# Servant of Mut 

Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini

## Edited by

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B R I L L

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# A COLOSSAL STATUE BASE OF NEFERTITI AND OTHER EARLY ATENIST MONUMENTS FROM THE PRECINCT OF THE GODDESS MUT IN KARNAK 

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Akhenaten and his family are perhaps not among Richard's best friends from ancient Egypt; in fact, with his inimitable turn of phrase, he likes to refer to them as "the Freak, the Freakess, and the Freakettes." But when they make a surprise appearance at his favourite site, they cannot simply be ignored, and since he actually wrote an introduction to the art of the Amarna Period, albeit a long time ago, ${ }^{1}$ it does not seem wholly inappropriate to publish these finds here as a tribute to a great scholar, intrepid excavator, remarkable survivor, and treasured friend.

With the removal to the Karnak Open Air Museum of the two massive alabaster stelae ${ }^{2}$ set up by Ramesses II in front of what was once the First Pylon of Temple A, in the northeast corner of the Mut Precinct, it became possible for the Brooklyn Museum Expedition to resume the excavations in this part of the site, which had been begun in the late i970s. ${ }^{3}$ At that time, it had already been established that the towers of the pylon, very little of which remains, were constructed of mud brick faced, at least on their interior (east) side, with reused limestone blocks, and that its threshold consisted of a very large reused slab of pink granite. In the early days of February 2005, excavations in the pylon entrance revealed

[^0]some further blocks of pink granite immediately adjacent to the north side of the large slab and forming the north end of the threshold. One of these turned out to be the base of a statue, reused upside down to provide a flat surface. When it was turned over, three pairs of feet became visible, one large and two small. The extraordinary shape of the large feet in particular made it immediately obvious that we were dealing with a work of the Amarna Period, and shortly afterwards this was confirmed by a study of what remains of the inscription on the back pillar. A further granite block proved to be the very badly decayed remains of the head of a royal statue of the same period, and both pieces can probably be linked to a fragment found in the same general area in 1978 which bears an inscription mentioning the Gem-pa-Aten, the sed-festival temple built by Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten at East Karnak.

## A. The Statue Base (Figs. I-5)

The base (Excav. No. igME.i) is a fairly tall, rectangular block of granite 77.5 cm wide and 95 cm deep. ${ }^{4}$ The height of the base without the remains of the statues is c. 42 cm ; the latter are

[^1]preserved to a maximum height of 15.5 cm , resulting in a total preserved height of 57.5 cm . The base originally supported three figures, a large one roughly in the middle, flanked by two much smaller ones. The large figure is broken off just above the ankles, although the feet themselves, shown parallel to each other, are also damaged. These feet are exceptionally long and narrow: they measure 47 cm from the most advanced (second) toe to the heel and their greatest width is ${ }^{5} 5 \mathrm{~cm}$. The toes, too, are very long. ${ }^{5}$ Most striking, however, is the fact that the five metatarsal bones and the joints connecting them to the phalanges (toe bones) have been sharply defined on the top surface of the feet. Elongated feet are de rigueur in Amarna art, and in New Kingdom sculpture articulated metatarsals can occasionally be found in works from the end of the 18th Dynasty, ${ }^{6}$ but the exaggerated form shown here and the rendering of the joints are, to the best of my knowledge, unparalleled. They are matched, however, by similarly over-emphasized collar bones and neck muscles in some other early statues of Akhenaten, most famously perhaps in the magnificent alabaster torso in the Brooklyn Museum. ${ }^{7}$ These extraordinary feet may be seen as additional evidence for the theory, persuasively advocated by Alwyn Burridge, that Akhenaten suffered from Marfan's Syndrome, one of the symptoms of which is arachnodactyly (elongated extremities with slender, spidery fingers and toes). ${ }^{8}$ Skeptics have argued that the deformities shown in Akhenaten's physical portrayal (and by extension that of his wife and children) are not to be read literally, and that "their common denominator is a symbolic gathering of all attributes of the creator god into the physical body of the king himself." ${ }^{9}$ However, although more general aspects like the combination of male and female characteristics might be interpreted along those lines, it is hard to see how spidery feet could be a symbolic rendering of an aspect of the creator god.

