

# DEATH IN THE CITY OF LIGHT

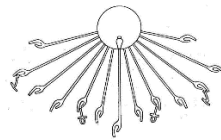
---

## The Conception of the Netherworld during the Amarna Period

---

Master Thesis Classics and Ancient Civilizations

Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University



**Name:** Aikaterini Sofianou

**Email:** kathrinesofianou@gmail.com

**Student Number:** s2573903

**Supervisor:** Prof. Olaf Kaper

**Second Reader:** Dr. Miriam Müller

**Date:** 14/08/2020

# Table of contents

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Historical Context.....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 Chronology of the Amarna Period.....	6
1.2 Amenhotep IV: The Innovative Early Years of His Reign.....	7
1.3 Akhenaten: The Radical Changes After the Fifth Year of His Reign and the End of the Amarna Period.....	10
<b>Chapter 2: Religion and Funerary Ideology .....</b>	<b>14</b>
2.1 Traditional Religion and the Afterlife.....	14
2.2 Atenism: Its Roots and Development.....	17
<b>Chapter 3: Tombs and Non-elite Burials of the Amarna Period .....</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1 Tombs: Their Significance and Characteristics.....	22
3.2 The Royal Tomb of Amarna.....	25
3.3 Elite Tombs: Tombs of Panehesy and Ramose.....	31
3.4 Non-elite burials: South and North Tombs Cemeteries of Amarna.....	35
3.5 Theories and Interpretations on the Concept of the Afterlife during Amarna Period.....	38
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>54</b>

## Introduction

The Amarna Period is one of the most controversial times in Egyptian history and is characterized by significant political, economic, religious, artistic, and administrative changes. The abandonment of Thebes and founding of Akhetaten as the new capital was the starting point for this overhaul. However, the most notorious controversy to modern eyes concerns Akhenaten's religious reforms and his vision for a "monotheistic" theological system.<sup>1</sup> These reforms lead to a conflict between Atenism - the new religion - and traditional Egyptian beliefs.<sup>2</sup> The Aten became the sole universal god and the cults of principal deities such as Amun-Re and Osiris were abandoned during this period.<sup>3</sup>

Many studies have focused on the impact of this innovative religion on every aspect of Egyptian society, with much of the material evidence providing important information about the life and the habits of the people of Amarna.<sup>4</sup> However, a matter that remains uncertain is how Atenism affected the conception of the afterlife. The influence of the cult of the Aten on funerary art was crucial, and under Akhenaten's reign, many traditional funerary scenes, such as references to the Netherworld are absent. Additionally, the absence of Osiris, who was the main pylon of the traditional mortuary ideology,<sup>5</sup> is a crucial modification that has spurred many interpretations concerning the way that afterlife was conceived after these reforms. Thus, the main focus of this thesis is to designate the conception of the Netherworld during the Amarna Period in the light of the absence of traditional funerary iconography and inscriptions.

To achieve this aim, an overview of the history of the Amarna Period will first be provided in order to situate the chronological context of the essay. The timespan of this period is very short, starting with the reign of Amenhotep IV (1337-1321 B.C) and ending with Tutankhamun's (1321-1312 B.C), restoration programme and the

---

<sup>1</sup> B. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* (London, 2012), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 25.

<sup>3</sup> A. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo, 2014), 107.

<sup>4</sup> A. Stevens, 'Death and the City: The cemeteries of Amarna in Their Urban Context', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, (2017), 1.

<sup>5</sup> J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2005), 35.

abandonment of Akhetaten.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the chronicle of Akhenaten's reign is significant as changes in art, architecture and politics became visible immediately after his ascendance to the throne, whilst Egypt was in its most prosperous period due to the successful reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>7</sup> The fifth-year of Akhenaten's reign is characterized by the creation of a new capital, Akhetaten, dedicated to his sole god, the Aten.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the historical overview that will be provided in Chapter 1 is significant for the comprehension of the successive modifications that followed after Regnal Year Five in certain aspects and of how Akhetaten became the centre of Atenism's development.

Thereafter, an analysis of the traditional conception of the afterlife should be conducted. However, some deities, such as the Sun God, were more centralized than others.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, an overview of the central role of the Sun God in traditional religion will be provided in Chapter 2. Moreover, a crucial aspect of Egyptian religion was the funerary ideology which was based on the myth of Osiris'.<sup>10</sup> The "journey" of the deceased in the Netherworld was an important procedure that could function only in combination with the funerary rituals and Osiris' involvement.<sup>11</sup> However, for further analysis of this thesis to be conducted, it is significant to also focus on the religious reforms of the pharaoh. The Aten was not Akhenaten's invention.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the pharaoh promoted the Aten to an ultimate deity, and directly "attacked" gods such as Amun and Osiris. Consequently, Atenism and its roots will be presented. Thus, the comprehension of the nature of the Aten is important for the recognition of the mechanism of this cult and the way it was developed.

Furthermore, this research will also be based on archaeological evidence. Despite the abandonment of Akhetaten after the pharaoh's death and the

---

<sup>6</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 156.

<sup>7</sup> J. Van Dijk 'The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352—1069 BC) in J. Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 266.

<sup>8</sup> B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York, 2018), 328.

<sup>9</sup> V. A Tobin, 'Amun and Amun-Re' in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1* (Oxford, 2001), 84.

<sup>10</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 23-26.

<sup>11</sup> J.H Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 17.

<sup>12</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 321.

demolishment of the city by his successors,<sup>13</sup> Amarna remains one of the most well-preserved pharaonic capitals with rich material evidence that reflects the innovations which characterize this period.<sup>14</sup> In order to extract some information about the funerary beliefs of the Amarna Period, it would be significant to focus on the tombs. In Chapter 3, three principal tombs will be analysed: The Royal Tomb of Amarna, the Tomb of Panehesy and the Tomb of Ramose. These examples provide both iconographical and textual material with funerary equipment being equally important. However, the Royal and elite tombs, imprint an idealized image of the state religion. Hence, in order to comprehend the impact of Atenism on people of lower status and their involvement in the cult, it will be crucial to also focus on the artefacts and burial practices of the non-elite burials from Akhetaten's cemeteries.<sup>15</sup>

The final part of the thesis will be dedicated to interpretations of the conception of the Amarna afterlife. Due to the controversy of this matter, many theories have been conducted. The inspiration of these theories is undoubtedly the absence of references to the Netherworld and the replacement of traditional funerary patterns by images of the Aten and the royal family. Hence, this novel style of funerary art implies a considerable modification in the mortuary ideology of the period.<sup>16</sup> The abolishment of the Netherworld as a different dimension<sup>17</sup> and devotion to the pharaoh as an "access" to the afterlife<sup>18</sup> are the predominant interpretations on the Amarna's Period funerary beliefs. Hence, a summary of key elements of the funerary beliefs of the period will be conducted through an analysis of these theories.

Thus, this thesis aims to further analyse these matters providing information about the mortuary ideology and the conception of the Netherworld during the Amarna Period, through a historical narration and by presenting a comparative overview of the religion.

---

<sup>13</sup> J. Bennett, 'The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun', *JEA* 25 (1939), 15.

<sup>14</sup> Stevens, *Death and the City*, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, (2017), 1.

<sup>15</sup> A. Stevens, G. Dabbs, & J. Rose, 'Akhetaten's people: Excavating the lost cemeteries of Amarna' *Current World Archaeology*, 78 (2016), 16.

<sup>16</sup> A. Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence* (Oxford, 2006), 8.

<sup>17</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 14-15.

<sup>18</sup> R. Anthes, *Die Maat des Echnaton*, *JAOS* Suppl. 14 (Baltimore, 1952), 27.

# Chapter 1: Historical Context

## 1.1 The Chronology of the Amarna Period

The Amarna Period is a brief era within the New Kingdom, though its exact chronology is not yet absolute. Nonetheless, in this paper, the chronology suggested by A. Dodson (2014) will be used. Dodson places this period in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it is most commonly defined from the start of the reign of Amenhotep IV (1337-1321 B.C) until the reign of Tutankhamun (1321-1312 B.C).<sup>19</sup> The Amarna Period could be divided into two different phases. The first part would be the main “core” of all the changes which reflects in Akhenaten’s reign. The second part of the Amarna Period would be its aftermath; this particular period could be restricted from Tutankhamun’s reign and his religious restoration until the start of Horemheb’s reign (1308-1278 B.C).<sup>20</sup> Thus, this brief but conspicuous period includes the reigns of five different pharaohs: Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (1337-1321 B.C), Smenkhare (1325-1323 B.C), Tutankhamun (1321-1312 B.C), Ay (1312-1308 B.C) and Horemheb (1308-1278 B.C).<sup>21</sup>

In this chronology, it is suggested that there was a co-regency between Akhenaten and Smenkhare, with the latter also ruling alone for some years after Akhenaten’s death. However, the appearance of another name that ruled as a pharaoh occurs; Neferneferuaten (1322-1319 B.C).<sup>22</sup> There are many interpretations about the identities of Smenkhare and Neferneferuaten with the prevailing theory stating that these two names belonged to one individual.<sup>23</sup> The first to mention this theory was J. Harris in 1974.<sup>24</sup> He noticed the existence of the feminine ending “*t*” in the long prenomen “Ankhetkheperure”.<sup>25</sup> According to J. Harris, this “*t*” in combination with

---

<sup>19</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 156.

<sup>20</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 156.

<sup>21</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 156.

<sup>22</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 156.

<sup>23</sup> A. Dodson, *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counterformation* (Cairo, 2009), 35.

<sup>24</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 35.

<sup>25</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 35.

figures which clearly depict the pharaoh with feminine characteristics lead to the suggestion that Neferneferuaten was a female.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, a statuette (*JE 60714*) that was discovered in KV62 depicts a figure with pharaonic characteristics and a clearly female physique, even for the androgyne style Amarna art.<sup>27</sup> If Neferneferuaten and Smenkhare is the same individual, and if this person is indeed female, then the names may refer to Nefertiti.<sup>28</sup> Hence, if this theory is sustainable, it means that Nefertiti ruled alone as a pharaoh after her husband's death.<sup>29</sup>

## 1.2 Amenhotep IV: The Innovative Early Years of His Reign

During the reign of Amenhotep III, Egypt became a mighty dominion. This power is not only reflected on its wealth and its fiscal system but also in the exceptional foreign policy that the pharaoh displayed by establishing Egypt as a centre of international diplomacy and trade with the adjacent countries.<sup>30</sup> After the death of Amenhotep III, his son Amenhotep IV came to power. However, there is an unresolved discussion between Egyptologists about whether Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV shared a co-regency.<sup>31</sup> The new pharaoh was crowned at the temple of Karnak in Thebes from where he ruled during the first years of his reign.<sup>32</sup> His original coronation name was *nfr-hprw-r* (The transformations/manifestations of Ra are perfect) *w-n-r* (The unique one of Ra).<sup>33</sup> Moreover, considering that the pharaoh's coronation took place in Karnak, it would be safe to assume that the

---

<sup>26</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 35.

<sup>27</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 35.

<sup>28</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 35

<sup>29</sup> Nefertiti's position as a Queen was already very invasive and high. Additionally, she was using the "cognomen" Neferneferuaten since the fifth year of Akhenaten's reign. Thus, the theory that wants her to rule as a pharaoh could be sustainable. However, many scholars disagree with that. The shabti that was found in Amarna Royal tomb (Martin 1974) implies that Nefertiti was buried as a Queen and not as a pharaoh. Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 36.

<sup>30</sup> J. Van Dijk 'The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352—1069 BC) in J. Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 266.

<sup>31</sup> N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (1<sup>st</sup> English edn translated by J. Shaw; Oxford, 1992), 225. this source is way too old to use as evidence for such a statement; the original work in French dates from 1988. Remember that there are constant discussion and progress in matters surrounding this period.

<sup>32</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 267.

<sup>33</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 226.

relationship between the pharaoh and the priests of Amun was in a neutral state at this period of time.<sup>34</sup>

In the very first years of his reign, Amenhotep IV seems to have followed the traditional path of kingship.<sup>35</sup> By the second or third year of his reign, the pharaoh celebrated the *sed*-festival.<sup>36</sup> The festival is depicted on the *talatats* from *Gm-p3-itn* in Karnak.<sup>37</sup> *Sed*-festivals were celebrations that usually took place on the thirtieth year of a pharaoh's kingship. Amenhotep III had already celebrated three *sed*-festivals. Therefore, according to D. Redford, Amenhotep IV decided to celebrate a *sed*-festival in the second year of his reign to establish his divinity, inherited from his deified father and institute his right to rule.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, during the first couple of years of Amenhotep IV's reign, the cult of the "known" gods did not completely change. However, the pharaoh was mostly referring to "the gods" as a term to define financial and administrative matters of the temples.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the divine hypostasis of the gods as timeless symbols of *m3't* and rulership might be used by the pharaoh as tools to empower his status and set his supremacy as ruler of Egypt.<sup>40</sup>

Even though the state religion was not wholly abandoned early in the pharaoh's reign, the *Sun Disc* had already started to stand out as an exceptional denomination. When Amenhotep IV came to power, he started a new building programme in Karnak temple. With this programme, the pharaoh did not harm the image of Amun, but he did create new spaces that could welcome the cult of the

---

<sup>34</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 226.

