

Aton Studies*)

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(Taf. XXVIII—XXIX)

1. Aton before the Reign of Akhenaton*)

Up till now Egyptologists have not clearly defined the period in which the word *itn* was first used in the religious sense of deity.¹⁾ In the Middle Kingdom, in the story of Sinuhe, the word *itn* has two closely related meanings: as the sun, the heavenly body, and as a solar god, who manifests himself in this sun.²⁾

I. Aton as a deity:

Sinuhe, speaking about the death of Amenemhat I, says, "He (i. e. the king) mounted to heaven, being united with the Aton, the body of the god (i. e. the king) being merged with the one who made him".³⁾ In this context *hr sw* could also be translated as "his creator, his father", referring to Aton.⁴⁾ The quoted text makes it quite clear that Aton is understood here in the religious sense of a deity, who manifests himself in the sun and took back what he made (i. e. gave) before, and it explains how the dead pharaoh was reunited with the god who shaped him.⁵⁾

*) My gratitude is due to DAAD (German Academic Exchange Office) for giving me the opportunity of continuing studies on some subjects in the library at Göttingen. With this article I submit the first result of these studies.

¹⁾ The word *itn* has various related meanings:

a) a disk, e.g. for the moon *itn n i'ḥ Wb. I 145 : 8* or *itn ḥḏt* "the white disk (i. e. the moon)" *MDIK V* (1934), p. 34; also as a disk for a mirror, *Wb. I 145, 10*.

b) the sun as a heavenly body; in this meaning it is mentioned in the list of "sky, water, earth" before sky *pt* and after moon *i'ḥ* in GARDINER, *AEO I* p. 4 Nr. 2; cf. *sty itn* "rays of the sun", *ibid.* p. 6 Nr. 17.

c) place of residence, in which solar-gods manifest themselves; exs.: *ntr ʿ3 imy itn.f* "the great god who is in his disk" referring to the night shape of the sun god; Atum *m itn.f*, Horus *imy itn.f* and even Amun *imy itn.f*, s. J. ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, MÄS 19*, Berlin (1969), pp. 39—2, 40 note 5, 6. — In the Coffin Texts *itn* occurs as a seat (*st*) for the deceased, who says, "My seat is in the Aton, how enduring indeed (*ʿ3*) is my seat in the Aton." (*CT VII*, 207g—h, spell 993 and ASSMANN, *ibid.* p. 40 n. 4); for (*ʿ3*) as enclitic particle with exclamatory force s. GARDINER, *EG* 3rd. ed. (Oxford 1957) § 245.

d) as deity, see the following and G. FECHT, *Amarna-Probleme, ZÄS 85* (1960), 83 ff.

²⁾ Cf. A. SALEH, *Ancient Near East I*, Cairo (1967), p. 307 (in Arabic).

³⁾ Sinuhe, R 7.

⁴⁾ K. SETHE, *Erläuterungen zu den Ägyptischen Lesestücken*, Darmstadt 1960, p. 5; *Wb. I*, 111, 1. It should also be noted that at least since the 4th Dynasty the Egyptians regarded their king as ". . . the son of Re, the sun god. At death he was taken back into the body of his creator and father." See J. WILSON in: J. B. PRITCHARD, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed. Princeton 1969, p. 18 n. 3.

⁵⁾ Cf. the biblical expression "the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away", Job I, 21. — I wonder why GARDINER said on this text, "It is futile to dispute whether the word *itn* refers to a deity or not." See GARDI-

The texts from the 18th Dynasty show more widespread use of the word *itm* in both meanings, as a deity or as the sun disk.⁶⁾

On the stela of king Ahmose, it is recorded that the king is regarded


“as Re (when he) rises,
as Aton (when he) shines,
as Khopri (when he) appears in the eyes,
his rays in the faces are like Atum in the east of heaven.”⁷⁾

It is obvious that Re, Aton, Khopri and Atum all represent the sun god in one way or other. It must also be noted that the words Re, Khopri and Atum, signifying gods, have as determinative the anthropomorphic deities with or without the sun disk on their heads, with the exception of the god Aton who has the sun disk only. That seems to show that in this period the Egyptians had not yet personified the Aton among the sun gods.

In his tomb at Sheikh Abd el Gurna, “the chief of all works in Karnak” Ineni, who served in the reigns of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Thutmose III together with Hatshepsut, speaks of the death of Amenhotep I. He says, “His Majesty . . . went forth to heaven, he became united with the Aton, he mingled with the one whom he had come from.”⁸⁾ Here, also, it is clear that the one whom he had come from was his father, the sun god Aton.⁹⁾

A part of the Horus name of Thutmose I reads “who emerges from Aton.”¹⁰⁾ In his tomb at Sheikh Abd el Gurna, the officer Amenemheb, speaking of the death of Thutmose III and the accession of Amenhotep II says: King Thutmose III “went aloft to heaven, being united with the Aton, the limbs of the god (i. e. king) being merged with the one who made him. When the morning brightened, the sun (*itm*) came into being (*hpr*) and the heavens shone . . . Amenhotep II was established upon the throne of his father.”¹¹⁾

The above text describes two aspects of the Aton: in the first place Aton must be understood as the god Aton, in the second place Aton signifies the sun as heavenly body, which gives light and rises every morning.

On the so-called historical scarab of Thutmose IV the word *itm* is mentioned twice. In column 5 “. . . the king fought with the Aton before him ” and in the last column “to make the foreigners to be like the (Egyptian) people (*rhyt*) in order to serve the

NER, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, p. 217. — Cf. also J. WILSON, “. . . among the various sun-gods or aspects of a sun-god, there had been no Aton before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the word aton had meant the physical disk of the sun, a seat of a god, but not a god in itself” (*Culture of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1962, p. 210). — J. YOYOTTE thinks that “in about 1450 B. C. the god Aton was born and was given special honours by Amenophis III,” in: G. POSENER, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization*, London 1962, p. 25 under Aton.

