

**Volume 21, Number 2,  
December 2015**

Published twice per year since  
1993

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**The President’s Papyrus**

Greetings Amarnaphiles,

As we approach the close of 2015 and the start of 2016 there is a surge of excitement building within the Egyptological community.

It seems that almost weekly there are new discoveries and finds being made in Egypt and 2015 certainly has been a fruitful year. But the thing that has everyone really excited with anticipation was the recent scanning of the walls of king Tut’s burial chamber for the evidence of walled up doorways leading to other undiscovered chambers. For those of you that have not been following these developments here is a link that will give the latest information: <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2015/11/151128-tut-tomb-scans-hidden-chambers/>

To date, the discovery of king Tut’s tomb by Howard Carter in 1922 has been the most spectacular archeological find in Egypt, ever. If in fact, there are unexplored chambers of another undisturbed pharaoh’s tomb lying on the other side of the walls of Tut’s burial chamber, then we may yet witness a discovery every bit as marvelous as that of Tutankhamen’s.

We are most excited to welcome W. Raymond Johnson, Director of the Epigraphic Survey, as a contributor to this newsletter, with his initial publication of the first of what promises to be one of many Amarna *Talatat* studies. See his article, “A Royal Fishing and Fowling *Talatat* Scene from Amarna”. Ray and I have been friends for over 30 years and I am delighted that he has consented to share with us his considerable insight and research of the Amarna period.

Best wishes to you all in the New Year,

Floyd

# The Royal Tombs at Amarna

*by Barry Kemp*

The final places of burial of members of the Amarna royal family remain obscure although much discussed. It does, however, seem that none of them ended where they had planned to be, rather as if, in death, they had become refugees. The discussion that follows is one of several ways of explaining the evidence at Amarna, one permutation of a relatively small but ambiguous set of facts that may never be elucidated with greater certainty.

Where it was originally intended that at least some of them were to be buried is stated in the text of the first set of Boundary Stelae. Akhenaten speaks in the first person:

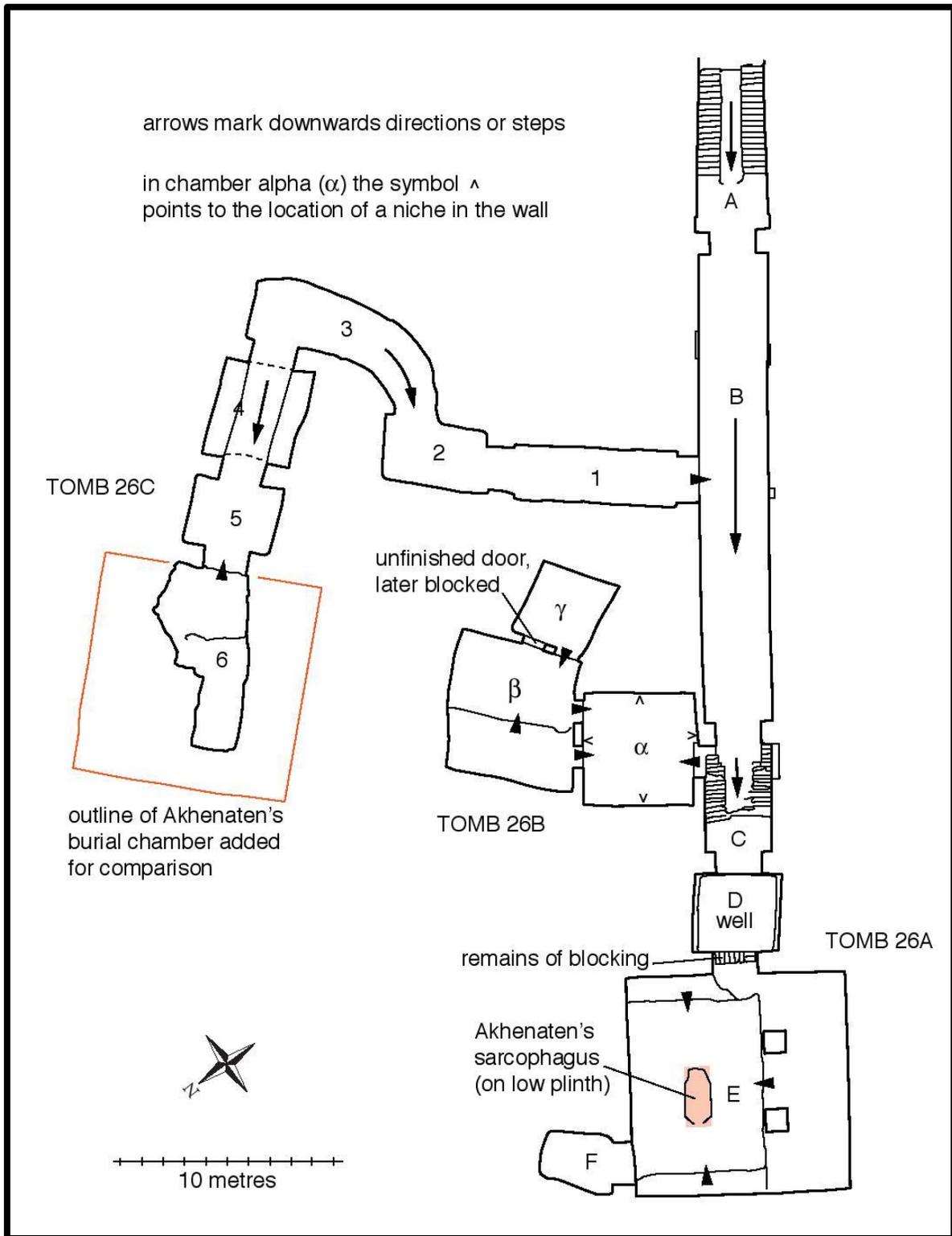
‘Let a tomb be made for me in the eastern mountain [of Akhetaten]. Let my burial be made in it, in the millions of jubilees which the Aten, my father, decreed for me. Let the burial for the Great King’s Wife Nefertiti be made in it, in the millions of years [which the Aten, my father, decreed for her. Let the burial of] the King’s Daughter, Meritaten, [be made] in it, in these millions of years.’

The word he uses for ‘tomb’, *kher*, was, at Thebes, commonly applied to the Valley of the Kings generally and specifically to the current royal tomb. The text can be interpreted as saying, therefore, that the tomb which Akhenaten planned for himself would also contain a place of burial for Nefertiti and another for Meritaten: three tombs in one. As the text continues, however, ambiguity appears. A ‘cemetery’ (using the word *semet* which implies something more extensive than a single tomb) is to be made in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten for the Mnevis Bull; along with ‘tomb chapels’ (*a’ha’ut*) for the ‘chiefs of seers’, the ‘god’s fathers’ and perhaps the ‘senior priests’ (the text is damaged here). In each case the intended occupants are to be buried ‘in it’. Does the ‘it’ refer to the tombs (even when the noun, ‘tomb chapels’, is plural) or to the ‘eastern mountain’? Translators differ, although perhaps the most definitive of the translations, that of W.J. Murnane and C.C. Van Siclen, opts for ‘eastern mountain’.

The Amarna royal tomb (no. 26) does actually contain three separate places of burial (here designated 26A, 26B and 26C): Akhenaten’s burial chamber at the end of a long descending corridor (26A), and two supplementary tombs (26B, 26C) opening from one side of the corridor. [Figure 1] In terms just of the architecture we might see the literal translation of the text exactly reflected in the tomb plan. Thus one of the supplementary tombs would have been for Meritaten and one for Nefertiti. The quasi-royal design of one of them (26C) points to Nefertiti as the more likely of the intended owners. The group of chambers labelled alpha, beta and gamma (26B) thus become the tomb intended for Meritaten.

How tomb 26B looks now is a result of the curtailment of the original intention, made following the unexpected death of Meritaten’s younger sister, Meketaten. It is not so easy to visualise the original scheme. All three chambers have their ceilings set at almost the same level in contrast to the floors, reflecting the way that the Egyptians quarried stone, starting with a narrow gallery at the top and working downwards. [Figure 2] One now steps down (about 50 cm) into chamber alpha, then up again into beta, and up further into gamma the height of which is thus less than other spaces in the royal tomb. The floor of chamber beta is at two levels, separated by a low step, and the ceiling has been cut in two separate operations along the same line. Each of the two sections has its own doorway, and the differences in the levels of floors and ceilings, which correspond to a mid-line between the doorways, suggest that, by having two doors, two sets of workmen could cut and remove surplus stone at the same time. (There is no sign that the doors were subsequently blocked and the decoration carried across the blocking.) It seems that two doors were also started for chamber gamma but work on the left-hand door (as one looks towards it from chamber beta) was prematurely stopped and the space filled in, allowing the decorated plaster surface on the inside of the room to be carried across.

The start on the second door, however, implies (on the parallel provided by chamber beta) that the intention was to make chamber gamma wider, perhaps as wide as chamber beta.



**Figure 1:** Plan of the royal tomb, no. 26, and its three sets of chambers. After the plan by Mark Lehner, in G.T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna II. The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Architecture*. London, Egypt Exploration Society 1989, Pl. II.



**Figure 2:** The inside of room beta in tomb 26B, looking towards room alpha. Note the differences in the levels of the floor and ceiling between the left and right halves of the room, corresponding to the two access doorways. Photo B. Kemp, 2015.

We might at this point note that no provision for burial is mentioned on the Boundary Stelae for Meritaten's future husband, nor for further daughters, nor for any other member of the royal family. The group of three – Akhenaten, Nefertiti and Meritaten – appear as, in effect, the complete royal family, supported by ranks of men with titles linking them to the gods.

If this was the starting configuration for burial, the premature death of the second daughter, Meketaten, thwarted the plan. With no tomb prepared for her, parental grief prompted the conversion of the still unfinished chambers intended for Meritaten into a burial place for Meketaten. [Figure 3]

Chamber gamma was hastily made usable and decorated, and so became the place where her burial was put. Chamber beta was left unfinished, its walls rough and unplastered. Chamber alpha, the outermost, was, however, also completed. The carved and painted surfaces mainly depicted the cult of the Aten at the Great Aten Temple and the large entourage that accompanied the royal family when they led the ceremonies. Part of one wall, however, was given over to small-scale copies of the scenes of mourning in chamber gamma. Was chamber alpha, at least initially, intended to serve as a memorial place for Meketaten, remaining accessible for a time? This would imply that the place where access to her tomb was closed was at the doors into chamber gamma.



**Figure 3:** The royal family grieve over the death of Meketaten. The princess stands within a festive pavilion, her name clearly written above. Her family express their anguish in front of her (left to right): Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Meritaten, Ankhnesneferibre. Scene in room gamma of tomb 26B. Photo B. Kemp, 2007.

