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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**“The Aten desires that there be made for him”: An analysis of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten’s
Temple Construction Activity outside of Tell el-Amarna**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Egyptology
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of Master of Arts
In Egyptology

By **Megan Kathryn Paqua**

Under the supervision of **Dr. Lisa Sabbahy**

May 2015

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Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my parents for their love, patience, and support in allowing me to travel halfway across the world to pursue my studies.

ABSTRACT

The Amarna Period is one of the most widely studied periods of ancient Egyptian history, largely due to the wide variety of cultural material available from the eponymous settlement Tell el-Amarna, the ancient city of Akhetaten. However, there is a great deal of archaeological and textual evidence for during the Amarna Period activity outside of the city of Akhetaten. This thesis investigates the regional temples constructed by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten throughout the course of his reign. It establishes a set of criteria to evaluate the archaeological and textual evidence for temple construction at different sites across Egypt in order to determine which structures constitute an Amarna Period construction as opposed to later reuse of Amarna Period materials taken from other sites. The thesis examines the regional temples first as a discrete group, to examine the geographic scope of Amarna Period temple activity, and then places the regional sites in comparison with the temples from Tell el-Amarna to assess the evolution of the architectural layout and iconographic program, thus elucidating the trajectory of the corresponding changes made to state theology throughout the Amarna Period. These transformations represent not only a religious revolution, in which the orthodoxy of New Kingdom state religion is supplanted, but also the acceleration of the pre-existing New Kingdom trend towards the solarization of state cults as well as the centrality of the person of the king in his role as the main officiant of cult.

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Introduction

The Amarna Period is arguably one of the best known and most commonly researched epochs of Egyptian history. The idiosyncrasies of its art and religious expression are matched only by the eccentricities of its progenitor, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. The anomalies of the historical and archaeological record from this time have fascinated both scholars and amateur Egyptophiles from the inception of the discipline of Egyptology. Akhenaten himself has been subjected to analysis from an exhaustive number of academic as well as pseudo-scientific fields.¹ The Atenist iconoclasm has led to Akhenaten's identification as the "world's first monotheist", and much ink has been spent examining his possible impact upon the theology of the Judeo-Christian religious movements.² The artwork of the period, which has been considered both refreshingly realistic and horrifically transgressive in equal measure, has led to the proposal of numerous pathologies in an attempt to explain his unorthodox depictions of the human form. Suggested explanations have ranged from Akhenaten having an actual physical deformity to a desire to portray himself as androgynous in honor of his asexual deity.³ This preoccupation with the pharaoh's physicality extends even further with attempts to retroactively exercise modern psychoanalytic methods to explain the motivations for his seemingly unorthodox behaviors.

This fetishization of Akhenaten's individuality and humanity⁴ is further extended to his family members, in no small part due to the uncommonly intimate subject matter of the depictions of the royal couple and their children. The notoriety of the iconic painted bust of Nefertiti popularized an image of the queen that conformed to western aesthetics of beauty, and the scandal surrounding its installment in Berlin only adds to her allure. The glamor of the *dramatis personae* of the Amarna Period is responsible for a genre-transcending fascination for the period in popular literature,⁵ exacerbated in part by their relationship to Tutankhamun.

The complexity and level of preservation of Tell el-Amarna offers a singular array of research opportunities for scholars interested in pursuing settlement archaeology, paleopathological and mortuary studies,⁶ investigations into ancient technologies and industries,⁷

¹ For an extensive discussion of the "fringe" studies of Akhenaten, see D. Montserrat 2003. *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy, and Ancient Egypt*, London and New York: Routledge.

² S. Freud, 1964. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XXIII (1937-1939)*, "Moses and monotheism". London: Hogarth Press; J. Assmann, 1997. *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; D. Redford, 1987. "The Monotheism of the Heretic Pharaoh: Precursor of Mosaic monotheism or Egyptian anomaly?" *Biblical Archaeology Review*, May-June edition.

³ For a detailed discussion of the various pathologies ascribed to Akhenaten, see L. Manniche, 2010. "Pathology" *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press: 135-148.

⁴ Breasted referred to Akhenaten as "The first individual in history"; see D. Montserrat 2003: 3

⁵ D. Montserrat 2003: 185-188

⁶ J. Rose, 2006. Paleopathology of the commoners at Tell Amarna, Egypt, Akhenaten's capital city. *Memórias do Instituto Oswaldo Cruz* 101 (Suppl. 2), 73-76; B. Kemp, A. Stevens, G. Dabbs, M. Zabecki, and J. Rose, 2013. Life, death and beyond in Akhenaten's Egypt: excavating the South Tombs

art, and architecture. These fields of research are further enabled by a robust and relatively conclusive foundation of knowledge established by the long history of excavation at the site.⁸ The continued study of Akhenaten's capital city in turn generates renewed interest in the man himself; as Montserrat succinctly states, "Akhenaten is indivisibly associated with Amarna, and the archaeological rediscoveries of his city go hand in hand with rediscoveries of him."⁹

In an attempt to further the understanding of the reign of Akhenaten, an increasing amount of scholarship has been dedicated to the study of the Amarna Period evidence found at sites outside of Tell el-Amarna.¹⁰ Due to accidents of preservation, these remains largely tend to be either religious or mortuary in nature. While analyses of Amarna Period remains at regional sites have been carried out, the focus of these studies has been on the similarities between the regional material and that found at Tell el-Amarna.

As a comprehensive study of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's temple construction outside of Tell el Amarna has not yet been carried out, the intent of this work is to produce an analysis of these temple sites as a discrete category. It examines the patterns of building activity undertaken by Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten throughout the course of his reign, and seeks to address the following specific questions:

- Does the construction program of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten constitute a rupture or continuity of the established building trajectory of the 18th Dynasty?
- What significance can be attributed to the sites selected for construction?
- What patterns can be discerned from this significance?
- To what extent are the regional temples comparable to equivalent constructions at Tell el Amarna?
- What implications does the study of these temples have on his perceived status as an iconoclast?

Cemetery at Amarna. *Antiquity* 87 (335), 64-78; J. Rose and M. Zabecki, 2009. "The commoners of Tell el-Amarna." In S. Ikram and A. Dodson, eds, *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*, vol. 2, Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 408-22.

⁷ P. Nicholson, 1992. The pottery workshop of Q48.4 at Tell el-Amarna. *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* 3, 61-70; P. Nicholson, 2007. *Brilliant Things for Akhenaten: The Production of Glass, Vitreous Materials and Pottery at Amarna Site O45.1*. EES Excavation Memoir 80, London: Egypt Exploration Society; M. Eccleston, 2008. "Metalworking at Amarna: a preliminary report." *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 19, 29-47; A. Veldmeijer and S. Ikram, 2012. "Leatherworking at Amarna." In F. Seyfried, ed., *In the Light of Amarna. 100 Years of the Discovery of Amarna*. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 136-41; B. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 2001. *The ancient textile industry at Amarna*. Sixty-eighth Excavation Memoir. London: Egypt Exploration Society

⁸ A discussion of the archaeological literature from the site can be found in the Literature Review section of this chapter.

⁹ D. Montserrat 2003: 56.

¹⁰ For an overview of this literature, see the section of this thesis "Literature Review"

Methodology

The approach of this thesis is primarily concerned with architectural material from the archaeological record and draws supporting information from textual evidence. To facilitate a thorough analysis of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's building activity it is necessary to distinguish temple construction sites from locations where Amarna Period material was later reused. While a comprehensive review of a construction program would consider sites at which existing reliefs and texts were modified, the post Amarna Period restoration of temples altered by the Atenist iconoclasm makes it difficult to securely identify these sites.¹¹ Beyond the issues of identification, the intent of this analysis is to discern patterns in the enterprise of temple construction during the Amarna Period. Thus, it is of greater utility to examine those sites that represent greater material expenditure.

In order to assemble a study corpus, it was necessary to review Porter and Moss as well as other secondary sources that discuss postulated regional temple sites. All sites at which there is evidence that could potentially be indicative of Amarna Period temple construction were arranged into a gazetteer. This evidence is evaluated on the presence of *in situ* architectural remains, relevant temple names, the geographic location and accessibility of the sites in question, and the availability of alternative local construction materials.

Next, the various motivations for establishing temples at these particular sites—political, economic, and religious—have been assessed. These analyses are followed by an interpretation of the pattern of Akhenaten's temple building projects, the ideology behind his selection of the specific locations and the proliferation of the Aten cult in Egypt and Nubia.

Literature Review

There is a staggering amount of scholarly literature dedicated to the Amarna Period. The publications below represent the fundamental works on the socio-political history of the Amarna Period, as well as the seminal archaeological reports from the main sites examined in this thesis. As discussed above, a useful study of the Amarna Period is impossible without an understanding of its historical context. Aidan Dodson's research into the history of the period spans two publications, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from golden age to age of heresy* (2014) and *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian counter-reformation* (2009) provides an exhaustive examination of the chronology of the period, drawing on evidence from both archaeological and textual sources. In both volumes, Dodson makes a cursory mention of the

¹¹ For a complete discussion of the limitations of identifying the Atenist, modification sites, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

regional temples, and in *Amarna Sunrise* provides a detailed description of the material from Karnak. Donald Redford's *Akhenaten, the heretic king* (1984) is a similar combination of historical overview with an in depth discussion of the material from Karnak, which draws on Redford's extensive knowledge of the site from his work with the *Akhenaten Temple Project*. Publications from this project, including Redford and Smith's *The Akhenaten Temple Project* vol. I (1976) and *The Akhenaten Temple Project* vol. 2 (1988), detail their analysis of the *talatat* and the preliminary conclusions concerning the identification and description of the temples from the Karnak complex. Further articles by Redford provide a greater historical context for the development of the Aten cult: "The Sun-Disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents" I (1976) and II (1980) examine the earliest usage of the term *itn* and trace its evolution from word to deity over the course of Egyptian history up through the Amarna Period.

The Amarna Period temples at Karnak are easily the most extensively published of the regional sites, and are often used as a standard of comparison alongside Tell el-Amarna when discussing other regional temples. In his article "Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Research" (2013), Redford gives an in depth overview of the building activity of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten at Thebes. Projects from both Memphis and Heliopolis are discussed in addition to a brief explanation of the earliest manifestations of the Aten cult. Other regional temple sites are given a brief mention and a detailed bibliographic footnote. The Amarna Period material from Memphis has been cataloged by Löhr (1975); this work was later expanded on by Angenot (2008), who puts forward a proposed layout of the Memphite complex based on an archaeological and epigraphical examination of the material. In this article, Angenot also provides a comparative analysis of the material from Memphis, Karnak and Tell el-Amarna.

Dietrich Raue's *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich* (1999) is the foundational text for understanding the archaeological record of Heliopolis. His discussion of the Amarna Period archaeological evidence for Amarna Period activity at Heliopolis has been updated with the initial findings from the latest excavations at the site in Abd el-Gelil, *et al.* (2008). The later article includes some discussion of the temples at Memphis but the focus of the work is primarily the Heliopolitan material.

W. Raymond Johnson's excurses "Akhenaten in Nubia" from Fischer, *et al.* *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile* (2012) provides a succinct overview of the locations in Nubia where Amarna Period material has been uncovered. The site of Doukki Gel has been excavated and published by the Mission Archéologique Suisse au Soudan under the direction of

Charles Bonnet. The details provided by these preliminary site reports formed the foundation for Kendall's "*Talatat Architecture at Jebel Barkal: Report of the NCAM Mission 2008-2009*" (2009) provides comparison between the material at Doukki Gel and the rediscovered Amarna Period foundations at Gebel Barkal. This work is an initial summary of the known material thus far, but gives an analysis of the architectural similarities between Gebel Barkal, Doukki Gel, and the temples at Sesebi. The extant material from Sesebi consists of four preliminary site reports, Blackman (1937), Fairman (1938), Spence and Rose (2009), and Spence, *et al.* (2011), which describe the basic layout and decoration of the four temples at the site as well as the surrounding settlement. The final major site that will be discussed in this thesis is Soleb; the Amarna Period activity at Soleb is described by Murnane in Beaux's *Soleb III, Le temple* (2002).

Due to the vast geographic range of these sites, there are few sources that address all of them, and those that do are often reference works that do not detail the Amarna Period evidence specifically. One source that has been invaluable in identifying sites with known Amarna Period architectural material is the exhibition catalog *Akhénaton et Néfertiti: soleil et ombres des pharaons* (2008) produced by the Musees d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva. This catalog contains an index with descriptions of known sites with Amarna Period material. While it is an invaluable source to begin an investigation into the regional activities of the Amarna Period, there is no critical analysis of the material, or the implications of this evidence on the scholarly discourse of the Amarna Period.

Organization of the Work

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter One establishes the historical context of the Amarna Period, briefly examining the socio-political and religious trajectories of the late Eighteenth Dynasty (beginning with an overview of the reigns of Thutmose IV & Amenhotep III) as well as discussing the major events from the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. Chapter Two discusses the etymology of the Aten and its development from morpheme to object of royal cult, with an overview of the religious structures dedicated to the worship of the Aten at Tell el Amarna. Chapter Three is a gazetteer of sites where there is evidence of Amarna Period activity; this includes architectural material, associated texts and inscriptions as well as other datable archaeological remains. Chapter Four introduces the criteria used to evaluate the evidence of Amarna Period building at each of these sites. This is followed by the categorization of each site as either a temple construction site, a temple modification site, or a site to which Amarna Period

material was transported and reused. Chapter Five is concerned with the analysis of the positively identified construction sites and discusses the patterns and contexts of the sites in detail. Chapter Five is followed by the Conclusions, which applies the results of the analysis to the current understanding of Amarna Period theology and examines the implications of the findings on this discourse.

Chapter I: Amarna Period Historical Overview

The hallmarks of the Amarna Period are the ways in which it differs from the overall course of ancient Egyptian civilization. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is often viewed as a revolutionary figure who reacted against the orthodox traditions of Egyptian religion, art, and expressions of kingship.¹² However, in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of the Amarna Period, it must be examined within the greater historical context of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Amenhotep IV inherited the throne at a moment in Egyptian history when the king enjoyed an unrivalled level of international prestige. The boundaries of the Egyptian empire were at their most expansive following decades of military campaigning in both the Levant and Nubia during the early Eighteenth Dynasty. At the same time, pharaohs were also engaged in extensive temple building campaigns within Egypt as well as the newly conquered Nubian territories.

Following the ascension of Thutmose IV, the religious discourse took on a decidedly solar character. His so-called “Dream Stela” erected at the Sphinx of Giza early in his reign, established his legitimate claim to the kingship via divine appointment from the god Horemakhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum.¹³ This concept of divine investiture was common to the Eighteenth Dynasty kings, however Thutmose IV’s complete exclusion of Amun in favor of a god from the Heliopolitan tradition was atypical. Despite this early oversight of the Theban cult, Thutmose IV continued the tradition of building at Karnak Temple¹⁴ with his construction of a peristyle hall in Thutmose III’s festival hall, depicting the king making offerings to and being embraced by Amun. Additionally, Thutmose IV erected an obelisk originally commissioned by Thutmose III to the east of the Amun-Ra temple in the Karnak enclosure.¹⁵ This monument appears to have been the focus of a solar cult at Karnak.¹⁶ Modifications to traditional iconography began to appear during the reign of Thutmose IV that would be more fully actualized during the reign of his son, Amenhotep III.

¹² There are many works focusing on the historical aspects of Akhenaten’s reign, e.g., C. Aldred, 1988. *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. London: Thames; D. Redford, 1984. *Akhenaten: the Heretic King*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; M. Gabolde, 1998. *D'Akhénaton à Toutânkhamon*. Lyon: Collection de l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité; and N. Reeves, 2001. *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet*. London: Thames & Hudson.

¹³ B. Bryan, 2000. “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period.” In Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 207-264. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 249

¹⁴ B. Bryan, 1991. *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 141 ff.

¹⁵ L. Bell, 2002. “Divine kingship and the theology of the obelisk cult in the temples of Thebes.” In Beinlich, Horst, Hallof, Hussy, and von Pfeil (eds.), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*, 17-46. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; this obelisk is now standing in the courtyard of St. John Lateran in Rome.

¹⁶ B. Bryan 2000: 249

Thutmose IV is shown wearing armlets and a *shebu*-collar, *accoutrements* generally reserved for deceased kings and indicative of his devotion to the sun cult.¹⁷

This solarization of traditional cults and cult spaces gained greater momentum during the reign of Amenhotep III. In addition to his diplomatic successes, documented in the archives of correspondence uncovered at Tell el Amarna, the new king was also a prolific builder, with construction projects spanning from the Egyptian Delta to the Abri-Delgo Reach of Upper Nubia.¹⁸ Many of these new temples were dedicated to the solar aspects of traditional deities and were constructed in anticipation of Amenhotep III's three *heb-sed* festivals. It is around the time of his first *heb-sed* festival in Year 30¹⁹ that the portrayal of the kingship undergoes a transformation. In his temples in Nubia, Amenhotep III begins to show himself and his wife being worshipped as divinities during their lifetime. Around this time, the king's name takes on a new form of rebus writing on the jar sealings and labels from his palace at Malqata, where the king is shown in a large solar boat inside of a sun disc.²⁰ In his inscriptions, he takes on the epithet of "The Dazzling Aten"²¹, which Johnson has interpreted as a declaration of the king's status as a living god. Amenhotep III would go on to celebrate two additional *heb-sed* festivals in rapid succession before his death in Year 38 of his reign.

There has been a great deal of debate²² surrounding the possibility of a co-regency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. This is based on the large amount of Amenhotep III-related archaeological material at Tell el-Amarna, especially letters from the Amarna archives that are addressed to him. Additional inclusions of Amenhotep III in private stelae²³ depicting the royal family also confuse the issue. A graffito found at Meidum²⁴ dating to Year 30 of Amenhotep III has been taken as both an announcement of the co-regency as well as an indication that the king has named his son Amenhotep as his heir-apparent, perhaps following the death of the original crown prince. One model for the long co-regency has been put forward by Johnson to account for the different trends seen in the art and building patterns for the Amarna Period. In this model,²⁵ Amenhotep IV becomes his father's coregent around Year 29, shortly before the first *heb-sed* of

¹⁷ B. Bryan 2000: 251

¹⁸ For an in-depth discussion of these monuments, see A. Kozloff and B. Bryan, 1992. *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his world*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.

¹⁹ W. Johnson, 1996. "Amenhotep III and Amarna: some new considerations." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82, 65-82: 81

²⁰ W. Johnson, 1998. "Monuments and monumental art under Amenhotep III: evolution and meaning." in D. O'Connor (ed.), *Amenhotep III: perspectives on his reign*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: 88

²¹ J. van Dijk, 2000 "The Amarna Period and the later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069 BC)." In Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*, 272-313. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 268

²² For an in depth analysis of the contested material and a summary of the scholarship of this question, see A. Dodson, 2014a. *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press

²³ A. Dodson, 2014b. The Coregency Conundrum. *KMT* 252, 28-35: 33-34

²⁴ A. Dodson, 2009b. "On the alleged Amenhotep III/IV coregency graffito at Meidum." *Göttinger Miszellen* 221: 25-28.

²⁵ W. Johnson 1996: 81

Amenhotep III. With his father's deification in the Year 30 *heb-sed*, Amenhotep IV depicts himself in the office of high priest in the cult of the deified Amenhotep III, who is depicted as the Aten disc. Following with this chronology, Amenhotep IV changes his name to Akhenaten concurrently with Amenhotep III's second *heb-sed*, and it is around this time that Amenhotep III instructs his son to build the new capital city at Tell el-Amarna. The foundation of Amarna would coincide with the third *heb-sed* of Amenhotep III, who continues ruling jointly with Akhenaten until his death in Akhenaten's Year 11. The Year 12 festival known as the *durbar* would then likely be depicting the celebration of Akhenaten's sole rule, although he himself shortly afterwards takes on his first co-regent, Smenkhare.

