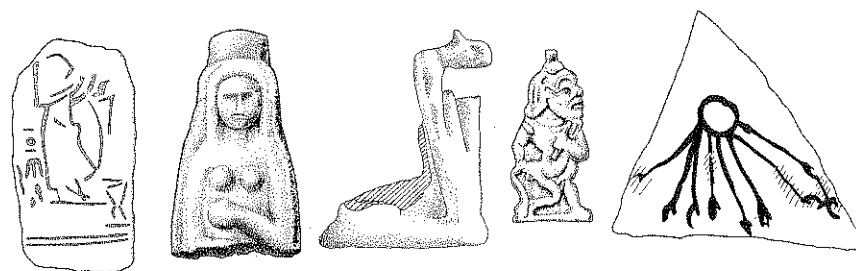


Private Religion at Amarna

The material evidence

Anna Stevens



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Abbreviations

Museums

ÄMP	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
Amsterdam	Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam
Ash.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
BM	British Museum, London
BMA	Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York
Bolton	Bolton Museum, Art Gallery and Aquarium, Bolton
Budapest	Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
Cambridge	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge
Cairo	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
CAM	Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati
Edinburgh	Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
Fitz.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Hunt.	Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow
Liverpool	Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool
Louvre	Musée de Louvre, Paris
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
Petrie	Petrie Museum, University College, London
San Diego	San Diego Museum of Man, San Diego
Swansea	The Egypt Centre, University of Wales, Swansea

Amarna localities

CC	Central City
MC	Main City
NS	North Suburb
WV	Workmen's Village
SS	South Suburb
NC	North City
KN	Kom el-Nana
DA	Desert Altars
MA	Maru-Aten
RW	Royal Wadi
NP	North Palace
SV	Stone Village
RT	River Temple

Publications

AR	Kemp, B. J. 1984–1995, <i>Amarna Reports</i> , vols I–VI, London.
CoA I	Peet, T. E. & Woolley, C. L. 1923, <i>The City of Akhenaten I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-Amarna</i> , London.
CoA II	Frankfort, H. & Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1933, <i>The City of Akhenaten II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars</i> , London.
CoA III	Pendlebury, J. D. S. 1951, <i>The City of Akhenaten III: The Central City and the Official Quarters</i> , vols 1 & 2, London.
LÄ	Helck, W. Otto, E. & Westendorf, W. (eds), 1975–92, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , vols I–VIII, Wiesbaden.
PM	Porter, B. & Moss, R. L. B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , vols I–VII, Oxford.

Introduction

Visitors to Egypt today are presented with a range of 'sources' on the contemporary religious landscape. They can tour the great religious monuments of Cairo, glimpse worshippers in mosques at prayer-times, or watch, if not understand, the televised speeches of religious leaders. They may have the chance to view religion in the context of personal routines, encounter periodic events such as milids (birthday celebrations of prophets or saints), or witness fertility rites at sheikhs' tombs, often perceived as lying beyond the structured frameworks of Islam or Christianity. Those who have been immersed deeply in society will almost certainly feel that the experience has added nuance to their understanding; that the religion of monumental architecture and public speeches is not representative of the religious landscape as a whole. In this study I attempt to approach the realm of 'private religion' in Egypt some 3,300 years ago. My starting point is a corpus of objects and structures from settlement remains at one site, Amarna, location of Egypt's capital for a brief period (c. 1350–1330 BCE) towards the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The religious landscape now may be very different from how it was in the past, but the sense that religion in everyday contexts has a distinctive character can, it seems, be projected back in time. So too, the experience of the researcher is not entirely dissimilar to that of today's visitors. It is one of observation with an outsider's eye, now of religion in action, and for the past of archaeological, written or representational evidence, rather than of shared experience.

At the height of its occupation, Amarna was the administrative, political and religious centre of Egypt. Estimates of the city's population at this time range between 20,000 and 50,000 people. A small but influential number were officials, of various ranks, in the direct service of the state. For the most part, they lived in large mud-brick houses alongside the smaller houses of the bulk of the population. Their households probably supported retainers, and possibly served as centres for co-ordination of neighbourhood-level activities, such as craft-production. It is very difficult to define much of the true 'character' of an ancient city such as Amarna; our experiences of modern cities are probably of limited relevance. But something of Amarna's character may be found in this intermingling, in a suburban landscape, of officials and people whose lives rarely intersected with state affairs. Everyday interactions between these groups may have contributed much to the city's administrative and social cohesion, and growth.

What was the structure of the private religious landscape at Amarna, and what were the ideas that shaped this landscape? These are the two broad research questions that frame this study. In order to approach them, I engage immediately with a series of localised themes suited to investigation through material culture:

- What was the impetus for the manufacture of the material components of religion at Amarna, and under what conditions were they produced and acquired?
- How was religious conduct structured, and where did it take place?
- What was the nature and identity of the transcendental forces involved?
- Who were the human participants?
- What was the desired outcome or motivation behind the conduct?

I seek to avoid the presentation of religion as superimposed upon the social landscape, but rather as embedded within it, allowing it the potential to shape lives, routines and experiences. To this end, the agenda issues above are constructed, and explored, according to a very broad life-history framework. This helps to widen the discussion beyond the issue of use – how items functioned and what acts they represented – to encompass those of manufacture, exchange, discard and so on; in effect, helping to position religion in its social setting. Simultaneously, I maintain that the religion that is recoverable from a site such as Amarna, with its rich body of supporting historical data, extends beyond the 'cult' (religious ritual) so favoured in archaeological studies. We can approach religion through material evidence in its guise, for instance, as an agent of social interaction, as a shaping force on urban space and how it was experienced, and as a background non-performance element of everyday routine and conduct. Finally, on the path to exploring these themes, I am interested in how methodologies can be formulated that best suit the subject and source material, much of which is of a kind that receives little attention beyond cataloguing in excavation reports or presentation in museum displays. This is attempted largely through localised case-studies.

Amarna is known largely for the religious beliefs of its founder, Akhenaten, who sought to promote the cult of one god, the Aten, above all others. Because of this, the material record relating to religious belief from the site has often been perceived as atypical, and too skewed to be of much broader relevance to the subject of private

religion and its archaeological recovery. We could perhaps view it as a type site for private religion under pressure and of reactionary practice. Yet quite how far its private religious landscape was under strain during the Amarna period is open to debate, and in this study I attempt to demonstrate scenarios in which it can be viewed as a flexible landscape able to absorb changes in setting, divinities and practice, such as 'Atenism' itself. Furthermore, its material record can be seen as largely consistent with those of contemporary settlement sites. Amarna is offered here as a type site for the archaeology of private religion in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, if not beyond.

This publication is divided into three parts. Part I places the study in context. The history of the Amarna period, the layout of the site and its excavation history are summarised in Part I.1, and in Part I.2 I explore the issue of how to define private religion and identify its material remnants. The inventory of the material evidence – objects, architectural emplacements and buildings – comprises the bulk of the monograph, as Part II. It is hoped that the dissemination of this material will assist others researching similar topics, making available unpublished evidence from most of the main phases of excavation at the site. Because of the significant overlap in ancient Egypt between the material remnants of religion and objects used for other activities, the inventory is effectively a broader presentation of the artefact record from Amarna, themed around the topic of private religion. In documenting the material, I have focussed on the objects, which have received less attention than the architectural evidence in previous studies, but integrate these sources in Part III. Here, I attempt to reconstruct the private religious landscape at Amarna by addressing the research questions posed above. Part III.1 explores the design, manufacture and acquisition of the material components of religion, whilst Part III.2 considers the forms of the conduct in which they were used. In Part III.3 I examine the transcendental forces involved: the royal family and Aten, and 'traditional' deities and spirits, including private ancestors. The idea that royal women may have been worshipped as fertility deities is explored, to illustrate just how blurred the horizon between state and private religion may have been. Part III.4 considers the shape of the religious cityscape, and the questions of who was participating in religion, and what was done with the material when it was no longer in use. The study concludes with a discussion of the motivating factors that underlay religious conduct, and which open a small window onto the ideas that shaped the religious landscape more broadly.

Part I. Background

1.1. The history and excavation of Amarna

Amarna: the historical context

Amarna lies in a bay of cliffs on the east bank of the Nile River (Figure 1.1.1) some 300km south of Cairo, at the approximate mid-point between the ancient cities of Memphis and Thebes. The site is the location of the ancient capital city Akhetaten, founded during the reign of king Akhenaten in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

This phase of Egyptian history, with its nexus at Akhenaten's occupation of Amarna, has a distinctive character within the context of Egyptian history, and has been labelled the 'Amarna period'. In its broad outline the history of this period is adequately understood, although several important issues remain unresolved.¹ Akhenaten probably ascended the throne upon the death of his father, Amenhotep III, although there remains debate over whether these kings shared a coregency, and its nature and length (for overviews of the debate see Johnson 1996, 65–6 and Gabolde 1998, 87–98; also Murnane 1977, 123–69, 231–3). The earlier years of Akhenaten's reign were characterised by building projects centred upon Thebes, such as the well known additions to the Karnak temple complex (Redford 1984, 102–42). Evidence of his building work has turned up elsewhere, though. At Memphis, for instance, he probably erected a temple to the god Aten (Löhr 1975; Malek 1997, 95–9). Several sites in Nubia display evidence of temple and/or settlement construction under Akhenaten, especially Kerma, Gebel Barkal, Sesebi and perhaps Kawa and Tabo (see Blackman 1937, 148; Fairman 1938, 153–4; Giles 1970, 131–2; Adams 1977, 228; Morkot 1988, 160; Bonnet et al 2000).

His major building achievement, though, was the construction of an entire city, Akhetaten, which replaced Memphis as Egypt's 'capital'. In approximately his fifth year, the king began proceedings to establish the city, the foundation of which is documented in inscriptions on the rock-cut Boundary Stelae around the perimeter of the site. By around his eighth year it was completed to a stage that allowed the king himself to relocate there (Kemp 1989, 267); some see Amenhotep III still alive and joining his son in residence (see Redford 1967, 88–169; Murnane 1977, 123–69, 231–3; Johnson 1996, 65–6). In year 17, Akhenaten died and was buried in a rock-cut

tomb (the Royal Tomb) in a *wadi* (a dried-up water course) in the cliffs that form the eastern boundary of the site. Towards the end of his reign, sometime around his year 13, his principle wife, Nefertiti, may have assumed the position of coregent, perhaps going on to rule independently for a short period after his death (Harris 1973; 1974; Samson 1977; 1978, 108–39). It is also possible that another male figure, Smenkhkare, served as coregent towards the end of the king's reign or ruled alone briefly after his death (Dodson 1993; Gabolde in Grimm and Schoske 2001, 27–31). What is certain is that the final king to rule at Akhetaten was Tutankhaten (later, Tutankhamun), who remained at the site until around his year 2 before returning the royal court to Memphis.

Religion of the Amarna period

The official line

Much of the distinctive flavour of the Amarna period is a result of Akhenaten's professed religious beliefs. Set against a backdrop of a solar cult rising in prominence during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the defining feature of Akhenaten's religion was the emphasis placed on one particular solar god, the Aten. The Aten was elevated to the status of a universal creator god, and the key theme of state religion became the role of the Aten as the source of all life (Redford 1980, 24; Kemp 1989, 264–5; Assmann in LÄ I, 526–40; 2001, 200–14).

Appearing initially with the name and image of the falcon-headed god Re-Harakhty, by the third year of Akhenaten's reign the Aten was represented in the form of the disk of the sun (Aldred 1959; Redford 1984, 172–3). In a significant departure from tradition, the god now lacked a cult image and was apparently inaccessible through media such as oracles (Assmann 2001, 209, 219). Akhetaten, the 'Horizon of the Sun's Disk', was the cult centre of the god. One of the key sources on the official religion of the Amarna period is the set of Hymns to the Aten carved in the tombs of officials at Amarna.

Along with the elevated status of the Aten, there was a heightened sense of the religious role of the royal family. The Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti were associated with the creator deities Atum, Shu and Tefnut to form a divine triad, reflected in sources such as the Great Hymn to the Aten and in depictions of the royal family seemingly in the guise of these deities (Hornung 1982a, 171; Assmann

¹ The Amarna period and Akhenaten's reign are well covered in many sources: see Aldred (1973; 1988), Redford (1984), Gabolde (1998) and Reeves (2001). For the religion of the period, see: Assmann (1972b; 1980; 1995; 2001, 198–230) and Hornung (1999).

1995, 80–3; 2001, 216; Cruz-Uribe 1995, 17–18; Krauss 2000, 98–9). Akhenaten, and perhaps Nefertiti, seems also to have assumed the role of intermediary between the Aten and the broader populace (Redford 1980, 25–6; Hornung 1982a, 248; Assmann 1989, 67–8). Some scholars extend this link between the solar cult, creation mythology and royalty one step further, suggesting that Akhenaten understood the Aten to be his father, Amenhotep III. One theory proposes that the Aten was considered as the living embodiment of all ancestral kings, the cult focussing first upon Amenhotep III during his lifetime and then on Akhenaten after the death of his father (Johnson 1993; 1996).

Another feature of the period was the downgraded status of the remaining pantheon of deities, whose existence seems to have been variously denied or ignored, or who were otherwise relegated to 'bit-players' on the official religious stage. There was evidently a concerted effort to suppress the cults of the Theban deities Amun, Mut, Amunet, Khonsu and Montu, and the deities of the Third Upper Egyptian nome (Krauss 2000, 97). They are generally absent from texts and buildings of Akhenaten's reign (Redford 1984, 130), and in some cases images of and references to them on existing monuments were removed (Hornung 1982a, 245–6, 249; 1999, 87; Bickel 1997, 83–6; Manuelli 1999, 286–96; Krauss 2000; Assmann 2001, 218). Activity of this kind seems to have increased as the king's reign progressed. Towards the beginning of his reign even Amun-Re appears in state religious contexts (Redford 1980, 22; Murnane 1999, 307–12). The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun, seemingly cut after that king's abandonment of Akhetaten and in which an element of propaganda should be allowed for, reports that the new king was presented with an Egypt whose shrines had fallen into ruin and which had been abandoned by the gods (Murnane 1995, 212–24).

It is difficult to determine the extent to which other cults were persecuted, but some leniency was probably given to those with solar associations or with a limited role in traditional state religion (Hornung 1982a, 245–6; Krauss 2000). In some cases, when images of deities such as Amun were removed, they were replaced with others. At the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes, for instance, figures of Amun were replaced by those of Ptah and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. Existing images of deities such as Hathor, Thoth and Osiris were left entirely untouched (Bickel 1997, 83–6; Krauss 2000, 95–6). A similar situation is attested in private tombs such as that of Nebamun at Thebes (TT 17), where the names of Amun and figures of *sem*-priests were removed, probably during the Amarna period, but the names of other deities were left intact (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 22). It is probable, therefore, that the persecution of traditional deities was confined to or focussed upon certain centres, particularly Thebes

(Krauss 2000, 95–7). Aspects of the cults of goddesses such as Hathor, Sekhmet and Maat might also have been retained through their continued association with Amarna royal women (Aldred 1988, 306; Green 1992, 40).

The private realm

The effect, both intended and actual, of Akhenaten's religious reforms on the general populace is a subject that is poorly documented by contemporary written sources. Most inscribed ostraca, for instance, deal with administrative and economic affairs (Hari 1976, VII–IX). A starting point is the Great Hymn to the Aten, where the king is presented as intermediary between the Aten and general populace. This seems to have provided a foundation for the cult of the royal family and Aten not solely at a state level but in the private realm: the population would worship the king, as a means of accessing the Aten. Assmann (1980; see also 1979) maintains that the king actively disseminated his theology as a 'teaching', and that this is reflected in tomb inscriptions at the site, although, ultimately, the level of royal expectation in terms of public support for, and integration into, the new religious movement remains debatable.

Some of the residents of Akhetaten, nonetheless, clearly participated in it. The royal family and Aten appear on stelae and, in the case of the former, as statues, from residential areas at Amarna. Fragments of wall painting preserved at some houses show scenes and texts related to their worship, whilst some larger houses incorporated shrines dedicated to them. Occasionally, the name of the Aten appears as an element within private names attested at the site (Hari 1976, IX, nos 83–4, 202; Hess 1993, 233–40; Gabolde 1998, 21). In the tombs of officials, images of the royal family and the Aten are predominant, at the expense of traditional funerary deities (Davies 1903; 1905a, b; 1906; 1908a, b), and in some cases, short prayers or supplications are addressed to the Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti here, concerning matters such as a long life and a proper burial (Wilson 1973, 239–40). Although clearly in a funerary context, these could nonetheless reflect a broader adherence to the royal cult.

It is often maintained that beyond an elite level of society, though, the cult gained little hold in private religion, a result of the restrictions on direct public access to the Aten, the level of religious knowledge required to engage with the movement, or simple disinterest (consider Gunn 1916, 93; Pendlebury 1935b, 159; Mercer 1949, 368; Assmann 1972b, 121–5; 1980, 29; 2001, 216–17; Kemp 1989, 265; Baines 1991, 189). The question of direct private engagement with the Aten is an important aspect of the cult, and there is a body

of evidence that offers a potential challenge to the idea that access to the god was restricted solely to the royal family (reviewed recently by Bickel 2003). In an oft-cited pair of letters found at Thebes, for example, the author, one Ramose, writes that he is 'calling upon the Aten': an epistolary formula perhaps, but possibly a statement of direct communication with the god. In a recent re-examination of the text (Baines 2002), the former interpretation is favoured (see also Kemp 1989, 301, 313; Wente 1990, 89, 94–6; Montserrat 2000, 23–4). It is also possible that the Hymn to the Aten in the Tomb of Aye was presented as though addressed by the tomb owner himself, although the interpretation of the address is problematic (Murnane 1995, 113, 200, note 7).

The attitude of the state towards traditional private religion is not stated directly and it is in no way clear whether the new religion was intended to replace existing practices. Given the status of Akhetaten as the cult centre of the Aten it is a reasonable assumption that the worship of traditional deities was at least not actively encouraged by the state. Akhetaten seems to have had no state-founded cult buildings for deities other than the Aten/royal family, so opportunities for public connection with traditional gods via the offering of votives or participation in festivals at state temples was no longer available (Assmann 1980, 27–8; 1991, 117–20; 2001, 219; Spelinger 1996, 72, 173; Hornung 1999, 110). The question of public involvement in state-run festivals for the Aten remains unresolved. Also unclear is the level of freedom, or opportunity, that the residents of the city had to travel beyond Akhetaten, and perhaps participate in events such as feasts at the tombs of their ancestors (for contrasting opinions on this point, see Kemp 1989, 304 and Montserrat 2000, 19). Whilst a high police presence is attested in the tomb scenes, and the patrol roads around the city may suggest an attempt to control access to and from the adjacent desert, it seems impracticable that absolute segregation could have been maintained, particularly given the existence of river transport and postal communication.

Amarna has occasionally yielded evidence for the erasure of gods' names: the word Amun is erased on objects such as a scarab (Reeves 2001a, 154) and vessel (Pendlebury 1932, 148, pl. XIX.3; CoA III, 90, 92, pl. LXXIV.8; Lilyquist 1995, 36), and the personal name Ptahmose is altered to Ramose in a private architectural inscription (Borchardt 1915, 449). Yet the names of traditional deities also appear at the site, again in private names, although not frequently (Dawson 1924; Hari 1976, IX–X). It has long been recognised, too, that the artefact record preserves material relating to religious conduct beyond that involving the royal family and Aten. Material associated with deities such as Bes and Taweret, in particular, is often cited as a reflection of the continued importance of domestic religion, particularly

that themed around human fertility (Hari 1984, 1043–6; Kemp 1989, 304–5; Hornung 1999, 111; Reeves 2001a, 139).

Indeed, the subject of private religion at Amarna, and its archaeology, has certainly not been ignored. There have been detailed studies of the private votive chapels (Bomann 1991) and garden shrines (Ikram 1989) at the site, and the final publication of the painted plaster from the former is soon to appear (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). A few studies have focussed upon specific categories of artefact such as fertility figurines (Pinch 1983; Kemp 1995, 30–1) and jewellery (Györy 1998), whilst statues and stelae that relate to the cult of the royal family have been discussed extensively (for example, Borchardt 1923; Aldred 1973; Krauss 1991; Arnold 1996, 96–108). To date, though, there have been few attempts to quantify the material evidence, particularly the objects, to interpret it as a cohesive corpus, to integrate the portable finds with the architectural emplacements, or to contextualise the corpus. There remains considerable difference of opinion, in fact, regarding the scope and conditions under which 'traditional' private religious conduct occurred at Amarna. Sometimes assigned to members of society beyond the elite (CoA I 1923, 98, note 1; Baines 1991, 189; Montserrat 2000, 23), and occasionally viewed as clandestine (Hornung 1999, 111), others have viewed the situation entirely differently. Samson (1985, 27), for example, maintained that, with the exception of Amun, the residents of Akhetaten had 'complete freedom to worship their gods of old'.

The shape of the private religious landscape beyond Akhetaten is as poorly understood as at the city itself, if not more so. It is generally felt, though, that Akhenaten's reforms had little impact here (Hari 1984; Grimal 1992, 230; Gabolde 1998, 22; Montserrat 2000, 37; Assmann 2001, 222). If temples were indeed closed – and archaeology has done little to contextualise the claims of Tutankhamun's Restoration Stela – it is possible that community-run shrines remained largely unaffected (see, for example, Pinch 1993, 23, 358). A graffito executed during the reign of Neferneferuaten (one of Akhenaten's immediate successors, possibly Nefertiti or Smenkhkare) in the tomb of Pere at Thebes, in which the scribe Pawah pleads to Amun that he return, is often cited as evidence both for the worship of this god in the late Amarna period and his recent persecution outside Akhetaten (Assmann 1975a, 349–50, 595–6; 2001, 223; Murnane 1995, 207–8; Hornung 1999, 111). Amarna-period stelae from Saqqara, Heliopolis and possibly Akhmim depict deities such as Anubis, Atum and Ptah, suggesting their continued worship for at least part of the reign of Akhenaten (Sandman 1938, 144–5; Drioton 1944, 30; Gabolde 1998, 22). The presence of Re-Harakhty-Aten on private stelae of this period may

indicate that aspects of the new religion were also adopted by some (Aldred 1959, 19–24; Gabolde 1998, 22), as do scenes on Amarna-period talatat blocks from Karnak that show houses of Theban officials which incorporate private shrines to the Aten (Traunecker 1988, 85, figs 1–2). It is conceivable that the impact of the state doctrine on private religion was more pronounced at sites where the presence of the king was particularly evident, such as those at which he erected temples to the Aten. At the least, the Aten cult may have featured more prominently in the private religious landscape at these centres (Gabolde 1998, 22). Much further work is needed in general on the social landscape of Egypt beyond Akhetaten during the Amarna period.

The funerary sphere

As presented in the Hymns to the Aten, the state doctrine seems to have provided no explicit notion of an afterlife, although reading between the lines it is probable that the central role of the king in granting access to the afterlife at least was retained (see Baines 1991, 189–90). Some scholars maintain that the Amarna experience instigated a major change in funerary religious belief. Assmann (2003, 51), in particular, proposes that for the first time at Amarna, the afterlife was not spent in the hereafter, but on earth. Not all of the surviving sources fit this framework very closely, though; the tomb of the High Priest of the Aten Meryra at Amarna, for example, includes a prayer for 'effectiveness in the underworld' (Murnane 1995, 155). Whilst the traditional Osirian funerary cult is rarely evident at Amarna, aspects of it do remain in some tomb scenes, and potentially in items such as shabtis (Martin 1986, 110; Baines 1991, 189–90; Strudwick 1994, 328–30; Hornung 1999, 95–104), including examples from the Royal Tomb itself (Martin 1974). A number of traditional funerary objects are, in fact, ascribed to various members of the Amarna-period royal family; namely, shabtis, mummiform coffins, amulets and canopic jars from the royal burial in KV 55 (Daressy in Davis et al. 1910, 20–41; Gabolde 1998, 255–67).

To date, source material on funerary belief and practice at Akhetaten has been limited largely to a small number of tombs carved in the cliffs around the perimeter of the site, intended for the burials of high-ranking officials. Current excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society of a lower-class cemetery near the South Tombs (see Kemp 2005; forthcoming a) promise to provide source material from a different social demographic, material that is probably more representative of the beliefs of the population as a whole.

The religious aftermath

Possibly under Smenkhkare, although certainly from the reigns of Tutankhamun and his successors, steps were taken to restore the traditional religion (Murnane 1995, 212–14; Brand 1999). Whilst the Aten played a continued role in the religious landscape, it was as a relatively minor figure (Redford 1984, 225–6; Hornung 1999, 117, 125).

One influential mode of scholarly thought sees the reforms of the Amarna period as having far-reaching effects on the realm of personal piety, particularly regarding the degree to which private individuals had direct access to deities and could receive immediate assistance from the gods. The emphasis on personal piety evident during Ramesside times, particularly well attested in sources from Thebes, has often been attributed to restrictions on religious freedoms in the Amarna period (see Assmann 1980, 29–32; 1989, 69; 1995, 190; Baines 1991, 191–4). This situation is thought to have been mirrored in the official realm, where a pious relationship between the king and the gods was emphasised after the Amarna period (Baines 1991, 191–2; Assmann 1995, 191–2). Debate remains, though, over the nature and level of private personal piety before the Ramesside period, the means through which it was expressed, and in turn the precise impact of the Amarna period here (see Posener 1975; Baines 1987, 94–8; 1991, 172–8; Assmann 1989, 69–71; 1995, 190).

The archaeology of Amarna

Amarna was visited by a number of European travellers during the eighteenth century, but the first concerted attempts to document the site came with the Napoleonic survey of 1798–9. In 1824 and 1826, Wilkinson undertook a further survey of the city, made various casts and drawings, and with Burton copied one of the rock-cut tombs, that of the official Meryra. Shortly afterwards, Hay copied the Boundary Stelae and other monuments. Further copying of tomb scenes and Boundary Stelae, and planning of surface remains, was undertaken by Hay and Laver, L'Hôte and a party led by Lepsius during the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1880s, Bouriant recorded some of the inscriptions in the tombs (for more on the early expeditions, see Kemp and Garfi 1993, 10–19; and Montserrat 2000, 55–66).

The first significant excavations were conducted by Petrie from November 1891 to March 1892. With the assistance of Howard Carter, he surveyed the site and undertook clearance in the Central City, namely at the Great Aten Temple, the Great Palace, and in nearby administrative and residential buildings, rubbish heaps, and industrial areas (Petrie 1894; Kemp in LA VI, 309–10).

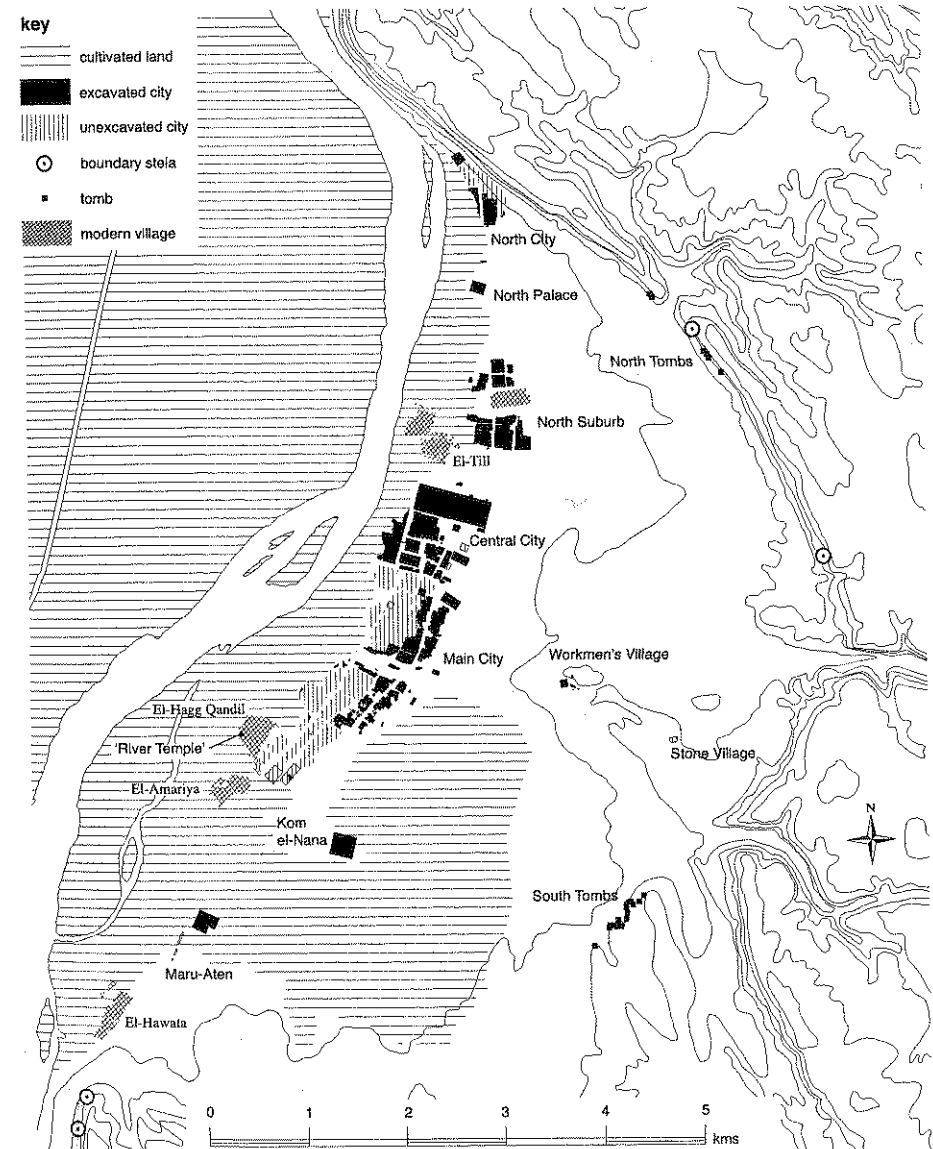


Figure 1.1.1. Plan of Amarna showing the principle remains. The site is contained by the Nile River to the west and escarpment of the high desert to the east.

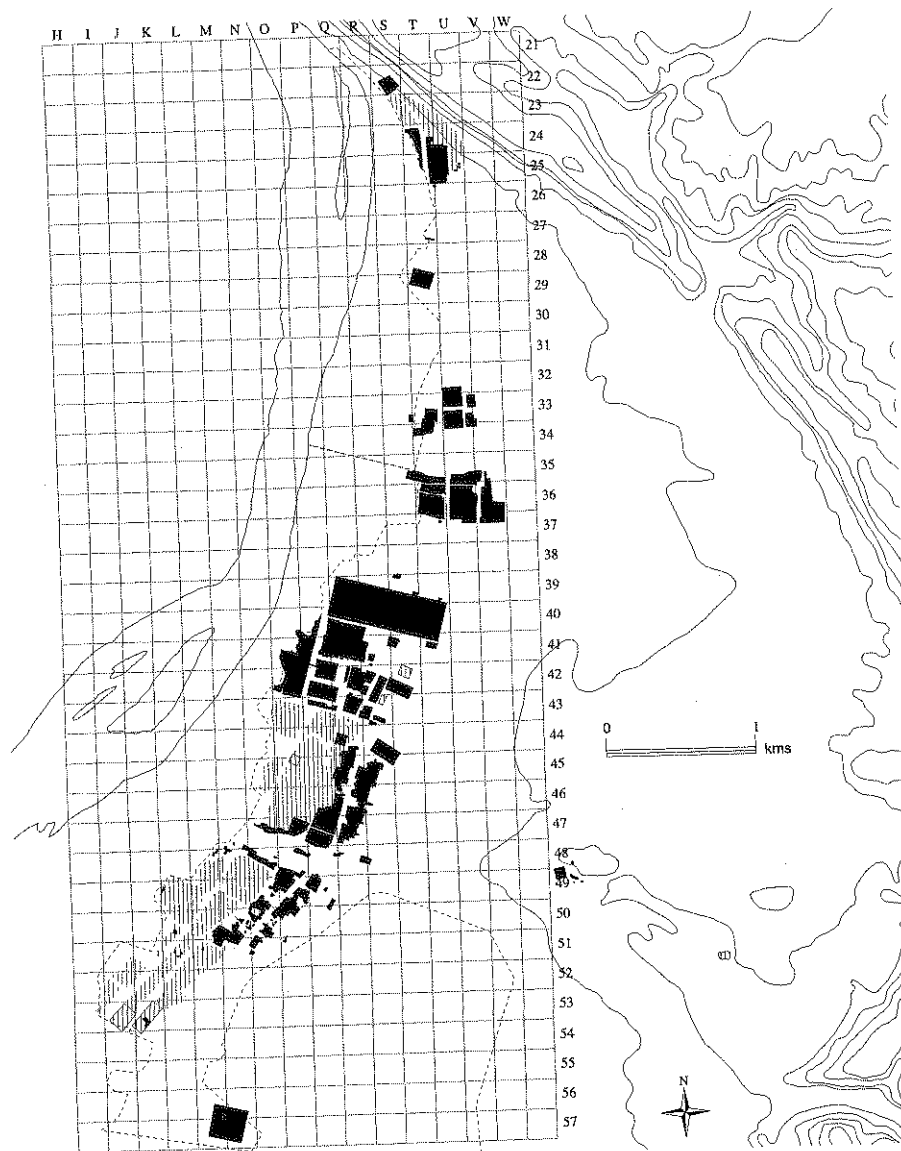


Figure 1.1.2. Plan of Amarna with excavation grid superimposed.

Whilst Petrie was excavating in the city, Bouriant and Barsanti partially cleared the Royal Tomb (Bouriant et al. 1903; Martin 1974, 5–7).

Between 1901 and 1907, the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Egypt Exploration Society) undertook work at the site, with Davies copying the Boundary Stelae and the North and South Tombs (Davies 1903; 1905a,b; 1906; 1908a,b). In 1907, the concession passed to the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Under the direction of Ludwig Borchardt, a survey and large-scale excavations were undertaken in the southern part of the Main City between 1911 and 1914 (Borchardt 1911; 1912; 1913; 1914; 1915; 1917; Borchardt and Rieke 1980). The DOG established a grid across the site and numbered each excavated building according to its position within this grid (so, N49.18 is building number 18 in square N49; see Figure 1.1.2). This numbering system was retained by subsequent excavators. The Egypt Exploration Society resumed work from 1921 to 1936, excavating on a large scale in the North Suburb, the South Suburb, the North City, the Workmen's Village and in the Central City (Peet 1921; Woolley 1922; CoA I 1923; Griffith 1924; 1931; Newton 1924; Whittemore 1926; Frankfort 1927; 1929; Pendlebury 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934; 1935a; 1936; CoA II; CoA III). During the 1960s, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization undertook excavations, primarily at Kom el-Nana and in the city near the modern village of El-Hagg Qandil (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 33; Montserrat 2000, 91). In 1977, the Egypt Exploration Society resumed its fieldwork under the direction of Barry Kemp. This phase of investigation has included the undertaking of a comprehensive survey; and excavations in and around the Workmen's Village, in areas of housing and industrial quarters in the Main City, within the Central City, including the Small Aten Temple and surrounds, at the North Palace and North City, and at Amarna- and Roman-Period remains at Kom el-Nana. The work of the current expedition is ongoing (see www.amarnaproject.com), and is helping to clarify the nature of the site as the early excavators found it.

The records of the early excavations fall far short of those expected of modern archaeological fieldwork. Little attention was paid to stratigraphy, and the artefact record is particularly patchy. It has been estimated that only around 20 percent of artefacts found during the early-twentieth century work were actually recorded (Shaw 1995, 227). In fairness to the early excavators, though, it is still possible to piece together a record of the site and its artefact corpus that is workable and in which the gaps in knowledge are fairly apparent. It may be, in fact, that most objects had already been removed from their context before archaeological intervention: recent excavations in the Main City suggest quite large scale 'turning over' of the site, some of which occurred not long after its abandonment (Kemp 2004, 19).

The city of Akhetaten

The main urbanised part of Akhetaten spread some 5 km north-south, following the line of the Nile. Some of the city has been lost to erosion and cultivation, but approximately half of that which survives has been excavated, making the remains the largest exposure of ancient settlement anywhere in Egypt.

Survey and excavation has revealed the city as a series of relatively distinct physical zones, or suburbs (Figures 1.1.1 and 1.1.3). These appear to have differed in terms of factors such as their overall function (residential, administrative, ceremonial and so forth), level of state contact, and social composition. Kemp (1972, 673; 1976, 98–9) likens them to villages, largely self-contained and economically independent. The level of social contact enjoyed by residents across suburbs is difficult to ascertain, and much work remains to reveal the intricacies of social structure and interaction across the city. Originally, the city probably also incorporated areas of settlement and cultivation on the west bank, most of which is now lost (Kemp in LÄ VI, 309; 1989, 269; Uphill 1998).

The Central City formed the administrative and religious locus of the city. It contained the major religious complexes, namely the Great and Small Aten Temples; probable royal residences, the Great Palace and the King's House; a variety of administrative and ceremonial buildings; and some houses. Despite the tendency of the early excavators to assign labels to buildings, particularly in the Central City,² their function is often unclear. Ceramic evidence suggests, for example, a religious or ceremonial function may be more suitable for a complex now labelled the Military Quarters (Rose in AR VI, 128). One group of regular, repeating structures, termed the Clerks' Houses and assigned a domestic function by the early EES excavators (CoA III, 122; supported by Shaw 1995, 233–7) has been suggested alternatively as offices (for example, Kemp 1976, 98). The Great Palace has on occasion been identified as a religious complex (see Uphill 1970; Assmann 1972a; Kemp 1976, 92).

The Main City, North Suburb and North City comprised the three main residential zones, with a smaller area of housing in the South Suburb.³ The North Suburb has been almost completely excavated, as has around half

2 Although the ancient names of some complexes are recorded, it has become standard, with the exception of *Maru Aten*, to refer to them by these modern labels. The labels assigned to different zones of the city are all modern.

3 I follow Kemp and Garfi (1993) in regarding the Main City as the large residential area immediately south of the Central City, incorporating both the Main City North and South, and consider the South Suburb as only that area south of the ancient *wadi* at the southern limit of this area.

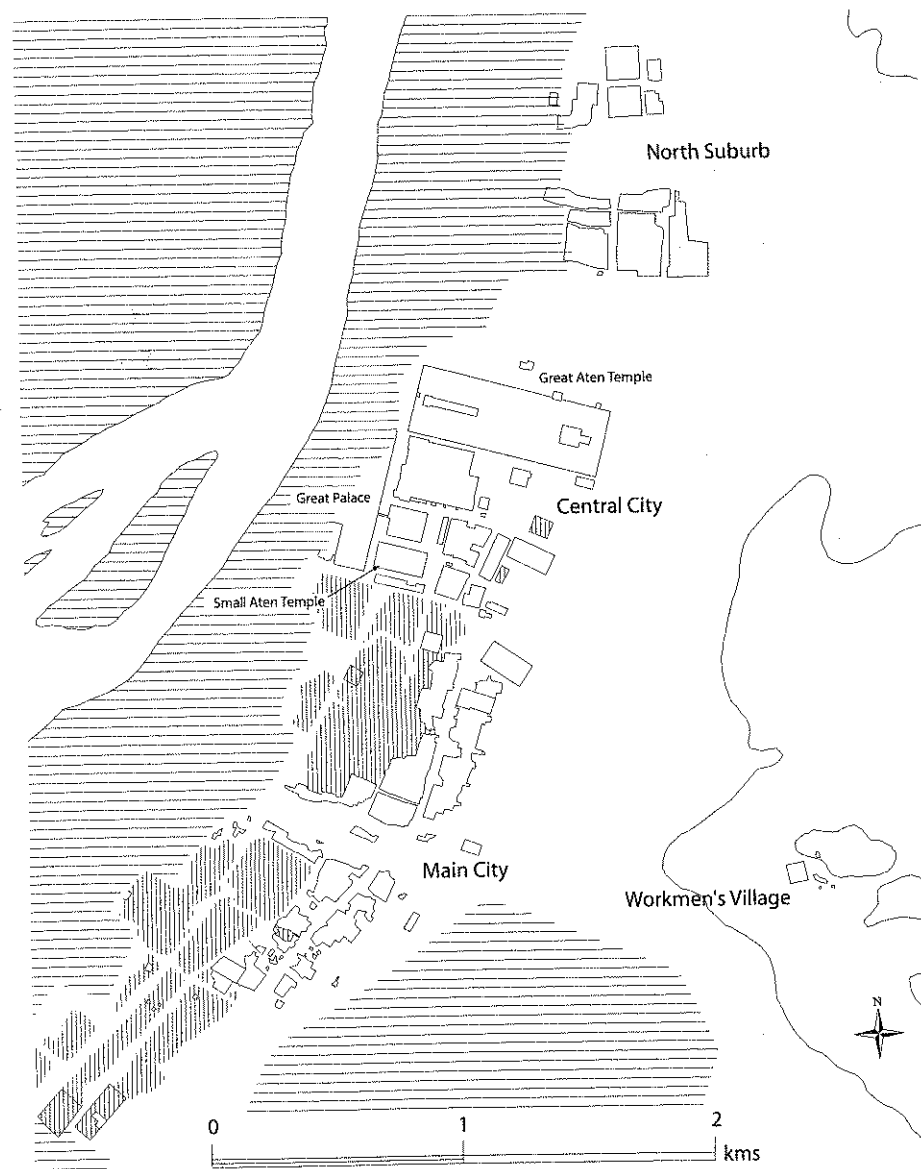


Figure 1.1.3. Plan of Amarna showing the main residential areas and Central City.

of the Main City (Kemp 1981a, 87, fig. 2). Comparatively little work has been undertaken in the North City (Pendlebury 1931, 240–2; 1932, 143–5; Kemp 1976, 95–6; Jones in Kemp 1983, 15–21) and the South Suburb (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 73–6).

The houses in the residential areas follow a fairly standard ground plan, although no two are identical. Typically, they incorporated a squarish central room surrounded by halls and smaller rooms, or in smaller houses an equivalent squarish room surrounded by chambers on some sides. Recent analysis suggests that many larger houses, at least, may have incorporated a substantial upper storey, allowing use also of the overlying roof space (Spence 2004). Not all of the buildings within these areas served residential functions. Several complexes in the Main City, in particular, have been identified as industrial centres (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 65), and other structures whose ground plan deviates from those of houses occasionally occur; the task of elucidating the function of these remains. The North City also contained a royal residence, the North Riverside Palace (Kemp 1976, 96; Jones in Kemp 1983, 15–21). Another self-contained royal residence lay to its south, the North Palace (Newton 1924, 294; Whittemore 1926, 4–9; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 44–6; Spence 1999).

A further residential area can be recognised in the walled Workmen's Village to the east of the city itself. The village may have housed workers employed in the cutting and decorating of rock-cut tombs in the cliffs surrounding the site, although this is not certain (see Kemp in AR I, 1–4; 1987). It has been extensively excavated (CoA I; Kemp 1987). The houses are built in a grid-like arrangement, fitted into the space between the walls; at least some probably incorporated an upper storey (Spence 2004, 137–8). Extramural areas appear to have fulfilled various administrative, production-related and cult functions (Kemp 1987). In the desert further to the east lies the Stone Village. This is under investigation at present, and for the moment its function remains unclear (see Kemp 1978b, 26; Stevens and Dolling in Kemp forthcoming a).

Based on density of architecture and rubbish deposits, and occasional inscriptional evidence, it is possible to gain a very broad impression of when, and for how long, different parts of the city were populated. The Main City seems to have been one of the first areas established, the density of rubbish suggesting that the north-central part of the suburb was built first, after which settlement spread to the east, west and south (Kemp 1981a, 88; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 70). Housing in the South Suburb is less dense, with limited accumulation of waste, and this area may have seen a shorter period of settlement, probably late in the main occupation phase (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 73, 76). The density of buildings and rubbish deposits in the North Suburb suggests that its

south-east zone was established around the mid-point of occupation of the city, and its northern and eastern areas established towards the end of the latter (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 47). The higher number of ring bezels from the North Suburb with the names of Tutankhamun and Smenkhkare than those of Akhenaten seems to support its late establishment (Pendlebury 1931, 243); there are also several unfinished houses across its northern margin (Janssen 1983, 275; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 47). A similarly late date could be indicated for the North City by the high percentage of bezels of later Amarna-period rulers here (see Pendlebury 1931, 243), although the frequency of bezel types from this area requires clarification (Shaw in AR I, 131). Kemp (1976, 96) has, in fact, raised the possibility that the North Riverside Palace was the official royal residence, which may indicate activity early in the reign of Akhenaten in these northern areas of the site.

The Workmen's Village also displays a higher percentage of jar labels and faience jewellery from the last years of the reign of Akhenaten, and those of his successors (Shaw in AR I; Leahy in AR II, 66; Shannon in AR IV; Kemp 1987, 42). The village itself divides into two distinct sections. The western section displays a limited number of artefacts and emplacements in comparison to the eastern part. It has been suggested that the former was abandoned before the eastern section, which continued in occupation until the final stage of abandonment of the city near the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (CoA I, 54, 67). An alternative view sees these differences explained in terms of socio-economic factors. Kemp (in AR III, 32; 1987, 28, 48–9) has proposed that the western section may have housed individuals of lower socio-economic status, perhaps a military unit, and may, in fact, have been built after the eastern section, during the reign of Tutankhamun. Based on a study of artefact diversity in the two areas of the village, Shaw (1995, 227–33) rejected the idea that the differences in quantities of artefacts and fittings were a result of socio-economic difference, but supports the suggestion that the western section was a later addition.

The major zones of the city were linked by the Royal Road, which ran north–south from the North Palace, through the Central City and into the Main City (Kemp 1976, 93–6). A feature of the surrounding desert plain is a complex network of roadways, some of which skirt around the Workmen's Village and Stone Village. These seem to have served various purposes. Some led to tombs, Boundary Stelae or quarries in the desert to the east; others may have been patrol roads, used perhaps to keep a check on the city's residents or outsiders (Petrie 1894, 2–5; Fenwick 2004, 884).

Several additional structures that appear to have served primarily as religious or ceremonial centres also lie on

the desert plain. The Desert Altars are located to the north of the city (Kemp in AR VI, 448–52) and Kom el-Nana (Kemp in AR VI, 433–8), Maru-Aten (Woolley 1922, 70–4; Kemp in AR VI 416–38), el-Mangara and the so-called Lepsius Building lie to its south (Kemp in AR VI, 412, 438–44). A small group of Eighteenth Dynasty buildings may once have been located near the modern village of El-Hawata, but little clear evidence of these survives (Kemp in AR VI, 445–6). The so-called River Temple comprises a small group of buildings on the south-western outskirts of the city, within the modern village of El-Hagg Qandil. When excavated, one of the buildings was identified as an Amarna-period temple (Woolley 1922, 65–70), but there is little evidence to support this, and the remains may instead represent a patch of later New Kingdom settlement (Kemp in LÄ VI, 315; in AR VI, 446–8; Aston 1996, 43).

Within the cliffs surrounding the city lie the rock-cut tombs intended for the burials of high-ranking officials. They are divided into two main groups: the North and the South Tombs. Many are unfinished, and were never used for burials. The decoration within the tombs illustrates the status of the royal family, and documents aspects of everyday life, particularly in and around the official complexes in the Central City. A break in the cliff face marks the opening of the Royal Wadi, the location of several unfinished tombs, including the Royal Tomb (Martin 1974; 1989; El-Khouly and Martin 1987).

The question of where the general population of Akhetaten was buried has long remained unresolved. There appears to have been a small cemetery located behind the Workmen's Village, on the top of the low plateau that sheltered the village; it has not yet been properly investigated (see Peet 1921, 175; CoA I, 51, 94–5; Kemp in AR I, 10). Several burials have been excavated within residential areas of the city proper. Many of these probably post-dated the Eighteenth Dynasty occupation (some are certainly of the Roman Period), but perhaps not all (see Borchardt 1911, 29–30; Griffith 1924, 302; Kemp in AR III, 36; Taylor and Boyce in AR III). To account for the apparent lack of adequate cemeteries on the Amarna plain itself, it was long proposed that a cemetery serving the city was located on the west bank, or that the inhabitants were buried in family tombs in the regions from which they originated (Griffith 1924, 303–4; Pendlebury 1935b, 59; Kemp in AR I, 10). Over the past few years, though, survey work has located several cemeteries near the North and South Tombs, which could have served much of the city's population. These are currently under excavation, as noted above (Kemp 2001, 20, pl. I.1–2; 2004, 20; 2005; forthcoming a).

Dating Amarna

The picture that emerges from the combination of historical and archaeological sources is that the main period of late Eighteenth Dynasty occupation at Amarna lasted around 15 to 20 years, corresponding to the better part of Akhenaten's reign and extending slightly into that of Tutankhamun.

The Boundary Stelae pronounce, famously, that the site was chosen because it was not already the 'property' of a god or goddess (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 155). This claim that, in effect, the land was not settled, seems to have been borne out by archaeology (see Peet 1921, 173–5; CoA I, 12–14; Kemp in LÄ VI, 310). In contrast, the evidence pertaining to the end of occupation is somewhat disjointed and difficult to reconcile. Upon relocation of the court to Memphis, the stone buildings were dismantled and the blocks reused; many ended up across the river at El-Ashmunein. Such activity is sometimes attributed to Akhenaten's immediate successors, particularly Horemheb (Petrie 1894, 44; Frankfort 1927, 210–11; and see Spencer 1989, 15, 17 for Amarna blocks reused in constructions at El-Ashmunein that can be dated to Horemheb's reign), but could have continued into the Ramesside period (Kemp in LÄ VI, 317). A few pieces of inscriptional evidence relating to later kings has been found in the Central City and Main City; namely, pieces of a statue base and sculpted slab naming Horemheb (Frankfort 1927, 210; CoA III, 4, 12, pl. LX.3; Hope 1980, 49–50; Kemp in LÄ VI, 310); a hieratic jar label naming Horemheb and Seti I (Newton 1924, 293); a faience plaque of Horemheb (CoA II, 21); and a scarab of Ramesses II (CoA III, 4).

Whilst it appears that most of the residents left with the royal court, presumably taking most of their possessions with them, there is some evidence that the Workmen's Village was occupied well into Tutankhamun's reign, as noted above (Kemp in LÄ VI, 310). The early excavators encountered additions to buildings within the city proper that they attributed to post Amarna-period 'squatter activity' (CoA II, 3; Pendlebury 1934, 134–5), but the exact nature and significance of these structures is difficult to establish from the surviving records (see Kemp in AR V, 63). Recent excavations amongst residential structures in square N50 in the Main City (excavation grid 12; Kemp forthcoming b) revealed no clear evidence of post-Amarna period modification. The presence of possible late New Kingdom settlement remains at the River Temple site, and post-Amarna period burials, has been noted above. One possible framework for residual occupation at the site is to see the buildings of the deserted city as a source of raw materials and thus the target of looting.⁴

⁴ For discussions on this point, I am indebted to Barry Kemp.

One or more significantly later phases of activity can be located within the Third Intermediate Period to Late Period. Ceramics recovered around the South Tombs suggest that these were used for burials in or around the Twenty Fifth Dynasty (French in AR III), and Late Period sherds appear not infrequently amongst the ruins of the city itself (Kemp 1979a, 6–7; in AR VI, 161). The possibility that a concentration of dog bones from the Central City represents the remains of a post-Amarna period animal cemetery is currently being investigated (Payne in Kemp 2004, 24). During the late Roman Period, discrete areas of the site saw more substantial occupation, evidenced in particular by the monastery complex at Kom el-Nana (Kemp 1993; in AR VI, 434) and alterations of the North Tombs (Davies 1905a, 4, 9; Kemp in LÄ VI, 310; French in AR III, 147).

I.2. Excavating private religion

Blurred boundaries: State and private religion

It is relatively easy to arrive at an intuitive understanding of the difference between state and private religion: here I am not interested directly in rituals undertaken by the king and cult attendants in the Central City temples, but do want to examine rites associated with the protection of children, for instance. Such intuitive definitions have merit in that they are probably closer to the ancient mindset. State and private religion are modern constructs. Even if some kind of distinction here was recognised by the ancient Egyptians, it was not made explicit in this way. Yet at the same time, archaeologists work within the confines of a practical discipline. The moment one turns to the material record, the practical shortcomings of intuitive definitions become clear. The problem is illustrated succinctly at Amarna in the occurrence of stelae depicting the royal family and Aten found within the residential areas. The imagery places these objects within the sphere of the official cult, yet *their provenance implies they were items of personal religious consumption*. Do these reflect private or state religion, or both? With this question in mind, the points of distinction, and equally those of overlap, between state and private religion in New Kingdom Egypt are considered below.

The physical setting

The central rituals of state cult focussed upon official temple complexes, access to which, particularly the inner confines, was restricted to those in a state of ritual purity (Fairman 1954, 177–8, 187, 201; Morenz 1973, 99–100; Leahy 1989; Spalinger 1998). Some official religious events, though, evidently took place beyond temple precincts, particularly festivals and processions; and depictions of such events can include crowd scenes (see Mercer 1949, 370; Baines 1991, 148–9, 173; Kemp 1995, 33; Assmann 2001, 32–3). Whilst public participation in such events is particularly well evidenced from the Ptolemaic Period (Fairman 1954, 196; Rice 1983, 29–31), public involvement through such events as oracular consultation is evident from at least the New Kingdom (although its extent at this time is debated: see Blackman 1926, 181–3, 185; Černý 1962; Morenz 1973, 88–93, 103; Assmann 1991, 108; 2001, 35; Baines 1991, 148–9; Spalinger 1998; Kucharek 2000).

Private religion can be assigned primarily to spaces beyond temples, yet just as elements of the state cult

could be transported beyond the temple enclosure, so too could the latter form a setting for public worship. Images of deities on temple enclosure walls and statues of divinities near temple entrances seem on occasion to have formed the focus of such activity (Nims 1954, 79; Morenz 1973, 107; Bell 1985b, 270–1; Teeter 1997, 5). Shrines catering for public worship could be erected at state temples, sometimes adapted from existing structures, and often located at the temple rear (Nims 1969; Habachi 1972; Bell 1985b, 270–1; Pinch 1993, 252, 337, 356–9; Teeter 1993, 31; 1997, 4–5). Some temple complexes, from the Late Period onwards, incorporated spaces in which private individuals could undertake a period of incubation (Bell 1948, 95–9; Ray 1976, 38–73, 130–6; Davies and Smith 1997, 122–4); their existence prior to this time is debated (see Marciniak 1981; Pinch 1993, 223; McDowell 1999, 100–1; Szpakowska 2003a, 142–51). Representations of festivals and temple inscriptions imply that during such events the general public had access to the outer temple forecourt (Spencer 1984, 81–5; Bell 1985b, 270–1, note 96, 275–6, note 128). The Window of Appearance at Medinet Habu faced into the outer court (Holscher 1941), suggesting that this served the king's audience, conceivably large and considerably 'popular'. At other times, permission to access areas beyond the outer temple courts may have been granted to the elite or those holding positions in the temple (Fairman 1954, 202; Gardiner 1959, 15; David 1981, 5; Pinch 1993, 337, 339, 350–1). The 'rules' governing access were conceivably more flexible at temples with a limited degree of direct state control (Pinch 1993, 337).

The donation of private votive offerings such as statues attests a further, indirect, means of access to state temples, for at least some members of the public. Some donated statues came to serve as foci for public cult in their own right, probably placed near temple entrances (Morenz 1973, 102; Wildung 1977, 84–8; Pinch 1993, 333–6). Human intermediaries, particularly priests, might sometimes have assisted in the deposition of private offerings or in the performance of rituals (Morenz 1973, 107; Baines 1987, 90; Pinch 1993, 345). In a letter dating to the Twentieth Dynasty, an individual who lacks access to the holy of holies requests that a scribe enter the temple with a message to the gods on his behalf (P. Nevill; Wente 1990, 219; Teeter 1993, 28–31). The extent to which such conduct was subversive or undertaken openly is unknown.

The desired outcome

The overriding motivational factor governing state religion was the maintenance of world order, or *ma'at*. In effect, the direct beneficiary of official religious conduct was the state itself, with indirect benefit trickling down to the masses (Assmann 1989, 63–6; 1995, 207–8; Hornung 1992, 126–7, 131–45). Conversely, private religion can be understood as providing more direct, and perhaps more immediate, benefit to the individual. In some periods, this was probably achieved by, in effect, circumventing the state (Assmann 1989, 63–82; 1995, 207–8). At their most fundamental levels, the motivations behind state and private religious conduct probably had common grounding in human life experiences such as birth, puberty and parenthood, and less predictable occurrences, such as illness and unexpected death (Baines 1987, 83–6; 1991, 150). In practice, though, the immediate motivation behind private conduct appears to have been addressed explicitly, and in many cases, was probably less abstract than that which inspired conduct in the state sphere (Kemp 1995, 29).

Direct evidence for the blurring of boundaries here is particularly elusive, but was conceivably manifest, for example, during occasions such as official religious festivals and processions at which public participation was granted.

The identities of the participants and benefactors

A further area of potential distinction between state and private religion is the identity of the human participants or benefactors. Perhaps the most notable, or at least detectable, difference here is the degree to which the individual was officially sanctioned, with ritual purity a prerequisite for access to the inner confines of state temples (Fairman 1954, 177–8; Morenz 1973, 99–100).

Textiles and stelae found amongst deposits of private votive objects occasionally name priests and priestesses as the donors (Schulman 1967, 154; Pinch 1993, 336–7). Similarly, representations of deities associated primarily with private religion, such as Bes and Taweret, occur on New Kingdom palace furniture and reliefs (Winlock 1912, 186; Hayes 1959, 338; Smith 1998, 164–7), in royal birth scenes (Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 307; Malaise 1990, 690), and on personal objects in royal burials (Aldred 1971, 215, pl. 86; Andrews 1994, 40). Depictions of royal figures in the guise of such deities are also known (Green 1992, 28, note 3; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 402–3, no. 105). Religious conduct associated with the private sphere was clearly undertaken by individuals with official cult status, although it is rarely clear in these cases whether they were in a state of ritual

purity, in their role as representative of the official cult, or were acting as private individuals. There may often not have been a clear distinction in such roles. At sites such as Deir el-Medina and Gebel Zeit, some individuals appear to have served both as priests and to have had secular occupations (Morenz 1973, 101; Černý 1975, 625; Peet 1977, 97, 106, 113; Pinch 1993, 345; Ritner 1993, 228, note 1058). Even at the level of kingship there presumably remained a distinction between the king as a mortal individual, and an individual upholding the office of kingship (Silverman 1991, 66–8; 1995). It has been suggested that the presence of deities such as Bes in official contexts points to a degree of integration of a specific aspect of private religion into the state sphere; namely, 'folk beliefs relating to fertility' (Pinch 1993, 359). An avenue for the integration of such beliefs may have arisen through the participation of the king, and other representatives of the state cult, in conduct that was of direct and foremost benefit to themselves as private individuals (see Baines 1991, 150).

Conceivably, a multitude of social factors determined how far any individual's religious undertakings extended into the sphere of state religion: sex, gender, age, ethnicity, economic wealth, occupation, and so on. Ultimately, though, it is difficult to know whether such factors were direct influences on, or hinderances to, an ability to access the state religious sphere, or simply determined how much 'official status' an individual possessed. Intermediary texts and private letters of the Ramesside period seem to indicate that there were no restrictions on access of visitors to the outer areas of temples on the basis of age or sex at that time (Pinch 1993, 342).

It is conceivable that, if private religion was concerned with the direct protection of the individual, it pertained to groups of people under immediate threat. Children may have been one such group. There is a relative abundance of recorded magic spells that are concerned with the protection of children, for instance (Erman 1901). Petrie (1906b, 45) observed during his excavations at the cemetery at Saft el-Henneh, dating to the New Kingdom and beyond, that amulets of Bes and Bastet were found mainly in children's burials, perhaps an extension of the extra protection provided them in daily life.

Socio-economic status, too, has long been suggested as a factor that determined access to the state religious sphere, although the equation of private religion with a 'religion of the poor' implicit in some earlier works (Gunn 1916; Mercer 1949, 367) is at odds with the images of Bes and Taweret in royal contexts, the donation of votive offerings by officials and members of the priesthood, and the participation in aspects of private religion of relatively affluent individuals

at sites such as Deir el-Medina (Sadek 1988, 2; Pinch 1993, 329–30, 343–5). More recently, socio-economic status has been pinpointed as a potential limiting factor on access to religious knowledge. Direct access to texts dealing with topics such as official myths, it is suggested, was restricted to the literate or semi-literate, generally members of the higher socio-economic strata of society, with any knowledge that was subsequently disseminated effectively filtered or restricted (see, in particular, Baines 1990, 6–10; also, Baines 1991, 183; Pinch 1993, 326, 345). Baines (1984, 46) proposes that 'Concern with major cults ... may be characteristic of the elite'. It is sometimes difficult to reconcile these restrictive frameworks, however, with the notion of oral dissemination, and indeed with the archaeological context of some written texts. A corpus of papyri found in the house of Qen-her-khepesh-ef, a scribe in the village of Deir el-Medina, for example, included mythical texts and a copy of the daily ritual for the cult of the deified Amenhotep I, a version of the standard temple ritual (see McDowell 1999, 93–4, no. 63).

The nature and identities of the divinities or transcendental forces

Although certain deities were associated primarily with the state sphere, most could be incorporated, to some degree, into private religion (Sadek 1988, 85). This is evident especially in the realm of personal piety as seen in the late New Kingdom, when private individuals are shown worshipping a wide range of deities upon private stelae and other documents from Deir el-Medina (Černý 1952, 69; Pinch 1993, 349). Indeed, the level of overlap between the deities worshipped in the state and private spheres is an aspect that was probably particularly prone to temporal change.

Prominent amongst deities with significant roles in both realms are Hathor, Amun, Ptah and Thoth (Bleeker 1973, 82–4, 152–5; Morenz 1973, 104, 106; Baines 1987, 96; Pinch 1993, 359), and local divinities can probably be added to this group (Černý 1952, 70–1; Goedicke 1955, 31–2; Trautner 2001, 99–101). Their associations with state religion are reflected in their inclusion in official myths, where they assume roles in creation and the maintenance of world order; their links with kingship; and their worship as the official deities of state temples. Their role in private religion is seen in their appearance in private prayers (Posener 1975; Sadek 1988, 86–9), reception of private votive offerings (Schulman 1963a; 1967; Pinch 1993), appearance in domestic contexts (for example, Bruyère 1939, 275, 318; Giddy 1999, 51–2, pl. 14), worship in privately-maintained shrines (Karin 1970; Sadek 1988; Pinch 1993, 41–8; Kemp 1995, 27–8) and conceivably in the inclusion of their names in those of private individuals (Baines 1987, 95–6; 1991, 176–8). Sometimes, a distinction can be maintained in the roles

these deities played in different religious spheres (Sadek 1988, 85–115). Deities such as Amun, Hathor and Thoth, for instance, appear particularly as problem-solvers or legislators in the private sphere (Bleeker 1973, 153; Posener 1975; Pinch 1993, 351; Assmann 1995, 201), and another important aspect of Hathor's role here was her association with women and children (Pinch 1993, 359). Thoth and Ptah seem to have often been worshipped in the private sphere as patron deities of scribes and craftspeople respectively (Bleeker 1973, 141; te Velde in LÄ IV, 1178; Sadek 1988, 103; Silverman 1991, 54), whilst Amun was sometimes able to provide protection against dangerous animals (Kákossy 1987, 179).

The worship, or service, of deceased individuals seems to have belonged primarily to the private sphere (Baines 1987, 86–8; Silverman 1991, 55), but there was scope for the integration of such activity into the official sphere, particularly when the deceased was of high status in life with links to the official administration and cult. The deified officials Imhotep and Amenhotep, Son of Hapu, were gradually included into the official pantheon of deities and recognised by the king (Wildung 1977, 46, 90–1), whilst the cult of the official Heqaib at Aswan appears to have been patronised by local elite and royalty (Habachi 1969, 50–1; 1980, 158–65; Baines 1991, 158). Living and deceased members of the royal family could also be venerated in the private sphere. Statue cults of kings formed foci for public worship at temples (Nims 1954, 80; Pinch 1993, 251–2, 357), and the worship of members of the royal family is attested in private contexts, particularly at Amarna itself (Ikram 1989) and at Deir el-Medina (Černý 1973, 41–3; Sadek 1988, 131–42). There was much scope for the incorporation of such cults into state religion (Wente 1963; Habachi 1969; Silverman 1991, 72; Johnson 1996).

Divinities associated primarily with the private realm include Bes, Taweret, Renenutet and Hehet. These occur with relative frequency in private domestic contexts (Bruyère 1929; 1930a; 1939; Černý 1952, 71; Kemp 1979b), whilst Taweret is provided with epithets associating her with aspects of daily life and well-being (McDowell 1999, 102–4). Although Bes and Taweret sometimes appear in New Kingdom palaces, it is in private, domestic contexts (Winlock 1912, 186; Hayes 1959, 338; Smith 1998, 164–7); whilst Bes-figures appear in scenes of the king's birth, it is as protectors of the infant sun god (Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 307; Malaise 1990, 690). During the New Kingdom, such deities were apparently worshipped in small shrines (Davies and Davies 1939; Gundlach in LÄ VI, 496; Sadek 1988, 70; van Siclen 1990), probably located largely beyond state temple contexts, although a New Kingdom temple to Taweret is mentioned in the Wilbour Papyrus (Gardiner 1948, 43; McDowell 1999, 103). From the Late Period onwards Bes- and Taweret-images are represented more frequently in state temple

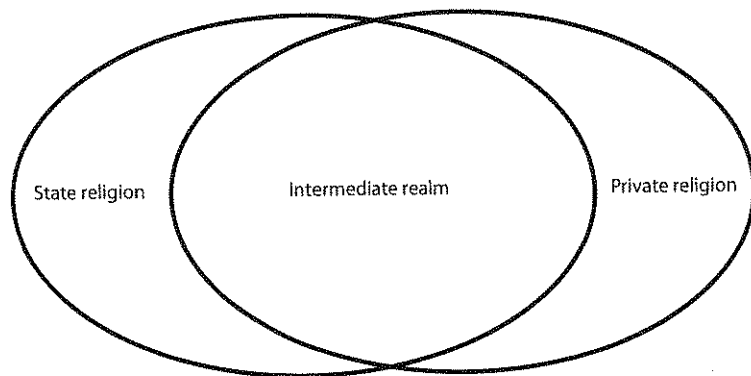


Figure 1.2.1. Diagrammatic representation of the overlap between state and private religious spheres. For the New Kingdom, at least, a considerable intermediate realm of belief and conduct can be posited.

complexes (Altenmüller in LÄ I, 721; PM VI, 209–11; Davies and Smith 1997, 124), sometimes occupying their own shrines (Quibell 1907, 12–14, pls XXVI–XXIX; Fakhry 1974, 96–7; PM VII, 309–10; Gundlach in LÄ VI, 496; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1987, 10–12; Pinch 1993, 223, 240), although these seem still to have functioned largely within the realm of public cult.

The nature of the conduct

Potentially, the type of conduct itself is another distinguishing element, although this is particularly difficult to assess. Within state temples, basic components of ritual included the purification and dressing of the cult image, the offering of insignia, food, drink and incense, and the recitation of appropriate spells and hymns (Fairman 1954; Morenz 1973, 87–8, 90–3; David 1981, 162; Tawfik 1988; McDowell 1999, 93–4; Assmann 2001, 47–51). Festivals were also appropriate modes of conduct (Fairman 1954, 182–200; Sadek 1988, 167).

Basic components of private religion during the New Kingdom seem to have included the offering of goods, often to divine images (Morenz 1973, 108; Sadek 1988, 78; Pinch 1993, 333–48; Robins 1993b, 163); oral or written communication with divinities and transcendental forces (Černý 1962, 40–6; Morenz 1973, 93; Baines 2002); and attendance at festivals (Gardiner 1959; Valbelle 1985, 318–23; Sadek 1988, 78; Pinch 1993, 344). Magic also seems to have played a significant role here, since it was particularly appropriate for the avoidance of personal harm (Baines 1987, 84; 1991, 168). It does not, though, seem to have been restricted to the private realm, but rather employed widely across religious realms and social spheres (Borghouts in LÄ III,

1138–43; 1982, 32–3; Baines 1987, 84; 1991, 165, 167–8; Ritner 1989, 103; 1993, 4–28, 189, 204–7).

One potential differentiating factor is the level of outward 'structure' of conduct, in the sense that a degree of informality or flexibility may have been present in some forms of private ritual that was largely absent from state temple cult (Baines 1991, 150; Kemp 1995, 26). Whereas the latter was conducted on regular occasions, private religion may often have been undertaken simply as required, particularly in response to an immediate need (Baines 1991, 150), although it too may have acquired a sense of regular patterning, through links with daily routines, or celestial events (see Baines 2002, 24).

Tied in with this is perhaps a sense of greater informality, reflected, for instance, in the relatively rudimentary nature of some private votive stelae, such as those from the Temple of Ptah at Memphis (Schulman 1967). Pinch (1993, 44, 331) has noted that fewer of the offerings dedicated to Hathor at the community shrine at Mirgissa were manufactured specifically as votive goods than those at shrines with a greater degree of state influence.

Overview

A useful way of viewing state and private religion is as opposite ends of a spectrum of behaviour and belief between which falls, at least during the New Kingdom, a considerable intermediate realm. When considered in terms of its physical setting, desired outcome, participants and benefactors, attendant divinities and practical structure, behaviour within the latter falls more readily into the sphere of state religion in relation to some aspects and into that of private religion in terms of others. This is represented diagrammatically in Figure

1.2.1. The Amarna royal-family stelae mentioned earlier can be best placed within this intermediate realm. Within the present study, private religion is used as a broad term, encompassing all but strict state religion.

Discussion of private religion is sometimes hampered, especially in Egyptological contexts, by the profusion of terminology relating to this sphere (practical, popular, private, everyday, domestic, personal religion are examples) and in inconsistencies in the definition and application of these terms.¹ A useful means of approaching the classification of religious belief and practice is to consider again the spectrum represented in Figure 1.2.1. Within the intermediate realm, theoretical subsets can be defined on the basis of conduct linked by a common element, be it the identity of the participants and divinities, the motivation behind the conduct, or its nature and setting. Domestic religion forms a subset defined on the basis of location, in this case the home; fertility religion is defined on the basis of motivation, and so on. The degree to which such subsets were apparent in ancient Egypt is likely to have varied, and the use of these units of analysis brings the risk of implying that the ancient religious landscape was more fractured than was the case. They do, nonetheless, form useful bases for discussion or analysis, when defined clearly and applied consistently.

The position of mortuary religion

A note is required on the absence of mortuary religion in the above discussion. Relatively little research has focussed on the broader context of mortuary religion in ancient Egypt; those beliefs and practices associated with death, but which extended beyond the context of the funeral alone. The available research suggests that there was considerable potential for its interaction with daily life and private religion (for example, Friedman 1985; Pinch 2003; Sadek 1988, 3, in contrast sees little interaction here). The dead, for instance, were able to intervene in the affairs of the living, and the presentation of offerings to the *3b* ('justified dead', in this context probably a deceased ancestor; Friedman 1985, 96) within the home illustrates one very tangible way in which cult practices associated with the deceased overlapped with domestic religion. In effect, a third circle representing mortuary religion should be added to Figure 1.2.1. Exactly where it should be positioned remains somewhat unclear, particularly in relation to

¹ Consider Sadek (1988, 2), who introduces in his *Popular Religion in Ancient Egypt* the term 'personal religion' alongside that of 'popular religion'. The latter is defined as a group of 'beliefs and practices of the Egyptian people themselves, outside of the endowed, state-run, secluded official temple-cults', but personal religion remains undefined, its relationship to popular religion unclear.

the state sphere, although the Amarna evidence itself suggests there may have been considerable overlap here between all three spheres, a point taken up in Part III.4.

Archaeology and private religion

Ritual, conduct and belief

In archaeological studies of religion it has become standard to emphasise the distinction between religious behaviour and belief, the former seen as archaeologically recoverable, and the latter less so. Whilst an important starting point, methodological frameworks that set up too rigid a distinction between belief and action run the risk of decontextualising the subject. A recent appraisal of archaeological approaches to religion notes an inclination towards the separation of religion from life in many studies (Insoil 2004). Concurrently, a tendency to equate religious behaviour with religious ritual, and in the extreme ritual and religion itself, can be detected (see again Insoil 2004). In this study, I view religious behaviour as comprising both action and conduct. Brown's (1993, 2538) definition of religion is a useful guide here in the sense that it draws a similar distinction:

Belief in or sensing of some superhuman controlling power or powers, entitled to obedience, reverence, and worship, or in a system defining a code of living..... Also.... action or conduct indicating such belief.

I draw a key distinction between religious action and conduct in terms of the degree to which the human participant plays a physically active and mentally conscious role. In religious conduct, although a divinity or transcendental force may be understood to act, the physical or conscious effort of the human participant is not necessary. An example is the wearing of amuletic jewellery. In some respects, religious conduct will be less restricted to a specific physical zone, allowing its human participant greater scope to participate physically and consciously in other activities, either simultaneously or exclusively. In religious action, however, the human participant can play a highly physically active and conscious role. Examples of religious action include the undertaking of magical rites or the offering of votive material, both of which demand a degree of physical participation. Religious ritual can be viewed as a key component of religious action. Sometimes, religious conduct and action are, in effect, amalgamated. The physical placement of an amulet on the body essentially comprises a religious action, but the subsequent wearing of the amulet can be better considered religious conduct.

My aim in working with the Amarna material is to move away from the notion of ritual alone towards the realm of religious conduct. At the same time, I seek to work towards the placement of religion in the broader context of community and personal life at the city.

Identifying evidence

The identification of the material remnants of religion is notoriously problematic. The fundamental concern is the means by which it can be distinguished from material used solely for secular purposes, a problem that is particularly evident at settlement sites. Material that served a decorative purpose or derived from play seems most likely, in general, to bear the closest similarities to that associated with religious behaviour (Renfrew 1985, 15; 1994, 52). This is largely true in relation to Egyptian settlement contexts, reflected in the differences of opinion over whether female figurines were used as dolls (for example, Janssen and Janssen 1990, 46) or fertility figures (Pinch 1993, 198–234; Robins 1994, 234–5), and the difficulties in determining whether items of personal jewellery were intended to serve a decorative or amuletic purpose (Boyce in AR V, 160–1).

In an influential series of publications, Renfrew (1985; 1994, 51; Renfrew and Bahn 1996, 390–2) sought to address directly the question of how the remnants of religion can be recognised. He offered a group of archaeological indicators of cult (used to mean religious ritual), which can be summarised as follows:

- the occurrence of religious imagery;
- the presence of material in defined physical religious contexts;
- the occurrence of parallel material or features in defined physical religious contexts;
- the physical incorporation of elements of potential religious significance;
- the occurrence of physical signs of treatment in a religious manner;
- the attribution of a religious nature to parallel material or features in textual or epigraphic sources.

In applying these to a data set, it is necessary to consider both the nature of the material itself and its find context.

Recently this list has been criticised as, unintentionally, reducing the archaeological recognition of religion to a formulaic 'checklist' (Insoli 2004, 96). Whilst perhaps lacking nuance, Renfrew's list remains valuable as an explicit statement of what are, to an extent, universal processes and is particularly important for drawing attention to what can be an opaque stage of research. In the end, processes of selection are inevitable in any

study of the archaeology of religion. Also inevitable, it seems, is the tendency of such processes to follow broadly those of this list.

Renfrew's list is intended to identify the remnants of ritual, reflecting the author's broader distinction between religious belief and ritual, yet in effect it serves to identify a mixture of the remnants of ritual and conduct. In practice, at least in an Egyptian context, there is great overlap between material used for either purpose. This intermixing is probably particularly acute at settlement sites. One crude means of distinguishing between the remnants of ritual and conduct is to consider its find context: material found at defined religious spaces is likely to result, in large part, from ritual. Such material is particularly important in that it can be identified, although rarely with complete confidence, as lying in its original usage context, and so it allows for the direct identification of isolated occurrences of ritual, or religious action. This material will not, however, reflect accurately those rituals occurring beyond the limits of defined religious spaces, or religious conduct in a broader sense.

More often, it will be impossible to distinguish between the remnants of ritual and conduct, as is immediately evident from consideration of the processes of deposition and redeposition that link the material with the archaeological record. It is possible to envisage a number of scenarios in which the portable remnants of religion are deposited into the archaeological record in the context in which they were last used for a religious purpose. They may, for example, be deposited deliberately into a sealed context such as a foundation deposit, or be present in an active religious context when it becomes inactive. Material originally deposited as such may be subsequently removed from an active or inactive religious space, seen in the clearance of votive objects from shrines (Pinch 1993, 23; Walker 1995), or via subsequent looting or the application of inadequate excavation techniques. Many items, however, may not have possessed a constant and archaeologically recognisable usage context. Amuletic pendants worn during life would fall into this category.

Of the material recovered from a settlement site, therefore, some will have been deposited whilst in use in a religious sense, a portion of which will be left in defined physical cult contexts. The remainder will have been deposited at other stages of its life cycle, whether manufacture, exchange, transport, storage, or use for a secular function. In effect, some of the latter will not reflect actual religious conduct or action at all.

Isolating private religion

Because this study comes with the caveat that it is concerned only with the material relating to private religion, as defined above, the question of how to isolate this arises. In effect, the question is how to link abstract definition with archaeology. Akhetaten, as all settlements, was comprised of components that were established, controlled and utilised to differing degrees by state and private interests, and its archaeological record derives from conduct undertaken with varying degrees of state and private influence.

Of the areas of distinction between state and private religion suggested above, few offer readily recognisable archaeological correlates. This is reflected also in Assmann's (1995, 190) division of (non-funerary) religion as: "official religion" (state), "local religion" (nome and town), "popular religion" (house and family) and "personal religion" (individual). Abstract definition and the practicalities of working with the archaeological record here cannot be easily resolved. The indicator 'house' has a direct archaeological correlate, but 'individual' and 'family' do not. Ultimately, archaeological studies rely overwhelmingly on 'location' as a means of positioning evidence within a particular religious realm.

Within the current study, I work from the principle of exclusion, so that if material was found in the inner confines of a temple and fits all other prerequisites for state religion it has not been considered. This remains a somewhat crude method, leaving open the potential for the selected corpus to be distorted by activities such as the clearance of official cult material from state temples, but no finer level of differentiation between the remnants of private and state religion can be realistically achieved.

Part II. Inventory

II.1. Background and resources

The inventory presented here contains material from all major phases of excavation at Amarna. It has been compiled from:

- The reports of the EES excavations, *City of Akhenaten I–III* and *Amarna Reports I–VI*; the report of the excavations of the DOG, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna*; Petrie's *Tell el-Amarna*; and preliminary excavation reports published as journal articles.
- The object registration cards from the early EES excavations, now part of the EES Amarna Archive.
- The object registration cards of the current EES excavations.
- Direct examination of objects from the current EES excavations in the on-site Amarna magazine.
- Direct examination, during 1999–2000, of Amarna material in the following museums: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; British Museum, London; Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York; Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Musée du Louvre, Paris; and the Petrie Museum, University College, London. The Malkata Archive in the Metropolitan Museum of Art was also consulted for comparative data.
- Supplementary secondary publications.

In terms of provenance, the material falls into three main categories:

- *Material that originated from Amarna and for which a specific provenance is known.* It has been a priority of research to identify material in this category. A known provenance usually means assignment to a 'suburb' and a distinct building unit. It should be noted that although individual buildings were generally assigned separate numbers by the early excavators, sometimes one number was given to a group of small houses, or alternatively separate numbers were assigned to distinct components of a larger estate. Only occasionally, in the early excavation records, are objects assigned to a distinct space, usually a room, within a building complex. Stratigraphic details are rare, and usually very general when available.
- *Material found at the site, but for which no details of its exact find context remain.* Much of the material in this category comprises objects from Petrie's excavations, although this material is not entirely without provenance. Most of it presumably originated from the Central City and its immediate

environs, particularly in and around the Great Temple and Great Palace and the area to the south of these complexes.

- *Material that is thought to originate from the site but which cannot be identified in the excavation records.* Most of this category comprises material in museums to which an Amarna provenance has been assigned but which retains no excavation number or other means of cross-reference to the field records. In such cases, there is no means of confirming that the material originated from Amarna.

My aim here is to present an overview of the types of material of potential relevance for private religion from the site. This is not an exhaustive collection. Along with the difficulties in identifying the material remnants of religion in general, and that from the early excavations at the site, the large quantity of material and its distribution around the world renders the production of a complete corpus an impossible task. Studying Amarna material in museum collections also brings its own set of difficulties, stemming in particular from unrecorded find provenances, as just noted. The artefacts in the Petrie Museum, for example, retain little of their original context because there is no accession list from Petrie's excavation and there has been some disturbance of the material within the museum, namely during World War II (Samson 1978, 14).

Excavation at the site is ongoing, and the material excavated up to the 2000 season is incorporated here. Work in residential areas over recent seasons has produced more material of interest from well-recorded contexts. This material is currently being prepared for publication (Kemp forthcoming b) and is not included here. For reasons of practicality, it has also been necessary to exclude from detailed examination certain categories of artefact that occur in proliferation and have perhaps tenuous associations with religious behaviour. No attempt has been made to identify every item of jewellery bearing floral motifs, for example.

The large quantity of material has made it unfeasible to provide inventory entries for individual objects. As much information as possible is provided on individual pieces but group descriptions are given for material that is particularly prevalent. As a first step in placing the Amarna material in a broader context, and to provide a framework for readers from a non-Egyptological background, each general object group is introduced by a brief statement outlining its potential functions, religious and otherwise, and following most entries

a brief overview of the symbolism of the imagery is provided, with examples of parallel material. Where obtainable and appropriate, find provenances of individual objects or object categories are also listed. These provenance lists do not include material from Petrie's excavations.

Also provided, where available, is a list of excavation numbers and museum accession numbers. Each expedition has followed a slightly different numbering system: numbers of the form '12/13.456' are from the excavations of the DOG; of the form '32/56' are from the EES excavations in the early twentieth century; whilst the current EES excavations use single numbers, as '32564'. Several Amarna objects in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, had not been accessioned when examined in 2000; these pieces are indicated as 'ÄMP -'. Finally, for readers wishing to find further details of particular objects, each entry is followed by a list of page references in the original excavation reports, and on occasion to relevant secondary publications. It is important to note that many objects do not appear in excavation reports, and nor were all objects assigned excavation numbers. Readers seeking further information should also consult the Amarna Small Finds Database, available on line at www.amarnaproject.com.

A note is required of the illustrations presented in the inventory. Some of these have been made from the objects themselves, but on the whole this has not been possible. In most cases, they are based on illustrations on the object cards in the EES Amarna Archive from the early twentieth century work of the society. These are nearly always not of the standard expected of archaeological illustration today, but nonetheless they are still useful visual aids. Where available, though, object photographs from the archive have also been consulted to add and correct detail (largely through the careful work of Andy Boyce and Anne Taylor), and this is indicated in the captions to the illustrations.

The material presented here has been selected according to the framework outlined in Part 1.2. Despite the best efforts in reducing the level of subjectivity in this process, it would be misleading to claim there was not a degree of intuition inherent in the selection of the material. In collating the inventory I have also taken a fairly inclusive approach. The question, therefore, of how often potential religious significance translated into actual religious significance should always be kept in mind.

II.2. Jewellery and small amulets

Jewellery and small amulets comprise the most prolific category of evidence. Several studies of Amarna jewellery have been undertaken, some of which consider aspects such as symbolism, function and religious significance (Shaw in AR I; Shannon in AR IV; Boyce in AR V, VI; Györy 1998), although a greater range of material is included here.

In presenting the material below, the typology of faience pendants compiled by Boyce (in AR VI, 345–55), supplemented by those of the early EES excavations (CoA II, pl. XLIX–L; CoA III, pl. CXII) and Petrie (1894, pls XIV–XX) is followed. Those in Boyce's typology are assigned a single letter and number (e.g. 'A5'). Those assigned to the *City of Akhenaten* corpora, of which Boyce's is a revised version, are prefixed by a Roman numeral (e.g. 'IV.A.5'). Forms assigned to Petrie's typology are prefixed 'Petrie type'. Occasionally, forms that are not paralleled amongst the published Amarna typologies have been encountered. Some presumably represent new types, but in the case of those in museum collections, it may be that they have been incorrectly assigned an Amarna provenance. Although museum collections regularly include items of jewellery thought to originate from Amarna, often in significant quantity, direct documentation of its find context is often lacking.

The early excavators seem to have paid particular attention to royal-name jewellery for the chronological information it could provide, but faience jewellery, nonetheless, appears quite often in the spoil heaps from these excavations (see Boyce in AR VI, 356, 358–9; Shaw 1999, 275). It is difficult, therefore, to gain an accurate idea of the number of pieces of jewellery of different types excavated, and in general the relative quantities of different types may be a more useful indicator. Of course, there is also no direct correlation between the quantity of pendants that depict a particular motif and the number of complete jewellery items that incorporated this motif, with pendants and beads strung together to form composite pieces. There are some inaccuracies in the identification of function and design of small faience items in the early excavation reports (Boyce in AR VI, 342–3); although in terms of the former, the primary concern here is whether an item could have been used for personal adornment in general. Whilst items of jewellery were sometimes assigned object numbers, more often they were given only a type number, particularly during the early EES work.

Jewellery is clearly suitable for a number of non-religious purposes. Straightforward personal adornment is the most obvious. Stone or metal finger rings, in particular, may also have been used as seals. Scarabs seem to have been primarily amuletic, although in periods leading up to the early New Kingdom some probably served as seals (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 16–17; Andrews 1994, 52). It is generally accepted that faience jewellery was not used as seals given its relative fragility, the occasional blurring of designs and its wide distribution amongst non-administrative areas at sites such as Amarna itself (Hayes 1959, 250–1; Boyce in AR V, 160–1).

There has been some debate over whether faience rings would have been worn extensively in life (Hayes 1959, 250–1, for example, suggests not). Although certainly unsuitable for use during heavy labour, their fragility does not seem so great as to preclude their wear at least on special occasions. Often, the faience ring shanks are tapered at the back, probably to enhance comfort when bending the finger; the same is often found on finger rings today, particularly very broad ones. The tapering of the faience examples is not produced at the moulding stage of manufacture, but by means of careful post-moulding trimming of the faience before firing. The insertion of this extra stage of manufacture seems superfluous if the rings were not intended for wear.

Distinguishing between jewellery used for secular and religious purposes is virtually impossible, beyond the use of symbolism as an indicator of potential religious significance. Jewellery and amulets also played an important role in mortuary religion, and whilst some forms of specialised funerary jewellery are known, examples of which can be recognised from Amarna, much jewellery from burials is of the same type as that which seems to have been used in life.

Deities

Amun-Re

A blue faience scarab found at N50.15/16 in the Main City bore the names of Amun-Re and Amenhotep IV (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 305) and a fragmentary blue faience scarab-shaped bead from within the Workmen's Village possibly bore part of the name of the god (obj. 6163). A glazed limestone scarab with the name Amun-Re was recovered from the Sanctuary of the Small Aten

Temple (CoA III, 99), whilst a blue glass ring with partially preserved bezel from U24.3 in the North City bears the name Amun-Re (obj. 31/417). The name of the god also appears alongside that of Tutankhamun on ring bezels, seven examples of which are recorded (Petrie types 118 and 119).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	2
MC	2
NS	4
WV	2
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

Scarabs: 11.272; 31/445

Beads: 6163

Rings: 31/417; 8762

Publications

Scarabs: CoA III, 99; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 305

Rings: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.118, 119; CoA II, 35, 40, 75, 79;

CoA III, 120; Shannon in AR IV, 155

Symbolism and parallels

The cult of Amun-Re, the manifestation of the state god Amun and the solar creator god Re, rose to particular prominence during the Eighteenth Dynasty. At around this time, names of deities also began to appear on scarabs. Those of Amun and Amun-Re were particularly popular and were sometimes accompanied by that of a king, including predecessors of Akhenaten (Petrie 1925, 21; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 91; Andrews 1994, 55). Scarabs with the name of Amun/Amun-Re are known from private tombs (e.g. Bruyère 1937a, 70, fig. 34). An example with the name of Amun-Re from the vicinity of the Sphinx at Giza (Hassan 1953, 38, fig. 26) was perhaps a votive offering. Small seal impressions with the names and images of Amun and Amun-Re also feature amongst material excavated at Malkata (Hayes 1951, 168, figs 31–3; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 91).

Anubis or Seth

Eight pieces of jewellery with possible images of Anubis or Seth have been identified. Four scarabs depict a striding, apparently jackal-headed, god with a *was*-sceptre that may represent Anubis (types II.C.6 and II.C.8). Single examples were found at U36.22 and V36.12, whilst two originated from U36.34, all in the North Suburb (CoA II, 94, 96). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.139, 142) illustrated two further scarabs bearing this motif (Figure II.2.1). A striding figure on a brown stone bead from P47.2 in the Main City is identified in the excavation report as Anubis (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 95). A blue faience fragment of an Anubis figure, presumably an



Figure II.2.1. Two scarabs with possible jackal-headed gods. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XV.139, 142).

item of jewellery, was also recorded from Q47.14 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	27
MC	2
NS	4

Object and museum numbers

Bead: 12/13.411

Unknown function: 13/14.530

Publications

Scarabs: CoA II, 94, 96; Petrie 1894, pl. XV.139, 142

Bead: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 95

Unknown function: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86

Symbolism and parallels

Anubis was associated primarily with the funerary cult, as the patron deity of mummification and protector of the dead (Kees 1923), although from the early Eighteenth Dynasty the role of the god seems to have expanded to that of a universal master of creation with growing associations with royalty (Kaper 1993, 173). Amulets depicting a jackal or jackal-headed deity were produced from the Old Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 46–7). Depictions of the god on scarabs were relatively rare (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 93).

Aten

At least 28 faience 'plaques' bearing the name or names of the Aten appear in the excavation records. Most are identified more closely as pendants, but a few are listed simply as 'cartouches' and were perhaps inlays. The majority show the name of the god in a single or double cartouche. The early form of the name is represented on 11 examples (primarily type IV.E.5, with one type IV.E.10). One collar pendant of type X3 from the Great Palace bears only the inscription 'Aten', not contained within a cartouche (CoA III, 45; Boyce in AR VI, 354). The form of the remaining examples is unknown.

Six rings in faience, limestone and metal bearing the name of the Aten have been identified (the faience example is type I.A.7a: CoA III, 122; see also Shaw in AR I, 129). At least two show the early form of the name (CoA III, 122, 136). A bronze ring from the area of the Clerks'

Houses in the Central City was inscribed 'Living Aten, Lord of Provisions' (CoA III, 123), whilst another bore the inscription 'Aten, Lord of Eternity' (CoA II, 74). An openwork gold object identified by the excavators as a brooch and inscribed 'Aten, Lord of Eternity' was found buried beneath the floor in T34.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 66, pl. XLVI.3). It was perhaps an inlay or appliqué. A piece of limestone with the early names of the Aten and those of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, suggested as a bracelet fragment, was also found in association with the King's House in the Central City (CoA III, 89).

Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.29, 65–7, 70–81) illustrated 24 items of jewellery or small amulets bearing the name of the Aten. He noted (1894, 28) that the majority of small finds bearing the name of Aten were moulded 'plaques', with only one ring and no scarabs. Two, however, are identified elsewhere as rings (Petrie 1894, 16, 28, pl. XIV.29, 76) and one as a bead (Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.70; Boyce in AR VI, 349). Of the plaques, Petrie types 65, 71, 75, 79 and 80 appear to have suspension loops and are probably pendants; some others may simply be pendants with the loops broken off. Nineteen of these 24 pieces bear the early form of the name of the god, with the remainder depicting the later form (Petrie 1894, pl. XIV).

The majority of faience items with the name of the god have a blue glaze, although one reddish brown-glazed example, one yellow-glazed and a few green-glazed pieces occur (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 164, 181; Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.81).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	16 + up to 24
MC	8
NS	8 + 17
WV	1
KN	2

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11.596, 11/12.267, 12/13.192, 12/13.328, 12/13.1389, 13/14.315, 13/14.455; 30/143; 17903, 21198
Rings: 21/102, 31/92, 33/221, 33/318
'Brooch': 30/609

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 47, 50, 56–8, 67, 74, 86; CoA III, 19, 45, 56, 66, 69, 82, 89, 98, 119–21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 69, 78, 147, 150, 164, 181, 242
'Plaques' (the majority probably pendants): Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.65–7, 71–5, 77–81
'Bead': Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.70
Rings: Petrie 1894, 16, 28, pl. XIV.29, 76; CoA III, 74, 122–3, 136; Shaw in AR I, 129
'Brooch': CoA II, 66, pl. XLVI.3

Symbolism and parallels

The vast majority of known jewellery items with the name of the Aten originate from Amarna, although the excavation of a pendant with the name of the god from Malkata (Hayes 1951, 233–4, fig. 34.R23) indicates that they were not exclusive to this site, and may have been in production prior to the reign of Akhenaten.

Bes-image

Over 500 provenanced items of jewellery bearing Bes-images appear in the excavation records: 502 pendants and 19 rings. Two pieces identified as rings in the DOG excavation report (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 178, 207) have been located in Berlin and are actually pendants, which raises the possibility that other rings have been similarly misidentified. Various designs occur (Figure II.2.2). The most common, type A10 (= Petrie type 288), is a small Bes-image in profile playing a circular instrument, which has been identified variously as a drum, tambourine or set of cymbals. These are generally small, less than 1.5 cm in height, and are often quite rudimentary with few features modelled. Also common are pendants up to 2 cm in height, again showing a Bes-image in profile with circular instrument, but with more detail; these fall somewhere between types A10 and A11 (= Petrie type 291), but a range of design variations occur. Alternatively, the Bes-image can be shown frontally, squatting with his hands upon his knees. Examples of this type tend to be slightly larger, between around 2.5 and 4 cm in height, and are again detailed. Ten are of type IV.A.13 (= Petrie type 287) or similar, which again shows a relatively large detailed Bes-image in profile playing a tambourine or drum. In a few cases, Bes is represented with snakes (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 71), accompanied by figures of Taweret (CoA I, 86), or playing a pipe-like instrument (Petrie UC11114; CoA I, 22, pl. XIII.2, top right). One blue faience pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC2008) shows what may be a standing figure of Bes wearing a feather headdress and holding a snake (probably Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.289). Petrie type 286 shows a large blue faience Bes-image playing a circular instrument (probably Petrie UC2022). The lower legs and suspension bead are broken away, but the figure is preserved to 2.8 cm. Petrie type 290 (Petrie UC2023) shows a large frontal Bes image in, unusually, green faience. A red suspension bead is attached, slightly askew, at the top of the head with a dollop of blue glaze.

A number of Bes-image 'amulets' also occur; it is not clear if these were pendants or other jewellery items (Boyce in AR VI, 348). Two are openwork figures (type IV.A.14) in which a Bes-image is shown frontally inside a rectangular frame, wearing a kilt and with leonine face. Two show a Bes-image in profile playing a drum or tambourine (type IV.A.12).

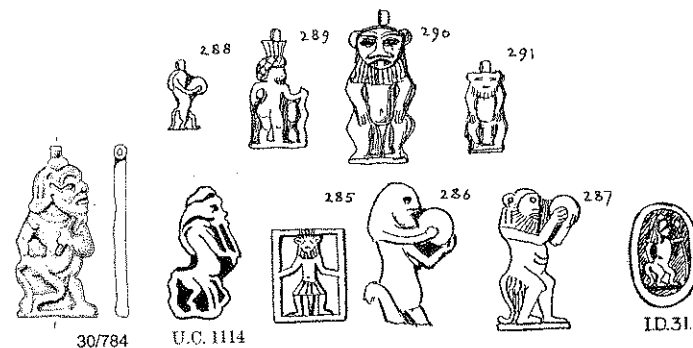


Figure 11.2.2. Bes-image pendant types, and ring-bezel I.D.31. 30/784 is from the 1930s EES excavations in square T25 in the North City. Scale 1:1. (30/784 drawn by A. Boyce after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs, I.D.31 after CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.D.31, and UC.1114 after CoA III, pl. CVIII.UC.1114. All reproduced courtesy of the EES. The remainder after Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.285–91).

At least two gold rings thought to originate from the Royal Tomb also bore Bes-images. One shows a figure of a dancing Bes-image with a tambourine and possible *st*-sign, and the other depicts two Bes-figures between two *njb*-signs (Blackman 1917, 44–5, pl. XIII.7, 8; Martin 1974, 77, no. 277–8; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 269, no. 228). A third gold ring from the Royal Tomb, stolen in 1913, may have depicted a Bes-image (Martin 1974, 77). A necklace of seven faience Bes pendants and various beads, including one in the form of a *wdr*-eye, also originated from the Royal Tomb (Edinburgh 1883.49.14; Martin 1974, 79–80, no. 289, pl. 50).

Occasionally, multiple Bes-image pendants have been found in close association, suggesting that they were strung together. A necklace of 20 Bes pendants with a central cat pendant was excavated at T35.3 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 41, pl. XXVIII.7). Fourteen Bes pendants found at O47.14 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 85) and five examples from U36.34 (CoA II, 94) may also have originated from single jewellery items.

The vast majority of Bes-image jewellery is made of blue-glazed faience. The occurrence of two stone moulds with Bes-images suggests that metal jewellery items of the god were also in circulation at the site. One mould, from T36.39 in the North Suburb, shows a Bes-image in profile, with arms stretched in front, perhaps holding a circular instrument. The figure measures around 2.5 cm high. Its limbs and tail are quite finely detailed (obj. 30/20; CoA II, 46, pl. XL). The other, from T33.7B in the North Suburb, shows a similar figure (obj. 31/215; CoA II, 69). No other divinities appear on the small number of stone moulds or metal jewellery items recorded from the site.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	5
MC	198
NS	177
WV	90
SS	4
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11.108, 11.112, 11.196, 11.240, 11.307, 11.316, 11.327, 11.432, 11.683 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11.738 (ÄMP –), 11/12.5, 11/12.69, 11/12.74, 11/12.120 (x2), 11/12.125, 11/12.149, 11/12.162 (ÄMP –), 11/12.209, 11/12.233 (x2), 11/12.252, 11/12.271 (x2), 11/12.273 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11/12.274, 11/12.279 (ÄMP –), 11/12.280 (ÄMP –), 11/12.284 (ÄMP –), 11/12.299 (ÄMP –), 11/12.305 (ÄMP –), 11/12.328 (ÄMP –), 11/12.350 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11/12.363 (x3) (ÄMP –), 11/12.370 (ÄMP –), 11/12.373 (ÄMP –), 11/12.383 (ÄMP –), 11/12.418 (ÄMP –), 11/12.450 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11/12.462, 11/12.480, 11/12.484, 11/12.491 (ÄMP –), 11/12.558, 11/12.595 (ÄMP 25410), 11/12.625 (ÄMP –), 11/12.720 (x4), 11/12.841 (x4), 11/12.843, 11/12.982 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1002, 11/12.1047 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11/12.1056 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1112 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1122, 11/12.1129, 11/12.1185 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1345 (x2) (ÄMP –), 11/12.1381 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1468, 11/12.1564 (ÄMP –), 11/12.1571, 12/13.84 (ÄMP –), 12/13.89 (ÄMP –), 12/13.189 (ÄMP –), 12/13.226 (ÄMP –), 12/13.250 (ÄMP –), 12/13.398 (x2), 12/13.508, 12/13.534, 12/13.861 (ÄMP –), 12/13.1113, 12/13.1119 (ÄMP –), 12/13.1264 (ÄMP –), 12/13.1598 (ÄMP –), 12/13.1673 (x3) (ÄMP –), 13/14.2 (ÄMP –), 13/14.9 (ÄMP –), 13/14.38, 13/14.69 (ÄMP –), 13/14.78 (ÄMP –), 13/14.426 (ÄMP 30820), 13/14.476 (ÄMP –), 13/14.482 (x14), 13/14.551 (ÄMP –), 13/14.783 (ÄMP –), 13/14.870

(x2) (ÄMP –), 13/14.932 (ÄMP –), 13/14.957; 21/46, 21/54, 21/58, 21/83, 21/108, 21/109, 21/156, 21/169, 21/177, 21/209, 21/217, 22/221, 21/233, 21/435, 21/460, 23/16, 23/87, 23/115, 23/166, 23/171, 23/231, 23/231, 23/246, 23/250, 23/246, 23/250, 23/271, 23/318, 23/332, 23/430, 23/447; 24/573, 24/577, 24/731, 24/732, 24/759, 24/828, 24/830, 24/867, 24/984, 25/12, 25/14, 25/94, 25/904, 29/73, 30/323, 30/784, 36/86; 216, 847, 848, 1259, 1291, 1452, 1537, 1554, 1628, 1653, 1668, 1854, 1944, 1973, 2006, 2198, 2212, 2246, 2436, 2464, 2496, 2717, 2725, 3236, 3332, 3397, 3532, 3564, 3601, 3736, 3792, 4207, 4261, 4281, 4359, 4528, 4533, 4573, 4592, 4060, 4616, 4619, 4697, 4762, 4800, 4925, 4955, 5002, 5081, 5197, 5198, 5219, 5399, 5546, 5779, 6027, 6055, 6095, 6225, 6469, 6571, 6767, 6768, 6786, 6993, 7151, 7344, 7693, 7858, 7861, 8344, 8394, 8400, 8620, 8878, 8933, 11240, 17292; 17731, 21294, 31376, 32608, 32815, 40290; Petrie UC2008, UC2022–3, UC46998 (x30), UC47032; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1114, UC1124–8, UC1129–317, UC1133–43, UC11447, UC2024, UC23681 (x48), UC23682 (x7), UC23683–5, UC23686 (x2), UC23818, UC23819 (x16), UC68269
Rings: 12/13.274, 12/13.280, 12/13.530, 12/13.623, 11/12.918, 13/14.561, 13/14.1014, 12/13.1197, 12/13.1551, 12/13.530, 24/573, 24/984, 6120
Unknown function: 11/12.1185, 13/14.932; 30/167; 5079; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC52794

Publications

Pendants: CoA I, 18–19, 21–4, 26, 28, 30, 32–3, 68–9, 85–8, pls X.3, XIII.2, 6; CoA II, 30, 78–97, pl. XXIX.1; CoA III, 13, 20, 32, 85, 102–5, 110–12, 125–9, 142; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 31, 46, 48, 71, 85–6, 102, 104, 110, 115, 122, 134, 147–50, 152, 162, 169, 174–8, 180–2, 184–6, 188–91; 195, 198, 200, 205, 207, 209, 214, 220, 232, 237, 241, 244, 248, 250, 253, 255, 262, 266, 273, 278, 286, 288, 290–1, 295, 299, 305, 315
Rings: CoA II, 79, 84, 88, 96; CoA III, 32; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 26, 44, 133, 149, 160, 166, 265
Unknown function: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 52, 233

Symbolism and parallels

The term Bes-image is generally applied to a family of deities known in Egypt from at least the Middle Kingdom, amongst which Bes himself was particularly prominent (see Bonnet 1971, 101; Altenmüller in LÄ I, 720–1; Romano 1980, 39–40; 1998, 89, 94–6; Malaise 1990). Bes was connected with the solar cult, but his primary role was that of protector of women and children. During the New Kingdom, the Bes-image was a popular motif for a range of household and personal items (Romano in Brovarski et al. 1982, 209, no. 246; Kendall in Brovarski et al. 1982, 269, no. 374).

Small amulets in the form of Bes-images were manufactured from at least the Eighteenth Dynasty, usually naked frontal figures with their hands on their

hips (Andrews 1994, 39–40). Those of a Bes-image in profile with circular instrument, as seen at Amarna, are first known from the reign of Amenhotep III, with many examples from Malkata (Hayes 1959, 252, 278). Bes-image amulets and larger figures have been recovered from a great variety of contexts. Larger figures have been found in royal and private burials from the Middle Kingdom onwards, whilst several mid- to late Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs at Saqqara contained faience Bes-image pendants and rings, many very similar to those from Amarna (Kanawati et al. 1984, 61, 66, 70, pls 39, 42, 44; el-Khouli and Kanawati 1988, 43, pl. 45). Small pendants in the form of a Bes-image playing a circular instrument of the type found at Amarna were also excavated in New Kingdom burials at Saft el-Henneh (Petrie 1898b, 45, pl. XXXVIII; 1906b, pl. XXXVIII). Bes-image jewellery has been found in New Kingdom foundation deposits and in the vicinity of shrines, such as the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959, 88; Pinch 1993, 290–2). Faience Bes-image amulets were excavated in Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty contexts at Beth Shan in Palestine, primarily temple deposits (Rowe 1940, 80, pl. XXXIV.71; James 1966, 318, fig. 101.9; McGovern 1990, 19; James and McGovern 1993, 125–8, fig. 58). Bes-image figurines, vessels and masks, and magic wands depicting the god, have been found in Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period houses at sites such as Kahun and Lisht (Petrie 1890, 30, pl. VIII; Mace 1921, 6; Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 103–4, figs 103–4; Bourriau 1988, 110–11). New Kingdom Bes-image pendants were also recovered from settlement remains at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 398). New Kingdom objects and reliefs depicting Bes-images were excavated in domestic contexts at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 93–108, 255–9, 330, figs 131, 133, 136, 202), where Bes-image amulets of similar form to the Amarna examples were also recovered (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11). New Kingdom moulds for small Bes-images figures have also been found in the region of Qantir, including one that can be paralleled amongst the Amarna corpus (Herrmann 1990, 29–30, nos 24–9).

Beset-image

Bosse-Griffiths identified three faience Beset-image pendants of Amarna-period date but unknown provenance. No certain Beset-image amulets appear in the excavation records, although a fragmentary faience amulet from Q46.34 (obj. 23/157) is a possible example (see page 39).

Object and museum numbers

Possibly from Amarna: Fitz. EGA 3637–1943; Swansea W11; Collection of E. and H. Kopfler-Truinger

Publications

Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 98–9

Symbolism and parallels

Beset was linked closely with the Bes-image and similarly associated with both the solar cult and the protection of women and children (Bonnet 1971, 116–17; Altenmüller in LÄ I, 731; Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 102–6). Representations of Beset-images are relatively rare, and most date to the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1987, 6–7). Amongst earlier examples are the Middle Kingdom Beset figures from the so-called magician's tomb at the Ramesseum (Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 102–3, figs 1–2; Bourriau 1988, 110–12) and a wooden figure from a house at Kahun (Petrie 1890, 30, pl. VIII.14; Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 103–4, fig. 3).

Falcon or falcon-headed god

A scarab showing a striding figure of a falcon-headed god holding a *was*-sceptre, and seemingly without headwear, was found at U35.13 in the North Suburb (type II.C.7; CoA II, 92). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.140) illustrated a steatite scarab showing a similar figure (Figure II.2.3). A pendant depicting a seated falcon god, again without headwear and represented almost entirely in animal form, was also found at T33.7A/B in the North Suburb (type A22; Boyce in AR VI, 355). A small rectangular bead said to be from Amarna in the Petrie Museum (UC1145), apparently of wood, shows a standing figure with a staff, and possible falcon-head surmounted by a solar disk.

Distribution
NS 2

Object and museum numbers

Said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1145

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XV.140; CoA II, 92; Boyce in AR VI, 355

Symbolism and parallels

Amulets in the form of falcon-headed figures without headwear are known from at least the Eighteenth Dynasty (Andrews 1994, 28). The identification of the figures is problematic because several deities can be represented in this form, including Re, Re-Harakhty, Horus, Khonsu and Sokar (Bonnet 1971, 144, 307, 626, 724; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 96, 99). Amongst provenanced parallels is a New Kingdom mould for an amulet in the form of a falcon-headed figure without solar disk from the region of Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 26, no. 9). Amulets of squatting falcon-headed figures



Figure II.2.3. Scarab decorated with a striding falcon-headed god. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XV.140).

without headwear have also been found on Late Period mummies, in which context they possibly represent Horus, son of Osiris, or Sokar (Taylor in D'Auria et al. 1988, 181–2; Andrews 1994, 28).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	1?
NS	2

Object and museum numbers**Publications**

Scarabs: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.140; CoA II, 92
Pendant: Boyce in AR VI, 355

Foreign deity

A silver and gold figure found in the so-called Crock of Gold hoard at T36.63 in the North Suburb seems to represent a Hittite divinity, although its exact identity is uncertain. The figure stands, wearing a cap and long skirt, and holds an unidentified object in its hand. It measures 2.7 cm in height. A loop is attached to the back of the head, suggesting it was suspended, perhaps for wear.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

30/489 (Cairo JE 55408)

Publications

Pendlebury 1931, 235, pl. LXXIII.2; CoA II, 59, pl. XLIII.6; see also Bell 1986 and Kemp 1989, 244–6 on the origin of the hoard.