To the left of the main figure are the feet of a much smaller figure, which are also shown paral-

[^2]lel to each other, but although the proportions are more or less the same, ${ }^{10}$ there is no sign of the exaggerated articulation of the bone structure seen in the main figure. This small figure stands close to the left-hand edge of the statue base and quite far away $(57 \mathrm{~cm})$ from the front. On the other side of the main figure is an even smaller pair of feet. ${ }^{11}$ This figure, broken off halfway down the shins, is shown standing with its left foot advanced and is considerably further forward (at a distance of 3 I .2 and 32.8 cm , resp., from the front of the base) than its companion on the left. In good light, traces of vertical lines representing the pleating of a linen dress can be observed on the left leg. This figure does not stand close to the right-hand edge of the base, but some 13 cm away from it. This creates the impression that the whole group is off centre, although the feet of the main figure are in fact positioned in the middle of the base. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the back support that joins the three figures, at least at this low level, does not continue beyond the small figure on the right to encompass the full width of the statue base. ${ }^{12}$

The back support originally appears to have been inscribed with a single column of text in incised hieroglyphs running down the centre behind the main figure. Unfortunately, only the lowermost parts of the very last signs survive (fig. 5), but these nevertheless provide an additional clue for dating the statue: the word in question is $n h h$, written with a deeply cut sun-disk sign with uraeus and, indicated in shallow sunk relief, the ankh sign hanging from it, a sure indication that we are dealing with a monument from the reign of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten.

## B. The Head (Fig. 6)

The head (Excav. No. igME.ra) found next to the statue base is in a very sad state; it has in fact been almost entirely reduced to an amorphous lump of crumbling pink granite. ${ }^{13}$ Only the left

[^3]side of the head with a relatively well-preserved ear and part of a nemes headcloth can still be discerned. Both the face and the nemes, particularly when viewed from the side, have the elongated form associated with the art of Akhenaten. The height of the ear is 17 cm and its greatest width 7.5 cm , which agrees more or less exactly with the measurements of the ears of the famous series of sandstone colossi of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten found in 1925 at East Karnak by Henri Chevrier. If the proportions of our statue are similar to those of the latter, as seems very likely, then this granite colossus, too, may have stood to an estimated height of some 4.5 m . The nemes headcloth displays the usual horizontal stripes with a vertical line indicating the interior side of the lappets; the horizontal lines are narrower on the lappets than on the main part of the headcloth. Behind the head is part of a bridge connecting the statue to the back pillar. ${ }^{14}$

## C. Inscribed Granite Block (Figs. 7-8)

As long ago as 1978, the Mut Expedition found a roughly square block of pink granite "in the debris covering ... the entrance to the temple forecourt, ${ }^{15}$ i.e., the gateway of the First Pylon of Temple A. Because of its location, material, and date, it may well be associated with the two fragments just described. The piece, which measures $38.0 \times 34.5 \times 45.0 \mathrm{~cm}$, is evidently a corner fragment of a much larger block. The front of the block and the adjacent right-hand side have a smooth worked surface. The former is inscribed in sunk relief with the remains of two columns of text (fig. 8) ${ }^{16}$ giving the name formula of the Aten in connection with one of the early Aten temples at East Karnak: (i) "The great living [Aten] who is in the sed festival, lord of hea[ven and earth], (2) [residing] in Gem-pa-Aten in the domain of Aten. ${ }^{1 / 17}$ The inscription is thus virtually complete and the top of the fragment, although now weatherworn and damaged, may once have had

