ANCIENT HISTORY: RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS

A publication of
Macquarie Ancient History Association
Macquarie University

Editor: Dr J. Lea Beness
Editorial Board: Professor S.N.C. Lieu (Macquarie University), Dr Peter Brennan (University of Sydney), Hugh Lindsay (University of Newcastle), Associate Professor Iain Spence (University of New England)

Reviews Editor: Dr C.E.V. Nixon
Reviews Assistant Editor: Dr Peter Keegan
Editorial Assistant: Anne Irish

All articles in this journal are peer reviewed.

Copyright 2008, Published 2011
Macquarie Ancient History Association and the Authors
Published by Macquarie Ancient History Association
Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, NSW 2109

Ancient History: Resources for Teachers
ISSN 1032 3686

CONTENTS
Parts 1 & 2

Bruce Harris
The University Then and Now: Some Fundamental Questions 1

Boyko Ockinga
The Non-Royal Concept of the Afterlife in Amarna 16

Graham Joyner
Greek Pottery in the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University 38

Lea Beness and Tom Hillard
From Marius to Sulla: Part 1 56

Bill Leadbetter
Mithridates and the Axis of Evil 84

Rosalinde Kearsley
The Imperial Image of Augustus and his Auctoritas in Rome 89

Tom Hillard
Augustus and the Evolution of Roman Concepts of Leadership 107

Edwin Judge
Who Wants Classics in a New World? 153

Doug Kelly
Donna Tartt's Greek 171
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REVIEWERS</th>
<th>BOOKS</th>
<th>PAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.E.V. Nixon</td>
<td>Karin Sanders, <em>Bodies in the Bog and the Archaeological Imagination</em></td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian Holden</td>
<td>Perez Zagorin, <em>Thucydides: An Introduction for the Common Reader</em></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Edwell</td>
<td>Roberta Tomber, <em>Indo-Roman Trade</em></td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iain Spence</td>
<td>Victor Davis Hanson (ed.), <em>Makers of Ancient Strategy</em></td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iain Spence</td>
<td>John David Lewis, <em>Nothing Less than Victory</em></td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subscriptions within Australia: $37.00 (incl. GST)
Overseas Subscription: $40.00 (incl. postage)
Back volumes are available. Prices on request.
Cheques should be made payable to
Macquarie University
(ABN 90 952 801 237)

Subscriptions and all orders should be directed to
The Secretary
Macquarie Ancient History Association
Ancient History/Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University
NSW 2109
FAX 02 - 9850 8240

Editorial correspondence should be directed to
The Editor
Ancient History: Resources for Teachers
Ancient History/Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University
NSW 2109
FAX 02 - 9850 8240

Notes on Contributors

Bruce Harris
Founding Editor, 1971–1974

Boyo Ockinga
Editor, 1994–1995

Graham Joyner
Editor, 1991–1993

Lea Beness
Editor, 2005–

Tom Hillard

Bill Leadbetter
Editor, 1996–1998

Rosalinde Kearsley
Editor, 1988–1991

Edwin Judge
Editor, 1980

Doug Kelly
Editor, 1973–1974
EDITORIAL

These two issues of Ancient History: Resources for Teachers are dedicated to Margaret Parker, a former editor of the journal between 1998 and 2004. It is not the custom for outgoing editors of the journal to be celebrated with an issue in their honour. Two anomalous occasions precede. The first was in 1986 when the issues of that year were dedicated to Associate Professor Bruce Harris, the founding editor of the journal, upon his retirement from Macquarie University. Articles were submitted by his colleagues and his former students. On the second occasion, a special number (27.1 [1997]) was dedicated to Margaret Hallo Beattie, whose health had compelled a premature retirement which left her colleagues feeling that the department had lost one of its more vital members. She had been, even given that sadly early retirement, the journal’s longest serving editor. Roman Studies offered to Margaret Beattie celebrated Margaret’s quick wit and intellectually sharp engagement with a number of articles by overseas scholars who recalled vividly the vitality of Margaret’s interventions and academic repartee.

This occasion is also unusual. It is customary for the editorship of this journal to be filled from within the ranks of the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie. Margaret Parker was the first to step up to the pitch from outside those ranks—and remains the only one. She did so when, for various reasons, no member of the department was available to take up the bat. The department has every reason to express its heartfelt gratitude. Margaret brought to the role an efficiency born of her long service in school administration, a meticulous editorial eye, and a knowledge of what it was that the Higher School community was likely to find interesting and what it was that was needed. This was the fruit of her own thirty-six year teaching career.

