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The President's Papyrus

Greetings Amarnaphiles,

I hope that this New Year and decade finds all of our members doing well. Once again, we are able to provide three very interesting articles. As promised, we are publishing Lyla Pinch Brock wonderful article about the blue painted pottery from the Amarna tombs at Saqqara. Extremely well written and beautifully illustrated, I think that you will enjoy this article very much.

And as always, Barry Kemp has provided us with another fascinating and insightful article about Akhenaten and his portrayal. This is certainly a subject that has been the source of endless academic debate and conjecture from the very beginning.

The third article by Amy Butner and new contributor to our newsletter is about ceiling patterns in Amarna elite tombs. This will be an interesting and insightful exploration a little discussed topic about how tomb ceilings were decorated.

All of these scholarly topics are provided to you through the Sun which is only possible because of your interest and continued support. For this you have my heartfelt thanks!!

With best wishes always,
Floyd

Bringing Beautiful Blue to Light at Saqqara

Lyla Pinch-Brock

Thanks to generous grants from the Amarna Research Foundation and MEHEN, the New Kingdom pottery team at the Leiden-Turin Mission to Saqqara conducts important research on Amarna Blue pottery during their 2019 season.

I limp out to our site at Saqqara through the Unas causeway, slowed down by a sprained ankle. It is a walk through time: On my right looms Djoser's step-pyramid with meters-high scaffolding pinioned to its steps; the conservation team repairing and cleaning the monument look like flies on a mound of melting ice cream. Straight ahead is the pyramid of Unas, where workmen swarm around the entrance to the vast newly-discovered underground mummification complex. Luckily for us, Director Ramadan Hussein invites us to see it.

It's a cold March day and the members of our Leiden-Turin Mission¹ clustered around the excavation are bundled up in scarves and puffy jackets. Our site is high up and exposed, making the workmen's *galabeyas* flap in the wind as they trudge up and down the sandy slope, tugging their woolen caps over their ears. The team is working through the piles of old excavation debris between two tombs hoping to find a third. On the air is the smell of cold water, and the scudding clouds slewed across the horizon seem bloated with rain. Will we have to let our workers off again because of the bad weather?

A Haven in Horemheb

Our pottery team is more cosseted; we have the beautiful courtyard of Horemheb lower down on the site to work in. Myself, the pottery illustrator, and ceramicist Barbara Aston, have our work tables set up under the eaves. We are poring over the late New Kingdom pottery from previous excavations. Barbara will sort, type, count and date the pottery, and decide what I should draw. But it is hard not to be distracted by what surrounds us: On the walls ringing the courtyard are some of the most beautiful and moving scenes from the Amarna Period: Behind my chair is a relief of Horemheb as General, passing on the king's directive to his foreign captives, who are pleading and writhing on the ground, protesting against their fate. To my left, lower down on the wall, is a series of small vignettes showing the funerary ritual, "the breaking of the red pots" – the polished, red-painted bowls and jars we have been fortunate to find in our excavations – shattered, just as shown in the reliefs.

We are not alone down here; in the next courtyard our local Egyptian pottery restorers, some of whom have been with us for decades, shuffle a sea of pottery pieces out over several large mats, looking for joins. Nearby our Italian colleagues Valentina Gasperini and Alice Salvador bend over their desks, concentrating on drawing and analyzing the pottery coming up in the present excavation.

Our own courtyard is crammed with chicken crates carefully cradling blue-decorated vessels and other less-glamorous - but no less important - pottery finds, including fragments of amphorae, beer jars and tiny polished Mycenaean vessels. Looking like a nest of dinosaur eggs, the upside-down pots laid out on the long trestle tables in the courtyard are part of the pottery we are scheduled to catalogue and draw this season, excavated from the area south of the tomb of Meryneith.

¹ Excavation of the row of tombs that include Horemheb, Maya and Meryt, Pay and Raia, Tatia, Samut, Paser, and Ry within our concession, was first begun by Geoffrey Martin and Hans Schneider working for the Egypt Exploration Society and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1975. They were followed by Maarten Raven, who retired last year. Since 2015 the excavation has been co-directed by Christian Greco, and since 2017, with Lara Weiss from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden and Paolo Vesco (deputy director) from the Museo Egizio in Turin.



A large blue vessel in its cradle, waiting to be photographed for our upcoming publication.



The Leiden-Turin Mission pottery team – Barbara Aston, Valentina Gasperinin, Alice Salvador, and Lyla Pinch-Brock – pose for a group photo in the tomb of Horemheb. (photo, Nicola Dell’Aquila)

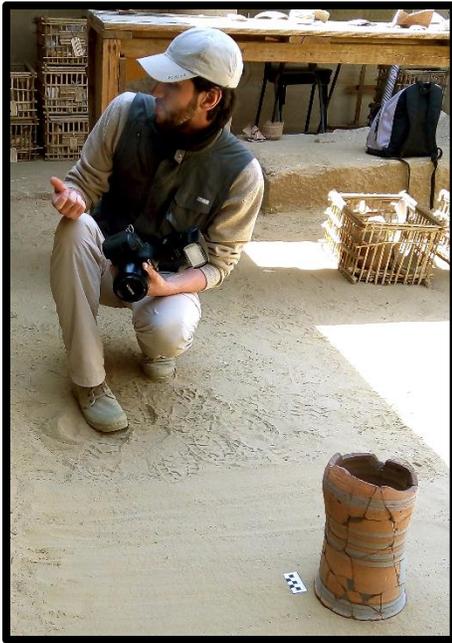
This area is giving us the unusual opportunity to study three different pottery deposits with three different functions, all from the tomb of Ry²; burial pottery, offering pottery and a rare New Kingdom embalming cache. The funerary pottery was recovered from the burial chamber of Ry, while offering pottery was recovered in deposits flanking the door of the cult chapel. The embalming cache had been installed against the outside wall of the tomb south of the cult chapel of Ry. Leaning against a nearby wall in our courtyard is a set of magnificent and unique giant blue-painted jars belonging to another New Kingdom embalming cache uncovered at the south edge of the excavation. The jars were found with their mud seals intact and formed, along with two large white storage jars and other material, a very important assemblage dating from the time of Akhenaten to the beginning of the reign of Tutankhamun. Each of the jars was decorated differently and one has a unique feather-pattern not previously seen on blue-painted pottery. The cache is intriguing because of its early date and the fact that the contents of the jars, mainly sherds from additional pots, were broken up and placed inside the larger jars, a practice hitherto unknown in the New Kingdom. The mysterious owner of the cache has yet to be identified....

What’s Big about the Blues?

The pottery popularly known as “Amarna Blue” had only a short life span and extended from about the middle of the 18th Dynasty into early Ramesside times. It is mainly found at the sites of Tell el Amarna, Malkata and Saqqara. Our site is almost exclusively mortuary,³ setting it aside from the others, and since the pottery comes from tomb contexts, it can therefore be firmly dated. The blue colour came from cobalt, mined in the Western Desert. It is believed that the short life of this pottery might have been due to the source drying up.

² Previously known as “Tomb X.” Ry was recently identified as the tomb owner by Nico Staring. See, Nico Staring, “Piecing together the dispersed tomb of Ry at Saqqara,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 54, Spring 2019, pp 41-45.

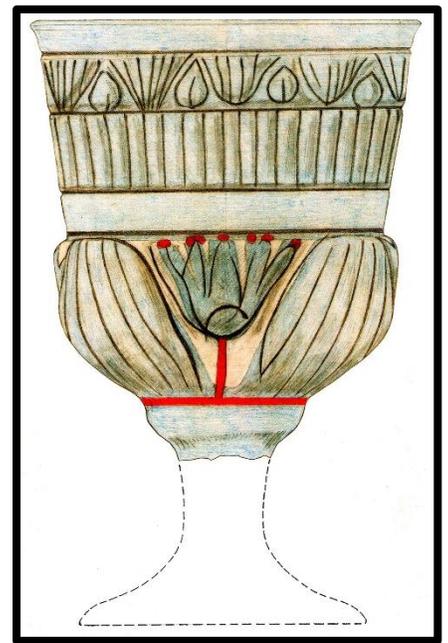
³ It was also a place for the veneration of Horemheb: See, Maarten Raven, “Twenty-five Years of Work in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for Structure,” *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century, Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, vol. 1, Archaeology, Zahi Hawass, Lyla Pinch Brock, eds., AUC Press (2003) pp 385-390.



Member Luca Perfetti of our 3D Survey Group, experiments with using photogrammetry to show both the inside and outside of a pot.



Barbara ASTON AND Paulo Del Vesco restoration of two very fine blue dishes with lotus decoration.



Drawing of an elaborate chalice by Lyla Pinch-Brock.

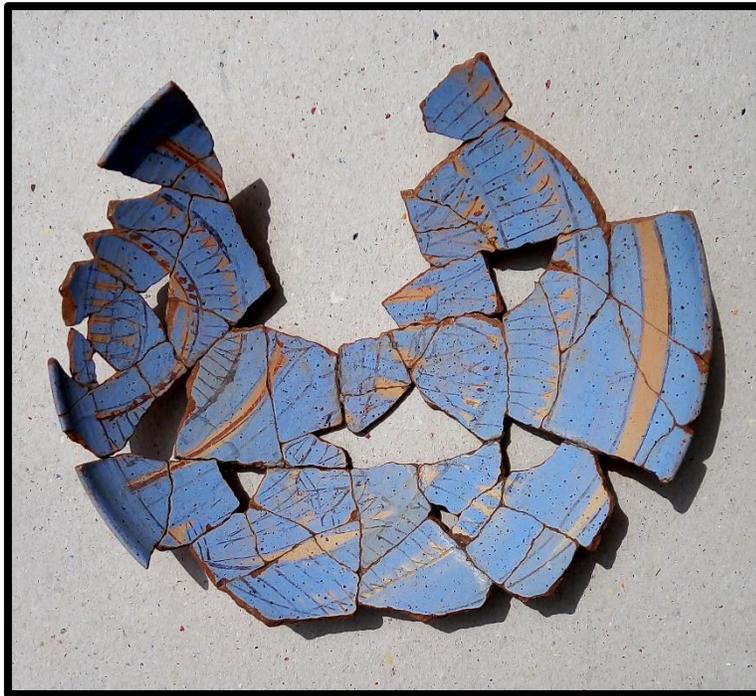
Vessels in the blue category range from small, delicate thin-walled bowls to intricately-painted chalices and the aforementioned giant store jars. Their shapes can be complex, sometimes with incisions, ruffled rims and added-on plastic decoration like gazelle or molded Hathor heads. Amarna Blue motifs can include animals, humans, birds, swags of flowers, even boats. Forms can be truly fantastic; at Saqqara we have found bouquet-like vases apparently imitating in pottery the tall floral bouquets often depicted in wall paintings. In the Ry embalmers' cache were two vessels with highly unusual and interesting decoration: On one jar, most of the upper body was incised with closely-spaced vertical grooves forming a 'fluted' pattern, a rare decorative technique usually found only on much smaller vessels. Another jar had registers of painted *wedjat*-eyes and *nefer*-signs, mandrake fruits and poppy flowers, and blue lotus flowers alternating with depictions of their heart-shaped 'lily pad' leaves, a harmonious design motif not previously recorded on blue-painted pottery. During the Ramesside Period, the decoration became less floral and more a series of black and blue bands, with the colour red a dominant feature. The study of pottery from the Ramesside tombs of Tatia and Samut is expected to provide details of the development of pottery forms in the Nineteenth Dynasty, a chronological sequence which has not yet been fully-defined.

Putting Pots on Paper

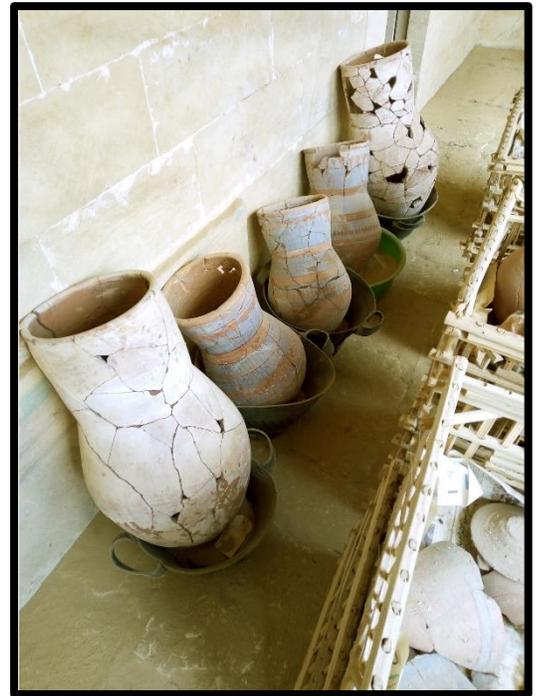
Drawing the pottery, which I have done for this mission for 12 years, is one of the very few archaeological recording techniques that have not been mechanized. However, this season a member of our team from the 3D Survey Group of the Politecnico di Milano, Luca Perfetti, experimented with photogrammetry to visualize a pot showing both the inside and outside surfaces.

With no firm results yet, for the time being we still use triangles and wooden blocks to stance our pots, and pencils, form gages and tracers to transfer them to calque, a plasticized tracing paper. Colours are added in by hand. We had a wooden instrument with a ruler on the bottom and two vertical sliding rulers on each end especially constructed to aid us in measuring the pots accurately.

Every season there are challenges: The pots I draw vary in size from miniscule to over half a meter in height. This year we had a puzzling little modeled bird; where he fits we have yet to discover. Another pot we call “big ankh” - because of its large red-painted inscription - took three people to draw, not only because of its size, but also because its two large fragments were impossible to join (in reality) and had to be held together on the ground while I traced around them.



Fine blue dish with lotus decoration found in the excavations.



A group of unusually large blue-painted jars found with white-painted ones in an embalming pit.

