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Robert Hanawalt, Founder
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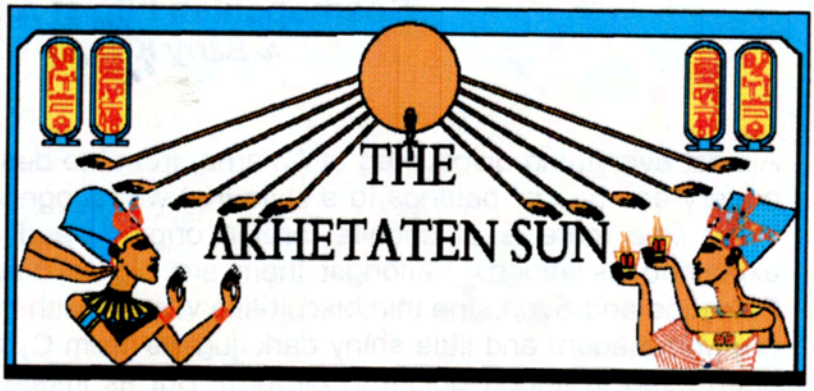

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THE PRESIDENT'S PAPYRUS

Dear TARF Member:

Well, here I am, back again!

Abe Lincoln used to tell the story of the town drunk who, about three times a week, would get soused and then raise hell for the rest of the night. The townspeople got very tired of it and finally the town fathers took the matter into their own hands and decided to tar and feather the shabby old rake. In one of his more sober moments they grabbed him, hog tied him, and started melting the tar and emptying feathers into a large sack. When the preparations were complete, they asked the old reprobate if he had anything to say before they began spreading on the tar. He thought for a few moments and then finally said, "Well, if it weren't for the honor of the thing, I'd just as soon forego it."

I can understand his feelings. Yet TARF has reached a point in its growth that call for several new operational messages and new and more frequent methods of communication to its members. I have some ideas. The nominating committee asked me to stand for election. I did so, was duly elected, and have moved quickly ahead. It is my hope that in the past few months you have seen several positive changes in your connection with TARF. In the meantime, the e-mail address has been changed to RTomb10@cs.com. If you have any suggestions, send them along and I will respond. And thank you again and again for your continued support of a very important archeological project.

Robert A. Hanawalt

Cosmopolitan Life at Amarna

Barry Kemp

Almost everything discovered at Amarna, from the design and decoration of palaces to pottery and beads, belongs to a style that we recognise as 'home-grown' within Egypt. What little there is of definite foreign origin – and it is primarily pottery – can be explained as imports. Amongst them are big-handled storage jars (amphorae) from Palestine and Syria, fine thin biscuit-like vessels with muted red linear decoration which are Mycenaean, and little shiny dark 'juglets' from Cyprus, which may or may not have been used to import opium in oil form. But as imports they tell us nothing about the nationality of the people who used and then discarded them.

There have, it is true, been attempts to make that leap of association which might pin down actual foreigners at Amarna. The British archaeologist John Pendlebury made perhaps the best-known inference to such a possibility. Whilst directing excavations in the North Suburb in 1930 he cleared a largish house standing within its own grounds. A number of small oddities in the house reminded him of things seen in his beloved Crete and led him to believe, so he wrote, 'that we may have here the house of a Mycenaean merchant, resident in the city, the inevitable Greek grocer of his day'. He christened the street that passed outside, 'Greek Street'. Alas, the case does not stand up to close inspection and his reasoning now seems only whimsical.

It is an irony for someone so keen to identify Aegeans at Amarna that fragments of papyrus found by him in the Central City in 1936, and which he evidently never looked at closely, have turned out to depict a battle in which some of the soldiers on the Egyptian side wear helmets that might be decorated with boars' tusks, a known Mycenaean custom. Were the Egyptians already employing 'Greek' mercenaries in their armies? Even if they were, there is no reason to think that they were based at Amarna.

Another attempt to identify foreigners at Amarna used the remarkable plaster masks from the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose, discovered in 1913 by Ludwig Borchardt. In a 1927 review of the finds, H.R. Hall of the British Museum wrote: "This face is not that of an Egyptian or a Semite. It is that of a Northerner; it is a 'Nordic' type. And even more interesting is the beautiful cast from the living face of a middle-aged woman. This is no Egyptian woman; there never was any Egyptian woman like her, or Syrian or other Semite either. She is a European. It is a type that one meets with constantly in Greece and Italy and Southern France. I believe that we have here a contemporary facsimile portrait, taken from her own face, of some Minoan Cretan, or Keftian lady belonging to the royal harem." (This particular mask, now in Berlin, is no. 139 in the *Pharaohs of the Sun* catalogue, and is illustrated there on pp. 25 and 247. Readers should ask themselves what they make of this face).

Such a confident assertion now seems over-bold. Given the previous history and scope of immigration from surrounding areas, we do not know the full range of facial type for Egyptian citizens of the New Kingdom. One can just as well say that the masks demonstrate how broad the range was without going so far as to guess at an original

homeland or to assume that the owner was a recent immigrant. We might be able to do better for Amarna if more human remains had survived, including skulls, which would provide a basis for facial reconstruction. It would be nice to think that the newly identified cemeteries at Amarna will, in time, provide suitable material, but as yet it is impossible to assess their potential properly.

All the same, we can scarcely doubt that foreigners came to Amarna and must have resided there for a time. This would imply that, by the time of Akhenaten's reign, Egypt had strong imperial interests and was an important part of an international circuit in the Near East that constantly mixed diplomacy, trade, gift exchange and warfare in a magnitude that represented a 'rough-and-ready' balance of power. Scholars have started to talk of a 'Great-Power Club' based on the key players in the Amarna Letters. The well known scenes of the 'Reception of Foreign Tribute' in the tombs of Huya and Meryra II at Amarna (Figure 1) show the presence of representatives of the world with which Egypt, being the imperial power, was in contact. This occasion was presumably unusual in scale, but the Amarna Letters show that regular diplomatic discourse with the Near East brought messengers and other visitors to the Egyptian court, who may have had to stay for years before returning to their homes. Thus Kadashman-Enlil of Babylon sent a letter of complaint to Amenhetep III (EA 3) that a messenger of his had been detained for six years in Egypt. Tushratta, King of Mitanni, made a similar complaint to Akhenaten (EA 28). Where would these messengers have lived? The buildings that we can identify as palaces contain little space that is, strictly speaking, residential. Were some of the buildings on the east side of the Central City set aside for guests, or were foreign visitors billeted in the houses of Egyptian officials in the suburbs?

Akhenaten was also heir to a tradition in which the Egyptian court was home to men and women of foreign origin, who found a niche there and prospered. They turn up from time to time through the New Kingdom as officials and courtiers. When Amenhetep III married the Mitannian princess Gilukhepa, 317 ladies-in-waiting made the journey with their mistress. Did they, in time, marry into the court circle and become part of the upper echelon of Egyptian society?

Newcomers, when they do appear to us as anything other than a name or through mere mention, tend to come across as Egyptianized. Yet written sources also show that they were part of a network, which transported foreign goods back and forth amongst these same courts. The Amarna Letters document this in the form of the long lists of costly wedding-presents which Tushratta of Mitanni sent to Amenhetep III on the occasion of the latter's marriage to the princess Tadu-kheba. A similar astonishing list of objects, sent by Akhenaten to Burna-Buriash of Babylon, is preserved on another letter (EA 14). A little later (in the Nineteenth Dynasty) we find elaborate cloths, some with foreign-looking names, being kept in the royal stores at Gurob for distribution to members of the court. One such cloth was given to a Hittite princess married to Rameses II.