After the decoration of each wall of chamber alpha had been completed, a rectangular niche, on average 25 cm high, was cut into each wall but was (to judge from traces on one of them) subsequently plastered over although the scene itself was not recarved. Martin, in his detailed description of the tomb, identified them as niches ‘to receive protective or ritualistic magical bricks and associated amulets’. This is a practice known from examples in both royal and private tombs in the New Kingdom. This could be consistent with Meketaten’s own burial or with the burial of another person actually placed within chamber alpha (as has been sometimes supposed). Akhenaten’s own magical bricks (in which he is addressed as Osiris) were found in tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings, though not in niches but placed on the floor.

The further in time one moves from the starting point of this narrative the more speculative it becomes. In this version, the change of plan prompted a realisation that the original scheme of a single tomb for the burials of the three leading members of the royal family was impractical. A new tomb for Meritaten was needed, and we can surmise that it was realised that, supposing Akhenaten predeceased Nefertiti (as probably did happen), the closing of the royal tomb, now with a complete royal burial inside (in chamber E), would have hindered work to complete Nefertiti’s chambers (26C).

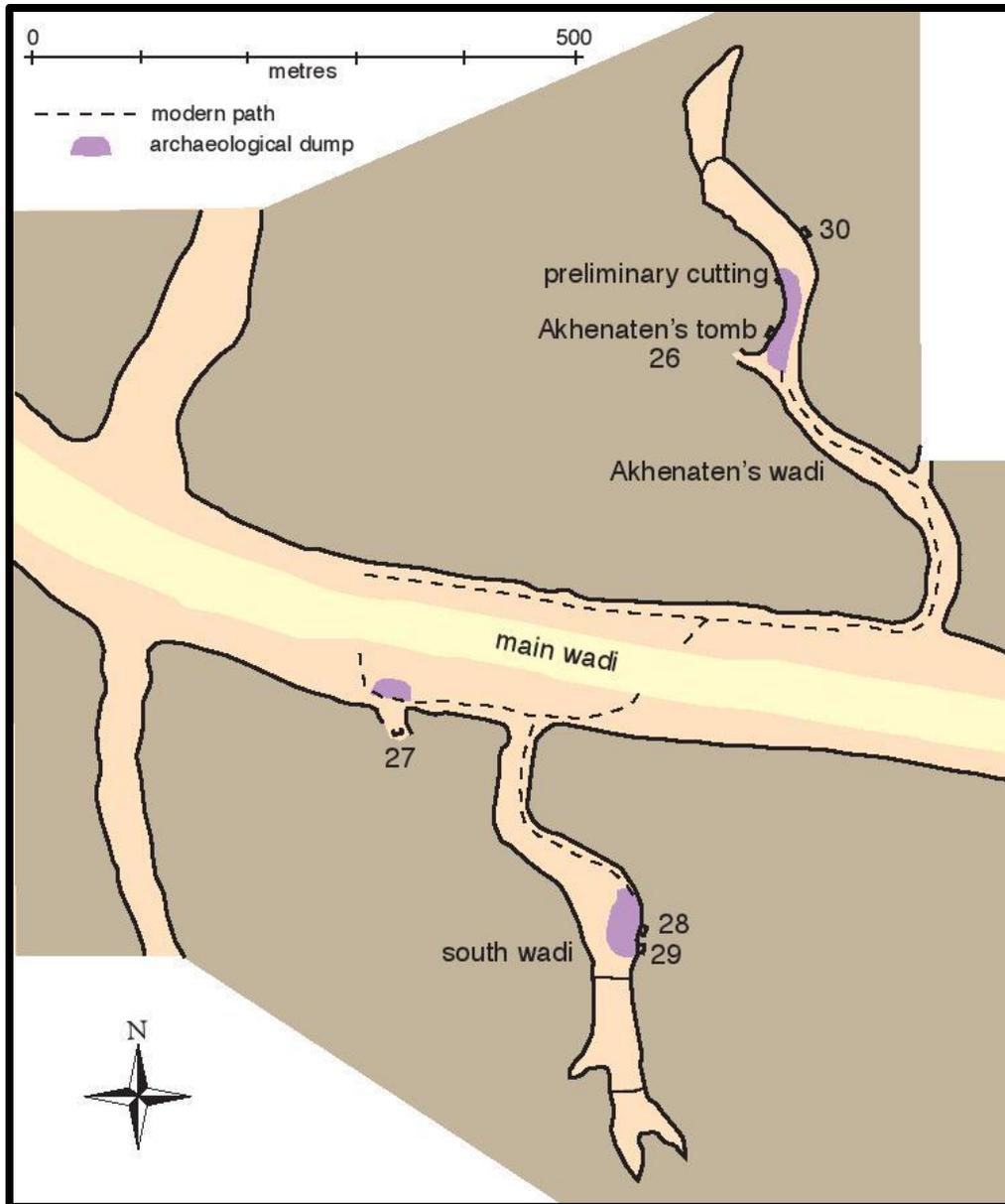


**Figure 4:** View, to the south-west, of the junction of the main wadi and the narrow south wadi, which rises up the middle of the opposite hillside. The entrance to tomb 29 is hidden in a fold in the ground, below the black arrow on the right. Photo B. Kemp, 1979.

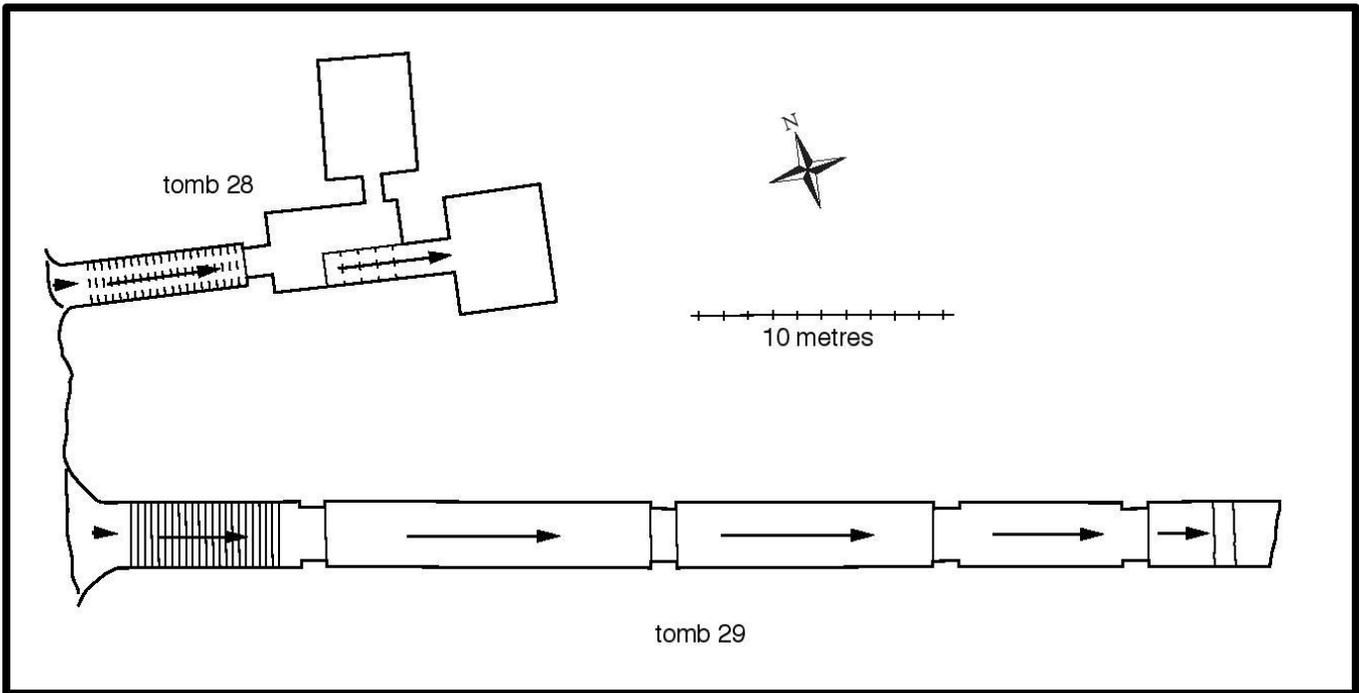
The solution was to start again, in a new location. [Figures 4 and 5] Akhenaten's tomb is situated on the left-hand side of a narrow side wadi that runs northwards from the long, winding access wadi that leads to the royal necropolis from the edge of the Amarna plain. The new location was almost a mirror image, a short side wadi that runs southwards from a point almost opposite its northern counterpart, the new tomb location also on the left-hand side. Here a start was made on cutting two new tombs within a short distance of one another. [Figure 6] The more southerly, no. 29, was, according to this interpretation, the replacement for tomb 26C, thus a new tomb for Nefertiti. [Figure 7] It descended in a straight line, via four rock-cut doorways and slight changes of the angle of descent, to a point where the work stopped with still no sign of a burial chamber. Its length, from the first doorway, is almost 40 m. This is approximately the same length of corridor in Akhenaten's tomb ahead of the deep well, the total length of his tomb, to the rear of the burial chamber, being 53 m. The stone cutters were relatively fortunate in their choice of location. Apart from deep fissures the stone is firm throughout apart from an area behind the first entrance, where a weakness and a cavity at the level of the ceiling led to the insertion of a false roof of circular wooden beams thickly plastered with gypsum.

The cutters of tomb 28, a short distance to the north and set slightly lower, were less fortunate. They at first encountered a bed of hard limestone, which could be worked with chisels, at a level just below the intended roof level. [Figure 8] Below this, however, it was replaced by many thin beds of rock separated by softer layers which readily crumble, the whole set suddenly folding downwards where the second doorway begins. In its present condition, the ceilings of the various spaces in the tomb are neatly squared off and still retain much gypsum plastering.

The plan published by El-Khouli and Martin is essentially a plan of the ceilings. Below the top band of hard limestone the rock has fallen away, in places alarmingly, so that a ground plan now would consist of a series of rounded lines. It is difficult, at first sight, to imagine it being used as a tomb. It is necessary to assume that the stone cutters, as they worked downwards to create vertical faces in this soft crumbly material, immediately afterwards spread gypsum thickly over it, pressing it into the gaps, to create a surface which was, at least for a time, firm and vertical. We can accept that the tomb was finished and could have been used for a burial. The wall at the rear of the final chamber is preserved to a sufficient depth to suggest that no further corridors or chambers were intended. Subsequently, over the centuries, the gypsum detached itself in the dry atmosphere (it can shrink in these conditions), fell away and gradually the weak rock behind disintegrated to create the present unfavourable appearance.



