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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ALTERATION OF STYLE DURING THE LATER OLD
KINGDOM AND LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

by

Aaron Jason Smith

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Major: Art History

The University of Memphis

May 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first and foremost like to thank Dr. Nigel Strudwick, chairperson of my committee, for his patience while reading the many drafts of this thesis and the expertise that he provided throughout the writing process. I would also grateful to the members of my committee, Dr. Lorelei Corcoran and Dr. Patricia Podzorski. They have provided vast amounts of knowledge throughout my time at the University of Memphis, and their comments and suggestions offered at defense highlighted several important points for this thesis that had gone overlooked. Lastly, I would like to thank many of my fellow graduate students who provided their support when I needed it the most.

ABSTRACT

Smith, Aaron Jason. M.A. The University of Memphis. May 2012. An Analysis of the Alteration of Style during the Later Old Kingdom and Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Major Professor: Nigel Strudwick, Ph.D.

Throughout Ancient Egypt's history, the artistic style used in rendering human forms has been altered on multiple occasions for varying reasons. In three cases, during the later Old Kingdom, the late reign of Amenhotep III, and the Amarna period, it appears that the alterations of style can be attributed to similar religious motivations. Moreover, these styles similarly render characteristics of the body in a childlike manner. Each of these periods is discussed, identifying important characteristics that define each as a separate style type and noting the specific religious motivations that inspired them. In each instance, it appears that the paedomorphic features associated with these styles reflect the emphasis on daily and eternal rejuvenation linked with the solar deities Ra and the Aten, and the chthonic deity Osiris, who rose to national importance during these periods.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the entirety of Ancient Egyptian history, art and its production have functioned as a manifestation of the dominant social, political, and religious institutions of the culture. Produced continuously throughout its history, and even prior to the emergence of the Egyptian state, Egyptian visual art experienced a number of stylistic alterations while still conforming for the most part to its early established general form. These alterations in style, or the “distinctive manner which permits the grouping of works into related categories,” can be attributed to a large number of factors, including foreign influence, an evolution of the techniques of production, socio-political and religious factors, and the general tendency toward a more naturalistic rendering of human forms.¹

While some of these modifications are gradual, others are more abrupt, warranting an investigation into their catalysts and intended message. Such instances include the appearance of the “Second Style” at the end of the Old Kingdom, the somber style of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III during the Middle Kingdom, the late styles of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, and the Amarna style of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten during the New Kingdom. Of interest here is the question of the motivations of these alterations in style. As posited by Russmann, the “Second Style” of the later Old Kingdom appears to be “the earliest documented occurrence of deliberate stylistic change in ancient art; that is, a change not induced by the pressures of foreign conquest or social, political, or economic upheaval.”² While this style may have underlying religious

¹Eric Fernie, *Art History and its Methods: A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 361.

²Edna R. Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51 (1995): 273.

messages and its solidification as a style type may be a manifestation of them, this definition of style change shall be used as a basis for determining the intent of the other types in question. One alteration to Russmann's definition, however, will be to exclude the word 'deliberate', as it clarifies the question of intent on the part of the artisans and creates a questionable assumption that changes due to political and social factors are not purposeful. The main defining criteria can therefore be any change in royal artistic style during the three major periods of Egyptian history (the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms) in which alterations in rendering aspects of the human form are not motivated by apparent social, political, or foreign influences.

The Middle Kingdom style of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III as well as that of Thutmose III during the New Kingdom appear rather abruptly in a manner similar to the Old Kingdom "Second Style", but it appears that these two changes do not fit the definition established that denote them as conceived and executed styles that do not result from social or political motivations or foreign influence. Appearing during the reign of the Twelfth Dynasty king Senwosret III and continuing into the reign of his immediate successor Amenemhat III, the late Middle Kingdom style exhibits several characteristics that convey a somber expression. The face is tapered toward a squared chin, and features hooded eyes with heavy eyelids, disproportionately large ears that contrast with the rather small size of the face, and a mouth that is highlighted by a thin upper lip that turns downward toward a larger lower lip in a way that creates a seemingly frowning expression.³ Impetus for this alteration in style may have been the desire to convey the king as a strong and determined ruler, or a reflection of a predominant and pessimistic

³ Edna R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 101, 105.

social attitude that persisted during the late Middle Kingdom that was also reflected within contemporaneous literature.⁴ This pessimistic attitude is apparent in “The Man Who Was Weary of Life” (Papyrus Berlin 3042) and traces of it can be identified in portions of *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* and royal instructions.⁵ Due to the apparent social motivations of this style, the late Middle Kingdom style of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III does not adhere to the established definition and therefore will not be analyzed in this instance.

An additional example of an alteration in royal style can be observed in the art produced beginning in year 42 of Thutmose III’s reign, though the reason for this change appears to be a direct result of political factors concerning the proscription of Hatshepsut and the legitimization of Thutmose III’s successor Amenhotep II.⁶ Initially, the style in which royal sculpture during the early reign of Thutmose III was executed adhered to the style of his predecessor and coregent Hatshepsut. Inspired by the physical iconography of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, the facial features of Thutmose III after year 42 of his reign begin to emphasize the straight surfaces of the face in direct contrast to the rounded features of the now deceased Hatshepsut.⁷ The characteristic hooked nose prominent in his early sculpture is replaced by one that is straight, and the eyes begin to be rendered as

⁴W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 102; and Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 104.

⁵William Kelly Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: an Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 6, 178-187.

⁶Dimitri Laboury, “Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 280.

⁷*Ibid.*, 262.

more horizontal and wide.⁸ This newer style is then adopted by Amenhotep II and forms the basis of the characteristic facial form of the later Eighteenth Dynasty kings Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV.⁹ However, it seems that this alteration in artistic style is directly linked with the proscription of Hatshepsut and the attempt by Thutmose III to more concretely legitimize his reign and that of Amenhotep II. Therefore, because this change is purely political in nature and moreover does not conform to the previously established definition it too will not be discussed further in depth.

The next two abrupt changes in Egyptian artistic style occur in the late Eighteenth Dynasty within a relatively short span of less than ten years. The late Amenhotep III style and the early Amarna style of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, like the Old Kingdom “Second Style”, appear to conform to the definition of style change. The late style of Amenhotep III appears abruptly around year 30 of his reign, coinciding with the preparations for his first *sed*-festival, and, like the “Second Style”, it appears to be religiously motivated connecting Amenhotep III with the solar aspect of several of Egypt’s many deities. Additionally, unlike the styles of the late Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom, the late Amenhotep III style is not attributable to predominant social attitudes or political upheaval and thusly shall be analyzed in terms of its religious motivations.

Likewise, the early Amarna style, purportedly designed and instigated by king Amenhotep IV himself, appears to conform to the selective criteria of stylistic change. This style arises in the initial years of the king’s reign and is an obvious deviation from the canonical Egyptian representational form. The Amarna style, as we will see, is more than likely a manifestation of the religious innovations that appear during this time. The

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, 281.

intentionality of this style as an expression of Amenhotep IV's religious program is further illustrated in a graffito at Aswan depicting the sculptors Men and Bak (Figure 1).¹⁰ Here, over the figure of Bak, the sculptor is described as being instructed or taught by Akhenaten himself.¹¹ While it may not be entirely true that Amenhotep IV in fact designed and taught Bak the style, it does support the conclusion that it, at the very least, it was implemented by his command as the predominant royal style.

Two additional periods of style change, following the reunification of the Egyptian state during the Middle Kingdom and the post-Amarna Style of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, are also worthy of note due to their proximity to the later Old Kingdom and Amarna styles. The style of the early Middle Kingdom, as noted by Rita Freed, appears to be directly influenced by the style of the later Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period, which would make its evolution into a separate style type the result of organic growth and thus not worthy of discussion here.¹² In contrast, the post-Amarna style, characterized by a return of the traditional canon of representation following the artistic innovations of Akhenaten, appears to be motivated by a political upheaval in which the reigning kings separated themselves from the religious reform of

¹⁰For further discussion, see Labib Habachi, "Varia from the Reign of King Akhenaten," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 20 (1965): 85-89.

¹¹James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), 2:401; and William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 129.

¹²Rita E. Freed, "The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of the Late Dynasty XI: with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII," (PhD diss., New York University, 1984), 152.

the Amarna Period.¹³ Therefore, in both instances the motivations of a change in style do not meet the criteria defined above.

By selectively defining style changes to be discussed as any change not attributable to foreign influence or social, economic, or political upheaval, only three artistic style types between the First and Nineteenth Dynasties satisfy this criterion: the “Second Style” of the later Old Kingdom, the Year 30 style of Amenhotep III, and the Amarna style of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. In addition to conforming to this definition, these three styles appear to arise during a time of religious change and exhibit various facial features that are paedomorphic in nature; that is that they convey infantile or juvenile characteristics in an adult form. Therefore the intent of this paper is to analyze the three aforementioned style types identified as resulting from alterations in the canonical form, defining the essential characteristics of each, and investigating the contexts in which they arise. Following this, a comparative analysis of the three styles shall be performed, noting their shared features and apparent motivations. Lastly, the features of human figures in these styles will be discussed, assessing their intended application as manifestations of abstract religious ideals.

¹³William J. Murnane, “The Return to Orthodoxy,” in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D’Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 180.

CHAPTER II

ARTISTIC STYLE OF THE LATER OLD KINGDOM

Following the emergence of the Egyptian state during the Early Dynastic period, the Old Kingdom is marked by a period of political and economic stability for the inhabitants of the Nile River Valley.¹ Resulting from the evolution of religious ideals, the early portion of the Old Kingdom witnessed the advancement of large-scale building projects and the solidification of long-lasting and iconic architectural forms and artistic styles.² By the reign of the Fifth Dynasty king Unas, however, a distinctly new art style began to emerge which would change the means of representing human forms throughout the late Old Kingdom.

Following her examination of late Old Kingdom Egyptian sculpture, Russmann proposed the existence of a distinguishable, second Old Kingdom style whose origin lay near the end of the Fifth Dynasty and displaced the earlier Old Kingdom style during the Sixth.³ This “Second Style” renders the human form in such an exaggerated way that Russmann concludes it is “the earliest documented occurrence of deliberate stylistic change in ancient art; that is, a change not induced by the pressures of foreign conquest or (since it is fully developed by the second reign of the Dynasty) social, political, or economic upheaval.”⁴

¹Jaromir Malek, “The Old Kingdom,” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 90.

²Jaromir Malek, *Egyptian Art* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999), 85.

³Edna R. Russmann, “A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51 (1995): 276-277.

⁴*Ibid.*, 273.

Though a change in style had been previously noted briefly by scholars such as Aldred and Smith, it was not until Russmann's seminal article in 1995 that the late Old Kingdom style was defined as a distinct style type.⁵ In her article "A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom," Russmann systematically laid out the specific defining characteristics of the late Old Kingdom style as it related to sculpture. Characteristics of human representations during the Sixth Dynasty deviated from their earlier counterparts in a number of ways. First, human figures from the late Old Kingdom tend to have enlarged heads dominated by large, lentoid-shaped eyes, thick lips, and a tapered jaw.⁶ The ears are placed high upon the head and the inner canthus of the eye is pronounced.⁷ The lips often end abruptly at the sides, leaving the corners open, and facial modeling is limited aside from the prominent lines demarcating the nasolabial folds.⁸ The figure's long, slender body is pinched at the waist and characterized by attenuated musculature, specifically in the arms, with disproportionate hands containing fingers that are exaggerated in length.⁹ Using examples from the tombs of Metjetjy and Mitry, dated to the late Fifth Dynasty, Russmann illustrated how these figures exhibit characteristics

⁵Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 101; W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 73; and Russmann, "A Second Style," 269-279.

⁶Russmann, "A Second Style," 270.

⁷Cyril Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt," in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970): 29.

⁸Russmann, "A Second Style," 270.

⁹Edward Brovarski, "A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of the Old Kingdom," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko*, ed. Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian (Providence: Brown University, 2008), 50.

of the later Old Kingdom style that would emerge during the Sixth Dynasty as a result of undiscussed changing religious beliefs.

Following Russmann's precedent, subsequent publications on the issue of the 'Second Style' implement this epithet as well as others. Myśliwiec and Ziegler, in separate instances, both predominately use 'Second Style'.¹⁰ During his discussion on Old Kingdom relief, Brovarski also uses 'second Old Kingdom style'.¹¹ Lastly, though briefly mentioning the subject, Robins strays from these terms, defining the art of the later Old Kingdom as conforming to the 'Late Sixth Dynasty Style'.¹²

One point of consideration, however, is the proposed nature of the 'Second Style' and semantic connotations of the term as used in published sources. The terms 'Second Style' and 'late Old Kingdom style'/'Sixth Dynasty style' used interchangeably by Russmann display a distinguishable conflict in terms of their semantic connotations. The term 'Second Style' creates the assumption that it exists in conjunction with a distinctive other style during a single time frame, whereas "Late Old Kingdom Style" underscores the distinct and chronological nature of the proposed stylistic evolution, supplanting an earlier style and existing alone within the time period in question. As previously noted Russmann specifies that the 'Second Style' eventually supplants the earlier Old Kingdom style during the course of the Sixth Dynasty, so it appears that the term "Late Old

¹⁰Karol Myśliwiec, "A Contribution to the Second Style in Old Kingdom Art," in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. Sue D'Auria (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 170-174; and Christiane Ziegler, "Non-Royal Statuary," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 66-70.

¹¹Brovarski, "A Second Style," 49-86.

¹² Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 78.

Kingdom” should be used as it conveys this message more clearly. However, ‘Late Old Kingdom’ implies a specific temporal placement of this style that, as will be discussed, spans across the Fifth and Sixth dynasties. Therefore, in order to concretely convey the nature of this new style type, it shall be referred to as the ‘later Old Kingdom’ style to reiterate its placement and role in a larger organization of artistic tradition without a specific temporal reference.

Later Old Kingdom Sculpture

According to Russmann, the later Old Kingdom style is the hallmark style of royal sculpture during the Sixth Dynasty, though certain statues from the late Fifth Dynasty appear to be transitional.¹³ The first signs of the later Old Kingdom style seem to appear during the Fifth Dynasty reign of Unas, such as in a group of statues from the non-royal tomb of Metjetjy (Figure 2), but these features are not combined into a distinct style until the reign of Pepi I in the Sixth Dynasty.¹⁴ Though the total number of extant royal examples executed in this later style is quite low in relation to the number of non-royal examples, the few that are known depict many of the characteristic features detailed above.

In a statuette from the Brooklyn Museum, New York, Pepi I is shown kneeling, his hands upon his lap and holding *nw*-jars (Figure 3).¹⁵ He wears a *nemes*-headdress and a *shendyt*-kilt. Characteristic of the late Old Kingdom style, the ears are placed high upon

¹³Russmann, “A Second Style,” 274; and Richard A. Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1989), 14.

¹⁴ Russmann, “A Second Style,” 276.

¹⁵James F. Romano, “Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture,” in *Les Critères de Datation Stylistiques à l’Ancien Empire*, ed. Nicolas Grimal (Cairo: Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1997), 242.

the head, the eyes appear large with pronounced inner canthi, and the mouth is dominated by a pair of large lips that do not meet at the corners. Though the head itself is of more natural proportions in relation to the body, and the musculature of the arms and legs are not as attenuated as seen in other examples of royal sculpture from the same period, the waist is pinched high and the length of the king's fingers and toes is elongated.

A second example of Pepi I, also from the Brooklyn Museum (Figure 4)¹⁶, depicts the king seated upon a throne, wearing the White crown and holding a crook and flail crossed at his chest. Additionally, he wears a knee-length *sed*-festival robe that opens wide around his shoulders.¹⁷ A falcon, facing proper left, perches atop the back of the throne, the back of which contains the king's Horus name *mry-t3wy* contained within a *serekh*. Once again the eyes are depicted large, dominating the face, and the corners of the lips terminate without meeting. Unlike the previous statuette, the ears are placed more naturally on the side of the face. Though the musculature of the arms is hidden by the robe worn by the king, the legs are noticeably thinner and the toes are elongated.

The later Old Kingdom style can also be seen in two statuettes of Pepi II. The first, also from the Brooklyn Museum (Figure 5), depicts the king as a child seated upon the lap of his mother, Queen Ankhnes-meryre II.¹⁸ The queen sits facing forward, Pepi II facing toward the proper right. The queen wears a tripartite wig and vulture headdress, whose talons grasp *shen*-signs. She also wears a sheath dress whose hemline is only visible around the ankle. Her ears are placed naturally, her face tapers toward the chin, her large eyes show pronounced inner canthi, and her slightly grinning lips do not meet at

¹⁶Romano, "Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture," 240.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸ Romano, "Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture," 248; and Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art*, 15.

the corners. Additionally her musculature is attenuated, and her fingers and toes are elongated.

Depicted on a smaller scale in relation to his mother, Pepi II is adorned with the *nemes*-headdress and *shendyt*-kilt, and his facial and bodily features are comparable to those of his mother, aside from his fuller face and ears that are placed higher upon the head, though only slightly. The features and regalia of the king have been noted to be those of an adult designed on a diminutive scale commemorating the youth of the king.¹⁹ However, several child-like qualities are assigned to him, including closely set eyes, a pudgy face, and a muscularly undeveloped torso and abdominal region.²⁰ One point of consideration is the relative date of this statuette within the reign of Pepi II. According to the chronology established by Manetho and the Royal Canon of Turin, Pepi II assumed the role as king at the age of six and reigned as long as 100 years.²¹ Though it has been argued that this king's reign lasted a shorter span, roughly 64 years, this extended period of reign does bring into question the relative date of the Brooklyn statuette, specifically whether it is a depiction of the king as a child or as an adult in the guise of a child.²² As seen with the above mentioned statuettes depicting Pepi I, the depictions of the king with youthful characteristics do not necessarily denote that they were created early in their

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 250.

