramesside times, i.e. in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the furthered destruction of Amarna artworks, this destruction was vented only upon the symbolic message inherent in Amarna works. The canon of Amenhotep III was a specifically Theban theological guideline and necessitated adherence. The reversion from Atenism to Amenism implied a return to the old artistic style as well as subject matter along the lines of the Osirian afterlife (and in secular scenes of the warrior Pharaoh). Yet artistic freedoms taken at Amarna were infused in the Egyptian psyche and subtly showed themselves. There was, for example, a “propensity for genre scenes which developed more and more in XIX Dynasty art”,¹⁶¹ probably due to Amarna. Furthermore, there were “lingering traces of the Amarna revolution particularly in the shapes given heads, increasing signs of hasty execution (but with considerable virtuosity in rendering features), bright colors indicative of the ostentation and sumptuous living of the imperial period, fondness for the picturesque in genre scenes, and the use of yellow grounds.”¹⁶² These freedoms saw their inception in pre-Amarna, Theban art, however, thus suggesting an evolution of style which Amarna artists exploited for theological purposes.

Other features of Amarna art were clearly indigenous, expedient and true innovations, e.g. the use of inlays and composite statues. Likewise, the hard Amarna stone, which necessitated sunk relief with its light and shade, carried over into wall painting. Thus “we may see from the remains of their wall decorations that the artists of the city of Khut-Aten made one great step in advance, that is to say, they introduced shading into their painting, and it is greatly to be regretted that it was retraced later; it was only during the reign of Amen-hetep IV.”¹⁶³

The remainder of (actually the majority of) Amarna artistic characteristics were strictly theological. The elongated skull, pointed chin, long thin neck, protruding stomach, large thighs and hips, and horizontal navel were all indicative of the Aten’s elect. The reasons for such a style can be found only in Amarna theological thought. The Amarna difference is simple. All pre-Amarna and Theban tombs (the pyramids included) are located on the west bank of the Nile, i.e. the side where the sun sets, the side of death. The city of Amarna not only included its artists’ workshops within the city, but all of its tombs on the outskirts. Amarna, as we know, was

located on the East bank—the side of life. This presents a striking psychological difference. Whereas Theban tombs showed men performing their professional duties in the afterlife, Amarna tombs were more of a memorial, stressing a re-creation of earthly accomplishments during one's life. We are speaking here of the difference between a cult of the living and a cult of the dead. "This is the real revolutionary character of Amarna art, that it substitutes a visual representation of things as they appear for the former intellectual symbolizing of things as they were known to exist"¹⁶⁴ in another world.

The "constant fear of failure of the Nile flood, or even of too sparse a flood, drove the Egyptians to the most lavish death cult of the Stone and Bronze Ages,"¹⁶⁵ excepting, perhaps, the Aztecs. In Jungian psychological terms, Osirian faith hinged on a fear of the devouring aspect of the earth mother, as opposed to her 'good' side of life-giving fertility. "How are we to explain the similarity of the processions in the Theban tombs and the Palace of Knossos except as proving the close connection between certain religious ideas?"¹⁶⁶ The most recent scholarship has proved conclusively that Minoan Crete was a death cult. But "Amarna art in the integration of its compositions betrays the same mental processes that in the sphere of religious thought brought about a simpler eschatology, a more joyous acceptance of the natural world, and a more rational belief in a universal sole god."¹⁶⁷ In tomb art the Aten is always shown rising, never setting.

Amenhotep III made efforts to cite an archaic tomb as that of Osiris and make it a pilgrimage center. On the other hand, Akhenaten, seeking a place to build Amarna, "was obsessed with the idea of finding 'the place of origin' where the Aten had first manifested itself at the creation of the world."¹⁶⁸ He sought, in Mircea Eliade's terminology, the primeval axis mundi. There, as Akhenaten's 'Hymn to the Aten' indicates, "O thou Aten, who hadst thine existence in primeval time...Thou dist create the earth at thy will when thou didst exist by thyself..."¹⁶⁹ "O thou who art in thine Egg."¹⁷⁰ Akhenaten, in so doing, had returned to the notion of the "re-creation of the universe with the rebirth of the Aten at each daybreak,"¹⁷¹ which resembled the early agrarian cults who pictured the soul leaving the tomb each daybreak as a bird (whereas the Osirian paradise was eternal once achieved). "Powerful gnocracies distinguished this civilization in which the Great Goddess was worshipped in her many forms in Egypt,"¹⁷² in contrast to the death goddesses (Isis, etc.) of the Osirian faith.

