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THE BOUNDARY STELAE OF AKHENATEN
WILLIAM J. MURNANE AND

THE BOUNDARY STELAE OF AKHENATEN

WILLIAM J. MURNANE AND CHARLES C. VAN SICLEN III



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In Memoriam
CHARLES FRANCIS NIMS
Mentor and Friend

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Frontispiece: Tablet of Stela A (photograph)

"colophon" text of Stela A may be noted here, since it reflected strongly on the desirability of a new edition at that time. In Davies' hand copy, the text was shown to be preserved best on Stela B, which reads: "regnal year 8, fourth month of the Inundation season, last day (*sw ʿrqy*): oath (*ʿnḫ*) which the king, etc., uttered . . . ." The text of A, which was presumed to be similar, is badly garbled in the publication. One of the groups Davies read as part of the colophon's date belongs in fact to the last phrase of the previous section; but the most damaging drawback is the omission of the signs for *ky* in front of the word *ʿnḫ*, i.e., "another oath which the king, etc., uttered" instead of simply "(the) oath", as in Stela B. If the copy of the "colophon" -- one of the few parts of the "Later Proclamation" published in *extenso* -- left so much to be desired, it seemed likely that improvements might also be made in the greater part of the inscription where Davies' edition was at a further remove from the originals. Reluctantly, we found ourselves concluding that a new text edition of the boundary stelae was also needed.

The field work that is the basis for the present volume was done in three seasons. In April and May of 1984 we visited all the sites of the stelae and collated the texts we found there. These results were checked during our second season (April-May, 1985), a substantial part of which was also spent in searching for Stela F, which we had not located in the last days of our first outing: the details of that search and its eventual outcome are given in Chapter Four of this volume. On our final season (January 1989) we were joined by Dr. Marianne Eaton-Krauss, whose help in checking a number of thorny passages is gratefully acknowledged.

Both authors shared responsibility for the El-Amarna Boundary Stelae Project in the field and have exchanged both material and ideas as this book was being written. We should note, however, that C.V.S. bears primary responsibility for writing Chapter 4, while W.J.M. wrote the remainder. The parallel text copies, which were nearly all that was contemplated when this project began, have been supplemented with drawings of the three stelae (K, M and X) which are inscribed with the Earlier Proclamation. A tracing of M had already been foreseen, simply in order to record the text properly; and since collation of X and K necessarily involved amending Davies' copies (which were based on squeezes), we eventually decided to give the reader as much help as possible by publishing these difficult texts *in extenso*. The Later Proclamation, by contrast, was recorded only in hand copies. Most of this text (unlike the Earlier Proclamation) is well enough established anyway, and after our initial survey of the monuments it was decided that too little would be added to justify the time and expense of making facsimiles of the eleven

later stelae. Any essential palaeographic information can be had from Davies' splendid facsimile of Stela S. By way of compensation, we have supplied sketches of the more fragmentary later stelae (F, J and V) and published as many illustrations as the hospitality of this series allows. All photographs were taken by the authors unless otherwise indicated. For the bulk of the older photographs, the reader is regretfully referred to Davies and even Daressy. This selectiveness has been forced upon us, first by the sheer volume of material that could potentially appear in a full dossier of photographs, and second, by the necessity of avoiding expensive duplication. We would have preferred to publish a more comprehensive selection of older and more recent views, particularly since no fewer than seven of the boundary stelae have been damaged since the photographs for Davies' edition were taken. Given the unavoidable constraints, we have preferred to show the sites as they are today. Since our aim leans heavily towards the improvement of the existing documentation of sites, moreover, we have chosen views that are otherwise unpublished instead of reproducing those that are available elsewhere. For other views, users of this volume will ultimately be able to refer to the complete records of our expedition in an archive that is planned for deposit at Memphis State University (Tennessee, U.S.A.).

Even an expedition as modestly equipped as ours could succeed only with the help of many individuals and institutions. In the first instance, we must thank the members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization who permitted us to work at El-Amarna: Dr. Ahmed Kadry and Sayed Tawfik (Presidents of the E.A.O.); Dr. Aly el-Khouly (Director of Excavations for Middle Egypt), for whose friendly interest and patience we are very grateful; and the other members of the E.A.O.'s Permanent Committee in Cairo. In Middle Egypt, we are indebted to Mahmoud Hamza (Director of Antiquities for Middle Egypt); Samir Anis (then Chief Inspector at Mallawi); Adel Hassan Mahmoud (our first site inspector, later Chief Inspector at Mallawi); and also our other inspectors, Yahya Zaharia and Kamal Wahid Ahmed, as well as all members of their staffs, without whom the El-Amarna Boundary Stelae Project could never have accomplished its mission.

Most of the expenses incurred during the Project's several seasons were paid by grants from the American Philosophical Society (1984, 1989) and the National Geographic Society (1985): we thank these organizations for their support and their patience, which we hope this publication repays in some measure. We would also like to thank Peter Hopkins and the firm of Kegan Paul International for agreeing to publish this book; and we appreciate the good offices of W. Vivian Davies (The British Museum) to this end. For added support during the first two field seasons we are grateful to the late Richard Brumbaugh;

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PREFACE

"Why a new edition of Akhenaten's boundary stelae, which are already published?" The genesis of this project arose, in fact, out of a question which the authors asked of that earlier publication in 1983. At that time, our direct acquaintance with these monuments was confined to Stela A, which is on the normal tourist's itinerary in Middle Egypt. We were also aware that, at most of these boundary markers, the tablets were accompanied by statues of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and two of their daughters, all of which stood on low platforms that were raised above the level of the floor. What had caught our attention was that the statues at the site of Stela A were elevated to a greater degree than were the corresponding statues at other sites (insofar as this could be judged from published photographs). The evidence in the publication indicated, moreover, that Stela A, along with Stela B (some two miles south) were the latest of the boundary monuments to be inscribed, since both concluded with a "colophon", dated to the end of Akhenaten's eighth regnal year, added to the standard text of the "Later Proclamation" found on these and other stelae of this series. Did Stela B then also share the unusual elevation of the statues, hitherto noted only at Stela A? And was this feature diagnostic of the comparatively late date at which these monuments were finished?

These answers were not to be found, unfortunately, in the fifth volume of Norman de Garis Davies' *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, which is the *editio princeps* of Akhenaten's boundary stelae. While the layout of Stela A (the most visited of these monuments) was documented with seeming adequacy, the same could not be said for Stela B, or indeed for any of the other stelae. The descriptions supplied for each of the sites were sketchy and (as it turned out when we visited them ourselves) significantly wrong in several cases. It was clear that something more needed to be said, if only to compensate for these insufficiencies of the published record.

Another surprise greeted us when, in addition to the architectural observations that were our first concern in 1983, we checked a number of passages that remained obscure in Davies' copy of the "colophon" texts on Stelae A and B. It was and is not our intention to defame an honorable publication that has served Egyptologists for more than three-quarters of a century. Even so, it was disturbing to find that line divisions (on Stela B especially) were unclear and occasionally incorrect in Davies' edition; and that the published copies differed from the original texts in ways both great and small. Variations in spelling and in the arrangement of hieroglyphs were frequently encountered, as were omissions of signs and errors in interpreting the original signs. One particularly striking divergence at the start of the

and we also thank Noel Sweitzer and Edward Johnson for their constant encouragement, and particularly for their help in setting up the 1989 season. We must also thank the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and its Director, Professor Janet H. Johnson, as well as the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey and its Field Director at that time, Lanny Bell, for logistical support and the loan of equipment (1984 and 1985 seasons). The hospitality of the Oriental Institute's Research Archives, and of its director, Charles Jones, has been much appreciated during the writing of this report. The Project did its field work under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt: we are grateful to the late Professor Klaus Baer (1984-85) and to Professor David O'Connor (1989), Presidents; to Paul Walker (1984-85) and Terrence Walz (1989), as Executive Directors; to Robert Wenke and Nanette Pyne (1984), Richard Verdery (1985), and Robert Betts (1989), Cairo Directors; and to Amira Khattab (Cairo) for their help in facilitating the Project's work. We are also pleased to acknowledge the help of Ms. May Trad (Cairo), whose friendship, resourcefulness and skill have been of immense value during every stage of this enterprise. Finally, we are indebted to Dr. Edward Bleiberg (Director [1990-] of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology), Dr. Carol Crown (Chair, Department of Art), and Dr. Richard Ranta (Dean of the College of Fine Arts and Communications) at Memphis State University, who generously made Institute funds available for the various photographic, drafting and clerical services that were needed to put our manuscript into publishable form. The authors, together with all the readers of this book, also owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Annette Webb, whose work on the manuscript greatly improved its published appearance.

In consideration of help and courtesies too numerous to mention, we would also like to express (in more-or-less alphabetical order) our appreciation to the following persons and the institutions to which they are affiliated: Barbara Adams (Petrie Museum, University College, London); Elke Blumenthal (Ägyptisches Museum, Leipzig); Janine Bourriau (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge); Edward Brovarski, Rita Freed and Peter Lacovara (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Robert Cedarwall; Maurice Crouse (Memphis State University); W. Vivian Davies (The British Museum, London); Margaret Drower; Rita Freed (then at Memphis State University); the late Labib Habachi; Colin Hope (University of Melbourne); Richard and Helena Jaeschke; Helen Jacquet-Gordon (Karnak-North/Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale); T. G. H. James (The British Museum and Egypt Exploration Society); Barry Kemp (University of Cambridge); Kenneth Konrad; Rolf Krauss (Ägyptisches Museum, West Berlin) and Marianne Eaton-Krauss (Westfällisches Wilhelms-Universität, Münster); John Larson (Oriental Institute, Chicago);

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William J. Murnane
Charles C. Van Siclen III



Frontispiece: Tablet of Stela A (photograph)

CHAPTER ONE
DISCOVERY AND PREVIOUS STUDY OF THE BOUNDARY STELAE

The monuments under discussion in this volume define the territorial limits of Akhet-Aten, a new cult center which the Pharaoh Akhenaten (c. 1350-1334 BCE)[1] built for his god, the solar orb or "Aten", at the site known today as El-Amarna.[2] The eastern side of the Nile, where the hills that hug the riverbank to the north and south suddenly pull back to form a desert bay that runs to some ten kilometers in length and six in depth, was chosen to be the site of the city proper. This distinctive topography, which is not matched on the west bank (see Plate 1), influenced the manner in which Akhenaten delimited the frontiers of his new foundation.

Fifteen boundary stelae are known at present: three on the western side of the Nile, cut into the limestone cliffs that run along the edge of the cultivation (Stelae A, B and F); and twelve on the eastern side (Stelae J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, U, V and X), at a number of sites along the hills that recede to form the desert bay beside the river. The practice of identifying the stelae in this fashion (i.e., by a discontinuous series of letters) was begun by Petrie in 1892 (see below) to allow for the possibility that more of them might be found. Only one additional site -- Stela X, at the extreme north end of the eastern side -- was discovered, however, in the years between Petrie's publication and the *editio princeps* of all the known stelae which Davies issued in 1908.[3] The possibility of other such monuments cannot be excluded (especially on the west bank, where cliffs at the northern end give way to infrequent, low outcroppings of limestone that are often swamped by drifting sand). No other boundary monuments have been found since the beginning of this century, however, and further discoveries are unlikely without the wholesale movement of sand that would tax even the best funded of expeditions.

It has been recognized since the pioneering days of Petrie, Breasted and Davies that the stelae fall into two main groups. Stelae K, M and X are inscribed with what has been termed the "Earlier Proclamation", in which Akhenaten describes his discovery of the site, his reasons for choosing it, and the proposed layout of the new city. The rest of the stelae (with the exception of Stela L, which belongs to neither series)[4] bear the text of the "Later Proclamation", with one or two addenda on most (if not all) of the tablets. The main text of this second decree, dated to Akhenaten's sixth regnal year, briefly confirms the arrangements detailed in the Earlier Proclamation and specifies that the city's dimensions are to be defined on both sides of the river by stelae set at the northern, central and southern limits of the hills. The Later Proclamation is ordinarily followed by a short text, known as the "repetition of the

oath", which describes how the king renewed his promises concerning the borders of Akhet-Aten in his eighth regnal year. The "colophon" text, which is also dated in year 8, follows the "repetition" on Stelae A and B and reconfirms the earlier enactment on the occasion of the "establishment" of these monuments on the western side of the Nile.

The contents of these various decrees and their relationship with one another will be discussed at appropriate points in the chapters that follow. In the remainder of this chapter we will confine ourselves to describing how these monuments were discovered and to outlining the research that has been done on them in modern times.

Not many westerners ventured south of Cairo before the nineteenth century of our era, and the banditry endemic to Middle Egypt discouraged most foreigners from lingering there. Thus it was not until the early 1700's that Europeans were allowed a glimpse of Akhet-Aten and its antiquities. Stela A, by virtue of its proximity to modern settlements no less than by its relatively good preservation, is the most conspicuous of Akhenaten's monuments in the region around El-Amarna, and western travellers began noticing it in the early years of the eighteenth century.[5] The first European to call attention to it was the Jesuit Claude Sicard, who published a description of the site, along with a sketch, shortly after visiting it in 1714.[6] Other travellers passed through the area later on, notably Richard Pococke[7] and E. Jomard (the latter with the Napoleonic expedition at the end of the eighteenth century),[8] but the stela itself was noted by only one other visitor, in 1777.[9] By the earlier part of the nineteenth century, when more westerners were able to travel and even reside in Egypt, the monument of Tuna el-Gebel was one of the recognized sights on any visitor's itinerary through Middle Egypt. Joseph Bonomi saw it early in 1825,[10] and Robert Hay made a number of drawings at the site in 1827,[11] perhaps having learned of it from John Gardner Wilkinson.[12]

Gradually, the efforts of European antiquarians brought other boundary stelae to light. The largest of these monuments, Stela U, was found in 1840 by A. C. Harris and George Gliddon.[13] Nestor L'Hôte of his last journeys through the Nile valley, having earlier attempted the first copy of the entire tablet of Stela A.[14] Yet another of the sites on the eastern side of the river, most probably Stela S, was discovered and copied in the early 1840's by George Lloyd of Brynestyn, who was travelling with E. Prisse d'Avennes.[15] At this time Prisse also made a copy of Stela U, which he later published along with Lloyd's copy of P and with a fresh copy of A.[16] Based on his reading of the inscriptions (only stelae bearing the "Later Proclamation" were known at the time) Prisse was the first to realize that there should be at least

six of these monuments in all: one other stela on the east bank (in addition to U and S) and two more on the west side, to the south of Stela A. These additional markers were yet to be found,[17] but scholars' increasing awareness of these ancient records was at least pointing them in the right direction.

Further discoveries were made by Karl Richard Lepsius, whose expedition visited El-Amarna briefly in 1843 and again, for a somewhat more detailed examination, in 1845. With ample time and the resources of the Prussian government at his disposal, Lepsius not only took in familiar sites such as Stela A (which by now was to be seen by virtually all serious travellers),[18] but more remote locations as well. Although the expedition spent most of its time in the private tombs on the east bank, Lepsius discovered three more monuments at the south end of the site (Stelae K, M and N), as well as Stela R, which Prisse and Lloyd had missed a few years earlier when they had found Stela S nearby.[19] The harvest was impressive, especially after only a week's work, but a number of obvious gaps remained: on the west bank, the two southern stelae were still missing; and while the Prussian initiative had raised the total on the east bank to six, their asymmetrical arrangement around the site as a whole might have suggested that more might yet be found.

Perhaps the very wealth of material in Lepsius' publication explains the prolonged period of inactivity that followed. More than forty years would pass before the ruins that the great Prussian expedition had found at El-Amarna were systematically explored.[20] Yet, as often happens, the next discoveries came tumbling on one another's heels. Pride of place undoubtedly goes to the thorough survey that W. M. Flinders Petrie made on both sides of the river in 1892, and which he published two years later.[21] Exploring the desert hills on foot, often with no more than a compass and a number of small notebooks as his equipment, Petrie brought the number of boundary stelae up to fourteen: six new sites were found by Petrie himself (B, F, J, L, P and V), while yet another (Stela Q) was discovered by Percy E. Newberry in 1893, just in time to be noted in Petrie's publication of the following year.[22] Petrie's pioneering volume is disappointingly sparse, however, in its coverage of the monumemts themselves. Only a map, indicating locations, and brief descriptions of each site were published. Petrie's documentation of the stelae had been more complete than this. His papers, now kept at the Petrie Museum at University College London, include a number of photographs, a squeeze of Stela S (later made into a cast for the museum), and hand copies of texts (Stelae F, J and U complete, with snippets from others: see below). Petrie's journal, moreover, supplies a number of details that his notebooks lack: On Petrie's visit to Stela J, for instance,

his Egyptian guide told him that someone had already taken a paper squeeze of the text[23] -- an interesting observation, although no trace of this copy or its maker has ever surfaced. In any case, given the materials he had collected already, it is surprising that Petrie concerned himself neither with the history of the stelae nor (for the moment) with making their contents better known. Perhaps he shied away from the purely philological rigors that a publication of these inscriptions would have entailed. More probably, however, Petrie himself realized that he had merely laid the groundwork for a complete edition in 1892. Now that he had shown where the materials were, he was apparently content to leave their further study to others.

By coincidence, the desired understanding of the stelae's contents was being realized, at least in part, even while Petrie was preparing his report. Not long after his departure the El-Amarna area had attracted the attention of the prolific French Egyptologist Jean Daressy. His work, undertaken independently of Petrie and published in an article that appeared in 1893, is an oddly spotty achievement. Daressy published copies of Stela S (which he identified with the monument that Lloyd and Prisse had found in the 1840's) and of the nearby Stela R, which was still unpublished and virtually unknown. These copies, which were set in hieroglyphic type, made use of the variants found on Stelae A and U, published by Prisse, and thus they represent the earliest attempt to reach an integral text of the Later Proclamation.[24] Daressy's is also the earliest printed translation of the complete composition, and despite numerous infelicities it was fundamentally sound in its understanding of the contents.[25] Somewhat less distinguished, however, was Daressy's attempt to ennumerate the eight stelae that were known to him.[26] His list included unambiguous references to the following stelae, in their modern alphabetical order: A (=Daressy 8, which included an incomplete copy of the "colophon", along with a translation), M (=D 5), N (=D 4), R (=D 2), S (=D 1) and U (=D 6). Curiously, the list did not include K (which had been found and even published by Lepsius). Instead, two other stelae were noted, although not in a fashion that lends itself to easy identification:

> Daressy 3, described as being "on the mountain that runs along the south of the valley: stela at the top of which the king, the queen and their daughters are shown twice. The stela is flanked by two pillars that bear the royal titulary. The preamble is written vertically at the top of the stela beneath the disk." The "two pillars" of this description can only refer to the inscribed statue groups, which in this case stood at each side of the tablet. The rest of this description, however, is more difficult to match with others of the known monuments. In aggregate, the details fit only two of the extant stelae, S and B, neither of which is possible here. Among the others, Stelae Q and R both have a "mirror image" representation of the royal family on both sides of the lunette, but neither one has the opening lines of the decree centered between the figures under the disk. Vertical columns of text are found in the lunettes of Stelae J and K (both unknown to Daressy), M (=D 5), N (=D 4), and U (=D 6), as well as X (as yet undiscovered); but in all these cases the inscriptions are arranged on one side, with a single representation of the royal family on the other. Of the remaining monuments on the east bank, Stela V is impossible owing both to its naturally decayed condition (already noted by Petrie) and its northerly location. Unless Daressy was grossly mistaken in his description, the only possible candidate that remains is Stela P, which had been "in tolerable condition" when Petrie had seen it the previous season and which he had identified with George Lloyd's discovery, published on Plate XIII of Prisse's *Monuments*.[27] Daressy, as we have seen, had identified this drawing with Stela S, and as we shall see (below, on pp. 77-78) he was undoubtedly correct. Moreover, Stela P resembled S sufficiently to make their confusion possible. Since all the other sites on the east bank are either accounted for or unsuitable, Daressy's third boundary stela must be identified with P.
>
> Daressy 7. "On the west bank (*rive gauche*) of the river, near Dirweh, there are statues of the heretic king and his wife, but the stela has not been carved disappeared." Given the location (unless it refers to a site that has since been destroyed), this can only be Stela B. If so, Daressy's failure to note the reasonably well preserved tablet is difficult to explain. It is possible that his notes and/or memory failed him, but perhaps he did not visit this site personally and relied on reports of the antiquities found there.

Despite its inaccuracies and omissions (including the continued neglect of the "Earlier Proclamation", the existence of which had been known since Lepsius' day),[28] Daressy's study was a modest step forward. Fortunately, it would soon be superseded by more comprehensive efforts. Petrie's volume, *Tell el-Amarna*, which appeared in 1894, eclipsed Daressy's partial survey of the boundary stelae, even if it did not attempt to publish their contents. The first attempt to remedy this omission came four years later, when an expedition led by Georg Steindorff visited most of the stelae on the east bank. While only a popular account of this enterprise was ever printed,[29] Steindorff's field work took a major step toward documenting the boundary stelae. The inscriptions on eight of the tablets (J, K, M, N, Q, R, S and U) were copied, photographs of the sites taken, and a number of loose fragments were taken back to Germany. Not all of these records have survived, but what remains testifies to Steindorff's energy and skill

as a copyist. Certainly, the materials he collected could have been the basis for a full publication of Akhenaten's border monuments. By this time, however, the epigraphic initiative at El-Amarna had passed to others. With characteristic generosity, Steindorff made his materials available to the Egypt Exploration Fund, which by the start of the twentieth century had finally extended its activities in Middle Egypt to the site of Akhenaten's capital.[30] Norman de Garis Davies was one of the Fund's more recent recruits. Having worked with Petrie in 1898 at Dendera, Davies had subsequently undertaken two projects for the Fund, the tombs at Sheikh Said and at Deir el-Gebrawi, which he had completely copied by 1902.[31] It was during this period, in 1901, that an Egyptian had shown him, in the hills just to the south of Sheikh Said, a stela that Davies had recognized as being the most northerly of Akhenaten's boundary monuments on the east bank. To be sure, the hurried examination that Davies was able to give to his badly weathered prize in 1901 had yielded only a general idea of its contents. It was clear from the first, however, that the new stela did not resemble most of the other boundary markers, but that its contents resembled the inscription on Stela K, at the south end of El-Amarna.[32] It was this discovery, more than anything else, that provided the reason Davies needed to include a complete record of the boundary stelae in his forthcoming documentation of the private tombs at El-Amarna.

Davies realized that his new inscription might add significantly to current knowledge of Akhenaten's reign. While he reserved full publication rights to himself he nonetheless shared the new material with interested colleagues. Thus the first extended preview of the Earlier Proclamation appeared two years prior to Davies' own publication, as part of the American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted's compendium of ancient Egypt's historical records. Although Breasted had received a squeeze of Stela X (as it was now known), he made no attempt to publish a translation of the complete text; and the portions he did include give only a very imprecise idea of its contents.[33] Breasted's treatment of the Later Proclamation, for which he made use of Petrie's hand copies in addition to those previously published, is much better.[34] Even there, however, Breasted's dependence on earlier copies in sections that were still not fully established (e.g., the "colophon" at the end of Stela A) is reflected in his translation. While undoubtedly a great advance, both in substance and accessibility, over Daressy's earlier translation, the timing of Breasted's *Ancient Records* meant that its treatment of the "Tell el-Amarna Landmarks" would be of no more than temporary value.

Davies' own account of the boundary stelae appeared in the fifth volume of his series on *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*.[35] It has been the unquestioned and authoritative edition of these monuments for most of the twentieth century, and not without reason. In the first place, it was the first (and the only)

edition to deal comprehensively with these monuments, recording their architectural characteristics as well as their inscriptions. It was also the first publication to include all of the boundary stelae, even those which were already lost (F), destroyed (P, V) or too fragmentary for consecutive translation (M); and it made a full presentation of both decrees found on the tablets (the "Earlier" and the "Later Proclamations", as Davies termed them) for the first time. Stelae K and X, the best preserved copies of the earlier decree, were published in facsimile copies based on Davies' squeezes. Substantial parts of Stela M -- a third copy of this document, but badly worn -- were also included in footnotes to the translation, wherever it supplied passages missing in Stelae K and X.

A synoptic approach, by contrast, was taken with the texts of the Later Proclamation. Since eleven copies were extant (even though two of them, P and V, were practically useless), a composite version was published: the best preserved tablets supplied the main text on these plates, with other copies being more summarily indicated, either in agreement with the principal versions or as variants of them. Only one tablet (S) was published in a facsimile drawing (although the main text of Stela U was drawn in a hand copy). Davies also published a facsimile of the vertical columns at the start of Stela A, as well as hand copies of the "colophon" on A and B, drawn in parallel lines to help establish the text in this section. Students of the Amarna Period now had a comprehensive text edition of the boundary stelae, along with modern translations supplied in collaboration with Francis Llewellyn Griffith. Moreover, a realistic impression could now be formed of the monuments themselves. Davies published photographs of most of them (negatives having been supplied in a number of cases by Steindorff), and descriptive commentaries on each of the stelae ap peared in the text. In short, Davies had produced an eminently practical edition of Akhenaten's border monuments: while not exhaustive, its coverage of the sites and their contents was nonetheless extensive enough to serve, both as a guide to the material and as a resource for further research.

Later investigators often find themselves standing, somewhat ungratefully, on the shoulders of the giants who preceded them. While Davies had produced a comprehensive publication in a remarkably short time, its limitations cannot be denied. The most obvious of these is the erratic documentation of the boundary stelae as monuments. Only four stelae (A, N, S and U) were published in photographs that include adjoining architectural features, and a plan was supplied only for Stela A. While Davies supplied photographs of the tablets in four other cases (J, K, R and Q), the remaining stelae (B, F, L, M, P, V and X),[36] were undocumented except in the descriptions printed in the text -- and these were not invariably

accurate.[37] Moreover, not even the text copies were entirely above reproach. Problems with the closing lines of Stelae A and B have already been mentioned in the preface, and new readings in the rest of the Later Proclamation will be set out in Chapter 3. Paradoxically, however, the greatest obscurities are found in the Earlier Proclamation, the main texts for which Davies published in facsimile. No scholar who has worked on these monuments can fail to appreciate the difficulties involved in reading them. The hieroglyphs are small, often crowded together and summarily executed. Add to this the erratic preservation of the tablets, with their worn surfaces and numerous gaps, and it is not surprising that Davies found his squeezes very difficult to interpret. Although in examining them Davies had the assistance of Griffith, who probably knew the ancient language better than anyone working in England at the time, there are discrepancies between their translation and the published copies that cannot be resolved. Even so, it must be said that the broad lines of what Akhenaten had achieved with his boundary stelae were now, for the first time, clear. That Davies' edition has remained the standard for so long is due to the prevailingly high quality of its execution, and any further research on the boundary stelae is in its debt. While the authority of Davies' edition remained largely undisputed, a few contributions were made in the decades that followed. It was shortly afterwards, in fact, that the entire site, on both sides of the river, was surveyed more exhaustively than at any time since, and the results -- which included some discussion of the boundary stelae -- were published just prior to the First World War.[38] A number of admitted uncertainties about the texts also remained: one of these, the opening date of the "Earlier Proclamation", was the principal subject of a perceptive article by L. G. Leeuwenberg, which appeared shortly after the end of the Second World War.[39] This study was not as widely noticed as it deserved, and the author was not able to check his conclusions in the field once the war had ended. The implications of Leeuwenberg's work in the light of our collation of the stelae will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 5.

The two text editions of the boundary stelae that have appeared since Davies' publication form part of wider collections of Egyptian records assembled for the convenience of Egyptologists. The first, a compendium of inscriptions from the Amarna Period by Maj Sandman, appeared in the 1930's;[40] and another version was issued about a quarter of a century later, as a part of Wolfgang Helck's completion of the edition of Eighteenth Dynasty texts begun by Kurt Sethe.[41] While both of these publications make the inscriptions available in a handy format, the text copies in both of them ultimately depend on the copies and/or photographs in Davies edition;, and although the texts they present will be found to differ

from what Davies saw at a number of points, they appear to have no independent value. It follows that all the modern translations of the boundary stelae[42] are also derived from the same source.

Following our first two field seasons, in 1984 and 1985, we issued preliminary statements of our results.[43] Since all these questions are discussed in much greater detail here, these reports are effectively superseded and will be referred to only sparingly in the present volume.

CHAPTER TWO: THE EARLIER PROCLAMATION

The decree that we know as the "Earlier Proclamation" was initially carved on two stelae (M and X) cut into the promontories that define respectively the southern and northern limits of the plain on the east side of the river. Stela K was added later, about half a kilometer to the south of M.[1] No monuments inscribed with this text have been found on the west bank and there is no reason to believe that any were ever placed there.

The Earlier Proclamation is a lengthy composition. On Stela K, which is the best preserved of the three copies, it begins with twenty-one vertical columns of text, with room for another 80 horizontal lines, each of which runs to about double the length of a column. The exact length of the inscription can be determined owing to the partial preservation of its final four lines on Stela K. The proportions of each of the two earlier stelae are different, and (not surprisingly) they resemble one another more than they do Stela K. Stela X also begins with 21 columns, but these are shorter than those of K and the horizontal part of the inscription begins near the bottom of K's col. xv. By contrast, the columns on Stela M are longer, but there is room for only eleven of them at their full height (see below). The first horizontal line on Stela M begins near the start of col. xvi (K) and of line 1 (X) respectively. The lower parts of both M and X are destroyed, but each tablet is large enough to have contained the full text of the decree as it is given on Stela K.

The neglect of the Earlier Proclamation by the first Egyptologists, while it can be partly explained by the deplorable condition of the text, is due mostly to the relative inaccessibility of these monuments. Two out of its three exemplars, Stelae K and M, were discovered in 1843 by Lepsius, who made a tolerable drawing of the scene in the lunette of K, but was defeated by the small, sometimes indistinct hieroglyphs and by the generally poor preservation of the text. For this reason, the contents of this decree were almost totally unknown until Davies' initial work at El-Amarna (see Chapter 1). To place what we have of this document in perspective, we will supply a brief description of each stela, along with a review of the previous documentation at each of the sites.

STELA K (Pls. 2-4)

L.D. III 110b (lunette with scene and columns of text, and 25 lines of text below); cf. *L.D. Text* II 128-29 (description of site). Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxix-xxx (facsimile of text), xxxvii right (photograph of tablet), xxxviii (photograph, lines 1-31), and p. 24-25 (description). Davies' papers at Griffith Institute, Oxford: Davies Mss. 2.263 (hand copy, lines 1-35); 2.267, p. 6 [bottom] (notes and rough floor plan);

Davies photo 1.434 (view from south). Photographs at Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo: 4535 (columns of text in lunette); 4536-38 (text in horizontal lines). The original records of this stela made in 1898 by Georg Steindorff have been lost.

The lunette shows the royal family on the right side, adoring the disk. The king, in the Blue Crown, raises his arms in worship and presents a laden offering table to the disk of the Aten, which (as is generally the case in these monuments) sends out streams of sunlight from the top at the center of the lunette. Behind Akhenaten the queen, wearing a long wig surmounted by a modius bearing a disk with two tall plumes, rattles two sistra. The younger members of the family stand behind the queen. This scene, though worn from the center to the right side (affecting the offerings, the figures' bodies and the top of the princesses' figures) and obscured by wasps' nests at the top, was virtually intact when Lepsius drew it in 1843 and when it was photographed early in the twentieth century. Antiquities thieves have now cut away the king's head and upper body, along with nearly all that remained of the figures behind the queen and their texts: all that survives here is the front of the first princess's body, the very top of the text column with her titulary, and part of the queen's cartouche from the text column to the right.

Only one daughter, Meritaten, was shown following Nefertiti when the tablet was first carved. Subsequently, however, the scene was extended beyond the right-hand margin line and two figures were added behind the first princess. Davies suggested[2] that this change reflects not the correction of a sculptor's error, but a later addition, and in this he is almost certainly correct. The first added figure, who is the larger of the two, is Meketaten, the second daughter, who was identified by name in the text column that was added to the right of her sister's epigraph (as attested by Lepsius and Davies). Her figure was probably not part of the original conception of the scene, as Davies realized, for only Meritaten figures in the family group on Stela X (and probably also on the badly damaged Stela M); and besides, only Meritaten is named in the body of the Earlier Proclamation. The smaller figure who followed Meketaten is not named in any of the texts and was interpreted by Davies[3] as an attendant, not a third daughter. Since these figures are virtually destroyed today and poorly represented in earlier documentation, we are dependent on Davies' observations for nearly all that can be said about them in detail. Lepsius, regrettably, did not observe the figures very well (they were already quite worn in his day) and his drawing incorporates all the traces into one princess's figure. Fortunately, however, the Steindorff photograph of the entire tablet, published by Davies,[4] gives a clear, albeit distant idea of what could be seen. Meketaten's text was wedged between her elder sister's inscription and the right-hand margin of the

scene: the photograph suggests that the added text was carved more lightly than the original column that adjoined it. Below, the borders of the scene have been smoothed away, as Davies said, and two figures have been added. Both are female and the first is slightly taller than the second, coming up to the waist of the eldest princess in front. Meketaten seems to have one arm upraised in front of her: it is possible she was rattling a sistrum, as Davies says of her sister, but damage to the surface has made the upper part of her body even less clear than that of Meritaten. The second of the added figures, standing behind Meketaten, can be made out to be a small, upright female, but no other features are clearly visible on the photographs Steindorff made.[5] It is not clear why Davies saw this figure as an attendant and not another daughter, since only members of the royal family appear in the scenes on all the other boundary stelae. On the other hand, attendants to the younger daughters are frequently shown in similar compositions in the private tombs.[6] No proof either way is possible with the paltry evidence at hand, but the absence of a separate column of text for this third figure might suggest that Davies was correct in his identification.

The decree itself begins at the left side of the tablet, balancing the figures and offerings at the right side with 21 columns of hieroglyphs, and continuing below in horizontal lines. The signs are read from right to left in both the vertical and horizontal parts of the inscription. Apart from a patch at upper middle of the stone (=cols. viii-xxi), the text is badly damaged from natural erosion. Only the columns and the first twenty lines remain nearly complete, and even here gaps and obscurities are frequent. Lepsius made only intermittent sense of the contents, and even Davies' far superior copy is often difficult to interpret. Below this area, there are fragments of lines 21-26 (mostly from the middle of the tablet), and after a gap of four lines, the text picks up with line 30 and continues in a very disjointed manner through line 40. Everything below this is gone, except for the right ends of lines 77-80, which give us the formal ending of the decree.

STELA M (Pls. 9-12)

Descriptions: *L.D. Text* II 128 (bottom); Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):60 (5o); Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6; Davies, *El-Amarna* V 25; excerpts from the text are given in the footnotes to Davies' translation of the Earlier Proclamation (ibid., pp. 29-31). View of the site in Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 32, Abb. 33 (photograph, with Stela M [=0-10] mislabeled as L). A few of the more connected phrases were copied into Steindorff's notebook (now at Southern Methodist University); and they are reproduced on the *Wb.* Zetteln in East Berlin. In Oxford, Davies Mss. 2.260-262 (hand copies), 2.267, p. 6 (notes with rough floor plan). In Cairo, IFAO photograph 4529 (tablet, taken from south, with top and bottom cut off).

Stela M is badly destroyed owing to the natural erosion of the rock into which it was carved. This weathering, which has opened up numerous pits and obliterated much of the carved surface of this monument, may even have become a problem shortly after it was finished. Otherwise, it is hard to understand why Stela K, another copy of the Earlier Proclamation, was subsequently made further south, whereas no such duplicate exists of Stela X, the counterpart to M at the north end of the site.

Although the disk is the best preserved element in the lunette, the main lines of the scene can nonetheless be made out. In layout it is apparently identical to the scene on its later duplicate, Stela K: the royal family stands on the right side, with Akhenaten, wearing the Blue Crown, stretching out his arms in adoration of the sun. Nefertiti, both arms stretched out in front of her (the sistra in her hands have disappeared), wore a long wig, remains of which can be seen along her back: as on Stela K, this was doubtless surmounted by the disk with tall plumes on a modius. There is room for one princess behind the queen, but the figure has been entirely destroyed. Bits of the Aten's first cartouche and its texts, along with Akhenaten's praenomen and two possible traces of the queen's text, survive above these figures. The offering table in front of the king is entirely destroyed. At the left side of the lunette, beyond the wide vertical columns for the Aten's titulary beside the disk, there were as many as eleven narrow columns that contain the beginning of the Earlier Proclamation. These columns are far taller than those in either of the other two stelae in this series: only fragments from cols. iv-xi, remain (see drawing, pl. 9), and most of the traces are found near the top of the scene, to the left of the rays beneath the disk. These signs may not come from the very tops of the columns, but the curvature of the lunette would prevent the inscription from beginning very much higher (assuming that all these columns began at the same level). It does not seem likely that the inscription was continued in shorter columns to the right of col. xi: as will be seen in the parallel text copies below, the eleventh column of M ends near the beginning of line 1 on Stela X; and there is enough of a correspondence between the contents of lines 2-5 in both X and M to suggest that their horizontal sections each began within a short distance of one another in the text of the Earlier Proclamation.

Owing to the many gaps in Stela M it is often difficult to place its isolated snatches of text in relation to the better preserved, but still fragmentary copies on K and X. Probably for this reason Davies published only the better preserved passages in his footnotes, even though he had copied far more of it

(Mss. 2.260-61) and had essayed a reconstruction of lines 2-13 (Mss. 2.262). A full reconstruction of the tablet, based on a tracing made in situ during the 1984 season and subsequently collated on the spot, is published here for the first time.

STELA X (Pls. 5-8)

Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pp. 5-6; ibid, *El-Amarna* V 27 (decription), and pls. xxxi-xxxii (facsimile drawings). Photographs: Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 31, Abb. 31 (view of the vicinity); University College London/ Petrie Museum no. 1300259 (tablet in niche, with an Egyptian guard -- perhaps the man who led Davies to the site).

Stela X is in some respects a mirror image of its two southern counterparts, K and M. The royal family stands on the left side of the lunette, and Akhenaten once again wears the Blue Crown as he raises his arms before the disk. The figures of Nefertiti (apparently crowned with the tall plumes) and Meritaten are less well preserved, though both are undeniably present. There is neither room for, nor evidence of, a second princess behind Meritaten. The main text, moreover, is read from right to left, whereas on K and M they proceed from left to right.

Where X differs markedly from its southern counterparts is in the arrangement of other elements in the lunette. The offerings, instead of being directly in front of the king, stand at the right side of the scene, balancing the royal figures on the left. Between these groups, beneath the disk at the center of the scene, are the 21 short columns that initiate the Earlier Proclamation. As on the other copies, the inscription proceeds on horizontal lines below the lunette.

While the surviving surface of Stela X covers more of the text than is present on either of the others, the preservation of the signs is much worse here than on Stela K. Substantial parts of the columns and lines 1-23 are present, but the surface disintegrates drastically after that, even though significant parts of lines 35-57 remain at the right side of the tablet. Below this, the surface is entirely gone.

* * * * * * *

The text of the Earlier Proclamation survives reasonably intact to only about one-third of its length. The two copies that are preserved best, X and K, parallel one another -- with some help from the more fragmentary Stela M -- through the middle of K:21 (=X:23, middle and M:23, near start). Beyond this point, however, the substance of the decree and the coordination of the different copies with one another

become far more difficult to establish. To be sure, there are a number of features that can help with this reconstruction. The width of the lines at this point in the inscription remains consistent in all three copies (c. 161 cm. for K, c. 204 cm. for X, and c. 177 cm. for M). It is also possible to establish the approximate number of hieroglyphic groups that fit into a line on each stela; but this figure is somewhat variable. On Stela X, for example, the average horizontal line can contain between 62 and 64 groups; the shorter lines of K accommodate between 52 and 54 groups; while on Stela M (which falls between X and K in width) the average line might contain an estimated 55-58 groups. The notion of what constitutes a hieroglyphic "group" is, of course, quite imprecise. Moreover, a comparison of all three copies reveals not only different arrangements of signs but also textual variants -- different spellings and even variations in wording, which can include the omission of whole phrases -- that alter the number of "groups" in a given passage. In other words, any reconstruction that depends exclusively on measurement (taking into account width of lines and projected numbers of groups per line) is frustrated by the extreme variability with which the sculptors used the space available to them on all three tablets. This inconsistency can be illustrated by comparing contents of the horizontal lines in the first part of the decree. The lines of Stela X, for example, correspond to the following percentages of the lines on Stela K:

X-4:	76% of K	X-14:	91% of K
X-5:	87% of K	X-15:	103% of K
X-6:	91% " "	X-16:	101% " "
X-7:	76% " "	X-17:	101% " "
X-8:	101% " "	X-18:	110% " "
X-9:	105% " "	X-19:	116% " "
X-10:	112% " "	X-20:	114% " "
X-11:	111% " "	X-21:	97% " "
X-12:	110% " "	X-22:	109% " "
X-13:	122% " "		

Such a comparison is also revealing for Stela M, despite the many gaps that require us to estimate the beginnings and ends of lines in a number of places:

M-4:	93% of K	M-12:	115% of K
M-5:	75% " "	M-13:	115% " "
M-10:	95% " "	M-21:	74% " "
M-11:	103% " "	M-22:	93% " "

Correspondences can be estimated, moreover, in the longer gaps. Thus each of the lines from M-6 through M-9 should contain an average of 123% of the analogous lines of K; and a similar averaging of lines M-14 through M-20 yields c. 104% of K for each line of M. Unless the arrangement of signs was exceedingly compact (particularly in the first of these gaps), these figures could suggest that the copy of the decree on Stela M lacked some of the verbiage included on the larger of the earlier tablets (X). Thus the text on the new southern tablet, Stela K, was not a verbatim copy of its predecessor, Stela M (even though it is laid out similarly); but neither was it drawn slavishly from Stela X, with which it differs at a number of points: see the text copy and translation below. All these differences, both major and minor, between the three copies of the Earlier Proclamation represent an unpredictable variable that must affect any attempt to reconstruct the inscription in the lower parts of the stelae.

Fortunately, a few of the passages preserved among the fragments of the Earlier Proclamation's later sections on M, K and X do match one another; and still other passages, even if they do not match, can be shown by their content to belong together. By using these passages as "hooks", and by controlling their placement through measurement (thus excluding the more improbable correspondences), it has been possible to offer the reconstruction published here. We present these results with all due skepticism. Whatever the care we brought to this recalcitrant material, much about the position and interpretation of such *disjecta membra* must remain tentative. We will be well satisfied if the range of topics covered in this "Earlier Proclamation" has emerged with greater clarity than before.

While this hand copy respects the grouping of signs as they are in the original, we have adopted a more generous spacing in places where a number of hieroglyphs were crowded into a small space in the original. In such cases we have underlined the pertinent hieroglyphs, with vertical divisions to define the groups that are stacked above one another. The text of a given version will be written out wherever it is preserved, with separate lines for Stelae K, X and M. In fragmentary passages, the beginning and end of a preserved area will be indicated by shading. Where the text is entirely gone, the lacuna will be rendered as a blank in the line where it occurs; and in cases where there are protracted gaps (as in the first third of Stela M), the line will be dropped altogether until the text in this version resumes. Signs restored on the basis of an earlier copy where the surface is now lost will be drawn in brackets without shade. Shading will be used where signs are entirely lost, even when they are easily restored or well attested on other stelae. Damage to identifiable signs will generally be ignored, although deliberate hacking will be noted.

Names in cartouches will generally not be written out in this copy, which will indicate them as follows:

A-PN -- The Aton, first cartouche

A-N -- The Aton, second cartouche

(Note that the earlier form of the Aten's didactic name is employed throughout.)

K-PN -- Praenomen: "Neferkheprure-Waenre"

K-N -- Nomen: "Akhenaten"

Q-PN -- Queen, "Nefernefruaten" name

Q-N -- Queen, "Nefertiti" name

The drawing of Stela M (pls. 9-12) is based on the tracing we made of that monument in 1984. The drawings of Stelae K and X (pls. 2-8) are based on Davies' published copies (including the "revisions" that Davies incorporated into his footnotes). The texts of all three versions were first collated at the sites in 1984, and they were checked again in 1985 and 1989.

The editors have also studied the two text editions that depend on Davies' facsimiles. These versions have, as it turns out, complementary merits and defects. Maj Sandman's edition[7] has the virtue of presenting parallel texts of all three versions, but her copy is not always accurate or complete, especially in the Earlier Proclamation's later passages. Wolfgang Helck,[8] by contrast, chose to ignore differences between the several versions by integrating them into a single running text drawn eclectically from all three stelae (gene rally without specific attribution); and his continuous system of line numbers ignores the distinction between vertical columns and horizontal lines. On the other hand, his edition, far more than Davies or Sandman, has made a genuine effort to understand the fragmentary middle of the decree, with results that will be cited at appropriate points in our translation of the text that appears in the following pages.

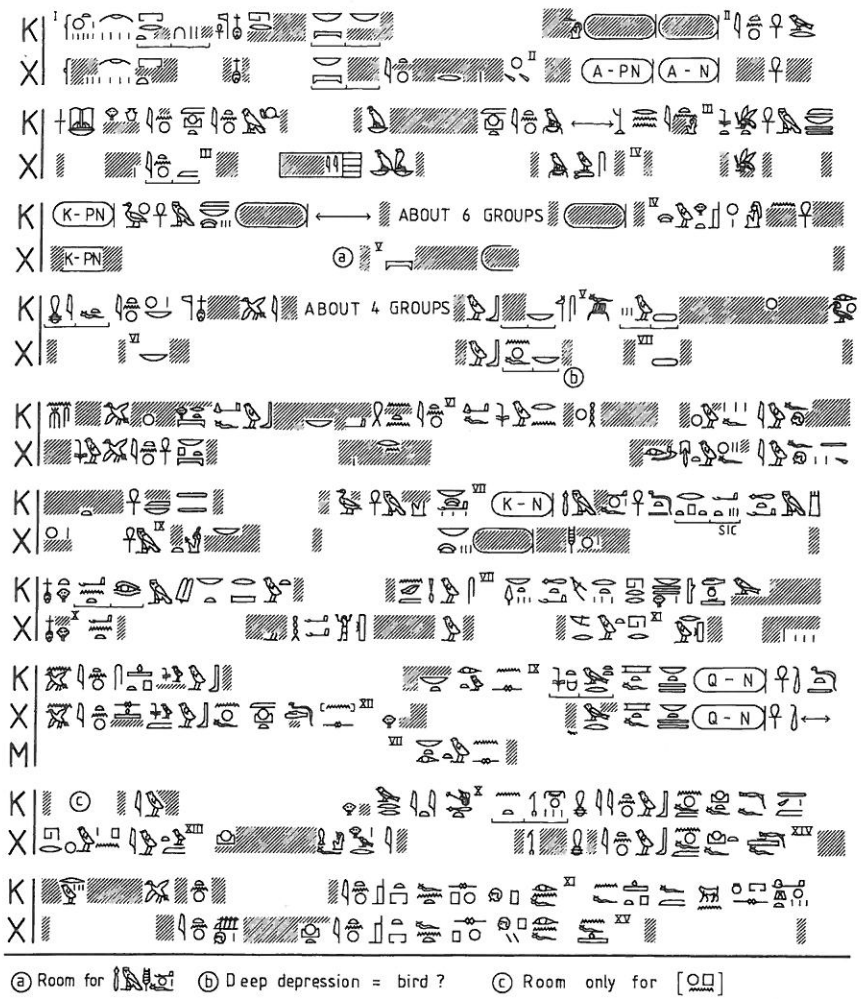
Orientation

In the hand copy that follows, roman numerals are used to refer to the vertical columns of the inscription, while the numbering of the horizontal lines is done with with arabic numerals.

STELA M. Vertical columns: i-xi. Signs in the original document face toward the left.

STELA K. Vertical columns: i-xxi. Signs in the original document face toward the left.

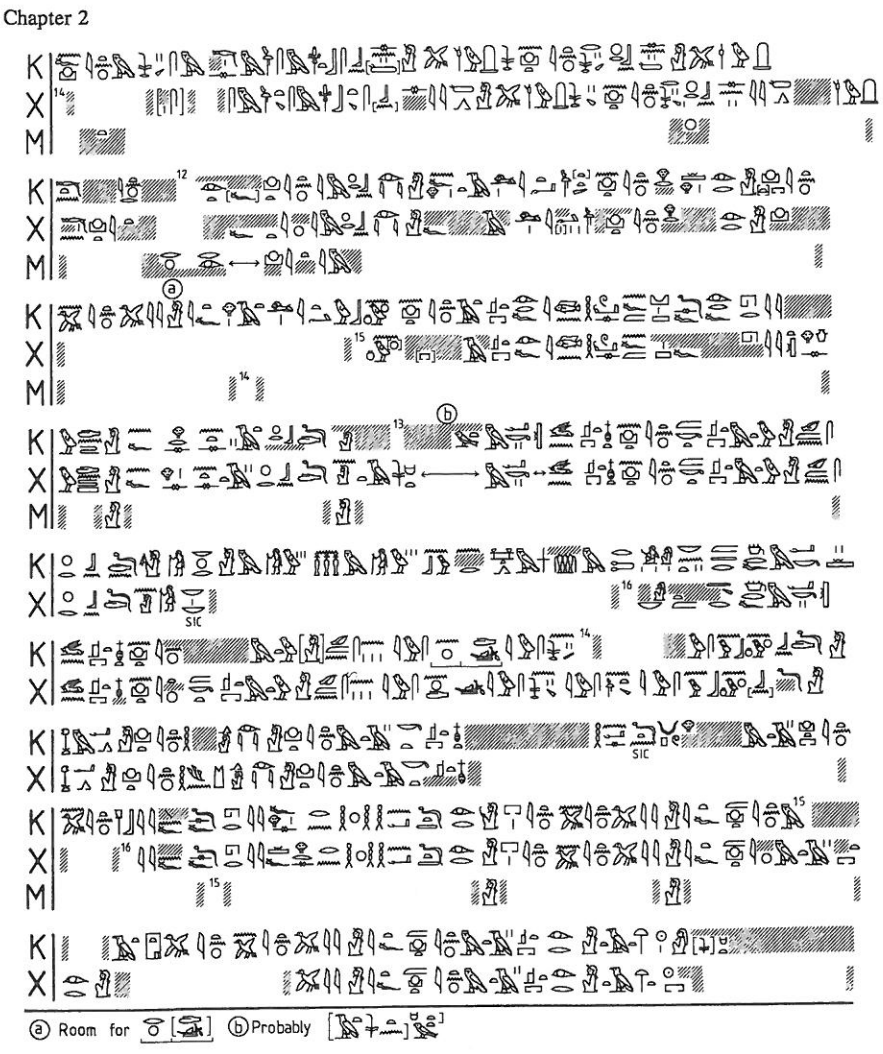
STELA X. Vertical columns: i-xx. Signs in the original document face toward the right.



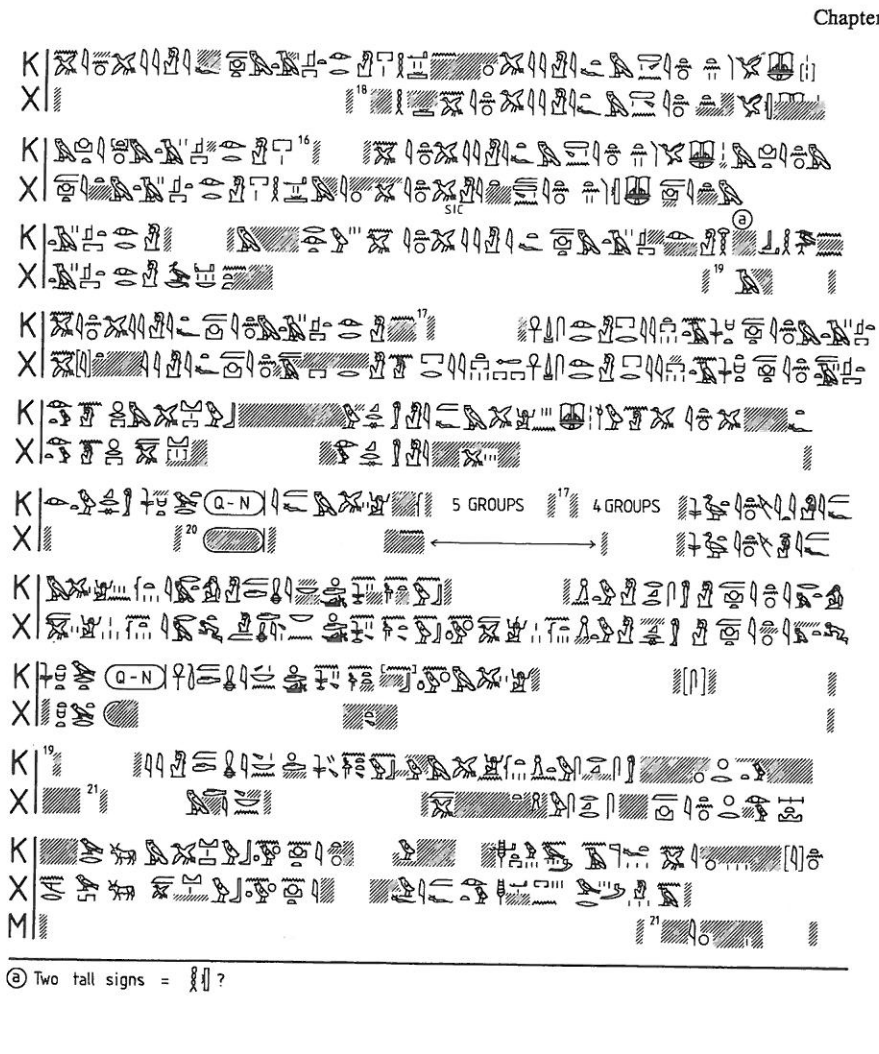
ⓐ ?

ⓐ Room for

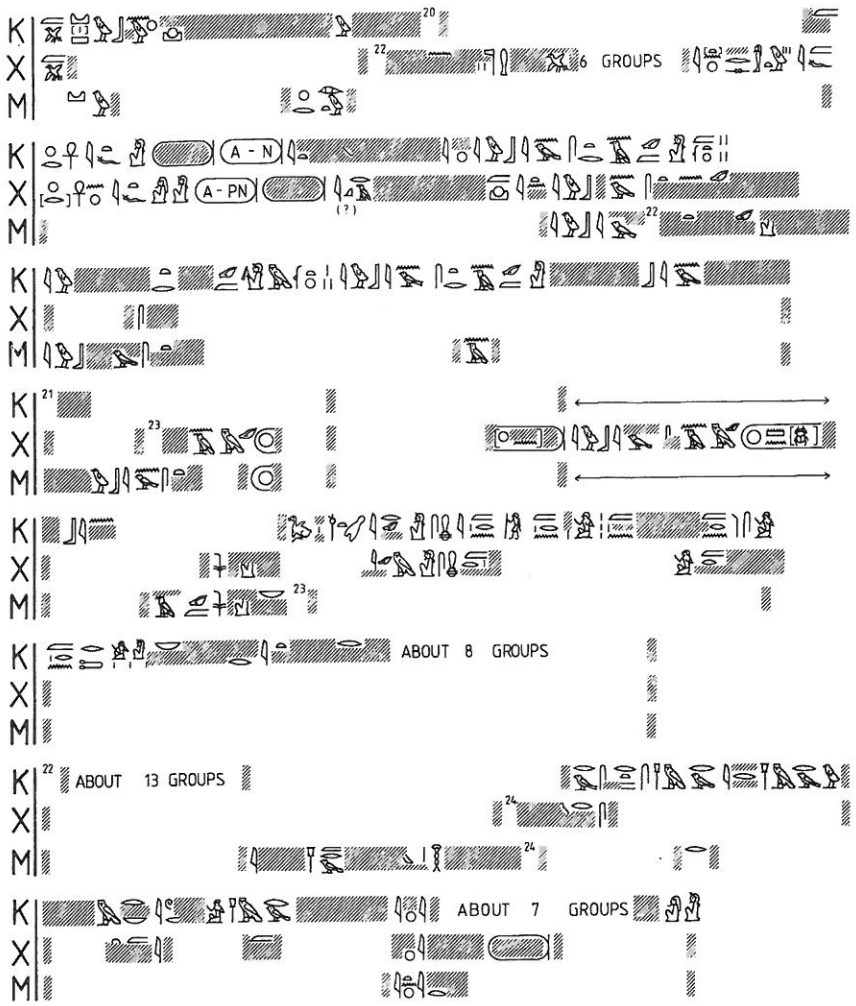
ⓐ Room for



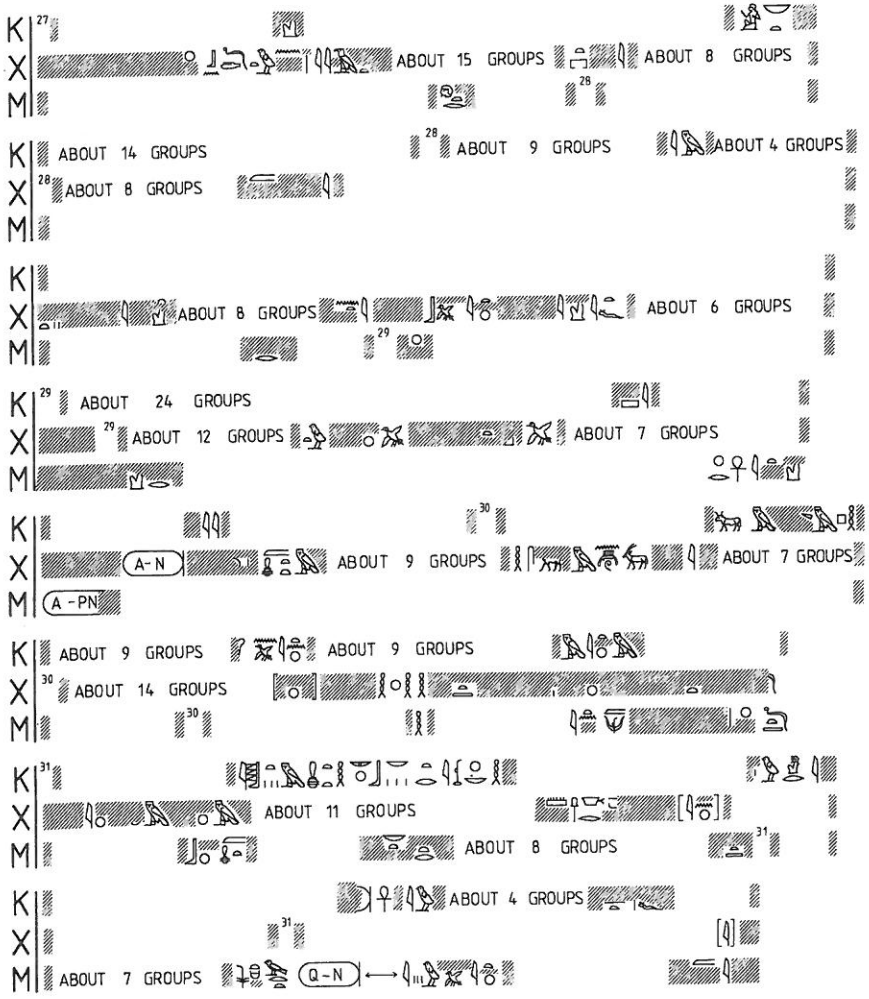
ⓐ Room for [illegible] ⓑ Probably [illegible]

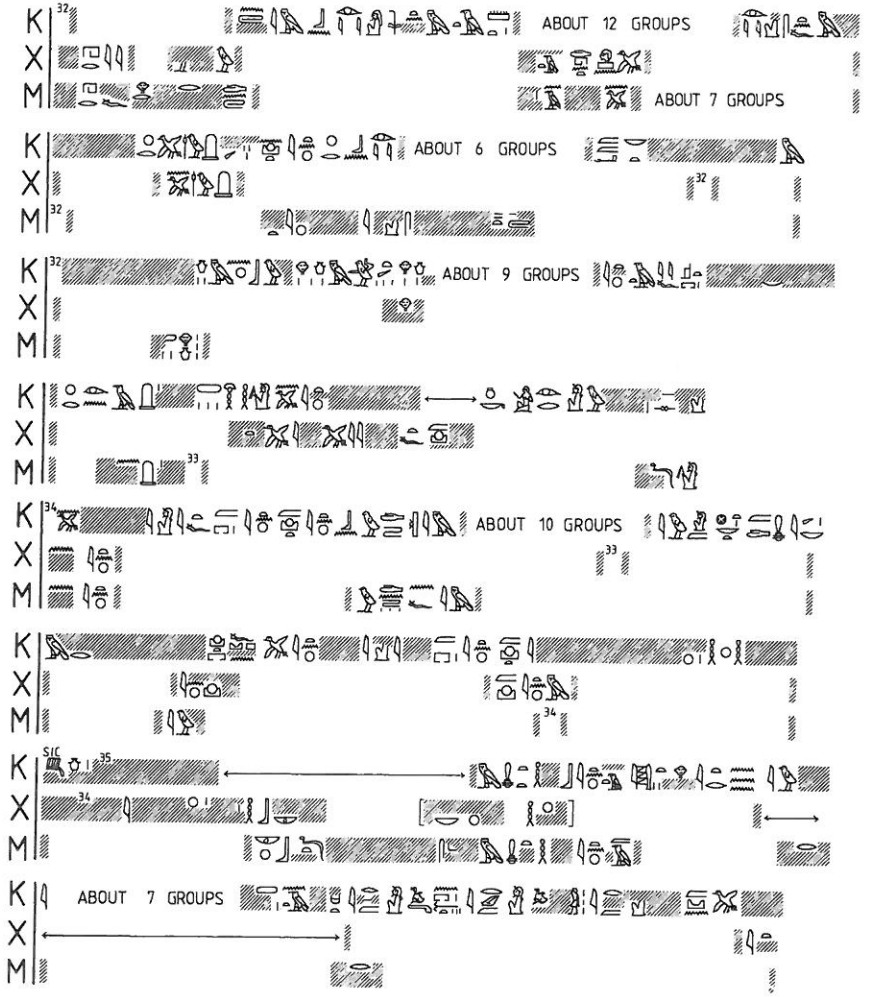


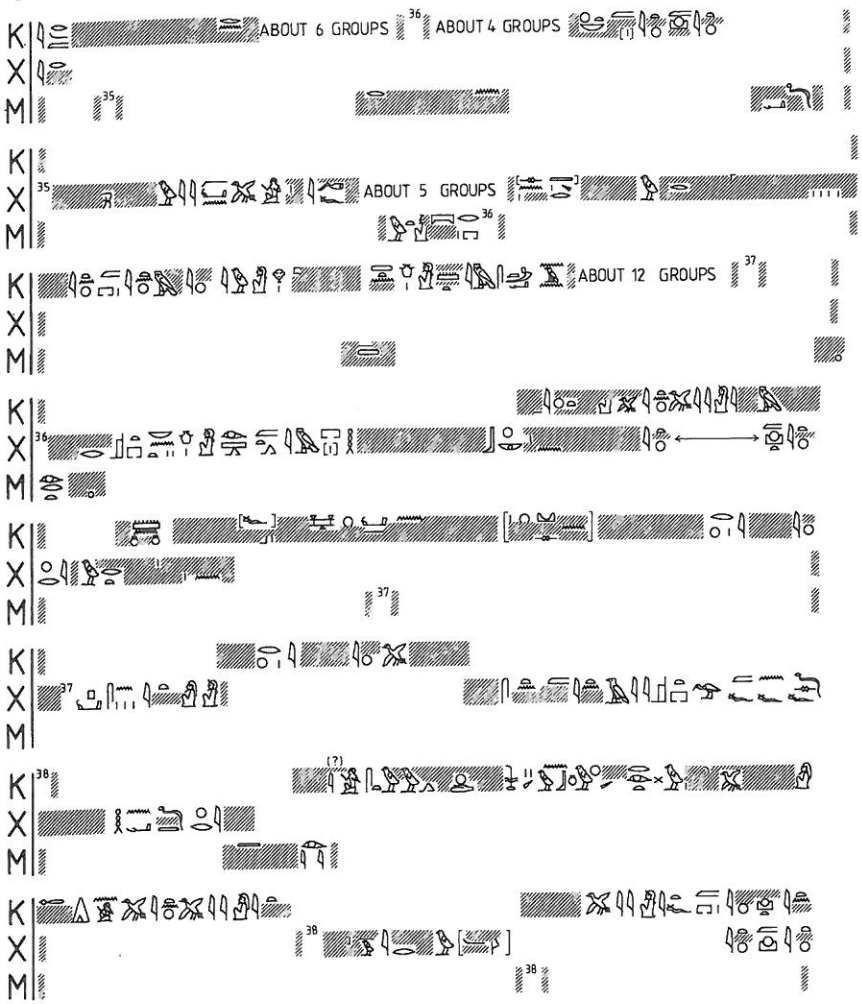
ⓐ Two tall signs = [illegible] ?

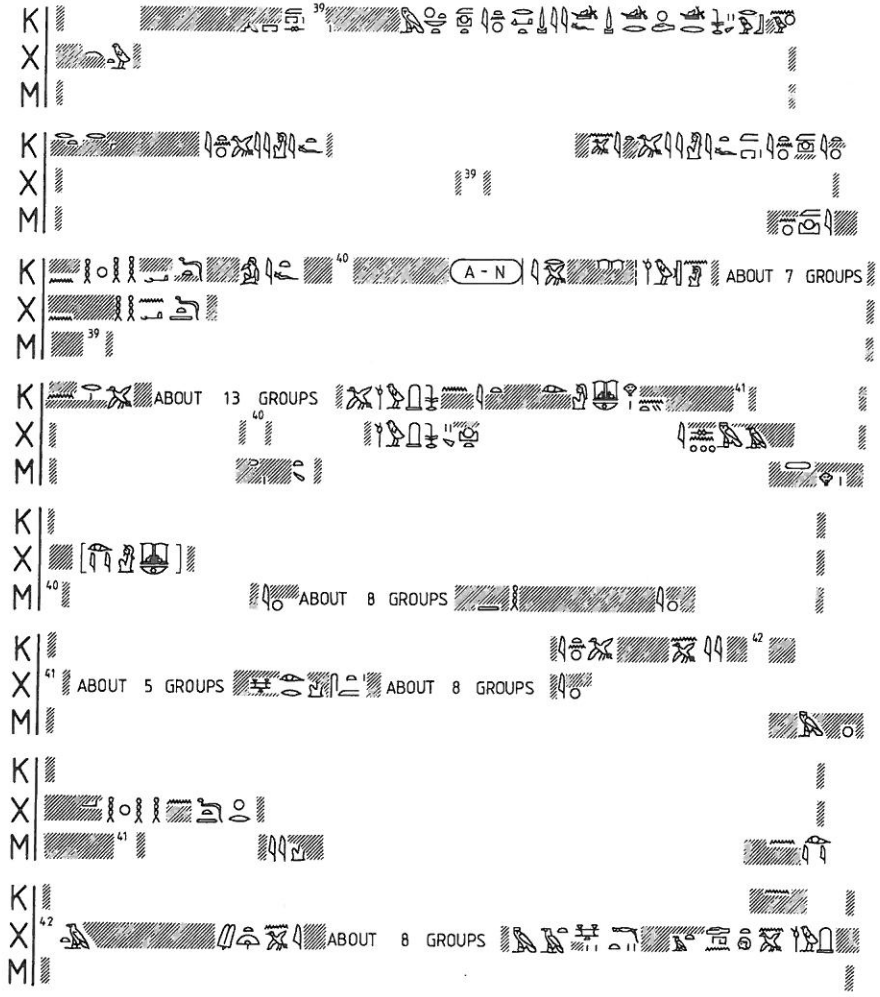

K
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A-N
A-PN
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ABOUT 13 GROUPS
ABOUT 7 GROUPS

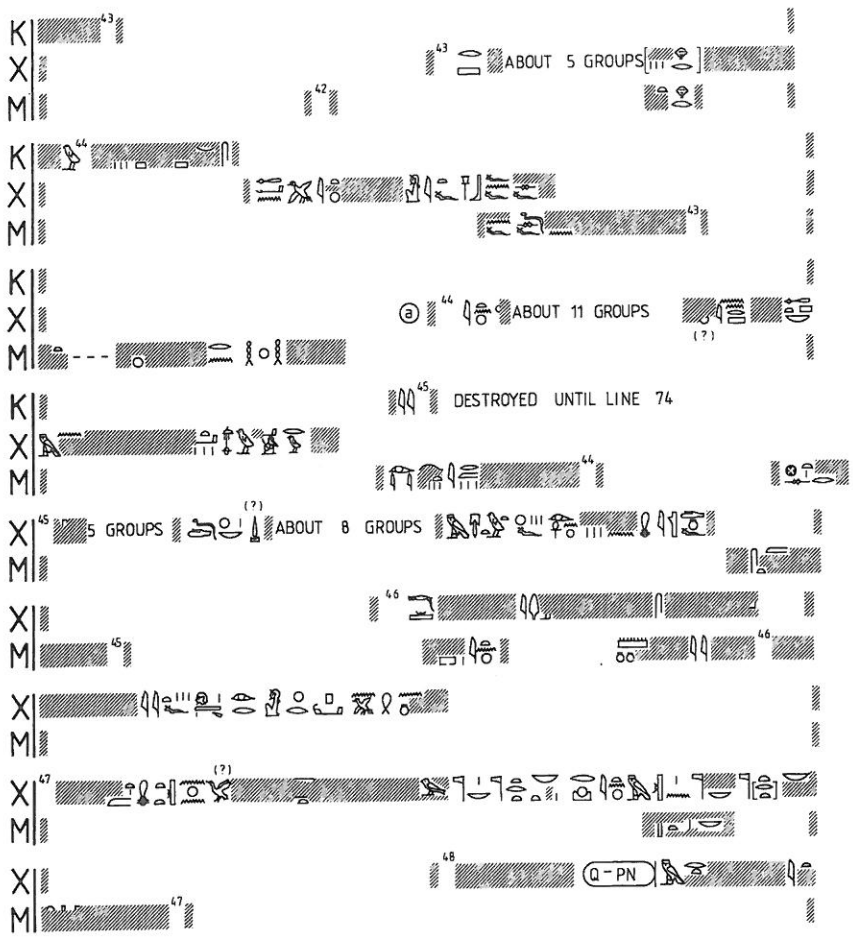

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4 GROUPS
ABOUT 5 GROUPS
ABOUT 7 GROUPS
ABOUT 13 GROUPS
ABOUT 7 GROUPS
ABOUT 15 GROUPS
ABOUT 8 GROUPS
SIC
(?)
ABOUT 6 GROUPS
ABOUT 26 GROUPS


K
X
M
ABOUT 15 GROUPS
ABOUT 8 GROUPS
ABOUT 14 GROUPS
ABOUT 9 GROUPS
ABOUT 4 GROUPS
ABOUT 8 GROUPS
ABOUT 8 GROUPS
ABOUT 6 GROUPS
ABOUT 24 GROUPS
ABOUT 12 GROUPS
ABOUT 7 GROUPS
A-N
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Q-N

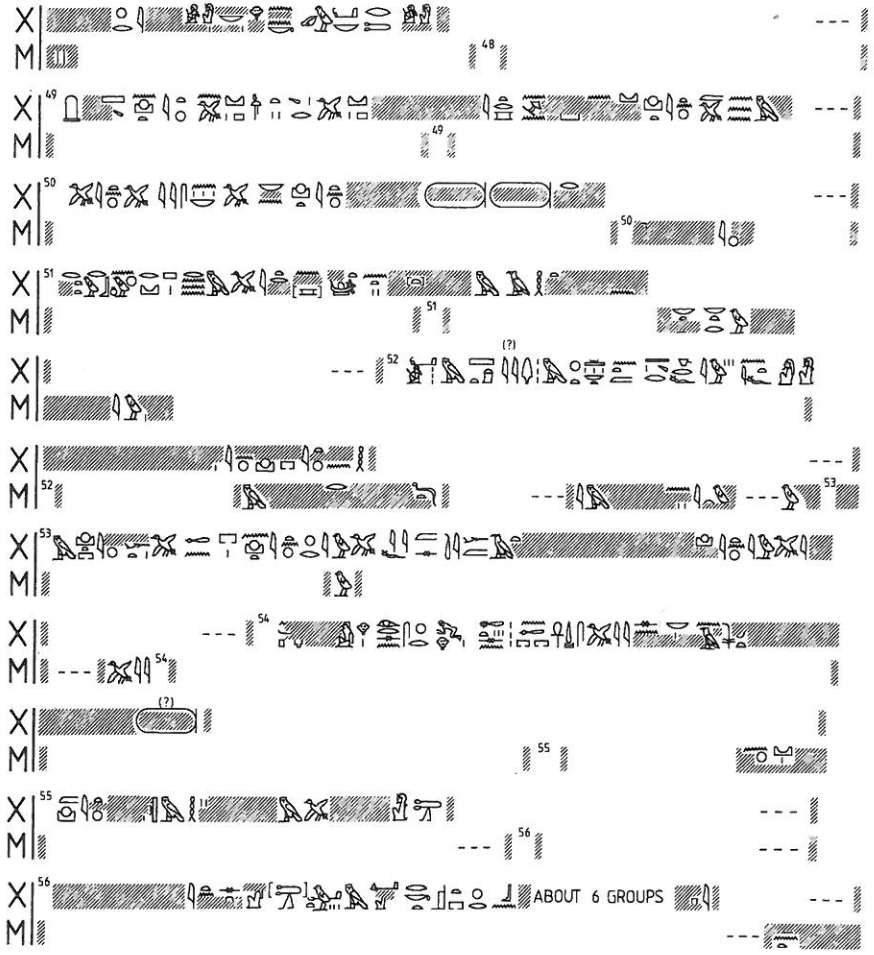

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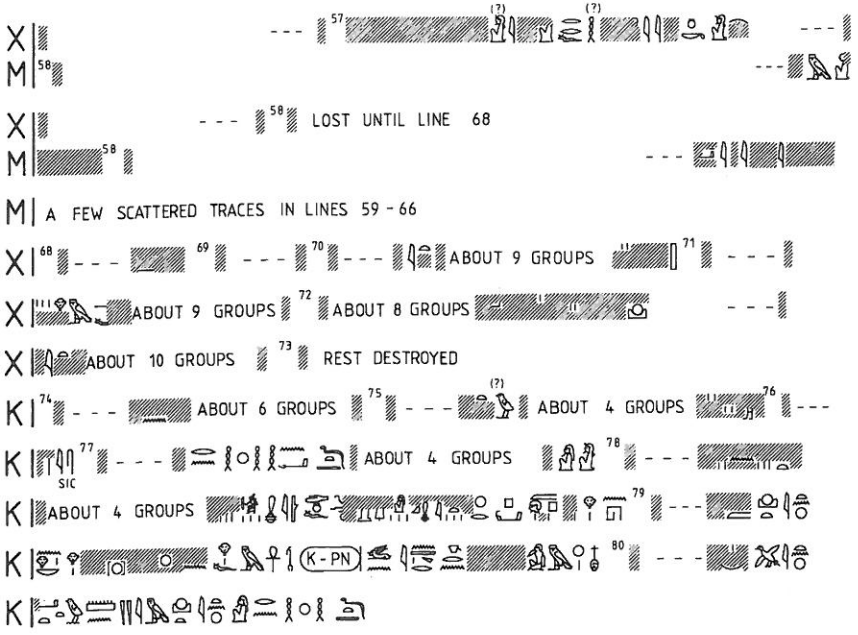

K
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K
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ABOUT 8 GROUPS
ABOUT 8 GROUPS



ⓐ Fragment to be placed here ?