²⁰Claude Vandersleyen, "The Sculpture in the Round of Amenhotep III: Types and Purposes," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 2-3.

²¹Manetho, *Manetho, with an English Translation by W.G. Waddell* (London: W. Heinemann Publication, 1940), 55.

²²Michel Baud, "The Relative Chronology of Dynasties 6 and 8," in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, ed. Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 156; and Margaret Bunson, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2002), 299.

reign. In these instances, the childlike qualities portrayed have more to do with the rejuvenated youthfulness of the king rather than a realistic portrayal of pre-adolescence. However, due to the stylistic similarities of Ankhnes-Meryre II's features with other royal examples from the reign of his brother and predecessor, Merenre I, it appears that this example is indeed a product created early in the reign of Pepi II while he was a child and coregent to his mother.²³

A final royal example exemplifying the later Old Kingdom style is a squatting statuette of Pepi II in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Figure 6).²⁴ In many ways, this figure shares many features of the three discussed Brooklyn statuettes: large eyes with prominent inner canthi dominate the face which tapers toward the chin, the ears are placed high upon the sides of the head, and the musculature of the torso and abdomen are shown undeveloped. Two features of this statuette, however, differ from the previous examples, namely the squatting posture of the king with the index finger of his proper right hand pointed to his lips and his visibly naked fleshy body. This pose, reminiscent of the pose of a child, has been noted to show the king as a child, but may also have been implemented to identify Pepi II with Horus as the son of Osiris.²⁵ Once again, the relative date of this example in relation to the total reign of Pepi II calls into question the intended purpose and meaning of this statuette. Due to its similarities with the Brooklyn statuette of Pepi II seated on the lap of his mother, this example has been attributed to the early

²³Romano, "Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture," 252.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Catharine H. Roehrig, "172. Pair Statue of Queen Ankh-nes-meryre II and Her Son Pepi II Seated," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 439.

portion of Pepi II's reign by Romano, though it should be mentioned that these two statuettes are the only extant representations that are definitively attributed to this king that display both the head and body.²⁶ Therefore, while it will be assumed that Romano's attribution of both statuettes to the early reign of Pepi II is correct, the representations of the king as a child may also have been designed to convey an underlying religious message.

This royal style appears to be reflected in non-royal statues from the Sixth Dynasty as well, and it is here that we observe other instances in which the individual is often shown nude. In the wooden statuettes of Meryrehashtef (Figure 7) and Tjetji (Figure 8), both in the British Museum, London, the non-royal male individuals appear to be rendered in a manner similar to that of the discussed royal figures, but are shown nude like the squatting figure of Pepi II.²⁷ The faces of both individuals are dominated by large eyes and mouths, and their bodies are thin, with a high-pinched waist and attenuated musculature. The reasoning behind the portrayal of nudity, a characteristic linked with children, in these instances is still unknown but may be linked with hopes of rejuvenation in the afterlife.²⁸ The nudity of the figures is not unusual for this period, but neither is it the rule. In many cases, such as in the figures of Tjetji from the Metropolitan

²⁶Romano, "Sixth Dynasty Royal Sculpture," 253.

²⁷ Edna R. Russmann, "9. Striding Figure of Meryrehashtef," in *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 76-77; and Edna R. Russmann, "8. Nude Figure of the Seal Bearer Tjetji," in *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 74-75.

²⁸Russmann, "8. Nude Figure," 75.

Museum of Art (Figure 9), these nude representations are often paired with other clothed figures.²⁹

Discussion of Sculpture

Regardless of an individual's age, human representations in sculpture executed during the Sixth Dynasty appear to incorporate the following characteristics: an overly large head dominated by a pair of large eyes with prominent inner canthi that tapers toward the chin, a pair of lips that do not meet in the corners, often high-set ears, prominent nasolabial lines, a body with attenuated musculature and a high-pinched waist, elongated fingers and toes, and the removal of negative space around the arms and legs. Additionally although nudity is not evident in all examples, its recurrence in several royal and non-royal examples, such as that described in the late Sixth Dynasty figures of Pepi II, Meryrehashtef, and Tjetjy, is worth note. Due to its appearance in both royal and non-royal statuary of the period, the later Old Kingdom style, as Russmann asserts, should be viewed as a distinctive style group whose origin lies in the religious context of the period and is not a result of degradation in the skill level of the artisans who constructed the works.³⁰ Though she does not discuss the matter in depth, there does indeed appear to be a significant connection between the rise of the later Old Kingdom style and the changing religious context of the Fifth Dynasty, particularly as a result of the emphasis on the solar deity Ra during the Fifth Dynasty and the emerging emphasis on Osiris, an issue that shall be discussed below.

²⁹Russmann, "A Second Style," 269-270.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 270.

Later Old Kingdom Relief

In addition to sculpture in the round, features of the later Old Kingdom style are prevalent in representations of the human figure found in relief, though with some alteration due to fundamental differences between the two media. Using Russmann's publication as the basis of his work, Edward Brovarski characterized the later Old Kingdom style as seen in relief executed during the Fifth and Sixth dynasties, noting their similarities and differences.³¹ Of the many examples provided by Brovarski, none are of royal relief from the Fifth or Sixth dynasties; his article is also specifically concerned with representations of male figures. Many of the two-dimensional representations he includes are found in conjunction with non-royal sculptures exhibiting the later Old Kingdom stylistic characteristics defined by Russmann are believed to date within the Sixth Dynasty. Relying heavily on two-dimensional representations from the tombs of Nekhebu, Qar, Idu, Mereruka, Mery-teti, Meryre-ankh, and others from Giza and Saqqara, Brovarski asserts that the later Old Kingdom style in relief, unlike sculpture, is confined to the Sixth Dynasty.

Among the similarities between the two media, the heads of figures in late Old Kingdom relief are depicted with large eyes with a pronounced inner canthus, highly set ears whose lobe terminates at the bottom of the nostril, and a prominent nasolabial fold.³² Though the rimmed mouth is not enlarged in relief the corners are marked by a drill hole, replicating the effect seen in sculpture.³³ However, the head itself is neither enlarged nor

³¹Brovarski, "A Second Style," 49-86.

³²*Ibid.*, 83.

³³*Ibid.*

placed atop a narrow body with a pinched waist. Primarily due to the depiction of human figures in profile view, certain facial characteristics such as the tapering jaw and broad nostrils seen in sculpture are not depicted in relief.³⁴ The attenuation of musculature in relief is also similar to that seen in sculpture, with notable exceptions in the regions of the navel furrow, knees, and lower legs.

One such example of later Old Kingdom style relief can be seen in the tomb of Nekhebu at Giza (G 2381) who is believed to have lived during the reign of Pepi I.³⁵ As seen to the visitor's left at the entrance to the tomb itself (Figure 10), Nekhebu is shown as a standing figure, whose face is dominated by a large eye with pronounced inner canthi and a high-set and elongated ear.³⁶ Nekhebu's arms and legs are thick and his hands and feet elongated. While the head itself is naturally proportioned in relation to the body, the torso appears thinner in relation to the thick arms and legs of the figure, though it is not pinched at the waist as seen in royal sculpture from the same period. While the omission of the pinched waist should be expected given that this region of the body is usually shown in profile, the added thickness to the arms may be an attempt to convey this characteristic in a two-dimensional mode of representation. As noted above, the rendering of musculature is confined to the navel and lower legs.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁵ Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, Kegan Paul International Ltd., 1985), 113.

³⁶ Brovarski, "A Second Style," 51.

The later Old Kingdom style is evident elsewhere at Giza in the two non-royal mastabas of Qar (G 1701) and Idu (G 1702), both of whom were *hnty-š* of Pepi I.³⁷ The reliefs in both mastabas, dated to the reign of Merenre or Pepi II and the early reign of Pepi II respectively, exhibit many of the stylistic features discussed in the tomb of Nekhebu and outlined by Brovarski.³⁸ In a scene from the south wall of Court C from the tomb of Qar, the deceased is shown seated in front of an offering table wearing a broad collar and a simple, pleated kilt (Figure 11).³⁹ Similar to the depiction of Nekhebu within his tomb, the face of Qar is dominated by a large eye with a distinct inner canthus and a high ear. The lips are of natural proportion, containing a ridge denoting the vermilion border and a drill hole at the labial commissure. Qar's arms and legs are thick, though not to the extent seen in the discussed representation of Nekhebu, with little marked musculature. Once again, the hands and feet are elongated.

In a similar scene from the west wall of the tomb of Idu, many of these characteristics continue to appear. Here, Idu is shown seated in front of an offering table with one hand crossed over his chest (Figure 12).⁴⁰ While his eye continues to be rendered large, both his upper and lower eyelids are shown. Additionally the ear is set shown in its natural position, yet slightly elongated upward. The nose extends from the forehead as seen in the two abovementioned examples. Lastly, the arms and legs continue

³⁷William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G1701 and 1702* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976), 18, 31; for additional details on *hnty-š*, see Ann Macy Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985), 112-116.

³⁸ Brovarski, "A Second Style," 62.

³⁹ Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar*, 1-18.

⁴⁰ Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar*, 18-31.

to be attenuated, though the fingers on the hand nearest the offering table do appear to be less exaggerated in length.

One final relief, from the south wall of the offering tomb in the pyramid temple of Pepi II, exhibits these same features. Though badly damaged, the facial features of this king conform to the discussed properties of the later Old Kingdom style in relief and show its continuance throughout the entirety of the Sixth Dynasty (Figure 13).⁴¹ In this scene, the king is shown seated at an offering table, wearing a broad collar and *nemes*-headdress with uraeus. The king's eye, as seen in non-royal relief, is rendered large and dominates the facial plane. The lips are rimmed with a drill hole at the corner, and the nose extends from the forehead. The ear of the king, though partially damaged, appears to be placed with the lobe terminating at the level of the labial commissure and the tragus at the ala of the nose.

Summary of Later Old Kingdom Relief

In summation, characteristics of the later Old Kingdom style in two-dimensional representations are as follows: large, ovate eyes dominate the face and contain pronounced inner canthi, the nose and lips are of natural proportion, the mouth is rimmed and a drill hole marks the labial commissure, the ear is often elongated and placed high upon the side of the head, the head itself is of natural proportion in relation to the body, the arms and legs are thick with limited representation of musculature, the fingers and toes are elongated, and the waist is not pinched as seen in sculpture. Assuming that the dates assigned to individual works of sculpture and relief are correct, the late Old

⁴¹Gustave Jéquier, *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, Vol. 2 (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1938).

Kingdom style fully emerged in both mediums approximately during the same period during the Sixth Dynasty reign of Pepi I, though several characteristics are apparent in examples as early as the end of the Fifth Dynasty and remained in use until at least the reign of Pepi II.⁴² Additionally, though the scope of royal examples is limited due to problems with preservation, it does appear that the style was implemented in the same manner as in non-royal contexts. Concerning the canon of proportions found in traditional Egyptian style, it is unknown if there was any prevalent change. As discussed by Robins, while the presence of guidelines marking specific body positions are attested and specific features of the Old Kingdom Memphite canon are established during this same time period, no surviving square grids are known from drawn figures prior to the Middle Kingdom.⁴³ Several examples of relief from the Old Kingdom do contain grids, such as those seen in the tomb of Sahure, but this has been deemed as the work of later copyists rather than original grids.⁴⁴

Discussion

One point of discussion concerning the development of the late Old Kingdom style is the question concerning its origin. Though apparent in royal sculpture and relief during the late Sixth Dynasty, many of the earlier dated examples discussed by Rusmann, Brovarski, and others originate from non-royal tomb settings. This is,

⁴²*Ibid.*, 84.

⁴³Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 64; and W. Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1949), 247.

⁴⁴Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture*, 247n1; for examples, see Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa³hu-Re^c. Band II: Die Wandbilder* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1981), plate 16, 28, 29.

however, due to the fact that so few royal examples have been preserved from this time period and it should not be assumed that the style itself originated in a non-royal context. In fact, Russmann notes that the later Old Kingdom style initially appears in the vicinity of contemporary royal tombs at Saqqara and suggests that the style was initially intended for royal use and was disseminated downward.⁴⁵

The main question that has gone unanswered concerning the emergence of the later Old Kingdom style relates to the factors that influenced its creation and its intended message. Given that its origins can be traced as far back as the end of the Fifth Dynasty in several examples from the tombs of Metjetjy and Mitry, and its influence can be seen in the beginning of the Middle Kingdom in the statuary of Mentuhotep II, Russmann proposes that this style is resultant of the changing religious practices that appear to have occurred during the late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties concerning the predominance of the solar deity Re and the emerging emphasis on Osiris.⁴⁶ However, she does not investigate the matter any further.

During the Fourth Dynasty, it appears that the association of the king with the gods was transformed, linking him with the solar deity Re of Heliopolis.⁴⁷ From this period onward, the king is seen not only as the son of the sun-god, but the living image of it.⁴⁸ This intrinsic connection between the king and the creator solar deity was further

⁴⁵Russmann, "A Second Style," 275-276; and Dieter Arnold, *The Temple of Montuhotep as Deir el-Bahari* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), plate 24-25.

⁴⁶Russmann, "A Second Style," 278.

⁴⁷Jaromir Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids: Egypt during the Old Kingdom* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 106-107.

⁴⁸Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 138.

emphasized by the inclusion of Re in the royal names of the king, such as in the prenomen of the Fourth Dynasty king Khafre, *ḥ^c.f-R^c*, and many of the Fifth Dynasty kings.⁴⁹

This divine association was built upon further during the Fifth Dynasty with the construction of large solar temples whose locations and plans were similar to the earlier pyramid complexes and emphasized the connection between the king and the solar deity.⁵⁰ By the time of the Sixth Dynasty, Re had grown in importance to such an extent that he was often syncretized with other deities, most notably in the forms of Atum-Re and Re-Horakhty, the amalgamation of Re and the falcon-headed solar deity Horus who was by this time also associated with the living king.⁵¹ It is readily apparent that the rise of Re to the national scale did have a remarkable effect on the architecture of the Fourth and Fifth dynasties, but it cannot be the only variable responsible for the stylistic change of the later Old Kingdom.

Though the position of Re remained unaffected during the late Fifth Dynasty, construction of the large solar temple complexes ceased following the reign of Menkauhor.⁵² However by the reign of Unas textual inscriptions, called Pyramid Texts by scholars, began to be included within the pyramid chambers.⁵³ A collection of ritual and

⁴⁹Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), 52-55; specific kings include Djedefre, Khafre, and Menkaure from the Fourth Dynasty and Sahure, Neferirkare, Shepeseskare, Neferefre, Niuserre, and Djedkare from the Fifth Dynasty.

⁵⁰Malek, "The Old Kingdom," 109.

⁵¹Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 92.

⁵²Malek, "The Old Kingdom," 111.

⁵³Alexandre Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 8.

religious texts, the *Pyramid Texts* functioned within the tomb to assist the deceased king across the cosmos as Re and more importantly Osiris.⁵⁴ Similar to the rise of Re in the early Old Kingdom, near the end of the Fifth Dynasty it appears added emphasis was given to the god Osiris, a member of the Heliopolitan Ennead and father of Horus, who was connected, like Re, to the king.⁵⁵

It appears that the existence of the cult of Osiris can be definitively traced back to as early as the late Fifth Dynasty.⁵⁶ Originating from the city of Abydos, Osiris became interlinked with the ideology of kingship, possibly due to the emphasis on the succession by Horus after his death.⁵⁷ Additionally, Osiris' close association with the fertility of the land in direct contrast to his brother Seth's link to the arid desert as well as his mythic resurrection may have been the symbolic manifestation of the king's hope for renewal following his death.⁵⁸ Detailed within the inscriptions of the pyramid of Unas, the deceased king is identified not only with Re but also with Osiris in the form of Osiris Unas.⁵⁹ This dual association with these solar and chthonic deities is continued throughout the Sixth Dynasty and, as shall be argued, is manifested artistically through

⁵⁴Jean-Philippe Lauer, *Saqqara: The Royal Cemetery of Memphis. Excavations and Discoveries Since 1850* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 177; and James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 1,6.

⁵⁵John Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 21-26.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁷Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris*, 105.

⁵⁸Wolfgang Helck, "Überlegungen zum Ausgang der 5. Dynastie," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47 (1991): 164-165.

⁵⁹Mark Smith, "Democratization of the Afterlife," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich and Jacco Dieleman (Los Angeles: University of California, 2009), <http://repositories.cdlib.org/nelc/uee/1147> (accessed April 04, 2012).

the application of the later Old Kingdom style that arises specifically at this time. It appears that this style implements and emphasizes childlike and youthful features, including large eyes, a crowded mouth, a disproportionately large head, and a lack of defined musculature in order to associate the deceased with both the solar deity Re and the mythic Osiris within a single image. By doing so, the creation of this imagery sympathetically ensures rejuvenation of the individual in two ways: the daily rejuvenation of the living king as represented by the solar journey of Re and the eternal revivification of the deceased in the afterlife as Osiris.

