

Continuity, Discontinuity and Change

Perspectives from the New Kingdom
to the Roman Era

Filip Coppens (ed.)

The publication was composed within the framework of the Czech Science Foundation – Grant GA ČR 19-07268S: “Continuity, Discontinuity and Change. Adaptation Strategies of Individuals and Communities in Egypt at Times of Internal and External Transformations”.

Reviewed by Jana Mynářová and Daniel von Recklinghausen

Contributors: Dana Bělohoubková, Silke Cassor-Pfeiffer, Filip Coppens, Kenneth Griffin, Jiří Honzl, Nico Staring, Stefan Pfeiffer, Gabriele Pieke, and Dorotea Wollnerová

Cover: illustration courtesy of Veronika Dulíková

Published by Charles University, Prague, Faculty of Arts, nám. Jana Palacha 2, Prague 1

© Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2021

© Dana Bělohoubková, Silke Cassor-Pfeiffer, Filip Coppens, Kenneth Griffin, Jiří Honzl, Nico Staring, Stefan Pfeiffer, Gabriele Pieke, and Dorotea Wollnerová, 2021

Foto © Veronika Dulíková, 2021 . The authors are solely responsible for obtaining all the copyrights and permissions to publish the material discussed, as well as figures and illustrations.

Design, typesetting and print by Togga Prague

First edition, Prague 2021

ISBN 978-80-7671-048-1

Table of Contents

Introduction — 7

I. Continuity, Discontinuity and Change in Non-Royal Tombs at Memphis, Amarna and Thebes

The Memphite Necropolis through the Amarna Period.

A Study of Private Patronage, Transmission of Iconographic Motifs, and Scene Details

NICO STARING — 13

The Tombs of Amarna – Adaptation or Revolution?

DANA BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ — 75

Finding a New Balance. Non-Royal Tombs of the Post-Amarna Period in Western Thebes

GABRIELE PIEKE — 109

Continuity, Discontinuity and Change in Non-Royal Tombs at Memphis, Amarna and Thebes – Towards a Synthesis

DANA BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ – GABRIELE PIEKE – NICO STARING — 193

II. Aspects of Continuity, Discontinuity and Change – A Perspective from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

Holding the Lapwing: Continuity and Change in Depictions of the King and Child Deities

KENNETH GRIFFIN — 211

From Ritual to Role Description? Continuity, Discontinuity, and Change in Temple Depictions of Royal and Divine Suckling

SILKE CASSOR-PFEIFFER — 255

The *š3*-Garment of Horus. An Example of Integrating the Foreign King into the Egyptian Belief System

DOROTEA WOLLNEROVÁ — 339

“Finding the Gods of Egypt”: The Motif of ‘Bringing Home the Statues of the Gods from Asia’ as a New Pharaonic Ideal of Ptolemaic Times

STEFAN PFEIFFER — 375

The Ptolemaic *Basileus* and the Roman Emperor Slaying the Enemies of Egypt.

The *smʒ sbi/hftȳw/hʒswt/Sṯt* Ritual Scene in Context

FILIP COPPENS — 405

Religious Habits of the Roman Army in the Peripheries of Egypt – the Epigraphic Evidence

Jiří HONZL — 491

Aspects of Continuity, Discontinuity and Change: A Perspective from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

SILKE CASSOR-PFEIFFER – FILIP COPPENS – STEFAN PFEIFFER — 549

Abbreviations — 559

Indices — 563

The Tombs of Amarna – Adaptation or Revolution?

DANA BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ

Czech Institute of Egyptology

Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague

ABSTRACT

Amarna art has an exceptional position in Egyptian history; it is perceived as revolutionary. This paper looks at the decoration of the tombs of officials buried at Tell el-Amarna with the motivation to examine how different their decoration was from previous periods. It shows how the chapels were adapted to the new reality. How previous motifs were used, reinterpreted, imitated and composed into new scenes. The question of whether the Amarna tombs had the same functions as the Theban tombs is also addressed.

KEYWORDS

Amarna Tombs – Decoration – Adaptation – Imitation – Royal Couple – Officials

I. INTRODUCTION

The city of Akhetaten, today known as Tell el-Amarna, has two groups of tombs created for the elite members of society at the foothills of the desert cliffs, namely the southern and the northern group.¹ In comparison to most Egyptian settlements, the Amarna necropolis is atypically located to the east of the ancient city.

The study of the Amarna tombs² and particularly their iconographic program as a whole subject was given a surprising paucity of attention. When studying this topic, the original publications of Norman de Garis Davies³ are still the main source.⁴ The decoration of Amarna

-
- 1 For the topography of the site see, N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part I. The Tombs of Meryra*, ASE Memoir 13, London 1903, 1–2; for a list of tombs with bibliography see, PM IV, 209–230.
 - 2 For the evaluation of the sizes of the tombs and socioeconomical analysis see, R. R. OLSEN, *Socio-economic aspects of ancient Egyptian private tomb construction. A study on New Kingdom tomb volumetric as economic markers*, unpublished, Ph.D. thesis, Copenhagen 2018, 179–191.
 - 3 DAVIES, *El Amarna I*; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part II. The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, ASE Memoir 14, London 1905; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part III. The Tombs of Huy and Ahmes*, ASE Memoir 15, London 1905; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part IV. The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu and others*, ASE Memoir 16, London 1906; N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part V. Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae*, ASE Memoir 17, London 1908.
 - 4 Some of the scenes are also analysed in the chapter “VIII. Amarna” of J. VANDIER, *Manuel d’Archéologie Égyptienne. Tome IV. Bas-reliefs et peintures scènes de la vie quotidienne*, Paris 1964, 671–716.

tombs was also the theme of the dissertation of Elizabeth Meyers.⁵ Arlette David published the third and newest publication dealing with this topic in 2020.⁶ Another challenge is the rather small number of decorated tombs. Due to the limited time of the occupation of the city, only 25 nobles' tombs have some sort of inscription or decoration (sometimes only a single line of inscription).

For the study of the tombs' decoration, it is important to keep in mind what the purpose of the tomb in Ancient Egypt was in general. These monuments were not only containers for the deceased bodies, means of reaching the netherworld, but very importantly places for commemoration.⁷ The tomb decoration is a medium for providing key information about social, religious, and economic conditions. It communicates with its audiences on different levels,⁸ showing the tomb owner's place in the social hierarchy and cultural communication; it legitimizes the owner's position by displaying crucial scenes, which were important for the patron, such as those showing his duties in office. It also shows his family and their social role, and by referring to other tombs, which were used as more or less direct inspiration.

Concerning Amarna's religious changes, a significant question is if the religious change also led to a paradigm shift in architecture and the decoration of non-royal tombs. The following remarks will focus on the tomb decoration and the iconographic layout of the chapels as the extant resource. A brief introduction to the state of research precedes the main aims and objectives.

1.1 CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

The Amarna tombs visibly adhere to the general characteristics and stylistic parameters of Amarna art.⁹ It is often recognized as different from any other period of ancient Egyptian art by both specialist and the lay public. In the current Egyptological perspective, the most obvious element in the non-royal Amarna tomb decoration is the perceived overrepresentation of the royal couple. The various images depicting Akhnaten and Nefertiti have been amply discussed. It was always considered to be exceptional and extremely innovative,¹⁰ thereby

5 E. MEYERS, A program of political theology in Amarna tomb art: Imagery as metaphor, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor 1981.

6 A. DAVID, *Renewing Royal Imagery: Akhnaten and family in the Amarna tombs*, HES 11, Leiden/Boston 2020.

7 See M. K. HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, *MonAeg IX*, Turnhout 2004, 5–36, with further bibliography.

8 On this topic, see H. NAVRATILOVA, "Audiences", in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, Oxford 2020, 103–114, with further bibliography.

9 For a general overview on Amarna art see, for example J. ASSMANN, "Flachbildkunst des Neuen Reiches", in: C. VANDERSLEYEN (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten*, Berlin 1985, 305–312; D. LABOURY, "Amarna Art", in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2011; C. ALDRED, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York 1973, 48–66; R. E. FREED/Y. MARKOWITZ/S. H. D'AURIA, *Pharaohs of the Sun. Akhenaten – Nefertiti – Tutankhamun*, Boston 1999, in particular the introduction and the chapter on "Art in Service of Religion and State" (110–129); DO. ARNOLD, "From Karnak to Amarna: An artistic breakthrough and its consequences", in: F. SEYFRIED (ed.), *In the light of Amarna. 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery*, Berlin 2012, 143–152.

10 It is even perceived that Akhnaten wanted to provoke people by creating the depiction in this manner: DAVID, *Renewing Royal Imagery*, 1.

being in direct connection with the conceptions of the Atonist religion perceived as monotheistic or henotheistic.¹¹ A hypothesis has been put forward suggesting that the decoration of private tombs in the necropolis of Amarna served eloquently the new doctrine implemented by Akhnaten, with the king as central authority, whose pivotal role as the guarantor of everything is more emphasised than in the previous period. In the field of Egyptology, it is almost common opinion that the main focus of the entire tomb decoration is expected to be concentrated on the royal family. For this very reason, even the owner of the tomb is depicted on a visibly smaller scale than the royal couple, which provokes further discussion.¹² The tomb art is thus perceived as an embodiment of the characteristics of the new theocratic state.¹³ On the other hand, for example, F. Kampp-Seyfried points out that the scenes in the Amarna tombs, with a few exceptions where funerary motifs are present, serve to show the relationship between the owner and the ruler. They demonstrate the loyalty of the official to the royal family. As far as the themes are concerned, the tomb's decoration is formulaic and stereotypical; dominated by a large-format image, which is characterized by liveliness and great attention to detail.¹⁴ Nevertheless, is the difference indeed so significant as to claim that the Amarna tomb iconography constitutes a watershed?

In some interpretations, the elements of Amarna tombs were described in contrast to the tombs in Thebes. For example, Meyers proposed that the Amarna tombs were visited by a broader audience while the Theban were not, which is questionable.¹⁵ She also saw the decoration of Amarna tombs as a result of Atonist theology, which shows the character of the religious change. The tombs should encode the theocratic state and the “creation of monolithic societal ideology”.¹⁶ A different approach was chosen by J. Arp in her study of non-royal tombs. She was addressing the topic via the anthropological theory of A. van Gennep – *rites de passage*. She sees the represented images of the king as an instrument to demonstrate one of the stages of the *rites de passage* – death is a process of leaving the king and the court and they are therefore included in the chapels to visualise the society from which the owner had to separate himself.¹⁷ A different approach is taken in the newest study by A. David.¹⁸ The author

11 The article will avoid the evaluation and labelling the character of the Amarna religion. ASSMANN, in VANDERSLEYEN (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten*, 305–310, points out that the reliefs in the Amarna tombs could be viewed as evolutionary independent of the religion, and he gives a focus to the materiality of the relief, its technique of sunken relief and its play with light and shadow. The tomb decoration is following the same principles as the big *talatat* scenes, known from the temple, namely the principle of the integration (*Prinzip der szenischen Integration*) which shows more figures in one place. The scenes are framed by the environment, where the story takes place (e.g. palace, temple, or city).