While seldom translated in its entirety, the Earlier Proclamation has nonetheless been widely quoted by historians for what it has to say about Akhenaten's intentions at this turning point of his reign. As we mentioned earlier, an English version of certain passages had already appeared in Breasted's *Ancient Records*[9] even before the first complete translation, based on Davies' collation of the texts, was published in 1908.[10] All subsequent renderings, however, are based on Davies' edition. The most nearly complete of the translations that appeared in the wake of Davies' *El-Amarna* V, in Arthur Weigall's popular biography of Akhenaten,[11] enjoyed a wide currency.[12] More recent books have either drawn on Davies' or Weigall's publications or have presented new translations only of selected passages.[13] The most complete treatment of the text in recent years has been that of Wolfgang Helck, in his volume of translations from *Urkunden* IV.[14]

A continuous translation, using all three versions but employing the line numbers of Stela K, will be given as far as line K-21. Thereafter, because of the fragmentary condition of the inscription, we will be more observant of the contents in all three copies. Unbracketed numbers in the left margin will refer to whichever version is preserved well enough to be used as a standard, while the line divisions of the other two copies will be given either in the body of the text (wherever a line division occurs) or in parentheses in the left margin (indicating a fragment of text in the middle of the line).

Note that the cartouches of the Aten have not been translated *in extenso*, but are rendered (adapting Davies' usage) simply as "THE ATEN." We have also left this term untranslated in personal names (e.g., "Akhenaten"). Elsewhere, we have chosen to be more literal. Since the toponym "Akhet-Aten" sometimes occurs in contexts where it might represent either the city's name or a description of its theological status (i.e., the god's "horizon"), we have translated it throughout as 'Horizon of the Orb.' In most other cases *(p3) jtn* has been translated as "orb" (in descriptions, such as "the living orb") or "the Orb" (where it refers to the god as a person).[15]

TRANSLATION

I. Dateline and Titulary of the God

(K:i)Regnal year 5, IV Peret 13 (a): Live the Good God, who rejoices [in Ma'at], Lord of heaven, lord of [earth]; the [great living] o[rb who illumi]nates the two banks (b); (my [?]) Father (c), THE ATEN; (K:ii)the great living orb who is in jubilee within the [House] of the Orb (d) in 'Horizon of the Orb.'

II. Titulary and Praises of the King

(And) the Horus '[Whom the Orb Lo]ves'; Two Ladies '[Great of Kingship] in Horizon of the Orb'; the Golden Horus 'Who lifts up the Name of the Orb'; (K:iii)the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre; the Son of Re, who lives on Ma'at, lord of crowns, Akhenaten, [great in his duration] (e), who is on (?) [the seat of his father (?), THE AT]EN (f); (K:iv)who is arisen on Re's throne of the liv[ing] like his father, the Orb, every day; the Good God [who is . . . to (?)] the Or[b] . . . when he rises; a possessor of [provisions (?)] (g), (and) one who is rich in (K:v)food . . . [every]thing (h) . . . , who does useful things for the one who fashioned him, the living orb, lord of the sky (i) -- may He cause him to rise [as (?)] the master of . . . for as far as the orb encircles (j), (K:vi)may He cause him (to exist) unto eternity, . . . seeing His rays while he is on earth [every] day; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre; the Son of [Re], who lives on Ma'at, the lord of crowns, (K:vii)Akhenaten, great in his duration, living forever.

III. Titulary of the Queen

(And) the Princess (k), the great one in the palace, beautiful of face, the fair one in the double plumes, the mistress of joy, at the hearing of whose voice one exults; (K:viii)possessor of graciousness, great of love, with whose disposition the Lord of the Two Lands is pleased; Chieftai[ness of the Har]im (l) of the Orb, who satisfies Him in His rising in the horizon; for whom is done what she has said about any[thing] (m); (K:ix)the Great King's Wife, his beloved, Nefer[ti]ti, may she live forever (n).

IV. Royal Appearance and Preliminary Rites at Akhet-Aten

On this day, when One was in 'Horizon of [the Orb],' his Majesty [appeared] (o) upon the great chariot (K:x)of electrum, like the orb when He rises in His horizon and fills the land with the [lo]ve [and pleasantness (?) of] the Orb (p).

Setting [off] on a good road [toward] 'Horizon of the Orb' (q), His place of the primeval occurrence, which He made (K:xi)for Himself that He might set within it daily, (and) which His son Waenre made -- His great monument, which He founded for himself; His horizon, [in which the circuit] comes into being (r), He being [behe]ld with joy (s), the land being in rejoicing (and) (K:xii)every heart in exultation when they see Him.

There was presented a great oblation to the Father, THE ATEN, consisting of bread, beer, long- and short-horned (K:xiii)cattle, calves, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, all sorts of fresh green plants, and everythi[ng]

good in f[ront of] (t) the mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'; [and there was caused the o]ffering (u) of a [go]od [and pure] libation (v) (K:xiv)on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre.

After this were performed the rites of the Orb (w), who was [satis]fied (x) with what was done for Him. One rejoiced, and the heart [of this god (?)] was joyous [concerning] (K:xv)'Horizon of the Orb' with exuberant delight (y), while resting over [His] place so that he could be glad concerning it and concerning the raising up of His beauty [in it daily and in the course of every day (?)] (z). And (K:xvi)his [Majes]ty was in the presence of his Father THE ATEN, the rays of the orb being upon him in life, stability, [dominion, health and joy (?) (aa) fore]ver and ever.

V-A. The King addresses the Court

Then said (K:xvii)his Majesty, "Bring to me the king's companions and the great ones of the palace, the supervisors of the guard, the [overseer]s of public works, the official[s] and all the [court] in its entirety (bb)." And <they> were led in (K:xviii) to him at once; and they were on their bellies in the presence of his Majesty, kissing [the ground unto the Good God (cc)].

V-B. On the Discovery of Akhet-Aten

Then said his Majesty to them: "As the orb is beheld! (K:xix)The Orb is desirous that there be ma[de] for Him [. . .] as a monument with an etern[al] and everlasting name! (dd) Now, it is the Orb, my father, who advised me concerning it, (namely) (K:xx)'the Horizon of the Orb.' (ee) No official had ever advised me concerning it, (and) not any of the people who are in the entire land had ever (ff) advised me concerning it, to tell unto me [a plan (?)] (gg) for (K:xxi)making 'the Horizon of the Orb' in this distant place. It was the Orb, my fath[er, who advised me] concerning it, so that it might be made for Him as 'the Horizon of the Orb.'

"Behold, (K:1)I did not find (hh) it as reclaimed land (?), it being (*already*?) cultivated (?) (ii), nor as a 'residence' (jj), nor as an administrative entity (?) (kk), [nor as a . . .], it being (*already*?) covered (ll), [nor as a . . .], it being (*already*?) [recko]ned up (?) in exchange for (?) anything (mm) that might [happe]n to it (nn), in order not to [. . .] [. . .]s (?) [as] a horizon of the Orb (oo) for the Orb, my father.

"Behold, it is Pharaoh, L.P.H., who found it -- not being the property of a god, not being the property

of a goddess, not being the property of a (male) ruler, not being the property of a [K:2]female ruler, (pp); (and) not being the property of any people to do business of theirs with it (qq). [Its . . .] was not known (rr). It was 'widowed'(?) that I found it, [being . . .] (ss).

"It is the Orb, [m]y [father who ad]vised me concerning it: 'Behol[d, fill (?) "the Hori]zon of the O[r]b" with provisions (?) -- a storeho[use] for everything!' (tt), when my father, THE ATEN, proclaimed to me: 'It belongs to My Majesty, to be the "Horizon of the Orb" forever and [K:3]ever!'

V-C. The Royal Oath: Initial Statement

"Behold, I am mak[ing] an oath concerning it, saying: 'I shall make it [as] "the Horizon [of the Orb", [being a . . . for (?) the] Orb, m[y father]. [. . . . th]em (?), they being loving [. . .] while the orb arises out of them (uu) daily and fills them with His fair and loving rays, at the seeing of which every land lives; and He sheds them upon Neferkheprure-Waenre [K:4][while He decr]ees (?) [for] him [happiness (?)] (vv), in life and dominion forever and ever.

'So make "Horizon of the Orb" as an [estat]e of [the] Orb, my father, in its entirety (ww), for I have made [it as a memorial belonging to my name (?)] or belonging to [her (?)] na[me] -- being [. . . to (?)] the [Grea]t King's Wife, Nefer[nfru]aten-[Nefert]ity -- or belonging to His name forever and ever.'" (xx)

VI. Reply of the Courtiers

Then said [t]he [com]panions, as they replied [to] the Good God: "May your father, THE ATEN, act, inasmuch as [your fa]ther, (whose) names are i[nvok]ed (yy), has commanded, for [K:5]y[o]u are to (last) forever as king, enduring everlastingly upon the boundary stone of the Orb (zz). There is no king of [your time who has done the like in making benefactions for his father, consisting of (aaa)] every [. . .] (of) every [. . .], every [. . .] with every [. . .], [mon]ument [upo]n [mon]ument for the Orb.

"[He has made] guidance [for] (?) love of you (bbb), that you might act in accordance with all that He has decreed. You are the ruler who [marshal]s (ccc) benefactions, who knows the limits of eternity; but He is the one who sets (things) in your heart in any place He wishes. He did not raise up any other king(s) because of your Majesty (ddd). He did not [K:6]ordain all that He gives to another (eee), but [acted, inasmuch as you achieved] for Him (fff) the estate of the Orb (ggg) [in] 'Horizon of the Orb', a

great [. . .] (hhh) that had not known the splendor of Egypt, it being [perfec]t (iii) like the horizon of heaven -- a 'palace' (jjj) of the Orb, filled [with] all sort[s of] provision[s] (kkk) for the sake of making a monument for the Orb, at [the . . .ing of whom] everything that breathes lives (lll): He is the one [who lea]ds (?) the living everlastingly (mmm). May his Lord (*sic*) [admi]nister (nnn) [K:7]from 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"May you conduct to him every land; may you tax for him the towns (and) the islands. Every city [down] to (?) every [. . .], its [. . .] Orb (ooo), acting in accordance with what He Himself ordains (ppp). All flat lands, all hill countries and the Islands of the Sea are bearing their tribute, their products (being) on their backs, to the one who makes their life -- the one, at the seeing of Whose rays one lives. The breath of His love is caused to be [breat]hed (qqq) [K:8]unto eternity while his rays are seen, (and) while His Lordship doe[s as] He pleases (and) [comm]ands [for you (?) . . .] (sss) while [you] are in 'Horizon of the Orb' (ttt), being (continually) made young like the orb in the sky forever and ever!"

VII-A. Foundation Oath: Preamble

Then His Majesty lifted up his arm to the sky, to the one who fashioned him, THE ATEN, while declaring: "As my Father, THE ATEN, lives!

[K:9]The beautiful, living orb who decrees life and ordains life (uuu), my (divine and royal) father -- so say I (?) (vvv) in [. . .] in His journey! (www)

My rampart of millions of cubits!

My reminder of eternity!

My witness to everlastingness!

The one who constructed Himself with His own two hands, who knew not crafting!

The one who make guidance, [K:10](both) rising and setting, without cease, be He in the sky or on earth, while eyes behold Him -- of whom [there is] not His [. . .] (xxx) while He fills the land [with] His rays and causes everyone to live by causing my eyes to be sated with seeing Him daily when He rises in this 'House of the Orb' in 'Horizon of the Orb' and fills it altogether with Himself, with His fair [K:11]and loving rays, which He casts upon me, consisting of life and dominion forever and ever!

VII-B. Permanence of the Settlement at this Site

"I shall make 'Horizon of the Orb' for the Orb, my father, in this place. I shall not make 'Horizon of the Orb' for him in the south of it, in the nort[h] of it, in the west of it (or) in the east of it. I shall not

go past the southern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' toward the south, nor shall I go past the northern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' toward the north, (K:12)in order to make 'Horizon of the Orb' for him there. Nor shall I make (it) for him on the wester[n] side of 'Horizon of the Orb', but I shall make 'Horizon of the Orb' for the Orb, my father, on the orient (side) of 'Horizon of the Orb' -- the place which He Himself made to be enclosed for Him with the mountain. He shall achieve happiness upon it, (and) I shall offer to Him upon it. This is it!

"Nor shall the (K:13)Great King's Wife say to me, 'Look, there is a nice place for "Horizon of the Orb" in another place,' nor shall I listen to her (yyy). Nor shall any official in my presence -- whether (they are) officials 'of favor' or officials 'of the outside' (zzz), or the chamberlains, or any people who are in the entire land -- say to me: 'Look, there is a nice place for "Horizon of the Orb" in another place'; nor shall I listen to them -- whether it (*i.e., the other place*) be downstream (a4), whether it be in the south, (K:14)whether it be in the west, whether it be in the orient. I shall not say, 'I will abandon "Horizon of the Orb", that I may hasten and make a horizon of the orb in this other nice place, [I being . . .] together with it everlastingly' (b4), but [I shall remain (?)] (c4) in this 'Horizon of the Orb' for the Orb, (for) He Himself wishes that He be happy with it forever and ever!

VII-C. Cult Places and other Foundations in the New City

"I shall make the 'House of the Orb' for the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb' in (K:15)this place. I shall make the 'Mansion of the Orb' for the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place. I shall make the Sunshade of the [Great King's] Wife [Nefernefruaten-Nefertiti] (d4) for the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place.

"I shall make the 'House of Rejoicing' for the Orb, my father, in the gezira of 'The Orb, Distinguished of Jubilees' in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place. I shall make the 'House of (K:16)Rejoicing in "[Horizon of]-the O[rb]"' for the Orb, my father in the gezira of 'The Orb, Distinguished of Jubilees' in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place.

"I shall make all the revenues that [are] in [the entire land] (e4) to belong to the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place. (And) I shall make obla[tions] overflowing (f4) for the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place. I shall make for myself (K:17)the apartments of Pharaoh, L.P.H.; (and) I shall make the apartments of the Great King's Wife in 'Horizon of the Orb' in this place.

VII-D. Regarding the Burial of the Royal Family at Akhet-Aten

"Let a tomb be made for me in the or[ient] mountain [of 'Horizon of the Orb']. Let my burial be made in it, in the millions of jubilees which the Orb, m[y fath]er, decreed for me. Let the burial of the Great King's Wife Nefertiti be made in it, in the million[s] of yea[rs which the Orb, my father decreed for (K:18)her] (g4). [Let the burial of] the King's Daughter, Meryt-Aten, [be made] in it, in these millions of years.

"If I die in any town of the downstream, of the south, of the west, (or) of the orient in these millions of years, let me be brought (back), that I be buried in 'Horizon of the Orb'. If the Great King's Wife [Nefert]i[t]i -- may she live! -- dies in any town of the downstream, of the south, of the west, (or) of the orient in these million[s of years, let her be brought (back), that she be buried in 'Horizon of the Orb'. (K:19)If the King's Daughter Mer]yt-[Aten dies] in any town of the downstream, of the south, of the west, (or) of the orient in the millions of years, let her be brought (back), that [she] be buried in 'Horizon of the Orb'.

VII-E. Regarding other Burials at Akhet-Aten

"[Let] a cemetery for the Mnevis Bull [be made] in the orient mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', that He may H[e buried] in it. Let the tombs of the Greatest of Seers, of the God's Fathers of the [Orb] (and) [the . . . of the O]rb be made in the orient mountain [of] 'Horizon of [the Orb]', that they may be buried in it (*i.e., the mountain*). (h4) Let [the tombs] (K:20)of [the] prophets (?) [of] the [Orb] be [made in the orient mountain of 'Horizon of] the O[rb]', that they may b[e bur]ied in it. (i4)

VIII. Hostility to the King's Program

"Now as my Father, THE ATEN, lives, as for the [. . .] in 'Horizon of the Orb' (j4), it was worse than those which I heard in regnal year 4; it was wor[se] than [those] which heard in regnal year 3; it was worse than those which I hea[rd in regnal year 2; it was worse [than those which (K:21)I heard in regnal year 1]. It [w]as worse [than] those which (King) [Nebma'at]re [hea]rd. [It was worse than those which] (King) [. . . heard]. It was worse [than] those which (King) Men[kheper]re heard. [It was] worse [than tho]se which any of the kings who had (ever) assumed the White Crown heard. (k4)

(Both X and K become fragmentary at this point. For this reason, the easy coordination that has obtained between the three copies up until now is no longer possible from here on. The more speculative restorations in the lines that follow are underlined.)

(K:21) "If I hea[rd] a report in the mouth of an official, in the mouth of a [. . .], in the [mouth] of [a . . .], in the mouth of a Nubian (14), in the mouth(s) of any people . . . [to do something (?)] against [my] fath[er] (?), to . . . .

(M:23) . . . . [they (?)] we[re] offensive . . . . [I (?)] did not (?) leave (m4) ...

K:22 . . . it was (?) offensive, in order that it would not be offensive. As for the offensive things . . . in every mouth (?), (saying) 'I am committing an offense' [against the lord of "Horizon of the] O[r]b", my f[ather], THE AT[EN] (n4).

K:23
(X:24) [*Probably a negative statement*], [ar]ising (?) (o4) . . . any [. . .], nor shall

(M:24) I hear the [. . .] from it either.' (p4)

IX. Other Guarantees for Akhet-Aten

(M:24) "It is the Orb, my father, who [has desir]ed (?) the House of Re (to be . . .) taken (q4) like . . . any [. . . which my father (?) . . .];

K:24
(X:25) [. . .] . . . . [nor] shall I . . . inasmuch as [this (?)] land prospers . . .

(M:25) [se]aled for (?) 'Horizon of the Orb' (r4) . . . be[side] (?, or be[fore]?) them (s4) in 'Horizon of the Orb'. Simi[la]rly [fro]m (?) [Kh]or (t4). . . .

K:25 . . . of '[Horizon of] the Orb' [for the Orb, m]y [father]. . . [forev]er an[d ever](?).

(X:26) "[As for the (?) . . .]s of Kush as far as [. . .] (u4) . . . the . . . hasten (?) [. . . the] Orb (v4) . . . .

K:26 [. . .] therein . . . [. . .] which are established (?) at the [. . .]ern borders, it (being) [. . .] in . . . . (w4)

K:27
(X:27) [. . . .] And one shall not say to me, 'The One who be[gat you ord]ains (?)

(M:27) [. . .] seasonally (?) . . . [man]sion (?) . . . me every [. . .] (x4) . . .

(X:28) in (?) [the House of the Orb in "Horizon of the] O[rb]" (?).'

K:28 [. . .] therein [which (?) . . .] me (or my [. . .]0 (y4) . . . [the festi]val of (?) the Orb, [. . .m]y father . . .

K:29
(X:29)
(M:29) [. . .] I (or my [. . .]) . . . [. . . of (?)] m[y] f[a]t[her], the [Orb].

X. Festival Endowments at Akhet-Aten

"Now as my father, THE ATEN, lives, [. . .] on (?) [earth] (and) similarly in [the sky (?)] (z4), [*something about sacrificial animals*],

K:30
(X:29) [of or]yxes, of ostriches for (?) [the House of (?) the] O[rb] (?), [consisting of *some sort of*] cattle in [their] run[ning (?)] (a5) . . . [. . .]

(X:30) for the Orb [in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb'] forever and ever.

(M:30) [Similarly the feast of the (?)] Orb on New Year's Day, . . . [the Or]b being in

(X:30) [festi]val eternally (b5).

K:31
(M:30) [. . . fes]tival; similarly . . . oblations, (and) similarly all feasts at every

(X:30) season, fe[asts (?)] (c5) . . . [effe]ctively, long [ago (?) (d5)], [. . .] me

(M:31) to [. . .], . . . the great king's wife Nefertiti, they belong [to] the Orb, . . . His [. . .] in '[Horizon of] the Orb',

K:32
(M:31) [*something concerning*] her (or its) [. . .] be[fore] (?) Him which is on (?) [. . .], in order to offer therein (e5). I shall not make the royal [. . .] in the har[bor area (?)] (f5) . . . , the [. . . s] of the . . . ; and I shall

(X:31) [not] make it for him in [. . .] be[side] (?) the crag of the [. . .] before (?) the northern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb'; and [I] shall not make [it for him

(M:32) at the crag] of the [southern] stela [of 'Horizon of the Orb'; but] I shal[l make] it . . . offerings (?) . . . from the mistress [of the Two Lands (?)] in . . . . (g5)

X:32
(K:33) [. . . with]in them, with fresh lands within them, with new lands within them, [. . . in (?) 'Horizon of] the Orb', his [favorite] place (h5) [daily in the course of] every [day] (?).

XI. Proper Maintenance of the Cult at Akhet-Aten

"Now, make the . . . [for the offerin]gs (i5) which I dedicate to the Orb, m[y fat]her, in 'Horizon of [the Orb]'. I myself am the one who should make

X:33 of[ferings] [(K-34)]to the [Orb, m]y father in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of

(M:33) the Orb'. Offerings are not to be made to Him there [in some unsuitable fashion] when I am in any (other) city (or) in any (other) town, be[cause] (?) [. . .]

X:34 His horizon, the mountain (?) of the Orb, [m]y fa[ther] in the House of the Orb in
(M:34) 'Horizon of the O[rb]', [it being fes]tive [dai]ly (?) forever and ever, [everyone (?)] being joyful [K-35][enti]re[ly (?)] (j5).

XII. Another Ritual Matter concerning the Queen and the Court

(K:35 + M:34) "Similarly the feast of the Orb with the oblations on the river, [. . .] being [. . .] [offe]rings (?) of (or for) the queen. If I detect (?) (k5) a man of the Harim, if I hear a ma[n . . . of] the officials, if I [he]ar (?) [. . .] in (?) the mountain of the [. . .], if I detect (?) . . . name (?) . . . , . . . everything in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb'.

XIII. Another Matter, concerning Festival Offerings (?)

X:35 "[As for // some sort of] bovine which the [. . .]-man has [ga]thered, it i[s] his strength . . . (l5) . . . , [they . . . the entire land (?)] (m5) to . . . , [. . .]s [for
(K:36) the] Orb in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb', I have [*done something with regard to something*] on whi[ch] (?) my heart is set (n5), offering these
(M:35) [. . .]s of mine which are on [the . . . of (?)] the temple [M-36][. . .],
X:36 [*something being done*] at every place wherein my wish is to make a journey, (while) the House [of the Orb (?) celebrates] the festivals of [the Orb (?). . .
(K:37) which are established (?) with every]thing that I [provided] for the Orb, my father, in 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Now, as [for (?) the . . .]s which [. . .] make (?) [as a] monument . . . [awa]y (?), it [is . . .]ed for the [. . .] (o5) . . . , (and)

X:37
(K:37) my father [rec]eives them . . . on (?) the day wh[en] (p5) [the Or]b, m[y father], [*does something*, . . . the] Or[b] in '[Horizon of] the Orb', [th]is place which He Himself found for Himself [forever] and ever.

XIV. Another Matter, regarding Movements to and from (?) Akhet-Aten

(K:38) "Now, as [for (?) . . .] go about (either) downstream, [in the west, in] the south (or) in the orient, in order to make doma[ins] (?) [for] the [Orb], great of [. . .] (q5), the Orb, my father, has given to me . . . land . . . ,

(M:37) [I] shall make (?) . . .

X:38
(K:38) . . . call, to o[ffer] (?) . . . (r5) . . . [for the Orb], my father, in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb'. Let there be [. . . , *something about the queen*?] in her house (K39) [. . .] with everything in 'Horizon of the Orb', causing him to cross, (whether) crossing downstream, to the south, to the west (or) to the orient. Make the [. . . (s5) . . . the] Orb, my father, ...

X:39
(K:39 + M:38) . . . for the Orb, my father, in the House of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb' forever and ever.

XV. On Celebrating the royal Jubilee at Akhet-Aten

(K:39) "As lives my father, [K-40]THE ATEN! Regarding the [millions of] jubilees (t5) which [the Orb, my father] decreed for me, . . . utterance (?) [of] the . . .
X:40 . . . the south-eastern (u5) stela of '[Horizon] of the Or[b]', I shall [not] celebrate a jubilee [up]river from them in [the millions of years (?) . . .
(M:39) . . , offerin]gs (?) (?) upon . . . , [(but) I shall celebrate the
(M:40) jubilee (v5) at 'Horizon of the] Orb' [in this place], eternally and forever, [in the House of the] Orb [in 'Horizon of the Orb'],
X:41 . . . [awa]y (?) (but) I shall celebrate (*lit.* make) it in [. . .]
(K:41 + M:40) [. . . the] Orb, m[y father], for m[y]) [K-42][lord (?)], . . . in (?) ['Horizon of the Orb' (w5)] . . . forever and ever.

XVI. Another Foundation at Akhet-Aten

X:42 (M:41 + K:42) ". . . . [I] shall make . . . the double-plumed shade (?) of the O[rb] . . . in (M:42) the road which is in the crag of the [. . . ern] stela . . . . . [m]y . . . .

X:43 rei[oice] (?) . . . [. . . s upon them (?)] (K-44)[. . .]s [mountai]n (?) (M:42) be[fore] it (?), the great [mountain] of the Orb (**x5**), [m]y father, which He (M:43) Himself desired for Himself, [. . .] for (?) . . . [. . . the Or]b (?) . . . forever [and ever].

XVII. A Building Project (?) at Akhet-Aten

(X:43) "[*Something about making*] great monument(s) [for the] (**x5 bis**)

X:44 Orb . . . [a monum]ent (?) of stone . . . every precious stone, in . . . [*some sort of effor]ts* (of) a craftsman, a co[ntroller] (?) (**y5**) . . . .

(M:43) which make their proper place with them (?) (**z5**) . . .

(M:44) . . . th[eir] (?) city, to . . .

X:45 . . . say every day, when [He] cross[es the sky and illuminates] with His rays

(M:44) which make to live [. . .] in its entirety (**a6**), . . . it in . . .

X:46 [(and) He] // fills the House of the Orb [with His] graciousness (?) . . . monum[ents] . . . His [. . .]s on earth. I make [what the Orb] encircles to be administered for Him . . . .

XVIII. Protecting the Territory of Akhet-Aten as the God's Property (?)

X:47 ". . . [the cit]y (?) (**b6**) similarly, stopping (?) . . . , . . . (a) great [. . . of] any god (or) any goddess against (?) 'Horizon of the Orb' by decree (?) of any god (or) any goddess . . .

X:48 . . . [the great king's wife, Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti] (**c6**) as . . . [the] Or[b] (?) . . . "Now, as [for] any [peop]le, any priest, any deputy, people . . . , [*they shall make some sort of observance regarding the*]

X:49 [bound]ary stel[ae of] 'Horizon of the Orb', from (**d6**) the western mountain to the [eastern] mountain . . . [it amounts to (?) so many] iter of sail[ing], water (and) ge[bel] (?) [of] 'Horizon of the Orb', in (?) the water . . .

X:50 the Orb, their lord, the lord of 'Horizon of the Orb', [THE AT]EN, for[ever and ever (?)]. . . . [. . . downstream, to the south],

X:51 to the [we]st, to the orient, to the mountain, to the water in (?) the river [by sh]ip (?), which . . . , in fields . . .

(M:51) X:52 . . . every [. . .], every [. . . , the]y belong [to my father (?)] . . . . [servan]ts (?) (**e6**), consisting of groves (**f6**), consisting of all things that are (M:52) in the entire land, they belong to my father . . . [the Hous]e of the Orb [in] 'Horizon of the Orb' for[ever and] ev[er].

"[As for the . . .] which are in (?) . . . , . . . [they shall remain (?)]

X:53 in 'Horizon of the Orb' [under] the authority of the great steward (**g6**) of 'Horizon of the Orb'; and His scribal palette (**h6**) is in the . . . . [of] 'Horizon of the Orb', while Hi[s . . .] . . . .

(M:53) . . . this (or His) (M-54)[. . .] . . . .

X:54 to breathe (**i6**) and making themselves to be fallen on their bellies to Pharaoh, L. P. H., their lord, (and) to the queen . . . [praising (?)] T[HE ATEN] (?) . . . (M:55) . . . [or]ient, to the mountain . . .

X:55 in 'Horizon of the Orb', [*something being done*] in re[joi]cing . . . in the [. . .] of mine (?), [*while someone*] takes possession . . .

X:56 [. . . the] Orb [so that] I may deter their being taken from me (**j6**) to another place. And let not . . . .

X:57 . . . , [my (?) . . .] to do [it] (**k6**) . . . . I am the one who do[es] [. . .]."

(Most of what remains is too fragmentary to be translated. A number of traces are found scattered through lines 58-66 of Stela M; and a number of signs toward the ends of lines can also be discerned at the left side of Stela X:68-73 and on the right side of Stela K:74-76. More substantial remnants survive at the ends of the last four lines of Stela K:)

XIX. Closing Rites (?) at the Dedication of Akhet-Aten

K:77 . . . forever and ever. [. . . Fath]er (**l6**)

K:78 [THE ATEN], . . . and making the exp[ulsion] (?) (**m6**) . . . [*some group of*] people, the army in its entirety, (and) [. . .]s (and) [. . .]s (**n6**), being arranged at the beginning of [. . .] with exu[berant rejoicing (?)] (**o6**)

K:79 . . . in 'Horizon of the Orb' for everyone, and upon [the king, the rays of the Orb being] upon him, consisting of life and dominion, (namely, for) Neferkheprure-Waenre.

XX. Conclusion

(K:79) Then the entire land [rejoi]ced (**p6**), (being) on holiday,

K:80 . . . to (?) the Orb, One being caused to come to rest there, in (**q6**) 'Horizon of the Orb' (**r6**) forever and ever.

COMMENTARY

(a.) Least controversial is the reading of the numeral for the day. The text is clearest on K, which shows "10" under *prt*, with room for three strokes beside it (although only one and the bottom of a second are preserved here). This numeral was read as "4" by Davies, although "13" was conceded to be possible (*El-Amarna* V, p. 28, with n. 9). Above, there are distinctly five strokes standing under the determinatives of "regnal year" (spelled atypically, with a stroke beside the disk: cf., however, Q:1). On X, the year number was written beneath the group *mpt-ḥsbt*, but only two out of the five strokes survive. The reading of the year number on K confirms the supposition of L. G. Leeuwenburg, "De Grensstele's van Amarna," *JEOL* 9 (1944-1948):39-49, as against Davies' hesitant reading of "year 4": see *El-Amarna* V, pp. 20 (with n. 3) and 28 (with n. 8). An alternative "regnal year 6", first proposed by B. Gunn, in "Notes on the Aten and his Names," *JEA* 9 (1923):171-172 (with n. 8), has also received a degree of acceptance, e.g., by Sandman in her hand-copy (*Texts*, p. 103). One of the possible consequences of this revision is illustrated by the account of Akhenaten's founding of Akhet-Aten given most recently by D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 142-144, in which the "Earlier" and "Later Proclamations are separated by a mere nine days (IV Prt 4-13) in year 6.

(b.) Cf. the opening of the Later Proclamation, where the identical epithets are better preserved; and see, in general, G. Fecht, "Amarna Probleme (1-2)," *ZÄS* 85 (1960):92-117 for discussion.

(c.) There is no room, or need, for the *ankh*-sign that Helck supplies before this word in his synthetic hand-copy (*Urk.* IV, p. 1965:10). The debate over the interpretation of the double determinative (=god + king) goes back to B. Gunn, *JEA* 9 (1923):175-176, and has received support most recently from G. Fecht, *ZÄS* 85 (1966):99. It is contested by W. Westendorf, "Das angebliche Doppeldeterminativ (Gott und König) beim Wort 'Vater' in den Texten der Amarnazeit," *MDAIK* 25 (1969):202-211, who maintains that it originally reflected a separate term, *nb.j* ("my lord") but is generally attached to the word *jt*, "father", in the Amarna texts, yielding *jt.j*, "my father." The cases in which the double determinative occurs in "his father", Westendorff argues, denote a corruption of the earlier usage and do not color the sense in which *jt* is to be understood. It must be admitted that the evidence is not very clear. To be sure, the double determinative occurs frequently in contexts where "my father" is meant (Earlier Proclamation: at X:11 [=M-9]; Later Proclamation: at A-6 and 14 [with parallels from other copies], B:16, A:23 and possibly 25). Where "his father" is unambiguously required, it occurs only in two places (A:2 [=J:2] and A:4) -- and in these examples, if a determinative is used at all in the parallels from B, Q, S and U, it is but one (divine) determinative. On the other hand, there is much greater variability in the Earlier Proclamation, in which we find, attached to "father", double divine determinatives (in the god's titulary, at K:1 [restored]); or a single divine determinative (at K:20, where the broken parallel at X:22 has two determinatives [=god + ?]; and cf. M:21, which has at least one divine determinative); or even a single royal determinative (used as the first-person suffix at K:8, where the parallels [X:11 = M:9, in "my father"], have the double [=god + king] determinatives, as is so frequent in the later decree). In other words, there is just enough inconsistency to arouse one's suspicions of any single opinion. In our translation we have preferred Westendorf's interpretation because it is the most conservative, both orthographically and in its theological implications; but since the kingship of the Aten is patent, Gunn's "(divine and royal) father" would not surprise even if the extant spellings of *jt* in these inscriptions seem to emphasize the god's divinity.

(d.) Compare, again, the better preserved sequence at the beginning of the Later Proclamation; and cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 23:9-11.

(e.) For the king's titulary, including the concluding epithet, cf. the Later Proclamation and Sandman, *Texts*, passim.

(f.) The sky-sign at the top of X, col. v is virtually the only clue we have, given the extensive gaps between what is left of the king's titulary and the fragmentary cartouche in K:iii. Given the latter's position following the king's names, we assume that this must be the second cartouche of the Aten, with a trace the first being preserved about 2 groups after the sky-sign in X:v. Something like *ḥry [nst jt.f]* could fit this hypothetical reconstruction; but while this phrase is not unparalleled elsewhere (cf. Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* II, OIP 103 (Chicago, 1981), pls. 139:3, 143 A:2, 143 B:1), we find no convincing parallel from the Later Proclamation or any other contemporary text (although cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 29:14 (*ḫ*^{cc} . . . *ḥr st jt.f, p3 jtn*); and there may not be room for more extensive phrases in which this sign occurs, e.g., *p3 jtn ᶜnḫ ḥrw* (var *msw*) *m pt r*^{ᶜ} *nb* (*ibid.*, pp. 14:9-10, 12), or **jt.f, ḏ3 ḥrt m ḥtpw* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 46.11; cf. Davies, *El-Amarna* III 31, n. 4).

(g.) Restoring **[dw3 jtn m] wbn.f* or similar. For what follows, a broad pit in the worn surface might correspond to the shape of the original sign -- perhaps a bird (*=nb ḏf3w*)? Helck's *nb nḥḥ* (*Urk.* IV, p. 1965:18), even if not impossible, cannot be verified. Cf. also Sandman, *Texts*, p. 133:15-16 (*nb ḫpš*).

(h.) There are clear traces of *wsr* at the bottom of K:iv, followed by *f3w* (fully preserved only in K; but the determinative in both copies is the long loaf [=Gardiner signlist N-18], not the bookroll, as in Urk. IV 1965.18). The round sign in the damaged group beyond (in K) could fit either *ḫt nb* or *r*^{ᶜ} *nb*.

(i.) Note the different words used for "sky" in the two versions (*pt* in X, *ḥrt* in K: the spacing of the latter is incorrect in Helck, *Urk.* IV 1965:21).

(j.) Perhaps restore *[šs]*^{ᶜ}*-r šnnt n jtn*. Helck's derivative copy cannot be reconciled with the traces here.

(k.) On this title see most recently Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Boreas 14 (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 133-134 and index (p. 196, s.v. *rt-p*^{ᶜ}*t*).

(l.) The combination of K and X suggests the restoration of *wr[t]-ḫnr[t]* here: see Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, pp. 76-79; and Del Nord, "The Term *ḫnr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'?," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), pp. 137-141.

(m.) A composite of the three versions suggests *ḏd[t.n].s ḥr [ḫt] nbt jrj.tw n.s*: cf. Sandman, *Texts*,

p. 25:14 (=tomb of Panehsy), and Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 190 (B4/3: attešted also for Ahmose-Nofretari, with a variant [=B4/2] as early as the Fifth Dynasty).

(n.) Note that the earlier copy (X) has the full "[Nefernefru]ate[n]" name, while the latest version in the series (K) has the earlier and simpler form, "Nefertiti". While it was once believed that the queen adopted her "long" name only as of the move to Amarna (see E. Brunner-Traut, "Nofretete" in *LÄ* IV 519 for a recent statement of this position), the evidence from the Karnak *talatat* now shows the use of both forms to go back to the earlier "Theban" years as well: see C. F. Nims, "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV," *JNES* 32 (1973):186 with n. 63; D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* I (Warminster, 1976), p. 80. The presence of both forms in copies of the "Earlier Proclamation" thus lacks the chronological significance attributed to it by (among others) Gunn and Leeuwenburg.

(o.) Note that from here until the king's first address to the court, in K:xvi, the narrative infinitive is employed: see Gardiner, *Gr.*^{3}, section 306.2; and especially A. J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, Yale Near Eastern Researches (New Haven, 1982), p. 122 (citing earlier studies by Grapow and Noth), for the employment of this form in official daybooks.

(p.) The Later Proclamation's version of this sequence is more concise (*mḥ.n.f t3wy m mrwt.f*). The restoration of *mrwt* here seems certain, given the arrangement of the surviving signs and both the shape and size of the lacuna before them; but filling the one-and-a-half groups that follow is more difficult. The Aten generally fills the land (*var.* "Two Lands") with a single item -- e.g., *mrwt* (Sandman, *Texts*, 11:16-18), *nfrw* (*ibid.*, p. 38:16, 39:8, 93:13-14), *k3.f* (*ibid.*, p. 40.3) -- and while qualifiers are sometimes attached to such objects, these are generally strings of old-perfectives that would not fit here: see *ibid.*, pp. 11:6-14 (*mrwt.k wr.tj* ᶜ*3.tj*), 75:10-11 (*mrwt.k wr.tj* ᶜ*3.tj sṯḥn.tj*), 93:13-14 (*jw.k* ᶜ*n.tj, wr.tj, ṯḥn.tj, q3.tj*). In one case the Aten is asked to give *m mrrt jb.k* (*ibid.*, p. 9:4-5), but the **[mr]rw[t-jb n] p3 jtn* required here is an unlikely spelling. What is missing could scarcely be much different from what we have restored, but an exact parallel still eludes us (although cf. below at K:3: Aten "fills them with his fair and loving rays" [*=mḥ .w m n3y.f stwt* ᶜ*nyw<t> mrwwt*]).

(q.) There appears to be no room for the Later Proclamation's fuller wording (*šsp tp-w3t nfrt r 3ḫt-jtn*).

(r.) Of the traces Davies recorded here, only the *ḫpr* remains.

(s.) The restoration of this mangled passage is uncertain: the eye, which we take to be the determinative of *ptrj*, survives in X:xv, while the corresponding traces in K:xi are followed immediately by *ḥr rš̈wt*. While this use of *ptrj ḥr*, "to behold (something) with" joy, or similar, is unusual, see J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh* I (Cairo, 1978), pl. 24 vo., 4.

(t.) The reading of *ḏw n 3ḫt-jtn* is clear enough on both K and X. For the restoration *ḫ[ft-ḥr]* in the preceding gap, see W. J. Murnane, "The 'First Occasion of the Discovery' of Akhet-Aten," *SAK* 14 (1987):239-246. Once again, the parallel from the Later Proclamation is misleading, contra Helck, *Urk.* IV 1967:7, and Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 29.

(u.) One group is missing between "Akhet-Aten" in the preceding sentence and the verb, which is clearly not *šsp* (as it was read, not without justification, by Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 29, and Helck, *Urk.* IV 1967:9). We suggest restoring *[djt ḫ]rp* here (cf. *djt m3ᶜ* in the Later Proclamation, at A:3).

(v.) The signs for *qbḥw* are clear in X:xix; for what follows we suggest *[nf]r [wᶜb] ḥr-tp ᶜnḫ wḏ3 snb <n> nb-t3wy* (using both copies; and cf. the spelling of *nfrt* at S:7 [=Q-:9]). Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1967:9, reads *ḥsw mrw* here, again under the influence of the Later Proclamation (see note t above).

(w.) X has "after the rites of the Aten", omitting *nn jrt*. For this sense of *jrt hswt*, see *Urk.* IV, 80:16, 923:8-9, 1139:12.

(x.) Scarcely anything other than *ḥtp* can be restored in the break (see K:xv; and cf. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1967:10-11). For what follows, the version of K is far clearer than what is suggested by the remains from M:xi (*=ḥr jrj.tw [r]š̈[wt]*), which not only garbles the verb form (for the spelling of *jrj* as an infinitive in Late Egyptian, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, sections 403-404, 408.3; and M. Korostovstev, *Grammaire du Néo-Egyptien* [Moscow, 1973], pp. 203-204), but also omits the dative that should follow.

(y.) Rather too much is missing to allow a completely convincing restoration. The space above the *3ḫt* in K:xx contained two small signs, as shaded in the hand-copy. This configuration, which suggests the preposition *ḥr* for this space, in turn prompts the restoration of *[n nṯr pn]* (or similar) for the preceding lacuna. The image of the disk hovering over His domain in order to enjoy it is satisfactory in sense -- but it might also be possible to restore *ḥᶜw jb [nb, mḥ.n.tw] 3ḫt-jtn m ṯḥwt*, "[every] heart being joyous, [One having filled] Akhet-Aten with exuberant delight." If so, the following sentence would refer to the king, using the infinitival narrative: "resting upon the [gr]ea[t] throne (thus Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1967:13:

st wrt), in order that he might be glad concerning it, (viz.) concerning the raising up of His (i.e., the Aten's) beauty."

(z.) The space between *nfr[w.f]* and the beginning of the next sentence in K:xv is sufficient for something like *[jm.f, m ḫrt-ḥrw nt rᶜ nb]*.

(aa.) The traces imply at least *ᶜnḫ ḏd [w3s] . . . [r nḥ]ḥ*, with two full groups lost in the gap between these restorations. We have supplied two of the more common additions in the translation, but other variants are possible: see the glossary of *Temple of Khonsu* II, s.v. *dj.n.j n.k.*

(bb.) The two versions complete one another with only two exceptions: in K:xvii, *[jmy]w-[r] k3t* is indicated following *jmyw-r mnfyt*; and for the end of the string a masculine collective is wanted -- something like *šnw*, the masculine variant of the traditional *šnyt* in Late Egyptian (*Wb.* IV 512:8-9); or *jmyw js* (Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 18), or perhaps *jmyw ᶜḥ* (cf. *Urk.* IV 62:2, used of *wrw*). Any of these options would fit the space in X:1, and a half-group is required at the end of the word, above *nbw*. One of the latter two possibilities would also supply a plausible antecedent for the masculine singular pronoun in *mj-qd.f*.

(cc.) Restoring *ḥr sn [t3 n nṯr nfr]*: see *Wb.* IV 154.13; and cf. *Temple of Khonsu* II 140:2; Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 43:15-16 (*n nṯr nfr*), 44:5-6 (*n njswt nfr*).

(dd.) Collation of this passage has raised as many difficulties as it solved. The initial clause is clearly *Ptr jtn* (not "Behold Akhet-Aten", as was justifiably assumed by earlier translators (Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 29; Helck, *Urk. IV Übersetzung*, p. 339). In K, the palm-branch determinative of *ptr* is directly above *tn* + disk, leaving room only for the reedleaf of *jtn* to the left; and this is followed by only one group before *3by p3 jtn*, etc. at the start of col. xix. In M:2, moreover, a full-sized *jtn* followed by a reedleaf is preserved immediately after *Ptr*. It is thus impossible that "Akhet-Aten" was wedged here into a single group, as is done very rarely as a peculiarity of other individual boundary stelae (see, for example, in the Later Proclamation, at U:13). Interpreting these traces raises other difficulties. We have translated the first clause as an invocation (similar to "as my Father, THE ATEN, lives" in the Later Proclamation), while restoring the following group as *j[w]*: for *jw(.f) sḏm.f* see Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], sections 462-463; and most recently, cf. W. Schenkel, *Einführung in die klassich-Ägyptische Sprache* (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 185-186; and E. Graefe, *Mittelägyptische Grammatik für Anfänger*[2] (Wiesdbaden, 1988), p. 106. Alternative readings and interpretations seem riskier: for example, if one translated the opening words

as an imperative, assuming that the relative prefix *j-* (reedleaf + seated man [=Gardiner signlist A-2]) preceded *3by* (as in K:11), something along the lines of the following would be required: "Behold the orb, wh[ich] the Disk desired to [be] made for Him(self) as a monument with [an] etern[al] and everlasting name!" While this is possible on purely grammatical grounds (see Černý-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 463-65, 480-93 for prothetic *j-*, with B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptiszismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Tübingen, 1970), pp. 175-179 on early examples), the incongruity of this interpretation in this context outweighs not only this possibility, but also the intriguing theological implications that it raises: in this section Akhenaten is concerned with the territory of his new cult-center, and a digression on the characteristics of its divine master does not fit.

(ee.) In the earlier version of the decree (X:2) *3ḫt-jtn* was omitted here.

(ff.) Note the use the negative *bw p3y*, an intermediate form between Middle Egyptian *n p3* (Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 484) and Late Egyptian *bw pwy* (Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, section 776): on this shift, see in general Kroeber, *Neuägyptizismen*, p. 63.

(gg.) The most complete version of this passage (in M:3) leaves only the better part of a single group (above the genitive *n*) for the missing word: restore *sḫr*, or similar (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 79:2: . . . *sḫr nty Pr-ᶜ3 ḥr jr.f [sic]*).

(hh.) The spellings are both divergent and abbreviated here. In K:1 the first-person pronoun is indicated only by a stroke, while X:3 has plural strokes for the Late Egyptian third-person suffix, *bw gm.n.w s(y)*, "they did not find it" = passive "it was not found".

(ii.) The composition of this passage (which is made up, at least in part, of nouns qualified by old-perfectives) is concise to the point of obscurity. Moreover, both K and X are broken here, and the signs are not carved very distinctly either. We read, with hesitation, *dbḥt dq.tj*. For *dbḥt* = "cult requirement" see *Wb*. V 440.3-10, 15; but, perhaps more plausibly, interpret this as *dbḥ(y)t*-land (as in R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* [Oxford, 1956], p. 16, with references). Reading the following term is more difficult. We have adopted *dq*, a spelling used for *dqr* or *dg3* (*Wb*. V 495-496 for this shift): perhaps "to plant" (*ibid*., p. 496.4; cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 661, s.v. *tg*), or with the extended meaning of "set up, overlay" (*ibid*., 499.3-4; cf. D. Meeks, *L'Année Lexicographique* I [Paris, 1980], p. 440, # 77.5106). The alternatives *dq(r)*, "banish" (*ibid*., p. 496.5) or *dgj*, "hide" (*ibid*., p. 496.8-15) cannot be ruled out.

(jj.) Only K is preserved here. The simplest reading, *ḫnyt*, suggests a variant of *ḫnw*, "abode, resting place": see *Wb*. III 288.11; and add *KRI* II 331.13 (with spelling similar to this); but it cannot be

ruled out that the root is *ḫn(r)t*, denoting a restricted area (see note l above) rather than the related meanings, "prison, stronghold" (*Wb*. III 296.14, 16).

(kk.) X is the clearest version here; the spelling in K was fuller, but much of it is obscured by the damage to the stone. While the traces do not exclude the old-perfective ending *.tj* here, the presence of the house-determinative makes us reluctant to interpret this as a verbal form. Perhaps read *m ḫ3y*, related to "bureau" or similar (though note that an ending such as *-y* is not attested, for example, in the passages cited by *Wb*. III 221-221 or by Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II 155). Another term, *ḫ3(w)y*, "weighing room" (in *ibid*. II 156) seems to make little sense in this context. Alternatively, read *mḫ3y*, "magazine" (*Wb*., p. 130.6; *KRI* I 267:10).

(ll.) X and M are entirely destroyed here, as is the first part of this clause in K; but *kfy.tj* is clear, although the absence of any determinative leaves the meaning open. On orthographic grounds the likeliest root is *kf* -- hardly *kfᵉ*, although a weak semi-consonantal ending (*-3/-j/-y/-w*) cannot be excluded. Perhaps interpret as "cover, hide" (*Wb*. V 119.2-19), with the sense "take away" from a place (*ibid*., p. 119 bottom, at E)?

(mm.) The top of an owl-*m* follows *kfy.tj* in K, after which this version deteriorates into unintelligibility for about eight groups. In X:3, read *ḥs[b]* (*Wb*. III 166); or, less probably, restore *[w]ḥs* with the root meaning of "cut off (*Wb*. I 351-13-14; cf. J. F. Borghouts, *Egyptian Magical Texts* [Leiden, 1975], p. 3 [7]). The following *m-ḏ3wt-r*, is clear and must represent a variant -- not attested, insofar as we know -- of the compound preposition *r-ḏ3t*, "in exchange for" (see Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 180, on p. 136).

(nn.) Most probably restore a beetle (=Gardiner signlist L-1) in the gap at K:1, yielding *[ḫp]rt r.f* (see *Wb*. III 262.17 for this usage, with its sense of disadvantage).

(oo.) While *tm* (with owl-*m*) is clear enough in K:1, the damage makes what follows unreadable for the following four groups, until *3ḫt-jtn* etc. For the use of *tm* to initiate a clause of purpose, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, section 793.4.

(pp.) What is meant by these terms? The determinative for both words are damaged in all three copies: for *ḥq3*, either a king or god was meant, while *ḥq3yt* presumably used the generalized seated female. Since this list, like others in these documents, proceeds in descending order of importance, these "rulers" must stand between divinities and "any people". The determinative for *ḥq3* rules out any sort of officialdom, such as those designated as *ḥq3 (n) X* (W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, Ägyptische Forschungen 18 [Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1954], pp. 79 and 112, n. 5; cf. indices to *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 3

[Leiden, 1975], p. 26); and no such class of spirits seems to be attested either (see, for example, E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, translated by John Baines [Ithaca, 1982], pp. 60-63). For lack of evidence to the contrary, one is forced back to the standard presumption, i.e., that mortal rulers are meant: see the references to *Wb.* III 171.2, as well as the comments of J. Baines, "The Stela of Emhab," *JEA* 72 (1986):47; and cf. the translations of Helck and Schlögl (="Herrscher, Herrscherin") as opposed to the less specific "prince, princess" in Davies, *El-Amarna* V 29.

(qq.) Thus X:4; the later version in K:2 is more abbreviated (*r jrt nkt jm* = "to do something therein").

(rr.) The gap in K:2, after restoring *rḫ* from X:4, is about two groups. We surmise *bw rḫ. [n.tw . . . .s]*, but even without these further restorations there is not room for more than one or two words.

(ss.) Only two groups are missing from K after [*m p3*] is restored to the following sentence from X:5. Thus, with all due reservations owing to the damage to the three versions, read *gm.n.j s(y) m ḫ3r . . . .* The common noun "widow" may well share a common root both with *ḫ3r*, "to bolt" (of horses) in *R.B.* p. 61:13 and with *ḫ3ry*, "be widowed" in *Admonitions* 8.1 (apparently the only example of this verb). Faulkner's rendering, "be wifeless" (*Concise Dictionary*, p. 184), while roughly correct, has a nuance that is not justified, either in the original or in his own commentary on the text ("Notes on 'Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage'," *JEA* 50 [1964]:31). The trace of the arm further on in X we interpret as belonging to a qualifying old-perfective or an adverb, but too little remains for any but the most broad restoration of the sense. There does not seem to be enough room for **gm.n.j s(y) m ḫ3 ... r ...* (at least three words are necessary to fill the lacuna in Stela X) unless the version in K reproduced the text in a drastically abbreviated manner.

(tt.) Although our copy has substantially increased the intelligibility of this passage (cf. *Urk.* IV 1969:2), many obscurities remain. Rather than a factitive statement (as in a passive, or an adjective verb), we prefer an imperative for the god's "advice" to the king regarding the site. There is just room under the eye-determinative of *ptr* for [*mḥ*] determined with a bookroll (cf. below at K:3 = X:6). After "Akhet-Aten" read *df3w* (with loaf determinative: cf. *Urk.* IV, 1999:14) more plausibly than *b3[k]w*, "services." For *ḫnt*, "magazine", see *Wb.* III 288.15.

(uu.) Hardly "shines on them" (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 91:8: *p3y.sn nb jr sw wbn ḫr.sn*). The normal meaning of *wbn m* is "to arise out of" something, as in the sun emerging from the lotus (*Wb.* I 293.8) or the horizon (many examples, e.g., Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 15:1-6). In another environment, one would be tempted to identify the entities (plural) from which the sun rises and which receive his rays as the cavern-dwellers of the traditional *Unterweltsbücher*; but they are strangers to the theology of the Disk and do not fit comfortably here. Alternatively, the lost antecedent might be a collective (e.g., Sandman, *Texts*, p. 32:11: "He bequeaths to you all that he encircles [=*šnnt.f nb*] so that you may be utterly satisfied with it" [=plural: *ḥ^c jb.k jm.sn*]).

(vv.) Although there are a limited range of options, given the ending of the *sḏm.f* in *-y* and the beginning of the noun with *j-*, there are no convincing parallels here. Possibly restore **[jw.f wḏ]y [n].f jh.* For *jh*, var. *jh(h)y*, "happiness", see *Wb.* I 117 (bottom) -- the traces between the reedleaf and owl-m in K:4 can be interpreted as part of the first-h and the top of the seated-man determinative (Gardiner signlist A-2): cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 48:14-15 (*jrt nb m jhhy*). Alternatively, perhaps **[ḥs]y.[n].f j[3ww] m ^cnḫ*, etc. (="while He has rewarded adoration with life," etc: see Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 40:4, 55:16 for appropriate spellings of *j3ww*; and cf. note xx below for the construction).

(ww.) In K:4 part of the house-sign (=*pr*), as well as its accompanying stroke, can be made out, but what follows (*[n] p3y.[j jt p3] jtn*) is atypical in its arrangement. The more customary *[n p3 jtn p3y].j jt* is found in the parallel text, at X:7. Another anomaly in K here is the omission of *r-ḏr.s*.

(xx.) For *jw sḏm.n.f* in a subordinate clause, see Kroeber, *Neuägyptizismen*, pp. 122-123. The sequence A *r-pw* B *r-pw* C (*r-pw*), "A or B (or) C," is attested: see *Wb* II 396.17. Davies' reading of *ḫmt* after the queen's cartouche is probably mistaken: the bottom of the group is no longer preserved, but only the very top of a probable *p* can be made out beneath the *r*. The version in K appears to be longer than the original text in X, including the qualifying phrase (beginning with *jw*) and the queen's title before her cartouche.

(yy.) Probably read *j[s]*, "invoke" (determined with Gardiner signlist A-26): see Meeks, *L'Année Lexicographique* I (Paris, 1980), p. 45, # 77.0451; and *ibid.* (Paris, 1981), p. 48, # 78.0477. There is little room under the *f* in the previous group for both the desired suffix and the *n* of the more customary *njs* (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 34:5-6, 43:10). Before the cartouches, "your father" was omitted in K:4.

(zz.) While the signs (preserved only in K) are clear enough, the crucial element at the top of the group is ill-defined: we hazarded *jpt* or *j3t*, but are now happy to adopt the suggestion of Marshall T. Phelps, who reads *jst*, "boundary stone" (Faulkner, *CD*, p. 29): both the shape of the stela (without the base that is customary elsewhere in these texts) and its use as a phonogram are unusual. Cf. A:25 (with commentary to Chapter 3, note qq) for a possible parallel.

(aaa.) Something like **b<n> njswt n [h3w.k jrj mjtt m jrt 3ḫw n jt.f, m . . .] nb* is desired here. For the interchangeability of *bn* and *nn* in inscriptions from Amarna, compare Sandman, *Texts*, p. 16:13-14 (*bn ḥḥy . . .*) and p. 41:9-12 (*nn ḥḥy . . .*), or *ibid.*, p. 58:8-9 (*bn jrt 3bw*) and p. 63:7 (*nn 3b*), among many other examples.

(bbb.) These traces (recorded by Davies only in X) are now lost. For the Aten as a *ssm*, "guide" see below at K:6, 9.

(ccc.) The likeliest restoration, given the traces, is *ssm*, perhaps in the sense of "expend" (cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 247, s.v. the noun *sšm*) or more probably "direct, bring in" (*Wb.* IV 287.1-4); but the repeated occurrence of this word is troubling.

(ddd.) Restore plural strokes in the small space below *nb*. The reading in *Urk.* IV 1970:4 (*bw wṯs.f rn n njswt nb*) is wrong. For *n wnt ḥm.k* (not among the compound prepositions listed in Gardiner, *Gr.*^{3}, section 180), cf. Erman, "Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie," *Sitzb. Berlin* (1911), pp. 942-943 (at 61-62: *n-wnt Wsjr*); and cf. also *ḏr-wnt* (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* II, section 1043).

(eee.) Only the latest copy of the text (=K:6) is preserved in this difficult passage. We assume an otiose *.f* and a misplaced *n*, corrupted from an original **djt.f nbwt n ky*, but this is admittedly an extreme measure to achieve clarity.

(fff.) The verb that describes the Aten's action concludes with a strong-arm (or ʿayin?) and book roll (?), followed by a stroke (of *ḥr*?) and *[. . .].k* (a verb of building or endowing by the king).

(ggg.) The original version (X:9) apparently had "the estate of [Re (?) in] Akhet-Aten."

(hhh.) The adjective (*wrt*) is found only in the version on Stela X. The *nb* (or *k*?) is uncertain, being lost (though recorded by Davies) on X and only arguably present on K

(iii.) Restore perhaps *twt.tj* (see *Wb.* V 25.8): the foot of what might be the mummiform figure (Gardiner signlist A-53) is preserved in K:6.

(jjj.) Thus the version in K; the version in X simply has *3ḫt jtn*.

(kkk.) In both versions *mḥ* is clear, with space for bookroll + flat *m* beneath in K. The following group we read, with some hesitation, as *ḏf3w nb*: the lower part of this sign is worn, but the curve of the back suggests a bird rather than a mammal. If the latter were read here, Sandman, *Texts* 87:16 would be the closest parallel for the spelling, if not the sense. There is room for a vertical group of plural strokes in the narrow gap that follows.

(lll.) Read *r [. . .]j.[f]* (perhaps *ḫʿy*, or a some other verb with a weak ending).

(mmm.) Either *ntf [sš]m ʿnḫw* or perhaps *ntf [pw] m [jrt] ʿnḫw*, "[it is] he who is in [the eye(s) of] the living", suggest themselves here.

(nnn.) Reading the verb as *[ḥ]rp*, or (less probably) *[šs]p*, referring to the god's income as listed in the following passage. The next sign might well be *ḥb* (Gardiner signlist W-3; but the lozenge is not carved here). Alternatively, read *nb.f* (cf. the use of *nb.s* in *KRI* II 333.15), if not as "His Lord(ship), referring to the Aten -- unparalleled, hence, unlikely -- then as "his Lord", i.e., the king's (but this point of reference is introduced very suddenly). The unusual use of *nbw* for "everybody" (in Sandman, *Texts*, p. 37:9-10: the king as "the Ka of everybody whom you have brought into being as generations") is not strictly applicable here, but may be significant for its extended usage of this usually more restricted term.

(ooo.) Reading *njwt nbt [šʒʿ]-r* (?) [. . .] *nb*, [. . .].*s* in X:10.

(ppp.) Combining X and K here, read *jr(w) m (?) [wḏ]y f n.f* (or perhaps *[3b]y.f n.f*, "as he [wish]es for himself").

(qqq.) The two tall-s's are found in both versions, with K being preserved best for what follows: here there is a clear t + the flat bottom of another sign, below the broken trace of a horizontal sign. Based on the parallels, these damaged signs can be restored as a bookroll (top) and a nose (bottom left = Gardiner signlist D-19), belonging to a frequent deformation of the verb *sn* (or *ssn*?), "breathe": see Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 4:6, 24:7, 101:3, 169:13 (and cf. p. 100:8 for a contrastingly abbreviated writing).

(rrr.) For *jrj n jb*, see *Wb.* I 60.1; and see above, note *nnn*, for *nb.f* (?).

(sss.) Restore, again, probably *[wḏ]y* or *[3b]y* (see note ppp above).

(ttt.) Restore *jw.[k]*, based on the old-perfective ending of the following verb.

(uuu.) In K:9 there is, once again, a corruption of the original sense -- *w3ḏ* instead of *wḏ ᶜnḫ* (in M:10 -- admittedly a common substitution): see Gardiner signlist M-13, and F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Tete aus El-Amarna* (Paris, 1930), p. 6 (section 5b).

(vvv.) For the verb *ḫrw* in this sense see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I. section 748 with note (p. 377); and cf. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II 188 (especially example from Pap. Pushkin 127, 10, 9). An alternative reading as "oracle" or similar, though written with the god-determinative, seems to be ruled out, as it is normally spelled *ḫrwt* until much later (*Wb.* III 318.5-6).

(www.) Although all three copies supply parts of this sentence, the sense remains elusive. Collation during our final season suggested that it concludes with *n šmt.f* (at K:9), but the middle of the sentence is too broken for restoration.

(xxx.) Following *bn* there is the flat bottom of a sign -- certainly not *n*. After this there is a gap of one and three-quarters groups before *f*.

(yyy.) The original text (at X:15) omits *wrt* in the queen's title. For the sense of the conjunctive here (="X will not happen, with Y happening as a result") see P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), pp. 115-116.

(zzz.) For these expressions see, for example, *n bnr* (*Wb.* I 461.10). Favored officials are commonly described as *ḥsy* of the king (see, among myriad examples, Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 17:5, 7, 16; 21:bottom; 26:3, 13; 27:1-2; 29:1;; 44:1-2; 46:15-16; 62:12-13; 79:12); but this usage of either term, presumably to denote degrees of access to the royal person, is thus far unattested elsewhere (e.g., not mentioned in W. Helck, "Hofrang" in *LÄ* II 1237, or in other works on the court and administration). Stela X diverges from K at the beginning of this passage by introducing *wᶜ* (?) *nb* ("each one"?) after *sr nb*.

(a4.) Substituting *m* for *n* (see Behnk, *Grammatik*, p. 8; cf. Kroeber, *Neuägyptizismen*, pp. 42-45), unless "belonging to the downstream, etc." is meant here.

(b4.) In K:14 the flat determinative for *ḏt* was misinterpreted (presumably from a hieratic copy) and carved as *n*.

(c4.) Only one and a half groups are missing in K, room only for the verb and first-person suffix.

(d4.) Thus filling the lacuna of four groups in K:15.

(e4.) Two groups are missing in K:16.

(f4.) The ending (and determinative?) of *w3ḥ[wt]* (cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 54) are all that is necessary to complete the composite text of K and X.

(g4.) There is no room for this last clause in X:20.

(h4.) K omits the seated-dignitary determinative of *wr-m3ww* and the dative *n* that follows. Only three uprights (=plural strokes?) remain to define the third category of officials here: the restoration of *[n3 b3kw n] p3 jtn* in *Urk.* IV 1975.2, though reasonable, must be excluded for lack of room. For the concluding clause, see below at X:22.

(i4.) The traces, re-collated in 1989, suggest *ḥmw-nṯr* (with plural strokes in front of *nṯr*, and room for a determinative between this group and *[n p3 j]tn*).

(j4.) In X:22, after the second cartouche of the Aten's didactic name, there is the preposition *jr* followed by the beginning of another word. The top of the bird suggests an aleph, while for the small sign in front of it we considered t but believed, in the end, that *q* was more probable. The gap that follows measures two groups, so what is missing amounts to only one and at most two words. After this comes the two groups with the city's name, with part of the bottom of a low sign above *3ḫt*: the most obvious restoration here is flat *m*, as elsewhere (e.g., K:14-19 = X:17-21). See Chapter 5 for a further discussion of this passage.

(k4.) The praenomen of Amenhotep III is a hypothetical, albeit plausible restoration. There is no longer any trace of the beetle which Davies saw following *mn* in the last of the cartouches preserved in X-23. In any case, there is no room for more than three cartouches in X, and there is no room for an additional clause of this type in K, which in any case is the most spacious of the three versions: note that M has room for only two clauses naming prior rulers, and in X:23 the final sentence must have been abbreviated. The best traces of *[n]3 sḏm njsw(w)t nb[w]* are at the right end of M:22.

(l4.) Assuming some sort of parallelism in this passage, perhaps restore "mayor" (=*ḥq3?*) and "Syrian" in the two middle clauses. The restoration of *[m] t3 [r ḏ]r.[f]* after "any people" at K:21 in *Urk.* IV 1975.16 is mistaken.

(m4.) In M:22, perhaps read *j[w.sn] mr*, followed by *bw* (?) *w3ḥ* . . . . The position of these traces in the line indicates that they belong before the section of this passage that is preserved in K:22.

(n4.) Except for a few uncertain traces in X, this passage depends on K:22. The context is not at all clear, and the surface of the stone is damaged in spots: thus, perhaps read *mr nb*, "every offense",

instead of *m r nb*. Helck's copy (in *Urk.* IV 1975:19-20) has, regrettably, crossed the line from interpretation to emendation here.

(o4.) The traces at the end of X:24 suggest [*ḫ*ᶜ]*y*.

(p4.) Read *m-tw:j sḏm p3 . . . m-ᶜs* (?), with the addition of *r-*ᶜ in M:24. For the conjunctive's resumption of a negative wish, cf. above at K:12-13. Assuming the fragment of M has been placed correctly, the position of *r-*ᶜ here suggests that it is an abbreviation of the more usual adverbial form, *m r-*ᶜ, for which see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, p. 341 (section 683); Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 139 (section 8.9.4).

(q4.) As Helck has correctly observed (*Urk.* IV 1976:3 and *Übersetzung*, p. 342), the bird is a duckling (Gardiner sign-list G-47) with unusually large wings, and the verb is thus *ṯ3j*, "to take" or similar.

(r4.) Provisionally reading *[ḫ]tm* in M:25, where [...]*tm ḥr 3ḫt-j[tn]* seems clear.

(s4.) Either a compound preposition (*r-[ḥ3t] or r-[gs] .sn?*), or a verb ("in order to [. . .] them" or "so that they may [. . .]") is wanted here.

(t4.) Given the context, the tall sign in front of the aleph can scarcely be anything but the *h3*-biliteral; thus, read *m-mjtt [ḥr ḪḤ]3rw*: cf. the spellings in *Wb.* III 232; cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 180*. (The copy in *Urk.* IV 1976:5-6 is all but unrecognizable here.)

(u4.) There are divergent readings of the group following "Kush" in our two copies. In X:26 the tall upright is unclear -- perhaps *w3ḏ*? The later copy in K:25, no doubt clarifying an obscurity in the original, renders it as the *nfr of nfryt-r*. Only the end of the preceding word survives in both copies: the determinatives indicate that it denoted some sort of strenuous activity, but nothing more definite can be added.

(v4.) The group *ḥn* is clear enough, although the sense is unclear: even though *ḥn*, "hasten" has been used earlier in this text (see above at X:16), it is plain that any of the words formed on this stem are possibilities here.

(w4) At the beginning of the middle fragment in K:26, read *mnw* -- either a participial form of *mn* (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 86:5) or a variant spelling of "monument(s)" (*ibid.*, pp. 79:9, 81:3, 83:18). For *sw* used as an independent pronoun (in the following clause), see Behnk, *Grammatik*, pp. 65-66; and cf. Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], p. 424.

(x4.) Reading *. . . j nbt* in K:27. Although the seated man is not obviously the first-person suffix, given its presence in a royal speech, cf. K:22 above. Alternatively read as a determinative -- but what

masculine term would be qualified with *nbt* (unless we read the latter as *kt*, "another . . . ")?

(y4.) Reading *[n]ty* [. . .]*.j* in X:28.

(z4.) The small curving trace followed by a stroke cannot be the disk determninative of ᶜ*3 m* ᶜ*ḥ*ᶜ*w.f*, which normally follows the king's names; therefore, we read tentatively as *tp* [. . .] followed by *m-mjtt m* [. . .].

(a5.) The environment seems to require either an animal or something associated with it. We propose *pḥ[rr]*, perhaps connected with the ceremonial "running" of the Mnevis Bull (by analogy with the practice with other sacred bulls: see *Wb.* I 541.12, as well as other bull-running rituals illustrated on temple walls in Egypt).

(b5.) X and M coincide here; but K:30 has *m jtn* followed by an unclear bird (*m* or *w*?), which suggests that this fragment be placed earlier.

(c5.) Although the coordination of these fragments is approximate, the contents of M and K suggest that they should not be far apart.

(d5.) The drill determinative of *mnḫ* followed by *ḏr* can be seen clearly enough, but this is followed only by pits that may coincide with the position of the signs. Perhaps read *ḏr-*ᶜ*wy*, which at least fits the position of the two surviving traces following *ḏr*.

(e5.) The best version for this passage is M:31, though corroborating traces can also be found in X and K.

(f5.) Reading *m t3 mn...* in K:32. While the range of possibilities is wide, the context (pertaining to the outer reaches of the site) could support this restoration.

(g5.) The overall form of this passage emerges from M and K, incorporating a few traces from X. It has not been placed properly in *Urk.* IV 1976:6-17.

(h5.) Perhaps *st.f [nt st-jb.f]*; alternatively, *st.f [nt sp tpy]* (above, at K:x), but perhaps a variant of *st n ḥsw* (Sandman, *Texts*, p. 5:15) or *st ḥsyw* (*ibid.*, p. 60:8). For *nḫbw*, see Chapter 3, at note *q* of the commentary.

(i5.) Reading the sign with the rounding top (K:33) as one of the loaves in a group that refers to offerings.

(j5.) The sense of the passage emerges, once again, mostly from M and K. Perhaps restore *m-ḏr*

(or *m-dj*?) following *dmj nb*. Helck's understanding of this passage in *Urk.* IV 1977:8-14 is basically sound, and it represents a considerable advance over Davies' version in *El-Amarna* V, p. 31. At the end of K:34, the arrangement of the signs does not suggest that a full-sized group (e.g., the royal first-person suffix) followed *3w jb* here, so perhaps restore *ḥr nb* or similar. For what follows, the composite of all three versions suggests *[. . .]s [. . .] nb, m mjtt ḥb . . . .*

(k5.) The problem in this passage is the group following *ḥmt-njswt*, which is repeated three more times in this passage. It must be *jr* followed by a verb rather than *jrm.j*, since a low sign intervenes between the *r* and the *m* in all four cases -- but in each instance, this sign is unclear. Only in the second case does the trace resemble the ear of *sḏm*, while in the fourth we find the tusk (Gardiner signlist F-18), normally vocalized as *ḥ(w)* or *bḥ*. The third example is too worn to be read here, while the segment of the sign preserved in the first instance suggests that it resembled the fourth rather than the second example. A literal interpretation of the evidence suggests that *sḏm* in the second (and third) clauses was alternated with another verb having a similar meaning in the first and fourth -- **ḥm*, hypothetically a variant of *ḥmm*, which occurs fully spelled in the Pyramid Texts as a synonym (?) of *sḏm*, might be possible -- but the remoteness of the parallel is not encouraging, and it might even be more cogent to assume that in the first and fourth examples, at least, the sculptor miscarved *sḏm* from a misleading copy of the text in hieratic. (See Georg Moeller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II 13 [compare 158 and 160]).

(l5.) The verb could be restored as *nwy* (restoring *nw* in group writing, with the biliteral U-19). The seated man following *p3* is problematic, whether as an ideogram for "man" (for which the spelling is uncharacteristically bare) or as the first-person singular suffix, which would be aberrant with reference to the king (although cf. above, at K:22 and K:27, with n. x-4; and cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 96:1). For the traces that follow the seated man -- assuming they do not belong to the same word -- perhaps restore as the beginning of a new sentence (cf. *ibid.*, p. 31:3-4, *jn ḫpš.k mk t3wy*).

(m5.) The traces in brackets at X:35 were seen by Davies, but they are now lost.

(n5.) The damage has swallowed both the verb and its object. To the latter no doubt belongs the oval (Gardiner signlist N-18) and the *.t*. Perhaps restore *t* + two strokes in the low gap beneath the *n* that follows.

(o5.) Interpreting in this fashion the traces in K:37.

(p5.) Reading *[m ḥ]rw j[w] . . .* ; cf. above, at K:ix and in the Later Proclamation, at A:1, for this abbreviated writing of *ḥrw*.

(q5.) Reading the crossed sticks + quailchick as *sw3* (*Wb.* IV 62.6) rather than *ḫbs* (*ibid.* III 256.13), although either one pertains to cultivable lands. Perhaps restore the epithet as *ꜥ3 [šf(y)t]*, "great [of awesomeness]" (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 95:4). The text for this passage as given in *Urk.* IV 1978:4-5 is seriously garbled.

(r5.) Any proposed restoration is hazardous. Perhaps read the signs at the middle of the fragment as *ḏwj* -- either "raise up", determined by walking legs (H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* II [Berlin, 1962], p. 1000 bottom); or "call to (*r*)", with A-2 or A-26 as the determinative (*Wb.* V 550.11-13).

(s5.) Reading *t[3] r[...]* in X:38.

(t5.) Restoring *[ḥḥw n] ḥbw-sd*: cf. above at K:17, and for other parallels see Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 73:6-7 and 89:15, but adding *[ḥfnw m] ḥbw-sd* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 55:18).

(u5.) Restoring *ḫnt* (Gardiner signlist W-17) above *nty* in K:40.

(v5.) The signs that Davies saw in X:40 (in brackets) are now missing.

(w5.) In M:40, restore *m [3ḫt-jtn]*, with a small "Akhet" above the back of the owl-*m* followed by a normal spelling of "-Aten": cf. above, at X:18 (restored, but certain); and also Later Proclamation, at U:1, and Davies, *El-Amarna* II, pl. v (=lintel of south door, right side).