Symbolism and parallels

Bell (1986, 146, notes 13–15) provides an extensive list of parallels from Turkey. A pottery figure from Gurob, possibly part of a vessel, depicts a similar figure (see Thomas 1981, 85, no. 728, pl. 56).

Hathor

At least 57 faience Hathor-head pendants have been excavated (types A2 = Petrie type 280 and A3 = Petrie type 281, or similar; Figure II.2.4). Hathor rings are less common although an example with a Hathor-head was excavated at T34.14 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 84), whilst faience rings with images of a Hathor cow, and a Hathor cow in a boat in a papyrus thicket, were found at N50.11 and N50.17 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke

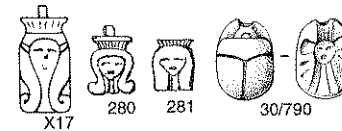


Figure II.2.4. Hathor pendant types, and a rare Hathor-image scarab. Scale 1:1. (X17 after Boyce in AR VI, 345, fig. 11.3; and 307/90 drawn by A. Boyce after the EES object card. Both reproduced courtesy of the EES. 280 and 281 after Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.280–1).

1980, 301, 307). A blue faience ring in the Petrie Museum depicts a probable Hathor head (UC1000). A green faience oval amulet, with an inscription mentioning Amun on one face and a Hathor-headed sistrum with projecting uraei on the other, was recorded from the 'Southern Altar' of the Desert Altars complex (CoA II, 101, pl. XLVII.4). A scarab, possibly pierced, with a Hathor sistrum on the underside was also found in square T25 in the North City (obj. 307/90; Figure II.2.4). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.154) also illustrated a scarab decorated with motifs that included a Hathor-headed sistrum.

At U36.34 in the North Suburb, a bronze *menat* counterpoise measuring 19.5 cm in length decorated with a large Hathor head, a smaller figure of the goddess and a cow in a boat was recovered (Frankfort 1929, 148; CoA II, 22). A 'Hathor head in bronze' was also found at Q45.111 (obj. 25/133). No further details of this piece have been obtained. It may have been a small amulet, although it might be comparable with a bronze Hathor 'nail' from O47.20 (page 199).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	8
MC	22
NS	27
WV	4
NC	1
DA	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11/12.155 (AMP 25346), 11/12.229, 11/12.269 (AMP 25359), 11/12.990 (AMP –), 12/13.169 (x2) (AMP –), 12/13.265 (AMP –), 12/13.1288 (AMP –), 13/14.250 (AMP –), 13/14.291 (x2) (AMP –), 13/14.487, 13/14.755; 21/515, 24/669; 1417, 1532, 5525, 6075, 8585, 30971; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1226–7, UC1495, UC1503, UC23647 (x10), UC23818 (x3), UC68271I–II
Rings: 11.312, 11.389; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1000
Amulets/scarabs: 307/90, 31/302; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1233

Menat counterpoise: 29/118

Publications

Pendants: CoA I, 17, 28; CoA II, 82–5, 87–8, 90–2, 94–6; CoA III, 82, 102, 105, 111, 126; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73, 75, 86, 90, 113, 122, 178, 180–1, 206; Boyce in AR VI, 65
Rings: CoA II, 84; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 301, 307
Amulets/scarabs: CoA II, 101, pl. XLVII.4
Menat counterpoise: Frankfort 1929, 148; CoA II, 22

Symbolism and parallels

Hathor was prominent in both the state and private religious spheres (Bleeker 1973, 22–105; Daumas in LÄ II). In private contexts during the New Kingdom she seems to have been associated in particular with women and their wellbeing. Cow-head amulets that may represent Hathor were produced as early as the Predynastic Period (Andrews 1994, 20, 62). The goddess was represented on scarabs from the Middle Kingdom (Petrie 1925, 28) and continued to appear on jewellery and small amulets during the New Kingdom (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 95). Jewellery depicting Hathor is known from Malkata (for example, MMA 11.215.203; Hayes 1959, 252) and Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11), and New Kingdom moulds for Hathor-head amulets were found near Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 32, nos 38–9). A possible ring bezel or seal showing a Hathor cow on a barque in a papyrus thicket was found in association with the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 170–1). Hathor amulets are known from royal funerary contexts, with amulets in the form of Hathor heads, and one in the form of a sacred cow, found in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Queen Twosret, for example (Davis in Davis et al. 1910, 42, 44–5). *Menats* were also associated with the cult of Hathor, although not exclusively (Andrews 1994, 41–2). They are listed and depicted in offering scenes to the goddess (Parkinson 1991, 80; Colin 1998, 286–7) and counterpoises have been found amongst votive offerings at Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993, 269–72). *Menat* counterpoises have also been found at Semna and Malkata (Hayes 1959, 252; Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 306; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 364), whilst Petrie (1896, 15, pl. XV.75) found an example in a foundation deposit of Thutmose III at Koptos. Miniature bronze *menat* counterpoises and small silver and gold amulets in the form of Hathor heads found at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959, 173, 182; Pinch 1993, 141, 151) provide potential parallels to the bronze Hathor head from Amarna.

Heh

Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.279) illustrated a mould for a kneeling figure with arms upraised that may represent the god Heh (Figure II.2.5). A fragment of a possible pendant in blue faience of a kneeling figure listed from



Figure II.2.5. A pendant type from Petrie's work, possibly of Heh. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.279).

O49.2-5 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 242) was perhaps an image of the god, although other types of kneeling figures appear amongst the Amarna jewellery corpus (see Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.292). A blue faience pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC1256) shows a kneeling figure similar, but not identical, to Petrie type 279.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1?

Object and museum numbers

11.510; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1256

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.279; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 242

Symbolism and parallels

Amulets in the form of Heh, representing 'millions of years', were first produced during the Old Kingdom, and seem to have been particularly used within the funerary realm (see Bourriau 1988, 155-6, no. 175b, c; Andrews 1994, 89). Although the image of the god occurs on New Kingdom scarabs (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 96), Heh pendants from this period appear to be rare; Andrews (1994, 89) suggests they were not produced at all at this time.

Isis

A pendant in the form of a standing figure of Isis, wearing a solar disk and horns and holding a child, was illustrated from the early EES work (type IV.A.18; CoA II, pl. XLIX; Figure 11.2.6), presumably originating from the North Suburb. It is relatively large and may have been unsuitable for composite necklaces or collars (Boyce in AR VI, 348). A small fragment of blue faience found in the grounds south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 3169) preserves part of a solar disk and horn which may be part of the crown of a similar amulet.

A bronze and electrum *menat* counterpoise in Berlin (ÄMP 21838) depicts a goddess in profile holding a *w3s*-sceptre, along with a cow in a boat. The goddess is identified in an inscription as 'Isis, Mother of the God, Mistress of Heaven' (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 363-4, no. 89; Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 234, no. 99). It is said to be from Amarna but is not listed in the DOG excavation report. Two additional possible



Figure II.2.6. Large pendant type showing a female goddess and a child. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. XLIX.IV.A.18; reproduced courtesy of the EES).

counterpoises that may represent Isis, a similar goddess such as Mut, or a queen, were found in the Main City. One of these, a bronze plaque showing a female in profile wearing a heavy wig and collar, was found at K51.1 (obj. 22/502; CoA I, 17, pl. X.2). A feature on the forehead appears to represent a uraeus or a vulture head from a headdress. The excavators identified the figure as Isis. The plaque was broken below the chest, but was preserved to a height of 6.8 cm. It was pierced by two holes towards its top. A similar metal plaque in the form of a female figure in profile wearing either a uraeus or vulture headdress was found in house N50.30. It was preserved to 7.9 cm, probably close to its original height, and again pierced at the top by two holes (obj. 21/125; CoA I, 27; Figure 11.2.7).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	2?
NS	1?
WV	1?

Object and museum numbers

Menat counterpoise: 21/125, 22/502; ÄMP 21838

Publications

Pendant: CoA II, pl. XLIX
Counterpoises: CoA I, 17, 27, pl. X.2



Figure II.2.7. A metal plaque in the form of a female figure wearing a uraeus or vulture headdress, from N50.30 in the Main City. Obj. 21/125. (After EES negative 21.504. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Symbolism and parallels

Isis was a major state deity with close links to kingship and associations with Hathor from the New Kingdom (Bernard 1980). Pendants in the form of the goddess are known primarily from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, although examples showing the goddess suckling Horus probably occurred from at least the Ramesside period (Taylor in D'Auria et al. 1988, 181-2; Andrews 1994, 48). The Amarna pieces could extend this date back to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although most Isis pendants are thought to have been funerary amulets, those showing the goddess suckling have been suggested as protective images used during life, particularly by women and children (Andrews 1994, 48). Images of Isis appear only infrequently on scarabs (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 96).

Maat

A blue faience figure identified as a possible Maat pendant was excavated at M50.3; no further details of this piece have been obtained.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1

Object and museum numbers

11.113

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 283

Symbolism and parallels

The image of Maat represented concepts such as truth and world order. From the Eighteenth Dynasty, the 'offering of *ma'at*' rite emerged as the ultimate state ceremony, although during the Ramesside period some officials were depicted performing it (Hornung 1992, 131-46; Teeter 1997). Amulets showing the goddess are first known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, largely from funerary contexts; one such group comprises the gold pendants from the burial of the wives of Thutmose III (Hayes 1959, 133-4; Andrews 1994, 21-2). Maat was often represented on scarabs and rings, although usually as a hieroglyphic element of a king's name (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 96).

Mut

Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.283, 284) illustrated two moulds with possible figures of Mut or Isis (Figure 11.2.8). Five pendants showing a standing goddess wearing the white crown and carrying a *w3d*-sceptre and 'nh-sign, possibly Mut, were recorded from the North Suburb (Petrie type 283). A pendant showing a striding goddess wearing a vulture crown and carrying a *w3s*-sceptre from



Figure II.2.8. Designs on two moulds found by Petrie, possibly for pendants of the goddess Mut. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.283-4).

P47.1, identified by the excavators as Isis (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 90), might also represent Mut, along with the *menat* counterpoises just discussed. A gold ring thought to have been originated from the Royal Tomb has a frog-shaped bezel inscribed, on its underside, 'Mut, Lady of Heaven'.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1?
NS	5

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 12/13.266? (ÄMP -)

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 78-9, 83, 90; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 90; see also Györy 1998, 501, 503
Ring: Martin 1974, 77, no. 274, pl. 50; see also Aldred 1988, pl. 5; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 268, no. 225

Symbolism and parallels

Mut was in essence a creator and mother goddess, associated with sovereignty and the solar cult (te Velde 1979-80; in LÄ IV, 246-7; Troy 1997). Amulets in the form of the goddess, often shown suckling a child, are known primarily from the Third Intermediate Period (Petrie 1914, 37, pls XXX, XLV, XLVI; Andrews 1994, 22); the Amarna pendants may be the earliest known examples of this form (Györy 1998, 503).

Ptah

A rectangular bead showing Ptah, a sphinx and a snake was found at O47.13 in the Main City; the design can be read 'Ptah is his Lord'. A blue-glazed faience pendant depicting a standing figure of the god holding a *w3s*-sceptre was also recorded from N48.3. The lower part of a blue faience amulet in the Petrie Museum (UC23694), said to be from Amarna, may show part of the god.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	2

Object and museum numbers

Bead: 13/14.459

Pendant: 11/12.119 (ÄMP -)

Uncertain function, said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC23694

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 84, 177

Symbolism and parallels

Ptah was primarily a creator god, identified particularly as divine craftsman (te Velde in LÄ IV, 1177-8). He appeared on New Kingdom scarabs, especially during the Nineteenth Dynasty (Petrie 1925, 27; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 98). Examples were excavated at the cemetery of Saft el-Henneh (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXVII.16, 27) and amongst early New Kingdom settlement remains at Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904, pl. LVII.3).

Re and Re-Harakhty

A bead from the German excavations at Q48.1 in the Main City was decorated with 'Amenophis III. und Re' (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225), presumably their names. A rectangular bead from building group T36.13, 20, 27, 30 in the North Suburb was inscribed for Re-Harakhty and the Aten (CoA II, 54, pl. XXIX.1). A ring inscribed 'Harakhtay' was also found at the southern offering-tables at the Great Temple (CoA III, 18). See also the falcon-headed figures on page 34.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	1
MC	1
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

Bead: 13/14.148; 29/296

Ring: 32/33

Publications

Beads: CoA II, 54, pl. XXIX.1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225

Ring: CoA III, 18

Symbolism and parallels

The cult of Re, the great solar creator god, formed a focus of state religious theology during the New Kingdom and was an important influence on the religion of the Amarna period (Assmann 1995). Re-Harakhty, the manifestation of Re and Horus, was linked closely with the Aten during the early years of Akhenaten's reign (Aldred 1959; Redford 1984, 172-3). Re and Re-Harakhty were named and represented on scarabs during the New Kingdom (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 99) and pendants in the form of both Re and Re-Harakhty were produced from at

least the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 29). The association of Re with Amenhotep III on the Amarna bead is noteworthy in respect of this king's link with the sun god, his unification with Re on the occasion of his first jubilee suggested as the impetus for his possible deification during life (Johnson 1993; 1996).

Sekhmet or another lioness goddess

At least four probable pendants represent a lioness-headed goddess, perhaps Sekhmet. A pendant in the form of a seated figure with possible lioness head was excavated at U24.24 in the North City (type A20; Boyce in AR VI, 350). A second pendant of this form that is said to have originated from the 1930-31 excavations of the EES is on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 55525; Boyce in AR VI, 350). The head of a pendant found near the Zlr Area at the Workmen's Village is registered as part of a probable Sekhmet figure (obj. 4725), whilst an example in the Petrie Museum thought to have originated from Amarna takes the form of standing lion-headed goddess wearing a long wig and holding a papyrus sceptre (UC1211; Samson 1978, 78, fig. 46). A faience figure of the goddess from O49.14 identified tentatively as a figurine in the present study (page 83) may also have been an item of jewellery.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1?
WV	17
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

4725; Cairo JE 55525; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1211

Publications

See Samson 1978, 78, fig. 46; Boyce in AR VI, 350

Symbolism and parallels

Several goddesses could be represented in leonine form. Sekhmet was commonly depicted as such, as were Tefnut, Mehyt, Pakhet (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 98-9; Rössler-Köhler in LÄ III, 1081-2) and, from at least the Late Period, Wadjet (James 1982). The cult of Sekhmet was prominent in the state sphere in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the goddess often appearing as a manifestation of the aggressive elements of Mut. She was also linked with the solar cult and royalty, particularly through her association with the uraeus. At Memphis, and other centres during the New Kingdom, she appeared as the consort of Ptah (Sternberg in LÄ VI). The goddess was worshipped at small, probably public, shrines at this time; one was located at the Mortuary Temple of Sahure (Borchardt 1910). Amulets in the form of lioness-headed goddesses seem to have been most

common during the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 33), although Sekhmet was represented on scarabs during the New Kingdom (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 99). Amongst provenanced lioness-goddess amulets are a few examples found in association with the New Kingdom Hathor shrine at Timna (Schulman in Rothenberg 1988, 140, figs 47.4, 48.7-8, pl. 118.1; Pinch 1993, 188). Moulds for amulets and small ornaments in the form of Sekhmet figures were found at the Temple of Ptah at Memphis, possibly dating to around the reign of Merenptah (Hayes 1959, 355).

Taweret-image

One hundred and six Taweret-image pendants excavated at Amarna have been identified in this study. Most take the form of a relatively simple Taweret-image and measure up to 1.5 cm in height (type A5 = Petrie type 299; see Figure II.2.9). Some are larger and more detailed, occasionally holding emblems such as *ḥ*- or *s*-signs. These generally measure 2-3 cm high. The largest Taweret-image pendants seem to have measured at least 5 cm.

One pendant is said to have shown Taweret and a gazelle (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 100). Another, uncommon, form shows a double Taweret image (Petrie type 295; Petrie UC2151). A headless figure from Q46.34 is shown frontally and squatting slightly, with its hands on its thighs and pendulous breasts (obj. 23/157). This most resembles a Taweret-image, although the frontal view is unusual and an alternative identification as, for instance, Beset is possible.

Rings with Taweret-images were recorded from N49.8 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 236) and T35.12 and T36.51 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 82, 86), whilst a steatite scarab with an image of the goddess was excavated at T36.51 (CoA II, 56).



Figure II.2.9. Designs of Taweret-image pendants. Scale 1:1. (All after Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.295-9 apart from IV.A.7, after CoA II, pl. XLIX.IV.A.7. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Publications

Pendants: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.299; CoA I, 28, 77, 83, 86; CoA II, 78–81, 83–7, 89–97; CoA III, 85, 102, 104–5, 125–7; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 18, 71, 89, 100, 168, 175, 183, 188, 198, 200, 203, 233, 248, 253, 255, 290; Kirby in AR V, 31; Boyce in AR VI, 66, 69
Rings: CoA II, 82, 86; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 236
Scarabs: CoA II, 56
Amulets: CoA II, 46, 57

Symbolism and parallels

A number of deities could be represented as composite hippopotamus, crocodile and lion figures, but during the New Kingdom this form was most commonly associated with Taweret, a goddess connected primarily with the protection of women and newborn children (Bonnet 1971, 531; Gundlach in LÄ VI).

Amulets in the form of Taweret-images were produced from the late Old Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 40). New Kingdom examples have been excavated at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 107; 1953, 54, fig. 11) and both amulets and moulds were found at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 252, 254). New Kingdom Taweret pendants were also found in an area of settlement at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 398). Taweret-image figurines and items of jewellery appear amongst votive offerings at New Kingdom shrines to Hathor (Petrie 1900, 65; Pinch 1993, 292–5) and Sekhmet (Borchardt 1910, 130, fig. 177). Taweret amulets have also been recovered from New Kingdom burials at such sites as Sawâma (Bourriau and Millard 1971, figs 8.48, 15) and Meidum (Petrie et al. 1912, 28, pl. XXI).

Thoth

Thoth is represented on a small number of jewellery items. A faience bead from P47.1 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 89), part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose, shows a striding figure with hands clenched. Its features are somewhat indistinct, but it is possibly ibis-headed. It is pierced through the waist. Blue faience pendants and beads in the form of seated baboons wearing solar disks and horns said to be from Amarna are in the Petrie Museum (UC1212, UC23677, UC68277). Two additional pendants of this type thought to have originated from Amarna are in the Ashmolean Museum and in Swansea (Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 106). This form is not included in Petrie's jewellery corpus, nor others that followed it, although Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.294) did illustrate a mould for a similar figure of a seated baboon without disk and crescent.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1?

Object and museum numbers

Bead: 12/13.116 (ÄMP –); said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC23677
Pendants said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1212, UC68277; Swansea W11

Publications

Bead: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 89
Pendants: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.294; see also Bosse-Griffiths 1977, 106; 1984, 747

Symbolism and parallels

Thoth was associated particularly with writing and time-keeping. He acted as mediator and messenger of the gods, and as patron of scribes, and had a significant lunar aspect (Bleeker 1973, 114–52; Hornung 1982a, 54, 154–5; Kurth 1986, 503–9). His cult was prominent in both state and private contexts. Amulets of the god were produced from at least the New Kingdom, although those in the form of an ibis-headed man appear to have been most common during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 100; Andrews 1994, 27, 49). Amongst provenanced Thoth pendants is a green feldspar example in the form of a baboon with a lunar disk excavated in a New Kingdom burial at Sesebi (Blackman 1937, 151).

Unidentifiable deities

A number of additional figures of probable deities, but of uncertain identity, occur within the corpus. These include a fragment of an openwork pendant from Q46.5 that seems to show the bottom of a standing female figure holding a sceptre (ÄMP –; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 33). A fragment of a possible pendant or amulet from Q47.4 shows the bottom of a seated figure holding a staff (ÄMP –). It is similar to Petrie type 284, but the figure does not appear to wear a long garment. At Q49.14, a blue faience bead with a figure of a god with an *ꜥh*-sign on the front and a gazelle between trees on the reverse was excavated (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 253). The presence of a gazelle might indicate that the god is Reshep or Shed, deities sometimes associated with this animal. An amulet in the form of a striding figure holding a staff or sceptre was found at R45.77 (obj. 24/836); similar amulets are in the Petrie Museum (UC1219–20, UC1222–5, UC1250, UC23643). Some possibly represent Re. Further faience amulets of standing figures holding a staff or a sceptre from Amarna are in the Petrie Museum (UC23699, UC23817), as are two pendants in the form of seated figures, possibly female (UC1254, UC68272), although it is just possible that UC1254 has a beard. A mould for a similar figure, identified as Ptah, is known from the vicinity of Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 27, no. 14). The Amarna piece may also be an indistinct version of the seated youth figures found at the site (page 45). UC1249 is a blue faience



Figure 11.2.10. Jewellery items with unidentifiable deities. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XV.243, XVI.178–9, XVII.248).

pendant of a bearded figure with solar disk holding a *wšs*-sceptre. Petrie (1894, pls XV.143, XVI.179; see Figure 11.2.10) illustrated a green faience scarab showing a seated figure wearing a long wig and holding a sceptre, possibly a *wšs*-sceptre, and a blue faience ring bezel decorated with what appears to be a kneeling female with arms outstretched, presumably a goddess. This is similar to the figure shown on Petrie mould types 178 and 248 (Figure 11.2.10). On Petrie type 248, the figure is accompanied by a blank cartouche. An amulet of a possible ram-headed god in faience, preserved to 3.6 cm, is in the Petrie Museum (UC1199). UC1210, a green faience amulet 2.0 cm high, shows a figure, probably seated, wearing disk and horns. UC1242 shows a kneeling figure, perhaps a goddess, in blue faience. A suspension bead is broken from the top of the head. The Petrie Museum also has a blue faience figure preserved to 2.3 cm of a queen or goddess (UC1252) wearing a plumed or horned headdress with solar disk, seated on a throne, and perhaps suckling. The function of the figure is not clear. UC1253, part of a blue faience amulet, shows a figure seated on a chair or throne. No point of suspension is preserved. UC1255 seems to show a similar seated figure, although the design is blurred. It is in blue faience and preserves a point of attachment for a suspension bead.

Distribution

MC	4
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Object and museum numbers

11/12.482, 12/13.989 (ÄMP –); 24/836; ÄMP –; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1199, UC1210, UC1219–20, UC1222–5, UC1242, UC1249–50, UC1252–5, UC1222, UC23643, UC23699, UC23817, UC68272

Publications

Petrie 1894, pls XV.143, XVI.179; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 33, 253

Anthropoid figures and body parts**Anthropoid busts**

At least 22 jewellery items in the form of anthropoid busts have been excavated. They are encompassed by a single type, A1 (= Petrie types 277 and 278), although this is a broad grouping, with no two examples identical. Variation occurs primarily in the overall proportions of the bust, the length of the wig, and the decoration on the front face. The latter can take the form of one or more horizontal ridges, sometimes with small raised circles, which presumably represent *wšh*-collars (Keith-Bennett 1981, 44–5). Often, however, this collar is absent. In most cases the sex is indeterminable, although one example from Petrie's excavations has a beard (Petrie UC2400; see Keith-Bennett 1981, 53). Where evidence of suspension beads survives there is always only one, on top of the head, suggesting the pendants were used either for necklaces, or the bottom row of collars. One example (obj. 2998) has been pierced laterally at least once and is better considered a bead.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	2
MC	5
NS	5
WV	5
KN	1
NP	1

Excavation and museum numbers

12/13.326, 12/13.1199, 12/13.1555; 25/15 (Hunt. D.1925.35/4), 1930/– (x2) (Cairo JE 55525); 1789, 2998, 3029, 3364, 4665, 30250, 34801; Petrie Museum UC1198, UC2012, UC1236, UC2400; Hunt. D.1925.35/3, 5

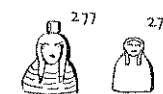
Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.277; CoA II, 84, 86, 92, 96; CoA III, 85, 104; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 90, 166–7; see also Keith-Bennett 1981; and Stevens in Keith forthcoming

Symbolism and parallels

Amarna has produced the largest number of anthropoid bust amulets of any site to date, although the type was

Figure 11.2.11. Anthropoid bust pendants. That on the left in blue faience and on the right drawn from a pottery mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.277–8).



not restricted to it, and a number of unprovenanced examples survive in museum collections (Keith-Bennett 1981; Keith forthcoming). The form seems to occur only during New Kingdom, and may cluster around the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It probably relates to the larger anthropoid bust sculptures found at Amarna and elsewhere (Keith-Bennett 1981; see page 129), generally considered cult images of deceased ancestors.

Dwarf

At least two faience necklace pendants take the form of a standing, naked figure with an oversized skull, possibly a dwarf (type A21 = Petrie type 275; Figure II.2.12). One was found at R46.44 (Boyce in AR VI, 350) and the other at P47.6 (identified as Bes in the excavation report; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 106). A red-glazed pendant in the form of a 'figure of a child', perhaps this type, was also recorded from Q46.44 in the Main City (obj. 24/1030). Four pendants of type A21 in the Petrie Museum, in blue and green faience, are also thought to have originated from Amarna (UC1244, 1247, 1248, 23698). UC1245–6 show similar striding figures.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	2

Object and museum numbers

12/13.670; 24/1030; Petrie UC1244–8, UC23698

Publications

Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 106; Boyce in AR VI, 350; see also Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47 (i) for the Petrie Museum examples



Figure II.2.12. Pendant design, drawn from a mould, showing a dwarf- or child-like figure. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.275).

Symbolism and parallels

A number of deities could be shown in the form of a dwarf, including Bes-images, Ptah-Sokar, Ptah and pataikos figures (Hayes 1959, 398; el-Alguizy 1987, 55, 58–9). Dwarf images also appear to have been associated with the sun god (El-Alguizy 1987, 59). From the Fifth Dynasty, lion-masked figures of dwarfs were associated with dancers of the *hnr* (Wild 1963, 76–7; Wente 1969, 86–7; Pinch 1993, 213), and dwarfs may have performed dances associated with funerary rites from at least the Ramesside period (el-Alguizy 1987, 59). Pendants in

the form of standing, dwarf-like pataikos figures were produced possibly from at least the New Kingdom onwards (Andrews 1994, 39). Amulets in the form of a squatting youth that also display similarities to the Amarna amulets were produced from the Old Kingdom (Petrie 1914, 34). These may represent Horus the Child, although some New Kingdom examples appear to represent royalty (see page 45). Dwarf pendants were also manufactured during the Roman Period (Petrie 1914, 38–9, pl. XXXI.178).

Amongst provenanced parallels are two small dwarf amulets found at the Hathor temple at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 340, nos. 11–2; Pinch 1993, 299). Moulds for figures similar to the Amarna amulets have been excavated in the region of Qantir, which Herrmann (1990, 31–2, nos. 31–7) suggested represented pataikos figures. Figurines of dwarfs have also been found in burials of the Predynastic Period and Middle Kingdom (Lansing 1934, 30–6, figs 31–3; el-Alguizy 1987, 55; Bourriau 1988, 121–2; 1991, 18).

Ears

One blue faience necklace pendant in the form of a pair of human ears with suspension loop was found at Q44.5 (type X16; Figure II.2.13). A blue faience amulet measuring 1.75 cm long in the Petrie Museum (UC1235) may be an ear.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1

Object and museum number

Ash. 1927.143.407; said to be from Amarna; Petrie UC1235

Publications

Boyce in AR VI, 352

Symbolism and parallels

Model ears, and stelae decorated with ears, have frequently been found in association with shrines, where they are thought to have been dedicated as part of requests to deities, or as signs of appreciation of assistance already received (Pinch 1993, 249–50; see also pages 149–50). Smaller ear amulets seem to have



Figure II.2.13. Pendant in the form of a pair of human ears, from Q44.5. Scale 1:1. (After Boyce in AR VI, pl. 345, fig. 11.3. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

been less common, with recorded examples largely of New Kingdom date. Small faience models of single ears, some of which were pierced, were found at the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri, Faras and Serabit el-Khadim (Hayes 1959, 173–4; Pinch 1993, 246–7). A small faience ear amulet was also found at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11). The presence of such amulets in association with shrines suggests they sometimes had a votive function; another possibility is that they were intended to provide the wearer with improved hearing (Andrews 1994, 69).

Foot

A small dark-blue faience foot modelled in the round was excavated at building Q42.21, the 'Records Office', in the Central City. It measured 1.5 cm in length and was pierced; it may have been a jewellery item. Note also the larger model leg from the North City, discussed on page 84.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	1?

Object/museum numbers

33/114 (Cairo JE 62780)

Publications

CoA III, 120

Symbolism and parallels

Amulets in the form of a foot and lower leg are generally thought to date to the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period (Petrie 1914, 11, pl. I.15; Andrews 1994, 71–2). Some may have been worn to symbolically replace a limb or provide power of movement (Andrews 1994, 71–2); others might have been associated with the magical gesture of trampling an enemy (Pinch 1994, 115). Amulets of other body parts are known from the Third Intermediate Period onwards (Petrie 1914, 9–11; Pinch 1994, 115), and the possibility that some foot amulets also post-date the First Intermediate Period must remain. There appear to be few well provenanced and published examples, although foot amulets of Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period date were excavated in burials at Harageh (Engelbach 1923, pl. XLIX). Model pottery human legs were also found at the temple of Beth Shan in contexts dating to the Twentieth Dynasty and later (Rowe 1940, 90, pl. LIIA.6; James 1966, 149–50, 344, fig. 115.4).

Foreigner

There are no definite jewellery items in the form of foreigners, although a blue-green faience pendant in the form of an 'Asiat' was recorded from R46.3 in the Main

City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 52). No further details of this piece have been obtained. A large blue faience pendant from square T25 (obj. 30/784) was suggested, initially, as a Syrian captive on the registration card. It is, in fact, a Bes-image (see Figure II.2.2), but its facial are noticeably human, rather than leonine, and could be based upon those of a foreigner; see also the discussion of this piece on page 199.

Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.292) illustrated a figure of a kneeling foreign captive in blue faience. A fragment of a second example of this form was found at P47.10 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 112). There is no indication of the function of either piece in the excavation reports, however, and they may have been inlays rather than jewellery items.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	1?

Object and museum numbers

13/14.933

Publications

Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 52

Symbolism and parallels

From the Predynastic Period onwards, the image of the foreign prisoner appeared in reliefs, on architectural elements, on furniture and on certain items of personal use (Hayes 1959, 268, fig. 164; Freed and Peck in Brovarski et al. 1982, 208–9, no. 245; Ritner 1993, 113–36). It does not appear to have been a common motif for jewellery, although small figures of bound captives were produced from the Predynastic to Roman Periods, especially, it seems, in the Late Period (Petrie 1914, 19). In official contexts, at least, the motif was used to represent the dominance of the Egyptian state over enemies and foreign lands (Ritner 1993, 113–36).

Hand

At least two faience pendants of hands have been identified. One, from T36.77, takes the form of a hand with fingers extended and a possible bracelet. A suspension loop is attached at the wrist (type A19; CoA II, 89, pl. LXIX; Figure III.2.14). The published illustration appears to show a left hand, although it is not clear if it is shown palm up or down. A second blue faience pendant of a right hand was recorded from P47.1 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 89). A glass amulet said to originate from Amarna in the British Museum (BM 67066) takes the form of a left hand, with a line on the wrist marking a bracelet or sleeve (Cooney 1976, 19, no. 195). The arm is longer than faience type A19. There is no sign of a suspension loop, although one may have broken off. Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.293) also illustrated a fragment of



Figure II.2.14. Pendant in the form of a hand, from T36.77 in the North Suburb. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. LXIX, IV.A.19. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

a red-glazed hand from his excavations at Amarna, but did not indicate whether it was an amulet or inlay.

Distribution

MC	1
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

BM 67066

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.293; CoA II, 89, pl. LXIX; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89

Symbolism and parallels

Amulets in the form of a single hand are thought to have been produced from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period, with some pairs of clenched fists manufactured during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hayes 1959, 398; Andrews 1994, 70). The latter may have represented the female sexual principle (Wilkinson 1994, 17), whilst those in the form of an open hand might have been intended to prevent the actions of evil forces (Ogdon 1985, 28–32). Provenanced, published, examples again appear to be rare, although pendants in the form of clenched fists and open hands were found in Old Kingdom burials at Dehshasheh (Petrie 1898b, 16–17, pl. XXVI) and Harageh (Engelbach 1923, 9, pl. IX). New Kingdom pendants in the form of human hands, and a scarab depicting a hand, were also excavated at Harageh, possibly amongst settlement material (Engelbach 1923, pl. LIV), and in an area of settlement at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 398).

Heart

Four heart-shaped glass amulets occur. Two were identified in the excavation records as beads (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 242, 287), one as a pendant (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 167), and one simply as an amulet (obj. 24/667). A white faience pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC 1122) said to derive from Amarna is possibly heart-shaped. Three glass heart amulets, with means of suspension, in this collection are said to be from the site (UC22239, UC22882I–II).

Distribution

Area	Quantity
MC	4

Object and museum numbers

11.302, 11.624, 12/13.1554; 24/667; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1122, UC22239, UC22882I–II

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 167, 242, 287

Symbolism and parallels

The manufacture of heart amulets probably began around the beginning of the New Kingdom or slightly earlier (Hayes 1959, 37; Donatelli 1988, 201); Eighteenth Dynasty examples are relatively rare (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 184–7; Andrews 1994, 72). The use of heart pendants appears to have been associated primarily with the funerary sphere (Hayes 1959, 62). Amongst other examples recorded from non-burial contexts is a glass heart amulet from Malkata (Hayes 1959, 252, 398).

King, queen or princess

Royal images occur on a number of jewellery items, although few retain provenance details. Two scarabs found in the Main City show a king as a griffin trampling enemies (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110, 291). A figure of a king holding a crook, possible a jewellery item, was excavated in the area between T35.8 and T35.9 in the North Suburb (type A17; CoA II, pl. XLIX; Boyce in AR VI, 355; Figure II.2.15). Amongst pieces in museum collections thought to originate from the site is a gold ring with a figure of a king, probably Akhenaten, below the sun disk with the epithet 'Lord of the Two Lands' in the British Museum (EA 32723; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 260), and a fragment of an openwork arm band showing the king making offerings, in Cairo (JE 53035). A small faience pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC1221; see Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47 (ii)) takes the form of a standing figure holding a staff, wearing a possible beard, crown and kilt.

Petrie (1894, pl. XVI.177) illustrated a green faience fragment, possibly a ring bezel, with an image of a standing human figure with slightly elongated skull that either holds, or is surrounded by, what seems to be a floral design or bouquet, with a possible smaller figure standing in front (Figure II.2.15). Two bezels from small rings depicting similar figures are in the Petrie Museum (UC997, UC2009). Samson (1978, 82, pl. 47(ii)) suggested that these represent the queen wearing a tall crown standing in a garden or pavilion. There is no obvious crown on UC2009, although the elongated skull of this figure recalls some representations of Amarna princesses. A mark above the figure's head is perhaps

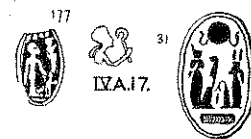


Figure II.2.15. Jewellery items with royal images, 117 and IV.A.17 possibly female. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XIV.31, XVI.177; and CoA II, pl. XLIX. IV.A.17. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

a 'gold'-hieroglyph. A multi-coloured faience ring bezel from Q47.17 said to bear a depiction of a princess with a floral bouquet (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 161), may be of the same type. Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.31) also illustrated a gold signet ring with royal images accompanied by the Aten (MMA 26.7.767). The figures have been interpreted variously as Akhenaten and Nefertiti (see Pischikova in Freed et al. 1999, 234, no. 98), as Amenhotep III and Tiye (see W. Johnson 1990, 39), and as Amenhotep III with the epithet 'beloved of Mut' (see Hayes 1959, 255).

Images of squatting figures who sometimes wear crowns also occur (Figure II.2.16). Although it has been stated that amulets of this type were 'exceedingly common' at Amarna (Brovarski in Brovarski et al. 1982, 245), there are actually relatively few examples. Five pendants showing a squatting figure wearing a crown with a hand raised to its chin were found in the North Suburb and Main City (type A16; CoA I, 20–1, pl. XIII.2, 6; CoA II, 81, 93; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 271). Seven additional pendants thought to have originated from the site show similar figures, although not all wear crowns. One example in the Petrie Museum (UC2007) appears to be the type example illustrated by Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.273). A second pendant is similar to Petrie type 272, but possibly wears a long wig (UC23696). Another figure in the Petrie Museum (UC68273) wears either a bag-wig or sidelock, and is probably seated on a *nb*-sign. One of the examples from the North Suburb noted above also wore a sidelock (CoA II, pl. XXVIII.6). Two additional figures in the Petrie Museum (UC1239–40; see Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47(ii)) wear a sidelock and blue-crown respectively. UC1257 possibly shows a squatting figure, but the design is indistinct. A pendant from P46.32 in the Main City differs slightly in that the figure seems to have an object upon its knee and a feature on top of its crown (obj. 23/59). On the registration card this piece is recorded as a 'figure of Akhenaten (?) with child upon his knee. Disk above his head.' These features appear simply as rounded, indistinct elements in the accompanying sketch. It is possible that the 'child' is, in fact, a feather, as seen for example on an unprovenanced ring in the British Museum (32723; Brovarski in Brovarski et al. 1982, 245–6, no. 333). If so, the composition could form

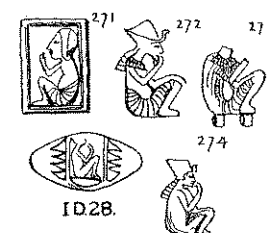


Figure II.2.16. Pendant and finger-ring designs of squatting royal images. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.271–4, and CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.D.28. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

a further example of the cryptographic writing of 'Neb-maat-Re' (for which, see Hayes 1951, 158, 1166–7, figs 25, 32; Johnson 1991, 38–9; 1993, 232; 1996, 67, note 13). A pendant in the form of a seated figure with hand to its mouth, probably wearing a crown, was also collected from the surface of the site in 1990 (obj. 21155). Most, if not all, pendants of this form are made of faience, and the majority are blue-glazed, although green- (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 271), red- (for example, UC1239; Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47(ii)) and yellow-glazed examples occur (for example, CoA I, 20).

The motif of the squatting figure also occurs on rings. A carnelian ring from T36.45 bore an engraved figure of the king with raised hand seated on a *nb*-sign (Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA II, 46, pl. XL.4). Two faience rings depicting a similar figure seated on a *nb*-sign between two lotus flowers (type I.D.28) were found in association with the so-called Servants' Quarters of the Great Palace (CoA III, 82), and T35.6 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 81), although the figure does not appear to wear a crown. A bronze ring found at Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village (obj. 5808) shows an engraved figure seated on a chair or throne holding in one hand an *nh*, and in the other a possible *w3s*-sceptre or second *nh*. The figure appears to wear a crown, with a flattened top, and has the slightly exaggerated hips and stomach typical of representations of Amarna-period royalty.

Distribution

MC	5 + 1?
NS	3 + 2?
WV	1?

Object and museum numbers

Scarabs: 11/12.1344; 12/13.1320
Pendants: 23/59; 21155, Petrie UC2007; said to be from Amarna Petrie Museum UC1221, UC1239, UC1240, UC1257, UC23696, UC23816, UC68273

Rings: 12/13.1668; 5808; BM EA 32723; Petrie Museum UC997, UC2009
Arm bands: Cairo JE 53035

Publications

Scarabs: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110, 291
Pendants: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.273; CoA I, 20–1, pl. XIII.2, 6; CoA II, pls XXVIII.6, XLIX.7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 271; see also Boyce in AR VI, 355
Rings: Petrie 1894, pls XIV.31, XVI.1777; Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA I, 46, 81, pl. XL.4; CoA III, 82; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 161

Symbolism and parallels

Images of a squatting naked youth with a sidelock and a hand raised to the mouth first appear during the Old Kingdom, as small three-dimensional figures, some representing kings (Feucht 1984, 401–3). A similar motif is known again from the early New Kingdom, on items such as seals (Feucht 1984, 408; Rössler-Köhler 1984, 933; Cruz-Urbe 1995, 19–20), but the addition of a crown to the figure with hand raised to its chin seems to first appear in the Amarna period (Andrews 1994, 16). Similar motifs continued in production after the reign of Akhenaten. Squatting figures of Tutankhamun, for example, appeared as items of jewellery, decorative images and as cryptographic elements in the name of the king (Edwards 1976, 127–8, 152, nos 19, 41; Silverman 1980, 234–6; Cruz-Urbe 1995, 19–20). Similar images are known from the Ramesside period and later, when the figure sometimes sits atop a lotus flower (Feucht 1984, 409–12). Many of the New Kingdom figures appear to have represented Kheper (Cruz-Urbe 1995, 20), and the motif also appears to have been associated with the concept of rebirth (Feucht 1984). The Amarna-period examples with royal headwear have been identified as Akhenaten as a youth (Petrie 1894, 29), or as a child deity, either the 'child of the Aten' or Kheper (Hayes 1959, 290–1; Silverman 1980, 234–6; Eaton-Krauss 1983, 131–2; Cruz-Urbe 1995, 20). From the Third Intermediate Period, amulets in the form of similar figures appear to have been associated primarily with Horus the Child (Andrews 1994, 16).

Amulets in the form of a squatting figure wearing a kilt and sidelock have been found in New Kingdom burials (Andrews 1994, 16, fig. 10c, d). Two pendants in the form of squatting figures were found amongst votive offerings to Hathor at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 340, nos 16–17; Pinch 1993, 299). New Kingdom moulds for amulets of squatting figures wearing sidelocks, and in one case a uraeus, have also been found in the region of Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 24, nos 2–3). A pendant of a squatting figure, possibly wearing a crown, was excavated in a burial at Saft el-Henneh, seemingly of Eighteenth Dynasty date (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXVIII), and

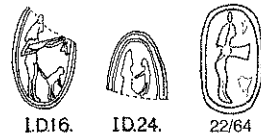


Figure II.2.17. Ring-bezels with female images. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.D.16, I.D.24; with 22/24 drawn by the author after the EES object card. All reproduced courtesy of the EES).

similar figures are known from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11).

Representations of royal figures, particularly kings, are also not uncommon on New Kingdom scarabs (Petrie 1925, 26; Hayes 1959, 124–5, fig. 66).

Musician or dancer

A small number of ring fragments bear an image of a musician or dancer, all female (Figure II.2.17). Three depict a standing female, seemingly naked apart from a perfume cone, playing a lute and accompanied by a monkey. These originated from a well near N48.2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176), U36.28 (CoA II, 94), and the grounds to the south-east of the Workmen's Village (obj. 6490). All seem to be of type I.D.16. Another bezel fragment from U35.22 (type I.D.24; CoA II, 92, pl. XLIX) depicts the upper part of a female figure wearing long wig and perfume cone, with a monkey. No trace of a musical instrument is preserved. One bezel from the Main City was said to show an image of a female dancer (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 207). Two further bezels, from Q46.38 and R45.15 in the Main City, are registered as showing female harpists (obj. 22/64; 24/630). Both figures wear perfume cones and may, in fact, play lyres rather than harps. At least five of the rings are made of blue faience.

A copper 'durchbrochene Rosette aus Papyrus-Blüten und Knospen' showing a female figure standing between two stools was found at O50.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 325). No further details of this piece have been traced, and it was perhaps a furnishing element, such as a knob, rather than a jewellery item.

Distribution	
Area	Quantity
MC	4
NS	2
WV	1

Object and museum numbers
11/12.742, 11/12.1111; 22/64, 24/630; 6490

Publications

CoA II, 92, 94, pl. XLIX; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176, 207

Symbolism and parallels

Images of youthful and naked females appear often to have been associated with eroticism and human fertility. In New Kingdom tomb scenes, adolescent female servants, musicians and dancers often appear wearing only jewellery, possibly as images of fertility to assist in the rebirth of the tomb owner (Robins 1988, 64; 1996, 30–4). Similar images were incorporated into personal items such as mirrors and cosmetic spoons (Peck in Brovarski et al. 1982, 208, no. 243; Lilyquist in Brovarski et al. 1982, 186, no. 215; Robins 1996, 32–3) and faience bowls (Milward in Brovarski et al. 1982, 142, 144–5, no. 143). Model beds found at Medinet Habu, apparently amongst domestic buildings of Third Intermediate Period date, were decorated with images of naked females playing stringed instruments on boats with Bes-figures (Hölscher 1954, 11–12, fig. 13, pl. 6G; Stadelmann 1985). Donors are occasionally depicted playing musical instruments before deities such as Hathor on votive stelae and textiles (Pinch 1993, 97–8, 124–5, pl. 16b). The image of the monkey appears also to have been associated with fertility and eroticism (Manniche 1987, 43–4; Robins 1988, 63), sometimes appearing alongside naked women on faience bowls and ostraca (Brunner-Traut 1955, Abb. 6; Milward in Brovarski et al. 1982, 144, no. 143).

Items of jewellery depicting female dancers and musicians do not appear to have been common, although scarabs depicting such images are known (Petrie 1925, 26, pl. XIV.952). Larger figurines of female dancers and musicians were manufactured during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, though, with most surviving examples originating from burials (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 101; Breasted 1948, 86–90, pl. 81; Bourriau 1988, 107–8). Amulets in the form of instruments, such

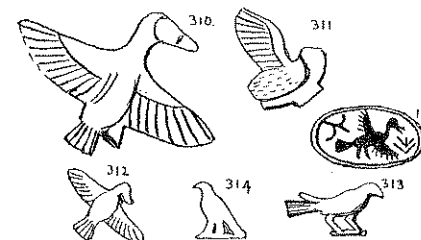


Figure II.2.18. Bird imagery amongst probable jewellery designs. 186 is a ring-bezel, the others probable pendant types. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XVI.186, XVII.310–13).

as lyres, were also produced during at least the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 81, fig. 82e).

Animals

Bird

At least 12 pendants, two scaraboids and two rings depict birds. Seven or more of the pendants are in the form of a falcon or hawk, all seemingly in faience. These were excavated at P47.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89), T34.2 and T34.4 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 80–1), and in a New Kingdom context at Kom el-Nana (obj. 17110). At least two examples were also found at building R42.13 and in the Small Aten Temple in the Central City (CoA III, 103, 127). At least four are of type B4 (= Petrie type 314), a standing falcon figure. The example from Kom el-Nana is registered as a 'Horus pendant' (obj. 17110). A faience hawk head from the Great Palace (obj. 35/387; CoA III, 74) could also have been a pendant, but was possibly an inlay.

A limestone hawk amulet measuring 5.5 cm in height was recorded from Long Wall Street 8 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 84). It is not clear if it was pierced for suspension, though, and it may have been an inlay. A pendant in the form of a flying duck was found at T36.5 in the North Suburb (type B3 = Petrie type 312; CoA II, 83; Boyce in AR VI, 350; Figure II.2.18), whilst a second pendant in the shape of a flying bird was recorded from Q46.6 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 35). Petrie (1894, 29, pl. XVII.312) found at least one figure of a flying duck, although he identified it as an inlay. A blue faience ibis pendant was excavated at O48.8 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 203). A blue faience pendant from Amarna in the Petrie Museum (UC1216) is in the form of a standing bird, its body horizontal and wings folded.

A ring with an image of a duck and papyrus was recorded from East Street 12 in the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 72–3). A second ring, from building Q41.10 to the east of the magazines associated with the Great Aten Temple, was decorated with two modelled ducks sitting upright on the bezel (CoA III, 109, pl. CIX.1).

Two blue faience scaraboids in the form of 'gebratenen Gänsen' were excavated at N50.4 (Borchardt and

Ricke 1980, 295), whilst a scarab from O49.12 bore a representation of a duck beneath a sistrum and two snakes (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 250). Both designs are unparalleled in the published corpus. An oval amulet 1.3 cm long from U25.5 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/700) depicts a *wgdt*-eye on one face and a bust of a hawk or falcon on the other, seemingly with a collection of further signs, one a probable *ḥk*. Petrie (1894, pl. XV.132, 145–6) also illustrated an oval, agate object, presumably a scarab or bezel, depicting a duck flying above a papyrus clump and two examples of scarabs with an image of a falcon or hawk, possibly wearing a solar disk, and an image of a duck. Various small bird figures, some possibly inlays, including a falcon, a duck or goose, a heron and a possible chick, from Petrie's excavations are in the Petrie Museum (UC1214–5, UC2122; Samson 1978, 79–80, pl. 46(iii)).

Several additional faience and glass bird figures, both ducks and falcons, appear in the excavation records (obj. 23/402, 35/529–30; Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.311, 313; CoA II, 85; CoA III, 71, 73–4, pl. LXXII.7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 214), but most are probably inlays. One blue faience plaque in the form of hanging ducks in the Cairo Museum (JE 62852) from the 1933–4 excavations seems best paralleled with the bovid plaques common at the site, discussed shortly.

Distribution

Area	Quantity
CC	3
MC	6
NS	4
WV	1 + 1?
KN	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11/12.785; 12/13.1097, 12/13.1061; 35/387?; 17/110; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1216, UC23674–5

Scarabs: 11.109, 11/12.593

Amulets: 30/700; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1214–5

Publications

Pendants: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.312; CoA II, 80–1, 83; CoA III, 74?, 103, 127; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 35, 89?, 203 'Amulet'; CoA I, 84
Rings: CoA I, 72–3; CoA III, 109, pl. CIX.1
Scarabs: Petrie 1893, pl. XV.132?, 145–6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 250, 295

Symbolism and parallels

The falcon was associated with a number of deities, predominant amongst which were Re and Horus (Bonnet 1971, 144, 307, 626, 724; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 96, 99). Falcon amulets, some possibly representing Horus,

are known from as early as the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods (Petrie 1914, 48–9; Adams 1974, xiv, 21, pl. 14; Andrews 1994, 28). A hawk or falcon pendant is depicted on a Middle Kingdom fertility figurine (Bourriau 1988, 125). Amulets in the form of ducklings were produced from at least the Old Kingdom, when they probably represented food offerings, but might also have symbolised youthfulness (Andrews 1994, 91–2). Those in the form of an adult duck first appeared in the Eighteenth Dynasty. These may again have represented food offerings, but seem also to have been associated with reawakening and resurrection, particularly in the funerary sphere. Other forms may have possessed an erotic element (Andrews 1994, 91–2).

Duck amulets have been found in New Kingdom burials at sites such as Zawiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978, 68), but are known particularly from Late Period mummies (Andrews 1994, 92). A scarab with a duck-like bird was found at Tell el-Retabeh, possibly in a settlement context (Petrie 1906a, 32, pl. XXXIII.29). Amongst provenanced amulets with images of falcons or hawks are a pendant of a standing falcon, possibly of New Kingdom date, excavated in a burial at Saft el-Henneh (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXVIII), and a hawk amulet from a New Kingdom burial at Harageh (Engelbach 1923, pl. LXIII). Crowned and uncrowned hawk amulets were also found in a New Kingdom burial at Zawiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978, 58).

Bovoid

Ninety-nine small faience plaques in the shape of bovid figures, or parts thereof, have been identified, along with a small number of rings and pendants (see Figure II.2.19). Of the plaques, 13 are in the form of a trussed bull, 52 are in the form of a bull's head shown in profile and 31 appear to be in the form of a bovid leg, or *khepesh* (trussed bull: types IV.B.15/16; bull's head plaques: types IV.B.20/14; bovid legs: type IV.B.18). Two are of indeterminable type. One example, from the Clerks' Houses in the Central City, is in the form of a head of a bull shown frontally (type IV.B.30; CoA III, 129). A similar blue faience plaque from Amarna is in the Ashmolean Museum (1924.138), and another in the Petrie Museum (UC1228) shows a frontal head of a horned cow or bull with solar disk.

A small number of the bovid plaques are pierced: one was excavated at the Great Palace (CoA III, 74, pl. LXXII.8), and another is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (acc. no. 51.276; Györy 1998, 499). A model bovid haunch identified by the excavators as a pendant, and therefore possibly pierced, was found in the Main City (CoA I, 34, 169).

The majority of bovid plaques are made of blue faience, although green and red-brown examples occur (for

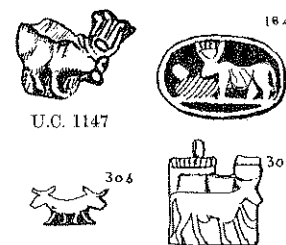


Figure II.2.19. Ring and pendant designs with bovid imagery, all based on examples found by Petrie. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XVI.184, XVII.303, 306; and CoA III, pl. CVIII.UC.1147. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 68, 191). A metal model of an ox leg was also excavated at O48.17 (CoA I, 29, pl. XIII.5). This was perhaps an amulet, although it was registered as a possible element of a model chair.

Rings with an image of a calf amid foliage were found at U33.1 and U35.4 in the North Suburb (type I.D.22; CoA II, 90, 92), whilst two bezels from R46.3 and M47.4 in the Main City were decorated with a calf in a papyrus thicket, possibly also of type I.D.22 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 52, 61). A bezel from U36.49 in the North Suburb shows a standing cow wearing a crown or solar disk (Petrie type 184; CoA II, 95). Petrie (1894, 29) identified this image as a royal bull trampling an enemy, but the mould on which the type drawing was based appears to have been damaged (see Figure II.2.19), and there is no clear enemy figure depicted. Two additional bezels from N49.38 and P46.15 in the Main City were recorded as bearing an image of a cow (CoA I, 26, 33). The rings are all of faience, but occur in a range of colours including blue, green, red and yellow, with a few multi-coloured examples (for example, CoA I, 33).

Four blue faience pendants of what appear to be striding and standing figures of cows, or possibly bulls, are in the collection of the Petrie Museum (UC1187, UC1190, UC2368, UC23648); the identification of UC1190 is somewhat uncertain. These are thought to have originated from Amarna, although there are no exact parallels to them in the published jewellery corpus. Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.303) illustrated a grey faience pendant in the form of a cow that seems to stand in a shrine with an object around its neck (probably UC2142; see Samson 1978, 83, pl. 47(ii)). A fragmentary openwork faience plaque, possibly from a ring bezel, in the Petrie Museum (UC1016), also thought to have originated from Amarna, shows a cow or bull with horns and possible solar disk standing in an arbour-like construction, from

which leaves or perhaps grape bunches hang. In front of the animal stands a human figure, its arm stretched out to the animal's mouth, beneath which is a vertical post-like object – a tethering post or feeding trough? The head of the human figure is slightly enlarged (see Samson 1978, 84, pl. 47(ii)). An Amarna provenance is suggested for two further blue faience bovid pendants in the Petrie Museum. One shows a double-headed bovid figure similar to Petrie type 306 but with an indistinct object, perhaps a winged disk, spanning the top of the figure (UC1146). The second comprises a fragment of a cow figure that seems to wear a double plume and disk on its head and an object strung around its neck (UC1147).

Distribution

CC	31
MC	51
NS	22
SS	1
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

Plaques: 11.330, 11/12.381, 11/12.388, 11/12.675, 11/12.676, 11/12.825, 11/12.1025, 11/12.1268, 11/12.1329, 12/13.168, 12/13.334, 12/13.503, 12/13.531, 12/13.832, 12/13.962, 12/13.1293, 12/13.1395, 13/14.288, 13/14.401, 13/14.468, 13/14.566, 13/14.600, 13/14.895, 13/14.999, 13/14.1011; 21/241, 22/561, 23/338, 24/621, 24/622, 24/657, 24/693, 24/945, 24/1066, 24–5/103, 24–5/107; 1191, 7613, 8304, 8618, 8882, 8975, 21693; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1228, UC23650–7
Pendants: Petrie UC2142; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1146–7, UC1187, UC1190, UC2368, UC23648; Budapest 51.276?
Rings: 11.575, 13/14.904
Unknown function: Petrie UC1016

Publications

Plaques: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.304–5, 307–9; CoA I, 22, 32, 34; CoA II, 81, 83–5, 90–3, 95–7; CoA III, 19–20, 82–5, 103–5, 111, 126–30; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 29, 34, 44, 46, 52, 68, 74, 83, 89, 101, 111, 133, 137, 152, 162, 175, 191, 236, 249–50, 277, 304, 315, 321
Pendants: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 52, 61
Rings: CoA I, 26, 33; CoA II, 90, 92, 95
Pendants: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.303; CoA I, 34, 169; CoA III, 74, pl. LXXII.8

Symbolism and parallels

The cow and bull were frequently appropriated as symbols, the former associated with several deities, including Hathor, Nut, Isis and Mehweret (Störk in LÄ V, 261), and the bull connected with kingship and gods such as Ptah, Montu and Re (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 133). In some contexts, frontal images of bovid heads may have formed stylised representations of the

'cow and mountain' motif (Pinch 1993, 172). Frontal cow heads are also sometimes shown supporting the sun god (Hornung 1982b, 99, Abb. 9). It has been suggested that the motif of the double-headed bovid may be paralleled with that of the Aker, or was associated with the bifrontal Hathor mask (Hayes 1959, 213; Pinch 1993, 163; Andrews 1994, 90). A moon is sometimes depicted on the back of the animal (Andrews 1994, 90).

Rudimentary animal-head amulets that may represent either bulls or rams have been found in Predynastic and Early Dynastic burials, perhaps intended to provide the deceased with virility and strength (Andrews 1994, 61, fig. 70f). During the New Kingdom, several forms of bovid amulets were produced, including standing or kneeling figures, and probably those in the form of a recumbent calf (Andrews 1994, 20, 61 figs 21b, 60a, c, 66c). An association with rejuvenation has been suggested for the latter (Andrews 1994, 20, 61). Amulets of trussed oxen are often found in foundation deposits of this period, where they appear to have represented both food offerings and the source of the *khepesh* (Andrews 1994, 91). Amulets of this kind have also been found on late Dynastic mummies (Andrews 1994, 91). Ox-head amulets and those in the form of the *khepesh* itself occur often in New Kingdom foundation deposits (Quibell 1898b, 6, pl. XV; Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 948, pl. XL; Hölscher 1939, 87, 117, pls 52, 58; Andrews 1994, 91).

The production of bovid amulets continued into the Third Intermediate Period and later. Most are thought to have had a funerary use, and some may have been linked with the Apis, Buchis or Mnevis bulls (Pinch 1993, 165; Andrews 1994, 24–5, 59, fig. 21a). Amulets in the form of the foreparts of two bulls joined back-to-back are known primarily from the Twenty Sixth Dynasty onwards (Andrews 1994, 90), although the apparent occurrence of an amulet of this form, and a mould for this type, at Amarna (UC1146; Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.306) suggests their circulation during the New Kingdom.

Bovid imagery appears with relative frequency amongst votive offerings at New Kingdom Hathor shrines; along with amulets themselves, bovid figurines, statues, stelae, textiles, ostraca, plaques and vessels occur (Pinch 1993, 160, 163–70, 172; Varga 1994). Most of the cows appear with a solar disk on their head, sometimes with a pair of feathers or a uraeus. They can also be depicted wearing collars, lotuses, sistras, *ḥnḥ*-signs or *menat*-necklaces, whilst some are shown with *wḏjrt*-eyes (Pinch 1993, 163–74). The intact amulets have a solar disk between their horns and a small number have lotus collars (Pinch 1993, 167). A pottery cow figurine with a head at both ends of its body was also found amongst votive material at the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 163), a possible parallel to the double-headed amulets.

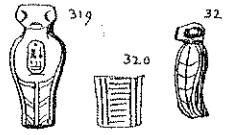


Figure II.2.20. Uraeus pendants, 319 and 321 drawn from moulds. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.319–21).

Cobra or uraeus

Ten or more uraeus pendants or beads have been excavated, at least four of which take the form of a frontal, rearing uraeus (type B6 = Petrie type 321; see Figure II.2.20). Six pendants originated from the Central City, including two from the magazines of the Great Temple, two at the Great Palace, and one at Q42.7, the so-called Foreign Office Block (CoA III, 32, 82–3, 126; Boyce in AR VI, 355). A green faience pendant from the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Temple was in the form of a coiled uraeus (CoA III, 109). Three blue faience figures identified by the excavators as either pendants or beads were found at O48.4, O49.16 and Q46.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 198, 255). A further uraeus pendant from Q45.81 was inscribed with part of the early name of the Aten (obj. 25/62).

Several uraeus pendants that are thought to have originated from the site are also in the Petrie Museum (see below; Samson 1978, 80–1, fig. 46(iv)). These take the form of frontal rearing uraei, uraei on bases, curled uraei and, in one case, a rearing cobra seated on a basket. Five seem to have worn solar disks (UC682701–V). A fragmentary faience uraeus 'amulet' from Amarna in the Metropolitan Museum of Art bears the second cartouche of the Aten (Hayes 1959, 292; Eaton-Krauss 1981, 250).

At least five rings with images of a cobra or uraeus have originated from the site. Faience examples were found at Q46.23 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 46) and T34.3 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 80). A bronze ring from the Central City was decorated with an image of a snake flanked by winged uraei (CoA III, 188, pl. LXXVII.2), whilst a bronze ring found in the magazines associated with the Great Aten Temple bore a design of a *ḏd*-pillar between two uraei (CoA III, 31). A dark-blue faience ring with an image of a uraeus was found in the Royal Tomb of Wadi (Martin 1974, 84, no. 341). A scarab from the Main City also bore an image of two snakes with a duck and sistrum (see page 48).

At least 60 additional faience uraeus figures have been excavated, most in the form of a frontal, rearing uraeus, often with two projecting tangs at the back of the head. The function of these pieces is unclear. Some may have derived from miniature decorative cornices (Pendlebury 1931, 239; CoA II, 65; Samson 1978, 95), but others were possibly items of jewellery or amulets. Two figures of this type from the North Suburb were identified as pendants in the excavation report (CoA II, 81, 83). One figure (Hunt. D.1924.61) bears traces of a cartouche on its front; another had two cartouches on its hood, seemingly blank (CoA II, 51, pl. XXIX.2). Eaton-Krauss (1981, 250) suggested the latter was an amuletic bead, although its exact form is difficult to determine from the published photograph.

Distribution

CC	8
MC	5
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants/beads: 11/12.260, 11/12.490, 12/13.650; 25/62, 33/9 (Cairo JE 62897); Petrie UC2176; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1131, UC1168–73, UC1261, UC1921, UC2148, UC23644, UC23815, UC682701–V
Rings: 13/14.883; 33/160, 36/182
Scarabs: 11/12.593

Publications

Pendants: CoA III, 32, 82, 109, 126; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 198, 255; Boyce in AR VI, 355
Rings: CoA II, 80; CoA III, 31, 118, pl. LXXVII.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 46
Scarabs: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 250

Symbolism and parallels

The uraeus formed a royal emblem from the Early Dynastic Period, associated particularly with the solar cult, and with deities such as Sekhmet. It was also worn by deities. The snake motif seems generally to have symbolised danger, but it could also be used as a protective image (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 134). Spells are known that both provide protection against snakes and reflect the protective power of the motif (Lichtheim 1976, 32; Ritner 1993, note 1042; Leitz 1996). A number of goddesses, most notably Wadjet, Meretseger, Renenutet and Weret Hekau, were shown in the form of a cobra (Bruyère 1930a; Broekhuys 1971; S. Johnson 1990, 5, 190; Pinch 1994, 11). Apep was shown as a serpent (Borghouts 1984, 709), and fecundity figures could be associated with the snake motif (Baines 1985, 176).

Amulets in the form of the uraeus are first known from the First Intermediate Period. As a funerary amulet, the form is thought to have symbolised resurrection,

perhaps providing the owner protection in the afterlife of a degree given to royalty (Andrews 1994, 75). Amongst provenanced examples is at least one scarab with uraei on the underside found at a tomb of the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty at Dahshur North (Yoshimura et al. 1999, 7, pl. 3.3). Uraeus pendants were also found at the temple at Beth Shan, in deposits that probably date from the reigns of Seti I to Ramesses II (Rowe 1940, 80, pl. XXXIV.42, 61–2; James and McGovern 1993, 5), and were excavated at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11).

Crocodile

At least four small amulets are probably in the form of crocodiles. A pendant in the form of a lying crocodile modelled in the round with its tail outstretched was found at T34.1 (type B23 = Petrie type 317; CoA II, 80; Boyce in AR VI, 348; see Figure II.2.21), whilst a plaque depicting a crocodile figure in a similar pose, but with its tail curled, was excavated at V36.7 (type B22 = Petrie type 318; CoA II, 96; Boyce in AR VI, 348; see Figure II.2.21). Boyce (in AR VI, 348) notes that the function of these forms is uncertain, but that type B22 seems to have been a pendant. The example of the type B23 pendant illustrated by Petrie (1894, XVII.317) was drawn from a mould and hence lacked a suspension bead, but as Frankfort and Pendlebury (CoA II, 116) list this as a pendant type, it may be that the example from T34.1 preserved a suspension loop. A crocodile pendant was also recorded from P47.2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 96). A blue faience crocodile pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC68284) and a second blue faience crocodile figure here (UC1181) are said to be from Amarna. UC1263, a pale greenish blue faience crocodile amulet pierced below the head is also thought to be from the site.

Distribution

MC	1
NS	2

Object and museum numbers

12/13.539; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1181, UC1263, UC68284

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 96; CoA II, 80, 96; Boyce in AR VI, 348

Symbolism and parallels

The crocodile was linked principally with Sobek, a god associated with fertility who became identified as a creator god (Brovarski in LÄ V, 995–6). The motif was also connected with deities such as Seth, Horus of Hierakonpolis, Horus of Letopolis, Sopdu, Anubis, Sechat-Hor and Khenti-irti (Kákossy in LÄ III, 802). The crocodile motif could be associated with aspects of

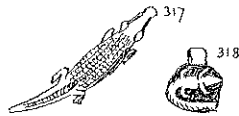


Figure II.2.21. Crocodile pendant designs, 317 drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.319–20).

regeneration, although in some contexts it appears to have represented danger and death (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 122–6; Wilkinson 1994, 8; Andrews 1994, 36). In magical spells, as with snake imagery, it can appear either as a protective or preventative symbol (Parkinson 1991, 129–30; Pinch 1994, 115) or as a source of danger (Hodjash and Berlev 1982, 245; Pinch 1994, 121; Faulkner 1998, 103).

Crocodile amulets were first manufactured in the Predynastic Period and continued in production until the end of the Dynastic Period (Hayes 1953, 18, 142; Andrews 1994, 26–7, 36). Those wearing solar disks were probably associated with Sobek, although others have been suggested as apotropaic symbols (Andrews 1994, 26). An Eighteenth Dynasty burial at Saft el-Henneh contained a bracelet with a range of amulets that included seven crocodiles (Petrie 1906b, 38). A fragmentary plaque depicting crocodiles and a faience crocodile pendant were also found in association with New Kingdom votive material at the Hathor shrine at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 344, no. 71; Pinch 1993, 288).

Dog

Two fragments of a small faience amulet of a seated dog on a rounded base with flat bottom were found at T34.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 65, pl. XLVI.3). The body fragment is preserved to a height of 1.1 cm and measures 1.6 cm in length. The naturalistic pose of the figure could date this piece to after the Amarna period, although the style is not dissimilar to the representation of the 'pet' dog in the tomb of Mahu at Amarna (Davies 1906, pl. XXV). Borchardt and Ricke (1980, 35) also recorded a possible blue faience pendant in the form of a seated dog from Q46.6 in the Main City.

Distribution

MC 1
NS 1

Object and museum numbers

12/13.1060; 30/578, 610 (Hunt. D.1931.29+30)

Publications

CoA II, 65, pl. XLVI.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 35

Symbolism and parallels

Domesticated dogs are represented quite often in private tombs, although the dog is not a particularly common motif amongst objects. Small dog figures might have been manufactured as early as the Early Dynastic Period (Fischer in LÄ III, 79). From the Middle Kingdom, gaming pieces in the form of dogs' heads are known (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 56), whilst some New Kingdom cosmetic spoons and axeheads show dog motifs (Fischer in LÄ III, 79). Amulets in the form of dogs wearing collars and dog heads were produced from the late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period, some occurring in burials (Fischer in LÄ III, 79; Andrews 1994, 62). Andrews (1994, 62) has suggested these were intended to provide their owner with speed. Figures of dogs continued to be produced occasionally during the Middle and New Kingdoms (Fischer in LÄ III, 79; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 427, no. 114). Small dog amulets are also known from the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, when they may have been symbols of protection (Andrews 1994, 62).

Dog amulets have been found in both royal and private burials of the New Kingdom. A necklace found in the burial of Queen Ahhotep included a number of dog pendants (Fischer in LÄ III, 79), whilst a 'glaze' dog head was found in a private tomb dated to Dynasties XIX–XX at Abydos (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 77, 98). New Kingdom moulds for amulets of dogs seated on bases have also been found near Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 41, nos 69–70).

Falcon-headed sphinx

Three faience scarabs bearing an image of a lion with the head of a falcon-like bird were excavated at N49.22, O49.22 and O50.2.

Distribution

MC 3

Object and museum numbers

11/12.31

Publications

CoA I, 25, 29, pl. X.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 325

Symbolism and parallels

The falcon-headed sphinx, or hieracosphinx, was a form of the god Montu (Andrews 1994, 30, 79). The image was closely connected with kingship and seems to have been particularly popular during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (Bell 1985a, 32). Hieracosphinx amulets are

known from the New Kingdom and Saite Periods (Andrews 1994, 79).

Feline

At least 12 cat pendants or beads occur (see Figure II.2.22). Eight lapis lazuli beads in the form of recumbent cats were listed from N50.8 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 299), presumably originating from a single jewellery item. Two blue faience pendants from T36.5 and U36.12–14 in the North Suburb took the form of seated cats on a base with a suspension loop on the back (type B1; CoA II, 83, 93). A similar but smaller seated cat with its head turned to the side and a suspension loop on the top of its head was excavated in T36.54 (type B25; CoA II, 87). Cat pendants of this form have also been found in the North City (Boyce in AR VI, 350). A necklace from T35.3 in the North Suburb had a cat pendant as its central element, surrounded by Bes pendants (CoA II, 41, pl. XXVIII.7). Two blue faience cat figures, one seated, recorded from the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 121, 193) were presumably pendants or small amulets. A pendant in the form of a striding animal from the Central City is possibly a feline (type B29; Boyce in AR VI, 355). Another small faience cat amulet found in a street space, probably outside the Great Palace, is in the Petrie Museum (UC62196).

A fragmentary ring found at T35.9 in the North Suburb bears an image of what appears to be a small cat with its head turned to the side (type I.D.29; CoA II, 81). A blue faience ring bezel in the Petrie Museum (UC1064) bears an indistinct three-dimensional figure, possibly feline. A 'recumbent cat' of blue-glazed steatite with a feather and *n/r*-sign inscribed on its base, presumably a scaraboid, was excavated at Q45.43 (obj. 24/983). It measured 1 cm in length. A white faience figure of a seated animal with head turned to the side in the Petrie Museum is possibly a cat (UC1189), as is a second figure of a recumbent animal in grey-blue faience (UC1203). The latter measures 1.5 cm in length. A yellow faience bead (UC1213) and blue faience pendant (type B1; UC1218) in the form of seated cats in the Petrie Museum are also said to be from Amarna.

Distribution

CC 2?
MC 11 + 2?
NS 5
NC ?

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11.204, 11.216?, 11/12.689?; 29/325; Petrie UC62196; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1218, UC23979, UC23680
Bead said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1213
Scarabs: 24/983



Figure II.2.22. Cat pendants and finger rings, found during the early EES excavations. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. XLIX.IV.B.1, IV.B.25, I.D.29; CoA III, pl. CXII.IV.B.29. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Rings said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1064
Amulets said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1189, UC1203

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 41, 83, 87, 93, pl. XXVIII.7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 121, 193, 285, 299; Boyce in AR VI, 355; see also Samson 1978, 77–8, fig. 46
Rings: CoA II, 81

A small number of jewellery items also depict large cats. A possible pendant in the form of a striding lion was found at P47.1, part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose, whilst a 'panther' head pendant was recorded from N47.8 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 71, 89). A fragment of a light-blue faience pendant from Kom el-Nana (obj. 9225) may be a pair of outstretched legs and paws, perhaps originating from a figure of a lion *couchant* or sphinx. Two blue faience pendants in Cairo that are said to come from Amarna but retain no specific find context are listed in the Journal d'Entrée as representing a possible lion and leopard (JE 62877–8). A photograph of a possible leopard- or lioness-head pendant appears in *The City of Akhenaten II* (pl. XXVIII.6), although there appears to be no further reference to it in the text. Two scarabs with images of recumbent lions were excavated in the Central and Main City (CoA III, 120; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.144) also illustrated a scarab with a figure of either a striding lion or a baboon, an *n/r*-sign and a small group of unidentifiable markings (Figure II.2.23).

Distribution

CC 1
MC 2 + 1?
KN 1?

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 12/13.126; 13/14.508; 9225?
Scarabs: 12/13.1500; 33/189

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, pl. XXVIII.6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89
Scarabs: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.144; CoA III, 120; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110

Symbolism and parallels

The male cat was associated with Re from at least the Middle Kingdom and cats, usually male, were shown killing Apophis in tomb scenes and in the Book of the Dead (Malek 1993, 79, 84, 89–91). The female cat was linked with Bastet by at least the Twenty-Second Dynasty (Langton 1936, 115; Scott 1958, 2; Malek 1993, 73, 95), but was also associated with a number of other goddesses, particularly Mut, Hathor, Nebethetepet, Neith and Tefnut (Vandier 1966, 76–80; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 107; te Velde 1982; Malek 1993, 90–3, 98; Pinch 1993, 184–97). Cats were represented on items such as magic wands of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Periods and the *cippi* and magic statues of the Late to Roman Periods, probably because of their ability to kill snakes or scorpions (Hayes 1953, 248–9, fig. 159; Malek 1993, 78–80). During the New Kingdom, the cat appeared on items of personal adornment such as hairpins (Capel and Markoe 1996, 76, no. 211) and on sistra, *menat* counterpoises, and pottery and faience vessels (Hope 1989b, 58; Malek 1993, 93; Pinch 1993, 188–9, 194).

Cat amulets are known from the late Old Kingdom onwards, perhaps functioning as symbols of fertility or representations of Bastet (Andrews 1994, 33). They appear to have been particularly popular during the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially during the reigns of Amenhotep II and III (Spalinger in Brovarski et al. 1982, 275, no. 378). Examples are known from private tombs of the Old to Middle Kingdom at sites such as Lisht, Heliopolis and in the region of Qau and Badari (Hayes 1953, 223–4, fig. 140; Bourriau 1991, 17; Malek 1993, 79). Gold cat amulets were also found in the Seventeenth Dynasty burial of Queen Sobekemsaf, and in the burial of the wives of Thutmose III (Aldred 1971, 214–15, pl. 84; Andrews 1994, 33). A fragment of a faience cat figure was found at the settlement at Kahun (Bourriau 1988, 117), whilst cat figurines and amulets were found amongst the rubbish heaps at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 345; 1953, 54, fig. 11). New Kingdom moulds for cat amulets have been found around Qantir (Herrmann 1990, 40–1, nos 67–8). Cat amulets, and other objects with feline imagery, have also been found in association with New Kingdom Hathor temples at sites such as Timna and Gebel Zeit, where they appear to have been dedicated as votive offerings (Rothenberg 1972, 166, pl. 94; Schulman in Rothenberg 1988, 125–7, figs 33.1–5, 38.1–5, pl. 118.7; Pinch 1993, 184–5, 188).

The lion motif was closely associated with royalty from the Old Kingdom (Malek 1993, 77), whilst the lioness was linked with such deities as Sekhmet, Bastet and Mahit (Rössler-Köhler in LÄ III, 1082). During the New Kingdom, a figure of a lion could be given as a reward for military valour (Aldred 1971, 19; Andrews 1994, 65). Some early lion images may have been apotropaic,

possibly evolving into the Bes-image (Romano 1980, 49–50; Bourriau 1988, 110–11). From the Middle Kingdom, lion and other big cat motifs were depicted on magic wands, furniture, personal items and cosmetic spoons (Peck in Brovarski et al. 1982, 210–11, no. 249; Bourriau 1988, 110; Malek 1993, 78, fig. 46).

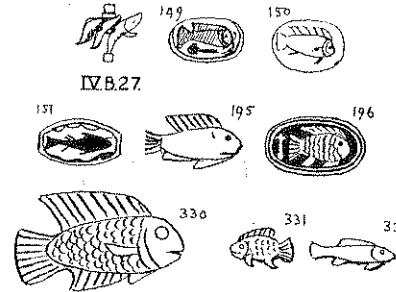
Amulets of big cats were produced at least as early as the Old Kingdom, and were made until the end of dynastic history (Andrews 1994, 64–6). Those in the form of the head of a leopard or lioness were produced from the late Old Kingdom to the Late Period (Andrews 1994, 65–6). Amulets in the shape of claws, thought to be those of a leopard or bird, are associated primarily with the Middle Kingdom, but were probably produced over a broader time span (Petrie et al. 1925, 11; Andrews 1994, 66).

Lion amulets and figures have been found in both royal and private burials of the Middle Kingdom to the Late Dynastic Period (Hayes 1953, 225; Aldred 1971, 202; Bourriau 1988, 110, 116; Andrews 1994, 65). A lion amulet was found in a private burial of the New Kingdom at Harageh (Engelbach 1923, pl. LXIII). Seal impressions with lion figures, one of which is similar to Petrie type 144 from Amarna, were found at Malkata, at least some of which were from an area of housing (Hayes 1951, fig. 33 S99–100).

Fish

Sixty-one pendants in the form of fish that originated from excavations at Amarna have been identified. At least 16 are of the tilapia species (type B11 = Petrie type 331) and 39 are in the form of the mullet (type B12 = Petrie type 332; see Figure II.2.24). A blue faience bead from the Main City bore a winged scarab on the front and three fish on the reverse (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253). Fragments of at least 31 rings bearing fish motifs have also been excavated. At least 15 depict a single fish of the tilapia species, whilst five show a similar fish alongside a *nfr*-sign (types I.D.13 and I.D.14). Fourteen or more small faience plaques in the form of fish also occur, at least 12 of which are of the tilapia species (type IV.B.13). A faience scarab with a fish motif was found at O47.12 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 82), but no further details of this piece have been obtained. Petrie (1894, pls XV.149–51, XVI.195–6, XVII.332) also illustrated three further scarabs with images of fish, one

Figure II.2.23. Scarab with a figure of a striding lion or baboon. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XV.144)



blue faience mullet amulet, and two blue faience rings with boliti-fish design bezels.

A scarab from the Royal Wadi bore an incised fish and *nfr*-sign on its base (Cairo JE 65055; Martin 1974, 81, no. 297). A fragment of a carnelian fish, perhaps a jewellery item, was also recorded from P48.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221). A gold fish measuring 17 cm in length was found at the south end of the Broad Hall in the State Apartments of the Great Palace (CoA III, 65, pl. LXXIII.5–6), possibly a model or large amulet (Riefstahl 1972, 14).

Fish jewellery thought to have originated from Amarna is also in numerous museums (see below). One yellow-glazed faience ring with fish motif in the Hunterian Museum (D.1934.10) is notable for its small internal diameter of 1.1–1.2 cm. A second fragmentary carnelian ring in the Hunterian Museum (D.1927.63) bears a finely engraved figure of a fish eating a lotus. Several of the pieces in the Petrie Museum noted below may correspond to those illustrated in Petrie's excavation report.

Distribution

CC	10
MC	20
NS	72
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11/12.406, 11/12.1327, 12/13.269 (x2); 23/18, 24/865; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1178–80, UC2064, UC23688; British Museum EA26401; Puschkin Museum, Moscow 4892, 4592–5
Rings: 11.360, 11/12.242, 12/13.178, 12/13.1124, 12/13.1475, 12/13.1552, 13/14.852, 13/14.867; 21/26, 23/171, 32/278; 8439; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1019–21, UC1055, UC1057, UC1180, UC2055, UC2060, UC47030; Hunt. D. 1927.63, D.1934.10
Scarabs: 13/14.435; Cairo JE 65055
Plaques: 12/13.1395; 9502

Figure II.2.24. Jewellery with fish imagery, mainly finger rings from Petrie's corpus. Scale 1:1. (IV.B.27 after CoA II, pl. XLIX. IV.B.27, and reproduced courtesy of the EES. Otherwise, after Petrie 1894, pls XV.149–51, XVI.195–6, XVII.330–2).

Publications

Pendants: CoA I, 32; CoA II, 78, 81–90, 93–4, 96–7; CoA III, 103–4, 110, 126; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 149, 236, 253
Rings: CoA I, 28; CoA II, 81, 83, 90–93, 95–7; CoA III, 85, 109, 111, 129–30, pl. CIX.1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 44–5, 160, 162, 165, 199, 221, 288; Boyce in ARVI, 71
Scarabs: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.149–51; Martin 1974, 81, cat. 297; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 83
Rings: CoA II, 84, 86–7, 89–91, 96; CoA III, 84, 128, 103; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 111

Symbolism and parallels

The goddess Hatmehit was the only deity to be represented primarily as a fish, probably the Schilbe (de Meulenaere 1976, 178; Brewer and Friedman 1990, 4), although deities including Osiris, Atum and Neith could be associated with the fish motif (Gamer-Wallert 1970, 86–119; in LÄ II; Staehelin 1978, 78–80; Hornung 1982a, 79–80; Handoussa 1988, 109). The fish, especially the tilapia, also appears to have functioned as a symbol of renewal, rejuvenation and fecundity, particularly within the funerary sphere, and it could also have an erotic connotation (Dambach and Wallert 1966, 283–94; Gammer-Wallert 1970, 124–31; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 110–11; Milward in Brovarski et al. 1982, 141). From the New Kingdom, the fish was also shown protecting the sun god in his journey through the underworld (Gamer-Wallert 1970, 112–13; Handoussa 1988, 109). The distribution of gold fish, possibly amulets, during the Jubilee Festival of Amenhotep III is recorded in the tomb of Kheruef (Aldred 1971, 19; Wente in Nims et al. 1980, 43–4). Andrews (1994, 93) has suggested that amulets of fish such as the batensoda and tilapia worn during life were protective images, whilst those in the form of the Lates, Barbus and Schilbe may have linked the wearer with one of the deities associated with these species. The *nekhu* fish amulet seems to have been worn specifically in the hair and may have provided protection in life, particularly for children (Aldred 1971, 141, fig. 22, pls 77–8). Fish also appear alongside floral elements on the border of an Amarna royal-family stela, seemingly as offerings (Samson 1978, 103–4, fig. 55a).

Fish amulets first appear in burials of the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, perhaps as substitute food offerings (Petrie 1901, 40; Andrews 1994, 93). Fish figurines and amulets continued to be placed in burials from the Middle Kingdom into the New Kingdom (Garstang 1907, 113, pl. V, fig. 104–5; Dunham

1978, 38; Handoussa 1988, 108; Yoshimura et al. 1999, 7). Amulets in the form of fish have been found in New Kingdom foundation deposits, again perhaps as food offerings (Petrie 1896, 14, pl. XV; Andrews 1994, 93). A few tilapia fish amulets, models and plaques have been found associated with votive material at Hathor shrines, such as Deir el-Bahri and Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, fig. 153.15; Pinch 1993, 287–8). A string of amulets found in buildings to the east of the Palace of the King at Malkata included a fish amulet that probably bore the name of a divinity, possibly Reshep (Hayes 1951, 233–4, fig. 34.R43).

Fly

Three fly pendants occur, at least two of which are of type B28 (= Petrie type 336; see Figure II.2.25). Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.336) also illustrated a red-glazed fly pendant, whilst four fly pendants made variously of a black stone, carnelian and red-glazed faience that are thought to have originated from the site are in the Petrie Museum.

Distribution

MC	1
NS	2

Object and museum numbers

21/227; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1197, UC23664, UC23829

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.336; CoA I, 22; CoA II, 83, 95; see also Samson 1978, 80–1, fig. 46(iv)

Symbolism and parallels

Figures of flies appear first in Predynastic burials, but continued in production through to the New Kingdom (Petrie 1914, 12; Andrews 1994, 62). Andrews (1994, 63) has suggested that they functioned as symbols of fecundity or as apotropaic amulets. During the New Kingdom, gold flies were presented as awards, probably originally linked with military valour (Aldred 1971, 19; Andrews 1994, 62). Gold fly pendants have been found in royal burials of the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom, such as those of Queens Ahhotep and Twosret (Davies in Davies et al. 1910, 42; Aldred 1971, 19, 201, pl. 53; Andrews 1994, 62–3). A few fly pendants occur amongst votive material at Hathor shrines (Griffith 1921,



Figure II.2.25. Fly pendants from Petrie's excavations. 337 is drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.336–7).

pl. XIX.51–3; Pinch 1993, 288–9), whilst New Kingdom fly amulets were also found in a settlement context at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 398).

Frog or toad

At least 51 provenanced beads in the form of frogs or toads occur, 39 or more of which take the form of a small frog or toad with its head raised, seated on a low base (types IV.B.21 and IV.B.9; see Figure II.2.26). Twenty-one frog scaraboids also appear in the excavation reports. These seem to have been of the same form as the beads, although some may have been unpierced. A few pieces identified simply as 'frogs' or 'seated frogs' (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86, 159, 165) are presumably also of this form. Some bore designs on their undersides, including a *nfr*-sign (obj. 24–5/64) and a *y*-sign (obj. 24/594). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.160; see Figure II.2.26) published a frog scaraboid with a *gd*-pillar motif.

A finger ring with a frog in the round on the bezel was found at T36.54 (CoA II, 54). A similar example, but with two frogs, was found in association with the magazines of the Royal Estate (CoA III, 91). A gold ring probably from the Royal Tomb had a swivelling bezel in the form of a frog scaraboid inscribed with the name of the goddess Mut (see page 37).

Several frog beads and scarabs from the site have been observed in museums (see below). One has a feather design on the underside (Hunt. D.1921.149); another has a *nfr*-sign (Petrie UC1176).

Distribution

CC	1
MC	32
NS	37
KN	1

Object and museum numbers

Beads: 11.452, 11/12.44, 11/12.948, 12/13.252, 12/13.1682 (x2), 13/14.428, 13/14.766; 21/111, 26–7/32; 9186; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC23659 (x3)
Rings: 30/149, 31/517
Scaraboids: 11.361, 11/12.250, 11/12.313, 11/12.348, 11/12.349, 11/12.371, 12/13.345, 12/13.1174, 11/12.1288, 11/12.225, 11/12.316, 11/12.412, 11/12.695, 12/13.1416, 13/14.164, 13/14.486; 24–5/64, 24/594, 24/719, 24/756, 24/763, 24/1003; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1176–7, UC2127–8; Hunt. D.1921.149

Publications

Beads: CoA I, 17, pl. X.3; CoA II, 79–85, 88–93, 95–7; CoA III, 105, 127; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 35, 69, 122, 148, 175, 217, 241
Rings: CoA II, 54; CoA III, 91; Martin 1974, 77, cat. 275, pl. 50



Figure II.2.26. Frog scaraboids. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XV.160, XVII.328–9)

Scaraboids: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.160; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86, 151, 159, 165, 180, 182, 184, 186, 197, 201, 225, 236, 250, 264, 288

Symbolism and parallels

The frog motif was in some contexts associated with human fertility (Bonnet 1971, 198; Wilkinson 1994, 20). It was also connected with the goddess Heqet, predominantly a birth goddess (Bonnet 1971, 285), whilst the Ogdoad could be represented with frogs' heads (Bonnet 1971, 198). Some frog amulets may have represented Heqet directly (Andrews 1994, 63; Pinch 1994, 116, fig. 68). Andrews (1994, 63) has suggested that frog amulets were intended to regenerate the deceased when used in the mortuary sphere and were associated with human fertility, particularly of women, in life. The example with the name of Mut from the Royal Tomb at Amarna suggests an association also with this goddess.

Frog and toad amulets are first known from Predynastic burials, although the form appears to have increased in popularity in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. They continued to be produced into the Late Dynastic Period (Andrews 1994, 63). The swivel ring bezel in the form of a frog or toad first developed in the New Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 63).

Amongst provenanced parallels are a few small frog figures, pendants or scaraboids found amongst Eighteenth Dynasty votive material at the Hathor shrines at Faras and Gebel Zeit (Griffith 1921, pl. XIX.23–4; Karkowski 1981, 109; Castel et al. 1985, 18–19, Abb. 9; Pinch 1993, 288). Frog figurines and amulets have also been found in burials from the Old Kingdom to New Kingdom (Petrie 1898b, 16–17, pl. XXVI; Dunham 1978, 49, 58; Bourriau 1988, 120, 125; Schneider 1997, 105, no. 169). At Malkata, a frog pendant was found strung together with a series of amulets in the form of human and animal figures (Hayes 1959, 251). Eight frog beads of the same form as the Amarna examples are also on display in the Malkata Study Room in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Gazelle or ibex

A minimum of 74 rings bearing an image of a gazelle- or ibex-like animal has been found. At least 38 show a single animal either striding or lying amongst foliage (Types I.D.1a = Petrie type 185, I.D.1b, I.D.5 = Petrie type 191, I.D.6 = Petrie type 190, I.D.9 = Petrie type 194, I.D.27 and I.D.4 = Petrie type 189; see Figure II.2.27). In most cases, a mature animal appears to be represented. One bezel from the Main City bears an image of two ibexes standing on their hind legs facing each other (possibly type I.D.34; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 314).

Two blue glaze ring bezels depicting a 'goat and disk' were recorded from the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 85, 170, nos B.11, B.12; B.12 is listed as showing a 'goat and disk' on page 85, probably a mistake). There appears to be no published illustration of these pieces, but they may have actually represented gazelles, ibexes or bovines. They were possibly of type I.D.12 (= Petrie type 184), which depicts a cow with head ornament, or I.D.10, which shows a running animal beneath a small circle, possibly a sun or moon. The images on two further rings were identified as goats (CoA I, 28, pl. XIII.1, top, right), but the illustrated example appears to show an ibex-like animal; the excavators cite Petrie types 187–194, which show gazelle- or ibex-like animals, as comparative types. Type I.D.10 bezels have been found in four building units in the North Suburb (CoA II, 78, 81, 90, 94) and at R42.12 in the Central City (CoA III, 127). They are not included in the distribution list below. A fragment of a 'faience goat rampant' (obj. 32/209) was also recorded from house U33.1 in the North Suburb, although its form is uncertain.

Three faience scarabs bearing images of gazelles were excavated at O46.15, O47.5, Q47.4 and R45.61 in the Main City (obj. 24/767; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41, 78, 150). On at least one of these, the gazelle is incised on the base of the scarab (obj. 24/767). Two blue faience beads from O49.14 and P48.2 in the Main City also bore images of gazelles. One was decorated with a gazelle and an inscription, details of which were not published (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 220). The other bore a representation of a god with an *nfr* on the front and a gazelle between trees on the reverse (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253; see page 40). A fragment of a multi-coloured faience bracelet decorated with a gazelle and plants was also discovered in a well associated with N48.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176). A bound antelope figure in blue-green glazed faience was excavated at N47.4 in the Main City. No further details of this piece have been traced, but it is likely that it was a small plaque or pendant, examples of which are known from beyond Amarna (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 948, pl. XL; Andrews 1994, 60, fig. 92a). An openwork plaque showing a goat and tree found at T36.57 in the North

Suburb (CoA II, 59) may have been an item of jewellery or amulet. A 'Plättchen' of glazed stone with a gazelle figure was also recorded from Q47.19 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 162).

The majority of items of jewellery with gazelle or ibex motifs were made of faience, although one ring was made of lapis lazuli (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 209), and another was of gold foil (CoA I, 28). Several additional gazelle rings that lack a specific find context have also been observed in museum collections, and Petrie (1894, pl. XVI.189–90) illustrated a number of further examples from the site.

Distribution

MC	39
NS	31
WV	4
SS	1
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

Rings: 11.91, 11.101, 11.166, 11.243, 11.285, 11.305, 11.447, 11.533, 11/12.71, 11/12.154, 11/12.178, 11/12.268, 11/12.700, 11/12.838, 11/12.877, 11/12.1058, 11/12.1095, 11/12.1309, 11/12.1326, 11/12.1353, 11/12.1563, 12/13.167, 12/13.555 (x2), 12/13.769, 12/13.1368, 12/13.1572, 13/14.213, 13/14.490, 13/14.903, 13/14.963; 21/161, 32/2097; 1258, 5914, 7904, 8024, 21290; said to be from Amarna: AMP 26370; Petrie UC1026, UC2036, UC2038, UC23814, UC47010 (see Petrie 1894, pl. XVI.185, 188; Samson 1978, 79, pl. 46(ii)).

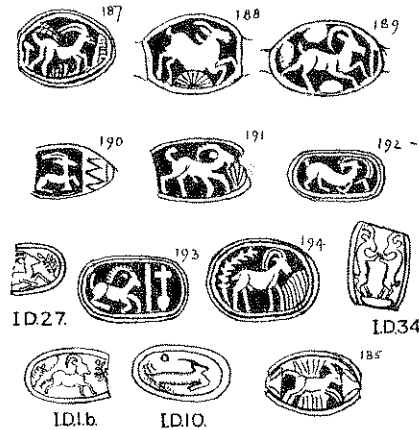


Figure II.2.27. Finger rings with gazelle/ibex imagery. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. XLIX.1.D.1b, 1.D.10, 1.D.27, 1.D.34, reproduced courtesy of the EES. Otherwise after Petrie 1894, pl. XVI.187–94).

Scarabs: 12/13.329, 13/14.333, 13/14.787; 24/74
Beads: 11/12.482, 12/13.12
Bracelet: 11/12.775
Miscellaneous: 12/13.1130

Publications

Rings: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 29, 37, 48, 52, 61, 74, 86, 90, 104, 164, 176, 178, 181, 287, 191, 207, 209, 217, 236, 241, 248, 260, 277, 294, 297, 301, 304, 314, 334; CoA I, 28, 74, 85, pl. XIII.1; CoA II, 78–80, 84, 86, 88–95; CoA III, 85, 103, 105, 112, 127
Scarabs: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 41, 78, 150
Beads: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 220, 253
Bracelet: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 176
Miscellaneous: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 162

Symbolism and parallels

The gazelle motif was closely associated with the goddess Anukis (Otto in LÄ I, 333) but also connected with such deities as Satis, Isis, Hathor, Reshep, Shed and Seth (Loukianoff 1931; Fulco 1976, 29, 67; Brunner-Traut in LÄ II, 426; Simpson in LÄ V, 245; Pinch 1993, 313). It was sometimes depicted alone on stelae (for example, Cairo JE 39750), perhaps as a direct representation of one of these deities. The motif of the gazelle, and similar animals, may also have possessed regenerative qualities, particularly in funerary contexts, stemming from their ability to survive in harsh desert conditions, and could sometimes have had an erotic connection (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 138–40; Pinch 1993, 312–13; Andrews 1994, 60). The gazelle image was occasionally incorporated into headdresses of royal women, possibly indicating lower rank, an association with the solar eye, or emphasising a link between a queen and a goddess such as Anukis (Troy 1986, 129–30; Green 1992, 28–31). The Amarna princesses themselves are sometimes depicted with young gazelles (Davies 1905, 39, pl. XXXVIII). During the New Kingdom, the gazelle or ibex was often depicted on personal and household items and vessels (Freed in Brovanski et al. 1982, 197–8, 200–1, nos 230, 232; Bourriau in Brovanski et al. 1982, 101, 105, no. 89; 1987, 84, pl. XXVI.2; Hope 1991, 48).

The earliest gazelle amulets date to the Predynastic Period. Steatite and glazed composition gazelle-head amulets were manufactured during the Old Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 60). Middle Kingdom scarabs depict ibex-like animals (Petrie 1925, 24). In the New Kingdom, the gazelle was frequently depicted on openwork ring bezels, pendants and scaraboids (Andrews 1994, 60; Peterson 1997, 238–9). The motif of the gazelle in a thicket, as shown on finger rings, might have been of foreign origin, introduced to Egypt by the reign of Amenhotep III (Kozloff 1998, 115). In the Ramesside period, in particular, amulets in the form of three-dimensional gazelle figures on flat bases were produced (Andrews 1994, 60), whilst the manufacture of glazed

figures of oryxes continued into the Late Period (Peterson 1997, 239).

Gazelle amulets, scarabs and items of jewellery have been found in royal and private burials of the New Kingdom (Aldred 1971, 132, 204–6, pls 59–61; Dunham 1978, 46; Andrews 1994, 60). Scarabs with images of crouching ibexes were also excavated at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 251), and ibex amulets found at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11). A gazelle scaraboid was excavated in association with late Middle Kingdom to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty votive material at the Hathor shrine at Faras (Griffith 1921, pl. XIX.40; Pinch 1993, 39, 286, pl. 8.40). Faience plaques in the form of trussed ibexes have been found in New Kingdom foundation deposits at sites such as Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1939, 117, p. 58) and a scarab decorated with a figure of an ibex-like animal originated from a foundation deposit of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959, fig. 48).

Hedgehog

A single green faience scaraboid in the form of a possible hedgehog is recorded from the site.

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XV.152

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the hedgehog motif is unclear, although it may have been connected with deities such as Mut or Bes, or possessed apotropaic properties, providing particular protection against poison (von Droste in LÄ III, 124). Figurines of hedgehogs were manufactured during the Middle Kingdom (von Droste in LÄ III, 124; Bourriau 1988, 118, no. 110), and hedgehog figure vessels are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hayes 1959, 195; Bourriau 1981, 36–7, no. 51; 1987, 87–8). Hedgehog scaraboids were produced at least during the Thutmoside and Ramesside periods (Hayes 1959, 126, 399). Amongst provenanced hedgehog amulets is a scaraboid found with late Middle Kingdom to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty votive material at the Faras Hathor shrine (Griffith 1921, pl. XIX.58; Pinch 1993, 39, 286, pl. 8.58).

Hippopotamus

A blue faience amulet of a hippopotamus measuring 1.3 cm in length in the Petrie Museum is said to originate from Amarna.

Object and museum numbers

Petrie UC1262

Symbolism and parallels

The hippopotamus motif was associated with deities such as Taweret, Opet, Seth, Isis, Nut, and possibly Hathor (te Velde 1967, 26; Berman 1980, 191; Störk in LÄ IV, 503–4; Bourriau 1988, 119–20; Pinch 1993, 292–5). It could represent chaos, but also functioned as a protective image and symbol of fertility. In the funerary sphere, in particular, it appears to have served as a symbol of protection, an aid to rebirth, and may sometimes have formed a substitute for the Nilotic scenes on tomb walls (Bourriau 1988, 119–20; Wilkinson 1992, 71–2).

Horse

An alabaster scarab decorated with a horse motif was recorded from excavations at Q48.8. It is not clear if the horse formed a three-dimensional image or was carved on the underside.

Distribution

MC	1
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Object and museum numbers

11/12.786

Publications

Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 203

Symbolism and parallels

Although Horus and Bes were sometimes depicted on horseback during the Roman Period (for example, Bayer-Niemeier 1985), during the New Kingdom the horse was associated primarily with Asiatic deities, particularly Astarte (Leciant in LÄ I, 503; Störk in LÄ IV, 1012; Rommelaere 1991, 135–40). The motif was also connected with kingship at this time (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 130–1; Störk in LÄ IV, 1011; Rommelaere 1991, 139–40). In the New Kingdom, the horse appeared on items of personal use and vessels (Petrie 1891, pl. 18; Freed in Brovanski et al. 1982, 197; Hope 1987, 100, fig. 3; Rommelaere 1991, 186–90, nos 50–4). The motif also occurs on Thutmoside-period scarabs (Hayes 1959, 124, 184, fig. 66). A red glass horse head was found in a tomb of Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty date at Abydos (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 77, 98, pl. LII).

Jackal or fox

At least nine pendants in the form of jackal- or fox-like animals occur. Five intact faience necklace pendants in the shape of the head of a jackal-like animal were found at P46.33 (type X1; Boyce in AR VI, 67–9). Another fragmentary example was found in a brick-lined chamber at U36.28 (CoA II, 19, pl. XXIX.1; Boyce in AR VI, 351). A fragmentary piece from the 1930–31 EES season is also on display in Cairo (Boyce in AR VI, 68, fig. 2.12; Figure II.2.28). A black stone pendant in the form of a



Figure II.2.28. Jackal-headed pendant from the early EES work. Scale 1:1. (After Boyce in AR VI, 345, fig. 11.3.X11. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

jackal head and a metal fox-head pendant were also recorded from Q47.5 and Q46.22 respectively in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 46, 78); no further details of these have been obtained.

Distribution

MC 7
NS 1

Object and museum numbers

13/14.335, 13/14.1001; 29/78 (Ash 1929.410); 9020a-e

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 46, 78; CoA II, pl. XXIX.1; Boyce in ARVI, 67

Symbolism and parallels

Jackals, and jackal-like animals, were associated primarily with Anubis, but could also be linked with deities such as Khenti-amentiu, Wepwawet and Shed (Griffiths 1980, 143; Barta in LÄ V, 527; Graefe in LÄ VI, 863). Heads of jackal-like creatures occur on Middle Kingdom magic wands (Quibell 1898b, 3, pl. III; Boyce in AR VI, 67), whilst during the New Kingdom, jackal-like animals appeared on such items as ointment spoons, gaming pieces and throwsticks (Kemp 1980, 8, pl. 1.3; Kendall in Brovanski et al. 1982, 271, no. 376; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 348-9, no. 76; Boyce in AR VI, 67).

Amulets in the form of a jackal *couchant* are known from the Predynastic Period, and those in the form of striding jackals and jackal-headed deities, probably Anubis, were in production from the Sixth Dynasty (Andrews 1994, 46). By the Middle Kingdom, amulets of standing or recumbent jackals on pylon-shaped chests were being produced (Andrews 1994, 46). The jackal-head pendants from Amarna seem to be the earliest known examples of this type (Boyce in AR VI, 69). A parallel occurs in a jackal-head pendant from a late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty tomb at Saqqara (Sowada et al. 1999, 44, pl. 34); other unprovenanced examples of this form are known (for example, Andrews 1994, pl. 70c). Petrie (1898b, 17, pl. XXVI) published two similar examples from Deshashah, seemingly from burials he attributed to the Fifth Dynasty.

Monkey or baboon

Possible pendants in the form of apes were found at P47.1, part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose, and N50.2. Further amulets in the Petrie Museum are said to originate from the site: UC1217, a blue faience bead in the form of a seated ape; UC1188, a headless blue faience animal on all fours with its tail looped over its back, although possibly a lion; and an amulet in the form of a solar barque with baboons worshipping the sun (UC1238). As noted above, Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.294; see Figure II.2.28) also illustrated a mould for a figure of a seated baboon, probably a jewellery item. A steatite *wgjt*-eye said to be from Amarna in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 55472), is decorated with a seated baboon.

Amulets of seated baboons with solar disk and horns are discussed above (page 40), as are jewellery items showing monkeys with female figures (page 48).

Distribution

MC 2

Object and museum numbers

11.88, 12/13.127; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1217, UC1188, UC1238; Cairo JE 55472

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.294; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89, 293

Symbolism and parallels

The baboon was associated closely with Thoth (Wessetzky 1988, 428) but other baboon-deities, such as Baba, are known (Derchain 1952, 24-6). Monkey figures were sometimes associated with fertility and eroticism, as noted above (Manniche 1987, 43-4; Robins 1988, 63), and in some contexts the baboon appears to have symbolised male fertility (Derchain 1952, 33-6). Baboons could also be perceived as mythical beings who greeted the rising sun (Assmann 1970). The monkey or baboon image occurs quite frequently on material culture. Stone and pottery vessels in the form of monkeys, or adorned with monkeys, were produced during the Old Kingdom, examples of which have been found in temple contexts; these may sometimes have been royal gifts to private individuals (Fischer 1993; Valloggia 1993; Aston 1994, 139, fig. 14). Baboons are represented on magic wands (Bourriau 1988, 156), and monkey figures are associated with Bes-images on Third Intermediate Period faience plaques (Romano 1998, 99; Romano in Capel and Markoe 1996, 67-7, no. 17). During the New Kingdom, monkey and baboon images appear on ostraca (Vandier-d'Abbadie 1937, 57-60, nos 2281-92, pls XXXIX-XLII; Brunner-Traut 1956, 109-11); personal items such as hairpins (Freed in Brovanski et al. 1982,



Figure II.2.29. Baboon-images on probable jewellery items. 294 drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.294; CoA II, pl. CVIII. UC1238. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

198, no. 231), including examples from Amarna (Cairo JE 47222; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89; and cosmetic vessels (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 55; Peck in Brovanski et al. 1982, 212, no. 253; Aston 1994, 155).

Amulets of the vervet monkey or maneless baboon were manufactured from the Old Kingdom, whilst those in the form of maned, dog-faced baboons occur from the First Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 66-7). Both baboons and monkeys appear on Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom scarabs (Hayes 1959, 36, 344, 401; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 106-8; Andrews 1994, 67). Pendants in the form of squatting monkeys or dog-faced baboons with their young were also produced from the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 67; Capel and Markoe 1996, 72, no. 20e).

Pig?

A pendant in the form of a standing four-legged animal, probably a sow with its snout to the ground, in the Petrie Museum is said to have originated from Amarna. A suspension loop is attached to its back. There is no parallel to the type in the jewellery typology.

Object and museum numbers

Petrie UC1209

Symbolism and parallels

The pig was linked with Seth (Newberry 1928; Heick in LÄ V) and goddesses such as Nut and Taweret could be associated with the sow motif (Borghouts 1982, 18-19). Pig figurines seem to have been produced from the Early Dynastic Period until at least the Late Period (Newberry 1928, 211, pl. XVIII.3, 4; Needler 1984, 367). A few examples have been found in burials, such as the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the vizier Juy at Thebes (Newberry 1928, 219, pl. XVIII.2). Smaller sow amulets are known largely from burials of the Third Intermediate Period or slightly earlier, where they may have served primarily as symbols of fecundity (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXIV; Andrews 1994, 35; Aston 1997, 52-3, figs 4-5).

Ram

A recumbent, partially headless, figure illustrated in *The City of Akhenaten II* (pl. XXVIII.6) is possibly a ram. There seems to be no mention of this piece in the text of the excavation report.

Publications

CoA II, pl. XXVIII.6; see also Györy 1998, 500

Symbolism and parallels

Deities associated with the ram motif included Amun, Khnum and Heryshef (Störk in LÄ V; Behrens in LÄ VI; Mokhtar 1991). The image was also associated with fertility (Behrens in LÄ VI, 1243). During the New Kingdom, weights in the form of rams were manufactured (Doll in Brovanski et al. 1982, 61-2, no. 33a), whilst some ointment containers were adorned with rams' heads (Hayes 1959, 403). New Kingdom ram amulets are known (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXVIII.36 is a possible example from Saft el-Hennah; see also Hayes 1959, 180), but they appear to have been more common from the Late Period onwards (Andrews 1994, 30, fig. 28a). A metal ram figure with a suspension hole of New Kingdom date, but non-Egyptian manufacture, was found at Timna, where it may have been donated either at the Hathor shrine or at a Semitic sacred place (Rothenberg 1972, 173, pl. 97; 1988, 147, fig. 53.6, pl. 14; Pinch 1993, 68).

Scarab beetle

Scarabs decorated with a range of images are common, as reflected in the preceding inventory entries. Uninscribed scarabs and those decorated with abstract motifs also occur (see for example, CoA II, 115-16), such as an uninscribed heart scarab from R45.14 (obj. 24/678). The scarab also occurs as a decorative element in its own right on a small number of jewellery items. Petrie (1894, pls XV.147-8, XVII.335; see Figure II.2.30) illustrated two amulets with images of scarab beetles on their underside, and one scarab pendant. The latter may be UC1194 in the Petrie Museum. Four further blue faience scarab-shaped pendants in this collection, and a probable scarab-shaped ring bezel in pale blue faience, are said to originate from Amarna.

Object and museum numbers

Pendants with scarab motifs said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1194-5, UC1369, UC68280, UC68281
Rings with scarab motifs: Petrie UC1196

Publications

Pendants with scarab motifs: Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.335
Amulets with scarab motifs: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.147-8



Figure II.2.30. A pendant, scarab and circular amulet (7) with scarab-beetle motifs. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XV.147-8, XVII.335).