12 The role of the royal couple for the legitimisation of the status of the tomb's owner is discussed by J. ARP, “Echnaton und die rites de passage: Zur Interpretation des Königsmotivs im Privatgrab von Tell el-Amarna”, in: *Imago Aegypti* 2, 2008, 7–17.

13 See E. MEYERS, “Component Design as a Narrative Device in Amarna Tomb Art”, in: *Symposium Papers IV: Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and Middle Ages, Studies in the History of Art* 16, 1985, 35–51, and MEYERS, *A program of political theology*.

14 F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, “Er lebt Re-Harachte der im Lichtland Jubelt”, in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFFMANN/M. BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, München 2003, 118–127.

15 MEYERS, *Studies in the History of Art* 16.

16 MEYERS, *A program of political theology*, 212.

17 ARP, *Imago Aegypti* 2, 7–17.

18 DAVID, *Renewing Royal Imagery*.

is using the iconographical methodology based on the seminal work of Erwin Panofsky, nevertheless, her conclusions are similar to Meyer's. Accordingly, the royal couple is understood to represent the sun, the decoration of non-royal Amarna tombs should therefore encode the new religion. This interpretation has its shortcomings, namely, it does not reflect the similarity of elements (not their form) between the Amarna tombs and those at the Theban necropolis.

The following remarks will discuss to which extent the decorative program of the elite tombs in Amarna is derived from or opposed to the previous Eighteenth Dynasty models. It will focus on the adaptation of earlier images, which were transferred to the new context of Amarna private tombs, using a selection of four chapels. However, since the decorative program of non-royal tombs deserve more in-depth studies, this article can only be regarded as a preliminary study. An analysis of the themes and motifs from the previous period as applied in the decoration of a complete corpus of the Amarna tombs would need a more extensive study.

1.2 ADAPTATION, REPRODUCTION, IMITATION, AND INNOVATION

An adaptation of themes and motifs as part of private tomb chapels is in general connected with the rather complex processes of image transmission within the wider context of the strong canonical tradition of ancient Egyptian art.¹⁹ Naturally, the process of reproduction or even copying begins with the selection of a motif. Its precise choice can be motivated by several reasons. Funerary and offering scenes in particular are crucial for the functioning of the tomb and it seems obvious that these respective standard images were used in almost any tomb.

A. Den Doncker²⁰ has pointed out that the desire to be connected with another person of a certain status played a massive role in the motivations regarding the linking of images by means of tomb decoration. He has studied the social network connections in several prominent Theban tombs displaying the very same motifs, usually with some minor alterations.²¹ The social network – actual or desired links between dignitaries – was transformed into a network of tombs linked by shared themes and motifs. Complete scenes were “copied” from older tombs, adapted and transformed, and in some cases expanded, following the wish of the new tomb owner to be associated with a specific social group, for example, the viziers, or to legitimize his status when he used the scenes connected with his superiors. It seems evident that the physical proximity

19 The “reproduction”, copying, and also invention of images has recently been studied by different scholars, see for example: G. PIEKE, “Lost in Transformation: Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change”, in: T. GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 259–304; D. LABOURY, “Tradition and Creativity. Towards a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art”, in: T. GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 229–258; A. DEN DONCKER, “Identifying-copies in the private Theban necropolis. Tradition as reception under the influence of self-fashioning processes”, in: T. GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013, AegLeod 10, Liège 2017, 333–370.

20 DEN DONCKER, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions, 333–370.

21 Egyptian art never produced an exact copy: LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions, 232. On the process see, T. A. BÁCS, “When Ancient Egyptians Copied Egyptian Work”, in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, Oxford 2020, 147–162.

between monuments played its part in this decision-making process;²² nevertheless, there are also numerous examples where themes and motifs could be reused at a distant necropolis in a different location.²³ The system according to which the copies were made is still subject to a wider discussion; it could be only assumed how the scenes travelled from one location to another.²⁴ In the case of Amarna, with a completely new necropolis built from scratch, the problem of the image transmission may be indeed a very special case, since unlike in Thebes or Saqqara, not many “role models” were at hand. On the contrary, the very first tombs on site had to invent new standards for their later neighbours. However, their new decorative schemes could not be entirely new, traditions must have had roots somewhere else. It is highly likely that artists travelled to Amarna with the court from Thebes²⁵ – there is a lack of sources – nevertheless, it would make sense from a practical point of view, and mobility of artists is otherwise attested.²⁶

The first question is, were there scenes from the Theban necropolis directly adapted in Amarna? Was there the same pattern, meaning the whole scene or scene sequence was transferred? If so, what cultural function are we looking at? Was there a change of meaning? Does the standard set of scenes, as are known from Thebes, remain the same, therefore the commemorative function of the tomb persists in a largely similar model? Regarding the transfer of motifs, was the motivation for adapting scenes from one tomb to another to be associated with a particular person or monument at Thebes? The situation around the Amarna tombs’ decoration is complicated by the narrative of the revolutionary era. Could this fact have influenced our current view on this issue? If there were traditional scenes used as models for the decoration of the Amarna tombs, can we still speak about a “revolutionary” decoration, with the new agency wishing to reflect the new religious doctrine? Or is this a complex case of adaptation and continuity?

II. AMARNA TOMBS

Like in the case of the Theban tombs, Amarna tombs are designated in modern Egyptological parlance by a code, namely AT (Amarna Tomb) and numerals. The Northern necropolis consists of 18 non-royal monuments, while the Southern one has 27 tombs.²⁷ Remarkably, none of the tombs were fully finished, only the chapel of the overseer of the royal apartments of

22 See DEN DONKER, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions, 335.

23 G. PIEKE, “Der Blick zurück nach vorn” – Anmerkungen zur Grabdekoration des Mes in Saqqara”, in: H. FRANZMEIER/TH. REHREN/R. SCHULZ (eds.), *Mit archäologischen Schichten Geschichte schreiben, Festschrift für Edgar B. Pusch zum 70. Geburtstag*, Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt 10, Hildesheim 2016, 220–244; G. PIEKE, “Playing with Traditions – The Tomb Decoration of Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha reconsidered”, in: P. JÁNOSI/L. HUĐÁKOVÁ/A. KAHLBACHER (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London 2016, 95–115; LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions, 229–258.

24 See, BÁCS, in DAVIES/LABOURY (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy*, 147–162, with bibliography.

25 As is shown in the study of J. ROMER, “Who made the Private Tombs in Thebes?”, in: B. BRYAN/D. LORTON (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio 1994, 217–218.

26 See for the example of El-Kab: LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive, 241.

27 J. ARP-NEUMANN, “Amarna: Private and Royal Tombs”, in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2020, 3–4.

queen Tyi, Huya (AT 1), coming close.²⁸ Only three tombs, namely the one of Huya (AT 1), Any (AT 23) and Panehsy (AT 6) have remains of the decoration in the innermost chapel, namely the so-called shrine (see Table I). In addition, the decoration of the main hall (transversal hall) was often far from finished.

According to the study of Norman de Garis Davies, the Southern necropolis is older than the Northern one.²⁹ His observation was based mainly on the occurrence of the different numbers of the royal daughters, which could be problematic; however, he also used the position of the tombs, its ground plan and also evidence of how the name of the god Aten is written. He also proposes a typology of the architecture of the elite tombs of Amarna:

A) Small tombs with a narrow transversal chamber (T-shaped),

B) The tomb with transversal chamber situated at the end of the long corridor,

C) The tomb with the spacious hall with numerous columns. This type of tomb evolved into the typical shape of the Amarna tomb, where the columns were reduced down to the number of two or four.

The main offering place in the tombs was, as in the case of the Theban tombs but also other pre-Amarna cemeteries, in the rear part of the chapel. The main focus was a niche with a large sitting statue of the tomb's owner – the recipient of the cult-offerings.³⁰

In general, it can be stated that the architecture of the Amarna tombs is very much based on Theban solutions,³¹ not only in the case of the typical T-shaped tombs but also of the larger chapels with a transverse hall in the form of a hypostyle hall.³² Individual elements of the tomb are also the same as the Theban tomb, namely the entrance façade, a hall followed by a passage with the shrine, or directly by a shrine, sometimes reduced to a niche (see Table I). Even though the ground plans are undoubtedly influenced by the previous period, they evolved into innovative shapes, which do not fall into the exact typology used in the Theban area created by F. Kampp.³³ With four exceptions: namely the tombs of Parennefer (AT 7) and Mahu (AT 9), which could be associated with the type Va, the tomb of Tutu (AT 8), which could belong to type VIIa, and the tomb of Any (AT 23), which resembles type IIIa. However, none of these tombs were finished, therefore the final ground plan could have looked differently.

Concerning the tomb owner, if we take into account all the Amarna tombs, which were finished up until the stage of having included at least the name and titles of the owner, we

28 ARP-NEUMANN, in WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 5.

29 For a longer discussion see DAVIES, *El Amarna II*, 6–7.

30 B. KEMP, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Amarna and its People*, London 2012, 274.

31 D. ARNOLD, “Parennefer, tomb of”, in: D. ARNOLD, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, London 2003, 171, designates the Theban tomb of Parennefer (TT 188) as a precursor of the Amarna tombs.

32 As for example the tomb of vizier Ramose (TT 55): PM I.1², 105–111. In general, on the chapel types in Thebes see F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben XIII, Mainz 1996; for the large column halls in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs: D. EIGNER, “Das thebanische Grab des Amenhotep, Wesir von Unterägypten: die Architektur”, in: MDAIK 39, 1983, 39–50.

33 KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, figs. 1, 13.

can observe that the biggest number (10)³⁴ of the owners were court officials, stewards, and overseers of the royal apartments. They are followed by officials with priestly titles (5)³⁵, and law enforcement (2).³⁶ The remaining tombs were owned by people with unique titles, for example Penthu (AT 5) who was “chief physician” (*wr-swnw*)³⁷ and later became vizier.

11.1 TOMB DECORATION SCHEMES

The basic distribution of themes in the elite Theban tombs is our starting point, which will later help us to understand the decorative schemes in the Amarna chapels. Non-royal funerary monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Thebes usually consist of the first hall – often transversal – and a passage leading to the main cult place with the statue of the owner (and wife or other family members) on the rear “ideal western” side.

Each tomb is different in details but roughly summarised, the decoration of the first / transversal hall was substantially connected with the career of the owner, and the rear part (passage, main cult chapel) with funerary scenes. In the transversal hall, next to scenes like for instance the “*Brandopfer*” or the banquet, also the following status-oriented scenes can be found:³⁸

- In tombs of higher officials: Depiction of the king usually in a kiosk – this motif (or icon) implicates the network of the patron and his proximity to the king. In general, it can be said that the depiction of the king in the kiosk contains solar aspects of royal ideology, due to the colours used and the iconography of the king and the kiosk itself.³⁹
- In tombs of select higher dignitaries: Tribute – the occasion of the tribute, where the owner was involved in its administration; an important moment was that the tribute scene took place in front of the king.⁴⁰
- Inspection – scenes connected with the career of the owner, showing him in his prestigious office, supervising the execution of different operations.
- In the context of Amun-cult-related owners: Gifts – presenting the gifts to the temple often during the festival of the New Year, which is less often shown than the previous topics.
- Some high official: Awards – promotions, scenes connected with the “Gold of Honour”.