⁶⁾ *Urk.* IV 16,7; 19,7; 54,16; 82,13; 102,11; 222,4 (to be read *imy itm.f*), 253,8; 266,5; 283,16; 332,11; 341,11; 348,10; 357,7,14; 362,15; 368,12; 370,8; 374,14; 391,3; 520,3; 575,12; 582,17; 806,13; 808,5; 813,6; 818,6; 887,16; 918,5; 938,5; 1016,8; 1183,15; 1234,4; 1239,17; 1277,8; 1286,5; 1293,5,6; 1635,14; 1648,18; 1653,14; 1667,7; 1670,8; 1684,16; 1722,16; 1756,6; 1761,6; 1762,16; 1819,12; 1830,17; 1847,7; 1923,12; 1935,17; 1948,14.

⁷⁾ *Urk.* IV 19,6—9, cf. J. ASSMANN, *ibid.* p. 41.


⁸⁾ *Urk.* IV 54,15—17, cf. B.A.R. II § 46.


⁹⁾ Cf. K. SETHE, *Urk. der 18. Dynastie I, Übersetzung* p. 29 note 2.

¹⁰⁾ *Urk.* IV 266,5.

¹¹⁾ *Urk.* IV 896,1ff.; cf. B.A.R. II § 592, § 808.

Aton for ever.”¹²⁾ This text also shows that Aton was regarded as a personified deity whose image accompanied the king on the march.

King Amenhotep III describes himself as “the divine god who emerges from Aton .

¹³⁾ The second prophet of Amon in the reign of Amenhotep III called himself “the servant of the (god) Aton .

It is noteworthy that we have here not only the sun sign as ideogram or as determinative but also the god determinative which clearly represents Aton as personified deity. This, however, is not so astonishing if we keep in mind the well known Egyptian tendency towards personification of all phenomena.

An official from the reign of Amenhotep III named Penbuy has the title “scribe of the treasury of the temple of the Aton.”¹⁴⁾ Ramose,¹⁵⁾ the owner of tomb 46 at Thebes, which belongs to the same period, describes himself as the “steward in the mansion of the Aton.”¹⁶⁾ Here GARDINER comments that “it is difficult to interpret this otherwise than as implying that the Aton already received a cult at Thebes.”¹⁸⁾ WILSON also thinks that all these inscriptions “even make it possible that Amenhotep III built a shrine to the Aton in or near the great temple enclosure of Amon at Karnak.”¹⁹⁾



In all these examples Aton can only be understood as a deity.

II. Aton as the sun (disk):

Sinuhe, in another place, says to his king “thou hast subdued what the sun (*itm*) surrounds,”²⁰⁾ in a third place he tells him “the sun (*itm*) rises according to your wish.”²¹⁾ On his mortuary stela, the official Sethepibre, declares that the King Amenemhat III is “the sun (*r*), seeing with his rays; he illuminates the two Lands more than the sun (*itm*).”²²⁾

In the 18th Dynasty there are numerous occurrences of the word *itm* in the sense of sun (disk)²³⁾:

At the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, on the stela of King Ahmose, which LEGRAIN found near the 7th pylon, south of the Amon Temple in Karnak, it is recorded that Ahmose “ruled

¹²⁾ The sign  of the sun stands in the place where  should be. See A. W. SHORTER, *JEA* XVII (1931) p. 23 fig. 1 and pl. IV Nr. 3, 5 and WILSON, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 210. H. BONNET doubts the authenticity of this scarab, see H. BONNET, *R.A.G.* p. 60.

¹³⁾ *Urk.* IV 1667,5; cf. *Urk.* IV 266,5; see also *ibid.* 222,4 where *itm* is written with the sun only.

¹⁴⁾ *Urk.* IV 1935,17; cf. GARDINER, who does not mention the Aton in his list of hieroglyphic signs, representing the anthropomorphic deities. see GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. Oxford (1957) p. 448f. Cf. *Urk.* IV 82,13; 1183,15, where the word Aton is also written with the god determinative.

¹⁵⁾ J. WILSON, *ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁶⁾ Not the famous vizier Ramose, owner of the tomb 55 at Thebes.

¹⁷⁾ GARDINER, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford (1961) p. 217.

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 217.


¹⁹⁾ WILSON, *ibid.*, p. 210. In my research for the “Akhenaten Temple Project”, however, I never found even the name of Amenhotep III mentioned on the investigated 35000 blocks of the Aton Temple at Thebes.

²⁰⁾ Sinuhe, B 213.

²¹⁾ Sinuhe, B 233.

²²⁾ K. SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt 1959) p. 68, 15f. and B.A.R. I § 747.

²³⁾ *Urk.* IV 16,7; 102,11; 253,8; 283,16; 332,11; 341,11; 348,10; 357,7,14; 362,15; 368,12; 370,8; 374,14; 391,3; 520,3; 575,12; 582,17; 806,13; 813,6; 887,16; 918,5; 1016,8; 1183,15; 1234,4; 1239,17; 1277,8; 1286,5; 1293,5,6; 1635,14; 1648,18; 1653,14; 1667,7; 1670,8; 1684,16; 1761,6; 1762,16; 1819,12; 1830,17; 1847,7; 1923,12; 1948,14 . . .

what the sun (*itn*) surrounds."²⁴) From the second year of the reign of Thutmose I, a rock inscription on the island of Tombos near the third cataract, speaks of "his coronation as Lord of the Two Lands, to rule the circuit of the sun (*itn*) ." ²⁵) It is noteworthy that, for the first time, the god determinative with the sun above his head was used with the word *itn*, obviously indicating a further development of the Aton, using a traditional feature of Egyptian religion.