(x5.) The signs that Davies saw in in X:43 (in brackets) are now gone. Note the full spelling of *ḥr* (with final *r*) in M:42, which indicates that a suffix followed it: see Behnk, *Grammatik*, p. 3, at (6). At the beginning of the following fragment, perhaps restore as *[ḏw] ꜥ3 n 3ḫt-jtn* (cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 32:12, *r ḥwt.k jr.n.j ḥr ḏw ꜥ3 n 3ḫt-jtn*), although this hardly excludes other reconstructions.

(x5 bis) This, of course, is a plausible rather than a definitive placement of the fragment found during the 1989 season (see Appendix 1), which we have been unable to match with any of the broken edges on the tablet.

(y5.) The determinatives before *ḥmw* indicate that a word of action preceded; but here, as in K:25/X:26 above, no more can be said. The restoration of *rw[ḏw]* is a guess, based on context and the available traces.

(z5.) Although *jrm.w*, at the end of this fragment, is clear enough, the same cannot be said for the preceding two groups. The first might be *jry* or simply *-ry*; while in the second there is a long, curved sign above a break, with *.t* and plural strokes at the bottom. We tentatively read either *spwt* (*Wb*. IV 100.17, with Gardiner signlist D-24, and a *p* at the left side of the break), "correct place (?)"; or *sprwt*, "appeals" (*Wb*. IV 104.12, with signlist F-42 on top and walking legs at the left side of the break). The uncertain readings and the fragmentary context make any translation very tentative, at best.

(a6.) Or "just like Him", i.e., the god: cf. Sandman, *Texts*, p. 76:15-16 (*mj jtn, p3y.k jt, rwḏ.k mj-qd.f*). In *Urk*. IV 1978:20 the signs *r t3* which precede *mj qd.f* are not found in the original (at X:45).

(b6.) The arrangement of signs in the group suggests *[njw]t*.

(c6.) The presence of the queen here is an avowedly far-fetched possibility, for the epigraphers were not able to agree that the reversed "Aten" of Nefertiti's longer name are present in the battered cartouche.

(d6.) For the interchangeability of *n* with *m* in texts of the Amarna Period, see Behnk, *Grammatik*, p. 8 (1).

(e6.) The determinatives suggest *[b3k]w*, or similar.

(f6.) Cf. Later Proclamation, note *q* of the commentary, for this term.

(g6.) For the title *ꜥ3 n pr*, see Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 3 (Leiden, 1958), pp. 102-103.

(h6.) Read *gstj*, as also understood by Davies, *El-Amarna*, p. 31; cf. *Wb*. V 207, bottom: something regarding the recording of the god's wealth is presumably meant. Helck, *Urk. IV Übersetzung*, p. 344 translates "Korb" here, but the *mstj*-basket seems always to be written with the *ms*-biliteral (see *Wb*. II 151.5-7; Lesko, *Late Egyptian Dictionary* I 243); and the *mstj* noted among a group of wooden objects but translated "Korb" by Helck in his *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz, 196l-1970), p. 913, is probably to be read *gstj* as well.

(i6.) Some term involving feelings seems mandated, given both the determinative and the context. The traces suggest *nšp*, "to breathe, smell" (*Wb*. II 339 top).

(j6.) Restoring the preposition *r* at the top of the group and the strong-man determinative in the break before the seated figure, and reading *[r] sḫ.j* (*Wb*. III 466-467).

(k6.) The traces in brackets, now lost, appear in Davies' copy of X:57.

(l6.) There is too much room between *r nḥḥ ḥnꜥ ḏt* and the double determinative for *ḫr ꜥnḫ jt.(j)*.

(m6.) Reading *ḫr jrt n...* on the battered surface -- perhaps *nšt*, "deprivation, espulsion" or similar (*Wb*. II 337-338).

(n6.) The abrasion of the surface makes much of this passage virtually unreadable. The *ꜥnḫ w3s* recorded by Davies is erroneous: instead, the traces suggest at least two groups here, of which the second is *msꜥ*; presumably this is what is qualified by the *mj-qd.f*, which from context is probably to be understood in its adverbial rather than strictly prepositional sense (cf. above, note a6). The traces for the remainder yield no satisfactory meanings even when recognizable, although the sets of the plural strokes suggest that two more groups were mentioned. The first might perhaps be a compound initiated by *wb3* (cf. the spellings described as of the Nineteenth Dynasty in *Wb*. I 292 top), but we cannot read the two signs that precede the pluralized determinative. The second item is more legible, with the space above *qmj* being too small for anything much larger than *n*; but apart from a far-fetched appeal to the hypothetical roots of such words as *nqm*, "be sad" (*Wb*. II 344.4), or *qm3ty/qmjty*, "lamentation" (*ibid*. V 38.12 [N.B., attested from the Late and Ptolemaic periods]), we are at a loss for any plausible interpretation of these signs.

(o6.) The part of a verb at the line's end, which Helck, *Urk*. IV 1980:10 restores confidently as *nh[m]*, "jubilate", might be any of several other options (e.g., *nh*, "to lack" [*Wb*. II 280.12], or "to protect" [*ibid*., p. 281.7-9]; *nhp*, "to spring" [*ibid*., p. 283, bottom], or "to protect" [*ibid*., p. 285 top]; *nhs*, "to (a)waken" [*ibid*., p. 287.3]), depending on the context, which is unclear.

(p6.) Helck's restoration of *[nhm]* in this line (*Urk*. IV 1980:12) is reasonable, and it receives some support from the abnormal presence of *n* below the preceding *ḏr* (in place of the expected *.f*), if the sculptor's miscarving here was affected by the following word. Otherwise, the possibilities include any number of verbs sharing the determinative and this general meaning.

(q6.) Read *djt (?) .tw mnj*: the two mooring poles follow the group *mn*; the reedleaf that follows them is probably not misplaced (from the ending of *mnj*), but belongs to *jm*, with the *m* apparently doing double duty for the adverb (*jm*) and the following preposition (*m*).

(r6.) Scribes of the Amarna period almost always write *jtn* with only one determinative, i.e., the solar orb. The traditional divine determinative, used rarely enough with reference to the god's person (see above, at K:ii; and Later Proclamation, at S:6; cf. also the hieratic writings of "Aten", with divine determinative, in a cartouche, found in graffiti from El-Amarna [Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 179-180]), occurs more frequently with the god Re (e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 84:6 [*p3 jtn, R*^{c} *ḥḳ, wr mrwt*] and 172:10 [*m pr R*^{c}]); but this is the only example we have in which the seated god determines the *jtn* in "Akhet-Aten".

CHAPTER THREE: THE LATER PROCLAMATION

Akhenaten's second decree concerning the layout of Akhet-Aten was inscribed on no fewer than eleven boundary stelae on both sides of the Nile. On the east bank, it is found on Stelae J, N, P, Q, R, S, U and V; while on the western side, it was carved onto all three of the tablets found there (A, B and F).[1] The number of available copies, added to the excellent preservation of several, has ensured the survival of nearly the complete text, with few of the uncertainties that diminish our undertsanding of the earlier decree.

The "Later Proclamation", as Davies termed it, actually consists of three related documents. The body of the decree, dated to Akhenaten's sixth regnal year, is followed by two shorter texts that were added about two years later: (1.) a "renewal of the oath", proclaimed near the beginning of year 8, which is found on nearly all copies of the decree;[2] and (2.) "another oath", which Davies dubbed the "colophon", which was issued near the end of year 8 and was inscribed only on Stelae A and B.

As with the Earlier Proclamation in Chapter Two, the parallel hand-copy of the text will be preceded by an annotated bibliography of all the sites and a brief description of each one for the reader's orientation. A more detailed consideration of the sites, along with an account of the minor epigraphs at each one, will be reserved for Chapter Four. The hand-copies of the Later Proclamation published by Maj Sandman[3] and Wolfgang Helck[4] will not be included in this tabulation, since they are totally dependent on Davies' edition and have no independent authority of their own.

STELA A

Composite text with variants from A: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvii-xxviii, with pl. xxxiii (vertical columns [facsimile] and colophon text [hand copy, parallel with Stela B version]). Earlier copies: Nestor L'Hôte MSS. 20396, 304 (= J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Nestor L'Hôte (1802-1842*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 11 [Leiden, 1963], pl. xv.1 and p. 28); Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xiv; Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):61-62 (=text of colophon with translation). Descriptions with textual citations: Nestor L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites de l'Egypte*, pp. 59, 131; *L.D.* III 91 a-f and *L.D. Text* II 113-15; Davies MSS. 2.256, 1-3. Other descriptions: Claude Sicard (1714: see B. Van de Walle, *RdE* 28 [1976]:7-24); Bonomi MSS. Diary, Jan. 16, 1825; Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 383-84; Saint-Ferriol, MSS. Diary, May 12, 1842; Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 5 (cf. MSS., Notebook 103); Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 23-24. Views: Davies,

ibid., pls. xxxiv (ground plan and side view of queen's statue from right-hand group), xxxvi (photograph of queen's statue as in previous reference), xli (bottom: photo of tablet with statues), xliii (= drawing from Hay MSS. 29814, 32); Hay MSS. 29814, 33-34 (other views of niche and tablet); Nestor L'Hôte MSS. 20396, 305-306; Claude Sicard in 1714 (see Van de Walle, *RdE* 28 (1976):pl. 1); *L.D.* I 61 (bottom: wrongly attributed to Stela B in *Bibl.* IV 230, but correctly identified by Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 23-24); Petrie photograph (glass negative, in Petrie Museum, University College London); IFAO photo 4526 (from north, with tablet cut off); Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, pp. 55-56, Abb. 59-60.

The tablet, which contains the Later Proclamation, "repetition of the oath" and the Colophon, stands on the right side of the niche. In the lunette are the king, queen, Meritaten and Meketaten standing on the right before the offering tables directly beneath the disk at the center, balanced by eight vertical columns of text on the left, with the rest of the inscription in 25 horizontal lines below. The text runs from left to right. Davies believed that it had been systematically battered, and large areas of the surface do appear to be worn down in a fashion that is consistent with hammering. The most clearly intentional damage, however, is to the king's names and even here it is not comprehensive, so perhaps the more general hammering was done later, as casual vandalism rather than by Akhenaten's enemies. Some of the damage that defeated early copyists at the middle of the tablet seems to be due, rather, to the friable nature of the fossil-laden stone, which has worn away along the edges of the signs.

Two statue groups, each consisting of the king, queen and the two eldest princesses, stand to the left of the tablet. Three princesses' figures were carved onto the south side of the altar held by the king and queen in the left-hand statue group, as already recorded by Davies.[5] (The problem of when the third princess was added at this and other sites will be discussed in Chapter Five.) The statue groups stand on bases that are considerably higher than is customary for these sculptures at other sites (for further discussion, see Chapter Four). The likeliest explanation for this anomaly is that the tablet, originally designed to contain only the Later Proclamation and the "repetition of the oath", had to be enlarged to accommodate the Colophon; and since its size could only be increased downward, the entire floor of the platform was lowered, leaving the statues at their original level high above the new floor. Apart from the height of the statue bases, there is some evidence for this assumption in the text. At the middle of the tablet, for example, the standard size of hieroglyphic groups diminishes and the left margin is even shifted slightly further left (at line 14), as if the sculptors were trying to make the most of the available surface. Greater expansiveness in the layout of the text returns, however, near the bottom, where the workmen

could employ the additional space provided by the lowering of the floor.

The heads of all the statues are missing -- and since this condition was noted as early as 1714, when Sicard made his drawing of the site, it is likely that this mutilation had already occurred in antiquity. In all other respects, the site seems to have suffered little damage in modern times -- perhaps owing to its fame as a local "sight." At some point in its more recent history (probably within the last century) the niche was protected by a gate, the emplacement for which we found on clearing the sand from the floor. Side-walls and a roof have been built around the niche more recently, but otherwise the monument is open and unencumbered today. This is the only one of the boundary stelae that is visited by tourists on a regular basis.

STELA B

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvii-xxviii (composite of various copies, with variants from B), xxxiii (Colophon in hand-copy, paralleled with version from A). The references from Lepsius in *Bibl.* IV 230 are wrongly attributed to Stela B and belong instead to Stela A (see above). Description: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 24. Referred to by Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 5, and also (inaccurately) by Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):61 (7o.).

The tablet, which is also inscribed with the main text of the Later Proclamation, the "repetition of the oath" and the Colophon (like Stela A), is nonetheless laid out very differently in terms of content. The scene in the lunette is a "mirror-image", with two groups representing the king, queen and their two eldest daughters facing one another. The top of the left-hand group is destroyed, but on the right the king wears the Red Crown, and the queen has the disk with tall plumes on a modius, resting on a wig. There are no offerings, but beneath the disk six columns of hieroglyphs (also "mirror images") separate the two groups of figures. In the horizontal lines below, the inscription runs from right to left. The tablet is substantially intact through line 25, with the beginnings of lines 26-27 preserved below. Based on the parallel text on Stela A, there is room for another full line below this, yielding a total of 28 horizontal lines.

The statue groups of the king, queen and two daughters stand at either side of the tablet. They are very badly ruined, both by accident and design: the heads are gone, presumably knocked off in antiquity, and the entire platform in front of the monument has collapsed, taking much of what was left of the statues (including the bases) with it. A trace of a figure carved in sunk relief is found on the south side of the altar held by the king and queen to the left (=south) of the tablet: by virtue of its shape and position, this must be the rump of the middle figure in the group of the three princesses that were carved

onto this surface (as on Stela A, which provides an all but exact analogy for such a feature at this place). The relationship between what remains of the statue groups and the projected bottom of the inscription indicates, moreover, that the statues themselves would have rested on pedestals only slightly raised above the floor, as they do at comparable sites on the east bank.

Although the tablet of Stela B was large enough from the start to contain all that was eventually carved onto it, the artisans who laid out the text took pains to avoid the difficulties they had experienced with Stela A. The version of the decree they chose to carve has been pruned of much purely formal verbiage in the introductory passages, being shorn even of the opening dateline. The sense of this extensive cutting is contradicted by the deliberate duplication of the first three columns, which appear as "mirror images," like the figures; but since the text has been expanded in later passages of the decree (at lines 10-12), these addenda could also have prompted the cuts in earlier passages.

STELA F

Description: Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 5; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 20 (n. 1) and 24, with excerpts from text cited in footnotes to pp. 33-34. Our only source for the text is Petrie's hand-copy (Petrie MSS., Notebook 103). For a map of the area, with discussion, see also Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. 7 and pp. 57-58.

Stela F was discovered by Petrie in the course of his explorations in Middle Egypt during 1892. According to his published description, "the exposed part is entirely destroyed, but by scraping away sand with my hands I uncovered parts of 10 lines, the last 6 being complete." A reconstruction, after Petrie's notes, is given on pl. 13.

While the text in these lines is that of the Later Proclamation and the "repetition of the oath", Stela F as described by Petrie is too small to have contained the full text of the decree. The tablet was 55 inches wide, with the scene in the lunette being 41 inches high (from the the bottom of the disk to the baseline). Below this there were 14 horizontal lines (49 inches wide), of which the first three were entirely gone. Petrie tells us nothing about the scene, which is contrary to his usual practice and could imply that most of the lunette below the central disk was already destroyed when he visited the site. In the body of the tablet below, the inscription runs from left to right. The best preserved passages are in lines 5-14, which correspond to lines 13-20 on Stela A. Above, in the middle of line 4 there is a cartouche, evidently

the king's praenomen, which can only go in line 5 of the text on Stela A. While some of the text could have been carved in vertical columns in the lunette, it nonetheless appears that Stela F contained a very abbreviated version of the Later Proclamation: after the formal introduction (lines 1-4), it seems that the text proceeded directly to measuring the distances between the stelae on the east and west banks, omitting the royal oath (as Davies had already surmised) and the instructions concerning the placement of the stelae on both sides of the river (which, after all, are implied by the passages that follow and could logically be cut). Petrie does not mention any statues adjoining the tablet, which suggests (following his practice in the published report) either that there were none to be seen or that they were too badly weathered to have merited any attention from him.

All that we know about Stela F comes from Petrie's notes. Davies, despite the full cooperation of Antiquities Service personnel, failed in two attempts to reach it, so his edition depends perforce on Petrie's notebooks. (See pl. 13 for our reconstruction, following these indications.)

Paul Timme located the site during his exhaustive survey of the region in the winter of 1912-13, but despite his best efforts (using data that Petrie had supplied to him) he could not find the tablet either. What Timme did note was abundant evidence of modern quarrying in this vicinity. Added to the ruined condition of the small monument Petrie had seen in 1892, this factor suggested the likeliest fate for Stela F. Our own inability to improve on this last supposition was one of the major disappointments of our expedition. During our search for the site in 1985 we used the compass coordinates recorded in Petrie's notes along with topographical information on Timme's map to locate the low limestone hill that is the only possible site for a rock-cut stela in the neighborhood. Several days were spent in clearing sand from every likely spot where the emplacement of a tablet might be, but the only man-made traces we found were the drill-holes and debris left by the workmen who had systematically exploited the site for its meagre supply of limestone. Given the continued activity of this industry on the west bank down to the present day, there seems to be no further reason for doubting that Stela F was destroyed after Petrie saw it, perhaps even before Davies and Timme tried to find it.

STELA J

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvii-xxviii (variants from J in composite text from all the sources); cf. Petrie MSS., Notebook 103 (hand-copy with diagram of stela); copy by Steindorff in notebook at Bridwell

Library, Southern Methodist University; this copy used in preparing *Wb.* slips (German Academy, East Berlin). Descriptions: Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 5; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 24. Views: Davies, *ibid.* II, pl. xxv (lower right) and *ibid.* V, pl. xxxvi (top right); Davies MSS. photographs i.426, 427 (tablet).

The tablet stands to the right of the emplacements for two statue groups, both all but completely destroyed. The stela is in poor condition -- a pity, for the carving is especially crisp here and the surviving hieroglyphs are well proportioned. Owing to the variable quality of the local limestone, especially on the right side of the tablet, it was necessary to insert a number of patching stones into the the surface before carving. Most of these had already fallen out when Petrie first found the site, and further damage is revealed by comparing the early hand-copies (by Petrie and Steindorff: cf. pl. 14) with what remains today. Signs recorded in these older copies which are now lost will be given in brackets, with no shading, in the hand-copy of the text printed below.

The royal family stands on the right side of the lunette, presenting heaped offering tables to the disk. The king wears the Blue Crown. Nefertiti's headdress was carved on one of the patching stones, now lost. Behind the queen is her second daughter, Meketaten; the first daughter, Meritaten, now missing, was carved immediately above, on the same patching stone that contained the upper part of her mother's figure. The inscription runs from left to right and begins in eight columns on the left side of the lunette, being intermittently preserved up to the end of its ninth horizontal line below. By comparison with the text of Stela N, which is the closest to Stela J in its spacing, the remainder of the Later Proclamation could have filled nine more lines (concluding with line 18 if the fullest spellings were not always used, but otherwise extending into line 19). Assuming that the "repetition of the oath" was included, the entire text would reached the end of line 20. Unfortunately, there are insufficient means for testing these hypotheses, since the lower part of the monument has subsided to such a degree that we were unable to establish a floor level at any point along the edge of the niche. Since Stela J was the first in the later series of boundary monuments to be commissioned, however, it could have been finished soon after the decree of year six, before the oath was repeated at the beginning of year 8.

STELA N

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvii-xxviii; hand-copy by Steindorff in notebook at Bridwell Library of Southern Methodist University, used in *Wb.* slips (East Berlin). Reconstruction: B. J. Kemp, *Ancient*

Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization (London-New York, 1989), p. 268 (fig. 87). Lunette: *L.D.* III 110 a (cf. *ibid.* 295 [45, 48]: heads); Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxiii. Descriptions: *ibid.*, p. 25, and Davies MSS. 2.259; Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 6 and MSS., Notebook 102; *L.D. Text* II 129; Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):60 (4o.); Steindorff, *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* (Land und Leute 19 [Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1904]), pp. 11-12. Views: *ibid.*, p. 5 (Abb. 3); idem, "Vorläufiger Bericht über seine in Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwe und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen," *Berichte der Phil. Hist. Klasse der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Leipzig* 52 (1900), pls. facing pp. 211, 212; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxiv, xl; IFAO photo 4534 (tablet). Statuary: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xliv (princesses at right side of niche); king's head, in Berlin Museum (Steindorff, "Kunstwerke der Zeit Amenophis' IV.," *Amtliche Berichte* 34 (19):145-46 with Abb. 76 = reprinted in *ZÄS* 52 (1914):81, Abb. 14; queen's head in Leipzig Museum (and part of queen's crown from other statue group found by writers at site). Removed from lunette: king's head and arms in Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York (C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* [New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1973], p. 95, No. 8); queen's arms, head and shoulders, with princess's figure behind, in William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (*ibid.*, p. 114, No. 28).

Unlike any of the sites discussed up to now, Stela N is not oriented toward the river but faces north, toward the city of Akhet-Aten. The tablet stands at the center of the niche, flanked by the customary two statue groups of the king, queen and two daughters. These sculptures are better preserved than usual: the bodies are virtually intact, with the bottom of the right-hand group surviving in particularly good shape, and the outlines of the heads against the backpillars show clearly the nature of the crowns worn by the king and queen. The royal heads from the right-hand group, found by Steindorff and now in Germany, are shown replaced in situ on Steindorff's photograph of the site, handily available in Davies' edition (pl. xl): as elsewhere, Akhenaten wears the Blue Crown and Nefertiti has her characteristic tall crown.

Although the tablet was extensively repaired with stone patches, it survives in better condition than the similarly treated Stela J. The royal family stands on the right side of the lunette: Akhenaten and Nefertiti adore the Aten, with the two princesses, "stacked" one above the other behind their mother, rattling sistra. Akhenaten wears the Blue Crown, while Nefertiti has her customary tall headdress, which is surmounted by a disk containing two uraei, flanked by tall plumes. The upper parts of the king and queen, along with the entire figure of Meketaten, were removed by antiquities thieves and are now in museums in the U.S.A. In front of the royal figures there is a large offering table, laden with food,

occupying the middle and left-hand side of the lunette, beneath the disk. The main text of the Later Proclamation, with the "repetition of the oath", fills 26 lines. The inscription runs from left to right and has suffered some damage since it was first copied, although not the wholesale robbery that was inflicted on the lunette.

STELA P

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxviii (composite text of decree, with surviving fragments from P). Descriptions: Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):60 (3o.); Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6, and MSS., Notebook 101; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 25-26. Fragment from right side of lunette, with head of queen, brought away from site by Davies (*ibid.*, p. 26, n. 1) and now in Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Nr. 34.49): see W. St. Smith, *Ancient Egypt, as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), pp. 132-133 (among several editions, in which the figure is identified as Akhenaten's).

Stela P was described as being "in tolerable condition" when Petrie found it in 1892, but treasure hunters had blown it to pieces with gunpowder by the time Davies could visit it. Davies says he copied two "large detached fragments", but the only passages he incorporated into his composite copy of the decree come from the final line (still in situ) and from what appears to be portions of two lines on a single fragment (corresponding to lines 10-11 on Stela N), which is now lost. The inscription runs from right to left.

Nearly all of the lower part of the tablet and everything but the very top of lunette have been blown away. The sky sign and the disk are intact. Davies' description of the scene below is not altogether accurate. He says, for example, that the figures stand "on either side of a central altar-table," but it is hard to see how this detail could have been observed, given the wholesale destruction of the lower part of the lunette. Both pairs of Akhenaten's forearms and hands survive at the center of the tablet, facing one another from a very short distance directly beneath the disk. The arrangement is the same as that found on Stela S, where "mirror images" of the king are separated only by four columns of text. (Compare also Stela B, where the king's figures are separated by six text columns.) On Stelae Q and R, by contrast (where an offering table occupies the middle of the scene), Akhenaten's figures are far more distant from one another than they are here. Any real likelihood that Davies actually saw the remains of an offering table here received a death-blow in the 1989 season, when a fragment showing the king's knee to the right of a vertical column of text was found. It is thus clear that the layout of the scene at Stela P closely resembled that of S, which it faces from across the desert wadis.

The upper parts of the royal figures are only partly preserved. On both sides it is possible to make out the tall plumes of the queen's headdress, which (on the evidence of the fragment in Boston, from the right side) was mounted on her usual tall crown, as on Stela N. According to Davies the king on the left side of the scene wore the Red Crown, but only a robber's hole can be seen at this spot today. On the right side, the king wears the White Crown, which occurs on none of the other tablets which have been preserved. Further evidence as to the layout of Stela P comes from a fragment, discovered in 1989, which preserves part of the first horizontal line of text (the beginning of Akhenaten's Golden Horus name) below the king's rear foot from the scene above (cf. Stela S).

Still more evidence regarding the contents of Stela P might exist if Petrie is correct in insisting that it had been discovered and copied earlier in the nineteenth century. He identified it with the monument that Lloyd had found in the 1840's, and which had been published by Prisse.[5] Daressy argued, to the contrary, that this was a drawing of Stela S.[6] Subsequent opinion has supported Daressy in this matter,[7] and with good reason, for Lloyd's copy, with its numerous defects, resembles Stela S in more ways than it does Stela P. Despite a disagreement in one case (the epithet *ꜥ3 m ꜥḥꜥw.f* is at the end of line 1 of Stela S, but at the start of line 2 of Lloyd's stela), the line divisions are otherwise identical, down to the erroneous duplication of the reedleaf at the beginning of the final line on Stela S. Both Lloyd's stela and Stela S have 26 lines; and while Prisse's drawing implies that lines 13-24 are completely destroyed, the pattern of damage to the hieroglyphs above and below matches what is found on Stela S. More evidence in favor of the identity with Stela S comes from the lunette, although many details in Lloyd's copy correspond neither to P or S (e.g., the arrangement of the names of the Aten at either side of the disk). Briefly, Lloyd shows the three royal cartouches contiguously on the same level, as they are on S but not on P; the princesses are identified with three columns of text here and in S, as against two columns on P; the king wears the Blue Crown on Lloyd's stela and on S, while on P his headgear is conspicuously different. The only real point of consonance between P and Lloyd's stela is in the queen's headdress, for on Stela S Nefertiti wears a wig instead of her tall crown. Given the number of demonstrable errors in this drawing, however, it seems likely that Lloyd made only a sketchy record of the lunette and that the details were either filled in mechanically or copied from the two other stelae (A and U) that were known at this time. The broad horns that surmount the queen's crown on Lloyd's stela, for example, while they are not rendered in quite this way either on Stelae S or U, form part of an identical headdress on Stela A, which was then the best known and most "typical" of all the boundary monuments. With regret, one is forced to conclude that more positive resemblances exist between Lloyd's stela and Stela S than with

Stela P. The discrepancies between Lloyd's copy and Stela S are not enough to rule out an identification that is otherwise so plausible. Petrie's advocacy of P must have depended on their superficial similarity, filtered through a faulty memory. The main point of that resemblance could not have been in the costumes, since the king's crowns are markedly different in S and P. Once past this discrepancy, however, Petrie's mistaken identification of Lloyd's stela is understandable in view of the similarities that P and S so demonstrably share: (1.) the "mirror image" of the two groups of figures and (2.) the beginning of the text in columns at the center of the lunette.

Flanking the tablet at this site were the customary statue groups of the king, queen and two daughters. On both sides they were badly damaged in the explosion that destroyed the tablet; but they shielded the corners of the platform, and thus also the two emplacements in the floor at each corner, intended for a statuette of the third princess.[8]

STELA Q

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvii-xxviii. Descriptions: Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6 (notice of discovery by Newberry); Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 26. Views: *ibid.*, pls. xli (hill), xlii (tablet), xliv (fragments in Cairo and Melbourne Museums); IFAO photograph 4528 (tablet and western statue group, from east). Head of queen from one of statue groups in National Gallery of Victoria, Australia (# N.G.V. 616.2, donated by Davies in 1907): see Colin Hope, "The Head of Queen Nefertiti," in *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):54-62.

Stela Q is architecturally similar to P, from the arrangement of the statue groups at each side of the tablet down to the addition of a small statue for a third princess (see Chapter Four for the positions of the emplacement holes in the floor). Steindorff's photograph of the tablet[9] shows it to have been splendidly preserved: except for some pitting at the top of the lunette, the surface was fully preserved down to line 12, after which the quality of the surface deteriorated sharply. The inscription runs from right to left in 28 lines, ending about 50 cm. short of the left end of the bottom line. Two representations of the royal family face one another from across an offering table at the center of the scene. Akhenaten wears the Blue Crown, but his wife is atypically coiffed with a tight-fitting skullcap[10] instead of her customary tall crown or plumes. The two eldest daughters are stacked in the narrow space that remains behind the queen.

Stela Q is a ruin today, for nearly all of what was formerly intact has been removed by antiquities thieves. Only part of the offering table and part of the lower body of the king survives from the right side

of the scene, and at the left there is even less: a trace from the back of the king's body and from the front of the queen's leg. Fortunately, most of what has been lost can be read clearly enough from the photograph. The bottom half of the tablet, already badly worn at its discovery, has not suffered appreciably since then, and it was possible to add significantly to Davies' copy in this section of the decree.

STELA R

Text: Davies, pls. xxvii-xxviii (composite, with variants from R); Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):52-58. Descriptions and notes: Lepsius MSS., Diary, pages at end, 53-55; Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6, and MSS., Notebook 101; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 26, and MSS. 2.26. Views: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xlii; photograph by Petrie (glass negative, damaged, in Petrie Museum University College London); IFAO photograph 4532 (tablet). Fragments, now in Paris: J. Vandier, "Les stèles-frontières d'el-Amarna: A propos d'une nouvelle acquisition du Musée du Louvre," *Monuments Piot* 40 (1944):5-22. A small fragment from the inscription, referring to "the stela", is in the National Gallery of Victoria, Australia (# N.G.V. 619.2: see C. Hope, *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 [1983]:62, n. 21).

The layout of Stela R most closely resembles that of J. The statuary, almost completely destroyed, is at the left side of the niche and the tablet is on the right. The lunette, most of which is now in the Louvre, was virtually intact when it was photographed for Davies' edition, and the scene is conceived along the same lines as that of Stela Q. Akhenaten and Nefertiti (wearing respectively the Blue and "tall" crowns") both appear at either side of an offering table, and in each case they are followed by their two eldest daughters. The lower part of the tablet had already suffered extensive damage from the loss of patching stones, natural erosion (which caused much of the left side and nearly all of the bottom to fall away), and at least one attempted robbery (an abandoned attempt to remove a piece at the top of the inscription). There is some deliberate damage to the cartouches of the Aten and the king in the first few lines, but this is not extended to the lunette or even to all of the main text. Most of the more recent damage is at the edges of these old breaks and most of it is due, in all probability, to natural wear and tear rather than deliberate vandalism. The inscription contained 30 lines, running from right to left.

STELA S

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxvi (facsimile), xxvii-xxviii (with other copies); Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xiii; Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):51-58. Descriptions: Lepsius MSS., Diary, pages at end, 56-60; Prisse, *Monuments*, p. 3; Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):50-51, part of which is quoted in I. Levy's

metrological study, "L'Atour et le Schène," *ibid.*, p. 165 (=lines 18-19); Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6, and MSS., Notebook 103 ("Best Stela"); Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 26-27, and MSS. 2.258. Views: Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):pl. opposite p. 52 (tablet); IFAO photographs 4530 (part of tablet), 4531 (part of tablet with north statue group); Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxxix (tablet), xl (full view of niche), xliv (location, and statue of queen with daughters at right), and MSS. photograph 1.412 (right-hand statue group). Photographs of the tablet that have frequently appeared in secondary works are not included here, since nearly all of them derive from Davies' plate. A number of glass negatives, as well as a cast made by Petrie, are in the Petrie Museum, University College London. Several fragments that were donated by Davies, presumably from the statue groups, are in the National Gallery of Victoria, Australia (## N.G.V. 617.2 [=Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 27, n. 1, and pl. xliv]; 618.2, and 620.2): see C. Hope, *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):62, n. 21.

Stela S was the finest of all Akhenaten's boundary monuments. The sculptors, in Davies' words, "chanced upon a vein of limestone as hard as alabaster," and the amount of natural damage is relatively small: a crack through the middle (running diagonally through lines 10-16); another vertical crack running from the bottom up through line 20; gouges at the top (damaging the disk), as well as in the lower right quarter (lines 16-23); and the loss of a number of small patching stones, along with some random wear and pitting. Although Davies' splendid photograph of the tablet is the view most commonly reproduced, the effect made by this nearly intact monument can be appreciated best on Daressy's plate, for this 1893 photograph was made before vandals had attempted to remove the Aten's cartouches in line 20. Both the figures in the lunette and the hieroglyphs are executed with a crisp elegance that may be matched on other tablets but are seen to full advantage nowhere else. Even Davies, despite his low opinion of the art of the Amarna Period, had to concede that the work is "beautifully done." Unfortunately, both the remote location of this monument and the fine quality of its reliefs have contributed to the virtual destruction of Stela S in modern times. This robbery, which probably occurred at the same time as that inflicted on the neighboring Stela R, must have taken place prior to the mid-1940's, which is when the pieces of Stela R were purchased by the Louvre.

In the lunette we see "mirror images" of the king, queen and two daughters, separated from one another by four columns of text at the center of the scene. (Cf. Stelae B and P.) Akhenaten and Nefertiti have their arms upraised in adoration of the disk, while the princesses rattle sistra. The king wears the Blue Crown, the queen a long wig topped by a modius, on which rests a headpiece of tall horns framing

a disk in front of two plumes. As on Stela P, the Later Proclamation begins in the four central columns and continues in 26 lines below. The text, which includes the "repetition of the oath", runs from right to left. The customary statue groups of the king, queen and two princesses stand on either side of the tablet.

STELA U

Text: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxv (tablet, hand-copy) and xxxiv (columns from lunette [wrongly identified as belonging to Stela N]); Nestor L'Hôte MSS. 20396, 302; Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xii; Steindorff hand-copy (orignal lost), used in *Wb.* slips. Views: Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxvii; Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 31, Abb. 32 (view of wadi with stela); other photographs in Steindorff papers (Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University). Descriptions: Prisse, *Monuments*, p. 3; Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):60 (6o); Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6; Davies, *El-Amarna*, p. 27, and MSS. 2.258. The limestone head of a princess that might be from here is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (# EGA 4.524.1943): see Appendix One.

Stela U is the largest of the boundary stelae, perhaps by virtue of its position near the mouth of the wadi selected for Akhenaten's tomb and opposite the official quarters of the city to the west. The king and queen, followed by their two eldest daughters, stand before a heaped offering table, to the left of which are three text columns inscribed with the opening of the Later Proclamation. The disk, which is situated directly above the table, is thus to the left of the tablet's center. The costume and attitude of the royal family are identical to those seen on Stela S. At either side of the tablet there are the usual statues, similar to those at other sites but larger: the princess's head in the Fitzwilliam Museum, if it comes from one of the boundary stelae, could be from here, since none of the other groups is large enough. The statues at the north side of the are better preserved than most. On both sides, however, the foundations have survived well enough to show that an emplacement hole for a statue of a third princess was made on the north side only (and not on both sides, as at Stelae P and Q).

Here as at other locations, the advantages of the site chosen for the stela did not include stone of the highest quality. The platform in front of the monument has collapsed and a number of fissures have opened in the surface of the tablet, particularly in the lower half, where patches of flint seem to have made difficulties for the sculptors. Although the tablet's size has deterred casual vandalism, thieves were able to reach the lunette on ropes from the top of the cliff, and they cut out the heads of the two

princesses (which are intact on Davies' and Steindorff's photographs). The standard text of the Later Proclamation, with the "repetition of the oath", is carved in 3 columns and 24 lines, running from left to right.

STELA V

Description: Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6, and MSS., Notebook 103; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 27, and MSS. 2.257.

Located near the top of the hill that is just south of the wadi separating the two groups of north tombs, this monument is all but completely destroyed. Whether its ruin was hastened by natural causes or by the inhabitants of the Coptic houses built on the hillside in front of it, only a few diagnostic traces remain. The shapes of the the tablet and its flanking statue groups can be made out, but nearly all of the original surfaces have disappeared. Fortunately, the bottom of the bull's tail worn by the king survives from the lunette, and from the size and position of this trace both the dimensions and the orientation of the scene can be established (see pl. 15). The royal family stood on the left, facing an offering table and (very probably) a few columns of text at the extreme right. Fragments of the inscription (running from right to left) still adhere to the left side of the tablet. The relationship of these driblets, both internally and with reference to the remnant of the lunette, show that these are the ends of lines 7-15, corresponding with contents of Stela N:10-19. Barring substantial cuts in the text (as on Stela B), what is missing from the beginning of the inscription cannot fit into the nearly seven lines that separate the first preserved fragment from the baseline of the scene, and the extension of the text into vertical columns at the right side of the lunette seems to be required by volume of material alone. The scene thus reconstructed resembles the compositions on Stelae A, J and U, with the internal proportions between figures and text probably closest to the latter. Below line 15 there is room for another 8 lines of text, assuming that a narrow strip of stone was left blank (as is normal) along the bottom edge of the tablet. If so, the inscription (including the full text of the Later Proclamation and the "repetition of the oath") was carved in 23 lines and perhaps three or four columns at the right side of the scene -- roughly the proportions of Stela U, though on a much smaller scale.

* * * * * * *

In the parallel hand copies that follow, the conventions are the same as those used for the Earlier Proclamation in Chapter Two.

Orientation of the Texts

STELA A. Columns: i-viii. The signs on the original face toward the left.

STELA B. Columns: i-iii (two copies, arranged in mirror-image). The signs in the horizontal lines below face toward the left.

STELA F. Signs in the surviving horizontal lines face toward the left on Petrie's copy.

STELA J. Columns: i-viii. Signs face toward the left.

STELA N. No text-columns. Signs in horizontal lines face toward the left.

STELA P. Columns: probably i-iv, as on S. The signs face toward the right.

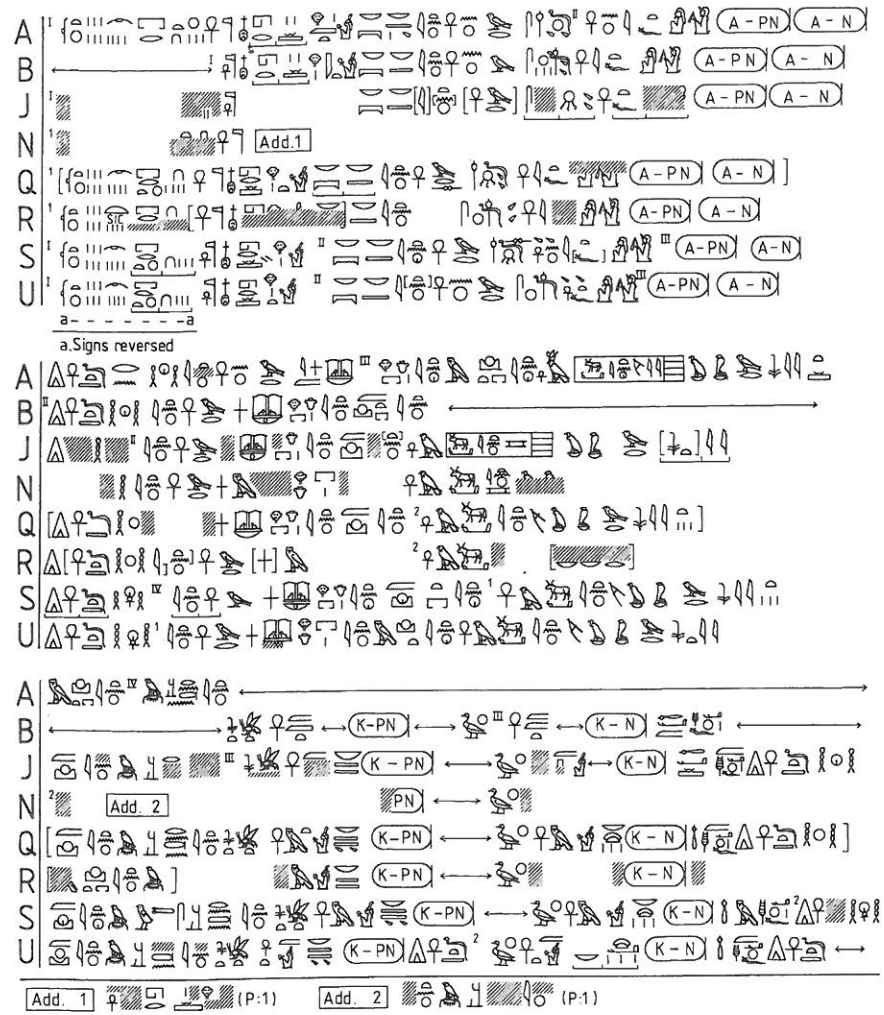
STELA Q. No text-columns. Signs in horizontal lines face toward the right.

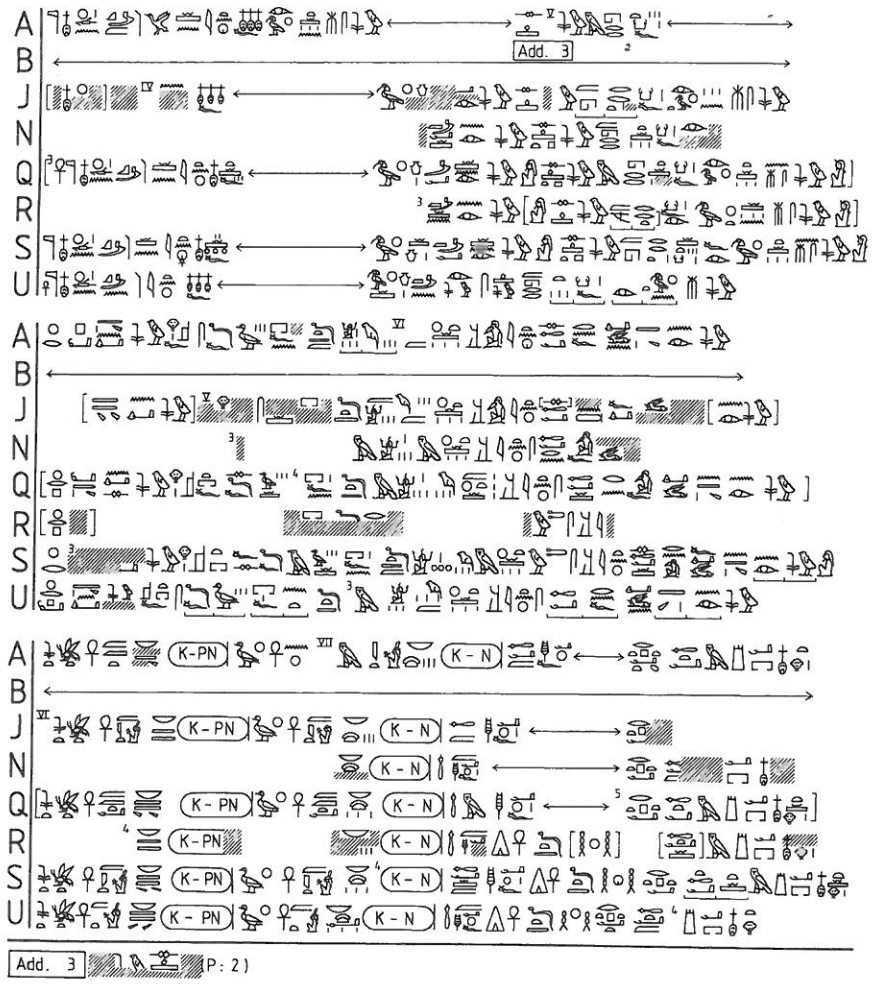
STELA R. No text-columns. Signs in horizontal lines face toward the right.

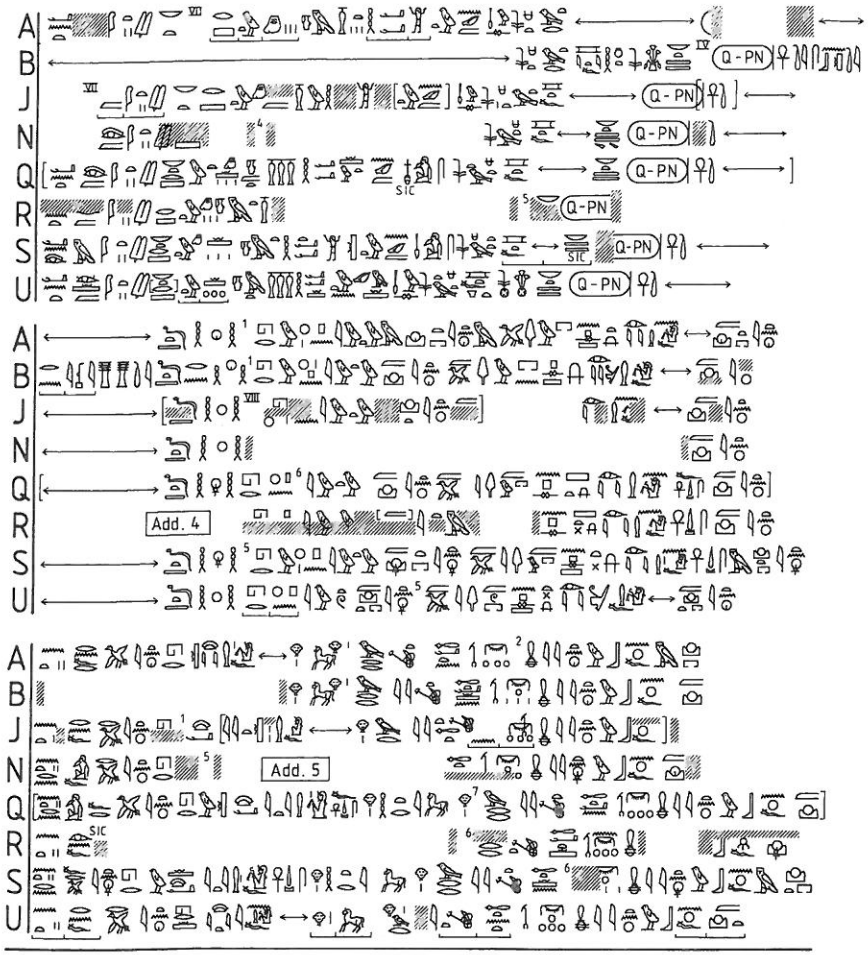
STELA S. Columns: i-iv. Signs face toward the right.

STELA U. Columns: i-iii. The signs face toward the left except at the top of col. i, where the hieroglyphs of the dateline are oriented toward the right.

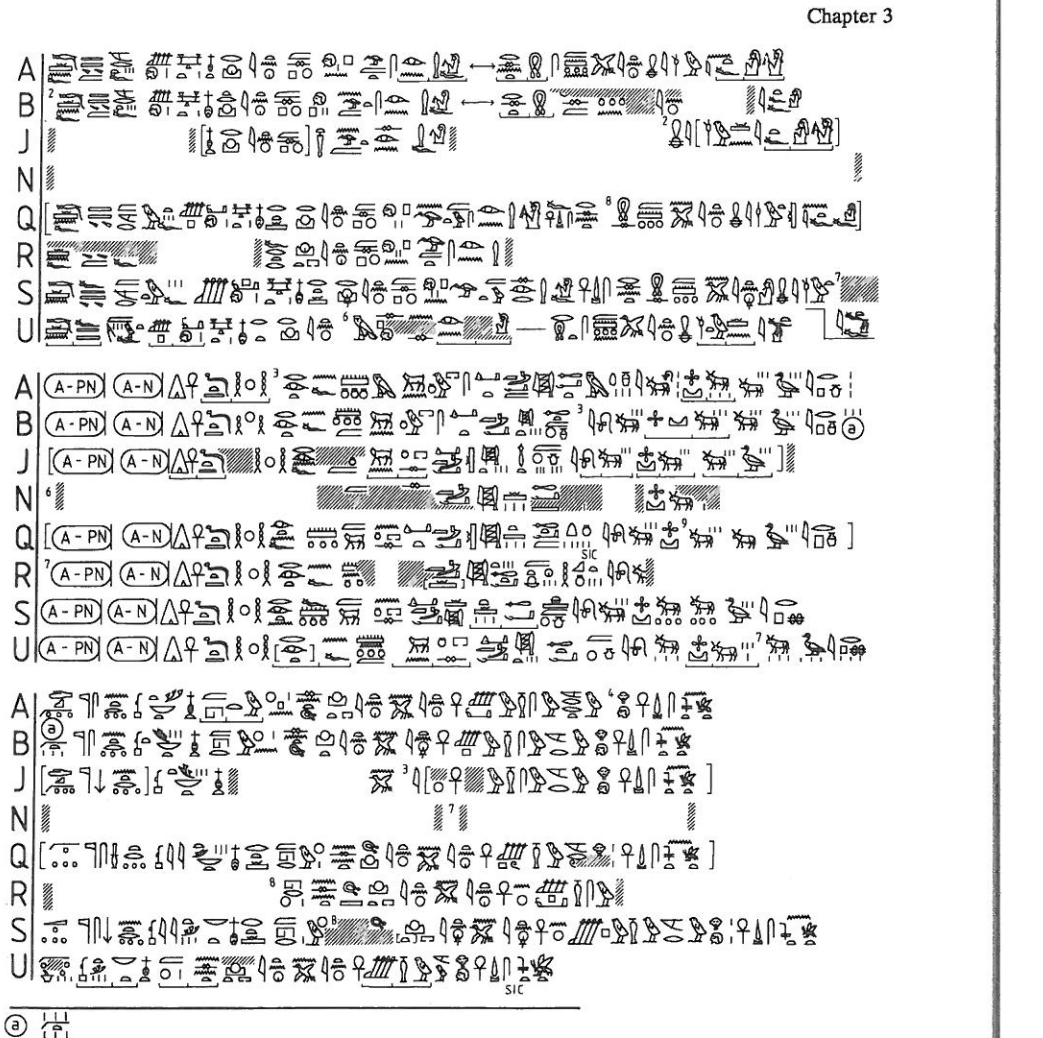
STELA V. No columns preserved. Signs in the surviving horizontal lines face toward the right.


A
B
J
N
Q
R
S
U
A-PN
A-N
Add.1
a-
-a
a.Signs reversed
K-PN
K-N
PN
Add. 2
Add. 1
(P:1)
Add. 2
(P:1)

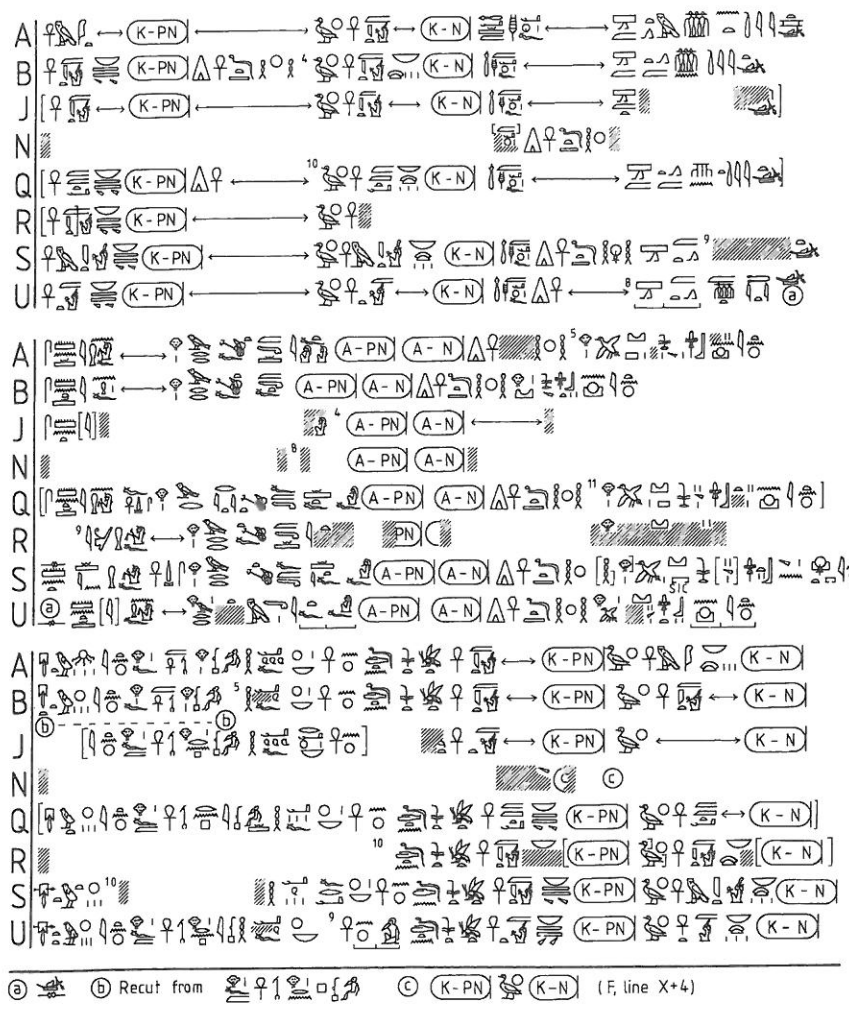

A
B
J
N
Q
R
S
U
Add. 3
K-PN
K-N
Add. 3
(P: 2)

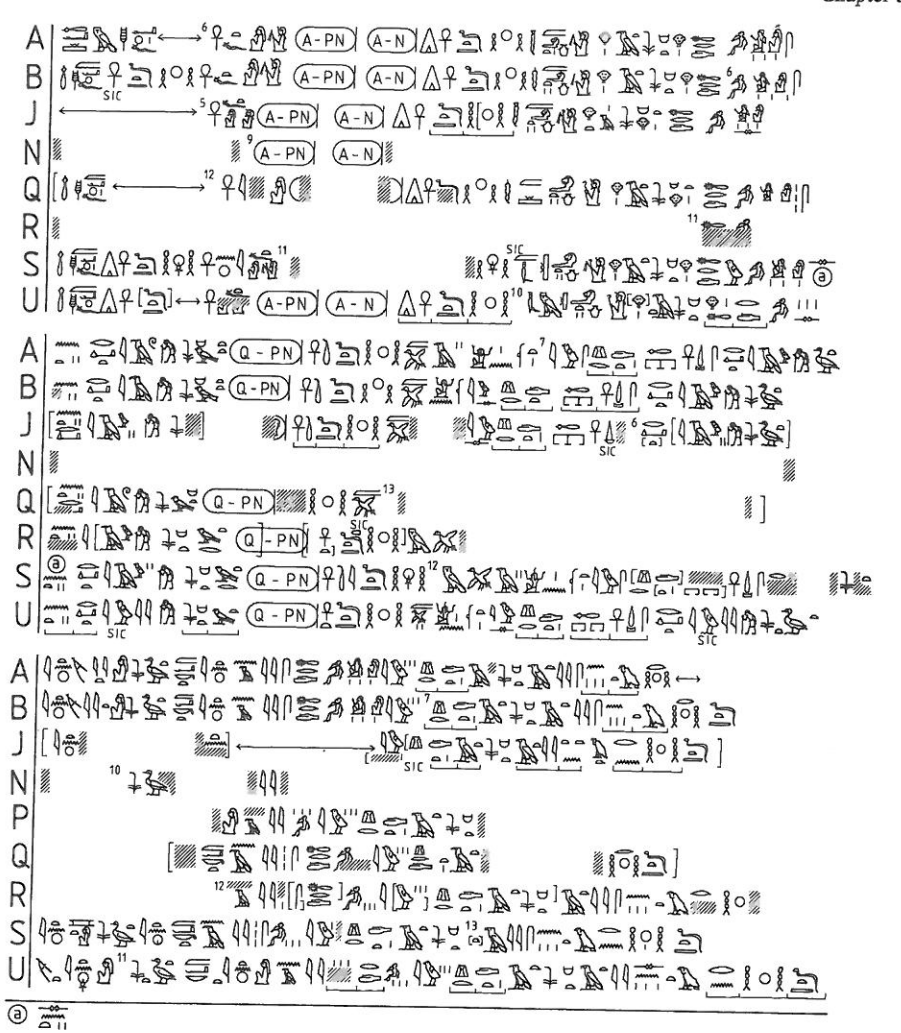


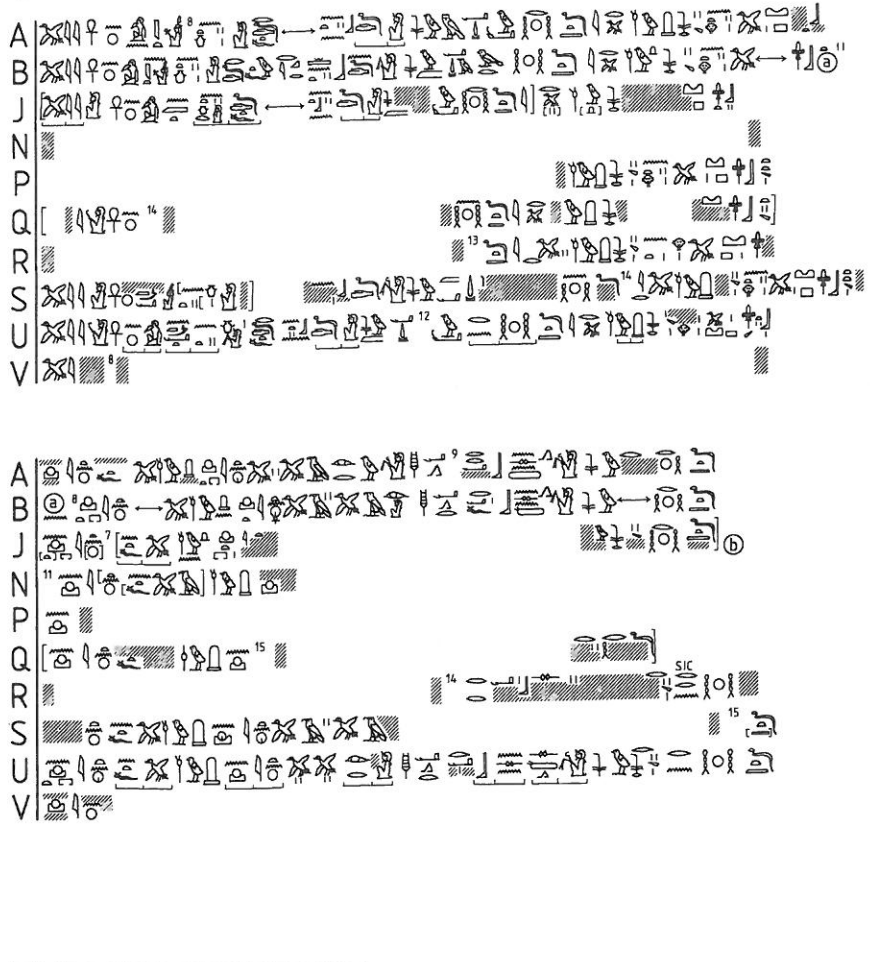
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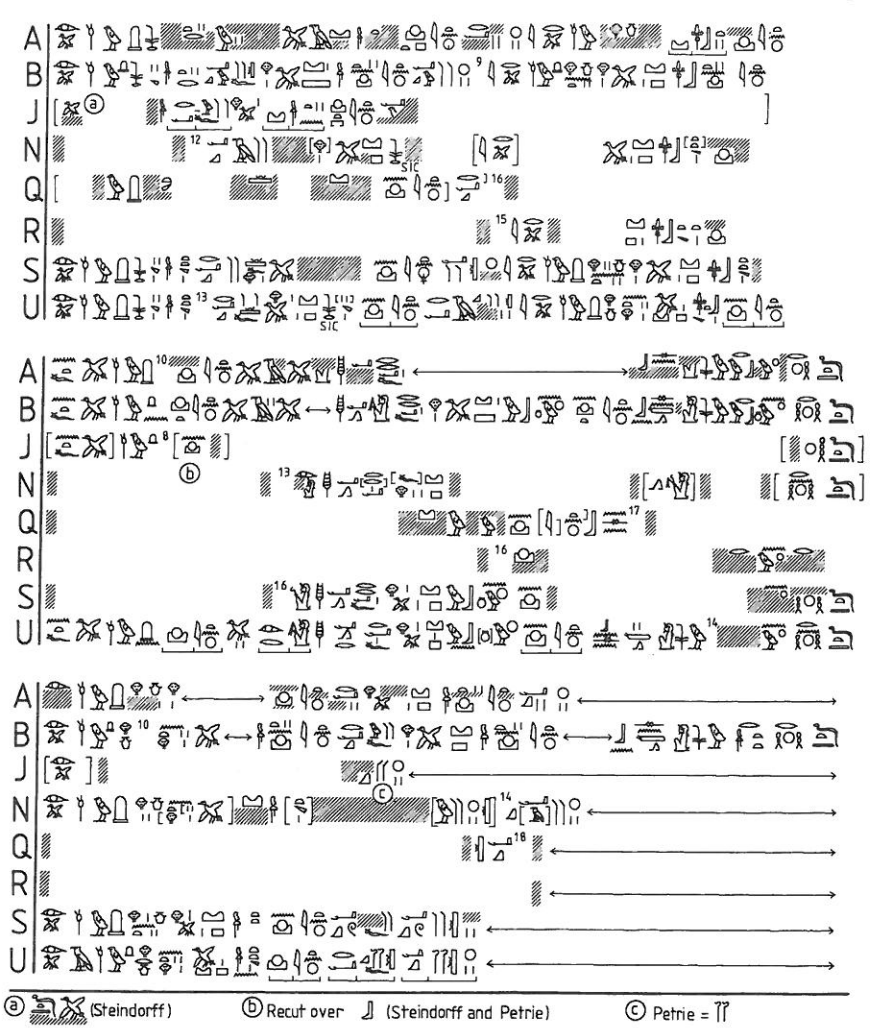
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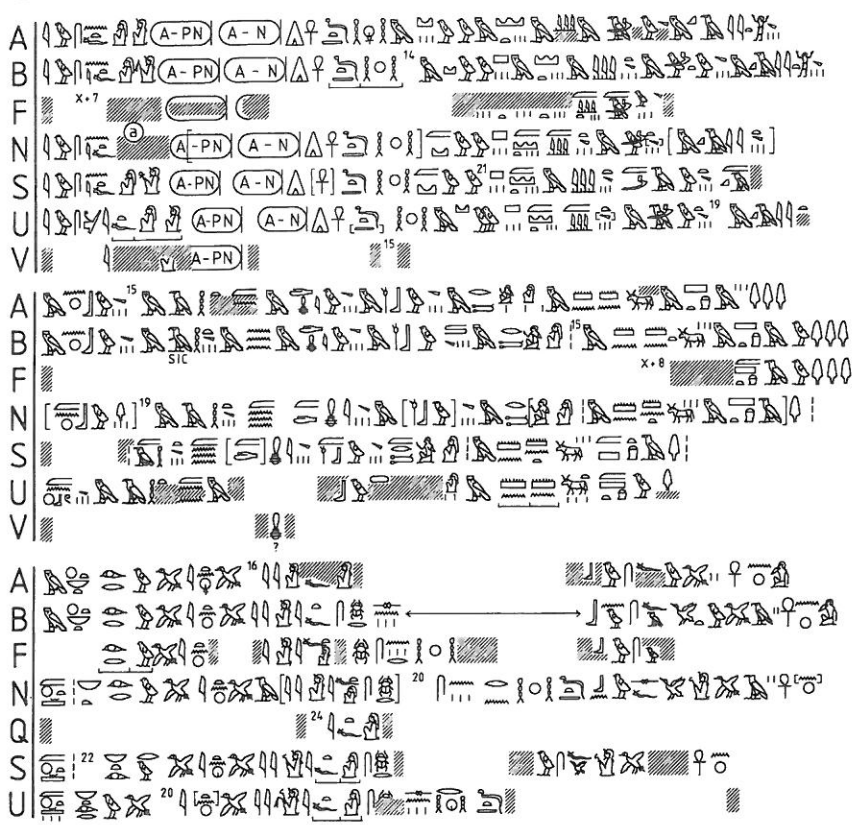




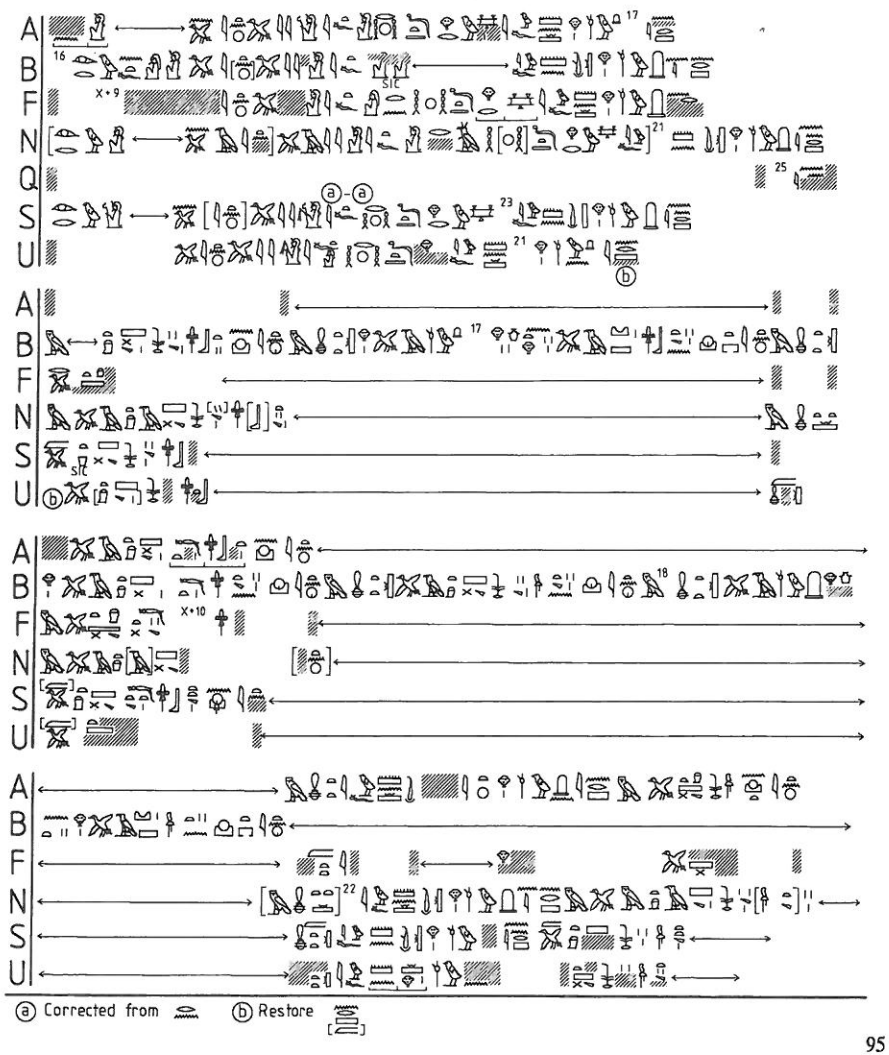
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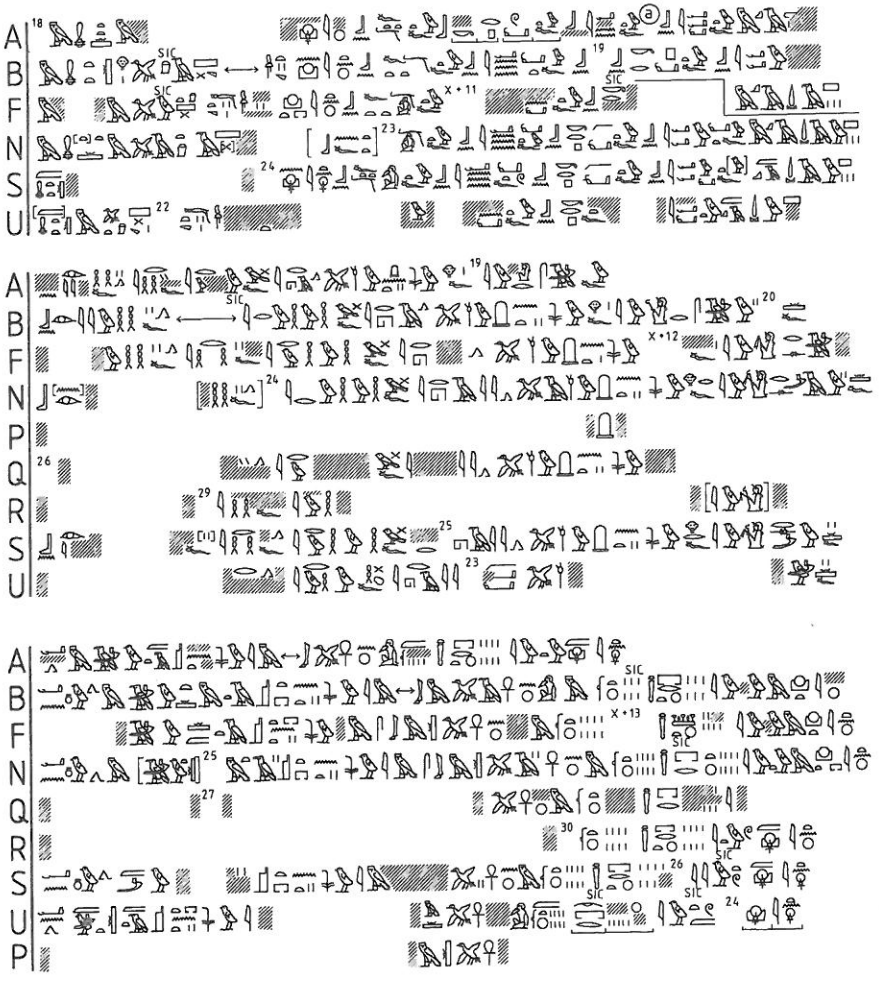
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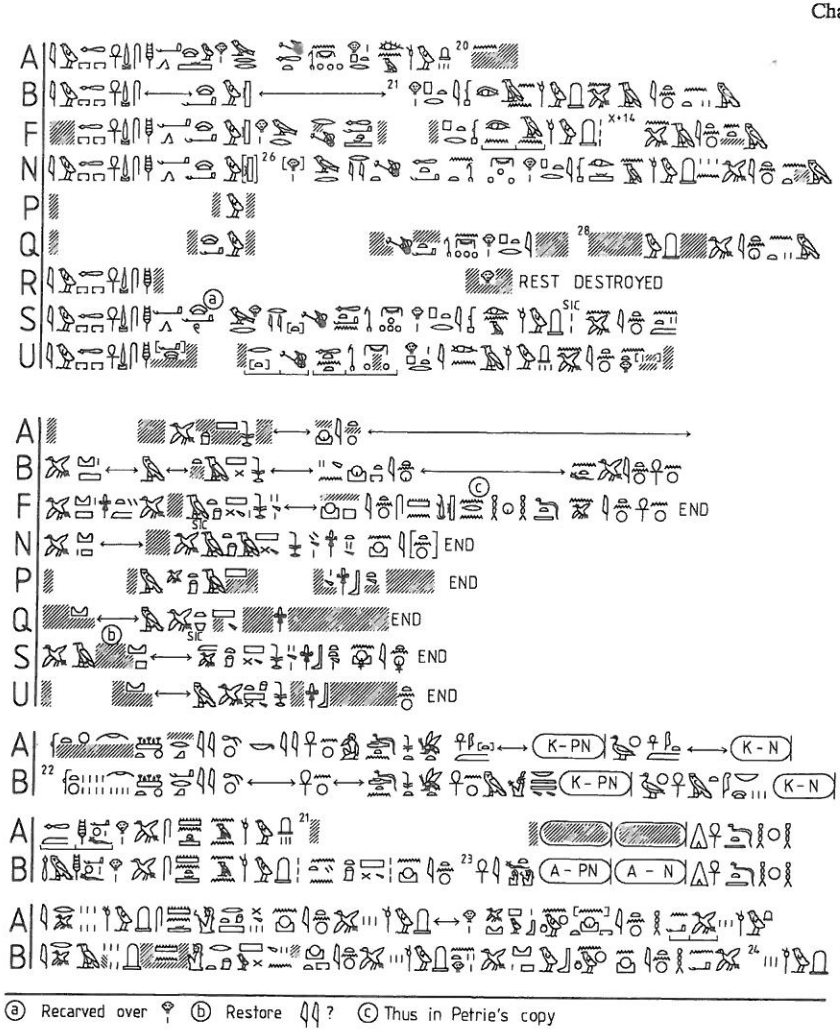


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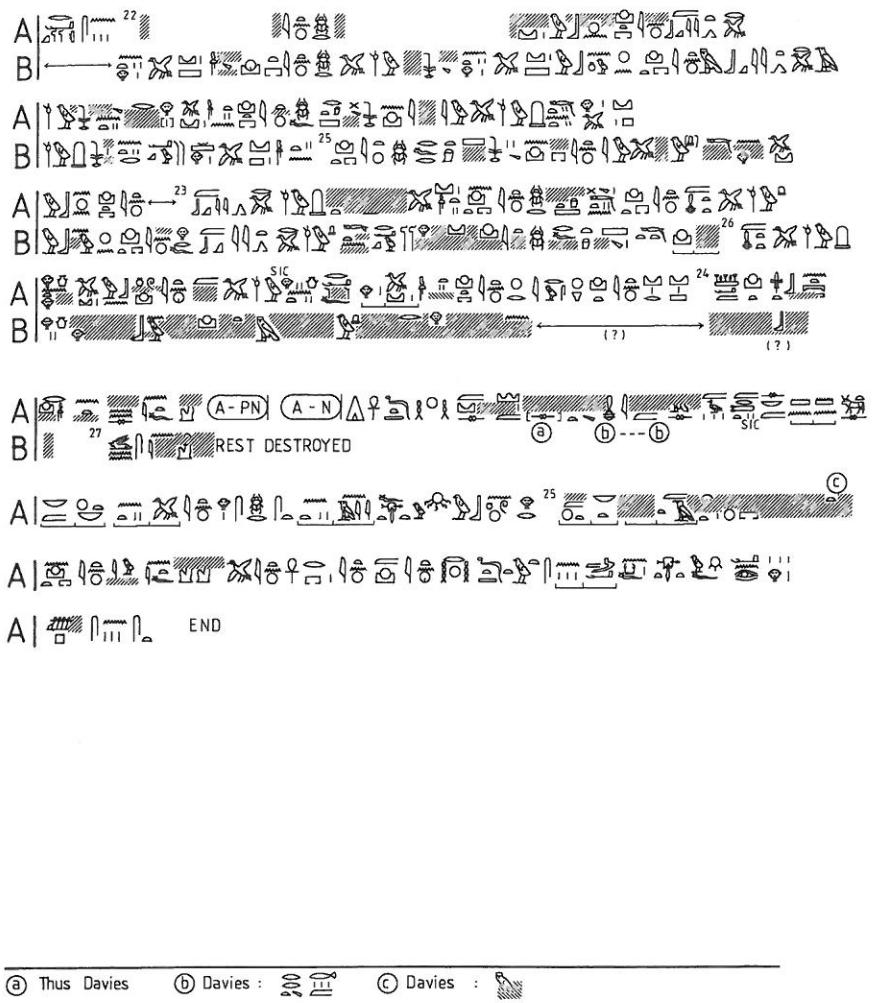


ⓐ Corrected from ⓑ Restore





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As we have already seen (in Chapter One), scholars had some familiarity with the contents of the Later Proclamation even before the first complete translation appeared in 1893. True, Nestor L'Hôte and Prisse had been defeated by the heavily damaged mid-section of Stela A, and Lloyd had missed his opportunity to record Stela S completely; but Prisse's copy of Stela U, even with its many gaps, was sufficiently full to give a reader some idea of the royal oath and of the clauses dealing with the distribution of boundary markers on both sides of the river. Much of the decree's second half remained unclear, however, and it is not surprising that Egyptologists contented themselves with mining the better preserved passages while refraining from a comprehensive treatment of the entire document.[12] A fuller understanding of the Later Proclamation had to wait until 1893, when Daressy's ground-breaking copy of the full text on Stelae R and S, supplemented by the "colophon" text on A, made its contents available for the first time.