<sup>35</sup> One of the first construction work of Amenhotep IV was his intervention on the Third Pylon at Karnak. He completed Amenhotep III's construction project. He added a large smiting scene on the Northern wall of the Pylon. The reliefs appeared to be a continuation of his father's. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 89.

<sup>36</sup> According to Van Dijk the exact date of the *sed*-festival is not clear but the highest possibility is that it took place in year 2 or year 3 of Akhenaten's reign and the fact that the celebration date is very close to the last celebration of Amenhotep III *sed*-festival, a few years before his death, could enforce the co-regency theory. Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 268

<sup>37</sup> R.H Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2000), 164.

<sup>38</sup> G.E Kadish 'Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteen Dynasty' in D. B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 2* (Oxford, 2001), 531.

<sup>39</sup> D. B Redford 'Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts', *BASOR* 369 (2013), 13.

<sup>40</sup> Redford, *BASOR* 369, 13.

Aten.<sup>41</sup> One of the temples dedicated to the Aten that the king built in the Karnak complex during the first five years of his reign<sup>42</sup> is the *Gm-p3-itn*.<sup>43</sup> This temple is one of the examples where the innovations in the construction methods and the new artistic movement occur. As for the construction sector, Amenhotep IV introduced a new, faster construction method; the extraction of small, standardized size, blocks of sandstone, *talatats*.<sup>44</sup> Due to their size, *talatats* were more manageable to be extracted, allowing mass production. In addition, their nature and size provided the benefit of faster construction.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, these *talatats* reflect the new ideology that the king was trying to initiate in art. Under the pharaoh's instructions, the artists were trained in a new way of expressing their art that would have an impact on both statuary and reliefs.<sup>46</sup> The art became livelier and more detailed, excluding the, until then known, traditional artistic imprints.

Not only was the style of this novel art different from the traditional styles, but the patterns also underwent changes. The main topic of the depictions became the cult of the Aten. The king and the royal family were depicted in the act of making offerings to the *Sun Disc*. Additionally, the Chief Wife of the pharaoh, Queen Nefertiti, possessed an essential and unique place within the depictions. In contrast to the depictions of Queens of earlier periods, Nefertiti was depicted alone, worshipping the Aten, and participating in important rituals.<sup>47</sup> The decision of the royal couple to have themselves depicted in this way might also be the “foundation stone” of the new perception that the cult of the Aten demanded. J. Van Dijk suggests that in this innovative style, the royal couple prove their divinity by relating themselves to Shu and Tefnut, the offspring of the genderless god Atum.<sup>48</sup> As a result, in the new

---

<sup>41</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 227.

<sup>42</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples*, 163.

<sup>43</sup> According to Hoffmeier, the name of the temple is translated as “The Aten was found/discovered” but Egyptologists dispute over the grammar of the verb gm. J.K Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (Oxford, 1951), 98-99

<sup>44</sup> The word talatat, is an Arabic word that was used by the Egyptian workmen and was introduced in Egyptian archaeology by H. Chevrier. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 227

<sup>45</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 228.

<sup>46</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 228.

<sup>47</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 268.

<sup>48</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 268

religious conception, Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti were the divine children of the Aten.

Alongside this, the artistic style was changed in statuary too. In the temple of *Gm-p3-itn*, numerous statuary fragments depicting Akhenaten were discovered, two well-preserved colossi of the king give a significant example of the differences and innovations that would, later, be established in Amarna statuary.<sup>49</sup> These statues that depict Amenhotep IV are entirely different -regarding the aesthetics- from the traditional royal statuary. The king was represented with wide hips, swollen belly, elongated head, and big lips. This image was the depiction that he chose to represent him and the royal family during the whole of the Amarna Period. However, for his revolutionary changes in art, Amenhotep IV had to use artists of a young age because fully trained artists -despite how skilful they were- from the reign of Amenhotep III could not successfully enact this new technique.<sup>50</sup> In addition, young artists could also adopt the new ideology that Amenhotep IV wanted to establish through the art because the so-called *Amarna Art* was revolutionary not only in style but also in matters of politics and religion.

### **1.3 Akhenaten: The Radical Changes After the Fifth Year of His Reign and the End of the Amarna Period**

Early in the fifth year of his reign, Amenhotep IV made the radical decision to change his name from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaten (He who is useful on behalf of the Aten).<sup>51</sup> In addition, he also founded a new capital, suitable for the development of the cult of the Aten.<sup>52</sup> The site of Akhetaten (*The Horizon of the Aten*) -as the new capital was called- is located on the east side of the Nile, roughly halfway between Memphis and Thebes. The perimeter of the city consists of a extensive line of cliffs

---

<sup>49</sup> L. Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak* (New York, 2010) 1-3,

<sup>50</sup> C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt During the Eighteenth Dynasty 1590 to 1315 B.C* (London, 1951), 22.

<sup>51</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 269.

<sup>52</sup> B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York, 2018), 328.

leading to a desert plateau.<sup>53</sup> Both the cliffs and plateau consist of *Wadis* that lead into the desert. The borders of the city were defined by a series of fourteen “Boundary Stelae” or “tablets”, carved on the cliffs.<sup>54</sup> The second series of “Boundary Stelae” extended to both the east and the west bank of the Nile and contained “*an oath of the king*” in which the pharaoh describes Akhetaten’s boundaries and commemorates the glory of the Aten.<sup>55</sup> Amarna was a city equivalent to Thebes according to its buildings’ appearance.<sup>56</sup> At the very outset of the foundation, the city might have been inhabited by the royal family and the pharaoh’s courtiers and officials. Later, the city was inhabited by a large population of approximately twenty to fifty thousand citizens<sup>57</sup>. Along with the major change concerning the capital, other changes also took place. Older research about the relationship between Akhenaten and his army suggested that the pharaoh had his military forces isolated from his programs indicating that the king was a supporter of domestic and international peace.<sup>58</sup> However, recent researches show that the military had an active, supportive role in Akhenaten’s reforms.

The radical changes that the pharaoh applied in Egypt in such a small period would not be achieved without military engagement.<sup>59</sup> Simultaneously, the religious reforms that Akhenaten imposed were now established. The pharaoh shut down all the temples worshipping Amun, and the Aten was celebrated as the sole god, dominating the city of Amarna. The image of Amun – whose cult contained many elements of the solar cult- was erased.<sup>60</sup> In Akhetaten, major royal buildings -most of them dedicated to the Aten- were constructed. In the Central City three buildings were the most important.<sup>61</sup> The Great Palace, the Great Aten Temple, and the Small Aten Temple.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Amarna Project* <[http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna\\_the\\_place/index.shtml](http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/index.shtml)> accessed 18.04.2020

<sup>54</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 229.

<sup>55</sup> B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 329.

<sup>56</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 229.

<sup>57</sup> Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 270.

<sup>59</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 270.

<sup>60</sup> B. Kemp and A. Zink, ‘Life in Ancient Egypt Akhetaten, the Amarna Period, and Tutankhamun’, *RCC* 3 (2012), 11.

<sup>61</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 344.

The architecture of the temples changed dramatically due to the nature of the Aten. The sanctuaries were not roofed and dark anymore. Instead, temples were open for the Aten's accessibility.<sup>63</sup>

The female members of the royal family -especially Nefertiti and Meritaten- were influential figures in political and religious life. The Queen had an outstanding place in depictions -most commonly in the same scale with Akhenaten- following the prototypes of the *Amarna Art*. Moreover, whilst the Aten communicated only with the pharaoh and his family, the female members were crucial "access" characters for individuals to participate in Atenism. Plenty of statues of the royal family were excavated from the Amarna temples.<sup>64</sup> During the seventeenth year of his reign, Akhenaten died. After his death, the city of Amarna slowly started to be abandoned. After the very brief reign of Smenkhare, Tutankhaten came to power. On the very outset of his reign, his name was changed to Tutankhamun, and the capital returned to Thebes. He started the restoration of the traditional cult, erasing his father's god.<sup>65</sup> The decoration of tombs returned to the traditional patterns, while Osiris -who had vastly disappeared during Akhenaten's reign- regained his place in funerary decoration, and the cult of Amun was fully restored.<sup>66</sup>

The dramatic changes of Akhenaten's reign are reflected in Tutankhamun's "*Restoration Stela*" where he describes the "problematic" state of the country after his father's reign and commemorates his restoration program by using the names of traditional deities for the beginning and the ending of the inscription.<sup>67</sup> During the restoration program, many images of the Aten was demolished. An extensive campaign was also started to restore the temples that Akhenaten's theology had

---

<sup>62</sup> The Central City also had administrative buildings consisting of a complete royal center excavated. The North Tombs, that are located on the north-east side of the desert Plateau, provide scenes of the royal couple riding their chariot through the Central City. The Amarna Project <[http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna\\_the\\_place/index.shtml](http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/index.shtml)> accessed 17.04.2020

<sup>63</sup> Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi*, 145.

<sup>64</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 273.

<sup>65</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 281.

<sup>66</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 239.

<sup>67</sup> J. Bennett, 'The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun', *JEA* 25 (1939), 15.

harmed. Moreover, Tutankhamun wanted to re-organize the unstable administration of the country that occurred from Akhenaten's incompetent handling.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Van Dijk, in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 283.

## Chapter 2: Religion and Funerary Ideology

### 2.1 Traditional Religion and the Afterlife

Religion had a crucial role in the ancient Egyptian mindset, affecting not only the everyday life of each individual but also every aspect of society, such as politics, architecture, and art. The main concept concerning the creation of the world stated that the sun emerged -itself- out of a primitive liquid element -called Nun- and thereby created the universe.<sup>69</sup> Based on this, three different cosmogonies -of three major centres, Heliopolis, Hermopolis and Memphis- developed in Egypt, each one with different political agendas, but all true to the basic conception of creation.<sup>70</sup> One of the most important gods of the New Kingdom Egyptian theological system was Amun, who was often syncretized with the god Re to form Amun-Re.<sup>71</sup> His nature was very complicated, combining a “revealed” and a “hidden” identity; Amun (*jmn*) was the secret aspect of the god whilst Re (*sun*) was his revealed form.<sup>72</sup> Due to this “hidden” aspect of the god, he was regularly associated with other gods, sharing his identity.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, concurrent with his increasing power, Amun-Re became associated as the “father” of the pharaoh.<sup>74</sup> Hence, the god’s impact was inextricably connected with the power of the state and the domain of the king. Furthermore, the nature of Amun-Re and his correlation with the air and invisibility promoted him to the ultimate creator-god.<sup>75</sup> During the New Kingdom, the supremacy of the god was established. In some cases, other deities became attributed to manifestations of Amun and merely symbolized his power.<sup>76</sup> Many of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes

---

<sup>69</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 41.

<sup>70</sup> Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup>, 41, V.A Tobin ‘Creation Myths’ in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Volume 2 (Oxford, 2001), 471.

<sup>71</sup> Tobin, in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1* (Oxford, 2001), 82.

<sup>72</sup> Tobin, in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1* (Oxford, 2001), 82.

<sup>73</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 83.

<sup>74</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 83.

<sup>75</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 84.

<sup>76</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 84.

are decorated with “*Solar Hymns*” which express the sovereignty of the god.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the Sun God possessed a central role in Egyptian religion. Daily rituals dedicated to him were a necessity for the maintenance of both cosmic and political order, whilst the priesthood of Amun was the most powerful religious order throughout Egypt.<sup>78</sup> Although the Egyptian religion included many gods of great importance, Amun-Re and Osiris, are the central deities in the majority of textual and iconographical sources.<sup>79</sup>

Moreover, religion was a “mechanism” that functioned not only through the individual liability of the believers but also through service in the temples. Priesthoods had a significant role in both the maintenance of religion and its practice. Different types of rituals were performed in the temples; the less important ones were not depicted in the temple reliefs.<sup>80</sup> Thus, rituals that had great political/religious importance or concerned the pharaoh’s dominion -such as festivals or daily rituals- were extensively depicted in temple reliefs.<sup>81</sup> In reality, however, it was the priests who performed these rituals, acting as the king’s deputies.<sup>82</sup> Rituals were essential for the maintenance of *m3ʿt*. The service in the temples promoted not only religious but also political interests and remained important throughout the whole pharaonic period.

However, these aspects of Egyptian religion are too broad to be analysed in this thesis. Nevertheless, a significant aspect of Egyptian religion lies in the mortuary beliefs. During the entire history of pharaonic Egypt, death and the afterlife affected peoples’ life. Hence, as is clearly illustrated by material evidence, Egyptians invested in afterlife “equipment” during their lifetime. The main inspirational core that funerary ideology was developed on was the myth of Osiris.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 84.

<sup>78</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 84.

<sup>79</sup> Tobin in D.B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 1*, 84

<sup>80</sup> R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2003),45.