The same king says on a stela found in the Osiris Temple in Abydos: "I made the boundaries of Egypt as far as that which the sun (*itn*) encircles."²⁶) The God Amon said to Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el Bahari: "I gave thee all the flat lands and all the hill countries and that what the sun (*itn*) encloses, which is in the heaven, under your supervision."²⁷) In another place it is stated that Amon will let Hatshepsut be the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and she will shine on her throne of eternity "as Lord (sic!) of what the sun (*itn*) encloses."²⁸) The chiefs of Punt called Hatshepsut the "*R:t* (fem. of *R:t*) who shines like the sun (*itn*)," ²⁹) also the God Amon "gave her what the sun (*itn*) encompasses"³⁰) and assures her "as long as heaven exists, thou wilt exist with me, thy lifetime will be like the sun (*itn*) in it."³¹) On the Hatshepsut Obelisk at Karnak the word *itn* appears several times. On the west side we read that she erected two obelisks for her father Amon-Re, decorated with *g'm*-gold and therefore they "illuminate the Two Lands like the sun (*itn*)." ³²) On its south side the text runs as follows: "The great ennead of gods have brought up (Hatshepsut) to be the mistress of the circuit of the sun."³³) On its base the text speaks of the glittering of the 'golden' obelisks so that "their rays flood the Two Lands when the sun (*itn*) shines between them."³⁴) At the end of the text Hatshepsut says, Amon "has made my boundary to the extremities of heaven and the circuit of the sun (*itn*) has laboured for me . . ." ³⁵) On the fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut the inscription assures that "the circuit of the sun (*itn*) is under her governance."³⁶) On her rock temple near Beni Hasan (so-called Speos Artemidos) the text runs as follows: "the sun (*itn*) shines, the rays of his disk (*isf[w]*) are on the titulary of my Majesty (masc)."³⁷) On the sandstone statue of *S3-tp-ihw*, the overseer of the prophets of Thinis, the text says: "thou seest Re daily, thy face sees the sun (*itn*) when he rises."³⁸) On his statue, the royal scribe Nakhtmin, wishes for himself that "he may come in and go out in his (i. e. Amon) temple to see the sun (*itn*) of the day."³⁹) On the stela of Thutmose III from Gebel Barkel, the king says: "the circuit of the sun (*itn*)

²⁴) *Urk.* IV 16, 7.

²⁵) *Ibid.* 82, 13, *BAR II* § 70 s. also above.

²⁶) *Urk.* IV 102, 11, *BAR II* § 98.

²⁷) *Urk.* IV 253, 7 f.

²⁸) *Urk.* IV 283, 16.

²⁹) *Urk.* IV 332, 11; *BAR II* § 269 note f.

³⁰) *Urk.* IV 341, 11.

³¹) *Urk.* IV 348, 10, cf. *ibid.* 575, 12; 582, 16; 818, 6; 1667, 7.

³²) *Urk.* IV 357, 7, cf. *ibid.* 374, 14.

³³) *Urk.* IV 357, 14.

³⁴) *Urk.* IV 362, 14 f.

³⁵) *Urk.* IV 368, 11 f. and *BAR II* § 319.


³⁶) *Urk.* IV 370, 8.

³⁷) *Urk.* IV 391, 3 f.

³⁸) *Urk.* IV 520, 2 f.

³⁹) *Urk.* IV 1183, 15.

is in my grasp."⁴⁰) He is also "the ruler of the circuit of the sun (*itn*)." ⁴¹) On the big sphinx stela of Amenhotep II "[the god Amon] himself appointed him as chief of what his eye encircles and what the sun (*itn*) of the day⁴²) illuminates."⁴³)

Aton is sometimes used as an epithet: e. g. King Thutmose III is known as "the sun (*itn*) of all lands," ⁴⁴) and Amenhotep III as "the gleaming sun (*itn*)." ⁴⁵) In the tomb of the scribe Amenemhat (tomb 82 at Thebes), who lived in the reign of Thutmose III, the unique occurrence of the feminine form of Aton *itnt*  is encountered. In the publication of this tomb⁴⁶) GARDINER gives the entire phrase as "an offering which the king gives to (Hathor?, lady of) Karnak, the fair-faced, the solar disk." *itnt* is here used as an epithet for a goddess whose name has been obliterated.

In all these examples Aton can only be understood as the sun (disk). This means that at least since the Middle Kingdom the word *itn* was used in both aspects: as the sun and as a deity as well.





III. The radiating sun (disk):

Even the radiating sun (disk) with its outstretched arms was not the invention of Amenhotep IV. We meet it before his reign on a limestone stela, which SELIM HASSAN found near the Giza sphinx in 1936/37.⁴⁷) The stela belongs to the reign of Amenhotep II. At the rounded top a solar disk with spreading wings and flanked by uraei is inscribed. From the sun (disk) two rays are emitted in the form of human arms terminating in hands, which embrace a king's cartouche. The name of the king has been obliterated, but we can just see the traces of the ibis sign for the god Thoth, which raises the suspicion that the name in the cartouche had probably been that of Thutmose IV, who probably erected this stela as a monument for his father Amenhotep II.

The two sun ray-arms with their human hands enclosing the name of the king in its cartouche have the function of protection.⁴⁸) According to ancient Egyptian belief the name of a person possesses the same power or function as the person itself or its figure. The idea of protection is also expressed in Akhenaton scenes, where the king is usually represented under the radiating sun (disk), and one or more of the human hands of the sun rays are holding him around his waist.⁴⁹)

⁴⁰) *Urk.* IV 1234, 4.

⁴¹) *Urk.* IV 1239, 17, cf. *ibid.* 1293, 5 f.