Symbolism and parallels

The scarab beetle was associated with Khepri, and formed an image of regeneration (Petrie 1917, 2; Assmann in LÄ I). Some medical texts mention the use of the beetle in remedies, including those associated with childbirth (Dawson 1934, 187). Ostraca depicting scarabs were found at Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 132-3, nos 2642-4, pl. LXXIX).

Scarab amulets are first known from the Sixth Dynasty, and were manufactured into the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 13; Andrews 1994, 50-1). Finger rings with scarab bezels were manufactured from the Twelfth Dynasty, examples of which have been found in royal and private burials (Smith 1992, 204; Andrews 1994, 52). From the First Intermediate Period, various motifs, including animals, plants and hieroglyphic signs, appear on the underside of scarabs, with figures of deities first occurring from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Many of the deities shown on scarabs are rarely found on other forms of amulet (Andrews 1994, 54-5). Scarabs are frequently excavated in a range of contexts, such as burials (for example, Aston 1997, 54) and foundation deposits, including those of Amenhotep IV at Sesebi (Fairman 1938, 153). Both plain and decorated scarabs have also been excavated at Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993, 288-90).

Scorpion

Five scorpion pendants were excavated in the North Suburb, all in the form of a plaque on which a scorpion with its tail extended is depicted (type B10 = Petrie type 333; CoA II, 81-2, 86, 93; see Figure II.2.31). One green faience scarab with a design of two scorpions was



Figure II.2.31. Plaque, perhaps for suspension, with a scorpion image excavated by Petrie. Drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.333).

found at Q46.27 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 48).

Distribution

MC	2
NS	5

Object and museum numbers

Scarab: 13/14.951

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 81-2, 86, 93
Scarabs: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 48

Symbolism and parallels

The scorpion was closely associated with the goddesses Selket and Ta-Bithet (van de Walle 1967; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 131). The motif could represent danger, with magical spells often directed against scorpions (de Buck and Stricker 1940; Vittmann 1984), but in some contexts it again appears to have functioned as a protective symbol (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 131-3). Vessels were occasionally decorated with scorpions; Petrie (1896, 14, pl. XIV.7) excavated a vessel decorated with four scorpions and Hathor cows in association with a foundation deposit of Thutmose III at Koptos. Scorpions are also shown on ostraca from Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1936, 49-50, nos 2240-1, pl. XXXIII).

Scorpion amulets are first known from the Fifth Dynasty but they continued to be produced into the Ptolemaic Period (Hayes 1959, 180, 184, 251, 401; Cooney 1976, 164, no. 1882; Andrews 1994, 24, 36). Amongst provenanced examples are Thutmoside-period scarabs and cowroids from burials at Thebes (Hayes 1959, 184), and an amulet from the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Maket at Kahun (Petrie 1891, pl. XXVI.3). Scorpion amulets are known from Malkata (Hayes 1959, 251), whilst a scarab decorated with a scorpion was found in a foundation deposit of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959, fig. 48).

Turtle or tortoise

One glass and one possible steatite pendant in the form of a turtle or tortoise were found at P47.19-20 in the Main City and U37.14 in the North Suburb (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 129; Boyce in AR VI, 351; see Figure II.2.32). A photograph of an additional turtle or tortoise amulet appears in *The City of Akhenaten II* (pl. XXVIII.6), but no further details of it are provided in the publication.

Distribution

MC	1
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

13/14.366



Figure II.2.32. Turtle amulet from U37.14 in the North Suburb. Scale 1:1. (After Boyce in AR VI, 345, fig. 11.3.X4. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Publications

CoA II, pl. XXVIII.6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 129; Boyce in AR VI, 351; see also Györy 1998, 500

Symbolism and parallels

The turtle appears to have been associated generally with evil, death and darkness. By the Middle Kingdom it was believed to inhabit the waters of the Underworld and form a potential threat to the progress of Re (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 140; Fischer in LÄ V, 627). Turtle-headed demons appear in the coffin texts and on New Kingdom funerary statuettes (Fischer in LÄ V). Turtles are also depicted on the so-called magic wands and rods of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Pinch 1994, 40-2, 79).

Turtle amulets were produced from the Old Kingdom to mid-New Kingdom (Fischer in LÄ V, 627; Andrews 1994, 10, 36, fig. 4a). Amongst provenanced examples are Middle and New Kingdom amulets from Harageh, some of which possibly originated from settlement contexts (Engelbach 1923, 13, 17, pl. LIV).

Unidentifiable

Two items of jewellery with unidentifiable animal motifs are listed in the report of the DOG excavations: a black stone bead spacer with a design of incised animals from N49.1-3, and a blue faience pendant in the form of a slaughtered animal from O49.14.

Distribution

MC	2
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Object and museum numbers

11/12.82, 11/12.622

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 232, 253

Royal names

Akhenaten/Amenhotep IV

At least 12 pendants and 12 beads with the name of Akhenaten originated from excavations at the site. Of the pendants, at least eight are of type E1, one is type E2 and one is type E8. One piece from P43.1 in the Central

City is identified in the excavation report as a cartouche with the 'early Aten name', but identified as type IV.E.6 (CoA II, 102). This type (Petrie type 61) clearly reads 'Neferkheperure' (Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.61). Of the beads, at least 10 are of type IV.E.2 (= Petrie type 47).

Petrie (1894, pl. XIV) recorded 57 'plaques' in the form of the cartouche of Akhenaten. At least one is a collar pendant and one is a bead (Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.44, 47; Boyce in AR VI, 349), but the function of the remaining pieces is uncertain, and some may have been inlays.

Up to 119 rings with the king's name have been excavated by the DOG and EES, from the Main City, North Suburb, Workmen's Village and Central City. Twelve are of type I.A.2a (Petrie type 24), 33 are of type I.A.2b (Petrie type 54), five are of type I.A.2c (Petrie type 62), six are of type I.A.2e (Petrie type 28), seven are of type I.A.2g (Petrie type 55), 10 are of type I.A.2i (Petrie type 40) and one is of type I.A.2j (CoA II, 86). Forty-five are of indeterminate type. Petrie (1894, 28-9, pl. XIV) published an additional 19 examples.

Nine scarabs with the name of Akhenaten were found in the Main City, North Suburb and Central City. At least two are of type I.A.2a (Petrie type 24); another is of a type that does not appear in the illustrated corpus (CoA II, 70, pl. XLVI.3). Up to three show the name Amenhotep IV (CoA II, 85; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225, 305), in one case alongside either the name or image of Amun-Re (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 305; see page 29). Petrie (1894, pl. XIV) illustrated seven further scarabs made of green- and blue-glazed schist from his excavations. Fragments of two bracelets with the name of the king were also recorded from U36.44 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 19) and at the King's House in the Central City (CoA II, 89).

Distribution

CC	79
MC	35
NS	56
WV	3
KN	1

Object and museum numbers

Beads: 11.62; 26/593

Pendants: 9601

Rings: 11.12, 11.137, 11.294, 11.299, 11.387, 11.456, 11.611, 11.613, 11/12.32, 11/12.251, 11/12.1264, 12/13.52, 12/13.100, 12/13.152, 12/13.304, 12/13.852, 12/13.954, 12/13.992, 12/13.1615, 13/14.105, 13/14.121, 13/14.481; 21/244, 21/437, 21/451, 21/466, 21/513, 24/721, 26/185, 26/459, 26/541, 26/802, 30/66, 30/424, 31/119, 31/173, 32/216, 32/255, 32/264, 33/147, 35/189, 36/57, 36/88; 21233

Scarabs: 11.272, 11.440, 11/12.659, 13/14.165; 21/514, 24/97, 30/26, 31/266

'Bracelets': 29/138, 31/531

Publications

Beads: CoA II, 15, 47–8, 51, 54–5, 61–2, 86; CoA III, 13, 110; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 333

Pendants: CoA II, 47–8, 55, 58; CoA III, 38, 102, 118–19, 136

Rings: Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.54; CoA I, 15, 17, 23, 26, 71; CoA II, 12, 14–16, 21–2, 25, 32, 34–5, 40–1, 46–7, 50, 52, 54–8, 62, 67, 70, 72, 75, 86, 91, pl. XLVI.1; CoA III, 18, 31, 37–8, 45, 50, 67, 73, 75, 82, 92, 98–9, 102, 107–10, 118–21, 123–4, 135–7, 140; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19, 31, 34, 37, 56, 59, 61, 85, 89, 95, 129, 147, 171, 175, 180, 214, 220, 241, 287, 296, 321, 329; Shaw in AR I, 128–9

Scarabs: CoA I, 17; CoA II, 54, 70, 85, pl. XLVI.3; CoA III, 119, 124; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225, 241, 260, 305

'Bracelets': CoA II, 19; CoA III, 89

Amenemhet Seneb

One green-glazed steatite scarab with the name Amenemhet Seneb was found at T33.8A–E in the North Suburb.

Distribution

NS 1

Object and museum numbers

31/269

Publications

CoA II, 70, pl. XLVI.3

Amenhotep II

The name Amenhotep II occurs on a faience scarab excavated at O47.13 in the Main City.

Distribution

MC 1

Object and museum numbers

13/14.470

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 84

Amenhotep III

At least 23 rings with the name of Amenhotep III occur, one of Petrie type 6, 11 of type I.A.1a (= Petrie types 10–14), two of type I.A.1b (= Petrie type 15–17) and one of type I.A.1c (= Petrie type 18). The style of the remainder is not known. Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.8–19) illustrated an 11

additional rings. Most are of faience, but metal examples occur (for example, obj. 21/485: CoA I, 23, pl. XI.5).

Thirteen excavated scarabs bear the name of the king; at least two are of type II.A.1a (Petrie type 5), and one is of Petrie type 6. One is of a form that does not appear to have been assigned a type number (CoA III, 109, pl. CIX.1, 232) and one is an example of a 'hunting scarab' (CoA III, 122, pl. LXXVII.5, 6). Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.5–7) published three further scarabs with the name of the king, in glazed stone.

A steatite bead with the name Amenhotep III was excavated in the grounds south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 8536), and a pierced oval steatite plaque with the name of Amenhotep III on one side and that of Tiye on the other was found at Kom el-Nana (obj. 30337). A double-sided steatite amulet inscribed likewise was excavated at P43.1 (obj. 31/429); it is not clear if it was pierced. A bead from Q48.1 in the Main City bore the names of Amenhotep III and Re (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225; see page 38). Petrie (1894, 28, pl. XIV.8) published a faience plaque in the form of a cartouche of Amenhotep III with what appears to be a suspension loop at the top, so presumably a pendant. A further pendant inscribed 'Amenhotep, Lord of Thebes', perhaps a reference to Amenhotep III, in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, is said to have derived from the site (Boyce in AR VI, 351). A fragment of a green faience ring with an oval bezel preserving part of the name Amenhotep, again possibly Amenhotep III, was excavated in the Central City (obj. 17682).

A *wdj*-eye with the name of the king was found at T36.52 (type III.B.2; CoA II, 86); a second example originated from the Central City (CoA III, 109, pl. XIC.1).

Distribution

CC 5
MC 11
NS 15
WV 1
KN 1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants/beads: 13/14.148; 3189, 7601, 8536, 30337
Rings: 11/12.1566, 12/13.938; 21/219, 21/462, 21/485, 26/183; 17682

Scarabs: 26/217, 29/116, 30/426, 31/79, 32/232, 33/60; 11/12. –, 11/12.202, 13/14.920, 12/13.990

wdj-eyes: 32/249

Amulet: 31/429

Publications

Pendants/beads: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225
Rings: CoA I, 15, 22–3, pl. XI.3, 5; CoA II, 12, 38, 51, 54, 58, 62, 70–1, 76, 89; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19, 248

Scarabs: CoA II, 8, 19, 31, 58, 62, 74, pls XXIX.2, XLVI.3; CoA III, 109, 110, 122, 124, pl. CIX.1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19, 86, 204, 246

wdj-eyes: CoA II, 86; CoA III, 109, pl. XIC.1

Ankhesenpaaten / Ankhesenamun

Two rings with the name of Ankhesenpaaten were excavated in T33.2 and U37.4–7 in the North Suburb (type I.A.6b; CoA II, 15, 69). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.90–1) illustrated two types of plaques bearing the name of Ankhesenpaaten, of which he excavated 10 examples, although it is unclear whether these were inlays or jewellery items. A ring bezel in the Ashmolean Museum (1893.1–41.502) from Petrie's excavations bears the name Ankhesenpaaten. A ring inscribed Ankhesenamun was also recorded from T33.8A–E in the North Suburb (type I.A.6d; CoA II, 70).

Distribution

NS 2

Object and museum numbers

Rings: 26/339; said to be from Amarna: Ash. 1893.1–41.502

Publications

Rings: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.90–1; CoA II, 15, 19

Horemheb

A fragment of a double cartouche in 'blue-glaze' that possibly contained the name of Horemheb was recorded from U37.22 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 21). No further details of this piece have been obtained, and it is not clear if it was an item of jewellery.

Distribution

NS 1

Object and museum numbers

26/476

Publications

CoA II, 21

Meritaten

Up to six ring bezels bear the name of Meritaten, at least four of which are of type I.A.6a (= Petrie type 106). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.106–7) also illustrated a blue faience bezel type with the name of Meritaten, of which he found four examples, and a further blue faience cartouche of Meritaten, although the function of the latter is not clear.

Distribution

CC 4
WV 2

Object and museum numbers

Rings: 29/86; 6600

Publications

Rings: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.106–7; CoA III, 108, 110, 136; Shaw in AR I, 129

Nefertiti

At least 17 pendants and beads are inscribed with the name of Nefertiti. Fourteen beads show the name of the queen in a double cartouche (type IV.E.4). Two (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 201, 214) are listed in the excavation report simply as bearing the name of the 'queen', but this is presumably Nefertiti. The remaining example is listed as a Nefertiti pendant in the excavation report (CoA III, 137), but identified as type IV.E.2, which is a double cartouche bead of Akhenaten.

Petrie (1894, pl. XV.82, 85) illustrated a bead and pendant with the cartouche of Nefertiti. He also published four 'plaques' in the form of Nefertiti cartouches (Petrie 1894, pl. XV.84, 86–8), which are possibly items of jewellery. A broken blue faience bezel with the name of Nefertiti was found at T36.2 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 23). Two further Nefertiti bezels were excavated in the Main City by the EES from 1921–24 (Shaw in AR I, 130). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.89) also published a ring in the form of a cartouche of Nefertiti from his excavations. A gold ring that is thought to have originated from the Royal Tomb is also inscribed with the name of the queen (Edinburgh A 1883.49.1; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 268, no. 227).

Distribution

CC 2 + 17
MC 3
NS 13

Object and museum numbers

Pendants/beads: 11/12.319, 13/14.5; 30/422
Rings: 24/772, 26/642; Edinburgh A 1883.49.1

Publications

Pendants/beads: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.82, 85; CoA II, 17, 38, 51–2, 56–9, 70; CoA III, 17, 38, 51–2, 56–9, 70; CoA III, 107, 119, 137; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 201, 214
Rings: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.89; Shaw in AR I, 130

Ramesses II

One green-glazed scarab bearing the name of Ramesses II was found in upper fill of the Great Palace.

Distribution
CC 1

Object and museum numbers
35/237

Publications
CoA III, 63

Smenkhkare

A steatite bead bearing the name of Smenkhkare and the inscription *Trn nfr hpr* was found at T36.31 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 55, 29/310), whilst two Smenkhkare pendants were found in the Central City (type IV.E.9; CoA III, 119). A fragment of a Smenkhkare cartouche was found in T36.51 (CoA II, 56), although its function is unclear. Petrie (1894, pl. XV.92, 94, 98–102) also published a series of Smenkhkare plaques, some of which may have functioned as pendants or beads. He found two type 92, seven type 94, two type 98, four type 99, one type 100, two type 101 and one type 102 examples.

Up to 65 rings bearing the cartouche of Smenkhkare have been recorded from the Main City, North Suburb, Workmen's Village and Central City. Three are of type I.A.3b, one is of type I.A.3c (Petrie type 103) and four are of type I.A.3f (Petrie type 96). Sixteen are of indeterminable type and the remaining 38 are of type I.A.3a (Petrie type 97). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.93, 96–7, 103–5) also published examples of six types of Smenkhkare rings from his excavations.

A 'large coarse clay ring' bearing the cartouche of Smenkhkare was also found at T36.58 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 54), but its function is not clear.

Distribution
CC 18
MC 3
NS 34
WV 12

Object and museum numbers

Bead: 29/310
Pendants: 30/87
Rings: 11/12.1310; 21/418, 26/435, 26/520, 26/689, 26/726, 31/280; 1020, 3286, 3372, 3457, 3749, 3785, 4048, 4049, 4283, 5095, 5096, 6208, 8523, 8524

Publications

Beads: CoA II, 55, pl. XXIX.1
Pendants: CoA II, 56; CoA III, 19
Rings: CoA I, 23; CoA II, 13, 15, 23, 31–4, 38, 41–3, 46–7, 50, 52, 54–5, 57, 65, 67, 71, 83; CoA III, 18, 50, 70, 74–5,

92, 98, 107, 110, 120, 123; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 314; Kemp 1981b, 14; Shaw in AR I, 127; Boyce in AR V, 166

Tiye

A faience scarab with the name of Queen Tiye was found in R43.1 in the Central City (type II.A.5a; CoA III, 140). Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.20–2) also illustrated a blue faience scarab and two possible pendants or ring bezels in green faience bearing the name of Tiye. Petrie type 20 has the name of Amenhotep III on the reverse.

Distribution
CC 1

Publications

Scarabs: Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.21; CoA III, 140
Plaques: Petrie 1894, pl. XIV.20, 22

Thutmose III

One pendant with the name of Thutmose III was found at Q46.3 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31). Nine steatite or faience scarabs with the name of the king were found in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 47, 104) and North Suburb (CoA II, 23, 26, 38, 41, 50, 73–4, pls XXIX.1, XLVI.3). The exact form of most of these is unclear (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 47). At least two are of forms not assigned a type number. Most were green-glazed. Petrie (1894, pl. XIV.1–3) also illustrated three schist scarabs with Thutmose III cartouches. It is uncertain whether Petrie type 4 (1894, pl. XIV), which also bears the name of the king, should be considered a form of jewellery or inlay, but given its large scale the latter is most likely. A gold and steatite scarab ring bezel reputedly found in the Royal Tomb also bore the prenomen of Thutmose III (Martin 1974, 77, no. 279).

Distribution
MC 3
NS 7

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 12/13.1480
Scarabs: 12/14.592, 13/14.940; 26/648, 29/122, 29/349, 31/62, 31/67, 35/609

Publications

Pendants: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31
Scarabs: CoA II, 23, 26, 38, 41, 50, 73–4, pls XXIX.1, XLVI.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 47, 104

Tutankhamun/Tutankhaten

Pendants in the form of the cartouche of Tutankhamun were found at T35.9 and T36.59 in the North Suburb

(type IV.E.7; CoA II, 42, 52). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.109, 117, 119) also illustrated three cartouche-shaped plaques with the name of Tutankhamun that may have been items of jewellery. Over 100 Tutankhaten and Tutankhamun rings have been excavated in the Main City, North Suburb, Workmen's Village and Central City. Thirty-one are of type I.A.4a (= Petrie type 108, 110), eight are of type I.A.4b (= Petrie type 113), one is of type I.A.4c (= Petrie type 120), three are of type I.A.4d (= Petrie type 118), four are of type I.A.4e (= Petrie type 115), two are of type I.A.4f (= Petrie type 114) and four are of type I.A.4g (= Petrie type 119). Fifty-five are of indeterminable type. One is of type I.B.13 (= Petrie type 125). One is a type not encountered by early excavators at the site (Shannon in AR IV, 155). Types I.A.4d and I.A.4g incorporate the name of Amun-Re (Shannon in AR IV, 155). Petrie (1894, pl. XV) also illustrated examples of five ring types: he found 10 type I.A.4.a (= Petrie types 108, 110), four type I.A.4.d (= Petrie types 118), one type I.A.4.e (= Petrie types 115), one type I.A.4.f (= Petrie type 114) and seven type I.A.4.g (= Petrie type 119) examples.

The Tutankhamun amulets are made primarily of blue-, green- and yellow-glazed faience. A bronze ring bearing the prenomen of the king was also found on the body of a man in the Central City (Griffith 1924, 302).

Distribution
CC 6
MC 12
NS 46
WV 47

Object and museum numbers

Rings: 11/12.156, 11/12.212, 11/12.1018, 12/13.33, 12/13.651, 12/13.726, 12/13.1384, 13/14.593; 21/20, 21/376, 21/385, 21/443, 26/400, 21/543, 21/544, 26/856, 30/318; 1155, 2898, 3530, 3651, 4260, 4398, 4475, 4504, 4595, 4601, 4923, 4973, 5058, 5410, 5425, 6052, 6162, 6207, 6209, 6246, 6291, 6344, 6491, 6686, 6718, 6928, 7192, 7438, 7547, 8762

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 42, 52
Rings: CoA I, 23, 28, 68–9, 75–6, 82–3, 85, 87–8, 90, pl. X.3; Griffith 1924, 302; CoA II, 17, 33, 35, 38, 40–2, 43, 47–8, 50–2, 54–5, 57, 59, 62, 65–6, 68, 70–1, 75–6, 79, 81–2, 95; CoA III, 98–9, 109, 120, 136; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 137, 147, 164, 178, 195, 276, 331; Shaw in AR I, 127–9; Shannon in AR IV, 155, fig. 12.2; Boyce in AR V, 124–6

nsw-bity motif

One glazed steatite scarab with the *nsw-bity* motif was found in association with the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Aten Temple.

Distribution
MC 1

Object and museum numbers
32/257

Publications

CoA III, 110, pl. CIX.1

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst jewellery and small amulets with royal names may often have served practical purposes as, for example, administrative seals, they appear to have sometimes possessed magical qualities, particularly when inscribed with the names of deceased royals (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 41; Shannon in AR IV, 156). Faience finger rings with royal names were introduced during the reign of Amenhotep III or slightly earlier. They continued to be produced for most of the remainder of the New Kingdom, but it is unclear whether production continued thereafter (Boyce in AR V, 160). Scarabs with royal names were produced possibly as early as the Old Kingdom, and continued in production until the Twenty Sixth Dynasty (Petrie 1917, 14–19, 33).

Items of jewellery with royal names have been found in a range of contexts. Rings and scarabs with the name of Amenhotep III and Tiye were found at Medinet Habu, probably in association with houses (Hölscher 1939, 71, 83). Many rings and other amulets decorated with royal names were excavated at Malkata (Hayes 1951, 231–4). Royal-name scarabs may also have been excavated in a settlement context at Tell el-Retabeh (Petrie 1906, 32, pl. XXXIII). Amulets and bracelets decorated with cartouches of Middle and New Kingdom rulers have been found at a number of Hathor shrines (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 32; Karlin 1970, 352, nos 164, 167; Pinch 1993, 273–4, 289, 298–9). Royal-name amulets have also been found in New Kingdom private burials (for example, Seele 1974, 13, 15–19; Spalinger in Brovanski et al. 1982, 254, no. 361). Amongst provenanced amulets bearing the *nsw-bity* motif is a scarab from a foundation deposit of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Hayes 1959, fig. 48).

Hieroglyphs

ꜥnh

Three openwork ꜥnh pendants were recorded from the North City, complex Q48.4 in the Main City and at the Zir Area at the Workmen's Village (obj. NC.163, 4001b, 8821), all similar to Petrie type 259. A green faience oval plaque with an ꜥnh motif from Q44.10 in the Main City (obj. 23/187) was registered as a pendant, but may have been a ring bezel of type I.B.11 (= Petrie type 167).

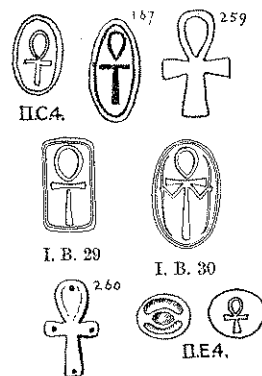


Figure II.2.33. 'nh'-design jewellery items, amulets and a 'clothes ornament' (no. 260). No. 259 drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.259–60; CoA II, pl. XLIX.II.C.4, II.E.4; CoA III, pl. CXII.IB.29–30. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Thirty-seven rings with 'nh' motifs have been found in the Main City, North Suburb and Central City (only those that show an 'nh' motif alone are considered here). Thirty-two show an 'nh'-sign on an oval bezel (type I.B.11 = Petrie type 167, or similar; see Figure II.2.33). Two have an 'nh'-sign on a rectangular bezel (type I.B.29 or similar). One has an oval bezel on which an 'nh'-sign with hands grasps two long thin elements (type I.B.30).

Thirteen scarabs with an 'nh'-sign have been excavated at the Workmen's Village, Main City, North Suburb and Central City. At least eight are of type II.C.4 and one is of type II.E.4. Nine 'nh' 'clothes ornaments' – that is, flat 'nh' signs with multiple piercings – were found in the North Suburb and Central City (type IV.D.12 = Petrie type 260). Petrie (1894, pls XVI.167, XVII.260) also illustrated an 'nh' ring and clothes ornament from his excavations.

Distribution

CC	22
MC	7
NS	30
NC	1
WV	3

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 23/187; NC.163, 4001b, 8821
Rings: 11/12.592; 21/95, 23/251, 30/592; 31183
Beads: XI.58
Scarabs: 12/13.120, 11/12.478; 32/277; XI.40, 6164

Publications

Pendants: –

Rings: CoA I, 29, pl. XI.2; CoA II, 67, 78–82, 84, 86, 88, 90–2; CoA III, 83–5, 104, 111, 125, 128–9; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 251

Ornaments: CoA III, 20, 79–81, 84, 105, 126–7
Scarab: CoA II, 82, 92–3; CoA III, 83, 109, pl. CIX.1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 89, 253

Symbolism and parallels

The earliest known amulets in the form of an individual 'nh', the symbol of life, date to the late Old Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 86). Examples are then known from various phases throughout pharaonic history, although they do not appear to have been common (Hayes 1959, 180; Andrews 1994, 10, 86). A few small 'nh' pendants and amulets have been found amongst votive material at the Hathor shrines at Mirgissa, Serabit el-Khadim and Deir el-Bahri (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 32; Karlin 1970, 342, no. 49; Pinch 1993, 18, 299–300). Large glazed 'nh'-signs were found in a dump of votive material from the New Kingdom Hathor Temple at Dendera (Petrie 1900, 28, 65, pl. XXIII.7; Pinch 1993, 78, 299) and at the Temple of Osiris at Abydos (Petrie 1902, 25). 'nh' amulets of varying size have also been recovered from Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs (Carter and Newberry 1904, 132, pl. XXVI; Hayes 1959, 149; Pinch 1993, 299).

gd

Fourteen collar pendants in the form of a gd-pillar were found at S33.1, T34.1, T36.38 and T36.39 in the North Suburb, complex Q48.4 in the Main City and at the Clerks' Houses in the Central City. Thirteen are of type D7a/b (= Petrie type 264/5; see Boyce in AR VI, 354 on the possibility that most, if not all, pendants recorded as type IV.D.7a/b were, in fact, of type IV.D.7a). The exact form of the other example was not recorded by the excavators. Eight pendants were excavated in a large court, T36.39, located behind a garden shrine at estate T36.36 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 85) and may have originated from a single collar.

Three rings with oval bezels showing a single gd-pillar were found at U33.1 in the North Suburb, and at the

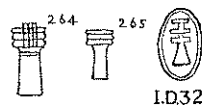


Figure II.2.34. gd-pillar pendant and finger-ring designs. 264 and 265 drawn from moulds. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.264–5; CoA II, pl. XLIX. I.D.32. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Clerks' Houses and building R42.13 in the Central City (type I.D.32; see Figure II.2.34). A glazed steatite scarab depicting a gd-pillar between two uraei was found associated with the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Temple.

Distribution

CC	4
MC	2
NS	6

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 13/14.489, 8089; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1104
Scarabs: 32/182

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 78, 80, 82, 85; CoA III, 129; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86
Rings: CoA II, 90; CoA III, 127, 129
Scarabs: CoA III, 107

Symbolism and parallels

The gd-pillar motif was associated with concepts such as stability and durability (Gardiner 1957, 502; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 169), and linked with the cults of Osiris and Ptah (Griffiths 1972, 86; te Velde in LÄ IV, 1179; Andrews 1994, 19). Amulets in the form of the gd-pillar were first produced during the late Old Kingdom, from which time they became common funerary amulets (Donatelli 1988, 201; Taylor in D'Auria et al. 1988, 181–2; Andrews 1994, 10, 83). They were sometimes placed on model mud-bricks in burials (Taylor 2001, 207–8). The gd motif also occurs on amuletic bangles possibly worn during life (Pinch 1994, 115, fig. 57). Amongst provenanced examples is a gd-pillar pendant from a deposit that probably dates to the early Nineteenth Dynasty at the temple of Beth Shan (Rowe 1940, 77, pl. XXXIII.27; James and McGovern 1993, 5). Examples were also excavated at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11) and in the tomb of Thutmose IV (Carter and Newberry 1904, 133).

h

Three provenanced collar pendants in the form of the hieroglyph h have been excavated in the Central City (type D3; CoA III, 82, 84, 103; Boyce in AR VI, 354; Györy 1998, 507). An example in the Petrie Museum is also thought to have originated from the site (UC1112; Samson 1978, 83, pl. 47(ii)).

Distribution

CC	3
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Object and museum numbers

Pendant said to originate from Amarna: Petrie UC1112



II. C. 11

Figure II.2.35. Scarab with hkt-sceptre motif on the underside, from the Central City. Scale 1:1. (After CoA III, pl. CXII.II.C.11. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Publications

CoA III, 82, 84, 103; see also Samson 1978, 83, pl. 47(ii)

Symbolism and parallels

The production of jewellery in the form of the h-sign, a wick of twisted flax, suggests that the motif could possess symbolic, possibly religious, qualities, but these remain obscure. No parallels to the Amarna examples have been identified in the course of the current study.

hkt-sceptre

Two scarabs bearing a hkt-motif were excavated at the Great Palace (type II.C.11; Figure II.2.35).

Distribution

CC	2
----	---

Publications

CoA III, 83, 85

Symbolism and parallels

The hkt-sceptre formed part of the insignia of kingship, but was also represented in private contexts (Kaplon in LÄ VI, 1376–7). Amulets in the form of the hkt-motif are rare (Andrews 1994, 75).

hs-vase

Four pendants in the form of a hs-vase were found in the North Suburb: two are of necklace pendant type D9 (= Petrie type 268) and two are of collar type X9. A type D9 pendant was also found near N49.18 in the Main City (CoA I, 15, pl. XIII.2); and a type X9 pendant found in the Central City (CoA III, 85). Petrie (1894, pl. XVII.268) also illustrated a hs-vase pendant from his excavations, whilst four hs-vase collar pendants in the Petrie Museum (UC1376–8) are said to have originated from the site (Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47(ii)). A carnelian and gold pendant in the form of a 'bottle' was also found at T35.3 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 41).

Distribution

CC	2
MC	1
NS	2

Object and museum numbers

Pendants said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1376-9

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.268; CoA I, 15, pl. XIII.2; CoA II, 81, 91; CoA III, 85; Boyce in AR VI, 355

Symbolism and parallels

As a hieroglyph, the *hs*-vase was associated with aspects such as favour or praise, whilst actual *hs*-vases served as ritual containers (Gardiner 1957, 529; Arnold in LÄ II, 484; Andrews 1994, 95). The *hs*-vase occurred in amuletic form from at least the Middle Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 95). Examples have been found in burials of that period, where they may have been intended both to provide the deceased with liquid offerings, and to grant them praise or favour in the Afterlife (Andrews 1994, 95). Moulds for *hs*-vase amulets were also found at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 278).

nfr

Fifty-six pendants depicting a *nfr*-sign were found in the Main City, North Suburb, Workmen's Village and Central City. At least 52 are in the form of an openwork *nfr*-sign: 37 are of type D2 (Petrie type 266) and 15 are of type IV.D.4. Most, if not all, appear to be collar pendants.

Sixty-one rings with a *nfr* motif have also been identified from the Main City, Workmen's Village, North Suburb and Central City (see Figure II.2.36). Fifty of these show a single *nfr*-sign on an oval bezel. Forty-eight are of type I.B.4 (= Petrie type 169). Two are of type I.B.26, on which the *nfr*-sign is surrounded by a segmented border. Three show a *nfr*-sign atop a T-shaped sign, possibly a composite *nfr* and *nh* design, type I.B.17 (= Petrie type 168). Two rings are of type I.C.7. Both were listed by Frankfort and Pendlebury (CoA II, 35), but no indication of the motif was provided. An illustration of this type, showing a rectangular bezel and three *nfr*-signs in a row, was provided by Pendlebury (CoA III, 115, pl. CXII), but the type was listed as 'omitted'. One bronze ring shows a row of five engraved *nfr*-signs (CoA II, 72, pl. XLVI.1; Hayes 1959, 292). Five are of indeterminate type.

One cowroid bead with a *nfr*-sign is also recorded from N49.19 in the Main City (CoA I, 23). Sixteen scarabs with a *nfr*-sign have been identified, at least 13 of which show a single *nfr*-sign (type II.C.5).

Petrie (1894, pls XV-XVI) illustrated a blue-glazed ring bezel with *nfr*-sign (Petrie type 168), a group of ring types with *nfr*- and *nh*-designs (Petrie types 166-9), and two scarabs with *nfr*-motifs (Petrie type 156-7).

Distribution

CC	8
MC	12
NS	76
WV	6

Object and museum numbers

Cowroid beads: 21/442
Pendants: 23/41, 23/57, 23/340, 24/1030; XI.74, 1537, 4593, 32683; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1110, UC23658; Ash. 1931.3086
Rings: 21/17, 21/136, 23/66, 31/78; 1589, 17594, 30963
Scarabs: 21/112, 23/54; 35664

Publications

Cowroid beads: CoA I, 23
Pendants: CoA II, 78-81, 83, 86-9, 92, 93; CoA III, 83, 103, 111, 125, 129, 142; see also Samson 1978, 83, pl. 47(ii)
Rings: CoA I, 20-1, 83 pl. X.3; CoA II, 78-87, 89-90, 92-5, pl. XLVI.1; CoA III, 82-5, 103-4, 111, 126-9, 142
Scarabs: CoA I, 21, pl. X.3; CoA II, 80, 82, 85, 87, 90, 92, 94; CoA III, 104-5, 126, 130

Symbolism and parallels

The *nfr*-sign symbolised aspects such as beauty, goodness and well-being (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 169). *Nfr* pendants, particularly those of the Eighteenth Dynasty, seem to have been used predominantly in composite collars (Andrews 1994, 87; Boyce in AR VI, 341-2; Johnson 1999, 225-30). Examples have been found in royal burials of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hayes

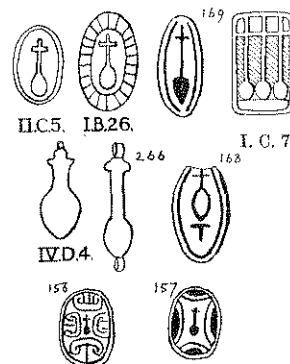


Figure II.2.36. Scarabs, beads and pendants with *nfr*-imagery. Scale 1:1. (After CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.B.26, II.C.5, IV.D.4; CoA III, pl. CXII.I.C.7. Reproduced courtesy of the EES. Otherwise after Petrie 1894, pls XV.156-7, XVI.168-9).

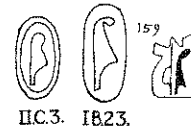


Figure II.2.37. *sw*-feather imagery on jewellery items. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XV.159; CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.B.23, II.C.3. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

1959, 243). A possible *nfr* ring was found in a Ramesside period foundation deposit (Hayes 1959, 397), whilst *nfr* amulets were also excavated at the village of *Wah-sut* at Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904, pl. LVII.1) and at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11).

***sw*-feather**

At least nineteen amulets of blue or green faience with a *sw*-feather motif have been excavated (see Figure II.2.37). Four rings with a single ostrich feather on an oval bezel were found in association with the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Aten Temple, and at T35.4 in the North Suburb (Type I.B.23). Fifteen scarabs with *sw*-feathers were excavated in the North Suburb, Main City and Central City. At least twelve show a single ostrich feather on the base (type II.C.3) and one shows a pair of feathers (CoA II, 52). It is unclear whether the feathers are joined or separate; the design is untyped. Petrie (1894, pl. XV.159) also illustrated a *wdj*-eye amulet with *sw*-feather motif.

Distribution

CC	2
MC	1
NS	14

Object and museum numbers

Scarabs: 24/695, 30/234, 32/148

Publications

Pendants: CoA II, 86, 94-5
Rings: CoA II, 81; CoA III, 111
Scarabs: CoA III, 18, 52, 78, 82-3, 85, 88-9, 92, 96, 127-9
wdj-eyes: Petrie 1894, pl. XV.159

Symbolism and parallels

The *sw*-feather symbolised the concept of *ma'at*, and was associated similarly with the goddess Maat (Gardiner 1957, 474; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 168). Ostrich feathers themselves may sometimes have been offered to goddesses such as Hathor and Mut (Friedman 1999, 103). Amulets depicting *sw*-feather motifs were produced from at least the Nineteenth Dynasty (Petrie 1914, 16, pl. XLIV). Amongst provenanced examples are gold feather amulets from a Twenty-Second Dynasty

tomb at Abydos (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 91, no. 19B).

tit

Whilst no *tit*-amulets are recorded in the excavation reports, two *tit* collar pendants in the Petrie Museum are thought to have originated from the site.

Object and museum numbers

Pendants said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1103, 68279

Publications

Samson 1978, 82, pl. 47(iii)

Symbolism and parallels

The *tit* motif symbolised aspects such as life and welfare (Wilkinson 1992, 201). The earliest known *tit* amulets date to the reign of Amenhotep III, and from this time they appear to have been a standard funerary amulet (Taylor in D'Auria et al. 1988, 182; Andrews 1994, 45), although some might have been used as charms for pregnant women (Westendorf in LÄ III, 204). Numerous examples have been found in funerary contexts, including on the mummy of Yuya at Thebes (Davis 1907, 6; Andrews 1994, 45). A glass *tit* amulet was found in association with a burial of late Eighteenth Dynasty to early Nineteenth Dynasty date at Dahshur North (Yoshimura et al. 1998, 8), whilst gold examples were found in a Twenty-Second Dynasty tomb at Abydos (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 91, no. 19B). A glazed pottery *tit* amulet was found in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb at Abydos (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 77, 91, 98, pl. XLI.3). Examples were also found at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1953, 54, fig. 11).

***w3s*-sceptre**

Fourteen or more pendants in the form of a *w3s*-sceptre have been excavated. At least 13 are collar pendants in the form of an openwork *w3s*-sceptre (type D1 = Petrie type 255; see Figure II.2.38). The other example is listed as a blue faience necklace pendant that is 2.5cm long (obj. 24/711) but its exact form is indeterminate. It is possibly a misidentified collar pendant. Petrie (1894, pl. XVII) illustrated an example of this type, and an additional collar pendant in the Petrie Museum (UC2102) also originated from the site (Samson 1978, 83, pl. 47(ii)).

Distribution

CC	5
MC	1
NS	7
WV	1

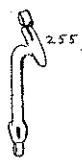


Figure II.2.38. *w3s*-sceptre collar pendant, excavated by Petrie. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XVII.255).

Object and museum numbers
24/711; 4473, 8333

Publications

CoA II, 80–1, 83, 87, 94; CoA III, 111, 126

Symbolism and parallels

The *w3s*-sceptre formed a symbol of dominion and related concepts, such as sovereignty, divine power, order and protection (te Velde 1967, 90; Wilkinson 1992, 180–1; Gordon and Schwabe 1995, 185, 192–6). It was associated primarily with gods, particularly Seth (te Velde 1967 89–91), but was sometimes held by the king or private individuals (Fischer 1978, 21–5). Andrews (1994, 80) has suggested that amulets in this form date from the Twenty-Second Dynasty onwards, but the presence of examples at Amarna raises the possibility that they were produced before this time.

w3t-eye

The *w3t*-eye is the most common motif represented on jewellery at the site (see Figure II.2.39). Over 700 provenanced *w3t*-eye rings, and over 100 beads, pendants and seemingly unpierced amulets have been recorded. All appear to be in the form of the right eye (cf. Boyce in AR VI, 72). The rings are predominantly of type I.C.5 (= Petrie Type 176), although examples of types I.C.4, I.C.8, I.C.10, I.C.37, I.C.38 and I.C.39 were recorded. The beads, or amulets, are of types III.B.1 (= Petrie type 249), III.B.3, III.B.4 and III.B.5. The majority are of faience, but stone pieces sometimes occur (for example, Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 241). Petrie (1894, pl. XV.155) also illustrated a scarab with a *w3t*-motif. A string of blue-glazed faience balls decorated with both *w3t*- and human-eyes was also found at N51.3 in the Main City (ÄMP 21944; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 330; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 261, no. 195).

Almost 200 *w3t*-eye rings, beads and amulets have also been observed in museum collections, but this is likely to be a very small portion of the jewellery items bearing *w3t*-eyes that originated from the site, most of which retain no details of their find contexts at Amarna.

Distribution

CC	41+
MC	136
NS	331

WV	15
SS	1
NC	9
SV	1

Object and museum numbers

w3t-amulets: 11.28 (x2), 11/12.1487; 21/60, 21/235, 23/116, 23/133, 32/249, 33/81; 2405, 2649, 3113
Beads/pendants: 11.274, 11/12.188, 11/12.352, 11/12.465, 11/12.549, 11/12.888, 11/12.1510, 12.13/288, 12/13.380 (x2), 12/13.633, 12/13.882, 12/13.886, 12/13.1519 (x2), 13/14.112, 13/14.251, 13/14.253, 13/14.527 (x4), 13/14.764, 13/14.855; 26/338; 1816 (x2), 21373
Rings: 11.139, 11.185, 11.187, 11.246, 11.254, 11.273, 11.328, 11.390, 11/12.45, 11/12.73, 11/12.127, 11/12.192, 11/12.193 (x2), 11/12.194, 11/12.241, 11/12.304, 11/12.342, 11/12.359, 11/12.411, 11/12.501, 11/12.546, 11/12.561, 11/12.591, 11/12.632, 11/12.633, 11/12.652, 11/12.693, 11/12.694, 11/12.699, 11/12.714, 11/12.840, 11/12.857, 11/12.874, 11/12.997, 11/12.1027, 11/12.1029, 11/12.1040, 11/12.1045, 11/12.1148, 11/12.1198, 11/12.1256, 11/12.1325, 11/12.1354, 11/12.1369, 11/12.1427, 12/13.1477, 11/12.1489, 11/12.1562, 11/12.1681, 12/13.53, 12/13.71, 12/13.151, 12/13.165, 12/13.529, 12/13.568, 12/13.905, 12/13.1123, 12/13.1183, 12/13.1209 (x2), 12/13.1483 (x2), 12/13.1518 (x3), 12/13.1596, 12/13.1666, 13/14.4, 13/14.37, 13/14.75, 13/14.93, 13/14.110, 13/14.147 (x2), 13/14.258, 13/14.286, 13/14.326, 13/14.398, 13/14.509, 13/14.523 (x2), 13/14.575, 13/14.772, 13/14.788, 13/14.813, 13/14.834, 13/14.970a, 13/14.977; 21/5721/170, 21/171, 21/234, 21/461, 23/26, 23/27, 23/30, 23/137, 23/151, 23/152, 23/158, 23/209, 23/306, 24/722, 24/773, 24/796, 24/812, 24/949, 24/954, 33/245; XI.29, 184, 1306, 1372, 1433, 1443–4, 1449, 1513, 1526, 1536, 1610, 1655, 1658, 1664, 1686, 1728, 1800, 1807–8, 1819, 1893, 2010, 2109, 2182, 2282, 2328, 2357, 2372, 2393, 2433, 2587, 2658, 2667, 2670, 2698, 2734, 2905, 3000, 3006, 3035, 5460, 6220, 9023, 9263, 9510, 9547, 9606, 9734, 9978, 17117, 17200, 17201, 17219, 17730, 30862, 30870, 30903, 30943, 30950, 30959, 30964, 31078, 31079, 31165, 31177, 31187, 31235, 31327, 32792, 32868, 32912, 33102, 33106, 33134, 33135, 33140, 33143, 33162, 33211, 33270

Publications

w3t-amulets: CoA I, 21–2, 28, 32, 76; CoA II, 79–87, 89–93, 95–7; CoA III, 20, 84–5, 109, 111, 119, 127, 129; Martin 1974, 85, cat. nos 338–9; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 206, 330
Beads/pendants: CoA II, 21; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 19, 71, 73, 90, 95, 106, 122, 155, 186, 189, 217, 223, 246, 256, 305, 312
Rings: CoA I, 21–3, 28, 72–3, 76, 86; CoA II, 32, 78–97; CoA III, 20, 32, 82–5, 102–5, 111, 125–30, 142; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 18, 26, 33, 40, 42, 48–9, 66, 68, 71, 74–5, 106, 110, 112, 118, 122, 129, 134, 143, 147, 155, 162, 165, 169, 176, 186, 190–1, 198, 200, 206, 209, 214, 216, 220,

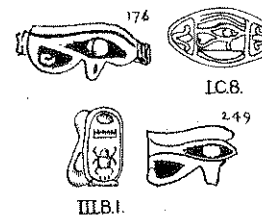


Figure II.2.39. *w3t*-image jewellery designs, on finger rings and beads. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pls XVI.176, XVII.249; CoA II, pl. XLIX.I.C.8, III.B.1. The latter reproduced courtesy of the EES).

223, 225, 235–6, 241, 246, 248, 250–1, 260, 262, 277, 284, 289, 296, 301–2, 304–5, 318–9, 325; Boyce in AR VI, 72

Symbolism and parallels

The *w3t*-eye was associated closely with Horus; in the Contendings of Horus and Seth, this god was said to have lost his left eye. The left and right eyes were also linked with Re and Thoth, and the sun and moon, respectively (Müller-Winkler in LÄ III, 824; Hornung 1992, 142). The image reflected the notion of 'making whole', and could function as a protective symbol (Müller-Winkler in LÄ III, 824). The presentation of the *w3t*-eye also became a significant state rite, associated with the maintenance of ma'at (Hornung 1992, 142).

W3t-eye amulets were first produced during the Old Kingdom, and continued in production into the Roman Period (Müller-Winkler in LÄ III, 824; Andrews 1994, 43–4). They have been recorded frequently from burials of various periods (Petrie 1906b, 32, pl. XXXIII; Dunham 1978, 58; Markowitz in D'Auria et al. 1988, 134, no. 69). New Kingdom examples have been excavated in a range of contexts, including at Hathor shrines (Griffith 1921, pl. XIX.26, 28; Karlin 1970, 346, no. 104; Mahmud 1978, 13–14), and domestic contexts at sites such as Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 334) and Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 61, 63, 65).

Miscellaneous motifs

Aegis

No aegis amulets appear in the excavation records, but a number of examples in museum collections are said to come from the site. One, in Berlin (ÄMP 30716), has the head of either a ram or lion. Four examples are in the Petrie Museum. UC1200 is an intact yellow faience ram-headed aegis pendant, 4.1 cm high. UC1201 is a

similar piece in dark green-blue faience, again 4.1 cm high, and UC1202 is a blue faience piece, probably with suspension loop broken. It possibly shows the face of a goddess, and is preserved to 2.3 cm. UC1237 is more elaborate, showing a hawk-headed aegis surmounting a pair of uraei and a rosette, in blue faience.

Object and museum numbers

Said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1200–2, 1237; ÄMP 30716

Symbolism and parallels

The aegis collar could function as a protective symbol, and was worn by a number of deities, although only Bastet, Mut, Hathor, Amun-Re, Bes and possibly Tefnut were depicted wearing it on amulets (Bonnet 1971, 8–9; Andrews 1994, 19–20, 22, 41). Aegis amulets are first known from the New Kingdom (Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 252, no. 354), but seem to have been particularly common during the Third Intermediate Period (Andrews 1994, 12, 41; Markoe in Capel and Markoe 1996, 74, no. 20v5–6). Amongst provenanced examples are a late New Kingdom aegis amulet with the head of a lioness-goddess from a tomb at el-Ahaiwah (Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 252, no. 354), and a silver aegis from a burial of the Twenty-Second Dynasty at Tell el-Retabeh (Petrie 1906b, 31, pl. XXXII).

Boat

An electrum amulet found at the Workmen's Village depicts a slightly stylised boat. It is similar to a fisherman's boat with a net (Gardiner sign list P4), although the high, out-turned prow and stern are more like those of a sacred barque, and the 'net' may actually be a combined full and crescent moon. It measures 2.4 x 1.2 cm.

Distribution

WV	1
----	---

Object and museum numbers

3091

Symbolism and parallels

It is not clear whether the fisherman's boat possessed religious symbolism, but the divine barque was the mode of transportation of deities, particularly the sun god, and thought to have been used during ritual voyages both to Abydos and to the underworld (Kitchen in LÄ I; Wilkinson 1994, 153). Pendants in the form of divine barques, on which either the sun god or a crescent and full moon were placed, were produced during the late New Kingdom. A pair of baboons was usually shown in adoration upon the barque (Andrews 1994, 90, fig. 90f, g). The rebus name of Amenhotep III, formed of a squatting image of the king holding a

feather topped by a solar disk, could be depicted on a solar barque, probably to reinforce the association of the image, and the king, with the sun god (W. Johnson 1990, 38–9). Variations of this image occur on wine-jar sealings from Amarna (for example, CoA I, pl. LV.K–L; see W. Johnson 1990, 38–9). Amongst provenanced boat amulets are examples from Gurob (Petrie 1891, pl. XXII).

Moon with crescent or horns

Three pendants in the form of a moon and crescent were found in the grounds to the east of the Workmen's Village, and at T36.3 and U37.1–3 in the North Suburb (obj. 5717; Boyce in AR VI, 351). All are of type X2 (= Petrie types 555/6; see Figure II.2.40). At least one was of blue faience (obj. 5717). A copper pendant in the form of a moon was recorded from M50.6 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 286), but its precise form is unclear. Two fragments of a silver pendant in the form of a crescent or horns without full moon, similar to Petrie type 552, were found in the Main City (obj. 7567). A similar, intact, example was found in the Crock of Gold hoard in the North Suburb (CoA II, 60, pl. XLIII.4). In her study of the hoard, Bell (1986, 148) suggested that the pendant was in the form of horns, rather than the crescent of the moon. A pendant from K51.1 in the Main City was identified by the excavators as being in the form of an Isis disk and horns (CoA I, 17). Petrie (1894, pl. XX.555) also illustrated a pendant in the form of a disk and crescent.

Several additional pendants, usually showing a combination disk and crescent/horns but in one case showing only the latter (Petrie UC23646) have been observed in museum collections.

Distribution

MC	2 + 17
NS	3
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

Pendants: 11.251; 24/1057 (Hunt. D.1924.19), 30/491; 5717, 7567; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1230–2, UC1501, UC23646 (x3), UC682831–III

Publications

Petrie 1894, pl. XX.555; CoA I, 17; CoA II, 60, pl. XLIII.4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 286; see also Bell 1986

Symbolism and parallels

A number of deities were associated with the moon, including Khonsu, Osiris, Min and Shu, but particularly Thoth (Bleeker 1973, 114–18). Several gods and goddesses also wear headwear in the form of a solar disk and crescent or horns, such as Isis, Hathor, Thoth and Khonsu. Pendants showing the moon and crescent are first known from the Amarna period, and continued

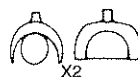


Figure II.2.40. Pendants in the form of a disk and probable crescent moon. Scale 1:1. (After Boyce in AR VI, 345, fig. 11.3.X2. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

in production throughout the New Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 90). It has been suggested that the amulets were associated with notions of regeneration and renewal, as reflected in the changing appearance of the moon (Andrews 1994, 90). Crescent moon amulets may also have been associated with breast-feeding (Brunner-Traut 1970b; Janssen and Janssen 1990, 19), and are possibly depicted on some fertility figurines (Pinch 1993, 201). Amulets in the form of horns appear to have been rare in ancient Egypt until the Roman Period (Petrie 1914, 23), but are relatively common from Late Bronze Age sites in the Levant (Bell 1986, 148).

A very similar example to the Amarna crescent pendant was found at the temple of Beth Shan, in a Twentieth Dynasty context (Rowe 1940, 74, pl. XXX.54; James 1966, 149–50); Bell (1986, 148, note 31) provides additional foreign examples of this form. Amongst examples from Egypt is a pair of broken crescent-shaped earrings from a tomb at Esna, dated by the excavators to the Middle Kingdom (Downes 1974, 124). A faience pendant in the form of a disk and horns or crescent was also recovered from a deposit of the early Nineteenth Dynasty at Beth Shan (Rowe 1940, 77, pl. XXXIII.29; James and McGovern 1993, 5). A similar example was found in a burial at Saft el-Henneh, seemingly of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Petrie 1906b, pl. XXXVIII).

Papyrus column

Two blue faience pendants in the form of papyrus columns or single papyrus stems in the Petrie Museum are said to originate from Amarna. The form does not appear in Petrie's or any of the subsequent jewellery typologies.

Object and museum numbers

Said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC23691–2

Symbolism and parallels

The papyrus formed a symbol of life and concepts such as 'youth' and 'flourish'. It was carried by and associated with several deities, including Hathor and Bastet (Wilkinson 1992, 123).

Shell

Five shell scarabs were recorded from Q47.8, P47.5, P47.19–20, P47.21 and Q47.4 in the Main City, and one

shell ring from N48.8. Cowrie beads are also known from the site (see Boyce in AR VI, 82; probably referred to by Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 71, 134), and it is possible that the scarabs are actually of this form.

Distribution

MC	67
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Object and museum numbers

Scarab: 12/13.281, 12/13.556, 13/14.184, 13/14.199, 13/14.406
Rings: 11/12.265

Publications

Scarabs: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 80, 104, 129, 131, 149
Ring: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 181

Thirty pierced shells that were also possibly used as pendants were recorded from Q48.15, P46.26, P47.17, Q46.1 and Q46.32 in the Main City (obj. 23/23, 23/122; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 122, 214); T35.9 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 42); and the grounds south of the Workmen's Village. There are few details provided of the species of the shells, but at least one was a bivalve (obj. 23/122) and one a cowrie (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 214). A string of beads with a pierced mother of pearl shell was found in a store-hole at T35.9 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 42). Ostrich eggshell beads, some unfinished, were also found on the floor of a group of buildings at site Xi at the Workmen's Village (Kemp 1980, 9). A shell pierced by a loop of metal was found at T34.3 in the North Suburb, but seemingly originated from a Roman Period infant burial (obj. 30/472; CoA II, 66, 80)

Distribution

MC	5
NS	1
WV	24

Object and museum numbers

12/13.720, 13/14.160, 13/14.759; 23/23, 23/122; 301, 431, 683, 1817, 1888, 2222, 2365, 2694, 2785, 2853, 3080, 3448, 3752, 3803

Publications

CoA II, 42; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27, 122, 214

Symbolism and parallels

Although the symbolism of the shell motif remains largely obscure, the cowrie shell appears to have been associated with human fertility and was possibly also used as a charm against the evil eye (Aldred 1971, 15–17; Reese in Rothenberg 1988, 264–5; Pinch 1994, 107; Wilkinson 1994, 17). It has also been suggested that oyster shell pendants in precious metals were intended to provide the wearer with health (Bourriau 1988, 148).

Amulets in the form of shells such as the oyster, *conus*, *nerita* and *cardium edule* were produced from the late Predynastic Period, but appear to have been particularly popular during the Middle Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 43). Pendants and beads were made from actual shells as early as the Predynastic Period (for example, Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 54; Andrews 1994, 9, fig. 3). During the Middle Kingdom, shells could be decorated with the names of kings (Downes 1974, 128; Bourriau 1988, 153–4, no. 171). Cowrie shell amulets were first manufactured in the Sixth Dynasty (Andrews 1994, 42); these were often incorporated into girdles, examples of which are represented on some Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period fertility figurines (Aldred 1971, 148; Schoske 1990, 139, fig. 122; Pinch 1993, 198) and on female figure vessels (Pinch 1994, 107, fig. 55).

Shells, and jewellery in the form of shells, have been found at New Kingdom temples, including that at Beth Shan and a number of Hathor shrines (Rowe 1940, 75, pl. XXXI.57–64; Pinch 1993, 265–6, 284–5). Some may have been used as containers for offerings or as clappers, but others may have been offerings in their own right (Reese in Rothenberg 1988, 265; Pinch 1993, 284–5). Some could have been appropriate as votives because they resembled parts of the body, particularly male and female genitalia (Reese in Rothenberg 1988, 264–5), or because of their rarity (Pinch 1993, 285, 354–5). Shells have also been excavated in tombs at Deir el-Medina; Meskell (1999, 180) has suggested that these possessed magical significance during the life of the tomb owner. Cowrie-shell girdles have been found in burials of royal and private women (Aldred 1971, 148, pls 33, 35, 45; Andrews 1990, 141–2). At Koptos, Petrie (1896, 13–14) found two shells associated with a possible foundation deposit of Thutmose III.

Sistra

Several small faience sistra models appear, which were probably strung as beads (Figure II.2.41). Most originated from the North-Palace. Two are given object numbers (23N/4 and 23N/121), but at least 5 further examples appear in the EES Amarna Archive from the 1924 season at the Palace. One of these is now in the Hunterian Museum (D.1923.8). It measures 2.6 cm in height and is pierced transversely by holes, through which rods or strings may once have passed. In shape, it resembles a loop sistrum, but is largely solid. A further example, again not assigned an object number, was recorded from house N59.54 in the 1924 season, and another, broken, example is illustrated in *The City of Akhenaten* II (pl. L.XLV); its provenance is not stated. Petrie (1894, pl. XX.570; see Figure II.2.41) illustrated a mould type from the site that appears to represent a similar form of sistrum. Two further moulds of this type appear in the

Amarna Archive from the 1924 EES excavations at the North Palace (no object numbers).

Distribution
NP 7

Object and museum numbers
23N/4, 23N/121

Publications
CoA II, pl. L.XLV

Symbolism and parallels

The sistrum could function as a general symbol of aspects of life and adoration, but was associated particularly with the cult of Hathor (Manniche 1991, 63), and images of the goddess were often incorporated into sistra. Although Hathor-headed sistra are depicted in official reliefs early in the reign of Akhenaten (Green 1988, 152; Freed in Freed et al. 2000, 209, no. 26), depictions of sistra dating to the later years of the king's reign lack the Hathor image (Manniche 1991, 86; Roberts 1995, 157; see also pages 288–90). Sistra were not associated solely with this goddess, though; on a sistrum fragment in the British Museum (EA 43070), for example, King Amenrud-Miamun is given the epithaph 'beloved of Thoth' (Spencer 1988, 232).

Faience sistra, sometimes inscribed with royal names, have been excavated in New Kingdom contexts at Hathor shrines, where they appear to have been dedicated as votive offerings (Petrie 1906, 146–7, fig. 151.4–20; Schulman in Rothenberg 1988, 117–19; fig. 27.1–4, 28.1, 29. –4–5, 30.1–2, pls 5, 118.1–2, 119.1, 120.2–3; Pinch 1993, 145–6; Reyniers 1998, 945). It has been suggested that small model sistrum amulets were produced only from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards (Petrie 1914, 15; Andrews 1994, 81), but the Amarna pieces, coupled with sistrum amulets found in apparent New Kingdom contexts at Faras, Deir el-Bahri and Harageh (Engelbach 1923, pl. LXVVV; Karkowski 1981, 109, Appendix I.10; Pinch 1993, 145–6) suggest the form was in production earlier than this. Fragments of two small, possible model, metal sistra have also been excavated in early Ramesside contexts at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 317–19).

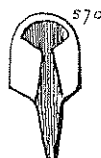


Figure II.2.41. A probable bead in the form of a sistrum. Drawn from a mould. Scale 1:1. (After Petrie 1894, pl. XX.570).

Plant forms

Plant-forms are prominent amongst the jewellery and small amulets published from the site, appearing on pendants, rings, scarabs and 'plaques' (Petrie 1894, pls XVI, XVIII–XX; CoA II, 115–16, pl. XLIX; CoA III, pl. CXII; Boyce in AR VI). A wide variety of plants occur, including the lotus, papyrus, poppy, date, palm leaf, daisy, cornflower, mandrake and the 'tree of life' (Boyce in AR VI, 348–56). Examples have been found distributed widely across the site (Boyce in AR VI, fig. 11.8; Györy 1998, 506).

Symbolism and parallels

Plant motifs encompassed a broad range of symbolism, often related to aspects of fertility and regeneration. The papyrus could be used as a symbol for life and associated concepts such as youth and 'flourish', for example, and appears to have possessed protective properties (Dittmar 1986, 133–43; Wilkinson 1992, 123). The lotus could be associated with the sun and concepts such as rebirth and creation, and was commonly depicted in the funerary sphere (Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 164; Brunner-Traut in LÄ III, 1094; Feucht 1984, 410–11; Robins 1988, 62). Similarly, the persea fruit could comprise a symbol of renewal, whilst the mandrake was associated with sensuality (Derchain 1976, 8). Specific plants could also be associated with certain deities. The dóm-palm was associated with Thoth, Taweret and Min (Darby et al. 1976, 732; Lichtheim 1976, 114; McDowell 1999, 103), whilst, in some contexts, both the blue lotus and the papyrus appear to have been associated with Hathor (Pinch 1993, 284). The papyrus could be linked with deities such as Hathor, Bastet and Neith (Wilkinson 1992, 123). Plants were commonly offered to divinities, royalty and private individuals in various cult and ceremonial contexts (Dittmar 1986, 65–124). Plants also formed a central decorative motif at Amarna, occurring on wall paintings and reliefs in both state and private contexts (Glanville 1929, 40–57), faience inlays (Smith 1998, 188–9) and objects such as pottery vessels (Hope 1991, 22, 66–76). A fragment of relief found at the Great Aten Temple appears to show a floral collar being offered to the Aten (obj. 32/66).

Plant-form amulets were particularly common during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Andrews 1994, 88). Plant-form collars may have been symbols of rebirth and regeneration (Bell 1987, 57). Examples have been found in a range of contexts, including royal and private burials (for example, Dunham 1978, 52, 55; Andrews 1994, 88), foundation deposits (for example, Schoske 1992, 155, no. 76b), and in association with cult complexes (for example, Pinch 1993, 276). They also feature amongst burial assemblages from recent excavations at the lower-class cemetery near the South Tombs at Amarna

itself, suggesting that at this site their significance indeed extended beyond the purely decorative.

Beads

Thousands of beads have been excavated across Amarna, the main forms of which include disk beads, cylinder beads, ring beads and segmented beads (Petrie 1894, pls XVI, XVIII; CoA II, pl. L; Boyce in AR VI, 75–82). The vast majority are of faience, but glass and stone examples also occur (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 18; Boyce in AR VI, 75–7). There is little direct evidence of their association with religion at the site, but the possibility that they sometimes possessed ritual significance must remain.

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst most simple beads are likely to have served a largely practical purpose as elements of jewellery and ornamentation (Bosse-Griffiths 1975), there is evidence that beads sometimes possessed religious significance in their own right. Beads have sometimes been found in foundation deposits (for example, Petrie 1890, 22, pl. XIV.8; 1896, 14), including temple foundation deposits probably dating to early in the reign of Akhenaten at Sesebi (Blackman 1937, 148). Bianchi (1997) observed that a group of carnelian beads found in association with the funerary boats of Raneferet at Abusir appear to have been laid deliberately as a large 'magic chain'. Strings of beads were sometimes placed around images or offerings, such as amulets from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Edwards 1976, 119, 152, no. 41), and fertility figurines found at the Hathor shrines at Gebel Zeit (Castel et al. 1985, 18–20, Abb. 13; Posener-Krieger 1985, pl. LXV). In some cases, they may have formed central components of offering rituals, or substitutes for these; perhaps this was the function of the beads in the so-called bead loaves from Deir el-Bahri (see Pinch 1993, 272–3).

II.3. Figurines and models

Figurines and models are here defined as images that are generally three-dimensional, of a scale that makes them readily portable and often, but not always, of a rudimentary nature. They conceivably served a range of functions. Some possibly served as sculptors' guides; others may have been toys. A tendency has developed recently to view ancient figurines from domestic contexts in Egypt and beyond, particularly simple animal and anthropomorphic pieces, as the remnants of play (David 1986, 162; Janssen and Janssen 1990, 46; Giddy 1999, 310; and from a modern context: Ochsenschlager 1998, 35, fig. 88). Some of the Amarna pieces may indeed have been toys. There is, in fact, little other material from the site that can be identified as such. Figurines and models are also well-known from defined cult contexts such as temple and execration deposits, however, where they presumably had religious associations. Such associations may have carried over into the domestic sphere, which was in any case not exclusively secular, evidenced in the presence of cult emplacements such as altars in some houses. Whilst not wishing to relegate figurines entirely to the realm of religion, their potential roles here must be considered. They may have been particularly suitable components of magic and votive rituals, whilst some may have been amulets or talismans. The possibility that some were perceived as divine images and direct objects of worship also cannot be ruled out.

As with jewellery, figurines and models seem under-represented in the early reports of excavations at Amarna when compared to the records from the more recent work, although the range of forms is reasonably representative. There have been few detailed studies of these objects (exceptions include Pinch 1983; 1993, 198–209, 231–3 on fertility figurines; and Szpakowska 2003b on cobra figurines). In the entries that follow, figurines thought to post-date the period of late-Eighteenth Dynasty occupation are excluded. These include a number of moulded terracotta figurines that certainly date to the Ptolemaic or Roman Periods (for example, Petrie UC24490–1; CoA II, 76, 79, pl. XLVIII.3). Over 30 copper-alloy figurines of Isis, Isis and Horus, and Osiris are also recorded from the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59–60) and Central City (obj. 32503; Petrie 1894, 31). Although an increasing number of New Kingdom bronze figurines are being recognised – and Bienkowski and Southworth (1986, 25–6) actually date a number of the bronze Osiris figures from Amarna in the Liverpool Museum (56.21.649–55) to the New Kingdom – the popularity of the form was undoubtedly greatest from the Third Intermediate Period onwards (Hill 2001). The excavators generally identified these as 'late' pieces

(for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59–60), an identification which has been followed here.

Deities

Bes-image

At least 21 fragments of Bes-image figurines have been excavated, occurring in a variety of materials and forms. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Bes figurines and pendants as presented in the excavation reports. Borchardt and Ricke (1980), in particular, list many 'Bes Figuren', but I have examined a number of these in Berlin, and all are pendants.

A 12 cm-high steatite Bes figurine on an alabaster base was found at U35.31 in the North Suburb (Cairo JE 53250; CoA II, 35, pl. XXXVIII.1–3). The figure stands with its hands on its thighs. A hole in its head probably served for the emplacement of a feature such as a feather crown. A fragment of a steatite Bes-figure was found on the desert surface at Kom el-Nana (obj. 21826). The figure measures 3.3 cm in height and appears to have been pierced, perhaps for suspension. A post-Amarna period date for this piece is possible, given the late Roman Period occupation at Kom el-Nana, but stylistically an Amarna-period date is reasonable. An unfinished limestone statuette measuring 5.6 cm high found at O47.20 in the Main City is registered as a possible Bes-figure (obj. 32/236). The figure appears to have a tail, and an identification as a monkey is also possible. A fragment of a chalkstone Bes-figure was also excavated at Q46.14 in the Main City (AMP 30113; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41). The centre of the figure has been at least partially drilled out, which may have allowed the insertion of an additional component or identify the fragment as part of a figure vessel. Model alabaster feathers found in a well associated with U37.1 were suggested as part of a headdress from a Bes-image figure (CoA II, 13).

A bronze Bes-image figure measuring 3 cm in height was found at U33.11 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 76, pl. XLVI.1). This piece is shown front-on, with a mane and kilt and the hands placed on the thighs. The figure appears to have been moulded in two separate sections. Only the back half is preserved, the front perhaps never made. The small size of the figure raises the possibility that it was intended for suspension.

Several possible pottery Bes-image figures occur and others probably remain unidentified. A headless hand-modelled figurine with a long torso and projecting stomach and buttocks from P47.23 may represent a Bes-image (ÄMP –; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 134; Figure II.3.1). The arms, now missing, originally extended across the front of the chest, where they were possibly crossed or held something. The figure appears to be kneeling, the legs forming a flat base. It is preserved to a height of 14 cm, and bears traces of red and blue paint. A similar fragmentary pottery figurine in the Ashmolean Museum (1893.1–41.445) is thought to have originated from the site. A pottery Bes-image figurine was also recorded from N49.20 (CoA I, 24). The figure is not illustrated on the registration card, but said to measure 11.2 x 5.7 cm and be of crude work with traces of red paint (obj. 21/446). A pottery figurine of a Bes-image was also found in the North Suburb during the 1926–7 season (obj. 26–7/474). The legs of the figure are missing, and it is preserved to a height of 7.5 cm. The sketch on the registration card shows a figure with probable leonine features squatting slightly with its hands on its thighs. Object 29/132 from U36.43 in the North Suburb is a fragment of the buttocks of a clay figure, seemingly squatting slightly, and again possibly a Bes-image.

The remaining examples are made of faience. A fragment of the head of a cobalt-blue faience Bes figure with a rectangular insertion hole in the top was excavated at Q47.23 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 165). An arm of a blue-glazed Bes-figure was also found at Q49.1 (ÄMP 25389; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241). Two further fragments that appear to have originated from Amarna are in Berlin (ÄMP 25412 and 30720). The latter three pieces probably derived from figures similar to

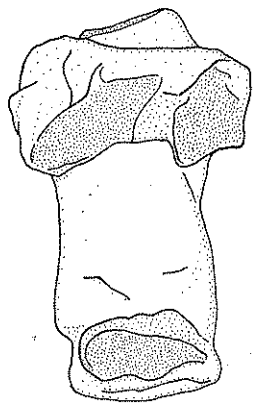


Figure II.3.1. Front view of a headless pottery figurine, probably a kneeling or squatting Bes-figure. Obj. 13/14.620 (ÄMP –). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author).

another, well-preserved, figure in Berlin also thought to be from the site. This takes the form of a detailed running or dancing Bes-image wearing a kilt (ÄMP 20484; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 226–7, no. 35; Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 257, no. 181). Kozloff (in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 226–7) has raised the possibility that it was an element from a vessel.

A large fragment of a seated blue faience Bes-figure was recorded from P49.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 260; possibly ÄMP 20484 discussed above). The upper part of a blue faience figure with leonine features and projecting tongue, preserved to a height of 5 cm, was excavated at T35.9 (CoA II, 42, pl. XXIX.2). It might represent not a Bes-image directly, but a figure wearing a Bes-image mask. The torso of a small blue faience Bes-figure was found at complex Q48.4 (obj. 8061). It is preserved to 1.5 cm, probably around a quarter of its original height, and is modelled in the round. Two multi-coloured faience crowns thought to derive from Bes figures were also recorded from the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73, 80); no further details of these have been obtained. A 'purple-glazed' (probably cobalt-blue faience) Bes-image figurine, or again possibly a figure in a Bes-image mask, was recorded from Q46.53 (obj. 24/799). The figure squats slightly with its hands on its hips; it has leonine features and a flattened feature on top of the head. Its legs are missing, but it is preserved to a height of 4.4 cm. A fragment of a green-blue faience figure, identified by the excavators as a gaming piece in the form of a possible Bes-image, was also found in M47.3 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59). Much post-New Kingdom material was excavated at M47.3, although New Kingdom gaming pieces in the form of Bes-images are known (Kendall in Brovanski et al. 1982, 269, no. 374).

Object 23N/61 from the 'women's quarters' of the North Palace preserves part of a flat statuette base with part of a foot or paw and lower leg, suggested as that of a dwarf on the registration card. There is no record of the material it is made from, but it is noted as being painted black. It is preserved to a height of 3 cm. The foot/paw appears to have 'toes' but does not seem to be a human foot, and may be leonine. An identification as a Bes-image is certainly possible.

The head of a Bes-figure from the grounds of Q44.1, preserved to a height of 1.7 cm, was possibly a figurine rather than a jewellery item (obj. 23/447). A blue faience fragment showing a probable cymbal or drum with hand attached, seemingly broken from a figurine, was also found amongst dumps at the Great Aten Temple (obj. 35/86). It measures 1.7 cm in height.

Distribution

CC	17
MC	8 + 57
NS	3 + 37
KN	1
NP	17

Object and museum numbers

Stone: 13/14.972 (ÄMP 30113); 26/797, 29/283 (Cairo JE 53250), 32–3/236; 21826
Metal: 31/230 (Cairo JE 57246)
Pottery: 13/14.620 (ÄMP –); 21/446, 26–7/474, 29/132; said to be from Amarna: Ash. 1893.1–41.445
Faience: 11.448 (ÄMP 25389), 11/12.655, 11/12.–, 12/13.1587 (ÄMP 30722), 13/14.228, 13/14.413; 23/447, 24/799, 29/345, 36/86; 8061; said to be from Amarna: ÄMP 20484, ÄMP 25412, ÄMP 30720

Publications

Stone: Frankfort 1929, 148–9; CoA II, 13, 35, 42, pls XXIX.2, XXXVIII.1–3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41
Metal: CoA II, 76, pl. XLVI.1
Pottery: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 134
Faience: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59, 73, 80, 165, 241, 260; see also Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 226–7, no. 35; Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 257, no. 181

Symbolism and parallels

See page 33 on the role of the Bes-image. Bes-image figurines are known from domestic contexts of earlier date: examples occur at Kahun (David 1986, 137) and in houses of probable Second Intermediate Period date at Lisht (Mace 1921, 18, fig. 3). They are also known from funerary contexts, including Middle Kingdom burials at Esna (Downes 1974, 117, 121, 124–5, 127, 129–31) and an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb at Abydos (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 72, 98, pl. XLV.14E). Two pottery Bes-image figurines from KV 55 (Daressy in Davis et al. 1910, 37–8, pl. I.1, 3) recall the figure from P47.23 and the example in the Ashmolean Museum from Amarna. A fragment of a pottery figurine found in the vicinity of the Amun Temple at el-Ashmunein, identified by the excavator as a possible ape (Roeder 1959, 51, 287, Tafel 55q), is also similar to the Amarna figures. Bes-image figurines have been found at the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (Dunand 1958, 767; Pinch 1993, 291) and at the New Kingdom shrine to Sekhmet at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 129). Petrie found alabaster Bes-image

figure vessels at the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, 138, fig. 144.11; Pinch 1993, 302–3).

Pataikos

A small light-blue-glazed figurine standing on an oval base that is said to have originated from Amarna is in the Hunterian Museum (D.1921.147), although it does not appear in the excavation records. The figure is naked and probably plays a pipe-like instrument. The facial features are indistinct, but it is probably a pataikos figure. The torso of a light-blue faience figurine shown frontally and squatting with its hands on its hips in Berlin (ÄMP 30735; Figure II.3.2) possibly also represents a pataikos figure. Both figures are modelled in the round. The latter is possibly a blue faience pataikos figure recorded from M47.3 in the Main City, suggested as a late object (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59).

Distribution

MC	17
----	----

Object and museum numbers

11/12.1535 (ÄMP 30735?); said to be from Amarna: Hunt. D.1921.147

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59

Symbolism and parallels

Pataikos was a minor protective deity, associated with Horus-the-Saviour from at least the Third Intermediate Period, and perhaps with Ptah (Andrews 1994, 39). Pataikos figures were most popular from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, from which time the most elaborate, three-dimensional examples are known (Andrews 1994, 39). They were, however, possibly produced from the Old Kingdom, and were certainly manufactured during the New Kingdom (Andrews 1994, 39). Amongst provenanced parallels is a possible



Figure II.3.2. Fragmentary blue-faience figurine, the posture of which recalls that of Pataikos-figures. ÄMP 30735 (obj. 11/12.1535?). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author).

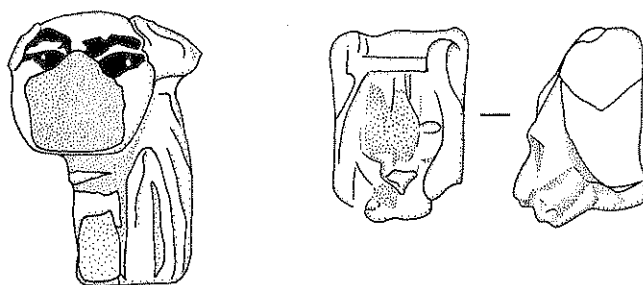


Figure II.3.3. Left: blue-faience head of a lioness. Obj. 11/12.401 (ÄMP 30714). (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author). Scale 1:1. Right: plaster (?) lioness head. Obj. 30/14. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES). Scale 1:1.

headless pataikos figure, of similar form to the Amarna pieces, excavated at Sesebi (Peterson 1967, 15, Abb. 33), which appears to have been occupied primarily during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Morkot 1988).

Sekhmet?

A small number of figures represent a lioness-goddess, possibly Sekhmet. A fragmentary bust of a lioness wearing a long wig was found at N48.9 in the Main City (ÄMP 30714; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 182; Figure II.3.3). The figure is preserved to a height of 5.1 cm and a width of 3.6 cm. It is made of light-blue faience, the eyes and eyebrows marked in black. The front of the face and top of the head are broken off. The base is flattened and glazed over, and preserves part of what appears to be an insertion hole. A head of Sekhmet was recorded from T36.39, a large court behind the garden shrine at estate T36.36 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 85; Figure II.3.3). The head measures 4 cm in height and 2.5 cm in depth and width. It is recorded as being of plaster, with patches of red. It is flat-backed, as though originally placed against a flat surface, and may not be from a free-standing figure. It is, in fact, registered as a 'decorative' piece. A head of a pottery figure of the goddess was recorded from T35.18 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 82). On the registration card this is listed as a 'fragment of pot in form of head of Sekhmet', preserving traces of blue (obj. 30/41). The accompanying sketch is somewhat unclear, but the fragment might actually be the head of a gazelle or ibex from a vessel or rattle. A similar pottery figure, the 'upper part of Sekhmet', was recorded from T36.75 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/366). This is now in the Petrie Museum (UC24506). It is the head, neck and upper chest of a solid hand-modelled figure with roughly modelled features. Much of the face is broken away. It has a slight projection around the

top of the head that resembles that of some 'monkey' figures (see page 107). An identification as Sekhmet is certainly tentative. A blue faience head of Sekhmet with solar disk and uraeus was also recorded from O49.14 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253).

Distribution

MC	1 + 1?
NS	1 + 2?

Object and museum numbers

11/12.401 (ÄMP 30714), 11/12.621; 30/14, 30/41, 30/366 (Petrie UC24506)

Publications

CoA II, 82, 85; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 182, 253

Symbolism and parallels

The role and nature of Sekhmet has been outlined above (pages 38–9). Sekhmet figurines have been found at the New Kingdom shrine dedicated to the goddess in the mortuary temple of Sahure at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 129). A fragment of a figurine of a leonine deity from a New Kingdom house at Askut provides a parallel from a domestic context (Smith 1995, 214, fig. 6.10).

Sobek

A dark-blue faience crocodile figure found at T36.2 in the North Suburb probably represents Sobek. The figure was fragmentary, with both the jaws and tail broken off, but preserved to a length of 3.6 cm. A hole in the top of the head may have facilitated the insertion of a crown or headdress.

Distribution

NS	1
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Object and museum numbers

26/639

Publications

CoA II, 23

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Sobek has been discussed, briefly, above (page 51). Crocodile figurines, some of which may have been associated with the god, have been excavated in private tombs of the Middle Kingdom at sites including Dendera (Petrie 1900, 65, pl. XXII), Esna (Downes 1974, 120) and Lisht (Mace 1921, 18, fig. 20; Hayes 1953, 225–6; Lilyquist and Brill 1993, 12–13, figs 1, 4). Crocodile figurines have been found in temple deposits of the Early Dynastic Period to early Old Kingdom at sites such as Elephantine (Dreyer 1986, 115–16, pls 33–4). Crocodile figurines, and vessels with crocodile appliques, were found in temple deposits containing material of Middle Kingdom date or earlier at Tell Ibrahim Awad (van Haarlem 1995, 46, fig. 3). Crocodile figurines have also been excavated in an Early Dynastic settlement context at Hierakonpolis (Adams 1995, 127–8), whilst Petrie (1890, 31; 1891, 11, pl. VIII.2) found at least one example within a domestic context at Kahun (David 1986, 162; Bourriau 1988, 117–18, no. 109). A rough wooden crocodile figure, dated by the excavators to the Twentieth Dynasty, was also found in a village at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 383).

Taweret-image

A small number of Taweret-image figurines occur. A pottery figurine in the form of a hippopotamus standing on its hind legs with its hands placed on its thighs was found in the vicinity of building units T36.12–19, 26, 28, 34 in the North Suburb (Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. L.5; CoA II, 51, pl. XXXIV.4). The figure appears to hold a *ss*-sign or similar item. It measures approximately 19 cm in height and preserves traces of red, black and blue paint. A blue faience Taweret-figure standing on a flat base holding a *ss*-sign was found in the 'tiefe Halle' of house O49.1 in the Main City, as were several metal deity figurines (ÄMP 22272; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 257, no. 180). The Taweret figure measured 11 cm in height. A faience head of Taweret was also recorded from U25.12h in the North Suburb (obj. 31/142; Figure II.3.4). This measures around 2.5 cm in height and 2.2 cm in length. It is not clear from the registration card whether it was two or three dimensional. It appears to be broken at the neck. A rectangular projection on top of the head might represent a headdress.

A stump of faience decorated with brown over white from T36.58 in the North Suburb was suggested as a possible snout from a Taweret figure, an identification which should be considered tentative (obj. 30/197; CoA II, 87). It is preserved to a length of 2.7 cm. Whittemore

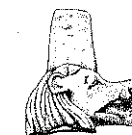


Figure II.3.4. A faience head of Taweret from the North Suburb. Obj. 31/142. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

(1926, 6) referred to a Taweret figure from the north-east quarters of the North Palace, but it is not clear if this was a figurine or jewellery item.

Distribution

MC	1
NS	1 + 1?
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

11.345 (ÄMP 22272); 26/789 (Cairo JE 50757), 30/197, 31/142

Publications

CoA II, 51, 87, pl. XXXIV.4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241; see also Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 257, no. 180

Symbolism and parallels

The role and nature of Taweret has been discussed above (page 40). Taweret-image figurines have been excavated amongst votive offerings at New Kingdom shrines to deities such as Hathor (Petrie 1900, 65; Pinch 1993, 292–5) and Sekhmet (Borchardt 1910, 130, fig. 177). Examples are known from funerary contexts, such as the faience Taweret figure found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Hapy at Lisht (Lansing 1934, 30, fig. 29). Petrie (1891, 11) found two Taweret figurines at Kahun, probably in domestic contexts (David 1986, 134), whilst figurines in the form of a hippopotamus deity were found in houses at Lisht, apparently of Second Intermediate Period date (Mace 1921, 18, fig. 3). At the village of *Wah-sut* at Abydos, a probable New Kingdom statuette depicting Taweret embracing a woman was excavated (Ayrton et al. 1904, 54, pl. L.7). A fragmentary statue of the goddess was found in a chapel at Deir el-Medina (Sadek 1988, 70), whilst a Ramesside-period letter from this site (O. DM 251) records the theft of a *weret*, possibly a Taweret statuette, which the owner fears will be used to 'work a manifestation of Seth' against him (Borghouts 1982, 16–18; 1994, 129; Wentz 1990, 141; McDowell 1999, 102–3).

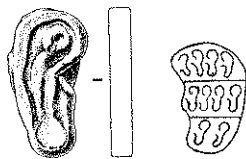


Figure II.3.5. Left: flat stone plaque in the shape of an ear from U24.3 in the North City. Obj. 31/390. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES). Right: blue faience ear-shaped plaque excavated by Petrie. (After Samson in CoA III, pl. CVIII). Scale 1:2.

Anthropoid

Body parts

Up to six ears modelled in the round have been excavated, excluding pieces that seem to have derived from statues. A number were found from workshops, and were perhaps sculptors' models. A sandstone ear, seemingly sculpted in the round and 6 cm in length, originated from workshop O47.16a in the Main City (obj. 33/166). A gypsum 'model ear' was found at P47.2, part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose, in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 97). A piece of sandstone recorded as an ear was also found at T36.57 in the North Suburb (Cairo JE 48098; CoA II, 59, pl. XXXV.5). It bore traces of black ink. Its shape does approximate that of an ear, but its identification as such should be considered tentative.

A pottery ear was found at building P43.1, the possible bakery associated with the Small Aten Temple (obj. 31/525; CoA III, 102). This measured 4.6 cm in length and, from the illustration on the registration card, appears to be a human ear modelled in the round. A flat plaque in the shape of a human ear in black stone, measuring 2.8 x 1.4 x 0.4 cm, was excavated at U24.3 in the North City (obj. 31/390; Figure II.3.5). Petrie found a blue faience plaque in the shape of an ear decorated with 10 impressed ears on one side, and two on the other (Petrie UC722; Samson in CoA III, 229, pl. CVIII; Figure II.3.5). A small blue frit ear in the British Museum, 3.1 cm high, modelled in the round and attached to a rectangular base, is also thought to have derived from Amarna (Cooney 1976, 39 no. 344).

A model leg, pierced at the top, measuring 6 cm in length was excavated at U25.16 in the North City (obj. 31/256; Figure II.3.6). Its material is not recorded. The presence of a piercing hole raises the possibility that it was intended for wear, although it is much larger than other pendants from the site. A limestone model phallus with traces of red pigment was also found in a dump outside the Royal Tomb by Pendlebury in 1931. A Roman or Byzantine date for this piece has been suggested, although New Kingdom model phalli are known (Cairo JE 59423; Martin 1974, 93–4, no. 398, pl. 54; Pinch 1993, 238). Two gypsum models of a left foot were found at P47.2, but were presumably sculptors' guides;

this building formed part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 95, 97)

Distribution

CC	1
MC	27
NS	1
NC	2

Object and museum numbers

Ear: 12/13.853, 30/313 (Cairo JE 48098), 31/390 (Cairo JE 57314), 31/525, 33/166; Petrie UC722

Leg/foot: 31/256

Phallus: Cairo JE 59423

Publications

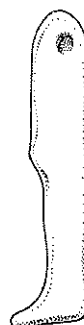
Ear: CoA II, 59, pl. XXXV.5; CoA III, 102; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 97; see also Samson in CoA III, 229, pl. CVIII; Cooney 1976, 39 no. 344; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 186

Phallus: Martin 1974, 93–4, no. 398, pl. 54; see also Pinch 1993, 238

Symbolism and parallels

Model body parts probably served often as sculptors' models, as with those from the Thutmose complex, but seem sometimes to have possessed religious significance. Model ears, along with ear stelae and ear amulets, appear to have been dedicated as part of requests to deities, or as thanks for assistance already given (Pinch 1993, 249–50). Ptah was often described as 'great of hearing', reflecting his ability to hear prayers. Deities such as Amun, Horus, Hathor, Thoth and Reshep could receive similar epithets (Cerný 1958, no. 16; Schulman 1981, 166; 1985, 94–7; Givone 1982, 40–2; Wilkinson 1992, 45).

Figure II.3.6. Pierced model leg, perhaps intended for wear, from U25.16 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/256. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).



as could deified royalty, including Ahmose-Nefertari, Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Ramesses II and Ramesses IV (Habachi 1969, 34, 43; Nims 1971, 108; Pinch 1993, 251, 263–4).

Model votive ears have been found in association with Hathor temples at Deir el-Bahri, Faras and Serabit el-Khadim (Karkowski 1981, 111, Appendix I.11; Pinch 1993, 246–7), whilst an example was recovered from a deposit of Nineteenth Dynasty votive material at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1930b, 68, fig. 20.9). A few faience ear models were found near the Great Sphinx at Giza, and appear to date from the reigns of Amenhotep II to Ramesses II (Hassan 1953, 43–4, fig. 31; Sadek 1988, 246; Pinch 1993, 247). At el-Kab, two faience ears were excavated in a temple foundation deposit of the reign of Amenhotep II (Quibell 1898a, 20, pl. 21.25(?), 27; Pinch 1993, 247). Two stone ears were found in the courtyard of a Nineteenth Dynasty funerary chapel at Deir el-Medina, but might have been originally part of a stela or statue (Bruyère 1952, 42, 61, fig. 120; Pinch 1993, 246). This find may indicate that ear models or stelae could also play a role in communication with the deceased.

An emphasis was placed upon the phallic aspect of a number of gods, including Min, Osiris, Re, Baba and Bes (Behrens in LÄ IV, 1018; Pinch 1993, 238–41). New Kingdom model phalli are known in particular from Hathor shrines, where they were presumably fertility-related offerings (Hornblower 1926; Pinch 1993, 235–45; Robins 1996, 34). Possible model phalli have also been found in Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs (Pinch 1993, 238), and amongst houses at Edfu, here dated by the excavator to the Ptolemaic or Roman Period (Bruyère et al. 1937, 105).

Fertility figurines and model beds

In the course of this study, over 200 intact and fragmentary female figurines, of a type generally referred to as 'fertility figurines', have been identified, with an additional 22 figurines thought to have originated from the site located in museums. Further fertility figurines probably occur as small unidentifiable fragments.

The vast majority are made of pottery, and were formed in a mould (see Figure II.3.7). Very few are preserved intact and their original height is difficult to determine, but most appear to have measured between 10 and 20 cm. Many bear traces of yellow, blue, red, black and white paint. Sometimes either the entire figurine or its front face is painted, usually yellow or red (for example, Hunt, 1924.35). On other examples, features such as the pubic triangle or wig are highlighted in a separate colour, generally black or blue (for example, AMP 25100). On a few figures, girdles or arm-bands are painted in red

(for example, Ash, 1921.1124). A fragment of a pottery female figurine from the Great Palace (obj. 35/432; CoA III, 84), possibly a fertility figure, has a series of curved lines around the neck, probably representing a collar. A small number hold objects, generally difficult to identify, over their chest; one figure said to be from the site in the Petrie Museum (UC129) holds what appears to be a lotus flower.

The major work on fertility figurines, which includes a preliminary typology of figures from the Middle to New Kingdoms, is that of Pinch (1983; 1993, 198–209). Working from published material, she identified over 60 examples from Amarna, most of which she assigned to her type 6, but with one type 4 and one type 5 piece. Pinch's type 6 figurines are made of pottery or stone, and are slender with elongated limbs and rudimentary feet (Pinch 1993, 207–9). The arms are usually placed by the sides of the torso. The figures wear a long straight wig and usually have a perfume cone and large earrings, whilst some wear a girdle. Type 6A figurines are thought to have been placed on separate model beds, whilst type 6B figurines were joined directly to model beds or slabs. Pinch's type 5 figurines are made of faience or pottery, and seem to measure less than 10 cm in height (Pinch 1993, 205–7). They take the form of elongated, nude women with their arms by their sides. Some smaller examples are pierced, presumably for suspension. Type 4 figurines are made of pottery (Pinch 1993, 204–5). They range in height from 10–22 cm and take the form of relatively slender, nude women, sometimes with elongated limbs. The feet are rudimentary and the figures wear a diadem, which seems to vary in shape over time. Later type 4A figurines have both hands by their sides, whilst on type 4B figurines the left hand is crossed over the chest. Some figures may have been placed on separate model beds.

Amongst the figures identified in the present study, a few further probable type 4 and 5 figurines occur (AMP 25042, 28721; obj. 8037; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176, 217). Approximately 10 fragmentary figurines appear to be joined to a deliberate backing, and may thus be of Pinch's type 6B (for example, AMP 25058; Petrie UC24514; CoA II, 68; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 32), although figurines of types 4 and 5 can also have excess clay around the edges, in this case seemingly unintentional (Pinch 1993, 204–5). Following the pattern of Pinch's work, most of the remaining figurines, over 100 in total, should belong to her type 6; however, relatively few of these figurines conform strictly to the definition of this type. Whilst type 6A figurines, as currently defined, generally have both hands by their sides, this posture is recognisable on only 21 of the Amarna figurines. At least 28 have their left hand crossed over the chest. This is a feature that Pinch (1993, 204) attributes solely to figurines of type 4 amongst the moulded fertility

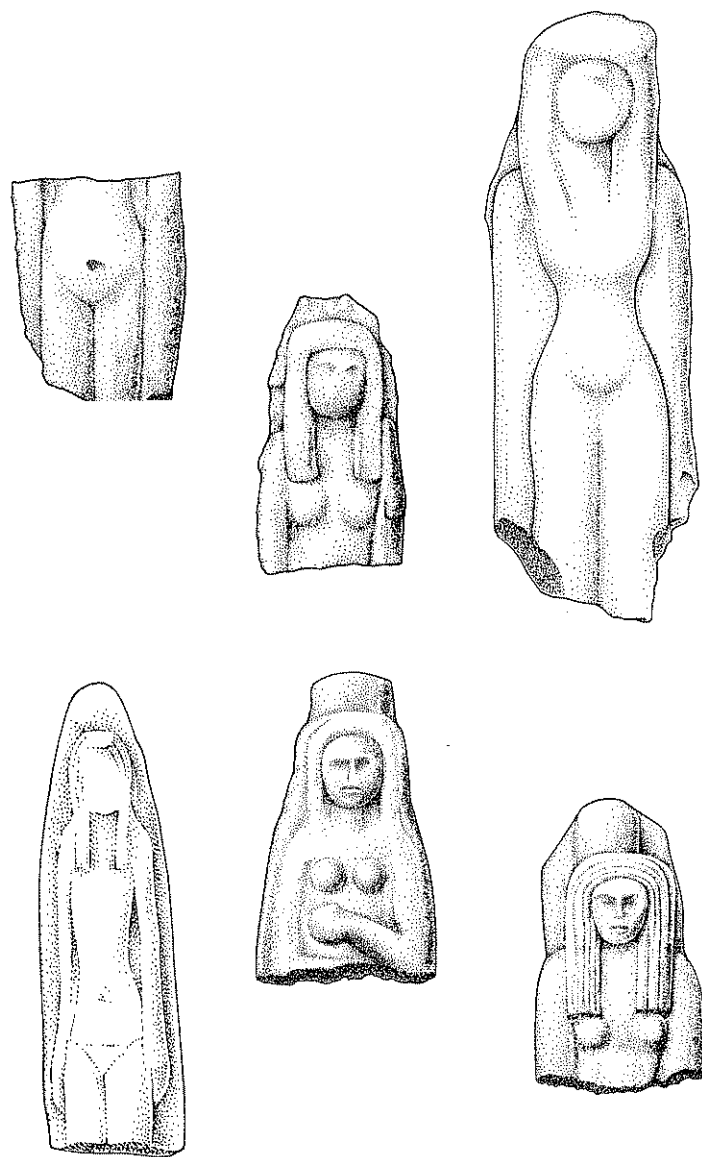


Figure II.3.7. Pottery fertility figurines from the Central City and North City. Clockwise from top left: obj. 31/106b, 31/106a, 31/378, 31/386, 31/297a, 31/310. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object cards. Courtesy of the EES).

figurines of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, but the majority of the Amarna figurines displaying this feature do not bear other attributes of type 4 figures. At least 37 of the Amarna figurines have their right arm crossed over the chest. This is not a posture that Pinch associates with any of the moulded figurines of this date. Whilst perfume cones are a typical feature of type 6 figurines, only 18 of the Amarna examples possess such a feature. In some cases, it is relatively broad, and its identification as a perfume cone is questionable (for example, AMP 28718; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 308). Although the heads are often not preserved, no perfume cone is present in the majority of cases when it does remain. Similarly, the large earrings commonly attributed to type 6A figurines are identifiable on only two figurines from Amarna. The disparity between the number of fertility figurines and model beds from the site may also be significant. Pinch (1993, 207) states that figurines of type 6A were placed on model beds; however, fragments of only 24 model beds can be identified from the site, discussed below. In general, therefore, the remaining Amarna figurines display features common to both Pinch's types 4 and 6 as defined currently. The Amarna corpus thus opens areas for further refinement of the typology, either through the alteration of existing type definitions or the addition of new types.

At least two stone figures occur. Object 30/452 from 533.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 68) is a limestone figure truncated at the knees, a type known predominantly from the Middle Kingdom. It preserves black paint on its thick straight wig and red paint on its body and measures approximately 11 cm in height. Object 29/376 from garden shrine T35.12 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 40) is a second example. This preserves the feet of a limestone figure attached to a bed with footboard. Traces of paint are visible on the bed and footboard, seemingly imitating matting. A blue faience figure measuring 1.6 x 0.3 cm from the 1926–7 season in the North Suburb is registered as a possible recumbent woman (obj. 26–7/319). The illustration on the registration card is unclear, but the object may be a miniature fertility figure.

Distribution

CC	7
MC	107
NS	46 + 1?
WV	36
MA	1
NP	1

Object and museum numbers

11.382 (x2) (AMP –), 11.566 (AMP 28727), 11/12.41 (AMP –), 11/12.79 (AMP 28721), 11/12.199 (AMP 28722), 11/12.257 (AMP 25096), 11/12.288 (AMP 25047), 11/12.399 (AMP 25048), 11/12.564 (AMP 25040), 11/12.613 (AMP 25041), 11/12.614 (AMP

28723), 11/12.667, 11/12.782 (AMP 28724), 11/12.846 (AMP 28725), 11/12.850 (AMP 25043), 11/12.900 (AMP 25046), 11/12.902 (AMP 25042), 11/12.912 (AMP 28726), 11/12.973, 11/12.1083 (AMP 25049), 11/12.1181, 11/12.1253 (AMP 25045), 11/12.1367 (AMP 25066), 11/12.1520, 11/12.1578, 11/12.1621, 11/12.1622, 12/13.5 (AMP 25063), 12/13.6 (AMP 25065), 12/13.48 (AMP 25063), 12/13.49 (AMP 25065), 12/13.50, 12/13.210 (AMP 25057), 12/13.572 (AMP 25100), 12/13.959 (AMP 25060), 12/13.1033 (AMP 25059), 12/13.1079 (AMP 25058), 12/13.1202 (AMP 25061), 12/13.1351 (AMP 25098), 12/13.1364 (AMP 287287), 12/13.1365 (AMP 25062), 12/13.1565 (AMP 28729), 12/13.1575 (AMP 28730?), 13/14.283 (x2) (AMP 28731), 13/14.373 (AMP 18732), 13/14.427, 13/14.453 (AMP 25056), 13/14.454 (AMP 25050), 13/14.473 (AMP 25055), 13/14.495 (AMP 25052, 25053), 13/14.618 (AMP 28733), 13/14.906 (AMP 28740), 13/14.937; 21/196, 21/323, 21/326, 21/372, 21/410 (Ash. 1921.1124), 21/427, 22/85, 22/90 (Hunt. D.1922.41), 22/137, 22/219, 22/510, 23/22, 23/106, 23/118, 23/119, 23/399, 24/483, 24/805, 24/891, 24/898, 24/951, 24/1005, 24/1019, 24/1042, 24/1043B, 24–5/51, 26–7/319, 26–7/325, 26–7/548, 29/16, 29/153, 29/158, 29/169, 29/207, 29/225, 29/230, 29/235, 29/241, 29/245, 29/250, 29/261, 29/305, 29/376, 29/394 (UC24515), 30/40, 30/65 (Cairo JE 55444), 30/119, 30/228, 30/294, 30/435, 30/344, 30/452, 30/465, 30/497, 30/533, 30/560, 30/591 (UC24514), 30/604, 30/682 (UC24513), 30–1/553, 31/231, 30/274, 30/289, 30/290, 30/434 + 436, 31/494, 33/58, 33/186 (Cairo JE 62770), 33/192, 35/247, 35/432, 35/549, 36/122, 36/190 (x2); XI.27, LW6.31, WV.61, WV.871, 67, 1086, 1147, 2079, 2623, 3453, 3623, 3713, 3906, 3964, 3985, 4278, 4672, 5069, 5807, 6340, 6540, 6803, 7424, 7430, 7450, 7569, 7625, 7644, 7655, 7715, 7896, 8007, 8037, 8038, 8074, 8312, 8314, 8405, 8407, 8424, 8429, 8644, 8795, 8796, 8874, 8874, 8902, 8962, 8993, 8998, 9006, 9034, 9035, 9061, 9155, 21695, 21697, 21712, 21780; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC129, UC24513; Ash. 1893.1–41.440, 1931.503; Hunt. D.1923.3, D.1924.35, D.1927.41, D.1929.12g, D.1931.27; AMP 27846–8, 27850, 28734–5, 28738–9, 28741, 30501–2



Figure II.3.8. End of a limestone figure, presumably of a woman on a bed. Obj. 29/376. (After EES negative 28–9.92. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Publications

CoA I, 22, 25, 28, 69, 73–4, 78, 87, pls XII.4, XXIII.3; Whittemore 1926, 6; CoA II, 31, 34–6, 40, 44–5, 54, 68, 78–83, 85–6, 88–9; CoA III, 50, 102, 121, 128, 135–6, pl. CIX.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 32, 34, 37, 52, 55, 66, 68–9, 76, 83, 86–7, 89, 112, 134, 148, 159, 164, 175–6, 182, 191, 198, 203, 206, 209, 217, 220, 229, 233, 246, 251, 258, 260, 265, 308, 312, 318; see also Rose in AR V, 90

Fragments of 24 model beds have been excavated in the Main City, North Suburb, Central City and in and around the Workmen's Village (see Figure II.3.9). One of the beds was found with two fertility figurines in a chamber below the stairs leading to the roof of house N49.21 (CoA I, 25, pl. XII.5). All appear to be made of pottery, although some are described as being made of clay and were perhaps unfired (for example, CoA I, 85). They generally take the form of a flat board with straight simple legs. On one example, the bases of the legs appear to have incised claws, possibly lion's paws (ÄMP 28749). These are unusual, and are reminiscent of those on some actual chairs and funerary beds (see Killen 1980, 33, 59). A raised footboard is sometimes present (for example, Petrie UC75795; CoA II, 42), whilst some have small applied headrests (for example, CAM 1921.281; CoA I, 25, pl. XII.5). They vary in width from 5.1–7.3 cm; the intact examples range in length from 13–19 cm. The only example preserved to its original height is 7 cm high (CAM 1921.281; CoA I, 25, pl. XII.5). A number bear traces of red, white, yellow, black, brown and blue paint. Some are decorated with stripes or a criss-cross design that probably represents woven fibres (for example, CAM 1921.281; CoA I, 25, pl. XII.5). One bed has a cross-hatched design incised pre-firing into the clay (ÄMP 28746). Another is painted with red lines and black and yellow dots bordered by a black outline on the bed board, whilst on the footrest appear two figures roughly painted in yellow and black. One seems to be a Bes-image shown frontally with its hands on its thighs, whilst the other appears to hold a *s3*-sign, and is probably a Taweret figure (UC75795; CoA II, 42).

Distribution

CC	1
MC	16
NS	3
WV	4

Object and museum numbers

11.631, 11/12.213, 11/12.312, 11/12.429, 11/12.939, 11/12.976, 12/13.45 + 12/13.7 (ÄMP 28747), 12/13.338 (28748), 12/13.1143, 12/13.1422 (ÄMP 28751), 12/13.1606 (ÄMP 28752), 13/14.660 (ÄMP 28753); 21/425, 21/426, 22/72, 22/90 (Hunt. D.1922.41), 23/120, 30–1/287, 29/392 (UC75795), 30/287, 30–1/287, 33/182; 3562; said to be from Amarna: ÄMP 28743–42, 8749–50, 30500

Publications

CoA I, 25, 31, 67, 85, pl. XII.5, XXIII.5; CoA II, 42; CoA III, 121; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110, 137, 152, 164, 169, 195, 206, 220, 251, 271, 312, 330

Symbolism and parallels

Naked or semi-naked figurines of women, sometimes associated with beds or figures of children, were manufactured during most periods of ancient Egyptian history. These are generally thought to have been associated with matters of human fertility, including sexual intercourse and conception, childbirth, child-rearing and rebirth in the afterlife. They seem to have fulfilled a range of functions as charms in the home, votive offerings in temples, particularly to Hathor, and both votive offerings to the dead and burial goods (Pinch 1993, 211–25). They may at times have served as 'generic' cult accompaniments; examples from the Hathor shrine at Gebel Zeit, for example, may have been donated because they served as appropriate 'votive currency' of the goddess, whose worship here may have focussed upon her role as protector of arid places, rather than as fertility goddess (Kemp 1995, 29). Overall, a greater number of such 'fertility figurines' have been recorded from temple sites, often at shrines dedicated to Hathor or related goddesses, than in domestic and funerary contexts, although they are still not very common at the former (Pinch 1993). None of Pinch's type 6A figurines, which are known overwhelmingly from settlement sites, are recorded from Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993, 207, 221, 225).

Amongst examples from domestic contexts are those from the settlement of *Wah-sut* at Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904, 38). Several New Kingdom examples were found amongst houses at Hermopolis (Roeder 1959, 261–2, pl. 47), whilst the figures were a prominent component of the domestic artefact assemblages at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 137–9, figs 58–9, pls 43–4) and Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 28–42). At Askut, a C-Group or Kermaculture female figurine was found in association with a domestic shrine in an Egyptian-style house (Smith 1993, 499–500).

Model stone and pottery beds are known primarily as accompaniments to fertility figurines, and appear to have derived from similar contexts as the figurines. An unprovenanced example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1872 (72.739); D'Auria in D'Auria et al. 1988, 137, no. 74) is decorated with a seated woman, a figure of a Taweret and a probable Bes-image, therefore providing a close parallel to the similarly decorated Amarna piece.

More elaborate model pottery beds decorated with images of Qadesh have been found at the mortuary temples of Seti I and Ramesses III, in late New Kingdom

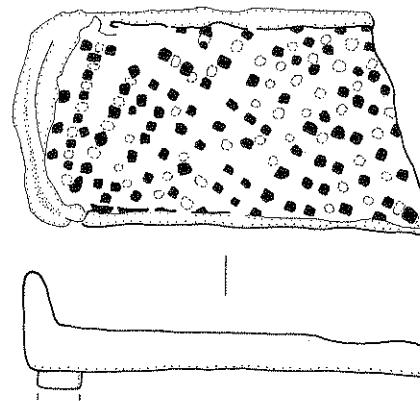


Figure II.3.9. Fragment of a model pottery bed, painted with black and yellow dots. Obj. 29/392. Scale: 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES.)

and Third Intermediate Period contexts, and in a number of Theban burials (Hölscher 1954, 11–12, pl. 6G; Stadelman in LÄ IV). Model furniture, such as biers, was also incorporated into wooden funerary models, particularly boats, during the Middle Kingdoms (Glanville 1972, 11–12, pl. III.a–b). Model furniture including beds, stools and headrests has also been found in association with New Kingdom private tombs at sites such as Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1937b, 132, fig. 73; Hayes 1959, 203), seemingly not in connection with fertility figurines.

Female plaques

Approximately 24 mud, clay and pottery plaques appear to represent rudimentary female figures (Figures II.3.10–13). One was found at building Q42.6, part of the so-called government offices in the Central City, but the remainder originated from residential areas, with two from the extramural area at the Workmen's Village (WV.791, 21706).

The plaques are generally square to rectangular. Four are made from pottery sherds with features painted in black (obj. WV.791, 21706; ÄMP 30412, ÄMP 30911). The rest are hand-modelled from clay or mud. Facial features, generally rudimentary, are shown on seven or more examples, whilst at least five have no such features marked. One example has long modelled hair (CoA III, 140, pl. LXXIX.12). The majority have representations of breasts and female genitalia. The breasts can be modelled (for example, obj. 32–3/144) or represented either as depressions or incised dots (for example, CoA III, 140, pl. LXXIX.12). On at least one plaque, the breasts are represented by an incised dot circled by a ring of dots (CoA III, 140, pl. LXXIX.12). The pubic region is generally represented by an incised or dotted area (for example, ÄMP 30934; Figure II.3.11), or a depression surrounded by a ring of dots (for example, ÄMP 30938).

In some cases, this depression may actually represent a navel (for example, ÄMP 30939). Sometimes impressed decoration appears to represent jewellery such as girdles, which can extend around the sides and reverse (for example, obj. 8575; Figure II.3.10). One pottery example has a mark that resembles a cross between its eyes (obj. WV.791; Figure II.3.12). Two figures apparently bore traces of red paint (obj. 36/176a, b; CoA III, 140, pl. LXXIX.12). Although few are preserved intact, square to rectangular plaques seem to have ranged in height between approximately 3 and 9 cm.