**Figure 5:** Sketch plan of the area of the royal tombs at Amarna, after a drawing made by Hilary Waddington in 1931, and published in G.T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna I. The Objects*, Egypt Exploration Society 1974, Pl. 3; cf. also Gabolde and Dunsmore, contoured map on p. 31. No. 30 is a small chamber that is thought might have been a burial place for embalming material, reflecting a practice known in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.



**Figure 6:** Plans of tombs 28 and 29, after Aly el-Khouly and G.T. Martin, *Excavations in the Royal Necropolis at El-'Amarna 1984*. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 1987, Pls. 5, 7.

The decoration of Akhenaten's tomb proper began only on the walls surrounding the 'well' at the foot of the long access corridor. Tomb 29 seems to have followed the same design, with no preparation of the walls of the long corridor which could have taken decoration. In tomb 28 the upper parts of the walls of the interior, including the final, deep chamber, are fairly well preserved and include areas of white plaster.

In the burial chamber in the royal tomb and in the Meketaten chambers the decoration rises to close to the level of the ceiling, above the point at which some of the plaster in tomb 28 is preserved. This suggests that no decoration was begun. The decoration of Meketaten's chambers seems to have been exceptional.

My suggestion, therefore, is that tombs 28 and 29 replaced the two tomb annexes (26B and 26C) in Akhenaten's tomb, following the death of Meketaten. Each one is a straightened-out version of its predecessor. Tombs 28 and 29 would thus have been for Meritaten and Nefertiti, respectively. To increase the labour needed (Akhenaten's own tomb being still unfinished) the Workmen's Village was extended, and the Stone Village was created, the latter drawing upon a different set of people to provide labour.

At first sight we can introduce a date here. Meketaten appears as one of the complete set of six daughters in the scene of the reception of foreign tribute on the east wall of the tomb of Meryra II (no. 2) where the date 'regnal year 12' is given as a heading. Her death, one can presume, occurred after this event. This is the only date written in any of the tombs at Amarna. In recent years it has been given even greater significance. The year 12 scene occupies the east side of the main hall of the tomb. On the rear, north wall, at right angles, one or more draughtsmen had begun to lay out a new scene in red painted lines, featuring a king and a queen, their names Ankh-kheperura Smenkhkara and Meritaten, her name now in a cartouche. The temptation is to conclude that this unfinished scene was started (and abandoned) not long after completion of the year 12 scene of the reception of foreign tribute on the neighbouring wall. Logic then compels one to make Smenkhkara a co-regent of Akhenaten, his brief reign beginning after year 12 (year 13 perhaps) and thus entirely within Akhenaten's reign.



**Figure 7:** The descent into tomb 29. Large areas of gypsum plaster remain on the walls and ceiling. Photo B. Kemp, 2015.



**Figure 8:** The ceiling in tomb 28, where the entrance corridor meets the descent to the rear chamber. The hard stone layer beneath the ceiling preserves areas of the original gypsum coating to all surfaces, which, for a time, would have concealed and helped to support the unstable rock surface below. Photo B. Kemp, 2015.

This argument assumes that, either by very good planning or by coincidence, the east wall of Meryra II's tomb had just reached the stage where decoration was to be added in the very same year that the reception of foreign tribute took place. The rock tombs at Amarna show a wide and interesting range of ways in which they were left unfinished. It has long seemed to me that the unskilled and skilled labour that was needed was insufficient to allow an official to see orderly progress towards the completion of his tomb, to the extent that he might have been lucky to obtain the services of a particular group of workers or artists for only short intervals (perhaps periods of days). Interrupted progress was normal.

For Meryra II (as for Huya, owner of adjacent tomb no. 1), the reception of foreign tribute was a key moment in his life. Perhaps both men were responsible for organising the event. They held similar positions, as stewards of the households of, respectively, Nefertiti and Tiy. Maybe they were related to one another. We can really form no idea of the rate at which Meryra II's tomb progressed, how far the workmen and artists had got beyond the doorway by year 12. Perhaps three years more were needed before the east wall and the full team of artists were ready for the decoration (which never received its final stage, that of being painted). The facing wall, that on the west, was smoothed but received no decoration at all. By two years later still, so we can pursue the story in our imagination, the rear (north) wall had also been smoothed and prepared for decoration. At this point Akhenaten died, Smenkhkara became king, and one or more artists were brought in to commemorate the new reign. Davies considered that the 'cartouches seem somewhat large and clumsy in comparison with the rest of the inscription, but the execution of the whole also is very different from that of the other walls'. In the end, imagination aside, we have no firm basis for the chronology of the tomb, and thus should be careful in adopting a literal interpretation. The year 12 date is the date of the event and not when its commemoration was carved. It is not like the date in a quarry or on a papyrus legal document.

Meryra II's colleague, Huya, in celebrating his service in the household of Queen Tiy, depicted her husband, Amenhotep III, at a banquet with Tiy. It is very likely that Amenhotep III had been dead for some years by this time. His appearance is a tribute to his memory by a man who probably owed his position to him. Meryra II had served the household of Nefertiti. We cannot exclude the possibility that, in a similar way, he had all six of his mistress's daughters shown, irrespective of whether they were all alive at the time of the reception of foreign tribute. Tomb pictures are not photographs. They are compositions intended to reflect, in part, something suited to eternal contemplation.

Year 12 is not a strong point in the chronology of Amarna. All we can reasonably deduce is that a ceremony, of great personal importance to the two tomb owners but of uncertain wider significance, took place at this time. The decoration of Meketaten's burial chamber (room gamma of 26B) does itself contain a potential piece of dating evidence. One set of cartouches of the Aten is preserved, and shows the later form of the name. There is still, however, no agreement as to when the new form appeared, although the moment seems to be bracketed between years 8 and 12.

Returning to the royal tombs, the what-if story continues. The death of Akhenaten brought Smenkhkara (who also adopted the nomen Nefernefru-aten) to the throne, married to Meritaten. Unlike successful officials who could begin work on their tombs at a time of their own choosing, kings had to wait until their coronation had taken place. It is reasonable to think that a start would be made on a tomb for Smenkhkara. If we follow logic (not necessarily the right course in dealing with history) this latest tomb would be the one on which least progress had been made by the time work was abandoned. This is tomb no. 27, which was given a grand, wide entrance very similar to that for Akhenaten's tomb. [Figures 9 and 10] The separate location perhaps reflects a more determined attempt to find a good bed of limestone, which was successful, at least to the depth at which the cutting stopped.



**Figure 9:** Looking up the entrance ramp at tomb 29. Photo B. Kemp, 2015.

The process of abandoning Amarna was relatively long drawn out (it is possible that the two main Aten temples continued in use during Horemheb's reign although the demolition of palaces had already begun). Smenkhkara's death (at the earliest in his third regnal year) must, however, have brought the Amarna royal tombs project to an abrupt end.

A further intriguing question is how many of the underground spaces were used for burials. If we consider the whole group of rock-cut tombs (a convenient but not exact figure is twenty-nine, nos 1–25 being in the northern and southern groups of tombs for officials), hardly anything has been found of burial equipment other than in the valleys where the royal tombs lay. In the case of the royal scribe Any, owner of tomb no. 23, we can be reasonably sure that he died and was buried in his tomb in view of the memorial stelae left in the entrance by his colleagues. Davies saw in the completeness of the tomb of Huya (no.1) a sign that he had died and been buried within it. But nothing survived into modern times of burial equipment for either of them. Two factors would have worked against this: the likely removal of prestigious and accessible burials by relatives when the city was abandoned, and the fact that the tombs (including the royal tombs) were, at various times or continuously, open.



**Figure 10:** Looking up the entrance ramp at Akhenaten's tomb (no. 26). Photo Egypt Exploration Society 34/5, no. 26/1.

The northern tombs were re-used by Christian monks; the South Tombs were, in later dynastic times, used for burials and also for large-scale storage which left huge quantities of pottery behind. It is no surprise that so little, mostly nothing at all, is left of any original burials made in the two groups of private rock tombs.

In the case of the royal tombs, much pottery and a considerable number of objects have been recovered by excavation, from within the original royal tomb (no. 26) and particularly from dumps that covered the ground outside, and from dumps in the south valley. Some of this material (e.g. two ostraca depicting the god Bes) and perhaps much of the pottery are likely to have been left by the workmen who made the tombs and who could have used the tomb corridors as places for shelter. But there seems to be sufficient material to suggest that the burials of Akhenaten, Meketaten and (from fragments of her sarcophagus) Queen Tiy took place within the royal tomb (26).

The dumps in the south valley also produced one kind of telltale object in several locations. These are pieces of blue or green faience, some with inwardly bevelled edges and traces of plaster on the underside. Thirty-three pieces were found in the dump outside tomb 28 (object groups 21, 23 in the Aly el-Khouly and Martin catalogue), with two more (object group 22) actually inside the tomb (in the rear room, room no. 3); four (object group 74) were found in the dump outside tomb 29, and four more (object group 88) on the bed of the wadi.

Faience inlays (for this is what they are), of simple shapes, were used in the decoration of stone architecture at Amarna, but this seems an unlikely explanation for these specimens. They were also used as decorative inlays in wooden objects, often accompanied by the use of gold foil to cover the intervening spaces. An example is the outer shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

Apart from faience pieces of complex outline that filled the spaces between the gold-leaf covered symbols, the border around the edges of the two door panels was a simple block pattern where each block was a rectangular inlay of turquoise-coloured faience. An appropriate explanation for the pieces found in the south valley, therefore, is that they had fallen from a large wooden object otherwise covered with gold leaf. Nothing more dramatic is required than that the item was knocked either as it was brought to the burial or as it was subsequently removed, causing it to shed some of its inlays. Another item (no. 73) from the dump outside tomb 29 is described as: 'Lower part of a shabti coffin of wood, traces of blue on wig'; and Marc Gabolde reports the finding of five small fragments of polished red granite (from a sarcophagus?) outside tomb 29.

There is far more evidence for burials having taken place in the royal valleys than at the north and south tombs of officials. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the individuals who might have been buried in the royal tombs were necessarily those for whom the tombs were intended, excepting Akhenaten himself. Meketaten and Queen Tiy illustrate this. The Boundary Stelae present a plan for what was to be done with the three leading members of the royal family when they died (and with some of the prominent men of Amarna also, although in practice they had to compete for resources to complete their individual tombs). Otherwise, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that when other members of the royal family and household died, an *ad hoc* approach was adopted for their burials, as if no advanced preparations had been made. In the case of Meketaten she was given a rapidly converted portion of the royal tomb. Only during the reign of Rameses II was a solution sought, in the creation of the huge communal family tomb in the Valley of the Kings that is KV5 and is estimated to contain at least 130 rooms.