⁴²) *itn n hrw* not *itn n R:t* as W. HELCK and R. O. FAULKNER translated, cf. HELCK, *Urk. der 18. Dyn., Übersetzung zu den Heften 17—22*, Berlin 1961, p. 25 and FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, p. 33. See the small sphinx stela of Amenhotep II, the text of which has the same beginning as the above mentioned stela, including the phrase which I gave above. On the small stela the word *hrw* is not an ideogram but is inscribed phonetically    ; *Urk.* IV 1286, 5.

⁴³) *Urk.* IV 1277, 8.

⁴⁴) *Urk.* IV 887, 16.

⁴⁵) *Urk.* IV 1923, 12.

⁴⁶) N. DE G. DAVIES and A. GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhat* (London 1915, in the *Theban Tombs Series*) p. 68 and pl. 30 passage north.

⁴⁷) SELIM HASSAN, *ASAE* 38 (1939), p. 55 fig. 5.

⁴⁸) SELIM HASSAN, *ibid.* p. 54.

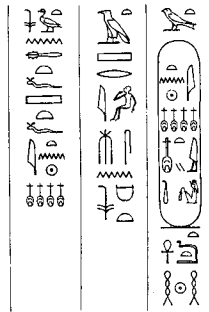
⁴⁹) N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (6 parts, London 1903—08), part. VI pls. 16, 17, 29.

The sun (disk) with its two rays in the shape of human arms on the Amenhotep II stela might perhaps be considered as initiative for Akhenaton, who later developed this idea into the well known characteristic representation of the sun (disk) sending out numerous ray-arms terminating in human hands.

All this sums up to the conclusion that at least at the time of Amenhotep III or earlier a cult for the god Aton, probably with its own priests, had been existing in Thebes beside the cult of Amon. It can therefore be regarded as a fact that Amenhotep IV took over a preconceived idea which he crystallized into its final shape, and then devoted himself exclusively to the Aton, whom he installed as the sole god not only in his own realm but all over the ancient world at his time.⁵⁰⁾

2. The Reversed Aton in the Long Name of Nefertiti⁵¹⁾

On the Aton temple *talatat*⁵²⁾ at Karnak, the Hermopolis blocks from Akhenaton's reign, and on the rock tombs at Amarna, the names of the daughters of Queen Nefertiti are usually inscribed beside the name of their mother in consecutive columns expressing their genealogical relationship to the Queen. It is interesting to notice the name of her fourth daughter, Nefer-nefru-Aton ta-sherit beside the long name of her mother, Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti which appears in cartouche.⁵³⁾




The text shows that the word Aton occurs reversed only in the long cartouche of Nefertiti, not however, in her daughter's name. There must be a strong reason for writing the word Aton in this exceptional way which makes the Aton face the queen's determinative at the end of the cartouche. DAVIES thinks that this habit of writing the name Aton backwards "is derived

⁵⁰⁾ For Aton in the reign of Amenhotep IV see the author's article "Aton and his temple names at Thebes" in the publication of the 'Akhenaten Temple Project'.

⁵¹⁾ My gratitude is due to Dr. D. B. REDFORD, Director of the Akhenaten Temple Project, who kindly put the films of the Project at my disposal.

⁵²⁾ See RAMADAN M. SAAD, *MDIK* 22 (1967), p. 64 note 1.

⁵³⁾ N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (6 parts, London 1903—08), II pl. 10, cf. *ibid.* I pls. 10, 19, 25, 26; II pls. 12, 34.

from the horizontal cartouche which is written ⁵⁴⁾, no doubt in order to mark off the two parts of which the name consists⁵⁵⁾. This theory that Aton was reversed only to divide her new adopted name *nfr nfrw ltn* from the old one *nfrt it.ti* is not very satisfactory, for the horizontal cartouche of the long name of Nefertiti occurs only very few times. On Karnak *talatat* of the Aton temple the long name or part of it is found 143 times vertically and only once in very small scale horizontally⁵⁶⁾ (pl. XXVIII a). At Amarna, on the rock tombs, this name appears over 130 times vertically and only five times horizontally for technical reasons as on architraves or within horizontal texts⁵⁷⁾. On Hermopolis blocks it was inscribed 23 times vertically and only three times horizontally within a horizontal text on the base of a statue.⁵⁸⁾

Apparently it was not by chance that the long name of Nefertiti usually occurs vertically and only in very few cases horizontally. There must be a reason why Nefertiti preferred that her long name should always be inscribed vertically and not horizontally.

In all religious scenes on Karnak *talatat*, Hermopolis blocks or on the rock tombs at Amarna, Nefertiti is represented facing the Aton disk, which is always above her. These scenes either show Nefertiti alone or in the company of her husband, Amenhotep IV, under the rayed sun-disk, which sends down ♀ *nh* and ♂ *ws* signs, the symbols of life and dominion, only to the nostrils of Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti not, however, to their daughters. The artist, — according to the wish of the royal pair —, expressed this close relationship between the King, the Queen and their god Aton, who is always above them, by means of the face to face representation between them.

The Karnak *talatat* prove that Amenhotep IV from the beginning regarded himself as a god and was treated accordingly, having his own priests like other Egyptian Gods. Some of these *talatat* show the title "imy-hnt hm-ntr tpy n (*Nfr-hprw-Re w'-n-Re'*)" 'which means' chamberlain and first prophet of Nefer-khepru-Re wa'-en-Re."⁵⁹⁾ But what about Nefertiti and her position to Aton? While doing research for the Akhenaten Temple Project, sponsored by the University Museum, Pennsylvania, and the American Research Center in Egypt, my attention was drawn to the following interesting points.