In the second room, the so-called passage, and/or the main shrine, there are regularly themes connected with the funerary scheme, namely the funerary procession, the opening of the mouth ritual, the deceased in front of an offering table etc.

34 Namely AT 1, AT 2, AT 3, AT 7, AT 8, AT 10, AT 12, AT 13, AT 15, AT 19.

35 Namely AT 4, AT 5, AT 6, AT 23, AT 25.

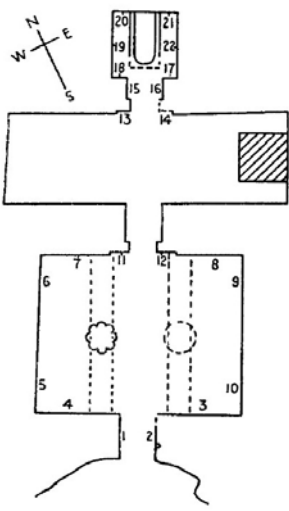
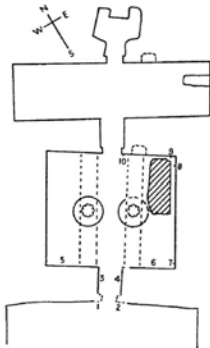
36 Namely AT 9, AT 11, into this category also belongs the tomb of Maya AT 14, which could be fitted into all three categories.

37 For the title see, A. R. AL-AYEDİ, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia 2006, 271, no. 857.

38 For more information and bibliography see: B. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, ADAIK 15, 1999; HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity*; for a general overview of the decoration of Theban tombs see the still valuable article of M. WEGNER, “*Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber*”, in: MDAIK 4, 1933, 38–164.

39 HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 54–72.

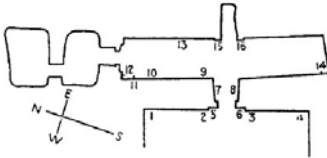
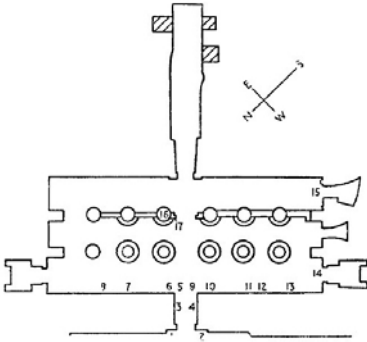
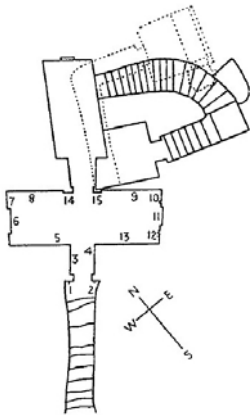
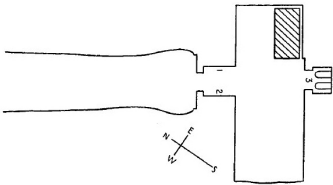
40 HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 73–75.

Code	Owner	Ground plan
AT 1	Huya	 The ground plan of Huya tomb is a symmetrical structure. At the top is a small rectangular area divided into sections numbered 17 through 22. Below this is a larger rectangular area (13, 14) with a hatched section on the right. The central part consists of two large rectangular rooms (5, 6 on the left; 3, 4 on the right) separated by a central corridor (1, 2). Each room contains a circular feature. The bottom of the plan shows a small rectangular area (7, 8) with a hatched section on the right. A compass rose indicates North (N), South (S), East (E), and West (W).
AT 2	Meryra II	 The ground plan of Meryra II tomb is a symmetrical structure. At the top is a small rectangular area divided into sections numbered 1 through 4. Below this is a larger rectangular area (5, 6) with a hatched section on the right. The central part consists of two large rectangular rooms (7, 8 on the left; 9, 10 on the right) separated by a central corridor (1, 2). Each room contains a circular feature. The bottom of the plan shows a small rectangular area (3, 4) with a hatched section on the right. A compass rose indicates North (N), South (S), East (E), and West (W).

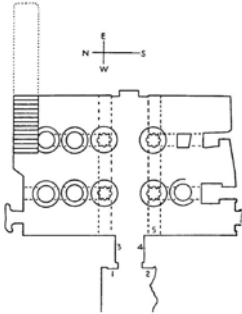
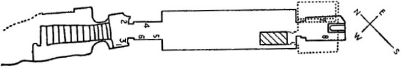
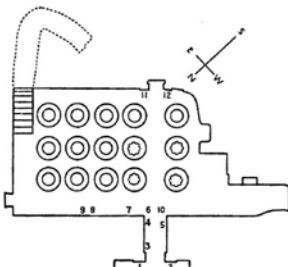
Scenes	Titles of the owner	Shrine
praising with the solar hymn royal banquet harvest batteling women/kids during harvest flowers and hyena hunt trees and baskets musicians with strange cups and harp royal banquet - drinking plowing tree with hoopoe royal visit to the temple fishing washing fowling marches king on the sedan tribute bearers bringing foreigners bringing of tribute rewarding with the gold of honour pottery workshop sculpture workshop mourning in front of the coffin mourners funeral procession burial furniture	<i>jmy-r3 jp.t nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr.wj-ḥd</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr n ḥm.t-nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr m pr mw.t nsw ḥm.t wr.t nsw tjy</i> <i>ḥsy n wꜥ-n-rꜥ</i>	decorated
praising with the solar hymn royal banquet rewarding with the gold of honour bringing foreigners bringing of tribute	<i>jmy-r3 jp.t nsw</i> <i>zš nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr-ḥd</i> <i>jmy-r3 jp.t nsw n ḥm.t nsw wr.t Nfr-tjt.j ʿnh(.t) d.t nhḥ</i>	only started, hints of intended statue

Code	Owner	Ground plan
AT 3	Ahmosé	
AT 4	Meryra I	
AT 5	Penthu	
AT 6	Panehsy	

Scenes	Titles of the owner	Shrine
praising with the solar hymn temple of Aten military escort royal couple on the chariot royal palace royal banquet	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr n pr 3h.t n jtn</i>	not finished, without decoration statue of owner with basin in front of it
rewarding with the gold of honour royal visit to the temple priests with decorated oxes musicians military escort royal couple on the chariot palace blind choir royal family offering royal fleet granaries garden praising with the solar hymn	<i>wr m3.w n p3 jtn m 3h.t-jtn</i> <i>hsy n w^c-n-r^c</i> <i>htm.tj-bjtj</i>	not finished without decoration block where the statue was to stand
praising with the solar hymn royal visit of the temple rewarding with the gold of honour royal banquet	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>wr snw</i>	not finished, block for statue
praising with the solar hymn royal family offering rewarding with the gold of honour military escort palace royal couple on the chariot temple owner and family in front of the offering table	<i>b3k tpy n jtn m pr jtn m 3h.t-jtn</i>	originally had a statue - removed decorated

Code	Owner	Ground plan
AT 7	Parennefer	
AT 8	Tutu	
AT 9	Mahu	
AT 10	Ipy	
AT 11	Ramose	
AT 12	Nakhtpaaten	tomb was never finished
AT 13	Neferkheperuhesheper	tomb was never finished

Scenes	Titles of the owner	Shrine
praising with the solar hymn rewarding with the gold of honour bringing wine and its registration storages owner in front of the king in kiosk bringing offering to the king	<i>ḥmw.t nsw</i>	not finished
praising with the solar hymn royal family offering royal couple receiving official in the palace priests with decorated oxes bringing offerings musicians rewarding with the gold of honour scenes from palace congratulations by friends	<i>jmy ḥn.t</i> <i>b3k tp n nfr-ḥpr:w-r^c w^c-n-r^c m pr jtn m 3ḥ.t-jtn</i> <i>jmy-r3 wd.wt nb.t n nb t3.wj</i> <i>jmy-r3 k3.wt nb.t n ḥm=f</i> <i>jmy-r3 ḥd nbw n nb t3.wj</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr-ḥd [n] p3 jtn m pr jtn m [pr] jtn</i>	not finished
royal family offering stela - royal couple offering, owner praising sun owner in crowd in front of the palace owner visits temple groups of the army in front of the temple royal couple on the chariot royal chariot passing sentries false door - royal family, owner praising scenes from storages owner bringing prisoners to vizier	<i>ḥry md3y n 3ḥ.t-jtn</i>	not finished
royal family offering	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr</i>	not finished
royal family offering praising with the solar hymn	<i>jmy-r3 mš^c n nb-t3.wj</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr n nb-m3^c.t-r^c</i>	not finished
	<i>Ḃty</i>	not finished
	<i>ḥ3ty n 3ḥ.t-jtn</i>	not finished

Code	Owner	Ground plan
AT 14	May	
AT 15	Suti	tomb was never finished
AT 19	Setau	tomb was never finished
AT 23	Any	
AT 24	Paatenemheb	tomb was never finished
AT 25	Aye	

The decorative themes of the Amarna tombs are summarized in Table I, where new themes not used in the Theban tombs are marked in bold. This implies that new scenes are associated with depictions of the royal family, such as the royal family travelling in a chariot. The rest of the scenes can be characterized as scenes related to the office of the owner, scenes used to demonstrate the high status of the patron,⁴¹ funeral scenes, etc. A deeper analysis is made on four tombs, namely Huya (AT 1), Meryra (AT 4), Any, (AT 23) and Mahu (AT 9). These tombs were selected according to the titles of their owner. Each of the owners came from a different area of Egyptian society. Specifically, Huya was a courtier, serving directly in the court of the ruler. Meryra was a high priest, Mahu a policeman and Any a royal scribe. Another reason for the selection of the abovementioned tombs was the state of preservation of the tomb; the

⁴¹ E. HOFFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber. Theben XVII*, Mainz 2004, 12.

Scenes	Titles of the owner	Shrine
royal family offering workshop with shipbuilding officials in front of the king	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 k3.w nb.t nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr-jtn šhtp</i> <i>jmy-r3 mšꜥ nb-t3.wj</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr wꜥ-n-rꜥ m jwnw</i>	not finished
	<i>Ḃw sryt n p3 s3 n nfr-ḥpr.w-rꜥ wꜥ-n-rꜥ</i>	not finished
praising with the solar hymn	<i>jmy-r3 pr-ḥd n nb-t3.wj</i>	
owner in front of the offering table owner with wife being purified praising with the solar hymn	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr</i> <i>sš wdḥw n nb-t3.wj</i>	decorated statue of owner
	<i>jmy-r3 k3.t n nb-t3.wj</i> <i>jmy-r3 pr n nb t3.wj</i> <i>zš nsw</i>	not finished
royal family offering palace rewarding with the gold of honour congratulations by friends	<i>zš nsw</i> <i>jt ntr</i> <i>jmy-r3 ssmw nb n ḥm=f</i>	not finished

intention was to present as much informative material as possible. Therefore, in addition to the three tombs that can be perceived as models for a specific area of the administration, the tomb of Any was added, which has a decorated chapel.