Margaret Parker was born in Hay, far western New South Wales, and educated in a number of country state high schools. She did her teacher training at Armidale Teachers’ College, her BA at the University of New England (majoring in English and History) and her MA (by coursework in Ancient History) at Macquarie.

Over her long teaching career she taught at several country primary schools, Petersham Girls’ High, Finley High (in far western NSW), Willoughby Girls’ High, Ku-ring-gai High, North Sydney Girls’ High, and was Deputy Principal at Macquarie Fields High, finishing as Principal of Bankstown
Girls’ High. After formally retiring she worked for the Department of Education on a part-time consultative basis for three more years. Until 2009 she worked for short periods each year for the University Admissions Centre assessing applications from disadvantaged students for special admission to university. Margaret was also a long-serving Secretary of the Macquarie Ancient History Association during which time she carried an enormous load since divided into a number of portfolios.

Here we mark our appreciation of Margaret by having former editors of the journal offer diverse contributions, covering Egyptian, Greek and Roman topics, the university’s Museum of Ancient Cultures, the aims of tertiary education and Reception Studies. This collection also offers the opportunity for another fond remembrance. In the last week of his life, Graham Joyner, editor from 1991 to 1993, gave very gladly his permission to have a new collection of his earlier notes on various objects in the then Macquarie University Ancient History Teaching Collection added to this bouquet for Margaret. The contribution is a timely reminder of Graham Joyner’s legacy in that most of the objects described were on loan from his own private collection and are now part of the Museum’s holdings. I know that Margaret will especially value his contribution.

Margaret Beattie was unable, because of ongoing illness, to contribute an independent offering in the collection, but joins me here in wishing Margaret Parker all the best for future years.

J. Lea Beness
Editor
THE NON-ROYAL CONCEPT OF THE AFTERLIFE IN AMarna

Boyo Ockinga

Pre-Amarna Ideas

By the time of the New Kingdom, Egyptian ideas of the afterlife had become rather complex, the result of new concepts being added to the range of existing beliefs rather than replacing older ones, producing what Henri Frankfort has defined as a “multiplicity of approaches”.

There are three main concepts that co-existed: a continuation of life on earth in the tomb, a celestial afterlife and an afterlife in the netherworld, the realm of Osiris. They are summed up in a popular wish found in New Kingdom funerary inscriptions from the time of Thutmose IV onwards that the deceased may have ḫ nb p.t n.y ṛ̀ ṟ.w, wr m t n.y Cbb, m testify in the heaven of Re, power on the earth of Geb and justification in the West of Osiris”. In the New Kingdom we also encounter the concept of “going forth by day”.

1. Continuation of life on earth in the tomb

In the Old Kingdom, the dominant and well attested concept is that the deceased, having gone through a process of transfiguration conducted by the locus priest and become an “effective spirit” (āḥk ḫmr), continued to live on earth; the tomb is the “house of eternity”, and all the deceased’s necessaries of life are provided for in a material form — food offerings, but also clothing, jewellery, furniture etc. The actual items are placed in the tomb, but their provision is also guaranteed by having them, and the production of them, depicted in scenes that cover the walls of the tomb chapels.

---

2 W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 24 (Glückstadt 1968) 90, Bilde 7 (b). The request for spirit-being, power and justification is also found in the Middle Kingdom, but in the New Kingdom these qualities are linked to the three regions and the three deities representing them.
3 The ḫmr concept continues on earth, as the texts addressed to visitors to the tomb make clear — the tomb owner describes himself as an ḫmr and threatens to take action against anyone who behaves inappropriately in his tomb. For examples of such texts, see N. Bruckwich, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta 2005) 226, Text 133; 226, Text 150.

---

The focal point of the Old Kingdom tomb was the false door, which is where the physical offerings were placed, the idea being that the ka of the deceased could come up from the burial chamber and receive the offerings that had been placed on the offering slab at the foot of the false door. This idea of the deceased coming through the door is graphically represented in tombs such as that of Nofreshepmepitah at Saqqara and the idea of him coming up from the burial chamber even more graphically depicted in the tomb of Idu at Giza (Fig. 1).

---

4 The ka is the life-force of a person, it is what differentiates a living person from a corpse. It is nourished by food (also called ḫmr) and is re-united with the body after death. “Going to one’s ka” (WB III, 430.1, 2) is a euphemism for dying.
In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the need for these physical objects was also met by providing the deceased with models of the various production processes.5

This view of an afterlife in which the spirits of the deceased dwelled in their tombs and were there provided for with all the material necessities of life is also revealed in the funerary inscriptions of the Old Kingdom: “An offering, which the king gives, an invocation offering for NN (consisting of bread, beer, oxen and fowl)”. Sometimes additional comments are added stating that the offering is to be made “in his tomb chapel of the necropolis in the western cemetery” or requesting that the offerings be made at various festivals, that are then listed. There are some texts that even state where the offerings are to come from—the grain from the granaries and the textiles from the treasury of the residence—which makes it quite clear that we are dealing with earthly, material matters here.