Given that changes in emphasis of religious beliefs appear to be followed by alterations in mortuary structures and artistic style, it is probable that the late Old Kingdom style is a manifestation of these beliefs. The later Old Kingdom style is neotenus in nature, emphasizing the retention of youthful features in an adult form. The rendering of enlarged eyes, full cheeks, and a small nose on a disproportionately large head recalls the facial characters of an infant, whereas the developed body conveys the stature of an adult. Their frequent use in a mortuary setting proposes a connection to the theology of the afterlife, not only linking the deceased king with deities such as Re and Osiris but also identifying the deceased king as their earthly manifestation. Perhaps there is a connection between the neotenus style and the association of the living king with the child Horus. One such example is illustrated in Utterance 378 of the *Pyramid Texts* in which the king is equated with Horus the child who has his finger placed in his mouth.⁶⁰

⁶⁰R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 125; and James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 88.

This passage recalls the pose of the statuette of Pepi II from Cairo (Figure 6), which depicts the king as a squatting nude figure in a juvenile form.

As discussed, many of the later Old Kingdom style's definitive characteristics have antecedents elsewhere and were put together in totality only during this period. While each specific element within its own context may not have been deliberately manipulated to convey specific meaning, the combination of these specific elements into a unified form appears to have been deliberate and not a result of the deterioration of artistic skill. The development of this style type as a means of conveying a religious message is further supported by the continuance of the style into the Middle Kingdom and its influence on the style of the New Kingdom. This is not to say, however, that this change in style was as calculated to the extent of that seen in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Although commonalities exist between the two, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, the style change of the later Old Kingdom appears to be more gradual and less extreme, but still deliberately altered.

CHAPTER III

STYLE CHANGE IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

At the rise of the Middle Kingdom, the artistic style seems to have been that of the Memphite canon in place at the end of the Old Kingdom; while subtle changes did occur, these can be attributed to the changes between kings, dynasties, and the natural evolution of art. Not until the early New Kingdom do we again see deliberate manipulations to the traditional canon of Egyptian art, specifically at the end of the reign of the Eighteenth Dynasty king Amenhotep III and the beginning of that of his immediate successor Amenhotep IV, who would change his name to Akhenaten.

During the early New Kingdom, it appears that the artists of the time continued working in the tradition of the Middle Kingdom.¹ The Thutmoside style, named after several of the early Eighteenth Dynasty kings and characterized by a inverted triangle-shaped face that tapers to a rounded chin with a slight grin, long limbs, and a thin-waisted yet athletic body, appears to have drawn inspiration from both the Middle Kingdom tradition and also the continued artistic tradition from the Second Intermediate Period.² While some aspects remained stable throughout this period, such as the rendering of human figures on an eighteen-square grid, the proportions of certain body parts in relation to others saw some minor alterations.³ For example, though the number of grid squares used for the depiction of human figures remained at 18, the small of the back was

¹Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 87; and Edna R. Russmann, "Art in Transition: The Rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Emergence of the Thutmoside Style in Sculpture and Relief," in *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine H. Roehrig (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 23.

²Russmann, "Art in Transition," 23.

³Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 87.

elevated to the horizontal line of square 12 instead of the traditional 11, the lower portion of the buttocks is located between 9 and 10, and the top of the head as high as horizontal 19.⁴

However, these changes should not be attributed to a manipulation of the human form similar to that which has been argued above as occurring during the later Old Kingdom. Due to the nature of Egyptian representations of the human form, which treats each individual body component separately before combining it into a composite form, minor changes in proportion over time are to be expected as artists attempt to recreate perceived human proportions.⁵ Moreover, these changes are most often applied to the length of the human leg, a practice that had occurred since the early periods of Egyptian artistic history and was increasingly exaggerated throughout the New Kingdom.⁶

Later Sculptural Style of Amenhotep III

It is not until the reign of Amenhotep III that we see any significant alteration to the traditional artistic style, and even here it occurs late into his reign as king. According to the tripartite sequence advanced by W. R. Johnson, art from the early years of Amenhotep III's reign follows closely that of his father Thutmose IV and the other Thutmoside kings.⁷ However, this is to be expected, as it is a usual occurrence that the relief and sculpture produced early in a king's reign is identifiable to that of the previous

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Whitney Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 13.

⁶*Ibid.*, 23; and Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 94.

⁷W. Raymond Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 33.

ruler.⁸ One early example in carved relief from the Montu Temple at Karnak depicts Amenhotep III offering to Amun-Ra-Kamutef (Figure 14).⁹ Here, Amenhotep III is depicted in the aforementioned Thutmoside style, with a small ear, horizontal eye, and straight nose. The king's body is shown with a narrow waist but otherwise athletic body. Over the course of Amenhotep III's reign the style of art was altered slightly, particularly adding some length to the leg, and enlarging the ear, while the Thutmoside nature of the body and narrow eyes remained the same (Figure 15).¹⁰ The same holds true for sculpture, such as the Amenhotep III statue from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 16).¹¹ This statue of the king contains many of the Thutmoside elements: the athletic body, a tapered face with a rounded chin, a slight grin, and long, horizontal eyes.

The most abrupt changes in the style of Amenhotep III appear around year 30 of his reign, correlating with the celebration of his first of several *sed*-festivals.¹² It is at this time that the Thutmoside features prevalent in his earlier reign are replaced with features that have been described as youthful, childlike, and even containing elements of

⁸James Romano, "A Second Look at 'Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions' by W. Raymond Johnson," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 48.

⁹W. Raymond Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), figure 3.18.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, figure 3.19

¹¹Betsy M. Bryan, "Royal Statuary," in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 172-173.

¹²Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 135.

caricature.¹³ This style type, exemplified in the glazed steatite statuette of the king as Neferhotep believed to be from Edfu and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 17), depicts the living king in a youthful state with enlarged, convex, lentoid-eyes and full, round face that is used to emphasize the revivification of himself as king.¹⁴ Dominating the face, the large eyes contrast with the naturalized size of the ears, mouth, chin, and slightly smaller nose, all of which are characteristic of children.¹⁵ In addition to an alteration of facial features, the athletic physique of the king is replaced by a corpulent, thick-waisted body with noticeable breasts. Concerning costume, this new style also sees the introduction of solar and funerary related regalia, including pendant cords with papyrus and sedge umbels, floral collars, cobras with solar disks, and an assortment of gold jewelry.¹⁶ Particularly in the Neferhotep statuette, the king is shown wearing the traditional uraeus and double crown in addition to a *shebyu*-collar, gold bands on the upper arms, and a kilt apron featuring a solar disk flanked by two cobras wearing solar disks.

Throughout the reign of Amenhotep III, the solar aspects of the national deities were increasingly stressed throughout Egypt with the construction of solar courts at many of the temple complexes, the design of which are possibly reminiscent of those built

¹³*Ibid.*, 135; and Johnson, “Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes,” 34-35.

¹⁴Betsy M Bryan, “Small-Scale Statuary,” in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 198.

¹⁵Claude Vandersleyen, “The Sculpture in the Round of Amenhotep III: Types and Purposes,” in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 1-2.

¹⁶W. Raymond Johnson, “Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O’Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 84.

during the Fifth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom.¹⁷ The solarization of these cults was intended, in effect, to ensure the daily rejuvenation of the sun which provided fecundity to the land and ensured continual existence.¹⁸ However it is following this celebration of his initial *sed*-festival, depicted in the temple of Soleb in Nubia, that the image of Amenhotep III adopts a youthful appearance, connecting himself in particular with the syncretized, self-perpetuating solar deity Amun-Re who was responsible for the daily rejuvenation of the world and provider of Egypt's fecundity.¹⁹ Like the kings who ruled before him, Amenhotep III was intrinsically linked with the god Re, functioning as his son and earthly manifestation.²⁰ Additionally, due to the origin of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings at Thebes, the city's god Amun continued his national rise in prominence and assimilation with Re, a process that had been gradually gaining momentum since the Eleventh Dynasty.²¹ The importance of Amun to the Eighteenth Dynasty kings is further emphasized in two instances: he is depicted as the divine progenitor of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III.²²

¹⁷Betsy M. Bryan, "Temples," In *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 74.

¹⁸Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 135.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 135-136; and Bryan, "Temples," 102; for depictions from the Soleb temple, see Michela Schiff Giorgini, *Soleb V: Le Temple Bas-Reliefs et Inscriptions* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1998).

²⁰Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 135.

²¹Jacobus Van Djik, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 273.

²²For the divine birth of Hatshepsut, see Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahri: Part II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897), 14, plate XLVII. For Amenhotep III at Luxor, see Colin Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of Amon-Hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1912), 34.

The emphasis on Amun-Re is a result of the ‘new solar theology,’ defined by Assmann as an attempt to reconcile the cognitive dissonance that arose following the association of the singularity of god with the Egyptian concept of polytheistic divinity and cosmic multiplicity.²³ The syncretized form of Amun-Re integrated the natural forms of these two gods, emphasizing Amun’s role as king of the gods and Theban cult image, Amun and Re’s similar roles as primeval creator, and Re’s function as preserver of the sun.²⁴ This development, which began during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, would later influence the theology of the Amarna period and the Ramesside Amun theology.²⁵

In an attempt to further emphasize this link to solar theology, Amenhotep III adopted epithets and a new rebus spelling of his prenomen, *Nb-M3^ct-R^c Itn-Tjehen* (Nebmaatra is the Dazzling Aten), around the time of his first *sed*-festival that further denotes his assimilation with the sun-god.²⁶ Additional prominence was given to the solar disk, Aten, with whom Amenhotep III was often identified. The Aten would be elevated even higher during the reign of his successor Amenhotep IV.²⁷

The adoption of this heavy-set stature by Amenhotep III at the time of his first *sed*-festival appears to be linked to the fecundity associated with the king who lived long

²³Jan Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun, and the Crisis of Polytheism* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995), 10.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 111.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 10.

²⁶Johnson, “Monuments and Monumental Art,” 88; and Betsy M Bryan, “Private Statuary,” in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 134.

²⁷Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 147; and Van Dijk, “The Amarna Period,” 275-276.

enough to observe such a celebration.²⁸ Existing as far back as the First Dynasty, the *sed*-festival was a royal celebration of renewal for the ruling king, commonly noted as first occurring 30 years after the elevation of the king to the throne, though sometimes as coregent.²⁹ However, there does not appear to be a uniform rule concerning exact chronological requisites across Egypt's dynastic history, or even throughout the duration of the Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁰

Regardless, in preparation for his first *sed*-festival, it has been proposed that Amenhotep III actively searched through the records of previous dynasties in order to reenact the festival as it was celebrated in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.³¹ This does, however, beg the question as to what specific models were available to Amenhotep III and his artisans responsible for the artistic change. Two pieces of evidence have been offered as proof of Amenhotep III's inquiry into the past: a graffito at Medum and a fragment of a late Predynastic or First Dynasty palette in Cairo containing a *sed*-Festival scene, whose reverse side contains the titulary of Queen Tiye (Figure 18).³² In Medum, a graffito from year 30 of the reign of Amenhotep states:

Regnal year 30 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt
Nebmaatira, the Son of Ra Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, may he live

²⁸Bryan, "Small-Scale Statuary," 195.

²⁹Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest* (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), 9.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹Lawrence M. Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 17.

³²*Ibid.*

forever as beneficent king in this whole land. The scribe May came to see this very great pyramid of the Horus...Sneferu...³³

This shows that not only did Amenhotep III actively investigate previous monuments and artistic productions for inspiration, but also that it appears that these examples may have dated to as far back as the Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the Cairo fragment, about which Henry Fischer concluded that, due to several inconsistencies in the engravings, the “inscription is more likely the work of a modern forger than an artisan of the late Eighteenth Dynasty.”³⁴

Nevertheless, the altered form of Amenhotep III that arises in statuary around the time of the celebration of his first *sed*-festival appears to link his perceived fecundity and renewal associated with Amun-Re and other deities as a possibly deified king. This is seen in the previously mentioned statuette of the king as the god Neferhotep and others, such as in two headless, standing statuettes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (30.8.74) and the British Museum (EA 2275). The first depicts Amenhotep III wearing an ankle-length tunic and a pleated shawl covering his left shoulder and arm (Figure 19).³⁵ While this style of clothing is unknown prior to the presumed date of this statuette in the final years of Amenhotep III’s reign, it does continue to make its appearance in both representations of the deceased Amenhotep III at Amarna, as seen in the Amarna stela in the British Museum discussed below, and the living Amenhotep IV in the Tomb of

³³Alan Rowe, “The Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Expedition Excavations at Meydum, 1929-1930,” *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania) 22, no. 1 (1931): 45, quoted in Lawrence M. Berman, “Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O’Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 17.

³⁴H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968), 20n54.

³⁵Bryan, “Small-Scale Statuary,” 204-205.

Ramose at Thebes.³⁶ The king wears a *wah*-collar, his hands meet at the lower waist, crossed with the right hand over the left, and the body is supported by a *djed*-shaped pillar. Similar to the Neferhotep statuette, the body of the king is more heavy-set than that seen prior to his first *sed*-festival. However, this stout body shape appears to be the result of a forward accentuation of the breasts and the waist when viewed from profile.

When viewed frontally, the width of the waist is comparable to other representations of the king that convey a less heavy form.³⁷ In a second headless standing figure in the British Museum, London (Figure 20), Amenhotep III is shown holding a crook in his right hand that rests on his right shoulder.³⁸ His left arm is extended downward, the hand of which is curled into a fist. The king wears a broad collar and a kilt whose beadwork apron containing pendant cobras terminates above the knee. While the arms and legs appear fuller than the athletic bodies of the Thutmoside kings, the breasts and lower waist of Amenhotep III are not accentuated in a manner similar to that of the two above mentioned statuettes.

The less portly figure of the king is seen again in a reunited head and torso of Amenhotep III. The head, located in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Figure 21), contains iconographic characteristics of the Neferhotep statuette, particularly the short, round wig, double crown, and the youthful facial features.³⁹ However, the body of the statuette, in

³⁶Bryan, "Small-Scale Statuary," 204-205.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 205.

³⁸Edna R. Russmann, "53. Standing Figure of Amenhotep III," in *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 134.

³⁹Bryan, "Small-Scale Statuary," 200.

Durham University Oriental Museum (Figure 22), is markedly different.⁴⁰ The plump body with noticeable breasts and enlarged abdomen is replaced with a thinner one, comparable to the British Museum standing figure. The king is shown wearing a royal beard, *shebyu*-necklace, broad collar, armbands, and a royal kilt with a beaded apron crowned with a panther head. As discussed, the *shebyu*-necklace and armbands are solar symbols linked to the rejuvenation of the king that occurs during the *sed*-festival and associate the king with the Re.⁴¹ The panther head at the top of the apron also has solar connotations, and is possibly the syncretism of Sekhmet and Mut who is responsible for the protection of the king during the solar journey.⁴² This identifies the wearer as the sun god and thus reminds the viewer of the rebirth of the king without the inclusion of fecundity motifs.⁴³

Later Relief of Amenhotep III

It is interesting to note that the portly image of the king discussed above does not appear to be implemented in relief in a manner similar to that seen in sculpture. In two-dimensional depictions of Amenhotep III following his initial *sed*-festival, the face of the king undergoes the same alterations, portraying him with a plump, youthful face with large eyes. Nevertheless, the solar iconography adopted in sculpture continues to be seen in relief. However, below the neck, the king shows more physical qualities of the British

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Peter J. Brand, "The *Shebyu*-Collar in the New Kingdom. Part 1," *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 33 (2006): 17.

⁴²Betsy M. Bryan, "Striding Glazed Steatite Figures of Amenhotep III: An Example of the Purposes of Minor Arts," in *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, ed. Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves, and John Ruffle (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 65.

⁴³Bryan, "Small-Scale Statuary," 201.

Museum statuette and the Durham University torso. In the many depictions of the king's first *sed*-festival in the temple of Soleb in which he is not cloaked by his knee-length robe, the body of the aging king is shown as youthful yet defined (Figure 23).⁴⁴ The association with fecundity brought about by the plumpness of the king in these images is not readily apparent, though in some cases he is associated with fecundity figures that may possibly be used to make up for this absence.⁴⁵

Likewise, in the tomb of Kheruef (TT192) in Thebes, the depictions of Amenhotep III do not contain allusions to the rotund form found in statuary. In a scene depicting the king seated upon a throne and accompanied by Hathor and Queen Tiye, it is once again noticeable that though the face and neck of Amenhotep III are characteristically fuller, the body itself is thinner and more athletic (Figure 24).⁴⁶ Though his upper body and waist are concealed by a robe, the king's lower legs are clearly visible. This shows that the rotund form of the king seen in statuary is not emphasized in contemporaneous relief, distinctly contrasting with the depictions of Amenhotep III from the Amarna period as seen on the shrine stela from the House of Panehsy at Amarna (Figure 25).⁴⁷ Here Amenhotep III, now presumed deceased, is shown in the characteristic Amarna style with a heavy-set frame and wearing a blue crown, broad

⁴⁴Michela Schiff Giorgini, *Soleb V: Le Temple Bas-Reliefs et Inscriptions* (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale, 1998).

⁴⁵For examples from Soleb, see *ibid.*, plate 10, 320. For other examples, see Arielle Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 118-120, 195.

⁴⁶The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980), plate 25.

⁴⁷Edna R. Russmann, "59. Shrine Stela with Amenhotep III and Tiye," in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 143-144.

collar and the same pleated robe as the statuette in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 19).