[^4]a finished surface as well. The inscription is almost certainly one of an identical pair oriented towards a depiction of the Aten's disk in the centre, i.e., to the right of the surviving inscription. Unfortunately, not enough of the fragment remains to enable us to determine from what kind of monument it derives. It cannot belong to the statue base described above, however, since this is complete on all four sides. ${ }^{18}$

## Interpretation

The main problem posed by the statue base is to establish the identity of the three persons represented. That they are members of the royal family of Amenhotep IV seems certain, but which ones? One possibility is that the main figure is the king himself, the small figure on his left could then be Nefertiti, and the even smaller figure on his right their firstborn daughter Merytaten; or, alternatively, the two small figures could be Merytaten on the left and her younger sister Meketaten on the right. In favour of such an interpretation would be the head found next to the base, which is almost certainly Amenhotep IV because of the nemes headcloth; unlike the khat or afnet headdress, which can be worn by both Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti, ${ }^{19}$ no examples can be cited for Nefertiti wearing the nemes. On the other hand, as the presence of the Gem-pa-Aten block in the pylon entrance demonstrates, the head and the base do not necessarily have to stem from one and the same statue. It is far more likely that two conveniently sized pieces were selected more or less at random from the mass of smashed-up statuary from the Karnak Aten temples that was available for reuse in various building projects of the post-Amarna pharaohs.

Two arguments militate against the interpretation of the large figure as Amenhotep IVAkhenaten. It is true that, if the larger of the two small figures is Nefertiti, her size in relation to the king would be comparable to that of

[^5]queens on colossal statues in the traditional style both before and after the Amarna Period. Unlike these queens, however, Nefertiti is never shown at such a diminutive scale when she is in the company of her husband, nor is it very likely that she would be, in view of the unusually important cultic role she plays in Akhenaten's temples. In the Karnak talatat reliefs, she is usually depicted at between three-quarters and two-thirds of the size of her husband. In later Amarna art, she is shown both in reliefs and in sculpture in the round as only slightly smaller than him, possibly reflecting the actual difference in height between them. If the smaller figures on the statue base are the couple's two oldest daughters, it is even more unlikely that the main figure could be the king, for as Redford has shown, on the Karnak talatat (and at Amarna) the daughters are never shown in the company of their father alone, but always with their mother, reflecting "the spirit of the family hierarchy $\ldots$, that is, the queen under the king's authority, and the children under the queen's." ${ }^{20}$

This leaves us with only one option, that the statue base once contained images of Nefertiti flanked by Merytaten and Meketaten. The inscription on the back pillar, meagre as the traces may be, supports the identification of the main figure as Nefertiti, for it is her name and titles, not Akhenaten's, that are almost invariably followed by the phrase 'nh.ti' dt nh. h. On the Karnak talatat, scenes showing Nefertiti with both Merytaten and Meketaten are far less numerous than those with Merytaten alone, probably because most of the decoration of the new temples had been finished by the time Meketaten was born

[^6](or old enough to be shown participating in the cult). ${ }^{21}$ The statue therefore probably also dates from that time, i.e., not long before the move to Amarna.

Colossal statues of both Amenhotep IVAkhenaten and Nefertiti once adorned the Aten temples and palaces at Karnak and Amarna. ${ }^{22}$ The best known are the thirty or so sandstone colossi found by Chevrier in 1925 on the south side of the Gem-pa-Aten colonnade. ${ }^{23}$ None of them has its feet or base preserved, probably because the statues were brought down by smashing the spindly lower legs, and the flat bases were subsequently reused elsewhere, like the example found by the Mut expedition. Chevrier's excavations appear to have yielded only the front half with toes of one base, now in the basement of the Cairo Museum. ${ }^{24}$ The measurements of this base may provide an additional argument for assigning the Mut Precinct statue base to Nefertiti: despite the fact that three figures were depicted on it, the width is only 77.5 cm as opposed to the 9 Icm of the sandstone base in Cairo, which only supported a single statue. As the granite head of Amenhotep IV found by the Mut Expedition is roughly the same size as the heads of the sandstone colossi, our statue base is perhaps more likely to have supported the slightly smaller figure of Nefertiti. In the absence of good parallels and with nothing more than the feet to go by, however, it is very difficult to estimate the original height of this statue.

