

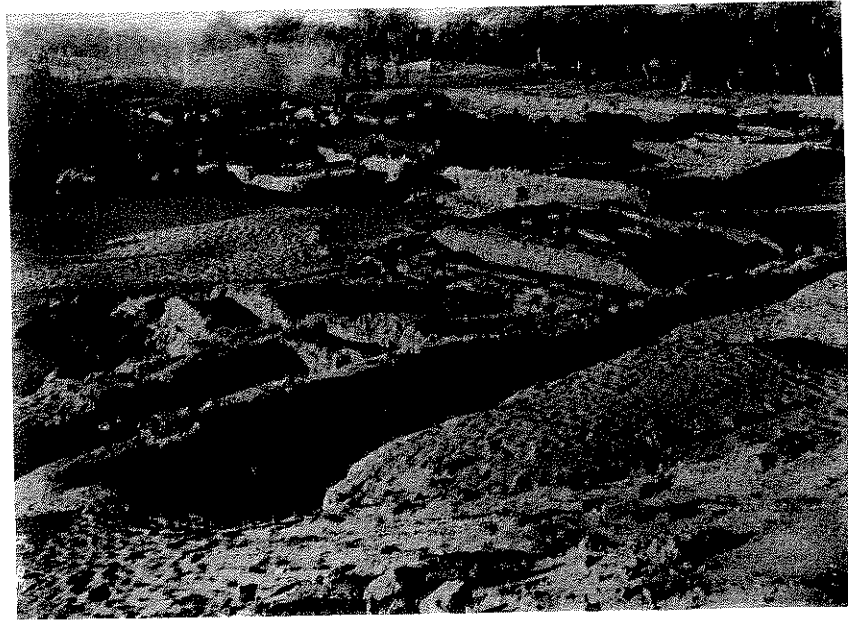


Figure II.14.3. View of garden shrine T35.21, at house T35.20 in the North Suburb. (After EES negative 30.A.44. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

with a depiction of Sekhmet, and a statue of the house owner, one Neb-Re, the commandant of the fort (Snape 2001; 2002b).

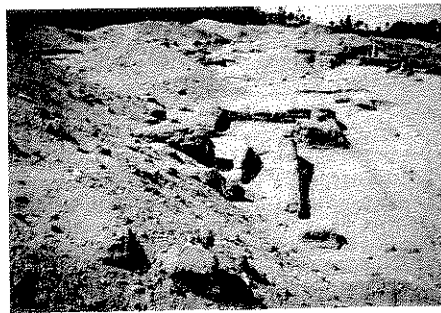


Figure II.14.4. View of the garden shrine to the south of, and possibly associated with, house T35.9 in the North Suburb. (After EES negative 30.A.2. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

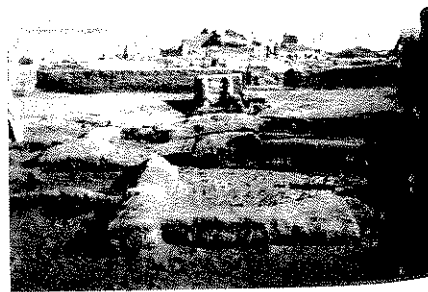


Figure II.14.5. The elaborate garden shrine at house T34.1 in the North Suburb. (After EES negative 30.A.109. Reproduced courtesy of the EES).

Part III. Discussion

Prologue: Ideas, inspiration and conduct

Archaeological approaches to any aspect of past lives inevitably create a division between practice and thought: what did they do, and why did they do it? Often, a satisfactory level of conclusion can be reached with little direct engagement with the latter question, or the subject is suitably pragmatic so that we are comfortable in relying upon 'common logic' to steer us to the answer. Religion is largely an experience of the mind that only at times intersects with the material world, and the question of 'what was in their minds' lurks at the edges of any study that engages with it. At the same time, it is probably not helpful to focus too closely on the question of 'why' because it implies, to some extent, rational, thought-out responses by the participants. In Part III, I seek to extrapolate a picture of the structure and meaning of the private religious landscape at Amarna from the evidence presented in Part II. Meaning is approached largely in terms of ideas: what were the underlying ideas that shaped the landscape, whose ideas were these and how many were new to Amarna?

Little, if any, of the Amarna material can be identified as having been left *in situ* as a result of religious behaviour, and so the site offers very limited opportunity to study individual occurrences of cult. Far from being unique in this aspect, though, Amarna's archaeological record is probably typical of settlement sites generally, in Egypt and beyond. A side-effect of this situation is that it forces discussion beyond cult, which is so often a focus of archaeological approaches to religion, but in the end only one facet of it. Amarna demonstrates that religion beyond cult can be recovered archaeologically.

The best approach to the material seems to be a combination of case-study and broader distribution-based analysis: a simultaneous lengthening and tightening of focus. In the discussion that follows, the broad agenda issues above are broken down into a series of more focussed research questions that are better suited to examination via 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?

For the most part, the issues of 'what' and 'why' are left intermingled, but in the concluding remarks I seek to extract something of the meaning and shape of the ideas that guided religious conduct. This was a time, presumably, of more focussed or condensed religious thought, but which drew upon the same set of ideas that shaped the broader religious landscape; it opens a small window directly onto the latter.

III.1. Acquisition

Design

What was the impetus for the manufacture of religious items at Amarna? What were the ideas that gave the material forms their shape?

The set of ideas surrounding the manufacture of religious material was potentially distinct, in both shape and source, from that which guided its use. This distinction is an important one, not the least because it can manifest itself as differences between religious ideal and reality. Both sets of ideas could be sourced from accessible contemporary thought, conceivably with a long history and often obscured meaning, or from new and emerging ideas. Their source may have been human – the manufacturer, intended owner or user, or a third party – or in some cases perceived as a divine or transcendental being. The person, or force, who guided the design of an object or emplacement did not necessarily guide its use. In practice, the archaeological record offers little opportunity to identify either group of ideas, let alone to distinguish between them, although at some level they are implicit in the notion of 'tradition' as applied to material culture. The continuation of a tradition of form or style does not of course imply continuation in meaning – of these ideas that lent an object its shape during manufacture, and later its significance during use – but there is a relationship between the two.

Comparing the Amarna assemblage directly with that of other sites ends up a largely subjective exercise. Any kind of quantitative comparison is largely meaningless because of the different excavation histories and standards across these sites. Comparing the Amarna assemblage with that of Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1939; Meskell 1998) gives the impression that the former is deficient, particularly in its range of inscriptional material, elaborate domestic cult emplacements and variety of stelae. But, in contrast, the quality and variety of material presented recently from the New Kingdom levels at Kom Rabi'a (Giddy 1999) conveys an immediate sense of continuity to anyone familiar with Amarna objects. The same is true of the material from sites such as Gurob (Thomas 1981), Malkata (Hölscher 1939; Hayes 1951; 1959; Hope 1989; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992), Deir el-Ballas (Lacovara 1990) and Sesebi (Blackman 1937; Fairman 1938; Peterson 1967; Morkot 1988). Typical of these assemblages are jewellery items, figurines, and occasional decorated vessels. Cult emplacements such as altars are simple and unadorned, and domestic reliefs, statues and stelae are rare. Deir

el-Medina is the exception. On the whole, the Amarna material can be positioned well within the 'tradition' of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties in terms of the types of object attested, the range of motifs represented, and the relationships between object type and motif. This is an important point if Amarna is to be viewed as a type site for the archaeology of private religion; and one returned to in Part III.4.

It is difficult to identify true 'innovations' amongst the Amarna material. On the one hand, there is a lack of well-recorded artefact corpora from earlier settlement sites; what appear to be first attested at Amarna may simply be unidentified or destroyed elsewhere. The site provides the earliest contexted amulets in the form of anthropoid busts, for example, but were they an innovation of the Amarna period? No two pieces from the site are identical. A period of occupation of 20 years was presumably adequate to generate this diversity, but it could also reflect production before the move to the city. The Amarna corpus also includes both anthropoid busts and seated statuettes of non-royal figures. The latter have been suggested as fore-runners to the busts (Schulman 1986, 307–8). If this is correct – and it is not certain – the transition in form might well have occurred at Amarna. So too, is it difficult to gain a measure of what differences are significant. Browsing the Kom Rabi'a object report (Giddy 1999) is not the same as browsing the *City of Akhenaten* volumes, but the differences between object types are not great. Can we put them down, largely, to regional traditions? If anthropoid busts were an innovation of the Amarna period, did this arise simply from an interest in the bust as a sculptural form, or were there shifts of meaning here?

One feature that sets the Amarna corpus apart, of course, is its royal imagery, which occurs more frequently than before and seemingly amongst a wider range of objects and contexts. Items such as royal-family stelae and statues are not unknown from settlement remains prior to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, but they are more frequent at Amarna. Domestic decoration probably incorporated royal motifs more often, and the garden shrines with royal iconography from Amarna are as yet unique. Amongst smaller items, pendants in the form of the 'squatting youth' probably incorporated the features of the king for the first time during the Amarna period (Samson 1978, 81–2; Feucht 1984, 404–5). Jewellery items and small amulets with the name of the Aten are similarly known almost exclusively from Amarna. So, here, pre-existing iconographies – the royal image/Aten

– are applied to an expanded repertoire, begging the question of how much this reflects the development of existing ideas or suggests new ones. This, of course, is one of the central research questions of Amarna-period studies. A case for considerable continuity here will be put forth later.

Procurement and manufacture

The Amarna objects and emplacements represent the employment of a range of manufacturing processes and raw materials, under a variety of conditions. Some reflect relatively straightforward modes of procurement and manufacture. Hand-modelled mud figurines, for instance, used a readily available raw material, could be shaped by hand by a single individual and, apart from being left to dry, required no secondary treatment. Most items, though, required more involved sourcing and manufacture, and the production of religious material was undoubtedly integrated into broader networks of procurement and production.

Amarna offers a range of archaeological, and to a lesser degree representational, evidence for craft production, although our understanding of this aspect of city life remains far from complete. A prominent feature of the excavated city is the workshops identifiable archaeologically by manufacturing debris and installations. Often, craft production seems to have been undertaken outdoors in open or semi-open courtyards; the label 'courtyard workshops' is often applied to these spaces. Sculptors' workshops O47.16a, O47.20, P47.1–3 and P49.6, noted in Part II.4, are among the most readily identifiable. They lie largely in the north-eastern part of the Main City (Borchardt 1913, 28–50; Kemp 1972, 673; 1989, 308; in AR V, 56–63; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 88–100). All were excavated in the early twentieth century, work that produced well-known collections of sculptural pieces, largely of the royal family. In the 1980s, the EES excavated another courtyard workshop, Q48.4 on the very eastern fringe of the Main City. It served the production of ceramics, glass and faience (and perhaps stone sculpture: see page 121). It seems to have been linked into the supply system for the Workmen's Village, although it was probably not the only workshop that supplied the villagers, and could itself have had other clients. It exhibits two main phases of use. The first saw a focus on pottery production, probably alongside faience and glass manufacture, whilst in its second phase it had a more domestic character, although the production of glass and faience may have continued (Kirby in AR V; Nicholson in AR V; Kemp in AR V; Rose in AR V). The second phase, and possibly the first, can be dated in part to the reign of Tutankhamun, on the basis of ring bezel inscriptions (Kirby in AR V, 21, 46). Further workshops for faience, glass and pottery

have been identified south of the Central City, and excavated predominantly in square O45 (Petrie 1894, 25; Nicholson 1995, 1996; Shortland 2000a, 7, 66, 80–1). The distribution of pottery moulds suggests that at least six more glass and faience workshops were scattered through the residential areas, primarily in the Main City, but with one possible example in square T36 in the North Suburb (Kemp 1972, 673; Janssen 1983, 278; Boyce in AR V, 161–2; Shortland 2000a, 66–70).

A range of material relevant to the present study has been found at courtyard workshops. Statues and statuettes of the royal family occur in great quantity (see Part II.4), but they also yielded a statue of Thoth (Pendlebury 1933, 117–18; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 185), a possible fragment of a Bes-image statuette (obj. 32–3/236), and a fragment of a standing falcon-headed figure (ÄMP 21190). Complex O49.14, a possible workshop, yielded two sculpture fragments recorded as parts of Isis statues, and a base from a statue of Ptah (Kemp 1972, 673; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 253). At least one private anthropoid bust was recovered from the workshop of the sculptor Thutmose, although from an area of the complex that seems to have been primarily residential (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 102; see page 129). The output of these complexes was probably not limited to statues, though. Finds from sculpture workshops O47.16a, O47.20, P47.1–3 and P49.6 included:

- 10 stone and pottery monkey figurines (obj. 12/13.106, 12/13.362, 32/37, 32/89, 32/103, 32/139, 32/152, 32–3/186, 33/159, 33/167);
- a stone and a pottery cobra figurine (obj. 32/144, 12/13.496);
- six anthropomorphic figurines in stone, faience, pottery and clay – one probable male, two female plaques, one possible foreigner and two of unstated form (obj. 12/13.1357, 32/118, 32/141, 32–3/208, 32–3/215, 32–3/244);
- a probable stela depicting royal figures (obj. 32/122);
- a pottery vessel with Hathor heads (obj. 33/178);
- and various pieces of faience jewellery and pottery moulds.

At least two of the stone monkey figurines and the stone cobra were unfinished and we can be confident that at least these pieces were found at their place of manufacture. It is less certain that items of pottery and faience were fired, at least, at sculpting workshops because of the apparent lack of suitable ovens/kilns, although the number of fired clay moulds they have yielded suggests that faience manufacture was in some way connected to them (see Kemp in AR V; Shortland 2000a, 69–70, 72; 2000b, 131–2).

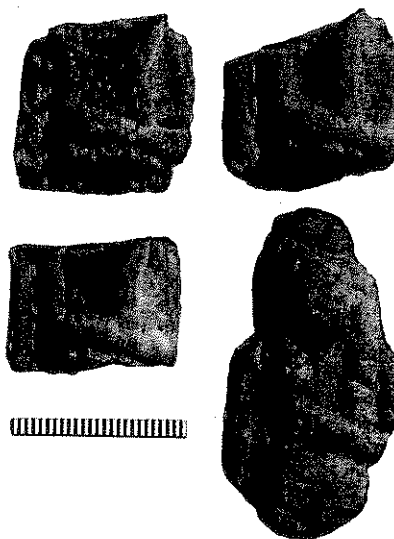


Figure III.1.1. Fragmentary fertility figurines from the Workmen's Village (top row) and workshop Q48.4 (bottom row). The similarity of the two groups further supports the identification of Q48.4 as a supply centre of pottery cult items for the village. Clockwise from top left: obj. 7424, 21712, 8902 and 8429. (Photographed by the author. Courtesy of the EES).

scale to suggest the very definite possibility of a shared production context, even to the level of a common mould. They offer a rare glimpse of detail at a site typified by generality.

Material attested directly at courtyard workshops thus includes stone statues, stone monkey and cobra figurines, pottery fertility figurines and lion/sphinx figures, and cobra bowls. Extrapolating, we can identify such workshops as a suitable production context for similar items in similar materials, such as stone stelae, and many of the metal and wooden items, too, can probably be added to this group. Neither the wood-nor metal-working industry is at all well understood at Amarna. Judging from the quality and intricacy of some wooden items, though, the wood-working industry may have found a parallel, in part, in high-end stone sculpting. It is impractical to imagine metal-working occurring without some level of specialisation, and perhaps also isolation from a domestic environment, both conceivably found in workshops.

Much of the material documented in Part II, therefore, may have been suitable for production in 'courtyard' or similar workshops which, judging from the role of Q48.4 in supplying the Workmen's Village, could possess a degree of official status. There was some level of state involvement in the production of everyday supplies, including those with a religious purpose. Although Q48.4 may have been in operation largely towards the end of the Amarna period, there is little reason why it should not reflect general patterns of craft production already in existence at the city; indeed, the date of its phase I operation may well extend back into the reign of Akhenaten. Yet manufacture in general at Amarna was certainly not restricted to such courtyard workshops. These can be best viewed as occupying an intermediate level on a sliding scale of production contexts, somewhere between formal institutional workshops and production in what were essentially domestic contexts (see Kemp 1989, 56–7), each differing not simply in terms of setting, but also personnel, scale of production, internal organisation, and networks of procurement of materials and distribution of goods.

How far did the production of religious items extend beyond these 'middle level' contexts?

Evidence for formal institutional workshops is limited, but they probably occupied significant areas of the Central City (see Kemp in AR V, 56–7). The presence of manufacturing debris in the grounds in front of the Great Aten Temple, and in association with bakeries at buildings P43.1 and 2 south of the Small Aten Temple, might indicate that formal temple workshops were located in these areas (Pendlebury 1932, 147; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 55–6, 58, 61, 68). The material found in front of the Great Aten Temple, extending into the area north of the Great Palace, comprises primarily fragments of statues and trial pieces (Pendlebury 1936, 197–8, pl. XX.5, 6; CoA III, 81, pl. LXIV.1, 2, 4–6; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 56). A wider variety of finds was recovered from P43.1 and 2, including trial pieces, but also: fragments of at least one faience statuette of a foreigner; a small stela with indeterminate design; faience jewellery; pottery moulds; pottery animal figures, including nine fragments of cobra figures; a fragment of a fertility figurine; a pottery 'ear'; and 'miniature saucers' (obj. 31/438, 31/440, 31/482, 31/488, 31/494, 31/508, 31/525, 31–2/480; Pendlebury 1932, 147, pl. XVIII.1; CoA III, 101–2, 105, pls LXXV.3, LXXVI.3, LXXXV.3; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 68). Excavation of waste heaps from the earlier EES work in this area also produced material deriving from glass or faience production (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 68). There is no direct indication that this material was deposited into the archaeological record whilst in the process of manufacture, but this must remain a possibility. The state apartments at the Great Palace also yielded two blocks, seemingly trial pieces, with the heads of Bes; one had the head of the king on the other side (CoA III 63, 70, pl. LXXI.5). These may, however, have been trials for decoration carved on an official building – perhaps even royal birth scenes in the Great Palace itself – rather than for items of public consumption.

There are glimpses of evidence from sites beyond Amarna though to suggest that private cult accompaniments, particularly votive offerings, were included in the output of state-run workshops. Manufacturing by-products, usually small-scale pieces such as pottery moulds for amulets and unfinished jewellery items, have been recorded from state temples, sometimes in possible workshops (for example, Hali in Naville 1913, 13, 17; Hayes 1959, 355; Mahmud 1978, 13; Pinch 1993, 327; Jaritz et al. 2001, 162). The nature of the finds could indicate that manufacture at temple complexes extended beyond the construction and maintenance of temple buildings to supplying the components of cult. There is a passing textual reference to workshops at Djoser (Brovarski 1976, 67–8; Pinch 1993, 327), although their purpose is unfortunately unclear. Pinch (1993, 329) has cited the resemblance of private faience

votives of the New Kingdom to material found in royal tombs and state foundation deposits as evidence that the former possessed an element of official status, and were probably manufactured in workshops with a degree of state control. She sees, in fact, most New Kingdom private votive material as having been made in temple or other state workshops because of its overall uniformity. Just how closely uniformity of design was linked to state-controlled production is difficult to ascertain, though, and this issue is given further consideration below.

In practical terms, there was almost certainly scope for the production of many items also in contexts with an overriding domestic aspect. This is an important point when asking whose ideas shaped the material components: having ideas is one thing, but was there an outlet to express them? Heating/firing emplacements, pottery moulds and industrial debris are fairly widespread amongst domestic areas at Amarna, whilst tomb scenes (largely from sites beyond Amarna) show various forms of domestic craft production in progress (Kemp 1989, 309; in AR V, 56). Small-scale domestic industry may have included the production of pottery, faience jewellery, glass and frit items, sculpture and textiles (Kemp 1972, 673; 1981, 85–6; 1989, 309; in AR V, 56; Boyce in AR VI, 358–60), although in order to place the production of religious items here, we need to extrapolate largely from indirect evidence.

One source of evidence is magic spells, which mention a range of materials used as accompaniments to verbal incantations (a good selection is provided in Borghouts 1978). Some are objects, but others are better considered concoctions. They include parts of animals, such as vulture plumes, or their faeces. Plant materials are often prescribed, sometimes made into forms such as brushes or 'arrows'. Images drawn on linen are also common. This range of material accompaniments is all but unattested in the archaeological record, both at Amarna and in general. Even when material of this kind is preserved, it is usually impossible to isolate its function, particularly because much of it does not fall into the realm of 'manufactured' goods: it is often just material that has been collected and modified. In this respect, it is unlikely to have been channelled through a workshop. It is conceivable, though, that part of its modification was magical – involving 'activation rituals' – and so it was channelled through individuals with magical knowledge; magicians, or perhaps the poorly attested 'wise woman' of the Deir el-Medina texts (on these figures, see Gardiner 1917; Baines 1987, 93–4; McDowell 1999, 114–15). As with other professionals, magicians seem to have specialised, and some may have specialised in manufacture: the *sa'u*, or 'amulet-man' (Gardiner 1917, 33), perhaps counted the actual creation of amulets as his. This introduces a level of potential restriction in the

manufacture of magical items, and religious equipment generally, on the basis of religious knowledge. The issue of the level of the latter within the broader community is a contentious one. Direct evidence for 'activation rituals' undertaken on religious items is very limited. Elements of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony could be incorporated into the manufacture of items such as statues in order to make them 'effective' (see Lorton 1999, 153), but it is not clear how widespread this was. The funerary stela of a Middle Kingdom artist named Irtisen expounds his knowledge of magic and success as a craftsman (Barta 1970). The text implies that the two attributes are associated, but tells us little about how restricted such skills were. Archaeological material from Amarna and other settlement sites potentially has much to contribute to this issue. If these sites indicate widespread manufacture of religious items beyond formal workshops, this implies that either rituals were not required to accompany the production of such items, or that such rituals were known by many.

Returning to the issue of domestic production at Amarna, the question of whether there was a distinction in manufacturing technologies used in domestic and other manufacturing environments can be asked. The corpus of figurines can be divided into hand-modelled and moulded pieces; did moulding technology perhaps typify workshop production, with hand-modelling more prevalent in the domestic realm? The distinction was probably not that straightforward. Workshop Q48.4, for instance, was evidently producing hand-modelled figures; some, but not all, for application to pottery vessels. Conversely, moulds for small faience items, particularly jewellery, are widespread across the site, suggesting that moulding technology was widely accessible, at least for faience jewellery. Only two moulds for pottery figurines are recorded, both for fertility figurines. One was found at N48.18 in the Main City (obj. 11/12.1005; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176), a complex suggested by the excavators as a workshop. Pieces of two fertility figurines were also found here. The other mould originated from T36.86 in the North Suburb (obj. 30/431; CoA II, 57), part of a badly preserved cluster of houses and courtyard spaces. Square T36 yielded a slight concentration of jewellery moulds, raising the possibility that it was also a locus for production (Kemp 1972, 673; Janssen 1983, 278; Shortland 2000a, 66–70), although if so it should probably be positioned more towards the domestic or less formal end of the manufacturing spectrum, certainly in comparison to the workshops around the Central City. Moulds themselves were probably quite easy to produce. Those of the highest quality were perhaps formed around a stone original (although there appear to be no examples of stone fertility figurines from Amarna that may have served as such), but others could have been reproduced simply using an existing pottery figurine, as was often

done with moulded terracotta figurines of the Roman Period. Many of the Amarna fertility figurines have indistinct features that could have resulted from use of a mould that was either dulled with re-use or not sharp to begin with. Importantly, these include examples from workshop Q48.4 (see Figure III.1.2), so the use of dulled moulds was not restricted to non-workshop settings, if moulding technology was indeed employed in the latter. There is no need to assume that figures with dulled features therefore represent homemade, or 'pirated', copies of workshop-produced pieces.

Quality was conceivably a broad distinguishing factor between domestic and workshop production. The stone stelae are of interest here. These fall into two broad groups: larger pieces with relief-work decoration, often but not always scenes of the royal family, and pieces which are both smaller and bear only painted decoration. The quality of production of the latter is generally lower. This could certainly be due to their manufacture in settings less formal than workshops such as that of the sculptor Thutmose. Perhaps the tasks of stone-carving and painting, conceivably divided for high-quality stelae, were here undertaken by the same person. Still, it may be misleading to place the production of items such as the small stelae in too widespread a domestic arena. Despite the low quality of the stelae, the images upon them are, usually, identifiable. None displays evidence of a grid, implying the painter was working free-hand. The absence of this method could itself be an indicator of a less formal production context, but it also implies a certain natural aptitude: some people are better at producing recognisable images than others. It may be that certain tasks gravitated to individuals within neighbourhoods who possessed particular skills without necessarily being 'specialised', a situation that could itself have had a regulating effect. Also of interest is the colour scheme employed on the stelae; on simple uncarved examples, often only red and black is used (or, at least, survives). Certain pigments, particularly the cobalt aluminate used to decorated blue-painted pottery vessels, are thought to have required a level of state intervention in their procurement, and presumably their subsequent distribution, although the level of such intervention is uncertain (see Hope 1980, 55; 1991, 18; Lee and Quirke 2000, 111). Some pottery figurines bear similarly simple colour schemes, although it is not uncommon for them to bear blue paint (for example, obj. 12/13.519 (ÄMP 28760), a cobra head from house P48.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980; and obj. 7853, here from workshop Q48.4). Conversely we cannot, of course, rule out the possibility that some skilled craftspeople who worked in workshops did not also undertake commissions from their own homes, so that some high quality pieces were being made beyond workshops.

Finally, there is the difficult question of conformity, or standardisation of material: how can this be linked to production context, and what does it mean in terms of freedom of expression? Within the Amarna corpus there is a mixed sense of uniformity and diversity, in terms, on the one hand, of the level of adherence to formal artistic standards, an aspect of particular relevance for figurative motifs. The fertility figurines and female plaques illustrate this well; the former conform well to artistic standards, and the plaques less so. It is of interest, though, that the figurines do not reflect the extreme style of Amarna art. There was evidently a relationship between their appearance and the formal artistic canon (see Pinch 1993, 359), but it was not so direct that changes in the latter were reflected immediately in the figurines. It may even be that during the Amarna period the iconography of the fertility figurines fed back into that of the royal female image, a point taken up in Part III.3. The presence of fertility figurines at Q48.4, and probably the moulding technology used to produce them, suggests that workshops were at least their primary manufacturing context, whilst in contrast the very simple technology applied to the female plaques – hand-modelled from Nile silt, and left unfired – seems well suited to domestic production. This confirms what we might expect: conformity to artistic canon was more likely to be found in workshops. Still, using standardisation alone as an indicator of manufacturing context is probably inadequate. Quite what its significance is in terms of religious freedom is also difficult to grasp, and it is probably easy to over-interpret here; the female plaques were not necessarily 'underground' versions of the figurines, for example.

A similar, but subtler, trend underlies the imagery on stelae. When deities appear on small hand-painted stelae, they are usually in their animal forms, whilst on larger high quality stelae they appear as anthropomorphic images. Compare, for instance, the large stela showing the Elephantine triad Khnum, Satis and Anukis, all in anthropomorphic form, with the small group of roughly made stelae showing sacred rams (pages 138–9, 141). Something similar is attested amongst private offerings to Hathor, where divinities are usually represented in animal form. This could be due to restrictions in social or religious decorum (Baines 1987, 82, 91; Pinch 1993, 348). Anthropomorphic forms, though, were probably also more difficult to represent in a readily identifiable manner than animal forms. Distinctions between different deities in their anthropomorphic forms were often made by quite subtle elements such as head-wear, hard to show accurately on a small scale. Usually the painters seem not to have had recourse to writing to identify their artwork, with very few of the small stelae inscribed. So, it might simply have been a case of artistic short-hand: animal forms easier to produce, and read. The problem (as we see it) of one animal representing

several deities was seemingly a lesser concern, if indeed a concern at all. Something similar occurs in the corpus of pottery figurines, which includes animal and human forms, but does not extend to human forms of divinities (Pinch 1993, 216 has argued convincingly against the fertility figurines representing Hathor directly). This is in no way restricted to Amarna but must be reflecting something more broadly about production conditions, and probably the function of such items.

We can also consider artefact groups in terms of their overall uniformity, or group cohesion, towards which there is also a strong tendency amongst the Amarna corpus. Object groups that display the greatest uniformity include faience jewellery items and the pottery fertility figurines, which is unsurprising since they were formed using a technology based upon the reproduction of the same image. The employment of this technique of 'mass production', well established before the move to Amarna, is of interest in itself for suggesting a reasonably large market for such items. In part presumably spawned by popularity, in the case of faience jewellery a single necklace or collar required multiple pendants, sometimes hundreds, and a quick method of producing standard images was advantageous in terms of both productiveness and aesthetic finish. Standardisation of form is not restricted to moulded three-dimensional images, though, but evident also amongst hand-modelled figurines, such as the pottery cobras and 'monkeys'. Whilst each is unique, there is certainly an underlying blue-print at work. Even items such as the 'female plaques' exhibit a certain level of uniformity in shape, scale and the range of decorative motifs employed. Such objects are also consistent with those from approximately contemporary settlement sites. Some of the hand-modelled pottery Bes-figures, for example, belong to the same tradition as pieces from Hermopolis and KV55 (see page 81), the latter, at least, presumably sourced from a workshop with state ties. Whilst, again, it is a reasonable progression to relate standardisation to centralised production, there is still no clear cut-off point between propitiation of form through 'formal' workshops, perhaps a limited number thereof, and via collective consciousness in the broader community. Items such as the fertility plaques may reflect the latter, whilst the Q48.4 workshop, and its assemblage of moulded and hand-modelled figurines and cobra bowls, is important for pinpointing a level of standardisation typical of at least one workshop.

Leaving open the possibility of manufacture of religious items in contexts that were not, foremost, 'industrial', leaves also scope for private intervention in the form of the material, and increased potential, perhaps, for overlap between the ideas that shaped the form of the material and its subsequent use. A related issue is that of commission, an alternative means by which the

eventual owner/user could have gained input into the form of an item. The higher quality and more costly goods such as the royal-family statues and stelae are the most likely candidates for commissioned pieces. Just as the owner may have desired input into the design, the considerable outlay of the craftsman may have led them to secure a client prior to production, assuming demand for such goods did not outstrip their supply. An important context for commission may have been the giving of prestige gifts by officials to the king, on the occasion of ceremonies connected with kingship, and probably at the New Year (see Aldred 1969; Kemp 1995, 34–5). The tomb scenes and inscriptions documenting such activity indicate that these officials were not all overseers of workshops, implying a real sense of personal intervention. Gifts from Amarna officials from suburban workshops could have helped 'fit out' many of the ceremonial buildings at the city; this may have been the path by which the collections of bronzes (page 192) found their way to the Great Aten Temple (cf. Kemp 1995, 35).

We can only identify, with any confidence, the specific client base of one workshop, again Q48.4, which seems to have supplied the Workmen's Village. In this particular case, the option of commission may have been restricted, with direct contact between client and workshop probably limited at best. Pinch (1993, 326), in her study of votive offerings to Hathor, identified commissioned votives as those of relatively high quality with the name of the donor marked carefully, distinguishable from lower quality pieces with names added, which she suggested were acquired ready-made. The Amarna Taweret stela (CAM 1921.279) has columns for an inscription, presumably the name of the owner, which seems never to have been added. Was it acquired from standing stock, the owner not bothering to add their name because the stela was here to be used as a domestic icon rather than a votive piece? At the time of its manufacture, the exact function of the stela seems not to have been set and the option of use as a votive offering to Taweret or a related deity was left open – an intriguing idea if the piece was manufactured at Amarna. The blank columns of the stela are unique at the site, although a small number of others preserve traces of inscriptions, probably once names (see Part II.5).

In the mortuary sphere it was necessary for items such as stelae to be suitably 'personalised', and commission was perhaps more common. The group of six stelae found in the tomb of the official Any, and dedicated by six of his associates (Davies 1908a, 9–11, pls XXI–XXIII; Corteggiani 1987, 108–9; Kemp 1989, 304), are presumably commissioned pieces. The inscriptions, which name Any and the donors, are integrated with the decoration, and the scenes themselves are 'individualised' so that the

figures represented correspond with those mentioned in the text. The stelae fall into two groups in terms of style and quality, and may represent two group commissions, probably to different sculptors and perhaps under different constraints of time or resources (see also pages 313, 325–6). We can speculate that two stelae found in recent excavations at the private cemetery in the wadi beside the South Tombs (obj. 37581 and 37640; Kemp forthcoming a) were also commissioned pieces, although almost nothing survives of their decoration. Both have pointed tops (obj. 37640 is triple-pointed) with relatively deep recesses in their front. They are badly weathered but were potentially of high quality originally, and are also quite large; the tallest, obj. 37581, measures 46 cm in height. Kemp (forthcoming a) raises the possibility that they were inlaid with a decorated plaque of wood or metal. Such investment in time spent on manufacture and materials adds some weight to the idea that they were commissioned, and suggests that commissions could be entered into by those beyond the elite. Some of the donors of the Any stelae, too, were simply members of his household staff, although they evidently had social 'connections'.