Inking the pots, however, is becoming increasingly computerized, vastly speeding up a process that once relied on ink-filled drafting pens. I now use a very large tracing tablet to ink in the drawings on-screen once they are scanned into the computer. This reduces a two-part system – inking by hand and then digitizing – to just one, and also allows many changes to the finished art that would otherwise be time-consuming. Once the drawings are digitally reduced, they are then assembled on plates for publication. In this instance, Barbara and I are focusing on the material for the forthcoming book, *Five Tombs*, written by Maarten Raven with contributions by others. The pottery comes from tomb chambers, offering areas, embalmers’ caches, a Late Period burial shaft south of the tomb of Meryneith and south of the forecourt of the tomb of Horemheb. The pottery from this area of the New Kingdom necropolis is particularly significant as it can be studied in conjunction with datable tomb architecture and reliefs, and in the case of Tatia (*Wab*-Priest of the Front of Ptah and Chief of the Goldsmiths), also with a named individual with known titles and family affiliations.

Discovering New Dating Details

Barbara Aston has worked on the site for over 30 years as both archaeologist and ceramicist, and she is also a specialist in stone vessels. As a result she has accumulated a wealth of knowledge not only about the pottery, but also about the site itself. Her focused work on the pottery has allowed her to track slight changes in petal pattern decoration on blue-painted jars to precise time periods, an important advance since, besides the three main sites, Amarna Blue has been found elsewhere in Egypt and outside the country as well.

Barbara has already published a great deal of the ceramics from our site: Her impending publication, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt III: The New Kingdom Pottery*, will probably be a revelation to Egyptologists, showcasing for the first time the vast variety of blue-painted forms extracted from this important Amarna-Period tomb.⁴

During her years at Saqqara, Barbara has also seen great changes in the dig itself: Our rooms in the old British dig house high on the plateau overlooking Cairo have been replaced with accommodation at one of the new excavation houses constructed by the Ministry of State for Antiquities down below, providing room for a team expanded to include technicians capable of photographing and mapping the site to a high degree of accuracy.

After five weeks in the field, we have 150 completed and checked drawings under our belts. We roll up the artwork, pack up our drawing materials, fold up our tables and say goodbye to our workmen and colleagues. As we pass through the last door in the courtyard, we see the grey clouds have evaporated, now replaced with a sky the colour of -- Amarna blue pottery? There is just a small amount of work left to be done – a particularly well-preserved deposit of pottery from the Late Period tomb shaft 2002/16 north of the tomb of Tatia. But that's for next season ...



Lyla Pinch-Brock records details of the base of a blue-Painted chalice. (photo, Nicola Dell'quila)



Barbara Aston holds one of the pots often featured in tomb scenes, that was found during our excavations. (photo, Nicola Dell'Aquila)

All photos by Lyla Pinch-Brock unless otherwise indicated.

Readers may also be interested in a series of monographs (PALMA) from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (Netherlands) published by Sidestone Press: See <https://www.sidestone.com/partners/palma>.

⁴ The first two volumes are, G.T. Martin et al., *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Commentary* (London, 2012); M. Raven et al., *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, II: Objects and Skeletal Remains* (Leiden/London, 2001).

Versions of Akhenaten

Barry Kemp

Informal pictures of Akhenaten

Ancient Egyptian artists who were entrusted to work on royal projects developed the skills (based on inherent gifts) of being able to commit to material form observations from life modified by adherence to preferred ideals. Accomplished artists did not simply copy prescribed forms, they chose their own point of balance between reality and the current court style. The result, in the case of Akhenaten, is a range of interpretations of his appearance, between those which place him within the expected norms of bodily and facial shape to others which make him one of a kind, beyond what people expect and thus occasioning surprise. It says something about the tenor of his court that this variation was accepted.



Figure 1: Object S-12959, a slab of limestone bearing the lightly carved face of a king, presumed to be Akhenaten. Height 16 cm; width 10 cm; thickness 4 cm. Found in square J30, unit (19277), the deposit of levelling-rubble. Photo by Andreas Mesli.

The autumn excavations at Amarna have added a further example of what is probably an informal but highly skilled sculptor's sketch of Akhenaten (**Figure 1**). It has the registration number S-12959 and comes from the layer of levelling-rubble which was put down to raise the ground level as the enlarged stone temple was being built. Its location was grid square J30, unit (19277), not far from the line of the temple axis in front of the temple. The same context provided the gypsum-plaster head found in 2017 (see *Akhetaten Sun* 23, no. 2, Dec 2017, 19–23). It measures 16 x 10 cm and is a slab of medium-fine limestone, with a maximum thickness of 4 cm. The back is roughly flaked. One side edge is almost straight and flat, as if the piece has been struck from a block and one face then smoothed to provide a surface suited to carving. The artist has concentrated on the profile of the subject's face, leaving insufficient room for the completion of the head behind, had he so chosen.

Some parts of the profile have been only lightly incised. This is so for the top of the head above the hairline where the line is a shallow groove which fades to nothing beyond the crown of the head. The face appears to emerge from a simplified version of the *khat*-headdress. This provides a curving border to the neck, hiding its full width, down to the right shoulder where again the line is lightly incised and fades as a straight line into the edge of the stone. The front line of the neck has more modelling, which gives to the subject an emphasized Adam's apple. From here the left shoulder line runs forward, again no more than a thin, incised line.

The sculptor has reserved his skill for the face and ear, the rest of the work simply providing context. The surface of the profile has been lightly modelled so that the centre of the cheek, the eyebrow, the bridge of the nose and the lips and chin stand out slightly. The eye has been carved in outline, with an asymmetric almond shape. At the base of the nose a sudden small scoop in the stone defines a nostril. The mouth is given a pair of thick, slightly flaring and perhaps parted lips which end, to the left, with a short and

pronounced downturn. The line which defines the underside of the chin is almost horizontal, with a slight double curve. The remaining feature is the ear, to which the sculptor has paid considerable attention, modelling the outer rim and the topography surrounding the ear canal with great care. To achieve this, he has shaved away the stone of the headdress to provide sufficient depth for the modelling. The long, narrow lobe ends with a lightly indicated hole for an earring.

I can imagine that some might doubt that the profile really is of Akhenaten. Yet the archaeological context should be the main determinant. In coming from the levelling-rubble it is more or less inescapable that the piece dates to within or before Akhenaten's year 12 and could have been made a few years earlier during work on the initial stone constructions (later removed). It is probably a product of a place of sculpting (a 'workshop' if one allows the word to refer to a place without permanent structures) located towards the front of the temple and extending into the 'street' space beyond for which there is substantial evidence. It is perhaps not necessary to assume that the piece played a formal role in instructing or practicing; it is the kind of thing that artists feel inwardly compelled to produce as an outlet for their creative energies. There is no need, therefore, to think that it will have related to scenes carved on the temple walls where the same artist might have followed conventions more in line with the canon of 'Amarna art'. The piece might reflect a moment of nostalgia for an older, more conservative style, but also one which could have been closer to the king's actual appearance as he aged.



Figure 2: Slab of limestone bearing the face of a king, presumed to be Akhenaten. Height 35 cm; width 23.4 cm; thickness 4.9 cm. From the excavations of Flinders Petrie and Howard Carter in 1891–92, via the collection of Lord Amherst. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 66.99.40. Fletcher Fund and The Guide Foundation Inc. Gift, 1966.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545909?&searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=trial+piece+amarna&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>



Figure 3: Slab of limestone bearing the face of a king, presumed to be Akhenaten, carved in relief. Height 17 cm; width 13.5 cm; thickness 3.1 cm. On the reverse is carved a horse's head. From the excavations of Flinders Petrie and Howard Carter in 1891–92, from a sculptor's workshop near the southern end of the city, via the collection of Lord Amherst. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 21.9.13. Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1921.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544527?&searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=trial+piece+amarna&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=3>

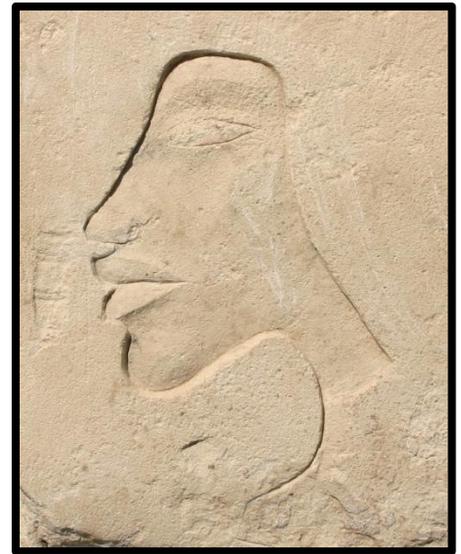


Figure 4: Object 34931. Slab of limestone bearing the face of a king, presumed to be Akhenaten. Height 15.2 cm; width 13.95; thickness 5.1 cm. From a spoil heap opposite the front of the Small Aten Temple, 2005.

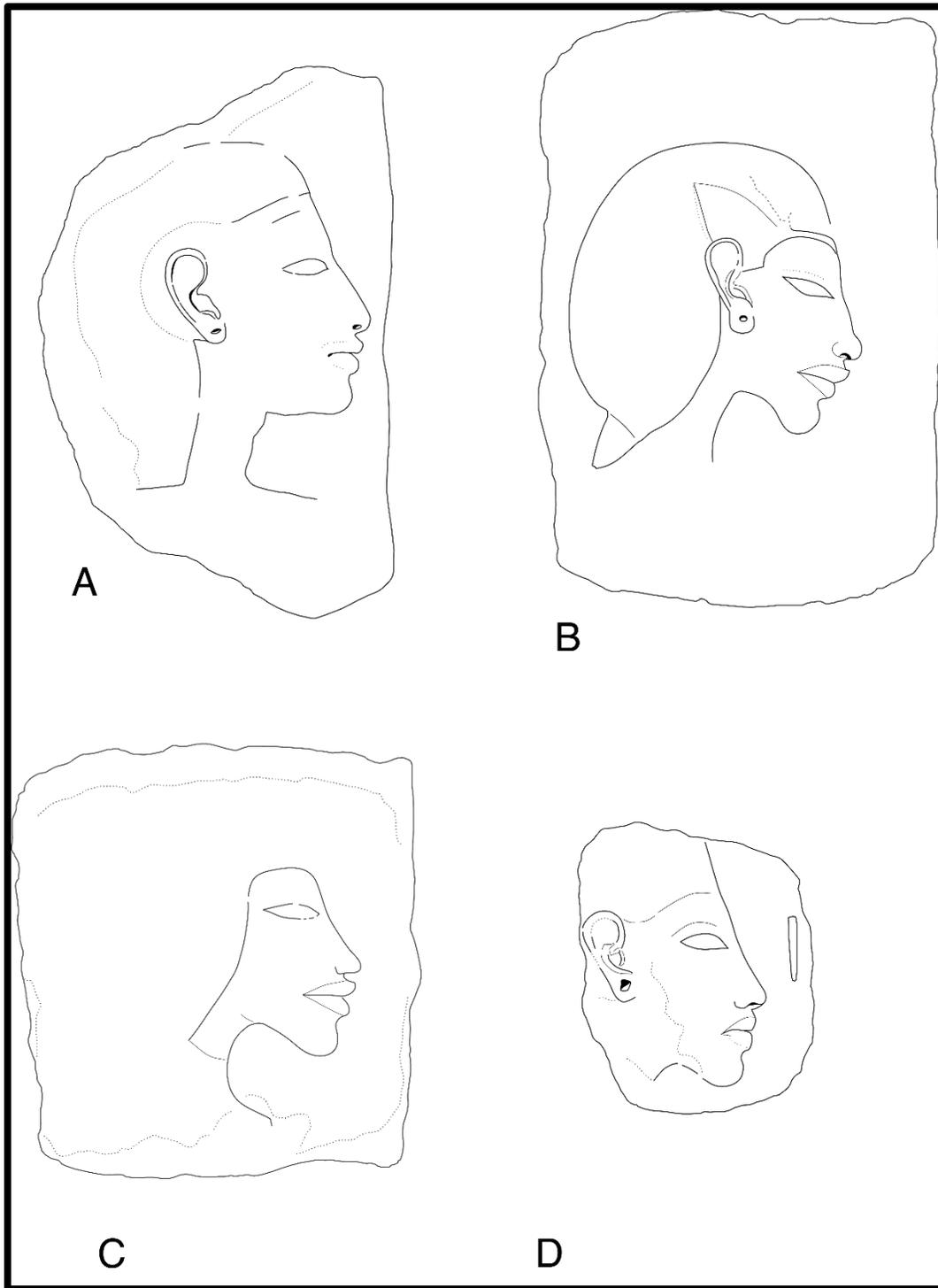


Figure 5: Line drawings of the four carvings of a face presumed to be of Akhenaten from **Figures 1–4**. In the case of ‘C’ the direction of the drawing has been reversed to allow easier comparison with the other three.

For comparison I also include three pieces from Amarna which likewise present disembodied faces carved on limestone slabs of roughly the same size (**Figures 2–4**). The first two are in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the third is a surface find made in 2005 in front of the Small Aten Temple and now in the antiquities magazines at El-Ashmunein (further details of the three are in the captions to **Figures 2-4**). None bears a name but the attribution to Akhenaten seems to be taken for granted. None of them displays a uraeus, although the possibility is excluded in C because of the abbreviation of the profile which excludes the brow.

All have been shallowly sculpted into the flat surface of the limestone, all of them displaying a mastery of varying the levels of the finished planes to reflect the natural contours of the face. In D the sculptor has gone one stage further and has removed the stone outside the profile to a lower plane which allows the face to stand out in full relief. In C the sculptor has confined his working to an area more sparingly defined by facial profile, eyebrow and edge of wig, the entire outline starting from the nose, following the edge of the wig and ending at the throat made as a single flowing line which excludes space for the ear. The placing of the carving towards the left side of the stone slab left room for the completion of the head, with full headdress and left shoulder. None of the pieces shows traces of preliminary ink lines. Instead, with A and C (and especially A) the ends of the incised lines end as shallow linear grooves seemingly made with a point. Did the sculptor begin by scoring the outlines freehand rather than using ink?