Thus Akhenaten raised Nefertiti to the position of a mother goddess, representative of the primeval Aten's fertility power in the act of creating the universe. Akhenaten hails the Aten in this respect:

Thou makest male seed to enter into women,
and thou causest the liquid seed to become
a human being. Thou makest him to
keep silent so that he cry not, and thou
art a nurse to him in the womb. Thou
givest breath that it may vivify every
part of his being. When he goeth forth
from the belly, on the day wherein he is
born, thou openest his mouth that he may
speak, and thou providest for him whatsoever
is necessary. When the chick is in the egg,
and is making a sound within the shell,
thou givest it air inside so that it may
keep alive. Thou bringest it to perfection
so that it may split the eggshell,
and it is a perfect chick, and as soon
as it hath come forth therefrom it runneth
about on its feet. How many are the
things which thou hast created.”¹⁷³

Likewise, “Thou turnest thy face towards the underworld, and thou makest the earth to shine like fine copper. The dead rise up to see thee, they breath the air and they look upon thy face when Aten shineth in the horizon.”¹⁷⁴

This explains the Aten's offering of Ankhs, the breath of life, to the King and his Queen. It also explains Nefertiti's role as a fertility goddess. The primeval Aten was not differentiated. It included the feminine as well as the masculine in a unity, a uroboric state. Akhenaten, as the Aten's representative, had to reflect that perfection. Thus he was depicted as a hermaphrodite in

the Karnak colossi. Thus Nefertiti, as the feminine element, “alone makes offerings to the Aten on a par with the King, and on one occasion she sits on a royal stool while he is content with a simple one.”¹⁷⁵ Thus her Venus bodily shape was emphasized by transparent robes.

Akhenaten’s philosophy of life was Ankh-em-Maat, or ‘living in truth.’ “The emphasis that Amenhotep IV put upon Ankh-em-Maat may indicate that he was reviving the ideas of a much earlier age.”¹⁷⁶ This was the basis for Amarna artists as well. In place of the old canon, Maat was introduced. And “maat, in the Amarna contexts, refers to that harmonious, well regulated cosmic order that was established at the beginning of creation.”¹⁷⁷ With this in mind, it appears that he had reverted to an extremely old canon indeed. Maat existed in illo tempore.

Furthermore, this primeval uroboric state of Maat contained a harmony of good and evil, in that they were undifferentiated. Thus, while the Osirian Pharaohs symbolically defeated evil in hunt scenes, Atenism did not recognize evil or the devouring earth mother, and such scenes of Akhenaten are lacking.

Akhenaten’s beliefs can thus be re-constructed. In the terminology of the anthropologist Anthony Wallace, his was a religious revitalization movement. It can be described in terms used by Jungian psychology. Akhenaten reacted against the high, patriarchal, conscious striving, militaristic Theban warrior Pharaohs, who stressed the Osirian death cult in order to deal with the devouring matriarchal, or unconscious. Akhenaten committed uroboric incest in that he retired into the primeval state where consciousness has yet to emerge from the unconscious, male and female are one, and life and death are one. This primeval existence was seen as residing in Amarna, the axis mundi. He sought a reversion to the Re kinship of Pharaohs, dating from the times of pre-patriarchal consciousness when a good mother goddess was acknowledged. To do this he drew upon the pre-Theban Heliopolitan tradition, and wore the crown of Lower Egypt (i.e. Heliopolis). (“Now Heliopolis is the ancient ‘On’, where Moses learnt all ‘the wisdom of the Egyptians’”,¹⁷⁸ ...but this connection must be ruled out, as Yahwehism was initially a high patriarchal militaristic consciousness).

In order to bring about the uroboric reversion, the feminine element had to be raised as a symbol, and Nefertiti, as the good mother goddess, becomes prominent. Likewise, Akhenaten

appears as a hermaphroditic symbol of the androgynous monotheism which recognizes one god in whom are contained the World Parents. (The hermaphroditic representation was symbolic, and not attributable to actual genetic or glandular disorders, or the possible incompetence of Akhenaten's sculptors). This is the self protective and therapeutic course man's psyche takes when it becomes imbalanced towards the side of rational consciousness and must re-balance itself. In Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt this situation arose due to excessive political striving and expansionism. Amarna religion, and its artistic manifestations, was an attempt to remedy that psychological imbalance symbolically, by retiring into the uroboric unconscious and re-activating the feminine side.

We might here equate our dilemma in the Twentieth Century A.D. With the rational mind running rampant, deploying its technological means of potential disaster for the human race, man is thrown back upon himself for a little soul searching. We have guided missiles and psychologically misguided men. It is no surprise then, that, following World War II, we saw the following events: Robert Graves published The White Goddess in 1946, Erich Neumann published The Origins and History of Consciousness in 1949, the Catholic Church accepted the Assumptio Mariae doctrine in 1950 (thus rounding out the Trinity into a quaternity by the addition of a feminine element), Carl Jung published Answer to Job in 1951, and Neumann returned with The Great Mother in 1952. The recent feminist movement is a psychological projection of this crisis in which a current Jungian author may say, "Androgynous monotheism, it seems to me, is a better religious alternative in the Western context."¹⁷⁹