All of the evidence supporting this co-regency can also have alternative explanations that would support Amenhotep IV coming to the throne only after the death of his father. Both Redford and, more recently, Dodson have proposed this version of the Amarna succession. The first issue with the idea of the co-regency is the proposed chronology. Unlike the confirmed co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III²⁶ there are no inscriptions with two sets of regnal years. The tombs of Ramose (TT55) and Kheryuef (TT192), officials who served both kings, could just as easily have spanned the end of Amenhotep III to the beginning of Amenhotep IV as a co-regency period.²⁷ The Amenhotep III-era letters at Tell el-Amarna may have been brought from an older archive to the new city when the administration moved.²⁸ In the images of Amenhotep III from the reign of Amenhotep IV, the elder king is always shown as the recipient of adoration of praise, not interacting with any of the other individuals depicted in the scenes.²⁹ Dodson has suggested that these scenes be interpreted as showing the living royal family members honoring the deceased Amenhotep III.

The only direct references to Amenhotep IV from his father's reign are a jar sealing from Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata³⁰ and an inscription in the tomb of Parennefer, an Amarna Period royal *smsw* who claims that he was "His Majesty's servant since he (the king) was a young boy."³¹ This almost complete lack of documentation runs contrary to the trend of increased visibility of royal princes during the later Eighteenth Dynasty.³² By comparison, there are several monuments to another son of Amenhotep III. Prince Thutmose is shown on a statuette in the

²⁶ A. Dodson 2014b: 34 Also cite tomb publications

²⁷ A. Dodson 2014b: 34

²⁸ A. Dodson 2014b: 34

²⁹ A. Dodson 2014b: 34

³⁰ In reference to the prince's apartments in the palace: "the house of the true (?) King's-son, Amenophis [Amenhotep]" D. Redford, 2013.

"Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 369, 9-34:13

³¹ D. Redford 2013: 13

³² B. Bryan 2000: 247

Egyptian Museum in Cairo wearing the traditional robes of a high priest of Ptah at Memphis and is also depicted in the shrine of Apis I at Saqqara.³³ Thutmose's appointment to this position may have indicated that Amenhotep III originally intended for Prince Thutmose to be his successor.³⁴ However, in the final years of Amenhotep III's rule Thutmose disappears from the historical record and Prince Amenhotep becomes his father's successor.

Amenhotep IV's kingship began under the auspices of Amun and his priesthood in their political stronghold at Thebes. One of his wives, Nefertiti, is present in his early iconography, along with at least one of their daughters indicating that their marriage took place very early in his reign or possibly before he ascended to the throne. Within the first three years of his reign, Amenhotep IV celebrated a *heb-sed* festival in his new Karnak temple. While the exact date is not preserved in any of the material uncovered from the Karnak complex,³⁵ it was uncommonly early in his reign. Proponents of a co-regency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV have suggested that the festival depicted at Amenhotep IV's temple was in fact one of the *heb-seds* celebrated by Amenhotep III.³⁶ Another interpretation is that the *heb-sed* served as the Aten cult's official canonization³⁷, and more radically that the celebrant of the festival was the Aten rather than the king. It is at this time that the Aten's name begins to be written in cartouches, with accompanying epithets that otherwise were only given to kings.³⁸ This departure from tradition has been explained by the theory that the Aten was in fact the living, deified, Amenhotep III.³⁹ Another possibility is that the Aten served as a divine, universal king, a cosmic counterpart to the king on earth. This parallel would have been made clear by enclosing the names of the Aten within a cartouche, just as one would for the name of a living king.⁴⁰

It must have been shortly after this festival that planning began for the construction of Amenhotep IV's new capital city. The earliest boundary stela inscriptions at Tell el-Amarna date to Year 4 and it was likely that the city began to be settled in either Year 4 or Year 5.⁴¹ The Amun cult appears to have still been somewhat active at this point in Amenhotep IV's reign. A high

³³ A. Dodson, 2009a. *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 4; A. Dodson, 1990. "Crown Prince Djutmose and the Royal Sons of the 18th Dynasty." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76, 87-96: 87-88; It is possible that Thutmose died during his father's reign. There is a graffito that has been interpreted to describe the appointment of a new heir in AIII's regnal Year 30; A. Dodson 2009: 6

³⁴ Quirke argues against this theory, but rather interprets the evidence to indicate that, as high priest of Ptah, Thutmose was not part of the royal succession; S. Quirke, 2001. *The Cult of Ra: Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson:152-153.

³⁵ A. Dodson 2014a: 98

³⁶ The depictions of the *heb-sed* festivals of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV differ so dramatically that it seems unlikely that they were depicting a single festival celebrated by two kings; A. Dodson 2014a: 99; A. Dodson 2014b: 33-34

³⁷ J. van Dijk, 2000: 268

³⁸ A. Dodson 2014a: 91

³⁹ W. Johnson 1996:81

⁴⁰ D. Redford 1984: 178

⁴¹ W. Murnane and C. van Siclen III, 1993. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London and New York, Kegan Paul International

priest of Amun is known from a Year 4 inscription, where he has been sent to oversee a quarrying expedition to the Wadi Hammamat.⁴²

In Year 5 Amenhotep IV formally changed his name to Akhenaten,⁴³ while Nefertiti added the prefix Neferneferuaten to her name, reaffirming the allegiance of the royal family to the Aten.⁴⁴ It is unclear in what year the royal family and the rest of the court moved to Tell el Amarna, but in Year 8 the boundaries of the city were renewed in a festival described on the boundary stelae.⁴⁵ These inscriptions provide the latest dates for the first form of the Aten's didactic name.⁴⁶ While the exact date of this change is unclear, the changes may reflect a shift in the Amarna Period theology, as most of the allusions to other deities were removed from the Aten's titulary.⁴⁷

Figure 1. The Early Form of the Aten Cartouches⁴⁸



⁴² A. Dodson 2009a: 8

⁴³ The latest attestation of the King as Amenhotep IV comes from a letter of Ipy, Steward of Memphis found at Guroub; see A. Dodson 2014: 102; Murnane 1995: 50-51; Petrie UC 32682-3.

⁴⁴ A. Dodson 2009a: 8; S. Quirke 2001: 154

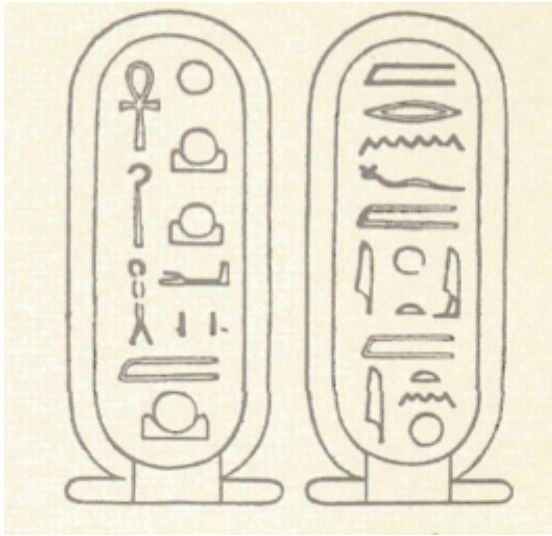
⁴⁵ J. van Dijk 2000: 270

⁴⁶ J. van Dijk 2000: 280

⁴⁷ The name of Ra-Horakhty is reduced to just Ra, while the name of the god Shu is replaced with the word for "light"

⁴⁸ R. Wilkinson, 2003. *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson: 249

Figure 2. The Later Form of the Aten Cartouches⁴⁹



Between Years 8 and 12, there is little in the way of datable material. In Year 12, Akhenaten's viceroy of Kush carried out a military campaign against a group of raiders near the Wadi al-Alaki.⁵⁰ This event is recorded on two stelae, one at Buhen and the other at Amada and was carried out by Thutmose, Akhenaten's viceroy of Kush.

Another important event occurred in Year 12, the festival known in scholarship as the *durbar*.⁵¹ It is depicted in two private tombs at Tell el-Amarna: those of Huy and Meryre II.⁵² From the textual and iconographic record, it appears that a series of foreign delegations gathered at Tell el-Amarna, presenting goods in tribute to the king. Some scholars have interpreted this as a celebration of the successful campaign in Nubia.⁵³ Others, who favor the idea of a long co-regency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, believe that this marks the moment when Akhenaten becomes the sole ruler of Egypt.

⁴⁹ R. Wilkinson 2003: 229

⁵⁰ For detailed analysis of the Nubian campaign, see A. Schulman, 1982. "The Nubian war of Akhenaten." In *L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches* 2, 299-316. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique

⁵¹ The modern designation for the festival, taken from the tradition of Indian and African rulers hosting formal receptions with envoys of neighboring polities.

⁵² N. Davies, 1905. *The rock tombs of el Amarna IV: Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and others*. Archaeological survey of Egypt 13-18. London: Egypt Exploration Fund

⁵³ D. Redford, 1976. "The Sun-Disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents I." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13, 47-61; D. Redford, 1980. "The Sun-Disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents II." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 17, 21-38

While the question of Akhenaten's co-regency with Amenhotep III is still debatable, starting from year 12 or 13 Akhenaten began two successive co-regencies,⁵⁴ both of which are well represented in the textual sources from the final years of his reign. The first co-regent is an individual known as Smenkhare, who first appears in the Year 12 *durbar* scenes in the tomb of Meryre II as the husband of princess Meritaten. There are several instances of inscriptions⁵⁵ with both his cartouches as well as Akhenaten's, such as blocks uncovered at Mit Rahina, wine docketts from Tell el-Amarna, and artifacts from the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁵⁶

After what must have been a short co-regency, Smenkhare disappears from the historical record⁵⁷ and an individual known as Ankhkheperure Neferneferutaten became the second co-regent. This ruler has been tentatively identified as Nefertiti based on an analysis of her names and titles,⁵⁸ which suggests that this co-regency must have begun after Akhenaten's Year 16.⁵⁹ Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten can be attested as late as her regnal Year 3 on a hieratic graffito written by a draftsman named Batjay in the tomb of Pairi (TT139).⁶⁰ The inscription is a prayer to Amun for Batjay's brother who served as a *wꜥb* priest and scribe of Amun in the Temple of Ankheperure⁶¹ in Thebes. While this cannot be taken as definitive proof of a major post-Amarna religious reformation, it is clear that in the final years of Akhenaten or remarkably soon after his death, the Amun cult was receiving state attention once again.

The changes to Ankheperure Neferneferuaten's titulary⁶² suggest the possibility that following Akhenaten's death around Year 17, she continued to rule either alone, or possibly as a regent for the child Tutankhamun. When Tutankhamun moved the court to Memphis, it is likely that the majority of the Amarna population abandoned the city. There is evidence of occupation at the Workmen's Village into the reign of Tutankhamun,⁶³ and inscriptions naming Horemheb, Seti I, and Ramses II have been found in the main city.⁶⁴ The dismantling of the stone buildings

⁵⁴ A re-evaluation of this debate, was carried out by A. van der Perre following the discovery of a Year 16 attestation of Nefertiti from Deir el-Bersha which called into question many of the various interpretations of these co-regencies, see A. van der Perre, 2014. "The Year 16 graffito of Akehanen in Dayr Abu Hinnis. A contribution to the study of the later years of Nefertiti." *Journal of Egyptian History* 7, 67-108: 89-93

⁵⁵ These include blocks found at Mit Rahina,

⁵⁶ For a full overview of this evidence, see A. van der Perre 2014.

⁵⁷ A. Dodson 2010: 32

⁵⁸ A. van der Perre 2014: 94-95; for a detailed review of the scholarship devoted to the identification of Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten, see A. van der Perre 2014: 79-83

⁵⁹ In the newly discovered graffito, in Year 16 Nefertiti was still being referred to as the "Great Royal Wife"; A. van der Perre 2014: 101

⁶⁰ A. Dodson 2009a: 43-44

⁶¹ A. Dodson 2009a: 44; Both Dodson and van der Perre state that when the name Ankheperure is used on its own without Neferneferuaten, it refers to the throne name of Smenkhare rather than to the second co-regent; A. Dodson 2009a: 31-32; A. van der Perre 2014: 86. Thus, while the regnal year in the graffito belongs to Nefertiti as Ankhkheperure Neferneferutaten, Smenkhare dedicated the Amun Temple.

⁶² A. van der Perre 2014: 101

⁶³ A. Stevens, 2006. *Private religion at Amarna: the material evidence*. Oxford: Archaeopress: 14

⁶⁴ For examples of these later objects, see A. Stevens 2006: 14

appears to have begun during the reign of Horemheb and continued into the Ramesside Period.⁶⁵ Ceramics dating to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty have been found near the South Tombs, and there was a significant Roman Period occupation at the Kom el-Nana⁶⁶ monastery and in the “River Temple⁶⁷” areas of the city.

⁶⁵ A. Stevens 2006: 14

⁶⁶ B. Kemp, 1995. *Amarna Reports IV*. London: Egypt Exploration Society

⁶⁷ The erroneously designated River Temple was actually a settlement site.

Chapter II: Overview of the Aten Cult

History of the Aten

While the scope of the Aten cult during the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten was unprecedented, the object of the king's devotion had been part of the Egyptian religious vocabulary since the Old Kingdom.⁶⁸ *Itn*⁶⁹ is often left un-translated as the proper name of the god Aten, although its essential meaning was “disc” or “circle”.⁷⁰ By the Fifth Dynasty, *itn* began to be used to describe the physical disc of the sun in the Abu Sir Papyri.⁷¹ In the Coffin Texts the role of the *itn* in solar theology was expanded further. In addition to being the sun disc inhabited by Re, the *itn* is described as a power in its own right, an inanimate force used to channel and enhance the divine power of the gods.⁷² It also became associated with the word *ỉḥw*, a term referring to the light of the sun, specifically its creative potential.⁷³ As the mythology around the *itn* began to expand, the term took on a more complex significance. In the Middle Kingdom, the increase of military campaigning abroad, particularly in Nubia was reflected in the various epithets associated with the pharaoh, who needed to be victorious in battle and extend his divine right to rule into foreign lands. As part of this theme, the *itn* was used to qualify the extent of the pharaoh's empire; in the tale of Sinuhe, Senusret I is said to have “subdued what the *itn* encircles⁷⁴” and thus is the ruler of “what the sun encircles.”⁷⁵ It is also from the story of Sinuhe that the death of Amenhemhat I is described as “the god, ascended to his horizon...uniting with the *itn*, the divine limbs coalescing with him that begat him.”⁷⁶

Following this trajectory, by the Eighteenth Dynasty, the term *itn* had three specific applications: an icon of traditional solar deities, an emblem of the expanding Egyptian empire, and a symbol associated with kingship, particularly with deceased kings. This usage can be seen in both iconographic and textual sources. Beginning with the reign of Ahmose, the Eighth Pylon at Karnak mentions the *itn* in a litany of sun gods, although the word is not followed by the divine determinative.⁷⁷ Thutmose I is described as “chief of the two lands to rule that which the *itn* has

⁶⁸ For an in depth analysis of the origins and various incarnations of the Aten from the Old Kingdom through the reign of Akhenaten, see D. Redford 1976, 1980

⁶⁹ For the purposes of this thesis, “the Aten” refers specifically to the fully developed deity worshipped during the Amarna Period; *itn* is used to refer to the logogram as it transitions from basic terminology to cult object.

⁷⁰ *Wb.* I, 145: 1.

⁷¹ D. Redford 1976: 47, P. Posener-Krieger & J. de Cenival 1968

⁷² D. Redford 1976:48

⁷³ D. Redford 1976: 48

⁷⁴ Sinuhe 213; Redford 1976: 49

⁷⁵ D. Redford 1976: 49; JE 71901

⁷⁶ D. Redford 1976: 49; Urk. IV, 54: 15-16

⁷⁷ Urk. IV : 16, I. 7

encircled.”⁷⁸ Hatshepsut is given the title “Ra-et who shines like the *itn*, our mistress.”⁷⁹ On a stela dating to Year 25 of Thutmose III, the king is described as “King of kings, ruler of rulers, *itn* of all lands, the son of Re.”⁸⁰ The phrase “that which the *itn* encircles” as a designation of the boundaries of the Egyptian empire continued to be used by Amenhotep II on two stelae from Elephantine and Amada⁸¹.

The iconography of the *itn* increased further under Amenhotep II, as evidenced in a stela uncovered at Giza. Originally published by Selim Hassan, the stela appears to show an Aten-disc prototype as a winged solar disk with stylized human arms holding a cartouche in its hands. While the text refers mostly to the god Horus, the king is described as “chieftain of what his eye encircles and what *itn* illuminates every day.”⁸² A scarab dating to the reign of Thutmose IV bears an inscription crediting the *itn* with the success of the king in his foreign campaigns. However, the stylistic anachronisms of the piece have led some scholars to question its authenticity.⁸³

The *itn* was also frequently mentioned in descriptions of the afterlife of the deceased king. In an inscription from the tomb of Ineni, the dead Amenhotep I is said to have “gone forth to heaven, he joined with the *itn*.⁸⁴” In a similar vein, a text from the tomb of Amenemhab, officer of Thutmose III, the text describes the death of the king as: “He [the king] went up to Heaven, joined with the *itn*, the body of the god united with him who made him.”⁸⁵ These phrases echo the language of the story of Sinuhe, emphasizing the link between the deceased, and thus divine, king with the *itn*.

While the moment of the *itn*’s transition from glorified natural phenomena to independent deity is difficult to identify, the significance of the *itn* increased dramatically during the reign of Amenhotep III. Following his first *heb-sed* festival in Year 30, Amenhotep III took on the titular “Nebmaatre is the Dazzling *itn*,⁸⁶” assimilating the *itn* with the person of the living king.

The earliest incarnation of the Aten cult in its recognizable form occurred at the beginning of Amenhotep IV’s reign, and is preserved on several *talatat*⁸⁷ blocks from the tenth pylon at Karnak. The fragmentary excursus from these *talatat* details the shortcomings of the traditional

⁷⁸ Urk. IV: 82, pl. 13

⁷⁹ D. Redford 1976: 49; Urk. IV 332: 10-12

⁸⁰ Urk. IV: 887, l. 14f.

⁸¹ Urk. IV: 1293, l. 6

⁸² F. Giles, 1970. *Ikhnaton: Legend and History*. Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press: 117

⁸³ See A. Shorter, 1931. “Historical Scarabs of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17, 23-25: 23 ff. for a full description of the text; a discussion on the current debate surrounding the scarab’s authenticity, see A. Dodson 2014a: 52-54.

⁸⁴ F. Giles 1970: 115; Urk IV: 54, l.15. ; See Urk IV p.490, l.7 for an almost identical text from the Tomb of Ahmose regarding the deceased Hatshepsut.

⁸⁵ F. Giles 1970: 116; Urk IV, p. 896, l. lf.

⁸⁶ A. Dodson 2014a: 53

⁸⁷ *Talatat* blocks were the ubiquitous stone building material of the Amarna period. The modern term *talatat* comes from the Arabic word for three, which is said to have been used to describe these blocks, as they were three hand spans long; see Kemp 2012: 60.

pantheon and emphasizes the supremacy of the Aten, who is identified as a form of Re-Horakhty.⁸⁸ The epithets, which accompany the name of the Aten, include “Re-Horakhty, he who rejoices in horizon on his name ‘Light which is in the Sun Disc.’”⁸⁹ The iconography accompanying these scenes show a falcon-headed man with a sun disc on his head facing the king, both portrayed with the pendulous figures of early Amarna art,⁹⁰ serving to emphasize the affinity between the god and king. However, soon after these reliefs, the symbolism and mythos of the Aten was modified; the standard divine name and epithets were unusually enclosed in royal cartouches and later purged of all mentions of other gods. The Aten loses all of its anthropomorphic traits once again, depicted only as a sun disk with radiating solar rays ending with hands. Any access to the god had to be conducted through the person of the king, who acted as both the son and the high priest of the Aten.