As discussed, the artistic production of sculpture and relief experienced an abrupt alteration in style in the late years of Amenhotep III's reign. Initially conforming to the traditional modes of representation implemented by his Thutmoside predecessors, figural representations in the various media began to change at or around the king's 30th regnal year, coinciding with the celebration of his first of three *sed*-festivals. The idealized depictions of the adult king with an athletic physique began to be replaced by images of a rejuvenated youth with a full face, large eyes, and an accentuated body adorned with solar imagery. This new imagery, linked specifically to the celebration of the *sed*-festival, offered a constant reminder of the fecundity of the king and his status as a revived image of the solar god.

The Coregency Debate

Art and religion of the New Kingdom saw another dramatic shift upon the accession of Amenhotep III's eldest living son, Amenhotep IV to the throne as king. In a controversial move that has been described by scholars as 'revolutionary' and even 'heretical', Amenhotep IV instigated a change in artistic style that would characteristically highlight his reign.⁴⁸ Prior to this, however, the question of a period of joint rule between Amenhotep IV and his father Amenhotep III must be discussed. Following years of speculation and discussion on the existence of a coregency between these kings, no definitive conclusion has yet been reached.

⁴⁸See Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1973); and Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Since the initial proposal of the existence of a period of joint rule between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, the issue has been discussed repeatedly by scholars with no clear consensus as to whether or not one existed.⁴⁹ The idea of an extended period of coregency was first advanced by J. D. S. Pendlebury, who claimed that the two kings reigned together for a period of 8 to 11 years.⁵⁰ Twenty years later, H. W. Fairman refined this hypothesis, using the work on the titles of the Aten by Sethe and Gunn, and proposed a coregency lasting approximately eleven years.⁵¹ Most recently, scholars such as Cyril Aldred and W. R. Johnson have been strong proponents of this eleven-year period of coregency.⁵² Based upon the work of Battiscombe Gunn, who asserted a correlation between the *sed*-festivals of the Aten and the reigning king, Aldred further hypothesized that the living king in question is not Amenhotep IV as Gunn suggested but rather his father, Amenhotep III.⁵³ According to this assumption, the following chronology is established: Year 28 (Amenhotep III)/Year 1 (Amenhotep IV) – Amenhotep IV ascends as coregent; Year 30 (Amenhotep III)/Year 2 (Amenhotep IV) –

⁴⁹Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 88.

⁵⁰J.D.S. Pendlebury, *Tell el-Amarna* (London: Lovat Dickson & Thompson Ltd., 1935), 10-13.

⁵¹H. W. Fairman, "The Inscriptions," in *The City of Akhenaten: Part III*, ed. J.D.S. Pendlebury (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1951), 152-157.

⁵²For arguments by Aldred, see Cyril Aldred, "The Beginning of the El-'Amārna Period," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 45 (1959): 19-33; and Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 169-182. For those of Johnson, see W. Raymond Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 26-46.

⁵³Battiscombe Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and His Names," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9, parts 3, 4 (1923): 168-176; and Aldred, "The Beginning of the El-'Amārna Period," 19-33, 31.

simultaneous occurrence of the *sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III and the Aten; Year 37 (Amenhotep III)/Year 9 (Akhenaten) – celebration of the third *sed*-festival of Amenhotep III and the Aten; and lastly, Year 39 (Amenhotep III)/Year 11 (Akhenaten) – the death of Amenhotep III and preparation of the “coronation tribute” as depicted in the tombs of Huya and Meryre II at Akhetaten.⁵⁴

Most recently, this argument has been firmly supported by W. Raymond Johnson, who asserts that Amenhotep III not only reigned for an extended period with Amenhotep IV, but has also posited that, while living, Amenhotep III was deified in the form of the solar disk, Aten.⁵⁵ To support this, Johnson alludes to Pyramid Text 222 which associated the deceased king with the sun god, Atum.⁵⁶

You will go up and go down: you will go down with the Sun, one of the
dusk with the One Who Was Cast Down.

You will go up and go down: you will go up with the Sun and rise up with
the One of the Great Reedfloat.

You will go up and go down: you will go down with Nephthys, one of the
dusk with the Nightboat.

You will go up and go down: you will go up with Isis and rise up with the
Dayboat.

You have developed you have gone high, you have become effective, it
has become cool for you, inside your father’s arms, inside Atum’s
arms.

⁵⁴Aldred, “The Beginning of the El-‘Amārna Period,” 32-33. For depictions of the Year Twelve tribute at Amarna and Aldred’s interpretation, see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, Part II.- The Tombs of Panehesy & Meryre II* (London: Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1905); N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, Part III.- The Tombs of Huya & Ahmes* (London: Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1905); and Cyril Aldred, “Year Twelve at El-‘Amārna,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 43 (December 1957).

⁵⁵W. Raymond Johnson, “Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O’Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 87.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

Atum, elevate him to you, encircle him inside your arms: he is your son of your body, forever.⁵⁷

While this specific text does indeed connect the king with the solar deity, it specifically pertains to the king after his death. Moreover, the association of Amenhotep III with the Aten as the primary solar deity would, by default, associate Amenhotep IV and his wife Nefertiti with the twin consorts Shu and Tefnut, respectively.⁵⁸ However, it is not necessary for Amenhotep III to be alive in order to be associated with the Aten in the manner defined by Johnson, and a lack of historical evidence definitively linking the two kings does not support his argument. Additionally, this created image of a son promoting a god manifest as his father contains several traces of Freudian thought that may be more a consequence of the era in which the hypothesis of a coregency was first proposed and less of a reflection of historical reality.

While both historically and stylistically ideal, the extended co-regency hypothesis advanced by Fairman and supported by Aldred, Johnson and Claude Vandersleyen, has inherent flaws in its deficiency of concrete historical evidence. Early dissenting arguments have been advanced by Alexander Scharff and Wolfgang Helck, but one of the most in-depth refutations of the coregency hypothesis was undertaken by Donald Redford, who extensively questioned the validity of seventeen items used as evidentiary support.⁵⁹ Moreover, the consistent hallmarks of coregencies still remain uncertain and many of the once accepted coregencies dating all the way back to the Twelfth Dynasty of

⁵⁷James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 40.

⁵⁸Erik Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 57.

⁵⁹Redford, *History and Chronology*, 146.

the Middle Kingdom remain under scrutiny.⁶⁰ While precedence for the coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV appears to have been established during the fifteen-year joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, as well as the joint regency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, these are the only concretely definable cases from the early Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶¹ However, in both cases the circumstances surrounding the implementation of joint rule are different from those between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. In the case of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the coregency arises as a result of usurpation on the part of Hatshepsut, whereas Amenhotep II appears to have functioned as a junior regent supporting the aging Thutmose III.⁶²

During the two periods of joint rule of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III and Thutmose III/Amenhotep II, abrupt alterations in style do not appear to have occurred in a manner similar to that found in the late reign of Amenhotep III and the early reign of Amenhotep IV. While it may be that the artistic style implemented following the first *sed*-festival of Amenhotep III influenced the Amarna style of Amenhotep IV, it is not automatically necessary to speculate that the two kings shared an extended period of joint rule.⁶³ Although a large collection of evidence has been advanced to support the coregency hypothesis of these two kings, it is circumstantial in nature, not supported by historical evidence, and has been explained as being purely commemorative rather than definitive

⁶⁰William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977), 263.

⁶¹Cathleen A. Keller, "The Joint Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III," in *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine H. Roehrig (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 96; and Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 51.

⁶²Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 240.

⁶³Romano, "A Second Look," 53.

proof of an extended period of joint rule.⁶⁴ Therefore, the following analysis of the two periods will work under the assumption that no coregency existed, or if it did, its duration was not long enough to have any significant impact.

The Reign of Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten

Following the death of Amenhotep III and the accession of his eldest living son Amenhotep IV, the artistic style of Egyptian sculpture and relief experiences a second, more dramatic change that builds off of its preceding styles and the evolving religious climate of the time. Initially, the art produced during the reign of Amenhotep IV continued the precedent set forth by his father, Amenhotep III. Many of the projects that had been begun by his father continued to be constructed implementing the traditional Egyptian style, as seen in several recycled blocks used by Horemheb as fill for the Tenth Pylon at Karnak.⁶⁵ As previously mentioned, this continuation in style is expected as it is a usual occurrence that the early artistic production of a king's reign conforms with that of their predecessor. The continuation of the late Amenhotep III style is clearly evident in a sandstone block from the Tenth Pylon at Karnak, now in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin and originally part of a temple dedicated to Re-Horakhty (Figure 26).⁶⁶ This block, comprising only a small portion of a larger scene, depicts the head and shoulders of Re-Horakhty and Amenhotep IV in opposition, facing outwards. Re-Horakhty is shown in

⁶⁴Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 231; and Redford, *History and Chronology*, 231-233.

⁶⁵Donald B. Redford, "The Beginning of the Heresy," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 53.

⁶⁶Dietrich Wildung, "20. Amenhotep IV and Re-Horakhty," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 207.

his falcon-headed composite form, crowned by a large solar disk containing a uraeus. Written above the image of the solar disk is the early didactic name of the Aten prior to its enclosure within a cartouche, associating the two deities.⁶⁷ Amenhotep IV appears wearing a blue crown and standing under an early form of the Aten disk containing pendant cobras and suspended *ankh*-symbols, practically unidentifiable from the later representations of Amenhotep III.

This traditional style is further evident in the tomb of Kheruef (TT192) in Thebes, in which representations of both kings can be found. As with the depiction of Amenhotep IV on the Re-Horakhty block, the features of the king are almost identical to those of Amenhotep III, an example of which can be seen in a scene depicting the king seated upon a throne (Figure 27).⁶⁸ On a lintel over the entrance to the tomb, Amenhotep IV can be observed making offerings of wine and incense to the gods Re-Horakhty and Atum, who are accompanied by Maat and Hathor respectively (Figure 28).⁶⁹ In this scene the facial features of Amenhotep IV mirror those of his father, a fleshy face and neck containing large eyes, set upon a youthful, athletic body. Though the stylistic characteristics of the Amarna Period are not yet evident, several interesting features included within this scene and the Re-Horakhty block appear to foreshadow the impending religious changes that will define his reign.

In the Re-Horakhty block, the grouping of the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty with the didactic name of the Aten, “Re lives, Horakhty, who rejoices in the Horizon in his

⁶⁷Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1973), 50.

⁶⁸The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, plate 48.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, plate 9.

name: ‘Shu who is Aten,’” appears to suggest a close association and future amalgamation of the figures, particularly the Aten as the physical manifestation of Shu and Re-Horakhty.⁷⁰ Additionally the sun disk above the head of Amenhotep IV, flanked by cobras and pendant *ankh*-symbols, is soon transformed into the iconic Amarna Period image of the Aten, whose rays of light terminating in human hands hold these signs to the face of the king in order to signify the breath of life.⁷¹

Preludes to the Amarna period can also be found in the abovementioned door lintel of the Tomb of Kheruef. As discussed, Amenhotep IV is shown making offerings to the gods Re-Horakhty and Atum. Further in the tomb, an acrostic hymn invoking both Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty equates their theological identities with the physical manifestation of the solar disk.⁷² As discussed by Murnane, the absence of Amun may possibly be one of the first attempts by Amenhotep IV to replace the god with the Aten as the “‘one’ who contained the ‘many’”.⁷³ Furthermore, the choice of Atum may be of importance not only due to the close equivalence of Atum and the Aten, but also the influence of the Heliopolitan 1:2 triad structure comprising of Atum: Shu/Tefnut on the Amarna Period’s Aten: Akhenaten/Nefertiti triad.⁷⁴ However, it may simply be that the

⁷⁰ Gunn, “Notes on the Aten,” 174, 176.

⁷¹Dietrich Wildung, “20. Amenhotep IV and Re-Horakhty,” in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D’Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 207.

⁷²William J. Murnane, “Observations on Pre-Amarna Theology during the Earliest Reign of Amenhotep IV,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1999), 311.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion*, 80.

figures of Re-Horakhty and Atum are shown to suggest their connections with the solar cycle.

While the initial reign of Amenhotep IV conformed to the artistic traditions of his father, this continuation was short-lived. During his second regnal year, the king began another series of projects within the city of Thebes in which a dramatic, new style can be seen.⁷⁵ Evidence of this immediate change is well documented in stylistically contrasting scenes on the western wall of the non-royal Theban tomb of Ramose (TT55), vizier to both Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV. Early decoration of the southern portion of the west wall tomb depicts a seated Amenhotep IV executed in the late style of Amenhotep III and early style of Amenhotep IV (Figure 29).⁷⁶ Here he wears the blue crown, a *shebyu*-necklace, arm bands, and a bull's tail while holding a crook and flail in his hands. Behind him sits the goddess Maat. Contrasting this scene on the northern portion of the same wall is a later scene whose remarkably different style is characteristic of the Amarna period. Here Amenhotep IV is depicted with his wife Nefertiti under the image of the Aten (Figure 30). Both Akhenaten and Nefertiti are shown wearing the same diaphanous robe as seen on the headless statuette of Amenhotep III.⁷⁷

The newly implemented style of Amenhotep IV in Thebes is exemplified by the relief and colossal statues decorating the now dismantled *Gm-p3-itn* in Karnak, where the canonical form of the king's features are replaced with an elongated face, dominated by

⁷⁵Redford, "The Beginning of the Heresy," 53.

⁷⁶N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), plate 24.

⁷⁷Davis, *The Tomb of the Vizier*, plate 33.

large, yet thin, eyes, high-set ears, thick lips, and a bulbous chin.⁷⁸ The head sits atop a body with a thin neck, attenuated musculature in the arms and legs, and a high-pinched waist, contrasted with a pendulous stomach featuring a lunate navel and enlarged thighs. In the most complete of all the colossi, located in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Amenhotep IV is shown in a standing Osiride form, wearing the *khat* and double crown, a kilt whose apron is flanked by two cobras with sun disks in a manner similar to the late representations of Amenhotep III, and holding a crook and flail across his chest (Figure 31).⁷⁹ Cartouches containing the didactic name of the Aten adorn the body of the king, whose names and titles are listed on his belt.⁸⁰ A second, almost completely preserved colossus depicts the king in a similar fashion, wearing only a double crown (Figure 32).⁸¹ The most striking feature of this colossal figure is the absence of not only a kilt but also genitalia. Broken away at the knee, it is possible that this figure is wearing tight-fitting clothing, whose hemline would have been depicted on the now-missing lower legs. Due to the variation in royal regalia amongst the many colossi found within the *Gm-p3-itn*, the identities of these colossi have been debated.⁸² While some of the figures wear the four-feathered crown of Shu, with whom Amenhotep IV often identified himself, there are

⁷⁸Edna Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 113.

⁷⁹Rita E. Freed, "Introduction," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 20; and Lisa Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak* (Cairo: American University Cairo Press, 2010), 23-27.

⁸⁰Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 25-26.

⁸¹Freed, "Introduction," 21; and Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 54-57.

⁸²For a catalogue of the colossi and discussions on their meaning, see Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*.

five identified variations of crowns.⁸³ Therefore, one possibility is that these figures originally represented not only Amenhotep IV, but also the Amarna triad of the Aten, Shu (Akhenaten), and Tefnut (Nefertiti).⁸⁴

Around year five of his reign, coinciding with the implementation of a new religious program based around the solar-disk Aten, Amenhotep IV changed his name to Akhenaten and proceeded to relocate the Egyptian capital to the newly constructed city of Akhetaten (modern Amarna) roughly 400 km. (250 mi.) north of Thebes.⁸⁵ Here the Amarna style continued to flourish, though as time passed, it became less exaggerated and changed again in the later years of Akhenaten's reign, possibly attributable to the replacement of the sculptor Bak with an artist named Thutmose.⁸⁶

During the Amarna period, the grid system implemented as a guide in the representation of human figures seems to have been expanded from 18 vertical squares to 20.⁸⁷ As a result, these extra squares were added in the area of the legs and torso. The proportions of the lower body remained the same, but an extra grid square was added in both the torso and neck.⁸⁸ Though this alteration was relatively minor, aesthetically the figure looks remarkably different. Aside from the differentiation in style, making the

⁸³Mohammad Hasan Abd-ur-Rahman, "The Four-Feathered Crown of Akhenaten" *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 56 (1959): 247-248.

⁸⁴Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 93-96.

⁸⁵Nicholas Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 2001), 103.

⁸⁶Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 61; and Rita E. Freed, "Art in the Service of Religion and the State," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 128.

⁸⁷Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 132.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

width of shoulders, arms, and small of the back more narrow and buttocks wider, the legs also appear shorter due to the knee length being 1/3 the height of the throat instead of the hairline.⁸⁹

While it is undeniable that this sudden alteration in style does lead to the production of images notably different from the traditional style, a question has arisen pertaining to whether its catalyst was a revolutionary progressive change or rather a conservative, reactionary effort to preserve the core principles of the sun cult.⁹⁰

Antecedents of the Amarna style and mode of thought can be found in the New Kingdom in inscriptions and art from the reign of Thutmose IV, interestingly emerging around the time of the first references to the Aten as a divinity.⁹¹ Furthermore, it is highly possible that Amenhotep IV could have used earlier models from relief and sculpture in a manner similar to that of Amenhotep III in preparation for his first *sed*-festival, though no definitive examples are currently known. However, it has recently been proposed by Arielle Kozloff that the colossi of Akhenaten at Karnak appear to be usurpations of his father's colossal statues and that the elongated features of the king result from their recarving.⁹² In addition to the advancements in art, aspects of which continued to be employed following the Amarna years, innovation in religion and administration also

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰W. Raymond Johnson, "The Setting: History, Religion, and Art," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 47.