Daressy's text edition was also the basis for the first complete English translation of the Later Proclamation, by Breasted.[13] Davies' publication of the boundary stelae in 1908 provided a fuller and more reliable text, along with a translation[14] that has inspired several other accounts of the document in popular works.[15] Two recent translations are based on the hand-copy of the text published in *Urkunden* IV.[16] Moreover, since the Later Proclamation is both complete and relatively concise, it has been chosen as a historical document representative of the period in at least one modern collection of Egyptian texts in translation.[17]

The same conventions used for the Earlier Proclamation, in Chapter 2, will be used in this translation. The line numbering will be that of Stela A, with the major variants from other copies indicated in the notes. We have not consistently commented on phrases that are found in some copies but omitted in others, since these differences may best be followed in the parallel text supplied above.

TRANSLATION

Main Text

I. Dateline and Titulary of the God

(A:i)Regnal year 6, IV Peret 13 (a). Live the Good God who is content with Ma'at, the lord of heaven, the lord of earth, the great living orb who illuminates the Two Banks. (A:ii)Live the (divine, royal) Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever (b) -- the great living orb who is in Jubilee (A:iii)within the Estate of the Orb in 'Horizon of the Orb'.

II. Titulary and Praises of the King

(And) live the Horus, mighty bull 'Whom the Orb Loves'; Two Ladies 'Great of Kingship in "Horizon of the Orb"'; (A:iv)Golden Horus 'Who lifts up the Name of the Orb'; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre, given life everlastingly; the Son of Re, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of Crowns, Akhenaten, great in his duration, given life everlastingly and forever.

The Good God, 'Sole One of Re', whose beauty the Orb created,
Truly benevolent (c) on behalf of the one who made him,
Who satisfies (A:v)Him with what pleases His Ka,
Who performs benefactions for the one who fashioned him (d),
Who administers the land for the one who placed him on his throne,
Who provisions His house unto everlastingness (e) with millions and myriads (A:vi)of things,
Who raises up the Orb and magnifies His name,
Who causes the land to belong to the one who made him:
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of the Two Lands,
Neferkheprure-Waenre; the Son of Re, who lives (A:vii)on Ma'at, the Lord of
Crowns, Akhenaten, great in his duration, given life everlastingly forever.

III. Titulary of the Queen

(And) the Princess, the great one in the palace, beautiful of face, fair in the double plumes, the mistress (A:viii)of joy who draws in praises; at the hearing of whose voice one exults; the Great King's Wife, his beloved, the Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt, the mistress of the Two Lands, Nefernefruaten-Nefertiti -- may she live, may she be healthy, may she be youthful, may she be enduring, everlastingly forever!

IV. Royal Appearance and Preliminary Rites at Akhet-Aten

(A:1)On this day, when One was in 'Horizon of the Orb' -- in the pavilion of matting (f) that his Majesty made in 'Horizon of the Orb', the name of which is 'The Orb is Content' -- his Majesty, L.P.H., appeared mounted, on the great chariot of electrum, (A:2)like the Orb when He rises in the horizon, having filled the Two Lands with His love.

Setting off (g) on a good road toward 'Horizon of the Orb' on the first occasion of finding it (h) that his Majesty, L.P.H., did in order to found it as a monument for the Orb, just as the Father, THE ATEN -- given life everlastingly and forever -- has commanded, (A:3)in order to make for himself a

memorial within it. Causing the presentation of a great offering, consisting of bread, beer, long- and short-horned cattle, (assorted) animals, fowl, wine, fruit, incense, (and) all sorts of good plants on this day of founding 'Horizon of the Orb' for the living orb, who receives praise and love (A:4) on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre, given life everlastingly; the Son of Re, who lives on Ma'at, Lord of Crowns, Akhenaten, great in his duration, given life everlastingly forever.

V. Journey to the Southeastern Crag of Akhet-Aten

Going upstream. Taking a position by his Majesty, L.P.H., on his chariot, in the presence of his Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever; (A:5)on the south-eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' -- the rays of the Orb being upon him, consisting of life and dominion, rejuvenating his limbs every day.

VI-A. Preamble to the Royal Oath

Oath spoken by (i) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre; the Son of Re, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of Crowns, Akhenaten, great in his duration, given life everlastingly forever:

(A:6)"As lives my Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever; <and as> my heart is gratified with the king's wife, together with her children -- which causes the king's wife, Nefernefruaten-Nefertiti (may she live everlastingly forever) to reach old age in these millions of years, (A:7)she being under the hand of Pharaoh, L.P.H.; <and which> causes the king's daughter Meritaten and the king's daughter Meketaten, her children, to reach old age, they being under the hand of the king's wife, their mother, forever and ever: (Here is) this genuine oath of mine, (A:8)which it is my wish to say and which I shall not say falsely forever and ever!

VI-B. Delimiting the Site of Akhet-Aten by means of the six principal Boundary Stelae

"As for the southern stela which is on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it is the stela of 'Horizon of the Orb', the one beside which I make my (A:9)stand. (j) I shall not go past it to the south forever and ever. Make the south-western stela across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' exactly!

"As for the intermediate stela on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it is the stela (A:10)of

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'Horizon of the Orb', the one beside which I make my stand on the mountain of the orient-(side) of 'Horizon of the Orb'. I shall not go past it to the orient forever and ever. Make the intermediate stela which is on the western (side) of 'Horizon of the Orb' across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' exactly! I shall not go past it to the west forever and ever (k).

"As for the north-eastern stela [A:11]of 'Horizon of the Orb' by which I make my stand, it is the northern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb'. I shall not go past it downstream forever and ever. Make the north-western stela which is on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' [A:12]across from it exactly!

VI-C. Dimensions of Akhet-Aten

"Now, as for 'Horizon of the Orb', starting from the southern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' as far as the northern stela, measured between stela to stela on the [A:13]eastern (var. western) mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' (l), it makes six iter, one and three- quarter rods and four cubits.

"Similarly, starting from the south-western stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' to the north- western stela upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it makes six iter, one and three-quarter rods and four cubits (m) similarly, exactly! (n)

VI-D. Dedication of the Territory to the God

"As to the interior of the four stelae, starting with the eastern (var. "western") mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' as far as the western (var. "eastern") mountain (o) of 'Horizon of the Orb', [A:14]it is 'Horizon of the Orb' in its entirety. (p) It belongs to my Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever -- consisting of hills, flatlands, marshes, "new lands", basin lands, fresh lands, [A:15]fields, waters, towns, banks, people, herds, groves (q) (and) everything that the Orb, [A:16]my father, has made and caused them to come into existence forever and ever.

VII-A. Guarantees to the Permanence of the Royal Oath

"I (r) shall not ignore this oath that I am making (s) for the Orb, my father (t) forever and ever, but it shall remain (u) upon a tablet [A:17]of stone at the south-eastern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the intermediate stela that is on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' (v).

"Similarly upon the north-eastern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the south-western (*var. north-western*) border of 'Horizon of the Orb' (w).

"Similarly the intermediate stela which is on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' (x).

"Similarly, it shall remain in 'Horizon of the Orb' on a tablet of stone at the south-western border of 'Horizon of the Orb' (y).

[A:18]"Similarly upon the north-western border of 'Horizon of the Orb' (z).

VII-B. Guarantees to the Permanence of the Tablets

"It (*i.e., the inscription*) shall not be obliterated. It shall not be washed (away). It shall not be hacked out. It shall not be (white)washed with plaster. It shall not go missing.

"If it does go missing, if it disappears (aa), if the tablet on which it is falls down, [A:19]I shall renew it again as a new thing in this place in which it is."

VIII. The Repetition of the Oath

This oath was repeated in regnal year eight, I Peret 8 (bb), when One was in 'Horizon of the Orb', (and) as Pharaoh, L.P.H., stood up and appeared (cc) on the great chariot of electrum, and beheld the stelae [A:20]of the Orb that are on the mountain on the south-eastern (dd) border of 'Horizon of the Orb' -- they being established forever and ever for the living orb (ee).

IX The Colophon (ff)

A. Preamble to the new Royal Oath

Regnal year 8, IV Akhet, last day. Another (gg) oath spoken by (hh) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives on Ma'at, the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre; the Son of Re, who lives on Ma'at, Lord of Crowns, Akhenaten, great in his duration, at the establishing of the stelae [A:21]that are on (?) (ii) the borders of 'Horizon of the Orb':

IX-B. Reaffirmation of the Borders defined by the Boundary Stelae

"As my Father, THE ATEN -- given life everlastingly forever -- lives: regarding the six stelae that I have established at the boundaries of 'Horizon of the Orb' -- the three stelae that are on the orient

mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', together with the three stelae across from them, (A:22)which are on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' -- let the southern stela that is on the orient mountain be opposite (jj) the southern stela that is across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Let it be the southern boundary of 'Horizon of the Orb', while the northern stela, which is on the orient mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' (kk), (A:23)is opposite the northern stela that is across from it, upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Let it be the northern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Similarly, the intermediate stela which is on the orient mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', opposite the intermediate stela that is across from it, upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

IX-C. Reaffirmation of the God's Ownership of Akhet-Aten

"Now, regarding the territorial extent (*literally* "breadth") of 'Horizon of the Orb', mountain to mountain, (A:24)starting from the eastern horizon of the sky [to] (ll) the western horizon of the [sky], it shall belong to my Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever -- consisting of its mountain(s) (and) desert lands, consisting of [its marshes and "new lands" (mm), as] well [as] (?) (nn) consisting of its sustenance (?) (oo), consisting of its birds, consisting of all its people, consisting of all its herds, consisting of everything which the Orb has brought into being and on which (pp) his rays shine, (A:25)consisting of everything [that is] in the [... (qq)] of 'Horizon of the Orb'. [They] belong to (rr) my Father, the living orb, to (be) the Estate of the Orb forever and ever. Their entirety is offered to His Ka, and his brilliant rays receive them." (ss)

COMMENTARY

(a.) The date, omitted on B, is nonetheless clear on A, Q, S and U.

(b.) Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, p. 49 translates "who gives life forever" here, arguing (ibid., p. 51, n. 1) that "given life" would be incongruous when applied to the god. Her point is cogent, but a mechanical transfer of this epithet from the normal kingly repertoire cannot be disproved here on strictly grammatical grounds.

(c.) Instead of taking both words as adjectives (which is a possible understanding adopted, among others, by Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, p. 49), we translate *m3ᶜ* as an adverb qualifying the adjectival phrase *3ḫ-ib*: see *Wb*. II 13.13 (*jqr m3ᶜ*), 14 (*jm3ḫw m3ᶜ*), 21 (*mḥ-jb m3ᶜ*)

(d.) This phrase, out of order in A, occurs in this position in the other versions.

(e.) Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, p. 49 translates "his house of eternity" -- but did the Orb have a *pr n dt*? It seems more logical to render *pr* separately, in the sense of "estate" (cf. *pr-Jmn*), and to treat *n* as a preposition, used temporally (Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 164.8), rather than in an indirect genitive construction (ibid., section 86-B), even though the latter is grammatically possible.

(f.) The etymology of *pśšt* defines this term by its function, i.e., nothing more specific than "divider": hence the translation "tent of apartments (?)" in D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, The Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), p. 142. Reeds are sometimes specified as the material, hence "matting" as the alternative rendering. A third option, "carpeting" (see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 95), is no more than a translator's expedient to distinguish this term from *qn*, "mat", with which it is associated in two instances (Griffith, *P. Kahun*, pl. xxx.44 and p. 105; Gardiner, *Admonitions*, pp. 73-4, at 10, 5). Akhenaten's temporary residence might very well have been a "tent of (reed) matting" (although probably not "carpeted tent", as in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II 49): reeds have a long history as building materials in Egypt, from the "zeriba" sunshades of matting used by Egyptian peasants today all the way back to the early predynastic period (see M. A. Hoffman in *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis*, Egyptian Studies Association Publication 1 [Oxford, 1982], pp. 137-138; idem, "A Rectangular Amratian House from Hierakonpolis and its Significance for Predynastic Research," *JNES* 39 [1980]:119-137). Moreover, "tent" is only an approximation of what *jm3w* might mean here (cf. the more substantial structures in *Wb*. I 81.6, 7); and it is not clear in this case whether the "dividers" formed the building's outer walls or separated different parts inside it -- or both. We have thus preferred the conventional translation to "subdivided pavilion" or similar.

(g.) The opening date of the "Earlier Proclamation" on Stela K (see above) confirms the supposition of Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, p. 49 with n. 3 (p. 51), who argued that this must refer to the first anniversary of the founding of Akhet-Aten.

(h.) Here, as in comparable passages of the "Earlier Proclamation", the infinitival "Daybook" construction is employed to describe the king's various actions in the passage (A:2-5) that precedes the royal oath (see note o in the commentary *ad loc.*).

(i.) The exigencies of English usage require this distortion of the original wording, which of course is "oath which the king, etc. spoke".

(j.) It is the third paragraph in this series, dealing with the northeastern stelae (below, at A:11), that establishes the model of this sentence (*=ntf X p3y*). This is neither authentically Middle nor Late Egyptian, but a bastard form native to the artificial language of royal texts. The *p3y* is grammatically

unnecessary, as Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, section 460, already saw (note that U:13 omits it altogether), and we have chosen to render it by adding emphasis in our translation. An alternative division of this passage in the first two paragraphs could yield: "it is the stela of Akhet-Aten; it is the one by which I make my stand," etc (*p3y p3 jrj.j ꜥḥꜥ.j*): see S. I Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), pp. 67-70; J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1975), p. 533 (=Type X). This solution, while more in line with Late Egyptian usage, requires us to assume that the third paragraph was botched (with its different sentences out of order, and the aberrant *ntf X p3y* left in isolation) -- not impossible, but hardly amounting to proof.

(k.) The translation of the last two sentences reflects the version in B. In other copies, the first sentence is more compact and the second is omitted.

(l.) The text of A and B have "west" here, with "east" being used on those tablets which are on the east bank.

(m.) This sentence is omitted on the west bank tablets (A and B).

(n.) On A and B these words are tacked onto the end of the previous sentence.

(o.) This reversal occurs only on B, while A follows the version of the text found in the tablets of the east bank.

(p.) Among the earlier stelae, only N is correct here: ". . . to (*r*) the western mountain -- it is Akhet-Aten in its entirety." U supplied an otiose *n* (now lost) above *3ḫt-jtn*, and in this it was followed by B (which otherwise uses the earlier draft of this passage). Stela A expands the text, substituting *nfryt r* for the simple preposition and eliminating any further obscurity by repeating the city's name following the indirect genitive *n 3ḫt-jtn*, thus separating the two clauses.

(q.) For *šṯ3w*, "groves", see P. Vernus, "Le mot *šṯ3w*, 'branchages, bosquets, bois'," *RdE* 29 (1977):179-93. Perhaps the determinative of this word influenced the use of the tree-determinative for *nḫbw* in Stela N (instead of the customary sand-wedge). For *nḫbw* as "irrigation basin land" see ibid., p. 180, n. 10 with references. For *wḏbw* as a type of land, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I 9*; and also the comments of Hans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, Aegyptologische Abhandlungen 14 (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 102.

(r.) The original wording is *bn wsf:j*, as on the eastern tablets. Over on the west bank, *bn wsf.tw* ("One shall not ignore") is preferred on A, B and F.

(s.) The copy on A has *[jrj].n.j*, while on B, N and S (the only copies preserved here) there is the more usual relative form, *jrw:j* (cf. above, at A:9-11, A:15).

(t.) B inserts an otiose *n jt.j* -- doubtless a mechanical intrusion from the more customary, classic phraseology.

(u.) Consonance of tenses requires that *jw:f mn* be understood as a third future, written without r (which is not unusual: see Černý-Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 249 [=section 17.1.4]).

(v.) This sentence is found only on B.

(w.) This sentence is only in the copies on B and F: note that each of these versions refers to the tablet at the opposite end of the west bank (thus "northwest" on Stela F, but "southwest" on B).

(x.) This clause is found only on B.

(y.) B omits all of this passage; and the phrase "in Akhet-Aten" occurs only in the version on A.

(z.) B has "on the western border" here.

(aa.) For *ḥḥy* in the sense of "be looked for = missing", see *Wb.* III 151.9-10 (related to *ḥḥ*, "go" in *ibid.*, p. 152.5?). Cf. Sandman, *Texts*, pp. 16:13-14, 169:16; and see J. Osing's review of Virginia L. Davis' *The Syntax of the Negative Particles Bw and Bn in Late Egyptian*, in *Welt des Orients 9* (1977-78):149, with n. 9, which suggests that *ḥḥy* and *wḥwḥ* (*Wb.* III 351.9) are derived from the same root.

(bb.) The month and day are omitted on B. Petrie's copy of F has I *3ḫt* 8, which (given the dissimilarity in the writings of *3ḫt* and *prt*) is probably not miscopied, but reflects a variant (if not a mistake) in the original.

(cc.) B omits *ꜥḥꜥ*.

(dd.) The western stelae (B, F, and perhaps A) all have "southern" here.

(ee.) This last clause is only transmitted fully on F. A omits it, and on B there is only "for his father, the living orb."

(ff.) Only given on A and B.

(gg.) *Ky* occurs only on A.

(hh.) See n. i above.

(ii.) Perhaps *n* is written here for *m*, reflecting contemporary pronunciation: see F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El-Amarna* (Paris, 1930), p. 8 for other examples of their interchangeability. Otherwise, translate "which belong to the borders of Akhet-Aten."

(jj.) Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxiii copied *m-ḫ3yt r* here, but on both tablets, and in both passages where this expression occurs, we saw *m-bqyt r* instead. This expression is otherwise unknown to us, and even the reading is uncertain (it might derive from an earlier **m-b3qyt*: see *Wb*. I 423-424 for this spelling change in other words). In context the sense is clear enough: perhaps it is related to *bq r* (*ibid*., p. 479.11; cf. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I 164, "to be rebellious") and is to be understood in the sense of "in opposition to" its object.

(kk.) The resumptive *ḥr.f* in B is otiose -- perhaps confused with the construction expected with a phrase such as **p3 ḏw wbnw nty 3ḫt-jtn ḥr.f* (Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 200.2).

(ll.) The trace of the right end of the sign under *pt* in A could belong to *š3ᶜ-r* (see Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 179.3), balancing *š3ᶜ-m* in the previous clause.

(mm.) Restoring *sḫwt* and *m3ww* from A-14 above (thus also Helck in *Urk*. IV, 1990.1). The bolt-*s* below [*sḫwt*], seen by Davies, *El-Amarna*, pl. xxxiii, is missing today.

(nn.) For the traces Davies saw, see ibid., pl. xxxiii. All that exists today are pits that convey, at best, the outlines of possible signs. In any case, it appears that the list diverges here from the parallel at A:14-15. Our impression *in situ* was that *mj* (if that is what it is) extended to the full height of the group. If so, one could restore before the *m* at the bottom of the next group a compound preposition such as *mj-[ḫt]* (*Wb*. II.37.9). Given the vague traces, perhaps read *[d]mj[w]*, "villages" here.

(oo.) Only the barest traces of the bird's tail and legs survive above the bolt-*s*. The shape of the tail, while low for *ḏf3w*, does not completely exclude this restoration.

(pp.) Restore bolt-*s* above *m ḥt nbt* at the beginning of line 25.

(qq.) Restore *nty* above *m t3*. In the group that follows, the rounding top of the upper sign is

centered between the *t* and the stroke below. Perhaps restore *3ḫt [nt] Rᶜ*, as an expression for the local treasury (?): cf. *3ḫt nt nḥḥ* for a temple (*Wb*. I 17) or *3ḫt nt ḏᶜm* (P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* I [Cairo, 1977], p. 143, note j). In other (mostly later) contexts, the "horizon (*var.* eye, healthy eye) of Re" is used to describe Thebes or even Egypt as a whole: see R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, Analecta Orientalia 37 (Rome, 1958), p. 50, note d; M.-L. Ryhiner, "Un fragment hiéroglyphique trouvé à Leptis Magna," *RdE* 30 (1978):174 (c).

(rr.) Reading *jw.[s]* or *jw.[w] n jt.(j)*.

(ss.) In translating *m3ᶜ* as the verb "to offer" we follow Davies, *El-Amarna* V 34, rather than other translators who take it as an adverb, "truly": e.g., "leur condition véritable" (Daressy, *Recueil de Travaux* 15 (1893):62); or "sie sind wahrhaft schön" (Helck, *Urk. IV Übersetzung*, p. 347). The absence of a determinative, which creates this ambiguity, is common enough for both words; and context is not decisive, either here or elsewhere (compare Sandman, *Texts* 59:16-17: "every land is festive at his appearance," *twt.sn m3ᶜ n k3.f*). The pseudo-verbal construction, however, seems less forced here than its alternatives. For *sn-st* as an otiose spelling of the third-person plural suffix, cf. Erman, *NG*, sections 78 (*s-sn, s-sw-sn*) and 97 (*sw-st, sw-sn*).

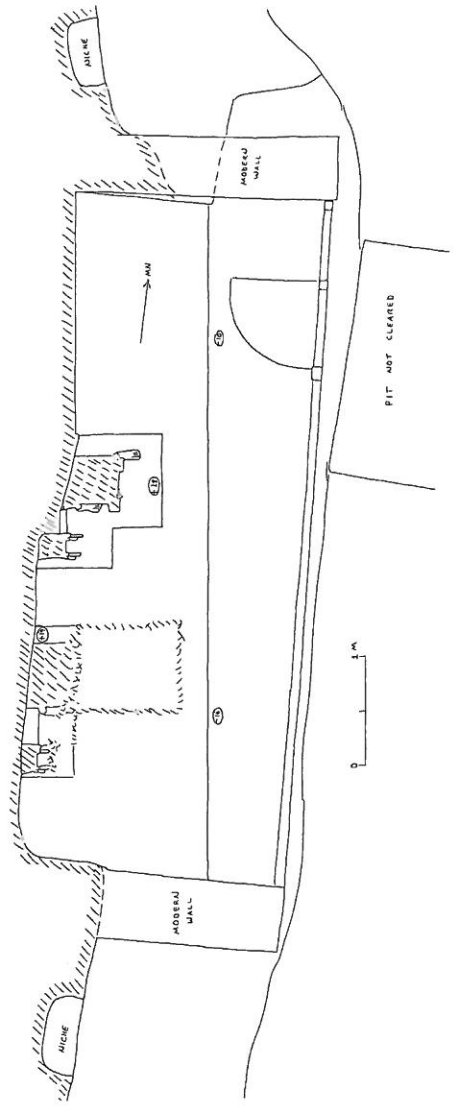
CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE BOUNDARY STELAE

The architectural descriptions of the boundary stelae are arranged alphabetically according to the letter assigned to each stela; a discussion of the stylistic and chronological order of the stelae follows the description. For the relevant bibliography concerning each stela, see the appropriate entries in chapters two and three.

Stela A (Pls. 17-18)

The emplacement of Stela A, the northernmost stela on the west bank, lies in a shallow rock shelter whose floor is approximately 12 meters below the top of a low limestone cliff. At present, a talus slope begins at this general level, and this may have been so at the time the stela was made. Remains of an ancient "road" leading to the stela can still be seen, but it is fast deteriorating. A pair of modern walls project out on either side of the emplacement, and they carry a roof for protection. Traces for the installation of an iron fence (since removed) are also visible. The overall width of the emplacement is 6.25 m, and the depth of the floor is 1.25 m from the low (10 cm) step at its front to the face of the stela itself. The side walls of this emplacement are slightly oblique. At the extreme left, the depth of the emplacement increases to 1.75 m. The stela itself fills 2 m if the right rear wall of the emplacement, and it shows no apparent batter. Two statue groups are found to its left. Although weathered and partly covered by the modern roof, it can still be seen that the ancient ceiling varied in height. The right half was approximately 4.5 m above floor level, while the left half (primarily over the two statue groups) was 3.2 m above floor level. In front of the emplacement and obliquely aligned with the stela was a rectangular pit of undetermined depth filled with wind-blown sand. Given the limits of the concession, the pit was not cleared, but it would seem to be contemporary with the emplacement. Access to the stela emplacement was via a steep slope to the left of this pit. On the right, about 1 m north of the emplacement is a round-topped niche, 62 x 25 x 120 cm; its base is only 1.8 m above floor level. The stone in front of the niches was not quarried away. Presumably, both these niches once held stelae contemporary with the emplacement, but no traces remain of them.[1]



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA A

The two statues to the left of Stela A are cut from the rock of the cliff. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of the king is to the right, nearest the stela, and those of the two princesses are to the left, farthest away. In all cases the figures stand with left foot (on the viewer's right) forward. The statues are carved in typical Amarna fashion with prominent breasts and buttocks and with clavicles on the chest well indicated.

The statue group closet to Stela A occupies the center of the emplacement. It rests on a high plinth, 28 cm above floor level. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall, narrow rectangular pillars inscribed with the names of the Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti. (Statues in this attitude are hereafter designated Type I.) In both texts, the hieroglyphs face outward from the center of the statue group. The pillars themselves are canted outward at the top. Blank planes of stone fill the space between the pillars held by the couple, and Nefertiti's left foot is visible projecting out from below it. Similarly, vertical planes of stone connect these pillars back to the bodies of the royal couple. Carved on the south (left-hand) side of the plane extending to the queen's figure are the images and names of three princesses, from top to bottom, Ankhesenaten, Meketaten, and Meritaten. Each princess is shown shaking a sistrum and is identified by a common formula: "the king's daughter of his body, who he loves, *name*, born of the great king's wife Nefertiti, living forever and ever." The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), and he wears a pleated kilt to above the knee, with a wide belt running from below the belly to the mid-part of the back. The figure of Nefertiti once wore the flat crown (now lost), and she is dressed in a pleated linen dress, with ties and ribbons. A pair of cartouches with the prenomen and nomen of the Aten is carved on the chest of the king, and two pairs of such cartouches are on his breast. Similarly, tow pairs of cartouches of the Aten are found on the queen's breast, and another pair, between the ties of her dress. All the feet are shown bare. Figures of two princesses stand to the left of the couple. The right-hand princess rests her left hand on the thigh of the queen, and her right arm goes around her sister. The left-hand princess puts her left arm around her sister, and her hand is visible behind her sister's back. Both of the princesses are shown without clothing. The names of the two princesses, Meritaten (to the right) and Meketaten (at left), are carved on the rear wall of the emplacement to the left of the back pillar of the queen's statue. The same naming formula is used, with the addition of "whom he loves, the lady of the Two Lands," to Nefertiti's titles.

In the right-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 174 cm above the plinth and his shoulder is 141 cm above it. The head of the queen is 170 cm above, and her shoulder is 137 cm above. The

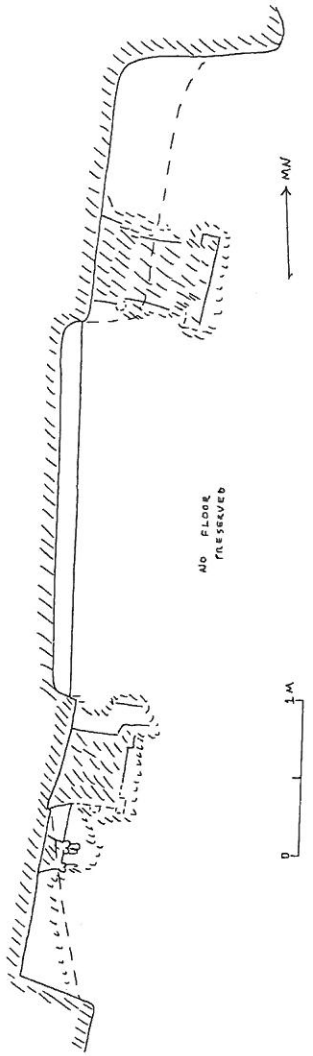
shoulder of the right-hand princess is 54 cm above, and that of the left-hand princess is above 50 cm above.

The statue group farthest away from Stela A is also on a high plinth, but only 17-19 cm high at the rear, and its front is lost. In this part of the emplacement, the floor slopes up, so that the tops of the two plinths are approximately level. The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist to support an object now missing, probably one of two pairs of cartouches of the Aten with names of the king and queen below. (Statues in this attitude are hereafter designated Type II.) The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (since lost), and he wears a pleated kilt to above the knee, with a wide belt running from below the belly to the mid-part of the back. The figure of Nefertiti once wore the flat crown (now lost), and she is dressed in a pleated linen dress, with a tie and ribbon down the leg. Her right shoulder (viewer's left) is bare, and the selvage of her garment is indicated. A pair of cartouches belonging to the Aten is carved upon the right arm of the king, and another pair appears on his upper belly. Similarly, a pair of cartouches is found on the queen's right arm. The feet of the king are lost, and those of the queen are shown bare. The two princesses stand to the left of the couple. The right-hand princess rests her left hand on the thigh of the queen, and her right hand embraces her sister. The left-hand princess puts her left arm around her sister as well. Both princesses are shown without clothing. The names of the two princesses, again Meritaten (to the right) and Meketaten (at left), appear on the side of the back pillar of the queen's statue. The naming formula is the same as that used in the texts on the side of the Type I statue.

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 184 cm above the plinth, and his shoulder is 142 cm above. The top of the head of the queen is 177 cm above, and her shoulder is 137 cm above. The shoulder of the right-hand princess is 55 cm above, and that of the left-hand princess is about 49 cm above.

Stela B (Pls. 19-20)

The emplacement of Stela B, the second stela from the north on the west bank, lies in a fairly deep natural rock shelter, midway up a high cliff reached via a steep ascent. No remains of any ancient "road" leading to the stela are visible. The floor of the emplacement is severely eroded, and the plan can be reconstructed only tentatively. The overall width of the emplacement is 6 m, and the depth of the missing floor should be estimated at more than 1.5 m in front of the stela. The side walls of the emplacement open outward slightly, and the right-hand wall is deeper than the left. The stela itself fills a slight recess,



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA B

2.46 m broad in the center of the emplacement, and its batter is 3:100. Statue groups are to either side of the stela. The ancient ceiling varied in height, being slightly higher over the stela itself. The ceiling stands 3.06 m above the top of the plinth of the left-hand statue. Since the top of the plinth is below the theoretical end of the stela text, it is not possible to establish its relationship to the floor. While the distance from floor to ceiling cannot be fixed exactly, it is unlikely to have been more than 3.34 m. The statue pairs flanking the stela are oriented obliquely towards the left with respect to the stela.

The two statue groups on either side of the stela are cut from the rock of the cliff. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of the king is nearest the stela, and those of the princesses are farthest away. In all cases, the figures stand with left foot forward. The statues are carved in typical Amarna style with prominent breasts and buttocks and with clavicles on the chest well indicated.

The statue group to the left of stela B belongs to Type I. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall, narrow rectangular pillars, but no fragments of their texts survive. The pillars themselves are canted outward at the top, and vertical planes of stone connect the two pillars to each other and to the bodies of the king and queen. Again, carved on the south (left-hand) side of the plane joining the pillar to the figure of Nefertiti were images and names of three princesses, but only part of that of the middle princess, probably Meketaten, survives. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), and he wears a pleated kilt to above the knee, with a wide belt running from below the belly to the mid-part of the back. The figure of Nefertiti once wore the flat crown (now lost), and she is dressed in a pleated linen dress with ties and ribbons. A pair of cartouches of the Aten appears on the belly of the king with at least one o ther pair on his left breast. The figure of the queen is badly damaged due to removal of the reliefs showing the princesses. The one surviving foot from the group seems to be bare. The two princesses stand to the left of the couple. The right-hand princess rests her left hand on the thigh of the queen, and her right arm goes around her sister. The left-hand princess puts her left arm around her sister. Both princesses are shown without clothes. The names of the two princesses, Meritaten (to the right) and Meketaten (at left), are carved upon the side of the back pillar of the statue of the queen. The naming formula reads "the king's daughter of his body whom he loves, *name*, born of the great king's wife, whom he loves, the lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, living forever and ever."

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 190 cm above the plinth, and his shoulder is 153 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 183 cm above, and her shoulder is 150 cm above. The shoulder of the right-hand princess is 56 cm above, and that of the left-hand princess is about 53 cm above.

The statue to the right of Stela B belongs to Type II, although the order of the figures is reversed with respect to Stela A. The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten, those held by the king being higher than those held by the queen. The few surviving traces at the top show that the hieroglyphs of both pairs of cartouches faced toward the stela. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), and he wears a pleated kilt to above the knee, with a wide belt running from below the belly to the mid-part of the back. The figure of the queen once wore the flat crown (now lost), and she is dressed in a pleated linen dress with a tie and ribbon down the leg. Her right (viewer's left) shoulder is bare, and the selvage of her garment is indicated. Pairs of cartouches of the Aten appear on the upper belly, left and right breasts and left upper arm of the king and on the upper belly, both breasts and right arm of the queen. The feet do not survive. A spur of rock on the thigh of the queen is the only indication that there were once statues of princesses.

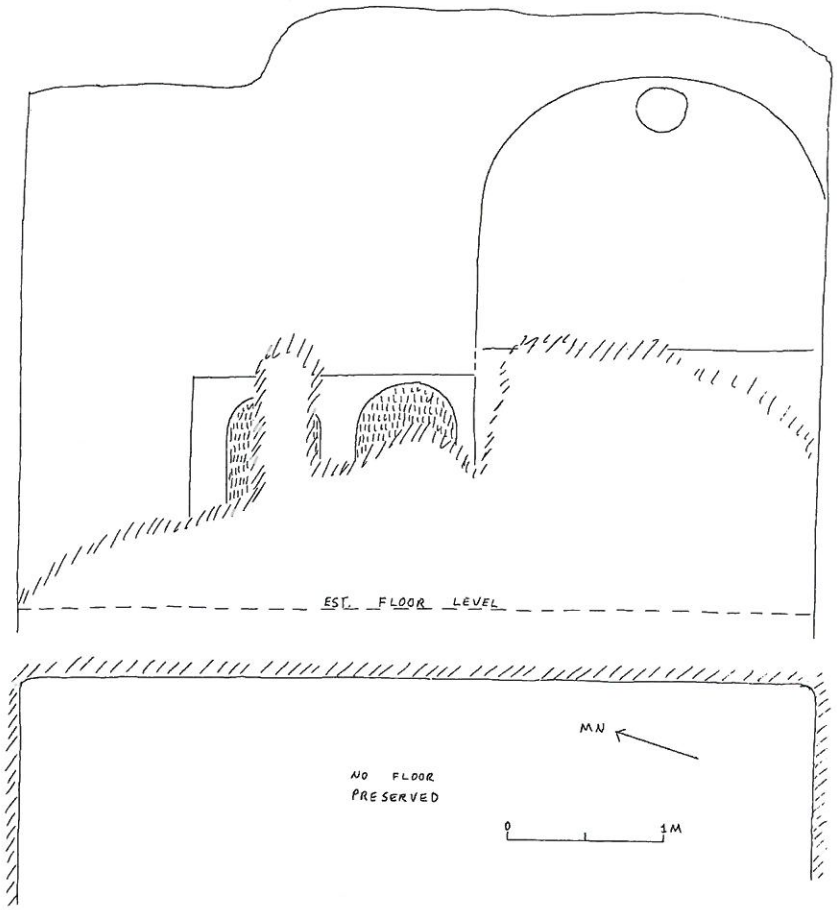
Since the top of the plinth of the right-hand group does not survive, the height of the statues can only be approximated. The top of the head of the king would have been about 187 cm above the plinth, and his shoulder 154 cm above. That of the queen would have been about 183 cm above, and her shoulder 141 cm above.

Stela F (Pl. 21A)

Since it is apparent that Stela F, the southernmost stela on the west bank, and its emplacement no longer survive, nor is there any record of the emplacement, it can only be noted that a broad ancient "road," some 75-80 m in width leads towards its former site.

Stela J (Pl. 21B)

The emplacement of Stela J, the southernmost stela in the cliffs along the east bank of the Nile, lies fairly high up, north of the first deep wadi to cut back into the cliffs. A path at the level of the stela connects it to its neighbors to the north, but there is no sign of any ancient "road." The overall width of the emplacement is 5.2 m, and the north (left-hand) wall was dressed for 3.8 m, thus giving the maximum depth of the floor. This great depth of the cutting is apparently due to the relatively shallow slope of the



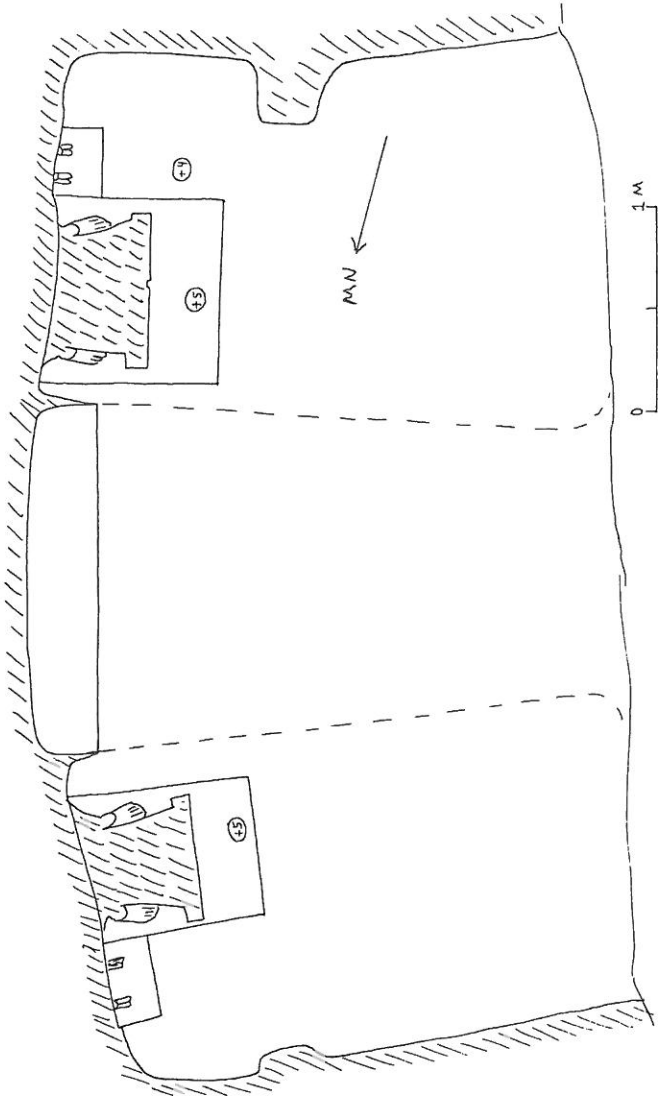
EMPLACEMENT OF STELA J
ELEVATION AND PLAN

cliff at this point. The entire floor of the emplacement has disappeared, breaking into shallow cavities in the mountain below. The rear wall of the emplacement was completely smoothed down so that there was no overhang to serve as a ceiling. The stela itself fills 2.25 m of the right rear wall of the emplacement. Immediately to the left of the stela is a shallow recess about 1 cm deep and well smoothed. The top of this recess aligns with the base of line 3 of the stela. Within the recess are two rough arched surfaces which project out slightly from the back ground, giving the impression of round-topped stelae. The one on the right next to the stela is 70 cm broad, and the one on the left is 65 cm broad. Presumably these two surfaces mark the positions of group statues fashioned separately, of which no part remains. The actual floor of the emplacement does not exist. On the north wall, the dress surface extends down to a level 1.55 m below the top of the shallow recess, and this then is the highest possible position of the floor. If we assume a minimum number of 18 horizontal lines for the text of Stela J, this position is possible. If the stela were a bit longer, the original floor level might have been 20-25 cm lower.

Stela K (Pl. 22)

The emplacement of Stela K is located a short distance north of Stela J at roughly the same level, high up on the cliff face. It sits on the cliffside path, and there is no ancient "road" associated with the emplacement. The overall width of the stela emplacement is 4.5 m, and the depth from the stela to the edge of the cliff is 2.5 m. About 1 m from each corner on the side walls is a rough projection which defines an inner area of the emplacement. The whole construction is only roughly rectangular. In the center of the emplacement is the stela itself, filling 1.72 m at its base, while its upper part widens to 1.84 m. A statue group is to be found on either side of the stela.[2] The upper parts of the statues and the middle of the stela and overhanging rock adjacent are all badly eroded. It is possible that rock overhangs once connected the edge of the stela to each of the projections on the side walls, providing a ceiling for the statues some 1.85 cm above the floor.

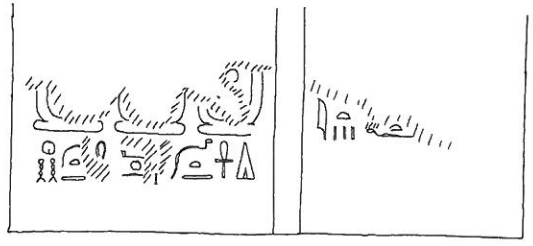
The statue groups on either side of the stela are cut from the rock of the cliff. In each group the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, is accompanied by two princesses. In both groups the figure of the king is closest to the stela and those of the princesses farthest away. All the figures stand with their feet aligned and are carved in typical Amarna style. The large figures of the king and queen stand on low plinths, some 5 cm high, while the princesses are on slightly higher bases (2.5 cm on the left, 1 cm to the right).



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA K
POSSIBLE EARLY PLAN IN DOTTED LINE

The statue group to the right at Stela K belongs to Type II with the order of figures reversed from Stela A. Only the lower part of the group is preserved, to a height of 80 cm. The figure closest to the stela, presumably Akhenaten, is slightly larger than figure to the right. No traces of clothing are visible on the remaining parts of the statue, and the feet are bare. In front of the statues are the lower parts of two carved panels, one held by each of the figures. The panel on the left has hieroglyphs facing right which give the names of the king and queen. The right-hand panel has remains of three or more columns of text. Presumably, the upper part of these panels was filled with large cartouches of the Aten. Two unclothed princesses stand to the right of the queen. The left-hand princess has her right hand resting on the thigh of the queen and her left arm by her side. The right-hand princess has her right arm on her sister's shoulder, but her left arm is missing. The heads of the princesses are gone, but the bodies are 48 cm (left) and 45 cm high. The small pair sit in a shallow recess 57 cm above the base. No names survive to identify the princesses.

TEXT ON RIGHT-HAND STATUE, STELA K



The statue group to the left should belong to Type I, but this is uncertain. Since only the lower part survives, the crucial position of the arms extended from the shoulder is missing. The outline of the base of the object held in front of the couple does not conform to the normal two rectangular pillars; rather it is closer to a single broad panel, consistent with the cartouche panels of Type II. It is possible that only Type II statues were carved here at Stela K, although this is not paralleled elsewhere. Again here the royal couple is on preserved to about 80 cm. No traces of costume remain, and the feet are bare. On the queen's left are remains of a pair of statues of princesses, represented without clothing. Presumably the left hand of the right-hand princess rested on the thigh of the queen, but this is lost, as is the right arm of the left hand figure. It can be seen that the two children were holding hands. They are preserved to a height of 40-45 cm, and stand in a slight recess of uncertain height. No names survive to identify the princesses.

Since Stela K contains a version of the Early Proclamation, it needs to be considered whether the stela emplacement as it now survives was the original plan. Unfortunately, there is no hard evidence. The fact that the stela itself narrows slightly in its lower parts and that the other two stelae with the earlier text are in deep, narrow emplacements in their lower part suggest that here too such a state once existed. Clearly above in the lunette an addition was made to the scene, and that may also date the opening out of the emplacement into a configuration typical of stelae with the Later Proclamation.

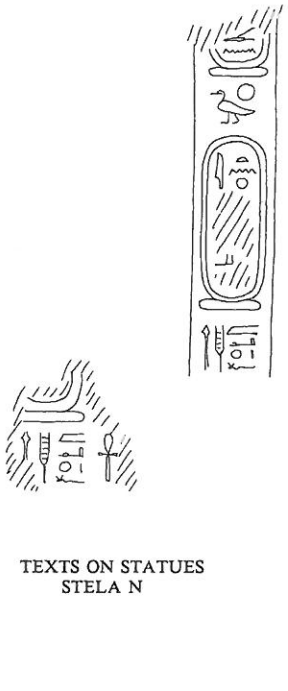
Stelae L and M (Pl. 23A)

These two stelae, although not necessarily related by content, are related by position and will be dealt with together. The southern end of the great desert bay is marked by a headland where the desert plateau again reaches the river, to run parallel to it as it goes south. The emplacement of Stela M is cut into this headland at the point where it turns south, a location now marked by the tomb of a sheikh. Only a low rise of rock is actually visible above a low desert plain which extends towards the river. There is no evidence of any ancient "road." The emplacement for Stela M consists of a deep, narrow niche cut into the rock. At the front, the cut is 1.53 m wide, and it broadens towards the stela at the rear to 1.85 m. The depth of the niche is roughly 1.9 m. The stela itself, which shows a slight batter, stands about 5.5 m high, and less than half of it is within the niche whose side walls extend up only 2.25 m on the left and 2.5 m to the right.

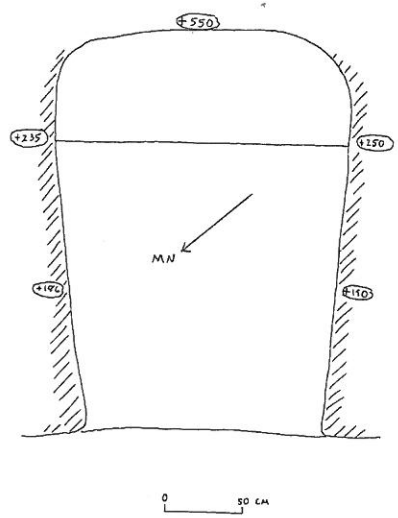
Stela L is located about 7 m to the right of stela M. It is carved in a shallow recess only about 15 cm deep, with a narrow ledge at its base. The top on Stela L is positioned only slightly below the level of the top of stela M. The rock face in which Stela L is carved overhangs a natural rock shelter.

Stela N (Pls. 23B-24)

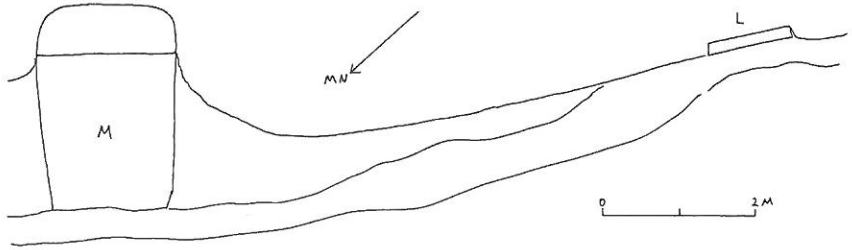
The emplacement of Stela N. lies to the east of stela M, farther along the cliffs which form the southern limit of the great desert bay of the city. The emplacement is located close to the top of the cliff in a small bay and is reached by a much eroded slope of detritus washed down from the surrounding desert. The emplacement itself is now subject to being filled by wind-blown sand. There is no evidence of an ancient "road," but the site could have once had one. The overall width of the emplacement is 5.2 m and the depth of the floor is 75 cm from the low (5 cm) step at its front to the face of the stela itself. The side walls of the emplacement are slightly oblique. The stela itself, some 2 m broad, fills the center of the emplacement, and statue groups flank it on either side. No ceiling is left over the stela (which is



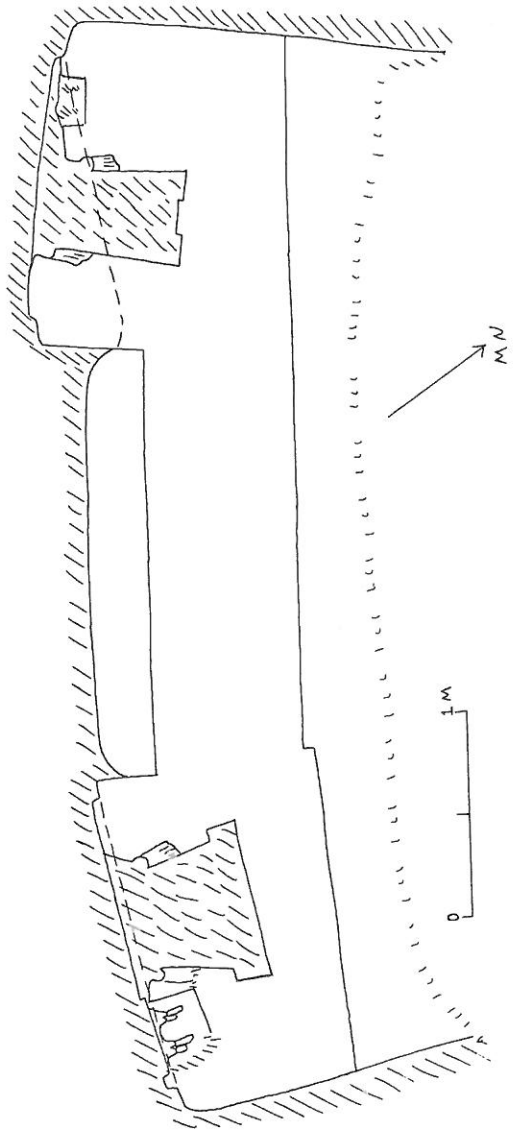
TEXTS ON STATUES
STELA N



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA M



SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF STELAE L AND M



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA N

4.15 m high) but shallow projections of the cliff face shelter the statue to either side, at 2.20 m above the floor on the left and 2.35 m above it on the right. As can be seen in the plan, the step which defines the stela platform jogs forward slightly on the left to accommodate the left statue group, and it may be noted that the rear of each statue group is recessed with respect to the surface of the stela.

The statue groups on either side of the stela are cut from the rock of the cliff. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of the king is closest to the stela and those of the princesses farthest away. Apparently all the figures are positioned with the left foot forward. In both statues, the figures of the princesses are on slightly raised bases while the statues of the larger figures stand on the floor of the emplacement. All the figures are carved in typical Amarna style.

The statue group to the right of the stela belongs to Type I. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall narrow rectangular pillars canted slightly forward. The pillars are connected to each other and to the bodies of the king and queen by uninscribed planes. Only the texts of the lower part of each pillar survive. That held by the king, with hieroglyphs facing towards the stela, reads: ". . . PN, the Son of Re, N, great in his lifetime." That held by the queen, with texts oriented similarly, reads ". . . whom he loves, the lady of the Two Lands, Nefertiti, . . . forever." Presumably, the names of the Aten are missing from the beginning of each pillar. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (taken to berlin), and traces of its streamers are still visible carved on the support behind the neck. The figure of Nefertiti once wore the flat crown (taken to Leipzig). No evidence of clothing survives on either figure, but the exposed foot of each figure wears a sandal. To the right of the royal couple were once figures of princesses, now largely gone except for the hand of the elder princess resting upon the thigh of the queen and the stumps where the feet once were. These figures were still extant in 1900 when photographed by Steindorff. The figures of the princesses were set against a round-topped back support. The entire statue group was set in a shallow, rectangular recess below and separate from the projecting ceiling. No names survive to identify the princesses.

In the right-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 162 cm above the floor and his shoulder is 115 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 142 cm above the floor and her shoulder is 113 cm above. The measurement for the princesses could not be taken.

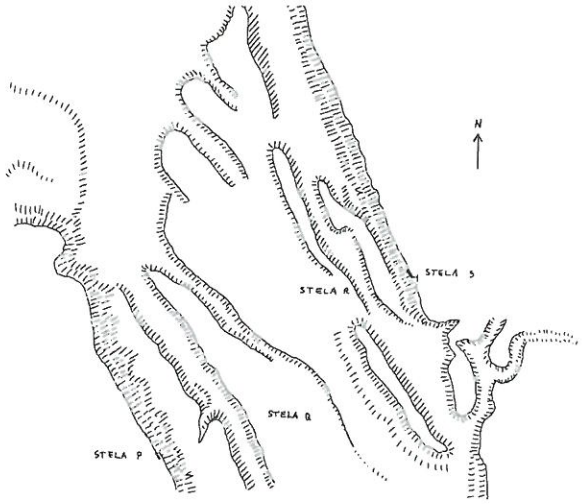
The statue-group to the left of the stela belongs to Type II.[3] The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist, probably to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten aligned to form a plane. Only a trace of the inscription survives showing the base of a cartouche followed by the epithet "great in his lifetime." The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), but otherwise the figure was shown without clothing. The figure of the queen once wore the flat crown which was found lying down slope and returned to a spot near the stela. To the left of the royal couple were statues of two princesses. The elder princess had her left hand on the thigh of the queen, and her right hand held the left hand of her sister. No traces of names were apparent. A fragment of what may be the smaller princess was discovered in 1989. Again, the figures of the two princesses were set against a round-topped back support, and the entire statue group was set into a shallow, rectangular recess extending almost to the overhanging ceiling.

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 187 cm above the floor and his shoulder is 133 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 177 cm above the floor, and her shoulder is 120 cm above. The head of the right-hand princess is 53 cm above the base, and her shoulder 38 cm. The head of the left-hand princess is 50 cm above the base, and her shoulder 35 cm above.

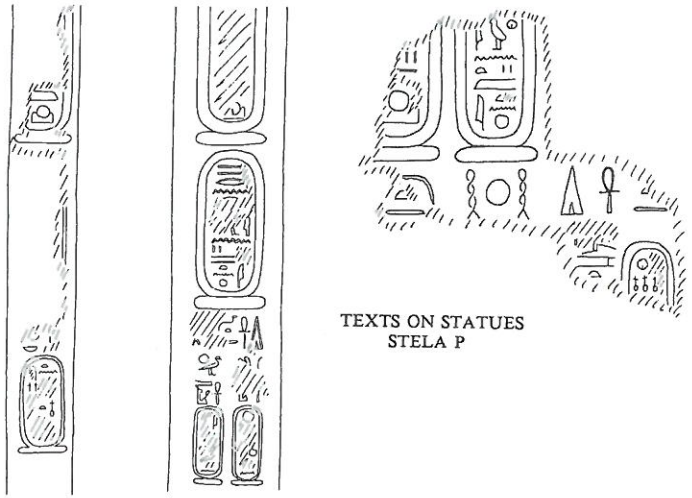
It may be noted that the figures of the royal couple in the right-hand (Type I) statue group are considerably smaller than those in the left-hand (Type II) group, although the objects which each group supports are of an equal size.

Stelae P, Q, R, and S

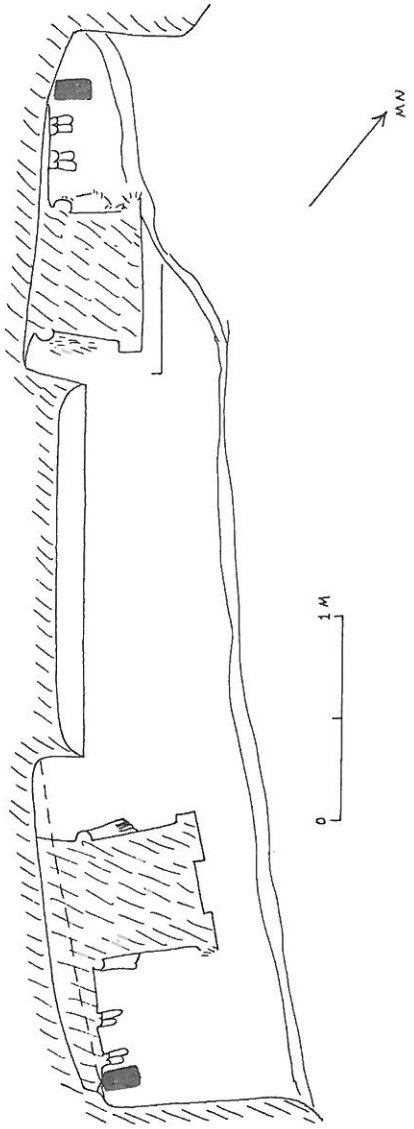
These four stelae form a group at the southeast desert entrance to the city. They are so positioned that, despite their orientation, the tablets of each emplacement are on a continuous line. Stela P is positioned on the high cliff which forms the southwest side of the wadi, and Stela S faces it on the high cliff which forms the northeast side of the wadi. Stelae Q and R are located on lower ridges generally paralleling the high cliffs. The planes of stelae P, R and S are parallel, but Stela Q is oriented at a right angle to the others, given its position atop a hill at a cross wadi. On a clear day, standing at Stela S, once can see a man standing above Stela R, and the emplacements of Q and P beyond.



SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION
STELAE P, Q, R, AND S



TEXTS ON STATUES
STELA P



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA P

Stela P (Pls. 25-26)

The emplacement of Stela P lies upon a shallow rock ledge cut into the face of the high cliff on the southwest side of the desert entrance. At present, a debris-covered slope approaches the stela, with no sign of an ancient "road." This slope ends some 3 m below floor level at the center of the emplacement. The overall width of the emplacement is 5.5 m, and the depth of the floor can be no more than 75 cm at the center of the stela. At its base, the stela itself projects out into the center of the emplacement 25-30 cm, and it is 1.78 m broad and approximately 3.88 m high. Statue groups are to be found on either side of the stela. The two statue groups are located in shallow recesses, 1.96 m above the floor on the left, and 1.88 m above on the right. Starting 1.33 m above the left-hand recess and ending at the level of the top of the stela itself, there are traces of a horizontal torus molding with cavetto cornice above carved into the rock. The left-hand statue group turns in slightly towards the line of the stela.

The two statue groups on either side of the stela are cut into the rock of the cliff. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of Akhenaten is nearest the stela, and those of the princesses, farthest away. Except for the two princesses of the right-hand group, all the figures stand with left foot forward. The two princesses on the right have their feet together. Insofar as can be judged, the statues are carved in typical Amarna style.

The statue group to the left of Stela P belongs to Type I. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall, narrow rectangular pillars. The texts on the pillar of the king have the cartouches of the Aten, one atop the other, followed by the paired cartouches of the king, with no final epithets. The text of the pillar of Nefertiti was similar, the two cartouches of the Aten followed by that of Nefertiti. The pillars themselves are canted outward slightly, and connected to each other and the statues by blank planes of stone. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), but otherwise he is shown without clothing. The figure of the queen once wore the flat crown (now lost), and she too is without clothes. A pair of cartouches of the Aten are visible on the breast of Nefertiti, and they may once have been on the figure of the king as well. The two princesses stand to the left of the royal couple. The right-hand princess rests her left hand upon the thigh of the queen, and she holds the left hand of her sister with her right hand. The names and titles of the two princesses survive, carved on the rock wall behind: "The kings' daughter of his body, whom he lives, Merytaten (*Meketaten in the second example*), born of the King's Great Wife, Nefertiti, living forever and ever." The figures of

the princesses are mostly cut away. To the left of the two princesses, there is an empty socket cut into the floor of the emplacement, of such a size as to accommodate the addition of a statue of a third princess.

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 180 cm above the floor and his shoulder is 133 cm above it. The head of the queen is 168 above the floor and her shoulder is 127 cm above it. The head of the right-hand princess is 52 cm above, and her shoulder, 42 cm above. The head of the left-hand princess is 48 cm above, and her shoulder is 38 cm above.

The statue group to the right at stela P belongs to Type II, with the figures reversed from stela A. The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten, those held by the king being higher than those held by the queen. Of the texts, only the names of the Aten and some epithets survive from in front of the king, and epithets of the Aten and part of the names and titles of the queen from in front of her. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), but the surviving traces suggest that her Nefertiti's headdress varied from the typical flat crown, perhaps here with the addition of plumes. No evidence of clothing could be found on the remaining surfaces of the statues.

To the right of the royal couple were a pair of princesses. The left-hand princess had her right hand resting on the thigh of the queen, and her left hand held the right hand of her sister. Above her head on the wall of the emplacement is an inscription which identifies the princess as "the king's daughter of his body, whom he loves, Meketaten, born of the great kings' wife . . . ." To the right of the two princesses was a socket to hold the figure of a third princess.

In the right-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 155 cm above the floor and his shoulder is 120 cm above it. The head of the queen is 156 cm above the floor and her shoulder is 120 cm above. The head of the left-hand princess is 66 cm above, and her shoulder 54 above; the head of the right-hand princess 62 cm above; and her shoulder 48 cm above.

It may be noted that the figures of the royal couple in the left-hand (Type II) statue group are considerably smaller than those in the right-hand (Type I) group.

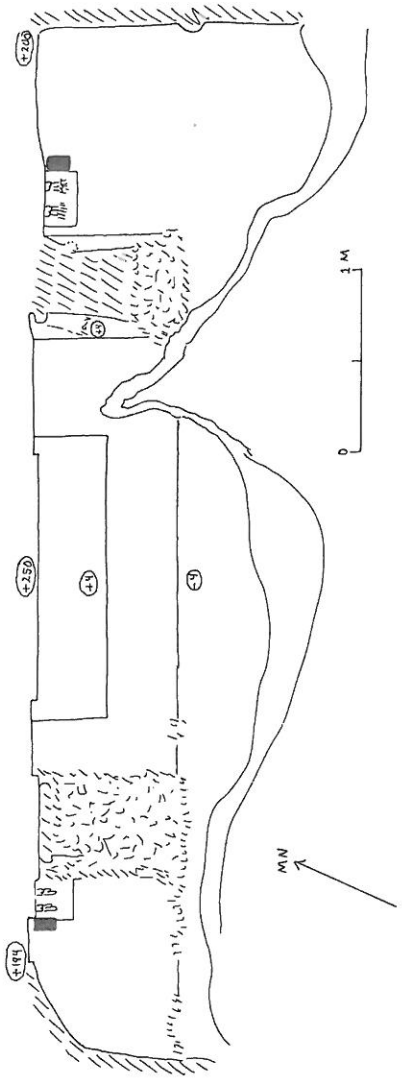
Stela Q (Pl. 27)

The emplacement of Stela Q is located near the top of a hill facing northwest, in the low range of hills parallel to the cliffs which contain Stela P. The emplacement is set at the rear of a broad shelf, probably artificial, cut into the hillside. There is no evidence of any ancient "road" approaching the site. The overall width of the emplacement is 5.75 m and a shallow step (4 cm high) marks its front, on a line some 80 cm in front of the stela, although the step itself does not continue all the way to the right edge of the emplacement. A second, 4 cm higher step, carved 37 cm in front of the stela, further marks its position. The stela itself protrudes 2-3 cm from the back of the center of the emplacement, and was originally about 2.5 m high and without batter. Statue groups are to be found on either side of the stela, and there are no overhanging ceilings.

The two statue groups on either side of the stela are cut from the rock of the cliff. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of the king is nearest the stela, and those of the two princesses farthest away. Insofar as can be judged, all the figures stand with left foot forward. The statues are carved in typical Amarna style. The figures of the king and queen are on low (4 cm) plinths, and those of the princesses are also raised up on separate, low bases.

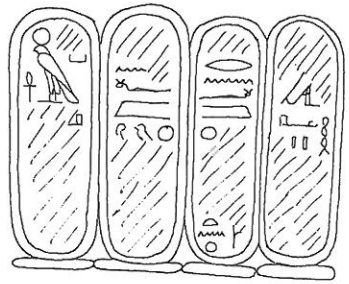
The statue group to the right of the stela belongs to Type I. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall, narrow rectangular pillars, canted outward and connected with planes of stone. Here the pillars no longer survive. It is unclear from the surviving traces what type of headdress the king wore, but he was otherwise shown unclothed. The figure of Nefertiti once wore that flat crown (now lost), but she too is shown without clothes. Two princesses stood to the right of the couple. The left-hand princess has her right hand on the thigh of the queen and her left arm hanging down. The right-hand princess has her left hand on the shoulder of her sister, and her right arm pendant. There is a very narrow ledge running partly behind the statue group some 2.08 m above the floor. To the right of the smaller princess is a rectangular socket to receive a statue of a third princess. No identifying names survive.

In the right-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 170 cm above the plinth and his shoulder is 130 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 162 cm above and her shoulder is 120 cm above. The head of the left-hand princess is 54 cm above and her shoulder, 40 cm. The head of the right-hand princess is 50 cm above, and her shoulder is 36 cm above.



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA Q

The statue group to the left of stela Q belongs to Type II. The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten, presumably with cartouches of the king and queen in their respective places below. Based on surviving fragments, it is clear that the hieroglyphs in the cartouches supported by the king faced towards the stela, but those supported by the queen faced away. All that survives of these texts are the beginning of the names of the Aten.[4] The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), but he was otherwise unclothed. The figure of the queen seems not to have worn the flat crown, but perhaps a round cap. She too is shown without clothes. To the left of the royal couple are a pair of princesses. The right-hand princess has her left hand on the thigh of the queen and her right hand clasps the left hand of her sister. To the right of the smaller princess is a rectangular socket to receive a statue of a third princess. No names survive to identify the princesses.



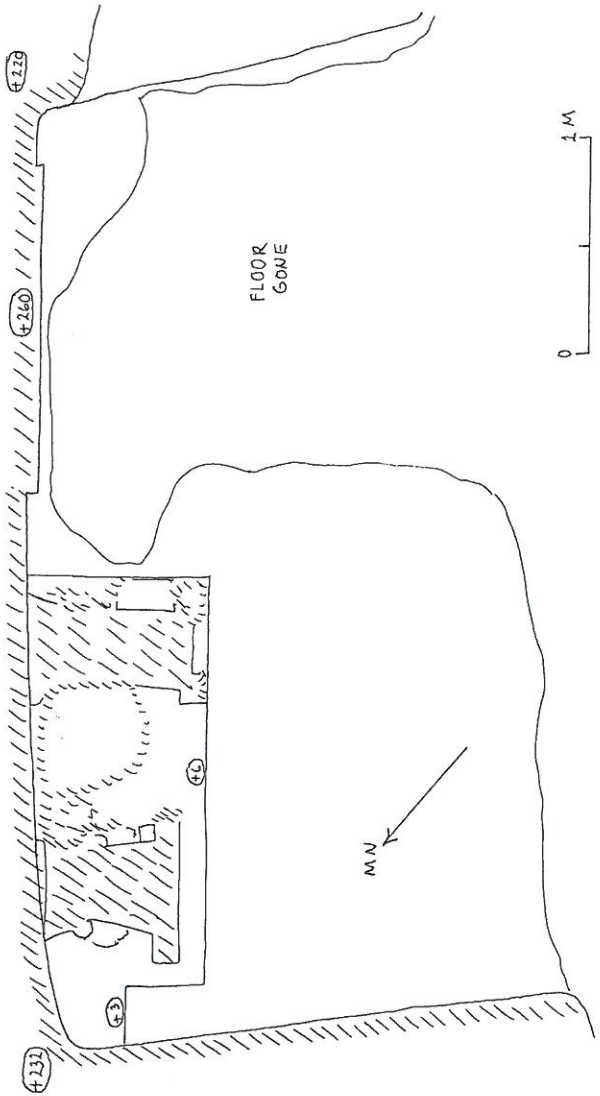
TEXT ON LEFT-HAND STATUE, STELA Q

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 118 cm above the plinth and his shoulder is 92 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 114 cm above and her shoulder is 90 cm above. The head of the right-hand princess is 51 cm above and her shoulder 38 cm. The head of the left-hand princess is 45 cm above, and her shoulder is 34 cm above.

It may be noted that the figures of the royal couple in the left-hand (Type II) statue group are considerably smaller than those in the right-hand (Type I) group.

Stela R (Pl. 28A)

The emplacement of Stela R is located near the top of the southwest side of a hill in a low range running parallel to the northeast side of the desert entrance. The stela faces towards stelae Q and P. There is no evidence of any ancient "road" leading to the stela. Immediately to the right of the emplacement, and limiting its southeastern expansion is a deep gully which serves to drain water from the top of the hill above. The overall width of the emplacement is 4.5 m, and its depth is from 2.5 on the left



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA R

to 2 m on the right, measured at the point where the slope of the hill reaches the floor. A less even surface extends out another 1.9 m. The floor in front of the stela, which fills 2 m at the right of the emplacement, is completely gone, as if someone had tried to dig into the hillside at that point. The stela itself projects from the wall about 3 cm, and extends up 2.6 m with no batter. To the left of the stela are two statue groups[5] raised upon a single low plinth some 6 cm above the floor. There is no overhanging ceiling.

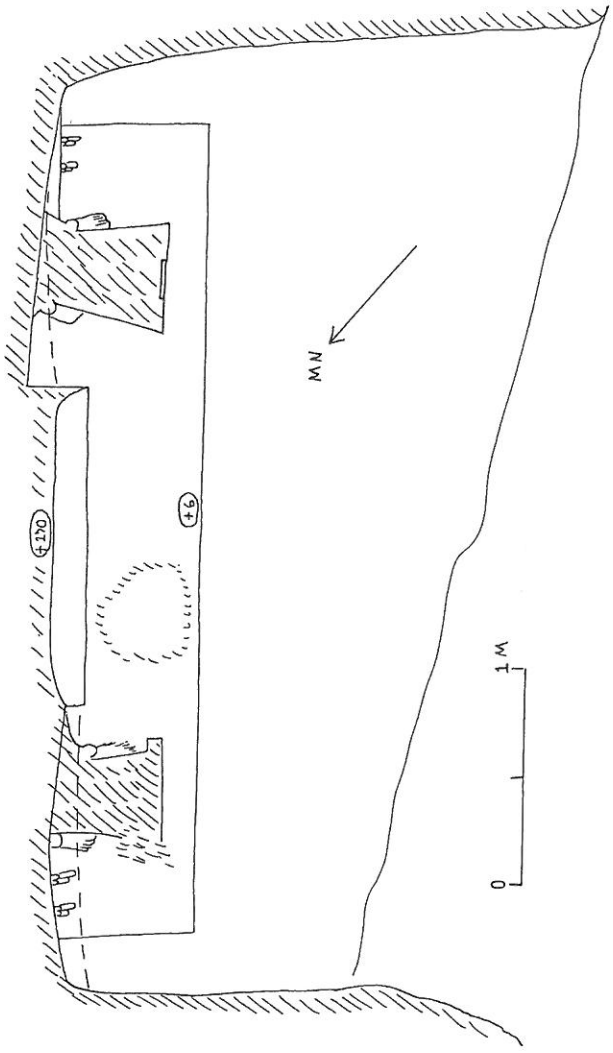
The two statue groups are cut from the rock of the cliff. Presumably each group showed the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses, although the group closest to the stela is largely gone. Insofar as can be judged, all figures stand with left foot forward and are carved in typical Amarna style.

The statue group closest to Stela R belongs to Type I, although only a stump survives. The identification of the statue type is based upon the clear outline of the bases of the tall, narrow rectangular pillars connected by planes and supported by the royal couple; and a fragment from the top of one of these pillars also survives. The mark on the rear wall suggests that the top of the head of Akhenaten was approximately 160 cm above the base. Sufficient room is present for there to have been the expected pair of princesses' statues, but no trace survives.

TEXT ON LEFT-HAND STATUE, STELA R



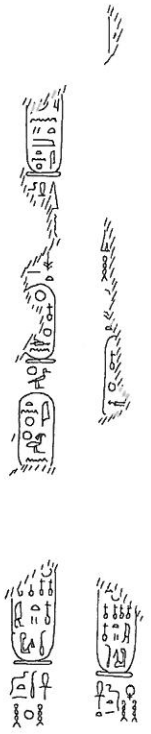
The statue group at the extreme left of the emplacement of Stela R belongs to Type II, although it is badly damaged. When complete, the forearms of the royal couple extended out from the waist to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten, but of this only the base of the two pairs of cartouches survives. On this lower part can be read parts of the three central columns of text which were carved below the cartouches: ". . . lord of appearances, Akhen[aten], great in his lifetime, the great [king's wife], whom he loves,. . . ." The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (since lost), while the figure of Nefertiti wore the flat crown (also gone). The figures of the king and queen are apparently unclothed and their feet are bare. To the left of the queen are two princesses, similarly shown unclothed. The right-hand princess has her left hand on the thigh of her mother, and with her right hand, she holds the left arm of the left-hand princess. Behind the group is a support which rose to the level of the top of the head. The names of the princesses are not indicated.



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA S

In the group at the far left, the top of the head of the king is 160 cm above the base and his shoulder is 120 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 157 cm above and her shoulder is also 120 cm above. The top of the head of the right-hand princess is 48 cm above and her shoulder 36 cm. The top of the head of the left-hand princess is 44 cm above and her shoulder 32 cm.

Stela S (Pl. 28B)



TEXT ON RIGHT-HAND STATUE, STELA S

The emplacement of Stela S lies midway up the face of the high cliff on the northeast side of the desert entrance to the city. There is no sign of any ancient "road" leading to the site. To the right of the emplacement is a watercourse which drains the cliff above. The overall width of the emplacement is 4.35 m. A 6 cm high step defines the inner emplacement which is 3.6 m wide and extends out from the stela 52 cm. A roughly smoothed area continues out from the step 75 cm more. The stela occupies 1.5 m in the center of the emplacement and is about 2.7 m high with a batter of 6:100. It projects forward from the rear wall of the emplacement. Statue groups are located in very shallow recesses to either side. The roof of the recess is 1.78 m above the floor at right, and 1.86 m above at left. The side walls of the emplacement are slightly oblique.

The two statue groups on either side of the stela are cut into the rock of the cliff, although several heads were added separately. Each group shows the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, accompanied by two princesses. In both groups, the figure of Akhenaten is nearest the figure, and those of the princesses, farthest away. All the figures stand with left foot forward. The statues, where preserved, are fine examples of the Amarna style.

The statue group to the right of Stela S belongs to Type I, although it is reversed from the position of that of Stela A. The arms of the royal couple are completely extended from the shoulder to support tall, narrow rectangular pillars inscribed with columns of text giving the names of the Aten followed by those of Akhenaten and

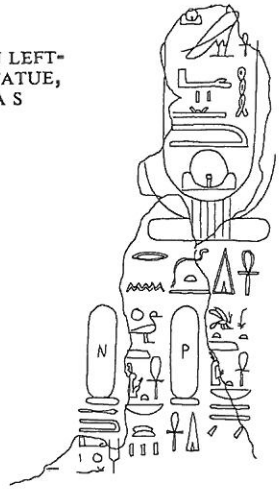
Nefertiti. The pillars here are vertical and are again connected to each other and the bodies by planes of stone. The figure of the king once wore the blue crown (now lost), but otherwise he is shown without clothing. The figure of the queen, whose head was carved separately and attached with a socket, wore the flat crown (now lost), and she too is without clothes. Two princesses stand to the right of the royal couple. The left-hand princess rests her right hand upon the thigh of the queen, and with her left hand, she holds the right hand of the right-hand princess. No inscription names the princesses.