The proportions of the faces differ (**Figure 5**). The biggest differences concern the lips and chin. Pieces B, C and D have the sharply rounded chin and the swept-back jaw-line which is one of the defining characteristics of Akhenaten's usual portrayals. Piece A has a firmly rounded chin, but the jaw-line follows a more naturalistic course, in which it passes into the beginnings of a double-chin, perhaps a sign of the start of aging.

With the rounded chin go the thick, everted lips as part of Akhenaten's distinctive physiognomy. C gives them the greatest prominence, followed by B and then A, with D extruding them least. The shape of the mouth is also partly determined by the line of separation between the lips, which varies from the near horizontal on C to the sharp downwards curve on D, with the line on A combining a slight curve with a sudden sharp downturn at the end. The eyes are given slightly different outlines. With C the eye is delineated by two evenly curving edges with only a hint of a recurve at the outer end of the lower line. With A the recurve is also on the lower line but near the inner (right) end. With D the recurve begins mid-way along the lower line. The eye of B differs from the others in being more slender, its lower line holding a double curve. Finally, A, B and D pay much attention to the ear, both in detail and in sharpness of carving, all three having similar outlines.

The four examples illustrate multiple variables in their characteristics, so that it is not possible to say that one set most purely defines Akhenaten, although most people would probably judge B to do this most successfully. Each artist has created his own Akhenaten.

An alternative Akhenaten from archaeology: did he provide Amarna with a 'people's temple'?

As the true nature of what was built at the site of the Great Aten Temple slowly emerges, I feel that descriptions of the temple which rely upon the conventional sources are less and less adequate. They create a smokescreen which hides a different reality which excavation is revealing. This in turn implies that Akhenaten had a wider and more varied vision than he is commonly credited with.

The starting-point for the assessment is that it was clearly in his mind, from the beginning of the laying out of Amarna, to provide a huge walled but otherwise mostly open space in the middle of the city. It was at first a little smaller than its eventual size (this can be seen from wall trenches towards the rear faintly visible on aerial photographs). Its final measurements were 765 x 275 metres (an area of 21 hectares = 8.5 acres). It is the largest enclosed space at Amarna (its nearest rival the Great Palace). For the first seven years of the city's life the largest area with a single use within it was a field of offering-tables (**Figure 6, blue arrows**). Some had been hastily made from limestone blocks, but most were of mud bricks, plastered and painted white, laid out in long rows. There was no separate enclosure wall for them. It is not possible to provide a final count of how many there were. In this one is not helped by the fact that, although laid out in rows regularly spaced, the whole set was not symmetrically situated about the central axis of the enclosure, which was defined by the main gateway in the enclosure wall and the stone Sanctuary building at the far eastern end of the enclosure. Petrie, on the basis of numerous pits dug across

the southern part of the field, drew a plan which implies a total of 1215. Pendlebury and his architect Ralph Lavers, after a seemingly cursory investigation, brought the number down to 920, with a recognition that there had been another set on the northern side.

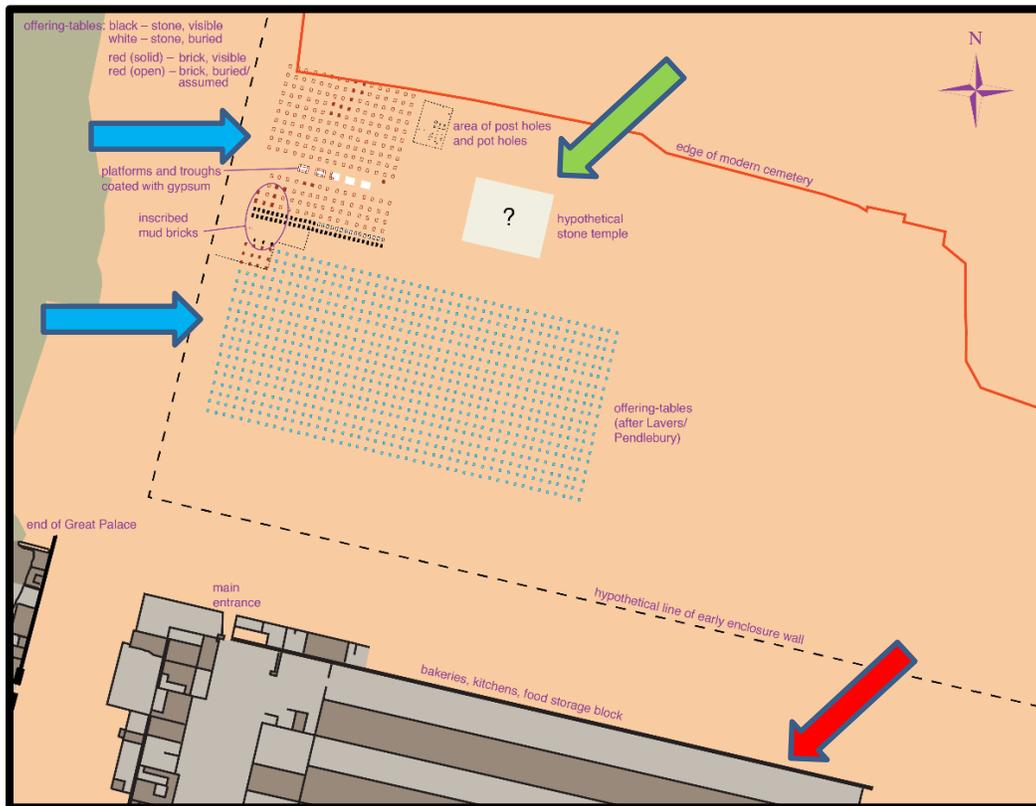


Figure 6: Outline plan of the western part of the Great Aten Temple enclosure and ground to the south, showing features from the earlier phase of building.

Of the southern field of offering-tables we have uncovered only a small part (**Figure 7**). We are not yet in a position to check the older totals. What we have been able to do is to show that the lines of offering-tables extended across the front of the space later occupied by the large stone temple that I call the Long Temple. Although the foundations of this building destroyed almost everything that had been built earlier, one remnant of the earlier phase is the remains of a brick offering-table beneath the eastern end of the foundations for the staircase that led to the main offering-platform of the Long Temple. Its position suggests that the offering-tables extended further to the east in this area than expected.

The rows of offering-tables also continued further north, as far at least as the limit of the modern cemetery, which has destroyed whatever archaeological traces remained. Our excavations have also demonstrated that they did not cover the ground for very far along the north side of the later temple site. Instead, after a gap, comes the beginning of an area that had been occupied by structures of wooden posts (**Figure 8**); although for how far this extends we do



Figure 7: Square J24, viewed from above. Four mud-brick offering-tables exposed during the autumn 2019 season, standing on a mud-plaster floor. The square piece of limestone mid-way between the lower two offering-tables might have been a seat. North is towards the bottom. Photo by Anna Hodgkinson.

not yet know, see *Akhetaten Sun* 21, no. 1, Jun 2015, 17–19). Although we will never know the full total of offering-tables of the temple’s first phase, we will not err if we think of them collectively as amounting to a thousand.

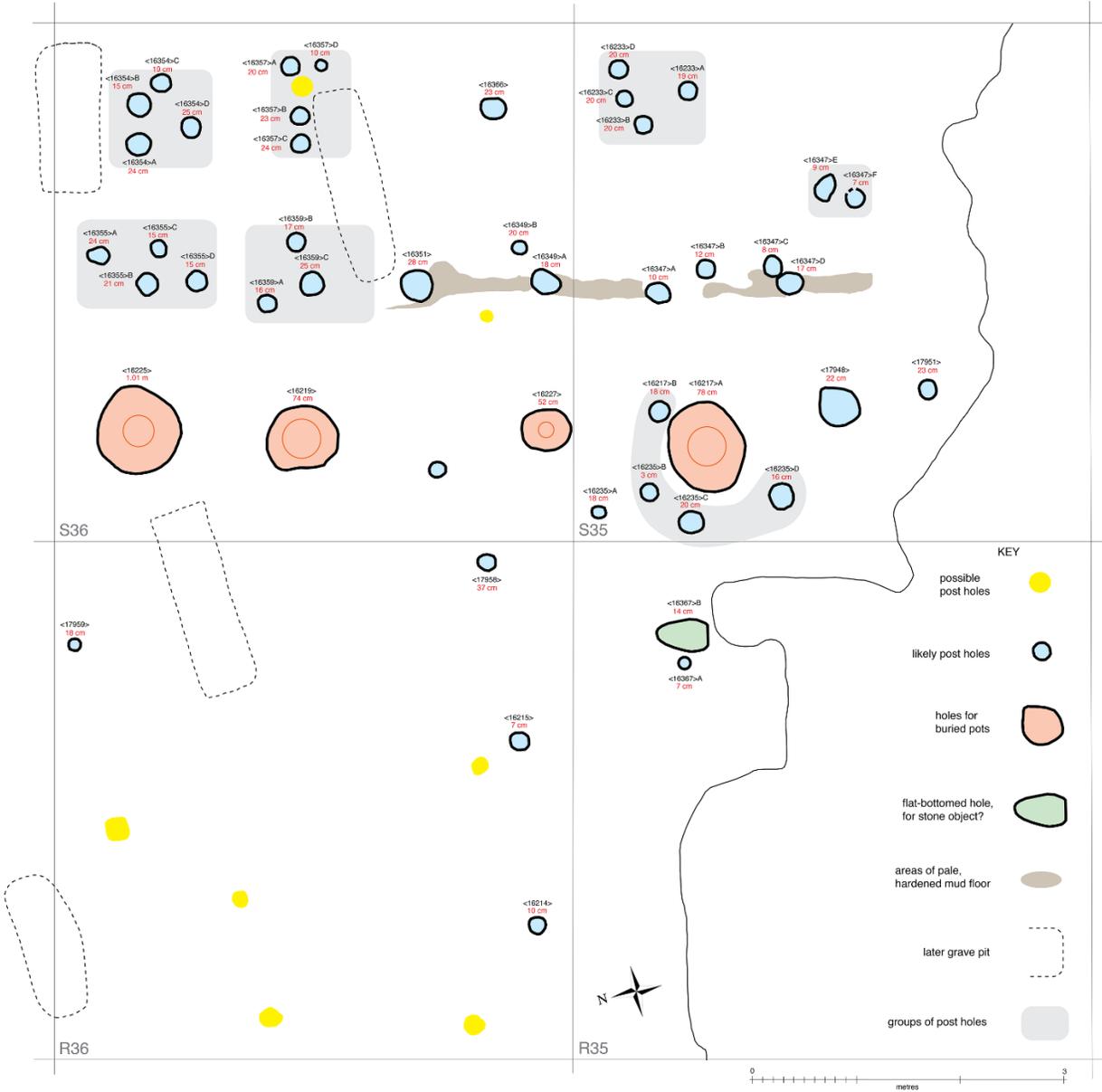


Figure 8: Summary plan of post holes and pot holes cut into the mud floor on the north side of the excavation area (**Figure 6**). Based on the plans and records of Delphine Driaux, 2015, 2018.

They were built as if to be seen and approached from the west. The source of the offerings can be identified with some confidence, but to the south. Beyond the temple enclosure wall, across an east–west street, lay a huge irregular collection of mud-brick buildings where food was prepared and stored (**Figure 6, red arrow**). Most prominent were numerous kitchens where bread was baked and presumably other food prepared on and within the hundreds of ovens that stood at the back of long vaulted chambers. In another part of the complex meat had been stored in large pottery jars. The buildings lacked a clear enclosure wall, and the only readily identifiable entrance was on the north, facing the temple enclosure wall. It is here that we come across a serious gap in documentation. The enclosure wall itself has not been examined. Its line is visible today as a low ridge of sand and gravel. But whether this covers one or more gateways in the wall is not known. The south-west corner of the temple enclosure saw some limited trenching by the Pendlebury expedition but, apart from a few objects found, almost nothing is reported on the state of the ground.

If the offering-tables had all been serviced from the temple's main entrance, the offerings would have had to be carried from the supply depot in the south, along the outside of the enclosure wall, through whatever entrance it possessed and then, for the southern offering-tables, back again in a southwards direction. The alternative and, to us, more sensible solution would have been to have had direct access to the offering-tables from a gateway in the south, immediately opposite the entrance to the supply depot. Then, upon entering the enclosure, the way would have been open to fan out and head for one particular group of them.

Something else that is so far missing is a place where debris from offerings was thrown away. When an area around offering-tables is exposed the floor seems to have been cleaned before it was buried beneath the levelling-rubble. Further to the east, where the separate Sanctuary building lay, the earlier excavations of Petrie/Carter and Pendlebury had found evidence that debris which included incense bowls, broken statuary and animal and bird bones had been removed from the Sanctuary southwards and through or across the line of the enclosure wall and then dumped. There should be something similar at the western end, immediately south of the field of offering-tables, but insufficient excavation has been done here.