Endnotes

-
- ¹ Baikie, James. The Amarna Age: A Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World. New York, Macmillan Co., 1926. P. 19.
- ² Weigall, Arthur. The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923. P. 62
- ³ Aldred, Cyril. Akhenaten and Nefertiti. New York, Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press, 1973. P. 26.
- ⁴ Burgin, Hans and Mayer, Hans-Otto. Thomas Mann A Chronicle of his Life. The University of Alabama Press, 1965.
- ⁵ Jung, C.G. Memories, Dreams, Reflections. New York, Random House, 1965. P. 157
- ⁶ Westendorf, Wolfhart. Painting, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968. P. 2.
- ⁷ Schafer, Heinrich. Principles of Egyptian Art. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974. P. 60.
- ⁸ Aldred, C. New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt: During the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1570 to 1320 B.C. London, Alec Tiranti, 1961. P. 136.
- ⁹ Mekhitarian, Arpag. Egyptian Painting. New York, Skira, 1954. P. 34.
- ¹⁰ Lloyd, Seton. The Art Of the Ancient Near East. London, Thames and Hudson, 1965. P. 179.
- ¹¹ Mekhitarian. P. 34.
- ¹² Lloyd. P. 179.
- ¹³ Yoyotte, Jean. Treasures of the Pharaohs. Geneva, Skira, 1968. P. 80.
- ¹⁴ Lloyd. P. 161.
- ¹⁵ Westendorf. P. 114.
- ¹⁶ Schafer. P. 292.
- ¹⁷ Aldred, 1973. P. 53.
- ¹⁸ Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972. P. 37 (both). Aldred, 1973. P. 16.
- ¹⁹ Aldred, 1973. P. 34.

-
- ²⁰ Mekhitarian, Arpag. Egyptian Painting. New York, Skira, 1954. P. 117.
- ²¹ Mekhitarian. P. 130.
- ²² Aldred, 1961. P. 20.
- ²³ Westendorf. P. 330.
- ²⁴ Ibid. P. 330.
- ²⁵ Aldred, 1973. P. 25.
- ²⁶ Davies, N. DeGaris. "Mural Paintings in the City of Akhetaten". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. VII. (London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1921) . I, P. 46. Aldred, 1973. P. 76.
- ²⁷ Aldred, 1961. P. 123.
- ²⁸ Ibid. P. 54.
- ²⁹ Brandon, S.G.F. "Akhnaten: The Heretic King of Egypt". History Today. Vol. 12, No. 9 (September, 1962). Pp. 625. Weigall. P. 60.
- ³⁰ Weigall. P. 84.
- ³¹ Aldred, 1973. P. 50. Aldred, C. Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study. New York, McGraw Hill, 1968. P. 124.
- ³² Weigall. (Both).
- ³³ Aldred, 1973. P. 18.
- ³⁴ Ibid. P. 99.
- ³⁵ Aldred, 1968. P. 124.
- ³⁶ Aldred, 1973. P. 51.
- ³⁷ Smith, Ray Winfield. "Computer Helps Scholars Recreate an Egyptian Temple". National Geographic, Vol. 138, No. 5 (November, 1970). P. 650.
- ³⁸ Aldred, 1973. P. 48.
- ³⁹ Ibid. P. 51.

-
- ⁴⁰ Brandon. P. 629.
- ⁴¹ Aldred, 1973. P. 53.
- ⁴² Smith. P. 650.
- ⁴³ Aldred, 1973. P. 64.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 54.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid. P. 54.
- ⁴⁷ Wilson, John A “Akhenaten and Nefertiti” Journal of Near Eastern-Studies. Vol. 32 (January-April, 1973). P. 236.
- ⁴⁸ Aldred, 1973. P. 73.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid. P. 79.
- ⁵⁰ Baikie. P. 125.
- ⁵¹ Westendorf. P. 12.
- ⁵² Aldred, 1973. P. 94.
- ⁵³ Ibid. P. 52.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 52.
- ⁵⁵ Westendorf. P. 157.
- ⁵⁶ Liverani, Mario. Three Amarna Essays. Malibu, California, Undena Publications, 1979.
- ⁵⁷ Aldred, 1973. P. 12.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 67.
- ⁵⁹ Aldred. P. 68.
- ⁶⁰ Aldred, 1973. P. 133.
- ⁶¹ Ibid. P. 99.

-
- ⁶² Aldred, 1968. P. 58.
- ⁶³ Wilson. P. 240.
- ⁶⁴ Aldred, 1973. P. 54.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid. P. 111.
- ⁶⁶ Wilson. P. 238.
- ⁶⁷ Weigall. P. 116.
- ⁶⁸ Aldred, 1973. P. 25.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 20.
- ⁷⁰ Wilson. P. 237.
- ⁷¹ Smith. P. 648.
- ⁷² Wilson. P. 237.
- ⁷³ Smith. P. 648.
- ⁷⁴ Wilson. P. 239.
- ⁷⁵ Smith. P. 648.
- ⁷⁶ Wilson. P. 238.
- ⁷⁷ Aldred, 1973. P. 73.
- ⁷⁸ Wilson. P. 238.
- ⁷⁹ Aldred, 1973. P. 116.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 116.
- ⁸¹ Ibid. P. 116.
- ⁸² Ibid. P. 108.
- ⁸³ Ibid. P. 20.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 108.