It could well be that the court of Pharaoh, and the courts of other major rulers in the Near East, shared a limited cosmopolitan culture in the way that the courts of mediaeval Europe did. Although the Amarna palaces provided a setting in strictly Egyptian style, there are good reasons for thinking that the people who graced their halls dressed and

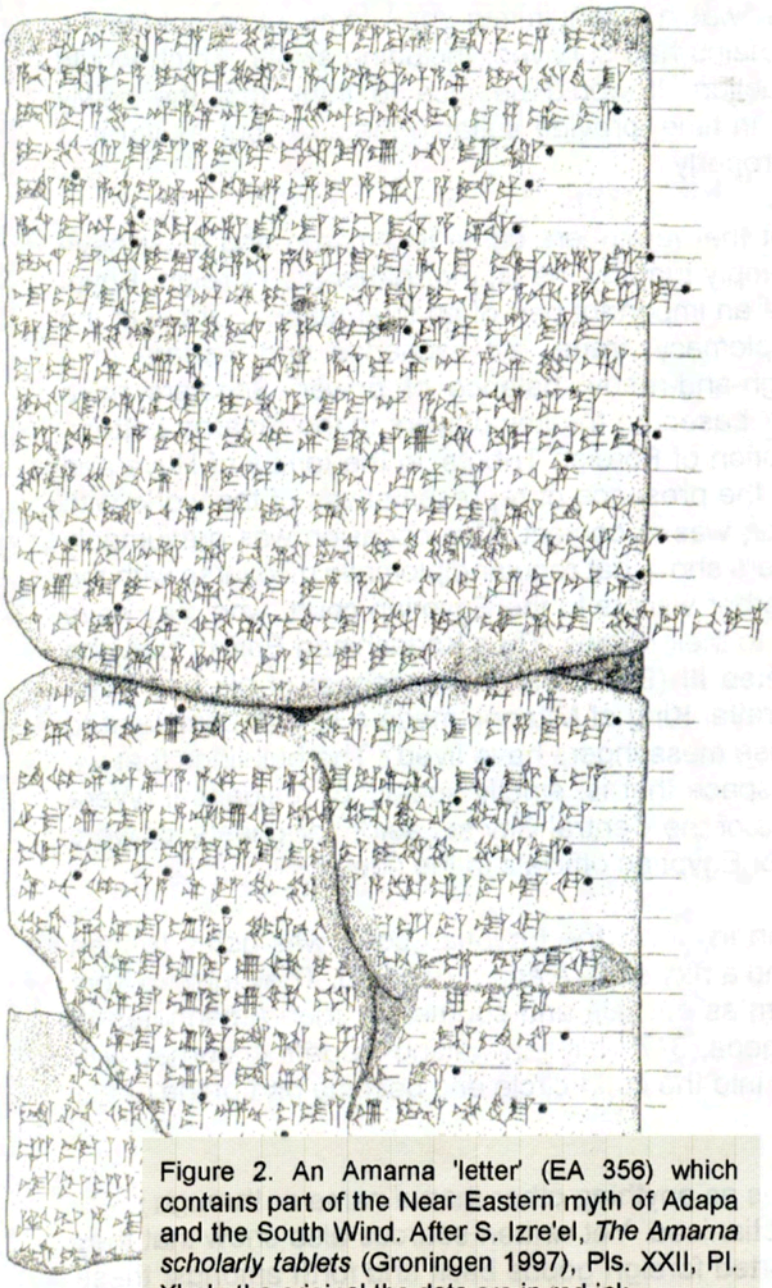

Figure 2. An Amarna 'letter' (EA 356) which contains part of the Near Eastern myth of Adapa and the South Wind. After S. Izre'el, *The Amarna scholarly tablets* (Groningen 1997), Pls. XXII, Pl. XL. In the original the dots are in red ink.

ornamented themselves in a mix of styles, spoke a variety of languages and perhaps listened to music that would have been familiar to them before they made the journey to Egypt.

Perhaps the most intriguing evidence is provided by a small group of the Amarna Letters, which were not actually letters at all. These have recently been made the subject of two new and intense studies that explore the technicalities of their linguistic background and, in so doing, paint a tantalising picture of an almost lost world of knowledge and culture exchange. Some carried literary texts, derived not from Egypt but from the Near East. One (EA 356; Figure 2) contained part of the myth of Adapa and the South Wind, Adapa being a Mesopotamian culture hero from the city of Eridu and son of the god Ea. In the tale, whilst on a fishing trip in the sea, he breaks the wing of the south wind but on his father's advice, visits heaven and is offered the chance for redemption. When read in translation the whole style and cultural associations of the story seem very un-Egyptian.

Details of script and language show that the writer came from the Mesopotamian heartland, Babylonia. But, together with two other Amarna literary tablets, it is unique in having red dots added at intervals along the lines of writing. This appears to be a distinctively Egyptian practice, which helped to give expression when reading aloud. Moreover, the language and style of writing on these literary tablets differs from those used by the scribes who wrote the cuneiform letters forming the bulk of the Amarna collection. This implies that the literary texts were not scribal practice pieces but were read aloud to an understanding audience for the sake of cultural interest. At this point one should remember that both Amenhetep III and Akhenaten had married Babylonian princesses, two of them in the case of the former.

Study of the finer points of language and writing has also suggested that scribes (dare we call them 'scholars'?) from other faraway centres left their mark on the Egyptian court school: from the Hittite capital of Boghazköy, where Akkadian was studied by people whose native language was a form of Indo-European, and probably from Ugarit in Syria. Two more of the Amarna tablets are parts of an epic, which tells of an expedition of Sargon, king of Akkad, to Anatolia, in which Hurrian influence has been detected.

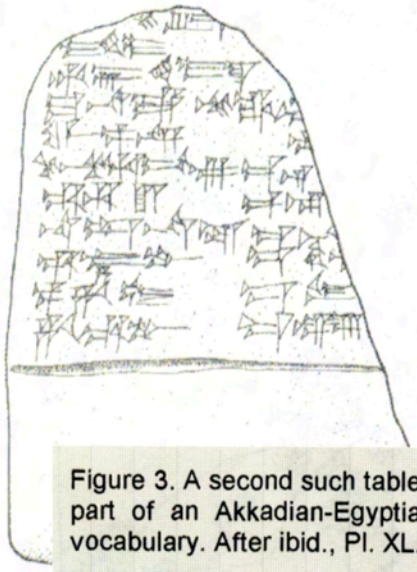

Figure 3. A second such tablet, part of an Akkadian-Egyptian vocabulary. After ibid., Pl. XL.

The evidence adds up to the likelihood that a scribal 'school' (an international centre of learning in the making?) was run in or near the 'Records Office' and that it was for the benefit not only of Egyptians but of students from the Near East as well. There are practice pieces for learning the trade of letter writing, which also promotes a more confident knowledge of cultural background (such as a list of names of Near Eastern gods, EA 374). One of the pieces of evidence is part of a vocabulary tablet (EA 368; Figure 3). On the left side is a column of Egyptian words written out in the cuneiform syllabary, which incidentally gives us a more reliable guide as to how the words were pronounced than is normally to be derived from hieroglyphs. In the right-hand column cuneiform signs have been used to write the Akkadian equivalents. The last seven lines preserve the entries: 'The house, The door, The bolt, The door-posts, The chair, The bed, (Offering)-table'. These are not words that one would need often, if at all, in writing diplomatic letters. They look more like words of everyday speech. Moreover, the form of the list points to its having been for an Akkadian native speaker who was learning colloquial Egyptian. It seems to be the ancient equivalent of a page from a phrase book.