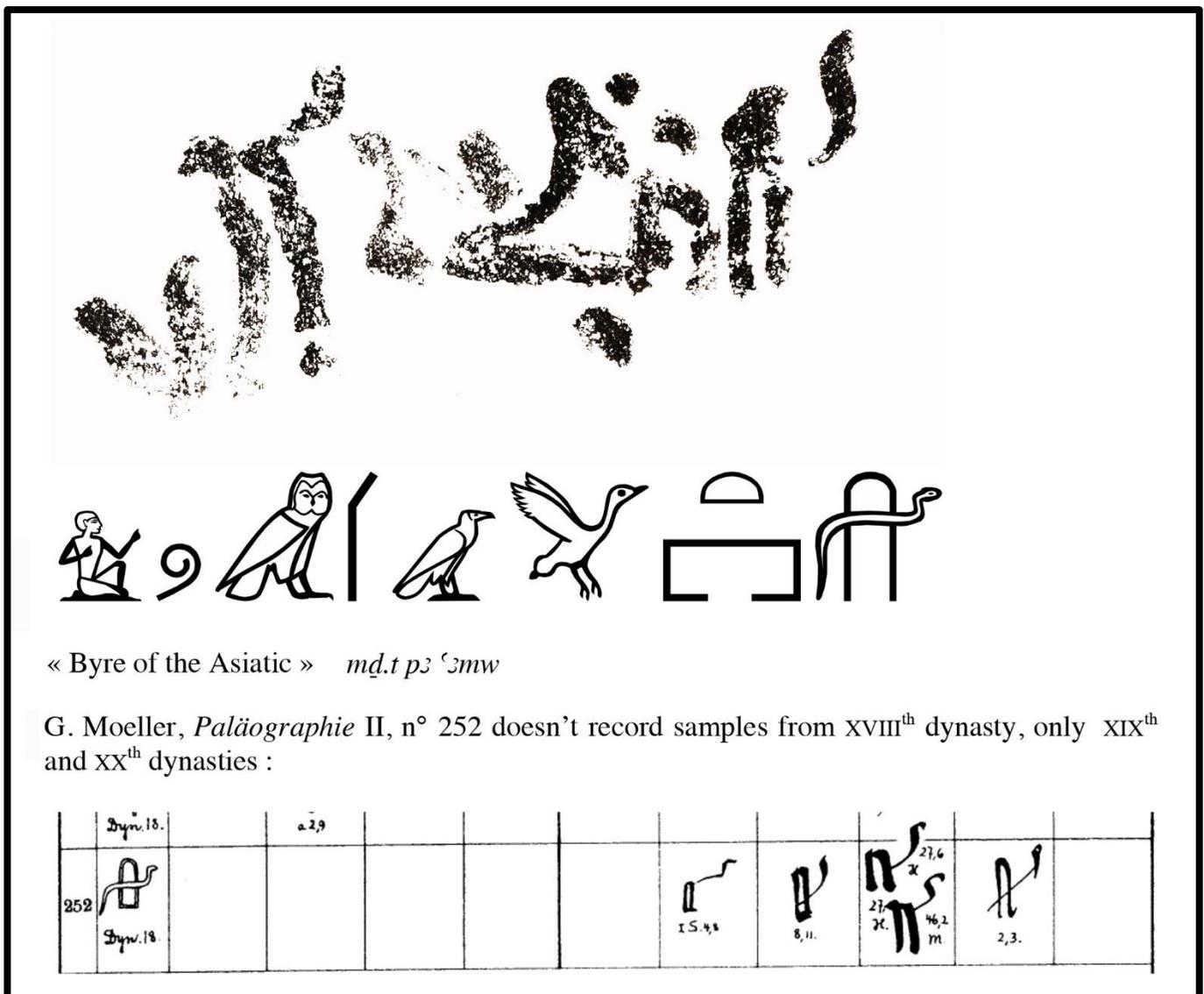


Figure 9: Copy, transcription and translation of hieratic text (by Marc Gabolde) on a piece of mud brick from the levelling-rubble, excavated in 2017.

In whatever way the area was entered, once inside it a huge vista of flat desert surface met the eye, the lines of offering-tables covering only a small portion. Here and there stood temporary structures of wooden posts. I can think of no adequate reason for the vastness of the space other than it was to act as a place of assembly for the city's people. This is a common element in later cities: the forum, the central square, the market-place. Here at Amarna it would have had a character derived from Egyptian traditions: a prominent focus on a divinity (the Aten) and on the king, in part expressed through food-offerings. The occasions for assembly would have been dictated partly by an official calendar and partly by applications from people wishing to honour their own dead by a combination of their own ceremonies (which included feasting) and spoken formulae in favour of the Aten and the king at the same time. By this model, citizen contributions would have helped to maintain the system.

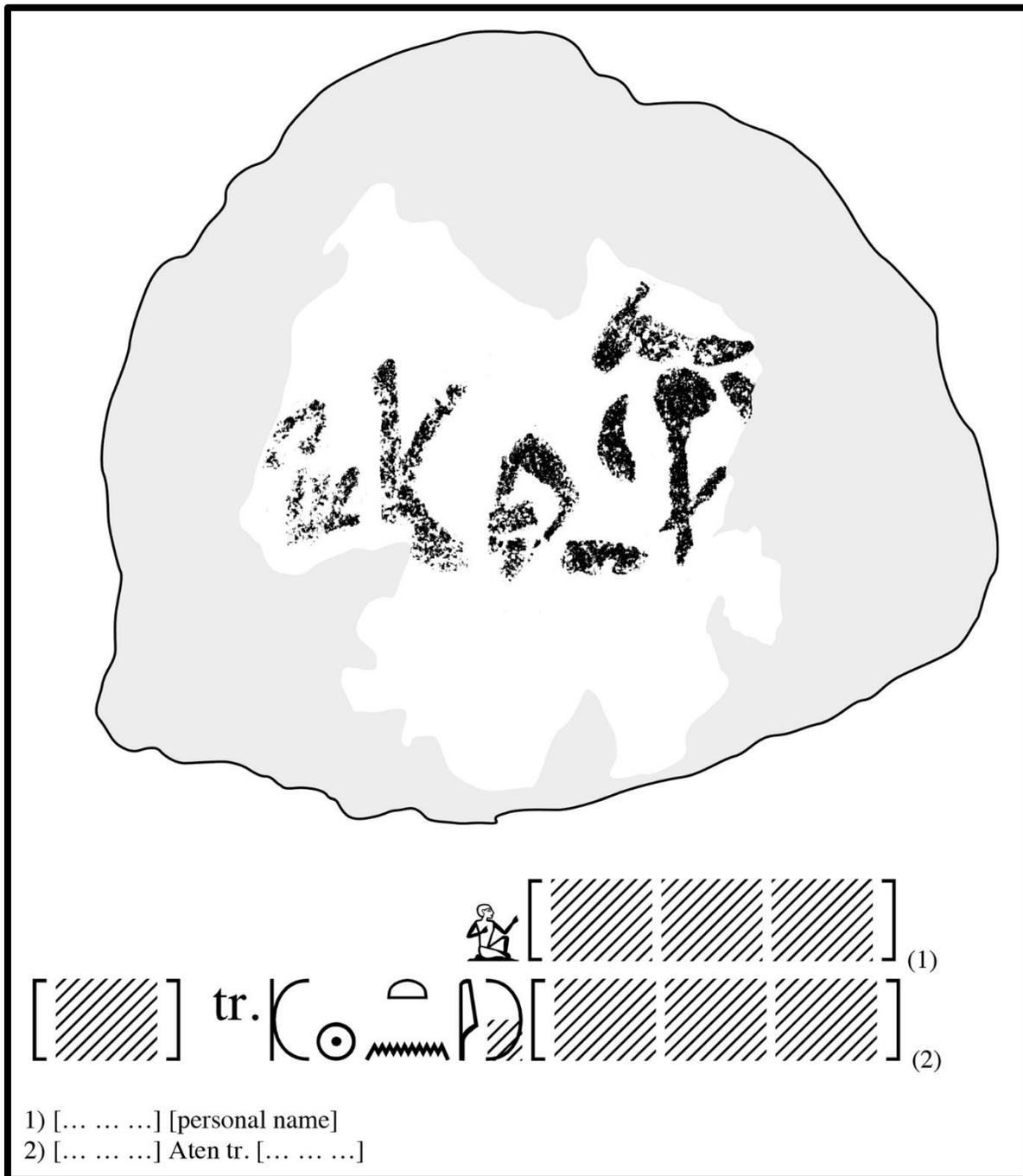


Figure 10: Copy, transcription and translation of hieratic text (by Marc Gabolde) on a mud brick from the levelling-rubble, excavated in 2017.

Archaeological evidence is often indeterminate in meaning. We can use it to illustrate a hypothesis whilst accepting that it does not prove it. The levelling-rubble has yielded two mud bricks each bearing a short text written in hieratic in black ink (**Figures 9, 10**). The bricks show no trace of mortar or surface plaster and had probably not formed part of a built structure. They resemble in their usage naturally rounded stones that have often been found at Amarna also bearing short hieratic texts. They give personal names and/or titles of offices and were probably temporary markers which laid personal claim to a piece of ground or to a building.

Marc Gabolde has provided transcriptions and translations and is of the opinion that they were temporary markers of personal ownership. The text of the first brick (**Figure 9**), however, gives more than one possible reading which obstructs a straightforward explanation for their existence. The first word has the determinative for a building and was feminine. The translation 'shrine', which could be stretched to cover 'altar', at one moment seemed possible and would make sense in view of their being discovered in the middle of a large area of brick offering-tables (**Figure 6**). Yet Marc's final preference is for 'byre' which is attested on dockets from Amenhotep III's palace at Malkata. Would this have referred to the known slaughter-court within the temple enclosure? It lay well behind the rear of the Long Temple and was a simple rectangular enclosure surrounded by a wall two bricks thick (the recent autumn 2019 season saw the start of an excavation of what is left of it). The pictures of the temple in the tombs of Meryra and Panehsy actually show two slaughter-courts, one towards the rear and one towards the front. If both were on the north side of the temple then the one towards the front must be considered lost beneath the modern cemetery. But the brick seems not to come from a wall and, in any case, both locations are a long way from the place where the brick was found. It is however possible that the brick was used as a kind of 'traceability label' which accompanied the meat from the slaughtering-court to the offering-place.

The writing of the personal name is also open to more than one transcription. Panehsy is a possibility and this is welcome because this was the name of one of the senior administrators of the 'House of the Aten'. Marc's final judgement, however, is that Pa-aamu is the more convincing rendering, a name which means 'the Asiatic' yet could be used as a proper name. 'Byre of "The Asiatic"' would ultimately be the best translation. As for the second brick (**Figure 10**), Marc identifies that it had borne a personal name but this is lost, and another line which included the word 'Aten'.

The great enclosed space would also have accommodated celebrations of a more secular kind, of which the reception of foreign tribute recorded in the tombs of Huya and Meryra II is an example (although we cannot be sure that it was celebrated here rather than in another public space). The kind of temporary architecture that was set up on such an occasion is itself illustrated by the evidence for a rectangular building of wooden posts facing the temple axis at the front. It incorporated a mud-brick podium which had been decorated with a painted pavement depicting foreign captives (**Figure 11, arrow**). This points to the presence of a royal throne dais (see *Akhetaten Sun*, 23, no. 2, Dec 2017, 4–10; *Akhetaten Sun* 24, no. 1, Jun 2018, 25–35).

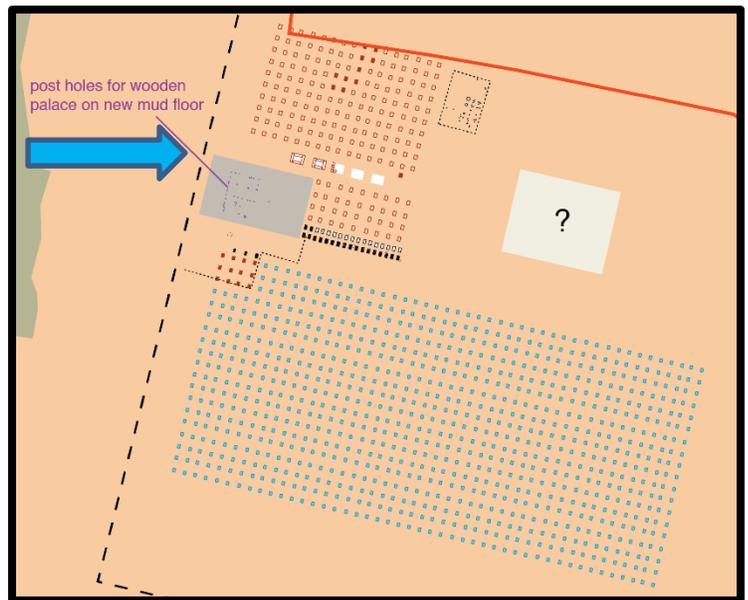


Figure 11: Outline plan of the western part of the Great Aten Temple enclosure and ground to the south, showing the location of the small wooden palace inserted amongst the offering-tables of the earlier phase of building.

By year 12 the field of offering-tables must have looked run down and in need of refurbishment, if not replacement. Mud brick needs regular maintenance. Especially when used for small constructions it quickly weathers and starts to break up. The same is true for the gypsum layers used to give a white appearance to floors of mud plaster. After year 12 they were buried beneath a layer of rubble. As our excavations uncover the floors again we find that very little of the white plaster survives either on the sides of the offering-tables or on the floors. Some of the damage and loss could have happened as a result of exposure from the excavations of Petrie and Pendlebury, but this will barely have affected the plastered floors which sometimes preserve a hard and slightly shiny surface from foot traffic but with barely a trace of the original white covering.