-
- ⁸⁵ Wilson. P. 238.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 241.
- ⁸⁷ Aldred, 1973. P. 197.
- ⁸⁸ Wilson. P. 238.
- ⁸⁹ Mekhitarian. P. 120.
- ⁹⁰ Aldred, 1961. P. 188.
- ⁹¹ Aldred, 1973. P. 68.
- ⁹² Ibid. P. 67.
- ⁹³ Ibid. P. 47.
- ⁹⁴ Fazzini, R. A. Art from the Age of Akhenaten. New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1973.
- ⁹⁵ Smith. P. 648.
- ⁹⁶ Aldred, 1973. P. 134.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid. P. 134.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid. P. 134.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid. P. 102.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid. P. 102.
- ¹⁰¹ Bosse-Griffiths, Kate. "A Beset Amulet from the Amarna Period". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 63 (1977). P. 102.
- ¹⁰² Ibid. P. 102.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid. P. 101.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid. P. 104.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 102.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 98.

-
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid. P. 101.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid. P. 100.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid. P. 101.
- ¹¹⁰ Budge, E.A.W. The Gods of the Egyptians: Studies in Egyptian Mythology, Volume II. New York, Dover, (1904), 1969. P. 171.
- ¹¹¹ Wilson. P. 238.
- ¹¹² Aldred, 1968. P. 224.
- ¹¹³ Singer, June. Androgyny. New York, Doubleday, 1976. P. 80.
- ¹¹⁴ Aldred, 1973. P. 69.
- ¹¹⁵ Fazzini. P. 18.
- ¹¹⁶ Bosse-Griffiths. P. 105.
- ¹¹⁷ Kitchen, K. A. Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs: A Study in Relative Chronology. Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, 1962. P. 9.
- ¹¹⁸ Aldred, 1968. P. 224.
- ¹¹⁹ Aldred, 1973. P. 55.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid. P. 38.
- ¹²¹ Ibid. P. 184.
- ¹²² Ibid. P. 184.
- ¹²³ Ibid. P. 184.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid. P. 185.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid. P. 160.
- ¹²⁶ Wenig, Steffen. The Woman in Egyptian Art. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969. P. 140.
- ¹²⁷ Aldred, 1973. Pp. 76-77.
- ¹²⁸ Lloyd. P. 180.

-
- ¹²⁹ Aldred, 1973. P. 73.
- ¹³⁰ Schafer. P. 165.
- ¹³¹ Fazzini. P. 19.
- ¹³² Aldred, 1973. P. 138.
- ¹³³ Budge, (1904), 1969. P. 76.
- ¹³⁴ Aldred, 1973. P. 71.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid. P. 207.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid. P. 212.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid. P. 213.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid. P. 213.
- ¹³⁹ Westendorf. P. 133.
- ¹⁴⁰ Aldred, 1973. P. 207.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid. P. 77.
- ¹⁴² Murray, Margaret Alice. Egyptian Sculpture. London, Duckworth, 1930. P. 133.
- ¹⁴³ Higgins, Reynold. Minoan and Mycenaean Art. New York, Oxford University Press, 1967. P. 151.
- ¹⁴⁴ Aldred, 1973. P. 24.
- ¹⁴⁵ Baikie. P. 300.
- ¹⁴⁶ Wunderlich, Hans Georg. The Secret of Crete. New York, Macmillan, 1974. P. 176.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 237
- ¹⁴⁸ Kitchen. P. 7.
- ¹⁴⁹ Aldred, 1973. P. 41.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid. P. 188.
- ¹⁵¹ Ibid. P. 68.

-
- ¹⁵² Aldred, 1961. P. 77.
- ¹⁵³ Mekhitarian. P. 170.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 126.
- ¹⁵⁵ Wilson. P. 239.
- ¹⁵⁶ Westendorf. P. 108.
- ¹⁵⁷ Budge, (1904), 1969. P. 77.
- ¹⁵⁸ Axon, Gordon V. "The Heretic". Contemporary Review. Vol. 215, No. 1242 (July, 1969). P. 99.
- ¹⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 108.
- ¹⁶⁰ Breasted, James Henry. The Dawn of Conscience. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1954. P. 402.
- ¹⁶¹ Mekhitarian. P. 129.
- ¹⁶² Ibid. Intro.
- ¹⁶³ Budge, (1904), 1969. P. 80.
- ¹⁶⁴ Aldred, 1973. P. 26.
- ¹⁶⁵ Wunderlich. P. 207.
- ¹⁶⁶ Neumann, Erich. The Great Mother. Princeton, Princeton/ Bollingen, 1952. P. 179.
- ¹⁶⁷ Aldred, 1973. P. 79.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 1973. P. 22.
- ¹⁶⁹ Budge, (1904), 1969. Pp. 75-77.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 69.
- ¹⁷¹ Aldred, 1961. P. 191.
- ¹⁷² Singer. P. 52.
- ¹⁷³ Budge, (1904), 1969. Pp. 76-77.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. P. 69.