Yet this tablet was not found anywhere near the 'Records Office'. It was found in a private house (O49.23) some way from the centre of the city (Figure 4). Does this mean that an Akkadian speaker from somewhere in the Near East, Babylon itself perhaps, actually stayed in this house for a while? And if so, was he there as the guest of an Egyptian family or was the house available for rent? Although the New Kingdom is generally better documented than other periods, we simply do not know enough to be able to answer such questions.

It is not unique in this respect. Another of the tablets (EA 359) is a fragment of the epic of Sargon of Akkad mentioned above, which seems to have been copied down on to the clay tablet actually in Egypt. It was found in house O47.2. A third tablet (EA 379), a fragment of a signlist which might, therefore, have been useful to someone learning Akkadian, was found in house N47.3. In this case the learner could have been an Egyptian.

We derive our word 'cosmopolitan' from a Greek word, *kosmopolites*, meaning 'citizen of the world'. The term was already developed and discussed in ancient Greece and

was very appropriate, given the enormously wide spread of Greek language and culture. The Late Bronze Age of the Near East, the world to which Amarna belonged, cannot be said to rival this. The sense of being part of a common cultural grouping, with a brotherhood of rulers who swapped gifts with one another, and a far-flung community of 'scribes' who travelled to one another's centres of learning, does seem to have been emerging.

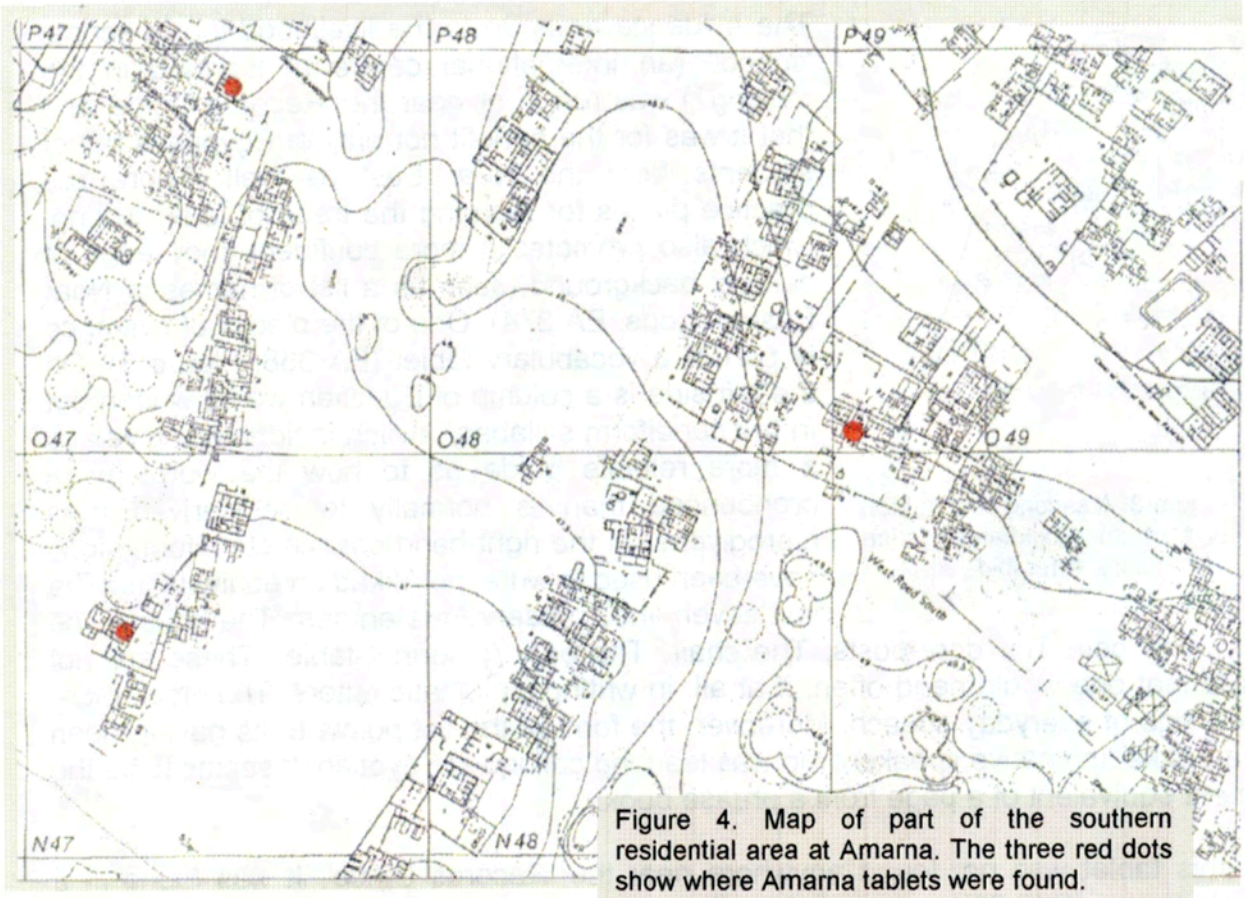

Figure 4. Map of part of the southern residential area at Amarna. The three red dots show where Amarna tablets were found.

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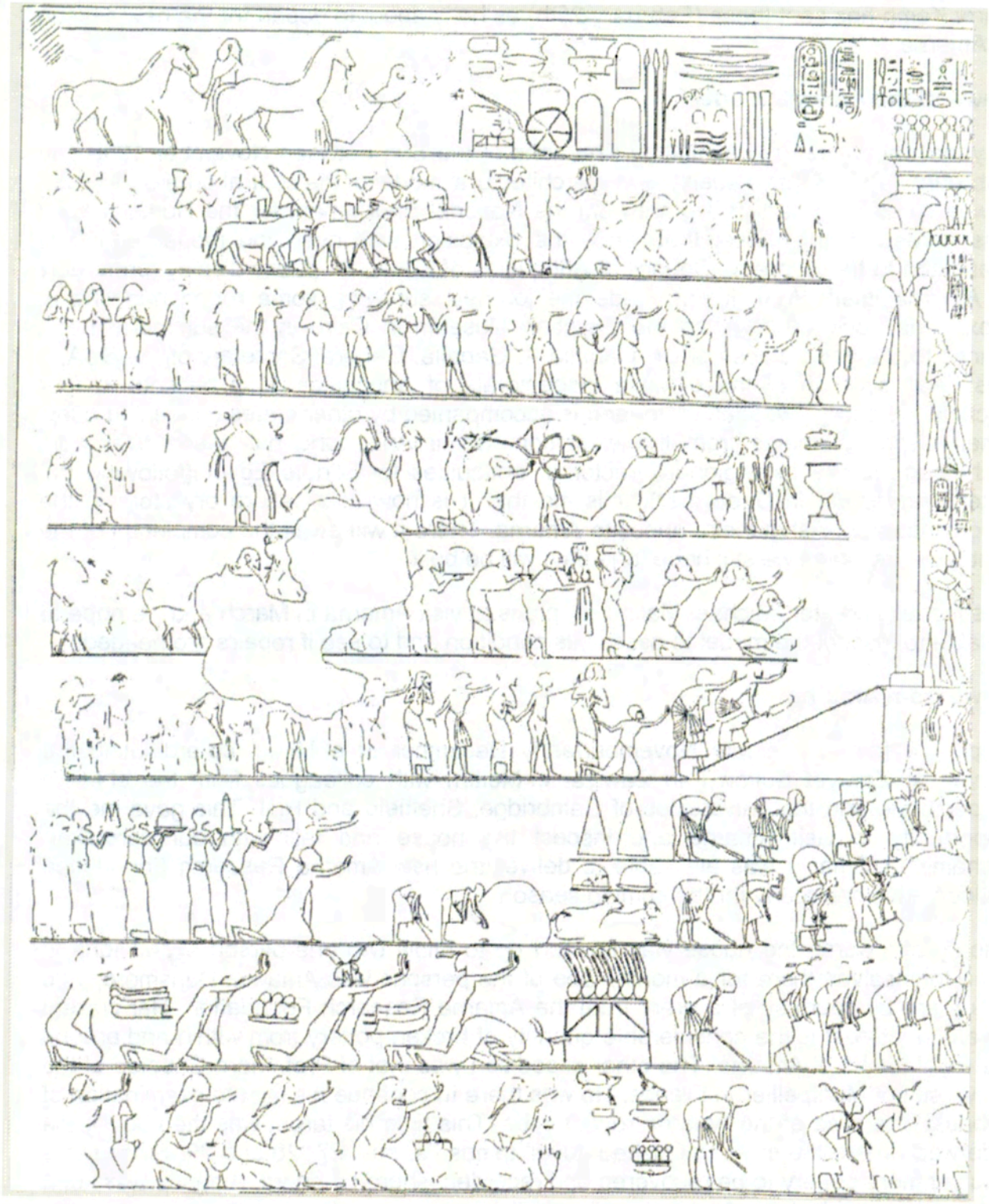