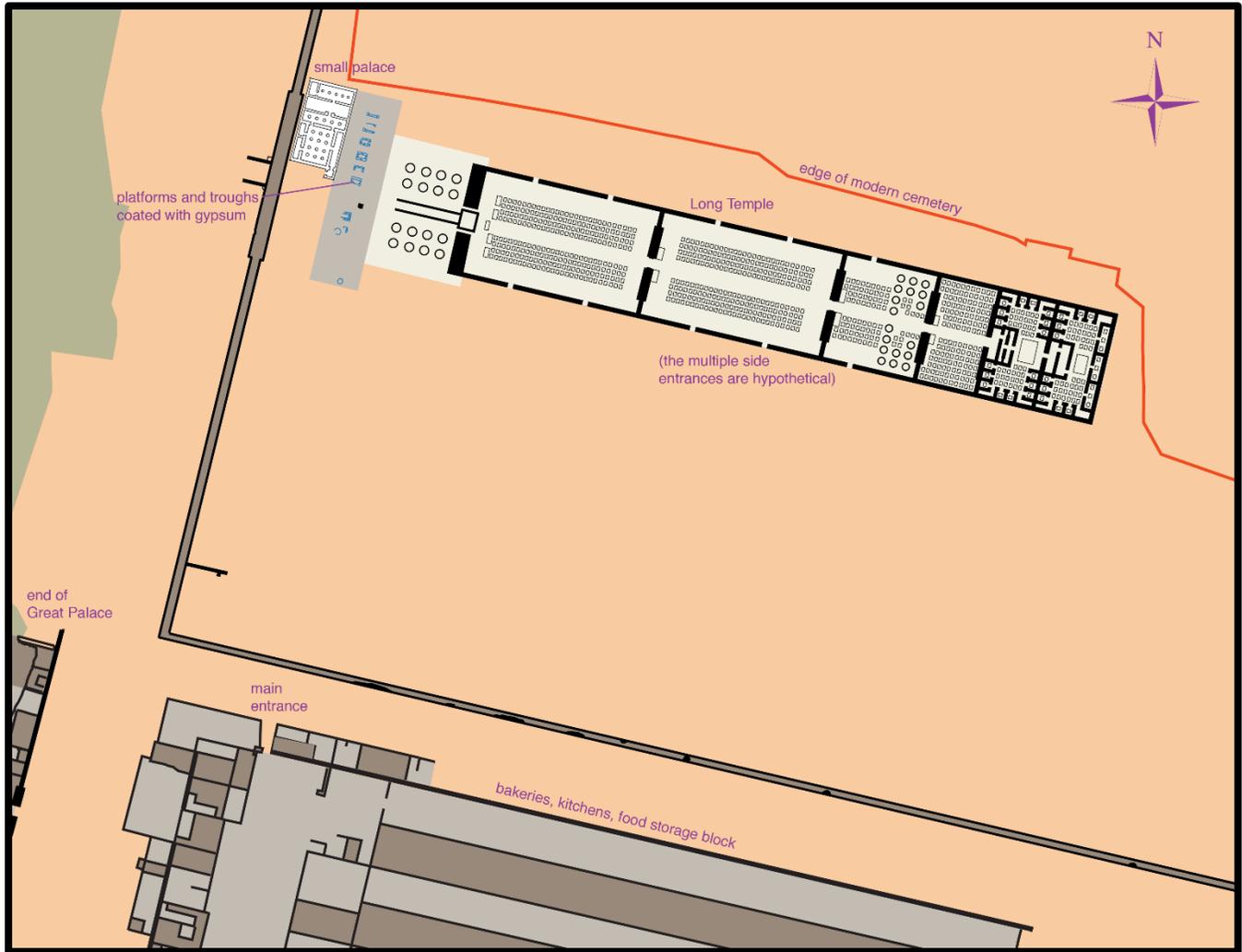


Figure 12: Outline plan of the western part of the Great Aten Temple enclosure and ground to the south, showing features from the final phase of building, principally the monumental stone building, the Long Temple. The plan of the temple behind the first court is that of Ralph Lavers.

The refurbishment of the temple was now done on a monumental scale and fully in stone (**Figure 12**). It must have replaced an earlier stone building of which fragments have emerged from time to time in foundation material from the later temple (**Figure 6, green arrow**). It could have been much smaller and with few or no offering-tables close to or inside it. The reason for saying this is that logic encourages the thought that the abandonment and burial of the earlier open field of mud-brick offering-tables was done because the new stone temple was to replace them (and also to reduce their number somewhat, down to maybe 750). The Long Temple basically served the same need but now in a far grander setting, which gave Akhenaten a vantage-point for a presiding presence from time to time, standing on the platform between the front pylons.

The problem of access which arises when considering the earlier layout now re-appears more acutely. The outer walls of the stone temple were built on foundations contained within trenches. All doorways, as was common with buildings in both stone and mud brick, were marked only at ground level and above. The foundation masonry continued unbrokenly beneath. The later removal of all of the stonework took away all trace of doorways. It makes good sense to reconstruct their positions at regular intervals along the south (and north) walls. They gave easy access to the multitude of offering-tables which continued to be provided for by the large food depot to the south.



Figure 13: A portion of the temple front in the final phase, showing details of the layout of the ground which included the mud platforms and surrounding gypsum-coated basins (for the location, see **Figure 12**). The plan of this part is derived from field plans and notes by Sue Kelly, made in the course of the 2013, 2014, 2015, 2019 seasons.

Much open space remained, none the less. One area of this later, higher ground level lies in front of the stone temple, on a strip of ground about 8 m wide, running north–south, thus perpendicular to the temple axis (**Figure 13**). It supported a row of low, rectangular (and coffin-sized) mud platforms, 2 x 1 m, each surrounded by a shallow trough, thickly coated with gypsum, which had been subdivided by little embankments into rectangular basins of varying number and size (see *Akhetaten Sun* 20, no. 1, Jun 2014, 16–19). The surrounding ground of mud had become considerably distorted, apparently from becoming saturated and having to bear heavy weights. Along its eastern border are many shallow depressions from pottery jars, groups of round holes that might be the impressions from wooden stands, and a patch of

gypsum cement which had supported one or more stone blocks (see *Akhetaten Sun 21*, no. 1, Jun 2015, 19, 20, **Figure 6**). These can be interpreted as evidence for a zone where offerings were made. Between it and the line of platforms with basins the ground preserves linear marks from the dragging of heavy weights across it. In one patch the mud surface preserved what appear to be parallel impressions from twin runners from a sledge (**Figure 14**). The elements can be combined to create a picture of a place where coffins could be brought for purification ceremonies and offerings could be made.



Figure 14: Mud surface (**Figure 13**) where dragging-lines are in two parallel strips: from the runners of a sledge? View to the south. Photo by B. Kemp.

There is a strange contrast here, between the formal stone architecture on the one hand (comprising the front of the Long Temple, with its massive colonnades, and the small stone palace on the other side of the row of mud platforms) and, on the other hand, the uneven ground and the row of mud platforms which were of different designs and in different stages of being repaired when the temple ceased to be used. It provides a telling illustration of the mingling of private observance and royal presence.

Akhenaten was promoting a view of the gods centred on the Aten and which required of people no complex thinking or knowledge of difficult texts. Everyone could appreciate the nature of god for themselves and contribute to honouring him through feasts, to which they themselves would make material donations whilst, on other occasions, receiving food in the time-honoured style. The implied existence of a ‘people’s temple’ explains much of what the excavation is uncovering. Beyond the limits of the current excavation area the sheer size of the space within the enclosure suggests major secular usage, a space where a large part of the city’s population could gather. Future work should explore whether traces of human activity can be found across the rest of it.

Thoughts of this kind challenge a common assumption that past societies, and Akhenaten's in particular, maintained a clear distinction between the sacred and the secular, rather than acquiescing in fluid zones of associations in which the meaning of a space can change according to circumstances. Being 'sacred' is not an intrinsic property of a place. It exists in the minds of those who use it. We might also consider the logic of having a sun god. During the day, everything can be claimed to be sacred and so the distinction between sacred and secular is no more; but whether Akhenaten and his people went that far in practical assessments is hard to say. Even if that thought was present it might not have appealed to all.

The lack of contemporary texts which comment usefully on much of the site means that this picture is part of archaeology's indeterminacy. We can turn it over in our minds without expecting it to be confirmed or denied by evidence that is more specific. Yet continuing excavation does bring more and varied evidence to light and enriches the source material from which we can form opinions. Supporters of the Amarna Research Foundation can rest assured that they are helping to build up a body of evidence which has the potential to rewrite the meaning of Akhenaten's reign.

Acknowledgements

The autumn 2019 team comprised Barry Kemp (director), Miriam Bertram, Fabien Balestra, Marzia Cavriani, Alis e Devillers, Juan Friedrichs, Sue Kelly, Julia Vilar  (archaeologists), Anna Hodgkinson (archaeologist, workshop study group), Marsha Hill, Kristin Thompson (sculpture), Alexandra Winkels (gypsum analysis), Sarah Doherty (ceramics), Frederik Rademakers (metallurgy), Rainer Gerisch (wood and charcoal), Margaret Serpico (incense) and Andreas Mesli (photography). The Ministry of Antiquities was represented by Nasriin Sobhy Ahmed (site inspector), Mustafa Mohamed Gamal (site conservator), and Mohamed Abd el-Mohsen and Tharwat Shawki Damian (magazine inspectors). Thanks are also due to the Permanent Committee of the Ministry of Antiquities for permission to work at Amarna, and to the antiquities officials of Middle Egypt, especially Gamal Abu Bakr in Minia, Mahmoud Salah for South Minia, Fathy Awad, the general director of archaeology for the Mallawi area and Hamada Kellawy, the chief inspector of Amarna. I am grateful to Marsha Hill and Kristin Thompson for comments on the limestone slab and possible comparative material.

Further reading

For the piece shown in **Figure 4**: A. Stevens, 'An Amarna sculptor's model.' *Egyptian Archaeology* 28 (2006), 10.

The large building complex south of the Great Aten Temple, where food was prepared and stored, was excavated by the Pendlebury expedition and published in J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* III. London, Egypt Exploration Society 1951, 29–31, 106–112, Pls. XII, XVIII, XXVIII, XLVIII. For more general background, B.J. Kemp, 'Food for an Egyptian city.' In R. Luff and P. Rowley-Conwy, ed., *Whither Environmental Archaeology?* Oxford, Oxbow 1994, 133–53.

The two slaughter-courts in the tomb of Meryra are depicted in Davies, *Rock Tombs* I, Pls. XA, XII, and those in the tomb of Panehsy in Davies, *Rock Tombs* II, Pls. XVIII, XIX.

Bright, Light, and Colorful: Painted Ceiling Decoration in Amarna Tombs

Amy Butner

Introduction

The elite tombs of Amarna are well known for the beautiful decoration that adorns their walls and doorways. Perhaps less well known, but no less beautiful, are the brightly colored geometric patterns that can still be found on the ceilings of certain tombs, if one looks closely. Unlike the wall decoration, which was carved and then painted, the ceiling patterns were only done in paint, and unfortunately do not survive well in most tombs. This can leave modern visitors with the impression that ceilings of Amarna tombs were designed to be dark and blank. However, when they were freshly painted, these patterns would have jumped out at the visitor, creating a bright and vibrant atmosphere within the tomb.

The use of brightly colored geometric patterns as ceiling decoration is not unique to Amarna tombs. In fact, the practice dates back to at least the Old Kingdom, and continued well beyond the Amarna period.ⁱ Unlike the decoration of other spaces in Amarna tombs, which sometimes differs strongly from traditional Egyptian styles of art, the ceiling patterns often have direct parallels to ceiling patterns that survive in tombs in cemeteries of the pre-Amarna period, such as Thebes. The geometric patterns used in traditional tomb design were likely meant to evoke the luxury textiles used as coverings for tents during funerary rituals.ⁱⁱ This served to make temporary structures permanent, transforming fragile textiles into stone which in turn emphasized the hoped-for transformation of the deceased from a mortal body subject to decay into an undying ancestor. The presence of these traditional patterns at Amarna suggests this desire remained unchanged.

This article is designed to share some of the lesser known beauty of Amarna tombs that might otherwise go overlooked. In his publications of the tombs Egyptologist Norman de Garis Davies made careful record of the ceiling patterns, which often had to be reconstructed from very small fragments of paint. However, though Davies' drawings are extremely useful for researchers, they fail to fully portray the visual impact of these paintings since the drawings are only rendered in black and white. Seven tombs retain painted ceiling decoration: Huya (Tomb 1), Ahmose (Tomb 3), Meryre (Tomb 4), Pentu (Tomb 5), Panehsy (Tomb 6), Any (Tomb 23), and Ay (Tomb 25). Some tombs retain more decoration than others, and I will present the tombs with the best-preserved decoration first.

Tomb of Huya (Tomb 1)

The most vibrant ceiling decoration that survives is located on an architrave in the tomb of Huya (Tomb 1). This is some of the best-preserved painted decoration in all of the Amarna tombs and shows a complex pattern of stripes and circles painted in red, yellow, blue, and white. **(Figure 1)**ⁱⁱⁱ The painting on the other architraves in this tomb doesn't survive as well, remains on the architrave from the left side of the tomb indicates that they may have been decorated with the same or a similar pattern. Huya's tomb also has paint fragments that show that the ceilings in other parts of the main room were once decorated. The paint of the central aisle has been almost entirely lost, but very faint traces do remain by the entrance doorway. **(Figure 2)** These indicate that the pattern of the ceiling of the main aisle was composed of red and blue concentric circles painted on a yellow background, bordered by a series of red, blue, and white stripes.

[Editor's note: see the next article in this issue for a map of the elite (noble's) tombs at Amarna]

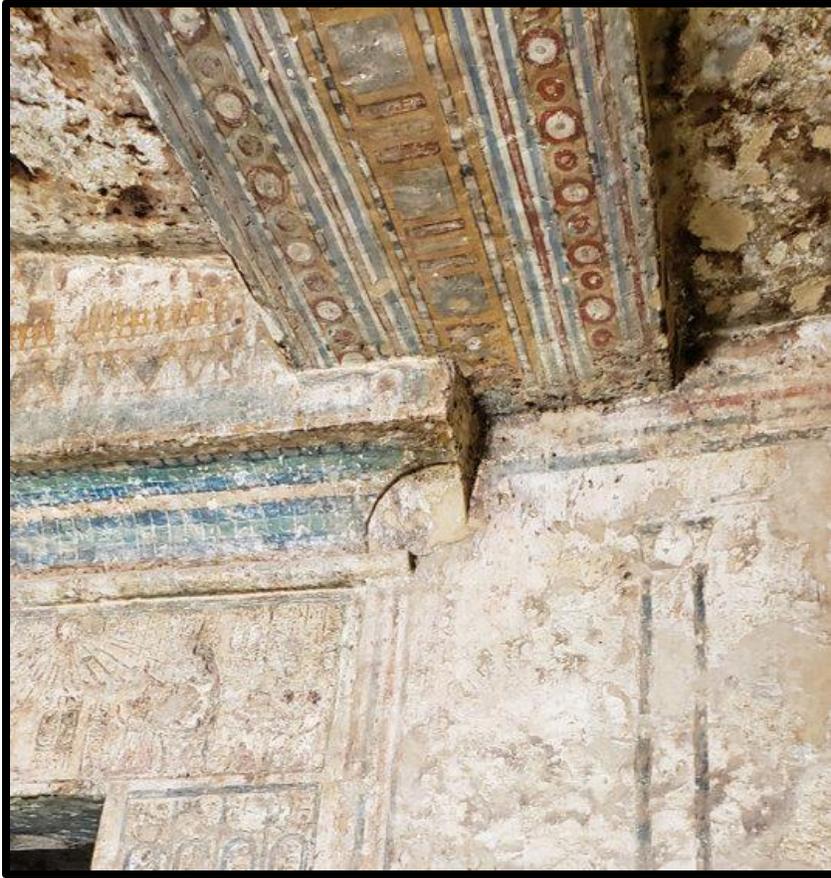


Figure 1: Painted Architrave, Tomb of Huya (Tomb 1), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 2: Traces of Paint by Doorway, Tomb of Huya (Tomb 1). Photo by Amy Butner

Paint also remains on the ceiling on the right-side of the tomb, showing the same border of red, blue, and white stripes. According to Davies' drawing, the pattern, though mostly destroyed, seems to have consisted of red and white circles with water lily flowers wrapped around them. (Figure 3)^{iv} This pattern is now extremely difficult to see with the naked eye. In fact, despite searching for it specifically while in the tomb I was unable to find the pattern and noted it as lost. It was only upon reviewing my photographs of the ceiling that I was able to see that the flower and circle pattern does still survive, albeit faintly.