II.1.1 A COURT OFFICIAL – THE TOMB OF HUYA

As was already mentioned, the tomb of Huya is the closest to a finished monument in the Amarna necropolis. The monument consists of two halls and a shrine with the statue of the owner at the rear side.

The titles of the owner are mentioned in many places in the tomb, Huya was the “overseer of royal household” (*jmy-r3 jp.t nsw*), “steward” (*jmy-r3 pr*) and “overseer of the house(hold) of the great royal wife Tiye” (*jmy-r3 pr n ḥm.t nsw wr.t tjy*).⁴² The decoration of his tomb starts

⁴² DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate III.

with the entrance passage, which has solar hymns on both sides.⁴³ Apart from the text praising the sun,⁴⁴ the entrance walls also hold a depiction of Huya making the traditional gesture of adoration, oriented to the outside of the tomb, to the sunlight to whom this official is paying homage.

The decoration of the first hall is reserved for the depiction of the royal family. Their intimate appearance is shown on the south wall in two banqueting scenes.⁴⁵ The east part of the south wall is depicting a royal banquet.⁴⁶ Under the rays of the god Aten, three generations of the royal family are eating. The whole scene can be divided into two halves. On the left, the ruling king Akhnaten followed by his wife and two daughters are shown. On the opposite side, facing her son, the widowed queen Tiye is sitting with her youngest daughter Baketaten. The banqueting scene includes also two small scale representations of officials who are in charge of the food depicted between two groups of the royal family. On the left, probably serving to the ruling royal couple, an official with a stick is depicted; he is not marked by a name, or title. This man gives fish to the tomb owner Huya, who is in charge of queen-widow Tiye's household. Huya, dressed in a long and elaborate garment, is marked by both his title and his name, however, the inscriptions containing the titles are damaged. The depiction of the royal banquet is not attested in the Theban tombs. Nevertheless, this scene is connected with Huya's obligations at the royal court. The presence of this scene could be explained as a display of the owner's assignments linked with his office, as well as a manifestation of the owner's high status, which gave him the right to be in the presence of the royal family, even in a more private sphere. The image of the royal banquet is completed with adjoining images, indicating background activities,⁴⁷ respectively servant duties in rooms where the food is prepared, stored, and where musicians and female fan bearers are shown. Below, there are scenes with different themes, depicting the daily life, such as works in orchards and a harvest. Davies considered this part of the wall decoration as an irrelevant appendix. The scenes, although they are made in smaller scale, nevertheless have importance in the wall's decoration.⁴⁸ The view into the backstage of the royal banquet is again directly connected to Huya's career.



FIGURE 1 The hyena from the tomb of Huya (after DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate V).

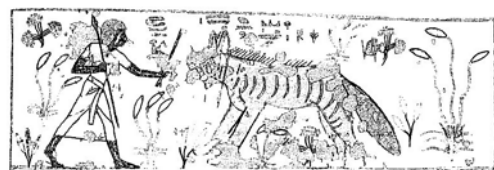


FIGURE 2 Amenemheb and a hyena (after GUKSCH, in GUKSCH/HOFFMANN/BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, 104, Abb. 1).

-
- 43 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plates II–III; solar contexts are also well attested in the courtyard and the doorway for Theban tombs of the pre-Amarna period.
- 44 For the translation see, DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, 17–18.
- 45 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plates IV, VI; PM IV, 211 (3) and (4).
- 46 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate IV; PM IV, 211 (3).
- 47 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate V; PM IV, 211 (3).
- 48 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate V; PM IV, 211 (3).



FIGURE 3 Fighting women (after DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate V).

The lowest part of the wall, partly damaged, with rural scenes is interesting from another point of view. The first image portrays a tree with baskets, followed by the depiction of the hyena hunt.⁴⁹ (Figure 1) This has a parallel in a scene from the tomb of Amenemhab (TT 85)⁵⁰ dating back to the reign of Thutmose III.⁵¹ (Figure 2) There are only minor alterations between both depictions, namely in the tomb of Amenemhab where the hyena is facing the tomb owner. In the tomb of Huya, the animal is depicted running in front of the unnamed hunter (compare Figures 1 and 2). The motif of the hyena hunt is extremely unusual and rare. Its presence in the tomb of Amenemhab is connected with the campaigns of Thutmose III in the Syro-Palestine region, in which the owner participated and the representation is connected to a particular biographical episode. Its appearance in the tomb of Huya can be seen as a direct copy from this particular tomb in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. This piece of evidence begs further enquiries: firstly, how was this scene transferred to the newly built necropolis? It could be speculated that the artists from Thebes were travelling with the court into the new location. These artists knew the general decoration and also non-canonical motifs of the Theban tombs and reinterpreted this particular scene into the tomb of Huya. In fact, the hyena motif was not the only image from this specific register that has its prototype in a Theban tomb. The scene continues with harvest images. One scene portrays a woman bending over with a basket in her hand collecting the ears of corn. A depiction of a woman in this position is also present in several pre-Amarna tombs outside the town.⁵² The next image shows the depiction of two women/girls fighting (Figure 3), which is visually very close to a similar scene in the tomb of Menna (TT 69).⁵³ In Huya's tomb the women's posture is slightly adjusted, in that they are bending over, not kneeling as in Menna's tomb. This image of the two fighting women in the agriculture scene in TT 69 is a unique one, therefore it is highly possible that Huya's version is a direct reference to Menna's tomb. Unfortunately, the rest of the scene is widely damaged. But it can be concluded that this agricultural part of the decoration was created by reinterpreting images from different tombs most probably located at Thebes. Moreover, there seems to be

49 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate V; PM IV, 211 (3).

50 PM I, 1², 173 (18).

51 For a closer study of this motive, see H. GUKSCH, "Amenemhab und die Hyäne. Norm und Individualität in der Grabdekoration der 18. Dynastie", in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFFMANN/M. BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, München 2003, 104–115.

52 LABOURY, in GILLEN (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions, especially 243–247, with more literature.

53 PM I, 1², 134 (2). The scene is located on the third register of the agriculture scene, M. HARTWIG (ed.), *The tomb chapel of Menna (TT 69). The art, culture, and science of painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, Cairo/New York 2013, 26–27.

a special interest in images that are rather unique or rare even for the Theban area.⁵⁴ Was this uniqueness the main motivation for selecting these particular motives?

The west part of the south wall⁵⁵ is decorated similarly; this time the royal family is drinking, not eating.⁵⁶ In addition, this royal event likely took place in the evening since the solar disc is absent in the scene.⁵⁷ The ruling royal couple together with their two daughters is depicted on the right side of the wall, queen Tiye with princess Baketaten on the left. Three officials are again represented between these two royal groups. Only one is labelled by name and title, namely the tomb patron, Huya. This time, he is depicted facing king Akhnaten and standing behind a man bringing a container with some liquid to the ruler. Huya is functioning here as the “overseer of the house(hold) of the great royal wife [Tiye]” (*jmy-r3 pr n hm.t nsw wr.t [tjy]*).

Like the previously discussed wall scene, also this one is supplemented by the depiction of two groups of musicians, female fan bearers, and according to the iconography also by three wet-nurses with one located on the left (for princess Baketaten), and two on the right for Akhnaten’s daughters.⁵⁸ The lowest part of the wall is again reserved for daily life scenes, among others ploughing, as a standard motif in pre-Amarna tombs at Thebes.

To sum up, the south wall as a unit focuses on the royal family during important activities, like eating and drinking. Within these representations of the “private” life of the king, queen, and queen dowager Tiye, the owner of the tomb, Huya, played a key role and acts as the only non-royal person who is specified by name and title. The placement of the individual figures is coherent. Queen Tiye is always closer to the entrance facing into the tomb, king Akhenaten is always farther from the entrance facing out from the tomb. Huya, despite being always depicted in the part that is reserved for queen’s Tiye household, is facing Akhenaten, i.e. in the same direction that Tiye is looking.

The long walls (i.e. west and east) show the appearance of the royal family during public occasions, where the king strived to manifest his power and wealth also by presenting his entire household. On the east wall, the event is the pharaoh’s visit to the Aten temple together with queen Tiye.⁵⁹ She is guided there by her son, king Akhnaten, and followed by their household(s).⁶⁰ In front of the king, two of his officials are standing in the doors of the temple in a bowing position. The first of them is anonymous, the second one, depicted closer to the king, is labelled as the “overseer of royal household” (*jmy-r3 jp.t nsw*), “overseer of the treasury” (*jmy-r3 pr-ḥd*), and “overseer of the house(hold) of the great royal wife Tiye” (*jmy-r3 pr n hm.t nsw wr.t tjy*), Huya.

54 For a tendency to refer to the unique in uncanonical images, see PIEKE, in GILLEN (ed), (Re)productive Traditions, 278–281.

55 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate VI; PM IV, 211 (4).

56 Compare with the contribution of Nico Staring in this volume.

57 DAVIES, El Amarna III, 7.

58 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate VII; PM IV, 211 (4).

59 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate VIII; PM IV, 212 (9) – (10).

60 For more information on this motive see, D. BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ, “*Jmy-r3 jp.t nsw* at the end of the 18th dynasty: An iconographical study”, in: M. ARRANZ CÁRCAMO et al., Current Research in Egyptology 2019. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 19–21 June 2019, Oxford 2021, 130–141.

Underneath the main theme of this wall are two more registers with minor scenes.⁶¹ The upper one, even though damaged, depicts Huya on different occasions. As far as is possible to tell from the fragments, Huya is depicted here five times. The text is also largely damaged, nevertheless, one phrase which is repeated several times is: “appointing the overseer of the royal household” (*dhn jmy-r3 jp.t nsw*). Huya is always represented first, and is followed by a group of men with and without fans. The lowest register depicts hunting and fishing scenes in marches, yet again a standard theme of the pre-Amarna tombs.⁶²

The opposite (west) wall represents one of the most important events of Akhnaten’s reign, the acceptance of great tributes from foreign lands in the 12th regnal year.⁶³ This date is also written in front of the depiction of the royal couple, who are carried in a palanquin decorated with a lion.⁶⁴ The household, with two princesses, their wet-nurses, and female fan-bearers follow the royal couple. Hence, the king is again accompanied by his household. Foreign tributes including captives are shown over seven registers. None of the officials or foreign enemies is labelled by their name or their title.

Under the main scene a lower register is situated, portraying three rows of bowing men.⁶⁵ Some of them are military officers identifiable thanks to the staff that they are holding in their hands, some of them belong to *shasu* bedouins.⁶⁶ The identity of these men is again not articulated, with the exception of the tomb owner, marked as “praised by the Lord of Both Lands, overseer of the royal household, overseer of the treasury, overseer of the house(hold) of the mother of the king, the great royal wife [Tiye]” (*hsy n nb-t3wy jmy-r3 jp.t nsw jmy r3 pr-ḥd jmy.r3 m pr mw.t hm.t nsw wr.t nsw [tjy]*).