Figure 1. Foreigners present their gifts at the 'Reception of Foreign Tribute' in Akhenaten's year 12. After N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of Amarna* II (London 1905), Pl. XXXVII, Tomb of Meryra II.

Barry Kemp has sent these (February 25th) as he is about to depart for the new season at Amarna.

News of the Amarna model

Anyone who visited the exhibition Pharaohs of the Sun between November 1999 and February 2001 will have seen the fine architectural model of the central area of Amarna. It was created as part of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. It was agreed at the outset that, once the exhibition was over, the model would be presented to the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, for public display, preferably at Amarna itself. Well, it has made the journey, surviving some rough handling at Alexandria docks. It reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the summer. There, thanks to the good offices of Dr. Gaballa A. Gaballa, General Secretary of the SCA, it has been sent on to the el-Minia Inspectorate of Antiquities. It is packed, in four sections, in a huge wooden crate, and is accompanied by other crates containing a few other replica elements from the exhibition. Samir Anis, who has taken over from Mahmoud Hamza as regional director of antiquities for Middle Egypt (following the latter's retirement in December), tells me that it is now in a secure dry store in the magazines at el-Ashmunein, opposite Amarna. There it will await the completion of the visitor centre which we still hope, one day, will be built.

The model's creator, Michael Mallinson, plans to visit Amarna in March and we hope to be able to inspect the model to assess its condition and to see if repairs are needed.

News from Amarna

I spent a fortnight in late November/early December at el-Minia, co-ordinating the survey at Zawiyet Sultan (old Zawiyet el-Meitin) with colleagues from the el-Minia inspectorate and the universities of Cambridge, Sheffield and Hull. This gave me the opportunity to visit Amarna and inspect the house and talk with our caretaker, Mohammed Omar. I was also able to deliver the new Amarna Research Foundation balloon envelope ready for the coming season.

Shortly afterwards the house was opened up to allow two one-person expeditions to base themselves there for a month. One of the persons was Amanda Dunsmore, who was there by courtesy of a grant from the Amarna Research Foundation. Her current research interest is the considerable quantity of broken pottery from within and around the royal tombs at Amarna. The other expedition was that of Prof. Marc Gabolde of the University of Montpellier in France. He was there to continue his minute examination of debris in the area of the Amarna royal tombs. This time his target was the floor of the side wadi where the three unfinished 'royal' tombs lie, nos. 27, 28 and 29. Since there was yet more pottery to be recovered and recorded, sherd-by-sherd, Amanda was keen to work alongside him. All went well and the new material is safely installed in the expedition magazines. Amanda is due to be at Amarna again in March to continue her studies and will be supplying a report to the Foundation in due course. One of the events at el-Minia whilst I was there took place on December 1st. This was a grand retirement party for Mr Mahmoud Hamza, who has been regional director of antiquities for Middle Egypt (including the oases) for almost the whole time I have been working at

Amarna. It was held in a large and colourful marquee erected in the gardens of the Nefertiti hotel (the one we still call the Etap although it is now owned by a different company). There were many well-delivered speeches after a substantial Ramadan *iftar*-meal, and presentation of gifts. Mr Hamza has been a good friend to the expedition and I wish him well in his retirement, which he will spend, so he tells me, in developing his farmlands and in work for the local branch of the National Party, with which he has long had links. Dr Gaballa later appointed Mr Samir Anis to replace him. Samir is a well known senior official in the inspectorate who has, for many years, had local charge of the Amarna area and whose home is Samalut, in the north of Minia province. I look forward to working with him.

Zawiyet Sultan does not have a direct Amarna connection, though several members of the expedition – primarily those who work with environmental material – are benefiting their researches by having access to comparative samples from another site with a broader spread of periods. Yet it was evidently of interest to Akhenaten's father. So far the results of our survey suggest that, after a long abandonment which began at the end of the Old Kingdom, it was under Amenhetep III that the site was 'rediscovered' and given a small temple to the local form of the god Horus. Moreover, a little to the south, as I mentioned in a previous short report, there is a separate site called Kom el-Dik where, some years ago, one of the inspectors, digging some trial trenches, found sherds and hieratic jar labels that could well be of the late 18th Dynasty. That site is now mapped into our survey and a report on the sherds and labels will be included in our planned volume. The real nature of this part of the site remains, however, enigmatic.

A Discovery of Amarna Talatat Blocks in the Sudan

Barry Kemp

A report by Charles Bonnet, 'Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan)', in the beautifully produced journal *Genava*, of the Museum of Art and History in Geneva (volume 48 for 1999, pages 57–86), contains a brief account of work done in a separate site, called Dukki Gel. Here lie the remains of a stone temple of the Napatan and Meroitic Periods, dating between the seventh and first centuries BC and built in Egyptian style. As is often the case with ancient temples, many older blocks were reused in the foundations. Some could date to the early Eighteenth Dynasty but others are undoubtedly of the Amarna Period. Cut in sandstone, they have the characteristic dimensions of talatat-blocks. The decoration includes hammered-out cartouches of Amarna royalty, exaggerated human figures clothed in transparent linen garments, and the rays of the sun ending in human hands which descend towards faces of members of the royal family or towards altars filled with offerings on which are burning oil lamps or perhaps bowls of incense. (The latter is the one illustrated block).

Bonnet points out that Dukki Gel joins the small number of sites in the region where there is evidence for building during the Amarna Period: the whole town site of Sesebi, individual stone blocks at Tabo, and the town of Kawa where so far the evidence lies in its name, Gem-Aton. The accompanying map marks where they are.