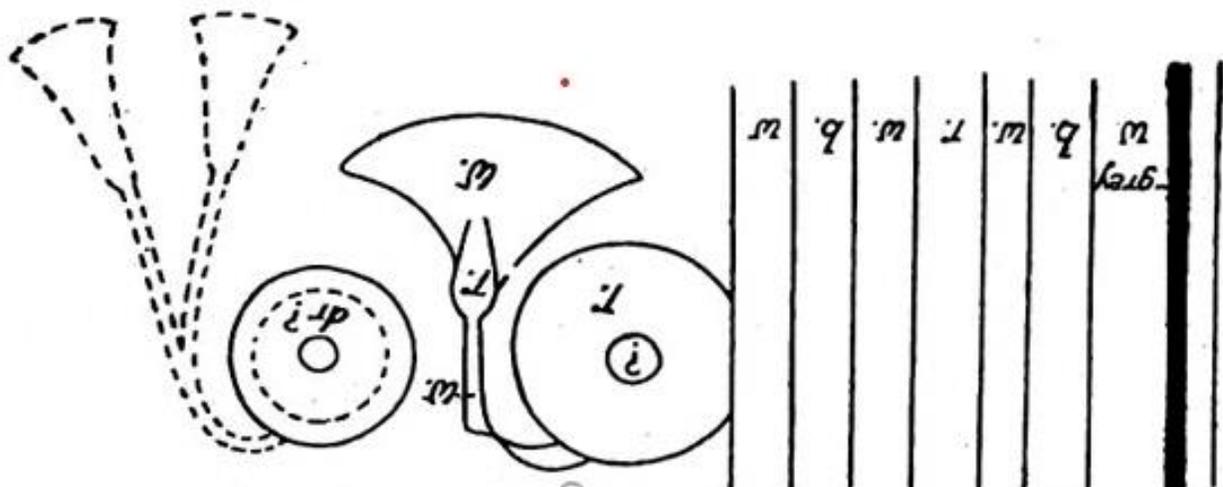


Figure 3: Traces of Paint on Ceiling, Tomb of Huya (1), Photo by Amy Butner, Davies III, pl. XXV, Pattern F

Huya's tomb is the only Amarna tomb with traces of ceiling decoration in the shrine area. The shrine's ceiling was decorated in two identical panels with red and blue zigzag lines on a white background interspersed with diamonds. Both panels have a border of the same blue, red, and white stripes that form the borders for ceiling and wall decorations in the main room of the tomb. (Figure 4)^v The space between the two panels may have been painted yellow, which may indicate hieroglyphs were originally or intended to be painted on the ceiling in blue. However, no hieroglyphs are now discernible.

Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6)

From the surviving paint it is clear that of the seven tombs that still retain ceiling decoration, the tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6) displays the most extensive ceiling painting. Davies records a pattern consisting of zigzag lines and diamonds filled with flower-like designs on the ceiling of the entranceway to the tomb.^{vi} Very little of the original paint remains today, making it very difficult to discern the pattern in person, though deep blue paint is still visible in places.

The central aisle of the tomb has the most intricate composition, with five columns of hieroglyphs that serve as borders creating four panels decorated with patterns. **(Figure 5)**^{vii} The two inner panels were painted a deep red, with a diamond pattern derived from beadwork painted on it in dark blue, light blue, and yellow. The spaces between the beads contain a flowerlike circle of yellow dots. **(Figure 6)**^{viii} The spaces between the beads contain a flower-like circle of yellow dots. The decoration of the outer two panels form a zigzag pattern of red, blue, and white. These zigzags alternate, sometimes forming diamond patterns. **(Figure 6)**^{ix} The texts between each panel do not survive well across the entire ceiling, but it is clear that only two columns were carved. The other columns of hieroglyphs were painted in blue on a bright yellow background.

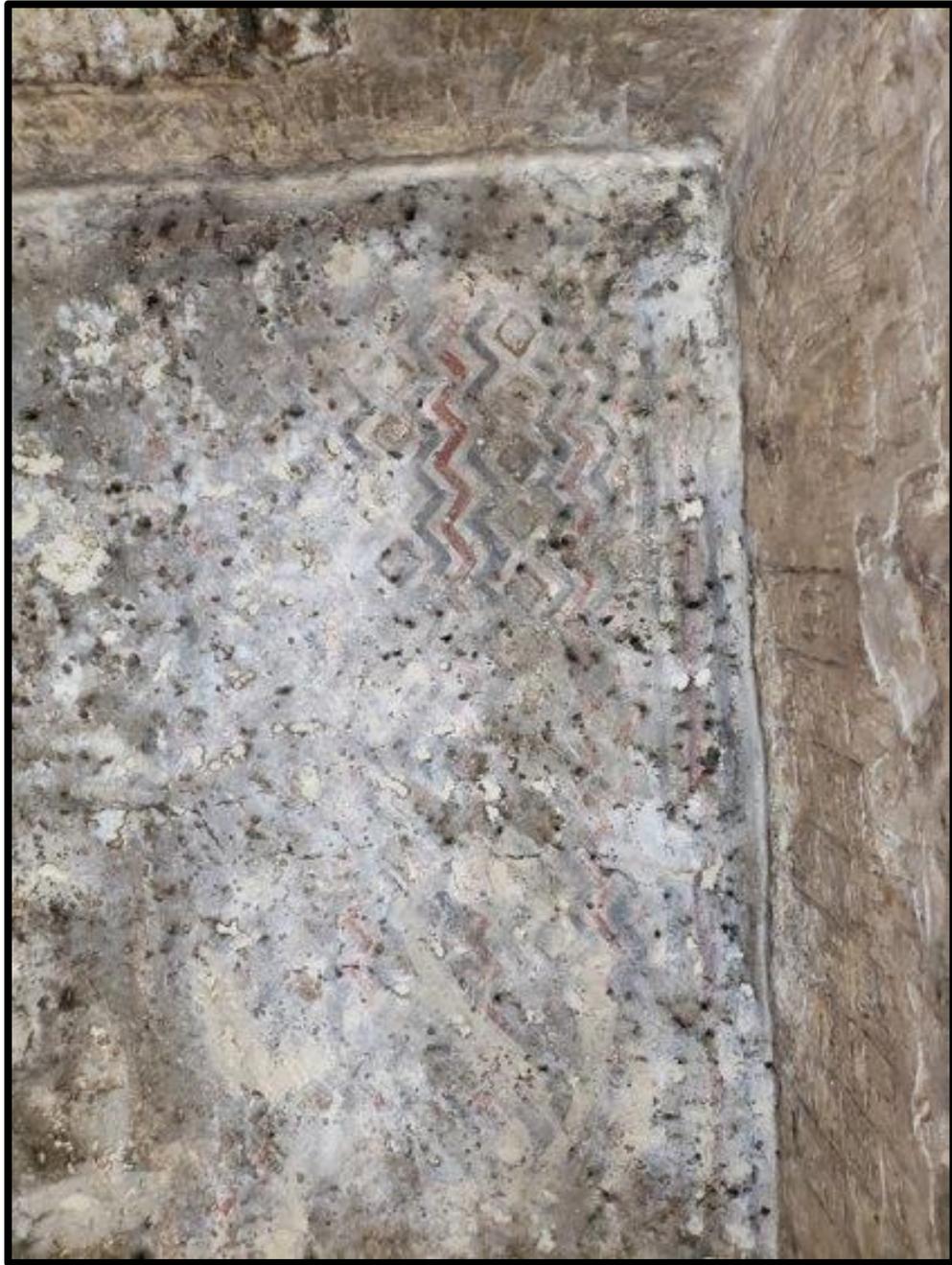


Figure 4: Shrine Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Huya (Tomb 1), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 5: Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 6: Detail of Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 7: Decoration on Architrave, Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 8: Decoration on Architrave, Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 9: Decoration on Architrave, Tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6), Photo by Amy Butner

The soffits of the architraves of Panehsy's tomb are also decorated with two alternating patterns. (**Figure 7**)^x The middle section of the architrave, between the columns on both sides of the tomb was decorated with the same zigzag and diamond pattern found in the central aisle. However, on the architrave the pattern included a border of red, blue, and white checks. (**Figure 8**)^{xi} The sections of the architraves closest to the front and back of the tomb were decorated with a pattern comprised of rows of circles in alternating colors. One row of circles is decorated with small lines, which gives them a flowerlike appearance. (**Figure 9**)^{xii}

Tomb of Ay (Tomb 25)

In the tomb of Ay (25) traces of paint only survive on the ceiling along the central axis of the main room, and on the undersides of the architraves. The central aisle is painted red and decorated with a pattern of a blue bead-like mesh with white flowers with blue or green middles at the center of each square. (**Figure 10**)^{xiii} The underside of the architrave on the left side of the tomb, close to the entrance doorway retains a completely different pattern consisting of white, blue, and red diamonds, with a border of black, white, and red. (**Figure 11**)^{xiv} Davies reconstructs a double edged border with a pattern of swirls in the center, but this is difficult to see today due to the current poor condition of the paint.



Figure 10: Detail of Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Ay (Tomb 25), Photo by Amy Butner

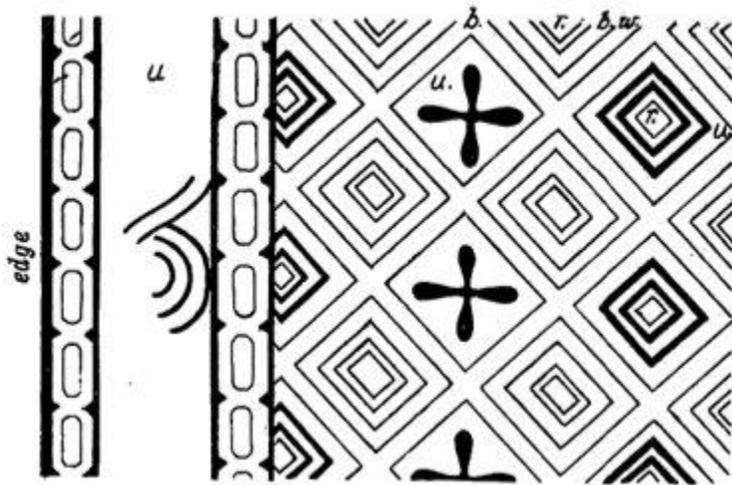
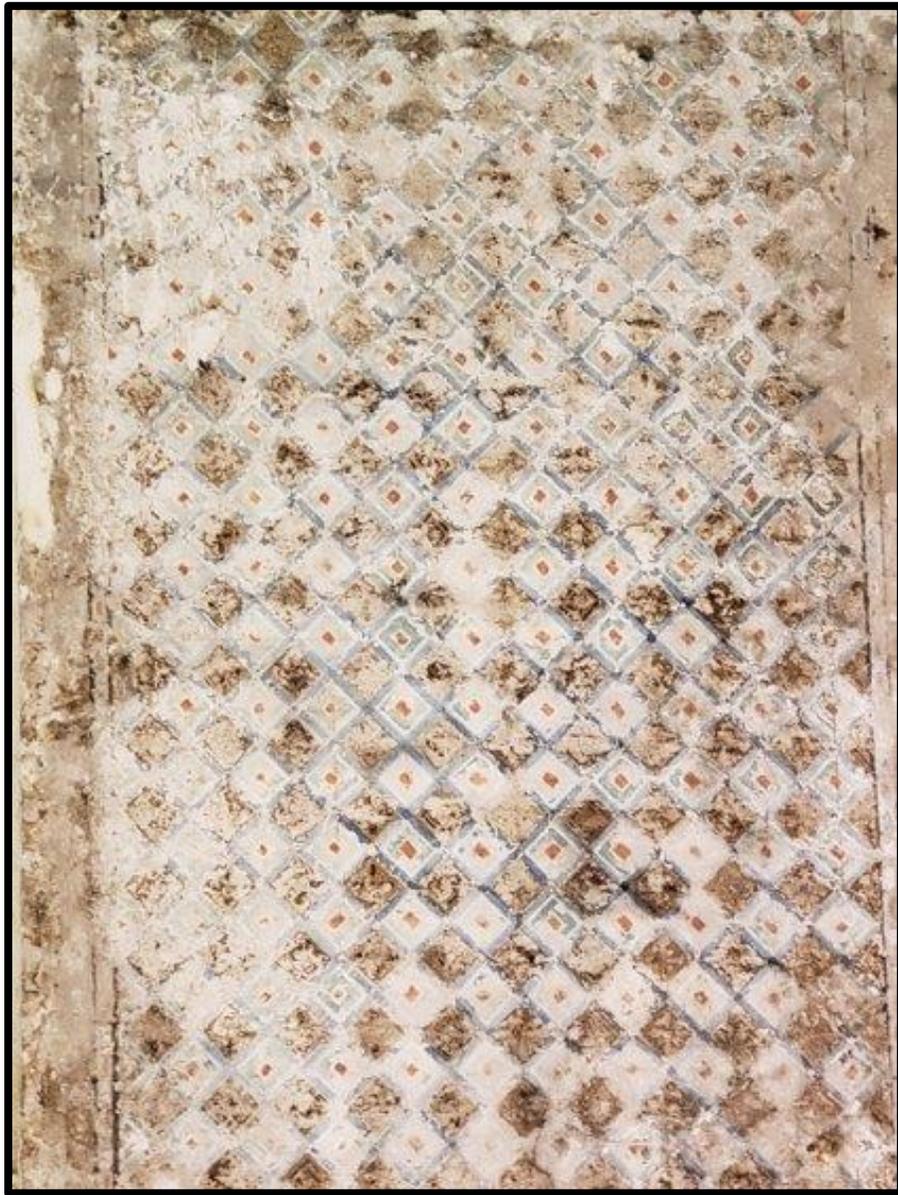


Figure 11: Detail of Architrave Decoration, Tomb of Ay (Tomb 25), Davies VI, pl. XXIII, Photo by Amy Butner

Tomb of Meryre (Tomb 4)

The entrance ceiling in the tomb of Meryre (Tomb 4) survives in good enough condition that the overall pattern can be reconstructed. The decoration is arranged into three rectangular panels filled with colorful geometric patterns. (Figure 12)^{xv} Each panel is bounded on all sides by a striped border and separated from one another by a column of hieroglyphs painted in blue on a yellow background.