To sum up, the long west and east walls of the pillared hall contain two public events, where the king demonstrated his status. In both of them, Huya, the patron, is the only specifically mentioned non-royal person, even though his interaction with the royal couple here is not as close as on the south wall.

The decoration of the north wall of the pillared hall deals with the career of Huya. As other motifs in the Amarna tomb decoration, even this image is manifested through the relation of the official with the royal couple. Therefore, on both parts of the north wall, the official is represented in front of the Window of Appearance where he interacts with the king and queen. The west part of the north wall⁶⁷ is probably showing the rewarding of the tomb owner by the royal couple, who are standing in the Window of Appearance. Unfortunately, the scene is partly damaged, therefore it cannot be recognized what (if anything at all) the royal couple gives to Huya, who is depicted underneath the Window of Appearance. The scene itself has the same characteristics as other images of the royal couple. They are followed by their two daughters with two wet-nurses shown in a separate sub-register. The royal household is de-

61 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate VIII.

62 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate VIII.

63 This topic is widely discussed in M. FITZENREITER, “Das Jahr 12 des Echnaton: Ereignisüberlieferung zwischen medialer Inszenierung und sepulkraler Selbstthematisierung”, in: M. FITZENREITER (ed.), *Das Ereignis: Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*, Workshop vom 03. 10. bis 05. 10. 08, IBAES X, London 2009, 61–80.

64 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plates XIII–XV; PM IV, 211 (5) – (6).

65 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate XV; PM IV, 211 (5) – (6).

66 DAVIES, El Amarna III, 9.

67 DAVIES, El Amarna III, plate XVI; PM IV, 212 (7).

picted under the Window of Appearance, probably due to the limited amount of space. The owner of the tomb, Huya, is standing in front of the Window of Appearance with his arms raised in jubilation. The image continues with two rows of officials in a bowing position. On this wall, the main scene is also complemented with a secondary one, which is – as before – executed on a much smaller scale. It is the depiction of an inner area, probably in the palace, where different commodities, such as ritual staffs, metals ingots, and amphorae, were stored. A group of officials, who are busy weighing and writing down values, is located in the centre. The part that could have provided the answer to the question of what was being weighed is damaged too. The opposite part of the north wall (i.e., the east side) of the first hall has a very similar structure.⁶⁸ This time the objects with which the tomb's owner is rewarded are visible, namely the broad collars (*wsh*). The royal couple is again followed by daughters and wet-nurses. From another side (i.e. left) Huya is approaching the area under the Window of Appearance and making an adoration gesture. Behind him, two rows of officials in a bowing position follow him. In front of Huya is a pile of objects, consisting of bowls, golden ingots and folded linen, and probably other objects which were gifted to him by the king.⁶⁹ Another row of bowing officials is situated under the Window of Appearance. These figures probably also belonged to the royal household and are depicted in a separate register due to a lack of space (the north wall is the short wall).

Concerning the texts, the royal couple and this time also the princesses are labelled by titles and names. A long text probably concerning the king is again situated above Huya's head, but it is damaged. Below the main scene, a view to the backstage is presented once more. It could be argued that it is again a depiction of Huya at his office. He is shown here on a larger scale, followed by two men, the first of them with the scribal palette, overseeing different workshops. On the left side, the production of pottery, jewellery and furniture is shown. On the right side, behind Huya's back, one can see sculptor Iuty's workshop,⁷⁰ as well as a wood workshop where columns and more furniture were manufactured.

The motive of workshop is not a new theme in the decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. Similar activities of carpenters are for instance also depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100).⁷¹ The carpenters are, as in the case of the tomb of Huya, shown sitting on the low stool in a slightly bend position. An image similar to the one in Huya's chapel can be found in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181),⁷² where the same type of stool and kilt is represented. At least in the case of the carpenters it is obvious that the artist was influenced by the depiction of the same type of scene in the Theban area, namely in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky, or maybe indirectly in the tomb of Rekhmire.

To conclude, it can be stated that the north wall of the first hall is thematically more oriented towards daily work and the celebration of the tomb owner than the rest of the walls of

68 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XVII; PM IV, 212 (8).

69 For more information about the "Gold of Honour" and the whole ceremony, see S. BINDER, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 8, Oxford 2008, especially 78–93.

70 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XVIII.

71 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes II*. New York, 1943, plate LII; PM I, 1², 211 (14).

72 N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of two sculptors at Thebes*, PMMA EE 4, New York 1925, plate XI; PM I, 1², 288 (6).

this room. Both of the main scenes show the moment of the owner's triumph when he was rewarded by the royal couple for his services. Smaller scenes under the Window of Appearance focused on the duties of the Huya himself. If we can identify the large scale figure from the west side of the wall as Huya, then it can be stated that he was overseeing the weighing (or in other words inspecting) the goods probably in the royal magazines. On the east wall, the inscription that accompanies the protagonist is still preserved, therefore there is no doubt that it is Huya, who is inspecting royal workshops and who also assigns the workmen their tasks.⁷³

One last feature should be mentioned from the north wall of the first hall, namely the lintel over the doors, depicting the two royal families.⁷⁴ On the left side, the ruling royal couple sits together with four princesses facing them while holding fans. On the right side is the family of king Amenhotep III sitting on the throne facing queen Tiye with princess Baketaten. Behind the queen's back, three female fan-bearers are shown.

Following the pillared hall, the second hall was left without any decoration. On the east side of this chamber, the entrance to the burial chamber is situated.⁷⁵ The last room – the shrine – is located on the rear (north) side of the tomb. The door⁷⁶ leading there from the second hall is inscribed with short prayers for the ruling family. The praising figure, the tomb owner Huya, is identified by an inscription.

The short passage into the shrine is again decorated on both sides by the parallel depiction of the tomb owner.⁷⁷ The accompanying text consists of offering formulae for the deceased. The text on the west side is substantially damaged. The space of the shrine is reserved for the larger-than-life seated statue of the tomb owner,⁷⁸ positioned on a dais reachable by stairs. The statue is facing towards the entrance to the tomb, and it was the main place for commemorating the tomb owner and his funerary cult. On the shrine's sides, the burial furniture can be seen over four registers,⁷⁹ consisting of a chariot, different kinds of boxes, pottery, bed, containers for oils, chairs with sandals, a canopic box and stools.⁸⁰ These objects are not the only images connected with the funeral, but the walls of the shrine also contain funeral and family scenes. Two female members of the family are shown on the south wall of the shrine.⁸¹ On the east side of the south wall of the shrine, the kneeling female figure, who holds her arms in a gesture of adoration, is identified as "his sister lady of the [house] Wennakht" (*sn.t=f nb[.t pr] wn-nht*). On the west side of the same wall, a lady with the same iconographical features in the same transparent robes is shown. She is labelled as "his [wife] lady of the [house] Tuye" (*[hm].t=f nb.t [pr] twy*). These are the only pieces of information that we have

73 As was already pointed out in DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, 14.

74 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plates XVIII; PM IV, 212 (8).

75 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, 2.

76 DAVIES, *El Amarna III* plate XIX; PM IV, 212 (15) – (16).

77 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XX; PM IV, 212 (15) – (16).

78 KEMP, *The City of Akhenaten*, 251.

79 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XXIV; PM IV, 212 (20) – (21).

80 For funerary items in non-royal tombs of the New Kingdom, see S. WOHLFAHRT, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches: Versuch einer ikonographischen und kompositionellen Bestimmung*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, LMU München 2002.

81 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XXI; PM IV, 212 (17) – (18).

about Huya's family, even though Tuye is also shown as a participant of the funerary rites, which are depicted on the east wall.

The tomb of Huya is the only tomb in Amarna with a depiction of the burial equipment. This could be due to the fact that only a limited number of tombs in Amarna have a decorated shrine, as the majority was never finished. The burial equipment as is shown in the shrine of Huya is based on Theban models.⁸² The main scene of the east wall presents the coffin and/or mummy of Huya⁸³ standing in front of a large pile of offerings that are purified by a *sem*-priest, dressed in a leopard skin and followed by male mourners.⁸⁴ Four mourning women stand behind the deceased; they are divided into two sub-registers. The upper one is more detailed, showing how the long dresses are belted under the breasts. These women are also labelled, the first one is his wife Tuye, but the inscription above the second figure is unreadable. The lower part of the wall depicts a funeral procession, again substantially damaged. The funeral procession continues on the opposite west wall, which is divided into four registers.⁸⁵ It portrays bringing funeral equipment as well as rows of mourners of both genders. As was already mentioned, the shrine was reserved for the cult of the deceased. Therefore, the scenes here immediately recall the very same pattern as known from earlier Theban tombs, with several family members mentioned. Also, the presence of the statue as the main recipient of the offering is based on a traditional Theban funerary custom.

The decoration of the tomb provides information about Huya's office, although it uses the lens of the Amarna art style. The decorative program of the pillared hall illustrates that Huya played an important role in the royal family's life. He was responsible for the operations of the royal household not only by taking care of his king and queen's needs during the banquets but he was also the one who appointed craftsmen into palace workshops and their overseers. On public occasions, he accompanied the royal family and the household.

SUMMARY

The tomb of Huya is the most complete one at the Amarna cemetery. The tomb combines old motives that are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty with new scenes highlighting the owner's relation with the ruler. There are two scenes that represent a new topic in the tomb's decoration, namely the depiction of the royal family during the dinner and royal banquet. Both of these scenes can be connected with the office of the patron, as it was his responsibility to be present during these occasions. Therefore, it can be stated that they are included in the decoration of the hall because they displayed the important responsibilities of Huya. These scenes also emphasize that the patron was present in the vicinity of the royal family. The image of the king, as in the case of the Theban tombs, serves to exhibit the high status of the owner.

There are also other scenes showing the royal family. Their presence in the hall can be also connected with the office of the owner, and are related to his high social status and access into the presence of the royal couple. The group of scenes is already known from Theban tombs

82 As is discussed in WOHLFAHRT, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches*, 136–137.

83 It is difficult to say if the scene depicts the mummy or the coffin due to the schematization. Nevertheless, the image has a direct connection to the god Osiris (e.g. the type of beard).

84 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XXII; PM IV, 212 (22).

85 DAVIES, *El Amarna III*, plate XXIII; PM IV, 212 (19).

and their form is influenced by its predecessors in Thebes, in the same manner as the scenes where the patron received the “Gold of Honour” from the hands of the king.

The remaining scenes are likewise known from the previous period, and are present in Theban tombs. The agricultural scenes adapt unusual models from several Theban tombs, such as the scene with hyena from the tomb of Amenemhab, or the scene of women fighting from Menna’s tomb. (Figures 1, 2 and 3) These scenes are not a literal copy of its model, as smaller modifications can be observed. It can be argued that less frequent motives from Theban tombs were deliberately chosen and put together for the tomb of Huya. Overall, the innovation of Huya’s tomb’s decoration is firmly rooted in the Theban area.