⁹¹Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 97.

⁹²Arielle Kozloff, "Amenhotep IV's Gem-Pa-Aten Colossi Unmasked as Usurpations," abstract, (paper presented at the annual meeting of The 59th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Seattle, WA, April 25, 2008), http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p237526_index.html (accessed March 19, 2012).

occurred.⁹³ When these advancements are viewed in conjunction with one another it becomes clear that while not revolutionizing the totality of Egyptian culture, the Amarna period innovations are less of a reactionary consequence and more of a systematic revolution limited to select cultural institutions.

⁹³Erik Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt: An Introduction* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1999), 98.

CHAPTER IV
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LATER OLD KINGDOM AND LATE
EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY STYLE TYPES

As discussed in the preceding chapters, artistic production during the later Old Kingdom and the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV witnessed a series of deliberate stylistic manipulations concerning the rendering of the human form. Parallels between the later Old Kingdom and late Eighteenth Dynasty styles and their contexts have been remarked upon, though comparisons and explanations for these similarities have not been advanced.¹ In both instances it appears that the rise of these new styles is most likely catalyzed by evolving religious pressures and not a result of social upheaval or foreign influence. Though the overall context surrounding each change is not identical, some similarities do exist.

Emerging during the reign of Unas, the final king of the Fifth Dynasty and completely solidified as a distinctive style during the Sixth Dynasty, the later Old Kingdom style emphasized the youthful aspect of several physical characteristics in both sculpture and two-dimensional relief. In sculpture, large ovate eyes with pronounced inner canthi dominate the face which tapers toward the chin, visually crowding the emphasized mouth.² The lips are enlarged, terminating abruptly at the labial commissure therefore leaving the corners open, there is an apparent nasolabial fold, and the ears are often placed high upon the head. The head itself is often disproportionately large in relation to the body whose musculature is attenuated, with negative space between these

¹Karol Myśliwiec, "A Contribution to the Second Style in Old Kingdom Art," in *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, ed. Sue D'Auria (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 173.

²Edna R. Russmann, "A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 51 (1995): 270.

features eliminated. Lastly, the fingers and toes are elongated. Concerning relief, the same holds true aside from the following exceptions: the face does not exhibit a tapered jaw or a broadened nostril and the waist is not pinched due to the two-dimensional nature of relief depicting these features in profile, the mouth is not enlarged and a drill hole is evident at the labial commissure that replicates the visual illusion found in sculpture, the head is not shown proportionately large in relation to the body, and the depiction of musculature is confined to the navel and legs.

Historically, the Old Kingdom saw the elevation of the god Re during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties to national importance, eventually syncretizing with other solar deities, including Atum and Horus. As a result of the emerging influence of Re, many of the Fifth Dynasty kings initiated the construction of solar temples. Of the six solar temples mentioned in contemporary sources from the Fifth Dynasty, only two have yet been rediscovered, that of Userkaf and Niuserre.³ Based upon these two examples, it appears that the solar temples of the Fifth Dynasty were probably located within relatively close proximity to the royal pyramid complexes, and mimicked the plan of the royal funerary monuments and contained a large open air court featuring an obelisk and altar as its focal point (Figure 33).⁴ The purpose of these structures was not only to emphasize the life-providing role of the solar deity, but also to stress the king's association with the god during the celebration of his *sed*-festival and during the

³Miroslav Verner, *Abusir: Realm of Osiris* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 82.

⁴Jaromir Malek, *Egyptian Art* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1999), 117; and Dorothea Arnold, "120. Late Summer in the Nile Valley," in *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 357.

afterlife.⁵ Additionally, scenes within the temple of Niuserre depict a variety of animal and plant life, emphasizing the fertility of the land provided by the life-giving sun.⁶

However, during the Old Kingdom, it was not only Re who rose to national religious importance. At the end of the Fifth Dynasty, by the reign of Unas, an agricultural god from the Eastern delta had also become associated with the king. Originally a chthonic deity, Osiris appears to have become associated with the deceased king by the reign of Unas, so much so that texts within his tomb invoke the deceased, deified king as Osiris Unas.⁷ The association of the king, living and deceased, with Osiris and the solar deities, as will be discussed, appears to be manifested visually in the youthful and rejuvenated characteristics of the later Old Kingdom style. Mainly, in this case, the childlike features of the king appear to convey the daily rejuvenation of the solar god, functioning as the visible manifestation of the solar cycle. Meanwhile, the imagery of fecundity and the implementation of this artistic style within a mortuary setting link the deceased with Osiris and his eternal revivification in the afterlife.

The proposal of a religious motivation behind the development of the later Old Kingdom style is further evident in its influence on the artistic style following the reunification of the Egyptian state during the Middle and New Kingdoms. The final large scale monument built during the Old Kingdom appears to be the Pyramid complex of

⁵Jaromir Malek, "The Old Kingdom," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 109.

⁶Malek, *Egyptian Art*, 118.

⁷Malek, "The Old Kingdom," 113.

Pepi II at Saqqara.⁸ However, its architectural and artistic influence is evident on successive reigns throughout the Middle and early New Kingdoms, such as the influence of the statuary of Pepi II on a head of Mentuhotep II from his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri during the Eleventh Dynasty (Figure 34) or the architectural influence of Pepi II's Pyramid complex on the mortuary temple of Senwosret I at Lisht during the Twelfth.⁹ Additionally, during the early New Kingdom the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri and Amenhotep II at Karnak might even have used the reliefs located within the pyramid complex of Pepi II as inspiration.¹⁰

From the Late Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom, the style implemented in both royal sculpture in the round and two-dimensional relief during major periods continued relatively unchanged, that is without sufficient alterations not attributable to social or political upheaval or foreign influence. However, by the late Eighteenth Dynasty this pattern of canonical continuity is disrupted. While the early reign of Amenhotep III saw a continuance of the Thutmoseid style characteristic of the preceding Eighteenth Dynasty kings, upon the celebration of his initial *sed*-festival during year 30 of his reign the canonical Egyptian artistic style once again experienced deliberate alterations influenced by the reemergence of the solar cult. As discussed in Chapter 3, these religious changes, emphasizing the solar aspects of various deities, culminating with the celebration of Amenhotep III's 30th-year *sed*-festival are manifested artistically in the

⁸Cyril Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1971): 29.

⁹Dieter Arnold, *The Temple of Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahari* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), plate 24-25; and Dieter Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 56-57

¹⁰Gustave Jéquier, *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, Vol. 2 (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1938), 26-27; and Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits," 29.

youthful style that emerges at the same time. Attributing almost child-like qualities to the king's appearance, the later style of Amenhotep III is characterized by changes not only to the king's specific facial features but also to his costume. Similar to the facial characteristics of the later Old Kingdom models, the face of Amenhotep III appears full and round, dominated by a pair of large eyes and lips. This is then contrasted by ears and chin of natural proportions and a smaller nose. Unlike figures of the later Old Kingdom style, the body is rotund, emphasizing the symbolic and perhaps realistic fecundity of the king. Regarding costume, various forms of solar iconography, including gold jewelry, *shebyu*-necklaces and uraei, and a kilt with apron containing images of the sun disk, begin to adorn the king.¹¹ Architecturally, the construction of solar temples reminiscent of Fifth Dynasty models also begins to reappear. This connection with the later Old Kingdom appears to be more than coincidental and may suggest that the similarity in style may also be based on similar religious beliefs.

During the late Eighteenth Dynasty (prior to the Amarna Period), there was a resurgence in the importance of the sun, in the form of the Aten. Earlier Eighteenth Dynasty kings made clear their direct relationship to the god Amun, sometimes through the adoption of the god's name in their prenomen, but also through the mythic depiction of their divine birth. From year 30 of his reign until his death approximately seven years later, Amenhotep III is believed to have ruled not only as the image of the sun god but also deified in the form of various deities similar to the manner of Mentuhotep II.¹² In

¹¹Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 135.

¹²W. Raymond Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 90.

addition to his connection with the solar deities, Amenhotep III also identified himself indirectly with Osiris.¹³ It has been argued that in preparation for his first of three *sed*-festivals Amenhotep III intentionally drew inspiration from the monuments of his predecessor kings from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, a phenomenon known as “archaizing”.¹⁴ One such example of such antiquarian inquiry is the king’s unfinished solar temple at Kom el-Abd, which appears to have been an Old Kingdom-style solar temple similar to that of Niuserre’s temple at Abu Ghurob.¹⁵ If this holds true, it appears that Amenhotep III intentionally altered the artistic style of his later reign in an attempt to closely connect himself with the later Old Kingdom tradition and its religious motivations.

Further support for the influence of the later Old Kingdom style on the art of the late reign of Amenhotep III can be found in a collection of five private statuettes from Kom Medinet Ghurob. Two of these statuettes, the singer Mi (Figure 35) and the young girl Nebetya (Figure 36), appear to exhibit many of the qualities of the later Old Kingdom style and are dated to the late reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁶ Like the royal statuary of Amenhotep III produced during this same period, the eyes of these two figures are

¹³Betsy M. Bryan, “Royal Statuary,” in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 133.

¹⁴Lawrence M. Berman, “Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O’Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 17.

¹⁵W. Raymond Johnson, “Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions,” in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1987), 45.

¹⁶Betsy M. Bryan, “Private Statuary,” in *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 258.

enlarged and ovate. The nose and lips are small, but the lips are accentuated, if not crowded, by the tapered chin. While the figure of Mi is shown wearing a wig that extends slightly below the shoulder, Nebetya is depicted nude, wearing the sidelock of youth. More similar to the earlier style of Amenhotep IV than to that of Amenhotep III, however are the proportions of the body.¹⁷ Even still, the disproportionately large head of the figures contrasted with the thin bodies devoid of musculature are eerily reminiscent of the aforementioned statuettes of Pepi I and Pepi II from the Sixth Dynasty.

Following the death of Amenhotep III and the accession of his son Amenhotep IV, this new style continued for a brief period until deliberate, and more extreme alterations were made at the request of the new king. This new style, termed the Amarna style, directly coincided with a series of theological changes instigated by Amenhotep IV, who would soon change his name to Akhenaten. At the center of this new religious program was the solar deity, the Aten, who had been gradually elevating in prestige since the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Adapting the preexisting 2:1 triad structure of Atum, Shu, and Tefnut to fit his religious program, Akhenaten created a religious program in which he existed as the living image of the androgynous Aten with his wife Nefertiti. In this new Aten theology of Akhenaten interaction between deities ceases and there is an elimination of both the mythical past and the mythic realm of the deceased.¹⁸ Instead creation, as detailed in the *Great Hymn to the Aten*, exists solely as an actual, daily

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁸Jacobus Van Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East: Volume 3*, ed. Jack Sasson (London: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995), 1699.

phenomenon.¹⁹ Even these daily rites of solar rebirth conducted by Akhenaten, however, may have been instigated by the religious program of his father and may indeed have Old Kingdom roots.²⁰

Though the mythic realm of the deceased and its associated deities appears to be eliminated under the religious program of Akhenaten, it appears that many of the abstract concepts associated with gods such as Osiris were subsumed into the iconography of the Aten.²¹ Beginning in the second year of his reign, depictions of Amenhotep IV begin to exhibit new, more exaggerated features. The round face of the king is elongated, the large lentoid eyes become narrow, and the lips are enlarged contrasting with the thin lower face that ends in a bulbous chin. The head sits atop a thin neck and body with attenuated arms and legs in the manner seen in the Medinet Ghurob statuettes (Figure 35 and Figure 36). The waist is pinched high and the breast and stomach of the king are shown protruding and flaccid. Additionally, the navel of the king becomes lunate in shape, deviating from its smaller circular form, and his thighs appear wider. The clothing shown adorning the king also changes, with Amenhotep IV wearing skin-tight and fluid garments. Unlike that which is seen in the reliefs of the later Old Kingdom, it appears that the three-dimensional features of Amarna sculpture are translated equally into two-dimensional relief.

In all, it appears that this new artistic style is heavily influenced by the evolving religious context of the period. The sexually ambiguous form of the king, ripe with

¹⁹Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 96-100; and Van Djik, "Myth and Mythmaking," 1699.

²⁰Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes," 44.

²¹Jan Assman, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 217-218.

fecundity imagery, conveys the all-consuming nature of the Aten, whose solar rays provide continuous life and richness to the world it governs. Interestingly, the Aten exhibits not only the solar qualities of deities such as Re, Atum, and others as providers of life on a daily continuum, but in instances such as the colossi at Karnak it also adapts the pose and iconography of the deceased Osiris, possibly alluding to his role as the fertile provider of the Nile valley. Therefore, it should not be assumed that the Aten is a replacement for the other, more traditional deities of the Egyptian religious pantheon but rather an amalgamation of them assuming the role as the single, genderless primeval creator.

In each of the three cases discussed, it appears that a period of deliberate style change directly follows and is closely linked to a change within the Egyptian religious sphere. Additionally, as antecedents for the figural style of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten can be traced back to those implemented by his father, it too may hold true that Amenhotep III was influenced by the style of the later Old Kingdom in a way that the later Old Kingdom style may be referred to as the prototypical form in which the abstract concepts of rejuvenation and fecundity linked with Osiris and the solar god are artistically manifest. Similar in each instance is the treatment of the face and the body which composites anatomically neotenic features onto an adult form. Neoteny is the attainment of juvenile features beyond adolescence, and has several defining characteristics, many of which are displayed in the styles of the later Old Kingdom and later Eighteenth Dynasty.²² These features include: a pudgy face, large and closely set eyes, a large mouth that is crowded in the lower face, a small nose, and a disproportionately large head in

²²Ashley Montagu, *Growing Young* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981), 1.

relation to the body which contains little defined or undeveloped musculature.²³ Though not all of these features are simultaneously displayed within a single extant example, it appears that these features are used in conjunction with the more realistic features of the reigning king.

In the style of the later Old Kingdom, the most obvious of these characteristics is the depiction of the large ovoid eyes, disproportionately large head, thin arms and legs, and undeveloped musculature of the torso. In several of the discussed examples the face of the figure is shown with full cheeks. Though the face is not rounded, the effect caused by the tapering chin in contrast to the enlarged lips conveys the crowded appearance of the mouth described above. Assuming the dates assigned to the two Pepi II statuettes are correct, these features should be expected, since they depict the king as a child. However, the figure of Ankhnes-meryre II in the Brooklyn statuette (Figure 5) and the two figures of Pepi I (Figure 3 and Figure 4) also display these characteristics. Given the importance of both Re and Osiris during this period and their connection to the *sed*-festival and the rejuvenation of the king on a daily and eternal continuum, it appears that this style is implemented to convey this specific message.

Concerning the late style of Amenhotep III, similar characteristics are displayed. The king's face is shown full, with emphasis paid to the enlarged eyes and lips. The mouth does not appear crowded in the region of the lower face as seen in the later Old Kingdom style, but the nose is rendered disproportionately smaller than the other facial features. This can be seen in the statuette of the king as Neferhotep (Figure 17) and the Cairo head (Figure 21). Unlike the style of the later Old Kingdom, the body of

²³*Ibid.*, 23; and Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981), 333.

Amenhotep III is shown corpulent, with noticeable breasts and pronounced stomach. Here it appears that the fecundity of the elderly king is being conveyed, in contrast to the youthful features of the face. Moreover, in all instances discussed of this style type none of the figures exhibit the larger head in relation to the body aside from the Medinet Ghurob statuette group. However, as described, these specific statuettes contain proportions more closely related to that the Amarna period in which the head is also shown large.

Characteristics of the Amarna Style are the least similar to the previously defined style types, but neotenic features are still conveyed within the total form. The head, crafted slightly larger than its natural proportions, is elongated vertically, crowding the large eyes and lips of the king. Additionally, the musculature of the arms and legs is shown diminished. Features of neoteny are then contrasted with the accentuated hips and pronounced stomach of the king, as seen in the Karnak colossi, and emphasize Akhenaten's role as the fertile provider of Egypt and a symbol of its fecundity.

The inclusion of juvenile characteristics in the representation of adult forms is seen repeatedly throughout the sculpture and relief of the later Old Kingdom and late Eighteenth Dynasty. By doing so, Egyptian artists were allowed to convey a series of messages within a single image: the revivification of the self, a hallmark of the king's *sed*-festival, his direct connection to the solar deities of whom he was the living image, and his role as provider for the Egyptian state. Additionally, the combination of these childlike features with the more rotund bodily form of the king emphasized not only his role as provider of the fecundity of the Egyptian state but also his connection with the chthonic Osiris and a hope for eternal rejuvenation. The prototype for this means of

representation appears during the reign of Unas during the Fifth Dynasty and continued to evolve throughout the Sixth. These features were then reincorporated into the style of Amenhotep III during the Eighteenth Dynasty, drawing inspiration from antiquity in preparation for his first *sed*-festival. From here this style was adapted to fit the religious program of Akhenaten, in which the Aten assumed the role of the ultimate source of life and fertility within the Egyptian cosmos.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Alterations in the style of Egyptian art can be seen throughout its long history, and can be attributed to a number of factors. Of these many instances, three styles in particular, from the later Old Kingdom, the late reign of Amenhotep III, and the Amarna period, appear to be linked to changes within the religious sphere. Given the contexts from which they developed and their shared characteristics, it can be concluded that each style type is not only a visible manifestation of its contemporary religious circumstance but also that the neotenic features that they each predominantly portray convey the underlying hope for revivification both daily and eternally.