¹⁷⁵ Aldred, 1973. P. 20.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. P. 18.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. Pp. 12-13.

¹⁷⁸ Weigall. P. 42.

¹⁷⁹ Singer. P. 77.

Figure Sources

1. Bratton, Fred Gladstone. The First Heretic: The Life and Times of Ikhnaton the King. Boston, Beacon Press, 196, p. 9.
2. Figure by the author.
3. Figure by the author.
4. Woldering, Irmgard. The Art of Egypt. New York, Greystone Press, 1963, pl. 27, p. 91.
5. Lloyd, Seton. The Art Of the Ancient Near East. London, Thames and Hudson, 1965, p1. 141, p. 179; Lange, Kurt and Hiriner, Max. Egypt Architecture, Sculpture, Painting. Greenwich, Connecticut, Phaidon Publishers, 1961, pl. 147.
6. Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane. Egyptian Wall Paintings from Tombs and Temples. New York, Mentor, 1962, pl. 10.
7. Ibid., pl. 9.
8. Photo courtesy of the British Museum, London.
9. Mekhitarian, Arpag. Egyptian Painting. New York, Skira, 1954, p. 33; Woldering, pl. 29, p. 93; Wenig, Steffen. The Woman in Egyptian Art. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969, pl. 38; Desroches-Noblecourt, pl. 8.
10. Lloyd, p1. 123, pp. 160-161; Westendorf, Wolfhart. Painting, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968, pp. 114-115.
11. Aldred, C. New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt: During the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1570 to 1320 B.C. London, Alec Tiranti, 1961, pl. VI, p. 52.
12. Mekhitarian, p. 70.
13. Westendorf, Wolfhart. Painting, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968, Fig. 20, p. 330.
14. Lange, Kurt and Hiriner, Max. Egypt Architecture, Sculpture, Painting. Greenwich, Connecticut, Phaidon Publishers, 1961, pl. 164; Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972, pl. V.
15. Ibid., pl. 164; Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972, pl. V.

-
16. Mekhitarian, p. 115; Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972, cover.
 17. Smith, W. S. The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1958, pl. 112.
 18. Mekhitarian, p. 130.
 19. Desroches-Noblecourt, pl. 17; Smith, W. S., pl. 145.
 20. Westendorf, p. 176.
 21. Aldred, 1961, pl. 42, p. 122; Aldred, Cyril. Akhenaten and Nefertiti. New York, Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press, 1973, fig. 16, p. 34.
 22. Ibid., pl. 43, p. 123; Aldred, Cyril. Akhenaten and Nefertiti. New York, Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press, 1973, fig. 17, p. 35.
 23. Lange, pl. 152.
 24. Aldred, Cyril. Akhenaten and Nefertiti. New York, Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press, 1973, fig. 3, p. 10; Aldred, C. Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study. New York, McGraw Hill, 1968, pl. 80.
 25. Davies, N. DeGaris. The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. London, Egyptian Exploration Society Fund, 1903. Vol. IV, p. XV.
 26. Aldred, 1973, fig. 13, p. 33.
 27. Redford, Donald B. "Reconstructing the Temples of a Heretical Pharaoh". Archaeology. Vol. 28 (January, 1975), p. 17.
 28. Aldred, C. Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study. New York, McGraw Hill, 1968, fig. 45, p. 124; Aldred, 1973, fig. 30, pp. 50-51.
 29. Redford, p. 22.
 30. Aldred, 1973, fig. 13, p. 99 (one of five such representations).
 31. Aldred, 1968, fig. 46, p. 124.
 32. Smith, Ray Winfield. "Computer Helps Scholars Recreate an Egyptian Temple". National Geographic, Vol. 138, No. 5 (November, 1970), p. 643.
 33. Photo courtesy of the Cairo Museum (Aldred, 1968, pl. 107, p. 183; Mekhitarian, p. 100).