Lastly, it is important to mention that the tomb of Huya was chosen as a model tomb for Meryra II (AT 2), situated next to Huya, where the royal banquet scene is also present. The two men shared titles, therefore it can be speculated that the connection between these two tombs is motivated by the same office. Meryra II as a younger official deliberately choose the spot next to Huya, which is a procedure well known from Thebes. The holders of certain titles wanted to be buried near persons of the same office, which led to clusters of tombs of individuals at the same level of the social hierarchy. Using the same motifs in the tomb is again motivated by the desire to create a connection between both men. Meryra II wanted to be associated with Huya, hence he used the same themes.

II.1.2 A PRIEST – THE TOMB OF MERYRA

The tomb of Meryra (AT 4)⁸⁶ belongs to the North group of Amarna tombs.⁸⁷ Meryra was the “royal chancellor” (*htm.tj-bjtj*) and “high priest of Aten” (*wr m3.w n p3 jtn m 3h.t-jtn*), therefore he represents the highest level of priesthood. His tomb was not finished and its shrine was never decorated. The chapel consists of a small antechamber, a large hall, originally with four columns, an inner hall with pillars and the shrine. Only the first two rooms were decorated to some extent.

The tomb’s façade shows the typical motive of the sun disk adoration by the royal family and the tomb’s owner.⁸⁸ At the entrance to the antechamber, the thicknesses on both sides of the entrance continue with this motif, depicting Meryra, who has the shaved head of a priest, shown next to the solar hymn. In the antechamber this motif is repeated, this time Meryra is adoring the king on both sides of the south wall. The entrance to the first pillared hall again shows the tomb owner making a gesture of adoration and reciting the shorter version of the Hymn to Aten. On the opposite side, his wife, Tenro, is likewise portrayed while making a gesture of adoration.⁸⁹

The largest part of the preserved tomb decoration survives in the first columned hall. The scenes depicted in this room are all in one way or another connected with the worship of the solar god Aten. Davies divides them into five themes:

- The investiture of Meryra as the high priest of Aten
- A royal visit to the temple

86 Meryra had also a tomb in Saqqara, discussed by Nico Staring in his contribution to this volume.

87 DAVIES, El Amarna I.

88 DAVIES, El Amarna I, plate XL, 8–9; PM IV, 215 (3) – (4).

89 DAVIES, El Amarna I, 10–14.

- The royal family making offerings to the sun god
- The royal family worshipping in the temple
- Meryra being rewarded by the king.⁹⁰

The decoration of the room can be divided in two parts. The west side shows the royal couple during a public appearance. On the east side, the royal couple is depicted during the offering ceremony in the temple. The first scene of the public event is carved on the south wall, on the west side (left of the axis), and depicts Meryra being decorated by the royal couple with the “Gold of Honour”.⁹¹ The scene is divided into two parts, the main one with the royal couple is larger; below it is a smaller panel showing Meryra together with his household and friends. The royal family is in the centre, in the Window of Appearance under the rays of the solar god Aten, reaching down to a group of the officials. The space in front of the Window of Appearance is shown in three registers. The upper register displays the palace staff: a group of fan-bearers and police or personal security of the royal family with canes in their hands. The middle register presents the administration of the event, showing a group of scribes, while the lower one finally shows Meryra with his household. He is depicted in front of the king twice. First, Meryra is in front of the group of people closest to the king. He is kneeling with his arms in the adoration gesture, and with a shaved head, like a priest. The second one is a representation of events set after the ceremony, when he is carried on the shoulders of his friends and household, with several golden collars around his neck. The plot then shifts to the celebration with his household and friends. The scene is damaged, but parts representing a chariot, and a procession with musicians and fan-bearers are still visible.

The west wall and the west part of the north wall form one continuous scene, namely the royal visit to the Sun temple.⁹² (Figure 4) In the centre of the west wall, the king and queen, in two chariots under the rays of the Aten, are at the centre of attention. However, the whole representation starts in the upper left corner with a small schematic representation of the royal palace; the starting point for the journey to the temple. Under the image of the palace are four registers connected with the royal procession. Two registers of princesses and ladies in waiting on their chariots are bordered above and below by corps of policemen running alongside the chariots. Four registers of the security guards are also depicted in front of the chariot of the king. Under the whole scene is one smaller register, again showing law enforcement agents with courtiers in chariots. The last part of this scene is situated already on the north wall (west half). The rear side is reserved for the depiction of the Aten temple. In front of the temple are five registers with people welcoming the royal family. The first upper two registers show two groups of female musicians accompanied by guards. The third one displays fan-bearers and priests with divine cattle. The fourth register depicts one priest, probably Meryra⁹³ as the high priest of this cult, in front of a group of other priests welcoming the royal family, while another register shows a different group of priests. At the bottom is yet another register positioned; it reaches as far as the depiction of the temple, showing a procession of priests with divine cattle.

⁹⁰ DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, 20.

⁹¹ DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, plate VI; PM IV, 215 (19).

⁹² DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, plate X; PM IV, 215 (20) – (21).

⁹³ For this identification: DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, 29. In front of this figure is a short inscription, with the part where the name would be damaged.

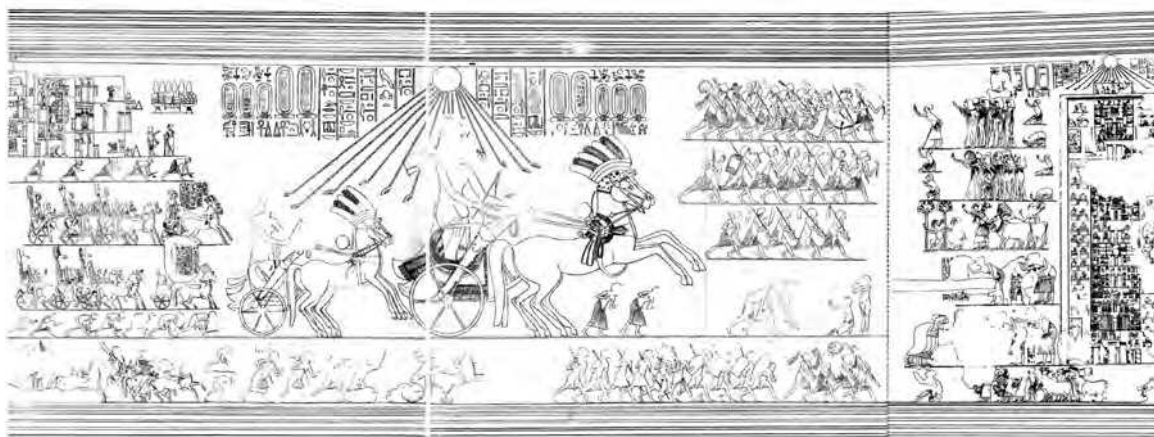


FIGURE 4 A royal visit to the temple (after DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, plate X).

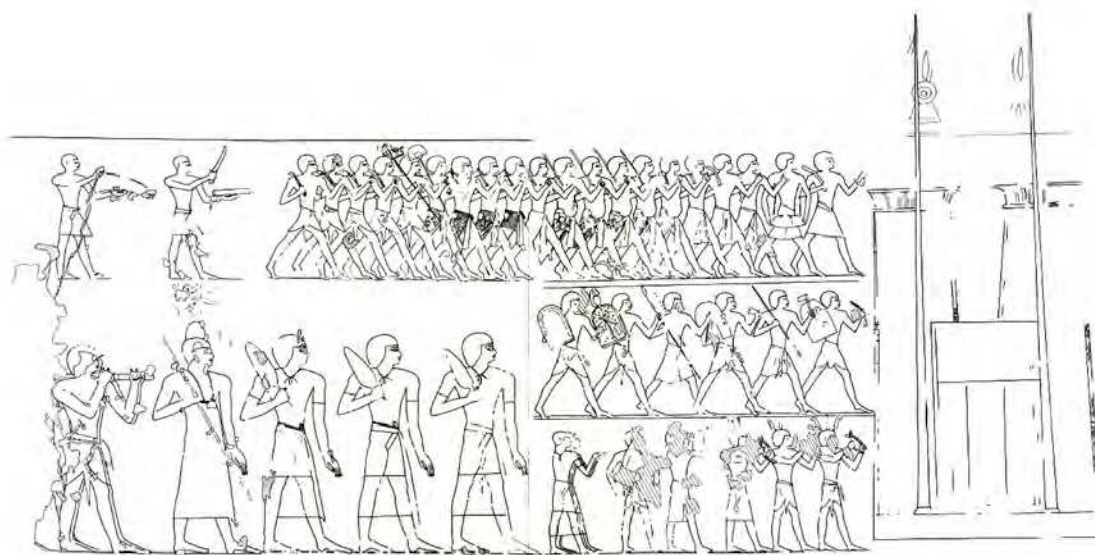


FIGURE 5 A royal visit to the temple from the tomb of Useramun (after DZIOBEK, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 83).

The motive of the royal visit to the temple is not an Amarna period invention. Similar imagery is known already from the tomb of Useramun (TT 131),⁹⁴ dated to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. (Figure 5) Also in the Theban example, the king, in this case Thutmose III, travels to the temple, this time in a palanquin. In front of the sovereign are three groups of security guards, which even have the same iconography as in the case of Meryra's tomb decoration. The destination is the same since both scenes end at a schematic depiction of a temple. It looks like the theme in the tomb Meryra is an adaptation from the tomb of vizier Useramun. Naturally, the precise iconography of the king and the temple were modified to fit the style of Amarna.

94 PM I, 1², 246 (9); E. DZIOBEK, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, ÄV 84, Mainz 1994, Taf. 83.

The motif of the temple and related activities continues along the entire east side of the columned hall. At the entrance, the south wall of the east side⁹⁵ is again reserved for the large image of the royal family. In this case the royal family is standing in front of a big pile of offerings under the rays of the Aten. The couple is approached by two priests bringing more offerings, with the first one identified as Meryra. Under the main scene are two minor registers. The first one shows part of the royal entourage being received by the priests, the second one a group of male musicians, and two chariots with servants.

The east wall and north wall (east half) form again a unit; however, it is divided into two frames.⁹⁶ The theme of the royal visit to the temple continues in the upper frame. Large parts of this scene depict the Aten temple, with a huge pile of offerings in front of the second pylon, consecrated by the king, who is accompanied by the royal family and the palace staff. The king is again approached by a priest, probably Meryra, with an incense burner. The rest of the palace staff is waiting for the royal family in front of the temple. Among the persons waiting for the royals is also a group of foreign chiefs. The last image on the south half of the east wall shows another schematic depiction of the palace.

The lower half of the wall is largely occupied by the depiction of edifices; Davies counted five buildings with different purposes.⁹⁷ A large section is reserved for magazines and storage spaces. The main narrative is taking part in front of one building, probably the granary. In this second scene Meryra receives the “Gold of Honour” from the hands of pharaoh. The king is accompanied by his queen and the royal household, this time standing in front Meryra, who is leaning on a long stick. Meryra accepts the reward with his hands in the typically raised position. There are four sub-registers behind the tomb owner. The upper one shows fan-bearers, the others colleagues of Meryra bringing collars, while some also come with scribal palettes. The last scene shows barns with cattle in the upper part, in the middle chariots waiting for the royal family, while the lower one depicts loaded boats. The rest of the tomb remained undecorated, but one may assume that if finished, the shrine of the tomb would have funerary scenes carved into the relief, as was the case in the tomb of Huya.