The fragments of burial objects found in the south valley probably cannot take us further in identifying for whom any burial was intended, although the faience inlays, once their likely context is realised, point to burial furnishings of some grandeur. But still there can be no answer to the question, was Nefertiti for a time buried within one of the tombs, most likely the still unfinished tomb 29? If she managed to outlive Smenkhkara the answer is no.

In writing this account I have followed a simple history of succession at the end of the Amarna period, with one royal couple only between Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. I will explain my reasons in the next issue of the Akhetaten Sun. I have relied heavily on the detailed work of Geoffrey Martin and his co-workers, Ali el-Khouli and Mark Lehner, whose published accounts are given below.

The relevant passages in the boundary Stelae are translated in W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Atlanta (GA), Scholars Press 1995. pp. 77–8; and W.J. Murnane and C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London and New York, Kegan Paul International 1993, p.41.

For the tombs themselves, see G.T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna*. 2 vols. London, Egypt Exploration Society 1974, 1989. The quote concerning magical bricks placed in niches is from volume II, p. 27; Aly el-Khouly and G.T. Martin, *Excavations in the Royal Necropolis at El-'Amarna 1984*. Cairo, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 1987.

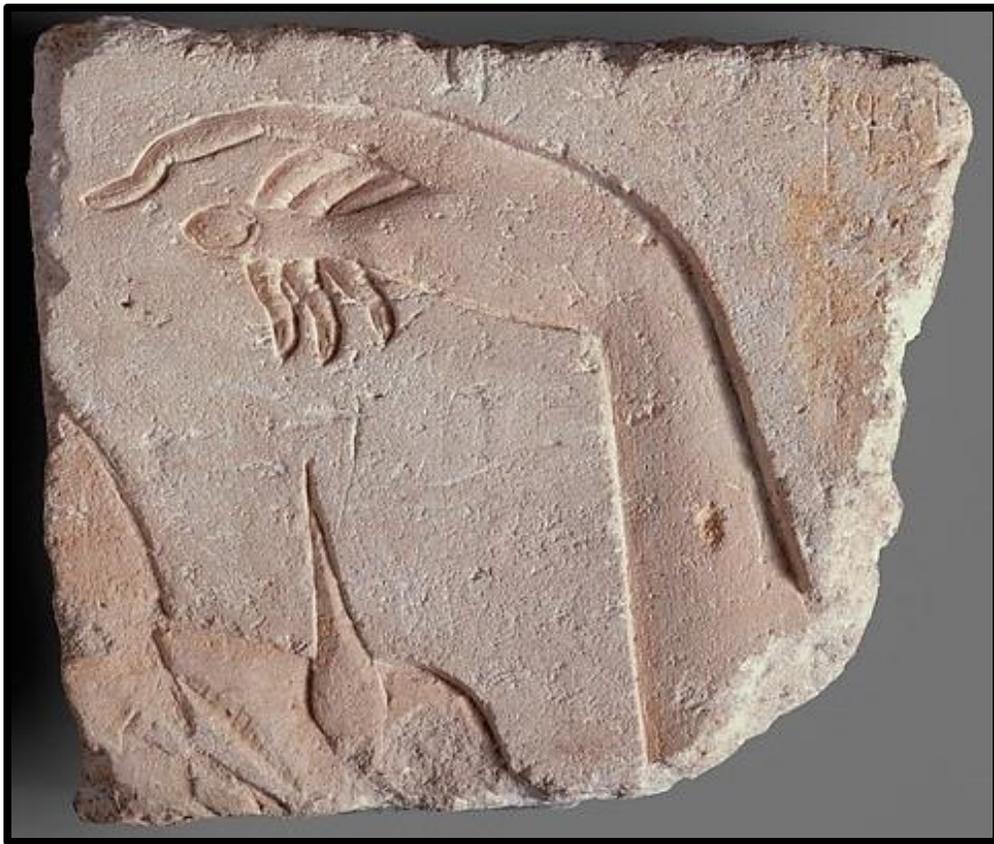
Marc Gabolde re-excavated the royal valleys during 1999–2006. See M. Gabolde, 'Travaux dans la nécropole royale de Tell el-Amarna.' In J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Egyptologists*, Grenoble, 6–12 September 2004. Leuven, Peeters 2007. Vol. 1, pp. 763–6.

The tombs of Meryra II and of Huya are published in N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. 6 vols. London, Egypt Exploration Fund 1903–08, reprinted as 3 vols 2004. Davies' quote on the style of the Smenkhkara scene in the tomb of Meryra II is from volume II, p. 44.

# A Royal Fishing and Fowling *Talatat* Scene from Amarna

by *W. Raymond Johnson*

One of the most enigmatic of all Amarna *talatat* blocks, limestone *talatat* fragment MMA 1985.328.1 [Figure 1] is in many ways the poster child of the Amarna period [1]. Depicting the upraised, languid hand of a royal personage with long, thin, delicate fingers, it has puzzled and delighted art historians ever since its discovery in 1929 in Ashmunein, ancient Hermopolis, in the ruins of the great temple of the moon-god Thoth. Excavated by German archaeologist Gunther Roeder [2] with thousands of other Amarna *talatat* blocks in the fill of a pylon gateway of Ramesses II [3], the graceful hand is markedly different from the traditional ancient Egyptian rendering of the human hand. Because of its context and Amarna style, it is usually assumed to be the hand of Akhenaten or Nefertiti, and wonderfully representative of the luxurious indolence we associate today with Akhenaten's court. The original scene is unknown, but the hand has been described as either reaching for food, or depositing an offering on an offering pile, perhaps a drop of fat or unguent [4].



**Figure 1:** MMA 1985.328.1 from the Norbert Schimmel Collection. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The unusual gesture of the hand has intrigued scholars for years, and in my ongoing review of known Amarna *talatat* it has haunted me [5]. I had a memory of having seen the gesture elsewhere, since even at Amarna artistic motifs and scenes often repeat. Yet a thorough review of feasting and offering scenes on *talatat* from Karnak and Amarna and Amarna tomb scenes produced nothing even remotely similar, which only deepened the mystery.

Finally I came across the parallel, but not from Amarna: it was the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun discovered by Howard Carter in Tutankhamun's tomb, KV 62 [6]. Among the exquisite vignettes in chased gold that depict Queen Ankhesenamun venerating her husband as a god are two scenes that show Tutankhamun and his queen hunting waterfowl in the papyrus marshes. One of the scenes shows the royal couple standing on a papyrus skiff; Tutankhamun is depicted striding with upraised arm bringing down waterfowl in flight with throwsticks while Ankhesenamun, holding a flywhisk, stands behind him [7]. The second scene shows Tutankhamun, seated on a folding stool, shooting ducks with a bow and arrow as they fly up from the papyrus thicket. Ankhesenamun, seated on a cushion in front of Tutankhamun, gazes up at her husband and passes him an arrow for the next shot [8]. [Figure 2]



**Figure 2:** Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun hunting in the marshes; Tutankhamun Golden shrine. Photo by George Johnson.

Take a good look at Ankhesenamun's other hand; elbow on knee, upraised hand bent, index finger extended, languidly pointing toward the marshes. [Figure 3] Compare it to the hand on MMA 1985.328.1. It is exactly the same gesture.

Here, then, is our parallel to the Amarna scene, not a feasting or offering scene featuring piles of food, but a hunting scene, not exactly what one would expect at Akhenaten's Amarna, where all of life and living was celebrated. According to the later Tutankhamun parallel, the hand on the MMA block should be the hand of an Amarna queen pointing toward the marshes, just as Ankhesenamun points in the smaller version of the scene. Providentially, miraculously, there are more *talatat* that support this identification, with even more surprises.



**Figure 3:** Detail of Ankhesenamun figure pointing toward the marshes.

Before I realized that MMA 1985.328.1 was part of a hunting scene, I had been working with a group of other Hermopolis Amarna *talatat* published by Roeder that I had determined were from a life size, Akhenaten-period marsh-hunting scene, clearly the antecedent to--and model for--the later Tutankhamun scenes. A key *talatat* block, Roeder's 153-VIII [9], is the Rosetta Stone for the group, and indicates that the wall scene originally depicted Akhenaten hunting waterfowl with bow and arrow [10]. [Figure 4]



**Figure 4:** Hermopolis *talatat* 153 VIII; photo by Roeder.

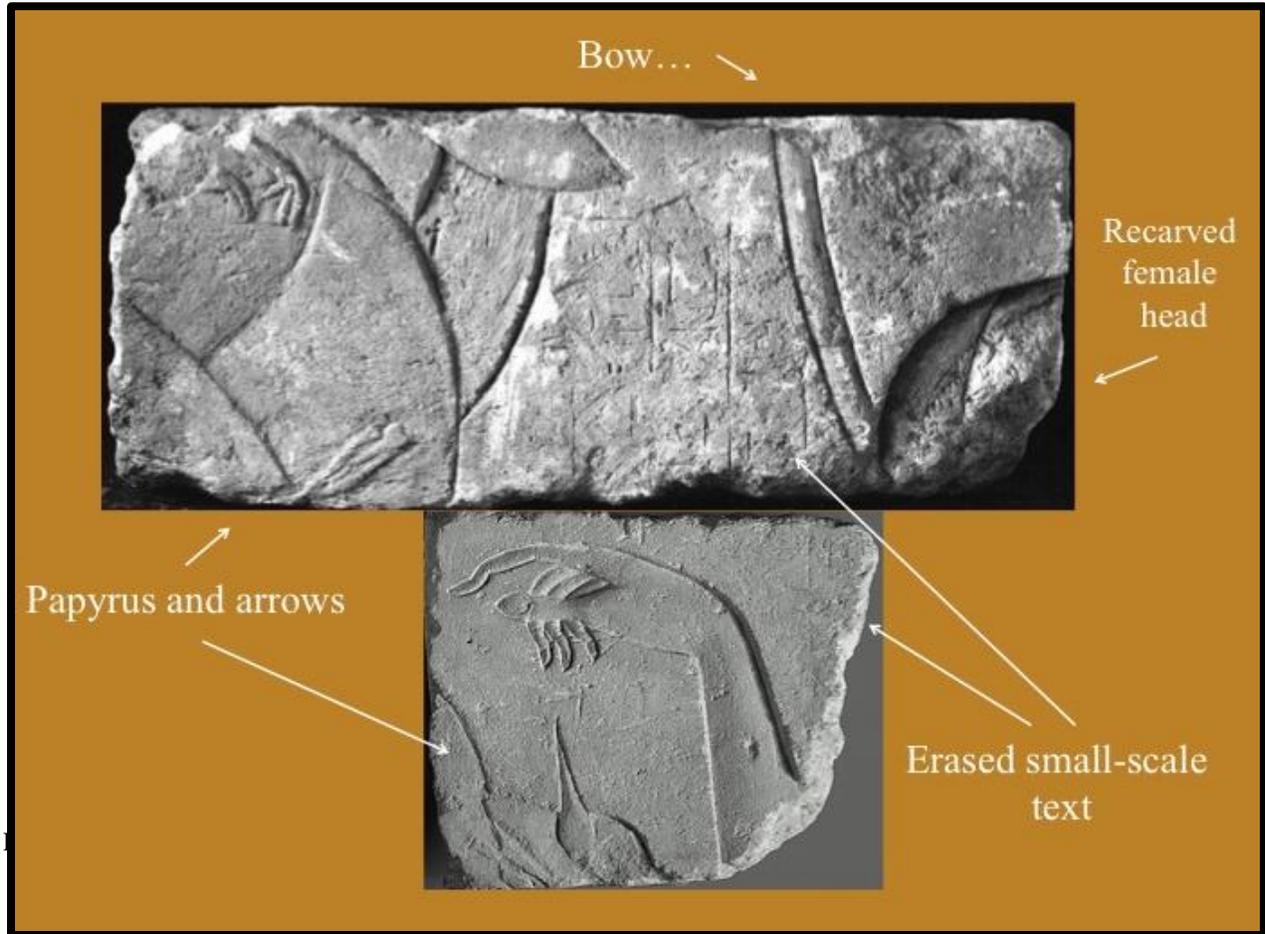
The curved element arising from the head of a human figure on the right of *talatat* 153 VIII is the lower part of the king's drawn bow. Papyrus plants can be seen on the left, and the lower part of an unfortunate duck who has been pierced in mid-flight by one of the king's arrows can be seen at the top left of the block. I was delighted to identify another block from this scene published by Roeder, 602-VIII B [11] [Figure 5] that preserves an upper section of the curved bow and the Aten's rayed hands over the king - incredible good fortune.