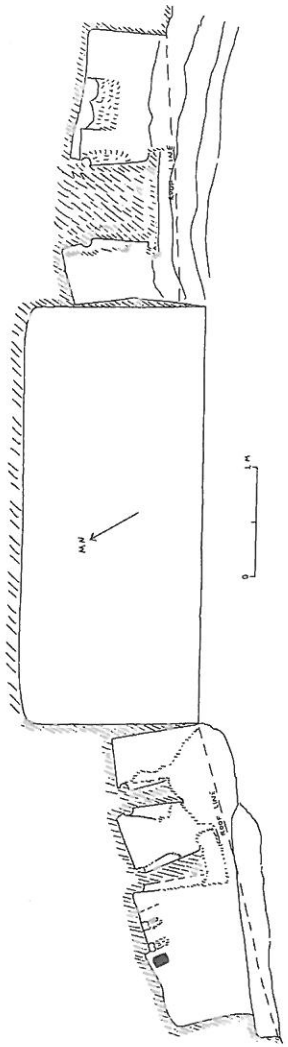
In the right-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 142 cm above the base and his shoulder is 110 cm above it the top of the head of the queen is 142 cm above it and her shoulder is 107 cm above. The head of the queen is 142 cm above it and her shoulder is 107 cm above. The head of the left-hand princess is 47 cm above and the shoulder 34 cm. The head of the right-hand princess is 45 cm above, and her shoulder is 32 cm above.

The statue group to the left of Stela S belongs to Type II. The forearms of the royal couple extend out from the waist to support a pair of cartouches of the Aten, with texts in six columns naming the king and queen below in their respective places.[6] These texts were oriented towards the stela. The figure of the king seems to wear the red crown of Lower Egypt (now lost), and he wears a belt which runs under his belly; otherwise he is unclothed. The figure of the queen is too damaged to tell the type of headdress she wore, but she is otherwise without clothes. To the left of the royal couple are a pair of princesses. The right-hand princess has her left hand on the thigh of the queen, but the position of her right hand is unknown. The head of this elder princess was added separately. The position of the hands of the princess on the left is unknown. No texts serve to identify the names of the two princesses.

In the left-hand group, the top of the head of the king is 142 cm above the base and his shoulder is 115 cm above it. The upper parts of the figure of the queen were too badly damaged for measurement. The head of the right-hand princess is 52 cm above and the shoulder 38 cm. The head of the left-hand princess is 47 cm above, and her shoulder is 35 cm above.

TEXT ON LEFT-HAND STATUE, STELA S





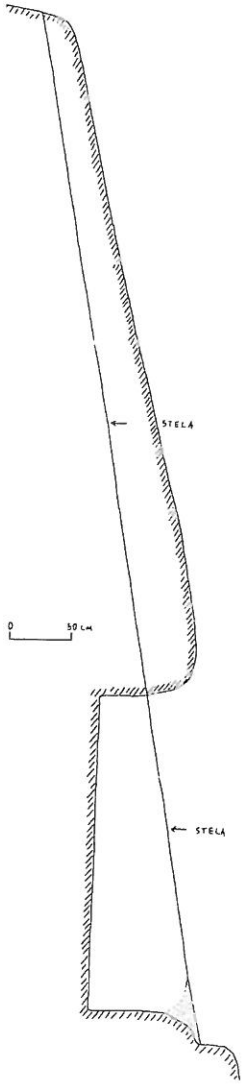
EMPLACEMENT OF STELA U

Stela U (Pls. 29-30)

The emplacement of Stela U, the largest of the boundary stelae and the one most accessible from the central city, is found at the top of a small bay located due east of the Great Temple to the Aten and north of the entrance to the Royal Wadi. The small bay in the eastern cliff which houses the stela is reached by a modern dirt road overlying an ancient "road." The stela is carved into the face of the cliff, extending to the full height of the mountain . Unlike the other stelae, there is no evidence that there was ever a formal platform in front of the stela, but the area immediately in front of the stela is eroded away. The stela itself is 3.9 m wide and 8.37 m high, assuming a base level with the floors of the adjacent statue niches. In front of the adjacent statue niches, the lower third of the stela appears to be cut free of the cliff, while the upper two thirds are recessed from 25 cm to 50 cm into the face of the cliff. To either side of the stela is a niche for statuary. The niche to the left is 2.75 m wide with a 25 cm extension at the left front edge, and its maximum depth is about 1 m. The roof of this rectangular opening is 2.56-2.6 m high. The opening angles slightly towards the stela. The niche to the right is 2.5 m wide, and it has a maximum depth of 1 m. The opening varies in height from 2.4-2.55 m. The niche is on roughly the same line as the face of the stela, but it is recessed from its face.

The statue groups on either side of the stela are cut from the rock of the cliff. Within each niche are statues of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and two princesses, with the king closest to the stela and the princesses farthest away. All the figures stand with left foot slightly forward, at least where preserved. It is not clear whether there were additional bases for the statues besides the floor of each niche. In all cases, the statues are carved in typical Amarna style.

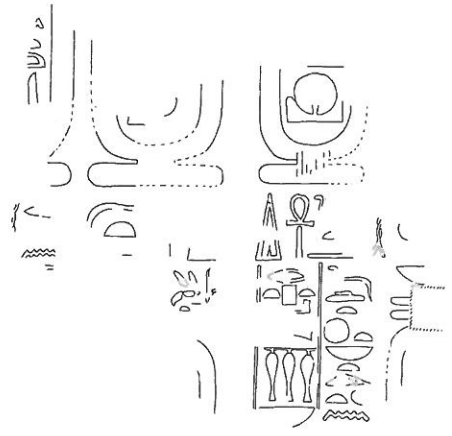
The grouping of statues in the left-hand niche is a variant of Type I. Because of the large size of the statues, the figures of the king, and the pair of princesses are carved as separate units. In the case of the statues of the king and queen, as with the Type I group statues, they each originally supported a pillar with their arms extended from the shoulder. No traces of these pillars or their texts survive. The figure of Akhenaten here preserves part of the head as well as the remains of the blue crown. Traces of the bridge of the nose, eyes and ears can still be seen, and details of the crown remain including the band around the edge and the tail of the uraeus. The head and body of the uraeus seem to have been added separately. There are no traces of clothing and no identifying text. The figure of Queen Nefertiti once



STELA U
SECTION

wore the flat crown (now lost), but there are no traces of clothing indicated on the body nor any identifying names. To the left of these two statues is a pair statue of two princesses, although this is now mostly gone and no texts identify who they were. To the left of this pair is a rectangular socket, presumably made for the addition of a statue of a third princess.

The top of the head of the king in the left-hand niche is 256 cm above floor level, and his shoulder is 183 cm above. The top of the head of the queen is 239 cm above. The top of the head of the queen is 239 cm above, and her shoulder is 177 cm above. The figures of the princesses are only about 61 cm high.



TEXT ON RIGHT-HAND
STATUE, STELA U

The statue group in the right-hand niche belongs to Type II. The royal couple extend their forearms from the waist to support two pairs of cartouches of the Aten, oriented towards the center of the statue, with the names and titles of the royal couple carved below. The titles of Nefertiti are particularly complete: "Noblewoman, great of praise, mistress of . . ., one for whom all things said are done, . . ., lady of the Two Lands, ..." The much battered head of the king survives, and he wears the blue crown. Akhenaten's figure is clothed in a close-fitting garment, evident from the sleeve on his left arm. The figure of the queen once wore the flat crown (now gone), and she too seems to have been dressed, her garment possibly ending just above the knee. To the right of the royal couple were statues of princesses. The left-hand princess had her right hand resting on the thigh of the queen, but it is unclear whether she held hands with the figure on the right. Evidently the head of the left-hand princess was shown wearing a side-lock. No texts identify the princesses. The small statues have their own back support and a separate base.

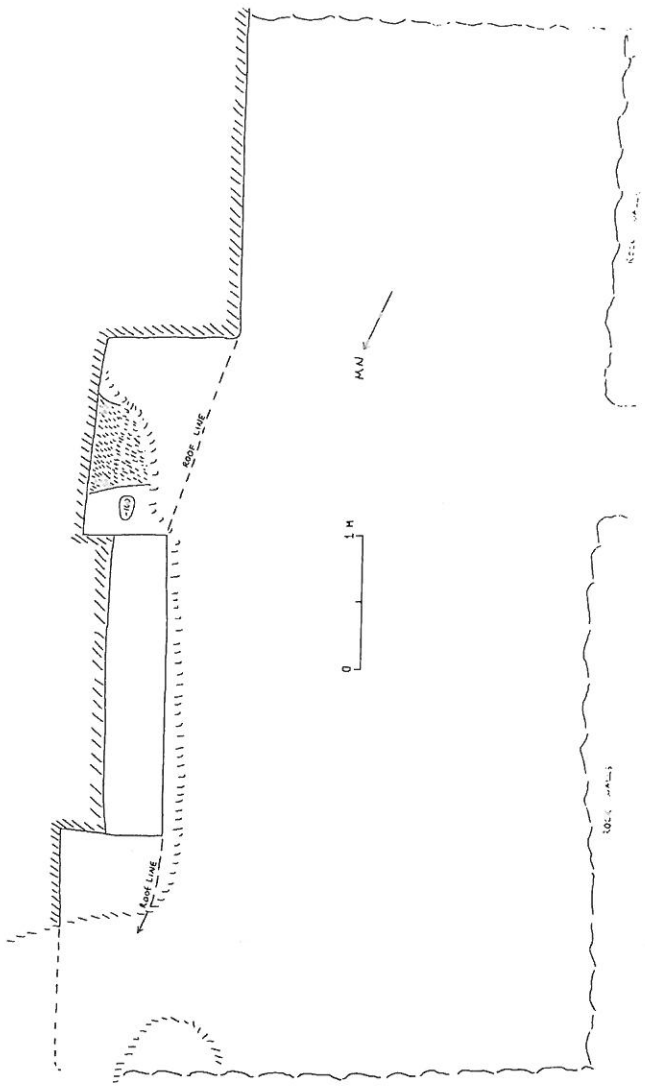
In the group in the right-hand niche, the top of the head of the king is 244 cm above the floor, and his shoulder is 186 cm above it. The top of the head of the queen is 237 cm above, and her shoulder is 175 cm above. The tops of the heads of the two princesses are at 104 cm and 95 cm respectively.

Stela V (Pl. 31A)

The emplacement of Stela V lies at the juncture between the high cliff and shallow debris slope which fronts it, approximately 100 m north of the southern group of the northern tombs. Traces of an ancient "road" were once visible, pointing towards the site. At present, its emplacement is encumbered by the remains of Coptic houses.[7] Since our concession did not allow for excavation, only loose sand was cleared from the immediate vicinity of the stela. The overall width of the emplacement is 5.5 m, and it was at least 1 m deep. The remains of the stela, 2.25 m wide with a batter of 14/100, occupy the center of the emplacement, and it projects from the rear wall 60-75 cm. To either side of the stela were roofed spaces which presumably held statue groups. To the right was an eroded stump of one group, but no traces of any statue group were found on the left, although there was available space.

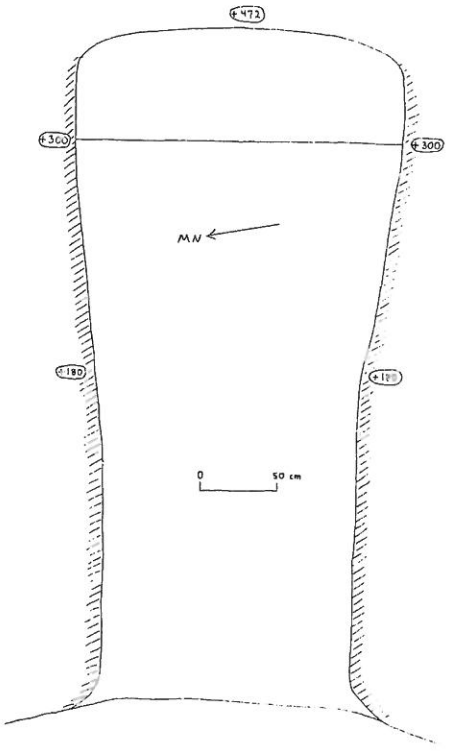
Stela X (Ps. 31B-32)

The emplacement for Stela X, the northernmost stela on the eastern side of the river, is high up on the side of the cliffs which mark the northern limit of the ancient city, just south of the entrance to a



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA V

wadi which leads back into the desert. There is no evidence of an ancient "road" leading to the site. The emplacement for the stela consist of a deep, narrow cutback into the rock.[8] At the front, the cut is 1.60 m wide, and it broadens towards the stela at the rear to 2.1 m. The depth of the cutback is roughly 3.75 m. The stela itself, which shows a batter of 14/100, stands 4.72 m high, and the upper third projects above the cutback whose side walls reach 3 m at the face of the stela.



EMPLACEMENT OF STELA X

While it can be observed that there is a basic distinction between the narrow cutbacks as emplacements for stelae with the Early Proclamation, and the broad emplacements with statues for the stelae with the Later Proclamation, it seems likely that the apparent distinction between the two types of emplacements for stelae of the Later Proclamation, those with statues on one side only and those with flanking statues, may be situational and not temporal. Of the three stelae with statues on one side, two (A and J) are located at the limits of the city, and the positions of their statues may be simply an attempt to keep them within the boundaries of the city. The group of stelae P, Q, R, and S are aligned so that either all of their statues should be only to one side--which is not the case--or some other factor should be operative with respect to Stela R which shows this feature. That Stela R has statues on one side only may be explained by the need to keep the stela itself exactly aligned with stelae P, Q and S, and because the watercourse to the right of Stela R made placement there of a statue group impossible. Given that reasonable explanations exist for the variant type, it would seem that the positioning of statues is not relevant to any sequencing of the stelae.

On the other hand, in addition to the type of text and some of the architectural features described above, there is one other stylistic factor which may affect the sequencing: The patterns of lunette decoration. A number of groupings of the stelae according to the pattern of the lunette elements can be made.

1. First stage of Stelae X, M, and K (Early Proclamation) show the king, queen and one princess before text and an offering table.
2. Second stage of Stela K (Early Proclamation) adds a second princess to the lunette.
3. Stelae A, J, U and V (Later Proclamation) show the king, queen and two princesses before offering table and text.
4. Stelae N (Later Proclamation) shows the king, queen and two princesses before offering table only, probably only a variant of the preceding type.
5. Stelae B, P, Q, R, and S (Later Proclamation) show two sets of the king, queen and two princesses flanking either a text or an offering table.

The stylistic development of the boundary stelae is not readily apparent, but a probable sequence of the stelae can be established with some degree of certainty, based upon shape of the emplacement, type and distribution of statuary, type of text, lunette type, and number of princesses evident, as follows:

1. The two stelae X and M are the first of the series, sharing a common text, lunette type and emplacement.
2. Stela K--in its postulated first stage--replaced Stela M, perhaps because the stone of the latter was very poor.
3. Stela K--in its final stage--is the earliest of the stela emplacements with statues, since it is the only emplacement with the Early Proclamation and it is without two distinct statue types. The addition of the second princess in the lunette is possibly contemporary with the remodeling of the emplacement.
4. Stelae J replaces Stela K as the southernmost boundary stela, using the Later Proclamation; Stela A (without the Colophon) is probably contemporary. At the same time, stelae V, N, and finally U establish the eastern limits of the city, although U, being significantly larger, may have required more time to construct.
5. Stelae P, Q, R, and S are laid out on a single line and carved in pairs from northeast to southwest. In particular, stelae P and Q have in common statue groups of disproportionate height (and ultimately show sockets for an added third princess).
6. Sockets for statues of a third princess are added to the left half of Stela U, and to stela P and Q which are still under construction.
7. Stela A is reworked with the addition of the Colophon and the figures of 3 princesses on the Type I statue.
8. The emplacement with Stela B is the last of the series.

CHAPTER 5

THE BOUNDARY STELAE AS OFFICIAL AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The monuments we have been discussing in this volume are only one of the uncommon features attached to this unusual site. Whereas most Egyptian settlements had long histories, many of them going back into prehistoric times, the occupation of El-Amarna was very short. For less than two decades it served as a substitute capital: Akhet-Aten, or 'Horizon of the Orb', was headquarters to a new cult that stressed the overmastering sovereignty of the sun-god, manifest in the earthly persons of his son, the king, and his family. The city of Akhenaten grew, not by accretion, as an organic settlement, but from a plan devised in the mind of its creator. From the first it was designed to have all the infrastructures of a traditional settlement and to serve every purpose of god or man, both b high and low, the living and the dead. Deliberately advanced to be the preferred royal residence and premier cult center, it displaced the most revered cities in Egypt until its founder's death deprived it of its main support and, indeed, its reason for existence. Within a few generations it had become a ghost town -- its very buildings dismantled so their materials might be reused, and the place itself shunned for its association with Akhenaten's 'rebellion'.[1]

Not least among the anomalies of this extraordinary site are the formal measures taken to delimit its territory. The boundary stelae of Akhet-Aten are unique. No other site in the Nile Valley is thus enclosed by tablets cut into the surrounding cliffs, even though the principle of laying out boundary markers was well established.[2] The poor survival-rate of such monuments is hardly surprising -- public records of this kind are singled out for removal whenever land changes hands, whether legally or not -- but a number of such "ordinary" boundary stelae have survived[3] from periods before and after Akhenaten's reign, and comparisons are illuminating. In all cases outside El-Amarna, for example, such stelae were free-standing: as witnesses to the integrity of the property in question, they were strategically situated in a conspicuously public place (e.g., in the forecourt of a temple) or else in the fields to which they pertained.[4] The major drawback of this eminently practical design, however, was the relative ease with which even the larger stelae could be moved. This fate was excluded for Akhenaten's boundary markers, both by the permanence of their installation -- as it turned out, not one of these monuments was obliterated in ancient times -- and by the provisions of the decrees carved on the tablets, which guaranteed the repair of any damaged stela and expressly repudiated the notion of any significant change in the borders of Akhet-Aten.[5]

Another significant difference lies in the scope of what the texts on these tablets cover. Most "true" boundary stelae are straightforward, even dry documents that usually begin by specifying the formal guarantor of the borders in question (invariably the king), and then go on to describe in a general way the territory's location (e.g., "southwest of the House of Sobek the Crocodilonpolite, [and] north of the eastern riparian land of Pharaoh, L.P.H.").[6] Other features (not necessarily invariable, or in the same order) include the territory's dimensions,[7] the date of the decree,[8] and the circumstances that prompted the manufacture of the stela (e.g., "His Majesty, L.P.H., ordered that an inspection of the fields of offerings be made").[9] Although the Nubian "boundary stelae" of Senwosret III, from the nineteenth century B.C., do not begin to approach the complexity of Akhenaten's boundary texts some five-hundred years later, they are in fact extended members of this genre. What they established were not the limits of a domain, but rather the southernmost extension of territory under Egyptian control; and this border was defined, not in connection with the territorial diplomacy that has motivated statesmen to redraw maps in modern times, but for purposes that that come under the rubric of "customs and immigration". As the occupying power, the Egyptians used these markers to remind the garrison that it was in enemy territory and should thus be careful to allow passage only to those Nubians whose business was approved by the government and were thus allowed to travel north of the border.[10] It was these special circumstances, as well as the propagandist bent that so often affects the framing of royal decrees on foreign soil, that account for the combination of procedural specificity and rhetorical bombast that bring these inscriptions of Senwosret III into such close affinity with those of Akhenaten. The stelae that mark the borders of Akhet-Aten remain exceptional, then, as much for their antecedents as for the manner in which they were built and what they had to say.

Especially in the disciplines of ancient history, where sources are so meagre, scholars are wont to abstract content from the greater context of what they are pleased to call "historical documents".[11] The tendency by itself is understandable: we cannot always be certain where an ancient document originated, or how it was meant to function in its original setting. To "mine" such materials for the nuggets of information they can supply is not only appropriate but inevitable. With the boundary stelae, however, more is possible. Although these inscriptions tell us more about Akhet-Aten than any other written source -- its purpose, the reasons for its foundation and the plan around which it was built -- they do not stand in isolation, as if their provenance and purpose were all unknown. The physical setting of these documents, in fact, is a major reason for their importance. One of the happiest results of this project has been to reveal how the architectural record, so often taken for granted, can shed light on the history of the site and on the people who lived there.

To illustrate the results of this interconnected medium and content, we may begin with the most basic of the historian's building-blocks, chronology. The boundary stelae contain two principal inscriptions, known since the time of Davies as the "Earlier" and the "Later Proclamations" (abbreviated "EP" and "LP" in the pages that follow). These enactments were issued or amended on the occasion of a number of "appearances" that the king made at Akhet-Aten, occasions which are described and dated as follows:

(1.) Year 5, IV *Prt* 13: day of the new city's "discovery" (=its formal foundation), and solemnization of this occasion by means of a royal oath pronounced at the site of Akhet-Aten (EP, sections I and IV).[12]

(2.) Year 6, IV *Prt* 13: the first anniversary of the "discovery" of Akhet-Aten, and the date of another royal oath relating to the boundaries of the city's territory, which the king pronounced "on the south-eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten" (LP, Sections I, IV and V).

(3.) Year 8, I *Prt* 8: formal "repetition" of the oath pronounced in year 6, made on the occasion of a royal inspection of "the stelae of the Aten that are on the mountain on the south-eastern border of Akhet-Aten" (LP, Section VIII).

(4.) Year 8, IV *3ḫt* "last day" (=30): "another oath" pronounced by the king "at the establishing of the stelae that belong to the borders of Akhet-Aten" (LP, Section IX-A, on Stelae A and B only).

A number of difficulties lurk amid these seemingly straightforward pronouncements. For example, what is meant in the Renewal of the Oath by the "south-eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten" or "the mountain of the south-eastern border" of the city? Which of the stelae are referred to there, and which ones were being "established" (whatever that may mean) on the occasion referred to by the Colophon? And what are the intervals between these various royal "appearances"?

An answer to this last question began to emerge during the collation process in the field. First, the interval between the EP and the LP is definitively established as being one year exactly. Not only does this discovery eliminate doubts about the accuracy of referring to these texts as "earlier" and "later";[13] it also clarifies the statement in the LP which defines the event in year 6 as being "on the first occasion of finding it (*i.e., Akhet-Aten*)": for these words, which so aptly describe an anniversary, are reduced to gibberish if the opening dates of both the EP and the LP take place in year 6, within an interval of eight days.[14] The exclusion of "regnal year 4" as an alternative reading in the EP is also consistent with other

evidence from this period -- for if the king had begun to build his new city in his new name of "Akhenaten" as early as year 4, we would be forced to conclude that this style was still a regional peculiarity at the time: after all, in the famous duplicate letters from the steward of Memphis, dated to III *Prt* 19 in year 5, the king is still referred to as "Amenhotep". With the new reading of the EP's opening date, however, this last dated use of the king's earlier "orthodox" titulary might be seen as falling more logically before the foundation ceremonies that were held at Akhet-Aten in the following month, on IV *Prt* 13 [15]

Or does it? Since the beginning of the regnal year took place during the New Kingdom, not on the canonical New Year's Day but on the anniversary of the king's accession day, we have no guarantee that III and IV *Prt* would follow one another in strictly calendrical sequence during Akhenaten's reign. For example, the fifth anniversary of Thutmose III's accession would fall on I *Šmw* 4 in regnal year 5, but the previous days of this month would all belong to year 4. Only our knowledge of this king's accession date permits us to know that I *Šmw* 3 and 4 in year five are not in calendrical sequence and that they are separated from one another by almost a full year: I *Šmw* 3 would be the last day in year 5, while the following I *Šmw* 4 would fall in year 6.[16] Since Akhenaten's accession date is not explicitly specified in any of his surviving monuments, the chronological structure of his reign is in question. How do we know which dates within a given year precede, and which follow? Without the anchor of a firm accession date for Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, the Gurob letter, instead of falling a mere twenty-three days before the founding of Akhet-Aten, could have been written some eleven months later; and one would face a similar problem with the dates in year 8 near the end of the LP: logically, the events in the Colophon should follow the repetition of the oath that precedes it in the text -- but how could one prove this?

The key to the riddle posed by these texts lies in the architecture of the boundary stelae. It has already been said[17] that these monuments fall into three main types:

(1.) The tablet stood alone, with no statuary beside it, at the end of a narrow niche. This design, confined to monuments inscribed with the EP, is preserved at Stelae X and M (at the northern and southern "crags": see pl. 1) and was probably the form in which K was originally executed when it was carved to replace Stela M at the southern end of the city.

(2.) The niche was widened to include room for two statue-groups, invariably situated to the left of the tablet, depicting the king, queen and the two eldest daughters. Monuments of this

type are Stela A on the west bank, and Stelae J and R on the east. All are inscribed with the LP, including the Repetition of the Oath on A and R (the bottom of J is now gone). Stela A has two additional features not found on other monuments of this type: (a.) the Colophon text follows the Repetition of the Oath, and (b.) the statuettes of the two eldest princesses are supplemented by portraits of the first three daughters, carved in sunk relief on the south side of the altar held by the queen in the northern statue group.

(3.) The wide niche of the second type was retained, but the elements within it rearranged: the tablet now stood at the center, with one of the two statue groups on either side. Originally of this type are Stela B on the west bank and Stelae N, P, Q, S, U and V on the east. There is also reason to believe that K was changed into this design from its original, simpler form (see the first category, above). All the other examples of this design, however, were inscribed with the LP, including the Repetition of the Oath in all cases (with the possible exception of Stela V, the surface of which is nearly all destroyed). Stela B shares with A two divergences from all the other monuments of its type: (a.) the Repetition of the Oath is followed by the Colophon, and (b.) relief figures of three princesses appear to have been carved on the side of the altar held by on of the queen's statues (in the statue group to the south of the tablet: see pl. 20-B). An acknowledgement of the third daughter seems also to have taken place at a number of the sites belonging to this type on the east bank: this can be inferred from the presence of small holes sunk into the platform beside the statuettes of the two eldest daughters that were part of the original design, and presumably intended to hold a third, free-standing statuette (only at Stelae P and Q [at both sides of the tablet] and at U [north side only]) None of these added statuettes have been found, and there is no certain indication at any of the sites that they were ever installed.

No pattern emerges very readily from this data. The first type, always associated with the EP, is plainly the earliest, but neither the texts nor the designs of the other stelae resolve into comparably neat categories. Both the second and third types, for instance, are found on both sides of the Nile. Type 2 is found at the extremities of the site (=Stelae A and J), but also inland (at Stela R); and Type 3 is associated not only with the LP but, secondarily, with one version of the EP as well (Stela K in its final form). Finally, the two addenda of year 8 are not confined exclusively to either Type 2 or Type 3. All

this is very confusing if one is bent on discerning rigidly applied rules for the distribution of these materials around the borders of Akhet-Aten, for it is clear that such easy consistencies do not exist. What this evidence suggests instead is that any pattern will have its share of anomalies. Fortunately, a number of chronological indicators do exist, embedded both in the texts and in the monuments on which they were carved. They may be tabulated as follows:

(a.) The Repetition of the Oath is regularly found on monuments of Type 3. Stela V, the wretched condition of which prevents our verifying the presence of this text there, is not a persuasive exception -- for why would the "Repetition" be left off a tablet large enough to include it? It can be shown, moreover, that the Repetition of the Oath formed an integral part of the text carved on these later boundary stelae: it begins in the middle of the penultimate line, for instance, on tablets such as N, S and U, in which the text was artfully laid out to fill the final line completely.[18] In all, the probability that any stelae of Type 3 were finished before year 8 is virtually nil: they were completed, at the earliest, some two years after the decree of year 6 was issued.

(b.) The addition of a third princess's statue to the original design is also a modification peculiar to the monuments of Type 3. It is not found on any stelae of Type 2, and occurs only sporadically at some of the sites of Type 3 on the east side of the Nile. (The presence of the third daughter is handled differently on the west bank: see below.) Why would the growth of the royal family be recorded so sporadically, once it was decided to commemorate it at all? Then simplest explanation is that, when this change was ordered, the work crews began to comply by adding statuettes to those sites that were still under con struction -- all monuments of Type 3 (=Stelae P, Q and U). We can only guess what happened next: perhaps the change was deliberately confined to these few sites, or perhaps its extension to other sites was delayed and then forgotten in the press of other work. The result was fortunate, in any case, for it preserved the evidence that permits us to date this modification near the end of the carving of the monuments in Type 3 -- a project that began, as we have seen, in year 8 at the earliest.

(c.) Quite a different technique was used to depict the arrival of a third princess on the west bank, at Stelae A and B (=Types 2 and 3 respectively). The floor in front of Stela B had disappeared, but no effort was made at Stela A to insert a statuette into the platform. At both sites, however, figures of the expanded corps of royal children were carved onto a feature integral to the original design, the altar held by the queen in the statue-group that stands immediately to the south of the tablet. This grouping

is not only symbolic -- the three princesses are literally "under the hand" of the queen, their mother (cf. LP, Section VI, at A:7) -- but economical: the improvement on the solution devised for the east bank sites is so striking that it must have come as an alternative to the decidedly unwieldy prospect of carving and inserting figures in the round. The execution of this plan on the west bank, then, should be a later reaction to the corresponding and more cumbersome expedient adopted at the sites on the east side of the river.

(d.) A study of the texts on Stelae A and B, set against the amount of space reserved for them, provides further evidence that these west-bank monuments were finished after the Type 3 stelae on the east bank. Note first the abnormally high pedestals on which the statues at Stela A rest: the base of the right-hand statue group, for instance, begins near the top of line 24 on the tablet and runs below the bottom of line 25 for a few centimeters until reaching the floor. Nothing like this is found at any of the comparable sites on the east bank, nor is this feature peculiar to the west bank -- for at Stela B the projected relationship between the statue bases, the bottom of the tablet and the floor can be shown to be consistent with what is normal on the east bank. Since the engineers at Stela A were not driven to this anomaly by anything inherent in the statues themselves, their procedure can only be explained by the assuming a necessary change in relation between the stela and the floor.

An examination of the tablet confirms this suggestion. Starting from the beginning of line 14 there is a slight but perceptible shift to the left; and the size of the hieroglyphic group is reduced, down from the original 6 cm. per group to 4 cm. by line 24, with a subsequent re-expansion (rather sloppily done) near the end of the tablet's lowest line. It would appear that those charged with laying out the inscription tried to cram as much as possible into the available space until they were certain of their goal (at which point, they were suddenly hard pressed to fill their last line with what they had left). There is an obvious reason for their difficulty: Stela A holds not only the usual text found on tablets from the east bank (=the decree of year 6 + the Repetition of the Oath [LP, Sections I-VIII]), but the "Colophon" (LP, section IX), which runs on for approximately five and a half lines. If we assume that the tablet of A was designed to hold a text of standard length, an addition of such magnitude would pose serious problems: hence, we suggest, the lowering of the floor, which gave the statue bases their abnormally tall profile but also provided room for two more lines, enough to finish the inscription.

The adoption of such extreme measures (nothing less than lowering the floor of the entire monument!) probably became necessary because the sculptors were ordered to include the Colophon only after they had carved a considerable part of the inscription at Stela A: now that the basic scale of the

carving had already been fixed, it was impossible to adjust the size of the hieroglyphs in order to fit the text into the available space. Confirmation of this hypothesis can be inferred from Stela B: this text also includes the Colophon after the standard text of the LP, but although the tablet of B is the same size as that of Stela A, no structural changes were made. Instead, the daughtsmen were able to adjust the length of their text to the space they had at their disposal. There are major cuts in the formal verbiage at the beginning of the inscription (even the initial date, invariable elsewhere, is sacrificed), as well as additions in some later sections -- specifications pertaining to the west bank that were omitted from the standard text on the other stelae, but which serve here to bring the inscription to its desired length. One is left with the strong impression that the composition of Stela B was the fruit of bitter experience, and that the draughtsmen took these measures in order to spare themselves the trouble they had been forced to take with Stela A.

The historical implications of all these adjustments run well beyond the history of the boundary stelae or, indeed, Akhenaten's city as a whole. Particularly important is the light they shed on the two events known to have taken place in year 8: the "repetition of the oath" on I *Prt* 8 and "another oath" on IV *3ht* 30. Which came first? Their respective positions in the text might also be their chronological sequence (i.e., I *Prt* 8 before IV *3ht* 30) -- but although a case can be made for this position on these grounds alone,[19] some doubt would remain. The second date, after all, falls only eight days before the first in the Egyptian calendar; and since the Colophon is found only on Stelae A and B, one might argue that it pertained only to the west bank and was issued to clarify the decree of year 6 before the king decided to "repeat" his oath for all the boundaries a few days later.[20] The physical and textual alterations to Stelae A and B now make this scenario more improbable.[21] They show that the Colophon was not part of the text when these stelae were laid out, but that its addition came suddenly -- after the two tablets had been made and even while the standard text of the LP was being carved onto Stela A. Rather than assume that the chancery belatedly decided to publish an earlier "clarification" -- for this pronouncement in fact says nothing new -- we may more probably blame a formal occasion in the recent past. At Stela A, this event is described as "another oath that the king, etc., uttered at the establishing of the stelae that belong to the borders of Akhet-Aten". While this could refer to the dedication of Stelae A and/or B,[22] it more probably marked the formal completion of the boundary stelae, the date when they were all "established" at the borders (which they were not when the oath had been "repeated" on I *Prt* 8), with only A and B -- the last of these monuments to be finished, as we have seen from other evidence -- still under construction. The date of the Colophon falls, then, not only *after* the day on which Akhenaten repeated

his oath, but near the very end of Akhenaten's eighth regnal year. The sequence of dates on Stelae A and B shows that year 8 extended between I *Prt* 8 and IV *3ḫt* 30. The change in the regnal year, on the holiday that marked the king's accession, could have fallen only during the eight days following the date of the Colophon -- that is, until the calendar had reached I *Prt* 8, which is the latest day on which year 9 could have begun. Eight days is an acceptable level of uncertainty, for most dated events in Akhenaten's reign fall within the rest of the regnal year and can now be placed in their proper order.[23]

* * * * *

The point of this extended argument has been that historical understanding fares best if we use both the inscriptions and the architecture of the boundary stelae to enhance it. Along with a chronological structure for the period, they also provide a means of tracing the history of the site, which we reconstruct as follows.

The territory of Akhet-Aten was "found", in all probability, during the first months of Amenhotep IV's fifth regnal year. Much had already been done elsewhere to promote the cult of the Orb. At Thebes, the heartland of clerical orthodoxy, important temples were still under construction to dramatize royal support for the new cult and to compete with "Amun-Re, King of the Gods" and all his associates in Egypt's traditional religion.[24] Priesthoods of even the most respected divinities had suddenly become liable for the support of the new cult. The High Priest of Amun had been dispatched, for instance, on a quarrying expedition to the Wadi Hammamat as recently as year four: the graffito that has preserved the record of this expedition does not specify its purpose, but the scarcity of royal patronage inside Amun's temple is strikingly in contrast with the various building projects on behalf of the Aten that were under way nearby.[25] Also from Karnak comes the fragmentary copy of a royal decree that taxed the temples and towns throughout Egypt in the interest of the new cult. The amounts are paltry, but it is the symbolic humiliation in this gesture that impresses: the gods, to whom "foreigners come laden with tribute on their backs", are themselves made tributary to the new god.[26] The king's predilection for the Orb was already clear, then, by the end of his fourth year -- but for all the wealth and favor lavished on it, this was still an oddly rootless cult. The traditional sun worship had its established centers,[27] to be sure, but the Aten had no place of his own: wherever men had built temples he remained a guest, and in places like Thebes he was not entirely a welcome one. Hence Akhet-Aten, "His place of the primeval occurrence, which He made for Himself . . . , (*a place*) not being the property of a god, not being the property of a goddess . . . within which He shall achieve happiness" (EP, sections IV [K:x-xi], V-A [K:1], VII-B [K:12]).

The opening date of the EP -- already in the fourth month of the king's fifth regnal year -- commemorates the official foundation of the new city. The actual "finding" of this suitably virginal spot had already taken place, as the king himself emphasizes (EP, section V), but it formally became

"Akhet-Aten" only when the king took possession by means of the ceremonies and enactments that the EP describes. It was this inscription that appeared on the first of the boundary monuments, when Stelae M and X were carved into the "crags" by the river's edge that marked the limits, south and north, of the hills that enclosed Akhet-Aten on the east bank. It is also in this inscription that we first encounter the king as "Akhenaten": less than a month earlier he was still being addressed by his "Amenhotep" name, as we have seen, but from this day forward we find the new nomen, as well as "Atenist" forms of his Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names, exclusively in use at El-Amarna. Such a radical change, while unusual, was not unprecedented in itself;[28] but although the "Atenist" titulary had completely replaced the king's earlier names within a relatively short time of its adoption, the paucity of dated documents outside El-Amarna prevents our knowing how quickly this change was recognized throughout the rest of the country. We know that "Amenhotep the God, Ruler of Thebes" was recarved into "Akhenaten" in the buildings at Thebes,[29] for instance, but not when this change took place. To insist on this question may seem unreasonable, but the uncertainty is real: there are other cases in which kings tailored their royal style to specific religious environments.[30] All that can be said is that, once the heretic had assumed his new titulary at Akhet-Aten, we have no proof that he remained "Amenhotep" anywhere else; but neither can we exclude the possibility that the old style hung on, if only for a short time, at places like Thebes.[31]

In year 6, on the anniversary of the official foundation of Akhet-Aten ("the first occasion of finding it" [LP, section IV at A:2]) the king made another ceremonial appearance at the site and repeated the sacrifice he had made the year before. This time, however, his thoughts were directed toward the actual spots that would mark the city's limits on both sides of the river. It is this topic that occupies most of the LP and is the main point of difference between it and the EP of the previous year. It would be inaccurate to say that Akhenaten had completely ignored the western side of the Nile in that earlier decree: the reference (in X:40) to "the south-eastern stela" presupposes a matching tablet on the west bank; and the passage dealing with the "[boun]dary ste[lae] of Akhet-Aten, *from* the western mountain to the [eastern] mountain" (X:49) is more explicit still. Neither of these passages matches the LP's detailed and systematic approach to the borders, however, nor is it likely that such provisions would have appeared in the approximately twenty lines (from X:57 into K:77) that are now lost from the inscription -- for, if they did, why would the LP have been issued at all? The surviving provisions of the EP, even while acknowledging the western extension of the city across the river, demonstrate the king's overwhelming concern for the

proper maintenance of life on the east bank: a symptom of that imbalance is the frequent definition of the site in terms of the "crags" that defined the two ends of the bay in which the city proper was built. This initial vagueness as to where the limits of Akhet-Aten really were stems, we believe, from Akhenaten's own vision and his impatience. In year 5, in the euphoria that accompanied the "finding" of a suitable home for the Orb, with its auspicious configuration in the bay formed by the eastern cliffs (cf. K:12) and the heady prospect of laying out the new city, the other borders were probably left undefined -- "loose ends", to be resolved only when the more immediate concerns had been met. These omissions were to be repaired by the decree of year 6, in which the territory of Akhet-Aten was defined as being within six major boundary markers: we are told that the northern stela on the east bank will be "opposite" its counterpart on the western side, and that the same will be true of both the two "intermediate", or middle stelae, and of the two stelae that marked the southern limits on the east and west banks (LP, section VI-B). These are only rough borders as stated, to be sure, but they provided a framework within which the actual process of fixing the city limits could begin.

Where would this demarcation start? The text of the LP supplies at least one clue. First, we are told that the king stood upon his chariot "on the south-eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten" when he issued his statement on the boundaries (LP, section V). The only boundary marker that *may* have been finished at this time is Stela M; but, while it possible that the king chose to utter his proclamation there, the text of the LP avoids the specific term (*ḏḥnt*, "crag") that is used throughout the EP to describe this feature. The hills that run along the south end of the bay, moreover, are the most porous of all the boundaries on the eastern side of the Nile: through them come a number of roads from the high desert, including the track that had been used since the Old Kingdom by expeditions to the alabaster quarries at Hatnub (see pl. 1). In the end Akhenaten would leave no fewer than five boundary stelae in this area, but it is unlikely that he visited all of these sites in year 6. A chariotry cavalcade would have had no difficulty in approaching the cliffs that run by the river and then inland along the southern edge of bay (=the sites of Stelae J and N respectively), but it would have been able to negotiate only the desert tracks that run past Q and R. To be sure, the site of P can be seen and reached on foot from the hill of Stela Q, and the same is true of the situation of Stela S in relation to R.[32] Nearly all of these tablets, moreover, are inscribed with the "repetition of the oath" and were finished after the beginning of year 8; and, as we have seen above, Stelae P and Q were not only among the last of these monuments to be finished on the east bank, but they belong to an architectural group (our "Type 3") that includes N and S, but not J and R ("Type 2"). Could the latter be the sites Akhenaten visited in year 6? The hypothesis that Type 2 is

transitional between the bare design of Type 1 and the symmetrical elaboration in Type 3, while it cannot be proved formally, nonetheless seems the most plausible explanation of these variations.

(a.) Of all the tablets inscribed with the LP, only J could have been finished shortly after the decree of year 6 was issued because it is the only stela that could reasonably lack the "repetition of the oath". Both the lower part of this tablet and, indeed, the platform's entire floor are irrecoverable, and the "repetition" is so short -- barely more than one line in length -- that we cannot be certain whether it was ever carved here or not. Moreover, this part is more likely to have been missing from J, which is within the area Akhenaten visited in year 6, than from the similarly damaged Stela V, which is not.

(b.) Both the design of the Type 2 monuments and their positions make more sense if the Type 3 design was later. The arrangement of elements at Stelae A, J and R -- the tablet invariably on the right, with two statue groups to the left -- has always seemed odd to us. Given the omnipresence of symmetry in Egyptian art and architecture,[33] why were these sites laid out in this form instead of the more harmonious, and typical, Type 3? An answer begins to suggest itself if we remove the Type 3 monuments from our mental map of Akhet-Aten. All Type 2 stelae that remain are at the site's extremities: Stela A at the north-west end, opposite the earlier X; Stela R in one the wadis of the "south-eastern mountain"; and Stela J at the south-east end of the site facing the river -- further south even than the tablets with the EP, K and its earlier prototype, Stela M. This last tablet was one of the boundaries, moreover, that Akhenaten had earlier sworn not to move in any direction (EP, section VII-B). Since J, K and M all lie within the same unbroken stretch of cliff, we may allow that the king kept to the spirit of his oath somewhat flexibly -- but the importance he attached to maintaining "Akhet-Aten in this place" lends some significance, we believe, to the design he chose for this definitive border line. Note that at Stela J, and also at A and R, it is the tablet that abuts the space to the right which, by definition, is no longer part of Akhet-Aten. The tablet, with its inscription, is the marker and thus the guarantor of the boundary: it stands as the eternal witness to the king's oath and by virtue of this fact it must be replaced if any harm should come to it (LP, section VII). The royal couple, by contrast, stand within the city limits and present their offerings, on the tables these statues hold, on the ground of Akhet-Aten, the place *par excellence* "within which He (=*the god*) shall achieve happiness and at which I shall offer to Him" (EP, K:12).[34]. This relationship

between the Aten, the royal family and the territory of the god's new home is precisely what all three of the Type 2 monuments depict: through an artful combination of placement and design they have become enlarged hieroglyphs, each one a literal illustration of the purpose for which they were made.[35]

If this hypothesis is accepted, we may envision the following scenario for the interval between the king's oath of year 6 and its "repetition" in year 8. Work to implement the program that the LP had announced probably began soon after that decree was issued. The king's visit to the "south-eastern mountain" was probably commemorated by the small tablet we call Stela L,[36] and the sites for the remaining stelae may well have been chosen soon afterwards. It appears, however, that only J, R and A were begun in earnest now, and it seems unlikely that any of these were finished during this time. The reason is not far to seek. Akhet-Aten must have been a veritable beehive of activity in the period between Akhenaten's fifth and tenth years, for much of the construction that was done both in both the city proper and the necropolis took place then.[37] Moreover, the Pharaoh himself was still living in temporary quarters when he paid his second formal visit to the site in year 6 (LP, A:1), and the buildings that were to serve king and court probably took precedence over the remoter corners of Akhet-Aten. In any case, work on the boundary stelae certainly ceased during this interval, and we have no reason to believe that any of these monuments (with the possible exception of M and X, and conceivably J) were finished at this time. The Type 1 stelae, with the earlier text, probably were completed, but among the new series that were to bear the LP (=Type 2) only the tablets and, perhaps, the statues could have come close to their final forms. Most, perhaps all, of the later inscriptions were still uncarved, then, and the program outlined in the LP remained largely undone when Akhenaten came early in year 8 and "beheld the stelae of the Aten that are on the mountain of the south-eastern border of Akhet-Aten".

This sorry spectacle of neglect may have been what prompted the king to repeat his earlier oath and, more usefully, to carry it out. The royal orders must have been followed up this time, since (as we have seen) the formal "establishing" of the nearly completed boundary monuments took place just under a year after this phase had been initiated at the beginning of year 8. The work crews apparently began on the east bank, where the sites were many and conspicuous. Any unfinished monmuments (R, and probably J as well) were completed quickly; and it must have been by this point, at the latest, that the natural deterioration of Stela M required the preparation of K, its replacement, further south on the cliff. By far the greatest effort, however, was devoted to the sites of what we have called "Type 3" stelae. This design, as we have said, is more traditional than the earlier Type 2, but lacks the latter's ability to depict

the separation between the city and the world outside. The tablet has lost something of its role as the indicator of the actual boundary: rather than standing apart, it is now integrated into the offering gesture of the royal couple on either side. On the other hand, this is an entirely appropriate design for the "intermediate" monuments that were to stand between the boundaries on the north and south: stelae with their "backs" to the border, as it were, could not demarcate this line with the tablet only but would have to do so with their entire mass. Given the topography of the east bank, moreover, the LP's assumption of a single "middle" stela on this side was unrealistic: no fewer than seven were ultimately needed to stand guard along the hills and the gullies that mark nature's roads into the city of the Orb.

At a number of sites, moreover, a new way was found to stress the "intermediate" nature of these monuments. In all of the boundary stelae (except for Stela L) the lunette is decorated with a scene that shows the royal family adoring the Orb. These figures invariably face into the city at sites located at its extremities (i.e., facing south at the north end [Stelae A and X] and north in the stelae at the southern border [J, K and M]). At B (=the "middle" stela on the west bank), however, and also at P, Q, R and S on the east, the figures are arranged in a "mirror image", in which two groups of figures face one another and adore the orb of the Aten that is centered at the top of the lunette. Stela R is a Type 2 monument, as we have seen, and it may seem odd that the same design was not chosen at least for P and S, which are also at one side of tracks that run in and out of the bay. (Stela Q, which is also beside a desert road, does not face into it like the others but is oriented in the general direction of the city.) P, Q and S are Type 3 stelae, however, and although R is designed differently, it would appear that all four tablets in these desert wadis were viewed as a group, since they were decorated with the same type of scene and were located, to all appearances, within sight of one another: on a clear day one can see that the sites of R, Q and P are roughly aligned with one another from Stela S; and in decoration, R is the virtual double of its Q, just as S was laid out almost identically to P. The sum of the evidence, then, suggests that all four of these sites were being regarded as "middle" stelae by this stage of the work in year 8.

On the other hand, there is no denying the difficulties that can upset any attempt to apply such architectural and epigraphic criteria to all the boundary stelae consistently. For one thing, the decoration

of Stela R (with the king offering from the left and right sides of the tablet) seems to contradict its architecture, in which the tablet is not the central focus of the monument but its outer limit. This anomaly may not have disturbed the engineers who were laboring to finish the boundary stelae in year 8, or perhaps they were forced to ignore it, since it was obviously too late to transform Stela R into a monument of Type 3.[38] Similar "contradictions" are found, however, at sites which were probably not even begun until year 8. The design of Type 3 stelae such as N and U, for instance, matches their position, facing the city from the cliffs that surround the bay and separate its territory from the desert hills behind them; but in both instances the single image of the royal family is on the right side of the lunette, facing left, i.e., the figures might be seen not as facing the city but standing to one side of it.

The apparent difficulties we have just outlined were probably not seen as such by Akhenaten's contemporaries. In all of the scenes on the tablets, whether they use one representation of the royal family or a "mirror image", the focus is the Orb of the Aten and, by extension, the territory encompassed by the god's rays. This area would be seen differently from each site. At the north and south, for instance, a clear distinction could be made between where the city was and where it was not; and, as we have seen, this could be reflected in the orientation of the figures, who have their backs to the border and face into the territory of Akhet-Aten. At a "middle" stela such as B on the west bank,[39] its position between the extremities was logically conveyed by the double scene, with its figures facing one another in a "mirror image." The use of this device at the stelae in the desert wadis on the east bank (P, Q, R and S) might reflect a similar idea, with the king on each of these tablets standing guard over both sides of the road into his city. Other apparent anomalies may have similarly local explanations. Stela N, for instance, lies in the range of hills that found connects directly with the the southern "crag" by the river: the orientation of the figures might thus reflect its affinities with Stelae J, K and M. Similarly, at Stela U, the king and his family might be seen as emerging from the wadi immediately to the south, in which their tombs were situated. At Stela V, the eastern monument opposite the "middle stela" B on the west bank, the use of a single group facing south may reflect the tablet's true position, north-east of the central city.

It was probably during year 8, while the Type 3 monuments on the east bank were in progress, that a modification was introduced into the design of Stela K. This tablet, while hardly a slavish copy of M or X (see Chapter Three above), had clearly been laid out along similar lines: only one princess accompanied the king and queen in the original version of the lunette, and the monument as it was first designed probably conformed to the same Type 1 design as its prototypes. Under the influence of the

Type 3 monuments that were under construction at the same time, however, the stela was "updated": the standard statue groups were carved at each side of the tablet, and the scene was altered to include the second princess who was now represented beside her parents in the round. This alteration, with all other work at this site, had apparently been finished by the time steps were taken to introduce the statue of a third princess at Stelae P, Q and U. That would have taken place during the closing months of year 8 if, as we have suggested, these sites were the last on the east bank to be finished.

Meanwhile, work on the west bank had also begun during year 8. Stelae A and B were at least architecturally finished, as we have seen, and the draughtsmen had already begun to inscribe the tablet of A when the "Colophon" decree was issued on IV *3ḫt* 30. Stela F was no doubt finished by this time, but Petrie did not comment on its architecture; and, since the site was destroyed after his visit, we have no way of knowing when it was begun. In the date for the Repetition of the Oath there is a substitution of "I *3ḫt*" for the "I *Prt*" that is standard on all other copies. If this variant reflects the actual time during which the work was done, Stela F would have been finished about three months before the promulgation of the Colophon disrupted the work at A and B.[40] The forced insertion of this text at these two northern sites would have prolonged work there at least into the early part of year 9, before the completed boundary stelae would be "established" in fact around the borders of Akhet-Aten.

* * * * *

This checkered history must be considered before we attempt to reconcile the actual borders of Akhenaten's city, as defined by the boundary stelae, with the statements about them in the LP. In most cases the boundaries are defined only in terms of the north, "middle" and south stelae on both sides of the river (section VI-B). A more explicit statement is made about the distance between the northern and the southern stelae on the east and west sides of the Nile (section VI-C) -- but both the reading of this figure and its relationship to actual measurements at the site are unclear. In the first place, the text describes the distance "measured from stela to stela" as being identical on both sides of the river -- a problematic statement, to say the least. Determining the borders on the west bank is a simple matter, for there are only three boundary markers on this side (A, B and F) and the distance between the northern and southern stelae is c. 15.4 (or perhaps c. 15.7) kilometers.[41] Matters on the east bank are more complicated, however, since it is not clear which of the tablets at the south end of the site was regarded

as "the southern stela of Akhet-Aten". If we measure from Stela X, at the north end, to one of the stelae by the river -- M (c. 12.2 km.), K (12.6 km.) or J (c. 13 km.) -- the results are all short of the corresponding distance on the west bank. The distance to Stela R, which precedes any of the other monuments in this area and thus *could* have been regarded as "the southern stela" when it was first made, is somewhat better (c. 14.5 km.), but it would have been superseded when Q (c. 15.4 km.) and P (c. 15.7 km.) were added. Either of the latter are far enough from X to correspond to F on the west bank, but there is added reason to think that P -- which is in fact the most southerly of the boundary stelae on the east side -- was regarded as such. Instead of the Blue Crown which is part of the king's standard costume on other tablets, Akhenaten wears the "White" Crown of Upper Egypt on Stela P. In sacred buildings this item of apparel and the contrasting "Red" Crown of Lower Egypt are often found opposite one another on architectural elements, and when used in this fashion they define the axis, either of an entire building or a part thereof.[42] Given the position of Stela P, it is reasonable to assume that the White Crown was used in this way, to designate it as "the southern stela" of the text.[43]

A few uncomfortable facts, however, stand in the way of this conclusion. First, only one "northern" counterpart of P, in which king wears the Red Crown, is extant -- and that is Stela B, which by no stretch of the imagination can be the northern stela on the west bank. On both of the true "northern stelae" (A and X), moreover, the king wears the Blue Crown. Since both B and P are among the last of the boundary stelae to be made, one might suspect that the symbolic use of crowns was also a late alteration of the original design. As we have seen, however, the inscribing of Stela A took place just before that of B, and it was probably contemporary with, if not later than, the decoration of P on the east bank. Since the Red Crown was not used to define Stela B as the most northerly of the border monuments on the west bank, the same type of evidence cannot be used to identify P as "the southern stela", without qualification, on the other side of the Nile. Finally, we cannot be certain that only P and B departed from the standard decorative scheme in this fashion. Stela V is too destroyed to tell us anything about the crown the king wore, and Stela F is now gone. Moreover, even though it is highly unlikely that any stelae will ever be found in the sandy waste between B and F, we cannot rule out that such tablets existed or that one of them might be the western counterpart of Stela P.

The difficulty outlined above is germane to the second of our problems regarding the extent of Akhet-Aten, namely, the interpretation of the figure given in the LP. By any standard reading of the signs the distance from the northern to the southern stela on each bank was exactly "six *iter*, one and three-quarter rods and four cubits"[44] -- and therein lies the rub. Although the length of the *iter* was, and

remains, controversial, scholarly consensus since Borchardt's investigation in 1921 has reckoned the standard *iter* at 20,000 cubits, or 10.5 kilometers.[45] At this rate, however, the distance between the northern and southern stelae on either side of the Nile would be be in excess of 62 kilometers -- and that is clearly impossible in a terrain whose extremities are all less than 16 kilometers apart. Borchardt's way around this difficulty (positing that a shorter *iter* of only 5,000 cubits was used in the measurement of Akhet-Aten) is admittedly consistent with Graeco-Roman evidence for an *iter* of variable length[46] and it results in a more realistic figure of c. 15.78 kilometers, but it is still more convenient than conclusive. It is no better grounded than a more recent suggestion that makes the *iter* into a measure of travelling time between stations, and thus of no fixed length,[47] and like all other proposals it fails to ask what such a statement might have meant in Akhenaten's sixth regnal year.

In considering this problem we have found ourselves increasingly mistrustful of previous attempts to reconcile the LP's measurement of Akhet-Aten with the distances between boundary stelae. The king gave formal voice to the LP somewhere "at the south-eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten" but, as we have seen, evidence of early interest is found at only a few sites (L, J and R), and the likeliest venue for the royal oath is probably the site of Stelae M and L, which are at the natural terminus of the bay. The "crags" at the north and south end of the site, in any case, would seem to be the most logical points for such a measurement. Not only were they the most conspicuous extremities, visible from any point of the city's territory, but they were already recognized as borders by year 6. A line drawn between Stela X and one of the tablets at the southern "crag" would also run roughly parallel to the river, which is also true of the line on the west bank between A and F. This is significant, not only because the *iter* was by definition a "river measure",[48] but more importantly because the Aten's competitors -- the other temples, royal estates and other administrative entities -- would measure their own territories along this main artery.[49] The limits of Akhet-Aten, north or south, would scarcely have been reckoned from a remote point in the desert that had no practical interest for anybody, but at localities where the dividing line was meaningful, i.e., sites adjacent to the cultivated lands that the Aten owned on the west bank, corresponding on the east side to the natural crags that providentially demarcated "the place that He Himself made to be enclosed for him by the mountain" (K:12). By these criteria, it would appear that the "four stelae" that were to enclose the Aten's city in year 6 (LP, section VI-D at A:13) were X and J on the east bank, corresponding to A and F on the western side of the Nile.

What, however, are we to make of the identical distances the LP specifies between these points on both sides of the river? If based on a survey that had already determined the location (and thus the relationship) of all the sites on both banks, it would have to be taken seriously -- but there is no evidence that this had been done when the LP was issued. The very terms of that decree, however, make it clear that the east bank was its primary reference point, for the specifications of the city limits (in section VI-B) all begin with the eastern side, to which the western borders are to conform "similarly, exactly."[50] There is no evidence to show that any practical thought had been given to conditions on the western side of the Nile at this time. The king simply ordered that the western stelae be "opposite" the tablets on the east bank. In this event, however, the distance "measured between stela to stela" in the following section (VI-D) would also have been taken on the east bank, with the proviso -- made purely schematically, and as an afterthought in the text -- that the length of the west bank would be identical to the east. The identical distances on both east and west banks might thus represent no more than an expectation that, in practice, was carried out with only rough accuracy.

If so, what is the explanation for the anomalous use of the Red and White Crowns on Stelae B and P? It seems clear that neither one can be among the stelae that marked the extremities of Akhet-Aten in year 6: while Stela P is located further south than any other monument on the east bank, the same is plainly untrue for B, and (curiously, assuming its ostensible importance) P was not begun until two years after the LP was issued. Why, then, were these two stelae set apart in this fashion? By analogy with traditional decorative practice, it may have been to define a northern and southern limit *inside* the city's territory, but how would this have been done? One possibility is to envision them as a matched pair, with B corresponding to V (the scene of which is destroyed) and an unknown tablet north of F matching Stela P, but this model asks too much of non-existent evidence. If we assume that P and B are unique, however, the effect of their duality -- juxtaposed diagonally, on opposite sites of the river -- is oddly lopsided. The only explanation that seems even approximately credible is that topography caught up with theory in year 8: in laying out the unfinished sites, the engineers realized that P -- and indeed, all the stelae in the south-eastern wadis -- were located further south than the official "southern stela", namely J. Once this fact was acknowledged in the decoration of P, symmetry required that the same treatment be given to the most northerly of the "middle stelae", which was B, as yet unfinished. While this is the best we can do with this intractable anomaly, we must admit that neither our solution nor the situation it seeks to explain can be described as elegant.

Much of the historical interest which the boundary stelae possess lies in what they have to tell us about the conditions that led Akhenaten to found his new city and what he intended to do there. Regrettably, most of what there is to learn about these matters comes from the EP, with its unreliable preservation and many gaps. Even so, and despite a number of obscurities in the way issues are approached in this decree, it remains our most important written source bearing on the situation facing the king at this moment, when he took the irrevocable step of ceasing to be Amenhotep IV and becoming Akhenaten.

What sort of site was Akhet-Aten to be? We have already observed the urgency with which the king sought out a place on virgin soil, so that it would belong exclusively to this god and none other (pp. 155-156). In this he was as good as his word: no significant settlement of any kind seems to have existed on the site before Akhenaten chose it.[51] The very need for such a place, however, seems not to have been anticipated before the beginning of Akhenaten's fifth regnal year, for previously the Aten had contended with the other gods on their own ground. Only once do we find any mention of the crisis that precipitated this dramatic change in policy -- but a frustratingly brief reference it is, to wit:

> Now as the Aten, my father, lives: regarding (the) . . . . . in Akhet-Aten, it was (or they were) worse than those which I heard in regnal year 4, *etc.* (EP, section VIII at K:20)

The lacuna here includes the beginning of a word preserved in X:22 (probably *q3*: see the commentary to the EP in Chapter Two, at note *j4*) followed by room for two more groups. These signs are all but illegible in Davies' drawing, but in their joint translation he and F. Ll. Griffith read "priests (?)" here. This word, which they probably obtained by interpreting as part of *wꜥb* (Gardiner signlist D-60) the trace they saw under the *r*, can now be dismissed, taking with it the tenuous evidence it supplied for an organized body of opposition to the king's program.[52] The possibilities are just as tantalizing, however, if the beginning of a word formed with the adjective *q3*, "high" is actually preserved here, for most such compound words connote arrogance in the person or the behavior to which they refer.[53] If the end of this word in the second group were followed by the relative *sḏm.j* at the end of the lacuna, one might restore: "as for (the) *arro[gant* things which I heard] in Akhet-Aten, they were worse than those which I heard, *etc.*" In any case, what we have here is no detailed explanation of the situation, but merely an oblique reference to it.

If presumptuous behavior is the issue here, what was it? Although trouble with the Amun clergy has been widely assumed, several scholars have suggested instead that a malicious rumor, denying that Akhenaten's courtiers would receive tombs they had been promised in the new royal cemetery at El-Amar-

na, had provoked the king's ire.[54] It is true that the passage in question directly follows one that discusses the allotment of private tombs at Akhet-Aten (EP section VII-E), but in other respects this argument from context is rather weak. Such a rumor would be rebutted most effectively by a plain statement to the contrary: why, if the king was at pains to reassure his followers, would he choose such an indirect way of doing it? The passage seems too long and the language too intense for such a simple matter. Moreover the formula with which it begins is used elsewhere in these inscriptions to initiate new topics.[55] The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that, by the beginning of section VIII, Akhenaten has moved from the layout of his new city to a fresh subject. This is pursued seriously and at length, but in a manner that avoids any detailed explanation of the background. The matter was obviously distasteful, and we may infer that Akhenaten's contemporaries would have known what he meant; but since discussion of this issue is almost entirely in terms of the king's reaction to it, we can only guess at what might have provoked this outburst.

Apart from the possible reference to "arro[gant things] (?)" in the opening of section VIII, the text supplies few insights into what had given such offense. One possible clue lies in the historical setting: the present situation is worse than anything heard earlier in the king's reign or in his forefather's reigns unto the fourth generation, even worse than anything experienced by "any king who had (ever) assumed the White Crown" (K:21). Read literally, and on the assumption that some meaning resides in rhetorical language, this passage implies that what had infuriated the king (presumably at the beginning of year 5) was an aggravated example of a condition that had existed earlier: not only had he and his ancestors "heard" of it with disapproval, it was something that was widely "reported" in all sectors of Egyptian society (K:21). Everyone, moreover, from the highest functionary down to the lowest of the king's subjects, the conquered population of Nubia,[56] was liable to commit at least a verbal "offense" (K:21-22) against the dignity of the king's divine "father."

It is unfortunate that the text of the EP goes to pieces in these crucial passages; and Akhenaten, for his part, may not have said much more about this disaffection than emerges from the broken lines of the decree. A reasonable guess can be made, however, about its origin. As others have already seen (see n. 54 above), the hostility which the king's program provoked follows the end of a passage that describes the relocation of the royal cemetery at Akhet-Aten. This move surely affected the court officials who would expect, and were promised, a place of honor in the new mortuary area; but, as we have said, concern over these private tombs would hardly have generated such turmoil. It is quite otherwise, however, with those who had just lost the prestige and revenues of a royal necropolis. For well over three

centuries Akhenaten's ancestors had been buried at Thebes. These tombs, together with the great mortuary temples that served the royal cult, were explicitly located "in the Estate of Amun on the west of Thebes".[57] Theban control over the royal cemetery is often taken for granted, especially in view of the splendid funerary monuments found there. In fact, it was an anomaly. The traditional site of the Pharaoh's burial had nearly always been at (or near) Memphis, and only exceptionally and under abnormal conditions had tombs of royalty been located at Thebes.[58] Nothing illustrates the power of Amun's clergy more eloquently than its tenacious hold on this connection with the royal house, even when the ruling family had ceased to be Theban.[59] The people of Thebes, moreover, derived very real benefits from the industry of building and equipping tombs, and endowments devoted to the perpetual maintenance of the cult in these mortuary establishments also enhanced the general prosperity.[60] Then, suddenly, royal patronage was withdrawn. The reasons are not on record, although they can be inferred.[61] It is not hard, however, to visualize its effects, not only on all classes at Thebes, but on those who administered Amun's far-flung holdings throughout the Nile Valley. Since they, more than any other group in Egypt, were most directly affected by this "abandonment" of Thebes, they must have figured prominently in any movement to oppose the turn which the king's policy had taken.

It is perhaps in this connection that we should understand the rhetorical passage in the EP which refers to former kings. The earliest of those mentioned, Thutmose III, had not initiated Amun's special relationship with the royal house, but under him it certainly entered a new and more expansive phase. Among other developments,[62] we can point to a staggering amount of officially sponsored construction at Thebes between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep IV: Amun's premier temples at Karnak and Luxor, for example, were completely transformed during this time, progressing from structures of modest size to the massively scaled complexes with which we are familiar today.[63] Use of the Theban necropolis as a private cemetery for high officials underwent a similar expansion, for as of Thutmose III's accession it quickly attained an eminence that was curtailed only by the revolution of Akhenaten.[64] The "power of Amun" might thus be traced, with some degree of justification, to the king with whom these developments had begun, the glorious founder of Egypt's Asiatic empire and the greatest of Akhenaten's direct ancestors, Thutmose III.[65] If so, it might also be logical for the king to select this earlier reign as the ostensible start of the "evil" that he was now undercutting with such finality.

With the move to Akhet-Aten and the changes in the royal titulary, the king's struggle with the orthodox religious establishment entered a new and more desperate phase. The argument from silence,

which tends to deny any significant incidence for materials that are not found in the archaeological record, is probably valid in this case: no monuments made for Egypt's traditional gods survive under the name of Akhenaten, and if there were any they were probably few. The provisions in the EP regarding the royal cemetery at Akhet-Aten is significant in this regard, for they illustrate what the king was willing, and able, to do in his campaign to whittle down the power of his god's rivals. Antipathy, however, was apparently not yet tantamount to persecution. The early form of the Aten's didactic names, which remained in use at least through the end of year 8,[66] still described the god's nature in terms of a number of the solar deities in orthodox mythology.[67] A prominent place in the new cemetery was also reserved for a thoroughly traditional figure, the Mnevis (*Mr-wr*) bull, sacred to the sun god, who was to be interred at Akhet-Aten instead of in his customary burial ground at Heliopolis.[68]. Thoth, another orthodox divinity whose territory adjoined the city's northern border, seems to have been tolerated, at least, even while other gods were being persecuted.[69] Elsewhere in the EP, moreover, there are references to "gods" and "goddesses" which, even if they are not respectful, at least treat them as figures to be reckoned with. The Aten's city, for instance, is to be built on ground "not belonging to a god, not belonging to a goddess" (K:1) -- land, in other words, that is unclaimed and is thus protected from encroachment by any rival establishment. The same concern is perhaps at the heart of a later passage (X:47) that speaks of "(a) great . . . (of) any god or any goddess against (?) Akhet-Aten by decree (?) of any god (or) any goddess." This passage, if interpreted correctly, is especially interesting, for it implies that the other gods of Egypt (i.e., their clergies) were regarded as being in a position to act against the city, whether by litigation or some other means. All this is a slender base of evidence, but cumulatively it suggests that orthodox religious foundations were expected to continue and that Akhenaten's establishment of his new city was not yet construed as an open declaration of war.

Much has been made of Akhenaten's asseveration that he would "not go past" the borders established by the boundary stelae (LP, section VI-B). Taken literally, his words might suggest that by year 6 the king had decided to isolate himself in Akhet-Aten, and a number of scholars have maintained that he swore never again to leave it.[70] We believe, however, that the evidence used to support this notion actually contradicts it. In arguing this point scholars have paid most attention to Akhenaten's unwillingness to pass the northern and southern stelae. This is understandable, because -- apart from the controversial testimony of a hieratic dateline on one of the Amarna Letters[71] -- there is no record of Akhenaten outside Amarna after year 6. The oath includes, however, a similar statement regarding the

middle stela on the east bank, in which Akhhenaten swears (A:10) that he "will not go past it to the orient forever and ever." If this must be taken literally, the king seems to be saying that he will never leave the bay to go into the eastern desert -- a curious resolve, for it would debar him from ever visiting the site chosen for his tomb, deep inside the royal wadi and thus some 6 km. from the eastern border at Stela U. One could argue that Akhenaten laid just such an interdiction on himself, but it seems desperate to do so. It is unlikely that the king denied himself the option of inspecting the work on his tomb as well as on the other tombs nearby. Moreover, there is one occasion at which the king would almost certainly have been present in the royal tomb during his own lifetime, viz., the burial of his second daughter, Meket-Aten. Scenes of mourning, some of them apparently set at the tomb itself, decorate the walls of the suite that was prepared for her in her father's tomb.[72] In any case, it is scarcely credible that the king would have been absent from his child's funeral. Special pleading will not do here. The scenario required by the literal interpretation is so improbable that we should probably reject it altogether and look for another explanation of what the king meant when he promised "not to go past" his city's boundaries.

The solution, we believe, lies in the EP of the previous year and with Akhenaten's first vision of his city. At that time the king had undertaken not to build it anywhere else, promising that he would "not go past the southern stela of Akhet-Aten toward the south," nor to "go past the northern stela of Akhet-Aten toward the north, in order to make Akhet-Aten for him there" (K:11-12). Since the same verb that is used here (*snj*, "to pass") reappears in the pertinent passages of the following year (LP, section VI-B), it seems likely that this later text simply abbreviated the earlier and more specific wording. If this simple explanation is accepted, there is no question of a self-imposed exile at all: the king simply promised on both occasions that he would not move the boundary for the purpose of situating his god's new home in any other place. Seemingly contradictory, to be sure, are the adjustments at the southern "crag", where M, K and J succeeded one another as "the south-eastern stela." These changes were barely even in technical violation of Akhen aten's promise, however, for even though the border line moved approximately one kilometer to the south, the city's position did not change. In year 5, moreover, it is clear that the king did not expect to spend all his time at Akhet-Aten: indeed, Akhenaten foresaw that he, along with other members of the royal family, might die in some other place (EP, section VII-D); he forbade the performance of certain rituals whenever he was "in any (other) city or in any (other) town" (K:34); and he mentions "*going about*" in various directions "in order to make *domains* (?) [for] the [Aten]" (K:38). All in all, the case for voluntary seclusion seems fatally thin.[73] The proofs, internally inconsistent,

on which it rests can be interpreted more easily in another way. Plenty of evidence that explicitly contradicts this proposition can be found, particularly in the decree of year 5; and nothing -- neither fact nor reasonable speculation -- implies that the king changed his mind between the formal foundation of Akhet-Aten and its first anniversary in year 6.

* * * * *

Excavations have revealed a great deal about life in all levels of society at Akhet-Aten. The perspective of the boundary inscriptions, however, is quite different: in fact, one would hardly gather from them that Akhet-Aten was a city at all. Although the site supported a large and varied population,[74] the boundary inscriptions implicitly ignore the presence of these people and their houses, even those in the central city which, by virtue of their proximity to temples and palaces, must have been built by royal permission. The very term "city" seems to be avoided in reference to Akhet-Aten, perhaps because of its association with Thebes, "The City" *par excellence*.[75] On the other hand, the place is repeatedly described as the god's "horizon": not only the hilly portal through which he rises and sets daily (cf. K:x-xi, 3, 10-11, 12) but as the god's earthly storehouse (K:2), and his "palace" (K:6); a glorified temple, in fact, which mimics on earth the circuit which the god performs every day in the sky.[76]

It is probably in the light of this conception that we should interpret the building plans that bulk so large in the EP. Beginning with a list of sacred buildings, together with palaces for the king and queen (section VII-C), it goes on to provide for a royal cemetery, with tombs for the king, his wife and eldest daughter (VIII-D) followed by a sacred animal necropolis and priests' tombs (VII-E). The site, as outlined, is reminiscent of Thebes or Memphis, but within a narrower focus, for this description ignores not only the private residential quarters but also the tombs that were ultimately given to officials whose connection to the Aten cult was marginal at best. What is significant is not the presence of these installations in the finished city -- we need hardly imagine that the servants of the Aten and the king were to be housed at any great distance from their posts -- but their exclusion from the officially announced plan. Although Akhet-Aten would become a full-fledged royal residence in terms of its amenities and its scope of activity, this was evidently not a prospect Akhenaten wished to emphasize when he publicly declared his intentions in year 5.

The correspondences between these names and the ruins at El-Amarna have been well discussed,[77] and not much has been added since. Pride of place goes to two temples that stood at each end of the

central city. The *Pr-Jtn*, which is mentioned frequently in the EP [78] was the "House of the Aten" in more ways than one: it was the Great Temple of the Aten, an enormous structure that embraced a number of dependent shrines at the north end of the quarter. By analogy both with the *Pr-Jtn* and the "Estate of Amun" at Thebes,[79] moreover, it was probably coterminous with the amalgam of territory and possessions that constituted the "Estate of the Orb" at Akhet-Aten. Next is "The Mansion of the Aten" (*t3 Ḥwt-Jtn*), the smaller temple to the south of the King's House.[80] Although the location of this building has suggested that it was the king's personal chapel, some scholars now believe it to have been his mortuary temple.[81] More difficult to locate "on the ground" is the next establishment to be mentioned, the "sunshade" (*šwt-rˁ*) of the queen (her name is lost, but it can only be Nefertiti). A number of similar buildings belonging to other female members of the royal family are known to have been built at Akhet-Aten, not all of them in the same place. For example, Akhenaten's "other wife" Kiya possessed two sunshades: one of them, in the Maru-Aten at the southern end of the bay, was eventually usurped by Nefertiti's eldest daughter, Meritaten; while the second, in the "House of Rejoicing of the Orb in the House of the Orb in Akhet-Aten" (for which see below) was taken over by Princess Ankhesenpaaten[82] Another sunshade, presumably built for Meritaten in her own right, was also located in the "House of Rejoicing,"[83] while a similar shrine seems to have been built at an unspecified location for Akhenaten's mother, Queen Tiyi.[84] A possible reference to Nefertiti's sunshade has been seen in a hieratic docket from El-Amarna, which mentions "the shade of Ankh-Re (*the name in a cartouche = the Aten*), L.P.H., belonging to the King's Wife (*in a cartouche*), may she live, at the south", i.e., presumably the Maru-Aten complex[85] -- but the "King's Wife" mentioned here may not be Nefertiti,[86] and the short directional note might refer to something else.[87] Our paradoxical conclusion must be that Nefertiti's sunshade, the earliest of these buildings to be commissioned and probably the first to be built, remains one of the more shadowy buildings at Akhet-Aten.[88] Since the *Pr-ḥˁy* area, where Meritaten's sunshade was built, is earlier than any of the other sites associated with these buildings at El-Amarna, it seems reasonable to infer that Nefertiti's sunshade might have been built there also.