SUMMARY

The decoration of the columned hall can be associated with the life of the high priest Meryra. It testifies to the fact that he was a good official, praised by the king for his work. Royal awards are shown twice in the tomb. A temple visit by the royal family displays him during his service and accentuates his high position when in the presence of the king. Large part of the tomb's decoration is reserved for this particular image. This type of scene is not new, a very similar scene from the Theban tomb of Useramun probably served as its model, but it was adapted to correspond more to the requirements of Amarna art. (Figures 4 and 5) The king is not shown alone, as in the case of Thutmose III, but accompanied by his family. The schematic depictions of buildings, gardens and other structures are also already known from Theban tombs, but even these are adapted to be more accurately in line with the contemporary style.

95 DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, plate XXII; PM IV, 216 (23).

96 DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, plate XXV; PM IV, 216 (24) – (26).

97 For a detailed description and the identification of these buildings, see DAVIES, *El Amarna I*, 34–42.

II. 1.3 LAW ENFORCEMENT – THE TOMB OF MAHU

The tomb of Mahu (AT 9) is situated in the Southern group of Amarna tombs.⁹⁸ Mahu was the “chief of police of Akhetaten” (*ḥry md3y n 3ḥ.t-jtn*). This tomb was never finished, with only the transversal hall decorated. The plan of the T-shaped chapel resembles type Va of the Kampp Theban typology.⁹⁹ A direct inspiration of non-Amarna tombs is noticeable in the transversal hall. On the shorter walls are two elements connected with the Theban chapels style, namely a round-topped stela on the left and a false door on the right. As for the round-topped stela, the upper, larger part shows the royal family at an altar, offering to the solar god.¹⁰⁰ The owner of the tomb is depicted in a position of adoration behind the solar hymn in the lower part of the stela. The same arrangement is mirrored on the opposite wall, but this time the stela is surrounded by a frame in the shape of a false door with a cavetto cornice. The side panels, which since the Old Kingdom bore the titles of the tomb owner, contain in Mahu’s case the names and titles of Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The content is obviously different, but the formal arrangement of the space and the important elements within are easily identified with their Theban predecessors,¹⁰¹ adapted to fit the new Amarna requirements.¹⁰²

The scenes of the long walls of the transversal hall are connected with the career of Mahu. The decoration of the northern part of the tomb depicts Mahu’s visit to the temple and probably a scene of rewarding.¹⁰³ On the south wall, the north half is barely preserved, with only traces of ink showing the royal couple in the Window of Appearance, probably a part of the “Gold of Honour” scene.¹⁰⁴ The corner of the north and east wall has two registers depicting the army, followed by musicians and a waiting chariot.

The north side of the back (east) wall is divided into two parts, but only sketches in black ink are present. The upper part¹⁰⁵ is a continuation of the reward scene, with traces of a palace structure on the right. In front of it, the scene is divided over three registers. The lowest one, partly damaged, shows a group of officials bowing, probably in the presence of the king. In the middle register is a larger figure with a raised arm. The middle register also presents courtiers bowing to the king. The upper register shows a line of waiting chariots; this part of the wall is substantially damaged. The lower part¹⁰⁶ depicts a larger image of the temple underneath the rays of the Aten. In front of the temple are two registers of men. The upper one shows Mahu at the head of a group of policemen. The second register again depicts Mahu,

98 For a detailed description of the tomb, see DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*.

99 F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 23.

100 DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XVI; PM IV, 223 (6).

101 The stela and the false door served as a secondary offering place. The stela usually bore a biographical inscription, while the false door was equipped with offering formulas and offering scenes. See F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 51–54; HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 6–7.

102 This is contra D. O’CONNOR, “Demarcating the boundaries: an interpretation of a scene in the tomb of Mahu, el-Amarna”, in: BES 9, 1987–1988, 41–51, who based on the stela offers a different explanation of this tombs’ decoration. He proposed that the stela should represent the boundary stelae that were built around the city, and suggested that the entire scene represented an inspection of the city boundaries. His interpretation does not respect the rules of Egyptian iconography. There is no reason to interpret the stela as a depiction of the boundary stelae.

103 DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plates XIX, XVII, XVIII; PM IV, 223 (7) – (8).

104 DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, 14, plate XXIX; PM IV, 223 (5).

105 DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XVII; PM IV, 223 (8).

106 DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XVIII; PM IV, 223 (7) – (8).

with several golden necklaces (gained from the king), making a gesture of adoration in front of a pile of offerings. Mahu is accompanied by a standard-bearer and a group of policemen.

The second part of the wall (south half of the east wall) shows the royal couple driving chariots. This motive is again portrayed on a larger scale.¹⁰⁷ The royal couple is depicted while leaving the temple, with, in front of them, a pile of offerings. Ahead of the main scene, are three registers of running officials and police, heading toward a fort-like building. Mahu (with his titles) is depicted in the second sub-register.¹⁰⁸ The second lower scene also focuses on the royal family in a chariot;¹⁰⁹ this time the royal couple inspects police posts. The chariot is preceded by a group of police officers and followed by officials, including the vizier and Mahu.¹¹⁰ Under the scene features one line of police officers, bowing in front of a building, probably a police checkpoint.

The last wall (east wall, south half) focuses mainly on the career of the tomb owner without showing an image of the royal couple. The scenes depict Mahu interacting with other people on different occasions.¹¹¹ The entire wall can be divided into four large registers with several sub-registers. The upper one shows Mahu negotiating with the vizier regarding the commodities piled up behind Mahu. Above, one can see a schematic depiction of a guardhouse with people bringing supplies towards it.¹¹² The lower two registers portray Mahu reporting to the vizier. The upper part features the tomb owner, depicted large scale, followed by his staff. Mahu is facing two groups of people: one is kissing the earth in front of Mahu, the second making a gesture of greeting. In the middle of the scene a chariot awaits, surrounded by Mahu's subordinates. The lower register shows the tomb owner already in the chariot approaching the vizier's house. In the last scene, Mahu is having a discussion with the vizier, who is followed by a group of officials, in front of the schematic depiction of a house.

The decoration of the chapel starts already on the wall thicknesses of the entrance from the transversal hall. On the left (north) side,¹¹³ the royal family (king, queen and one princess) is depicted offering to the solar god Aten, and the tomb owner making a gesture of adoration in front of the solar hymn. The opposite wall (south) shows Mahu yet again with his hands in a gesture of adoration.¹¹⁴

SUMMARY

The tomb of Mahu follows the Theban plan, namely it is a T-shaped tomb. The structure of the transverse hall also kept the Theban division. On one side of the short walls is a round-topped stela, on the other a false door. This element was nevertheless adapted according to the new artistic tendencies. The names and titles of the owner were exchanged for the names and titles of the Aten, and the royal couple, while the depiction of the deceased in front of the offering table was replaced by the image of the royal couple offering to the Aten.

¹⁰⁷ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XX; PM IV, 223 (9) – (10).

¹⁰⁸ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XXI; PM IV, 223 (9) – (10).

¹⁰⁹ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XXII; PM IV, 223 (9) – (10).

¹¹⁰ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XXI; PM IV, 223 (9) – (10).

¹¹¹ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plates XXIV, XXVI; PM IV, 223 (12) – (13).

¹¹² For this interpretation of Davies, see DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, 17.

¹¹³ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plate XXIX; PM IV, 223 (5).

¹¹⁴ DAVIES, *El Amarna IV*, plates XV, XL; PM IV, 223 (3).

The decoration of the transverse hall focuses, as in many Theban tombs, on the career of the deceased. There are two types of scenes connected with the owner. The first group highlights the presence of Mahu during royal public occasions: he follows the royal family during their visit to the temple and during their inspection of the city. The purpose of these scenes is to show Mahu's high status and his close relationship to the king. The second group of scenes features the patron during his duties, without the presence of the royal couple.

II.1.4. THE CHAPEL OF ANY

The tomb of Any (AT 23) is situated on a cliff among the Southern group of Amarna tombs.¹¹⁵ Any was a “royal scribe” (*zš nsw*), “steward” (*jmy-rꜥ pr*) and “scribe of the altar of the Lord of Two Lands” (*šš wdḥw n nb-tꜣwj*). Yet again, the tomb is unfinished. Its ground plan is similar to type IIIa of the Kampp typology.

The decoration starts on the façade with the depiction of the royal family on a decorated lintel. The entrance is used for the representation of the shorter version of the solar hymn. The thicknesses show Any on the left positioned as he exits the tomb while making a gesture of adoration towards the sun, while on the right he is entering the tomb carrying a staff. These two images are only painted in crude colours. The corridor has smooth walls, which were left undecorated, as is common in Amarna tomb decoration.¹¹⁶ A funeral shaft opened into the corridor.

The tomb is important for this study due to its cult place, which is extensively decorated. Most of the space in the shrine itself is taken up by the sitting statue of Any on a dais and with a little staircase, while the wall scenes are connected with the netherworld, namely with offerings. On the left side,¹¹⁷ Any is shown in front of an offering table. He is approached by his servant Meryra, whose head is shaven like a priest. He presents to Any a bouquet in his right hand, while making a gesture for recitation with his left hand, probably reciting religious formulae. On the right wall,¹¹⁸ Any is again depicted seated, this time in the company of his wife, whose image is only partly preserved. The couple is approached by a shaven priest who presents ointments.

SUMMARY

The tomb of Any is one of three tombs with a shrine finished to such a degree as to be also decorated. The scenes here do not present any new themes. The deceased in front of the offering table is a very typical scene, connected with the shrine decoration already since the Old Kingdom. There has been no modernization in these scenes, which were so crucial to the afterlife. This may be so because the function of the shrine did not change during the Amarna period. Also, the statue as the main offering place points towards the Theban offering tradition.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed description of the tomb, see DAVIES, *El Amarna* V, 6–9.

¹¹⁶ DAVIES, *El Amarna* II, 11.

¹¹⁷ DAVIES, *El Amarna* V, plate IX; PM IV, 228 (7).

¹¹⁸ DAVIES, *El Amarna* V, plate X; PM IV, 228 (8).

III. CONCLUSIONS

The Amarna tombs were created during the dynamic time under Akhnaten, when major changes in society and religion took place. In order to evaluate the decoration of the Amarna tombs, it is necessary to separate two aspects, namely content and form. When investigating the themes of the chapel decoration, it is important to remember what the tomb as a whole was used for. To answer the question of whether the function of the Amarna tombs was different from others because it prominently featured the king, for example in the sense that the new Atonic doctrine was encoded into the decoration, it is necessary to compare the themes with the Theban tombs.