Temples from Tell el-Amarna⁹¹

In the inscription from Boundary Stelae M, X, and K,⁹² Akhenaten describes his intentions to construct several religious structures in honor of the Aten⁹³ at his new capital city at Tell el-Amarna. Attempts have been made to locate these buildings at the site based on the information from the Boundary Stele, which have met with varying degrees of success. Two major cult structures dedicated to the Aten can be identified from the archaeological remains. These have been designated as the Great Aten Temple, which is further subdivided into two smaller buildings, and the Small Aten Temple.

The Great Aten Temple⁹⁴ enclosure contains what appear to be two distinct structures within a large, apparently empty expanse of land. It has been suggested that this enclosure was the *pr'İtn* mentioned in the Boundary Stele, as the Small Aten Temple can be confidently identified as the *ḥwt'İtn* based on inscriptions found at the site.⁹⁵ However, no textual evidence has yet been uncovered that confirms the identification of the Great Aten Temple as the *pr'İtn*. Excavators

⁸⁸ K. Myśliwiec proposes that the Aten is actually a form of Atum rather than Re. He believes that it was Atum who was the Heliopolitan competition for the Amun cult through the Thutmosid period. See K. Myśliwiec, 1982. “Amon, Atum and Aton: the evolution of Heliopolitan influences in Thebes.” *L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches* 2, 285-289. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique: 285-289.

⁸⁹ D. Redford 1984: 172

⁹⁰ D. Redford 1984: 172-3

⁹¹ The structures included in this overview are the main state-built temples of Tell el-Amarna. For an overview of the domestic shrines at the site, see S. Ikram, 1989. “Domestic shrines and the cult of the royal family at el-Amarna.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75, 89-101.

⁹² W. Murnane and C. van Siclen designate this text as the “Earlier Proclamation”; W. Murnane & C. van Siclen 1993: 11

⁹³ Translations of the building names taken from B. Kemp, 2012. *The City of Akhenaten & Nefertiti: Amarna and Its People*. London: Thames & Hudson: 34

⁹⁴ The Great Aten Temple has been thoroughly described in B. Kemp 2012: 87-93. The site has also been published in J. Pendlebury, 1951. *The City of Akhenaten Part III: the Central City and the official quarters. The excavations at Tell el Amarna during the season 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*. London: Egypt Exploration Society: 5-20.

⁹⁵ B. Kemp 2012: 84

working at the site have conventionally referred to the front structure as the Long Temple and the building at the back of the complex as the Sanctuary.⁹⁶ The total area within the enclosure walls is roughly 800 by 300 meters in size; the main entrance is in the western wall, and was marked by two mud brick pylons approximately 22 by 5 meters.⁹⁷ The gateway between the pylons was around 6 meters in width, likely too wide to be closed by doors. An ascending ramp of mixed sand and plaster was constructed through this gateway, leading to a series of slightly elevated open courtyards.⁹⁸ An enclosed structure at the North end may have served as the temple treasury, however this remains conjecture.

The Long Temple is located 32 meters beyond the entrance pylons; this structure has been tentatively identified as the *Gmt-p3-Itn*, which corresponds to a temple name found at Akhenaten's temple at Karnak.⁹⁹ The structure seemed to consist of a series of open air courtyards, divided into six sections either by pylons or, as appears to be the case in the third courtyard—by a series of clustered papyrus bud columns.¹⁰⁰ The focus of activity at the temple appears to be in the sixth court, which features remains of what was possibly the main offering table. This is depicted in several of the Amarna tomb representations of the Aten temple. Aside from this large table, the foundations of each of the courts show rectangular indentations, which support the scenes showing rows of smaller offering tables throughout the structure.¹⁰¹ The Sanctuary lies 340 meters at the east end of the Long Temple, surrounded by a low perimeter wall, likely 2 meters in height.¹⁰² The layout of the Sanctuary is comparable to the Small Aten Temple in size and design: both structures are compressed versions of the Long Temple¹⁰³ with additional L-shaped walls extending from the pylons, although the use of the additional spaces created by these walls remains unknown.

In addition to the main temple enclosures, two structures at Tell el-Amarna known as Kom el Nana and Maru-Aten have been identified as temples affiliated with female members of the royal family. A recent reconstruction of a fragmented inscription from Kom el Nana was carried out by Jacqueline Williamson,¹⁰⁴ supporting the identification of that site with the *šw.t rꜥ* of the Great Royal Wife (Nefertiti) that is known from the boundary stela texts.¹⁰⁵ Kom el Nana is situated to the south of the main city at Tell el-Amarna. A mud brick wall with four entrance

⁹⁶ B. Kemp 2012: 85

⁹⁷ B. Kemp 2012: 87

⁹⁸ B. Kemp 2012: 89

⁹⁹ B. Kemp 2012: 91

¹⁰⁰ B. Kemp 2012: 91-92

¹⁰¹ Kemp estimates that in the Long Temple and surrounding area alone there were more than 1,700 offering tables.

¹⁰² B. Kemp 2012:93

¹⁰³ The Sanctuary is approximately 30 by 47 meters in length; B. Kemp 2012: 93

¹⁰⁴ J. Williamson, 2008 "The Sunshade of Nefertiti". *Egyptian Archaeology* 33: 1-3

¹⁰⁵ Boundary Stela K, Line 15

pylons surrounds the enclosure. An internal wall appears to have bisected the structure along an east-west axis. The focus of activity at the enclosure appears to have been two buildings known as the North and South shrines, which are centrally located and aligned with the entrance pylons.¹⁰⁶ The remains of another structure known as the Southern Pavilion, as well as garden plots, and buildings used for baking and brewing have also been excavated at the site.

The scene reconstructed by Williamson shows the head of Nefertiti as well as the phrase *šw.t rꜥ*; other inscriptions from this site mention a structure called the *rwd ꜥnh itn*. A second epigraphic reconstruction carried out by Williamson suggests that the *šw.t rꜥ* of Nefertiti was a subdivision of the larger *rwd ꜥnh itn* complex.¹⁰⁷

A similar layout can be seen as the second outlying temple, the Maru-Aten. The enclosure is also south of the main city and appears have had a *šw.t rꜥ* component. That *šw.t rꜥ* is associated with Meritaten, although it appears that it was originally dedicated to either Nefertiti or Kiya and re-carved for the princess.¹⁰⁸ There are two structures within the enclosure, both consisting of gardens, pavilions and pools. The larger of the structures has an artificial island in one of the pools with an open-air shrine with an offering table.¹⁰⁹ Neither the *šw.t rꜥ* of Meritaten nor the Maru-Aten itself is mentioned on the boundary stela inscriptions, although both names have been found on inscribed architectural material from the site.¹¹⁰

The known temples at Tell el-Amarna do not follow the conventional layout of Egyptian cult spaces. Although solar courts were often a feature of temples by the New Kingdom, the basic architectural plan of a traditional New Kingdom temple was designed to get increasingly darker and more enclosed moving from the pylons and courtyards towards the sanctuary space. It has been suggested¹¹¹ that the solar temples at Heliopolis may have inspired the very different open-air temples at Amarna, but this is purely conjecture. Regardless of precedent, Akhenaten built the temples at Tell el-Amarna deliberately for his carefully laid out new settlement. The design, designation, and placement of these structures were thus an extension of his religious vision and serve as the control group when examining his regional temple constructions.

¹⁰⁶ J. Williamson 2008: 3

¹⁰⁷ J. Williamson (forthcoming)

¹⁰⁸ B. Kemp 2012:119; T. Peet and C. Woolley, 1923. *The City of Akhenaten I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-'Amarneh*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund: 153

¹⁰⁹ B. Kemp 2012: 119

¹¹⁰ T. Peet and C. Woolley 1923: 271-273

¹¹¹ J. Hoffmeier, 2014. *Excavations in North Sinai, Tell el-Borg I*. Eisenbrauns: 176.

Table 1. Temples at Tell el- Amarna

Transliteration of Egyptian	Translation	Associated Structures	Usage
<i>ḥwt 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn</i>	“The Mansion of the Aten in Akhetaten”	N/A	Name inscribed on architectural material found in the area of the “Small Aten Temple” ¹¹²
<i>Pr 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn</i>	“The House of the Aten in Akhetaten”	<i>Gm p3 'Itn; ḥwt bnbn</i>	Name is known from the Boundary Stelae and tentatively identified with the Great Aten Temple enclosure ¹¹³
<i>Gm p3 'Itn m pr 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn</i>	“The Aten is Found in the House of the Aten in Akhetaten”	<i>Pr 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn ; ḥwt bnbn</i>	Name is known from several architectural fragments found at the site and has been tentatively identified with the Great Aten Temple “Long Temple” ¹¹⁴
<i>ḥwt bnbn</i>	“The Mansion of the <i>benben</i> ”	<i>Pr 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn</i>	The name is attested to on inscriptions from stone fragments ¹¹⁵ , but the association with the <i>Pr 'Itn m 3ḥt 'Itn</i> is conjecture ¹¹⁶ .
<i>Pr ḥꜥy</i>	“House of Rejoicing”	N/A	The Name is attested to twice on the “Earlier Proclamation” from the Boundary Stelae ¹¹⁷ . Inscriptions from architectural material have been found at both the Great Aten Temple enclosure and the Great Palace ¹¹⁸ .
<i>šw.t rꜥ ----</i>	“Sunshade of ---”	N/A	Several different <i>šw.t rꜥ</i> structures have been identified from inscriptions at Tell el-Amarna ¹¹⁹ . They are affiliated with various royal women: Tiye ¹²⁰ , “the Great Royal Wife” ¹²¹ (Nefertiti), Meritaten ¹²² , and Ankhesenpaaten ¹²³ .

¹¹² J. Pendlebury 1951: 191; T. Peet and C. Woolley 1923: pl. LV; H. Frankfort and J. Pendlebury, 1933. *The City of Akhenaten part II: the North Suburb and the Desert Altars: The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna during the seasons 1926-1932*. London: Egypt Exploration fund: LVIII no. 17-23; Tomb of Pentu at Tell el-Amarna in Davies 1905c: pl. II, III, IV, VI, XI

¹¹³ J. Pendlebury 1951: 191; Boundary Stela K, Line 15; W. Murnane & C. van Siclen 1993: 40

¹¹⁴ J. Pendlebury, 1951. *The City of Akhenaten Part III: the Central City and the official quarters: The Excavations at Tell el Amarna during the season 1926-1927 and 1931-1936*: 191, pl. LVII no. 5, 8; pl. CIII no. 42,44,45,47

¹¹⁵ J. Pendlebury 1951: 194, pl. CIII; N. Davies 1905c: pl. XXX

¹¹⁶ This is primarily based on the arrangement of the temple structures and their subdivisions known from the enclosure at East Karnak, which will be discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

¹¹⁷ Boundary Stela K, Line 16; W. Murnane & C. van Siclen 1993: 40

¹¹⁸ J. Pendlebury 1951: pl. CI no. 1,4,6,8,17; pl. XLI no. 2,3; pl. LXVIII no. 4

¹¹⁹ The tomb of Tutu mentions “every sunshade in Akhetaten”; N. Davies 1905: pl. XVI

¹²⁰ N. Davies 1903: p. VIII

¹²¹ Boundary Stela K, Line 15; W. Murnane & C. van Siclen 1993: 40

¹²² T. Peet and C. Woolley 1923: pl. LVI

¹²³ T. Peet and C. Woolley 1923: pl. LXXXVIII no. 107-110.

Chapter III: Gazetteer

Introduction

In order to conduct a study of the sites where Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten constructed temples, the postulated temple locations need to be identified. For the purpose of this thesis, a gazetteer was determined to be the best format in order to present these locations. Each entry includes the standard geographic information as well as relevant historical information.

Presentation of Sites

The postulated temple sites are listed in order of location from north to south. The division of territory consists of Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt, Lower Nubia, Upper Nubia, with the site of Tell el-Borg being designated as the Sinai to emphasize its position on the periphery of the Egyptian empire.

Name	Geographic Limits ¹²⁴
Sinai	The triangular peninsula situated between the Mediterranean and Red Seas, serving as a land bridge between Africa and Asia.
Lower Egypt	The Delta region of northern Egypt to the east of the Sinai.
Upper Egypt	The Nile Valley between modern Cairo and the First Cataract at Aswan
Lower Nubia	The area between the First and Second Cataracts
Upper Nubia	The area between the Second and Sixth Cataracts

Site Name, Geographic Location and GPS

The site names used at the beginning of each entry are the modern place names most commonly used in scholarly literature.¹²⁵ Additional toponyms, including known temple names associated with these sites are also included when available. The locations of the sites are identified by their basic geographical divisions as well as which bank of the Nile the site was built on. Given the complicated identification of east or west bank due to bends in the Nile, particularly

¹²⁴ S. Ikram 2010: 9-17

¹²⁵ The spellings and transliterations of these names are taken from J. Baines and J. Malek 1980.

in Upper Nubia, the locations are designated as being on either the right or left bank¹²⁶. The Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates of each site are also included.¹²⁷

Evidence of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten¹²⁸

An overview of the known Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten era material associated with the site is included in each entry. This includes any remaining architectural material, epigraphic evidence linking the site to an Amarna period religious structure, and other archaeological finds that can be used to date the site to the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. One of the main examples of architectural material that was examined was the presence of *talatat* blocks at the various sites. This building material, which Kemp describes as an innovation of the Amarna Period¹²⁹, was likely developed in order to build monumental stone architecture in a short span of time. The resources necessary to build massive temples as impressive and widespread as those of the traditional Egyptian pantheon may have also played a key role in the development of the *talatat* as a building material. However, the ease with which the Amarna temples were later torn down and reused after the end of his reign may have served as a warning to his successors against using the smaller stone blocks in their own temples. Further analysis of this material will be carried out in the following chapter to determine if use of the material at the site dates to the Amarna Period or is evidence of later transportation and re-use.

Site Background

As the following chapters focus on the social, historical and religious context of locations chosen by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, this section will detail basic historical information regarding each site and an overview of cultic activity, with a focus on constructions of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's predecessors in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as later building activity at the site that may be indicative of the destruction or reuse of Amarna Period material.

¹²⁶ Oriented north.

¹²⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, these coordinates are taken from J. Baines and J. Malek, 1980. *A Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Checkmark Books.

¹²⁸ The relative dating of the Amarna Period building activities will be discussed later in this paper, but the absolute chronology of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's reign used in this thesis is taken from J. Baines and J. Malek 1980 (c. 1353 BC-1336 BC).

¹²⁹ Kemp 2012: 60-61.

TELL EL-BORG

Location: Sinai

GPS: 30.55 N 32.24 E¹³⁰

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: *Talatat* were found re-used in the Nineteenth Dynasty fortress foundations. Additionally, several jar seals dating to the Amarna period were uncovered, including one possible reference to a *pr-itn* at the site¹³¹.

Site Background: Tell el-Borg was a New Kingdom fortified settlement that was most likely part of the “Way of Horus”, the network of fortresses along Egypt’s eastern border. The earliest New Kingdom evidence dates to the reign of Thutmose III, with a second fort being constructed during the early Nineteenth Dynasty¹³². The site appears to have been continuously occupied in some capacity through the Roman Period.

TELL BASTA

Location: Lower Egypt, Delta

GPS: 30.34 N 31.31E¹³³

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: A single granite slab with a damaged, partial inscription of the early form of the Aten titulary was found at the site¹³⁴.

Site Background: Tell Basta was the capital of the Eighteenth Lower Egyptian Nome. During the New Kingdom Amenhotep III built a *heb-sed* festival chapel on the site. There is some Ramesside material present at the site, but van Siclen believes that this was probably taken from other settlements in the Delta and reused at a later period¹³⁵. Tell Basta served as a Late Period cult site dedicated to the goddess Bast.

¹³⁰ J. Hoffmeier and M. Abd El Maksoud, 2003. “A new military site on “the ways of Horus”: Tell el-Borg 1999-2001: A Preliminary Report.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89, 169-197: 174

¹³¹ J. Hoffmeier and J. van Dijk, 2010. New Light on the Amarna Period from North Sinai. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 96, 1-15; J. Hoffmeier and M. Abd El Maksoud 2003

¹³² J. Hoffmeier and J. van Dijk 2010

¹³³ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

¹³⁴ É. Naville, 1891. *Bubastis* (1887-1889). - London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner: 34

¹³⁵ C. van Siclen, 1999. “Tell Basta.” in Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the archaeology of ancient Egypt*. London; New York: Routledge: 948

HELIOPOLIS

Location: Lower Egypt, East Bank

GPS: 30.08 N 31.18¹³⁶

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: A “significant number of *talatat* fragments¹³⁷” were found in the Suq el-Khamis area of the site. Some of the fragments are inscribed with the names Akhenaten, Nefertiti, the Aten, and princess Meketaten, along with the fragments of monumental statues of the royal couple.¹³⁸ Seventeen inscribed blocks, most likely from the temple at Heliopolis were found re-used in the Mosque of el-Haqim in Cairo¹³⁹. An additional *talatat* published by Labib Habachi has an inscription with a possible temple name: “Aten lives long in *heb-sed* lord of all that the sun-disk surrounds, lord of heaven, lord of earth, and lord (of) (the temple called) “which lifts-Re-in-*Iwnw*-of-Re.”¹⁴⁰,”

Site Background: Heliopolis was the center of the sun cult and was one of the largest and most important religious enclosures in Egypt. The main deities worshipped at Heliopolis were Re, Re-Atum, Re-Horakhty, the Mnevis bull and Hathor. By the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, the cult of Ra was becoming the most politically influential religious institution on a national level. With the growing prestige of the cult came the rise of political influence of the Ra priests as well. As a result, the pre-existing belief of the relationship between the king and the sun god was used as a legitimizing tool for the Fifth Dynasty kings. The implicit link between the kingship and the sun cults was formalized with the construction of sun temples at the Memphite necropolis and the consolidation of the Ra cult at Heliopolis. The temple complex continued to be modified throughout the Eighteenth dynasty, during the reigns of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III. Following the Amarna Period, both Seti I and Ramses II undertook a massive construction projects at Heliopolis.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

¹³⁷ More precise figures have not been specified in the publication. M. Abd el-Gelil, R. Suleiman, G. Faris & D. Raue, 2008. “The Joint Egyptian-German Excavations in Heliopolis.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 64, 1-9: 4

¹³⁸ Abd el-Gelil, et al. 2008: 5

¹³⁹ L. Habachi, 1971. “Akhenaten in Heliopolis.” *Beträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 12: 35-45

¹⁴⁰ L. Habachi 1971: 36

¹⁴¹ L. Kákósy, 1977. “Heliopolis.” In Helck and Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 2: 1111-1113

MEMPHIS (MIT RAHINA)

Location: Lower Egypt, Left Bank¹⁴²

GPS: 29.51 N-31.15E¹⁴³

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: *Talatat* were uncovered in structures dating to Ramses II in the Ptah enclosure at Kom el-Fakhry as well as at Kom el-Rabia. Additional stelae and statue fragments have been uncovered at Kom el-Qala.¹⁴⁴ There are also several titles attesting to Amarna Period temples at Memphis that have been uncovered from tombs of the temple personnel in the Memphite necropolis.

Site Background: Memphis is believed to have been settled at the beginning of the dynastic period with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The settlement served as its administrative and political center for the duration of Pharaonic history. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep III built a complex known as “Nebmaatre united with Ptah,”¹⁴⁵ although the architectural remains of this temple have not yet been located. Following the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Seti I and Ramses II both built at the Ptah enclosure at Kom el-Fakhry.¹⁴⁶

MEDINET EL GUROB

Location: Upper Egypt, Faiyoum

GPS: 29.12 N 30.57 E¹⁴⁷

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten: Amarna period artifacts as well as a single re-used *talatat* were found near Medinet al Gurob at el-Lahun. These included several rings and a letter dated to Amenhotep IV.¹⁴⁸

Site Background: Medinet el-Gurob appears to have been the location of an Amenhotep III palace complex. Artifacts primarily relating to the royal women of Amehotep III’s family have been uncovered, including the carved head of Queen Tiy¹⁴⁹ now housed in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin.

¹⁴² The focus of New Kingdom activity at Memphis appears to have been focused to the southeastern section of the settlement, near the ‘Enclosure of Ptah’ temple at modern day Kom el-Fakhry.