<sup>81</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 45.

<sup>82</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 45.

<sup>83</sup> The myth however, it is a combination of a written narration and a compilation of scenes and the most complete narration is the one of Plutarch. Osiris, as the pharaoh of Egypt, get murdered by his brother, Seth. After the murder, Seth -in order to demolish his brother- dismembered his body into fourteen pieces and threw them into the Nile to take them all in different places of Egypt. After this act

The resurrection of Osiris was fundamental to the Egyptian conception of the afterlife. Death was not a permanent state, but the beginning of eternal life. Briefly, the human hypostasis was composed of physical and non-physical elements, which were crucial for continued eternal existence in the afterlife.<sup>84</sup> The most important physical element was the body. According to J. Assmann, the need for a complete and functional body as a factor of success in the afterlife is based on Osiris' resurrection after Isis assembled all his pieces again.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, all physical activities continue to exist after death. The need for food and water, the capability of movement, hearing, speaking, and seeing was necessary even in the afterlife. Therefore, this is one of the reasons why mummification was a procedure of great significance.<sup>86</sup>

Another physical element, part of the body, was the heart which was considered to be the centre of emotions and intelligence. The heart was not taken from the body during the embalmment, and it was significant to access the Netherworld.<sup>87</sup> A non-physical element was the *k3*. An individual was born with a *k3*, which they were separated from in death and later reunited with through the mummified body.<sup>88</sup> The *b3*, another non-physical fundamental element for the deceased's survival in the Netherworld, was more independent than the *k3*, although it did return to its owner's body every night in order to reunite with them.<sup>89</sup> Last but not least, the name (*rn*) was also crucial for the manifestation and the continuity of the deceased's existence.<sup>90</sup> In order for the dead to be transformed and enjoy eternal life, they needed to complete a

---

took place, Isis -wife and sister of Osiris- travelled throughout Egypt to obtain all the parts of Osiris. She found each one of them except the phallus -which she replaced magically afterwards-. Isis re-connect all the pieces and resurrect her brother. After his resurrection, Osiris became the ruler of the 'Realm of the Dead'. Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 23-26.

<sup>84</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 16.

<sup>85</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 26.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 17.

<sup>87</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 17-18.

<sup>88</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 18-20.

<sup>89</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 20-21

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 21.

“journey” in the Netherworld.<sup>91</sup> The most important part of this journey is the “*Judgement of the Dead*”.<sup>92</sup>

Specifically, in the New Kingdom versions, this Judgement is a meritocratic and inevitable procedure. In this occurrence, the protagonist is judged by Osiris together with forty-two “judges”. The deceased had to recite from two different lists - one before Osiris and one before the forty-two judges,<sup>93</sup> of all the sins/crimes that he never committed in order to prove his innocence before the gods.<sup>94</sup> These were known as “reverse confessions” where the deceased had to exclaim not the good -according to *m3<sup>c</sup>t-* acts that he has done during his lifetime but all the evil acts that he has never done. During the deceased’s confessions, his heart was on the one side of a scale weighed against a feather of truth -*m3<sup>c</sup>t-* which judged if his heart is pure. Based on this weighting, the gods would know if the deceased could “pass” to the afterlife. If the deceased was declared *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (true of voice), then he could continue to live eternally. However, if the heart was heavier than the feather, then it was devoured by the goddess Ammut, and the deceased was forever cut off his *b3*, doomed to a non-existence state.<sup>95</sup>

## 2.2 Atenism: Its Roots and Development

The reforms that Akhenaten introduced had a crucial impact on the religious landscape. During the reign of Akhenaten, the Aten -the Egyptian name for the *Sun Disk-* became the ultimate and universal god. However, the Aten was not Akhenaten’s invention; rather, it already existed as one of Re-Horakhty’s elements.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the Aten was the only directly visible element of Re-Horakhty. The rising popularity of the solar cult has its roots in Amenhotep III’s reign. In this time plenty of examples

---

<sup>91</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 32-33.

<sup>92</sup> The Judgement is described extensively in Spell 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 37.

<sup>93</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 82.

<sup>94</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 77-78.

<sup>95</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 36-38.

<sup>96</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 321.

mentioning the Aten as a single entity occur.<sup>97</sup> However, in the early examples, it is not certain whether the name Aten was used to indicate the “god” or the sun disc as a divine element.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, a stela found at Amenhotep III’s memorial temple,<sup>99</sup> presents a primal version of the later “*Didactic*” name of the Aten. “*Ra-Horakhty-in-his-name-Shu-which-is-in-the-Aten*”.<sup>100</sup> The name Shu in the “*Didactic*” name of the Aten referred sunny atmosphere instead of indicating the actual god Shu.<sup>101</sup>

Among other innovations that the king’s *heb-sed* festival included, such as a work project exclusively dedicated to the celebration, it was also the start of a different representation of the pharaoh and his hypostasis. From the first jubilee and onwards, Amenhotep III was portrayed with child-like features such as oversized lips and big eyes. In addition, solar symbols were extensively added in the raiment of the pharaoh.<sup>102</sup> According to A. Dodson, this *heb-sed* festival of the king did not only promote the standard cause of the jubilee, which was to renew the pharaoh’s person but also to establish his connection with the solar god and present himself as the living incarnation of the sun.<sup>103</sup> Accordingly, this might be the fundamental act that later led to the Aten’s cult. It has been speculated that Akhenaten’s early *heb-sed* was highly connected to Amenhotep III’s deification as a solar god and that this referred to the manifestation of the Aten. Such speculation is based on the fact that after that festival Aten obtained its solid solar disc form and epithets such as *nb-ḥb(w)-sd*.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Some scarabs recording the work at Lake Djarukha that it was dedicated to Queen Tiye, mention that the lake was consecrated by the royal boat of “The Dazzling Aten” (*thn-Itn*). Additionally, the temple and palace of Malqata were called the “Palace of the Dazzling Disc”. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo, 2014), 51,62.

<sup>98</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 51.

<sup>99</sup> A controversy about the origin of this stela had occurred. Borchardt (1917) suggested that this stela that bears Aten’s early Didactic name was manufactured under Amenhotep III’s reign and later was usurped and modified by Akhenaten. On the other hand, Nims (1973) confirmed that this stela was not usurped but originally carved under Akhenaten’s early reign. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 186 n.95.

<sup>100</sup> The addition of the word “Living” created the didactic name of the Aten which was in use until Akhenaten’s Year 9. Mainly, it occurs when Aten’s name is enclosed in cartouches. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 52.

<sup>101</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 323.

<sup>102</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 53.

<sup>103</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 53-54.

<sup>104</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 99-100.

Thus, the Aten's presence started to be established from Amenhotep III's reign onwards. However, the radical changes concerning this god were not introduced until Akhenaten ascended to the throne. During the early years of his reign until the *hebsed* festival, monuments and depictions of Akhenaten and the Aten did not directly replace images of any other god, and they still followed the traditional pattern.<sup>105</sup> Until the fifth year of Akhenaten's reign, the Aten remained a god among the pantheon, and the presence of other gods such as Amun was still sustainable. After the fifth year of his reign and Akhetaten's inhabitation, the Aten became the dominant god.<sup>106</sup> During the development of the Atenism, many gods of the pantheon were abolished. The most direct attack was towards the god Amun whose temples were shut down by Akhenaten. Administrative archives also show that temples of other gods which were still -theoretically- in use, did not have sufficient financial sources to function properly. Hence, gradually, the Aten became the sole god. The "real" world, as promoted by Akhenaten, was the Aten (sun), the horizon and the deserts, with everything else excluded.<sup>107</sup>

However, at the beginning of Akhenaten's reign, the Aten does not appear on monuments in its solid form. In Amenhotep IV's early decoration of Pylon III at Karnak,<sup>108</sup> there are scenes -sculpted in the traditional style- of the pharaoh offering to the "*Ra-Horakhty-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-his-name-Shu-who-is-in-the-Aten*" and the god is represented almost identically to the traditional Ra-Horakhty form.<sup>109</sup> However, the Aten rapidly transformed into its solar disc representation, depicted with an uraeus whilst its sun rays were depicted over the royal family offering *ꜥnh* signs to them. During this change in the Aten's style, the art completely changed with the royal family adopting the "Amarna style" of representation as already mentioned above.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> However, the continuation of the traditional style during these early years of Amenhotep IV's succession, enforce the possibility of a co-regency of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV for some Egyptologists debating on this matter. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 74.

<sup>106</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 104.

<sup>107</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 322.

<sup>108</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 89.

<sup>109</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 89. + 90, fig. 74.

<sup>110</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise*, 91.

Although the “open war” of Akhenaten was mainly directed against the Theban Triad whose cult was suppressed in its cult centres -leaving other areas of Egypt untouched- the demolition of their images increased whilst the Aten became stronger. However, the consecutive abandonment of the pantheon and the innovating conception of the Atenism was also an efficient propaganda tool that Akhenaten used to expand his power and establish his “divinity”. Thus, after the movement to Akhetaten, during the development of the Aten’s status, the royal family started to play a fundamental role in the new cult. Main texts of the period portray Akhenaten and the royal family as the sole intermediates for any communication with the Aten.<sup>111</sup> By declaring themselves -and especially the pharaoh- as the only way for an individual to reach the god, the royal family gained ultimate power over religion. In addition, the temples of the Aten were not accessible to ordinary people and this, as a result, was an obstacle for individuals to worship the Aten independently. The deep connection between the Aten and the royal family was the key for people to participate in the cult. However, according to A. Stevens, Akhenaten promoted Atenism as his “*teaching*” as is clearly illustrated in the tomb decoration and texts of the period, however, it is still uncertain whether the pharaoh succeeded in converting his subjects on this matter.<sup>112</sup>

Provided the material evidence, Atenism was a cult that was mainly concerned with the worship of the king -as an intermediate- rather than with the worship of the actual god. The population’s participation in the cult is illustrated through domestic cultic objects of Akhetaten such as altars, shrines, niches, offering tables, figurines, reliefs and inscriptions on residential walls. All these objects were used as instruments to worship the Aten through the royal family.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the act of praying to the Aten was performed through these emplacements but, as previously mentioned, not directly

---

<sup>111</sup> Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 5-6.

<sup>112</sup> Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 6.

<sup>113</sup> A. Stevens, “The Material Evidence for Domestic Religion at Amarna and Preliminary Remarks on Its Interpretation”, *JEA* 89 (2003), 144-158.

to the god rather than through Akhenaten or Nefertiti.<sup>114</sup> Additionally, the domestic cult had been developed due to the difficult access in the temples.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> S. Ikram, "Domestic Shrines and the Cult of The Royal Family at El-Amarna", *JEA* 75 (1989), 101.

<sup>115</sup> Ikram, *JEA* 75, 101-102.

## Chapter 3: Tombs and Non-elite Burials of the Amarna Period

### 3.1 Tombs: Their Significance and Characteristics

Owning a tomb had great significance in ancient Egyptian society. It was the final resting place of an individual and the gate to the Netherworld. The changes in the typology of the tombs concerned a more practical aspect -but without disturbing the symbolic hypostasis of the structure. Nevertheless, the quality of a tomb -both in architectural and decorative aspects- was directly related to the social and financial status of the deceased, and the difference between royal and non-royal tombs is easily recognizable.

The tombs were a reflection of the “cosmos”, and this cosmogonic hypostasis was imitated in their characteristics. The ritualistic and religious acts that were performed at the tombs were almost identical to the rituals performed in temples.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, the successive rituals that took place inside and outside the tombs were commonly aimed at facilitating the deceased’s rebirth in Duat.<sup>117</sup>

The New Kingdom is one of the most prosperous eras of Egyptian history. Aside from the wealth that defined this period, political changes also affected the Egyptian temperament at the time. The main political change was the expulsion of the Hyksos; an achievement that offered Egypt an enormous military power.<sup>118</sup> Military success demanded commemoration, which leads to large scale temple constructions in Thebes, mainly dedicated to Amun. Consequently, the capital transformed into an administrative centre with a religious character and, as a result, the pharaohs desired to be buried close to Amun-Re’s cult centre.<sup>119</sup> One reason the rulers discontinued the pyramid complexes was due to the Theban topography, in which the building of rock-

---

<sup>116</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 138.

<sup>117</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 138.

<sup>118</sup> S. Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death*, (Oxford, 2011), 176-177.