These places are in southern or Upper Nubia. There were even more Egyptian temples in Lower Nubia, all of which were removed in the 1960s, as part of the rescue campaign ahead of the completion of the high dam at Aswan. No Amarna blocks came to light in their foundations, although a few of Tutankhamun's had earlier been found at Faras. At Buhen, where there was a fine small temple of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut (now in Khartoum), the Amarna Period is represented by a historical stela which records a military victory over peoples of the eastern desert. It describes how a report of their insurrection came to the king whilst he was at Akhetaten and how he sent the viceroy of Kush to deal with it. A translation of this text is given in Bill Murnane's *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta, Scholars Press 1995), pp. 101–2, followed by a translation of a fragmentary duplicate from the temple of Amada also in Lower Nubia.

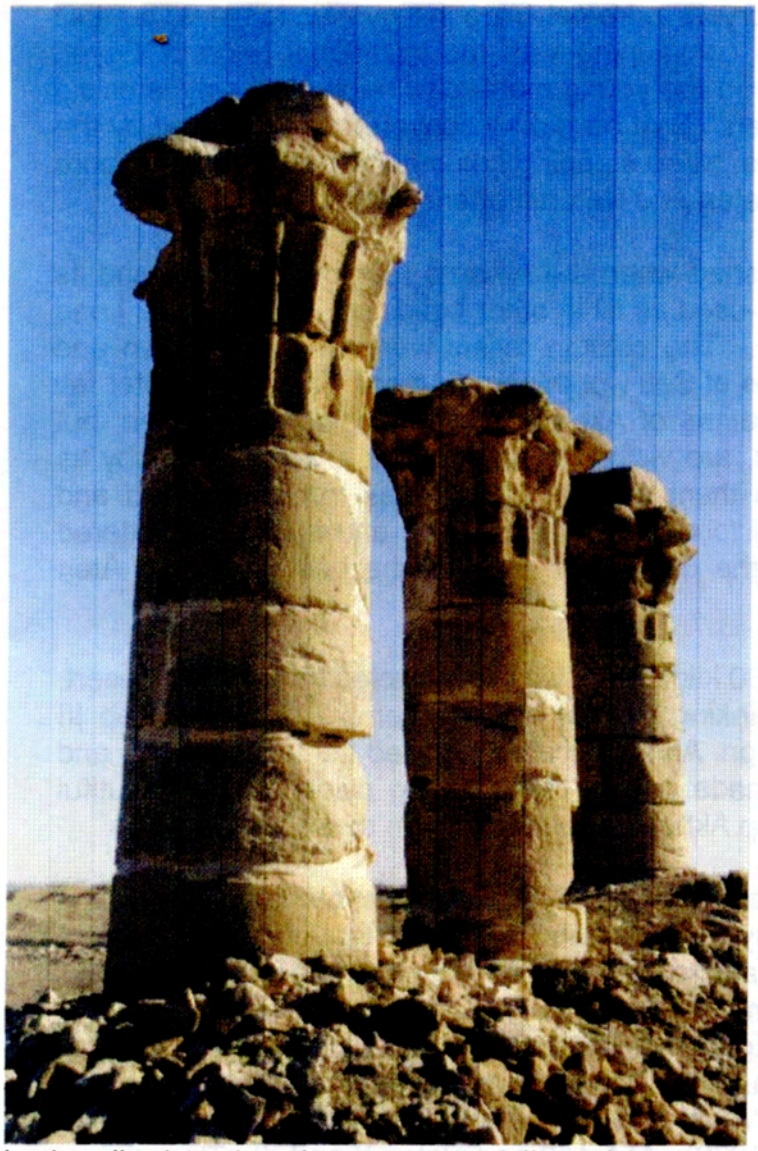
Upper Nubia was evidently seen by the Egyptians of the late Eighteenth Dynasty as what we would now call a development area, a place in which it was worth investing resources. The reason, in all probability, had less to do with local economic potential than the political and social configuration of the times. This part of Nubia had been the heartland of the Kingdom of Kush which had become a major power in the area during the Second Intermediate Period. At the beginning of the New Kingdom its military power was destroyed by the Egyptian armies but thereafter it became a kind of showpiece of Egyptian colonisation, culminating when Amenhotep III built the temple of Soleb and its smaller companion, honouring his wife Tiy, at Sedinga. Akhenaten was clearly following this policy.

The historical message is that under Akhenaten, for the affairs of the Nubian part of the Egyptian empire at least, it was business as usual: the classic combination of armed response when necessary, but the construction of buildings preferred.

A Visit to Akhenaten's Nubian Aten Temple

Kristin Thompson

The popular image of Akhenaten views him as having started one huge Aten-temple complex at East Karnak, then abandoning that in Year Six to concentrate all his building efforts at his new capital, Akhetaten. There, the king supposedly isolated himself in order to worship his one god while ignoring the rest of the world.



Evidence suggests, however, that there was an Aten temple at least at Memphis, and perhaps others along the Nile valley. As Barry Kemp's article elsewhere in this issue points out, Akhenaten seemingly founded a temple at modern Kawa, ancient Gem-Aten. Without a doubt he constructed an Aten temple and small support town at a site now called Sesebi. In November of 2000, I had the opportunity to visit this site as part of a British Museum tour of the Sudanese Nile from Old Dongola to the headwaters of Lake Nasser.

The Nile valley is generally narrower in the Sudan than in much of Egypt, and the temple lies near the river on the west bank. Its three standing columns are clearly visible even from the opposite side of the river. Given the lack of tourism and general poverty of the area, there are no guards or fences provided for most ancient sites, and the ruins lie on the edge of a modern village. By the time our group had walked to the site, we were followed by a large portion of the inhabitants, who cheerfully trampled over the ancient mudbrick walls in their desire to see these rare visitors.

The town enclosure is a large rectangle with the foundations of a small town visible in its southwest corner; one can still see the east-west "main street" between the neatly laid-out rows of houses. North of this, rows of longer rectangular foundations indicate the

large magazines that were so prominent a part of Aten-temple complexes. Centered in the eastern half of the enclosure is a mysterious rectangular ditch, perhaps the remains of an earlier (Middle Kingdom?) fort guarding the trade routes to the south. Finally, in the northwest corner is the foundation of the Aten temple, which is much smaller than the ones at Thebes and Akhetaten. Its ruinous condition means that even with a plan one is hard put to trace its various chambers.

One of the most interesting features of the temple is an underground crypt, now inaccessible to tourists; it had to be refilled after its excavation in the 1930s so as to protect it from robbers. Not only are crypts extremely rare in Egyptian temples, but this one depicts Akhenaten and Nefertiti communing with the traditional gods of Egypt. Clearly the temple was founded early in the young monarch's reign, and only later did he convert it to the worship of the Aten. That he did so convert it is evidenced by the best-preserved portion of the structure, three standing columns. These originally bore reliefs of the familiar scenes of Akhenaten and Nefertiti offering to the Aten.

Uniquely, this temple was not demolished when the Amarna revolution ended, and its stones were not hauled away to be re-used as fill in other buildings. Instead, Seti I had it converted into a traditional temple. The column reliefs were smoothed down and replastered, then recarved with scenes of Seti worshipping Amen. The plaster later fell away, and today strange, ghostly outlines of Akhenaten seemingly facing Amen, but with the Aten hovering between them, are visible. The columns are not as stubby as the accompanying illustration makes them appear; their bases have had sand and rubble heaped up to protect reliefs of foreign enemies carved around them. Battered though this temple is, it must have the distinction of being the best-preserved Aten temple in the world.