Figure 12: Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Meryre (Tomb 4), Photo by Amy Butner



Figure 13: Detail of Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Meryre (Tomb 4), Photo by Amy Butner

The two end panels seem to have been identical and were composed of a repeating diamond pattern painted in dark blue, light blue or green, white, and red, and bordered by a checked pattern consisting of the same colors. (Figure 13)^{xvi} The central panel is less well preserved, but the pattern can still be clearly seen. The background of this panel is nearly identical to the central panel on the entranceway ceiling to the tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6) showing the same blue bead-inspired pattern on a red background, and with the same white dots around a darker and larger circle, forming a flowerlike design. (Figure 14)^{xvii}

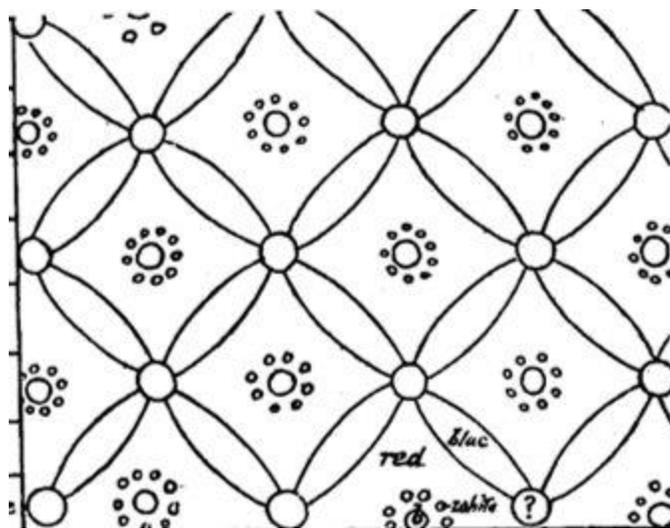


Figure 14: Detail of Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Meryre (Tomb 4), Photo by Author, May 2019, Davies I, pl. XXXIX, Pattern B

Tomb of Ahmose (Tomb 3)

The ceiling decoration in the entrance of Ahmose's tomb (Tomb 3) has a similar composition to that of Meryre (Tomb 4), but only consists of two panels. (**Figure 15**) Ahmose's ceiling decoration lacks the striped border that appears on the ceiling in Meryre (4), but both panels are surrounded by the same colorful checkered pattern that appears in Meryre (4). The main pattern is the same pattern of dark blue, light blue or green, and red as that of Meryre (4). Though much of the paint has been lost, enough remains on the edge of the entrance ceiling to indicate that these two panels were also separated by a yellow band, likely meant to carry blue hieroglyphs like those in the tomb of Meryre (4).

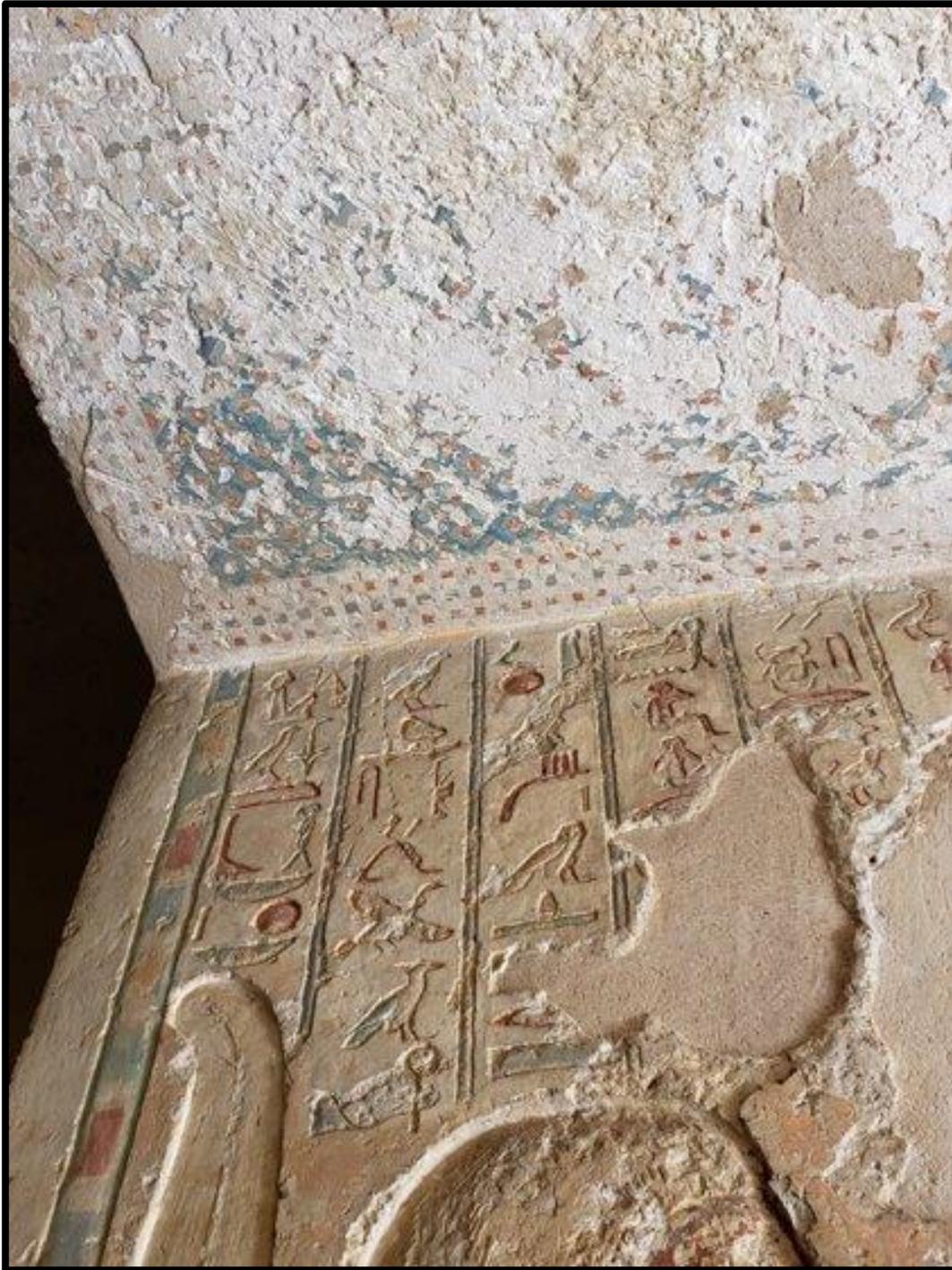


Figure 15: Ceiling Decoration, Tomb of Ahmose (Tomb 3), Photo by Amy Butner

Tomb of Any (Tomb 23)

Though the ceilings of the tomb of Any (Tomb 23) were, for the most part, never decorated, a grid has been laid out in red on the ceiling of the entranceway to the tomb. (**Figure 16**) This indicates that a decorative pattern was planned for this space, but never carried out. The use of grids as the foundation for ceiling patterns can also be seen in the tomb of Panehsy (Tomb 6) where the red lines of the grid are still visible underneath the paint. (**Figure 8**)

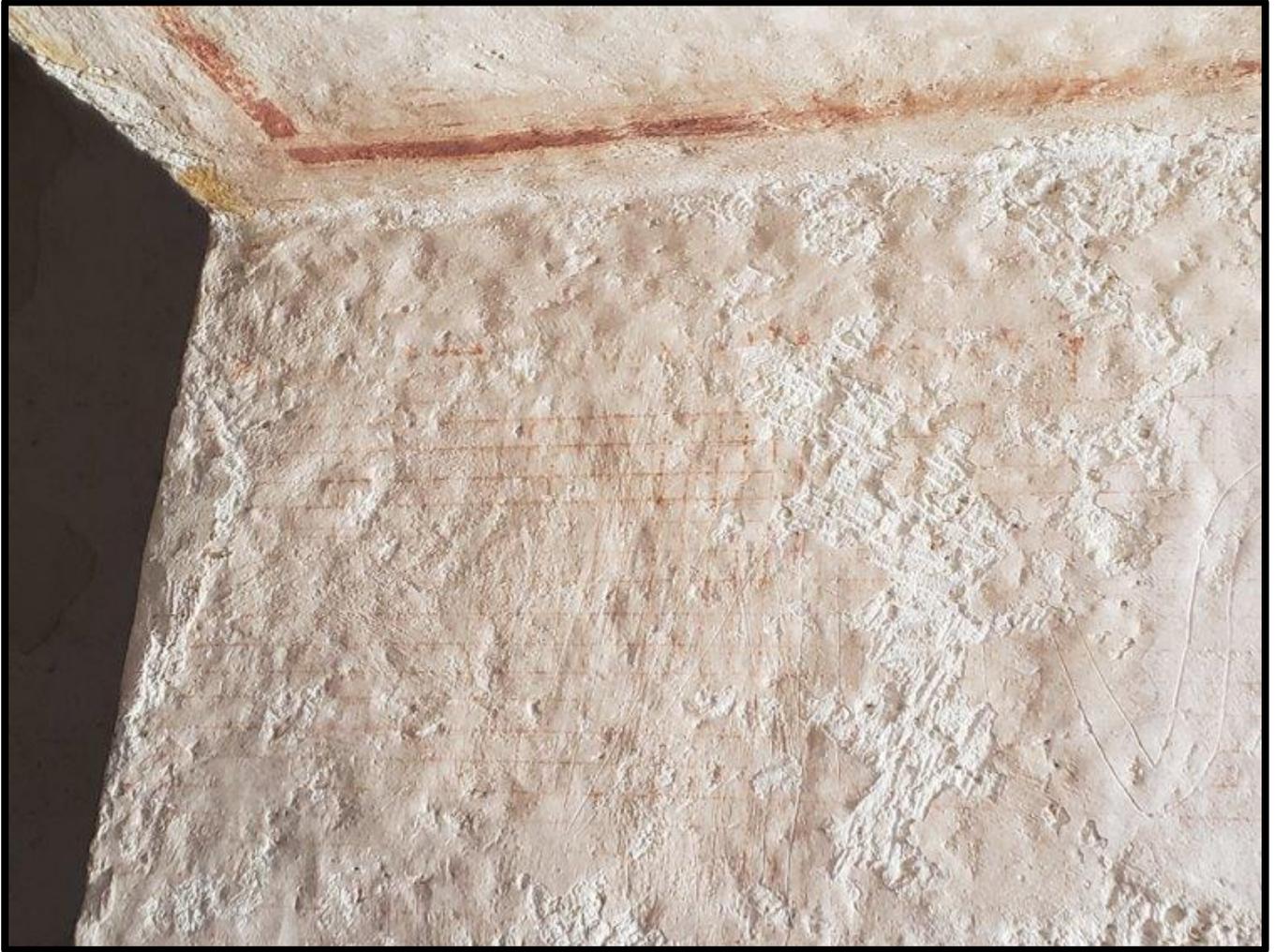


Figure 16: Grid on Ceiling, Tomb of Any (Tomb 23), Photo by Amy Butner

Tomb of Pentu (Tomb 5)

The decoration of the tomb of Pentu (Tomb 5) is badly damaged, so it is not surprising that the ceiling decoration has suffered the same fate. In fact, the ceiling decoration survives so poorly that Davies makes no mention of it at all, and the modern visitor to the tomb would be forgiven for believing the ceiling to be completely blank. However, a tiny fragment of paint remains on the ceiling by the right-hand wall of the main room of the tomb above the fragmentary painted relief of Akhenaten and Nefertiti eating a meal. (**Figure 17**) From this flake of paint, consisting of red and white stripes, we can see that the ceiling was indeed decorated at one time. Though it is impossible to reconstruct the decoration of the ceiling of Pentu, it is possible that a border of red, blue, and white stripes like the ones that appear in the tomb of Huyu (Tomb 1) ran around the edges of the entire main room.