Three paddle-shaped mud objects from the Main City may also represent rudimentary female images (ÄMP 30924, 30930; Hunt. D.1924.42; obj. 24/866; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 139, 221; see Figure II.3.13). Each has a patch of incised dots in its circular end, which might represent the pubic region, the elongated end perhaps representing legs. These range in length from approximately 5–19 cm. A further type of female plaque is possibly formed of a group of clay disks decorated with a single circle of dots, or group of dotted circles. At least 22 such disks originated from the Main City. Similarly small, circular plaques that are either undecorated, or bear markings such as crosses and rows of dots, are also known from Amarna (CoA I, 86, 54; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 40, 52, 133, 164, 203), and other sites, including Kahun (Petrie 1927, 61, pl. LIII.525), Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, pl. XLIII) and Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 334, pl. 73). Such pieces are generally interpreted as possible counters or gaming pieces (for example, Giddy 1993, 334). The circular, dotted motif here, however, is the same as that used to represent breasts, the navel and the pubic region on the rectangular female plaques, and on some fertility figurines (Posener-Krieger 1986, pl. LXXIA; Bourriau 1988, fig. 120). It is possible that such disks formed highly stylised images of these body parts, or abbreviated images of the female form itself.

Several further objects mentioned briefly in the excavation records might belong to this category, such as a mud 'doll', three mud 'toys', one of which bore impressed dots, and two decorated mud disks from the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 152, 161, 164, 166, 221, 284); and miniature clay 'stela' with incised decoration from the North Suburb (CoA II, 58) and Main

City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 270). No further details of these pieces have been obtained.

Distribution

CC	2
MC	35
NS	1
WV	2

Object and museum numbers

Square/rectangular: 11/12.1105 (ÄMP 30941), 11/12.1449 (ÄMP 30936), 13/14.350 (x3) (ÄMP 25296, 30938, 30939), 13/14.976 (x2) (ÄMP 30934, 30942); 24/1015, 30/126 (Cairo JE 55462), 32-3/244, 32-3/208, 33/138 (Cairo JE 62778), 36/176b; WV.791, 8575, 21706; said to be from Amarna: Cairo JE 57319, Hunt. D.1925.31, ÄMP 30412, ÄMP 30911, ÄMP 30937, ÄMP 30931, ÄMP 30932, ÄMP 30933, ÄMP 30940

Paddle-shaped: 12/13.414 (ÄMP 30930); 24/866 (Hunt. D.1924.42)

Disks: 11.283 (x5) (ÄMP 25272), 11.370, 11/12.1135 (ÄMP 30913), 11/12.1320 (ÄMP -), 11/12.1448 (ÄMP 30935), 12/13.415 (ÄMP 30915), 13/14.708 (x4) (ÄMP 30926-8), 13/14.642 (x7) (ÄMP 30918-24), 13/14.976 (ÄMP 30929); 7939; said to be from Amarna: ÄMP 30916, ÄMP 30917

Publications

Square/rectangular: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 40, 66, 279; CoA II, 54; CoA III, 118, 140, pl. LXXIX.12

Paddle-shaped: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221

Disks: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 22, 40, 139, 209, 221, 257, 294, 309, 314

Symbolism and parallels

The iconography of the plaques clearly recalls that of the fertility figurines, both overall and in terms of specific features, although it is perhaps an oversimplification to view the plaques as rudimentary fertility figurines. Similar plaques have been found at Kahun (Petrie, 1927, 61, pls LII.448, LIII.442-7, 449, 458-61, 515-24), Buhen (Emery et al. 1979, 148-9, pl. 53-5, 103) and Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 143, pls 43 & 45), seemingly in domestic contexts. Examples have also been found in burials at sites such as Edfu (Bruyère 1939, 143-4, fig. 61; Desroches-Noblecourt 1953, 8, fig. 1), Diospolis Parva (NGV 652-D2), Tell el-Dab'a (Bietak 1991, 312, fig. 288.2; Bietak and Hein 1994, 174) and Abydos (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 102, pl. XLVIII; Patch 1990, 36-7, no. 25b; Pinch 1993, 210). The excavators generally dated these from the Middle to New Kingdoms, but the time span for their production might not have been limited to these periods. A fragmentary plaque was also found amongst surface debris at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 333-4, pl. 73). They do not appear to have been recorded frequently from temples, although one was found in the entrance hall of the Middle Kingdom temple at Buhen (Emery et al. 1979, 149, pl. 54).

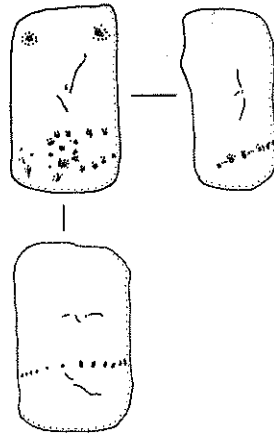


Figure II.3.10. Rudimentary female figure, hand-modelled in mud with impressed decoration. Obj. 8575. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

In a few cases, the sex of the plaques is unclear (for example, Brunton and Engelbach 1927, 18, pl. XLVII.8; Emery et al. 1979, 148-9, pls 53.771, 1202, 1215, 1228, 54.1297), and the form may not be restricted to female images. One rudimentary female plaque from Edfu originated from a tomb that also contained a model bed (Michalowski et al. 1938, 113, 121), the two objects possibly related. Another figure from Edfu has a prominent protuberance modelled from its stomach (Michalowski et al. 1938, 114, pl. XXXVI.5) and must represent a pregnant woman. Some have necklaces or collars (Emery et al. 1979, pl. 54.1385) or what appear to be abstract markings on the sides and reverse (Emery et al. 1979, pl. 54.1385). Sometimes incised dots appear to mark the edge of a garment or perhaps the outline of the torso (e.g. Petrie 1927, 61, pl. LII.448; Desroches Noblecourt 1953, 8, fig. 1). Some have elaborately modelled hair, sometimes formed by lengths of thread. A few pottery examples bear a small cross on the 'forehead' between the eyes (Bruyère 1939, pl. XLV) as seen on one Amarna example. Similar crosses appear on some fertility figurines of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, generally around the head (Desroches Noblecourt 1953, 37, figs. 16-17). It is possible that the marks on the plaques were similarly meant to appear on the top of the head, the flatness of the form preventing this. The meaning of such marks on

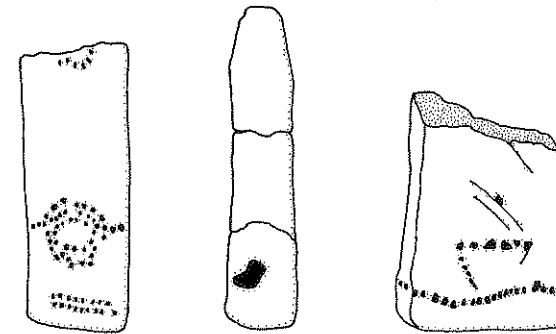


Figure II.3.11. Rudimentary female figures, hand-modelled in mud. Left to right: obj. 11/12.1449 (ÄMP 30936), 11/12.1105 (ÄMP 30941), 13/14.976 (ÄMP 30934). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph by the author).

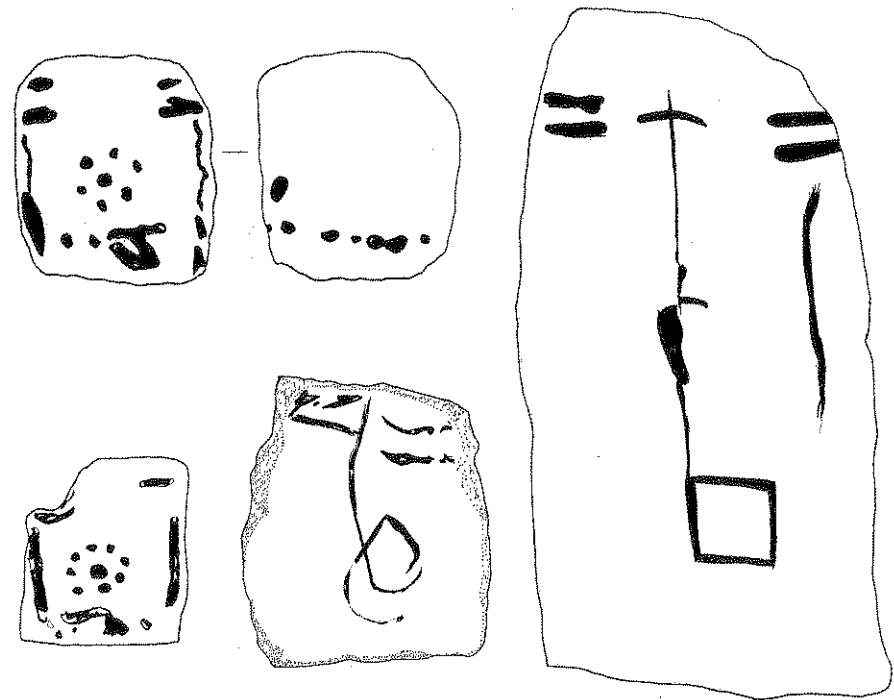


Figure II.3.12. Potsherds decorated to resemble rudimentary human figures, probably female. Note the dots on the reverse face of the figure at the upper left, seemingly representing a girdle. Clockwise from top left: obj. ÄMP 30911, WV.791, 21706, ÄMP 30412. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object cards. Courtesy of the EES).

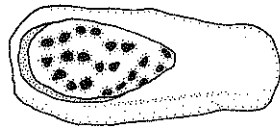


Figure II.2.13. Paddle-shaped mud object with impressed dots. Obj. 24/866 (Hunt. D.1924.42). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author).

the fertility figurines remains obscure. They have been paralleled with crosses shown on female mourners in New Kingdom tomb scenes, possibly worn as part of a rite to regenerate the procreative powers of the deceased (Desroches Noblecourt 1953, 25–33, figs 11–12, pls 2–3). Apart from these crosses, the mourning figures do not resemble the fertility figurines very closely, however (Pinch 1993, 214–15), although the location of the crosses on the female plaques is closer to the upper body position found on the female mourners.

The dotted circles that appear so often on the plaques also appear around the breasts and navels of some fertility figurines, perhaps representing tattoos (Bourriau 1988, 126, fig. 120; Pinch 1993, 200–1, 217). In the tomb of Intef of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (TT 155), a figure of a naked girl who probably offers wine to the deceased has similar dotted circles around her nipples and navel (see Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. XV). An Eighteenth Dynasty figure vessel in the form of a suckling woman bears a circle of dots around one nipple (see Bourriau 1981, 36, no. 50). Whether enhanced natural features, or applied features such as tattoos, the motif has the effect of highlighting specific elements of the naked female body.

The disk-shaped plaques are also reminiscent of small wax and resin disks found covering the nipples and navels of Ptolemaic and Roman Period mummies, and seemingly representing these features (Raven 1983, 22, 38, pl. 7.40–4; 1990, 19, pl. 1.6–7).

Female

In addition to the fertility figurines and simple female plaques, several additional female figurines occur. A fragment of the head and chest of a finely sculpted limestone female figure with a heavy wig is in the Hunterian Museum (D.1929.7; Figure II.3.14), seemingly a piece recorded from T36.3 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/324; CoA II, 41). The top of the head is flattened, and the fragment bears traces of red and black paint. The

upper part of a limestone figurine of a woman with an elaborate wig was found at U36.46 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/148; CoA II, 26). It was preserved to a height of 8 cm. A head of a female figure wearing a long straight wig was also recorded from T36.59 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/233; CoA II, 87). It appears, from the archive illustration and photograph, to have been broken from a larger figure, but this is not certain. It bore traces of yellow paint on the face and black paint on the wig.

Chapel 521 at the Workmen's Village produced a stone female figurine (CoA I, 106) and a roughly carved wooden object that may represent a female (CoA I, 102, pl. XX.3; Bomann 1991, 30, 65).

A head of a pottery female figurine with a sidelock was recorded from Q47.26 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 168), whilst the head of a pottery female figurine with a tripartite wig measuring approximately 3 cm in height was excavated at Q47.12 in the Main City (AMP 25088; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 83). The wig is painted black and the face pink. A rudimentary mud figurine found in Long Wall Street 12 at the Workmen's Village seems to have a simple, ovoid torso with no limbs, and a rounded piece of mud at the top that represents a head (obj. 22/58; CoA I, 86, pl. XXIII.1). A further protrusion on one side of the torso appears to represent a breast.

Several figurines are accompanied by children. A 'rudely sculptured' limestone figurine of a seated woman with a child on her lap, measuring 6.9 cm in height, was found at Q46.36 (obj. 24/986b). A figure of a squatting woman with a straight unornamented wig, and a child seated sideways on her lap, was found at P46.26 in the Main City (obj. 23/20; Figure II.3.15). The material of the figure is not recorded, but is probably stone. Traces of red paint were preserved on the child and the woman's face, and her wig was painted black. The figure measured 6.3 cm in height. A chalkstone figurine of a woman nursing a child was also found in association with Q48.11/12 in the Main City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 209). No further details of this piece have been obtained. A fragment of pottery from Q45.1 in the Main City seems to represent either the thigh or shoulder of a large figure straddled by the leg of a small figure, presumably a child (obj. 23/81). It appears to be modelled and is painted blue and red. It is preserved to a length of 5.5 cm. A pottery 'figurine of Isis and Horus without head' from S35.2 in the North Suburb appears to be a naked female figure standing with its legs together, holding a child on its left side. It measures 7 cm in height (obj. 29/395; CoA II, 44). Object 30/146 from T36.53 in the North Suburb is registered as the upper half of a blue glass statuette of a woman holding a child. It is preserved to a height of 2 cm, but its identification should be considered tentative. The archive illustration and photograph are not very clear,



Figure II.3.14. Head and upper torso of a limestone female statuette, bearing traces of red and black paint (the dotted and blackened areas respectively on the upper chest and neck). Obj. 28/324 (Hunt. D.1929.7). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author).

but the fragment does not appear to represent such a figure very closely.

A further 16 fragments of pottery female figurines have been excavated, but there are few details of their form in the excavation records. Many were probably fertility figurines. They are not included in the distribution list below.

Distribution

CC	2
MC	6
NS	6 + 1?
WV	2

Object and museum numbers

11/12.495; 21/204, 21/245, 26–7/512, 28/324 (Hunt. D.1929.7); 30/146, 30/199, 30/233, 30/498, 30/499, 30/636, 33/139, 35/549; 202, 2552
Unidentified pottery female figures: 11/12.495, 12/13/1631, 13/14.495; 21/204, 21/246, 26/512, 30/4, 30/199, 30/498, 30/499, 30/636, 33/139, 33/189; 202, 2552

Publications

CoA I, 15, 21; CoA II, 45, 80, 87; CoA III, 118, 135, pl. LXXVIII.3; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 31, 86, 254
Unidentified pottery female figures: CoA I, 15, 21; CoA II, 45, 80, 87; CoA III, 118, 135, pl. LXXVIII.3; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 31, 86, 254

Symbolism and parallels

Although the pottery 'fertility figurines' seem to have been the most common New Kingdom female figures, other forms are known. One group of pottery female figure of probable New Kingdom date is distinguished by a marked sidelock (Petrie 1891, 19, pl. XIX.43; Markoe in Capel and Markoe 1996, 93, no. 30). The figure with the sidelock from Q47.26 at Amarna was possibly of this form. These have been suggested to have been serving-girls (for example, Breasted 1948, 88, pl. 83b) or again fertility figurines (Markoe in Capel and Markoe 1996, 93, no. 30). Female figurines might also have been manufactured as part of magical rituals. The use of a 'woman's statue of clay', perhaps an image of a woman, is prescribed in a spell for stomach upsets in P. Leiden I (Borghouts 1978, 32, no. 48), for instance.

Foreigners

Fragments of at least seven figurines of foreigners have been excavated. Most originated from amongst the official buildings of the Central City. Two fragments of a statuette of a bearded foreigner in dark-blue faience were found at building P43.1, the possible bakery associated with the Small Aten Temple (Cairo JE 57205a, b; CoA III, 101, pl. LXXVI.3). Each fragment measured approximately 10 cm in height. An inscription on a fragment of skirt reads 'the foreigner'. A fragment of faience that resembled the bottom of a fringed skirt also found in this area may have originated from a similar figurine (CoA III, 102). A possible Negroid head was found in the dump associated with the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 13, pl. LXXIX.12) and a bearded head of a possible foreigner was found at Q42.21, the Records Office, in the Central City (CoA III, 120, pl. LXXVIII.3). Nine fragments that appear to have originated from at least two figurines of bearded foreigners were found in or near the Foreign Office in the Central City (Cairo JE 6774–7; Pendlebury 1934, 135, pl. XVIII.3; 1951, 118, pl. LXXVII.4; Figure II.3.16). These are painted blue, red, brown, yellow, white, red, green and black; the figures wore elaborately patterned robes. They were estimated as measuring approximately 25 cm in height when intact (CoA III, 118). Petrie also seems to have recovered fragments of figurines of foreigners; three pottery heads of bearded men from his excavations are



Figure II.3.15. Figure of a seated woman with a child (now headless) on her lap from P46.26 in the Main City. Obj. 23/20. (After EES negative 23–4.8. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Inventory: figurines and models

in the Ashmolean Museum (1893.1–41.442–4). Another pottery head, probably bearded, in the Petrie Museum (UC46893) may represent a foreigner.

Beyond the Central City, a possible Negroid head was found at T33.3 in the North Suburb (Cairo JE 57254; CoA II, 69, pl. XLIV.7), and a rough clay head of a 'foreigner' was recorded from P47.3 in the Main City (ÄMP 21205; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 100). A head of a human pottery figurine, possibly a Nubian with its mouth open, in Berlin (ÄMP →) is also thought to have originated from Amarna, although no details of its specific find provenance remain.

Distribution

CC	6+7
MC	17
NS	17

Object and museum numbers

12/13.1357; 31/55, 31/506, 33/43, 33/131, 36/102; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC46893; Ash. 1893.1–41.442–4

Publications

Pendlebury 1932, 147, pl. XVIII.1; CoA II, 69, pl. XLIV.7; CoA III, 13, 102, 118, 120, pls LXXIX.12, LXXVII.3–4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 100

Symbolism and parallels

The significance of the image of the foreigner has been discussed briefly above (page 43). Larger stone statues of bound foreigners have been found in association with Old Kingdom pyramid temples (van Dijk in LÄ VI, 1390). Small statuettes of foreign prisoners that are often, but not always, inscribed with execration texts, cursing formulae intended to destroy enemies, are also known from the Old Kingdom to Late Period (Ritner 1993, 137, note 611). Execration figures in clay, stone, wood and wax have been found at sites such as Giza, Thebes, Mirgissa and Saqqara (Vila 1973; Posener in LÄ I, 67–9; Ritner 1993, 136–42, 153–5, 159–62). They have rarely been recorded from settlements, although one was found in an Old Kingdom context at Balat (Posener-Krieger 1982, 384, pl. LXXB; Ritner 1993, 172, note 799). Such figurines appear to have been used in rituals involving binding, breaking and burial (Ritner 1993, 142–4, 152–3). The breaking of the figurines appears to be connected with the ritual of the 'breaking of the red pots' represented primarily in funerary contexts (van Dijk in LÄ VI, 1394; Ritner 1993, 144–72). The degree to which execration rituals were confined to the state sphere is not clear, although the presence of enemy figures in private tombs may hint at the undertaking of such rites in private contexts (Baines 1991, 166).

Shabti figures and tools

Over 200 fragments of royal shabtis and more than 15 fragments of shabti tools were discovered in the Royal Tomb and Royal Wadi, or are thought to have originated from these areas (Pendlebury 1933, 130; Aldred 1973, 217–23, nos 161–75; Martin 1974, 42–72, 84–5, nos 53–256, 328–36; 1989, nos 489–521a). Several shabtis were also found in association with the so-called sculptors' area at the Great Palace (Petrie 1894, 17–18; Pendlebury 1936, 197; 1951, 81, pl. LXII.2). A number of shabtis in museum collections are thought to have originated from Amarna, but lack a specific find provenance (see Martin 1986, 116–21).

A small number have also been found amongst residential areas. Some perhaps originated from the burials, at least some of which were post-Amarna period, scattered across the site, although this is not reflected in the excavation reports. A limestone and an ivory shabti were found within a brick-lined chamber at complex T36.13, 20, 27, 30 in the North Suburb. The latter was inscribed: 'A boon which the king gives ... everything for Tjia? [true of voice]' (Frankfort 1929, 148; CoA II, 54, pl. XXXV.7; Martin 1986, 113, 117). A chalkstone 'Kindermumie' was found at Q47.7 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 152), whilst fragments of pottery figurines identified by the excavators as shabtis were found elsewhere in the Main City (obj. 23/443, 24/1058). Some were perhaps fertility figurines. Legs from two faience shabtis were excavated in the North City (NC.120, NC.138). A small black glazed faience shabti in the Petrie Museum said to originate from Amarna (UC1109) is pierced through the waist. It measures 3.8 cm in length.

A small, unbaked clay box found at Q46.43 in the Main City contained a roughly modelled figurine and a rectangular object thought to represent a headrest. This appears to represent a coffin and possibly a rudimentary shabti-like figure (obj. 24/802; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 259, no. 190), although some execration figures were also enclosed in clay coffins (Ritner 1993, 175).

A bronze model axe found at U36.5 in the North Suburb may also have derived from a shabti figure (CoA II, 15). A model bronze hoe and a hoe blade in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 52972, 55375), are also said to originate from the site.

Distribution

CC	5+
MC	3?
NS	2
NC	2
RW	200+

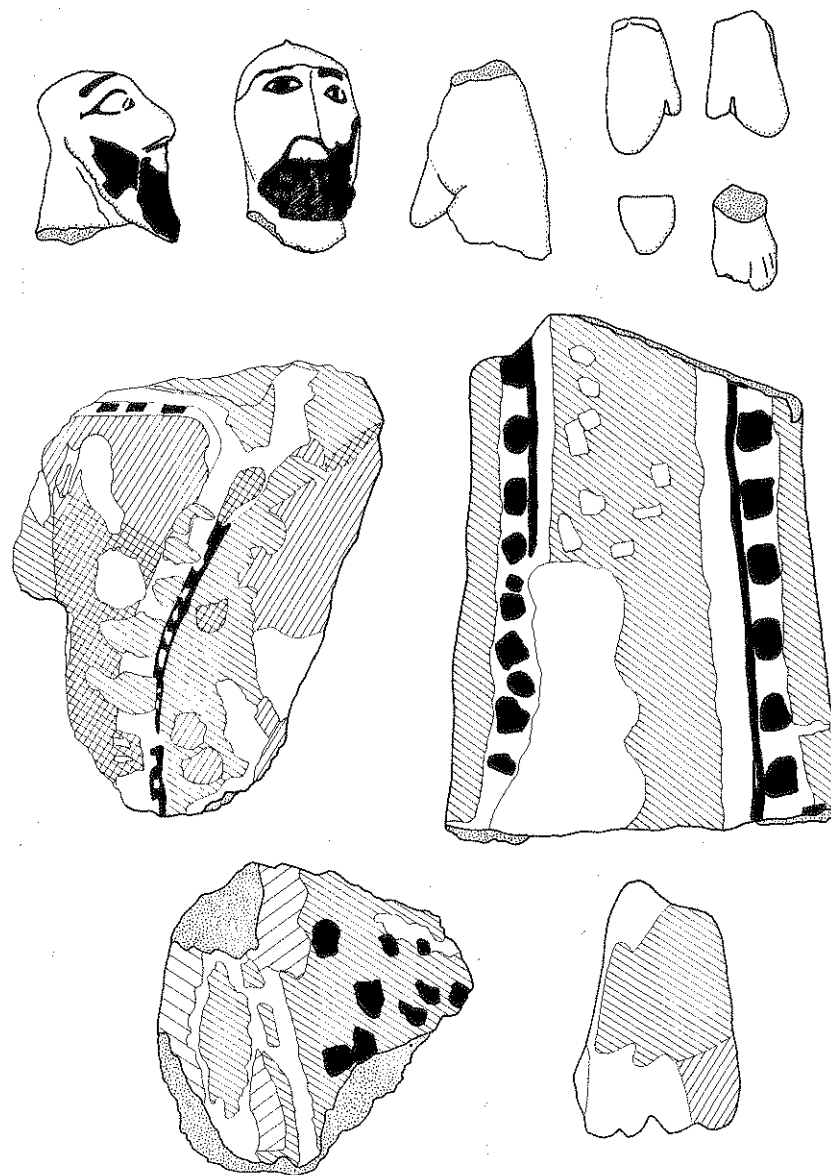


Figure II.3.16. Fragments of probably two pottery figurines of foreigners – heads, hands and garments – from the Central City. Painted blue, red, brown, yellow, white, red, green and black. Obj. 33/34. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card (which does not provide the key to the colour codes) and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

Object and museum numbers

12/13.339; 23/443, 24/802 (Liverpool 56.21.893), 29/312, 29/313, 35/558, 35/559, 35/566; NC.120, NC.138; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1109

Publications

Petrie 1894, 17, pl. LXIII.1, cf. CV.12; CoA II, 54, pl. XXXV.7; CoA III, 81, pl. LXIII.2; Martin 1974, 42–72; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 152

Symbolism and parallels

Shabti figures formed a standard component of funerary equipment from the early New Kingdom, essentially representing a combination of the deceased and their servant and providing freedom of mobility in the afterlife (Schneider 1977, 260–1). During the Amarna period, the traditional shabti-spell was removed from some figures, particularly those of the king himself (Schneider 1977, 289–92; Martin 1986). Numerous shabtis have, of course, been excavated within burials, including crude mud figures (Kanawati and Hassan 1996, 40, 50, pl. 13; TNE94:76–78), but examples have also been found in the outer areas of tombs (Schneider 1977, 261–2; Smith 1992, 200). There is also evidence that shabtis were sometimes deposited beyond burials, in sacred areas, possibly those associated in particular with Osiris (Schneider 1977, 269–89; Edwards 1986, 29–32). In such cases, their use may have extended beyond the realm of strict funerary cult. A crude figure wrapped in linen and placed in a pottery box, similar to the Amarna example, was also found buried near a house at Lisht (Mace 1922, 15, fig. 21).

Miscellaneous and unidentifiable

At least 23 additional anthropomorphic figurines of varying forms have been excavated. Two depict people at altars. A fragment of a figurine in the form of a person kneeling at an altar, measuring 3 cm in length, was excavated at O47.16(a) (obj. 32/141). A fragment of a similar limestone figure originated from inside the south-west corner of the temenos of the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 17, pl. LVII.7). This was painted and preserved to a length of 2.4 cm.

A figurine in the form of a seated person, probably male, was found at U33.1 in the North Suburb (obj. 31/68; CoA II, 72, pl. XLIV.7; Figure II.3.17). The figure has its right hand placed on its right thigh. The left arm was probably once crossed over the chest, and may have held an elongated object up to the face (these details are clearer in the original photograph, CoA II, pl. XLIV.7, than in the illustration on the object card). The head is missing, but the figure was preserved to a height of c. 4 cm. It bore traces of red, blue and black paint, and is said to be made of clay. A fragment of painted clay from Q45.69 was also registered as part of a seated figure

(obj. 24/845). The archive illustration is very schematic, but seems to show a vertically elongated object with a flattened base. It is preserved to a height of 5 cm and a maximum width of approximately 2.5 cm.

A figure standing with its legs together and arms above its head found at U36.20 in the North Suburb was identified by the excavators as a 'basket carrier' of possible Anatolian style (Cairo JE 53024; CoA II, 17, pl. XXIX.2). It is recorded as being made of silver in the excavation report, but of wax in the *Journal d'Entrée*. A small chalkstone figure carrying an unidentified object was found at P47.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 90), although this might have been an animal. A 'doll' formed from bundles of flax yarns, some of which were coloured pink and green, was found amongst rubble from roof collapse in Gate Street 8 in the Workmen's Village (Wendrich in AR V, 182–3). A fragmentary headless pottery figure found in the Central City seems to be in the form of a standing figure, possibly male, wearing a skirt or similar garment (obj. 33241), but is possibly of Roman Period date.

Object 30/530 from T34.3 in the North Suburb is the base of a small statuette in faience, measuring 1.5 cm in depth, 1.1 cm in width and preserved to a height of around 0.3 cm. Two feet are attached to the upper face, placed together (CoA II, 80).

Several heads of anthropomorphic figurines have been recovered. A number appear to represent males (obj. 26/759, 26/801, 30/687, 31/55, 32/118, 33/87; CoA II, 80; CoA III, 13, 50, 119; see Figure II.3.18); some may be from shabtis. Others are possibly female (for example, obj. 25/42) and may have derived similarly from shabtis or fertility figurines. Several are of indeterminate sex (obj. 26/527, 29/219, 4976, 7299). A hollow pottery human head that possibly represents a male with its mouth slightly open is in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP –). It is possibly part of a figure vessel. It is marked with excavation number '13/14,740', but no objects with this number appear to have been published. A hollow pottery face was also recorded from U36.4 in the North Suburb (obj. 26/587; CoA II, 15, here misnumbered 26/589). It appears to preserve the nose, eye and part of the cheek, and is painted black and yellow. It measures 4.6 x 8.5 cm, and is again perhaps part of a figure vessel.

At least a further 37 figurine fragments from the site appear to have derived from anthropomorphic figurines, but cannot be identified more accurately. Two fragments are of note for their large scale. Object 30/292 from T36.72 in the North Suburb is registered as a fragment of a pottery arm, preserved to a length of 10 cm and a width of 3.5 cm (CoA II, 88). A second fragment, identified as toes and front part of a foot, measures 4



Figure II.3.17. Headless seated figure from U33.1 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/68. Scale c. 1:1. (Drawn by G. Denning, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES)

cm in width, around 2 cm in depth and is preserved to a length of 3.5 cm. It originated from the court north of T36.78 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/356; CoA II, 89). If the identification of these pieces is accurate – and the illustrations on the registration cards are not very instructive here – they point to the presence of pottery figurines on a relatively large scale.

Distribution

CC	6
MC	15
NS	22
WV	12
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

11.577 (ÄMP 25015), 12/13.162, 12/13.571, 12/13.888, 13/14.924, 13/14.997; 21/304, 23/15, 23/95, 24/845, 24–5/42, 26/587, 26/618, 26/759, 26/801, 26–7/527, 29/13 (Cairo JE 53024), 29/132, 29/219, 30/76 (Petrie UC24507), 30/292, 30/356, 30/396, 30/456, 30/457, 30/482 (Petrie UC24493), 30/484, 30/528, 30/530, 30/603, 30/687, 31/55, 31/68 (Petrie UC24504), 32/29, 32/118, 32/141, 32–3/215, 33/1 (Cairo JE 62771), 33/87, 33/101, 35/331; 133, 2628, 4958, 4976, 6005, 6338, 7229, 8958, 9036, 21503, 21698, 33241

Publications

CoA I, 76; CoA II, 13, 15, 17, 22, 50, 72, 78, 80, 86, 88–9, pls XXIX.2, XLIV.7; CoA III, 17, 73, 119, pl. LVII.7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19, 26, 44, 52, 90, 229; Wendrich in ARV, 182–3

Symbolism and parallels

Although male anthropomorphic figurines appear to have been produced throughout ancient Egyptian history, they have been the subject of relatively little study, with the exception of execration figures (Ritner 1993, 136–42, 153–5, 159–62) and shabtis

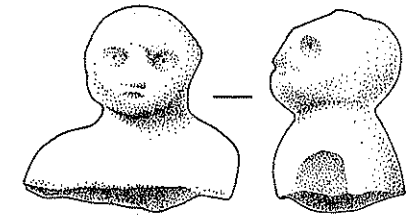


Figure II.3.18. Head and upper torso of a male (?) figure in pottery, from U24.4 in the North City. Obj. 30/687. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

(Schneider 1977). The range of functions they served is by no means clear. Many are recorded from burials. Rudimentary pottery anthropomorphic figurines, probably representing both males and females, were found at Riqqeh for example (Petrie 1927, 61, pl. LIII.475–8), seemingly in funerary contexts. Male figurines were found in burials at Esna, at least one of which was apparently of Second Intermediate Period date (Downes 1974, 86–7). There may be some significance in the fact that at least one is shown partially naked, and appears to have derived from the same tomb as a female fertility figurine. Perhaps it served as a fecundity figure. A rudimentary male figure was also excavated in a child's burial at Deir el-Medina (Meskell 1999, 173). Anthropomorphic figurines of varying forms are known from temple deposits, such as those recovered from Early Dynastic to Old Kingdom contexts at the Temple of Satis at Elephantine (Dreyer 1986, 60–8, 99–109, pls 11–23). Amongst examples from settlement contexts is a pottery model of a man from Kahun (David 1986, 162). Male figurines were also found at Kom Rabi'a, amongst disturbed surface debris, but also in Eighteenth Dynasty and Ramesseid-period contexts (Giddy 1999, 45–7). Giddy (1999, 45–7) suggested some of these may have been fecundity symbols. Figurines of males, dated by the excavators to the Twentieth Dynasty, were also found in a settlement context at Lisht (Hayes 1959, 383). The use of anthropomorphic images in magical spells is also attested, as in, for example, a spell for the protection of women in childbirth in P. Leiden I, that calls for the use of a dwarf of clay (Borghouts 1978, 39, nos 60–1).

Animals

Bird

At least 14 bird figurines have been excavated. Five are hawks or falcons. A small bust of a falcon or hawk was found at Q49.1 in the Main City (ÄMP –; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241). This was identified as the possible head of a bat in the excavation report (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241), but resembles a hawk or falcon more closely (see also page 237). It is made of chaff-rich mud and is 7.8 cm high. It is hand-modelled with a flattened base and has been painted in black and blue. There is no trace of a disk on the top of the head. It is possible that one has broken off, although the mud does not seem well suited to the modelling of projections of this kind. A cylindrical mud object found at the Small Aten Temple can be identified tentatively as a falcon or hawk bust on the basis of a slight projection that resembles a beak (obj. 31304). It is painted with rough red and yellow stripes, and measures 2.95 cm in length. A limestone hawk figure measuring 6.5 cm in height was also found in association with the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 98). Fragments of pottery hawk heads were found at the dump associated with the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 13), and possibly at Q47.12 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 155).

A number of other bird species appear to be represented. A mud figurine of a swimming duck was found at Q47.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 147) and a limestone pigeon or dove recorded from T35.3 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/322; CoA II, 81). A seated 'chicken', perhaps a late piece, was recorded from P47.30 in the Main City (obj. 22/520). A small copper ibis figure was recorded from N50.27, again perhaps late (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 318). A stone bird of uncertain type sitting on a small pedestal was found at S33.1 in the North Suburb (UC24518; CoA II, 68) and a rough limestone figure of a bird with a hole in its lower part was excavated in the extramural area south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 1422). The latter measures 5.8 x 3.8 x 4 cm. A pottery bird figurine with a long neck and flat back measuring 8.0 cm in length was found at building R43.1B in the Central City (Hunt. D.1938.76; CoA III, 142, pl. LXXIX.12). A pottery fragment from building Q48.4 (obj. 9008) and a clay fragment found in Q44.4 in the Main City (obj. 23/300) can be identified very tentatively as fragments of bird figurines.

Distribution

CC	4
MC	6
NS	2
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

11.303, 12/13.34, 12/13.1253; 22/520, 29/322, 30/466 (Petrie UC24518), 31/454, 36/102, 36/155 (Hunt. D.1938.76); 1422, 9008, 31304

Publications

CoA II, 68, 81; CoA III, 13, 98, 142, pl. LXXIX.12; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 147, 155, 241

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the falcon and duck motifs has been discussed above (page 48). Bird figures are known from tombs, including a life-size faience falcon head found in a Second Intermediate Period tomb at Esna (Downes 1974, 131), and a small wooden hawk from a tomb at Abydos dating from the Twenty Second to Twenty Fifth Dynasties (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 91). Figurines of doves or pigeons are rare, but an example was found in a late Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Hawara (Petrie et al. 1912, pl. XXX; Bourriau 1988, 102, no. 88; 1991, 19). A number of bird models have been found in association with shrines. Models representing Horus falcons of late Middle Kingdom to New Kingdom date, some of Tell el-Yahudieh ware, were found at the Hathor shrine at Gebel Zeit (Castel 1985, 20–1, Abb. 14; Posener-Krieger 1985, 298, pl. LXVI). Five hawk figures were found in the temple of Sneferu at Meidum (Petrie 1906, 123), whilst a stone falcon figure was excavated in a temple deposit of Middle Kingdom date or earlier at Tell Ibrahim Awad (van Haarlem 1995, 46, fig. 7; 1998, 511). Faience falcon figures have been found in Middle Kingdom levels at the Satis temple at Elephantine (Kaiser et al. 1975, 54, Taf. 25b). Model copper and limestone hawks and small copper plaques with incised hawk figures were found amongst offerings near the Great Sphinx at Giza (Hassan 1953, 35, 38, 55, 57, figs 18, 25, 43b, 46; Sadek 1988, 25; Pinch 1993, 165). A number of clay vulture heads in the British Museum (for example, EA 61670) may have been New Kingdom offerings to Mut at Thebes (Quirke 1992, 8, fig. 2; Giddy 1999, 19). Similar figures were found at the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (O'Connor 1967, 17).

Bovid

At least 14 fragmentary bovid figures made of mud, clay or pottery have been excavated in the North Suburb, Main City, and both within the Workmen's Village and in the grounds to its south. A number of unidentifiable examples may also have been bovid figures. Hope (1991, 49) has noted that some pottery animal heads, including cows, may actually have been gazelle or ibex heads from vessels, but all of the examples discussed in the current section seem to have derived from figurines. Most have been hand-modelled and are quite rudimentary. Some have been painted. The best preserved is a clay figurine of a hump-backed cow or bull from the Main City (ÄMP

25089; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31, 35); its provenance is listed as both Q46.3 and Q46.6 in the excavation report. It is painted black with red along its spine and white markings in the shape of a circle and a vertical line on either side of its body. It is preserved to a length of 7.8 cm and a height of 5.3 cm; its head is not present.

Most of the figures are preserved as heads only. Most, if not all, seem to have been broken from bodies, rather than finished as busts. No examples wearing solar disks have been encountered. The relatively complete examples do not seem to have measured more than 10 cm in length. Some standing cows might also have been attached originally to the rims or bases of vessels, but as their legs are usually broken off, this cannot be confirmed. Object 30/587 from T34.1 in the North Suburb is an unusual flat pottery base to which are attached three preserved hooves, set apart slightly in a striding pose (obj. 30/587; Figure II.3.19). The excavators suggested it was a goat figure (CoA II, 80), but it is more likely to have been a bovid. Object 24/775 is a similar figure, better preserved, in stone, from Q46.52 in the Main City. The figure is headless but may also be a cow or bull (Figure II.3.19).

Distribution

MC	7 + 17
NS	5 + 17
WV	3

Object and museum numbers

11/–, 12/13.1314 (ÄMP 25089), 11/12.1402, 12/13.826, 12/13.1203; 24/775, 24/–, 29/21, 29/86, 29/145, 30/45, 30/261, 30/587; WV.176, 1851, 2133, 8313

Publications

CoA II, 80, 86, 88; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31, 35, 168, 175, 230

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the bovid motif has been noted above (page 49). Cow figurines and amulets are known primarily from burials and votive deposits, dating largely

from the Predynastic Period through to the Middle Kingdom (for example, Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 41, pl. IX; Needler 1984, 362–5). Although it has been suggested that pottery and clay cow figurines were relatively uncommon during the New Kingdom (Pinch 1993, 162–3), they probably occur more frequently than the published excavation records suggest. Examples that probably date to the Eighteenth Dynasty were excavated at the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri and Faras (Naville and Hall 1904, 11; 1905, 8; Karkowski 1981, 111, Appendix I.16; Pinch 1993, 162–3). Approximately 54 examples were found at Deir el-Bahri, some of which were attached to the rims or bases of pottery vessels. These differ from the Amarna figures in that they often had prominent solar disks and horns, sometimes with a uraeus attached (Pinch 1993, 162–3). Some faience examples from Deir el-Bahri bore the name of Hathor (Pinch 1993, 161–2). At Koptos, Petrie (1896, 14, pl. XIV) found both a broken faience figure of a cow beneath the foundations of the Thutmose III temple, and elaborate joined femino-form vessels adorned with cow and scorpion appliqué from a foundation deposit of the same king.

A number of highly fragmentary animal figurines were found in fill overlying a chapel at the Tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara, some of which may be bovid figures (Schneider 1996, 61–2, pls 44, 81). Although found mixed in with Coptic material, Schneider (1996, 61) suggested they could have been used during New Kingdom burial ceremonies at the tomb. Amongst examples excavated within burials is a painted clay bull's head from a tomb dating from the Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes (Smith 1992, 208). Few examples have been recorded from domestic contexts, although a pottery bovid figure, seemingly with a solar disk and horns, was excavated in settlement remains at Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904, pl. 58.15; Pinch 1993, 163). Mud figures of oxen decorated with blue faience beads were also found at a settlement at Lisht, and dated by the excavators to the Twentieth Dynasty (Hayes 1959, 383). Bovid figurines appear frequently in domestic assemblages of Middle Kingdom sites in Nubia (Wegner 1995, 156), whilst at least one example was excavated at the New Kingdom Egyptian settlement at Sesebi (Peterson 1967, 12, Abb. 27).

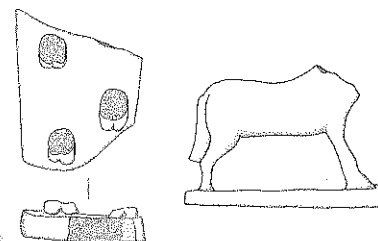


Figure II.3.19. Left: flat pottery base with three hooves attached, possibly a cow statuette, from T34.1 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/587. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES). Right: Headless stone figure, set on a base and also possibly bovid. Obj. 24/775. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card).

Cobra

Although it has been suggested that pottery cobra figures are rare from sites in Egypt (Giddy 1999, 17), a much greater number of such figures has been found at Amarna than is indicated in the excavation reports (see Figure II.3.20). At least 126 fragments of pottery, clay or mud cobra figurines occur. Of these, at least 40 take the form of a snake joined to a flattened base. It is difficult to ascertain whether the remaining examples originated from free-standing cobra figurines or the vessels with applied cobra figures that also occur at the site (Part II.8). Figures definitely attached to bowls are not included here.

The figures are largely hand-modelled, so there is some variation in their form. In general, however, they take the shape of an individual cobra rearing up, attached to a rectangular to oval, roughly flattened base. Most have an extended hood, behind which the body of the snake is applied separately, extending in loose coils either horizontally or vertically. On one figure from the North Suburb (CoA II, pl. XXXIV.3), a central rib running vertically along the front of the hood may represent the body of the cobra (Giddy 1999, 17). The base and hood are often formed in one piece. The head is generally modelled as a slightly flattened projection from the top of the hood, the eyes sometimes represented by circles of clay applied to either side of the head.

It has been stated that the Amarna cobra figurines sometimes wore head disks (James and McGovern 1993, I, 171–2; see also Giddy 1999, 18), but this is probably incorrect. The examples cited to support this are either wooden uraei that probably derived from friezes (CoA III, pl. LXXIX.7), in which case their form may have little bearing on that of the pottery examples, or are indeed pottery cobras (CoA II, pl. XXXIV.3; CoA III, 101, 104, 111, pl. LI.5) but with little that resembles a disk. Only one figure, from the Workmen's Village, has a slight vertical projection on its head, but even this does not resemble a disk very closely (BM 55594; CoA I, 84, pl. XXIII.5).

On the front of some figures a clay appliqué seems to represent a tall poststand or altar (for example, CoA I, 84, pl. XXIII.5; Figure II.3.20). Some bear applications of clay that often appear to be in the form of a pair of small uraei, or less commonly a single uraeus, projecting from the front of the hood. Sometimes they are positioned either side of a poststand. Such appliqué are also present on pottery cobra figurines from Kom Rabi'a. Giddy (1999, 14) suggests that these represent the skin flaps of the snake, which can be assimilated into actual cobras. Borchardt and Ricke (1980, 200) identified one figurine with breasts; however, the features applied to the front of this figure seem to be two smaller uraei, which are only partially preserved (ÄMP 28754).

Traces of paint are preserved on a number of figures. The surviving colours comprise white, yellow, black and blue. The paint can be applied to highlight specific features, or in patterns. Some are painted with markings such as stripes, dots and crosses (for example, ÄMP 28759; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 220). Such designs are often on the front of the hood, but can also be located on the back of the hood, the body, and base of the figure. A few have painted collars, which can be quite elaborate (ÄMP 28756; Cairo JE 59324; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 289). There are few intact examples, but the pottery figures appear to have ranged in height from between 5 to approximately 20 cm.

In addition, at least seven limestone or chalkstone snake figurines occur. Up to four were found at M50.7, O47.2 and O47.16(a) in the Main City (obj. 32/144; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73, 287), one was excavated at R42.9E, the so-called military quarters in the Central City (CoA III, 136), one originated from the vicinity of the Great Palace and Small Aten Temple (Cairo JE 64976; obj. 34–5/239), and another was found at U25.9 in the North City (obj. 30/740; Figure 11.3.21). These take the form of a small vertically coiled snake, sometimes on a base. None preserve any trace of decoration. The majority are less than 5 cm high, although one fragmentary example measures 11 cm in height and 17 cm in length (obj. 36/143; CoA III, 136). The excavation records mention many more stone snake figures, particularly heads (for example, obj. 23/353, 24/751, 32/138; CoA III, 12, 25, 37, 49, 63–4, 67–8, 70, 81–4, 98; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 100, 251, 267–8), but these appear to have been largely architectural inlays (see Aldred 1973, 214, no. 155; Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 226, no. 73).

Distribution

Pottery cobras only:

MC	35
NS	7
NC	3
WV	70+
KN	1

Object and museum numbers

Pottery cobras: 11/12.357 (ÄMP 28754), 11/12.396 (ÄMP 28755), 11/12.582 (ÄMP 28756), 11/12.860 (ÄMP 28757–8), 12/13.4 (ÄMP 28759), 12/13.46, 12/13.47, 12/13.146, 12/13.496 (ÄMP 28761), 12/13.519 (ÄMP 28760), 12/13.1029 (ÄMP 28762), 12/13.1413 (ÄMP 28763), 13/14.48 (ÄMP 25090), 13/14.311 (ÄMP 28764), 13/14.605, 13/14.619, 13/14.706 (ÄMP 28765), 13/14.712, 13/14.753 (ÄMP 28767), 13/14.1003; 22/5, 22/131 (BM 55594), 22/140, 22/159, 23/77, 23/81, 23/109, 26/828 (Cairo JE 50756), 29/7, 29/340, 29/375, 29/390, 30/230 (Petrie UC24492), 30/288, 31/434, 31/438, 31/440, 31/480, 31/482, 31/488 (x2), 31/489, 31–2/480, 32/157 (Cairo JE 59324), 33/20, 33/37, 34/16; XI.102 (x5), WV.182,

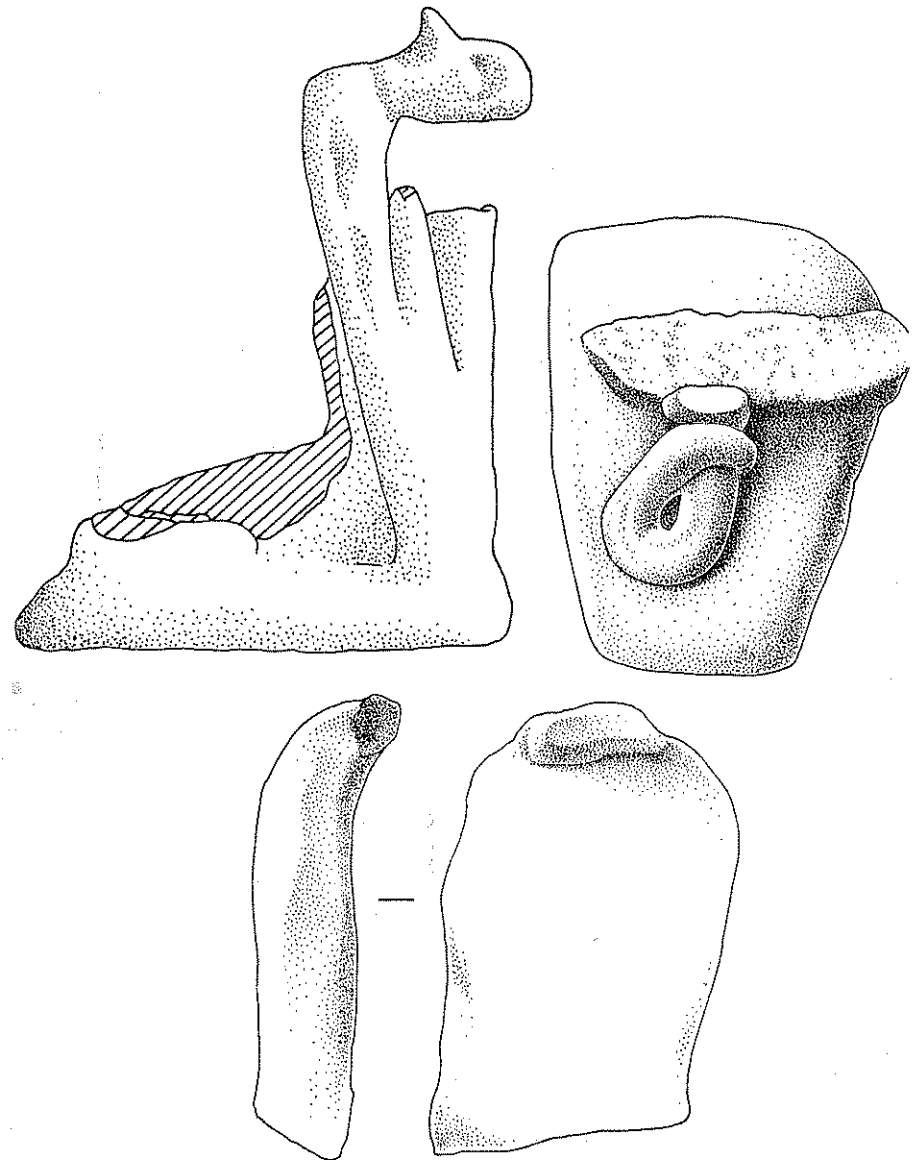


Figure II.3.20. Pottery cobra figures from the Workmen's Village and North City. Top left: obj. 22/131. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after an original drawing by the author). Top right: obj. 31/329. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES). Bottom: obj. 30/677. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

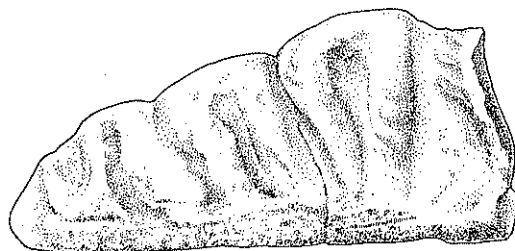


Figure II.3.21. Stone cobra figurine, now headless, from U25.9 in the North City. Obj. 30/740. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

20, 206, 330, 755, 1217, 1503, 2081, 2083, 2085, 2127, 2334, 2388, 2608A, 2622, 2624, 3577, 3766, 3807, 3955, 3963, 3966, 3967, 3973, 3974, 3983, 3990, 3996, 4143, 4484, 4529, 4538, 4854, 4603, 4605, 4916, 4943, 5070, 5221, 5240, 5397, 5583, 5673, 5712, 5767, 5859, 5931, 5966, 6050, 6519, 6794, 7033, 7223, 7649, 7717, 7769, 7853, 7854, 7923, 8016, 8052, 8151, 8406, 8562, 17331, 21280, 21708, 21711, 21868, 33124; said to be from Amarna: Hunt. D.1921.136; Ash. 1893.1-41.298; AMP 30499
Stone cobras: 11.343, 11/12.793, 13/14.206; 32/144, 30/740, 34-5/239, 36/143

Publications

Pottery cobras: CoA I, 68, 80, 82, 84, 87, pl. XXIII.5; CoA II, 17, 42, 51, 59, 62, 81, pl. XXXIV.3; CoA III, 85, 101, 104-5, 111, 125; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 22, 32, 46, 66, 122, 134, 137, 143, 159, 182, 200, 220-1, 289, 318; Kemp 1981b, 14; Rose in AR V, 91-7
Stone cobras: CoA III, 136; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 73, 267, 287

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the cobra motif has been discussed (page 51). The use of pottery cobra figurines in magical rituals seems to be reflected in a spell against nightmares calling for the use of four clay uraei (Ritner 1990; 1993, 224, note 1042; Szpakowska 2003b). In another spell, intended to provide protection against scorpions, Isis models serpents from earth (Borghouts 1978, 51-5, no. 84).

Cobra figurines have been found in both private and royal burials. Examples include pottery cobras found in a private burial of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Abydos (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 91) and in a New Kingdom tomb at Saqqara (Sowada et al. 1999, 13, pls 6, 35). The latter are particularly similar to the Amarna examples. Wooden cobra figurines have also been

found in New Kingdom royal tombs (Bruyère 1930a, 217-18; Edwards 1976, 148, no. 37).

Forty-five pottery figurines and one stone example of similar form to the Amarna figures were excavated in New Kingdom and post-New Kingdom settlement contexts at Kom Rabi'a, as already noted (Giddy 1999, 13-28). Pottery cobra figurines have also been found recently in residential contexts at the fort of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Snape 2002a). Two fragments of cobra figures that seem to have been free-standing were also found at Qantir (Aston 1998, 402). Three pottery snakes on bases were found amongst settlement remains of the late fifth century BCE at Tell el-Muqdam (Redmound and Friedman 1997, 76, fig. 18). Wooden, stone, and metal snake statues and figurines, at least some of which represent Meretseger, of New Kingdom date onwards were found at Deir el-Medina, primarily in association with chapels (Cairo JE 71 994; Bruyère 1930a, 225-7; 1939, 77). Unbaked mud cobra figures, some with text in white ink, were found associated with the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (O'Connor 1967, 16; Kemp 1981b, 16, note 8). Small stone snake figurines that are similar to the Amarna examples were also found in the vicinity of the temple complex at Hermopolis (Roeder 1959, 49-50, 213, 260, pls 46a, b, 55p). From the Twenty Fifth Dynasty, metal and wood 'votive' snake figures were produced, at least some of which seem to represent Meretseger (Mysliwiec 1981).

Pottery cobra figurines have been found outside Egypt at Kamid el-Loz in Syria (Echt 1982, 37-52, pls 9-12), whilst many fragments of pottery and stone cobras were excavated within the settlement and at the Temple of Beth Shan in Palestine, in Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty contexts (Rowe 1940, 36-7, 50, 56, 65-6, 87-9, pls XX.2-3, 6, XXI.15, XLIIA.2, XLIIA.4-5, XLIVA.4, XLVA.4, LIIA.5; James and McGovern 1993, I, 5, 171-2; II, figs 83-5). The pottery examples, whilst fragmentary, are very similar to the Amarna figures. Rowe (1940, pls

XLIIA.4-5, XLVA.4) and James and McGovern (1993, I, 171) suggested that some pottery figures from Beth Shan had breasts, and an accompanying cup to catch lacteal fluid. However, the applications upon most, if not all, of these figures illustrated in the excavation reports appear to represent small uraei, as seen on the Amarna cobras. Giddy (1999, 18) has suggested a similar reinterpretation of the appliques on the Beth Shan figurines. The cup is also of the type found on the Amarna examples. Rowe (1940, 56) suggested that the Beth Shan figurines were indigenous to Palestine, but this assessment may require revision in light of the quantity of cobra figures now known to have originated from Amarna and other sites in Egypt.

In a possible parallel to the small cobras that project from some of the figurines, a fragmentary Nineteenth Dynasty stela from Thebes in the Petrie Museum (UC14439) depicts a cobra, possibly Meretseger, with two smaller cobras in front of her (see Meskel 2002, fig. 2.11). These may actually have projected out from the bottom of the hood of the goddess; the part of the stela where the join would have occurred is damaged. Another stela shows Meretseger in the form of a cobra with a woman's head wearing a double-feather crown and solar disk. Projecting from the top of her hood are the heads of both a vulture and a cobra (Bruyère 1930a, 205-7, fig. 106).

Dog, fox or jackal

A small number of pottery figurines represent dog-like animals. A pottery animal head found in the outer hall of Chapel 561 at the Workmen's Village has been suggested as that of a jackal or similar (obj. 3456a; Bomann 1991, 9, 24, 58-9). It measures 3.0 x 2.0 x 2.6 cm, and has an elongated muzzle and two upward-projections, probably ears rather than horns. A fragmentary pottery figurine of an animal on all fours with a long snout, upward-pointing ears and a hanging tail found at N48.1 in the Main City (AMP -; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 175) resembles a dog. The figure is preserved to a length of 7.0 cm and a height of 3.2 cm. A head of a clay figurine that the excavators identified as a fox was also found at L48.1/2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 171), but no further details of this piece have been traced. A pottery animal head from T35.24 in the North Suburb was identified in the excavation records as a dog (obj. 30/159; CoA II, 83). It has a slightly elongated muzzle and two projections on the upper back of its head. It seems to resemble, however, a gazelle or ibex more closely, and may have broken from a vessel (noted also by Hope 1991, 49). A similar head from N49.54 in the Main City is recorded as a dog (obj. 24/39) 'moulded in clay'. The archive illustration is schematic, but it may again be a gazelle or ibex vessel appliqué.

Distribution

MC 3
NS 1
WV 1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.27; 30/159; 3456a

Publications

CoA III, 83; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 171, 175; see also Bomann 1991, 9, 24, 58-9

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the dog and jackal motifs has been discussed (page 52). Dog figurines seem to have been recorded primarily from funerary contexts. A pottery dog was found in a tomb at Sedment dated by the excavators to the Sixth Dynasty (Petrie and Brunton 1924a, pl. XXXVI), and dog figurines occur in burials of the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period (Bourriau 1991, 18, pl. XIV.8). A number of pottery animal figurines excavated outside the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb may have represented dogs; Schneider (1996, 61-2, pls 44, 81) suggested these might have been used during burial ceremonies. A falience dog figurine of probable Early Dynastic Period date was also found in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (Adams 1974, 22, xiv, no. 108). Metal figurines that probably represent dogs were found at the Temple of Beth Shan, in Twentieth Dynasty or later contexts (Rowe 1940, 90, 92, pls LIIIA.5, LXIIIA.5-6; James 1966, 149-53, 330, fig. 108.1, 3). A mud 'jackal' head from Kahun probably provides an example from a domestic context (Petrie 1927, 61). A possible pottery dog figurine of New Kingdom date was also excavated at the Egyptian settlement at Sesebi (Peterson 1967, 12, Abb. 27), and dog figurines are known from Middle Kingdom domestic contexts in Nubia (Wegner 1995, 156). The popularity of the dog motif increased from the Late Period, when larger statues seem to have been first produced (Fischer in LÄ III, 79), whilst during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods the dog was a common motif for terracotta figurines (Dunand 1990, 287-93).

Fish

A piece of wood shaped in the form of a fish was found in the grounds to the south of the Workmen's Village. It measures 4.6 x 1.8 x 1.3 cm. One face is carved and the other flat.

Distribution

WV 1

Object and museum numbers

1043

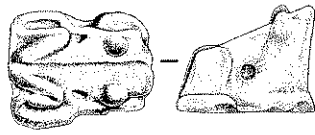


Figure II.3.22. Pierced blue faience frog from U25.4 in the North City. Obj. 30/698. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Symbolism and parallels

See pages 55–6

Frog

A small number of frog figures have been excavated, although it is not clear whether any were free-standing figurines. A fragment of a small metal frog was recorded from Q46.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27); see also page 181 for a copper frog suggested to have derived from a vessel. A wooden frog measuring 2.6 x 1.2 cm was found in the grounds to the south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 6182), whilst a broken blue faience frog head measuring 2.1 cm in length was excavated at the magazines at the Great Palace (obj. 35/243; CoA III, 50). A blue faience frog was also found at U25.4 in the North City (30/698; Figure II.3.22). It appears to have been pierced sideways. It resembles the frog beads and scaraboids, but is considerably larger than these, and the direction of the piercing is perpendicular to that of the former.

Distribution

CC	1
MC	1
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

12/13.761; 30/698 (Cairo JE 55465), 35/243; 3131

Publications

CoA III, 50; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the frog motif has been outlined (page 56). Frog figurines are known from Old Kingdom temple deposits (Dreyer 1986, 116, pl. 35) and Middle Kingdom burials (Bourriau 1988, 120, no. 112b), but do not appear to have been common in the New Kingdom.

Gazelle or ibex

A fragment of a pottery figurine of a 'resting animal' that the excavators identified as a possible gazelle was found at U35.18 in the North Suburb. It was painted with blue markings, and measured 7 x 6 cm (obj. 29/244; CoA II, 36). It is not clear whether the figure was finished at the back; if not, it may have been applied to a vessel. A number of pottery gazelle heads have been found, but most appear to have originated from vessels (Hope 1991, 49). A wooden figure of an animal that resembles an ibex or goat standing on its hind legs was found in Gate Street 12 at the Workmen's Village (Ashmolean 1921.1128; CoA I, 74, pl. XIV.4), but was perhaps a furniture element (compare the figure in the chair of Sitamun; Smith 1998, 163, fig. 281).

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the gazelle and ibex motifs has been outlined above (pages 58–9). Although pottery vessels decorated with three-dimensional gazelles or ibexes occur during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hope 1991, 41; see pages 181–2), I know of no other free-standing figurines.

Hippopotamus

At least four clay or pottery hippopotamus figurines occur, although a number of unidentifiable figurine fragments may have derived from hippopotamuses. Two fragments of a pottery hippopotamus were found at T35.4 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/339; CoA II, 43; Figure II.3.9), whilst a figurine that probably represents a hippopotamus was found at P46.7 in the Main City (obj. 22/545; CoA I, 30). At estate T36.36 in the North Suburb, a hippopotamus figurine was found in a large court, T36.39, behind garden shrine T36.37 (Cairo JE 55441; Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA II, 46, pl. XL.8; Figure II.3.23). The broad hindquarters of a pottery animal with short tail from T34.4 in the North Suburb are probably those of a hippopotamus. An unpublished clay head of a probable hippopotamus was also excavated by the EES in 1921 (obj. 22/171). On the object registration card, a note is made that the figure may represent a cow, but this has been crossed out. The figure is currently in the Bolton Museum (1922.15.8). The head resembles that of a hippopotamus, but is of rudimentary manufacture (A. Thomas 2000, pers. comm.). It is broken at the neck, and it is not clear whether it was originally a bust, or was joined to a body. There are two small holes above the eyes that possibly facilitated the addition of a further element. The find provenance of this piece was recorded on the registration card as 'shrine'. Other finds registered during 1922 derived from within the Workmen's Village, the Maru Aten, the 'River Temple' site and houses within the Main City (CoA I). The probable shrine at the 'River Temple' (see CoA I, 127–8; Kemp in AR VI, 447–8) or that

identified at the entrance to the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 54–5, 67, pl. XVI; see pages 252–3) seem the most likely provenances for this piece.

The better-preserved hippopotamus figures all seem to stand on four legs, and those for which measurements are available range in length from 8–15 cm. Two fragments seem to have been painted red (obj. 22/171, 22/545).

Distribution

MC	1
NS	3
RT/WV?	1

Object and museum numbers

22/171 (Bolton 1922.15.8), 22/545, 29/339, 30/31 (Cairo JE 55441), 30/579 (Petrie UC24495)

Publications

CoA I, 30; CoA II, 43, 46, pl. XL.8

Symbolism and parallels

Hippopotamus figurines were produced as early as the Predynastic Period (Crompton 1931, 26–7; Needler 1967, 96, no. 3; 1984, 359–62), and appear in Old Kingdom temple deposits at Elephantine (Dreyer 1986, 114, pl. 32), but are best known from burials of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Downes 1974, 126; Bourriau 1988, 119–20; D'Amicone 1988, 127, pl. 171; Hill in Bietak and Hein 1994, 88–9, nos 5–7). Pottery and limestone hippopotamus figurines have also been found in domestic contexts of probable Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period date at sites such as Kahun (David 1986, 162) and Lisht, possibly in association with Bes-image figurines and domestic altars at the latter (Mace 1921, 18, fig. 3). At Lisht, mud hippopotamus figurines were also found amongst domestic contexts dated by the excavators to the Twentieth Dynasty (Hayes 1959, 383). Faience hippopotamus figurines of

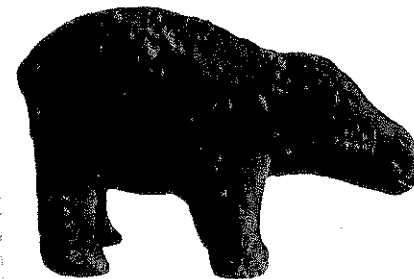


Figure II.3.23. Pottery hippopotamus figurine from T36.39 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/31. (After EES negative 30.0.03. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Middle Kingdom date have been found at the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (Dunand 1958, 742–6; Pinch 1993, 79, 162).

Horse

Pottery horse heads were recorded from M47.3 and Q46.19 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 43, 59) and from the Clerks' Houses in the Central City (CoA III, 124). No further details of these figurines have been traced, and since Roman Period terracotta horse figures are also known from the site (for example, CoA II, 76, pl. XLVIII.3; Liverpool 1973.1.488; Bienkowski and Southworth 1986, 30), some or all may post-date the Eighteenth Dynasty. M47.3 contained, in fact, a range of 'late' material (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59).

Distribution

CC	1?
MC	2?

Object and museum numbers

13/14.844; 33/267

Publications

CoA III, 124; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 43, 59

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the horse motif has been outlined (page 59). The horse was a common motif for Ptolemaic and later terracotta figurines (Bayer-Niemeier 1985; Parandowski 1990, 302, fig. 3; Török 1995, 171). Horse figurines are not common from New Kingdom contexts, although a clay horse was recorded from an infant burial beneath a house at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 271).

Lion or sphinx

A small painted limestone sphinx measuring 5.7 cm in length was found in O47.20 in the Main City (obj. 32/213; Pendlebury 1933, 117–18). This piece appears to be on display in Cairo (JE 12593). The figure lies on a low base and holds an offering-table in front. The body of the sphinx and the offering-table are painted red, and the wig of the figure is black. The back half of another probable sphinx figure in limestone was found at O47.16(a) (obj. 32/142). It was preserved to a length of 4.6

cm. A calcite fragment comprising the front paws and portion of the legs of what appears to be a sphinx figure lying on a flat base is in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum (1893.1–41.438), and thought to have come from Petrie's excavations at Amarna. It is preserved to a length of 1.9 cm and a height of 1.0 cm. On the base, between the front legs, is a very poorly preserved inscription, perhaps including the phrase '... nbt nbb', 'Mistress of the Sycamore', one of the manifestations of Hathor.

Petrie appears to have found a red jasper figurine group of a lion and bull fighting at building Q42.21, the so-called Records Office (BM 22866; CoA III, 120). Hall (1925) suggested this was an import from North Syria. A limestone lion head sculpted in the round was also found in association with the Maru Aten (obj. 22/340), but its form and scale is not indicated clearly in the excavation records. A probable lion or sphinx figure was also excavated in a bin at pottery workshop Q48.4 (Kirby in AR V, 30). The figure is solid and hand-modelled and lies with its four legs tucked beneath it, and its tail between its hind legs. Its head no longer survives.

Distribution

CC	1
MC	1
MA	1

Object and museum numbers

32/142, 32/213 (Cairo JE 12593), 8903; said to be from Amarna: Ash. 1893.1–41(438)

Publications

Hall 1925; Pendlebury 1933, 117–18; CoA III, 120; also Kirby in AR V, 30

Symbolism and parallels

The sphinx motif, an image of the sun god closely connected with kingship (Bonnet 1971, 746–8), was retained by Akhenaten, who was himself represented in this form (Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 231, nos 89–90). Lion figurines and sculptures were produced from the Predynastic Period onwards (Davis 1981; Adams and Jaeschke 1984; Adams 1997, 10–11). From the New Kingdom, sphinx and lion figurines were dedicated as votive offerings to the Great Sphinx at Giza (Cairo JE 72245; Hassan 1953, 38, 55, 57, 64, figs 25, 43b, 47a, 56; Sadek 1988, 23–9). A figure of a sphinx cut from a sheet of copper was found in the early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Tahuty at Thebes (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 76, pl. LXVI). Faience sphinx figures were possibly found at a shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Bahri, although the sphinx motif does not appear to have been associated closely with this goddess (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 32; Pinch 1993, 286).

Monkey or baboon

Over 200 stone and pottery figurines of monkeys and baboons have been excavated. These were widely distributed across the site. The stone examples are made of chalkstone or limestone and sometimes preserve traces of black, red, yellow or green paint. Some have an even base and can stand on a flattened surface, but generally their bases are uneven. A number are pierced. The vast majority of stone figurines seem to have ranged in height from around 3–10 cm. The largest is an example found on the surface of the Workmen's Village; this is 16.0 cm high, but is unfinished (obj. 6282).

Of the stone figures, at least 97 depict groups of monkeys, whilst 53 or more are in the form of individual monkeys. They can be shown engaged in a range of activities (Samson 1978, 37–40). In at least 35 cases, the monkey is shown with either a single smaller monkey or a group of smaller monkeys, presumably offspring. They can be shown in a variety of poses. The larger monkey may be seated behind, or shown embracing, the smaller one, or the smaller monkey can be shown climbing on the back or shoulders of the larger monkey. On at least one example, the large monkey seems to groom the smaller one (obj. 24/841). On another, the smaller monkey is seated sideways on the lap of the larger figure (BMA 34.1183B). A few figurines show two monkeys of similar size embracing, or possibly fighting (CoA II, 68, 84, pl. XXXI.8; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 177).

At least 37 are in the form of either individuals or groups of monkeys, often of varying sizes, with vessels or piles of food, or both. In some cases, the food can probably be identified as fruit, particularly dates or grapes (for example, CoA I, 73, pl. 73; CoA II, 51, pl. XXXI.2; Samson 1978, 40, fig. 17). On one example, two monkeys are shown with a trussed bird (Samson 1978, 39, fig. 17). The vessels include single pots or pots on stands (for example, AMP 25067). The monkeys can be shown grasping the pots, eating out of them and apparently sitting on them. One possibly represents a monkey with its young drinking from a siphon (AMP 25025; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 129).

Up to eight monkeys playing a harp-like instrument have been identified (for example, BMA 1682; CoA III, 120, pl. XXVIII.3). A single fragment of a monkey figure that possibly plays a flute was excavated at M50.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 282). Five figures show monkeys in a chariot, which is sometimes drawn by a horse (AMP 28781; Samson 1978, 37, fig. 16; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 260) or another monkey (CoA II, 34, pl. XXXI.4). One of these was apparently found with two loose wheels (CoA II, 34, pl. XXXI.4). A toy wheel with engraved spokes found at P47.2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 95) may have originated from a similar figurine.

A group of 12 monkeys rowing a boat was found in the North Suburb (CoA II, 51, pl. XXXI.1). An example that is pierced towards its base possibly shows a monkey pulling a cart (AMP 28792), and a further fragmentary figure seems to show a monkey with two smaller monkeys pushing or riding an object (AMP 28796). In one case, a monkey is shown in a tree (AMP 25038).

At least 25 pottery figurines that also appear to represent monkeys have been excavated, although they might represent meercats or similar animals (see Figures II.3.24 and 25). These were recorded from the Main City, North Suburb and Workmen's Village. A fragmentary pottery figurine from the extramural area at the Workmen's Village registered as a sphinx or lion figure (obj. 2068) is probably also of this form. All are hand-modelled and most are relatively crude, although the degree of detail varies. Most are preserved as fragments only, but in general they appear to have an elongated cylindrical torso, from which the legs and tail extend as simple projections, enabling the figure to stand upright. When the heads are preserved, they tend to have elongated projecting muzzles, the ends of which can be flattened or rounded (for example, AMP 30850). One has a slight pinched projection at the top of the head (AMP –). On another, the forehead of the figure slopes backwards noticeably (AMP –). On better-preserved examples, the hands are shown crossed over the chest (for example, AMP 25082). A figure from the Workmen's Village holds something in its outstretched arms, identified by the excavators as a baby monkey (CoA I, 72, pl. XXIII.1). Another figure in Berlin (AMP 25102) possibly holds a rounded object in its left hand, although this may simply represent the hand itself. One figure has a projecting lump on the torso that appears to represent a navel (AMP –); another has a similar projection that seems to be a phallus (AMP –).

Some have patches of white, red, yellow and blue paint. One figure is painted white with rough red and yellow spots and bands (AMP 30850; Figure II.3.24); another has traces of white paint and two red-painted stripes extending vertically along its torso (AMP –). One has incised striations on the torso that may represent fur (AMP 25080). A possible monkey or baboon figurine from Q46.24 has traces of red paint that could represent

a decorative collar (AMP 25084; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 47).

Figurines of this type appear to have been at least 7 cm high. The largest intact example measures 12.6 cm in height (AMP 30850), although some fragmentary figures are likely to have been at least 15 cm high originally (for example, AMP –).

A blue faience figurine of a monkey seated on a flat base holding a ball or piece of fruit in the Brooklyn Museum (48.181) is also said to have originated from the site, but no further details of its find context are known.

Most of the figures discussed above seem to represent monkeys, although some of these may be baboons. A number of additional figures are certainly baboons. A baboon head made of a deep red resinous substance was found at Q48.1 in the Main City (AMP 27936; Borchardt 1914, 26; 1915, 453; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225). This measures 6.5 cm in height and is 9.4 cm wide. The head appears to have been formed in an open mould, leaving the reverse unshaped. There are no clear signs that additional elements were once attached to it. Borchardt (1915, 453) suggested that it functioned as a sculptor's model; several fragments of unfinished



Figure II.3.24. Figurine of a standing monkey (?) with arms crossed over the chest. Painted white with rough red and yellow bands and blotches. The tail has been reconstructed. Obj. 11/12.1196 (AMP 30850). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph taken by the author).

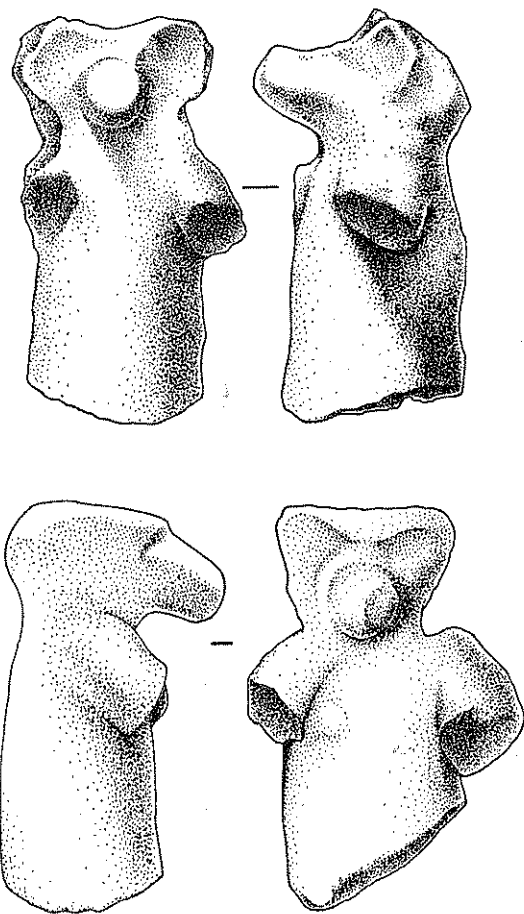


Figure II.3.25. Two pottery 'monkey' figurines found in the Central City (at the Great Palace?) and at U24.3 in the North City. Obj. 31/103 and 31/382. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object cards. Courtesy of the EES).

sculpture were, indeed, found at Q48.1, and it may have been a workshop.

A roughly worked limestone baboon head was recorded from T36.57 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 87), and a limestone baboon with painted decoration was found at O47.5 in the Main City (Cairo JE 48398; Borchardt 1914, 27; 1915, 453, pl. 6.2). Although the base of the latter is broken off, it appears to have been a bust. A chalkstone figurine of a squatting baboon was found at

N47.3 in the Main City (ÄMP 24597; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 66), whilst a similar limestone figurine was found in the extramural area east of the Workmen's Village (obj. 7237). Another possible unfinished limestone baboon figurine was found on the surface of P46.33 in the Main City (Boyce in AR VI, 112, fig. 2.39). A fragment of a mud baboon figure was excavated in the grounds to the south of the Workmen's Village (obj. WV.1007), whilst three fragments of a burnt clay baboon figurine were excavated at R45.2 (obj. 24/566). A red-painted

limestone cynocephalus figurine with its arms raised was also recovered from the site in 1924 (obj. 24/977).

Distribution

CC	20
MC	106 + 47
NS	33 + 57
WV	8 + 17

Object and museum numbers

Possible baboons: 13/14.142, 13/14.379; 24/566, 30/240; 7237, 8637

Pottery monkeys: 11/12.1196 (ÄMP 30850), 11/12.1295 (ÄMP 25082), 11/12.1391 (ÄMP 25030), 12/13.362 (ÄMP 25102), 12/13.363? (ÄMP 25104), 12/13.779 (ÄMP 25087), 12/13.1009 (ÄMP 25101), 12/13.1413a (ÄMP 25086), 12/13.1545 (ÄMP 25080), 13/14.100 (ÄMP 25085), 13/14.378? (ÄMP 25083), 13/14.478 (ÄMP 25078), 13/14.877 (ÄMP 25077), 13/14.914? (ÄMP 25084), 13/14.915 (ÄMP 25079); 22/35, 24-5/1087, 26/7577, 29/2277, 29/2887, 30/3277; 2068, 6339?; said to be from Amarna: ÄMP 25097, -, Ash. 1931.492; Hunt. D.1924.36, Petrie UC24498a, b

Stone monkeys: 11.4 (ÄMP 25026), 11.265, 11.425, 11.428, 11.637, 11.-, 11/12.-, 11/12.131 (ÄMP 25039), 11/12.223 (ÄMP 28773), 11/12.236 (ÄMP 25028), 11/12.290 (ÄMP 25029), 11/12.400 (ÄMP 25032), 11/12.485 (ÄMP 25033), 11/12.542 (ÄMP 25034), 11/12.598, 11/12.639, 11/12.925, 11/12.985, 11/12.1211 (ÄMP 28779), 11/12.1217 (ÄMP 28780), 11/12.1245 (ÄMP 25036), 11/12.1287 (ÄMP 25037), 11/12.1405, 11/12.1418, 11/12.1443 (ÄMP 28781), 11/12.1519 (ÄMP 28782), 11/12.1527 (ÄMP 25031), 11/12.1552 (ÄMP 25133), 11/12.1599, 11/12.- (ÄMP 28784), 11/12.- (ÄMP 28785?), 12/13.106, 12/13.186 (ÄMP 28786), 12/13.365, 12/13.547 (ÄMP 25132), 12/13.554, 12/13.686 (ÄMP 25130), 12/13.774 (ÄMP 25071), 12/13.893 (ÄMP 25129), 12/13.1535 (ÄMP 28787), 12/13.1629 (ÄMP 25073), 12/13.1677 (ÄMP 28788), 13/14.134 (ÄMP 25025), 13/14.192 (ÄMP 25067), 13/14.261, 13/14.306 (ÄMP 28789), 13/14.346, 13/14.382 (ÄMP 28790), 13/14.407 (ÄMP 25134), 13/14.460 (ÄMP 25021), 13/14.623, 13/14.667 (ÄMP 24024), 13/14.787, 13/14.792, 13/14.812, 13/14.913, 13/14.998 (ÄMP 25071); 21/187 (Ash. 1921.1127), 21/278, 21/321, 21/534, 22/505, 22/510, 22/512, 23/290, 24/776, 24/841, 24/847, 24/1029, 24-5/4, 24-5/16 (BMA 25.886.10), 24-5/23, 24-5/30, 24-5/79, 24-5/80, 24-5/96, 24-5/100, 24-5/110, 24-5/125, 26/356, 26/813, 26/815, 26/831, 29/149, 29/152, 29/204, 29/213, 29/290, 29/338 (Hunt. D.1929.8), 29/391, 29/362, 30/89, 30/100, 30/189, 30/210, 30/250, 30/252, 30/275, 30/304, 30/305, 30/341, 30/368, 30/380, 30/423, 30/433, 30/449, 30/437, 30/628, 31/113, 31/119, 31/503, 31-2/263, 32/37, 32/89, 32/103, 32/139, 32/152, 32/212, 32-3/186, 33/22, 33/128, 33/159, 33/167, 33/196, 33/206, 32-3/212, 33/279, 34/180, 35/191, 35/383, 35/391, 35/467, 35/560 (BMA 36.884), 35/567, 36/27, 36/54 (BMA 37.410), 36/109; 1481, 2210, 2505, 6282, 8637, 8645; ÄMP 25027,

25036, 25068, 28768, 28770, 28774, 28794, 28795, 28797, 31443; said to be from Amarna: ÄMP 21938, 25023, 25069, 28771-2, 28783, 28791, 28793, 28798-9; Ash. 1893.1-41.430-7, 1931.505; BMA 1682, 34.1183B-D, 48.181; Petrie UC017, UC026, UC032-3; Hunt. D.1921.122, D.1927.42, D.1925.1, D.1925.27
Faience monkey said to be from Amarna: BMA 48.181

Publications

Possible baboons: Borchardt 1915, 453, pl. 6.2; CoA I, 72, pl. XXIII.1; CoA II, 87; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 66, 76, 225; Boyce in ARVI, 112

Pottery monkeys: CoA I, 72, pl. XXIII.1; CoA II, 50, 61, 84; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19, 29, 44, 47, 76, 84, 95, 117, 159, 223, 233, 236

Stone monkeys: CoA I, 15, 18, 21, 29, 73, pls XIII.1, XIV.3; CoA II, 15, 26, 34, 38, 43, 47-8, 51-2, 57-9, 62, 66-8, 75, 84, 86, 88-9, 95, 304, pl. XXXI.1, 3-8; CoA III, 13, 37, 46, 49, 69, 72, 81, 83, 89, 101, 108, 120-1, 125, pls LXIII.3, LXXVIII.3, 5, 6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 18, 21, 26, 29, 31, 40, 42, 44, 47, 62, 67-8, 74-5, 78, 84, 89, 95, 102, 104, 111, 129-30, 137, 143, 154, 165, 177, 182, 185, 190, 195, 203, 209, 230, 236-8, 241, 251, 253, 260, 262, 265, 271, 275, 282, 287-8, 307, 312, 318-9, 321, 329; see also Samson 1978, 37-40

Faience monkeys: Spalinger in Brovanski et al. 1982, 275-6, no. 379; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 430, no. 118

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the monkey and baboon motifs is outlined above (pages 60-1). Baboon and ape figurines have been found in association with temple deposits from the Early Dynastic Period, including those in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (Adams 1974, xiv, 24-9, nos 123-44), at Elephantine (Kaiser et al. 1975, 57; Dreyer 1986, 109-14, pls 24-7) and at the Osiris temple at Abydos (Petrie 1903, 27-8, pls VI, IX-XI). A stone baboon figure was discovered in a temple deposit containing artefacts of Middle Kingdom date or earlier at Tell Ibrahim Awad (van Haariem 1995, 46; 1998, 511), whilst faience baboon figurines have been found in Middle Kingdom levels at the Satis temple at Elephantine (Kaiser et al. 1975, 54, Taf. 25a). Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period ape figures were also found in the procella of the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (Dunand 1958, 746-50). Baboon figurines sometimes occur in votive deposits associated with New Kingdom Hathor shrines (Petrie 1906, 123, fig. 127; Karkowski 1981, 109, Appendix 1.8; Castel et al. 1985, 19-20, Abb. 11). Pinch (1993, 286) has suggested these represented Thoth, or were fertility offerings. A stone monkey figurine of similar type to the Amarna examples was also excavated in the vicinity of the Amun temple at Hermopolis (Roeder 1959, 48, 287, pl. 55r).

Baboon and monkey figurines and related items have been excavated in royal and private burials of the Middle to New Kingdoms (Carter and Carver 1912, 76, pl. LXVI; Downes 1974, 131; Bourriau 1988, 110; Smith 1992, 208). Monkey figurines have been found in domestic contexts at sites including Kahun (David 1986, 162–3) and Sesebi (Blackman 1937, 149, pl. XVIII). Monkey figures were also found at Deir el-Medina, including possible parallels to the pottery monkeys from Amarna (Bruyère 1933, 15–16, fig. 5; 1939, 345; Meskell 1999, 180, fig. 5.1). Bruyère (1939, 109) suggested that these could have been fertility charms, votive offerings or toys. The manufacture of baboon images is prescribed in some magical spells, including a Roman Period spell for gaining love and expelling evil, which requires the manufacture of a wax baboon (Raven 1983, 17).

Ram

Up to six ram figurines have been excavated. A limestone object with flat base from N49.13 in the Main City was registered as a possible ram head (obj. 21/216; CoA I, 22). It measured 5.3 cm high and 4.6 cm wide, and was painted red and yellow. A possible limestone ram head was also registered from O49.23 in the Main City (obj. 21/487; CoA I, 17); it is not illustrated on the registration card. Two rough mud ram busts were found at P47.24 in the Main City (ÄMP 22164, 22165; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137). One is 5.0 cm high, and the other 9.0 cm high. The smaller figure has traces of white and red paint on its torso, yellow and red paint on its head and black-painted eyes. The larger has traces of white paint with a red and black collar and eyes. Both have flattened bases and the tops of the heads are rough; a feature such as a solar disk might have been broken off, although the mud does not seem well suited to the modelling of such elements. A head of a pottery figure resembling a ram or bull was found in a brick-lined chamber in U36.28 (obj. 29/58; CoA II, 58). In the illustration on the object card it appears to be broken at the back of the head, suggesting it was part of a larger figurine rather than a bust. It is preserved to a length of 5 cm. An unfinished limestone figure of a recumbent ram measuring 12 cm in height, 17 cm in length and 6.5 cm in depth was also excavated at P47.24 (ÄMP 22253; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 257, no. 183).

Distribution

MC	5
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

13/14.628 (ÄMP 22253), 13/14.658 (ÄMP 22164, 22165); 21/216, 21/487, 29/58

Publications

CoA I, 17, 22; CoA II, 58; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the ram motif is discussed in Part II.2 (page 61). Ram figurines have been found in Middle Kingdom tombs at sites such as Lisht (Hayes 1959, 224). A number of clay ram heads in the British Museum may have been New Kingdom offerings to Mut at Thebes (for example, EA 61915; Quirke 1992, 8, fig. 2; Giddy 1999, 19). Similar figures were found in association with the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (O'Connor 1967, 16). Ram figurines were also found amongst Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period objects in the procella of the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos (Dunand 1958, 755).

Unidentifiable

Over 70 additional figurines that appear to represent animals have been excavated (see, for example, Figure II.3.26). In general, these are either highly fragmentary or recorded in limited detail in the available excavation records, and impossible to identify further. A number, though, are heads with horns and may have been cows or gazelles, some of which could have derived from vessels (ÄMP 25092, –; Petrie UC24506; Hunt. D.1925.6; obj. 1425, 4915, 5674, 6831, 9179; CoA II, 89; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 69, 121).

Distribution

CC	6
MC	22
NS	22
WV	21
NC	1
KN	1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.137 (ÄMP 25095), 11/12.1224, 12/13.319, 12/13.348, 12/13.690, 12/13.692, 12/13.1201, 12/13.1347, 12/13.1619, 13/14.15 (ÄMP –), 13/14.433 (ÄMP 25092), 13/14.849, 13/14.996; 21/154, 23/73, 23/354, 24–5/45, 26/355, 29/15, 29/134, 30/47, 30/73, 30/77, 30/78, 30/109, 30/141, 30/211, 30/270, 30/366 (Petrie UC24506), 30/370, 30/579, 30/601 (Petrie UC24505), 30/617, 30/653, 31/9, 31/441, 32/210, 33/18, 35/202 (Cairo JE 66112), 36/62, 36/136; 205, 1425, 1838, 2090, 2093, 2095, 2374, 2627, 3453, 3684, 3994, 4150, 4915, 5293, 5674, 6168, 6831, 7857, 8903, 8911, 9179, 9459, 31459; said to be from Amarna: Hunt. D.1925.6; ÄMP – (x2), Petrie UC24503

Publications

CoA II, 15, 31, 78, 80–3, 85–90; CoA III, 72, 101, 111, 136, 142, pls LXXIX.12, CIX.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 43–4, 69, 102, 105, 112, 121, 150–1

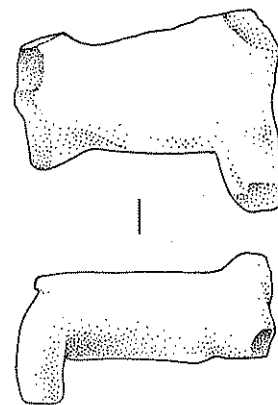


Figure II.3.26. Trunk of a pottery figurine, perhaps a quadruped, from U25.2a in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/653. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Miscellaneous forms

Architectural elements

A small number of models of architectural elements occur. A pottery model door measuring 8 cm in length was found in T35.4 (Cairo JE 52980; CoA II, 43), and a model limestone staircase measuring 4.9 cm in height was excavated at O45.1, an industrial area in the Main City (obj. 30748; Figure II.3.27). A model papyrus column measuring 21.4 cm in height in the San Diego Museum of Man is thought to have originated from Amarna, but no further details of its find context are known (Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 225, no. 70). A fragmentary wooden Hathor head from East Street 12 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 72, pl. XX.1) was possibly part of a model column, although it may have been an element of a shrine or similar object (see pages 198–9, Figure II.9.5).

Distribution

MC	1
NS	1
WV	12

Object and museum numbers

22/73, 29/315 (Cairo JE 52980); 30748; said to be from Amarna: San Diego 14862

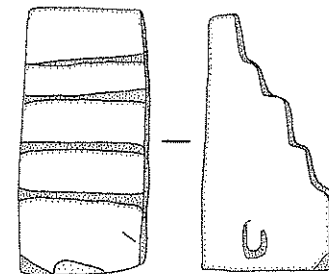


Figure II.3.27. Model limestone staircase from the Main City. Obj. 30748. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author. Courtesy of the EES).

Publications

CoA I, 72, pl. XX.1; CoA II, 43; Nicholson forthcoming; see also Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 225, no. 70

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst models of architectural elements such as columns seem to have served as architectural guides (Liepsner in LÄ IV, 169–70), they may on occasion have been used to express symbolic qualities. In tomb and temple scenes, for instance, doors could represent protective barriers, and stairs the mound of creation, whilst both images could suggest the notion of transition (Wilkinson 1992, 147, 151). Did these small three dimensional versions represent similar ideas?

From the New Kingdom, staircases were incorporated into offering-tables (Kuentz 1981, 255–82), whilst some ritual T-shaped basins, such as those at the private chapels at the Workmen's Village, incorporated miniature flights of stairs (Kemp 1980, 14, pl. II.1; Bomann 1991, 20). Faience amulets in the shape of staircases, plummets and set squares are known from the Saite Period onwards, thought to have been associated primarily with the funerary sphere (Andrews 1994, 85–6, 88, fig. 89f).

A number of model architectural elements have also been excavated at temples. At least four fragments of faience model papyrus columns were found at the Temple of Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, 150, fig. 155.17; Pinch 1993, 283), and miniature Hathor-headed columns in stone, wood and faience have been excavated amongst votive offerings at other Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993, 138–46). A fragmentary model stone staircase inscribed with a prayer to Hathor was found at the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1913, 22, pl. V.2; Pinch 1993, 141, fig. 5.2), and a similar votive

staircase seems to have been dedicated in the Middle Kingdom Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Bonnet and Vaibelle 1997, 87–8).

Balls

Over 100 model balls have been excavated (see Figure 11.2.28). At least 86 comprise balls or clumps of unfired clay. All have been hand-modelled, some retaining faint finger impressions on their surface (for example, obj. 9832). The majority are roughly spherical, and range in diameter from approximately 1.5–6.5 cm. Two examples tend to an oblong shape (AMP 25149, 25167; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 209, 307), whilst three objects registered simply as 'hair balls' are distinctly drop-shaped (obj. 30/276 (x2), 30/382). Several groups of balls are recorded from single building units. The largest group comprises 11 balls found at T33.7A/B in the North Suburb (obj. 31/262; CoA II, 79). Such groups generally comprise undecorated balls that measure less than 2.5 cm in diameter.

At least 26 balls are decorated with impressions formed by the pressing of finger rings or seals into the clay whilst moist. Some have a single impression, but most bear multiple impressions. These seem to be placed randomly over the surface of the balls, and there seems to be only one impression type ever on an individual ball. Several different designs can be recognised; namely, royal names, hieroglyphs, and animal and plant motifs (Table 11.3.1). A fragmentary ball from M50.10 in the Main City is decorated with a number of oval impressions within which no design is visible (AMP 25162; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 288). As the ovals are impressed quite deeply, it is possible that the seal was originally blank. Another example, excavated at Kom el-Nana, bears two abstract designs, one impressed and one incised, each different, but is probably of Roman Period date (obj. 30341).

At least 25 of the balls contain strands of what appears to be human hair. I have examined three of these (BM 55138; AMP –, AMP 25162; CoA I, 23; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 37, 288). In all cases, the hair is not dispersed through the mud, but contained in a separate clump or lock. The hair is extremely fine, and light red-brown to dark-brown in colour. It is consistent, visually at least, with human hair. The strands in one example are 1–2 cm long (BM 55138; CoA I, 23). Some balls contain a clump of hair up to 2.5 cm wide (for example, obj. 23/159), whilst others incorporate a much smaller quantity (for example, CoA I, 26; obj. 21/500). Object 24/48a from the court of house Q45.78 in the Main City is registered as a 'magic clay ball with hair sticking from it; diam. 4 cms'. An egg-shaped lump of clay from Q46.34 in the Main City apparently contained a 'ball of thin string' (obj. 23/160). Many of the balls remain intact, however, and

their contents are unknown. A number were identified by the excavators as 'mud hair balls', but it is unclear whether the hair was actually visible, or assumed to be present (for example, CoA II, 87). Two fragmentary undecorated examples measuring approximately 2.5 cm in diameter from the Main City do not contain any inclusions (obj. 8428). Some examples containing hair are decorated with seal impressions (for example, AMP 25162; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 188) but others have no decoration (for example, BM 55138; CoA I, 23). Two locks of hair, one plaited and one both coiled and plaited, wound around small balls of mud from the extramural area at the Workmen's Village (obj. 1880 and 1886) may be related.

In addition, three faience balls were found in the Main City (obj. 24/1062; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 130) and North Suburb (Cairo JE 48095; CoA II, 79). Two blue-glazed and black-spotted examples were partially pierced. One measured 5.5 cm in diameter, and the other approximately 11 cm (Cairo JE 48096; obj. 24/1062). The third bore a green glaze and does not appear to have been perforated (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 130). A small quantity of balls in materials such as amethyst (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 121) and plaster (for example, CoA III, 46) has also been recovered.

Distribution

Mud balls only:	
MC	56
NS	19
WV	12
KN	2

Object and museum numbers

Mud: 11/393 (AMP 25167), 11/12.563 (x3), 11.593, 11/12.1128 (AMP 25149), 12/13.161, 12/13.277, 12/13.579, 12/13.661, 12/13.890 (x3), 12/13.933, 12/13.1530, 12/13.1593, 12/13.1602, 12/13.1611 (x2), 12/13.1613 (AMP –), 13/14.880 (x4), 21/481 (BM 55138), 21/500, 22/118, 22/158A–E, 22/503, 22/536, 22/571, 23/159, 23/160, 23/255 (x6), 24/42a, 24/88a, 24/601, 24/932, 24/1008, 25/49, 29/240 (x2), 29/243, 30/217, 30/276 (x2), 30/382, 31/30, 31/262 (x11); 8428 (x7), 8992 (x2), 30341, 32874; said to be from Amarna: Liverpool 56.21.615–17, 56.21.636–8, 56.21.673, 56.21.682; Cairo JE 47219, 48099; AMP 25146, 25170, 30947

Publications

Mud: CoA I, 17, 19, 23, 26, 33, 35, 80, 84, 90; CoA II, 36, 79, 87–90, pl. LVII.BB, CC; Borchardt and Rieke 1980 18–19, 26, 37, 44, 90, 100, 110–1, 149, 167, 186, 209, 242, 307; see also Bienkowski and Southworth 1986, 18; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 259, no. 188–9

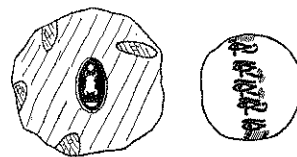


Figure 11.2.28. Two model mud balls with stamped impressions: the periemon of Tutankhamun, and *w3t*-eyes. That on the right is possibly obj. 24/88a from Q45.103 in the Main City. Object number and provenance of the other unknown (After CoA II, pl. LVII.BB, CC. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Symbolism and parallels

The use of mud balls in magical rituals is possibly alluded to in a spell to overcome hunger in P. Ramesseum III that prescribes the use of a 'clod of earth (*7 šd n sšw*), placed on a strip (*7. t*) of [...] provided with *mꜥucus(?)*...' (Borghouts 1978, 44, no. 70). Similarly, a spell for protection against crocodiles calls for the use of a 'clay egg', which is to be taken onboard a boat and thrown in the water (Borghouts 1978, 87, no. 125).

Some state rituals involved the use of balls, in the 'hitting the ball' ceremony known from the Eighteenth Dynasty to Ptolemaic Period, the king appears to have struck a series of balls in front of an image of a goddess. The significance of the rite is not fully understood. In its early form it possibly represented the mythicised play of the youthful king (Mysliwiec 1985, 19), but may eventually have symbolised the victory of the king over his enemies (Borghouts 1973, 122–40; Otto in LÄ I, 609). It was possibly associated with a feast of Hathor or the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (Mysliwiec 1985, 19). Janssen and Janssen (1990, 61) have suggested that it represented the sacred marriage of the king to a goddess such as Hathor. A second ritual, represented on the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak, appears to have required the king to throw clay balls to each of the cardinal points, seemingly to protect Osiris, or purify the universe for the birth of Amun (Otto in LÄ I, 609; Parker et al. 1979, 62–5; Ziegler 1979, 437–9).

Faience balls have been found in burials. A faience ball with a segmented exterior was found in a tomb dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty or later at el Arabah (Garstang 1901, 13), whilst two hollow, pierced faience balls were excavated in a New Kingdom tomb at Saqqara (Sowada et al. 1999, 48, pls 7, 36). Mud balls similar to the Amarna examples have also been found in association with burials. The Twelfth Dynasty Tomb of Princess Ita at Dahshur contained a bowl of small mud balls, possibly

substitutes for incense (Allen 1998, 42). A mud ball was excavated in an Early Dynastic Period burial at Abydos; this possibly had a rudimentary version of the Neith symbol marked into it (Petrie et al. 1925, 5, pl. IV.12). A number of small mud balls were found in a hole cut into the top of the wall of a Fourth Dynasty mastaba at Reqaqna. These were decorated with a grid design and a series of incised figures. The latter appeared to represent two humans fighting, an animal such as a crocodile, and a series of further signs that Garstang (1904, 59) suggested read *seten rekh*. Some of the balls contained linen (Garstang 1904, 32, 59, pl. XXX; Peet 1915a, 9, note 1). Approximately 40 mud balls measuring 2–4 cm in diameter were found in the filling of a mastaba at Abydos, dating to the Fifth Dynasty or earlier (Peet 1915a). Three were opened, and two of these were found to contain fragments of papyrus, and the other, fragments of linen (Peet 1915a 8; 1915b, 254). Most of the balls were marked with a series of square grid designs, formed by a seal, and a number of incised signs (Peet 1915a, 8, figs 1–3). The latter were read as *hꜥtm*, which can be used to mean 'to make a contract' (Peet 1915b, 254; Gardiner 1957, 586). Peet (1915b, 253–4) suggested that the balls functioned as magical aids to ensure that funerary contracts were upheld, an association that has been accepted tentatively by a number of scholars (Hayes 1953, 121; Edwards 1976, 110, no. 9; Fletcher and Montserrat 1995, 405). Mud balls have also been recorded from later burials. These include examples from New Kingdom burials at Zawiyet el-Aryan, which were possibly undecorated (Dunham 1978, 40–1). Undecorated mud balls containing hair, said to be infantile, were also found in a tomb dating to around the Twentieth Dynasty at Kahun (Crompton 1916).

A number of balls of resin painted with images of female deities such as Sekhmet and Wadjet were found in the Ptolemaic and Roman cemetery at Tehneh (Lefebvre 1903, 229–30). It has been suggested that these related to the rite of throwing balls noted above (Ziegler 1979, 78). Two lenticular mud objects found in a Middle Kingdom deposit of ritual material at Mirgissa (Vila 1973, 635–6) have also been suggested as remnants of this rite (Ritner 1993, 161).

Crude mud objects were excavated in Twentieth Dynasty contexts in structures of uncertain function associated with the temple complex at Beth Shan (Rowe 1940, 90, pl. LIIA.7; James 1966, 18, 324, fig. 105.9–10, 12). Some of these appear to have been spherical clumps, although their shape is not clear in the published illustrations. One was slightly fired (James 1966, 18), but this may not have been the result of a deliberate act; other examples were apparently unfired (Rowe 1940, 90; James 1966, 18). At least one bore seal impressions which possibly read *im nwt*, or 'daily offering', and they were interpreted

Table II.3.1. Impressed decoration on model mud balls from Amarna

Motif	Corresponding jewellery or clay sealing type	Number of impressions	Provenance	Object & museum numbers	Publications & notes
Cartouche of Tutankhamun	cf. type I.A.4a (Petrie types 108/110)	8	Unknown (NS?)	Unknown	Fairman in CoA II, 108, pl. LVII.BB
Cartouche of Akhenaten flanked by name of Aten	No direct parallels	Unknown	Unknown	29/397	—
Two <i>nfr</i> -signs flanked by two <i>wdjt</i> -eyes and two <i>r</i> -signs	cf. Petrie type 133/ Clay Sealing type 274 (CoA II, pl. L)	Several	MC (P47.30)	22/536	—
<i>nfr</i> -sign	cf. type I.B.11 (Petrie type 167)	Several	WV (Long Wall Street 9)	22/118	—
<i>nfr</i> -sign	cf. type I.B.11 (Petrie type 167)	Unknown	WV	22/158b	—
Three <i>nfr</i> -signs between two <i>wdjt</i> -eyes	cf. Clay Sealing type 274 (CoA II, pl. L)	17	NS (U35.17)	29/240	CoA II, 36
<i>wdjt</i> -eye	cf. type I.C.5 (Petrie type 176)	Unknown	WV	22/158a	—
<i>wdjt</i> -eye	cf. type I.C.5 (Petrie type 176)	Several	Unknown	Unknown	Fairman in CoA II, 108, pl. LVII.BC
<i>wdjt</i> -eye	cf. type I.C.5 (Petrie type 176)	7	MC (Q45.103)	24/88a	Possibly the same as above
Flying bird	cf. type B3 (Petrie type 312)	Unknown	WV	22/158D	—
Striding animal (cow or gazelle?) with flying bird and a few unidentifiable marks	No direct parallels	Unknown	WV	22/158C	—
Papyrus clump flanked by two animals	No direct parallels, but see Petrie type 132 for duck and papyrus motif, and 187–8, 191 and 194 for gazelle/ibex and papyrus	Multiple	MC (Q45.77)	24/932	—
Papyrus stalk	cf. Petrie types 202–3	Unknown	MC (Q45.83)	25/42a	—
Lotus	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Liverpool 56.21.615–6	Bienkowski and Southworth 1986, 18
Abstract spiral	No direct parallels	Unknown	MC (Q45.83)	24/49	—
Flower(?) flanked by scorpions	No direct parallels	Many	MC (Q45.35)	24/1008	—

as model loaves of bread (Rowe 1940, 90, James 1966, 324). The excavation records do not report that they contained hair, but it is not clear whether any were broken open.

Segmented faience balls, some of which might have formed the terminals of necklaces, have been found amongst votive offerings at Hathor shrines of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Pinch 1993, 46, 78, 268). Petrie (1896, 14, pl. XV.63) excavated a segmented ball in a foundation deposit dating to the reign of Thutmose III at Koptos (Pinch 1993, 268). There are few published parallels from settlement contexts, although Petrie (1927, 61, no. 529) found mud balls with signs incised on the outside and containing organic matter in a Twelfth Dynasty context at Kahun, possibly from the town itself.

Games involving the catching, juggling or striking of balls are represented in tomb scenes (Janssen and Janssen 1990, 60–1; Decker 1992, 113). Faience balls might have been used as hair ornaments (Bourriau 1988, 132–3; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 94–5, no. 32), terminals for necklaces (Hall in Naville 1913, 17; Pinch 1993, 268) and possibly decorative architectural elements (Petrie 1900, 28; 1927, 59). Balls in various materials were conceivably used as counters or gaming pieces, whilst mud balls were used recently as ammunition in sling-shots by the Marsh Arabs of Iraq (Ochsenschlager 1998, 35, fig. 9). Small marl clay and Nile silt balls have also been found in association with faience manufacturing debris, suggesting that they played a role in faience production (Nicholson 2000, 181, 184).

Fletcher and Montserrat (1995) have drawn attention to the potential ritual significance of hair. Both balls and locks of hair have been found in royal and private burials, where they were perhaps intended to assist the restoration of the deceased to a perfect form (Fletcher and Montserrat 1995, 405). A lock of hair contained in a miniature coffin naming Queen Tiye and balls of hair in a casket were included in the tomb of Tutankhamun, for example (Carter 1954, 187; Edwards 1976, 110, no. 9; Fletcher and Montserrat 1995, 404–6). Other examples include locks or balls of hair in the tomb of Ramesses V (Smith 1912, 90), and in private burials at Soleb, Deir el-Medina and Deir el-Bahri (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 72, 84; Fletcher and Montserrat 1995, 405). There is evidence that hair was deposited as votive offerings at some temples and tombs. Bundles of hair deposited in an empty Eighteenth Dynasty pit at the Theban necropolis (Winlock 1922, 21, fig. 4) might have been ex-votos (Fletcher and Montserrat 1995, 406), whilst a lock of hair was found beneath a piece of flint in the vestibule of the New Kingdom Hathor shrine at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 312; Pinch 1993, 45). Some magical figurines also incorporated hair (Raven 1983, 13). It has been

suggested that spittle, hair or menstrual blood may have been incorporated into some votive offerings in order to 'personalise' them (Pinch 1993, 340). A similar function could be assigned to the hair in the mud balls. Ritner (1993, 210, note 971) has associated the hair found in actual mud balls with the hair of the enemy mentioned in an inscription at Edfu, which also names balls thrown by the king during the festival of Behdet as the 'corpses of Napata'.

Modern ethnographic accounts from Egypt also record hair-cutting rituals that result in tufts of hair being encased in clay. Blackman (1927, 86) recorded the cutting of the tufted hair of a boy outside the tomb of a local sheikh, in Fayum Province. She noted that 'the cut-off hair is always buried outside the tomb or mosque where it has been cut off, and is put in the ground either loose or else is first enclosed in a clay-ball'. In the rite she herself witnessed, half of the hair was encased in mud and buried outside the sheikh's tomb, and the other half was presented, in a clay ball, to Blackman herself. Ayrout (1968, 132) records similarly that on the occasion of the first cutting of a child's hair the hair is 'carefully rolled into a ball of earth'.

Boats

A wooden boat model, 34 cm long, was excavated in the so-called living room of Gate Street 12 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 74; Kemp 1987, 34; Figure II.3.29), whilst the hull of a second wooden boat, measuring 11.5 cm long, was recorded from the surface of the village in 1922 (obj. 22/6). Six wooden oars are also recorded. Two were found in the Main Chapel at the Workmen's Village (Kemp 1987, 34; Bomann 1991, 10); three originated from Main Street 2 and 12, and Long Wall Street 12, at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 74, 76, 85, pl. XIX.2; Kemp 1987, 34); and one was found at the Clerks' Houses in the Central City (CoA II, 124). Kemp (1987, 34) suggested that the fragments found at the Main Chapel might have been part of a miniature portable shrine. Additional fragments that appear to have derived from a boat model, including a wooden rudder and a stick wound with string, possibly a boat yard, were also found in Main Street 12 (CoA I, 82, pl. XIX.2; Kemp 1987, 34). Some of the fragments bore traces of white and red to pinkish-red paint (CoA I, 76; Kemp 1987, 34). Many other fragments of wood appear amongst the excavation records, particularly of the Workmen's Village, that were conceivably parts of boat models, but few are now available for study. A fragment of the top of the main mast of a model boat was also found in a dump outside the Royal Tomb (Martin 1974, 97, no. 440).