Despite the overall tendency of object groups towards uniformity, elements of diversity are intermixed. The context of the manufacture of religious items was not devoid of creativity. The collection of fertility figures from Q48.4, for example, includes larger pieces with their left arm crossed over their chest, shorter and narrower figures with their right arm crossed, and slightly plumper figures with both arms flat against their sides (see Figure III.1.2). There is little sense that individual workshops were producing 'signature' shapes (I am reluctant to view the diversity of figurine types at Q48.4 as evidence of the amalgamation at the Amarna workshops of formerly regional styles); it is not clear whether Akhetaten itself had a signature style. Overall, the fertility figurines also display a range of painted decorative styles, and this is the case with the painted designs applied to pottery figurines generally. There was no standard template for their decoration. Some of the cobras, for example, exhibit quite elaborate painted designs, such as detailed collars, whilst others are much simpler in their decoration, as was noted above. Bes-image pendants, similarly, exhibit a striking array of moulded designs, more so than any other pendant form. This richness of design is probably connected with intensive production, spawned from popularity at any one time and/or manufacture over a prolonged period; functional differences between motifs seem less likely. Interestingly, the corpus of pendants in the shape of a 'squatting king', whilst smaller in number, is also quite diverse (see page 45), perhaps reflecting the special interest in the motif at the site. One context that may have spawned particular variation was in the stringing of collars and necklaces. There were certainly



Figure III.1.2. Fertility figurines from Q48.4: note the diversity of styles and scales. Top row, left to right: obj. 8429, 8902; middle row, left to right: obj. 8312, 8795, 8998, 7655; bottom row, left to right: 8037, 9061, 9155, 8644. (Photographed by the author. Courtesy of the EES).

some standard collar types (see Boyce in AR VI), but there may also have been the opportunity for free-style design. Tomb scenes, such as those in the Theban tomb of Rekhmire, seem to show the stringing of collars in workshop environments (Davies 1943, pl. LIV), although such activities may not have been restricted to these areas.

It is tempting to view these moments of diversity as reflections of personal input into the manufacture of small-scale items, although it is difficult in the end to know how far such diversification was borne from something other than spontaneous creativity on behalf of the manufacturers. It is important not to dismiss the potentially powerful magical side-effects

of colour and material choice, but it may be telling that there is little obvious sign of attempts to physically personalise objects, either in terms of identity or individual circumstances. Few female figurines were made holding children, although they must often have been used by women who were mothers and who conceivably identified with the figures when they used them. Similarly, there is little indication of the post-manufacture modification of objects, although this may be difficult to recognise. So few pieces have names added to them, for instance.

Although there are no written records of commissions preserved at Amarna, those from Deir el-Medina are brief. 'Please send it to me very quickly, today! Look to

it! A figure of Monthu seated on a throne and a figure of the scribe Penta-Weret kissing the earth before him, in draft' runs one commission from this village, here for a stela (O DeM 246; McDowell 1999, 98, no. 70). Such texts were probably intended to communicate just the basics of the transaction, leaving scope for more detailed verbal negotiation. Yet on the whole, the available design framework, which in the case of representational 'religious art' was highly formulaic, seems to have met with general satisfaction. There is, at least, no overt sense of dissatisfaction with the material components of religion reflected in intervention in manufacture, or post-manufacture modification, and this is almost certainly not exclusive to the Amarna material record. Instead, there may have been considerable recourse to verbal recitation and religious imagination, not necessarily to express dissatisfaction with the material accompaniments of religion, but to enhance them and create a living religious landscape.

Exchange and Distribution

The practicalities of trade and exchange in the New Kingdom are poorly understood, and this is true also for Amarna. Transactional records from Deir el-Medina are important sources of evidence for trade within this small community, and indicate that most goods were exchanged through direct interactions between individuals, or occasionally via middle-men. But how transactions at a village level – although here trading more broadly with western Thebes and beyond – relate to trade on a larger city-wide scale is not clear.

If structures dedicated to exchange existed at Akhetaten, they seem to have lacked a signature architectural style that allows them to be identified amongst the city plans, although this is an aspect that may repay more systematic study. Exchange of goods probably took place often in multi-purpose spaces, or outdoors. Many goods, particularly those that were not readily portable, are likely to have been obtained direct from their source. So, the workshops, and perhaps those of sculptors in particular, probably doubled as points of exchange. Riverbanks seem generally to have served as a focus of trade (see Kemp 1989, 252–3; McDowell 1994, 46), and this can be assumed for Amarna, but so too could the street spaces and open squares within the city itself have served stalls, and vendors on foot. Much potential religious material is small and portable, and in this respect suitable for distribution in this way. The earlier excavators were less reticent in assigning functions to spaces and occasionally identified amongst the remains 'khans' (Pendlebury 1931, 234; CoA II, 45, 70, pls VIII, X; CoA III, pl. XXI), including two courtyards in the North Suburb, T33.9 and T36.39. These are indeed distinctive, namely in their possession of mud column

bases laid out in a grid formation, suggested to have supported wooden poles and possibly an awning. Similar columned courts occasionally appear in large house compounds (for example, T36.1: CoA II, 23–4, pl. IV), but T33.9 and T36.39 are not clearly associated with residences. Their identification as market areas is an intriguing, if improvable, suggestion, and it is worth noting in passing that finds from these spaces included a hippopotamus figurine, a fertility figurine, a fragment of a possible Sekhmet figurine, jewellery with various motifs, and a mould for a *gd*-pillar amulet (Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA II, 46, 79, 85, pl. XL.8).

To imagine markets and vendor-trading is usually to conjure up images of individuals negotiating in one-to-one transactions in a flexible system, but one bound by underlying rules and social conventions. It is unclear how much of this can be transferred to New Kingdom Egypt, but there does seem to have been a directness in exchange, reflected in the Deir el-Medina texts, involving haggling and individuals striving for the best deal. We might imagine amongst the sellers 'neighbourhood' craftspeople venturing beyond their workplaces (perhaps their homes) to increase the market for their goods, or representatives of larger workshops. Some were perhaps middle-men (or women) not involved in manufacture themselves, or individuals wishing to rid themselves of certain personal possessions. Whilst manufacturers may have had the partial security of direct commissions, many traders were probably on less secure ground, and there was probably an element of salesmanship in their work. We can imagine, perhaps, wares spread out, visible and on display: the care taken in the decoration of some items, such as pottery figurines, may have been in part to increase their saleability. Both at the workshop interface, and at markets, the purchaser would often have been the eventual owner or user of an item. At Deir el-Medina, transactions for items such as donkeys were sometimes done through middle-men, raising the question of whether middle-men were ever used to purchase religious items. If so, this would suggest perhaps a sense of pragmatism on behalf of the owner. Whilst people were probably very aware of the range of items available, and had a sound sense of what they wanted, how often were they talked into a transaction? And were religious items still grouped according to material and manufacturing origin at this time, or did assemblages of objects begin to form? The presentation and grouping of objects at the sale point potentially had an influence on how objects were used, and which objects were used together. It is impossible, from this distance, to define anything but a very crude sense of the general 'character' of the Egyptians. Were people reticent, for instance, about publicly airing their problems, or were such issues accepted as public knowledge? Such factors will have greatly affected how people negotiated the purchase of religious items. The

market-place, today at least, is a very public setting. If there was any sense of competitiveness to religion, or social pressure, this is one arena in which it may have been played out. The influence on the religious landscape of early 'marketing', and peer-pressure, should not be dismissed.

There was conceivably a link between spaces designated for cult and those used for exchange. The sculptors' workshops in the Main City, in particular, lie close to the possible public shrines P47.10 and P48.4. The presence of neighbourhood shrines conceivably prompted some workshops to add votive offerings, and similar, to their repertoire. Some of the small stone animal figurines – snakes and monkeys – from the sculptor's workshops, whilst well carved, have less than perfect proportions; they are often too narrow, in particular. It is as though they were manufactured from oddly shaped chips of stone, perhaps off-cuts from statues and stelae. Perhaps the manufacture of such items generated supplementary 'income' for workshop personnel – a means of profiting from piety. Closer to cult places, more specialised stalls were perhaps erected to sell votive items.

The Deir el-Medina texts indicate that certain types of cult equipment were well integrated into the exchange system at this village. Items such as wooden statues appear as commodities, exchanged for a variety of often mundane items such as baskets, grain, and metal vessels (for example, McDowell 1999, 85). Statues were, unsurprisingly, relatively costly items, the most expensive probably those made of stone or metal (Janssen 1975, 246–8). We have little indication of the status, or value, of other religious items in terms of the extent to which their acquisition was prioritised over that of other goods. There is a difference, of course, between what an item is inherently 'worth' within any cultural-economic framework, and what someone is willing to pay or exchange for it. There would often have been considerable emotional investment in the use of religious material – not necessarily borne from a sense of piety, but due to the problem-solving nature of much religious practice – and this may have fed back into the circumstances of its acquisition. It is easy to fall here into the trap of over-valuing religion. Two related issues arise: did people work to the upper limit of their means in acquiring religious items, and what was the threshold for an 'adequate' product?

The latter is likely to have been judged not only in terms of religious-effectiveness, but also value-for-money and social appropriateness. When dissatisfaction with a commissioned religious item is attested amongst the transactional records from Deir el-Medina, the root of the issue is often economic (for example, HO 22.2 = O Gard 3; McDowell 1999, 82–3, no. 53). It is difficult not to read an element of social display into some of the very

high quality pieces from Amarna, such as stelae and statues. It was probably important that you possessed items suitable to your social position, especially when there was opportunity for open religious display or performance involving such items. The group of bronzes recovered from the Great Aten Temple may illustrate the latter: the offering of high quality private votives to the king/Aten, as noted above (see Kemp 1995, 35; also page 265). There is little sense of pious asceticism, although there were limits to this kind of display. When fertility figurines appear in state contexts, they are not gold-plated. Temple cult statues may have been made from costly materials when at all possible, but they were small (which also aided, of course, their concealment and portability). Once the layers of socio-economic expectation were stripped away, it was perhaps a fairly forgiving system, in which aesthetic quality was not equated with functional adequacy. There seems to have been a certain level of artistry required to form an identifiable image, but in some cases this was quite low, as illustrated by the small Amarna stelae. Adaptation was also possible, judging from pieces such as the hawk statue from the Workmen's Village, formed from a natural boulder. Other factors may have included the antiquity of an item, or association with a particular individual; a renowned magician or healer, perhaps, or the output of a particular craftsman. In the end, quite what would deem an item functionally unsatisfactory is not clear, and may have been difficult also for the ancient Egyptians to define, particularly if deliberate 'activation' rituals were not the norm. Much might have come down to an item's track record. For a society with a group belief in lucky and unlucky days, it was probably not a great leap to imagine that some objects were luckier – more effective – than others.

Beyond transactional exchange, material might have been acquired through award or gift giving, modes of acquisition that raise questions about the level of initiative and devotion of its eventual owner. Items such as the royal-family stelae have often been suggested as rewards to loyal officials (see for example, Arnold 1996, 100), and faience rings with royal names seen as gifts to the public during such festivals and celebrations such as the accession of a new monarch (Hayes 1951, 231; Shaw 1984, 132; see also Shortland 2000a, 72). It is also conceivable that certain goods were distributed from the state as components of salaries. The regular wages and extra provisions documented at Deir el-Medina are predominantly food-stuffs (Janssen 1975, 455–93). Overtly religious items do not figure amongst these lists, although it may be that multi-functional items so distributed, such as baskets, sometimes found their way into the religious domain. Perhaps some of the Q48.4 material found its way to the Workmen's Village as part of regular state supplies.

A proportion of the material that remains at the site – certainly unquantifiable – will also have been imported. Items were presumably brought in by residents upon their initial relocation to Amarna, and probably acquired from beyond the city subsequently. There is almost no means of isolating this material, but occasionally a non-Amarna or pre-Amarna period origin can be suggested. The most obvious import is the pendant in the form of a Hittite god from the 'Crock of Gold' hoard in the North Suburb, the composition of the metal pointing to Anatolia as its likely origin (Bell 1986, 145–6). Its find context, amongst a selection of metal that seems intended for remelting, could indicate that it by-passed religious use entirely at Amarna and was only ever viewed as a source of metal. A small number of pieces show stylistic attributes typical of the reign of Amenhotep III: the *menat* counterpoise with image of Isis is one (see Wildung in Freed et al. 1999, 234, no. 99; page 36), and the incomplete scribe statuette from O47.7 another (see Peck 1978, 74–5; page 128). The smaller of the two seated statuettes of non-royal figures is also of a pre-Amarna period sculptural style, and was perhaps brought to the site (Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 255, no. 173). Kozloff (in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 386–8; 1998, 108) suggested that the glass fish vessel from N49.20 was produced at Malkata because of the similarity of its technology and fabric to vessels from this site – although his justification on the basis that 'animal forms were not welcome in Atenist iconography' is problematic given the occurrence of fish and other animal motifs on a range of material from Amarna. Here, of course, the unresolved questions concerning Amenhotep III's date of death and presence at Amarna arise, along with the possibility of the shifting of artisans to Akhetaten (cf. Peck 1978, 74–5). There is some evidence for the latter. Similarities between ceramics from Thebes (especially Malkata) and Amarna, for instance, could indicate that these were produced by the same group of potters (Hope 1980, 44; 1991, 18) and it is possible – although the evidence is somewhat ambiguous – that the inhabitants of the Workmen's Village, at least, were transplanted from an earlier workmen's community (Kemp 1987, 44–6). In a somewhat different category is a limestone figure of a female with truncated legs (obj. 30/452) excavated at S33.1 in the North Suburb (CoA II, 68). This is unique at Amarna and, as a form known primarily from Middle Kingdom contexts (see Pinch 1993, 226–7), seems to greatly pre-date the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Perhaps it was 'rediscovered' by an Amarna resident and returned to circulation at the city, or even passed down as an heirloom through generations. We may have a case, here, of antiquity imbuing an item with particular potency.

In discussing the level of 'innovation' amongst the Amarna corpus, it was noted that whilst Amarna preserves the earliest provenanced examples of

anthropoid-bust amulets, the diversity of designs could reflect a period of manufacture of longer than 20 years. Some could have been brought in to the site. This recalls two particular aspects of the corpus of fertility figurines, also already noted: the diversity of moulded designs, and the low number of recovered moulds. The former seems at odd with the latter. Perhaps the excavated corpus represents a mixture of material manufactured at the site, supplemented by pieces brought in, although it is probably wrong to view this as organised importation to supplement gaps in the local market, at least on a wide scale.

Much material probably came in to the site during the original settlement of the city. Parkin (1999) discusses the various roles served by objects taken by refugees in flight: some are taken to serve an immediate practical purpose but others, unsurprisingly, are selected because they embody personal background and memories. The latter, these 'mementoes of sentiment and cultural knowledge', serve to 're-establish or re-define personal and collective origins'. The plight of the refugee (Parkin draws largely upon cases of people fleeing war zones and genocide) can only be paralleled so far with the settlement of Amarna in terms of the level of personal threat, time available for relocation, knowledge of the fate of what was left behind, and future security. Nonetheless, resettlement of this kind was certainly not a regular or expected occurrence in an ancient Egyptian life and was undoubtedly a time of upheaval, on a personal and community level. In most cases, it was probably not possible to bring the entire contents of the household to the new city and we can expect processes of selection to have occurred. Much religious material fits into this category of portable and personal items suitable for relocation – and in its magical or protective aspect, it may also have been seen as having an immediate practical benefit. There may have been uncertainty about how long it would be before new supplies would be available. The idea that some of these items were used to subsequently redefine identities is an intriguing one, and highlights how little we know of regionalism in religious conduct, and also of personal identification more generally. Consistency between corpora of items such as figurines, jewellery and similar across sites such as Deir el-Medina, Amarna and Kom Rabi'a suggests a common religious 'language' was in use across the country. But regional cults are also well attested. Regional religious 'dialects' could have been actively maintained through portable material culture. The stela showing the Elephantine triad, erected in shrine P48.4, could be an example of this.

III.2. Structures of conduct

Several basic forms of religious conduct can be suggested, although identifying them at Amarna comes only in part by reading the material remains, and probably as much by knowing of them from other sources. We would be very lucky, in other words, to be able to identify new modes of conduct from the material record. The range suggested presumably falls short of the variety actually undertaken, and it should not be assumed that one mode of conduct was necessarily carried out exclusively of another – there is clear scope for their interconnection.

Offering rituals (including libations)

The act of offering liquids, foodstuffs, natural objects and non-perishable items was central to religious performance generally in ancient Egypt. Offerings may have been intended to sustain a cult image; or as votive gifts to a divinity as 'thanks' for assistance received or hoped for, or to remind or reinforce a request. Some were possibly connected with foundation rituals. In a slightly different category to offerings, but difficult to distinguish archaeologically, is the use of materials to purify cult images, spaces or participants; purification was also a central component of ancient Egyptian religion, achieved often by the libating of water and burning of incense (Blackman 1918).

Included in the corpus are structures and objects that seem suitable for use as emplacements for both perishable and non-perishable goods. Offering-tables, pottery vessels and stands, stone basins, benches such as those in the halls of some private chapels, and perhaps domestic altars could all have served as such. There is little direct evidence of what these might have held or received, although one exception is the resinous traces found on some small (Group 6) bowls, suggesting their use as incense burners. They may sometimes have been used with the tall offering-stands (pages 191–2), best represented at the private chapels at the Workmen's Village. Chapel 571 yielded evidence that the stands sometimes held goods other than incense (or food, as shown in some tomb scenes) in the form of small fragments of blue faience found in and around one stand and its attached bowl. A cluster of probable olive leaves was also found near offering-stands here (Hulin in AR I, 172; Bomann 1991, 15–16, 60). The pottery stands are also identifiable from a small number of domestic contexts, possibly in association with a domestic altar in one case (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, 26). The latter

could point to the combined use of brick altars and tall pot stands, perhaps with different but complementary functions, at least in this one context.

Just how extensive the burning of incense was in domestic contexts is difficult to determine, in large part because of the lack of attention paid to the surface treatment of vessels in the early excavation reports, although it may have been quite widespread. Many sherds with resinous residue were recovered from the extramural area at the Workmen's Village in the 1970s and 80s; and note the recovery of a burnt, although resin-free, Group 6 bowl from a domestic assemblage within the village (Rose in AR IV, 135). Some of the resin-coated wicks (page 193) from a rubbish deposit at the village were potentially from domestic contexts (Serpico in Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 229). Recent excavations in square N50 in the Main City (excavation grid 12) yielded over 60 sherds with resinous residue, in most cases probably incense, from a range of vessel forms: bowls, Canaanite amphorae, hearths, bread platters, a pilgrim flask and jars (Kemp forthcoming b), some at least suitable for the burning of incense.

Several emplacements and receptacles seem suitable for liquids, such as the small offering-tables with runnels. Some have in-built basins designed to collect overflow; the others were presumably positioned with their runnel above portable basins, or perhaps an absorbent surface. None, to my knowledge, displays visible traces of residue. A small number of larger tables, with legs, had circular depressions that were perhaps used to hold liquid offerings; and note again the limestone block incorporating bowls containing 'grease' from T36.11 (see page 196). A parallel might be provided by the benches with gypsum-coated receptacles in Building 528 at the Workmen's Village, possibly used to hold ritual liquids or oils (see Kemp in AR II, 43–5, 50, figs 4.1–5; Bomann 1991, 19, 61). The whitewash surviving on some domestic altars could have communicated ritual purity, but perhaps also represents attempts to waterproof the brick against liquid libations poured directly onto them, or into vessels placed on them. Might they have been recoated periodically to remove traces of old libations, an act that itself may have been ritually structured or patterned according to religious events? The record of these structures is, unfortunately, not detailed enough to indicate whether multiple coats of whitewash were ever present. The builders of the Second Intermediate Period to New Kingdom shrine in the house of Meryka at Askut solved the problem of liquid run-off by inserting a pottery drain at the base of the sloping altar (Smith

2003, 129–30, figs 5.26, 5.29), but none of the Amarna altars have obvious drainage facilities. Stone basins, and vessels in various materials, were also conceivably used for offerings, the former perhaps for receiving libations and the latter often, but not necessarily always, for delivering them.

Libating was perhaps the fundamental component of religious ritual in ancient Egypt. In practical terms, this would have required something to pour water from and into or onto, the latter not necessarily a receptacle: 'may everyone love him if he is spreading water upon the leaves before my statue...' runs the invocation on a stela from Deir el-Bahri (Spiegelberg and Newberry 1908, 7–8). The 'resinous varnish' recorded on the ancestor stela from the Workmen's Village (obj. 22/181; page 145) is perhaps the remains of libations poured directly onto it. Within any one libation ritual, the liquid offering may have intersected with various physical contexts; consider, for instance, the following suggested cycles:

vessel – vessel
vessel – offering-table – inbuilt basin
vessel – offering-table – vessel
vessel – offering-table – surface?
vessel – object (icon?, offering?) – surface
vessel – object (icon?, offering?) – surface – vessel
vessel – lustration slab? – vessel
vessel – lustration slab? – surface

Note the scope for liquid to have been collected at the end of the ritual, raising the question of whether it was ever understood to be imbued with particular properties, and kept.

Included in the list are the 'lustration slabs' preserved in approximately 40 houses, and once probably more numerous at the site. Might these have served as in-built offering-tables? It is an improvable suggestion, but certainly worth considering. A strange aspect of the material record is the concentration of small offering-tables at the Workmen's Village. At least 20 were found here, more than four times the number recorded from the rest of the city. Perhaps these represent small-scale alternatives to the large stone slabs, which are not attested in the small Workmen's Village houses, possibly because they occupied too much space or the worked stone was less readily available. The 'whitewashed "altar" on a lustration place' recorded at T35.6 (CoA II, 42, pl. VII) may be of relevance too. It is an intriguing, although very poorly recorded, find. It is not clear whether the altar was a built construction or a portable pottery stand, but the former is perhaps more in keeping with the description. A possible parallel can be found in the rectangular whitewashed brick construction built on a stone slab in the central room of U37.1 (see Table II.13.1). An 'altar' at U35.25 was made of mud brick laid as a low platform, with at least one raised pedestal; the entire

construction again white-washed (see again Table II.13.1). Might these constructions represent hybrids of the 'lustration' slabs and altars? An explanation could lie in the greater suitability of the stone slabs, for receiving liquid offerings. Perhaps the owners of the small number of houses that contained both stone slabs and domestic altars were attempting to separate wet and dry offerings. An argument against the slabs functioning as offering emplacements is the apparent lack of iconography associated with them. In no case was the surrounding wall decorated, for example. The physical relationship between the emplacements is also somewhat disjointed, and the participant would have had to turn away from any imagery in place on the altar. Lack of (surviving) adornment, though, is something of a feature of certain ritual items and emplacements. From what can be determined, the mud-brick altars were simply whitewashed, decorated offering-tables are rare, and the stone basin with the offering figure from P47.17 is the only decorated example from the site (and note that there was no lustration slab preserved at P47.17 – did the basin serve here as an alternative libation point?). Wall niches positioned above basins, lustration slabs and altars may have played a far more prominent role than can now be ascertained, but, regardless, lack of adornment does seem a common feature amongst items used foremost as practical 'interfaces' within religious contexts. Amarna is probably not alone in this respect: it is Deir el-Medina that stands out. There is a reminder here of how easily material can remain unidentified if it does not communicate to us religious significance through its form, find context or iconography. The basin decorated with an offering figure, for example, could be read as an example of the modification, for religious use, of an item that was largely secular in function by means of decoration, but equally opens the possibility that many undecorated basins were regularly used in religious contexts.

An important element in transforming the simple act of pouring a liquid, most often probably water, into something 'religious' was verbal recitation, potentially including an element of 'prayer' or 'request'. It may be that, within the home, a basic but effective level of religious performance could be maintained with little more than a vessel or two. In order to enhance the significance or effectiveness of the act, though, suitable symbolism may have been employed upon the receptacles or surfaces used, or in the accompanying tableau of portable images (icons). It is these acts, of course, that we have most chance of identifying archaeologically. This is one possible usage context for some of the decorated vessels at the site: the kernotype bowls, perhaps, and some of the vessels with modelled animal figures. The pottery cobra bowls conceivably combined a divine image with a receptacle for offerings in a single object. The wavy rim of the bowls

is suggestive of liquid, so perhaps water libations were poured over the figure until it was partially submerged, recalling marsh imagery (and possibly a connection with a goddess such as Wadjet: see page 292). Another possible candidate is the shallow stone bowl decorated with one or more Hathor faces found in Long Wall Street 9 at the Workmen's Village. No offering-table was found in this house, although one was recovered in the street opposite; the bowl perhaps served the role of an offering-table here. Stone may have been chosen over pottery to give a sense of permanency, enhanced importance, and perhaps cleanliness.

Faience bowls seem sometimes to have been used as containers for offerings and libations, conceivably of a range of substances: wine, milk, water, flowers, fats, oils and amulets have all been suggested (Bruyère 1937b, 87–90; Strauß 1974, 66–8; Milward in Brovarski et al. 1982, 141; Schulman in Rothenberg 1988, 129–31; Pinch 1993, 314). Large blue-lotus cups are often depicted in front of deities, suggesting that they and/or their contents were being presented as offerings. Sometimes they contain plants (Nagel 1938, 202–6; Tait 1963, 98–9). Bomann (1991, 63) suggested that a goblet-shaped bread mould found in Chapel 556 at the Workmen's Village may have been viewed as a kind of lotus cup, and used as a container for small plant offerings. Often these and other vessel types may have been used simply as a means of presenting offerings, liquid or otherwise, with the actual filling of the vessel afforded little or no ritual significance.

The large Hathor and Bes jars are generally viewed as storage jars, for wine in particular (Hope in Brovarski et al. 1982, 87; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 410, no. 111). Their contents could have been used as offerings, an interpretation favoured by Bruyère (1939, 103) in relation to the Deir el-Medina examples, but whether they ever had a more active role in offering rituals is unknown. They were certainly too large to be used for the pouring of offerings, but could the filling, for example, of Hathor jars have been perceived as making an offering to the goddess? Associations of this kind belong to a religious landscape contained within human minds, which whilst intersecting with the material world, is now barely, if at all, accessible through it.

An intriguing category of vessels is the figure vessels. Up to eight seem to represent horned bovid-like animals in pottery, with the remainder, excluding 'rattles', comprising two or three alabaster female figure vessels, a possible Bes-image vessel, and a glass fish vessel (see Part II.8). Apart from the glass fish, none are complete. The animal figures were spouted at the mouth, but may have incorporated another inlet, probably in their backs. The female figures probably had an inlet/outlet in the top of their heads, and in at least one case bore a

hole in the base. These were probably easy to stopper/seal and may have been suitable for the storage of liquids, perhaps mother's milk, ointments or urine (see page 183) – or the liquid by-products of offering rituals? Perhaps the spouts of the animal figures could be similarly sealed. The form of the vessels, particularly the spouted animals, does imply the specialist function of pouring, though, and these must be good candidates for vessels used to dispense liquids during offering rituals. The repeated occurrence of bovid (and perhaps caprid) imagery is a striking feature here, and could indicate an association with a deity such as Hathor, and/or the storage or pouring of milk. Cattle offerings were also prominent in the Aten cult, and a particularly interesting find is the fragmentary bull vessel from an auxiliary building at T41.1, the house of the High Priest Panehesy beside the Great Aten Temple (Frankfort 1927, 212; CoA III, 27, pl. LXII.6–9; page 173). Panehesy held as one of his titles 'Superintendent of the Cattle of the Aten': he oversaw the preparation of cattle offerings for the god. The early EES excavators observed that cattle remains were particularly common during excavations at this complex, and suggested that it served the preparation of sacrificial animals (Frankfort 1927, 212). The dumps from the EES excavations have themselves been investigated recently with a view to testing this theory (Payne in Kemp forthcoming a). Surely the overlap between Panehesy's occupation and the imagery of the figure vessel here is too great for them not to be associated. The vessel was perhaps used with the domestic altar decorated with the images of the royal family found in the central room of his house. Might the pouring of libations from a bull-shaped vessel before a temple-shaped altar have reproduced, on a reduced scale, the offering of cattle at the Great Temple? An argument against this is the fact that the fragments were not found within the house itself. They may have come from an area where cattle offerings were being prepared, and perhaps the vessel was used to collect samples of by-products such as milk or blood, perhaps for ritual reuse, or to anoint the cattle themselves. Might it even have been a piece of cult equipment from the Great Temple?

Several other vessels with images of animals or deities were recorded from houses with cult emplacements. Vessel fragments with probable Hathor images were recovered from four complexes with garden shrines, one of which also contained a domestic altar (CoA II, 79; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 70, 241, 282). At least one cobra vessel was found at a house that had a garden shrine, R44.2 (Griffith 1924, 302; Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 187; Rose forthcoming), whilst vessels decorated with fish were found in a complex with a garden shrine, N48.1, and another with a domestic shrine, T35.17 (CoA II, 46, pl. XLVIII.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175). A few possible fragments of lotus goblets were also found at houses with garden shrines

(CoA II, 88; Hope 1991, 29). These are worth noting for the possibility they were used at these structures, but the number of such examples is certainly too low to suggest any broader pattern here.

If a deity was represented on, for example, a vessel used as part of an offering ritual, did they necessarily need to be named in any accompanying verbal recitation? Could, in contrast, detailed invocation have sometimes compensated for simple unadorned accompaniments (remembering the simplicity of the offering-tables and similar)? Interplay between verbal recitation and the physical components of religion may have spawned subtle variations in offering rituals – and religious practice more generally – across the city. The kinds of items considered suitable as offerings themselves could have been highly flexible, meaning much of the material presented in Part II had potential use in offering rituals. Isolating individual examples used as such is almost impossible. Occasionally, cult spaces yielded small collections of items suitable for use in offering rituals (the vessels have already been noted above), but few *in situ* collections of potential offerings, nor dumps of ex-votos, can be recognised. Offering did not necessarily involve permanent cult spaces, of course, and just as material found at such complexes can rarely be identified as offerings with confidence, nor can this function be excluded for that found elsewhere.

The private chapels at the Workmen's Village yielded a small amount of material, primarily offering-stands, stelae and statuary fragments. A small number of objects such as figurines, and at least two ostraca with anthropomorphic images, were also recovered, with several further examples from the extramural area (see CoA I, 102–8; Bomann 1991). A fragment of a 'female figure in grey stone', perhaps a kind of 'fertility figurine', was found in building 534, which may have functioned in association with Chapel 535 (CoA I, 106; Bomann 1991, 33). Amongst the ceramic assemblage were offering-stands and Group 6 bowls with out-turned rims, some of which bore traces of gypsum and incense (Hulin in AR I; Rose in AR III). At the Main Chapel, gypsum-coated vessels were found largely within the chapel proper, whilst the small number of bowls with traces of incense and burning also originated overwhelmingly from the Sanctuary and Outer Hall/Side Chapel (Rose in AR III, 111). It is possible that votive refuse was also cleared out from the chapels in antiquity; if so, it has been obscured by the intermingling of refuse from the village (see Hecker in AR III, 87; Rose in AR III, 99; Kemp 1987, 30).

An important find from the chapels was the articulated hind-leg of a goat wrapped in linen. This originated from a deposit of packed marl, either deliberate fill or compacted rubble, between the walls of Chapels 570 and 571 (see Kemp in AR I, 38, fig. 3.2; Hecker in AR I, 161;

also Bomann 1991, 35, 59–61). Otherwise, the number of animal bones from EES excavations at the chapel area in the late 1970s and 1980s was relatively low, with little indication of 'ritual' treatment (see Hecker in AR I, 161; whether this was also the case when the chapels were first excavated is unknown). The chapels did, however, yield possible tethering stones (for example, Kemp in AR I, 38), whilst some of the gypsum-covered rooms of the chapels and their annexes were conceivably spaces used for the ritual slaughter of animals (see Bomann 1991, 35, 59–61). Little comparable faunal material has been recorded elsewhere in the city (see page 209), and although the early excavators generally paid limited attention to faunal remains they are unlikely to have overlooked wrapped pieces. The offering of actual joints of meat may not have been common in domestic contexts. It is worth noting that gypsum-coated spaces were, however, probably more common than they appear, and not confined within the house to 'bathrooms'. For example, the front room in one of the small houses, N50.37, recently excavated in the Main City (Kemp forthcoming b) bore poorly preserved patches of gypsum wall plaster. This room was largely featureless, although it did yield the burial of an infant of uncertain date (see page 210). Some rooms amongst buildings of the so-called 'government offices' between the King's House and Great Aten Temple bore white plaster on their floors and walls, sometimes heavily applied. Most of the nearby 'clerks' houses' were whitewashed internally, and white-washed chambers and bins were encountered amongst the magazines near the 'military quarters' (see CoA III, 114, 116, 122, 131). Greater frequency of whitewashed rooms could be read as the proliferation of clean ritual spaces; unlikely, within houses at least, to have served the ritual slaughter of animals. It could also indicate a greater range of functions for this finish beyond that of cult. It may often have been preferred over alluvial plaster because it improved lighting within a room, whilst the fact that it was less readily obtainable than the latter might have lent it also a sense of prestige.