The idea that one’s afterlife was spent in the tomb is also reflected in an offering formula such as “An offering which the king gives, a goodly burial in the necropolis of the western cemetery, he being followed by his ka to his tomb of the necropolis.”

The basic concept that one needed these physical things could be followed back into pre-historic times, when the range of goods placed in the tomb was very much smaller than in the Old Kingdom and forward into the New Kingdom, when the deceased were still provided with all the material necessities of life.10

2. The Concept of a Celestial Afterlife

In the Old Kingdom an important element of royal funerary beliefs was the concept of the king ascending to the sky to join the sun-god, where he could enjoy a celestial afterlife. Although texts of non-royal persons sometimes refer to them “crossing heaven”, as the clause that follows makes clear, this is a reference to crossing a body of water on earth to reach the necropolis: “Crossing the heaven in great peace, and going forth to the top of the mountain of the necropolis”.11 Crossing water is sometimes specifically mentioned: “Proceeding to his tomb of the west, having crossed over in the weret boat”; “Going forth to the top of the mountain of the necropolis, having traversed the pool (or canal).”

In the Middle Kingdom this situation changes; in funerary prayers we encounter evidence that could be interpreted to mean that a celestial afterlife was also seen as a possibility for a non-royal person,12 but in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts there are spells that deal specifically with the ascension of the deceased to the sky:

Spell, for ascending to the sky, to the place where Re is. ... If you ascend to heaven as vultures, I ascend upon the tip of your wings. ...14

I am installed with Re, and Re installs me with these great gods who descend to their meal in the festival of the seventh day. ... (If) they ascended to the sky as falcons, I ascended upon their wings.15

A celestial afterlife for the non-royal deceased is very well-attested in the New Kingdom, as is made very clear by texts such as Chapter 100 of the Book of the Dead:

(1) Words spoken by the gods who are in the retinue of Re, they allowing Thay, justified, to descend to the barque (2) of Re, she having gone forth justified before Horus in his sun disk, her voice justified against her opponents.

(3) The book of perfecting a spirit and causing that she descends to the barque of Re together with those in his retinue.

(4) I have ferried across the phoenix (5) to the east and Osiris to Busiris;

I have opened the caverns of Hapy,
I have cleared the ways of the sun-disk,
I have drawn Sokar on his sledges,
I have strengthened the great one in her moment,
I have sung the praises of and adored the sun,
I have joined those in-praise,
I am one of them,
I have acted as the counterpart of (10) Ia(s),
I have strengthened her incarnations,
I have tied the rope,
I have warded off (11) Apophis,
I have put a step to his movements.

6 G. Lapp, Die Glyptikformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen, DAI Kairo Sonderdruck 21 (Mainz 1986) §11.
7 Lapp (n.6) §184.
8 Lapp (n.6) §152.
9 See, e.g., the well-known reconstructed Naqada II burial illustrated in Taylor (n.5) fig. 2.
10 For excavation photographs of the objects in situ, see P. Racanizzi (ed.), Fotografie in Terra d’Egitto (Turin 1991) pls. 72–74.
11 Strnad (n.3) 216, Text 124; cf. also 215, Text 126
12 Strnad (n.3) 215, Text 129 and p. 216.
13 Lapp (n.6) §115.
14 A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts vol. III (Chicago 1947) 61a, f.g.
15 de Buck (n.14) 115b, g.b.
An afterlife in the otherworld, the realm of Osiris

The concept of an afterlife in an otherworld dominated by Osiris is well-attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards, when we encounter it in the Coffin Texts. This otherworldly realm is sometimes located in the netherworld, but some texts, for example, The Book of Two Ways locate it in the sky.

To gain entry to the realm of Osiris the deceased needed to be judged before the court of Osiris. Our earliest references to a general judgement of the dead are found in the Middle Kingdom, in the Coffin Texts we find the concept of weighing in the balance on the day of juding characters but it is in the Teaching for King Merikare that we have the first clear reference to weighing up the deeds of a person:


5. An afterlife in the otherworld, the realm of Osiris

The concept of an afterlife in an otherworld dominated by Osiris is well-attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards, when we encounter it in the Coffin Texts. This otherworldly realm is sometimes located in the netherworld, but some texts, for example, The Book of Two Ways locate it in the sky.