<sup>119</sup> Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 176-178.

cut tombs was practical.<sup>120</sup> Additionally, rock-cut tombs provided protection against the tomb raiders.<sup>121</sup>

Another factor of great symbolical significance in tombs was their decorative aspect. Though many private tombs remained undecorated or had unfinished decoration, the royal tombs of the New Kingdom bared very elaborate decoration. For the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the main decorative pattern reflected scenes from the Underworld. This iconography functioned in a symbolic magical/religious way to unify the deceased with Re and Osiris.<sup>122</sup> Thus, the desire for a connection between the deceased king with both the solar deity and Osiris is apparent. Nevertheless, the decoration sometimes functioned in combination with the architecture of the tomb. In the tomb of Amenhotep III for example (WV 22), the scenes concerning the fifth and the sixth hour in Amduat -where Re's *b3* is united with Osiris' dead body- are carefully imprinted behind the sarcophagus of the pharaoh to emphasize his rebirth in the Underworld.<sup>123</sup> Amenhotep III's tomb presents vivid and extensive decoration. Furthermore, it contains details about the pharaoh's life after death, and the iconography also focuses on the solar and Osirian hypostasis of the king.<sup>124</sup>

In more general terms, the early Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb decoration portrayed the manifestation of the unified sun god Re with Osiris and through that, the identification of the king with the gods. Additionally, the descriptive and sophisticated representation of Duat in these early New Kingdom tombs reveals the zeal of the pharaohs to maintain their divine nature in the afterlife and secure the right to eternal life.<sup>125</sup>

The decoration of private tombs of this period, on the other hand, usually depicts more personal themes. Scenes representing the dead in activities such as

---

<sup>120</sup> Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 177.

<sup>121</sup> Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 178.

<sup>122</sup> Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs*, 182.

<sup>123</sup> B. A. Richter, 'The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers', *JARCE* 44 (2008), 100.

<sup>124</sup> Richter, *JARCE* 44, 100-101.

<sup>125</sup> Richter, *JARCE* 44, 101-104.

hunting, farming or overseeing are most common, and they represent the quality of the deceased's life.<sup>126</sup>

The funerary equipment was vital for the deceased not only to complete his journey in the afterlife and his rebirth in Duat but also to maintain a quality life for eternity. Personal objects were placed in tombs to empower a connection between the deceased and the living.<sup>127</sup> However, other objects were explicitly manufactured for funerary use such as *shabtis*, coffins, amulets, stelae, and canopic jars, all of which often bore religious or magical iconography and texts.<sup>128</sup> *Shabtis* were a common funerary artefact that symbolically served the deceased in the afterlife. During the New Kingdom, innovations concerning their raw materials and decorations occurred.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, depictions of shabtis with their miniature coffins/containers appear, though uncommonly, in Theban tombs in the early reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>130</sup> Coffins, on the other hand, like the tomb itself, possessed significant symbolic importance. Initially, the coffin was the final location of the body which -in combination with its textual context and its decoration- gave the impression of a "microcosm".<sup>131</sup> The New Kingdom coffins could be both rectangular and anthropoid in shape, and the use of the *rishi* pattern was still applied.<sup>132</sup>

During the Amarna Period, the architecture of the tomb and the funerary equipment continued to follow the traditional style. However, the funerary decoration was utterly modified, focusing on the Aten and the royal family.<sup>133</sup> The royal Theban necropolis was also abandoned and moved to the city of Akhetaten. Thus, the citizens

---

<sup>126</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 152.

<sup>127</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 173.

<sup>128</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 173.

<sup>129</sup> Faience, wood, and glass were now used instead of stone as a raw material. D.B Spänel 'Funerary Figurines', in D.B Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume II* (Oxford 2001), 567-568.

<sup>130</sup> P. Whelan, 'Small Yet Perfectly Formed- Some Observations on Theban Stick Shabti Coffins of the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty', *EVO* 34 (2011), 9.

<sup>131</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 214.

<sup>132</sup> The *rishi* pattern was established during the Second Intermediate Period, and the etymology of the word *rishi* finds its roots in the Arabic language and means "feather". This pattern was originated in Thebes. A very good example are the coffins of Tutankhamun, while they are adorned with differing patterns of the *rishi* style. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 223-224.

<sup>133</sup> Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 152.

of Amarna were also buried in the cemeteries of the new capital. One difference in the Amarna cemeteries is the fact that the grave pits do not follow a specific orientation, and there is no indication that the location of the graves had any link with the sun's movement.<sup>134</sup> Additionally, the bodies from the Amarna cemeteries do not show any sign of mummification.<sup>135</sup> This raises the question about whether the lack of embalming relates to the Atenism and the modified funerary ideology. For the private burials of low-status individuals, the coffins were simple, mostly made of wood and sometimes even lacking completely. In this latter case, the bodies were wrapped and rolled in cloth. In the Southern Cemetery, wooden coffins with decoration were discovered during excavations. They bared depictions of women and men, divided in friezes by hieroglyphic columns. These figures probably functioned as substitutes of the “*Sons of Horus*” (**fig 1**).<sup>136</sup> Most of Akhetaten's citizens followed the rules that pharaoh applied and avoided using the decoration of the traditional funerary gods, in particular Osiris.<sup>137</sup>

Therefore, even if the Amarna funerary culture followed most of the trends in the architectural and the equipment aspect, the radical changes in the decoration and the textual context of the tombs might be helpful for the comprehension of this innovative mortuary ideology that characterizes this short but important period.

### 3.2 The Royal Tomb of Amarna

In December 1891, the Royal Tomb of Amarna was discovered by Alessandro Bersanti.<sup>138</sup> The tomb is located in a deserted side valley next to the Royal Wadi.<sup>139</sup> In general terms, the size of the tomb is relatively big. According to M. Lehner's plan (**fig 2**) of the Royal Tomb, its first part consists of a couple of stairs that led to the

---

<sup>134</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 260.

<sup>135</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 260.

<sup>136</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 261.

<sup>137</sup> Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 261-263.

<sup>138</sup> However, the tomb was already known by locals in early 1880s, but the official discovery came through Bersanti's expedition in 1891. G.T Martin, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part VII/i, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna I: The Objects*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 35 (EES, London, 1974), 5.

<sup>139</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, I.

entrance (A), a long corridor (B) and some extra stairs (C) that lead towards a shaft (D). This shaft gives access to the Hall E, which was the burial chamber of Akhenaten and contained two great pillars to support the roof. Beyond the extra stairs (C), there is an opening to a passage that leads to three side chambers: room  $\alpha$ , room  $\beta$  and room  $\gamma$ . Additionally, from the corridor (B) another passage is accessible, that leads directly to the series of unfinished rooms 1-6.<sup>140</sup>

The decoration of the Royal Tomb is mainly dedicated to the Aten's cult, and there are no textual or iconographical references to the Netherworld -at least in its traditional form-. The decoration of the tomb today is barely visible. Some of the decoration was disturbed on purpose in antiquity, but other parts have been damaged due to weather. However, while the wall scenes were visible, an epigraphic expedition headed by Urbain Bouriant, copied all the iconographical and textual sources.<sup>141</sup> The decorative pattern of the burial chamber of the pharaoh, Hall E, mainly depicts the royal couple making offerings to the Aten. The two supporting pillars of the chamber (I, II) bare decoration of the king and the queen is worshipping the Aten, and texts with the titulary of the pharaoh and the god.<sup>142</sup> The best-preserved wall in Hall E is on Wall A.<sup>143</sup> The scene depicts the pharaoh, wearing the Red Crown and Nefertiti behind him, in the act of making offerings to the Aten and at the upper right part of the scene there is an inscription containing the early epithets of the god: "*Re Horakhty lives, [appear]ing [on the Horizon...in His name Shu [who is in the Aten], given life forever and eternally. The living Aten, the Great One who is in Festival, Lord of Heaven, Lord of Earth, residing in the Temple of the Aten in Akheta[t]en.*"<sup>144</sup> However, the two most important rooms concerning the decoration are rooms  $\alpha$ <sup>145</sup> and  $\gamma$ .

---

<sup>140</sup> G.T Martin, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, Part VII/ii, *The Royal Tomb at El- Amarna II: The reliefs, inscriptions and architecture. With plan and sections.*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 35 (EES, London, 1989), pl. 11.

<sup>141</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 8.

<sup>142</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 23.

<sup>143</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl.22.

<sup>144</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El- Amarna*, II, 23

<sup>145</sup> It is crucial to mention that room  $\alpha$  contains four niches probably for the use of magic bricks, a protective ritual very common in both royal and non-royal burials of the New Kingdom. These clay bricks in the form of amulets and divine figures and bared a part of the Spell 151 of the *Book of the*

Room  $\alpha$  contains two types of scenes. The first one, depicted on Wall A, concerns a morning ritual.<sup>146</sup> The scene shows the royal couple, worshipping the Aten, by being accompanied by military escort and priests organizing offerings for the god (**fig 3**).<sup>147</sup> It is a very vivid depiction, with flora and fauna imprinted in detail under the *Sun Disc*.<sup>148</sup> However, the most interesting scene of room  $\alpha$  lies on Wall F. This relief is a mourning/funerary scene, and it is divided in duplicates (**fig 4**). The upper register presents the royal couple, together with plenty of mourners, in the grieving position standing in front of a chamber. This chamber contained the body of the royal deceased, but this part of the scene is missing.<sup>149</sup> This scene possibly represents the death of a female member of the royal family. Moreover, the grieving position that the royal couple has adopted is much more intense than similar scenes that can be found in other private tombs of Akhetaten.<sup>150</sup> Another critical element in the scene is a nurse depicted holding a baby.<sup>151</sup> The lower register shows a continuation of the upper one.<sup>152</sup> The royal couple is depicted mourning again. In this case, the inner part of the chamber is visible. There is a brier, where the deceased princess lies. However, it is debated whether her figure is in a mummified form or the form of an unwrapped body.<sup>153</sup> Lastly, according to G.T Martins, the combination of the “Morning Ritual” scene of Wall A and the funerary scene of Wall F in the same chamber is paradoxical due to their different nature and context.<sup>154</sup>

A similar scene occurs in room  $\gamma$  too. On Wall A of this room, a funerary scene occurs again and is divided into three registers (**fig 5**).<sup>155</sup> On the upper register, the figures of the royal couple are erased, but it can still be seen that they were

---

*Dead*. Thus, the existence of these niches in room  $\alpha$  confirms the interpretation that it functioned as a burial chamber. Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 27, Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 207-208.

<sup>146</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 30.

<sup>147</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 29.

<sup>148</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, pl. 34.

<sup>149</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 38-40.

<sup>150</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 38.

<sup>151</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 38.

<sup>152</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 41.

<sup>153</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 40.

<sup>154</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, 40.

<sup>155</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb, II*, pl. 63.

portrayed standing in front of a chamber in a grieving position.<sup>156</sup> On its second register, the relief depicts an infant being carried by a nurse and accompanied by mourners, as in room  $\alpha$ .<sup>157</sup> It is, therefore, likely that this scene concerns childbirth and at the same time, the moment of the death of the female royalty, just as on Wall F. Wall B of room  $\gamma$ , depicts a mortuary scene too, with a young princess standing on a plinth/altar.<sup>158</sup> The text that is engraved above her figure identifies her as Maketaten: “*King’s daughter of his body, his beloved, Maketaten, born of the Great Royal Wife Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, may she live forever and eternally*”.<sup>159</sup> The body of the princess standing on a “birth pavilion” could either be her physical body, or a statue that represents her (**fig 6**).<sup>160</sup>

These funerary scenes from the royal tomb of Amarna consist a significant source to better understand the funerary beliefs during this period. According to A. Dodson, the fact that the “moment of death” is depicted is unique and ambiguous. The usual funerary decoration in ancient Egypt has, as the main topic, the nourishment and rebirth of the deceased, whereas the cause of death is never depicted.<sup>161</sup> Moreover, the infant’s presence on walls F and A of rooms  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  is used as a starting point for some interpretations by J. Van Dijk.<sup>162</sup> Equally important is that the funerary scenes in room  $\alpha$  together with the rest of the scenes in this chamber that depict the sunrise are a peculiar combination, unless the funerary scenes were added later due to the premature death of a family member.<sup>163</sup>

Additionally, the tomb provides valuable material evidence, albeit fragmented. As an illustration, there are the fragments of Akhenaten’s sarcophagus (**fig 7**) that were discovered inside the Royal Tomb and also in the exterior perimeter.<sup>164</sup> The

---

<sup>156</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 44.

<sup>157</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 43.

<sup>158</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 46.

<sup>159</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 46.

<sup>160</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, 47.

<sup>161</sup> A. Dodson, ‘*Amarna Sunset*’, 21-22.

<sup>162</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 22.

<sup>163</sup> Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 24.

<sup>164</sup> The discoveries of the sarcophagus’ fragments were made by A. Bersanti (1891/2) and Pendlebury (1932/2). Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 14.

decoration on the four sides of the sarcophagus are quite similar: they depict the Aten, wearing an uraeus, with the rays ending in hands, holding *ꜥnh* signs.<sup>165</sup> The exterior corners of the sarcophagus bared “supportive” figures of Nefertiti that were used as substitutes for the traditional divine figures of Isis, Nephthys, Selkis and Neith.<sup>166</sup> Nefertiti’s crown in these depictions is adorned with *m3ꜥt* feathers.<sup>167</sup>

Another crucial object that was made for the pharaoh was his canopic chest (**fig 8**). However, it was reconstructed. The original chest was made of alabaster.<sup>168</sup> The base of this canopic chest was garnished with *tyet* and *djed* amulets.<sup>169</sup> On its four corners, it is decorated with the god Re-Horakhty who is wearing the *Sun Disk* and the uraeus, while the wings of the god are extended to each side of the chest.<sup>170</sup> Over the falcons’ wings, cartouches were bearing the name of Akhenaten or the name of the god.<sup>171</sup> The four receptacles of the canopic chest were cylindrical, and each one of them had a lid in the form of Akhenaten’s head. What is problematic with the canopic chest is that it does not contain any traces of resin or other embalming materials.<sup>172</sup> Many scholars have debated this matter, suggesting different interpretations and even questioning whether the canopic chest contained the intestines of the king in the first place.<sup>173</sup> Additionally, some scholars have argued that during the Amarna Period, the “ritual” of adding resin in the canopic jars was different or did not exist at all.<sup>174</sup> The latter interpretation suggests a reform in the funerary rituals of the period.