My luck was doubled by the fact that the block is a header, inscribed on the other end, 602 VIII D, with part of a large cartouche of the Aten; this indicates that the wall was one *talatat* length in thickness (52 cm) and decorated on both sides. At present I have identified two other blocks from the hunting scene: Roeder block 933-VIII which preserves the upraised hand of the king pulling back the bowstring under more Aten rayed hands [12]; and Roeder block 987-VIII which shows a cluster of papyrus plants behind the king, and the upper part of the back support of a chair or throne [13]. A raised vertical architectural line with a roughened surface at the far right side of the block indicates the rightmost *terminus* of the scene. Particularly significant is the preserved section of a chair back support, which makes it certain that Akhenaten was seated and that the later Tutankhamun versions are copying this detail as well.



**Figure 5:** Hermopolis *talatat* block 602 VIII B, photo by Roeder.

But the blocks had even more secrets to impart. Both MMA 1985.328.1 and Roeder 153 VIII preserve traces of erased text; the text is barely visible on the upper right side of the MMA block. When the MMA block is placed directly underneath Roeder 153-VIII, both text and elements of a female figure line up, strongly suggesting that the two blocks were originally in this position on the wall ... yes, a join! [Figure 6]

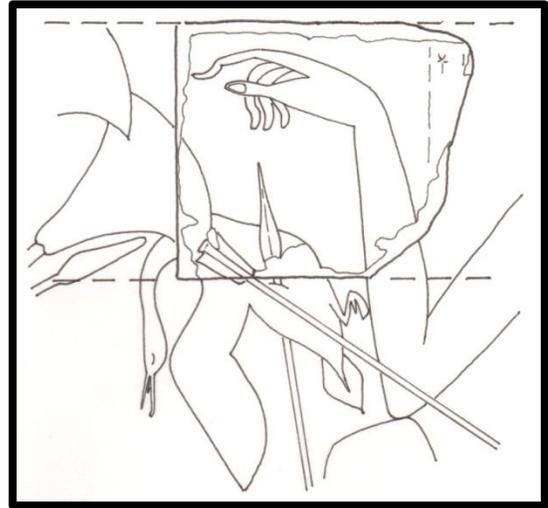


**Figure 6:** Roeder 153-VIII and MMA 1985.328.1 *talatat* blocks joined.

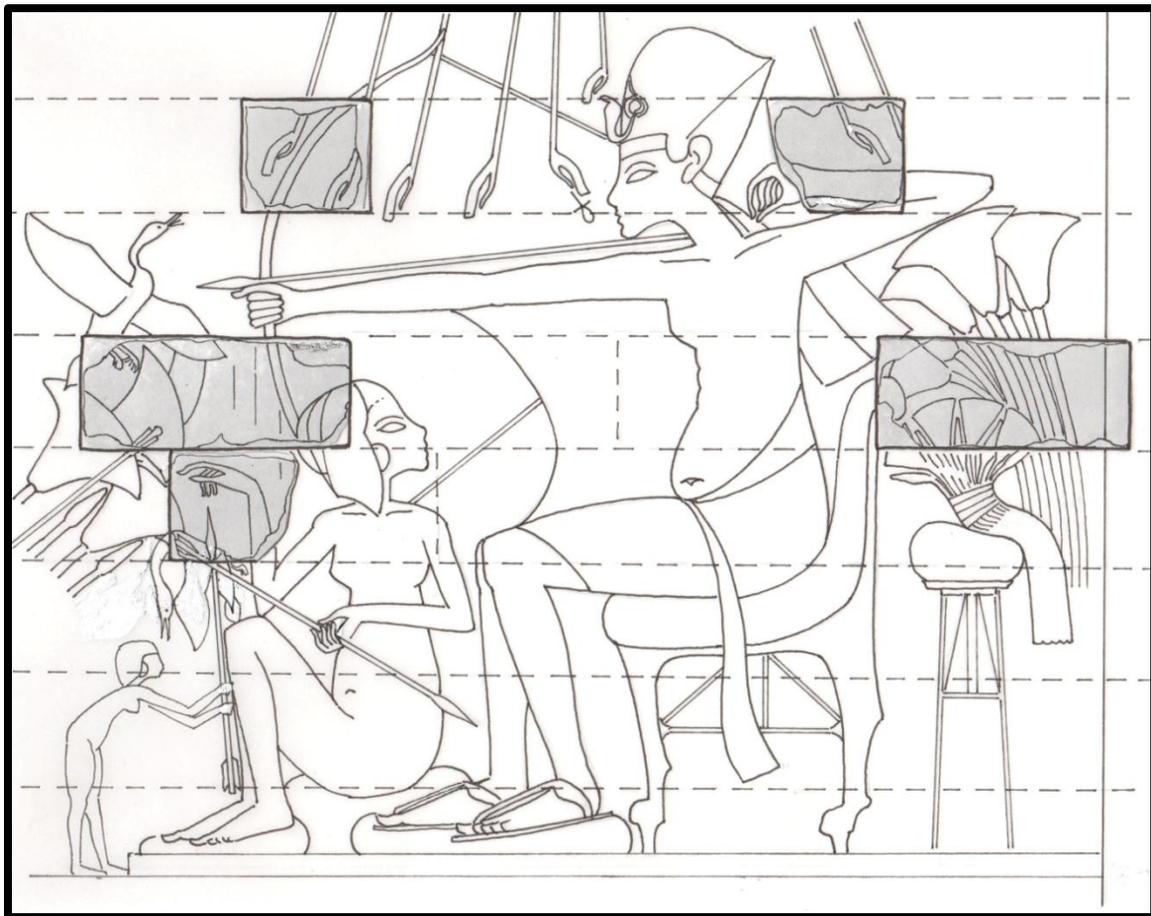
The gesture of the female figure matches the gesture of Ankhesenamun on the golden shrine scene, and the rounded elements on the lower left are papyrus flowers from the adjacent papyrus marsh (also preserved in the block above). The feathered element on the left of the MMA block is the shaft of an arrow, while the most enigmatic element of all, the pointed object that looks like a teardrop, is actually the point of an arrow in a vertical position with a raised beveled edge down the center. Not coincidentally, the arrows on Tutankhamun's small golden shrine have an identical bevel.

One would naturally expect, on the basis of the Tutankhamun/Ankhesenamun parallel, that Akhenaten's companion in the hunting scene was Nefertiti. Yet here is another surprise: the small section of the head of the female figure on Roeder153-VIII preserves enough data to identify her *not* as Nefertiti, but Akhenaten's greatly beloved, non-royal second wife, Kiya. The re-carved Nubian wig with added bald 'princess' extension makes the identification very clear, but the re-carved text to the left of her figure on both blocks clinches it. Examination indicates that the erased names and titles are clearly those of Kiya. The upright arrow strung with dead waterfowl is being given to Kiya by a diminutive figure, either a servant, as in MMA 1985.328.22 [14], [Figure 7] or perhaps their daughter, who often appears with her parents [15].

In my experience analyzing fragmentary wall reliefs from many periods of Egyptian history [16], I have noted that quarried stone from dismantled monuments was often reused in chunks quarried from the same wall sections. This means that often it is possible to identify and reconstruct groups of diagnostic blocks and fragments and reconstruct specific scenes around the fragments. Often some of the material physically joins, and sometimes the reassembled material forms long strips quarried off the wall at the same time [17]. This could very well be the case here. [Figure 8] Roeder published a few *talatat* blocks and fragments that appear to come from the papyrus thicket [18] itself, three fragments that line up and preserve the fanning out of a single large papyrus clump. [Figure 9]