The Workmen's Village also yielded a group of mud models, seemingly representing joints of meat, from Site XI. Whilst an administrative purpose has been suggested for these (Kemp 1980, 9), so might they have served as offerings, substituting for actual joints of meat. Not attested at the Workmen's Village, but not uncommon elsewhere, are faience plaques in the shape of bovine heads, legs and occasionally complete animals with their legs trussed. Those in the shape of fish and ducks also occur, but less frequently. They are unlikely to have served as inlays, but are very occasionally pierced, perhaps for suspension. All are of animals well attested in offering-scenes at Amarna and they can be read as portable, small-scale versions of these two-dimensional offerings. Similar plaques, particularly the

khepesh pieces, are also well known from foundation deposits elsewhere, although none of the Amarna examples are recorded from distinct deposits, buried or otherwise. Were they simply substitutes for those unable to afford actual meat offerings? The offering of cattle to the Aten in the state temples could offer a slightly more complex framework for their use: perhaps they were tokens exchanged for actual meat during the public redistribution of meat offerings (for which, see Kemp 1994, 138–45), distributed, even, during public gatherings at the temples. This might help explain their absence at the Workmen's Village, the villagers perhaps excluded by their location from participation in such activities. It is activities of this kind – the 'reversion of offerings', with its relatively immediate and material outcomes – that illustrate the great scope for overlap in the Egyptian context between religious frameworks, here largely state-based, and the pragmatic concerns of everyday life. Did those on the receiving end of such offerings ever address this issue in their own religious lives – by offering prayers or votives in thanks, for instance – or did they conceive this chain of distribution within a wholly pragmatic mindset?

Within the Main City a very small, but potentially votive, assemblage was recovered from probable shrine P47.10: a fertility figurine, a possible animal figurine, a ring with *wḏj*-eye, a fragment of a kneeling captive figure in faience, and four fragments of stone vessels (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 112; Kemp 1995, 30; the details in these sources here supplemented by personal observation of the finds). The only object recorded from building P48.4, the other possible Main City shrine, was the stela depicting the Elephantine triad (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 222; Kemp 1989, 305).

Elsewhere across the city, complexes with identifiable cult structures (namely, garden shrines and domestic altars) also yielded a range of material suitable for use as offerings (see, for example, Tables III.2.1 and III.2.2). The material was not particularly distinctive from that found at complexes lacking such structures. Only rarely were objects recorded in close association with the cult structures; the lack of detail of find contexts in the early excavation records is to be particularly regretted here. The only objects recorded near altars were the fragments of 'lamp stands' found near that in the square room in house Q46.1 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, 26). Very little material was recorded even from the same room as any of the altars: only a bezel depicting a 'goat and disk' (probably actually a gazelle or cow) from the front hall of Long Wall Street 10 (and the identification of the altar here is very uncertain: CoA I, 85) and an unfinished statue of the queen found on a mastaba in the central hall of P48.2 (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 220). The association between a few domestic altars and vessels buried in the floor, conceivably receptacles or storage points for

offerings, has been noted (page 232). Amarna is often cited as offering clear evidence for the use of fertility figurines at domestic altars (not necessarily as offerings: see Pinch 1993, 216; Robins 1996, 29), but the evidence has on occasion been exaggerated to suggest a much closer and more frequent link than is the case. Fertility figurines are recorded from five different houses with domestic altars (obj. 8424; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 31, 37, 134, 220), but there is no indication that any were found in the same room as these emplacements. The most compelling evidence for their association remains the collection of fertility figurines, Taweret stela and model beds from the staircase cupboard at N49.21 (pages 88, 144, 247), despite the somewhat uncertain identification of the altar in this house (see Table II.13.1).

On a more general level, houses with domestic altars yielded further examples of figurines, jewellery and statues, along with vessels and a small number of stelae. Some could have been used at the altars, although almost half of these houses also possessed garden shrines, another potential usage context for the material. It should be noted that none of the stelae from the site, or indeed any other objects, preserve the *ir n* formula often used to denote votive objects (see Pinch 1993, 169). Although care needs to be taken in drawing too close a link between stela form and function (note the apparent lack of distinction in terminology applied to stelae used for different purposes in texts from Deir el-Medina: Demarée 1982), many of the stelae are, nonetheless, of a type consistent with those found as part of votive deposits elsewhere. These are often small and round-topped, with an image of the divinity being invoked and occasionally inscriptions and prayers (see Schulman 1963, 596–7). Most examples of this type at Amarna bear images of traditional deities, including possible private ancestors, although a few do show the Aten and royal family.

There is slightly more scope to investigate the material found at the garden shrines because occasionally they were assigned their own building unit number, although this sometimes included the courtyard in which they were located. This is the case for shrines P47.32, T35.12, T35.19 and T35.21, whilst some of the material from house complexes N48.1, Q44.1 and R44.2 was also pinpointed as being from the garden shrine or courtyard containing it. The material recorded from these units includes animal and anthropomorphic figurines (primarily fertility figurines), a range of jewellery, a few vessels, including a small collection of miniature vessels from T35.21, a faience plaque decorated with a falcon and *ḥb*, and a small quantity of fragmentary reliefs and statuary, most of which seem to represent the royal family (see Table III.2.1). A wider range of material occurred, unsurprisingly, across all building complexes containing garden shrines, including: several small

Table III.2.1. 'Religious' material recorded within garden shrines, or shrine courtyards

Object group	Motif/form	Quantity	Object number & references
Jewellery & small amulets	Deities: Aten, Bes-image, Hathor, Taweret?	6	obj. 23/447; CoA II, 47, 82, 84; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175
	Animals: fish, frog, scarab	3	CoA II, 82; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175
	Royal names: Amenhotep IV, Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun	8	CoA II, 40, 47, 82; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175
	Hieroglyphs: <i>nfr</i> , <i>sw</i> -feather, <i>wdt</i> -eye	13	CoA II, 82
Figurines/models	Anthropomorphic: fertility figurines, shabtis?	3	obj. 23/443, 29/376; CoA II, 40, 82; Pinch 1993, 232
	Animals: monkey, unidentifiable	3	obj. 23/290; CoA II, 47, 82, pl. XXXI.5
Statues/statuettes	Probably royal	3+	Griffith 1931; Ikram 1989, 90; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 175
Vessels	Animals: fish	1	Borchardt and Ricke, 1980, 175
	Floral	2	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174-5
	Lotus cup	17	CoA II, 47
	Miniatures	2	CoA II, 82
Figurative plaques	<i>nfr</i> -sign and falcon	1	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174

Table III.2.2. Material in house complexes incorporating garden shrines (averages/percentages rounded to closest whole number unless less than 0.5)

Object group	Motif/form	Quantity	Average per house/shrine complex	Number of house/shrine complexes	Percentage of house/shrine complexes (total of 41 shrines)	Object number & references
Jewellery & small amulets	Deities: Aten, Bes-image, Hathor, Taweret	40	1	20	49	AMP (no accession numbers); obj. 23/447; CoA I, 17; CoA II, 47, 65, 78, 80, 82-4, 93, 95, 97, pl. XLVI.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 122, 133, 174-5, 209, 220, 241, 248, 307
	Anthropoid & body parts: king, youthful king/god	3	0.1	2	5	CoA I, 20, pl. XIII.6; CoA II, 81, 93
	Animals: bird, bovid, cat, cobra, crocodile, fish, frog, gazelle/ibex, scarab, turtle, unidentifiable	40	1	22	54	CoA I, 17, 29, pls X.3, XII.5; CoA II, 78, 80-3, 93, 95; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26-7, 29, 69, 122, 129, 133, 175, 209, 220-1, 241, 248

Table III.2.2 cont. Material in house complexes incorporating garden shrines (averages/percentages rounded to closest whole number unless less than 0.5)

Object group	Motif/form	Quantity	Average per house/shrine complex	Number of house/shrine complexes	Percentage of house/shrine complexes (total of 41 shrines)	Object number & references
Jewellery & small amulets	Royal name: Amenhotep IV, Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun	30	1	15	37	CoA I, 17; CoA II, 13-14, 40, 42, 47, 50, 65, 68, 82, 84; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 69, 129, 175, 219, 241
	Hieroglyphs: <i>nfr</i> , <i>dd</i> , <i>sw</i> -feather, <i>w3s</i> -sceptre, <i>wdt</i> -eye, <i>nfr</i>	63+	1.5+	19	46	obj. 21/17; CoA I, 20, pl. X.3; CoA II, 78-84, 93, 95; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 112, 129, 209, 219, 248
	Inanimate objects: lunar disk, shell, vase	6	0.15	5	12	CoA II, 42, 81, 95; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 122, 129; Boyce in AR VI, 351
Figures/models	Deities: Bes-image, Sekhmet, Taweret	4	0.1	2	5	AMP 25389; obj. 32608; CoA II, 42, 85, pl. XXIX.2; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 241; Haynes in Freed et al. 1999 257, no. 180
	Anthropoid & body parts: fertility figurines, female figures & plaques, shabtis, unidentifiable	24+	1+	12	29	AMP 25063, 25065, 25100, 30913, 30915, 30930; obj. 23/443, 29/376; 8424, 8575; CoA II, 40, 45, 79-80, 82, 85; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 55, 69, 175, 209, 220-1; Ikram 1989; Pinch 1993, 232
	Animals: bovid, cobra, dog/fox?, hawk, hippopotamus, monkey, unidentifiable	28+	1+	17	41.5	UC 24505; AMP 25025, 25071, 25087, 25090, 25092, 25095, 25130, 28759-60, (and no accession numbers); obj. 23/290; CoA I, 29; Pendlebury 1931, 235; CoA II, 46-7, 50, 68, 78, 80, 82, 84, pls XXXI.5, 8, XL.8; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 29, 69, 121-2, 129, 175, 209, 221, 241, 307
	Inanimate objects: balls, furniture, throwsticks	7	0.2	7	17	AMP 25149, 28747; obj. 23/234, 29/392; CoA II, 42; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 130, 209, 220, 241
Statues/statuettes	Royal	12+	0.3+	9	22	AMP 25734; Griffith 1924, 302, pl. XXXIV.1; 1931; Frankfort 1927, 217, pl. LIII; CoA II, 13, pl. XXXIX; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 55, 70, 122, 175, 209, 219-20; Ikram 1989
	Private	1	0.02	1	2	Griffith 1931, 183
	Miscellaneous & unidentifiable	7+	0.2+	10	24	Griffith 1931, 182; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 27, 70, 122, 130, 209

Table III.2.2 cont. Material in house complexes incorporating garden shrines (averages/percentages rounded to closest whole number unless less than 0.5)

Object group	Motif/form	Quantity	Average per house/shrine complex	Number of house/shrine complexes	Percentage of house/shrine complexes (total of 41 shrines)	Object number & references
Stelae	Aten & royal family	4	0.1	4	10	CoA I, 17, pl. X.1; Griffith 1924, 302; 1926, 1-2; CoA II, 46, pl. XL.7; Ikram 1989; Bryan in Bryan and Kozloff 1992, 213; Andrews in Freed et al. 1999, 254, no. 169
	Traditional deities: Thoth	2	0.05	2	5	CoA II, 65, pl. XXXV.3; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 248; Bosse-Griffiths 1984, 747
	Private	1	0.02	1	2	Griffith 1924, 302; Aldred 1973, no. 141; Der Manuelian in Freed et al. 1999 256
	Unidentifiable & undecorated	4	0.1	2	5	ÄMP 25259; AARC 24/520, 24/540, 24/545; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 55
Ostraca & trial pieces	Deities: ram (of Amun)	1	0.02	1	2	Brunner-Traut 1956, 80, pl. XXX; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174
	Animals: falcon, goose, monkey	2	0.05	3	7	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 221, 241
	Inanimate objects: vessel	1	0.02	1	2	CoA II, 11
Vessels	Deities: Hathor	10	0.2	6	15	CoA II, 79-80; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 70, 241, 282; Hope 1991, 40
	Animals: cobra, fish	3	0.1	3	7	Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 258, no. 187; Rose forthcoming
	Lotus goblets	2	0.05	2	5	CoA II, 47; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 122
	Royal name: Akhenaten, unknown	2	0.05	2	5	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174
	Miniatures	2	0.05	1	2	CoA II, 82
	Offering stands	4+	0.1+	2	5	Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 26, 175
						Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174
Figurative plaques	‘ <i>nh</i> ’-sign and falcon	1	0.02	1	2	
Domestic reliefs & inscriptions	Aten & royal family	2	0.05	1	5	CoA II, 109, pl. XXIII.4; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 124; Ikram 1989, 91
	Miscellaneous & unidentifiable	9	0.2	5	12	CoA II, 80; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, 27, 122, 129-30, 242, 307, 344

Table III.2.2 cont. Material in house complexes incorporating garden shrines (averages/percentages rounded to closest whole number unless less than 0.5)

Object group	Motif/form	Quantity	Average per house/shrine complex	Number of house/shrine complexes	Percentage of house/shrine complexes (total of 41 shrines)	Object number & references
Architectural emplacements	Altars	11	0.3	12	29	Borchardt 1923, 21-2; CoA I, pl. I; Newton 1924, 292, pl. XXV; CoA II, 12, 50, 68, pls III, IX-X, XX.6; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 24, 132, 208, 219, 280, 306, Hausplane 2, 60, 63, 93, 101; Ikram 1989

stelae, including two with Thoth images, one with an image of the Aten, and one with a group of men and women; and a few figurative ostraca (see Table III.2.2, which includes the material in Table III.2.1). Several of these houses also had domestic altars.

Moving into the Central City, finds from the House of the King's Statue included pieces of a wooden shrine decorated with rearing uraei; fragments of statues, including those of the royal family; stone and faience vessels, including a possible faience fish bowl; faience jewellery with motifs such as Bes-images, hieroglyphic signs, and the name of Amenhotep III; a pottery model fruit; a pair of bronze tongs; and a painted papyrus with a battle scene, possibly connected with a royal cult (CoA III, 141-2, pl. LXXIX.7, 9; Kemp 1989, 283-4, fig. 95; Schofield and Parkinson 1994). The ceramic assemblage included fragments of Group 6 bowls, hearths and offering-stands, and a pottery vessel with applied gazelle or ibex heads (CoA III, 236; Rose in AR IV, 123, fig. 9.4; Hope 1991, 48-9; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 63).

The Great Aten Temple yielded perhaps the clearest example of an *in situ* votive deposit in the form of a group of bronze stuluae and a bronze offering-stand found in the foundations of the Sanctuary. One bore the name of the standard-bearer Ramose (CoA III, 12, pl. LX.7, 8; Kemp 1995, 35). The group seems consistent with a private deposit, connected perhaps with a phase of building/rebuilding, and perhaps a private gift to the king (see page 265); not all items need to have been donated by Ramose. The Sanctuary of the Great Temple also yielded 'remains of [a] foundation deposit', not published but listed on a registration card in the Amarna Archive (obj. 33-4/16). The illustration on the registration card seems to show a small mass, measuring some 6 x 3 cm. Its composition is not recorded, but it may have been resin or similar. It is registered with 'some flakes of gold leaf'. The Great Aten Temple was also the find spot of several of the 'trial pieces' with royal images, some seemingly in

foundation trenches of walls (see page 156). An offering function is possible for these pieces, their significance to be found perhaps not only in their imagery, but in their testimony to the productivity of the state. One piece, from a wall trench in the Gem-Aten, was decorated on one side with the head of Nefertiti, and on the other with a male figure kneeling in a posture of worship (obj. 32/100; CoA III, 19, pl. LIX.2, 3). It recalls a fragmentary stela found in the north harem at the Great Palace (obj. 34/42; CoA III, 45, 232, pls LXXIII.8, 9, CVII.2, 3; CVIII; see page 131). On the reverse of the stela, a man wearing an elaborately pleated kilt, fillet, perfume cone and the 'gold of honour' kneels with arms upraised; a scene of the royal family appears on the front face. Too little is preserved to confirm that the figure appears alone, but this is likely, the remainder of the scene probably taken up with an inscription that is partly preserved above him. The figure can presumably be identified as the owner, and perhaps dedicator, of the stela. The relegation of the figure to the reverse face seems to be reflecting rigidity, in terms of social decorum - inappropriateness in showing a private person in the company of royalty - or simply in the approach to stela design. Part of a similar figure appears also on a possible stela found during the 1924 season (see page 150, Figure II.5.26). The trial piece from the Gem-Aten seems unlikely to have been a commissioned votive piece (it might be expected that the name of the owner was marked, and would a stela not have been preferred?) but perhaps it was intended to imitate these rare double-sided stelae.

The large quantity of statues of the royal family from the Central City is also noteworthy for the possibility that some were private votives. Not all were large-scale pieces. Several of the sculpture fragments from the House of the King's Statue were from statuettes, some probably representing a king (CoA I, 141, pl. LXXIX.6; Kemp 1989, 284-5, fig. 95). Other fragments of smaller royal statuettes were found elsewhere, including at the Great and Small Aten Temples (for example, CoA III, 18,

99). Object 31/435, a painted limestone statuette of a king, found without its head and lower legs but only approximately 10 cm high from outside the south-west wall of the Small Aten Temple seems a good candidate for a votive piece (CoA III, 100, pl. LXXV.4–6). Given the fragmentary state of the Central City sculpture, it is also premature to dismiss the possibility that statues of private individuals were amongst these.

The major temples have yielded little else in the way of potential offerings. A small quantity of jewellery was excavated at the Great Aten Temple, within and outside the western entrance to the temenos, in the vicinity of the southern offering-tables, and in the Gem-Aten (CoA III, 18–20). The motifs include cartouches of the royal family, images of or references to deities such as Harakhty and Bes, and hieroglyphic motifs. Objects excavated within the confines of the Small Aten Temple include a small number of figurines and models, including possible hawk images, a possible ostrakon depicting a sacred cow, and several faience pendants and plaques with images such as animal figures, Bes, Hathor and Taweret, hieroglyphic signs, an anthropoid bust, and cartouches of the royal family (obj. 21503, 31304; Pendlebury 1932, 147, pl. XIV.3; CoA III, 98–9, 103–4; Boyce in AR V, 166). This material was found throughout the complex, from around the entrances through the first pylon, at the second pylon, at the Priests' House, and in the Sanctuary. Whilst it is likely that further such small-scale items were overlooked by the early excavators, it is unlikely that the temples yielded much in the way of potential votive material. But might such items have been cleared out of the temples in antiquity? The buildings of the Central City were interspersed with areas of refuse. Some of these have been excavated, but many have been subject only to surface survey, particularly for pottery (Rose in AR IV; in AR V; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 63). They include Petrie's 'palace waste heaps' on the eastern edge of the Central City (Petrie 1894, 15–17; Peet 1921, 170, 182–5; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 63–4), a dump south of the temenos wall of the Great Aten Temple, and areas of ancient dump near the Small Aten Temple, particularly in the region west of the Clerk's Houses (Rose in AR IV, 118), between the temple and the 'magazines' to its south (CoA III, 94, 100), and between the temple and the 'offices' in square Q42 to its east (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 62, 65). Pinpointing the source of the refuse is difficult. Pendlebury (CoA III, 94, 100) suggested the dump south of the Small Aten Temple, which included fragments of statues, originated from the destruction of the temple sanctuary. The nearby 'magazines' (possibly rather a centre of manufacture: Kemp and Garfi 1993, 61) could provide a further source. Much material within the Small Aten Temple dumps may derive from general manufacture and storage, activities that were probably prominent in the surrounding area (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 65), but

religious activity at complexes such as the Temple itself or the House of the King's Statue must remain potential sources. Little of immediate interest has been recovered from the Small Temple dumps, but the dump south of the Great Aten Temple has offered a little more. Finds here included many miniature pottery vessels, a stone monkey figurine, a pottery head of a hawk figurine, at least one head of an anthropomorphic figurine (possibly a foreigner), a small stela with 'meaningless lines', a pendant with the cartouches of Akhenaten, a faience plaque in the form of a cow fore-leg, and a fragment of a faience Bes pendant or figure (CoA III, 13, 20, pls LXII.5, LXXIX.12). The material is consistent with a votive assemblage – not a particularly strong argument for its use as such given the 'non-specialised' nature of most votive material – but worth noting. The dump is thought to contain material from both the period in which the temple was in use, and of its destruction (Petrie 1894, 18–19; CoA III, 11–13; Rose in AR IV, 119; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 52–3). More systematic investigation of the dumps may prove fruitful on the question of public participation in cult in the Central City. An unusual aspect of the Great Aten Temple, and particularly the Gem-Aten, though, is that it does not contain storage areas suitable for temple equipment and, conceivably, votives.¹ Perhaps the chance to offer votives here was restricted largely to phases of construction, or to items such as statues that could be incorporated permanently into temple furnishings.

Actions such as breaking, burning and burial are all known to have accompanied certain offering rituals, although their extent in 'everyday' religious contexts is not clear. Best attested is the occasional breakage of objects, particularly vessels, in mortuary contexts as part of the ritual of 'breaking of the red pots' (Grinsell 1961, 481; van Dijk 1986; Ritner 1993, 144–53). Vessels found in offering deposits at temples, in houses and in association with tombs at Tell el-Dab'a showed signs of deliberate breakage. This site also yielded buried deposits thought to have derived from ritual meals, largely within houses and of Second Intermediate Period date, but a foreign influence on both practices is possible here (Müller 1998). Deposits of partly burnt material, including pottery and glass vessels, jewellery and objects of personal use, buried beneath the floors of houses at Gurob have been interpreted by some as funerary offering deposits, although this is debated (Petrie 1891, 16; Politi 2001). There is a little evidence for the breakage of votive offerings dedicated at Hathor shrines (Kertesz 1976; Pinch 1993, 341). Pinch (1993, 340–2) has suggested that such 'nullification' rituals undertaken on votive goods may have been intended to prevent their reuse, or indicate their passing into the possession of the deity. These might have been situated alongside 'sacrilisation' rituals intended to transform

1 I wish to thank Barry Kemp for this observation.

mundane goods into sacred objects, and 'substitution' rituals in which votive gifts replaced expensive or regular offerings (Pinch 1993, 340–2). Broken and burnt items are well attested at Amarna. Complete objects of any scale or material – faience jewellery, pottery figurines or stone statues – are in fact rare. Recent work at the cemetery in the *wadi* beside the South Tombs has yielded fragments of pottery vessels with deliberate post-firing holes, possibly cases of the ritual 'killing' of vessels (for example, Rose in Kemp 2005, 24). Elsewhere, several burnt figurines occur, including fertility figurines, female plaques and cobra figures (for example, AMP 28724, 30939; obj. 24/56, 1503, 5807), but in no case is there scope to determine whether the burning was deliberate. Other burnt examples were found in manufacturing areas and presumably over-fired during production (for example, obj. 7649, 7655). Buried items are not often recorded, although a few figurines, including a monkey, a fertility figurine, a fragment of a possible Bes-image figure and a fragmentary animal head, were recorded from wells (CoA II, 13; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 176, 207, 238). There is no reference in the excavation records to burnt or buried deposits in or near cult spaces.

In summary, therefore, whilst we may have little opportunity to observe offerings *in situ* at Amarna, we can probably conclude that the act of offering was prominent amongst religious responses, since it was such a standard element of religious practice in general, and there is adequate evidence of suitable emplacements, and materials that could have served as offerings. Offering rituals may have been employed often as irregular modes of response, but they also seem suited to regular patterning; did they become an element of personal routines?

Offering rituals conceivably operated on a wide physical arena, encompassing domestic space and public shrines in residential areas; the issue of the location of religious conduct is considered further in Part III.4. How far it extended into state cult arenas is very much unresolved. The best evidence we have of this is the collection of bronzes from the Great Aten Temple. But it is not clear if these represent the high-quality end of a spectrum of practices that included the presentation of items of lower quality or value, or indicate that private offerings at state cult complexes were limited to prestige items presented in a highly structured framework, that may have depended upon intermediaries.

Verbal requests ('prayer') and invocations

Verbal requests to a divinity (which often had an element of praise or adoration: see Baines 2002, 24), will not be represented directly in the archaeological record, but to simply dismiss these as the inaccessible components of archaeologically recoverable acts is to overlook a major mode of conduct. Indeed, whilst verbalisation could presumably be accompanied by actions, including those involving material goods, these may often have been secondary. Archaeologically, we are reduced really to positing frameworks for the undertaking of such conduct. If such actions required focal points, for instance (and perhaps this was not always necessary), these are potentially provided in a variety of settings: from the home to public spaces (discussed in Part III.4). Baines (2002), in a study of private letters, provides some support for the undertaking of prayer across a similar range of settings, not just at temples.

Use of amulets

The use of amulets is best attested by jewellery items. The range of motifs with potential amuletic qualities is very broad: figures of divinities, hieroglyphic symbols, animals, body parts, floral motifs, even names of royalty, deceased or alive (for which see Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 41; Shannon in AR V, 156). The extent to which amuletic jewellery was part of everyday costume or reserved for special occasions is not clear. Private individuals are represented at Amarna wearing jewellery such as the Gold of Honour or floral collars (see Boyce in AR VI), but not necklaces or collars strung with figures of deities. Rather than conveying the rare use of the latter, though, this could suggest they were commonly worn, the scenes showing individuals dressed in their finery. A range of other objects may have been perceived to possess amuletic properties, particularly within a domestic environment, a point taken up in Part III.4. For example, vessels with motifs such as Bes-images and Hathor heads, even if not used directly as components of religious ritual, might have been understood to possess protective properties in a household context, similar to headrests decorated with divinities. The range of items perceived similarly could have included statues, figurines, ostraca, stelae and domestic reliefs. Others may have been more ephemeral: images, for instance, drawn on papyrus or textile. Even further beyond the range of archaeologically recoverable evidence is the possibility that everyday speech was punctuated with verbal protective devices. Common to many languages, for instance, is the verbalisation of a short 'blessing' when someone sneezes ('bless you', 'Gesundheit'), the

meaning now somewhat debased, but a protective connotation still not too far below the surface.

Magical rituals

It is possible to isolate a set of modes of conduct united not so much in outward structure, but in their use or manipulation of magical forces. These often required verbal and material accompaniments, and demanded action of the human participant, as reflected in the following instructions attached to the end of a spell, known from a papyrus written around the beginning of the New Kingdom: 'Words to be said by a man with a club of *ds*-wood in his hand. Let him go outside and make the round of his house. He will not die from the plague of the year' (P Edwin Smith [50] 18, 11–16; Borghouts 1978, 15, no. 15).

The use of figurines and other images as components of magical rituals is well attested in written spells, some of which record the use of figurine types represented at Amarna, and other New Kingdom settlement sites, such as cobra and anthropomorphic figures (for example, Borghouts 1978, 32, 39, 51–5, nos 48, 60–1, 84; Ritner 1990; Szpakowska 2003b). Some of the fertility figurines are painted red all over. Red was a colour with particular magical potency (Griffiths 1972, 85; Brunner-Traut in LÄ II, 124) – was it chosen over a more realistic colour scheme to increase the magical effectiveness of these figures? The inherent magical qualities of small amulets such as scarabs, beads and *wgjt*-eyes also deemed them appropriate components of magical rituals (see Borghouts 1978, 23, 36–7, nos 30, 55), and magic actions involving the use of materials such as resins, waxes, and other organic substances was presumably more widespread than can now be recognised.

Much material used in magic is likely to have been pre-prepared, and may have formed part of magicians' permanent 'tool-kits', but the on-the-spot production of accompaniments could also have occurred, particularly if they were to include 'personalising' elements. This may have provided a manufacturing context for some of the Amarna items, such as the model mud balls containing hair, hand-modelled and unfired clay figurines, and some simple figurative ostraca. It may, in turn, be one way of differentiating between the fertility figurines and the female plaques which are similar in iconography, but differ noticeably in quality, method of manufacture and, as noted in Part III.1, level of conformity to formal artistic standards. The role of the female plaques could have related more closely to the manufacture of the image itself.

Some of the items found near cult spaces could have been deposited in the vicinity of a sacred source, either

temporarily or permanently, as fulfilment of a magical rite. Magic acts could also require actions such as breaking and burning, particularly of figurines. Texts, including New Kingdom examples, relate the burning of images of enemies or malevolent figures such as Apophis during temple rituals, for example (Faulkner 1937, 173–5; Ritner 1993, 158). The deliberate burial of figurines was a component of some execration rituals, and the breaking of figurines of foreigners during the latter is also well attested in archaeological and textual evidence (Schott 1930, 41; Ritner 1993, 148–53). Several of the Amarna figurines represent foreigners, and more examples of such may occur amongst the highly fragmentary pieces. Most were found within the Central City, although a few were excavated in residential zones. The former were perhaps used in official execration rituals, but those from other areas could indicate the undertaking of similar rituals further into the private sphere, where their presence is as yet poorly attested (see Baines 1991, 166).

Divination as a means of acquiring insight by magical methods, often about a divine infliction, is reasonably well attested in New Kingdom texts (see for example, Baines 1987, 93; 1991, 170–1), but not in material culture. Might some vessels have been used as divining bowls? The use of divining vessels is known from other ancient and modern cultures; they are usually filled with liquid into which objects are generally placed and appropriate spells recited (Davis 1955). A reference to the use of divining bowls in ancient Egypt may be provided by Pseudo-Callisthenes (Book I.1), who recorded that king Nectanebo undertook a magical act by placing a series of wax figures in a bowl of water (Davis 1955, 133). The best candidates for divining vessels amongst the Amarna corpus are perhaps the cobra bowls. Their wavy rim suggests they were filled with liquid whilst the cobra figure may have represented a deity invoked during the rite – was this the goddess Weret Hekau, a goddess of magic associated with the cobra image?

Festival attendance and participation

The evidence for state-run religious festivals at the site is limited, and so too the extent of public participation in such events is uncertain. The sense of communal space in the open courts and repeated offering-tables at state complexes such as the Great Aten Temple could be pointing towards public group activity here (see Kemp and Garfi 1993, 54–5). It is tempting to reconstruct open state-run festivals not only to explain aspects of the layout of the state temples, but because it provides a context for other activities: the distribution of royal-name jewellery; the wide distribution across residential areas of plant-form pendants from collars known to have been worn by festival attendees (and also used in

the mortuary sphere) (see Bell 1987, 56–7; in D'Auria et al. 1988, 133–4, no. 68); the deposition of private votives at state temples; or ritual feasting and the reversion of food offerings to the public.

Evidence for festivals undertaken further in the private sphere (were they ever entirely private initiatives?) is even harder to come by. At Deir el-Medina, private chapels may have been the setting for some of the religious festivals and feasts documented from the Theban region (Sadek 1988, 169–97), and it has been suggested that the Amarna chapels were used similarly (Bomann 1991, 74).

Ritual meals

Communal meals are an appropriate mode of conduct during public gatherings in many cultures, ancient and current. They may have been similarly perceived in ancient Egypt, when celebrations or gatherings, and the conduct they entailed, could often have had a religious underpinning. It would not be surprising to find on these occasions something special or distinct about the food, the setting, the guests, or the implements, all of which have potential to be reflected in archaeological and other sources. In a recent article, Green (2004) considered the role of official banquets at the court of Akhenaten, suggesting that scenes showing the royal family feasting in the presence of the Aten reinforced the king's role as provider for the people, a role played out by the redistribution of temple offerings to the population. It is telling here that her source material is largely reliefs in officials' tombs: there is little else to go by, and even less, in fact, for the question of non-royal feasts.

Participation in some kind of ritual feast is possibly represented on the small stela from R44.2 that shows two seated men being served drink and food by two women (discussed further on page 325). All are dressed in finery, particularly the women, whose costume includes perfume cones. 'Dressing up' on significant occasions is common to many cultures, and judging from representational evidence in particular, was part of the ancient Egyptian mindset. Group feasts may have comprised such occasions.

The provision of benches and the remains of foodstuffs found within the private chapels at the Workmen's Village could point to the undertaking of communal meals here, particularly within the framework of ancestor cults (Kemp 1989, 304; Bomann 1991, 58, 61, 74); similar activity may be attested at some chapels at Deir el-Medina (Bomann 1991, 74). At Amarna, this form of chapel was limited largely to the village, but this does need not imply that such modes of action were similarly

restricted, either in location or to ancestor cults. Where else might ritual meals have been undertaken? There is no sign of similar chapels at the private cemetery near the South Tombs. This does not rule out the undertaking here of open-air meals, but if location was not of paramount importance – and what we know of 'ancestor cults' does seem to imply flexibility here (see pages 293–5) – surely a space that offered some shelter would have been preferred. Shrines P47.10 and P48.4 could have seen a similar range of activities to the Workmen's Village chapels, although these two buildings seem certainly inadequate to have catered for the population as a whole if ritual feasting was widespread, and it may be relevant that neither seems to have been fitted with benches. The garden shrines are another option, although these are small, and again not fitted with emplacements such as benches. Perhaps gatherings spilled out into the courtyard itself, where items such as portable furniture and ground mats were employed. Was the cult of the royal family and Aten celebrated in this way in the houses of officials? Might elements of private mortuary/ancestor cults have been interwoven, given the important role of the king in granting an afterlife? Perhaps the food consumed included redistributed offerings from the state temples. Cult feasts may be one of the more difficult forms of religious conduct to identify archaeologically, but there is great potential here for the blurring, with private religion, of aspects of both state and funerary cult.

Another potential setting was the house itself. The central room and front hall are the areas of the house usually deemed most suitable for use as reception spaces because of their size, and the presence of fittings such as mastabas. It is conceivable that groups of people, extending beyond the residents of the house itself, shared meals here. It is of interest that iustration slabs, when these occurred, were also positioned in the central room. In Part III.1, the possibility that these were focal points of cult, used for liquid libations, was considered. Usually, though, they have been viewed as stands for water jars and/or washing emplacements. If used for washing to remove dirt from the hands and/or feet upon entering the house, we might expect them to be positioned closer to the house entrance. Their position in the central room could be explained if this act was socially structured or ritualised, the head of the household perhaps having his hands or feet washed for him. Might another appropriate context for their use have been personal washing before cult meals?