The precise identification of next two foundations in the list is also difficult, but for different reasons. Both are called "House of Rejoicing" (*Pr-ḥˁy*), the second being qualified as "The House of Rejoicing in Akhet-Aten"; and both were located in what was called "the 'island' of 'The Orb Distinguished of Jubilees' in Akhet-Aten."[89] While the presence of two separate but similarly named establishments within this one area is still hard to explain fully, the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society do suggest their approximate locations. One of them, clearly the greater of the two, is connected with the

area of the Great Palace west of the royal road in the central city: it included the sunshades of Meritaten and Kiya, as well as elements called "The Orb's Broad Hall", "The Orb Rises" and a number of others.[90] Another area asociated with the name *Pr-ḥˁy*, although less certainly than the other, is the columned courtyard that is the first part of the Great Temple's inner core.[91] Both these ceremonial structures are plausible candidates for the two *Pr-ḥˁy*,[92] but it remains impossible to match either one of them with the names supplied in the EP. It seems likely that these names were chosen deliberately, as if to rival establishments with similar names at Thebes. Provisionally, we suspect that the "House of Rejoicing in Akhet-Aten" corresponds to the "House of Him that Rejoices in the Horizon of the Orb in Southern Heliopolis":[93] since this foundation at Thebes received offerings, it was probably part of the Aten temples there, and its counterpart at Amarna would be in the Great Temple. The other "House of Rejoicing" at El-Amarna could then be the Great Palace, corresponding to the *Pr-ḥˁy* palace of Akhenaten's father, Amenhotep III, at Malkatta in western Thebes.[94] The completion of both new "Houses of Rejoicing", along with the other buildings at Akhet-Aten that go unmentioned in the EP, no doubt lay in the future when Akhenaten outlined his intentions in the decree of year 5.[95]

"The Apartments of Pharaoh, L.P.H." and "the Apartments of the Great King's Wife" remain to be discussed. The central city, where all of the localities earlier in this list seem to have been situated, is one of the likelier places for them, and candidates are readily at hand in the King's House and the "Harem" area in the Great Palace.[96] There is reason to believe, however, that the royal family's primary residence was in the north city and that the buildings in the central city, for all their undeniably domestic appurtenan ces,[97] were predominantly ceremonial in function. The actual residences, once built, were probably in the northern sector of the site, the "great river palace" having been suggested as the king's personal dwelling, and the smaller "north palace" serving the queen.[97-A] But is this what was meant in year 5? While the entries in the EP are too concise to specify where Akhenaten meant to build the royal "apartments" at that time, a clue may be found elsewhere in the boundary inscriptions. Both decrees tell us that the king began his business in years 5 and 6 by appearing "on the great chariot of electrum" and "setting off on a good road toward Akhet-Aten" (K:ix-xi; A:1-2). On the second occasion (A:1) he had begun his journey at "the tent of matting that his Majesty made in Akhet-Aten, the name of which is 'The Orb is Content'". To avoid the obvious contradiction -- the king setting off toward Akhet-Aten from a locality that is already in it -- it would appear that "Akhet-Aten" is used in the first instance with a more limited meaning than in the second: the king's temporary quarters were situated -- perhaps near the site

where the northern river palace would be built -- on the territory of Akhet-Aten, but in a part of it that was not (yet?) regarded as Akhet-Aten *par excellence*. On both occasions, moreover, when the king arrived in Akhet-Aten proper at the end of his journey, he offered an elaborate sacrifice there before making his announcements (K:xii-xiv; A:3-4). Since the site and the content of these rituals were to all appearances identical in years 5 and 6, the most likely venue for them is at a site where such activities would regularly take place, viz., on the grounds of one of the temples in the central city.[98] Since, as we have noted, the king seems not to have been interested in the strictly urban aspects of Akhet-Aten in year 5, the apparent logic of his decree suggests an overriding preoccupation with the quarter in which the Aten's rule would be most formally celebrated: even though the territory of Akhet-Aten extended far to the north and south on both sides of the river, we should apply Akhenaten's insistence that he would build "in Akhet-Aten in this place" and that the site, once determined upon, would never be moved, not to the wider borders (which, as we have seen, *did* move slightly) but to the place from which the Orb and His divine son formally ruled Egypt, viz., the neighborhood of the temples that constituted the Aten's chief residence on earth.

Much of what the EP has to say about the new cemetery at El-Amarna (sections VII-D, E) involves the allotment of tombs to privileged individuals. We have already noted that the site's exclusive dedication to the Aten is a theme carried forward in this section: it could hardly be accidental that only the clergy of the Orb, among all the king's servants, are awarded tombs in the necropolis;[98-A] and the provisions for the Mnevis bull's burial might well have represented an attempt to coopt this part of the traditional solar cult for the new order, although it cannot be proved that such a tomb was ever in fact built.[99] We are on slightly firmer ground in dealing with the royal burials in the Wadi Abu Hasah el-Bahri. Of the three tombs mentioned in the EP, only the tomb of Akhenaten himself (No. 26) can be identified with any certainty.[100] In addition to Akhenaten's burial, the tomb has two additional mortuary suites: an impressive albeit unfinished series of rooms, the pros pective occupant being unknown; and a smaller suite that contained the burial of Princess Meketaten (in Room Gamma), and possibly that of Meritaten in the adjoining Room Alpha.[101] Both Nefertiti[102] and Kiya[103] have also been proposed as likely occupants of the royal tomb, but on slender grounds. Evidence from other parts of the royal wadi is even spottier. Although five other tombs have been identified in the vicinity of Akhenaten's burial place,[104] they are mostly unfinished and in only one instance can the prospective occupant be identified as a member of the royal family.[105] One hesitates to generalize from such evidence, but our impression is that work was

vigorously prosecuted only on the king's tomb, while the others were made -- at least initially -- only in case of need.[106] The tombs of Nefertiti, Meritaten and even the Mnevis bull might be among those that were belatedly started in this fashion, but it is just as likely that they were not. The only thing that appears certain is that the grandiose promises that Akhenaten made in the EP were only partially fulfilled in actuality.

However incomplete their realization, Akhenaten's intentions are nonetheless interesting for what they tell us about the evolution of the royal family as the boundary decrees were issued and and carved. We have already alluded to the persons who had the privilege of being buried at Akhet-Aten: the king, queen and eldest daughter are followed by another, presumably minor avatar of godhead in the Mnevis bull, with the Aten clergy bringing up the rear. Two things about this list stand out. First is its strict hierarchy, extending even to the fragmentary roster of priests' titles; and second is the role of Meritaten, as the sole representative of Akhenaten's progeny on the stelae that bore the EP. She is the only child of the king who is mentioned -- not even a generalized reference to *msw-njswt* is included in the pecking order of those who are to receive tombs in the royal necropolis -- and she alone appears with the king and queen in the scenes on these tablets: even that of K, which was the latest in the series, originally showed only Meritaten in the lunette. Eventually, of course, a figure of her younger sister Meketaten was squeezed in behind her (see pp. 12-13), but this modification of Stela K simply mirrors the emergence of a new constellation in year 6. The two princesses are now regularly shown together on copies of the LP, both in the lunette and in the statues beside the tablet. Meritaten is invariably shown as being larger than, i.e., senior to her sister, and the hierarchy is further specified in the body of the decree, which states that the two daughters are "under the hand" of their mother, who in turn is "under the hand" of the king (A:6-7). A logical conclusion to be drawn from these documents would seem to be that Meketaten came on the scene in the interval between the promulgation of the EP and the LP, i.e., no earlier than the middle of year 5 and no later than the start of year 6. By this criterion the appearance of the third child, Ankhesenpaaten, would be later still, for her advent in the eastern boundary monuments took place only as of the latter part of year 8 and somewhat later than that on the west bank (see above, pp. 151-154). The writing of her name, which is preserved only at Stela A, might also suggest that she was a recent addition to the royal family, for it is given as "Ankhesen*aten*", without the "pa-" that is regularly included in references to her at Karnak and El-Amarna.[107] Since Ankhesenpaaten is among the king's daughters who appear in private tombs that were decorated before the Aten's didactic name changed (in year 9, at

the earliest: see n. 66 above), the evidence from El-Amarna appears to indicate that Ankhesenpaaten was born, at the earliest, at the very end of year 6 (i.e., about a year after Meketaten) but more probably in year 7, and at the very latest at some time before the middle of year 8.[108]

These conclusions, it must be said, accord rather badly with the picture of the royal family that has been emerging from the Aten's temples at Karnak. Since the king regularly uses his "Amenhotep" nomen (later changed to "Akhenaten") in these buildings, it can be assumed that they were built before the *hejira* to Akhet-Aten in year 5; and, since as many as three daughters are represented in material from these Theban temples, it seems to follow that they were all alive before the "pre-Amarna" phase of their father's reign ended.[109] If this were indeed so, the gradual appearance of these princesses in the boundary monuments at Akhet-Aten would lose the chronological significance we have proposed for it; but on closer inspection the evidence is less clear. The appearance of more than one daughter following the queen is quite rare in the Karnak buildings, and it appears to be confined to one temple, the "Mansion of the Benben-Stone" (*Ḥwt-Bnbn*) in which Nefertiti officiates, without her husband, as the sole worshiper of the Orb.[110] The absence of the king's cartouches in these scenes makes it difficult to prove that the *Ḥwt-Bnbn* is as early as the other buildings at Thebes. The sporadic occurrence of original "Akhenaten" cartouches in the material from Thebes,[111] moreover, raises questions about the lack of activity that allegedly characterized the Theban sites after year 6. It is hard to believe that Akhenaten would have left a religious vacuum at the very nerve center of orthodoxy by permitting the Aten temples at Thebes "to remain silent and abandoned for twelve years" once the king had departed for El-Amarna.[112] The evidence for later work in the *Ḥwt-Bnbn* (in the shape of alterations made on some of the blocks) is slight and inconclusive,[113] but for the moment it remains possible that this temple was open and receiving additional decoration even while Akhet-Aten was under construction. Thus the few images of the second and third daughters might have been carved during years 6-8, when they first appear at El-Amarna. Only further research, supported by the proper evidence, will ever prove otherwise.

Another obstacle to this chronology for the royal family has been seen in material from the latter part of the Amarna Period, in which daughters of the second and third princesses sporadically appear. It seems clear that "Meritaten the young(er)" and "Ankhesenpaaten the young(er)" were daughters of their like-named elders;[114] and if they were also children of Akhenaten,[115] they must have been born by his last (i.e., seventeenth) year at the latest. This limit is especially important for Ankhesenpaaten 'Sr.', for at her

father's death she could have been thirteen years of age if she was born in her father's fourth year, but only ten if a birthdate in year 7 is assumed. The lower date seems more realistic if Akhenaten was the father of her child, but this paternity is not demanded by the evidence. Although filiation between the king and his daughters' daughters is generally inferred from the bald juxtaposition of his cartouche with the princesses' titularies,[116] another interpretation is possible. The right to the title "king's daughter", which fell naturally on Akhenaten's own children, would not be so clear for his granddaughters if their fathers were not already kings. It also appears that Akhenaten himself, as the founder of the new regime of the Orb, assumed a heightened status in the later years of the Amarna Period.[117] While it is permissible to infer Akhenaten's paternity from the mere presence of his name in the younger princesses' titularies, it is no less valid to infer a looser connection, i.e., that Akhenaten's granddaughters were grounding their standing as members of the royal family by virtue of their descent from him. This display of solidarity may have been seen as necessary, particularly since the later Amarna Age witnessed an apparent struggle between rival branches of the royal family, in which the two eldest surviving daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti triumphed over the king's other wife, Kiya, and her daughter.[118] Moreover, it appears increasingly likely that Akhenaten was directly succeeded not by the ephemeral Smenkhkare but by Nefertiti herself, who is attested into her third regnal year.[119] Under these conditions, it might have suited the embattled royals to evoke not only their descent from Nefertiti, but from her mighty husband and predecessor, "Akhenaten the God."[120] To be sure, we can prove neither this scenario nor Akhenaten's direct paternity of his granddaughters. So long as the situation remains ambiguous, however, it seems only honest to allow that Ankhesenpaaten, at least, could have conceived her daughter after her father's death, and that the likeliest father was her husband, Prince Tutankhuaten.[121]

Egyptologists have been properly wary of reading chronological significance into the number of princesses who appear in reliefs at El-Amarna, particularly since these and other yardsticks (e.g., their portrayal as children or adults) are so often affected by artistic or other requirements.[122] Extending this principle to the boundary stelae, however, is hazardous. In the first place, a deliberate effort *was* made to bring some of these monuments "up to date" by adding a second princess (at Stela K) and later a third (at A, B, P, Q and U): the situation is thus not analogous to what obtains on tomb and temple walls, where no such inclusiveness prevails. Second, the principle of artistic license, in which a choice of images lays stress on selected aspects of reality, does not extend so easily to texts, especially in decrees that define their subjects' status. If two or more daughters were on the scene at the beginning of year 5 and had already appeared in reliefs at the Aten's temples at Karnak, their very gradual entry into the boundary

stelae is not easy to explain: particularly in the later series, which purports to define the hierarchy in the royal family (LP section VI-A), it is difficult to account for the third daughter's delayed appearance if she was an established figure at court before it was moved to El-Amarna. Similarly curious would be the exclusion of the two younger princesses from the provisions of the EP: given the importance attached to proper burial at Akhet-Aten, not to mention the sense of hierarchy that informs the decree of year 5, it is surely odd that Meritaten's junior sisters would not be accorded, even by implication, an honor that was openly granted to their social inferiors. The most reasonable explanation for these anomalies is the methodologically unpalatable one, i.e., that silence in this case denotes absence. Until decisive proof to the contrary can be found, we believe that the boundary stelae offer the best evidence for the early development of the royal family, i.e., that only Meritaten was alive before year 5, while Meketaten was born in year 5/6 and Ankhesenpaaten, at the earliest, toward the end of year 6, but more probably sometime in years 7 or 8.

* * * * *

Since most of what there is to know about Akhenaten's program at El-Amarna is found in the EP, the incomplete preservation of this document is a subject for keenest regret. While the LP, which is far more limited in what it covers, is amply documented and virtually intact, only slightly more than one-third of the EP survives more-or-less completely. Over one-fifth of the text (=some twenty lines, from X:58 to K:79) is entirely missing, and only fragments of lines survive from the middle and the very end of the decree (some 35 lines = c. 38% of the whole). Such gaps have made it understandably difficult to assess Akhenaten's intentions in the EP as a whole, and collation has made charting a course through the wreckage of this document's lower sections only slightly easier. As is apparent in the notes to our translation of EP sections VIII-XX (in Chapter Two), certainty is precluded by the sheer amount of speculation required to make even provisional sense of incomplete words, no less than the difficulty of interrelating three fragmentary versions of the text. On the other hand, we believe that our labors have yielded a significant increase in confidence regarding the structure and the general content of the decree's middle sections (see Appendix 3). The provisions found there, insofar as they can be recovered, continue to emphasize the overriding concern that Akhenaten has shown in earlier sections regarding his city's dedication to the Aten. Practical matters are discussed, but not comprehensively since, as we have seen, the organization of the territory itself remained mostly unspecified until the LP was issued a year later. Instead, the decree's contents pertain almost exclusively to the proper maintenance of the cult at Akhet-Aten.

Considerable though by no means systematic attention seems to be given to the liturgical calendar of the Aten. Specific reference is made to the Orb's festival on New Year's day (M:30), to "all feasts at every season" (K:31) and to "the feast of the Orb with the oblations on (or at?) the river" (K:35 + M:34). While we do not know what all of these occasions were, it seems probable that they belonged to a traditional schedule of feasts,[123] perhaps modelled on that of the sun god's temple at Heliopolis and modified for use at Akhet-Aten.[124] A tantalizingly fragmentary passage (K:23 + M:24) asserts that "it is the Orb, my father, who [has desir]led (?) the House of Re [to be . . .] taken like . . . ." As we have already seen that part of Akhenaten's program in year 5 involved the importation of the Mnevis bull (hitherto associated with the orthodox solar cult) into the city of the Orb, other borrowings might be expected as well.[125]

Since in his early temples at Karnak the king had already placed the royal Sed Festival under the sponsorship of the Orb,[126] it is not surprising to see this arrangement extended to the god's new home at El-Amarna. Although the text (section XV) is full of gaps, it clearly contains Akhenaten's promise to celebrate his jubilee at Akhet-Aten and nowhere else. The next two sections, which go on to speak of new installations and buildings for the Orb, perhaps refer to structures that were to be erected for this occasion. Not much can be inferred from the stereotypical terms in section XVII, but in section XVI the king states that "I shall make [a building called (?)] 'the Double-plumed Shade of the Orb' . . . in the road which is in the crag of the [...]ern stela" (M:42 + K:42). While no such structure is identifiable on the ground, the name is reminiscent of the "sunsahdes" made for various female members of the royal family at Akhet-Aten. Since the sunshade *per se* was dedicated to the sun god in his creative aspect (see n. 88 above), and since this principle is also implicit in the double plumes,[127] a shrine of this type and by this name would not be out of place at a renewal feast such as the royal Jubilee. Regrettably, though, nearly everything about this installation, including its location, its nature and its pertinence to the Akhenaten's Sed Festival, remains hostage to the uncertainties of the text.

A number of passages testify to the seriousness with which Akhenaten addressed the issue of cultic observance at Akhet-Aten. In an unfortunately battered part of section X (K:32) he apparently specifies the proper venue for certain types of sacrifices to the Orb: these are not to be made at the extremities of the city, so presumably they may be done correctly only at the proper shrines, presumably in the central city. More extraordinary, and somewhat better preserved, is section XI, in which the king lays down regulations that govern his own involvement in the cult.[128] He begins by declaring that "I myself am the one who should make of[ferings] to the [Orb, m]y father in the House of the Orb in Akhet-Aten" -- an

innocent-looking statement, since all largesse comes from the Pharaoh and Akhenaten is regularly shown celebrating the rites of the Aten. Immediately thereafter, however, he adds that "offerings are not to be made to him there . . . when I am in any (other) city, (or) in any (other) town . . . ." It is tempting to interpret these words as forbidding the performance of *any* of the normal rituals of the Orb in the king's absence, particularly since the formal title of "high priest" (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*, or "first prophet") of the Aten cult did not belong to any one of the king's subjects: rather, it was filled *de fact* by the king himself.[129] Given this arrangement, which emphasized the close relations between the king and his divine "father",[130] it seems less unnatural that rites in the Great Temple of the Aten would cease whenever the king was out of town, for it could be argued that the only effective worship of the Orb took place wherever the king happened to be.[131] Our only reservation is epigraphic: we do not know how much of a gap, if any, separates the first clause in M:33, prohibiting offerings, from the second, circumstantial clause (K:34) that specifies the king's absence from Akhet-Aten. So long as this uncertainty exists, it remains possible that Akhenaten merely banned the making of certain types of offerings, or even the slovenly performance of the usual rituals, whenever he was not present in person.

Several passages refer to the endowment of the Aten cult at Akhet-Aten: sacrificial animals (X:29 + K:30; X:35?) as well as fields (K:33) are mentioned, the latter suggesting an extended equivalent of the catalogue of lands belonging to the Orb in in EP section XVIII and LP sections VI-D and IX-C. Support for the activities at El-Amarna was also provided by domains in other parts of Egypt,[132] and references to these are possibly found in sections XIII (X:36) and XIV (K:38). Subsidiary temples to the Aten were built in major towns of Egypt and even abroad, in Nubia.[133] The extent of their fiscal obligations, if any, to the "House of the Aten in Akhet-Aten" is unknown (although cf. above, at n. 26), but allusions to these establishments might be seen in in the broken references to Syria-Palestine (*Ḫ3rw*) and Kush in section IX (K:24; K:25 + X:26). However obscure these passages may be individually, the impression they convey in aggregate is that of a continuing involvement by the king and the Aten cult in affairs beyond the borders of El-Amarna.

The last eleven lines of Stela X, before the text virtually disappears (section XVIII), contain provisions regarding the security of Akhet-Aten. Its possessions are protected against encroachments by other divine corporations (X:47), and a very rough definition of the boundaries is set out for the information of all and sundry (X:48-49). A broad list of what the Aten owned at El-Amarna (X:50-52) is apparently followed by a codicil regarding the officials who would be responsible for the well-being of the Aten's "House" (X:52-53). The reverential reception of these commands by the court (X:54-55)

precedes a final asseveration by the king (X:55-57), in which he reiterates that the Aten's property shall not be taken from Him.

When the text resumes at K:77, after a gap of about twenty lines, it is in the middle of what could be another set of regulations (section XIX) governing the security of the city: the army is mentioned, but the rest is so incomplete or abraded that little can be made out. The brief formal ending, with the entire land rejoicing and on holiday, is raised above stereotype by its allusion, perhaps literary,[134] to "One (=the king) being caused to come to rest (literally, "to tie up, moor" = to die) there, in Akhet-Aten forever and ever."

* * * * *

The end of almost any project is an occasion for mixed feelings. Satisfaction with the results obtained vies with disappointment at questions that remain unanswered. It seems clear that the checkered history of the boundary stelae in antiquity has enhanced their usefulness to us: precisely because they are monuments, subject to vicissitudes in execution and changes of plan, they tell us more about the stuff of history -- the growth of the royal family, the stages in which Akhenaten's capital was built and even the king's conception of his city -- than would have been possible if the decrees inscribed on them come down to us only on papyrus. Even so, there is a great deal we do not know about the use to which these finished monuments were put. Their role as glorified boundary markers is patent: especially in their pristine state, with the freshly cut limestone gleaming against the hills, they would have been more visible to Akhenaten's contemporaries than they are today. The inhabitants of Akhet-Aten would have been able to see a number of the sites along the edge of the bay or the cultivation, while stelae at more remote locations would be seen by travellers coming into the district by river or through the desert wadis. By all indications, they received few visitors. In the tomb of Mahu, Akhet-Aten's chief of police, guards are shown standing beside a number of installations that may represent boundary stelae.[135] Some sort of oversight was surely expected at these sites, for the king's promise to repair the stelae if they were ever damaged (LP, section VII-B) implies at the very least that they would be inspected from time to time. No archaeological record of such measures survives: the debris cleared away from the bases of the stelae consisted almost entirely of windblown sand and fragments of the monuments themselves, while none of the small amount of pottery found at the various sites was found to date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, or indeed from the New Kingdom. If any cult was paid to the figures of the royal family at the boundary stelae, it has left no trace. One is obliged to conclude that these sites, once completed, were visited only by policemen who came on their appointed rounds and did not tarry. Obviously, though, the existence

and location of the boundary stelae were widely enough known, for they were sought out and damaged by the forces of orthodoxy after Akhenaten's death[136] -- although, paradoxically, the tablets appear to have suffered more from vandals in the service of Akhenaten's modern admirers than at the hands of his ancient enemies.

The irretrievable loss which this destruction has visited upon the inscriptions, particularly in the EP, has made it impossible to grasp Akhenaten's intentions fully. The basic character of the two decrees, however, is seen with greater clarity than before. The language, for all the colloquialisms that pervade it,[137] seldom goes beyond the conventional phraseology of royal decrees, but a number of passages offer more. Those dealing with the king's inspired "discovery" of the site (EP section V-B) or in which he rejects any notion of moving Akhet-Aten anywhere else (EP section VII-B) evince real passion, as does his violent reaction to slander (EP section VIII). Evocations of the Aten (e.g., EP section VII-A) and of the queen with her children (LP section VI-A) may employ traditional phrases, but they are expressed more directly, and thus more forcefully, than is the norm in royal inscriptions. In the end, however, it is the official tone that prevails, in the exhaustive regulations governing the cult in the city of the Orb and the minute specifications regarding the borders of Akhet-Aten. A different perspective emerges, though, from the contrast between these ordinances and their realization -- not merely from the incompleteness or the impermanence of Akhet-Aten, but the spasmodic and inconsistent fashion in which the sites themselves were impressed on the desert landscape. Perhaps such contrasts, so disarmingly frequent in the land of the Pharaohs, restore these ventures to their proper human scale: for there may after all be something salutary in the gulf that separates the inspiration of a ruler, however powerful, and the achievement of that vision by mortal men.

APPENDIX ONE. FRAGMENTS OF THE BOUNDARY STELAE NO LONGER *IN SITU*

The defacement of Akhenaten's boundary stelae that began in antiquity has accelerated grievously in the past century. Of the fourteen principal monuments (excluding Stela L), no fewer than nine have been attacked -- one (F) having disappeared altogether and two others (P, Q) virtually destroyed in the process. Given the extent of the damage, however, relatively few fragments removed from the sites have surfaced in collections outside Egypt. For that reason, this checklist can only be an approximate guide to the pieces that might be found abroad. We will include, nonetheless, all the fragments that we have reason to believe could have been taken away since the earliest documentation of the stelae, in hopes that more of the missing pieces may come to light.

STELA F

Although the site has been located, the tablet has been completely destroyed (see above, pp. 72-73) and it is conceivable that some fragments made their way onto the market. These would probably not include anything from the lunette, since Petrie, our sole authority, mentions only the orb of the Aten in his description of the stela's upper parts. The last eleven lines are likelier candidates for removal and sale: see pl. 13 for the relationship of the contents, insofar as this can be inferred from Petrie's drawing.[1]

STELA J

See pl. 14 for the outlines of what was preserved in Petrie's day.[2] From what remains it is apparent that a number of the stone patches inserted during the carving of the tablet had already fallen out before Petrie's visit, e.g.:

(A) Cartouches of the Aten and the king at upper right side of the lunette.

(B) Titles, head and crown of the queen, and upper body of princess above the extant daughter at the right side of the tablet.

(C) Upper body of the queen and lower body of princess above extant princess at the right side of the tablet.

(D) Ends of lines 1-3 at the right side of the tablet.

(E) Diagonal patch (=parts of lines 2-6), extending horizontally from beneath the queen's feet (top) to the space separating her figure from the king's (bottom).

(F) Rectangular patch (=parts of lines 7-9, perhaps with one or more lines below), extending horizontally from beneath the king's rear foot to the space behind the queen.

(G) Narrow diagonal patch (?) containing parts of lines 4-6, extending horizontally from the lower left of Patch D to the upper right of Patch F.

(H) Small patch (?) in line 4, extending from beneath col. 8 a short distance into the offering table to the right.

(I) Patch (?), size unknown, beginning a short distance from the left side of line 8.

(J) Small patch (?) at the upper left-hand corner of the lunette, beneath the Aten's cartouches, on which a number of the Aten's rays were carved.

The site of Stela J is within easy walking distance of the village of Hawatta, and Petrie was told that an earlier visitor had taken a squeeze of the tablet (see Chapter One, n. 23). It is thus conceivable that some of these patches had been removed for sale even before Petrie's visit in 1892. The tablet, moreover, has been greatly damaged by antiquities thieves since it was first recorded. Based on earlier documentation it is apparent that the following sections have been removed:

(1) Head, arms and upper body of the king.

(2) Most of what Petrie and Steindorff saw of lines 1-8 on the left side of the tablet is now gone: compare the photograph taken in 1984 (pl. 21-B) with our drawing of Petrie's sketch (pl. 14); and see the parallel text in Chapter 3 for what remains.

(3) All but a few of the signs preserved at the right side of the tablet below line 6 (=lines 7-9) are now missing.

(4) Two further robberies were made in the interval between our expedition of April-May 1985 and January 1989:
(a.) Parts of lines 5-6 to the right of the Aten's cartouches in line 5;
(b.) Parts of lines 5-6 to the left of Patch G.

STELA K

Comparison of this monument in its present state to earlier records (Lepsius' drawing and Steindorff's photographs)[3] reveals no significant loss to the inscription, but considerable damage to the lunette:

(1) The attempted removal of the queen's head destroyed most of what remained of the king's head (=only part of the Blue Crown is seen on the photograph), as well as the inscriptions of the two princesses at the right side of the tablet. Parts of these texts may conceivably have survived and been carried away for sale.

(2) Meritaten, Meketaten and attendant (?) at the lower right corner of the scene: see pl. 22-B for what can be seen on Steindorff's photograph.

(3) Between the summer of 1985 and the beginning of 1989, what remained of the statues that flank the tablet were battered by vandals. It is conceivable that elements of the princesses' statuettes were carried off, but the nature of the damage makes it more probable that the figures were destroyed.

STELA N

Steindorff's photograph shows that numerous small patch-stones in the lunette had already fallen out by the time of his visit.[4] Evidence of larger patches, inserted in the lower part of the tablet before the text was carved, are also seen on the photograph and on the tablet today:

(A) Middle, lines 2-4.

(B) Right side, small patch (=lines 1-3).

(C) Left edge, lines 4-7.

(D) Left-middle, lines 4-9.

(E) Middle-left, line 5.

(F) Middle-right, small patch (=lines 4-5).

(G) Right-middle, lines 4-7.

(H) Right side, lines 5-7.

(I) Middle-right, small patch (=lines 6-7).

(J) Middle-right, small patch (=lines 8-9).

(K) Middle-right, small patch (=lines 7-9).

(L) Right side, small patch (=line 8).

(M) Middle, lines 8-13.

(N) Right side, lines 13-16.

(O) Right side, lines 20-23.

Since this site, more than any of the others, is quickly swamped by wind-blown sand, the fallen patches may have been dug out and removed for sale before Steindorff first cleared the area in 1898. Alternatively, however, they may have been swept down the hill and subsequently covered with sand in antiquity. Our search of the surface revealed a number of carved but uninscribed pieces near the bottom of the hill, as well as the lower part of one of the princesses' statuettes from the groups beside the tablet: this later piece we removed for safekeeping to the Inspectorate of Antiquities at Minya. If any other fragments from the tablet survive, they are now too deeply buried for easy access. Two other fragments were found at the top of the hill, in the vicinity of the stela: (a.) the crown of Nefertiti from the group to the left (=east) of the tablet; and (b.) an arm and elbow belonging to one of the royal figures. These pieces, which are relatively heavy and too featureless to interest the antiquities trade, we reburied nearby.

To the best of our knowledge, four pieces were removed and taken to collections abroad. Steindorff himself appropriated two statue heads that belonged to the group on the right (=west) side of the tablet and are shown restored in situ on the photograph he made at the site (=note 4 above):

(1) Head of Akhenaten wearing the Blue Crown. Nearly all of the king's head below the crown is missing: the face was evidently made from a separate piece of stone and inserted into a trough prepared for it on this piece. It was presented by Steindorff to the Berlin Museum in 1900: see H. Schäfer, "Ägyptische Abteilung: Kunstwerke aus der Zeit Amenophis' IV. (um 1375 v. Chr.), "*Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 34, no. 7 (Berlin, 1913):cols. 127-146, especially fig. 76 under cols. 145-146 (reprinted in "Kunstwerke aus der Zeit Amenophis' IV.," *ZÄS* 52 [1915]:81, fig. 14). More recently, see M. Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons* (Basel, 1988), p. IV-66 (=Berlin DDR 15002. For this last reference we are indebted to Rolf Krauss).

(2) Head of Nefertiti, Leipzig Museum No. 1114. The queen wears her characteristic flat-topped crown with uraeus (head of cobra damaged). Most of the right cheek is missing, taking with it the lower part of the nose and all but the extreme left end of the mouth. The chin is entirely gone, and the tip of the nose was also damaged, presumably when the head was knocked off the statue. Otherwise, the face is fairly well preserved, particularly the two eyes, left cheek and right ear. No prior publication of this piece is known to us. We are grateful to Dr. Elke Blumenthal and the authorities of the Ägyptisches Museum, Leipzig, for supplying photographs (see pl. 24 A-B).

Two other pieces, from the lunette, were removed subsequent to Davies expedition and are now in American museums:

(3) Upper part of Akhenaten (head, neck, front shoulders and two outstretched arms), in Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York (No. 37:6). Photographs and references in C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, (Brooklyn, 1973), p. 95.

(4) Upper part of queen -- head and crown (excluding tops of plumes), neck, shoulders and outstretched arms -- and figure of daughter (uppermost of two) behind her. Photograph and references in Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 114.

The material immediately surrounding these fragments was destroyed during their removal. Conceivably, however, one of the smaller figures that was taken, probably at the same time, may still exist:

(5) Figure of princess to the right of the queen's legs. Assuming it was not destroyed when the larger fragments were taken, its present whereabouts are unknown.

STELA P

This tablet, found "in tolerable condition" by Petrie, was blown up by treasure hunters before Davies' expedition. Our mission recovered a number of text fragments on the hill below the stela, adding to those which Davies had previously found (see pp. 76-78, with parallel hand-copies on pp. 84-86 [Add.], 89-90, 96-97; and cf. pl. 26 A-B). The only piece which Davies carried away was a small fragment bearing the face of Nefertiti from the right-hand group in the lunette. This was later presented to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[5]

STELA Q

When Davies recorded this tablet it was among the prime exemplars of the later series of boundary stelae: the lunette was in good condition (apart from some natural pitting in the stone) and the text was virtually intact through the twelfth line.[6] Since then, however, this site has been so thoroughly ravaged by antiquities thieves that the tablet is all but destroyed. To the authors' knowledge, none of this pillaged material has appeared since, and the following should be considered only a checklist of fragments that could have entered the illicit art market.

(1) Lunette, top: orb of the Aten and adjoining text on both sides.

(2) Lunette, left side: complete figure of the king (except for small part of tail that survives on the tablet).

(3) Lunette, left side: complete figure of queen, (except for that part of her dress to the left of her front knee).

(4) Lunette, left side: complete figures of the two daughters, stacked behind the queen at the left edge of the tablet. (*See Addendum below, on p. 192*).

(5) Lunette, lower middle: left side of the offering table.

(6) Lunette, right side: king's figure, from the thighs up.

(7) Lunette, right side: complete figure of queen.

(8) Lunette, right side: complete figures of the two daughters, stacked behind the queen at the right edge of the tablet.

(9) Text fragments from lines 1-15: see Davies' photograph (n. 6 above) and the bracketed signs in our parallel hand-copy of the text (pp. 84-91). The only substantial piece that we have come across from this part of the tablet is in the Cairo Museum and was called to our attention by one of our colleagues in Egypt. It comes from the left side of the stela and extends horizontally form beneath the king's front foot nearly to the left edge of the tablet (being broken along the edge of the crack that can be seen on Davies' photograph); vertically, it extends from the bottom edge of line 1 through line 8.

During our initial season in 1984 we discovered numerous pieces bearing fragments of text and architectural features. These were recorded (see Chapter 4) and then buried near the site. Three more fragments -- two bearing small portions of the main text, and a third consisting of the lower part of the younger princess's statue belonging to the group on the tablet's right (pl. 27-C) -- were found in 1989 and removed to the safety of the Inspectorate of Antiquities in Minya.

A number of statuary fragments recovered by Davies are noted in his publication.[7] They include:

(10) Head of Nefertiti (Davies no. 3 = at left of photograph on Davies' plate). Davies presented this piece in 1907 to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia (No. N.G.V. 616.2). Although Davies believed it belonged to a figure of Akhenaten "wearing the crown of the North", it has since been identified more certainly with the queen.[8] The front of the face and the headdress are badly worn, but the workmanship appears to be similar to that on the queen's head in Leipzig (N-2).

(11) Torso and head of a princess (Davies no. 4 = torso only illustrated on plate), now in the Cairo Museum. The left arm of this figure hangs loosely beside the body, thus presumably grasping the hand of the smaller princess that invariably forms part of the group. It is thus certainly the companion of the smaller princess's body that we found in 1989 (see above).

(12) A piece which Davies identified as "the face of the Queen (?)" (Davies no. 2 = at upper right of plate?) was also deposited in the Cairo Museum.

(13) Described as "the head of the Queen (or a princess) in an enveloping wig, almost defaced" (Davies no. 1); thus probably belonging to one of the princesses, since Nefertiti would be wearing her characteristic flat-topped crown (cf. No. 10 above). No photograph of this piece has been found and its present whereabouts are not known.

(14) The "many fragments of the tablets" (Davies no. 5) presumably refer to the inscribed fronts of the altars held by the royal statues. Some of the pieces Davies noted may be among the similar fragments we found and then buried in 1984, but the location of any pieces Davies may have carried away with him is not known.

STELA R

The text of Stela R was already incomplete when the tablet was first photographed. Most obviously missing were the stone patches that had been needed to provide a working surface for the sculptors:[9]

(A) Middle, under right side of offering table (=lines 1-3).

(B) Directly beneath Patch A, widening as it descends (=lines 5-10).

(C) Beneath the right end of Patch B, a small square patch (=lines 10-11).

(D) Below left corner of Patch B, small rectangular patch (=line 12).

(E) To the right of Patch B, short diagonal patch (=lines 9-10).

(F) Beneath left end of Patch D, small square patch (=lines 14-15).

(G) Cutting into the bottom and right side of Patch E, a large rectangular patch that runs nearly all the way to the right edge of the tablet (=at least lines 14-18).

Natural erosion around the edges of these patches and of two section that were outlined for removal by thieves (=middle, lines 1-3; and middle-right, lines 2-5) has further reduced the amount of text. The greatest damage has been sustained by the lunette, which was systematically stripped off nearly all figures. As it happens, a substantial part of this material was acquired by the Département des Antiquités égyptiennes of the Musée du Louvre, Paris,[10] in four fragments:

(1) Lunette, center: orb of the Aten, with parts of the offerings on the right side of the table below.

(2) Lunette, right: Figures of the king and queen, along with inscriptions above their heads. Akhenaten's hands are missing (presumably destroyed during removal, along with the upper parts of the figures' legs).

(3) Lunette, left: king's head, shoulders and part of upper arm, with parts of the Aten's cartouches above his head and the cartouche with king's praenomen behind his head.

(4) Lunette, left: queen (arms and legs cut off), with column of text in front of her body and cartouche above her head; followed by upper part of one daughter, with three columns of text above her head.

Several elements in the lunette, perhaps destroyed in removing the rest but conceivably still extant, remain missing:

(5) Lower part of king's body (left side).

(6) Offerings on left side of offering table.

(7) heads and inscriptions of two daughters (right side).

Finally, one text fragment of Stela R is known to be in a museum:

(8) A piece referring to ". . . the stela . . ." was presented by Davies to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia (N.G.V. 619.2).[11]

STELA S

When Davies visited this site he removed a number of fragments which, along with other pieces, he later gave to the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia:

(1) A piece inscribed with a large cartouche of the Aten's praenomen (from one of the altars held by the statues of the king and queen (N.G.V. 617.2).[12]

(2) A fragment of a hand from one of the same statue groups (N.G.V. 620.2).[13]

(3) A smaller Aten cartouche, of the same provenance (N.G.V. 618.2).[14]

No other fragments removed at this time are known to us, and a comparison of the site today with its condition in Davies' day[15] reveals no substantial difference in the condition of the statue groups. The tablet, however, which was virtually complete at the beginning of the twentieth century,[16] was later wrecked by thieves (see pl. 28-B) -- perhaps by the same individuals who pillaged Stela R nearby. These vandals destroyed almost as much as they removed: very little is gone, for example, from the figures of the king and queen on the right side of the lunette, but the thieves' maladroitness has coarsened the crisp effect of the carving in its original state. We have been unable to trace most of the stolen pieces, and the following list represents only the major sections that have been removed from the tablet:

(1) Lunette, left side: head and upper body of the king.

(2) Lunette, left side: head and upper body of the queen, with two daughters and inscriptions above their heads behind her. A substantial part of this fragment was offered to Toledo

Museum of Art in the 1930's (description preserved in a letter from C.R. Williams to H.E. Winlock), but it was not purchased and its present location is unknown to us.[17]

(3) Lunette, right side: cartouches above the heads of the king and queen.

(4) Lunette, right side: upper body of Meritaten and texts above her head.

(5) Lunette, right side: figure of Meketaten, with text of line 1 below her.

(6) Tablet, lines 1-8, beneath two daughters at left side.

(7) Tablet, lines 2-8, beneath king and queen on left side.

(8) Tablet, lines 2-8, beneath king and columns of text in lunette.

(9) Tablet, lines 2-3, beneath king and queen on right side.

(10) Tablet, lines 9-13, beneath two daughters on left side.

(11) Tablet, lines 9-13, beneath king and queen on left side.

(12) Tablet, lines 17-18, at left edge.

(13) Tablet, lines 16-20, beneath queen's figure on left side.

STELA U

A number of factors -- the sheer size of the tablet,its relatively conspicuous location, the difficulty of access when the platform in front of it collapsed, and the flint-filled stone from which it was carved -- have conspired to save Stela U from extensive damage in modern times. Only two pieces have been removed from the tablet:[18]

(1) Lunette: head and upper body of Meritaten.

(2) Lunette: head and upper body of Meketaten.

The thief must have been lowered on a rope from the most feasible approach, i.e., from the top of the hill in which the tablet is carved. The rest of the lunette was spared, probably because the heads of the king and queen were already too worn to be of interest. The present location of neither fragment is known to us.

STELA X

No damage to this monument can be documented since its discovery. Given the almost complete destruction at the tablet's lower left, however, the survival of so few fragments is curious. Davies noted none, and we discovered only one small piece, which we included in our parallel hand-copy (p. 32, n. a; cf. pl. 32-B). The debris from the lost section should have remained in situ for some time, especially when we consider that it fell inside a relatively sheltered locality within the niche. Unless the remnants

eventually crumbled to dust, it seems not unlikely that some of these pieces could have been removed for sale before the site was shown to Davies in 1901.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

For the sake of completeness we include four other pieces that have been tentatively attributed to the boundary stelae:

(1) The head of a princess, made of "shelly limestone", in the Fitzwlliam Museum, Cambridge, England (No. 4524.1943). Height: 20.8 cm; width: 17 cm. Unpublished: we are indebted to Janine Bourriau for allowing us to study the piece in Cambridge, and for supplying both photographs and a cast of the break at the neck so that we could check possible joins in the field during our 1989 season. Thus we were able to confirm what we had suspected from the measurements, i.e., that the piece is much too large to fit most of these statue groups. The only bare possibility is at Stela U, the largest of the boundary stelae, which has statues that are correspondingly larger than the norm. Unfortunately, although the surviving princesses are headless at this site, they are so worn at the possible point of juncture as to prevent any certainty in the matter.

(2) A second princess's head made of nummulitic limestone, measuring 20.3 cm. high, 16 cm. wide and 20.3 cm. in depth.[19] Since in terms of size this piece is a virtual double of the Cambridge head, its association with the boundary stelae, hitherto regarded as likely, is equally problematic.

(3) A third princess's head has been advertised,[20] but the dealers have supplied no information regarding its size and other properties. It is clear from the photograph, however, that this is not the same piece as the foregoing.

(4) Finally, what is described as a "nummilitic (sic) limestone fragmentary head of Akhenaten, showing the lower part of the nose and broad lips, which bear traces of red pigment", 7 cm. high, and attributed to "one of the Boundary stelae, A, B of F from Tell el-Amarna."[21] The lips and most of the chin are intact. The black-and-white photograph supplied in the advertisement suggests a surface textured with fossil inclusions: if so, a provenance from Stela A is not unlikely; but both the origin and identity of this fragment must remain in doubt until it can be examined more closely.

Addendum = A fragment of Stela Q, showing the lower prince from the lunette, with part of dateline from the first line below, is now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (neg. no. AD 992). We are grateful to Drs. F.J.E. Boddens Hosang for calling our attention to this piece. Her publication will be in *OMRO* 72 (1992). Our thanks also to Dr. Hans D. Schneider for supplying the inventory number (F 1980/3.1).

The tablet known as stela L has been the stepchild among the boundary stelae ever since its discovery.[1] Found by Petrie during his survey of 1892,[2] it is located at the southern headland of Akhet-Aten, approximately seven meters to the south of Stela m.[3] The inscribed surface was cut back between 10 and 20 cm. from the face of the cliff, forming a tablet that measures 160 cm. (height) by 110 cm. (width). The base is approximately 3 meters above the ground. The drawing on pl. 16 was made on the basis of a tracing.

Davies was loath to include Stela L among Akhenaten's border monuments, noting its relatively small size and dissimilar appearance to that of the other boundary stelae. He concluded his brief consideration of the piece by hazarding that "it may not even be of this period."[4] Our collation shows Davies to have been partly correct in his assessment, for there is no room on the tablet for anything close to a full copy of either the "Earlier" or "Later" Proclamations. On the other hand, we are now in a position to affirm that Stela L *is* contemporary with its neighbors and that like the others, it is a royal monument. Proof for both contentions can be found in the lamentably eroded text we were able to recover.

The inscriptions are curiously arranged for so small a monument. At least 11 columns of text are found at the top of the tablet: we found traces of the vertical dividers between cols. iii, iv, v and vi, and between cols. x and xi, and of their bases as well. Directly below the columns the text was inscribed in horizontal lines. While we found no evidence of horizontal dividers, there were traces of signs in twelve of the lines and there is room for a thirteenth line at the bottom of the tablet.[5] As can be seen on the drawing, references to the Aten or Akhet-Aten occur on lines 1, 5 and 7. There is, moreover, clear evidence that the inscription concerned the king. The first connected traces on the tablet speak of ". . .his Majesty upon. . ." (col. iv, top); and further on there are unmistakable traces of the sentence, so well known in the two main decrees, "[his Majesty's] appearing [upon] his chariot" (cols. iv-v). Given this environment, it is possible to interpret the traces at the top of the following line as being part of *[mḥ.f t3 m nfr]w.f* (or *[m mr]wt.f*) *m* . . ., "[as he fills the land with] his [beau]ty" (or "his [lo]ve").[6] The rest of the columns are too eroded to allow any sensible reading of the scattered traces. In the horizontal section, after a reference to "Akhet-A[ten]" (line 1), we read about something "(which?) my Majesty establishes as (?) [a monument for?] my [fath]er, [the Aten]" (1. 3). Below, in line 5, there is something "belonging to (?) my [father] the A[ten]" (*n [jt].j p3 j[tn]*); and in line 7, "(which?) I did upon (?) Akhet-At[en]" (*jr (?) .[n].j ḫr 3ḫt-jt[n]*). The traces in the next line, if they belong to the particle *ḫr*, indicate the beginning of a new sentence; but the ruined surface allows us to make sense neither of this nor of any further

passage of the inscription. Enough is preserved, however, to show that the speaker was the king, acting on behalf of his god's cult center.

When we first examined Stela L, its size and the peculiar arrangement of the text suggested to us that it might be a private memorial,[7] perhaps left by the official who was charged with executing Akhenaten's directives concerning his boundary markers. Since it shows all the hallmarks of a royal document, however, it must now be seen in the light of the king's well-known involvement with this corner of his holy city. Perhaps it was a "provisional marker . . . a sort of bench-mark" that was hastily executed before the official boundary stela -- presumably M -- could be carved here.[8] On the other hand, no visit to the south-eastern corner of Akhet-Aten is attested before the first anniversary of the EP in year 6. Such a visit, in which the king "made the rounds" of the frontiers, can hardly be excluded, but it seems more likely that Stela L commemorates one of the later appearances that we know Akhenaten made at the southeastern border of Akhet-Aten -- whether in year 6 or year 8, or perhaps even some other occasion, we will never know; but, by analogy with the "Earlier" and "Later proclamations", the unambiguous reference to a royal progress (cols. iv-v) implies that a visit to the site was involved. What purpose this monument served other than to commemorate the king's visit is equally uncertain. Its location suggests, however, that it had something to do with the decision to locate further boundary stelae at the southeast corner of Akhenaten's city -- perhaps event the "disestablishment" of the adjoining Stela M and its replacement by Stela K, carved in a section of the mountain further south, where the stone was of better quality.

APPENDIX THREE. PRINCIPAL TOPICS OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BOUNDARY STELAE

The following summaries are provided for the reader's convenience, and particularly to facilitate discussion of the texts on the boundary stelae.

THE EARLIER PROCLAMATION

I. Dateline (=regnal year 5, IV *Prt* 13), and titulary of the god (K:i-ii).

II. Titulary of the king (K:ii-vii).

III. Titulary of the queen (K:vii-ix).

IV. The king makes his formal appearance, proceeds to the site of Akhet-Aten and performs a sacrifice there (K:ix-xvi).

V. (A) Summoning of the courtiers into the royal presence (K:xvi-xviii).
   (B) The king reviews the process whereby Akhet-Aten was "discovered" (K:xvii-K:3).
   (C) He declares his intent to make an oath dedicating the site to the Aten (K:3-4).

VI. Reply of the courtiers (K:4-8).

VII. Initial provisions of the king's foundation oath:
   (A) Preamble (K:8-11).
   (B) Akhet-Aten to be permanently at this place, and at no other (K:11-14).
   (C) Cult buildings and other foundations to be set up in the new city (K:14-17).
   (D) Burial arrangements for the royal family: its members to be brought back to Akhet-Aten for burial if they should die elsewhere (K:17-19).
   (E) Burial arrangements for the Mnevis Bull and for selected high officials of the court at Akhet-Aten (K:19-20).

VIII. The King discusses various expressions of hostility he had heard concerning his program (K:20-23).

IX. Other guarantees (=pursuant to the hostile reactions above?) on behalf of Akhet-Aten (K:23-29).

X. Festival endowments for the cult of the Aten at Akhet-Aten, including references to the queen and a disavowal of some sort of activity at the extremities of the site (K:29-33 = X:29-32).

XI. Proper maintenance of the cult at Akhet-Aten, including disavowal of incorrect (?) procedures during the king's absences from the city (X:32-34).

XII. Another matter, pertaining to the queen and the court (?) at Akhet-Aten (X:34).

XIII. Other matters relating to festivals and endowments at Akhet-Aten (X:34-37).

XIV. Something about movements in and out of (?) the region of Akhet-Aten (X:37-39)

XV. Concerning the celebration of the royal jubilee at Akhet-Aten, with disavowals of any intention to celebrate it elsewhere (X:39-41).
XVI. Other foundations at Akhet-Aten (X:41-43).
XVII. Building projects (=connected with the preceding?) at Akhet-Aten (X:43-46).
XVIII. Other provisions, apparently to protect the territory of Akhet-Aten and to sesignate it as the Aten's property (X:46-57).

(A long gap [=lines 58-76] intervenes)

XIX. Closing rites (?) and demonstrations of divine favor at the formal dedication of Akhet-Aten (K:77-79).
XX. Conclusion: general rejoicing (K:79-80).

THE LATER PROCLAMATION

Main Text: Decree of Year 6

I. Dateline (=regnal year 6, IV *Prt* 13), and titulary of the god (A:i-iii).
II. Titulary of the king (A:iii-vii).
III. Titulary of the queen (A:vii-viii).
IV. Public appearance of the king, journey to the site of Akhet-Aten, and preliminary rites held there (A:1-4).
V. Journey to the southeastern mountain of Akhet-Aten (A:4-5).
VI. Beginning of the royal oath:
  (A) Preamble (A:5-8).
  (B) The borders of the city's territory are defined by means of the six principal boundary stelae (A:8-12).
  (C) Dimensions, north to south, of the territory thus defined (A:12-13).
  (D) Dedication of this territory as the property of the god (A:13-16).
VII. Guarantees:
  (A) The oath shall not be ignored, but will remain permanently on the boundary stelae (A:16-18).
  (B) The boundary stelae shall be maintained and repaired as needed (A:18-19).
VIII. *The Repetition of the Oath* on I *Prt* 8 in regnal year 8. (A:18-19).
IX. *The Colophon*:
  (A) Dateline (=IV *3ḫt* "last day" in year 8) and preamble to "another oath" that the king uttered on this day (A:20-21).
  (B) Reaffirmation of the borders that are defined by the six principal boundary stelae (A:21-23).
  (C) Reaffirmation of the god's ownership of the site (A:23-25).

ENDNOTES

The abbreviations of Egyptological titles, journals and series, both in the notes that follow and in the commentaries to the texts (Chapters Three and Four), will be those employed by such standard reference works as the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* or Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*.

CHAPTER ONE

1. The dates used in this study are based on E. F. Wente and C. C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom, in "*Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39 (Chicago, 1976), pp. 217-61. See Chapter 5 of this book for more of the historical background to the stelae and discussion of the implications of the results published here.

2. The name is a modern one: for some of the possible etymologies, see Barry Kemp, "Tell el-Amarna," *LÄ* VI 309 with references (nn. 2-4); but cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records* II 391, n. a.

3. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 28, with n. 4; Breasted, *Ancient Records* II 390-91, n. b (8).

4. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 19, n. 2. For a full discussion of Stela L, see Appendix 2 of this book.

5. For the earliest visitors to the region of Akhenaten's city, see B. Van de Walle, "La découverte d'Amarna et d'Akhenaton," *RdE* 28 (1976):7-24; M. Mode, "Die Entdeckung von Tell el-Amarna," *Das Altertum* 30, no. 2 (1984):93-102. (For this last reference, the authors are indebted to Dr. Marianne Eaton-Krauss.)

6. First printed in 1717, Sicard's travel notes went through several editions during the next two centuries: see Van de Walle, *RdE* 28 (1976):12 (n. 19) and 19 (nn. 25-26). Sicard's description of Stela A, along with his drawing, are reproduced by Van de Walle, *ibid.*, pp. 12-19 and pl. 1. A full discussion of this and other early documentation of the boundary stelae is saved for the bibliographic review in Chapters 2 and 3.

7. Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East* I 74 mentions the site but he is not specific about the ruins he saw in this part of Middle Egypt.

8. In *Description de l'Egypte*, Text Vol. IV 182-85 Jomard alludes to the ancient ruins around Tuna el-Gebel but, oddly, he seems to have overlooked the boundary stela. He also noted the city's ruins on

the east bank, but observed that the truculence of the inhabitants inhibited any further investigation of the antiquities there (ibid., pp. 308-312).

9. See Van de Walle, *RdE* 28 (1976):19, n. 24.

10. See *PM* IV 230 (Diary for January 16, 1825); for Bonomi's travels in Egypt see Warren R. Dawson and Eric Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), p. 33.

11. See *PM* IV 230 for references to Hay's papers. The authors are grateful to the authorities of the British Museum for information regarding this material.

12. J. G. Wilkinson, *The Topography of Thebes* (London, 1835), pp. 383-84. Wilkinson visited the sites in Middle Egypt in 1824 and again in 1826 (ibid., p. 285, second note). Wilkinson's influence on Hay is surmised by Davies, *El-Amarna* V 27.

13. As reported in E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* (Paris, 1847), p. 3; cf. Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who*, pp. 117, 133.

14. See *PM* IV 230 (Stela A), 231 (Stela U -- the latter being merely a sketch, with no effort made to record the text). For a general account of this material, cf. J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Nestor L'Hôte (1804-1842)*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 11 (Leiden, 1963), p. 28 and pl. XV (1). Nestor L'Hôte's papers are kept at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris: we are indebted to the directors of that institution and to Professor Pascal Vernus for their help in gaining access top this material.

15. Prisse, *Monuments*, p. 3; cf. Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who*, p. 181. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 27 misinterpreted the name of Lloyd's home as a French surname, "de Brynestyn." The identity of the stela Lloyd discovered has been debated: see below, in Chapter 3 [=Stela P] for discussion.

16. Prisse, *Monuments*, pls. XII (=Stela U), XIII (=Lloyd's stela) and XIV (=Stela A). The latter is so similar to Nestor L'Hôte's drawing that one wonders whether Prisse made use of it for his own publication. Stela U was copied by Prisse himself, while Pl. XIII was based on Lloyd's own copy of the stela he had found. Prisse (*ibid.*, p. 3) admitted the defects of these copies with disarming candor, but maintained that the texts' newness justified their rapid publication.

17. Ibid., p. 3.

18. Such as St. Ferriol in the spring of 1842 (*PM* IV 230 [Stela A]).

19. Detailed references to Lepsius' publication will be given in the bibliographic essays be supplied in Chapters 3 and 4. On Lepsius' itinerary in 1843 and 1845, see M. Mode, *Das Altertum* 30 (1984):96.

20. The more serious histories written during this period relied on published copies by Lepsius and Prisse: e.g., H. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 2nd ed., I (London, 1881), pp. 503-505 (similar here to the first edition of 1876); cf. G. Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt* II (London, 1881), pp. 275-76 (very much dependent on Brugsch's earlier account). E. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884), pp. 396-403 recognized five boundary stelae: one at Tuna el-Gebel (A) and four more on the east bank (K, N, U and Lloyd's stela). Stelae M and R, though found by Lepsius, were missed -- the former (*L.D. Text* II 128) probably omitted because it was assumed to be devoid of inscriptions; the latter because it had been noted only briefly in Lepsius' unpublished diary.

21. W. M. F. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna* (London, 1894), pp. 5-6, with pls. xxxiv-xxxv (map).

22. Newberry, who is mentioned several times in Petrie's unpublished journal, was then working in the tombs at Beni Hasan (T. G. H. James, ed., *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1882-1982* (London and Chicago, 1982), pp. 141-48; cf. Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who*, p. 216. The Egypt Exploration Fund's interest in Middle Egypt would be extended to El-Amarna a decade later, and the rock tombs (along with the boundary stelae) would be published in the "Archaeological Survey of Egypt" series that Newberry's Beni Hasan expedition had initiated.

23. Journal for January 24-30, 1892 (p. 88). We are indebted to the authorities of the Petrie Museum for granting access to Petrie's unpublished papers; and we are grateful to Margaret Drower and G. T. Martin for putting their familiarity with these materials so generously at our disposal.

24. J. Daressy, "Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi-Qandil," *Recueil de travaux* 15 (1893):50-58.

25. Ibid., pp. 58-60. Part of this inscription had already been translated by Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* I 505-506, but Daressy's rendering was much fuller and more accurate in its understanding of the events described.

26. Daressy, *RT* 15 (1893):60-62.

27. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6.

28. E.g., by Wiedemann (in *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 402), whose account of the stelae indicates an awareness that Stela K bore a text different from the others; but no serious attempt to understand its contents had yet been made.

29. G. Steindorff, *Durch die libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase*, Land und Leute: Monographien zur Erdkunde 19 (Bielefeld and Lepizig, 1904), pp. 11-12 with Abb. 3; cf. "Vorläufiger Bericht über seine in Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwe und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen," *Berichte/ philosophisch-historische Klasse, Königliche Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* 52 (1900):211-12, with plates.

30. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 28; the author's indebtedness to Steindorff is acknowledged at appropriate points in his presentation. The writers of this book are grateful to Dr. Elke Blumenthal and the authorities of the Aegyptisches Museum, Leipzig, for advice as to the location of Steindorff's unpublished papers. The notebooks that are now stored in Fort Worth Texas contain copies of Stelae J, M, and N. They were inspected courtesy of the Bridwell Library of the Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University. Steindorff's copies were also the basis for the slips prepared for the Berlin dictionary: these copies use Stela U in addition to the versions found in the notebooks at Fort Worth; but Steindorff's original copy of Stela U is lost. We are indebted to Dr. Walter F. Reinecke and the *Wb.* staff for permission to examine *Wörterbuch* the materials in East Berlin.

31. Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who*, p. 78; cf. James, ed., *Excavating in Egypt*, pp. 92-95, 148-51.

32. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, E.E.F. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, vol. 10 (London, 1901), pp. 5-6.

33. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II 392-94 (sections 952-57); for Stela X, Breasted had a squeeze which he obtained from Davies (ibid., p. 391, n. b [8]).

34. Ibid., pp. 394-400 (sections 958-72). For this text Breasted used Petrie's hand copies to supplement earlier published editions (ibid., pp. 390-91, n. b). A hand copy of the Later Proclamation that incorporates the variant readings on different stelae is preserved among Breasted's papers at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

35. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* V, *Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae*, E.E.F. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 17 (London, 1908), pp. 19-34, pls. xxv-xxxiv, xxxvi-xlii.

36. In fairness to Davies, he made two attempts to locate Stela F (*El-Amarna* V, p. 20, n. 1) but could not do so: see below, in Chapters 3 and 4 [=Stela F].

37. For example, at Stela K Davies reports that "there are no statues" (ibid., p. 25), and indeed his photograph (ibid., pl. xxxvii, right), being confined to the tablet, does not show any. Yet in the files of the Topographical Bibliography at the Griffith Institute (the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), there is a photograph showing Davies at work on the site of Stela K, with a clear view of the truncated statue groups that flank the tablet (Davies photo 1.424).

38. Paul Timme, *Tell el-Amarna vor der deutsche Ausgrabung im Jahre 1911*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 31 (Berlin, 1917). For notices of individual sites in this book, see the bibliographic data in the third and fourth chapters.

39. L. G. Leeuwenberg, "De Grensstele's van El-Amarna," *JEOL* 9 (1944-48):39-49.

40. Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8 (Brussels, 1934), pp. 103-130.

41. Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (=*Urk.* IV), pp. 1965-1990.

42. See below, Chapter 2 (n. 9) and Chapter 3 (n. 12).

43. W. J. Murnane, "The El-Amarna Boundary Stelae Project," *The Oriental Institute Annual Report, 1983-84* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 13-16; idem, "The El-Amarna Boundary Stelae Project: A Preliminary Report," *NARCE* 128 (Winter, 1984):40-52. A joint presentation based on the field work of both seasons was presented by Murnane and Van Siclen at the International Congress of Egyptologists in Munich (August, 1985); and another preliminary report, dealing with the 1989 season, was made at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in April, 1989.

CHAPTER TWO

1. See also p. 146, and cf. the map on pl. 1.
2. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 24-25.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Ibid., pl. xxxvii, right.

5. There is a somewhat clearer photograph in the Steindorff papers at Southern Methodist University, but it adds nothing that can help in identifying this third figure: see pl. 22-B.

6. Davies, *El-Amarna* I, pl. xxvi (female attendants erect, either taller or same height as princesses, holding fans and kerchiefs); ibid., II, pl. v [bottom right = pl. xviii] (two women, both taller than the princesses, bowing and followed by three other ladies who are standing erect, holding fans); ibid., pl. x (two females, taller than princesses and slightly bowed); ibid., III, pl. ix (two women, bowing, behind Princess Baketaten); ibid., V, pl. iii (three taller women, bowing, behind youngest princess).

7. Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8 [Brussels, 1938]), pp. 103-118.

8. Helck, *Urk* IV, pp. 1965-1980.

9. Breasted, *Ancient Records* II 390-94.

10. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 28-31.

11. E. A. P. Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhenaten* (London, 1911), pp. 95-100.

12. For example, K. Lange, *Echnaton und die Amarna-Zeit* (Munich, 1951), pp. 45-46, which was based on H. Kees' translation of Weigall's biography.

13. E.g., the sections given in Robert Silverberg, *Akhenaten, the Heretic Pharaoh* (Philadelphia-New York, 1964), pp. 60-65; Claire Lalouette, *Thèbes, ou la naissance d'un empire* (Paris, 1986), pp. 519-20; D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), p. 144; Hermann Schlögl, *Echnaton* (Hamburg, 1986), pp. 58-63; or Barry Kemp, "Tell el-ᶜAmarna," in H. S. Smith et al., *Ancient Centres of Civilization* (London, n.d.), p. 61. Other writers have paraphrased the contents of the decree, e.g., F. J. Giles, *Ikhnaten, Legend and History* (London, 1970), p. 55; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt* (London, 1968), pp. 233-34. More extensive quotations are given in Aldred's second edition, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London, 1988), pp. 47-50.

14. W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 338-44. The English translation of this rendering to be expected from B. Cumming had not appeared in the three volumes of her work that were available when this book went to press (*Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty* [Warminster, 1982-84]). Another German translation of the clearer

passages (based on Helck's understanding of the text) is to be found in H. A. Schlögl, *Echnaton-Tutanchamun. Fakten und Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 72-75.

15. See J. Bennett, "Notes on the Aten," *JEA* 51 (1965):207-209; and on the spherical shape of the Aten, see J. Assmann, "Aton" in *LÄ* I 528 with all pertinent references (col. 536, n. 34).

CHAPTER THREE

1. See map (pl. 1).

2. Its presence can be verified on all the stelae in this series except those on which the bottom is missing (J and V). Reasons why the "repetition of the oath" may well have been present on Stela V, but possibly not on Stela J, will be given below.

3. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, pp. 119-131.

4. Helck, *Urkunden* IV, pp. 1981-1988.

5. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pls. xxxiv, xxxvi.

6. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6, with reference to the tablet published by Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. xiii (not "xii" as stated in one of Petrie's two references to it.)

7. Daressy, "Tombeaux et steles-limites de Hagi-Qandil," *Rec. de Trav.* 15 (1893):50-51 (n. 2).

8. For example, by *Bibl.* IV 231 (Stela S).

9. See Chapter 2 for further evidence of this addition here and at other sites on the east bank; and see Chapter 5 for its significance.

10. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xlii.

11. Cf. Davies, *El-Amarna* I, pl. xxx (cap) and *ibid.* VI, p. iii (Nubian wig). In many other cases the interior details of the headdress are unclear (*ibid.* I, pl. xxii; II, pls. v, xii, xli; III, pls. iv, vi, xvi, xvii, xxxiv) but the general shape of the headdress is as it is here.

12. E.g., H. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* I 503-505; Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt* II 275-76.

13. Breasted, *Ancient Records* II 394-400.

14. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pp. 31-34.

15. E.g., Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton*, pp. 102-105; Silverberg, *Akhenaten, The Rebel Pharaoh*, pp. 65, 68; Lalouette, *Thèbes, ou la naissance d'un empire*, pp. 519-20; Schlögl, *Echnaton-Tutanchamun. Fakten und Texte*, pp. 75-77; idem, *Echnaton*, pp. 63-64; Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*, p. 51.

16 W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*, pp. 344-47. The English translation expected from B. Cumming (in *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, 3 vols. to date) had not yet appeared when this book went to press.

17. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1976), pp. 48-51.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Davies does not refer to the two side niches in his description of the emplacement of Stela A (in *El Amarna* V 23).

2. Curiously, Davies states that there are no statues at the site of Stela K (idem, *El Amarna* V 25) even though they were clearly visible when he worked there: see above, at note 37 to Chapter One.

3. The otherwise excellent reconstruction of Stela N printed in B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989). fig. 87 (=p. 268), is incorrect in two details: in the left-hand group, the figures do not support pillars; and king does not wear the white crown (this, perhaps, based on an optimistic interpretation of Steindorff's photograph in Davies, *El Amarna* V, pl. xl [bottom]?).

4. The texts are reassembled from fragments found at the site of Stela Q (see Appendix One below).

5. Davies remark about statues at the site of Stela R (in *El Amarna* V 26) is ambiguous; but he seems to mention only one of the two statue groups.

6. The text is reconstructed from remains *in situ*, fragments collected by Davies (*ibid.*, pl. xliv) and an unpublished photograph by Petrie.

7. Davies' map of the north tombs area (in *El Amarna* II, pl. i) includes a small-scale plan of the houses in front of Stela V.

8. Although Davies (*El Amarna* V 27) makes no mention of the deep recess that houses Stela X, it was surely cleared and evident in his day: cf. Petrie Museum photo no. 1300259, which must be nearly contemporary with the initial discovery of Stela X (see p. 15 above).

CHAPTER FIVE

1. B. Kemp, "Tell el-Amarna," in *LÄ* VI 310 (C-D) with references. The site of Avaris, capital of the Asiatic Hyksos, also appears to have been shunned after its capture; and its reoccupation at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (M. Bietak, "Ramsesstadt," in *ibid.* V 129-130; idem, "Tell ed-Dabba," in *ibid.* VI 322 with references) may have been required due to its advantageous position on the way to western Asia (W. G. Waddell, *Manetho* [Cambridge and London, 1964], pp. 80-83; cf. Kemp in B. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* [Cambridge, 1983], pp. 156-157) at a time of mounting tension there (Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, SAOC 42 [Chicago, 1985], especially pp. 1-52, 177-242).

2. See references in W. Helck, "Feldereinteilung und-vermessung," *LÄ* II 151, n. 4 (scenes in private tombs showing boundary markers in fields).

3. For a partial list see idem, "Grenzsteine," *ibid.*, pp. 897-898.

4. See n. 2 above (markers in fields); and cf. *PM* VII 143 (boundary stela of Senwosret III from Uronarti, found in front of temple). It is likely that the better known boundary stelae from Semna (*ibid.*, p. 151) were originally situated in the same type of environment.

5. EP, section VII-B; LP, section VI.

6. E.g. (a) *Urk.* IV 1611 (no. 532); (b) *ibid.*, p. 1637 (no. 552); (c) *KRI* I 45:4.

7. E.g., (d) Helck, ed., *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 116 (no. 129); (e) W. Kaiser, ed., *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin* (Berlin, 1975), p. 73 (no. 776); (f) *Urk.* IV 2109-2110; and (g) L. Habachi, "Khatâ'na-Qantîr -- Importance," *ASAE* 52 (1954):508-509, with pl. xxix.

8. See above, nn. 6, 7 (c, e, f); and (h) *KRI* I 231:15-16.

9. Ibid. (=n. 8, h).

10. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 82-85; translations by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London), pp. 118-120; and in *BAR* I, pp. 293-294.

11. Cf. the pertinent comments of M. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts," *Orientalia* 42 (1973):178-194.

12. See the summaries of the EP and LP in Appendix 3.

13. Mooted by B. Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and his Names," *JEA* 9 (1922):171-172, n. 8.

14. For the opening date of the LP as the anniversary of the "finding" of Akhet-Aten see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II 51, n. 3. A case for the opening date of the EP as being in year 6 was made by Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhenaton*, p. 95 (with n. 1), and by Gunn, *JEA* 9 (1922):171-172, n. 8. D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 142, 144, has the king arriving on the site in year 5 but making the Earlier Proclamation sometime later, presumably in year 6, with the Later Proclamation coming nine days later.

15. Davies' defense of reading "year 4" in the EP's opening dateline is in *El-Amarna* V 20 (n. 2) and 28 (n. 8). For Amenhotep IV in year 5 see E. F. Wente, "The Gurob Letter to Amenhotep IV," *Serapis* 6 (1980):209-215.

16. Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], p. 204; idem, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt," *JEA* 31 (1945):11-28. Applications of this principle to New Kingdom history are legion: see for convenience M. Gutgesell, "Thronbesteigungsdaten," *LÄ* VI 332-335 with references; cf. E. F. Wente and C. C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom,"*Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39 (Chicago, 1977):217-262; and K. A. Kitchen, "The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age," in P. Åstrom, ed., *High, Middle or Low?* I (Gothenburg, 1987), pp. 37-55.

17. See the discussion of these points in Chapter 4.

18. An anomaly occurs on Stela Q, in that the "repetition" begins within the penultimate line, but the final line does not run all the way to the left edge. The same continuity between the main text, "repetition" and the colophon is also seen on Stelae A and B on the west bank.

19. See Murnane, "On the Accession Date of Akhenaton," *Studies Hughes*, pp. 163-167.

20. R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, HÄB 7 (Hildesheim, 1978), pp. 248-249.

21. And Krauss has now withdrawn his objection: see idem, *Sothis-und Monddaten*, HÄB 20 (Hildesheim, 1985), p. 124, n. 4.

22. See Murnane, *Studies Hughes*, p. 165, though properly questioned by Krauss, *Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 249, n. 2.

23. The Gurob letter to Amenhotep IV in III *Prt*, for instance, is now definitely earlier than the issuing of the EP in the following month. The date of the hieratic docket on Amarna Letter 27 falls within the doubtful area, however, and its relationship to the "parade of foreign tribute" on II *Prt* 8 in year 12 (assuming EA 27 falls in that year) remains unclear: see J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* I, VA 2 (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 240-241, with C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*, AOAT 17 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), pp. 43-44 (n. 205) for EA 27; and for the date of the tribute ceremony in year 12 see, for convenience, M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, BAe 8 (Brussels, 1938), p. 36:17.

24. For the Karnak buildings see R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* I (Warminster, 1976); Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project* II, Aegypti Texta Propositaque 1 (Toronto, 1988); and the invaluable summary by idem, *Akhenaten*, pp. 86-136.

25. For the high priest of Amun in the Wadi Hammâmât, see Redford, "The Identity of the High Priest of Amun at the Beginning of Akhenaten's Reign," *JAOS* 83 (1963):140-141. The decoration of the vestibule to the Third Pylon at Karnak, probably executed very early in Amenhotep IV's reign, is the only conspicuous exception to what appears to be a policy of neglect towards the temple of Amun: see *PM* II 59-60 (177), and cf. G. Haeny, *Basilikale Anlagen in der ägyptischen Baukunst des Neuen Reiches*, Beiträge Bf. 9 (Cairo, 1970), pl. I for a view of this wall before it was dismantled.

26. Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 135-136; but more fully discussed by C. Traunecker, "Données nouvelles sur le début au (sic) règne d'Amenophis IV et son oeuvre à Karnak," *JSSEA* 14, no. 3 (August, 1984):64-69.

27. See in general L. Kákosy, "Heliopolis," *LÄ* II 1111-1113. For Akhenaten at or near Heliopolis, see S. Hassan and H. S. K. Bakry, "Akhenaten at Heliopolis," *CdE* 47 (1972):55-67; L. Habachi, "Akhenaten in Heliopolis," *Festschrift Herbert Ricke*, Beitraege Bf. 12 (Cairo, 1971), pp. 35-45; B. Löhr, "Ahanyati in Memphis," *SAK* 2 (1975):139-187; A. Zivie, "Une tomb d'époque amarnienne à Saqqarah," *BSFE* 84 (1979):21-32.

28. E.g., Mentuhotep II (D. Arnold, "Zur frühen Namensform des Koenigs *Mnṯw-ḥtp Nb-ḥpt-rˁ*," *MDAIK* 24 [1969]:38-42); Amenemhet I (J. von Beckerath, "Zur Begründung der 12. Dynastie durch Amenemmes I.," *ZÄS* 92 [1965]:4-10; Kamose (Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* [Toronto, 1967], pp. 35-37).

Endnotes

29. The king's Amenhotep name, which predominated in the Theban temples (see Redford, in *ATP* I 76 ["virtually all the names of the king"]), was recarved into "Akhenaten" (idem, *Akhenaten*, pp. 140-141), but there is nothing to show precisely when this was done.

30. For example, Sety I preferred to be "Sety beloved of Amun" instead of "beloved of Ptah" in the Theban area (for convenience, see the texts collected in *KRI* I, passim); and to avoid giving offense to Osiris, the same king substituted an Isis-knot for the Seth animal in his nomen at Abydos (Calverley-Gardiner, *Abydos*, I-IV).

31. See below (p. 169) for Akhenaten's attitude towards the orthodox gods of Egypt, as it emerges from the decree of year 5; and cf. J. Assmann, "Die 'Häresie' des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion," *Saeculum* 23 (1972):109-126 on the more inclusive theology that prevailed in the earlier Amarna Period.

