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MEROITIC FUNERARY AMULETS

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES, MATERIALS, FUNCTION, TECHNOLOGY,
AND PRODUCTION WORKSHOP**

PART I. TEXT

BY

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Research Abstract

Amulets are considered among the characteristic artefacts of the Meroitic period, but a general comprehensive study of them was never attempted. Despite, the heavy looting of cemeteries in ancient and modern times, they survived in substantial quantities from the royal burials of Begrawiya and Gebel Barkal cemeteries, not to mention high status burials in the Meroitic territory in Upper and Lower Nubia, even the graves of the commoner in provincial cemeteries had at least one amulet included. The Meroitic iconographies on the pyramid chapels and temples had a great role as well to determine the images of amulets in the royal contexts.

The aims of this study are, first of all, to present a typological study for Meroitic funerary amulets in diachronic and synchronic distribution in spatial configuration. Second, to identify the distribution of these amulets at an intra-site and more general regional level. Third, to ascribe and determine their method of manufacture from a variety of materials and surface characteristics in order to try and identify production areas and specific typological workshops, and finally, to try to shed light on their indigenous and external influences based on new theoretical assessments of Meroitic material culture.

Keywords: Funerary Amulets; Meroitic; Meroe; Gebel Barkal; Faras; Karanog.

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“There was much discussion on the question of amulets, their real significance to the Meroities, and consequently their significance to us, and there was general agreement that this subject deserves elucidation.”

Millet 1984, Meroitic religion, 192.

Abbreviations of Museums	
<i>AMO</i>	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
<i>ÄM-Berlin</i>	Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, Berlin.
<i>ÄM-Munich</i>	State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich.
<i>BM</i>	British Museum, London.
<i>EMC</i>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
<i>MFA</i>	Museum of Fine Art, Boston.
<i>MM</i>	Manchester Museum, Manchester.
<i>NCAM</i>	National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums in Sudan.
<i>NMA</i>	Nubian Museum, Aswan.
<i>OIM</i>	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago.
<i>SNM</i>	Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.
<i>UCL</i>	University College, London.

Abbreviations of Corpus and Sites.	
<i>FHN</i>	Fontes Historiae Nubiorum.
<i>REM</i>	Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique.
<i>RCK</i>	Royal Cemeteries of Kush.
<i>LD</i>	Lepsius, 'Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien', 1849-1859 (Berlin).
<i>PM</i>	Porter, B., Moss, R. L. B. (1975). Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: Nubia, the deserts, and outside Egypt (1952. Reissued 1975) (Vol. 7). Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
<i>Bar.</i>	Royal Cemetery of Gebel Barkal.
<i>Beg. N.</i>	Royal Cemetery of Begrawiya North.
<i>Beg. S.</i>	Royal Cemetery of Begrawiya South.
<i>Ku.</i>	Royal Cemetery of el Kurru.
<i>Nu.</i>	Royal Cemetery of Nuri.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

During the last centuries of the 1st millennium BC and the first centuries of the 1st millennium AD (*ca.* 3th BC-4th AD), the Kushite Kingdom emerged in a new center, focused mainly on Meroe in the fertile Shendi Reach between the Fifth and Sixth Cataracts, and established its control of extensive areas of the Middle Nile and its hinterlands¹. The construction of the Meroitic Kingdom was testified by many aspects, which described by scholars *e.g.* Dafaalla² and Edwards³ as the most extensive political structure of the region and was almost certainly the greatest state hitherto existence in sub-Saharan Africa during this period.

Amulets are among the important artefacts of the Meroitic period⁴, where hundreds of them were found in the royal and non-royal tombs, and several were also found in the Meroitic settlements along the Nile Valley. These amulets reflect the continuation and/or transformation of the concepts of the believing in the symbolism⁵, which appeared since the early Nubian culture⁶, alongside with information about manufacturing techniques, materials, and contacts with other regions.

1.2. Aims, Significance, and Research Design

Since recent decades, Nubian studies started to loosen their ties with Egyptology and became increasingly interested in the local components based on interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological perspectives that reconsidered the

¹ Edwards 2004, 141.

² Dafaalla 2005, 327.

³ Edwards 2007, 219.

⁴ The term “Meroitic” in its present sense defining the Meroitic communities and groups along the Nile Valley, and exclude the Ptolemaic and Roman zone of control.

⁵ Pinch 2006, 18.

⁶ Hafsaas-Tsakos 2010, 390-391; 2015, 121, 256.

continuity and changes, which emphasised the diversity and complexity⁷. Currently, the area have witnessed the enormous progress of archaeological missions in Upper and Lower Nubia, further fieldwork and intensive research projects on sites related to the Meroitic period has been carried out since 1960s and investigations by several missions are still in progress, therefore the number of excavated sites has increased considerably⁸.

Most of these works have been conducted in the form of rescue campaigns trying to save cultural heritage from the threat of dam building projects and the construction of roads⁹. As a result, many new and valuable data concerning the Meroitic period have been sourced from Northern and Central Nubia, extending downstream to further south of Khartoum¹⁰. In addition to this, analysis and critical re-assessment for the former cultural materials that had been found by the archaeologists in the last century was conducted as well, which could throw up new conclusions, in parallel with our updated understanding of various aspects of Meroitic period. This includes the archaeological missions in the last century directed by Reisner¹¹, Firth¹², Emery and Kirwan¹³, and the mission of the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Nubian expedition (*OINE*)¹⁴, whose archaeological materials should be reinterpreted in the light of their context.

⁷ For more information about the past and present interpretations of Sudanese and Nubian Archaeology, see Spencer, Stevens, Binder 2017; Lemos, Tipper 2021, 1-12.

⁸ Wenig 2019, 847.

⁹ Zach 2018, 96.

¹⁰ Harkless 2006, 33-36; Wolf, Nowotnick, Edwards 2019, 713.

¹¹ Reisner 1910.

¹² Firth 1912, 1915, 1927.

¹³ Emery, Kirwan 1938; 1938b.

¹⁴ Williams 1991; 1993. See the all publications of the mission in the website of *OINE*; <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/oriental-institute-nubian-expedition-oine>

Furthermore, it should be stressed that the information in the database of museums (*e.g.* Fitzwilliam Museum, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Nubian Museum in Aswan, National Museum in Khartoum, and Museum of Fine Art in Boston and others) are often confusing about the dating of the Meroitic Amulets in their collection.

More than thirty years have passed since Millet made that statement and with continued excavations throughout Nubia additional information has come to light, yet certain aspects of that culture and society remain poorly understood. One particular aspect that merits systematic analysis is precisely the one concerning amulets in the Meroitic period. The ultimate purpose of this dissertation is an attempt to conduct a typological study for 1769 Meroitic funerary amulets considering their multiple attributes (*e.g.* shapes, materials and production techniques, regional distribution, and contexts), in order to identify workshops and production areas of the amulets in Meroitic period based on shared characteristics and to study the circulation of these materials. Moreover, further goals are to examine the indigenous and external influences on Meroitic funerary amulets based on the cultural connection with other civilization and ancient Egypt in particular, which formed a common level of belief systems along the Nile Valley, to investigate as well concepts such as the one of “Egyptianisation” of the beliefs during the Meroitic period, also with reference to the earlier Napatan period. In addition, the work is aimed to track the spatial distribution of these amulets at an intra-site and more general regional level in this period, as the amulets could contribute to reflect socio-political and cultural landscape of the period, and finally at discussing the development of amulets and testify their continuity or discontinuity with the Post-Meroitic period.

Studying Meroitic amulets has been neglected in the field of Meroitic studies in the past, this is perhaps because of the fact that the study of Meroitic religion is

still in progress and many religious aspects are still fully understood. In the last decade, studies and researches in Meroitic period from different cultural aspects changed our former perception about the cultural setting for this period, despite this great leap in the understanding of Meroitic religion, but there are still many topics on a large scale that are being researched. Therefore, creating a comprehensive typological study for the amulets could shed new lights on different aspects of the Meroitic culture itself.

Two studies having been conducted so far about the amulets in the Kerma and Napatan periods, the research aims also to understand the continuous use of amulets in Nubian history, in order to track the continuity or discontinuity in amulets traditions with the earlier phases and within Post-Meroitic period as well.

In order to fully investigate the different perspectives of the Meroitic funerary amulets, the dissertation has been divided into seven chapters, that each focus on a different element of the study. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the overall goals of the thesis, determines as well the spatial and chronological framework of the study, then the sources that the study will be based on. Chapter 2 will try to establish a definition and function of the amulets in the Nile Valley before the emergence of the Meroitic period to enable to track the developments and/or transformations of the function of these amulets, reviewing as well some of the former studies that had been conducted about the amulets in the Nile Valley, and presents the criteria used to determine the classification and the methodology of this study.

Due to the goal of pointing out specificities in the distribution and use of amulets in royal and non-royal contexts, chapter 3 and 4 will focus on the Meroitic religion and the royal funerary practices. The investigation of the amulets from the southern and Northern Cemetery in Begrawiya, in addition to royal Meroitic cemetery at Gebel Barkal will follow, in addition to track the various Meroitic

iconographies which had representations of amulets in the royal contexts particularly on the royal pyramid chapels. Otherwise, chapter 5 will focus on the non-royal Meroitic funerary practices and then study the amulets from the major non-royal cemeteries in Lower Nubia, *i.e.* Karanog, Nag Gamus (Masmars), Abu Simbel, Gebel Adda, Qustul, Ballana, Faras, Aksha, Argin Nag el-Arab, Argin North, and in Middle Nile Regions *i.e.* Abka, Amir Abdallah, Abri Missimina, Sai, Sedeinga, and Upper Nubia and Shendi Reach in Kerma, Gabati, Meroe West, and in one site in Gezira between the White and Blue Niles particularly from Sennar East, all located along the Nile River between the First through Sixth Cataracts.

The chapters 6 and 7 will provide a deeper discussion of the religious and socio-political setting as reflected by the amulets in their historical frame, where all information discussed in the previous chapters will be synthesized, in order to conclude a typological study for Meroitic funerary amulets from different aspects (*e.g.* shapes, functions, materials, and distributions). Then, the analysis of the Meroitic amulets both quantitative and qualitative will follow in order to examine patterns in the type, materials, distribution both chronologically and regionally. Finally, tables for the classification of amulets will be presented, and a separate catalogue for selected amulets will be provided.

1.3. Chronological and Spatial Framework

This dissertation focus on the Meroitic period commencing with the shift of the burial location of the Kushite kings from the Napata region to Meroe. Although, the transformation to the Meroitic period is indistinct¹⁵, therefore the relocation of the royal cemetery has been interpreted to symbolize a relocation of the kingdom's

¹⁵ Adams 1964a, 116.

capital at the beginning of the third century BC¹⁶. Towards the middle of the fourth century AD, when the political and cultural hegemony of Meroe and the Meroitic kings seems to have declined¹⁷.

The Meroitic Kingdom extended from the First Cataract, as far as Sennar, and Gebel Moya¹⁸. The eastern influence of the kingdom may have extended to wide area in Kassala region¹⁹, while the western extension is still waiting more archaeological investigations.

1.4. Dataset of Meroitic Funerary Amulets

This study narrows its focus to funerary amulets of Meroitic period, to illuminate clearly aspects of the use of funerary amulets use during this period. The Meroitic period was chosen as the period of interest in order to understand the multi-approaches uses of the amulets in that period particularly and in a wider context with former periods.

The dissertation is based primarily on study the manufactured funerary Meroitic amulets from two different perspectives; the royal amulets, which had been found in royal cemeteries in Beg. S., Beg. N. and Gebel Barkal, which were published by Dunham²⁰, in addition to, the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto,

¹⁶ Dunham 1946; 1974; Welsby 1996; Török 1997, 442; O'Connor 2012, 112-115; Lohwasser 2013b, 227.

¹⁷ Edwards 2007, 220.

¹⁸ Edwards 2004, 141; Brass 2014. Meroitic objects have been found as far south as Kosti, which is a little further south than Gebel Moya, see Eisa 1999b, also further near Grisly village, at El Getina, Dinder, Wad Sheneina and at El Tersab, 24 km south of El Getina on a plateau containing Meroitic burials that have not been adequately excavated, Eisa 1999b; Ahmed, Ahmed 2004. Other small sites have been identified, but it is unclear confidently assigned to any of the Meroitic periods, especially since the dating rests on questionable ceramic typological methods, see Brass, Schwenniger 2013.

¹⁹ Manzo 2017a, 67.

²⁰ Dunham 1957; 1963.

which found by Ferlini²¹ and fully published by Schäfer²², determine as well all the iconographic representations of the pendants on Meroitic pyramid chapels. As for, the non-royal amulets, the study will focus on main Meroitic funerary centers along the Nile Valley. A discussion of the geographical and chronological distribution of the dataset is outlined followed by a detailed discussion of the archaeological context and excavation history of each site included in the study (Chapter 4, 5).

For the dataset of this study, the author visited and investigated Meroitic amulets in numerous museums, such as Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Nubian Museum in Aswan, British Museum, UCL Petrie Museum, Garstang and World Museum in Liverpool, Manchester Museum, Sudan National Museum in Khartoum.

Two typological studies had been conducted about the amulets of Kerma²³ and Napata period²⁴, these both studies be considered a stepping stone for this research project to follow the evolution of Nubian amulets from their source.

1.5. Limitation

There are limitations that undermined our understanding the different aspects of Meroitic funerary amulets, these limitations are including the heavy plundering and looting of the archaeological sites since the ancient times, so when the Meroitic tombs in Meroe were reopened by Reisner in 1916-1923, no single grave was found intact, and almost all the graves were found disturbed and some of them were completely empty, therefore, not all the dataset is well-contextualised.

Among the common limitations with the other studies that had conducted on the amulets, is verifying the actual purpose of having amulets as a part of adornment

²¹ Ferlini 1837.

²² Schäfer 1910.

²³ D'Itria 2017.

²⁴ Balanda 2015.

objects, which confused the function. Was it for adornment concepts or/and amuletic purposes? This question is still unanswered and what makes it more complicated is that the Meroitic society of both sexes was fascinated by different types of jewelry. Therefore often it is not possible to make distinction between the ornamental and the amuletic function of pendants²⁵, and according to the present state of our understanding the Meroitic beliefs, we can emphasize the fact that it is impossible to reconstruct the Meroitic way of thinking in large scale.

Meroitic Kingdom had a great territorial expansion over than 1500 km up to the Nile from south of Aswan to Blue and White Nile, this lead to the emergence of regional cultural characterizations²⁶, and many Egyptian features in the Meroitic period were completely “Meroitized”, and even still remain in their Egyptian shape, but the function were totally transformed²⁷, therefore the main problem is to understand the formation process, and the problems of interpretation of the differences in belief system across the different social groups and in regional communities²⁸, to distinguish between what is really Egyptian, what is adapted Egyptian, and what is Meroitic cloaked in Egyptian appearance²⁹.

Furthermore, among the obstacle is the documentation contents and limitation of some reports in important Meroitic sites, which cannot provide an exhaustive discussion and interpretation of the finds *e.g.* the early excavations conducted by Griffith in Faras, Garstang in Meroe, Wellcome in Gebel Moya. Unfortunately, they did not present accurate documentations of the small finds. In addition, the excavation reports of the Nubia Salvage Campaign were characterized

²⁵ Andrews 1990, 171; Gaballa 1999, 11.

²⁶ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 154.

²⁷ Morkot 2012a, 124.

²⁸ Graves-Brown 2018, 1.

²⁹ Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 637.

by insufficient attention to details of the small finds and context, but this may be related to the nature of the rescue work³⁰.

Not to mention, reusing the amulets from previous periods, is one of the obstacles to understand their original context, and some amulets during the Meroitic period have not been identified and therefore their typology and function is still unclear.

Moreover, the original excavation reports and online catalogues of Meroitic funerary amulets are important sources. However, the archaeological contexts for the study unfortunately are limited in number as the majority of the burials from this period have been disturbed. In addition to this, the study could not include an unspecified number of amulets because sometimes there is no online catalogue for museums particularly in Sudan.

Unfortunately, also due to the pandemics, the author was unable to travel to museums to examine the amulets from Meroe in person but got access to high resolution photographs through online collection such as Fine Museum Art at Boston³¹, National Archaeological Museum at Madrid³², Pennsylvania Museum³³, and Royal Ontario Museum³⁴. Otherwise, in the case of the number of amulets currently residing in the basement of the Egyptian Museum Cairo and Sudan National Museum in Khartoum, it was difficult to access because of infrastructure works or problems in electricity in the museums

³⁰ Williams 1991, 4.

³¹ <https://www.mfa.org/collections> Accessed January-October 2021

³² <http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/SimpleSearch?Museo=MAN> Accessed; October 2021

³³ <https://www.penn.museum/collections/> Accessed; July-November 2021

³⁴ <https://collections.rom.on.ca/search/Gebel%20Adda#filters> Accessed; October-December 2021

2. Toward a Definition for the Amulets in Nile Valley before the Meroitic Period

A rich symbolic imagery was existing throughout the history of the Nile Valley particularly in ancient Egypt³⁵. Symbols were illustrated on papyri, funerary reliefs, sarcophagi, jewelry, obelisks, temples and palace walls, where they had a decorative purpose as well, but their primary duty was spiritual, religious and magical in nature³⁶. Amulets have been used in the ancient civilizations, their acquisition is considered one of the most important aspects that indicate the believing in symbolism and reflect local religious ideas and expressions in ancient times³⁷. Believing in the magical power of amulets has been a major motive in their frequent and widespread use not only in the Nile Valley but also in all-most ancient civilizations³⁸, and it is worth to mention that these concepts are still existing and common to date in many cultures and communities in the world.

2.1. Definition of Amulet

The name of “*Amulet*” is given to a class of objects and ornaments, made of various substances, which were employed by the ancient societies, to provide magical protection or another kind of benefits to its wearer, either living or dead³⁹. In ancient Egypt, the use of amulets is one of the most common aspect of Egyptian magic⁴⁰, as the burials of Egyptian kings, elites and even the commoners through the ancient Egyptian history included amulets from different materials, and the Egyptian amulets were transferred or imitated all over the ancient world⁴¹.

³⁵ Bonner 1950, 21; Toledano 2004, 34.

³⁶ Ruiz 2001, 137.

³⁷ Bonner 1946, 26; 1950, 1.

³⁸ Budge 1930, XIV, 1.

³⁹ Budge 1901, 26; Gaballa 1999, 11; Bultink 2015, 175.

⁴⁰ Ferrari 1998, 15; Ritner 1993, 49, 51-53.

⁴¹ Pinch 2006, 104.

Many scholars had advanced various definitions for the amulet, *e.g.* Budge⁴² described the amulet as the objects which aims to protect the human body from the harm influences, and from the attacks of visible and invisible foes, aiming to guard its owner from savage animals and from serpents, and also added that the amulet is applied broadly to any kind of talisman or ornament to which supernatural powers are ascribed.

Petrie⁴³ stated that the amulets are the objects that worn by the living people, or placed with the dead, or set up in the house without any physical use but for magical benefits and protection. He also pointed out that any objects with a means of suspension, and not for ornamental use, must be classified as an amulet. Luker⁴⁴ agreed with Petrie's definition for the amulet as small objects that were hung or worn around the neck and placed in the cemetery, in the purpose of protection. Sometimes they had written forms of religious literature such as the Book of the Dead, to provide the amulet with magical power. While Pinch⁴⁵ thought that the definition might be extended to include some larger objects, such as headrests, he also distinguished between amulets and talismans, as the purpose of an amulet is only to protect, while the talismans could have different beneficiations.

Based on the former definitions⁴⁶, it is clear that the amulets represent small objects, symbols and figures, which, were made of various materials depending on the capabilities of their owners and were often provided with holes for hanging or for attaching with a necklace. They included mythical images, sacred symbols,

⁴² Budge 1901, 13, 25; 1930, 1, 14.

⁴³ Petrie 1914, 4-5.

⁴⁴ Lurker 1980, 14.

⁴⁵ Pinch 2006, 105.

⁴⁶ For more definitions about amulets see Bonner 1950, 1-2; Müller-Winkler 1987, 20; Andrews 1994, 5; Herrmann 1994, 2-3; 2003, 2; Ferrari 1998, 15-16; Ikram, Dodson 1998, 137; Fletcher-Jones 2020, 20.

animals, plants, human organs. These representations and others must have an actual meaning for the believers in their effectiveness; in the case of amulets from funerary contexts, some of these are simply miniature models of things, which the deceased needed or desired in the afterlife, while others in the form of deities may have been worn by pious people who wished to get protection or express their devotion to a particular god or goddess. Often the dimensions these amulets range between 2: 5 cm - a little more or less.

2.2. The Purposes of Using Amulets

Amulets in ancient Egypt were designed according to rules, thanks to many textual materials that provide us with such these rules, *e.g.* the Book of the Dead who give a specific instructions for the manufacture of amulets, including their materials, forms, and placement on the body⁴⁷, and the MacGregor Papyrus, which present a list consist of seventy-five types of amulet with their names and functions. Another list inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Dendera specifies the materials from which each should be made. Egyptians believed that the amulet that was made from a wrong material would be ineffective⁴⁸.

Although Petrie⁴⁹ had theoretically distinguished between the amulets that were used for the living and for the dead, it is difficult to achieved that –except very few cases. Indeed, their ubiquity in all contexts implies that amulets were considered a necessity of life as well, even by the poorest members of the society⁵⁰, and some of these amulets were used by their owners in life and then buried with them after

⁴⁷ Shorter 1935, 171; Teeter 2011, 170, Fig. 74.

⁴⁸ Brier, Hobbs 2008, 59.

⁴⁹ Petrie 1914, 5.

⁵⁰ Pinch 2006, 105.

their death⁵¹. Sometimes, the amulets of the antecedents were reused as a kind of blessing and for their effectiveness⁵².

The dominant motive in possession amulets in ancient civilizations in general and in the Nile Valley in particular was the belief in the magical influence of inanimate objects in the course of events⁵³. The function of amulets in ancient Egypt was described in funerary literature such as the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead and other occasional sources⁵⁴. But these sources do not include all the amulets that have survived: there are some types that its symbolism has not been verified, in addition to the transformations that have occurred in using amulets over the periods. However, the aims might be generally fall under the protection and well-being, which could be tracked by the names that refer to amulets in Hieroglyphics; as three of the four Egyptian words for amulets (*mkt*, *nht*, *s3*) come primarily from verbs meaning to “protect or guard”, while the fourth (*wd3*) mean well-being⁵⁵.

According to the ancient Egyptian sources, amulets derived part of their efficacy from a combination of several aspects including the shape⁵⁶, religious and magic inscriptions that were engraved on it⁵⁷, the raw materials that are made, colors⁵⁸, and sometimes because of their rarity or combination⁵⁹. In addition to this, the spells which charged the amulets with magical power⁶⁰. However, the state of our knowledge about the function of the amulets through the long history of Egypt

⁵¹ Bonner 1946, 33-34; Müller-Winkler 1987, 20.

⁵² Ben-Tor 2007, 1-2.

⁵³ Erman 1907, 145; Petrie 1914, 1; Bonner 1946, 26; De Lubicz 1981, 45-46; Ferrari 1998, 15; Toledano 2004, 30-31, 35; Teeter 2011, 162, 167; Fletcher-Jones 2020, 20.

⁵⁴ Pinch 2006, 104; Teeter 2011, 171, 174.

⁵⁵ Andrews 1994, 6; 2001, 75; Ferrari 1998, 15; Brier, Hobbs 2008, 58.

⁵⁶ Ikram, Dodson 1998, 137.

⁵⁷ Budge 1930, XV, 131; Bonner 1950, 3; Toledano 2004, 41.

⁵⁸ Müller-Winkler 1987, 29; Ferrari 1998, 71; Gaballa 1999, 7; Andrews 2001, 75-76.

⁵⁹ Pinch 2006, 107.

⁶⁰ Teeter 2011, 171.

is still not completely confirmed⁶¹, and it is still difficult to define the limits between using every single amulet.

In the Kushite period, magic was an important part of the belief system in royal and popular funerary practices⁶². The small amulets, which had been used by different classes of the society, testified their beliefs in the efficiency of these objects to create desired outcomes and protection against evil forces⁶³. In addition to this, there were textual amulets known as “Oracular Amuletic Decrees”, which usually consist of a are short magical spells written on a piece of linen or papyrus and consist of divine oracles promising specific protections to named individuals folded and put on a string as amulets⁶⁴.

2.3. Typological Studies of Amulets in Nile Valley before the Meroitic Period:

Interest in studying the Egyptian amulets appeared very precociously in the history of Egyptology. Although, typological studies are prevalent in Egyptology and Nubian studies, which had yielded important information and made significant contributions, however, this kind of studies in the case of the amulets is still limited. Therefore, a wide array of past literature is essential, first and foremost, to understand the theoretical challenges and critiques facing the elaboration of typologies for amulets in order to attempt to create upon typology that is aware of prior inconsistencies, and to justify the own dissertation’s methodology.

⁶¹ Erman 1907, 144.

⁶² Séguenny 1984, 152-153.

⁶³ Yellin 2012a, 141; Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 634.

⁶⁴ Ogden 1973, 232; Török 2009, 505; Wilfong 2013. For more information about oracular amuletic decrees in Meroitic period see texts nos. (REM 1317/1168, REM 1319) in Rilly 2000. In the Third Intermediate period in Egypt, children or pregnant woman were protected by amuletic decrees in which a god promised to protect the child from all sort of evils, such as gods who make a demon against someone, or dangers, see Edwards 1960; Ritner 1993, 216; Teeter 2011, 170; Koenig 2019.

The first typological study for Egyptian collections of amulets had been conducted by Reisner in two volumes⁶⁵ for the collection of the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, the total number of amulets was approx. 2375. Reisner catalogued all the amulets in the museum according the shape without considering any other perspectives -even the dating. It should be noted that this study was limited to data recording without any other attempt of classification.

2.3.1. The Egyptian Amulets Collection in UCL Petrie Museum

Ancient Egypt had a conscious culture of the symbols, and the symbolism of some items extended over a long period. For this reason, acquisition amulets in ancient Egypt goes back to as far as the early 4th millennium BC, while magical texts occur from the late 3rd millennium BC until the fifth century AD⁶⁶. Due to the long history of believing and using amulets in ancient Egypt, the great development of amulets for the dead in ancient Egypt is unparalleled, and the growth of the amulets system in ancient Egyptian burials can be historically traced more than elsewhere⁶⁷.

Petrie⁶⁸ assumed several interpretations about the reasons of possession amulets in ancient Egypt. These interpretations were the nucleus on which Petrie relied to make his classification for the collection of Egyptian amulets in UCL Petrie Museum. These interpretations were; (A) the psychic effect of giving confidence, (B) the direction of thought that the amulet supposed to physically benefit the patient, and promote real recovery, (C) the provision of a vicarious double, which mean a resembling object or a model of the body organ, which might be supposed

⁶⁵ Reisner 1907; 1958.

⁶⁶ Pinch 2006, 9, 112.

⁶⁷ Petrie 1914, 5.

⁶⁸ Petrie 1914, 5.

to receive the attacks of the evil spirits, and so save the real person. Petrie⁶⁹ also emphasized that not every type of amulet necessarily falls only in one function, but it could be associated with a number of functions⁷⁰.

The total number of the amulets that Petrie investigated is approx. 2113. Petrie⁷¹ concluded that two hundred and seventy different types of amulets were found in Egypt, with only about a dozen which remain unclassified, and he categorized the collection according their meanings or function under five great classes as follow; (I) the amulets of similar (*homopoeic*); which are for influencing similar parts, or functions, for the wearer, (subdivided into 26 types) (II) the amulets of powers (*dynatic*); for conferring powers and capacities, especially upon the dead (35 types); (III) the amulets of property (*ktematic*); which are entirely derived from the funeral offerings (21 types); (IV) the amulets for protection (*phylactic*); such as charms and curative amulets (55 types); and finally (V) the figures of deities (*theophoric*); which connected with the worship of the gods and their functions, consisting of three main groups: anthropomorphic gods, animal-headed gods, and animal gods (138 types).

2.3.2. The Egyptian Amulets Collection in British Museum

Although the latter approach can provide interesting results, the fact remains that Petrie's classification was published before the era of the extensive excavation in Egypt, and great numbers of well-dated types were identified. However, the

⁶⁹ Petrie 1914, 2-4.

⁷⁰ Toward justify the meanings of this collection of amulets, Petrie depended on various funerary literature sources principally; 1. chapters from the Book of the Dead, which refer to the amulets; 2. The list of seventy-five amulets, with their explanatory names, written on a papyrus, belonging to the William MacGregor, which was published by Capart 1910; 3. The analysis of the objects represented upon coffins in Cairo, published by Lacau 1904; 4. In addition various scattered allusions and mythological references and figures were also taken into account.

⁷¹ Petrie 1914, 6.

general structure of Petrie's classification remains usable. The broad outline of Petrie's methodology had been followed by Andrews⁷² in his study of the collection of Egyptian amulets in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of British Museum.

In her study, Andrews⁷³ built on the classification of Petrie, and divided the collection⁷⁴ to six main classes as follow; (1) amulets of gods, goddesses and sacred animals; (2) amulets of protection; (3) scarabs; (4) amulets of assimilation; (5) amulets of powers; and finally (6) amulets of offerings, possessions and property. Moreover, every single class subdivided to more classified items.

Nevertheless, main points should be considered about Petrie's classification, first, the collection that Petrie classified covered a wide period of Egyptian history, extending from prehistory to the medieval period, and as a result the transformations in the patterns and aspects of religious belief was ignored. Secondly, it might be also logical that the social and individual attitudes to amulets differed between periods with different religious practices which were also out of focus. Thirdly, sorting the collection into groups based on function regardless the context and as a consequence of the potentially very informative contextual information on the amulets were overlooked even when available.

⁷² Andrews 1994.

⁷³ Andrews 1994.

⁷⁴ Although Andrews did not determine how many amulets was her classification based on, it seems from his attached list of objects that they were approx. 514, see Andrews 1994, 109.

2.3.3. The Bible and Orient Collection of the University of Freiburg-Switzerland

The Egyptian amulets collection in the Bible and Orient of the University of Freiburg-Switzerland⁷⁵, with approx. 3200 objects, formed the largest scientifically published collection of Egyptian amulets in the world⁷⁶, which had been mainly published by Herrmann in two volumes⁷⁷ and additional volume by Müller-Winkler⁷⁸, while the few remaining objects of this collection had been studied and published by Keel and Uehlinger⁷⁹.

Herrmann⁸⁰ included in the first volume 1383 faience amulets, divided them to 27 types *e.g.* humans and gods, body parts, Wdjat eyes, mammals, birds, frogs, plants, rosettes, Hieroglyphic symbols, *etc.* While Müller-Winkler⁸¹ published 847 amulets from the collection under the so-called “object amulets”, she divided the amulets to 12 main types subdivided to others items *e.g.* parts of the body (Wdjat eyes, heart, face, hand, leg, *etc.*), plants (papyrus, lotus, *etc.*), Cosmic items (sun, moon, *etc.*), and other types. The second volume by Herrmann⁸² illustrated and catalogued each of the 948 Egyptian amulets, made from different materials *e.g.* metals, bone and ivory, stone or faience, he mainly classified the collection to two items anthropomorphic figures, which had been subdivided to 36 types (*e.g.* Isis,

⁷⁵ All amulets in this collection come from the Fouad Selim Matouk collection, and they originate from the antique trade, therefore no information is known about the place of discovery. This collection included four amulets from other sources, but Herrmann did not specify from where.

⁷⁶ Herrmann 2003, 35; Hellinckz 2006, 178.

⁷⁷ Herrmann 1985, 2003.

⁷⁸ Müller-Winkler 1987.

⁷⁹ Keel, Uehlinger 1996.

⁸⁰ Herrmann 1985, VII.

⁸¹ Müller-Winkler 1987.

⁸² Herrmann 2003, 35-36.

Anubis, Amun, Osiris, Ptah, *etc.*) and animals to 29 types (falcon, vulture, turtle, fly, *etc.*).

However, the importance of these catalogues, but the main problem is that these catalogues include examples of the same types of amulets⁸³, which handicap our understanding to get an overall view about the all types of the amulets in the collection, in addition to the absence of the information about the date, provenience, and context made the study incomplete.

Two recent studies for the amulets of Kerma and Napata period, however, found that the former methods are doubtful, therefore they followed a different approach in order to understand different aspects concerning the possession of amulets including types, materials, context, manufacture and circulation. Such these studies attempted to reformulate complexity as a conceptual tool through approaching the material culture with the aim of elucidating the multiple meaning and function for amulets. This current study builds upon their research on amulets to utilise and amend previous typologies in order to fill the chronological sequences of the funerary amulets in the Nubian cultures.

2.3.4. The Amulets of Kerma Kingdom

Kerma is an ancient city on the Nile in Middle Nubia. Its position, at the southern limit of Egyptian control, sets it strategically on the routes to the African interior⁸⁴. The variety and abundance of the archaeological remains of the ancient site of Kerma make it an important area for the study of the civilizations of ancient Sudan. This city dominated a vast territory and served as a connecting link: there flourished between Central Africa and the Mediterranean world⁸⁵.

⁸³ Hellinckz 2004.

⁸⁴ Bonnet 1992, 611.

⁸⁵ Bonnet 1978, 126.

The study of D'Itria⁸⁶ on the amulets of Kerma succeeded to carry out a typological study and a distributive analysis for the amulets of Kerma culture, in addition of showing diachronic and synchronic differences in the distribution of the material. Her study was based on the amulets that were found in the eastern cemetery of Kerma through successive phases of Ancient, Middle, and Classic Kerma periods, in addition to the ones from the Kerma cemeteries in Sai, and of those located in Lower Nubia (Gamai, Abka, Debeira east, Ukma, Kumbur, Saras, Mirgissa) and the sites located in the Fourth Cataract region. The entire corpus of the studied amulets was 1.746. Comparisons with nearby cultural areas was also considered, in order to investigate the interaction and/or the inspiration to understand the origin of some subjects represented by the amulets *e.g.* of the A-Group and C-Group, and with the iconographies represented in the rock art of Lower Nubia and the Fourth Cataract, in addition to contemporary Egyptian amulets which dated to the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period.

The study concluded that the adoption of symbols linked to Egyptian culture in the art of Kerma culture is related to the needs to manifest new status of regional power. The Kerma people were borrowed and modified motifs from Egypt, acquiring original features and adapting to the local context as can be seen from the representation of the goddess Tawret, who appeared dressed in a typically Nubian pleated skirt⁸⁷, while the most popular amulets in Egypt, *e.g.* *Wdjat*, did not have a wide diffusion in Kerma, in addition to the depiction of anthropomorphic divinities in the amulets of Kerma is rare. Otherwise the amulets that depicted animals *e.g.* turtles, frogs, crocodiles, hippos, flies, lions and scorpions, were common and probably possessed a religious and cultic value, maybe sometimes connected to

⁸⁶ D'Itria 2017.

⁸⁷ D'Itria 2017, 355.

regeneration and fertility as associated with water⁸⁸. These variations might confirm that the Kerma people made a selection for symbols that were suitable for their indigenous cults and needs⁸⁹.

Despite the absence of written texts concerning the religious beliefs in Kerma period, the study also confirmed the local production of the amulets, therefore the amulets of Kerma Kingdom were the expression of a Nubian culture, and in most cases the formal and stylistic characteristics completely differentiate from the Egyptian examples, as a result their meaning and function was possibly transformed⁹⁰.

2.3.5. The Napatan Amulets

In spite of heavy plundering of the royal graves in the Napatan period at el-Kurru and Nuri, but the burial goods of these cemeteries present a strong influence of Egypt⁹¹. These contacts were a great factor in the development of religious beliefs and cults in Nubia during this period⁹², thanks to the settlers of Egyptian origin and the Egyptianized Nubians⁹³. Therefore, the funerary amulets are among the characteristic grave goods for the Napatan period, as after the end of 25th dynasty in Egypt, the use of Egyptian amulets becomes widely spread in the Napatan period and became a part of the afterlife beliefs in Nubia⁹⁴.

⁸⁸ D'Itria 2017, 366.

⁸⁹ D'Itria 2017, 355-356. Otherwise, Geus testified that personal ornaments included numerous amulets of Egyptian manufacture and were stored in the cemeteries of Kerma period, see Geus 2004, 281. For more information about entanglement and hybridization in the material cultural in Kerma period, see Miniaci 2019.

⁹⁰ D'Itria 2017, 362.

⁹¹ Geus 1991, 65.

⁹² Žabkar 1975, 118.

⁹³ Kormyschewa 1990, 196.

⁹⁴ Geus 2004, 280; Balanda 2015, 465.

Balanda's study⁹⁵ was based mainly on the Napatan amulets from cemeteries of el-Kurru, Nuri, Meroe South and Meroe West (total no. 2319 amulets), all published by Dunham⁹⁶. This study complements the one on the amulets of Sanam cemetery which published by Griffith⁹⁷. Balanda also separated the identified child-burials of Beg. W. from the rest of the cemetery, and this enabled to identify age-specific aspects of amulets.

Balanda counted all the published amulets and sorted them into categories in order to establish the popularity of certain motifs. The most commonly used category types were the animal motifs, hieroglyphs, symbols, insignia and deities. She also categorized the distribution of the materials and the colors. Based on the continuous movements of population and trade exchange, which formed the main pillar of shared beliefs systems in the Nile Valley, Balanda⁹⁸ concluded that the use of Egyptian style amulets as part of burial equipment was widely spread during the Napatan period for commoners and royalty alike⁹⁹, and stated that no new types of amulets were added, and all motifs are known from Egypt, but some motifs were combined to complex and striking forms¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁵ Balanda 2020.

⁹⁶ Dunham 1950; 1955; 1957.

⁹⁷ Griffith 1923.

⁹⁸ Balanda 2015, 469.

⁹⁹ Although the characteristics of the Napatan amulets testified the Egyptian traditions, but on the other hand, some examples reflected the local production and transformed beliefs, see Sackho-Autissier 1998; Lohwasser 2002.

¹⁰⁰ Otherwise, Balanda considered only the most characteristic appearance for the composite forms of amulets, such as a ram-headed Pataikos (Ku. 52; MFA 24.681) or double sided forms like Pataikos/Sekhmet (Ku. 53; MFA 24.690), she categorized as Pataikos, to avoid that the current study considered the combined motifs under the general term "composite form".

2.4. The Methodology of the Study

Despite the criticisms to the early typological studies in archaeology in general and Egyptology in particular¹⁰¹, the remarkable development and transformation of this type of studies from a mere collective array of objects to the use of different approaches, contributed greatly to a deeper understanding of archaeological material groups. The aforementioned typological studies of amulets going back to different phases demonstrate that with the application and amendment of previously defined typologies, innovative and compelling research can be conducted demonstrating the historical and chronological significance of Meroitic funerary amulets.

I have given an overview of previous methodologies used by different authors for typological studies of amulets, it is indeed necessary to take into consideration that applying one of the former methodologies or results for the Meroitic amulets will be not justified. Moreover, to create typological study for the Meroitic funerary amulets based on the function will be misleading.

In order to achieve more realistic theoretical assessments of the function of the amulets in this period, archaeological and written sources must be consulted. However, the absence of accessible written sources in Meroitic period makes our remarks highly hypothetic. In addition to this, during this period, most of the former types did not exist anymore, and the transformation of the Egyptian beliefs could be clearly noted, as recently many scholars *e.g.* Yellin¹⁰², Pomerantseva¹⁰³ concluded that the “Egyptianized” appearance of Meroitic religion is misleading, and the Meroities adaptations and adoption of Egyptian religion consistently reveal

¹⁰¹ Gorodzov 1993; Whittaker, Caulkins, Kamp 1998; Senatore 2014.

¹⁰² Yellin 2012a, 143.

¹⁰³ Pomerantseva 2006.

that their culture shaped and transformed its use, which definitely embedded the function of some types of these amulets¹⁰⁴.

The shape of the amulet was often related to its function or to myths that referred to. As a result, the study classified the funerary amulets based on the type in chronologically ordered “typo-chronologies”, enabling to then investigate the function according to the context and alternative sources. To reach a level of understanding enabling us to achieve the underlying principles and to evaluate and classify the Meroitic funerary amulets in a much better way, the comparative approach was important in order to illustrate spatial configuration, models, influences, and evolutions.

To map the spatial distribution of the dataset, a database on Microsoft Access has been created in order to manage the high numbers of amulets. Four related tables had created the first for the all amulets, the second for the context, the third for the amulets as a part of necklace, and the fourth for the iconographic representations, relationships have been done to link the four tables based on the accession number for the amulets or the subject for the iconographies. The total number of royal funerary amulets is 410 include 271 for Queen Amanishakheto, while the non-royal amulets from certain cemeteries are 1282.

The quantifiable data derived from the database fields then allowed for qualitative analysis of the corpus of funerary Meroitic amulets. The database in which all the Meroitic funerary amulets are stored is an essential part of this thesis. All the information about the individual amulets have been inserted, together with

¹⁰⁴ Török (2010, 154) described this process in different statement “it would be misleading simplification to describe this process as a direct “Egyptianisation” of native mortuary religion, burials and tombs types, in reality it was a more comprehensive process in which native concepts were continuously amalgamated with rather than replaced by Egyptian ideas”.

photographs of the amulets –if available. Most of the information comes directly from publications, excavation reports or/and museums database. The amulets were sorted geographically in order to study their distribution and to determine possible iconographic groups. In the meantime, Ward and Tufnell's typology system for scarabs and plaques was utilized to study 164 scarabs in order to reconstruct the style of Meroitic period scarabs. The final part of the thesis contains typological conclusion and a catalogue for a selected collection of amulets, which presents information about a selected number of amulets.

The study follows a multi-stranded and cross-disciplinary approach that combines typology, materials science, and ethno-archaeology. The aim is to interweave all these strands to identify the techno-cultural choices made by the Meroites. The wealth of the ethnographic data collected for this project required a variety of insights to develop a range of understandings of archaeological aspects.

3. The Meroitic Religion and Royal Funerary Practices

3.1. Introduction

The information about the royal aspects of the Meroitic period comes largely from architectural, archaeological, and textual sources¹⁰⁵, alongside with very limited supplementary sources by classic writers¹⁰⁶. The rise of the Kushite Kingdom was without a doubt the most important development in the history of ancient Nubia. Reisner¹⁰⁷ divided the history of the Kushite period (c. 900 BC- 350 AD) into two periods each named for the city believed to have been its capital; the Napatan period (c. 900-300 BC) and the Meroitic period (c. 300 BC- 350 AD). These terms were commonly used by almost all the scholars in the Nubian studies¹⁰⁸. Otherwise, scholars *e.g.* Hakem¹⁰⁹, Abdalla¹¹⁰, Welsby¹¹¹ thought that there is no outstanding change, or break in pattern or evolution, or a system of change introduced, therefore they thought that the history of Kush is continuous¹¹².

¹⁰⁵ Fisher 2012a, 34.

¹⁰⁶ Ancient classic sources about Meroitic funeral practices is extremely scarce, in the 5th century BC see Herodotus 1997, III; in the 2nd century BC see Siculus 1935, III, in the 1st century AD, see Strabo 1932, XVI, 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ Reisner 1923a, 34.

¹⁰⁸ Török 1995, 96; Fisher 2012a, 34, O'Connor 2012, 113, Wenig 2015, I-II, Lohwasser 2014a, 275.

¹⁰⁹ Hakem 1975, 119-131; 1989, 885-895.

¹¹⁰ Abdalla 1989, 875-883.

¹¹¹ Welsby 1996, 8.

¹¹² Budge (1907, IX), was the first who refer to this division -but he used the term Sudan not Kush. While Reisner (1923a, 34) used the same division but he followed the classical writers in referring to Sudan as “Ethiopia” where he called the two kingdoms in his publications “The Ethiopian Kingdom of Napata” and “The Ethiopian Kingdom of Meroe”. In the current study, the geographical term of Nubia refers to the region between the First Cataract to south of modern Khartoum. While the current study used the term “Kush” to refer to the two kingdoms that emerged after the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom domination, “Kingdom of Napata” and “Kingdom of Meroe”, and used the terms Napatan and Meroitic for more specifically. It is worth to mention that other studies included Kerma period under the term of “Kushite”, see Morkot 1994, 12; El-Hassan 2004, 1; Ashby 2020, 3. For more information about the traditional division of Kushite history into two phases, and current sub-division of the two phases, see Török 2015, 13-20.

The second phase of the Kushite Kingdom is the Meroitic period, it is historically spans from c. 300 BC to 350 AD, where the importance of the city of Meroe became increasingly important¹¹³. The appearance of a new culture was associated with the emerging of an impressive royal center related to a more fundamental shift in the location of power and perhaps indicating that a Meroitic branch of the royal family had come into power¹¹⁴.

The construction of the Meroitic Kingdom and its distinctive culture, had a series of changes took place rather than the former periods¹¹⁵. Nevertheless, Reisner¹¹⁶ determined that the Meroitic period consisted of a cultural and political continuation for the Napatan phase, based on that the first king's tomb at Meroe which approximate close in its structure, reliefs, inscriptions, burial chambers and funerary furniture, to the tomb of Nastasen at Nuri -the last preceding king's tomb at Napata. Otherwise, significant cultural changes which evident suggesting that the long-established division into these two periods is worth maintaining¹¹⁷. This is revealed through many aspects and traditions, and the maintenance of the political power in Meroe based on the control over long-distance trade in the Middle Nile Valley and guaranteed flowing goods from the southern regions, where the royal

¹¹³ Many hypotheses had been advanced about the reasons of transferring the royal cemetery from Napata to Meroe (Reisner 1922, 189-196; Dunham 1946, 386; Edwards 2004, 143), but the scholars agreed that this process was done during the period of King Arakamani I (Gen. 31), in the 2nd quarter of third century BC, whose burial in Meroe dates to 270-260 BC. Arakamani may correspond to the Ethiopian ruler called Ergamenes of the Greek writers, which is considered contemporary with Ptolemy II of Egypt (285-245 BC). In the Greek tradition, Arakamani revolted against the suffocating power of the Amun priesthood over the kingship bodies, and put to a violent end to the dominate on of the priests of Amun of Napata, and started a new chapter of new dynasty dominated on the power (Török 1997, 422). For more information about the King Arakamani, see Yellin 2015.

¹¹⁴ Török 1995, 96; Grzymski 2004a; Yellin 2012f, 259; Lohwasser 2014a, 288.

¹¹⁵ Török 2011a, 40; Lohwasser 2013b, 227.

¹¹⁶ Reisner 1922, 179.

¹¹⁷ Edwards 2004, 141.

family dominate the Kushite territories¹¹⁸, which was a clear evidence of the shift of the political power to the southern regions¹¹⁹, as a result fundamental changes in social and cultural structure in the early Meroitic period than the Napatan phase¹²⁰. In that meantime, the Egyptian adoption became increasingly receding and independent cultural aspects started to appear in the foreground¹²¹. However, Török¹²² stated that the culture relation and political transformation between Napata and Meroe is still not fully understood.

3.1.1. Boundaries of Meroitic Kingdom

Although the boundaries of the Meroitic Kingdom were relatively variable and difficult to precisely define, the core area was established in the Butana region; the area which is known as the Island of Meroe, between the Nile and Atbara, ruled directly and inhabited by the Meroitic kings¹²³, although the definition the southern frontier of the kingdom was doubtful¹²⁴. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that Meroe established control of an expanded region stretching from as far as Gebel Moya and Sennar area -250 southeast of modern Khartoum- to the Second Cataract in the north (Fig. 1)¹²⁵. It is worth to mention that the northern part of Lower Nubia “Dodekaschoinos” was under the control of the Ptolemaic then the Roman Egypt, while the southern lower Nubia was administered as the northernmost Meroitic province.

¹¹⁸ Welsby 1996, 12, 140; Ahmed 2015, 3.

¹¹⁹ Lohwasser 2013b, 227; Wolf, Nowotnick 2020, 517.

¹²⁰ Hintze 1978, 89; Lohwasser 2004, 207.

¹²¹ Lohwasser 2013c, 27; Quack 2015.

¹²² Török 2010, 163.

¹²³ Weschenfelder 2014, 335.

¹²⁴ Kirwan 2002, 71.

¹²⁵ Brass 2015, 256; Sakamoto 2016.



Figure 6.1 Major centres of the Meroitic period

Map 3.1. Major Centers in the Meroitic Period.

© (Edwards 2004, 142)

The northern provinces of the Meroitic Kingdom were governed by provincial administrators or local elites related to the Meroitic royal family (see Chapter 5). The kingdom have also controlled substantial territories to the east and west¹²⁶. The ecological and cultural variety of this vast territory suggests considerable diversity in the nature and pattern of settlement and cultural aspects throughout the Meroitic period¹²⁷.

¹²⁶ Edwards 2004, 141; O'Connor 2012, 115; Manzo 2017a, 67.

¹²⁷ Wolf, Nowotnick, Edwards 2019, 713.

3.1.2. Meroitic Economy

The pillars on which, the Meroitic economy based on were relocated as well to the city of Meroe¹²⁸. Meroe flourished as a trading center, and main outpost in the trading routes, and as a source of mineral wealth¹²⁹.

Due to the diversity of the environment of Meroitic territories, the population as a result practiced different life styles¹³⁰. The excavations in the city of Meroe have shown that sheep and goats herding, was gradually converted into with cattle herding¹³¹. The development of iron production in the vicinity of Meroe can be noted, and the minor arts especially the art of goldsmith continued to develop in high level of industries¹³², as well as the emerging of a new black polish ware in the early Meroitic period which, considered a typical patterns for the Meroitic period¹³³.

3.1.3. Meroitic Chronology

The chronology of the Meroitic period is still imperfectly understood. The first attempt to sit a chronological frame for the Napatan kings had been done by Reisner¹³⁴ based on in-depth studies of the archaeological materials that found in the royal cemeteries of el-Kurru and Nuri. Extensive connections with ancient Egypt during this period was helpful to get at the end an agreed list for the Napatan kings.

While Reisner was aiming to apply the same methodology to create a list for the Meroitic rulers, but after the end of the 25th Dynasty the direct connections with the Egyptian royal list ended and therefore only for few kings (indeed only Aspleta and Arakamani and later on Amanirenas) possible connections with the Egyptian

¹²⁸ Dunham 1946, 385.

¹²⁹ Kirwan 2002, 335.

¹³⁰ Welsby 1996, 137.

¹³¹ Adams 1976, 91.

¹³² Hintze 1978, 89; Dafaalla 1993, 15.

¹³³ Edwards 2014, 61.

¹³⁴ Reisner 1923a, 34.

and Mediterranean chronology could be proposed. However, through the studies that had been conducted on the Meroitic royal cemeteries in Begrawiya, Reisner¹³⁵ found that the kingdom is nearby consisted of six centuries and half from around c. 300 BC-350 AD, with a groups of tombs for the Meroitic kings and queens distributed in Beg. S. then Beg. N., in addition to two groups of pyramids in Gebel Barkal Cemetery. The methodology of Reisner¹³⁶ to create the chronological frame for the Meroitic ruling list was based on three main principles: physical contact between the royal pyramids, the line of growth of the royal cemetery, and finally the archaeological groups, in conjunction with setting fixed points for well-documented events dated to Meroitic rulers¹³⁷. Moreover, setting the chronology of the royal tombs in Gebel Barkal has been proposed by Reisner¹³⁸ as well, but the real difficulty in linking the two groups together.

Based on Reisner's early achievement, which still have the basic and essential knowledge of the Kushite history and chronology¹³⁹, many studies improved our understanding of the Meroitic chronology, and provided numerous reviews from different perspectives, and improved sequences lists for the Meroitic kings and queens based on Reisner conclusions and new archaeological evidence had been

¹³⁵ Reisner 1923a, 34.

¹³⁶ Reisner 1922, 181-182.

¹³⁷ The fixed point that Reisner depend on sitting the chronological framework are very sparse and in some cases is still questionable. He started from the last king who buried in the Nuri cemetery and considered the last Napatan king "Nastasen" (Gen. 27) during the late 4th century BC (c. 336 or 335 BC). Diodorus referred to "Ethiopian" king called "Ergamenes" the Graecized form of the Meroitic name Arakamani I (Gen. 31), who was a contemporary of Ptolemy II (285-245 BC), then the King Arnekhamani (Gen. 34), the builder of Apedemak Temple at Musawwarat, was in turn a contemporary of Ptolemy IV (221-205 BC). The Kings Arakamani II (Gen. 35) and Adikhalamani (Gen. 37) whom had architectural activities in the northernmost part of Lower Nubia, between the years 207/6 and 186 BC. The last fixed date is a Demotic inscription in Philae, which reports an embassy from the King Teqorideamani (Gen. 68) in AD 253. For more information about these dates, see Hintze 1973, 139; Lohwasser 2013b, 228.

¹³⁸ Reisner 1923a.

¹³⁹ Hintze 1973, 128-129; Eisa 1999, 4; Lohwasser 2013a, 275; 2014, 277.

presented based on different cultural material *e.g.* pottery¹⁴⁰, architecture¹⁴¹, iconography¹⁴². Wenig¹⁴³ proposed a list after inserting new royal names, which had been recently discovered. A further recent adjustment and achievement on the royal chronology was conducted through the palaeo-graphical study of Meroitic writing system made by C. Rilly¹⁴⁴.

Notwithstanding, the list for the Meroitic rulers is still controversial and the debate continues to this day¹⁴⁵, but the distinction between the royal and non-royal tombs is obviously clear. Therefore, the study will go beyond this controversial point, and investigate the amulets from the two different contexts, royal and non-royal.

3.1.4. The End of Meroe

The period of king Natakamani and queen Amanitore in second half of first century AD, formed the last prosperous period in the Meroitic history¹⁴⁶. Not only Amun and Apedemak temples in Naqa are the most famous religious building, but also remnants of temples, palaces or blocks with their names had been found in Meroe, el-Hassa, Wad Ben Naqa, Gebel Barkal and in Amara¹⁴⁷. After the reign of the king Natakamani, the archaeological evidence refers to the end of the reigns of the mighty kings of Meroe, although the kingdom lasted for nearly three hundred

¹⁴⁰ Adams 1964b; 1973; 1984; Millet 1994; Edwards 1999.

¹⁴¹ Török 1984b.

¹⁴² Hintze 1959; Wenig 1979; Hofmann 1979; Červíček 1984; Török 1987a.

¹⁴³ Wenig 1967; 2015, 119-120, 122-124.

¹⁴⁴ Rilly 2001, 2010a. It is worth to pay the attention to the methodology of Rilly based on creating a new approach of dating depending on the paleographical changes over time in specific geographical areas. This methodology makes Rilly re-dating inscriptions of important rulers, for more information about the Meroitic script, see Rilly, de Voogt 2012.

¹⁴⁵ For further information about Meroitic chronology, see Hintze 1973; Adams 1984a; Bersina 1984; Bradley 1984a.

¹⁴⁶ Lohwasser 2014a, 278.

¹⁴⁷ Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012a, 184; Vrtal 2015, 465.

years as evidenced by the pyramids of the Beg. N. Cemetery, but the economic and cultural conditions were gradually deteriorating¹⁴⁸.

As yet no definite reasons could be given for the decline of the Meroitic kingdom. Various hypothesis had been proposed in this concern including the Aksumite invasion¹⁴⁹, economic disorders¹⁵⁰, nomadic warrior tribes attacks¹⁵¹, but all of these factors and others caused at the end to the decline of the Meroitic Kingdom¹⁵², followed by Post-Meroitic¹⁵³ or Post-Pyramidal period¹⁵⁴.

3.2. The Meroitic Religion and Royal Funerary Practices

Although recent studies and excavations had provided many details about the Meroitic period, we still known very little about Meroitic society and their religious and funerary beliefs. This is because of the incomplete understand of Meroitic script¹⁵⁵. In addition to this, cultural variability and major transformations in the

¹⁴⁸ Dafaalla 2005, 263.

¹⁴⁹ Reisner 1922, 91; Welsby 1996, 173; Dann 2013, 250. For more information about the Aksumite campaigns, see Burstein 1984; Kirwan 2002, 163-173, 463.

¹⁵⁰ Hintze 1978, 106.

¹⁵¹ Shinnie 1955; Török 1995, 50; Grzymski 2010a, 235.

¹⁵² Török (1992, 141) and Lohwasser (2014, 280, 2013b, 227) thought that the decline of the kingdom began earlier, as after the King Natakamani, the pyramids are strikingly smaller than before, since the 2nd century AD bricks were used for building the pyramids instead of stone blocks, and building activities also declined rapidly, furthermore, it can be confirmed that there was a cultural change in the Meroitic Kingdom in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. It was stressed that the traditional view that there was a sudden end to the Meroitic culture is unjustified, for more information about the end of Meroe see, Török 1987; 1999; Lohwasser 2013a.

¹⁵³ Edwards 2004; El-Tayeb 2010.

¹⁵⁴ Török 2015, 100-101. The term X-Group was abandoned in favour for other names; Kirwan preferred the term “Nubo-Meroitic”, Trigger used “Ballana Culture”, Williams argues the term “Noubadian Culture”. While the term Post-Meroe recently used to refer to the period after the decline of Meroe in both Lower and Upper Nubia.

¹⁵⁵ Wildung 2004, 174. The creation of a Meroitic hieroglyphic script indicates that a similar distinction was intended in Meroitic period too. The difference between the hieroglyphic and cursive scripts can be observed, as the hieroglyphic script could be used only for royal religious and commemorating texts, while the funerary texts were written in cursive (Török 2002a, 62). The appearance of a new writing system played a major role in the transformation of the kingdom to

religious aspects in the Meroitic contexts should be remarked from the preceding periods¹⁵⁶. Furthermore, it is important to note that the cultural forms considered by scholars to be ‘typical’ of the Meroitic Kingdom were almost restricted mainly to the ruling elites¹⁵⁷, while the lack of evidence originating in the non-royal context necessarily means that our entire understanding is still fragmentary.

The religion in the Meroitic period did not completely break the religious concepts of the Napatan period, but further development started to exist¹⁵⁸, religious beliefs and practices presented many local features¹⁵⁹, *e.g.* local deities had been appeared, former burial and funerary practices had been transformed, and Meroitic interpretations of the Egyptian religion practices revealed many indigenous beliefs¹⁶⁰. In the course of this study, it was not possible to examine the multi-religious and ritual practices in detail, but brief synthesis will be presented as an introduction, and information in detail could only be given occasionally.

3.2.1. The Meroitic Religion

Meroitic culture had been seen as an interesting uncommon elements derived from ancient Egypt and from a not very well understood indigenous tradition¹⁶¹. In the last decade, studies and researches on different aspects of the Meroitic period changed our former view about the cultural components for this period. Despite this great leap in the understanding of Meroitic religion, there are still many topics on a

glorify the indigenous aspects of its power, however the language was practiced since 3rd millennium BC, see Francigny 2016, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Török 2011a, 318.

¹⁵⁷ Akmenkalns 2018, 28.

¹⁵⁸ Kuckertz, Lohwasser, A. 2016, 89.

¹⁵⁹ Dafaalla 1993, 15; Lohwasser 2004, 212; Pomerantseva 2006, 219; Török 2010.

¹⁶⁰ Lohwasser 2014a, 277.

¹⁶¹ Shinnie 1977, 493. Kormyschewa (1990, 195) explained that the elements of Egyptian culture - in general and Egyptian religion in particular- in Kush could be divided into three sequential stages, direct borrowing, borrowing in parallel with local features, and finally transformation.

large scale that are still being researched, and others needs depth cross-comparison and interpretations¹⁶².

Scholars¹⁶³ believed that Kushite religious practices have used Egyptian religion models as the main source of their evidence. However, recent studies¹⁶⁴ applied different methodologies and approaches to investigate the former results and justified many local aspects in the Meroitic religion. These studies concluded that the Meroitic religion -both state and popular- was a dynamic mix of indigenous, Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman beliefs appeared in new forms¹⁶⁵. These were a result of a long process of syncretism, as after the deep penetration of Egyptian beliefs in Middle and New Kingdom and extensive activities of the Egyptian kings¹⁶⁶, the Nubians started to adapt these beliefs and deities into local needs with new roles and epithets. This process was expressed by the Meroities also with local artistic elements¹⁶⁷.

However, the information about priests and religious structure in ancient Egypt is rich thanks to textual evidence, including the names and titles of thousands of priests, and numerous biographies that describe their duties¹⁶⁸. Otherwise, the

¹⁶² Francigny 2012a, 52.

¹⁶³ Erman 1907, 197; Adams 1977; Welsby 1996.

¹⁶⁴ Török 1995, 32; 2006, 468; Yellin 2012a; Almansa-Villatoro 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Yellin 2012a, 132; Francigny 2016, 12. The state religion of Meroe had received a great attention by scholars more than the scanty and ambiguous traces of popular levels of belief; the summary of evidence concerning the Meroitic pantheon was first presented by Jean Leclant in the first Meroitic conference (Leclant 1970a, 1973b), since then studies devoted to particular deities in Meroitic period started appearing; Zabkar's study of Apedemak (Žabkar 1975), Wenig's article on Arensnuphis and Sebuimaker (Wenig 1974), Inge Hofmann on the great goddess (Hofmann 1977), Janice Yellin about Anubis (Yellin 1978), Then Millet in conjunction with other scholars Hofmann, Kormyschewa, Priese, Seguenny, Török, Wenig, were presented the first comprehensive discussion about the Meroitic religion in Meroitic conference in Berlin in 1980, see Millet 1984, 111-188.

¹⁶⁶ Graves 2010, 56, 67.

¹⁶⁷ Žabkar 1975, 79, 101; Török 1995, 18-19; 2009, 211-13.

¹⁶⁸ Teeter 2011, 16.

institution of the priesthood was an important aspect of the Meroitic religion, but there is no more information about it –except titles¹⁶⁹. The same gap for the religious festivals, which structured the practice of ancient religion and gave ordinary people a chance to be actively involved in cult celebrations, festivals also served to state control and promote royal ideology. The Egyptian texts recorded a lot of information about such festivals¹⁷⁰. Otherwise, we can propose that these festivals could be done in the Meroitic religious practices but in small scales¹⁷¹.

The main source to recognize the gods and goddess in the Meroitic period is the iconographic and epigraphic evidence in the Meroitic temples¹⁷², including the temples in Gebel Barkal, Meroe, Musawwarat es-Sufra, and Naqa¹⁷³, but this source is slightly inhomogeneous because almost all of these building were dated to Natakamani and Amanitore¹⁷⁴. In addition, there are the pyramid chapels, where abundant scenes were carved, which represent the most important sources for understanding Meroitic religious beliefs and funerary practices¹⁷⁵. However, the majority of the scenes on the pyramid chapels were related and devoted mainly to the Egyptian pantheons, with little information about the indigenous religious beliefs and practices¹⁷⁶.

¹⁶⁹ The epigraphic and iconographic evidence from Meroitic temples did not present more information about the priesthood structure of Meroitic cults, and there are obstacles for more religious-historical analysis of Meroitic religious practices. For more about cults and priests in Meroitic sources see Török 1984a, 157-166. Inscriptions found on the walls of five temples in Lower Nubia attest to the involvement of Nubian priests, administrators, and diplomats in a region where many ethnicities intermingled during a time of profound religious, cultural, and social change as the ancient world was transformed, see Ashby 2020.

¹⁷⁰ Teeter 2011, 56-57.

¹⁷¹ For more information about festivals performed by Nubians at Philae, see Ashby 2016, 126-132.

¹⁷² Abdalla 1982, 61; Eisa 1999, 10.

¹⁷³ Millet 1984, 111.

¹⁷⁴ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 91-92.

¹⁷⁵ Dafaalla 2005, 359.

¹⁷⁶ Welsby 1996, 72.

Our understanding of Meroitic religion is still imperfect due to the inability of sufficient understanding of Meroitic script. Therefore, the textual approach to reconstruct the Meroitic religion is limited¹⁷⁷. In the Kushite period, the Egyptian gods were adopted by the Kushites as a kind of “Nubianization” of the Egyptian beliefs¹⁷⁸, and many deities were associated with pre-existing Nubian deities and developed a new local forms of gods. For example, Amun was the most prominent and important god for the Egyptians and the Nubians as well, Amun is considered the best example of the coexistence of Egyptian form with local and modified characteristics in Nubian theology¹⁷⁹. In his Egyptian form, Amun was represented as a human-headed god, but since the New Kingdom, he was worshipped by the Egyptians and Kushites as a ram or a ram-headed god who was associated with fertility and water¹⁸⁰. Local forms of Amun had emerged in the Kushite kingdom, such these variations in the Meroitic religious beliefs reflect how was the strength and the domination of the Egyptian and Nubian traditions¹⁸¹, alongside with some Hellenistic influences¹⁸².

The Meroitic religious funerary imagery indicates that the Meroitic rulers identified with a number of Egyptian and local deities including Amun, Apedemak, Isis and Osiris. Isis and Osiris command the Meroitic funerary practices, while the Meroitic temples cults were centered on Apedemak, Amun and Isis alongside with other gods. The Meroitic period witness the transformation of Egyptian gods with new functions and consorts, leading to create new divine families¹⁸³. In this sense

¹⁷⁷ Séguenny 1984, 149; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 90.

¹⁷⁸ Eisa 1999, 11; Lohwasser 2014a, 286.

¹⁷⁹ Kormysheva 1992, 188.

¹⁸⁰ Yellin 2012a, 126.

¹⁸¹ Welsby 1996, 98.

¹⁸² Yellin 2012f, 262.

¹⁸³ Kormyschewa 1990 , 195.

Lohwasser¹⁸⁴ stated that “*Das Wechselspiel zwischen Einflüssen von außen und innerer Entwicklung machen den besonderen Charakter der meroitischen Kultur aus*”.

While the Napatan period witnessed the large and clear spread of the Egyptian deities, this concept no longer appears in the Meroitic period¹⁸⁵. The approaches of syncretism and locality dominated the recent studies about Meroitic religion. It should be noted that not all Egyptian gods existed in the Meroitic religious context, but a number of them include Amun or Amun Re, Horus, Isis and Osiris, Thoth, Nephthys, Hathor, and Bes, whose presence were prominent. The names of these gods and goddess were written also in Meroitic (table. 1)¹⁸⁶.

	Meroitic	transliteration
Amun	ⲡⲓⲛ	<i>Amni</i>
Apedemak	ⲁⲡⲉⲃⲉⲙⲁⲕ	<i>Apedemk</i>
Isis	ⲓⲥⲓⲥ	<i>Wos</i>
Amesemi	ⲁⲙⲉⲥⲉⲙⲓ	<i>Amesemi</i>
Osiris	ⲟⲩⲓⲣⲓⲥ	<i>Asori</i>
Hathor	ⲙⲁⲧⲏⲣ	<i>Atri</i>
Mut	ⲙⲧ	<i>Mt</i>
Horus	ⲙⲟⲩ	<i>Ar</i>
Ra-Harakhty	ⲕⲁⲣⲁⲕⲏⲧⲧⲓ	<i>Aritene ?</i>
Khons	ⲕⲏⲙⲓⲥ	<i>Aqedise ?</i>
Mash	ⲙⲥ	<i>Ms</i>

Table 3.1 The Names of Deities in Meroitic Script.

¹⁸⁴ Lohwasser 2013b, 241.

¹⁸⁵ Török 2011b, 312; Lohwasser 2013b, 241.

¹⁸⁶ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 91.

The popular religion was differentiated by many aspects from the official/royal religion, where the public and ordinary people had their own ways to worship the deities. Due to the collected materials so far from popular aspects of Meroitic religion, public religion had received very little interest, and scholars attempted to understand aspects for popular Meroitic religion based on graffiti and small finds in graves as a practice of personal piety¹⁸⁷.

Many studies¹⁸⁸ that were conducted on the religion of Meroitic kingdom, are accustomed to the principle of separation between deities, and classify them according to the origin as Egyptian, Meroitic and Hellenistic deities, while the penetration of the indigenous traditions and foreign influxes greatly marked the Meroitic identity¹⁸⁹. One of the main feature of the Meroitic period is a syncretistic representation, and both the ancient Egyptian and the Hellenistic-Roman influence can be found in the Meroitic gods¹⁹⁰, regardless of the fact that all these deities, despite their origin, interacted and acquired local characteristics and contributed in the formation of the unique religious identity of the Meroitic culture, or at least the Egyptian gods were entirely integrated into Meroitic beliefs and were worshipped in the Meroitic kingdom along with local gods, in both popular and official contexts¹⁹¹. As a result, the study will provide an introduction to the most important deities of the Meroitic period, and other information will be given occasionally.

The impact of Egyptian religion on all aspects of the native religion found its real demonstration in the diffusion of the Egyptian religion in Nubia both in its pure form and in the specific process of Egyptian-Meroitic syncretism. The Meroitic

¹⁸⁷ Séguenny 1984, 149.

¹⁸⁸ Kormysheva 2006, 13; Yellin 2012a; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016.

¹⁸⁹ Baldi 2015, 101.

¹⁹⁰ Lohwasser 2013b, 241.

¹⁹¹ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 185.

period was characterized by the creation of new divine compositions, and transformation of the Egyptian gods on local basis. The process of Egyptian-Meroitic syncretism depended only on the peculiarities of historical events¹⁹², but the problematic point is still to distinguish between what is really Egyptian, what is adapted Egyptian, and what is Meroitic cloaked in Egyptian appearance¹⁹³.

3.2.1.1. Amun

As in ancient Egypt, the Meroitic rulers had a special relationship with the deities and religious cults¹⁹⁴. The worship of Amun had a great important role in ancient Egypt¹⁹⁵ and in the Kushite kingdom¹⁹⁶; its peak was during the Napatan period: many temples were dedicated to him in the most important cities, due to his position in the Kushite religion. Local forms of Amun had emerged in the Kushite context¹⁹⁷ including Amun of Napata, Amun of Kawa¹⁹⁸, Amun of Naqa, Amun of Pnubs¹⁹⁹, Amun of Tabakk²⁰⁰, Amun of Dakka, Amun of Primis²⁰¹, and Amun of

¹⁹² Kormysheva 1992, 190; 2006, 13.

¹⁹³ Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 637.

¹⁹⁴ O'Connor 2012, 116.

¹⁹⁵ Wilkinson 2003, 92.

¹⁹⁶ Priebe 1993, 30; Eisa 1999, 10; Wolf 2006, 244; Lohwasser 2013b, 240.

¹⁹⁷ Yellin 2012a, 128.

¹⁹⁸ Yellin 2012c, 253.