It is easy to imagine that any group feasts undertaken in the home were ritualised in the sense, for example, that there was heightened adherence to social formalities, such as washing before a meal, in fact. But because of the overriding domestic element here, it is difficult to know how far these had, necessarily, a religious

underpinning. Were they largely social occasions; means of displaying status and success? Both the central room and front hall could also bear cult emplacements, particularly altars. The latter are, in fact, recorded most often from these potentially 'public' areas of the house. These rooms could have contained images of divinities, including private ancestors and the royal family; and, in larger houses in particular, niches and door frames showing prayers to the royal family and Aten, and probably images thereof. Some niches and doorframes evidently mentioned the *kt* of the house owner, raising again the potential of blurring of royal cults and private mortuary concerns. Was some of this imagery taken up as a theme of domestic feasts? Activities during group feasts may have extended to cult actions, such as the presentation of offerings at altars. Even at feasts that were largely social occasions, elements of cult may have been included because these were suitably 'formal' modes of conduct. Quite how far the obligation to personal purification extended into private religion is not known, but perhaps washing at lustration slabs was a means of achieving this prior to a religious ritual, a mode of formality particularly adhered to in the context of group feasts.

Cult and conduct at Amarna

The range of conduct that seems to be represented at Amarna is a mixture of religious ritual (cult), behaviour that demanded little in terms of physical or mental commitment by the human participants, and various shades in between. Cult, in requiring focussed attention and perhaps the suspension of other activities, seems to have given religion a certain status as a discrete unit of action in the context of everyday life. Defining the limits of this status is difficult – how much time did religious rituals actually demand, for example, and were other activities patterned around religious acts, or vice versa? – but these are certainly valid research questions. It is a fundamental point that Amarna offers a mixture of outward and potentially more internalised expressions of religion that were presumably broadly typical of this period of Egyptian history, and that these are traceable in at least a general sense in archaeological material. Given the right conditions, we may be able to arrive at a far more nuanced understanding of both facets of ancient religious expression from material remains.

III.3. Otherworldly participants

It is very difficult to pinpoint the range of divinities once 'present' at the site. Loss of material is only part of the problem. In dealing with the surviving evidence, there is the likelihood that the framework in which imagery was perceived in ancient Egypt was very different to that of the modern (western) world. Flexibility was central to it. An individual deity could be represented by multiple images, similar motifs might be associated with more than one deity, and they could be linked with images drawn from the secular realm. Little, if any, material was cult-specific. This flexibility, and its implications, is one of the more difficult aspects of ancient Egyptian religion to communicate in writing on the subject, and it is sometimes muted in the vocabulary used to discuss material evidence. Terms such as 'represent' or 'symbolise' may often be too strong, for instance (those such as 'inherent' are perhaps more appropriate).

It is important to stress this flexibility before considering the Amarna material, and at the same time to recognise that there is much that we do not know about how it worked, and at what point it was capped. Does it mean that a group of cobra figurines might each have been associated with a different divinity, or concept, or that any of those individual figures could encompass this range of associations? It was probably something closer to the latter. But whether any one figure held several associations concurrently, or rather consecutively is less clear; and nor are the prompts that may have caused changes in perception understood: context, words, individual perception? Note the potential here for those design choices made at the time of manufacture to have considerable influence on the flexibility in how the material was eventually used (cf. Part III.1): had the manufacturers chosen to add divine names to more of this material, its flexibility would presumably have been capped at a lower point.

Royal family and Aten

The official cult dominates, of course, the major state complexes such as the Great and Small Aten Temples. There is very limited scope to explore the issue of public participation in religion here, although the House of the King's Statue was perhaps a state-run facility intended to support the participation of private individuals in the state cult (Kemp 1989, 285). The worship of the royal family and Aten in garden shrines is indicated by inscriptions and sculpture fragments found at most, although not all, shrines (Ikram 1989). In the absence

of such material, the layout of these structures as solar shrines, particularly if originally unroofed, supports their dedication to the state cult, although several also incorporate elements of traditional temple layout (Ikram 1989, 93, 100). Quite how far they were uniform in the divinities they served is not clear.

There is limited evidence for the official cult at some of the private chapels at the Workmen's Village, in the form of a fragment of possible wall painting depicting the royal family and of papyrus naming the Aten found in the vicinity of Chapel 524, and a reference to the Aten on the Shed and Isis stela from Chapel 525 (Kemp 1989, 304; Bomann 1991, 66, 68).

Within domestic contexts, at least some emplacements were associated with the official cult. The mud-brick altars have often been linked with the royal family and Aten (Borchardt 1923, 20–4; Assmann 1972a, 153, note 64; 1980, 26; Aldred 1973, 102, 130, 168; Stadelmann 1975, 146; Crocker 1985, 56; Krauss 1991, 35–6; Friedman 1994, 110–11), although occasionally these structures have been linked to practices involving traditional minor deities, particularly those associated with human fertility (Pinch 1993, 216; Robins 1996, 29–30). Usually, they have been considered as a group, and a single interpretation applied to them in respect of the divinities they served. The Panehesy altar indicates a clear association with the contemporary royal family and Aten. The parallels between the mud-brick altars and emplacements such as the Panehesy shrine, structures found in official cult contexts at Amarna, and those related to solar cults in general (see page 233), along with the prominent position assigned many altars within the central room of the house, could support the association of some undecorated mud-brick altars with the official cult. However, similar stepped and unstepped altars occur beyond Amarna in contexts where they are unlikely to have links with the official religion of the Amarna period, or, necessarily, solar cults. The altars were not open to the sun and were not always oriented east-west as might be expected for solar worship, although there might have been flexibility in such matters in the domestic sphere. The garden shrines are not always so oriented, which Ikram (1989, 101) suggested was a result of their dedication to the royal family, rather than the Aten. It is not necessary to view the mud-brick altars as imitations of official Amarna cult structures or simplified versions of the Panehesy shrine: they may have been generic emplacements suitable for a range of cult. It is probably important to avoid applying one all-encompassing interpretation to such structures,

particularly when they display considerable diversity in terms of form and layout.

The decoration preserved on some vertical niches certainly suggests an association with the royal family and Aten, although whether these were focal points for active cults and just how widespread such decorated niches were is unknown. Some small niches may have served as emplacements for cult images of the royal family, but presumably not exclusively. There is little indication in the decoration of offering-tables from residential areas that these were cult-specific. They generally lack the inscriptions relating to the royal family and Aten seen on at least some examples from state complexes in the Central City and on offering-tables held by statues of the royal family (see CoA III, 67, 81, pl. LXIV.4–6). If the identification of the wooden uraei that appear in some houses as shrine fragments is correct, they could have been used to house royal images, paralleled perhaps in the fragmentary uraeus-topped shrine from the House of the King's Statue (see page 197; Figure II.14.1). The Amarna royal family can be represented in shrines with uraeus friezes, although deified royalty more generally and other divinities are also shown in similar constructions in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty tombs, so three-dimensional versions were not necessarily the exclusive domain of the contemporary royal family during the Amarna period.

On objects most likely to have been used as cult images – stelae and statues – the royal family features the most prominently (see Borchardt 1923; Aldred 1973, 47; Arnold 1996, 98–100). Beyond architectural spaces and cult images, there is little material that can be related directly to the official cult, although the name or image of members of the royal family or the Aten does appear on jewellery, vessels and furnishings, sometimes in contexts with defined cult spaces. For example, fragments of faience vessels with the cartouche of Akhenaten (obj. 24/498), and with a floral design and a king's name (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 174), were excavated at R44.2 and N48.1 respectively, both of which had garden shrines, perhaps a usage context for the vessels. Royal-name jewellery occurs similarly at a number of complexes incorporating garden shrines and domestic altars (see Tables III.2.1 and III.2.2), and was encountered around the state temples in the Central City. The presence of a royal name could simply reflect that an object was manufactured in a state workshop (Pinch 1993, 329), or distributed by or on behalf of the king during a festival or celebration. But even so, it could have had on-going amuletic properties or been appropriate for use in rituals relating to the state cult. An amuletic use for royal cartouches might be reflected in the model mud balls impressed with royal names, one with the name of Tutankhamun, and another with those

of Akhenaten and the Aten (page 112; Figure II.2.28). Pinch (1993, 324) has suggested that royal names could have been included on some votive offerings to indicate that the king acted as an intermediary to the gods and to highlight the importance of the king in votive rituals, a function that may have been particularly appropriate at Akhetaten.

In the state sphere, judging from representational evidence, the Aten was provided with offerings such as flowers, incense, food and gifts in the shape of cartouches of the god, whilst the Aten itself is depicted offering symbols including *wis*- and *nḥ*-signs and images of uraei to the royal family (Davies 1903, 25, 29, pls XA, XXVIII; 1905a, pls V, XII; 1906, 19, pls XXXI, XLIV; 1908b, 4, pl. IV; Blackman 1922, 517–23; Aldred 1959, 24–5). Similar goods, or images, could have been used within the context of the cult in the private sphere. Krauss (2000, 98) noted the possibility of an association between the Amarna pottery cobras and the 'royal and divine cobra'. The royal uraeus was retained during the Amarna period (see Eaton-Krauss 1981, 245–58; Green 1992, 31; Ertman 1996), although its exact symbolism at this time is somewhat unclear. It may have been kept because of its link with the solar cult, and as a means of emphasising kingship (Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 226); Krauss (2000, 98) proposed that it continued to symbolise Wadjet directly. The cobra also figures on some small stela, sometimes probably wearing crowns (page 139; Figure II.5.14), which also seems to suggest an association with royalty and the divinities associated with kingship.

A small amount of material relating to the generation of royalty immediately preceding Akhenaten also occurs. There is inscriptional and representational evidence of 'houses' and 'mansions' of Amenhotep III, 'houses' and 'sunshades' of Queen Tiye, and also a 'house' of Baketaten (Fairman in CoA III, 199–205; Green 1992, 38–9; Kemp in AR VI, 455–61). Some were located at Akhetaten, but quite what their function was remains unclear. Amenhotep III and Tiye feature on a stela from a residential context that was probably a cult image, and may also have appeared in the form of statues (see Johnson 1996, 65–6, 72–82). At least 54 items of jewellery with the name of Amenhotep III have originated from the site, and the name of the king occasionally appears on vessels. Tiye is also named on a small quantity of jewellery and vessels. The significance of this material depends, in part, on the status of Amenhotep III during Akhenaten's reign. Johnson (1993; 1996) offers a framework in which Amenhotep III was united with the sun god during his first jubilee, and so essentially deified for the remainder of his life. He sees this king enjoying an extended coregency with Akhenaten and advocates the idea that the cult of the deified king as the Aten formed the central tenet

of Amarna-period religion, the cult focussing first upon Amenhotep III whilst alive and subsequently on Akhenaten. A link between Amenhotep III and the sun god is widely accepted, as is the likelihood that the prominence of the solar cult during this king's reign had a significant influence on the religion of his son's reign. An association between Amenhotep III and the sun god is occasionally expressed at Amarna. The name of the king occurs alongside that of Re on a bead or pendant from a private house (Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 225), and seal impressions and jewellery items sometimes show the rebus writing of the king's prenomen, which highlights his association with the sun god (Petrie 1894, pl. XXI.22, 57; CoA I, pl. XV.K, L; CoA II, pl. XVII.E; CoA III, pls LXXXII–II; Johnson 1990, 39). Some occur in private houses.

Blurred horizon: the royal women as images of fertility?

In one of the more recent discussions of the royal-family stelae, Arnold (1996, 99–100) put forth the idea that these were imbued with fertility symbolism to function as domestic fertility icons. It is an interesting line of thought, and in this section I explore further the issue of whether royalty, and royal women in particular, were included in the tableau of figures associated with personal fertility in private contexts at the city, and perhaps even viewed as private fertility deities; and the implications of this for the question of public adherence to the royal cult (see also Stevens 2004).

Arnold offered the association of Akhenaten and Nefertiti with Shu and Tefnut as the conceptual vehicle that conveyed fertility symbolism. This was reinforced by the bower-like structure in which the royal family appear on the stelae, which recalled both the *sh* *nt*; a lightweight construction which could invoke themes including birth and rebirth, and private birth arbours. Internal elements of the composition, such as the gesture of a princess's pointed finger on one stela, communicated further prophylactic and fertility themes. Arnold also drew upon the context of the stelae, suggesting they were often erected towards the entrance of the house, a space in which surviving wall paintings regularly exhibit themes connected with childbirth and the protection of women. The proposal is an attractive one, offering both a conceptual and practical basis for fertility cults incorporating royal women, but is somewhat problematic. The fertility symbolism within the composition of the stelae is not very obvious, at least to the modern viewer. Elements such as the convolvulus vine, for example, which features often on birth-arbour ostraca, might be expected, and Arnold noted that the interpretation of the stelae would require a considerable level of theological knowledge. In addition, most fertility-themed domestic decoration

originates from Workmen's Villages, and the extent to which entranceways were connected with these concepts in general is unknown. In any case, as Arnold again noted, there are few details of the find contexts of the stelae and little opportunity to identify the setting in which they were displayed. Although one was found in a room near an entrance, the surviving architectural installations that conceivably supported stelae do not display a strong association with entranceways (see Part II.13).

In identifying the royal women as symbols of eroticism or as fertility goddesses, others have pointed to the emphasis on particular physical characteristics in representations of these women. In sculpture and relief they often have relatively prominent thighs, buttocks and hips, with a marked public region; in some cases, the figures appear as though nude (see Aldred 1973, 108; Samson 1978, 24–9; Green 1992, 35; Robins 1993; 1996, 36–9; Johnson 1996, 74, pl. VI.1–3). Occasionally, the princesses are shown with motifs that may have communicated fertility-related themes. They sometimes appear with pomegranates, possible symbols of fertility, in statues and private tomb scenes (Aldred 1973, 131). In other scenes, they hold what appear to be pomegranate, again potential symbols of renewal and fertility, and appear with young gazelles, perhaps reflecting an erotic or solar connotation, or an association with a goddess such as Anukis or Hathor (Davies 1905a, 39, pl. XXXVIII; on the varied symbolism of the pomegranate and gazelle motifs, see Derchain 1976, 8; Brunner-Traut 1977a; Troy 1986, 129–30; Pinch 1993, 282–4, 313). Here, the complicated issue of the interpretation of the female image in antiquity arises. How did the display of the body communicate themes such as fertility, fecundity, eroticism and procreation, and to what extent were these themes separated in the ancient mind? Overall, the royal female image conforms relatively well to contemporary images of females that have also been interpreted as fertility symbols, such as the fertility figurines. In its most extreme form the hips and thighs of the former are more exaggerated, although earlier fertility figurines can be markedly steatopygous. This emphasis on the lower female body perhaps formed part of the background cultural language of fertility and related concepts, language that occasionally surfaced in representations. Such images of royal women may have communicated fertility themes more directly than the royal-family stelae, although the extent to which they were distributed around suburban areas, or on public display, remains uncertain (see Part II.4).

A relationship in the Eighteenth Dynasty between female royalty and Hathor has also long been discerned. Could this have provided another avenue for the connection of the former with personal fertility? The relationship was in part a ritual one, with royal women

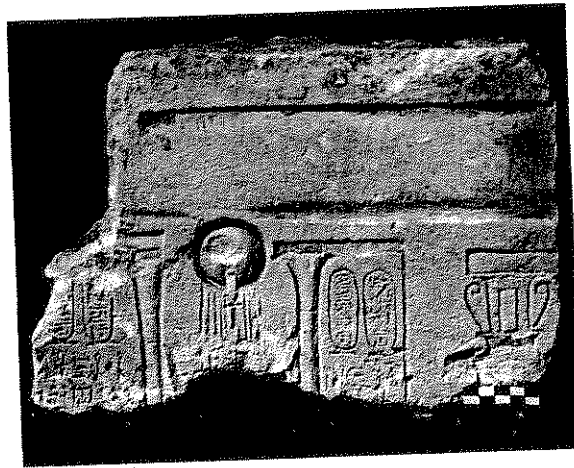


Figure III.3.1. Block from the Central City showing two shrine-like constructions, that on the right incorporating a Hathor-head capital. (After EES negative 1935. Q.112. Reproduced courtesy of the EES.)

assuming positions in the cult of the goddess, but a desire to parallel the mortal roles of king's wife and king's mother with Hathor's position as divine mother or wife of Horus and mother, consort and/or daughter of Re is also apparent (Wente 1969, 90; Troy 1986; Green 1992). The identification of the earthly role of king's wife, in particular, with the divine position of Hathor peaked during the reign of Amenhotep III, reflected in Tiye's frequent use of insignia associated with Hathor and related goddesses. At the Temple of Sedeinga, Tiye was probably worshipped as a form of Hathor or Tefnut (see Schiff Giorgini 1965, 114–15; Wente 1969, 90; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 110, 171, 176; Green 1992, 33–5, 38).

Representations of royal women continue to incorporate potential Hathoric elements during Akhenaten's reign. On some Karnak talatat, Nefertiti wears headdresses with vertical horns and a solar disk, and she and the princesses shake Hathor-headed sistra (for example, Smith and Redford 1976, 81, pls 10, 28, 30–33; Arnold 1996, 18; Freed in Freed et al. 1999, 209, cat. 26). Such elements are not confined to Karnak. Tiye is shown at Amarna in the tall double-feather headdress with horns and solar disk (several examples occur in the tomb of Huy: Davies 1905b, 5, 7–9, 15, pls IV, VI, VIII–XI). Nefertiti is also occasionally depicted here in headwear that incorporates such elements as horns, a uraeus, a solar disk and double-feathers (see for example, Aldred 1973, 57, fig. 34; Martin 1974, 91–3, pl. 54.395; Samson 1977, 92; Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 12, 14–15, 71, 75, 77, 80–81, pl. 15), although headwear such as her characteristic flat-topped crown is more prevalent. Hathor-headed

sistra occurred on, for example, Boundary Stela 5, recently very badly damaged, where the princesses held loop-sistra that incorporated an element in the form of a bovine Hathor head (see Davies 1908a, pl. XXVI; Green 1988, 152; Lacovara in Freed et al. 1999, 214, cat. no. 38, fig. 40). The text on the stela comprised the 'later proclamation' attributed to Akhenaten's Year 6, and included the 'repetition of oath' of Year 8. It could be argued that such costume elements and insignia were simply generic ones associated with the position of king's wife or mother, or markers of individuality, but it seems unlikely that their Hathoric associations went unrecognised at Akhetaten.

A continued link between the royal women and Hathor might also be reflected in a scene on a stone block (Figure III.3.1) found loose in the vicinity of the bridge over the Royal Road between the Great Palace and the Royal Estate (CoA III, 69, pl. LXX.8). It shows the upper part of a scene that depicted at least two structures. On the right is part of a flat roof or lintel supported by a capital in the form of a Hathor-headed naos-sistrum. The Hathor-head is damaged. To the left is part of a separate structure that incorporates two fairly slender papyrus columns and a simple vertical support. These hold sections of a flat roof with a central aperture, in which is an image of the Aten. Two pairs of cartouches are also present within the structure, both of which appear to contain the names of the Aten in their early form, used until around Year 9 of Akhenaten's reign. Below the epithets accompanying the left pair are traces of a further hieroglyphic inscription. No hieroglyphs are visible below the right pair, but the surface of the

block seems to be damaged here. Part of the decoration immediately below the Aten has certainly been damaged, and the ends of the Aten rays are missing entirely.

The identification of the structure with Hathor-head capitals is hampered by the poor state of preservation of the scene. Kiosks with Hathor-head elements shown in private New Kingdom tombs provide a general parallel, although the Hathor heads here appear as components of friezes instead of capitals (see Vandier 1964, 546, fig. 295). Actual Hathor-head capitals of New Kingdom date have, so far, only been encountered in cult contexts, particularly in temples and shrines in which Hathor and related deities, and occasionally royal women, were venerated (see von Mercklin 1962, 5–13; Bernhauer 2000, 34). Rather than an artistic device used to raise or reinforce the status, divine or otherwise of its occupant, the Hathor structure on the Amarna block might represent an actual construction that served a focus of cult, such as a small shrine. Perhaps it was occupied by one of the Amarna royal women, or a statue thereof, with the structure surmounted by the Aten a parallel shrine for a king; the damage below the Aten rays might indicate the removal of an image of Akhenaten after his reign. There appears to have been a strong correlation between the buildings represented at Akhetaten and those that existed at the city, with key features of the latter probably retained in representations (see Kemp 1976). It must remain possible that a construction with Hathor-head capitals existed at the city. If so, the presence of the structure surmounted by the Aten points to this group of buildings being located in an official precinct, such as the Central City; Kemp (1995, 29) has suggested it formed part of the Great Palace itself.

Hathor imagery also appears on another partially preserved block from the Central City, although the reconstruction of the scene in which it appears is even more difficult. The broken sandstone block was excavated in building R42.10, the so-called Police Barracks (CoA III, 136, pl. LXXIX.1). It preserves the bottom of a cartouche with the nomen of a Thutmose king, probably Thutmose IV, above a 'gold'-sign (Bryan 1991, 163–4 discusses the identification of the name). Next to the cartouche is the lower part of what appears to be a Hathor-head on a stem; the entire stem, the chin of the Hathor-head and the lappets of a straight wig are preserved, and two uraei project from the bottom of the wig. This probably represents a Hathor-headed sistrum. Bryan (1991, 160, 163–4) suggested that the block originated from a construction built under Thutmose IV at Hermopolis and was brought to Akhetaten, and this is certainly possible. None of the elements on the block were necessarily incongruous at Amarna, though, and the possibility that it was a product of one

of the workshops of this city cannot be dismissed. The name of Thutmose IV appears on objects and a relief from Amarna, some of which seem to date to the late Eighteenth Dynasty (Schäfer, 1918, 32–4; Fairman in CoA III, 200; Bryan 1991, 161–4). Sandstone is not as common a construction material in the Central City as limestone, but was certainly used (see CoA III, 12–13, 19–20). The motif of the double uraei was employed during the Amarna period, although I am not aware of any examples where it appears with sistra.

The appearance, on stelae and votive textiles, of Hathor-headed naos-sistra as objects of worship suggests that Hathor could be represented directly in the guise of such objects (see Wildung 1974, 260–6; Pinch 1993, 152–4). This form may have related in particular to the female creative principle, reflecting Hathor's role in the sexual stimulation of the creator god Atum (Derchain 1972, 45–9; Pinch 1993, 155–6). It is only possible to speculate on the meaning of the image if the block was part of an Amarna-period monument, but perhaps the decorative scheme appeared in a context of ancestor commemoration. The Hathoric link with the positions of king's wife and mother seems to have been emphasised during Thutmose IV's reign (Bryan 1991, 352), so the concurrent recognition of this link, with particular emphasis on the goddess's role in creation, may be implied by the presence of the Hathor sistrum.

In seeking explanations for the retention of Hathoric elements in representations of royal women generally during the Amarna period, the goddess's solar and fertility associations have been put forth (see Harris 1977, 10; Traunecker 1986; Green 1992, 40; Roberts 1995, 156; Arnold 1996, 62). The association of Hathor with Tefnut could place the goddess as an indirect influence in the pairing of Akhenaten and Nefertiti with Shu and Tefnut (Harris 1977, 10), whilst some have pointed to the continued recognition of the mythical union of Re/Atum and Hathor/Maat during creation through their identification either with Akhenaten and Nefertiti (Traunecker 1986; Roberts 1995, 156), or Amenhotep III and Tiye (Johnson 1996, 72).

Any link between royal women and the goddess, though, seems not to have remained constant during the course of occupation at Akhetaten. Of the direct Hathor images from Amarna that appear on datable, official monuments, all belong to the first decade or so of Akhenaten's reign. The absence of examples on later monuments could be due to a cessation in the production of such images, although we can expect a bias at the site towards earlier monuments, since this was the primary period of construction at the city. The damage to the Hathor-head capital on the block may indicate an attempt to erase the goddess's image, although if so it was not very thorough. The fact that

the Hathor-images on Boundary Stela 5 were apparently left intact suggests that the level of any hostility that did occur depended on context. These images may have been spared because of the relative isolation of the stela and their status as a comparatively minor element of the composition. Images of Nefertiti reflect a growing preference for headwear other than that with elements such as vertical horns and feathers; in some cases, headwear that incorporated such features was replaced with the flat-topped crown (Martin 1989, 31). But rather than indicate rejection of the Hathor cult, this may reflect her increasing royal status and move away from iconography associated with the position of king's wife. The survival of images such as the Hathor sistra on Boundary Stela 5 also speaks against a centralised campaign to erase past traces of the link. The potential Hathoric elements in Tiye's headdresses are not confined to the earlier years of Akhenaten's reign (the scenes depicting her in the tomb of Huy were probably cut in or after Akhenaten's Year 12; Murman 1977, 158–9; 1995, 130–9), so although displays of a Hathoric connection may have no longer been desired for Nefertiti it seems to have been retained for Tiye.

This association, for at least part of the reign of Akhenaten, between royal women and a deity who counted amongst her roles that of fertility goddess offers perhaps a tangible conceptual basis for private fertility cults that incorporated royal women, although evidence of practical outlets that supported such cults is less forthcoming. There is little overt Hathoric symbolism in images of royal women from residential areas. Motifs such as double-feather headdresses and ritual implements such as sistra are absent on the royal-family stelae, although on some potential Hathoric elements remain, including the grape and floral-decked arbour on the stela depicting Amenhotep III and Tiye (BM EA 57 399) and the papyrus clump on another, fragmentary, stela (ÄMP 14511). Obvious Hathoric elements are also lacking on statuettes of royal women from residential areas, although a wooden double-feather headdress recovered from the House of the King's Statue (Figure II.14.1) probably adorned a statuette of one of the royal women. Might the wooden disk with horns from the Workmen's Village chapel (Figure II.4.4) have formed part not a statue of Hathor herself, but of a royal woman? It may not have been necessary for the central cult image to display overt Hathoric symbolism, with Hathoric elements instead conveyed through an appropriate tableau of accompanying material components or verbal recitations.

Testing the extent of actual engagement with this framework is also a difficult task, because of the nature of the source material, although glimpses of evidence allow an approach to the issue. The absence of fertility-related requests addressed to Nefertiti in private tomb

inscriptions suggests limited engagement of this kind; in cases where she is supplicated for aid, it is most often in matters of a long life or proper burial (Wilson 1973, 239–40). A similar range of requests is directed towards Akhenaten and the Aten. The possibility of the formal standardisation of written requests or the selection of those appropriate for a funerary context arises here. Amongst small finds, images of royal women occasionally appear on items of jewellery (see pages 44–5; Figure II.2.15) which could indicate active, albeit limited, private engagement with cults centred upon them. Identifying a fertility theme here is difficult, although the floral motifs – including possible bowers – that also appear on some of these pieces, whilst reflecting the prominence of nature as a theme of Amarna art, could highlight the association of royal women with concepts of abundance and fertility. Then there is the limited quantity of objects such as miniature vessels, fertility figurines, animal figurines, and jewellery, including a few pieces with images of Hathor, Bes-figures and possibly Taweret, excavated within and near some garden shrines (Tables III.2.1 and III.2.1), many of which were probably used in fertility cults beyond Amarna. In such deposits we may find the tableaux of material components that supplemented cult images.

A degree of state influence upon, and possible exploitation of, private religion has been suggested for the New Kingdom, including as a means of promoting royal cults (Baines 1991, 193–4; Pinch 1993, 356–60). Was there an official attempt at Amarna to advance the royal cult by drawing upon the Hathoric associations of royal women? Perhaps this was the underlying reason for the erection of an image of a royal woman in Hathoric headwear in the House of the King's Statue: a desire to parallel the royal couple with a divine couple such as Re and Hathor, possibly drawing upon the popular veneration of Hathor at public shrines (although state support of such activity may have been in decline by the late Eighteenth Dynasty; Pinch 1993, 330, 358). It is possible to speculate that the building with Hathor capitals on the block from the Central City functioned similarly as a shrine for a cult which incorporated a royal woman, with Hathoric undertones. Perhaps it belonged to a broader tradition represented also by the temple to Tiye at Sedeinga and the later temple dedicated to Nefertari and Hathor at Abu Simbel, although the degree of public worship at either of these complexes is unknown.

The alternative is that the royal cult was adapted from within the private sphere – is this the context for the small deposits of figurines and similar at the garden shrines? Private adaptation of this kind would require a degree of freedom of both religious thought and expression that some do not envisage at Akhetaten (consider Assmann

1980; 2001, 222; Redford 1984, 235; Spalinger 1998, 252). It may, however, have been a matter of appropriate expression: a difference between outward and inward, or public and private, presentation. Nor is it necessary to imagine deliberate attempts to subvert the royal cult. In a context where fertility and sexuality may have been less divorced from one another than today, and where the need for avenues of personal assistance was great, the emergence of fertility cults inspired by a royal court rich in sensual imagery may have been quite a natural, if unforeseen, progression. Ultimately, it may not have been necessary for the participants in the royal cult to understand its nuances as perceived at an official level. The isolation of elements of the cult that were familiar or served personal needs may have led to the existence of multiple perceptions, and perhaps physical manifestations, of the royal cult formed either on an individual basis or through official design. These conceivably included the royal women as figures who could be supplicated for assistance in fertility-related matters; royal individuals as independent providers of general beneficence (see page 319); and the king, and probably Nefertiti, as intermediaries to the Aten.

Beyond the official cult

There are no identifiable state cult structures dedicated to deities other than those associated with the official cult. Surviving cult buildings associated with traditional deities are limited in large part to the Workmen's Village chapels, where there is evidence for the veneration of a range of deities (Amun, the Aten, Hathor, Isis, Min, Nut, Shed, Re, Re-Harakhty, Renenutet and Wepwawet), probably alongside private ancestors, although few are reflected in inscriptional or direct representational evidence (Bomann 1991, 57–79; Part II.14). Kemp (1995, 30) has suggested, tentatively, that building P47.10 in the Main City functioned as a Hathor shrine on the basis of its artefact assemblage, whilst the stela depicting the Elephantine triad from P48.4 presumably reflects activity associated with these deities, if not others, here. Evidence from beyond Amarna of the worship of Renenutet in granaries (Steindorff 1937, 34, pl. 18; Davies and Davies 1939), Thoth in scribal offices (Bosse-Griffiths 1984, 747) and perhaps Min in communal meeting places (Bomann 1991, 45, 51, 69) is noteworthy for the possibility of similarly patterned activities at Akhetaten.

Occasionally, material that can be related to traditional deities occurs in complexes with garden shrines: figurines, particularly fertility and animal figures, throwsticks, jewellery and vessels (see Part III.2; Tables III.2.1 and III.2.2). Much could be explained as generic objects associated with the worship of the royal family and Aten – including perhaps the veneration of royal

women as fertility goddesses, as just noted – but were other deities ever invoked at these complexes? Perhaps the worship of the royal family and Aten prompted the perception that these were spaces suitable for religious activity more generally. One feature of the New Kingdom religious landscape does seem to have been a sense of flexibility in terms of the divinities who could be venerated at any one cult structure; shrines dedicated to Hathor, for instance, have yielded votive objects devoted solely to other deities (Pinch 1993, 93). Other acts, such as magical rituals, may have taken advantage of a charged religious space and the inherent influences of the attendant divinities, but not invoked a deity directly.

Within houses, although the decoration of a small number of cult emplacements suggests an association with the royal family and Aten, there is little evidence that the majority of installations were cult-specific. Associations with particular divinities were presumably conveyed through the erection of appropriate images. A wide range of traditional divinities are potentially represented amongst portable objects within the Amarna corpus, as summarised below, although it is in identifying the presence of such figures that the problems relating to the flexibility of divine association, as raised in the beginning of this section, are particularly acute.

One divinity represented relatively frequently, directly and otherwise, is Hathor. The material components of her cult, and related deities, have been quite well studied and are relatively easy to recognise (see Pinch 1993; Kemp 1995, 29). Large-scale potential cult-images of the goddess are restricted to a possible fragment of a statue from Chapel 529 at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 100; Bomann 1991, 60, 62, 65, 67–8; Figure II.4.4). Its presence could indicate that the chapel was a particularly suitable context for the invocation of this goddess; so too, perhaps, shrine P47.10 in the Main City (see Kemp 1995, 30). The possibility that Hathor was invoked, either directly or indirectly, at some garden shrines has been discussed above. Altars or niches in domestic contexts conceivably served as access points to the goddess, although she is not represented on surviving stelae or statuettes, which seem particularly suitable items for display here. If certain parts of the home were designated 'female spaces', these could have been particularly appropriate contexts for religious conduct related to the goddess, especially if used for birthing and similar functions. An underlying Hathoric element could, in fact, have pervaded much domestic imagery generally, through the use, for instance, of the grape motif (for which see, for example, Boyce in AR VI, 87–9, fig. 2.21).

A very limited range of deities is represented on vessels (Part II.8). Those with Hathor images are not particularly common, but they do occur more frequently than Bes-image vessels, and they may have been both distributed more widely, and perhaps in greater numbers, than those with cobra figures. A link between fertility figurines and Hathor, and probably goddesses associated with women and childbirth generally, is suggested by their occurrence, for example, at shrines to Hathor (Pinch 1993, 222). Pinch's (1993) work on the votive offerings from Hathor shrines highlights the great variety of material, and motifs, deemed suitable for use within her cult, and those of related deities such as Anukis, Isis and Sekhmet. Many are represented at Amarna: faience throwsticks, sistra, items of jewellery with motifs of animals such as gazelles, monkeys, cats and fish, bovid figurines and vessels, and more. Hathor also features prominently on faience jewellery, particularly necklace pendants.