¹⁴³ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

¹⁴⁴ V. Angenot 2008: 9

¹⁴⁵ A. Kozzloff and B. Bryant 1992: 75

¹⁴⁶ D. Jeffreys, 1999. “Memphis” in Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 589.

¹⁴⁷ Digital Egypt for Universities “Gurob” <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/gurob/>; University College London 2001

¹⁴⁸ B. Fay, 2004. “The wooden statue of Nebetia from Kom Medinet Ghurab.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 60, 41-45

¹⁴⁹ ÄM 21834

ASHMUNEIN

Location: Upper Egypt, Left Bank

GPS: 27.47 N 30.48 E¹⁵⁰

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Approximately 1200 *talatat* were found reused at the site¹⁵¹.

Site Background: Ashmunein was the center of the Hermopolitan creation myth, which included the mythology of the Ogdoad. The oldest architectural remains at Ashmunein are part of a Middle Kingdom Amun Temple dating to the reign of Amenemhat II. Amenhotep III built extensively at the site, including a temple dedicated to Thoth.¹⁵² Another large scale construction at the site was a shrine dedicated to the gods Amun and Thoth, which was started by Ramses II and finished by Merenptah and Seti II.¹⁵³

SHEIKH ABADA (ANTINOPOLIS)

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 27.49 N 30.53 E¹⁵⁴

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Excavations carried out by Donadoni revealed *talatat* built into the Ramesside temple foundations, as well as decorated column drums similar to what has been uncovered at the Small Aten Temple at Tell el-Amarna.¹⁵⁵

Site Background: Ramses II built a temple at Sheikh Abada dedicated to the gods Khnum, Atum, and Ra-Horakhty. Hadrian later established the Roman settlement of Antinopolis in honor of his companion Antinous, who drowned at the site.

MANQABAD

Location: Upper Egypt, Left Bank

GPS: 27.20 N 31.11 E¹⁵⁶

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: A single limestone *talatat* with a partial Aten cartouche inscription was found within the Graeco-Roman necropolis site.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 234

¹⁵¹ A. Spencer, 1999. "El Ashmunein." In Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 147-150. London: Routledge

¹⁵² A. Kozloff and B. Bryant 1992: 75

¹⁵³ A. Spencer 1999: 149

¹⁵⁴ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 236

¹⁵⁵ G. Rosati 2007. "Amarna reliefs from el-Sheikh 'Abadah." In Goyon, and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists: Grenoble 6-12, septembre 2004* vol. 2, 1613-1620. Leuven: Peeters: 1615

¹⁵⁶ Geohack, "Manqabad" <http://tools.wmflabs.org/geohack>

¹⁵⁷ A. Kamal, 1911. "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Deirout au nord et Deir el Gandalah al sud. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 11, 3-39: 3-4

Site Background: Manqabad is a modern village northwest of Asyut with the remains of a Graeco-Roman necropolis¹⁵⁸.

ASYUT

Location: Upper Egypt, Left Bank

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Approximately 15 *talatat* and 4 column fragments were found re-used at the site¹⁵⁹. The blocks were located in the same area as material from a temple dedicated to Wepwawet dating to Ramses II was uncovered¹⁶⁰.

Site Background: Asyut was the ancient capital of the Thirteenth Upper Egyptian Nome and cult center of the jackal-deity Wepwawet. Although the site was in use from the Old Kingdom through to the Roman period, it is best known for the First Intermediate Period necropolis.

MATMAR

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 27.06 N 31.20 E¹⁶¹

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: *Talatat* made of both limestone and sandstone were found re-used in the Ramses II temple dedicated to Seth.¹⁶²

Site Background: Matmar was the site of a non-elite New Kingdom necropolis as well as a Seth temple dedicated by Ramses II.¹⁶³

AKHMIM

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 26.34 N 31.45 E¹⁶⁴

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: C. Wilbour initially uncovered two limestone blocks at Akhmim that he dated to the Amarna Period. Another thirteen limestone blocks, slightly larger than standard *talatat* were uncovered at the site by Marc Gabolde and published by Yehia El-Masry¹⁶⁵. They were identified as Amarna Period material based on the remaining relief, which

¹⁵⁸ A. Kamal 1911: 3

¹⁵⁹ J.-I. Chappaz, 2005. "L'Horizon d'Aton." In Begerot, *Akhénaton et l'époque amarnienne*, 65-83. Paris: Khéops; Centre d'égyptologie: 74-76.

¹⁶⁰ S. Gabra, 1931. "Un temple d'Aménophis IV à Assiout." *Chronique d'Égypte* 6 (12), 237-243: 240

¹⁶¹ Digital Egypt for Universities, "Matmar." <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/matmar/> University College London 2001

¹⁶² G. Brunton, 1948. "Matmar." *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt 1929-1931*: 60-65.

¹⁶³ G. Brunton 1948: 61.

¹⁶⁴ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 234

¹⁶⁵ Y. El-Masry, 2002. "New evidence for building activity of Akhenaten in Akhmim." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 58, 391-398

appears to be depicting the King standing before an offering table, worshipping the Aten¹⁶⁶. A final block, now located in a Ministry of Antiquities storage facility at Athribis shows a cartouche with the word *itn*.¹⁶⁷

Site Background: The site of Akhmim was a cult center for the god Min as well as an important political center for the Ninth Upper Egyptian nome.¹⁶⁸ Several important late Eighteenth Dynasty people such as Tiy and Ay are believed to be from Akhmim.

ABYDOS

Location: Upper Egypt, Left Bank

GPS: 26.09 N 31.53 E¹⁶⁹

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Twenty-seven *talatat* were found re-used in a pylon built by Ramses II¹⁷⁰.

Site Background: Abydos was an important religious and political center in the pre-Dynastic and Early Dynastic periods throughout Egyptian history. Although the necropolis at the Um el-Qab section of the site dates back to Dynasty I, the settlement appears to have been founded later in the Old Kingdom.¹⁷¹ By the Middle Kingdom, Abydos had become a major cult site for the god Osiris.¹⁷² Ahmose constructed a series of shrines early in the Eighteenth dynasty, and a larger temple was constructed at the site during the reign of Seti I, although it was finished by Ramses II.¹⁷³

KARNAK TEMPLE

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 25.43 N 32.40 E¹⁷⁴

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: Approximately 80,000 to 90,000 *talatat* have been uncovered at Karnak to date. The work carried out by the Akhenaten Temple Project has led to the identification of eight structures built by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten in the eastern area of the Karnak enclosure, although only the *Gm (t)-p3-Itn* has been located.

¹⁶⁶ El-Masry 2002: 397-398

¹⁶⁷ El-Masry 2002: 398

¹⁶⁸ K. Kuhlmann, 1983. *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Akhmim*. Sonderschrift, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo 11. Mainz: Zabern

¹⁶⁹ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 234

¹⁷⁰ D. Silverman 1985, vol. 2: 274

¹⁷¹ B. Kemp 1977. "Abydos." in Helck and Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I: 28

¹⁷² B. Kemp 1977: 32

¹⁷³ B. Kemp 1977: 32

¹⁷⁴ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

Site Background: Karnak Temple or *ipt-iswt* “the most select of places” was the main cult site of the Theban Triad. The earliest extant architecture dates to the Middle Kingdom, while the main sanctuaries were continuously built and modified from the New Kingdom onwards. The New Kingdom Amun precinct was “ideologically and economically the most important temple establishment in all of Egypt.”¹⁷⁵

MEDAMUD

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 25.43 N 32.39 E¹⁷⁶

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: Approximately 50 *talatat* were uncovered re-used in the foundations of Coptic period structures.¹⁷⁷

Site Background: The earliest architectural remains at Medamud are a First Intermediate Period mud brick sanctuary, which was incorporated into later Middle Kingdom structures during the reign of Senusret III.¹⁷⁸ The Middle Kingdom temple dedicated to Montu was incorporated into the New Kingdom sanctuary built by both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, although few details of this structure are known. The site continued to be used into the Coptic Period.

LUXOR TEMPLE

Location: Upper Egypt, East Bank

GPS: 25.42 N 32.38 E¹⁷⁹

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: There is intentional destruction of the names and images of Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and Hathor.¹⁸⁰ In the 1890s, hundreds of *talatat* fragments were uncovered at the site by Georges Daressy.¹⁸¹

Site Background: Luxor temple, *ipt-rsyf*, was dedicated to the ithyphallic incarnation of Amun known as Amenmenope, as well as to the cult of the royal ka.¹⁸² Amenhotep III built extensively at the site throughout his reign, including modifications to the extant Amun temple, the construction of a solar court, and a colonnade, which was later, completed during the reign of Tutankhamun¹⁸³.

¹⁷⁵ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 90

¹⁷⁶ GeoHack, “Medamud” <http://tools.wmflabs.org/geohack>

¹⁷⁷ R. Cotteville-Giraudet, 1936. *Les reliefs d'Aménophis 4 Akhenaton* (Vol. 12). Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

¹⁷⁸ J. Revez, 1999. “Medamud” in Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 571-578

¹⁷⁹ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

¹⁸⁰ L. Bell 1985: 251-294

¹⁸¹ D. Redford 1984: 66.

¹⁸² J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 86.

¹⁸³ L. Bell 1985: 251-294

KOM EL-HITTAN

Location: Upper Egypt, West Bank

GPS: 25.72 N 32.61 E¹⁸⁴

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: The images of Amun were later replaced with images of the deified Amenhotep III as Nebmaatre.¹⁸⁵

Site Background: Kom el-Hittan is the modern name of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, which was the largest royal funerary complex in ancient Thebes.¹⁸⁶ Although the site is very poorly preserved, the remaining sandstone blocks appear to be decorated with *heb-sed* festival scenes. In addition to the large solar court and series of monumental statues.¹⁸⁷ The complex also included a chapel dedicated to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

ARMANT

Location: Upper Egypt, Left Bank

GPS: 25.37 N 32.32 E¹⁸⁸

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: *Talatat* were found re-used in the foundations of the Ptolemaic Montu temple.¹⁸⁹

Site Background: Armant was an important cult center of the god Montu. The earliest remains are a pre-Dynastic necropolis, although the earliest dynastic cult space dates to the Middle Kingdom.¹⁹⁰ Thutmose III also constructed a temple to the god Montu at the site. A later Ptolemaic period structure has been uncovered at the site, with reused blocks from the older cult structures within its foundations.¹⁹¹

TOD

Location: Upper Egypt, Right Bank

GPS: 25.35 N 32.32 E¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴ GeoHack, "Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III" <http://tools.wmflabs.org/geohack>

¹⁸⁵ G. Haeny, 1981. *Untersuchungen in Totentempel Amenophis III Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* II. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner; S. Bickel, 1997. *Tore und andere wiederverwendete Bauteile Amenophis III Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben III*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner

¹⁸⁶ A. Kozzloff, et al 1992: 90

¹⁸⁷ The remaining extant statues are now known as the 'Colossi of Memnon'.

¹⁸⁸ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 234.

¹⁸⁹ A. Farid 1983: 60

¹⁹⁰ K. Bard, 1999. "Armant." In Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 162- 165

¹⁹¹ K. Bard 1999: 162

¹⁹² F. Gomaa, 1999. "Tod" in Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 1026

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Approximately 45 *talatat* and 3 statue fragments were uncovered from the Ramesside temple.¹⁹³

Site Background: Tod was a cult site dedicated to the god Montu¹⁹⁴ and is attested to as early as the Middle Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Seti I all added to the pre-existing temple at the site. Later building activity can be dated to the Ptolemaic Period.

WADI EL-SEBUA

Location: Lower Nubia, Left Bank

GPS: 24.45 N 32.34 E¹⁹⁵

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: There appears to be intentional modifications to the reliefs from the Amenhotep III temple dating to the Amarna Period,¹⁹⁶ although Ramses II later repaired this damage.

Site Background: The temple at Wadi el-Sebua was originally built by Amenhotep III and dedicated to the gods Amun and Horus. During the reign of Ramses II, the temple was rededicated to Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty.¹⁹⁷

AMADA

Location: Lower Nubia, Left Bank

GPS: 22.43 N 32.15 E¹⁹⁸

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: There are references in the initial site reports to images of Amun-Re being intentionally damaged.¹⁹⁹

Site Background: The temple at Amada was constructed by Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Thutmose IV²⁰⁰ and dedicated to Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty in honor of their successful Nubian campaigns. Akhenaten erected a commemorative stela at Amada following his military victory at the Wadi el-Allaqi.²⁰¹

¹⁹³ C. Traunecker, 2005. "Néfertiti, la reine sans nom." In Bergerot, *Akhénaton et l'époque amarienne*. Paris: Kheops: 117-134. Paris: Kheops

¹⁹⁴ F. Gomaa 1977. "Tod" in Helck and Otto *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI: 614-615

¹⁹⁵ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 236

¹⁹⁶ M. Fisher, 2012. "Wadi el-Sebua." in M. Fisher, P. Lacovara, S. Ikram and S. D'Auria, 2012. *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 378; L. Török, 2009. *Between two worlds: the frontier region between ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700- AD 500*. Leiden: Brill: 244

¹⁹⁷ M. Fisher 2012: 378

¹⁹⁸ J. Baines & J. Malek 1980: 234

¹⁹⁹ H. Gauthier, 1910. "Quelques fragments trouvés à Amada." *ASAE* 10: 122-123; A. Schulman 1982; the reports do not go into greater detail concerning the figures that were destroyed or the extent of the damage done.

²⁰⁰ H. Gauthier 1910: 122-24.

²⁰¹ JE 41806; A matching stela with an identical description was also uncovered at Buhen; A. Schulman 1982

ELLESIYA

Location: Lower Nubia, Right Bank

GPS: 22.37 N 31.57 E²⁰²

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: There is evidence of intentional damage to the Thutmosid reliefs that was later repaired during the reign of Ramses II.²⁰³

Site Background: The original temple structure at Ellesiya was a rock shrine built by Thutmose III. The temple was dedicated to mixture of traditional Egyptian gods such as Amun-Re, and Nubian deities such as Horus of Aniba and Dedwen, as well as the deified Senusret III.²⁰⁴

FARAS

Location: Lower Nubia, Left Bank

GPS: 22.13 N 31.29 E²⁰⁵

Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Evidence: Hathor's names and titles were intentionally damaged²⁰⁶ inside the early Eighteenth Dynasty temple.

Site Background: The remains of two early Eighteenth Dynasty temples were uncovered at the site.²⁰⁷ The first, dedicated to an aspect of Hathor, identified as Hathor of Abeshek dates to the reign of Hatshepsut. The second temple was built by Amenhotep II and dedicated to Horus of Buhen. Following the Amarna Period, the chapel of Hathor was enlarged and restored by Tutankhamun and later by Rameses II.²⁰⁸

SAI

Location: Upper Nubia, Nile Island

GPS: 20.24 N 30.20 E²⁰⁹

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: There is evidence of intentional destruction of Amun's name and images.²¹⁰

²⁰² GeoHack, " Temple Ellesiya" <http://tools.wmflabs.org/geohack>

²⁰³ L. Török, 2009: 226-7

²⁰⁴ L. Török 2009: 226

²⁰⁵ J. Baines & J. Malek 1980: 234

²⁰⁶ J. Karkowski, 1981. *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*. Éditions scientifiques de Pologne: 67, 69, 73-74.

²⁰⁷ Porter & Moss VII: 126.

²⁰⁸ R. Wilkinson 2000: 228

²⁰⁹ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 236

²¹⁰ A. Minault-Gout, 2006-2007. "Les Installations du début du Nouvel Empire à Saï: un état de la question ." In *Mélanges offerts à Francis Geus: Égypte-Soudan*, 275-293. Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle: 288

Site Background: Sai Island shows evidence of being inhabited throughout Nubian history, beginning with the Upper Paleolithic through the X-Group. During the New Kingdom the Egyptians established a walled settlement on the Island, although there was a large Kerma culture population as well, making Sai an important trade center. A temple dedicated to Amun was constructed on the island by Thutmose III.²¹¹

SEDEINGA

Location: Upper Nubia, Left Bank

GPS: 20.33 N 30.17 E²¹²

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten: The images of Amun were intentionally destroyed. However, all of the depictions of Queen Tiy as the Eye of Re goddess were left intact.²¹³

Site Background: Amenhotep III built the temple at Sedeinga, *ḥwt -tj*, in conjunction with his temple project at Soleb. The focus of cult activity at Sedeinga was the deified Queen Tiye in her guise as the Eye of Re, taking the form of both Hathor and Tefnut.²¹⁴

SOLEB

Location: Upper Nubia, West Bank

GPS: 20.27 N 30.20 E²¹⁵

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: It appears that the Amenhotep III temple was either finished or modified by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. His cartouches are present on the first pylon, although they underwent a series of changes. The earlier Amenhotep IV cartouches were changed to the king's new name before later being hacked out and replaced with Amenhotep III's name in a post-Amarna restoration effort. Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten is also shown on the temple pylons offering to Amun-Re and Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia. There appears to be only one instance of Atenist defacement of Amun's images or names.

Site Background: Amenhotep III constructed the temple at Soleb.²¹⁶ It was intended to be a companion structure to his temple at Sedeinga, where the deified Tiy was worshipped. The temple

²¹¹ D. Edwards, 2004. *The Nubian past: an archaeology of the Sudan*. London: Routledge: 83-84

²¹² J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 236

²¹³ J. Leclant, 1984. "Sedeinga." Helck and Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*: 780-782

²¹⁴ A. Labrousse, 1994. "Sedeinga, état des travaux." In Bonnet (ed.), *Études nubiennes. Conférence de Genève: actes du VIIe Congrès international d'études nubiennes, 3-8 septembre 1990* 2, Genève: Charles Bonnet : 131-133

²¹⁵ C. Rocheleau, 2008 *Amun temples in Nubia: a typological study of New Kingdom, Napatan and Meroitic temples*. BAR International Series 1850. Oxford: Archaeopress: 83

²¹⁶ M. Schiff Girogini, 1965. *Soleb I: 1813 - 1963*. Firenze: Sansoni

appears to have been connected with Amenhotep III's *heb-sed* festival, based on the layout and decoration. He also appears in his deified guise as Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia.

SESEBI

Location: Upper Nubia, Left Bank

GPS: 20.08 N-20.33 E²¹⁷

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: Four temple structures dating to Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten have been found at Sesebi. Three form part of a religious complex that has been tentatively identified with the worship of the Theban triad²¹⁸ as well as the deified Amenhotep III as Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia.²¹⁹ A fourth temple was uncovered to the north of the main temple complex, and followed a layout similar to Akhenaten's smaller sun shrine structures. Four foundation deposits from the main temple complex contain a variety of objects inscribed with the early form of Amenhotep IV's name.²²⁰ None of the four temples are attested to on any architectural inscriptions or other contemporary records from the site.

Site Background: The Egyptian settlement at Sesebi appears to have been established during the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The only temple structures on Sesebi that have been identified thus far date to the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. The temples at Sesebi were linked to the adjacent temple at Soleb via a procession route, similar to those attested at the various temple precincts in Thebes.²²¹

DOUKKI GEL (KERMA)

Location: Upper Nubia Right Bank

GPS: 19.26 N 30.24 E²²²

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: Stone blocks taken from an Amun temple built by Thutmose IV were reused and recut into *talatat* blocks. A single course of these blocks was found *in situ*, following the architectural outline of the earlier temple. Additional *talatat* were found reused in the foundations of later New Kingdom temples at the site.

²¹⁷ C. Rocheleau 2008: 20.

²¹⁸ H. Fairman, 1938. "Preliminary report on the excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24, 151-156: 154

²¹⁹ K. Spence, et al. 2011. "Sesebi 2011." *Sudan & Nubia* 15, 34-38: 34; A. Blackman, 1937. "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 145-151: 148.

²²⁰ A. Blackman 1937: 148.