In addition, an ancient road of about 30 kilometers was constructed through the desert, presumably at Akhenaten's orders, linking Sesebi with the temple of Amenhotep III further north at Soleb. Early in his reign, Akhenaten had finished the latter temple, and effaced images of him can still be made out on the standing pylon of this beautiful building. Who knows what relationship Akhenaten saw between these two sites?

That and the question of why Akhenaten apparently built at least two temple towns in Nubia remain mysteries. Unfortunately the Egyptian Exploration Society excavations of 1936-38 remain unpublished. The main sources of information on Sesebi are still two articles of the period: A. M. Blackman's "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 23 (1937): 145-151, and H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and 'Amarah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-8," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 24 (1938): 151-156 and plates X and XI. The original excavation records exist. With luck someday they will be properly published and shed more light on the mystery of Akhenaten's Nubian projects.

Pottery from the Royal Wadi at Tell el-Amarna: Burial Equipment or a Workmen's Assemblage?

Amanda Dunsmore

I first visited the Royal Tomb at Tell el-Amarna one Friday two years ago during our usual day off work. As a ceramicist, my attention was immediately drawn to the pottery scattered about the wadi bed and a conversation began between myself and Pamela Rose, the New Kingdom pottery specialist for the Egypt Exploration Society's mission at Amarna. It turned out that this material had never been comprehensively studied and the idea was born that this pottery could form a major part of my Ph.D. research.

As I pursued this idea, I found that the Royal Tomb has had quite a varied excavation history, dating back to 1891 when parts of it were first cleared by Alessandro Barsanti. Barsanti apparently placed debris on top of that left by the ancient workmen who cut the Royal Tomb. In 1931 John Pendlebury returned to the Royal Wadi and commenced a reclearance of the tomb, as well as excavating Barsanti's dump and that of the ancient workmen. Pendlebury claimed that through his work "the earth in the [royal] valley has been turned over at least once." He also implied that all objects had been removed from the earlier dumps. It is clear, however, that he did not regard the pottery as sufficiently important to warrant collection, and he presumably left such objects in his newly created spoil heaps or scattered over the wadi bed.

No further work was undertaken in the Royal Wadi until 1980, when Professor Geoffrey Martin cleared the tomb once more in order to record and publish it. In 1984 he also recleared the three unfinished tombs in the nearby side wadi (tombs 27, 28 and 29) and during this work collected the surface pottery from around the entrances of tombs 28 and 29 and the Royal Tomb. Although this pottery had no archaeological context, it must undoubtedly have come from the spoil heaps of the previous excavators. Martin sorted this pottery and extracted all the jar labels and design ostraka. He then stored what he considered to be the more interesting material in the Royal Tomb, along the unfinished side corridor, and left the less interesting material in three distinct heaps, reflecting their provenance, along the bed of the side wadi.

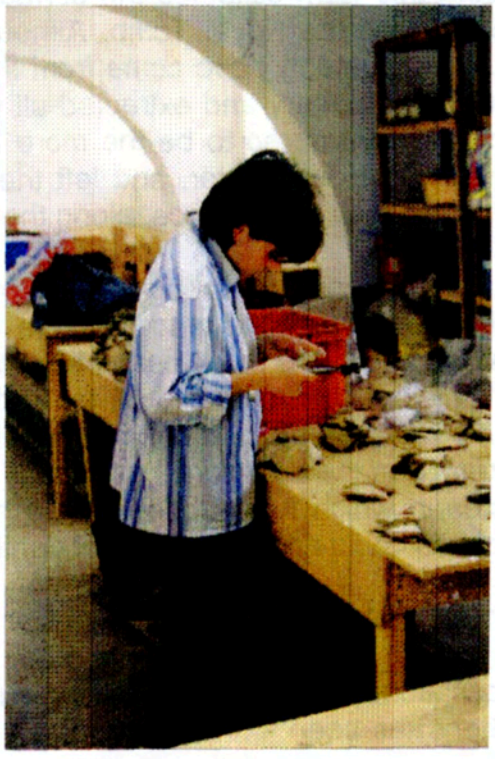
In 2001, during the Spring season of the EES expedition, I collected the pottery from both the Royal Tomb and the side wadi and brought it back to the EES dig house. Unfortunately, the three heaps that Martin had left in the side wadi had been disturbed by a major flood in the mid 1990s and could no longer be reliably identified. The Royal Tomb was also flooded but, fortunately for the pottery, the water level did not reach the entrance of the side corridor. It had, nevertheless, suffered over time, as the bags and boxes in which it had been stored had decayed to such an extent that some of the contexts could no longer be confidently distinguished.

In 1998 Marc Gabolde, of Montpellier University, France, began a topographical survey of the Royal Tomb and tombs 27, 28 and 29. He has also undertaken further excavations around these tombs during which, not surprisingly, a great deal more pottery has been found. Last year, I approached him about the possibility of studying

this material in conjunction with the pottery collected by Martin, and in January of 2002, I joined his project to continue my study of the Royal and side wadi pottery. For this work, The Amarna Research Foundation generously provided funding.

It was a brief season but very intense and productive. As soon as I arrived I faced several baskets of pottery awaiting sorting, and more was coming in each day as the excavations in the side wadi continued. For the next few weeks I spent most of my time sorting what seemed like endless heaps of sherds. Even for a ceramicist I have to admit that the novelty of it all was wearing rather thin after the first week. As a change from the sorting I took the opportunity to lay out all the pottery that Martin had stored in the Royal Tomb. The purpose of this was to have an indication of the quantity for recording and also to look at the range of vessel shapes present. It was an exercise that proved to be very useful as I also began finding joins between sherds that Martin had collected in 1984 and pottery that was currently being excavated by Marc Gabolde, 18 years later.

One of the main questions I am asking of this pottery is: What type of assemblage does it represent? We know that all of it is Amarna Period in date and must relate to activity surrounding the tombs, but what role exactly did this pottery play? Why is there such an enormous quantity associated with these tombs? The most likely explanations are that either we have part of the burial equipment from the Royal Tomb and tombs of the side wadi, or the pottery relates to the workmen's activity when they were cutting the tombs. The idea that the pottery surrounding the Royal Tomb is burial equipment is plausible given that we know that the Royal Tomb was used and possibly contained up to five burials. However, this idea becomes less plausible for the three unfinished tombs, as it assumes that at least one tomb contained a burial. This is certainly a possibility, even in their unfinished state, but the idea is hard to prove in the absence of other more explicit evidence. A more likely interpretation is that the pottery, or at least a fair proportion of it, relates to the workmen's activity.



One of the interesting aspects of this pottery is the large number of Canaanite amphorae. These are large two-handled storage vessels imported from the Levant for their contents, usually oil, resin or wine. Many of them came to Amarna and sherds from these vessels are found all over the site.

Margaret Serpico has been studying them and has shown that their distribution varies, depending on the part of the city in which they occur. For example, at the small Aten temple we know that one particular type of Canaanite amphora was very common, whereas at the workmen's village, from where it is assumed that the workmen who cut the royal tomb lived, this type is almost absent and other types dominate the assemblage. The reasons for these differences are not yet clear but they presumably relate either to the contents of the vessels or their reuse once the original contents were emptied. It will be very interesting to see the proportion of types occuring at the Royal Wadi, which may give a clue to the nature of this pottery assemblage.