A wooden rod with hawk- or falcon-head finial from U24.4 in the North City was registered as a possible oar from a model boat (obj. 30/694), although this

identification should be considered tentative. The tip is broken away, but appears to taper slightly rather than flare into an oar or rudder. It is painted blue and yellow.

Distribution (fragments, not whole items)

CC	1
WV	8
NC	1?
RW	1

Object and museum numbers

21/272, 21/393, 21/400, 22/6, 22/44, 22/45, 22/62, 30/694, 33/236; Cairo JE 59421

Publications

CoA I, 74, 76, 82, 85, pl. XIX.2; CoA III, 124; Martin 1974, 97, no. 440, pl. 57; Kemp 1987, 34.

Symbolism and parallels

Ceramic model boats were manufactured as early as the Predynastic Period (Bourriau 1981, 32–3, no. 44), but wooden boat models are associated primarily with burials of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, where they are thought to have assisted the deceased in their journey to Abydos (Garstang 1907, 102–3, 211–44; Glanville 1972; Roehrig in D'Auria et al. 1988, 114–15; Bourriau 1991, 11). Wooden boat models continued in use in the New Kingdom, with model boats of varying scale included in royal tombs of this period (Jones 1990), some of which may have represented boats used by the king in life, particularly during campaigns (Werner 1986). A wooden boat model on wheels was also found in a private New Kingdom tomb at Gurob (Brunton and Engelbach 1927, 17, pl. LI; Kemp 1987, 34, note 9). Clay model boats have been found in tombs dating from the Nineteenth to Twentieth Dynasties at

Abydos, one of which was painted with figures of Thoth, Isis, Kheperu and Shu (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, 77, 98, pl. LI).

Old Kingdom pottery votive boat models have been excavated at Elephantine (Kaiser et al. 1988, 174–81). At Dendera, Petrie (1900, 65) excavated a model oar amongst debris that probably originated from the Eighteenth Dynasty Hathor temple. At the temple of Ahmose at Abydos, a group of model boats and paddles were found, the latter apparently set out with small sticks at regular intervals along a wall (Ayrton et al. 1904, 34, pl. XLVIII.17). Boat models have rarely been recorded from domestic contexts, although Petrie again found a clay model boat at Kahun (Petrie 1890, 30; David 1986, 162). Six clay and pottery model boats were excavated at the fortress of Buhen (Emery et al. 1979, 146, pl. 51). Model ships were also found amongst post-abandonment debris that included jar sealings of Ahmose in the North Palace at Deir el-Ballas (Lacovara 1999, 246), whilst a pottery model boat was excavated in a Third Intermediate Period context at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 315–17).

Bricks

Up to eleven model bricks have been excavated, the majority of which are made from unfired clay, sometimes with straw or pebble inclusions. Two model mud bricks are recorded from P46.20 in the Main City. These measured 3.7 x 2.0 x 1.3 and 3.2 x 1.7 x 1.2 cm, and each bore a small circular depression on one side (obj. 22/582; CoA I, 34). They are not illustrated, and were possibly female plaques. Two hand-modelled model mud bricks measuring 4.7 x 3.0 x 1.2 and 4.7 x 3.3 x 1.2 cm were found in the grounds to the east of the

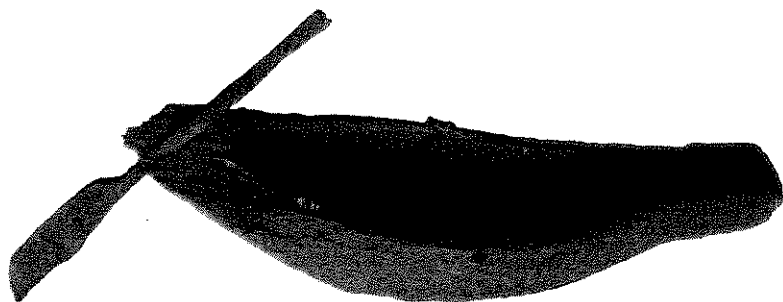


Figure II.3.29. Model wooden boat from the 'living room' of Gate Street 12 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 21/272. (After EES negative 21.519. Reproduced courtesy of the EES.)

Workmen's Village (obj. 6189–6190). A hand-modelled mud brick with pebble inclusions measuring 4.8 x 2.8 x 2 cm in Berlin (ÄMP 30945) is also thought to come from the site. Four mud bricks are recorded in the object list from O48.9, three of which bore unidentified surface impressions (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 206). One is listed as being small, but it is not clear if these were models.

The lower corner of a faience 'brick' was found in association with the Great Palace (CoA III, 82). A limestone brick measuring approximately 29.0 x 10.2 x 6.7 cm was also found in the Royal Tomb, but may have been a statue base (Cairo JE 59381; Martin 1974, 94, no. 402).

Distribution

CC	1?
MC	6
WV	2
RW	1?

Object and museum numbers

11/12.971, 11/12.972, 11/12.993, 11/12.994; 22/582 (x2), 34/2; 6189, 6190; ÄMP 30945; Cairo JE 59381

Publications

CoA I, 34; CoA III, 82; Martin 1974, 94, no. 402, pl. 55; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 206

Symbolism and parallels

Model mud bricks are known from royal and private burials of the New Kingdom. Whilst their function here remains somewhat obscure, some are inscribed with spells, and they appear to have been used to protect against enemies approaching from the four cardinal points. Others supported three-dimensional amuletic figures (Thomas 1964; van Voss in LÄ VI, 1402; Silverman 1996, 729; Taylor 2001, 207–8). Amongst examples from burials are those inscribed with the name of Akhenaten from KV 55 (Dareddy in Davis et al. 1910, 26–8, pl. XXII).

Model bricks are also well known from foundation deposits. At Sesebi, wooden model bricks were found in temple foundation deposits that probably date to early in the reign of Akhenaten (Blackman 1937, 148, pl. XVII.3). Faience and silver bricks were found in temple foundation deposits of the reign of Ay at Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1939, 88), whilst a clay example was excavated in a New Kingdom deposit at el-Kab (Quibell 1898a, 16). A limestone brick inscribed with the name of Ramesses II and the High Priest of Amun, Neb-wenenef, was found in a foundation deposit, possibly dedicated to Neb-wenenef, on the west bank at Thebes (Hayes 1959, 346–7). Some larger mud bricks found in foundation deposits at the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht contained faience, limestone or copper plaques inscribed with the

name of the king and the pyramid (Mace 1921, 16–17, fig. 11). Parallels from domestic contexts are again difficult to find, although Petrie (1927, 61, pl. LIII) excavated mud bricks with various markings at Kahun.

Building models

A painted pottery object that the excavators identified as a possible toy house was found at P47.28 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 141), and a possible fragment of a model chalkstone brewery was found associated with N48.6 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 179). No further details of either of these pieces have been obtained.

Miniature faience cornices are recorded from the Clerks' Houses and Great Palace in the Central City (CoA III, 63, 124, pl. LXXVIII.5), but their original function is uncertain. A fragment of pottery decorated with a 'voluted capital of column in relief' was found in fill beneath the ramp of the bridge at the Royal Estate (CoA III, 89, pl. LXXIV.2). This appears to have derived from the corner of a flat-sided pottery object, but it is again not clear if it was a model building.

Distribution

CC	3?
MC	2

Object and museum numbers

11/12.236, 13/14.713; 33/262, 34/242, 35/469 (Cairo JE 66118)

Publications

CoA III, 63, 89, 124, pls LXXIV.2, LXXVIII.5; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 141, 179

Symbolism and parallels

Model wooden buildings are associated primarily with private tombs of the First to Second Intermediate Periods, particularly those of the Twelfth Dynasty, where they appear to have ensured continued livelihood in the afterlife (Breasted 1948, 9–56; Bourriau 1988, 104–5; 1991, 11). Pottery offering trays incorporating model houses, found associated with tombs primarily at Rifeh, are thought to have provided both homes and offerings for the soul of the deceased (Petrie 1907, 14–16, pls XIV–XXII; Bourriau 1981, 119, no. 239; 1988, 101). Model buildings, often of stone, were also produced during later periods, possibly including the New Kingdom (Gordon in Brovarski et al. 1982, 34–5, nos 1–3). A fragment of a model pottery building of uncertain date was found amongst topsoil and disturbed surface material at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 315–17).

Fruit and plants

A 'fruit in pottery' (obj. 36/173) was recorded from R43.2 in the south-east quarter of the Central City and a bone model of a lotus measuring 4.7 cm in length (obj. 31/597) was found at the magazines at the Royal Estate. The function of both pieces is unclear.

Distribution
CC 2

Object and museum numbers
31/597 (Cairo JE 57252); 36/173

Publications
CoA III, 92, 142

Symbolism and parallels

Fruit models are known primarily from funerary contexts, where they probably represented substitutes for food offerings to the deceased (McDonald in Brovanski et al. 1982, 115, no. 102; Bourriau 1988, 102; Smith 1992, 206). Some may have also functioned as rattles (Hickmann 1954, 118, 124) or decorative architectural elements (Brovanski in Brovanski et al. 1982, 42, no. 12; Schoske 1992, 91, no. 22). Pendants and models of grape bunches and persea fruit might have been dedicated as votive offerings at some Hathor shrines (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 32; Hall in Naville 1913, 17; Karlin 1970, 340, nos 8–9, fig. 46; Pinch 1993, 282–4, 341). A New Kingdom faience model persea fruit found in a domestic context at Askut could also have been used in association with a domestic shrine (Smith 1995, 214, fig. 1.60). The Amarna princesses were sometimes depicted holding fruit such as pomegranates and perhaps persea-fruit, possibly reflecting their association with fertility (Davies 1905, 39, pl. XXXVIII; Aldred 1973, 131, no. 53).

Furniture

Along with the pottery model beds that appear to have accompanied fertility figurines (page 88), a small number of additional items of model furniture have been found. Two model furniture legs were recorded from the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 71, 78), as was a small model stool in mud at P47.7 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 108). A shaped wooden object identified by the excavators as the back of a model chair was excavated at T36.86 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 57), although its identification as such should be considered tentative. An object identified as the leg of a miniature chair ending in a lion's paw measuring 5.5 cm in height was also found at the First Pylon of the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 98). A wooden foot that probably derived from a small stool carved in the shape of a lion's paw was also found at O49.7/8 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 246), but it is unclear whether this was a full-scale

stool or a model. Pendlebury also identified a limestone fragment found in the dump outside the Royal Tomb as a 'corner of model bed or chair' in his excavation notebook (Martin 1974, 94, no. 401).

Distribution
CC 1
MC 1 + 17
NS 17
WV 2

Object and museum numbers
11/12.239, 12/13.694; 22/4, 22/142, 30/438

Publications
CoA I, 71, 78; CoA II, 57; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 108; see also Martin 1974, 94, no. 401

Symbolism and parallels

As noted above, model furniture is known primarily from funerary contexts (Bruyère 1937b, 132, fig. 73; Taylor 2001, 17, fig. 4).

Joints of meat?

A group of mud models, possibly in the form of joints of meat, were found at site XI near the Workmen's Village.

Distribution
WV 16

Object and museum numbers
XI.102

Publications
Kemp 1980, 9

Symbolism and parallels

Model food offerings were sometimes included in Middle Kingdom burials (Bourriau 1988, 102, no. 87). A possible parallel to the models can be seen in the faience *khepesh* plaques often found in foundation deposits, and also known from Amarna (page 48).

Throwsticks

Over 20 fragments of model throwsticks can be identified from the site (see Figure II.3.30). It is difficult to ascertain how many complete throwsticks are represented, although a few pieces were found in close association with each other and may have derived from the same model; three fragments were found at building N48.18 in the Main City, for example (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175). Most originated from residential areas in the Main City and North Suburb but others were found in the Central City, with two fragments from the magazines associated with the Royal Estate (CoA III, 91, 109), and

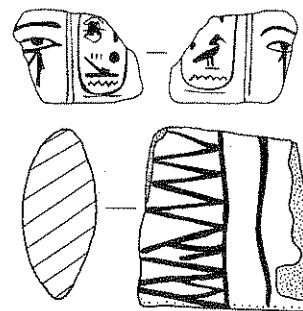


Figure II.3.30. Fragments of blue faience throwsticks. Top: obj. 24/625 from R45.10 in the Main City. Bottom: obj. 8056 from workshop Q48.4 in the Main City. Scale: 1:2. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card in the case of 24/625. Courtesy of the EES)

up to five from the vicinity of the Great Palace (obj. 35/151, 35/212, 35/502; CoA III, 70–1). A complete faience throwstick was also found in the Royal Wadi, suggested to have originated from the Royal Tomb (BM EA 34213; Martin 1974, 81–2, no. 301, pl. 51; Andrews in Freed et al. 1999, 269).

Several fragments preserve royal names. A piece from R45.10 bore cartouches of Akhenaten (obj. 24/625; Figure II.3.30), as did one of the fragments from the Royal Estate (CoA III, 91). The former also preserved *wdjt*-eye decoration. The name of Ankhesenpaaten occurs on a fragment from the Great Palace (CoA III, 71) and the bottom of the cartouche of Nefertiti appears on another from the Palace (CoA III, 70; Martin 1987). A fragment of blue faience with the cartouche of Akhenaten between two parallel lines recorded from the Main City (obj. 24/835) is possibly part of a throwstick. The example from the Royal Tomb was decorated with a *wdjt*-eye, lotuses, a series of parallel lines and the cartouche of Akhenaten (Martin 1974, 81–2, no. 301). A fragment from house Q45.85 in the Main City preserves part of a *wdjt*-eye on both faces (obj. 24/75c).

A fragment of a faience throwstick in a private collection in Paris bears the name of Princess Neferure and may also have originated from Amarna (Loeben 1987, 145). An Amarna provenance, specifically the Royal Tomb, has been suggested for a wooden throwstick bearing the nomen of the Aten (Martin 1974, 98, no. 441), although this has been disputed (Loeben 1987, 145).

Distribution
CC 6 (+7)
MC 20 + 17
NS 1
RW 1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.538 (x2), 11/12.906, 11/12.909, 11/12.910, 11/12.967, 12/13.935, 11/12.1027, 12/13.1451, 13/14.232, 13/14.328, 13/14.362, 13/14.364; 23/234, 24/75c, 24/625, 24/835f, 30/453, 31/556, 33/8, 35/151, 35/212, 35/502 (x2), 35/519, 35/557; 8056, 8332; said to be from Amarna: Cairo JE 29788; BM EA 34213

Publications

CoA II, 80; CoA III, 70–1, 91, 109; Martin 1974, 81–2, no. 301, 98, note 1, pl. 51; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 66–7, 73, 110, 130, 148, 175, 191, 217, 241, 276; see also Loeben 1987

Symbolism and parallels

Throwsticks were standard components of royal funerary equipment of the New Kingdom (Carter and Newberry 1904, 110–13; Hayes 1959, 149; Loeben 1987, 146). Three main types of throwstick have been recovered from royal burials at this time: actual wooden throwsticks in the form of boomerangs, wooden examples in the shape of snakes, and model faience throwsticks (Loeben 1987). The faience throwsticks possibly developed from the ivory magic wands of the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period (Pinch 1993, 297). Such throwsticks changed shape during the reign of Akhenaten, losing the sharp bend typical of earlier examples, but largely keeping the earlier decorative elements (George 1980, 7; Loeben 1987, 148). Faience throwsticks are thought to have served primarily as regenerative amulets (Loeben 1987), although some may have been placed in tombs as symbols of the power of the king over his enemies (George 1980, 13).

Throwsticks have also been found in private tombs, but are rarely made of faience (Petrie and Brunton 1924a, pl. XLVI; George 1980, 11; Pinch 1993, 296). Faience throwsticks have been excavated with relative frequency in Eighteenth Dynasty temple deposits, however (Hayes 1959, 252). Examples were found amongst New Kingdom votive material to Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, 144–5, pl. 150.1–13), Timna (Rothenberg 1972, 166, 169, pl. 90; Schulman in Rothenberg 1988 135–6; fig. 45.2.4–7, pl. 6), Dendera (Petrie 1900, 24, pl. XXIII.2.3; Pinch 1993, 55, 66, 295–8) and possibly

Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 339, no. 6; Pinch 1993, 295). They appear to have had a particular association with Hathor (Pinch 1993, 295–8), although fragmentary examples were also found amongst New Kingdom offerings at the shrine of Sekhmet at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 133), and a wooden example from Gurob mentions Weret Hekau (Petrie 1891, 19, pl. XIX.39; Thomas 1981, 84, pl. 38; Pinch 1993, 297). A throwstick with the cartouche of Amenhotep I was also found at the Northern Temple at Buhen (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911, 93, pl. 43; Pinch 1993, 296). At Maikata, two fragments decorated with the name of Amenhotep III and, on one, the epithet '[beloved of] Amun Re, Lord of Heaven' were found in or around the Palace of the King (Hayes 1951, 234–5, fig. 34.a; 1959, 252; Pinch 1993, 296). Throwsticks appear to have rarely been identified from domestic contexts.

Unidentifiable

In addition to the figures in the preceding inventory entries, over 70 clay, pottery and stone figurines have been encountered in the course of the current study. These are either poorly preserved or recorded in inadequate detail in the excavation records and it has not been possible to obtain any further details of their form.

Distribution

CC	2+
MC	37
NS	1
WV	39
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

12/13.493, 12/13.1566, 12/13.1224, 13/14.707; 23/435, 29/182, 30/539, 36/72; LW6.44, 72, 74, 912, 1092, 1889, 2070, 2353, 2366, 2414, 2447, 2503, 2608B, 2643, 3456B, 3714, 3950, 3998, 4528, 5010, 5036, 5162, 5241, 5296–7, 5305, 6521, 7032, 7202, 7224, 7422, 7626, 7677, 7757, 7759, 7842, 7892, 7895, 7985, 7925, 7995, 8019–20, 8037, 8107, 8180, 8201, 8267, 8350, 8449, 8506, 8794, 8909, 8957, 8985, 9057, 9174, 9178, 9179, 17455, 21832, 21921 + 2, 21945, 2608B, 30070, 31111; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC24505, UC24508

Publications

Pendlebury 1932, 147; CoA II, 79; CoA III, 31; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 22, 95, 115, 159, 176, 190, 236, 271; see also Petrie (1892, 5), who notes an exhibition of 'Pottery figures and heads. Pats of clay marked with figures' from his excavations, the latter perhaps moulds.

II.4. Statues

A large number of statues have been recovered from Amarna, but most are fragmentary and difficult to identify. The following inventory entries are based largely upon written excavation records, and the identification of the statues follows those provided therein. The task of examining the many statue fragments from the site held in museum collections is well beyond the scope of this project.

Statues played particularly significant, and potentially very varied, roles in religious contexts. They could serve as three-dimensional representations of an image, as cult objects serving as foci of ritual, as votive items, as body substitutes, possibly as amulets, or a combination of such functions (Curto 1984, 720).

Royal family

Thousands of fragments of statues said to represent members of the royal family are mentioned in the excavation records. Quite how many intact statues these represent is unknown, but it is perhaps several hundred. They range from fragments of colossi (for example, CoA III, 133) to small statuettes less than 20 cm in height (for example, Hayes 1959, 288–9; Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 214, no. 36). Most are made of stone, but wooden and faience examples occur. The vast majority originated from the Central City, primarily in and around the Great Aten Temple and associated dumps (Petrie 1894, 18; Pendlebury 1934, 133; CoA III, 11–13, 17, 119, pls LVII.1–2, LIX.6, LX.3), at the Small Aten Temple (obj. 31/435, 9931; CoA III, 98–100, 102, pls LXXIV.11, LXXV.4–5), the Royal Estate (CoA III, 88), the Great Palace (Petrie 1894, 9; Pendlebury 1935a, 133; CoA III, 37, 45, 61–2, 64–71, 73, pls LXV.1–5, LXVI.8, LXIX.2,3, LXXI.4) and the House of the King's Statue (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.9). Miscellaneous fragments of statues, most of which also probably represented the royal family, were recorded from the Great Aten Temple (Petrie 1894, 18–19; CoA III, 13, 17, 31, pl. LXI.3), Small Aten Temple (obj. 32108; Pendlebury 1932, 146; CoA III, 98–102, pls LXXV.4,5, LXXVI.7), Royal Estate (CoA III, 88–9, 92), Great Palace (CoA III, 37, 45–6, 61–2, 64–5, 68–71, 73–4, 83–4, pls LXXI.3,8, LXXIII.7–8), Foreign Office (CoA III, 118), House of the King's Statue (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.9; Kemp 1989, 283–4, fig. 95), and the military and police quarters (CoA III, 136). Fragments of royal statues were also found in the sculptors' quarters in the Central City (Pendlebury 1936, 197–8, pl. XX.5–6; CoA III, 81, pl. LXIV.1–2, 4–6).

Over 330 statue fragments identified either as royal-family figures or as miscellaneous body parts are recorded from beyond the Central City, largely from the Main City, North Suburb and North City. A very small number are intact. It is impossible to confirm, from the excavation records, the number of individual statues the fragments represent. Most originated from sculptors' workshops, particularly complexes O47.16a/20, P47.1–3 and P49.6 in the Main City (Frankfort 1933, 117–8; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 87–100, 262–8). Several additional complexes that yielded sculpture fragments have been suggested to have either been workshops or to have incorporated such spaces, on the basis, largely, of the presence of such fragments. These include:

- N48.18, containing a fragment of a hand holding an offering-table and a blue faience fragment of a king's wig or crown (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 171–6);
- O47.3, which yielded a chalkstone head identified as a princess and the arm of a wooden statuette (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 74);
- O48.1, at which a fragment of a life-size sandstone statue was excavated (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 193–5);
- P49.8, which yielded the front of a half-life-sized statue head (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 269–70);
- O49.14, at which a standing chalkstone statue of Akhenaten holding an offering-table and another unfinished, standing chalkstone statue were excavated (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 252–3);
- and Q48.1,3, which yielded a small number of unfinished, miscellaneous statue fragments (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 223–8).

A torso of a small limestone statuette (obj. 21156) was also found on the desert surface near workshop Q48.4. Excavation of this complex yielded evidence for the production of pottery, faience and glass (see Kemp in AR V; also Part III.1); this find might indicate that stone sculpting was also undertaken here, or nearby.

Although a number of statues or statue fragments are recorded from building complexes beyond these, several are again unfinished, whilst some complexes yielded multiple examples. This raises again the possibility that the statues were deposited during manufacture either in the complex in which they were found, or they were moved from a nearby workshop.

This leaves only a small number from potential non-manufacturing contexts. Several of these represent a

king. A fragmentary painted limestone statuette of a king wearing a blue crown, broad collar and kilt was excavated in house Q44.4 in the Main City (obj. 23/348; Newton 1924, 289, pl. XXIV; Figure II.4.1). The object registration card records its provenance as Room 8, but the location of this room is, unfortunately, not recorded in either the published excavation report (Newton 1924) or the unpublished field records. The statuette measures 21.9 cm in height, and is carved in late Amarna style. The identity of the king is uncertain, and Akhenaten, Tutankhamun and Smenkhkare all remain as possibilities (see Newton 1924, 289; Freed et al. 1999, 254, no. 171). N48.15 in the Main City yielded an alabaster statuette of Akhenaten holding a stela, seemingly from an outer court (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 190; Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 214, no. 36). The statuette measures 12.2 cm in height. This complex also yielded the body of a blue faience statuette and part of a life-size statue, both identified by the excavators as representing the king (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 190). The presence of multiple statues raises the possibility that this complex incorporated or lay near a workshop. A small chalkstone head identified as that of Amenhotep IV was excavated at N50.28 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 319–20), whilst a schist object from



Figure II.4.1. Statuette of an Amarna period king from Q44.4 in the Main City. Obj. 23/348. (After EES negative 24.236. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

U36.12–14 measuring 9 x 2.2 cm and inscribed with the cartouche of Akhenaten was suggested as the base of a statuette (CoA II, 16, pl. XXXII.1). Object registration card 24/935 from the excavations at Q45.77 in the Main City lists a blue faience fragment of the shoulder of an 'Akhenaten type' figure; the accompanying illustration appears to show a three-dimensional fragment, rather than an inlay.

Recent excavations amongst an area of small houses in square N50 in the Main City (excavation grid 12) yielded a small blue crown in limestone (obj. 35046; see Kemp forthcoming b) from a deposit of pebble-rich sand. The deposit appeared disturbed, but the finds it contained had probably not been transferred far from their original depositional contexts. The crown was solid and badly preserved, the surface abraded and with traces of burning. The latter seems to have taken place before the statuette was broken. A ridge ran up the central front and reverse, and traces of pale blue paint remained on all original surfaces. The fragment measured 3.35 cm in height, 4.17 cm in width and 4.03 cm in thickness, and must have originated from a statuette similar to that from Q44.4 (Figure II.4.1).

Several pieces from 'residential' contexts seem also to show royal females. A wooden statue head with traces of blue paint from O47.15 in the Main City is identified as the queen in the DOG excavation report (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 86). Borchardt (1915, 454), in describing the excavation of a torso of a statuette of the queen and an accompanying, decayed, wooden head in square O47, was presumably referring to this piece. The presence of a chalkstone head of Akhenaten in relief at this complex might again indicate a nearby workshop, at least for stonework. A head of a painted limestone statuette measuring 3.5 cm in height found at T36.68 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/300) has been identified as the head of either a princess (for example, Pendlebury 1931, 236, pl. LXXII.3, 4; CoA II, 62, pl. XLIV.1–3; Hayes 1959, 289) or a young man (for example, Krauss 1995, 755). A head of a small chalkstone statuette also identified as a possible princess was recovered from O47.12 in the Main City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 83). U36.31 yielded a fragment of sculpted quartzite showing part of a cheek, ear and lips, identified by its excavators as part of a princess statue (CoA II, 17–18). A head of a chalkstone female statuette was also recorded from P47.5 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 102–5), and a fragment of an unfinished

chalkstone statuette of a standing female was recovered from O49.15 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 254). Both were perhaps from princess or queen statuettes. P47.5 lay just over the road from the residence and workshops of the sculptor Thutmose, whilst O49.15 was located near possible workshop O49.14. The sidelock from a small wooden statue from Q47.3 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 149) might also have been part of a princess figure.

Fragments of blue faience crowns or wigs are recorded from complexes P47.8, P47.23, P47.27, P47.28, P47.29, Q47.17 and Q47.22 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 110, 134, 139, 142, 143, 161, 164). Some of these may have been inlays, but a number probably originated from statuettes of royal figures wearing the Nubian wig, the blue *khepresh* crown, or Nefertiti's tall crown. I have examined one such fragment from P47.29 (AMP 24399), which is certainly from a statuette. The close proximity of P47.8 and P47.28, in particular, to sculptors' workshops P47.1–3 and Q47.16a/20 respectively should again be noted. A chalkstone hand holding an offering-table from N48.3 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 177) probably derived from a statue of a member of the royal family (see Griffith 1931 for possible parallels). At M50.32, a number of white-limestone or marble fragments were recovered; two showed a pleated dress with fringe, and another preserved part of a blue crown (Griffith 1931, 181–2, pl. XXVI.1). Several pieces of probable statues of the royal family were excavated at O49.6, particularly in the garden and external courtyards (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 243–5). These included a number of chalkstone fragments of one or more life-size statues, one of which was in the form of a hand holding an offering-table. The base of a small statuette of a king or a god on a throne and fragments of a painted chalkstone group statue inscribed with the name of the queen were also found, as was the upper part of a chalkstone female statuette with painted necklace. The latter was possibly a royal female, but might have represented a private person.

A limestone double-crown with hole in its base was recorded from U25.7 in the North City (obj. 30/710; Figure II.4.2). The crown measures approximately 4 cm in height, 2.5 cm in width and 3 cm in depth. The hole in its base suggests it was an element of a composite statuette, conceivably of a royal individual. A carved wooden object in the shape of a rough double-feather headdress, broken at the base, was found south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 1089). It measures 4.0 x 1.85 x 0.65 cm and may also have originated from a royal figure, particularly a royal female, although it could have come from a statue of a deity such as Amun-Min.

Most statues from 'residential contexts', though, are preserved as miscellaneous fragments of body parts that are impossible to identify further from the excavation records. A fragment of a large chalkstone

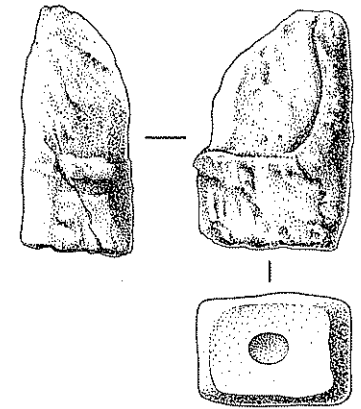


Figure II.4.2. Limestone double-crown from U25.7 in the North City. Obj. 30/710. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

head, for instance, was recorded from O48.2 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 195–6), and the head of a chalkstone statuette was recorded from O47.14 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 84–6). A black-granite fragment of a wig from a statue from P48.5 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 223) was possibly part of a royal figure. A fragment of wood identified as a possible false beard from a statue was excavated at O48.8 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 203), whilst a blue-glass object measuring 2.5 cm in length that was also suggested as a false beard from a statuette was recorded from U36.21 (obj. 29/24). A double-feather head ornament from a statue in painted gypsum was recovered from R46.3, along with a leg fragment of a small alabaster statue (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 52).

An unfinished foot of a sandstone statuette was recorded from P47.29, in addition to the wig fragment noted above (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 143). The right foot of a chalkstone statue was excavated at O49.7 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 246), whilst at O47.19 (Petrie's House 9) two fragments of the foot of a red jasper statue were found (Petrie 1894, 22). The latter lay near workshop complex O47.16a/20. A possible leg fragment of a black-granite statue was recovered from M47.2 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 56). The base and feet of a blue faience statue was found at P49.15 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 277–9). This building lay not far from sculptor's workshop P49.6. Another possible statuette base, seemingly in faience, was found at T34.3 (CoA II, 80). The hand of a brown-painted chalkstone statuette was found at O49.20 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 258), and the right arm of a painted chalkstone statue was

recovered from Q49.12 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 251). A fragment of a lapis lazuli hand, perhaps an inlay rather than a statue fragment, was excavated at Q47.4 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 150). Statue fragments in a black stone, including a piece identified as part of a shoulder, were also excavated at N50.27 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 319). At P48.1, two interlocked hands from an unfinished, life-size, sandstone statue group, a fragment of an alabaster statuette with back pillar and part of the arm of a wooden statuette were excavated (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 217). A hand from a life-sized sandstone statue was also found in Room 11 of P48.1b (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 217). The relatively close proximity of complex P48.1 to workshop P49.6 could indicate that some fragments originated from the latter. Fragments of statues in schist, sandstone, chalkstone and a green stone were recorded from N47.3, N50.27, O48.10, O48.14, P47.6 and Q47.4 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 66, 106, 149, 207, 214, 319). Few details of these are provided in the excavation reports, although that from Q47.4 was said to be of life-size. Several miscellaneous statue fragments were also recorded from M47.3 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 59).

A fragmentary stone sphinx was found at O47.4 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 75), whilst an unfinished chalkstone lion paw from O47.5 might have derived from a sphinx figure (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 78). It is not clear whether these incorporated the features of royal figures. The proximity of both buildings to workshop O47.16a/20 should again be noted. Several fragments of sphinx statues were excavated in the Central City, particularly in association with the Great Aten Temple (Frankfort 1927, 210; Pendlebury 1933, 113–14; 1934, 133; 1951, 12, 17, pls LVIII.3, LX.1), whilst a headless wooden sphinx measuring 26 cm long was also found at the House of the King's Statue (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.11; Kemp 1989, 283–4, fig. 95).

None of the fragments discussed above originated from building complexes with garden shrines. Royal-family statues have also been recovered from at least 15 complexes with such structures (see Ikram 1989), as discussed below. Their exact find provenance is rarely recorded. For the shrines themselves, see Part II.14.

The central room of the shrine at R44.2 yielded body fragments from an uncertain number of statues. Two were in the form of hands holding an offering-table and a tablet respectively; the former inscribed with an offering-formula to the Aten. Other fragments bore the cartouches of the Aten or of Nefertiti. A head of the king wearing a blue crown and a fragment with the cartouches of the Aten were also found in house R44.2 itself (Griffith 1924, 302, pl. XXXIV.1; 1931, 182, pl. XXVI; Ikram 1989, 93).

Two headless statues in painted sandstone that probably represent Akhenaten and Nefertiti were excavated at L50.12, near the garden shrine at L50.9 (Griffith 1931, 179–81, pls XXIII–IV; Ikram 1989, 94; Andrews in Freed et al. 1999, 231, no. 88). At M47.1, a blue faience fragment of a king's wig and a limestone sphinx figure were excavated (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 55). The latter is now in Berlin (ÄMP 25734); it measures 32 cm in length and 12 cm in width. Only the base and lower part of the body are preserved. A headless sandstone statuette of a figure holding an offering-table, identified as the queen, was excavated at N47.6, as were two chalkstone fragments of a standing figure with back pillar (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 69–70).

At O48.11 a chalkstone group figure of two princesses, a fragment of another small, chalkstone group figure and a possible statue fragment in a black stone were excavated (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 209; Ikram 1989, 90). A quartzite head of a princess was found in a well at U37.1 (Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. LIII; CoA II, 13, pl. XXXIX; Ikram 1989, 92). A fragment of a painted chalkstone statue identified as a princess and a sandstone statue fragment were recovered from P47.17 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 122); this complex lay near the workshop and residence of the sculptor Thutmose.

An alabaster statuette base was excavated at P47.19–20 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 130), although this again lay across the road from sculptor's workshop O47.16a/20. In an outside court of Q46.1, the fragment of an arm of a life-sized sandstone statue was found (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 27). A fragment of an offering-table inscribed with a cartouche that originated from a statue was excavated at N48.1. Other statue fragments were recovered from nearby N48.18, which was possibly a workshop, as noted above (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 175; Ikram 1989, 90). At P48.2, an unfinished figure of the king seated with a princess on his lap and an unfinished statue of the queen holding an offering-table were found, but both apparently originated from within the house itself (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 219–20; Ikram 1989, 91). Note again the proximity of this complex to the workshop of Thutmose.

Beyond the city proper, statues of the royal family also occur at the boundary stelae (for example, Petrie 1894, 5–6).

Object and museum numbers

Statues found beyond identifiable 'workshop' contexts, and beyond the Central City:
King/Akhenaten: 11/12.271, 11/12.468, 11/12.508, 11/12.1425; 23/348 (BMA 29.34), 24/539b, 24/935, 26/699; from complexes with garden shrines: 12/13.1 Queen: 13/14.841; from complexes with garden shrines: 12/13.27, 13/14.506

'Princess'/female: 11/12.497, 12/13.119, 12/13.232, 13/14.467; 29/69, 30/300; from complexes with garden shrines: 11/12.1021, 13/14.785; 26/522
Blue crowns/wigs: 12/13.1096, 12/13.1387, 12/13.1603, 13/14.614, 13/14.643, 13/14.728 (x2), 13/14.1308 (ÄMP 24399); 35046
Double crown: 30/710
Double-feather headdress: 1089
Fragments with offering tables etc: 11/12.153, 11/12.165, 11/12.254, 11/12.1087, 11/12.1088, 11/12.1089; from complexes with garden shrines: 11/12.40
Miscellaneous body parts etc: 11.438, 11.414, 11.549, 11/12.–, 11/12.198, 11/12.597, 11/12.709, 11/12.869, 11/12.893, 11/12.899, 11/12.938, 11/12.946, 11/12.1110, 11/12.1118, 12/13.292, 12/13.303, 12/13.687, 12/13.789, 13/14.25, 13/14.67, 13/14.101, 13/14.181, 13/14.273, 13/14.330, 13/14.751, 13/14.918, 13/14.935; 24/541b, 24/548a, 29/24, 30/530; from complexes with garden shrines: 11/12.–, 13/14.511
Sphinxes: 13/14.265, 13/14.339; from complexes with garden shrines: 11/12.986 (ÄMP 25734)

Publications

Statues found beyond identifiable 'workshop' contexts, and beyond the Central City:
King/Akhenaten: Newton 1924, 289, pl. XXIV; CoA II, 16, pl. XXII.1; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 90, 319–20; from complexes with garden shrines: Griffith 1924, 302, pl. XXXIV.1; 1931, 179–82, pls XXXIII–IV, XXVI; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 219–20
Queen: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 86; from complexes with garden shrines: Griffith 1924, 302, pl. XXXIV.1; 1931, 179–82, pls XXXIII–IV, XXVI; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 69–70, 219–20
'Princess'/female: CoA II, 17–18, 62, pl. XLIV.1–3; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 83, 105, 149, 254; from complexes with garden shrines: Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. LIII; CoA II, 13, pl. XXXIX; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 122, 209
Blue crowns/wigs: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 110, 134, 139, 142, 143, 161, 164; Kemp forthcoming b; from complexes with garden shrines: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 55
Fragments with offering tables etc: Griffith 1931, 181–2, pl. XXVI.1; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 177; from complexes with garden shrines: Griffith 1924, 302, pl. XXXIV.1; 1931, 182, pl. XXVI; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 175
Miscellaneous body parts etc: Petrie 1894, 22; CoA II, 80; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 52, 56, 59, 66, 85, 106, 143, 149–50, 195–6, 203, 214, 217, 223, 246, 251, 258, 279, 319; from complexes with garden shrines: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 27, 69–70, 122, 130, 207, 209
Sphinxes: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 75, 78; from complexes with garden shrines: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 55

Symbolism and parallels

Royal statuary is best known from state temple and funerary contexts. Statues of deified kings could form cult images within temples. Few examples of these have survived, although a cult statue of Ramesses VI is described in a letter from Deir el-Medina (McDowell 1999, 94–5). Statues of kings may also have been dedicated as votive offerings at temples. Statues of Ramesses II were excavated at his chapel in the Hathor temple complex at Deir el-Medina (Sadek 1988, 61), at least some of which appear to have been votives. Statues of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari have also been excavated in chapels at this site (Sadek 1988, 65). A number of smaller royal statuettes from the reigns of kings such as Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and particularly Amenhotep III are also known, some of which might have been temple votives (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 193–4). Some statues of living and deceased kings also appear to have been erected in public places for active worship. Examples include a number of colossi of Ramesses II distributed throughout Egypt (Habachi 1969), and a possible statue of Ramesses III at Memphis (Schulman 1963b). Statues of the deceased Amenhotep I probably formed cult images at various Theban temples (Černý 1952, 73–4; Sadek 1988, 132–3).

Although few royal statues appear to have been recorded from residential areas beyond Amarna, there is some evidence that they were in use in such contexts. P. Ermitage 1116A, of the reign of Amenhotep II, records 'the statue of the lord, I.p.h., which is in the shrine (*ḥnw*) in the house of the chief treasurer' (Kemp 1978a, 130–1, note 41; 1989, 285). It has been suggested that some of the small statuettes of the reign of Amenhotep III noted above might also have served as domestic cult images (see Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 193–7; 1997a; Johnson 1996, 71; Kozloff 1996, 69–72). There are few details of even the general provenance of most of these, although some might have originated from Malkata, Medinet Habu and Faras (Johnson 1996, 69–71, notes 30, 39). A domestic origin also remains possible for statues of Amenhotep III and Tiye excavated at Gurob (Kemp 1989, 130–1, note 41; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 194).

Deities

Falcon-headed god

A small number of falcon sculptures have been excavated, although a number appear to have been architectural elements rather than statues. The best candidate for a free-standing sculpture is a limestone boulder painted in the form of a falcon found outside

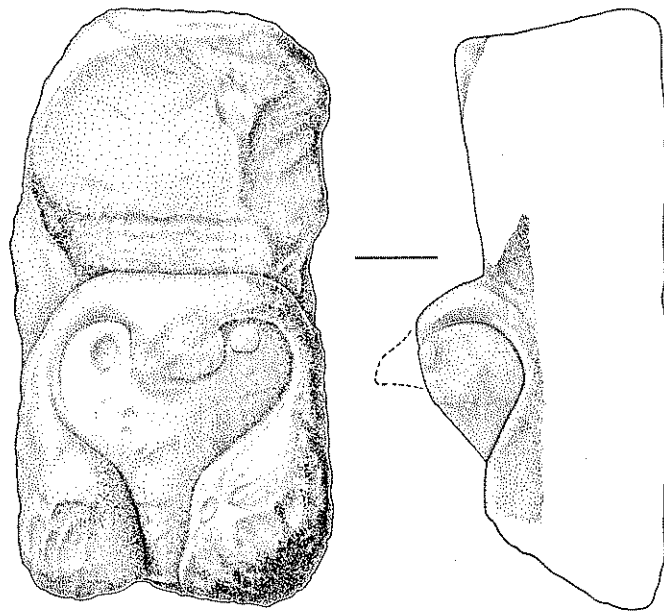


Figure II.4.3. Falcon head with solar disk in sandstone from U24.1 in the North City, perhaps part of a frieze. Obj. 31/311. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

the eastern entrance of the Workmen's Village (obj. 1919; Kemp 1983, 15, pl. III.2; Bomann 1991, 74). Bomann (1991, 74) noted that the figure was found 'lodged near the southern gate'. It measures 14.5 cm in height.

A fragment of the head of a chalkstone falcon figure was excavated at Q48.1 in the Main City (ÄMP 24598; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225). There is no sign of a solar disk on top of its head. A fragment of a calcite falcon-headed figure was found at P47.2, part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose (ÄMP 21190; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 96). The figure wears a long, straight wig, with no sign of a solar-disk. A 'pillar' extends from the base of the neck, the fragment preserved to a height of approximately 10 cm. It is suggested in the excavation report as part of the handle of an incense burner (see page 204).

A fragmentary head of a limestone falcon was found at Q42.11, part of the government offices in the Central City (obj. 33/92; CoA III, 119). The fragment is painted

blue and black, and measures 8 cm in length. There is no trace of a solar disk or point of insertion on the top of the head. It possibly originated from a statuette, but might have been an architectural element. A sandstone head of a falcon wearing a disk measuring 11 cm in height was also recorded from U24.1 in the North City (obj. 31/311; Figure II.4.3), but may again have been an architectural element.

Distribution

CC	1?
MC	2
WV	1
NC	1?

Object and museum numbers

12/13.583 (ÄMP 21190), 13/14.156 (ÄMP 24598); 31/311 (Petrie UC24517), 33/92 (Cairo JE 62764); 1919

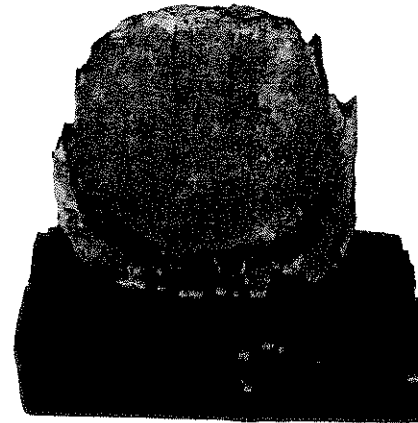


Figure II.4.4. Wooden disk with horns from Chapel 529 at the Workmen's Village, here fitted by the EES excavators to a wooden pedestal found nearby. Obj. 21/374. (After EES negative 21.511. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Publications

CoA III, 119; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 96, 225; Kemp 1983, 15, pl. III.2

Hathor

A wooden disk with horns painted yellow and blue, measuring 11.3 cm in diameter, was found in the inner court of Chapel 529 at the Workmen's Village (Figure II.4.4). This possibly originated from a statue of a goddess such as Hathor, although it is worth noting the excavators' initial observation that the base of the disk seemed to fit the dowel holes of a wooden pedestal, somewhat damaged, found nearby. They suggested that the disk may have been set into the pedestal to form an image of the Aten, although went on to dismiss this idea on the grounds, in part, that the Aten is only shown as a disk with extending rays at Amarna. The pedestal itself bore the inscription 'Made by the servant in the place, Nehemmaatui'. Made by the praised one of his father(?), Nehemmaatui' (cf. CoA I, 101).

Distribution

WV	1?
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Object and museum numbers

21/374 (disk and pedestal)

Publications

CoA I, 100-1; see also Bomann 1991, 21, 62

Isis

An unfinished chalkstone statue of a seated figure of Isis, measuring approximately 20 cm in height, was found at Q49.14, a possible sculptor's workshop in the Main City (Borchardt 1912, 26; Kemp 1972, 673; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253). A chalkstone 'Kopfputz von einer Isisstatue mit Einsatzzappfen' was also recorded from this complex (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253). The excavation records sometimes refer to pottery 'figures of Isis' (for example, CoA I, 28), but these are probably 'fertility figurines'.

Distribution

MC	2
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Object and museum numbers

11/12.432, 11/12.627

Publications

Borchardt 1912, 26; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253

Mut?

A possible fragment of a vulture crest in gypsum excavated at Q47.2, near workshop O.47.16a/20, might have formed part of the headwear of a statue of Mut or Nekhbet, or a model for such an element. It is less likely to have originated from a royal statue, as the vulture was removed from royal headwear during the Amarna period.

Distribution

MC	1
----	---

Object and museum numbers

13/14.238

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73

Ptah

A chalkstone fragment said to derive from a statuette of Ptah was recorded from Q46.27 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 48), and a small alabaster statuette base inscribed *Ptah-nefer-her* was excavated at Q49.19 (Borchardt 1912, 26; Kemp 1972, 673; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253).

Distribution

MC	2
----	---

Object and museum numbers

11/12.431; 13/14.969a

Publications

Borchardt 1912, 26; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 48, 253; see also Kemp 1972, 673

Thoth

A steatite and limestone statuette of Thoth seated on a pedestal before a scribe was found at workshop O47.16(a) (Pendlebury 1933, 117–18, pls XVII–XVIII; Quaegebeur in de Meulenaere 1975, 84–5, no. 23; Peck 1978, 73; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 185). Stylistically, an Amarna date for this piece is likely (Peck 1978, 73). A black-stone statuette of a squatting scribe found at O47.7 in the Main City (ÄMP 22621; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 77) may have derived from a similar group statue (Peck 1978, 73, pl. XII.4).

A possible fragment of the base of a schist statuette of Thoth was excavated at M47.3 in the Main City, a context from which much post-Amarna period material originated (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59). A fragment of painted wood with cavetto cornice inscribed for Thoth, suggested as a statuette base, was also found at building R41.5, part of the magazine complex between the Royal Estate and the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 110).

Distribution

CC 1
MC 3

Object and museum numbers

11/12. –, 13/14.1028 (ÄMP 22621); 32/193 (Cairo JE 59291), 32/251

Publications

Pendlebury 1933, 117–18, pls XVII–XVIII; CoA III, 111; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59 77

Symbolism and parallels

Statues of deities are known predominantly from temples (for example, Bryan 1997b) and funerary contexts (for example, Taylor 2001, 162–70). Although there is evidence that small-scale figurines of deities were used in domestic contexts, and emplacements such as altars may have provided an appropriate location for cult images in the home, there are few recorded examples of larger statues of deities from domestic contexts. Amongst known examples is the Taweret statuette from the town of *Wah-sut* at Abydos noted previously (Ayrton et al. 1904, 54, pl. L.7).

Statuettes showing Thoth and a seated scribe are first known from the reign of Amenhotep III. They seem to have been particularly popular during this king's reign; some were probably used as temple votives (Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 246–7, no. 41). Some baboon images of this period, such as those erected at



Figure II.4.5. Back half of an anthropoid bust from P47.4, part of the estate of the sculptor Thutmose in the Main City. Obj. 12/13.601 (ÄMP 25847). The scale measures 10 cm. (Photograph by the author).

the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis, were identified as Amenhotep III himself (Bailey et al. 1982, 6–8; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 227–8, no. 36).

Private individuals

A limited number of statues of private individuals has been identified from Amarna, although the generally fragmentary nature of statues from the site and the limited details provided of them in most excavation reports suggest that further examples remain unidentified. A number of the plaster casts and statues, found primarily at the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose, are thought to represent private individuals and served as sculptors' guides (Kemp 1972, 673; Krauss 1995, 755; Wildung in Grimm and Schoske 2001, 46–50). Their presence reinforces the idea that private statuary was more prevalent at the site than the excavation records initially suggest.

Those private statues that can be recognised have originated largely from residential areas, although examples also occur in private tombs (Krauss 1995, 755–6). At least two anthropoid bust sculptures are known. One originated from Q46.9 in the Main City (obj. 12/13.1569; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 37) and is now in



Figure II.4.6. Seated statuette of a man holding a lotus bud across his chest from the North City. Object number unknown. (After EES negative 24–5.213a. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Berlin (ÄMP 25848).¹ The second was excavated at P47.4, a residential complex associated with the workshops of the sculptor Thutmose (published as the 'hintere Hälfte einer Büste'; obj. 12/13.601; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 102). The fine limestone fragments of this piece are now reconstructed in Berlin (ÄMP 25847; Figure II.4.5). The figure wears a long, straight wig and, although the top of the head is gone, there is no indication that it wore a crown. It measures 17.6 cm in height and is 12 cm wide. A third possible example is provided by a metal 'Frauenbüste' recorded from J53.1/2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 338).² A chalkstone 'Frauenbüste' is also recorded from P47.4 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 102, exc. no. 12/13, 576). No further details of this piece have been obtained, but it may also have been of this form.

An unfinished limestone sculpture of a 'human bust' was also registered from R44.2, the house of Panehesy in the Main City (obj. 24/541b). The sketch on the registration card is very cursory, but the figure shown does not resemble a bust very closely. It appears, in fact, to be an unfinished statuette of a 'hunched man carrying an object over his head' published from this complex by Griffith (1931, 183, pl. XXVII.2–3).

¹ The identification of this piece was made by Jean Keith (see Keith forthcoming) and I am indebted to her for allowing me to mention it here.

² Noted again by Jean Keith, who has examined an archival photograph of this piece and identified it as a probable bust (Keith forthcoming).

At least two statuettes show seated figures of private individuals. A statuette of a seated male holding a lotus bud across his chest appears to have been excavated in the North City (Whittemore 1926, 12, pl. VIII; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 255, no. 173; Figure II.4.6). This piece measures 8.9 cm in height, and does not recall the Amarna sculptural style very closely (Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 255, no. 173). A painted limestone statue of a seated man wearing a kilt and holding a lotus flower across his chest was also found in house T35.4 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/331; CoA II, 43, pl. XXXVII.1–4; Figure II.4.7). It measures 18.4 cm in height. A small fragment of sculpted limestone from U24.3 (obj. 31/418; Figure II.4.8) that seems to show a hand on an armrest might have originated from a similar statue, although neither of the intact seated statues show chairs with armrests. The hand is painted dark red and the chair white. So, too, could the head from T36.86 (obj. 30/300) noted above have come from a similar statuette.

The statuettes of seated scribes from O47.7 and O47.16(a) have been discussed above (page 128). A granite statuette in the form of a squatting figure measuring 11 cm in height was also excavated at Q45.59 (obj. 24/757; el-Damaty 1990, 5, pl. 5.d, e). The head of a squatting man and the upper part of a female statuette recorded from O49.6 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 244) were possibly private individuals.



Figure II.4.7. Statuette of a seated man holding a lotus flower across his chest, from T35.4 in the North Suburb. Obj. 29/331 (Cairo JE 53249). (After EES negative 28–9.O.84. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Unprovenanced private statues of Amarna-period date, some of which might also have originated from the site, include wooden statuettes of figures carrying vessels in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (48.296) and the Liverpool Museum (M 13519; D'Auria in Freed et al. 1999, 264, nos 208–9); a triad of males in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (11.150.21; Hayes 1959, 311–13; Krauss 1995, 756); and a group figure of the sculptor Bak and his wife standing in a naos, in Berlin (ÄMP /63; Smith 1998, 170–1, fig. 292).

Distribution

MC 5 + 3?
NS 1
NC 1 + 1?

Object and museum numbers

Busts: 12/13.601 (ÄMP 25847); 12/13.1569 (ÄMP 25848)
Seated figures: 29/331 (Cairo JE 53249), 31/418?; Cairo JE 48140
Squatting figures: 24/757 (Cairo JE 48140)
Standing figures?: 24/541b
Possible private statues: 11/12.151, 11/12.214

Publications

Busts: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 37, 102; see also Stevens 2003, 164, pl. IX.3
Seated figures: Whittemore 1926, 12, pl. VII, CoA II, 43, pl. XXXVII.1–4; see also Pendlebury 1935b, 137, pl. VII.1; Legrand in Meulenaere 1975, 82, no. 21; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 255, no. 172–3
Squatting figures: el-Damaty 1990, 5, pl. 5.d, e
Standing figures?: Griffith 1931, 183, pl. XXVII.2–3
Possible private statues: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 244

Figure II.4.8. A small fragment of sculpted limestone from U24.3 in the North Suburb, possibly showing a hand on an arm rest. Perhaps part of a non-royal statuette. Obj. 31/418. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).



Symbolism and parallels

Private statues are well attested from funerary contexts (for example, Taylor 2001, 162–70) and at temples; the latter include the so-called intermediary statues of the New Kingdom onwards (Baines 1987, 90; Pinch 1993, 333–5). Examples are also known from domestic areas. Petrie (1891, 13, pl. XII) seems to have found intact and fragmentary private statues at Kahun, and possible examples were found at Buhen (Emery et al. 1979, 149–50; Smith 1995, 64–6). The best-known, though, are the ancestor busts excavated at Deir el-Medina and a number of other sites, including Sesebi and Memphis (Fairman 1938, 152; Keith-Bennett 1981; Kaiser 1990, 271–6; Keith forthcoming). These take the form of anthropomorphic busts and are produced in a range of materials, including stone, wood, pottery and mud. Many wear collars or lotus flowers around their neck (Keith-Bennett 1981, 44–5). Whilst most wear long, tripartite wigs, a few have a shaved head, or wear a skull cap (Kaiser 1990, 270–5; Friedman 1994, 114–15). They generally measure 10–25 cm in height (Friedman 1994, 114). Some of the busts appear to be male, but determining their sex is very difficult (Bothmer 1987, 29; Friedman 1994, 114–16); they may not have been intended to be associated strongly with either sex. The bust sculptures from Amarna belong to this category. Anthropoid busts of this type are generally thought to have belonged to private ancestor cults (Keith-Bennett 1981; Friedman 1985, 94–7; 1994, 114–15), although they may also have been associated with the cults of Hathor and Ptah (Bothmer 1987; Friedman 1994, 115–16). Their use does not seem to have been confined to domestic contexts: they have also been excavated at tombs and temples (Keith-Bennett 1981, 49–50; Kaiser 1990, 271–6; Friedman 1994, 115).

Another type of private statue, known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, takes the form of seated figures holding lotus flowers. These have been suggested as three-dimensional representations of the figures shown on the *šh ikr n R*-stelae, and forerunners to the ancestor busts (Schulman 1986, 307–8; Ogdon 1990; Friedman 1994, 179, note 55). The statuettes from T35.4 (Cairo JE 53249) and the North City (BMA 29.1310) recall this group of sculptures, and the two smaller figurines of seated individuals from U33.1 and Q45.69 (page 96; Figure II.3.17) were possibly also of this form.

II.5. Stelae

The early excavators at Amarna paid particular attention to stelae, especially high quality examples. It is likely, nonetheless, that amongst pieces listed in the excavation records as miscellaneous sculpture and relief fragments, further stelae remain unidentified.

As with statues, stelae possess a range of potential functions. In addition to their use in funerary contexts, as territorial markers and as commemorative records, they could function as cult objects intended for worship, as votive offerings and possibly as amulets (Malaise 1981, 259–60; Schulman 1986, 304).

Royal family and Aten

Stelae depicting the royal family and Aten are, of course, well known from the site, although in general greater consideration has been given to their iconography than their archaeological context (exceptions include Krauss 1991, 35–6 and Arnold 1996, 97–8). Over 20 intact and fragmentary royal-family stelae have been excavated amongst official buildings in the Central City, primarily at the Great Palace (CoA III, 45, 64, 67, 69–71, 232, pls LXIII.4, LXIX.1, LXXIII.8, 9), the Great Aten Temple (Petrie 1894, 10–11, 18, pl. XII; Pendlebury 1934, 132; CoA III, 11–12, 18) and the Small Aten Temple (Pendlebury 1932, 146). Petrie (1894, 8, 10–11, 40–1, pls I.16, VIII, XII) lists several stela fragments (although some may have derived from balustrades and parapets: see Shaw 1994, 110), but it is not clear exactly where these were found. It remains possible that some originated from the few houses he excavated near the Central City. One royal-family stela found in fragments during the excavations of both Petrie and later the EES in the Central City is unusual in that it shows a private official on its reverse, presumably the owner of the stela (obj. 34/42; CoA III, 45, 231–2, pl. LXXIII.8, 9; Samson 1978, 103–6).

Further royal family stelae were found at outlying official complexes such as the Maru Aten (Woolley 1922, 80–1, pl. X'IV).

From what can be deduced from the excavation records, approximately 18 royal-family stelae have been found amongst residential areas beyond the Central City, although it is again unclear how many of these were found in strictly residential contexts. Several appear to have been found in or in the vicinity of known workshops.

The stelae found amongst residential areas range in height from approximately 5 cm to over 40 cm. The majority appear to have been flat-topped, although a few have rounded tops. No pierced examples have been identified. The decoration is generally both cut in relief and painted, although there is considerable variation in quality. The majority are fragmentary, and it is difficult to reconstruct the original scenes. However, of the intact or reconstructed examples, excluding those certainly found amongst official buildings in the Central City, the following groupings of figures can be recognised.

King, queen, princesses and Aten

A flat-topped chalkstone stela with cavetto cornice from Q47.16 in the Main City, now in Cairo (JE 44865), bears an engraved and painted scene of the king, queen and three princesses seated beneath the Aten. An inscription provides the names of the Aten, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the princesses. The stela measures 43.5 x 39 x 6.5 cm (Borchardt 1912, 26–8, Abb. 9; 1923, 2–24, Blatt 1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 160). A similar stela depicting Akhenaten, Nefertiti and three princesses in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 14145) is thought to have originated from the site. It is flat-topped and measures 33 x 39 x 3.8 cm. Inscriptions again provide the names of the Aten and the members of the royal family (Borchardt 1917, 4–8; 1923, 13–14, Abb. 10; Krauss 1991; Murnane 1995, 87; Arnold 1996, 97–103; D'Auria in Freed et al. 1999, 220, no. 53). Drilled holes in the projecting base of the stela may have allowed for the insertion of wooden doors (Arnold 1996, 97). A fragment of a third stela depicting the queen, and at least two princesses, seated on the king's lap was excavated by Petrie (1894, 40–1, pl. I.16) and is now in the Musée du Louvre (E 11624; Aldred 1973, 134, no. 56; 1988, pl. 15; Arnold 1996, fig. 93). A fragment of a stela in the British Museum (EA 24431) depicts a royal figure, probably Akhenaten, seated beneath the Aten; the original composition probably included Nefertiti and at least some princesses (Russmann 2001, 144–5, no. 60). The exact find context of this piece is unknown.

King, queen and Aten

Also in Berlin (ÄMP 20716) is an unfinished limestone stela from the Main City that depicts a figure wearing a blue crown and uraeus standing and pouring liquid into a goblet held by a seated figure, who wears a *khat* headdress and uraeus, both beneath an image of the Aten (Borchardt 1923, 9, Abb. 5; Aldred 1968, pl.



Figure II.5.1. Fragmentary stela or slab with two seated royal figures in painted relief, from workshop O47.16a in the Main City. Obj. 32/122. (After EES negative 32.O.56. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

(Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 333). A rectangular limestone slab, possibly a stela, depicting figures of the 'king and queen on throne' was also recorded from workshop O47.16(a) in the Main City (obj. 32/122; the excavations of this complex are largely unpublished: see Pendlebury 1933, 117–8; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 88). The figures are carved and painted red and black; it is not clear if the stela was finished (Figure II.5.1). It is highly fragmentary, as though deliberately smashed, but would originally have measured 28 x 16 cm.

The well-known Pa-se stela in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 17813) bears a scene of two royal figures seated before a pile of offerings beneath the Aten. One figure wears a double crown and touches the second figure, who wears the blue crown, under the chin. Seven blank cartouches appear above the figures, and a line of inscription beneath the scene reads, 'Made by the soldier of the ship "Appearing in ma'at", Pa-se'. There is again some uncertainty over the identity of the figures: they have been identified variously as Akhenaten and Nefertiti, Akhenaten and Smenkhkare, or Akhenaten

83; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 246, no. 137). The exact find provenance of this piece is unclear. Borchardt (1912, 9, 27) listed its find spot as both workshop P49.6 and as O49.1. The final excavation report records its provenance as O49.12 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 250, obj. 11/12,389), although the sandstone relief fragment listed from P49.6 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 267, obj. 11/12,931) might be a further reference to it. The figures are generally thought to represent Akhenaten and Nefertiti, although it has been suggested that they represent Akhenaten and Smenkhkare (for example, Aldred 1968, pl. 83). The stela was possibly intended to be round-topped when completed, and measures 27.2 x 13.3 x 2.8 cm.

Another small, round-topped stela in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 25574), excavated in the courtyard of house N51.6 in the Main City, depicts two figures thought to represent Akhenaten and Nefertiti. They stand in front of an offering-table, beneath the rays of the Aten. Above the figures are four blank cartouches



Figure II.5.2. Small, roughly carved and painted stela from Q44.5 in the Main City. Obj. 23/390. (After EES negative 24.218. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).



Figure II.5.3. Fragmentary round-topped stela photographed during the 1924 EES season showing a seated king with offering stand, presumably adoring the Aten. Object number unknown. (After EES negative 24.203. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

and Amenhotep III (Borchardt 1923, 9; Aldred 1973, 184, no. 114; Murnane 1995, 205; Arnold 1996, 93, fig. 84). The stela is thought to have originated from Amarna, but its exact provenance is unknown.

A flat-topped stela with a cavetto cornice and raised border was recorded from Q44.5 in the Main City (obj. 23/390; Figure II.5.2). The upper part of the stela is lost, and it was found broken into pieces. It measures 10 x 8 cm. The decoration is in painted relief, but the workmanship is quite rough. On the left is a figure – presumably Akhenaten – with arms outstretched, on an openwork stool. The head of the figure is lost. In front is a figure who appears to be Nefertiti wearing her characteristic flat-topped crown, with one arm outstretched towards the king. She also appears to be seated, but is shown on a lower level and at a smaller scale than the king. A circular motif above the figures presumably represents the Aten.

King and princess?

A small stela found at T35.25 in the North Suburb was said to depict 'Akhenaten and daughter (?)' (CoA II, 48, pl. XXXV.5). This is now in Cairo (JE 55459). The decoration is very crude, but it appears to show two figures in kilts, both possibly wearing crowns, flanking a central figure. The latter is possibly a uraeus (see page 139). The earlier



Figure II.5.4. Small roughly incised stela photographed during the 1924 EES season showing a standing figure, seemingly male, with offering table and arm raised. Object number unknown. (After EES negative 20.203. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

identification of the figures as Akhenaten and a princess should be considered very tentative.

Amenhotep III and Tiye

A fragmentary flat-topped stela with a cavetto cornice and uraeus frieze found at house R44.2, one of those belonging to the High Priest of the Aten, Panehesy, is decorated with the figures of Amenhotep III and Tiye seated beneath the Aten (BM EA 57 399; Griffith 1926b, 302; Bryan in Bryan and Kozloff 1992, 213; Andrews in Freed et al. 1999, 254, no. 169; Russmann 2001, 143–4, no. 59). The stela measures 32.5 x 30 cm. This provides one of the few cases in which the stratigraphic position of an object was recorded in the early excavation reports, the fragments recovered from 10–20 cm above floor level (Griffith 1926b, 2).

King

At least two small stelae seem to depict images of a royal figure, probably a king, unaccompanied by other members of the royal family. An archive negative from the 1924 EES season shows three joining fragments of a round-topped stela with a seated royal male wearing a tall blue crown (Figure II.5.3). He raises one hand in adoration, presumably of the Aten; a diagonal line preserved near a break in front of the figure's raised arm may represent an Aten ray. The king appears to be shown

alone, although it must remain possible that a second royal figure is shown in outline behind him. In front of the king is an openwork stand, presumably holding offerings. The object number and find provenance of the stela is not recorded, but the negative appears in a sequence showing objects from excavations in housing areas in the Main City. Its height can be estimated at 10 cm. A second flat-topped stela on this negative (Figure II.5.4) is decorated with an incised figure of a standing man wearing a kilt and with one arm outstretched towards a stand holding probable offerings. One upper corner is lost, and with it the figure's head. The identity of the figure is not clear. It may represent a king, but could show a private individual. There is no clear trace of an Aten image, although this may have been painted on and faded. The border of the stela is raised slightly, and it probably measured around 7 cm in height.

A very small chalkstone stela in Berlin (ÄMP 24602) shows a seated, crowned figure in a long, white robe on an elevated platform within a shrine. An offering-stand is placed in front of the figure, and at least two kneeling worshippers are located below the platform. The design is roughly cut, but is painted in red, yellow and blue. The reverse is very rough. It preserves a series of unidentifiable incised markings. A rough cavetto cornice is cut along the top of the stela. The stela measures approximately 5 cm in height. It bears find number 11.264, and originated from M50.7 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 287).

Miscellaneous

A small stela or plaque from O47.12, now in Berlin (ÄMP 24601), shows the upper part of a standing male figure who does not wear a crown, headdress or uraeus, but possibly holds a staff in one hand, and flail in the other. The identity of the figure is unclear. He might represent a lesser royal figure, and is identified as a prince on the object label in the Ägyptisches Museum. It is again possible that a private individual is represented. The stela is flat-topped with a raised border and is preserved to a height of approximately 3 cm, probably around half of its original height.

A round-topped, limestone stela excavated at O47.16a/20, part of a probable sculptor's complex in the

Main City (Ash. 1933.1205; Pendlebury 1933, 117–18, pl. XVI.3), might also depict a royal figure. On the left is an incised seated figure, apparently male. The figure does not wear either a wig or crown, but the stela appears unfinished. There is space for additional figures. Again, the possibility remains that the figure is not royal. There are small traces of black-painted decoration on the upper right of the stela, but the motif is unidentifiable. The base of the stela is uneven; it measures approximately 8 cm in height.

A round-topped stela measuring 9.7 cm in height from complex T36.36 in the North Suburb shows an incised image of the Aten centred towards its top (Cairo JE 55458; Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA II, 46, pl. XL.7). It is not clear if it originally depicted the Aten alone. Although it is preserved intact, part of the scene seems to have faded or to have been abraded, and it is possible that additional figures were once shown. A lightly incised bench-like object is, in fact, present in the bottom half of the stela, above which very faint traces of black and possibly red paint are visible. The bench-like feature seems to span the entire width of the stela, and appears too long to be a throne. It may be an offering-table, in which case there would seem to be no room for any human figures. Alternatively, it might be a bed, conceivably with a lying or seated human figure.

As noted above, many royal-family stelae were fragmentary, and it is not possible to reconstruct the scenes they depicted originally. A fragment of the upper part of a chalkstone stela with the names of the Aten, the king and the queen, for example, was found at N48.9 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 182). Two fragments of a limestone stela preserving part of a cavetto cornice, torus moulding and band of hieroglyphs, including parts of two cartouches of the Aten, were recorded from Q45.45 (obj. 24/879). At least one of these fragments was reburied by the EES



Figure 7.5. Small round-topped stela with an incised image of the Aten from T36.36 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/50. (Cairo JE 55458). (Photograph by the author).



Figure II.5.6. Fragment of the flaring cavetto from a royal-family stela preserving parts of Aten cartouches. Originally from Q45.45, but recovered from a cache of material dumped on site by the early EES excavators. Obj. 24/879. (Photograph by the author).

excavators on site, and was recovered recently from a dump behind the Expedition Dig House (Figure II.5.6). It is badly chipped and partially blackened from burning. The hieroglyphs within the cartouches are quite roughly formed but otherwise the quality of carving is high.

The corner of a flat-topped limestone stela preserving parts of royal cartouches (those of Nefertiti can be discerned) and a bordering floral bouquet was recorded from house Q45.89 (obj. 25/121; Figure II.5.7). A fragment of a chalkstone stela with a seated figure of a king, whose face had been chipped out, was also excavated at N50.22 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 310), whilst two fragments of a chalkstone stela depicting a king apparently smiting an enemy originated from P47.29 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 143). A possible stela fragment depicting a standing royal figure worshipping the Aten was excavated at O49.23; the face of the figure was again chipped out (CoA I, 17, pl. X.1). This is an unusual piece in that it seems to have had a very high raised border, contained within which is a further curved border, thus seemingly imitating a shrine. If indeed part of a stela, there seems little room for other figures to be represented. None of the other royal-family stelae from



Figure II.5.7. Fragment of the upper corner of a flat-topped royal-family stela with cavetto preserving the cartouches of Nefertiti from Q45.89 in the Main City. Obj. 25/121. (After EES negative 24–5.216. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

the site appear to be in this form, although an example showing Shed and Isis from the Workmen's Village is (CoA I, 96, pl. XXVIII; see page 143).

A fragment of limestone decorated with part of a chair and a seated figure in relief, with traces of red paint, was excavated at Q44.4 (Room 3) in the Main City, and is possibly part of a royal family stela (obj. 23/325). It measures 6 x 6 cm. A second relief fragment from this room bore an image of a royal male figure, presumably Akhenaten, standing and offering a floral bouquet to the Aten (obj. 23/324; Figure II.5.8). This is possibly also

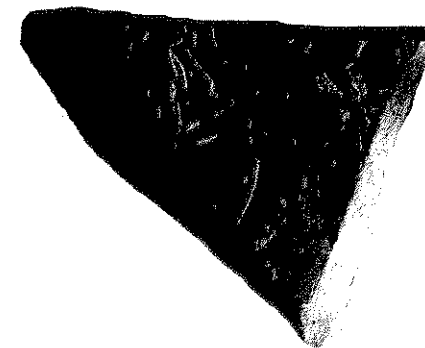


Figure II.5.8. Fragment of a stela showing a male royal figure offering a floral bouquet to the Aten. Obj. 23/324. (After EES negative 25.53. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

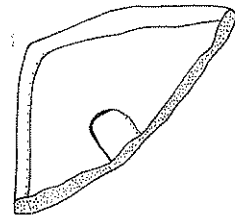


Figure II.5.9. Top of a small limestone stela or plaque showing the top of a figure in a tall blue crown. AMP 24524. (Drawn by the author).

a stela fragment; it measures 12 x 14 cm and bore traces of red and blue paint. The two fragments are unlikely to have originated from the same object.

A fragment from the upper corner of a very small round-topped stela or plaque in the Ägyptisches Museum (AMP 24524; Figure II.5.9) also appears to show a royal figure. The fragment has a raised border and an incised and painted feature that seems to be a blue crown. A painted border of papyrus heads is depicted on the reverse. It seems to have originated from Amarna, although its specific find context is unknown.

Distribution

MC 12 + 6?
NS 2

Object and museum numbers

Stelae found beyond the Central City:
King, queen, princesses and Aten: 12/13.1200 (Cairo JE 44865); Louvre E 11624; thought to originate from Amarna: BM EA 24431; AMP 14145
King, queen and Aten: 11/12.389 (AMP 20716), 11.70 (AMP 25574); 23/390, 32/122; said to be from Amarna: AMP 17813
Amenhotep III and Tiye: 24/540B? (BM EA 57 399)
King: 11/264 (AMP 24602)
Miscellaneous & fragmentary: 11.579, 11/12.456, 13/14.479 (AMP 24601), 13/14.1045; 21/65, 23/324, 23/325, 24/879, 25/121, 30/50 (Cairo JE 55458); Ash. 1933.1205; AMP 24524

Publications

King, queen, princesses and Aten: Petrie 1894, 40–1, pl. I.16; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 160; see also Saleh and Sourouzzian 1987, no. 167; Murnane 1995, 87; Russmann 2001, 144–5, no. 60
King, queen and Aten: Borchardt 1923, 9, Abb. 5; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 250, 333
Amenhotep III and Tiye: Griffith 1926b, 302
King: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 287
Miscellaneous & fragmentary: CoA I, 17, pl. X.1; Pendlebury 1933, 117–18, pl. XVI.3; CoA II, 46, pl. XL.7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 83, 143, 182, 310

Symbolism and parallels

Members of the royal family can be depicted on stelae that served primarily funerary or commemorative functions. New Kingdom stelae used for votive purposes are also known that depict living, and sometimes deceased, kings in their role as an intermediary to a deity (Altenmüller 1981; Sørensen 1989, 120; Pinch 1993, 95). Examples of such have been found at a number of sites, including in the vicinity of temples and burials at Giza (Hassan 1953, 41–5) and at the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 95). Other votive stelae depict deceased kings, or cult images thereof, either alone or in the company of deities, and generally being worshipped (Wente 1963; Pinch 1993, 95). Examples are known from the shrine of Thutmose III at Gurob (Loat 1905, 2, 7–8, pls XV–XVIII), Deir el-Medina (Černý 1958, no. 10; Sadek 1988, 65, 69) and Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 95, pl. 9.2). Other votive stelae depict statues of living kings being worshipped (Habachi 1969, 34, pl. 21; el-Sayed 1979; Pinch 1993, 95–6).

As is well known, there are few parallels to the Amarna royal-family stelae, upon which members of the living royal family are shown, seemingly as images of worship. An important parallel is provided by a shrine-shaped stela from Thebes, on which Thutmose III is apparently shown as a living, deified king. This was fitted originally with wooden doors. It has been suggested to have served as a focus for domestic cult, thereby serving as a possible forerunner to the Amarna royal-family stelae (Holden in Brovarski et al. 1982, 298, no. 407; Radwan 1998, 334, note 45).

Traditional deities

Amun

At least two small stelae decorated with images of rams, possibly connected with the cult of Amun, have been excavated. A limestone stela measuring 7.5 x 7.0 cm found in Main Street 9 at the Workmen's Village, in the room identified by the excavators as the bedroom, bore an incised image of the 'ram of Amun' (CoA I, 66, 80, pl. LIV; Figure II.5.10). A second, chalkstone, example measuring 7.6 x 5.5 cm was found at N48.9 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 182); it is now in the Ägyptisches Museum (AMP 24973; Figure II.5.11). It bears a red- and black-painted image of a ram wearing a double-feather crown standing on a raised platform. In the excavation report, the presence of a worshipper is also noted, but there is no trace of such a figure today.

Distribution

MC 1
WV 1

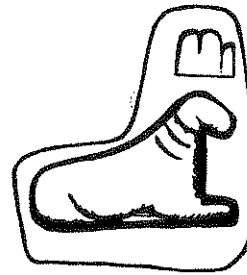


Figure II.5.10. Small limestone plaque or stela with an incised image of a probable ram, from the 'bedroom' of Main Street 9 in the Workmen's Village. Obj. 22/139. Scale unknown. (Drawn by the author, after CoA I, pl. LIV.139. Reproduced courtesy of the EES)

Object and museum numbers

11/12.275 (AMP 24973); 22/139

Publications

CoA I, 66, 80; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 182

Symbolism and parallels

The association of the ram with Amun has been noted (page 61). Votive stelae dedicated to Amun have been found at a number of sites, including the mortuary chapel of Wadjmose near the Ramesseum (PM II, 445; Bomann 1991, 83), Memphis (Petrie 1909, 8, pls VII, XVI) and at the private chapels at Deir el-Medina (Sadek 1988, 63, 65).

Cobra deity

Up to five stelae depict cobra deities. An example from N49.56 in the Main City (obj. 25/34; Figure II.5.12), now in Brooklyn (BMA 25.886.22), bears faint traces, in red and

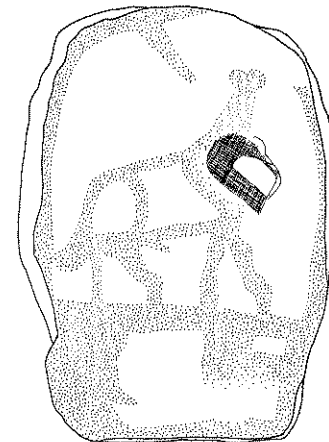


Figure II.5.11. Small roughly cut stela with painted image in red (dotted) and black (cross-hatched) of a ram on a platform. Obj. 11/12.275 (AMP 24973). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author).

black paint, of a person wearing a long garment and long wig standing with arms upraised in front of a cobra. The cobra wears a solar disk and horns. Traces of a second, smaller person are visible behind the larger individual. The stela does not stand on a flat base, but is pierced through the top. It measures 12.6 x 9.5 cm. A round-topped stela from T35.25 in the North Suburb appears to show two incised figures in kilts, and possibly wearing crowns, flanking a central figure (obj. 30/200; CoA II, 48, pl. XXXV.5). The latter can be identified tentatively as a coiled cobra wearing a crown. The crown, and the presence of possible royal figures on the stela, might indicate that the cobra represents Wadjet. As noted above (page 135), it is suggested in the excavation report that the other figures represent Akhenaten and a princess, but this is not certain. The stela is unable to stand on a flat surface, and the decoration is extremely rough. It measures 6.2 cm in height (stated incorrectly as 62 cm in the excavation report).

A roughly shaped limestone stela from the 'bedroom' of Long Wall Street 8 at the Workmen's Village shows two incised cobras wearing solar disks flanking an altar or stand (CoA I, 66, 85, pl. XXIII.4). It measures approximately 23 x 19 cm. A round-topped stela from Q45.45 in the Main City was also relatively large, measuring 24 x 17.2 cm (obj. 24/884; Figure II.5.13). The incised decoration again appears to have been very rough, and was probably unfinished, but possibly shows two cobras with solar disks. A small, roughly round-topped stela measuring 7.6 cm in height from Q45.44 in the Main City also bore a crudely incised representation of two cobras wearing crowns, possibly the red crown and double crown (obj. 24/1043a; Figure II.5.14). Traces of a further figure or object are visible in front of the cobras.

Distribution

MC 3
NS 1
WV 1

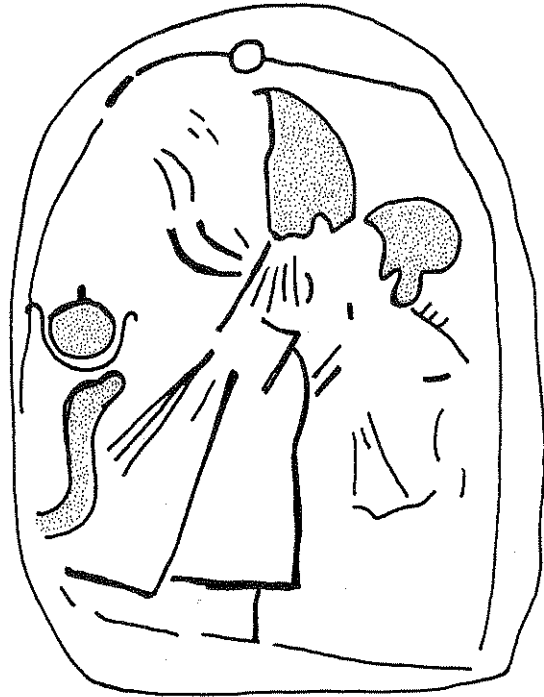


Figure II.5.12. Round-topped stela with a painted design in red (dotted) and black of two figures worshipping a sacred snake, from N49.56 in the Main City. Obj. 25/34 (BMA 25.886.22). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after an illustration by the author).



Figure II.5.13. Round-topped stela, probably unfinished, with a possible image of two cobras wearing solar disks, from Q45.45 in the Main City. Obj. 24/884. (After an unnumbered EES negative. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Figure II.5.14. Small round-topped stela with incised image of two cobras wearing crowns, from Q45.44 in the Main City. Obj. 24/1043a. (After EES negative 24.203. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).



Object and museum numbers

22/130, 24/884, 24/1043A, 25/34 (BMA 25.886.22), 30/200 (Cairo JE 55459)

Publications

CoA I, 66, 85, pl. XXIII.4; CoA II, 48, pl. XXXV.5

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the cobra motif has been discussed (pages 50–1). Amongst provenanced parallels are votive stelae dedicated to Renenutet from the mortuary chapel of Wadjmose near the Ramesseum (PM II, 445; Bomann 1991, 83). The decoration on stela 24/1043a from Amarna is similar to that on an ostrakon found at the temple associated with the proposed tomb of Ahmose at Abydos (Ayrtton et al. 1904, pl. XLVIII.18). Meretseger was also frequently depicted on stelae from the Theban region, and was the deity most often represented on stelae from the village, cemetery and private chapels at Deir el-Medina (Maspero 1893, 402–10; Bruyère 1929; 1930a; Sadek 1988, 65–6; Tosi 1988, 172).

Elephantine triad

A round-topped stela found at building P48.4 in the Main City bore a depiction of a priest worshipping in front of an offering-table, below Khnum, Satis and Anukis (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 222, Taf. 28; Seidmayer in Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 345–7; 1983, 204–6). It is significantly larger and of better quality than most stelae depicting deities other than the Aten from Amarna. Building P48.4 itself may have functioned as a public shrine (Kemp 1995, 30; see Part II.14).

Distribution

MC 1

Object and museum numbers

12/13.1251

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 222, Taf. 28

Symbolism and parallels

Khnum was one of the principal creator gods (Morenz 1973, 264). Satis was a protectress of the southern border of Egypt, and was also associated with purification in the funerary sphere, whilst Anukis was similarly associated with the first cataract, and linked with the gazelle hunt (Otto in LÄ I; Valbelle 1981). Both goddesses appear in protective roles in New Kingdom magical spells (Valbelle 1981, 119–20). The three deities were worshipped as a triad at Elephantine, possibly from at least the Eleventh Dynasty (Habachi 1950; Kaiser et al. 1976, 69–75; Kemp 1989, 74). Stelae and ostraca depicting the Elephantine triad have also been found at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère

1926, 196; 1939, 198; Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 130; Bomann 1991, 73).

Ptah/Ptah and Sekhmet

Ptah is represented on up to three stelae (but see also stela 13/14.587, on page 143). A small stone stela or plaque measuring 3 cm in height from U33.2 in the North Suburb bore an incised representation of the god (obj. 31/634; CoA II, 72, pl. XXXV.6; Figure II.5.15). A round-topped stela from U33.11 in the North Suburb bore a similar image of Ptah holding a staff, painted in black (obj. 31/150; CoA II, 76, pl. XXXV.6; Figure II.5.16). This measured around 4.5–5 cm in height.

A round-topped chalkstone stela measuring 32 cm in height from O47.15 in the Main City (ÄMP 24526; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86; Figure II.5.17) bears faint traces of a scene showing two figures painted in red and black in an upper register. That on the right holds a *w's*-sceptre and appears to be mummiform. It wears no crown, and can probably be identified as Ptah. The figure on the left appears to be in the form of a striding, lion-headed goddess wearing a solar disk and holding a sceptre, possibly Sekhmet. Between the figures are two offering-stands supporting curved objects, perhaps bread. The stela is 32 cm high and 24 cm wide.

Distribution

MC 1
NS 2

Object and museum numbers

13/14.1031 (ÄMP 24526); 31/634 (Cairo JE 57312); 31/150 (Ash. 1922.1138)

Publications

CoA II, 72, pl. XXXV.6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86

Symbolism and parallels

The roles of the Ptah and Sekhmet have been discussed (pages 38–9). During the New Kingdom, Sekhmet appeared as the consort of Ptah at Memphis, in particular, but the deities appear together at a number of other sites (Sternberg in LÄ V, 326). Ptah was depicted frequently on votive stelae from Memphis, often in the company of Sekhmet (Petrie 1909, 7–8, pls VII–XI, XIV–XV, XVII; Schulman 1963a, 597–8; 1988, 84). Recent excavations at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham have revealed evidence that Ptah and Sekhmet were worshipped together in small shrines at this site (Snape 2002a; 2002b). Both deities also appear on votive stela, individually and together, at the Sekhmet shrine at the mortuary temple of Sahure (Borchardt 1910, 122–9). Ptah also appears alone on, for example, a votive stela from the Hathor shrine at Gebel Zeit (Castel and Soukiasian 1985, 290, pl. LXII) and stelae found within the village

Figure II.5.15. Small plaque with an incised figure of Ptah from U33.2 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/634. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by G. Denning, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

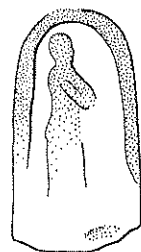


Figure II.5.16. Small round-topped plaque or stela with a black-painted image of Ptah, from U33.11 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/150. Scale c. 1:1. (Drawn by G. Denning, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

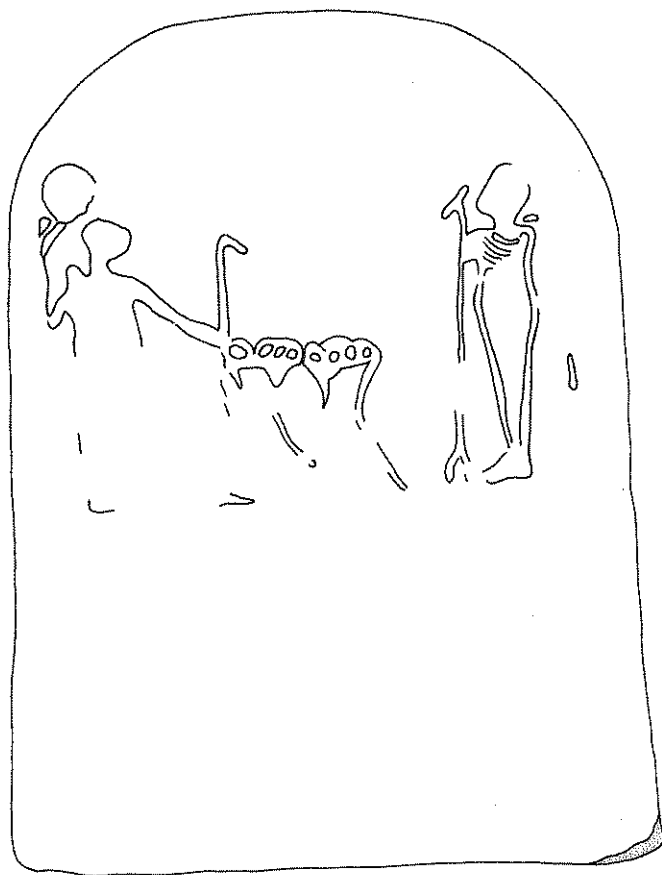


Figure II.5.17. Round-topped stela showing two figures painted in red and black (shown in outline here), probably Sekhmet and Ptah. From O47.15 in the Main City. Obj. 13/14.1031 (ÄMP 24526). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after an illustration by the author).

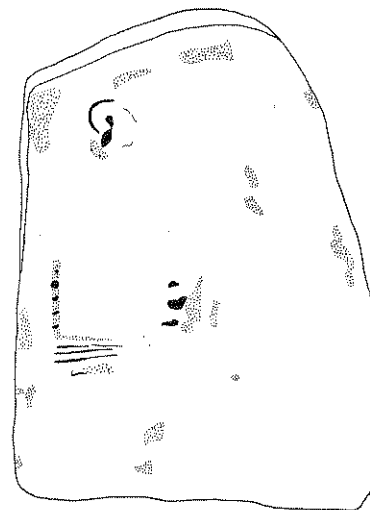


Figure II.5.18. Roughly round-topped stela showing a figure painted in black and red (dotted), seemingly with a sidelock and seated on a raised platform. Obj. 13/14.587 (ÄMP 24981). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author).

It may represent Shed, who can be depicted wearing a sidelock (Loukianoff 1931; Brunner in LÄ V, 548; Romano 1991, 90), although deities such as Khonsu and Horus the Child can also be shown with this feature, as can children, royal offspring, priests and private dedicatees shown on *sh ikrrn R*-stelae (see Müller in LÄ III; Demarée 1983, 95, 112; Romano 1991). The German excavators, however, identified the figure as Ptah (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 136); perhaps the 'side-lock' is actually part of a skull cap. The stela does not stand on a flat surface. It measures 17.9 x 13.4 cm.

at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 307, fig. 178; Tosi 1988, 162, fig. 223).

Shed/Shed and Isis

Two limestone stelae that depict Shed were found in the shrine of Chapel 525 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 96–7). One is round-topped, and shows a painted figure of the god holding a staff and a bow. A scorpion pierced by two arrows lies at his feet. A partially preserved inscription reads: 'Shed, great god, lord of heaven, lord of the Two Lands, ruler!' (CoA I, 96, pl. XXVIII.4). The stela measures 25 cm in height. The second stela is rectangular with a cavetto cornice, and measures 44.4 x 32.4 cm. In the lower register, an individual named Ptahmay is shown worshipping Shed and Isis, who stand in the upper register (Cairo JE 46954; CoA I, 96–7, 104, pl. XXVIII.1–3). Shed holds a staff, quiver of arrows and bow, and a scorpion surmounted by two arrows again lies at his feet. Isis stands with her right arm extended, holding an *nh*-sign to the god's face. In front of the goddess is a pottery altar supporting a lotus flower and a *hs*-vase. The scene is surrounded with offering-formulae to the deities. On either side of the stela are scenes of Ptahmay with his wife and children.

A roughly shaped, round-topped stela found in house P47.24 in the Main City (ÄMP 24981; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137; Figure II.5.18) seems to show a figure with a sidelock, possibly seated, on a raised platform. The red- and black-painted decoration is extremely poorly preserved, and the identity of the figure is uncertain.

Shed might also be depicted on a fragment of relief from the site, although the identity of the figure is disputed (Romano 1983; 1991; Brunner 1984).

Distribution

MC	17
WV	2

Object and museum numbers

Cairo 46954; possible Shed image: 13/14/587 (ÄMP 24981)

Publications

Peet 1921, 181–2, pl. XXIX.3; CoA I, 96, 104, pl. XXVIII.1–4; see also Bomann 1991, 35–6, 66; possible Shed image: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137

Symbolism and parallels

Shed first appeared in the Egyptian pantheon during the Eighteenth Dynasty, although there are relatively few known representations of the god from this time (Loukianoff 1931, 68–76; Romano 1991, 90). He is depicted most frequently on magic statues from the later New Kingdom, where he provides protection against scorpions or snakes. He is eventually identified with Horus (Daressy 1916; Ritner 1986, 104; 1989, 109). The name of the god has been interpreted widely as 'Saviour' but, in some cases, may be translated more appropriately as 'Reciter' or 'Enchanter' (Ritner 1986, 103–4; 1989, 109–10). Stelae depicting Shed and Isis, sometimes together, have also been excavated at private chapels at Deir el-Medina (Daressy 1916; Bruyère 1952, 73–5; Sadek 1988, 61, 63, 129–30). Isis could function similarly as an enchantress, and the two deities

are represented together on later magic statues (Ritner 1986, 103; 1989, 110).

Taweret

A roughly cut, round-topped limestone stela (Figure II.5.19) found in a chamber below the stairs in house N49.21 in the Main City bore a painted depiction of Taweret, wearing a solar disk and horns and being worshipped by a woman and a boy (see page 247 on the misidentification of the find provenance of this stela). Three columns for inscriptions are located above the heads of the worshippers, but are blank. The stela measures 15.2 x 12.7 cm.

Distribution
MC 1

Object and museum numbers
21/424 (CAM 1921.279)

Symbolism and parallels
CoA I, 25, pl. XII.2; see also Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 66–7, no. 16a

The role of Taweret has been discussed (page 40). Stelae depicting Taweret were excavated in the village and in a chapel at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1930b, 19–20, fig.

1; 1939, 198–9, 334; Sadek 1988, 70). A parallel to the Amarna stela can also be seen in a small New Kingdom stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum (E.31.1937), possibly from Gurob or Lahun, on which a prince is depicted worshipping the goddess (Martin 2005, 98, no. 64).

Thoth/Thoth and Min

At least four stelae from the site depict Thoth. An example found at T34.1 in the North Suburb bears a painted depiction of the god as a baboon, wearing a solar disk and horns, seated on an altar (obj. 30/559; CoA II, 66, pl. XXXV.3; Figure II.5.20). The excavators noted that traces of gilding were present on the stela (CoA II, 66). The stela measures 6.7 x 4 cm. It was found associated with 'squatters' walls in the later porch' (CoA II, 66). A round-topped chalkstone stela from M50.4 in the Main City, which measures 10.7 x 9.7 cm, appears to show an incised figure wearing a solar disk and horns squatting on a raised platform (ÄMP 24508; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 295). In the excavation report, a stela depicting an 'Affe mit Mond auf dem Kopf, auf Altar, davor ein Bes' is recorded from N50.4 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 295), but a stela with an 'Affe mit Mond auf dem Kopf (stark verwischt), auf der Rückseite sehr verwischtes Zeichen' is also recorded from M50.4 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 284). Both stelae are given the same excavation number, 11,178. It is likely that there



Figure II.5.19. Roughly shaped stela with a painted image of a woman and boy worshipping Taweret, from N49.21 in the Main City. Obj. 21/424 (CAM 1921.279). (After EES negative 21.521. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).



Figure II.5.20. Small round-topped stela with a painted image of a baboon god wearing a disk and horns from T34.1 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/559. (After EES negative 30.O.64. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

is only one such stela, and that N50.4 is a misreading of M50.4, the provenance listed on the object registration card in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin. Although the decoration is extremely poorly preserved, the figure probably represents Thoth in the form of a baboon. There are some traces of decoration preserved both in front of and behind the figure of Thoth. These resemble floral motifs, but cannot be identified with certainty. The suggestion that a Bes-image is represented, noted above, should be considered tentative. On the reverse is a motif that resembles a two-handled vase, but it is not clear whether this has been incised deliberately or is a natural feature of the stone. The top of the stela is pierced by a hole that measures 0.75 cm in diameter, and is slightly off centre.

A small rough stone stela from O49.9 also bore a standing ape-headed figure painted in black that the excavators suggested represented Thoth; and a rough sandstone slab from O47.5 was painted with two figures identified by the excavators as Min and Thoth, the latter shown as an ape (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 78, 248).

A rough rectangular slab of limestone from U36.44 in the North Suburb bore a black- and red-painted image of a baboon on a low plinth, facing an offering table (CoA II, 19, pl. XXXV.1). It measures 11 x 9 cm.

Distribution
MC 3
NS 2

Object and museum numbers

11.178 (ÄMP 24508), 11/12.1627, 13/14.345; 29/140, 30/559 (Cairo JE 55460)

Publications

CoA II, 19, 66, pl. XXXV.1, 3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 78, 248, 295; see also Bosse-Griffiths 1984, 747

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Thoth has been discussed previously (page 40). Stelae and ostraca depicting Thoth were found at Deir el-Medina, sometimes in association with private chapels (Bruyère 1930b, 29, 51–2, fig. 8.2; Vandier D'Abbadie 1937, 131–2, 2635–8, pls LXXXIII–IV; Brunner-Traut 1956, 81–2, no. 82, pl. XXXI; Sadek 1988, 70). Min was a fertility god, who was associated with Amun as a creator god by the New Kingdom (Morenz 1973, 265; Gundlach in LÄ IV). Votive stelae depicting Min are known from as early as the Middle Kingdom (Malaise 1981 279–81), whilst a Seventeenth Dynasty votive stela from the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim depicts a statue of the god (Castel and Soukiasian 1985, 289, pl. LXI; Pinch 1993, 100). Min was also depicted on votive stelae from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1926, 196).

Private individuals

A small number of stelae depict private individuals. A stela found opposite Main Street 4 at the Workmen's Village is painted with a man seated on a chair wearing a long white kilt, wig and a perfume cone (Amsterdam 3733; CoA I, 66, 68; Demarée 1983, 164, pl. XIX.C7). He holds a lotus flower, and an offering-table piled with bread and a string of onions is placed in front of him. The stela is 14.8 cm high. Its surface is covered with a resinous coating. Demarée (1983, 164) suggested that this may be modern, although the presence of a 'resinous varnish' is noted on the original registration card (obj. 22/181), which suggests that the coating was present at the time of excavation.

Fragments of the upper part of a round-topped chalkstone stela were recovered recently by the EES Expedition from a dump of excavated material behind the Expedition Dig House (obj. 37607; Figure II.5.21). The dump contained material from both the early EES work and the DOG excavations. There is no visible excavation number, nor similar notation, on the fragments, but it is likely, in fact, that they are the 'Oberteil einer abgerundeten Stele mit flachem Relief' recorded from Q47.14 in the Main City (obj. 12/13.1247; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 158). The fragments preserve a scene of a male figure, with slightly elongated bald head, who stretches his arm out to a table of offerings. A female figure wearing a straight wig is positioned behind him.

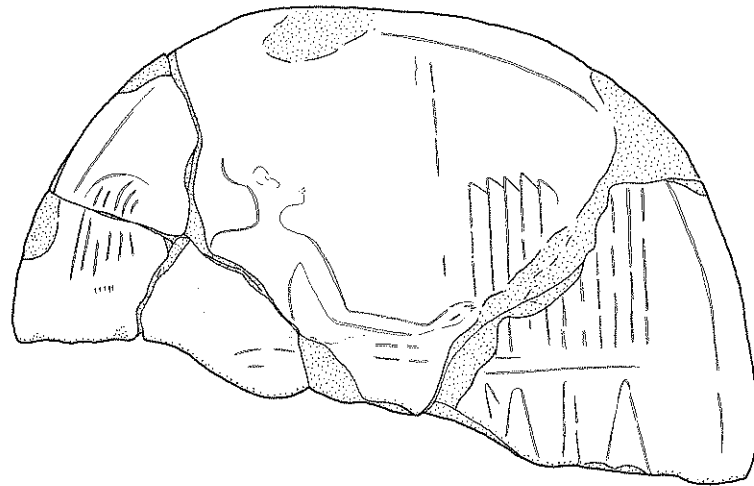


Figure II.5.21. Upper part of a round-topped stela found in a dump of material from the early EES and DOG excavations, but possibly from the DOG excavations at house Q47.14 in the Main City. The incised decoration shows a male figure with a table of offerings before him. A female figure stands or is seated behind him. Object 37607. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author. Courtesy of the EES).

The scene is carved in low relief, and bears no trace of paint.

A round-topped stela partially wrapped in linen found leaning against a wall at house R44.2, that of the priest Panehesy, bears a painted scene of two men, Menena and Yaya, seated on stools being served food and drink by two women, Tashety and Mery (San Diego 14881; Griffith 1926a, 302; Aldred 1973, 205, no. 141; Der Manuelian in Freed et al. 1999 256, no. 175; Figure II.5.22). The stela measures 19.7 x 17.2 cm.

A small stela in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 30962; Figure II.5.23) shows two figures, both of whom are possibly private individuals. The stela measures 10.3 x 9.9 cm, and is roughly round-topped. Although it originated from the excavations of the DOG at Amarna, its specific provenance is not recorded. It does not appear to be listed in the published excavation records. The decoration is painted in red and black, but is poorly

preserved. On the left is a standing figure, seemingly male, with one arm outstretched, wearing a long kilt. His other arm is possibly placed behind his back. He appears to wear a closely cropped black wig. There is no trace of a crown or uraeus, which suggests that the figure is not royal, or at least not a king. The body of the figure and his kilt is outlined in black, but his torso appears to be filled in with red paint. In front of this figure stands another individual, with one arm raised and the other extending out in front. The figure wears a long wig,



Figure II.5.22. Round-topped stela with well preserved painted decoration showing two women serving food and drinks to two seated males, from R44.2 in the Main City, San Diego 14881. (After EES negative 24.130. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Figure II.5.23. Roughly cut stela with painted scene in red (dotted) and black of two standing figures; that on the right probably in a posture of adoration. ÄMP 30962. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author).

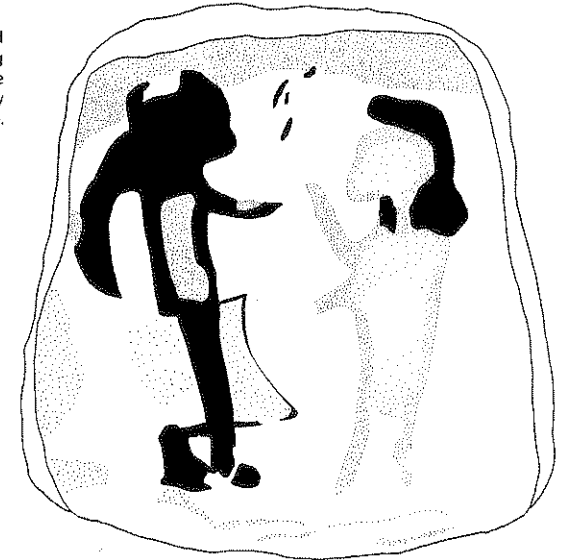


Figure II.5.24. Roughly cut stela with a painted scene in black and red (dotted) of a figure seated before an offering table, from P47.24 in the Main City. Obj. 13/14.586 (ÄMP 24987). (Drawn by the author).

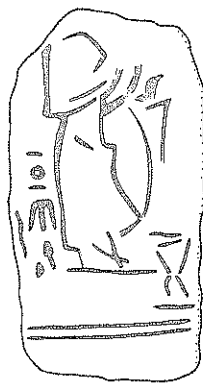


Figure II.5.25. Small stela with incised decoration of a figure wearing a probable kilt with arms raised in front of a tall offering stand. From T36.67 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/283 (Hunt. D.1931.20). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after an illustration by the author).

but its sex is indeterminable. It is possibly worshipping or offering to the figure on the left. It appears to be placed at a slightly lower level, although there is no clear indication that the figure on the left stood on an elevated platform or in a shrine. The figure on the right is painted in red; only its hair is black. Between the two are faint traces of black paint. These perhaps represent the top of an object such as a staff held by one of the figures, but could also be the remains of an inscription. The entire scene is surrounded by a rough red border.

A second round-topped, chalkstone stela in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 24987; Figure II.5.24) might also depict a private individual. The decoration is again painted and poorly preserved, but seems to show an individual wearing a long kilt seated on a high-backed chair. The skin of the figure is red, the kilt is white, and the other details are black. A curved line of black paint, perhaps the top of a staff, is visible in front of the figure's face. Above the front of the head is another rounded, black feature. An offering-stand supporting unidentifiable goods is placed before the figure, above which is a single column of illegible hieroglyphs, perhaps a name. On the upper edge of the stela is a series of linear, black-painted marks, possibly part of a floral motif, and perhaps intended to convey the idea that the figure was seated in a bower-like construction. The stela

measures 9.4 x 8.5 x 3.4 cm, and originated from P47.24 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137). Its base is only roughly flattened, but it does stand upright on a flat surface. Support for the identification of the figure as a private individual can be found in the apparent lack of cartouches. There is little indication that the figure wore headwear associated exclusively with royalty or deities. The wig is perhaps a *khat* headdress. Whilst the feature towards the top of the figure's head can almost be resolved into a uraeus, it does appear to be too large for this. Whilst royalty and deities often hold staves, so too can private individuals in representational art (Fischer 1978). On the larger royal-family stelae, the king and queen are generally shown with their feet on footstools, a feature that appears to be lacking on this stela. Whilst a few round-topped royal family stela are known, most are also flat-topped.

A limestone stela from T36.67 in the North Suburb also appears to depict a private individual (Hunt. D.1931.20; CoA II, 62, pl. XXXV.5; Figure II.5.25). The incised decoration shows a person wearing a kilt and long wig with arms raised, in front of a tall pot stand. Behind the figure is a column of incised, largely illegible, hieroglyphs, perhaps a personal name. The stela measures 7.0 x 3.9 cm. As noted above (pages 135–6; Figure II.5.4), at least three other stelae, ÄMP 24601, Ash. 1933.1205 and an unnumbered example from the 1924 EES season, possibly also depict private individuals.

Note also the six stelae depicting private individuals found in the tomb of the official Any by Barsanti (Davies 1908a, 9–11, pls XXI–XXIII; Corteggiani 1987, 108–9; Kemp 1989, 304; see pages 265, 313, 325–6). A flat-topped stela showing a western Asiatic soldier drinking from a jar accompanied by his wife and a servant in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 14122) is also thought to have originated from Amarna (Sandman 1938, 180; Kendall in Freed et al. 1999, 239, no. 114).

Distribution

MC	2
NS	1
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

'1688' (ÄMP 30962); 13/14.586 (ÄMP 24987); 22/181 (Amsterdam 3733); 30/283 (Hunt. D.1931.20); San Diego 14881

Publications

CoA I, 66, 68; CoA II, 62, pl. XXXV.5; Griffith 1926a, 302; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137, 158

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst stelae depicting private individuals are again known primarily from funerary contexts, they have

also been excavated in association with temples and in residential areas (Schulman 1986, 312–3). Those from domestic contexts can often be assigned to the group of *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae. These usually depict seated figures, most often males, holding lotus flowers, although there is some variation in their composition (Demarée 1983, 173–5; Schulman 1986, 303). Some of the figures may represent statues (Martin 1982, 83, note 18; Schulman 1986, 303; see page 131). Although most identify the individual represented as an *3h ikr n R^c*, other examples that lack this inscription can probably be assigned to this group of stelae on the basis of iconography (Demarée 1983, 157–72; Schulman 1986, 314, 318). Within a household context, the stelae are thought to have functioned as the point of contact between the living and the dead, or the place where the living would make offerings to deceased ancestors in expectation of reciprocal assistance. Deir el-Medina provides the clearest evidence of the use of the stelae in domestic contexts, but examples have also been found in association with chapels at this site (Demarée 1983; 1986; Sadek 1988, 63; Friedman 1994, 113). *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae have also been recovered from Abydos, Memphis, and other Theban sites, often in the vicinity of temples and tombs (Demarée 1983, 184; Schulman 1986, 314–5; Giddy 1999, 300–1, pls 66, 92). Most appear to date to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although late Eighteenth Dynasty examples are known (Demarée 1983, 186–7; Friedman 1994, 112). A wooden 'funerary' stela depicting a private individual found in a niche on a domestic shrine in an early Eighteenth Dynasty house at Askut (Smith 1993, 497, fig. 18; 1995, 139–47, fig. 6.3), might represent an early example of a stela used as a component of a private-ancestor cult.

Demarée (1983, 164) noted that the stela from opposite Main Street 4 at Amarna, although uninscribed, seems to be a form of *3h ikr n R^c*-stela. There is some evidence to identify ÄMP 24987, in particular, as another example. It is not clear whether the figure shown is identified in an inscription as an *3h ikr* or *3h ikr n R^c*, but even if such an inscription was lacking, the scale, shape and overall composition of the stela are in keeping with those of known *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae. Although most dedicatees on the latter hold lotus flowers to their faces, a feature that does not appear to be shown on ÄMP 24987 (although it is possible that the top of the 'staff' is actually part of a lotus flower), in a small number of cases they stretch out their hand towards offerings, or hold an 'dj'-sceptre, or a staff or stick (Demarée 1983, 18, 86–92, 157, pls II, IX). In their other hand, the figures frequently hold a fold of cloth. Although there is little clear indication of such an object on the Amarna stela, the posture of the figure would be in keeping with its presence. The high-backed chair and long, white kilt shown on the stela are features of *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae. The dedicatees on the latter are also often depicted with an open lotus flower on top of their

head. It is certainly conceivable that the feature above the figure on ÄMP 24987 was part of such a flower.

It is also possible that ÄMP 30962 should be assigned to this group. The absence of a clear trace of a lotus flower held by the figure is again an impediment to its identification as such, although it remains possible that one was present originally, given the poor preservation of the stela. Most dedicatees on *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae are depicted wearing wigs of shoulder length or longer, and sometimes the so-called Nubian wig, although examples with shaved heads are known (Demarée 1983, 47–9, 93–4, pls V, IX). Similarly, although the dedicatees on *3h ikr n R^c*-stelae are generally shown seated, they are occasionally depicted standing either on their own or worshipping a deity (see Bruyère 1939, 290, fig. 161; Demarée 1983, 117–19, 157–8, pl. XI; Schulman 1986, 303, 326). In at least one case, on a stela in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (E 13600), the dedicatee is shown standing, without a lotus flower, whilst a private individual offers him a *hs*-vase (Schulman 1986, 323–5).

The preserved iconography – private figures and an offering table – on the fragmentary stela recovered from the excavation dump (obj. 37607) is also broadly in keeping with these stelae.