32. All four, in fact, are roughly aligned with one another, as can be seen on a clear day from the site of Stela S.

33. Use of the "mirror image" effect predates this period by a considerable margin. Found in Egypt as in the rest of the ancient Near East (cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 4th impression [Harmondsworth, 1970], p. 27, fig. 12), it is almost too commonplace to merit discussion and has virtually been taken for granted in studies of Egyptian art: e.g., H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, translated by John Baines (Oxford, 1974), pp. 161-162. For systematic discussions of its rôle in Egyptian art, now see H. Hornung, "Symmetrie," *LÄ* VI 129-133 with references; and cf. S. Schoske, "Symme trophobia -- Symmetrie und Asymmetrie in *Symmetrie in Kunst, Natur und Wissenschaft* I (Darmstadt, 1986), pp. 151-156. (For this last reference we are grateful to Richard Fazzini, Brooklyn Museum).

34. For other passages in the EP testifying to the overwhelming importance of ritual at El-Amarna see below, pp. 178-180.

35. See Fischer, "Hieroglyphen," *LÄ* II 1195 with n. 22; M. Eaton-Krauss, "Statuendarstellung," *LÄ* V 1263 (the statue [=*twt*] as substitute for royal image); and cf. W. Barta, "Der Terminus *twt* auf den Grenzenstelen Sesostris' III. in Nubien," in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Mitteilun gen aus der Aegyptischen Sammlung 8 (Berlin, 1974), pp. 51-54 (=the boundary stela as an image [=*twt*] of the king).

36. See Appendix 2. This dating is suggested by (a.) the clear reference to "[his Majesty's] appearing [upon] his chariot" in Stela L: cf. LP sections IV (A:11-12), V (A:4-5); and (b.) the position of

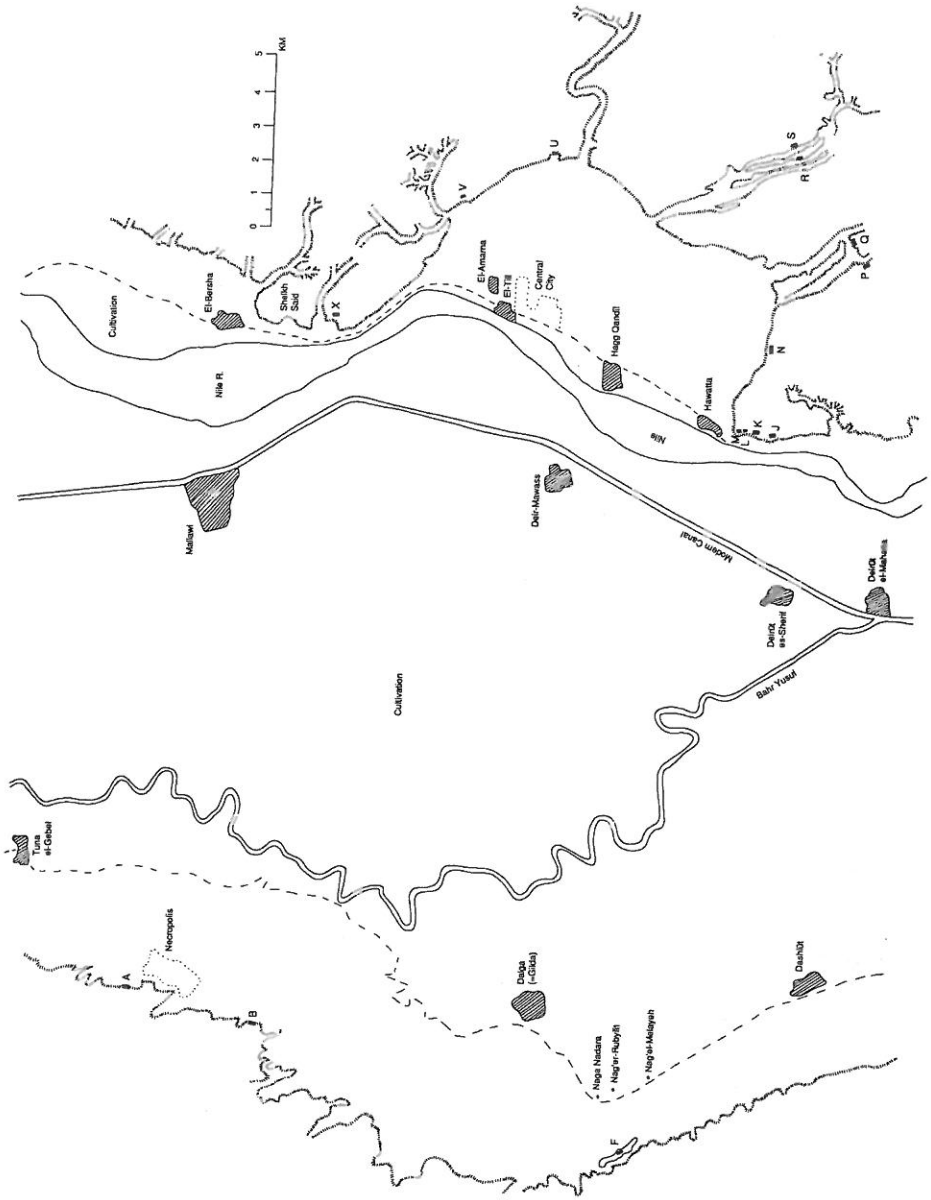


Plate 1. Map of the El-Amarna region, with boundary stelae

Plate 2. Stela K, columns (collated drawing)

Plate 3. Stela K, lines 1-28 (collated drawing)

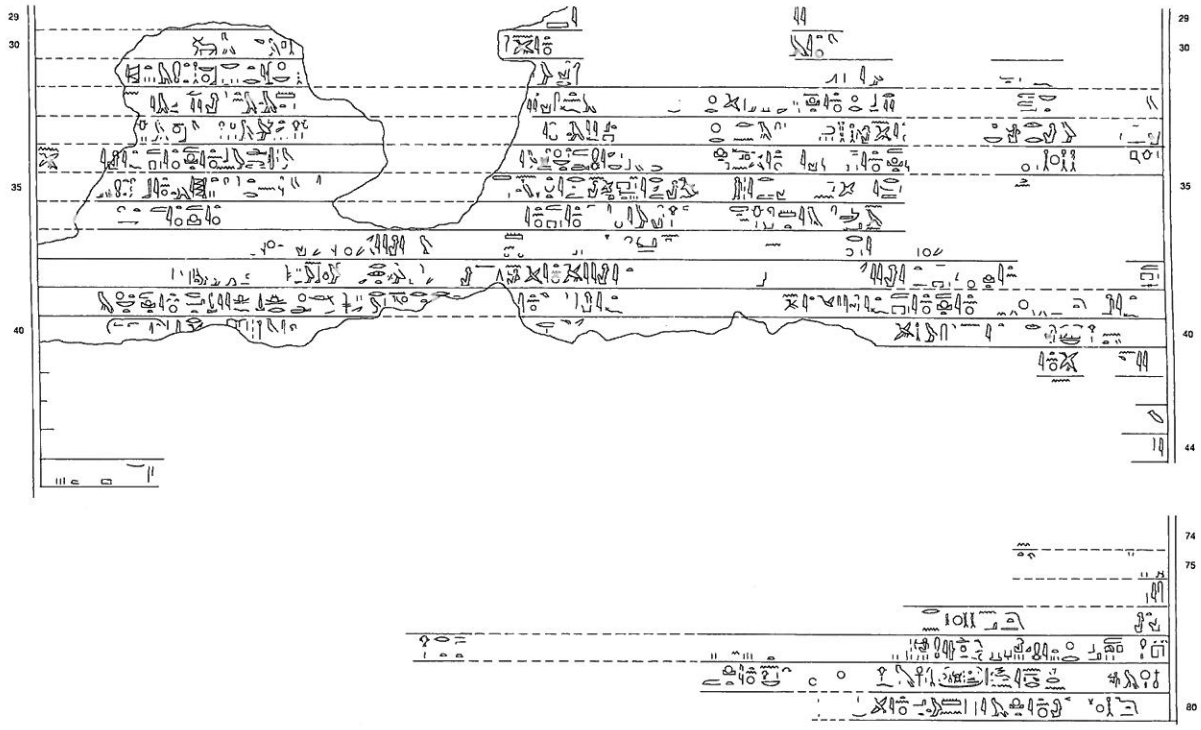


Plate 4. Stela K, lines 29-44, 74-80 (collated drawing)

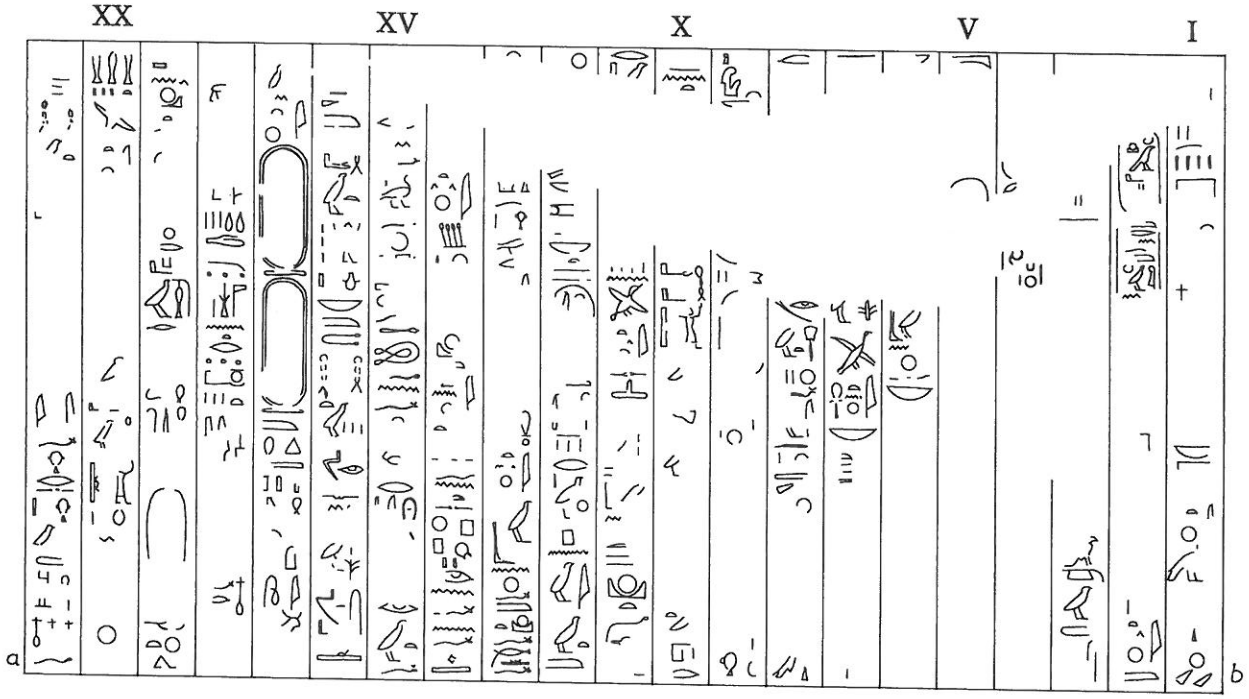


Plate 5. Stela X, columns (collated drawing)

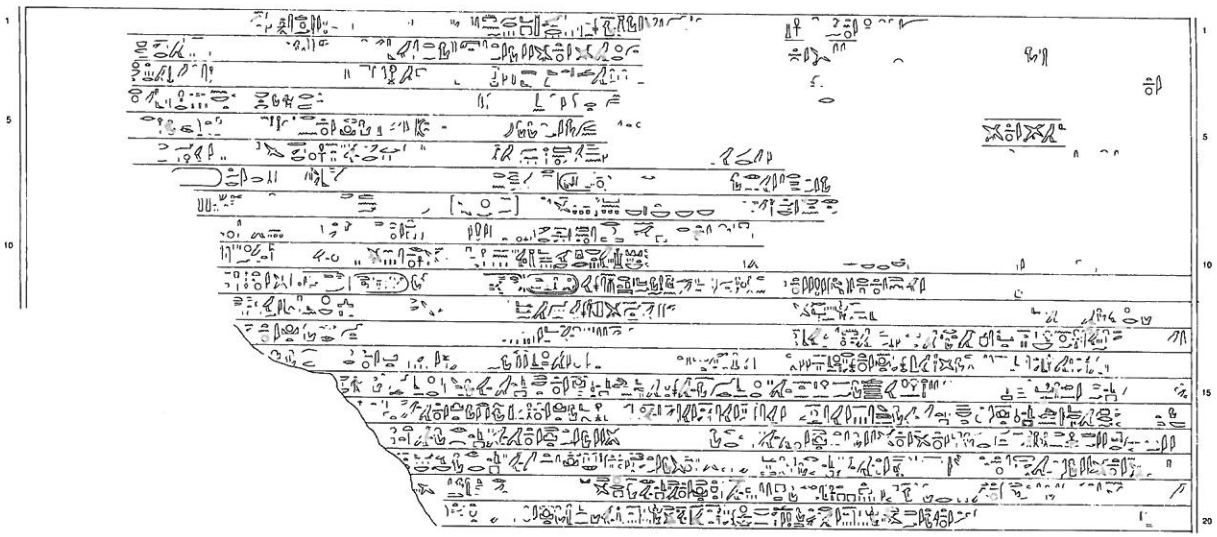


Plate 6. Stela X, lines 1-20 (collated drawing)

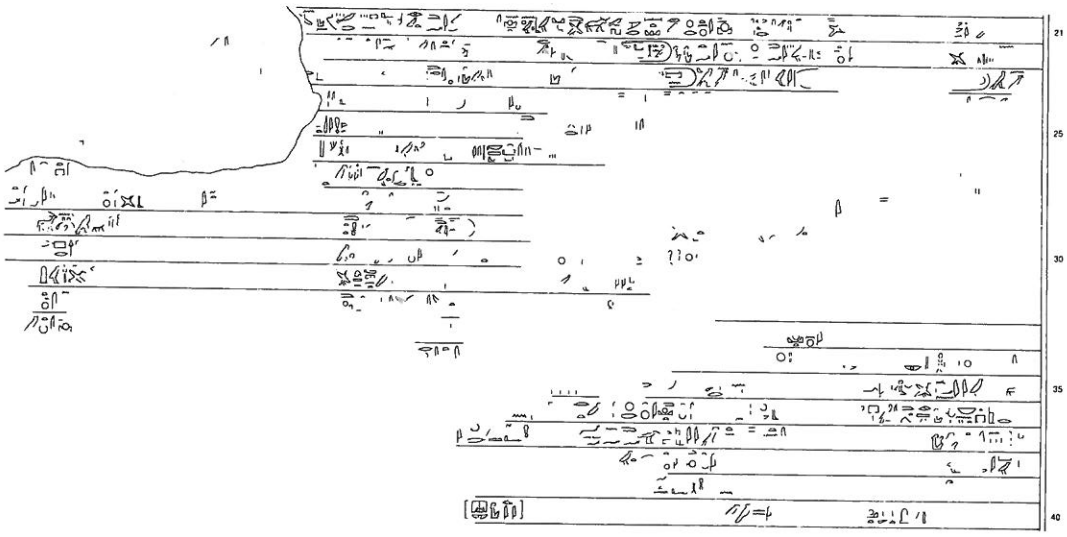


Plate 7. Stela X, lines 21-40 (collated drawing)

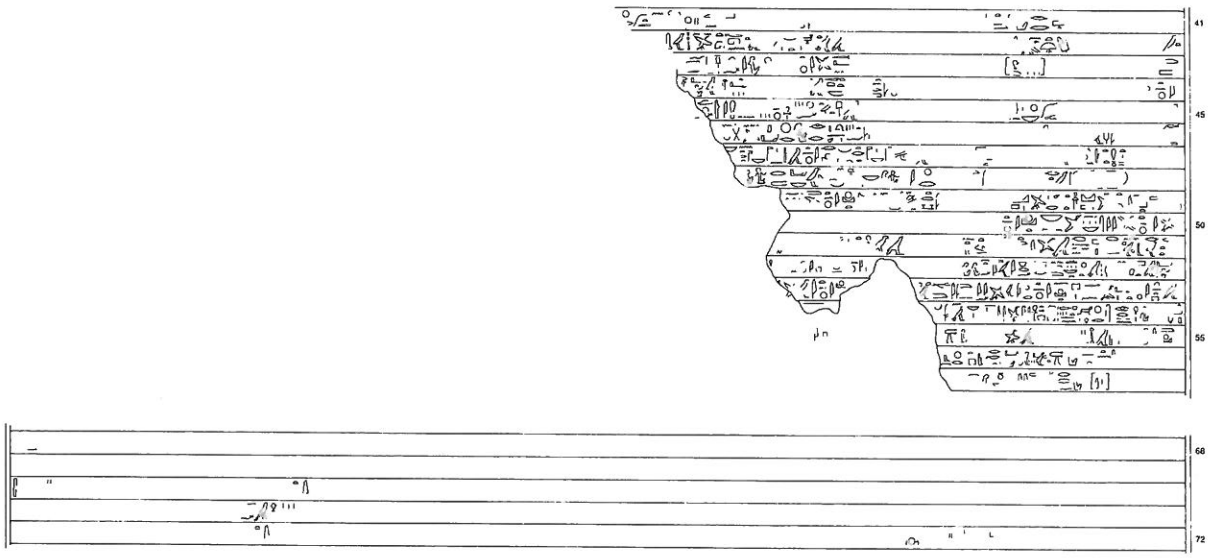


Plate 8. Stela X, lines 47-51 and 68-72 (collated drawing)

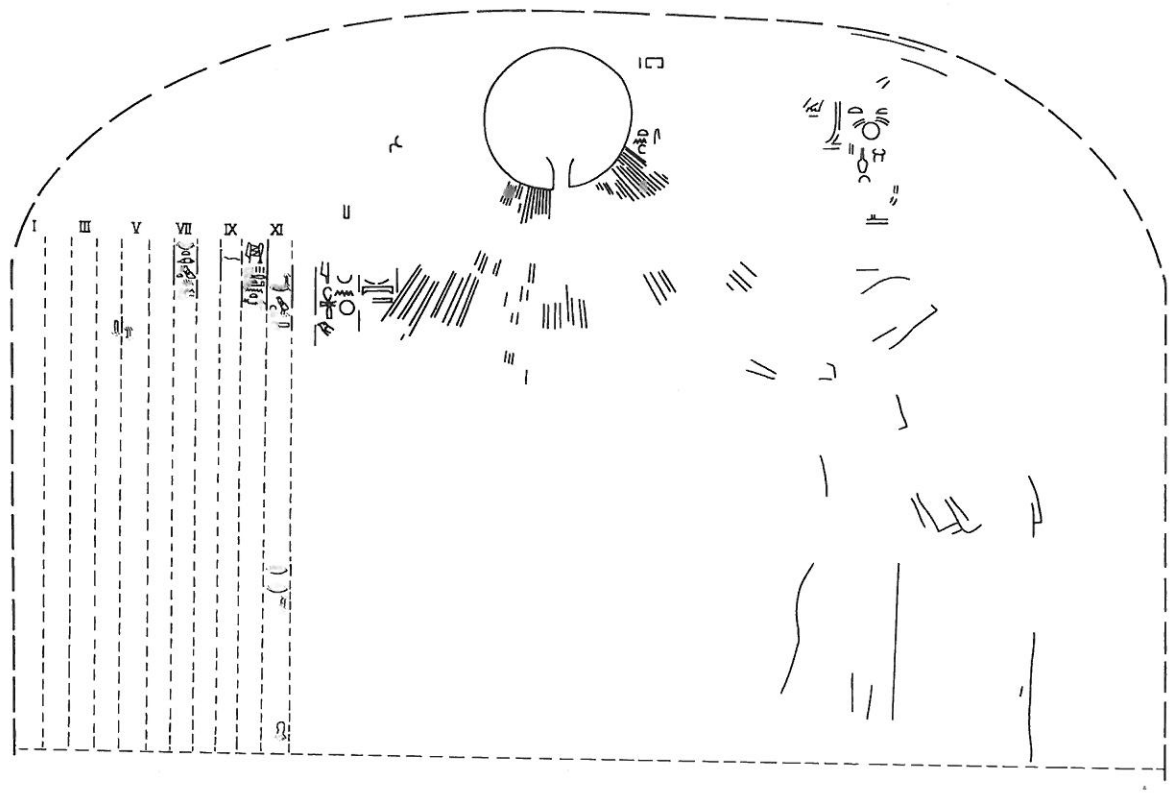


Plate 9. Stela M, top [=lunette and line 1] (drawing, from a tracing)

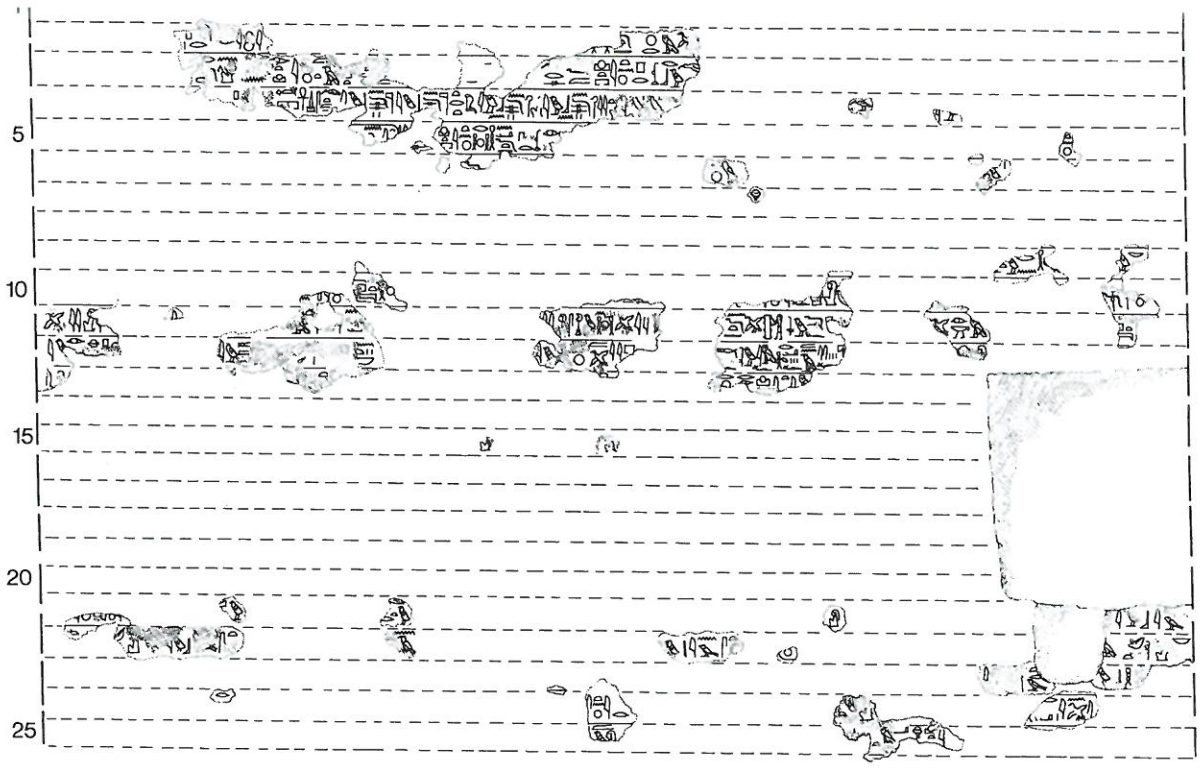


Plate 10. Stela M, lines 2-25 (drawing, from a tracing)

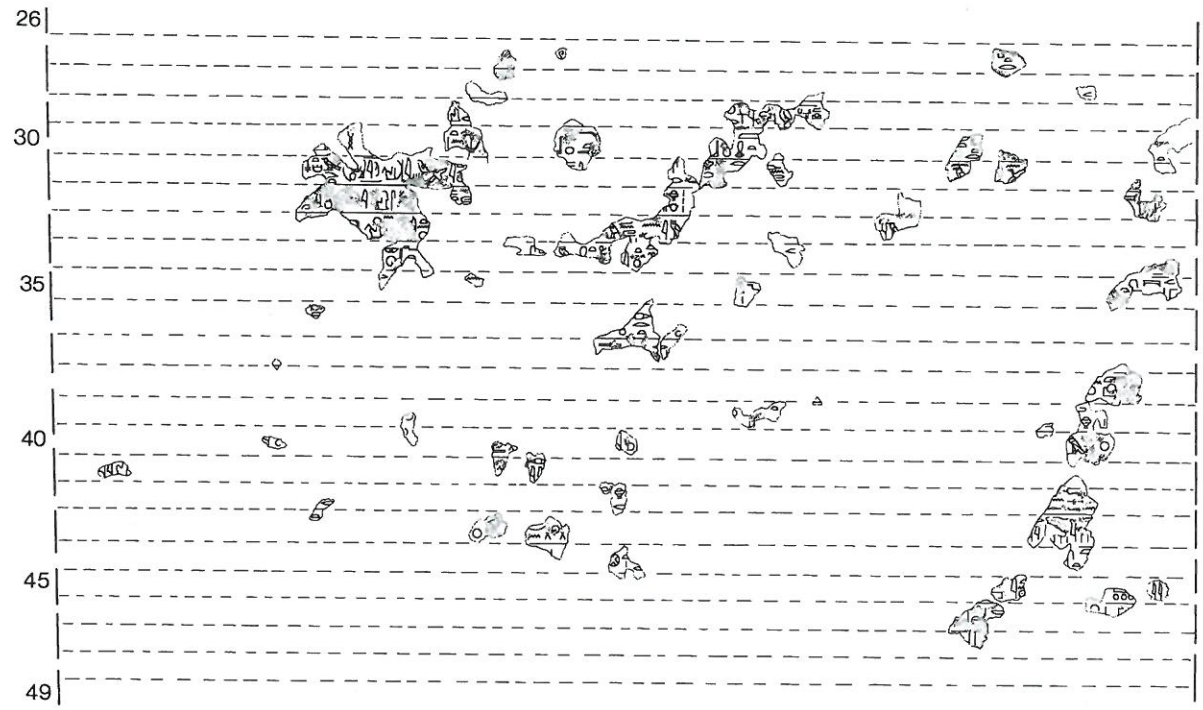


Plate 11. Stela M, lines 26-50 (drawing, from a tracing)

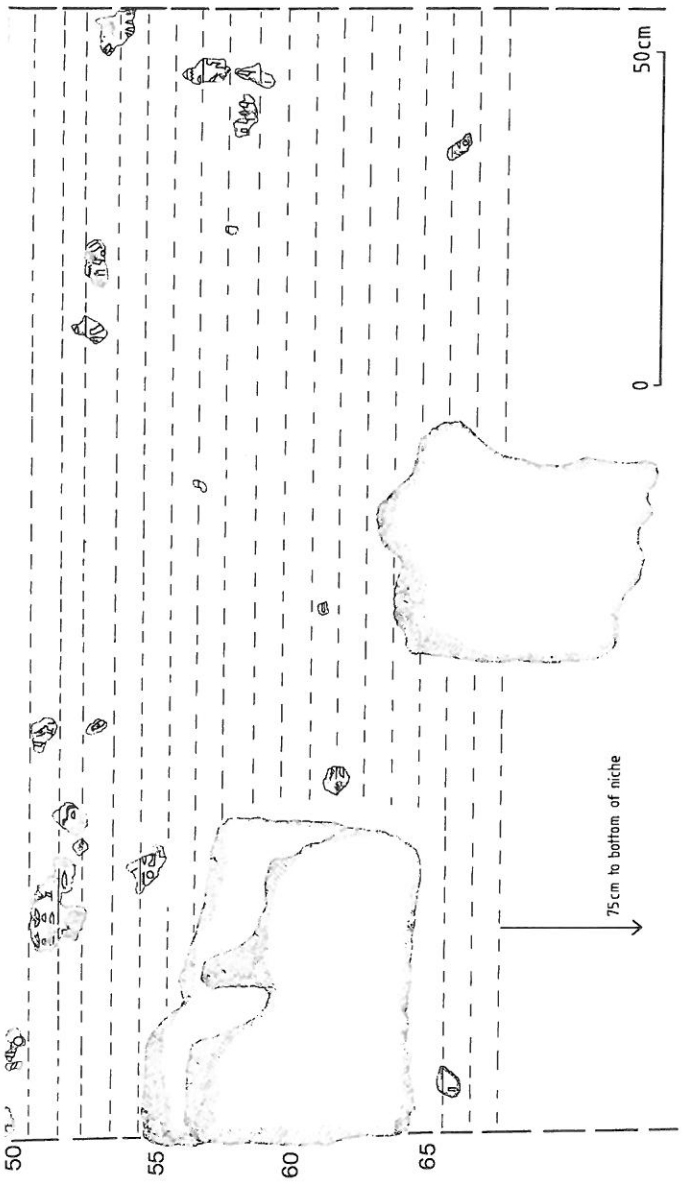


Plate 12. Stela M, lines 51-67 (drawing from a tracing)

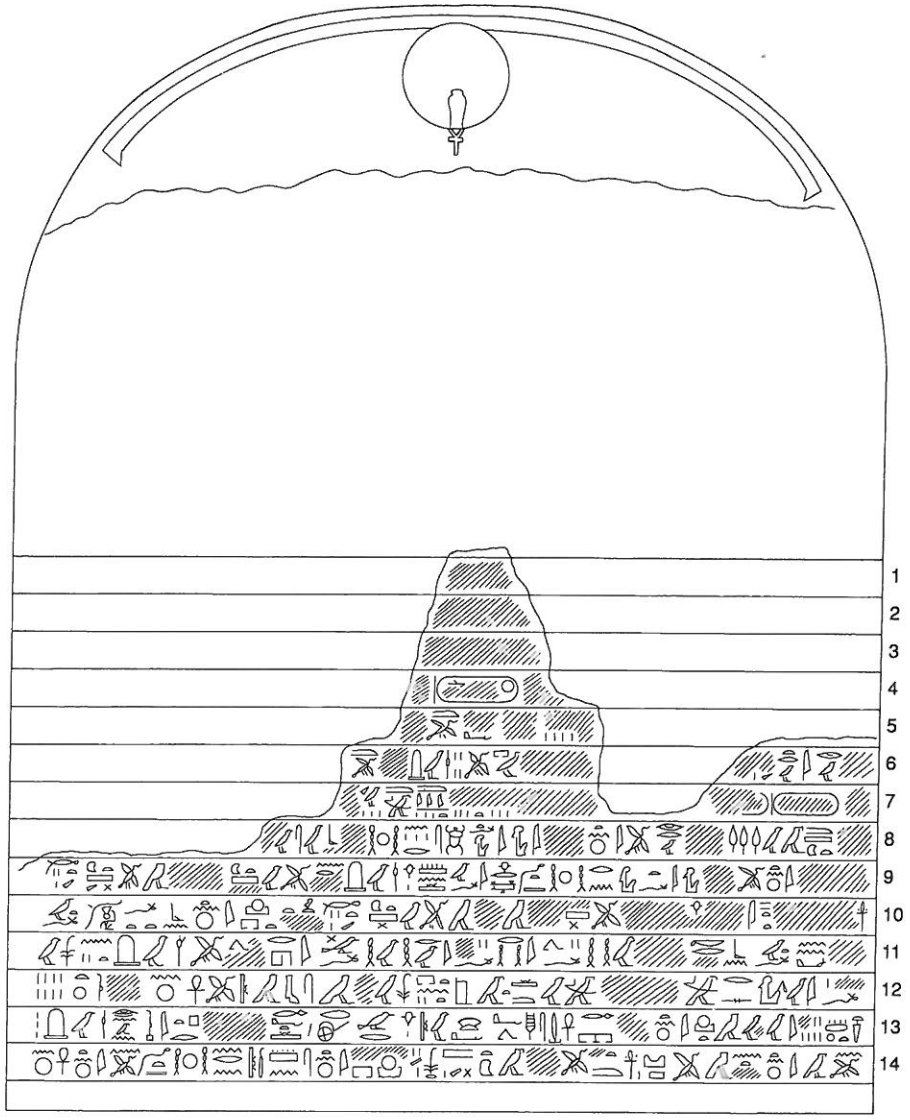


Plate 13. Stela F (sketched reconstruction, after Petrie)

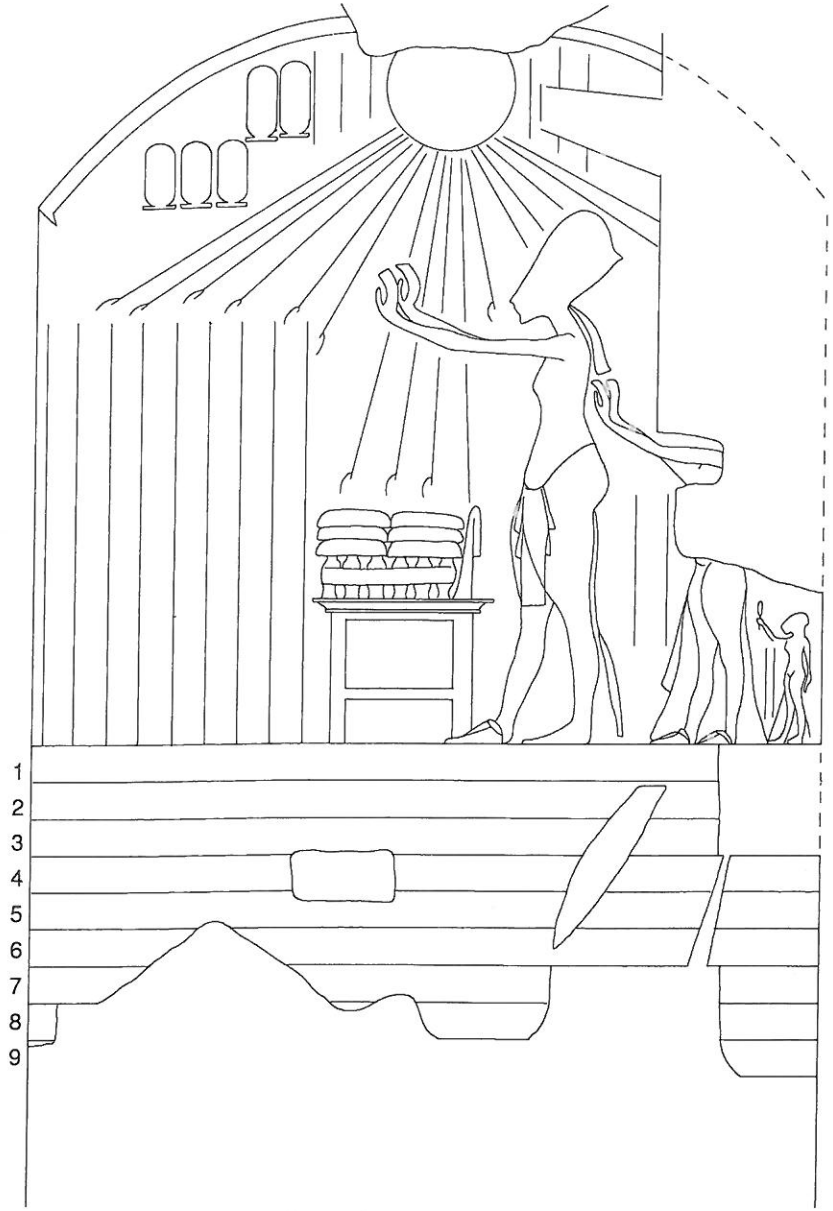


Plate 14. Stela J (sketch after Petrie)

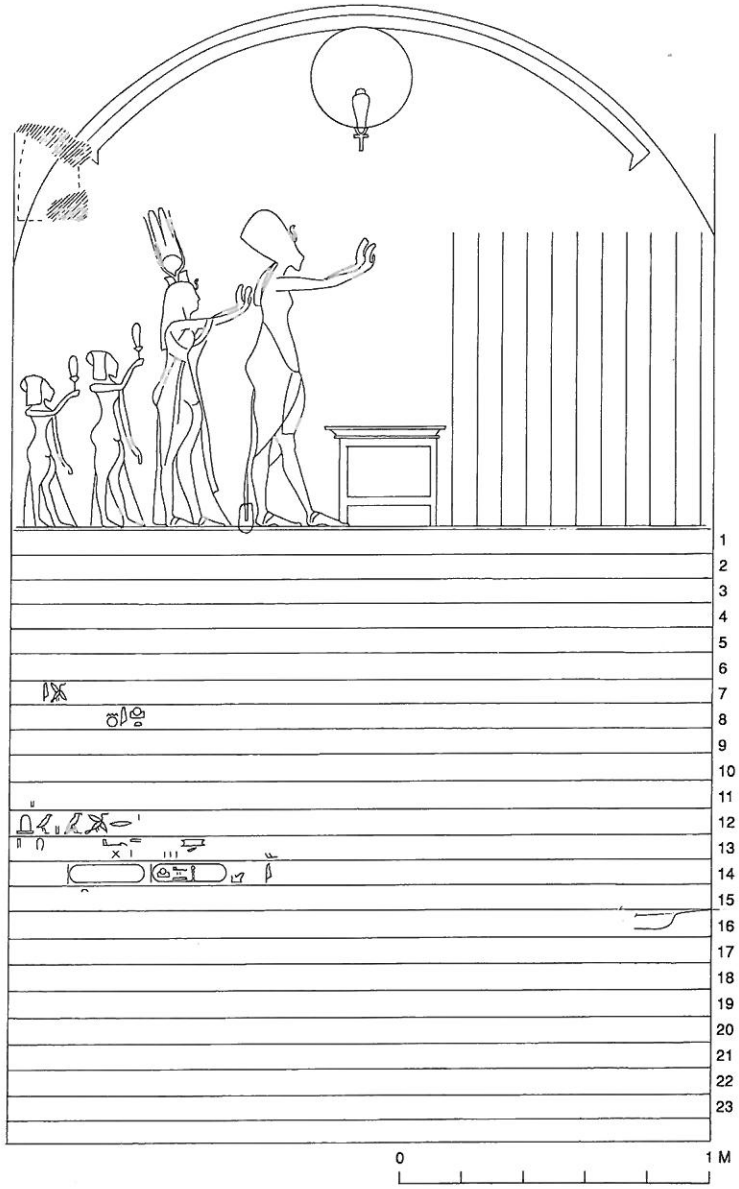


Plate 15. Stela V (sketched reconstruction)

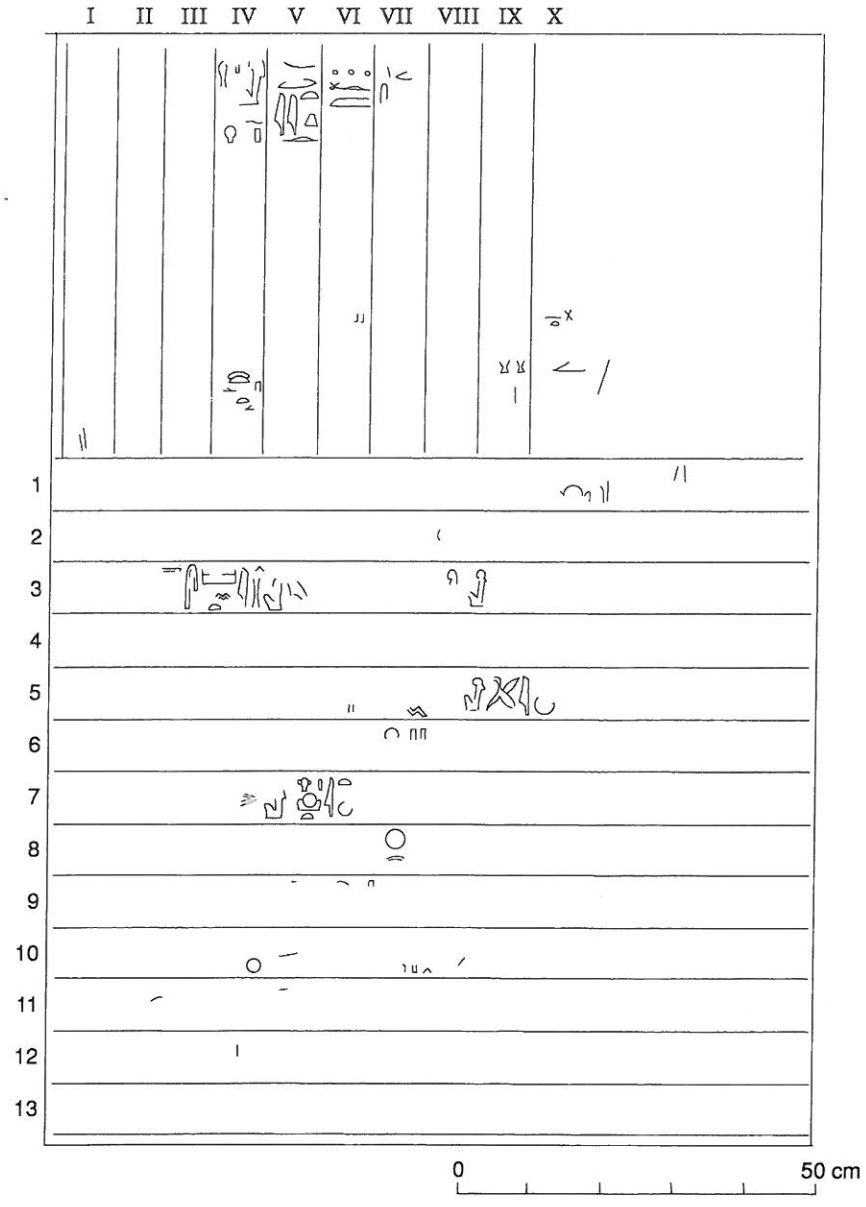


Plate 16. Stela L (drawing, from a tracing)

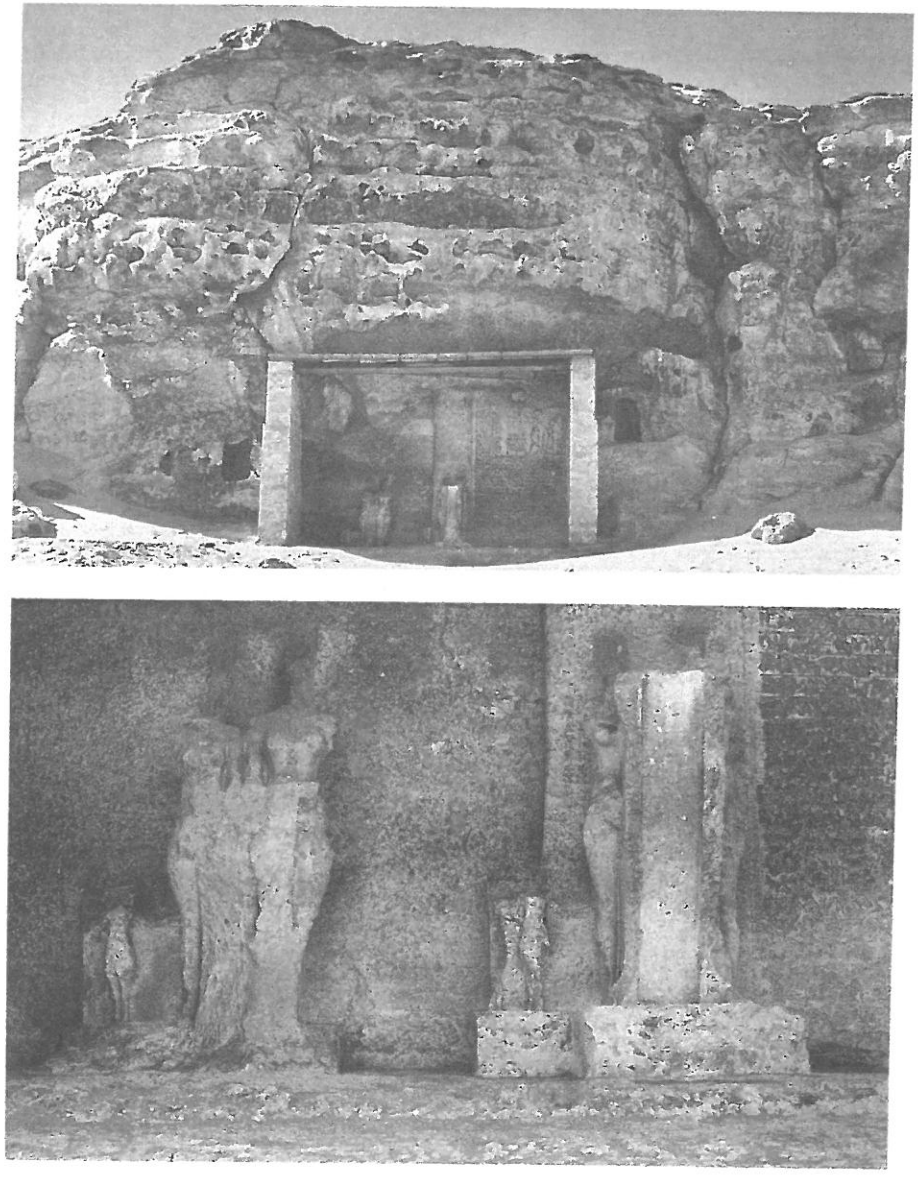


Plate 17. Stela A: (A) general view; (B) statues

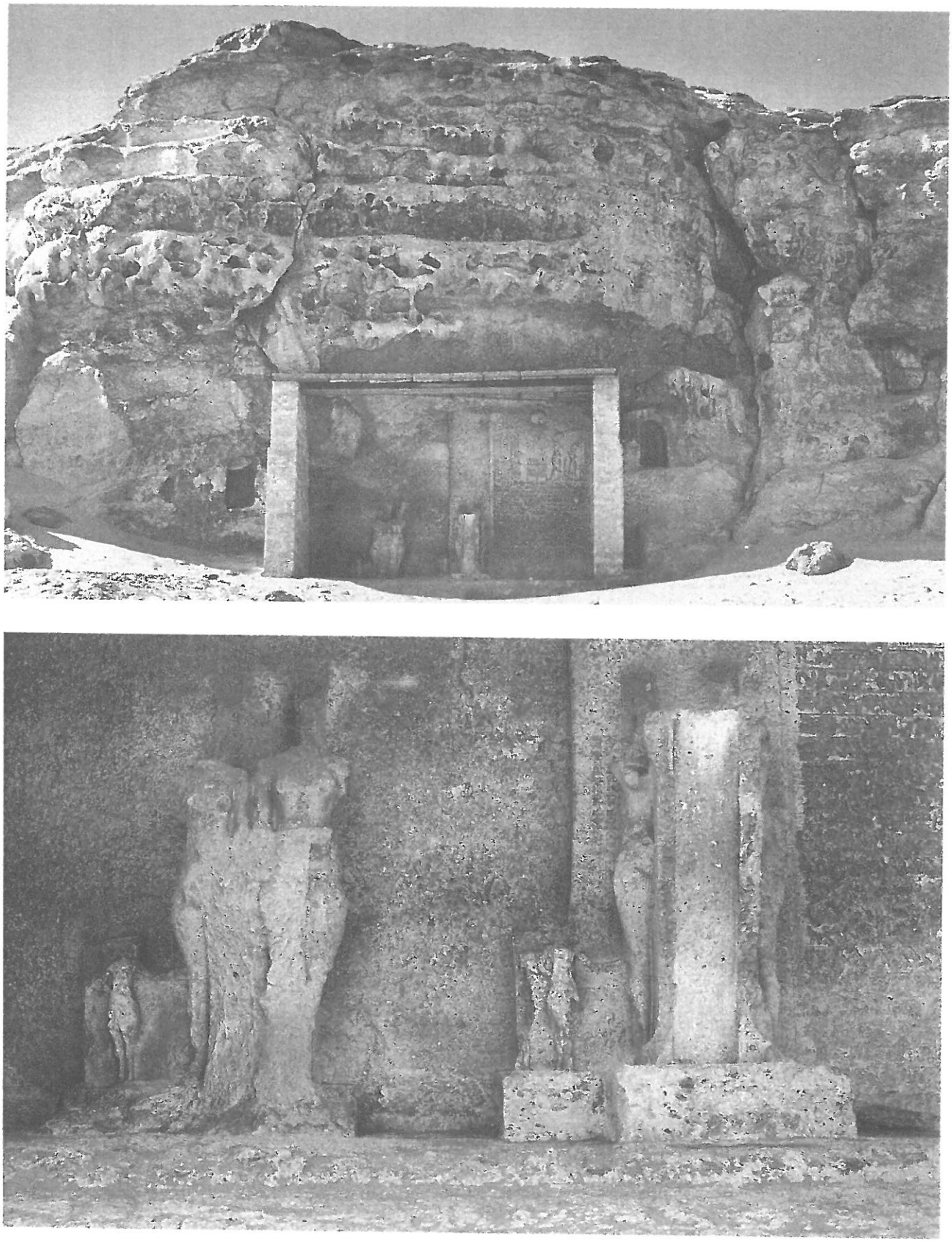
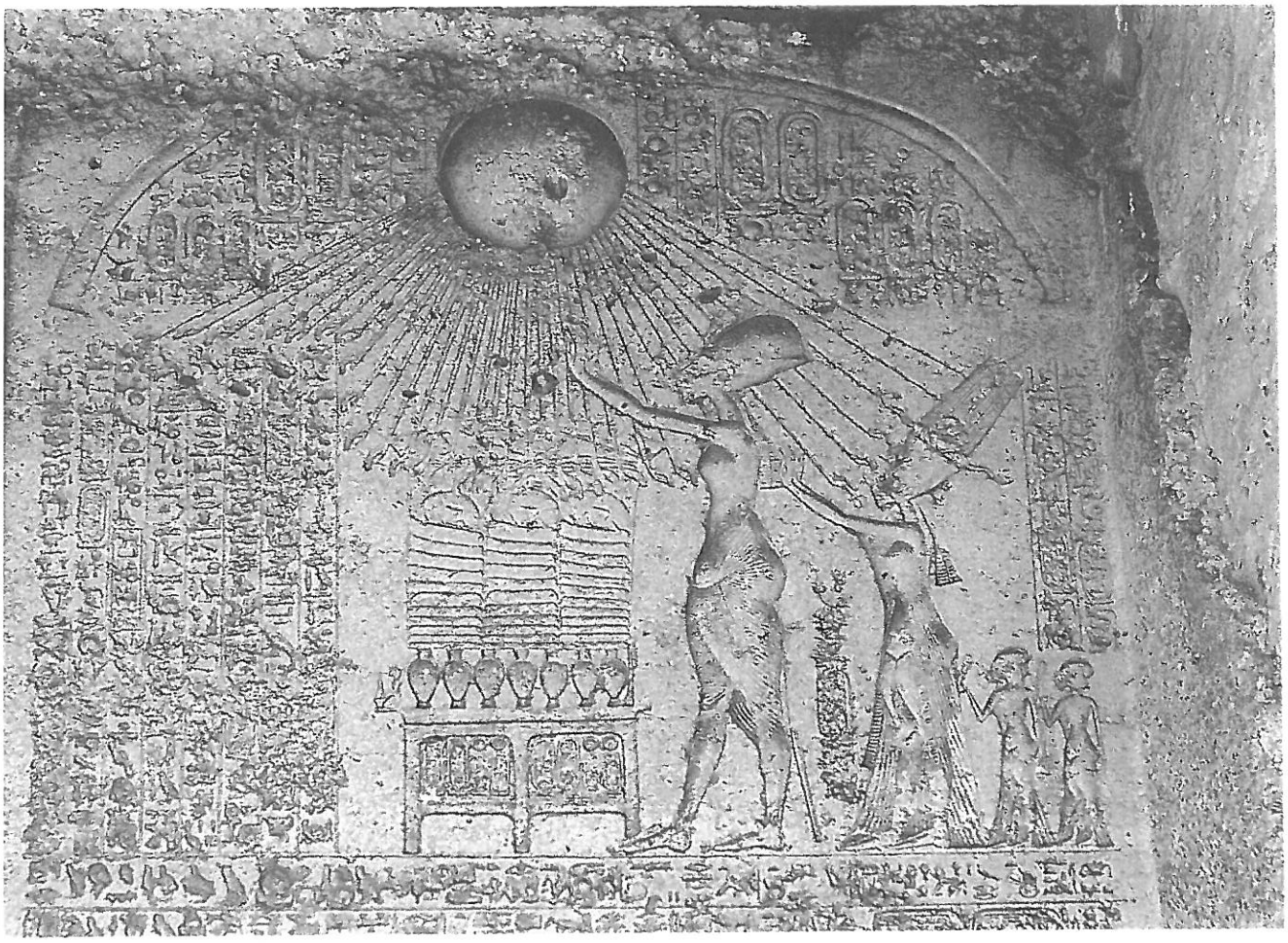


Plate 17. Stela A: (A) general view; (B) statues





ıte 18. Stela A: (A) lunette; (B) Princess Ankhesenaten

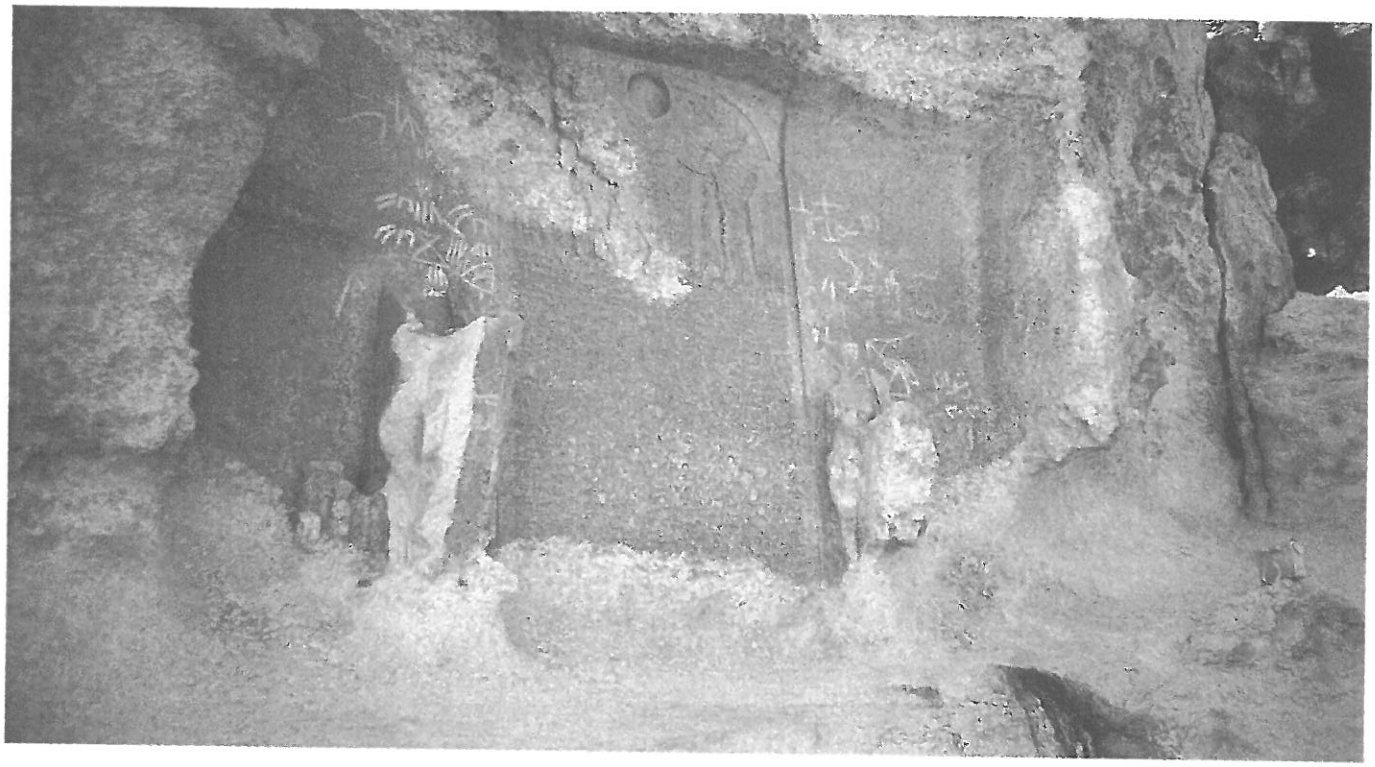




Plate 19. Stela B: (A) tablet with flanking statue groups, from south; (B) same, obliquely from the north

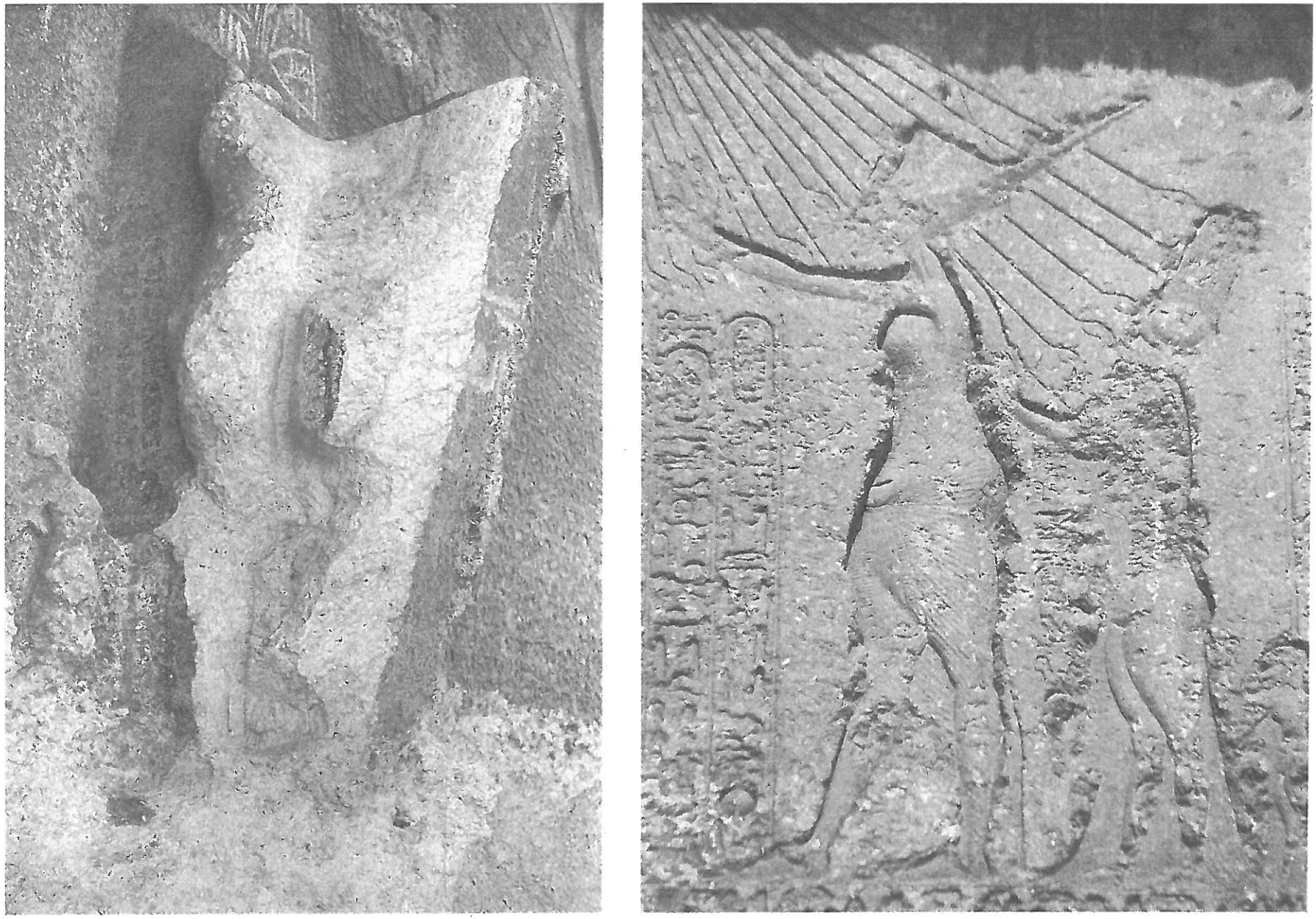


Plate 20. Stela B: (A) remains of princesses carved onto south side of south altar; (B) right-hand group from lunette



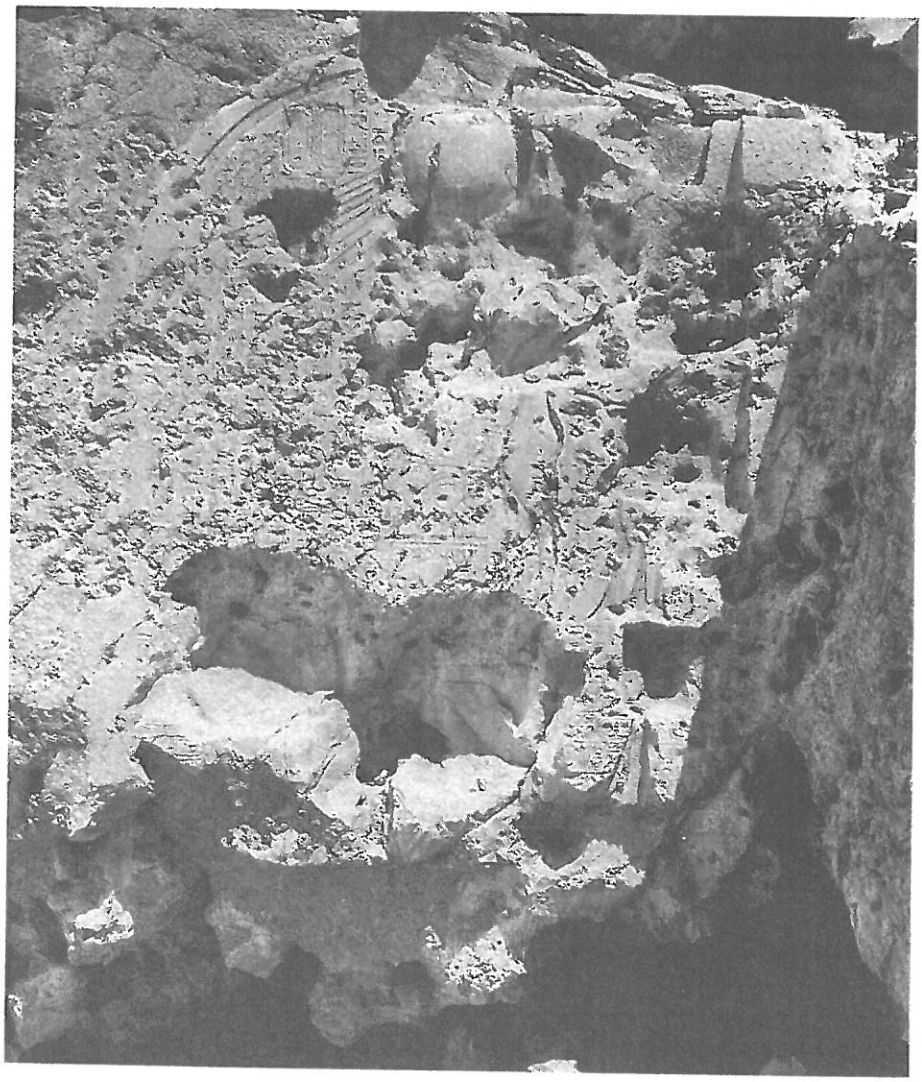
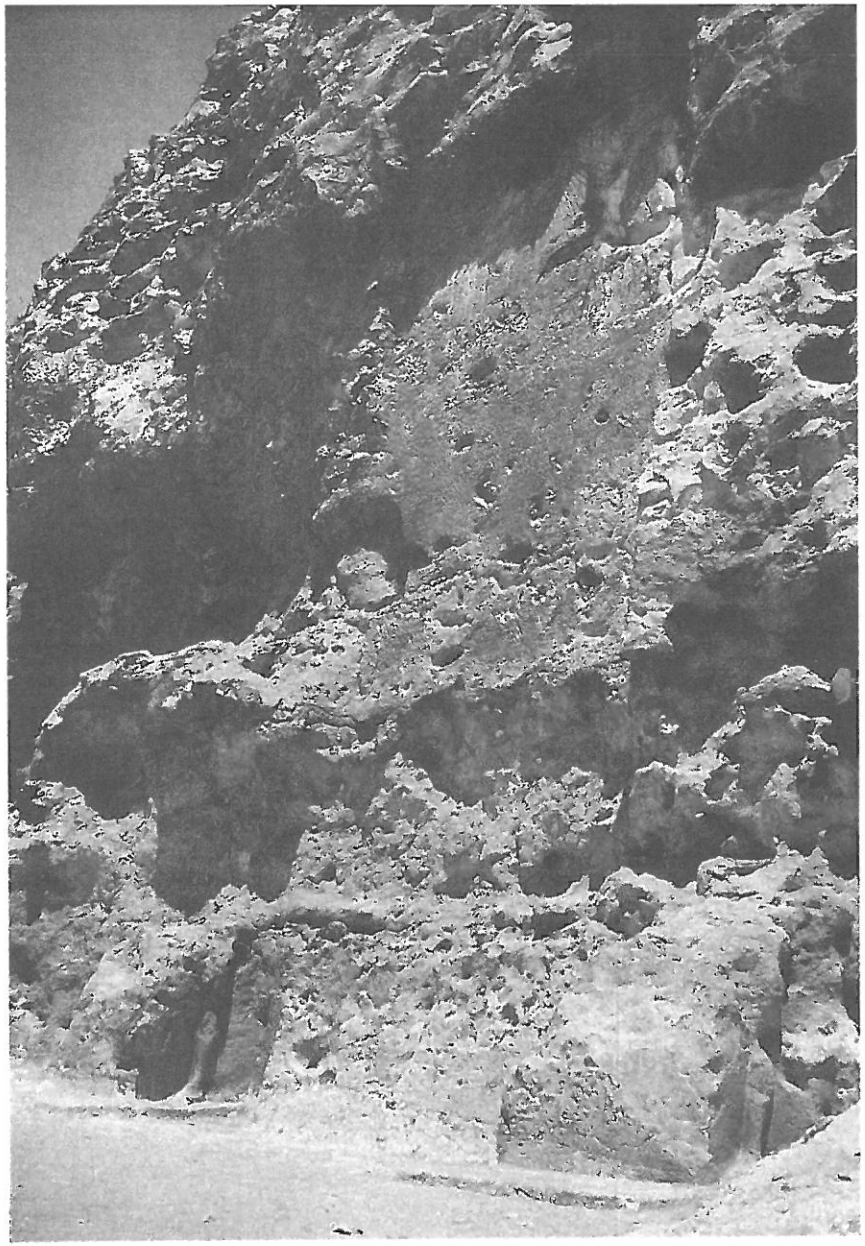


Plate 21: (A) Stela F: view of terrain leading to site (from top of hill); (B) Stela J: the tablet in 1984



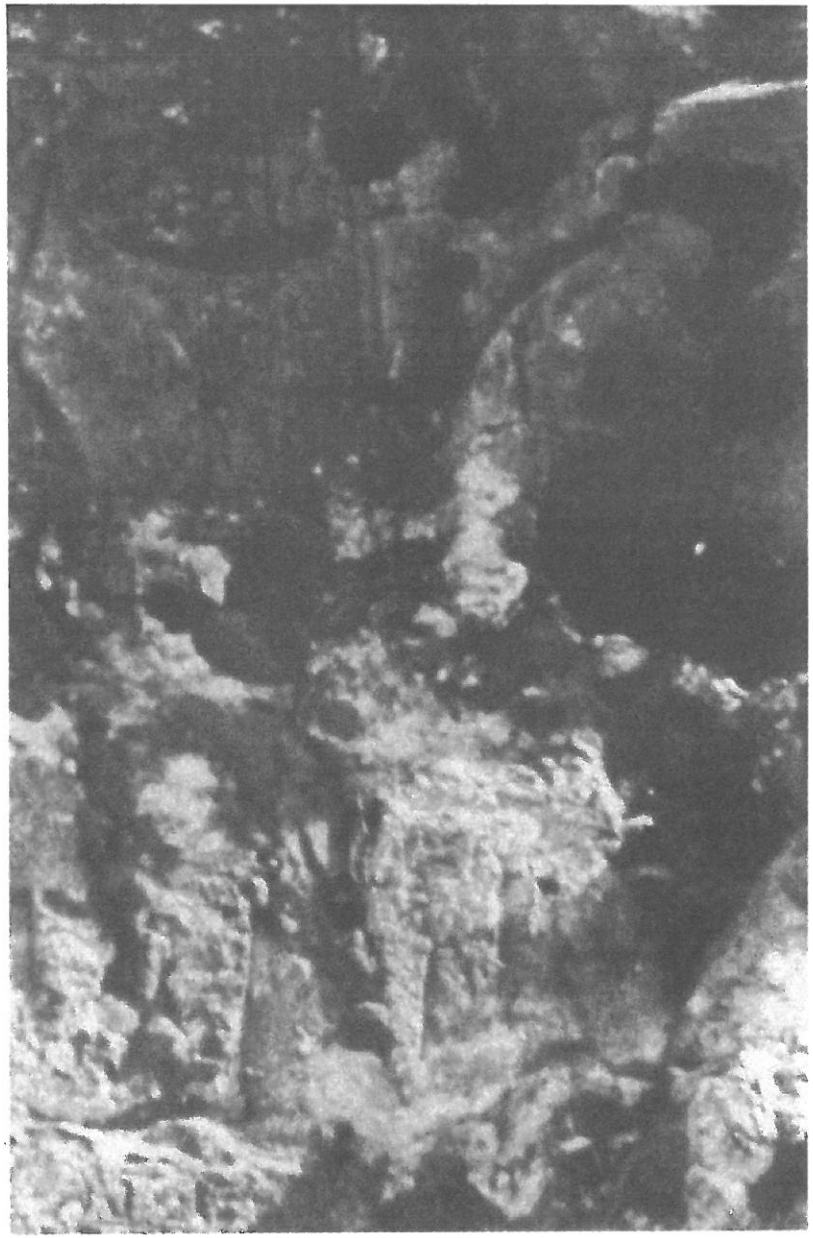


Plate 22: Stela K: (A) tablet with flanking statue groups; (B) princesses' figures at right side of lunette (from Steindorff's photograph)

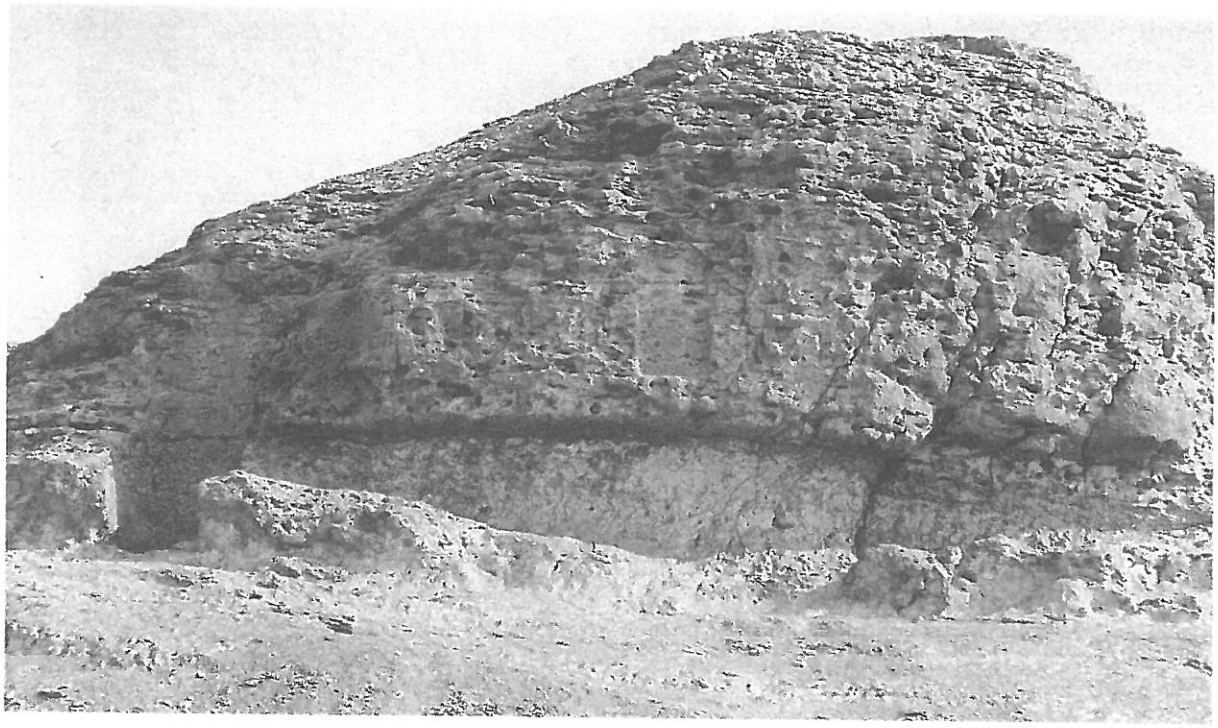
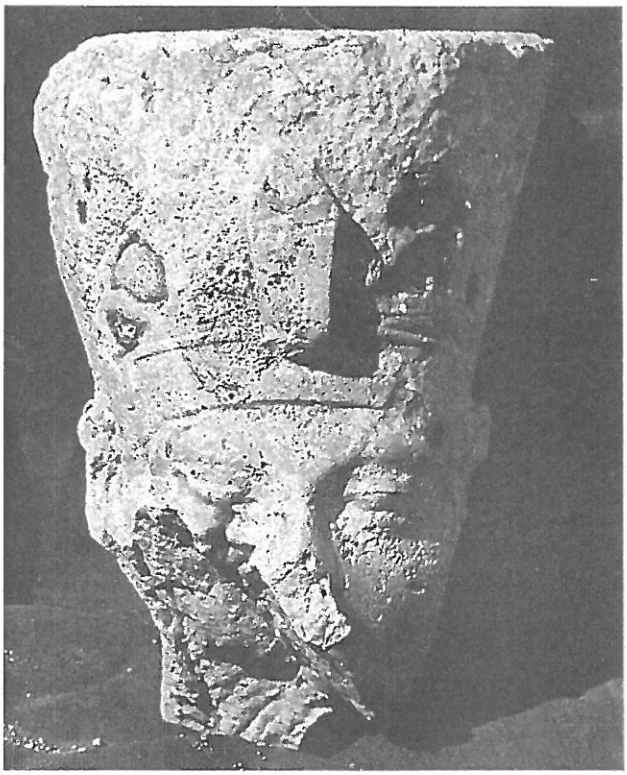




Plate 23: (A) sites of Stelae L (right) and M (left) at southern promontory; (B) the tablet of Stela N in 1984