To gain entry to the realm of Osiris the deceased needed to be judged before the court of Osiris. Our earliest references to a general judgement of the dead are found in the Middle Kingdom, in the Coffin Texts we find the concept of weighing in the balance on the day of judging characters but it is in the Teaching for King Merikare that we have the first clear reference to weighing up the deeds of a person:


An afterlife in the otherworld, the realm of Osiris

The concept of an afterlife in an otherworld dominated by Osiris is well-attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards, when we encounter it in the Coffin Texts. This otherworldly realm is sometimes located in the netherworld, but some texts, for example, The Book of Two Ways locate it in the sky.

To gain entry to the realm of Osiris the deceased needed to be judged before the court of Osiris. Our earliest references to a general judgement of the dead are found in the Middle Kingdom, in the Coffin Texts we find the concept of weighing in the balance on the day of judging characters but it is in the Teaching for King Merikare that we have the first clear reference to weighing up the deeds of a person:

Transforming into a living ba,
so as to alight on his grove
and enjoy the shade of its sycamores and
sit in the rear part of the pyramid
while his statues endure in his house (tomb)
and receive the offerings,
and while his corpse remains, without being lost
to the Lord of Life (coffin).

The funerary texts also refer to the ba's freedom of movement, as in Theban Tomb 72 of Re, priest in the memorial temple of Thutmose III (time of Amenhotep II):

... transforming into a living ba
to eat what is given him on earth,
going in and out of the tomb/netherworld (lmh.t)
striding freely out through the netherworld.

Here we encounter a phrase that appears countless times in the tombs, namely the wish not to be held back at the gates of the netherworld but to be able to enter and leave freely. These gates of the netherworld, through which one had to pass, are the theme of Book of the Dead chapters 145 and 146 and the accompanying vignette shows the keepers of the gates whose name the deceased had to know to be let through. Leaving and entering one's tomb is illustrated in the vignettes that accompany chapter 92 and 91 of the Book of the Dead.

The deceased also wished to be able to return to their houses where they dwelt during their earthly lifetimes: in Theban Tomb 83 of the vizier Aamnefju, who lived in the early reign of Thutmose III, we read:

33 N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet (London 1915) pl. XXVII.
34 Faulkner (n.22) 219.
35 For Spell 146 and Book of the Dead illustrations of the gates and their keepers, see R.O. Faulkner (n.22) 134–36, 138–39.
36 For Spell 92, see Faulkner (n.22) 90 with a vignette from the papyrus of Ani (BM 1074) showing Ani and his ba leaving the tomb. For ch. 91, see Faulkner (n.22) 89 with the vignette from the papyrus of Nakht (BM 10471) showing Nakht and his ba returning to the tomb. Note too the tree, representing the garden of the tomb.

... making transformations into a living ba so that he may see his house of the living, so as to be a protection to his children daily, forever and ever.

The theme is expressed even more clearly in Theban Tomb 82 of the vizier Amenemhet (time of Thutmose III):

May you open the mountain of the necropolis, that you may see your house of the living, that <you may> hear the sound of singing and music in your dwelling in this land, that you may protect your children for ever and ever.

Returning to one's house of the living is a theme that we also encounter in the Book of the Dead; Chapter 132 is entitled "Spell to allow a man to turn around and see his house of the living."

The concept that the dead could influence the life of the living is an old one and, as mentioned above, illustrated by some of the Old Kingdom texts addressed to the living; it is well documented by a corpus of texts known as "letters to the dead", which are attested from the Old Kingdom onwards. In the post-Ankara period we have evidence for this from Deir el Medina where the dead were known as "excellent/effective spirits of Re" and a number of stelae dedicated to them have been found at Deir el Medina; busts have also been found there that have been interpreted as ancestor busts. An interesting text from Deir el Medina is a stock request that is probably to be addressed to these "excellent/effective spirits of Re", in which the spirit is asked to intervene for the benefit of the living:

When you enter into the presence of Re, may you bring so-and-so before Re.
May you not punish (any) wrongdoing concerning him, (rather) be mindful of his goodness.
May you allow his cattle to roam freely, without straying from the path.
May you let date-beer be sweet in the jar there,
food and game in the storeroom.
May you grant peace in the house,
without one having (false) thoughts.
May you remove rain and show mercy,
(since) one acts according to what you say.
May you take away what is harmful and give what is beneficial,
without delaying your plan.
May you let the ploughed (lands) become fields (of grain),
(so that) they will yield plenty.37

The other area of this life in which, in the New Kingdom, the dead hoped to participate were festivals celebrated by the living, as attested by textual sources.38

Even from this brief survey one can observe just how complex Egyptian funerary beliefs were by the time of the New Kingdom. We also note the very obvious mythological nature of many of the concepts—a host of deities, great and small, are involved—Osiris, Re, Anubis, Thoth, Horus, Hathor, Nut just to name a few of the more important ones.