Finally, a note is required of an *3h ikr n R^c*-stela in the Cincinnati Art Museum (1947.55) published by Martin (1982, 83–4). On this stela, an individual identified as 'the Osiris, excellent spirit Semet' is depicted seated on a high-backed chair holding a lotus flower and being worshipped by his son and daughter. A date of the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty can be suggested on stylistic grounds (Martin 1982, 83–4). Information in the museum records, apparently obtained from the dealer, lists its find provenance as Amarna. Martin dismissed this as unlikely, on the basis of the reference to Osiris, but in light of the increasing evidence for similar monuments from Amarna, albeit without direct references to Osiris, the possibility of an Amarna provenance for this piece should certainly remain open.

Ear stelae

A limestone stela painted with several ears in red and black was found at house T36.77 in the North Suburb. The stela is pierced at the top and measures 9.5 x 5 cm. It is approximately rectangular in shape, although one upper corner is slightly rounded.

Distribution

NS	1
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Object and museum numbers

30/334

Publications
CoA II, 52, pl. XXXV.5

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the ear motif has been discussed. Ear stelae can depict either single or multiple ears alone, but deities such as Amun-Re or Ptah, worshippers and offerings can also be represented (Sadek 1988, 246–65). Ear stelae have been found primarily in association with temples; amongst examples are those from the shrine of Sekhmet at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 128–9, Abb. 174; Sadek 1988, 32, 250). Others have been excavated in association with the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple of Ptah at Memphis, many of which were dedicated to this god (Petrie 1909, 7, pls IX–XIII; PM III/2, 834; Sadek 1988, 247–9). Ear stelae, some of which were dedicated to Horemakhet, were also found at Giza (Hassan 1953, 43–4; Sadek 1988, 247), whilst a fragmentary ear stela was excavated within a domestic context at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 267, fig. 140).

Miscellaneous and unidentifiable

A number of stelae found amongst residential areas are too poorly preserved to allow for exact identification. A round-topped limestone stela excavated in the grounds to the south-east of the Workmen's Village bears faint traces of red paint that can possibly be resolved into a standing figure holding an elongated object in an outstretched arm (obj. 5968). The stela measures 23.3 x 16.5 x 3.3 cm. A round-topped stela, measuring 13.5 cm in height, from R44.2 in the Main City might have been decorated with roughly incised anthropomorphic figures (obj. 24/545). The present location of this piece is unknown and no further details of its form have been obtained. It was registered as a 'trial piece' but its rounded top suggests it was possibly a rough stela. A stela fragment painted with two feet wearing sandals was recorded from O49.12 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 251). At East Street 11 at the Workmen's Village, a fragment of a stela measuring approximately 15 cm in height that seems to show a naked youth with a monkey on a leash, along with the feet of another human figure,



Figure II.5.26. Lower corner of a probable stela with a kneeling figure, probably worshipping. Seemingly not assigned an object number. (After EES negative 24.203. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

was found beneath floor level in the room identified as the living room (CoA I, 72, pl. XXIII.2).

An EES archive negative from the 1924 season shows the bottom corner of a probable stela with part of a figure squatting with both arms seemingly bent in a posture of adoration (Figure II.5.26). The object number and find provenance is not recorded, but it probably originated from the excavations amongst housing areas in the Main City. The decoration recalls that of a fragmentary stela excavated at the Great Palace which shows, on one face, a kneeling figure in a posture of adoration, and on the other a scene of the Aten and royal figures (obj. 34/42



Figure II.5.27. Edge of a probable stela in wood, with a black border and part of an offering table, from R44.2 in the Main City. Obj. 24/520. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Figure II.5.28. Fragments of painted and gilded wood from Q45.67 in the Main City showing a seated figure and offering table, perhaps part of a stela or shrine. Obj. 24/791 (Ash. 1924.105). (After an unnumbered EES negative. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).



+ Petrie UC410; CoA III, 45, 232, pls LXXIII.8–9, CVII.2, 3, CVIII; Samson 1978, 103–5; see page 133). It is not clear, however, whether the fragment from the 1924 season was also double-sided.

A 17 cm-long fragment of wood registered as part of a stela found at R44.2 bore traces of decoration, possibly offerings piled on a table (obj. 24/520; Figure II.5.27). A fragment of wood measuring 11 cm in height that was also possibly part of a stela from Q45.67 (obj. 24/791) is now in the Ashmolean Museum (1924.105; Figure II.5.28). The fragment bears painted and gilded decoration over stucco that appears to show a seated figure and a table of offerings. The edge of the fragment projects slightly. If from a stela, it may have had a raised border, but the fragment could alternatively have been part of a shrine.

A small painted and polished stela-shaped slab was excavated at Q47.3 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 149) and a fragment of a small stela with remains of relief and painting was found at Q46.13 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 40). A fragment of an inscribed chalkstone stela was excavated at O49.15 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 254). The inscription appears to be unpublished and no further details of its content have been obtained. Additional stelae were recorded from R44.2 (obj. 24/540(b)), P47.24 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137), P47.25 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 138) and possibly P47.8 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110). A fragment of a large, inscribed stela was recorded from P49.1 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 260). No further details of these pieces have been obtained, and it is not clear whether they bore identifiable decoration.

Many additional stelae bore little or no decoration, although it is not always clear whether these were unfinished, or whether the decoration is simply not preserved. They include a small rough stela with faded black and red painting found at N48.8, and a chalkstone stela with traces of paint from O47.15 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86, 181). A possible stela fragment from Q46.16 bore black-painted lines (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 42). A round-topped stela measuring 10 x 7.9 x 2.8 cm from P49.8 in the Main City bore a rough border and possible traces of

a design incised on its front face, and a shallow bore-hole towards its upper edge (ÄMP 24995; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 270). Further undecorated stelae were excavated at Main Street 12 and on the surface at East Street 2 at the Workmen's Village (obj. Surf.30; CoA I, 82), and at M47.1 and P47.25 in the Main City (ÄMP 25259, 24522; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 55, 138). A rectangular limestone slab measuring 12.4 cm high in the Ägyptisches Museum (ÄMP 30961) bears traces of black, red and yellow paint on one face, but it is not possible to determine the original design. The stela is said to come from the site, but no further details of its find provenance have been obtained. A flat-topped stela measuring 24 x 17.5 cm found in house Q46.3 bore traces of stucco, but no further decoration is preserved (ÄMP 24514; Borchardt 1923, 22–3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31; Krauss 1991, 35).

A stela measuring 6.3 cm in height excavated at P43.1, the bakery and possibly industrial complex associated with the Small Aten Temple, bore a few lines on its surface, but the design is indeterminable (obj. 31/508; CoA III, 102). A fragment of a possible stela measuring 7.2 cm in height engraved with 'meaningless lines' was also found in an ancient dump at the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 13). Pendlebury (CoA III, 13) noted that this was similar to a group of small, rough stelae found at the Bucheum at Amant. The latter bore images of *crucis ansatae* (Mond and Myers 1934, pl. LXII), but it is not clear whether the Amarna example also bore such symbols or if it was similar just in form and quality.

Two stelae were also excavated recently at the private cemetery in the *wadi* by the South Tombs (see Kemp forthcoming a). Both have recessed fronts and pointed tops: one has a single point (obj. 37581), and the other three points (obj. 37640). Neither retains any decoration, apart from a circular hollow on the upper front of the single-pointed example. Rather than votive pieces, they may have been original fixtures, or markers, at graves (see also page 294).

Distribution

CC	1 + 1?
MC	19 + 2?
WV	4

Object and museum numbers

11.363 (ÄMP 25259), 11/12.498, 11/12.601, 11/12.664, 11/12.810 (ÄMP 24995), 11/12.1586, 12/13.843 (ÄMP 24514), 12/13.979, 12/13.1247, 12/13.1443, 12/13.1695, 13/14.585, 13/14.588, 13/14.661 (ÄMP 24522), 13/14.662, 13/14.808, 13/14.815, 13/14.1030; 22/42, 24/520, 24/540(b), 24/545, 24/791 (Ash. 1924.105), 31/508, 36/110; Surf. 30, 5968; said to come from Amarna: ÄMP 30961

Publications

CoA I, 72, 82, pl. XXIII.2; CoA III, 13, 102; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 31, 40, 42, 55, 86, 110, 137–8, 149, 158, 181, 251, 254, 260, 270

II.6. Ostraca and trial pieces

The following entries document figurative ostraca and trial pieces with potential religious significance; in the case of the former, the possibility that some formed part of decorated pottery vessels should be remembered. In addition to the ostraca listed here, over 100 additional examples have been encountered that are either unillustrated in the published accounts or registration cards, or are of unidentifiable form (for example, obj. 3135, 3953, 3997; CoA I, 77, 85, 87; CoA II, 22; CoA III, 84). It has not been possible to document these in any detail. Whilst some appear to have been figurative ostraca, many are likely to have borne inscriptions and fallen under the category of 'jar labels'. A number of additional 'trial pieces' are also recorded in the excavation reports, but there are again few details of their designs (for example, CoA III, 70, 83), although one example, found in a jar south of the garden shrine at house Q46.1 in the Main City, bore 'obszöne Zeichnungen' (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27).

There is little doubt that individual decorated stone blocks served primarily as sculptors' guides or trials, and many ostraca may have served similar practical and secular functions (Brunner-Traut 1956, 6–10; Page 1983, 4, 6, 18–19). Nonetheless, it is likely that some ostraca, in particular, were used within the realm of private religion. They might have been used as rudimentary

cult images intended as foci for worship, charms, votive offerings or components of magical practices (Brunner-Traut 1956, 6–10; Schulman 1963, 597; 1967, 154; Page 1983, 3–4, 7, 15).

Deities

Amun

Three ostraca depicting sacred rams, possibly associated with Amun, have been identified. A chalkstone ostrakon measuring 12 x 14.5 cm from N48.1 bears an image of a ram wearing a double-feather crown, standing in front of a large fan (Brunner-Traut 1956, 80, pl. XXX; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174). In front of the ram are two offering-stands, whilst a two-handled vessel and a person kneeling with arms in the *ki*-position, are positioned behind the animal. Further traces of unidentifiable painting appear towards the bottom of the ostrakon. It is unclear whether these elements all belong to the one scene and, if so, whether it is complete (Brunner-Traut 1956, 80). An ostrakon depicting a sacred ram with offerings was also found at T36.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 83), and a pottery fragment, measuring 9.5 cm in length, showing a ram wearing the Atef crown and

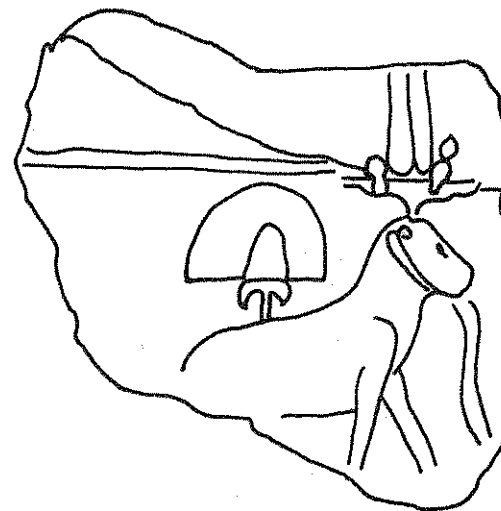


Figure II.6.1. Pottery ostrakon with an image of a sacred ram from R45.15 in the Main City. Obj. 24/687. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

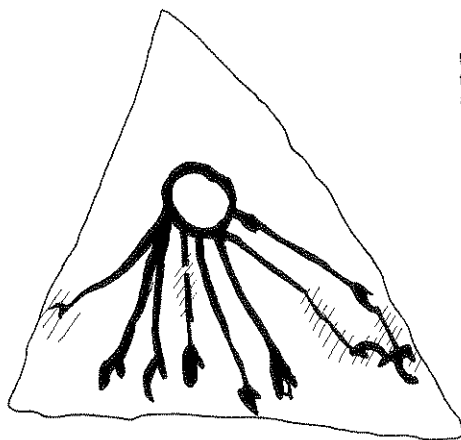


Figure II.6.2. Pottery ostrakon with an image of the Aten from the Workmen's Village. Obj. 836. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

drawing of the Aten disk and rays, but only a portion of the design is preserved (obj. 1070; Figure II.6.3).

Distribution
WV 2?

Object and museum numbers
836, 1070

Publications
Kemp 1983, 15

Symbolism and parallels

The nature and role of the Aten has been outlined previously. I have not encountered any other examples of representations of the Aten on ostraca during the present study.

Bes-image

A limestone ostrakon measuring 25.7 x 21.6 cm from the dump outside the Royal Tomb shows a Bes-image holding a staff in one hand, and a club or staff in the other (Cairo JE 59386A; Martin 1974, 75, no. 272). Martin (1974, 75) suggested this was manufactured by a workman during the construction of the Royal Tomb. A fragmentary limestone block found at the state apartments of the Great Palace was carved on one side with a detailed head of a Bes-image, and on the other with the head of a king, seemingly Akhenaten (CoA III, 70, pl. LXXI.5). A second limestone block found at the



Figure II.6.3. Pottery ostrakon with possible image of the Aten from the Workmen's Village. Obj. 1070. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Aten

A pottery sherd bearing an image of a solar disk with rays ending in hands was found in the grounds to the south of the Workmen's Village. One of the hands appears to hold an 'nh-sign. The sherd itself is triangular in shape and frames the image of the disk (obj. 836; Kemp 1983, 15; Figure II.6.2). A second pottery sherd, also from the grounds south of the village, possibly bears a similar

Figure II.6.4. Limestone trial piece with a figure of Bes, a fist and an n-hieroglyph, from the Great Palace. Obj. 35/6. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).



state apartments bore a roughly incised, centred figure that seems to represent a Bes-image, of which only the top half is preserved (obj. 35/6; CoA III, 63; Figure II.6.4). Above the head of the figure is an incised n-sign, whilst a clenched fist has been cut over the torso of the figure. The block is preserved to a height of 28.2 cm and is 16.1 cm wide.

Distribution
CC 1
RW 1

Object and museum numbers
35/6; Cairo JE 59386A

Publications
CoA III, 63, 70, pl. LXXI.5; see also Martin 1974, 75, no. 272

Symbolism and parallels

Bes-images occur with relative frequency on ostraca (Brunner-Traut 1956, 27), examples of which have also been excavated at Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 128–30, nos 2621–30). I know of no direct parallels to the Amarna 'trial pieces' however.

Falcon-headed god

An irregularly shaped chalkstone ostrakon found at P46.5 in the Main City is decorated with a standing god, seemingly with a falcon head (Figure II.6.5). He holds a probable w3d-sceptre in one hand and an 'nh-sign in the other. The figure wears a double crown with uraeus, and may represent Horus. In front of the god is a small table with two loaves of bread. The ostrakon measures 13 x 9 cm.

Distribution
MC 1

Object and museum numbers
13/14.718 (AMP 22257)

Publications

Brunner-Traut 1956, 23–4, no. 7, pl. VII; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 22

Symbolism and parallels

As noted previously (page 34), a number of gods could be shown in the form of a man with a falcon head. Ostraca depicting falcon-headed gods have been found at sites beyond Amarna, including Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 127, no. 2615, pl. LXXVIII). Ostraca with falcon-headed figures may also have been produced



Figure II.6.5. Chalkstone ostrakon with an image of a falcon-headed god from P46.5 in the Main City. Obj.13/14.718. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor after a photograph by the author).

during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Brunner-Traut 1956, 24–5, nos 8–9).

Taweret

A rectangular sherd from Long Wall Street 6 at the Workmen's Village has a drawing of two rudimentary figures, one of which is on all fours and appears to be an animal, whilst the other stands on two legs. The latter resembles, vaguely, a schematic Taweret-figure.

Distribution
WV 17

Object and museum numbers
4540

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Taweret has been discussed. Taweret-images do not seem to have been commonly represented on ostraca, although an example with a possible Taweret image was found at Sesebi (Peterson 1967, 15, Abb. 33).

Anthropoid and body parts

Royalty

The majority of trial pieces and ostraca depicting image of the royal family were found in the Central City, mainly from the vicinity of the Great Aten Temple, Great Palace, and Royal Estate. Motifs include the heads of kings (for example, CoA III, 69, pl. LXX.2), royal women (for example, CoA III, 19, pl. LIX.4) and princesses (for example, CoA III, 88). Mixed motifs sometimes occur, as seen, for example, in a trial piece depicting a head of

Nefertiti on one side, and a male figure kneeling with arms raised in an attitude of worship or prayer on the other (CoA III, 19, pl. LIX.2, 3; see also page 133). Saleh (in Freed et al. 1999, 245, no. 134) sees the figure's curly wig and facial features as Nubian, but this is debatable: the face is not strongly foreign, and similarly curled wigs are worn by Egyptians. In a few cases, the trial pieces are roughly round-topped (for example, Pendlebury 1936, pl. XX.2), whilst others are pierced (BMA 16.63; Hall 1931, 165; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 219, no. 52).

Those from the Great Aten Temple were found associated with Courts 1 and 2 of the Gem-Aten, seemingly in the foundation trenches of walls (for example, Cairo JE 59296; CoA III, 19, pls LIX.1–4) and inside the western entrance to the temenos (Hunt, D.1933.2; CoA III, 18). At the Great Palace, examples were found at the bridge (obj. 35/340; CoA III, 69, pl. LXX.2), the Weben-Aten (BMA 35.2005; CoA III, 63, pl. LXV.7), in the halls in the southern part of the complex (CoA III, 70) and at the magazines (CoA III, 37, pl. LXIII.5). At the Royal Estate they were found at the garden, magazines and bridge associated with the King's House (Pendlebury 1932, 148, pls XIV.6, XIX.2; CoA III, 88, 92, pl. LXXIV.6,7) and at the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 107, pl. LXXIV.4,5). Petrie (1894, 30) also recorded trial pieces with royal images from his excavations in the Central City, particularly from the sculptors' workshops. A number of museum collections hold royal trial pieces that appear to have derived from the site, but which retain no details of their specific find context (for example, Hall 1931, 165; Aldred 1988, pl. 1; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 219, no. 52; Fazzini in Freed et al. 1999, 245, no. 135).

Examples from the Central City were mainly larger scale trial pieces; less frequently, royal figures appear here on ostraca. An ostrakon from the south-east courts of the Great Palace shows a relatively well-drawn, striding human figure, identified in the excavation report as the king, clutching two objects (obj. 35/308; CoA III, 73). A sherd with a sketch of the king's face was also recorded from a foundation deposit at the Great Palace (CoA III, 55, 69).

A small number of royal-family trial pieces and ostraca have been excavated beyond the Central City. A limestone ostrakon showing a painted and partially carved figure of a seated princess eating a duck in front of a table piled with food was found at the North Palace, just outside a court containing a chapel (Cairo JE 48035; Newton 1924, 295, pl. XXIII.1; Badawy 1962, 92, fig. 3; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 46; D'Auria in Freed et al. 1999, 221). This measured 23.5 x 22.3 cm. A square limestone trial piece depicting the head of Akhenaten was found in the Main City, seemingly at or near O47.13 (see Borchardt 1914, 31; 1915, 454, pl. 9.2; Aldred 1973, 185, no. 115; Borchardt and

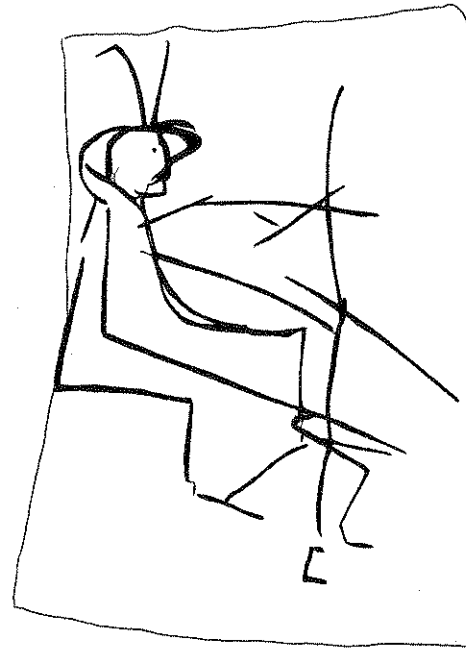


Figure II.6.6. Pottery ostrakon with a painted figure, possibly a seated king, from the grounds south of the Workmen's Village. Obj. 2062. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Ricke 1980, 86). A rectangular sherd measuring 12.0 x 8.7 cm from the grounds south of the Workmen's Village (obj. 2062; Figure II.6.6) shows a rough, centred sketch of a seated figure, seemingly wearing a double crown and holding a staff. The figure presumably represents a king or god. A second ostrakon from this area seems to bear a very rough sketch of a standing figure, possibly wearing a kilt and holding a staff, or standing in a shrine (obj. 3320). This is potentially a royal figure, but could again be non-royal or a god.

Distribution

Pieces found beyond the Central City:

MC	1
WV	27
NP	1

Object and museum numbers

Pieces found beyond the Central City:

13/14.583? (AMP 21683); Cairo JE 48035; 2062, 3320

Publications

Pieces found beyond the Central City:

Borchardt 1914, 31; 1915, 454, pl. 9.2; Newton 1924, 295, pl. XXIII.1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86; see also Aldred 1973, 185, no. 115

Symbolism and parallels

At the Temple of Ptah at Memphis, fragments of stelae and reliefs, funerary stelae and sculptor's models depicting kings appear to have been reused as votive objects (Schulman 1963, 597; 1967, 154). Some ostraca depicting royal figures from Deir el-Medina and Western Thebes seem to have also possessed cult significance (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 116–21, nos 2568–92; Brunner-Traut 1956, 41–51, nos 26–40).

Private individuals

Several ostraca show non-royal figures. Some seem to be in a posture of worship. A fragment of pottery incised with a figure, seemingly non-royal, kneeling in a posture of worship in a grove of trees was found at T36.79 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 58; Figure II.6.7). The decorative scheme suggests the worship of a goddess shown in tree-form, such as Hathor. A pottery fragment with the lower part of a painted kneeling figure wearing a kilt was found at R42.6, one of the houses associated with the government offices in the Central City (obj. 33/209; CoA III, 121, here misnumbered 33/182). A sherd from the south-east courts of the state apartments at the Great Palace bore part of a standing, possibly naked, figure with its arms raised on either side of its body (obj.

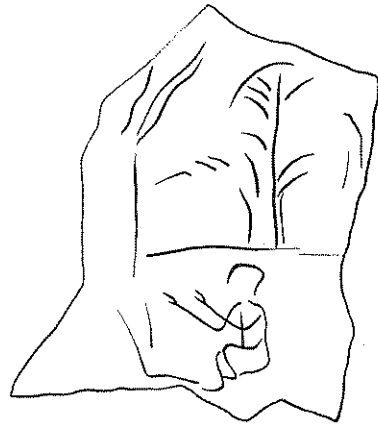


Figure II.6.7. Pottery ostrakon with a figure in a posture of adoration from T36.79 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/487. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).



Figure II.6.8. Limestone pebble painted with a seated figure with arms raised in adoration, probably from the Main City. Object number unknown. (After EES negative 24.197. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

35/314; CoA III, 73). An archive photograph from the 1924 season shows a piece of stone, seemingly an unworked pebble, with a painted image of a seated figure with arms raised in a posture of adoration (Figure II.6.8). The figure wears a long wig and garment, and seems to be seated on a latticework stool. The find provenance and registration number of this piece is unknown, but the photograph appears in a sequence of photographs of objects from excavations in housing areas in the Main City. The photograph register describes it as a 'painted pebble stele'; its dimensions are not indicated.

Several ostraca also show figures that can be identified as females. An example from U37.14 in the North Suburb bore an image of a woman with a long wig (CoA II, 16). A sherd found in the grounds to the east of the Workmen's Village was decorated with part of a standing figure, probably a woman, with one arm outstretched (obj. 6160; Figure II.6.9). She was perhaps originally shown playing a musical instrument or might have one arm raised in a posture of adoration, the lower arm extending an offering (compare the pose of the larger figure on the Taweret stela 21/524; Figure II.5.19). A fragmentary ostrakon also from the east of the Workmen's Village bore part of a figure that appears to be a standing female. The figure has long hair and wears a garment that seems to begin below the chest, exposing one breast (obj. 5719; Figure II.5.10). An example found at Q42.13, part of the government

offices in the Central City, also bore part of a sketch of a possible female figure with one arm outstretched (CoA III, 119, pl. LXXVIII.8).

A limestone 'trial piece' in the British Museum (15973) is carved with a scene of a seated, seemingly naked, female with a young child on her lap (Hall 1931, 165, pl. XV.3). Hall (1931, 165) describes this as an example of 'Amarna art', but does not state specifically that it came from the site. It does not seem to be mentioned in the excavation records. The female, whose hair is held back by a simple fillet, appears to hold one hand beneath the chin of the child. The plaque measures approximately 7 x 7 cm.

Ostraca depicting various other human images have been found elsewhere in the residential areas of the city. A sherd found at P47.33 in the Main City bears a rough charcoal sketch of part of a human head and shoulders (obj. 22/533; CoA I, 36). An example from N50.21 in the Main City was decorated with a man carrying unidentified goods (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 309). Ostraca with extremely rudimentary sketches that possibly represent standing humans have been found at West Street 1 (obj. 6829) and in the grounds to the east of the Workmen's Village (obj. 5678). Another ostrakon from the latter area seems to depict a rudimentary human figure standing alongside a possible structure (obj. 2913). An example from Q49.22

bore two lines of hieratic and a drawing of two figures, identified by the excavators as a man and an animal (obj. 21/64). Pendlebury (CoA III, pl. LXXIV.3) illustrated an ostrakon from the site that appears to depict part of a pornographic scene. The ostrakon does not seem to be mentioned in the text of the excavation report, but perhaps derived from the Central City. Several other ostraca depicting human figures, seemingly non-royal, were found in the Central City. A limestone ostrakon found in the State Apartments of the Great Palace shows a human head sketched in black and red (CoA III, 72, pl. LXX.2). A limestone ostrakon measuring 22.4 cm in height from the Great Palace bore a sketch of a 'muscular individual' (CoA III, 71). A fragment with the remains of a scene that appears to show two standing, possibly naked, anthropomorphic figures was found associated with the magazines of the Great Palace (CoA III, 49). A roughly triangular limestone ostrakon bearing a crude red-painted head was also recorded from 'North East Centre' (obj. 35/363); it probably originated from in or around the Great Palace.

Distribution

CC	7 + 17
MC	3 + 12
NS	2
WV	3 + 47



Figure II.6.9. Pottery ostrakon with a figure of a standing female, from the grounds to the east of the Workmen's Village. Obj. 5160. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

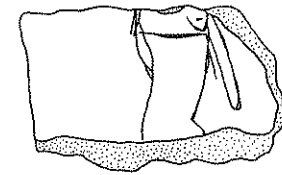


Figure II.6.10. Pottery ostrakon preserving the torso of a female figure, from the grounds to the east of the Workmen's Village. Obj. 5719. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Object and museum numbers

11.384, 21/64, 22/533, 26/403, 30/487, 33/86, 33-4/209, 35/139, 35/314, 35/538, 35/363, 36/412; 2913, 3320, 5678, 5719, 6160, 6829

Publications

CoA I, 36; CoA II, 16, 58; CoA III, 49, 71-3, 119, 121, pls LXX.2, LXXIV.3, LXXVIII.8; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 309; possibly from Amarna: Hall 1931, 165, pl. XV.3

Symbolism and parallels

Private individuals occur with relative frequency on ostraca, although not all, of course, necessarily had cult significance (Brunner-Traut 1956, 52-67, nos 41-64). A particularly well known category is the 'Wochenlaube' ostraca, known primarily from Deir el-Medina. These generally depict women and young children, sometimes with attendants, seated or lying, often in arbour draped with convolvulus vine. Some scenes may represent a period of purification following childbirth. It is possible that such ostraca were used as fertility-related charms (Brunner-Traut 1955; Pinch 1993, 219-20). Ostraca depicting individuals in the posture of worship may similarly have possessed cult significance (Brunner-Traut 1956, 55-6, nos 43, 44b); an example of such, of Amarna-period date, has been excavated recently amongst settlement remains in the Valley of the Kings (Reeves 2001b).

Body parts

Several ostraca and trial pieces bear representations of body parts. Most originated again from the Central City. A limestone trial piece from the state apartments at the Great Palace bore a design that appears to be the rough outline of a human eye (obj. 35/18; CoA III, 63). Two ostraca from the bridge at the Great Palace were decorated with a clenched hand (obj. 35/369; CoA III, 69), and a hand clutching a staff or sceptre (obj. 35/375). Seven limestone trial pieces from the Great Palace bore carved hands (CoA III, 49, 61, 63, 69-70,

72, pls LXV.8, LXX.2,6, LXXI.9), as did one found by Petrie at the sculptors' area associated with the Great Palace (CoA III, 81). A clenched hand was shown on a limestone slab from the magazines south of the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 31). Two further fragments incised with hands were found inside the temenos of the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 17, 20), but these may have derived from reliefs. Two trial pieces showing a human ear were recorded from the Great Palace (CoA III, 62, 72, pl. LXXI.9). At least two trial pieces depicting a human foot were found associated with the sculptor's area and the Weben-Aten at the Great Palace (CoA III, 63, 81). Two limestone fragments with feet scratched roughly on them were found at the state apartments at the Great Palace (CoA III, 83), and a limestone fragment with an incised foot was found inside the western entrance of the temenos of the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 18). It is unclear whether the latter were free-standing slabs or fragments of reliefs.

Beyond the Central City, a limestone ostrakon from J53.1 in the South Suburb was decorated with a number of hands and *nb*-signs (ÄMP 24994; Freed in Freed et al. 1999 248, no. 141), and a limestone slab found at East Street 10 at the Workmen's Village bore four roughly carved hands (CoA I, 68, pl. XXIII.2). A quartzite slab measuring 9.4 x 5 cm showing a carved human ear was excavated at R45.76 in the Main City (obj. 24/948). A pottery sherd found south of the eastern entrance to the Workmen's Village also shows what might be a design of two eyes topped by hair standing on end, in black and white (obj. 2467).

Distribution

Pieces found beyond the Central City:

MC	1
WV	2
SS	1

Object and museum numbers

Pieces found beyond the Central City:
22/3, 24/948; 2467; ÄMP 24994

Publications

CoA I, 68, pl. XXIII.2; see also Freed in Freed et al. 1999 248, no. 141

Figure II.6.11. Pottery ostrakon with an image of a falcon or hawk with solar disc, from the Great Palace. Obj. 35/524. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after a photograph by the author).

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst the use of most of these pieces as sculptors' guides remains likely, the fact that representations of body parts could possess symbolic qualities in some contexts (pages 42–4, 84–5) does raise the possibility that some trial pieces and ostraca decorated with such images were perceived to possess such qualities. No parallel objects from contexts such as cult deposits have been identified in the course of the current study.

Animals

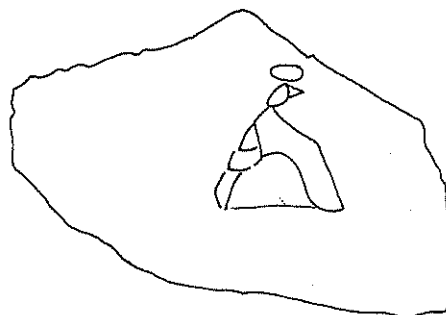
Bird

A sherd from P48.2 in the Main City bore a painting of a goose and the head of a falcon (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221). A pottery ostrakon depicting a charcoal sketch of an animal similar to a bird, but seemingly with four legs, was found in the grounds to the south-east of the Workmen's Village (obj. 7014). A pottery sherd found at the Great Palace bore a sketch of a hawk or falcon wearing a solar disk in red ink. The sherd measured 9.2 cm in length (obj. 35/524; CoA III, 71; Figure II.6.11). A vessel decorated with sketches that included a crowned falcon, along with the head of a horse and other motifs, seemingly used as a trial piece, was also found during Petrie's excavations (Petrie 1894, 11, 41, pl. I.4; Hope in Page 1983, 63; 2001, fig. 69).

Three limestone blocks identified as trial pieces found at the state apartments at the Great Palace also bore images of hawk heads. One had an image of a hawk head and part of a clenched fist (CoA III, 64), another had a bound foreign captive, a seated figure with crook and flail, a human head and a hawk head (CoA III, 63, pl. LXV.6) and the third bore a head of a hawk only (CoA III, 71).

Distribution

CC	1
MC	1



WV 1?

Object and museum numbers

12/13.412; 35/524 (Cairo JE 66116); 7014

Publications

Petrie 1894, 11, 41, pl. I.4; CoA III, 71; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the bird motif has been discussed. Amongst provenanced parallels is an ostrakon showing a crowned falcon found at the Hathor shrine at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 353, no. 183, fig. 36; Pinch 1993, 286).

Bovid

An ostrakon decorated with an incomplete figure of a striding cow was recorded from NS0.22 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 310); no further details of this piece have been obtained. An irregularly shaped limestone fragment, measuring 6.5 cm long, with an incised figure of a bovid with a long tail and wearing a solar disk and horns was also found at the Small Aten Temple (Cairo JE 57219; Pendlebury 1932, pl. XIV.3), although it is somewhat unclear whether this is a sculpture fragment, an ostrakon, or even a mould. Pendlebury (1932, pl. XIV.3) identified it as a 'sculpture fragment', but in the *Journal d'Entrée* (57219) it is identified as an ostrakon. In the *Journal d'Entrée* it is also identified as a figure of Mnevis, but it could be the sacred cow associated with a number of deities. There are also some other markings on the fragment, one of which possibly represents a sceptre, but these are not clear in the published photograph (Pendlebury 1932, pl. XIV.3).

Distribution

CC	1?
MC	1

Object and museum numbers

11.600; 32/446 (Cairo JE 57219)

Publications

Pendlebury 1932, pl. XIV.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 310

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the bovid motif has been discussed. A small number of ostraca with Hathor cows were recovered amongst New Kingdom offerings at Hathor shrines (Pinch 1993, 171–2). Ostraca with bovid figures have also been found at Deir el-Medina (Vandier d'Abbadie 1936, 14–33, nos 2062–2156, pls IX–XVIII). A number of unprovenanced ostraca with bovid images, sometimes wearing solar disks, are also known (for

example, Page 1983, 11, nos 11–12), some of which may represent the Apis, Buchis or Mnevis bulls.

Donkey

A pottery ostrakon with a crude painting of an animal identified as a donkey by the excavators was found outside the west wall of house N49.18 in the Main City. It was not illustrated.

Distribution

MC	1
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Object and museum numbers

21/245

Publications

CoA I, 1

Symbolism and parallels

The donkey could be associated with Seth, in which context it was often reviled and sacrificed (te Velde 1967, 24). Figurines of donkeys appear to have been manufactured from at least the Middle Kingdom (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 32, pl. XXIII; Hayes 1953, 26; Giddy 1999, 308, 310). A rudimentary clay donkey found in a house at Deir el-Medina was pierced (Bruyère 1935, 334), perhaps from use in a magical ritual (Meskell 2002, 120). Donkeys do not seem to occur frequently on ostraca, although an unprovenanced New Kingdom example is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA 4750.1943; Brunner-Traut 1979, 58, no. 30).

Hippopotamus

A pottery sherd measuring 8.4 cm in length from the Great Palace bore a sketch of a hippopotamus standing on four legs.

Distribution

CC	1
----	---

Object and museum numbers

34/84

Publications

CoA III, 64

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the hippopotamus motif has been outlined. Amongst provenanced parallels to the Amarna ostrakon is an example with a painting of a hippopotamus from the causeway of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (MMA Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.3.6); Arnold 1995, 33, no. 35).

Monkey and baboon

Several ostraca appear to depict monkeys. A sherd found in house O49.1, that of Pawah in the Main City, was decorated with an image of an ape seated on a cushion, apparently eating a piece of fruit (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241). A limestone fragment found at P46.15 in the Main City is carved with four partially overlapping, upright figures that appear to be dancing, whilst clapping or striking an instrument in front of them. All have long tails, and the most complete figure appears to have a long snout. They may be animals such as monkeys, but possibly represent people wearing costumes (obj. 22/567; CoA I, 33, pl. LIV). An 11.6-cm-long sherd found in the filling beneath the ramp of the bridge at the Royal Estate was also decorated with a sketch of a standing figure that appears to have a tail and also hold a staff (obj. 35/475; CoA III, 89, pl. LXXIV.2). A roughly rectangular alabaster fragment found at the sculptors' area associated with the Great Palace bore an incomplete sketch of a standing ape (obj. 35/568; CoA III, 81). The fragment measured 12.8 cm high. A limestone ostrakon with an ink sketch of a baboon on all fours in the Petrie Museum (UC1585) is also thought to have originated from the site (Samson in CoA III, 228; 1978, 65, pl. 37).

Distribution

CC 1 + 1?
MC 2

Object and museum numbers

11.352; 22/567, 35/475, 35/568; said to be from Amarna: Petrie UC1585

Publications

CoA I, 33, pl. LIV; CoA III, 81, 89, pl. LXXIV.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241; see also Samson 1978, 65, pl. 37

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the monkey and baboon motifs has been discussed. Figures of apes are represented relatively frequently on ostraca. Examples in the form of Thoth as a baboon have been noted above (pages 144–5). A number of ostraca from Deir el-Medina also depict apes (Vandier d'Abbadie 1936, 1–14, nos 2001–61, pls I–VIII; Brunner-Traut 1956, 111–12, nos 121–2, 125; Houlihan 1997, 41–2).

Miscellaneous motifs

Structure?

A pottery ostrakon found just outside the eastern entrance to the Workmen's Village bears black markings on the exterior that possibly represents a simple

structure, comprising two uprights with cross-bars supporting an awning (obj. 3951). It is possible that the design represents a simple shrine, or even a birth arbour, but such identifications are extremely tentative.

Distribution

WV 1

Object and museum numbers

3951

Symbolism and parallels

Ostraca sometimes show deities within simple shrines (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 124, no. 2605, pl. LXXX). The 'Wochenlaube' ostraca also often depict women seated within bowers, but these are generally decorated with convolvulus vines (Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 70–1, nos 2339, 2341, 2345, 2351–2; Brunner-Traut 1955, 12–20).

Vessel

An ostrakon from house V37.6 in the North Suburb bore a design of a pot in red ink (CoA II, 11), whilst a pottery sherd measuring 11.5 x 10 cm found within house Q44.11 in the Main City was decorated with a painting of a vase (obj. 23/223).

Distribution

MC 1
NS 1

Object and museum numbers

23/223, 26/42

Publications

CoA II, 11

Symbolism and parallels

Although vessels occur with relative frequency on ostraca, they are usually shown as part of larger scenes (for example, Vandier d'Abbadie 1937, 65, nos 2315–6, pl. XLVIII). In some cases, however, they may represent offerings, such as the vessel shown with the image of Amun on the ostrakon from N48.1 (page 153).

Hieroglyphs

One of the most common motifs on trial pieces from the site is hieroglyphics; *nb*-signs are particularly common. The vast majority of these were found in the Central City, and were presumably associated with manufacturing activity in this area. At least 44 trial pieces with hieroglyphic signs were excavated at the Great Palace, the government offices, complex P43.1, house Q42.7 associated with the Foreign Office, the magazines between the Great Aten Temple and the Royal Estate, and the sculptors' area north of the Great

Palace. Pottery ostraca with multiple *nb*-signs were also recovered from the Workmen's Village (obj. 7080).

Distribution

CC 44
WV 1

Object numbers

Beyond the Central City only:

7080

Publications

Petrie 1894, 30; CoA III, 37, 49, 61, 63–4, 67, 69–74, 81, 83, 88, 102, 107, 118, 121, pls LXIII.5, LXV.12, LXXI.9, LXXIV.6, LXXVIII, LXXV.3

Symbolism and parallels

The general symbolism of various hieroglyphic motifs has been outlined in Part II.2. It is possible that some of the ostraca and trial pieces with hieroglyphic signs were thought to possess symbolic qualities, but I have not come across any parallels from, for example, cult complexes, beyond Amarna that would support such a function.

II.7. Figurative and decorated plaques

A number of two-dimensional figurative and decorated plaques occur, a category of object that effectively falls between models and stelae. A small wooden plaque excavated in the 'living room' of house West Street 18 at the Workmen's Village is painted on one face with a striding cow in black and on the other a *mn*-sign (obj. 22/154; CoA I, 88; Figure II.7.1). The cow is unadorned, but there is no indication on the registration card of the state of preservation of the paint and whether features such as a solar disk may have faded. It measures 6 cm in length and 4.5 in height. Its depth is not recorded, but was probably less than a centimetre. The early EES excavations at N49.18 produced another probable pottery plaque. Object 21/331 is registered as a fragment of pottery with red slip showing on one face a roughly modelled cow's head. The reverse was flat with a *hwt*-hieroglyph (Gardiner sign list O6) in low relief. The object measured 3.0 x 3.7 x 2.8 cm. It was, unfortunately, left unillustrated.

A pottery Hathor head in the Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA 6185.1943; Bourriau 1991, 39; Vassilika 1995, 68) thought to be from Amarna may also have been a figurative plaque. It recalls a group of Hathor-head plaques from Kom Rabi'a. Hathor plaques are sometimes applied to vessels, but these appear too large to have been used as such (Giddy 1999, 50–2, pls 14, 82). Another Hathor-head plaque is perhaps shown on an archive negative from the 1930–31 season (see Figure II.8.3). It is possible that further Hathor-head plaques were encountered during the early excavations at the site, but it is not possible to isolate these from vessel fragments in the excavation records (see pages 169–72).

A small number of pottery plant plaques occur. Their function is unclear, but some of these were perhaps vessel appliqué; some pottery vessels from the site are known to have been decorated with appliqué flowers such as chrysanthemums (Hope 1991, 81).

One example, found during surface survey, is in the form of a lotus flower flanked either side by a bud (obj. 9407). The back is unmodelled and retains no clear trace of attachment to another surface, although its surface is highly weathered. It is 6.1 cm wide, 2.1 cm thick and preserved to a height of 6.2 cm. A 'fragment of a terracotta flower' was found during the 1924 EES excavations in the Main City (obj. 24/1064). It was painted, and appears to show the petals of an open lotus flower, but its exact form is not clear from the registration card. A mushroom-shaped pottery object found at Q48.4 may represent a papyrus umbel and portion of the stem (obj. 7700). The back of this piece is rough and unmodelled, and it appears to have been originally attached to a flat surface. It is white-slipped with possible traces of black paint, and preserved to a height of 5.3 cm. A pottery lotus flower found in the Sanctuary Court of the Small Aten Temple is published as a vessel appliqué (obj. 31/468; CoA III, 98). It was preserved to a length of 9 cm and a width of 6.5 cm and painted black, red and blue.

A small number of stone figurative 'plaques' occur. A small alabaster plaque measuring 3.7 x 3.1 cm found at complex O47.16a/20 was incised with a figure of a bound Nubian captive between two bows (obj. 32/187; Pendlebury 1933, 118, pl. XVI.3). A limestone plaque measuring approximately 8 cm high in the Ashmolean Museum (1893.1–41.463), thought to originate from

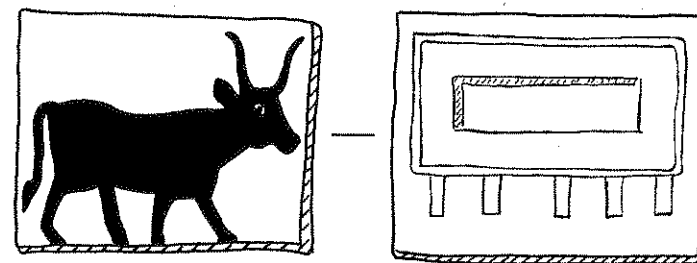


Figure II.7.1. Rectangular wooden plaque painted with an image of a cow and a *mn*-hieroglyph, from the 'living room' of West Street 18 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 22/154. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Petrie's excavations, is decorated with a human figure shown frontally and possibly naked, with its head to the side and wearing a sidelock. Its feet are raised off the ground and its arms are bent slightly upwards. A calcite plaque that may have originated from the site depicts Akhenaten kneeling in the pose of Heh holding the cartouches of the Aten above him (ÄMP 2045). It has been suggested as a possible votive offering or foundation deposit (see Aldred 1973, 126, no. 47; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 232, no. 93). An openwork ivory carving found at Q48.1 in the Main City bears a depiction of a king, possibly Thutmose IV, smiting a Libyan in front of a statue of a hawk-headed deity (Borchardt 1915, 455, pl. 10; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 225). This was perhaps a decorative inlay rather than a free-standing plaque; it is suggested as part of an arm-guard in the final excavation report.

Numerous fragments of faience 'plaques' occur. Most are small, less than 5 cm in length. Many were found in association with the Great Temple (CoA III, 17–19), but they also occur amongst residential areas. Some take the form of plants, fruit, hieroglyphs, the names of the royal family and Aten, and animals including birds, fish, goats and uraei (Petrie 1894, pl. XVII–XX; CoA II, 72, 74; CoA III, 37, 49, 66, 72, 84, pl. LXXII; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 174). Others have geometric forms. Most probably served as inlays (see Petrie 1894, 10–12; Samson 1978, 66–8, 70–6, 86–92), but many of those in the form of fish and bovine figures, at least, seem to have been free-standing plaques. These are discussed in Part II.2. Less frequently appear tiles decorated with designs, often floral motifs. Again, most were probably inlays, but this is not always certain. Most originated from amongst the buildings of the Central City, particularly around the so-called Coronation Hall of Smerkhekar. A few pieces bear figurative designs. A fragment of a blue faience tile found at N48.1 in the Main City was decorated with an *ḥh*-sign and Horus falcon (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 174), whilst a fragment of a blue faience tile depicting the king in a palace offering to the sun was found at P47.24 in the Main City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 137). A fragment of a blue faience plaque found at N50.30 in the Main City bore a depiction of a capital of a column (CoA I, 27).

Object and museum numbers

Cow plaques: 21/331, 22/154
Hathor-head plaques: Fitz. EGA 6185.1943
Plant plaques: 24/1064, 31/468; 7700, 9407
Figurative stone and ivory plaques: 13/14.145; 32/187 (Cairo JE 59330); said to be from Amarna: Ash. 1893.1–41.463; ÄMP 2045
Figurative faience tiles/plaques: 11/12.17, 13/14.653; 21/101

Publications

Cow plaques: CoA I, 88
Hathor-head plaques: Bourriau 1991, 39; Vassilika 1995, 68
Plant plaques: CoA III, 98
Stone plaques: Borchardt 1915, 455, pl. 10; Pendlebury 1933, 118, pl. XVI.3; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 225; see also Aldred 1973, 126, no. 47; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 232, no. 93
Figurative faience tiles/plaques: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 137, 174; CoA I, 27

Symbolism and parallels

No exact parallels to the pottery and wooden cow plaques have been traced here, but a group of similar plaques in metal, stamped or incised with cow images, are known, mainly from votive material at Deir el-Bahri, where they were presumably associated with the Hathor cult. The cows can have sun disks between their horns, wear lotus collars, or be unadorned. Some are accompanied by *wḏt*- or human-eyes. On one example, probably from Gebelein, Hathor appears in both cow and human form. They are pierced, and some seem to have been found strung with beads and amulets, probably forming votive necklaces (Pinch 1993, 163–5). Similar plaques in faience and steatite are also known from Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 165–8). As noted above, possible pottery Hathor-head plaques have been excavated amongst settlement remains at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 50–2, pls 14, 82).

Free-standing plant models are known. Model faience lotus flowers and buds of probable Early Dynastic Period date were excavated in the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (Adams 1974, xiv, 29–31 nos 146, 151). A few faience model lotuses have also been excavated at Hathor shrines where they may have been offered as substitutes for real flowers (Karkowski 1981, 111; Pinch 1993, 283, 341), although some faience model plants might also have been vessel appliques (Pinch 1993, 309). Some 'lits clos' at Deir el-Medina (on which, see page 234) might have been decorated with wooden floral bouquets (Bruyère 1939, 210–11, fig. 100).

Plain and decorated faience tiles and plaques are known from foundation deposits, implying that they sometimes served as offerings either in their own right, or as substitutes for other goods (for example, Hayes 1959, 371–2).

II.8. Vessels

The following entries incorporate the vessels, of pottery, stone, metal, faience and glass, with potential significance for private religion. The pottery vessels discussed are primarily those published from the early excavations, particularly of the EES. These cannot be considered a representative sample of the vessels encountered during these excavations, however, as the aim of the early EES work was essentially to establish a corpus of shapes, with little consideration of the frequency or distribution of particular types (Kemp 1981b, 16–21; Rose in AR IV, 126–9). The ceramics excavated by the current EES expedition are the subject of an ongoing study by Pamela Rose (see Rose in AR I–IV) and have, with a few exceptions, not been included here. The typology followed for the pottery is that of Rose (in AR I); no typology has yet been established for the New Kingdom vessels that occur in other materials.

It is generally accepted that the widespread and variable use of vessels renders it extremely difficult, and in most cases unreasonable, to isolate one specific function for an individual vessel or vessel type. This is particularly true for pottery vessels (Rose in AR I, 152). Occasionally, individual vessels or vessel types can be suggested to have functioned primarily within a particular sphere, be it cult, domestic, industrial, and so on, based on factors such as physical characteristics, or their repeated occurrence or representation in specific contexts (for example, Tawfik 1979; 1988; Radwan 1985; Pischikova 1994, 65–9; Allen 1998). In general, however, there is little scope to isolate the function of vessel types further. It is likely that most vessels could have served a variety of functions in antiquity, and could have done so within several spheres. Paice (1989, 67), for example, has observed that the same vessel type is shown fulfilling a variety of functions in Old to New Kingdom tomb scenes, with 'cooking bowls' used as containers for animal feed, 'drinking vessels' used as pouring vessels, and so on. Relatively few vessels appear to have functioned exclusively in cult contexts (cf. Yeivin 1976, 112, note 11).

The aim of the current section is thus not to document every vessel that was used potentially within the private religious sphere at Amarna, but to outline the types that may have been particularly suitable for use in this context, on the basis of their morphology, decoration, surface treatment, secondary use and distribution. The inventory entries generally comprise vessel groupings based on morphology, but several categories are formed of vessels that share decorative features, or aspects of surface treatment and secondary use.

When used within the religious realm, vessels might often have fulfilled largely practical functions, particularly as receptacles in offering and other rites. The offering of liquids such as wine and water is well attested during the New Kingdom, both in the state and private spheres (Dils 1993, 111–23). Such offerings clearly require the use of some form of receptacle. In some cases, though, vessels may have possessed qualities that led them to be viewed as one of the central components of a rite. Whilst still conceivably functioning as receptacles, they may simultaneously have served as votive offerings, or possibly objects of direct worship. Occasionally, the images on them might have been considered to possess amuletic qualities. These ideas are expanded in Part III.

Names and images of deities

Amun-Re and Osiris

An alabaster vase found in a pit at the magazines associated with the Royal Estate bore the name and titles of Hatshepsut, and those of Amun-Re and Osiris, with two erasures of the name of Amun. No vessels with the names of these deities are known from residential areas.

Distribution

CC 1

Object and museum numbers

31/600

Publications

CoA III, 90, 92, pl. LXXIV.8; see also Lilyquist 1995, 36

Symbolism and parallels

Vessels bearing the names of major state deities, often shown with those of kings, have occasionally been found in 'cult' contexts, perhaps serving as offerings or receptacles for libations. Large pottery vessels found in association with tomb and votive chapels at Deir el-Medina, for example, bore the names of deities such as Amun-Re, often in association with those of kings including Thutmose III (Bruyère 1934, 76, fig. 52).

Aten

A number of fragments of stone, faience, glass and metal vessels bearing the name of the Aten, sometimes in combination with those of Akhenaten and Amenhotep

III (CoA II, 102, 108, pl. XLVII.2), and Akhenaten and Nefertiti (Frankfort 1927, 210), have been recorded. Some were excavated in the Central City; namely, in the Sanctuary of the Great Aten Temple (Frankfort 1927, 210; CoA III, 12, pl. LX.8, fig. 25) and in the Great Palace (CoA III, 69, 70). Another was found at the Desert Altars (CoA II, 102, pl. XLVII.2; Fairman in CoA II, 108; in CoA III, 155). A glass fragment with Aten cartouches from the Great Palace illustrated by Petrie (1894, 7, pl. XIII.36) was also presumably from a vessel. Beyond the Central City, fragments were found at N48.11 and P46.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 18, 185), and small fragments from at least one blue faience vessel with double cartouches, possibly the name of the Aten or a king, were excavated at Gate Street 9 at the Workmen's Village (obj. 6599, 6757, 6852-3; Kemp in AR IV, 30). A number of museums also have vessels from the site with the names of the Aten.

Distribution

CC	6 +7
MC	2
WV	1 +7
DA	1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.334, 12/13.894; 26/95, 26/836, 31/449, 35/443, 35/483; 6599, 6757, 6852-3; Ash. 1893.1-41.472; Petrie UC12476

Publications

Petrie 1894, 7, pl. XIII.36; Frankfort 1927, 210; CoA II, 102, pl. XLVII.2; CoA III, 12, 69-70, pl. LX.8, fig. 25; Fairman in CoA II, 108; in CoA III, 155; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 18, 185; Kemp in AR IV, 30; see also Samson 1978, 76

Symbolism and parallels

The appearance of the name of the Aten on vessels is not exclusive to Amarna; a libation bowl with the name of the god is known from Karnak (Habachi 1965, 70-3), and other examples presumably occur.

Bes-image

A limited number of fragments of large, necked pottery jars decorated with Bes-images has been excavated. These are painted in various colours, including blue, red and black. The features of the Bes-image can be painted and modelled out from the vessel wall (Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 94-5; 1991, 83). Part of the upper body and neck of a jar from P46.13 in the Main City bore three Bes-images, each with slightly different features, and floral motifs (CoA I, 32, 141, pl. XLV.4; Hope 1991, 52, fig. 16a; Figure II.8.1). A vase painted with a large Bes head and festoons was also found at T36.40 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 56). A vessel fragment with a painted Bes-image head from Amarna is in the British

Museum (57455 (1924.1011.62)),¹ and an intact vessel in Berlin (ÄMP 22620) might have originated from the site (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 410, no. 111). The latter measures 50 cm in height. Four additional fragments of necked jars with Bes-image decoration that are thought to have been found at Amarna are in the Petrie Museum (UC24638, UC24672; Hope 1991, 39, 64, fig. 6j), Ashmolean Museum (1893.1-41.292A,B; Hope 1991, 39, fig. 6k) and Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA.6188.1943; Bourriau 1981, 74, no. 140; Hope 1991, 60, fig. 20f).

A wooden kohl tube in the form of a Bes-image in the Petrie Museum (UC16678) is also suggested to have originated from the site (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 409).

Distribution

MC	1
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

BM 57455; possibly from Amarna: ÄMP 22620; Petrie UC24638, 24672; Ash. 1893.1-41.292A,B; Fitz. EGA 6188.1943

Publications

CoA I, 32, 141, pl. XLV.4; CoA II, 56; see also Bourriau 1981, 74, no. 140; Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 94-5;



Figure II.8.1. The upper part of a large jar painted with Bes-images and floral motifs from P46.13 in the Main City. (After CoA I, pl. XLV.4. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

¹ I am most grateful to Kevin Kaiser for notifying me of this piece.

1991, 83; 1991, 52, 60, figs 16a, 20f; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 410, no. 111

Symbolism and parallels

The role of the Bes-image has been discussed. The earliest known pottery vessels in the form of Bes-images date to the Second Intermediate Period (Charvát 1980, 47). The form is not particularly common during the Eighteenth Dynasty, but its production increased during the Ramesside period (Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 94-5, no. 75; 1989b, 55, 58). They continued to be manufactured, with various stylistic changes, through the Third Intermediate Period and into the Roman Period (Bourriau 1981, 38, 83, nos 54, 160-1; Aston 1996, 82). Bes-images appear occasionally on faience vessels (Charvát 1980, 46). Vessels decorated with Bes-images, presumably made of metal or stone, are also shown in state temple reliefs being presented as offerings to deities by kings; Seti I, for example, presents them to Amun on the outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Amun Temple at Karnak (Charvát 1980, 48).

Bes-image vessels have been recovered from a variety of sites and contexts beyond Amarna. A flask modelled in the form of the head of a Bes-image with painted features, and a jar with modelled features of a Bes-image, were found in New Kingdom burials at Sedment (Cairo JE 46996; Petrie and Brunton 1924a, pl. XL.41) and Gurob respectively (Brunton and Engelbach 1927, pl. XXXIX). A vessel with modelled features that might represent a Bes-image, dated by the excavators to the reign of Amenhotep III (Rowe 1940, 57, pl. XLVIA.3-4) but possibly of Nineteenth to early Twentieth Dynasty date (see James and McGovern 1993, 5), was excavated at the Egyptian temple at Beth Shan (Charvát 1980, 47). A fragment of a vessel with a painted Bes-image of probable New Kingdom date was also found amongst ceramics used as landfill at the temple at Mendes (Hummel and Shubert 1991-92, 18, fig. 5). Pottery Bes-image vessels have been excavated within the enclosure of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak (Béout et al. 1993, 170, fig. 15). In her study of vessels found amongst votive material at Hathor shrines, Pinch (1993, 317-21) did not encounter pottery Bes-image vessels, but notes that calcite examples of New Kingdom date were recovered from the shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, 137; Pinch 1993, 302-3).

At Deir el-Medina, pottery vessels decorated with painted and modelled Bes-images were found, particularly amongst refuse thought to originate from houses (Bruyère 1937a, 111-16, figs 48-9, pl. XV; 1939, 58, 103, figs 12, 35; 1953, 57-8, fig. 12; Nagel 1938, 135, 140, 150, figs 120, 127; Guidotti 1978, 107, 110; Charvát 1980, 48-9). Jars with painted and modelled Bes-images have also been excavated in New Kingdom domestic contexts at Kom Rabi'a (Bourriau 1993, 56-7),

whilst fragments of vessels with modelled decoration that possibly represents Bes-images were found at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 360-1, 398-9, nos 1260, 1411-13).

Hathor

At least 22 pottery fragments decorated with Hathor heads have been excavated amongst residential areas (see Figures II.8.2-5). Both bowls and jars could be decorated with Hathor heads, either modelled from the wall of the vessel itself or, on larger vessels, applied separately (Hope 1991, 40, 64). As multiple Hathor heads can occur, the actual number of vessels represented by the fragments is uncertain. Jars of this type measure over 50 cm in height (for example, Hope 1991, 40, pl. 5b). Hathor vessels were generally painted, often blue, red and black, but a few unpainted examples are known (Hope 1991, 40). Whilst the majority of the Hathor heads from Amarna seem to have derived from vessels, it is possible that a few were figurative plaques (see Part II.7).

Eight fragments with Hathor heads were recorded from the Main City (obj. 24/990, 24-5/126, 33/178; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 34, 70, 82, 137, 305); 12 from the North Suburb (CoA II, 79-81, 88-9; Hope 1991, 26, 40); and two from the Workmen's Village (obj. 22/82; obj. 6281; Woolley 1922, 59; CoA I, 66). Sometimes, the face represented is clearly Hathoric - it has bovine ears, for instance (see Figure II.8.3) - but in some cases it is

Figure II.8.2. Reconstructed Hathor jar. Exact provenance unknown. (After EES negative 26-7.95. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).





Figure II.8.3. Fragments of pottery vessels photographed during the 1930–31 EES season, those in the bottom row with moulded female faces, all probably representing Hathor. The edges of the central piece are very regular, suggesting it is perhaps a moulded plaque for application to a vessel or use on its own. The sherd in the top left is obj. 30/112 from T36.33 in the North Suburb; that in the top right is obj. 30/118, from T36.46. (After EES negative 30–31.40. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).



Figure II.8.4. Fragments of a Hathor face from a large pottery jar from Q45.111 in the Main City. Obj. 24–5/126. (After EES negative 24–5.23. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

more like a human female face (Figure II.8.5), and it is not certain that Hathor is necessarily represented here.

In describing the pottery at Amarna, Petrie (1894, 30) observed that, 'A favourite decoration in this period was heads of Hathor or of Bes in relief; fragments of a great Hathor bowl were found in the tomb of Akhenaten...., and other such decorations were in the town', implying that he also encountered the form. The fragments he noted from the Royal Tomb comprised pieces of a large alabaster bowl decorated with four heads of Hathor Nebet-Hetepet between two cats, inscribed, 'The Good God, Neb-Ma'at-Re, given life like Re. The King's Daughter and the King's Wife, Neb-Ma'at-Re [sic], born of the King's Wife, Tiy, may she live.....'. These were found in the Tomb itself and in the Royal Wadi, and some pieces were possibly purchased at Amarna (Cairo JE 59283, 30996; Brooklyn 16.41; Martin 1974, 89, no. 369).

Other possible Hathor vessels appear amongst the excavation records: a 'red clay face from a vase' from T36.55 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 52); and the 'Schüsselrand mit aufgesetzten Köpfen', 'Relief-Gesicht von Gefäß' and 'Scherbe mit Reliefkopf' from O49.1, M50.10 and J49.2 in the Main City respectively (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 230, 241, 289). The 'großes, bemaltes Gefäß (mit Figur am Rande?)' from M50.1/M51.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 280) is

another possible example – but was perhaps decorated with animal figures or similar (for which, see page 178). Several intact and fragmentary pottery Hathor heads from Amarna are also in museum collections.

In addition to the pottery vessels, a stone bowl found in the so-called living room of Long Wall Street 9 at the Workmen's Village bore at least one depiction of a Hathor head (CoA I, 84, pl. LIV.94; Figure II.8.6).

Distribution

MC	8 + 4?
NS	12
WV	2 (+ 1 stone vessel)

Object and museum numbers

11.459, 12/13.1315, 13/14.456, 13/14.462, 13/14.656; 22/82, 24/990, 24–5/126, 30/253, 30/353, 30/409, 30/410, 30/470, 30/475, 30/476, 30/496, 30/562, 30/576, 30/683, 33/178; 6281; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels (said to be from T35.4; see Hope 1991, 36); Nicholson Museum, Sydney 62.1004; Petrie UC24544, UC24649; BM 58460; Fitz. EGA.4684.1943, EGA.6027.1943, EGA.6185.1943; Ash. 1893.1–41.306, 1965.475; Cairo JE 47218 (possibly 22/82); possibly from Amarna: Petrie UC24671; possible Hathor vessels: 11., 11.423, 11.607, 11/12.1438; 30/178, 30/369

Publications

Woolley 1922, 59; CoA I, 66; CoA II, 79–81, 88–9; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 34, 70, 82, 137, 305; possible Hathor vessels: CoA II, 52; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 230, 241, 280, 289; see also Hope 1991, 26, 40, 64, pl. 5b

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Hathor has been discussed. Hathor is possibly shown on stone vessels as early as the Early Dynastic Period (Arkell 1955). Pottery vessels decorated with hands and breasts were manufactured from at least Dynasty Eleven; examples found recently in the Temple of Montuhotep II on Thoth Hill at Thebes might have been votive offerings to Hathor, or components of cult rites conducted for the goddess (Pudleiner 2001). Heads that probably represent Hathor appeared on vessels of this form from at least the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 86–7, 99, nos 69, 82); the Amarna vessels seem to be later versions of the form, on which only the head of the goddess is retained

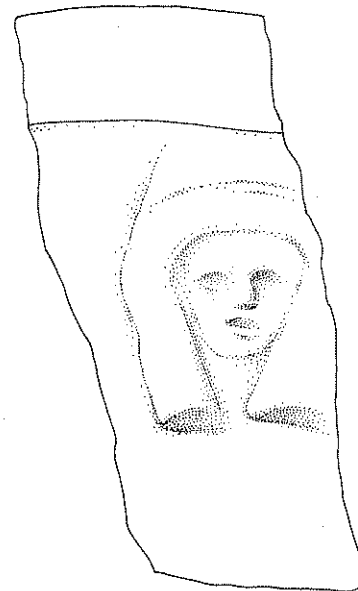


Figure II.8.5. Rim fragment of a bowl with moulded Hathor head from U25.1 in the North City. Obj. 30/629. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).



Figure II.8.6. Stone bowl from the 'living room' of Long Wall Street 9 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 22/94. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author, after CoA I, pl. LIV.94. Courtesy of the EES).

(Bourriau 1981, 37–8, no. 52; in Brovarski et al. 1982, 78, no. 50; Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 86–7, 99, nos 69, 82). Metal vessels decorated with Hathor heads are also depicted in temple and tomb scenes (Davies 1923, 18–19, pl. 54; Pinch 1993, 169).

Hathor vessels are again known from a number of sites and contexts beyond Amarna. Examples were excavated in funerary and domestic contexts at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1937a, 66, 111 figs 30b, 49; 1939, 275, 318; Nagel 1938, 32, 36, 86, 125, 131–2, 139–40, 144, figs 20, 24, 67; Guidotti 1978; Hope 1989, 57–8), whilst a pottery jar with Hathor heads was found in an embalmer's cache at the Ramesside-period tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara, where it originally contained embalming material (Martin 1984, 8, pl. V.2). Pottery vessels decorated with Hathor heads have been excavated amongst votive material at temples, particularly those dedicated to Hathor herself, such as at Deir el-Bahri (Naville and Hail in Naville 1913, 25, pls XXIII–XXIV; Pinch 1993, 150, 317), and a pottery Hathor vessel was found at the Mortuary Temple of Thutmose IV (Guidotti 1978, 110). Faience bowls decorated with Hathor heads were excavated at the Hathor shrines at Faras, Serabit el-Khadim and Deir el-Bahri (Hall in Naville 1913, 14; Griffith 1921, pl. XX; Karkowski 1981, 109, pl. Xb–d; Pinch 1993, 148), whilst a small number of faience ring stands with Hathor heads was recovered from Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, pl. 150.16; Pinch 1993, 149–50, pls 32d, 45c–d). Two stone bowls bearing offering-formulae from the Temple of Djeser-Akhet at Thebes probably originally possessed Hathor-head decoration (Lipinska 1966, 72, pl. V, fig. 2; Pinch 1993, 148). A silver and gold vessel decorated with Hathor heads and lions was found in an ancient cache of vessels of probable Nineteenth Dynasty date near the Temple of Bastet at Bubastis (Hayes 1959, 358, fig. 225). Two pottery vessels with Hathor heads were also excavated in a foundation deposit of Thutmose III

at Koptos (Petrie 1896, 14, pl. XIV.29; Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 86; Pinch 1993, 169, 318).

New Kingdom pottery vessels with Hathor-head decoration have been found at Malkata (MMA 11.215.471–3, 12.180.31; Hayes 1959, 247–8, fig. 150; Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 99, no. 82; 1989a, 16, figs 10e, 11b), and amongst houses at Sesebi (Peterson 1967, 12, Abb. 28). A fragment of a faience bowl with a possible Hathor head appears to have been found at the settlement of *Wah-sut* at Abydos (Ayrton et al. 1904, 38, pl. XLVIII.15). Pottery Hathor vessels have also been excavated at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 400–1, nos 1414–7).

Re-Harakhty

The name of Re-Harakhty occurs on a stela from the Great Aten Temple (see page 192).

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Re-Harakhty has been discussed; no vessels with the name of Re-Harakhty excavated beyond Amarna are known to the author.

Animal motifs and forms

Bird

Several vessels are decorated with bird motifs, including up to 12 'cosmetic' spoons or bowls in the form of ducks or geese. Fragments of an alabaster duck spoon were found at P47.31 (obj. 22/527), and pieces of a limestone duck spoon were excavated at workshop O47.16a in the Main City (obj. 33/179). The wing of an alabaster duck vessel with traces of blue pigment was recorded from P49.1 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 260), whilst two ivory duck or goose heads from P46.11 in the Main City might also have originated from cosmetic spoons (obj. 22/558; CoA I, 32, pl. X.2). Two wooden duck spoons were found at Site XI at the Workmen's Village (obj. XI.43–4). The base of a duck spoon was found at the North Palace and is now in the Ashmolean Museum (1924.96), and Pendlebury also found three fragments of alabaster duck vases in the Royal Tomb or Wadi (Cairo JE 62929; Martin 1974, 90, nos 374–5, pl. 53).

A small number of pottery vessels bear modelled or painted bird motifs. A carinated handled bowl decorated with a blue flying duck and a red insect on the interior was excavated at house P46.33 in the Main City (Rose in AR VI, 140, fig. 3.4). A number of fragmentary, blue-painted, pottery vessels from the site, at least three of which originated from houses, also bear images of ducks (Hope 1991, 26, 44, 46, 51, 54, 76–7, fig. 200–p, pls 1c, 6d,

10a–b, 19a, d, 20b, 21b–c). Frankfort and Pendlebury (CoA II, 43, pl. XLV) suggested that a pair of small pottery birds found at T35.6 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/352) originated from a vase, which they saw as of Aegean origin. A fragmentary pottery duck head from the site in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney (62.1028), might also once have been attached to a bowl (Hope 1989, 54).

Distribution

MC	6
NS	17
WV	2
NP	1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.698; 22/527, 22/558, 29/352, 33/179; XI.43–4; Ash. 1924.96; Sydney 62.1028

Publications

CoA I, 32, pl. X.2; CoA II, 43, pl. XLV; Martin 1974, 90, nos 374–5, pl. 53; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 260; Rose in AR VI, 140, fig. 3.4; see also Hope 1989, 54; 1991, 26, 44, 46, 51, 54, 76–7, fig. 200–p, pls 1c, 6d, 10a–b, 19a, d, 20b, 21b–c

Symbolism and parallels

Stone vessels in the form of ducks were manufactured from the Middle Kingdom into the New Kingdom (Bourriau 1988, 141, no. 143; Aston 1994, 141–2, 155–6). Examples are known from tombs at sites including Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924a, pl. XLI.12). Pottery duck figure vessels have also been found in tombs of probable Thirteenth Dynasty date, with examples from Thebes and Lisht (Bourriau 1981, 34, no. 47). Pottery bowls in the form of ducks have been excavated at Deir el-Medina, Qantir, Karnak North and possibly Malkata (Nagel 1938, 51, 61, 172–6; Hope 1989, 54; Aston 1998, 400–1, nos 1419–22). Eighteenth Dynasty vessels with painted images of birds such as ducks are also known from a number of sites, including tombs at Abydos (Ash. 2434; Hope 2001, fig. 55) and Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 51, 139, fig. 33). The level of religious significance that should be attributed to such vessels is not clear.

Bovid

A small number of vessels from the site either depict or are in the form of bovids. The spout of a pottery vessel in the form of a bull's head, preserved to a height of 9.0 cm, was found at P47.30 in the Main City (obj. 22/519; CoA I, 35, pl. LIV.519). Fragments of a second pottery bovid figure vessel that appears to have worn a uraeus, and possibly a solar disk, were excavated at a set of auxiliary buildings at the official residence of Panehesy in the Central City (Frankfort 1927, 212; CoA II, 27, pl. LXII.6–9). The head, neck and part of the body of a hollow pottery animal, found on the surface of the

Central City, also appears to have been part of a figure vessel in the form of a bovid or gazelle. The fragment is preserved to a length of 5.9 cm (obj. 21782).

At least four additional fragmentary figure vessels in the form of animals have been excavated. Object 30/166 is recorded as the head of a clay 'rhyton' from T35.24 in the North Suburb. It is in the form of an animal head with slightly projecting, hollow mouth. Two protrusions from the side of the head probably indicate broken ears and horns. The top of the head appears intact, with no point of attachment for a feature such as a solar disk. It seems to most resemble a bull or cow, but may be a gazelle or similar. A pottery animal head from U33.4 in the North Suburb seems to show a similar figure (obj. 31/99; Figure II.8.7). It is not stated to be hollow, but seems to be depicted as such in the rudimentary illustration on the registration card. Again, the mouth projects and seems to form a spout. The top and back of the head are broken away. It seems again to represent a bovid-like animal. A similar, red-painted pottery spout in the shape of an animal head, with ears or horns broken away, was found at T36.61 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/258; CoA II, 87; Figure II.8.8). This is now in the Petrie Museum (UC24501). Its identity is uncertain, but it may represent a bovid or gazelle. Its identification as part of a figure vessel is also tentative. The ends of the neck are rounded off, which suggests that it was not part of a vessel formed in a single piece, and might indicate that it was applied to the body of a larger vessel. A fragmentary pottery spout in the shape of an animal head excavated at T36.72 (CoA II, 88) is also in the Petrie Museum (UC24500). Its identity is again unclear. It appears to have had ears or horns on the top of its head, which have been broken off, and its eyes are painted. It is identified as a dog in the excavation report, but could again represent a cow or gazelle. A cow head with a solar disk that apparently derived from a vessel was also recorded from P46.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19); no further details of this piece have been obtained.

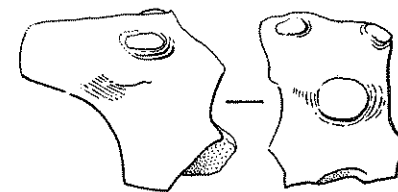


Figure II.8.7. Hollow pottery animal head, probably a vessel spout, from U33.4 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/99. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by G. Denning, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

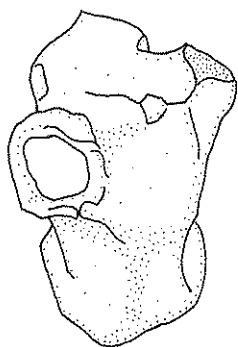


Figure 11.8.8. Spouted pottery animal head from T36.61 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/258 (Petrie UC24501). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Two 'clay' animal figures excavated at U35.29 in the North Suburb (obj. 29/263; Figure 11.8.9) resemble cows, although they could be gazelles or ibexes. One has its head turned to the side, a posture that is also sometimes associated with cat figures. Each measures 7 cm in length. They seem to have been appliquéed, joined to another surface at the base of their legs. They are suggested as vessel handles in the excavation records, but may rather have been attached to a vessel rim.

A fragmentary lid modelled in the form of a bovid head in the Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA.6010) might also have originated from the site (Hope 1991, 65). The possibility that some pottery bovid figurines were also vessel appliquéed was noted in Part II.3.

A fragment of a pottery jar from building 539.1, a possible storage or administrative complex in the Central City (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 54), bears a painting of a large bull wearing a floral collar with a lotus flower and bud, and another lotus flower on its head. A duck is seated on a decorated cloth on the back of the bull, and the animal is lead by a leash held by a human hand (Cairo JE

62804; CoA III, 22; Hope 1991, 51, fig. 151, pl. 19d). Hope (1991, 77) suggested that this is a sacred bull, probably being led by a priest. It may have been connected with cattle offerings in the Central City temples. Fragments of a large jar painted with a figure of a bull amid foliage, possibly of Aegean style, were also found at T36.56 in the North Suburb (Ash. 1924.165; CoA II, 87; Hope 1991, 58, pl. 17d).

Distribution

CC	2
MC	3
NS	6

Object and museum numbers

12/13.901; 22/519, 26/194, 26/3077, 26/-, 29/263, 30/166, 30/258 (Petrie UC24501), 30/267 (Petrie UC24500), 31/99, 33/51 (Cairo JE 62804); 21782; Ash. 1924.165; possibly from Amarna: Fitz. EGA.6010

Publications

CoA I, 35, pl. LIV.519; Frankfort 1927, 212; CoA II, 83, 87–8, 90; CoA III, 22, 27, pl. LXII.6–9; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 19; see also Hope 1991, 51, 58, 77, fig. 151, pls 17d, 19d.

Symbolism and parallels

The possibility that some of the Amarna bovid vessels possessed cult significance is raised particularly by the occurrence of pottery vessels decorated with cow heads and figures in temple deposits, primarily at temples dedicated to Hathor. At least one vessel with a projecting cow head, of probable Eighteenth Dynasty date, was found at the Hathor temple at Faras (Griffith 1921, pl. XIX.20; Pinch 1993, 169). Vessels with cows on their rims were also excavated amongst votive material at the New Kingdom Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahri, along with a number of fragmentary pottery cows that could have originated either from similar vessels or from shallow bowls with cows in their bases (BM EA 40992–3; Hall in Naville 1913, 14, pl. XXXII; Pinch 1993, 169). Pottery figure vases in the form of cows have also



Figure 11.8.9. Pottery animal figures photographed in the 1928–9 EES season. The two figures in the foreground are from U35.29 in the North Suburb and are possibly vessel appliquéed. Obj. 29/263. In the background is a large partially reconstructed hippopotamus figure from T35.4 in the North Suburb. Obj. 29/339. (After EES negative 28–9.0.91. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

been found at Deir el-Bahri, possibly amongst votive material from the New Kingdom Hathor shrine (Ash. E 854; Pinch 1993, 168, 318, pl. 38c), whilst calcite and pottery examples were excavated at the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906, 137; Pinch 1993, 168, pl. 38.d). Petrie (1896, 14, pl. XIV.7, 29) also found two elaborate pottery vessels incorporating, in one case, femino-form vessels with figures of cows and scorpions, and in the other, Hathor heads with a cow figure, in a foundation deposit of Thutmose III at Koptos. Pinch (1993, 169) has suggested that these were royal offerings to Hathor. Other vessels decorated with both bovid figures and Hathor heads, thereby expressing directly the link between bovid imagery and the Hathor cult, are known (Keimer 1949; Hope in Brovaski et al. 1982, 86, no. 69). Pottery cows, and bowls with attached cows, also appear to have been excavated in the vicinity of a possible community shrine at Deir el-Ballas (Spalinger in Brovaski et al. 1982, 122; Richards in Lacovara 1990, 13–14, note 6, fig. 5.2b; Pinch 1993, 169).

Eighteenth Dynasty bronze bowls with divine cows attached to the centre of their base are also known, and are generally thought to have served votive functions (Hayes 1959, 205–6; Spalinger in Brovaski et al. 1982, 121–2, no. 108; Pinch 1993, 169, 317), whilst metal vessels with cows on their rims are also shown in New Kingdom scenes (for example, Davies 1923, 18–19, pl. 54; Pinch 1993, 169).

A standing cow from the lid of a pottery vessel was excavated at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 420–1, no. 1487). Pottery bowls decorated with three-dimensional figures of cows have also been found in burials at sites including Dendera and Hu (Petrie 1900, 24, pl. XXV.1; 1901, pl. XXXV.103; Pinch 1993, 169). Although the majority of bovid figure vessels are unprovenanced, those with known provenance appear to have been found primarily in tombs. They include a pottery example found in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1928, 12, fig. 5E; Nagel 1938, 55, fig. 36; Pinch 1993, 168).

Cobra

A number of vessels are decorated with three-dimensional images of cobras; generally shallow wavy-rimmed dishes with a hand-modelled figure of a rearing cobra applied in the centre of the base (Figure 11.8.10). They belong to Group 12 of the Amarna corpus (Rose in AR I, 136; in AR V, 91–2). The vessels can be left undecorated, have a red rim band or red slip, and are occasionally decorated with rough designs, such as blue or red spots. Some wavy-rimmed bowls with tall

feet might also have had applied cobra figures in their bases (see CoA I, pl. LIV.LXXIX/239).²

It is unclear how many cobra bowls were excavated during the early work at the site (see Rose forthcoming). A type drawing of a cobra bowl was included in *The City of Akhenaten II* (pl. LIV). The bowl itself was excavated in 1924, probably at R44.2 in the Main City (Rose forthcoming), and is now in Boston (MFA 1997.275; Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 187). At least one other cobra bowl was excavated during the 1930–31 season in the North Suburb (Rose forthcoming). The difficulties determining the number of cobra bowl fragments that have been recorded stem largely from the 1929 season, when Pendlebury retyped the existing pottery corpus. Cobra bowls were included as a 'new type', numbered XXIII.1, amongst a group of 'covers, lids, and crucibles' (Kemp 1981b, 16, note 8; Rose forthcoming). It is not clear, however, what their original type number was. In the house lists in the EES Amarna Archive, type XXIII.1 is equated with earlier type CXVII, but a cobra bowl known to have been excavated prior to 1929 is marked with the number XC VII (Rose forthcoming). Single examples of type XXIII.1 vessels, from the revised corpus, were recorded from T33.6, T36.11, T36.15, U36.20, U36.28, U36.32, U36.41 and U36.48 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 79, 84, 93–5), but there must remain uncertainty over whether these were actually cobra bowls given the problems correlating the type numbers. A vessel of type XXIII was also recorded from T35.9, but its subtype (cobra bowl, cover, lid or crucible) is not listed (CoA II, 81).

The type does not seem to feature in the publications of the DOG excavations, although the 'Schalenboden mit Ornament' excavated at O47.4 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 75) is a possible example. Several cobra bowls have been found in the course of the current EES excavations. Many fragments, including unfired examples, were found in rubbish deposits within complex Q48.4, part of a pottery workshop on the eastern edge of the Main City (Rose in AR V, 91–2, 96–7). Four fragments of cobra figurines, two of which were attached to the bases of bowls, were excavated within the rubbish heaps at the Workmen's Village (Kemp 1981b, 14, fig. 6; Figure 11.8.10). A cobra bowl was also found in debris overlying Gate Street 8 (Rose in AR IV, 136, fig. 10.1). The likelihood that some fragmentary cobra figurines derived from pottery vessels rather than free-standing figures was noted in Part II.3.

Distribution

MC	1 + 2+
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2 The published details regarding the cobra bowls are here supplemented by information kindly supplied by Pamela Rose, from her forthcoming publication of the New Kingdom pottery corpus from Amarna.

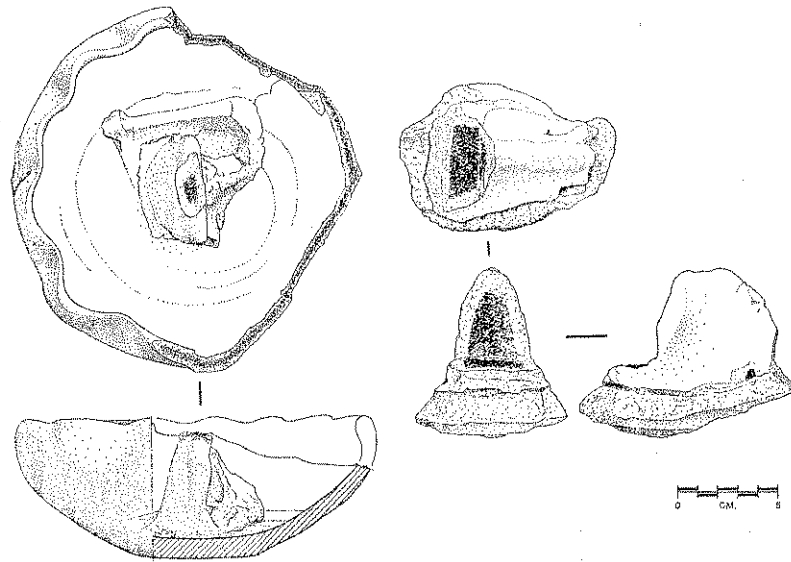


Figure II.8.10. Fragmentary cobra bowls from the Workmen's Village. Obj. 182, 1069. (After Kemp 1981b, 14, fig. 6. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp and the EES).

NS 1
WV 3

Object and museum numbers
13/14.267; MFA 1997.275; 1069

Publications

Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 75; Rose in AR IV, 136, fig. 10.1; Rose in AR V, 91–2, 96–7; Kemp 1981b, 14, fig. 6; see also Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 187

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the cobra motif has been discussed. Small round or oval bowls with three-dimensional figures of birds and possible cobras modelled onto their bases excavated in the Dakhleh Oasis, probably of Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period date, might provide early, general, parallels to the Amarna vessels. These appear to derive largely from funerary contexts (Millis 1979, 172, pl. XV.1; Arnold 1982, 45, 52, Tafel 11g–h; Hope 1999b, 222, pl. 14.12). New Kingdom cobra figures that possibly derived from bowls have been excavated at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 402–3, nos 1423–8), and at Kom Rabi'a (Jeffreys et al. 1986, 7; Aston 1998, 402–3). At Deir el-Ballas, cobra bowls were apparently discovered near a possible community

shrine (Richards in Lacovara 1990, 13, note 6). Bowls with wavy rims have been found at a number of other sites, including Elephantine, Memphis and the tomb of Ramesses IV, but there is currently no evidence that they contained cobra figures (Aston 1999, 58). This form also occurs at Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 164–5), but at least one bowl from this site, of uncertain rim type, does have a fragmentary appliqué that possibly represents a cobra (Nagel 1938, 184–5, fig. 155, pl. XI.K.S.49; Rose forthcoming). A Bes-image vessel decorated with a painted figure of a cobra goddess was also excavated at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1937a, 115, fig. 49; Hope 1989, 58, fig. 21b).

Feline

An archive photograph from the 1924–5 season shows a modelled rim, presumably part of a vessel, with a seated cat in raised relief (Figure II.8.11). It appears to be made of pottery, or perhaps faience. The body of the animal is covered with incised or impressed striations, presumably representing fur, perhaps spotted. A series of lines around the chin probably represent a tufted beard. The animal is perhaps male, and possibly undomesticated. The provenance of this piece is, unfortunately, unknown. It does not appear to occur amongst the excavation

records from the 1924–5 season, although these are not complete. Work focussed at this time upon both the North Palace and an area of housing in the Main City, and it may have originated from one of these areas. It appears to be unique amongst the vessel corpus.

Object 30/601 comprises an unusual collection of pottery figures, seemingly quadrupeds, and probable rim fragments from vessels with vertical protrusions (Figure II.8.12). The implication of the fact that the fragments were registered together is that the figures and rim fragments originated from the one object, although just how they were attached is not clear. The lower legs of one of the quadrupeds splay out, as though broken from a surface such as a vessel rim. However, the protrusions on two of the rim fragments appear narrower than the legs of the detached animals, although they may not be intact. Of the animal figures, all apart from one are headless. The preserved head is broken at the upper front, although there seems to be no trace of horns or ears on the upper back. One figure has an elongated tail. On this basis it, at least, can be suggested as a feline. The objects originated from T34.1, the house of the official Hatlay, in the North Suburb.

Two further pieces, found at nearby T34.2, may be from similar vessels. Object 30/486 comprises a fragment of a pottery vessel with a modelled seated animal on its rim. The figure appears to be headless but has a long tail, which drapes over the outer vessel wall. It may be feline. Object 30/485 is a rim of a vessel with at least three protruding stumps, seemingly broken. The rim appears intact, suggesting that object 30/486 has not broken from it. Its rim diameter seems only to have been around 7 cm. Both pieces were assigned a Roman Period date by the excavators (CoA II, 80), but the basis on which this date was designated is not explained. Roman Period remains were encountered in the area (see CoA II, 66), including a small pottery goblet with three dimensional bird figures on its rim, which does appear late Roman in style (obj. 31/282). This piece, however, was not found until the season following the excavation of 30/485–6. It is possible that the unusualness of the latter resulted in their being assigned a late date but that they are in fact New Kingdom pieces.

One further piece is worthy of note here. Object 30/78, from T36.49 in the North Suburb, is registered as a 'clay figurine of squatting cat, much rubbed'. The sketch on the object card, and the archive negative, seems to show a flat seated figure with extended tail, broken at the base. It is not inconceivable that it was a vessel element, but this cannot be confirmed.

Note also the two animal figures, perhaps cows, from U35.29 (obj. 29/263; page 174, Figure II.8.9) that may be rim appliques.

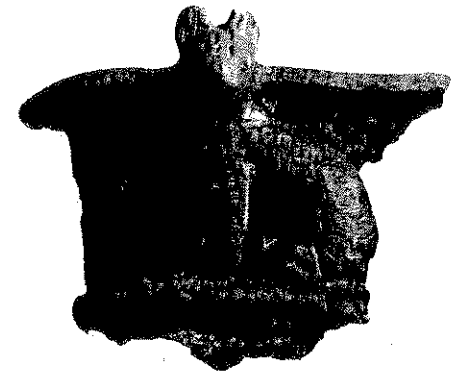


Figure II.8.11. Modelled rim, presumably from a vessel, with a figure of a cat in raised relief. Note the detail of the fur on the body, face and ears. Seemingly not assigned an object number. (After an unnumbered EES negative from the 1924–5 season. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Distribution

MC/NP? 1
NS 3?

Object and museum numbers

30/78, 30/485–6, 30/601

Publications

CoA II, 80, 86

Symbolism and parallels

See page 51 for the symbolism of the cat image. General parallels to the Amarna vessels can be cited: at least one pottery rim fragment excavated amongst votive material at Deir el-Bahri preserves a probable three-dimensional cat figure (Pinch 1993, 187, fig. 1.32, 34), whilst a fragment of a faience bowl found in association with the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim preserves a seated cat, possibly a lion, astride the rim (Pinch 1993, 187). Cats also appear as painted elements on faience and pottery vessels (Hope 1989, 58; Pinch 1993, 188–9, 194).

Fish

Several pottery vessels bear fish motifs. A group of pottery fragments from an object with a design of fish, probably tilapia, and lotus flowers painted around a flat rim was excavated at T35.17 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/1; CoA II, 46, pl. XLVIII.2; Figure II.8.13). The excavators identified these as part of a 'trough'. It has a flat raised

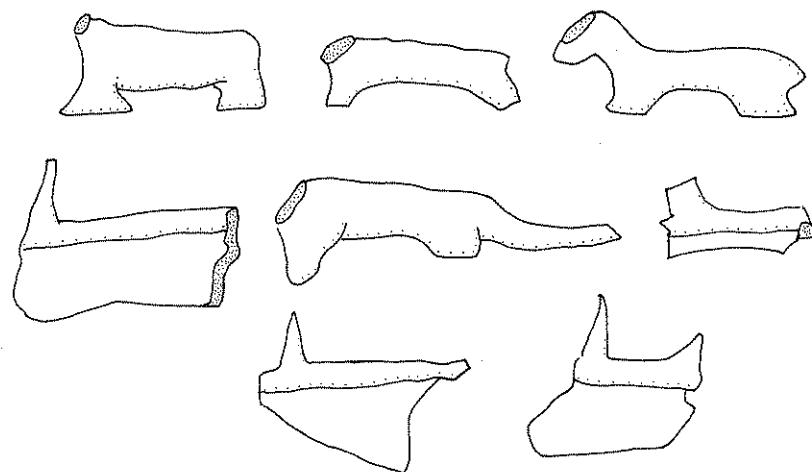


Figure II.8.12. Modelled animal figures and probably rim fragments with projections, all perhaps from a bowl with animal figures on the rim. From T34.1 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/601. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

rim, inside which is a low internal ridge. A slight flare in the elongated edge may indicate the presence of a runnel; there seems to be no inlet leading into the trough, but this may have been broken away. Three circular depressions or holes are visible in the surface of the trough, the function of which is not clear. A rim fragment said to be from a similar trough with fish design was recorded from T36.46 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/70; CoA II, 57).

Fish also appear on other vessel forms. A jar measuring 62 cm in height from O50.2 in the Main City is decorated with two yellow tilapia fish amongst blue lotus flowers (ÄMP 22355; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 325; Arnst 1991, 125, no. 75; Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 236). The rim and part of the body of a simple bowl found at T36.56 in the North Suburb depicts a fish eating a small bud, along with geometric motifs (Ash. 1931.496; CoA II, 87; Hope 1991, 25, pl. 1b). A fragment of a 'clay' bowl with a fish painted in black was recorded from P46.20 (obj. 22/577), whilst part of a pot with an incised fish was found at P47.8 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110). Two fragments of a simple bowl preserving parts of two fish and a lotus painted in black were excavated at T35.19 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/185; CoA II, 87; Figure II.8.14). A fragment of a carinated bowl with a probable fish painted in black on the interior was also excavated in 2005 at the Stone Village. A necked jar in the Ashmolean Museum (1927.4105) that originated

from the early EES excavations is decorated with fish and floral motifs; no further details of its provenance are known (Hope 1991, 41, fig. 7d, pl. 13). A group of sherds that possibly originated from a single jar decorated with a scene of fish, flora and a gazelle is also shown on a negative from the early EES excavations (EES negative 30-31.0.100), but their original provenance and current location are again unknown (Hope 1991, 54, pl. 20b).

A number of faience fragments in the shape of fish or decorated with fish motifs appear in the excavation reports. They are identified variously as tiles or bowls, but few further details are provided. Some of the tiles have probably been mis-identified as vessels. A fragment of faience from unit 40 at the Clerks' Houses, for example, was listed as a fish vessel (CoA III, 124, pl. LXXVIII.4), but the published photograph seems to show a fragment of a large faience fish tile. The majority were excavated in the Central City, with fragments identified specifically as fish bowls recorded from the Sanctuary Court of the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 98); building Q41.11 (CoA III, 111); the state apartments, bridge at the state apartments and magazines at the Great Palace (obj. 35/248, 35/356, 35/379; CoA III, 50, 69, 74); and the House of the King's Statue (CoA III, 141). Petrie (1894, 28) also noted the occurrence of 'many pieces of dishes in the form of half fish, half yellow melons, half green gourds, etc.' during excavations in the Great Palace. Fragments of a multi-coloured faience fish bowl and a fish head from

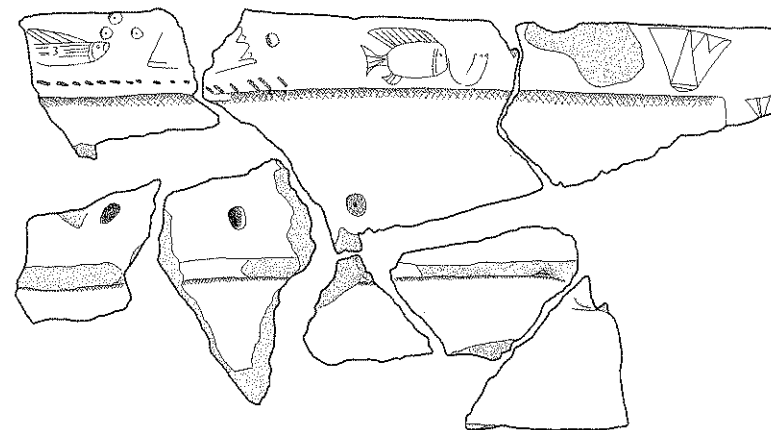


Figure II.8.13. Fragments of a large pottery 'trough' with figures of fish and lotus flowers around the edge, from T35.17 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/1. Scale 1:4. (Drawn by A. Taylor and the author, after EES registration card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

a bowl in white faience were also recorded from P46.3 and N48.16 in the Main City respectively (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 21, 191); it is again unclear if these were vessels or tiles.

A fragment of a dark-blue glaze bowl decorated with fish is recorded from the 1924 season at the North Palace, along with further fragments of large blue glaze bowls (obj. 24/32b-c). Three fragments of a simple shallow bowl of blue faience with relatively thick walls in the Hunterian Museum (D.1925.27) bear designs of fish with lotus flowers. These are said to originate from Amarna, but retain no further provenance details. Their acquisition date, however, suggests that they are the North Palace pieces. Two additional bases of blue-glazed faience bowls from Amarna in the Hunterian Museum (D.1925.27) have possible floral motifs on both their interior and exterior faces. Both fragments seem to derive from different vessels, and from different vessels to that with the fish motif. A fragment of a faience bowl with a fish motif from Amarna is also in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (3609); its exact provenance is again unknown (Hodjash 1998, 566).

Fragments of alabaster bowls in the shape of fish were also recorded from P49.15 and P47.28 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980 142, 279), whilst two alabaster spoons or dishes in the form of fish were found at U33.6 and T36.58 in the North Suburb (Cairo JE 57260; CoA II, 55, 74, pl. XLVI.5). A fragment of a rectangular chalkstone bowl with incised lotuses and fish was found in the

courtyard of house N48.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175). A fragment of a limestone bowl in the shape of a fish, preserved to a length of 17.5 cm, in the Ashmolean Museum (32-33.75527), also originated from Amarna, but its exact find context is unknown. It is marked with excavation number 33/162, and recorded on an object card under this number in the Amarna Archive, but its find provenance is not listed here. It was perhaps a surface find. In the excavation report, object number 33/162 is identified as a faience inlay from R42.2, and recorded as having been sent to Cairo (CoA III, 135, 254), so it seems that the registration number has been duplicated. An alabaster dish in the shape of a bolti-fish eating lotus flowers and buds in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is thought to have originated from the region of Amarna (Hayes 1959, 315).

A blue, white and yellow glass bottle in the form of a tilapia fish, measuring 14.2 cm in length, was also found in a cache at N.49.20 (BM EA 55193; CoA I, 24; Aldred 1973, 213, no. 153; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 386-8, no. 95; Markowitz in Freed et al. 1999, 265, no. 212).

Distribution

CC	26 +
MC	8 + 27
NS	5
SV	1

Object and museum numbers

Pottery: 12/13.1604, 11/12.116 (ÄMP 22355); 22/577, 30/70, 30/106 (Vienna 8169/70, 8171), 30/185 (Ash. 1931.496); Ash. 1927.4105
 Faience: 11/12.539, 13/14.686; 24/32c, 31/322, 32/217, 35/248, 35/379, 36/168; said to be from Amarna: Hunterian D.1925.27, Puschkin 3609
 Stone: 11/12.60, 11/12.1123, 13/14.744; 30/195, 31/94 (Cairo JE 57260); Ash. 32-3 7552?
 Glass: 21/475 (BM EA 55193)

Publications

Pottery: CoA II, 46, 57, 82, 87, pl. XLVIII.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 110, 325; see also Hope 1991, 25, 41, figs 1b, 7d, pls 1b, 13
 Faience: Petrie 1894, 28; CoA III, 50, 69, 74, 98, 111, 141; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 21, 191
 Stone: CoA II, 55, 74, pl. XLVI.5; Borchardt and Ricke 1980 142, 175, 279
 Glass: CoA I, 24

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the fish motif has been outlined. Stone cosmetic dishes in the form of fish occur from the Early Dynastic Period (Aston 1994, 126), whilst pottery figure vessels in the form of fish were manufactured during the Predynastic Period (Bourriau 1981, 31-2, nos 41, 43). Fish-shaped Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware vessels are also known from the Second Intermediate Period (Petrie 1906b, 14; Bourriau 1981, 33, no. 46). During the New Kingdom, faience bowls were decorated with a rich variety of

motifs, including lotus and papyrus plants, fish, birds, Hathor heads and, after the Eighteenth Dynasty, human figures and a wider range of animals (Strauß 1974; Milward in Brovanski et al. 1982, 141; Porter 1986, 123-30). The date range of those with fish motifs is unclear, but they may have been produced from the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Some show stylistic attributes of the reign of Amenhotep III (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 407, no. 108). The majority of decorated faience bowls with a recorded provenance have originated from burials and temples; few are known from settlements (Milward in Brovanski et al. 1982, 141). It has been proposed that those from temples were used as votive offerings in their own right, and as containers for offerings (Milward in Brovanski et al. 1982, 141; Pinch 1993, 314). Faience vessels with a range of motifs, including fish, have been found at Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri, Faras, Serabit el-Khadim and Timna (Petrie 1906a, 151, pls 155-6; Griffith 1921, pl. XIX; Karkowski 1981, 109, pls X-XI; Schulman in Rothenberg 1988, 129-31; Pinch 1993, 308-12). Their relative prominence at such shrines suggests that they had a particular association with this goddess.

Within the funerary sphere, it has been proposed that decorated faience bowls were associated with regeneration and renewal, and functioned as receptacles for libations and offerings. This is particularly the case for the Eighteenth Dynasty vessels, and especially those bearing images such as fish and marsh scenes (Strauß 1974; Milward in Brovanski et al. 1982, 141-3). Fish-shaped bottles are thought to have had a similar association with regeneration (Riefstahl 1972, 13). Amongst examples are New Kingdom faience bowls decorated with fish and floral motifs found in burials at Zawiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978, 54, 71 pl. XLII.2/2). Fish vessels in other materials have also been excavated in burials. A pottery vase in the form of a fish, dating to the reign of Thutmose III, was found in a tomb at Soleb, for example (Bourriau in Brovanski et al. 1982, 103-4, no. 86; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 387), and a gold fish bowl was excavated in the tomb of Djehuty at Thebes (Spalinger in Brovanski et al. 1982, 119-21, no. 107). Bourriau (1987, 85) provides further unprovenanced pottery examples. A stone vessel with fish and lotus decoration was found in a tomb chapel at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1924, 71).

Pottery vessels decorated with incised fish have been excavated in domestic contexts at sites including Kahun (Petrie 1891, pl. V; David 1986, pl. 12) and the village of *Wah-sut* at Abydos (Ayrtton et al. 1904, 54, pl. LVIII.1). Pottery figure vessels in the form of fish were also excavated at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 206-7, nos 610-12). It has been suggested that the faience bowls from domestic contexts may sometimes have been used for drinking (Milward in Brovanski et al. 1982, 141) or as toilet objects (Corteggiani 1986, 90, no. 51).



Figure 11.8.14. Fragments of pottery bowl/s with painted fish and floral designs, from T36.56 in the North Suburb. Obj. 30/185. (After EES negative 30-31.37. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Frog

A copper frog that the excavators suggested derived from a vessel was found at O48.10 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 207), but no further details of this piece have been obtained. Note also the metal frog from Q46.1 (page 104).

Distribution

MC 1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.1094

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 207

Symbolism and parallels

Although the frog does not appear to have been a common motif on vessels, a small number of Predynastic and New Kingdom frog figure vessels are known (Murray 1911, 41, 45). An elaborate vessel, seemingly in metal, decorated with a figure of a frog is depicted in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Thenuna (TT 76), amongst gifts for the New Year Festival (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 50-1, pl. LXXII). Petrie (1906a, 31-2, pl. XXXII) also found a blue-glazed faience bowl decorated with many small model frogs at Tell el-Ratabah, apparently in association with a Twenty-Second Dynasty burial, whilst stone vessels with frog figures were manufactured during the Roman Period (Schmidt 1997, no. 28).

Gazelle or ibex

Necked jars and handled vessels decorated with gazelle or ibex figures are well known from Amarna. The vessels generally bear a head of a gazelle or ibex or, less frequently, a recumbent figure of the animal, on the shoulder/neck or handle (Hope 1991, 81). In some cases, the figure is represented by a combination of painting and modelling, whilst others are painted only (Hope 1991, 77, 81). The vessels can be painted in a variety of colours, and further decoration, particularly floral motifs, can be incorporated (for example, Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 99, no. 81).

A pottery vessel with applied gazelle or ibex heads was excavated at the House of the King's Statue in the Central City (CoA III, 72; Hope 1991, 48). Pottery gazelle heads thought to have derived from vessels were also found at the state apartments of the Great Palace (obj. 35/422; CoA III, 72; Hope 1991, 48); unit 33 at the Clerks' Houses (Cairo JE 62805; CoA I, 124); and at P48.1 and M50.7 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 217, 287). The seven 'animal heads' from vessels recorded from O48.9, O47.2, and possibly O48.10 and O47.26, in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73, 169, 206-7)

may have been gazelles or ibexes. That from O48.10 was found at a well (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 207). So too might the jars decorated with a 'Stuckornament' and an 'Ornament' excavated at O48.2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 198) have been gazelle vessels. Pottery fragments from handled vessels with applied gazelle or ibex heads that may have originated from Amarna are also in the Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA.6000, 6009, 6015, 6018; Hope 1991, 65).

At least three fragments of pottery vessels with painted figures of gazelles or ibexes are known from the site (Fitzwilliam E.P.275, E26.1927; Liverpool 1973.1.425; Hope 1991, 54, 77, pls 19f, 20b, fig. 16e). Their exact provenance is not recorded, although at least one was found in the North Suburb (Fitzwilliam E.26.1927; Hope 1991, 52). A decorative element in the form of a gazelle that was said to derive from an alabaster bowl was also excavated at P48.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41).

Distribution

CC 3
 MC 3 +127
 NS 1

Object and museum numbers

Pottery, modelled: 35/422; 33/270 (Cairo JE 62805); 11.263, 11/12.896, 12/13.605 (ÄMP -); possible examples: 11/12.550, 11/12.1077, 11/12/1414, 11/12.-, 12/13.1430, 13/14.224; possibly from Amarna: Fitz. EGA.6000, 6009, 6015, 6018
 Pottery, painted: Fitzwilliam E.P.275, E26.1927; Liverpool 1973.1.425
 Stone: 11/12.872

Publications

Pottery, modelled: CoA I, 124; CoA III, 72; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 100; possible examples: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 73, 169, 198, 206-7
 Stone: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41

Symbolism and parallels

Vessels with gazelle heads, thought to have been metal, are depicted in New Kingdom scenes of royal tribute, including at Amarna (Davies 1905b, 11, pl. XIV; 1930, 35, figs 6-7; Montet 1937, 106; PM I, 126; Richardson 1999, 155-8). Pottery vessels with gazelle or ibex heads are known primarily from the Eighteenth Dynasty; their production declined in the Ramesside period (Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 99). It has been suggested that pottery vessels in this form were copies of the metal examples, and were possibly made solely in royal workshops (Bourriau 1981, 39). Figure vases in the form of ibexes were also manufactured during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (Bourriau in Brovanski et al. 1982, 101, 105, no. 89), whilst 'cosmetic' dishes in the shape

of trussed antelopes seem to have been particularly popular during the reign of Amenhotep III (Peck in Brovanski et al. 1982, 213, nos 254–7; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 344).

Pottery vessels with gazelle heads have been excavated at Malkata (MMA 11.215.460; Hayes 1959, 247–8, fig. 150; Hope 1989, 97) and Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 125; Hope 1989, 97). Vessels with painted gazelle images were also found at the latter site (Bruyère 1953, 58, fig. 12). A pottery gazelle head found in the palace area at Qantir is thought to have derived from a vessel (Aston 1998, 296, 400–1, nos 950, 1418). A Ramesside-period pottery vessel decorated with recumbent gazelles and a Hathor head was excavated in a grave at Gurob (Ash. 1921.1412; Hope 1989, 97 pl. 3a). Stone jars with gazelle handles have also been excavated in association with New Kingdom tombs (Hayes 1959, 354; Aston 1994, 154). A limited number of gazelle or ibex vessels are also known from temple sites. A gazelle head that might have originated from a vessel was found in association with the New Kingdom Sekhmet shrine at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 130), and fragments of faience bowls with gazelle or antelope motifs were found at the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri and Serabit el-Khadim (Pinch 1993, 308, 310–13).

Hippopotamus

Petrie (1892, 5) excavated a short-necked pottery jar with a painting of a hippopotamus, wearing a collar or necklace, and standing on a shrine in front of a papyrus thicket.

Distribution
CC 17

Object and museum numbers
Ash. 1893.41.286

Publications
Petrie 1892, 5; see also Hope in Page 1983, 63; 2001, fig. 69

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the hippopotamus motif has been discussed (page 59). Although the hippopotamus appears on Predynastic pottery vessels (Bourriau 1981, 28, 49, nos 35, 76), the motif does not appear to have occurred frequently on later vessels. Exceptions include a jar lid decorated with a hippopotamus head excavated at Tell el-Dab'a (Kopetsky in Bietak and Hein 1994, 160, no. 138), and a fragment of a pottery vessel decorated with the head of a hippopotamus found in the proximity of a tomb at Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 133). Taweret-image figure vessels are also known (Murray 1911, 45).

Horse

A rim sherd from a bowl decorated with a horse and a floral motif on its interior is in the Ashmolean Museum. It originated from the excavations of the EES in the Main City.

Distribution
MC 1

Object and museum numbers
Ash. 1924.74

Publications

Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 96, no. 77

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the horse motif has been discussed above (page 59). Other Eighteenth Dynasty vessels decorated with horses are known (Hope 1987, 100, 104, figs 1, 3), although there is little indication that they possessed cult significance.

Anthropomorphic motifs and forms

A small number of vessels depict or are in the form of humans. A female head in alabaster found at Q45.64 in the Main City (obj. 24/758; Ash. 1924.89) appears to have derived from a figure vase (Figure II.8.15). It is preserved to a height of 7 cm, but is broken at the top of the head, the neck and at the back of the head. The figure was originally hollow and has incised decoration, including a collar around the neck. Traces of blue pigment are preserved in the incisions. A second fragment in the Ashmolean Museum (obj. 22/508; Ash. 1922.97) is in the form of the shoulder of a hollow female figure wearing a collar. The preserved arm runs downwards, along the torso. It was recorded as a surface find from the Main City and may have belonged to object 24/758 just discussed, although this is not certain. A third fragment in the Ashmolean Museum (1924.88) that originated from Q46.53 (obj. 24/782) might also have derived from an alabaster figure vessel. It takes the form of a pair of legs and the lower part of the torso of what appears to be a kneeling female figure with her hands on her thighs, a posture commonly seen on female figure vessels (Murray 1911, 44, no. 66, pl. XXV.66). The pubic triangle is blackened, and a hole pierces the base of the figure. The fragment is preserved to a length of 5.7 cm. It appears to be on smaller scale than Ash. 1924.89 and Ash. 1922.97.