Anukis and Satis appear as part of the Elephantine triad on the stela from P48.4, suggesting that at least one public cult space was associated with these goddesses. The gazelle imagery on some jewellery, vessels and possible figurines could have related to them. Isis features on the stela with Shed from Chapel 525 at the Workmen's Village, and so was presumably venerated within this building (Bomann 1991, 66). The goddess is apparently represented on two fragmentary statues from workshop O49.14, perhaps intended to form cult images in public shrines or domestic contexts. Isis also appears on a small quantity of jewellery, and her presence was possibly inherent in items with motifs of animals such as gazelles.

Sekhmet is probably represented directly on a small number of figurines and jewellery, and on one quite large but relatively crude stela (AMP 24526; Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 86). Some jewellery in the form of big cats, or objects such as faience throwsticks, was potentially linked with this goddess.

Bomann (1991, 61, 63, 68, 104, 107–9, 114) suggested that the cult of Nut could have been invoked during regeneration rituals at the Workmen's Village chapels, based on potential links between the goddess and the T-shaped basin, and ritual feasts. There is little direct evidence of Nut elsewhere, but she was perhaps associated with the two swimming-girl spoons and motifs such as bovinds, sows or hippopotamuses.

Mut is probably shown directly on a limited number of jewellery items and perhaps one statue, and her presence could again have been inherent in material with depictions of animals such as felines, birds or frogs.

Bes-images occur on one preserved domestic relief from the Workmen's Village. No Bes-image statues or stelae have been preserved, but this seems fairly typical of the period. There is a number of smaller Bes-image figurines and statuettes, including some very well-made faience examples, along with two high-quality trial pieces. Bes-images also appear infrequently on vessels and one headrest. On the jewellery with images of deities, Bes-images occur the most frequently, appearing most often on necklace pendants. The Bes-image is the only divinity represented on probable metal pendants (only known from a limestone mould: obj. 30/20, CoA II, 46, pl. XL).

The material relating to Bes-images illustrates how the Amarna dataset does not respond well to straightforward quantitative-based approaches, another way in which it is certainly typical of settlement corpora in general. If the quantity of items representing 'traditional' divinities were to be calculated, the Bes-image would undoubtedly come out on top. This is a reflection of popularity, but popularity is not necessarily the same as significance. Judging from the range of materials with which they can be associated, Bes-figures seem usually to have been involved in religious behaviour in the context of background protection rather than outright worship, although quite what comprised an appropriate cult image within the private sphere is very much open to question. Might the domestic relief showing Bes-figures from the Workmen's Village have served as such, in addition perhaps to conveying protection?

Taweret appears on a similar range of material to Bes-images, although slightly less often. She is also represented on a single stela. Some hippopotamus images may relate to her, and if so the tentative association of a hippopotamus figurine with the shrine-like structure near the entrance to the Workmen's Village is noteworthy for the possibility that this was a public Taweret shrine. Birth arbours, if present, could also have formed a suitable context for religious conduct associated with Taweret and Bes-images, as well as Hathor.

The presence of one or more cobra deities is probably reflected in the cobra stelae, bowls, figurines, and possibly jewellery. Krauss's (2000, 98) suggestion of a possible link between the cobra figures and Wadjet, and by extension the royal family, has been noted. He assumes, though, that the pottery cobras are unique to Amarna; the fact they are common to other sites would seem to weaken the argument for an exclusive link with the Amarna royals. If the cobra bowls were filled with liquid, an association with Wadjet may, nonetheless, have been invoked, given the link between the goddess and marsh environments (Fischer-Elfert 1986, 907). The connection between fecundity figures, the snake form

and water (Baines 1985, 176–7) may also be relevant here, but if the vessels were involved in magical rites, the snake imagery could also invoke a deity such as Weret Hekau. Renenutet and Meretseger are the other major snake goddesses with whom this material could be associated (cf. Kemp 1989, 305; Bomann 1991, 77; Giddy 1999, 18–19); both had prominent cults at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1929; 1930a). Bomann (1991, 59, 68) suggested that the possible shrine in Annexe 450, a dependency of Chapel 561, could have been devoted to Renenutet, based on the presence of ovens and the association of the goddess with the harvest and related activities.

One or more facon deities feature on a few statues, along with figurines, ostraca and a small quantity of jewellery. These could relate to deities such as Horus or Re-Harakhty, the latter presumably linked to the royal/Aten cult. Bomann (1991, 68) placed Re-Harakhty at the private chapels at the Workmen's Village, and he is also named on a small quantity of jewellery.

Inscriptional evidence points to some of the Workmen's Village chapels as potential centres for the veneration of Amun (Bomann 1991, 58, 66, 68). Amun-Re is named on a limited number of scarabs. The cult of Amun/Amun-Re might also be reflected in the limited number of ram figurines, statuettes, small stelae and ostraca, although some could also relate to Khnum, who appears as a member of the Elephantine triad on the stela from P48.4.

Ptah is depicted on a few small stelae, possibly with Sekhmet on one larger example. A small number of statuettes might have represented the god, and a limited quantity of jewellery bears his image. Model ears and ear stelae were often dedicated to Ptah (Petrie 1909, 7, pls IX–XIII; Sadek 1988, 247–9), and so some ear plaques, models, and the one ear pendant from Amarna may have related similarly to him, as could jewellery in the form of the *gd*-pillar or dwarf.

Bomann (1991, 58, 68) viewed the military standard with Wepwawet image, and a pottery dog head from Chapel 561, as potential evidence for the veneration of this god at some of the Workmen's Village chapels. Other dog-like figurines and jewellery items occur, perhaps relating similarly to Wepwawet or deities such as Anubis or Seth. Several pieces of jewellery seem to depict Anubis in anthropomorphic form, whilst material with motifs including the crocodile, pig, gazelle and *w3s*-sceptre may have links with Seth. The presence of the stela depicting Shed and Isis in Chapel 525 presumably indicates that Shed was worshipped in this complex (Bomann 1991, 63, 66–8).

Thoth features on a limited quantity of statuettes and a few small stelae, but if baboon, and even more so monkey, imagery invoked this god, the material remnants of conduct associated with him could include a significant number of figurines, some jewellery and at least one ostrakon. One rough stela from O47.5 might depict Thoth in the company of Min (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 78). Bomann (1991, 61, 68) proposed that Min was worshipped in at least one of the private chapels, in part because of his association with resurrection, suitable if some chapels had funerary aspect to their use.

A small number of figurines and a bronze stamp depict Sobek, and some items of jewellery with crocodile motifs could also relate to this god. The veneration of a Hittite god might be evidenced by the pendant from T36.63, if it was, in fact, viewed as more than simply a source of metal, and the invocation of a number of other deities, in particular Heh, Maat, Montu and Heqet, may be reflected in a limited quantity of items, particularly jewellery. Many additional deities are possibly represented less directly amongst the corpus, such as the scorpion deities Serqet or Ta-Bithet, or Heqet. Some of the objects with bovid imagery potentially reflect the cult of a sacred bull, perhaps the Mnevis. The Boundary Stelae famously record that provision for the burial of the Mnevis bull was to have been made at Akhetaten, although no evidence has been found to indicate that the burial actually took place (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 41, 171, 174; Kemp in AR VI, 458).

Private ancestors

The corpus also preserves a number of items, stelae and statuettes in particular, showing non-royal humans. None from residential areas communicate through surviving inscriptions that the person/s is necessarily represented deceased. Some pieces – the anthropoid busts (including pendants), seated statuettes holding lotus flowers, and stelae showing individuals seated before offering-tables – can be paralleled with material generally ascribed to private ancestor cults elsewhere, where the person is sometimes confirmed as deceased in inscriptions. The presence of uninscribed material of this kind is not unique to Amarna; was it taken for granted that the person represented was deceased, or represented 'the deceased' more generally? This significance of this material, in terms of the agenda issues it represented, is discussed further in the Conclusions.

Statues and stelae may have served as focal points of an 'ancestor cult', whilst some of the small round-topped stelae were perhaps offerings. The anthropoid-bust pendants were presumably intended to be worn. It is likely that material associated with ancestor veneration extended beyond images of the deceased to include 'generic' components. Items such as female figurines,

for example, have occasionally been found in the outer areas of tombs (for example, at Lisht: see Lansing 1934, 30, 40) and might have served as appropriate offerings to the deceased (cf. Pinch 1993, 218).

The private chapels at the Workmen's Village probably served 'ancestor cults': they were situated not far from a small cemetery, and in a few cases had associated tomb shafts, whilst some of their decoration seems to have communicated themes appropriate to ancestor worship (Part II.14). A probable ancestor stela found within the village seems to reflect the interest of this community in ancestor veneration and maintenance generally; as might an offering-table decorated, on its underside, with a private individual also from within the village (page 196; Figure II.9.2).

The Desert Altars appear, from aspects of their layout, to be connected to the North Tombs, and that of Panehesy in particular (see Part II.14), and it is possible that they were dedicated in part to private funerary cult (see also page 326).

Within the city proper, some of the bust sculptures were found in manufacturing contexts, namely the estate of the sculptor Thutmose (pages 128–9). Others, however, occurred in areas of the city where little overt evidence of stone sculpting was recorded, usually from relatively small houses. These include the seated statuette from T35.4 in the North Suburb (page 192; Figure II.4.7); a bust sculpture from Q46.9 in the Main City (page 129); and possibly the stelae from P47.24 and Q47.14 (pages 145–9; Figures II.5.21 and II.5.24), and the seated statuettes from U33.1 in the North Suburb and from the North City (pages 96, 129; Figures II.3.17 and II.4.6). We can never be sure that these were found at, or near, their usage context. It is possible that some were intended even for transportation to a burial site in the desert beyond the city. They do differ from the stelae found recently at the South Tombs cemetery, though, which have pointed tops and recessed fronts (see Kemp forthcoming a). This form may have been the preferred style at Amarna for stelae used as grave markers, and concurrently probably places for offerings at the grave site; did round-topped stelae serve largely as votive offerings, and domestic icons? The round-topped stelae from the Tomb of Any, which are broadly keeping in shape and decorative scheme with the 'ancestor' stelae from the city proper, seem to have been votives at this tomb.

The number of private 'ancestor' monuments now recorded from within the city does suggest, though, that these were also in use amongst residential areas. Within the house, there are probably no permanent emplacements that can be linked exclusively with an 'ancestor cult', although elements such as domestic altars and small niches may have served them. Q46.9,

where one of the bust sculptures was found, comprised a cluster of small houses, one of which contained a rectangular altar-like emplacement in mud-brick (Table II.13.1). The excavators themselves raised the possibility that it served this function (Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 37, Hausplan 7). The find spot of the bust in relation to the emplacement is not recorded.

It is not inconceivable that some were placed in public shrines such as P47.10 in the Main City, or even erected at garden shrines alongside images of the royal family, perhaps drawing on the theme of the king as provider of an afterlife (and it is worth remembering that not all garden shrines bore direct evidence of the official cult). The latter theme seems to have been conveyed in the decoration of some vertical niches, and also door frames, within houses, where prayers for the *ka* of the house owner appeared, probably alongside inscriptions that invoked the king and Aten (see Part II.13). It has been suggested that some vertical niches in houses at Deir el-Medina served as points of contact with deceased ancestors (Meskell 1998, 231–2). It is unlikely that all of the Amarna niches originally bore images or inscriptions relating to the royal family and Aten, but it is in any case difficult to see them as focal points of ancestor cults because of the strong evidence that they served as architectural balances, and perhaps because of their repetition within any one house. Perhaps, whilst their primary function was to balance architectural elements and create an illusion of increased space, in their similarity to false doors their form also communicated aspects of transition, and so created an enhanced background sense of interaction between worlds.

The ancestor stela from the Workmen's Village was discovered in the street opposite house Main Street 4 (CoA I, 66, 68). If not far removed from its original context, perhaps it was erected on an exterior house wall. Another interesting find in terms of the setting of ancestor cults is the seated statuette from T35.4. This is a small house built against the enclosure wall of a larger estate, T35.6. The quality of this statuette is very high, which raises the possibility that T35.6 itself was its original usage context (see also the discussion of this piece in the Conclusions). T35.6 contained a possible house altar. It also contained a shaft grave in an external court, and the excavators remarked, very deliberately, that this seemed to be contemporary with the house (CoA II, 43). They described the tomb as follows:

The shaft was on the east, and descended for 4 metres. The chamber on the west measured 2.00 by 1.00 by 0.65 metres, and had been vaulted over with two layers of brick. The interment had been plundered. We found only in the middle of the tomb a few crossed arm-bones and one tibia. In the shaft there were two pots of type XV.13.

Was the statuette erected at the tomb itself, rather than inside the house? It is not clear if a superstructure was evident (the plan of the complex is not very instructive on this point: see CoA II, pl. VII), but if so it was perhaps placed here.

Separation between cemetery and living space was one of the defining characteristics of settlement in the Nile Valley, although cemeteries did not have to be located far from settlement areas, as for instance at the Amarna Workmen's Village itself. If the tomb at T35.6 was indeed contemporary with this house, it suggests a greater level of flexibility in how this distinction between funerary and living space was interpreted by the ancient Egyptians than has been recognised to date (see also the discussion of infant burials in Part II.11). The tomb would also still occupy an unusual, although perhaps not unique, position at Amarna, implying flexibility in interpretation within the context of this particular city: was it positioned at a residence, rather than one of the relatively distant desert cemeteries, to increase the likelihood that the mortuary cult was actively upheld?

Royal ancestors

Inscriptional evidence occasionally hints at state-level commemoration or remembrance also of distant royal ancestors. 'Houses' or 'estates' of Thutmose I, Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV are mentioned amongst personal titles and objects such as jar sealings. Some were probably situated at Akhetaten, and served cult functions (Davies 1908a, 9; Fairman in CoA III, 200; Aldred 1968, 106–7; Murnane 1977, 129). Johnson (1993; 1996), as has been noted, offers the idea that a royal ancestor cult was at the heart of Amarna-period theology, the Aten perceived as the living embodiment of all ancestral kings. How far such foundations, and the religious framework they represented, were of relevance in the religious lives of the general population is unknown. If royal-ancestor worship occurred in the private sphere, it may have followed patterns already established in the private realm (the worship of Ahmose-Nefertiry and Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina, for instance, which may have begun in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty: Kruchten 1990), rather than those of the contemporary state religious movement. There are, for example, no stelae that depict these deceased kings in the company of either the Aten or Akhenaten.

Occasionally, kings such as Thutmose III and Amenhotep II are named on items from private contexts, particularly jewellery and vessels. Some residents of the city would have lived during the reigns of kings prior to Akhenaten and rather than being manufactured at Akhetaten, much of this material could have been brought to the site as part of their personal possessions. The names of past rulers do not seem to occur on the fired clay moulds for

jewellery items found at Amarna. This is not to deny the potential amuletic qualities of these items (Shannon in AR IV, 156), but such perceptions were perhaps residual from a time past – the active regeneration of these items was not occurring.

III.4. Private religion at 'The Horizon of the Aten'

The religious cityscape

Cult structures operated at Amarna at a household-, neighbourhood- and citywide-level. The first seem to have been relatively prominent, the second less so whilst the role of the third – the state temples – is particularly difficult to define.

The home

Within the home, a permanent focal point for cult was sometimes provided in the form of an altar, usually built of mud-brick. Exactly what was erected on these is not clear, but their size and form suggest that they served as suitable emplacements for a variety of items: statuettes (sometimes within wooden shrines?), stelae, vessels, and collections of smaller pieces such as figurines, or food or floral items. We can speculate that they may have held one central image used as a focal point for veneration – a cult image – but could just as easily have held tableaux of images, or offerings.

Amongst the preserved material, statues, statuettes and stelae are the most likely examples of cult images, both within the home and beyond; the offering-tables held by some statues of the royal family might have been, in turn, appropriate receptacles for offerings. It may be misleading, though, to view only high quality items as potential cult images. Small stelae might have functioned as such, and perhaps some figured ostraca formed simplified stelae. In at least one case, the shape of the ostrakon framed the image represented upon it, here the Aten (page 154; Figure II.6.2), suggesting a degree of care in its composition, and perhaps an attempt to imitate a stela. It has been suggested that some animal figurines could have been models of larger cult statues. Pinch (1993, 174) has noted that the stylisation and decorative markings on some cow figurines found in votive deposits can be paralleled on large-scale cow statues, and representations of these. Large-scale sculpture in the form of animals that appear amongst the corpus of Amarna figurines are known, including cows (Pinch 1993, 174), baboons (Bailey et al. 1982, 6–8; Sadek 1988, 46; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 227–8, no. 36) and cobras (Donohue 1992). Many formed the focus of direct worship, and were in use prior to the reign of Akhenaten. Might some of the Amarna figurines have been intended as representations of similar statues, and sometimes worshipped directly? One of the pottery bovid figurines from the Main City (ÄMP 25089) has fairly carefully applied and quite distinctive circular

and linear markings, perhaps imitating the patterning of a cult statue. At least two probable bovid figurines stand on bases (Figure II.3.19), perhaps representing the plinths of a larger statue on which they were modelled. The offering-stands, and perhaps the elaborate collars, seen on some cobra figurines could be signs that they were cult images (Krauss 2000, 98); at least one pottery 'monkey' and a model mud ram bust also have collars (see Part II.3). Note also the seemingly large scale of some pottery figurines (see pages 96–7).

Small wall niches, although not well represented in the archaeological record, could have permanently housed such items as stelae or statues, or allowed these to be erected and removed as required. The holes in some stelae (for example, ÄMP 24508, BMA 25.886.22) might indicate that they were sometimes simply hung on a wooden peg. Even painted scenes on walls or in vertical niches conceivably formed cult images. Whilst the location of the vertical niches suggests that their primary role was as architectural balances, the depictions of the Aten and royal family preserved on a few vertical niches, the small number of examples with possible altars built into them and the hawk figure and vessel found in association with two niches, may indicate that at least some formed foci of cult.

Stone offering-tables, pottery offering-stands, pottery and stone vessels, and perhaps free-standing wooden shrines could all have served to focus religious conduct, and similar emplacements could have been destroyed or removed, or have a multi-purpose nature that obscures their religious function. Simple wooden stands, for example, seem to have served as general-purpose supports, particularly for vessels. They are shown supporting vessels in representations of Amarna-period houses on talatat-blocks from Karnak, including some being presented to the Aten in what appear to be house shrines (Traunecker 1988, 74–5, 81–5, figs 1–3). Rectangular pottery objects that seem to have served as shrines have also been excavated amongst Ramesside period domestic units at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (Snape 2002a), although if these were in use at Amarna we might expect at least one preserved example. The use of mats, and baskets similarly, as affordable and accessible means of delineating a sacred clean space might also have been common (see Pinch 1993, 321 on the use of baskets as receptacles for offerings at Hathor shrines). The origin of the stone offering-table in the Old Kingdom appears to have been the combination of a *hup* loaf and a vessel placed on a mat (Kuentz, 1981, 244; Bomann 1991, 106; for the

http at Deir el-Medina, see Janssen 1975, 160–1, and note the relatively low cost of some examples). There is little reason to suppose that the use of mats or baskets to receive items used in religious ritual was completely superseded by the introduction of the offering-table. An important aspect of all these items is their portability, implying that, in theory at least, they could be shifted around the house or packed away when necessary.

There are no definite examples of individual rooms within the house that are devoted exclusively to religion, although the three rooms with what appear to be large altars in houses J49.1, M50.1 and O49.9 (page 223; Figures II.13.8 and II.13.9) must be good candidates. If the identification of these structures as altars is correct, they leave little extra space in the room for other activities. Their significance is difficult to ascertain. They could be read as attempts to elevate religion above mundane activities happening elsewhere in the house, or perhaps indicate that the religious themes engaged with here were not suitable for other areas of the home. Certain other spaces may, of course, have been more ritually charged than others – those with emplacements such as altars or religious-themed imagery, for instance – and a result have been the focus of heightened religious activity.

The Amarna houses are built to a set, if flexible, blue-print, but was there a blue-print dictating the way certain spaces were to be used? Domestic altars, the clearest markers of domestic religious foci, occur most often in the central room, but are also represented in a variety of other rooms (see page 225; Table II.13.1). Importantly, these are not default locations: they are rarely positioned outside the central room because of space constraints. This implies, again, a certain underlying patterning of domestic space usage in respect of religion, but with inbuilt flexibility. Whilst house design may have come under state influence (Traunecker 1988, 92–3 advocates this), patterning of domestic religious space looks to be determined at the level of the individual household, perhaps with the influence of neighbourhood 'architects'. Modern readings of Amarna houses, as noted in Part III.3, tend to view the central room as a reception space where the house owner could receive guests, and so an arena heavily imbued with elements of display and prestige (for example, Kemp 1989, 294–5; Crocker 1992, 14–15 sees it as more family-centred). It is easy to fit the altars within some of these central rooms into this framework: to see them as emplacements for royal-family/Aten imagery and follow the line of thought that the official cult was largely one of obligation and display (an alternative reading is considered later).

A distinct separation between 'work' and 'private life' may not have been typical in ancient Egypt, an overlap

that could have seen a corresponding blurring of domestic and work space. An example of the latter, although perhaps not entirely typical, seems to be provided at T41.1, the so-called 'official residence' of Panehesy, High Priest of the Aten and Superintendent of the Cattle of the Aten, beside the Great Temple in the Central City (CoA III, 26; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 53; see Figure II.13.1). The building was evidently an official one – its bricks were stamped with royal cartouches – yet its ground plan and internal fittings were consistent with those of a residence. That it did not actually serve as his primary residence is suggested by the presence of another house ascribed to him in the Main City, R44.2, although we cannot be certain that the two were in use at the same time. Part of Panehesy's duties whilst in the Central City presumably involved receiving other officials, and an appropriate setting for such activity was evidently a residence, or a building modelled on one. The most striking feature of the interior of T41.1 must have been the stone altar (Figure II.13.2), perhaps envisaged as an elaboration of a domestic cult emplacement (an amalgam of domestic altar and garden shrine?) for what was here an elaborated domestic setting. The altar was situated opposite the main entrance to the room and so would immediately have drawn the attention of anyone entering this space. Quite what the shrine contained is not known. Fragments of inscribed stone were found nearby (CoA III, 27), but their source is not clear. If they were obviously stela or statue pieces this would presumably have drawn comment from the excavators, and indeed Frankfort (1927, 213) noted, 'we do not know whether a statue of Akhenaten stood behind the wooden doors or whether the inside was empty'. On the adjacent walls were located a probable lustration slab, and a longer rectangular emplacement, probably a mastaba (CoA III, pl. XI; Figure II.13.1). Conceivably, the reception of official guests formed an appropriate context for cult activity. Perhaps there was a communal participatory aspect to this, guests sharing in activities, which potentially involved both shrine and lustration slab. Similar scenes may have been repeated at officials' houses elsewhere in the city, sometimes possibly at garden shrines; providing a context perhaps for ritual feasting, as discussed in Part III.2.

Rather than being confined to particular 'ritual spaces' religious conduct within the home may largely have followed other activity patterns. The lives of men, women and children in ancient Egypt were enacted against a background of perceived perpetual threat, some of which was actual. Whilst the home may have been viewed as a comparatively safe environment, it was still accessible, for instance, to the spirits of the deceased and certain dangerous animals, and the setting for potentially hazardous activities. Night-time, a period of particular uncertainty, was spent here. One of the functions of the pottery cobras, it seems, was to

prevent nightmares (Szpakowska 2003b). No pottery cobras are recorded from the rooms with raised niches generally thought to be bed platforms, but details of the exact find provenances of these figures are limited.

Childbirth was also a period of particular danger, to both mother and child. It seems to have entailed a period of seclusion during, and perhaps leading up to, the birth, and of purification following it. We might expect there to have been considerable recourse to magico-religious conduct during such occasions, and this is indeed well attested in textual and other sources (Ertman 1901; Robins 1993a, 85–8; Pinch 1994, 120–32). Menstruation, although for most not life-threatening, was conceivably a time of similarly heightened magico-religious behaviour to relieve pain or anxiety. It seems also to have involved a period of seclusion, conceivably in the same space as that used for childbirth. Ramesside ostrakon OIM 13512 states, 'Year 9, fourth month of inundation, day 13. Day that the eight women came outside [to the] place of women, when they were menstruating. They got as far as the back of the house which [...] long gap] the three walls' (McDowell 1999, 35, no. 11; see also Wilfong 1999). The implication here is that the space was communal and seems to have been located outside the house, probably beyond the village itself, although this does not rule out the possibility that similar 'women's spaces' were located within the home. Meskell (1998, 235–7) has suggested, tentatively, that the chambers adjacent to the staircases in some houses at Deir el-Medina were used by women during menstruation. These rooms are generally small with few internal fittings or decorations, and were identified as storerooms by Bruyère (1939). Arnold (1989, 81–2) assigned a similar function, that of birth arbour and shrines, to the small rooms opening off the entrance chamber in some Middle Kingdom houses, such as at Kahun. This is a problematic interpretation though, not least because he cites as a major piece of supporting evidence the occurrence of 'birth arbours' in the form of garden shrines at Amarna. There is no evidence that the Amarna garden shrines served such a purpose (Ikram 1989, note 1), and nor is there any direct architectural or artefactual data from the Middle Kingdom houses themselves to suggest such a function for these rooms. Amarna offers its own small staircase chambers (Part II.13), but there is little to indicate their function, and their identification as storage spaces still seems the safest (if a somewhat unimaginative) option. They are large enough to accommodate a person, but with little remaining activity space. The best-recorded example is that in Gate Street 8 at the Workmen's Village (Kemp in AR III, 7, 14–19), and it is of note here that there is no fitting for a door which would allow the chamber to be closed off from the adjacent room, although a lighter screen or similar could have been used.

Another possible location of 'women's activity space' was the rooftop. Evidence for rooftop structures takes the form primarily of plaster and architectural fragments excavated in the upper layers of rubble, occasionally above definite layers of roofing debris, at the Workmen's Village (CoA I, 56, 59; Kemp in AR III, 25; 1987, 25–6). The presence amongst such fragments, from Main Street 9, of pieces painted with motifs known from birth-arbour scenes (primarily parts of a possible convolvulus design; some fragments also bore parts of an inscription and of a human figure), largely prompted the suggestion that rooftop spaces were used during occasions such as childbirth (Kemp in AR III, 25; see also Pinch 1995, 376). Whilst the early excavators suggested that any roof-top structures were likely to have been relatively light-weight (Woolley 1922, 52, 55; CoA I, 56), recent assessments point to a more substantial second storey (Kemp in AR III, 25; 1989, 296; in AR VI, 146–58; Spence 2004). This seems more appropriate if these spaces were indeed to be used by new mothers and newborn babies, particularly during hotter parts of the year.

However, the convolvulus motif was not restricted to birth arbour scenes, but appears also in royal contexts (see page 213), and Peet and Woolley's original suggestion (CoA I, 60) that the fragments came from a scene of Aten worship should not be dismissed. The rooftop, particularly if only partially enclosed, seems a particularly appropriate location for solar worship (cf. the open-air surrounds of 'Sunshades of Re': Fairman in CoA III, 200–8; Stadelman 1969; Kemp in AR VI, 454–5; and the partially unroofed state temples in the Central City). Another option is that members of the royal family were the real focus of the scene, rather than the Aten. In general, the royal family (and Aten) are less well represented amongst the artefact record at the Workmen's Village than in the city proper but, importantly, other painted royal figures are known from within the village (see page 215). Might this even be a representation of royalty on the wall of a birth arbour? Note that a second storey is also a possible context for the limestone 'shrine' fragment from Gate Street 8 (page 221; Figure II.13.3).

Meskell (1998, 227–32; 2002, 119) offers a reading of the village ruins at Deir el-Medina in which domestic space is highly ritually and symbolically charged. Red-paint, for example, is used as a protective device. Red- and yellow-painted niches form points of contact with deceased ancestors and these, and doorways similarly, are transitional zones. The houses at Amarna have never quite come alive in the scholarly imagination the way that the Deir el-Medina houses have, but it is possible to view them similarly: they have several shared 'ingredients', including red and yellow niches and probable red-painted doorways (splashes of red paint were found on limestone doorway thresholds during

recent excavations in a housing area in the Main City, for instance: Kemp forthcoming b). In the end, perhaps, it is a matter of personal perspective. Indeed it is possible to see the red-painted architectural elements at Deir el-Medina as simply architectural convention: red seems often to have been considered an appropriate colour for wooden architectural fittings. Readings of the kind put forth by Meskell are, nonetheless, valuable for drawing discussion past the idea that the house was simply punctuated with focal points of cult, places of concentrated religious attention and activity, to that of 'background religion', part of the broader realm of religious perception discussed in Part 1.2. Much domestic decoration could have formed part of this background tableau of protective imagery, as might a wide range of objects with religious imagery such as vessels, stelae, figurines and statuettes, furniture items such as headrests, and even jewellery items. This may, in fact, have been the primary usage context for many such items, but others could have been added to it, rather than stored away, when not in use in active rites as offerings, focal points of worship, personal amulets and so on.

The 'ideal' Amarna home, it seems, was painted inside with designs such as floral motifs and geometric friezes, or plain spans of colour (see Glanville 1929, 40–57). Although not always carefully applied (see Kemp 2004, 16), this speaks of an attempt to enhance experiences of domestic space by means of visual aids, or decoration. There is no reason why this was confined to two dimensions, and 'religious' objects could also have fulfilled a decorative purpose, a progression perhaps from their manufacture alongside and distribution with utilitarian wares. This, of course, is one reason why the recognition of religious equipment is potentially so difficult. The end result of this overlap may have been a domestic environment imbued with imagery that was open to individual readings: a complex space, the significance of which may have been difficult to define or explain even for those who occupied it. Something of this complexity might be represented in the over-plastering of wall paintings in the Workmen's Village, such as that depicting, probably, dancing women and girls (see page 216; Figure II.12.2). They may simply have been damaged, but might they have been covered in response to changing socio-religious priorities which saw them no longer suitable for these spaces?

Public space

Within residential areas, religious focal points or background religious imagery were not necessarily confined within the house or to buildings that served as community shrines. Although the available sources are mute on this point, we should leave open the possibility of public murals or small-scale (non-enterable) shrines.

The 'ancestor' stela from the Workmen's Village was found in a street, and the possibility that it was originally displayed here was noted above. Public areas also saw, of course, human traffic, and in their personal use of amulets (on display, or hidden beneath folds of clothes?), people may have contributed to this background religious landscape, imbuing it with a sense of fluidity. Public space – squares, streets, grounds adjacent to public shrines, and so forth – whether imbued with religious imagery and constructions or not, was conceivably the setting for a range of group and individual religious activities. But we might imagine that the use of such space was particularly prone to influence by aspects of social and religious decorum.

When it comes to community shrines, we may be missing a little of the evidence. Workplace shrines, in particular, could be one important, underrepresented group. The conventional view of the garden shrines is that they were very private establishments, but can they be seen in any way as public buildings? In most cases, the shrines are located in fairly secluded locations in the garden courtyard, behind the house and with no direct access route from the street (the shrine at T34.1 is a good example: CoA II, 64, pl. X; Ikram 1989, 93). The impression here, certainly, is that access was restricted. But not all conform to this layout. Sometimes, a shrine was located near a gateway that opened directly onto a street, occasionally opposite the gateway itself (consider T33.9, T35.21, T36.5 and T36.11 in the North Suburb: CoA II, 24, 47, 50, 70–71, pls IV, VIII–X; Ikram 1989, 91; M47.1, M50/51.1, O49.23, N49.10, P47.17, P47.32 and possibly R44.1a in the Main City: CoA I, 17, 20, 35, pls I–II; Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 53–4, 118, 280, Hauspläne 25, 31, 93; Ikram 1989, 90, 95–6; and U25.11 in the North City: Pendlebury 1932, 145, pl. XV; Ikram 1989, 91). The gate could, of course, have been kept closed to limit visibility of, and accessibility to, the shrines. In some cases, shrines were separated from the house by a dividing wall, and so essentially positioned in a distinct compound. Complex Q46.1, for example, comprised a large house, a series of subsidiary structures, and a garden shrine, the latter in a separate court with a lake and probable garden (Borchardt 1913, 10–15; Ikram 1989, 90; Kemp and Garfi 1993, Map Sheet 6; Figure III.4.1). The courtyard containing the shrine had its own entrance opening directly from 'East Road South': does this imply a sense of public or semi-public access to it? In the plan of the complex, there is no clear means of access, in fact, marked between the shrine courtyard and that containing the house (there is a small break in the wall separating the shrine compound and house, but this is not convincing as a deliberate gateway).