Chevrier's sandstone colossi all represent Amenhotep IV, ${ }^{25}$ although it has been sug-gested-wrongly, I believe - that an apparently "sexless" statue is actually Nefertiti. ${ }^{26}$ Redford's

[^7]excavations brought to light further fragments of colossi in the North Colonnade of the Gem-pa-Aten, both of red quartzite and, apparently on a smaller scale, of black and red granite, ${ }^{27}$ and the block with the Gem-pa-Aten inscription found in close proximity to the base and head in the Mut Precinct suggests that these pieces may have come from this area. Several of the fragments found by Redford come from statues representing Nefertiti, although they "ranged from just under life-size to one and one-half times lifesize" and thus must have been smaller than the statue that once stood on the base from the Mut Precinct. One fragment (of a back pillar?) illustrated by Redford gives the cartouche with the short form of Nefertiti's name, without the additional Neferneferuaten. ${ }^{28}$ The presence of back pillars on these statues suggests that they originally stood between the piers of the colonnade rather than against them, as was the case with the sandstone colossi from the North Colonnade. ${ }^{29}$

Two objects inscribed for Horemheb, including "a small piece of stone appliqué, possibly from a wand of authority, ${ }^{, 30}$ recovered by Redford from the destruction level in the Gem-paAten South Colonnade, strongly suggest that it was Horemheb who was responsible for its demolition. ${ }^{31}$ The question therefore arises whether that king was also responsible for the construction of the First Pylon of Temple A in the Mut Precinct. This is certainly not impossible, for although there is no standing architecture within the precinct that can be attributed to Horemheb, at least two large architectural fragments of quartzite inscribed with his Horus name, and possibly belonging to a gateway, have been found on the site. Very little is known so far

[^8]about the early building history of the First Pylon of Temple A, other than that it probably replaced an earlier mud-brick wall or pylon almost certainly constructed during the i8th Dynasty. ${ }^{32}$ Obviously, the presence of the Akhenaten pieces demonstrates that the new pylon was built after the Amarna Period. That Ramesses II was responsible for its construction is suggested by the two large alabaster stelae and the pair of granite colossi that he erected in front of its façade, but, as Fazzini and Peck have rightly pointed out, this only proves that this pylon was built no later than the reign of Ramesses II. On the other hand, if the granite base of the southern colossus and the granite threshold of the pylon are part of the same block that was split in half, as Fazzini has suggested, ${ }^{33}$ the chances of Ramesses II being the builder of Temple A's First Pylon are considerably increased. ${ }^{34}$

## D. A Sandstone Block (Figs. 9-12)

Finally, by way of an appendix, I would like to briefly discuss an irregularly shaped sandstone block (Excav. No. 5MWB.i6) not related to the granite pieces treated above, but probably also deriving from a structure built by the Heretic King. The Mut Expedition uncovered it in March ig8o in the northwest part of the precinct, roughly halfway between Chapel D and the northwest tip of the Sacred Lake, in the fill in front of the south end of a wall running northsouth, where it is still positioned today. ${ }^{35}$

The block is decorated on two adjacent sides in sunk relief. The front ${ }^{36}$ displays part of a large horizontal band of text (fig. io) that does not run

[^9]parallel to the top and bottom edges of the block but at an angle of about $13^{\circ}$ to it. It was thus probably part of a balustrade leading up to a shrine or an altar, or even to a roof. Below the text are traces of two signs or objects, the first perhaps the top of a shrine (or possibly of a djed pillar), the other with a round top. These traces are parallel to the bottom edge. On the adjacent left-hand side of the block and at right angles to the front are the remains of a throne and the lower leg, ankle, and heel of a seated deity (fig. II). ${ }^{37}$ Clearly this is the side that was visible after the block had been reused.