Characteristic of the later Old Kingdom style, or the “Second Style” according to Russmann, youthful features such as large eyes, a large yet crowded mouth, a pudgy face, attenuated musculature, and elongated hands and feet can be seen in both the sculpture and relief of the Sixth Dynasty kings Pepi I and Pepi II. Traces of the style are evident as early as the reign of Unas in the late Fifth Dynasty, and appear to emerge following the emergence of two deities, Re and Osiris, to the national level. Linked with the rejuvenation of the king in the *Pyramid Texts* and the celebration of the king’s *sed*-festival, it appears that the characteristic features of this style are implemented in order to reiterate the king’s role as the sun god in the daily renewal of the world and his eternal revival as Osiris in the afterlife. Following this, the style spread to the statuary of his officials where it began to be implemented within a non-royal context.

During the New Kingdom two instances of deliberate style manipulation occur, with the first arising during year 30 of the reign of Amenhotep III, in concurrence with

the celebration of the king's *sed*-festival. In this instance, the mature and athletic image of the king is replaced with one emphasizing both his symbolic youth and his fecundity. Many characteristics are comparable to the late Old Kingdom style, to the extent that it has been proposed that it directly served as the inspiration for the late style of Amenhotep III. The next alteration in style occurred shortly after, during the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, in which the royal features became exaggerated, elongated, and androgynous. Likewise, it is possible that this style was influenced by its predecessor. Both the late Amenhotep III and Amarna styles appear following the emergence of a new solar cult in the early Eighteenth Dynasty which emphasizes the role of the king as the solar deity in his continual preservation of the Egyptian cosmos.

When comparatively analyzed it appears that these three styles share many of the same features and underlying religious messages. Human figures in each exhibit neotenus features, emphasizing the revived infantile or juvenile nature of the reigning king. This appearance is directly connected to the ideal of the king as the earthly manifestation of the gods and conveys their role in the religious sphere as the protector of Egypt who ensures the constant renewal of the world and provider of plenty. Furthermore, as the first known occurrence of a deliberate style change, the later Old Kingdom style appears to be the prototypical form in which the king is represented in a rejuvenated form. Features of this style continue into the Middle Kingdom and influence the art of the early New Kingdom. Following the reemphasis on the solar aspects of Egyptian theology in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, an altered form of this prototype is implemented by Amenhotep III using Old Kingdom models which is then adapted by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten to symbolically convey the ideals of his religious program.

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APPENDIX

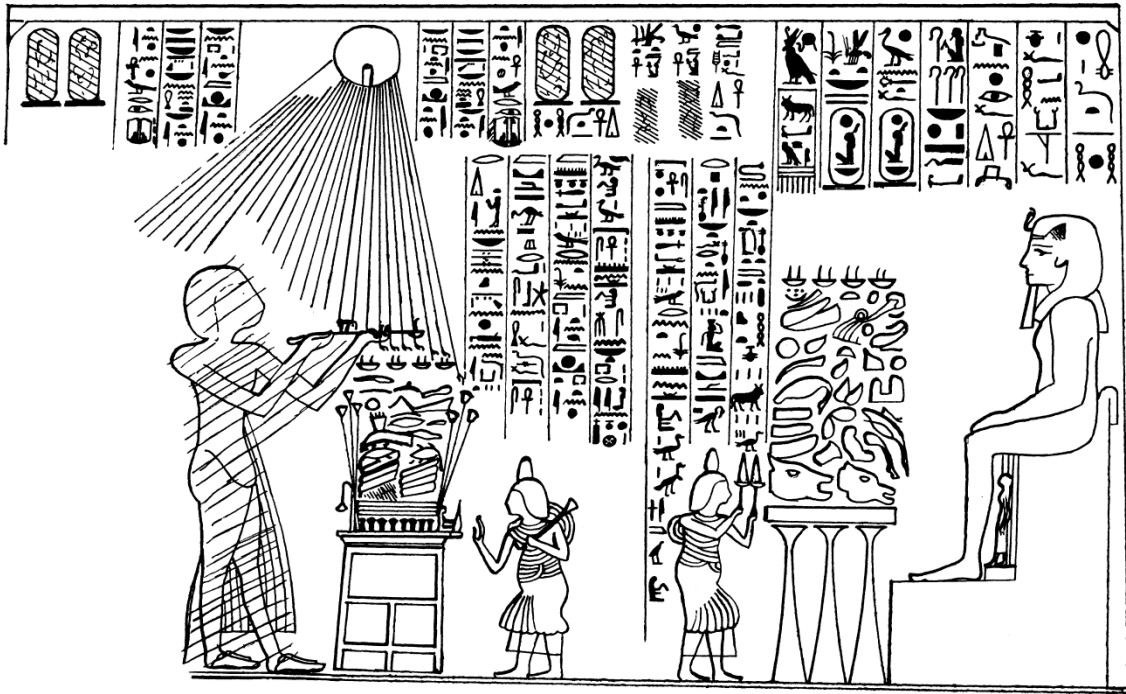


Figure 1. Graffito of Bak and Men at Aswan
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Aswan
Currently *in situ*
From H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*
(New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968).

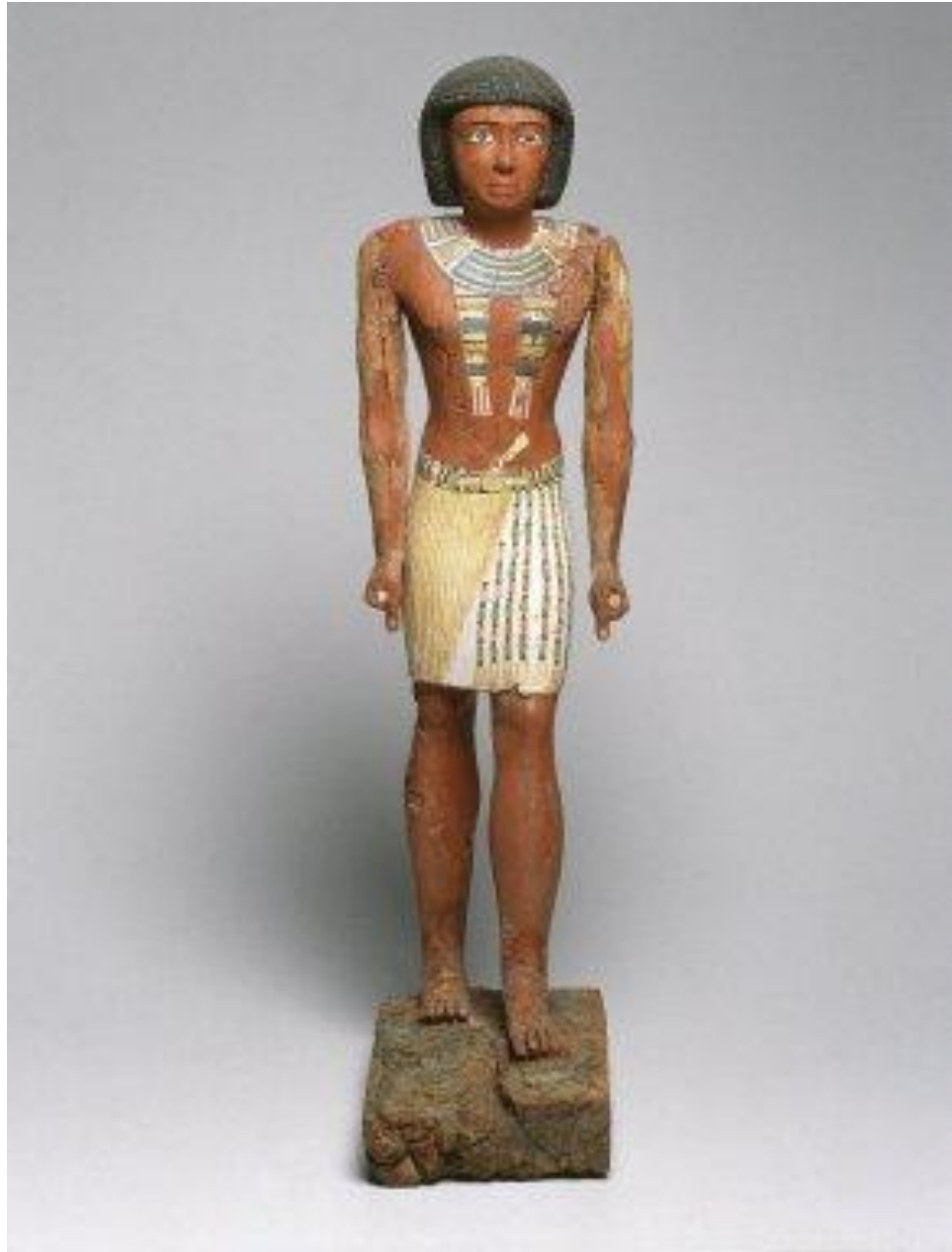


Figure 2. Statuette of Metjetjy
Old Kingdom, Late Fifth Dynasty
Possibly from Saqqara
Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (53.222)
http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3593/Statue_of_Metjetji/set/22197d4f9c8923ebdf599dea007b44e0?referring-q=53.222 (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 3. Kneeling Statuette of Pepi I
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (39.121)
[http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3448/
Kneeling_Statuette_of_Pepy_I/set/38f8329a3eb8ab91e37a1d4
277415e85?referring-q=39.121](http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3448/Kneeling_Statuette_of_Pepy_I/set/38f8329a3eb8ab91e37a1d4277415e85?referring-q=39.121) (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 4. Seated Statuette of Pepi I with Horus Falcon
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (39.120)
http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3447/Seated_Statuette_of_Pepy_I_with_Horus_Falcon/set/f3123d0db9b7bf5bd1b42a04dc6821dd?referring-q=39.120 (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 5. Statuette of Queen Ankhnes-meryre II and her Son, Pepi II
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (39.119)
[http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3446/
Statuette_of_Queen_Ankhnes-meryre_II_and_her_Son_Pepi_II/
set/59a248bfacd870f6f4d664a6625ef3fb?referring-q=39.119](http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3446/Statuette_of_Queen_Ankhnes-meryre_II_and_her_Son_Pepi_II/set/59a248bfacd870f6f4d664a6625ef3fb?referring-q=39.119)
(accessed March 21, 2012).

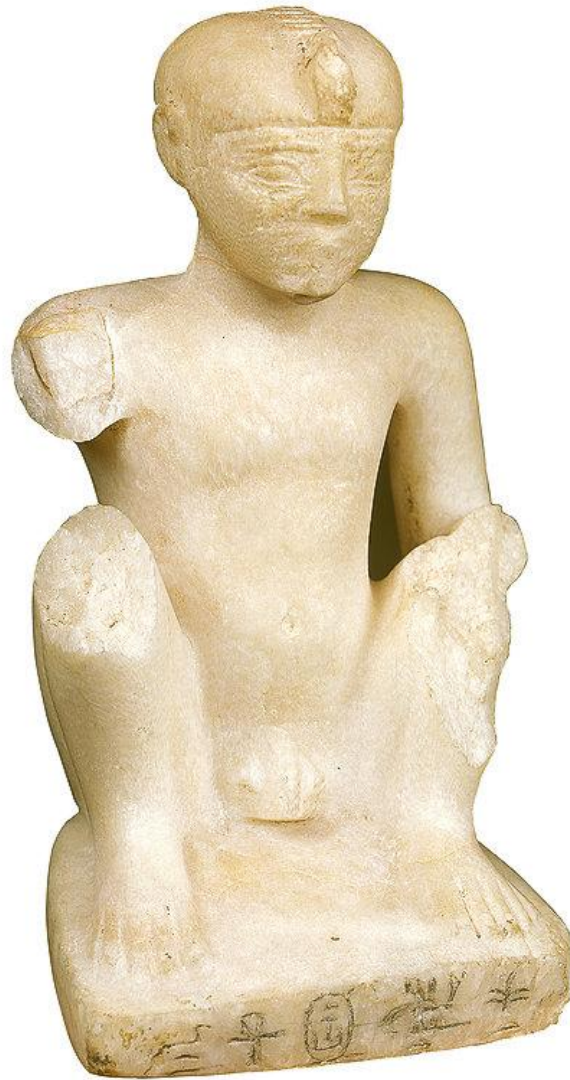


Figure 6. Squatting Statuette of Pepi II
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
Saqqara
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 50616)
<http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=15151>
(accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 7. Striding Figure of Meryrahashtef
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Sedment
British Museum, London (EA 55722)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=119623&partid=1&searchText=55722&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1 (accessed March 21, 2012).

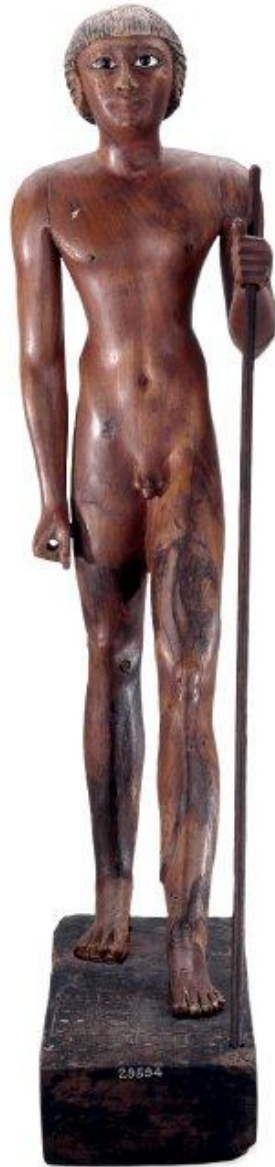


Figure 8. Nude Figure of the Seal Bearer Tjetji
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
Probably from Akhmim
British Museum, London (EA 29594)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=125469&partid=1&searchText=29594&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1 (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 9. Statuette of Tjetji
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Saqqara
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (26.2.8)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000076> (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 10. Relief from Tomb of Nekhebu
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Giza, Tomb of Nekhebu (G 2381)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (13.4348)
[http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-from-tomb-of-
nekhebu-left-jamb-of-nekhebu-standing-and-facade-of-ceremonial-
dance-467873](http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-from-tomb-of-
nekhebu-left-jamb-of-nekhebu-standing-and-facade-of-ceremonial-
dance-467873) (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 11. Relief from the Tomb of Qar
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Giza, Tomb of Qar (G 1701)
Currently *in situ*
From William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G1701 and 1702* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976), plate 23.

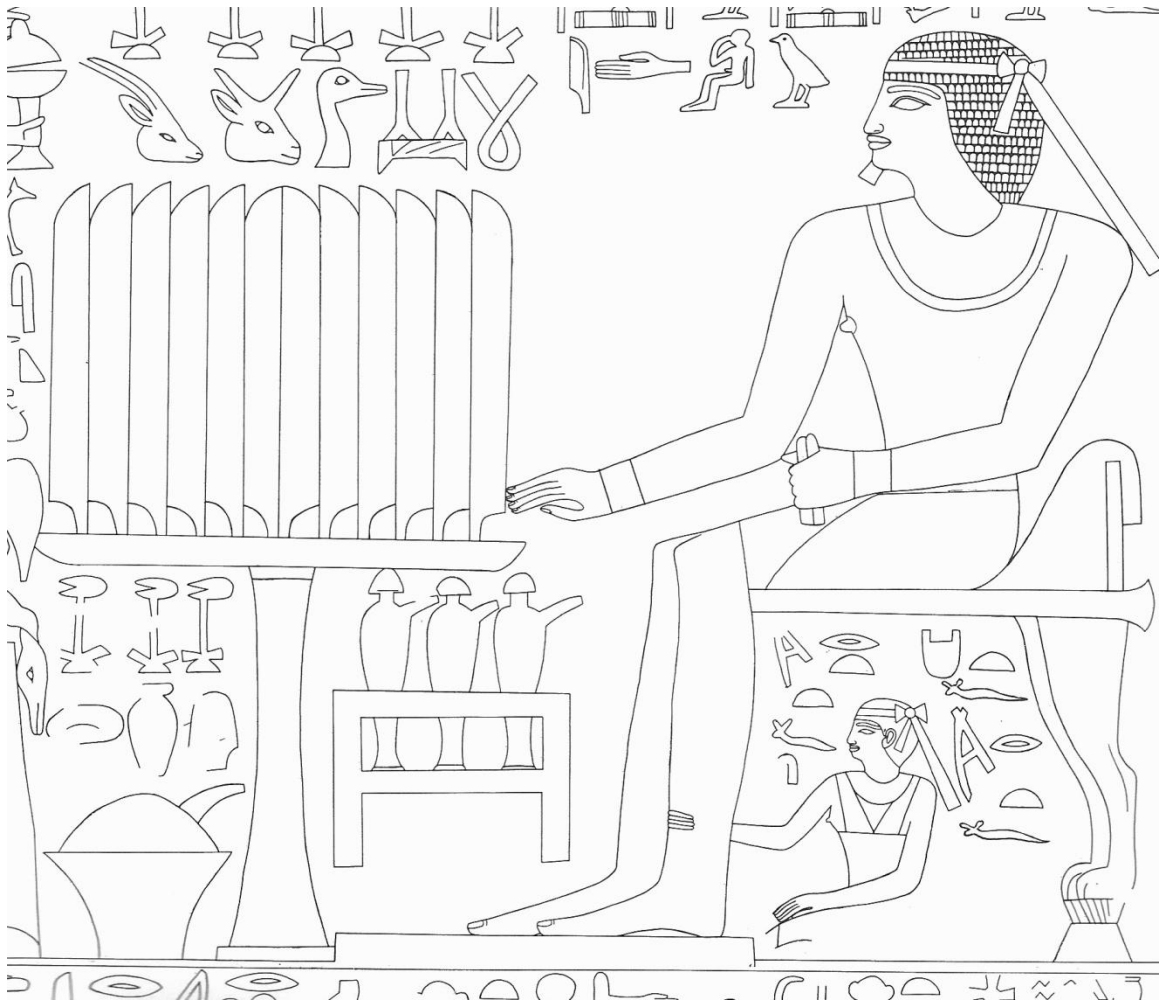


Figure 12. Relief from the Tomb of Idu
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Giza, Tomb of Idu (G1702)
Currently *in situ*
From William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu.*
G1701 and 1702 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976),
plate 39.