Another example of interest is shrine T36.37, which was probably associated with house T36.36 (CoA II, 44–5, pl. VIII; Ikram 1989, 91). Whilst both shrine and house seem

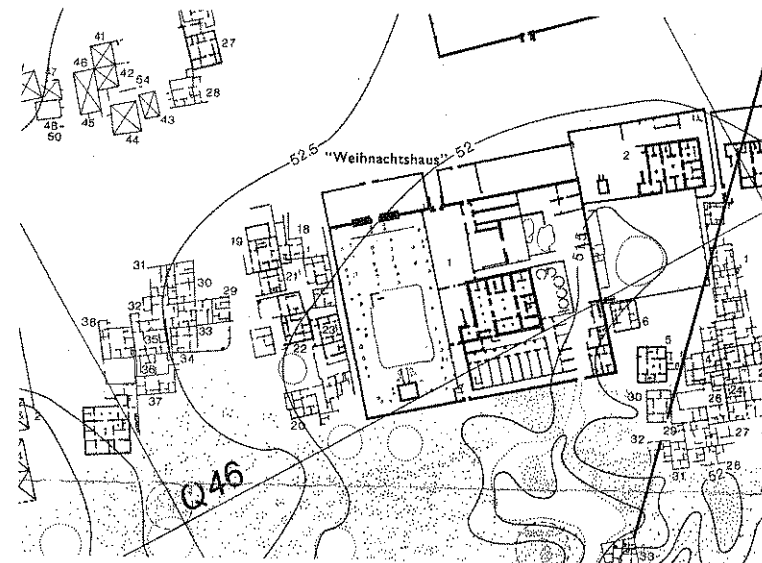


Figure III.4.1. An area of housing in the Main City, including the large estate Q46.1 (the 'Weihnachtshaus'), with its separate courtyard and garden shrine. Grid north is approximately to the left of the image. (After Kemp and Garfi, 1993, map sheet 6. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp and the EES).

to have been accessible through the one gateway that opened from an adjacent lane, the shrine was located in a separate courtyard, and would have been passed before entering the house. Shrine T35.12, again in the North Suburb, was situated in a court beside house T35.11, and appears to have been associated with it (CoA II, 38–9, pl. VII). It is oriented to face the street. The shrine itself varies slightly from the majority of garden shrines, comprising a more elaborate version of a bipartite shrine (Ikram 1989, 96). Access to the shrine courtyard was probably gained via a passageway running between it and house T35.11, the passageway also forming the main entrance to the house itself. From the passage, there is one definite entranceway into the shrine courtyard opposite the entrance to the house itself. If this is the only access point to the shrine courtyard, it does suggest limitation of access. Further down the passageway, though, close to the main gate, a dotted line marks an uncertain continuation of the passage wall, and perhaps another entrance to the shrine courtyard was located here. This would certainly make more sense in relation to the orientation of the shrine. A gap in the south-east corner of the wall of the shrine compound itself (CoA II, pl. VII) potentially represents yet another entrance. The positioning of these shrines in separate courtyards could reflect attempts to enhance the status of the shrine, or to separate activities within the home from cult or more

mundane activities in the shrine courtyard (features such as kilns and seemingly utilitarian structures are occasionally present in the latter: for example, CoA II, 39; Kemp 1989, 309). But could it indicate a desire to separate also the semi-public space of the shrine from the private space of the home?

In a somewhat different category is T33.9–12, a large complex consisting of several courts. One contains a bipartite shrine beside a group of structures of uncertain function (CoA II, 70, pl. X; Ikram 1989, 91; Kemp and Garfi 1993, Map Sheet 3; Figure III.4.2). The excavators noted that none of the buildings within the complex resembled a house, and nor did the complex seem to be associated with any of the surrounding houses. The plan, though, does show one house-like building near the centre of the complex, although there is no indication of internal features typical of residences: perhaps it was unfinished. A further compound, T33.13, seems to have been laid out adjoining the north face of T33.9–12, but no structures erected within it (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 28). Who was responsible for T33.9–12, and what was its function? Some of the spaces have a magazine-like quality – and T33.9 is one of the courtyards suggested as a khan (see page 267). Direct access between the latter and the courtyard shrine was facilitated by a gateway in the courtyard wall (CoA II, pl. X; note also the close association of shrine T36.37 and the other 'khan', T36.39,

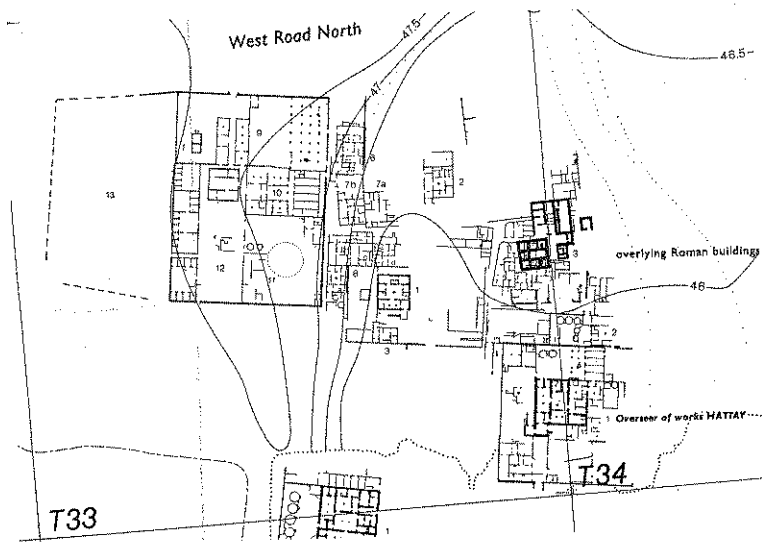


Figure III.4.2. An area of housing in the North Suburb, including estate T33.9-12, with a bi-partite shrine in its north-east courtyard. Grid north is to the left of the image. (After Kemp and Garfi, 1993, map sheet 3. Reproduced courtesy of B. Kemp and the EES).

although not directly linked: CoA II, pl. VII). is the shrine a public or semi-public building in an area of communal activity, more along the lines of P48.4 and P47.10?

The location of the shrines is not entirely convincing as evidence for their public accessibility, but it is possible to suggest a corresponding social framework for their use as such. Although we know fairly little about the dynamics of social interaction at the city, the closely packed quarters of the North Suburb, where most of the shrines noted above are located, could reflect close social ties here (see Kemp 1977, 133-4). Otherwise, no public shrines have been identified within this area. Perhaps for the owners of the larger estates there also was a sense of civic duty in being patron of a shrine, and the sense of prestige gained from ownership of such a building could have been enhanced by granting others access to it, whether close associates or members of the broader public. Might this have taken place in the context of the exchange of supplies and produce, and so drawn upon the role of king-as-provider?

Quite what this group of shrines is communicating is unclear. If the T33.9-12 shrine served the official cult, it could indicate that the link between such shrines and the houses of high-ranking officials could be broken. Might P47.10 in the Main City, which likewise yielded little cult-specific evidence, have served similarly? With

the exception of the chapel at Q46.1 (see Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 24), in fact, no direct inscriptional or representational evidence was found at any of the chapels just discussed to confirm that they were dedicated to the cult of the royal family and Aten. We need to rely on aspects of their layout and the assumption these structures were a homogeneous group (see page 285). Whilst direct evidence is not particularly forthcoming, it is possible to envisage frameworks in which other divinities were sometimes invoked at such structures: private ancestors, for instance (see page 294), or deities such as Hathor (page 290-1). There may have been greater continuity than has yet been recognised between the 'garden' and 'public' shrines, in terms both of the divinities they served and the level to which they were publicly accessible.

If state cult centres did provide an outlet for public religion, they could have done so not only through the provision of internal space for worship, offering and perhaps ritual feasts (Davies 1905, 22; Blackman 1922, 527; Badawy 1962, 84; Kemp and Garfi 1993, 54-5, 61) but also external focal points, particularly at the temenos wall. Whether there was anything to draw a crowd to the temenos walls of the Central City temples is unknown; the possibility that plinths in the exterior of the First Pylon at the Small Aten Temple served as emplacements for statues or stelae has been noted

(Mallinson in AR VI, 175; see page 249). If so, temenos walls might have allowed more scope for spontaneous unregulated conduct, with access into the temples themselves presumably more tightly controlled. There is little to suggest that the temenos walls of the temples were inaccessible. The formal approach to the temples was from the main north-south road (now known as the Royal Road), but we know little of how people navigated the city. Were they channelled through major accessways or was there scope to follow less formal and more convenient routes, even through the Central City? In the 1920s, the EES team claimed to be able to see, in the right light, the informal path the high priest Panehesy took between his official residence in the Central City and his house in the Main City (CoA III, 27), but this skirted around the edge of the former, and Panehesy was after all one of the city's elite. The area surrounding the Small Aten Temple was built up, by the end of the Amarna period at least, with functional state-operated complexes such as magazines and probable workshops, and public visitation to the area was perhaps not encouraged. The perimeter of the Great Aten Temple, though, was more open and perhaps accessible.

Shaping the landscape

Much is made of the 'sacred landscape' of Amarna: the idea that the city, and particularly the key ceremonial buildings, were laid out according to a very deliberate ceremonial and religious blueprint, largely based on distance ratios drawn in part from the surrounding environment (for example, Mallinson 1999). The natural landscape perhaps provided a unifying structure or framework for city layout, but there is little immediate sense that it subsequently offered focal points for religious attention. The most striking natural features of the Amarna landscape are probably the large *wadis* that interrupt the cliff line in the eastern horizon, the Great Wadi and Royal Wadi. These are remote distant elements, though, and whilst a resemblance to a hieroglyphic symbol may have been noted (as by Aldred in the last century: Aldred 1976), it is difficult to see them as focal points for active worship. The plain on which the city is built is fairly featureless, although locations such as the Workmen's Village and Stone Village have slightly more interesting topographies. Religious significance may have been read into highly localised, smaller-scale natural features, an idea that might be reflected in the boulder painted as a hawk from the Workmen's Village. Here, the shape of the rock seems to have communicated something to the painter, who in this case modified it with painted imagery; implying perhaps that the figure should be read as something more than just a lower-quality statue.

Officially, the entire city was the sacred precinct of the Aten and in theory the Amarna plain was a natural

arena for the display of the god, or his power, in the form of the sun and its daily progress across the sky. The open-air temples were probably built, at least in part, with this natural spectacle in mind. Baines (2002, 24), in attempting to elucidate religious practice from New Kingdom personal letters, observes that Amun-Re-Harakhty tends to be referred to in these documents 'at his rising and setting', and notes the parallel here with the morning and evening forms of solar hymns. He suggests this could reflect a 'practice of praying to the sun god at sunrise and sunset'. Perhaps this tied in also with the beginning and ending of the main working day. Similar phrasing is found in the letters of the unguent maker Ramose sent from Amarna: '... For I am all right, and I am [here, saying to the] (Aten) in Akhet (Aten), life-prosperity-health: "Cause [you] to be well" [each and] every [day], when he sets and when he rises...'; the significance, if any, of the placing of sunset before sunrise is not clear (Baines 2002, 8). Baines (2002, 14) is reluctant to see Ramose actually undertaking prayers on behalf of the letters' recipient, the 'Mistress of the House' Sheritre, on the grounds that the key phrase 'saying to/calling upon the Aten' could by this time have been an epistolary formula, and that Ramose 'may have cited the Aten because he was at el-Amarna and concerned for his career, whilst thinking of another deity'. But in the end, there is little real basis on which to dismiss the idea that the practice of individual prayer to a deity, including the Aten, continued as an appropriate mode of conduct at Akhetaten, and that this was sometimes patterned in relation to the movement of the sun. The act of individual prayer as reflected in the letters might not have involved visiting a temple, at least at the time of introduction of the formula, which was perhaps in the reigns immediately preceding the Amarna period (Baines 2002). In this respect, the letters from Amarna and the archaeological evidence corroborate quite well, the site providing domestic altars and garden shrines as possible focal points for prayer beyond temple settings. If the garden shrines were unroofed, and altars perhaps built on rooftops to catch the movement of the sun, it becomes possible to read this phenomenon as an underlying structural element of personal religious conduct.

Was there an attempt to add the royal family to this background tableau of communally experienced divine images, supplementing the natural world with the man-made? The statuary programme in the Central City may have sought to create an environment imbued with divine royal imagery, punctuated by the appearance of the royal family in person during ceremonies and festivals, and the parade of the king on the Royal Road, although it is not clear whether such displays were intended for broad public experience. There is no direct evidence that two- or three-dimensional royal imagery spread into public space in the suburbs, although it is

conceivable that some of the scattered statue fragments were once erected in public areas. The royal parade may have passed through the northern suburbs en route to the northern palaces.

It is very difficult to determine the impact of any religiously or symbolically enhanced environment, whether natural or man-made, on the general public, but it is conceivable that it influenced perceptions of where particular forms of religious conduct were appropriate, if not demanded. Were people obliged, for example, to acknowledge the royal image with a gesture or verbalisation when they passed it, or did some do this as a matter of choice? As in the confines of the domestic environment, the broader cityscape may have been open to individual readings in respect of religious behaviour or performance, and aspects of religion probably had considerable impact on the 'character' of the city, and the experience of it.

Even the most open-minded readings of the Amarna 'sacred landscape' do not offer the idea that religion was a major shaping factor in the internal layout of residential urban space. Both public shrines in the Main City are on the edges of occupied areas, suggesting they were amongst the later buildings constructed (although overall this area of the city was probably built quite early on: see Part I.1, and page 315 below). Neighbourhoods were not designed with the aim of focussing attention on cult spaces, nor channelling people towards these. When people first arrived at the site, their immediate energies within the suburbs seem to have gone into building houses. Here, there was the option of erecting cult emplacements. The dates of the domestic altars relative to the houses they belong to are rarely obvious, but on the whole their positioning seems consistent with their having been planned into the house from the outset, with occasional exceptions (such as the possible altar in N49.21: see CoA I, 25). Their bricks do not seem to have been bonded into the walls of the house, but nor are any built over, for instance, deposits of living debris, assuming obvious examples of such would have been noted by the excavators. It is tempting, similarly, to see most of the garden shrines planned into the house complex from the outset, although whilst it may have been desirable to have a garden shrine as soon as possible, from a constructional point of view they could have been inserted quite readily at a later time. At least one, shrine T35.21 in the North Suburb, was built over an earlier structure, although it is not clear whether the early construction was contemporary with the house to which T35.21 belonged, or if the entire house complex was built on reclaimed land (see CoA II, 47; the North Suburb itself might have been one of the later areas settled: see Part I.1). So, although the creation of domestic cult emplacements was being considered by at least some residents, the construction

of neighbourhood cult spaces, it seems, was not a priority. Was their collective energy and attention being simultaneously siphoned into the great building works in the Central City?

Interestingly, there was little attempt to build residences close to the state temples. T41.1, the official residence of the high priest Panehesy, is of course located right beside the Great Aten Temple, but the stamped bricks of the complex imply it was an official one. One other building with the overall plan and fittings consistent with a residence, T39.1, is built on the opposite side of the temple, immediately against the temenos wall. It seems to have predated, perhaps only slightly, the temenos, the building of which necessitated remodelling of the perimeter wall of the house. The bricks of the house did not have official stamps, so it was perhaps a largely private establishment. The name and occupation of the owner are unknown, but we can perhaps assume he was an official, possibly associated with the temple. This building does not seem to have established a precedent for the building of other residences – even those only of high officials – close to the sacred precincts. Either this was discouraged, seen as inappropriate or simply not desired, suburban land considered prime.

Thinking about the colonisation of the city brings up a possible model to explain – in part – the concentration of private chapels beside the Workmen's Village. These have long presented interpretational difficulties because they feature so prominently here whilst closely comparable structures are all but absent from the rest of the city. Did the village house a group of individuals who brought with them a distinct set of traditions? Do the chapels date entirely to the reign of Tutankhamun, and represent a backlash against Akhenaten's religious reforms? In part, the answer could lie in their association with ancestor/mortuary cults. If this was a strong theme at the chapels, we might expect them to be more prominent at the village, with its nearby burials, than in the city. As well, though, the explanation probably lies in the processes by which land was colonised at both areas. In the city proper, the built-up area expanded quite rapidly: land was in demand. The erection of domestic structures was the priority, and if the means of securing a suitable plot of land for a shrine was not available initially, the chance might be quickly lost. The small number of shrines in the Main City may represent instances where conditions were suitable: land was available, and neighbourhood spirit garnered. At the Workmen's Village, settlement was contained, and apart from episodes of internal modification and the possible slab-like expansion of the village itself, the organic spread of buildings across the landscape did not occur. The residents of the village were able to take their time with chapel building.

Object interrelationships

It is easy, when approaching an artefact corpus, to become focussed on the relationships between objects and spaces, particularly architectural space, but an aspect that is readily overlooked, especially within non-funerary assemblages, is the relationships among objects themselves. The archaeological record restricts, of course, how far such relationships can be pursued, although often the uncertainties fixing objects to one another in the past are no more problematic than linking objects and spaces. It is likely, in the context of private religion, that the way objects were used or assembled together had a significant effect on the perceived outcome or effectiveness of conduct in which they were employed. Any interpretation that focuses on just one aspect, or object, will inevitably lack nuance. The prominence of pottery figurines of naked females at settlement sites, for example, has led to the proposal that fertility was often a motivating factor behind everyday cult in ancient Egypt. This may be true, but the reality is likely to have been far more complex. Such figurines were only one part of a tableau of material components of cult operating within any single theatre of conduct and reflecting a variety of complementing and competing motivational factors.

Amarna itself offers fairly limited opportunity to approach the relationships between the material components of cult. In seeking objects associated archaeologically, the most important collection is the assemblage of fertility figurines, model beds and round-topped stela painted with a scene of a woman and boy worshipping Taweret, from the chamber beneath the staircase in N49.21 (CoA I, 25, pl. XII.5; Kemp 1989, 346, note 64; Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 66–7, no. 16a; also Figure II.5.19). This chamber opened from the central room of the house and it has been widely assumed that the objects were used with a shrine located in this room, although a note of caution is required here. The shrine appeared to the excavators to be a later insertion into the room, although there is no need to assume it was post-Amarna period, and its identification as a cult structure is, in fact, uncertain (see Table II.13.1). The objects themselves were found 'above a stratum of black sooty sand', perhaps representing a period of semi-abandonment, and conceivably (but perhaps too conveniently) placing them in the same time frame as the inserted shrine. The assemblage itself had presumably been taken from its usage context/s and placed in storage. The details of exactly what the group comprised are also somewhat unclear. Only one fertility figurine was recorded in the excavation report, and assigned an object number, although the field notebook refers to two (cf. Kemp 1989, 346, note 64). Whilst two model beds are mentioned in the report,

and two were assigned object numbers, only one has ever been illustrated; the other is said to be in Cairo.

If it is assumed that these pieces functioned together, how might they have related to one another? The figures represented amongst the assemblage have a natural hierarchy, conveniently represented on the stela: first, the deity or genii, Taweret; second, a female, probably adult and possibly representing a member of the household, either directly or in an abstract sense; and finally a boy, who may himself represent a social group prioritised over that of the female child. The female figurine presumably relates also to a household member or set of personal circumstances. One immediate impression is of the large scale of the figurines in relation to the stela, which is only around 13 cm wide. If one of the items was intended to be the primary focal point, this was not communicated by scale, and this may have partly counteracted the prioritised socio-religious position of Taweret. The propitiation of a Taweret cult seems a lesser priority than the circumstances represented by the female images, and it is a reasonable assumption that these related to fertility. There is no record that the female figurine/s were found on the bed/s, but it is probably safe to assume they could be assembled in this way in light of the similar figures of women attached directly to beds (for example, Giddy 1999, 28, pl. 80). If two such pairings were present, might each represent the circumstances of a different individual within the household? The two beds (obj. 21/425, 21/426) are both said to have headrests, be white-slipped with red stripes and measure 16 cm in length, and again do not immediately suggest hierarchy, although there are other ways in which this could have been communicated.

The different elements of the assemblage could also reflect different forms of conduct: the stela a largely passive aspect, and the figurines something potentially more active. The act of placing of the stela in its display position may have had a certain ritual significance, but beyond this it offers little scope for interaction. The figurines allow perhaps slightly more complex processes of assemblage. Interestingly, the feet of the recorded fertility figurine are missing, seemingly broken, rather than deliberately moulded as such. With feet, the figure was probably too long to fit on the bed, but with them removed the figure can be accommodated by it (see the illustration in Capel in Capel and Markoe 1996, 66–7, no. 16a; also Haynes in Freed et al. 1999, 256–7, no. 178). Perhaps this breakage was deliberate: the adaptation of a figure to a bed that was too short, implying a certain level of pragmatism in the approach to domestic cult and its material components. The figure also recalls the form of Middle Kingdom 'fertility figurines', which are manufactured with truncated lower legs. Was the breakage perhaps a means of magically binding the figure to the bed? Whether this was a pattern

is impossible to determine because of the overall fragmentary state of the Amarna figures.

People: participating and benefiting

The archaeological record is largely mute on the question of how religion was structured according to its participants, but this situation is certainly not unique to Amarna. One important question is how communal the conduct was. Important clues may lie in the patterning of religious space. Cult emplacements can be recognised within houses (altars, niches?) or within house compounds (garden shrines). Less frequently, they can be recognised in public space in the Main City (shrines P47.10 and P48.4). At the Workmen's Village, they occur in public space just outside the village, but the multitude of chapels here, often it seems with common imagery (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming), suggests these are the initiative of sub-groups amongst the village community, probably on a household or kinship level. There is then a significant jump in scale to state temples and shrines. Preserved religious emplacements thus tend to cluster at a household level, and this could reflect the undertaking similarly of religious conduct at a small-group level. Occasions such as childbirth or seclusion during menstruation may have united women across household groups, but these may still have been close associates, perhaps joined by kinship; the scene of women and girls dancing in Long Wall Street 10 at the Workmen's Village might represent one such group. Self-organised activities at a larger group level, say that of the neighbourhood, may have been less typical, unless perhaps organised from outside on a much larger community scale.

Occasionally, material can be linked to identifiable individuals, namely house owners, through domestic inscriptions. The High Priest of the Aten, Panehesy, can be identified from inscriptional evidence as the owner of estates T41.1 and R44.2. He may have participated in cult at the garden shrine adorned with images of the royal family at R44.2, and at the domestic altar decorated similarly at T41.1. His estates contained a stela depicting Amenhotep III and Tiye, a stela showing two women serving food and drink to two seated men, and other stelae with motifs that are now indeterminable. All were possible foci or components of his personal religious conduct; other elements of his religious routine may have included a bovid-shaped figure vessel, a cobra bowl, a faience bowl with the cartouche of Akhenaten, and *wꜥꜣt*-eye finger rings, although we cannot be confident, of course, in ascribing portable items found at his estate to him specifically. We know something about Panehesy, including his occupation and general social position, but have no idea of how representative

he was of any of the social groups to which he belonged (the 'official', the 'male', and so on).

Sometimes a sense of anonymous individuality may be hinted at in spatial clusters of material. The excavation of a bronze stamp representing Sobek and a small faience crocodile figurine from a single building complex in the North Suburb could indicate that one of the occupants of the property felt a particular affinity towards Sobek (Frankfort 1927, 217; CoA II, 23–4, pl. XXVIII.8). The small mud plaques in the form of females (page 89–92) appear either in clusters at individual buildings (there is no indication of how closely together they were found) or individually. Single examples (excluding disc-forms) are recorded from R43.1, P47.22, Q45.14, P49.15, T36.52 and Q42.6; two examples were each found at Q47.20, Q46.13 and Q49.19; whilst three plaques were recorded from N47.3. Might the presence of multiple examples in any one house indicate that individual concerns were expressed through individual plaques; that these were not, in effect, communal property?

A similar distribution pattern probably occurred for the fertility figurines, which are occasionally recorded at individual houses in small-scale clusters. Kemp (1995, 30) has proposed that the Amarna fertility figurines belonged to domestic contexts and probably retained no permanent sacredness which might lead to them being deposited or buried near a sanctuary. This was based largely on a study of the figurines excavated at the Workmen's Village, which were distributed primarily within houses and in the rubbish deposits outside the village. There is certainly no surviving evidence of the large-scale deposition of such figurines at cult structures, but this may have occurred on a small scale. Some of the material within the rubbish deposits at the Workmen's Village was potentially from the chapels (see Hecker in AR III, 87; Kemp 1983, 5–14; 1987, 30). A fragment of a 'female figure in grey stone', perhaps a fertility figurine, was found in building 534 at the village, which may have functioned in association with Chapel 535 (CoA I, 106; Bomann 1991, 33). A fertility figurine was also found at P47.10, one of the possible public shrines in the Main City. It may be that the figurines were sometimes deposited at cult buildings (from which they could be cleared, perhaps with little sense of ceremony), but that this took place largely as a result of individual initiative rather than a widespread behaviour pattern.

On a broader level, we can seek correlates between the quality of material and socio-economic status, although this is a somewhat crude approach. It does not cater, for example, for the potential production of items by 'professional' sculptors for themselves or for associates, who were not necessarily members of the elite. Restriction on access to certain cult spaces can also be posited on the basis of socio-economic status.

It is likely that higher socio-economic status brought greater scope of access to state temple spaces in general in the New Kingdom (see Part I.2), and there seems little reason why access to the state temples at Akhetaten would have been patterned differently. The best collection of probable votives from a state cult space, the bronzes from the Great Aten Temple (page 192), comprises high quality items. At least one was donated by a standard-bearer, Ramose. His might not even have been an overly prestigious occupation, but through his position as a direct employee of the state he may have gained access to modes of engagement with the state temples that were not accessible to all, namely the permanent deposition of personal votives. The giving, by officials, of gifts to the king was noted in Part III.1 as a possible framework for such activity. This is not to imply, though, that access to these centres generally was restricted to the elite, and as long as the possibility of public celebrations in the temples and accessibility to areas of their temenos walls remains open, so too must we consider the possibility that there was a basic level of unrestricted access to these areas. The potential for public engagement with state cult centres in connection with personal mortuary rituals is raised below (see page 313).

Another means of investigating the socio-economic status of religious participants is spatial analysis, although this too is problematic. Any method that requires portable objects to be linked to spatial units faces the issue of the removal of material from its original context, although the large sample size of Amarna houses does help counteract this. Table III.4.1, therefore, outlines the distribution of 'religious' material across strata of houses of different sizes, following the approach of Shaw (1992) and making use of the database of Amarna house sizes compiled by Crocker (1984). House size seems to be a fair indicator, at Amarna, of socio-economic status. Crocker's database included 782 building units; it did not include poorly preserved houses where the floor area could no longer be determined. The sample size of houses used here is reduced further, because the early excavators sometimes assigned a single unit number to building complexes that incorporated more than one building or house, and it is not clear exactly which one the objects originated from. These have had to be excluded here.

Spatial analysis of this kind does largely corroborate the idea that higher quality items were linked with higher socio-economic groups. The garden shrines and domestic altars are largely absent from the smallest houses, tending to occur at those over 100 sq. m. (cf. Crocker 1985, 56; Ikram 1989, 100; Shaw 1992, 161). Statues and stelae with images of the royal family show a similar distribution pattern, although there are some exceptions here, whilst the generally even distribution

of material such as figurines and jewellery suggests their use across a broad socio-economic spectrum. Shortland (2000a, 75–7) has noted a similarly widespread distribution of faience objects, in general.

The range and frequency of house sizes at Amarna seems to suggest that the population, at this city at least, was relatively evenly graded in terms of socio-economic status (Kemp 1989, 298–300). It is a model that has found support also in studies of burial assemblages at other sites (see Smith 1992, 218; Meskell 1999, 148; O'Connor 1983, 191–4 offers an alternative framework in which New Kingdom society was divided into distinct 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' classes). Correlating the Amarna house-size strata with actual social strata is difficult (Kemp 1977, 128; Shaw 1992, 156), but Shaw (1992, 156–60) has suggested a division, on the basis of occupation, at around the 100 sq. m. mark, with workers or artisans occupying houses smaller than this, and officials or administrators those of greater floor area. He notes the possibility also of a distinction here between the illiterate and literate. This would imply that the possession of garden shrines, domestic altars and statues, in particular, was associated with literate administrators and officials, whilst the ownership of figurines and jewellery related to both social groupings.

It is largely impossible to fine-tune the Amarna material record to bring into focus the conduct of social groups linked by attributes such as age, sex, gender and ethnicity, but equally unrealistic to imagine the religious landscape without social 'codes' that governed what was appropriate to and required of certain social groups. Potential hints of foreign influence, for instance, are present in architectural forms (see Bomann 1991, 87–99) and objects such as the pendant of the Hittite god, pendants in the form of a crescent or horns, and the 'Anatolian' figurine from U36.20 (pages 96), but recognising foreign influence is not the same as pinpointing the religious conduct of foreigners.

Male names dominate the limited quantity of inscribed material, and here a tendency for male involvement in the state cult may be hinted at. On domestic architectural fragments that preserve inscriptions or scenes relating to the cult of the Aten or royal family, for example, it is the male house owner who is generally depicted or referred to, although occasionally female members of the family are attested (for example, CoA II, 109, pl. XXIII.4; Seidlmayer in Borchardt and Rieke 1980, 341–6; 1983, 194). The one royal-family stela that names the owner (ÄMP 17813) is ascribed to a male, and similarly the fragmentary royal-family stelae that seem to depict the owner/donor show male figures (see Part II.5). The inscribed stela just discussed from the Sanctuary of the Great Aten Temple names the male dedicant Ramose. In private tombs, female members of the tomb owner's

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Table III.4.1 cont. Distribution of material across house strata with different ground-floor areas. The quantities relate to the number and percentage of houses in each stratum in which material was found (percentages rounded to closest whole number)

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Table III.4.1 cont. Distribution of material across house strata with different ground-floor areas. The quantities relate to the number and percentage of houses in each stratum in which material was found (percentages rounded to closest whole number)

Object group	Motif	450-499 sq. m. (2 units in total)		400-449 sq. m. (6 units in total)		350-399 sq. m. (9 units in total)		300-349 sq. m. (10 units in total)		250-299 sq. m. (23 units in total)		200-249 sq. m. (29 units in total)		150-199 sq. m. (49 units in total)		100-149 sq. m. (107 units in total)		50-99 sq. m. (170 units in total)		0-49 sq. m. (124 units in total)	
		No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units
Stelae	Aten & royal family	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	4	3	3	0	0	0	0
	Traditional deities: Amun ram, Min, Ptah, Sekhmet, Taweret, Thoth	0	0	1	17	1	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	2	2	0	0	0	0
	Private	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unidentifiable & undecorated	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	4	4	4	4	3	2	2
Ostraca	Deities: Amun ram, falcon-headed deity	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0
	Anthropoid & body parts	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
	Animals: baboon, donkey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	2	2	1	0	0
	Inanimate objects: vessel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0	0	0
	Anthropoid & body parts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0
Tria pieces	Hieroglyphs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0
	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0	0	0
	Faience tiles with 'nh, falcon and uraeus; Hathor 'nail'; rattle; Sobek stamp, tongs	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30	0	0	1	3	1	2	3	3	0	0	2	2
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table III.4.1 cont. Distribution of material across house strata with different ground-floor areas. The quantities relate to the number and percentage of houses in each stratum in which material was found (percentages rounded to closest whole number)

Object group	Motif	450-499 sq. m. (2 units in total)		400-449 sq. m. (6 units in total)		350-399 sq. m. (9 units in total)		300-349 sq. m. (10 units in total)		250-299 sq. m. (23 units in total)		200-249 sq. m. (29 units in total)		150-199 sq. m. (49 units in total)		100-149 sq. m. (107 units in total)		50-99 sq. m. (170 units in total)		0-49 sq. m. (124 units in total)	
		No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units	No.	% of units
Vessels	Deities: Hathor	0	0	0	0	1	11	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	2	1	<1	0	0
	Animals: bovid, duck, fish, gazelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30	1	4	0	0	4	8	8	8	2	1	1	<1
	Anthropoid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0	0	0
	Lotus goblets	0	0	0	0	1	11	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	2	1	<1	0	0
	Royal name: Akhenaten	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Furnishings	Miniatures	0	0	0	0	1	11	0	0	0	0	2	7	2	4	1	<1	4	2	0	0
	Offering stands	0	0	0	0	1	11	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Situlae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Offering tables	0	0	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	<1	0	0	1	<1
	Aten & royal family	2	10	0	0	2	22	2	20	0	0	2	7	2	4	2	2	1	<1	2	2
Domestic reliefs & inscriptions	Private scenes & traditional deities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Miscellaneous & unidentifiable	1	50	0	0	4	44	0	0	1	4	2	7	3	6	2	2	2	1	0	0
	Altars	0	0	1	17	1	11	3	30	2	9	4	14	5	10	8	8	1	<1	0	0
	Garden shrines	1	50	1	17	4	44	2	20	4	17	5	17	4	8	3	3	1	<1	0	0
		1	50	1	17	4	44	2	20	4	17	5	17	4	8	3	3	1	<1	0	0

family can be depicted in postures of worship, whilst women also appear generally as attendants, courtiers, dancers and musicians in scenes showing the activities of the royal family (for example, Davies 1903, 13–14, 22, 29, pls IV, VI, IX; 1908b, 20–1, pls XXVIII; Green 1998, 484). Yet only a few women were granted titles associated with the palace or temples (Green 1998, 484–5), which may have limited the scope for their involvement in the official cult. It is difficult to know, though, how far this underlying hint of exclusion related to actual female involvement in the official cult, or just the presentation thereof. It may be relevant that private letters and intermediary texts of the Ramesside period, the period from which this kind of source material is richest, suggest no restriction of access to the outer area of temples on the basis of sex or age (Pinch 1993, 342; see also Robins 1993, 145–8; Lesko 1999, 249–50).