1. On one of the Aton temple blocks at Karnak occurs the following text: [*ltn n*]h wr imy-hnt-sd nb pt nb is hry-ib hwt babn m gm ps ltn hnt-nsu nfrt-it.[ti]"⁶⁰⁾ (pl. XXVIII b), which means "the great living Aton, who is in jubilees, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, residing in the mansion of Benben in Gem-pa-Aton of the Queen Nefertiti."⁶¹⁾

⁵⁴⁾ The sign ♂ in the word *ltn* is usually inscribed facing the queen determinative and not—as DAVIES wrote it (*Amarna* I p. 9 note 4)—facing the same direction as the rest of the name. See, DAVIES, *Amarna*, II pls. 5, 31; V pls. 25, 26 and VI pl. 14.

⁵⁵⁾ DAVIES, *ibid.* I p. 9 note 4.

⁵⁶⁾ Film nr. 690—11, block nr. 0119 05004 (XXVIIIa), re-used block.

⁵⁷⁾ DAVIES, *ibid.* II pls. 5, 31; V pls. 25, 26; VI pl. 14.

⁵⁸⁾ G. ROEDER, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, Hildesheim (1969) pl. 162.

⁵⁹⁾ Film nr. 178—1, block nr. 0108 09312; film nr. 273—11 block nr. 0105 11510; film nr. 496—12, block nr. 0114 02011; film nr. 2025—6, block nr. 0601 05301; cf. J. CLERE, *RdE* 20 (1968) p. 51 ff. and p. 52 note 3 for imy-hnt, see D. B. REDFORD, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dyn. of Egypt*, Toronto (1967) p. 22 and note 64.

⁶⁰⁾ Film nr. 1095—7, block nr. 0126 07218 (XXVIIIb).

⁶¹⁾ This chapel name is discussed in detail in the author's article: "Aton and his temple names at Thebes", which will be published in the "Akhenaten Temple Project" publication.

This text refers to a *hwt bnbw* sanctuary belonging to Nefertiti, either as a divine person praying to Aton or being worshipped herself. From the syntactic point of view it is difficult to understand the long phrase *hwt bnbw m gm p3 ltn* as direct genitive to *hwt-nsw*, we can, however, easily accept it, if we take into consideration that in this period the writers sometimes omit the genitive particle *n*.⁶²⁾

It is noteworthy that on the 35 000 blocks we have studied, the phrase *hwt bnbw* or part of it occurs 48 times, 11 of these blocks show relatively complete inscriptions in which either the name Nefertiti or her figure is depicted, whereas Amenhotep IV is not even mentioned once on the *hwt bnbw* blocks. That proves on the one hand that Nefertiti had a Benben sanctuary, and on the other hand it reveals her direct relationship to Aton as a divine person.

2. A corner of a fragmentary granite sarcophagus, belonging to one of the daughters of Nefertiti, found at Amarna, shows the Queen, wearing the crown, composed of the sun disk with the two uraei and the two feathers, under the rays of the sun, which terminate in human hands.⁶³⁾ Nefertiti appears on this corner in the place of one of the four guardian goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selket,⁶⁴⁾ who usually protected the royal sarcophagus during the New Kingdom. If the Queen was represented on all four corners of this sarcophagus, which is very likely, it means that Nefertiti was replacing those four goddesses in protecting her dead daughter. It is clear that Nefertiti is here considered as a goddess, not only as a mother.

3. The *talatat* of the Aton temple at Karnak brought evidence of an unparalleled structure. We have reconstructed a part of it on paper.⁶⁵⁾ This pillared courtyard of Nefertiti only represents the Queen — not Amenhotep IV — and her first two daughters, Meritaton and Meketaton, under the rays of the sun-disk, which terminate in human hands. On three sides of each pillar occurs only the long name of the Queen, Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti, in large scale covering three courses⁶⁶⁾. That leads me to the assumption that this pillared courtyard of Nefertiti was erected later than the main temple of Aton, which probably means in the fifth or at the beginning of the sixth year of Amenhotep IV's reign, since Nefertiti adopted her long name in the fifth year or shortly before.⁶⁷⁾ This is also supported by the existence of five blocks⁶⁸⁾ on which the short name is deeply inscribed in large scale, while the long one has obviously been lightly added afterwards in very small scale (pl. XXVIII c, d). The fourth side of the pillars shows Nefertiti

⁶²⁾ A. ERMAN, *Nenägyptische Grammatik*, Leipzig (1933) § 206, cf. FAIRMAN, in: PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, part III, vol. I text p. 201 where the phrase *hwt n' hwt-nsw* appears with and without the genitival adj. *n*.

⁶³⁾ K. LANGE, *König Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit*, München (1951) pl. 52 and p. 141 Nr. 52. This reference I owe to Prof. J. WILSON.

⁶⁴⁾ It is not true that Amenhotep IV rejected from the beginning all other gods except his Aton. On the *talatat* of the Aton temple in Karnak the title *hm-nfr srkt* occurs twice (film nr. 803—1, block nr. 0127 08908; film nr. 2100—10, block nr. 0902 04001), also the name of the goddess Hathor is inscribed on one block (F. 301—12, B. 0113 13308). The word *nfrw* and the sign *nwt* were not yet regarded as taboo, we meet *nfrw* once (F. 1952—2, B. 0316 01814) and the sign *nwt* three times (F. 585—6, B. 0119 07318; F. 686—4, B. 0118 05319; F. 2432—10, B. 0452 04814) without any traces of defacement.

⁶⁵⁾ See the painting of L. GREENER in the *National Geographic Magazine* Nov. 1970 p. 647 and in *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* May, 1971, p. 27.

⁶⁶⁾ I.e. three rows of blocks. Ex. see F. 2402—7, B. 0124 18701; F. 1994—3, B. 0524 00204; F. 1994—11, B. 0523 01401 where the long name of Nefertiti is matched together.

⁶⁷⁾ N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, London (1941) p. 32 note 7.