²²¹ M. Schiff Giorgini, 2002. *Soleb III: le temple. Description*. Bibliothèque générale 23. Florenz: Sansoni: 239

²²² C. Rocheleau 2005: 84

Site Background: Doukki Gel is an area of Kerma, the ancient capital of the Kerma state. It is located approximately 1 kilometer north of the Great Deffufa. Thutmose I first established the Egyptian settlement at the site,²²³ although it does not appear to have been fully occupied until the reign of Thutmose III. The remains of several temples dedicated to Amun have been found in the Egyptian settlement at Doukki Gel.

KAWA

Location: Upper Nubia Right Bank

GPS: 19.07 N 30.30 E²²⁴

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: The ancient name of Kawa was *Gm(t)-p3-Itn*,²²⁵ which was also the name given to several Amarna period temple structures.

Site Background: Kawa was a settlement in the Dongola Reach of Nubia to the South of Kerma. It appears to have been a center of power of a local ruler serving in the Egyptian government. The earliest extant monument at Kawa was a temple dedicated to Amun constructed by Tutankhamun. Later occupation of the site dates to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and continued on into the Nubian Meroitic Period.²²⁶

GEBEL BARKAL

Location: Upper Nubia, Right Bank

GPS: 18.32 N, 31.49 E²²⁷

Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Evidence: There is extensive re-use of *talatat* in multiple temples and shrines at Gebel Barkal.²²⁸ *Talatat* blocks were also found *in situ* in the foundations of temples B300, B200, and B1100.²²⁹ Additionally, the nearby *gubba* of Sheikh Ahmad Coursani is built almost entirely out of *talatat*. The worship of a deity known as Aten of Napata can be attested at the site through the Napatan period.²³⁰ To date, the known instances of Atenist iconoclasm at the site are the removal of Amun's image from a Thutmose III stela, and Amun's name from a statue of Amenhotep III from temple B700.

²²³ C. Bonnet and D. Valbelle, 2007. *The Nubian Pharaohs: Black Kings of the Nile*. Cairo: American University in Cairo: 49

²²⁴ J. Baines and J. Malek 1980: 235

²²⁵ M. Macadam, 1949. *The Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions*. London: Oxford University Press

²²⁶ R. Morkot, 2012. "Kawa." in Fisher, et al. (eds.), *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*: 296

²²⁷ T. Kendall, 1999. "Gebel Barkal." In Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*: 366

²²⁸ *Talatat* were found reused in B500, B350, B700, B700 sub 1 & sub 2, B520, B522, B904, and in shrines south of pylon B501.

²²⁹ Buildings at Gebel Barkal are assigned numbers, with a prefix "B" in the archaeological literature and site reports.

²³⁰ *FHN I*: 233, 254.

Site Background: The site of Gebel Barkal was known to Egyptians from the reign of Thutmose III²³¹ as *P3 ḏw-wꜥb*, or “the Pure Mountain”. The main Amun temple at the site was given the same name as the temple at Karnak, *ipt-iswt*, as the sanctuary was believed to be the residence of the god Amun in Nubia.²³² The site appears to have carried a great deal of significance for the New Kingdom Egyptian pharaohs, as almost every king between Thutmose III to Ramses II built at the site in some capacity.²³³

²³¹ Although there is evidence for Nubian occupation of the site beginning in the Neolithic period through to the rise of the Kerma culture; see J. Haynes & M. Santini Ritt, 2012. “Gebel Barkal.” in Fisher, et al. (eds.), *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*: 286

²³² J. Haynes & M. Santini Ritt 2012: 285

²³³ J. Haynes & M. Santini Ritt 2012: 287; Notably, Amenhotep III appears to be the exception to this rule.

Chapter IV: Identification of Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten Temples

Following the death of Akhenaten, successive pharaohs began dismantling his construction projects, particularly his stone temples. This is due in part to the reformation and restoration of the Amun cult in the wake of the Atenist iconoclasm. However, the nature of the Amarna temples, particularly the relatively portable *talatat* blocks, allowed for easy deconstruction and reuse of architectural material in later structures. As a result, Amarna period remains have been found at numerous sites across Egypt and Nubia, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter. In order to examine the locations chosen by Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten for the purpose of temple construction, the study corpus needs to be narrowed to the conclusively identified construction sites.

For the purposes of this thesis, a positive identification of a site as a temple construction location is based on an evaluation of the following criteria: the presence of *in situ* architectural remains, epigraphic evidence linking an Amarna period cult space to the location, and the presence of non-architectural archaeological remains indicating Amarna period activity on the site²³⁴. Special consideration is given to the remoteness of the locations as well as the availability of alternative building materials.

The *damnatio memoriae* carried out by Akhenaten's successors resulted not only in the defacement of his own names and images but also the concealment and repair of his iconoclasm in extant temples. This later damage has made identifying intentional Amarna period modifications difficult and the corpus of such sites remains incomplete. Due to these limitations, the temple sites that only show evidence of Atenist iconoclasm are not part of the analysis of this thesis. Additionally, for the purposes of more accurately identifying re-use sites, an evaluation has been made of the availability of local building materials and the proximity of these locations to positively identified temple construction sites. Several sites have compelling evidence in one of the three evidence categories, but do not meet the criteria for positive identification for this study. They have been labeled as inconclusive and are discussed and analyzed separately.

²³⁴ The most common objects being ceramics and small objects, especially ring bezels or inscribed scarabs.

Positively Identified Temple Construction Sites

Heliopolis

Little is known about the exact layout and location of the Amarna Period construction at Heliopolis due to the poor level of preservation at the site overall. Excavations at a location designated in the excavation reports as Site 200,²³⁵ revealed a compact layer of limestone chips in the eastern portion of the excavated area. Some of the fragments were decorated with imagery and texts dating to the Amarna Period,²³⁶ which has led the excavators to believe that the fragments originated from an Amarna Period temple structure in this area of the Heliopolis enclosure. Additional intact *talatat* associated with this temple have been uncovered both at the site²³⁷ as well as re-used in the Mosque of el-Hakim in Cairo.²³⁸ Several statue fragments have also been uncovered at the site.²³⁹

Despite the rather fragmentary nature of the architectural evidence, the name of the Amarna Period temple at Heliopolis has been preserved on surviving *talatat*, as well as on a partially re-inscribed stela. This stela²⁴⁰ was re-used during the reign of Horemheb by the high priest of Re at Heliopolis, Paremhob. The unaltered face of the stela depicts the Aten above an altar covered with offerings, with king and queen to the right of the altar.²⁴¹ The inscription on the stela uses the early form of the Aten titulary and Habachi's translation of the piece gives the full name of the Aten temple at Heliopolis as follows: "Aten lives long in the *heb-sed*, lord of heaven, lord of earth, and residing in (the temple called) 'the One which Lifts Re in *Iwnw* (Heliopolis).'²⁴² Additional evidence supporting the presence of Amarna Period activity at the site includes examples of Atenist iconoclasm, particularly the destruction of Amun's name when used as an element of royal names or titles found within cartouches.²⁴³

While the re-use of this stela from the reign of Horemheb indicates that some of the Amarna Period material was being dismantled at Heliopolis during his reign, the biography of May²⁴⁴ indicates that major construction projects were started at Heliopolis during the reign of Ramses II, which more likely than not led to the complete destruction of the Aten temple and reuse of the *talatat*.

²³⁵ Site 200 lies to the west of the main "Domain of Re" enclosure at Heliopolis; M. Abd el-Gelil et al., 2008. The Joint Egyptian-German Excavations in Heliopolis. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 64, 1-9:3

²³⁶ M. Abd el-Gelil et al., 2008: 3

²³⁷ D. Raue, 1999. *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*. Cairo: Achet: 109-112

²³⁸ L. Habachi 1971: 38

²³⁹ M. Abd el-Gelil, et al. 2005: 8.

²⁴⁰ CG Cairo 34175; L. Habachi 1971: 42

²⁴¹ L. Habachi 1971: 43

²⁴² L. Habachi 1971: 43

²⁴³ D. Raue 1999: 89-90

²⁴⁴ May served as the "Overseer of all works in the temple of Re" during the reign of Ramses II: D. Raue 1999:196-198; M. Abd el-Gelil et al. 2008:

Table 2. Selected Evidence of Amarna Period Activity at Heliopolis

Location	Context	Imagery	Inscriptions	Additional Notes	Bibliographic References
Mosque of el-Hakim	<i>Talatat</i> built into N. wall of Minaret	Offering table laden with food and lotus flowers	N/A	N/A	Habachi 1971: (Fig. 18b)
Mosque of el-Hakim	<i>Talatat</i> built in N. wall of Minaret	The king standing below the rays of the Aten	N/A	N/A	Habachi 1971: (Fig. 18c)
Mosque of el-Hakim	<i>Talatat</i> built into crenellated parapet of the of the mosque of El-Hakim	----	Aten lives long in the jubilee Lord of all that is surrounded by the sun-disk, lord of heaven, lord of earth, and residing in the temple called “which-lifts--Re-in- <i>Twnw</i> ”	Early form of the Aten cartouches as well as the name of the temple at Heliopolis	Habachi 1971: (Fig. 19)
Site 200	limestone fragment	----	----	Early form of the Aten cartouches	Abd el-Gelil <i>et al</i> 2008: 5
Site 200	Limestone fragment	Queen Nefertiti	---	---	Abd el-Gelil <i>et al</i> : 2008 5; Pl. 3a
Site 200	Limestone fragment	Aten with food offerings	---	---	Abd el-Gelil <i>et al</i> : 2008 5; Pl. 3b.
Site 200	Quartzite statue fragment	---	“[Aten]...in his jubilees”	Early form of the Aten cartouches	Abd el-Gelil <i>et al</i> : 2008: Pl. 3d
Unknown	Stela	The King, Queen, and Princess Meketaten shown worshipping the Aten	“Aten lives long in the jubilee Lord of all that is surrounded by the sun-disk, lord of heaven, lord of earth, and residing in the temple called which-lifts- Re-in- <i>Twnw</i> ”	Early form of the Aten cartouches as well as the name of the temple	Habachi 1971: (fig. 20); Raue 1999: 310
Unknown	Statue fragment	---	“Aten lives long in the jubilee Lord of all that is surrounded by the sun-disk, lord of heaven, lord of earth, and residing in	Early form of the Aten cartouches along with the name of Princess Meretaten	Raue 1999: 311

			the temple called which- lifts-Re-in- <i>Iwnw</i> the king's daughter, whom he loves, Meritaten		
--	--	--	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--

Memphis

Four Amarna period temples can be identified from the archaeological record at Memphis. The precise locations of these structures at the site remains unknown, as the temples themselves appear to have been completely destroyed by the reign of Ramses II. The *talatat* from the Amarna Period temples were then reused in Ramses II's Ptah enclosure at Kom el-Fakhry.²⁴⁵ The four temple names may refer to separate buildings or to multiple areas of a single cult space.

The best attested temple structure is the *pr-'Itn*, which had counterparts at both East Karnak and Tell el Amarna. The *pr-'Itn* is known from the titles of temple personnel. Ptahmay, who is buried in the Giza necropolis, held the title “goldsmith in the *pr-'Itn*.”²⁴⁶ Meryre/Meryneith, who held several titles associated with the Aten cult, is named as a “scribe in the *pr-'Itn*” on a statue from his tomb at Saqqara.²⁴⁷ In the tomb of Hatiay, also at Saqqara, a staff was found with an inscription mentioning “*pr-'Itn-m-Mnnfr*.”²⁴⁸

The second temple name associated with Memphis is *hw.t-p3-'Itn*, which has counterparts at both Amarna and Thebes. The Memphite structure is referenced in the funerary stela of Huy from Saqqara,²⁴⁹ the titles of Hatiay and the P. Rollins 213. This papyrus dates to the reign of Seti I, indicating that the temple continued to function well past the end of the Amarna period.²⁵⁰ Angenot believes this indicates that the *hw.t-'Itn* at Memphis may have been part of a greater enclosure, the *pr-'Itn*.²⁵¹ However, it is also possible that these temples were two discrete structures.

The third temple associated with *3ht 'Itn-m-Mnnfr* Memphis is also mentioned in the titles of Hatiay and Meryre/Meryneith. Angenot has proposed a number of different interpretations for this temple name. While it is possible that the title of both Hatiay and Meryre/Meryneith relate to a

²⁴⁵ V. Angenot 2008. “A Horizon of the Aten in Memphis?.” *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 35, 7-26: 10

²⁴⁶ A. Zivie, 1975. *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte I: introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*. Bibliothèque d'étude 66 (1). Le Caire: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale: 285-310; V. Angenot 2008: 20; PM III: 303

²⁴⁷ B. Löhr, 1975. “Aḥanjati in Memphis.” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 2, 139-187: 172

²⁴⁸ A. Hassan, 1976. *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 33. München; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag: 155.

²⁴⁹ Cairo Museum CG 34182

²⁵⁰ B. Löhr 1975: 146-7; V. Angenot 2008: 14.

²⁵¹ V. Angenot 2008: 14.

temple estate in Memphis that provides for temples in the new capital city, present day Tell el-Amarna, Angenot proposes that the temple complex at Memphis bore the designation *3ht Itn*. Murnane theorized that this title was used throughout the Amarna period to designate any religious precinct that contained temples and shrines dedicated to the Aten.²⁵²

The final proposed temple name has been reconstructed by Pasquali from inscriptions taken from two *talatat* uncovered at Memphis.²⁵³ The first of these blocks was uncovered in the Middle Birka of Kom el-Qala²⁵⁴ and mentions a *šw.t-Rʿ*. The second block is in the Brussels Museum²⁵⁵ and was uncovered by Petrie from the Ptah enclosure in 1912. The partially preserved *3nh* group following the Aten titles on this block is most likely a temple name or a royal name. The possible reconstructions for this phrase would be either the name of a temple type known as the *Rwd ʿnhw*²⁵⁶ or the name of princess Ankhensenpaaten, who is known to have a sunshade at Amarna, Pasquali's proposed reconstruction combines both the text from both blocks:

*šw.t-Rʿ n (y.t) s3.t nsw.t ʿnh=s-n-p3-Itn*²⁵⁷

Further architectural evidence of the Amarna Period uncovered at Memphis has been published in great detail by Löhr.²⁵⁸ The preserved decoration shows the usual Amarna milieu of offerings, Aten rays, chariots, fragments of the royal couple and their courtiers. As mentioned above, the inscriptions from these blocks almost always use the early form of the Aten name. This indicates that the temples at Memphis were built between the end of Year 5, as a letter to the King from the Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy does not mention any new constructions in his overview of the Memphite temples, but before Year 12, which is the earliest dated attestation of the new Aten titulary.²⁵⁹

²⁵² V. Angenot 2008: 21-22.

²⁵³ Pasquali's argument for basing her reconstruction on these two blocks is that they are the only two inscriptions uncovered at Memphis that use the late form of the Aten titulary and thus are likely to be part of the same scene or structure. S. Pasquali, 2011. "A Sunshade Temple of Princess Ankhensenpaaten in Memphis?" *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 97, 216-222

²⁵⁴ S. Pasquali 2011: 219

²⁵⁵ S. Pasquali 2011: 216-219

²⁵⁶ J. Pendlebury 1951: 183; S. Pasquali 2011: 219

²⁵⁷ "Sun-shade temple of the king's daughter Ankhensenpaaten"; S. Pasquali 2011: 220

²⁵⁸ B. Löhr 1975

²⁵⁹ M. Verner, 2013 *Temple of the World: Sanctuaries, Cults, and Mysteries of Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 95

Table 3. Selected Evidence of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten Activity at Memphis

Location	Context*	Imagery	Inscriptions	Additional notes	Bibliographic References
Memphis; Re-used at Ptah enclosure (eastern side)	<i>Talatat</i>	Libation jar, Aten rays	“in the temple	Inscription shows early names of Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti	Nicholson 1870, pls. 1 [Nos. 2a, 7] Nicholson Mus. R. 1143 Löhr II 8
Memphis; Re-used at Ptah enclosure (eastern side)	<i>Talatat</i>	Figure of human leg	-----	Inscription shows the early names of the Aten	Nicholson 1870, pl. 1 [No. 2 and 3]
Memphis; Re-used at Ptah enclosure (eastern side)	<i>Talatat</i>	Lower part of the figure of a courtier	N/A	----	Nicholson 1870, pl. 1 [No. 2]
Memphis; Blocks found near the Ptah enclosure by J. Hekekyan, July 1854	<i>Talatat</i>	A king and a fan-bearer	N/A	-----	Nicholson 1870, pl. 1 [No. 5] ; Malek 1996.
Memphis; Blocks found near the Ptah enclosure by J. Hekekyan, July 1854	<i>Talatat</i>	N/A	----	Inscription shows the later name of the Aten and possibly mentions a sunshade temple.	Hekekyan MSS. 37452, 261, 37454, 59; Mariette 1872, pl. 27; PM III, Part 2, 850.
Memphis; “The Palms” south east-of the hypostyle hall of larger Ptah Temple	Possible <i>talatat</i> fragment	Fingers of a hand carved in the “Amarna style”	----	-----	British Museum EA 66023
Memphis; Blocks found in the Ptah enclosure by F. Petrie, 1913	<i>Talatat</i>	Chariot and men before altars	-----	Possibly depiction of Aten temple structure	Petrie 1915, 32, pl. liv [10]; PM III, Part 2, 850
Memphis; Blocks found in the Ptah enclosure by F.	<i>Talatat</i>	Upper part of a queen, probably	----	----	London, UC 73; Petrie 1915, 32, pl. liv [9]; PM III,

Petrie, 1913		Nefertiti			Part 2 850
Memphis; Blocks found in the Ptah enclosure by F. Petrie, 1913	<i>Talatat</i>	Boat scene	----	----	Fitzwilliam Museum E. 19.1913; Petrie 1915, 32, pl. liv [9]; PM III, Part 2, 850
Memphis; Blocks found in the Ptah enclosure by F. Petrie, 1913	<i>Talatat</i>	Offerings, oxen, and two attendants	---	Possibly depiction of temple offering rituals	Brussels, Mus. Roy. E. 7636; Petrie 1915, 32, pl. liv [8]; PM III, Part 2, 850.
Memphis; Block re-used in the pylon of the large Ptah temple; EES, 1989	<i>Talatat</i>	Male torso	----	-----	Giddy, Jeffreys, and Malek, 1990, 4.
Memphis; Block re-used in the pylon of the small Ptah temple at Kom el Rabia	<i>Talatat</i>	Bowing courtier	----	----	Habachi 1965, 65 pl. 23; PM III, part 2, 844.
Kom el-Qala	Stela	N/A	-----	Shows early names of the Aten and Akhenaten	Mariette 1872, 10, pl. 34; PM III, Part 2, 862
Kom el-Qala	Sculpture	Head of a quartzite statue, possibly Nefertiti	-----	-----	Cairo JE 45547; Penn Museum Journal Vi, 1915, fig. 62 p. 82; PM III, Part 2, 857
Find location uncertain	Sculpture	Fragment of back pillar of statue	Early Aten Cartouches	-----	Copenhagen Ny Carlsb. Glypt AE.I.N. 1144; Mogensen 1930, 6, pl. III [A7]; PM III, Part 2, 863.

Karnak

At the beginning of his reign, Amenhotep IV completed the decoration on Pylon III and Pylon X, originally constructed by Amenhotep III.²⁶⁰ The scenes themselves are fairly traditional, with Amenhotep IV shown smiting enemies and making offerings to the gods, in particular a zoomorphic, falcon-headed incarnation of the Aten.²⁶¹ This decoration however was only a small portion of an extensive building project at the Karnak precinct that took place within the first five years of his reign. Approximately 80,000 to 90,000 *talatat* have been uncovered from the site of Karnak itself, but blocks from this building project were taken and widely reused throughout the Theban area.²⁶² The names of eight structures associated with the Aten have been found on these blocks.²⁶³

Based on the frequency with which the names appear on the blocks it seems that there were four main temple structures in the East Karnak complex — *Gm(t)-p3-Itn*, *hwt-bnbn*, *tni-mnw-n itn*, and *Rwd-mnw-n-itn*.