A fragment of an ivory 'swimming-girl' spoon was excavated at T36.69 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 53), whilst the body of a swimming-girl spoon was found during Petrie's excavations (Samson in CoA III, 227,

pl. CVI.2.6; Aldred 1973, 183, no. 113). An unfinished stone carving of a hollow face, seemingly human, was excavated at R42.9B, part of the military quarters in the Central City (obj. 36/117). The excavators identified this as a 'vase' (CoA III, 136), but if this were the case, the head would be upside down. It is perhaps the lid of a human-headed canopic jar.

Several pottery vessels show painted human figures, usually males. A sherd from a small jar found at T36.33 in the North Suburb was decorated with an image of a man squatting with a net (?) in front of a pool of plants, a bird above him (Cambridge 1931.1102; Hope 1991, 54, 78, pl. 19a; Figure II.8.3). Part of the upper body of a small jar from T36.46 shows a red-painted arm seemingly supporting rows of *nb*- and *nfr*-signs, and perhaps holding an *ḥb* (obj. 30/118; Cambridge 1931.1102; Hope 1991, 54). Note also the human figure leading the sacred bull on the painted vessel from S39.1 (page 174). A fragment of the upper body of a jar in the Petrie Museum (UC24595) also depicts a man, possibly Nubian, in a papyrus skiff in a marsh (Hope 1991, 52, 78, fig. 16c, pl. 19c). This may originate from the site, but its exact find context is unknown.

Distribution
CC 17
MC 4
NS 3

Object and museum numbers

Stone: 22/508 (Ash. 1922.97), 24/758 (Ash. 1924.89), 24/782 (Ash. 1924.88), 30/293, 36/117
Pottery: 30/7; Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge 31.1102; Petrie UC24595

Publications

Stone: CoA III, 53, 136; Samson in CoA III, 227, pl. CVI.2.6

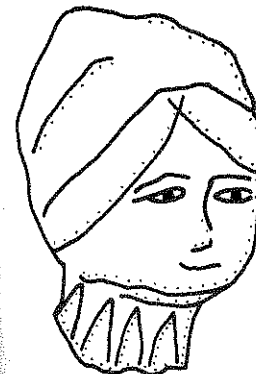


Figure II.8.15. Alabaster head from a figure vessel, from Q45.64 in the Main City. Obj. 24/758 (Ash. 1924.89). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Pottery: CoA II, 45, pl. XL.1; Hope 1991, 52, 54, 78, pl. 19a, c, fig. 16c

Symbolism and parallels

Pottery figure vessels of kneeling or seated women seem to have been manufactured largely from the reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep III. It has been suggested that they were used to hold mother's milk, which could in turn have been used in magical or medical rites (Desroches-Noblecourt 1952; Bourriau 1981, 34). Stone femino-form vessels have also been proposed to have been used in rituals associated with pregnancy and childbirth, possibly as receptacles for ointments or urine (Rand 1970, 212; Brunner-Traut 1970a, 45–8; Romano in Capel and Markoe 1997, 61–3, nos 10a, 11). The hole in the base of the fragment in the Ashmolean Museum (1924.88) does not preclude its use as a container. Femino-form vessels bearing similar holes are known (BMA 49.53; Rand 1970, 210–12; Romano in Capel and Markoe 1997, 61, no. 10a). It has been suggested that the hole would be plugged, with the plug released to allow the flow of liquid (Rand 1970, 210–12).

Pottery and stone female figure vessels have been excavated in burials at sites including Abydos, Sedment and Balabish (Randall-Maclver and Mace 1902, pl. XLVII; Ayrton et al. 1904, pl. XVI.5; Wainwright 1920, 56, pl. XX; Bourriau 1987, 90–5). Petrie (1906a, 138, pl. 145) excavated fragments of anthropomorphic figure vessels in alabaster amongst material from the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim.

Some cosmetic spoons in the form of swimming girls may have symbolised sky goddesses, particularly Nut and possibly Hathor (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 332–8). Cosmetic spoons in the form of swimming girls are known primarily from tombs (for example, Petrie and Brunton 1924b, 24, pl. LIV), but a fragment of a young girl from a cosmetic spoon was found associated with the palace complex at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 253).

Whilst two-dimensional anthropomorphic figures do not seem to have been a common decorative motif for pottery vessels (Brissaud 1979, 18), other New Kingdom vessels with painted anthropomorphic images are known (for example, Bourriau 1981, 73, no. 137; 1988, 73, no. 137; Hope 1987, pl. 57). There is little evidence to date that these necessarily possessed cult significance.

Lotus goblets & other floral motifs

Several lotus goblets, in various materials, have been found amongst residential areas. A footed pottery bowl in the shape of a blue lotus was recorded from West Street 19 in the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 89; Hope 1991, 28). Another pottery vessel in the form of a lotus, possibly in bud or partly opened, was excavated at garden shrine T36.67 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 88; Hope 1991, 29). Bomann (1991, 63) suggested that a goblet-shaped bread mould found in Chapel 556 might have served as a lotus goblet. Additional painted and unpainted pottery bowls from the site, in the shape of blue lotuses and a lotus bud or partially opened flower, are in the British Museum (57421, 58461) and Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 47216, 48137; Hope 1991, 28; 2001, fig. 70). Cairo JE 48137 is marked 'Q 46/39' (Hope 1991, 29); this house, in the Main City, is largely unpublished.

A fragment of blue and green faience that appears to have derived from a vessel in the shape of a blue lotus was excavated at U35.18 in the North Suburb (BM 59302; CoA II, 36; Tait 1963, 101). A fragment of an alabaster lotus goblet was recorded from R45.28 in the Main City (obj. 24/684). Three fragments of an alabaster cup painted with a lotus motif found at P47.17 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 122) and the base of an alabaster goblet excavated at T35.20 (CoA II, 82), might also have been lotus goblets. A bronze cup in the shape of a blue lotus, measuring 9 cm in height and inscribed with the name of the royal scribe luua, was found between two bricks at U24.3 in the North City (Cairo JE 57225; Pendlebury 1932, 145, pl. XIV.5; Tait 1963, 100; Figure II.8.16).

Several vessels from the Central City also appear to have been lotus goblets. A fragment of an alabaster lotus goblet was found at the magazines associated with the Royal Estate (Cairo JE 57258; CoA III, 91). The base of an alabaster cup excavated in the south court of the Great Palace (CoA III, 74) was also possibly a lotus goblet. Two fragments of small, green faience lotus cups were also found in the Royal Tomb or Wadi (Martin 1974, 83, nos 317, 319).

A number of vessels in pottery, faience, alabaster and ivory were recorded simply as having floral, often lotus, motifs (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174, also with a royal name). Some appear to have been simple bowls decorated with floral motifs, or to have been formed in the shape of floral elements, but others may be fragments of lotus goblets. Some faience 'cups' (for example, CoA II, 47) might also have been lotus goblets. Floral motifs also occasionally occur on 'cosmetic' spoons. A fragmentary alabaster spoon with a lotus design was found at complex T35.24A/B in the North Suburb (CoA II, 48), whilst part of a second spoon

in ivory with lotus motif was excavated at R45.15 in the Main City (Cairo JE 48093; obj. 24/660).

For vessels that combine floral and fish motifs see pages 177–80.

Distribution (of probable lotus goblets only)

CC	1 + 17
MC	2 + 17
NS	2 + 17
WV	1
NC	1
RW	2

Object and museum numbers

Pottery: BM 47421, 58461, Cairo JE 47216, 48137

Faience: 29/259 (BM 59302)

Stone: 13/14.52; 24/684, 30/121, 31/537 (Cairo JE 57258), 35/327

Bronze: Cairo JE 57225

Vessels with floral/lotus motifs: faience: 11/12.4, 12/13.1259, 24–5/99, 32/574, 35/164, 35/224, 35/329, 35/528, 35/259; stone: 12/13.1362; ivory: 12/13.544

Cosmetic spoons: 24/660 (Cairo JE 48093), 30/156

Publications

Pottery: CoA I, 89; CoA II, 88

Faience: CoA II, 36

Stone: CoA II, 82, CoA III, 74, 91; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 122

Bronze: Pendlebury 1932, 145, pl. XIV.5

Vessels with floral/lotus motifs: faience: CoA II, 57; CoA III, 49–50, 74; Martin 1974, 83, nos 317, 319; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 168, 174; stone: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 36; ivory: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 104

Cosmetic spoons: CoA II, 48

Symbolism and parallels

The lotus was associated primarily with concepts such as rebirth and creation (see page 76). The function of the lotus goblets has been the subject of considerable discussion. White-lotus goblets, and in a few cases blue-lotus goblets, are shown used as drinking vessels in banquet scenes, including those of Amarna-period date, suggesting they had a practical function, although perhaps with particular ceremonial significance (Davies 1905b, pl. VI; Tait 1963, 96–7; Brovanski in Brovanski et al. 1981, 146). Large blue-lotus goblets are also sometimes shown in front of deities or deceased individuals, often holding offerings, and so it has been suggested that some of the larger pottery, alabaster and metal goblets, in particular, possessed cult significance (see Nagel 1938, 202–6; Tait 1963, 98–9; Brovanski in Brovanski et al. 1981, 146).

Blue- and white-lotus goblets in faience and alabaster have been found in royal and private burials of the

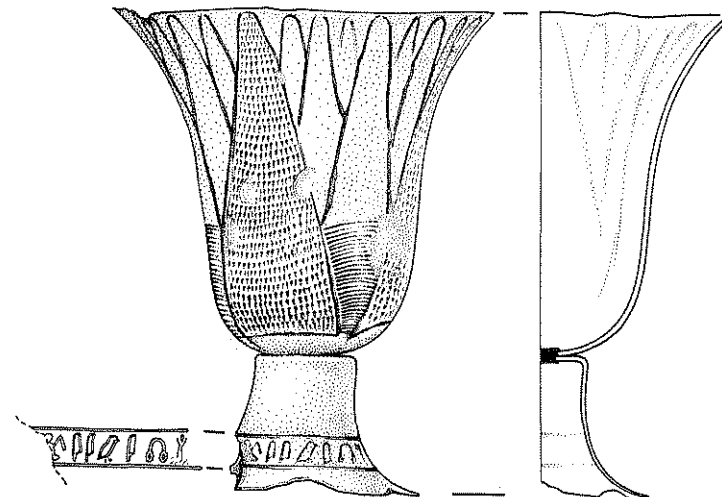


Figure II.8.16. Bronze lotus goblet inscribed with the name of the scribe luua, from U24.3 in the North City. Obj. 31/460 (Cairo JE 57225). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

Eighteenth Dynasty onwards (Tait 1963, 97, 100–1; Brovanski in Brovanski et al. 1982, 146–7, nos 145–6; Vandiver in Brovanski et al. 1982, 147–8, no. 148; Aston 1994, 150–1). Alabaster and faience lotus cups with the names of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II were found amongst material from the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Ash. 1911.414; Petrie 1906a, 138, pl. 145, 156; Pinch 1993, 305), whilst fragments of faience vessels decorated with lotus motifs, including part of a probable lotus goblet, were found in Nineteenth Dynasty contexts at the temple of Beth Shan (McGovern 1990, 18–19, fig. 9). A faience lotus goblet was also found associated with wall footings at the Temple of Seth at Naqada, where it may have been a foundation deposit (Petrie and Quibell 1896, 70; Tait 1963, 101).

A pottery goblet in the form of a blue lotus and a faience lotus goblet were found at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 253; Hope in Brovanski et al. 1982, 96; 1989, 8, fig. 9g); faience lotus goblets of the reign of Amenhotep III seem to be rare (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 395). Petrie (1891, 16, pl. XVII.8) excavated a faience white-lotus goblet within a deposit buried beneath the floor of a house at Gurob. Pottery examples were also found at Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 125, 199–206; Hope in Brovanski et al. 1981, 96), and lotus vessels were found at Aniba, including faience white-lotus examples seemingly from residential contexts (Steindorff 1932, 16; Tait 1963, 97).

Royal names

Faience, glass, stone and metal vessels from the site can bear the names of members of the royal family. Most originated from the Central City, with examples found in association with the Great Palace (Petrie 1894, 7, pl. XIII.27; Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIV.4; CoA III, 49–50, 70, 72–3; PM IV, 197), the Royal Estate (Pendlebury 1932, 148, pl. XIX.3; CoA III, 90–2, pl. LXXIV.8; Lilyquist 1995, 36), the Foreign Office (CoA III, 121) and in the Sanctuary of the Great Aten Temple (Frankfort 1927, 210; CoA III, 12, pls LX.7, 8). The individuals named are Akhenaten (Petrie 1894, 7, pl. XIII.27; Frankfort 1927, 210; Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIV.4; CoA III, 12, 49–50, 72–3, 121, pl. LX.7); the 'king', presumably Akhenaten (CoA III, 72); Nefertiti (Frankfort 1927, 210; Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIV.4); the 'queen', again presumably Nefertiti (obj. 35/436; CoA III, 72); Smenkhkare (obj. 35/166; CoA III, 49); Meritaten (CoA III, 50, 70); and Hatshepsut (Pendlebury 1932, 148, pl. XIX.3; CoA III, 90, 92, pl. LXXIV.8; Lilyquist 1995, 36). Vessel fragments with the name of Amenhotep III were also found at the Desert Altars (CoA II, 102, 108, pl. XLVII.2), whilst examples with the names of Amenhotep III and Tiye, and Khafre, originated from the Royal Tomb and Wadi (Martin 1974, 88–9, 91, 96, nos 368–9, 394, 414).

Beyond the Central City examples are known from the North Suburb, from complexes including T34.3 and

T35.22, and possibly T36.59 (Pendlebury 1931, 239; CoA II, 47, 67, 87). N48.1, Q47.6, Q48.1 and R44.2 in the Main City yielded examples (obj. 24/498; Borchardt 1915, 455; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 75, 174, 225). Small fragments from at least one blue-glazed faience vessel with double cartouches, possibly the name of the Aten or a king, were also excavated at Gate Street 9 at the Workmen's Village (obj. 6599, 6757, 6852-3). Individuals named on vessels from these areas are Akhenaten (obj. 24/498); the 'king', presumably Akhenaten (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174); Amenhotep III (Pendlebury 1931, 239; CoA II, 67; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 75, 225); and Tiye (CoA II, 67). Their names sometimes occur in combination (see CoA II, 67). In some cases, only royal titles or parts of cartouches remain (CoA II, 47, 87). A fragment of an alabaster bowl found on the surface of the site near a 'modern village' (perhaps El-Hagg Qandil) in 1922 also bore a cartouche of Thutmose III (obj. 22/514).

Several 'boxes' in materials such as faience are also decorated with royal names; their function is not clear (for example, Borchardt 1915, 455; CoA II, 57, 67, 74, pls XL1.1, XL1.2; CoA III, 140-1, pl. LXXIX.9).

Distribution

CC	11
MC	4
NS	5
WV	1 +?
DA	1
RW	3

Object and museum numbers

Faience: 11/12.4; 24/498, 29/17; 30/173, 35/159, 35/234, 35/436-7; 6599, 6757, 6852-3
Alabaster: 22/514, 30/596, 31/600, 35/166; Cairo JE 59283, 30996, Brooklyn 16.41
Bronze: 26/834-6
Granite: 31/449
Ivory: 13/14.143
Glass: 30/235
Diorite: Cairo JE 59456
Miscellaneous royal name vessels from Amarna: Ash. 1893.1-41.391, 464-5, 467, 470-4, 479, 484-5, 491, 148.889, 1887

Publications

Faience: CoA II, 18, 47; CoA III, 50, 72; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174; Kemp in AR IV, 30
Alabaster: Petrie 1894, 7, 38, pl. XIII.23, 27; Pendlebury 1931, 239; Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIV.4; CoA II, 67; CoA III, 49-50, 90, 92, pl. LXXIV.8; Martin 1974, 88-9, 91, cat. nos 368-9, 394.
Bronze: CoA III, 12, pl. LX.7, fig. 25
Granite: CoA II, 102, 108, pl. XLVII.2
Ivory: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225
Glass: CoA II, 87

Diorite: Martin 1974, 96, cat. 414
Frit: Petrie 1894, pl. XIII.16

See also Kozloff (1997, 180-5, Table 1) on faience and glass vessel fragments inscribed with royal names from Amarna in the collections of the Petrie Museum, the Toledo Museum of Art, the Ashmolean Museum and the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.

Symbolism and parallels

Although royal names are likely to have been placed on some vessels for administrative purposes, such as pottery storage and transport vessels and metal capacity measures (Bourriau 1981, 245; Doll in Brovaski et al. 1983, 62, no. 36), examples are known from contexts in which they may have possessed cult significance. For example, faience vessels decorated with royal names were excavated at the Sekhmet shrine at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 131), whilst faience and calcite vessels with the names of New Kingdom royalty, including the lotus goblets noted earlier, were found at the Hathor shrines at Serabit el-Khadim and Deir el-Bahri (Petrie 1906a, 137-8, 141-2; Pinch 1993, 303, 309-10). Vessels inscribed with names of Eighteenth Dynasty royalty have been found at the funerary and votive chapels at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1934, 76-8; Pinch 1993, 305, 307). Pinch (1993, 307-8) has suggested that the presence of royal names on examples found at shrines may reflect an intermediary role held by royalty in the offering of private votives, or that the vessels were offerings from royalty themselves. Ointment vessels with royal names are also known from New Kingdom foundation deposits (Hayes 1959, 87, fig. 47; Bourriau in LÄ V, 364). Vessels with royal names have also been found in association with New Kingdom royal tombs (for example, PM I/i; Kondo 1992, 52; see note 366) and private burials (for example, Davis 1907, 28, pl. XXIV). The occurrence of royal names on vessels in funerary contexts could be seen variously as marks of ownership, or as a sign of association with the royal family.

Hieroglyphs

A number of intact pottery vessels, and fragments thereof, are decorated with hieroglyphic motifs, either painted or, less commonly, applied to the vessel wall (CoA II, 57; Hope 1991, 46, 54-5, 78-9, pl. 19b, e). The most common signs are the *ḥh*, *nfr* and *w3t*, although *sn*-, *rnpt*-, *hfr*- and *nb*-signs also occur (Hope 1991, 78, 82). The vessels can be decorated with additional motifs, such as floral elements (for example, Liverpool 1973.1, 425; Hope 1991, 54, pl. 19e). Few details are recorded of the find contexts of these vessels, although a sherd showing a human arm holding a *nb* and at least four *nfr*-signs, along with a possible *ḥh*, was found at T36.46 in the North Suburb, as noted above (page 183). A pottery fragment, perhaps an ostrakon, decorated with a design of *h3t*- and *w3s*-sceptres was also found

at P43.1 in the Central City (CoA III, 102). Several stone and faience vessels decorated with hieroglyphic motifs have also been recorded from the Central City. These include a fragment of an alabaster bowl inlaid with blue *nb*-signs from the magazines of the Great Palace (CoA III, 50, pl. LXXI.1), and a fragment of an alabaster bowl with part of an *ḥh*-sign and a possible human hand, from R41.2 (obj. 32/274; CoA III, 110, pl. CIX.1). A fragment of a faience vessel, possibly a kohl tube, with an *ḥh*-sign and traces of other hieroglyphs was also excavated in the Central City (obj. 17572), whilst a faience vessel or plaque decorated with *nfr*-signs was excavated at the Great Palace (obj. 35/510; CoA III, 70).

Examples with hieroglyphic potmarks are discussed on page 194.

Distribution

CC	4
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

Pottery: 32/274; Liverpool 1973.1, 425
Faience: 35/510; 17572

Publications

Pottery: CoA III, 50, 100, pls LXXI.1, CIX.1; see also Hope 1991, 54, 79, pl. 19b, e
Faience: CoA III, 70

Symbolism and parallels

It is conceivable that the symbolism associated with hieroglyphic motifs meant that vessels with such designs were sometimes perceived to possess religious significance (Brissaud 1979, 26). Examples have sometimes been excavated in association with temples, including faience vessels from the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim (Petrie 1906a, pl. 158; Pinch 1993, 306).

Inanimate motifs and forms

Fruit

A fragment of a blue glaze vase in the form of a bunch of grapes was recorded from K51.1 in the Main City (CoA I, 17), although this was possibly a decorative architectural element (for which see Samson 1978, 87; Boyce in AR VI, 89). A three-dimensional blue faience pomegranate measuring 7.3 cm in length from T36.87 in the North Suburb is registered as a vase with a 'wooden base' (obj. 30/432), but was also perhaps an architectural element. An incomplete pomegranate-shaped glass vessel in the British Museum (36282) is thought to have originated from Amarna (Cooney 1976, 151, no. 1772).

Distribution

MC	1?
NS	1?

Object and museum numbers

30/432 (Cairo JE 55463); said to be from Amarna: BM 36282

Publications

CoA I, 17

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of some fruit motifs was outlined briefly in Part II.2. Glass, faience and metal vessels in the form of pomegranates were produced from the Eighteenth Dynasty (Cooney 1976, 151; Goldstein in Brovaski et al. 1981, 167, no. 187), whilst Ptolemaic Period pottery figure vessels in the form of pomegranates are also known (Bourriau 1981, 86).

Horn?

A model 'Leinwand' cow horn with painted and applied decoration was recorded from house Q47.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 147). No further details of this object have been traced, but it was possibly a vessel, perhaps in stucco. A fragment of a 'horn rhyton' was also recorded from U25.16 in the North City (obj. 31/259). The illustration on the object card shows a straight tapering length pierced axially by a hole that is, at the narrowest end at least, around 1 cm in diameter. The object itself measures 10 cm in length with a maximum external diameter of around 4.5 cm.

Distribution

MC	1?
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

12/13.1561; 31/259

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 147

Symbolism and parallels

Vessels formed from actual horns, and made in the shape of horns, were produced during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Some may have held pharmaceuticals or cosmetics (Petrie 1927, 37, pl. XXXIII; Brunner-Traut 1970a, 43-5; 1980a, 8-9; D'Auria in Brovaski et al. 1982, 292).

Sacred barque

A large pottery bowl with a black painting of a sacred barque was found in the Inner Hall of the Main Chapel at the Workmen's Village.

Distribution

WV 1

Publications

Rose in AR III, 103, 105, fig. 7.3; see also Kemp 1987, 34; Bomann 1991, 10

Symbolism and parallels

Although boat motifs occur amongst Predynastic and Early Dynastic stone (Aston 1994, 126) and pottery vessels (Bourriau 1981, 26–8, nos 31–3), they do not appear to be common motifs on vessels of later periods.

Shell

Fragments of alabaster bowls in the form of shells were recorded from N48.13, P47.5 and Q46.15, and possibly N48.7, in the Main City.

Distribution

MC 3 + 17

Object and museum numbers

11/12.–(x3); 12/13.596; 13/14.862

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 41, 104, 180, 186

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the shell motif has been discussed above (page 75). Some Second Intermediate Period and Eighteenth Dynasty cosmetic spoons incorporated shell motifs (Hayes 1959, 21, 64). Alabaster clam shells with royal names have also been excavated in foundation deposits of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hayes 1959, 85–6, 103, 128, fig. 47).

Other vessel types**'Cosmetic' spoons and dishes**

Over 20 intact and fragmentary 'cosmetic' spoons or dishes have been excavated, most in alabaster, although examples in ivory and wood also occur. They display a range of decorative motifs, including birds, fish, and floral motifs, as discussed in the preceding inventory entries. An incised alabaster spoon was also found beneath the floor of the 'square room' of house T34.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 66); no further details of its decoration have been obtained. Several seem to have been undecorated (obj. 29/299; CoA II, 54, 79, 86–7; CoA III, 91). Many fragments of kohl pots and tubes have also been excavated, both amongst the official buildings in the Central City (for example, obj. 36/44; CoA III, 73, 91)

and in residential areas (for example, obj. 29/316, 29/317; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 75, 29). A rough-slate palette with traces of green pigment was also found at Chapel 521 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 102). Bomann (1991, 65) suggested this may have been used to grind malachite to be placed around the eyes of a cult statue of Hathor.

Distribution

Excluding kohl pots and tubes:

CC	1
MC	13
WV	2
NP	1

Object and museum numbers

22/527, 22/558, 24/660 (Cairo JE 40893), 29/299, 30/84, 30/195, 30/293, 30/613, 31/94 (Cairo JE 57260), 31/219, 31/233, 31/533, 33/179; XI.43–4; Ashmolean 1924.96

Publications

CoA I, 32, pl. X.2; CoA II, 46, 48, 53–5, 65, 74, 79, pl. XLVI.5; CoA III, 91

Symbolism and parallels

A wide variety of motifs could be incorporated into cosmetic spoons and bowls, including animals, female figures, Bes-images and hieroglyphic signs (Freed, Peck and Romano in Brovarski et al. 1982, 207–15, nos 243–60; Schoske 1990, 100–3, nos 58–63). Floral motifs, particularly bouquets, were also popular (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 338). In many instances the motifs employed seem to have been rich in religious symbolism, often linked with Hathor and Nut (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 331–41). Whilst the exact function of the spoons and bowls is unclear, it has been suggested that they were used as receptacles for a variety of materials, including cosmetics, liquids such as wine or water, and amulets (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 338). They were conceivably used as receptacles during temple ceremonies, as components of funerary assemblages, and as offerings in their own right at tombs and temples (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 338–9; Haynes and D'Auria in Freed et al. 1999, 263).

The majority of excavated spoons have originated from tombs (for example, Petrie 1890, 35, 40, pl. XVIII.10; Daressy 1901, 11, fig. 12; Bourriau 1988, 145, no. 153), although a few have been found associated with temples (Freed in Brovarski et al. 1982, 207). These include the cosmetic spoons with floral and animal motifs found in pits at temples at Qau and Matmar (Brunton 1948, 65–6). Cosmetic spoons were excavated at Gurob, some of which possibly originated from the settlement itself (Thomas 1981, 58–9, pls 15–16, 49). Fragments of a panther figure and a young girl from cosmetic spoons

were also found at Malkata, although they seem to have originated from the palace area (Hayes 1959, 253).

Ointment and cosmetic jars are known primarily from tombs and settlements (Bourriau in LÄ V, 364). Some have been found in votive and foundation deposits, however, where they often bear dedicatory inscriptions (Bourriau in LÄ V, 364). Examples, sometimes inscribed with royal names, have been found at Hathor temples, where they were possibly votive offerings, containers for votive offerings, or components of temple rituals (Pinch 1993, 302–4, 335–6). Flute-shaped kohl tubes may have had particular associations with Hathor, whilst palm-column kohl tubes were possibly linked with the solar cult, and perhaps Amenhotep III and his cult (Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 388, 396). Palm-column kohl tubes from Amarna are in the Fitzwilliam Museum (E.I.1938), and possibly in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (47.45; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 389, no. 97). Eye-make-up applicators may also have been viewed as symbols of purification (Pinch 1995, 377).

h-s-vases

Pottery h-s-vases are known from the site, but are rare (Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 90–1, no. 71), and there appear to be no examples recorded from residential areas amongst the early excavation records. A bronze h-s-vase was recovered from cultivation near the Great Palace, however (CoA III, 75, pl. LXXI.6), whilst three fragments of faience h-s-vases were found in the Royal Wadi, some of which appear to have originated from the Royal Tomb (Cairo JE 59415; Martin 1974, 82, no. 305–7, pl. 51).

Distribution

CC	1
RW	3

Object and museum numbers

Cairo JE 59415

Publications

Pottery: Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 90–1, no. 71
Bronze: CoA III, 75, pl. LXXI.6
Faience: Martin 1974, 82, nos 305–7, pl. 51

Symbolism and parallels

The h-s-vase comprises one of the few vessel forms thought to have functioned primarily in ritual and ceremonial contexts. Examples have been excavated in contexts such as temple deposits (for example, van Haarlem 1998, 511), and the form is also found in both royal and private tombs (Hayes 1959, 146, 149, 195, fig. 83), including a pottery example from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Hope in Brovarski et al. 1981, 90; Holthoer 1993, 68).

Miniature vessels

Several miniature mud, clay and pottery vessels have been recorded. Most are identified simply as miniature 'vases' in the early excavation records (for example, CoA II, 89). Some of these may be 'offering-pots' of a type encountered during the current EES excavations, which take the form of small, open-form, unslipped siltware vessels (Rose in AR IV, 121), although some of the illustrated 'miniature vases' are clearly small closed-form vessels with a pronounced lip (CoA III, 13, pl. LXII.5). In other cases the vessels are recorded as miniature 'saucers' (for example, CoA II, 90). Others take the form of miniature bread platters (obj. 6039–40) or miniature amphora (obj. 6167; CoA III, pl. LXII.5). Both wheel-made and hand-made examples occur. Most appear to have been free-standing, but it is possible that some were applied to larger kernal-like vessels or ring stands (for examples of which, see Bourriau 1981, 60; Hope 1989, 54–5, fig. 4a; Pinch 1993, 317; Pudleiner 2001, 242–4). The best candidate for such is object 31/328 from U24.1 in the North City, registered as a pottery lotus flower (Figure II.8.17). It takes the shape of a small vessel with flaring rim, painted in black bands. It may represent a poppy seed head or similar rather than a lotus. It is broken at the base, at which point it was perhaps attached to the rim of a larger vessel.

Within the Central City miniature pottery 'vases' and 'saucers' were recorded from the dump and magazines associated with the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 13, 31, pl. LXII.5), and complex P43.2 near the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 105). Tiny 'offering-pots' were recovered during a surface survey at the ancient dumps south of the Great Aten Temple, in the vicinity of the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose, and in an area of ancient dump and disturbance in the Main City (Rose in AR IV, 120, fig. 9.2; in AR V, 105). A miniature pottery vessel preserved to a height of 3.9 cm was also excavated at Q41.14, a small house built against the south wall of the magazines south of the Great Aten Temple (obj. 32/211). Eighteen 'miniature clay vases' were recorded from buildings in the North Suburb (CoA II, 78–9, 82–3, 86–90). Five examples were also excavated at houses N48.6 and P47.6, and at a well at house N48.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 106, 176, 179). Those from the well are published simply as 'Napf', but as the excavators suggested they functioned as toys (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176), they were presumably miniatures. Two small 'mud clay' dishes were found at house R45.7 in the Main City (obj. 24/554). Two miniature bread platters and a miniature amphora measuring 3 cm in height have also been excavated at the Workmen's Village (obj. 6039, 6040, 6167). The amphora was preserved with a piece of string threaded through one handle.

Four miniature vessels from Amarna are in the Hunterian Museum (D.1937.24–7). These are all wheel-made, and range in height from 3.0–5.0 cm, although the necks are all broken off. A variety of miniature vessels from Amarna is also on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Amarna Room, Cabinet 1).

Distribution

CC	'many'
MC	7
NS	18
WV	3
NC	1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.1011, 11/12.1012, 12/13.679; 24/554 (x2), 30/157, 30/338, 30/686, 31/328, 31/426, 32/211, 36/63; 6039, 6040, 6167; Hunterian D.1937.24–7; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Amarna Room Cabinet 1

Publications

CoA II, 78–9, 82–3, 86–90; CoA III, 13, 31, 105, pl. LXII.5; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 106, 176, 179; Rose in AR IV, 120, fig. 9.2; in AR V, 105

Symbolism and parallels

In some contexts miniature vessels probably fulfilled secular functions; a miniature vessel containing blue paint from T34.4 at Amarna (CoA II, 81), and the miniature clay cup found as part of an apparent scribe's outfit at Thebes (Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 76, pl. LXVI), are examples. However, examples occur frequently within and in association with burials, and in foundation and offering deposits of the Old Kingdom onwards, where they are thought to have possessed ritual significance either as receptacles for offerings, or as offerings in their own right (Bourriau 1981, 117; Marchand and Baud 1996, 269).

Amongst provenanced parallels are miniature vessels excavated in a foundation deposit at the Middle Kingdom temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad (van Haarlem 1998, 509), and examples found in offering deposits at temples, burials and in domestic contexts at Tell el-Dab'a (Müller 1998). Several miniature pottery vessels were recovered from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Holthoer 1993, 72–6). Miniature vessels do not appear

to have been recorded in great quantity from domestic contexts, although examples were found within the village at Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 129, 132, 136), and model mud vessels were excavated at Kahun (Petrie 1927, 61), possibly amongst residential areas. Miniature vessels were also found at the palace complex at Qantir (Aston 1998, 206–7, nos 614–16).

Pottery ring vases or jars with miniature vessels applied to their rim are known from burials of the Middle Kingdom to early Eighteenth Dynasty (Pinch 1993, 317). Often, they combine closed-form vases with open-form bowls, the former possibly used to hold water and the latter for burning incense. Some show traces of blackening (Bourriau 1981, 60; Pinch 1993, 318). Similar vessels occur amongst Second Intermediate Period votive material at Gebel Zeit (Pinch 1993, 317). More elaborate kernoi-like vessels with appliqué such as miniature vessels, cats and cows are known similarly from Middle Kingdom burials, New Kingdom votive material, particularly from Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri (Hope 1987, fig. 34; Pinch 1993, 168–9, 187, 317). Pinch (1993, 318) has proposed that water may have been placed in the central chamber of the vessel with the miniature pots used to burn incense or hold flowers, noting that the latter is perhaps more likely because of the apparent absence of blackening on these vessels. No trace of blackening is recorded, at least, on object 31/328 from Amarna.

nw-vases

The lower part of a miniature glass vessel from Amarna in the British Museum that is possibly a *nw*-jar attests

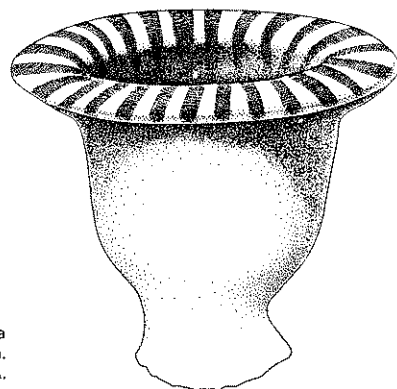


Figure II.8.17. Miniature pottery vessel, possibly imitating a poppy seed head and perhaps once attached to a vessel rim. From U24.1 in the North City. Obj. 31/328. Scale 1:1. (Drawn by A. Boyce, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

the probable occurrence of this form at the site. No further *nw*-vessels are referred to in the excavation reports, although fragmentary examples, particularly in materials other than pottery, may await recognition.

Object and museum numbers

BM 68423

Publications

Cooney 1976, 63

Symbolism and parallels

Nw-vases are known to have had cult and ceremonial significance from the Old Kingdom onwards, namely as receptacles for liquid libations (Balcz 1933, 207).

Offering-stands

The pottery 'offering-stands' from the site take the form of hollow silt-ware supports, some of which incorporate vessels with outward-flaring rims (Figure II.8.18). They form a subset of Group 1 of the Amarna pottery typology (Rose in AR I, 136, 140; Hulin in AR I, 165–77). This can be divided into two further groups on the basis of size, to form a subset of larger offering-stands that measure approximately 90 cm in height, and a smaller group of stands (Hulin in AR I, 172–3). Some stands preserve traces of a gypsum coating. Several fragmentary offering-stands, and accompanying lids, were excavated within private chapels at the Workmen's Village and amongst debris thought to have originated from these complexes (CoA I, 103, 105, 108, pls XXVII.1, XLVI; Hulin in AR I; Rose in AR III, 101; Bomann 1991, 9, 11, 15–16). A small number has also been recorded from within the village. One fragment found in the 1980s originated from disturbed material that probably derived from Long Wall Street 5, whilst further examples were found during the early excavations at Gate Street 11, and possibly Main Street 3 and 8 (CoA I, 73, 76, 79; Hulin in AR I, 175). Some rim sherds from offering-stands might also have been misidentified as sherds of Group 6 bowls during the early work (Rose in AR I, 140; see page 193).

Sherds from tall offering-stands were found during surface survey at several locations in the Central City, including at excavation dumps east of Q41.5, east of the House of the King's Statue, and within complex R42.9C (Rose in AR IV, 115–23). Fragments were also collected in the vicinity of the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose, and at an area of ancient dump and disturbance in the Main City (Rose in AR V, 105). Unfired fragments of tall offering-stands were found at workshop Q48.8 in the Main City (Rose in AR V, 92, 96–7). Fragments of marl offering-tables or stands, some with traces of polychrome decoration, have also been collected from ancient dumps south of the Great Aten Temple (Rose in AR IV, 121–2, fig. 9.2).

Intact and fragmentary pottery 'lamp stands' were recorded from Q46.1, N48.1 and O50.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 26, 175, 325); it is unclear whether these were tall offering-stands or the lower 'ring stands' that form the second subset of Group 1. Fragments of probably one bronze offering-stand were also excavated beneath the floor of the Sanctuary of the Great Aten Temple (CoA III, 12, pl. LX.5, 6; Fairman in CoA III, 188, fig. 25).

Object and museum numbers

Possible examples: 11/12.1625, 12/13.514, 12/13.515, 12/13.535

Publications

CoA I, 103, 105, 108, pls XXVII.1, XLVI; Hulin in AR I; Rose in AR III, 101; Rose in AR IV, 115–23, fig. 9.2; Rose in AR V, 92, 96–7, 105; see also Bomann 1991, 9, 11, 15–16; possible examples: Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 26, 175, 325

Symbolism and parallels

Tall offering-stands are shown in state ritual scenes at Amarna, where they often support bowls of incense but also other offerings and ritual equipment, such as floral bouquets, food and vessels (for example, Davies 1903, pl. XXXII; 1905a, pl. V; Nagel 1938, 176–81; Hulin in AR I, 175). Scenes on Amarna-period talatat from Karnak, that appear to depict houses of private officials at this site, show such stands holding offerings, seemingly in external private shrines to the Aten (Traunecker 1988, 85, figs 1–2). Offering-stands of various sizes have been found in association with chapels and tombs at Deir el-Medina (Nagel 1938, 109–13, 176–81). Tall potstands, one of which was decorated with crocodile appliqué, were found in cult deposits at a temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad, seemingly of pre-Middle Kingdom date (van Haarlem 1995, 45; 1998, 511). A fragment of a 'portable altar' of similar type to the Amarna stands was also found in the Sanctuary of the Hathor shrine at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 356, fig. 50k; Pinch 1993, 319). Others have been excavated in late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty contexts at Elephantine, including within the Sanctuary of the Temple of Khnum (Aston 1999, 15, 50–1), and in subsidiary shrines at the temple at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, where they probably date to the Ramesside period (Snape 2002a). Offering-stands also form a minor component of the Malkata pottery corpus (Hope 1989, 14, fig. 5d, pl. 6b).

A further parallel might be seen in the stone offering-stands, some of which were shaped to represent anthropomorphic figures, found in houses at Kahun. Some were found holding cakes of dough (Petrie 1891, 11, pl. VI; David 1986, 134). Stone offering-stands were also recovered from the village at Deir el-Medina (for example, Bruyère 1939, 206–7, fig. 97). Tall offering-

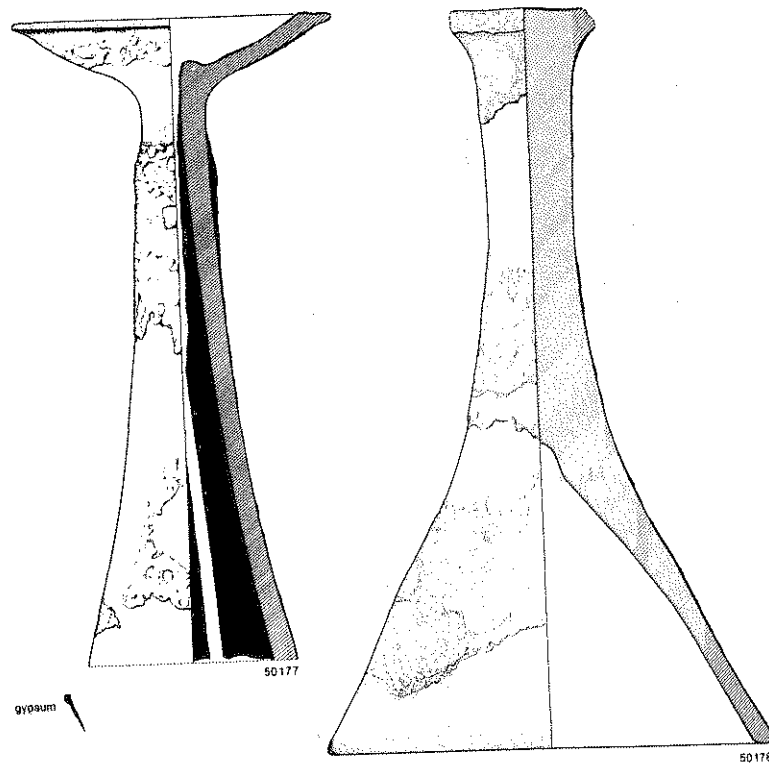


Figure II.8.18. Tall potstands from the Workmen's Village chapels. Sherd nos 50177 and 50178. Scale 1:3. (After Hulin in AR I, 166, fig. 12.1. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

stands are also sometimes held by three-dimensional figurines of worshippers, such as a small unprovenanced statuette in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 52969). They also appear on the Amarna cobra figurines.

Situlae

A bronze situla measuring 12 cm in height was found at T36.52 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 54). Six bronze situlae were also excavated in the Sanctuary of the Great Aten Temple. Some were inscribed with royal names, including those of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, the Aten and of Re-Harakhty, and, in one case, that of the standard-bearer Ramose (Frankfort 1927, 210, pl. XLVI; CoA III, 12, pl. LX.7.8).

A miniature gold situla inscribed with the name of Meketaten that may have originated from the burial of the princess is also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (30.8.372; Hayes 1959, 296; Pischikova in Freed et al. 1999, 269).

Distribution

CC	6
NS	1

Object and museum numbers

26/834–9, 30/124; possibly from Amarna: MMA 30.8.372

Publications

Frankfort 1927, 210, pl. XLVI; CoA II, 54; CoA III, 12, pl. LX.7.8; see also Hayes 1959, 296; Pischikova in Freed et al. 1999, 269

Symbolism and parallels

Situlae seem also to have functioned primarily as ceremonial or ritual vessels, particularly in temple and funerary cult (Lichtheim 1947, 172). Inscriptions on metal examples of the Ptolemaic Period indicate that some situlae were used, at this time, for rituals involving liquid libations (Evrard-Derriks and Quaegebeur 1979, 50–4).

Miscellaneous types of surface and secondary treatment

Resin- and gypsum-coated vessels

During the current EES excavations, over 300 resin-coated sherds have been excavated within and around the Workmen's Village, at houses U24.1 and U25.20 in the North City, at workshop Q48.4 in the Main City, in rubbish dumps at Kom el-Nana, at the Small Aten Temple, and amongst houses in excavation grid 12 in the Main City (Rose in AR IV, 115–24; Serpico and White 2000, 887–90; Kemp forthcoming b). The majority are shallow, siltware bowls with out-turned rims of Group 6 (see Rose in AR III, 102–3, 109) or Canaanite amphorae used to transport resin (Serpico and White 2000, 890–94). Sherds from a gypsum-coated Group 6 bowl were also excavated within Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village (Rose in AR IV, 135). The occurrence of resin on Group 6 bowls is particularly significant. Although essentially a utilitarian form, the use of bowls of this type as censers for the burning of incense is well attested in representations of offering scenes in Amarna tombs (Davies 1903, 25, pl. XII; 1906, pl. XV; Nagel 1938, 176–81; Rose in AR I, 140; Serpico and White 2000, 890). In some cases the bowls appear to have been placed on the tall offering-stands (Hulin in AR I, 176).

The records of the early excavations at the site provide very little detail of either surface or secondary treatment of vessels that may reflect cult use. Petrie (1894, 19), however, noted that 'many pans of red pottery, containing resin melted in and pieces of charcoal' were encountered in the rubbish heaps associated with the Great Aten Temple. These may have been Group 6 bowls (see Serpico and White 2000, 890). Group 6 bowls containing a resinous matter were also found during the early EES excavations at the dumps at the Temple (CoA III, 20). Bowls with out-turned rims were clearly excavated in residential areas (see CoA II, pls LI.IV.7, IV.10), but there is little indication of their find context,

or whether they bore traces of resin. Vessels with traces of resinous substances were, however, recorded from P47.17, P47.30 and Q48.1 in the Main City (CoA I, 35; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 139, 225), T36.36 in the North Suburb (Pendlebury 1931, 235), and Main Street 2 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 75). The form of these vessels is largely uncertain. The example from T36.36 was a Mycenaean pilgrim bottle, that from Q48.1 was a flat saucer and those from P47.30 were described as 'pot bottoms', probably bases broken from larger vessels. No further details of the remaining examples have been obtained. The saucer from Q48.1 was apparently found in close association with a wax or resin baboon head (see page 107).

A related category of finds is incense-coated wicks, two groups of which are recorded: one from the Inner Hall of the Main Chapel, and the second from a deep rubbish deposit beneath Building 400, a group of animal pens outside the village (Serpico in Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 229). The former were presumably intended for chapel use, but a domestic origin for the second group remains possible.

Gypsum-coated sherds from a relatively large range of vessel types were recovered during the EES excavations in the 1980s in the private chapels at the Workmen's Village. These include offering-stands (Hulin in AR I, 165–77; Rose in AR III, 101) and Group 6 bowls (Rose in AR III, 102–3, 109), but also simple bowls of Group 5 (Rose in AR I, 142; 1986, 106), small footed Group 4 bowls (Rose in AR III, 101), Group 11 'hearthths' (Rose in AR I, 140), Group 13 meat jars (Rose in AR III, 107), Group 16 zirs (Rose in AR III, 102) and biconical jars of Group 17 (Rose in AR III, 102, 106–7). Sherds from gypsum-coated Group 2 bread platters were excavated within Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village (Rose in AR IV, 134). In addition, a cup with 'white paint inside', possibly gypsum, was recorded from T36.50 in the North Suburb during the early EES work (CoA II, 57). Knowledge of the range of vessel types that exhibited gypsum coatings, and of the distribution of such vessels, is likely to be enhanced by the ongoing EES work.

Symbolism and parallels

A variety of resins were used in ancient Egypt, within mummification, as adhesives and incenses, in the manufacture of jewellery, amulets and figurines, and in medicines and possibly cosmetics (Raven 1990, 10–18; Nunn 1996, 158; Serpico and White 1998, 1037, 1041–2, 1044–7). Many of the resin-coated bowls from Amarna show signs of burning, and were probably used as receptacles for incense (Serpico and White 2000, 890). At least some, though, probably represent the by-products of manufacturing processes. A group of resin-coated vessels was found with vessels containing 'coloured paints' at P47.30 (CoA I, 35), for example,

whilst a 'sculptor's model', apparently showing the king and queen, from P47.25 was formed from a resin-like substance (Borchardt 1915, 453–4, pls 7–8) – although this was possibly a finished object, the resin used for its symbolic properties.

The repeated occurrence of gypsum-coated vessels in religious spaces suggests a possible link between this surface treatment and cult (Rose in AR III, 111). Amongst parallels to the Amarna vessels are gypsum-coated pottery offering-vessels from the community shrine at Mirgissa (Karlin 1970, 356, figs 49–50; Kemp 1995, 28). A range of gypsum-coated vessels was also excavated at Malkata, including potstands, bowls and jars (Hope 1989, 10, 15). It should not, of course, be assumed that all gypsum-coated vessels bore associations with religious activity. At the Workmen's Village, for example, whilst architectural elements in ritual spaces could be coated with gypsum, traces of gypsum were also found on quern emplacements and possible butchering yards (Kemp in AR III, 71; see also page 274).

Pierced sherds

Vessels with deliberate post-firing holes have been excavated recently at the private cemetery near the South Tombs (see www.amarnaproject.com). A few pierced pottery sherds have also been recorded from amongst residential areas (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27), but it is not clear whether they were pierced before or after firing, nor whether they were of Amarna-period date.

Symbolism and parallels

Some pierced sherds could have functioned as loom weights, or derived from 'flower pots' (for which see Nagel 1938, 192–3), but some pierced vessels found in burials may have been deliberately pierced after firing to ritually 'kill' them, possibly in a parallel ritual to the 'breaking of the red pots' (Bourriau 1981, 113). This could explain the treatment of the examples from the South Tombs Cemetery; some late Dynastic Period pottery from Amarna seems also to have been treated in this way (French in AR III, 160–1).

Potmarks

A range of intact and fragmentary vessels from the site bear potmarks. These can be painted, incised or impressed and executed both pre- and post-firing. The markings include hieroglyphic signs such as the *nḥ*, *nfr*, *nb*, *sḥn* and *mn*, the lotus and a wide range of abstract motifs (for example, obj. 9699; Hope 1999, 128–30, fig. 4). Sherds bearing potmarks have been identified from a range of contexts, including houses (for example, obj. 4447; CoA I, 72, 74, 87) and the extramural area at the Workmen's Village (for example, obj. 62–3, 1646, 1495,

2134, 2288); the North City (for example, obj. NC.41, 79–80, 114, 199, 217–18, 222, 226); the Small Aten Temple (for example, obj. 9699); and buildings in the Main City (CoA I, 17, 33; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221, 270). A number also originated from Petrie's excavations in the Central City (Hope 1999a, 128).

Symbolism and parallels

Hope (1999a) has provided a recent overview of potmarks on pottery of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, primarily from Karnak North and Malkata, but drawing on comparative material from Memphis and Amarna. He has suggested (1999a, 126–7, 130) that some marks were possibly used to identify vessels intended for use during rituals or ceremonies, such as containers for offerings, whilst some hieroglyphic signs may have been wish or quality deemed for the vessel. However, there have been differences in the use of the marks at different sites, and that the significance of the Amarna potmarks is largely unclear. Future study of the marks may provide another source of data, direct or indirect, for patterns of religious conduct at the site.

II.9. Furnishings

Basins

Stone basins and large stone bowls were occasionally recorded from domestic contexts (for example, CoA I, 26, 30; CoA II, 65; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 119). There is little direct indication in the excavation reports that any served religious functions and there is a range of utilitarian, secular purposes for which they would have been suitable. Details regarding these receptacles are generally limited, though, and it is difficult to assign any function to them from the excavation records. A rectangular chalkstone basin found in the central room of P47.17 bore a figure of a worshipper, which suggests that this example, at least, functioned in cult. The scale of the basin is not listed, but it is marked in plan, where it seems to be around 50 cm long (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 119, Hausplan 31). It was found against the north-west wall of the room with its decorated side facing the wall, which prompted the excavators to suggest it was not *in situ*. Stone bowls and troughs were also recorded from some private chapels at the Workmen's Village (Bomann 1991, 21, 29, 32).

Symbolism and parallels

Indirect evidence that some of the Amarna receptacles possessed cult significance can be seen in the fact that libation rituals, often utilising water, comprised a significant component of temple and funerary cult (Blackman 1918b; Fairman 1954; Borghouts in LÄ III). Some basins and bowls found in the public areas of temples and tombs, including those at the Amarna chapels, are thought to have held water for lustration rituals, or to have been receptacles for libations (Bruyère 1939, 210; Fischer 1991; Bomann 1991, 21, 29, 32; Pinch 1993, 302). Examples include the stone basins and large bowls found at the Hathor temples at Faras (Griffith 1921, 86, 93, pl. XXIV.8–10; Karkowski 1981, 84–5; Pinch 1993, 301) and Deir el-Bahri (Pinch 1993, 301), and at Djoser-Akhet (Lipinska 1966, 82, pl. V.2; Pinch 1993, 301–2). Some of these were decorated with floral and animal motifs, prayers, or offering-formulae and scenes, including kneeling dedicators (Griffith 1921, 86, 93, pl. XXIV.8–10; Lipinska 1966, 82, pl. V.2; Pinch 1993, 301). Others, though, were undecorated (Pinch 1993, 301). A rough, undecorated stone tank was also found outside the north entrance of the Hathor shrine at Serabit el-Khadim, and several additional stone basins were located within the temple. Petrie (1906a, 105–7, 136, fig. 143.16) suggested these were used for ritual ablutions. A Nineteenth Dynasty stone basin in the form of the temple of Medinet Habu, and dedicated to Ptah, was also excavated at Mit Rahineh, where it probably stood

in the shrine dedicated to the god south of the great temple enclosure. The basin is thought to have received libation offerings to the god during the temple cult, and was possibly a private votive offering in its own right (Jacquet 1958; Wall-Gordon 1958). The discovery, at Karnak, of a stone bowl inscribed with a libation formula to the Aten and the names of Akhenaten and Nefertiti indicates that libation bowls were used in the state cult at this site during the reign of Akhenaten (Habachi 1965, 70–3). Stone basins were also found in association with private chapels and tombs at Deir el-Medina. Some bore the names of royal and private individuals, and deities such as Hathor, Taweret and Amun (for example, Bruyère 1930a, 229–30; 1930b, 67–8; Sadek 1988, 61, 63, 65; Bomann 1991, 42, 69).

The extent to which libation rituals occurred in the domestic sphere has not been explored in depth. Several fragments of stone basins and bowls were found amongst houses at Deir el-Medina, however, which sometimes bore prayers to deities such as Re, Re-Harakhty and Atum, designs of plants or animals, images of worshippers and *ḥ ḥ ḥ ḥ n R*-formulae (Bruyère 1939, 210, 237–335; Demarée 1983, 146–53, 287). Large stone basins were also found in domestic contexts at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 281–9), although there is little evidence that they necessarily possessed cult significance.

Offering-tables

In addition to the many fragmentary and intact offering-tables, and offering-table bases, found in and around the state temples in the Central City (Petrie 1894, 18–19; CoA III, 17, 19–20), at least 18 intact and fragmentary offering-tables have been recorded from domestic contexts in the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 66, 68–7, 71, 73, 75, 77–8, 81, 87–9, 102, pls XIV.5, XXIII.3) and Main City (CoA I, 18, pl. VI.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 20, 164, 217). Several were also excavated in chapels at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 102, 106, 108). It is not always clear whether the fragmentary examples were free-standing objects or were held by statues of the royal family, but most were probably the former. The majority measure around 15–25 cm in length. One miniature example from West Street 17 at the Workmen's Village measured 6.6 x 6 cm (obj. 22/132; CoA I, 88). They are rectangular or square in shape (Figure II.9.1). Most have a runnel that projects beyond the table edge, but some have a raised area with runnel that leads to a sunken basin, seemingly combining offering table and basin to collect run-off in one (see CoA I, 69, 77, pls XIV.5,

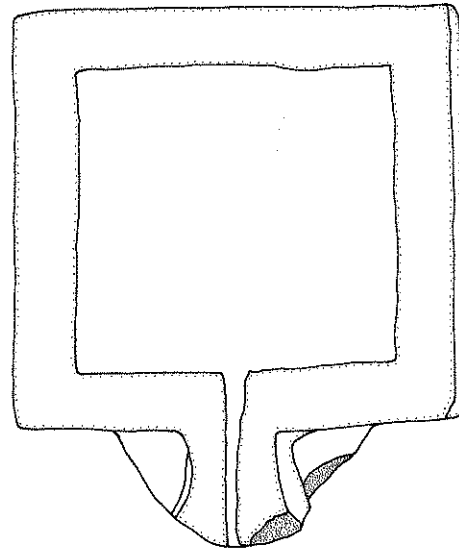


Figure II.9.1. Small undecorated limestone offering table from Chapel 535 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 21/540 (BM 55069). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by A. Taylor, after an illustration by the author).

XXIII.3). A possible offering table found in the central room of M50.13 was raised on legs and had five large, basin-shaped depressions in its upper face. This was significantly larger than the examples just discussed, measuring 73 x 59 x 36 cm (CoA I, 18, pl. VI.2). Another possible offering-table with short legs and 5 circular depressions was excavated outside house L51.1 (CoA I, 18). A limestone block with in-built bowls containing 'grease' from a room beside the bathroom in T36.11, seemingly not *in situ* (CoA II, 25, pls XII, XIX.3, XX.3; Kemp in AR II, 50), may provide a parallel to this. As Kemp (in AR II, 50) has noted, these receptacles are possibly also paralleled in the receptacles built into benches in building 528, part of a chapel complex at the Workmen's Village (see also Part II.14).

Many offering-tables bore no trace of decoration (for example, BM EA 55069; CoA I, 69, 102, pls XIV.5, XXIII.3), but at least one had images of birds and flowers, presumably offerings (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 20). The miniature offering-table from West Street 17 was decorated with six *hfr*-signs. An example found in East Street 1 bore a head incised on its reverse (obj. 22/192; CoA I, 66, 71; Figure II.9.2). The head appears in profile, and is relatively well-centred on the stone. It appears to be male, wearing a short wig or hairstyle and a probable collar. There is no sign, in the archive photograph at least, that a crown or uraeus was ever carved. It is not clear whether the decoration is contemporary with the cutting of the stone to shape as an offering table or if it represents a re-used trial piece or relief fragment. It may be noteworthy here that trial pieces, at least,

are not common at the Workmen's Village. Perhaps the upper surface of the offering-table simply did not provide adequate room to carve the selected image on the scale desired.

A fragment found at Q47.22 in the Main City was decorated with a prayer to Osiris around its edge (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 164). Fragments of a 'table', perhaps an item of cult equipment, from M50.13 in the Main City bore ink drawings of the early form of the name of the Aten, possibly an additional cartouche and 'meaningless lines' (CoA I, 19).

A note should also be made of a fragment of what appears to be a low stone 'stool' from T36.83 in the North Suburb inscribed 'the house of Amun' (obj. 30/406; CoA II, 58, 106, pl. XLII.4).

Distribution (non Central City)

MC	2 + 27
WV	20
SS	1?

Object and museum numbers

11/12.901, 12/113.1167, 13/14.692; 21/260, 21/261, 21/263, 21/403, 21/540 (BM 55069), 22/70, 22/132, 22/192, 30/406, 31/81, 7361

Publications

CoA I, 18, 66, 68–7, 71, 73, 75, 77–8, 81, 87–9, 102, 106, 108 pls VI.2, XIV.5, XXIII.3; CoA II, 58, 106, pl. XLII.4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 20, 164, 217



Figure II.9.2. Reverse face of an offering table from East Street 1 at the Workmen's Village, decorated with the upper part of a human figure with short wig/hair and wearing a collar. Obj. 22/192. (After EES negative 22.127. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Symbolism and parallels

Offering-tables formed a standard component of cult equipment from the Old Kingdom, and are particularly well known from temple and funerary contexts (Kuentz 1981; Hölzl 2001). Amongst parallels from residential areas is an example from a First Intermediate Period domestic context at Abydos (Adams 1998, 24). Many offering-tables were also excavated amongst houses at Deir el-Medina, a number of which bore the names and titles of the owners, prayers to various deities, including Anubis, Osiris, and *ih ikr n R'*-formulae (Bruyère 1939, 165–7, 204–8, 237–335; Demarée 1983, 145–53, 287, Friedman 1994, 113, 179; Meskell 1998, 226). Might the offering-table with carved head from the Workmen's Village (Figure II.9.2) have related similarly to an ancestor cult?

Some Deir el-Medina offering-tables bore circular emplacements similar to those on the larger Amarna examples (Bruyère 1939, 237–335). Offering-tables were also excavated at the private chapels and in association

with tombs at this site (for example, Bruyère 1930a, 229; 1930b, 66–7; Demarée 1983, 152; Sadek 1988, 69).

Shrines and naoi

Ritual furnishings such as shrines and naoi are difficult to recognise amongst the Amarna remains, but this must be in part because they were commonly made of wood, which is generally not well preserved at the site. A reminder of the importance of wood as a medium for such items is attested in the unique collection of finds from the House of the King's Statue in the Central City, where the remains of a wooden shrine decorated with a uraeus frieze, a wooden sphinx statue and a wooden double-feather headdress from a statue were found (see Kemp 1989, fig. 95; Figure II.14.1). Wood was certainly utilised for architectural elements such as door jambs in private houses, and it can be assumed that it was often used also for private cult equipment.

A small number of wooden uraei excavated from residential contexts were conceivably parts of shrines such as that from the House of the King's Statue (for which see CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.7), although wooden uraei are also known as elements of coffins, statues and staves (Lillesø 1975; Johnson in D'Auria et al. 1988, 143–4). A wooden uraeus head with solar disk was excavated at O47.14 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 86), whilst a fragmentary wooden uraeus painted red, green and yellow measuring 9.6 cm in length was excavated at S39.1 (CoA III, 22). The latter may have originated from the Great Aten Temple, located nearby, at which similar uraei were found (CoA III, 18, pl. LXI.5). A pair of wooden uraei measuring 23 cm in height with their disks pegged to a wooden bar, here certainly part of a frieze, was found at T33.10 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 70; Figure II.9.3). These bore traces of blue, green and yellow paint. Part of a painted wooden uraeus was excavated at P47.17 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 122). The hood of a

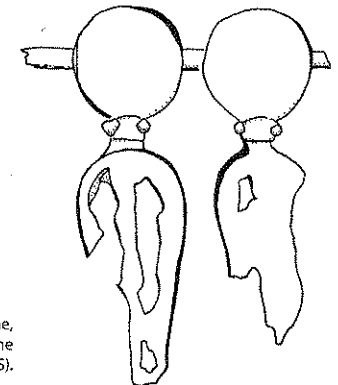


Figure II.9.3. Wooden uraei pegged to a bar, possibly part of a shrine, from T33.10 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/289. Scale 1:3. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

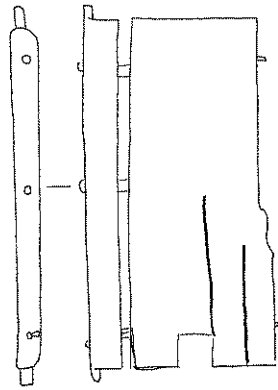


Figure II.9.4. Wooden door, potentially from a shrine or stela, from West Street 3 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 7391. Scale 1:2. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

wooden uraeus with traces of stucco was also recorded from Q45.41 in the Main City (obj. 24/944). It measured approximately 10 cm in height, seemingly its original height. Perhaps some of the three-dimensional falence cobra heads (see, for example, CoA III, pl. LXXII; also, page 51) were also used as inlays for wooden shrines.

Several fragments of decorated wood are recorded. Some could have been elements of shrines, or perhaps stelae (see pages 150–1), although some may simply have been parts of furnishings such as boxes, or architectural elements. These include a fragment of wood with three painted panels and a fragment of rectangular board with a rounded top excavated at Chapel 521 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 102; Bomann 1991, 65). A rectangular wooden panel painted with a papyrus clump was recorded from Q46.1 and a fragment of thin board painted in red, yellow and green was excavated at M50.11, both in the Main City (Borchardt and Riche 1980, 27, 290). A number of fragments show the names or images of the royal family or Aten. A small fragment of wood measuring 6.0 x 1.9 x 0.5 cm from the extramural area at the Workmen's Village is incised with a cartouche that reads 'Amenhotep', although here not necessarily a royal name (obj. 5318). Several fragments of painted wood with inscriptions that seem to include the name of Amenhotep III were found at U24.3 in the North Suburb (obj. 31/373). They were preserved to a length of only around 12 cm, and may have therefore come from a relatively small scale item, rather than a substantial architectural fitting. Two joining fragments

of inscribed and painted wood with the cartouches of Akhenaten and the later Aten name were found at S39.1, the residence of Panehesy in the Central City (obj. 33/78; CoA III, 32). These survived to a length of around 8 cm and a height of 3.5 cm. A fragment of wood with an incised representation of the seated king and queen was also recorded from U23 in the Main City (obj. 11.304; Borchardt and Riche 1980, 303).

Several simple wooden shrines occur, some of which may have been from boxes or chests (for which see Kemp in AR III, 11–15), but others probably originated from free-standing wooden shrines or composite stone and wooden altars, as in the house of Panehesy, wall-niche shrines (see Part II.13) or shrine-shaped stelae (e.g. AMP 14145; see Part II.5). A panel of a wooden door measuring 37 cm in height from the Royal Magazines painted with the name of the Aten (CoA III, 92) seems to have originated from a shrine. A small wooden object identified by the excavators as a 'folding door for a small shrine' was found at Q45.43 in the Main City (obj. 24/981). This is probably the rectangular wooden door measuring 5 cm in length with two projecting tangs in the Hunterian Museum (D.1924.21). Another possible candidate for a shrine door is object 7391, from West Street 3 at the Workmen's Village (Figure II.9.4). This piece measures 14.5 cm in length, is preserved to a width of 7 cm and is 0.8 cm thick. Projecting tangs at top and bottom would have allowed the door to pivot in sockets. Patches of probable gypsum plaster, which may once have been painted, are preserved on both faces. It bears similarities to object 6013–8, also from the Workmen's Village, and which seems to have been a window shutter (Kemp in AR III, 11–15). The latter is somewhat larger, and more robust than object 7391, however, perhaps reflecting a difference in function.

Many additional pieces of shaped wood occur that were conceivably elements of ritual or ceremonial objects. Object 29/194 from U35.5 in the North Suburb, for example, takes the shape of a probable stylised lotus, projecting at the top and base, and preserved to a height of 14 cm. It could also form part of a fan or similar item (CoA II, 33; see Kemp in AR I, 29 for a discussion of the use of such elements). A wooden Hathor head measuring 6.4 x 4.8 cm was found at East Street 12 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 72, pl. XX.1; Figure II.9.5).

Figure II.9.5. Wooden Hathor head, possibly a shrine element, from East Street 12 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 22/73. (After EES negative 22.25).



It was suggested in the excavation report as part of a casket. It may have originated from a shrine, perhaps similar to an example with Hathor-headed columns from Deir el-Medina (Leospo 1988, fig. 215). Wooden Hathor columns and sistrum are also known (Tutundjian 1986; Pinch 1993, 140–1). A small bronze 'nail' with a Hathor head on the end was also found at O47.20 (obj. 32/235). The head measures 2.1 cm in height and 1.7 cm in width. Its function is unclear, but it may have been a decorative stud on an item such as a shrine, or possibly a stamp. Bomann (1991, 61) suggested that a wooden 's-bolt' found at Chapel 522 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 102, pl. XX.3) might have been an amulet, or functioned as the actual bolt for a wooden shrine or naos. Four further wooden 's-bolts' were found in the grounds to the south of the village (obj. 1058, 4753, 5062), and at site XI (obj. XI.111).

Object and museum numbers

Wooden uraei: 13/14.46, 13/14.498; 24/944, 31/289, 33/47
Decorated wooden elements: 11.304, 11.1663, 12/13.1323; 24/981 (Hunterian D.1924.21), 33/78; 5318
Wooden Hathor head: 22/73
Bronze Hathor head: 32/235
S-bolts: 21/307; XI.111, 1058, 4753, 5062

Publications

Wooden uraei: CoA II, 70; CoA III, 22, 141, pl. LXXIX.7; Borchardt and Riche 1980, 86, 122
Decorated wooden elements: CoA I, 102, pl. XIX.4; CoA III, 32; Borchardt and Riche 1980, 27, 290, 303
Wooden Hathor head: CoA I, 72, pl. XX.1
's-bolts': CoA I, 102, pl. XX.3

Symbolism and parallels

Shrines and naos served primarily as containers for cult and sacred images (Wildung in LÄ IV; Müller in LÄ V). They are referred to and depicted in cult scenes and can be represented in three-dimensional form in such items as naophorous statues. Deified royalty and other deities are depicted in shrines with uraeus friezes in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty private tombs (Vandier 1964, 544–71; Johnson in D'Auria et al. 1988, 144). The Amarna royal family can also be depicted within such shrines (Davies 1903, pl. VII; 1905, pls XXXII–XXXIV).

Actual shrines and naos have occasionally been recovered in association with religious complexes. A wooden uraeus found at the Hathor Temple at Gebel Zeit may be the remnant of a shrine (Posener-Krieger 1986, 381, pl. LXXIA; Pinch 1993, 288). Shrines decorated with uraeus friezes have also been found in New Kingdom burials, including the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Edwards 1976, 154–5, no. 43), and in private burials (Johnson in D'Auria et al. 1988, 143–4, no. 84). Examples from domestic contexts possibly include the small free-

standing wooden shrine dedicated to the Elephantine triad from Deir el-Medina noted above (Leospo 1988, fig. 215). A fragment of a wooden Hathor head that appears to have been part of an object such as a shrine was also found in a house at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 320), but at 20 cm in height was much larger than the wooden head from Amarna. Some domestic niches at this village may have been fitted with wooden doors to serve as permanent shrines (Bruyère 1939, 332, fig. 204; McDowell 1999, 103). Figurines in wooden naos were also found in association with burials at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1937b, 124–30, figs 70–1).

Potential parallels to the metal Hathor 'nail' include the Hathor-head inlays in precious metals that appear as decorative elements on wooden caskets in Middle Kingdom burials, such as that of Queen Mereret from Dahshur (Aldred 1971, 197, pl. 46; Pinch 1993, 141). Copper and bronze Hathor heads were also found at the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri, but their function remains unclear (Pinch 1993, 141).

Stand?

An unusual bearded face in pottery was recovered from T36.36 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/7; CoA II, 45, pl. XL.1; Figure II.10.3). It is preserved to a height of 14.5 cm and a width of 11 cm. It was identified by the EES excavators as the leg of a tray or tripod; they also drew a comparison between it and the bearded gold mask from Mycenae, and went on to identify T36.36 itself as the house of a Greek merchant.

The features of the face are closer to those assigned foreigners from the Near East than they are those of Mycenaeans in contemporary, particularly two-dimensional, representations (compare the depictions of foreigners in the tomb of Meryra at Amarna: Davies 1903, pl. XXVI; also two terracotta figures found at Heliopolis: Saleh 1991, 309–10, pl. 43.6–7). The face is also not dissimilar to that of a Bes-image pendant from the site (obj. 30/784; shown alongside the mask in Figure II.10.3), the facial features of which may themselves be assimilated with those of a Syrian.

One problem with the identification of the fragment as part of a stand is that there seems to be no sign of wear on the base of the beard, which must have formed a point of contact with a surface. It is tempting to identify it as part of a mask, perhaps of a Bes-image. Its overall dimensions do seem suitable, although the lack of eye holes is certainly an obstacle here. The back of the face has also not been shaped to fit a human face, and there is a broken projection near the top of the reverse that is difficult to reconcile to its use as a mask.



Figure 11.10.3. Three views of an unusual pottery face found at T36.36 in the North Suburb, Obj. 30/7 (Ash. 1931.485). (Front and side views after EES negative 30.0.7, and reproduced courtesy of the EES, Reverse view courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum). Also shown is a faience Bes-image pendant found in the North City; note the similarity of its facial features. Obj. 30/784. (Drawn by A. Boyce after the EES object card, and supplementary photographs. Courtesy of the EES).

Distribution
NS 17

Object and museum numbers
30/7 (Ash. 1931.485)

Symbolism and parallels

No direct parallels to figurative stands of this type are known to the author.

The Amarna face recalls, in its overall shape, scale and material, two Predynastic pottery masks found at Hierakonpolis (for which see Adams 1999, 4–5), although here the eyes, and in one case at least the

mouth, were cut out. Ceremonial masks seem often to have been utilised by priests; one rare surviving example in Hildesheim (Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 1585), belonging to the Late Period, shows Anubis and is again made of pottery (see Wolinski 1986; 1987).

Masks seem also to have been used in private contexts. A Bes-image mask in cartonnage was excavated in a Middle Kingdom house at Kahun (Petrie 1890, 30, pl. VIII). Some of the Bes-image figures from Amarna itself may, in fact, be shown wearing masks (see page 80). Perhaps, even if not actually worn, the Amarna piece drew inspiration from such items.

II.10. Implements

The range of potential cult functions of the items discussed in the following entries is varied. When only isolated objects, and not a category of material as a whole, have potential religious significance, only the former are included.

Clappers

No clappers were recorded from residential areas, but two pairs of ivory clappers were found in a casket in a pit at the magazines associated with the King's House in the Central City. Both pairs have ends in the shape of hands; they measure 14 cm and 20 cm in length.

Distribution

CC 2

Object and museum numbers

31/592 (Cairo JE 57250; MMA 32.5.2,a, b)

Publications

Pendlebury 1932, 148, pl. XIX.4; 1951, 92, pl. LXXIV.10; see also Hayes 1959, 316; Pischkova in Freed et al. 1999, 235, no. 102

Symbolism and parallels

Hand-shaped clappers are known from at least the Middle Kingdom, and appear to have functioned as both musical instruments and possibly as protective symbols (Ziegler in Brovarski et al. 1982, 262; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 101). Men are depicted playing undecorated clappers during processions in accompaniment to dancers and performers in Amarna-period scenes (Manniche 1971, 161–2, fig. 10; 1991, 87), although hand-shaped clappers and wands appear to have been used largely by women, including Hathor priestesses and *hnr* dancers. They may have had a close association with Hathor (Wente 1969, 86–7; Manniche 1976, 3–4; 1991, 87; Nord 1981, 141–2; Bourriau 1988, 113–14; Pinch 1993, 345). It has been suggested that they were used during rituals associated with childbirth and puberty, with funerary rites, but also with state rituals, such as the Heb Sed festival (Nord 1981, 141; Pinch 1994, 121–2; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 101–2). Manniche (1991, 87) has proposed that during the Amarna-period, hand-shaped clappers might have represented the rays of the Aten.

Models of possible hand-shaped clappers were found in Old Kingdom contexts at the Temple of Satis at Elephantine (Dreyer 1986, 117–18, pl. 36), and hand-shaped clappers have been found in private burials of

the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Petrie 1901, 53, pl. XXVII; 1927, 43; Mace 1921, 18, fig. 16; Bourriau 1988, 110). Amongst New Kingdom examples is a pair from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Manniche 1976, 3–4; 1991, 87), and another from a private burial at Rifeh (Petrie 1907, 22–3, pl. XXVII). Clappers with Hathor heads were also found at the temple complex at Beth Shan (McGovern 1990, 18, fig. 7), whilst wooden hand wands or clappers were found at the Hathor shrine at Gebel Zeit (Castel et al. 1985, 20; Pinch 1993, 345).

Finial

A calcite and bronze finial measuring 2.9 cm in height in the form of the head of Akhenaten atop a broad collar decorated with uraei was found at house N50.28 in the Main City. Its function is unclear, but it possibly originated from a ritual implement.

Distribution

MC 1

Object and museum numbers

11/12.1688 (ÄMP 20721)

Publications

Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 320; see also Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 235, no. 100

Headrest

The base of a wooden headrest found in West Street 13 in the Workmen's Village is decorated on one side with a lion-headed creature with its front legs on a stool, holding a knife between its paws (Figure II.10.1). The decoration on the opposite side is poorly preserved, but seems to show an upright, anthropomorphic figure shown frontally, probably a Bes-image. Other headrests are known from the site, but most if not all are of stone and are undecorated. Wooden headrests, perhaps, were more commonly decorated, and further examples of such may have been destroyed.

Distribution

WV 1

Object and museum numbers

22/182 (BM 55599)

Publications

CoA I, 86, pl. X.2

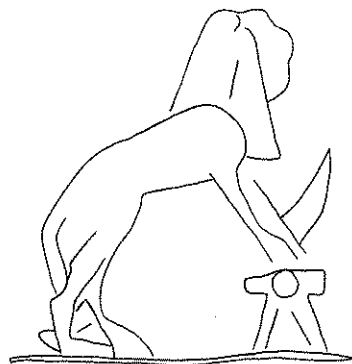


Figure II.10.1. Incised decoration of a protective lion or sphinx image with a knife on the base of a wooden headrest from West Street 13 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 22/182 (BM 55599). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by the author).

Symbolism and parallels

Headrests seem to have possessed protective qualities within both funerary and domestic spheres, qualities that were enhanced by the incorporation of images of protective deities (Romano in Brovarski et al. 1982, 75; Pinch 1994, 105; Russmann 2001, 162). Examples decorated with various deities, such as Bes-images, have been found in royal and private burials (Petrie and Brunton 1924a, pl. XV.24; Petrie 1927, 36; Edwards 1976, 162–3, no. 48). Several examples decorated with protective motifs were recovered from Deir el-Medina, including within the village itself (Bruyère 1939, 228–9, 237–335; Friedman 1985, 83; Pinch 1994, 43, 157, fig. 21).

Incense burners

An alabaster falcon head that the excavators suggested originated from the handle of an incense burner was excavated at P47.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 96; also discussed on page 126). There are no further incense burners recorded from domestic contexts, although some pottery bowls may have been used for this purpose (see page 193–4). A handle of a small incense burner in the shape of a hand was found at building Q40.3, part of the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Small Aten Temple (Pendlebury 1934, 133; CoA III, 12, pl. LXXVI.9).

Distribution

Pieces found beyond the Central City:
MC 1

Object and museum numbers
Pieces found beyond the Central City:
12/13.583

Publications
Pieces found beyond the Central City:
Borchardt and Rick 1980, 96

Symbolism and parallels

The burning of incense in state temple and funerary contexts in ancient Egypt is well attested (Blackman 1912). Falcon-heads are shown on the ends of hand-shaped incense burners used in state rituals in private tombs at Amarna (Davies 1905, 14, pl. VIII). The form is also represented in ritual scenes of the Nineteenth Dynasty (David 1981, 39, 47–8, 65).

Knives

A few knives from the site might have been used in cult contexts. A small number, for example, seem to have been miniatures, such as a bronze saw from building Q42.1 in the Central City (CoA III, 118). Few appear to have been decorated, although the knife handles, more likely to bear decoration than the blades, are rarely preserved. One of four knives found lying together on the floor of house Q46.32 in the Main City bore an engraved figure of a duck atop a papyrus clump on both faces (Cairo JE 48046; Newton 1924, 289). A bronze knife measuring 31 cm in length from S33.1 in the North Suburb was also inscribed with a *ms*-sign on the blade near the handle (CoA II, 68, pl. XLVII.1). An example with an engraved image of a squatting king was also found in the magazines between the Royal Estate and the Small Aten Temple (CoA III, 109).

A number of flint knives and other tools, and waste flakes, have also been recovered (Spurrell in Petrie 1894, 37; CoA I, pl. XIII.1, 6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59, 68; Miller in AR IV).

Distribution

CC 1
MC 1
NS 1

Object and museum numbers

23/130 (Cairo JE 48046), 30/457, 246, 33/41

Publications

Newton 1924, 289; CoA II, 68, pl. XLVII.1; CoA III, 109, 118

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst knives were clearly used in a variety of secular contexts, there is evidence that they sometimes possessed cult significance, particularly as symbols of protection. Knives are often shown held by deities such

as Bes and Taweret, or in scenes depicting the protection of the sun god (Helck in LÄ IV, 112–13; Wilkinson 1992, 189). Thoth could hold the crescent moon as a knife (Bonnet 1971, 807; Helck in LÄ IV, 112–13), whilst malevolent images such as snakes were sometimes depicted pierced by knives in order to render them powerless (Wilkinson 1992, 189). It is thought that the knives used in religious rituals were made primarily of flint (Wilkinson 1992, 189), but the possibility that some metal examples were also used as such should not be excluded. An unprovenanced Eighteenth Dynasty knife in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, for example, is decorated with a Bes-image and a scorpion (F1984/4.3; Schneider 1997, 86, no. 118), and may have been used in active ritual, or have been perceived to possess amuletic qualities. Model implements such as knives and saws have been found in burials, including KV 55 (Daressy in Davis et al. 1910, 38, pl. II.2; Hayes 1959, 294). Model knives and other implements have also been excavated in foundation deposits, such as those of Thutmose III at the Temple of Min at Koptos (Petrie 1896, 14, pl. XV; Adams 1997, 7; Schneider 1997, 86, nos 115–16) and at the Tomb of Amenhotep III (Kondo 1992, 45).

Military standard

A wooden plaque depicting on one face Wepwawet being worshipped by a man, and on the other two running men, was found in the Sanctuary of the Main Chapel at the Workmen's Village. The plaque seems to have been part of a military standard (Kemp in AR I, 27–9, fig. 2.11; 1987a, 46–7; Bomann 1991, 11). A wooden object in the shape of a lotus thought to be part of a standard was also found in the outer hall of the Main Chapel (Kemp in AR I, 30, fig. 2.12).

Distribution

WV 2

Object and museum numbers

5239, 5319

Publications

Kemp in AR I, 27–9, 30, figs 2.11–12; 1987a, 46–7; see also Bomann 1991, 9

Symbolism and parallels

Wepwawet is known primarily as a funerary deity, but also had other roles as, for example, patron of the king in foreign warfare (Graefe in LÄ I, 862–4). The god also appears to have been the recipient of some form of popular cult during the New Kingdom, attested by his shrine at Asyut (Munro 1962; Sadek 1988, 40–2; Kemp 1995, 29). The standard from Amarna, whilst not necessarily a piece of cult equipment in its own right, attests this god's presence at the site.

Mirror

A small number of mirrors are recorded, one of which (obj. 30/467) is of particular note in that it is a miniature. Excavated at house T34.1 in the North Suburb, it measured approximately 4 cm in height and its face had a diameter of around 3 cm. It appears to have been undecorated.

Distribution

NS 1

Object and museum numbers

30/467

Publications

CoA II, 65

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst serving as cosmetic items, mirrors seem also to have been rich in symbolism, associated in particular with the solar cult, and goddesses such as Hathor (Müller in LÄ V, 1147–50).

Rattles

Pieces of four possible rattles in pottery are recorded. Fragments of three examples were found at S33.1, T36.5 and U36.48 in the North Suburb (obj. 26/684, 29/175–6, 30/519; Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. L.4; CoA II, 22, 50, 68, pl. XXXIV.2) and one at Q46.54 in the Main City (obj. 24/801).

Only one is preserved intact: object 26/684, from S33.1 in the North Suburb. This has a drop-shaped body, painted with red stripes, and a modelled gazelle or ibex head (CoA II, 50, pl. XXXIV). It is 11.5 cm high. It is not clear from the excavation records whether it contained pellets or other inclusions. Objects 29/175 and 30/519, from U36.48 and T36.5 respectively, take the form of drop-shaped vessels, seemingly broken at the top. The latter measures approximately 8 cm high. 29/176 is a rough animal head, registered as a possible gazelle and suggested to have broken from 29/175. A hollow gazelle-like clay animal was also recorded from Q46.54 in the Main City (obj. 24/801; Figure II.10.2). An archive photograph shows that, unlike object 26/684, the figure seems to have been oriented horizontally. A circular depression can be seen in its underside, perhaps the recess for a handle. It is again unclear whether it was empty or contained pellets. A further pottery gazelle head from complex T36.13, 20, 27, 30 in the North Suburb was registered as part of a rattle (obj. 29/287; CoA II, 54), although at 7 cm in height it may instead have been a vessel appliqué.



Figure II.10.2. Hollow model of a gazelle-like animal, perhaps a rattle, from Q46.54 in the Main City. Obj. 24/801. (After EES negative 24.216. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

A hollow pottery tilapia nilotica model containing six small pellets in the Brooklyn Museum (48.111) is thought to have originated either from Amarna or Saqqara (Aldred 1973, 213, no. 154; Fazzini in Fazzini et al. 1989, no. 53). The figure measures 11 cm in length and is painted in light-blue, black and red.

Distribution

MC 1
NS 3 + 12

Object and museum numbers

24/801, 26/684, 29/175, 29/176, 29/287, 30/519; possibly from Amarna: BMA 48.111

Publications

Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. L4; CoA II, 22, 50, 68 pl. XXXIV.2

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst rattles may have functioned as toys, it has also been suggested that the noise of instruments such as cymbals, rattles and castanets may have helped drive off hostile forces, particularly during ritual dances and other magical rites (Pinch 1994, 84–5; Romano in Capel and Markoe 1996, 68). Rattles with gazelle or bovid heads have been found in private tombs of the Middle and New Kingdoms (Garstang 1901, 13, pl. XVII; Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, 100, pl. LIV.35; Petrie 1927, 59). Three possible rattles with duck heads were found at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999, 311–12, 315, 319, pls 68, 70, 94), whilst other late Eighteenth Dynasty rattles in the form of horned animals similar to the Amarna pieces, and of recumbent bovid figures are known (Hayes 1959, 323).

Sistra

Three fragments of blue faience that the excavators suggested as parts of the handles of sistra were excavated at O48.7, P47.28 and P49.15 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 142, 201, 278). One bore the name of the king and the queen (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 201); another was decorated with a feather

pattern (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 142). No further details of these fragments have been obtained. See also pages 75–6 on the small faience sistra that seem to have functioned as beads.

A fragmentary wooden Hathor head found at East Street 12 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 72, pl. XX.1; see pages 198–9, Figure II.9.5) was possibly part of a wooden model sistrum, but may have derived from a model column or shrine.

Distribution

MC 1 + 3?
NP 7

Object and museum numbers

Sistra: 11/12.402, 11/12.1102, 13/14.742

Publications

Sistra: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 142, 201, 278

Symbolism and parallels

See pages 75–6

Stamps

Several stamps have been excavated at Amarna (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 95), although few can be suggested to have religious significance. One possible exception is a flat bronze figure of Sobek wearing a double feather crown with horns, suggested as a stamp, from T36.2 in the North Suburb. Three branches of twisted wire extend to form a handle at the back of this figure. Its tail is now broken off, but the figure is preserved to a length of 4 cm. It is not clear what the stamp would have been used for. No objects bearing this impression seem to have been recovered from the site.

See also page 199 for a bronze Hathor-head 'nail' that possibly functioned as a stamp.

Distribution

NS 1

Object and museum numbers

26/672 (Ash. 1927.4100)

Publications

CoA II, 24, pl. XXVIII.8

Symbolism and parallels

The role of Sobek has been discussed above (page 51).



Figure II.10.3. Bronze tongs from U33.6 in the North Suburb. Obj. 31/100. They measure 45 cm in length. (Drawn by G. Denning, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

Tongs

At least eight pairs of bronze tongs have been excavated at the site. One pair was found at the House of the King's Statue (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.3; Kemp 1989, 284; see Part II.14 on the function of this complex), but the remainder originated from residential areas. All are of similar shape, with the ends formed in the shape of hands (Figure II.10.3). Bracelets are represented on at least one example (CoA II, 19). They range in length from 19–45 cm.

Distribution

CC 1
MC 2
NS 5

Object and museum numbers

23/364, 26/659 (Bolton 23.27.10), 29/114, 30/376–7, 31/100, 31/200, 36/162

Publications

CoA II, 19, 24, 58 74, 77; Newton 1924, 289; CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.3; see also Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 251, no. 158

Symbolism and parallels

Whilst tongs were presumably used in secular contexts, particularly for manufacture, some more elaborate examples probably had cult associations. There may also have been a link between tongs in the form of hands and the *kt*-sign (Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 251, no. 158).

Weights

A number of weights in the form of animals have been excavated, the motifs including bovines, gazelles or ibexes, panthers, ducks, frog, goat, dog and a shell (Cairo JE 55387, 55390, Petrie 1894, 31, pl. XIII.6; Griffith 1924, 302; Newton 1924, 289; Pendlebury 1933, 117; 1934, 135; CoA II, 11, 38, 40–1, 45, 48, 50–1, 64, pls XXVIII.1–4, XL.9; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 74, 321). Non-figurative stone weights also occur. A semicircular limestone object, probably a weight, from the vicinity of Chapel 561/450 bore an incised *mn*-sign on one face (obj. 5421). A similar object was found at the Second Pylon of the Small Aten Temple (obj. 31/363). This bore engraved lines, which formed a rough, gridded triangle on either side. The excavators identified this piece tentatively as the top of a miniature stela (CoA III, 98), but the base is intact and it does not appear to have been broken from a larger object.

Symbolism and parallels

Weights were clearly associated predominantly with secular activity, as indicated by depictions of them in use (Bailey 1997, 73–4). The excavation of a semi-circular stone 'weight' in a foundation deposit of Aye at Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1939, 91, pl. 54) raises the possibility that they were sometimes used in ritual contexts, however. On the object registration card the example from the Small Aten Temple (JE 57220) was itself identified as a 'votive object'.

II.11. Miscellaneous material

The following inventory entries outline a selection of miscellaneous materials and deposits that occur at the site. The original function of most of these is difficult to identify and there is little evidence to link them directly with specific activities, whether cult or otherwise. However, as there is evidence that such materials could be used in religious contexts, often in a manner that would leave little trace in the archaeological record, their presence at the site should be noted. Many are likely to be under-represented in the early excavation records.

Animal remains

Although animal remains were occasionally noted from residential areas in the early excavation records (for example, CoA II, 72), there is rarely any indication that they possessed religious significance. A possible exception is a pottery coffin with the mummy of a small bird found at house N50.11 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 301), although it is not clear if this was an Amarna-period deposit. A sherd with black-painted bird and floral motif also found here (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 301) is potentially a post-New Kingdom piece.

The hind-leg of a goat wrapped in linen was, however, found in 1983 at the Workmen's Village, in a deposit of packed marl between the walls of Chapels 570 and 571 (see Kemp in AR I, 38, fig. 3.2; Hecker in AR I, 161). This was an exceptional piece, though; overall, the number of animal remains recovered from the chapels was low, and there was little indication of 'ritual' treatment (Hecker in AR I, 161).

Animal remains, some of which appear to have been deliberately deposited, have also been recorded from some state complexes (for example, CoA I, 123; Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIII.3; Kemp and Garfi 1993, figs 2-3).

Symbolism and parallels

The offering of animal sacrifices is well attested in state cult contexts in ancient Egypt (Kees 1942), but the extent to which it occurred in private contexts is not clear. The interment of a variety of mummified animals, often placed in coffins, and generally as votive offerings, is also well known. The practice is first attested during the Eighteenth Dynasty, but increased markedly from the Late Period (Kessler in LA VI, 579-81).

Hair

A few deposits of hair have been recorded from the site, including a braid of hair from Q46.1 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27) and part of a wig from Q47.3 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 74). At P47.6, a bunch of hair was found north of a coffin in the courtyard of the house (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 106). It is not clear from the excavation report whether it derived from the burial itself.

Note also the model mud balls containing hair discussed in Part II.3 (pages 112-15).

Symbolism and parallels

Although there is little direct evidence that these deposits possessed religious significance, there is some evidence of the ritual deposition of hair, particularly at burials and temple complexes (see pages 114-5).

Infant burials

A small number of infant burials that may be contemporary with Amarna-period occupation of the city are recorded from within houses. At K51.1, a jar containing the body of an infant was found in the west jam of the main door, at floor level. The excavators noted that the burial was 'contemporary with the building and looks very much like a foundation deposit' (CoA I, 17). The building itself is consistent with an Amarna-period house. The jar was covered with a bowl of type XVI. In the description of this vessel type the excavators remarked that it was '[u]sed as a cover for a large jar (LXXXVI/264) containing a child's body in House K51.1, and therefore possible late' (CoA I, 138). This seems to contradict their earlier statement concerning the date of the interment. In the description of the type LXXXVI jar itself, they also noted that it '[c]ontained body of infant and was covered by XVI/25; hence may be late' (CoA I, pl. XLVIII.XVI/25). An Eighteenth Dynasty date for type XVI/25 is suggested by a parallel from the Tomb of Maya at Saqqara (Aston 1996, 43), although a slightly later date of the late New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period has been proposed for type LXXXVI (Aston 1996, 43). If correct, this implies that the burial is probably intrusive; the disparity in the dates of the two vessels perhaps explained by the reuse of an Amarna-period vessel (type XVI/25).

A second infant burial is recorded from an eastern room of house T35.4 in the North Suburb, which contained a 'meat-jar' with the bones of an infant, estimated to

be around 6 months of age (CoA II, 43). No information regarding the relationship of the find to the house itself is provided to shed light on its date, and nor are there details of the specific form of the vessel, although it can perhaps be assumed to be the 'standard' Amarna-period meat-jar (for which see Rose in AR I, 136).

At house Long Wall Street 11, the body of a baby (obj. 22/22) wrapped in linen was recorded from the front room (CoA I, 85). It is not clear whether it was buried in the room, and nor is its date clear. It was wearing a wooden amulet, registered as a figure of a man in a robe (obj. 22/83; CoA I, 85, pl. XX.1). This is an unusual piece, in both its form and material, but it should be remembered that wood was particularly well preserved at the Workmen's Village, and similar amulets may have been destroyed from other parts of the city.

An infant burial was also excavated, by the author, during recent work in an area of housing in the Main City (excavation grid 12; see Kemp forthcoming b).¹ The burial (unit 11007) was found in a shallow pit in the corner of the front room of a small house, N50.37. The burial was not sealed, but lay directly below a deposit of disturbed rubble. Most of the mud plaster floor of the room, including that immediately around the pit itself, was destroyed through post-occupation disturbance, and there was no way of determining whether the burial was originally sealed by the floor, or an emplacement. Only skeletal remains were preserved, and there was no trace of wrappings, nor grave goods. The date of the burial, therefore, is again uncertain, but a date contemporary with the Amarna-period occupation of the house cannot be ruled out. The skeletal remains were from a single infant, with an age at death of birth plus or minus one month. No pathological lesion was found. It lay with its head to the north.

Distribution

MC	2
NS	1
WV	1

Object and museum numbers

22/22

Publications

CoA I, 17, 85, pl. XX.1; CoA II, 43; Kemp forthcoming b

Symbolism and parallels

Infant burials have been encountered amongst residential areas at sites beyond Amarna. Examples were excavated beneath the floors of houses at Kahun

¹ I am most grateful to Barry Kemp for allowing me to include this find here. The following remarks are derived from my own field notes, and those of physical anthropologist Professor Jerry Rose.

(Petrie 1890, 12; David 1986, 137–8; 1991, 37). Infant burials were also encountered at the town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos, which has evidence of occupation during the Middle and New Kingdoms (Wegner 2001, 303), and within the village at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 271; Friedman 1994, 96; Meskell 1999, 171). In discussing the Kahun burials, David (1986, 137–8) noted that '[a]s far as can be determined, the practice of interring bodies at domestic sites was not an Egyptian one', and suggested it may have been of foreign origin. Interment of bodies within houses may not have been widespread in Egypt, but the practice of burying infants here, at least, may be more widespread than fully recognised. There is certainly scope for further investigation of the practice, including at Amarna itself. Infant burials are, as yet, poorly attested at the private cemetery near the South Tombs (Rose in Kemp forthcoming a): was there a special section of the cemetery devoted to infants, were methods of disposal other than interment used, or was burial amongst the city itself more common than it seems? Note, too, the possibility that shaft tombs for adult burials were also occasionally cut in house courtyards at Amarna (page 294). There is a potentially important strand of investigation here into how living and funerary space was defined in ancient Egypt, and the impact of this upon religious conduct.

Metal

Numerous miscellaneous metal objects and fragments have been recorded. Examples include pieces of wire and tubing in copper and bronze (CoA I, 76; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 33, 182); a small, semi-cylindrical, lead ingot (CoA I, 21); and a sheet of copper with incised markings (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 220).

Symbolism and parallels

Many of the Amarna metal fragments are certainly off-cuts from manufacture (see for example, Kemp forthcoming b), but various metals were also thought to possess symbolic and magical qualities in ancient Egypt, due to their appearance, physical properties and rarity (Barta in LA III, 1233–7; Raven 1988, 241). Accordingly, metals, particularly lead, were sometimes used to make magic figurines, and were used for magic defixiones of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Raven 1988, 241; Gager 1992, 3–4). Some cylindrical amulets of the Middle and New Kingdoms also contained pieces or balls of metal (Ogden 1973; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 70–1, no. 19).

Pebbles and minerals

Several decorated pebbles have been recovered. A pebble from the grounds immediately south of the Workmen's Village (grid square O16), had an incised image of a human figure, seemingly wearing a kilt and



Figure II.11.1. An anthropomorphic figure incised on a pebble from the Workmen's Village. Obj. 2064. Scale 2:1. (Drawn by the author, after the EES object card. Courtesy of the EES).

with arms outstretched, probably holding one or more objects, perhaps hieroglyphic elements (obj. 2064; Figure II.11.1). The figure possibly wears a crown, it is not dissimilar to a figure on an ostrakon from the village that might show a seated king (obj. 2062; page 157, Figure II.6.6). The pebble was a slightly flattened sphere with a maximum diameter of 2.5 cm.

A number of stones were found at Chapel 561 that were either perfect spheres, or bore small circular indentations. One was incised with an image of a boat, the *w3* hieroglyph (obj. 5484; Bomann 1991, 58; Figure II.11.2). Twelve smooth, round pebbles were recorded from a cist in a room in house O48.17 in the Main City (obj. 21/34; CoA I, 29), although in this case none seem to have been decorated. A pebble from the so-called Hall of Foreign Tribute in the Central City bore a drawing of a vase in red (CoA III, 25). This was found buried with 'paint-pots and some sherds on which they had tried their brushes' (CoA III, 25). An example bearing two lines of hieratic was found in Q46.2 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 29); no details of the inscription have been obtained. It was perhaps a weight or similar.

Several pieces of semi-precious stones have also been recorded. Pieces of malachite were excavated at N49.20 and P47.31 in the Main City (CoA I, 24, 35), and a smooth, worked knob of red jasper was found below a brick at the Clerks' Houses in the Central City (CoA III, 124, pl. LXXVII.9). A small lump of mineral, many fragments of green feldspar and two coils of natural limestone were also excavated in the Royal Wadi, and may have originated from the Royal Tomb (Martin 1974, 95–6, nos 412, 422–3).

Distribution

Decorated pebbles:

CC	1
MC	1
WV	3

Object and museum numbers

Decorated pebbles: 26/42; 64, 5484

Publications

Decorated pebbles: CoA III, 25; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 29; see also Bomann 1991, 58

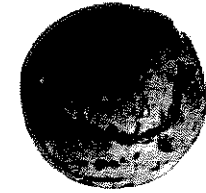


Figure II.11.2. Pebble with an incised image of a solar boat from Chapel 561 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 5484. (Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the EES).

Symbolism and parallels

Natural stones and minerals were sometimes perceived to have religious significance; their use as offerings, components of magical rituals and perhaps amulets is relatively well attested by archaeological and textual evidence. Examples have been excavated at temple and foundation deposits at several sites. At Elephantine, for example, pebbles in various shapes were found in a foundation deposit at the Temple of Satis (Dreyer in Kaiser et al. 1975, 57). An example was found in a temple deposit containing material of Middle Kingdom date and earlier at Tell Ibrahim Awad (van Haarlem 1995, 46, fig. 10), whilst Petrie (1890, 22) found 'two or three pieces of green carbonate of copper ore, and a piece of galena' in a temple foundation deposit of the Twelfth Dynasty at Kahun. Lumps of various minerals were also found within foundation deposits at the Mortuary Temple of Aye and Horemheb at Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1939, 91, pl. 55), and a large quantity of unworked fragments of green feldspar and red jasper was excavated in foundation deposits associated with temples of Ramesses IV at Thebes (Hayes 1959, 372). At Mirgissa, pebbles shaped like pregnant or overweight women appear to have been dedicated as votive offerings in the Hathor shrine (Karlin 1970, 329, fig. 27; Kemp 1995, 27). A number of pebbles were also found in funerary contexts at Deir el-Medina, many of which were decorated (Keimer 1940; Meskell 1999, 180), whilst small pebbles were commonly included in private tombs of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties at Thebes (Smith 1992, 206). Flints were sometimes incorporated into stelae (Černý 1958, no. 4), and stones such as garnets and carnelian were included in cylindrical amulets, primarily during the Middle Kingdom, but also in the New Kingdom (Ogden 1973; Andrews 1994, 42; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 70–1, no. 19). Some magical spells also

prescribe the use of semi-precious stones (Erman 1901, 9).

Plant remains

Few botanical remains were recorded from the early excavations. The plant recorded most frequently, however, was the dôm-nut, examples of which were found at houses in the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 71, 82, 85, 87) and the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221, 309, 315). Renfrew (in AR II, 175–6) has noted that dôm-nuts were often found carbonised at the Workmen's Village during the excavations in the 1980s, and suggested that the primary uses of the nuts at the site were probably as charcoal for the burning of incense or for drawing. Other plants recorded from houses include the fig (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 74) and date (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 338).

A small group of leaves, probably olive, was found around an offering-stand in Chapel 571 at the Workmen's Village, which Bomann (1991, 15, 60) suggested might have been votive offerings. A wide variety of plant species was also recovered from debris thought to have originated from the private chapels (Renfrew in AR II, 175–6). Of these, Bomann (1991, 176) proposed that emmer wheat, barley, lentils, rye-grass, dôm-nuts, dates, persea, acacia pods and sycamore figs can be considered appropriate for use in the chapels. Renfrew (in AR II, 175) noted that some of the plant remains were again carbonised, and suggested that, although they could have been accidentally burnt, they may also have been associated with offerings.

Symbolism and parallels

As noted above (page 76), a wide variety of plants possessed symbolic qualities, and associations with particular deities. Plants were frequently used within the funerary cult, often as food offerings, but also as symbols of aspects such as rebirth or regeneration (Dittmar 1986, 108–17). Plant remains have been found at temples such as the Hathor shrines at Deir el-Bahri and Timna, some of which may have been votive offerings (Kislev in Rothenberg 1988, 236–41; Pinch 1993, 283, 354). Carter and Carnarvon (1912, 11) recorded the discovery of 'leaf offerings ... in small pottery vessels' near the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Further evidence for the use of plants as offerings can be seen in a fragmentary stela found at the same site, which bore the phrase: 'May everyone love him if he is spreading water upon the leaves before my statue...' (Spiegelberg and Newberry 1908, 7–8). Plants also played an important role in medicine (Nunn 1996, 151–62), whilst the use of plants in magical rituals is well attested in surviving spells (Borghouts 1978, 16–19, nos 18, 21, 23).

Resin and wax

In addition to the resin-coated vessels noted previously (Part II.8), lumps of resinous substances were recorded from Q48.7 and P48.2 in the Main City (CoA I, 29; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221), T41.1 in the Central City (CoA III, 27) and T35.20 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 82). Two lumps of 'gum' were found at Long Wall Street 11 in the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 85). At Chapel 561, a piece of resinous incense was found in the Inner Hall (Bomann 1991, 10, 24–5, note 18).

Sticks with a substance that the excavators identified as wax adhering to them were found opposite Long Wall Street 7 and Main Street 7 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 68–9). A melted mass of wax and rosin was also recorded from Q46.22 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 46). Large pieces of resin were also excavated in a pit at the southern court of Q42.11, the House of Life, in the Central City (CoA III, 116).

Symbolism and parallels

The general uses of resin in ancient Egypt have been outlined (pages 193–4). As with resin, wax appears to have been used in mummification, and as a component of medicines and cosmetics. It also appears to have possessed magical properties (Raven 1983, 9–32; 1988, 239–40).

Shell

In addition to the pierced shells noted in Part II.2, 21 sea-shells have been recorded from building units in the Main City and North Suburb (CoA II, 66, 90–1; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 37, 62, 90, 102). Fragments of eggshell, including ostrich egg (for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 312), and snail shell (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 18, 90) were also excavated. Frankfort and Pendlebury (CoA II, 66) identified four of the sea-shells as scoopers. Four sea-shells and some snail shells from P47.1, part of the complex owned by the sculptor Thutmose, were found in a pot with remains of wooden objects, hair and a vessel (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 90). A lump of pink coral was also found at house N49.11 in the Main City (CoA I, 21), whilst a fossilised sea urchin was excavated at court T36.39, located behind a garden shrine at estate T36.36 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 85).

Symbolism and parallels

The symbolism of the shell motif has also been discussed previously (page 75). In addition to the parallels already cited, note the lump of pink coral found in a house of Second Intermediate Period date at Lisht (Mace 1921, 12).

Textiles

Thousands of fragments of textiles have been recovered: four thousand textile samples have been recorded from the Workmen's Village alone, which appear to have been used primarily for clothing and soft furnishings (Eastwood in AR II, 192, 200–3; Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001). Amongst these, the 'samples of textiles' found in a pot at U36.34 (CoA II, 22), and the 'tiny bundle of linen' excavated at Main Street 8 in the Workmen's Village, possibly in the cupboard below the stairs (CoA I, 79), may be of significance here. A small piece of linen decorated with coloured faience beads was also found at Q46.1 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26). Wendrich (in AR V, 182–3) has also suggested that a 'bracelet' of string, incorporating a series of different knots and a bundle of green yarns tied in a loop of uncoloured string, may have been used in a magical ritual. There is some evidence of the burning of textiles from the Workmen's Village, but Eastwood (in AR II, 191) concluded that this was probably a result of the accidental scattering of ash.

Symbolism and parallels

The use of linen within cult is reflected, in particular, in the wrapping of cult statues (Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 294). Statues found in the Tomb of Tutankhamun were wrapped in linen, for example (Edwards 1976, 146, 149, nos 35, 38). Some votive offerings were also wrapped or dressed in textiles prior to deposition, such as fertility figurines found at the Hathor shrines at Gebel Zeit (Castel et al. 1985, 18–20, Abb. 13; Pinch 1993, 201, 224, 354). Linen was sometimes used in the manufacture of magical charms (Raven 1997), whilst the magical use of knots, primarily as a means of binding evil forces, is also reflected in a number of textual sources (Dawson 1927, 102–3; Ogdon 1987).

II.12. Domestic architectural reliefs and inscriptions

Architectural reliefs and inscriptions are occasionally preserved in domestic contexts. Excluding motifs such as geometric patterns and floral friezes (for which see Glanville 1929, 40–57), these can be divided into two broad iconographic categories: those that refer to the Aten and royal family, and those with other socio-religious themes. In one sense, these can be considered documentary evidence of religious conduct and belief, although they cannot be assumed to document actual instances of such. Some could also have functioned as cult installations in their own right.

Aten and royal family

Within houses, reliefs and inscriptions relating to the Aten and/or royal family seem to have been positioned primarily on lintels and sideposts of internal and outer doorways (CoA I, 37; Seidlmayer 1983; Murnane 1995, 126, 130, 166, 179, 183–4), and within and around internal vertical niches (Woolley 1922, 65; Seidlmayer 1983). The latter are discussed in Part II.13. Fragments thought to have derived from door lintels and side posts decorated with either prayers to the Aten, scenes relating to Aten worship, or both, were excavated at K50.1, M47.3, N49.14, N49.18, N49.34, O49.1, P46.16, P47.10, P47.24 and possibly M47.6 and P49.2 in the Main City (Borchardt 1911, 19; CoA I, 9, 22, 26, 33, 37, pls X.4, XXXIII.6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 57, 62, 112, 137, 241, 262, 342, Taf. 26; T34.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 109, pl. XXIII.4); and T41.1, the official residence of Panehesy, in the Central City (CoA III, 27, 189, pl. LX.4). These sometimes preserve prayers for the *k3* of the house owner (for example, at house N49.18: CoA I, 9, 14, pl. X.5).

Additional fragments of reliefs with scenes of the royal family, the worship thereof, or related texts, were excavated at M47.6, P47.24, P47.28, P49.4, P49.15 and Q48.3 (for example, ÄMP 22254; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 62, 137, 141, 228, 265, 278); and fragments with the name of the king and queen were excavated at M47.3, O48.14, P47.23, P49.2 and P49.6 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59, 134, 214, 262, 267–8). The majority of these were presumably architectural reliefs, although some might have derived from objects such as stelae: the fragment from M47.6 was identified as a possible stela or door post in the excavation report, for instance (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 62). It is largely unclear whether these fragments, and the lintels and sideposts discussed above, were excavated in the building in which they were originally located. It is likely that some fragments derived from garden shrines, some of which

are known to have been decorated with scenes of Aten worship (Ikram 1989; see Part III.14).

Peet and Woolley (CoA I, 83) found a 'painted Tutankhamun' in Long Wall Street 7 at the Workmen's Village, in the room they identified as the bedroom. Fragments of a painted royal figure, possibly Tutankhamun, which retained the artist's grid were also excavated at West Street 2/3 (Kemp 1987, 44; Weatherhead in AR IV). Forty-one fragments of painted mud brick excavated in the kitchen of Main Street 10 may originally have borne an inscription that included the *hṯp rdi nī-šwt* formula; most were very small (Gunn in CoA I, 146–7; Kemp 1987, 45).

Peet and Woolley (CoA I, 59–60, 80, pl. IX.2) suggested that fragments of painted plaster with designs that included a possible convolvulus vine, an 'inscription in black on a yellow ground', and a 'polychrome design with a human figure', from Main Street 9 at the Workmen's Village, may have formed part of a scene of Aten worship. The fragments possibly derived from a roof-top structure (Kemp 1979b, 51; Kemp also offers a reinterpretation of the scene: see below, and also page 299). Some support for Peet and Woolley's identification can be found in parallel scenes in Amarna tombs and on stelae that depict the royal family in shrines draped with vines, often identified as the convolvulus or woodbine (Petrie 1894, 10–11; Davies 1905, pl. XXXII; Hayes 1959, 286–7; Arnold 1996, 99–100). Fragments of columns decorated with the convolvulus vine have also been excavated in the Central City (Petrie 1894, 10–11, pl. VIII; Smith 1998, 187), implying that the spaces occupied by the royal family in life incorporated this motif.