Amarna Afterlife

Considering the far-reaching changes in religion introduced by Akhenaten one would expect to find concepts of the afterlife similarly affected. The tombs of Akhenaten’s officials at Amarna provide us with almost all of the data available to reconstruct the concept of the afterlife of non-royals at this time and have formed the basis of earlier studies on the subject.39

37 Translation by B. Ockinga from the original text in H.-W. Fischer-Eilert, Literarische Ostara der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung (Wiesbaden 1986) 74.
38 See Assmann (n.25) 225–234.

A situation that affects the range of data available from the tombs should be noted at the outset, namely the fact that the construction of many of the Amarna tombs was never completed; in addition, it is generally the inner part of the chapel, where we would expect to find most of the funerary material, that is incomplete. Even in cases where their architecture had been completed, in most cases their decoration was not. But there are one or two exceptions, for example, the tomb of Huya.

When one examines the reliefs in Huya’s tomb, the first thing that one notes is the total absence of any mythological representations. The only deity who appears is the Aton, who is represented in a very abstract way. We also note that the king and royal family appear frequently in the scenes, as does the temple of the Aton in Akhenaten’s new city, Akhetaten. (Fig. 2)
In the shrine, where one would expect material of a funerary nature, we have processions of offering bearers and mourners and scenes showing the deceased receiving offerings. (Figs 3 and 4) There is nothing of a mythological nature in any of these representations. Huya is shown in mumiform, but this does not necessarily have any Osirid implications—mummification was still practised but with the practical aim of ensuring that the body be preserved, a desire also expressed in the texts, as in the tomb of May: "Open your eyes so as to see him, that your body may endure". 40

Another tomb in which the shrine has some decoration is that of Any. As one approaches the shrine one can see the large engaged statue of the tomb-owner (Fig. 5); the walls are decorated with painted scenes rather than ones carved in relief (Figs 6 and 7) and they show the tomb-owner seated at an offering table; that is, the situation is comparable to that in the tomb of Huya—again there is no material of a mythological nature.

As interesting as these scenes are, the iconographic data alone are not all that informative; we need to turn to the texts, to get a better idea of what the Amarna concept of afterlife was like. In the tomb of Huya, on the east thickness of the doorway into the shrine, we read the following:

40 M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, BiAe VIII (Brussels 1938) 50, line 15; W. Murnane, Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt (Atlanta 1995) 145.
Receiving offerings of the king’s giving, bread and beer and food at every place of yours, that your [name] may endure upon your tomb, and that each generation, when it comes into being, may invoke you, and that your ba may live in your tomb, without your name having to be sought in your tomb, but may every mouth say for you: ‘A boon, which the king gives’ consisting of […] the bread of [your house] and the beer of your house.44

Here we have a clear reference to the ba and the implication is that it dwells in the tomb and receives offerings there.

Another inscription in Huya’s tomb is also informative (the same text is also found in the tomb of Penut):

May you let me be eternally in a position of favour in my house of justification; may my ba go forth [so see] your rays and to feed from its offerings. May one call my name and may one (the ba?) come at the call; may I partake of the things that come forth from [the presence (i.e., the temple), may I eat bread, cakes, offering leaves, jugs (of beer), roast (meat), cooked (food), cool water, wine and milk, all that comes forth from [the Mansion of the Aten in Akhet-Aten].52

According to this text the ba leaves the tomb to see the Aten. It is invoked by calling the name of the tomb owner and it receives sustenance from the offerings made in the temple of the Aten in Akhet-Aten.

In the tomb of Penut, on the south thickness of the entrance, there is another wish that is appended to the hymn to the Aten:

May you grant that I may rest in my place of eternity (tomb), that I may unite with (my) cavern of eternity (burial chamber), that I may go forth and come in to my mansion (tomb) without my ba being restrained from that which it desires, that I may stroll as my heart prompts in all its (the tomb’s) groves which I made on earth, that I may drink at the edge of my pool each day without ceasing.45

Again, we see here that the ba has a central place and that the concepts of the ba entering and leaving the tomb and spending time in its garden are also present.