Table 4. Names of the Main Amarna Period Structures at Karnak

Transliteration	Translation ²⁶⁴
<i>Gm(t)-p3-Itn</i>	“The is <i>Itn</i> found”
<i>hwt-bnbn</i>	“The Mansion of the <i>bnbn</i> ”
<i>tni-mnw-n itn</i>	“Exalted are the monuments of the <i>Itn</i> ”
<i>Rwd-mnw-n-itn</i> .	“Sturdy are the monuments of the <i>Itn</i> ”

Redford has suggested that the earliest construction from the reign of Amenhotep IV was a structure known as the *pr-Itn*, or “house of the *Itn*”, which is depicted in the tomb of Parennefer (TT188).²⁶⁵ Parennefer’s titles in his tomb name him as the “overseer of all royal construction in the *pr-Itn*” and “establishing his monuments in the *pr-Itn*.”²⁶⁶ When Amenhotep IV began preparations for his *heb-sed* festival, four major additions were built within the *pr-Itn*²⁶⁷; it was during this time, that the structure became known as the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn*.²⁶⁸ These new architectural

²⁶⁰ D. Redford 1984: 62

²⁶¹ D. Redford 1984: 62-3

²⁶² See full re-use discussion below.

²⁶³ S. Tawfik, 1979. “Aten and the Names of His Temple(s) at Thebes.” In Smith & Redford (eds.), *The Akhenaten Temple Project: Vol. 1 Initial Discoveries*, 58-63. Warminster: Aris & Phillips: 61-62

²⁶⁴ S. Tawfik 1979: 62.

²⁶⁵ D. Redford, 2013. Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 369, 9-34

²⁶⁶ D. Redford 1984: 56

²⁶⁷ D. Redford 2013: 10;

²⁶⁸ The *t* is not always included in the inscriptions naming the temple. Tawfik has suggested that the *t* was intended to indicate that the verb *gm* was in the infinitive, see S. Tawfik 1979

elements consisted of *heb-sed* festival reliefs scenes on the portico,²⁶⁹ a series of colossal quartzite statues of the king,²⁷⁰ granite offering tables or altars,²⁷¹ and the construction of open roofed shrines in the first court.²⁷² The structure was built along the same east-west axis as the Amun enclosure, as well as the Thutmose IV obelisk. The *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* is the only structure that has been located and partially excavated. The decoration of the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* appears to have been exclusively focused on the rituals and preparation of the *heb-sed* festival.²⁷³ The next most commonly attested Amarna Period temple at Karnak is the *hwt-bnbn*, however its location has not been identified. Epigraphical evidence suggests that this temple may have been built in the vicinity of the Thutmose IV obelisk. This theory is based on the form of the determinative used when writing the word *bnbn*. While the determinative varies on other Amarna Period inscriptions,²⁷⁴ the term relating to the Karnak temple structure always uses an obelisk. Amenhotep IV is not present in any of the iconography associated with this temple. Rather, the main officiate of the cult is Nefertiti, sometimes accompanied by her three eldest daughters. The locations and functions of the final two structures, the *tni-mnw-n-itn* and *Rwd-mnw-n-itn* remain unknown. The relief decoration associated with these temples is more widely varied than either the *Gm(t) p3 Itn* or the *hwt-bnbn*, and includes temple offerings, pastoral scenes, rewarding of officials, and the business of collecting taxes.²⁷⁵ Redford points out that in the *Rwd-mnw-n-itn* many of the scenes depict various types of military personnel accompanying the king.²⁷⁶ The temples at Karnak do not appear to have survived beyond the reign of Horemheb, who reused the dismantled *talatat* blocks for fill in pylons II and IX; further re-use was carried out during the Ramesside period.

Soleb

Construction at the temple of Soleb began during the reign of Amenhotep III, although it appears that Akhenaten completed the construction. The majority of the scenes of Akhenaten are found at the entrance to the temple on the first pylon.²⁷⁷ There has been some debate as to the date of these scenes. In the cartouches present, it is possible to make out the names of both Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. Some scholars have suggested that perhaps Akhenaten usurped an earlier construction

²⁶⁹ D. Redford 1984: 102-104

²⁷⁰ L. Manniche 2010; the statues were possibly of both Nefertiti and Akhenaten

²⁷¹ D. Redford 2013: 20

²⁷² D. Redford 2013: 20.

²⁷³ For a detailed, in depth analysis of the decoration, see D. Redford 1984: 110-128 as well as Chapter 5 of this thesis.

²⁷⁴ S. Tawfik 1979: 61; the variations include a mound, a stela and a pyramidion.

²⁷⁵ D. Redford 1984: 72

²⁷⁶ D. Redford 1984: 72; Redford also points out that these depictions are interesting in light of the pervasive theme in Amarna Period scholarship that a degree of enmity existed between the King and his army.

²⁷⁷ W. Murnane 2002 in Schiff Giorgini, *Soleb III: le temple. Description*: 103-116

by Amenhotep III and replaced his father's names with his own. An alternative theory that has been proposed is that Akhenaten completed the pylon in honor of his father following the death of Amenhotep III, which would explain why the cartouches would have been originally inscribed or changed to Akhenaten's names. Murnane conducted a comprehensive analysis²⁷⁸ of Akhenaten's images and titles at the temple and concluded that the pylon itself was likely constructed by Amenhotep IV, following the death of Amenhotep III. Amenhotep IV later re-inscribed his own earlier cartouches to reflect changing his name to Akhenaten. Murnane then proposes that following Akhenaten's death, his cartouches were re-inscribed a second time, this time with the name of Amenhotep III.²⁷⁹

The imagery on the first pylon seems to be primarily concerned with aspects of the royal cult. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is shown being crowned by a variety of deities, who are also shown offering life to the king. The king is also shown offering to both Amun-Re and Amenhotep III as Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia.²⁸⁰ This imagery serves to emphasize Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's unquestionable right to the kingship, as both the literal son of Nebmaatre as well as the spiritual son of Amun-Re.²⁸¹

There is only one instance of Amun's image being destroyed by the Atenists, on the northern doorway of the pylon façade. The other divine figures at the temple do not show any evidence of being defaced during the Amarna period, a challenge to the long-held idea that Akhenaten did not allow for any degree of religious pluralism.²⁸² The images of Amenhotep III as Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia would have been easily assimilated into the new religious iconography as the deified Amenhotep III was worshipped throughout the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

Following the end of the Amarna period, there seems to have been two different phases of vandalism and restoration at the temple site. The first was likely disorganized and not officially sanctioned. The king's figures were only partially hacked out, with the higher-register images escaping damage entirely. At some point after this first attempt, an official decision was made to repair the scenes to continue cult activity at the temple. Murnane proposes that this decision led to the cartouches of Akhenaten being recut for Amenhotep III.²⁸³ The complex at Soleb was connected via a processional route to the Amarna-period temple complex at Sesebi.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ W. Murnane 2002: 104

²⁷⁹ W. Murnane, 2003. "Response to D. B. Redford." In Hawass and Pinch Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* 2, 15-19. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press: 19

²⁸⁰ W. Murnane 2002: 113.

²⁸¹ W. Murnane, 2002: 114.

²⁸² W. Murnane 2002: 108; 115.

²⁸³ W. Murnane 2002: 109.

²⁸⁴ W. Murnane 2002: 114.

Sesebi

Four Amarna Period temples have been identified at Sesebi from the architectural remains. The main temple complex is composed of three adjacent temple structures. From the remains of this decoration, it is possible to detect three phases of work on the columns, which likely reflects adjustments made to decoration of the rest of the temple. The first phase is similar to that of the later Eighteenth Dynasty, with finely modeled low relief figures; these earlier scenes were later reworked, probably post-Year 6, to include sunken relief of the king and queen offering to the Aten. The final phase consists of Seti I's attempts to erase the Akhenaten material, plastering over the scenes with depictions of himself worshipping Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.²⁸⁵

In the central temple, the pedestal for the barque shrine remains in situ, however it has been re-inscribed with the name of Ramses II. The deep cuts of the inscriptions indicate that it once bore the name of another pharaoh, most likely Amenhotep IV.²⁸⁶ In a room to the north of the hypostyle hall in the central temple, a lower doorway provided access to a crypt within the substructure.²⁸⁷ This feature is highly unusual for a temple of its time. In the majority of Egyptian temples, crypts were not added until the Later and Ptolemaic periods.

The reliefs on the walls of the crypt were damaged in antiquity.²⁸⁸ However, it is still possible to discern the identities of the figures. They appear to portray Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti alongside a variety of deities, including Geb, Shu, Osiris, Atum and Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia. The stylistic details on the reliefs show that although they were originally worked in a very delicate low-relief, typical of the later Eighteenth Dynasty, pre-Amarna period, a few were later re-worked in the later Amarna style.²⁸⁹ Mostafa has noted that the foundation walls of the entire complex were constructed to carry the weight of a roof.²⁹⁰

A fourth temple was established to the north of the main temple complex. It was laid out in a similar fashion to most of Akhenaten's smaller sun temple structures. The temple consisted of a courtyard, 11.7 meters square, on top of a platform that is raised 2 meters high. *Talatat* blocks were inscribed with the early form of the Aten's name. At least two phases of construction at the

²⁸⁵ R. Morkot, 2012. "Kings and kingship in ancient Nubia." In Fisher et al. (eds.), *Ancient Nubia: African Kingdoms on the Nile*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 316.

²⁸⁶ A. Blackman, 1937: 147.

²⁸⁷ D. Mostafa, 1993. "Architectural development of New Kingdom temples in Nubia and the Soudan." In Leclant (ed.), *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologi*, 141-152. Torino: International Association of Egyptologists: 146.

²⁸⁸ K. Spence, et al 2011: 34.

²⁸⁹ K. Spence, et al. 2011: 34.

²⁹⁰ D. Mostafa 1993: 146.

temple can be identified, the original design with the western staircase built by Akhenaten and the later addition of the eastern staircase by Seti I.

The major finds from the Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten temples at Sesebi come from four foundation deposits, which were discovered by the Egypt Exploration Society team during the 1937 season. They were found under the northwest and southwest corners of the main temple complex, with four ceremonial bricks installed in conjunction with the deposits.²⁹¹ A small number of blue faience objects were uncovered, including two plaques and two scarabs, all of which were inscribed. The deposits also included models of a brick mold with three bricks, all made of wood, models of harpoons, two axes, two knives, one adze, copper tools, approximately one hundred ceramic vessels, and an assortment of colored beads.²⁹² The following year, the team uncovered an additional two intact foundation deposits, in the vicinity of the southeast corner of the settlement enclosure wall.²⁹³ The pits containing the deposits were covered with stone slabs. As in the original four foundation deposits, faience plaques and scarabs were included, inscribed with the early form of Amenhotep IV's name.

None of the temples at Sesebi are attested in jar sealings or labels outside of the site itself. Inscriptions from the four foundation deposits at the main temple complex are found on two plaques and one scarab. All three texts bear the name *Imn-ḥtp-ntr-ḥkꜣ-Wꜣst*,²⁹⁴ the first incarnation of Amenhotep IV's name. Another large faience scarab was inscribed with Amenhotep IV's praenomen, also in its original form: *Nfr-ḥprw-Rꜥ*.²⁹⁵

An offering scene from the northern temple contains an inscription relating to Nefertiti. Six columns of the text are preserved, although the majority of the scene was erased during the reign of Seti I.²⁹⁶ The text reads "Hereditary princess, greatly favored, sweet of love, lady of Upper and Lower Egypt, [...in the] palace, who bears witness to the horizon and ascends (?) to [...], the king's chief wife, his beloved, [Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti] may she live continually."²⁹⁷ Also in the debris from the Northern temple, the Egypt Exploration Society team found a dislodged block with a partially preserved inscription bearing the original version of the Aten's dogmatic name.²⁹⁸

²⁹¹ A. Blackman 1937: 148.

²⁹² A. Blackman 1937: 148.

²⁹³ Fairman 1938: 153.

²⁹⁴ Blackman 1937: 148.

²⁹⁵ Blackman 1937: 148.

²⁹⁶ W. Murnane, 1995 *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Meltzer (ed.), Writings from the Ancient World 5. Atlanta: Scholars Press: 41.

²⁹⁷ Translation done by Murnane. Original Egyptian inscription recorded by Breasted.

²⁹⁸ A. Blackman 1937: 147.

Table 5. Selected Evidence of Amarna Period Activity at Sesebi

Transcription	Translation	Location	Associated Object
<i>Imn-ḥtp-ntr-ḥkꜣ-Wꜣst</i>	Amenhotep, the god who rules Thebes	Foundation deposits; Main temple complex	two blue faience plaques, one blue faience scarab
<i>Nfr-ḥprw-Rꜥ</i>	-----	Foundation deposits, Main temple complex	one blue faience scarab
<i>Nfr-nfrw-Itn-Nfr-ty-ty</i>	Beautiful are the Beauties of the Aten, the Beautiful One has come	Offering scene, northern temple	architectural element
N/A	inscription of original form of Aten's name	Debris, northern temple	architectural element

Doukki Gel

The Amarna Period temple at Doukki Gel was built on top of a pre-existing Amun temple dating to the reign of either Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV.²⁹⁹ The basic plan of the temple was preserved, although it appears that the majority of the temple was dismantled in order to re-cut the blocks into *talatat*. Most of these *talatat* were later re-used in Napatan structures, although a least one course of *talatat* foundation blocks is visible in parts of the temple area.³⁰⁰ The temple itself followed a traditional tripartite floor plan, although three main modifications³⁰¹ were made in the Amarna Period incarnation of the building. The proportions of the pylon appear to have been changed to seven by eight meters, consistent with other Amarna Period temple pylons. The second courtyard of the structure appears to have been filled with a field of offering tables, again a common Amarna solar temple feature. The lateral passageways on either side of the portico courtyard indicate that peripheral chapels were included in the main structure as well.

The inscriptions on the re-used blocks³⁰² show haphazard and inconsistent evidence of intentional modification; the only target appears to have been the name of Amun.

²⁹⁹ C. Bonnet et al., 2003 Kerma: "Preliminary Report on the 2001-2002 and 2002-2003 Seasons." *Kerma* 51, 1-26: 4

³⁰⁰ C. Bonnet & D. Valbelle 2006: 57-58; C. Bonnet et al 2003: 19.

³⁰¹ C. Bonnet, 2004 *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux*. Paris: Éditions Errance: 109-110;

³⁰² A full index or detailed publication of the amount of architectural material or the iconography of the surviving *talatat* has not yet been published; for examples of the *talatat* from the Doukki Gel sanctuary, see D. Welsby and J. Anderson, 2004. *Sudan: ancient treasures. An exhibition of recent discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*. London: British Museum Press: 113, objects SNM 31107 and 31108

Gebel Barkal³⁰³

Over 40,000 *talatat* blocks have been uncovered at Gebel Barkal, the majority of which are undecorated, save for a few with the name of Ramses II.³⁰⁴ The largest concentration of the blocks comes from B500, the main Amun temple of the site. There are *talatat* walls and foundations in the sanctuary as well as in the first and second courtyards, which Kendall has identified as the original foundations of the structure. There appear to have been five phases of construction in this section of B500 overall, three of which can be attested to the Amarna Period.³⁰⁵ In the first phase, the sanctuary,³⁰⁶ first court and pylon were constructed, along with the structure B522, which would later be incorporated into a Napatan temple. B522 was likely unroofed, based on the width of the sandstone walls, which would have been too thin to support a roof.

The foundation deposit material from this temple was removed, but the pit containing them was resealed.³⁰⁷ Similarly, the burial deposit from the main sanctuary was also later disturbed, as the cartouches on the artifacts were removed although the assemblage was then reburied.³⁰⁸ The disturbed foundation deposits were likely intended to remove any connection between Akhenaten and the structure, which continued to be used after the end of the Amarna Period.

The second phase of construction was the addition of a larger court and a second pylon, 503.³⁰⁹ Following this, the final Amarna Period alteration to B500 was an east facing chapel, which was designated as building 504c, constructed and paved using *talatat*, with walls that were approximately 789 mm thick.³¹⁰ Kendall notes that a similar chapel is present at the Amarna Period temple at Doukki Gel.³¹¹ Based on the epigraphic evidence, the later additions to B500 likely date to the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II. These include a tripartite sanctuary and an additional chapel partially constructed out of *talatat*.³¹²

Four smaller shrines can also be dated to the Amarna Period. B520-sub retains a course of its original *talatat* walls below the Napatan-era floor level. The architectural footprint of the building reveals a small, rectangular structure with thin walls constructed out of the same brittle, white sandstone used in B500's second Amarna Period construction phase.³¹³ This same type of

³⁰³ It is worth noting that Dodson questions if the blocks from both Gebel Barkal and Doukki Gel are re-used material from Soleb, but does not elaborate this line of inquiry further; Dodson 2014: 72

³⁰⁴ T. Kendall, 2009. "*Talatat* at Jebel Barkal: Report of the NCAM Mission 2008-2009." *Sudan & Nubia* 13, 2-16: 2

³⁰⁵ T. Kendall 2009: 4

³⁰⁶ Rooms 514 to 519

³⁰⁷ T. Kendall 2009: 7

³⁰⁸ T. Kendall 2009: 6

³⁰⁹ T. Kendall 2009: 7

³¹⁰ T. Kendall 2009: 7

³¹¹ C. Bonnet, et al. 2007: 197; T. Kendall 2009: 7

³¹² T. Kendall 2009: 8

³¹³ T. Kendall 2009: 8

stone was used at all four of these shrines. B700-sub1 also has a rectangular plan, with a pseudo pylon. The *talatat* foundations are visible in places; the walls of this structure were approximately 530 mm to 600 mm, suggesting that the structure was roofless.³¹⁴ B700-sub 2 lacked the pseudo pylon, but the *talatat* foundations were similar to those of B700-sub 1. Additionally, a large, natural, sandstone boulder was placed in the center of the structure, with a partial New Kingdom inscription.³¹⁵ B700-sub 3 is situated to the east of B700-sub 1 and B700-sub 2, and like the others of the type is a thin-walled, rectangular structure with a pseudo-pylon.³¹⁶

Another *talatat* structure, B1100 is built directly in front of the pinnacle of the mountain,³¹⁷ and appears to be aligned with this natural feature. A small section of the *talatat* wall is visible and *in situ* beneath later Kushite constructions. It appears to have followed the same plan as the other small *talatat* shrines from the site. Kendall believes that the object of cult in this structure was some incarnation of a uraeus goddess, symbolized by the mountain pinnacle.³¹⁸ Additional *talatat* have been found re-used beneath the Mut Temple of Taharqa, in a structure that has been designated as B300-sub. This tripartite structure resembles the Ramses II additions to B500, and Kendall believes that this temple dates entirely to his reign.³¹⁹

There is evidence of Atenist iconoclasm on earlier monuments from Gebel Barkal. The name and images of Amun from the Thutmose III stela uncovered by Reisner have been erased.³²⁰ The name of Amun was also removed on a statue of Thutmose, Akhenaten's viceroy of Kush. A fragment from B600 shows that the plural *ntrw* was modified to the singular *ntr*.

Inconclusive Sites

Tell el-Borg

While there is both archaeological material and textual evidence of Amarna period occupation at Tell el-Borg, no *in situ* architectural remains or temple foundations have been uncovered at the site to date.³²¹ Thousands of crushed *talatat* fragments have been uncovered in reuse contexts in three different areas of excavation.³²² Field II consists of a stone lined pit with a staircase. Intact *talatat* were used to form the stairs and to line parts of the wall. None of the

³¹⁴ T. Kendall 2009: 9

³¹⁵ A full study of this text has yet to be carried out.

³¹⁶ T. Kendall 2009: 8

³¹⁷ For a description of the layout of Gebel Barkal, see J. Haynes and M. Santini-Ritt 2012: 285-293

³¹⁸ Shrines to the uraeus goddesses can be seen on reliefs depicting Amenhotep IV's *heb-sed* at Karnak; J. Gohary, 1992. *Akhenaten's Sed Festival at Karnak*. London: Routledge: 21-22; T. Kendall 2009: 12.