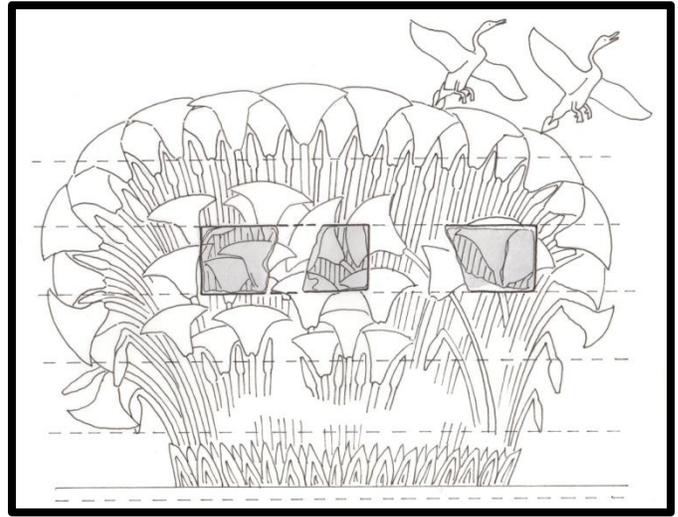


**Figure 7:** Papyrus, arrows, and pierced duck reconstruction, MMA 1985.328.1. Drawing by Ray Johnson.

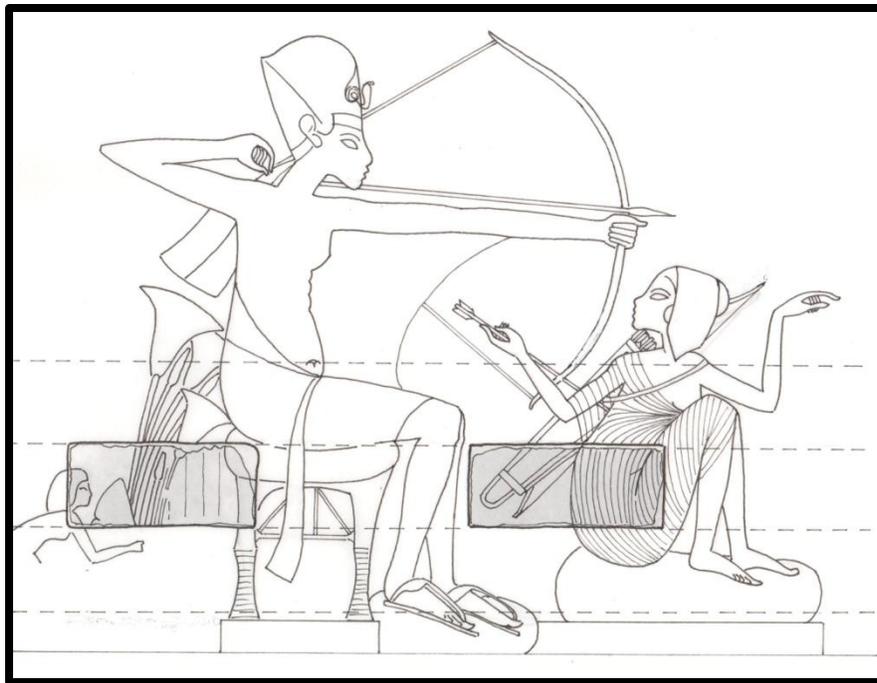


**Figure 8:** Primary shooting scene with MMA 1985.328.1, lower left. Drawing by Ray Johnson.

I have identified other Amarna blocks from a second bow and arrow marsh-hunt scene, but in reverse direction, in the same scale, with block lines that line up with the other group. The *talatat* block on the left, Roeder PC 233 (now San Antonio Museum of Art 91.80.155) preserves the stool of the king behind which spring papyrus plants and a servant who is holding what might be a fish [19]. The second block shows a female figure, probably Kiya again, wearing a pleated gown, seated with upraised knees on a cushion [20]. Erased and modified text on the first block also supports her identification. Note the quiver of arrows and extra bow on the back of this figure, an Amazonian touch that could very well be unique in Egyptian art for a female. Presumably she was shown passing an arrow from the quiver to her husband for the next shot, and perhaps even pointing toward the marshes. [Figure 10]

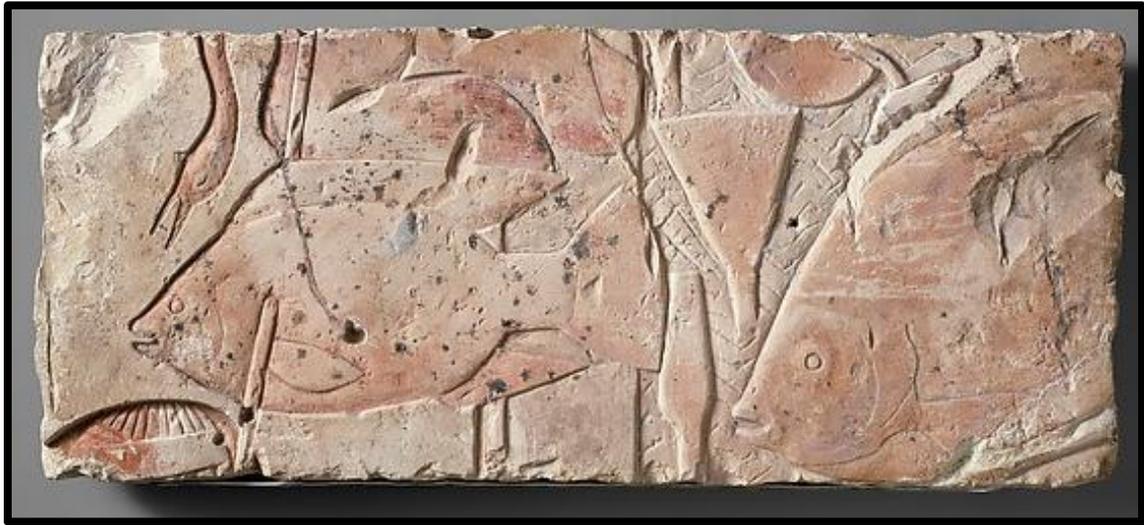


**Figure 9:** Papyrus clump *talatat* block fragment reconstruction. Drawing by Ray Johnson.



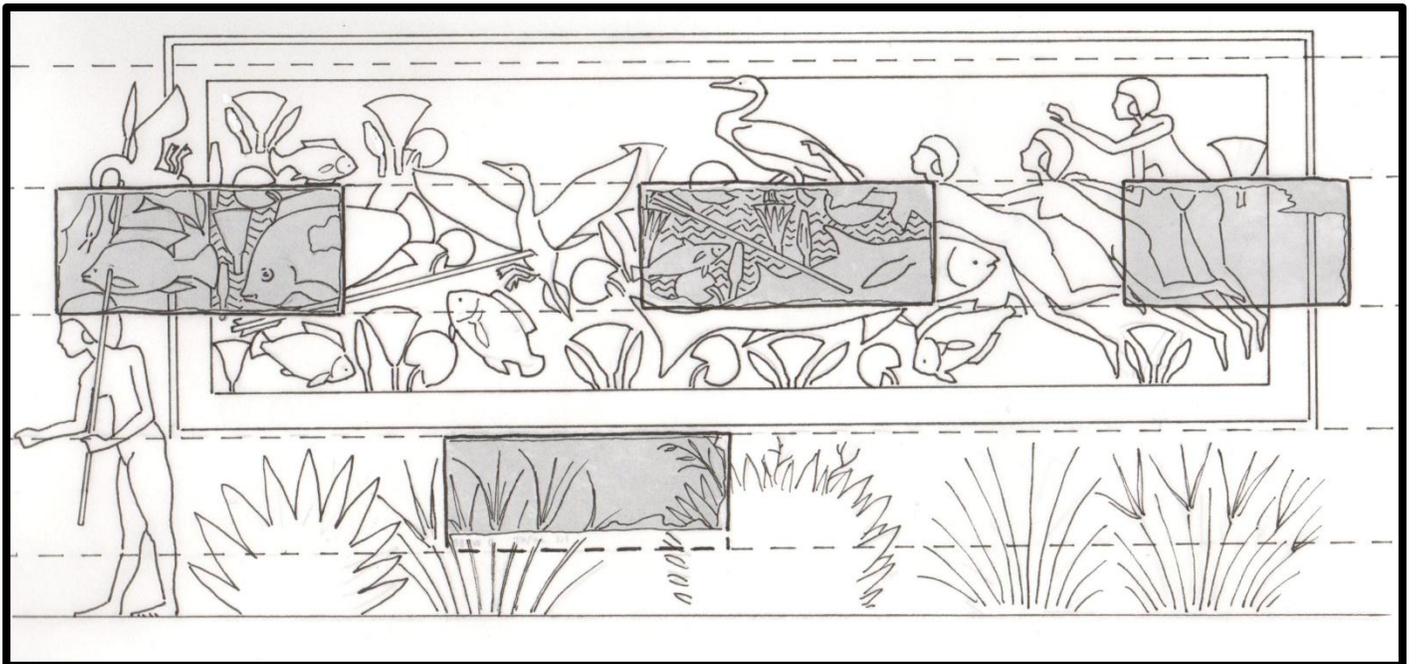
**Figure 10:** Second shooting scene. Drawing by Ray Johnson.

Another group of four *talatat* blocks preserves details of a large lotus pool filled with fish and ducks, [Figure 12] who are being dispatched with arrows, but this time from the left, the orientation of the previous two blocks. From left to right, the far left block, Roeder PC 35, (now MMA 1985.328.22, from the Schimmel Collection) depicts the left vertical edge of the pool, a large tilapia fish in it, while another fish and a limp, dead duck strung on a spear are held by a servant the top of whose head can be seen in the lower left [21]. [Figure 11]



**Figure 11:** MMA 1985.328.22. Photo courtesy the MMA.

A second *talatat*, PC 48, preserves more fish in a pool, including a very large mullet fish pierced by an arrow, lotuses and lily pads, and the lower legs of a swimming duck [22]. A third *talatat*, Roeder PC 249 (now Turin S. 18151 RCGE 16628) depicts nude, swimming maidens chasing ducks and the right-hand vertical edge of the pool identical in scale to the pool edge on the far left *talatat* block [23]. An element on the middle block, upper right, that appears to be a human arm reaching for (or actually holding on to) the swimming duck makes it likely that the Turin block depicts maidens swimming behind and catching ducks, a motif found in wooden, ivory, and sometimes stone cosmetic spoons, and faience bowls that depict the same scene. The three blocks arrange in a line from the same course with some blocks missing. A fourth block, Roeder 438-VII C, may fit the garden border surrounding the pool [24].



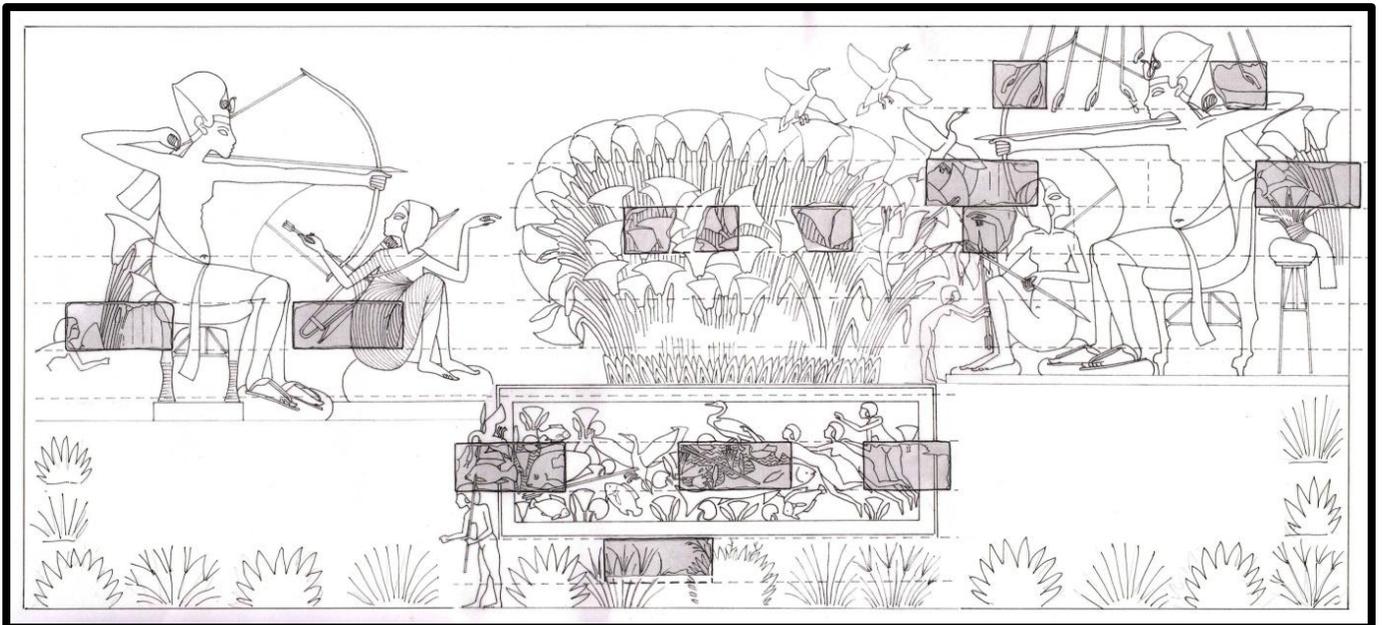
**Figure 12:** Lotus and fish pool block group. Drawing by Ray Johnson.