Significant were also the *shabtis* found inside and outside of the tomb. Most of them were in fragments.<sup>175</sup> One of those *shabtis* belonged to Nefertiti, which implies that the queen was independent enough to own her own *shabtis* rather than relying on

---

<sup>165</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 14-15.

<sup>166</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 15.

<sup>167</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 15.

<sup>168</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>169</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>170</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>171</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>172</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>173</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 31.

<sup>174</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 32.

<sup>175</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 38.

her husband's ones.<sup>176</sup> This *shabti* bears the inscription: “.. .f, ḥmt nsw wrt Nfr-nfrw-Itm Nfrt-iity, ḥnht dt”.<sup>177</sup> Furthermore, in comparison to other royal *shabtis* from the Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten's appear to be unique because they bear only one column with the inscription of the king's titulary.<sup>178</sup> Some of the fragments of the pharaoh's *shabtis* bear inscriptions such as: “...[Nefer-Kheper]u-[Re] Wa-en-Re, Son of Re, Living in Truth, Akhenaten, great in his lifetime, true of voice”<sup>179</sup>, or “...Son of [Re], Living in Truth, Lord of Appearances, Akhenaten, true of voice”<sup>180</sup>. The *m3ḥ-ḥrw* here has a connection with the Osirian ideology and the “*Judgment of the Dead*”; nevertheless, the *shabtis*' inscriptions do not identify the king with Osiris.<sup>181</sup>

### 3.3 Elite Tombs: Tombs of Panehesy and Ramose

The tomb of Panehesy (Tomb No. 6) belongs to the North Tombs of Amarna (**fig 9**). The tomb's owner had many titles such as “Chief servitor of the Aten in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten”.<sup>182</sup> The tomb was also used during Coptic times and, consequently, some Coptic architectural remains have survived.<sup>183</sup> The pharaonic part of the tomb is divided into three parts: the outer hall which the family and priest would have had access to, the inner hall which contained the burial place, and a small chamber which housed a shrine that was devoted to the deceased.<sup>184</sup> The burial chamber was located underground and could be reached by a forty-three step stairway.<sup>185</sup> The third room contained a statue of Panehesy.<sup>186</sup> The façade of the tomb

---

<sup>176</sup> However, there were not fragments of *shabtis* that indicate that they belong to the daughters of the royal couple, but two of them are known as *shabtis* of Queen Tiye. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 39.

<sup>177</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 72.

<sup>178</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 41.

<sup>179</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 40.

<sup>180</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 40.

<sup>181</sup> Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I, 40.

<sup>182</sup> The Amarna Project

<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable\\_resources/Guide%20Book,%20North%20Tombs.pdf](https://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable_resources/Guide%20Book,%20North%20Tombs.pdf)> accessed 14.07.2020.

<sup>183</sup> D.N De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II: Tombs of Panehesy, and Meryra II*, (EES, London, 1905), 9.

<sup>184</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 9.

<sup>185</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 10.

is decorated with scenes depicting the royal couple worshipping the Aten and giving food offerings to the god, probably accompanied by Meritaten.<sup>187</sup>

Moreover, on the lintel of this scene, Nefertiti is accompanied by two female dwarfs who could be her nurses (**fig 10**).<sup>188</sup> The entrance hall of the tomb depicts Nefertiti's sister, again, in the company of dwarfs.<sup>189</sup> On the west wall of the outer hall, a scene depicts Panehesy being rewarded by the royal couple.<sup>190</sup> The king and queen are depicted on the Window of Appearance, accompanied by Meritaten (**fig 11**).<sup>191</sup> The Aten is, as always, is shown above the royal couple, extending its rays upon them. Panehesy is portrayed with open hands in order to receive his awards, and servants surround him that they are ready to adorn him with his treasures (**fig 12**).<sup>192</sup> At the bottom of this scene, Panehesy appears to be greeted by his household. He is not in the presence of the royal couple anymore; rather, he is surrounded by friends and family.<sup>193</sup> On the south wall of the same chamber, the royal couple is depicted in the act of making offerings to the Aten.<sup>194</sup> Many of food offerings can be seen on this relief. According to D. N. De Garis, the nature of offerings has been slightly modified during Akhenaten's reign to suit the Aten's nature better. The depiction of the offerings shows a preference in the flora and not the fauna.<sup>195</sup>

However, on the passage to the inner chamber, there is a relief that depicts Panehesy very realistically (**fig 13**).<sup>196</sup> His figure on this relief differs a lot from other representations of him in the tomb. Additionally, he is accompanied by a young female who is interpreted as his daughter. This is striking because the depiction of

---

<sup>186</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 10.

<sup>187</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 13.

<sup>188</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 13.

<sup>189</sup> The Amarna Project

<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable\\_resources/Guide%20Book,%20North%20Tombs.pdf](https://www.amarnaproject.com/images/downloadable_resources/Guide%20Book,%20North%20Tombs.pdf)> accessed 14.07.2020.

<sup>190</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl x.

<sup>191</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 16.

<sup>192</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 16.

<sup>193</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 16.

<sup>194</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. xi-xii.

<sup>195</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. xi-xii.

<sup>196</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. xxii.

descendants in the tombs of Amarna was not very common.<sup>197</sup> Moreover, another detail that occurs only in Panehesy's and Huya's (Tomb 1) tombs is that the shrine is decorated.<sup>198</sup> In the former's tomb Panehesy is depicted together with the rest of his household, sitting around a table.<sup>199</sup> This scene indicates the wish of the deceased to be visited by his close ones.

From the textual sources in his tomb, it can be derived that Panehesy is grateful to his king. An inscription on the west side of the outer chamber states: "*Praise to thee, my God who has formed me and dispensed good to me; he who foster me and gave food to me and provided my goods by his k3; the ruler who made me among mankind, who caused me associate with his favourites, and caused every eye to know me*".<sup>200</sup> Unmistakably, Panehesy declares his respect for Akhenaten, referring to him as "his god". D.N. De Garis clarifies that it is customary in Amarna tombs for the k3 of the pharaoh to be referred to as a beneficial source for the deceased.<sup>201</sup> On the same wall an inscription dedicated to the k3 of the deceased is also inscribed: "*For the k3 of the Chief Servitor of the Aten in the temple of Aten, Panehesy*".<sup>202</sup> More texts occur in the tomb, such as burial petitions that were supposed to be recited by visitors.<sup>203</sup> One of these petitions mentions: "*May he grant a good burial after [old age] and interment in the favourite burial ground*".<sup>204</sup> However, in Panehesy's tomb, there are no references to the Netherworld, neither in textual nor in iconographical sources.

An equally important tomb, especially in terms of decoration, is the tomb of the vizier Ramose (**fig 14**). His tomb is located in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and is numbered as TT55. Ramose held the position of vizier during the last years of

---

<sup>197</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 28.

<sup>198</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 28.

<sup>199</sup> De Garis mentions at this point the possibility that due to Akhenaten's female lineage, the families in Amarna tend to prioritize the daughters in depictions and not the sons. D.N De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 28.

<sup>200</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 29.

<sup>201</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 29 n. 2.

<sup>202</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 30.

<sup>203</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 30.

<sup>204</sup> De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, 32.

Amenhotep III's reign and the early years of Amenhotep IV's reign.<sup>205</sup> Hence, his tomb provides a unique decorative pattern combining the traditional and Amarna styles. The first person that realized the significance of this tomb was V. Stuart, who observed the *Sun Disc* on the West wall of the tomb in 1879.<sup>206</sup> Unfortunately, however, the tomb's decoration was not completed. The colour is absent on some of the scenes, and other scenes were supposed to be sculptured in relief form, but this procedure stopped.<sup>207</sup>

The west wall of the outer hall of this tomb contains some interesting scenes. On the south side of the west wall, Amenhotep IV<sup>208</sup> is depicted entirely in the traditional artistic style (**fig 15**).<sup>209</sup> He is portrayed seated on the throne accompanied by the goddess Maat.<sup>210</sup> The throne that the pharaoh is sitting on is adorned with traditional patterns like the "Nine Bows".<sup>211</sup> Additionally, right behind the king's back, Nekhbet is represented, surrounding the pharaoh's waist in order to protect him.<sup>212</sup> However, on the north side of the same wall, the crucial artistic changes from Akhenaten reign are visible.<sup>213</sup> On this side of the wall, the royal couple is standing on the Window of Appearance, depicted in Amarna Style (**fig 16**).<sup>214</sup> The Aten is shining above them, in his fully developed form, offering *ʿnh* signs to the king and the queen. This scene continues with the attendants of the royal couple.

---

<sup>205</sup> However, it is possible that he was the vizier during the time of Amenhotep III's and Akhenaten's co-regency but this matter is still debatable since it is not yet known whether father and son shared the throne in Amenhotep III's last years as a pharaoh. De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, (EES, London, 1941), 1.

<sup>206</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 6.

<sup>207</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 10.

<sup>208</sup> The fact that the depiction concerns Amenhotep IV is confirmed by the cartouche that is still well preserved and is accompanied by the phrase "Great in his Duration" which was characteristic of Amenhotep IV. De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 27.

<sup>209</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl. XXIX.

<sup>210</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 28.

<sup>211</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 28.

<sup>212</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 28.

<sup>213</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 30.

<sup>214</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl XXXIII.

Moreover, another important scene is located on the south wall of the tomb. The scene depicts the funeral procession of Ramose (**fig 17**).<sup>215</sup> The scene is in the traditional style. Because this scene was only painted and not sculptured, C. Aldred suggests that it might have been the last one before the tomb was sealed.<sup>216</sup> Nevertheless, this scene includes all the traditional elements of the afterlife. Ramose and his wife are shown presenting themselves to Osiris whilst this scene is accompanied by the inscription: ‘*The adoration [of Osiris by] the regent of the entire land, the mayor-vizier R. He says “I have come in peace. I ended life in the favour of the good god (the king). I did what was desired by men, that with which the gods were content. I did what my city-god (?) approved; I did not belittle what he commanded. I did no wrong to men, but I did right upon Earth; for I knew that thou rewardest the righteous of heart who does no deed of wrong”*’.<sup>217</sup> Hence, if C. Aldred’s theory about the scene is correct, then one can conclude that funerary art kept being depicted in its traditional style -at least in the early years of Akhenaten’s reign- and that people did not immediately abandon their beliefs and traditions after the reforms in religion.<sup>218</sup>

### **3.4 Non-elite burials: South and North Tombs Cemeteries of Amarna**

Funerary practices and ideology are not only reflected in royal and elite tombs. The non-elite burials are also valuable for a better understanding of what the citizens of Akhetaten thought about the afterlife. For more than a decade excavations at the cemeteries of Amarna not only provided crucial evidence about the burial habits of this period but also about the quality of life that low-status people had during the time of these changes.<sup>219</sup> These burials are very simple and incomparable with those of the elite. The burial consisted of a simple pit in the ground, and the bodies were usually just wrapped in textile, and then placed on wooden boards or in wooden coffins.<sup>220</sup> These cemeteries were extensively robbed both during antiquity and modern times.

---

<sup>215</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl XXVI-XXVII.

<sup>216</sup> Nims, *JNES* 32, 182.

<sup>217</sup> De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, 21.

<sup>218</sup> Nims, *JNES* 32, 183.

<sup>219</sup> A. Stevens, G. Dabbs, & J. Rose, ‘Akhenaten’s people: Excavating the lost cemeteries of Amarna’ *Current World Archaeology*, 78 (2016), 16.

<sup>220</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 16.

However, the robbers were interested mostly in metal or minerals, and these sites, therefore, still contain useful material evidence for archaeology.<sup>221</sup> Most of the pits did not include expensive objects such as jewellery or amulets among the grave goods, but they did contain offerings; mostly pottery with botanical remains.<sup>222</sup>

Both the North and the South Cemeteries contain at least ten thousand bodies.<sup>223</sup> Moreover, there is a concentration of burials around and below Panehesy's house, which is located in the Main City.<sup>224</sup> The location of these burials could be interpreted as a wish of these people to be buried close to Panehesy, a person who held a prominent position in the cult of the Aten.<sup>225</sup> Nevertheless, the urban plan of the city presents a division between the cemeteries and the functioning city.<sup>226</sup> Another division that is illustrated in Amarna is within the cemeteries; on the Boundary stela it is stated that Akhenaten designates the eastern mountain of Akhetaten for the burials of the priests of the Aten, and the cliffs were to be used for royal burials only.<sup>227</sup> As a result, non-elite individuals were not allowed to be buried in those locations.