³¹⁹ T. Kendall 2009: 12

³²⁰ G. Reisner and M. Reisner, 1933. "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69, 24-39, 73-78

³²¹ J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 6

³²² The field numbers and designations are those used by excavators in their publications.

blocks from this field were decorated and the feature appears to be part of a Ramesside structure,³²³ contemporary with the second of the two forts present at Tell el-Borg. The second location was inside of the Ramesside fort complex in Field IV, Area I, which was a v-shaped moat with *talatat* foundations and crushed limestone fragments as fill.³²⁴ Three additional *talatat* blocks were used in the foundations of the Ramesside Gate in Field V Square P, Locus 4.³²⁵ These three blocks were found *in situ* but others were uncovered within the same area.³²⁶

None of the *talatat* uncovered at Tell el-Borg were decorated, but Hoffmeier has proposed that some of the disarticulated painted plaster fragments uncovered at the site may have originally come from these blocks. One in particular appears to show the head of a royal figure, possibly one of Akhenaten's co-regents.³²⁷ The names of several Amarna Period rulers can be attested to on objects from Tell el-Borg, but none of the inscriptions uncovered thus far make any mention of an Amarna Period temple structure.

Table 6. Epigraphical Evidence of Amarna Period Activity at Tell el-Borg

Object	Inscription	Notes
Steatite ring (TBO-252)	Name of Queen Tiye ³²⁸	Found in cemetery in Field III, Area 2, Square Q, Locus 1
Amphora Handle (TBO 0309)	Possible name of Akhenaten; Itn is visible, but the remaining signs could be either an <i>ʿkh</i> bird or a <i>pr</i> sign ³²⁹	Field IV, Area I, Square F3 Locus 7
Seal Impression (TBO II 37)	“Ankh-kheperu-re, beloved of Wa-en-re”; name of Smenkhare ³³⁰	N/A
Seal Impression (TBO 0077)	“Ankh-kheperu-re, beloved of Wa-en-re”; Name of Smenkhare ³³¹	Field IV
Amphora Handle Impression (TBO 0565)	“Neferneferutaten who is beneficial to her husband” ³³²	Field IV Area 2, Square A, Locus 002
7 Limestone doorjambs	Names and epithets of Amun have been erased. ³³³	Field IV

³²³ J. Hoffmeier & M. Abd el-Maksoud 2003: pl. ix.2; J. Hoffmeier 2006 343: 180-182; J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 3

³²⁴ J. Hoffmeier & M. Abd el Maksoud, 2003: pl. xiii. 3-4; J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 3

³²⁵ J. Hoffmeier, ASAE 80 (2006): 258 and figs 5 and 6

³²⁶ The exact number of the additional *talatat* is not provided.

³²⁷ For full analysis of this fragment and the identification, see J. Hoffmeier & E. Ertman 2007. “Amarna Period Kings in Sinai.” *Egyptian Archaeology* 31:39-39; J. Hoffmeier & E. Ertman, 2008. “A new fragmentary relief of King Ankhkheperure from Tell el-Borg (Sinai)?” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 94: 296-302

³²⁸ J. Hoffmeier, 2004. “Tell el-Borg on Egypt's eastern frontier: a preliminary report on the 2002 and 2004 seasons.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 41, 85-111: 109

³²⁹ J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7

³³⁰ J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7; This has been identified as Smenkhare by Hoffmeier, however it is possibly the name of Neferneferuaten, especially given the presence of the epithets, see Van der Perre 2014.

³³¹ J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7

³³² J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7

³³³ J. Hoffmeier & R. Bull 2005 “New inscriptions mentioning Tjaru from Tell el-Borg, north Sinai.” *Revue d'égyptologie* 56: 79-86

However, the nearby fort of Tjaru at Tell Hebua may have been the site of either a *pr-Itn* or an estate of an Aten temple. A wine jar from KV62³³⁴ has a label dating to Tutankhamun's Year 5, which mentions the *pr-Itn*, and Tjaru. A second wine inscription, also dating to Year 5 of Tutankhamun was uncovered in KV63³³⁵ and again attests to a *pr-Itn* or an estate of a *pr-Itn* at Tjaru. Hoffmeier has suggested that this is the possible original location of the *talatat* found at Tell el-Borg, although it is unclear why limestone would be relocated to a new site only to be used as fill. The fortress and settlement at Tell el-Borg were clearly in use throughout the Amarna Period, but there is currently not enough evidence to meet the criteria for a conclusive identification.

Akhmim

Charles Edwin Wilbour uncovered two Amarna Period blocks from Akhmim although further details about their provenance are unknown.³³⁶ Marc Gabolde also discovered several Amarna period limestone blocks re-used in the foundations of a Ramses II temple. When the thirteen blocks uncovered by Gabolde were published by Yehia el-Masry, he noted that they were likely made from local limestone and larger than standard *talatat*. Based on the decoration preserved on the blocks el-Masry concluded that they form part of a single scene,³³⁷ which he claims would be unusual if the blocks had been taken from elsewhere.³³⁸ El-Masry also mentions a final block from the site, in a Ministry of Antiquities storage facility at Athribis, which has a partially erased Aten cartouche.³³⁹

Due to the small amount of building material as well as the complete absence of any textual references to a temple or temple personnel at the site, there is not enough evidence to conclusively identify it as an Amenhotep IV building site.

Abydos

During his excavations at Abydos in 1903, Petrie uncovered the first *talatat* known from the site. During the University of Pennsylvania excavations at the site 26 *talatat* were found reused in a gateway of Ramses II. Epigraphical evidence from one of the blocks names a temple

³³⁴ J. Cerny, 1965:22 no. 8; J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7

³³⁵ J. Hoffmeier & J. van Dijk 2010: 7

³³⁶ Y. el-Masry 2002: 397

³³⁷ The scene itself appears to be a fairly standard for the Amarna canon, with Akhenaten and Nefertiti worshipping the Aten and making offerings on a large offering table; el-Masry 2002: 395

³³⁸ Y. el-Masry 2002: 397-398

³³⁹ Y. el-Masry 2002: 398.

known as *Rwd-3nkhw-n-Itn*³⁴⁰ as well as a structure called *kd-f-ht-tn*. It is still unclear where these blocks originated, but there is no further evidence for an Aten temple at Osiris.

Kawa³⁴¹

The ancient name of Kawa, *Gm (t)-p3-Itn*, is the same name given to Aten temple enclosures at both Karnak and Amarna. This has led scholars to believe that Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten founded the site, although no architectural evidence remains pre-dating the reign of Tutankhamun. Small finds with the name of Amenhotep III have been uncovered at the site, but there is no evidence of any building activity from his reign. It is possible that an Amarna Period structure at the site was completely demolished or that the settlement dates to the very beginning of Tutankhamun's reign before the return to orthodoxy. This is however entirely speculative and the identification of Kawa as an Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten temple site is inconclusive.

Reuse Sites

Tell Basta³⁴²

Edouard Naville uncovered a granite slab with traces of the early form of the Aten's didactic name during his work at the site. It appears to have been partially erased and re-inscribed with the name of Ramses II. A single slab is not enough evidence to even tentatively identify the site as a potential Amarna period construction site.

Illahun/Medinet el-Gurob³⁴³

Illahun contained several Amarna period objects, likely moved from an original context at Medinet el- Gurob, including several rings and a letter all dated to Amenhotep IV and decorated *talatat* was also found reused in a tomb at Illahun. Despite this evidence, the extent of Amarna Period activity at Illahun and Medinet el-Gurob is unclear.

³⁴⁰ A temple with this name is known from Tell el-Amarna;

³⁴¹ M. Macadam 1949

³⁴² É. Naville, 1891. *Bubastis (1887-1889)*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund: 34-35

³⁴³ B.Fay 2004; Zecchi 2001: 177-194

Ashmunein³⁴⁴

The post-Amarna period construction at Ashmunein was a temple dedicated to Amun begun by Horemheb and completed during the reign of Ramses II. During the excavations carried out by Roeder at the site between 1929-1939, over 1200 decorated *talatat* were found reused in the Ramses II temple. Over 300 more were found between 1969-1978. The close proximity of the site to Tell el-Amarna as well as the lack of stone building remains left at that site indicate that Ramses II took advantage of the pre-cut building material for his own constructions at Ashmunein. One reused *talatat* from the site is of particular importance: it names Tutankhamun as “son of the King’s [Akhenaten’s] body.”

Sheikh Abada³⁴⁵

Amarna period material was found in the Ramses II temple. Columns from the temple courtyard had been plastered and redecorated, but the underlying decoration featuring the Aten disc was visible at the time of excavation in 1939-1940. *Talatat* were also used to pave the courtyard. Decoration on the blocks and architraves is still visible, showing scenes of the Amarna royal family worshipping the Aten. Elements from the temple were later taken for reuse during the Coptic period. The *talatat* appear to have originated at Tell el Amarna.

Manqabad³⁴⁶

A single limestone *talatat* with human arms and partial Aten cartouche, with elements of both the earlier and later versions of the didactic name was found in a Roman context. A single block is not enough to even tentatively identify the site as a possible original construction site.

Asyut³⁴⁷

The Amarna Period material found at Asyut consists of fifteen *talatat* and four column fragments that had been reused in the basement of a modern home. Some of the blocks are inscribed with the names of Nefertiti and her daughter Ankhesenpaaten, as well as the earlier form of the Aten titulary. The inscriptions also reference a structure titled the *Rwd-3nhw*, which is also

³⁴⁴ G. Roeder, 1978. *Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis* vol. II. Gersetenberg: Hildesheim; A. Spencer, 1999: 147-150

³⁴⁵ G. Rosati 2007

³⁴⁶ A. Kamal 1911: 3-4

³⁴⁷ J.-I. Chappaz 2005: 74-76

attested to on blocks uncovered at Abydos. A building with this name is known from Tell el-Amarna.³⁴⁸

Medamud³⁴⁹

The discovery of approximately 50 decorated *talatat* initially seemed to indicate that there was an Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten temple at the site. However, following the Akhenaten Temple Project's extensive study of the Karnak *talatat* and their reuse, it has been concluded that the blocks from Medamud were re-used from dismantled Karnak structures, although the date of the reuse is unknown.

Armant³⁵⁰

Adel Farid recorded *talatat* in the foundations of the Armant temple during his excavations in 1980. Little epigraphical evidence remains on the blocks, but the excavators concluded that the blocks were most likely taken from Karnak.

Tod³⁵¹

A series of excavation campaigns carried out by the Louvre have uncovered approximately 45 *talatat* as well as three fragments of Amarna period statues. Epigraphical evidence from the blocks indicates that they were dismantled from the *Gm-p3 -Itn* at Karnak; no other evidence is known to support the existence of an Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten temple at Tod. Seti I carried out the restoration of the earlier Thutmose III shrine to Montu. He may have originally brought the *talatat* from the Karnak, which were later reused in the temple dating to the reign of Ptolemy VIII Eugertes II at the site.

³⁴⁸ See chapter 2 of this thesis.

³⁴⁹ R. Cottreville-Giraudet, 1932. *Les reliefs d'Amenophis 4 Akhenaton* (Vol. 12). Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

³⁵⁰ A. Farid 1983: 60

³⁵¹ G. Pierrat, M. Étienne, D. Leconte, and C. Barbotin, 1995. "Fouilles de musée du Louvre à Tôd, 1988-1991." *Cahiers de Karnak* 10, 405-503

Modification Sites

Luxor³⁵²

Atenist destruction appears to have been focused on the monuments built by Amenhotep III. The images and names of Amun, Mut and Khonsu were erased. Some alterations to Hathor's images were also made, but the destruction was inconsistent. Deities depicted with solar disk headdresses were defaced, while the disks themselves left intact. There does not appear to have been any deliberate damage to images or names of Atum or Re. Much of the restoration of the temple was carried out at the end of the Amarna period during the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay. A large number of *talatat* and *talatat* fragments were found in the pylon constructed by Ramses II as well as in Roman period structures around the *temenos* wall.³⁵³ Stylistic analysis of the blocks carried out by the Akhenaten Temple Project determined that they belonged to the East Karnak Amenhotep IV temple complex, rather than a building at Luxor.³⁵⁴

Kom el-Hittan³⁵⁵

Architectural elements from Amenhotep III's complex were found reused in the pylon of Merenptah's temple, Medinet Habu, and the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The decoration from this material shows a systematic removal of Amun's images, which were plastered and carved to show the deified Amenhotep III in his guise of Nebmaatre. The Amun figures appear to have been partially restored by Tutankhamen.

Wadi el-Sebua³⁵⁶

There appears to have been intentional damage done to the images of Amun in the Amenhotep III temple at the site. These were later repaired during Ramses II's rededication of the temple.

³⁵² L. Bell, 1985. "Luxor temple and the cult of the royal Ka." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (4): 251-294

³⁵³ D. Redford 1984: 66

³⁵⁴ D. Redford 1984: 66

³⁵⁵ G. Haeny 1981; S. Bickel 1997

³⁵⁶ E. Morris, 2005. *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Amada³⁵⁷

The Amada excavation reports reference Atenist destruction of several reliefs at Amada,¹⁸ although little detail is given regarding the location or extent of the damage. The damage was later restored during the reign of Seti I, who constructed a small kiosk at the site.

Ellesiya³⁵⁸

The images of Amun-Re from the Thutmose III temple appear to have been intentionally damaged, but were later repaired by Ramses II.

Faras³⁵⁹

The names of the goddess Hathor appear to have been destroyed and later repaired by Tutankhamun or Ramses II.

Sai³⁶⁰

The names and images of Amun were intentionally destroyed in the Thutmose III temple on the island of Sai.

Sedeinga³⁶¹

The Atenist iconoclasm at Sedeinga seems to have been limited to the images of the god Amun. The iconography related to Queen Tiy and the Eye of Re goddesses was left undamaged.

³⁵⁷ Gautheir 1910: 122-123; Schulman 1982

³⁵⁸ L. Török 2009: 226

³⁵⁹ J. Karkowski 1981

³⁶⁰ A. Minault-Gout, 2006-2007. "Les Installations du début du Nouvel Empire à Sai: un état de la question." In Gratien (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Francis Geus: Égypte-Soudan*. Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle :275-293.

³⁶¹ J. Leclant 1984

Chapter V: Analysis

Despite the undeniable power of the king at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, there were limits to even the crown's resources. Temple construction, while an expected and anticipated activity, amounted to a serious financial strain. Combining this with the foundation of a new capital city at Tell el-Amarna, it seems likely that Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten would have had to make very deliberate choices concerning the use of his remaining resources. The Boundary Stelae³⁶² at Tell el-Amarna lay out very clearly Akhenaten's vision for his new city. This includes not only the names of the temples, but also the stipulation that they be built on land that has not yet been dedicated to any other god. Moreover, the temples at Tell el-Amarna are fairly uniform in their layout and decoration. Due to this consistency, the Tell el-Amarna temples have served as a control group for discussions of individual regional sites. However, taking the regional temples as a discrete category in and of themselves is one of the research aims of this thesis. The analysis below focuses on specific aspects of the regional temples in order to observe patterns between these temples: the names of the temples, the locations of the temples within their respective sites, the architectural layout of the temples, the surviving iconography, and the relative chronology of temple construction. When relevant, comparisons have been drawn between this group of temples and those at Tell el-Amarna.

Due to varying degrees of the preservation of the sites, it is difficult to provide a complete analysis for any of these categories. To accommodate these gaps in the data, each discussion lists the sites that are being included and which sites do not have the requisite surviving evidence.

Temple Names

The names of ten Amarna Period temples are known from the regional construction sites. The names of the temples at Sesebi, Doukki Gel, and Gebel Barkal do not survive.

³⁶² W. Murnane & C. van Siclen 1993

Table 7. Names of Regional Amarna Period Temples

<u>Site Name</u>	<u>Temple Name</u>	<u>Corresponds to Tell el-Amarna</u>
Heliopolis	One who lifts Ra in <i>ṭwnw</i>	
Memphis	<i>pr-ṯtn m Mnnfr</i>	x
Memphis	<i>ḥw.t p3 ṯtn</i>	x
Memphis	<i>3ḥt ṯtn m Mnnfr</i>	x
Memphis	<i>šw.t R^c</i>	x
Karnak	<i>Gm(t) p3 ṯtn</i>	
Karnak	<i>ḥwt-bnbn</i>	x
Karnak	<i>tni-mnw-n itn</i>	
Karnak	<i>ṛnd Rwd-mnw-n-itn</i>	
Soleb	<i>K^c-m-M3^ct</i>	

None of the surviving temple names are used at more than one regional site, with the possible exception of the *pr-ṯtn*. This name is used at both Karnak and Memphis, although it appears that by the time the Memphite *pr-ṯtn* was constructed, the Karnak *pr-ṯtn* had been renamed *Gm(t) p3 ṯtn*.³⁶³ Four of the temple names match the names of temples from Tell el-Amarna, all of which belong to temples located either at Karnak or Memphis; six temple names appear to be unique for the period.

Locations Within Sites

The actual location of the Amarna Period temples within each site can be determined for Karnak,³⁶⁴ Soleb, Sesebi, Doukki Gel and Gebel Barkal. The lack of *in situ* material from Memphis or Heliopolis makes a conclusive identification of the locations impossible. At Memphis, Jeffreys suggests the Middle Birka at Kom el-Fakhry as a likely location of the Amarna period temples. In addition to the reused *talatat* from the Nineteenth dynasty Ptah temple, Jeffreys and H.S. Smith have postulated that this was the location of an Amenhotep III temple known as “Nebmaatre united with Ptah”, which is dated to thirtieth regnal year.³⁶⁵ At Heliopolis, the majority of the crushed *talatat* fragments were uncovered in the eastern section of Site 200, but it is unclear if this was the location of the Amarna Period structure or where the material was later reused.

³⁶³ A more in depth chronological analysis of all of the temples will be included below.

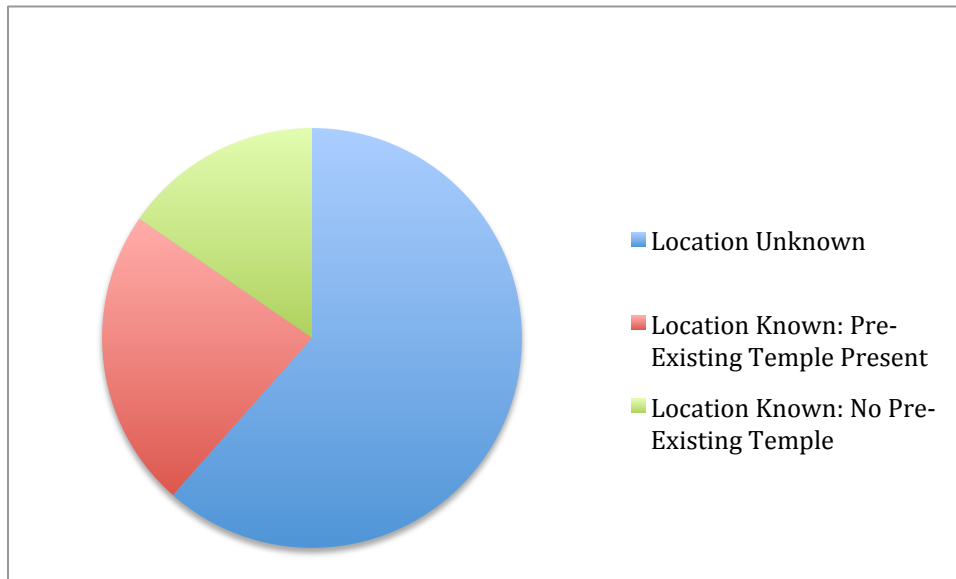
³⁶⁴ The only temple from Karnak that has been identified is the *Gm-p3-ṯtn*, the locations of the others remain unknown as has been discussed in previous chapters.