¹⁹⁹ Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, Jacquet 1969; Valbelle 2003; Zach 2009.

²⁰⁰ Wolf 2006, 240; Rondot 2010, 237.

²⁰¹ Gauthier 1911, 112, Pl. XXXVIA; Roeder 1930, 226, 505, Taf. 88.

Meroe²⁰². These local forms of Amun reflect how the Kushites meddled the Egyptian religious ideology and used it in their own ideological system²⁰³.

Amun was presented in human form as Amun of Thebes, while the Nubian forms of Amun presented a human body with ram's head, but also appeared in complete animal form as a ram, which similar to the avenue of rams flank access to some temples of Amun²⁰⁴. It seems that throne name in Meroitic period was associated with Amun, who affirm the kings and queens on the throne, which could be noticed on the signet rings of the Queen Amanishakheto in the beginning of the first century AD²⁰⁵, or offer crown to Meroitic kings²⁰⁶.

Amun of Napata was the most important among the Nubian Amuns²⁰⁷, and Gebel Barkal was considered his birth and dwelling place by the Egyptians, who paired him with the human-headed Amun of Thebes²⁰⁸. The unique position of Amun continued as a major patron for the royal Meroitic family²⁰⁹, and the Meroitic kings constructed many temples for him in different parts of the kingdom *e.g.*

²⁰² Török 1984a, 158; Kormysheva 2006, 18; Wolf 2006, 241-242. Different forms of Amun mention in the same stela, see; REM 1044, Different forms of Amun are also worshipped as guest in several other sanctuaries; *e.g.* the Amanap of Pedeme (Amara) and the Amanap of Meroe in Qasr Ibrim (REM 1076), the Amun of Napata in Kawa (REM 0661), in Sedeinga (REM 1072), Amun of Pnubs in Naqa (REM 0010), Amanap of Meroe in Lower Nubia (REM 0521); see Török 1984a, 162. For more information about the cults of Amun and its development in Nubia, see Gabolde 2020, 343-368.

²⁰³ On the other hand, Welsby (1996, 74-75) assumed that due to political considerations and legitimize their right to rule. For more information about different forms of Amun in Meroitic period, see Török 1984a, 161-165.

²⁰⁴ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 92.

²⁰⁵ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 93.

²⁰⁶ Pompei 2014, 594.

²⁰⁷ Erman 1907, 198; Emberling 2011, 9; Francigny 2016, 12. For more about the cult of Amun in Nubia (Kormysheva 2004), about the names of Amun in Nubia with a list of bibliographical references see Kormysheva 1994, 251-261, for a typological study about Amun temples in Kushite period, see Rocheleau 2008.

²⁰⁸ Yellin 2012a, 128; Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 168.

²⁰⁹ Morkot 1994, 111.

Natakamani constructed two new temples in Amara in the north, and in Naqa in Butana (first century BC- first century AD)²¹⁰, the Sun Temple in Meroe (M250) (dated first century BC), may have been dedicated to Amun-Ra too²¹¹, recently the French mission at el-Hassa brought to light temple for Amun, dated at the end of the first century AD²¹², and temple at Awlib²¹³, in addition to other temples and chapels dedicated to him in Dabod, Gebel Adda, Doukki Gel, Kawa, Hamadab²¹⁴. The iconographic evidence in Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naqa proved the great significance of Amun in different contexts connected him with local gods and kings²¹⁵.

Although the temple of Amun at Barkal continued to function during the Meroitic period, it may have lost its central role in the religious and political life²¹⁶. This due to the political and religious evidence, which reflected new centrality, where the god Apedemak and other local deities started to exist in Meroitic religion and royal ideology since the 3rd century BC²¹⁷.

At the beginning of the Meroitic period (c. 300 BC) and with the introduction of the Meroitic script, the names for the local gods started to appear, even in most of cases their depictions are inspired by the Egyptian theology. However, names of certain deities are still unknown, but this may confirm their local origin²¹⁸. Therefore, Yellin²¹⁹ concluded that “*the Egyptianized features of Nubian religion*

²¹⁰ Žabkar 1975, 10; Kroeper, Schoske, Wildung 2011; Török 2011b, 308.

²¹¹ Kroeper, Schoske, Wildung 2011, 148.

²¹² Lenoble, Rondot 2003; Baldi 2016, 256-265.

²¹³ Baldi 2014, 51.

²¹⁴ For more information about Amun temples in Meroitic period, see Rocheleau 2008, Tab. 1, 65-66.

²¹⁵ Kormysheva 1992.

²¹⁶ Yellin 2012a, 133.

²¹⁷ Manzo 2006, 89.

²¹⁸ Priese 1993, 40.

²¹⁹ Yellin 2012a, 143.

during the Meroitic period is misleading, and the Meroitic adaptations of Egyptian religion consistently reveal that their culture shaped and informed with local modifications”.

3.2.1.2. Apedemak

The emergence of local deities characterized the Meroitic period²²⁰. They often occupied relevant positions for the royal ideology, and the temples for these local deities had different designs than the temples of Amun. The Meroitic lion-headed Apedemak is considered the most important and prominent indigenous god in the Meroitic period²²¹. The reliefs and inscriptions from the Meroitic temples provide information about Apedemak, who became the patron of the Meroitic state, and his rituals practices²²². Following Rilly and de Voogt²²³, Apedemak has a purely Meroitic name, consisting of the noun *mk* “god”, plus the lexeme *Apede* which mean “Creator”. Many Meroitic graffiti were invocation to Apedemak. Since this god is not known from other contemporary civilization, it must be indigenously Meroitic²²⁴.

²²⁰ Francigny 2016, 12. The actual beginning of the emergence of the local forms of deities goes back to the New Kingdom temples in Nubia, where deities began to acquired new roles, functions, and representations, not only the local forms of Amun emerged, but also for other gods and goddesses such as Horus of Aniba, Horus of Baki, Horus of Buhen who became important in the reign of Thutmose III, see Kormysheva 1992, 188-189; Fisher 2012b, 90.

²²¹ Dafaalla 1993, 20; Ahmed 2015, 17, Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 181. Török *et al*, thought that Apedemak seems to emerge from an “Egyptianized” Nubian lion cult of New Kingdom period origins (Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 34, footnote no. 149), on the origins of Apedemak from a syncretism between local and Egyptian elements see also Žabkar 1975. Yellin (2012a, 134) supposed that the cults for Apedemak was held before construct his first temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra which dated to 220 BC, and assumed that his local origins are associated with two rock shrines that were carved in the hillside at Naqa. Both of rock shrines had rare representations for lion as a god in indigenous setting.

²²² Welsby 1996, 77; Edwards 1996, 27.

²²³ Rilly, de Voogt 2012, 102-103.

²²⁴ Dafaalla 1993, 20.

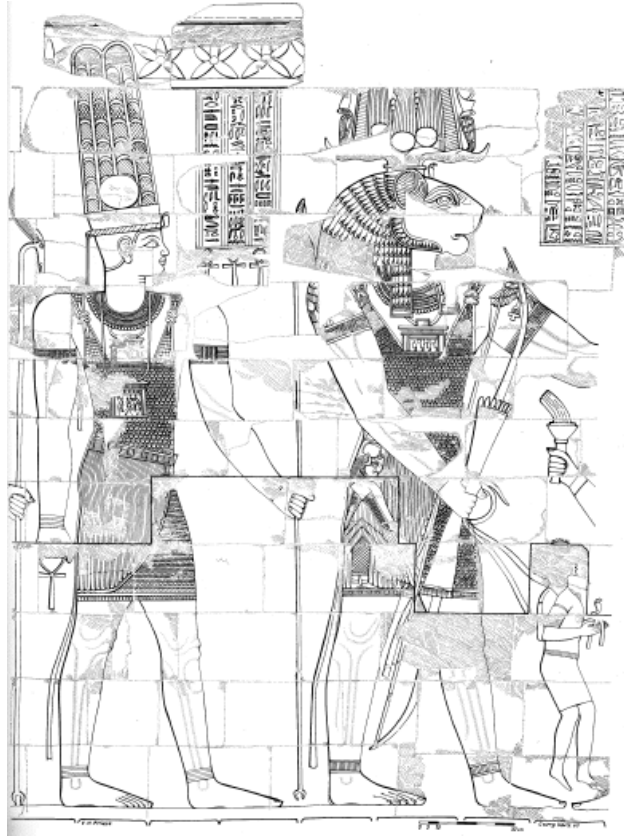


Fig. 3.1 Apedemak and Amun on the Southern Wall of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra. © (Hintze, F., *et al* 1971, Tafel, 25)

Apedemak was usually represented as a lion, or lion-headed Egyptian-style god with *hemhem* crown attributed *w3s* and *‘nh*²²⁵. In the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra, Apedemak holds in his right hand a large bow, arrows and a cord tied around the neck of a captive enemy, he wears a leather armor or cuirass and thumb-rings²²⁶. Two unusual forms of representations at the Lion Temple in Naqa, which lead to extensive discussion; on the narrow pylon sides the god represented as acanthus blossom growing snake body, while its upper end in a human

²²⁵ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 181.

²²⁶ Kormysheva 2006, 26.

torso with arms, lion head and *hemhem* crown²²⁷. The second scene on the rear on the outside wall appears a god figure with three lion heads and four arms²²⁸.

Among the important scenes that reflect the dominant position of Apedemak, is the relief on the south wall of Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra showing Apedemak followed by Amun, Sebuimaker, Arensnuphis, Horus and Thoth, toward the King Arnekhmani behind him the goddess Isis and in front of him his son in small scale holding two incense burners toward Apedemak²²⁹.

For textual and iconographic aspects, Žabkar²³⁰ discussed the nature of Apedemak as a warrior god, who usually carried a bow and arrows, offered the enemies to the king and conferred the divine kingship²³¹. Apedemak's titles included titles related to Amun²³², which supposed that Apedemak joined Amun in the role of protector of royalty²³³. Török²³⁴ considered Apedemak as a creator god associated with fertility and provision of food and water to the Meroities based on a further translation for inscriptions, nevertheless Török²³⁵ also stated the relation between the warrior aspect of the king and some deities including Apedemak²³⁶.

²²⁷ Pomerantseva 1992, 159; Yellin 2012a, 134; in 2010 the Italian Mission in Gebel Barkal found in the building B2200, a small limestone statue of snake, what has been suggested as an aspect of the uraeiform Apedemak, for more information, see Iannarilli, Callegher, Pancin 2019, 62, Fig. 8.

²²⁸ Žabkar 1975, 8; Wildung 2004, 175; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 115; For more discussion about representation of Apedemak, see Žabkar 1975, 36-52.

²²⁹ Žabkar 1975, 6.

²³⁰ Žabkar 1975, 17.

²³¹ Leclant 1981, 88; Gamer-Wallert 1983, 184-7, Séguenny 1984, 150; For more information about Apedemak as a war-god, see Žabkar 1975, 13-17.

²³² Leclant pointed out the influence of Amun iconography on Apedemak; as in Musawwarat es-Sufra Apedemak had the symbols Amun, see Leclant 1970a, 147.

²³³ Priese 1993, 41; Iannarilli, Callegher, Pancin 2019, 56.

²³⁴ Török 1997, 502-503.

²³⁵ Török 2011b, 203.

²³⁶ On the southern wall of Musawwarat es-Sufra, Apedemak was described as “*Who sends a flaming breath against his enemies in the name of the great power, who slays the enemies with his power*”, see Hintze 1962a, 26-28.

Numbers of temples were consecrated to Apedemak in Musawwarat es-Sufra (IIC)²³⁷, Meroe (M 6)²³⁸, Naqa (N 300)²³⁹, Amara²⁴⁰, and Basa²⁴¹, several other single-roomed shrines have been connected with his cult based on some evidence including the occurrence of lion statues or iconographical representations²⁴². Amun's domination as the patron god of the royal family in the Meroitic period was challenged by Apedemak, who also appears in temples scenes legitimating and empowering the rulers²⁴³. In addition to this, Amun in the temples scenes was usually represented holding objects associated with Apedemak²⁴⁴. Indeed Amun seems to play a principal role in Musawwarat es-Sufra, the main center of Apedemak, either as a guest or co-resident²⁴⁵, and the titles of Apedemak inscribed on Amun's temples, maybe as a guest deity²⁴⁶. However, Apedemak, Amun, and Isis are considered gods of kingship, they can be considered as "kingmakers"²⁴⁷.

The temples of Apedemak had many architectural characteristics that represent a distinct Meroitic style. It is a genuine local style far from the Egyptian influence that dominated in the architecture of the temples of Amun. The temples of Apedemak consist of one room and a high gate, the room contains two rows of

²³⁷ Hintze 1962, Török 2002b, 188.

²³⁸ Garstang 1911, 21-23, 62-74, Pls. XX-XXVII.

²³⁹ Žabkar 1975, 8; Kroeper, Schoske, Wildung 2011; Kuckertz 2019, 822-823.

²⁴⁰ Apedemak represented on column from a small temple at Amara. The Meroitic inscriptions had the names of Natakamani, Amanitore and the Prince Sherkaror. It is worth to mention that the scenes have been left uninscribed, but the god was depicted in a typical manner of Apedemak, see Kormysheva 2006, 29.

²⁴¹ The temple of Basa was excavated in 1907 and currently completely destroyed. It was dedicated to Apedemak by Amanikhabale, as some fallen lion sculptures were found by Griffith. In 1970, five of the lion sculptures were recovered and placed at the entrance of the National Museum of Sudan, see Lobban 2003, 175.

²⁴² Žabkar 1975, 10; Wolf 2006, 246.

²⁴³ Morkot 2012a, 124.

²⁴⁴ Yellin 2012a, 133.

²⁴⁵ Kormysheva 2006, 17; Rocheleau 2008, 59.

²⁴⁶ Baldi 2014, 53.

²⁴⁷ Lohwasser 2001b, 294.

columns intended to support the wooden ceiling²⁴⁸. The distribution of the Lion Temples in the further south, in Meroe area, reflect his religious importance in this part of the kingdom in analogy with Amun Temples in Napata area²⁴⁹.

The emergence of the cult of Apedemak can be associated with the temple of Apedemak in Musawwarat es-Sufra²⁵⁰, where he had the title “*the lord of Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naga*”²⁵¹, in addition to large number of graffiti dedicated to Apedemak on the walls of the Great Enclosure, which confirm that this site was the main religious center for Apedemak, and shows the great popular veneration from the population²⁵².

Scholars like de Villard²⁵³, Shinnie²⁵⁴ assumed that no obvious trace of Apedemak has been found in the northern Meroitic territory. However, recently several evidence did not support their hypothesis: the Italian Archaeological Mission in Gebel Barkal proposed that according to the evidence in this area, Apedemak is considered to be the protector of kingship and guardian of the Meroitic royal district at Gebel Barkal²⁵⁵. Despite the evidence for worship Apedemak in the northern part of the kingdom is spare and there is no direct evidence referring to temples for Apedemak in Lower Nubia²⁵⁶, but one mention of a priest of Apedemak found on a stela from Arminna (REM 1063/8-9, 1064B)²⁵⁷, the name of the god written in Hieroglyphic on the shrine at Dadob²⁵⁸, in addition to a leather fragment decorated

²⁴⁸ Millet 1984, 118; Dafaalla 2005, 361.

²⁴⁹ Ahmed 2015, 18; Riedel 2019, 662.

²⁵⁰ Török 1984a, 159.

²⁵¹ Hintze 1962a, 26-28.

²⁵² Séguenny 1984, 150.

²⁵³ De Villard 1942, 113; Shinnie 1967, 142.

²⁵⁴ Shinnie 1967, 142.

²⁵⁵ Iannarilli, Callegher, Pancin 2019.

²⁵⁶ Török 1984a, 162.

²⁵⁷ Plumley 1966, 12, Pl. IV, 3; 1970, 15; Török 1984a, 165; FHN III, 1074-1075.

²⁵⁸ Roeder 1911, 24, 128.

with the symbol of Apedemak found in a plundered Meroitic tomb (N-451) in Semna-south²⁵⁹. However, scholars like Plumley²⁶⁰, Millet²⁶¹, Dafaalla²⁶² believed that the worship of Apedemak was known in Lower Nubia at least in Qasr Ibrim, where stone statue of a lion has been found bearing the name of the King Yasbekhamani (283-300 AD) in Meroitic script, who is supposed to be among the last Meroitic kings. This statue may have been a statue for Apedemak, and resembles traditional model of lion statues related to Apedemak found in the southern part of the kingdom²⁶³.

Thus, it is clear that Amun and Apedemak had the upper hand in religious beliefs in the Meroitic Kingdom, and both had many characteristics in common and shared the same role, mainly as far as their connection with royalty and the domination of legitimation is concerned²⁶⁴.

3.2.1.3. Isis

Isis is considered the third important deity in the Meroitic religion besides Amun and Apedemak, her name in Meroitic is *Wos*²⁶⁵. Isis worship for the long-term in ancient Nubia led to increase her role as a mother-goddess, and closely connected with the position of queen-mother²⁶⁶. The cult of Isis clearly achieved the greatest popularity and was considered the most important female deity in Meroitic period²⁶⁷.

²⁵⁹ Žabkar 1975, 44. According to Žabkar (1975, 46) the Meroitic tomb where the decorated garment of the figure of Apedemak was found, dated to the end of the third century AD, which approximately the same proposed date by Trigger for the inscriptions of Arminna west.

²⁶⁰ Plumley 1970, 15.

²⁶¹ Millet 1984, 118.

²⁶² Dafaalla 2005.

²⁶³ Kuckertz 2019, 836. This lion statue is currently exhibited in the Nubian Museum in Aswan.

²⁶⁴ Séguenny 1984, 149; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 94.

²⁶⁵ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 101.

²⁶⁶ Kormysheva 2006, 21.

²⁶⁷ Baldi 2015, 101; Ashby 2020, 6, 134. Isis cults started in Nubia since New Kingdom, when she was described as “*Mistress of Nubia*” (Török 2009, 336-337), referring to her relation with Kush.

Isis appeared in almost Meroitic temples reliefs, as a counterpart to the indigenous God Apedemak, which affirm her connection with royalty in the Meroitic context²⁶⁸. Isis had also a distinguished role as a protector of the rulers during the Meroitic period and was closely connected to the royal family as patron goddess²⁶⁹, as she appeared mainly behind the Meroitic rulers on the representations on their pyramid chapels, spreading her wings to protect them²⁷⁰, in addition to emphasizing the divine legitimation of the kings. Her role as a protector of both the living and the dead made of her one of the few goddess worshiped in Upper and Lower Nubia²⁷¹.

Isis had also a mortuary function for the dead, together with Osiris, Anubis, and Nephthys on the funerary stelae and offering tables, whose a large number have been found in Lower Nubia²⁷². The Meroitic inscriptions in pyramid chapels and on offering tables always begin with an invocation to Isis and Osiris²⁷³. A new role of Isis emerged during the Meroitic period, as she was portrayed leading a group of prisoners to the king, *e.g.* on the north wall of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat looking toward the king and addressed the ruler: “*I give you all the lands in peace, all foreign countries are overthrown*”²⁷⁴. Moreover, Isis is also represented delivering the red crown to the king in a column relief in Musawwarat es-Sufra²⁷⁵.

Therefore, many temples were dedicated to Isis at Faras and Buhen, in addition to many wall-reliefs in several Lower Nubian sacral buildings, like at Qasr Ibrim, Semna West, Kawa, Beit el-Wali and Gerf Hussein, see Baldi 2015, 97.

²⁶⁸ Due to syncretism, new divine family was created, and Isis acted as a consort of Apedemak; for more evidence about the relation between Isis and Apedemak, see Baldi 2015, 109-111.

²⁶⁹ Lohwasser 2001a, 70; 2001b, 291-292.

²⁷⁰ Dunham, Chapman 1952.

²⁷¹ Yellin 2012a, 129.

²⁷² Welsby 1996, 76.

²⁷³ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 173.

²⁷⁴ Žabkar 1975, 18; Séguenny 1984, 151; Leclant 1984, 409-16; Kormysheva 2006, 21, 28.

²⁷⁵ Pompei 2014, 593, 597.

Isis cult found its way to the heart of the Meroitic Kingdom, where evidence for temples dedicated to her occurs in the city of Meroe (M 600A)²⁷⁶, Wad Ben Naqa (WBN 300)²⁷⁷, and (I D/a-1) at Musawwarat es-Sufra, where the name “*Arka*” is referred to the priest of Isis of *apbr* and *arbjklb*, toponyms which refer to Musawwarat and possibly Wad Ben Naqa²⁷⁸.

The Meroitic kings and queens preserved the traditional Egyptian iconography, theology, and practice of the cult of Isis²⁷⁹, which was still considered in the Meroitic tradition as the mother of the Meroitic kings. Therefore, the statues that shown Isis nursing Horus still exist in Meroitic period, which affirm the mother-son relationship. Her important role in royalty was also attested and mentioned in a text in the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra as “*the gesture of the goddess, touching the shoulder of the king*”, and the King Arnekhamani in the 3rd century BC hold a proper epithet as “*beloved by Isis*”²⁸⁰.

The importance of Isis among the goddesses was affirmed by the fact that she was represented in the forefront of the line of goddess in the northern outer wall in the Lion Temple at Naqa, while on the other hand, Apedemak leads the gods on the southern wall²⁸¹, in addition to the different local forms of Isis mentioned in Meroitic texts like REM 0407²⁸².

Philae Island was the main cult center for Isis, and her temple became a destination for different visitors not only the Egyptians, but also to the Meroitians²⁸³.

²⁷⁶ Shinnie 1967, 84; Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 35.

²⁷⁷ Vercoutter 1962, 271; Onderka, Vrtal, Honzl, 2019.

²⁷⁸ Näser 2011, 328, 338.

²⁷⁹ Ashby 2020, 6.

²⁸⁰ FHN II, n. 124

²⁸¹ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 101.

²⁸² Török 1984a, 165.

²⁸³ Hintze 1978, 103; Millet 1984, 120; Pope 2014; Ashby 2020, 34, 40.

The textual and iconographic evidence revealed that the Meroities actively participate in her cults under the patronage of the Meroitic rulers with the presence of royal princes and high administrative officials²⁸⁴, which left inscriptions that immortalize their visits. One of the main evidence for the Meroitic envoys to Philae is the so-called “Meroitic Chamber”, a side room in the forecourt of the Isis Temple, where an embassy dated around the mid-third century AD is depicted, maybe under the Meroitic King Lakhideamani²⁸⁵. In addition, many inscription document offerings presented by the kings or in their name to the Temple of Isis²⁸⁶, and a number of Meroitic graffiti had be documented recently by the Philae Temple Graffiti Project²⁸⁷. Further inscriptions dedicated to her by Meroitic Kings Arakamani and Adikhalamani at Dakke and Dabod as a great wife of the king²⁸⁸. Finally, Isis was mentioned in the Meroitic graffiti in many sites, such as Meroe, Gebel Barkal, Sedeinga, Amara, Arminna, Faras, Karanog, Toshka, Dakke, Nag Gamus, Argin²⁸⁹.

Finally, Isiac iconography found in X-Group sites indicates the continued importance of the cult of Isis in Nubia even after the fall of Meroe. The use of Isiac symbolism stressed the continuity of rule from the Meroitic royalty to that of the newly dominant Blemmye and Noubade rulers who controlled Lower Nubia after

²⁸⁴ Lohwasser 2013a, 277.

²⁸⁵ Török 1978, 313-314; Rutherford 1998, 242-245; Baldi 2015, 103.

²⁸⁶ *e.g.* The embassy reported by Pasan (AD 252 and 253), see FHN III, n. 260; the embassy of Tami and Abratoye (AD 260), see FHN III, n. 265-66. In addition, FHN III, 260 l. 1, FHN III, n. 245, FHN III, n. 251, FHN III, 971-72 which suggest that there were contacts between the Meroitic court and temple, for more information about Isis in Kush, see Pope 2014; Baldi 2015. For more information about the publication of the graffiti, see Ashby 2016, 27-29.

²⁸⁷ Personal communication with Jitse Dijkstra, 16-12-2021.

²⁸⁸ Roeder 1911, 80, 216, Taf. 31.

²⁸⁹ Kormysheva 2006, 21.

the fall of Meroe, conferring legitimacy on the minor kings who were the successors to Meroitic power in the region²⁹⁰.

3.2.1.4. Amesemi

Another indigenous goddess, Amesemi appeared in the Meroitic period and was connected to Apedemak: she is considered Apedemak's indigenous consort²⁹¹. She was depicted on the side wall of the Lion Temple in Naqa together with Isis, Mut, Hathor and Satet²⁹². The only source that records her name is a small stela (25.5×17cm) which was discovered under a column in the Amun Temple at Naqa in 2000 by Dietrich Wildung (Fig.)²⁹³. This stela was inscribed on both sides; the front part shows a queen and a goddess facing each other, the goddess appears with scarification on the cheek, tightly curled hair and a decorative head band on which double falcon on a sickle is placed²⁹⁴.



Fig. 3.2 Stela of Queen Amanishakheto and the Goddess Amesemi (SNM 31338).
© (Wildung 2004, 181)

²⁹⁰ Ashby 2016, 223-224.

²⁹¹ Kroeper 2003, 162; Wildung 2004, 175.

²⁹² Yellin 2012a, 132.

²⁹³ Wildung 2004, 181.

²⁹⁴ Wildung 2004, 181; Kroeper 2006, 290; This stela is now preserved in Sudan National Museum under the number SNM 31338, while the number of the Meroitic text is REM 1294.

The goddess is also presented on a clay sealing behind Apedemak, holding a long palm-frond. This female figure with a hawk on her head is also represented behind lion-headed Apedemak on a column in front of M 101 at Musawwarat es-Sufra²⁹⁵. In the Amun Temple at Naqa, a rectangular decorated stele was found in the hypostyle hall, showing Apedemak sitting in a kiosk and facing Queen Amanishakheto, and behind her the goddess Amesemi standing²⁹⁶. This goddess is characterized by her headgear, shows falcon-Horus with sun disk standing on a lunar/crescent, a composition that is unknown in Egypt²⁹⁷.

Amesemi shared the same position of Isis, as both goddess were considered as consorts of Apedemak²⁹⁸, the representation of the palm branch was one of the manifestations of the worship of Isis in Nubia, due to the fact that the spirit of Isis was considered inside these plants, which can give blessings and benedictions to the dead in their afterlife, and for this reason, the palm branches appeared with the dead in the scenery of the funerary chapels, like the scene from the funerary chapel of queen Nahirqa²⁹⁹, in which the palm branches appeared in an imitation of the *‘nh sign*³⁰⁰.

Although the idea of grouping deities (dyads or triads) in the Egyptian mythology is obvious, thanks to the abundance of the representations and inscriptions³⁰¹, however in the Meroitic context, we can assume that there was this kind of grouping between Amun and Apedemak in one side, and Isis and Amesemi in the other side forming dyads, and Horus as the king form the third partner in a

²⁹⁵ Manzo 2006, 88.

²⁹⁶ Kroeper 2003, 164.

²⁹⁷ Wildung 2004, 175; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 119.

²⁹⁸ Manzo 2006, 88.

²⁹⁹ Yellin 1990, 366.

³⁰⁰ Dunham, Chapman 1952.

³⁰¹ Wilkinson 2003, 74.

triads³⁰². Žabkar³⁰³ assumed that in some reliefs of the Lion Temple at Naqa, Apedemak replaces Osiris, and forms a triad with Isis and Horus³⁰⁴. In contrast with Napatan period, the coronation scenes in Meroitic period seem to be acted by a divine couple; a male god (Horus or Thoth) and a female goddess (Isis? or Mut?)³⁰⁵.

3.2.1.5. Sebuimaker and Arensnuphis

Two important local gods were hunters gods Sebuimaker and Arensnuphis³⁰⁶, whom were often paired and usually presented as guardian statues in front of one-room temples³⁰⁷. The entrance of temple 300 at Musawwarat es-Sufra was adorned by two statues, which were regarded as protectors of this certain type of temples, and maybe refer to cult for these gods in the site³⁰⁸. Kormysheva supposed that the functional connection between Arensnuphis and Sebuimaker found its occurrence in the ideas about cosmic gods, the gods of day and night, sun and moon, which could be a reflection of the astronomical observation³⁰⁹.

³⁰² Žabkar 1975, 9. Otherwise, the Theban triad, consisting of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu was attested at Tabo on a small amulet in the form of round-topped stela (Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, and Jacquet 1969 110, Pl. XXIII, 4), and at the Lion Temple in Musawwarat es-Sufra see Hintze *et al* 1971, Pls.51a; 58b; 59.

³⁰³ Žabkar 1975, 14, 17-18.

³⁰⁴ Kormysheva 2006, 20.

³⁰⁵ In the Napatan period the coronation scenes were influenced by the Egyptian iconography, because only male gods were involved, see Pompei 2014, 597.

³⁰⁶ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 184.

³⁰⁷ Millet 1984, 117; Priese 1993, 71; O'Connor 2012, 116; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 121.

³⁰⁸ Hintze 1962b, 183; Grzymski 2004b, 170; Morkot 2012b, 301. The colossal statues of the Arensnuphis and Sebuimaker guarding the temple entrance was also found at Tabo, Meroe City temples M 600 and KC 102, Török 2009, 348.

³⁰⁹ Kormysheva 2006, 32.

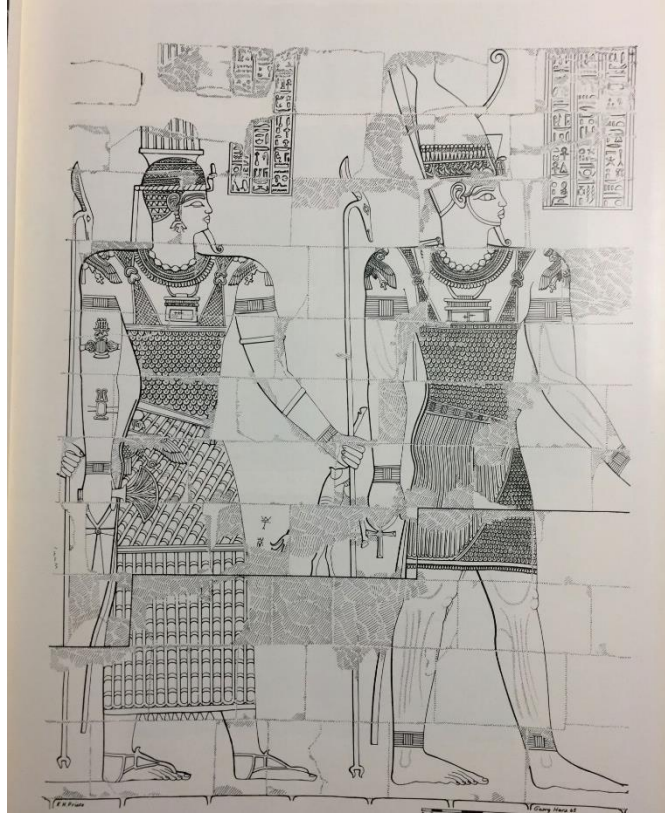


Fig. 3.3 Sebuimaker and Arensnuphis in the Lion Temple at Musawwarat Es-Sufra. © (Hintze, F., *et al* 1971, Tafel, 29).

Sebuimaker was represented in the Meroitic period in human form wearing a short kilt, with double crown of Egypt, and divine beard, and appeared on the southwest wall in the Lion Temple, acting as a creator god³¹⁰. As Sebuimaker was not known from anywhere else, thus he was considered one of the local Meroitic deities³¹¹, he is also portrayed on one of the shield rings among the treasure of Amanishakheto³¹². Temple IIA in Musawwarat es-Sufra may dedicated to Sebuimaker³¹³, this based on the hypothesis that was adopted by several scholars like

³¹⁰ Shinnie 1967, 144.

³¹¹ Hintze 1962b, 183.

³¹² Priese 1993, 71.

³¹³ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 141.

Wenig³¹⁴, Hakem³¹⁵, Kuckertz and Lohwasser³¹⁶ that the one-room temple was dedicated to the indigenous Meroitic deities, while multi-room temples dedicated to the Egyptian origin deities³¹⁷. In addition to this there was fragmentary iconographical evidence, which cannot be confirmed yet³¹⁸.

Sebuimaker holds a standard in his hand which was similar to that hold by Apedemak. Sebuimaker was described as “*lord of Musawwarat es-Sufra*”, this title also ascribed to Apedemak, so both of them considered to be the gods of Musawwarat³¹⁹.

Arensnuphis was depicted in either human or in rarely cases presented in a lion form³²⁰, wore a short kilt, a tall feather crown, and a divine beard³²¹, among the deities that appeared in Meroitic period, within a group of deities standing in a row in front of the King Natakamani, Apedemak leaded the group followed by Sebuimaker then Arensnuphis in human figures. A small temple constructed by Arakamani II and Ptolemy IV in Philae was dedicated to him³²², and another small temple dedicated to him in Dandur built by Augustus.

More information about Arensnuphis comes from Musawwarat es-Sufra. He was represented in the entrance of temple 300 and the room 108 of the Great Enclosure. Moreover, Arensnuphis was represented in front of the entrance to the

³¹⁴ Wenig 1984.

³¹⁵ Hakem 1988.

³¹⁶ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 143-144.

³¹⁷ Although this hypothesis presents some help, but it was questioned by scholars, see Adams 1984b; Bradley 1984b, 281; Török 1997, 519; Wolf 2006, 240; Kuckertz 2019, 813-814.

³¹⁸ Wolf 2006, 240.

³¹⁹ Kormysheva 2006, 32.

³²⁰ Žabkar 1975, 19.

³²¹ Yellin 2012a, 134.

³²² Erman 1907, 201; Ashby 2020, 40.

Lion Temple at Naqa, and apparently in Meroe³²³. He was always represented in company of Sebuimaker in a constant position: Arensnuphis to the right side of the entrance and Sebuimaker to the left side. The regularity of such representation could refer to cult³²⁴.

Žabkar³²⁵, O'Connor³²⁶ and Welsby³²⁷ thought that he was the god of hunting and deserts, and originally Egyptian, while Winter³²⁸ and Wenig³²⁹ thought that he was a Meroitic god, but started to appear with the Egyptian gods from the third century BC.

Arensnuphis was equated with the Egyptian gods Onuris and Shu³³⁰, sometimes being merged with Shu as the syncretic deity Shu-Arensnuphis. This is led to similarities of iconography shared by these gods³³¹. Therefore both Wenig and Winter thought that Arensnuphis was a Meroitic form of Shu, as he is described in the first pylon at Philae as “*Arensnuphis, lord of Abaton, lion of the north, the living Ba, strong of arm, he is Shu who came from Nubia with his sister Tefnut*”³³². Török³³³

³²³ Wenig 1974, 133, Abb. 4; 134, Abb. 6; 14, Abb. 15, 136-137, Taf. VIIla, Taf. VIa.

³²⁴ Wenig 1974, 145.

³²⁵ Žabkar 1975.

³²⁶ O'Connor 1993, 79.

³²⁷ Welsby 1996.

³²⁸ Winter 1973.

³²⁹ Wenig 1978.

³³⁰ Török 2009, 395.

³³¹ Millet 1984, 117; Eisa 1999, 11; Wilkinson 2003, 98, 118, 129. Kormysheva on the basis of iconographic studies outlined the differences between Arensnuphis and other syncretic formation composed with him: at Musawwarat es-Sufra Arensnuphis was represented on the relief dresses in a long garment and with the four-plumes crown, which differs from his representations at Dakke with short skirt and two plumes crown with sun disk. For further information, see Kormysheva 2006, 31-32.

³³² Žabkar 1975, 85-86. The process of shaping of the god Arensnuphis as a Nubian form of Egyptian Onuris can be observed in the reliefs of the 25th dynasty Temple B at Kawa (Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 34, footnote no. 149), which could refer to the Meroitization of the Egyptian gods.

³³³ Török 1984a, 159.

indicated that the cults of Arensnuphis in Dakka was influenced more by Egyptian sanctuaries than the Meroitic ones.

Based on the inscription of Dandur Temple, Arensnuphis was the head of the new Meroitic triad, which composed of Arensnuphis-Isis-Harpocrates, in addition to bear epithets like “*lion of the south*” and “*strong of arm*”³³⁴.

Arensnuphis was described as “*lion of the south with powerful arm*” at Dakke³³⁵, and “*lion mighty of power foremost of Nubia, with row and strong paws*”, and the similar at Kalabsha “*great lion, mighty living Ba*” or “*lion of the south, mighty living Ba*”³³⁶.

Török³³⁷ supposed that the new theology of the desert hunter-warrior gods Apedemak, Arensnuphis, and Sebuimaker was formulated by priests of the ancient Amun sanctuaries of Kawa and Napata, and the Meroitic priests were assisted by priests from Egyptian sanctuaries and they relied in their work on Egyptian text. The relations between these indigenous hunter-warrior gods with Amun was attested on the Meroitic temples and in particular on the walls of Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra³³⁸.

3.2.1.6. Osiris

Osiris as the god of the death, one of the most important deities of ancient Egypt³³⁹, played the same role in Meroe as in late Egypt³⁴⁰, he played an important role in the cult of the dead in the Meroitic religion, otherwise, his absence in the

³³⁴ Žabkar 1975, 21, 83.

³³⁵ Hintze 1962a, 28. These titles is the same titles of Apedemak and Thoth.

³³⁶ Kormysheva 2006, 31.

³³⁷ Török 2006a, 469.

³³⁸ Hintze 1962a; Hintze, *et al* 1971.

³³⁹ Ruiz 2001, 110; Wilkinson 2003, 118.

³⁴⁰ Wenig 2015, 130.

Meroitic iconography in the temples maybe affirms the transformation in his function in Meroitic religion³⁴¹.

Osiris was always accompanied by Isis in the reliefs on the pyramids chapels, stelae, and offering tables, and may have been considered like in the Egyptian religion the ruler of the afterlife. Osiris statues were found in several temples, made of bronze (consecration offerings?)³⁴². Despite the important role of Osiris in the cults of afterlife, there is no sanctuary dedicated to Osiris or mention in a text³⁴³, this is maybe related to the transformation in mummification practices³⁴⁴, as after the early Meroitic period, that Meroities did not hold Osirian beliefs related to the preservation of the body to ensure afterlife, and the performed ceremonies at the time of burials were the crucial for the afterlife to their occupants³⁴⁵, or maybe another indigenous deity shared his role, as in the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra, an Osirian hymns was dedicated to Sebuimaker³⁴⁶ as he described as “*Osiris, lord of eternity*”³⁴⁷, and Arensnuphis is depicted in the interior of the pro-naos of the temple of Dandur wearing the Osirian Atef-crown and described as “*the great god, lord of Abaton, lord of Philae*”, and was shown accompanied by Isis and Harpocrates³⁴⁸. However, the Meroitic name of Osiris is attested in many Meroitic

³⁴¹ The Egyptian sources equate the deceased king with many deities, but there is a clear and constant emphasis throughout the Egyptian history on the association with Osiris, for more information, see Wilkinson 2003, 62-63.

³⁴² Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 106.

³⁴³ Francigny 2012a, 57.

³⁴⁴ Geus 1991, 70; Gasm el-Seed 1996, 51-57; Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 634; Helmbold-Doyé 2019, 790. The transformation in mummification practices in Meroe maybe related to the changes also evident in the late Ptolemaic and Roman period in Egypt, for further information, see Gasm el-Seed 1996.

³⁴⁵ Yellin 2012a, 142.

³⁴⁶ Millet 1984, 118; Kormysheva 1992, 189; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 106.

³⁴⁷ Žabkar 1975, 18.

³⁴⁸ Wenig 1974; Žabkar 1975, 19-20; this idea was common in the Ptolemaic Greek theologians, as Osiris was transformed into Serapis, and combined with other divine as Osiris-Apis, Ashby 2020, 5.

inscription from Meroe, Sedeinga, Sai, Medik, Wadi Arab, Faras, Wadi es-Sebua, Abu Simbel, Karanog, Dakke, Shablul, Arminna, Nag Gamus³⁴⁹.

3.2.1.7. Mut

The goddess Mut was considered to be the king's mother, a position that brought Mut into a close relationship with the king's earthly mother³⁵⁰. The earliest representation of Mut in Kush is on the Kashta's aegis. Mut is represented as a goddess suckling the king³⁵¹. In the Napatan period, Mut is considered a consort of local forms of Amun, the state god of the kingdom³⁵².

The image of the goddess Mut appeared frequently on Amanishaketo's jewelry, and portrayed on thirteen of the seal rings, on one of the shield ring, and on two pairs of bracelets as the hinge cover. Her pose in the Meroitic period is corresponding with Isis in Egypt, who is frequently standing on a lotus blossom³⁵³.

Although scholars thought that the role of Mut in the Meroitic period is less important than the former period, the evidence on the Meroitic temples shows that the goddess was well documented among the other goddess. In addition, recent excavation in 2012-2013 at Wad Ben Naqa 200 brought to light fragments of two couples of Amun and Mut, in the so-called Typhonium³⁵⁴. Another Meroitic evidence for Mut is a fragment of a steatite stela dated to 1st century AD, found in the Amun Temple at Meroe, dated to the King Amanikhabale, and preserved now in Sudan National Museum (SNM 522)³⁵⁵: as the king is standing before the seated

³⁴⁹ Kormysheva 2006, 20.

³⁵⁰ Wilkinson 2003, 153.

³⁵¹ Wenig 1978, 55.

³⁵² Kormysheva 2006, 19.

³⁵³ Priese 1993, 34.

³⁵⁴ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 99-100.

³⁵⁵ Török 1997, 461.

ram-headed Amun and seated Mut³⁵⁶, the king offers necklaces to both gods and the gods deliver to the king royal insignia, which is supposed by Pompei as cap-crown³⁵⁷.

Furthermore, connection with goddess Amesemi, the partner of Apedemak, could be proposed based on the frequent portray for both of them on the jewelry of the Queen Amanishakheto³⁵⁸.

3.2.1.8. Anubis

Anubis in ancient Egypt was the god of preservation of the dead, and oversaw the mummification of the deceased. He depicted with the head of a jackal on human body³⁵⁹. Evidences for Anubis worship in the Napatan period is scarce and is traditionally Egyptian in form³⁶⁰. During the Meroitic period, the testimony for his worship is almost pictorial. The frequency of his appearance in funerary contexts shows that he played a significant role in the mortuary beliefs of the upper and ruling classes: sixty-five individual appearances in the chapels of Begrawiya south and north and at Gebel Barkal, fifty-four offering tables, and three decorated door jambs from Meroitic shrines³⁶¹. Anubis in the Meroitic period reflects local cultic functions, he acted as offering giver and connected with cattle offering to the deceased in afterlife, rather than his connection with mummification, which according to the evidence not exist anymore in Meroe³⁶². Therefore, it appears evident that Anubis's primary role in Meroe was a god of mortuary offerings³⁶³.

³⁵⁶ Pompei 2014, 594.

³⁵⁷ Pompei 2006.

³⁵⁸ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 99-100.

³⁵⁹ Toledano 2004, 28.

³⁶⁰ Yellin 1982a, 227-228.

³⁶¹ Yellin 1982a, 227.

³⁶² Yellin 2012a, 138.

³⁶³ Yellin 1982a, 227-228.

3.2.1.9. Horus

Horus and Thoth were represented together in many scenes in monumental art related to the cult of the king, as Horus was associated with the living king, while Thoth was also worshipped privately in the Kushite domestic sphere, as evinced by ibis and baboon figurines³⁶⁴. On the bark stand in temple of Amun dated to the King Natakamani, the front side shows the falcon-headed Horus and the Ibis-Headed Thoth binding papyrus plants around the central hieroglyphic emblem “*sma*”³⁶⁵.

Horus was one of the earliest of Egyptian deities, that have been known in Nubia since the Middle and New kingdom³⁶⁶, although his significance in Meroitic period was declined comparing with former periods but he was still represented in the aspects that are connected with kingship³⁶⁷. In Meroitic period, Horus was considered the incarnation of royalty and the king considered the living Horus seated on the throne. Horus appears as falcon-headed god with double crown, and sometimes with sun disk, which gives him solar aspect³⁶⁸. At Musawwarat es-Sufra, Horus was depicted with a falcon head accompanied by Isis and Thoth³⁶⁹. In another image at Musawwarat es-Sufra, Horus is represented as a child god on the flower as Harpocrates³⁷⁰. Although no temple for Horus was found or documented in the texts, the cult for Horus was documented³⁷¹.

³⁶⁴ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 173.

³⁶⁵ Wildung 2004, 179.

³⁶⁶ Morkot 1994, 115; Wilkinson 2003, 200.

³⁶⁷ Yellin 2012a, 33; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 108.

³⁶⁸ Wilkinson 2003, 202; Kormysheva 2006, 21-22.

³⁶⁹ Hintze, *et al.* 1993, 108, Abb. 58.

³⁷⁰ Hintze, *et al* 1971, Taf. 65.

³⁷¹ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 107.

3.2.1.10. Thoth

Thoth in ancient Egypt was a moon god associated with wisdom, writing, and knowledge³⁷², his role in Meroitic period is unknown, he was represented in the Nubian temples in four forms fully human, Ibis-headed human figure, Ibis, or as baboon. Temples were dedicated to him in Graeco-Roman period in Lower Nubia, in particular in Dakke. As a cosmic deity related to the sun and the moon, he considered the guarantor of the cosmic or worldly order³⁷³.

Thoth was depicted in the god's procession on the temple wall at Musawwarat es-Sufra³⁷⁴, and based on graffiti in Musawwarat es-Sufra for Thoth as baboon, Hofmann suggest that there was a cult for him in the area³⁷⁵. Many inscriptions from Dakke proved that Thoth was worshipped as Pnubs³⁷⁶, and repeatedly described as "*the lion of the south, strong arm*", the same title like Arensnuphis, but he is never represented in the shape of a lion³⁷⁷. Inconnu-Bocquillon³⁷⁸ confirmed the southern origin of Thoth Pnubs. Thoth is always paired with Horus in royal chapels offering scenes: there appearance linked with funerary offerings as a part of the burial rituals³⁷⁹.

3.2.1.11. Hathor

Hathor in Egypt was the motherhood goddess and the goddess of love and beauty, she had a strong link with Nubia since the Middle and New kingdom, but this role was decreased in the Meroitic period. Her typical crown was cow horn with

³⁷² Pinch 2002, 209; Wilkinson 2003, 215.

³⁷³ Kormysheva 2006, 23.

³⁷⁴ Hintze, *et al* 1971, 31.

³⁷⁵ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 108.

³⁷⁶ Roeder 1930, 177, Taf. 72.

³⁷⁷ Žabkar 1975, 22-23.

³⁷⁸ Inconnu-Bocquillon 2001, 333.

³⁷⁹ Yellin 2012a, 137-138.

sun disk, and her Meroitic name was *Atri*, which is attested in Naqa³⁸⁰. Evidence for Hathor worship was mentioned at Naqa, Wad ban Naga, and Meroe³⁸¹. Many data from the tombs of the Meroitic queens may confirm the role of Hathor in motherhood³⁸².

3.2.1.12 Bes

Bes in the Egyptian history was a largely domestic and funeral god, he was considered as a protector, particularly to woman and childbirth, and associated with dancing and music, water and the solar cult³⁸³. He appears in Meroitic period as official and popular local god. Bes was represented during the Meroitic period in reliefs on columns at Upper Nubia (Amara West and Gebel Barkal) and in the Butana region (Meroe, Naga, Wad Ban Naqa, and Musawwarat es-Sufra), and engraved on templar columns and pillars under the influence of the Graeco-Roman *mammisi*³⁸⁴. However, his representations in Kush are not limited to monumental art³⁸⁵, but extensive archaeological material connected Bes to popular religion in Meroitic period. Sackho-Autissier³⁸⁶ proposed that Bes cult maybe related to a Meroitic version of the cult of wine, which known in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

The dwarf-shaped of god Bes was always considered to be related to popular beliefs, but amulets and representation for him on jewelry can be found in all social group even in the simple burials. Bes is also related to Dionysian-Osirian beliefs

³⁸⁰ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 109.

³⁸¹ Kormysheva 2006, 22; Wildung, Kroeper 2006, 11-12.

³⁸² Yellin 2012a, 133; see Beg. N. 11 (Shanakdakhete), N. 6 (Amanishakheto), N. 21 (Amanirenase), N. 18 (Amanikhatahan), see Dunham 1957, 74, 85, 149, Fig. 44, 84, 99, Pl. 70A, 61F, 62A; Priese 1993, 23-24, fig. 16.

³⁸³ Ruiz 2001, 110-111; Graves-Brown 2018, 36.

³⁸⁴ PM VII, 157, 209, 263; Séguenny 1984, 151; Kormysheva 2006, 24; Petacchi 2014, 205.

³⁸⁵ Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 174.

³⁸⁶ Sackho-Autissier 2006, 307; 2010.

(wine cult), however his Meroitic name is presumably unknown³⁸⁷. Scholars supposed that Bes most probably had a Meroitic identity and local function³⁸⁸.

3.2.1.13. Hellenistic Deities

The beginning of the Meroitic period is approximately the same time of the Ptolemaic period in Egypt. During this period, the Hellenistic influence flowed from the Mediterranean world to the Meroitic Kingdom alongside with large number of imported luxury items, which had been found in the royal and elite graves³⁸⁹. The King Arakamani I who was contemporary with Ptolemy II (282-246 BC) considered by scholars as “Helenizer” of Meroe, where Hellenistic palaces, bath, statues, and decorative frescoes occur³⁹⁰.

Around 274 BC, Egypt established large-scale trade contacts with Meroe, when Egypt acquired control over Lower Nubia due to the military expedition of Ptolemy II. The organization of the trade route along the Nile contributed to the development of the settlement chain along the Nile Valley³⁹¹.

“Acculturation”³⁹² or “syncretism”³⁹³ appears in the form of a mixture of Hellenistic and Egyptian aspects, particularly in religious concepts. Numerous ideological elements arrived from the Mediterranean and were adapted in the Meroitic culture through the intensive contacts by Egypt³⁹⁴. This syncretism should

³⁸⁷ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 110; For more information about Bes in Nubia, see Séguenny 1984, 151; Lewczuk 1992a-b; Sackho-Autissier 2006.

³⁸⁸ Wildung 2004, 175.

³⁸⁹ Török 2006a, 468; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 128.

³⁹⁰ Török 2011b, 14, 21.

³⁹¹ Török 2006a, 468.

³⁹² Török 2011b, 29.

³⁹³ Lohwasser 2014a, 287.

³⁹⁴ Lohwasser 2014a, 287.

be seen as a “coexistence of images” whereby divine images are expressed in a multitude of diverse forms³⁹⁵.

Manzo³⁹⁶ concluded that the Dionysiac elements seem to be widespread in Meroitic culture based on many elements and small objects decorated with Dionysiac iconographies, he also discussed many evidence that confirmed the dating of the “cult of the grape” in early Meroitic period (3rd century BC) rather than the suggestion of Adams³⁹⁷ that dated to late Meroitic period, while Lenoble³⁹⁸ suggest the continuity of this cult in Post-Meroitic period³⁹⁹.

Relief on the southern wall of the Meroitic temple at Duanib-Wadi el Banat dated to the to the time of Natakamani and Amanitore show two mythical creatures in the middle between Bes and Satyrs facing each other, this link between the two gods is an important aspect in the spread of Dionysiac element in Meroe⁴⁰⁰, and was common in contemporary Graeco-Roman period⁴⁰¹.

The peak of the evidence that refer to the worship of Dionysus dates back to Natakamani and Amanitore, but after this episode, Dionysiac elements continued to be present in Meroitic iconography and ideology⁴⁰². The elements referring to Dionysus were on the plaques which used in architectural and on jewelry elements, also Satyrs heads were painted in Meroitic ceramics. Moreover, Satyrs were associated with the dwarf figure of Bes was associated, which appeared in the decoration of the Natakamani and Amanitore in Duanib.

³⁹⁵ Sackho-Autissier 2006, 311.

³⁹⁶ Manzo 2006, 82, 84-85.

³⁹⁷ Adams 1977, 362.

³⁹⁸ Lenoble 1999, 174-175.

³⁹⁹ Otherwise, the full extent of Dionysus worship is uncertain (Yellin 2012a, 136).

⁴⁰⁰ Manzo 2006, 89.

⁴⁰¹ Graves-Brown 2018, 55.

⁴⁰² Manzo 2006, 91; Sackho-Autissier 2006, 308.

Several statues of Dionysos, including the figures of the Dionysos child and the Kithara-playing Dionysos, figures of Silenos, a double pipe –and a syrinx-player, a standing and two seated philosophers or poets, another group of statues consisting of complete or fragmentary figures of reclining men and a statue representing a reclining couple were found in “the sanctuary of water” at Meroe⁴⁰³. These artistic features could be dated to the period of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III, and could indicate that their sculptors arrived from a workshop skilled in the traditional carving of Egyptian sculptures but also had some experience in the execution of statuary in Hellenistic style⁴⁰⁴.

The Meroitic rulers presented in front of the Serapis and Dionysus, which joined the Meroitic pantheon because of Meroe’s contacts with the Mediterranean world through Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt⁴⁰⁵. Serapis did not appear as an independent deity, suggesting that he never had a true cult in Meroe and his occasional images and inscriptions identify him primarily with Amun, while at least in one occasion was linked with Apedemak⁴⁰⁶. Serapis was a god connected to the royalty and fertility, his cults existed in contemporary Egypt⁴⁰⁷. Therefore, based on Meroitic evidence, Serapis was unified with other gods forming Serapis-Amun or Zeus-Serapis-Amun, also, in the Lion Temple at Naqa, Serapis was united both to Apedemak and Amun⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰³ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 129.

⁴⁰⁴ Török 2006a, 470.

⁴⁰⁵ Wildung, Kroeper 2006, 20.

⁴⁰⁶ Török 2011b, 320.

⁴⁰⁷ Wilkinson 2003, 128.

⁴⁰⁸ Millet 1984, 118; Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 130.

In addition to the representation of the King Sherkaror (mid-1st century AD) in Gebel Qeili in front of the god Helios illustrates the combination of a solar and fertility Hellenistic god and local motifs⁴⁰⁹.

Török⁴¹⁰ supposed that such an interaction between the Hellenistic and the native culture was essential and possible in Egypt, but would have been meaningless in Meroe where there were no Macedonian rulers and no masses of Greek settlers who were compelled to get somehow accommodated to the new home on the Nile and at the same time make its people accept their dominance. Based on Török assumption, further research based on deep interpretations and cross-comparison about the Ptolemaic and Roman presence in heartland of Meroitic kingdom is still needed.

3.2.1.14. Unknown Indigenous Deities

The Meroitic religion had undergone a long period of development, and all the syncretic processes resulted in the creation of indigenous religious practices⁴¹¹. Therefore, the identity of Meroitic gods cannot be simply deduced from their iconography⁴¹².

⁴⁰⁹ Rostkowska 1982, 290; Lacovara 2012b; Lohwasser 2013b, 235.

⁴¹⁰ Török 2011b, 320.

⁴¹¹ Kormysheva 1992, 190.

⁴¹² Wildung 2004, 175.

There are a number of indigenous gods whose names and little information known *e.g.* Mandulis⁴¹³, Mash⁴¹⁴, Aqedise⁴¹⁵ were considered an obscure Meroitic deities. In addition to this, an inscription for an official from Karanog, *Haramadeye* refers to other obscure gods (Ariten, Amanete, and Makedeke)⁴¹⁶, which demonstrates how we are still far to complete understand the Meroitic religion⁴¹⁷. Dafaalla⁴¹⁸ suggests that the worship of these local gods was known a long time before, some of them were recognized by the ruling families.

To conclude, the roots of the Meroitic religion have been in indigenous sources on the Central Nile Valley, but based as well on different influence from Egyptian, Greek, and Roman⁴¹⁹. Therefore, the effects of cross-cultural interactions on the Meroitic culture is evident, and the Egyptian and Hellenistic deities did not form the same pantheon as in Egypt, but were inserted into local patterns of beliefs

⁴¹³ Griffith 1937, 36; Kormysheva 1992, 190; Kirwan 2002, 22; Wilkinson 2003, 114. Mandulis was local god with eastern connections likely also to appeal to the Blemmyes, and the Bega in eastern desert. The first definite traces for the cult of Mandulis can be attributed to Philae; a Greek inscription from the year 148/47BC stated that the priests of Mandulis in Philae are entitled to goods received from the “Ethiopians” residing in the Dodekaschoinos, (Török 1984a, 159-160).

⁴¹⁴ O'Connor 2012, 116; Rilly, Vincent 2012, 70. This god was recorded only by the mention of his priests in some 20 funerary inscriptions from Lower Nubia (Karanog, Shablul, Gebel Adda), The first mention of this god's name appears in Sedeinga on Stela II S 055 (Rilly, Vincent 2012, 70). This god was suggested to be as sun-god, based on a linguistic interpretation that suggested by Griffith, see Rilly 2010a, 371-372. For possible depictions of this god, see (Breyer 2005), scholars suggested the relation between Mash and Amun or Amun-Re, see (Török 1984a, 164; (Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 124). The priests of Mash are mentioned in REM 0209, 0237, 0250, 0256, 0260, 0292, 0294, 0372, the Priests of Mash and Mn in REM 0244, 0328, the Priests of Mash and Mt in REM 0269, while the Priests of Mash and Mnp in REM 0303 (Török 1984a, 164).

⁴¹⁵ Wildung 2004, 175; Rilly, Vincent 2012, 70). Perhaps this was a form of the moon god Khonsu (REM 0023, 0025, 0036, 0038). The god Aqedis appeared at Naqa and on a Taniydamani stelae at Gebel Barkal. The local god Aqedise, personified ideas connected with Osiris and Khonsu. This local god became a local moon god having embraced the typical iconography of a mummy, and had a moon symbol, which was characteristic for various Egyptian gods Path, Osiris, Khonsu (Kormysheva 2006, 20).

⁴¹⁶ Millet 1984, 117. REM 0084 A-C; Török 1984a, 164; Kormysheva 2006, 25.

⁴¹⁷ Millet 1984, 120-121; Yellin 2012a, 135.

⁴¹⁸ Dafaalla 1993, 21.

⁴¹⁹ Welsby 1996, 203.

and non-Egyptian aspirations and practices⁴²⁰. This could be confirmed by the Meroitic indigenous features which manifested the religious beliefs, but this complexity and transformation in the function and meaning is always difficult to decipher⁴²¹.

Despite the increasing attention which the Meroitic religion has received in recent years, it is clear that evidence is insufficient to do much more than utter generalizations on the one hand and explore details on the other. No clear picture emerges as to how the mass of the Meroitic population bore themselves in the face of their gods, even the few evidence of personal piety. On the other side, the great temple reliefs formed the official expression of state belief⁴²².

3.2.2. Royal Meroitic Funerary Practices

The main source to study the royal funerary beliefs and practices in the Meroitic period is the representations on pyramid chapels⁴²³, while the archaeological materials are fragmentary and their interpretation remains in most case speculative⁴²⁴. Otherwise, the inscriptions on the funerary stelae and offering tables which, contribute in understanding these practices are limited and largely incomprehensible⁴²⁵.

The Egyptian presence in Nubia since the Middle and New Kingdom, had an important impact on the Nile Valley, but with the Egyptian withdrawal after the New Kingdom, many indigenous cultural aspects regards funerary customs emerged⁴²⁶. For example the large tumuli at el-Kurru which dated to the late Third Intermediate

⁴²⁰ Quirke 1992, 177.

⁴²¹ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 89.

⁴²² Millet 1984, 119-120.

⁴²³ Wildung 2004, 174.

⁴²⁴ Kuckertz, Lohwasser 2016, 131.

⁴²⁵ Francigny 2012a, 52.

⁴²⁶ Welsby 2004a, 15.

period, belong to the ancestors of the kings of the 25th dynasty, with the beginning of the rule of this dynasty a radical transformation in the burial customs can be noted in the royal cemeteries around the capital at Napata: the traditional tumulus was abandoned in favor of the pyramids⁴²⁷.

Throughout the Kushite period, all the royal tombs conformed to a pyramidal type, consisting of step pyramids from stone or brick in the late Meroitic period, on the eastern face stood a small funerary chapel with a pylon⁴²⁸, and occasionally having an open forecourt in front of it. The burial place was located in the rock beneath the pyramids, and reached through open-cut shaft on the east, usually in front of the chapel, leading to two small chambers for queens and three for kings⁴²⁹. The body was placed on a stone cut coffin bench, these pyramid chambers contained grave goods⁴³⁰.

Since ancient times, various disturbances and plundering of the Meroitic funerary sites either human or natural had greatly affected on the original context⁴³¹. In spite of the heavy looting and plundering of the royal cemeteries of Begrawiya, and the fact that most of the bodies have been disturbed, often making the original burials features and context no longer identifiable, the remaining funerary objects, which were found by the Harvard-Boston expedition, stand as evidence for the effectiveness of foreign trade during the long decades of the Meroitic period⁴³².

The expedition of Harvard University and Boston Museum of Fine Arts under G. Reisner⁴³³ conducted systematic excavation in the three pyramid fields of Meroe

⁴²⁷ Török 2009, 311-312; Lacovara, Knoblauch 2012, 145, 151.

⁴²⁸ Eisa 1999, 13; Hinkel 2000, 12.

⁴²⁹ Reisner 1923a, 76, Dunham, Chapman 1952, 1.

⁴³⁰ Yellin 2012f, 267.

⁴³¹ Geus 1991, 57; Eisa 1999, 13.

⁴³² Dafaalla 2005, 306-307, 310; Lacovara, Knoblauch 2012, 152.

⁴³³ Reisner, 1922; 1923; 1923a.

during 1921-22, and found thousands of objects, which led to the most important result of Reisner's work, the construction of the first relative chronology of Meroitic rulers⁴³⁴.

Moreover, the Meroities demonstrated that they believed in the afterlife⁴³⁵, as they left in their tombs grave goods to assure everlasting life and developed many burial customs to achieve that⁴³⁶. However, the Meroities had different thoughts about the afterlife⁴³⁷; they believed that their afterlife depended on the provision of food and drink to sustain it, instead of the mummification that stopped after the early Meroitic period which, indicated the crucial transformation to their beliefs about afterlife. They thought that they could achieve the afterlife through rituals that were performed at the time of burial, on the contrary the deceased was still identified with Osiris and nurtured by Anubis and Isis⁴³⁸.

Reisner⁴³⁹ reported that all the tombs in the Beg. N. contained additional human burials as servants of the rulers in afterlife, but the number of the individuals is much smaller than in the burials at Kerma and Ballana period. While Welsby⁴⁴⁰ clarified that Reisner exaggerated and only 16 tombs in the Beg. N, and Beg. W. certainly contained additional human sacrifices including five in the tombs of the kings, one of queen, and one of a prince, while the rank of the owners of the others eight tombs is uncertain⁴⁴¹.

⁴³⁴ Hinkel 2000, 16.

⁴³⁵ Abdalla 1982, 92; Eisa 1999, 46.

⁴³⁶ Welsby 1996, 93.

⁴³⁷ Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 634.

⁴³⁸ Yellin 2012a, 137.

⁴³⁹ Reisner 1922, 181.

⁴⁴⁰ Welsby 1996, 89-90.

⁴⁴¹ Zach (2010, 541) listed all the Meroitic tombs which contained in the burial chambers remains of humans buried as a servants for the owners on the tomb in the afterlife; the royal pyramids is Beg. N. 22 (Natakamani), N. 17 (Amanitenmomide), N. 30 (Ariteneyesebohe), as well as several

The adoption of Egyptian funerary iconography is obvious, but there is no proof that the meaning of a specific motifs in Meroitic reliefs is exactly identical with the Egyptian sources⁴⁴². According to the archaeological evidence, it seems that the local Meroitic gods did not penetrated into the funerary practices, otherwise, Isis, Osiris, and Anubis were the primary mortuary gods. Their function is transformed according the local beliefs, which can be proposed through the funerary scenes that Anubis associated with the offering and became responsible for providing sustenance in the afterlife instead of being related to the mummification⁴⁴³. Together with him, Isis or Nephthys performed the libation⁴⁴⁴, as it is commonly illustrated in pyramid chapel scenes and on the offering tables⁴⁴⁵.

To conclude, the religious and royal funerary aspects in the Meroitic period reflected local interpretations of Egyptian adoptions, and present complex image for local belief system. Many aspects are still argumental and partially understood. However, the Meroitic believing system is too big to present in one chapter, but this introduction and short background could serve to analysis and understand different aspects for the funerary Meroitic amulets. Other information could be presented occasionally when needed.

other tombs of the family members and elite in Beg. W. 4, 5, 32, 102, 108, 109, 118, 122, 177, 179, 193, 231, 263, and 369.

⁴⁴² Wildung 2004, 175.

⁴⁴³ Lohwasser 2013b, 241; Francigny 2016, 89.

⁴⁴⁴ Yellin 1982b.

⁴⁴⁵ Lohwasser 2013b, 241.

4. The Royal Meroitic Funerary Amulets

Funerary objects remain one of the most important characteristics of Meroitic burials, which include containers, ornaments, weapons, amulets, statuettes, vases, stelae, offering tables, and *ba* statues⁴⁴⁶. The main source to study the Meroitic funerary amulets in the royal context is the amulets that had been found in the royal cemeteries, i.e. that were located in three cemeteries, including eight pyramids at the eastern edge of Beg. S. 1-6, 9, 10 and one outside this limits, Beg. S. 503⁴⁴⁷, the entire Beg. N. cemetery⁴⁴⁸, and two cemeteries in Gebel Barkal group Bar. 1-8 and 9-25, situated south and west of the holy mountain of Gebel Barkal⁴⁴⁹. Although all the burial chambers of the royal cemeteries of Kush and their relatives have been heavily plundered, the surviving finds however suggest that the dead rulers were buried with a large quantities of precious jewelry including amulets⁴⁵⁰.

These cemeteries were visited by many early travelers like Cailliaud⁴⁵¹, Hoskins⁴⁵², de Bellefonds⁴⁵³, and by the Prussian expedition of Lepsius⁴⁵⁴, who created valuable records, later on Henry Breasted⁴⁵⁵ from University of Chicago arrived: he further recorded and made the first photographs of the pyramids and their decorated chapels in 1906-1907. Unfortunately, many of the other visitors who came to the area of the pyramids were seeking for treasures and therefore damaged them searching for objects. The most famous was the Italian medical doctor Giuseppe

⁴⁴⁶ Eisa 1999, 38.

⁴⁴⁷ Dunham 1963.

⁴⁴⁸ Dunham 1957.

⁴⁴⁹ Dunham 1957.

⁴⁵⁰ Priese, 1992, 16.

⁴⁵¹ Cailliaud 1826.

⁴⁵² Hoskins 1835.

⁴⁵³ de Bellefonds 1872.

⁴⁵⁴ Lepsius 1859.

⁴⁵⁵ Breasted 1975.

Ferlini, who in 1834 found the golden jewelry in the pyramids of Queen Amanishakheto (Beg. N. 6)⁴⁵⁶, which is now preserved in the Munich Museum and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.

Reisner had conducted the first scientific excavation in the royal cemeteries of Kush in the period 1916-1923 for the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, which included the cemeteries of Nuri, el-Kurru, Gebel Barkal, and three cemeteries in Meroe: Beg. S., Beg. N., and Beg. W⁴⁵⁷. These cemeteries were completely published by his assistant Dunham, after Reisner's death as part of the series "*The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*"⁴⁵⁸.

Although the Egyptian-type amulets are already attested in substantial numbers in Nubian cultures, and their numbers were increased in the Napatan cemeteries⁴⁵⁹, their numbers and types in Meroitic cemeteries differed⁴⁶⁰. In the following part, I will provide brief introduction about each royal Meroitic cemetery, then I will present typo-chronological information about the amulets from these cemeteries.

4.1.1. The Cemetery of Gebel Barkal

Gebel Barkal is located 23km south of the Fourth Cataract, and 1.5km from the right bank of the Nile. It was the main cult center in the Kushite kingdom, and the main Amun Temple was given the same name as Amun Temple in Karnak "*Ipet-sut*", as it was considered the residence of a southern form of Amun of Karnak. Gebel Barkal remained a major cult and religious center in the Napata region for the

⁴⁵⁶ Ferlini 1837.

⁴⁵⁷ Emberling 2011, 32.

⁴⁵⁸ Dunham 1963, 1. Some photos captured by the photographers of the mission had been recently published by the Museum of Fine Arts, see Berman 2018.

⁴⁵⁹ Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997; Balanda 2015.

⁴⁶⁰ Quack 2015, 267.

Kushite kingdom since the eighth century BC⁴⁶¹, as evidenced by many building and restoration works at the site⁴⁶². Its importance continued in the Meroitic period, when a number of royal palaces were constructed, which might be linked with coronation cults⁴⁶³. Two groups of 25 pyramids was located in the west side of the mountain, one dating to the beginning of the 3rd BC and the other to the 1st century BC, including the pyramid of the ruling Queen Nawidemak⁴⁶⁴.

Reisner⁴⁶⁵ assumed that the royal pyramids at Gebel Barkal related to two royal dynasties independent from Meroe. However, a number of facts later made this hypothesis implausible, alongside that both two groups in Gebel Barkal are chronologically and archaeologically close with the royal pyramids at Meroe⁴⁶⁶.

Indeed, the relationship between the Barkal pyramids and Beg. N. was more controversial; scholars had differed in determining this relationship. Reisner⁴⁶⁷ concluded that after the death of the last Napatan king Nastasen (c. 335-315 BC), who had a southern branch of the royal family, each branch set up a king of its own, Arakamani I at Meroe (Beg. S. 6) and Aryamani in Gebel Barkal (Bar. 11), the former dynasty, which identified by Reisner as “*the first Meroitic dynasty in Napata*”. The kingdom was divided again during the reign of the fifth successor of Arakamani II (c. 218-200 BC), who was buried in Beg. N. 7, to form “*the second Meroitic dynasty in Napata*”, finally the kingdom was reunited after the Roman campaign (23 BC). On the contrary, Dunham⁴⁶⁸ concluded that the earlier Barkal

⁴⁶¹ Hintze 1973, 136; Fisher 2012a, 34.

⁴⁶² Welsby 1996, 17.

⁴⁶³ Edwards 2004, 154.

⁴⁶⁴ Dunham 1957; Lohwasser 1999, 130; 2004, 211; Hinkel 2000, 12; Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012b, 285.

⁴⁶⁵ Reisner 1923a, 58.

⁴⁶⁶ Dunham 1955, 1; Welsby 1996, 20, 23; Lohwasser 2004, 211.