The inscription on the long side of the block is almost certainly part of the epithet ' $3 \mathrm{~m} ' h ' w=f$ which normally follows the cartouche of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten (fig. 12), and the name of Re-Horakhty that follows it may be part of the didactic name of the Aten in its early form, not yet written in a pair of cartouches. Presumably the text called the king"[beloved of] Re-Horakhty
[who rejoices in the horizon in his name of 'Light which is in the Sundisk']." The block thus derives from the first temple constructed at Karnak by Amenhotep IV at the very beginning of his reign, which was dedicated to what is in fact an early form of the Aten, then still depicted in the traditional form of the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty, and which was largely constructed not of talatat but of the traditional large sandstone blocks. ${ }^{38}$ Many such blocks have been found within the Tenth Pylon at Karnak, but the present block has clearly been reused in a wall somewhere in the Mut Precinct. No other blocks belonging to this Re-Horakhty temple have so far been found in the existing walls in the Mut Precinct, but it is hoped, at least by the present writer, that more will one day turn up either in the Brooklyn Museum excavations or in the work being carried out by the Johns Hopkins University expedition directed by Betsy Bryan in the centre of the Mut Temple.

[^10][^11]

Fig. ıa. Statue base ı9ME.ı: just after its discovery.


Fig. ib. Statue base igME.i: front.


Fig. 2a. Statue base 19ME.i: back (photo: Mary McKercher).


Fig. 2b. Statue base 19ME.i: inscription on the back pillar (photo: Mary McKercher).


Fig. 3a. Statue base 19 ME.i: left side.


Fig. 3b. Statue base 19ME.i: right side.


Fig. 4a. Statue base igME.r: detail of the feet.


Fig. 4b. Statue base 19ME.r: detail of the feet.


Fig. 5. Remains of the inscription on the back of the statue.


Fig. 6a. Head of a colossal statue 19 ME.ra: front.


Fig. 6b. Head of a colossal statue igME.ra: left side.


Fig. 7a. Inscribed architectural fragment: front.


Fig. 7b. Inscription on architectural fragment.


Fig. 8. Inscription on a pink granite block from the Mut Precinct.


Fig. 9a. Sandstone block 5MWB.ı6: three-quarter view showing reused side.


Fig. 9b. Sandstone block ${ }_{5}$ MWB.i6: front.


Fig. io. Early Atenist inscription on a sandstone block from the Mut Precinct.


Fig. ir. Relief on the reused side of the same block.


Fig. 12. Suggested restoration of the inscription on the sandstone block.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Richard A. Fazzini, Art from the Age of Akhenaten (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1973).
    ${ }_{2}$ The one on the north is the famous Hittite Marriage Stela found in $1924-1925$ by Maurice Pillet, while its southern counterpart was discovered by the Mut Expedition in 1979; see the account in Richard Fazzini et al., The Brooklyn Museum-American Research Center in Egypt Expedition to the Precinct of the Goddess Mut at Southern Karnak. Preliminary Report (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 3035 and figs. 44-47. The text published there, although it bears a preliminary character, is a remarkable achievement, since it was recorded bit by bit by tunneling under the 44 -ton stela, which had fallen face down. Both stelae were carved from what was originally the side walls of a shrine of Amenhotep II from the Amun Precinct, which has recently been reconstructed at the entrance to the Open Air Mu-

[^1]:    seum by the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des Temples de Karnak.
    ${ }^{3}$ Fazzini et al., Preliminary Report, 27-28 with Map 3; cf. also Fazzini and William H. Peck, Introduction to Claude Traunecker, "Une chapelle de magie guérisseuse sur le parvis du temple de Mout à Karnak," FARCE 20 (1983): 6567 and the plans published there on p. 62, and in Fazzini and Peck, "The Precinct of Mut During Dynasty XXV and Early Dynasty XXVI: A Growing Picture," JSSEA iI (1981): 117, fig. I, where the First Pylon is marked with the number ${ }_{5}$. For the 2005 season, see the preliminary report forthcoming in ASAE 79
    ${ }^{4}$ Detailed measurements of the base and the head have kindly been provided by Mrs. Elsie Holmes Peck. In the description which follows, "left" and "right" refer to the figures' proper left and right.