It is worth mentioning that the demography of the citizens also created a clear division in the burial places of the North and the South cemeteries. Thus, the South Tombs Cemetery consisted mostly of inhabitants of the suburbs of the city, whereas the North Tombs Cemetery, was used by individuals of low financial status.<sup>228</sup> This Cemetery housed a large number of burials of young individuals. This observation together with the presence of limestone quarries which were located in the northern

---

<sup>221</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 16.

<sup>222</sup> A. Stevens, 'Death and the City: The cemeteries of Amarna in Their Urban Context', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, (2017), 4.

<sup>223</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 14.

<sup>224</sup> This might also be the result of the fear of tomb robbery. Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 12.

<sup>225</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 14.

<sup>226</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 11.

<sup>227</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 11.

<sup>228</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 15,17.

part of the city, suggests that the North Tombs Cemetery was mainly used by workers/labourers.<sup>229</sup>

In the preliminary excavation report of the North Tombs Cemetery, by A. Stevens, useful information about the demography and the burial practices is given.<sup>230</sup> As mentioned before, the orientation of the burials was not organized (**fig 18**). Additionally, the age range of the individual was between seven and twenty-five years old.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, the pattern of the burial practice remained the same; mass burials occurred.<sup>232</sup> The bodies have usually been placed either side by side, or stack in different layers.<sup>233</sup> As it is stated above, the bodies were wrapped in textile, and frequently, two bodies were wrapped together, and there is no evidence that wooden coffins were included in the burials.<sup>234</sup>

Artefacts from the cemeteries are not very common, due to the great disturbance of the burials during the years.<sup>235</sup> However, some critical finds from excavations in the non-elite cemeteries were funerary wax cones. Concerning these cones, scholars have suggested different interpretations. The most prevalent theory about this object -especially in a funerary context- is its association with the

---

<sup>229</sup> Stevens, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1 (2017), 18.

<sup>230</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.

<sup>231</sup> A. Stevens, G. R. Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.

<sup>232</sup> The multiple burials pattern occurred also in the excavations of 2015 and especially the double burials. However, according to A. Stevens' excavation reports, over 36% of the burials contained more than one individual. Stevens, Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020

<sup>233</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.

<sup>234</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.

<sup>235</sup> Additionally, the lack of the burial goods might also occur due to the low status of the individuals, particularly in the North Tombs cemetery. Stevens, Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017'  
<[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.

rejuvenation of the dead.<sup>236</sup> Two well-preserved examples were discovered in the South and the North Cemetery (**fig 19**).<sup>237</sup> Due to the limited space in this paper, the significant aspects of these objects will not be analysed. However, it is important to mention that the discovery of the wax cones in the Amarna cemeteries proves that these objects were not just symbolical iconographical elements but actual “adornments” which were probably used during funerary rites.<sup>238</sup>

Moreover, some funerary stelae were also discovered in non-elite cemeteries. Some of these bare representations of figures wearing the wax cones on their heads.<sup>239</sup> The shape of the stelae is conical too. A well-preserved one possibly depicts the royal couple in the Amarna style, and the pharaoh is represented wearing the cone (**fig 20**).<sup>240</sup> Additionally, the “*triangular*” or “*pyramid*” shape of the stela, might be associated with the solar cult or/and the Aten’s cult.<sup>241</sup> Furthermore, even if coffins were not standard in the cemeteries, the excavations of 2015 in the South Tombs Cemetery brought to light the so-called “*jackal coffin*”(**fig 21**).<sup>242</sup> This coffin bared the figure of a jackal-headed god on one of its panels.<sup>243</sup> Other wooden coffins were also discovered at these sites, but most of them only survived in fragments, or they were utterly undecorated in the first place.

From the discoveries mentioned above, it can be concluded that these non-elite cemeteries form an important source concerning the impact that Atenism had on the general population. The worship of funerary gods such as Osiris was strongly discouraged by the state religion; however, examples such as the “*jackal-coffin*” indicate that people were still committed to the traditional mortuary ideology. On the other hand, the presence of the “*godless coffins*” proves the obedience to the new

---

<sup>236</sup> A. Stevens, C.E. Rogge, J.E.M.F Bos, G.R. Dabbs, 'From representation to reality: ancient Egyptian wax head cones from Amarna', *Cambridge University Press, Volume 93, Issue 372* (2019), 1516-1517.

<sup>237</sup> Stevens, Rogge, Bos, Dabbs, *Cambridge University Press, Volume 93, Issue 372*, 1521,1523.

<sup>238</sup> Stevens, Rogge, Bos, Dabbs, *Cambridge University Press, Volume 93, Issue 372*, 1527.

<sup>239</sup> Stevens, Rogge, Bos, Dabbs, *Cambridge University Press, Volume 93, Issue 372*, 1516.

<sup>240</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 21.

<sup>241</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 21.

<sup>242</sup> L. Skinner, 'The Amarna Coffins Project: Coffins from the South Tombs Cemetery', in B. Kemp, 'Tell El-Amarna, 2014–15', *JEA* 101 (2015), 28.

<sup>243</sup> Skinner, *JEA* 101, 28.

rules of the pharaoh.<sup>244</sup> Due to these mixed iconographical/symbolical elements, it is not yet evident whether the individuals of the period were “forced” to adapt to the innovative funerary ideology or if the internment was a matter of “individual choice”.<sup>245</sup>

### **3.5 Theories and Interpretations on the Concept of the Afterlife during the Amarna Period**

Akhenaten’s religious reforms had a crucial impact on funerary beliefs. For the Amarna Period, the mortuary ideology is very controversial and still debated by many scholars. It is not yet clear whether Akhenaten’s reforms influenced the practice of mortuary rituals, although the absence of the fundamental elements of the afterlife ideology leads to the assumption that the whole funerary landscape had been modified.<sup>246</sup>

One of the main factors that problematize the situation is the absence of the Osirian cult, which was previously vital for the funerary sphere.<sup>247</sup> Hence, the missing of the “*Judgment of the Dead*” -a key procedure by which an individual entered the Netherworld- leads to the question of whether it was replaced by another idea or wholly abandoned. Additionally, there are almost no references to the concept of *mꜣꜥt* and the exclamation of *mꜣꜥ- hrw*.<sup>248</sup> Therefore -if there was an afterlife concept-, there must have been a different mechanism that would grant one’s access to the afterlife. R. Anthes suggests that during the Amarna Period the process of judging if someone had lived purely and therefore deserve the “gift” of the afterlife, was based upon one’s devotion to the pharaoh and the royal family.<sup>249</sup> This theory might explain the royal-centric tomb and domestic material evidence and decoration,

---

<sup>244</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 21.

<sup>245</sup> Stevens, Dabbs, & Rose, *Current World Archaeology* 78, 20-21.

<sup>246</sup> Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 8.

<sup>247</sup> However, there are some references not completely dedicated to the cult of Osiris but to some aspects of it, but it remains a minority. Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 8

<sup>248</sup> B. Ockinga, ‘The non-royal Concept of the Afterlife in Amarna’, in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1* (Macquarie University, 2008), 30.

<sup>249</sup> R. Anthes, *Die Maat des Echnaton, JAOS Suppl.* 14 (Baltimore, 1952), 27.

proving the devotional spirit of Akhenaten's subjects. On the other hand, the royal family were the "messengers" between individuals and the Aten. Therefore, the devotion to the king might also be the means to worship the Aten and not necessarily the criteria of the purity of someone's soul.

J. Assmann introduces another theory about the concept of the afterlife under Akhenaten's reign. His theory claims that during the Amarna Period there was only one Realm, which is in contrast to the traditional Egyptian ideology which promoted the division of the world in two separate Realms, one of the living and the one of the dead. So, according to J. Assmann, there was an afterlife conception, but it was one-dimensional. The deceased continued living after death, not in the Netherworld but on Earth. The "movement" of the deceased was restricted inside the tomb whilst, during the daytime, they would visit the Aten's temples.<sup>250</sup> The absence of references to the creation of the world and to the maintenance of the cosmic order supports this theory. In Akhenaten's "monotheism" the Aten functions as a creator god and for the pharaoh, the conception of the world stopped at the point to which the Aten could see.

Furthermore, another interesting interpretation -inspired by the funerary reliefs of the Royal Tomb in Amarna- was first mentioned by D. Arnold in 1996 and further developed by J. Van Dijk in 2009. As it is already mentioned, the walls of room  $\alpha$  and room  $\gamma$  in the Royal Tomb are decorated with the moment of Maketaten's death. The presence of the infant on the reliefs leads most scholars to the conclusion that the scene states that Maketaten died in childbirth. However, other scholars argue that the princess was too young when she died to give birth to a child.<sup>251</sup> According to D. Arnold and J. Van Dijk, these scenes do not depict the cause of death but the rebirth of the princess herself.<sup>252</sup> The content of these depictions is unique in funerary art.

Therefore, the presence of these unique scenes in the burial chamber could imply connections with the afterlife conception during the Amarna Period.<sup>253</sup> The suggestion that the infant might be a "rebirth" element on the reliefs could also

---

<sup>250</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 14-15.

<sup>251</sup> J. Van Dijk, 'The Death of Maketaten', in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009), 88.

<sup>252</sup> Van Dijk in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 88.

<sup>253</sup> Van Dijk in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 88.

explain the repetition of the scene in both rooms  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ .<sup>254</sup> Thus, in these scenes, the infant is paralleled with the *k3* of the princess, and it is not a reference to a newborn member of the royal family.<sup>255</sup> Furthermore, in combination with J. Assman's theory that the deceased continued to wander among the living, together with the absence to any Osirid elements or references to the Underworld, this interpretation might be sustainable.<sup>256</sup> However, this rejuvenation is not precisely parallel to the afterlife as it is known in ancient Egypt. The substance of the *k3* is implied, but it is ambiguous if the "rebirth" as an infant is referring to a continuation of existence in the afterlife or a "restart" of a new life. Additionally, this type of funerary scene occurs only in the Royal Tomb. Hence, a question could be raised as to whether this reincarnation in a newborn was a privilege given exclusively to the royal family.

Moreover, theories on the mortuary ideology of Amarna are also based on funerary objects. G.T Martin focused on the forms of the *shabtis* of the period. He justifies the existence of these objects in the funerary context as a continuity of the traditional burial equipment. However, what he mentions as ambiguous is that the Osirid form of the *shabtis* did not change. G.T Martin, suggests that it would be more applicable to the new religion if the *shabtis* had a form that indicates connections with the daily life -such as daily accoutrement- instead of the traditional Osirid appearance of these objects. Thus, he argues that Osiris could still be apparent in the funerary ideology of the Amarna Period.<sup>257</sup>

B. Ockinga proposes a theory that comes in conflict with G.T Martin's one. He disagrees with Martin's theory that the *shabtis'* form is directly linked to Osiris but instead argues that they are representations of the mummified body.<sup>258</sup> Hence, the *shabtis* did not function as succourers for the deceased in the Netherworld rather a "reflection" of the mummy.<sup>259</sup> However, even if in the Amarna Period it is not yet certain whether the embalming ritual continued to be applied as frequently as in the

---

<sup>254</sup> Van Dijk in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 88.

<sup>255</sup> Van Dijk in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 88

<sup>256</sup> Van Dijk in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live*, 88

<sup>257</sup> G.T. Martin, 'Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Kairo 42 (1986) 109–129.

<sup>258</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers*, Vol. 38 No. 1, 32.

<sup>259</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers*, Vol. 38 No. 1, 32-33.

pre-Amarna years, its significance together with the importance of the funerary procession is attested in a text from the tomb of Ay; “*May you join your place of eternity, may your mansion of eternity receive you, ox(en) dragging you, an embalmer and lector-priest in front of you, the (way of) the boat having been purified with milk*”.<sup>260</sup> The reference to the “embalmer” and the “lector-priest” in this text, underlines the importance of fundamental funerary rituals -such as mummification, funeral and probably the ritual of “*the opening of the mouth*”. However, this content is not very common in other texts of the period. Consequently, B. Ockinga supports that there was an afterlife conception; however, it was undoubtedly revolved around the pharaoh.<sup>261</sup> The material and textual evidence of the period prove that *m3t* was the will of the king and that the permission for a “passage” to the afterlife could be provided only through him.<sup>262</sup> Additionally, B. Ockinga supports the interpretation of the “one-dimensional” world and suggests that the deceased’s *b3* was carrying the offerings not to the Netherworld but in the Realm of the living, whereas the dead were only leaving their tombs only to worship the Aten in Akhetaten’s temples.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>260</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1*, 33.

<sup>261</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1*, 33.

<sup>262</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1*, 34.

<sup>263</sup> B. Ockinga in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1*, 34.