⁴⁶⁷ Reisner 1922, 194.

⁴⁶⁸ Dunham 1946, 388-389.

group should be considered as related to the kings of the Napatan dynasty, and formed a few of Nastasen's descendants, who refused to abandon the old burial tradition, and set up a short-lived kingdom at Napata in rivalry with the branch of the family represented by Arakamani and his successors in Meroe. While the second group at Barkal was assigned to a line of local rulers of Napata who independently reigned during the 1st century B.C., and who were finally wiped out by the Roman campaign. Nevertheless, in both cases, the amulets from these two groups of pyramids will be considered in the study, to try to understand the variations with amulets in Beg. N.

4.1.2. The Southern Cemetery of Begrawiya

The Southern Cemetery (Beg. S.) is located 4km from Meroe on a series of sandstone hills. This cemetery was first occupied from the mid-eighth century to the mid-third century BC and contains more than two hundred burials, almost all of which are pit graves dating to the Napatan period⁴⁶⁹. On the western bank of the valley, on the last available sites in this cemetery, there are nine pyramids (Beg. S. 1-6, 9, 10, 503) including the ones of three Meroitic rulers and their family members. The chronological sequences for these tombs is obvious based on the physical contacts, the oldest among them is belonging to King Arakamani I (Beg. S. 6)⁴⁷⁰.

Reisner⁴⁷¹ was able to identify the kings who were buried in the Beg. S. through a number of evidence, including the presence of the name inside a cartouche, the use of the title son of *Ra*, and the representations on the walls that shown the tomb's owner in the form of kings or queens. The rulers in this cemetery represented the first rulers of the Meroitic phase of the kingdom of Kush. When this cemetery was filled, the royal burial turned into a new cemetery, which is the Beg. N., and become a place

⁴⁶⁹ Yellin 2012f, 270; Lohwasser 2004, 211.

⁴⁷⁰ Reisner 1923b, 37-38, Yellin 2015, 606-607; Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 33.

⁴⁷¹ Reisner 1922, 180.

for the burial of kings and queens. The architecture, style, and content of these first royal burials at Meroe are very similar to the late Napatan burials⁴⁷².

4.1.3. The Northern Cemetery of Begrawiya

The Northern cemetery (Beg. N.) is located on the north of the southern hill across the Wadi et-Tarabil. This cemetery dated from mid-third century BC to mid-fourth century AD. A new burial custom appears in this cemetery: in the previous Kushite cemeteries, the main wives of the ruler were buried in the same cemetery. This practice ended with the closing of Beg. S., as in Beg. N. there were only pyramids of kings, ruling queens and crown co-regent princes. However, the burials of the non-ruling queens or main wives were no longer buried in the same cemetery with their husbands and buried in the Beg. W. cemetery⁴⁷³. This change in burial customs may have been introduced by a new dynasty with different cultural traditions⁴⁷⁴.

Beg. N. consisted of 44 pyramids and its chronology extended from the 3rd century BC to the 4th century AD⁴⁷⁵. The earliest three tombs were similar to the last royal pyramids of Beg. S. While the rest of the tombs showed variation from the older types down to brick pyramids which characterized the late Meroitic period⁴⁷⁶. The last pyramids in Beg. N. were heavy looted, as most or all of its good graves were looted or were scattered in the cemetery. As a result of this, the names

⁴⁷² Due to the close similarities with the Napatan pyramids, scholars suggested that these tombs could be considered as part of the late Napatan period rather than as the beginning of new culture and historical phase for the Meroitic period, Yellin 2012f, 270.

⁴⁷³ Hinkel 2000, 12.

⁴⁷⁴ Yellin 2012f, 270.

⁴⁷⁵ Kendall 1982, 44.

⁴⁷⁶ Reisner 1922, 180-181.

of later kings buried in this cemetery were not recognized, and their pyramids reflect the decline of the wealth and power of the Meroitic state⁴⁷⁷.

Cemetery	Total burials	Burials with amulets	No. of amulets
Beg. S.	9	0	0
Beg. N.	43	21	128
Beg. N. 6. ⁴⁷⁸	Queen Amanishakheto	----	271
Bar.	25 ⁴⁷⁹	9	11
Total number of amulets in royal context: <u>410</u>			

Table 4.1 Distribution of Royal Meroitic Burials with Funerary Amulets Corpus.

It seems that the amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto were almost more than the double of the total number of amulets in the other royal pyramids, so create the classification of the royal amulets including the amulets of the queen will be not representative. Therefore, the study will classify all the royal amulets and the amulets of the queen both separately. Then, at the end of the study, a comprehensive discussion could be done.

4.2. Classifications of the Amulets in the Royal Context -except the Queen Amanishakheto:

The total number of royal amulets from the Beg. N. and the Gebel Barkal Cemetery is 139. All the material was collected, sorted, and classified. Then after completing the purely qualitative investigation for the amulets and inserted on the

⁴⁷⁷ Yellin 2012f, 270.

⁴⁷⁸ This number include the amulets that had been found among the treasure of the queen by Ferlini (1837) and fully published by Schäfer (1910) with a total number 265 amulets, while only 6 amulets had been found during Reisner's excavation in the pyramid of the queen, and published by Dunham (1957, 106-111).

⁴⁷⁹ In 1995-96 the Spanish team promptly discovered two additional pyramids Bar.26-27, Scholars supposed that they formed part of Nuri pyramids (Berenguer 2001), today only 12 pyramid still stand in Gebel Barkal, see Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012b.

database, the study carried out a classification based on their types considering six main categories as follow;

4.2.1. Anthropomorphic Figures (25) (Table. 4.2) (Fig. 4.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (RCK IV)	Accession No. ⁴⁸⁰	Cat. No.
Osiris (3)	Beg. N. 4	Bronze	5.5 × 3	250-235 BC	MFA 21.12467	52-3, Pl. LVII. B.	21-12-109	1
	Beg. N. 11	Bronze	---	170-155 BC	---	72, Pl. LVII.	12-3-365	---
	Bar. 8	Bronze	18	----	---	62-3, Fig. 32, Pl. LVII. E.	16-4-86	---
Bes (3)	Beg. N. 13	Faience	2.6	140-120 BC	MFA 22-1-45b	76, Fig. 48, Pl. LVX. O.	22-1-45b	2
	Bar. 2 (2)	Faience	8.2	1 st BC	---	92, Pl. XLV. G.	16-2-176	---
Pataikos (2)	Beg. N. 20 (2)	Faience	1.9	120-100 BC	MFA 22-1-5a	78, Fig. 51.	21-12-137 22-1-5a	3
Hathor Head (2)	Beg. N. 20	Gold	1.2	120-100 BC	MFA 24.1775	80, Fig. 51, Pl. LXV. P.	21-12-172	4
	Beg. N. 20	Faience	1.5	120-100 BC	MFA 21.12482	80, Fig. 51, Pl. LXV. P.	21-12-173	5
Maat (1)	Beg. N. 18	Gold	3.5	62-85 AD	MFA 24.544	149, Fig. 99.	21-3-633a	6
Human Head (12)	Bar. 11	Faience	2.3	315-290 BC	---	22-3 Pl. LXV. A.	16-2-35	---
	Bar. 4	Faience	1.2	1 st BC	---	88.	16-2-83	---
	Beg. N. 21 (4)	Gold	1.1	100-85 BC	MFA ?	83, Fig. 56.	22-1-56c	---
	Beg. N. 18 (6)	Gold	2.7	62-85 AD	MFA 24.544	149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII. A.	21-3-633c	6
Composite (1)	Beg. N. 18	Gold	3.5	62-85 AD	MFA 24.554	149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII. A.	21-3-633b	7
Indeterminable (1)	Beg. N. 20	Faience	2	120-100 BC	MFA 22-1-5b	80, Fig.51, Pl.LXV. O.	22-1-5b	---

⁴⁸⁰ Due to the absence of accession number of the objects, excavation number was inserted.

4.2.2. Zoomorphic Figures (35) (Table. 4.3) (Fig. 4.2)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (RCK IV)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram's head (18)	Beg. N. 8	Gold	----	195-170 BC	---	71.	22-1-1b	---
	Beg. N. 8 (2)	Gold	1.6	195-170 BC	MFA 22-1- 177b	71, Pl. LXI. A.	22-1-176b 22-1-177b	8
	Beg. N. 13	Steatite	1.8	140-120 BC	---	76, Fig. 48, Pl. LXI. B.	22-1-48a	---
	Beg. N. 20 (10)	Gold	1	120-100 BC	---	78, Fig. 51, Pl. LXI. G.	21-12-145	---
	Beg. N. 41	Faience	1.8	134-140 AD	---	162, Fig. 105, Pl. LXVIII. D.	21-3-442	---
	Beg. N. 29 (2)	Faience	3.6	140-155 AD	SNM 02432	170, Fig. 109, Pl. LXVIII. G.	21-3-533b	---
	Beg. N. 27	Eggshell	-----	266-283 AD	MFA 22-1-105	194, Pl. LXVIII. I.	22-1-105a	---
Uraeus (9)	Bar. 7	Faience	3.8	----	---	55, Fig. 29.	16-2-98	---
	Beg. N. 17	Faience	4.6	47-62 BC	MFA 24.1076	143, Pl. LXVIII A.	21-3-629	9
	Beg. N. 18 (4)	Gold	2	62-85 AD	MFA 24.1765	147, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII. B.	21-3-559 21-3-608c 21-3-682a	10
	Beg. N. 18	Gold	5	62-85 AD	---	149.	21-3-621	---
	Beg. N. 28	Faience	4	90-114 AD	---	188, Fig. 122.	21-3-152	---
	Beg. N. 28	Gold	4.6	90-114 AD	---	188, Fig. 122.	21-3-159	---
Hawk (3)	Beg. N. 9	Glass	1.2×3.5	200-195 BC	---	67, Fig. 38.	21-3-713c	---
	Beg. N. 51	Faience	4.3	225-246 AD	---	192.	21-2-351	---
	Beg. N. 51	Faience	----	225-246 AD	---	192.	21-2-428c	---

Lion (2)	Beg. N. 34	Gold	1.8	114-134 AD	---	164, Fig. 107, Pl. LXII. C.	22-1-26	---
	Beg. N. 51	Faience	1 × 1.7	225-246 AD	MFA 21.12265	192.	21-3-116	---
Ibis	Beg. N. 28	Bronze	3.4×2.5	90-114 AD	MFA 21.12344	188, Fig. 122.	21-3-388	11
Fly	Beg. N. 15	Electrum	0.7	28-37 AD	MFA 22-1-19b	135, Fig. 89, Pl. LXVII. A.	22-1-19b	12
Claw	Beg. N. 8	Carnelian	0.4×1.8	195-170 BC	---	71, Fig. 42, Pl. LXV. J.	22-12-176c	---

4.2.3. Symbols (21) (Table. 4.4) (Fig. 4.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (RCK IV)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Wdjat (5)	Beg. N. 9	Beryl	1.4× 1.8	200-195 BC	MFA 21.12436.7	67, Fig. 38, Pl. LXV. I.	21-3-713g	13
	Beg. N. 15 (3)	Faience	0.8×1.3	28-37 AD	MFA 22-1-19c	135, Fig. 89.	22-1-19c	---
	Beg. N. 18	Gold	1.2×0.8	62-85 AD	MFA. 24.1772	149, Pl. LXII. B.	21-3-609	14
Heart (2)	Beg. N. 41	Faience	5	134-140 AD	MFA 21.12363	162, Fig. 105, Pl. LXVIII. C.	21-3-450	15
	Beg. N. 34	Gold	1	114-134 AD	---	164, Fig. 107, Pl. LXVIII. F.	21-12-80	---
Tyet (2)	Beg. N. 30	---	---	175-190 AD	---	174.	21-3-496c 21-3-496d	---
Crescent (8)	Beg. N. 15 (7)	Gold	0.5	28-37 AD	MFA 22-1-19a	135, Fig. 89. Pl. LXVII. A.	22-1-19a	12
	Beg. N. 18	Gold	0.5	62-85 AD	MFA 24.1769	149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII. B.	21-3-608f	16
	Beg. N. 51	Faience	2.5	225-246 AD	---	192.	21-2-542	---
	Beg. N. 26	Faience	3.3	300-308 AD	---	197.	21-3-8	---

Sun & Uraeus (4)	Bar. 2	Faience	8	1 st BC	---	92; Pl. XLV. A.	16-2-133	---
	Bar. 3	Faience	8	----	---	95.	16-2-276	---

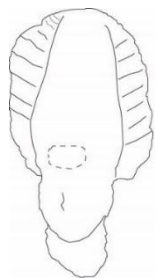
4.2.4. Scarabs and Plaques (27) (Table. 4.5) (Fig. 4.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (RCK IV)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Scarab (26)	Bar.18	Steatite	Hieroglyphic	1.5× 1.1	---	---	49-50, Fig. 24.	16-2-64	---
	Beg. N. 7	Faience	---	4× 5	218-200 BC	---	63-5, Fig. 36.	21-12-100d	---
	Beg. N. 8	Steatite	Iconographic	2	195-170 BC	MFA 21.12465	71, Fig. 42, Pl. LXV. H.	21-12-107	17
	Beg. N. 21 (5)	Faience	Iconographic	1.8×2.5	100-85 BC	---	83, Fig. 56, Pl. LXV.	22-1-8	---
	Beg. N. 21	Carnelian & Gold	---	0.5×0.6	100-85 BC	MFA. 24.592	83, Fig. 56, Pl. LXI.	22-1-62	18
	Beg. N. 21 (2)	Stone ?	---	0.8× 0.5	100-85 BC	MFA 22-1-118	85, Fig. 56, Pl. LXVI. B.	22-1-118	19
	Beg. N. 21	Gold	---	0.6×0.4	100-85 BC	---	85, Fig. 56.	22-1-119e	---
	Beg. N. 18 (13)	Gold	---	0.8×1.2	62-85 AD	MFA. 24.1773	147, Pl. L XII. B.	21-3-607	20
	Bar.17	Steatite	Iconographic	1.5×1.1	---	---	160, Fig. 104.	16-1-515	---
Plaque (1)	Bar.13	Steatite	Hieroglyphic	1.5× 2	---	---	26, Fig. 6, Pl. LXV.A.	16-1-538	---

4.2.5. Phytomorphic Figures (31) (Table. 4.6) (Fig. 4.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (RCK IV)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Rosetta	Beg. N. 8 (5)	Gold	1	195-170 BC	MFA 21.12453	69, Fig. 42, Pl. LXI.A. K.	21-3-705b 21-12-81 21-3-176a	21

(5)							21-3-177a 22-1-1b	
Floral (22)	Beg. N. 29 (19)	Faience	2	140-155 AD	SNM 02432	170, Fig. 109 Pl. LXII. G.	21-3-533a	---
	Beg. N. 27 (2)	Eggshell	---	266-283 AD	---	194, Pl. LXVIII. I.	22-1-105b	---
	Beg. N. 26	Eggshell	2.2	300-308 AD	---	197, Fig. 128.	21-3-124	---
Flower (4)	Beg. N. 18 (4)	Gold	2	62-85 AD	MFA 21.17065	149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII. B.	21-3-608d	22



21-12-109

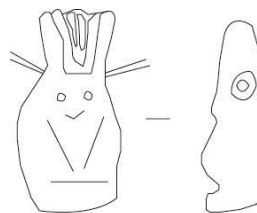


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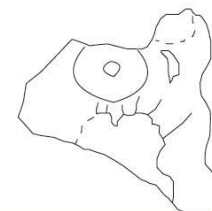


16-4-86

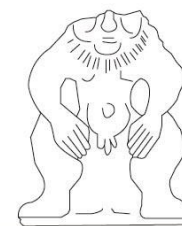
Osiris



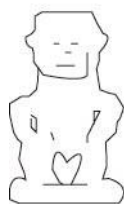
22-1-45b



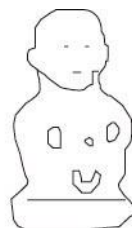
16-2-176



Bes



21-12-137



22-1-5a



21-12-172



21-12-173



21-3-633a

Pataikos

Hathor head

Maat



22-1-56c



21-3-633c



16-2-35



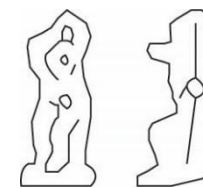
16-2-83

Human head



21-3-633b

Composite



22-1-5b

Unrecognized

Fig. 4.1 Anthropomorphic Figure

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham and, MFA online collection.

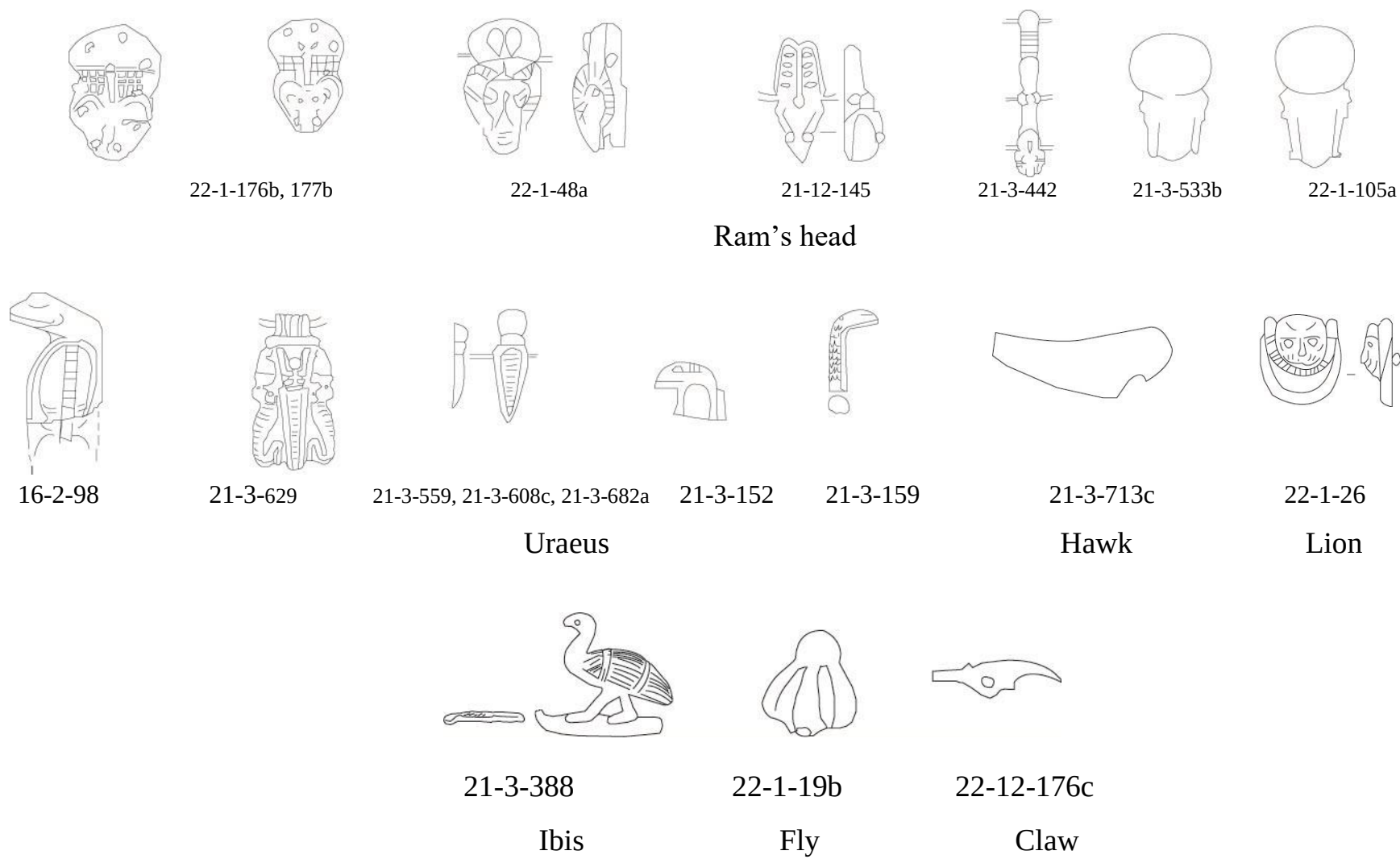
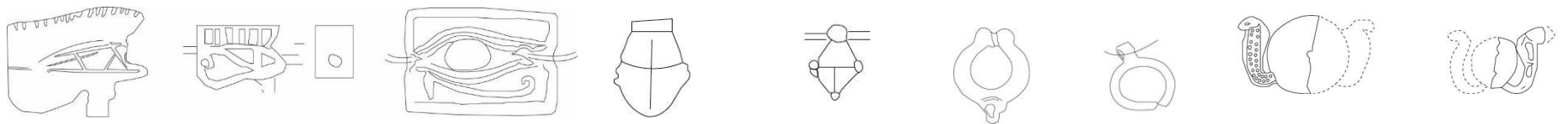


Fig. 4.2 Animal and bird motifs

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham and, MFA online collection.



21-3-713g

22-1-19c

21-3-609

21-3-450

21-12-80

21-3-608f

22-1-19a

16-2-133

21-3-8

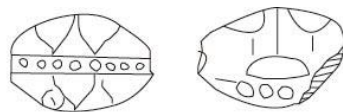
Wdjat



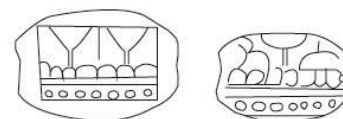
21-12-100d

21-12-107

Heart

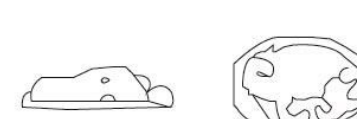


Crescent

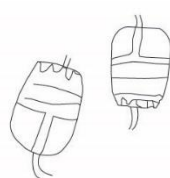


22-1-8

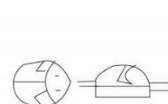
Sun & Uraeus



22-1-62



22-1-118



22-1-119e



21-3-607



16-2-64

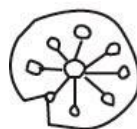


16-1-515



16-1-538

Scarabs and plaque



21-3-705b



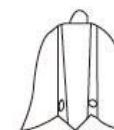
21-3-533a



22-1-105b



21-3-124



21-3-608d

Phytomorphic

Fig. 4.3 Symbols, Scarabs, and Phytomorphic Figures.

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham and, MFA online collection.

4.3. The Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto

Queen Amanishakheto, one of the most famous female ruler among the Meroitic rulers, ruled the kingdom at the beginning of the 1st century AD. The impressive depictions of the queen in her pyramid chapel reflect her position as an extraordinary queen⁴⁸¹. The reliefs on the pylon show the queen in full regalia, holding in her left hand a rope tied around the necks of groups of captives and a spear in her right hand to beat the enemies, while her name is inscribed in Meroitic hieroglyphic in a cartouche in front and above her head⁴⁸².

4.3.1. The Pyramid of the Queen Amanishakheto

The sources to study the grave goods of the queen comes from two excavators. First was Ferlini's account⁴⁸³ for the treasure that found in the small chamber at the top of the queen's pyramid, and the second by Reisner's excavations of the plundered burial chambers⁴⁸⁴.

Ferlini was an Italian physician who was appointed as a surgeon in the Egyptian army in 1830. He was posted with a detachment to Sudan, and then he became fascinated with hidden ancient ruins and antiquities. While he was in Khartoum, he requested permission from the local governor Kurshid Pasha, to conduct "excavations" at a number of neighboring sites⁴⁸⁵, and after his humble results to find unique objects in Wad Ben Naqa, Naqa, and Musawwarat es-Sufra, he went to the royal city of Meroe, where he located the city ruins and a large groups of pyramids near to the village of Begrawiya to make his last attempt in the largest

⁴⁸¹ Lohwasser 1999, 133. The queens in the Meroitic period were able to ascend the throne, they ruled with the same demands as their male counterparts, were portrayed as clearly women in contrast to ancient Egypt. For more about the Kushite queenship, see Lohwasser 2013c.

⁴⁸² Priese 1993, 10.

⁴⁸³ Ferlini 1837.

⁴⁸⁴ Dunham 1957.

⁴⁸⁵ Markowitz, Lacovara 1996, 1.

pyramid in the Beg. N. He asked the workers to pull the blocks of the pyramid down layer by layer till the ground. According to Cailliaud's description⁴⁸⁶, the pyramid of the queen was the best-preserved structure in that time and almost complete with sixty-four steps, there were few broken layers of stones and a long crack on the east face.

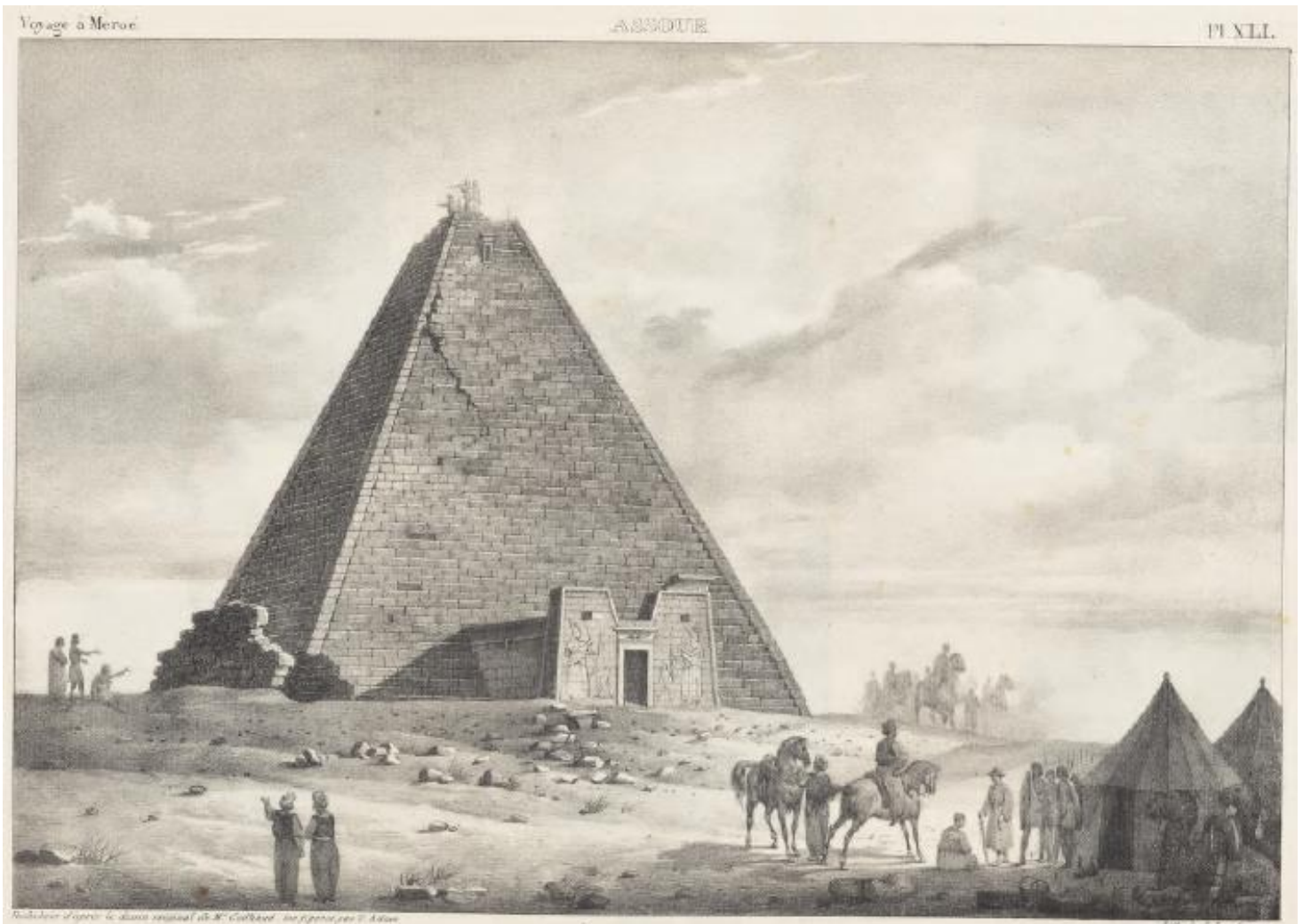


Fig. 4.4 The Pyramid of the Queen Amanishakheto by Cailliaud.

© (Cailliaud 1826, Pl. XLI)

⁴⁸⁶ Cailliaud 1826, II, 157, Pl. XLIII.

4.3.2. The Treasure in Queen's Pyramid

Ferlini described the moment when he found the treasure in his diaries;

*“m’ era posto coll’Albanese a riposarmi all’ombra della vicina piramide. Mentre io così mi ristorava fui chiamato da un fedele servo Saliti sulla piramide trovammo il servo disteso col ventre sul piano che aveano formato , e recisamente sopra un pertugio che si era scoperto. I neri rapaci volevano per forza cacciare il servo per porre le mani entro il pertugio ; ma noi coll’ armi alla mano li sforzammo a discendere. Chiamati altri servi fedeli, facemmo alla nostra presenza proseguire il lavoro Per prima cosa apparì a nostri occhi un grande masso coperto da un drappo candido tessuto di cotone , o di bisso, che al solo tocco andò sfasciato in pezzi , e sotto ad esso si scoprì un cataletto , o bara di legno di forma quadrilatera sorretta da quattro piedi lisci come bastoni rotondi, e le cui sponde erano formate di varii pezzi di legno posti alternativamente, un grande ed un piccolo, e rappresentanti figure simboliche come si vede al Catalogo N. i53. Sotto questa bara trovai il vaso descritto al N. 108, che conteneva gli oggetti ravvolti in panni tessuti della medesima natura del sopradetto. Appresso al vaso, e sul piano della cella erano disposti per mezzo di fili con ordine, ad uso di Collane, paste vitree, pietre; v'erano alcuni talismani, ed Idoletti, un astuccio di metallo, scatolette fatte al torno, una sega, uno scalpello e molti altri oggetti quali vengono descritti nel mio Catalogo ”.*⁴⁸⁷

The location where Ferlini found the jewelry of the queen was much debated by scholars, as Ferlini⁴⁸⁸ claimed that he found the treasure hidden inside a small chamber in the upper part of the pyramid. As there was no any indication of find such chambers in this part of other pyramids ⁴⁸⁹, scholars argued that Ferlini falsified the find spot in order to misdirect the other treasure seekers⁴⁹⁰, who found their way to pyramids area later. As a result, the site witnessed the unprecedented vandalism searching for the treasures, and many pyramids became ruins⁴⁹¹.

Jewelry was popular in Kushite kingdom like in ancient Egypt and was worn by men, women and children of all classes. It served as personal adornment and wasv

⁴⁸⁷ Ferlini 1837, XVII.

⁴⁸⁸ Ferlini 1837, XVII.

⁴⁸⁹ Lohwasser 2001b, 286; Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012a, 184.

⁴⁹⁰ Hinkel 2000, 16. Some of the objects that had been found in the burial chambers of the queen by G. Reisner were similar to those found by Ferlini, which could be an evidence against Ferlini's claim about the original location of the treasure, and support to the idea that the bulk of the treasure had its origins in the queen's burial chamber, see Markowitz, Lacovara 1996, 10.

⁴⁹¹ Schäfer 1910, 94-95.

also worn for magical purposes in the form of protective symbolic amulets⁴⁹². Priese⁴⁹³ thought that the jewelery of the queen was not part of the queen's official regalia that were documented on the wall representations, as there are no crowns and diadems, scepters, staffs, or appropriate necklaces. However he assumed that "*The queen's jewelery must to be the work of Meroitics goldsmiths, and represent a typical examples of the Meroitic art, except for few pieces clearly imported from Hellenistic world*". Otherwise, Lohwasser considered that the jewelry of Amanishakheto can be described as a "*treasure of the throne*", which was specially made for her and served to legitimize her position as a queen, this hypothesis was supported by the representations on the signet rings show the most important stages for being a ruling queen⁴⁹⁴.

Albeit there is enough internal consistency within the treasure to suggest that many items were fabricated in the same workshop⁴⁹⁵, stylistically it presents a mixture of Egyptian, Hellenistic and Meroitic motifs⁴⁹⁶. The queen's treasure demonstrates how the Meroitic craftsmen had the technological know-how to work with such varied materials⁴⁹⁷.

It is worth to mention that Ferlini described in his catalogue all the objects that he found elsewhere during his journey in Nubia. In some cases, these are identified by their original location, however, in other cases he did not, *e.g.* the group of small scarabs (No. 126 in Ferlini catalogue). Schäfer⁴⁹⁸ supposed that this group

⁴⁹² Ruiz 2001, 47.

⁴⁹³ Priese 1993, 16.

⁴⁹⁴ Lohwasser 2001b, 294.

⁴⁹⁵ Markowitz, Lacovara 1996, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ Lohwasser 1999, 131. This point of view had been discussed by Budge (1907, 382), and he added that "*the form and design was copied from the ornaments worn by women of high rank in Egypt in late Pharaonic times*".

⁴⁹⁷ Markowitz, Lacovara 1996, 10.

⁴⁹⁸ Schäfer 1910, 100.

of scarabs may belong to New Kingdom period and not to the queen, and he thought that they were found somewhere else⁴⁹⁹.

The treasure of the queen comprises more than 250 items including seals and shield rings, bracelets, necklaces, pendants, amulets and other objects⁵⁰⁰. The treasure of the queen is considered the final flourishing stage of the jewelry production particularly in the history of the Meroitic period and generally ancient Nubia. It also gave a testimony of the skills of Meroe's artisans, who created colorful beads, pendants, inlays, rings, and gilt-glass items, and shows how the craftsmen had perfected the process of enameling on metal, a decorative technique that largely replaced the setting of colored stones in channels, and that the location of these activities was mainly in Meroe⁵⁰¹.

Many scholars published pieces of queen's treasures⁵⁰², but the full publication of the treasure was done by Schäfer⁵⁰³. The treasure of the queen is currently held in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin and in the Egyptian Museum of Munich.

4.3.3. The Classification of the Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto

The total number of amulets of the queen which had been found by Ferlini and Reisner is 271. After the qualitative investigation of these amulets, a typology based on their shapes was created. Many scholars published pieces of queen's

⁴⁹⁹ Markowitz, Lacovara 1996, 10, footnote 42. It is worth to mention that since the unique finds from the tomb of Amanishakheto have been part of the inventory of the Egyptian Museum Berlin in 1844, no comprehensive analysis of the entire treasure has been carried out and numerous questions have remained unanswered to this day about material-technical aspects. Recently, multidisciplinary project launched to illuminate all aspects with different specialists.

⁵⁰⁰ Helmbold-Doyé 2019, 794.

⁵⁰¹ Markowitz 2012, 198; Helmbold-Doyé, Hertel, n.d.

⁵⁰² Lepsius 1859, 42; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899, 407-412; Budge 1907, 285-320.

⁵⁰³ Schäfer 1910, 93-188.

treasures⁵⁰⁴, but the full publication of the treasure was done by Schäfer⁵⁰⁵. The treasure of the queen is currently held in the Egyptian Museum of Berlin and in the Egyptian Museum of Munich

4.3.3.1. Anthropomorphic Figures (29) (Table. 4.7) (Fig. 4.5)

Subject	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Amun (1)	Gold & Carnelian	3.8	ÄM- Berlin	Ferlini Cat. No. 87. LD V, 42, No. 24. Schafer, 1910, No. 236, pp. 151-2. Priese, 1993, Fig. 13, p. 23.	ÄM 1649	23
Khonsu (4)	Gold	2.2 2.2 2.1 1.9	ÄM- Berlin	Ferlini, Cat. 87; Schafer, 1910, No. 237-8, p. 152.	ÄM 1648 ÄM 1647 ÄM 1645 ÄM 1646	---
Hathor (11)	Gold	2.3×2.2 ×.5	ÄM- Berlin & Munich.	Ferlini, Cat. No. 3; 12 item instead of 11. LD, V. 42, No. 16- 19. Hirth, Formenschatz, G. 1902, No. 97. Schafer, 1910, No. 245, pp. 154-155. Priese, 1993, Fig. 16, p. 24.	ÄM 1661 ÄM 703	24
Bes (8)	Faience	2.8:3.2	ÄM- Berlin	Ferlini, Cat. No. 120- 1; Schafer, 1910, No. 302-7, pp. 179-181.	ÄM 5726- 5734	---
Shu (1)	Faience	3.4	ÄM- Berlin	Ferlini, Cat. No. 125, Fig. 18. Schafer, 1910, No. 308, p. 181.	ÄM 1849	---
Isis (1)	Gold	2×1.7	MFA. 24.494	RCK IV, 111, Fig. 73, Pl. LXI.K.	21-3-606	25
Indeterminable (3)	Glass	2.5×1	---	RCK IV, 111, Fig. 73, Pl. LXVI.F.	21-3-706c (2) 21-3-706d (1)	---

⁵⁰⁴ Lepsius 1859, 42; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899, 407-412; Budge 1907, 285-320.

⁵⁰⁵ Schäfer 1910, 93-188.

4.3.3.2. Zoomorphic Figures (36) (Table. 4.8) (Fig. 4.5)

Subject	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No
Jackal (4)	Gold	2.7:3.2	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 86, Fig. 10; only one is mentioned, LD, V, 42, No. 22 and 23. Schafer, 1910, No. 241-244, pp. 153- 4. Priese, 1993, Fig. 14, p. 23.	ÄM 1658 ÄM 1659 ÄM 1657 ÄM 1660	26
Lion (5)	Gold (2)	0.8	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 88. LD, V, 42, No. 36 and 37. Schafer, 1910, No. 247, p. 155. Priese, 1993, Fig. 15, p. 23.	ÄM 1667 ÄM 1668	27
	Gold (2)	0.8	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 88.	---	---
	Faience	1	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	RCK IV, 111, Fig. 73.	21-12-41a	---
Uraeus (14)	Faience & glass	1.8	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	Schafer, 1910, p. 169. Fig. 149.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	---
Fish (12)	Stone	1.4	ÄM- Berlin & Munich	Schafer, 1910, p. 169, Fig. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	---
Hawk	Faience	4.7	---	RCK, IV, 111.	21-3-431	---

4.3.3.3. Symbols (145) (Table. 4.9) (Fig. 4.5)

Subject	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
	Gold (2)	1.35	ÄM- Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 12. LD, V, 42, No. 27.	ÄM 1756b	---
	Gold (6)	1.6	ÄM- Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 10, Fig. 5. LD, V, 42cul, No. 26 and 27. Prisse, Hist. de l'art Atlas II, Pl. 91, No. 28 (9 items	ÄM 1758a	28

Ankh (56)				drawn). Schafer, 1910, No. 264, p. 161.		
	Gold	1.1	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 11. LD V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 264, p. 161.	ÄM 1758b	---
	Gold (8)	3.2×2	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 5. Schafer, 1910, No. 262, p. 160.	ÄM 262, 703	---
	Gold (8)	2	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 12. Schafer, 1910, No. 263, pp. 160-1.	ÄM 1756C	---
	Shells & Carnelian (30)	0.7×0.35	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Fig. 152.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	29
	Faience	1.6	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p. 169, Fig. 152, P. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	29
Wdjat (67)	Gold & Sliver (2)	1.2	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 9, Fig. 22. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 268, p. 162.	ÄM 1758d	---
	Gold	1.1	ÄM-Munich	Not in Ferlini. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 270, p. 163.	ÄM 1756f	---
	Gold (12)	1.7	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 8. LD, V, 42, No. 26. Prisse, Hist. de l'art Atlas II, Pl. 91, No. 28 (only 4 right and 4 left, the front appendages drawn).	ÄM 1754	29+30
	Sardonyx & Gold (2)	1.6×1.3 ×0.65	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 140. LD, V, 42, No. 10 and 11. Schafer, 1910, No. 271, pp. 163-164.	ÄM 1650 ÄM 1653	29
	Jasper & Gold (2)	3.2×3.1 ×2.3	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 2, Fig. 4. LD, V, 42, No. 8 and 9. Schafer, 1910, No. 272, pp. 164-165.	ÄM 1651 ÄM 1652	29
	Faience (17)	1.4×1.4	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Pl. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	29

	Faience (16)	1.4	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Pl. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	29
	Faience (15)	0.9	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Pl. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	29
Heart (6)	Gold (3)	1.5×1.5	ÄM-Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 5. Schafer, 1910, No. 267, P. 162. Priese, 1993, Fig. 17, p. 24.	ÄM 267, 703	---
	Carnelian (3)	0.75	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p. 169, Fig. 154.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	---
Djed (16)	Faience (16)	1.6	ÄM-Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Fig. 162, Pl. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	30

4.3.3.4. Scarabs (42) (Table. 4.10) (Fig. 4.5)

Material	Decorati on	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Gold & Glass (15)	---	2×1.3	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 1, only 14 are mentioned. LD, V, 42, No. 38 to 41. Schafer, 1910, No. 258, p. 159.	ÄM 1654-6, 258 ÄM 703 (12)	---
Gold & Glass	Textual?	2	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini, Cat. No. 1, Schafer, 1910, No. 259, p. 159.	ÄM 259, 703	---
Gold & Glass	Textual?	2	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 1, Fig. 2 and 3. Schafer, 1910, No. 259, pp. 159-160.	ÄM 260, 703	---
Faience (25)		1.1	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Schafer, 1910, p.169, Fig. 158-159, Pl. 1.	ÄM 1757 ÄM 1755	---

4.3.3.5. Phytomorphic Figures (1) (Table. 4.11) (Fig. 4.5)

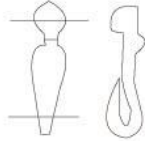
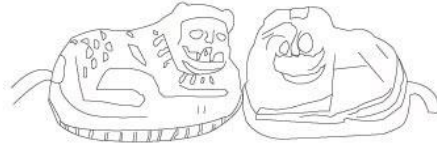
Subject	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Lotus (1)	Gold & Glass	2.2×2.45	ÄM-Berlin	Ferlini Cat. No. 13, LD, V, 42, No. 26. Schafer, 1910, No. 279, pp. 167-168, Priese, 1993, Fig. 20, p. 26.	ÄM 1756a	31

4.3.3.6. Others (18) (Table. 4.12)

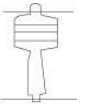
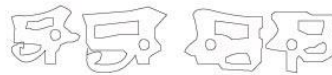
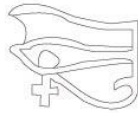
Subject	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Shell (14)	Gold (1)	1.65	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 14. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 248, pp. 155-156.	ÄM 1758e	---
	Gold (8)	1.85	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini, Cat. No. 4. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Hirth, Formenschatz, G. 1902, No. 97. Schafer, 1910, No. 251, pp. 156-157.	ÄM 1758m ÄM ,251, 703	---
	Gold	1	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 15. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 252, p. 157.	ÄM 1758h	---
	Gold	0.95	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 15. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 253, p. 157.	ÄM 1756d	---
	Sliver (3)	1.15	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 15. LD, V, 42, No. 27. Schafer, 1910, No. 254, p. 157.	ÄM 1758i ÄM 1758k ÄM 1758l	---
Bell (4)	Gold (4)	1.85×2 ×0.9	ÄM-Berlin & Munich	Ferlini Cat. No. 6, LD, V, 42 No. 28-31, Schafer, 1910, No. 278, P.167, Priese, 1993, Fig. 22, p. 27.	ÄM 1674 ÄM 1675 ÄM 1676 ÄM 1677	---



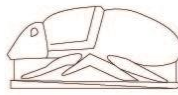
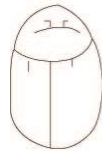
Anthropomorphic Figures



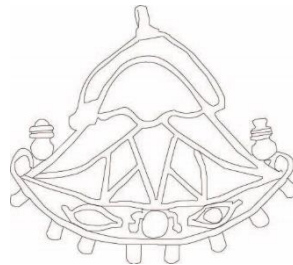
Zoomorphic Figures



Symbols



Scarabs



Phytomorphic Figures

Fig. 4.5 The Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto

Not to scale © drawn by author after Ferlini, Schäfer, and Berlin online collection.

4.4. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Based on the former tables, the study can analyses the quantitative and qualitative of the royal Meroitic funerary amulets. The total number of amulets which had been found in the royal Meroitic tombs are 410 including 139 (34%) for the all Meroitic pyramids, and 271 (66%) for the one of Queen Amanishakheto (Chart. 1).

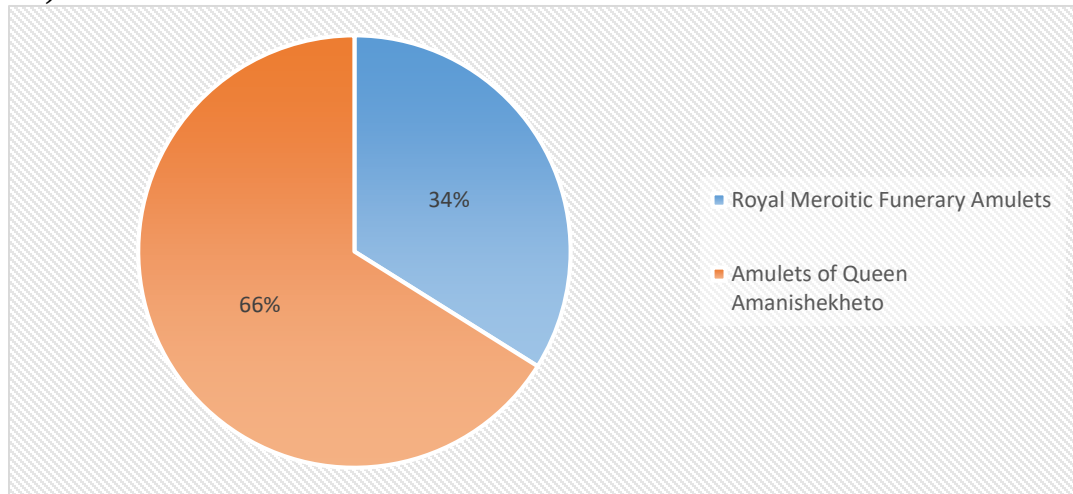


Chart. 4.1 Quantitative Distribution of Amulets in Royal Meroitic Funerary Context

The 139 amulets were divided into 128 amulets in Beg. N. and 11 amulets in Gebel Barkal cemetery.

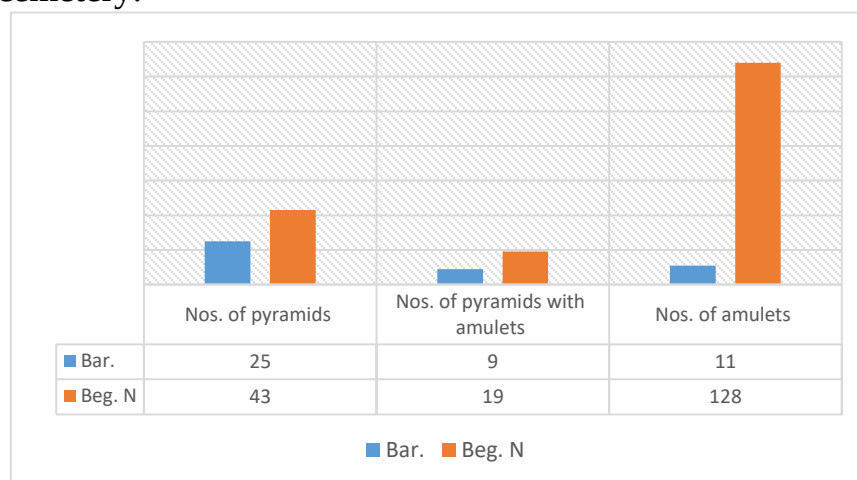


Chart. 4.2 Quantitative Distribution of Royal Funerary Amulets (except the Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto).

The quantitative distribution of the Royal funerary amulets in Beg. N. and Gebel Barkal in relative chronological order is as follows:

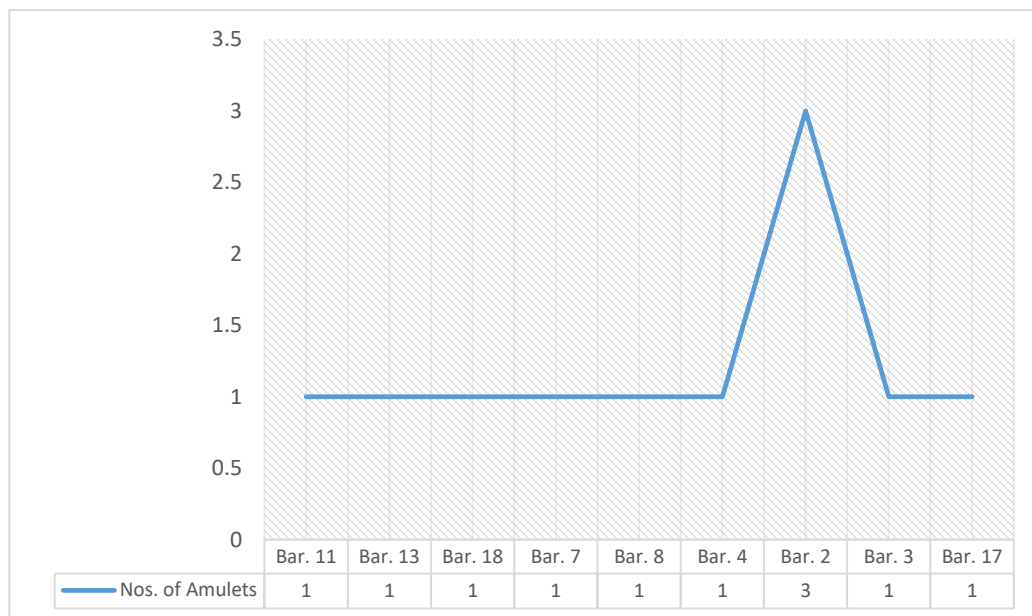


Chart. 4.3 Intra-Site Quantitative Distribution of Amulets in Bar. Cemetery.

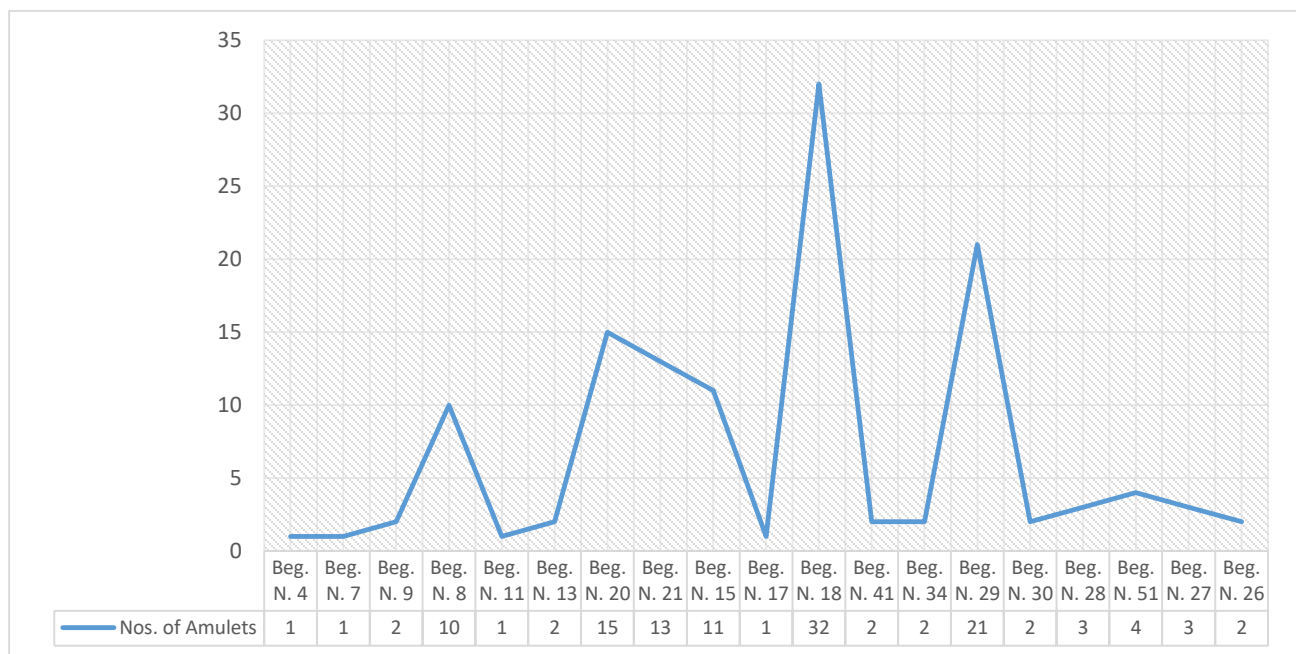


Chart. 4.4 Intra-Site Quantitative Distribution of Amulets in Beg. N. Cemetery (except Queen Amanishakheto)

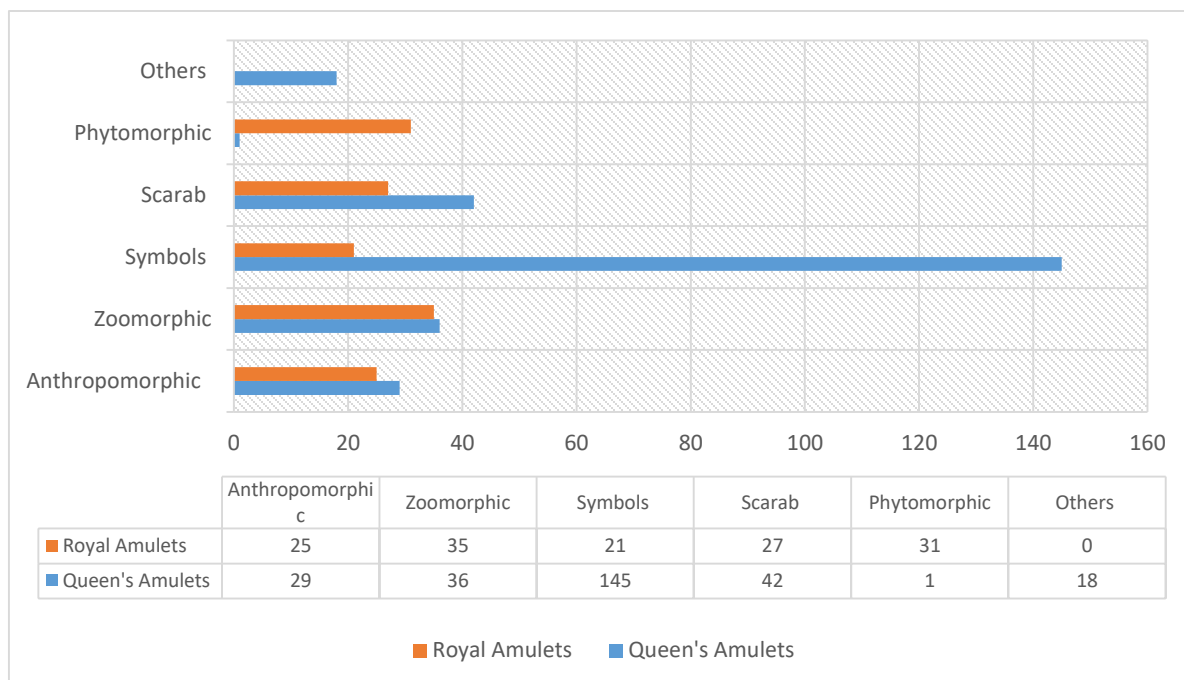


Chart. 4.5 Quantitative and Qualitative Distribution of the types of Royal Funerary Amulets with the Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto.

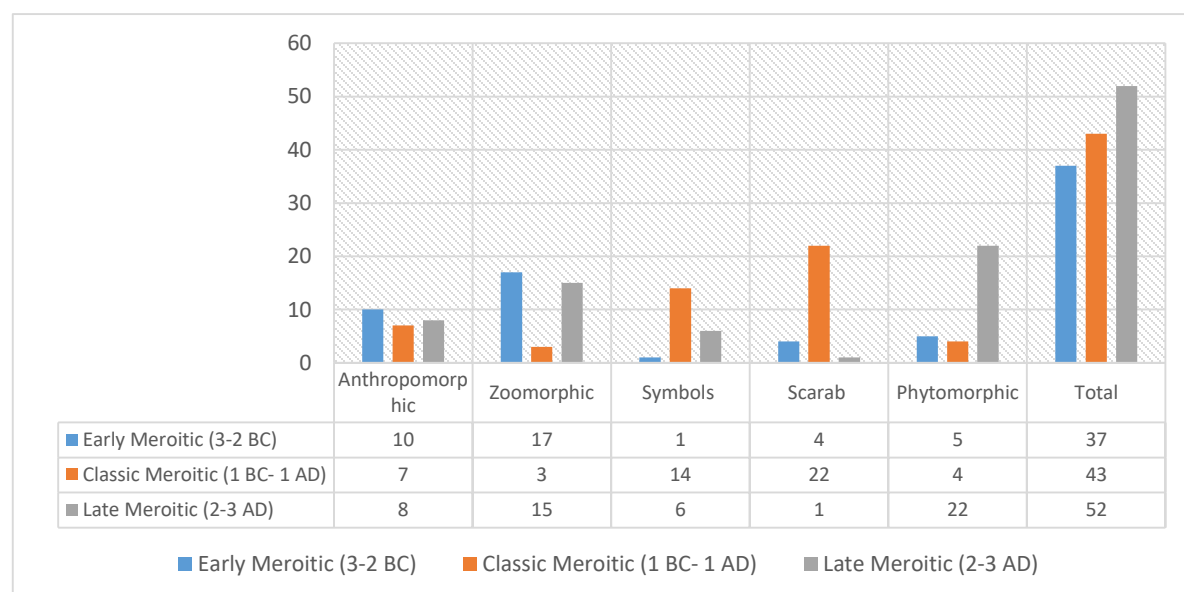


Chart. 4.6 Showing the % of Anthropomorphic, Zoomorphic, etc. in Early. Classic and Late Meroitic⁵⁰⁶.

⁵⁰⁶ The Meroitic period has been divided further into early Meroitic between early 3rd to late 2nd century BC, middle or classic Meroitic between late 2nd century BC to late 1st early 2nd century AD, and late Meroitic between early 2nd century AD to 360 AD, see Török 1997.

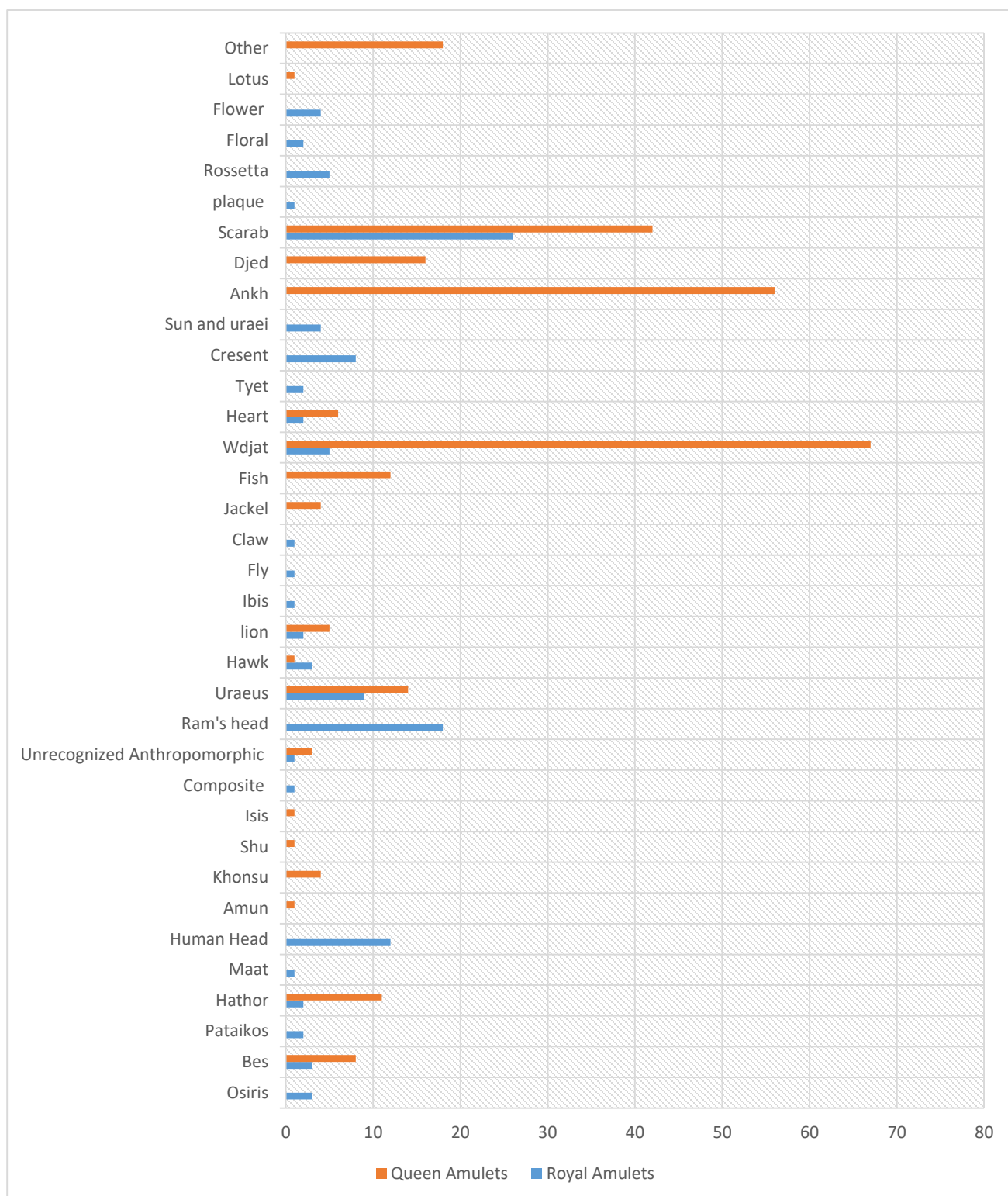


Chart. 4.7 Showing the Distribution of Royal Funerary Amulets.

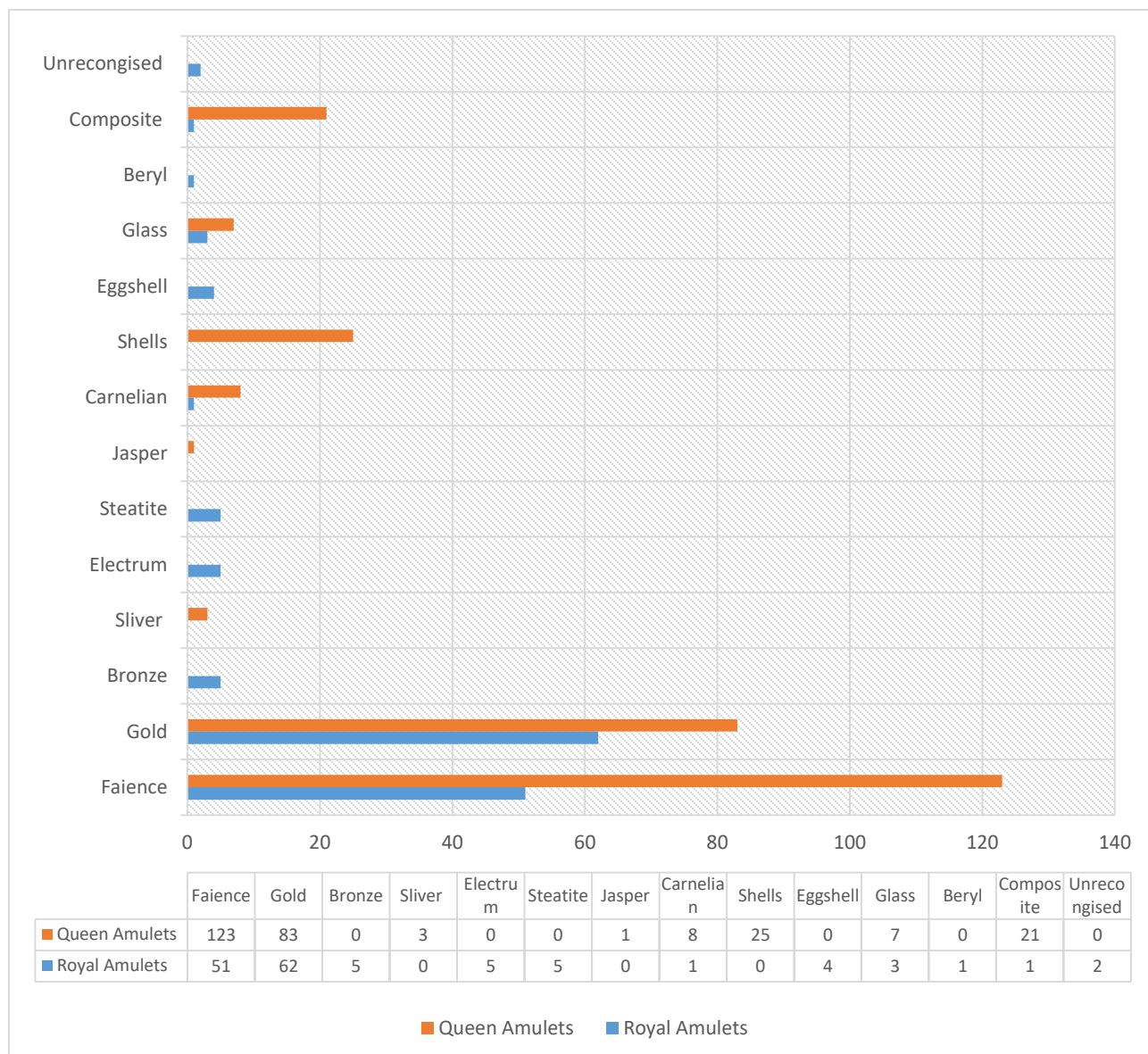


Chart. 4.8 Quantitative and Qualitative Distribution of the Materials for Royal Funerary Amulets with the Amulets of the Queen Amanishakheto.

4.5. The Meroitic Iconographies for Royal Amulets

The Meroitic period was distinguished from the Napatan, by the presence of several representations and scenes depicted on the walls of the pyramid chapels and temples⁵⁰⁷; showing the kings, queens and the family members during the religious and funerary rituals. These representations are considered one of the most fascinating legacies of Meroitic period, and provide an unparalleled insight into the funerary, ritual, and religious beliefs⁵⁰⁸, in addition to a wide range of information about royal insignia⁵⁰⁹, including many manifestations *e.g.* crowns, attires, and jewelry including different types of pendants⁵¹⁰.

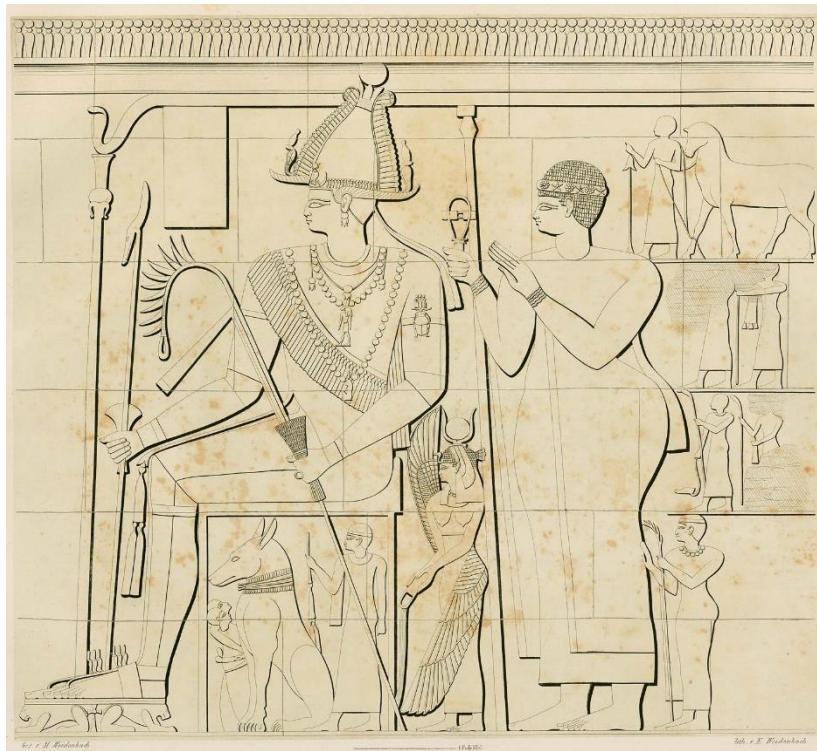


Fig. 4.6 The South Wall of Beg.N.12
(L.D. 27; RCK III, Pl.10.B)

⁵⁰⁷ Abdalla 1982, 62-63; Lohwasser 2013b, 227.

⁵⁰⁸ Geus 1991, 65; Lohwasser 1999, 131; Francigny 2016, 87.

⁵⁰⁹ Welsby 1996, 31.

⁵¹⁰ O'Connor 2012, 115.

Although the Meroitic period showed a much greater diversion for the Egyptian traditions than the Napatan one⁵¹¹, and the indigenous elements clearly existed, it remain largely characterized by the employment of strongly Egyptianized imagery. Many of the Meroitic representations were inspired by and largely adopted from Egyptian traditions, alongside with few Hellenistic influences⁵¹², but it is worth to pay the attention that, the preserved monuments are not provincial works of art, but belong almost exclusively to the official court art and were certainly created by the best craftsmen in the kingdom⁵¹³.

The Meroitic customs contained many elements from the Napatan queen's dress, with extensive use of new types of insignia including the triple ram-head necklace, and the ram-head earring. The adornment reaches new heights of luxury in the Meroitic period, in addition to broad collars, multiple necklace became common, especially the large ball-beads necklaces, often with sizable suspended amulets⁵¹⁴.

The present investigation could not be inclusive, since as many chapels have been destroyed or are only partially preserved. Therefore, the study mainly depends on drawings by Cailliaud⁵¹⁵, Lepsius⁵¹⁶, Budge⁵¹⁷, and the photographs which have been captured by Breasted in 1906–1907⁵¹⁸ and other miscellaneous sources (see table no. 15). Unfortunately, there are also contradictions between different drawings for the same scene, some of which are faulty and do not provide accurate

⁵¹¹ Yellin 1990, 361; O'Connor 2012, 117.

⁵¹² Abdalla 1982, 93.

⁵¹³ Yellin 1990, 361; Wenig 2015, 2.

⁵¹⁴ Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012a, 185.

⁵¹⁵ Cailliaud 1826. Despite the mistakes and inaccuracies of the drawing of Cailliaud (Schäfer 1910, 93), but it is his merit to draw attention to the Kingdom of Meroe, and to describe and draw antiquities that unfortunately have disappeared and destroyed, see Wenig 2015, 8.

⁵¹⁶ Lepsius 1849.