Finally, one might assume that there would be an obvious difference between royal burial equipment and workmen's pottery, unfortunately we are unable to make this statement at the present time. The problem is that we do not actually have good parallels to really *know* what a royal burial pottery assemblage of the time consisted of. The nearest parallel in date and status is Tutankhamun and these two assemblages will be compared as much as possible, but unfortunately not all of the pottery from Tutankhamun has been published. The other comparison to be made is with the pottery from the workmen's village and at this stage the Royal Wadi pottery is showing numerous similarities. To try and confirm or disprove this, Marc Gabolde and I have plans for one more excavation season in the side wadi where we will excavate the ancient workmen's dump outside tomb 27. This dump consists of the chippings from the cutting of the tomb and we are hoping that it will also contain pottery from the workmens' activities, giving us more of an idea what the workmen's pottery looked like and hence another clue to the nature of this Royal Wadi pottery.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

The next annual meeting of the Amarna Research Foundation:

Date: September 14, 2002

Time: 3:00 p.m.

Place: Robert Hanawalt Residence
16082 East Loyola Place
Aurora, Colorado

Book Reviews

Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet
Dr. Nicholas Reeves
Thames & Hudson, 2001.
208 pages,141 Illustrations, 23 in color

By Ellen LeBlanc, T.A.R.F. Board Member

Dr. Reeves' book examines much more than simply the reign of the controversial pharaoh Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. It is a lucidly written, well-illustrated examination of the whole fabric upon which this pharaoh's reign was woven.

He begins with a thorough description of the archaeological history of the actual site of el-Amarna, beginning with its' first mention in modern times by Claude Sicard in 1714, and continuing through the present time. This chapter includes a number of early maps, drawings, and photographs of the site, together with a number of quotations from the archaeologists involved in these early explorations. Interestingly, he includes some tales of the personal foibles and adventures of these figures, many of whom are traditionally portrayed in a rather staid manner.

He then sets the stage for the reign of Akhenaten by examining the major figures of the 18th Dynasty who preceded the rebel pharaoh. In this, he gives particular weight to the role of the priests of Amun and to Hatshepsut, whom he frankly describes as a usurper supported by the great weight of the cult of Amun. He believes that Tutmosis III was forced to step gently, early in his reign, so as not to bring down the forces of Amun upon himself, and therefore delayed his attack on "his hated stepmother's memory" until the last years of his reign. His successor, Amenhotep II, is also described as being somewhat fearful of the power of Amun and "determined to prevent Karnak's rich and ambitious god from ever again straying into the political arena".

During the reigns of Tutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, Dr. Reeves finds that there was increasing tension building between the priests of Amun at Thebes and the priests at Heliopolis, the ancient center for the worship Re, with the pharaohs attempting to curb the power of Amun by enhancing the power of the sun god. A number of key figures seemed to believe that by returning to a greater focus on Re, the country was returning to "a sounder theological footing" and "to the values of this purer past". At this time he finds that emphasis was beginning to be placed on a 'new' and highly honored solar manifestation—the Aten". By the reign of Amenhotep III, the pharaoh seemed to feel confident enough in having curbed the ambitions of the priests of Amun to include a relief of his own divine conception through a union between Amun and Mutemwiya

In the reign of Amenhotep III, however, Dr. Reeves finds another factor coming into play as a neutralizer of the power of the priesthood. He sees this in the increasing favor paid to the military, especially a key figure named Yuya. Yuya and Tuya, as royal in-laws and mother of the powerful queen Tiye, were able, together with their daughter the Great Royal Wife, to exercise tremendous influence and to install other family members

in positions of power. Dr. Reeves discusses the arguments in favor of both a long and short co-regency between Amenhotep III and his son, the future Akhenaten, and comes down firmly on the side of a short co-regency. He begins his discussion of the reign of Amenhotep IV by setting forth the case that an unidentified highly damaged mummy found in KV 55 by Theodore Davis is indeed the body of the missing pharaoh Akenaten, and suggesting that its' age is "in excess of 35 years", implying that he ascended the throne as a teenager.

As to the character of Akhenaten, Dr. Reeves finds him to be arrogant and egocentric, though intelligent and well versed in the theology of his time. He began his reign with a clear idea of his mission and a determination to share it with Egypt. His first temples at Karnak have been studied by the Akhenaten Temple Project, using blocks buried or reused in other structures and other evidence such as the footprints of the remaining foundations of the structures. They show a clear dedication to the Aten from the beginning of his reign. By year 5 he had changed his name to Akhenaten, "He who is effective on the Aten's behalf", and had declared himself to be the Aten's sole representative on earth.

Shortly after this, he began the establishment of a new capital city at Amarna. Dr. Reeves presents several reasons why he may have done this. He may have been seeking to escape court intrigue and politics, which were rife both at Thebes and at Memphis. An earlier Middle Kingdom pharaoh, Ammenemes I, had taken this same action. Strong words on one of the boundary stelae indicate that there may perhaps have even been an abortive attempt on his life. He may have wanted a place where he could establish his own divine triad: the Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti.

There follows a very detailed description of the city of Akhetaten and its environs. Dr. Reeves describes with photos, maps, and drawings the districts, boundaries, and tombs, the main structures, and general layout of the whole city, and the reasons for locating different structures in the places where they are established. The new capital city was carefully laid out in a geometric fashion with a view to perhaps building a "new" Thebes, with its own religious associations.

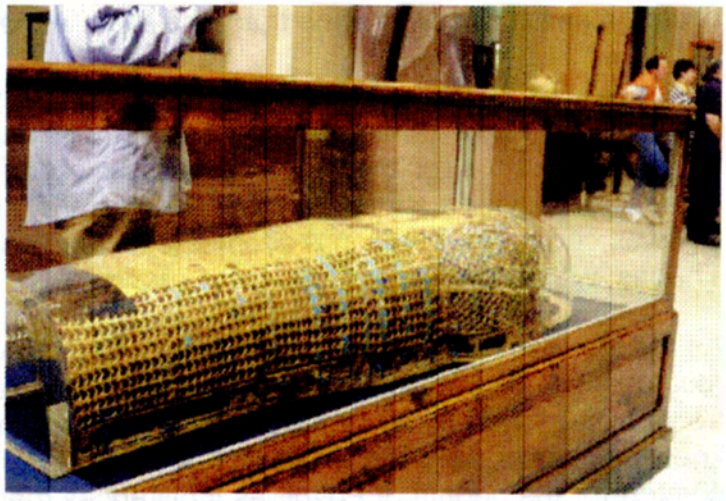
As for the inspiration of the new religion, Dr. Reeves believes that it was a mix of the religious, intellectual, and political. He finds that the famous "Hymn to the Aten" borrows freely from a variety of sources and that in the final analysis, it says that no one can know or contact the Aten except for Akhenaten. This proves to be a very cold sort of comfort for the people of Egypt, as it distances them from all of the comfort provided by the earlier pantheon. Dr. Reeves believes that Akhenaten was very likely kin to our modern concept of a dictator, and that the cozy domestic scenes shown everywhere are "as far from the reality of dictator as possible. Many modern parallels could be cited—the Fuhrer patting his dog, Stalin with his reassuring pipe, the beatific Mao Tse-Tung."