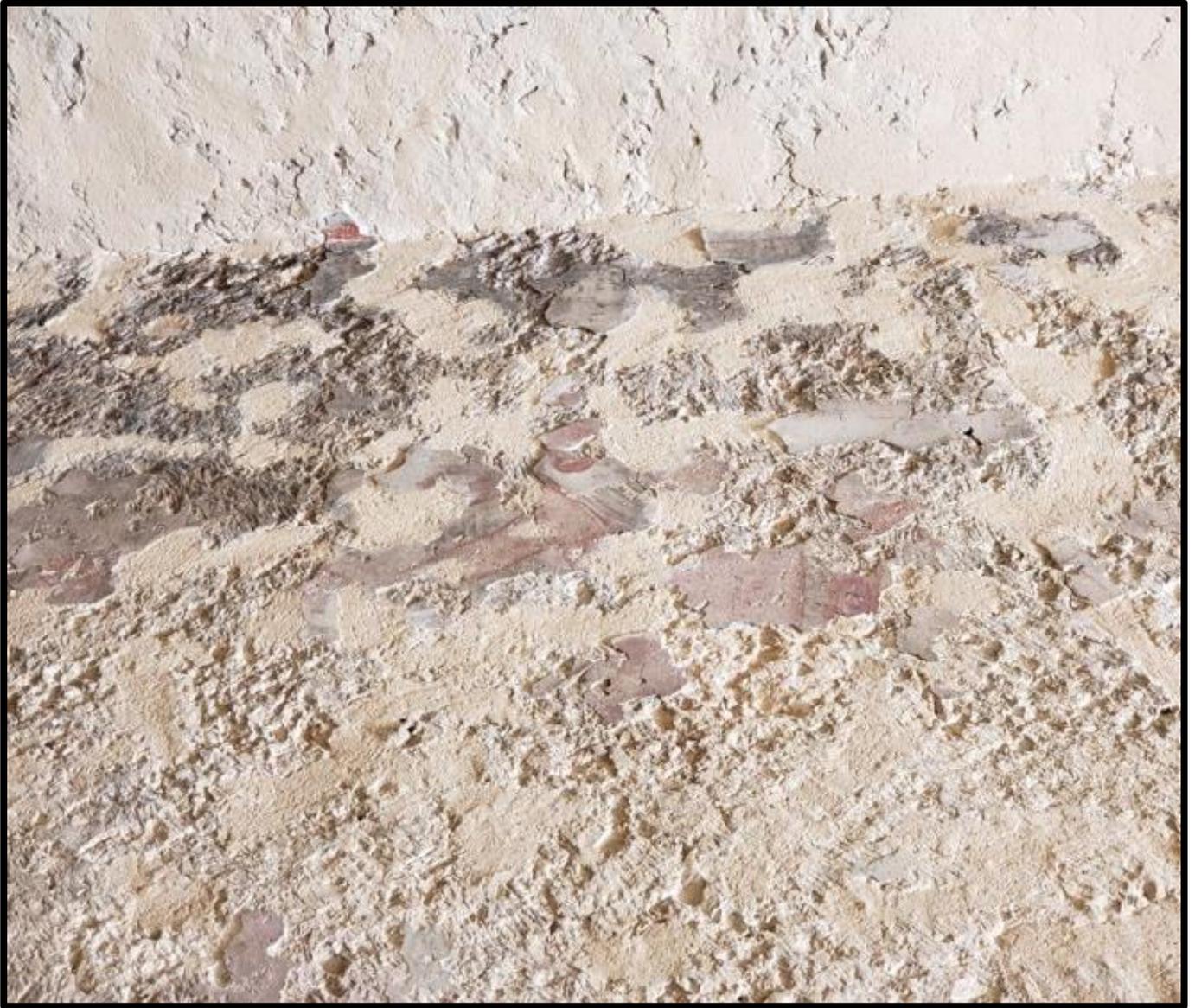


Figure 17: Paint Fragment on Ceiling, Tomb of Pentu (Tomb 5), Photo by Amy Butner

Conclusion

Though the ceiling painting in the elite Amarna tombs does not survive well, the geometric patterns and bright colors can be reconstructed from the traces of paint that remain. With a little imagination, and with the help of similar patterns in the tombs at Thebes, the visitor to the Amarna tombs can begin to recreate the visual impact of the ceiling decoration. When the ceilings were first painted, they would have caught the natural light spilling into the tomb from the doorway, and made the tomb welcoming and bright. The geometric patterns evoked the light, breezy movement of a fabric tent, and associated the tomb with the temporary structures erected for funerary rituals. This transformation of a temporary funerary tent into a permanent structure also promised the continuation of the life and potency of the tomb owner. The next time you visit the tombs of Amarna, be sure to look up and to strip away the years of damage and decay and try catch a glimpse of the tombs as they were meant to be seen: bright, light, and colorful.

[Editor's note: Barry Kemp also points out that painted patterns also occurred on ceilings of some houses at Amarna.]

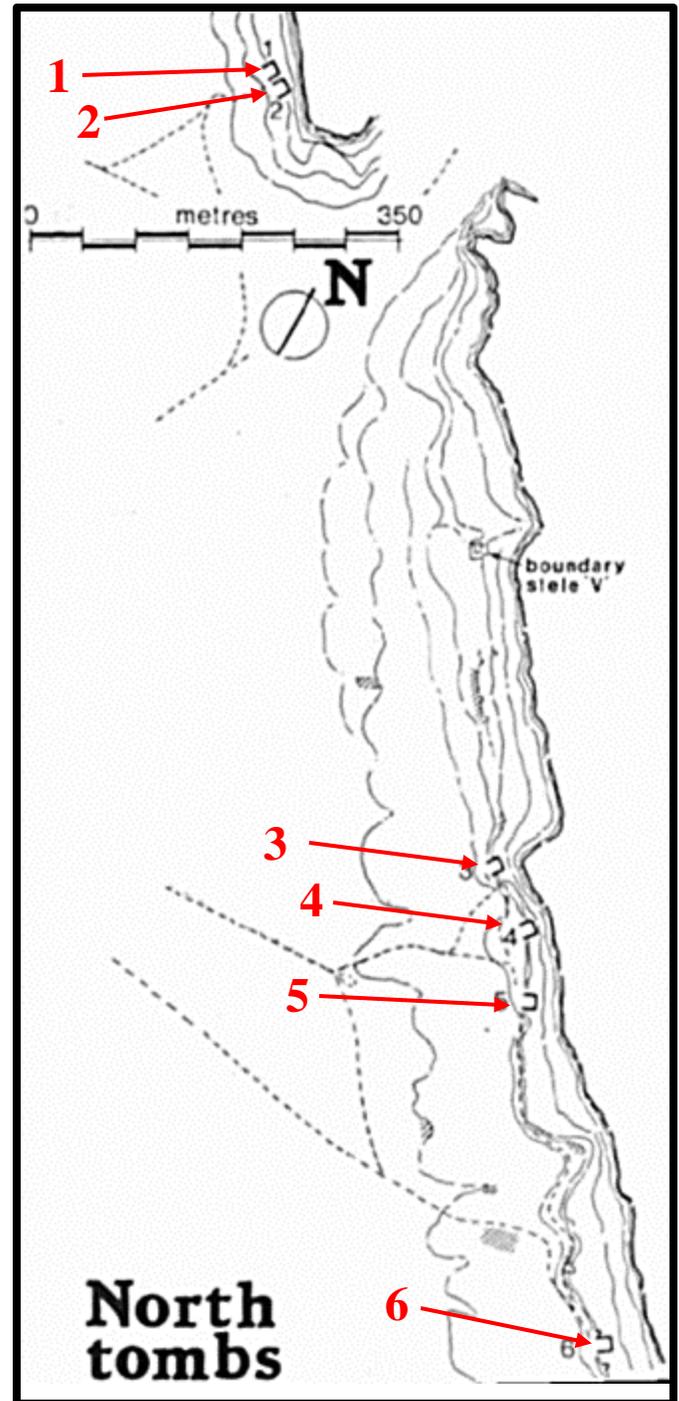
Endnotes:

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- ⁱ Maria C. Shaw, "Ceiling Patterns from the Tomb of Hepzefa," *American Journal of Archaeology* 74, no. 1 (January 1970): 25.
- ⁱⁱ Zahi A. Hawass and Sandro Vannini, *The Lost Tombs of Thebes: Life in paradise* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 108.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Part III. The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1905), pl. XXV, Pattern A.
- ^{iv} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna III*, pl. XXV, Pattern F.
- ^v Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna III*, pl. XXV, Pattern K.
- ^{vi} Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Part II. The Tombs of Panehsy and Meryra II* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1905), pl. IX, Pattern D.
- ^{vii} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II*, pl. XXI.
- ^{viii} Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Part I. The Tomb of Meryra* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1903), pl. XXXIX, Pattern B.
- ^{ix} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II*, pl. IX, Pattern A.
- ^x Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II*, pl. XXI.
- ^{xi} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II*, pl. IX, Pattern A.
- ^{xii} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II*, pl. IX, Pattern C.
- ^{xiii} Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Part VI. Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aj* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1908), pl. XXIII.
- ^{xiv} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna VI*, pl. XXIII.
- ^{xv} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna I*, pl. XXXIX.
- ^{xvi} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna I*, pl. XXXIX, Pattern A.
- ^{xvii} Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna I*, pl. XXXIX, Pattern B.

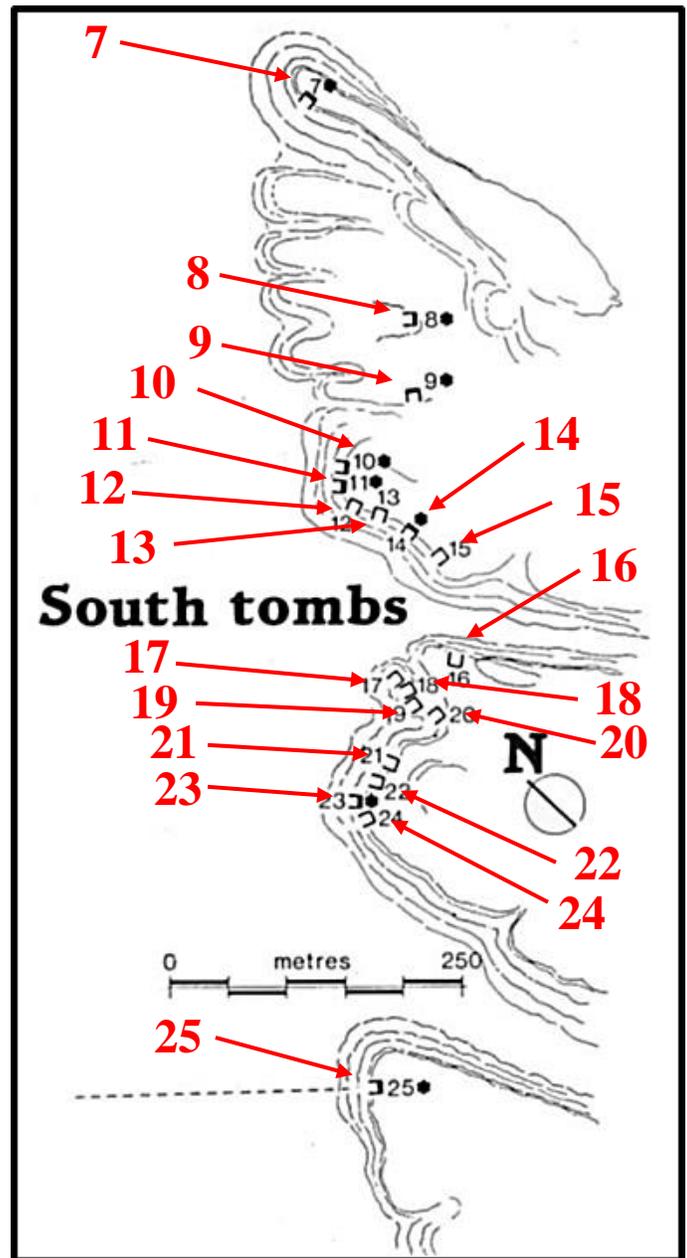
List of the Nobles Tombs at Amarna

David Pepper

1. **Huya** – “Overseer of the Royal Harim and of the Treasuries, and Steward of the Great Royal Wife, Tiye”
2. **Meryra II** – “Royal Scribe, Steward, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Overseer of the Royal Harim of Nefertiti”
3. **Ahmes** – “True Scribe of the King, Fan-bearer on the King’s Right Hand, Steward of the Estate of Akhenaten”
4. **Meryra I** – “High Priest of the Aten in Akhetaten, Fanbearer on the Right Hand of the King”
5. **Penthu** – “Royal Scribe, First under the King, Chief servitor of the Aten in the Estate of the Aten in Akhetaten, Chief of Physicians”
6. **Panehsy** – “Chief servitor of the Aten in the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten”
7. **Parennefer** – “Royal craftsman, Washer of hands of his Majesty”
8. **Tutu** – “Chamberlain, Chief servitor of Neferkheperura-waenra (the King) in ... of the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten, Overseer of all works of his Majesty, Overseer of silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands ...”
9. **Mahu** – “Chief of police of Akhetaten”
10. **Ipy** – “Royal scribe, Steward”



11. **Ramose** – “Royal scribe, Commander of the soldiers of the Lord of the Two Lands, Steward of the Estate of Nebmaatira (Amenhotep III)”
12. **Nakhtpaaten** – “Prince, Chancellor, Vizier”
13. **Neferkheperu-her-sekheper** – “Mayor of Akhetaten”
14. **May** – “Fan bearer on the Right Hand of the King, Royal scribe, Scribe of recruits, Steward of the house of Sehetep Aten, etc. ...”
15. **Suti** – “Standard bearer of the guild of Neferkheperura (Akhenaten)”
16. Unknown
17. Unknown
18. Unknown
19. **Sutau** – “Overseer of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands”
20. Unknown
21. Unknown
22. Unknown
23. **Any** – “Royal scribe, Scribe of the offering table of the Aten, Steward of the Estate of Aakheperura (Amenhotep II), etc.”
24. **Pa-Atenemheb** – “Royal scribe, Overseer of the soldiery of the Lord of the Two Lands”
25. **Ay** – “God’s father, Fan-bearer on the right hand of the King, Overseer of the horses of His Majesty, etc.”



Reference: Barry Kemp, *Guide Book to the North and South Tombs*,
http://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable_resources/Guide%20Book,%20North%20Tombs.pdf,
http://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable_resources/Guide%20Book,%20South%20Tombs.pdf

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