⁵¹⁷ Budge 1907.

⁵¹⁸ Breasted 1975.

information, therefore some items remain in questionable due to the poor condition of the reliefs and the details were not recognizable.

4.5.1. The Iconographic Representations of Amulets on the Pyramid Chapels

In the Meroitic period (Gen. 28-67) in RCK III⁵¹⁹ 129 iconographical representations were recorded on chapels of royal pyramids. Their state of preservation or documentation is far from perfect, 10 chapels are completely or partly destroyed, 2 are unfinished (Beg. N. 9, 21), 2 are not recorded (Beg. N. 26, 27)⁵²⁰. The inner walls of the pyramid chapels are decorated with reliefs, showing the deceased in front of the gods, which was to guarantee his continued well-being in the afterlife⁵²¹, and showed the Meroitic rulers received offering⁵²².

The depictions on the walls of the pyramid chapels in Barkal and Meroe cemeteries have never been subjected to a coherent examination in details. Many early travelers only provided description and drawings for the scenes of the chapels including Cailliaud⁵²³, Lepsius⁵²⁴, Budge⁵²⁵, and the survived scenes were systematically documented by Dunham and Chapman⁵²⁶.

⁵¹⁹ Dunham, Chapman 1952, 3-5.

⁵²⁰ Lewczuk 1992a, 157.

⁵²¹ Abdalla 1982, 63; Helmbold-Doyé 2019, 792.

⁵²² Lacovara, Knoblauch 2012, 153.

⁵²³ Cailliaud 1826.

⁵²⁴ Lepsius 1849.

⁵²⁵ Budge 1907.

⁵²⁶ Dunham, Chapman 1952. The work of Dunham on the iconographic representations of the Meroitic chapels is mainly based on former studies and illustrations, which had been conducted by the first explorers including; a. pencil drawings, which made by Linant de Bellefonds and Rici in 1821-22, and publish in Bankes manuscripts –for more about Bankes manuscripts see (Usick 1998), b. The published drawings by Lepsius (1849) in the fifth folio volume, c. In addition to a series of photographs which taken by Breasted during the expedition in Sudan 1906-7 (available online on: https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/meroe#II1A2_72dpi.png), and the photographs taken by the Harvard Museum of Fine Art Expedition in the royal cemeteries 1916-23, where Dunham himself was a member.

The royal pyramids of the Meroitic period fall into several distinct groups that share structural features, foundation deposits, and types of chapel decorations⁵²⁷. While the methodology of Reisner was to make a chronological frame of the Meroitic period mainly based on the architectural and archaeological materials, otherwise, due to the variations of the plans of the chapels, and the representations that covered the inner walls⁵²⁸, Wenig⁵²⁹ used a different approach to make chronological and typological study for the pyramid chapels, based on an attempt to use the iconographic-stylistic examination to determine the various artistic manifestations in order to achieve a better assessment of Meroitic art and achieve historical conclusions. As a result, Wenig⁵³⁰ divided the pyramid reliefs into three types (A–C) based on the corresponding scenes, alongside with archaeological findings, by investigating the degrees of continuity and changes in the royal pyramid chapel decorations⁵³¹, in order to offer a new perspective for classifying the pyramids and for reconstructing the Meroitic chronology alongside with Reisner's methodology. This finally confirmed Reisner's chronology of the Meroitic rulers in its most essential features.

These funerary chapels were always made of sandstone blocks, and their entrance pylons and interior walls were carved with registers of rituals scenes. The three inner walls are decorated with reliefs, more rarely with paintings that refer to the death cult of the deceased (king or queen, more rarely princes). In the majority

⁵²⁷ Yellin 2014a, 78.

⁵²⁸ Dunham, Chapman 1952, chart I; Wenig 2015, 11-12. The iconographic representations of the pyramid chapels before the generation (28) is very scant, because of the heavy plundering of the stones and destructive activities, see Dunham, Chapman 1952, 1.

⁵²⁹ Wenig 2015.

⁵³⁰ Wenig 2015, 12, 129.

⁵³¹ Type A: the earliest, were decorated with Egyptian offering scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions. Type B: were carved with a mix of offering scenes, book of the dead vignettes and ritual scenes from New Kingdom mortuary temples. Type C: the last group of chapels, dominated by large fumigation and libation scenes. For further information, see Wenig 2015.

of cases, the representations on the two side walls correspond -the only exceptions being in Beg. N. 1, N. 5 and N. 17⁵³².

Although the limited number of the iconographic representations in the Napatan period, some developments could be noted within the Meroitic period, as from the generation (28) onward subject on both side walls (north and south) become typical and showed the ruler equipped with the royal insignia seated on a lion throne with a protective figure of Isis spreading her wings behind him, and usually accompanied by members of the family, in addition to other Egyptian subjects such as transport the dead on a funerary barque, and the scenes of Osirian judgement. In the later chapels –later than Gen. 35- the procession of small figures bearing palm branches, and representations of Anubis and Nephthys pouring a libation, which commonly inscribed on the late Meroitic offering tables with cursive scripts occur⁵³³.

These representations offer information about the funerary practices of the Meroitic rulers, which reflected a combination of traditional and contemporary Egyptian beliefs with indigenous elements. Osiris, Isis, Anubis, and Nephthys are considered the main funerary deities for the royal practices⁵³⁴.

Beads and pendant adornments were recorded in the representations of the royal pyramid chapels and were found associated with the royal persons. In the following part, the study will mainly figure out the scenes that show the Meroitic rulers and the royal family members wearing amulets on the walls of the pyramid chapels. Later on, comparison with scenes from the Meroitic temples will be considered (chapter 7).

The chapels according the cemeteries are as follow;

⁵³² Wenig 2015, 12, 129.

⁵³³ Budge 1907, 164-67; Dunham, Chapman 1952, 4-5; Abdalla 1982, 63; Yellin 1990, 361.

⁵³⁴ Yellin 1990, 360-361, 368-369.

Cemetery	Total No. of chapels with representations /Total	No. of chapels with representations of amulets	Nos. of chapels
Beg. S.	4/9	3	Beg. S. 4, 5, 10
Bar.	5/25	2	Bar. 6, 4
Beg. N.	34/41	16	Beg. N. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 20, 2, 6, 22, 17, 28, 19, 36, 51, 26

Table 4.13 Numbers of Royal Chapels with Iconographic Representations.

Due to the variation of the documentation in some details, the study considered the different drawings for the same scene in different sources (table no. **4.14**)⁵³⁵.

Chapel No.	Wall	Indicated amulets	Worn by	Cailliaud	Hoskin	<i>L.D.</i>	Budge	Breasted photo no.	Dunham RCK III, 1952	<i>PM</i>, VII
Beg. S. 4	North	- 1 Ram head pendant. - Ribbons on shoulder.	Queen	----	Pl. 10	No. B. 4 V, 52a	----	2925	Pl.3.A	256
	South	- 1 Ram head pendant. - Ribbons on shoulder.	Queen	---	---	No. B. 4 V, 52a	No. 4 I, 418	2927	Pl.3.A	256
Beg. S. 5	North	- Ribbons on shoulder.	King	---	---	No. B. 5 V, 53c	No. 5 I, 423	2928-9	Pl.3.F	256
	South	- Ribbons on shoulder.	King	---	---	---	---	2932	Pl.3.G	256
Beg. S. 10	North	- Ribbons on shoulder.	Queen	---	---	No. B. 7 V, 54c	---	2937	Pl.4.A	256
Beg. N. 4	South	- Ram head pendant ? ⁵³⁶	King	---	---	No. A 17 V, 45b	---	---	Pl.4.D	244
Beg. N. 7	North	- Ribbons on shoulder. - Ribbons on shoulder.	- King - Queen behind the king	---	Pl.12	No. A 14 V, 35-6		2875-6	Pl.4.E	246
	South	- Ribbons on shoulder.	King	---	---	No. A 14 V, 37-8	---	2873-4	Pl.5 A	246
Beg. N. 8	North	- Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl.5 C	246
	South	- 3 Ram heads pendants.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl.5 D	246

⁵³⁵ ---- means that the scene is not recorded, × means that even if the scene was recorded, the amulet was not drawn.

⁵³⁶ This pendant is different, because the ram's in the middle is not clear.

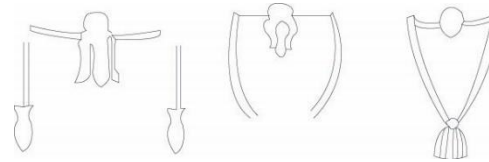
Beg. N. 11	South	- Human falcon-headed Horus.	Prince behind the Queen	---	---	No. A 10 V, 32-33	---	---	Pl.7 B	247-8
Beg. N. 12	North	- 3 Ram heads pendants. - Pendant of deity. (Maybe Amun) - Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 10 A	249
	South	- 3 Ram heads necklace. - Pendant of anthropomorphic human ram-headed Amun. - Pendant of Maat. - Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	No. A 9 V, 27	I, 401	2897-9	Pl. 10 B	249
	West	- 3 Ram heads wide necklace. - Pendant of Amun. - Pendant of Osiris.	King	---	---	No. A 9 V, 26	---	2899	Pl. 10 C	249
Beg. N. 13	North	- 3 Ram heads pendants. - 1 Ram head pendant.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 11 A	249
Beg. N. 20	South	- 3 Ram heads pendants. - Ribbons on shoulder.	King	---	---	No. A 3 L.D. <i>Ergänz</i> , LX	---	---	Pl. 12 B	252
Bar. 6	South	- Scarab on elbow. - Pendant with 3 pendants of gods.	Queen	I, Pl. LV3 ×	---	No. 15 V, 19 B ×	---	---	Pl. 13 B ×	206
Bar. 4	North	- 3 Ram heads pendants.	Queen	I, Pl. LV2	---	No. 17 V, 22 A	---	3057	Pl. 13 C	205-6
	South	- 3 Ram heads pendants.	Queen	I, Pl. LV1	---	No. 17 V, 22 B	I, 161	3057	Pl. 13 D	205-6
Beg. N. 2	North	- 3 Ram heads pendants.	King	---	---	---	---	2851	Pl. 15 A	244
	Pylon (the left side)	- Pendant of goddess figure, Isis ? (without crown).	Queen	I, Pl. LXVI ×	---	No. A 15 V, 40	I, 379	3863-4	Pl. 17	245

Beg. N. 6	North	- 1 Ram head pendant. - Pendant of Isis.	Queen	---	---	No. A 15 V, 41b	I, 375	2868-9	Pl. 16 A	245
	South	- 3 Ram heads pendants. - Pendant of goddess figure, maybe Isis ⁵³⁷ . - Scarab on elbow.	Queen	---	---	No. A 15 V, 41a	---	2865-6	Pl. 16 B	245
Beg. N. 22	South	- 1 Ram head pendant.?. - Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	No. A I V, 25 B	---	---	Pl. 18	252
Beg. N. 17	North	- 3 Ram heads pendants.	King	---	---	No. A 38 V, 51 B	I, 405	---	Pl. 21 A	250
	South ⁵³⁸	- 3 Wide ram head pendants. - Scarab on elbow. - Ribbons on shoulder.	King	---	---	No. A 38 V, 51a	I, 403 ×	---	Pl. 21 B	250
	West	- 2 Ram heads pendants. - Pectoral pendant.	-King - Anubis	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 21 C	250
Beg. N. 18	South	- 3 Ram heads pendants. - Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	No. A 39 V, 51C	---	---	Pl. 21 D	251
Beg. N. 28	North	- 1 Ram heads pendant ?. - Lower part of pendant of deity.	King	---	---	No. A 27 V, 48a	---	---	Pl. 21 F	253
	South	- 1 Ram head pendant ?. - Scarab on elbow.	King	---	---	No. A 27 V, 48b	---	---	Pl. 21 G	253
Beg. N. 19	Pylon (right, left)	- Scorpion as a pendant. - Indeterminable statue of deity. - Scorpion as a pendant.	King	---	I, LXVI (4) ×	Pyramid No. A 31 V, 49	I, 409	2913-14	Pl. 22 A	251-2

⁵³⁷ Budge (I, 381) thought that it represented the goddess Mut.

⁵³⁸ This block is currently preserved in the Egyptian Collection of the State Museums of Prussian Cultural Heritage in Berlin under inventory number 2261.

		- Indeterminable pendant of deity.								
	South	- Wide necklace with 3 figures of gods as pendants.	King	---	---	No. A 31 V, 48b	---	---	Pl. 22 A	251-2
Beg. N. 36	North	- 2 Ram heads pendants.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 23 D	254-5
Beg. N. 51	South	- 2 Ram heads pendants.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 23 F	255
Beg. N. 26	North	- 1 Ram head pendants.	King	---	---	---	---	---	Pl. 23 G	253

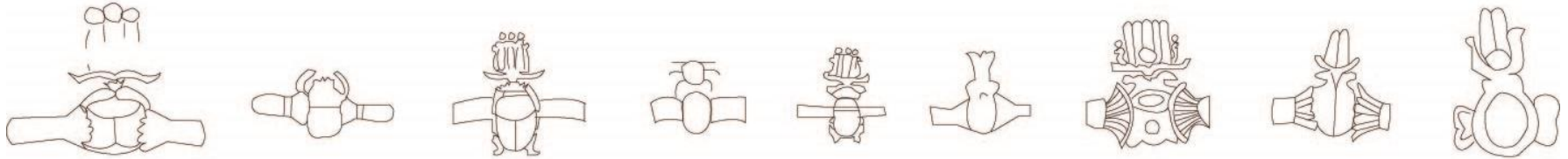


Beg. S. 4

Beg. S. 4

Beg. S. 10

Short Ram' Head



Beg. N. 8

Beg. N. 12

Beg. 12

Bar. 6

Neg. N. 6

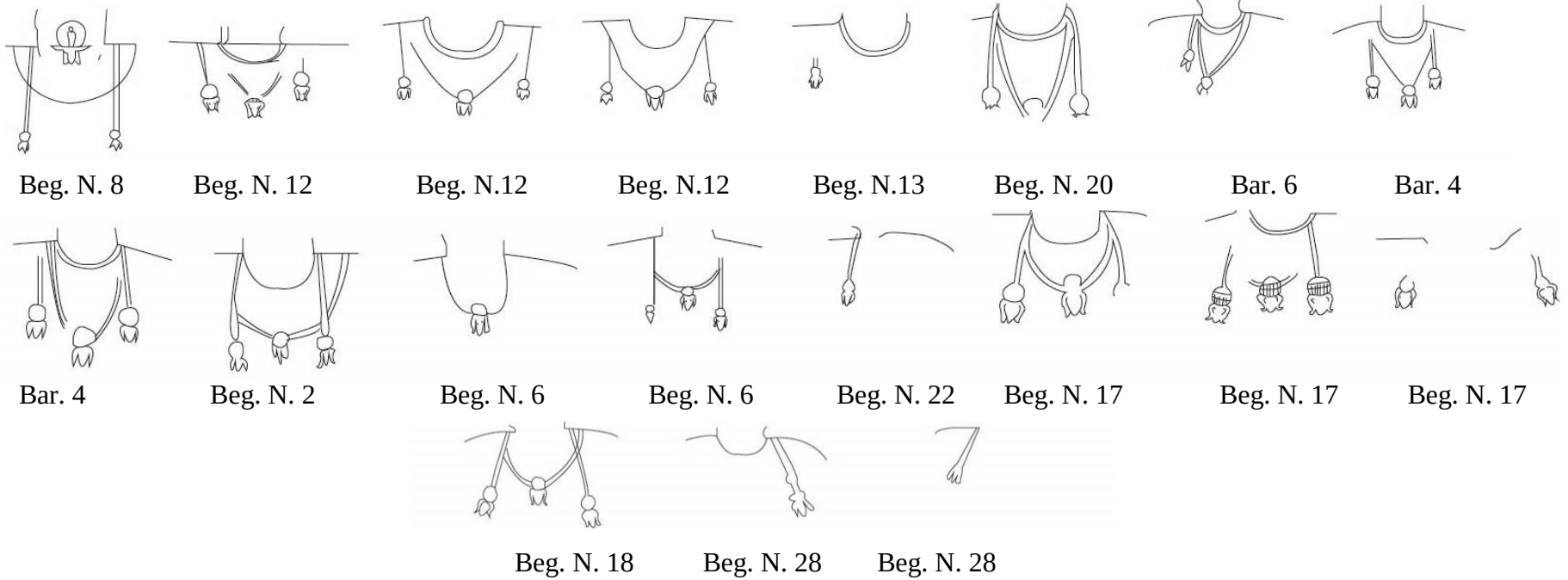
Beg. N. 22

Beg. N. 17

Beg. N. 18

Beg. N. 28

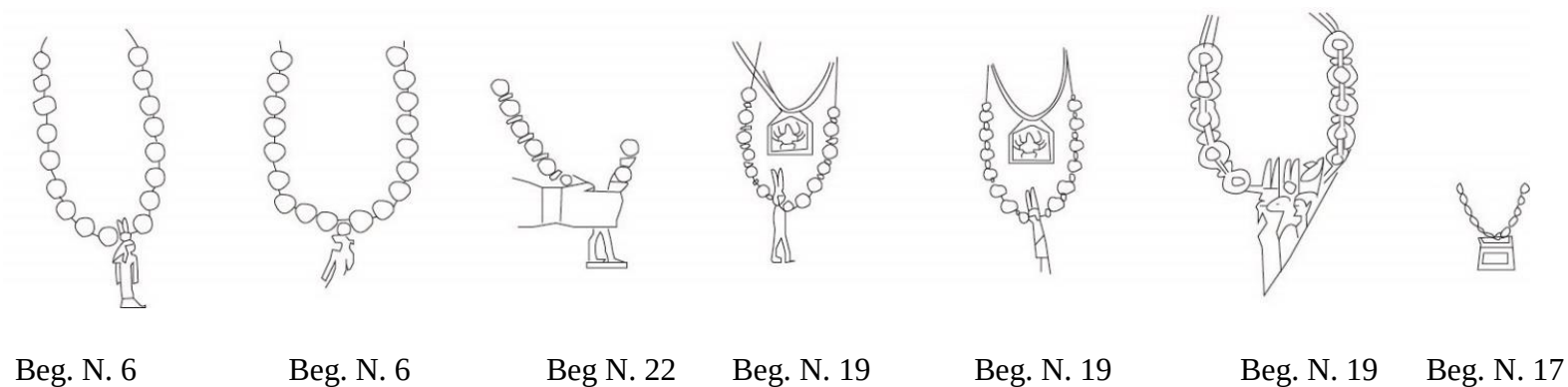
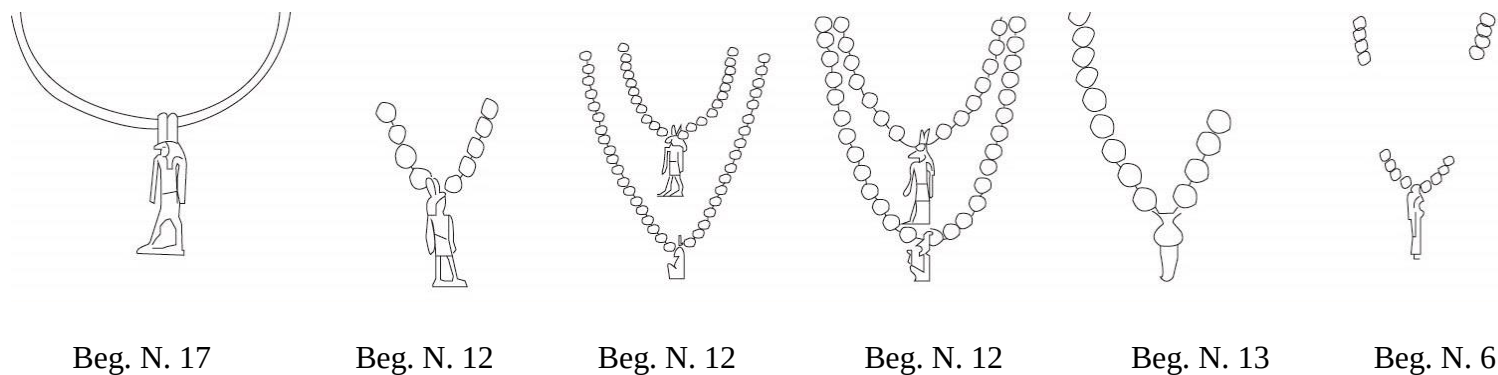
Scarab on Upper Arm



Ram's Head



Ribbons on Shoulder



Wide Necklace with Big Beads

Fig. 4.7 Iconographic Representations of Amuletic Symbols in the Pyramid Chapels

© drawn by author after Dunham, *L.D.*

4.6. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

After completing the qualitative investigation of the portrayed types of amulets on the mentioned chapels and having inserted them on the database, a classification for the representations pendants or adornments symbols which could have served as amulets was conducted.

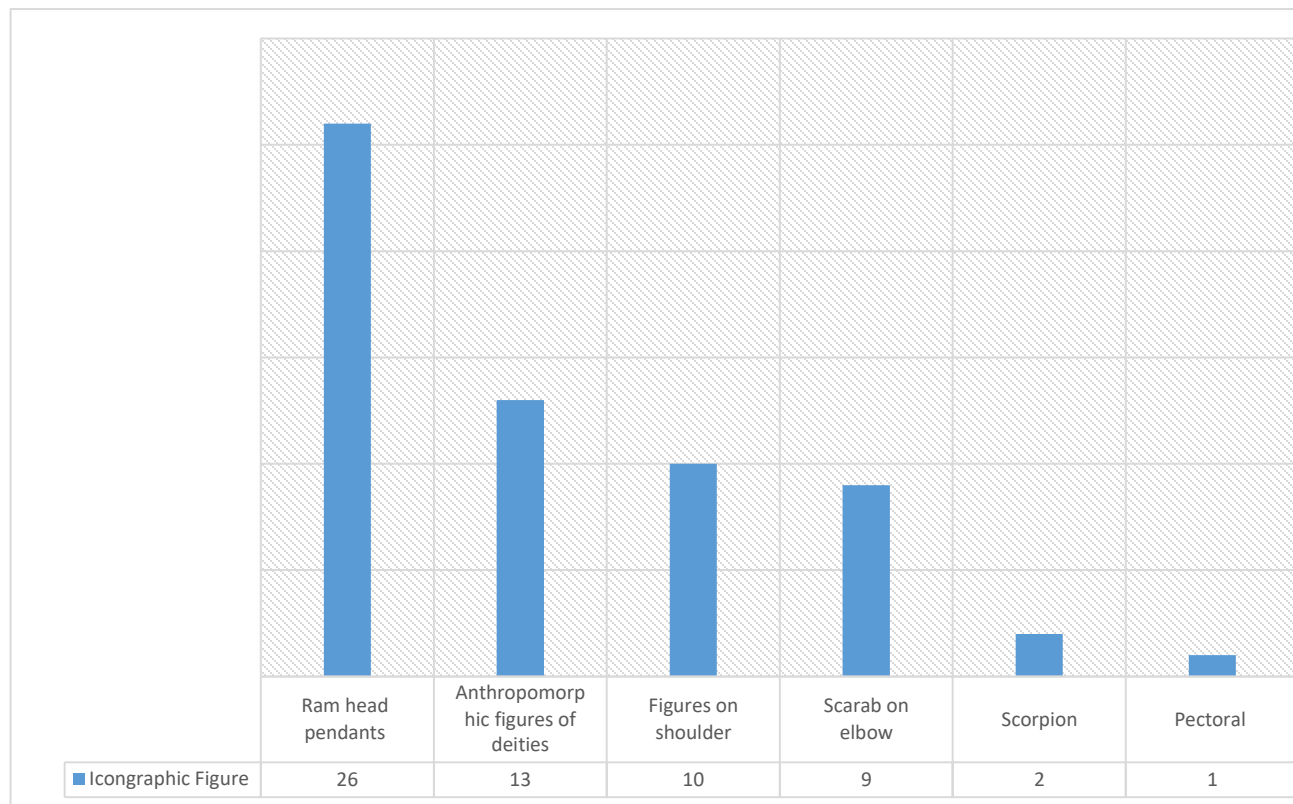


Chart 4.9 Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis for the Iconographic Symbols on the Royal Pyramid Chapels.

The total number of represented amulets worn by the Meroitic kings and queens are 61. Moreover, there is the notable exception of a pendant in the form of pectoral worn by Anubis in Beg. N. 17. This symbols could be divided to six categories. The more common type among these symbols was the ram's head pendant forming 43% of the cases.

Concerning the anthropomorphic figures of deities, which formed 21% of total cases, could be divided into groups as follows in chart. 10.

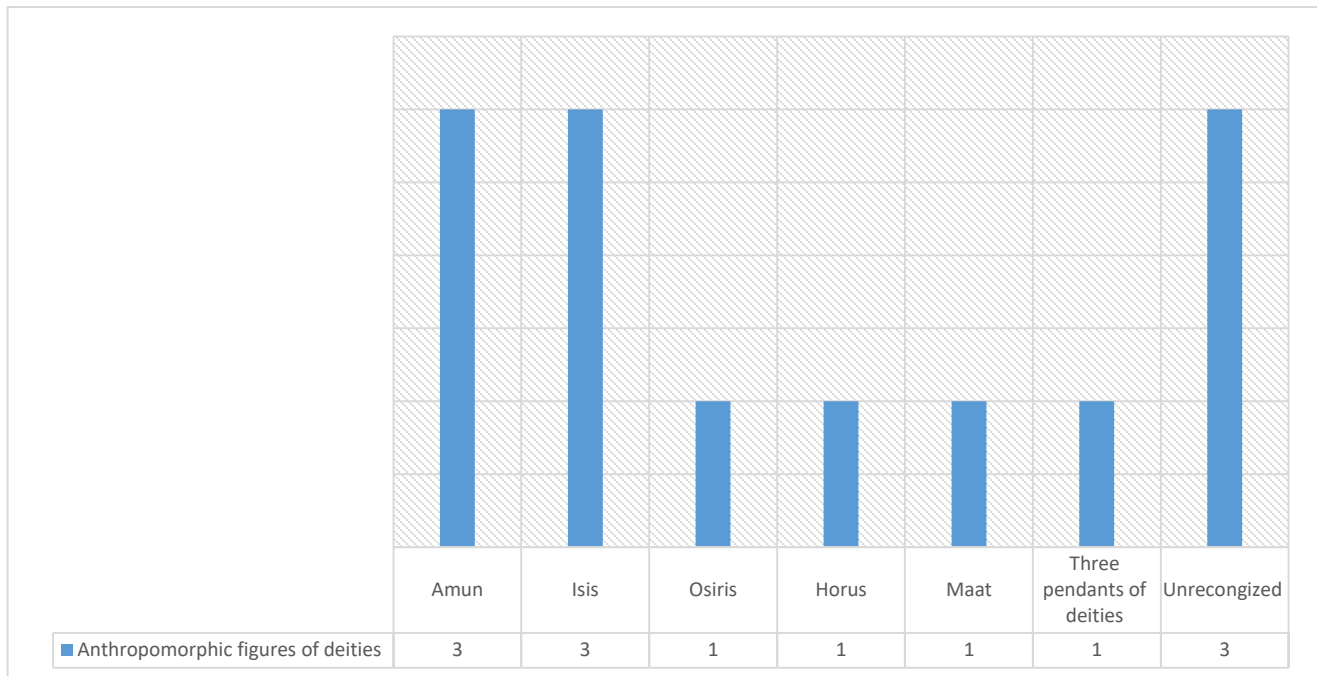


Chart 4.10 Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis for the Representations of Anthropomorphic Figures of Deities.

It also worth to mention that the three representations of pendants of Isis were all from the pyramid chapel of Queen Amanishakheto, while the three representations of the pendant of Amun were all from the chapel of pyramid Beg. N. 12, which was attributed by scholars⁵³⁹ to a king.

⁵³⁹ Dunham 1957, 74; Wenig 2015, 122.

5. The Non-Royal Meroitic Funerary Amulets

Nubia is defined as the territory that extends from the First Cataract up to Sixth Cataract south of Khartoum. Regionalization of the Meroitic kingdom as well as its geographical extension poses a problem far from being solved as the investigations in Central Nubia, eastern and western regions, and in Geziera (the region between White and Blue Niles) are still far from complete⁵⁴⁰. The study of the amulets can also contribute to the debate on these issues. Therefore, it suits important to specify the geographical terminologies that used in this study.

From both the geographical and cultural perspective, scholars were used to make distinction between Lower and Upper Nubia: the dividing point was considered the Second Cataract⁵⁴¹. But recently scholars⁵⁴² divided the Kushite territory into provinces, on the basis of observed variability in the material remains, in some cases these were possibly related to ethnic divisions⁵⁴³, and/or linguistic family groups⁵⁴⁴. As a result, different terminologies, which remain nevertheless largely conventional, were used to divide the area that extended from the First Cataract to Sennar on the Blue Nile. Among these terminologies (which was used in the current study) is the following division; Lower and Middle Nubia (1-3rd Cataract), Upper Nubia or Dongola Reach (3-5th Cataract), the Meroitic heartland (5-6th Cataract), and Shendi Reach⁵⁴⁵. In addition to the areas which located far from

⁵⁴⁰ Francigny 2016, 12.

⁵⁴¹ Budge 1907, 83; Török 2009, II.

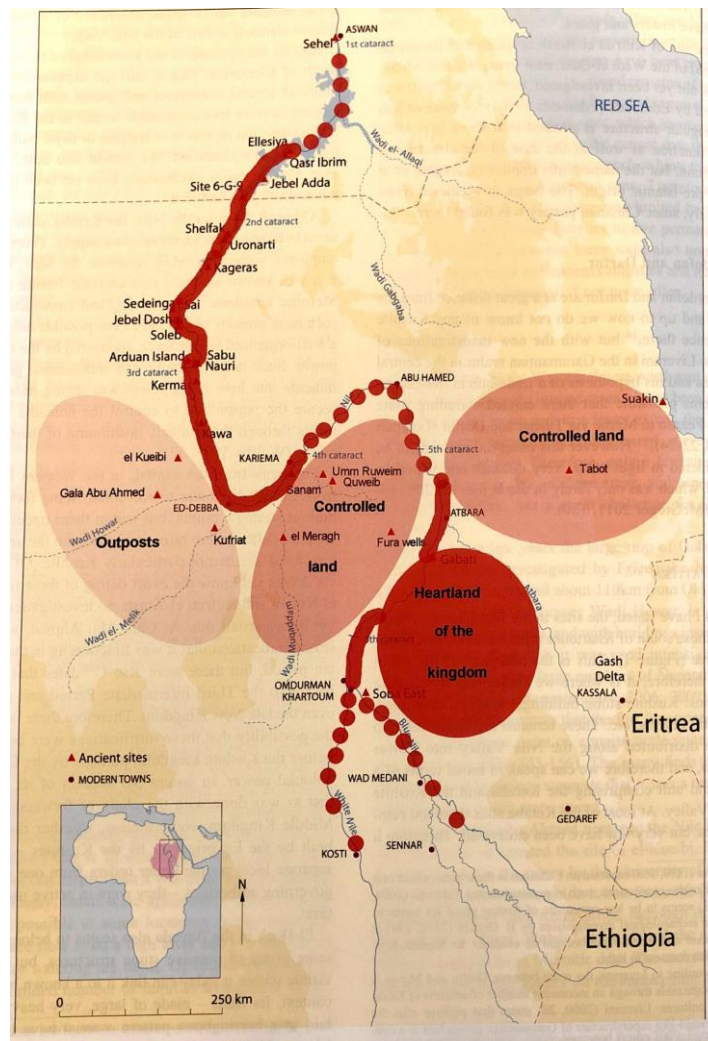
⁵⁴² Bradley 1992, 18.

⁵⁴³ Arkell 1961, 37; Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 18; Smith 2003, 6, 9; Lohwasser 2014b; Hafsaas-Tsakos 2015, 95-101.

⁵⁴⁴ Rilly 2010a.

⁵⁴⁵ Adams 1974, 41; Bashir 2015, 128.

Nile Valley such as Bayuda, Atbai, Kassala, Kordofan, Darfour, and Southern Sudan or Geziera region (Map. 5.2.)⁵⁴⁶.



Map. 5.2. The Extension of the Meroitic Kingdom and Surrounding Regions.
© (Lohwasser 2014b)

Due to the extension of Meroitic domination in a large area along the Nile Valley⁵⁴⁷, scholars were advanced different hypothesis to understand the nature of the Meroitic Kingdom, *e.g.* Adams⁵⁴⁸ pointed out that the Meroitic Kingdom was a centralized state, with cultural and social differentiation between Upper and

⁵⁴⁶ See Lohwasser 2014b; Ashby 2016, 11-12.

⁵⁴⁷ Sakamoto 2016.

⁵⁴⁸ Adams 1976.

Lower Nubia, which are described by him as “Meroe North” and “Meroe South”. This hypothesis was recently supported by Francigny ⁵⁴⁹, who also concluded that the geographical distribution of the pyramids and tumuli even suggests a kind of cultural division within Meroitic society in the north and south. For example, the Egyptian adoption on Meroitic funerary customs varied in Lower and Upper Nubia, as the extended burials and the use of coffins was documented in Lower Nubia, reflecting the contemporaneous adoption of Egyptian burial customs, which also extends to some degree to the elite burials in and around the region of Meroe, otherwise various indigenous burial customs prevailed in Shendi Reach and other regions (*e.g.* the Fourth Cataract)⁵⁵⁰.

Lohwasser⁵⁵¹ thought that the standards of "Segmentary State"⁵⁵² were closely matched with the formation of the Kingdom of Meroe; as the Meroitic Kingdom had a nucleus in the south around the capital where was consistently an area controlled by the king, and the other regions in the Meroitic period were controlled by local elites⁵⁵³. As a result, it seems that the Meroitic rulers was exercised different degree of control over the local elites⁵⁵⁴.

⁵⁴⁹ Francigny 2012a, 54.

⁵⁵⁰ Edwards 1998, 199; Yellin 2012a, 137-138. It is worth to mention that this differentiation was also attested in the north and south in the term of painted and stamped religious motifs of the Meroitic pottery, see El-Hassan 2004, 57.

⁵⁵¹ Lohwasser 2014a, 290-292.

⁵⁵² The four bases are; a. the state has several political centers, b. the power is divided between a king and several local rulers, c. the royal administration is also present on a smaller scale in local centers, d. the size of the state changes frequently, see Lohwasser 2014a, 290-292.

⁵⁵³ Baud 2010a, 59-60.

⁵⁵⁴ Welsby 1996, 37. The absence of royal Meroitic palaces in Lower Nubia and in Geziera region may bring more questions.

Török⁵⁵⁵ nevertheless confirmed the family relations between local elites that lived in Lower Nubia and in Meroe heartland. This assumption was proved by a number of funerary texts from Lower Nubia centers⁵⁵⁶.

5.1. The Non-Royal Meroitic Funerary Practices

The information about the royal religion and funerary practices in the Meroitic period is partially traceable, thanks to reliefs on the temples and royal pyramid chapels. Otherwise, the limited sources about the non-royal practices handicap our understanding about these practices in non-royal context. However, fragmentary evidence might help in formation an image about such these practices⁵⁵⁷.

Due to the fact that the Meroitic Kingdom was a multi-cultural kingdom⁵⁵⁸, the non-royal Meroitic funerary practices were quite varied⁵⁵⁹, as the archaeological evidence attested a regional variation in funeral practices and materials. Our perceptions about the non-royal Meroitic funerary practices are based on evidence from the main Meroitic centers along the Nile Valley, but not all the sectors of the Nile valley were intensively explored so far. Therefore, for the current study a general introduction about non-royal funerary practices will be provided, then we will focus on funerary aspects for the selected sites.

Burial traditions in Meroitic period followed the same traditions of the Napatan period; as the cave grave type and extended burials, in addition to the

⁵⁵⁵ Török 2010, 161.

⁵⁵⁶ Although the relations were confirmed and the funerary texts revealed that members of the high families in Lower Nubia were care to mention their links with the officials and priests in Napata and Meroe but, the nature of the links with the southern regions are still not completely understood, see Edwards 2004, 156.

⁵⁵⁷ Geus 1991, 69; Edwards 2004, 175.

⁵⁵⁸ Rilly 2010b, 222. Based on linguistic evidence, the Meroitic Kingdom was considered the homeland for the different ethnicities (Nubian and Meroitic speakers). For more information about the classification of the languages of Ancient Nubia, see Rilly 2019, 131-150.

⁵⁵⁹ Lohwasser, Kendall 2019.

favoured E-W orientation with the head to the west⁵⁶⁰. The non-royal Meroities were buried in pyramids, mastaba, tumuli, or simple pit graves, the non-royal pyramids were generally small –except some examples in Beg. W.⁵⁶¹ The imitation of the royal tombs for the elites in pyramids type with chapel and mortuary inscriptions could reflect somehow that the elites and high officials got some of the royal privilege and showed that it was not confined only to the royal cemeteries⁵⁶².

Associated with the cult of the dead, a few objects were placed outside of the graves in order to commemorate the deceased; the *ba*-statue, which stood on the top of the chapel or above it in a niche in the pyramid superstructure. Several elites pyramid chapels also had door jambs decorated with the relief images of libation deities Anubis and Nephthys or Isis, and a door lintel with the winged sun disk⁵⁶³. It was only during the Meroitic period that non-royal stelae was emerged in a niches, with motifs and texts being incised, carved or painted representing one of the major corpus of Meroitic texts⁵⁶⁴.

The major form of funerary architecture in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region including the pyramid with its chapel, *ba*-statues, offering tables, and stelae is a miniaturized version of the superstructures found farther south. This complex was not found in contemporary Egypt, and formed an exclusively Meroitic pattern⁵⁶⁵.

⁵⁶⁰ Geus 1991, 69; 2004, 281. Variation in these practices documented in Shendi Reach and Geziera region of, see Eisa 1999, 24-36.

⁵⁶¹ Welsby 1996, 113; Lohwasser 2004, 213.

⁵⁶² Török 2010, 168.

⁵⁶³ Török 2002a, 64.

⁵⁶⁴ Francigny 2012a, 54. Stelae were recently considered important source for dating the other funerary materials by palaeographical analysis, for more information see Rilly 2010a.

⁵⁶⁵ Budge 1907, 152; Williams 1991, 173; Török 2010, 167.

The funerary practices of the elites reflected their extensive knowledge of the Egyptian religion, otherwise the non-elite people had less contact with Egyptian religion⁵⁶⁶. The non-elite pit burials were smaller but also contained funerary good graves, and the local gods to whom the ordinary people turned in death are unknown⁵⁶⁷. Representations and symbols of Anubis and Isis were nevertheless placed in humble Meroitic graves, either in the form of small finds or represented on offering tables and/or stelae⁵⁶⁸, but the adoption processes of aspects of the Egyptian funerary religion by non-elite is still more difficult to assess. Nevertheless apparently both groups certainly adapted Egyptian cults and burial practices⁵⁶⁹, as in spite of most elite and non-elite burials were heavily plundered, various objects had been remained including amulets and small finds that partly reflected the religious and funerary customs⁵⁷⁰.

Due to the extensive number of the funerary sites in the Meroitic period in both Lower and Upper Nubia⁵⁷¹. I will focus in the major Meroitic funerary sites, where the amulets were found, while the rest of the sites often badly destroyed or even briefly reported will not be considered. These centers include in Lower and Middle Nubia, Karanog, Gebel Adda, Faras, Sai, and Sedeinga, in addition to number of other sites which were excavated during the last Nubia Salvage Campaign in the 1960s. While the funerary sites in Upper Nubia and Shendi Region include the Meroitic Cemetery at Kerma, Beg. W. at Meroe, Gabati, and Sennar East (Mekwar). These sites demonstrated various practices, which clearly developed out

⁵⁶⁶ Emberling 2011, 9.

⁵⁶⁷ Although the differences between official and popular religion in Kush are difficult to be traced (Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 186), but we have to consider that the popular could had their own methods for worship the deities rather than the elites, see Wilkinson 2003, 46.

⁵⁶⁸ Yellin 2012a, 142-143.

⁵⁶⁹ Yellin 2012a, 125.

⁵⁷⁰ Francigny 2012a, 53; Yellin 2012f, 267.

⁵⁷¹ For more information about the funerary sites in the Meroitic period, see Francigny 2016.

of Napatan traditions, and multiple burials were also apparently reflecting the re-use of tombs, perhaps for related individuals⁵⁷².

5.2. The Meroitic Funerary Centers in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region

The area of Lower Nubia witnessed a lot of archaeological survey campaigns, and is archaeologically the best-known region along the Nile Valley, thanks to the systematic programs of survey and excavation undertaken because of the successive destruction related to the building of the Aswan Dam in 1906 and 1929 then of the High Dam in the 1960s. The first survey was done by the Egyptian Government in 1907-1911 under the direction of Reisner⁵⁷³ and Firth⁵⁷⁴, followed by the second archaeological survey in 1929-1934 directed and published by Emery and Kirwan⁵⁷⁵, later other surveys had been conducted by foreign institutions and universities, whose the most important were the archaeological activities of Oxford University⁵⁷⁶, Pennsylvania University⁵⁷⁷, and the Harvard-Boston Expedition⁵⁷⁸, which extensively surveyed and excavated several areas in Lower Nubia⁵⁷⁹. These earlier efforts were followed by the huge project of Nubia Salvage Campaign in 1960s.

⁵⁷² Edwards 2004, 175.

⁵⁷³ Reisner 1910.

⁵⁷⁴ Firth 1912; 1915; 1927.

⁵⁷⁵ Emery, Kirwan 1938.

⁵⁷⁶ The reports published serially by F. L. Griffith in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* VIII, 1-18, 65-104; IX, 67-124; X, 73-171; XI, 115-25, 141-80; XII, 57-172; XIII, 17-37, 49-93; XIV, 57-116; XV, 62-83.

⁵⁷⁷ The reports published in eight volumes by University of Pennsylvania, Egyptian Department of the University Museum, Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia. Available online: <http://dlib.nyu.edu/ancientworld/series/eckley-b-coxe-junior-expedition-to-nubia/?page=1>

⁵⁷⁸ For a complete list of the publications of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, see Dunham 1955b, 70-74.

⁵⁷⁹ Adams 1967, 2.

Due to the threat of permanent loss of archaeological sites and temples because of the construction of the Aswan High Dam north of the Egypt/Sudan border in the early 1960s, UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) undertook the international salvage excavation project gathering archaeological and research teams from different countries around the world, which is considered the largest international archaeological program ever undertaken. The main goals of the mission were to relocate temples to the high plateau so that they would remain above the Nile level, and to survey and excavate low lying archaeological sites, many of which dated to the Meroitic period. As a result, plans, site photos, numerous finds and archives from each excavation were originated and are currently housed in various museums and universities around the world. Because of the fact that many of the sites are now submerged beneath roughly a hundred feet of water, the collections and archives from the salvage campaign in the museums are the only remaining physical evidence for the northern extent of the Meroitic Kingdom⁵⁸⁰.

Thanks to the Nubia Salvage Campaign, many Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia had provided us with important information about customs and funerary materials from this region. These cemeteries include i.e. Maharraqa, Aniba (Karanog), Nag Gamus (Masmara), Toshka, Arminna, Gebel Adda, Ballana, Qustul, Faras, Aksha, Argin⁵⁸¹. These excavations enriched our information about the ancient history of the region, and based on the excavation of 141 cemeteries in Lower Nubia, there were 10.148 Meroitic tombs were located with about 17.115 burials⁵⁸².

⁵⁸⁰ For more information about the archaeological salvage campaigns along the Nile Valley, see Ahmed 2012.

⁵⁸¹ Eisa 1999, 18.

⁵⁸² Edwards 1996, 94-105.

5.2.1. Meroitic Expansion in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region

Lower Nubia lies immediately upon the frontiers of Egypt, in a region of very limited productive resources, but the limited of agricultural sources in the region were compensated by its strategic and commercial role⁵⁸³. In the Meroitic period this area was considered a part from the Meroitic Kingdom except a small area south of Aswan, which was dominated by the Ptolemaic rulers in Egypt⁵⁸⁴.

Lower Nubia became increasingly important to the Meroities, as the Meroitic kings realized that the reconstruction of the region and its administrative organization was the best way to curb the Egyptian expansion, and the Meroitic settlements could repel the enemies in case the Ptolemaic and Romans would try to invade these areas⁵⁸⁵. As for the commercial purpose, it could help to connect the commercial centers around the Third Cataract with the Egyptian commercial centers including the ones giving access to the gold mines⁵⁸⁶. As a result, since the first century BC, archaeological evidence proved that this region was systematically re-settled from the south of Maharraqa up to the Second Cataract⁵⁸⁷.

Temples were also built in Dodekaschoinos during the Ptolemaic period, when the Meroitic Kings Arakamani I and Adikhalamani left inscriptions on the walls of Arensnuphis Temple at Philae, Thoth Temple at Dakka, and Amun Chapel in Dabod. This joint appearance of Ptolemaic and Meroitic rulers was first interpreted as peaceful coexistence⁵⁸⁸, but later on they were considered as

⁵⁸³ Trigger 1968, 95.

⁵⁸⁴ Adams 1967, 2.

⁵⁸⁵ O'Connor 1993, 90. Adams suggested that the re-settlement was in the nature of a mass popular migration in the first century AD. Adams's hypothesis based on the absence of archaeological remains from the Napatan and early Meroitic period, see Adams 1976, 12-15.

⁵⁸⁶ Dafaalla 2005, 375.

⁵⁸⁷ Török 1997, 432; Török, Hofmann, Nagy, 1997, 18.

⁵⁸⁸ Trigger 1968, 97.

indicating that the Meroities supported a revolt in the Thebais and asserted old claims. These inscriptions were intended to express territorial control over this region, and these representations considered as kind of ritual legitimization of the Meroitic rulers in front of the population of Lower Nubia⁵⁸⁹. Therefore, the study of religious architecture and temple building, modification, and decoration in Lower Nubia demonstrates alternating control of Lower Nubia by Egypt and Meroe, as in both kingdoms, kings proclaimed their right to control the territory by building temples, which were decorated with depictions of divine approval of the king⁵⁹⁰.

A common featured characterized all the main Meroitic settlements in Lower Nubia were the evidence of wealth and prosperity⁵⁹¹, wide extension in Lower Nubia ,and contacts with Upper Egypt became more intense⁵⁹².

5.2.2. Meroitic Administration of Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region

An understanding of the structure of the administration in Lower Nubia in the Meroitic period can only be obtained through a deep analysis of the Meroitic texts as well as Greek and Latin texts from this region. The Meroitic texts revealed that since the late first century BC, the northern provinces of Meroitic Kingdom were governed by provincial administrators descending from the Meroitic royal family, and the cursive Meroitic texts testified the extensive presence of the Meroities in Lower Nubia⁵⁹³.

This area was dominated by a small number of Meroitic families, the most important was “*Wayekiye* family”, who started to extend into Dodekaschoinos, acted as an administrative unit and local representatives for the Meroitic rulers in their

⁵⁸⁹ Török 2002a, 61-62; Dann 2013, 250; Lohwasser 2013b, 232; Ashby 2020, 37.

⁵⁹⁰ Török 2002a, 61-62; Ashby 2020, 37.

⁵⁹¹ Dafaalla 2005, 279.

⁵⁹² Millet 1968, VII; Török 2006a, 471.

⁵⁹³ Welsby 1996, 35.

dealings with the temples in Lower Nubia⁵⁹⁴, a few ostraca and two offering tables found in the cemetery of Faras dated to the first half of the first century BC, one of these offering tables (REM 0543, 0521; BM. 1576) belong to an official who had the title “*Pesto*”, which was interpreted as “Viceroy”⁵⁹⁵.

The title of “*Pesto*” referred to a signified highest ranking of Meroitic administrator in Lower Nubia, who acted as the king’s representative in the northern province, and was responsible for running of the province and contacts with the foreign power in the north. Therefore, this evidence refer to the existence of administration bodies in this area, and the presence of large number of people living in Lower Nubia under his domination⁵⁹⁶. Not only the former offering table, but also many cursive Meroitic texts dated to the second half of the first century BC have been found in Dodekaschoinos, including one dated to the late first century BC describing the crown prince Akinidad as a “*pesto*”⁵⁹⁷.

Other high official titles for employees in Lower Nubia had been survived such as “*Pelamos*”, which means “General”⁵⁹⁸, who may had military position or served as the commander of the military forces, and another frequently used title was “*Apote*” which is translated as “Messenger” or “Delegate” of the king⁵⁹⁹. The highest priestly title was “*anata*”, which is derived from an Egyptian word “*ant*”⁶⁰⁰. The presences of priests in Lower Nubia was attested by many titles in Meroitic script *i.e.* the priests of Amun, Amun of Napata, Isis, Mash, and the only mention of the

⁵⁹⁴ Ashby 2020, 13. For more information about the family of *Wayekiye* see Ashby 2020, 120-124, 134-136.

⁵⁹⁵ Török 2009, 414.

⁵⁹⁶ Hintze 1978, 98-99; Török 2004, 137.

⁵⁹⁷ Welsby 1996, 35-36. Török (1977, 39) stated that there are 17 *pesto*’s by name mentioned in the funerary inscriptions; six of them were buried in Lower Nubia.

⁵⁹⁸ Török 1977, 41-42.

⁵⁹⁹ Hintze 1978, 102.

⁶⁰⁰ Rilly, de Voogt 2012, 183.

god Apedemak in that region, on a stela from Armina⁶⁰¹, while the title of “*high priest of Amun in lower Nubia*”, characterizing two *pesto*-viceroys, *Abratoye* (REM 0321), and *Hwitror* (REM 0247), probably reflects a sort of general supervision over the sanctuaries of Amun in this province⁶⁰².

The first century BC was considered as the golden age for the Meroitic period, and increasing Meroitic activities in Lower Nubia can be noted, which is evident through the building structures and cemeteries in many centers, such as Faras, Qasr Ibrim, Karanog, Gebel Adda, and other sites⁶⁰³. These centers mainly dated from the beginning of the second half of the first century BC and continued until the third century - the fourth century AD⁶⁰⁴. In addition the abundance of luxury goods both locally produced and/or imported from Roman Egypt, which indicated a level of general prosperity, should be remarked⁶⁰⁵. The individual Meroitic tombs in Lower Nubia demonstrate that part of the population had the privilege to build a tomb in the form of a small pyramid, which clearly reflected regional varieties comparing to the other cemeteries in Upper Nubia⁶⁰⁶.

5.2.3. The Meroitic Society in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region

The degree of wealth and prosperity of the Meroities, as well as their social hierarchy, is traced by cultural materials from their graves, whether locally or foreign manufactured, which both showed a high level of production⁶⁰⁷. The Meroitic

⁶⁰¹ Trigger, 1970, 27; Hintze 1978, 103.

⁶⁰² Török 1984a, 166.

⁶⁰³ Török 2009, 398. Edwards (2004, 156) concluded that there were nearly 200 Meroitic sites between the Third Cataract and the Maharraqa frontier, but the Meroitic populations in these sites remained relatively small, concentrated in a small number of settlements, perhaps no more than 10–15 individuals, most settlements served as stop stations to manage and control the communications and trade along the Nile.

⁶⁰⁴ O'Connor 1993, 100; Török 1997, 434.

⁶⁰⁵ Adams 1976, 18.

⁶⁰⁶ Francigny 2012a, 52-53.

⁶⁰⁷ Eisa 1999, 46.

society was without doubt stratified and strictly hierarchical, but the stratification of the Meroitic society is difficult to understand, as many factors should be taken into account *i.e.* the spatio-temporal extension of Meroitic kingdom, environment, socio-economic activities, societal composition, and external cultural influences. However, Abdalla⁶⁰⁸ attempted to distinguish four classes of the Meroitic society based on evidence from cemeteries, habitation sites, inscriptions and different other finds. These were the supreme stratum, the upper stratum, the middle stratum, and finally lower stratum. We can imagine that these four classes include wide and varied groups of people include priests and priestesses, commanders and military soldiers, scribes, farmers, engineers, artisans, construction workers, craftsmen and others.

The settlements and cemeteries materials referred to interactive culture, therefore scholars *i.e.* Adams⁶⁰⁹, Abdalla⁶¹⁰, Fisher and Doll⁶¹¹ assumed that the Meroities, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans were interacting in many levels in the northern part of Lower Nubia, and Nubian tribes were part of these complex dynamics of interaction, after established their domination on the area of Dodekaschoinos after the withdraw of the Romans from the Lower Nubia⁶¹². This hypothesis was also confirmed by evidence from temples in Lower Nubia at Kalabsha, Dakka and Dabod, as well as from the Meroitic cemeteries in the region around Maharraqa, which testified a mixed Egyptian-Meroitic population in the Dodekaschoinos. Faras then Karanog were provincial administrative centers with

⁶⁰⁸ Abdalla 1984, 24-25.

⁶⁰⁹ Adams 1976, 113-114.

⁶¹⁰ Abdalla 1984.

⁶¹¹ Doll 2012, 157.

⁶¹² Fisher 2012a, 38-39.

major public buildings and rich cemetery⁶¹³, while Philae and Qasr Ibrim were acted as a main religious centers⁶¹⁴.

Lower Nubia enjoyed unparalleled prosperity from the second to fourth centuries A.D. Most of the Meroitic town-sites and many of the cemeteries revealed the majority of funerary texts⁶¹⁵. Therefore, Trigger⁶¹⁶ and Török⁶¹⁷ suggested that due to the prosperity in the Meroitic Kingdom in Lower Nubia, this led to the emergence of an influential and wealthy upper class, in parallel with the increase of the middle class and the improvement of its social and economic conditions, which can be identified in the investigated cemeteries and settlements. These classes integrated into a centralized administration, but at the same time also considerably modified the Meroitic governmental and societal structure in Lower Nubia.

Elite graves in Lower Nubia equipped the highest location in the cemeteries and continued to be marked by substantial stone pyramids with attached chapels. Their tombs usually consist of two parts, the underground one contains burial chambers that are either cut in rock or built⁶¹⁸, and a superstructure consisting of a pyramid with chapel from stone or mud brick. While the size of the chambers was small than the one of the royal chambers, the imitation the pyramidal form by the elite indicates their will in sharing with the kings their own unique features. Lesser graves also seem to have been marked by brick structures, mastaba or small pyramids, often with chapels or offering niches added to them⁶¹⁹.

⁶¹³ Wolf, Nowotnick, Edwards 2019, 716.

⁶¹⁴ Francigny 2016, 13.

⁶¹⁵ Trigger 1969, 126.

⁶¹⁶ Trigger 1965, 128.

⁶¹⁷ Török 2002a, 66.

⁶¹⁸ Sakamoto (2014, 809) concluded that the substructures of the Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia are more diverse than the Napatan period.

⁶¹⁹ Trigger 1965, 127-128.

These superstructures were accompanied by inscribed or painted stelae, offering-tables and distinctive sculptures known as *ba*-statues. Many examples have been found in situ. The offering-tables were set on brick plinths on the east side of the tomb superstructures and seem to have been used for libations and offerings, and the stelae beside them⁶²⁰. While the elite tombs had much prestigious grave goods, the lower-class tombs were simple pits in which the body was buried and are often empty of goods except for some remnants of simple pottery, and there were no structures above those graves⁶²¹.

Therefore, the main centers in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region (between the 2nd and the 3rd Cataracts) in the Meroitic period had common traditions with Karanog and Faras, and are connected with the traditions of Meroitic Kingdom in the south. The archaeological and textual evidence shows that these centers were subordinated to Meroe under the authority of local chiefs and administrators with a certain degree of autonomy, which may have increased through time⁶²². Indeed, the last centuries in the Meroitic period in Lower Nubia indicated a great changes and attested ethnic movements and ethnic changes in the ruling class⁶²³.

⁶²⁰ Edwards 2004, 174.

⁶²¹ Dafaalla 2005, 341.

⁶²² Woolley and Randall-MacIver claimed that according to internal evidence from Karanog cemetery, the local rulers of Karanog represented themselves as a local royalty, this assumption was supported by archaeological evidence from the cemetery *i.e.* a finger-ring from tomb G671 showed *ba*-bird holding the crook and flial and wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, in addition to the same figure was portrayed on bronze bowl from the great tomb G187 (Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 6). The links between main Meroitic centers was attested by evidence from Sedeinga such as offering table found in the debris of Pyramid II 161, which had interesting information about Meroitic onomastics, and small stela found south of Pyramid II 216 bears witness to the relations between the elite of Sedeinga and the officials of Karanog and Faras, see Berger-el Naggar 2008a, 353; Rilly, Vincent 2012, 71.

⁶²³ Török 1992, 142-143; Kirwan 2002, 26; Edwards 2019, 943.

5.2.4. Meroitic Cemeteries in Lower and Middle Nile Region

Meroitic funerary sites are plentiful in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile Region, covering the areas south of Aswan to the Third Cataract, where many cemeteries have been excavated and investigated thanks to the surveys which had been done during Nubia Salvage Campaign in 1960s.

Table 5.1. Indicates the distribution of dataset in the selected non-royal Meroitic cemeteries, where Meroitic amulets were documented in the area between the First to the Third Cataract (Map 1).

Cataract	Site	Nos. of tombs	No. of tombs with amulets	No. of amulets	References
1-2	Karanog	641	22	45	Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910.
	Nag Gamus (Masma)	150	3	7	Almagro 1965.
	Abu Simbel	167	3	3	Emery, Kirwan 1935.
	Gebel Adda	400+	---	9	Excavated by Nicholas B. Millet. Contacts with ROM.
	Qustul	399	10	18	Williams 1991.
	Ballana	300	2	3	Williams 1991.
	Faras	2000+	49	191	Griffith 1924.
	Aksha	97	3	3	Villa 1967, 253-260.
	Nag el-Arab	95	1	1	Catalán, <i>et al</i> 1965.
	Argin North (Nag Shayeg)	220	3	4	Catalán 1963, 7-8.
2-3	Abka	63	3	3	Säve-Söderbergh 1981, 158-9.
	Amir Abdallah	377	10	13	Vila 1978; Fernández 1983.
	Abri-Missimina	293	4	9	Vila 1982.
	Sai	55 +	12	24	Vercoutter 1979; Geus 1995; Then-Obluska 2016.

	Sedeinga	200 +	9	17	Leclant, 1970b; Rilly, Vincent, 2011; Then-Obłuska 2015.
Total		5457 +	134 +	350	

It is worth to mention that there are clear differences in burial customs and pottery north and south of Dodekaschoinos, as to the north almost Romano-Egyptian in character, otherwise to the south wholly and markedly Meroitic, with *ba*-statues, offering tables inscribed in Meroitic, painted Meroitic pottery, clearly influenced by Hellenistic traditions, which was such a characteristic product of Meroe's northern province⁶²⁴.

5.2.4.1. Karanog

Karanog was an important administrative center on the west bank of the Nile⁶²⁵. The town of Karanog was located about 30km south of Aswan in the midway between the First and Second Cataracts, and is now submerged under Lake Nasser. The excavation in the site was conducted in 1907-1910 by David Randall-MacIver and Leonard Woolley on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania. This excavation has provided significant information about life, religion, and language of the Meroitic population of this region⁶²⁶. Based on the numerous Meroitic inscriptions and other archaeological materials which had been found in this cemetery, Karanog became the main outpost of the Meroitic Kingdom, after the seat was moved from Faras in the mid-second century AD⁶²⁷, where the governor of Lower Nubia "*Pesto*"

⁶²⁴ Kirwan 2002, 23; Török 2009, 411-414.

⁶²⁵ Ashby 2020, 97.

⁶²⁶ Woolley 1911.

⁶²⁷ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 5.

settled⁶²⁸. The estimated population of the city of Karanog ranged between 1000 to 2400 inhabitants in the second century AD⁶²⁹.

It seems from the archaeological materials that a blend of Egyptian, Greek, and local religious beliefs were characterizing the community of Karanog. Texts from the site indicated that the Egyptian deities appeared on inscribed stelae and their symbols portrayed on engraved rings. Amun, Hathor, Anubis, and Isis were among the common deities, while the absence of mummification in the funerary practices reflected the position of Osiris in Karanog⁶³⁰. In addition to those there was the god Mash, who was the sun god and was worshipped exclusively in this area, where his priests were buried⁶³¹.

Abratoye, who was buried at Karanog, was one of the important figures in the third century AD. He was the first active in the area between the Second and Third Cataract, and carried titles related to Sedeinga, Faras, and Qasr Ibrim⁶³². Karanog was not abandoned after the collapse of the Meroitic Kingdom, but new groups moved into the region, including the nomadic Blemmyes which, had been kept away at the eastern edge of the Nile Valley by the Meroitic rulers. The evidence from the site showed continuous occupation from the end of the Meroitic period into the Christian period⁶³³.

The cemetery of Karanog lied on the western bank of the Nile 3 miles south from Aniba, the first excavator of the cemetery confirmed that this cemetery belonged to the people who inhabited in Karanog, because no other cemeteries had

⁶²⁸ Török 1977, 41; 2004, 137; Yellin 2012e, 368.

⁶²⁹ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 5; O'Connor 1993, 100.

⁶³⁰ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 4. Probably had the same connotations of Osiris in the southern part of the Meroitic Kingdom.

⁶³¹ Yellin 2012e, 369.

⁶³² Welsby 1996, 36.

⁶³³ Yellin 2012e, 368-370.

been found closer to Karanog rather than this cemetery. Although scholars thought that the cemetery was a little far from the city, Randall-MacIver and Woolley confirmed the presence of ruins of few houses along the Nile bank filling the gap between the two locations⁶³⁴. According to Millet 40% of the known occupants of the cemetery were related to princely family⁶³⁵.

Randall-MacIver and Woolley excavated 641 burials dating from the first to early fourth century AD, which reflected different social classes including elites such as priests and *pesto* as well as their family members⁶³⁶. The chronological frame for the cemetery is unfortunately ambiguous. The tombs generally contain from one to eleven bodies, with total number three to four thousand corpses in the cemetery⁶³⁷.

The tombs in this cemetery considerably differ from one to another in the size, quality, and superstructure, which might be small as 1.80m, or might with considerable proportions like G187, which measured over 6m⁶³⁸. The tombs in this cemetery have been divided into four main types (A, B, C, D), and every type had its subdivisions. This division is based on the architectural features of the superstructure and substructure of the tombs. Although in some cases it is difficult to determine the social classes of the tombs, but excavators stated that the types C, D almost belonged to the non-elite members. The non-elite may have childrens worked as servants, and were buried in touch with their senior members⁶³⁹.

The largest and best-equipped pyramids burials belong to the *pesto*-viceroys, while the smaller pyramids burials belong to lesser members of their families,

⁶³⁴ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 3.

⁶³⁵ Millet 1968, 168.

⁶³⁶ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910; Yellin 2012e, 369-370.

⁶³⁷ Otherwise, Woolley and Randall-MacIver stated that it is occasionally possible to set grave later than the another, but it was impossible to arrange all of them in any kind of chronological order. For more information, see Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 81.

⁶³⁸ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 7.

⁶³⁹ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 21-25.

including priests and other government officials, while the lower-status tombs were simpler and had underground chambers without a superstructure. The wealthiest and the most complex graves imitated the royal burials in Meroe with pyramids, a chapel, and underground burial chambers. The small chapels on their eastern faces contained funerary stelae with an image for the tomb's owner, offering table, and *ba*-bird statue of the owner. The offering tables were usually decorated with a scene of Anubis and a goddess pouring a libation with offerings for the tomb owner⁶⁴⁰.

The position of the body in the tomb chambers was invariable, it was laying upon back extended at full length, the face upward, the upper arms pressed against the sides and the lower arms slightly flexed so that the hands crossed just below the pelvis⁶⁴¹. Wrapping the dead in textiles has been documented for all the classes in the cemetery⁶⁴². Inside the tomb chambers, many objects were inserted for the afterlife, such as clothing, jewelry, personal toilet items, and clay pots for food and drink, sometimes there were other personal items reflecting the owner's occupation in life or status items imported from Egypt and the Mediterranean. The high status of many burials could be noted in the high quality of these objects, including examples of finely made and painted Meroitic pots. However, even the poorest tombs in the cemetery contained gifts, typically simple pottery vessels and string of beads⁶⁴³.

⁶⁴⁰ Yellin 2012e, 370. It was a common custom to pour libations upon the ground of the graves, aiming that the dead drink up these offering. in this cemetery such these pits documented in the superstructure, where might the offering were poured, see Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 14. Potsherds on the surface of Meroitic cemeteries had been documented in other Meroitic cemeteries which could be a sign of a funerary ceremonies related to pour libations *e.g.* Sedeinga (Rilly, Vincent 2011, 77; Francigny 2014a, 343), Gebel Barkal (Budge 1907, 174), Naga (Wildung, Kroeper 2006, 18). For further information about this ceremony "*repas funéraire*", see Manzo 2017b, 129-131, 137-139.

⁶⁴¹ Few exceptions were documented by excavators. For more information, see Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 26.

⁶⁴² Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 26-27.

⁶⁴³ Yellin 2012e, 370.

The Egyptian and Hellenistic influences were less paramount in the arts. The sculpture from Karanog is rough, heavy, and superficial, and the manufacture of wood and ivory objects and glass beads showed an advanced technique and their painted pottery is the most characteristics works⁶⁴⁴. Therefore, the excavators supposed that Karanog was closer to be the production and manufacture center in the area, as the beads from the cemetery are very uniform – with only few exceptions that can be imported⁶⁴⁵.

After completing the qualitative investigation for the amulets, the study carried out a classification based on their types as follow;

5.2.4.1.1. Anthropomorphic Figures (19) (Table 5.2) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec. ⁶⁴⁶	Biblio. (Woolley, Randall-MacIver, 1910)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Bes (16)	G 312 (1)	Faience	3.5	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	170. 251.	E7794	32
	G 304 (4)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	169.	E7844	---
	G 712 (7)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	228, 257.	E7921	33
	G 223 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	154, 260.	E8013	---
	G 737 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	250.	E8017	---
	G 689 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	---	250.	E8019	---
	Surface (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	----	250.	E8028	---
Osiris ? (3)	G 171 (3)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	142, 250.	E8023	---

⁶⁴⁴ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 4.

⁶⁴⁵ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 77.

⁶⁴⁶ Part of the collection from Karanog cemetery in Pennsylvania Museum is currently accessible, see Penn Museum online collections <https://www.penn.museum/collections/>.

5.2.4.1.2. Zoomorphic Figures (10) (Table 5.3) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Woolley, Randall- MacIver, 1910)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Cat (2)	G 153 (1)	Faience	1.5	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	140, 250.	E7797	---
	G 171 (1)	Glass	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	142, 250.	E8023	---
Lion (2)	G 634 (1)	Faience	1	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	216, 260.	E8016	34
	G 18 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	118, 250.	E8022	---
Duck (2)	G 675	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	220, 250.	E8026	---
Crocodile (2)	G 675	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	220, 250.	E8026	---
Bird (1)	G 779	Bronze	2.5	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	236, 257-258.	E7934	35
Uraeus (1)	G. 736	Glass	1.4	1-4 AD	---	260.	E8015	---

5.2.4.1.3. Symbols (9) (Table 5.4) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Woolley, Randall- MacIver, 1910)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
<i>Wdjat</i> (3)	G 18 (1)	Faience	3.2	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	119, 249.	E7752	---
	G 26 (1)	Lead	3.4	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	119, 249.	E7754	---
	G 714 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	228, 250.	E8027	---
Heart (3)	G. 88 (?)	Hematite, Quartz, Carnelian	3.2	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	128, 250.	E7767	---
	G 779 (1)	Faience	2.5	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	236, 257-258.	E7934	35
	G 425 (1)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	186, 250.	E8029	---
Tyet	G 689	Faience	---	1-4 AD	---	224, 260.	E8018	---

(1)	(1)							
Sun&Uraeus (2)	G 269 (2)	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	162, 250.	E8024	---

5.2.4.1.4. Scarab (4) (Table 5.5) (Fig. 5.1)

Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Woolley, Randall- MacIver, 1910)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
G 779 (1) Scorpion	Faience	Iconographic	2.5	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	236, 257- 258.	E7934	35
G 723 (2)	Faience	Iconographic	---	1-4 AD	---	230, 250.	E8020	---
	Faience	Iconographic	0.7×1.4	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	230, 250.	E8021	36
G 141 Superstructure	Faience	---	---	1-4 AD	---	261.	E8141	---

5.2.4.1.5. Others (3) (Table 5.6) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Woolley, Randall- MacIver, 1910)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Pendant (2)	G 26 (1)	Faience	2.7	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	118, Pl. 40.	E7755	37
	G. 106 (1)	---	2.2	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	130, 250.	E7781	38
Unrecognized (1)	G. 400	Faience	---	1-4 AD	Penn. Mu.	184, 250.	E8025	---

5.2.4.2. Nag Gamus (Masmās)

The cemetery of Nag Gamus (Masmās) was first excavated at 1963 as a part of Nubia Salvage Campaign, whereas the superstructures of Meroitic cemetery were still evident, and extended over a vast area. This site was excavated by Almagro who published all the tombs of the cemetery in the series of the Spanish Committee for the UNESCO Campaign. The mission detected 150 Meroitic burials, in addition to a settlement and a Christian cemetery found next

to the Meroitic cemetery. The majority of the finds have become part of the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid, except for some objects which were retained to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo⁶⁴⁷.

At Masmag-Nag Gamus, the priests of the Amun temple at Qasr Ibrim were buried. The Meroitic inscriptions from this cemetery constitute a special class insofar, as they never refer to *mde*-relatives, indicated thus that there existed elite milieus in which social status was determined exclusively by the association with the priesthood of certain cult temples⁶⁴⁸.

The Meroitic cemetery occupied the highest part of a small hill with a slight slope to the Nile, the cemetery extended on the western side of the mound toward to Khor Gamus. The entrance corridors of the tombs were toward the east, but when the area was filled by tombs, the cemetery extended towards Wadi Gamus. For this reasons the corridors turned to the northwest and this new orientation formed the last period in the cemetery⁶⁴⁹. The superstructures of the cemetery consisted of mudbrick pyramids which concentrated in the northern end of the site –which earlier was interpreted as mastabas⁶⁵⁰. The dominant model of the substructure consists of axial descent with examples of rimmed pits and few cases of vault tombs⁶⁵¹. Almagro supposed that the central part of this hill was occupied by elites group, which take the advantages of the terrain, then surrounded by the non-elite burials⁶⁵².

⁶⁴⁷ Almagro 1965, 9, 11, 14.