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ Large toe: 10.0 cm ; second toe: 10.2 cm ; third: 9.7 cm ; fourth: 8.2 cm ; fifth: 5.0 cm .
    ${ }^{6}$ See, for example, the statue on a sledge of Amenhotep III from the Luxor Temple cachette, Mohammed ElSaghir, Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1992), 23, fig. 49, and 26, fig. 54 .
    ${ }^{7}$ John D. Cooney, Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1965), 102-106.
    ${ }^{8}$ Alwyn L. Burridge, "Akhenaten: A New Perspective. Evidence of a Genetic Disorder in the Royal Family of I8th

[^3]:    Dynasty Egypt," FSSEA 23 (1993 [1996]): 63-74 (see esp. pl. in, lower); Burridge, "Did Akhenaten Suffer from Marfan's Syndrome?", Biblical Archaeologist 59 (1996): 127-128.
    ${ }^{9}$ Dominic Montserrat, Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt (London: Routledge 2000), 48.
    ${ }^{10}$ Length of left foot: 9.7 cm , greatest width: 3.2 cm .
    ${ }^{11}$ Length of left foot: 9.0 cm , greatest width: 3.1 cm .
    ${ }^{12}$ It is 65 cm wide, leaving an "open" space of 12.5 cm to the right of the right-hand small figure.
    ${ }^{13}$ Measurements: h. 60 cm , w. 35 cm , d. 29 cm .

[^4]:    ${ }^{14}$ Two large joining fragments of pink granite that may or may not be part of a back pillar were found with the statue base and the head; they are uninscribed.
    ${ }^{15}$ From field notes compiled by Lisa Kuchman Sabbahy (1978). The piece does not appear to have been given an Excav. No.
    ${ }^{16}$ The column width is just over 4 cm .
    ${ }^{17}$ See on this formula, very frequent on the Karnak talatat, Sayed Tawfik, in Ray Winfield Smith and Donald

[^5]:    B. Redford, The Akhenaten Temple Project, vol. ı, Initial Discoveries (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), 59-6i.
    ${ }^{18}$ Could it perhaps be part of a gateway? Cf. the "large block of Assuan granite" found by Donald Redford at a very deep level on the west side of the Gem-pa-Aten, see his "Interim Report on the Excavations at East Karnak (1979 and ig80 Seasons)," $\mathcal{F} S S E A_{\text {II }}$ (198ı): 258.
    ${ }^{19}$ Marianne Eaton-Krauss, "The khat Headdress to the End of the Amarna Period," $S A K 5$ (1977): 21-39.

[^6]:    ${ }^{20}$ Smith and Redford, The Akhenaten Temple Project 1 , 83. As Redford notes, the few exceptions to this rule occur only towards the end of Akhenaten's reign, on Amarna blocks from Hermopolis. These late instances are probably the result of an original figure of Kiya having been erased and replaced by either Merytaten or Ankhesenpaaten.
    ${ }^{21}$ Ibid., $84-85$.
    ${ }^{22}$ For Amarna see J.D.S. Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten part 3, The Central City and Official Quarters, vol. i (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 195I), 9-13; 76 ("It [i.e. the Broad Hall of the Great Palace] was completely surrounded by colossal statues, those of the King in granite and sandstone, those of the Queen in sandstone only"); on p. 52 Pendlebury mentions "thousands of fragments of granite colossi found in this area" (i.e., the Broad Hall).
    ${ }^{23}$ Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak. Monument d'Akhnaton," ASAE 26 (1926): 121-127; 27 (1927): 143-147; 29 (1929): 14-I5; Rita E. Freed, "Observations on Some Amenhotep IV Colossi from Karnak," Memnonia Io (1999): 195-200. Cf. also Dennis Forbes, "The Akhen-