41 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part III (London 1905) pl. XX; Sandman (n.40) 41; Murnane (n.40) 139.
42 N. de G. Davies (n.41) pl. II, Sandman (n.40) 34; Murnane (n.40) 131; Assmann (n.25) 218.
43 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part IV (London 1906) pl. IV; Sandman (n.40) 49; Murnane (n.40) 181; Assmann (n.25) 218.
44 Davies (n.44) pl. XXVIII, NLI, Sandman (n.40) 93, lines 10–11; Murnane (n.40) 112.
45 Davies (n.44) pl. XIV, Sandman (n.40) 72, line 18; Murnane (n.40) 188–9.
46 Davies (n.44) pl. XIV, Sandman (n.40) 72, line 13; Murnane (n.40) 189.
47 Davies (n.44) pl. XXVIII, NLI, Sandman (n.40) 93, lines 10–11; Murnane (n.40) 112.
My heart rejoices at seeing your beauty, I live from listening to that which you say. May you grant me an old age not far from your word and a good burial [in Akhet-Aten].

Merirê also says:

May he (the king) grant a goodly burial (in) the mountain of Akhet-Aten, the place of the favoured ones, in which you will be.  

According to pre-Amarna ideas, as outlined above, whether or not one was able to spend a happy eternity after death depended on whether one passed the judgement of the dead before the tribunal of Osiris. As Erman has already noted, nowhere do the Amarna texts mention this central concern that occupied the ancient Egyptian mind from the Middle Kingdom onward. The texts frequently refer to the concept of maat, people wanted to be a mꜣꜣ.t pry ("just one") and in their inscriptions refer to themselves as being mꜣꜣ.t hmrw ("true of voice, justified"), but, as R. Anthes has shown, what constitutes the preconditions for fulfilling this is rather different in Amarna and is totally king-centred—the deceased qualifies as being a mꜣꜣ.t pry, that is, justified, not through being pronounced "true of voice" by the tribunal of Osiris but on the basis of his loyal service to the king. Thus what determined one's fate after life in Amarna was how one stood with the king. Ay states in his tomb:

I am a servant whose lord (the king) formed him (and) buried him, (since) my mouth bears maat. How fortunate is the one who does what he teaches! Then he will reach the province of the favoured ones (that is, the resting place of the honoured dead).

An inscription in the tomb of Tutu, although damaged, is also very informative in this regard:

He (the king) is the one who taught me. Behold, I tell you, it is good to be obedient! Concerning the ruler, he is the light of everyone // the funeral, health, happiness, behold, it belongs to the ruler, he will give it to // he appears that he may exercise his divine power against the one who is ignorant

44 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part I (London 1903) pl. XXXV; Sandman (n.40) 5, 10–11; Murnane (n.40) 156.
45 Davies (n.40) pl. XXXV; Sandman (n.40) 5, 14–15; Murnane (n.40) 156.
46 Erman (n.39) 126.
47 Hornung (n.39) 102.
49 Davies (n.40) pl. XXXIII; Sandman (n.40) 100, 13–15; Murnane (n.40) 119.

Unfortunately the text is rather damaged, but enough survives to make it very clear that a good burial, and by implication an afterlife, is dependent on being obedient to the king.

The texts in the tombs of the courtiers at Amarna often refer to the king's "teaching" and the officials emphasise that they are obedient to his instruction. This teaching no doubt embraced the new Amarna theology, which dealt with not just the god Aten but also the position of the king. In Amarna, then, the judgement takes place not in the afterworld but in this world, and it is the king who sits in judgement, for one is judged according to whether or not one was loyal and obedient to him and his teaching. In another text from his tomb Tutu is at pains to emphasise that he was just this:

I do not do what his majesty hates, my abomination is untruthfulness in my innermost being, it being the great abomination of Wawes (the king). I lift up maat to his majesty since I know he lives off it, for you are Re, who created maat. // my voice was not loud in the king's house; I did not swagger about in the palace; I did not receive a wrongful reward so as to suppress truth falsely, but I did what is right (maat) for the king, what I did is what he charged me with. // I did not place falsehood within me when I was before him in the palace // the praised ones. He rises to teach me every day in as much as I carry out his teaching, no evil deed of mine being found // the teaching of the Lord of the Two Lands.

When it is recognised just how central the king was in funerary beliefs it is no longer surprising that he should appear so frequently in the Amarna tombs; there is hardly a wall that does not have a scene in which the king and the royal family play a central role.

There are some relics of the old funerary beliefs that also need to be considered.