⁶⁴⁸ For more information about these titles, see *e.g.* REM 1073-1087, 1149, further titles also recorded in REM 1075-1079, 1082, 1083, 1149, see Török 2002a, 72; 2009, 487.

⁶⁴⁹ Almagro 1965, 10-11.

⁶⁵⁰ Almagro 1965, 18-19.

⁶⁵¹ Francigny 2016, 159-160.

⁶⁵² Almagro 1965, 11.

The tombs in this cemetery were divided into main five types (A, B, C, D, and E) with additional variants 1-3⁶⁵³. The same typology was used by Pellicer Catalán for the Meroitic cemetery at Nag Shayeg⁶⁵⁴.

Unfortunately, the human remains from the graves were completely disturbed and almost all of them were broken and thrown outside their original context, as a result the mission did not provide any anthropological data⁶⁵⁵. It seems from the remaining materials that the deads have been buried in lying on the back in extended position, with their hands on the pelvis and the head to the west. In some graves, there was evidence that more than one individual were inserted. Due to the heavy looting and the high salinity of the lands, the mission could not provide any chronological sequences in the cemetery⁶⁵⁶.

The pendants and amulets that found in this cemetery dated to period A or B, which extended from the third century BC to the first century AD. It is worth to mention that such these objects are totally missed in the later graves in the cemetery⁶⁵⁷. All the Meroitic burials had been entered by looters, and only few remains of the ancient grave goods were left in the tombs including several offering tables with Meroitic inscriptions, fragments of stelae, remains of broken *ba*-statues, while jewels have disappeared -with few exceptions, and the ceramic remains were scattered and abandoned by the looters in the graves⁶⁵⁸.

⁶⁵³ For more information about these types of tombs, see Almagro 1965, 21-30, the dating based on these classifications, see Almagro 1965, 237-239.

⁶⁵⁴ Catalán 1963.

⁶⁵⁵ Almagro 1965, 13.

⁶⁵⁶ Almagro 1965, 17.

⁶⁵⁷ Almagro 1965, 244-245.

⁶⁵⁸ Almagro 1965, 12.

Table 5.7. Amulets from the Cemetery of Nag Gamus (Masmas) (7) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec. ⁶⁵⁹	Biblio. (Almagro, 1965)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Osiris ? (1)	T. 33	Turquoise or malachite	2.2×0.7	3BC-1AD	---	94-95, Fig. 86.1.	---	---
Uraeus (1)	T.128	Faience?	---	3BC-1AD	National Archaeological Museum (Madrid)	195, Fig. 226.2.	1980/98/335	39
Bird (1)	T.128	Turquoise	---	3BC-1AD	National Archaeological Museum (Madrid)	195, Fig. 226.4.	1980/98/335	39
lion (1)	T.128	Calcite	---	3BC-1AD	National Archaeological Museum (Madrid)	195, Fig. 226.6.	1980/98/335	39
Crocodile (2)	T.128	Turquoise	---	3BC-1AD	National Archaeological Museum (Madrid)	195, Fig. 226.3. 5.	1980/98/335	39
Scarab (1)	T.124	Faience?	1.4×1.1	3BC-1AD	---	189, Fig. 221.3.	---	---

5.2.4.3. Abu Simbel

A large Meroitic cemetery (175 graves) was situated 1 km to the south of the great temple of Abu Simbel. This was probably associated with the settlement at Ash Shaukan. This cemetery (No. 214) was excavated by Emery and Kirwan during the excavations and survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan in 1929-1931⁶⁶⁰, then later the cemetery was re-examined by Claudia Näser⁶⁶¹.

⁶⁵⁹ The majority of the collection from Nag Gamus is currently preserved and exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, see the online collection; <http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/SimpleSearch?Museo=MAN>, while the rest in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

⁶⁶⁰ Edwards 1996, 96-97.

⁶⁶¹ Näser 1999.

The cemetery was heavily plundered and re-used since ancient times. From the chronological point of view and based on the materials from the graves, the cemetery dated to second to third century AD, while at least 10 graves dated to Post-Meroitic period. More than half of the graves were of the type with the lateral niche, while the rest consisted of a pit with side ledges or pit with end-chamber⁶⁶².

Table 5.8. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Abu Simbel (3) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Emery, Kirwan 1935)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Bes	73	Shell	---	2- 3AD	---	429-30, Fig. 405.	---	---
Scarab	75	Steatite	---	2- 3AD	---	431, Fig. 407.	---	---
Indeterminable	142	leather	---	2- 3AD	---	444, Fig. 426.	---	---

5.2.4.4. Gebel Adda

The first excavation in the site was started in the winter of 1959 by the expedition of Alexandria University under the direction of Mostafa el-Amir⁶⁶³. Then the site was excavated between 1962-68 by the American Research Center in Egypt under the direction of Nicholas B. Millet. The site provided important information both textual and archaeological for the late history of Lower Nubia from the Meroitic to Islamic period, with a board range of objects. Apart of these finds partly published in preliminary reports by Millet⁶⁶⁴, and in his doctoral dissertation⁶⁶⁵, the majority of

⁶⁶² Emery, Kirwan 1935, 417-450.

⁶⁶³ This expedition was succeeded to excavate a large part of the Christian cemetery no. 2, church no. 1, and excavated six large tumuli at the southern end of cemetery no. 1 dated to Late Post-Meroitic period, in addition to Medieval period houses at the eastern edge of the citadel. For more information, see the preliminary report of the mission by El-Amir 1963.

⁶⁶⁴ Millet 1963; 1964; 1967.

⁶⁶⁵ Millet 1968.

objects and field documents were held in Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Canada, where Millet worked as curator of the Egyptian collection from 1970-1999. While the other finds were preserved in Egypt and distributed between the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Islamic Museum, Coptic Museum, Museum of Alexandria University, and Nubian Museum in Aswan. However, part of the materials still remains unpublished⁶⁶⁶.

The site of Gebel Adda consisted of two main parts, first, the citadel with a settlement, temples, churches located on the top of a hill, and second a large cemetery as well as churches on the lower ground of the east bank of the Nile⁶⁶⁷. As recognized by Millet, the use of the cemeteries at Gebel Adda falls into a number of distinct phases: Late Meroitic and early Post-Meroitic (cemetery 3⁶⁶⁸ and 4), Late Post-Meroitic and early Christian (cemetery 1), Christian (cemetery 2)⁶⁶⁹. The Meroitic cemetery contains traces for a number of pyramid superstructures⁶⁷⁰. These pyramids were surrounded by many other Late Meroitic and Post-Meroitic burials as well as late Post-Medieval burials⁶⁷¹.

Based on the Meroitic inscriptions from the site, Gebel Adda served as an administrative center in Late Meroitic period⁶⁷². It is considered an another seat for

⁶⁶⁶ Personal communication with ROM. Krzysztof Grzymski, the colleague of Millet started to publish materials from Gebel Adda. For more information about the numbers of objects from Gebel Adda, classification, provenance, and date, see the list in Grzymski 2010b, 25-26.

⁶⁶⁷ Grzymski 2010b, 29-30.

⁶⁶⁸ In March 1963, the excavation started in cemetery 3, which lying some 160m south east of the citadel, an area covered with c.400 tombs was excavated during the first season, and the work was continued in the second and third season (Huber, Edwards 2012, 80). In the second season, the discovery and clearing of sixteen small pyramids of the usual provincial Meroitic type. All these tombs had been extensively re-used in early Post-Meroitic period, see Millet 1964, 8.

⁶⁶⁹ Millet 1964, 9; 1968, 49; Huber, Edwards 2012, 86.

⁶⁷⁰ Millet 1963, 159; Millet 1964, 8.

⁶⁷¹ Huber, Edwards 2012, 81.

⁶⁷² Millet 1963, 164.

the family of the *Pelamos*⁶⁷³, as at the west edge of the cemetery there were tombs for members of the ruling Meroitic family in Lower Nubia, and at least two of the governors of Faras were buried at Gebel Adda⁶⁷⁴.

All the Meroitic pyramids had the usual provincial Meroitic construction in Lower Nubia which was discovered at Faras⁶⁷⁵, Karanog⁶⁷⁶, and Qasr Ibrim⁶⁷⁷, with a small chapel and vaulted subterranean chamber, in addition to stelae with Meroitic script, several fragments of *ba*-statues, and inscribed offering-table. However, no intact burials of the Meroitic period were found. Millet concluded that all the Meroitic tombs in Gebel Adda had been systematically plundered and re-used by early X-Group settlers and then their descendants in the Christian period, as a result, not even single bead remained in its original burial⁶⁷⁸.

Due to the total absence of intact Meroitic tombs, and the lacking of Meroitic skeletal materials, no anthropological study could be presented by Millet⁶⁷⁹. The major changes in burial practices in Gebel Adda occur by the early 5th century AD and are associated with new social and political identities related to the emergent Nobadian Kingdom. Based on the materials from Gebel Adda and other sites in Lower Nubia, much crucial information about the nature of the cultural transitions occurring in the 3rd and 4th centuries could be noted⁶⁸⁰.

It is worth to mentioned that there is no information about amulets in Millet's reports or in his PhD dissertation, however, through contacts with the curator of

⁶⁷³ Millet 1968, 45-46.

⁶⁷⁴ See two offering tables GA 7 and 24, and probably two stelae fragments GA 15 and 42, see Millet 1964, 11, 56; 1968, 54, 136, 233.

⁶⁷⁵ Griffith 1924.

⁶⁷⁶ Millet 1963, 161.

⁶⁷⁷ Huber, Edwards 2012, 84.

⁶⁷⁸ Millet 1963, 154, 163; 1964, 8.

⁶⁷⁹ Millet 1964, 12.

⁶⁸⁰ Huber, Edwards 2012, 87.

ROM and using the online catalogue in the museum, the study could detect 9 amulets including one amulet pouch/case. Although, there was no information about date and context, but Millet stated that the finds in Cemetery no. 3 were more numerous than the other cemeteries⁶⁸¹. Nevertheless, he reported that number of beads and pendants had been found in this cemetery, but he added that it was impossible to tell whether they had belonged to a necklace or other object⁶⁸².

Table 5.9. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Gebel Adda (9) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec. 683	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Isis&Horus (1)	---	Faience	1.1	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.4490	---
Ram's head (1)	---	Glass	3.6 x 2.3	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.939	---
Wdjat (1)	---	Faience	3.2 x 2.7	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.1031	---
Crown (1)	---	Wood	2.2 x 1.8	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.2525	---
Scarab (1)	---	Lapis lazuli	3.5 x 2.8	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.1030	---
Amulet-case (1)	---	Leather	---	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.2776	---
Indeterminabl e(3)	---	Iron	5.9 x 1.8	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.2020	---
	---	Steatite	1.6 x 1	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.2537	---
	---	Steatite	2.4 x 0.4	ROM	ROM database.	973.24.2542	---

5.2.4.5. Qustul and Ballana

The sites of Qustul and Ballana are famous as the funerary centers of X-Group in Lower Nubia, which was first identified by Reisner in 1907 during the

⁶⁸¹ Millet 1963, 159.

⁶⁸² Millet 1963, 163; 1964, 9.

⁶⁸³ Part of the collection from Gebel Adda is currently accessible in the online database of Royal Ontario Museum in Canada, see; <https://collections.rom.on.ca/search/Gebel%20Adda#filters>.

Archaeological Survey of Nubia, filling the gap between the Meroitic and Christian period⁶⁸⁴.

The excavation in the site in 1960s by the University of Chicago shed new lights into the Meroitic phase in both sites⁶⁸⁵, and emphasized that the accumulation of new evidence demonstrates that the transformation from the Meroitic to the X-Group was a gradual rather than a sharp break resulting from the occupation of the region by a new ethnic group. At that time, Ballana and Qustul was the main center of power and administration in Lower Nubia⁶⁸⁶.

The Meroitic finds from the cemetery of Qustul and Ballana parallel those from other cemeteries such as Karanog and particularly Faras. Although Faras and Karanog exceeded the Qustul and Ballana cemeteries in size and wealth, the condition of the latter cemeteries and the finds offer much new information on the history of the region and the development of its regional culture⁶⁸⁷.

A large Meroitic cemetery at Qustul had been found in the area of X-Group tumulus cemetery, as 396 Meroitic graves with at least 542 burials were excavated among the 684 tombs and pits explored during 1962-63⁶⁸⁸. The cemetery occupied an area of about 160m×40m⁶⁸⁹, but the internal chronology of the cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana is obscure⁶⁹⁰.

⁶⁸⁴ Reisner 1910.

⁶⁸⁵ Trigger 1969, 117-118.

⁶⁸⁶ Kirwan 2002, 30.

⁶⁸⁷ Williams 1991, 93.

⁶⁸⁸ In addition to three Meroitic graves were found below tumulus Q.36, see Edwards 1996, 97.

⁶⁸⁹ Williams 1991, 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Trigger 1969, 121.

Table 5.10. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Qustul (18) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec. ⁶⁹¹	Biblio. (Williams 1991)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram's head (2)	Q 298 (1)	Faience	---	---	114.	Q298-9a	---
	---	---	---	---	237, Fig. 50c.	---	---
Fly (1)	Q 267	Steatite	---	EMC JE 89906?	114.	Q267-3a	---
Lion (1)	Q 154-5	Ivory	2.3×1.5	NMA 89905	249, Fig. 65a.	Q154-5	---
Heart (1)	---	---	---	---	237, Fig. 50b.	---	---
Scarab (11)	Q 154 (4)	Steatite	1.2	EMC JE 89930	147, Fig.65b.	Q154-1	40
		Steatite	1.2×1.3	EMC JE 89924	147, Fig. 65d.	Q154-2	41
		Steatite	1.3	EMC JE 89928	147, Fig. 65c.	Q154-3	42
		Steatite	1	OIM 20403	147.	Q154-4	---
	Q 253 (1)	Steatite	1.9×1.5	OIM 20605	147, Fig. 80c.	Q253-2	---
	Q 312 (1)	Faience	1.1×0.9	OIM 20844	268, Vol. II, 53, Fig. 92f.	Q312-7	---
	Q 317 (2)	Steatite	1.6×1.1	OIM 20738	147, Fig. 93e.	Q317-5	---
		Faience	1.6×1.1	OIM 20739	147, Fig. 93f.	Q317-6	---
	Q 346 (1)	Steatite	1.6×1.1	OIM 20902	147, Fig. 98b.	Q346-2	---
	Q 650 (2)	Steatite	1.3×0.9	OIM 22153	147, Fig. 168f.	Q650-4	---
		Steatite	1.3×1	OIM 22154	147, Fig. 168e.	Q650-5	---

⁶⁹¹ The collection is currently preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir and the Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, check the online collection of OIM <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/index.php>.

Plaque (2)	Q 162	Faience	2.1×2	OIM 20435	147 Fig. 168g.	Q162-2	---
	Q 526	Faience	2.3×2	OIM 22022	147, Fig. 139f.	Q526-3	---

The Meroitic cemetery of Ballana was first excavated in the early part of the second season 1962-1963. This cemetery covering the area approximately 110m×65m and had 334 tombs. These tombs and their contents indicated that they were contemporary with the main phase of the Qustul Meroitic cemetery⁶⁹².

Table 5.11. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Ballana (3) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio. (Williams 1991)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Uraeus (1)	Surface	Faience	1	OIM 22776	114, Fig. 50d.	E22776	43
Pendant (2)	B 141	Metal	2.2×1.6	OIM 22526	377, Fig. 215e.	B141-1	---
	B 197	---	---	---	237, Fig. 50a.	B197-7	---

5.2.4.6. Faras

Faras is located 40 km north of the Second Cataract and 70 km south of Karanog. An extensive cemetery covering the whole Meroitic period at Faras. The first excavation in the Meroitic cemetery at Faras was started in 1910-11 by Griffith with the assistance of Blackman, whereas two separate portions of the cemetery were excavated, the work continued in 1911-12 after Mr. Woolley joined the expedition to explore the temple area on behalf the University of Oxford. The total number of excavated graves during the two seasons were around 2036 graves, including few Christian graves. A considerable number of the Meroitic graves contained two or more skeletons, or had secondary burials destroyed the original bodies⁶⁹³.

The excavations at Faras were published in preliminary reports in the Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology by University of Liverpool between 1921-1928.

⁶⁹² Emery, Kirwan 1938b, 479; Williams 1991, 2.

⁶⁹³ Griffith 1924, 141-142.

Fortunately, there was no sign of recent plundering, but all the burials had been robbed in ancient times. The majority of the materials from these graves had been effected by the white ants, together with the damp and salt from irrigation and Nile soakage⁶⁹⁴.

This massive cemetery and wealthy finds reflected the position of the city of Faras as one of the most important Meroitic centers in Lower Nubia attested the wealth of its inhabitants and clarified several phases of its long history⁶⁹⁵. By analogy with others finds from Lower Nubia, particularly Karanog, and Meroe in Upper Nubia, the pottery from Faras demonstrated the high artistic level of Meroitic ceramics with unique iconographical and decorative patterns, which attested the Meroitic traditions rather than Egyptian ones, and was considered by scholars the basis differences of cultural traditions and materials between the northern and southern parts of the Meroitic Kingdom⁶⁹⁶.

Most of the graves in the cemetery of Faras were small in size and contained a single body with a few additional burials, but others had large chambers, and the elites seem had a superstructures erected over their graves. The superstructures were generally square with tapering sides, had a framework of bricks or stones filled solid with rubble. The upper parts were always destroyed, but might have been in pyramidal shape, they also had little chambers or niches built on the middle of the east wall as a chapel. Many superstructures were represented only by a few bricks, and many large graves showed no trace of any superstructure that they may have had⁶⁹⁷. Based on the graves materials, Griffith distinguished four stages before the

⁶⁹⁴ Griffith 1924, 143.

⁶⁹⁵ Griffith, 1924; 1925; Török 1995, 18-19; Eisa 1999, 18.

⁶⁹⁶ Adams 1976, 19; Török 1995, 18-19; McCann 2012, 130.

⁶⁹⁷ Griffith 1924, 145.

Christianity, he also noted that the last three centuries were very scantily represented by graves⁶⁹⁸.

The orientation of the graves agreed roughly with that of the temple of Tutankhamun, their axes lying east and west by the river with considerable variation. Concerning the corpse, it is probable that the bodies were clothed or wrapped. Many studs were found: they would have been used for fastening a garment on the shoulder or chest. The bodies were laid extended on the back, heads to the west, the arms down the sides, hands usually over the pelvis -but with some exceptions⁶⁹⁹.

Among the obstacles to fully understand the site a crucial one is, that the majority of the finds were not fully published, in addition to the absence of the information about the context⁷⁰⁰. After completing the qualitative investigation for the amulets, the study continued with a classification based on their types as follow;

5.2.4.6.1. Anthropomorphic Figures (9) (Table 5.12) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Collec. ⁷⁰¹	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No. ⁷⁰²	Cat. No.
Bes (4)	2658 (4)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXII. 1.	2658.1	---
	1205 (1)	Silver	---	---	168, Pl. LIX. 19.	1205.19	---

⁶⁹⁸ For more information, see Griffith 1924, 144-145, for the chronology of Faras cemetery in wide context with Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia, see Sakamoto 2014.

⁶⁹⁹ Griffith 1924, 146-147.

⁷⁰⁰ Török 1995, 18-19; Edwards 1996, 97.

⁷⁰¹ It is worth to mention that the corpus of amulets from Faras was currently distributed in different museums in United Kingdom in British Museum, Ashmolean Museum, and Manchester Museum, and in Egypt in Egyptian Museum in Cairo and Nubian Museum in Aswan, and in the National Museum in Khartoum. Therefore, it is not possible to detect the current location of some of these amulets, mainly because of the absence of database of the National Museum in Khartoum, moreover, the online database of the Ashmolean Museum is under updating. See <https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/search> Accessed; 1-2-2022.

⁷⁰² Due to the absence of the excavation and accession numbers, the study used the number of the tomb followed by the number of the object in Griffith report.

Human-head (2)	1002 (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00872	172, Pl. LXI. 41.	1002.41	---
Horus (1)	1075 (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00809	172, Pl. LXII. 2.	1075.2	---
Woman-headed sphinx (1)	2802/R	Faience	1.07×2.2	BM EA 51408	172, Pl. LXI. 39.	2802/R.39	44
Indeterminable (Human figure) (1)	2782	Gold	---	---	167, Pl. LVIII.	2782.3	---

5.2.4.6.2. Zoomorphic Figures (19) (Table 5.13) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram's head (9)	2782 (6)	Silver	---	MM 8511 ⁷⁰³ SNM 00858	168, Pl. LVIII. 19.	2782.19	45
	Near 2330 (1)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXI. 44.	2330.44	---
	2990 (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00866	172, Pl. LXI. 45.	2990.45	---
	Number lost (1)	Faience	---	---	178, Pl. LXX. 11.	0000.11	---
Fly (3)	2782 (3)	Gold	---	AMO AN 1912.671	167, Pl. LVIII. 7.	2782.7	---
Lion (2)	2801B/R (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00871	172, Pl. LXI.38.	2801B/R.38	---
	1075 (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00809	172, Pl. LXII.2.	1075.2	---
Uraeus (2)	1129/R (1)	Steatite	---	SNM 00865	172, Pl. LXI. 48.	1129/R.48	---
	181 (1)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXI. 46.	181.46	---
Crocodile (1)	1155 (1)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXI. 40 Cf. Pl. LIX, 22.	1155.40	---
Hawk (1)	357 (1)	Carnelian	---	SNM 00781	172-173, Pl. LXII. 6.	357.6	---

⁷⁰³ Number of objects from Faras cemetery was gifted by the National Museum in Khartoum to Manchester Museum in 1926 as part of exchange archaeological materials, this collection included few Meroitic amulets from Faras. Personal communication by Campbell Price (Curator of Egypt and Sudan in Manchester Museum, October 2019).

Ox's head (1)	2464 (1)	Faience	---	SNM 00868	172, Pl. LXI. 47.	2464.47	---

5.2.4.6.3. Symbols (94) (Table 5.14) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Wdjat (28)	2782 (1)	Gold	---	AMO AN 1912.674	167, Pl. LVIII. 1.	2782.1	46
	1002 (2)	Faience	---	SNM 00872	172, Pl. LXI. 42-43.	1002.42-43	---
	2380 (25)	Faience	---	---	174, Pl. LXIII. 6.	2380.6	---
Sa (53)	2782 (2)	Gold	---	AMO AN 1912.673	167, Pl. LVIII. 6.	2782.6	---
	2782 (9)	Silver	---	MM 8511 SNM 00860	168, Pl. LVIII. 18.	2782.18	45
	2763 (41)	Faience	---	---	174, Pl. LXIII. 16.	2763.16	---
	1090D/5 (1)	Shell	---	---	179, Pl. LXXI. 15.	1090D/5.15	---
Lion with Crescent (7)	2372 (7)	Faience	---	---	173, Pl. LXIII. 4.	2372.4	---
Heart (3)	81 (1)	Alabaster	---	---	178, Pl. LXIX. 6.	81.6	---
	Number lost (2)	---	---	---	178, Pl. LXX.11.	0000.11	---
Pectoral-shrine (1)	2462.36 (1)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXI. 36.	2462.36	---
Crescent (1)	1090Z/1 (1)	Faience	---	---	179, Pl. LXXI.	1090Z/1.14	---
Pendant (1)	1082 (1)	Faience	---	---	172, Pl. LXI. 49.	1082.49	---

5.2.4.6.4. Scarabs and Plaques (38) (Fig. 5.1)

5.2.4.6.4.1. Scarabs 30 (Table 5.15)

Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
2746 (3)	Steatite	Hiero&Icongr	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.2-4.	2746.2-4	---
937A (2)	Steatite	Hiero&Icongr	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.7-8.	937A, 7-8	---
557 (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.9.	557.9	---
2519 (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.10.	2519.10	---
861 (1)	Steatite	Hieroglyphic	---	MM 8532	171, Pl. LXI.11.	861.11	---
2593 (2)	Steatite	Iconographic	---		171, Pl. LXI.13.	2593.13	---
	Steatite	Hieroglyphic	---	SNM 00774	171, Pl. LXI.	2593.18	---
639 (1)	Steatite	Hieroglyphic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.14.	639.14	---
2064A (1)	---	Hieroglyphic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.17.	2064A.17	---
2527 (1)	---	Hieroglyphic	---	BM EA51372	171, Pl. LXI.19.	2527.19	---
2001 (3)	Faience	Iconographic	---	BM EA 51370	171, Pl. LXI.21-23.	2001.21-23	47
720B (2)	Faience	Geometric	0.7×1.3	BM EA 51372 EA 51374	171, Pl. LXI.24-25.	720B. 24-25	48, 49
854 (1)	Faience	Iconographic	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.26.	854.26	---
542 (1)	Faience	Geometric ?	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.27.	542.27	---
956A (3)	Faience	Geometric	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.28-29.	956A.28-29	---
	Faience	Geometric	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.30.	956A.30	---
998 (2)	Faience	Iconographic	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.31-32.	998.31-32	---
2871/R (1)	Faience	Iconographic	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.33.	2871/R.33	---
2024 (1)	Faience	---	---	SNM 00887	172, Pl. LXI.35.	2024.35	---

357 (1)	---	---	---	---	172-173, Pl. LXII. 6.	357.6	---
286 (2)	Faience	---	---	---	173, Pl. LXII. 18.	286.18	---

5.2.4.6.4.1. Plaques 8 (Table 5.16) (Fig. 5.1)

Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
2746 (2)	Stone	Hieroglyphic ?	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.1.	2746.1	---
	Faience	Iconographic ?	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.	2746.5	---
716 (1)	Faience	Geometric	---	---	171, Pl. LXI. 6.	716.6	---
1167/1 (1)	Steatite	Hiero&Icongr	---	---	171, Pl. LXI. 12.	1967/1.12	---
2499A (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.	2499A.15	---
2376 (1)	---	Hieroglyphic	---	---	171, Pl. LXI.	2376.16	---
534 (1)	Clay	Iconographic	---	---	171, LXI. 20.	534.20	---
148 (1)	Faience	Iconographic	---	---	172, Pl. LXI.	148.34	---

5.2.4.6.5. Phytomorphic (17) (Table 5.17) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Grains (9)	2782	Gold	---	---	167-168, Pl. LVIII.	2782.10	---
Fruits (5)	2782	Silver	---	MM 8532 SNM 00859	168, Pl. LVIII.	2782.17	45
Lotus? (1)	2001	Faience	---	SNM 00873	172, Pl. LXI.	2001.37	---
Rosetta (2)	956A (1)	Quartz?	---	---	168, Pl. LIX.	956A.8	---
	2763 (1)	Faience	---	---	174, Pl. LXIII.	2763.16	---

5.2.4.6.6. Others (14) (Table 5.18) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Collec.	Biblio. (Griffith, 1924)	Accession No.	Cat. No.

Shell (13)	2782 (2)	Gold	---	AMO AN 1912.672	167, Pl. LVIII.	2782.8	---
	2782 (6)	Silver	---	---	168, Pl. LVIII.	2782.16	---
	2389 (3)	Faience	---	---	177, Pl. LXIX.	2389.1	---
	23 (1)	Faience	---	---	178, Pl. LXX.	23.6	---
	2782/20 (1)	Bronze	---	---	179, Pl. LXXI.	2782/20.8	---
Bell (1)	2369	Bronze	---	---	177, Pl. LXIX.	2389.1	---

5.2.4.7. Aksha

Aksha is located 20km north of Wadi Halfa. The Franco-Argentine archaeological expedition began excavations in Aksha in 1961-62 as a part of the Nubia Salvage Campaign⁷⁰⁴. This was a large Meroitic cemetery with 92 graves (No. 24-I-20), located north-west of the Ramesside temple, and completely excavated with a maximum of 202 burials⁷⁰⁵. Based on the archaeological evidence, Vercoutter dated the cemetery at Aksha to the Late Meroitic period⁷⁰⁶.

The cemetery had been robbed in ancient times –except for one tomb. The tombs consisted of a shallow vertical pit leading to a small recess cut in the Nile silt, only in one case the sepulchral chamber was vaulted with mud bricks (No.75)⁷⁰⁷. The skeletons were badly damaged, and in some cases the heads were found in different graves. The bodies were extended on the back, hand to the pelvis, and head to the west⁷⁰⁸. While the funerary materials consisted mainly of pottery vases, jars, jugs, and goblets, which were placed beside the body in the recess, a few personal ornaments and other grave goods were found either on the body or beside it such as

⁷⁰⁴ Vercoutter 1962, 109-110.

⁷⁰⁵ Edwards 1996, 97.

⁷⁰⁶ Vercoutter 1962; 1963, 136-137.

⁷⁰⁷ Villa 1967, 253-260.

⁷⁰⁸ Villa 1967, 27, 67, 145, 147, 157, 190.

ear-rings and finger-rings, kohl pots, cosmetic boxes, and bowls of copper or bronze or of wood⁷⁰⁹. In addition to roughly cut stones in the shape of offering tables were found in the shafts of the graves, others may have been destroyed by the robbers⁷¹⁰.

As already stated, the cemetery was heavily plundered and only beads of stone, glass and faience had survived⁷¹¹. Garments of leather and fabric were found in some cases as well as undecorated wooden coffins, which were unfortunately mostly eaten by termites⁷¹².

Table 5.19. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Aksha (3) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Vila, 1967)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Pataikos (1)	5	Faience	1.5×0.7	Late Meroitic period	---	69, Fig. c.	---	---
Scarab (1)	38	Faience	2×1.4	Late Meroitic period	SNM 13711	153, Fig. 127b.	---	---
Vase (1)	16	Cornelian	1.2×0.4	Late Meroitic period	---	87, Fig. d.	---	---

5.2.4.8. Argin (Nag el-Arab)

The Spanish archaeological mission carried out excavations in the Argin area, located 1 km on the west bank of the Nile about 7km north of Wadi Halfa. A massive cemetery had been found in area of 650m×100m in the quarter known as Argin Nag el-Arab (24-V-1)⁷¹³.

The cemetery of Argin Nag el-Arab is not uniform, as the west zone consists of Late Meroitic and early Post-Meroitic tombs, while the east and south parts dated

⁷⁰⁹ Vercoutter 1963, 136-137.

⁷¹⁰ Villa 1967, 27, 67, 145, 147, 157, 190.

⁷¹¹ Small scaraboid of the 18th Egyptian dynasty had been reutilized as a seal finger-rings. This was probably the result of robbing of an ancient Egyptian grave in the vicinity, for more information see Vercoutter 1963, 136-137.

⁷¹² Vercoutter 1963, 136.

⁷¹³ Almagro, Presedo, Catalán 1963; Almagro *et al* 1965, 87.

to Post-Meroitic period, and the central part consists of many Christian graves⁷¹⁴. The mission located 1150 tombs including 335 in the north-west part of the cemetery dated to Late Meroitic period, but only 95 of them were excavated, and fully published by Pellicer Catalán⁷¹⁵.

The Meroitic graves in Argin had been plundered and their grave goods were very scarce and fragmentary. The graves consisted of a rectangular chamber with a trapezoidal entrance to the east, and the tombs were generally oriented east-west. The bodies were covered with shrouds inside coffins made of hollowed out tree trunks, and were lying in extended position on their backs with the hands on the pelvis⁷¹⁶.

Funerary equipment included beads of glass, an ostrich eggshell, bracelets of iron and bronze. The adult bodies, especially women, still had hair and nails stained, and had heavy, engraved, bronze or iron anklets, in addition to different types of pottery with incised motifs, while other ceramic fragments indicate the beginnings of the Post-Meroitic period⁷¹⁷.

Table 5.20. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Argin (Nag el-Arab) (1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Date	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram head	679	Faience	---	Late Meroitic period	---	Catalán <i>et al</i> , 1965, 143.	---	---

5.2.4.9. Argin North (Nag Shayeg)

The cemetery of Argin North (Nag Shayeg) was located in the area north of Argin, about 700m west of the Nile. It extended under the modern town. The excavation started in March 1962 to investigate the Meroitic cemetery, where the

⁷¹⁴ Almagro, Presedo, Catalán 1963, 187.

⁷¹⁵ Catalán, Llongueras, Zozaya, Vázquez 1965.

⁷¹⁶ Almagro *et al* 1965, 87-88.

⁷¹⁷ Almagro *et al* 1965, 87-88.

Spanish mission was able to excavate 220 graves. The archaeological materials from this site passed to the property of the *Dirección General de Bellas Artes Íntegramente*, except few pieces passed to National Museum in Khartoum⁷¹⁸. The Spanish mission classified the tombs into five types (A, B, C, D and E), each subdivided into three subtypes (1, 2 and 3)⁷¹⁹.

Many tombs were found undisturbed. The grave goods included globular ceramics vases with decorations consisting of painted plant and animal subjects, painted jars, amphorae, jugs, and other materials showing Hellenistic influence, in addition to many necklaces, earrings, coffins, sticks, kohl cases, sandals and other objects of daily use⁷²⁰.

The position of the bodies was commonly supine with the hands on the pelvis. The orientation of the corpses was usually to the west, with some exceptions towards north-east, north, and east⁷²¹. From the structure of the tombs and archaeological materials, the Spanish mission dated the cemetery from 3rd century BC until the 3rd century AD⁷²².

Table 5.21. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Argin (Nag Shayeg) (4) (Fig. 5.1)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Catalán 1963)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram head (1)	T. 202	Faience	---	3BC-3AD	---	55, Fig. 23, No. 51.	---	---
Ankh on Crescent (1)	T. 118	Faience	---	3BC-3AD	---	41-42, Fig. 23, No. 58.	---	---

⁷¹⁸ Catalán 1963, 7-8.

⁷¹⁹ For more information about these types, see Catalán 1963, 13-17, for the classification and dating based of types, see Catalán 1963, 63-69.

⁷²⁰ Almagro, Presedo, Catalán 1963, 182.

⁷²¹ Catalán 1963, 69-70.

⁷²² Almagro, Presedo, Catalán 1963, 182.

Pendants maybe bell (2)	T. 24	Silver	---	3BC-3AD	---	22, Pl. VII, 3A, Fig. 20, No. 5.	---	---



E7921



E7794



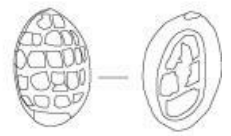
E7794



E7934



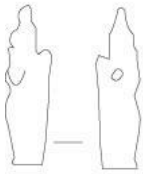
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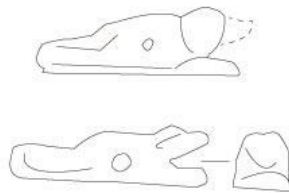
E8021

Karanog Cemetery

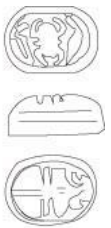
Not to scale © drawn by author after Pennsylvania Museum.



T.33



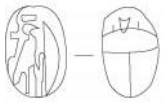
1980/98/335



T.124

Nag Gamus (Masmas) Cemetery

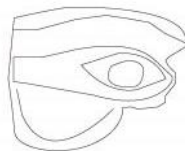
Not to scale © drawn by author after Almagro, 1965.



T.75



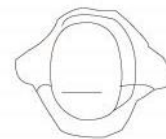
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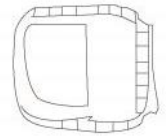
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973.24.255



973.24.1030



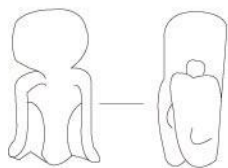
973.24.2776

Abu Simbel Cemetery

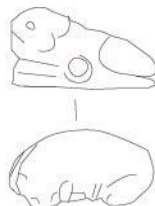
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Gebel Adda Cemetery

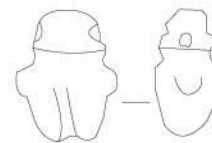
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Q298-9a

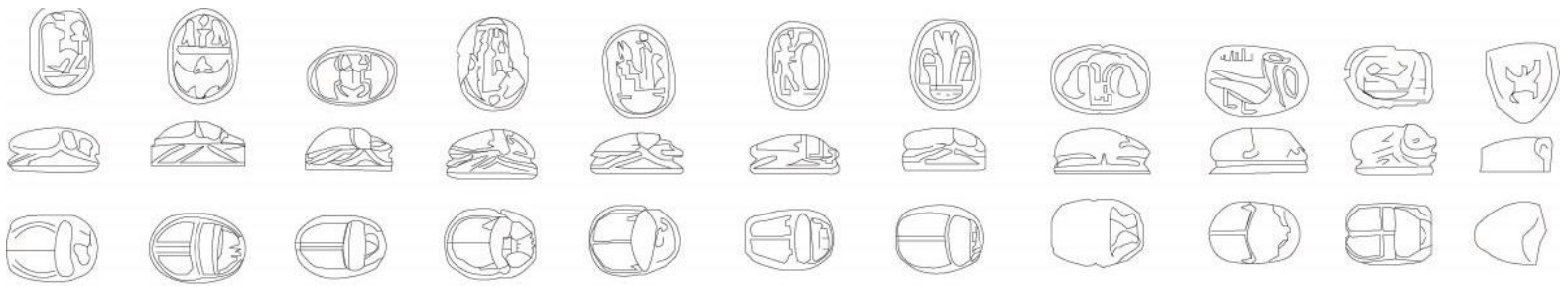


Q154-5



Qustul Cemetery

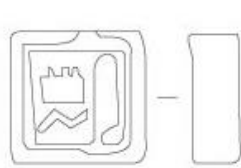
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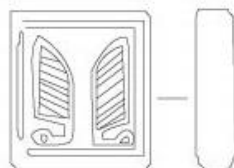
Q 154-4 Q 154-2 Q 154-1 Q 253-2 Q 154-3 Q 650-5 Q 650-4 Q 346-2 Q 317-6 Q 317-5 Q 312-7

Scarabs from Qustul Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Williams, 1991.



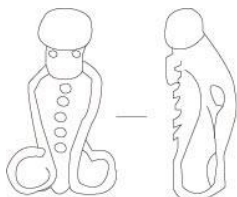
Q 162-2



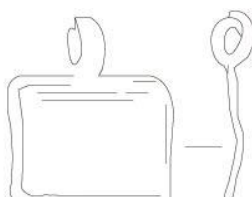
Q 526-3

Plaques from Qustul Cemetery

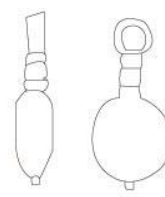
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E22776



B 141-1



B197-7

Ballana Cemetery

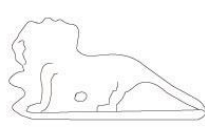
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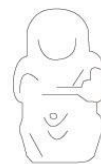
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1205.19

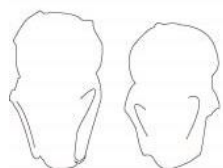


2802-R.39



2782.3

Faras; Anthropomorphic Figures



2782.19



2330.44



2990.45



2782.7



2801B-R.38



1129-R.48



1155.40



357.6

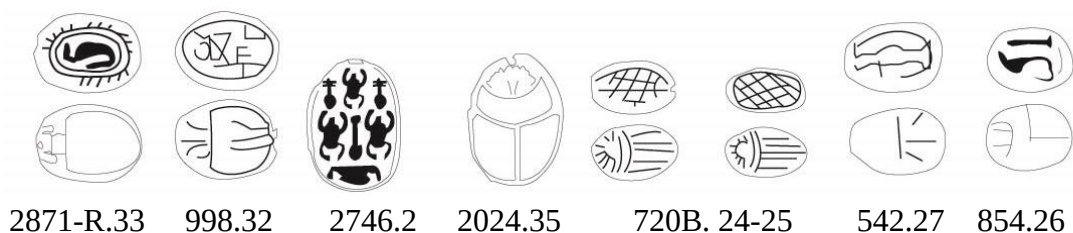


2464.47

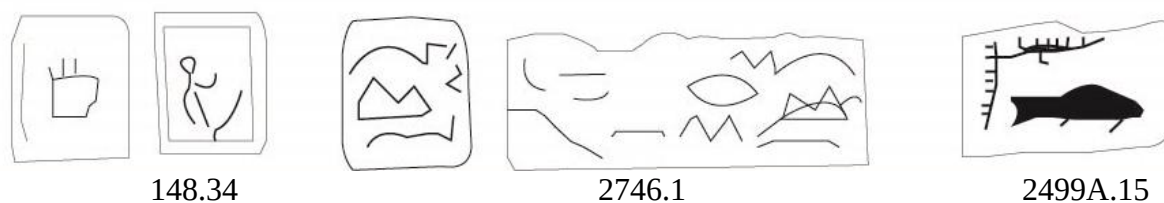
Faras; Zoomorphic Figures



Faras; Symbols

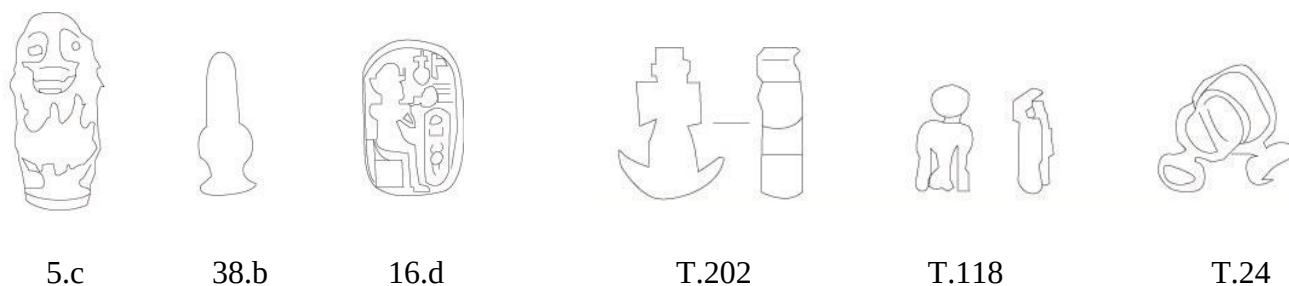


Faras; Scarabs



Faras; Plaques

Not to scale © drawn by author after Griffith, 1924.



Aksha Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Villa, 1967.

Argin North (Nag Shayeg) Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Catalán 1963.

5.1 Meroitic Funerary Amulets from Lower Nubia Cemeteries (Karanog, Nag Gamus, Abu Simbel, Gebel Adda, Qustul and Ballana, Faras, Aksha, Argin).

5.2.5. Meroitic Cemeteries in between the 2nd and the 3rd Cataracts

The area from the 2nd to the 3rd Cataract was considered as a crucial region for interacting with ancient Egypt, which is attested by important sites particularly in the New Kingdom period, this importance was continued during the Napatan and Meroitic period⁷²³.

Meroitic occupation between the Dal Cataract and Sedeinga was attested by cemeteries rather than settlements such as the Meroitic cemetery in Amir Abdallah, Missimina⁷²⁴, Sai Island⁷²⁵, Sedeinga⁷²⁶, and Soleb⁷²⁷. These cemeteries and others illustrated the continuity of settling this region from Napatan to Meroitic period⁷²⁸. The Meroitic cemeteries in Sai, Soleb, and Sedeinga presented varieties in funerary materials which attested the richness of this region. Based on archaeological and textual evidence, it seems that Sedeinga had an exceptional administrative importance in this area, any may have served as the capital for the province⁷²⁹, while religious significance for Sai⁷³⁰ and Amara East⁷³¹ could attested, where remains of temples were found.

It is worth to mention that the Meroitic funerary finds of this region were close to the materials found in Karanog and Faras in Lower Nubia, while the Napatan finds reflected several points in common with the finds from the cemetery of Sanam, Begrawiya West and South, and further south in the el-Kadada cemetery⁷³².

⁷²³ Eisa 1999, 20.

⁷²⁴ Vila 1982.

⁷²⁵ Francigny 2009.

⁷²⁶ Rilly, Vincent 2010; 2012.

⁷²⁷ Schiff-Giorgini 1968.

⁷²⁸ Francigny 2015.

⁷²⁹ Leclant 1966, 127; Francigny 2016, 13.

⁷³⁰ Francigny 2015.

⁷³¹ Edwards 1996, 78; Wolf, Nowotnick, Edwards 2019, 719.

⁷³² Eisa 1999, 22.

5.2.5.1. Abka

The Scandinavian Joint Expedition in 1960s had carried out survey and excavations in the site of Abka, where two Meroitic cemeteries (Sje 250 and Sje 416) had been found. Most of the Meroitic tombs in the site had a descent and axial cavity⁷³³.

Sje 250 was a cemetery of 45 plundered graves, measured 55m×25m and was oriented SW-NE. All the graves had trapezoid shafts and end chambers, while the limited finds suggested the early date of the cemetery⁷³⁴. Sje 416 is a small cemetery of 29 graves including 5 tumuli, 18 graves were probably Meroitic consisted of sub-rectangular shafts with side niche. This cemetery dated to the late Meroitic period and early Post-Meroitic⁷³⁵. Concerning the amulets, only three scarabs had been documented from the site.

Table 5.22. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Abka (3) (Fig. 5.2)

Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Säve-Söderbergh 1981)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Sje 416.9	Faience	Iconographic	3	Late Meroitic period	---	169, Pl. 103.	---	---
Sje 416.22	Steatite	Iconographic	---	Late Meroitic period	SNM 13652	171, Pl. 103.	13652	---
Sje 250.35	Steatite	Iconographic	1.7×1	Early Meroitic period	SNM 13711	164, 169, Pl. 103.	13711	---

5.2.5.2. Amir Abdallah

Amir Abdallah cemetery is located to the south-east of the city of Abri. It was reported in 1973 by Vila and then excavated by the Spanish mission under the

⁷³³ Edwards 1996, 99; Francigny 2016, 163.

⁷³⁴ Säve-Söderbergh 1981, 158-159.

⁷³⁵ Säve-Söderbergh 1981, 167; Edwards 1996, 99.

direction of Almagro and Fernandez⁷³⁶. The site had 377 graves, 245 of them intact where 389 individuals had been buried, accompanied by 177 pottery vessels and 31 bronze bowls that were found with other artifacts. The study of the site and the comprehensive interpretation of its cultural and historical implications was the subject of Fernandez doctoral dissertation⁷³⁷ and published papers⁷³⁸.

The early Meroitic chronology of the site was deduced on the basis of pottery and verified by five radiocarbon dates, which can be dated to the 3rd century BC⁷³⁹. The cemetery had different burial types including tombs with axial chamber at the west of the pit, or axial chamber at the east of the pit, or pit with a lateral cavity at the north or south, while the single niche type is not very common⁷⁴⁰.

The finds from the cemetery included decorated pottery vases, bronze bowls and cups. The deceased were buried in wooden coffins, in sixteen cases in the cemetery, the deceased were placed on a burial bed of rectangular shape with wooden feet. This ancient Nubian custom disappeared in the later phase. The corpse was then placed in a wooden coffin, trapezoid-shaped. This necropolis is important and provides important information about the early customs of Meroitic period in this area⁷⁴¹.

⁷³⁶ Eisa 1999, 21.

⁷³⁷ Fernández 1983.

⁷³⁸ Fernandez 1984.

⁷³⁹ Fernandez 1989, 469.

⁷⁴⁰ Fernandez 1984, 428.

⁷⁴¹ Eisa 1999, 21.

Table 5.23. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Amir Abdallah (13) (Fig. 5.2)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Date	Collec. ⁷⁴²	Biblio. (Fernández, 1983)	Accession No. ⁷⁴³	Cat. No.
Bes (2)	106	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM 24741	262, 534, Fig. 66.38.	106.38	---
	159	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	Barcelona	262, 534, Fig. 66.38.	159.38	---
Ram head (1)	138	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM 24850	262, 541, Fig. 66, 40.	138.40	---
Heart (3)	105B (3)	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	---	541, 534, Fig. 66, 39.	105B.39	---
Scarab (5)	14	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM ?	262, 534, Fig. 66, 37.	14.37	---
	14	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM 24742?	262, 534, Fig. 66, 35.	14.35	---
	199	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM 24737	262, 541, 534, Fig. 66, 36.	199.36	---
	141	Faience	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM ?	541, 534, Fig. 66, 34.	141.34	---
	105A	Stone	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM ?	541, 534, Fig. 66, 80.	105A.80	---
Shell (1)	281	Faience ?	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM ?	262, 534, Fig. 66, 84.	281.84	---
Unrecognized (1) (maybe offering table)	161	Sand stone	---	Early Meroitic period	SNM ?	545, 534, Fig. 66, 81.	161.81	---

5.2.5.3. Abri- Missiminia

A large early Meroitic cemetery (2-V-20) with at least 293 graves, including 486 burials had been found in Abri-Missiminia, only three tombs (T.6, T.200, T.262)

⁷⁴² Almost all of the materials from the site are preserved in Khartoum Museum, while the rest moved to Spain (Personal communication with Fernández, May 2022).

⁷⁴³ Due to the absence of the excavation or accession numbers, the study used the number of the tomb followed by the number of the object in the excavation report.

had preserved remains of the superstructures as a small pyramid, while the types of the substructures were vertical simple pit, lateral cavity pit, and the majority was characterized by descent axial cavity⁷⁴⁴.

The tombs in this cemetery had been looted and heavily re-used for successive burials from Christian period and later, so the original contents of the tombs and the human bones were almost completely scattered⁷⁴⁵. Nevertheless, the few original Meroitic burials confirmed the same burial practices, as the bodies were extended on the back, the hands on the pelvis and the head to the west, with very few grave goods⁷⁴⁶.

Table 5.24. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Abri Missiminia (9) (Fig. 5.2)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Vila 1982)	Accession No. ⁷⁴⁷	Cat. No.
Bes (2)	2-V- 20/70	Faience	3×1.2	Early Meroitic period	SNM 23858	42, Fig. 35,1.	2-V- 20/70.1	---
	2-V- 20/178	Faience	3.1×1.5	Early Meroitic period	SNM	78, Fig. 73, 2.	2-V- 20/178.2	---
Human figure (1)	2-V- 20/285	Faience	2.0×0.7	Early Meroitic period	SNM 23630	123, Fig. 129.	2-V- 20/285	---
Ox head? (1)	2-V- 20/285	Faience	1.7×1.6	Early Meroitic period	SNM 23630	123, Fig. 129.	2-V- 20/285	---
Wdjat (2)	2-V- 20/13	Faience	1.1×0.8	Early Meroitic period	SNM 23751	27, Fig. 26, 2a.	2-V-20/13 .2A	---
Flower-bud (2)	2-V- 20/178	Faience	1-1.3	Early Meroitic period	---	78, Fig. 73, 3a-b.	2-V-20/ 178.A-B	---
Indeterminabl e (1)	2-V- 20/285	Faience	1.2×0.3	Early Meroitic period	SNM 23630	123, Fig. 129.	2-V- 20/285	---

⁷⁴⁴ Vila 1982, 8-11; Francigny 2016, 166-167.

⁷⁴⁵ Vila 1982, 6.

⁷⁴⁶ Vila 1982, 13, 18-19.

⁷⁴⁷ Due to the absence of the excavation and accession numbers, I used the number of the tomb followed by the number of the object in the excavation report.

5.2.5.4. Sai

Sai is one of the biggest islands of the Middle Nile Valley, with more than 10 km length N-S, and 4 km in width E-W, located south of the Dal Cataract about 20 km north of Sedeinga⁷⁴⁸. The Meroitic period in Sai Island is mainly known through from many cemeteries and one occupation phase of the ancient town⁷⁴⁹. The importance of Sai in the Meroitic period was connected with other the major site of Sedeinga⁷⁵⁰. The community that lived on the island was prosperous and had a dominant position, notably thanks to its strategic role in the control of the river traffic⁷⁵¹.

Sai Island has a vast funerary area at its northern part, notably four Meroitic cemeteries 8-B-5.SN/SAS2, 8-B-5.A, 8-B-5.B, and 8-B-52.B, in addition to a further Meroitic cemetery in its southern half 8-G-49⁷⁵². Geus then Francigny proposed that the cemetery 8-B-5.B and 8-G-49 were dedicated to the ordinary population, while the other three cemeteries were for local elites⁷⁵³. The recovered objects from Sai cemetery suggest the presence of a rich community with a different social status, where the elites had a separate burial place. The elite tombs included glass objects, copper alloy and fragments of *ba*-statues which were found on the surface of the site, and are common finds in Meroitic cemeteries in Middle Nubia⁷⁵⁴.

All the Meroitic graves slightly have a similar design, with a sloping descendary and axial chamber to the west⁷⁵⁵. The elite Meroitic tombs in Sai cemeteries were traced by the remains of small brick pyramidal superstructure, with

⁷⁴⁸ Francigny 2015, 201.

⁷⁴⁹ Francigny 2009.

⁷⁵⁰ Francigny 2014b, 798.

⁷⁵¹ Francigny 2012b, 112.

⁷⁵² Francigny 2009, 92.

⁷⁵³ Francigny 2009, 92; 2015, 202.

⁷⁵⁴ Francigny 2010, 59.

⁷⁵⁵ Francigny 2010, 56.

small chapels on their eastern sides, and were equipped with stone stelae, inscribed offering tables, and *ba* statues, which indicated that their owners had socio-political connections with inhabitants of Karanog⁷⁵⁶, in parallel with the rich accompanying furnishings, which also attested the cultural influence of neighboring Roman Egypt, and witnessed the dynamism of international trade. All these graves were heavily plundered during the Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods, but the remaining grave goods suggested the presence of a rich community in Sai⁷⁵⁷. Most of the bead materials from Sai Island were found scattered in heavily plundered graves. A broad variety of beads, pendants and amulet types were registered, this has given insights into actual Meroitic beadwork patterns⁷⁵⁸.

The religious importance of Sai during the Meroitic period was additionally confirmed by the presence of a temple dated to the 1st century AD, whose inscriptions had the names of King Natakamani, Queen Amanitore, and Prince Arikankharor⁷⁵⁹.

Table 5.25. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemeteries at Sai (24) (Fig. 5.2)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio (Then-Obłuska 2016)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Bes (6)	8-B-5.A	Silver	3.7x1.5	---	Storeroom in Sai	696-699, Fig. 2. 15.	T025/11	50
Isis&Horus (1)	8-B-5.A	Faience	5.4 ×18	---	Storeroom in Sai	702-5, Fig. 4. 12.	T317 Te003/1	51
	8-B-5.A (1)	Calcite	5.9×7.4	---	Storeroom in Sai ?	696-698, Fig. 2. 13.	T008/9/2	52

⁷⁵⁶ Yellin 2012d, 330-331; Francigny 2012b, 108; 2014, 801.

⁷⁵⁷ Francigny 2010, 58; 2014, 801.

⁷⁵⁸ Then-Obłuska 2016, 693.

⁷⁵⁹ Francigny 2015.

Uraeus (4)	8-B 5.SN (3)	Sliver?	1.7	---	---	Similar amulets from Meroe; Vercoutter, 1979, 226-7, 235.	S.1389	---
Ram (1)	8-B-2.B	Faience	6.9×11.5	---	Storeroom in Sai	699, 702-3, Fig. 4. 10.	T36/2	53
Ram head (7)	8-B-5.A (1)	Faience	10.3x7	---	Storeroom in Sai	699, 702-3, Fig. 4. 8.	Te036/2	54
	8-B-.SN (6)	sliver?	---	---	---	Similar amulets from Meroe, see, Vercoutter, 1979, 226-7, 235.	S.1387	---
Crocodile (1)	8-B-5.A ?	Faience	5.6x5.6	---	Storeroom in Sai ?	702-5, Fig. 4. 11.	T307 T006/153	55
Ankh on Crescent (1)	8-B-2.B	Faience	8.8x3.6	---	Storeroom in Sai	699, 702-4, Fig. 4. 13.	T7/24	56
Scarab (2)	8-B- 2.B (1)	Steatite	8.5x 6.1	---	Storeroom in Sai	696-8, Fig. 2. 14.	T10/2	57
	8-B- 2.B (1)	Faience	8.5x7.4	---	Storeroom in Sai	699, 702-3, Fig. 4. 9.	T36/1	58
Unrecognized (1)	8-B-.SN	---	---	---	---	Geus 1995, 114.	194	---

5.2.5.5. Sedeinga

Sedeinga is located on the west bank of the Nile between the Dal and Third Cataract, 160 km north of Dongola in the Abri-Delgo Reach of the Nile⁷⁶⁰. This site is marked with a New Kingdom temple and settlement, the site continued to be an important center in the Napatan and Meroitic periods⁷⁶¹, for which evidences for

⁷⁶⁰ Rilly, Francigny 2013, 65.

⁷⁶¹ Sedeinga is considered one of the few cemeteries that enabled archaeologists to understand the successive developmental of Napatan and Meroitic funerary practices. Scholars thought that the development line of the cemetery was from west to east, but the ongoing mission confirmed

settlement and cemeteries had been found. Due to the extensive occupation in the site in Meroitic period, scholars⁷⁶² suggested that Sedeinga was a major center and a regional administrative seat for the Abri-Delgo Reach, while Rilly⁷⁶³ assumed - based on the funerary texts- that Sai and Sedeinga were regarded as prestigious sites for the dead.

The European travelers visited the site since the early nineteenth century, while excavation in Sedeinga began in 1963 by Michela Schiff Giorgini⁷⁶⁴ for four seasons (1963, 1964, 1967, 1969). Later on, in 1977, Leclant⁷⁶⁵ assembled a new team entirely dedicated to the study of Sedeinga assisted by Catherine Berger⁷⁶⁶, who directed the mission in the 1980s and 1990s, when large-scale fieldwork in the cemetery was conducted by her team till 2002 focusing on a group of Meroitic tombs with pyramidal superstructures in the part of Sector II extending eastward⁷⁶⁷. The work stopped for seven years and then was resumed in 2009 by a new project, which was launched by the Sedeinga Archaeological Unit (SEDAU) directed by Claude Rilly and Vincent Francigny to continue studying the cemetery and exploring the surrounding areas. The work is still ongoing in the site⁷⁶⁸.

To the west of the New Kingdom temple of Tiye, there is a vast area, which is divided by two main wadis into three sectors (I, II, III), which formed a vast burial ground which had developed over centuries. Sector (I) was the only elite cemetery

recently that the cemetery developed in separate clustered, see Rilly, Francigny 2010, 66; 2012, 62; 2013, 61; 2018, 65.

⁷⁶² Morkot 2012c, 328; Francigny 2013, 105; 2014; Lohwasser 2014a, 282.

⁷⁶³ Rilly 2007, 306.

⁷⁶⁴ Schiff-Giorgini 1965; 1966; 1968.

⁷⁶⁵ Leclant 1966; 1970b.

⁷⁶⁶ For previous archaeological fieldwork in Sedeinga by Berger-el Naggat, see Berger 1988; 1994a; 1994b; 2008; Berger and Leclant 2007; Berger *et al.* 1997; Grimal, Adly 2003; 2004; 2005.

⁷⁶⁷ Berger 2008a, 349-350.

⁷⁶⁸ Rilly, Francigny, 2010, 62; Francigny, David, de Voogt 2014, 36.

for the local princes, while Sector (II), where the excavation is ongoing, had the higher density for the second rank officials⁷⁶⁹. The simple tombs without superstructures distributed around them might have been dedicated to the humbler and younger members of the clan, while no specific place of burial has been found for the lower classes⁷⁷⁰.

While sectors I and II contained the remains of hundreds of pyramidal tombs from the Kushite period, sector III seems to have been used during the Medieval period. Further west of the sector (I) is an isolated group of tombs (West Cemetery), contemporaneous with sector I and II, but apparently reserved for the burial with pyramids superstructure for the local ruling elite - nine in total, which were excavated in the 1960s by Michela Schiff Giorgini⁷⁷¹ and dated to late Napatan-early Meroitic period⁷⁷², in addition to the tomb of a governor of Sedeinga T 1⁷⁷³.

At Sedeinga, tombs in the Meroitic cemetery have an east-west descendery leading to an east west oval- to rectangular-shaped burial chamber. Most of the excavated tombs were plundered and later reused as well. The tomb superstructures consisted of mud brick pyramids and a number of sandstone pyramid capstones were found⁷⁷⁴. The site is considered to be the largest concentration of mud brick pyramids

⁷⁶⁹ Based on material associated with the burials from sector (I and II) and West Cemetery, and a series of C14 dates, chronological frame proved to start as early as the beginning of the 4th century BC -with few cases dated no later than the 5th century BC- to the Late Meroitic period, around the 2nd - 3rd centuries AD, see Francigny 2014, 343. The mission revealed that although the superstructure and substructure of all the graves in cluster 1 and 2 were built and dug in the Napatan period, most of the burials found were Meroitic. Rilly and Francigny (2018, 66-67) presented different hypothesis to justify the reasons for this “systematic reuse” in Sedeinga cemetery, which may be associated to magical protection and “pious reuse” possibly related to the belief that the ancestors can act as intercessors with the deities, in addition to/or in alternative to family relations which also could be considered. For more about this hypothesis see Rilly, Francigny 2018, 66-68.

⁷⁷⁰ Rilly, Francigny 2011, 72; Francigny 2014a, 341.

⁷⁷¹ Schiff-Giorgini 1965; 1966; 1968.

⁷⁷² Leclant 1970b, 3, 5; Rilly, Francigny 2013, 61.

⁷⁷³ Rilly, Francigny 2018, 67.

⁷⁷⁴ Rilly, Francigny 2010, 63.

discovered in Sudan so far. At Sedeinga, features similar to those found in the Meroitic cemeteries in the north have been observed. The tradition of reusing of burials was clearly noted in the excavated tombs, where *ba* statues, offering tables and sandstone stelae were found⁷⁷⁵.

The materials from the cemeteries of Sedeinga reflected the important role of the site in the trade⁷⁷⁶, and the finds attested that the local elites in the Meroitic period were very close to the Meroitic kings, as they were buried in separate cemetery (Western Cemetery)⁷⁷⁷, in addition to the discovery of a large tomb which could be royal in “Sector IV” (T 1)⁷⁷⁸, located 1.5km west of the larger necropolis. These evidences confirmed the role of Sedeinga as one of the main centers in the Middle Nile Region⁷⁷⁹.

The deceased was always lying extended on his back, head to the west, arms at his sides or hands clasped on his pelvis, often in a wooden coffin, sometimes anthropomorphic. Sometimes, a simple shroud envelops the deceased who can also rest on a funeral bed, or even on a bench⁷⁸⁰. The funerary deposits accompanying the deceased in the grave were divided between objects used during the ceremony such as libation vases or food containers, and personal belongings⁷⁸¹. Although the tombs of Sedeinga have been extensively pillaged in ancient and modern times⁷⁸²,

⁷⁷⁵ Rilly, Francigny 2012, 61.

⁷⁷⁶ Morkot 2012c, 328; Francigny 2014a, 342-343.

⁷⁷⁷ Schiff-Giorgini 1966, 261.

⁷⁷⁸ This tomb had been found in June 2012 during construction the road that connect Dongola to the Egyptian border, the tomb consists of two chambers and niche that corresponds to the entrance to a third unfinished chamber, according to the excavators this tomb was never completed. For more about this tomb see Rilly, Francigny 2013; Francigny 2014a, 343.

⁷⁷⁹ Rilly, Vincent 2013, 61-63.

⁷⁸⁰ Berger 2008a, 354; 2008b, 188.

⁷⁸¹ Francigny, David, de Voogt 2014, 49.

⁷⁸² Leclant 1970b, 264; Berger 2008a, 354.

the objects collected by successive missions attested the abundance, the diversity and the quality of the funerary materials⁷⁸³.

These materials were common in the contemporary sites during the Meroitic period in Lower Nubia, therefore Rilly and Francigny⁷⁸⁴ thought that the funerary traditions in Sedeinga are part of a homogeneous regional materials, except for an extraordinary group of assemblages of personal ornaments⁷⁸⁵.

Table 5.26. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemeteries at Sedeinga (17) (Fig. 5.2)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Bes (1)	II T 178	Faience	4	---	Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75.	II T.178.D1	59
Shu (1)	II T 262	Faience	---	---	Rilly, Vincent 2013, 63-64, Fig. 5; Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig.3.	II T.262.C3	60
Osiris (2)	WT9	Bronze& Gold leaf	---	---	Schiff-Giorgini 1967-8, 264, Pl. I, B-C; Leclant, 1969, 288. Fig. 54, 58.	WT9.C5	---
	WT9	Bronze& Gold leaf	14×6.6	University of Pisa Museum, N. 245	Schiff-Giorgini 1967-8, 264, Pl. I, B-C; Leclant, 1969, 288. Fig. 54; Flora, 1982, 91.	WT9.C6	61
Pataikos (1)	II T216	Steatite	1.2	---	Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig. 15.	II T.216.C1	62
Wdjat (3)	II T 262	Faience	---	---	Then-Obłuska, 2015, 36, Fig. 3.	II T.262. c4/b-d	--
Ankh on Crescent (1)	Surface of zone (II S001)	Faience	---	---	Rilly, Vincent 2010, 63, 8; Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig. 13.	II. S001	63
Scarab (1)	Surface of WT3	Stone	1×3.1	SNM 18584	Schiff-Giorgini 1966, 246-7, 252; Leclant 1966, 162.	WT3.S1	---

⁷⁸³ Leclant 1973a, 53.

⁷⁸⁴ Rilly, Francigny 2010, 66.

⁷⁸⁵ Then-Obłuska 2015, 42.

Plaque (1)	II T 192	Faience	---	---	Then-Obluska 2015, 36, Fig. 2.	II T.192. c4/c	64
Flower bud (1)	II T 187	Faience	---	---	Then-Obluska 2015, 36, Fig. 11.	II. T.187. D4	65
Rosette (3)	II T 186	Stone with black and red inlays	---	---	Leclant, 1969, 288; Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75.	II. T.186. C2	---
	II T 192	Stone with black and red inlays	---	---	Leclant 1969, 288; Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75.	II. T.192	---
	II T 239	Faience	---	---	Then-Obluska 2015, 36, Fig. 1.	II. T.239. D2	66
Pendant (1)	II T178	Metal	---	---	Then-Obluska 2015, 41, Fig. 14.	II. T.178. D2	67
Composite (1)	WT8.C9	Metal probably in lead	---	SNM 20391	Leclant, 1971, 254, Fig. 50; Leclant, 1970, 267- 268.	WT8.C9	---



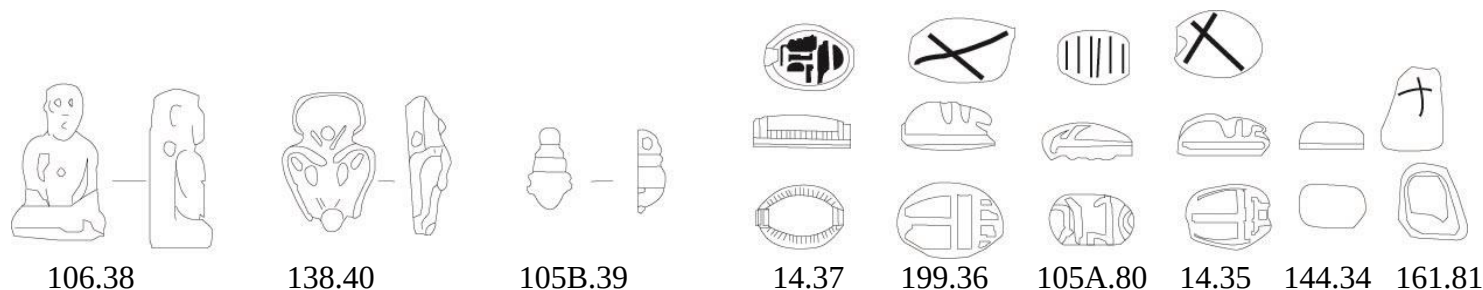
sje 416.22.1

sje 250.35.1

sje 416.9.2

Abka Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Säve-Söderbergh 1981.



106.38

138.40

105B.39

14.37

199.36

105A.80

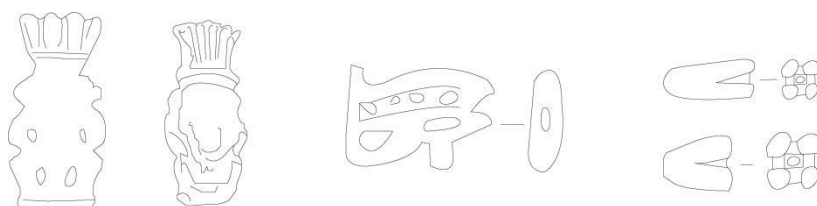
14.35

144.34

161.81

Amir Abdalla Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Fernández 1983.



2-V-20.178.2

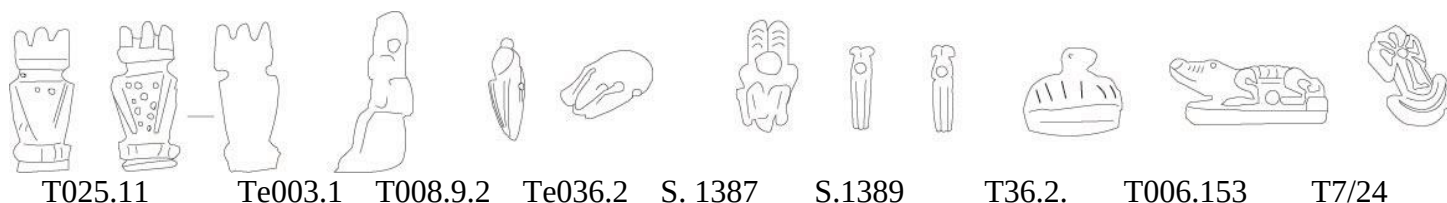
2-V-20.70.1

2-V-20.13.2a

2-V-20.178.3a-b

Abri-Missiminia Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Vila, 1982.



T025.11

Te003.1

T008.9.2

Te036.2

S. 1387

S.1389

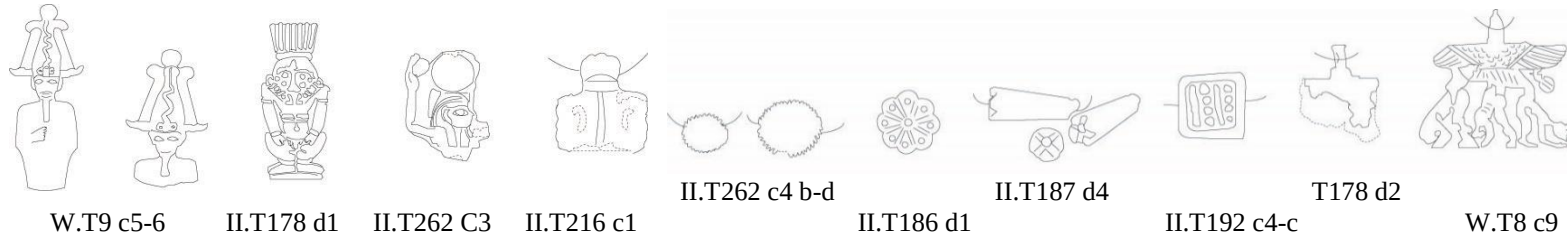
T36.2.