[^7]:    aten Colossi of Karnak: Their Discovery and Description," Amarna Letters 3 (1994): 46-55.
    ${ }^{24}$ Freed, "Observations," 198 and 200, n. 32, where the following measurements are given: w. 91 cm , preserved d. 37 cm ; h. without the toes: 47 cm .
    ${ }_{25}$ The cartouches on the belt still call the king Amenhotep, not Akhenaten.
    ${ }^{26}$ J.R. Harris, "Akhenaten or Nefertiti?", Acta Orientalia $3^{8}$ (1977): $5^{-10}$. This interpretation appears to have been widely accepted, but, as Harris notes himself, the crook and flail, the royal beard, and the (reconstructed) double crown are difficult to reconcile with it. Nowhere in the thousands of representations of Nefertiti in Karnak and Amarna is she shown with any of these regalia, and at Karnak she is never shown on the same scale as the king. Harris refers to images of Hatshepsut, but although there can be no doubt that Nefertiti shows a remarkable degree of independence in ritual scenes at Karnak, she is not a king, like Hatshepsut, at least not at this early stage of her husband's reign. It seems far more likely to me that the allegedly "sexless"

[^8]:    statue was once dressed in a kilt of a different material (sheet gold?), like the equally "sexless" alabaster statue of Sety I from the Karnak Cachette (CG 42139). Cf. also Redford, Akhenaten, The Heretic King (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 104.
    ${ }^{27}$ Redford, "Interim Report on the Excavations at East Karnak ( 1981 -1982 Seasons: Stratigraphy and Architecture," JSSEA 13 (1983), 222; Redford, "East Karnak and the Sed-festival of Akhenaten," in Hommages à Jean Leclant I, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc and Nicolas Grimal (Cairo: IFAO, 1994), 487, with fig. 2.
    ${ }^{28}$ For the occurrence of both forms in the Karnak talatat, see Redford in The Akhenaten Temple Project 1, 80 .
    ${ }^{29}$ Hommages Leclant $\mathbf{1}, 487$.
    ${ }^{30}$ Redford, ROM Archaeological Newsletter No. 195 (August, 198I).
    ${ }^{31}$ Hommages Leclant I, 485, n. 6.
    ${ }^{32}$ Fazzini and Peck, "Une chapelle de magie guérisseuse," 66 .

[^9]:    ${ }^{33}$ Fazzini et al., The Brooklyn Museum-American Research Center in Egypt Expedition, 28. The present writer, who partially re-excavated the large granite slab reused in the threshold during the 2006 season, considers it likely that it too derives from the Gem-pa-Aten, although it contains no inscriptions or decoration to prove it.
    ${ }^{34}$ Unless the southern colossus itself was usurped from Horemheb, for which there is no evidence (the cartouche of Ramesses II on the belt shows no signs of having been recarved). The northern colossus, the head of which is in the British Museum (EA ${ }_{15}$ ), was usurped from Amenhotep III.
    ${ }^{35}$ From field notes compiled by Elsie Peck. The coordinates on the CFEK grid are $2770-2780 / 770-80$. I am very grateful to Mary McKercher for sending me these details.
    ${ }^{36}$ The measurements of this side are as follows: width, measured along the bottom, 76 cm ; height (left) 31.5 cm , (right) 48 cm . The back of the block is damaged, but the original depth was 55 cm . The height of the band of text is 50 cm .

[^10]:    ${ }^{37}$ The width of this scene was originally 51 cm , but most of the leg of the deity has now disappeared and the present width is 40 cm ; the height is 44 cm .

[^11]:    ${ }^{38}$ Smith, in The Akhenaten Temple Project $1,45^{-46}$.