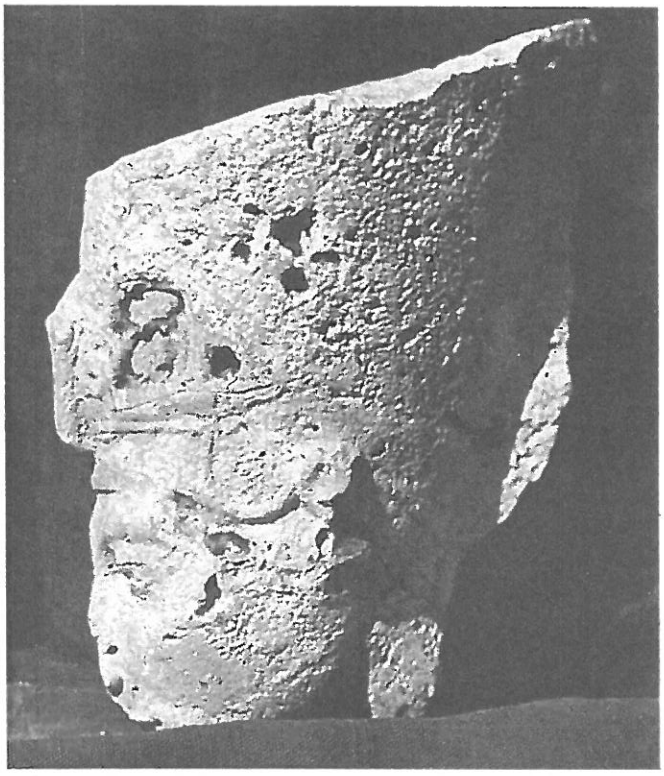






Plate 24: Stela N: (A) and (B) statue head of Nefertiti egyptisches Museum Leipzig 114]; (C) statuary fragments body of princess, and arm of royal figure); (D) detail of king's foot from a group on west side

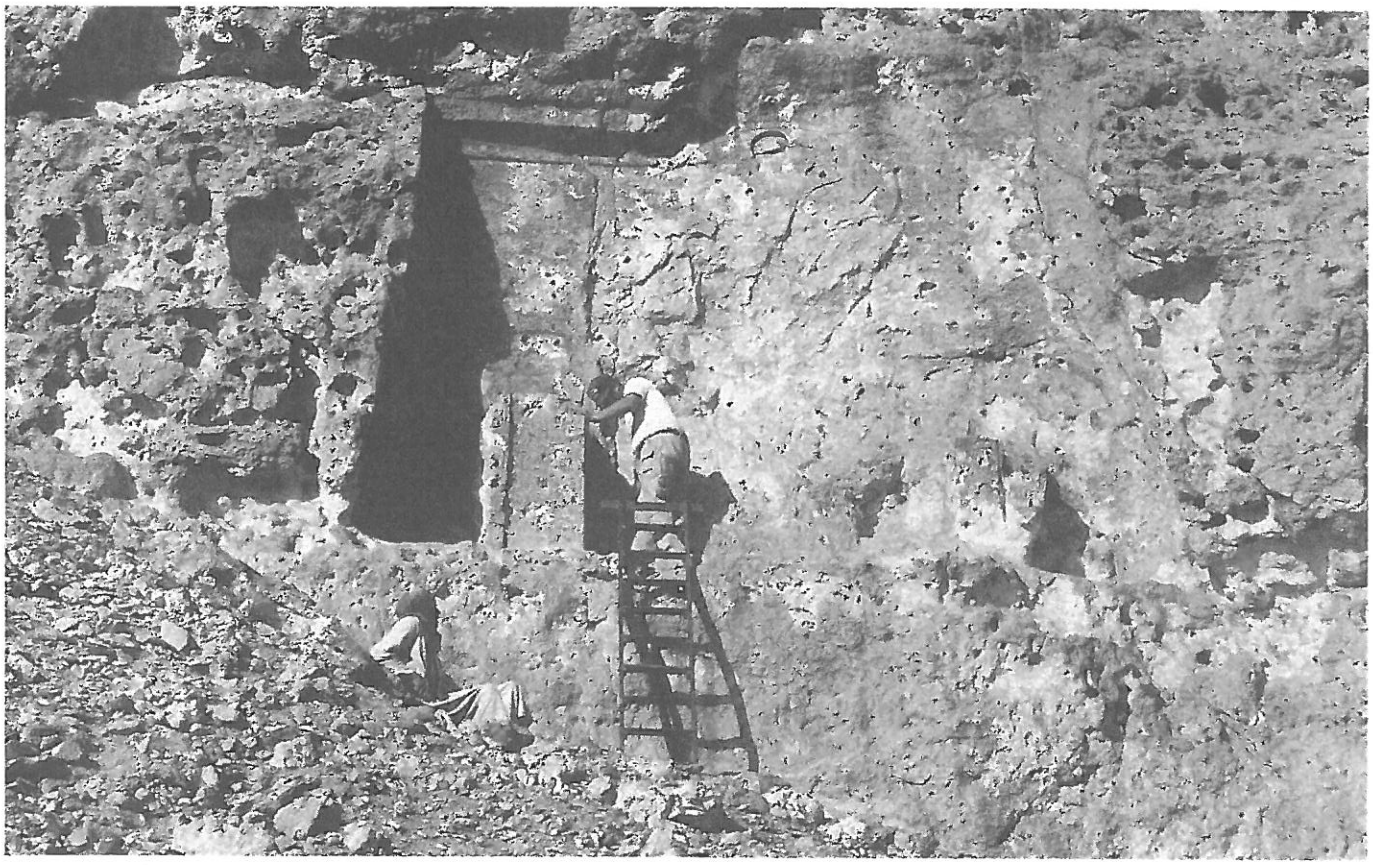
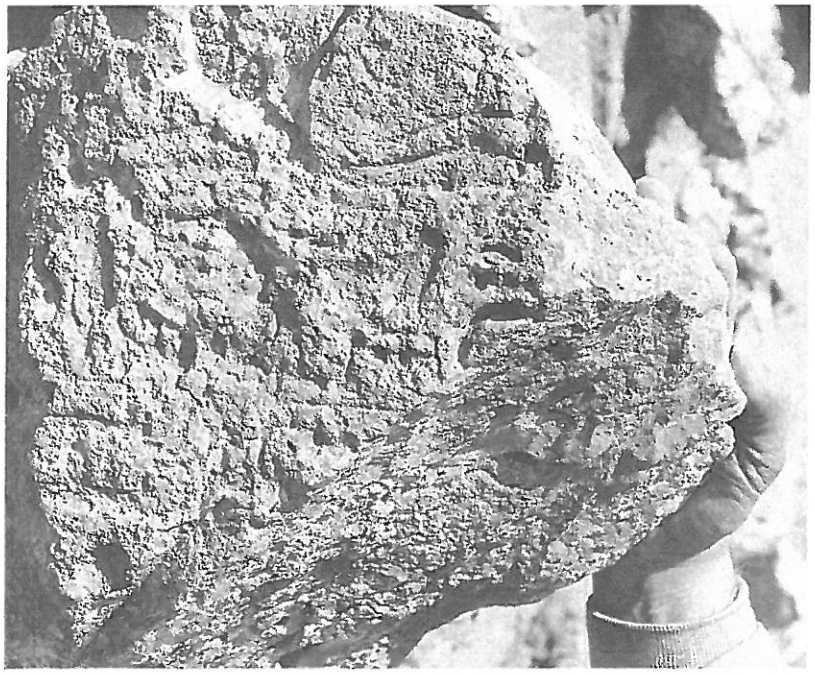




Plate 25. Stela P: (A) remains of tablet with flanking statue groups; (B) remains of lunette



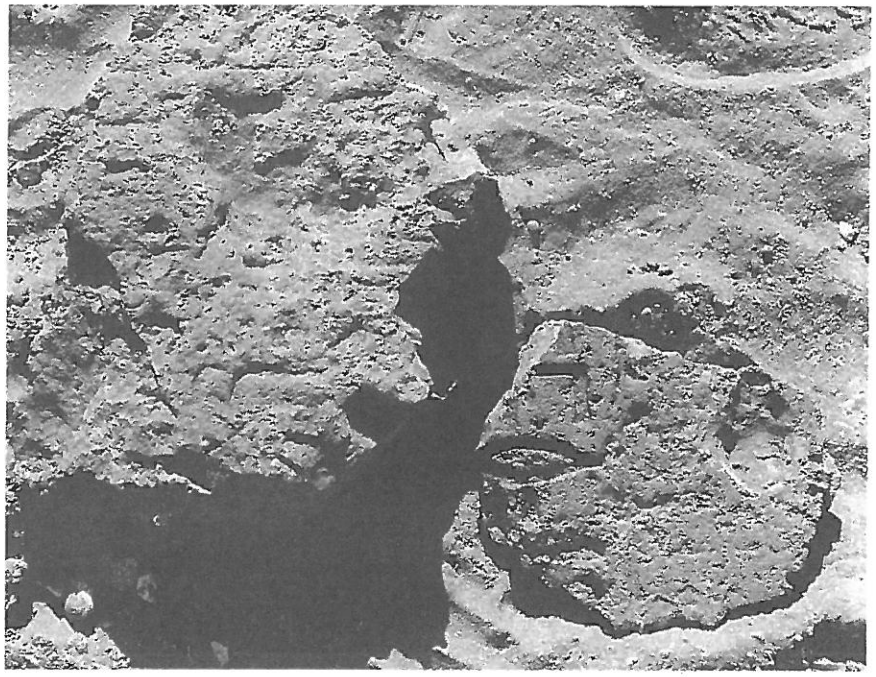




Plate 26. Stela P: (A) fragments showing king's foot (from lunette) above lines 1-2; (B) two fragments: from lunette, text column to left of king's leg (right), and from bottom of the tablet (left); (C) emplacement for statuette of third princess (right), beside south statue group

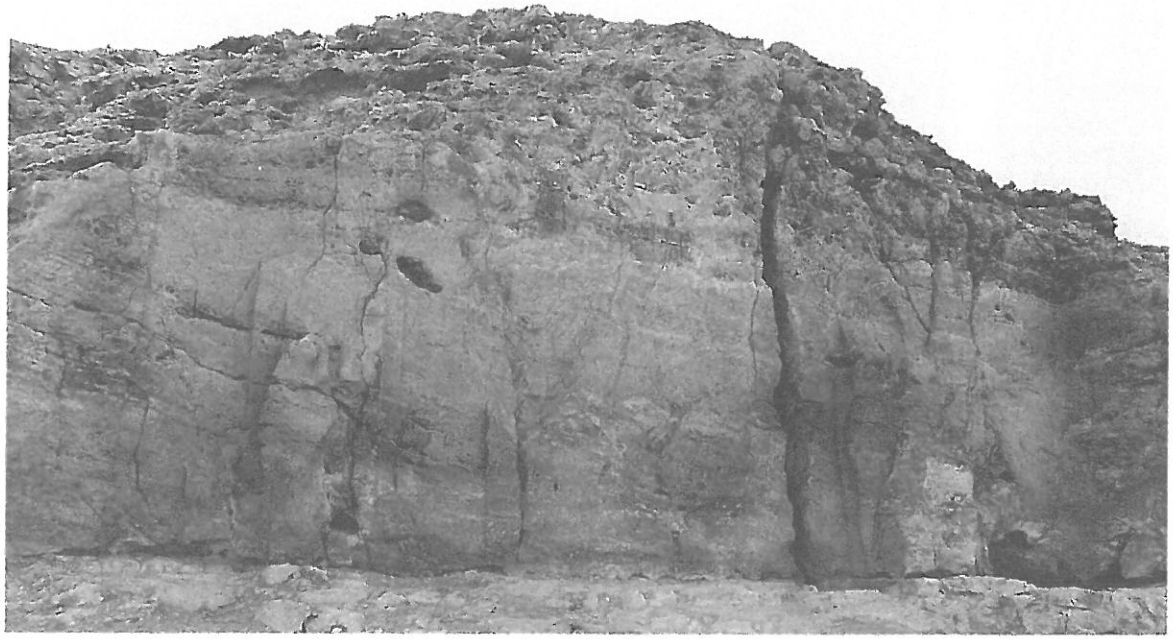






Plate 27. Stela Q: (A) view of site taken from with northeast corner in 1989, showing wrecked tablet flanked by remains of statue groups; (B) emplacement for statuette of third princess, beside eastern statue group; (C) fragment of elder princess from western statue group

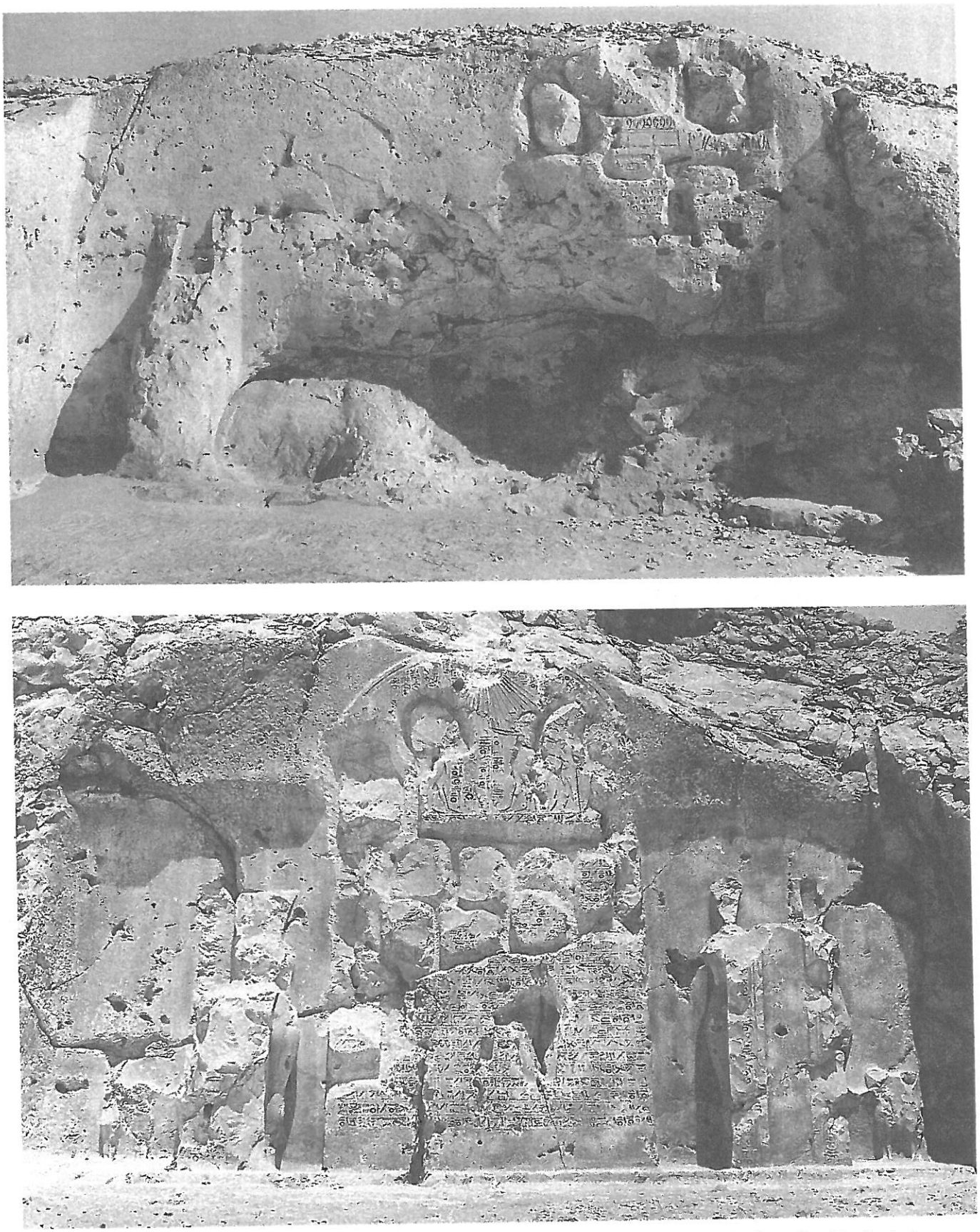


Plate 28. (A) site of Stela R, with tablet on south side of niche (1989); (B) site of Stela S, with tablet flanked by statue groups (1984)



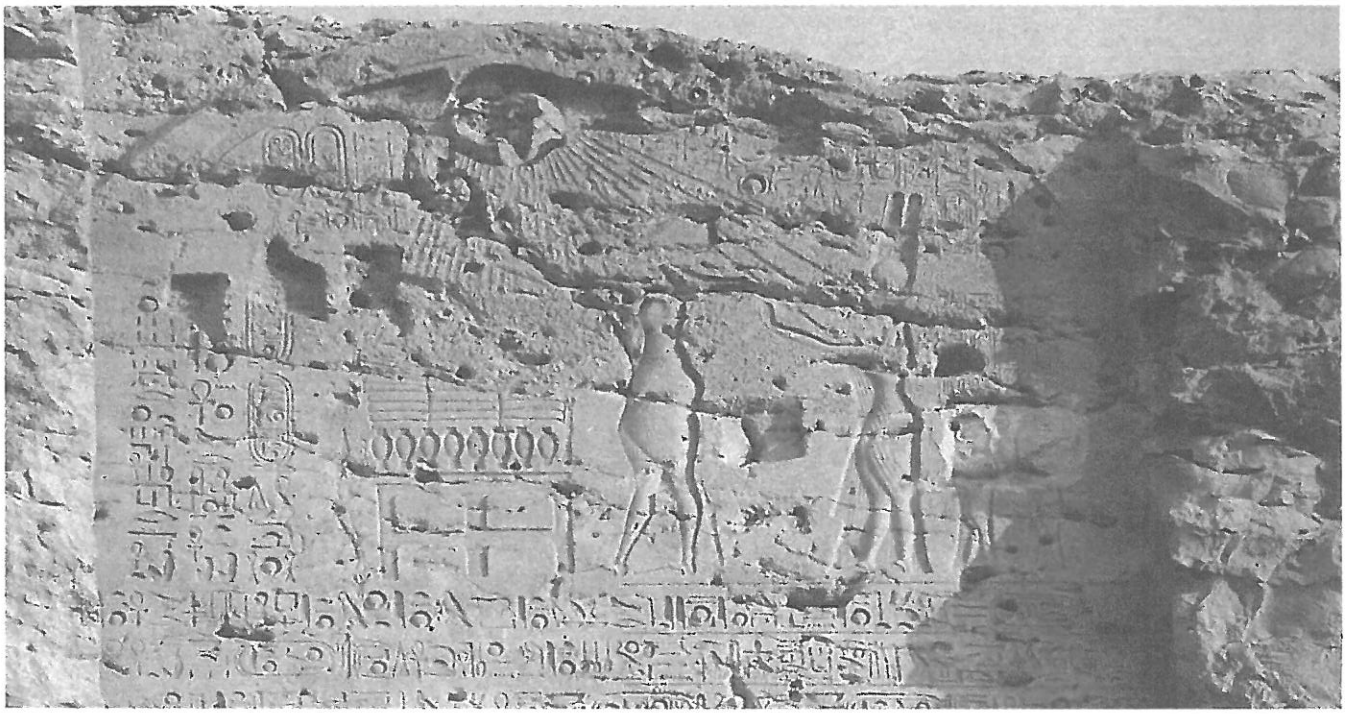


Plate 29. Stela U: (A) view of site; (B) lunette

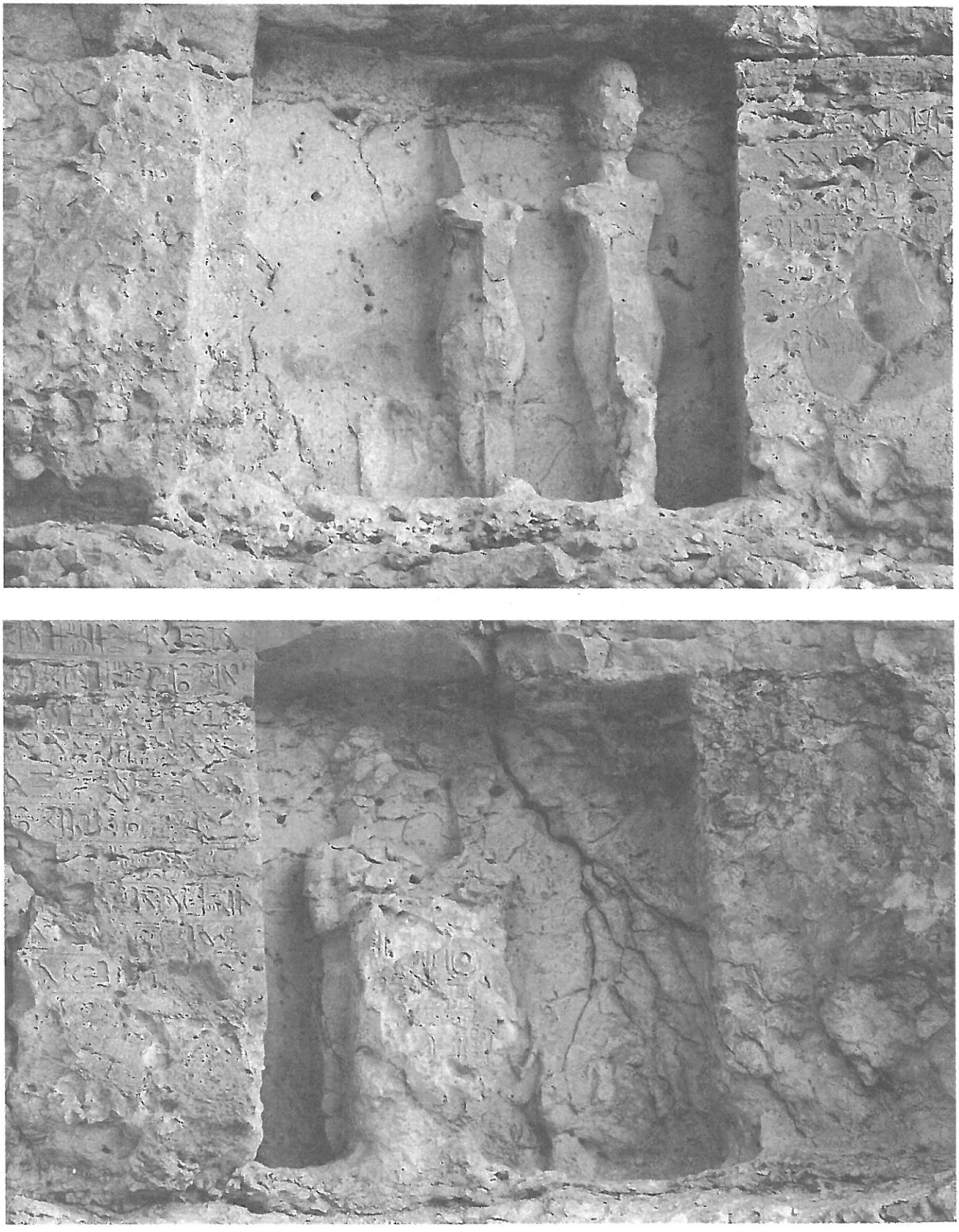


Plate 30. Stela U statue groups: (A) north side; (B) south side

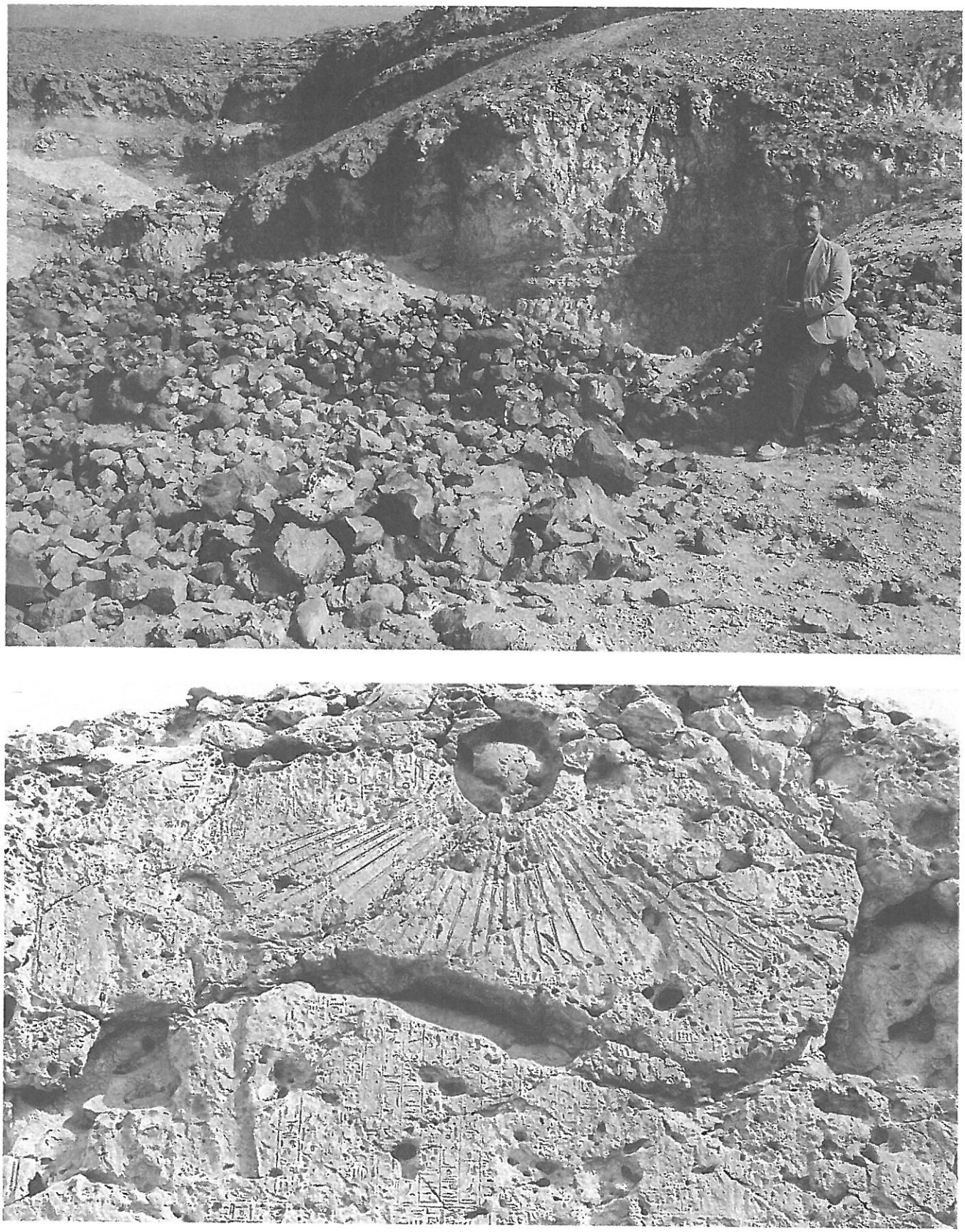


Plate 31. (A) Stela V, view of site, with "Coptic" houses in front; (B) Stela X: lunette

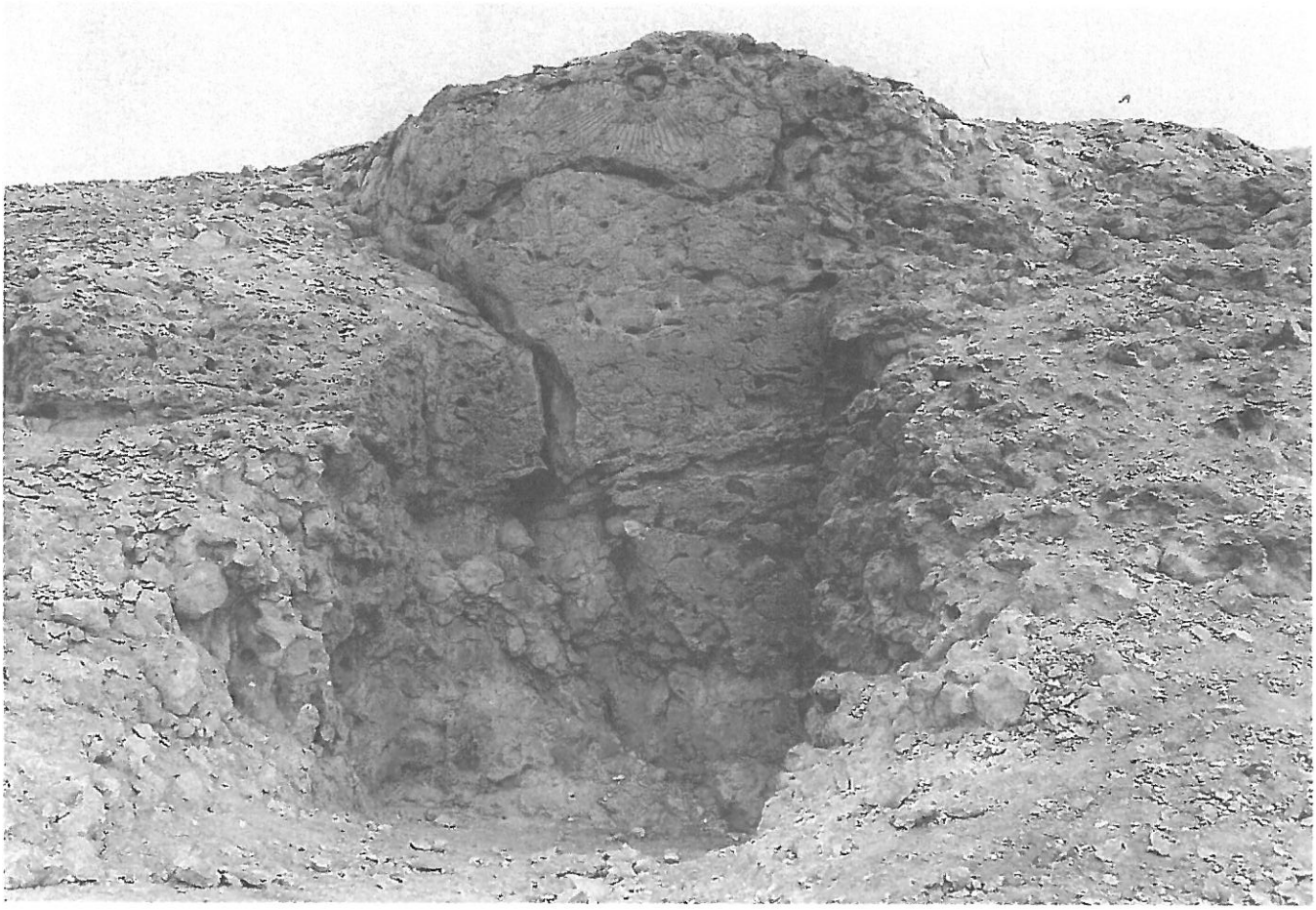




Plate 32. Stela X: (A) niche with tablet; (B) fragment with text from tablet

his small tablet beside Stela M, which could have been finished by the time of the king's visit to the outheast quarter in year 6.

37. See *CoA* III, pp. 183-185 for the distribution of the earlier and later names of the Aten on nscribed materials from different parts of the site. For the date of the change in the Aten's names (=year) at the earliest) see below, n. 66.

38. Adding a new statue group to the right of the tablet at R would have been awkward, for an ncient watercourse just beyond the right side of the emplacement causes the surface of the mountain to all away. Crowding a statue in just to the right of the tablet, moreover, would produce an odd, symmetrical effect owing to the very generous separation between the tablet and the statue groups to the eft: see the plan of R in Chapter 4 above.

39. Davies' identification of Stela B as the middle stela on the west bank, corresponding to Stela V on the east (in *El-Amarna* V 19, n. 5) is not contradicted by any observations we were able to make in the field, and it is still generally accepted (e.g., Adelheid Schlott-Schwab, *Das Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten*, AAT 3 [Wiesbaden, 1981], p. 127).

40. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 22, n. 4 also concluded that Stela F had to be later than A and B, but he assumes that the date given for the repetition of the oath was "for the (forthcoming?) ceremonial on the east side which proved four months too soon." This is possible, but undemonstrated.

41. Distances are calculated from the maps in P. Timme's unsurpassed survey, *Tell el-Amarna vor der deutschen Ausgrabung in Jahre 1911*, WVDOG 31 (Berlin, 1917) and are based on the figures given on p. 58, n. 1. For the varying results obtained by other writers (none of them greatly different from one another) see Schlott-Schwab, *Ausmasse Ägyptens*, p. 128.

42. Among many examples, see H. H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* I.1, OIP 106 (Chicago, 1981), pl. 259 (=pls. 54, 58); J.-C. Goyon and H. el-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum* I, *Hypostyle N (Traveé Centrale)* (Cairo, 1973), pls. VIII, XIII = *PM*^{2} II 441 [27].II, [28].II); H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AV 18 (Mainz, 1977), pl. 3. At the city of Akhet-Aten see Davies, *El-Amarna* II, pl. vi (although the orientation seems to be reversed here: Red Crown on the north jamb, White Crown on the south).

43. Davies' case, argued on other grounds, for identifying Stela P as "the southern stela" on the east bank (*El-Amarna* V 19, and cf. pl. xxxiv) has been generally accepted: see, for example, Schlott-Schwab, *Ausmasse Ägyptens*, p. 127.

44. This appears to be the conventionally accepted reading (as against Davies' slightly lower figure, which differs only in reading "three-quarters of a rod": *El-Amarna*, p. 33): see Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], p. 199 (=section 266.2); Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II 50; Helck, *Urk. IV Übersetzungen*, p. 346. Helck's revised reading (in "Masse und Gewichte", *LA* III 1205, n. 9) assumes "(1) *jtrw*, 6 3/4 *ḥt*, 4 cubits" but, as he himself recognizes, the c. 10.85 kilometers that results is far too little. See Schlott-Schwab, *Ausmasse*, pp. 128-129 for a sober discussion of the possibilities, although I am less attracted than he is to the alternative reckoning of "6 *ḥt*" (by analogy with the *ḥq3t*-measure) as "600 rods": since numbers in Egyptian are generally written in descending order of value (Gardiner, *Gr.*[3], section 259; cf. G. Robins and C. Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* [London, 1987], p. 19), it would be odd to find a figure of 600 rods (=60,000 cubits) following only 1 *iter* (=20,000 cubits), particularly when the sum in question could so easily be given as "4 *iter*".

45. L. Borchardt, "Ein weiterer Versuch zur Längenbestimmung der ägyptischen Meilen (*itr.w*)," in *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1921), pp. 119-123.

46. Schlott-Schwab, *Ausmasse Ägyptens*, pp. 119-120.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122, 129. Cf. X-49, which refers to ". . . *iter of sai[ling]*."

48. *ibid.*, pp. 113-117.

49. On the distribution of nome territories (beside the Nile in Upper Egypt, and along its main branches in the Delta) see, for convenience, the maps in J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1980), pp. 14-15; cf. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Beiheft TAVO, Reihe B (Wiesbaden, 1974). For the allotment of agricultural land within those areas, documented from all too few sources, see especially Gardiner, *Papyrus Wilbour* (Oxford, 1948), especially vol. II, pp. 36-55.

50. The same bias in favor of the east bank prevails in section VI-C, where the length of the city, north to south, is measured on the eastern before the western side. Here and in VI-D the directions ("east" and "west") are mechanically reversed on Stelae A and B, on the western side of the Nile; but this is not done consistently, which also betrays the priority of the east bank in the composition of the original text of the LP.

51. Kemp, *LA* VI 310.

52. See Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 30 and pl. xxxii, line 22 middle. Davies and Griffith at least read ". . . priests (?)", but the disclaimer implicit in their question-mark was ignored by Weigall, who muddied the waters still further by filling the lacuna: "As my father Ra-Horakhti liveth . . . [the words?] of the priests, more evil are they, etc." (*The Life and Times of Akhenaten*, p. 100).

53. Cf. the words compounded with *q3-* (e.g., *q3-jb, q3-s3, q3-srf*), all denoting pride or "high" temper: Faulkner, *CD*, p. 275 top.

54. This interpretation was first suggested by Helck, *Verwaltung*, pp. 300-301, n. 7, followed by H. Schlögl, *Echnaton-Tutanchamun: Fakten und Texten*, p. 75, and more recently by C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London, 1988), p. 50; cf. Schlögl (n. 52 above). The restoration required for this sense (i.e., "As my father, etc., lives, if [burials are not made in it], it is worse, etc.") is too long for the space, however, and does not suit the new traces that emerged during collation. For the conventional interpretation, involving difficulties with the clergy, see n. 52 above and H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zum Spätzeit*, PÄ 1 (Leiden, 1953), pp. 80-81.

55. Cf. EP sections VII-A (K:8-9), X (?=K:29-30), XV (K;39); cf. LP sections VI-C (A:12), IX-C (A:23).

56. Despite the acculturation of the Nubian populace to Egyptian norms (D. O'Connor in Trigger, et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, pp. 255-260, and especially pp. 265-268), native Egyptian prejudices are found down into the Late Period. Nothing useful is found in the misleadingly named essay by S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1951), which concentrates on the Greek and Hebrew communities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. See, however, Helck, "Die Aegypter und die Fremden," *Saeculum* 15 (1964):103-14; S. Sauneron, "L'avis des égyptiens sur la cuisine soudanaise," *Kush* 7 (1959):63-70; and cf. the deprecatory remarks of Amenhotep II towards the Nubians in his famous letter to the Viceroy of Kush Usersatet (*Urk.* IV 1344:10-21; P. Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 [Hildesheim, 1987], pp. 157-158).

57. In general, see W. C. Hayes, *CAH*[3] II.1 323-329; and D. Kessler, "Tempelbesitz," *LÄ* VI 365-366, 367-69 with references. For *pr-Jmn*, used indistinguishably with reference to Amun's temple at Karnak and his "estate" on both banks of the Nile at Thebes and elsewhere in Egypt, see the allusions scattered through E. Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues*, UGAÄ 16 (Leipzig, 1952), pp. 13-82, 107-118; cf. Helck, *Materialien*, pp. 79-81, and the references compiled by I. Hofmann, *Helck, Materialien,*

Indexband, pp. 130-132. For the royal mortuary at Thebes as Amun temples, see R. Stadelmann, "Totentempel III," *LÄ* VI 706-708 with references.

58. I.e., when native Theban dynasties emerged during the "intermediate periods", e.g., Dynasties XI and XVII: see *PM*² II 594-599, 600-605.

59. Native Thebans are known to have controlled the royal family only from the Seventeenth and into the earlier Eighteenth Dynasties (ending with Amenhotep I). About the succeeding Thutmoside line (from which Akhenaten himself descended) nothing definite is known; but a Theban claim to be the home town of the royal family would have ended with the accession of Horemheb and then Dynasties XIX-XX (hailing from Middle and Lower Egypt respectively: see Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 [1953]:21, against the Theban origin suggested for Horemheb by R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet* [Geneva, 1965], pp. 17-28; for the Ramessides, see K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant* [Warminster, 1982], pp. 14-18).

60. In addition to the references in n. 57 above, see Kees, *Priestertum*, pp. 10-62; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands-prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe Dynastie* (Paris, 1929), pp. 11-58, 67-103. For economic benefits to the population apart from employment on state projects or temple property, see e.g. D. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers de la tombe: Deir el-Medineh à l'époque Ramesside*, BdE 96 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 248-258.

61. In addition to Amun's institutional "power", also to be considered is the subordination of the king's standing due to the grounding of his divine identity in the god: see L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 (1985):251-294; idem, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* I, BdE 97.1 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 31-59.

62. See nn. 57, 59, 60 above; and on temple possessions abroad, see Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*², ÄA 5 (Wiesbaden, 1971), pp. 136, 252-53, 444-445.

63. The best study of the growth of Karnak temple is still, incredibly, Borchardt, "Zur Baugeschichte des Amontempels von Karnak," in UGAÄ 5.1 (1905), pp. 3-47. At Luxor the contributions of the Eighteenth Dynasty rulers from Thutmose III to Amenhotep III are still to be studied in proper detail: see L. Habachi, "The Triple Shrine of the Theban Triad in Luxor Temple," *MDAIK* 20 (1965):93-97; Borchardt, "Zur Geschichte des Luqsortempels," *ZÄS* 34 (1896):122-38.

64. The classification of tombs according to date in *PM*² I.1, pp. 476-477 gives a rough indication of this growth. Only thirteen tombs date to the early Eighteenth Dynasty before the accession of Thutmose III, but the numbers increase sharply thereafter, under Hatshepsut (15), Thutmose III (sole reign: 62), Amenhotep II (39), Thutmose IV (36), and Amenhotep III (32). No fewer than four Theban tombs date to the time of Amenhotep IV prior to his departure for El-Amarna.

65. Thutmose III has yet to find his biographer: see Redford, "Thutmosis III," *LA* VI 540-548 with references; on the king's posthumous fame, add B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê* (Fribourg-Göttingen, 1982).

66. In the "colophon" to the LP (=section IX-A). The change in the Aten's name was an accomplished fact by the early part of year (Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xiii). It could have taken place in year 9 at the earliest (Gunn, *JEA* 9 [1922]:168-176), but perhaps as late as year 11 if the graffito with that date from the tomb of May was written when the tomb was being decorated (exclusively with the earlier name) instead of later, when plaster was used to obliterate the tomb owner's name and titles: see Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. v and pp. 2-4; R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* I, *Initial Discoveries* (Warminster, 1976), pp. 87-89 (hereafter abbreviated *ATP* I).

67. E.g., Re-Horakhty, Shu (Assmann, *Saeculum* 23 [1972]:109-26), and Re (references collected in S. Tawfik, "Amarna Studies 4: Was Aton -- the God of Akhenaten -- Only a Manifestation of the Sun God Re?," *MDAIK* 32 [1976]:217-226).

68. EP section VII-E (K:19). Note that the Mnevis bull's tomb is described as a *smt*, "necropolis" (*Wb.* III, 445), perhaps implying galleries similar to those of the animal cemeteries at Saqqara, Tuna el-Gebel and Armant. Akhenaten's tomb is termed *ḫr*, "(royal) tomb" (see J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen in the Ramesside Period*, pp. 7-20); Nefertiti and, presumably, Meritaten are to receive *qrst*, "burial", while lesser mortals are given a *mᶜḥᶜt*, "(private) tomb" (L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I [Berkeley, 1982], pp. 213-214).

69. The name of Thoth was often spared erasure at the hands of the Atenists, e.g., Amenhotep III's baboon statues of Thoth from Hermopolis (W. V. Davies and A. J. Spencer in D. M. Bailey et al., *Ashmunein 1980*, British Museum Occasional Papers 37 [London, 1982], pp. 6-8), on which the names of Amun in royal cartouches, but not those of Thoth, have been attacked. (See, however, Brunner, *Luxor*, p. 20.) The issue, curiously, is avoided by P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (London, 1922), pp.

160-61; but the greater toleration of Thoth during the Amarna Period may be due to the god's association with Re (*ibid.*, pp. 49-61, 81-82).

70. E.g., H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*, trans. I. F. D. Morrow (Chicago, 1961), p. 295 ("a solemn vow now had been made that he would never again leave the city"); also C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study* (London, 1968), p. 67; R. J. Leprohon, "The Reign of Akhenaten Seen through the Later Royal Decrees," *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, BdE 97.2 (Cairo, 1985), p. 94.

71. EA 27 (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* I, VA 2 (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 240-41. Both the facsimile in O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna in akkadischer Sprache*, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 11 (Berlin, 1915), p. 21 and the hieroglyphic transcription by Helck, *Urk.* IV 1995 contain inaccuracies: see Murnane, "Some Datelines from El-Amarna Reconsidered" in the volume celebrating the centenary of the discovery of the Amarna Letters in 1887 (paper delivered in February, 1987; publication still forthcoming when this volume went to press).

72. See n. 100 below, and cf. *PM* IV 236 for earlier accounts of Meket-Aten's burial in the tomb of her father. The significance of the scenes is treated in an unorthodox but plausible interpretation by L. Bell, "A Possible Motif of Rebirth and Resurrection in New Kingdom Popular Art," forthcoming in the proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Egyptology (1985); but cf. G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb of El-Amarna* II, *The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Architecture*, ASE 39 (London, 1989), pp. 45-48.

73. W. Westendorff, "Achenaten's angebliche Selbstverbannung nach Amarna," *GM* 20 (1976):55-57 has stated the essential arguments from the EP well, although without considering the implications of the LP or the terminology employed. Aldred now avoids assuming that the king isolated himself in Akhetaten in the revised edition of his biography, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London, 1988), pp. 49-50 (here abbreviated *Akhenaten*^{2}).

74. See B. Kemp, "The City of El-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Urban Society in Ancient Egypt," *World Archaeology* 9 (1977):123-139; idem, "The Character of the South Suburb at Tell el-ᶜAmarna" in *MDOG* 113 (1981):81-97; and idem, *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 261-317. See further J. J. Jannsen, "El-Amarna as a Residential City," *BiOr* 40 (1983):273-288; and C. Tietze, "Amarna: Analyze der Wohnhaeuser und soziale Struktur der Stadtbewohner," *ZÄS* 112 (1985):48-84; idem, "Amarna: Analyze der oekonomischzen Beziehungen der Statdtbewohner," *ZÄS* 113 (1986):55-77.

75. A plausible although not conclusive case for this is made by C. Cannuyer, "Akhet-Aton:

anti-Thèbes ou sanctuaire du globe?," *GM* 86 (1985):7-11. The damage to the EP's lower sections has deprived us of some pertinent evidence, e.g., the reference to a "city" (*njwt*) in an unclear context at K:47. Other cities in Egypt are mentioned at K:7 and K:34.

76. Although "Akhet" is generally written with no determinative whatever in the name of the city, it often appears with the house (*pr*) determinative that is regularly used to define buildings: see the parallel copies of the EP and LP in Chapters Three and Four, passim. The connotations of "horizon", especially in connection with foundations on earth, are discussed by Assmann, "Horizont", *LÄ* III 3-7. For a possible antecedent (spelled *3ḫt-n-jtn*) at Thebes, see Redford, *ATP* I 60, n. 8; Kemp, "The Amarna Workmen's Village in Retrospect," *JEA* 73 (1987):44.

77. Fairman, "The Topography of the Central City," in *CoA* III, pp. 189-210.

78. E.g., K:4 (*pr-Jtn* [restored] synonymous with Akhet-Aten); K:6 (*pr-Jtn* as a palace filled with offerings); X:28, X:33-34 (=K:34), K:36, X:38 (=K:38), X:39 (=K:39): "in *pr-Jtn* in Akhet-Aten."

79. See n. 60 above; and note Amenhotep IV's coterminous *pr-Jtn* at Thebes: see Tawfik, "Aten and the Names of his Temple(s) at Thebes," in *ATP* I, pp. 59-63; Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 102-136.

80. *CoA* III 191l. The occurrence of bricks stamped with the name of the *ḥwt-Jtn* in the official buildings east of the temple (*ibid.*, p. 181) may not reflect the entire quarter's identity with this foundation, particularly since other bricks naming the *pr-ḥᶜy* were found in similar contexts nearby (*ibid.*, p. 194). Given the nature of the quarter that lay behind the royal buildings that fronted the royal road, not to mention their proximity to both royal installations named above, it seems more probable that bricks left over from the larger buildings were used in the ancillary structures nearby.

81. For the *ḥwt-Jtn* as the "Chapel Royal" see *CoA* III 92-97; and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna* (London, 1935), pp. 93-95. The presumed mortuary character of the building, while mooted by a number of scholars in recent years, has not yet been discussed thoroughly in print: see Redford, *Akhenaten*, p. 146; and B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 283, and idem,"Tell el-ᶜAmarna," in H. S. Smith and R. M. Hall, eds., *Ancient Centres of Egyptian Civilization* (London, n.d.), pp. 66-67.

82. For these buildings, originally believed to have been built for Nefertiti (e.g., *CoA* III 201), see now R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, HÄB 2 (Hildesheim, 1978), pp. 134-150, with pls. 44, 45, 48, 49; and Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 262-263, 283, 285.

83. *CoA* III, pp. 193, n. 4, and 201 (f).

84. Davies, *El-Amarna* III, pl. viii and pp. 19-25 (location of this building inside the Great Temple of the Aten); cf. Fairman, *CoA* III 203-205 (location at the River Temple).

85. *CoA* III 201 (e); Helck, *Materialien*, p. 191 (2).

86. For Kiya as *ḥmt-njswt* see Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs*, pp. 188-190, with comments by Murnane's review (*BiOr* 37 [1980]:48-50). The title "king's wife" could also belong to Meritaten (e.g., Davies, *El-Amarna* II, pl. xli) and Ankhesenpaaten (e.g., National Gallery of Art et al., *Treasures of Tutankhamun* [New York, 1976], pp. 116-118).

87. The assumption that the Maru-Aten is meant here (n. 85 above) loses some of its plausibility now that the original owner of the sunshade there has been shown to be Kiya, not Nefertiti (n. 82 above). It is at least as likely that the notation "at/on the south" referred to part of a building or to a subsection of Akhet-Aten.

88. But see Kemp, "Discovery and Renewal at Amarna," *Egyptian Archaeology* 1 (Summer 1991):21. On the nature and possible function of the sunshades (=as mortuary temples?), see R. Stadelmann, "*šwt-rʿw* als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich," *MDAIK* 25 (1969):159-178; and idem, "Sonnenschatten," *LÄ* V 1103-1104.

89. The term 'island" is to be understood not only a true island surrounded by water, but a district demarcated by clear geographic boundaries: e.g., territory between the arms of the Nile in the Delta (*Wb.* I 47.10); or the 'island' of Meroe in Greco-Roman writers (Diodorus Siculus i 33; Strabo i 2; Pliny vi 36), which is actually the Butana Steppe that lies between the Nile and the Atbara Rivers (W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* [Princeton, 1977], p. 298); and cf. the term *gezira* in Arabic. If the 'island' refers to the central city area (as maintained by Fairman in *CoA* III 196-197), it may have been defined by the wadi that separated that area from the residential districts to the north: note that it was avoided by the houses of the latest extension of the city, the North Suburb (*CoA* II 1-4; Kemp, "Tell el-Amarna," *LÄ* VI 313-314). Since only the two *pr-ḥʿy* are said to lie within this district, however, the term could refer to the role these buildings played in the jubilee of the king and the Aten, and thus only to the area of the central city that they occupied (Assmann, "Palast oder Tempel?," *JNES* 31 [1972]:150-151).

90. *CoA* III 193-194.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 195; Vandier, *Manuel* II 856-857; cf. Assmann, "Atonheiligtümer," in *LÄ* I 548, n. 25,

with reservations that are dealt with adequately in *CoA* III (loc. cit.).

92. Not so, however, for the localities in the office buildings east of the Royal Road where stamped bricks of *pr-ḥʿy* were found (*CoA* III 194 [g]): see n. 80 above.

93. See Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 63, 134-135; not mentioned by Tawfik in *ATP* I 59-63.

94. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951):177-181. On the nature of the Great Palace, also called *pr-ḥʿy*, in the central city at El-Amarna see Assmann in *JNES* 31 (1972):143-155.

95. Fairman's attempt (*CoA* III 195-196) to prove that the second *pr-ḥʿy* was already built when the EP was inscribed rests on his reading of *jr.n.j pr-ḥʿy* at the end of K:15. The authors also considered this interpretation of the signs (which lie in a badly abraded section of the tablet), but in the end we decided that Davies' original reading (*El-Amarna*, pl. xxx: eye + *r*) was to be preferred; and note that we also found part of the *r*, which Davies, *ibid.* pl. xxxii, had not seen) under the eye in X:18. Even if Fairman had been correct his observation would be meaningless, for Stela K (which is the only tablet on which this reading can be inferred) is the latest of the three stelae inscribed with the EP: if we assume that it placed the building of the second *pr-ḥʿy* in the past, as Fairman maintained, this would still represent a modification of the text from the perspective of years 7-8, not that of the year in which the EP was issued.

96. *CoA* III 193-194 (d): fragment alluding to the ". . . of the Great King's Wife [. . .] A[ten] in the House of Aten in [Akhet-Aten]."

97. See nn. 74 and 94 above, with Kemp, "The Window of Appearances at El-Amarna and the Basic Structure of the City," *JEA* 62 (1976):81-99; C. and F. Traunecker, "Sur la salle 'du couronnement' à Tell el-Amarna," *Societé d'Egyptologie Genève* 9-10 (1984-85):285-307.

97-A. See Kemp's article in the previous note; and idem, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 277-279.

98. Murnane, "The 'First Occasion of the Discovery' of Akhet-Aten," *SAK* 14 (1987):239-246; cf. R. A. Wells, "The Amarna M, X, K Boundary Stelae Date: A Modern Calendar Equivalent," *ibid.*, pp. 313-332, with reservations: the evidence is too vague to indicate a precise venue for the initial sacrifice, although the grounds of either the *ḥwt-Jtn* or the *pr-Jtn* are possible.

98-B. Cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 314-315, who suggests that possession of a tomb at El-Amarna indicated the depth of the owner's public commitment to the king's program.

99. Aly el-Khouly and G. T. Martin, *Excavations in the Royal Necropolis at El-ᶜAmarna*, 1984, SASAE 33 (Cairo, 1987), p. 16, although bovid remains were found in several of the tombs near that of Akhenaten (*ibid.*, pp. 2, 6, 12) as well as from the rock ledge at the side of the wadi (*ibid.*, p. 13). The bones apparently belong to different types of animals (*ibid.*, pp. 33-34), but the association of the various materials with specific tombs is not clear from the report. Some if not all of the bones might be from sacrificial animals deposited in the tombs (cf. J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* [London, 1981], p. 191), but it cannot be ruled out that one of these tombs may have been intended for the Mnevis Bull.

100. The objects from Meket-Aten's burial are published by G. T. Martin, *El-Amarna* VII, *The Royal Tomb at El-ᶜAmarna*, Part I, *The Objects*, ASE 35 (London, 1974); and *ibid.*, Part II, pp. 37-48.

101. See for now el-Khouly and Martin, *Excavations*, p. 16; and Martin, "Expedition to the Royal Tomb of Akhenaten," *ILN* 6898 (September 1981):66-67. Substantial remains only of Meket-Aten's burial, however, survive among the objects found in the tomb (Martin, *Royal Tomb*, passim).

102. Kemp, "Tell el-Amarna," *LÄ* VI 316; Aldred, *Akhenaten*[2], p. 285.

103. Aldred, *Akhenaten*[2], pp. 286, 288 (either in the royal tomb or at another place in the royal wadi).

104. The most detailed plans of the area that have been published so far are those by J. H. S. Waddington, in Martin, *Royal Tomb*, pls. 2-4.

105. I.e., Princess Nefernefrure: see el-Khouly and Martin, *Excavations*, pls. 15, 21 (no. 35: *pr-dw3t Nfrnfrwrᶜ*) and p. 8.

106. See *ibid.*, pp. 1-16. Only four tombs in addition to Akhenaten's have been investigated in any detail: (1) Tomb no. 27, which is unfinished but designed on a royal scale, possibly intended for Tutankhaton or an earlier successor of Akhenaten; (2) no. 28, rough but perhaps finished, with room for two burials, one of them possibly Princess Nefernefrure; (3) no. 29, grander in concept than the preceding and "clearly intended for royal occupancy" but unfinished, although one burial is possible; and (4) no. 30, only begun and probably unused.

107. See pl. 18-B; and cf. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxiv, where the spelling can be noted even at this drawing's small scale. This variant is not included in R. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien*, AH 4 (Geneva, 1976), no. 63.

108. Cf. K. Sethe, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.," *NAWG* (1921):101-130.

109. *ATP* I, pp. 76, 84; Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 140-142.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-82; *ATP* I, pp. 80-82, 84 with pls. 30, 32 (2, 5, 7) and 33 (5). Another block, on which three princesses are apparently represented on stelae, is under study by the Centre Franco-égyptien de Karnak and was called to our attention by Christian Loeben.

111. C. F. Nims, "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV," *JNES* 32 (1973):185, n. 51; Tawfik in *ATP* I, p. 58 and fig. 13 (=pl. 87 [2]). Although the few blocks with the king's later nomen are of limestone, this does not necessarily disprove their Theban origin (as suggested by Tawfik, "Amarna Kalkstein-Talatat aus Karnak," *GM* 26 [1977]:55-62), since limestone blocks are occasionally used -- as leftovers? -- in sandstone buildings at Thebes, e.g., the "Umfassungsmauer" around the back of the temple of Amun at Karnak, and in the bark shrine of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (personal observations by the authors). Moreover, another limestone *talatat*, the Gayer-Anderson relief (not mentioned in the foregoing), dates from the earlier period, since the Amenhotep names were changed to "Akhenaten": see Aldred et al., *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Brooklyn, 1973), p. 97, where a Memphite provenance is suggested.

112. Redford, *Akhenaten*, p. 142.

113. *ATP* I, p. 80 and pl. 18 (2, 7, 8): the longer form of Nefertiti's name was inserted into some of the scenes, and the difference in scale between the two forms when they occur together on other blocks might suggest the same.

114. Meritaten 'Jr.': Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, Wissentschaftliche Veröffentlichungen Römer-Pelizäus Museum 6 (Hildesheim, 1969), pls. 109 (478-VII A), 12 (783-VIII A), 159 (364-VIII). Ankhesenpaaten 'Jr.': *ibid.*, pls. 19 (234-VI), 70 (157-VIII), 200 (PC 192). J. R. Harris, "Kiya," *CdE* 49 (1974):30, n. 6 suggests that these children were born not to Akhenaten's daughters but to his "other wife", but this is precluded by the express filiation formulas on these blocks (cf. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 114, n. 4). Neither of these children seems to have been born before the change in the didactic name of the Aten: see *ATP* I, pp. 90-92 (=Table 18).

115. First proposed by H. Brunner, "Eine neue Amarna Prinzessin," *ZÄS* 74 (1938):108; and more recently advocated by Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, pp. 114-117; Aldred, *Akhenaten*[2], pp. 288-289. Akhenaten's paternity is denied by Redford, *Akhenaten*, p. 193.

116. E.g., Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs*, pls. 17 (500-VII C), 19 (234-VI), 70 (157-VIII).

117. Inferred from allusions to him in the names of his successors: see Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, pp. 84-89; cf. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967), p. 177; J. P. Allen, "Two Altered Inscriptions of the Late Amarna Period," *JARCE* 25 (1988):125.

118. See above, nn. 82, 87; J. R. Harris, *CdE* 49 (1974):25-30; Helck, "Kije," *MDAIK* 40 (1984):159-167.

119. For Nefertiti as king under the names of Nefernefruaten and Smenkhkare: see J. R. Harris, "Nefernefruaten," *GM* 4 (1973):15-17; idem, "Nefertiti Rediviva," *AcOr* 35 (1973):5-13; idem, "Nefernefruaten Regnans," *AcOr* 36 (1974):11-21; and the numerous articles in defense of this position by J. Samson; cf. the rebuttals by S. Tawfik, "Aton Studies 3: Back Again to Nefer-nefru-Aton," *MDAIK* 32 (1975):159-168; idem, "Aton Studies 6: Was Nefernefruaten the Immediate Sucessor of Akhenaten?," *MDAIK* 37 (1981):469-473. An alternative solution, emphasizing the difference between a female King Nefernefruaten and her male successor, Smenkhkare, has been advanced by J. P. Allen, "Nefertiti and Smenkh-ka-re," forthcoming in the centenary volume of the discovery of the Amarna Letters.

120. Although Akhenaten is never explicitly claimed as the father of these children, note that *jt*, "father" can connote "ancestor" (e.g., Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 [1977], pp. 232-233). On the Egyptian language's relative poverty in kinship terms see G. Robins, "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms," *CdE* 54 (1979):197-217.

121. On Tutankhaton's rank and probable lineage, see Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, SAOC 42 (Chicago 1985), pp. 226-227, n. 70 = *ibid.*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1990), p. 132.

122. Murnane, *Coregencies*, pp. 159-160; *ATP* I 87.

123. The material on the Egyptians' festival calendar collected by S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, AAWLM 10 (1950), while it has nothing directly pertinent to the cult of the Orb, may suggest analogies, at least in its roster of solar feasts. Cf. A. M. Blackman, "A Study of the Liturgy celebrated in the Temple of the Aton at El-Amarna," *Recueil des Etudes Egyptologiques* (1922):505-527; R. Leprohon, "Cultic Activities in the Temples at Amarna," *ATP* II, Aegypti Texta Propositaque 1 (Toronto, 1988), pp. 47-51; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 285-286.

124. E.g., R. Saad and L. Manniche, "A Unique Offering List of Amenophis IV Recently Found

at Karnak, *JEA* 57 (1971):70-72; Helck, "Zur Opferliste Amenophis' IV," *JEA* 59 (1973):95-99. Cf. *Urk.* IV 1091-1095.

125. For the connections between the Aten and Re, see the useful summary in Tawfik, "Aton Studies 4: Was Aton -- the God of Akhenaten -- Only a Manifestation of the God Re?," *MDAIK* 32 (1976):217-226.

126. The study of Akhenaten's jubilee promised by J. Gohary has not appeared (although see idem in *ATP* I, pp. 64-67), but another by C. Traunecker is expected: see K. Martin, "Sedfest," *LA* V 790, n. 62. In the interim see Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 118-130.

127. L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Boreas 14 (Uppsala, 1986), pp. 126-129; M. Malaise, "Histoire et signification de la coiffure hathorique à plumes," *SAK* 4 (1976):215-36; B. van de Walle, "Survivances mythologiques dans les coiffures royales de l'époque atonienne," *CdE* 55 (1980):23-36.

128. Helck, *Urk.* IV 1977:8-14 and *Übersetzung*, p. 343 deserves credit for having pieced together the basic sense of the passage: cf. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. .31.

129. *Urk* IV 1962:10; cf. *ATP* I 95-101; Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 152, 179-180.

130. Aldred, *Akhenaten*^{2}, pp. 237-248; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, transl. by John Baines (Ithaca, 1971), pp. 244-250. For the greater closeness between the king and the god who was his Ka, see L. Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985):291-292; idem, *Mélanges Mokhtar*, pp. 50-51 (n. 122).

131. The centrality of the king in the Aten cult has been well discussed by Redford, *Akhenaten*, pp. 175-181.

132. The bulk of inscriptions recording the delivery of goods to Akhet-Aten from estates elsewhere in Egypt have appeared in *CoA* III, pp. 147-150, 159-176. *Pace* Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 269-270, it is not clear from the provisions of either decree that the city was to receive the bulk of its support from the immediate vicinity of Akhet-Aten; nor does either text refer specifically to "villages across the river" (as suggested in *ibid.*., pp. 267, 311).

133. E.g., the *Gm-Jtn* temple at Kawa (*PM* VII 180-184); the temples at Sesebi (*ibid.*, pp. 172-174)

134. Cf. the closing words of "Sinuhe": Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, BiAe 2 (Brussels, 1932), p. 41:5-8.

135. Davies, *El-Amarna* IV, pl. xxii; cf. D. O'Connor, "Demarcating the Boundaries: An Interpretation of a Scene in the Tomb of Mahu, El-Amarna," paper delivered at the American Research Center in Egypt's annual meeting in Philadelphia, April 1989; to appear in *BES*. We are grateful to the author for discussing his results with us and permitting them to be mentioned here prior to publication. Other interpretations are discussed by O'Connor, ad loc.; and cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 274-275.

136. Deliberate damage to the stelae seems to have been confined to the more accessible texts and figures, and it is neither complete nor systematic: see Appendix One.

137. A modern grammar of the Egyptian language in Amarna Period inscriptions is yet to be written: see F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris, 1930); and cf. B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Diss. Tübingen, 1970).

APPENDIX ONE

1. The only extant records of Stela F are on three pages in Petrie's notebook no. 103, at the Petrie Museum, University College London; cf. above (Chapter 3, p. 72) for other references.

2. The appearance of the stela in 1892 is preserved in a sketch made by Petrie (notebook no. 103); cf. pl. 14 in this volume. A photograph made in the following decade (unfortunately too distant and distorted to be of much use) is published by Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxvi (upper right). For the condition of Stela J today, see pl. 21-B.

3. Stela K was photographed by Steindorff before it was attacked, in 1898: see Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xxxvii (right). Other views are preserved among Steindorff's papers in the Bridwell Library at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

4. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xl (bottom) publishes Steindorff's excellent photograph of the entire niche; cf. Davies' drawing of the lunette at *ibid.*, pl. xxxiii (upper right), which shows the position of the most important patching stones.

5. W. St. Smith, *Ancient Egypt, as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1960), pp. 132-133 (=Fig. 84, identified as Akhenaten); cf. N.N., "Arrival of Egyptian Antiquities," *BMFA* XXXII (April, 1934):36, 38 [=34.49]. Our thanks go to Rita Freed (Boston Museum of Fine Arts) for supplying copies of these references.

6. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xlii (right).

7. *Ibid.*, p. 26, with n. 3, and pl. xliv (upper right. Note, however, that not all of these items are from Stela Q, nor are they arranged in the order in which they are listed in the text).

8. C. A. Hope, "A Head of Nefertiti and a Figure of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in the National Gallery of Victoria," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):53-62. We are indebted to the author for presenting us with a copy of this out-of-the-way reference.

9. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xlii (left).

10. J. Vandier, "Les stèles-frontières d'el-Amarna: à propos d'une nouvelle acquisition du Musée du Louvre," *MonPiot* 40 (1944):5-22; idem, *Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes* (Paris, 1973), p. 39.

11. Hope, *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):62, n. 21.

12. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, p. 27 and pl. xliv (upper right, second from left); Hope, *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):62, n. 21.

13. *Ibid.*; Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xliv (bottom right).

14. Hope, *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 24 (1983):62, n. 21.

15. Davies, *El-Amarna* V, pl. xl (top).

16. *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix.

17. The fragment from Stela S, together with the two principal fragments from the lunette of Stela N, were offered for sale by the dealer Jacob Hirsch in the fall of 1932. The fragment from Stela S was listed as number 645. We are indebted to Edna Russmann for information about this transaction, and to Kurt T. Luckner (Toledo Museum of Art) for checking the Museum's files. Regrettably, no further trace of this fragment has emerged.

18. Visible intact on the photograph published in *ibid.*, pl. xxxvii (left); and on Steindorff's photographs at the Bridwell Library.

19. C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Brooklyn, 1973), pp. 116-117 (no. 32); cf. *Apollo* 107, no. 162 (1978):154.

20. *Wickerts Kunstauktionen* XXI, no. 135 (September 10, 1982):xix, top; *Apollo* 116, no. 247 (September, 1982), p. 49, top; *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no, 954 (September, 1983):19, top; *The Connoisseur* 211, no. 847 (September 1982):17, top. Our thanks go to Richard Fazzini (The Brooklyn Museum) for supplying us with advice on this piece and with copies of these references.

Endnotes

21. *Christie's London* (Friday, 11 December 1987):30 (no. 112).

APPENDIX TWO

1. It is even omitted from the bibliography of the boundary stelae (*PM* IV 230-32).

2. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 6.

3. Timme, *Tell el-Amarna*, p. 32, Abb. 33 publishes a photograph showing the positions of Stelae M and L, but there is some confusion in his numbering. On Timme's map (ibid., pl. 6) Stela M is marked as O-9, at the very tip of the southern headland, with O-10 (L) and O-11 being situated a short distance to the south. This tally includes one stela too many: on the photograph 0-10 is actually Stela M (and not L, as described there), while 0-11 is Stela L: cf. pl. 23-A in this volume.

4. Davies, *El-Amarna* V 19, n. 2.

5. This arrangement is occasionally seen in rock inscriptions outside the Nile Valley (e.g., A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed., E.E.S. Memoirs 45, Vol. I, pls. xxii [81], xxxvi [114], l [137, West]), though it is not at all common in free-standing stelae, where the disposition of vertical and horizontal texts is used to define separate parts of the composition, e.g., figures (which are found in almost every example) or texts with different contents: see *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* V, pl. 13 (323 [844]); and M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg. La Collection Egyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pl. xcviii [top right] for the closest parallels to Stela L.

6. Cf. K:xiii and X:xiii-xiv (EP); A:1-2, B:2, S:6 and U:5 (LP).

7. Murnane, *NARCE* 128 (Winter 1984):42.

8. Suggested by Aldred, *Akhenaten*2, p. 271.

INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

3by: 53-54 (dd).
3ḫt: "horizon," 109.

ʿ3: (adj. vb), 65 (q5).
ʿ3 n pr: (title), 66 (g6).

j-: (prothetic), 53-54 (dd).
jw.X n.Y: (possessive), 109 (rr).
jmyw [js/ʿḥ]: (title), 53 (bb).
jrj: (infin.), 52 (x).
jrt ḥswt: "perform rites," 52 (w).
jrjt-pʿt: (title), 50 (k).
jrm: (prep.), "with," 66 (z5).
jh(h)y: "joy," 57 (vv).
js: (vb.), "invoke," 57 (yy).
jst: "boundary stone," 58 (zz).
jt: "father," 49 (c).

.w: (suffix), 53 (hh)
w3ḥ: (vb.), 61 (m4).
w3d: written for *wḏ*, 60 (uuu).
wbn: (vb.), 50 (g); -- *m*, "arise from," 57 (uu).
(n)-wnt: (compound prep.), 58 (ddd).
wr-m33w: (title), 61 (h4).
wrt-ḫnrt: (title), 50 (l).
wḥwḥ: (vb., related to hhy), 107 (aa).
wḥs (?): (vb.), "cut off," 55 (mm).
wsr-f3w: (epithet), 50 (h).
wḏy (?): (vb.), "command," 57 (vv).
wḏbw: type of land, 106 (q).

b: writing of neg. *bn*, 58 (aaa).
b3kw (?): (n.), 66 (e6).
bw p3y.f sḏm: 54 (ff).
(m)-bqyt-(r): (compound prep.), "opposite," 108 (jj).
pt: "sky," 50 (i).
pḥrr (?): (vb.), 63 (a5).
psšt: "(reed) matting," 105 (f).
ptr: (vb.), "see," 53 (dd); with prep. *hr*, 52 (s).

f3w (in *wsr-f3w*): 50 (h).

m: (interchangeable with *n*), 60 (a4), 66 (d6), 108 (ii).
m-tw.f sdm: 62 (p4).
m-ḏr/dj (?): 64 (j5).
m33w: "new lands," 108 (mm).
m3ʿ: (vb.), "offer," 109 (ss).
mj-ḫt (?): (compound prep.), 108 (nn).
mj-qd: "just like," 66 (a6)
mnt: (n.), "harbor area," 63 (f5).
mnj: (vb.), "tie up, i.e., die," 67 (q6).
mnw: (n.) "monument" (?), 62 (w4).
mnḫ: (adj.), 63 (d5).
mr: (adj. vb.), 61-62 (m4, n4)
mrwt: (n.), 51 (p).
mḥ: (vb.), 51 (p), 56 (tt), 60 (uuu).
mḥ3y (?): (n.), "magazine," 55 (kk).

n: (miscarved for *t3*), 60 (b4).
n: (temporal dative), 105 (e); (+ noun, as qualifier), 60 (zzz)
njwt: (n.), 66 (b6).
nwy (?): (vb.), 63 (d5).
nb.f: (of Aten), "His Lordship" (?), 59 (nnn).
nfr: (adj.), 52 (v).
nfryt-r: (compound prep.), 62 (u4), 106 (p).
nhm: (vb.), 67 (o6, p6).
nḫbw: (n.), "irrigation basin land," 106 (q).

ns: (vb.), 67 (m6).
nšp (?): (vb.), 66 (i6).
nkt: (n.), "something," 56 (qq).
nty: "which is," 108 (qq).
ntf: (indep. pron. in vbal. statement), 59 (mmm), 105-106 (j).

r: (prep.), 106 (p).
(m) r-ᶜ: (adv.), 62 (p4).
r-pw: "or," 57 (xx).
rwt: (n.), "outer area," 58 (hhh).
rwḏw: (title), 65 (y5).
rnpt-ḥsbt: (n.), "regnal year," 48 (a).
rḫ: (vb.), "know," 56 (rr).
ršwt: (n.), "joy," 52 (x).

hrw: (in abbrev. writing), "day," 65 (p5).

ḥbw-sd: (n.), "jubilees," 65 (t5).
ḥm(m): (vb.), 64 (k5).
ḥmw-nṯr: (title), 61 (i4).
ḥn: (vb.), "hasten" (?), 62 (v4).
ḥr nb (?): (n.), 64 (j5).
ḥr: (prep.), 65 (x5).
ḥry: (nisbe), "who is on" (?), 50 (f).
ḥrt: (n.), "sky," 50 (i).
ḥḥy: (vb.), "be missing," 107 (aa).
ḥswt: (n.), "rites," 52 (w).
ḥsb (?): (vb.), 55 (mm).
ḥq3: (title), "(male) ruler," 55 (pp); "mayor," 61 (l4).
ḥq3yt: ruler," 55 (pp).
ḥtp: (vb.), 52 (x).
ḥtm: (vb.), 62 (r4).

ḫ3y: (n.), 55 (kk).
ḫ3r: (vb.), "be widowed," 56 (ss).
Ḫ3rw: "Syria," 62 (t4).
ḫᶜy: (vb.), "arise," 62 (05).
ḫbs (?): "cultivated land," 65 (q5).
ḫpr: (vb.), 51 (r); followed by prep. *r*, "happen to," 55 (nn).
ḫft-ḥr: (compound prep.), 52 (t).
ḫnty: "upriver," 65 (r5).
ḫnyt: (n.), 54 (jj).
ḫnrt (in title *wrt-ḫnrt*): 50 (l).
ḫrw: (vb.), "say," 60 (vvv).
ḫrwt (?): (n.), "oracle," 60 (vvv).
ḫrp: (vb.), 52 (u).

st: (n.), 63 (h5); -- *wrt* 52-53 (y).
sw3 (?): "domain," 65 (q5).
spt (?): (n.), 66 (z5).
sprt (?): (n.) 66 (z5).
sn (or *ssn*): (vb.), "to breathe," 59 (qqq).
sn t3: "kiss the ground," 53 (cc).
sḫ (?): (vb.?), 66 (j6).
sḫt: (n.), 108 (mm).
sḫr: (n.), 54 (gg).

sšm: (vb.), "guide," 58 (bbb); "expend, bring in," 58 (ccc).
sḏm: (vb.), 64 (k5).

š3ᶜ-r: 108 (ll).
šnw (or *snyt*?): 53 (bb).
šnnt (*Jtn*): 50 (j).
šsp: (vb.), 52 (u).
šsp tp-w3t: "starting off," 51 (q).
št3w: (n.), "groves," 106 (q).

q3... (?): 61 (j4).
qbḥw: (n.), 52 (v).

kfy: (vb.), 55 (ll).

gsty: (n.), 66 (hh).

.tw: var. for suffix *.j*, 107 (r)
twt: (vb.), 58 (iii).
tp ... (?): 63 (z4).
tm (?): (neg. vb.), 55 (oo).

ṯ3j: (vb.), "take," 62 (q4).

dbḥt (?): type of land, 54 (ii).
dmjw: (n.), 108 (nn).
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