⁶⁸⁾ F. 145—11, B. 0106 14806; F. 153—4, B. 0109 16001 (XXVIII c); F. 396—9, B. 0114 15501; F. 416—12, B. 0113 06704 (XXVIII d), F. 1092—1, B. 0128 15519.

facing herself across an offering table in four ritual scenes under the rays of the sun disk. Both names of Nefertiti appear on the fourth side in very small scale. The only temple name which flanks the sun-disk is the known one *Gm p3 ltn m pr ltn*.⁶⁹⁾ As far as I know there is no parallel for this building in Egyptian history, and it is an open question, whether it was a chapel for Nefertiti alone to pray to Aton or to be prayed to herself as a divine personality.

4. From the 35 000 studied blocks of the Aton temple at Karnak only five have the unusual building name *sh n ltn*.⁷⁰⁾ On one of these five blocks (pl. XXVIII e) we see, on the left, the bottom of the rayed sun-disk and on the right the last part of the inscription which flanks the sun-disk. It reads *hry-ib sh n ltn* "residing in the booth of Aton." A royal figure, very likely Queen Nefertiti, whose name and the rest of her cartouche was inscribed above her, offers both cartouches of the Aton in its earlier form to the sun-disk.⁷¹⁾ Her title reads "the *rp'rt*, great of favour, Mistress of South and North, Nefertiti".⁷²⁾ Another of these five blocks shows two symmetrical scenes completing each other (pl. XXVIII f). We see the head of the Queen under the rays of the sun-disk. Her title is inscribed before her. She is wearing her crown with the sun-disk between the two horns backed by the two feathers. The text runs as follows:

"*ltn nhy ur lmy hb(w)-sd nb pt nb B hry-ib sh n ltn m Gm p3 ltn m pr ltn*"

"great living Aton who is in jubilee(s), Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth residing in the booth of Aton in Gem-pa-Aton in the House of Aton."

These two blocks show only Nefertiti — not Amenhotep IV — depicted or her name inscribed. Apparently it is a third structure in the Aton temple Gem-pa-Aton in Thebes, belonging to Nefertiti.

5. On a single block of the Aton temple at Karnak occurs a remarkable frieze, consisting of the double cartouche of the Aton and the long name of Nefertiti. The names are inscribed above a series of *rhyt*-birds, each provided with human arms, raised in adoration position, and sitting on a \smile sign, the star \star appearing in front of each bird⁷³⁾ (pl. XXIX a). This can be understood not only as mere architectural decoration but also as "adoration by all the subjects (*dw3 rhyt nbt*)"⁷⁴⁾ (to) Re-Horakhti, who rejoices in the Horizon in his name the sun light which is Aton (and to) Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti." This remarkable frieze with the name of Nefertiti and not with the name of Amenhotep IV occurs only once on the 35 000 studied blocks.

All this evidence shows that Nefertiti had a very high position close to divinity.

In some offering scenes on the blocks of the Aton temple at Karnak, Nefertiti is represented facing the Aton, worshipping and offering the *m3't* figurine (pl. XXIX b, c) to him⁷⁵⁾ exactly like Amenhotep IV⁷⁶⁾ (pl. XXIX d). Moreover, in all religious scenes, whether on Karnak *talatat*, Her-

⁶⁹⁾ See above note 61.

⁷⁰⁾ F. 180—2, B. 0106 07406; F. 303—2, B. 0113 07519; F. 670—1, B. 0114 11103; F. 931—5, B. 0167 18610 (XXVIII e); F. 1887—2, B. 0439 08314 (XXVIII f); see above note 61.

⁷¹⁾ Cf. DAVIES, *Amarna* IV pls. 31, 44 and B. GUNN, *JEAI* IX (1923) p. 172.


⁷²⁾ Cf. DAVIES, *ibid.* II pls. 6, 8; IV pl. 31.

⁷³⁾ F. 1697—3, B. 0449 06406 (XXIX a) shown to me kindly by Mrs. SHOURKI.

⁷⁴⁾ Cf. *AEO* I p. 102, IDEM, *Egyptian Grammar* 3rd ed. London (1957) p. 113, also M. CALVERLY, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, London-Chicago (1938), Vol. III, pl. 58 where this group sign *dw3 rhyt nbt* appears above both the papyrus blossom of Lower Egypt and the 'lily' of Upper Egypt.

⁷⁵⁾ Nefertiti offers the *m3't* figurine to the sun-disk. Exs. F. 1040—7, B. 0126 02404 (XXIX b); F. 1717—3, B. 0451 03808 (XXIX c); F. 1718—9, B. 0445 02304.

⁷⁶⁾ Amenhotep IV performs the same ritual. Exs. F. 1377—12, B. 0283 17706 (XXIX d); F. 1951—7, B. 0314 02114.

mopolis blocks or Amarna rock tombs, Nefertiti is always represented facing the Aton who is above her. This face to face representation between Nefertiti and the Aton disk makes me believe that the same principle was applied in inscribing Nefertiti's long name Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti; because at the end of her long cartouche Nefertiti appears in the form of a queen determinative instead of herself in this form , which is the hieroglyphic depiction of a sitting female figure wearing the diadem and carrying a flower.

Obviously it was Nefertiti's wish that even in her Aton name she had to face the Aton, who is always above her, in the same way as she usually does in her ritual scenes; and for that reason the word Aton, which stands in honorific transposition at the top of the long name, was reversed to face the Queen⁷⁷⁾ at the end of her name.

The originally scenic conception underlying the hieroglyphic inscriptions also becomes evident in the fact that almost all examples of her long name are inscribed vertically. This vertical cartouche of the long name of Nefertiti makes the Aton appear above her. She is facing and worshipping him, thus evoking the actual scenic representation of the Queen worshipping the god Aton.