1. The concept of the netherworld (dat)

In the texts of the Amarna tombs only two references to dat, "the netherworld", are known to me. One comes from a door jamb in the tomb of Meryre: "May he (the Aten) grant power on earth, effectiveness in the
netherworld (dat) and that the ba may go forth that it may refresh itself in the
tomb.\(^{37}\) The other is in one of the ceiling inscriptions in the pillared hall of
the tomb of Ay:

May your children of your house [be]ate for you (with) bread, beer, water and
air for your ba, you having stripped freely through the gates of the
netherworld (dat) that you may see Re at dawn at his appearing in the eastern
horizon and that you may see the Aten at his setting in the western horizon of
heaven.\(^{38}\)

Since it is encountered so rarely and all the other texts locate the resting place
of the deceased in the tomb itself, there is a fair degree of likelihood that we
should understand *dat* here as referring to the burial chamber of the tomb
rather than to the netherworld proper. One could draw a parallel with a text in
the tomb of Pentu:

May you grant that I may rest in my place of everlastingness, that I may unite
with my cavers (tph.t) of eternity, that I may go forth and enter within my
tomb without my ba being restrained from that which he desires (where *tph.t*
"caverns" probably refers to the subterranean burial chambers).\(^{39}\)

2. Amarna Funerary Figurines (Shabtis)

G.T. Martin, who compiled a useful catalogue of Amarna funerary figurines,
rightly sees them as illustrating the very conservative nature of the Egyptians,
particularly in the area of religion.\(^{40}\) He also comments upon the existence of
shabtis in Osirid form from the Amarna period:

The use of shabtis as such in the Amarna era is perhaps not altogether
surprising, but their employment in Osirid guise, in both royal and private
examples, rather than for instance in the dress of daily life, is somewhat
remarkable. The use of Osirid figurines thus throws an interesting sidelight on
the religious climate of the period, suggesting that Osiris was not one of the
deities especially singled out for veneration.\(^{41}\)

I would see the situation a little differently. The form of the shabtis is not
really the problem, since it need not necessarily be linked to Osiris but could
simply represent the deceased in mumiform; as such, their role is best
understood as being that which funerary figurines originally had, before it

---

37 Davies (n.40) pl. XXXIV; Saeedman (n.40) 4.12–13; Murnane (n.40) 155C.
38 Davies (n.44) pl. XXXII; Saeedman (n.40) 101–18; Murnane (n.40) 120.
39 Davies (n.43) pl. IV; Saeedman (n.40) 49; 64; Murnane (n.40) 181.
41 Ibid.
42 Taylor (n.5) 112-13. This role of the funerary figure in Amarna is also highlighted in a recent insightful study by K. Widmair, "Tumifiguren ohne Totenreich. Überlegungen zu den königlichen Ursprüngen aus Amarna", in *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf, GM Beihete Nr. 3* (Göttingen 2008) 155–160, esp. 155–56.
43 Hornung's suggestion (n.39) 126 that in Amarna the mummy had no role to play is questionable; as mentioned above, in the tomb of Huya, one of the few where the decoration of the shrine has been completed, he is shown in mumiform, and Amarna texts (see references in n.40) also indicate that the preservation of the body was desired. On the significance of the body in the afterlife of Amarna, see also Widmair (n.62) 156.
44 Down to the late 18th Dynasty both oxen as well as cows are depicted pulling the sledge, thereafter cows are predominantly attested. J. Sootig, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungswesen* (Glückstadt: Hamburg, New York 1965) 33-34.
45 The boat mentioned here refers to the boat on a sledge on which the coffin is transported.
46 Saeedman (n.40) 101, 7–8; Murnane (n.40) 119. On the purification of the path on which the sledge is dragged with milk, see Sootig (n.44) 34.
The problem with the evidence of the shafts of Martin’s Class B is the same as that attached to the objects found at Amarna that illustrate the worship of the traditional gods—how are they to be dated? One has to reckon with them belonging to the late phase or the immediate post-Amarna Period when earlier, extreme views were relaxed or old beliefs reintroduced; stylistically they certainly do not belong to the “extreme” Amarna phase. 

Our most reliable data is that provided by the material from the tombs, since the latter can be securely dated to the reign of Akhenaten. This evidence allows us to reconstruct the following picture:

1. There is a total absence of the mythological, which is in keeping with Amarna religion in general.

2. The afterlife is localised in this world—in the overwhelming majority of the texts there is no reference to a netherworld ruled over by Osiris, nor to a celestial afterlife such as joining the crew of the barque of the sun-god or becoming one of the “children of Nut” (stars). The deceased, in the form of their ba, dwell in their tomb and receive offerings there, come out to worship the Aten, and go to the temple where they also receive offerings and hear the voice of the king.