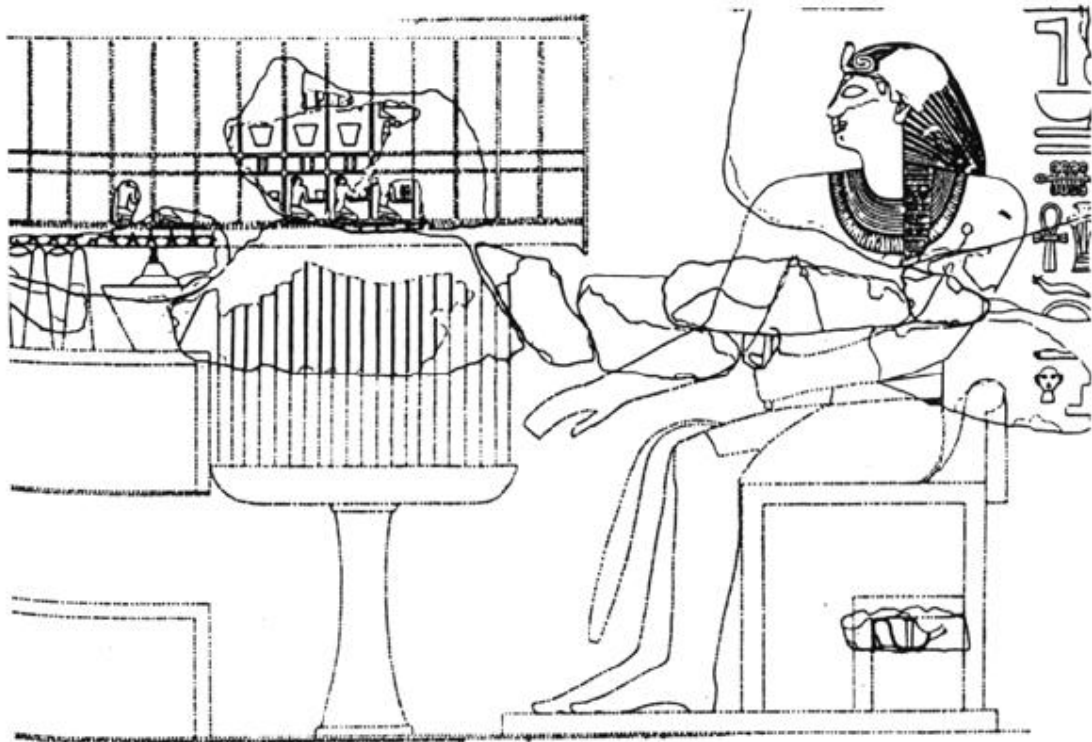


Figure 13. Scene from the Pyramid Temple of Pepi II
Old Kingdom, Sixth Dynasty
From Saqqara
Currently *in situ*
From Edward Brovarski, "A Second Style in Egyptian Relief of
the Old Kingdom," in *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to
Leonard H. Lesko*, ed. Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der
Manuelian (Providence: Brown University, 2008), 74.



Figure 14. Relief of Amenhotep III Offering to Amun-Ra-Kamutef
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Karnak, Montu Temple
Currently *in situ*
From W. Raymond Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art
under Amenhotep III," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His
Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The
University of Michigan Press, 1998), figure 3.18.



Figure 15. Relief of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Luxor
Currently *in situ*
From W. Raymond Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art
under Amenhotep III," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His
Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: The
University of Michigan Press, 1998), figure 3.19.



Figure 16. Colossal Seated Statue of Amenhotep III, Reinscribed by
Merneptah
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Luxor
Metropolitan Museum of Art (22.5.2)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000772> (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 17. Kneeling Statuette of Amenhotep III as the god Neferhotep
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
Possibly from Edfu
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1970.636)
<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/kneeling-amenhotep-iii-as-the-god-neferhotep-46185> (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 18. Fragment of a Predynastic Palette
Predynastic
Possibly Abydos
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 46148)
From H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles*
(New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968), plate 9.



Figure 19. Standing Statuette of Amenhotep III
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (30.8.74)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000769> (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 20. Standing Figure of Amenhotep III
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
British Museum, London (EA 2275)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=122703&partid=1&searchText=2275&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=7 (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 21. Head of a Statuette of Amenhotep III
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Karnak
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 38596)
<http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=14766>
(accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 22. Statuette of Amenhotep III
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
Provenance Unknown
Durham University Oriental Museum (N 496)
From Art World: Online Resources for Teaching and Learning in
World Art. "Statuette of Amenhotep III."
http://artworld.uea.ac.uk/artworld_catalogue/statuette-amenophis-iii (accessed March 21, 2012).

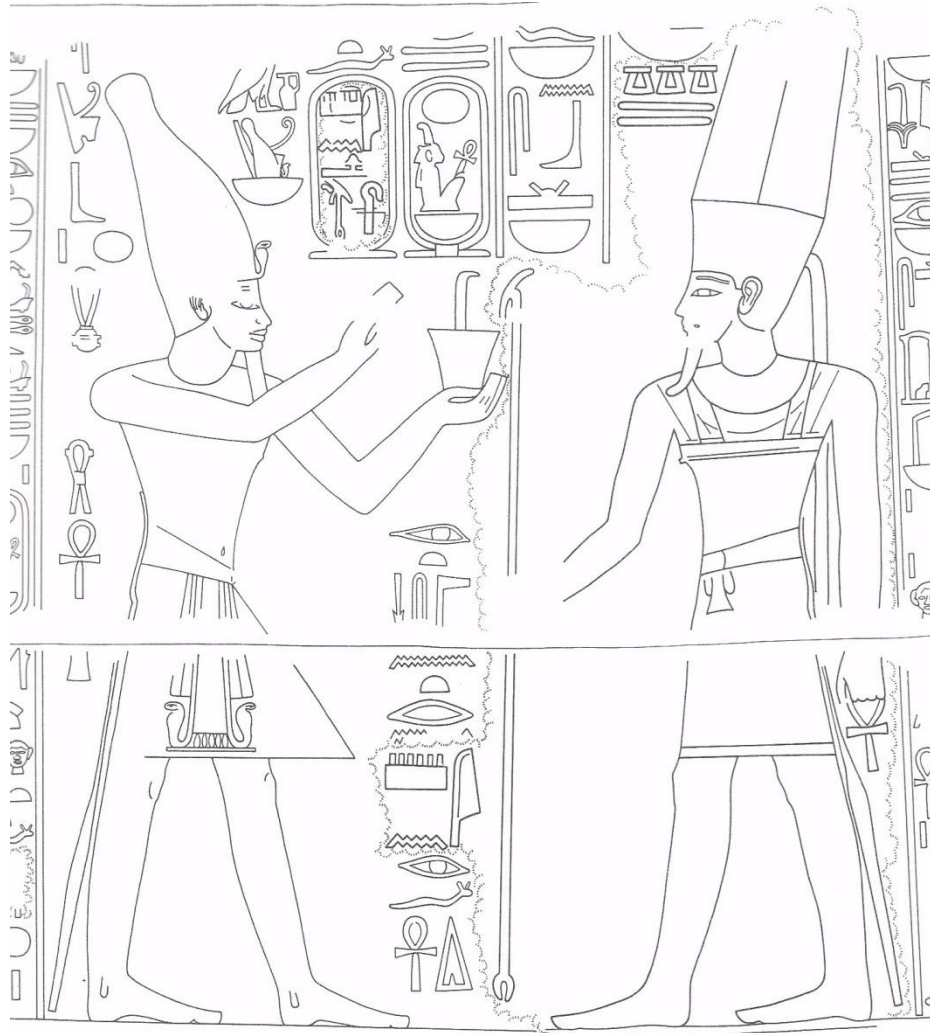


Figure 23. Relief of Amenhotep III from Soleb
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Soleb
Currently *in situ*
From Michela Schiff Giorgini, *Soleb V: Le Temple Bas-Reliefs et
Inscriptions* (Cairo: Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale,
1998), plate 257.



Figure 24. Relief of Amenhotep III from the Tomb of Kheruef
 New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
 From Thebes, Tomb of Kheruef (TT192)
 Currently *in situ*
 From The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980), plate 25.



Figure 25. Stela featuring Amenhotep III and Tiye
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Amarna
British Museum London (EA 57399)
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=109823&partid=1&searchText=57399&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1 (accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 26. Amenhotep IV and Re-Horakhty
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Karnak
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (2072)
From Wildung, Dietrich, "20. Amenhotep IV and Re-Horakhty," in
Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, ed.
Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H. D'Auria
(Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 207.

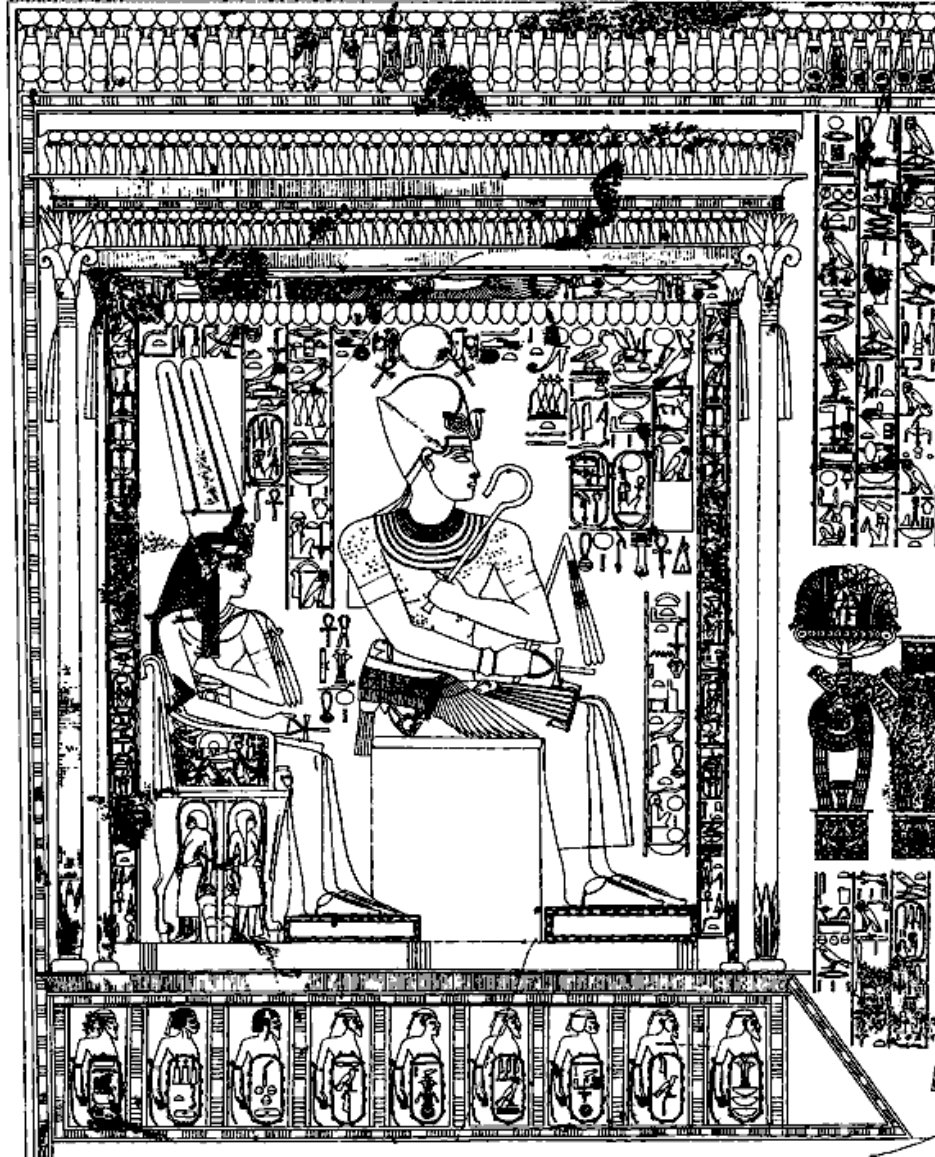


Figure 27. Relief of Amenhotep III from the Tomb of Kheruef
 New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
 From Thebes, Tomb of Kheruef (TT192)
 Currently *in situ*
 From The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb
 192* (Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of
 Chicago, 1980), plate 48.

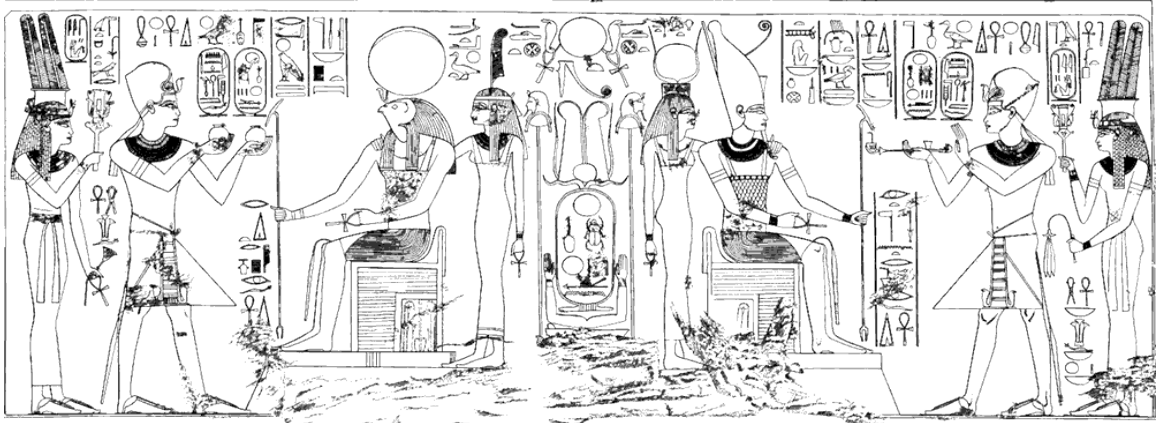


Figure 28. Door Lintel of the Tomb of Kheruef.
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Thebes, Tomb of Kheruef (TT192)
Currently *in situ*
From The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980), plate 9.

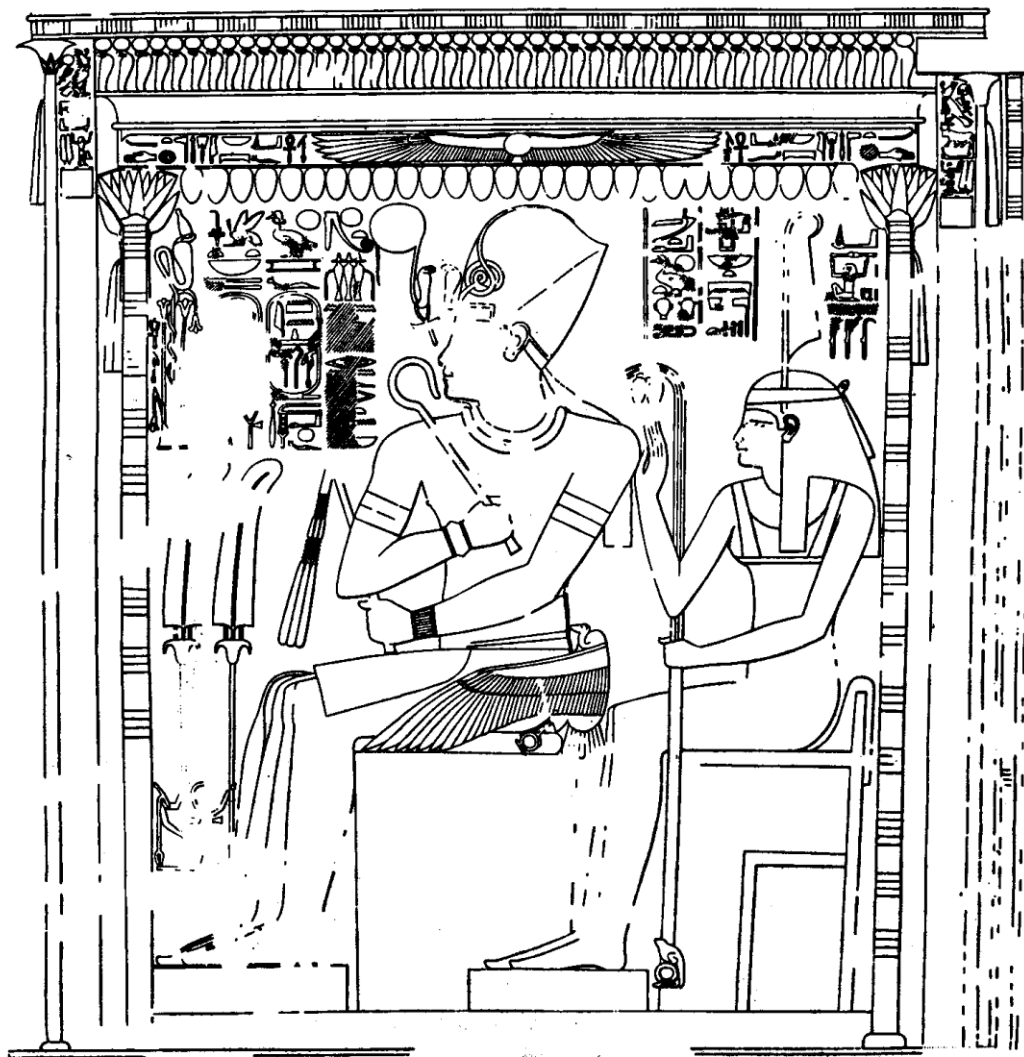


Figure 29. Relief of Amenhotep IV and Maat from the Tomb of Ramose
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Thebes, Tomb of Ramose (TT 55)
Currently *in situ*
From N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*
(London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), plate 24.