This composition immediately reminds one of the fish-shooting scene on the front panel of the stained ivory chest found in Tutankhamun's tomb, Cairo no. 61477, Carter no. 540, and it is probable that the Amarna version was the inspiration for Tutankhamun's artists. [Figure 13]



**Figure 13:** Tutankhamun ivory box front panel. Photo by George Johnson.

We may be dealing with two completely different scenes represented by the *talatat*, both in the same scale, one showing the king and Kiya shooting ducks and fish in the papyrus marshes, and one showing the couple shooting fish and ducks in a large pool. Another possible model is that the two scenes flanked a large papyrus thicket over the depiction of a large pool filled with lotus and papyrus plants, ducks, and even swimming maidens in a large garden setting on a single long wall. The surviving *talatat* blocks from all scenes form a long, fairly continuous strip that may have been quarried from a single long wall. [Figure 14]



**Figure 14:** *Talatat* hunting groups, hypothetical arrangement, perhaps below a window. Drawing by Ray Johnson.

Other blocks that may derive from this wall preserve parts of a decorated window, and it is possible that the two scenes flanked a palace viewing window, or a Window of Appearance, overlooking a garden and pool setting. The North Palace comes immediately to mind, or the Maru Aten; both complexes appear to have been built for Kiya and later dedicated to Meritaten, and both featured stone components within the mud-brick enclosures. It is hoped that time and further research will help us pinpoint what complex these remarkable scenes embellished [25].

In the meantime we may ponder the significance of the reliefs that show the greatly beloved but non-royal wife Kiya in a role that we would expect for the great royal wife Nefertiti. In the Hermopolis block material there are dozens of *talatat* blocks that feature Kiya, many of which have been identified as coming from shrines showing Akhenaten, Kiya, and their small daughter in cultic offering scenes usually reserved for Nefertiti [26]. I have recently joined two *talatat* blocks that depict Kiya assisting in a ritual duck sacrifice, MMA 1985.328.2 from the Norbert Schimmel Collection, and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1776 [27], which now adds to the corpus of cultic scenes featuring Kiya. [Figure 15]

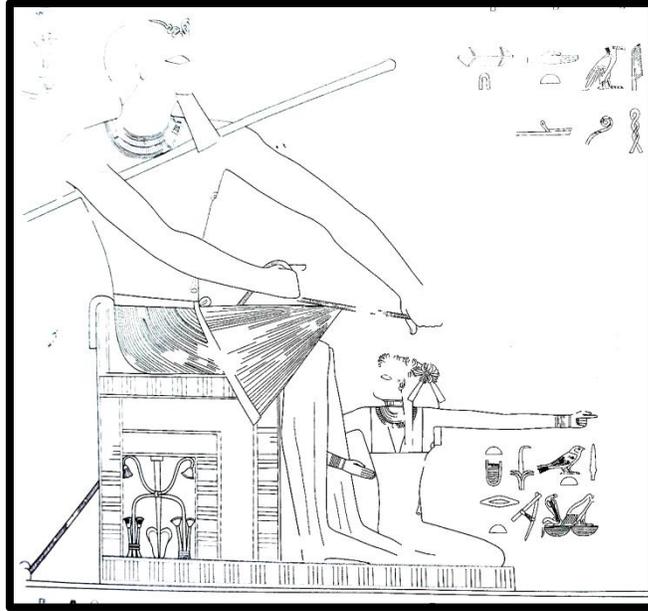


**Figure 15:** MMA 1985.328.2 and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1776 joined.

Kiya does not replace Nefertiti; both ladies have distinct titularies that clearly demarcate their different status. In marked contrast to Nefertiti, Kiya never has a uraeus or royal diadem, her name is never written in a cartouche, and the Aten never holds life to her nose. The archaeological material suggests that the two women lived at Akhetaten at the same time, although Kiya's time was short-lived, in separate compounds. What role she played is a vexing question, yet she was clearly an important element in Akhenaten's later program there. With more material coming together that features her, perhaps we will learn more about her function and significance at the Aten capital.

#### **POSTSCRIPT:**

In examining parallels for seated, hunting kings, I came across a reference by Marianne Eaton-Krauss addressing seated kings in Egyptian art [28]. She makes the point that scenes showing seated kings go back to the Old Kingdom, are part of the venerable tradition of Egyptian art, and do not necessarily indicate that the king was feeble; quite the reverse, in fact. She cites a recently published example from the pyramid causeway of Sahure, from Dynasty 5. When I checked the publication, I was quite shocked to see that not only is the king seated, pulling the rope of a clap-net to catch waterfowl in the marshes, but he is accompanied by his wife who is seated at his feet, gazing up at her husband, with outraised arm, finger extended, pointing toward the marshes [29]! [Figure 16]



**Figure 16:** Sahure fowling with his wife. Detail of *Abusir XVI*, plate 13.

I had assumed that Akhenaten's compositions were the original, unique template for Tutankhamun's hunting scenes, and indeed, they were obviously the immediate antecedent and influence. But it is now clear that Akhenaten was following a venerable artistic tradition that originated almost a thousand years before him. This is an astonishing fact, and another revelation. We must now ask ourselves: how much more of Amarna's art and theology was part of a much older tradition?

#### END NOTES:

- [1] From the Schimmel Collection. Sincerest thanks to Diana Craig Patch and the MMA Egyptian department for the photo and permission to publish MMA 1985.328.1 in this preliminary study. Special thanks to Dennis Forbes, editor of *KMT Communications* for permission to republish in this newsletter this article that originally appeared in *KMT* 26, 4 (Winter 2015-2016), pages 40-50, relatively unchanged. The author intends to compile this and other Amarna *talatat* group reconstructions in a monograph in the near future. Additional thanks must go to friends and colleagues who have been of tremendous help in sorting and analyzing the material, particularly Jay Heidel, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Kristin Thompson, Jacquelyn Williamson, Christian Bayer, Barry Kemp, and Earl Ertman. All of the preliminary drawings are the author's own, flaws and all.
- [2] Published by Gunther Roeder in *Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, (Hildesheim 1969) PC 2, plate 173; and Rainer Hanke, *Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien*, (*Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (HAB)* 2, (Hildesheim 1978).
- [3] In whose reign Amarna was completely dismantled and quarried for its building stone.
- [4] "Lump of incense," Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (NY 1973), page 209; "A pellet of incense or, more likely, a clump of fat..." John D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (NY 1965), page 6.
- [5] The 'Chicago House Amarna *Talatat* Project' was inaugurated in 2014; see *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* Fall 2014, page 10.

- [6] See Marianne Eaton-Krauss, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, (Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1985).
- [7] *Ibid* plate XIV.
- [8] *Ibid* plate XV.
- [9] Roeder, plates 32 and 57. The whereabouts of 153-VIII are at present unknown, but it may still be in the MAH *talatat* magazine at Ashmunein/Hermopolis. Many thanks to Regine Shulz and Christian Bayer from the Roemer- und Pelizeaus Museum, Hildesheim for the photo published here.
- [10] Roeder, plates 32, 57 (misabeled 135).
- [11] Roeder, plate 117
- [12] Roeder, plate 88.
- [13] Roeder, plate 145.
- [14] MMA *talatat* block 1985.328.22 is also from the Schimmel collection. See Roeder plate 174, and illustration in this article.
- [15] Roeder, plates 12, ff.
- [16] The Luxor Temple Fragment Project, coordinated by this author, has been documenting and analyzing fragmentary material for over 30 years. See the *OI Annual Reports*, Epigraphic Survey sections, 1980 - present.
- [17] In the Luxor Temple great Colonnade Hall of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun, Chicago House has identified strips quarried from the upper walls, now completely missing; one of them from the second register of the great hall is 75 feet long.
- [18] From left to right: Roeder 938-VIII, plate 105; 173-VIII, pl.100; and 937-VIII, pl.102.plate 102.
- [19] Roeder PC 233, plate 203.
- [20] Unnumbered block from the Ashmunein *talatat* magazine.
- [21] Roeder PC 35, plate 174. Thanks to the MMA for permission to publish MMA 1985.328.22 here. For another reconstruction of this block, see Bernhard Riefeling, ‘Attempts to reconstruct Amarna Art Fragments V. The “Scene of Fishing and Fowling” in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1985.328.22. A Study,’ published online in Academia.edu (2015).
- [22] Hanke, PC 48, plate 21.
- [23] Roeder PC 249, plate 205. This block probably positions farther to the right, which would require the presence of one more swimming figure.
- [24] Roeder 438-VII C, plate 111.
- [25] Special thanks to Barry Kemp for sharing unpublished files of relief fragments excavated by the EES in 1924-25 from the North Palace, to Kate Spence for sharing some of the results of the re-excavation of the complex in 1996 and again in 1997-99, and to Kristin Thompson for sharing some unpublished fragmentary material from the Maru-Aten. For details of the more recent clearing work at the North Palace, see Kate Spence, ‘The North Palace at Amarna,’ *Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1999), 14-16.
- [26] This is a major focus of Hanke’s *HAB 2* volume.
- [27] Johnson, “The Duck-Throttling Scene from Amarna: A New Metropolitan Museum of Art/Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Amarna Talatat Join,” in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies In Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn M. Cooney, editors (Atlanta 2015), pages 293-299. Thanks to both institutions, including Tine Bagh at the Copenhagen Glyptotek, for permission to publish the joined blocks here.
- [28] Marianne Eaton-Krauss, ‘Mummies (and Daddies)’ *GM* 230 (2011), pages 29-35.
- [29] Tarek el-Awady, *The Sahure Pyramid Causeway*, Abusir XVI (Prague, 2009), plate 13.