T006.153

T7/24

Sai Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Vercoutter 1979; Then-Obłuska 2016.



W.T9 c5-6

II.T178 d1

II.T262 C3

II.T216 c1

II.T262 c4 b-d

II.T186 d1

II.T187 d4

II.T192 c4-c

T178 d2

W.T8 c9

Sedeinga Cemetery

Not to scale © drawn by author after Leclant, 1971; Rilly, Francigny, 2011; Then-Obłuska 2015.

5.2 Meroitic Funerary Amulets from Middle Nile Region Cemeteries (Abka, Amir Abdallah, Abri Missiminia, Sai, Sedeinga).

5.3. The Meroitic Cemeteries in Upper Nubia and Shendi Reach

The region of Upper Nubia extended from the Third Cataract (Dongola reach) as far as Abu Hamed up to the Fifth Cataract. This area had political and economic importance because it was characterized by large administrative centres through the history of ancient Nubia such as Doukki Gel, Kerma, Tabo, Kawa, and Napata, while other sites still need more archaeological investigations *e.g.* Letti basin⁷⁸⁶. The remains of the Kushite period in the Fourth and Fifth Cataract are scarce, but recently new evidence and materials have shed light on the occupation in this area in that phase⁷⁸⁷.

The Shendi Reach extended from confluence between the Atbara River and the Nile up to the Sixth Cataract, where few cemeteries have been reported. Recently, NCAM announced the discovery tombs probably dated to Meroitic period in the village Gedouab near to Berber town. To the east another Meroitic cemetery is associated with large Meroitic settlement in Dangeil in the region of Berber⁷⁸⁸. However, in the areas to the north of Meroe no significant excavations have yet been undertaken, either on cemeteries or settlements sites, and no significant information about funerary aspects in this region are available⁷⁸⁹.

⁷⁸⁶ Eisa 1999, 22. Albeit, the activities related to the Meroe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP) have brought light fresh data about the history of the Fourth Cataract area in the Napatan, Meroitic, and Post-Meroitic period, but excavations on many important sites were not carried out, when in the summer of 2008 the filling of the reservoir behind the Meroe Dam took place, see Ahmed 2012, 256-258.

⁷⁸⁷ Bonnet, Valbelle 2005; Ahmed 2014, 114; Francigny 2016, 13. Sudanese scholars (*e.g.* Ali Gasm and Eisa) reported the presence of circular tumuli superstructures in the region north and south of the Fourth Cataract, see (Eisa 1999, 24, footnote 105). But there is no evidence in the Letti Basin for important centers on the scale of Faras, Karanog, Gebel Adda and Qasr Ibrim in Lower Nubia (Brass 2016, 145).

⁷⁸⁸ Both sites and their findings are not fully published yet, Personal communication with Mahmoud Souliman, May 2022.

⁷⁸⁹ Edwards 1998, 3; Eisa 1999, 26.

While in the area south of Meroe until the Sixth Cataract, no Meroitic pyramidal cemeteries were investigated, but numbers of tumuli had been reported at Hamadab (2-5 km south of Meroe), Awalib (3 km east of Kaboushiya), Hobagi (near Shendi), Matama (West Shendi) and Wad Ben Naqa⁷⁹⁰.

5.3.1. Introduction about Non-Royal Meroitic Funerary Practices

Based on the evidence in the Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia and Middle Nile north the Third Cataract, the funerary practices were relatively homogeneous in the Meroitic period⁷⁹¹, with extended east-west oriented burials, and various types of grave materials according to the status of the deceased⁷⁹². Otherwise, evidence from sites situated in Upper Nubia and in the heartlands of the Meroitic Kingdom (3rd-5th Cataract) suggests different and more complex interpretations of variability in funerary practices⁷⁹³. Recent archaeological works in Upper Nubia provided evidence for the widespread use of tumulus superstructures in *e.g.* Kawa⁷⁹⁴, Hagar El- Baida⁷⁹⁵, Fourth Cataract area⁷⁹⁶, Gabati⁷⁹⁷, Kadada⁷⁹⁸. These practices almost never testified in Meroitic Lower Nubia⁷⁹⁹. However it should be noted that most

⁷⁹⁰ Eisa 1999, 26.

⁷⁹¹ Adams 1977, 374.

⁷⁹² Edwards 1998, 198.

⁷⁹³ Adams 1976, 12; Edwards 1998, 198-199.

⁷⁹⁴ Welsby 1993, 3-7.

⁷⁹⁵ Longa 2008, 77.

⁷⁹⁶ El-Tayeb, Kolosowska 2007. New features and traditions have been documented during the Meroitic period in the Fourth Cataract area: these are mainly the presence of stelae on the western side of the grave, evidence of mother and child burials, digging of ditches around the tumulus, in addition to the superstructure of the graves which were in oval shape (Ahmed 2014, 115). Based on the archaeological materials in the Fourth Cataract area, Paner and Borcowski (2005, 207-208, 115) supposed that the Meroitians reused dome graves of the Kerma period. The bodies were laid in extended position on their back in an east-west orientation, the hands resting on the pelvis without any burial goods.

⁷⁹⁷ Edwards 1998, 201.

⁷⁹⁸ Lenoble 1992.

⁷⁹⁹ Edwards 1989, 139-141. scholars pointed out that the differences in the funerary practices could be due to the difference in ethnic and cultural background (Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 18).

tumulus in the region dated to the Late Meroitic period, and no documented cases dated to the last centuries BC or first centuries AD occur⁸⁰⁰.

The variation in funerary and mortuary practices results from complex social behaviors, and inequality across a wider set of interwoven social networks continuously recreating personal and group identity both in life and in death⁸⁰¹. The dis-uniformity in funerary practices in this area limits our ability to provide a full interpretation for the funerary practices. Therefore, information will be provided particularly for selected sites.

5.3.2. Meroitic Cemeteries in Upper Nubia and Shendi Reach

Meroitic funerary sites in the area between the 3rd and the 6th Cataracts are very limited in number, due to the current state of excavation in this area. **Table 5.27** indicated distribution the amulets in non-royal Meroitic cemeteries in Upper Nubia and Shendi Reach Region in selected cemeteries.

Cataract	Site	No. of tombs	No. of tombs with amulets	No. of amulets	References
3-4	Kerma	50 +	3	5	Reisner 1923c, d; Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991.
	Hagar el-Baida 2	17/48	1	1	Longa 2008, 80.
5-6	Gabati	63/74	4	4	Edwards 1998.
	Beg. W.	192	52	999	Dunham 1963.
Total		322+	60	1009	

3.2.1. Meroitic Cemetery in Kerma

Kerma is an ancient city on the Nile south the Third Cataract. Its position at the southern limit of Egyptian control in ancient time, placed it strategically on the

⁸⁰⁰ Edwards 1998, 199.

⁸⁰¹ Brass 2016.

routes to the African interior⁸⁰². The variety and abundance of the archaeological remains of the ancient site of Kerma made it an important site to the study the indigenous civilizations of ancient Sudan. The city of Kerma dominated a vast territory which served as a connecting link between Central Africa and the Mediterranean world⁸⁰³.

The Kerma site was characterized by two massive constructions, which, known as “Deffufa”, were reported by the first explorers⁸⁰⁴. More than thousand years after the end of Kerma culture, the Meroities occupied parts of the ancient city of Kerma with several constructions including tombs, settlement areas, and a temple⁸⁰⁵.

The first archaeological work was started in Kerma by G.A. Reisner in 1913-16⁸⁰⁶. Reisner thought that Kerma was an Egyptian trading post in the far south of Egypt, whereas many evidence confirmed the commercial relations from the Old Kingdom period⁸⁰⁷. Further excavations and studies were conducted by the University of Geneva’s Mission since 1976 and are still ongoing by the Swiss and the Swiss-French-Sudanese Missions. They demonstrated that Kerma’s culture originated from native populations, with local customs and adapted Egyptian traditions⁸⁰⁸.

⁸⁰² Bonnet 1992, 611.

⁸⁰³ Bonnet 1978, 126; 2014.

⁸⁰⁴ Bonnet 1978, 107.

⁸⁰⁵ Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 29-34. The Meroitic temple had been found by the University of Geneva in 1997 at the site of Doukki Gel. This temple measured more than 50 m in length and 35 m width, unfortunately it is badly preserved and its western end has completely disappeared (Bonnet 1999, 70-72), this temple was mainly built from mud and red brick. However, cursive graffiti and some decorative elements presented evidence for that stage of construction. For more about the plan of this temple see Bonnet 1999, 70-72, and for the Meroitic fragments from the temple see Valbelle 1999, 83-86.

⁸⁰⁶ Reisner 1923c; 1923d.

⁸⁰⁷ Reisner 1923c, 37-40; Emberling 2011, 32.

⁸⁰⁸ Bonnet 1992, 611; Bonnet, Valbelle 2014, 83.

The Meroitic cemetery in Kerma (K 1-38), covering area about 200 m×130 m, Reisner was able to excavate 80 m×80 m and outlined the boundaries of the cemetery. The long axes of the graves ran either N-S or E-W, while the heads of the skeletons were turned in the all four directions without rule. The bodies had laid on the back with the hands on or beside the pelvis, except the graves (K 32, K 33, K 34) where the skeletons laid in contracted position. The graves contained one burial with the only exception of graves (K 14, K 22, K 29, and K 35). Dating this cemetery to the Meroitic period was based on archaeological evidences such as offering tables with Meroitic inscriptions, pottery, faience, glass, and other objects⁸⁰⁹.

Reisner⁸¹⁰ classified the tombs to three main types; (a) chamber grave with a sloping approach on one side; (b) simple pit-grave, with brick wall closing off one side; (c) large rectangular grave. Reisner⁸¹¹ supposed that this cemetery covered the period between the third and fourth centuries AD. The remains of bricks found on the surface confirmed the presence of superstructures over the tombs⁸¹².

Another Meroitic funerary burial has been found in Kerma in 1990 by Mahmoud El-Tayeb, the former Inspector of the NCAM, who investigated a large vaulted chamber burial of a type that was not common at Kerma. The chamber was situated to the north of the western Deffufa, and had been partially disturbed. The bases of three small mud brick pyramids were detected, this type of superstructure being not previously known at Kerma. The clearing operation brought to light two large funerary chambers (CV T.12, CV T.18), which attested the wealth of Kerma

⁸⁰⁹ Reisner 1923c, 41. In the ruins of the western part of the ancient city, at about 200 m from the Deffufa, several Meroitic graves have been located, although these graves had been plundered, the remaining elements proved that this part of the cemetery is the extension of the funerary area excavated by Reisner at the beginning of 1900s, see Reisner 1923c, 57; Bonnet 1980, 60; 1986, 15-16; 1988, 19; Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 29-34.

⁸¹⁰ Reisner 1923c, 41.

⁸¹¹ Reisner 1923c, 49.

⁸¹² Bonnet 1978, 120.

during the Meroitic period. In the entrance shafts, El-Tayeb and Bonnet were able to identify the remains of libations made during the funerary ceremonies⁸¹³.

Although this burial had been plundered, some finds were collected, some of these materials are identical with one discovered at Karanog (Tomb. 566)⁸¹⁴. According to the materials and considering the type of tomb construction, it seems likely to date to the end of the 1st century BC or the following centuries AD⁸¹⁵.

The materials from the Meroitic cemetery at Kerma is very meagre -as Reisner described⁸¹⁶. However, the resemblances to the materials from Karanog were clear such as in the case of the glass vessels and iron arrow-heads, pottery is at least partially identical, in addition the main type of the graves that excavated by Reisner may be the same called type D by MacIver in Karanog. The Meroitic tombs in Kerma presented interesting information about the funerary arrangements that took place at Kerma. Moreover, The site is not far from the Deffufa, and it is even possible that some rites were undertaken there, where many Meroitic potsherds have been found⁸¹⁷.

Table 5.28. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemeteries at Kerma (5) (Fig. 5.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.

⁸¹³ Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 29-34. The same practice was documented by Woolley and Randall-MacIver (1910, 14) in Karanog.

⁸¹⁴ Bonnet 1982, 51-52.

⁸¹⁵ Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 31, 34. Among the exceptional features of this tomb there are its dimensions 6 m×1.80 m: it is the largest burial chamber found at Kerma, designed particularly for multiple burials. The entrance of this tomb was placed to the west, the vault was partially collapsed, and there are remains of 13 skeletons including 7 children. The deceased were lying in the supine position according to east-west orientation, and the head placed on the west side. The grave goods consist of two containers, ceramic, iron arrowheads, beads and amulets (Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 32).

⁸¹⁶ Reisner 1923c, 49.

⁸¹⁷ Bonnet 1991, 17-18.

Pataikos (1)	91	Faience	---	1BC-2AD	---	Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 34.	---	---
Boy with hand in mouth (Harpocrates?) (1)	K 37	Faience	2.6	3-4 AD	---	Reisner 1923c, 51.	---	---
Ram' head (1)	91	Stone	---	1BC-2AD	---	Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 31, 34.	---	---
Plaque (2)	91	Stone	---	1BC-2AD	---	Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 31, 34.	---	---
	K 14	Steatite	1.2×1	3-4 AD	---	Reisner 1923c, 49, 52-53.	---	---

5.3.2.2. Hagar El-Baida 2

A complex of Tumuli cemeteries dating to the Late Meroitic period and Post-Meroitic period was discovered in that area of the Fourth Cataract. The cemetery of Hagar El-Baida 2 (HB2) is situated at the bottom of a vast dry valley, in proximity of the modern village of Hagar el-Baida⁸¹⁸. On the surface of the site, 77 visible remains of burials were located. The graves are arranged into three groups; eastern, northern, and western⁸¹⁹. On the basis of the conducted research, it was supposed that the HB2 cemetery was a burial site for the people inhabiting this area during the Late Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods. It is worth to mention that the late Meroitic period in the Fourth Cataract area was characterized by tumuli instead of pyramidal superstructure⁸²⁰.

The eastern group in this cemetery was the largest in the site. There 48 graves and remains of their superstructures were still visible on the ground. During two

⁸¹⁸ Chlodnicki 2014, 833.

⁸¹⁹ Longa 2008, 76, 83; Francigny 2016, 172.

⁸²⁰ Longa 2008, 77.

seasons of excavations, 17 of these burials were examined. The deceased were richly equipped with beads made of various materials, in addition to faience, stones, glass and ostrich eggshells, rings were also found in the graves. Military equipment were notable in this group of tombs, therefore, this part of the cemetery was considered by the excavators as the sector of “graves of the warriors”, where the burials were mostly for males⁸²¹.

Table 5.29. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Hagar El-Baida 2 (1) (Fig. 5.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Date	Collec.	Biblio.	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Falcon-Horus	T 12	Bone	---	Late Meroitic period	---	Longa 2008, 80.	---	68

5.3.2.3. Gabati

The cemetery of Gabati (GBT) lies on the east bank of the Nile, 40km north of the city of Meroe⁸²². The presence of Meroitic materials in the cemetery was first indicated during the initial survey season in 1993 by small quantities of Meroitic sherds, which were recorded among surface collections. Later, the excavations identified 74 Meroitic tombs of which 63 were excavated⁸²³.

The cemetery provided valuable data concerning variability in funerary and mortuary practices⁸²⁴. It was likely that most graves would have been marked by a low mound of gravel except four tombs (T.11B, T.36, T.68, and T.95), where mudbrick superstructure was remarked, which could be remains of mastaba-like structures or pyramidal superstructures. Two major forms of grave substructure can

⁸²¹ Longa 2007; 2008, 78, 80.

⁸²² Francigny 2016, 173.

⁸²³ Edwards 1998, 11.

⁸²⁴ Edwards 1998, 201.

be distinguished in the cemetery, with E-W shafts leading to rectangular axial E-W chambers or oval transverse N-S chambers, but in both cases the tomb chambers were situated at the west end of the shaft⁸²⁵.

The Meroitic burials were heavy looted and re-used, but based on the limited remains in burials chambers in the cemetery, the bodies extended with the head to the west, while the other would appear to have been contracted oriented N-S⁸²⁶. The lack of comparable early materials in Meroe cemeteries provided little in the way of dating evidence, however, few graves contain pottery classes which could predate the late first century BC⁸²⁷.

Table 5.30. Amulets from the Meroitic Cemetery at Gabati (4) (Fig. 5.3)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens.	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Edwards 1998, Vol. 1)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Ram-head (1)	GBT 104	Faience	2.7×1.8	1BC-1AD	SNM?	47, 63.	10402	---
Scarab (2)	GBT 68	Faience	1.7×1.2	1BC-1AD	SNM 27690	36, 63.	6805	---
	GBT 130	Faience	1× 0.7	1BC-1AD	SNM 27794	51, 63.	13002	---
Plaque (1)	GBT 39	Faience	3×2.9	1BC-1AD	SNM 27673	24, 63.	3903	---

5.3.2.5. Meroe

Meroe is located on the east bank of the Nile, 200km north of Khartoum, and became an important center as early as the sixth century BC⁸²⁸, Meroe became the

⁸²⁵ Edwards 1998, 194-195.

⁸²⁶ Edwards 1998, 195-196.

⁸²⁷ Edwards 1998, 198.

⁸²⁸ The chronological position of the earliest structures in Meroe remained obscure for a long time. Nevertheless, recent excavation in the city of Meroe by ROM mission showed that the earliest identifiable structures in Meroe found under the palace M750s were dated by several C14 samples

main royal, administrative, and religious center in the second phase of Kushite period, after the transfer the royal burial ground from the Napata area to Meroe⁸²⁹.

The royal city of Meroe covers an area almost 1 km, consisted of a complex planned huge city surrounded by a large stone enclosure protecting many palaces, temples, gardens, and a water sanctuary, while in its west side there is a seasonal channel of the Nile⁸³⁰. Due to its strategic location, it became a focal point for trading east towards the Red Sea, south to Ethiopian highlands, and further to sub-Saharan Africa, and north with ancient Egypt⁸³¹.

In addition to the royal cemeteries, the city had four non-elite cemeteries, which were excavated by Garstang early in the twentieth century and contained pillaged tumuli burials dating to the Late Meroitic and Post-Meroitic period⁸³². These cemeteries were poor in materials and not well documented⁸³³, therefore, this study will focus on the non-royal amulets from the better known cemetery of Beg. W.

to 950-800 BC (Grzymski, Grzymska 2015, 111), For more details about palace M 750s, see Grzymski, Grzymska 2008.

⁸²⁹ Dunham 1950, 5; Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 33.

⁸³⁰ Grzymski 2004b, 165; Lacovara, Markowitz 2012, 55; O'Connor 2012, 115-116.

⁸³¹ Fisher 2012a, 38.

⁸³² Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 20-21; Yellin 2012f, 272. These cemeteries are Southern Necropolis (M 1-15), Middle Necropolis (M 300-399), Northern Necropolis (M 400-499, M 500-599), Western Necropolis (M 800-821, 870) (Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 264-274). Török reported that the majority of the smaller artefacts were unearthed and collected in the absence of Garstang or the professional members of his staff, and there is no information about the context.

⁸³³ The more recent excavations in tumulus cemeteries which were conducted by Patrice Lenoble indicated that the Middle Necropolis was used before the end of the Meroitic Kingdom, Lenoble also suggested that burial customs and material culture in some tombs were Meroitic but dated to Late Meroitic and Post-Meroitic period (Lenoble 1992), for more information about the transition period see Lenoble 1994. Scholars like Crowfoot (1924, 18-28), and Kirwan (1939, 42) supposed that these burials can be attributed to Noba populations, who lived for a period before the end of the kingdom in the Butana region, while Török (1987, 33, 44, 194; 1992) described them as Meroiticized Noba.

Beg. W. is the largest and the longest duration use cemetery in Meroe (mid-eighth century BC to mid-to late fourth century AD), it contains 795 tombs. It started from the top of a low gravel terrace near the city, and grew in an easterly direction. Dunham pointed out 25-30 well-preserved superstructures, which could be recognized as pyramids, while the others were destroyed and in most cases only the rectangular foundation can be traced. Most of the tombs in the Beg. W. had an estimated dating, in most instances this is expressed by a range of generations with reference to the dating of the Meroitic rulers established by Reisner. The basis for these estimated dating is based on four items; the natural growth of the site, the forms of superstructures and substructures, overlapping, and masking⁸³⁴.

The general chronological frame for the development of the Beg. W. seems clear, but it is too difficult to establish a firm date for every single individual tomb in wide context, as in several cases the chronology is still hypothetical, otherwise, Edwards, whose study presented a datable at a large scale seriation of ceramics of Beg. W.⁸³⁵.

The more elaborate tombs belonged to important members of the royal family, including queens and princes. Reisner finished his excavations in the cemetery in the season 1922-23, and then he confirmed that there were no royal tombs included, and this cemetery was intended for the royal family members in conjunction with the Beg. N.⁸³⁶.

The Cemetery of Beg. W. had both pyramids and pit graves belonging to lesser members of the royal families. The elite graves had mastabas or pyramids above single rock-cut burial chambers that were reached by a stairway, with chapels on their eastern faces that were decorated with scenes of offering and funerary rites.

⁸³⁴ Dunham 1963, 1-2.

⁸³⁵ Edwards 1999.

⁸³⁶ Reisner 1923a.

These chapels served as a cult and offering places to sustain the tomb owners in the afterlife. In the late Meroitic period, rubble-filled brick superstructures replaced the stone superstructures⁸³⁷.

Although the tombs had been plundered, numerous grave goods including luxury objects that were clearly imported from the Mediterranean world, such as painted Greek vases and Roman bronze objects, amulets, and vessels were among the grave goods⁸³⁸.

The number of amulets from the Beg. W. are 999, which is considered the largest corpus of Meroitic funerary amulets. All the materials were collected, sorted, and classified. Then, after completing the purely qualitative investigation for the amulets and inserted on the database, a classification based on their types to six main categories was elaborated;

⁸³⁷ Yellin 2012f, 264-266.

⁸³⁸ Yellin 2012f, 267.

5.3.2.5.1. Anthropomorphic Figures (203) (Table 5.31) (Fig. 5.4)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, Vol. V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Hathor (61)	W.317 (1)	Gold	1	41-50	---	94, Fig. 72b.	23-2-86f	---
	W.179 (35)	Silver	0.8	51-60	---	183, Fig. 33n.	22-2-591a	---
	W.179 (3)	Silver	---	51-60	---	184.	22-2-593d	---
	W.179 (21)	Gold	10.8	51-60	MFA 24.1090	184, Fig.133u/6.	22-2-600d	69
	W.133 (1)	Ivory	2.0×2.5	51-60	---	230. Fig. 159, 7.	22-2-251K	---
	W.366 (8)	Faience	1.4	30-40	MFA 23-2-22a	266, Fig. 171, 6.	23-2-22a	---
	W.27 (1)	Glass or Faience?	2.1	41-50	MFA 22-2-460i	106, Fig. 79g.	22-2-460i	---
	W.5 (15)	Faience	1.8	41-50	MFA 23-1-190d	122, Fig. 92e.	23-1-190d	70
	W.308 (2)	Faience	1.7	51-60	MFA 24.797 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, A; 3/5, 6, b. 14.	23-1-308n	71
	W.308 (2)	Faience	3.7×1.8	51-60	MFA 24.786 SNM	146, Fig. 109, A; 2/7, 4/7, b. 20.	23-1-308t	72

Bes (36)					02164			
	W.308 (3)	Faience	1.55	51-60	MFA 24.807 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, A, 3/11, b. 22.	23-1-308v	73
	W.308 (1)	Silver	2.0	51-60	MFA 23.817	151, Fig. 109.	23-1-318a	---
	W.308 (1)	Gold	1.6	51-60	---	151, Fig. 109a, 1/7.	23-1-319a	---
	W.130 (3)	Ivory	1×2.2	51-60	---	172, Fig. 127h.	22-2-516b	---
Harpocrates (20)	W.308 (3)	Faience	1.9	51-60	MFA 24.809 SNM 02164	146 Fig. 109a, /1,5/14, 15; b, 15.	23-1-308o	---
	W.308 (2)	Faience	2.2	51-60	MFA 24.796 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 5/9, 10; b, 16.	23-1-308p	74
	W.308 (1)	Faience	1.5	51-60	MFA 24.793 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 4/2; b, 18.	23-1-308r	75
	W.125 (12)	Gold	1.05x0.7	51-60	MFA 24.532	161, Fig. 117e, row 5.	22-2-497a	---
	W.235 (2)	Faience	1.95	51-60	MFA 23-1-50	245.	23-1-50	---

Human Figure (8)	W.27 (1)	Steatite	1.2	41-50	MFA 22-2-460j	106, Fig. 79h.	22-2-460j	---
	W.154 (1)	Faience	1.47	41-50	MFA 22-2-550c	236, Fig. 161, 14, 2/t.	22-2-550c	---
	W.159 (2)	Silver	2.2× 2.1	51-60	---	135, Fig. 99.	22-12-8d	---
	W.115 (1)	Gold	0.9×0.9 cm	51-60	---	137, Fig. 102c lower.	22-1-571b	---
	W.130 (1)	Gold	1.95×0.52	51-60	BM EA59872	172, Fig.125j.	22-2-508b	76
	W.130 (1)	Ivory	2.85	51-60	---	172, Fig. 127i.	22-2-516d	---
	W.120 (1)	Silver	3.5	55-65 ?	---	228, Fig. 159,3/I.	22-2-52	---
Amun (4)	W.308 (4)	Faience	2.1	51-60	FMA 24.798-9 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 5/1-3, 13; b, 13.	23-1-308m	77
Min (4)	W.308 (4)	Faience	2.2	51-60	FMA 24.785 24.795 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 5/4-6, 16; b, 12.	23-1-308l	78
Ra- Horakhty	W.308 (3) Or Khons	Faience	2.0	51-60	FMA 24.800 SNM 02164	146. Fig. 109a, 5/7,8, 12; b, 17.	23-1-308q	---

(4)	W.453 (1)	Gold	2.05	51-60	FMA 23.385	155, Fig. 112g, 1/6.	23-2-297b	---
Baubo (3)	W.5 (1)	Glass	2.4	41-50	FMA 23.383	122, Fig. 92G; I, 2/2.	23-1-193	79
	W.308 (2)	Faience	1.5	51-60	FMA 24.804 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, 5/17, 18; b, Ig.	23-1-308s	80
Isis suckling Horus (2)	W.27 (1)	Faience	3.75	41-50	MFA 22-2-449	103.	22-2-449	81
	W.5 (1)	Gold	---	41-50	---	122.	23-1-198a	---
Human Hand (2)	W.308 (2)	Faience	1.3	51-60	FMA 24.794 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 3/14; b, 21.	23-1-308u	82
Osiris (1)	W.253	Bronze	13.5	30-40	SNM 02254	248, Fig. 164, 7.	23-1-71K	---
Isis (?) (1)	W. 105	Bronze	4.4	65-70	MFA 22-2-122	223, Fig. 156, 3.	22-2-122	83
Pataikos (1)	W.311	Faience & Gold	3.85	41-50	MFA 23.345	255, Fig. 167, 9.	23-1-411	84
Ptah (1)	W. 108	Agate	2.2	50-60??	MFA 24.509	223, Fig. 156, 6.	22-1-568	85
Composite	W. 263 (54) (human and ram's head)	Gold	38 x 2.4	30-40	MFA 23.366	74, Fig. 54 c, d.	23-1-128	86

(55)	W.453 (1) (Human headed scarab)	Gold	3.15	51-60	MFA 23.338	155, Fig.112g, 1/4.	23-2-297a	87

5.3.2.5.2. Zoomorphic (444) (Table 5.32) (Fig. 5.4)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, Vol. V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Uraeus (165)	W. 139 (1)	Jasper	2	50-55	---	129, Fig. 96b, 7.	22-2-251f	---
	W. 159 (7)	Faience ?	1.1	50-55?	---	133, 99b.	22-12-5c	---
	W. 214 (19)	Gold	0.6	50-55?	MFA 23.378	135, Fig. 100d, /3e.	23-1-38a	88
	W. 308 (3)	Faience	1.7	50-60	MFA 24. 803-5 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 2/6, 8, g; b,3.	23-1-308c	89
	W. 308 (3)	Faience	1.2	50-60	MFA 24.811 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 2/10-12; b, 4.	23-1-308d	90
	W. 453 (3)	Gold	1.6	50-60?	MFA 23.382 23.384 23.386	155, Fig. 112g, 1/2,3,5.	23-2-297c	91

	W. 125 (11)	Gold	1.3	55-65	MFA 24.539	161, Fig. S, 117e/2.	22-2-497e, f	92
	W. 125 (1)	Carnelian	1	55-65	---	164, Fig. 118e.	22-2-486c	---
	W. 125 (1)	Gold	0.8	55-65	---	164, Fig. 118e.	22-2-486e	---
	W.125 (1)	Silver	2	55-65	---	164, Fig. 118k.	22-2-490c	---
	W.126 (1)	Silver	1.8	55-65?	---	167, Fig. 120d.	22-2-497k	---
	W.127 (31)	Gold	15	55-65?	MFA 24.499	168, Fig.122, 123.	22-2-502	93
	W.127 (3)	Gold	0.6	55-65?	MFA 22-2-504b	168, Fig. 122k.	22-2-504b	---
	W. 179 (6)	Silver	0.8	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133p.	22-2-591c	---
	W. 179 (2)	Gold	1	55-65	MFA 24.1039 24.1040	183.	22-2-591d	---
	W. 179 (16)	Silver	2.5	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133r.	22-2-592a	---
	W. 179 (8)	Silver	0.9	55-65	---	184.	22-2-593e	---
	W. 179 (20)	Gold	1.1×1.25	55-65	---	184, Fig. 133u/8.	22-2-600c	---
	W. 179 (21)	Gold	10	55-65	MFA 24.1091	184, Fig. 133, u/2.	22-2-601b	94

	W.120 (6)	Silver	1.2	55-65?	---	228, Fig. 159, 3/I.	22-2-52	---
	W. 288 (1)	Faience	2.1	60-70?	MFA 23-2-40	240, Fig. 166,3.	23-2-40	---
Ram's head (112)	W. 20 (1)	Faience	1.8	40-45?	MFA 22-2-95	89, Fig. 68e.	22-2-95	---
	W. 20 (1)	Carnelian	2.1×1.4	40-45?	---	89, Fig. 68b, 1/2.	22-2-98	---
	W. 18 (10)	Faience	0.9:2.8	Ca. 45	MFA 22-1-593	101-2, Fig. 77i.	22-1-593	95
	W. 171 (1)	Faience	2.38	40-50?	---	239, Fig. 162, 11/2.	22-2-556k	---
	W. 284 (1)	Glass	2	50-60	MFA 23-1-274	140, Fig. 103e.	23-1-274	96
	W. 308 (1)	Gold	1	50-60	---	151, Fig. 109a, 1/8.	23-1-321f	---
	W. 308 (1)	Carnelian	2.5×1.5	50-60	SNM 02170	151, Fig. 109a, ¼.	23-1-324	---
	W. 125 (24)	Gold	0.55	55-65	MFA 24.537	161, Fig. 117e, L.	22-2-497c	97
	W. 125 (20)	Gold	15	55-65	MFA 24.486	V, 161.	22-2-481a	98
	W. 125 (3)	Gold	0.5	55-65	---	164, Fig. 118e.	22-2-486f	---
	W. 125 (1)	Sliver	1×1.2	55-65	MFA 22-2-489a	164, Fig. 118j.	22-2-489a	---
	W. 126 (1)	Sliver	2.1	55-65?	---	167, Fig. 120e.	22-2-497l	---

	W. 179 (44)	Gold	L.50	55-65	---	184, Fig. 134a, g.	22-2-598	---
	W. 120 (2)	Silver	1	55-65?	---	228, Fig. 159,3/I.	22-2-52	---
	W. 150 (1)	Faience	1.8	50-55?	MFA 22-2-540a	235.	22-2-540a	---
Lion (32)	W.179 (1)	Silver	1.3×0.7	51-60	---	183, Fig. 133f.	22-2-578k	---
	W. 254 (1)	Gold	2.15	45-55??	---	248, Fig. 164, 8/2.	23-1-205b	---
	W. 311 (1)	Faience	0.8	45-55?	MFA 23-1-371b	255, Fig. 167, 5.	23-1-371b	---
	W. 140 (1)	Gold	44	50-55?	MFA 24.521	133, Fig. 98q.	22-2-534q	99
	W. 115 (23)	Silver	1.15:1.25	50-60?	MFA 23-1-43b	136, Fig. 100, d, 1/5-9, 2/510i.	23-1-43b	---
	W. 308 (5)	Faience	1.6	50-60	MFA 24.788 24.812 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 10g, a.	23-1-308e	100
Fly (37)	W. 125 (11)	Gold	0.7	55-65	MFA 24.538	161, Fig. 117 e/4.	22-2-497b	101
	W. 179 (13)	Gold	L. 1	55-56	---	184, Figure 133, u/9.	22-2-600a	---
	W. 179 (13)	Gold	L. 1	55-65	---	184, Fig. 133u/3.	22-2-601c	---

Ram (21)	W. 179 (12)	Silver	1	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133j.	22-2-583c	---
	W. 179 (1)	Silver	1.5	55-65	---	183.	22-2-583d	---
	W. 179 (1)	Silver	2.5	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133j.	22-2-584a	---
	W. 179 (1)	Silver	2.5	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133k.	22-2-585a	---
	W. 179 (6)	Silver	0.8:0.9	55-65	---	183. Fig. 133o.	22-2-591b	---
Crocodile (6)	W. 308 (2)	Faience	2	50-60	MFA 24.784 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, I/9, 10; b,9.	23-1-308i	102
	W. 125 (1)	Faience	1.8	55-65	---	161, Fig. 118c.	22-2-484c	---
	W. 125 (1)	Silver	1.45	55-65	MFA 22-2-488b	164, Fig. 118i.	22-2-488b	---
	W. 130 (1)	Faience	1.6	55-65?	MFA 22-2-509b	172, Fig. 125, h.	22-2-509b	---
	W. 179 (1)	Faience	1.5	55-65	MFA 22-2-579g	183, Fig. 133g.	22-2-579g	---
Frog (4)	W.27 (1)	Agate	0.79	45-50?	MFA 22-2-460k	106, Fig. 79i.	22-2-460k	---
	W.5 (1)	Silver	1	46-47	MFA 23-1-171	122, Fig. 92b.	23-1-171	---
	W. 127 (2)	Lead	6	55-65?	MFA 24.984	168, Fig. 22e.	22-2-231	---

Hawk (3)	W. 308	Faience	1.35×1.4	50-60	MFA 24.783 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, 3/4, g, 10; b, 7.	23-1-308g	103
Cat (3)	W. 308	Faience	1.35	50-60	MFA 24.791 24.808 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a, 4/6, 8, g; b, ll.	23-1-308k	104
Bull-head (2)	W. 25	Stone	1.4:1.6	45-50??	SNM 01963	219, Fig. 155, 7.	22-1-606, 607	---
Jackal (2)	W. 308	Faience	1.3:1.6	50-60	MFA 24.801 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, 2/4, 5; b, 10.	23-1-308j	105
Duck (2)	W. 127	Glass	1	55-65?	MFA 22-2-504a	168. Fig. 122j.	22-2-504a	---
Bennu (1)	W. 308	---	1.7	50-60	SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, 3/8.	23-1-308w	---
Goose ? (1)	W. 126	Egg shell	?	55-65?	---	166.	22-2-196	---
Squatting ape (1)	W. 27	Gold	---	45-50?	---	103, Fig. 80, f/6.	22-2-455f	---
Winged sphinx (1)	W. 25	Steatite	3.7	45-50??	MFA 22-1-609	219, Fig. 155, 8.	22-1-609	---
Ibis (1)	W.331	Bronze	5.15×1.3	40-50??		260, Fig. 168, 13.	23-2-215	---

Horns with sun disk (1)	W. 454	Gold	0.9×0.5	50-60?	MFA 23-2-304h	379, Fig. 173, 19.	23-2-304h	---
Composite (43)	W. 20 (lion's head, sundisk, and two uraei, and heart) + Crescent	Gold	2x L.33	40-45?	MFA 24.488	89-90, Fig. b/3, c.	22-2-93	106
Unrecognized (6)	W. 176 (1)	Silver	1.8× 1.45	45-55?	MFA 22-2-557c	112, Fig. 84d.	22-2-557c	---
	W. 120 (5)	Silver	---	55-65?		228, Fig. 159, 3/1.	22-2-52	---

5.3.2.5.3. Symbols (220) (Table 5.33) (Fig. 5.4)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, Vol. V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Heart (85)	W. 263 (69)	Gold	0.8	30-40	MFA 23.364	74, Fig. 54e, j.	23-1-129	107
	W.418 (1)	Gold	2.2	40-50?? Reused 50-60??	MFA 23.362	99, Fig. 75d.	23-2-230	108
	W.231 (10)	Gold	0.8	45-50?	MFA 23.363	108, Fig. 81d.	23-1-54c	109
	W. 380 (1)	Gold	1.1	45-55?	---	269, Fig. 171, 10.	23-2-167	---
	W. 140 (1)	Gold	0.7	50-55?	MFA 24.521	133, Fig. 98r.	22-2-534r	99

	W. 284 (1)	Gold	0.8	50-60	---	141, Fig. 103h.	23-1-276d	---
	W.110 (1)	Gold	1.8	55-65?	MFA 24.523	225, Fig. 156, 7.	22-1-561	110
	W. 110 (1)	Gold	1.8	55-65?	---	225.	22-12-4	---
Sa (55)	W. 140 (1)	Faience	1.35	50-55?	MFA 22-2-527p	130, Fig. 97j.	22-2-527p	---
	W. 179 (54)	Faience	1.6	55-65	MFA 24.1068	184, Fig. 132f/15.	22-2-603b	111
Crescent (33)	W. 139 (1)	Silver	1.9	50-55	---	129, Fig. 96, b, 4.	22-2-251h	---
	W. 284 (1)	Silver	2.4×2.2	50-60	---	141, Fig. 103J.	23-1-276a	---
	W. 308 (9)	Glass	1.8×1.6	50-60	SNM 02165	146, Fig. 109, 109, a, 1/2, 3.	23-1-306	---
	W. 308 (22)	Silver	D. 1.6	50-60	MFA 23.817	151, Fig. 110/5.	23-1-318a	112
Wdjat (27)	W.152 (1)	Gold	0.75×0.3	35-40?	MFA 24.1031	234-5, Fig. 161, 11.	22-2-544b	---
	W. 20 (1)	Gold	1.2	40-45?	MFA 22-2-101	89, Fig. 68, b,4/2.	22-2-101	---
	W. 154 (1)	Faience	1.2	40-50?	MFA 22-2-551b	236, Fig. 161, 15 1/2.	22-2-551b	113
	W. 311 (5)	Faience	0.7×0.6	45-55?	MFA 23-1-371a	255, Fig. 167, 6.	23-1-371a	114
	W. 139 (1)	Faience	1.3	50-55	---	129, Fig. 96b.	22-2-251e	---

	W. 308 (2)	Faience	1.2	50-60	MFA 24.792 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a,4/10, 11, b,1.	23-1-308a	115
	W. 127 (2)	Silver	1.5×1.1	55-65?	MFA 22-2-501a	168, Fig. 122g.	22-2-501a	---
	W. 179 (1)	Gold	1	55-65	MFA 24.1038	183, Fig. 133q.	22-2-591g	116
	W. 179 (11)	Silver	0.9	55-65	---	183.	22-2-592b	---
	W. 133 (1)	Ivory	4.7×4	55-65??	---	230, Fig. 159, 7.	22-2-251	---
	W. 430 (1)	Faience	1.5	50-60??	MFA 23-2-261a	274, Fig. 172, 9.	23-2-261a	---
Ankh (13)	W. 18 (1)	Glass	1.05	Ca. 45	MFA 22-2-442d	101-2, Fig. 77o.	22-2-442d	---
	W. 27 (1) Or cruciform	Glass	---	45-50?	MFA 22-2-460g	106.	22-2-460g	---
	W. 179 (11)	Silver	0.7:0.9	55-65	---	183, Fig. 133t.	22-2-591e	---
Sun disk and uraeus (5)	W. 152 (4)	Gold	0.8×0.8	35-40?	MFA 24.1030?	234-5, Fig. 161, 9.	22-2-544a	117
	W. 179 (1)	Ivory	---	55-65	---	188, Fig. 131j, 1/3; 134i.	22-2-614b	---
Composite	W.415 (1)	Sliver	1.5	45-55	MFA 24.1060	114. Fig. 87t.	23-2-132?	---

(2)	W. 115 (1)	Gold	1.1×0.95	50-60?	---	137, Fig. 102c/d.	22-1-571c	---

5.3.2.5.4. Scarabs (21) (Table 5.34) (Fig. 5.4)

Loc.	Material	Decoration	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
W. 27 (1)	Jasper	Hiero&Icono	1.05	45-50?	SNM 11759	106, Fig. 79j; 80,1, 2/3.	22-2-460l	---
W. 27 (1)	Faience	---	2.05×1.6	45-50?	MFA 22-2-460p	106, Fig. 79k.	22-2-460p	118
W. 27 (1)	Faience	Hiero&Icono	0.9	45-50?	---	106, Fig. 79i.	22-2-460q	---
W. 27 (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	1	45-50?	---	106, Fig. 79m.	22-2-460r	---
W. 27 (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	1.2	45-50?	---	106, Fig. 79n.	22-2-460s	---
W. 162 (1)	Steatite	Iconographic	2.6	45-55?	MFA 22-12-17	236, Fig. 162, 2.	22-12-17	119
W. 165 (1)	Steatite	Hieroglyphs	0.8	45-50?	---	236, Fig. 162, 5.	23-1-4a	---
W. 223 (1)	Gold	---	1.1	40-50??	---	244, Fig. 164l.	23-1-36	---
W. 254 (1)	Gold	---	0.8	45-55??	---	248, Fig. 164, 8l.	23-1-205c	---
W. 159 (1)	Steatite?	Uninscribed	0.9	50-55?	---	135, Fig. 99i.	22-12-12a	---
W. 115	Gold	---	1.25×0.35	50-60?	---	137, Fig. 102f, 2.	22-12-1	---

(1)								
W. 308 (2)	Faience	Uninscribed	1.4	50-60	MFA 24.790 SNM 02164	Fig. 109, a, 3/1,2; b, 2.	23-1-308b	120
W. 308 (2)	Faience	Uninscribed	---	50-60	---	155, like 308b above.	23-1-323	---
W. 453 (1)	Lapis & Gold	Uninscribed	1.7×1.25	50-60?	MFA 23.328?	155, Fig. 112j.	23-2-294	---
W. 125 (1)	Glass	---	1.6×1.2	55-65	MFA 22-2-484b	161, Fig. 118.	22-2-484b	---
W. 125 (1)	Ivory	Uninscribed	1.1	55-65	MFA 22-2-507	164, Fig. 118m.	22-2-507	121
W. 179 (1)	Gold	---	1.8×1.1	55-65	MFA 24.502	164, Fig.134a, 213c.	22-2-605	122
W.179 (1)	Faience	---	0.8	55-65	---	184, Fig. 133s.	22-2-611	---
W. 180 (1)	Stone	---	2.7×1.8×4.25	60-65?	MFA 24.510	280, Fig. 162, 20.	22-2-616	123

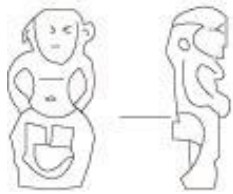
5.3.2.5.5. Phytomorphic (67) (Table 5.35) (Fig. 5.4)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, Vol. V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
	W. 27 (1)	Faience	D. 1.95	45-50?	---	106, Pl. XII c, Fig. S.	22-2-460o	---
	W. 254 (1)	Gold	1	45-55??	---	248, Fig. 164, 8,3.	23-1-205a	---

Rosette (36)	W. 125 (22)	Gold	D. 0.7	55-65	MFA 24.540	161, Fig.117, e/3.	22-2-497d	124
	W. 179 (9)	Bronze	D. 0.6	55-65	---	183.	22-2-573	---
	W. 430 (1)	Faience	D. 1.1	50-60??	---	274, Fig. 172, 8.	23-2-251b	---
	W. 102 (2)	Bronze	D. 1.2	60-70?	---	192, Fig. 138j.	22-1-531c	---
Flower (19)	W. 212 (14)	Gold	2.25×1.8	35-45??	MFA 23.314 23.327	243, Fig. 163, 14.	22-12-18, 19. 23-1- 69	125
	W. 199 (5)	Gold	2.25×1.8.	40-50??	---	241, Fig. 163, 14.	23-1-12, 26	---
Graps (7)	W. 308 (3)	Faience	1.8	50-60	MFA 24.802 24.806 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109, a, 2/3, 13, 14; b, 6.	23-1-308f	126
	W. 126 (4)	Ivory	2.1×1.5	55-65?	---	167, Fig. 120c.	22-2-210a	---
Leaf-shaped (4)	W. 381 (3)	Stone& Carnelian	1.5	50-60?	MFA 23.807-9	269.	23-2-211	---
	W. 382 (1)	Obsidian	1.45	50-60?	---	269. Pl. IIIj, Fig. T.	23-3-146	---
Grains (1)	W. 126	Faience	0.8×0.7	55-65?	MFA 22-2-497j	167, Fig. R.	22-2-497j	---

5.3.2.5.6. Other (44) (Table 5.36) (Fig. 5.4)

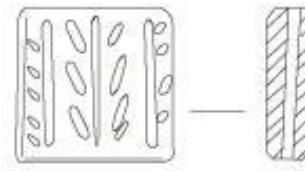
Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date (Gen.)	Collec.	Biblio. (Dunham, 1963, Vol. V)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Shell (8)	W. 18 (3)	Bronze	1.3×2.5	Ca. 45	---	101-2, Fig. 77g.	22-1-592e	---
	W. 27 (1)	Gold	---	45-50?	---	103, Fig. 80f/6.	22-2-455e	---
	W. 24 (1)	Gold	1.8	38-45?	---	219, Fig. 155, 6.	22-1-598	---
	W. 453 (1)	Carnelian	0.95	50-60?	---	155, Fig. 112h, r.	23-2-300i	---
	W. 453 (2)	Beryl	---	50-60?	---	155.	23-2-300j	---
Bell (4)	W. 18 (1)	Iron	2.1×3.3	Ca. 45	---	101-2, Fig. 77h.	22-1-592f	---
	W. 140 (3)	Glass	1	50-55?	MFA 24.521	133, Fig. 98n.	22-2-534	---
Vase (2)	W. 308	Faience	1	50-60	MFA 24.789 SNM 02164	146, Fig. 109a.	23-1-308h	127
Amulet case (1)	W. 308 (1)	---	1.9× 0.7	50-60	---	151, Fig. 109, a, 1/6.	23-1-319b	---
Unrecognized (29)	W. 27 (1)	Faience	---	45-50?	---	106.	22-2-459m	---
	W. 308 (27)	Faience	---	50-60	---	151.	23-1-320	---
	W. 453 (1)	Blue paste	---	50-60?	---	156.	23-2-303	---



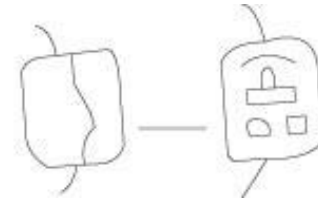
Ker.91.1



Ker.91.2



Ker. 91.3



Ker. 14

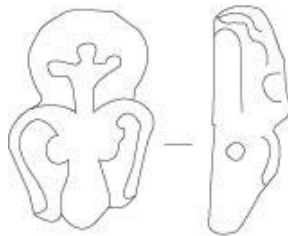
The Meroitic Cemetery of Kerma

Not to scale © drawn by author after Reisner, 1923c; Bonnet, Mahmoud, 1991.



Hagar el-Baida 2.

Not to scale © drawn by author after Longa, 2008.



10402



6805



13002



3903

Gabati

Not to scale © drawn by author after Edwards, 1998.

5.3 Meroitic Funerary Amulets from Kerma, Hagar el-Baida 2, Gabati.



22-2-251k



22-2-460i



23-1-308t



23- 1-308v



22-2-516b



23-1-308r



23-1-308o



22-2-460j



22-2-508b



23- 1-308l



23- 1-308s



23-1-71



23-1-411



23-1-128



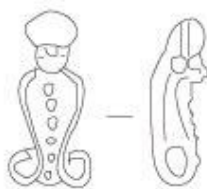
12-2-297a



22-2-251f



22-2-497k



23- 1-308c



22-2-502



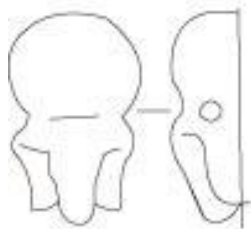
22-2-601b



22-2-592a

Beg. W.

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham, 1963, MFA.



22-2-95



22-2-98



22-2-489a



22-2-497l



23-1-274



22-2-579g



22-2-509b



22-2-460k



23-1-171



22-2-231



23-1-308g



23-1-308k



22-1-606



23-1-308j



22-2-504a



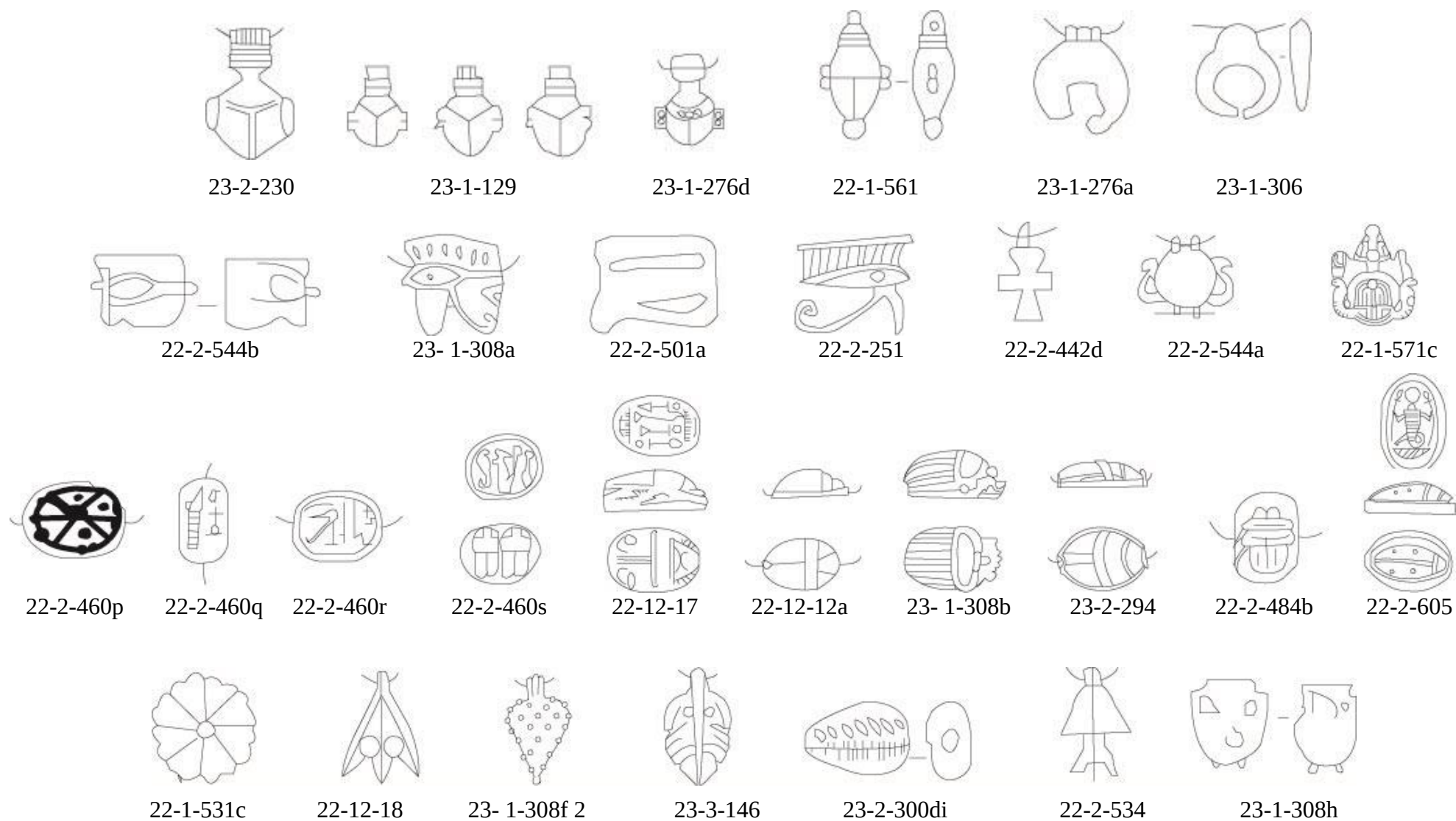
23-2-304h



22-2-93

Beg. W.

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham, 1963, MFA.



5.4 Meroitic funerary amulets from the cemetery of Beg. W.

Not to scale © drawn by author after Dunham, 1963, MFA.

5.4. Meroitic Cemeteries South of 6th Cataract

The region south of Khartoum including Gezira and the banks of White and Blue Nile are not well investigated archaeologically. There are a few cemeteries have been excavated, and others have been recently reported. Combination of the historical influence of Egyptology on Meroitic studies, the northern concentration of early rescue expeditions, and a focus on the main political and religious centers of the Nilotic-oriented early civilizations, had meant that little systematic attention has been paid to the southern and southeastern frontiers outside the confines of the Nile Valley⁸³⁹.

The Meroities certainly interacted with different groups outside their own cultural and political sphere⁸⁴⁰, the tribes beyond the Meroitic frontier in the south had close and friendly relations with Meroe, thus a Meroitic frontier zone or sphere of political and cultural influence extended in the northern Gezira and up the Blue and White Nile. Although the southern frontier of Meroe is not well defined, it is generally supposed to have been up to Sennar where the southernmost Meroitic remains have been found⁸⁴¹.

The regional power in Lower Nubia was in the hand of the *Pestoviceroy*s, which were part of the royal family. Otherwise, the information is still too limited about the governing system in the southern frontiers of the Meroitic Kingdom⁸⁴², but these areas had archaeological remains comparable to those distributed along the Nile Valley in Upper and Lower Nubia and were

⁸³⁹ Brass 2015, 260.

⁸⁴⁰ Lohwasser 2014b, 126.

⁸⁴¹ Dixon 1963; Kirwan 2002, 71.

⁸⁴² Francigny 2016, 14. This could raise the questions about social and religious organization of the southern areas of the kingdom.

part in this culture unit, despite the fact that no traces of temples or royal buildings have yet been identified⁸⁴³.

The only earlier excavation conducted in the area south of Meroe was at the site of Abu Geili and Gebel Moya directed by Sir Henry Wellcome expedition between 1910 and 1914 -concurrent with Garstang's works at Meroe, and published later by Addison⁸⁴⁴. Gebel Moya, is considered the southern large outpost of the Meroitic Kingdom⁸⁴⁵, it is located about 250 km south of Khartoum in the area of the Blue and White Nile enclosed triangle of Gezira near to the town of Sennar (Makwar)⁸⁴⁶.

The nature of the site of Gebel Moya has raised debate for long time, due to the presence of archaeological materials of several periods. The recent publications and complete study of excavation materials by R. Gerharz⁸⁴⁷ and later by Brass⁸⁴⁸ clarified the dating of the burials area. According to the evidence from the site, Gebel Moya was considered a multi-phase site and occupied during the Kushite period⁸⁴⁹. The Kushite phase (Assemblage II and III) in the burial area consisted of simple rectangular pits in which the deceased is placed in a lying position⁸⁵⁰, the burial furnitures were very limited and included bronze vases, pottery, glassware, luxury items. Faience amulets imported from Napata and semi-precious stone or gold adornments. In spite

⁸⁴³ Except Gebel Moya excavation, no major excavations have yet been undertaken south of Khartoum, Lohwasser 2014b, 129.

⁸⁴⁴ Eisa 1999, 2.

⁸⁴⁵ Gerharz 1994, 18. The site was the largest pastoral mortuary complex in sub-Saharan Africa, with the vast majority of the burials dating to the site's final phase from the first century BC until the mid-first millennium AD, with overall, 3,135 human burials in 2,791 designated graves both recorded and excavated, see Brass, Schwenniger 2013.

⁸⁴⁶ Gerharz 1994; Brass 2015, 268.

⁸⁴⁷ Gerharz 1994.

⁸⁴⁸ Brass 2016.

⁸⁴⁹ Addison 1949, 37; Eisa 1999, 28.

⁸⁵⁰ Francigny 2016, 180.

of the presence of Napatan objects and marked local variations in pottery, there is sufficient similarity to much Meroitic pottery to establish that the site was also used in that period, which testimony trade with the heart of kingdom⁸⁵¹.

In addition to Gebel Moya, the Meroitic burials at Geili -30 km east of Gebel Moya- appeared markedly different, both in their construction and orientation. No clear examples of ramp and chamber graves comparable to those at Gabati were found and most of the graves were relatively simple pits sealed with timber or mat roofing. The funerary furniture collected in these tombs included necklaces and belts made of pearl of glass and faience, pottery⁸⁵².

Recently, surveys and rescue excavations had taken place on the banks of the White and Blue Nile, which confirmed the Kushite presence in these area. Unfortunately, much of the cemeteries were destroyed and damaged by the work of the current inhabitants, such as Gereif Est, which is located on the right bank of Blue Nile, 1 km from the confluence of the two Niles. The site was excavated by the French Section and the Sudan Antiquities Services in the years 1981-1983⁸⁵³. It is reported that the burial in a lying position is rare, but tombs were used several times, perhaps for family traditions⁸⁵⁴. The Italian Archaeological Mission at Al Khiday also excavated Meroitic graves at Site 16-D-4 or Al Khiday 2, which was dated to between the first century BC and the second century AD and was therefore contemporary with Gebel Moya. All the graves were disturbed by robbers in antiquity. Unlike Gebel Moya, their

⁸⁵¹ Shinnie 1967, 98.

⁸⁵² Addison 1949; Caneva 1989; Gerharz 1994; Edwards 1998, 199.

⁸⁵³ Geus, Lenoble 1982; Geus 1986.

⁸⁵⁴ Eisa 1999, 28.

construction bares signs of Meroitic influences with a chamber off the trapezoidal or circular shaped pits carved in the bedrock⁸⁵⁵.

Other Kushite sites and materials were reported and collected from *e.g.* Fiki Mahmoud⁸⁵⁶, several sites as far as Kosti in the White Nile⁸⁵⁷, and in the region of Dinder up to the Blue Nile⁸⁵⁸. In this region, substructures adhered to the same pattern of the Meroitic period, however, extended burials prevailed in a restricted area⁸⁵⁹.

This area has consistently been regarded as an unit, but the paucity of systemically extensive survey works and the archaeological data from the important "border sites" has made internal variability difficult to assess⁸⁶⁰. Nevertheless, in these cemeteries some local features could be noted such as the absence of double burials. Moreover, the deceased were in a contracted position -except some cases, and the complete absence of any trace of burial on bed or in coffin, the rarity of children's graves, and the absence of human or animal sacrifices should be remarked. Otherwise, some of the grave goods were comparable with the cemeteries at Meroe and in the main centers in the north of the kingdom. Thus, according to the materials, it is probable that the

⁸⁵⁵ Usai, Salvatori, Jakob, David 2014.

⁸⁵⁶ In 1972, a survey carried out 3 or 4 km south of El Geteina and 80 km south of Khartoum, around the "Quba" of Mahmoud El-Arabi, on the right bank of the river in Fiki Mahmoud. This survey pointed out the presence of testimonies dating back to the Napatan and Meroitic period. Number of golden amulets had been found including a figurine of Bes biface, standing on two crocodiles, another representing Ptah, a small bird, three amulets including one rounded and another showing a sheep's head, a scorpion and finally a cross/Ankh. It is worth to mention that these amulets had more Napatan similarities than Meroitic, see Eisa 1994.

⁸⁵⁷ Bradley 1992, 22; Eisa 1999, 367-368; Edwards 2004, 163.

⁸⁵⁸ Khidir, Salah eldin 2004.

⁸⁵⁹ Geus 1991, 69; 2004, 283.

⁸⁶⁰ Bradley 1992, 18.

cemeteries south of the Sixth Cataract testified the local manufacture of pottery, stone and metal objects⁸⁶¹.

Looking at Meroitic amulets from this region, they are rare, and in case of Gebel Moya, the absence of documentation handicap our attempt to contextualize the amulets which had been found in this site⁸⁶². Therefore, the study considered one site in this region, where the contextual information was available and the dating to Meroitic period is confirmed.

5.4.1. Sennar East (Makwar)

Sennar East (Makwar) is an important archaeological site for its geographical location in the southern part of the Meroitic area, The district of Sennar lay on an ivory trade route to the powerful and commercially prosperous Kingdom of Aksum in northern Ethiopia⁸⁶³, and could comparable in importance with Faras in the north and with Meroe in the heartland of the kingdom⁸⁶⁴. The Meroitic cemetery at Sennar came to light during cutting dug on the east bank by the Sudan construction company for a proposed railway track in November 1921 when the inspector of the irrigation sent to the Museum in Khartoum two bronze bowls and a quantity of beads which had been found⁸⁶⁵.

According to Addison, who investigated the site in 1922, this cemetery can be dated between the first century BC and early first century AD. The graves were in the form of shallow and narrow cavities, containing several burials. A certain quantity of raw bricks had been found, which indicated the

⁸⁶¹ Eisa 1999, 27-28.

⁸⁶² It is worth to mention that the amulets from the Gebel Moya form stylistic point of view dated to Napatan period, and had similar examples from the cemeteries of Kurru, Nuri, Beg. W. and Sanam, for more information see Gerharz 1994, 172-183, 263-266.

⁸⁶³ Kirwan 2002, 71.

⁸⁶⁴ Dixon 1963, 234.

⁸⁶⁵ Dixon 1963, 227.

presence of superstructures. The tombs were rich in furniture including number of typical Meroitic bronze bowls⁸⁶⁶.

The various types of bronze vessels, pottery, beads, and other small objects including amulets which were found in the cemetery, were widely distributed and well-known Meroitic types in Lower Nubia, mainly in Faras, and in the Meroe region, which indicated a fairly uniform level of culture, testified the relations, and showed how far the extension of Meroitic culture in the south extended in the Classic Meroitic period⁸⁶⁷.

Table 5.37. Amulets from the Cemetery Sennar East (Makwar) (5)

Subject	Loc.	Material	Dimens. (cm)	Date	Collec.	Biblio. (Addison, 1935)	Accession No.	Cat. No.
Bes	---	Faience	5.5	1BC-1AD	---	291	---	---
Ram's head	---	Faience	8.5	1BC-1AD	---	292; Dixon, 1963, 223, Pl. I, b.	A21642	---
Frog	---	Mottled Granite	---	1BC-1AD	---	291.	---	---
Fish	---	Glass or Crystal	---	1BC-1AD	---	291.	---	---
Heart?	---	Faience	---	1BC-1AD	---	Dixon, 1963, 233, Pl. LII, a.	A21645a	---

⁸⁶⁶ Addison 1935, 287-289, 292; Francigny 2016, 180.

⁸⁶⁷ Addison 1935, 292. For more information, see Addison 1935, 289-291, Pl. VI.

5.5. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis for Non-Royal Meroitic Funerary Amulets

Builds upon the above quantitative dataset of the current study, the dataset was distributed in the selected sites as follow (Chart 5.1).

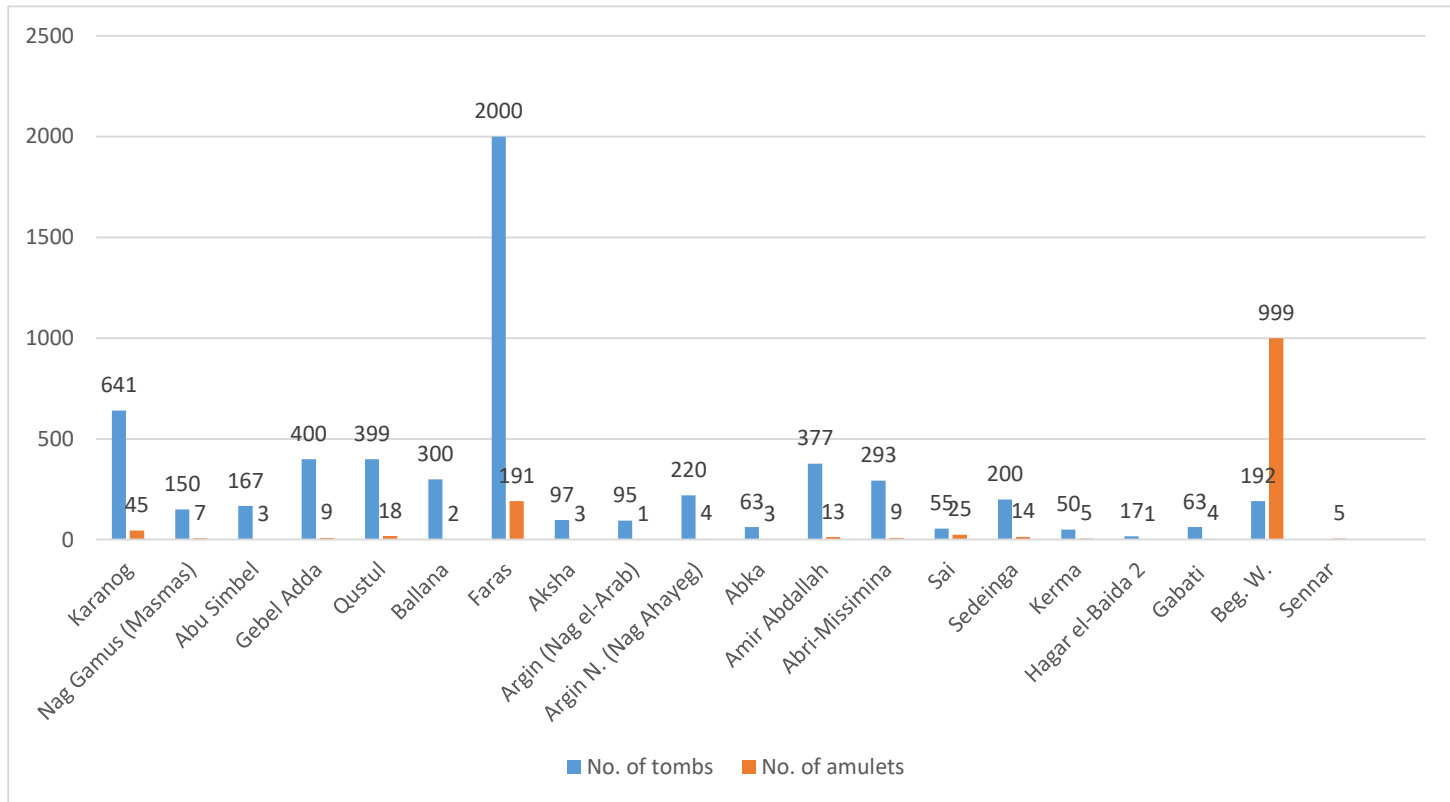


Chart. 5.1 Quantitative Distribution of Funerary Amulets for the Selected Meroitic Cemeteries.

The total number of amulets for the mentioned cemeteries are 1351, distributed 986 (73%) amulets from the cemetery of Beg. W. 190 (14%) amulets from Faras cemetery, 45 (3%) amulets from Karanog cemetery, while the rest dataset formed 2-1% from the rest cemeteries (Chart 5.2).

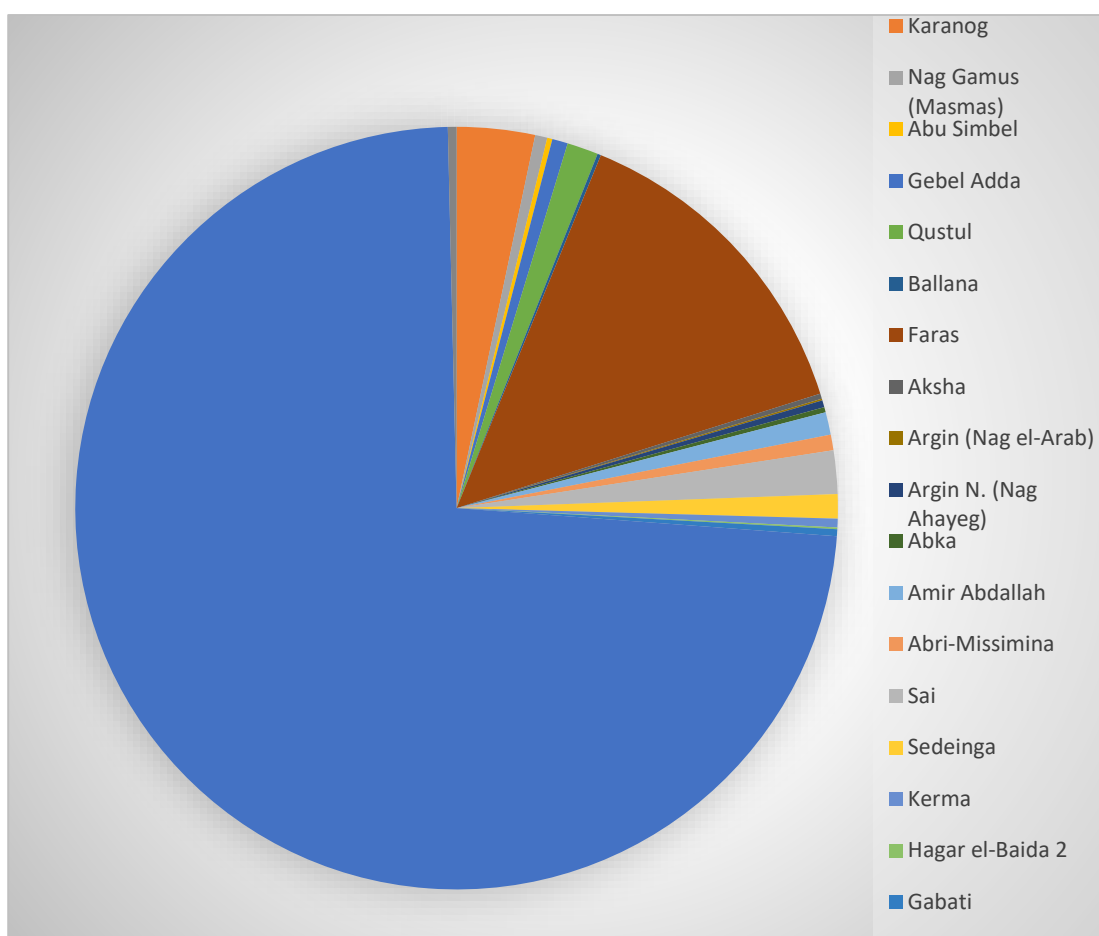


Chart. 5.2 Distribution of the Non-Royal Funerary Amulets in the Selected Cemeteries.