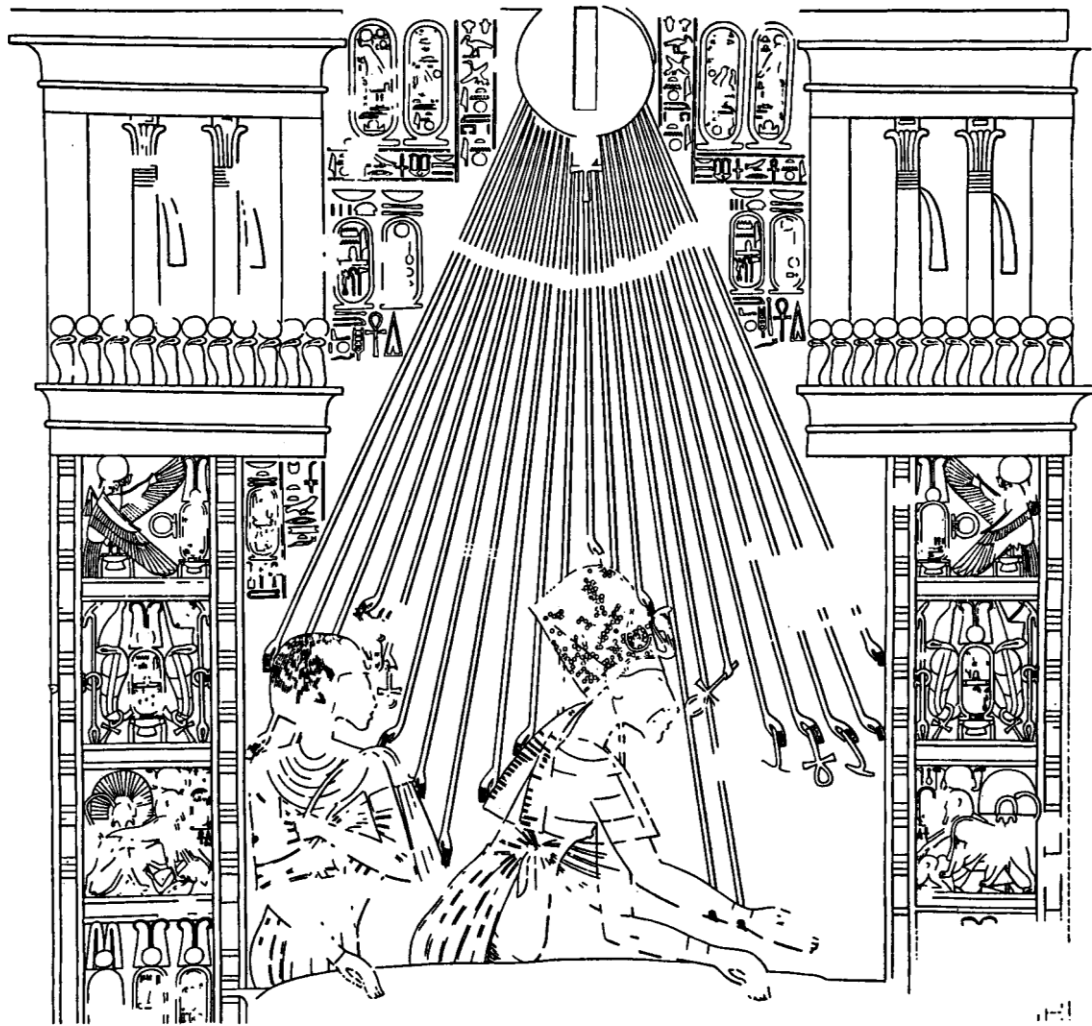


Figure 30. Relief of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in the Tomb of Ramose
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Thebes, Tomb of Ramose (TT 55)
Currently *in situ*
From N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*
(London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), plate 33.

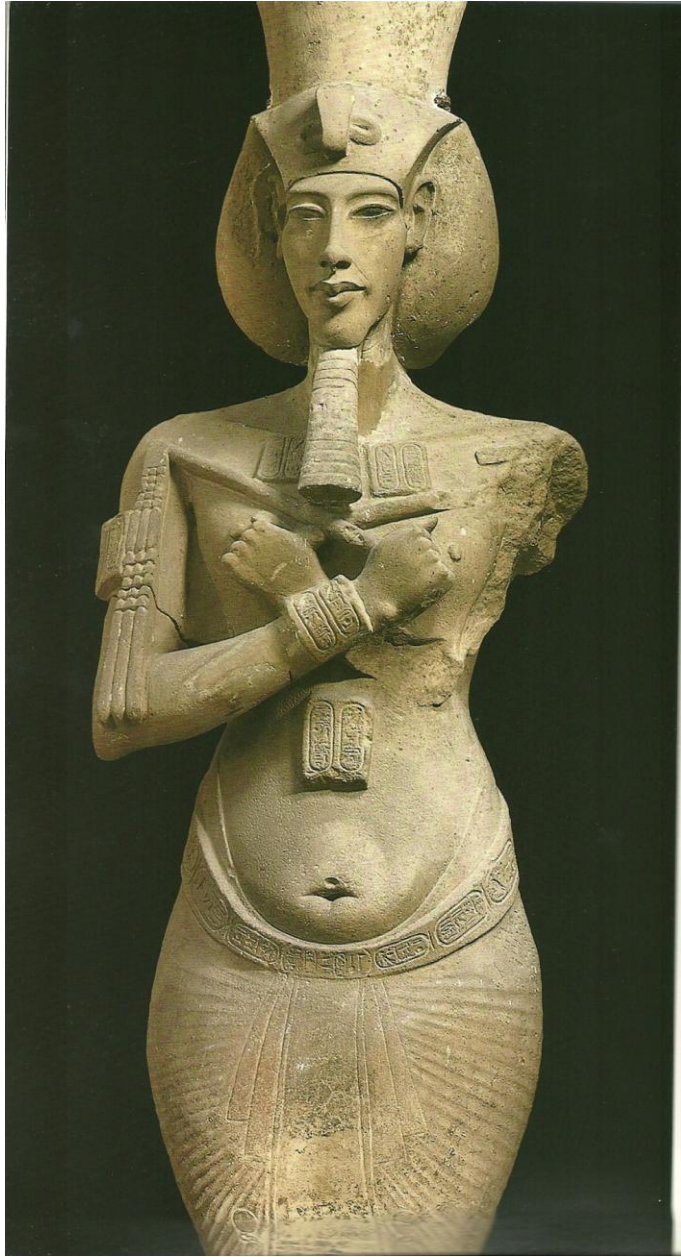


Figure 31. Colossal Statue of Amenhotep IV
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Karnak
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 49529)
From *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*,
edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H.
D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 20.

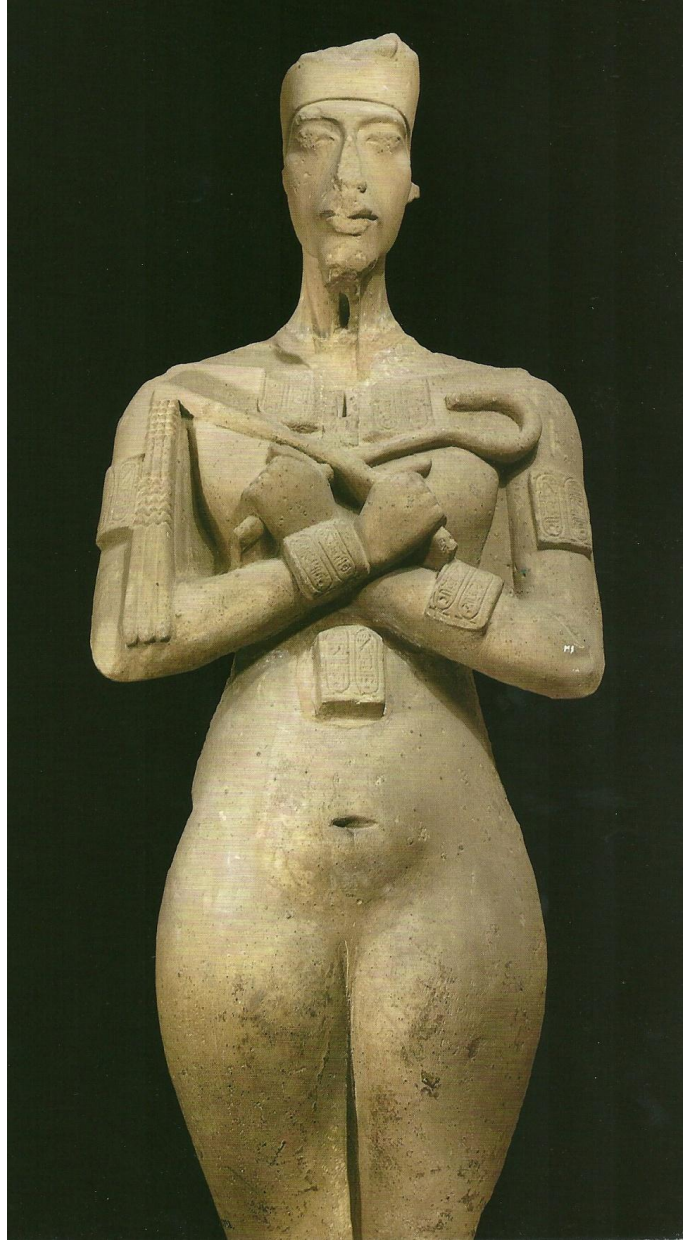


Figure 32. 'Sexless' Colossal Statue of Amenhotep IV
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Karnak
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 55938)
From *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen*,
edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz, and Sue H.
D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 21.

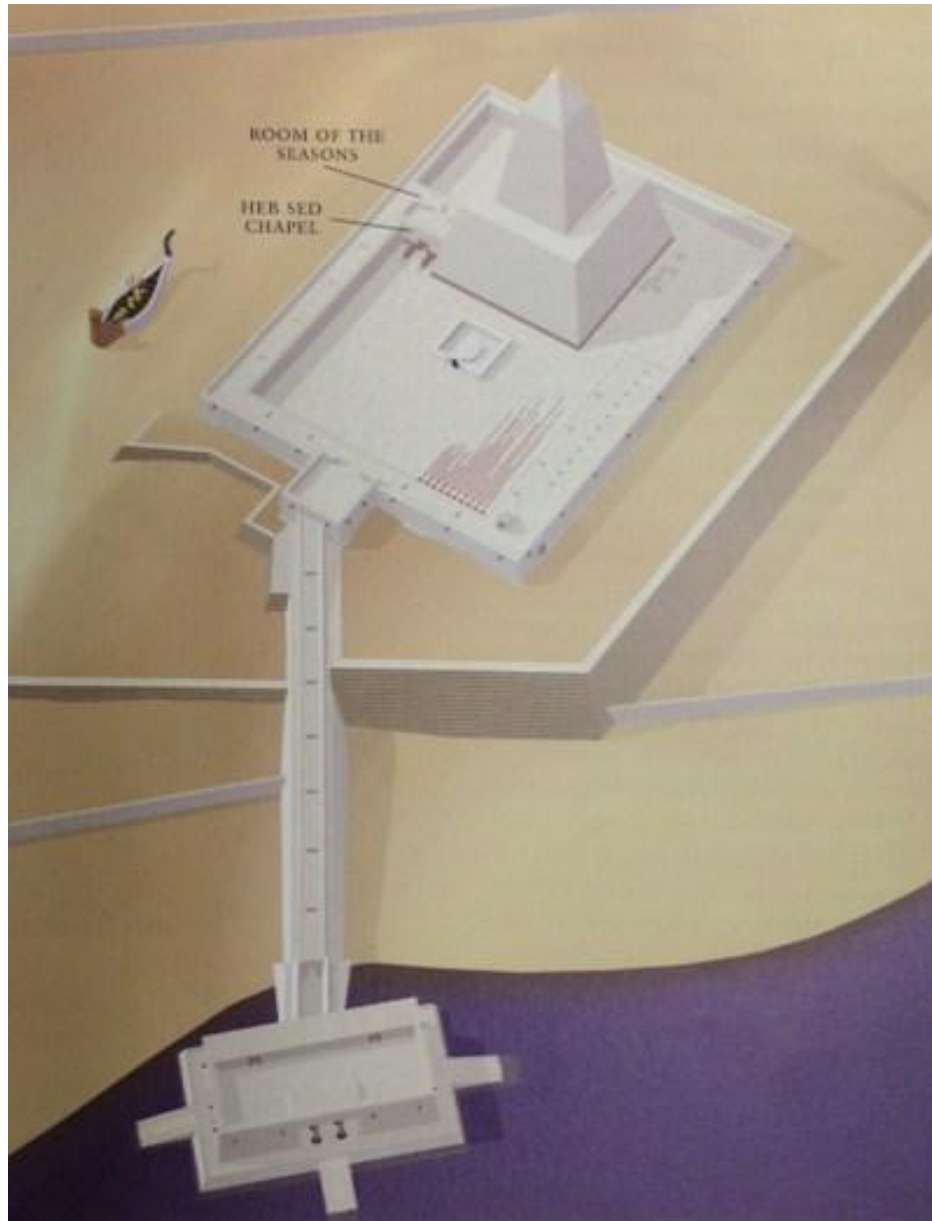


Figure 33. Computer Reconstruction of the Sun Temple of Niuserre
Old Kingdom, Fifth Dynasty
Computer reconstruction by David S. Johnson
From Dorothea Arnold, "120. Late Summer in the Nile Valley," in
Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids (New York: The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 357.



Figure 34. Statue of Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahri
Middle Kingdom, Eleventh Dynasty
From Deir el-Bahri
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (26.3.29)
<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000192?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=26.3.29&pos=1>
(accessed March 21, 2012).



Figure 35. Statuette of the Singer Mi
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Medinet Ghurob
Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (47.120.3)
http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3485/Statuette_of_the_Lady_Mi_Standing/set/b34c7ee350ed6c4c490d2eb5f2d11349?referring-q=47.120.3 (accessed March 21, 2012).

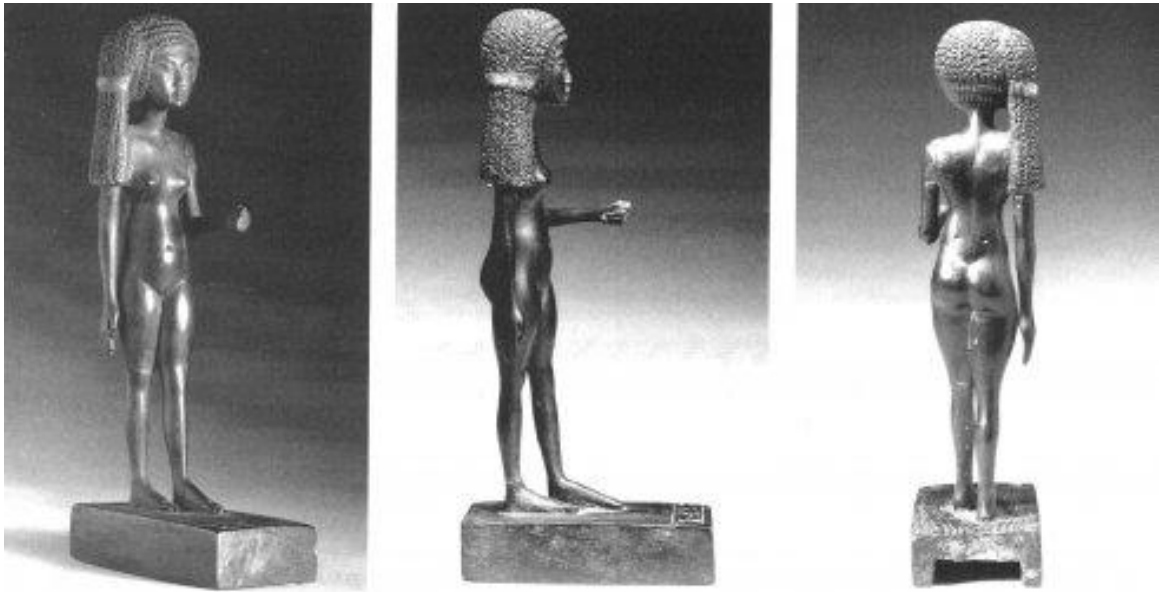


Figure 36. Statuette of the Young Girl Nebetya
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty
From Medinet Ghurob
English private collection
From Betsy M. Bryan, "Small-Scale Statuary," in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 260.