# The House of Ranefer at the Amarna Visitor Centre

*by Barry Kemp*

In the summer of 2005 work began at Amarna on the construction of a visitor centre. It was a project of the (then) Supreme Council of Antiquities (now Ministry of Antiquities), building to designs of British architect Michael Mallinson of Mallinson Architects (London). It is a large and very solid building constructed on a stretch of reclaimed land beside the river bank alongside the ferry quay at El-Till. In 2014 the building was formally handed over by the Egyptian contracting company to the Ministry of Antiquities for management by the local Mallawi inspectorate of antiquities. A local inspector, Helmi Hussein, was appointed to be the director, assisted by a small staff of junior inspectors.

Early discussions had opened the prospect of creating a site museum, displaying material recovered from the excavations that began in 1979. This attractive possibility was subsequently rejected, mainly over security concerns. The visitor centre thus became, and remains, a place for learning about Amarna via information panels and reproductions. The idea has also gradually emerged of developing it as a place of learning for the local community (especially schools) in addition to serving visitors following a tourist path.

In early discussions about layout, the idea arose of having a single dominant object around which other displays would be gathered. The concept is familiar from several museums: the solar boat at Giza is one, a large dinosaur in a huge entrance foyer is another. What inspired me to suggest this course was a visit, in the company of my youngest daughter Frances, to the SS Great Britain Museum in Bristol in July 2005 where the visitor centre is dominated by the hull of the huge boat itself (still at that time being restored). So arose the idea of recreating the house of Ranefer at full size in the middle of the building, the general shape of which was already emerging on paper.



**Figure 1:** View northwards, in the summer of 2006, of the visitor centre's concrete frame. Ranefer's house will rise in the large central space.

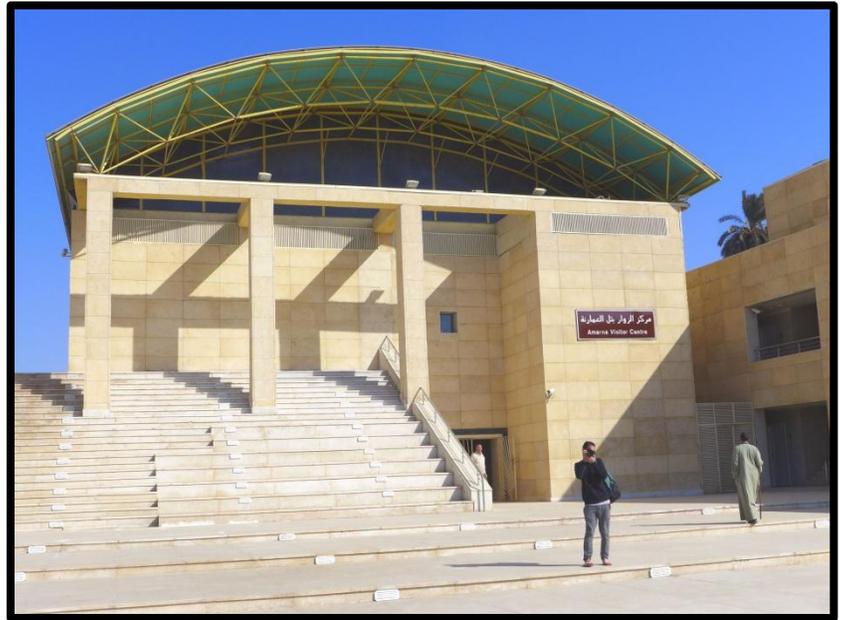


**Figure 2:** By 2009 the foundations for Ranefer's house were being laid down. The square pillars are where the four columns of the front reception hall will stand.

Why Ranefer? The answer is simply that the expedition was in the midst of a detailed re-examination of the house and it was much in our minds. It had first been excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society in 1921, under the direction of T.E. Peet. We had chosen to look at it again because Peet had discovered that the house had been built over the foundations of a previous house and that debris including dark soil with organic inclusions had been trapped between the two floors. This seemed likely to produce samples of interest to various specialists who work with animal bones, plant and insect remains. And so a full-scale examination of the house commenced, which involved removing the later floors.

Another attraction of this house is that we know who was the owner. The remains of painted panels and a stone doorframe tell us, in hieroglyphs, that Ranefer was an officer of chariotry; and also that he built his new house in the reign of Akhenaten's successor, the king Ankh-kheperura Nefernefruaten (who had been crowned with the name Smenkhkara).

The reconstruction of Ranefer's house has not been straightforward. We have a solidly built shell but with a rough finish that needs remedial work as well as the addition of the details that make the house come alive. Some of the details were provided in February 2010 by the British company Eastwood Cook who specialise in displays of this kind. The red-painted columns in the reception room and central hall are some of their work, as are the areas of brickwork which reproduce the present ruined appearance of the house.



**Figure 3:** The completed exterior front of the visitor centre.



**Figure 4:** The actual house of Ranefer after re-excavation in 2004. The floors of the house have been removed to expose the walls and floors of the underlying earlier house which had been demolished to make way for Ranefer's enlarged residence.

Recently the Ministry of Antiquities has asked the Executive Director of the Replica Production Unit (based in workshops within the Cairo Citadel), Mr. Amr el-Tiebi, to co-ordinate the work needed to make the visitor centre ready for formal opening. Thus at the end of November Mr. Amr sent five of his artists and craftsmen to Amarna to spend a week finishing some of the surfaces of Ranefer's house. The house has been reconstructed to show three aspects of its history. Over part of it the walls have been laid out and in some cases built to full two-storey height to given an impression of how, in its final state, it might have looked to Ranefer and his family. Along one side, however, it has been recreated as a ruin. This has provided the opportunity to reveal, as happened during the course of the excavation, the foundations of the earlier house beneath the later floors.



**Figure 5:** Ranefer's partially rebuilt house, as it was on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015. The right half of the house is presented in its modern ruined condition; in the left half it has been restored to its likely ancient appearance, with an upper storey.

One task was to finish the 'ruined' surface of the front outer wall. This was done by making casts from moulds of the rough brickwork panels installed by Eastwood Cook, themselves the result of casting and moulding from original weathered mud-brick walls at Amarna. Another task was to add internal decoration to the front reception room and the central hall. There is much scattered evidence from the excavation of many houses at Amarna that walls were generally not painted but were left with a smooth mud surface. In the most important rooms, however, this ended at a line well below the ceiling. Above this line walls and ceiling were painted white. Fragments from other houses preserve details of decorative borders. The one chosen for Ranefer comprises a frieze of green-painted 'lotus' blooms (botanically they are water-lilies) below which, at intervals, are semi-circular multi-coloured panels combining plant motifs with groups of suspended water-fowl. This last element (probably signifying abundance) was popular at Amarna, often on stone columns in royal buildings.

The result illustrates a preference for contrast: white surfaces and brilliant colours set against large drab backgrounds.



**Figure 6:** One of Mr. Amr's team (Ahmed) preparing one of the painted panels for attachment as part of the wall decoration.



**Figure 7:** The team leader, Osama Maghawry, preparing to add one of the decorative panels to the upper frieze in the front reception room.



**Figure 8:** The Citadel workshops are making replica Amarna pots to add to the realism of the display.



**Figure 9:** The workshops are also making replicas of characteristic objects that would have surrounded the lives of Amarna's people. Here is a reproduction of a domestic shrine (probably for a statuette of Akhenaten) found in the northern house of the priest and temple administrator Panehsy. The original is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The week was, of course, far too short. My hope is that Mr. Amr's group will return in the new year to complete their schedule, and be accompanied by builders who also have a list of what needs to be made good, including the proper installation of the tiny bathroom and toilet towards the back of the house. The general aim, of course, is to balance the interest in Akhenaten and his ideas which attracts many people to Amarna with the fact that Amarna gives a window on to the lives of many thousands of his subjects.

# Work at Amarna – Autumn 2015

*by Barry Kemp*

The months of October and November were devoted to the study of material already discovered. A small group arrived and opened the expedition house on September 30th. Thanks go to the members of the Middle Egypt inspectorate of the Ministry of Antiquities for facilitating a prompt start, amongst them inspector Marwa Ahmed Osman who has responsibility for the antiquities magazine during our stay at Amarna.

One task is to continue the recording of material which the Great Aten Temple produces in abundance. This includes many pieces of inlay made from hard stones that were set into designs also carved into blocks of hard stone. Some of the designs (the surrounding bands to cartouches, for example) are of obvious meaning, whilst other and sometimes abstract shapes are hard to place in their original design. Others are carved into slabs intended for a mosaic-like surface. Up to 3 cm thick, they represent the product of much skilled labour. Kristin Thompson provides an overview of this material, 'Stone inlays from the Great Aten Temple: new discoveries', in Christian Huyeng and Andreas Finger, eds, *Amarna in the 21st Century* (Kleine Berliner Schriften zum Alten Ägypten, Band 3; Gelsenkirchen 2015), 8-44. Barry Kemp and Miriam Bertram are at present continuing this study, as well as recording other categories of material.

Carolyn Graves-Brown returned to further her study of flintwork of various periods at Amarna. For her previous report, see: *Horizon 5* (2009), 7.

Gretchen Dabbs continued the analysis of the human bones from the recent excavations at the North Tombs Cemetery, begun in the late spring. An earlier study of likely punishment wounds inflicted on people buried at the South Tombs Cemetery has been recently highlighted in the press:

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2015/10/13/egypt-cemetery-punishment-lashes-wounds/73688038/>

William Schaffer studied the teeth of the people from the cemeteries, using them as indicators of ancestry.

Christopher Stimpson is making a detailed study of bird bones recovered over many seasons, in particular those recovered in 2006 from the vicinity of the official house of the high priest Panehsy and which probably derive from offerings made in the Great Aten Temple.



**Figure 1:** Bird Bones discovered at Amarna.

The opportunity of being at Amarna has been taken to start work on the protective fence around the site of Kom el-Nana, an urgent task in view of the continuing threat of agricultural encroachments. Immediately following the final official agreement a small team of local workers was, on October 13th, organised to mark out the line of the fence along the most vulnerable part of the site, the west side, beside the limit of the encroachments. The first line of iron posts was fixed into place the same day, and is now continuing at a steady rate.



**Figure 2:** Surveying the line of the fence.



**Figure 3:** Survey line for the fence.



**Figure 4:** Iron Fence posts ready for fencing along the survey line.

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e-mail: [RTomb10@comcast.net](mailto:RTomb10@comcast.net)

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