A general association can be posited between the conduct of women and children, and objects such as fertility figurines and material with images of deities such as Bes, Taweret and Hathor, although the appearance of fertility figurines at male-dominated mining sites such as Gebel Zeit suggests their donation here by men, and not necessarily in the context of fertility religion (cf. Kemp 1995, 29). Male fertility religion is discussed further in the Conclusions. Boyce (in AR V, 161) has noted that the small size of some faience rings could indicate their use by children, although it should be noted that some votive jewellery seems also to have been miniaturised (Pinch 1993, 268–9). The stela showing a woman and boy worshipping Taweret from N49.21 seems to reflect the participation of both women and children in conduct involving household or fertility deities. Perhaps the boy is being presented to Taweret in request that he receive protection, or grow up to father children. The stela illustrates the potential separation of the primary participant in religious conduct and the individual for whom benefit was intended. This must often have been the case for those unable to fully participate themselves, such as the sick or young. Baines (2002) discusses private letters that suggest a similar sense of 'religion by proxy', in that the writers hint at practices, namely prayer, undertaken to keep the letters' recipients safe.

Finally, although their presence seems to be entirely unattested in inscriptions and depictions, it is improbable that the population of Akhetaten did not include specialised religious practitioners, such as magicians. Some members of the community probably held positions in temples and shrines prior to the move to the city, and perhaps they too were sought out for their special skills or knowledge. They may often have played the central role in conduct, although just how structured religious conduct was in terms of the roles assigned its 'actors' is not clear.

Representing religion

Kemp, in his foreword to the 2005 reprint of N. de G. Davies' *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* series, likens the ruins of Akhetaten and the cliff tombs to the pages of an open book: 'On one page and lying very flat is the city itself. On the other and slightly creased-up facing page are the rock tombs in the cliffs'. The tomb scenes are of particular interest for their representations of official buildings: temples, shrines and palaces. Images of the temples show offering-tables piled with food and incense. Down amongst the city ruins, the Great Aten Temple, in particular, has offered the remains of some 1800 offering-tables, and a large open court suitable, in theory at least, for large gatherings. One way of reconciling these sources is to see the offering-tables as holding goods given by the people during occasions such as festivals; another is to see the represented offerings as sourced largely from temple lands, but intended in part for redistribution amongst the city's residents (see Davies 1905a, 22; also Badawy 1962, 84; Kemp and Gardi 1993, 54–5, 61; Kemp 1994, 139; 1995, 33–4). Here, the pages of the book – the archaeology and representational evidence – overlap fairly well, although reconciling them to the same story remains problematic. Often, in fact, the disjunctions between source materials are just as valuable as the points at which they intersect.

Representations of houses are extremely rare in the Amarna tomb scenes. There are probably just two: one each in the tombs of Mahu and Meryra (see Davies 1903, 38–9, pls XXV, XXXIII; 1906, 17, pls XXV, XXVIII). Neither has a definite representation of a cult emplacement. The house of Meryra contains a raised structure with flared cornice, seemingly approached by balustrades, in the central room (Davies 1903, 38–9, pls XXV, XXXIII), which might just be a shrine. A house shown on a block found re-used at Amarna, and now in the Mallawi Museum (see Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 338, fig. 9.22), contains various furnishings and shows people undertaking domestic activities such as grinding grain, but nothing overtly religious can be read into the scene. In one of two houses depicted on another block, this time found at Hermopolis but evidently from Amarna, there is a free-standing rectangular feature with a rounded object seemingly on top (see Cooney 1965, 74–5, no. 47; Cooney saw it as part of the service quarters of the Great Palace, although I follow Kemp 1989, 298, fig. 100, in interpreting it as a house). This is not dissimilar to the hieroglyphic *hpt*, although the base in particular is higher, and it could represent a stone offering-table or altar. This rarity of representations of domestic religious emplacements is not isolated to Amarna but a feature of New Kingdom house scenes generally; scenes that often contain internal details. These tentative Amarna examples are in fact the only ones, of which I am aware,

with the exception of one other group of Amarna-period house scenes on talatat from Karnak, which seem to show offerings being made to the Aten in external shrines (Traunecker 1988, 74–5, 81–5, figs 1–3). We know from the archaeological record that emplacements such as altars were not uncommon in this period. The reticence in depicting them suggests that they are either not of importance in the context of the scenes, or in the context of the production of the images. The latter was presumably state-run workshops, implying perhaps that such emplacements fell largely beyond what was officially recognised. This supports the idea that the shrines were not part of the basic blue-print of house design but added through individual initiative.

Tomb scenes are just one source of representations of religion at Amarna; others include the paintings at the Workmen's Village, domestic reliefs within the city proper, and images on stelae and ostraca. Presumably none are 'snapshots' of religion in action: representations of specific instances of conduct. But at the same time, they were probably drawing upon a 'vocabulary' of images sourced from reality. So, when imagery such as worshippers appear with arms upraised we might suppose this action was an appropriate element of personal religious performance. How well did representations keep up with trends in real-time religion? Informal scenes on objects such as ostraca and small stelae were perhaps more spontaneous in this respect.

One interesting collection of images occurs on the six round-topped stelae discovered by Barsanti in 1891 in the tomb of the official Any (see Davies 1908a, 9–11, pls XXI–XXIII; Corteggiani 1987, 108–9). At least four seem to have been found in round-topped niches cut in an entrance 'porch' just before the doorway into the tomb, a feature unique to this tomb, with the others found in the fill. They bear relief-work images in one or two registers, with brief inscriptions. The stelae themselves seem to have been deposited as memorial offerings by certain of Any's associates, but the scenes on them also contain information on other acts deemed suitable in the context of mortuary rites conducted for him. Four show a figure of Any (perhaps a statue of him) seated in front of offerings that include food, drink, floral bouquets and probably incense. The dedicator of the stela stands before him, usually offering something in his outstretched hand. It is usually clear from the inscriptions that Any is here deceased. It seems unlikely that all of these men had statues of Any within their homes, but some might have had uninscribed ancestor busts or seated statues (see Part II.4), perhaps generic images of the deceased that could be identified with individuals when required. An alternative is that these scenes were intended to represent the giving of offerings at Any's tomb, which contained a prominent

statue of him. On one stela, that of Any-men, the figure of Any is seated in front of a façade that is probably the entrance to his tomb. Is this element included to clarify here that the offerings are made at the tomb, because it was possible that they could be made elsewhere? Another stela, that of the charioteer Thay, shows Any being driven in his chariot, and there is probably little religious significance to be read into the representation itself. The final stela shows in the upper register a standing figure of Any, before whom appears the scribe Nebwawi, donor of the stela, holding to him a papyrus roll. An inscription accompanies the figure: 'Behold the ox as to which it was said: 'bring it''. In the lower register, Nebwawi leads a sacred ox, wearing a broad collar from which hang lotus flowers, and an inscription reads: 'The scribe Nebwawi says: 'We (?) have seen the good things which the good ruler has done to his Scribe of the Altar. He has ordered for him a goodly burial in Akhetaten.' What is the reality behind this scene? Did Nebwawi really present an entire ox, or was the scene meant to substitute for an offering only of meat, or even just of the stela? If we imagine Nebwawi offering the animal itself, perhaps as a part of a conglomerate of Any's associates, it is difficult to imagine this occurring at the tomb. Perhaps the offering took place at the Great Aten Temple, or a similar state institution, and so fell under the jurisdiction of Panehesy in his role as 'Superintendent of the Cattle of the Aten'. This is one potential context in which the tomb scenes of offerings within the temples, the spacious grounds and offering-tables attested archaeologically at the temples, and reality of religious conduct overlapped: people could acquire specially fattened cattle, from private supplies (for which see Kemp 1994, 143–5) or possibly a controlled central stock, and have them slaughtered in the presence of, and so offered to, the Aten in order that the king grant an associate an afterlife. Some of the meat could have been redistributed to the tomb as offerings.

In Part I.2, the potential for further investigation of the overlap between 'mortuary' and 'private' religion in the New Kingdom was noted. At Amarna, concerns relating to the deceased and the afterlife occur repeatedly as an appropriate explanatory framework for behaviour represented in the archaeological record within private religious contexts: the erection of sculptures of private individuals; the building of private chapels; the decoration of domestic architecture with *k3*-prayers; the conduct of ritual feasts; perhaps the interment of infant burials amongst houses; and so on. A sense of very considerable overlap between these spheres is suggested. In addition, there is repeatedly scope here for overlap with the state religious framework, as with the Any stela just discussed. This seems to reflect that there was a core group of beliefs and practices – potentially more acute at Amarna, but not necessarily unique to here – that lay right at the heart of overlap

between the state, private and mortuary spheres, and that these were not simply abstractions, but very much acted out.

Deposition and removal

Abandonment processes

The material remnants of religion must have been deposited and sometimes re-deposited at Amarna both as a result of deliberate human actions, whether perceived to be permanent or otherwise, and processes that can be termed 'accidental' deposition. Only a limited amount was recovered from defined depositional areas such as rubbish heaps, with most retrieved from 'activity spaces', including residential and domestic areas, manufacturing centres and cult or ceremonial complexes. In general, most of the former was presumably discarded deliberately, whilst material found elsewhere is likely to have resulted from a combination of deliberate and accidental deposition. Deliberate deposition in 'activity spaces' could have been undertaken in religious situations, such as the placement of votive goods at cult spaces, or through such mundane activities as the discard of rubbish in the street (cf. Kemp and Garfi 1993, 49). The abandonment of the site, under what were probably controlled conditions, also raises several scenarios under which material could have been left deliberately in and beyond defined depositional zones. It may have been left at the site because it was relatively inexpensive, was too fragile to be transported any great distance, was intended to be used only once, or perhaps was expected to be used upon the reoccupation of the city. Material that was discarded deliberately is most likely to have fulfilled all stages of its 'life cycle', with exceptions, such as the discard of faulty or broken items. This is less likely to have been the case with items that were lost accidentally. It is worthwhile considering these processes because they highlight that not all 'religious' material found at the site will actually have been used in a religious context. This is one of several ways in which the corpus relates a distorted view of private religion, in this case presenting a landscape that was potentially more extensive and diverse at any one time than in reality.

The best source of information on the discard of religious material is the dumps at the Workmen's Village, which yielded many fragments of pottery figurines and pieces of faience jewellery. Distinct refuse deposits have rarely been pinpointed elsewhere and it is difficult to know if these were uncommon or simply passed unremarked in the early excavation reports. Recent excavations in a housing area in the Main City (excavation grid 12: see Kemp forthcoming b) exposed a few pits containing

organic-rich fill, probably original rubbish, but nothing overly 'religious'. Burning and throwing rubbish in the river have been suggested as alternative methods of waste disposal (Dixon 1972, 648–9), although it is difficult to see the latter employed extensively at Amarna, beyond areas immediately along the river's edge.

When did a religious item reach the end of its 'use-by' date? The items in the Workmen's Village dumps had presumably reached this point. Since figurines and jewellery seem not to have been manufactured *en masse* at the village (see Part III.1), pieces found in the dumps were probably not discards from production. The dump material, rather, probably represents a mixture of the clearance of items, votive or similar, from the private chapels and the more piecemeal discard of items used within the village. Most are broken, and there seem to be few joins between fragments, although joining pieces could occur in unexcavated areas of the dumps. This could imply, though, that the breakage took place before they entered the dumps, perhaps more likely to have occurred in the village itself than the chapels – unless ritual breakage of offerings occurred here? Breakage might have been the reason why they were discarded, although the broken fertility figurine found in N49.21 with the Taweret stela and model beds suggests this was not always the case (see page 305). It was probably not particularly easy to break pottery figurines; they would often have survived a fall onto a mud-brick or plaster surface, for example. Perhaps the dumps were a secondary deposition point, the figurines having first been left somewhere that they were exposed to trample, such as a street space. In any case, there is an underlying sense here of expendability in relation to such items (cf. Kemp 1995, 30), a point discussed further in the Conclusions.

This probably did not extend to religious material across the board, though, and much must have been deliberately selected for removal upon the abandonment of the site in the early years of the reign of Tutankhamun. This probably saw the most significant phase of active removal of material from the site record, although this was probably happening on a smaller scale continuously during the occupation of the city. Permanent destruction or loss of religious items could, in fact, have been the end result of some religious conduct itself, such as magic rites involving the burning of images (Faulkner 1937, 173–5; Ritner 1993, 158), or deposition of objects in water (Borghouts 1978, 87, no. 125). Processes of removal have continued until the present day, whether from natural decay or sudden destruction, the small-scale digging for antiquities or *sebak* (Kemp 1980, 10; in AR II, 61; 1987, 25), or investigative and archaeological techniques that failed to include material in the site record.

Dating the material

The Workmen's Village quarry dumps provide a rare opportunity to investigate the date of some of the material remnants of religion by stratigraphic means, albeit very broadly. The dumps were excavated according to a grid system. In Table III.4.2, the 'religious' items excavated in two of these grid squares, M10 and M11, are presented, according to their stratigraphic position. These squares yielded several items of interest here, such as figurines and jewellery items, contained in deposits that seem to relate both to the period of initial quarry fill, probably related to the building of the village, through into overlying deposits thought to relate to the later phase of activity at the site. The evidence for the dating of the Workmen's Village was summarised in Part I.1. The village seems to have been occupied, and presumably also built, during the later Amarna period, implying that the material discarded in the quarry was in use at least during the reigns of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun, but probably also extending back into the reign of Akhenaten.

Otherwise, the question of when the material was deposited is essentially impossible to answer, as has been touched upon throughout this volume. Methods of stylistic dating, for example, are largely of limited value, although one important observation is that there are examples of royal-family stelae dated stylistically to both the earlier and later phases of the Amarna art style (Arnold 1996, 97).

To some extent, the material in houses, particularly items with short life-cycles, is more likely to date to later periods of occupation, with the material in rubbish deposits deriving from a broader range of phases. Some material from sculptors' workshops may have been deposited during manufacture, possibly around the time of the abandonment of the city, although the painted bust of Nefertiti from the Thutmose workshop yields a cautionary tale here. The style of the bust suggests it was made around Years 8–12 of the reign of Akhenaten (Arnold 1996, 69), which was probably several years prior to the abandonment of the site, and implies that statues may have been used or stored in such complexes for a considerable period. The quantity of some classes of material, such as Bes-image pendants and fertility figurines, could also indicate quite prolonged manufacture at the site, whilst the depiction of the Hathor-head capital alongside what appear to be the early cartouches of the Aten on the block from the Central City (pages 288–9, Figure III.3.1) remains one of the most important pieces of evidence for the production of Hathoric imagery, at least, within the reign of Akhenaten.

Because different areas of the city were established, and occupied, at different times, temporal factors could also be reflected in the spatial distribution of material across suburbs. However, whilst the distribution of material across these areas is not entirely uniform, there are few striking trends (for this reason, the complete dataset is not present here). One exception is the high number of figurines found at the Workmen's Village. Approximately 25% of houses within the village yielded anthropomorphic figurines, for instance, compared with a site-wide average of 14% of houses. Around 30% of Workmen's Village houses contained one or more animal figurines, compared again with a site-wide average of 18% of houses. This does not include the large number of figurines found at the quarry dumps at the village. These figures will still be slightly distorted, though, by the fact that some work was done within the village by the current EES expedition, much more carefully than their predecessors in the earlier twentieth century. Also noticeable is the higher frequency of jewellery at the North Suburb. Around 40% of houses here had jewellery with images of deities, for instance, compared to 23% in the Main City, 28% in the Workmen's Village, and a site-wide average of 26%. The North Suburb, and so too the Workmen's Village, seem to be relatively late parts of the city (see page 13): is this an influencing factor here?

Distribution-based dating has more potential, perhaps, for architectural emplacements. Shrines P48.4 and P47.10 are located in an area of the city thought to have been established relatively early, and they do not seem to be later insertions here (Kemp 1995, 30). Q44.1, a residential complex with both a garden shrine and possible domestic altar (Newton 1924, 290, 292, pl. XXV), is located similarly in an area of the Main City that seems to be early (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 70). Conversely, several garden shrines and domestic altars can be identified in areas of the North Suburb thought to have been established later during the Amarna period, to the east of West Road North and the area north of the *wadi* that divides the suburb (Kemp and Garfi 1993, 47). The construction of emplacements such as domestic altars and garden shrines, therefore, was perhaps not confined to any particular phase during the occupation of the city.

There is little direct evidence of the date of the chapels at the Workmen's Village. The traditional style of the wall paintings could point to their execution in the final years of occupation at the village, perhaps after Akhenaten's death (Bomann 1991, 35). However, whilst the Main Chapel was built partially over one or a group of walls, on the whole there is little indication that existing structures were destroyed to accommodate the insertion of the chapels (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). The Main Chapel was also partially set into the plateau, which would have involved the

Table III.4.2. 'Religious' items excavated in grid squares M10 and M11 in the Main Quarry at the Workmen's Village. (Unit descriptions and depositional sequence obtained from Kemp (1983, 7–13; in AR I, 83–8; 1987, 28–30, 41–3). Phases VIII and IX are not represented in squares M10 and M11, but comprise the period of construction of the private chapels and of a post-abandonment accumulation of drift sand and water-borne silt respectively.)

Phase	Interpretation of phase	Square & unit number	Unit description	Objects	Object numbers
X	Modern disturbance	M10 (1)	Loose, disturbed soil	N/A	—
		M11 (264)	Modern disturbance	- lower part of anthropoid bust amulet - fragment of Bes-image pendant - Bes-image pendant - fragment of Bes-image pendant - Taweret pendant - fragment of figurine?	4261, 4350, 4528, 4616, 4665
VII	Upper midden layer	M10 (2)	Upper midden layer	- fragment of corner of figurine (bed?) - upper part of Bes-image pendant	2212, 2535
		M10 (3)	Upper midden layer	lower part of Bes-image pendant	2198
		M10 (1/2)		- fragment of body of cobra figurine? - head of cobra figurine - fragment of figurine? (base of cobra?) - fragment of figurine? (base?)	2608A,B, 3973–4
VI	Bed of clean sand, deposited after beginning of reign of Tutankhamun	M11 (339)	Clean sand (disturbed)	- fragment of Bes-image pendant - fragment of Bes-image pendant - Bes-image pendant - Bes-image pendant - nfr-pendant	4533, 4592–3, 4619
V	Rubble from building of Phase IV	M10 (6)	Marl-brick rubble & stones with sand	fragment of hood or base of cobra figurine	4484
IV	Brick-paved courtyard, built after second erosion step in quarry face	—	—	N/A	—
III	Organic-rich quarry fill, deposited on top of erosion step in quarry face. Building of village thought to coincide with this phase.	M10 (75)	Lower midden layer	- fragment of figurine (body & hood of cobra?) - bezel of Tutankhamun	2898, 5070
II	Initial fill of stony earth	M10 (79)	Lower midden layer	- fragment of hood of cobra figure? - limb? of pottery figurine	5240–1
		M10 (83)	Quarry fill	- ostracon with standing figure? - ostracon with sketch of chariot?	3320–1
I	Initial cutting of quarry	—	—	N/A	—

removal of a quantity of the crumbly 'marl' overlying the bedrock. This was probably used to make bricks, perhaps for the chapel, but possibly also for the village itself (Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming). In the end, all we can really do is tie the date of the chapels to that of the village generally, and if we allow artistic style also to have been influenced by contextual factors, leave open the possibility that they were established early in the history of the village (see Kemp in AR I, 10; Bomann 1991, 7, 34–6; Weatherhead and Kemp forthcoming).

Finally, the earlier EES excavators at the Workmen's Village also suggested a temporal difference between the coloured and monochrome paintings encountered within the village, the coloured examples confined to the earlier period of occupation, and monochrome decoration used later (Woolley 1922, 54–5, 60; CoA I 1923, 59). They cited examples of polychrome-painted decoration having been plastered over with whitewash and plain plaster, in one case seemingly with monochrome decoration then applied (CoA I, 85). According to this scheme, the Bes-images in Main Street 3 and the scene of women and girls in Long Wall Street 10, both of which were painted primarily white, would belong to a later phase of occupation. Weatherhead (in AR IV, 24), however, has challenged this, suggesting that the differences in decoration might have been in part contextual, with monochrome painting apparently prominent in the first room and polychrome decoration appearing more frequently in the middle room in particular. She notes that whilst the Bes-image scene was painted over a layer of white plaster, the scene of women and girls appears to have been the first decoration applied to the wall. A date towards the beginning of the period of occupation of the village for both paintings thus remains possible.

Continuing traditions at The Horizon of the Aten

Private religion at Amarna cannot be discussed without considering the impact of Akhenaten's religious reforms, although to focus on this issue is also to miss the broader value of the material corpus.

It is certainly unrealistic to attempt to reconstruct the religious climate at any specific point within the Amarna period, whether the reigns of different kings, or different parts of Akhenaten's own reign. This is illustrated vividly by the material assemblages at two sample residences, P47.24 in the Main City and T34.1 in the North Suburb, the latter the House of Hatia, Overseer of the King's Works. Both are slightly atypical in the richness of their material assemblages, but less so in their range, and

the relevant material from each complex is presented in Table III.4.3.

Working with household-level artefact assemblages at Amarna is problematic (see Shaw 1992, 157; 1998; 1999), but these two assemblages can be viewed broadly as accumulations, over time, of the material remains of each household. There is considerable scope for the removal of items from each assemblage, but probably less scope for the intrusion of outside material. Both assemblages show disparities between the iconography of permanent emplacements and of portable items, the former dominated by imagery of the royal family and Aten, who do not feature prominently amongst the object record, with the main exception a stela from T34.1. In both cases, the object assemblages are relatively rich in examples of 'traditional' religious items and iconography: small stelae with images of deities and a possible private figure, figurines of animals and women, and vessels with images of Hathor and animal figures. Does this intermixing of iconography indicate the co-existence of the official cult and traditional domestic religion in the reign of Akhenaten, even at the house of one of the king's officials? The presence of later ring bezels suggests occupation of these houses into the later Amarna period, which we might expect, whilst the erasure of the cartouches of Akhenaten at T34.1 seems to reflect animosity towards the king and/or his beliefs. Did this take place after the site was abandoned, or when the house was still in use? The artefact assemblages could instead be reflecting changing religious priorities, or outward displays thereof, in the reversion back to traditional cult towards the end of the Amarna period.

There is no argument that aspects of the official religion were adopted by some residents of Akhetaten, particularly through the worship of members of the royal family as intermediaries to the Aten. Such behaviour is generally assigned to the elite, although even at this level it is suggested that there was little real affinity with the cult (see Part I.1). The official cult is relatively prominent amongst the object and architectural record for religion. It could be accessed via the worship of images in private residential contexts and potentially in public or semi-public buildings under both state and private control. When the material assemblages of contemporary sites are considered, none of which preserves the same range or quantity of material associated with the contemporary royal family, the prominence of the official cult at Amarna is highlighted further.

The association of the cult with the elite is supported by the overall high quality of the relevant statues and stelae, and the relationship between the garden shrines and houses of over 100 sq. m., as noted above (Crocker 1985, 56; Ikram 1989, 100; Shaw 1992, 161). The one

Table III.4.3. 'Religious' material excavated in houses P47.24 in the Main City, and T34.1 in the North Suburb. (Sources for P47.24: Borchardt and Ricke 1980, 137, supplemented by personal observation of some items in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin; for T34.1: CoA II, 65–6, 79–80, and object cards in the EES Amarna Archive. The unfinished ram statuette from P47.24 raises the possibility that stone sculpting was undertaken at this complex and that this statuette, at least, was never used for religious purposes; several sculptors' workshops were also located nearby.)

P47.24	T34.1 (a and b)
- fragment of pottery bed model - two model mud rams - part of a painted clay snake figurine - fragment of a pottery vessel with Hathor head - painted stone monkey group - unfinished limestone figure of a ram, 17 cm long - various items of faience jewellery, including a bezel with the name of Tutankhamun and a scarab with that of Amenhotep III - blue faience grape-bunch architectural model - various inlay fragments - faience calf-head plaque - faience tile or plaque decorated with a figure of the king worshipping the sun - fragments of stone relief-work showing royal names and figures (probably including those of Akhenaten), and the names of the Aten, some from a door frame - four stelae, found in the front hall, and possibly the central room - round-topped stela with painted decoration of a seated anthropoid figure - round-topped stela with painted decoration of a deity (Shed or Prah?) on a pedestal - two examples of unknown form	- lintel decorated with the official Hattiy worshipping the cartouches of the Aten, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, with those of Akhenaten erased - round-topped stela showing Thoth as an ape (said to be associated with 'squatters' quarters') - fragment of a stela showing worship of the Aten from near the garden shrine - various items of faience jewellery, including: crocodile, frog, Bes-image, <i>dd</i>-pillar, <i>nfr</i>, and <i>w3s</i>-sceptre pendants; four rings with ibex/gazelle designs, an '<i>nḥ</i>' ring, a '<i>nfr</i>' ring, four <i>w3t</i>-eye rings, two Smenkhkare rings, and three Tutankhamun rings. Also, an '<i>nḥ</i>' pendant from the garden shrine, and a gold 'brooch' naming the Aten beneath the floor of the 'sitting room' - a small dog amulet - at least six fragments of pottery vessels with Hathor heads in relief - multiple pottery animal figurines, all possibly from the rim of a vessel, some from the garden shrine - a base of a probable bovid figurine in pottery - three probable fragments of fertility figurines - a fragment of an unidentified figurine - a copper/bronze model mirror - four faience uraeus heads - also, a garden shrine and three solar altars, presumably dedicated to Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the Aten; and a double-recessed niche (decoration uncertain) in the central room

domestic altar that can be linked with confidence to the cult, that of Panehesy, belonged to a high-ranking official with a role in temple cult. If private worship at state-run temples and shrines did occur, some level of restriction of access on the basis of factors such as socio-economic status might also have been in place. Yet there are glimpses amongst the material assemblage to suggest that the cult was accessible to, and adopted by, those beyond the elite. There are a small number of relatively low quality stelae and ostraca with images of the royal family and Aten, perhaps reflecting the similarly low socio-economic status of the owner/user. Items of jewellery could have been widely available. The occurrence of a small quantity of material relating to the state cult, largely jewellery but also a few statues and architectural elements, in association with houses of limited size is noteworthy (see Table III.4.1), although it cannot be confirmed that these were found in their usage context. There is limited evidence for the worship of the Aten at private chapels at the Workmen's Village (Kemp 1989, 304; Bomann 1991, 66, 68) and perhaps some garden shrines were accessible to those beyond the owners themselves. It is also conceivable that access to the state cult by those of lower socio-economic

status could be gained at events such as festivals and celebrations at state temples.

Participation though does not, of course, imply belief. The limited number of garden shrines and domestic altars has been cited as evidence against widespread devotion to the official cult (Crocker 1985, 56) and, in fact, the degree to which the latter were associated exclusively with the cult is questionable (see page 285). So too, is the evidence for active cult at spaces such as the garden shrines limited to small (recorded) assemblages (Tables III.2.1 and III.2.2). It is possible to view the material remnants of the cult in a framework of obligation or elitism, enhanced perhaps by the distribution of its components as official gifts, at a city in which many residents, and particularly officials, were dependent directly on state institutions for their livelihood (Kemp 1972, 673–5). At times, though, the material assemblage hints at the integration of the cult into personal religious belief, in the form, for example, of personal items such as jewellery. And might the evidence, albeit limited, for the worship of the Aten at the private chapels at the Workmen's Village reflect deliberate choices to continue worshipping the god

after the reign of Akhenaten, alongside other deities? It is difficult to ascertain the quantity and range of material found at the garden shrines, because of the paucity of details in the early excavation records. Many of the pieces that were found have potential votive qualities, and the possibility that material was periodically cleared from the shrines should be remembered – the quantity of material that remained in the private chapels at the Workmen's Village was also quite low. The likelihood that some material used within the cult is now unrecognisable, and the difficulties of determining the extent to which cult centres were accessible to private individuals, raise the possibility that such belief was far more widespread than reflected in textual or archaeological sources.

There is growing evidence that, in the time leading up to the Amarna period, the living king was perceived as a figure capable of providing divine aid of a personal nature, not only through his position as intermediary to the gods, but in his own right. Did this continue into the Amarna period? The promotion generally of the divine aspect of the living king is well documented, particularly from the reign of Hatshepsut, and culminating (prior to Akhenaten's reign) under Amenhotep III (see, in general: Frankfort 1948; Posener 1960; Wildung 1977, 3–30; Hornung 1982a, 139–40; Beil 1985b). One offshoot of this may have been active popular cults manifest in public cult statues and shrines. Although these are better attested at present in the Ramesside period, several colossi of Amenhotep III, in particular, may have received popular cults (see Schiff Giorgini 1961, 186, fig. 3; Habachi 1969, 48; Nims 1971, 108–10; Wildung 1973; Morkot 1990; Johnson 1996, 69). Quite how far such cults extended into the domestic sphere is unclear. Several private stelae of Eighteenth Dynasty date depict Thutmose III as a deified king (Radwan 1998, 333–5). One of these, from Thebes, is in the form of a shrine (Cleveland Museum of Art 20.2002). Its exact find context is unknown, but it has been suggested as a focus for domestic cult and a forerunner to the Amarna royal family stelae (Holden in Brovanski et al. 1982, 298, no. 407; Radwan 1998, 334, note 45). The stela from Amarna that depicts Amenhotep III and Tiye is possibly a relic of a domestic shrine at Malkata. Several small-scale royal statuettes are also attested from the reigns of kings such as Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and particularly Amenhotep III. The archaeological contexts of most are unknown, but they have again been suggested variously as temple votives or domestic cult images (see also Part II.3). Some evidently originated from Gurob, Medinet Habu, Faras, and probably Malkata (see Kemp 1978a, 130–1, note 41; Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 193–7; 1997a; Johnson 1996, 69–71). 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). Private domestic door posts and lintels dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty prior to the Amarna period also sometimes depict royal cartouches as objects of adoration, although seemingly restricted to Egyptian-controlled territory in Nubia (Budka 2001, 107–15; Radwan 1998, 339). Occasionally, kings receive the epithet *sgm nḥt* ('one who hears prayers') (see Nims 1971, 108; Pinch 1992, 251; and, generally, Silverman 1991, 64; Baines 1991, 193). Determining whether the king was alive in each of these cases, though, is often problematic.

At Amarna, the royal family is not always depicted in the company of the Aten on cult objects. Statues, in particular, often show them alone. This could be explained by difficulties representing the Aten in three-dimensional form, and the Aten is, in fact, named in inscriptions on some statues (for example, Griffith 1931, 182). A few small stelae or plaques and some ostraca might also show the king alone, and note the royal-name jewellery, where the name of the king usually appears on its own. Perhaps such objects were intended to encompass a slightly different notion of royal divinity than those on which the presence of the Aten was displayed more overtly; to relate more to the king as an independent divinity than as intermediary to the Aten. At the very least, similarities between the royal images used at Akhetaten, particularly those lacking the image of the Aten, and the components of pre-existing royal cults, might have opened an avenue for the continuation of practical elements of the latter; theological aspects may have followed.

A related issue is whether the Aten itself was accessible directly to the private individual and thought to intervene in his or her life; the textual and representational evidence for this has been surveyed recently by Bickel (2003). Amongst the object record, items with images or the name of the Aten alone are potentially significant here: perhaps they were used as direct channels between the Aten and the owner. These include one or two ostraca, a possible stela, and a selection of jewellery, whilst some items with falcon imagery may also represent the god. The absence of the royal family here could be due to the informal nature of these items, or limitations of space, and they may have been perceived or invoked as intermediaries to the god in conduct involving these objects regardless, but a theological explanation for their absence is possible. The perception of exactly who was being invoked – the royal family or Aten – may have been particularly blurred at conduct undertaken in open-air venues or solar shrines.

Beyond the official cult, gaps in the range of 'traditional' religious conduct can certainly be recognised. Most notable is the absence of state-run temples and shrines

offering access to traditional divinities and their cults. This must have created a gap in the religious lives of those individuals, probably many, who participated in religious festivals and celebrations associated with these deities at state temples, and perhaps activities at associated public shrines, prior to their relocation to Akhetaten. We know little of the activities of the residents of Akhetaten outside the city, or of the status of state temples elsewhere in Egypt during the Amarna period. The similarity of some of the Amarna figurines to examples found at the temple complex at el-Ashmunein (see page 81, 102, 109) is interesting in this respect: might the latter have even been manufactured at Amarna? The close proximity of el-Ashmunein to Amarna may have led to the official closure of the temple during Akhenaten's reign, but perhaps some form of small-scale private conduct continued, even involving some of the residents of Akhetaten themselves.

The idea that the private chapels at the Workmen's Village are relatively late foundations, belonging largely to the reign of Tutankhamun, has been a popular one. This implies that worship at such spaces was inappropriate during all or part of Akhenaten's reign. As far as can be determined, such shrines do not appear to have been common features of settlement sites prior to the Amarna period (Bomann 1991, 81–9; Kemp 1995, 32). The sudden 'appearance' of the chapels at Amarna may be in part an illusion, a result of poorer preservation elsewhere, but their apparent popularity still needs to be explained. They may have been unnecessary before the Amarna period because local state-run temples and shrines covered worshippers' needs; in this sense the Amarna examples could represent subsequent backlash to restrictions imposed by Akhenaten. But perhaps conditions at the village were simply well suited for this kind of architectural religious expression: did the closeness of living and cemetery space here lead to a reinterpretation of the 'funerary' chapel, so that it now incorporated the needs of the living with those of the deceased?