## Conclusion

From the analysis of this paper, it is illustrated that the funerary beliefs during the Amarna Period were modified. The rapid development of the Aten's cult and the abandonment of the traditional religion led to the change of the afterlife sphere while the main mortuary motifs do not occur in the funerary context of the period. Initially, it would be essential to mention that the most potent influence of the Atenism and the innovations that followed this cult was cited within the borders of Akhetaten. However, there is evidence of Akhenaten's reforms in various regions in Egypt but not to the same extent as in the city of Amarna.

In this modified afterlife conception, the pharaoh and his royal family possessed a central role. It is illustrated, especially from the funerary iconographical sources, that Akhenaten was the protagonist of the vast majority of the scenes. The unique connection that the king had with the Aten -as is stated on textual sources and iconographical elements of the period- promoted him as the only intermediary between his subjects and the god. Additionally, most of the textual sources concern this connection. The tombs' inscriptions commemorate the grace of the king or his relationship with the deceased. Hence, is safe to assume that devotion to the pharaoh, the royal family and, to an extent, the state, granted access to the afterlife. The reason that not only funerary equipment and decoration but also material evidence from domestic and religious contexts of the city are dedicated to the pharaoh might be the result of the novel cosmic order that the pharaoh established. Therefore, *m3't* was evolving around the king's will and extensively the Aten's.

Moreover, the content of the tombs reveals once again the central role of the Aten and the royal family. Most of the traditional funerary patterns have been replaced by the image of the royal family in the act of making offerings to the Aten or providing gratitude to the deceased. However, in some cases, such as in the Tomb of Ramose, references to the Netherworld and principal deities such as Amun-Re and Osiris occur. Nonetheless, the case of the Tomb of Ramose is ambiguous, and the combination of the traditional and Amarna style might be the aporia of his death in the early years of Akhenaten's reign when the innovative funerary art was not yet completely established. However, in the non-elite burials, these examples more commonly appear. The material evidence from the Amarna cemeteries illustrates that

some individuals were remaining true to the traditional religion's burial practices and afterlife conception. Thus, it is not yet evident whether the afterlife conception that Akhenaten promoted was a matter of choice for an individual or a demand of the state religion.

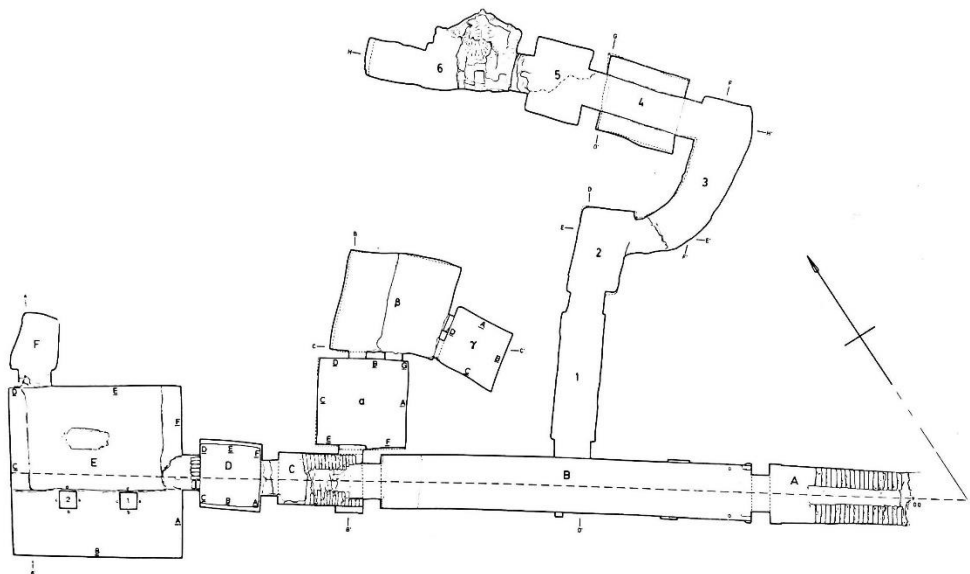
Nevertheless, it is not easy to extract all the details of the mechanism of the new afterlife concept. J. Van Dijk's theory on the reliefs of room  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  in the Royal Tomb illustrates a whole different ideology about life after death in Amarna. The transition of the dead princess' *k3* into an infant -as the author suggests- creates a whole different interpretation about life after death. According to the traditional afterlife conception, the body continues to exist in its current form, and this is the reason that its preservation was so important. This theory suggests an "instant rebirth" of the deceased rather than a continuation of life after death. However, the possibility that the infant was born, and the princess died in childbirth is also a sustainable theory. The fact that Amarna art is realistic and usually imprinted daily life occasions in combination with the fact that the moment of death does not occur as a funerary scene in any other tomb, probably implies that the artist focused on the "emotional burden" of the moment rather than the rejuvenation of the deceased.

Furthermore, it is safe to assume that the afterlife was still valid during the Amarna Period. The material evidence and burial practices empower this interpretation. However, the conception of the Netherworld as a different dimension might be abandoned during these years. The absence of any reference to the Duat or other funerary elements proves that it was not legitimate anymore. If such a theory is sustainable, then life and death were simultaneously evolved on Earth. Therefore, the Aten, as the incarnation of the sun, could illuminate only one dimension: the realm of the living. What appears to be problematic with this interpretation is the division between the ones who lived with purity and the ones who did not. It is not clarified whether this "one-dimensional" afterlife was a right for everyone, or it had to be earned, and the rules/procedures are not apparent. Hence, Akhenaten proceeded to the promotion of a "one-dimensional" world where the living and the dead coexisted under the rays of the Aten. However, the conception of the Netherworld during the Amarna Period still consists of ongoing debate.

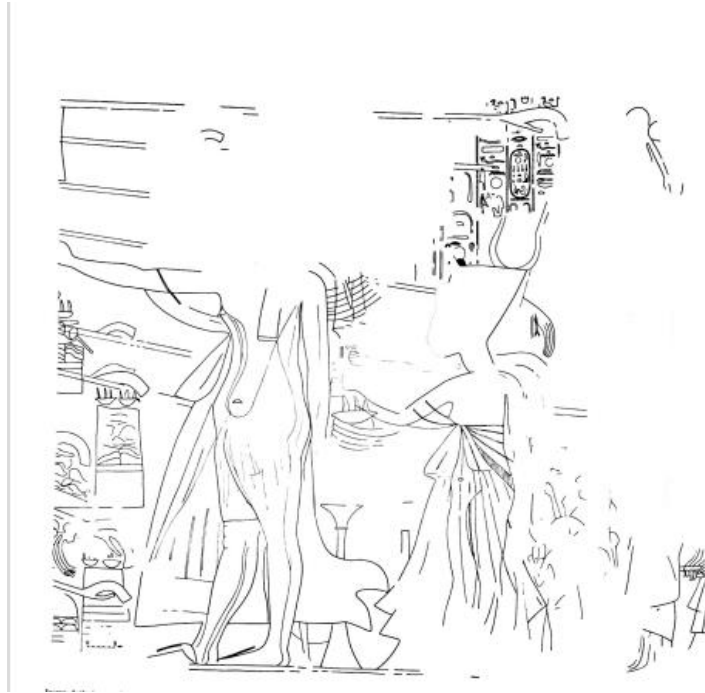
## List of Figures:



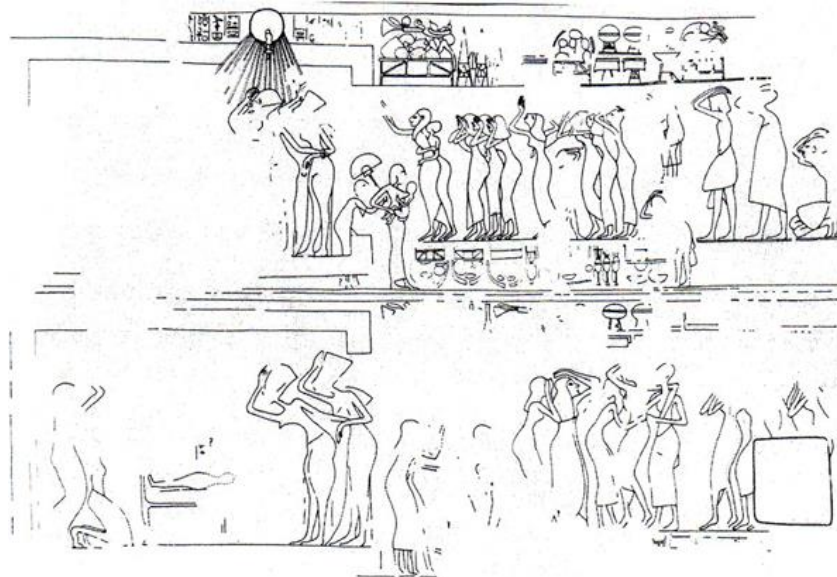
**Figure 1:** Coffin fragment from non-elite burial depicting anthropoid figures that replacing the “Sons of Horus”. <https://www.ees.ac.uk/pages/search.aspx?q=amarna>



**Figure 2:** Plan of the Royal Tomb of Amarna by Mark Lehner. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl. 11.



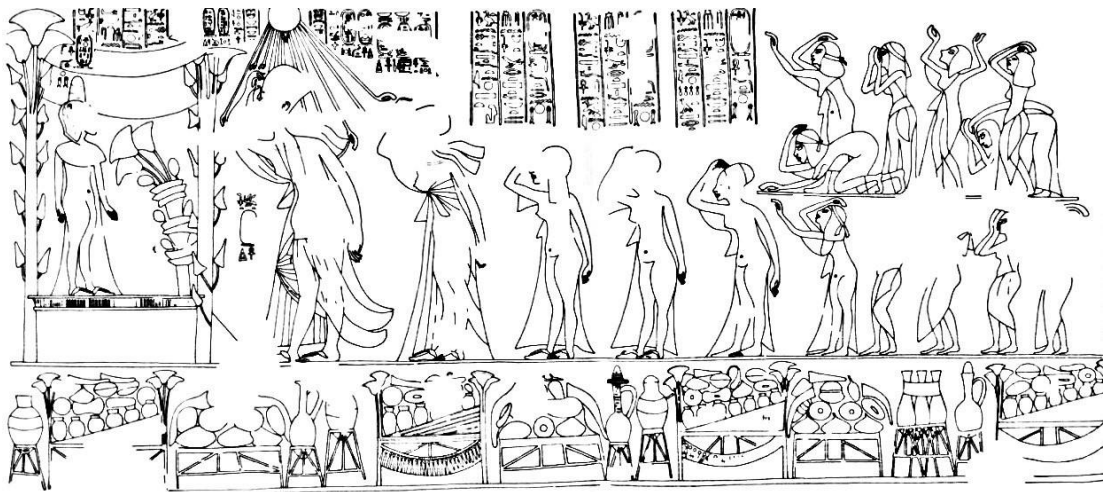
**Figure 3:** The royal couple, worshipping the Aten in room  $\alpha$  Wall A. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl. 36.



**Figure 4:** The mourning scene from room  $\alpha$ , Wall F. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl. 58.



**Figure 5:** Funerary scene from room  $\gamma$ , Wall A. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl. 63.



**Figure 6:** The grieving scene from room  $\gamma$ , Wall B. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, II, pl.

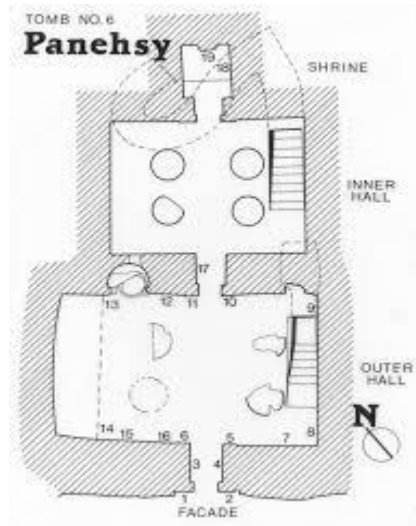
68.