In the case of the King's name, Akhenaton, and the Nefer-nefru-Aton name of Semenkhekare it is not necessary to reverse the Aton because there is no king determinative within the cartouche that the god Aton should face. Neither does the reversal of Aton appear in the names of the daughters of Nefertiti, whether in honorific transposition or in normal writing, although they have the Aton as a part of their names as Meritaton, Meketaton, Ankhesenpaaton and Nefernefruaton ta-sherit. The reason for this could be that the daughters did not have the divine position of their mother.

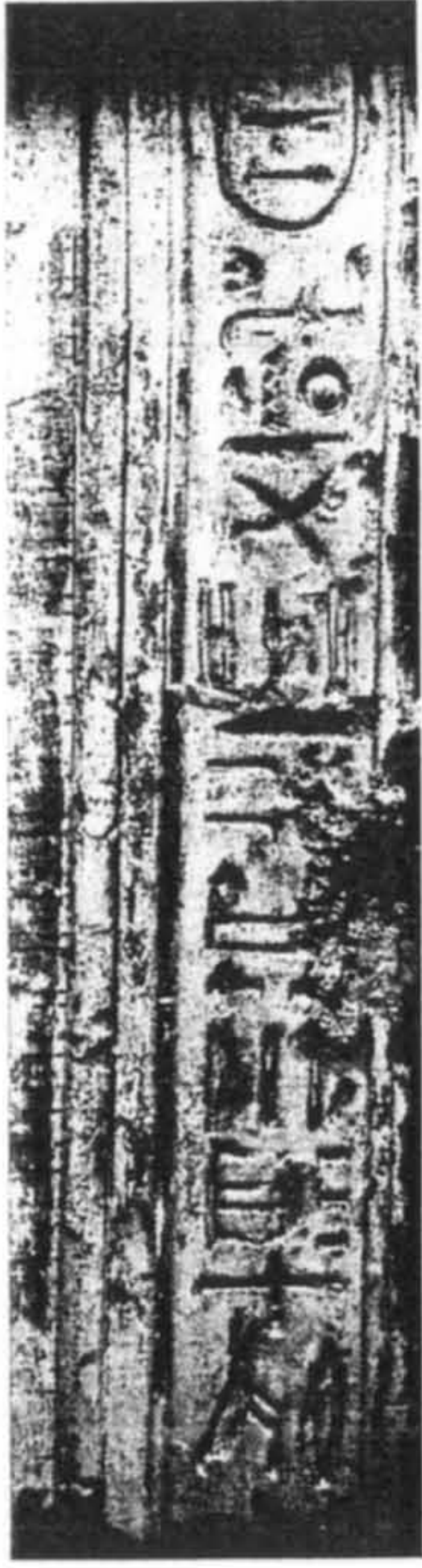
⁷⁷⁾ Cf. SETHE, *Urk.* IV p. 360—16; E. NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari*, vol. V pl. 137; M. CALVERLEY, *op. cit.* III pls. 5, 8, 10, 22, 34, 43, 44, 46; *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 174, 175, 178; M. HAMMAD, *Bericht über die Restaurierung des Barkensockels Ramses' III. im Chonstempel in Karnak*, *ASAE* LIV 1er Fasc. (1956) pls. IV, VIII, where the name of the god or the goddess is reversed to face the King or the Queen.