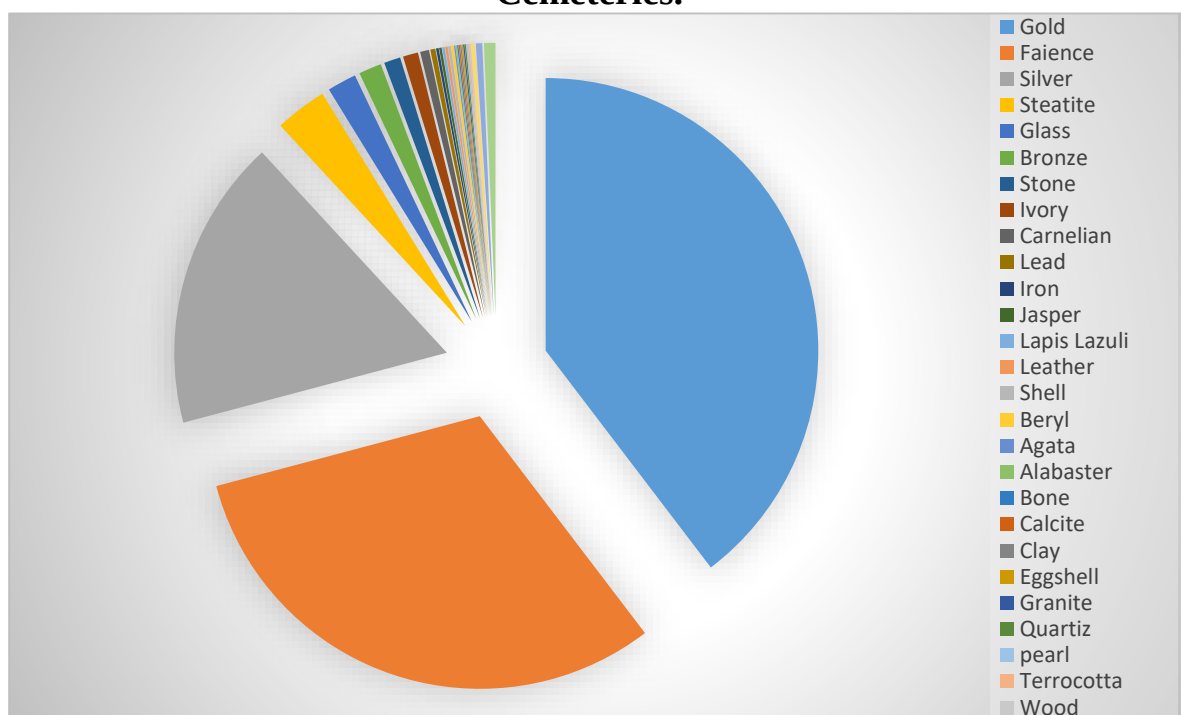


Chart. 5.3 Distribution of the Materials in the Selected Cemeteries.

Chart 5.3 shows that distribution of the materials in the selected cemeteries, where the gold was the highest 515 (39%), followed by Faience 416 (32%), then silver 230 (17%), while the rest materials (i.e. steatite, glass, bronze, stone, Ivory, carnelian ...etc.) average between 3-1% of total the materials in the funerary context.

As for the typology of the non-royal funerary amulets from the selected cemeteries, the study can conclude that there are 65 types of amulets, in addition to few numbers of composite and indeterminable amulets. The amulets can be divided for groups as follow; 1. Anthropomorphic figures (18 type, 200 amulets), 2. Zoomorphic figures (20 type, 445 amulets), Symbols (11 type, 336 amulets), Scarabs and Plaques (97 amulets), Phytomorphic (8 types, 90 amulets), Others (8 types, 183 amulets).

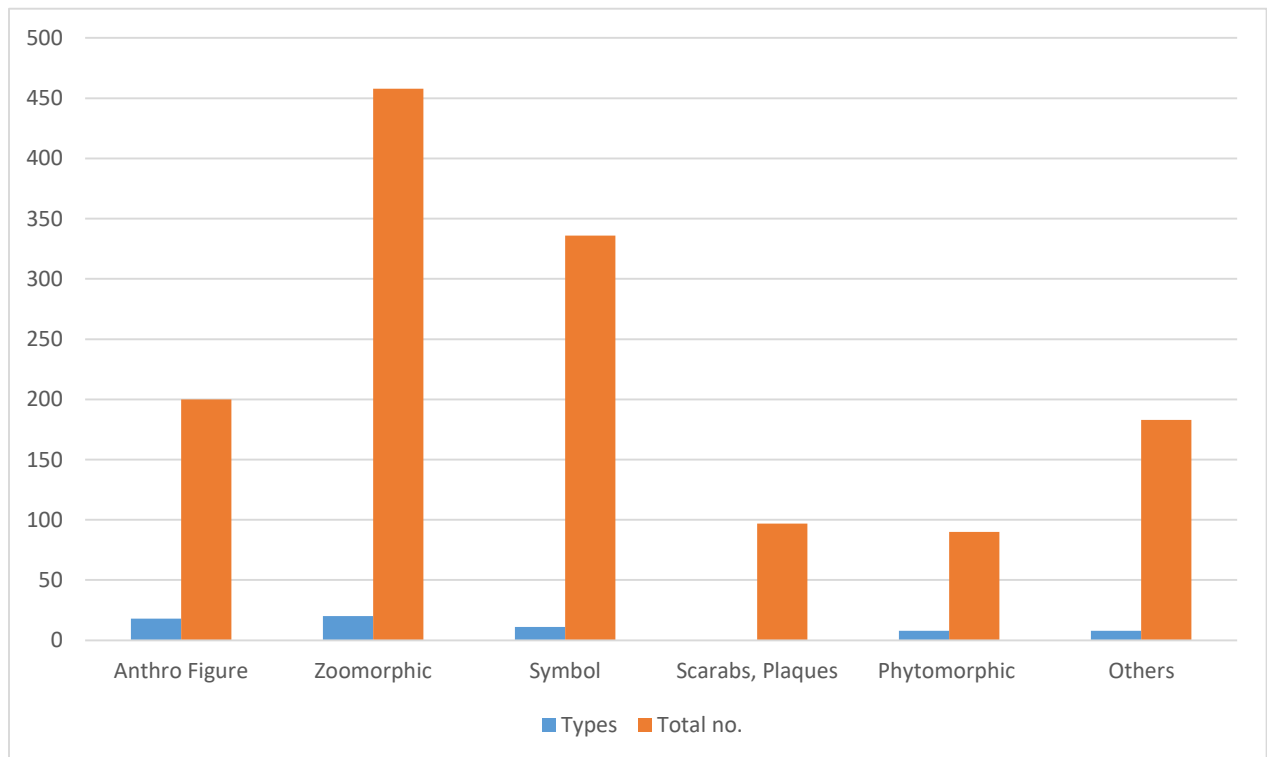


Chart. 5.4 Typology of the Non-Royal Amulets/Total Number of Amulets.

As for the sub-classification of former groups, the types are sorted in the next table in descending of the total number of amulets (Table. 5.38, Chart. 5.5), while further typological remarks will be presented in the next chapter.

Table. 5.38. The sub-division of the main groups of amulets in non-royal context.

	Anthropomorphic Figures	Zoomorphic Figures	Symbols	Scarabs and plaques	Phytomorphic	Others
1.	Bes	Uraeus	Sa	Scarab	Rosetta	Shell
2.	Hathor	Ram Head	Heart	Plaque	Flower	Bell
3.	Harpocrates	Lion	Wdjat		Grains	Pendant
4.	Human Figure	Fly	Crescent		Graps	Vase
5.	Osiris	Ram	Ankh		Fruit	Amulet-Case
6.	Isis&Horus	Crocodile	Lion on Crescent		Leaf-Shape	Offering table
7.	Amun	Hawk	Sun&Uraeus		Flower bud	Composite
8.	Min	Cat	Ankh on Crescent		Lotus	Unrecognized
9.	Ra-Horakhty	Frog	Tyet			
10.	Squatting Female	Duck	Pectoral Shrine			
11.	Human Head	Ox Head	Crown			
12.	Human Hand	Bird				
13.	Pataikos	Jackal				
14.	Isis	Ape				
15.	Horus	Ibis				
16.	Woman-Headed Sphinx	Bennu				
17.	Shu	Goose				
18.	Path	Winged Sphinx				
19.		Horn with Sun Disk				
20.		Fish				

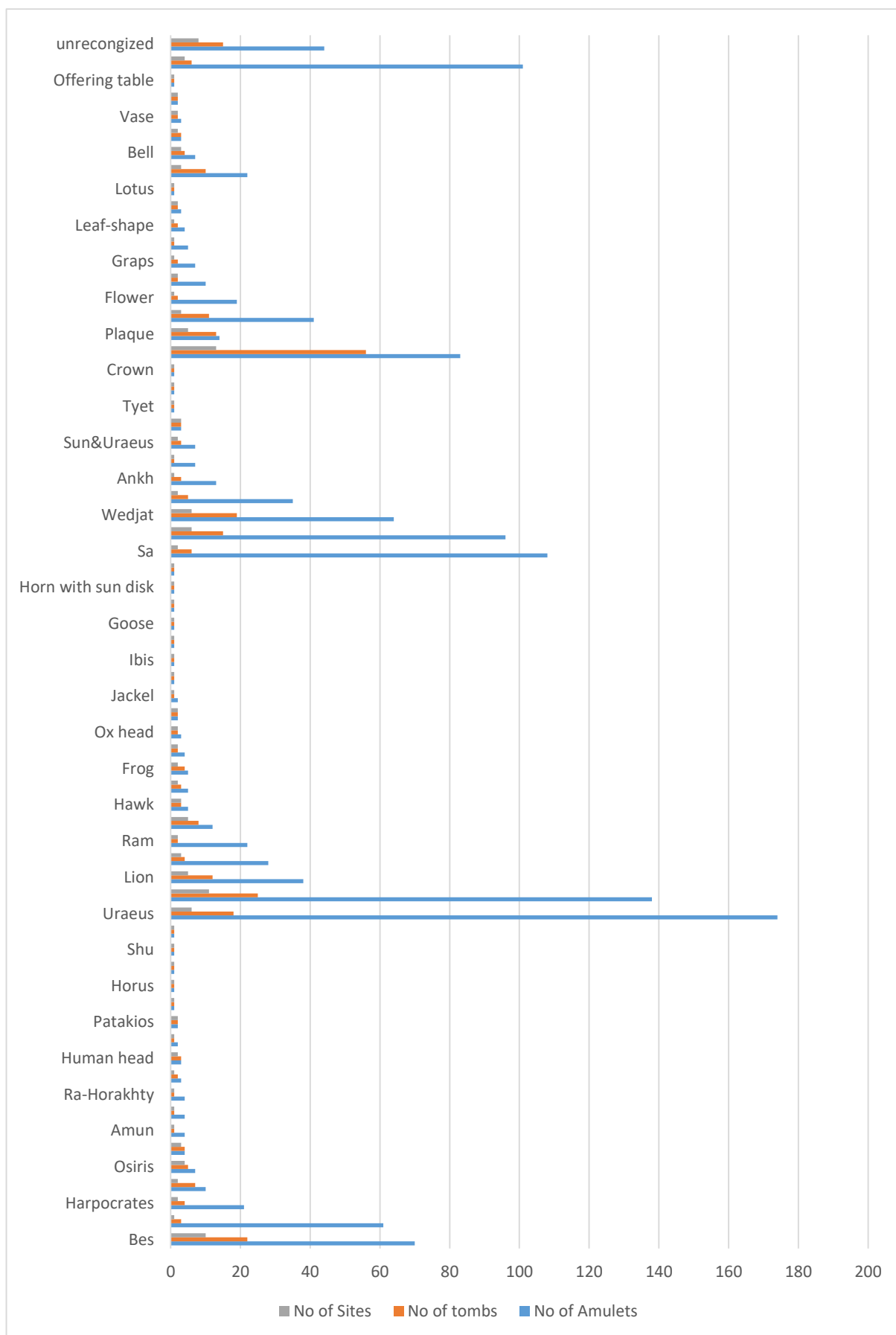


Chart 5.5 The sub-Division of the Main Groups of Amulets in Non-Royal Context.

6. Multi-Typological Approaches for the Meroitic Funerary Amulets

The multi-typological approach for Meroitic funerary amulets aims to answer crucial questions about the funerary and religious aspects in the Meroitic period and the cultural entanglement with ancient Egypt, in order to understand the motivation of the wide/limited distribution of specific types of amulets, materials, as well as to provide a better interpretations of changes in using amulets in funerary context in a wider Nubian sphere (Kerman, Napatan, and Meroitic period). The study analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively the occurrence of the amulets to build a full and more critical understanding of distribution of the Meroitic funerary amulets. Since most of the shapes of amulets are of Egyptian origins, the study largely refers to our deep understanding of the Egyptian mythology in addition to the Meroitic rendering. However, it is difficult to answer many other questions regarding the meaning and functional purposes of the Meroitic funerary amulets - even they seem Egyptian- as many evidences affirmed that the Meroities imitated the Egyptian material culture with transformed functions, and their own indigenous interpretations were extensively attested⁸⁶⁸.

This chapter is considered the essence and the synthesis of the dissertation, as the Meroitic funerary amulets are studied in their historical, ecological and social structure. This chapter discusses statistical analysis and multiple typological aspects of Meroitic funerary amulets in a wider distributional perspective. Builds on the former chapters of the dissertation, typological framework can be presented in the terms of types

⁸⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that even the transformation in the functions of the amulets through the long history of ancient Egypt were attested. This transformation was also difficult to track in most cases.

and functions (6.1.), materials (6.2.), distribution (6.3.), in addition to other aspects based on available information and state of documentation *i.e.* social perspective (6.3.2.), gender (6.3.3.), age-specific aspects (6.3.4.), and position on body (6.3.5.). Furthermore, archaeometric (6.5.) and ethno-archaeological approaches (6.6), iconographies (6.7.) were also considered. Then at the end of the chapter statistical and spatial analyses of Meroitic amulets and comparisons with the ones of Kerman and Napatan periods (6.8.3.) will be presented.

6.1. Typological Approach for the Meroitic Funerary Amulets; Types and Functions, Materials, and Distribution.

Builds upon over a century of past researches into archaeological typologies and classifications⁸⁶⁹, the statistical and spatial analyses distribution is the core of this chapter. In the following pages, the study focuses on the qualitative and quantitative distribution of the types (6.1.), materials (6.2.), then the analysis of combined distribution of several attributes (6.3.) along the Nile Valley. In addition, a tentative reconstruction of to try to reconstruct workshops typology and *chaîne opératoire* will be attempted (6.4.).

6.1.1. Types and Functions Analysis

After the Egyptian withdrawal from Nubia at the end of the 2nd millennium BC, Kushite artisans continued their activities following Egyptian canons, but they also introduced new forms of amulets vaguely similar to the original Egyptian models. These new models occur in the Napatan period in

⁸⁶⁹ For more about typological approaches in archaeology, see Adams, W., Adams, E., 2008.

the forms of combined and complex amulets⁸⁷⁰, and then are vividly attested in the Meroitic period in the main centers in Lower and Upper Nubia, where a number of innovative amulets were locally created and manufactured⁸⁷¹. It is noteworthy that many amulets that had been found at Kerma during the Classic period demonstrated a strong relation with Egypt due to intense interaction, but some of these amulets seems clearly local manufactured⁸⁷², and the transformation in the meaning was clearly attested⁸⁷³. Although it is difficult to make assumptions about the local meaning of the Meroitic amulets particularly with the absence of written sources, an attempt will be presented in the following pages considering these amulets in their local archaeological and cultural context. Concerning the dataset of the Meroitic funerary amulets, it could be divided to main five groups as follows;

6.1.1.1. Anthropomorphic Amulets

Amulets of deities were commonly worn by the dead, but they could be worn by the living as well. The elements suggesting the dedication of the amulets to certain gods of the pantheon in the Meroitic period has not been fully deciphered, as discussed in chapter 3, because the transformation in the Egyptian religious beliefs was notable. In such a case, it seems useful not to take into consideration only the shape of the amulets, but also to consider the wide religious and funerary related meaning in its Meroitic context, which could be form a certain significance associated to certain deities in the Meroitic period.

⁸⁷⁰ Balanda 2015, 469.

⁸⁷¹ See workshops typology, pp. 336-340.

⁸⁷² Markowitz 2012, 191.

⁸⁷³ D'Itria 2017.

Since the amulets in the form of a god or goddess were manufactured, part of these deities' spirit or power was within it⁸⁷⁴. In Kerma period, amulets depicting deities were not well attested, and rare cases of amulets reproducing anthropomorphic figures, whose facial features seem to be similar to those of baboons were found⁸⁷⁵, while the anthropomorphic amulets particularly for male deities (Bes, Pataikos) and female deities (Isis, Hathor, Sekhmet) were well attested in the Napatan cemeteries of Kurru, Nuri, Beg. W. and Sanam⁸⁷⁶. In the Meroitic period, the anthropomorphic amulets were existed but the qualitative and quantitative decline was notable in comparison with Napatan period (see table 6.23)⁸⁷⁷.

Table. 6.1. Qualitative and Quantitative Distribution of Anthropomorphic Amulets in the Meroitic Period

	Royal context		Queen Amanishakheto	non-Royal ⁸⁷⁸			Total	
	Tot.	No. of tombs		Tot.	No. tombs	No. sites	amulets	tombs
Male deities								
Bes	3	2	8	69	22	9	20	24
Pataikos	2	1	0	4	4	4	6	5
Harpocrates	0	0	0	21	4	2	21	4

⁸⁷⁴ Toledano 2004, 44.

⁸⁷⁵ D'Itria 2017, 336.

⁸⁷⁶ Balanda 2020, 300-304.

⁸⁷⁷ Séguenny 1984, 151. It is worth to mention that the quantitative and qualitative variation in the Kerman then Napatan amulets was concurrent with the same transformations in ancient Egypt, where few amulets of deities predate the New Kingdom period. In the late New Kingdom period, amulets of deities became numerous and more diverse in subject. During the Saite period, funerary amulets were used in significantly increased number and form, and the types of amulets which had previously been found only in royal burials were available to all classes of the society, see Andrews 2001, 82.

⁸⁷⁸ This column is dedicated to the selected non-royal Meroitic cemeteries, see chapter five, table. 5.1, 5.27.

Osiris	3	3	0	6+4?	5	2	9+4?	8
Amun	0	0	1	4	1	1	5	2
Min	0	0	0	4	1	1	4	1
Ra-Horakhty	0	0	0	4	1	1	4	1
Shu	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2
Khonsu	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Path	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Human-Figure/head	14	5	3	13	10	4	30	16
Female deities								
Isis/&Horus	0	0	1	5	5	4	6	6
Hathor	2	1	11	61	3	1	74	5
Maat	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	25	13	26	192+4?	56	30	243+4?	76

In the following part, the study will focus of the more widely occurring amulets, for which information about their Meroitic occurrence could be tracked.

6.1.1.1.1. Male Deities

6.1.1.1.1.1. Bes

The dwarf amulets became popular in the Kushite period. Like in Egypt, these amulets developed into two separate dwarf amulets, one was Bes who can be recognized by his lion features. The other one, without animal features, was Pataikos⁸⁷⁹. Bes was a minor deity in the official Egyptian religion and otherwise he was popular in the folk religion, where he was associated with protection of women in childbirth. The amulets of Bes were placed on bodies, so his protection function appears to have been a broad

⁸⁷⁹ Erp 2014, 6.

application⁸⁸⁰. In the 1st millennium BC, Bes cult spread rapidly and became popular not only throughout Egypt, but also in the Mediterranean world. In the Kushite period, Bes had a wide significance in both official and popular beliefs until the end of the Meroitic period⁸⁸¹.

Bes was depicted frontally as a squatting male with a semi-human face on a lion's head, a type of representation that maybe reflected an original association with magical practices and/or non-Egyptian origin⁸⁸². Wildung suggested that Bes popularity in Nubia maybe due to his Nubian origin, this hypothesis was supported by Bes's Egyptian epithets *i.e.* "*Lord of Punt*" and "*Ruler of Nubia*"⁸⁸³.

Many amulets for Bes were deposited in the Napatan tombs in Kurru (Ku. 22, 51, 52)⁸⁸⁴, Beg. W. (Adults; W. 493, 529, 609, 751, 753, 764, 796⁸⁸⁵, Children; W. 508, 630, 634)⁸⁸⁶, in addition to 34 amulets in 22 tombs in Sanam cemetery (37, 209, 231, 301, 304, 327, 358, 362, 421, 470, 587, 699, 701, 753, 788, 801, 990, 1042, 1053, 1220, 1342, 1498)⁸⁸⁷. These amulets were often found on the body of the deceased, attached to its necks, or strung to form a necklace or a belt, and were essentially deposited in the tombs of children⁸⁸⁸.

The aforementioned practice was continued in the Meroitic period; the numbers of Bes amulets were increased comparatively in the terms of

⁸⁸⁰ Romano 1989, 110; Malaise 2001; Pinch 2002, 118.

⁸⁸¹ Sackho-Autissier 2006, 307; Petacchi 2014, 209.

⁸⁸² Yellin 2012a, 130.

⁸⁸³ Wildung 2004.

⁸⁸⁴ Dunham 1950, 77; Pl. LII.F, 78; Pl. LV.c,d, 82; Pl. LIV, a, b 2/3.

⁸⁸⁵ Dunham 1963, 3; Fig. 1 c,d, 286; Fig. 175, 36; Fig. 24b, 316; Fig. 182, 11, 318; Fig. 183, 322; Fig. 184.

⁸⁸⁶ Dunham 1963, 26; Fig. 19h, 6; Fig. 3d, e, 44; Fig. 29d.

⁸⁸⁷ Griffith 1923, Pl. LV; Balanda 2020, 303, 305.

⁸⁸⁸ Séguenny 1984, 151.

diffusion. The amulets of Bes are documented in the royal Meroitic tombs in Beg. N. (N. 6, 13), Gebel Barkal (Bar. 2)⁸⁸⁹, and widely distributed in the non-royal Meroitic cemeteries along the Nile Valley in Karanog (G. 312, 304, 712, 223, 737, 689)⁸⁹⁰, cemetery in Abu Simbel (73)⁸⁹¹, Faras (2658)⁸⁹², Amir Abdallah (106, 159)⁸⁹³, Abri-Missiminia (2-V-20/70, 178)⁸⁹⁴, Sai (8-B-5.A)⁸⁹⁵, Sedeinga (II T 178)⁸⁹⁶, Beg. W. (W. 366, 27, 5, 308, 130)⁸⁹⁷, and further south up to Sennar East (Makwar) on the Blue Nile⁸⁹⁸. Therefore, this wide distribution of Bes amulets could support Séguenny's hypothesis that there was a real and particular cult of Bes in the Meroitic period⁸⁹⁹.

In the Meroitic amulets, Bes was represented in standing form, facing front, has a broad face surrounded by a wide, trapezoidal, mane-like coiffure from which lion ears emerge, with feathered headdress rising out of a base in the shape of a cornice wider in the top than the base, probably made of ostrich plumes, with arms extending downward toward the hips, leg bent and feet turned out. The head rests on the shoulders and no neck is represented. The

⁸⁸⁹ Dunham 1957, 76, 92, Fig. 48, Pl. LVX O, XLV G. This is including 8 amulets of Bes among the treasures of the Queen Amanishakheto, which was found by Ferlini (Cat. No. 120-121) and published by Schäfer (1910, No. 302-7, 179-181). Schäfer (1910, 100) supposed that some faience objects among Ferlini collection, maybe belong to New Kingdom period rather than the queen's treasure, and he stated that these faience objects maybe were collected by Ferlini from other sites before digging in Meroe, but he did not mention their exact location. Moreover we cannot exclude the New Kingdom amulets were sometimes reused in Meroitic times.

⁸⁹⁰ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 254, 267, 260.

⁸⁹¹ Emery, Kirwan 1935, 429-30, Fig. 405.

⁸⁹² Griffith 1924, 172, Pl. LXII, 1.

⁸⁹³ Fernández 1983, 262, 534, Fig. 66.36.

⁸⁹⁴ Vila 1982, 42, Fig. 35.1.

⁸⁹⁵ Then-Obłuska 2016, 696-99, Fig. 2.15.

⁸⁹⁶ Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75.

⁸⁹⁷ Dunham 1963, 266, Fig.171.6; 106, Fig.79.9; 122, Fig.92.e; 146, Fig.109, 20,22.

⁸⁹⁸ Addison 1935, 291.

⁸⁹⁹ Millet 1984, 190.

arms seemingly grow out of the sides of the head. Only an amulet of Bes from Sedeinga⁹⁰⁰ shows further details: a band around the armlets, the wristlets, and elbows can be observed, in addition to a belt around the belly. These amulets were made mainly of faience, glazed paste, and rarely of ivory, bronze and silver, they showed sometimes some holes over the body, usually used for suspension as part of a bracelet, a necklace or simply they were used as a pendent⁹⁰¹.

Changes of Bes aspects in the amulets can be readily recognized in Egypt⁹⁰². As far as the Kushite context is concerned, it is worth to mention that the amulets of Bes which have been found in the first tombs of the Beg. W. in the Napatan period were frequently represented Bes in the classic Egyptian forms and followed the standard models of the Third Intermediate period and the Late period with lion-rounded face, flat nose, wide mouth with thick lips, sometimes a feathered headdress on the head, and the general appearance of a necked dwarf body with arched and short legs⁹⁰³. Otherwise, in the Meroitic period, Bes's images evolved to match characters close to Dionysian iconography⁹⁰⁴, and no more exist for the images of Bes with any kind of "accessory" (knives, drums/tambourines, snakes)⁹⁰⁵.

Séguenny⁹⁰⁶ referred to the notably disappearance of the "apotropaic artifacts" in the Meroitic period, and therefore suggested that Bes cult was

⁹⁰⁰ Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75, Cat. No. 59.

⁹⁰¹ Petacchi 2014, 205.

⁹⁰² Romano 1989, 18. Ballod devoted part of his research to demonstrate the chronological development of the Bes-image from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period, see Ballod 1913, 36-70, 71-85.

⁹⁰³ Petacchi 2014, 205.

⁹⁰⁴ Francigny 2016, 94.

⁹⁰⁵ Petacchi 2014, 205.

⁹⁰⁶ Séguenny 1984, 151.

perhaps related to another form of popular religion. Following this assumption, scholars⁹⁰⁷ proposed that Bes maybe a Meroitic version associated to the cult of wine, which known from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Based on the religious position of Bes in the Meroitic period, the study can assume that Bes played two main functions in the Meroitic period. In the funerary context, Bes amulets had a protective function, because he was posed on the body of the dead or were hung around the neck mainly children and woman (see gender 6.1.3.3, age-specific aspect 6.1.3.4, and position of body perspective 6.3.1.5.), and represented on jewelry and plaques on jewelry boxes. Bes was also depicted as a tattoo on a woman's body⁹⁰⁸.

The second role of Bes was related to his cultic position, as he was considered to be a god of merry-making. In this aspect Bes was depicted on the vases used for wine, which were found in Buhen and Karanog, the same aspect of Bes, namely the association of Bes with drinking, is attested at Sayala⁹⁰⁹. In Egypt, Bes was popular in Ptolemaic and Roman times⁹¹⁰, and had a similar function related to the profession of dancer⁹¹¹.

Bes amulets had been also found in non-funerary context in the city of Meroe⁹¹², and in the Meroitic temples⁹¹³, which may have also served as a ritual percussion instruments, threaded with pieces of metal and fitted with a

⁹⁰⁷ Adams 1977; Millet 1984, 114; Manzo 2006; Sackho-Autissier 2010a.

⁹⁰⁸ Vila 1967, 369, Pl. XVI; Pinch 2002, 118.

⁹⁰⁹ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, pls. 61, 62; Séguenny 1984, 151. The widespread use of the vine and grapes decorations on Meroitic painted pottery has been pointed out by Adams, in addition to representations of a prancing figure, half Bes and half Silenos. A painted jar and three rings from the Karanog cemetery associated Bes with amphorae, see Millet 1984, 114-115.

⁹¹⁰ Ogden 1990, 209.

⁹¹¹ Pinch 2002, 118; Kormysheva 2006, 24.

⁹¹² Näser 2004, 248, nos. 3767, 5909.

⁹¹³ Temple of Amun in Naqa, Wildung 2004, 183, No. 166.

handle. indeed, the music and dancing of Bes warded off harm as a child was being born, therefore this god was represented as an amuletic statuette or on a sistrum-like instrument. These Bes-images could have been deposited as votive offerings from woman hoping to ensure a safe delivery as a healthy child, or they may have played a part in temple birth-rituals⁹¹⁴. It is noteworthy that various Meroitic style of representations Bes were painted on the Meroitic pottery, particularly in the northern province⁹¹⁵.

6.1.1.1.2. Osiris

Osiris was the primary deity of the dead and the legendary first ruler of ancient Egypt, he was a god who symbolized eternal rebirth through the story of his own resurrection⁹¹⁶. Although the ancient Egyptian sources equated the deceased kings with several deities, there is a clear and constant emphasis throughout most of Egyptian history on the association of the king with Osiris⁹¹⁷.

Amulets of Osiris as a small statue in the form of mummified god wearing an *atef* crown and carrying a crook and flail, were rarely found in the Napatan cemeteries: in Kurru (Ku. 15)⁹¹⁸ and Beg. S. (S. 85)⁹¹⁹, and were not widely distributed in Meroitic funerary context as well, as only 6 objects were documented *i.e.* three from royal context in Beg. N. (N. 4, 11 and Bar. 8)⁹²⁰, in addition to two statuettes from tomb no. WT9 in Sedeinga⁹²¹, and one from

⁹¹⁴ Whitehouse 2009, 137.

⁹¹⁵ El-Hassan 2004, 22-23, Fig. 3, n, 1-2.

⁹¹⁶ Toledano 2004.

⁹¹⁷ Wilkinson 2003, 62.

⁹¹⁸ Dunham 1950, 56, Fig. 20d.

⁹¹⁹ Dunham 1963, 366, Fig. 200.

⁹²⁰ Dunham 1957, 52-3, 62-3, 72, Fig. 32, Pl. LVII, B, E.

⁹²¹ Schiff-Giorgini 1968, 264, Pl. I, B-C; Leclant 1970b, 267, Fig. 12.

Beg. W. (W.253)⁹²². These six objects were all made of bronze and only two from Sedeinga were covered with golden leaf⁹²³. It is noteworthy that fragments of Osiris amulets had been found in the city of Meroe⁹²⁴.

The functions of the bronze statuettes in the funerary context could be related to Osirian beliefs for greeting and guiding the deceased upon his arrival in the afterlife. The limited distribution of Osiris in the Meroitic period could be related to the transformation in mummification practices and preservation of the body afterlife⁹²⁵. This hypothesis could also be supported with the complete absence of the amulets of the double fingers, which are also related to mummification practices⁹²⁶.

Indeed, the wide spread occurrence of offering stelae dedicated to Osiris and Isis in the Meroitic period affirmed the deep belief in Osirian myth, but it seems that the Meroites did not pay more attention for Osirian beliefs in the terms of persevering the body to ensure the afterlife⁹²⁷. The absence of

⁹²² Dunham 1963, 248, Fig. 164-7.

⁹²³ It is worth to mention that there were other four amulets for Osiris of faience not confirmed by excavators including three from G. 171 at Karanog, see Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 142, 250, and one from T. 33 at Nag el-Gamus, see Almagro 1965, 94-5, Fig. 85.1.

⁹²⁴ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 186, Nos. 1368, 1386, 1498, 1540.

⁹²⁵ Geus 1991, 70; Gasm el-Seed 1996, 51-57, Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 634; Helmbold-Doyé 2019, 790.

⁹²⁶ This amulet tended to be found on the left side of the pelvis, near the embalming incision. Another interpretation is that it represents the fingers of the embalmer who made the visceral incision, see Ikram, Dodson 1998, 140. It is worth to mention that this amulet was not also attested in the Napatan period.

⁹²⁷ Yellin 2012a, 142. Meroitic priests and administrators from the northernmost Meroitic province of Akin traveled to the temples of the Dodekaschoinos during the third century AD to perform funerary rites to Osiris on behalf of the Meroitic king who donated large quantities of gold to support the temples. For more information, see Ashby 2016, 5.

djed amulets in the royal and non-royal Meroitic cemeteries⁹²⁸ was also notable in comparison with Napatan period⁹²⁹.

In ancient Egypt, the symbolic burials of Osiris figurines near to the temples were documented from 21 Dynasty to the reign of Ptolemy IV. The Osiris figurines were discovered in small structures to the east side of the complex of Karnak, and in western Thebes at Medinet Habu. In the Graeco-Roman period, the burial of Osiris figurines in the temples became more elaborate⁹³⁰. In the Meroitic temples, number of bronze Osiris figurines had been attested in the temples in Tabo⁹³¹, El-Hassa⁹³², Mouweis⁹³³, in addition to twenty-one statuettes in Doukki Gel⁹³⁴, but we cannot define whatever it was considered as a part of the participation of individuals in the cult of the god, and/or it could be considered part of the religious equipments that was used by the priests. It is worth to mention that the statuettes which were found in the Meroitic funerary context were similar to that found in the temples. Therefore, the statuettes of Osiris in funerary context could be obtained from the same workshop or the temples after ritual practices.

6.1.1.1.1.3. Pataikos

Pataikos represented a type of minor amuletic deity in ancient Egypt. The Pataikos amulet is not easily interpreted as Pataikos, whereas it is –in

⁹²⁸ Except 16 small djed amulets, which were inserted in the necklace No. AM 1755 of the Queen Amanishakheto, see Part II. Cat. No. 30.

⁹²⁹ 24 Djed amulets had been found in the Napatan cemeteries; in nine tombs in Kurru (Ku. 1, 8, 23, 26, 27, 36, 42, 59, 80), in three tombs in Beg. S. (S. 19, 22, 85), and Beg. W. (W. 477).

⁹³⁰ Teeter 2011, 63-6.

⁹³¹ SNM 18895, 18899, 18903, Geneva Expedition, 1969. (SNM database, May-April 2022).

⁹³² Rondot 2010, 236, Fig. 309; SNM 31687. (SNM database, May-April 2022).

⁹³³ SNM 34983. (SNM database, May-April 2022).

⁹³⁴ See Bonnet, Valbelle, Marchi 2021, 23, 154, 248, Fig. 158, 197.

some cases- similar to Bes amulet in appearance⁹³⁵. In ancient Egypt, in some examples Pataikos amulets were represented back to back with other deities notably Bes or Harpocrates, especially with the former when standing on crocodile⁹³⁶.

Amulets of Pataikos became popular between the Third Intermediate and the Ptolemaic periods. Pataikos was represented as a human dwarf with achondroplasia. Pataikos was represented naked and the most common type of Pataikos has no attributes. His head was bald and big, his torso was relatively big and his arms and legs were crooked which lay beside his torso with fists as hands and often they stand on a small base. There were other forms of Pataikos, which also have the same features but they have attributes. The amulets were usually made of faience, but also occurred in gold, bronze, semi-precious materials.⁹³⁷

Number of studies had been conducted about Pataikos amulets. Petrie⁹³⁸ presented the first typology of the amulets of Pataikos, which he called it Ptah-Seker. Petrie categorized the amulets into three categories: A; alone, B; backed by another god on a plaque, C; double headed amulet. This typology is still useful, but there are more variations of Pataikos appeared later rather these three categories. Further scholars offered multi-typological categories, *e.g.* the typology study of Matzker⁹³⁹ for the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Dasen⁹⁴⁰ had written an entire book about dwarfs in ancient

⁹³⁵ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 166.

⁹³⁶ Wilkinson 2003, 123. No texts that given this amulet another name than ‘dwarf’. The Pataikos was first mentioned by Herodotus in his History III, 37, see Erp 2014, 7.

⁹³⁷ Erp 2014, 7.

⁹³⁸ Petrie 1914, 38.

⁹³⁹ Matzker 1990.

⁹⁴⁰ Dasen 1993.

Egypt and Greece and had dedicated chapter to the Pataikos in which she discusses it fairly elaborately on the name, origin and typology to religious status and function. Andrews⁹⁴¹ placed the Pataikos in the group of protective *cippi* or plaques with a connection to the famous Horus-on-crocodiles. She briefly gives some of the attributes of the amulet and its variants. Hermann⁹⁴² had also made a division in the amulets. He had sixteen categories in which he divided the Pataikos that were found outside of Egypt. Last, Erp⁹⁴³ dressed the typology of the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

Pataikos amulets were widely distributed in the Napatan period *i.e.* 17 amulets in Kurru cemetery in 4 tombs (Ku. 51, 52, 53, 54)⁹⁴⁴, 47 amulets in Beg. W. in 11 adult tombs (W. 486, 493, 571, 609, 611, 761, 779, 792, 796, 801, 809)⁹⁴⁵, and 15 amulets in 7 children tombs (W. 507, 508, 520, 634, 678, 734, 832)⁹⁴⁶, 2 amulets in Beg. S. (S. 157)⁹⁴⁷, in addition to 49 amulets in 41 tombs in Sanam cemetery (11, 18, 43, 53, 134, 210, 300A, 304, 324, 362, 373, 385, 445, 457, 490, 505, 507, 612, 632, 653, 662, 701, 724, 727, 738, 783, 788, 790, 795, 801, 857, 893, 903, 929, 949, 1108, 1156, 1309, 1426, 1440, 1516)⁹⁴⁸. In comparison with the Napatan period, the number of Pataikos amulets highly decreased in the Meroitic period, as only 6 amulets were

⁹⁴¹ Andrews 1994, 38-39.

⁹⁴² Herrmann 1994, 404-492.

⁹⁴³ Erp 2014, 14-21.

⁹⁴⁴ Dunham 1950, 78, 82; Pl. LIV, a, b, 88; Pl. LI, a, b, 92; Pl. LI, a, b.

⁹⁴⁵ Dunham 1963, 15; gig. 11n, 3-5; Fig. 1d, 294; Fig. 177.2, 37; Fig. 24, 6, 22; Fig. 16, 319; Fig. 183, 322; Fig. 183.3-4, 13, 324, 325; Fig. 184.16.

⁹⁴⁶ Dunham 1963, 59; Fig. 43, 26; Fig. 19, 50; Fig. 35, 43; Fig. 29, 47; Fig. 32, 63-4; Fig. 47, 24; Fig. 18.

⁹⁴⁷ Dunham 1963, 436; Fig. 238.

⁹⁴⁸ Griffith 1923; Balanda 2020, 303.

attested, two in royal context in Beg. N. (N. 20)⁹⁴⁹ and four in non-royal context in Kerma (Ker. 91)⁹⁵⁰, Aksha⁹⁵¹, Sedeinga (T.216.C1)⁹⁵², and in Meroe Beg. W. (W. 311)⁹⁵³. This large quantitative difference could reflect the transformation of belief in the efficacy of this type of amulet.

In the collection being studied here, there are four amulets of A. type depicting a deity in the shape of dwarf in three-dimensions. The facial features are always distorted, they can be recognized by their big, bald head, there is no neck, and the body is naked, with short arms bent on the swollen belly, and the legs are short and apparently crippled. In the neck, there is a suspension loop, which indicates that they may have been worn as a necklace. While one amulets from Beg. W. depicted Pataikos in dwarf-shape wearing double plume crown with sun disk and two cobra standing on crocodile and holding two serpents in each hand. In addition to, one amulet for Pataikos is the form of double faced and/or bodied had been found in Sedeinga cemetery⁹⁵⁴.

The function and symbolism of Pataikos is not easy to determine. In order to reconstruct the symbolism and function of the amulets of Pataikos, first of all we have to consider the variant forms of this amulet, simply because each form could have a specific meaning than the other. Due to the absence of text sources, it difficult to detect these functions, but perhaps one of the

⁹⁴⁹ Dunham 1957, 78, Fig. 51.

⁹⁵⁰ Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 34.

⁹⁵¹ Vila, 1967, 69, Fig. C. It is worth to mention that this amulet was described by the excavator as amulet of Bes.

⁹⁵² Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig. 15.

⁹⁵³ Dunham 1963, 255, Fig. 167, 9.

⁹⁵⁴ The form of this amulet was the C. type in the classification of Petrie (1914, 38). The excavator did not ascribe this amulet to Pataikos, but described it as human head, see Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig. 15.

functions was related in one way or another to the amulet Bes⁹⁵⁵, and were given to children and women for protection⁹⁵⁶, as both gods were depicted on one amulet each of them on each side, and perhaps the limited distribution of Pataikos amulets was compensated by the widespread occurrence of the amulets of Bes. The theme of the dwarf standing on crocodile and repelling snakes was likewise well-known in the magical text of the Late period and related to the young Horus who stood on crocodiles⁹⁵⁷, or as part of a healing statues to protect against animals through magic⁹⁵⁸, or beat the magic power represented by snake or crocodile (evil)⁹⁵⁹.

6.1.1.1.1.4. Shu

Shu amulet was attested in Napatan period *i.e.* 4 amulets in Beg. W. (W. 685, 787, 643)⁹⁶⁰, in addition to 18 amulets from Sanam cemetery⁹⁶¹. In the Meroitic period, the amulet of Shu was rare and only two amulets of Shu had been found in funerary context: one amulet among the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto⁹⁶², and other one from Sedeinga cemetery⁹⁶³.

Shu played a prominent role in the temples in Lower Nubia, and he had the same epithets of Arensnuphis as “*great of strength, strong of arm, lion of the south*”⁹⁶⁴. The priests of the temple of Dendur, which was built in the reign

⁹⁵⁵ Amulet no. 21-2-541B from Beg. S. 157, see Dunham 1963, 436.

⁹⁵⁶ Erp 2014, 22. It is noteworthy that in the Meroitic period, only one amulet of Pataikos was found in child burial, while for the rest, no information about the context was remained.

⁹⁵⁷ Raven 1987, 14; Erp 2014, 16.

⁹⁵⁸ Erp 2014, 24, 28.

⁹⁵⁹ Lohwasser 2002, 50. The chapter 31 in the Book of the Dead was dedicated to dive a way the crocodile that related to magic.

⁹⁶⁰ Dunham 1963, 307; Fig. 180, 320; Fig. 183, 41; Fig. 28.

⁹⁶¹ Griffith 1923, Pl. XX; Balanda 2020, 305.

⁹⁶² Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 125; Schäfer 1910, No. 308, 181.

⁹⁶³ Rilly, Vincent 2013, 63-4, Fig. 5; Then-Obłuska 2015, 37, Fig. 3. It is reported by the excavators that this amulet could be dated to late Napatan period or early Meroitic period.

⁹⁶⁴ See chapter 3, p. 57-58.

of Augustus usually associated Arensnuphis with Shu⁹⁶⁵. The Meroitic origin of Arensnuphis was stressed, but his representation received more Egyptian aspects than Nubian⁹⁶⁶. Therefore, we might consider that the amulet of Shu in the Meroitic period could have a religious meaning related to the local Meroitic god Arensnuphis. But the absence of the written sources and the limited distribution of this amulet made this hypothesis far to be confirmed.

6.1.1.1.2. Female Deities

6.1.1.1.2.1. Isis

Isis had a prominent role in the Meroitic period, both in non-funerary and funerary context (see chapter 3, pp. 48-52). The amulets of Isis were well attested in funerary context in the Napatan period, as 178 amulets are distributed in Kurru (Ku. 52, 53)⁹⁶⁷, Nuri (Nu. 81)⁹⁶⁸, Beg. S. (127)⁹⁶⁹, Beg. W. (Adult; W. 486, 493, 609, 611, 760, 761, 787⁹⁷⁰, Children; W. 508, 630, 643, 832)⁹⁷¹, and in 35 tombs in Sanam cemetery (11, 43, 75, 154, 188, 197, 226, 301, 304, 335, 337, 358, 359, 430, 495, 505, 597, 678, 680, 701, 714, 779, 783, 788, 801, 827, 857, 860, 887, 893, 927, 932, 1053, 1056, 1059, 1071, 1096, 1172, 1478, 1498, 1507, 1516, 1558, 1609, 1620)⁹⁷².

The distribution of Isis amulets in Meroitic period was very limited and sharply decreased, as only one amulet in royal context from the

⁹⁶⁵ Žabkar 1975, 19.

⁹⁶⁶ Kormysheva 2006, 31-32.

⁹⁶⁷ Dunham 1950, 82; Pl. LXX.B, LIII. a, b, LX.c, 88; Pl. LI. a-b.

⁹⁶⁸ Dunham 1955, 53-4; Balanda 2020, 299.

⁹⁶⁹ Dunham 1963, 429.

⁹⁷⁰ Dunham 1963, 15; Fig. 11n, 3; Fig. 1, 36; Fig. 24, 6; Fig. 2e, 317; Fig. 182.14, 22; Fig. 169, 320; Fig. 183.

⁹⁷¹ Dunham 1963, 26-8; Fig. 19, 6; Fig. 3, 39; Fig. 28, 26; Fig. 18.

⁹⁷² Griffith 1923, Pl. XXVI, LV; Balanda 2020, 304-5.

pyramids of the Queen Amanishakheto⁹⁷³, and other four amulets from non-royal context from Gebel Adda⁹⁷⁴, Sai⁹⁷⁵, and two from Beg. W. (W. 27, 5)⁹⁷⁶ are known.

This decline in the distribution of Isis amulets was un-understandable and very controversial⁹⁷⁷, as the role of Isis became more important in Meroitic period in comparison with Napatan period, but perhaps the strong attestation of Isis in other archaeological forms *e.g.* representations in the walls of temples and pyramid chapels, offering tables, rings, and *etc.* may have compensated for this noticeable absence of her amulet. In addition to this, other types of amulets could be related to Isis *e.g.* uraeus-cobra, vulture, *Sa-knot*, and crescent⁹⁷⁸.

It is worth to mention that number of faience amulets of Isis with Horus had been found in the city of Meroe during Shinnie's excavation⁹⁷⁹. A number of these statuettes were found in the temple of Amun at Wad Ben Naqa⁹⁸⁰. This could be served as a part of religious equipments in temples and/or deposited in the temple as part of individual invocations.

⁹⁷³ Dunham 1957, 111, Fig. 73, Pl. LXI.K. This object could be originally part of forehead of a crown belonged to the queen rather than being an amulet.

⁹⁷⁴ Personal communication with ROM, but the dating to Meroitic period was not confirmed.

⁹⁷⁵ Then-Obluska 2016, 702-5, Fig. 4.12.

⁹⁷⁶ Dunham 1957, 103, 122.

⁹⁷⁷ It may be interesting to highlight that during the Classic Kerma period, although there is evidence of a ram cult in the Western Deffufa (Bonnet, Valbelle 2014, 158), but the absence of amulets depicting rams in the site of Kerma was underlined, see D'Itria 2021, 48.

⁹⁷⁸ See pages 254, 262-263, 270-274.

⁹⁷⁹ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 167, Nos. 345, 1509, 1839, 3489, Fig. 60, 63.

⁹⁸⁰ Wildung 2004, 183, No. 167. In addition to SNM 11957, Antiquities Service Excavation 1959-1960. (SNM database, May-April 2022)

6.1.1.1.2.2. Hathor

Hathor had a prestigious status in the Meroitic religion less than Isis. There was no evidence for independent cults or temples dedicated to her, but based on depictions of Hathor on jewelry of Amanishakheto and Shanakdakhete, Hathor appears to have had a particular relationship with the queens, perhaps because of her role as a divine mother⁹⁸¹.

The amulets of Hathor were attested in both royal and non-royal funerary contexts only in the cemeteries of Meroe *i.e.* Beg. N. 20⁹⁸², and among the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto⁹⁸³, in addition to 61 amulets made of gold, silver and ivory distributed in three tombs in Beg. W. (W. 317, 179, 133)⁹⁸⁴. Hathor amulets in Napatan period were widely spatially distributed in the tombs in comparison with the Meroitic period, as 7 amulets occur in Kurru (Ku. 52, 53, 54, 55)⁹⁸⁵, 7 amulets in Nuri (Nu. 6, 26, 27, 42, 81)⁹⁸⁶, 26 amulets in Beg. W. (Adults; W. 493, 502, 534, 567, 609, 633, 762, 801⁹⁸⁷, Children; W. 508⁹⁸⁸), 3 amulets in Beg. S. (S. 85)⁹⁸⁹, in addition to 21 amulets from 15 tombs in Sanam cemetery (143, 231, 237, 296, 362, 374, 602, 663, 701, 753, 801, 1010, 1053, 113, 1383)⁹⁹⁰.

⁹⁸¹ Pinch 1993, 215; Yellin 2012a, 133.

⁹⁸² Dunham 1957, 80, Fig. 51, Pl. LXV P.

⁹⁸³ Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 3; Schäfer 1910, No. 245, 154-5; Priese 1993, 24, Fig. 19.

⁹⁸⁴ Dunham 1963, 94, Fig. 72b, 183-4, Fig. 33n,u/6, 230, Fig. 159, 7.

⁹⁸⁵ Dunham 1950, 82; Pl. LIII a,b, 87; Pl. LI a,b, 92; Pl. LI a,b, 94; Pl. LX e-g.

⁹⁸⁶ Dunham 1955, 57; Fig. 39, Pl. CXIX.9, 147; Pl. CXII.f, 110; Pl. CXVII. a, 117; Fig. 88, Pl. CXVII. b, 54; Fig. 34, Pl. CXV.C.

⁹⁸⁷ Dunham 1963, 3; Fig. 1c, 55; Fig. 40b, 288, Fig. 175.19, 18; Fig. 14, 36; Fig. 24b, 301; Fig. 179, 317; Fig. 183, 324.

⁹⁸⁸ Dunham 1963, 28; Fig. 19h.

⁹⁸⁹ Dunham 1963, 366, Fig. 200.

⁹⁹⁰ Griffith 1923; Balanda 2020, 303, 305.

It is worth to mention that the concentration of the amulets of Hathor in the area of Meroe, goes in the opposite direction with distribution of Hathor iconographies on the Meroitic pottery. The painted and stamped representations of Hathor were widely attested in the northern Meroitic province in comparison with few examples from Wad Ben Naqa and Meroe⁹⁹¹.

6.1.1.1.2.3. Baubo “Squatting Female Figure”

Amulet or figurine known as “Baubo” refers to a type of sitting female shown in different aspects, the name refers to the Greek goddess of Mirth who was associated with the myth of Demeter. This type of amulets was mass-produced in a number of styles, but the basic figure always exposes the vulva in some way. The amulet usually had elaborate headdresses, and some hold cups or harps. Some figurines have a loop moulded into the head, which seems to indicate that they were suspended in some way, possibly to use as an amulet⁹⁹².

Based on the shape and the sitting position, Dunand divided the Baubo amulets and figurines into two types⁹⁹³. The first: female seated nude in tailor fashion with feet almost touching, and her hands indicating her genitals or holding her hands on her belly, with a loop on top of the head, the anatomical features of the face, breast and belly varied from example to another. The second type: nude, crouching or squatting women with their legs wide apart and the knees and feet pointing to the respective sides in an almost acrobatic pose. The women also wore an extremely thick wreath of flowers or almost

⁹⁹¹ El-Hassan 2004, 20-21, Fig. 2, j-k, 3, e, 11-13, Pl. 37-38.

⁹⁹² Murray 1934, 94-95. For further information about Baubo, see Lubell 1994.

⁹⁹³ For more about these positions see Dunand 1979, 100, Beer added a third pose, see Beer 2015, 340.

wig-like coiffure, with a vertical loop at the back of the shoulders. Representations of this type were extremely popular across different cultures in the ancient world and number of Baubo figurines and amulets had been found in the Mediterranean (Egypt, Ibiza, Mallorca, Gouraya and Delos) dated to Hellenistic- Roman from 4 century BC to 3 century AD⁹⁹⁴. It is worth to mention that number of these figurines and amulets, were exhibited in the museums, but unfortunately with lack a certain information about provenance⁹⁹⁵.

In its Greek context, Baubo also received a cult in association with Demeter in various areas of the Greek world as shown by both inscriptions and figurines⁹⁹⁶. such figurines were also interpreted as being women at the moment of delivery, signifying fertility. Thus they could have meant to be used as amulets for protective purposes during childbirth⁹⁹⁷. However, it is likely that most Baubo figures in Egypt did not have an exclusive connection with Demeter and therefore they cannot be automatically given the Classical meaning. Be that as it may, such figures continued to be produced in Naucratis, although in terracotta form rather than plaques⁹⁹⁸.

Whether the function was supposed to be an erotic one with the aim of attracting the opposite sex or has a purpose linked to preparations for

⁹⁹⁴ Beer 2015, 342-344.

⁹⁹⁵ Number of Baubo figurines and amulets had been found in the museums and art/antiquities market without information about specific provenience and just mentioned Egypt. But it seems that almost all may be from Naucratis. This assumption is due to the large quantity of similar amulets and figurines found at the site of Naucratis, see Shalaby 2019, 53.

⁹⁹⁶ Lubell 1994; Nifosi 2022, 6.

⁹⁹⁷ Shalaby 2019, 57.

⁹⁹⁸ Bailey 2008, Fig. 3131-2.

childbirth is debatable⁹⁹⁹. But the users of these amulets were likely women who either wished for pregnancy or childbirth, and hoped that her “Baubo” image would protect them and their future child. Beer questioned what about the Baubo pendants in the tombs, suggesting that the woman in the tomb may have died during delivery of a child¹⁰⁰⁰. Other scholars linked Baubo with Isis/Aphrodite¹⁰⁰¹ or Isis/Hathor aspect¹⁰⁰².

It is clear that the Graeco-Roman term “Baubo” cannot be used literally in Egypt or in Nubia, but rather as a typological term to define a broad group of representations of women with either a plump or pregnant belly who expose their genitals. Both two types of Dunand’s classification were found in the Beg. W. cemetery, where three objects were attested, one made of glass (FMA 23.383) from Beg. W. 5. and two of blue faience (FMA 24.804) from Beg. W. 8.

Indeed, in this case it is worth to mention that, we have to consider that foreign traits often gained new meaning and function different from those they held in their original contexts¹⁰⁰³. Therefore, the significance of such this amulet in the Meroitic context may have been transformed and remains largely ambiguous, particularly that from Beg. W. 308, which belonged to a burial of a child.

6.1.1.2. Zoomorphic Figures

The representations of animal motifs during the Meroitic period were associated with the surrounding environment, where wild animals were part

⁹⁹⁹ Beer 2015, 340; Nifosi 2022, 7.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Beer 2015, 344.

¹⁰⁰¹ Lubell 1994; Nifosi 2022, 3.

¹⁰⁰² Murray 1934, 94-95; Shalaby 2019, 65.

¹⁰⁰³ Manzo 2022, 66.

of the daily life, which had been reported by classical writers around Meroe¹⁰⁰⁴. Animals played a predominant role in the Meroitic culture in different contexts like *e.g.* in diet for life and afterlife¹⁰⁰⁵, this is reflected in their centrality in religious and funerary iconographies¹⁰⁰⁶. However, the significance of animal sacrifices remains a matter of debate and still needs deep interpretations from different perspectives such as material, spiritual, and political symbolism¹⁰⁰⁷.

Zoomorphic amulets could have been used apotropaically. Amulets of zoomorphic figures might have been intended to transfer the animal's particular qualities or characteristic behaviors to the wearer by sympathetic magic¹⁰⁰⁸, or they were seen as substitute of certain divine attributes¹⁰⁰⁹, or protect against these animals through magic¹⁰¹⁰.

In Kerma period, there was a wide distribution of amulets in the form of animals *e.g.* turtles, frogs, crocodiles, hippos, flies, lions and scorpions, which possessed a religious value, and could be connected to regeneration and fertility and often associated with water¹⁰¹¹. The Egyptian symbols of animals were incorporated in the Kushite period, but may have had a transformed functions¹⁰¹². Thus, following the Egyptian symbolism might be misleading, and we have to consider these amulets in their Meroitic context.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Shinnie 1967, 20.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Adams 1976, 91.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wildung 2004, 175; Pasquali 2015, 359.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Flores 1996, 35.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Andrews 2001, 77.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Toledano 2004, 76.

¹⁰¹⁰ Erp 2014, 24, 28.

¹⁰¹¹ D'Itria 2017, 336.

¹⁰¹² Ikram 2012, 210, 214.

Table. 6.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Distribution of Zoomorphic Amulets in the Meroitic Period

	Royal context		Queen Amanishakheto	non-Royal			Total	
	Tot.	No. of tombs		Tot.	No. tombs	No. sites	amulets	tombs
Ram head	18	6	0	138	25	11	156	31
Lion	2	2	5	38	12	5	45	15
Uraeus	9	4	14	174	18	6	197	23
Ram	0	0	0	22	2	2	22	2
Frog	0	0	0	5	4	2	5	4
Crocodile	0	0	0	12	8	5	12	8
Hawk	3	2	1	5	3	3	9	6
Vulture	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Cat	0	0	0	5	3	2	5	3
Fly	1	1	0	41	4	3	42	5
Bennu/Goose/Duck	0	0	0	8	6	3	8	6
Ape / Ibis	1	1	0	2	2	1	3	3
Total	31	16	21	451	88	50	505	107

6.1.1.2.1. Ram Head

The Amun cults in Nubia were obviously evidenced in the Napatan and Meroitic periods, developed from which already established during New Kingdom. It incorporated local aspects, such as the iconography showing the deity as a ram or ram-headed god. The ideological and symbolic, possibly religious meaning of the ram was already established locally in Nubia at the time of the early Kerma period, and was attested in graves dating to this period. Rams were buried as offerings to the dead and were adorned with

decorated sun disks made of ostrich feathers, ram skulls were also discovered with decorated horns¹⁰¹³. A significant development of the cult of Amun in Nubia occurred with the construction of the temple dedicated to Amun at Gebel Barkal (B500), with the connection between this temple and the main temple of Amun at Karnak¹⁰¹⁴.

The necklace with pendants of the ram head was considered one of the main items for Kushite royal insignia¹⁰¹⁵, which were represented in the reliefs of the kings of the twenty-fifth dynasty or chiseled out in their statues. This tradition was continued and widely attested in the Meroitic period¹⁰¹⁶. Fantusati¹⁰¹⁷ stressed that all the Meroitic rulers were always represented wearing this kind of necklace on the reliefs on the funerary chapels in Beg. N.

Ram head amulets were attested in the Napatan period in Kurru (Ku. 52, 53, 54, 55)¹⁰¹⁸, Nuri (Nu. 1, 5, 18)¹⁰¹⁹, Beg. S. (S. 85, 125, 131)¹⁰²⁰, Beg. W. (Adult; W. 486, 493, 548, 567, 611, 671, 685, 779, 792,¹⁰²¹ Children; W. 508, 634)¹⁰²² and in Sanam cemetery (53, 75, 209, 231, 298, 385, 663, 698, 722, 783, 792, 801, 852, 852, 860, 927, 1131, 1583)¹⁰²³.

¹⁰¹³ Haynes 1992, 41-42, Fig. 186. For more information about Amun cults and its development in Nubia see Gabolde 2021, 343-367.

¹⁰¹⁴ Kormysheva 2004, 112.

¹⁰¹⁵ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 169.

¹⁰¹⁶ Török 2011b, 24; Fantusati 2015, 270-275.

¹⁰¹⁷ Fantusati 2015, 289.

¹⁰¹⁸ Dunham 1950, 81; Pl. LIV. a,b, 88; Pl. LI. a, b, 92; Pl. LI. a, b, 94; Pl. LXI. a-c.

¹⁰¹⁹ Dunham 1955, 12; Fig. 5, Pl. CXII.e, 141; Fig. 107, 153; Fig. 114, Pl. CXII.e.

¹⁰²⁰ Dunham 1963, 360, Fig. 200, 361; Fig. 192.c, 430; Fig. 236.

¹⁰²¹ Dunham 1963, 15; Fig. 11, 3; Fig. 1, 290; Fig. 176, 18; Fig. 14, 6; Fig. 2, 46; Fig. 31, 307; Fig. 180, 319; Fig. 183, 322; Fig. 183.

¹⁰²² Dunham 1963, 28; Fig. 19, 44; Fig. 29.

¹⁰²³ Griffith 1923, Pl. LVIII; Balanda 2020, 300-5.

Ram head amulets were widely attested in the royal Meroitic context *i.e.* Beg. N. (N. 8, 13, 20, 41, 29, 27)¹⁰²⁴, also presented as a pendant on the representations of the pyramid chapels (see Chapter 4, Tab. 4.14), and widely distributed in non-royal cemeteries along the Middle Nile Valley *i.e.* Gebel Adda¹⁰²⁵, Qustul (Q 298)¹⁰²⁶, Faras (2782, near to 2330, 2990)¹⁰²⁷, Argin Nag el-Arab (679)¹⁰²⁸, Argin Nag Shayeg (T. 202)¹⁰²⁹, Amir Abdallah (138)¹⁰³⁰, Abri-Missiminia? (2-V-20/285)¹⁰³¹, Sai (8-B-52.B, 8-B-5.SN)¹⁰³², Kerma (91)¹⁰³³, Gabati (GBT 104)¹⁰³⁴, Beg. W (W. 20, 18, 171, 284, 308, 125, 126, 179, 120, 150)¹⁰³⁵, up to Sennar East¹⁰³⁶.

Based on the dataset of the current study, there are 155 amulets of ram head from 12 cemeteries along the Middle Nile Valley in the Meroitic period. The typological study conducted based on the shape of the amulets showed that there are at least eight different types (see table. 6.3.): 1. Schematic ram head with sun disk and long horn ended outwards, 2. Ram head with small sun disk, 3. Ram head with sun disk wider than the former, 4. Ram head with sun disk and cobra, 5. Ram head with sun disk and double plumes headdress,

¹⁰²⁴ Dunham 1957, 71; Pl. LXI A, 76; Fig. 48, Pl. LXI B, 78; Fig. 51, Pl. LXI G, 162; Fig. 105, Pl. LXVIII G, 194; Pl. LXVIII I.

¹⁰²⁵ Communication with ROM, Amulet no. 93.24.939, dating to Meroitic period is not confirmed.

¹⁰²⁶ Williams 1991, 114, 237, Fig. 50c.

¹⁰²⁷ Griffith 1924, 168; Pl. LVIII.19, 172; Pl. LXI 44-5, 178; Pl. LXX 11.

¹⁰²⁸ Catalán, Llongueras, Zozaya, Vázquez 1965, 143.

¹⁰²⁹ Catalán 1963, 55, Fig. 23, no. 51.

¹⁰³⁰ Fernández 1983, 262, 541, Fig. 40, 66.

¹⁰³¹ Vila 1982, 123, Fig. 129.

¹⁰³² Vercoutter 1979, 266-7, 235; Then-Obłuska 2016, 699, 702-3, Fig. 4.8.

¹⁰³³ Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 31, 34.

¹⁰³⁴ Edwards 1998, 47, 63.

¹⁰³⁵ Dunham 1957, 89; Fig. 68b-e, 101-2; Fig. 77i, 239; Fig. 162, 11/2, 140; Fig. 103e, 151; Fig. 109a, 1/4-8, 161; Fig. Fig. 117e, 164; Fig. 118e-j, 167; Fig. 120e, 184; Fig. 134a,g, 228; Fig. 159, 3/I, 235.

¹⁰³⁶ Addison 1935, 292; Dixon 1963, 233, Pl. L B.

6. Ram head with sun disk and cobra with vertical frieze cross or above the cobra, 7. Ram head with sun disk and frieze of cobra, 8. Ram head in Graeco-Roman style with sun disk.

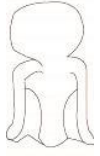
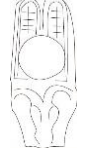
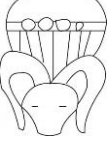
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
								
No. of amulets	3	2	37	16	26	3	102	1
No. of sites	3	2	4	3	2	1	4	1
Sites	Qustul, Faras, Argin N.	Amir Abdallah, Kerma	Gebel Adda, Argin N., Sai, Beg, N. Beg, W.	Gabati, Beg. N. Beg. W.	Sai, Beg. W.	Beg. W.	Faras, Beg. N. Beg. W. Sennar	Beg. W.

Table. 6.3. Typology of Ram Head Amulets in the Dataset.

Based on the variant types of the ram heads¹⁰³⁷, the study could have assumed that these amulets were dedicated to different local variants of Nubian Amun. However, it is often difficult to outline to which Amun was referring each type of amulet. Nevertheless, the ram head No. 5 could be dedicated to Amun of Pnubs, and ram head No. 7, with cobra and frieze across the sun disk, could be dedicated to Amun of Kawa¹⁰³⁸. The representations of

¹⁰³⁷ It is worth to mention that Shinnie and Bradley (1980, 169) referred to varied types of ram head amulets from the city of Meroe based on different headdress. But in most cases the specific type could not be identified due to the loss of the upper part of the amulets. These amulets are 1327, 1370, 3206, 677, and 2266, Fig. 61, see (Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 167-170), and 5356, 6755, 6984, 5090, 6735, 5247, 5284, 5654, and 5757, see Näser 2004, 246-247. Numbers of ram head amulets with different headdress were also found in Doukki Gel temple, see Bonnet, Valbelle, Marchi 2021, 253, Fig. 202.

¹⁰³⁸ Amun of Kawa is typically depicted with the horizontal wavy horns of *Ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiacus* rather than with the curved horns of *Ovis platyrrhynchus aegyptiacus* (Török 1997, 304). It is worth to mention although different forms of Amun were attested in the Meroitic period (see chapter 3; Amun, pp. 48-51), but cults for Amun without any

Amun of Pnubs at Mut temple at Gebel Barkal, and Amun of Kawa in Kawa temple showed them with particular characteristics of headdress¹⁰³⁹, in addition to number of amulets of ram head had been found in the temple of Kawa¹⁰⁴⁰. Whatever, it is difficult to distinguish the different form of the ram head amulets of Amuns, but it is important to stress the Meroitization of the beliefs of Amun in the Meroitic period -and maybe earlier. Regarding this point, Török stated that *“the presence of the manifestations of Amun of Napata, Kawa, and Pnubs indicate that there was a re-establishment of the ancient cults of the local forms of Amun which developed into an integrated program”*¹⁰⁴¹.

As for the function of the amulets of ram head, the ram cults were rooted since the early Nubian culture¹⁰⁴². The symbol of the ram head connected with the royalty, life, fertility, and royal power was crucial in the Meroitic period as an essential element among the royal insignia of the kings¹⁰⁴³. The wide distribution of ram head amulets in the non-royal funerary context is also attested, but it is still difficult to understand the importance of Amun in a non-royal Meroitic context due to the limited sources on its significance in the Meroitic society, especially with further consideration beyond the concepts related to the ideology of kingship.

epithets were mentioned in Meroitic texts, and the presence of the priesthood of Amun without epithets was attested in Meroe (REM 0414A, 0846), Kawa, Sedeinga (REM 1072, 1090, 1146), Amara (REM 0085), Serra (REM 1031), Arminna (REM 1063), and Qasr Ibrim (REM 1083), see Török 1984a, 163.

¹⁰³⁹ Macadam 1955, Pl. XVI. c-d, XVII. e, XVIII.a.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Macadam 1955, Pl. XCIII.e, XCVI. e-g. Claude Rilly identified the inscription in Hieroglyphic Meroitic on the back of ram head amulet from Kawa temple (REM 0704), as *“Amnpte q<o>wi”*, which mean “it is Amun of Napata”. (Personal communication with Claude Rilly, Nubian Studies Conference Aug-Nov.2022).

¹⁰⁴¹ Török 2006b, 233.

¹⁰⁴² Pasquali 2015, 359-360.

¹⁰⁴³ Fantusati 2015, 265.

Two amulets in the form of the head of bull or ox had been found in Faras¹⁰⁴⁴, Meroe. W¹⁰⁴⁵. It is noteworthy that no inscriptions identified Amun as a bull in the Meroitic period¹⁰⁴⁶.

6.1.1.2.2. Lion

Lion was considered an important cultic symbol in Nubian cultures even before the Meroitic period, which was attested in different ways including the presence of numerous lion's statues at Kerma, which represented lions in different positions¹⁰⁴⁷. Griffith's excavation in the Napatan cemetery in Sanam revealed three tombs with the skeletons of young lions. One of these animals had *wḏt* amulet on the neck, another had beads made of glass, the same amulet and a bracelet were found on the leg¹⁰⁴⁸. The character of the former burial does not leave a doubt that lions were considered as a sacred animal in the Napatan period. The aforementioned evidence proved that cult of lion existed in the ancient Nubian territory a long time before it appeared on official monuments under the name of Apedemak. Apedemak created in the Meroitic period, incorporated different aspects of lion's cult in southern as well as sporadic evidence in northern parts of the kingdom¹⁰⁴⁹.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Griffith 1924, 172, Pl. LXI. 47.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Dunham 1963, 219, Fig. 155, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁶ A Demotic Egyptian story "story of Setne-Khaemwas (Setne II)" attested on papyrus in Roman Egypt, referred to Amun as "*Bull of Meroe*" and the chief deity of the Kushites, see Morkot 1994, 282.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kormysheva 2006, 29-30; D'Itria 2017, 385-7.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Griffith 1923, 83.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Kormysheva 2006, 29-30. At Qasr Ibrim, two fragments of a lion's statue were found and attributed to the Meroitic period. On the breast of one lion's statue a Meroitic inscription with the name of Yasbekhamani is preserved, see Plumley 1966, 12, Pl. IV, 3; 1970, 15. In addition to lion's statue found in Gebel Barkal, see Bosticco 1989, 780; Wenig 2019, 861.

The importance of Apedemak in the Meroitic period was increased and became a national symbol of the kingship¹⁰⁵⁰. The existence of a temple for Apedemak in the ancient town of Napata has been proposed but it is still discussed¹⁰⁵¹, but in Meroitic period number of temples dedicated to Apedemak characterized Meroe, Naqa, Musawwarat es-Sufra¹⁰⁵², and Basa¹⁰⁵³. These temples had different lion's statues guarding the entrances, emblems, and inscription mentioning the lion god Apedemak¹⁰⁵⁴.