The tomb was both the place where the body of the deceased was laid to rest, and above all, a place of commemoration. The scenes depicted in the tomb corresponded to this task. At the entrance to the tomb were scenes associated with offering to the solar deity, both in the case of Thebes, where the deceased performed the offering ritual, and in the case of Amarna, where the ritual was performed by the royal family. The transverse hall was then used to commemorate the life of the deceased. There are scenes connected with his profession, and his position within the social hierarchy is also demonstrated here. An important motif is the depiction of the king. Through this image, the deceased makes it clear that he was important enough not only to be in the presence of the ruler, but also to be rewarded by him for the exemplary performance of his tasks.

The first hall of the Amarna tombs has this type of scenes depicted on its walls. There are motifs that can be associated with the office of the owner, in addition to scenes depicting the royal family with whom the patron interacts. The form of representation, however, corresponds with Amarna art. The royal family is the main element that attracts attention. This does not mean that these scenes were intended to present the royal family *per se*. What is important here is again the relationship between the ruler and the owner of the tomb. Through this image, the patron shows his exceptional position in society. Those scenes that can be rated as novel are always associated with the royal family, such as the royal banquet, but on the other hand, they are all connected with the office of the tomb owner.

The motif of the Window of Appearance is also associated with Amarna art. This scene occurred also in Thebes, specifically in the tomb of the vizier Ramose, which dates to the reign of Akhnaten. This motif was already used at Thebes in the early period of this ruler's reign. The question is to what extent this element was an innovative contribution of the Amarna period. After all, we know that officials had already received the "Gold of Honour" in an earlier period, for example from statues on which the owner wore around his neck the very necklaces he received from the ruler, or from a description in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire. It can therefore be assumed that this act was already accompanied by a ceremony, but which was not depicted on the walls of the tombs in the earlier period. This may be due to the fact that before Amarna the ruler was depicted in a passive position, i.e. seated in a kiosk. This type of scene, however, depicts the ruler active, presenting awards to his subjects. The appearance of the ruler as an active individual on the tomb walls is an innovation that is associated with the Amarna period; one that was widely used in the Amarna tombs.

The shrines remained reserved for the cult of the deceased. Their rear part contained a statue representing the deceased and forming the main beneficiary of the cult. Scenes on the shrine's walls often show the deceased in front of the offering table, but depictions of funeral

ceremonies and funeral equipment are also common. At Amarna our evidence is limited by the fact that only a few tombs have been completed to such a degree as to have a decorated shrine. In these cases, the themes are the same as in the Theban tombs, i.e. scenes of a funerary nature. Also, the recipient of the cult remained the statue placed in the shrine, again based on the Theban tradition.

As far as the content of the scenes of the Amarna tombs is concerned, it can be stated that it did not differ from the previous period; it was only adapted according to the new artistic expression. The tendency to see Amarna tombs as monuments to the royal family may be mainly due to the fact that we have so few decorated shrines. That is why the funerary scenes of the Amarna tombs are so little known. However, the fact that in the few cases where shrines are decorated one encounters always funerary scenes indicates that this space was intended for the cult of the deceased. If we are looking for a major change in the themes depicted in the tombs, we must focus more on the Ramesside period, when themes related to the life of the deceased were not as prominent as religious ones.

Regarding the form of the scenes, which are also known from Thebes, both entire scenes, such as the royal visit to the temple, and individual images were copied and adapted. In this case, more unique depictions are selected and eclectically assembled into scenes, so that the source is not a single tomb but several tombs. This was for example demonstrated on the agricultural scenes from the tomb of Huy, which connected together unusual images from the tombs of Menna, Amenemhab and Paheri. The Theban tomb owners, from whose walls the models were adapted, held titles unrelated to the titles of the Amarna officials, indicating that it does not seem likely that the occupation and position of the Theban tomb owner was the motivation for the imitation of specific images. The incentive was rather to highlight the uniqueness of the owner who chose exclusive and distinctive representations.

The system of associating with one's peers, as known from the Theban necropolis, is also attested in Amarna, as in the case of the tomb of Huy and Meryra II. Meryra deliberately chose a site next to Huy for his final resting place and used the same scenes for the decoration of his tomb. This imitation was undoubtedly related to the fact that both held the same titles.

In conclusion, the decoration of the Amarna tombs was not a revolution, even though it took place against a backdrop of great social change, but rather an adaptation of motifs from Thebes to fit a new artistic expression.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- C. ALDRED, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York: Viking Press, 1973.
- D. ARNOLD, "Parennefer, tomb of", in: D. ARNOLD, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2003.
- DO. ARNOLD, "From Karnak to Amarna: An artistic breakthrough and its consequences", in: F. SEYFRIED (ed.), *In the light of Amarna. 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery*, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2012, 143–152.
- J. ARP, "Echnaton und die rites de passage: zur Interpretation des Königsmotivs im Privatgrab von Tell el-Amarna", in: *Imago Aegypti* 2, 2008, 7–17.

- J. ARP-NEUMANN, "Amarna: Private and Royal Tombs", in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2020. Accessed on 16. 02. 2021. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewFile.do?content-FileId=2419904>.
- J. ASSMANN, "Flachbildkunst des Neuen Reiches", in: C. VANDERSLEYEN (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten*, Berlin: Propyläen, 1985, 304–317.
- A. R. AL-AYEDI, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006.
- T. A. BÁCS, "When Ancient Egyptians Copied Egyptian Work", in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020, 147–162.
- D. BĚLOHOUBKOVÁ, "*Jmy-r3 jp.t nsw* at the end of the 18th dynasty: An iconographical study", in: M. ARRANZ CÁRCAMO et al. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2019. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium*, University of Alcalá, 19–21 June 2019, Oxford: Archeopress, 2021, 130–141.
- S. BINDER, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 8, Oxford: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 2008.
- A. DAVID, *Renewing Royal Imagery: Akhnaten and family in the Amarna tombs*, HES 11, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part I. The Tombs of Meryra*, ASE Memoir 13, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part II. The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, ASE Memoir 14, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part III. The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, ASE Memoir 15, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part IV. The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu and others*, ASE Memoir 16, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. Part V. Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae*, ASE Memoir 17, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes II*, New York: The Plantin Press, 1943.
- N. DE G. DAVIES, *The tomb of two sculptors at Thebes*, PMMA EE 4, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925.
- A. DEN DONKER, "Identifying-copies in the private Theban necropolis. Tradition as reception under the influence of self-fashioning processes", in: T. GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, AegLeod 10, Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017, 333–370.
- E. DZIOBEK, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, ÄV 84, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994.
- D. EIGNER, "Das thebanische Grab des Amenhotep, Wesir von Unterägypten: die Architektur", in: MDAIK 39, 1983, 39–50.
- B. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, ADAIK 15, Berlin: Achet Verlag, 1999.
- M. FITZENREITER, "Das Jahr 12 des Echnaton: Ereignisüberlieferung zwischen medialer Inszenierung und sepulkraler Selbstthematisierung", in: M. FITZENREITER (ed.), *Das Ereignis: Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*, Workshop vom 03. 10. bis 05. 10. 08, IBAES X, London: Golden House Publications, 2009, 61–80.

- R. E. FREED/Y. MARKOWITZ/S. H. D'AURIA, *Pharaohs of the Sun. Akhenaten – Nefertiti – Tutankhamun*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999.
- H. GUKSCH, "Amenemhab und die Hyäne. Norm und Individualität in der Grabdekoration der 18. Dynastie", in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFFMANN/M. BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, München: Beck, 2003, 104–115.
- M. K. HARTWIG, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*, MonAeg IX, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004.
- M. HARTWIG (ed.), *The tomb chapel of Menna (TT 69). The art, culture, and science of painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2013.
- E. HOFFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber. Theben XVII*. Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2004.
- F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben XIII, Main: Philipp von Zabern, 1996.
- F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, "Er lebt Re-Harachte der im Lichtland Jubelt", in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFFMANN/M. BOMMAS (eds.), *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, München: Beck, 2003, 118–127.
- B. KEMP, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti Amarna and its People*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2012.
- D. LABOURY, "Amarna Art", in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2011. Accessed on 17. 02. 2021. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/on21d4bm>
- D. LABOURY, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art", in: T. GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, AegLeod 10, Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017, 229–258.
- E. MEYERS, *A program of political theology in Amarna tomb art: Imagery as metaphor*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981.
- E. MEYERS, "Component Design as a Narrative Device in Amarna Tomb Art", in: *Symposium Papers IV: Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and Middle Ages, Studies in the History of Art 16*, 1985, 35–51.
- H. NAVRATILOVA, "Audiences", in: V. DAVIES/D. LABOURY (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020, 103–114.
- D. O'CONNOR, "Demarcating the boundaries: an interpretation of a scene in the tomb of Mahu, el-Amarna", *BES* 9, 1987–1988, 41–51.
- R. R. OLSEN, *Socioeconomic aspects of ancient Egyptian private tomb construction. A study on New Kingdom tomb volumetric as economic markers*, unpublished, Ph.D. dissertation, Copenhagen, 2018. Accessed on 06. 05. 2021. [https://ccrs.ku.dk/staff/?pure=en%2Fpublications%2Fsocioeconomic-aspects-of-ancient-egyptian-private-tomb-construction\(c4c39742-doe2-4cfd-9efi-947a5b998d39\)%2Fexport.html](https://ccrs.ku.dk/staff/?pure=en%2Fpublications%2Fsocioeconomic-aspects-of-ancient-egyptian-private-tomb-construction(c4c39742-doe2-4cfd-9efi-947a5b998d39)%2Fexport.html).
- G. PIEKE, "Der Blick zurück nach vorn – Anmerkungen zur Grabdekoration des Mes in Saqqara", in: H. FRANZMEIER/TH. REHREN/R. SCHULZ (eds.), *Mit archäologischen Schichten Geschichte schreiben, Festschrift für Edgar B. Pusch zum 70. Geburtstag*, *Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt 10*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg-Verlag, 2016, 220–244.
- G. PIEKE, "Playing with Traditions – The Tomb Decoration of Djehutyhotep II at Deir el-Bersha reconsidered", in: P. JÁNOSI/L. HUĐÁKOVÁ/A. KAHLBACHER (eds.), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art*, MKS 4, London: Golden House Publications, 2016, 95–115.
- G. PIEKE, "Lost in Transformation: Artistic Creation between Permanence and Change", in: T. GILLEN (ed.), *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th–8th February 2013*, AegLeod 10, Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017, 259–304.

- J. ROMER, "Who made the Private Tombs in Thebes?", in: B. BRYAN/D. LORTON (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio: Van Siclen Books 1994, 211–232.
- F. SEYFRIED (ed.), *In the light of Amarna. 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery*, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2012, 143–152.
- J. VANDIER, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne. Tome IV. Bas-reliefs et peintures scènes de la vie quotidienne*, Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1964.
- M. WEGNER, "Stilentwicklung der thebanischen Beamtengräber", in: *MDAIK* 4, 1933, 38–164.
- S. WOHLFAHRT, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild der Privatgräber des Neuen Reiches: Versuch einer ikonographischen und kompositionellen Bestimmung*, Ph.D. dissertation, LMU München, 2002; Accessed on 18. 04. 2021. <https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/3188/>