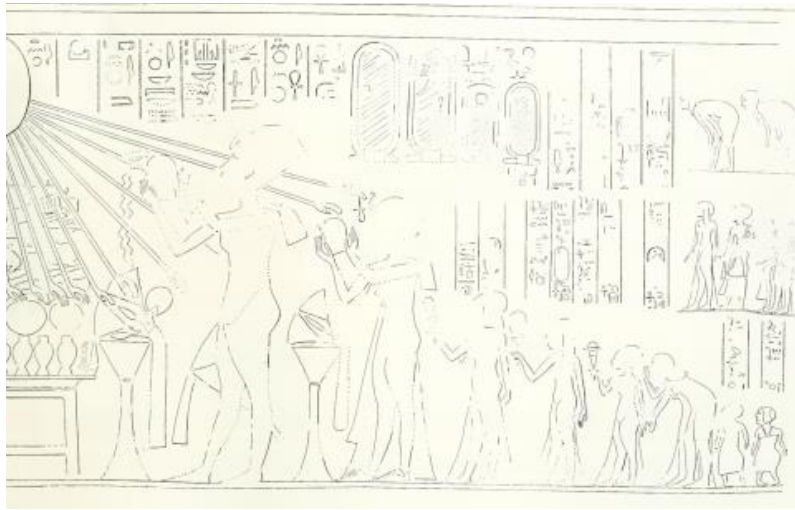
**Figure 7:** Akhenaten's Sarcophagus. <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/>



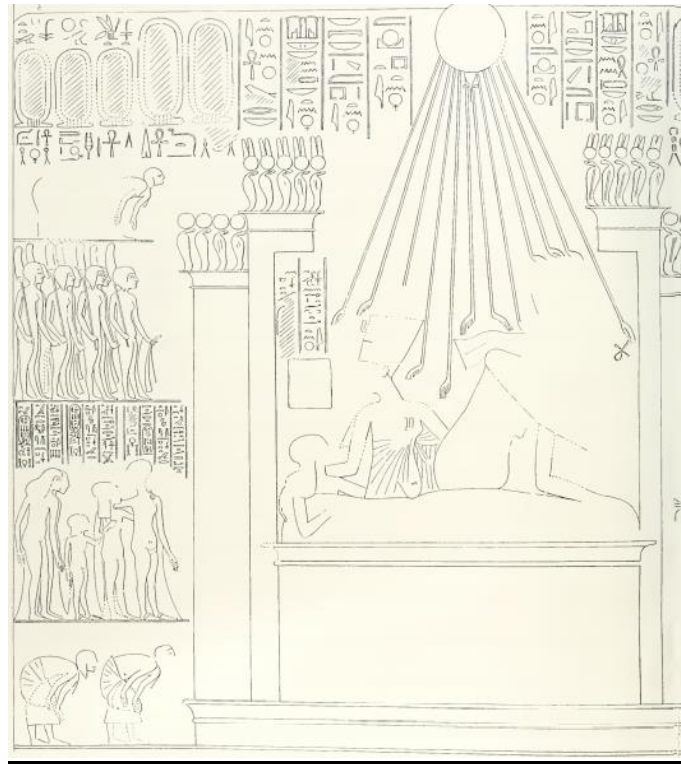
**Figure 8:** The reconstructed canopic chest of Akhenaten. Martin, *The Royal Tomb*, I.



**Figure 9:** Panehsy's Tomb plan. <https://www.amarnaproject.com/>

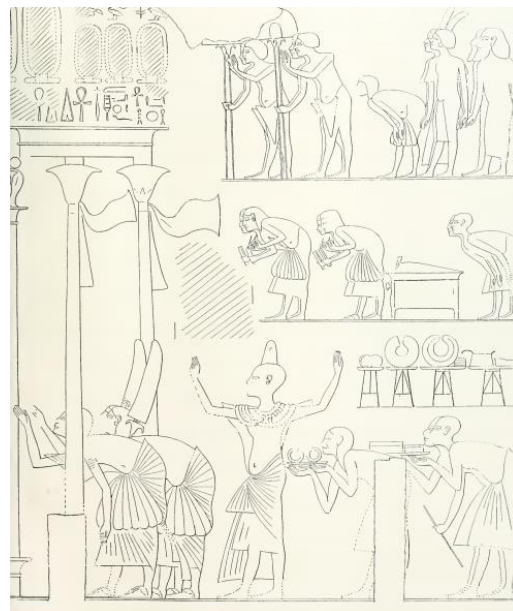


**Figure 10:** The royal couple accompanied by dwarves from Panehsy's Tomb. De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl V.



**Figure 11:** The royal couple in the Window of Appearance from Panehesy's Tomb.

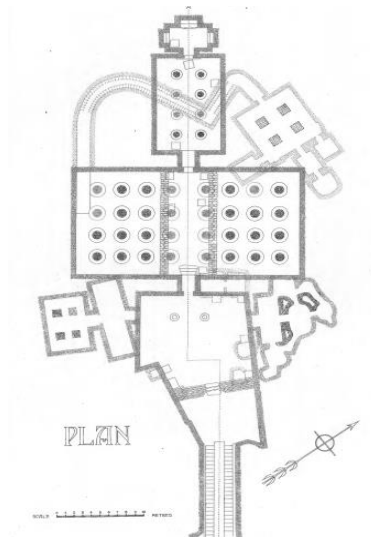
De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. V.



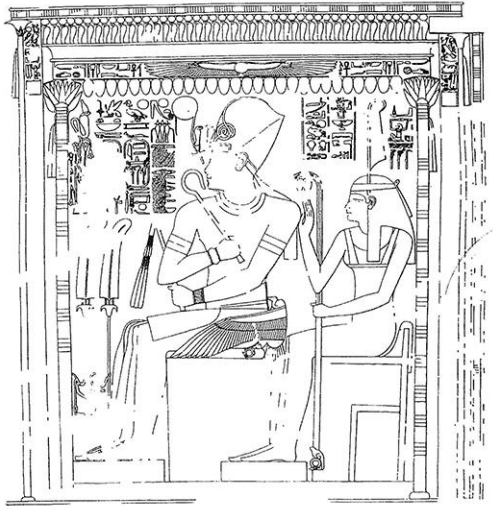
**Figure 12:** Panehesy receiving his rewards from the royal couple. De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. V.



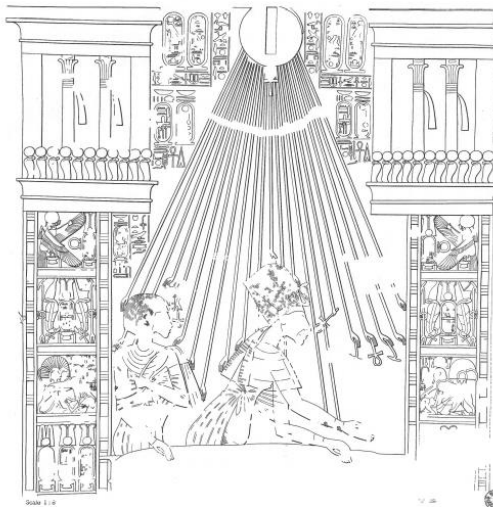
**Figure 13:** Panehesy in the realistic depiction accompanied by his daughter. De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II*, pl. XXII.



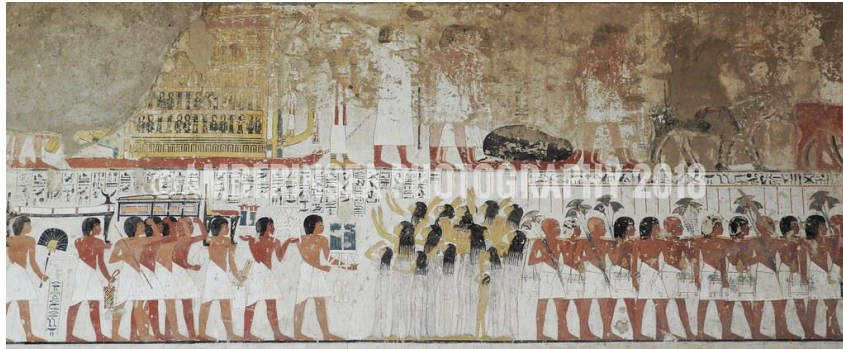
**Figure 14:** Plan of the Tomb of Ramose. De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl. I.



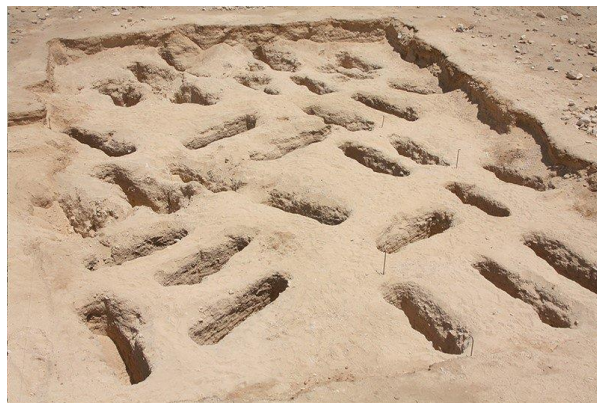
**Figure 15:** Relief depicting Amenhotep IV in traditional style on the south side of the west wall in Ramose's Tomb. De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl. XXIX.



**Figure 16:** Relief depicting Akhenaten and Nefertiti on the Window of Appearance in Amarna style on the north side of the west wall in Ramose's Tomb. De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, pl XXXIII.



**Figure 17:** The funeral procession of Ramose in traditional style.



**Figure 18:** The North Tombs Cemetery burials. <https://www.ees.ac.uk/>



**Figure 19:** Burial containing individual with wax cone.

<https://www.amarnaproject.com/>



**Figure 20:** Conical stela depicting the royal couple wearing wax cones.

<https://www.amarnaproject.com/>



**Figure 21:** The “*jackal coffin*” from the South Tombs cemetery.

<https://www.amarnaproject.com/>

## Bibliography:

- A. Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo, 2014).
- A. Stevens, 'Death and the City: The cemeteries of Amarna in Their Urban Context', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Volume 28, Issue 1, (2017).
- A. Stevens, "The Material Evidence for Domestic Religion at Amarna and Preliminary Remarks on Its Interpretation", *JEA* 89 (2003).
- A. Stevens, C.E. Rogge, J.E.M.F Bos, G.R. Dabbs, 'From representation to reality: ancient Egyptian wax head cones from Amarna', *Cambridge University Press*, Volume 93, Issue 372 (2019).
- A. Stevens, G. Dabbs, & J. Rose, 'Akhenaten's people: Excavating the lost cemeteries of Amarna' *Current World Archaeology*, 78 (2016).
- A. Stevens, G. R. Dabbs, 'The North Tombs Cemetery 2017' <[https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent\\_projects/excavation/northern\\_cemeteries/2017.shtml](https://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/recent_projects/excavation/northern_cemeteries/2017.shtml)>, accessed 25.07.2020.
- A. Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence* (Oxford, 2006).
- B. A. Richter, 'The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers', *JARCE* 44 (2008).
- B. Kemp and A. Zink, 'Life in Ancient Egypt Akhetaten, the Amarna Period, and Tutankhamun', *RCC* 3 (2012).
- B. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its People* (London, 2012).
- B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York, 2018).
- B. Ockinga, 'The non-royal Concept of the Afterlife in Amarna', in J. L. Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers, Vol. 38 No. 1* (Macquarie University, 2008).
- C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt During the Eighteenth Dynasty 1590 to 1315 B.C* (London, 1951).
- C.F Nims, 'The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief Under Amenhotep IV', *JNES* 32 (1973).

- D. B Redford 'Akhenaten: New Theories and Old Facts', *BASOR* 369 (2013).
- D.N De Garis, *The rock tombs of El Amarna. Pt II: Tombs of Panehesy, and Meryra* (EES, London, 1905).
- D.N De Garis, *The tomb of the vizier Ramose*, (EES, London, 1941).
- Dodson, 'Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian counter-reformation', (Cairo, 2009).
- G.E Kadish 'Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteen Dynasty' in D. B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, Volume 2* (Oxford, 2001).
- G.T Martin, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Part VII/i, The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna I: The Objects*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 35 (EES, London, 1974).
- G.T Martin, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Part VII/ii, The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna II: The reliefs, inscriptions and architecture. With plan and sections.*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 35 (EES, London, 1989).
- G.T. Martin, 'Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo* 42 (1986).
- H. Hoenes, S. Eike, 'Life and Death in Ancient Egypt: Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes', (Ithaca, London, 2000).
- J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2005).
- J. Bennett, 'The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun', *JEA* 25 (1939).
- J. Bentley, 'Amenophis III and Akhenaten: Co-Regency Proved?', *JEA* 66 (1980).
- J. H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001).
- J. Van Dijk, 'The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352—1069 BC) in J. Shaw (ed.) *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000).
- J. Van Dijk, 'The Death of Meketaten', in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds.), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009).
- J.K Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (Oxford, 1951).
- L. Manniche, *The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak* (New York, 2010).

- L. Skinner, 'The Amarna Coffins Project: Coffins from the South Tombs Cemetery', in B. Kemp, 'Tell El-Amarna, 2014–15', *JEA* 101 (2015).
- N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (1<sup>st</sup> English edn translated by J. Shaw; Oxford, 1992).
- P. Whelan, 'Small Yet Perfectly Formed- Some Observations on Theban Stick Shabti Coffins of the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty', *EVO* 34 (2011).
- R. Anthes, *Die Maat des Echnaton*, *JAOS* Suppl. 14 (Baltimore, 1952).
- R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2003).
- R.H Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2000).
- S. Ikram, "Domestic Shrines and the Cult of The Royal Family at El-Amarna", *JEA* 75 (1989).
- S. Snape, '*Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death*', (Oxford, 2011).
- Spanel 'Funerary Figurines', in D.B Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Volume II (Oxford 2001).
- V.A Tobin 'Creation of Myths' in in D. B Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Volume 2 (Oxford, 2001).
- W.J Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta, 1995).