Many Egyptologists have speculated on the physical appearance of the pharaoh, and wondered if he were perhaps affected by some disease that caused him to represent himself in such a strikingly odd way. Dr. Reeves discusses the major theories, and concludes that there is strong evidence for the pharaoh and his family suffering from Marfan's Syndrome. Some other conclusions he reaches about the family are that Kia,

the presumed mother of Tutankhamun, was a particularly manipulative, cruel, and self-seeking woman, and was eventually dismissed and disgraced. Dr. Reeves finds ample support for Akhenaten's incestuous relations with his daughters, resulting in several children. He dismisses the theory that Akhenaten had a homosexual relationship with Smenkare in favor of identifying Nefertiti and Smenkare as being the same person. Far from being sent to the North Palace in disgrace, she was elevated to the status of co-ruler, with a series of name changes as evidence. He also concludes after presenting evidence that the queen who wrote to Suppiluliuma asking for one of his sons to marry was indeed Nefertiti, not her daughter Ankhesenamun.

Dr. Reeves concludes with a discussion of the proposed murder of Tutankhamun and the evidence that has surfaced for this. He believes that it should be at least considered that Ay was involved with the death of the young king, not only for personal profit, but in order to spare the country from another descent into near anarchy under the rule of a young man brought up in the Atenist tradition who was attempting to reintroduce the disastrous regime.

While some readers may find fault with some or all of Dr. Reeves' more controversial conclusions, the book is well worth reading, as his reasons for drawing these conclusions are clearly set out in a very lucid manner. The book is also written in a very clear and understandable way, and the copious use of illustrations is very helpful.



This picture is the bottom half or basin of a gold coffin attributed to Akhenaten, although all of the visible cartouches are empty. The top half of this coffin has been on display in the Cairo Museum in the Amarna period area. When the conservators prepared the top half for exhibit, this bottom half was too fragmented and fragile. Although they tried, they could not find a way to prepare the bottom half for display and it was relegated to storage in the basement. Then, it disappeared from its storage location.

The basin was found Munich Egyptian Museum in Munich, Germany. After a great deal of work and innovation, the conservators there built a plexiglass form and reconstructed the basin fragments as you see them in the picture. In October of 2001, the top and bottom halves were reunited for an exhibit at the Museum in Munich along with items from KV55. Then in February of 2002, after the close of the exhibit, the basin was repatriated to Egypt.

In March 2002, this beautiful pair was put on display in the front center hall of the Cairo Museum.

Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen
Edited by Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markwitz, and Sue H. D'Auria
Boston: Museum of Fine Arts
London: Thames and Hudson, 1999

By Kristin Thompson

In 1973, the Brooklyn Museum mounted a large exhibition on the art of the Amarna age. As then Egyptological curator Bernard V. Bothmer predicted in his Foreword to Cyril Aldred's catalogue, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, the book would go on to "serve for years to come as a commentary on one of the most complex and controversial periods of Egyptian art and history." Indeed, for decades Aldred's analysis has remained the single most influential view of Amarna art. Those of us who missed the original exhibition could only wish for another big Amarna show.

Fortunately within a four-year span that wish was granted twice over. First came the Metropolitan's "Queen Nefertiti and the Royal Women" exhibition of 1996. Its catalogue, The Royal Women of Amarna (largely written by Dorothea Arnold), provided an important new discussion of Amarna art. In 1999, Rita E. Freed of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts mounted what is probably the most ambitious exhibition of Amarna objects ever: "Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen." These objects came from as far away as Australia and included a generous sampling of important pieces from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the latter including two partial East-Karnak colossi recently restored and never before displayed. Anyone who was fortunate enough to attend the exhibition may have shared my reaction: it was the only time I have ever visited a museum and come away feeling I had seen enough Amarna art, as usually one is reminded all too forcefully of how little has survived. It was quite amazing to be able to turn from the Berlin family stele to the Louvre's red-quartzite princess torso to the British Museum's glass fish and to wander among many other masterpieces.

The accompanying catalogue, though perhaps inevitably not as groundbreaking as Aldred's earlier work, contains a useful summary of current thinking by several major Amarna scholars. While Aldred's catalogue was illustrated largely with black-and-white illustrations, the new volume reproduces pictures of all the objects, virtually all in excellent color photos. The lay-out avoids the common mistake of spreading large photos across two pages so that a portion disappears in the crack. The essays also include photographs of objects not included in the exhibition and of portions of Tell el-Amarna. There are several helpful maps, plans, and computer reconstruction's of ruined buildings.

Regrettably, however, there is no illustration of the model of the central city at Akhetaten. This model, devised by Michael Mallinson in consultation with Barry Kemp and others, formed a centerpiece for the exhibition. It offered hypothetical reconstruction of a number of areas of the city, notably the waterfront, and thus provided more than just a bit of orientation for non-experts. This exclusion is doubly a pity, since the model currently resides in storage, and no one yet knows where and when it will again be put on display. (Portions of the model can be viewed on the website of the Egypt Exploration Society Expedition to Tell el-Amarna at (www.mcdonald.arch.cam.ac.uk/Projects/Amarna)

The essays on various aspects of the Amarna era are all by top scholars. Some, such as John L. Foster's "The New Religion" and Nicholas Reeves's "The Royal Family" cover relatively familiar topics. Others deal with subjects less often discussed, as with Peter Der Manuelian's "Administering Akhenaten's Egypt," Freed's "Akhenaten's Artistic Legacy," and Sue H. D'Auria's "Preparing for Eternity," which summarizes the unusual funerary practices of the period.

Inevitably for any book dealing with Akhenaten, some of the views expressed in individual essays are controversial. W. Raymond Johnson's "The Setting; History, Religion, and Art," not surprisingly, leans toward accepting a co-regency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, while acknowledging that the jury is still out on this issue. Michael Mallinson's "The Sacred Landscape" presents his elaborate theory that the entire site of Akhetaten was oriented toward the Royal Tomb, a view that will be new to many readers. Whether or not one finds the theory plausible, the essay provides much valuable information on the site, usefully reminding the reader that Akhetaten included a great deal of territory on the west bank of the Nile. Finally, the title of the exhibition and catalogue implicitly highlights the current debate over whether Nefertiti reigned as sole pharaoh after her husband's death. Clearly the inclusion of Nefertiti as one of the "pharaohs of the sun" leans toward the idea that she did.

The excellent "Catalogue of Objects" includes brief entries by 26 authorities, including Carol Andrews, Richard A. Fazzini, Edna Russmann, and Dietrich Wildung. Every object from the exhibition is illustrated and described. These include some less well-known talatat, small faience pieces, inlays, and quite a number of non-royal objects ofeveryday life. These include small pieces from the Egypt Exploration Society excavations of the 1920s and 1930s; these were disseminated to museums around the world which had donated money to support the project. These include, for example, pieces of glass (#215) that testify to the industry at Amarna, loaned by the Museum of Mankind in San Diego.

Some of the most fascinating of these non-royal pieces are private funerary objects which substitute Atenist texts for traditional ones. For example, a stele of Ptahmay (#237), probably from Memphis, shows the owner and his family in the usual fashion but with no representation of a god--not even the Aten's disk. The accompanying prayers and offering formulas are familiar from many similar pieces, but here the owner substitutes the names of the Aten and of Ra for the older gods. Shabti figures of two chantresses of the Aten suggest the uneasy blend of traditional and new beliefs that accompanied the Amarna revolution outside the context of the royal court, a subject that has recently begun to attract more scholarly attention.

The back material provides a glossary and a "cast of characters" with suggestions as to the relationships among the various players, suitably qualified with "probably" and "possibly." There are also an outline of the various expeditions that have explored Amarna from 1714 to the present and an extensive bibliography.

Overall, Pharaohs of the Sun is a major addition to the literature on Amarna, both as an up-to-date survey of the era and as a record of an exhibition whose scope will most likely never be equaled, let alone surpassed.