-
34. Aldred, 1973, fig. 5, p. 29; Aldred, 1968, pl. 108.
35. Schafer, Heinrich. Principles of Egyptian Art. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974, pl. 73.
36. Ibid., pl. 74.
37. Ibid., pl. 75.
38. Aldred, 1973, fig. 104, p. 177
39. Ibid., pl. 58, p. 132.
40. Ibid., pl. 147, p. 209.
41. Photos courtesy of Brooklyn Museum (inner), Metropolitan Museum (outer).
42. Murray, Margaret Alice. Egyptian Sculpture. London, Duckworth, 1930, pl. 33, p. 135.
43. Giles, F. J. Ikhnaton: Legend and History. London, Hutchinson, 1970, pl. 11 (right); Aldred, 1973, fig. 28, p. 47 (left).
44. Woldering, pl. 39, p. 135; Smith, W. S., pl. 134.
45. Aldred, 1973, fig. 108; Smith, W. S. pl. 135.
46. Photo by the author, Munich.
47. Photo by the author, Munich.
48. Aldred, 1973, fig. 95, p. 167; Giles, pl. 1.
49. Westendorf, p. 105.
50. Weigall, Arthur. The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923, p. 64.
51. Photo courtesy of the Louvre, Paris.
52. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
53. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
54. Photo by the author, Munich (also, Aldred, 1973, fig. 7 (partial), p. 94).

-
55. Aldred, 1961, pl. 47, p. 125 (left); Westendorf, p. 138 (right) (also, Aldred, 1973, fig. 33, p. 56).
56. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
57. Schafer, fig. 233, p. 221.
58. Ibid., fig. 174, p. 180.
59. Westendorf, p. 129
60. Ibid., p. 122; Lange, pl. 56, p. 141.
61. Mekhitarian., p. 118; Westendorf, p. 157.
62. Smith, Ray Winfield, pp. 654-655.
63. Davies, N. DeGaris. "Mural Paintings in the City of Akhetaten". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. VII. (London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1921), vol. II.
64. Westendorf, p. 24.
65. Lange, pl. 136.
66. Westendorf, p. 169.
67. Borchardt, Ludwig. "Excavations at Tell-El-Amarna, Egypt, in 1913-1914". Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1915, pl. 10, p. 457.
68. Aldred, 1973, pl. 57.
69. Lloyd, fig. 144, p. 182; Woldering, pl. 38, p. 134.
70. Wenig, Steffen. The Woman in Egyptian Art. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969, pl. 62.
71. Woldering, pl. 36, p. 132; Aldred, 1961, fig. 21; Wenig, pl. 59.
72. Aldred, 1973, fig. 99, pp. 87, 171; Baikie, James. The Amarna Age: A Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World. New York, Macmillan Co., 1926, p. 257.
73. Murray, pl. 2, p. 5.
74. Photo by the author, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (also, Aldred, 1973, fig. 50, p. 128).

-
75. Kozloff, Arielle P. "Nefertiti, Beloved of the Living Disk". The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art for November 1977. Vol. LXIV, No. 9 (Nov., 1977), cover.
 76. Aldred, 1973, fig. 25, p. 83.
 77. Photo by the author, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 78. Smith, Ray Winfield, p. 647.
 79. Photo by the author, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 80. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 81. Aldred, 1973, fig. 22; Wenig, pl. 63.
 82. Ibid., fig. 22B, p. 108.
 83. Woldering, pl. 1, p. 17.
 84. Photo by the author, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
 85. Aldred, 1973, fig. 130, p. 197.
 86. Schafer, pl. 107.
 87. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum
 88. Aldred, 1973, p. 164.
 89. Davies, 1903, vol. V.
 90. Aldred, 1968, p. 225.
 91. Ibid., p. 232; Aldred, 1973, fig. 38, p. 62 (detail).
 92. Fisher, Henry G., and Terrace, Edward L.B. Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970, p. 127.
 93. Aldred, 1973, pl. 56, p. 134.
 94. Ibid., pl. 53, p. 134.
 95. Wenig, pl. 57; Aldred, 1968, fig. 54, p. 128; Aldred, 1961, fig. 16, p. 102; Lloyd, fig. 146, p. 184.

-
96. Photo courtesy of the Heraklion Museum, Crete.
97. Giles, pp. 210-211; Aldred, 1968, p. 225 (detail).
98. Aldred, 1968, p. 224.
99. Baikie, James. The Amarna Age: A Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World. New York, Macmillan Co., 1926, pl. XIX, p. 272.
100. Wenig, pl. 66.
101. Aldred, 1973, fig. 90, p. 162.
102. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
103. Mekhitarian, p. 116; Wenig, pl. 58.
104. Davies, 1903; Aldred, 1973, p. 39.
105. Photo by the author, Vienna.
106. Aldred, 1973, fig. 114, p. 184.
107. Ibid., fig. 44, p. 66.
108. Ibid., pl. 116, p. 185.
109. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.
110. Aldred, 1973, pl. 88 (also p. 60).
111. Ibid., fig. 88B, p. 160; Wenig, pl. 70.
112. Aldred, 1968, fig. 87, pl. 184.
113. Mekhitarian, p. 71.
114. Lloyd, fig. 145, p. 183.
115. Photo courtesy of the British Museum, London.
116. Baikie, pl. XVIII, p. 269.
117. Schafer, p. 165.