³⁶⁵ V. Angenot 2008: 10

In cases where the temple location can be identified, it is possible to determine if the buildings were constructed on previously unused land or if they were incorporated into earlier temples. Only two of the temples appear to have been built on virgin soil: the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn ʿt Kʿrnʿk*³⁶⁶ and B500 at Gebel Barkal.³⁶⁷ The remaining located temples all show evidence of pre-existing temple foundations underneath the Amarna Period material. The entirety of Amenhotep IV activity at Soleb appears to have been confined to the pre-existing Amenhotep III temple on the site. At Sesebi, the triple temple enclosure has incorporated unfinished column drums from an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty temple.³⁶⁸ The Amarna Period temple at Doukki Gel was not only built on the same location as the pre-existing Thutmose IV temple to Amun of Pnubs, but used the dismantled and recut stone from the earlier temple as well.

While it seems paramount that the city of Amarna was built on land that did not belong to any other god, this emphasis on previously unconsecrated land does not appear to have been a priority outside of Amarna.

Figure 3. Distribution of Regional Temple Locations



³⁶⁶ D. Redford 1999 56

³⁶⁷ T. Kendall 2009: 3

³⁶⁸ K. Spence and P. Rose, 2009. "New fieldwork at Sesebi." *Egyptian Archaeology* 35, 21-24: The exact date of the pre-Amarna Period structure is still unclear, but activity at Sesebi has been attested to as early as the reigns of Thutmoses III and Hatshepsut.

Temple Layout

By the Eighteenth Dynasty, certain features had become standardized in the free-standing cult temples: approaches flanked with statues—usually sphinxes, enclosure walls, entrance pylons, hypostyle halls and a main axis with a series of enclosed rooms—each getting progressively smaller and darker.³⁶⁹ Open air solar courts, a feature of royal mortuary temples as early as the Fifth Dynasty,³⁷⁰ began to be added to Eighteenth Dynasty temples starting with the reign of Hatshepsut. These courtyards were a frequent component of Amenhotep III's temple building and modification program as well. The temples at Tell el-Amarna completely eschewed the traditional architectural layout and symbolism associated with New Kingdom cult temples.³⁷¹

Certain sites from the regional Amarna Period temple group cannot be considered in an analysis of architectural plans due to the poor condition of preservation at their respective locations. This includes all four Memphite temples, the temple at Heliopolis, and three of the four temples at Karnak—although depictions of the *hwt-bnbn*³⁷² at Karnak give some suggestion as to the basic layout of this temple.

There is a variety in design from the regional temples. Soleb, for example, follows a traditional layout, which is unsurprising given that the temple was primarily constructed during the reign of Amenhotep III. The three temples from the main temple enclosure at Sesebi are also typical New Kingdom temples.³⁷³ Other temples take on intermediary forms and likely represent structures that were originally traditional, enclosed temples built by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, but later underwent modifications to fit with the new Amarna Period style. Doukki Gel was built on the footprint of an Amun temple, but the proportions³⁷⁴ of the pylon and inclusion of numerous offering tables are more in line with “Amarna-type” solar temples, although the excavators believe the temple at Doukki Gel retained its roof.³⁷⁵ Temple B500 at Gebel Barkal also appears to have been a tripartite enclosed structure, although the outlying chapels 522 and 504c had such thin walls that they were almost certainly unroofed, as were the smaller shrines B1100 and B700 sub 1, sub 2, and sub 3.³⁷⁶

At Karnak, the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* also followed a slightly atypical plan, likely due to its specific

³⁶⁹ M. Verner 2013: 532

³⁷⁰ M. Verner 2013: 520

³⁷¹ M. Verner 2013: 533

³⁷² The *hwt-bnbn* is shown on the *talatat* uncovered from Karnak with thin walls, and a tall thin pylon, both features common to unroofed Amarna temples.

³⁷³ The central temple from this group contains a crypt in its substructure, which is highly unusual for a temple before the Ptolemaic Period; K. Spence et. al 2011: 36.

³⁷⁴ The exact proportions of this pylon do not appear in the publications from the Doukki Gel excavations.

³⁷⁵ C. Bonnet & D. Valbelle 2006: 57

³⁷⁶ T. Kendall 2005: 9-12

role as a venue for the *heb-sed* festival. This temple consisted of an enclosure wall, pylon, and two courts with offering tables. The first court also featured a series of open roofed shrines. Redford has identified this first courtyard as a “court of the great ones,” an architectural feature associated with *heb-sed* temples.³⁷⁷

The only regional temple that can be confidently compared with the Tell el-Amarna corpus is the fourth temple at Sesebi—an open-air platform dominated by an offering table in the middle of an enclosed courtyard. The basic outline of this temple evokes the sunshade temples found at Tell el-Amarna, but lacks evidence of the accompanying gardens and water features associated with these temples.

Iconography

Iconographic evidence is available for all of the temple sites, with the exception of Gebel Barkal and the fourth temple at Sesebi.³⁷⁸ Although some of the iconography is still present on the material from Memphis it is not possible to determine the specific structures at the site itself from which the Memphite blocks originate. Thus, all of the notes on the Memphite iconography refer to the site of Memphis as a whole. The types of scenes depicted vary somewhat from site to site; but the most common types of scenes are well known from the Amarna artistic canon—the royal family making offerings to the Aten, offering tables full of food, and attendants prostrating themselves. This type of iconography is present at half of the regional temples. The next most common are scenes of the king interacting with traditional deities, and will be discussed in more detail below. *Heb-sed* festival imagery is only found in the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* at Karnak.

Out of all of the deities shown in the temple iconography, the Aten is the most commonly depicted god. If the falcon-headed figure identified as Aten, Lord of Nubia from Sesebi is counted together with the Aten disk, the ubiquitous Amarna Period god appears at 80% of the regional temple sites. Additionally, when the Aten disk appears in the iconography, it appears more frequently at each site than any other deity, often to the complete exclusion of the other gods. The remaining traditional gods appear at only one site each, often limited to a single representation within those sites. The exceptions are the deified Amenhotep III/Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia, and Amun who are shown at both Soleb and Sesebi.

It is difficult to determine if there are any connections between the layout of the temples and

³⁷⁷ D. Redford 2013: 20

³⁷⁸ Little has been published regarding the decoration of the blocks, other than the note that they were covered in a thin layer of plaster; A. Blackman 1937: 148

their corresponding iconography given the discrepancies in available architectural evidence. The only clear pattern that emerges from this data is that temples that follow a traditional tripartite, enclosed plan--specifically Soleb and Sesebi—are decorated with traditional deities. Doukki Gel, which followed the footprint of a pre-Amarna Period temple structure but with visible modifications, is the exception to this rule and is decorated in the typical Amarna style and only shows the Aten disk. The remaining temples decorated with this type of iconography do not have enough surviving *in situ* material to determine the architectural layout and the decoration from sole confirmed example of an open-air sun temple from Sesebi has not been published, if indeed any of it survives. The outlier in this group in both form and iconography is the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* from Karnak, which is decorated with imagery depicting the *heb-sed* festival. Some minor deities are also shown in the Karnak material, but the expected major state gods are absent.³⁷⁹

Table 8. Traditional Deities Present at Regional Temple Sites

	<u>Heliopolis</u>	<u>Memphis</u>	<u>Karnak</u>	<u>Soleb</u>	<u>Sesebi</u>	<u>Doukki Gel</u>	<u>Gebel Barkal</u>
Aten (Disk)	x	x	x			x	N/A
Deified Amenhotep III				x	x		N/A
Amun				x	x		N/A
Shu					x		N/A
Aten (Falcon-Headed)					x		N/A
Ra-Horakhty			x				N/A
Selket			x				N/A
Souls of Nekhen & Pe			x				N/A
Geb					x		N/A
Osiris					x		N/A
Atum					x		N/A
Horus				x			N/A
Seth				x			N/A

Legend

x

indicates that listed conditions are met



indicates that listed conditions are not met

³⁷⁹ As has been mentioned in Chapter 4, the iconography of the *hwt-bnbn* from Karnak is also unique, as the sole participant in the cult appears to have been Nefertiti; however, as the focus of this cult is the Aten disk, it was counted with the group of “missing” Aten temples.

Proposed Timeline of Regional Temple Building Activity³⁸⁰

The first construction projects undertaken by Amenhotep IV date to Years 1-5 of his reign. Amenhotep IV finishes the decoration of Amenhotep III's temple at Soleb, which includes a standard iconographic program. The triple temple complex at Sesebi was likely built during this time and intended to compliment the Amenhotep III temple at Soleb and the associated temple of Queen Tiy at Sedeinga. The Sesebi enclosure was built on the foundations of an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty temple structure and follows a typical tripartite, enclosed layout. The iconography from these temples again features the expected state gods, but includes a depiction of a falcon-headed anthropomorphic god who is identified in the texts as "Aten, Lord of Nubia." The enclosure at East Karnak dates to this period as well. However, they represent the first departures from temple-building tradition. The *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* was built on previously unused land to the east of the Amun enclosure and was constructed and decorated in anticipation of Amenhotep IV's *heb-sed* festival. The major state gods are absent from the iconography at the *Gm(t)-p3-Itn* as well as at the three additional temples; in their place is first another falcon-headed proto-Aten figure and then the introduction of the multi-armed sun disc that would become emblematic of the Amarna Period religion.

The remaining temples were all constructed following the change of the king's name in Year 5. The temple at Doukki Gel was constructed using the stone building material from a Thutmose IV-era temple dedicated to Amun of Pnubs, which were first dismantled entirely and recut into *talatat* before being reassembled over the architectural footprint of the original structure. Some minor modifications were made to the overall layout and the decoration was entirely within the typical Amarna Period milieu. While the temples at Gebel Barkal cannot be dated using textual sources, the layout of B500 is stylistically similar enough to the temple at Doukki Gel that it can be inferred that they were constructed contemporaneously. Also during this renewed period of activity in Nubia, a fourth temple was constructed at Sesebi. Unlike the triple temple enclosure, this temple was an open-air structure stylistically similar to the minor, outlying shrines from Tell el-Amarna.

Within the borders of Egypt proper, the temples at Heliopolis and Memphis were also being constructed apparently in tandem with the foundation of Tell el-Amarna. Little can be said about the layout of these temples, but they are iconographically consistent with the other regional temples from this time period as well as the temples from Tell el-Amarna. It appears that there was

³⁸⁰ The regnal year range here is determined by the cartouches found in inscriptions at the site.

some activity at Memphis following the introduction of the second didactic Aten name post-Year 8 but pre-Year 12, and this is the latest datable construction from the regional sites.

The destruction of the regional temples does not appear to have been particularly systematic. The bulk of the reuse of the temple architectural material dates to the reign of Ramses II. With the exception of Memphis, which can be attested to in documentation from the reign of Seti I, it is unclear how long after the end of the Amarna Period many of these temples continued to function. It appears that the Karnak material began to be reused as early as the reign of Tutankhamun³⁸¹ and continued into the reign of Horemheb. It appears that the original priority was the restoration of preexisting temple that had been altered or damaged by the Atenists, with widespread reuse and rededication dating mostly to the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II.³⁸²

³⁸¹ A. Dodson 2009: 69

³⁸² A. Dodson 2009: 70

Conclusions

It is impossible to conduct any study on the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten without taking the city of Tell el-Amarna into consideration. This holds especially true when examining the temple building program of the Amarna Period. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the trajectory of regional temple construction undergoes a marked change following the founding of the new capital city.

In the early years of his reign, Amenhotep IV's building activities do not significantly deviate from what would be expected; he finishes the decoration of his father's temple at Soleb and goes on to construct his own complex nearby at Sesebi. He begins work on a building at Karnak, the *pr-'Itn*, which does not at first appear to be radically different from traditional temple types, especially given the highly solarized character of Amenhotep III's construction projects. However, at some point in the first five years of his reign, Amenhotep IV begins preparations for a very early *heb-sed* festival of his own, perhaps in emulation of Amenhotep III's series of *heb-seds*.

It is at this point that the *pr-'Itn* is renamed the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*. To execute this transition, the temple was subject to deliberate modifications. For example, the layout was changed to include a key component of *heb-sed* festival complexes, the open court flanked with a series of shrines, known as the "court of the great ones." Traditionally, in preparation for the *heb-sed* festival, cult statues or images of different regional gods would be brought to this purpose built courtyard in advance of the ceremonies. The king would then visit each shrine and make offerings; this likely took several days, which could explain the high number of processions to and from the temple recorded on the *talatat* from the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*. In previous incarnations of this festival³⁸³ this practice of homage to the regional gods demonstrated that the king of a unified Egypt was still required to obtain legitimacy from the gods of both upper and lower Egypt. However, in a major departure from tradition, it appears that the shrines from the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* did not contain images of the traditional deities, but rather depictions of the Aten disk.

This supplanting of the traditional gods with the Aten during this festival represents a key deviation from tradition on the part of Akhenaten. This change in the theological grounding of the festival is especially important given that the *heb-sed* festival itself was likely intended to show the investiture of the king with the office of high priest of the gods. Bleeker has suggested that this aspect of the ceremony is represented by the king wearing the ritual *heb-sed* vestments, sitting on

³⁸³ D. Redford 1984: 125

the raised dais, wearing the red and white crowns and sitting on the two thrones.³⁸⁴ During the festival of Amenhotep IV, the king is deliberately marking himself as high priest of the Aten alone.

The remaining temples at Karnak appear to follow this same theme, all decorated in the new artistic style and focused solely on the Aten. At some point around Year 5, perhaps during the *heb-sed* festival itself, the Aten cult is officially inaugurated, with the king proclaiming the other gods to be obsolete. While this proclamation is an intrinsic act of religious revolution, its significance radiated even further: given the substantial economic power of the Amun priesthood during the later Eighteenth Dynasty, the denouncement of the Amun cult likely produced profound political fallout.

In Year 5, Amenhotep IV changes his name to Akhenaten. Following this change, there was a second phase of building activity. The colossal expenditure of resources constructing Tell el-Amarna did not prevent Akhenaten from building temples and temple complexes at Memphis, Heliopolis, and Doukki Gel, in addition to a new temple at Sesebi. It is impossible to date the construction projects at Gebel Barkal, but the stylistic similarities between the temples and shrines at Gebel Barkal, Doukki Gel and Sesebi suggest that they were built around the same time. These temples were all constructed using *talatat* blocks decorated with the imagery that has become synonymous with Amarna Period art, again with the Aten as the sole object of cult. The only temple that shows evidence of the second name of the Aten, implying that construction was taking place there between Years 8 and 12, is the postulated sunshade temple at Memphis. It thus appears that the time between the dedication of Tell el-Amarna and the *durbar* festival in Year 12 constitutes the bulk of regional temple building activity. These patterns indicate that Akhenaten did not conserve his resources for a more measured expenditure, but instead chose to push through a truly massive amount of construction all at approximately the same time.

It is possible that the wide-scale iconoclastic modifications of pre-existing cult temples took place towards the end of Akhenaten's reign. Certainly all of the regional temple sites show evidence of iconoclasm from pre-Amarna Period structures. It is, however, uncertain when these modifications were carried out in relation to the actual building activity. Given the apparent end of regional temple construction around Year 12, it is possible that the iconoclasm was mostly carried out at the end of the reign, due to constraints on resources. As has been discussed, Akhenaten's

³⁸⁴ C. Bleeker, 1967. *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*. Leiden: Brill: 98, 122. The concept of the king sitting in on a raised dais, crowned and dressed in the iconic ceremonial robe is known from the Early Dynastic settlement at Nekhen, and is present in all three of the major *heb-sed* festival depictions, spanning from Niuserra in the Fifth Dynasty, Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty, to Osorkon in the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

final five years were increasingly chaotic, with the deaths of several members of the royal family. It is entirely possible as well that these modifications were intended to mark locations for future temple constructions, but this is merely speculation. A full study of the modification sites is needed in order to closely examine the relative chronology of the iconoclasm, and would prove to be a useful companion to this thesis.

Returning solely to building activity, it appears that one of the principal aims of this thesis—examining the regional temples as a discrete category—requires comparison of the whole regional group to the temples from Tell el-Amarna to provide appropriate context. It logically follows to some degree that the temples that were built before the founding of the city have little in common with the temples that came after. That the complex at Karnak served as a prototype for the buildings that would come later is not a new idea, but bears repeating to emphasize the linear trajectory in the building pattern. However, once the plans for Tell el-Amarna began to coalesce, the regional temples begin to be constructed with an awareness of the form and decoration used at the new capital city. This is also logically cohesive, as Tell el-Amarna would become Akhenaten's microcosm for his new vision.

The temple design is not static, however. The emphasis of building on land that did not belong to other gods—a feature present at Karnak and Tell el-Amarna—does not appear to have been very strictly followed elsewhere. Whether this was seen as irrelevant at regional sites, where worship of other gods far pre-dated the Aten cult, or if the idea was ultimately disregarded as the theology evolved is unclear. The trend towards streamlining the theology of the Aten cult appears to hold true at the regional sites as well. The Aten is the sole god shown being worshipped in these temples.

Ultimately, what appears to have occurred between the Year 5 name change and the Year 12 *durbar* celebration is a flurry of building activity dedicated solely to the Aten cult and carried out with the exemplar of Tell el-Amarna in mind. This indicates that while Tell el-Amarna was the epicenter of the religious upheaval, Akhenaten intended to incorporate the rest of the country into his new vision. While these changes were undeniably radical, they were also carried out with deliberation and awareness. Akhenaten was not subverting all of the traditional sources of legitimacy. Rather, he shifted the emphasis away from Amun, the Amun priesthood, and the city of Thebes entirely, and refocused on the interconnection between the kingship and the solar cult.

The Heliopolitan priesthood had been a powerful entity in confirming the legitimacy of kings since the Fifth Dynasty. Even as Heliopolis and Ra were eclipsed by Thebes and Amun(re),

the solar cult remained an essential part of the ancient Egyptian state religion. The latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty was a period of theological discourse amongst the elite classes; thus Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's initial experiments in cult development may not have appeared very revolutionary at first. However, the population in the new capital city was likely aware that a series of changes were being made to the state religious institutions—even if it did not directly affect them.³⁸⁵

By carrying out these changes throughout Egypt and Nubia, Akhenaten was ensuring that his empire would be incorporated into his new vision. A longstanding bias in Amarna Period scholarship has produced the idea that once Tell el-Amarna was founded, the king retreated to his new desert city and ignored the rest of the country to the point of ruin. This attitude is reinforced by the text from the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamen,³⁸⁶ which describes the rather pitiful state of Egypt at the time of Tutankhamun's ascension to the throne. However, by building temples at sites that were both religiously and politically significant and widespread, Akhenaten demonstrated his awareness of the traditional roles of an Eighteenth Dynasty king, while simultaneously bringing these regional sites into the new religious framework.

In this sense, the major disruptions to the status quo of the Amarna Period were simultaneously examples of revolutionary thinking—the outright dismissal of the traditional state gods as well as the essential disenfranchisement of the Amun priesthood—and an acceleration of a religious trajectory that had been set in motion by his predecessors—the increased solarization of religion and changing role of the *itn* from middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.

With this context in mind, the far-flung nature of the temple sites takes on a new symbolic importance. While it is impossible to parse the ideological motivations of an ancient Egyptian king, the geographic spread of the Amarna Period temples fits neatly into one of the main attributes of the Aten—its universality. Thus rather than being a regional cult centered on the new capital at Amarna, the worship of the Aten would have been celebrated throughout the Egyptian empire, the natural dominion of a deity who was both a celestial phenomenon and a cosmic king.

³⁸⁵ Certainly the elites would have been aware of the particulars of the new religion, given the private stelae dedicated to the worship of the new cult; the workmen from Tell el-Amarna likewise would have come into contact with the changes to the art and iconography at the very least, even though the material evidence from the Workmen's Village indicates that their religious beliefs were not altered by the new state religion.

³⁸⁶ Cairo CG34183

Due to a significant overlap in subject matter, this thesis must acknowledge the publication of J. Hoffmeier's *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, which addresses several of the regional Aten temples and a selection of the sites where *talatat* have been reused. As this book was published in February 2015 after the initial submission and defense of this thesis, this work does not feature in the text or bibliography. However, upon reviewing the publication, I am pleased to note that my analysis of Akhenaten's concern for expanding his new theology throughout the Egyptian empire via the construction of regional temples— is consistent with Dr. Hoffmeier's.

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