Beyond cult buildings, the archaeological assemblage includes a significant quantity and variety of material that relates to traditional divinities (Part III.3). These include divinities who did not feature prominently in the state sphere prior to the Amarna period, such as Bes and Taweret, and probably deceased individuals, but also those who crossed the 'boundary' between state and private religion, including Amun, Hathor, Thoth and Ptah, and perhaps royal ancestors. The quantity, range and distribution of material suggest the general prominence especially of Bes, Hathor, Taweret, one or more cobra deities and probably deceased humans (although on the latter, see also the comments in the Conclusions). The evidence of cult images and the likelihood that not all cult emplacements were associated exclusively with

the royal family and Aten suggests traditional divinities could be worshipped directly in domestic contexts, in private chapels and perhaps in public spaces. There are fewer definite examples of cult images relating to traditional deities than there are of the royal family, although such items could have been prioritised for removal from the site upon its abandonment, for reuse, or simply not have been a common requirement. These figures, as a whole, were probably involved in a wide range of forms of conduct: worshipped directly, invoked in magical rituals, and viewed as protective images.

It has sometimes been implied that material relating to traditional deities occurs only in houses of the non-elite (Baines 1991, 189; Montserrat 2000, 23), but objects relating to Bes and Hathor do occur in larger houses (cf. Kemp 1989, 305), and in numbers that suggest they are unlikely to have been left by, for example, servants. This is illustrated by the assemblages at houses P47.24 and T34.1 (Table III.4.3). The participation of the elite in aspects of traditional cults, or at least their apparent tolerance of these, implies a level of tolerance by the state. The absence of wall paintings depicting traditional deities, as found at the Workmen's Village, in larger houses in the city proper proves little in light of the comparatively poor vertical preservation of houses beyond the village (Kemp 1979b, 51). The lack of similar decoration in stone is probably more significant, given the survival of examples relating to the royal family and Aten, although these were again not necessarily a feature of the domestic religious landscape prior to the Amarna period. Their absence in Amarna houses does not reflect the removal of a standard element of domestic religious decoration. In many cases, traditional religious material and conduct may also have been highly visible. Items depicting deities such as Bes, Hathor, Taweret and cobras, the latter also with potential royal associations, occur not only in all the major residential zones, but in areas with a high degree of state presence, such as the Central City. They are certainly not restricted to the Workmen's Village. At the Workmen's Village, although itself isolated from the city proper, the private chapels were accorded a prominent position, whilst in the Main City, shrines P48.4 and P47.10 lay near a number of large estates, including that of the General Ramose (Kemp 1995, 30). Some pottery vessels with images of Bes and Hathor are very large, suggesting visibility during production and possibly when in use, whilst jewellery with images of deities could have been highly visible when worn. Manufacture of many items, it was suggested in Part III.1, took place often in workshops with links to the state.

The inclusion of divinities such as Bes and Taweret into the private religious practices of the royal family was also, it seems, an established tradition (see page 18), and one Akhenaten may have continued. Hathor and Bes-

images seem to have adorned some of the buildings in the Central City (pages 288–9), and the material relating to traditional deities, including Bes-images, Hathor and perhaps Osiris, in the Royal Tomb and Wadi at Amarna and in KV 55 (Daressy in Davis et al. 1910, 20–41; Martin 1974; Gabolde 1998, 255–67) is of potential significance, although how many of these goods were included under Akhenaten's own direction is unknown. It is unlikely that Akhenaten would have proscribed the veneration of such figures by the residents of the city if his own family continued to recognise them.

If a picture of overall tolerance is accepted for those divinities represented relatively often and openly, determining the social conditions of conduct involving figures represented by a limited range and quantity of material is less straightforward. The relatively low quality and number of items relating to deities such as Amun, Min and Ptah could support the idea that, if occurring during the reign of Akhenaten, conduct involving them was carried out under restricted conditions. The removal of the name of Amun from objects such as an alabaster vase found in a pit at magazines associated with the Royal Estate (Pendlebury 1932, 148, pl. XIX.3; CoA III, 90, 92, pl. LXXIV.8; Lilyquist 1995, 36) provides further evidence for this. However, whilst it is apparent that major deities such as Amun were included in private religion prior to the Amarna period (Posener 1975b; Sadek 1988, 86–7), the extent to which this occurred is uncertain. There has also been little investigation of the material components that may have accompanied this behaviour, particularly within the domestic sphere, and it is possible that some relevant material at Amarna is simply unidentifiable, or was removed. The limited range of material relating to such deities at Amarna may be largely typical. It is premature to view the limited quantity of material necessarily as evidence of conduct restricted by the state, when the material could represent the limited worship of such divinities, as was the case in general, the remnants of more widespread worship, or isolated instances of piety.

Overall, the range of material relating to the cults of traditional deities at Amarna, including those represented by limited material, accords well with the available comparative material from residential contexts at approximately contemporary sites, as has been noted (page 259; also Part II). In some cases, this material is identical or almost so, particularly some jewellery and figurines from Malkata, Kom Rabi'a, Saqqara, Sesebi, Beth Shan and Saft el-Henneh. This could indicate that material used at Akhetaten was also in use beyond the site during approximately the same period, and so a degree of continuity between private religious conduct at Akhetaten and elsewhere.

'Atenism', encompassing Akhenaten's take on the royal cult, was transposed onto an established religious landscape, in which the religious experiences of the people were indelible. In certain contexts, Atenism was a modifying element on the landscape: state festivals now focussed on the sun god. In others, it seems to have been a muting element: no longer was state-supported oracular consultation with divinities an option, and public participation at state festivals cannot be confirmed. But on the whole, it was just an enhancement or addition to this landscape. Traditional deities continued to be engaged, in a variety of ways, and material expressions of religion were unchanged. Sometimes, this continuity may have helped the absorption of the Amarna-period royal cult itself. Akhetaten may, in fact, have provided an environment where background religious trends entirely removed from Atenism could find new expression: consider the appearance of the private chapels at the Workmen's Village, as just discussed. The framework in which an individual born at Amarna navigated their personal religious environment was probably not markedly different from that of someone born a generation or two earlier. Because of this, we are entitled to view the material expressions of religious conduct at the site, and the private religious landscape that these reflect, as broadly representative of those of late Eighteenth Dynasty settlements.

Conclusions

Identifying agendas

The general concerns of everyday life probably featured prominently amongst the motivations behind religious conduct: misfortune, accident, illness and unhappiness, all perceived to come from varying sources. A sense of general background threat was probably punctuated with specific imminent dangers at particular times of the day, periods in a life, or as a result of random occurrences. Oscillation in threat levels may have imbued everyday life and its religious aspect with a sense of unpredictability. We might expect that religious responses were adjusted according to the level of threat, and varied, in particular, in the level of active input required of the human participants. In the private letters considered by Baines (2002), the writers enact (or at least promise) prayers on behalf of the recipients, who are often travelling; actions that may be heightened responses to increased threat levels. It is of interest that the motivating agendas here are separated physically from the religious performance itself. Abstraction empowered modes of religious conduct, so that whilst practical intervention may have had more immediacy, religious/magical intervention could transcend physical boundaries. The range of conduct undertaken probably included a mixture of the prophylactic, responsive and proactive; although this is not to imply that this problem-solving aspect of religion was enacted on a stage devoid of belief.

Much religious conduct was probably directed towards general protection of the person, and their overall well-being. This could often have been achieved through 'background' protective imagery, including the use of personal amulets. By far the most popular jewellery design – found mainly on faience finger rings – is the *wꜥꜥꜥꜥ*-eye, probably a general purpose protective amulet, with particular application, perhaps, against the 'evil eye' (Borghouts 1973, 148). Did background protection ever extend, via foundation rituals, to the protection of buildings and possessions, and building occupants? Foundation rituals often entailed the burial of objects, and could provide an interpretive framework for a series of pits found beneath the floor of the Great Palace, and perhaps a trussed cow found in a shallow pit here (Pendlebury 1932, 144, pl. XIII.3; CoA III, 55). There is no record of similar buried deposits in suburban areas, although the early excavators rarely investigated sub-floor or sub-wall contexts, where these might be expected. An infant burial found in the west jamb of the entrance to house K51.1, suggested at the time of excavation as a foundation deposit (CoA I, 17), may

have been a later insertion (see page 209). A spell to avoid the plague, cited earlier (page 282), instructs a man to encircle his house with a wooden club in his hand (P Edwin Smith [50] 18, 11–16; Borghouts 1978, 15, no. 15). Although the motivation here is different, the spell is of interest for demonstrating that the house was an appropriate focus for magic activities, and that the latter could be largely performance-based. Similar rites conceivably accompanied building construction. If a deposit was required, perhaps it entailed little more than the placing of an amulet into a wall as it was being built; one of the faience bovid-plaques – known from state foundation deposits – may have been a suitable choice. There is no clear sign either of ritual intervention related to the abandonment of Amarna houses, although general abandonment activities are evident, especially in the form of blocked-up doorways (for example, Borchartdt 1915, 448; CoA I, 31; Newton 1924, 292–3). If the residents did not plan to return, protection of the house may have been a low priority, but, as ever, it remains possible that abandonment rituals simply left little archaeological trace, particularly given the disturbance to the site.

Delving into the material evidence, there are occasionally glimpses of more specific concerns. The jewellery corpus includes a small number of images of dangerous animals such as snakes and scorpions, sources of potential threat against which these items may have been used to protect. Pendants in the form of arms or legs could have ensured ongoing physical abilities, by warding off illness or accidents, or increased speed or strength in diseased or damaged limbs. The rarity of such pieces might indicate that they are the by-products of targeted responses to individual needs. Here, and in general when seeking motivational frameworks from material culture, we rely heavily on imagery to lead us to the underlying ideas. The association, listed in magic spells, between clay cobras and nightmares is a disconcerting reminder of the potential disjunctions in symbolic logic between now and then: would we ever pair the cobra figurines with nightmares without these textual clues?

Another possible usage context for cobra images was the protection of household grain stocks, drawing on the association between the goddess Renenutet and the harvest, and snakes and granaries generally (for Renenutet in state granaries/magazines, see Steindorff 1937; Davies and Davies 1939; page 253). Grain was central to the Egyptian diet, and much everyday activity was undoubtedly dedicated to food production, in its

varied aspects (see, for example, Samuel 1999). A secure food supply was crucial to survival. At Amarna, some of the burden of supply was probably shouldered by the state (see Kemp 1994), but harvesting, protection of household stocks, and the general management of rationed supplies must have been prominent amongst household responsibilities. Although direct evidence is not particularly forthcoming, the broader context of food supply seems particularly suited to attendant religious rituals, with a focus perhaps on protection, or increased yields.

The importance of human fertility in personal religious conduct has long been recognised, including at Amarna (see Kemp 1979b; Pinch 1983). This probably encompassed a range of aspects relating to procreative health, childbirth, and child-rearing. The prominence of female imagery amongst objects and domestic decoration at Amarna suggests that fertility religion was largely female-centred in theme, and probably performance. Male fertility concerns seem to have been secondary, and may often have been absorbed by female-centred fertility religion. There is no male equivalent to Hathor in her role as human fertility goddess, for example, and there never developed, at this time, a male version of the mass-produced female 'fertility figurines'. There are hints, though, that fertility religion had a male-focussed strand, perhaps relating largely to sexual intercourse and conception. There are several male figurines, for example, and although none is obviously naked, they are highly fragmentary and often poorly recorded, so that their original appearances are difficult to reconstruct. At least one of the pottery figurines of 'standing monkeys' has a probable phallus and another, which has no genitalia marked and is perhaps female, holds an object in its arms that may be a baby monkey. In certain contexts, monkey imagery was connected with eroticism and fertility, and baboons could symbolise male fertility (Derchain 1952, 33–6; Manniche 1987, 43–4; Robins 1988, 63), whilst many of the small stone monkey figures from Amarna mimic human activities. Were the pottery monkeys used as household charms connected with human fertility – procreation, the regeneration of the family unit, and the dual female and male roles here? In Part III.4, it was suggested that the boy represented on the Taweret stela from N49.21 could reflect male participation in fertility rituals, perhaps to ensure his future ability to father children; coming-of-age ceremonies might have provided an appropriate context for such rites. A model phallus found in a dump outside the Royal Tomb (Martin 1974, 93–4, no. 398, pl. 54; see page 84, and note the slight uncertainty surrounding its date) could have been part of the king's burial equipment, used to aid his resurrection and procreative abilities in the afterlife: recognition of male fertility, albeit in a mortuary context. The dump

also yielded a large limestone ostrakon painted with a Bes-image in profile (Martin 1974, 75, no. 272, pl. 49; see page 154). Perhaps these two items were remnants of fertility-themed religious practices not of the king, but of workmen engaged in tomb cutting and decorating in the Royal Wadi. Too little is preserved of the decoration on the ostrakon to determine whether the Bes-figure had prominent genitalia, as can be the case, although this is not often found amongst Amarna Bes-imagery. If we are to better assess the significance of male fertility in private religion, it may be necessary to look more closely at assemblages from male-dominated activity spaces, such as heavy-labour workplaces, especially if this strand of religious thought did not have a distinctive range of material accompaniments.

Certain divinities seem also to have been engaged in their guise as patrons of particular professions. Thoth is presumably attested as patron deity of scribes by the statuettes of seated scribes in the company of a baboon found at workshop O47.16(a), and probably at building O47.7. Some small stelae show a baboon god, and some baboon jewellery and figurines conceivably related to Thoth, although here his role as patron deity of scribes is not communicated visually. Ptah, sometimes worshipped as patron of craftsmen, is represented similarly on small stelae and plaques, and a few jewellery items. Protection and general well-being in a work environment may have driven such conduct. The association of individual deities with distinct sub-communities in this manner may have served a fertile basis for the development of personal relationships with, and individual devotion to, such figures.

It is also not difficult to imagine that elements of favour or competition lay not far below the surface of workplace cult. Quite how far the world of human relationships and interactions intersected with religious belief and conduct is unclear, but it is probably unrealistic to imagine the latter isolated entirely from social realities. Was fertility-themed conduct applied not to alleviate immediate problems, but in the context of social obligations and expectations that surrounded procreation and the creation of family units?

Social realities may have been particularly acute amongst religious conduct that elevated human figures to the status of divine intermediaries, such as 'ancestor cults'. Recent work has expanded considerably the range and quantity of evidence for the latter beyond what had for a long time been recognised, and we can now include here anthropoid bust sculptures, faience pendants, several possible stelae, seated statues and perhaps an offering-table, as discussed in Part III.3. Quite how cohesive this group was, though, is open to question. It is not always clear that the figures represented are deceased, for instance, and whilst these items were all

found amongst the ruins of the city, it is possible that some were intended for use at burials in the desert or cliff cemeteries, and perhaps even within the city itself (see pages 294–5). Indeed, the label 'ancestor cult', whilst convenient in that it isolates a strand of conduct that focussed on private figures, does not adequately convey the potential complexities of the motivational structures here, which could have included such aspects as remembrance, placation, honour and social order.

The ability of the deceased to intervene, both in a positive and negative manner, in the affairs of the living is, nonetheless, well attested in ancient Egypt, and objects similar to the Amarna pieces have been found within domestic contexts at other sites, particularly Deir el-Medina (see, for example, Demarée 1983; Friedman 1994, 115). The Amarna items must overlap, at least in part, with this framework. Statues and stelae of the kinds found at Amarna are generally viewed as focal points of religious activity by the living, and transition points between the worlds of the living and deceased: places to enact such actions as offering rituals, in the hope of reciprocal benefit. The bust amulets could have been used to provide protection to the wearer (cf. Friedman 1994, 115), or perhaps to maintain control over harmful powers. There may have been a fine line between being at the whim of the deceased, and taking charge of them. In Hinduism, for instance, provisioning malevolent spirits (often people who died before their time) with a cult can be a means of managing their powers (see Morris 2006, 130).

The expanded Amarna corpus now seems to provide a broad iconographic 'home' for a small number of private monuments that have always floated slightly detached from religious frameworks proposed for the site. In still occupying a slightly distinct position from the group above, they add a level of potential complexity or nuance to 'ancestor worship'. One is an Amarna-period statuette possibly found at Gebelein (MMA 11.150.21) that shows three male figures of different ages. It can be speculated that the statuette was taken to Gebelein by an Amarna resident, although there is no proof of this (see Pischikova in Freed et al 1999, 255, no. 174). The figures stand together, hands clasped and arms around each other in postures of affection, and familiarity. They probably represent three generations of one family, although it has been observed that they could represent the same person at different ages (Pischikova in Freed et al 1999, 255, no. 174). The iconography would be suitable in a funerary context, or perhaps a temple votive offering, and given the uncertainty concerning its find provenance, both are possible. But what if it was a domestic icon? Was it manufactured when all three figures were living, and intended to communicate kinship, social hierarchy and the cyclical nature of the position of head of the household; largely a statement

of social order in a household context, rather than an overtly religious icon? As one generation died, the iconography may have affirmed the continued place of the deceased within the family tree, and the obligations of the living toward him. The statuette may have acquired the function of an 'ancestor icon', intended as a point of contact with the deceased. Rather than a statement of actual relationships, its iconography could always have been read, alternatively, on an abstracted level. Perhaps the somewhat ambiguous status of some figures represented on other statuettes and stelae was intentional: they were used to represent the head of the household during life and become images of worship proper after death, respect transmuting across the life-death divide to veneration. 'Ancestor cults' may have included an element of maintaining the social status quo in a domestic environment and beyond, a scenario that could account for the apparent lack of female imagery amongst the stelae and seated statuettes at least, and possibly the anthropoid busts (see Bothmer 1987, 29 and Friedman 1994, 114–16 on the sex of the latter).

Something similar is perhaps reflected in the stela from R44.2 that shows two men, Menena and Yaya, seated on stools and being served drink and food by two women, Tashety and Mery (pages 146, Figure II.5.22). It seems improbable that it was meant to communicate the active veneration of the two men, either deceased or alive, given the absence of elements such as offering-tables. The scene may be intended to show the undertaking of a general feast or celebration, perhaps in commemoration of a deceased associate or a divinity (see pages 283–4), or maybe the men are themselves now deceased, and shown participating in a feast as they did in life and hope to continue in death, via the provision of food offerings. One of the stelae in the tomb of the official Any, which shows him being driven in his chariot, a scene apparently based on activities within his lifetime, might provide a parallel here (see page 313; but also the remark below). The R44.2 stela was found partially wrapped in linen, and leaning against an outside wall of the house. It may have been in the process of being transported when left here, and could have been intended for deposition at a tomb or shrine. But we cannot exclude the possibility that it was a domestic icon. In either case, it could have served as a 'funerary' or 'ancestor' stela whilst simultaneously conveying something of social order, here involving men and women, and perhaps relating to kinship and gender roles. Note, though, that the women, whilst serving the men, still appear on a significant scale and dressed in finery, and are not necessarily in submissive roles.

Finally, there is the set of stelae found in the tomb of the official Any (see pages 265, 313). These can be set

apart from the group of private monuments listed above because of their stronger 'mortuary' aspect: they usually make reference to the maintenance of Any's *k3*, and were, of course, found at his tomb. Some of the inscriptions and scenes on the stelae suggest funerary offerings, such as the ox on the stela dedicated by Nebwawi (page 313), whilst Davies (1908a, 10) noted that the stela showing Any in his chariot may have been intended to supplement an unfinished scene inside the tomb, and so was presumably deposited close to the funeral. They were not all necessarily funerary offerings, though. They cluster into two distinct styles, each quite uniform, which is at odds with the piecemeal addition of stelae to the tomb over time, but could still represent two broader phases of deposition. Potentially, they lie on the cusp between 'mortuary' and 'ancestor' cult, illustrating the blurred distinctions between the obligations to secure a proper burial, to the continued maintenance of the *k3*, and ongoing worship, including preventative veneration. Distinctions in motivations were presumably dependent on how close in time to the funeral the offerings were made. Location may also have been important for funerary offerings, but was perhaps less crucial for those that maintained the *k3*. Travelling to a tomb or grave would have involved a significant investment of time, an obligation that domestic cult images could have alleviated; it was noted in Part III.4 that some of the Any stelae could show, in fact, the placement of offerings at locations other than his tomb.

The Any stelae also bring into question who was represented amongst the private statuettes and stelae found within the city. It is probably a safe assumption that familial links were important here. Male imagery probably dominates, and there may have been a focus on male heads of households, the suggested theme of the Gebelein statuette. But the donors of the Any stelae were mostly lower officials, some of whom were probably in the service of Any and his household (Davies 1908a, 9). They evidently had a role to play in his funeral, if not the ongoing maintenance of his *k3*. Was this activity ever transferred to their own homes? One of the seated statuettes of a non-royal figure found within the city (Cairo JE 53249; Figure II.4.7) originated from T35.4, a small, and poorly preserved, house built directly against the enclosure wall of a significantly larger house compound, T35.6. In Part III.3, it was suggested that the usage context of the statuette might have been T35.6 itself; perhaps even the shaft grave at this house (see page 294–5). But could the statuette have represented the owner of T35.6, who presented it to one of his dependants who occupied this small house immediately next door? Some of these small monuments were perhaps gifts from officials to their dependants, in much the same way that royal-family statuettes could have been royal gifts to officials themselves. It may have

been quite natural for these middle-level relationships of social dependence to have been reflected amongst personal material culture, particularly if this material was perceived largely within a framework of respect, rather than outward religious veneration. Such modes of action were not necessarily stifled by royal interests. Indeed, although the royal family feature so prominently within the tombs of the officials, there is certainly no attempt to hide the tombs themselves in, for instance, a minor *wadi*. In the Desert Altars, we have a group of monuments whose layout suggests a solar cult, but in their apparent connection to the North Tombs, and the Tomb of Panehesy in particular, also display a potential link with private mortuary cults (see CoA II, 102; Kemp in AR VI, 448–52; page 250). Quite how they functioned is not clear; the issue is complicated by the fact that most of the tombs seem never to have received burials. But they may reflect a sense of recognition of the role of officials in maintaining the socio-religious status quo; a role that may even have extended, it was suggested in Part III.4, to the public promotion of the royal cult itself at some garden shrines. Amarna tomb scenes highlight the continued role of the king in granting an afterlife, whilst fragments of inscriptions from domestic niches and doorframes that invoke the king and Aten also sometimes preserve prayers for the house owner's *k3* (Parts II.12 and II.13). The latter, whilst displaying the benefit of royal association in attaining an afterlife, highlight the sense that this was the ultimate lifetime achievement (and the general suitability of 'afterlife' themes to the domestic environment). Did the Desert Altars (see Part II.14) support the practical mechanisms – offerings in the presence of the Aten, perhaps – that ensured an afterlife within the framework of Akhenaten's vision, as reward or support for loyal officials?

In the Introduction, it was proposed that Amarna can be viewed as a type site for the archaeology of private religion in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. But this is not to deny the site its own private religious 'character'. Defining the latter is perhaps about exploring how far and in what ways it overlapped with the state and mortuary spheres, aspects that were largely dictated by intersections between religious and social frameworks. We seem to be approaching something of this here, in this strand of religious thought that focussed upon human figures as objects of veneration, or intermediaries. Whether royal, private, living or deceased, they were all subject to social realities, so that whilst this strand of belief accommodated various concerns, including perhaps the maintenance of social status quo, it was also shaped by the latter. Inclusion amongst this group of figures was, accordingly, not open to all. At Amarna, the king, and royal family generally, were of course prominent: not only was their social importance and position as providers for the community unequalled, as royal figures they may have

had an inherent ability to provide divine beneficence, and in the framework of 'Atenism' their closeness to the state god was unsurpassed. But a striking comparison can be made between the painted limestone statuette of a king from house Q44.4 (page 122; Figure II.4.1) – one of very few royal statuettes actually found within a domestic context – and the largest of the seated non-royal statuettes, from T35.4 (page 129; Figure II.4.7). The royal figure would originally have measured around 22 cm high, and the private figure – who, it should be remembered, is seated – is 18.4 cm high. Both are well carved, and painted. Whoever the non-royal statuette represents, the scale and quality of production of these pieces convey little immediate sense of hierarchy. Royal figures shared the domestic religious arena with figures who acquired their status by other means: through familial links; by having elevated positions within the household, and perhaps the broader community; and/or by passing into the afterlife. The attributes that lent an individual status in an everyday social setting were not necessarily given the same significance in what, in the end, may have been a fairly democratic religious environment.

A type site for the archaeology of private religion

Amarna offers a combination of once monumental, attention-grabbing state architecture and the scattered small-scale monuments that represent elusive strands of private religious belief. It demonstrates what to expect from the latter: a mixture of the by-products of intended and completed conduct, for instance, and a very low percentage of evidence that represents 'religion in action'. It is a blend of material that is probably typical of settlement remains far more generally, regardless, often, of temporal or cultural differences. In this respect, Amarna offers benchmark archaeology.

In approaching this material, there are recurrent themes that seem to be of broader relevance. One concerns the scale on which religious conduct, and its agendas, operated. Why did the residents of the Workmen's Village choose not to unite to build a single chapel for the use of the entire community, but instead built many small chapels that seem to have operated on a family or similarly small-group basis? It was noted in Part III.4 that cult structures amongst the residential areas at Amarna all seem best suited to operation on an individual or small-group level. They usually have a household focus. The garden shrines were perhaps more communal than they now appear, but not in the sense that they were established via community initiative. Does the lack of investment in 'middle level' cult constructions reflect something of the secondary nature of community-

level agendas; concern, for instance, with a successful harvest on a community-wide level, or neighbourhood protection? An important exception was perhaps shrine P48.4 in the Main City, where a stela showing the Elephantine triad was erected; an attempt, perhaps, to maintain a local religious tradition by a sub-community of residents whose origins were in the country's south. We may also be missing, or misreading, some of the evidence here; workplace shrines and group feasts, for example, may have been suitable arenas for the display of such concerns. And it is an interpretation at odds, perhaps, with the impression of community closeness gained from the closely packed quarters of the residential areas, whose 'village-like' character has been stressed (Kemp 1972, 673; 1976, 98–9). But Amarna was also, in effect, the capital city. At population centres with a strong sense of state presence – the state as organiser and provider – were community-level agendas minimised amongst self-organised religious responses?

A second theme concerns the significance or sacredness of the material components of religion. The intermingling of objects such as figurines and jewellery with domestic rubbish at the Workmen's Village, and the general spread of similar material across residential areas, implies a fairly casual attitude to the discard of these items. We can pinpoint one phase, towards the very end of its life cycle, in which the material remnants of religion seem to have had little sense of sacredness (cf. Kemp 1995, 30; see also Part III.4). This could extend, sometimes, beyond small-scale pieces to items such as statues, which seem to have been simply abandoned at the site despite the fact that many were small-scale and portable, and could have had personal significance. At the Workmen's Village, wall paintings with potential religious themes were plastered over, presumably in response to changing socio-religious agendas, but perhaps with little sense of ceremony.

It is tempting to point to a similar lack of sacredness during manufacture. Within workshop settings, at least, craft production was organised largely according to the nature of the raw materials and methods of manufacture. A single workshop produced a range of different products, but from the same or similar materials, requiring similar technologies. There is no indication, from the archaeology at least, that any courtyard workshops specialised in religious items, although a high proportion of the output of some may have ended up in religious or ceremonial contexts. This leaves the impression that, within its manufacturing environment, religious material was primarily a product: it had not yet acquired a religious identity. This is complicated by the possibility that manufacture of religious equipment was segregated physically or temporally within workshops at a level that archaeology cannot reveal,

and by the issue of 'activation rituals'. In terms of the latter, though, it is difficult to reconcile the seemingly casual discard of items with their ritual activation towards the beginning of their life cycle. Do we need to imagine 'de-activation' rituals being undertaken on items before they were discarded? This seems impractical, and impossible to maintain consistently, because of the often large quantities involved and the reality of accidental breakage and loss. A more suitable framework may be that much of the material swung in and out of significance – 'sacredness' may be too strong a word – in the period between its manufacture and final discard/loss. This is in contrast with the practice of burying temple votives, best attested from early in Egypt's history (see, for example, Kemp 1989, 69–82), and again from the Late Period, where ongoing significance for discarded items is implied. But was this reflected in contemporary household religion, or is the sense of pragmatism that seems to be reflected in the Amarna material representative of settlement practices far more generally?

A related idea is that of 'embeddedness'. Much that can be identified as 'religious' from Amarna could also be labelled 'personal adornment', 'household implement', 'decoration', and in some cases perhaps 'toy'. This overlap between the components of religion and the material constructs of day-to-day activities is not at all unique to Amarna, and reflects something usually seen as one of the defining aspects of private religion: a sense that it is embedded in everyday life. A similar sense of overlap between domestic religion and secular conduct has been noted at Deir el-Medina, on the basis of the intermingling of material remnants of cult with those of secular activity, and the multi-functional nature of domestic space (Meskell 1998, 237–9). But can we get any closer to a measure of how far it was embedded; and what does this really mean in terms of the perception and practice of religion?

The overlap between materials is far from complete, and varies according to object groups. One category that displays a high frequency of 'religious' imagery is jewellery, and in the aspect of personal adornment religion may have been particularly influential. It is of interest here that jewellery is one of the few object groups to which the label 'personal possession' can probably be attached, a label that may otherwise have had little relevance in the context of everyday life in ancient Egypt. Most objects have the potential, at least, to operate at levels broader than the individual (to an extent this is true of jewellery also) and there may have been little sense of personal space within an everyday environment, including the home. Collecting personal belongings may have been the domain largely of the body (although note the comments on the use of 'female plaques' on page 306). The use of jewellery could

have encompassed more than personal decoration or benign expressions of daily concerns, but comprised a real statement of religious orientation and community belonging, particularly when cult-specific imagery was worn.

There is a middle-realm of overlap, particularly amongst 'household implements', where religious imagery is occasionally, but far from uniformly, present, and then there is the question of how often items were exclusively religious. We lack the evidence required to answer this directly, although it is not difficult to imagine taboos concerning the use of religious items for purely practical purposes: domestic altars as jar emplacements for example, or cobra bowls as cooking utensils. What little record there is concerning the treatment of such objects and emplacements does not contradict this. It is easy to overvalue religion, but there is a hint here that the flow of influence may have been unidirectional, so that it was appropriate to imbue everyday items with a sense of the religious, but not the other way around. This is one way in which any inbuilt flexibility was capped, and at the same time the inherent 'significance' of religion was acquired and defined.

A final theme concerns the seemingly generic nature of much of the material in terms of its thematic associations, suggested largely by the approaches taken to its decoration. It is not uncommon for objects and emplacements to bear no visual symbolism or decoration, and when they do, it is often open to multiple or broadly applicable readings. In Part III.2, it was suggested that it was not standard practice to decorate items that were used foremost as practical 'interfaces'. It may have been only with individualised, often anthropomorphic, representations of deities that specific identifications were intended, and even then perhaps not always adhered to. Flexibility in interpretation is an established feature of ancient Egyptian symbolism, but what is the implication when symbolism (and its absence) intersects with material culture? Corresponding flexibility in the use of the latter is an obvious suggestion: scope to apply the same object or emplacement to a variety of thematic contexts. The prominence of *wꜥꜥꜣ*-eye jewellery could be explained not only by its suitability for general protection, but by a preference for items that could be applied to a wide range of issues. Themed components such as stelae and statuettes could be introduced to communicate or reinforce specific agendas, or to establish the presence of a divinity and open a channel of communication with them when required. At the same time, it is probably wrong to assume that religion was always guided by imagery in this way: perception, performance and oral expression may often have been adequate.

Was strong imagery deliberately avoided with this in mind, or was it a case simply of decorative tradition? It is a potentially important distinction, although in the end the difference in perception may not have been great. The result of the different treatment of religious 'interfaces' and 'components' was on the one hand an environment that readily accommodated variability in religious conduct undertaken within any one setting; adjusted, for example, according to the circumstances of different members of the household. At the same time, this produced an environment that encouraged 'religious imagination'. Recourse to the latter was suggested in Part III.1 to explain the lack of evidence for the personalisation of material components of religion. Something similar may be reflected in the many disjunctions between the items prescribed for use in magical spells and those recovered from archaeological contexts. Allowing for issues of preservation, is this because the former were rarely or never made (cf. Kemp forthcoming c, 77–9)? Sometimes, magic spells prescribe the use of elaborate accompaniments, such as the 'divine falcon with a pair of feather-plumes on its head, made of tamarisk-wood' of one spell against the effects of snakebite (O Strassburg H 111 [2] 10–11; P Turin 1993 [3] rt. 1, 1–8; Borghouts 1978, 75–6, no. 104). At other times, though, the spells simply prescribe the use of two-dimensional images, often of gods, and usually drawn on linen (Borghouts 1978 includes many examples). Were these substitutes for three-dimensional versions? Rather than lack of interest or resources, they could reflect the wealth of religious imagination at the disposal of the participants, which here compensated for material investment.

Quite where the bounds of religious imagination lay is notoriously difficult to grasp, but in accommodating pragmatism, innovation is implied. There may have been a continual recombination here of existing religious elements into fresh permutations, with occasional input of new ideas, in response to changes in setting and society, and externally applied religious frameworks; and to satisfy inquisitive minds. Only a few of these combinations will ever have been translated into material culture.

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