3. Judgement is transferred from the netherworld (the divine tribunal of Osiris) to this world—the king is the judge and he decides not only one’s fate in this life but also who will have a goodly burial. Maat is now determined as doing what the king wishes.

4. In line with point 3, the king is the provider of an afterlife; he provides the tomb and he provides sustenance—in Amarna the traditional funerary offering “a boon which the king gives” is to be understood literally.

---

68 Apart from the two references mentioned above from the tombs of Meryre and Ay, where bat probably refers to the burial chamber of the tomb.
69 The text on the stela of Py in the translation of Murray would seem to be an isolated example of an Amarna text with the idea of ascending into the heavens (Sandman [n.60] 177.3; Murray [n.60] 182, no. 81): “May you go forth into the sky on the arm of the living Aten”. However, the phrase should be read with the preceding phrase: w.t(a) t i fru n p y n.p.r. m p t l w.t(a) “To breathe the sweet breeze of the north wind, which comes from the sky on the arm of the living Aten.” Murray’s translation would require the preposition r, not s, in Martin’s [n.60] 115 has the correct translation.
70 On this concept of the afterlife, which in effect involves the removal of the boundary between this life and the next, see C. Reiche (n.39) with references to further literature.

---

What has effectively happened is that funerary beliefs return, more or less, to a situation comparable with that which existed in the early Old Kingdom, where they revolved around the king and an afterlife that was located in this world, centred on the tomb. 

The move to again place the king at the centre of this system parallels the changes that Akhenaten made to the dogma of kingship and the place of the king in religion in general, and personal religion in particular, where he is the intermediary between the individual and the deity. This restored return by Akhenaten to earlier funerary concepts is also consistent with the above interpretation of the Amarna funerary figurines, which sees them as having their earlier, broader function of serving as a substitute body rather than their narrower role of freeing the deceased from unwelcome tasks in the other world.

In the area of funerary beliefs Akhenaten is also a reformer, but we note that to a large extent his reforms aim not so much at introducing radical new ideas as at returning to an earlier state of affairs and removing the accretions of the intervening centuries.

---

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anthes, R., Die Muat des Echnaton. JAS Suppl. 14 (Baltimore 1952) 27.
Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel Ägyptologische Forschungen 24 (Glückstadt 1968).

71 A conclusion also reached by Von der Way (n.39) 162–163.


Ermolenko, A., Die Religion der Ägypter (Berlin and Leipzig 1934).


Lapp, G., Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen, DAI Kairo Sonderschrift 21 (Mainz 1986).


Murnane, W., Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt (Atlanta 1995).


Sandman, M., Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, BIA VIII (Brussels 1928).


Strudwick, N., Texts from the Pyramid Age (Atlanta 2005).


Wente, E.F., Letters from Ancient Egypt (Atlanta 1990).


A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts, SAOC 34 (Chicago 1968).
GREEK POTTERY IN THE MUSEUM OF ANCIENT CULTURES, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Graham Joyner+

As one of her final acts as Vice-Chancellor of Macquarie University, Professor Di Yerbury purchased in 2006 a large collection of antiquities from Graham. Graham retired from his position as a lecturer in Ancient History and as Honorary Curator of the Museum some fourteen years ago. For many years he had been a collector of antiquities, using many of these to supplement his teaching of courses in Archaeology. Much of his collection had been on loan to the Museum for many years and the University appropriately acquired this collection to help fill recognised gaps in the Museum holdings. This purchase came to the Museum of Ancient Cultures as “the Joyner Collection”. After Graham’s death in 2008, his heirs generously donated his remaining collection to the University. An annual prize for a student of Ancient History is being created to honour Graham’s contribution to teaching and the Museum has purchased, with the assistance of the Macquarie Ancient History Association, a black-figure oinochoe in his memory. This Attic black-figure oinochoe (MU 4506) dated to approximately the 6th century BCE is shown on the facing page. A detail from the vase is reproduced below.

* The editor would like to thank Dr Jaye McKenzie-Clark who kindly provided the images.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title</strong></th>
<th>Ancient History: resources for teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISSN</strong></td>
<td>1032-3686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Publisher</strong></td>
<td>Macquarie Ancient History Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Status</strong></td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Start Year</strong></td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
<td>Semi-annually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language of Text</strong></td>
<td>Text in: English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Refereed</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Serial Type</strong></td>
<td>Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content Type</strong></td>
<td>Academic / Scholarly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Format</strong></td>
<td>Print</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Email</strong></td>
<td><a href="mailto:ahist@hmn.mq.edu.au">ahist@hmn.mq.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td>For secondary school teachers: new developments in ancient history and archaeology.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>