-
118. Aldred, 1973, p. 129; Aldred, 1961, pl. 95.
119. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.
120. Aldred, 1973, fig. 151, p. 212.
121. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.
122. Westendorf, p. 133; Aldred, 1973, fig. 153, p. 213.
123. Schafer, fig. 172, p. 179.
124. Woldering, pl. 28.
125. Mekhitarian, p. 105; Aldred, 1961, pl. 62.
126. Photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
127. Woldering, pl. 131, p. 111; Wenig, pl. 67; Aldred, 1961, p. 76; Aldred, 1973, fig. 120, pl. 189, p. 188.
128. Aldred, 1961, p. 77; Woldering, pl. 132, p. 112.
129. Edwards, J.E.S. Treasures of Tutankhamon. New York, Ballantine Books, 1976, pl. 9.
130. Ibid., pl. 6.
131. Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972, fig. 15, p. 26.
132. Mekhitarian, p. 119.
133. Aldred, 1961, pl. 157.
134. Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane. Egyptian Wall Paintings from Tombs and Temples. New York, Mentor, 1962, pl. 16.
135. Woldering, pl. 45, p. 141.
136. Bratton, p. 80.

Bibliography

- Aldred, Cyril. Akhenaten and Nefertiti. New York, Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press, 1973.
- Aldred, C. Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study. New York, McGraw Hill, 1968.
- Aldred, C. New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt: During the Eighteenth Dynasty, 1570 to 1320 B.C. London, Alec Tiranti, 1961.
- Aldred, C. Tutankhamun's Egypt. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- Axon, Gordon V. "The Heretic". Contemporary Review. Vol. 215, No. 1242 (July, 1969). Pp. 34-36.
- Bachofen, J. J. Myth, Religion and Mother Right. Princeton/Bollingen, 1967.
- Baikie, James. The Amarna Age: A Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World. New York, Macmillan Co., 1926.
- Borchardt, Ludwig. "Excavations at Tell-El-Amarna, Egypt, in 1913-1914". Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1915. Pp. 445-446.
- Bosse-Griffiths, Kate. "A Beset Amulet from the Amarna Period". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 63 (1977). Pp. 98-106.
- Brandon, S.G.F. "Akhnaten: The Heretic King of Egypt". History Today. Vol. 12, No. 9 (September, 1962). Pp. 622-632.
- Bratton, Fred Gladstone. The First Heretic: The Life and Times of Ikhnaton the King. Boston, Beacon Press, 1961.
- Breasted, James Henry. The Dawn of Conscience. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1954.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis. Egyptian Magic. New York, Dover, (1901) 1971.
- Budge, E.A.W. The Gods of the Egyptians: Studies in Egyptian Mythology, Volume II. New York, Dover, (1904), 1969.
- Capart, Jean. Egyptian Art, Introductory Studies. New York, Fredrick A. Stokes Co., 1923.
- Capart, J. "The Memphite Tomb of King Haremhab". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. VII, Pp 31-35.

-
- Chandler, Tertius. "Ikhnaten and Moses" A Psychoanalytic Journal for the Arts and Sciences. Vol. 19 (1962). Pp. 127-139.
- Chariton, Nial. "Some Reflections on the History of Pharonic Egypt". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 60(1974). Pp. 200-205.
- Christen, Robert and Hazelton, Harold (editors). Monotheism and Moses: The Genesis of Judaism. Lexington, Massachusetts, D. C. Heath and Co., 1969.
- Clark, R. T. Rundle. Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt. London, Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- Cooney, John O. "Amarna Art in the Cleveland Museum". The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art. January, 1968. Pp. 1-17.
- Davies, N. DeGaris. "Mural Paintings in the City of Akhetaten". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. VII. (London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1921). Pp. 1-7.
- Davies, N. DeGaris. The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. London, Egyptian Exploration Society Fund, 1903. Volumes I-VI.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane. Egyptian Wall Paintings from Tombs and Temples. New York, Mentor, 1962.
- Edwards, J.E.S. Treasures of Tutankhamon. New York, Ballantine Books, 1976.
- Fazzini, R. A. Art from the Age of Akhenaten. New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1973.
- Fairman, H.W. "A Block of Amenophis IV from Athribis". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 46 (December, 1960) . Pp. 80-82.
- Fairman, H.W. "Supposed Year 21 of Akhenaten". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 46 (Dec., 1960). Pp. 108-110.
- Fisher, Henry G., and Terrace, Edward L.B. Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.
- Frankfort, Henri, et al. Before Philosophy. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1967.
- Frankfort, H. Kingship and the Gods. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Frankfort, H. (editor). The Mural Painting of El Amarnah. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1929.
- Freud, Sigmund. Moses and Monotheism. London, Hogarth Press, 1974.