Distribution

Houses with scenes relating to Aten and/or royal family:

CC	1
MC	17 + 27
NS	1
WV	2 + 27

Object and museum numbers

Royal-family related scenes: ÄMP 22254

Publications

Aten-related scenes: Borchardt 1911, 19; CoA I, 9, 14, 22, 26, 33, 37, pls X.4–5, XXXIII.6; CoA II, 109, pl. XXIII.4; CoA III, 27, 189, pl. LX.4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 57, 62, 112, 137, 241, 262, 342, Taf. 26

Royal-family related scenes: CoA I, 59–60, 80, 83, pl. IX.2; Gunn in CoA I, 146–7; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 59, 62, 134, 137, 141, 214, 228, 265, 262, 267–8, 278; Kemp 1987a, 44; Weatherhead in AR IV

Private scenes and traditional deities

Beyond those in the private chapels at the Workmen's Village (Part II.14), scenes with other socio-religious themes are preserved only as a few painted representations in the Workmen's Village. The absence of stone architectural fragments with such scenes, particularly when contrasted with the quantity of such that relates to the royal family and Aten, suggests that the former were not common at the site, if not entirely absent.

The painted scenes from the Workmen's Village have been discussed in detail by Kemp (1979b). The most notable is the lower part of a scene depicting at least four dancing Bes-figures, probably accompanied by a figure of Taweret, found still attached to the north wall of the front room of Main Street 3 (Peet 1921, 177; CoA I, 75, pl. XVI.3; Kemp 1979b, 47–8; Figure II.12.1). At Long Wall Street 10, the lower part of a scene depicting several human figures, all probably women and girls, was preserved in the front room. The figures are possibly dancers or musicians. They had been covered by a layer of mud plaster (CoA I, 84; Kemp 1979b, 49–50; Figure II.12.2). Other houses showed traces of painted decoration that were no longer identifiable. At Long Wall Street 11, for instance, white-painted decoration had been plastered over, and little of the original design could be determined (CoA I, 85).

Kemp (1979b, 51; in AR III, 25) has suggested that an alternative reconstruction of the painted fragments from Main Street 9 discussed above is as a private birth arbour scene. He notes that the convolvulus vine is also represented on 'Wochenlaube' ostraca (Brunner-Traut 1955) and possibly some fertility figurines (Pinch 1983, 407; 1993, 208), and that a domestic relief at Deir el-Medina appears to have had a similar theme. He suggests (1979b, 52) that a portion of painted decoration showing a band of downward-pointing 'lotus petals' and two possible offering-tables topped by what may be lotus leaves in the front hall of Long Wall Street 7 (CoA I, 83) possibly derived from a similar scene.

Recent excavations at the house of the official Ranefer, N49.18 in the Main City, revealed fragments of painted figurative mud plaster beneath floor level. They probably originated from an earlier, but still Amarna-period, house that Ranefer built over, perhaps from the small room at the rear of the house in which they were retrieved. The fragments are small but preserve parts of figures, none necessarily royal, including part of a

head wearing a probable perfume cone, behind which is a hieroglyph group probably providing the name Tutu (obj. 34588–95; see Kemp 2004, 16; forthcoming b). Judging from the composition of the plaster, they are certainly from an architectural feature. Much of the ground plan of this earlier house has been recovered and there are no obvious wall niches, so perhaps the fragments came from a painted panel on a flat span of wall.

A number of additional fragments of reliefs or inscriptions were recorded from residential building units; namely, N48.11, N50.17, N51.3, O47.4, O48.1, O49.1, O49.12, P47.13, P47.17, P47.19, P48.5, P49.1, P49.6, Q46.1, Q46.5 and Q47.4 in the Main City (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27, 34, 74, 115, 122, 129–30, 150, 185, 194, 223, 242, 250, 267, 307, 331, 344); and T36.57 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 59). Only occasionally, though, are details of their decoration provided in the published reports: a fragment of a relief depicting a standing naked female was recorded from O48.1 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 195; the material is not recorded, but it is presumably stone), and part of an unfinished chalkstone relief depicting a lutist from P49.10 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 273). In these cases, it is not clear that the fragments derived necessarily from architecture; they were possibly parts of stelae or similar.

Distribution

MC 37
WV 2 + 27

Publications

CoA I, 75, 83–4, pl. XVI.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 195, 273; see also Kemp 1979b, 51; in AR III, 25; Kemp 2004, 16; forthcoming b

Symbolism and parallels

Deir el-Medina has provided by far the most evidence of socio-religious domestic decoration of Pharaonic settlement sites excavated to date. Bes-images, marsh scenes and images of females shown dancing, playing music, undertaking toilet activities and, in one case, possibly holding a child, were found in association with the 'lits clos' in houses here, often in the front room (Bruyère 1923; 1939, 57–62, 93–150; Kemp 1979b, 50–3). These seem, often, to reflect the importance of fertility-related cults in the domestic sphere (Kemp 1979b, 53; Friedman 1994, 98–110; Meskell 1998, 223–7). Deities such as Renenutet, Meretseger and Sobek were also depicted or mentioned on architectural emplacements such as lintels, some of which appear to have been fitted around small niches (Bruyère 1939, 76–7, 245, 267, 277, 287, pls XV–XX). Scenes of the worship of members of the royal family, particularly Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I, also appeared on vertical niches and door lintels (Bruyère 1939, 68; Valbelle 1985, 261).



Figure II.12.1. A scene of four dancing Bes-figures accompanied by a probable figure of Taweret painted in white on a mud-plastered background, as preserved in 1921 on the north wall of the front room of Main Street 3 at the Workmen's Village. (After Kemp 1979b, fig. 1. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp and the EES).

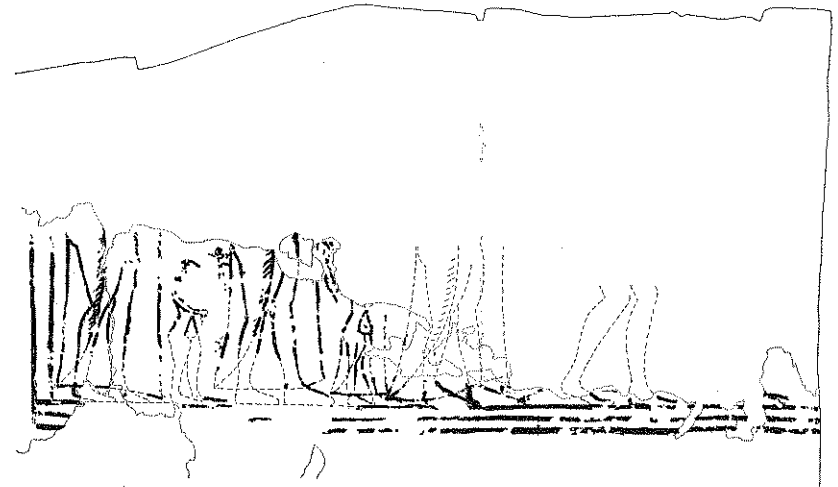


Figure II.12.2. A badly damaged scene exposed in 1922 in the front room of Long Wall Street 10 at the Workmen's Village. (After Kemp 1979b, fig. 2. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp and the EES).

Decorated architectural fragments that appear to have derived from houses and other secular buildings, of both pre- and post-Amarna period date, have been recorded from a number of other sites, however (Seidlmayer 1983, 184–5), including Aniba (Steindorff 1937), Karnak (Anus and Sa'ad 1970), Hermopolis (Hermann in Hermann et al. 1937, 33–5, pl. 10) and Buhen (Smith 1976, 94–156). These bear scenes that can include private individuals, royalty and deities. Fragments of a painted scene depicting at least one goddess (of uncertain identity) were also excavated in a private house at Deir el-Ballas (Smith 1998, 160). Petrie (1890, 24) found painted decoration on the walls of houses at Kahun, although not of obviously religious themes: they included a scene of a house front, and of four jars on wooden stands. Further parallels from domestic, royal, contexts include the scenes depicting deities such as Bes-images in the private quarters of Eighteenth Dynasty palaces at Deir el-Ballas and Malkata (Winlock 1912, 186; Smith 1998, 164–7).

II.13. Architectural emplacements

The following inventory entries document permanent architectural installations with potential religious functions. In comparison to the small finds, the early records of architecture are of a reasonably high standard, as noted in the introduction. Nonetheless, the information provided in the published excavation records, the primary source used for this section, often lacks detail. Furthermore, the early excavations tended to focus on defined structural spaces. Narrow streets and features such as wells and pits in the courtyards of houses were sometimes cleared (Petrie 1894, 22–3; CoA I, 28; Kemp in AR V, 1–14), but these areas, as well as larger spaces such as gardens, were regularly left untouched (Crocker 1985, 56–7; Kemp in AR VI, 1). Any religious emplacements that may have been located in these areas will remain largely unidentified.

Domestic altars

In 1923, Borchardt published a preliminary study of the domestic altars at Amarna, based on the work of the DOG, in which he identified 16 examples (Borchardt 1923). When the structures excavated by the EES are considered, the number of altars can be increased to approximately 41, although they are difficult to distinguish in the available plans from features such as lustration slabs and mastabas. The excavators themselves appear to have faced difficulties identifying them in the field because of their similarity to other

structural elements, particularly when they were only partially preserved.

The most elaborate is that from the central room of T41.1, the 'official residence' of the High Priest of the Aten, Panehesy, in the Central City (Frankfort 1927, 213, fig. 2, pl. XLVII.1, 2; CoA III, 26, fig. 6, pls XI, XXX.1, XXXI; Figures II.13.1 and 2). The EES found the foundations of the altar *in situ* and several loose blocks from the upper parts of the structure, which is now reconstructed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 65041; see Saleh and Sourouzzian 1987, no. 165). It takes the form of a miniature chapel, comprising a door with broken lintel and uraeus cornice, originally approached by a small flight of stairs or a ramp with balustrades ending in short returns. Pivot sockets for double wooden doors are preserved on the underside of the lintel. Projecting walls with a cavetto cornice extended behind the door jambs to join the south wall of the central room. The front face of the altar is decorated with incised and painted figures of Akhenaten, Nefertiti and three princesses worshipping the Aten. In the inscriptions identifying the figures, the names of the god appear in the later form. The shrine appears to have measured around 1.5 m high originally. It seems to have been built entirely in stone, laid directly on gypsum foundations. Many blocks were missing, with the more regularly shaped blocks apparently favoured for removal over the sculpted pieces (Frankfort 1927, 213).

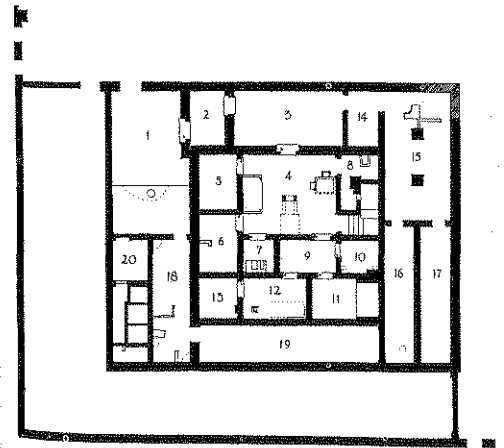


Figure II.13.1. Ground plan of T41.1, the 'official residence' of Panehesy, showing the stone shrine in plan against the south wall of the central room. North is to the top of the image. (After CoA III, pl. XI. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

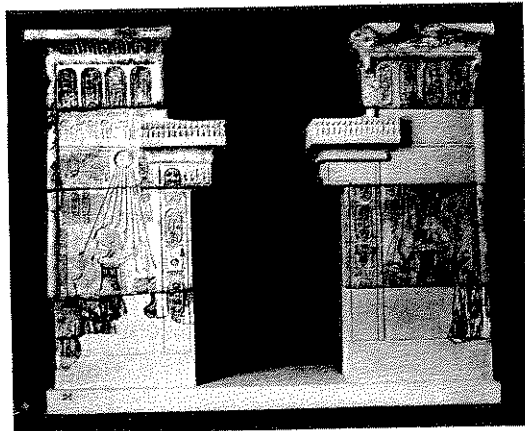
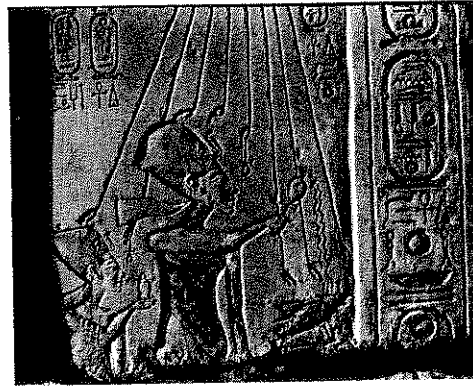
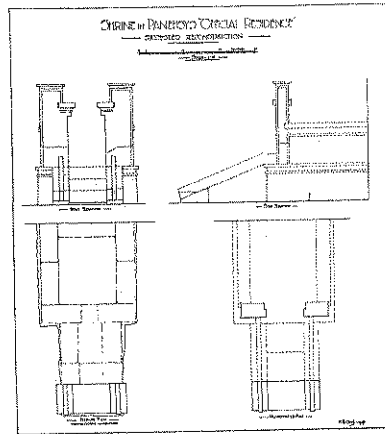


Figure II.13.2. Views of the stone shrine from the house of Panehesy in the Central City. On the bottom right is a perspective drawing of the central room made by H. Clark in 1927. The perspective here is slightly elongated: compare the plan of the room (Figure 15.1), where the altar seems to project more into the room. On the bottom left is an image of the stone foundations for the shrine embedded within the floor. These were presumably left in place by the EES excavators, but it is not known if they survive today. (Clockwise from top left: after CoA III, 26, fig. 6; and EES negatives 26.73, 26.110, 26.6 and 26.156. All reproduced courtesy of the EES).

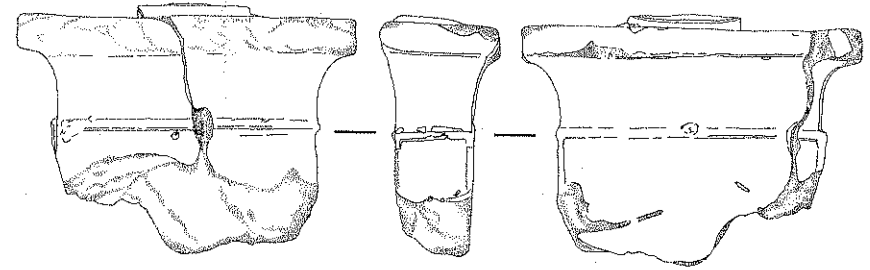
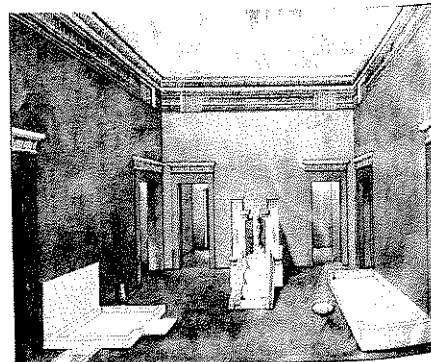
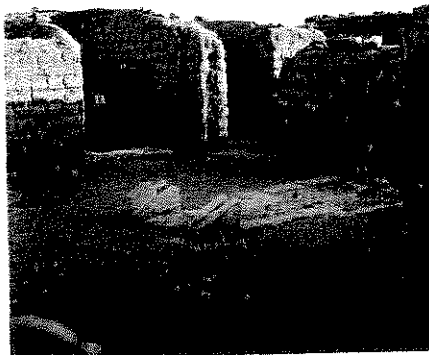


Figure II.13.3. Limestone cavetto carved on all sides, possibly part of a domestic shrine. From Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village. Obj. 6155. Scale 1:4. (Drawn by A. Taylor and the author. Courtesy of the EES).

The Panehesy shrine is the only definite example of a decorated stone altar that survives at the site, although it is possible that further examples were dismantled and the stone removed for reuse (Crocker 1984, 19). Patches of gypsum plaster were recorded on the floors of many houses; some potentially supported stone altars. The EES excavations in the early 1980s at house Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village also yielded a fragment of a limestone cavetto cornice, carved on both sides (obj. 6155; Figure II.13.3). The fragment may have originated from a stela carved, at least around the top, on both faces, but this would be unusual at Amarna, and an equally plausible suggestion is that it was from an altar. Its closest parallel is the broken lintel of the Panehesy shrine, where the cavetto cornice is also carved on both front and back faces. Vertical stripes of red and blue paint are just visible around the Workmen's Village cavetto. Horizontally beneath this, and running vertically along the corners, is a narrow protruding roll. The fragment is preserved to a height of 19.0 cm, and to its original width of 25.4 cm and depth of 9.0 cm. It is around four-fifths the size of the corresponding section of the Panehesy shrine. If indeed part of a shrine, it can be suggested therefore to have been almost as large as the latter. The fragment originated from a deposit of mud-brick rubble (1709), seemingly undisturbed, contained within the middle room of the house. The fill was relatively rich in roofing material (see Kemp in AR III, 23, table 1.4). Fragments of a wooden shutter and frame suggested for a window were found nearby (obj. 6013-8; Kemp in AR III, 11-15). It is tempting to re-identify this as the door of a shrine, although when viewed side by side the shutter seems too large for the cornice, and its wooden frame would be unnecessary if the limestone 'shrine' incorporated door sockets drilled directly in the stone, as was the case with the Panehesy shrine. The ground plan of Gate Street 8 offers little in the way of foundations, or indeed space, for a shrine, which must have projected some way into the room in

which it was located, particularly if it incorporated the approaching staircase/ramp of the Panehesy shrine. It is possible that it was located on an upper floor of the house. A substantial upper storey has been posited for Gate Street 8, and indeed for the Workmen's Village houses in general (Kemp in AR III, 19-27; see also now Spence 2004). Nor is it necessary of course for it to have originated from Gate Street 8: it may have derived from another of the houses in the village, an external structure, or one of the chapels beyond the village walls (see Part II.14). A similar fragment of stone with flared edge was recorded from T33.11 in the North Suburb (obj. 31/283; CoA II, 71), but suggested by the excavators as part of a window grille. The fragment preserves part of a projecting bar, which does indeed seem more consistent with a grille than a shrine.

It is worth noting a further emplacement found in building P42.5, within the second court of the Small Aten Temple. Against the north wall of a large room in the northern part of the building – entered immediately from the temple court – the excavators found an emplacement in mud-brick that they identified as a probable altar. In plan, this presents as a rectangular dais with a slight central projection (CoA III, pl. XVI). The north wall of the room appears to be thickened behind and for a short distance on either side of the emplacement. The latter is approximately 1.5 m wide, and projects a distance of around 1 m from the wall. This building also yielded 'Innumerable chips of carved stone...., the only distinguishable fragments being from a small uraeus cornice 20 cm high with yellow snakes on a red ground' (CoA III, 94). It is not clear if any were found in association with the mud-brick platform, but it is tempting to view the mud-brick platform as an emplacement for a stone superstructure from which these fragments derived. If so, it was perhaps in a similar tradition to the Panehesy shrine, given the presence of the uraeus frieze in particular, although it lacks the

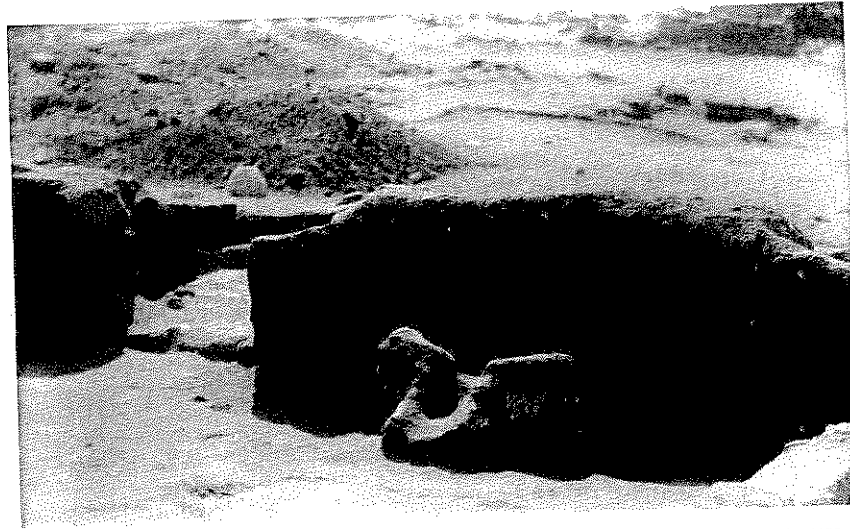


Figure II.13.4. Mud-brick altar in the central room of P46.24 in the Main City. This house was excavated in the 1923–4 season, and most of the excavation records from this season are lost. The altar is recorded only in this and one other photograph, and in plan (see Figure II.13.5). To judge from the photographs, at least the outer surface of the altar and probably part of the adjacent wall were whitewashed. (After EES negative 23.2. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

staircase/ramp of the Panehesy structure. P42.5 itself was identified by the EES excavators as a priest's house. It does contain a so-called bed niche, which is typically found in houses at the site. The building was possibly, therefore, in part residential, but its exact function is not clear.

Most of the remaining structures that can be suggested as altars are made of mud brick (see Table II.13.1). At least 12 appear to have taken the form of a rectangular platform approached by a flight of steps, or in a few cases possibly a ramp, flanked by balustrades that sometimes end in short returns. In some cases a low parapet was preserved around the top edge of the platform. They generally abutted, against their back edge, an interior wall of the house. Altars of this form appear to have measured up to 1 m in width and to have been preserved to heights between approximately 30 and 90 cm, but it is not always clear whether they were

preserved to their original height. Apart from patches of gypsum plaster on a few examples (see Figure II.13.4), they bore no preserved surface finish or decoration. At least 22 further structures resemble these, but lack the adjoining stairs or ramp. It is not always clear whether the latter were simply not preserved, although some seem to have been constructed without such features (Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 208, Hausplan 60). In the absence of a staircase or ramp

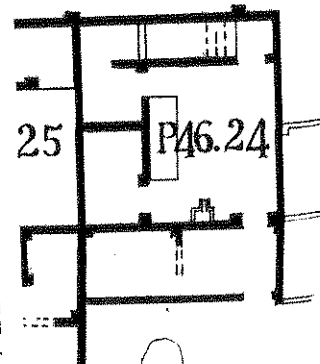


Figure II.13.5. Plan of house P46.24, showing the mud-brick altar in the central room; see Figure II.13.4. This image is from a photograph of the house plan taken in 1923–4; the original plan no longer survives. (After EES negative 23.44. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

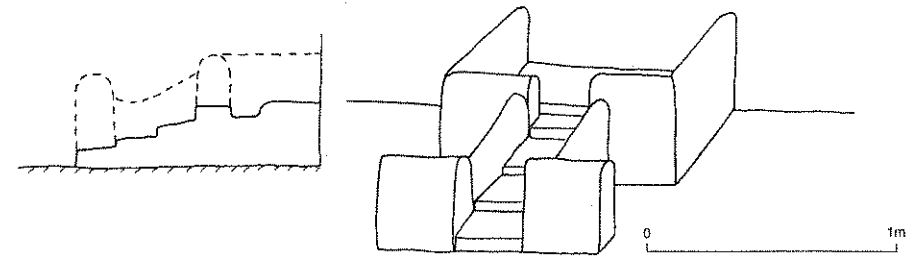


Figure II.13.6. Section and suggested reconstruction of the mud-brick altar in P47.22 in the Main City. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 132, Abb. 18. Reproduced courtesy of the DAIK).

– which seem to form reasonably sound indicators of altars (see 'Symbolism and parallels' below) – it is difficult to be sure that they indeed fulfilled this function. In general, it is only possible to follow the excavators' suggestions that they served as such, although it is reassuring that similarly simple structures have been suggested as shrines at other sites (see again 'Symbolism and parallels'). It is not clear whether emplacements of this form ever preserved parapets or similar elements. Altars of this type for which measurements are available were preserved to heights of between 25 and 90 cm. Gypsum plaster was again noted on a few examples. Apart from one possible stone example (Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 165, Hausplan 49), all were again of mud-brick.

Three possible mud-brick altars take a somewhat different form. They again comprise rectangular pedestals, but span the entire width of the small room in which they are located. In J49.1 this emplacement is in a room off the north loggia, in O49.9 it lies in a room in the west corner of the house (Figure II.13.8; and note the comments on the date of this structure in the figure caption), whilst in M50.1 it is located in a room opening off the central room (Figure II.13.9). In all cases, the 'altar' appears to comprise the central feature of the room, with that in M50.1 occupying most of the room itself.

This structure has a parapet along its front edge and is approached by a staircase flanked by balustrades. Central projections adjoining the other two examples might be the remains of similar staircases. The altar in M50.1 measures 1.50 m in length and was preserved to a height of 30 cm, whilst that in O49.9 was preserved to a height of between three and four courses of brickwork, although parts of the platform might have been removed. There are no published details of the decoration of these altars; presumably, none was preserved.

One important question is whether the mud-brick altars once had more substantial superstructures. The impression obtained from the early excavation records is that the better preserved examples, of all forms outlined above, were largely complete, although

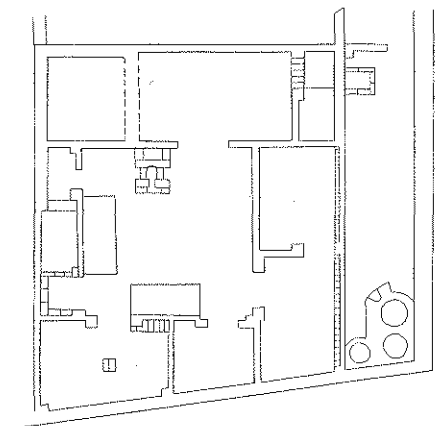


Figure II.13.7. Ground plan of house M51.1, showing an altar built against the north wall of the central room. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Ricke 1980, Hausplan 93. Reproduced courtesy of the DAIK).

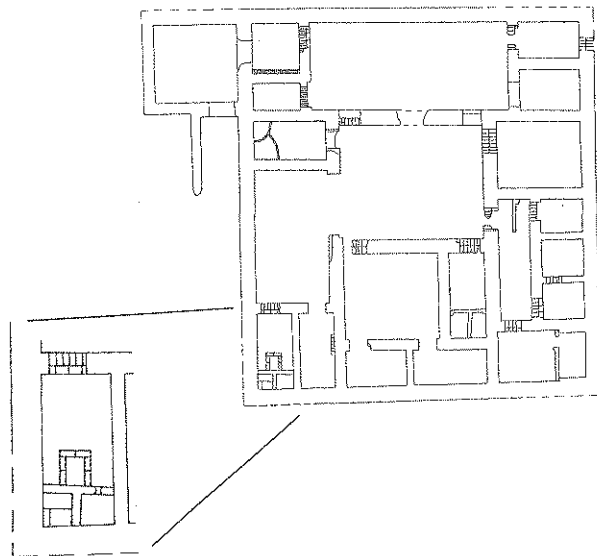


Figure II.13.8. Ground plan of house Q49.9. In the south-west corner of the house is a small room with a shrine-like structure, although some of the thin walls that appear elsewhere in the plan appear to belong to underlying structures of an earlier construction phase, and the 'shrine' could be a similar sub-floor construction. North is to the top of the image. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Ricke 1980, Hausplan 78. Reproduced courtesy of the DAIK).

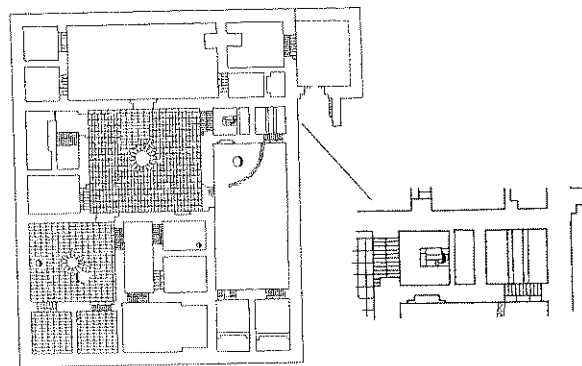


Figure II.13.9. Ground plan of house M50.1 with a possible shrine in a small room opening off the central room. Here, the walls of the 'shrine' seem contemporary with the house (compare Figure 15.7). North is to the top of the image. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Ricke 1980, Hausplan 93. Reproduced courtesy of the DAIK).

they contain few details of the upper surfaces of these emplacements, apart from the occasional reference to a parapet. Sometimes, the upper surfaces are uneven (see Figure II.13.10), often probably from damage, but it is possible that some incorporated superstructures, perhaps façades or similar. Wood might have been particularly suited for this kind of construction, and wooden elements added simply with applications of mud plaster. The Second Intermediate Period to Eighteenth Dynasty shrine in the House of Meryka at Askut seems to have incorporated a wooden naos projecting from the mud brick/plaster shrine itself, indicated largely by holes in the shrine surface (Smith 2003, 129–30, figs 5.26, 5.29). Perhaps some of the faience grape bunch models from Amarna, and similar floral/fruit models, were intended as altar decorations. Usually thought of as being suspended from ceiling beams or architraves (see Boyce in AR VI, 87–9), some are quite small and thus perhaps intended to be viewed from a much closer perspective.

It seems less likely that the mud-brick altars supported substantial stone structural elements, at least not on the scale of the Panehesy shrine. The latter seems to have been built in stone directly to the floor, but the use of a mud-brick platform for a stone structure could be attested at P42.5 discussed above. A sculpted limestone block found in recent excavations in housing areas in the Main City (excavation grid 12; Kemp forthcoming b) resembles the projecting mud-brick returns at the base of the balustrades flanking the ramp/staircase of some shrines (for example, Figure II.13.6). Stone projections were conceivably used to finish the balustrades of the mud-brick shrine in P46.24 illustrated in Figure II.13.4. Stone sculpture fragments are sometimes recorded from houses with mud-brick 'altars' but in most cases the nature of the former and their proximity to the mud-brick emplacements are not recorded. The excavators did not connect the two, although the German excavators were, of course, working before the discovery of the stone Panehesy shrine.

A few miscellaneous emplacements may also have served as altars, although their identification as such is particularly tentative. Kemp (1979b, 49) has suggested that a 'square bin' recorded by the early EES excavators beneath a painting of a group of women and children in Long Wall Street 10 at the Workmen's Village may have been the foundation of a small offering-table, for example. At house Q44.1 in the Main City, raised mud-brick blocks flanking a mastaba in the central room have been suggested as pedestals for statues (Newton 1924, 292; Ikram 1989, 91). At house Q48.8 in the Main City a white-washed, rectangular mud-brick structure with parapet was built directly against the inner recess of a vertical niche in the central room (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 102, Hausplan 60). This must have potential as an altar. Similarly, at house U37.1 in the North Suburb, a rectangular, mud-brick emplacement with a possible stone step was erected on a stone slab beside a vertical niche in the central room. The niche did not continue below the level of the mud-brick structure, suggesting that the two were related and built as one emplacement. The mud-brick structure bore traces of gypsum plaster (CoA II, 12, pl. III). The excavators suggested it served as an altar. Consider, also, the low whitewashed platform in U35.25 (CoA II, 35, pls VI, XXI.1), and the pottery bowl 'set above the ground' in T33.2 (CoA II, 69). It is possible to identify numerous additional emplacements from a survey of the site plans as possible domestic altars. If the identification of at least some of these as altars is correct, then there was much greater variety in the form of such emplacements at Amarna than reflected in Borchardt's (1923) preliminary study.

Borchardt (1923, 22) stated that the altars were generally located on the eastern wall of the central room 'sodaß der vor den Altar Tretende sich der aufgehenden Sonne zuwendet', but observed that they occasionally appeared in other rooms of the house. In the final excavation report of the work of the DOG, it was noted that 'Raum und Himmelsrichtung sind fast in jedem Hause, in dem

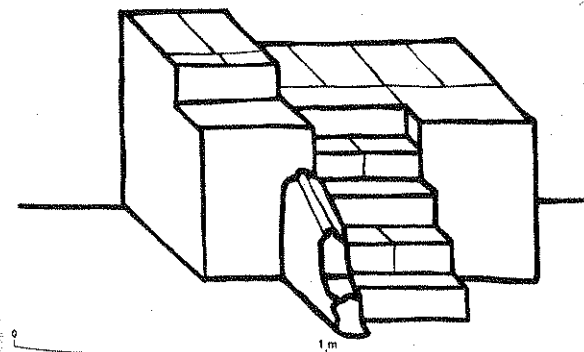


Figure II.13.10. Mud-brick altar located in the central room of Q49.16. Some of the mud-brick has been removed. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255, Abb. 38. Reproduced courtesy of DAIK).

ein Altar gefunden wurde, verschieden' (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255–6). When the altars excavated by the EES are also considered, both of these assessments emerge as partially accurate. Whilst the altars tend to conform to certain locations and orientations, there is notable variation in these aspects. In up to 23 houses, the altar is located in the central room, whilst in those houses that do not conform to the 'standard' Amarna house type it is situated in one of the larger, more centrally located rooms. However, altars also appear in other rooms, with up to four in the 'square room'; one perhaps in the 'north loggia'; one possible example in the 'bedroom'; two possibly in the 'second entrance hall'; up to seven in small or larger rectangular rooms off the central room, sometimes in the corner of the house; and two in rooms in the corner of the house, opening off a 'loggia'. The possible altar in the front room of Long Wall Street 10 at the Workmen's Village has been noted. The decision to erect altars in areas other than the central room

appears to have been influenced rarely by limitations of space in this room. The main exception is house Q46.1 where the walls of the central room are all occupied by niches, doorways, a 'lustration slab' and mastabas. In house P47.5 – the only house to exhibit two possible altars – the presence of an altar in the central room may have influenced the decision to erect another probable example in the second entrance hall.

At least 14 of the altars are built against the east wall of the room, 10 against the north wall, eight against the south wall and up to two against the west wall, although of these two could be described more accurately as lying against the north-east wall, one against the south-east wall, and one against the south-west wall (see Table II.13.1). It is not always possible to determine their orientation from the published records, and nor are they always oriented perpendicular to the wall against which they lie. In U35.25 in the North Suburb, a structure that

Table II.13.1. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenance	Location in house	References
Stepped altars						
In form of chapel with parapet and staircase flanked by balustrades	Limestone	Height: c. 1.5 m	Inscribed and painted with figures of the royal family worshipping the Aten	Central City: T41.1 (Official residence of Panehesy)	Central room: south wall, opposite a doorway	Frankfort 1927, pl. LXVII.1, 2; CoA III, 26, fig. 6, pls XI, XXX.1, XXXI
Rectangular pedestal with steps flanked by balustrades	Mud-brick	Height: x 20 – 35 cm	None recorded	Main City: P48.2	Central room: north wall, between two doorways	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 219, Abb. 30, Hausplan 63
Rectangular pedestal with low parapet and seven (?) steps flanked by balustrades	Mud-brick	Height: 90 cm	None recorded	North Suburb: T36.5	Central room: south wall, beside a doorway	CoA II, 50, pls IX, XX.6
Rectangular parapet with four steps flanked by balustrades. Top step set into front of pedestal	Mud-brick	Height: 60 cm Width: c. 1 m	None recorded	Main City: O49.16	Central room: south-west wall, opposite a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255, Tafel 18B, Abb. 38, Hausplan 82

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenance	Location in house	References
Rectangular pedestal with five (?) steps. Occupies most of room	Mud-brick	Width: 90 cm Depth: c. 75 cm Preserved to a height of three courses	None recorded	Main City: O49.17	Small room opening off central room: north wall	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255, Hausplan 83
Rectangular pedestal with low parapet. Four steps, probably with balustrades ending in short returns. Front edge of pedestal is lower than the back, leaving a low raised platform c. 4 cm high	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: P47.22	Room opening off central room: north-east wall, opposite a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21, 23, Abb. 15, 16; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 132, Tafel 13A, Abb. 18, Hausplan 32
Rectangular pedestal with balustrades flanking steps or ramp (not preserved)	Mud-brick	Height: x 12 – 43 cm	Traces of white plaster	Main City: P47.5	Central room: south wall, opposite a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 103, Hausplan 29
Rectangular pedestal with steps or a ramp. Back section raised	Mud-brick	None recorded	Traces of white plaster	Main City: P47.23	Central room: east wall, opposite a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 134, Hausplan 33
Rectangular pedestal with stairs/ramp flanked by balustrades (?) ending in short returns	Mud-brick	Height: x 10 – 30 cm	Traces of white plaster	Main City: M51.1 ('Servant's house')	Central room: north wall, beside a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 281, Hausplan 93
Rectangular pedestal with parapet and approaching ramp with no (preserved) balustrades	Mud-brick	None recorded	Extensive traces of white plaster	Main City: P46.24	Central room: beside a doorway	EES negatives 23.1–2, 44
Square to rectangular pedestal with traces of steps	Mud-brick	Height: x 35 – 52 cm	None recorded	Main City: Q46.1	Square room opening off central room: east wall, between two doorways	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, Hausplan 2

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenance	Location in house	References
Rectangular pedestal with stairs flanked by balustrades ending in short returns	Mud-brick	Height: 10 – 30 cm	None recorded	Main City: P49.15	Square room: south wall, between two doorways	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 278, Hausplan 91
Rectangular pedestal, with parapet? Four steps, possibly with balustrade that angles outwards at the base and appears to join a wall that divides the room in two. Date of wall uncertain. Identification of emplacement as altar tentative	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: N49.21	Central room: south-west corner. Stairs run directly along west wall and pedestal abuts a vertical niche in the west wall	CoA I, 24, pl. I
Unstepped altars						
Rectangular pedestal with traces of semi-circular emplacement on top. Identification as an altar is tentative	Chalkstone	Height: x 30 cm	None recorded	Main City: Q47.23d (part of a cluster of small dwellings)	Main room: north-east wall, beside a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 165, Hausplan 49
Rectangular pedestal. No trace of steps. Uneven upper surface?	Mud-brick	Height: x 25 cm	None recorded	Main City: P47.7	Central room: east wall, between two doorways	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 107, Hausplan 30
Rectangular pedestal with parapet. No trace of steps	Mud-brick	None recorded	Traces of plaster	Main City: R46.2	Central room: east wall, between two doorways	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 50, Hausplan 13
Square pedestal. No trace of steps	Mud-brick	Height: x 25 cm Width: 32 cm Depth: 32 cm	Traces of gypsum plaster	Main City: Q46.3	Square room opening off central room: east wall, beside a doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21–2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 30, Hausplan 4
Square pedestal. No trace of steps	Mud-brick	Height: x 15 – 40 cm	None recorded	Main City: P47.5	Second entrance hall: south wall, opposite a doorway	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 103, Hausplan 29

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenance	Location in house	References
Square pedestal. No trace of steps	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: O48.11	Central room: south wall, opposite doorway	Borchardt 1923, 21; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 208, Hausplan 60
Square pedestal. No trace of steps	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	North Suburb: T33.1	Central room: north wall, between two doorways	CoA II, 68, pl. X
Rectangular emplacement with possible step on north face. Probably covered originally with a flat (wooden?) cover. Built upon a stone slab. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	Height: c. 90 cm	Whitewashed (on top of bricks on north wall of 'altar' and floor (?))	North Suburb: U37.1	Central room: south-west corner. Built against a vertical niche in the west wall, which ends at the top of the 'altar'. Facing north?	CoA II 12, pls III, XVIII.4
Rectangular pedestal. No trace of steps. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	Preserved to a height of two courses	None recorded	Main City: P49.13	'Bedroom': north wall, opposite the 'bed niche'	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 275, Hausplan 90
Rectangular pedestal? No trace of steps. Circular emplacement on top? Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: N50.17	North loggia: north wall, directly opposite a column, at right angles to the entrance from the second entrance hall	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 306, Hausplan 101
Rectangular emplacement. No trace of steps. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	Height: x 30 – 47 (?) cm	None recorded	Main City: P47.11a	Central room: north wall, beside a doorway	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 113, Hausplan 28
Rectangular emplacement. No trace of steps. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick?	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: N49.10	Room opening north off central room: east wall	CoA I, pl. I

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenience	Location in house	References
Rectangular emplacement with parapet. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	Height: 48 – 60 cm	Traces of white plaster	Main City: O48.8	Central room: south wall. In the inner recess of a double niche in the south-east corner	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 202, Hausplan 60
Rectangular pedestal with front projection. Possible emplacement for a lustration slab	Mud-brick	None recorded	Whitewashed	North Suburb: U35.3	Central room: east wall, between two doorways	CoA II 34, pl. VI
Rectangular pedestal with parapet and front projection. Depression on north side of pedestal. Possible emplacement for a lustration slab	Mud-brick?	None recorded	Whitewashed	North Suburb: U35.26	Central room: east wall, between two doorways, opposite a mastaba	CoA II 34, pl. VI
Rectangular emplacement with central projection. Depression in front of emplacement. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: N51.2	Square room: south-east wall, on 10-cm-high mastaba	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 328, Hausplan 109
Rectangular pedestal with front projection. Possible emplacement for a lustration slab	Mud-brick?	None recorded	None recorded	North Suburb: U36.22	Central room: north wall, beside a doorway	CoA II, pl. IV
Rectangular walled structure with break in central front edge. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick?	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: R46.3	Second entrance hall: west wall	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 50, Hausplan 12
Rectangular emplacement: 'whitewashed "altar" on a lustration place'	Mud-brick?	None recorded	Whitewashed	North Suburb: T35.6	Small room opening off central room: west wall. Partially opposite a doorway	CoA II, 42, pl. VII
Rectangular emplacement. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick?	None recorded	None recorded	North Suburb: T35.17	Central room: west wall, between two doorways	CoA II, pl. VIII

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenience	Location in house	References
Rectangular emplacement. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick?	Height: x 30 cm	None recorded	Main City: Q46.9f (part of a cluster of buildings)	Rectangular room in north-east corner of complex: west wall, beside a doorway	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 37, Hausplan 7
Rectangular emplacement? Not marked clearly on plan. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick?	Height: 45 cm	Traces of white plaster	Main City: N48.14	Central room: east wall	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 187, Hausplan 55
Larger stepped altars						
Rectangular pedestal spanning entire width of room. Parapet along front face. Approached by steps flanked by balustrades	Mud-brick	Height: x 30 cm Width: 1.5 m	None recorded	Main City: M50.1	Room off central room: east wall, opposite a doorway. Occupies most of room	Borchardt 1923, 22; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 280, Hausplan 93
Rectangular emplacement spanning entire width of room. Projection (steps/ramp?) at front. Identification as an altar is tentative	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: J49.1	Room opening off north loggia: against east wall	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 228, Hausplan 68
Rectangular emplacement spanning width of room. Steps/ramp (?) at front. Parts of platform removed? Identification as altar is tentative	Mud-brick	Preserved to a height of 3 – 4 courses	None recorded	Main City: O49.9	Room in west corner of house: south wall	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 247, Hausplan 78
Miscellaneous forms: identification as altars particularly tentative						
'Square bin': possibly a base for an offering table	Mud-brick?	Height: originally 75 cm	None recorded	Workmen's Village: Long Wall Street 10	Front hall: northwest corner, below painting of female figures	CoA I, 84; Kemp 1979, 49, 52
Raised blocks flanking a mastaba	Mud-brick	None recorded	None recorded	Main City: Q44.1	Central room: east wall, opposite a doorway	Newton 1924, 292, pl. XXV

Table II.13.1 cont. *In situ* domestic altars

Form	Material	Dimensions	Decoration	Provenience	Location in house	Reference
Low rectangular platform with 'parapet' preserved to two to three courses on its east side and back. Wall of room forms west wall of 'altar'. Low pedestal seems to be built into the back wall and there is a slightly raised square pedestal in the centre of the platform.	Mud-brick	Preserved to at least two courses	Whitewashed	North Suburb: U35.25	Room in south-east corner of house opening off central room: west wall, directly opposite doorway to the north, and projecting into room	CoA II, 35, pls VI, XXI.1

may have functioned as an altar was built against the west wall, but oriented to face the north (CoA II, 35, pls VI, XXI.1). At house N49.21 in the Main City, the altar was built in the south-west corner of the central room, but again oriented to face the north (CoA I, 24, pl. I). A possible altar built into the south-west corner of the central room in house U37.1 may have had a step on its northern side (CoA II, 12, pl. III), suggesting that it was oriented to face this direction.

None of the altars appear to have been found with objects placed on them, but in a few cases other installations can be identified in their vicinity. The link between the 'bin' and the painting of female figures at Long Wall Street 10, and the association between altars and niches in O48.8 and U37.1, has been noted. In the central room of N49.21, a stepped structure interpreted by the excavators as an altar was built against a niche decorated with red and yellow painted panels. The altar seems to have been an addition to the room, built after the niche (CoA I, 24, pl. I). In contrast to most stepped altars, the steps of this structure run along the wall itself rather than perpendicular to it. The niche is incorporated into the side of the structure rather than along the axis of the steps, which gives the impression that it was not intended as a focal point of the installation. At house T35.6, a 'whitewashed altar' on a lustration place' was recorded against the west wall of a small room opening off the central room (CoA II, 42, pl. VII). The find is, unfortunately, recorded in scant detail and nothing further can be determined of the nature of, and relationship between, these features. At N51.2, a rectangular emplacement with a central projection, perhaps an altar, was located on a mastaba in the central

room (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 328, Hausplan 109). At P49.15, a pottery vessel was sunk in the floor to the north-east of an altar (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 278, Hausplan 91), although the former lay partially in front of an entrance to a side room, and may have belonged to a later phase of activity or been concealed beneath the floor. A circular depression in the floor beside the front of the staircase of this altar appears more likely to have functioned in association with it; it might indicate the original location of a jar stand or vessel. 'Kalkstein- und Gipsreste und Feldsteine' were marked near this depression on the plan of the house (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 278, Hausplan 91), perhaps the remains of *in situ* structural elements and noteworthy, therefore, for the possibility of composite stone and mud-brick altars. Three vessels were also sunk into the ground east of the altar in house P47.22, in a somewhat random arrangement (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 132, Hausplan 32). The excavators suggested that vessels such as these were used to hold 'Sprengwasser' for use in religious rituals (Borchardt 1923, 24; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 132).

Beyond private houses, it is worth noting also the mud-brick emplacement excavated in a room in the north-east corner of the King's House at the Royal Estate identified by Pendlebury (CoA III, 87) as the remains of an altar. It comprised a base with steps or a ramp flanked by balustrades and appears to have been painted with kneeling figures, probably foreigners (Weatherhead 1995). Kemp (1976, 82) has since suggested that it may have been a Window of Appearance, whilst Weatherhead (1995) interprets it as a throne platform.

Distribution

CC	1
MC	28 + 2?
NS	4 + 3?
WV	2?

Object and museum numbers

6155; Cairo JE 65041

Publications

See Table II.13.1

Symbolism and parallels

The form of the domestic altars is paralleled in state constructions both at Amarna and other sites. Open-air, stepped podiums are a feature of the so-called 'Sunshades of Re' (Stadelmann 1969; Spencer 1984, 121–5; Kemp in AR VI, 454–5). Podiums with a ramp or staircase also appear frequently in official cult and ceremonial contexts at Amarna, as throne platforms, Windows of Appearance and altars (for example, Davies 1903, 30, 39, pls XA, XII, XXXII; 1905, 23–4, pls XVII; Kemp 1976, 89; in AR VI, 454–5; Shaw 1994, 109–27). The latter include examples in probable 'Sunshades of Re', which may have been associated particularly with female members of the royal family at the site (Fairman in CoA III, 200–8; Stadelmann 1969, 162–6; Kemp in AR VI, 454–5, 458–61). A parallel to the stepped constructions might also be seen in the Sanctuary of Chapel 529 at the Workmen's Village, the central niche of which contained a low platform reached by a flight of stairs (CoA I, 105, pl. XXIV; Kemp in AR II, 47; Bomann 1991, 21; the private chapels at the Workmen's Village are discussed in Part II.14). Constructions similar to the simpler unstepped altars also occur in official cult contexts at Amarna (for example, Davies 1903, 41, pls XA, XI–XII, XXV, XXVII–III, XXXII–III; 1905, pls XIV, XVIII–XIX, XXXVI; CoA III, 15–16, pl. IV).

Altars can also be identified in domestic contexts at a number of other sites, both pre- and post-dating the Amarna period. Two houses at Askut, one of Middle Kingdom date, and the other probably dating from the Second Intermediate Period to early Eighteenth Dynasty, incorporated domestic shrines (Smith 1993, 497, fig. 18; 1995, 139–47, fig. 6.3, pl. 7; 2003, 128–31, figs 5.26, 5.29). The Middle Kingdom example comprises a small, rectangular, recessed niche above a mastaba. The later shrine was more elaborate, consisting of a raised platform with possible cornice and projecting wooden naos. A private funerary stela was found in a niche in the back of the shrine, whilst a vessel was set into the floor in front of it, apparently to collect libations.

At Tell el-Dab'a, a number of offering deposits, comprising miniature pottery or the remains of cultic meals, were found in houses and courtyards. The earliest

deposit, dating to the early Thirteenth Dynasty, was found in association with a simple, rectangular mud-brick pedestal with surrounding wall, built against the enclosure wall of a house complex. A cult function can presumably be ascribed to this structure. The deposit itself comprised miniature vessels and animal bones (Bietak 1991, 32, Abb. 6–7, Plan 2; Müller 1998, 799).

A number of houses built against the pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, seemingly of Second Intermediate Period to Eighteenth Dynasty date, appear to have contained simple altars. The only example illustrated in the excavation report shows a simple square mud-brick emplacement built against an inner wall of the house (Mace 1921, fig. 2). There are no obvious features on top of it, although it appears to have a slight depression in the centre. This altar was apparently found with the lower part of a limestone stela on it (Mace 1921, 12). Mace (1921, 12) also noted that, 'In many of the houses there seems to have been a shrine, in which was placed a rough limestone figure of the household god', but it is not clear whether any such figures were actually found in association with these structures.

Lacovara (1997, 49) observed that houses in the North Village at Malkata contained small altars similar to examples at Deir el-Medina. These appear to be largely unpublished. Tytus (1903, 15) also suggested that a niche containing a raised platform within the Palace of the King at Malkata may have contained statues of deities, and functioned as 'a sort of family shrine or private chapel'. Similar niches occur at Amarna. These have generally been interpreted as emplacements for beds, largely because they often lie in close proximity to the bathroom, and because stone 'bed supports' were found in a niche in house V37.1 (Petrie 1894, 21; CoA I, 45; CoA II, 8; Crocker 1984, 17; Kemp 1989, 296). Tytus questioned the identification of the Malkata example as a bed niche, primarily because it was separated from the main part of the building and the bathing quarters. He also noted the presence of stronger reinforcements in the floor of this room than elsewhere, and proposed that these were intended to support statues placed on the niched platform. It is not inconceivable, following this line of thought, that the raised floors and thickened walls of the Amarna alcoves helped create a slightly segregated space within a domestic environment. The alcoves may have had 'wind-hoods' (see Spence 2004, 129, note 27), and the thickening of the walls could have been intended to support these superstructures, although this does not mean that the space created below was necessarily interpreted in a similarly pragmatic framework. The alcoves were used, perhaps, not to house statues, but for special or private activities, including sleep. Several of the niche platforms within Amarna houses preserved the remains of superstructures. The niche in S33.1, for example,

contained an 'oblong brick pier 20 cm high' (CoA II, 68, pls X, XXIV.2). Other niches with structural remains were located in T36.5 (CoA II, pl. IX), Q46.5b (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 32, Hausplan 5), P47.5a (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 103–4, Hausplan 29), P49.15 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 278, Hausplan 91) and M50.3 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 283, Hausplan 94). Unfortunately, there are few written details of these features, and it is not always clear whether they were contemporary with the niche or later additions. Occasionally, these so-called bed niches occur at Amarna in locations that seem inappropriate for bedrooms. Kemp (1989, 283–5), for example, has noted that the presence of an apparent bedroom – that is, a room with bed niche – adjoining the statue chamber in the House of the King's Statue is an 'odd aspect'.

A number of houses at Medinet Habu, apparently of late Eighteenth Dynasty date, contained domestic altars (Hölscher 1939, 68–9). Two of the three houses illustrated in the excavation report incorporated altars in the form of low rectangular podiums (Hölscher 1939, 69, figs 54, 56). One was approached by a small flight of steps flanked by balustrades, and part of a staircase appears to have been preserved at the second. The best-preserved altar measured 85 x 45 cm, and 23 cm in height (Hölscher 1939, 69). None appears to have had surviving decoration. A number of Third Intermediate Period houses at the site also contained rectangular pedestals approached by steps, which might have functioned as altars. At least one was made of stone. These were commonly placed in a room with a pair of columns (Hölscher 1954, 7, figs 4–6, pl. 61). A similar altar appears to have been located in a house, probably of late New Kingdom date, at the so-called River Temple site at Amarna itself (Woolley 1922, 67, pl. XII; Kemp in AR VI, 447–8). Some Ramesside-period house complexes at Kom Rabi'a may also have incorporated simple stepped shrines (Jeffreys et al. 1986, fig. 3).

The best-known altars are the so-called 'lits clos' or 'box beds' preserved in 28 houses at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939, 55–64; Friedman 1994, 97). These are thought to date to the Ramesside period (Valbelle 1985, 118; Meskell 1998, 222–3); it is not clear whether comparable structures were in use during the earlier New Kingdom phase of occupation at the site. They are similar to the Amarna shrines in their overall form, comprising a rectangular platform with perimeter wall, of varying height, and adjoining staircase, although there are variations in this basic design (see Bruyère 1939, 56, fig. 17). The 'lits clos' measure, on average, 1.7 x 0.8 metres, and 0.75 metres in height (Bruyère 1939, 56). As noted previously, some were decorated with Bes-images, female figures, marsh scenes and, in one case, a possible child (Kemp 1976, 51; Friedman 1994, 98). They are generally located within the front room of the house. There remains some debate whether the 'lits

clos' functioned as beds, possibly with particular ritual significance during sexual intercourse or childbirth, formed a focus of active cult rituals as altars, or were used for a combination of such purposes (see Bruyère 1939, 61–4; Kemp 1979b, 52; Bierbrier 1982, 69; Romano 1990, 26–7; Friedman 1994, 97–111; Meskell 1998, 223; 1999, 99–102). In this respect, the form and location of the larger stepped structures in J49.1, M50.1 and Q49.9 may be significant. It has been proposed that the Amarna altars and the Deir el-Medina 'lits clos' differed in terms of scale, the latter being larger than the Amarna altars, and in the sense that the 'lits clos' were enclosed to a greater degree, possessing more substantial perimeter walls (Friedman 1994, 110). This comparison is based on the smaller, stepped podiums at Amarna. The emplacements in J49.1, M50.1 and Q49.9, however, are of similar size to the Deir el-Medina structures, whilst their location in a separate room may have enhanced the sense that they were enclosed or isolated. If the interpretation of the Amarna structures as altars is correct, these parallels provide further evidence that the 'lits clos' also functioned as such. The counter-argument, of course, is that these larger Amarna emplacements served, at least partially, as beds. They lack the birth- and fertility-related imagery preserved on some 'lit clos', but this may have been destroyed. It is noteworthy that houses J49.1, M50.1 and Q49.9 all possess the niched platform generally thought to have served as the main bed (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 228, 247, 281, Hauspläne 68, 78, 93), although this certainly does not preclude the occurrence of additional beds elsewhere, including those with possible specialised use.

There may be some significance in the fact that many of the stepped altars are also, in effect, T-shaped. The T-shape occurs in the design of structures such as temples, tomb chapels and harbours, and items such as basins and offering-tables, including examples from Amarna (Kemp 1980, 14; Bomann 1991, 101–17). Bomann (1991, 114) has suggested that the form may have embodied aspects of Nun, 'or the creative elements of the life force as a continuous process'.

Lustration slabs

Over 40 stone 'lustration slabs' (Figures II.13.11–13) can be identified from the excavation records in houses in the North Suburb and Main City, excluding examples in or near rooms thought to have served as bathrooms. They can again be difficult to identify in the published plans and additional examples may have been removed for reuse (see CoA II, 28; Crocker 1984, 19).

They are usually located in the central room and generally take the form of a low rectangular platform

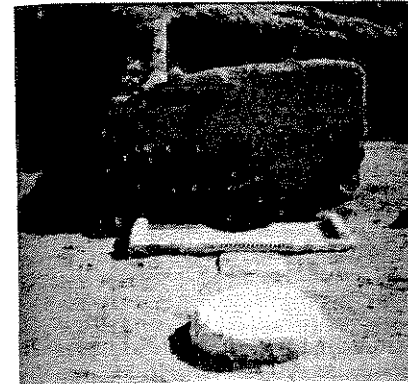


Figure II.13.12. 'Lustration slab' in house U25.12d in the North Suburb. In the foreground is a limestone column base. (After EES negative 31.A.49. Reproduced courtesy of the EES.)

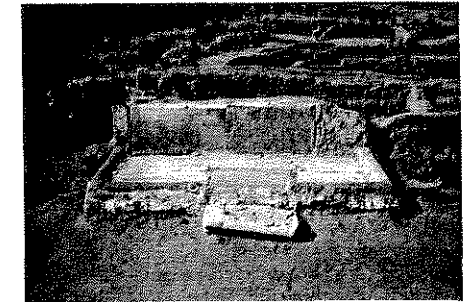


Figure II.13.13. 'Lustration slab' in house T33.7a in the North Suburb. (After EES negative 31.A.82. Reproduced courtesy of the EES.)

with slightly raised edge. A short central projection often, but not always, occurs along the front edge. A vessel or rectangular stone trough is sometimes sunk in the ground adjacent to the edge of the platform (for example, CoA I, pl. I), whilst other examples have depressions cut out of the surface of the platform itself (for example, CoA II, 8). The vessels and depressions appear designed to collect liquid run-off. There seems often to be an area of whitewash or stone extending up the wall behind the slab as a kind of 'splash-back'. Few dimensions of the platforms are provided in the excavation reports, but they seem to have differed somewhat in size. One published example measured approximately 1.5 m in width and 80 cm in depth (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, Taf. 19A). Lustration slabs can occasionally be identified in the same room or house as altars (for example, Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 24, 219, Hauspläne 2, 63), although there is generally little indication of a close association between these emplacements. The 'whitewashed "altar" on a lustration place' recorded at T35.6 (CoA II, 42) has been noted – quite what this construction was is not clear.

Distribution

CC	1
MC	27
NS	10 + 27

Publications

CoA I, 7, 21, 29, pls I, III, V.4; CoA II, 8, 11, 16, 34, 42, 69, 71–2, 76, pls III–IV, VI, XI; CoA III, pl. XI; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 17, Hauspläne 1–2, 9, 12, 16, 23, 26, 44, 51, 54, 63, 65, 69, 73, 83, 94, 96, 103, 107; see also Crocker 1984, 11; Tietze 1985, 69.

Symbolism and parallels

There is little evidence to link the slabs directly with cult; they have generally been interpreted as emplacements for water jars, possibly associated with washing (CoA I, 6; Kendall in Brovarski et al. 1982, 30; Crocker 1984, 11; Tietze 1985, 69–70; Kemp 1989, 295–6). Nonetheless, the importance of purification and libation rituals in state and funerary cult raises the possibility that the slabs were associated with similar rituals in the domestic sphere (see also Part III.2). There is no indication that they were necessarily linked exclusively or intimately with cult, but it is conceivable that they functioned in preparatory rites prior to a main ritual, for example.

A parallel can be seen in one of the houses bearing a similar ground plan to those at Amarna amongst the West Villas at Malkata. This contained a rectangular depression, measuring approximately 3.5 x 2.0 m, with central projection, opposite a doorway in the central room. This has been interpreted as the location of a very large stone lustration slab, which was removed for reuse (Endo 1995, 29–32). An alternative is that a stone altar was erected here, although the large scale of the depression and the fact that the structure seems to have been formed of a single block suggest otherwise.

Niches

Vertical niches

Vertical recesses built into the internal walls were relatively common features of Amarna houses (Figure

II.13.14). These could be either one or two bricks deep with single- or double-rebated edges, although the backs of the niches appear to have been flat, with no further recesses (CoA I, 42). The niches measured up to approximately 1.5 m in width and seem to have been around the same height as the doorways originally (CoA I, 42). Although it is sometimes difficult to identify niches from the published records and plans, particularly when distinguishing between them and sections of removed walling or blocked doorways, they can be identified in approximately 136 houses, many of which contain more than one example (Table II.13.2). Approximately 125 niches can be identified within the central room, around 37 in the front hall or north loggia, up to 15 in the square room, five in the west loggia, one in the 'bedroom', and up to six in other rooms. All of the latter are in rooms that open off the central room apart from in R46.3, where there is a possible niche in a narrow room in the south-west corner of the house and T36.3, where there is a potential example in a narrow room or corridor off the square room.

The discovery of these niches prompted considerable debate over whether they functioned simply as architectural counterweights or possessed religious significance (Borchardt 1915, 451; Woolley 1922, 65; CoA I, 42–3; von Bissing 1926; Glanville 1929, 39–40, 50; CoA II, 9). Support for the former proposal can be found in the fact that the vast majority are located opposite a doorway or so as to balance a doorway on the same wall, whilst a small number are placed opposite or so as to balance another niche (Borchardt 1911, 22; 1912, 18–19; 1913, 15; 1914, 20–1); see, for example, houses V37.4 (CoA II, pl. III), T36.5 (CoA II, pl. IX), S33.1 (CoA II, pl. X) and P47.19 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 124, Hausplan 23). In only a small number of cases, niches do not appear to balance other architectural features: consider the possible niches in J49.2, O49.12 and U36.1 (CoA II, pl. III; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 229, 250, Hauspläne 69, 80). Significantly, a few niches are also decorated with modelled mud plaster to imitate the panels of doors (Frankfort 1929, 147, note 1, pl. XXVI.2; CoA II, 32, pl. XVIII.6).

Evidence in favour of the niches possessing ritual significance comprises primarily the painted reliefs found within and around them (CoA I, 43; von Bissing 1926, 175). Niches preserving fragments of prayers to the Aten and the name and titles of the house owner were found in the front hall and central room of P47.19, the house of the general Ramose (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 124, 127, 342–5). In the front hall of house N49.18, belonging to the official Ranefer, were two niches with the name and titles of Ranefer, and partially preserved prayers for his *k3* (Peet 1921, 171–2; Woolley 1922, 65; CoA I, 10, pl. IX.3; Murnane 1995, 184). A niche in the north wall of the west loggia of house K50.1, that of the vizier Nakht, was decorated on its inner panel with 'the

feet of the king, who was represented as adoring the cartouches of the Aten', and bore the name and titles of Nakht on the wall around the edge of the niche (CoA I, 43). Fragments of painted plaster found on the ground below the niche in the south wall also bore parts of a hymn to the Aten (CoA I, 6, 43). A niche in house M50.16 bore faint traces of inscriptions and part of the bottom of a scene, thought to again show the king and queen, bound by a lotus design (Woolley 1922, 65; CoA I, 19, 43), although the descriptions of the scene in the excavation report differ slightly. It is described both as the 'remains of a coloured drawing of two people (man and woman?) seated on chairs facing left, with another figure standing before them (?)' (CoA I, 19), and as 'feet of the figures, ... a little drapery and the legs of the throne' (CoA I, 43). These scenes were located in the upper portion of the niches, above painted red and yellow panels, and further examples of such decoration have probably been destroyed. The vertical preservation of houses is rarely recorded in the early excavation reports, but those in the city proper generally do not seem to have been preserved to a substantial height (Kemp 1979b, 51). The complication here is that some doorways also bore prayers to the Aten, scenes showing the worship of the royal family and Aten, and the names and titles of the house owners (see Part II.12), so the decoration on the niches may simply be imitating doorway decoration. If so, the decoration on the niches can still be read as 'documentary' evidence of religion, but the niches themselves should not be viewed as focal points of cult.

Decoration was preserved on at least 45 additional niches (see Table II.13.2). The majority bore either painted red and yellow panels, or were painted entirely red, occasionally with a white border. The former were preserved in houses: K50.1 (CoA I, 6, 43), M47.4 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 60), N48.14 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 187), N48.16 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 191), N49.21 (CoA I, 24), O48.14 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 211), O48.17 (CoA I, 28), O48.77 (CoA I, 28), O49.22 (CoA I, 29), Q46.2 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 28), T36.15 (CoA II, 51), T36.21 (CoA II, 49), T36.87 (CoA II, 56), V35.3 (CoA II, 32), V35.5 (CoA II, 32) and V37.6 (CoA II, 9). The latter were present in: K51.3 (CoA I, 18), N49.15 (CoA I, 22), P46.23 (CoA I, 34), R42.6 (CoA III, 117), S33.1 (CoA II, 68), T35.7 (CoA II, 38), T35.11 (CoA II, 39), U33.2 (CoA II, 77), U35.13 (CoA II, 33), U36.2 (CoA II, 15), U36.22 (CoA II, 21), V36.1 (CoA II, 11) and V36.5 (CoA II, 27).

There are few details of the decoration of the remaining niches. Sometimes the early excavation records indicate that a niche bore no paint (for example CoA II, 19, 36), but it is not clear if this was an original state.

A small number of objects and emplacements were excavated in association with niches. A pottery vase was found buried in front of a niche in K50.1, at which

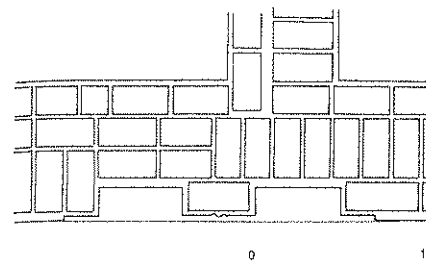
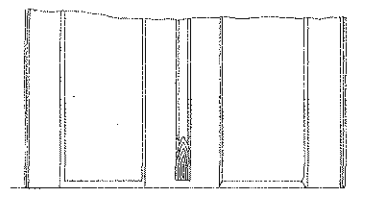


Figure II.13.14. Double-niche in the central room of P47.19. (Drawn by the author, after Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 125, Abb. 12. Reproduced courtesy of the DAIK).



fragments of a hymn to the Aten were excavated. The excavators suggested this was a receptacle for offerings (CoA I, 43). The association of possible altars with vertical niches at houses N49.21, O48.8 and U37.1 has been noted. There are no published details of the decoration of the niches in O48.8 and U37.1, but that in N49.21 was decorated with red and yellow painted panels (CoA I, 24).

'[B]emalte Falkenköpfe aus Nilschlamm' were also excavated in the vicinity of a double niche in the central room of O49.1 (Borchardt 1911, 22). Borchardt (1911, 22) implied that these formed part of a frieze and suggested that the niche was decorated in a similar manner to the double niches in the chapels of the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, which were topped with carved uraeus friezes (see Calverley and Broome 1985, pls 9, 25). The parallel is again suggested in the final excavation report (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 239), where the falcon heads are stated directly to have been part of a frieze; see also the discussion by Peet and Woolley (CoA I, 42–3). Although Borchardt later favoured the idea that the niches were purely architectural balances, on the basis of their location, he cited this parallel initially as evidence that some possessed religious significance. In the list of objects from O49.1 in the final report of the DOG excavations is a mud 'Fledermauskopf (?)', gelb mit blauer und schwarzer Bemalung; object number 11/303 (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 241). A painted mud model with this object number from Amarna is in Berlin (ÄMP –). It resembles the bust of a falcon perhaps more closely than a bat (see page 98) and is probably one of the falcon heads found at the niche. There are no other artefacts in the list of objects from this house in the excavation

report that match the description of the falcon heads, although these are mentioned in the description of the complex itself (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 239). The base of the bust is roughened, but it is not clear whether this resulted from attachment to another object or surface. If joined to a wall as part of a frieze, it would project directly outwards and be oriented parallel to the floor. This seems unlikely: the bust would be expected to face outwards. There is thus scope to question Borchardt's reconstruction of the niche and the validity of parallels drawn between it and the niches in the Temple of Seti I, both in terms of appearance and religious significance. The possibility remains, instead, that the figures were used in religious conduct that focussed upon the niche.

Distribution

CC	4
MC	101
NS	77
SS	14

Publications

Prayers to Aten etc: Woolley 1922, 65; CoA I, 6, 19, 43; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 124, 127, 342–5. Niches preserving paint, non-figurative or inscripational: CoA I, 6, 18, 22, 24, 28–9, 34, 43; CoA II, 9, 11, 15, 21, 27–8, 32–3, 38–9, 49, 51, 56, 68, 77; CoA III, 117; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 28, 60, 187, 191, 211. Undecorated/decoration not stated: CoA I, 20, 36, pls I–III; Newton 1924, 292, pl. XXV; CoA II, 11, 14, 19, 34, 36, 38, 67, pls III–XI, XIV; CoA III, 122, pl. XX; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 17, 24, 30, 32, 39, 49–50, 84, 103–5, 107, 109, 119, 124, 126, 140, 143, 170, 176, 183, 194, 212,

215-6, 224-5, 229, 245, 250, 254-5, 257-8, 274, 280, 282-4, 298, 300, 302, 306, 310, 320, 322, 328, 331, 336, Hauspläne 1-2, 4-5, 9, 12-13, 23, 26, 28-9, 30-1, 34-5, 51, 53-4, 57, 61-2, 66, 69, 73, 77, 80, 82-4, 90, 93-4, 98, 101-2, 106, 109-10, 112.

Symbolism and parallels

There is evidence for domestic niches with cult significance at Deir el-Medina, where vertical niches with rebated edges often occurred, particularly in the second room. Occasionally these balanced doorways. Some were apparently decorated with cult scenes, such as the worship of Ahmose-Nefertari and Amenhotep I; others bore traces of red and yellow paint, the latter in a central band (Bruyère 1939, 67-9, pl. XII; Valbelle 1985, 261; Meskell 1998, 231-2). A number of scholars have noted the similarity between domestic niches and false doors in tombs used to facilitate the movement of the *k3* (Petrie 1898a, 34-5; von Bissing 1926, 175-6; Bruyère 1939, 67). Meskell (1998, 231-2; 2002, 119) has raised the possibility that the red- and yellow-painted niches at Deir el-Medina served as points of contact with deceased ancestors, or false doors, based on parallels in mortuary contexts. At Tell el-Dab'a, one of the offering deposits noted above was also found in a niche in the corner of a Second Intermediate Period house (Bietak 1991, 137-8, Abb. 94-5, Plan 5; Müller 1998, 799).

Similar niches also occur within temples (for example David 1981, 57), whilst a niche built into a wall of one

of the peripheral structures around the Ramesseum was approached by two steps suggested to have been the base of an altar (Quibell 1898b, 8, pl. II; von Bissing 1926, 176). A second niche, in another side-chamber, was decorated with a scene showing the *k3* and *b3* of a deceased individual worshipping Hathor emerging from a tree (Petrie 1898a, 34; Quibell 1898b, 8-9, pl. XXX; von Bissing 1926, 176).

There may also be some significance in the prominence of red on the niches. This colour is thought to have possessed magical associations, and links with the solar sphere (Griffiths 1972, 85; Brunner-Traut in LÄ II, 124). Meskell (1998, 227-9) has suggested that red paint was used in the first and second rooms at Deir el-Medina as a protective device.

Table II.13.2. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room							Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR – central room FH – front hall SR – square room WL – west loggia B – bedroom O – other s – single-recessed niche d – double-recessed niche t – triple-recessed niche u – uncertain form							OD – opposite doorway BD – balancing doorway ON – opposite niche BN – balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B		O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
J49.1			d						x	x	x				x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 228, Hausplan 68
			d						x	x	x				x	
			d						x	x	x				x	
J49.2	s														x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 229, Hausplan 69

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR = central room FH = front hall SR = square room WL = west loggia B = bedroom O = other s = single-recessed niche d = double-recessed niche t = triple-recessed niche u = uncertain form						OD = opposite doorway BD = balancing doorway ON = opposite niche BN = balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
K50.1				d				x	x				x		CoA I, 7, 43, pls III – IV
				d				x	x				x		
	d						x	x						x	
K51.1	d						x	x						x	CoA I, pl. III
		d					x	x						x	
K51.3	d						x	x				x			CoA I, 18
		d					x	x				x			
L48.1		s					x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 170, Hausplan 51
	d						x	x						x	
	d						x	x							
L51.1	d						x	x						x	CoA I, pl. III
		d					x	x						x	
M47.3	x						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 58, Hausplan 17
				s				x?						x	
M47.4	d						x	x			x				Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 60, Abb. 8, Hausplan 17
M50.1	d							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 280, Hausplan 93
M50.2	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 282, Hausplan 94
M50.3	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 283, Hausplan 94
M50.4	d							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 284, Hausplan 94
M50.16	s?						x						x		CoA I, 19, 43, pl. I
N48.2	s							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176, Hausplan 53

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR - central room	FR - front hall	SR - square room	WL - west loggia	BR - bedroom	OR - other	OD - opposite doorway	BD - balancing doorway	ON - opposite niche	BN - balancing niche	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
N48.10	d							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 183, Hausplan 54
N48.14	d							x			x				Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 187, Hausplan 55
N48.16	s							x			x				Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 191, Hausplan 56
	s							x			x				
N49.10	d						x	x						x	CoA I, 20
	d						x	x						x	
N49.12	d						x	x						x	CoA I, pl. I
	d						x	x						x	
N49.15	d							x	x			x			CoA I, 22
	d							x	x			x			
N49.18		u					x						x		CoA I, 10, pls I, IX.3
		u					x						x		
N49.21	s						x				x				CoA I, 24
N50.8	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 298, Hausplan 98
	d						x	x						x	
N50.9	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 300, Hausplan 98
N50.10	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 300, Hausplan 98
N50.12	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 302, Hausplan 98
N50.17	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 306, Hausplan 101
N50.22	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 310, Hausplan 102

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR - central room	FR - front hall	SR - square room	WL - west loggia	BR - bedroom	OR - other	OD - opposite doorway	BD - balancing doorway	ON - opposite niche	BN - balancing niche	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
N50.29		s?												x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 320, Hausplan 73
N51.2	d							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 328, Hausplan 109
N51.4	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 331, Hausplan 110
O47.13	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 84, Hausplan 26
	d						x	x						x	
O48.1	s							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 194, Hausplan 57
O48.14		d					x	x				x			Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 211-12, Hausplan 61
		s					x	x						x	
				s				x						x	
O48.17	d						x	x				x			CoA I, 28, pl. I
O49.16	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255, Hausplan 82
O49.17	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 255, Hausplan 83
O49.20		s						x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 257-8, Hausplan 84
		s						x	x					x	
			s					x						x	
O49.22	s							x				x			CoA I, 29, pl. I
	s							x				x			
O49.24	s						x	x						x	CoA I, pl. I
O50.1	s?							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 322, Hausplan 106
P46.8	s						x	x						x	CoA I, 31, pl. II
P46.23	s						x	x				x			CoA I, 34, pl. III

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR – central room FH – front hall SR – square room WL – west loggia B – bedroom O – other s – single-recessed niche d – double-recessed niche t – triple-recessed niche u – uncertain form						OD – opposite doorway BD – balancing doorway ON – opposite niche BN – balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
P47.5		d					x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 103, Hausplan 29
P47.5b	d						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 104, Hausplan 29
	d						x	x						x	
P47.7	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 107, Hausplan 30
P47.8	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 109, Hausplan 28
P47.17		s						x		x				x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 119, Hausplan 31, pl. 8B
		s						x		x				x	
		x						x		x				x	
P47.19		s						x					x		Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 124–7, Hausplan 23, Abb. 12, pl. 12A
		s						x					x		
	d									x			x		
	d									x			x		
	s						x	x						x	
					s			x						x	
				s			x	x					x		
P47.28	s						x							x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 140, Hausplan 34
P47.29	s							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 143, Hausplan 35
P47.30	d						x	x						x	CoA I, pl. II
P47.33			d					x						x	CoA I, 36, pl. II
P48.1a	s?							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 215, Hausplan 62
P48.1d	s							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 216, Hausplan 62

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR = central room FH = front hall SR = square room WL = west loggia B = bedroom O = other s = single-recessed niche d = double-recessed niche t = triple-recessed niche u = uncertain form						OD = opposite doorway BD = balancing doorway ON = opposite niche BN = balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
P48.2	s							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225, Hausplan 66
P49.12	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 274, Hausplan 90
Q46.1		s					x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, Hausplan 2, pl. 2B. Single niches in central room are adjacent and located opposite a double doorway.
	s						x	x					x		
	s						x						x		
	d						x	x						x	
Q46.2			s				x				x				Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 28, Hausplan 3
			s				x							x	
Q46.3	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 30, Hausplan 4
		s					x	x						x	
		s					x	x						x	
			s					x						x	
			s						x					x	
Q46.5	d?							x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 32, Hausplan 5
Q46.12	s						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 39, Hausplan 9
Q48.1			s				x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 224, Hausplan 66
R45.1	s?						x	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 17, Hausplan 1
R46.1	s						x?	x						x	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 49, Hausplan 13

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR – central room FH – front hall SR – square room WL – west loggia B – bedroom O – other s – single-recessed niche d – double-recessed niche t – triple-recessed niche u – uncertain form						OD – opposite doorway BD – balancing doorway ON – opposite niche BN – balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
R46.3						s		x						x	Borchardt and Rieke, 1980, 50, Hausplan 12
			d				x	x						x	
				d				x						x	
S33.1		t?									x			x	CoA II, 68, pl. X
		d									x			x	
		d					x	x						x	
		d					x	x						x	
T33.2	d?						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. X
T33.6	d							x						x	CoA II, pl. X
T33.7b	d						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. X
T34.1	d						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. X
T35.6	s							x						x	CoA II, pl. VII
T35.7	s							x				x			CoA II, 38, pl. VII
		s					x	x						x	
T35.11	?											x			CoA II, 39, pl. VII (not marked on plan)
T35.20	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. VIII
	s						x	x						x	
		d					x	x						x	
T36.2	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. IV
		s					x	x						x	
		d					x	x						x	
T36.3						s?	x							x	CoA II, pl. IV
	s							x						x	
T36.5	s						x				x			x	CoA II, pl. IX
	s										x			x	
T36.15	s							x				x			CoA II, 51, pl. IX
T36.21	s							x				x			CoA II, pl. IX
T36.25	d						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. VIII
T36.36	d						x	x						x	CoA II, pls VIII, XIV
T36.56	d							x						x	CoA II, pl. VIII

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR – central room FH – front hall SR – square room WL – west loggia B – bedroom O – other s – single-recessed niche d – double-recessed niche t – triple-recessed niche u – uncertain form						OD – opposite doorway BD – balancing doorway ON – opposite niche BN – balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
T36.62	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. IX
T36.70		d						x						x	CoA II, pl. IX
T36.87	s						x	x			x				CoA II, 56, pl. IX
U32.1	d						x	x				x			CoA II, 77, pl. XI
U33.8		d					x	x						x	CoA II, pl. XI
	d						x	x						x	
U33.15	d?							x?						x	CoA II, 76, pl. XI
	?							x?						x	(only one niche marked in plan)
U35.13	d						x	x			x				CoA II, 33, pl. VI
						s		x						x	
U35.17	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. VI
U35.18	d							x					x		CoA II, 36, pl. VI
U35.19	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. VI
U35.21	d						x							x	CoA II, pl. VI
U35.25	s?						x	x			x				CoA II, 35, pl. VI
U36.1		d												x	CoA II, 14, pl. III
U36.2	d?						x	x			x				CoA II, 15, pl. IV
U36.22	s						x	x			x				CoA II, 21, pl. IV
	s						x	x			x				
U36.28	s							x						x	CoA II, 19, pl. IV
U36.38	s							x						x	CoA II, pl. IV
U36.39	s							x						x	CoA II, pl. IV
						s?									
U36.51	s							x						x	CoA II, 19, pl. IV
U36.53		d						x						x	CoA II, pl. IV
V35.3	s							x			x				CoA II, 32, pl. VI
V35.5	s							x			x				CoA II, 32, pl. VI
V35.6	s						x	x					x		Frankfort 1929, pl. XXVI.2; CoA II, 9, 32, pls VI, XVIII.6

Table II.13.2 cont. Vertical niches in Amarna houses

House	Room						Location in room				Decoration				References & notes
	CR – central room FH – front hall SR – square room WL – west loggia B – bedroom O – other r – single-recessed niche d – double-recessed niche l – triple-recessed niche u – uncertain form						OD – opposite doorway BD – balancing doorway ON – opposite niche BN – balancing niche								
	CR	FH	SR	WL	B	O	OD	BD	ON	BN	red & yellow panels	red	other	unknown	
V36.1		d						x				x			CoA II, 11, pl. III
		d							x?			x			
		d							x?			x			
	d						x	x						x	
			d				x							x	
			d?				x							x	
V36.4	d							x						x	CoA II, pl. V
V36.5	s						x	x				x			CoA II, 27, pl. V
			s				x	x						x	
V36.6		d					x	x						x	CoA II, 28, pl. V
V36.9	s						x	x						x	CoA II, pl. V
V37.4		d							x					x	CoA II, pl. III
	d							x	x					x	
	d							x	x					x	
						s?		x			x?			x	
						s?					x?			x	
V37.6		s						x			x				CoA II, 9, pl. III
	d						x	x			x				

Rectangular or round-topped niches

The early excavators occasionally recorded, in limited detail, smaller niches cut into the walls of the houses, particularly during excavations at the Workmen's Village (Woolley 1922, 57; CoA I, 63, 81, 87, 89–90). The fact that few examples were noted from the city proper may be due again to the poorer vertical preservation of houses here, although one example was recorded during the 1987 excavations at house P46.33 in the Main City, and the lack of earlier recorded examples is in part probably due to the recording methods of the time. The P46.33 niche was located in the outer face of the eastern wall of the house, opening onto an external space that was possibly associated with the house itself. It measured 34 cm wide and 20 cm deep, but its height

was indeterminable; it bore no surviving plaster nor indication of its use (see Kemp in AR VI, 17).

Those niches recorded during the earlier work were generally interpreted as receptacles for lamps. The blackening preserved inside some niches seems to support this identification (for example, Woolley 1922, 57; CoA I, 63, 81), although the burning of incense might also have produced this discolouration. Others, however, possibly served as emplacements for cult items such as stelae and figurines. The niches themselves provide little direct evidence to support this, although some were round-topped (CoA I, 86, 89–90), perhaps in imitation of a round-topped stela. At West Street 13, a round-topped niche measuring 45 cm in height, 30 cm in width and 10 cm in depth was cut in the north

wall of a chamber beneath the staircase (CoA I, 86). This was perhaps too shallow to hold a lamp, but it could have accommodated an object such as a stela. Indirect evidence of the use of niches as cult emplacement can also be found in the presence of gypsum plaster on the back of the royal-family stela in Berlin (ÄMP 14145), perhaps used to hold it in place in a niche (Krauss 1991, 7–9, Abb. 2; Arnold 1996, 97–8).

Almost all recorded niches were in interior spaces. The P46.33 niche is an exception; another is a mud-plastered oval niche with low sill along its front edge cut in the interior perimeter wall at the north end of Gate Street at the Workmen's Village. This measured 55 cm in height, 35 cm in width and 40 cm in depth. It was positioned 70 cm above ground level. The excavators noted that it bore no traces of burning and suggested that it could have held a figurine (Woolley 1922, 51; CoA I, 67). There may be some significance in the fact that it was located almost directly opposite a possible shrine at the south end of Gate Street (see Part II.14).

Symbolism and parallels

The use of small niches as emplacements for cult objects is well attested at shrines, where they have been found with votive stelae *in situ* or in close association: examples include those in walls near the Great Sphinx (Sadek 1988, 25) and at the Temple of Sekhmet at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 126, Abb. 171). At Amarna itself, stelae were apparently found in round-topped niches in the tomb of Any (Davies 1908a, 9). The houses at Deir el-Medina had small rectangular and round-topped niches, some of which were possibly fitted with wooden doors to function as shrines (Bruyère 1939, 76–7, 332, fig. 204; Sadek 1988, 77). Some appear to have been fitted with stone jambs and lintels mentioning Meretseger and Renenutet (Bruyère 1939, 76–7, 193–6, fig. 86, pls XV–XX). Anthropoid busts were also found in the vicinity of some examples, and may have fallen from them (Bruyère 1939, 171; Friedman 1985, 83; 1994, 113, 115). It has also been suggested that small deep niches cut into the walls of houses at Deir el-Medina were used as cultic cupboards for the storage of ritual material (Meskell 1998, 223–4, fig. 8), as discussed shortly. As noted previously, domestic shrines at Askut incorporated small niches, one found with a stela *in situ* (Smith 1995, 66, 139–47, fig. 6.3, pls 7, 15–17). At the New Kingdom town at Amara West a rectangular niche with cavetto cornice modelled in mud and painted red and black was preserved in the wall of a house. The surrounding wall was painted in bands of red, black, yellow and blue. The construction was almost certainly a shrine (Spencer 1997, 175, pl. 111b). Niches in some Roman Period houses might also have been used as shrines. Terracotta figurines of this period depict deities in shrines, suggested as the domestic niches with moulded decoration of a type encountered at Karanis and elsewhere (Frankfurter 1998, 134–5).

Cultic cupboards

There has been some confusion about whether the Amarna domestic altars incorporated cupboards. Peet and Woolley (CoA I, 24–5) remarked that a fertility figurine, a stela depicting Taweret and two model beds were found 'in the small cupboard beneath the stairs' in house N49.21 (two fertility figurines are actually listed in the field notebook: Kemp 1989, 346, note 64). N49.21 contained a probable domestic altar with an approaching staircase in the central room, but also incorporated a full-scale staircase leading to the roof of the house. Some have interpreted the excavators' statement to mean that the objects were found in a cupboard beneath the stairs of the altar (Pinch 1983, 414; 1993, 216; Robins 1996, 29), and it has been implied that these spaces were used for the storage of cult equipment. Meskell (1998, 223; 2002, 119) identifies niches at Deir el-Medina as 'cultic cupboards', based partially on the incorporation of a similar cupboard in the Amarna altar. The excavators made no reference to a cupboard within the altar itself in house N49.21, however, and none of the other altars at the site seems to have incorporated such a feature. It is most likely that the artefacts were actually found in the chamber beneath the staircase leading to the roof (see also Kemp 1989, 305).

The concentration of cult material in the staircase chamber in N49.21 does raise the question of whether these spaces should be considered cult emplacements though. The gap left beneath the mud-brick and wooden staircases within houses seems often to have been made into a chamber (for example Newton 1924, 292; Kemp in AR III, 7, 16–19, figs 1.12–13). In most cases, access to it was gained through an entrance from the central room, in which emplacements such as altars were sometimes located, but there is no evidence of a close physical link between these installations. There are few details available of the architecture of specific chambers, although the possible significance of the round-topped niche in that in West Street 13 has just been noted. The small scale of the chambers seems to preclude their identification as activity spaces, at least for that on any significant scale. The best recorded example, that in house Gate Street 8, measured approximately 1 x 1.3 m and 1.5 m in height, which seems fairly typical. This seems adequate to accommodate a person, although with little room to move (see also the discussion of these spaces in Part III.4). If the niche in West Street 13 was indeed a stela emplacement, might this space have served as a small shrine?

A variety of material was found within these chambers, but does little to illuminate their function. Those at the Workmen's Village, which are recorded in the greatest detail, contained such items as plant and animal remains,

vessels, jar sealings, textiles, furniture and miscellaneous items such as fragments of glass (Woolley 1922, 55, 59; CoA I, 71, 78–9, 83, 85–6, pls X.2, XIX.4, XX.2). The only artefacts that can be assigned with relative confidence to the religious sphere are a rudimentary female figurine found at Long Wall Street 12, and a headrest decorated with protective deities from West Street 13 (CoA I, 86, pls X.2, XXIII.1). The former was found with a bronze needle, 'plumb bobs', a clay disk, fragments of matting and leather, a dôm-palm branch, animal bones and fragments of pottery vessels, whilst the chamber containing the headrest also contained fragments of worked stone, lumps of green paint, a bone scraper and a bronze nail (CoA I, 86). The chamber in West Street 13 contained the round-topped niche noted above. This seems an unlikely usage context for the headrest, however, and it may have been simply stored here. This forms a counter-argument to the idea that this chamber served as a shrine. If used as storage spaces, the range of material found within them could suggest that they were not used exclusively for the storage of cult equipment, but that this was kept alongside items that served a range of purposes. The issue is, of course, complicated by the possibility that the chambers were used for the general storage of belongings immediately prior to the abandonment of the site: we might be witnessing the material remnants of abandonment processes, rather than everyday activity. From a purely practical point of view, it does seem unlikely that such a significant portion of the ground space in the small Workmen's Village houses would have been devoted to the storage of cult equipment alone.

II.14. Temples and shrines

Several building complexes served as loci of private religious activity. These can be divided into two broad categories: those established and maintained from within the state sphere, and those that appear to have been largely private establishments.

State-run complexes

There is, unfortunately, only limited opportunity to investigate whether the major state-run cult and ceremonial complexes incorporated provision for private worship. These complexes are generally poorly preserved, and have often either not been excavated fully or not excavated to modern standards.

If physical installations for public worship once existed at state temples, a likely location might have been the enclosure walls (see Part I.2). Little of the enclosure wall of the Great Aten Temple has been cleared (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 50). A series of mud-brick projections built into the exterior of the First Pylon of the Small Aten Temple, though, has been identified as possible plinths for stelae or statues (Mallinson in AR VI, 175). If cult images were erected here, it is conceivable that they formed foci of public worship, but this remains speculative. Some complexes incorporate periphery shrines, such as the possible altar in the Southern Enclosure of the Maru Aten (CoA I, 113; Kemp in AR VI, 430). It is conceivable – but again entirely speculative – that such shrines were more readily accessible to some members of the public than those in the inner areas of state complexes.

It has been suggested that the large open court in the Great Aten Temple, and possibly those at the Small Aten Temple and Kom el-Nana, accommodated crowds during festivals and celebrations (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 54–5, 61). Kemp (1989, 281) offers a reminder, though, that the sense of public space conveyed by the plan of the Great Temple, in particular, may be due in part to the fact that it was probably unfinished. The field of offering-tables in this temple might have served the

placement of offerings by some private individuals (Davies 1905a, 22), although these are generally interpreted as emplacements for offerings sourced largely from temple lands, probably intended in part for redistribution (Kemp and Gardi 1993, 54–5, 61; Kemp 1994, 139; 1995, 33–4). Representations of these temple offering-tables in tomb scenes at Amarna depict piles of food offerings and incense (Davies 1905a, 22; Blackman 1922, 527; Leprohon 1988, 47).

Building R43.2, the House of the King's Statue, has also been proposed as a centre for private cult (Kemp 1989, 285; Figure II.14.1). This complex lies approximately 350 m south-east of the Small Aten Temple, in the Central City (CoA III, 140–2). It incorporates an open court and two inner, columned halls, thus including elements of temple design in its ground plan (CoA III, 140–1, pl. XXII; Kemp 1989, 283; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 63). Evidence that the building served a royal cult comprises, primarily, a piece of painted wall plaster mentioning 'the great statue which the King caused to be made' and further fragments decorated with a figure of a king and cartouches, including that of Nefertiti (CoA III, 141; Kemp 1989, 283). Several statues of royal individuals were also excavated here. The exact identity

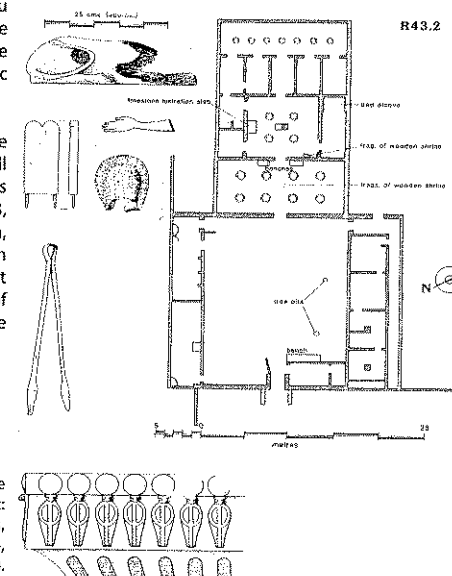


Figure II.14.1. Plan of building R43.2, the House of the King's Statue, and some of the objects excavated within it: statuette fragments, tongs finished in the shape of hands, and fragments of a uraeus cornice. (After Kemp 1989, 284, fig. 95. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp).

of most of these is unclear, but at least one king and one queen were represented (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.3, 6, 9, 11). The most obvious choice for the dedicatee is Akhenaten himself, although it is conceivable that the cult extended to other members of the royal family, such as Nefertiti. The presence of objects such as a falience ring with the name of Amenhotep III and a pen-case with the name Amenhotep (CoA III, 141, pl. LXXIX.9) has been suggested as evidence that the cult of Amenhotep III was undertaken here (Schofield and Parkinson 1994, 160).

Kemp (1989, 285) has noted that the location of the complex, and its relatively simple form, might indicate that it served as an outlet for private cult. Some support for this can be found in the ceramic assemblage recovered from its vicinity. This bears some parallels to that from the Main Chapel at the Workmen's Village, particularly in the inclusion of fragments of Group 6 bowls, hearths, offering-stands and conical bread-moulds (Rose in AR IV, 123, 128–9, fig. 9.4; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 63). Shaw (1995, 235) has raised the possibility that the House of the King's Statue functioned in association, specifically, with the so-called Clerks' Houses. It lies fairly close to the latter, and again there are some similarities in the ceramic assemblage recovered during survey at both areas, particularly in the presence of conical bread-moulds (see Rose in AR IV, 128).

The possibility that the function of the Desert Altars was linked to the North Tombs, as proposed originally by Frankfort and Pendlebury (CoA II, 102), is also noteworthy. As preserved, the Desert Altars comprise primarily three raised platforms, two of which probably supported offering-tables and the third a colonnaded building, and the remains of a stone building, all surrounded by an enclosure wall (CoA II, 101–2, pl. XXVI–II; Kemp in AR VI, 448–52, figs 15.25–6). The possibility of a connection with the North Tombs is raised by the presence of an ancient road running from the tombs to the enclosure, in line with one of the platforms, and possibly contemporary with it (Kemp in AR VI, 448; 2001, 20). If this association is correct, it could indicate that aspects of private cult, presumably with a mortuary underpinning, were here undertaken at a state cult complex, or that the Desert Altars were themselves private establishments, which would alter the notion that there was a royal monopoly on major cult structures at the site (Kemp in AR VI, 448).

Several small-scale emplacements with possible cult significance have also been excavated in contexts that were presumably under some degree of state control in the Central City. Pendlebury (CoA III, 90), for example, noted that 'upright rolls of whitewashed mud...projecting from the screen wall' outside one of the magazine compartments at the Royal Estate might

once have been part of an altar. An emplacement that resembles an altar can also be identified in R43.1B. This complex lies just to the north of the House of the King's Statue, and incorporated a series of buildings in its eastern section, with courtyards to the west (CoA III, 139, pls XXII–XXIII, LV). It was possibly associated with a neighbouring house, R43.1A, but this is not certain: the excavators noted that whilst a breach in the wall between the two complexes may have been a passageway, R43.1B possessed an independent entrance to the west (CoA III, 138). Traunecker (1988, 89–92) has suggested that R43.1 as a whole served both the storage of produce and as a residence of an official in charge of the administration of offerings in the state cult complexes. Within the main building in R43.1B, a 'brick dais with a brick column on either side, apparently to support a kind of baldachin' was noted against the south wall of a small room opening off the entrance lobby (CoA III, 139–40). The dais was clearly the central feature of the room. It appears to have been low and rectangular, with a slight projection on its front and possibly east sides, although the eastern projection may simply be a part of the platform with some bricks removed. This projection is shown in the photograph of the emplacement as excavated (CoA III, pl. LV.2), but not marked on the reconstruction drawing of the dais (CoA III, pl. XXIII). The remains of a painted decorative panel-design frieze were present on the wall behind the dais (CoA III, 140, pl. LV.2). The painting seems to reach down almost to the surface of the dais, suggesting that the latter was preserved to its original height. Two free-standing columns, and two columns attached to the side walls, were positioned in a row in front of it. The structure was identified as a shrine by the excavators (CoA III, 139). Another possibility, perhaps, is that it was an elaborate seating dais. Fragments of ceiling plaster decorated with 'ducks and butterflies on a yellow ground' were also excavated in this room (CoA III, 140, pl. LV.3).

If the identification of this emplacement as an altar is correct, and this complex was indeed associated with house R43.1A, it should perhaps be considered a 'private' shrine, more along the lines of the Panehesy altar, also in the Central City. Here, the lines between residential and work space may have been very blurred (see also page 298). It stands apart from the Panehesy shrine, though, in its location beyond the house itself, suggesting greater 'public' accessibility. Perhaps it was a kind of 'workplace' shrine, in an area where official business was being carried out, whether associated with the neighbouring house or not.

Symbolism and parallels

As noted in Part I.2, popular worship seems to have been facilitated at major state temples through the granting of admission, to some members of the general public,



Figure II.14.2. A view of the private chapels adjacent to the Workmen's Village as excavated in 1922. (After EES negative 22.61. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

to certain areas of the temple complex; by the erection of special shrines; and through the provision of means for the deposition of votive goods. This is evident both before and after the Amarna period (Nims 1971, 110; Sadek 1988, 16–20; Baines 1991, 180–3). Smaller shrines, located independent of major cult complexes, are also known that appear to have served primarily as centres for public worship, but that were probably established and perhaps supported to a large extent by the state. Such shrines, intended for the public worship of Hathor, appear to be attested at sites such as Faras, Serabit el-Khadim (Pinch 1993, 26–40, 49–58) and the Hathor Chapel of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina (Sadek 1988, 60–1). Other examples probably include the chapel at the Great Sphinx at Giza (Hassan 1953; Sadek 1988, 23–9) and the Sekhmet shrine at Abusir (Borchardt 1910, 101–2; Baines 1973; Sadek 1988, 29–36).

Private complexes

Private votive chapels and community shrines

A number of cult spaces can also be identified that appear to have been established and maintained predominantly within the private sphere (see Kemp

1989, 304; 1995, 29–30). These include the 24 private votive chapels excavated at the Workmen's Village (see Figure II.14.2); additional chapels remain unexcavated. The architecture, development and function of the chapels have been the subject of a detailed study by Bomann (1991), whilst the painted plaster found in association with them is the subject of a forthcoming monograph (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). The chapels lie just beyond the village wall to its east, on the side of, and sometimes partially cut into, the plateau that shelters the village. They are clustered closely together, implying a level of community cooperation in their construction.

Whilst variations in their design occur, they generally comprise a forecourt, outer hall, inner hall, pronaos and sanctuary, and can also incorporate various annexes. Most have low benches lining the walls of some rooms. In Building 528, a probable forecourt associated with Chapel 529, a series of gypsum-plastered bowls were set into these benches (Kemp in AR II, 43–5, 50, figs 4.1–5; Bomann 1991, 19, 61). Many chapels have evidence of associated garden plots and T-shaped basins sunk in the ground outside (Bomann 1991, 3–79).

Fragments of painted plaster recovered from in and around the chapels provide an important source of information on the activities undertaken here

(Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). The rooms of the largest – the so-called Main Chapel – were decorated with images of a man and a woman, the latter possibly holding a sistrum; parts of two Nekhbet vultures; fragments of hieroglyphs, including the name 'Sennufer' and the phrase *n k3*; decorative dados; and a grapevine and trellis motif. Some of the images, therefore, seem to come from a family offering scene (Garfi in AR II; Robins in AR II; Bomann 1991, 10–11, 35, 57–8; Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming).

A doorpost inscribed with the name Amun, and relief fragments showing a human face and a vine and trellis, were also found in association with Chapel 529 (CoA I, 95, fig. 13; Bomann 1991, 21), whilst an entablature with an invocation to Amun was recovered from Chapel 525 (CoA I, 95, fig. 14; Bomann 1991, 31). Bomann (1991, 36, 66) suggested that a fragment of wall painting showing part of the face of a human figure, possibly a king, found in a dump from the early excavations, derived from a scene of the royal family, perhaps from Chapel 524. Painted plaster from the niches of the Sanctuary of Chapel 552 depicted a lotus and a loaf, whilst vine, lotus and geometric designs were present in Chapel 551 (Bomann 1991, 28, 64).

Few chapels seem to have been associated directly with tombs, but they lie not far from a series of pits on top of the plateau that seem to be the remains of a small cemetery, presumably used by the villagers themselves (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). An important part of the function of the chapels was probably the maintenance of 'ancestor cults', extending beyond the funeral itself. They could also have seen the veneration of a range of other deities, and perhaps royal ancestors, although none were necessarily 'dedicated' to any particular cult (see Bomann 1991, 57–68; Kemp 1995, 30; Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). Bomann (1991, 57–79) suggested that the deities invoked included Amun, Aten, Hathor, Isis, Min, Nut, Shed, Re, Re-Harakhty, Renenutet and Wepwawet (Bomann 1991, 57–79). Their identification, however, is based upon limited evidence; namely, the small quantity of inscriptional and archaeological material from the chapels themselves, and similarities between the layout of the chapels and those at Deir el-Medina, where the attendant divinities are generally better attested. Only the cults of Amun, Aten, Isis and Shed are represented by inscriptions at Amarna (Bomann 1991, 68). Bomann (1991, 114) also suggested that the T-shaped basins possibly embodied aspects of Nun, or continual creative life forces. She proposed that the basins related primarily to the funerary cult, but were also used within daily religious ritual.

Religious conduct in the chapel complexes may not have been confined to the inner areas of the chapels

themselves. For instance, Annexe 450, a dependency of Chapel 561 that appears to have been used for baking, and possibly the keeping and slaughter of animals, also contained an installation resembling a tripartite shrine (Bomann 1991, 59, figs 6–8). Bomann (1991, 59, 68) suggested that this may have been a Renenutet shrine, given the association of the goddess with the harvest and granaries.

Within the Main City, buildings P48.4 and P47.10 have also been identified as possible public shrines (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 112, 222, Hauspläne 28, 64; Seidlmayer 1983, 206; Kemp 1981a, 93; 1989, 304–5, fig. 97; 1995, 30). P48.4 is oriented approximately east-west and is relatively simple in plan. It incorporated a rectangular court on the west. This was apparently unroofed, and contained traces of a chalkstone pedestal, possibly an altar. In the east wall of the court was a broad, uncentred niche containing traces of a rectangular brick emplacement. Behind this, in the eastern end of the building, were two small rooms, neither of which appears to have been accessible directly from the western court. P48.4 does not seem to have been attached directly to further structures (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 222). As preserved, it also appears to be isolated somewhat from the surrounding buildings. The presence of a post-Amarna period *wadi* just to the south, however, suggests that structures in this region have been destroyed (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 222, Lagepläne A, B; Streifenplan IV; Kemp 1989, 305).

Building P47.10 is located around 25 m north of P48.4, in close proximity to a well. It is oriented approximately north-south, and borders house complex P47.15 directly on its east face (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 112, Hausplan 28). In plan, it resembles a traditional, albeit simple, axial chapel, with a series of courts and a small shrine. The location of this building near a well prompted Kemp (1981a, 93) to investigate whether shrines could be identified at other wells. He noted that whilst structures were often associated with the latter, 'none has a plan reminiscent of a shrine, although in one, located in the North Suburb, a crude stele was found'. This was located at house T36.67. The stela in question, discussed in Part II.5, depicts a figure wearing a kilt and long wig with arms raised in front of a tall pot stand (Hunt, D.1931.20; Figure II.5.25).

Peet and Woolley (CoA I, 54–5, 67, pl. XVI) also suggested that an emplacement adjoining the inner face of the southern enclosure wall of the Workmen's Village, next to the eastern entrance, functioned as a shrine. The structure was poorly preserved and the excavators were only able to identify a rectangular enclosure wall, measuring approximately 5.5 x 1.5 m, approached on the north face by a small flight of steps carved out of a single block of stone. Its height is not indicated in the

excavation report. The basic form of the emplacement can be paralleled in some stepped domestic altars, although it is larger and, unlike these constructions, the steps were not centred. Alternative functions for the structure can be suggested. It might, for example, have served as a stand for utilitarian objects such as water jars, although it is difficult to envisage a practical use for the small staircase. Kendall (in Brovanski et al. 1982, 32) saw the emplacement as a public shrine dedicated to the royal family and Aten, but there is, in the end, little scope to confirm that it served as a shrine, let alone its dedication (but see also page 292).

Symbolism and parallels

Excluding chapels that were predominantly funerary structures, shrines that served the general public and which were also established and maintained largely within the private sphere are known from other sites. They are particularly well attested at Deir el-Medina, where they appear to date largely to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Some are associated with tombs, but others seem to have served the cults of royal and private ancestors, and those of a range of deities, including Amun, Hathor, Osiris, Ptah and Renenutet (Bomann 1991, 51–3, 73–4). Although the Deir el-Medina shrines were clearly private foundations, it has been proposed that the state facilitated their running to some extent, by occasionally providing supplies and allowing time off from work to participate in festivals (Valbelle 1985, 267, 271, 318–35; Pinch 1993, 45).

The Hathor shrine at Mirgissa seems to have functioned similarly as a 'community shrine' (Pinch 1993, 41–8, 350; Kemp 1995, 27–8). A possible example has also been identified at Deir el-Ballas, although its identification as such is tentative (Richards in Lacovara 1990, 11–14; Bomann 1991, 84; Kemp 1995, 32; Lacovara 1996, 1997, 51). There is little indication of the cults that may have been undertaken here, although the excavation of pottery bovid figures and bowls with attached cows (Spalinger in Brovanski et al. 1982, 122; Richards in Lacovara 1990, 13–14, note 6, fig. 5.2b; Pinch 1993, 169) might reflect an association with Hathor. A series of small chapels adjoining the main temple at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham might also have been established by the soldiers themselves and belong similarly to this group of private shrines (Snape 2002b).

A related group of spaces are small altars and shrines located in areas devoted to communal activity. There is possible archaeological evidence of an altar in a granary at Lahun (Petrie et al. 1923, 39, pls XXXVIA, XLIV.7, 8; Badawy 1966, 31–2), for example, whilst a scene in a Theban tomb seems to show the worship of Renenutet in a small shrine in a granary (Davies and Davies 1939). A lintel in a magazine-like building at the New Kingdom fortress at Aniba also bore a scene of the worship of

Renenutet (Steindorff 1937, 34, pl. 18). Bomann (1991, 45, 51, 69) has also suggested that one of the chapels at Deir el-Medina (see Bruyère 1935, 36–9) may actually have been devoted primarily to secular, communal activity, but incorporated a small shrine to a deity such as Min.

Garden shrines

Forty-six free-standing shrines were identified by Ikram (1987, 1989) in her study of the so-called 'garden shrines' located within the courtyards of private houses in the Amarna suburbs (Figures II.14.3–5). These were distributed through the Main City, North Suburb and North City. They range in form from elaborately decorated, multi-roomed buildings on raised platforms, to small, free-standing altars. Some bear similarities to domestic altars, namely that of Panehesy (Ikram 1989, 96). Ikram (1989) grouped them into five main architectural types: simple, bipartite, temple, altar and miscellaneous shrines. They differ in size from 2–39 sq. m (Ikram 1989, 100). The number of garden shrines which can now be identified is again likely to be lower than those originally present.

Ikram concluded that the shrines were dedicated to the 'cult of the royal family, in their manifestations as part of the triad of Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti' (Ikram 1989, 100), on the basis primarily of inscriptional and sculptural evidence found associated with many of them (see also Part III.2, Tables III.2.1–2). The group of three open-air solar altars, probably associated with each of these figures, near the shrine at T34.1 (Ikram 1989, 94), could imply a somewhat more direct means of access to the Aten here.

In addition to the external altars identified by Ikram, many further structures appear in the outer areas of house complexes that can be suggested, but not confirmed, as cult emplacements. These are often poorly preserved. In the courtyard of U36.25 in the North Suburb, for example, the excavators noted the presence of a small bricked pier, beside which a necklace of floral pendants wrapped in linen had been buried (CoA II, 17, pl. IV).

Symbolism and parallels

No direct parallels to the elaborate free-standing garden shrines at Amarna are currently known, although domestic shrines positioned within courtyards, as opposed to the inner areas of houses, seem to be represented at several sites (for example, Jeffreys et al. 1986, fig. 3; Bietak 1991, 32, Abb. 6–7, Plan 2; Müller 1998, 799). A recently discovered villa at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, probably dating to the reign of Ramesses II, has a chapel attached directly to the house. Within the chapel were a naos containing statues of Ptah and Sekhmet, three stelae, at least one