a



c



b



d



e

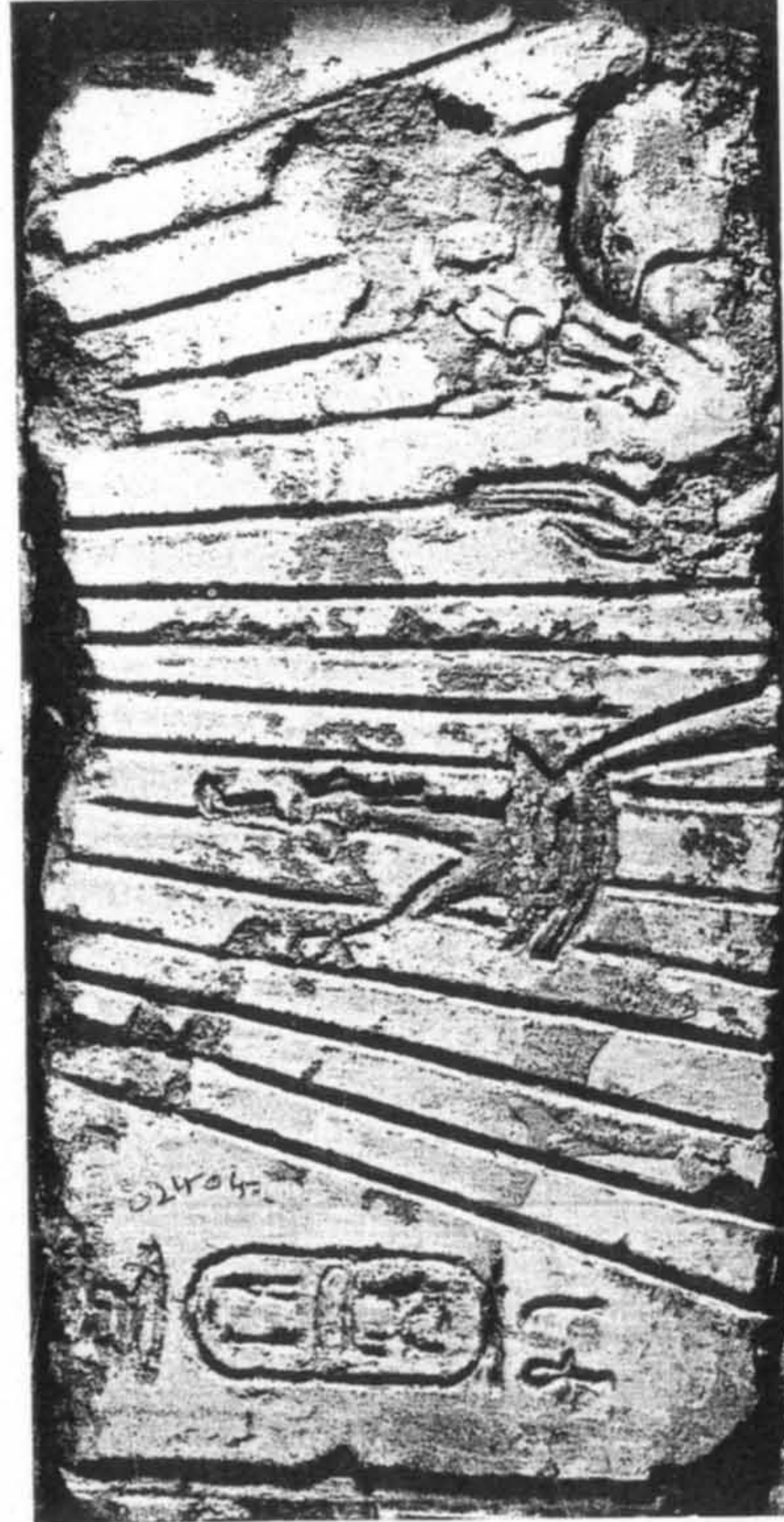


f

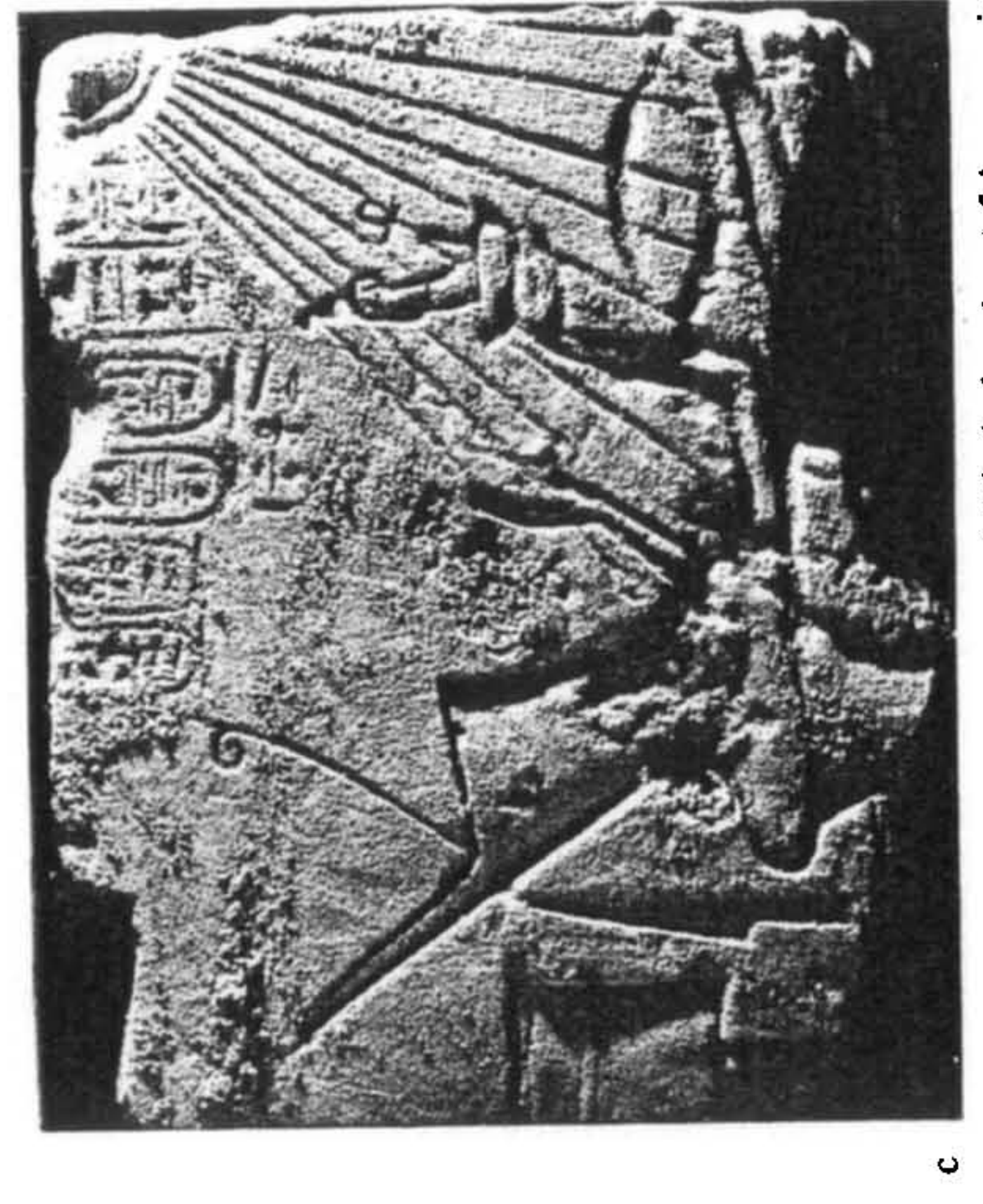
a) The only horizontal name of Nefer-nefru-Aton Nefertiti which occurs on the 35 000 studied blocks. b) The *hwt-hbn* of the Queen Nefertiti. c, d) Two blocks showing both names of Nefertiti. The short one is deeply inscribed in large scale and the long one has obviously been lightly added afterwards. e, f) Two blocks showing the *sh-n-itr* chapel name.



a



b



c



d

a) Block showing a frieze consisting of the double name of Aton and the long name of Nefertiti above *rhwt* birds. b, c) Nefertiti offers the *mi;t* figurine to the sun (disk). d) Amenhotep IV offers the *mi;t* figurine to the sun (disk).