-
- Gardiner, Sir Alan. Egypt Of the Pharaohs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Giles, F. J. Ikhnaton: Legend and History. London, Hutchinson, 1970.
- Graves, Robert. The White Goddess. London, Faber and Faber, 1946.
- Hall, H.R. "Egypt and the External World in the Time of Akhenaten (c. 1350 B.C.)". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. VII. Pp. 39-53.
- Higgins, Reynold. Minoan and Mycenaean Art. New York, Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Iversen, Erik. Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art. Warminster, England, Aris and Phillips, Ltd., 1975.
- Jaynes, Julian. The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1976.
- Jung, Carl G. Answer to Job. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1952.
- Jung, C.G. Memories, Dreams, Reflections. New York, Random House, 1965.
- Kemp, Barry J. "Preliminary Report on the El-Amarna Survey, 1977". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 64 (1978). Pp. 22-34.
- Kemp, Barry J. "The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna, And the Basic Structure of this City". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 62 (1976). Pp. 81-99.
- Kitchen, K. A. Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs: A Study in Relative Chronology. Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press, 1962.
- Kozloff, Arielle P. "Nefertiti, Beloved of the Living Disk". The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art for November 1977. Vol. LXIV, No. 9 (Nov., 1977). Pp. 287-298.
- Lange, Kurt and Hiriner, Max. Egypt Architecture, Sculpture, Painting. Greenwich, Connecticut, Phaidon Publishers, 1961.
- Liverani, Mario. Three Amarna Essays. Malibu, California, Undena Publications, 1979.
- Lloyd, Seton. The Art Of the Ancient Near East. London, Thames and Hudson, 1965.
- Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike. "The Tomb of Horemheb". Archaeology. Vol. 31, No. 4 (July-August, 1978). Pp. 14-23.
- Martin, G. T. The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.

-
- Maspero, Gaston. Art in Egypt. New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1952.
- Mekhitarian, Arpag. Egyptian Painting. New York, Skira, 1954.
- Murray, Margaret Alice. Egyptian Sculpture. London, Duckworth, 1930.
- Neumann, Erich. The Great Mother. Princeton, Princeton/Bollingen, 1952.
- Neumann, E. The Origins and History of Consciousness. Princeton, Princeton/Bollingen, 1949.
- Otten, Charlotte M. (editor). Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1971.
- Peet, T. Eric. "Excavations at Tell El-Amarna: A Preliminary Report". The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. VII. Pp. 169-185.
- Redford, Donald B. "Reconstructing the Temples of a Heretical Pharaoh". Archaeology. Vol. 28 (January, 1975). Pp. 16-22.
- Redford, D.B. and Smith, Ray Winfield. The Akhenaten Temple Project. Warminster, England, Aris and Phillips, Ltd., 1976.
- Rogerson, J.W. Anthropology and the Old Testament. Atlanta, John Knox Press, 1978.
- Saad, Ramaden and Lise, Manniche. "A Unique Offering List of Amenophis IV Recently Found at Karnak". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 57 (August, 1971). Pp. 70-72.
- Sakellarakis, Yannis "Drama of Death in a Minoan Temple" National Geographic. February, 1981. Pp. 205-223.
- Samson, Julia. "Amarna Crowns and Wigs". Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Vol. 59 (August, 1973). Pp. 47-59.
- Scholem, Gershom. On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism. New York, Schocken Books, 1978.
- Schafer, Heinrich. Principles of Egyptian Art. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Seele, Keith C. "King Ay and the Close of the Amarna Age". Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Vol. 14, No. 5 (July, 1955). Pp. 168-180.
- Singer, June. Androgyny. New York, Doubleday, 1976.
- Smith, Ray Winfield. "Computer Helps Scholars Recreate an Egyptian Temple". National Geographic, Vol. 138, No. 5 (November, 1970). Pp. 634-655.

-
- Smith, William Stevenson. Ancient Egypt. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1960.
- Smith, W. S. The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1958.
- Uphill, Eric. "The Sed-Festivals of Akhenaten". Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Vol. 22 (April, 1963). Pp. 123-127.
- Velikovsky, Immanuel. Oedipus and Akhnaten: Myth and History. Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co., 1960.
- Weigall, Arthur. The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923.
- Wenig, Steffen. The Woman in Egyptian Art. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969.
- Wente, E.F. "Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep". Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Vol. 25 (April, 1966). Pp. 73-87.
- Westendorf, Wolfhart. Painting, Sculpture and Architecture of Ancient Egypt. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968.
- White, Leslie A. "Ikhnaton: The Great Man vs. The Cultural Process" Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 68, No. 2 (April-June, 1948). Pp. 91-114.
- Wilson, John A. "Akhenaten and Nefertiti" Journal of Near Eastern-Studies. Vol. 32 (January-April, 1973). Pp. 235-241.
- Woldering, Irmgard. The Art of Egypt. New York, Greystone Press, 1963.
- Wunderlich, Hans Georg. The Secret of Crete. New York, Macmillan, 1974.
- Yoyotte, Jean. Treasures of the Pharaohs. Geneva, Skira, 1968.
- Zabtar, Louis V. A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968. (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, #34)