The types and the styles of lion's statues that guarded the entrances of Apedemak temples in the main Meroitic centers were the same in the terms of style¹⁰⁵⁵, and show that the Meroitic designers and sculptors have formed their own syncretistic tradition of leonine representations, in which Apedemak in a number of variations and combinations appears as a main deity¹⁰⁵⁶. Other iconographic evidences make of the lion one of the most common zoomorphic motifs, as made evident by the large corpus of lion graffiti in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es-Sufra, which were characterized by great diversity in forms and line characteristics, measurements and placement. Lions were depicted in side views, either

¹⁰⁵⁰ Baud 2010b, 90.

¹⁰⁵¹ Iannarilli, Callegher, Pancin 2019, 62.

¹⁰⁵² Hintze 1971; Kleinitz 2014, 100.

¹⁰⁵³ Welsby 2004a, 17-18. A group of statues of lions (SNM 24393 and SNM 441) carved of sandstone on its haunches with its tail neatly wrapped around its left side and over its left thigh facing forward on a rectangular base or attacking prisoner had been found in Basa. The lions' statues that found in front and inside the temple of Basa paid more attention that this temple might be dedicated to the lion god Apedemak. But further evidence still be needed.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Garstang 1911, 21-23, 62-74, Pl. XX-XXVII; Baud 2010b, 90-92.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Bosticco 1989, 780.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Žabkar 1975, 69-70. It has been suggested that tame lion was domesticated as a "royal pets", this assumption based on the three lions buried in the non-royal cemetery at Sanam, and reliefs from Meroitic funerary chapels depicting lion on the feet of enthroned kings, see Flores 1996, 32-33.

standing or striding, seated or lying down¹⁰⁵⁷. Leaving apart the graffiti, the reliefs in Musawwarat are considerably older than the other Meroitic centers, and assumed to have been an important religious and artistic reference for later times¹⁰⁵⁸. These numerous evidence from Musawwarat affirmed without doubt the relations between the lion and the god Apedemak¹⁰⁵⁹.

The amulets of lion were attested in the Napatan period in limited numbers in Nuri (Nu. 15)¹⁰⁶⁰, Beg. W. (Adult; W. 619, 787, 571, Children; 643)¹⁰⁶¹, Beg. S. (S. 85)¹⁰⁶², and four amulets in Sanam cemetery¹⁰⁶³. Otherwise, the amulets of lion in the Meroitic period were relatively increased in number and attested in royal tombs in Beg. N. (N. 6, 34, 51)¹⁰⁶⁴, and in non-royal tombs in Karanog (G. 634, 18)¹⁰⁶⁵, Nag Gamus (T. 128)¹⁰⁶⁶, Qustul (Q 154-5)¹⁰⁶⁷, Faras (2801B/R, 1075)¹⁰⁶⁸, Beg. W. (W. 179, 254, 311, 140, 115, 308)¹⁰⁶⁹.

Apedemak was identifiable in various human-animal and animal manifestations by wearing his typical attribute and the *hemhem* crown (Pl. 1). The relation between Apedemak and lion and some sacred symbols was

¹⁰⁵⁷ Kleinitz 2014, 100.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Žabkar 1975, 69-70.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Kroeper 2006, 290.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Dunham 1950, 249, Pl. CXX.A.

¹⁰⁶¹ Dunham 1957, 39, Fig. 28; 230, Fig. 178.6; 294, Fig. 176.12; 320, Fig. 183.14.

¹⁰⁶² Dunham 1957, 366, Fig. 200.

¹⁰⁶³ Balanda 2020, 305.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Dunham 1957, 111; Fig. 73, 164; Fig. 107, Pl. LXII. C, 192; Schäfer 1910, No. 247, 155; Priese 1993, 23, Fig. 15.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 118, 250, 260.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Almagro 1965, 195, Fig. 226.6.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Williams 1991, 249, Fig. 65a.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Griffith 1924, 172; Pl. LXI.38, LXII.2.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Dunham 1957, 183; Fig. 133f, 248; Fig. 164,8/2, 225; Fig. 167.5, 133; Fig. 98q, 136; Fig. 100d,1/5-9, 2/510i, 146; Fig. 10g,a.

also confirmed. Apedemak as lion god became one of the essential features of local theology¹⁰⁷⁰, as it was remarkable that lion's head was used as a king forehead adornment instead of uraeus or ram head, and used as an adornment of king's kneecap as for example in the representation of the Meroitic king at Gebel Qeili, in addition to further evidence *e.g.* on a plaque from Meroe¹⁰⁷¹, and on the pyramid chapels at Meroe (Beg. N. 8, 13)¹⁰⁷².

Apedemak, as a lion over the crescent moon was a common motif in the Meroitic art¹⁰⁷³. Architectural elements in the form of crescents superseded by Apedemak were found in the Meroitic palace of Natakamani B1500 at Gebel Barkal¹⁰⁷⁴, the same motifs was already discovered by Garstang in the Water Sanctuary at Meroe¹⁰⁷⁵. It is worth to mention that seven amulets of lion over crescent were found in the cemetery of Faras as a necklace in a child burial¹⁰⁷⁶, which without doubt presented the traditional symbol for Apedemak.

Based on the dataset of the current study, the amulets of lion in the Meroitic period were characterized by various shapes (Table. 6.4) *i.e.* 1. Lion head, 2. Lion head with *hemhem* crown, 3. Schematic crouching lion, 4. Crouching lion with physical details, 5. Crouching lion in lying down view, 6. Lion head on crescent.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Plumley 1966, 12, Pl. IV, 3; 1970, 15; Hintze 1979; Kleinitz 2014, 100-101.

¹⁰⁷¹ Griffith 1917, Pl. V.

¹⁰⁷² Török 1987b, 9; Kormysheva 2006, 30.

¹⁰⁷³ Wenig 2019, 850.

¹⁰⁷⁴ SNM 34582, see Donadoni 1994; Roccati, 2004; Sist 2006, 476, Fig. 2.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, Pl. 59. It described as a “brick mould”, see Näser 2004, 246, another clay brick mould was found in Gebel Barkal, see Roccati, 2008, 260, Fig. 13.

¹⁰⁷⁶ This necklace was found in tomb No. 2372, see Griffith 1924, 193, Pl. LXIII.4.

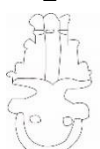
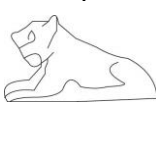
	1	2	3	4	5	6
						
No. of amulets	3	3	4	7	4	7
No. of sites	2	2	4	3	1	1
Sites	Beg. N. Beg. W.	Gebel Adda, Beg. W.	Karanog, Nag Gamus, Faras, Beg. W.	Qustul, Faras, Beg. W.	Beg. N.	Faras

Table. 6.4. Typology of Lion Amulets in the Dataset.

As for the function of the amulets of lion, the aforementioned evidence and others proved the deep roots and wide distribution of the lion's cult in the Meroitic period. Following the contexts of the objects that related to Apedemak and the lion in Meroitic period in order to reconstruct the symbolism of these amulets, the different statues of lions smiting the enemies were manifestation of the idea of lion as a war symbol and the power, and at last the statues of the lions around the water's sources (*hafirs*) reflected the idea of lion as a symbol of fertility. The fertility's function of Apedemak was due to the direct connection with the king's responsibility for the welfare of his population. Indeed, the lion was also a symbol of the king and kingship¹⁰⁷⁷, in addition to symbol of prosperity, re-creation, and protection¹⁰⁷⁸.

Figures of the lion-god were attested in the Meroitic context in the form of small objects, which probably represented the local god Apedemak: these small objects included decorative elements of jewelry in

¹⁰⁷⁷ Kormysheva 2006, 30.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Pasquali 2015, 359.

funerary context¹⁰⁷⁹, and other objects were found from the temples¹⁰⁸⁰. Painted representations of lion were widely attested in various forms of lion or lion faces on the Meroitic pottery from Karanog and Faras, in addition to the unique representations of the serpent-lion Apedemak and lion over crescent occurring in the architectural decoration¹⁰⁸¹. Various representations of Apedemak were also attested on seals and the clay sealings¹⁰⁸². It is worth to mention that a mould of amulet was found in Doukki Gel and described by the excavators as a mould amulet of Apedemak. If correct, this is could be the first amulet of Apedemak in the form of human-headed god with *hemhem* crown¹⁰⁸³.

It is noteworthy that small objects in the form of lion heads made of silver found among the saddles of horses in Beg. N and W.¹⁰⁸⁴. These lion heads were also found in the X-Group burials from Qustul and Ballana, which suggests continuity in the war symbolism of lion in Post-Meroitic period¹⁰⁸⁵.

6.1.1.2.3. Uraeus

The Egyptian cobra or uraeus was the symbol of the sun and of kingship, while snakes had a lot of amuletic connotations. They were associated with the healing snakes or as guardians. Some of the snakes represented in Ptolemaic and Romano-Egyptian jewelry are the Egyptian

¹⁰⁷⁹ Hintze 1971, Pls. 21, 22, 33-35.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Macadam 1955, Pl. LXXVIII.I; Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, and Jacquet 1969, 111.

¹⁰⁸¹ El-Hassan 2004, 25-26, Fig. 3, t-1, Pl. 39-40.

¹⁰⁸² Vincentelli 1992, 108-110, Fig. 2.

¹⁰⁸³ Bonnet, Valbelle, Marchi 2021, 265, Fig. 216D, Object. 382.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Dunham 1957, 111; Fig. 73, 164; Fig. 107, Pl. LXII. C, 192.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Many examples exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in X-group gallery, and in Nubian Museum in Aswan attached with horse's saddles, see the reconstruction of the saddle in Emery, Kirwan 1938b, Pl. 61, 62.

cobra (*naja hale*). This snake raises its hood - that is extends its rib cage - when disturbed or annoyed¹⁰⁸⁶.

The amulets in the form of uraeus were attested in the Napatan period in Nuri cemetery (Nu. 59, 3, 81, 6, 23, 42, 26), Beg. S. (S. 85, 82), Beg. W. (W. 609, 816, 792, 801, 633, 567), and in Sanam cemetery¹⁰⁸⁷. Uraeus amulets were widely attested in the Meroitic period in the royal tombs in Beg. N. (N. 6, 17, 18, 28), Gebel Barkal (Bar. 7)¹⁰⁸⁸, and in non-royal tombs in Karanog (G 736)¹⁰⁸⁹, Nag Gamus (T. 128)¹⁰⁹⁰, Ballana (surface find)¹⁰⁹¹, Faras (1129/R, 181)¹⁰⁹², Sai (8-B-5.A)¹⁰⁹³ and (8-B-5.SN)¹⁰⁹⁴, Beg. W. (W. 139, 159, 214, 308, 453, 125, 126, 127, 179, 120, 288)¹⁰⁹⁵.

The amulets of uraeus were appeared on various items of jewelry and carvings, and molded or inscribed on pottery surface¹⁰⁹⁶. They were placed on the grave or on the corpse mainly in order to prevent real snakes or other predators from approaching the grave¹⁰⁹⁷.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ogden 1990, 116-117; Pierrat-Bonnefois 2010, 120-121, Fig. 159.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Griffith 1923; Balanda 2020, 305.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Dunham 1957, 55, Fig. 29, 143, Pl. LXVIII.A, 147, 149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII.B, 188, Fig. 122.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 260.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Almagro 1965, 195, Fig. 226.2.

¹⁰⁹¹ Williams 1991, 114, Fig. 50d.

¹⁰⁹² Griffith 1924, 172, Pl. LXI. 46, 48.

¹⁰⁹³ Then-Obluska 2016, 696-8, Fig. 2.13.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Vercoutter 1979, 266-7, 235.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Dunham 1957, 129; Fig. 96b, 7, 133, 99b, 135; Fig. 100d, 146, Fig. 109a, 2/6, 8, 146, Fig. 109a, 2/6, 10, 155, Fig. 112g, 161, Fig. S; 117e/2, 164, Fig. 118e, 118k, 167, Fig. 120d, 168, Fig. 122, 12, Fig. 122k, 183, Fig. 133p, Fig. 133r, 184.

¹⁰⁹⁶ El-hassan 2004; Baldi 2016, Cermaic Cat. no. 44, 58, 67.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Toledano 2004, 63.

The connection of Apedemak with a snake or uraeus cobra is an autonomous creation of Meroitic art¹⁰⁹⁸, and is notably attested in the unique representation of Apedemak of the pylon of the Lion Temple at Naga in the form of snake body growing from acanthus with a human torso and arms, lion head, and *hemhem* crown¹⁰⁹⁹. The representations of Apedemak as a lion-headed snake, posed into a cartouche, were attested on the piece of garment, found at Semna South¹¹⁰⁰. In Gebel Barkal from the palace of Natakamani B1500 and other building connected with the royal district several lion statues have been found including snake lion statues¹¹⁰¹. It is important to refer here to golden signet ring from Beg. W. 333: the features of intaglio bezel represented four lion's heads symmetrically arranged around a central cobra with a sun disk¹¹⁰². The representations of serpents and uraeus in different forms and shapes were attested in both painted and stamped forms on the Meroitic pottery particularly in Karanog, Qustul and Ballana, Faras, Wad Ben Naqa and Meroe¹¹⁰³.

Uraeus and serpents were considered to be defenders against evil spirits. In the Graeco-Roman period, stelae with such kind of representations of snakes were set in front of the entrance of the temples as guards, it is worth to mention that various Egyptian deities assumed the shape of a cobra, with particular connection with Isis in the Late and

¹⁰⁹⁸ Wildung 2004, 175.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Pomerantseva 1992, 159.

¹¹⁰⁰ Žabkar 1975, 44-45.

¹¹⁰¹ Iannarilli, Callegher, Pancin 2019, 57. Vercoutter (1962, 298-299, Fig. 35) referred to the ambiguous similarities between the unique representation of the snake lion-headed in Naga and an Egyptian amulet in the same form.

¹¹⁰² Dunham 1963, 260, Fig. 169.6. This signet ring is currently exhibited in the Fine Museum Art, see FMA 23.303.

¹¹⁰³ El-Hassan 2004, 17-18, Fig. 2c-d, c3-4, 7-9, 19-21.

Graeco-Roman period¹¹⁰⁴. The image of the snake-shaped Apedemak on the pylon of Naga temple could also have been related to Apedemak as the god of war. Snakes as protectors were met rather often in ancient Egypt –for example, the winged cobra with a large-scale serpentine body¹¹⁰⁵. The former concept could have found its indigenous expression in Naga and in the Meroitic iconographies.

6.1.1.2.4. Ram

The ram or criosphinx statue, even without an accompanying dedication, is, however, regarded as related to Amun. The Amun ram (*ovis platyra aegyptiaca*) is distinguished from other species of rams by the curved horns of *ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiaca*, which was a feature of Amun of Kawa (Gematon). These curved horns of Amun were part of the king's paraphernalia from the New kingdom onwards: they were symbols of divinity associated with the cult of the deified kings¹¹⁰⁶, and of the king's union with Amun¹¹⁰⁷, because the ruler had been chosen by Amun¹¹⁰⁸. Such ram statues and criosphinges have only been found in relation to buildings dedicated to Amun¹¹⁰⁹. 12 rams statues stood in front of the main entrance of Amun temple in Naqa, a statue of a mummiform King Natakamani stood between the forelegs of the rams¹¹¹⁰. This type of statue is related to the ram sphinx avenue which preceded the great temple of Amun at Karnak, but the Kushite version has its own distinctive qualities, as they are rams and not criosphinx combining stylization with naturalism; the texture of the

¹¹⁰⁴ See Andrews 1994, 34-35; Pierrat-Bonnefois 2010, 120-121, Fig. 159.

¹¹⁰⁵ Kormysheva, 1984, P. 244; Pomerantseva 1992, 159.

¹¹⁰⁶ Török 1987b, 45.

¹¹⁰⁷ Bell 1997, 170.

¹¹⁰⁸ Török 1987b, 46.

¹¹⁰⁹ Rocheleau 2008, 58.

¹¹¹⁰ Kroeper 2006, 288.

ram's horns and woolly coat are suggested by pattern-like carving, the long forelegs are block-like, their musculature suggested in geometric fashion¹¹¹¹.

Amulets in the shape of a ram had been attested in the Meroitic funerary context, as 21 ram amulets of silver had been found in Beg. W. 179 on the right and left wrist of the main burial¹¹¹², in addition to ram amulet of faience from Sai¹¹¹³. The amulets in the full zoomorphic form of ram could be related to Amun of Napata or Amun of Pnubs¹¹¹⁴.

6.1.1.2.5. Frog

Frog in ancient Egypt was identified as a symbol of life, fertility, Nile, rebirth, and regeneration¹¹¹⁵. However, to understand the meaning and function of this amulet in the Meroitic period, it is important to consider it in its Meroitic context. In that case, we can differentiate that frog in Egypt, which linked to the goddess Heket¹¹¹⁶ and sometimes with Isis¹¹¹⁷. The religious role of the frog appeared in Egypt since the Pre-Dynastic period and may date back to the Naqada I period (4000–3500 BC), as a primordial deity associated with the water and linked to the birth/rebirth of the sun, fertility and protector of the childbirth, and a symbol of eternity aiding the rebirth of the king based on pyramid text spell no. 1312¹¹¹⁸. In the

¹¹¹¹ Whitehouse 2009, 133. The criosphinx may have been a Kushite creation, as one of the earliest criosphinx statue in the Nile valley was found in the funerary complex KII-KIII in Kerma and dating ca. 1650 BC, for further information, see Bonnet, C., Valbelle 2004, 158.

¹¹¹² Dunham 1957, 183, Fig. 133u, j, k, o.

¹¹¹³ Then-Obłuska 2016, 699, 702-703, Fig. 4, 10.

¹¹¹⁴ Macadam 1955; Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, and Jacquet 1969, 109, 110.

¹¹¹⁵ Pinch 2002, 139-140; Hlawinka 2011, 28.

¹¹¹⁶ Helck 1977, 1123.

¹¹¹⁷ Hlawinka 2011, 28; Pasquali 2015, 359.

¹¹¹⁸ Andrews 1994, 10, 63; Houlihan 2001a; Graves-Brown 2018, 27. According to the popular Egyptian myth of the creation of the world of Hermopolis, four frog-headed

Late Period, frog was associated with magic¹¹¹⁹, and in the Roman Period, unnamed frog-headed figures decorated coffins, and frogs appear on water spouts attached to offering tables. Therefore, birth and rebirth, often associated with the Nile inundation, were general characteristics for frog throughout Egyptian history. Oil lamps dating from the second to fourth centuries AD were sometimes in frog-shaped, though as this trait covers the whole Roman world one may question whether the Roman frog motif shows any continuity with Egyptian earlier ideas. Some lamps have frogs, vine fronds and an ankh sign¹¹²⁰.

The function of the frogs in the Kushite period can neither be confirmed as in ancient Egypt¹¹²¹. Frogs in the Kushite period had a protection purpose and were connected with the lion and the water¹¹²². It had a special role in the popular religion, where amulets and small objects of frog-types had been used¹¹²³. Based on the context where frog amulets had been found, Hlawinka concluded that frog amulets in Kushite period were related to the afterlife more than achieve fertility during life time¹¹²⁴. However the representations of the frogs in Meroe were connected with royalty and in some context bears political meaning linked to royal ideology¹¹²⁵, and related also to the notion of fertility and rebirth¹¹²⁶.

gods emerged from the primeval water and helped create the world, see Deona 1950, 4; Leclant 1978, 563.

¹¹¹⁹ Ikram, Dodson 1998, 139.

¹¹²⁰ Graves-Brown 2018, 28.

¹¹²¹ Hellinckz 2006, 65-66.

¹¹²² Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 4; Pasquali 2015, 359.

¹¹²³ Hlawinka 2011, 3. This include the representations of frogs in the different Meroitic art genres including sculpture, painted or stamped on pottery, amulets and plaques.

¹¹²⁴ For further discussion, see Hlawinka 2011, 65-68.

¹¹²⁵ Pasquali 2010, 587,591.

¹¹²⁶ Séguenny 1984, 152.

A type of large-scale statues of a frog were clearly distinguished by the pattern on the back –small circles indicating the warts. The animal craned its head and exposes between the forelegs its belly with a pattern representing the soft skin, and the eyes were large globular protuberances. The position of the legs indicated its readiness to jump forward. In its reduction to the basic forms, scholars supposed that this highly expressive statue is a masterpiece of the Meroitic sculpture¹¹²⁷. These statues could be common with the tradition in the southern part of the Meroitic kingdom, as the statues of frogs were found in the easternmost part of the temple of Amun in Basa and Naga, and has no equivalent in Egypt or Lower Nubia¹¹²⁸.

The amulets of frog were wide distributed in the Napatan period in Nuri (Nu. 1, 24), Beg. W. (Adult; W. 486, 609, 779, Children; W. 508, 550, 634, 652, 692), in addition to 55 amulets in 40 tombs in Sanam cemetery (15A, 58, 143, 201, 210, 333, 335, 359, 362, 374, 378, 379, 419, 432, 467, 495, 503, 505, 534, 690, 722, 801, 812, 854, 879, 903. 913, 963, 1061, 1070, 1085, 1326, 1354, 1457, 1498, 1500, 1506, 1516, 1527, 1540). While the amulets of frog were absent in the royal Meroitic context, they were found in non-royal particularly in Meroe region in Beg. W. (W. 27, 5, 127)¹¹²⁹, in addition to one amulet in Sennar East¹¹³⁰.

The representations of frogs were widely attested painted and stamped on the Meroitic funerary pottery particularly in the northern province in comparison with few examples from the southern province. The representations of frogs were often associated with various religious

¹¹²⁷ Kroeper 2003, 164-165; Wildung 2004, 184.

¹¹²⁸ Wildung 2004, 175, 184; Kormysheva 2006, 218-219.

¹¹²⁹ Dunham 1963, 106; Fig. 79i, 122; Fig. 92b, 168; Fig. 22e.

¹¹³⁰ Addison 1935, 291.

symbols *i.e.* *ankh*-sign, lotus flower, palm branch, offering table, and *Sa*-knot ¹¹³¹, and were found in royal palace in Wad Ben Naga¹¹³². The frog and the ram appeared on a royal armlet represented on the Lion Temple in Musawwarat es-Sufra, as a scarab with frog legs and four heads of ram¹¹³³, this complex representation could have the same function of the amulet, which had been found in Sanam (Gr.58.2) dated to the Napatan period¹¹³⁴.

Based on the dataset of the current study, the number of frogs as amulets in the graves of the Meroitic period decreased sharply in comparison with the Napatan period, however it never completely disappeared until the Late Meroitic period among the grave goods. We also might be considering that the subsequent transfer the power of amulets into other material forms *e.g.* signet rings and ceramic motifs is another sign of continuation of the amulet traditions¹¹³⁵. This transformation supports the hypothesis that the Meroitic depictions of frogs show how the Egyptian adoption in Meroitic art waned over the centuries of the existence of the Meroitic kingdom and how indigenous Meroitic, culturally coherent artistic productions emerged¹¹³⁶.

6.1.1.2.6. Crocodile

The Nile crocodile is one of the world's largest reptiles. It had a religious role in the Nile Valley. In the ancient Egyptian myth, a crocodile was the first creature to emerge from the primeval waters. Crocodiles could

¹¹³¹ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 121, 126, Fig. 51, 56; El-Hassan 2004, 19-20, Fig. 2, I, 3, b-20, h-8, Pl. 34, 53-54.

¹¹³² Vercoutter 1962, 288, Fig. 19.

¹¹³³ Pasquali 2015, 360.

¹¹³⁴ Kormysheva 2006, 78.

¹¹³⁵ Hlawinka 2011, 74.

¹¹³⁶ Hlawinka 2011.

be symbols of the life-giving power of the primeval water, the well-known crocodile deity in ancient Egypt was Sobek, the crocodile was also used as a regeneration symbol in the books of the underworld¹¹³⁷.

But the Egyptians were well aware that crocodiles were dangerous animals. It is no wonder that they made spells to ward off the danger of such these animals. The Pataikos are standing on the head of crocodiles, like the Horus-on-crocodiles this might symbolize that they kept the crocodiles at distance or they might be trampling them and thus making them less harmful and thus had apotropaic meaning. However, the crocodiles themselves might also have a protective function to ward off evil¹¹³⁸.

The crocodile is one of the frequently used zoomorphic themes in the Meroitic material culture. It was represented on the Meroitic pottery usually accompanied by flowers of lotus or the symbol of *Sa*¹¹³⁹, Séguenny referred to the crocodile as an animal symbolically relevant of the Meroitic population, instead of the traditional symbol of Egyptian god Sobek¹¹⁴⁰.

The amulets of crocodile were very few in the Napatan period in Beg W. (Adult; W. 787, 778, Children; W. 550, 643)¹¹⁴¹, in addition to one amulet in Sanam cemetery¹¹⁴². In the Meroitic period, the amulet of crocodile was

¹¹³⁷ Pinch 2002, 126.

¹¹³⁸ Erp 2014, 24-25. The occurrence of a statues and represenations of crocodiles at Kerma, suggest that in Nubia crocodile may have been given a religious meaning in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, see Bonnet, Valbelle 2000, 135, Fig. 98.

¹¹³⁹ Reisner 1923a: Fig. 13; Catalán 1963: Fig. 10; El-Hassan 2004.

¹¹⁴⁰ Séguenny 1984, 152. For further interpretation about the Kushite origin for crocodile cults in Nubia, see Lohwasser 2002, 55-57.

¹¹⁴¹ Dunham 1963, 41, Fig. 28a, 290, Fig. 176, 319, Fig. 183, 320, Fig. 183.

¹¹⁴² Balanda 2020, 305.

absent in royal context, otherwise it was found in Karanog (G 675)¹¹⁴³, Nag Gamus (T. 128)¹¹⁴⁴, Faras (1155)¹¹⁴⁵, Sai (8-B-5.A?)¹¹⁴⁶, and in Beg. W. (W. 308, 125, 130, 179)¹¹⁴⁷. It is noteworthy that the painted representation of crocodile was attested on the Meroitic pottery particularly in the sites extending from the first cataract southwards as far as Kerma. All the crocodile representations were drawn in the Meroitic style and had no close parallels in contemporary Roman Egypt¹¹⁴⁸.

Török concluded that the popularity of the representations of crocodile on Meroitic ceramics attested that crocodile symbolized the life giving Nile water, and decorating the Meroitic funerary vessels with crocodiles or frogs maybe related to this meaning¹¹⁴⁹, but other symbolisms were considered by scholars *e.g.* regeneration and growth¹¹⁵⁰, protection, and royal power¹¹⁵¹.

This did not come to end after the collapse of the Meroitic period. Indeed, it seems that the symbolism of crocodile continued in the Post-Meroitic period¹¹⁵², as many objects from different sites were found in Post-Meroitic burials *e.g.* statuette of a crocodile, from el-Hobagi (SNM 26311). This realistically modelled crocodile, cast by the lost wax process, was originally attached to the interior of a bronze libation bowl (SNM

¹¹⁴³ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 220, 250.

¹¹⁴⁴ Almagro 1965, 195, Fig. 226.3.

¹¹⁴⁵ Griffith 1924, 172, Pl. LXI.40.

¹¹⁴⁶ Then-Obłuska 2016, 702-5, Fig. 4.11.

¹¹⁴⁷ Dunham 1963, 146; Fig. 109a,b, 161; Fig. 118c, 164; Fig. 118I, 172; Fig. 125h, 183; Fig. 133g.

¹¹⁴⁸ El-Hasan 2004, 21-22, Fig. 3, j, 1-5.

¹¹⁴⁹ Török 1987c, 88.

¹¹⁵⁰ Lohwasser 2002, 52.

¹¹⁵¹ Pasquali 2015, 360.

¹¹⁵² Lohwasser 2002, 53.

26310) ornamented with floral designs and images of falcons. When the bowl was filled, the crocodile would be submerged. Its gradual appearance as the liquid was poured out presumably carried a ritual significance. The symbolic association of the crocodile with the Egyptian god Osiris, ruler of the kingdom of the dead and guarantor of renewed life, is likely to have been of key importance in the context of the rituals in which the bowl was used¹¹⁵³.

6.1.1.2.7. Falcon/Hawk

Many birds were played important roles in Egyptian and Kushite religious beliefs and practices. The most notable and frequently illustrated was the distinctive, who was closely associated with god Horus and with kingship¹¹⁵⁴. Horus was often represented as an amulet either in the form of a falcon/hawk or as a falcon-headed deity with double crown. His widespread occurrence was also attested in the Late period in many healing plaques or *cippi*¹¹⁵⁵.

Amulets of falcon were attested in Kerma culture, which were perhaps connected to the image of Horus. The falcon in Kerma could be worshiped as a deity of the local pantheon or represented an indigenous divine hypostasis. Based on stelae from Buhen of Egyptian official, during the Second Intermediate period, this official restored the temple of Horus in the name of the ruler of Kerma. The origins of the cult of Horus in Buhen was attested since the Middle Kingdom, when Egypt placed Lower Nubia under its political control. During that period, Horus was described as lord of foreign

¹¹⁵³ Lenoble 1997; 2004, 197, Cat. 174.

¹¹⁵⁴ Houlihan 1986, 48-49; 2001b, 191.

¹¹⁵⁵ Wilkinson 2003, 203.

lands, and he was introduced in the fortresses established in the region of the Second Cataract, where local forms of Horus started to emerge¹¹⁵⁶.

Although, Horus is attested in the royal Meroitic religious practices (see chapter 3, p. 62), only one amulet of Horus in the form of falcon-headed god standing on a rectangular base, with a suspension loop on the back has been found in the Meroitic cemetery of Faras (1075)¹¹⁵⁷, while number of amulets in the form of falcon or hawk had been found in the royal tombs *i.e.* Beg. N. (N. 9, 6, 51)¹¹⁵⁸, and in non-royal Meroitic cemeteries, in Faras¹¹⁵⁹, Hagar el-Baida 2¹¹⁶⁰, and Beg. W. 308¹¹⁶¹. It is worth to mention that the amulets of falcon-headed deity or falcon/hawk with crown have been also found in the Napatan period in Kurru (Ku. 53, 55, 51)¹¹⁶², Nuri (Nu. 1, 59)¹¹⁶³, Beg. S. (S. 157), Beg. W. (W. 609, 493, 787, 760, 461, children; W. 508, 643)¹¹⁶⁴, in addition to nine amulets in Sanam cemetery¹¹⁶⁵.

Horus continued to be revered in ways already known from the Napatan period, as the son of Isis or Hathor, and protector of the ruler. He also had a number of distinct local cults, but no particular temple can be associated with him in the Meroitic period, perhaps because he was worshipped in indigenous

¹¹⁵⁶ D'Itria 2017, 367.

¹¹⁵⁷ Griffith 1924, 172, Pl. LXII.2.

¹¹⁵⁸ Dunham 1957, 67, Fig. 38, 192.

¹¹⁵⁹ Griffith 1924, 172-, Pl. LXII, 6.

¹¹⁶⁰ Longa 2008, 80.

¹¹⁶¹ Dunham 1963, 146, Fig. 109a, 3/4g, 10b/7.

¹¹⁶² Dunham 1950, 78, 82, Pl. LIV.

¹¹⁶³ Dunham 1955, 11, Fig. 3, Pl. LXXXII.B, 27, Fig. 14, Pl. CXV.

¹¹⁶⁴ Dunham 1963, 3, Fig. 1, 28, Fig. 19, 36, Fig. 24, 41, Fig. 28, 69, Fig. 51, 280, Fig. 174, 316, Fig. 182, 320, Fig. 183, 436, Fig. 238f.

¹¹⁶⁵ Griffith 1923; Balanda 2020, 305.

forms. As in contemporary Egypt, Horus was depicted as a divine child who was nursed by Isis or as an adult falcon-headed male with warrior aspect¹¹⁶⁶.

An amulet in the form of claw had been found in Beg. N. 8¹¹⁶⁷. The amulets of the bird's claw have been documented by Petrie¹¹⁶⁸ in his classification of the amulets in the Egyptian collection in UCL Museum. Scholars supposed that this amulet helped in self-defense¹¹⁶⁹.

6.1.1.2.8. Vulture

The vulture in ancient Egypt represented the goddess Nekhbet, and she was a mythical mother to every Egyptian king¹¹⁷⁰. The myth of Isis in the form of a vulture for the protection of the child Horus had a strong impact in ancient Egyptian consciousness, and the image of Isis as vulture was revered and commonly portrayed in magical objects and representations. Amulets of the vulture with representation of Isis were attached to the mummies to magically call the power of Isis who would protect with her outstretched wings the deceased¹¹⁷¹.

The amulets of spread vulture wings were attested in Napatan period in Kurru (Ku. 53, 51)¹¹⁷², Nuri (Nu. 36, 59, 78, 81, 42, 26)¹¹⁷³, and in Beg. S. (S. 85, 82)¹¹⁷⁴. Only one amulet found in the Meroitic cemetery at

¹¹⁶⁶ Yellin 2012a, 133.

¹¹⁶⁷ Dunham 1957, 71, Fig. 42, Pl. LXV.J.

¹¹⁶⁸ Petrie 1914, 13.

¹¹⁶⁹ Gaballa 1999, 12; Andrews 2001, 77; Pinch 2002, 134.

¹¹⁷⁰ Žabkar 1975, 77; Pinch 2002, 121.

¹¹⁷¹ Toledano 2004, 92. Isis was usually portrayed in the form of vulture particularly in the Saite period, see Shorter 1935, 176; Toledano 2004, 65.

¹¹⁷² Dunham 1950, 87, Pl. LXV.B 1/3.

¹¹⁷³ Dunham 1955, 23, Pl. CXIV.A 2/1, 27, Fig. 14, Pl. CXV.A.3/1, 52, Fig. 33, Pl. CXXI.A, 54, Pl. CXV.C 4/3, 116, Pl. CXVII.B 2/3, 146, Pl. CXII.F 3/10.

¹¹⁷⁴ Dunham 1963, 373, Fig. 200, 415, Fig. 229.

Sedeinga depicted the vulture with spread wings and attacking three captives¹¹⁷⁵. It is noteworthy that vultures were represented on a bronze bell from Beg. N. showing four vultures attacking the face of four captives¹¹⁷⁶. The representations of the vulture were limited painted in the Meroitic pottery particularly in the northern sites¹¹⁷⁷.

Due to the absence of textual sources, the same interpretation for vulture as Nekhbet as in ancient Egypt cannot be confirmed in the Meroitic period. It seems that the Meroities had their own interpretations for god-vulture. The scenes of the vulture attacking the enemies were probably a part of the religious cycles connected with the kingdom¹¹⁷⁸, which not existed in the Napatan context. It is noteworthy that mythological elements could be considered in the images of birds on the Amanishaketo's signet rings¹¹⁷⁹, and clay sealing from Gebel Barkal¹¹⁸⁰.

6.1.1.2.9. Cat

Amulets in the form of cat were produced in ancient Egypt from the First Intermediate period up to Roman period¹¹⁸¹, and were particularly common during the Third Intermediate and Late period¹¹⁸². The classic portrayal of the cat sitting on a rectangular base with a suspension loop attached to its back was dedicated to the goddess Bastet, the local goddess of the city of Bubastis¹¹⁸³. Bastet was considered the goddess of fertility.

¹¹⁷⁵ Leclant 1970b, 254, Pl. XLIII, Fig. 50.

¹¹⁷⁶ Dunham 1957, 169, Pl. LVI I.

¹¹⁷⁷ El-Hassan 2004, 26, Fig. 2, v, 3, u1-2, Pl. 35.

¹¹⁷⁸ Sackho-Autissier 2010b, 182-185, Fig. 235-238.

¹¹⁷⁹ see Priese 1992, 42, 40, 45-46, 45, Accession No. Berlin 1720, 1740, 1749, 1739, Munich 2496f.

¹¹⁸⁰ Vincentelli 1992, 118-120, Fig. 3.

¹¹⁸¹ Herrmann 1985, 67.

¹¹⁸² Langton, N., Langton, B., 1940, 2-3, 13-18.

¹¹⁸³ Brier, Hobbs 2008, 59.

Amulets of cat were found in the Kushite cemeteries particularly in the Napatan period¹¹⁸⁴.

Cat amulets had been attested in the Napatan period in the funerary context in Kurru (Ku. 5, 13, 53)¹¹⁸⁵, Beg. W. (adults; W.493, 529, children; W. 643)¹¹⁸⁶, and in Sanam cemetery (231/8)¹¹⁸⁷. In the Meroitic period, cat amulets were found only in non-royal contexts *i.e.* Karanog (G 153, 171)¹¹⁸⁸, and Beg. W. (308)¹¹⁸⁹. It is worth to mention that amulets from Karanog and Beg. W. were related to burials of children, but it is still uncertain if this amulet referred to Bastet and had the same meaning as in ancient Egypt.

6.1.1.2.10. Fly

Gold flies were often presented as a military decoration for valour in Egypt during the New Kingdom and may have had apotropaic properties¹¹⁹⁰. The large fly amulets were also found in the burials of Nubian warriors, they were typically made of ivory or bronze and were sometimes found in pairs¹¹⁹¹.

The fly amulets were attested in Napatan period in children tombs at Beg. W. (W. 603, 678, 861)¹¹⁹², and in Sanam cemetery (80, 199, 231, 327, 396, 690, 788, 1071, 1176, 1181, 1425, 1540)¹¹⁹³. In the Meroitic period, the fly amulets were attested in royal context *i.e.* Beg. N. 15, and in non-

¹¹⁸⁴ Welsby 2004b, 152.

¹¹⁸⁵ Dunham 1950, 40, Pl. LIX.B-C, 51, Fig. 18.F, 87, Pl. LIX.A. LI.A.

¹¹⁸⁶ Dunham 1963, 3, Fig.1.C, 41, Fig. 28a, 44, Fig. 29d, 287, Fig. 175, 320, Fig. 183.

¹¹⁸⁷ Griffith 1923, 140, Pl. LXIV.

¹¹⁸⁸ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 140, 142, 250.

¹¹⁸⁹ Dunham 1963, 146, Fig. 109a, 4/6, 8g, b,II.

¹¹⁹⁰ Castiglioni 2004, 131.

¹¹⁹¹ Markowitz 2012, 191; Manzo 2016, 24.

¹¹⁹² Dunham 1963, 9, Fig. 6, 12, Fig. 9, 47, Fig. 32.

¹¹⁹³ Griffith 1923, 136, Pl. LVII, 138, Pl. LIX; Balanda 2020, 302, 304.

royal tombs in Ballana¹¹⁹⁴, Faras¹¹⁹⁵, Beg. W. (W. 125, 179)¹¹⁹⁶. It is noteworthy that the fly amulets in Napatan period had particular features different than the Meroitic ones, as the heads of the flies in the Napatan period developed apparently into that of a goddess (Sekhmet?) with disk and uraeus. Such a kind of flies amulet in the Napatan Period did not exist anymore in the Meroitic period.

It is uncertain what was the symbolism of the fly amulets for the Meroities¹¹⁹⁷. It is worth to mention that a number of fly amulets had been found in the city of Meroe and one mould was attested¹¹⁹⁸.

6.1.1.2.11. Bennu/Goose/Duck

Many Egyptian deities had bird forms, in particular in an Egyptian creation myths, a bird was the first living being¹¹⁹⁹. Among the well-presented birds in the Meroitic ceramic were geese, ducks, and guinea fowls which were usually associated with some sacred symbols *e.g.* *Sa* and *Djed*¹²⁰⁰. Séguenny supposed that there were cults related to goose, based on the scene that is represented on a vase from Karanog (three geese were represented eating next to an altar), but this scene may well illustrate a local popular belief¹²⁰¹. Due to the limited materials and representations in the Meroitic period, it is still difficult to present any hypothetical argument concerning their function and symbolism in the Meroitic period.

¹¹⁹⁴ Williams 1991, 114.

¹¹⁹⁵ Griffith 1924, 167, Pl. LVIII.7.

¹¹⁹⁶ Dunham 1963, 161; Fig. 117, e/4, 184; Fig. 133u/3.

¹¹⁹⁷ Castiglioni 2004, 131.

¹¹⁹⁸ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 167, Nos. 733, 835, 1888, and 3359.

¹¹⁹⁹ Pinch 2002, 121.

¹²⁰⁰ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, Pls. 41, 50, 74; El-Hassan 2004.

¹²⁰¹ Séguenny 1984, 152.

A number of amulets in the forms of bennu, goose, and duck were attested in the Meroitic period in Karanog¹²⁰², and in Beg. W. (W.308)¹²⁰³,

6.1.1.2.12. Ape / Ibis

Thoth was worshiped in ancient Egypt in the form of Ibis-headed god of writing, while infrequently appeared in Nubian temples with this role, but Thoth appeared more often as a giver of ritual purification alongside with Horus during the king's coronation. Comparing his role in Egypt, the role of Thoth in Nubia was more associated with kingship¹²⁰⁴.

Three objects of Thoth in the form of ape were attested in the Meroitic period; a statuette from Faras and two graffiti from the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat es-Sufra. The small statuette of Faras showed Thoth in the role of a scribe, but his cult in this form is still obscure in the Meroitic period¹²⁰⁵.

The amulets of ape were wide distributed in the Napatan period at sites like Kurru (Ku. 22)¹²⁰⁶, Beg. S. (S. 127, 180), Beg. W. (Adults; W. 477, 571, 609, 716, 761, 787, children; W. 507, 630, 634, 643)¹²⁰⁷, and in Sanam cemetery (209, 584, 662, 692, 709, 857, 1053, 1156, 1378)¹²⁰⁸. Otherwise, in the Meroitic period only one amulet for squatting ape had been found in the Beg. W. 27¹²⁰⁹.

¹²⁰² Woolley, Randall-MacIver, 1910, 220, 250.

¹²⁰³ Dunham 1963, 146, Fig. 109, a, 3/8; 116.

¹²⁰⁴ Wilkinson 2003, 54-55; Yellin 2012a, 130.

¹²⁰⁵ Yellin 2012a, 133-134.

¹²⁰⁶ Dunham 1950, 77, Pl. LXXI.A.

¹²⁰⁷ Dunham 1963, 6, Fig. 3d, 22, Fig. 16g, 36, Fig. 24b, 39, Fig. 28a, 44, Fig. 29d, 59, Fig. 43, 69, Fig. 51f, 294, Fig. 181, 319, Fig. 183, 429, Fig. 236m, 440, Fig. 238t.

¹²⁰⁸ Griffith 1923, 118-119, Pl. XX; Balanda 2020, 300-4.

¹²⁰⁹ Dunham 1963, 103, Fig. 80, f/6.

Few amulets in the form of Ibis had been documented in the Napatan period *i.e.* Beg. W. 493¹²¹⁰, and in Sanam cemetery (1141, 1181)¹²¹¹. Two Ibis amulets had been found in the Meroitic period in Meroe in Beg. N. 28¹²¹² and Beg. W. 331¹²¹³. On the Meroitic pottery, the representation of both Ibis and baboon were occasionally attested in the Meroitic period in Meroitic style rather than the traditional or contemporary Graeco-Roman iconographies¹²¹⁴. It is nevertheless still difficult to reconstruct the symbolic meaning of both ape and ibis in the Meroitic period.

It is worth to mention that in the Meroitic period there is total absence of number of zoomorphic amulets, which were common in Kerma and Napatan period¹²¹⁵.

6.1.1.3. Symbols

The number of amulets in the form of sacred symbols were sharply decreasing in the Meroitic period, and almost all of these types of amulets mainly attached as a part of necklaces or bracelets. Given the limitations of this type of amulets and the lack of variety in their presence in the Meroitic contexts compared to anthropomorphic zoomorphic amulets, it is therefore difficult –in most cases- to reconstruct their symbolism in the funerary context.

Type	Royal context		Queen Amanishakheto	non-Royal			Total	
	Tot.	No. of tombs		Tot.	No. tombs	No. sites	amulets	tombs
Wdjat	5	3	67	64	19	6	136	23

¹²¹⁰ Dunham 1963, 3, Fig. 1.C.

¹²¹¹ Griffith 1923, 136, Pl. LVII.

¹²¹² Dunham 1957, 188, Fig. 122.

¹²¹³ Dunham 1963, 260, Fig. 168, 13.

¹²¹⁴ El-Hassan 2004, 23-25, Fig. 2, 2, q, t, 3, o-1 to o-4 Pl. 44.

¹²¹⁵ El-Mahi, 1996, see also table 6.23.

Sa	0	0	0	108	6	2	108	6
Heart	2	2	6	96	15	6	104	18
Crescent	8	2	0	34	5	2	42	7
Ankh	0	0	56	13	3	1	69	4
Djed	0	0	16	0	0	0	16	1
Lion on Crescent	0	0	0	7	1	1	7	1
Sun&Uraeus	4	4	0	7	3	2	11	7
Ankh on Crescent	0	0	0	3	3	3	3	3
Tyet	2	1	0	1	1	1	3	2
Pectoral	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Crown	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Total	21	12	145	335	58	26	501	74

Table. 6.5. Qualitative and Quantitative Distribution of Amulets in the Form of Symbols in the Meroitic Period.

6.1.1.3.1. Wdjat

Wdjat eye amulet or the eye of Horus was one of the most popular among the traditional Egyptian amuletic symbols for both the living and the dead since Old Kingdom continued to Ptolemaic period, and by the Roman period even that was largely forgotten¹²¹⁶.

Wdjat amulets were widely attested in the Napatan period in the funerary context; 154 amulets were found in Kurru cemetery (Ku. 4, 15, 17, 22, 51, 52, 53, 55, 72)¹²¹⁷, 45 amulets in Nuri cemetery (Nu. 1, 6, 8, 26, 27,

¹²¹⁶ Ogden 1990, 210; Ikram, Dodson 1998, 138; Pinch 2002, 131.

¹²¹⁷ Dunham 1950, 31, Fig. 11F, 56, Pl. LVI.A, 65, Pl. LXXII.A, 77, Pl.LXXI.A, 78, 82, Pl.LXX.B, 86, Pl.LXV.A, 93, 104, Pl.LXX.A.

42, 44, 57, 59, 80, 81)¹²¹⁸, 83 amulets in Beg. S (S. 22, 30, 82, 85, 86, 88, 111, 117, 125, 126, 128, 131, 134, 170, 171, 172)¹²¹⁹, Beg. W. (657 amulets in adult tombs; W. 477, 485, 486, 493, 529, 548, 574, 584, 606, 609, 619, 631, 633, 667, 671, 705, 715, 717, 726, 742, 743, 751, 761, 764, 766, 786, 787, 793, 796, 802, 809, 816, 818, 845, 858, and 114 amulets in children tombs; W. 507, 508, 516, 520, 541, 550, 603, 634, 643, 692, 734, 832)¹²²⁰, and wide distributed in Sanam cemetery whereas 352 objects found in 205 tombs in the cemetery¹²²¹.

Gerharz¹²²² assumed that Wdjat amulets in the Meroitic period are rare, but based on the dataset of this study, it seems that the Wdjat amulets were widely distributed from spatial point of view in the Meroitic period but in limited number in comparison with Napatan period. Wdjat amulets were found in the royal tombs in Beg. N. (N. 9, 15, 18)¹²²³ in addition to 67 Wdjat among the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto¹²²⁴, and in non-royal context

¹²¹⁸ Dunham 1955, 11, Fig.5, Pl.CXII.D, 57, Fig. 39, 81, Pl.XXXIV.3, 146, Pl.CXII.F, 110, 117, Pl.CXVII.B, 231, Fig.178, 137, Fig.104, 26, Fig.14, Pl.CXV.A, 31, Pl.CXII.F, 54, Fig. 34, Pl.CXV.C.

¹²¹⁹ Dunham 1963, 358, Fig. 189.F, 361, Fig. 192.E, 366, Fig. 200, 400, Fig.222.C, 405, 415, Fig.229, 416, Fig.231, 420, 426, 428, Fig.236.E, 431, Fig. 236.T, 437, 438, Fig.S.

¹²²⁰ Dunham 1963, 3, Fig. 1, 8, 9, Fig.5d-6d, 15, Fig. 11.I-K, 22, Fig. 16g, 24, Fig. 17, 28, Fig. 19h, 36, Fig. 24a-25a, 41, Fig. 28a, 43, Fig. 29d, 44, 29d, 48, Fig. 33, 50, Fig. 35d, 60, Fig. 45, 64, 69, Fig. 51, 283, 285, Fig. 175, 286-8, Fig. 175, 289, Fig. 176, 290, Fig. 176, 294, Fig. 177, 295, 300, Fig. 178, 301, Fig. 179, 305, Fig. 179, 308, Fig. 180, 310, Fig. 180, 311, Fig. 181, 312, Fig. 181, 314, 316, Fig. 182, 316, Fig. 182.4, 318, Fig. 183.3, 320, Fig. 183.14, 322, Fig. 184.3, 324, Fig. 184.10, 325, Fig. 184.15, 324, Fig. 185.10, 330, Fig. 185.15.

¹²²¹ Griffith 1923, XXI, XXIV, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIX, LVIII, LIX, LXII; Balanda 2020, 303, 306.

¹²²² Gerharz 1994, 174.

¹²²³ Dunham 1957, 67; Fig. 38, Pl. LXV.I, 135; Fig. 89, 149; Fig. Pl. LXII.B.

¹²²⁴ Ferlini 1837; Schäfer 1910, 162-9.

in Karanog (G 18, 26, 714)¹²²⁵, Gebel Adda¹²²⁶, Faras (2782, 1002, 2380)¹²²⁷, Abri-Missiminia (2-V-20/13)¹²²⁸, Sedeinga (II T. 262)¹²²⁹, Beg. W. (W. 152, 20, 154, 311, 139, 308, 127, 179, 133, 430)¹²³⁰.

It is noteworthy that sixteen amulets were found in the city of Meroe: they are mostly in faience and few in stones¹²³¹. The representations of Wdjat eye also existed on the Meroitic pottery¹²³². The symbol of the Wdjat eye possessed universal powers of healing, protection, regeneration, and guaranteed the completion of the body and extended protection against the evil eye and magic. This amulet was worn in the lifetime, but also accompanied the deceased in the afterlife.¹²³³ No textual sources indicated its function in the Meroitic period, but it might have had the wide meaning of protection.

6.1.1.3.2. *Sa*

The *Sa*-knot symbol was a symbol of protection during childbirth in ancient Egypt, which survived into the Roman period. The goddess Tawret was often depicted resting her paw on *Sa*-knot symbol, as she was a guardian deity during births¹²³⁴. The amulet of *Sa* was rare in the Napatan

¹²²⁵ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 119, 228, 249, 250.

¹²²⁶ Communication with ROM, No. 973.24.939, dating to Meroitic period is not confirmed.

¹²²⁷ Griffith 1924, 167; Pl. LVIII.I, 172; Pl. LXI.42-43, 174; Pl. LXIII.6.

¹²²⁸ Vila 1982, 27, Fig. 26, 2a.

¹²²⁹ Then-Obluska 2015, 36, Fig. 3.

¹²³⁰ Dunham 1963, 234-5; Fig. 161, 89; Fig. 68b, 4/2, 236; Fig. 161, 15, 1/2, 255; Fig. 167, 6, 129; Fig. 96b, 146; Fig. 109, 168; Fig. 122g, 183; Fig. 133q, 183, 230; Fig. 159, 7, 274; Fig. 172, 9.

¹²³¹ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 170; Nos. 123, 390, 503, 1245, 2100, Fig. 64, Näser 2004, 250; No. 5591.

¹²³² The symbol of *Wdjat* was attested on the painted and stamped Meroitic pottery in both northern and southern Meroitic provinces, for further information, see El-Hassan 2004, 13-14, Fig. 2-g, Pl. 44.

¹²³³ See spell 167 of the book of the Dead, Gaballa 1999, 12.

¹²³⁴ Ruiz 2001, 140.

period: two amulets were found in Beg. S. (85)¹²³⁵, and two in Sanam cemetery¹²³⁶. In the Meroitic period, *Sa* amulets were found in non-royal context in Faras (2782, 2763)¹²³⁷, and Beg. W. (W. 140, 179)¹²³⁸.

It is noteworthy that the Napatans and the Meroities used *Sa*-knot among funerary objects which deposited in the tombs in Karanog, Faras, and Meroe¹²³⁹. Two *sa*-amulets have been found in the city of Meroe¹²⁴⁰, but the painted or stamped motifs of *Sa*-knot sign were widely attested in different forms singly or associated with other religious signs on the Meroitic ceramics¹²⁴¹. The style of graphic representation of *Sa*-knot of these painted and stamped forms is different from the traditional Egyptian form. Therefore El-Hassan assumed that such a form was Meroitic in style¹²⁴². It is worth to mention that this unusual form of *Sa*-knot was attested in 54 faience amulets forming a necklace from Beg. W. 179¹²⁴³.

6.1.1.3.3. Heart

The heart was considered the most important organ for the ancient Egyptians. The ancient Egyptians believed that the heart is the seat of intelligence, emotions and the repository of memories. According to Egyptian beliefs, during the judgment of the dead in the afterlife, the heart was weighed to determine its burden of sins, therefore, only the heart remained in the

¹²³⁵ Dunham 1963, 366, Fig. 200.

¹²³⁶ Griffith 1923, Pl. LX.5-6.

¹²³⁷ Griffith 1924, 167-8; Pl. LVIII. 6, 18, 174; Pl. LXIII.16.

¹²³⁸ Dunham 1963, 130; Fig. 97j, 184; Fig. 132f/15.

¹²³⁹ See, Karanog (Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, Pls. 31, 33), Faras (Griffith 1924, Pls. 60, 64), Meroe (Dunham 1957, Pls. LXI-LXII).

¹²⁴⁰ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 169; Nos. 1041, 3091, Fig. 61.

¹²⁴¹ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 168; El-Hassan 2004, 12-13, Fig. 2e, 3, d-8, Pl. 47-1, 24.

¹²⁴² El-Hassan 2004, 12-13, Fig. 2e.

¹²⁴³ See Dunham, 1963, 184, Fig. 132f/15; FMA 24.1068, Cat. No. 111.

mummy. From the beginning of the New Kingdom, the increase of its apotropaic power was attested and the heart amulets were became among the important amulets, which were found on every mummy up to the end of the Late period and was usually attached to the top of the torso¹²⁴⁴. Number of cartonnages in the Roman period showed the amulet of heart worn as pendant, and were often shown on the neck of the child god Harpocrates in Ptolemaic and Roman period in the temple reliefs¹²⁴⁵.

The amulets of heart were found in the funerary context in the Napatan period in Kurru (Ku. 53)¹²⁴⁶, Nuri (Nu. 59, 60)¹²⁴⁷, Beg. W. (W. 787)¹²⁴⁸, Beg. S. (S. 85), and in Sanam cemetery (11, 411, 426, 680, 709, 1096, 1156)¹²⁴⁹. The amulets of heart were attested in the Meroitic period in royal context in Beg. N. (N. 6, 41, 34)¹²⁵⁰, and distributed in non-royal context in Karanog (G. 88, 779, 425)¹²⁵¹, Qustul¹²⁵², Faras (81)¹²⁵³, Amir Abdallah (105B)¹²⁵⁴, Beg. W. (W. 263, 418, 231, 380, 140, 284, 110)¹²⁵⁵, and in Sennar East¹²⁵⁶.

Embodiment of a heart-shaped amulet in the funerary context in ancient Egypt may be associated with bringing more vitality and strength to the heart

¹²⁴⁴ Andrews 1994, 72.

¹²⁴⁵ Ogden 1990, 211.

¹²⁴⁶ Dunham 1950, 87, Pl. LI.A-B.

¹²⁴⁷ Dunham 1955, 26, Fig. 14, Pl. CXV.A, 38, Fig. 24.

¹²⁴⁸ Dunham 1963, 320, Fig. 183.14.

¹²⁴⁹ Balanda 2020, 304.

¹²⁵⁰ Schäfer 1910, 162, 169, Fig. 154; Dunham 1957, 162, 164; Fig. 105, 107, Pl. LXVIII.c, f.

¹²⁵¹ Woolley, Randall-MacIver, D. 1910, 128, 186, 236, 250, 257-8.

¹²⁵² Williams 1991, 237, Fig. 50b.

¹²⁵³ Griffith 1924, 178; Pl. LXIX.6, 11.

¹²⁵⁴ Fernández 1983, 534, 541, Fig. 66, 39.

¹²⁵⁵ Dunham 1963, 74; Fig. 54e, 99; Fig. 75d, 108; Fig. 81d, 269; Fig. 171, 10, 133; Fig. 98r, 141; Fig. 103h, 225; Fig. 156-7, 225.

¹²⁵⁶ Dixon 1963, 223, Pl. LII, a.

of deceased¹²⁵⁷ or used as a symbol of the Osirification of the deceased, a sign of purity and virtue and to guarantee good health both in earthly life and in the beyond¹²⁵⁸. It is uncertain whether the Napatan and Meroitic heart amulets had the same Egyptian meaning or had a transformed meaning.

6.1.1.3.4. *Djed-Pillar*

Djed-pillar was among the common Egyptian sacred symbols. It was used in the hieroglyphic to refer to stability or immutability¹²⁵⁹. It is composed of a broad shaft crossed at the top by four horizontal bars, it was a main symbol of the spine of the great god of death Osiris¹²⁶⁰.

Djed amulets were found in the Napatan period in Nuri (Nu. 1, 6, 8, 23, 26, 27, 36, 42, 59, 80)¹²⁶¹, Beg. W. (W. 477), and Beg. S. (S. 19, 22, 85)¹²⁶². The amulet of *Djed* was absent in the Meroitic funerary context, except 16 items forming part of necklace AM 1755 of Queen Amanishakheto¹²⁶³. The absence of the *Djed*-pillar amulet in the Meroitic context could be related to the limited distribution of the Osiris amulets, which are related to the transformation in mummification practices and preservation of the body afterlife¹²⁶⁴. It is worth to mention that the representation of *djed*-pillar was not a common motif and was attested only in

¹²⁵⁷ Toledano 2004, 90.

¹²⁵⁸ Sousa 2007a, 65-66, 70. For more information about the typology of the amulet of heart in ancient Egypt, see Sousa 2007b, 713-721.

¹²⁵⁹ Andrews 2001, 79; Pinch 2002, 127.

¹²⁶⁰ Fletcher-Jones 2020, 37.

¹²⁶¹ Dunham 1955, 11, Fig. 5, 26, Fig. 14, Pl. CXV.A, 31, Fig. 16, Pl.CXII.F, 56, Pl.XX.E, 73, Fig. 48, 81, Pl.CXXVII.B, 117 Pl.CXVII.B, 147, Pl.CXII.F.

¹²⁶² Dunham 1963, 69, Fig. 51.F 1/7, 366, Fig. 200.6/9, 399, Fig. 221.F.

¹²⁶³ Schäfer 1910, 169, Fig. 162, Pl. 1.

¹²⁶⁴ Geus 1991, 70; Gasm el-Seed 1996, 51-57, Lohwasser, Kendall 2019, 634, see also pp. 58-61.

painted forms on the pottery of the northern Meroitic cemeteries of Shablul, Karanog, and few examples between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan¹²⁶⁵.

6.1.1.3.5. Crescent

Gold crescent pendants have survived from Roman Egypt in relatively large numbers and are also represented in several portraits¹²⁶⁶. Masks and coffins throughout the Roman period frequently showed crescent pendants worn by women - never by men. They are usually shown suspended from short choker-like gold chains or bead necklets, but on some early Romano-Egyptian masks and wooden sarcophagi, crescents hang from long black and white onyx-bead necklets. Crescent pendants are also one of the commonest ornaments mentioned in Romano-Egyptian dowry lists and might have belonged to the bride since early childhood. In theory, the crescent could depict either cow's horns or the crescent moon. The crescent in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was a lunar attribute and a symbol of Isis or Isis/Aphrodite. It was worn as a love and fertility charm, a symbol of Isis, but combined with some of the attributes of Hathor/Aphrodite¹²⁶⁷.

Pendants in the form of crescent were attested in the Meroitic funerary contexts, *e.g.* Beg. N (N. 15, 18)¹²⁶⁸, Faras (1090Z/1)¹²⁶⁹, and Beg. W. (W. 139, 284, 308)¹²⁷⁰. The painted motif of crescent was the second most

¹²⁶⁵ El-Hassan 2004, 15-16, Fig. 2-r, 3-p.

¹²⁶⁶ Lacovara, Markowitz 2019, 187.

¹²⁶⁷ Ogden 1990, 213, 216. Examples had been attested in Hellenistic Egypt, see Petrie 1914, Pl. LI; Ogden 1990, 11-12, Fig. 22.

¹²⁶⁸ Dunham 1957, 135, Fig. 89, 149, Fig. 99, Pl.LXVII. A-B.

¹²⁶⁹ Griffith 1923, 179, Pl.LXXI.

¹²⁷⁰ Dunham 1963, 129, Fig. 96, b, 4; 141, Fig. 103J; 146, Fig. 109, 109, a, 1/2, 3; 151, Fig. 110/5.

common in the decoration of the pottery assemblages in the Meroitic period¹²⁷¹.

It is worth to mention that this form of pendants was not attested in the Napatan cemeteries. The appearance of this amulet in the Meroitic period coincided with the prevalence of its use in the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt. This may indicate the simultaneous adoption in terms of form, but in terms of symbolism and function, it cannot be certain that it was used for the same purpose, particularly in consideration of the absence of information about the funeral context in which it was presented.

6.1.1.4. Scarabs/ Scaraboids

Scarabs are among the most abundant cultural materials to have survived from ancient Egypt: the popularity of the scarab increased dramatically over time, and eventually became established as the most common of all Egyptian amulets¹²⁷². Scarabs were widely manufactured in Egypt and not only transported as exported materials, but were also locally imitated on the Egyptian models in the neighbor areas and across the Mediterranean. By the end of its long history, the scarab had become an universal object and was manufactured in many places outside Egypt including Nubia¹²⁷³.

The large number of scarabs can be explained, among other things, by the fact that they were made for different purposes, *e.g.* as a sealing, or as a souvenir of important historical events¹²⁷⁴, or as a gift for the New Year

¹²⁷¹ El-Hassan 2004, 10, Pl. 2, 45-1, Fig. 3, a-11, a-12.

¹²⁷² Wilkinson 2008, 7, 16.

¹²⁷³ Andrews 1994, 50; Ward 1994, 187.

¹²⁷⁴ Houlihan 1996, 189.

festival, when they were given by the temple in which they were produced¹²⁷⁵. The most important and common meaning of the scarabs, however, was amuletic and magical, as they had a power and effect desirable for both the living and the dead¹²⁷⁶.

The development and profound changes in the tradition of the Egyptian scarabs continued along the history of ancient Egypt. However, it is difficult to track these transformations. In the Late period, a gradual decline in the religious and magical meaning of scarabs is evident. As a result, the amuletic and funerary meaning of the scarabs effectively ended within the Roman period¹²⁷⁷.

The tradition of using scarabs in funerary context in Nubia was variable and had interesting conclusions concurrently with the relation with ancient Egypt. During the Middle Kingdom, scarabs were found in Nubia mainly in the cemeteries in Kerma¹²⁷⁸, and in Upper Nubia¹²⁷⁹. The circulation of Egyptian scarabs in Kerma culture indicated the commercial contacts with ancient Egypt¹²⁸⁰, and attested the Egyptian cultural influence on the rulers of Kerma in the city of Kerma and in the

¹²⁷⁵ Schlick-Nolte, Droste zu Hülshoff 1990, 10.

¹²⁷⁶ Andrews 1994, 51, 53.

¹²⁷⁷ Givon 1985, 9; Wilkinson 2008, 20.

¹²⁷⁸ Säve-Söderbergh 1989, 97-102, Pls. 41-45.

¹²⁷⁹ Reisner 1923, 70-88, Pls. 40-42; Gratien, Vercoutter 1986, 377-79; Vila 1987, 225-45, Pls. 5-8.

¹²⁸⁰ Reisner's discussion of the Kerma scarabs and seal impressions did not take into account the local production of a significant number of seals (about 30%), which were confirmed later by scholars *e.g.* Markowitz (2012), Gratien (1991, 21, 2004, 78), and D'itria (2017). The local seal amulets, which were not in the shape of scarab, but had dome-shaped backs. These local seal amulets were usually made of ivory, bone or clay, and had linear geometric designs, mainly crisscross and incised triangles on their base, and sometimes also on their back. Local seal amulets were also used for sealing at Kerma as indicated by seal impressions which were found at the site, see Reisner 1923c, Fig. 168, 1-35; Gratien 2004, Pl.4.

surrounding dominated regions mainly during the Second Intermediate Period¹²⁸¹. On the contrary, the absence of scarabs in C-Group cemeteries during the Middle Kingdom indicated the scarce Egyptian cultural interaction with C-Group population¹²⁸².

Scarabs were widely documented in the Napatan funerary context, and these scarabs were available to rich and poor alike, as they came to be mass-produced. Scarabs were made from semi-precious stones, hard stones, glass, faience and limestone. The scarabs were distributed in Napatan period in Kurru (Ku. 22, 52, 72)¹²⁸³, Nuri (Nu. 1, 20, 59, 80, 81)¹²⁸⁴, Beg. S. (S. 30, 69, 85, 119, 155, 171)¹²⁸⁵, Beg. W. (Napatan period, Adults; W. 477, 486, 502, 529, 548, 567, 571, 591, 609, 633, 639, 663, 667, 671, 685, 697, 701, 715, 743, 760, 761, 763, 766, 787, 786, 793, 796, 831, 848, 859)¹²⁸⁶, and in children tombs (W. 507, 516, 531, 541, 603, 634, 643, 652, 692, 832, 861)¹²⁸⁷, in addition to 542 scarabs were documented in 271 tombs in Sanam cemetery¹²⁸⁸.

Williams stated that scarabs and plaques with incised decoration on one surface were not popular in the Meroitic period¹²⁸⁹. On the contrary, the

¹²⁸¹ Smith 1995; Kendall 1997, 62.

¹²⁸² Säve-Söderbergh 1989, 9.

¹²⁸³ Dunham 1950, 77; Pl. LXXI.1, 82; Pl. LXX.b, III, LIII a,b, LXX.b, 103; Pl. LXX.a,

¹²⁸⁴ Dunham 1955, 12; Pl. CXII.f, 34; Pl. CXIV.a, 26; Pl. CXXIII.a, 31; Pl.ig. 34.

¹²⁸⁵ Dunham 1963, 405, 377; Fig. 205, 366, 373; Fig. 200, 429; Fig. 236, 358; Fig. 190h, 438; Fig. 238m.

¹²⁸⁶ Dunham 1963, 69; Fig. 51, 15; Fig. 11, 55; Fig. 40, 288; Fig. 175, 289; Fig. 176, 18; Fig. 14, 294; Fig. 177, 67; Fig. 50, 35; Fig. 25, 301; Fig. 5, 302, 305, Fig. 179, 46, Fig. 30, 307-8, Fig. 180, 57, Fig. 41, 19; Fig. 15, 316; Fig. 181-2, 22; Fig. 16, 317-8, 320; Fig. 183, 320; Fig. 183, 24; Fig. 17, 60; Fig. 45, 322; Fig. 184, 328; Fig. 185, 61; Fig. 46, 65, Fig. 48.

¹²⁸⁷ Dunham 1963, 59; Fig. 43d, 285, 288; Fig. 175, 9; Fig. 5-6, 43; Fig. 29, 39; Fig. 27, 54; Fig. 39, 308; Fig. 180, 26; Fig. 18, 12; Fig. 9.

¹²⁸⁸ Griffith 1923, Pl. XX, XXI, XXVII, XXXIX, XLI-LIV; Balanda 2020, 300-3.

¹²⁸⁹ Williams 1991, 108, 147.

qualitative and quantitative study (Table. 6. 6) shows a wide distribution - albeit the number decreased in comparison with Napatan period- of scarabs/scaraboids and plaques in the Meroitic period *i.e.* 26 scarabs in the royal tombs (Bar. 18, 17, Beg. N. 7, 8. 21, 18)¹²⁹⁰, and one plaque in Bar. 13¹²⁹¹, while 42 scarabs occur in the treasure of Queen Amanishakheto¹²⁹². Scarabs and plaques were also found in the non-royal cemetery in Karanog (G 779, 723, 141)¹²⁹³, Nag Gamus (T. 124)¹²⁹⁴, Abu Simbel (T.142)¹²⁹⁵, Gebel Adda¹²⁹⁶, Qustul (Q. 154, 253, 312. 317, 346, 650)¹²⁹⁷ and two plaques (Q. 162, 526)¹²⁹⁸, Faras (3746, 937A, 557, 2519, 861, 2593, 639, 2064A, 2527, 2001, 720B, 854, 542, 956A, 998, 2871/R, 2024, 357, 286), and 8 plaques (2746, 716, 1167/1, 2499A, 2376, 534, 148)¹²⁹⁹, Aksha (T. 38)¹³⁰⁰, Abka (SJE 416.9, 416.22, 250.35)¹³⁰¹, Amir Abdallah (14, 199, 141, 105A)¹³⁰², Sai (8-B-52.B; T10/2, T36/1)¹³⁰³, Sedeinga (scarab in WT3¹³⁰⁴, and 2 plaques; II T 192, 178¹³⁰⁵), Kerma (2 plaques: 91, K 14)¹³⁰⁶, Gabati (GBT 68, 130)¹³⁰⁷, Beg. W.

¹²⁹⁰ Dunham 1957, 49-50; Fig. 24, 63-65; Fig. 36, 71; Fig. 52, Pl. LXV.h, 83; Fig. 56, Pl. LXV, LXI, LXVI.b, 147; Fi. Pl. LXII.b, 160; Fig. 104.

¹²⁹¹ Dunham 1957, 26; Fig. 6, Pl. LXV.a.

¹²⁹² Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 1; *LD* V, 42, No. 38-41; Schäfer 1910, 159-60, 169.

¹²⁹³ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 230, 236, 250, 257-8, 261.

¹²⁹⁴ Almagro 1965, 189, Fig. 221.3.

¹²⁹⁵ Emery, Kirwan 1935, 431, Fig. 407.

¹²⁹⁶ Contacts with ROM, Online collection.

¹²⁹⁷ Williams 1991, 147; Fig. 65b-d, 80c, 93e-f, 97b, 168e-f.

¹²⁹⁸ Williams 1991, 147; Fig. 168g, 139f.

¹²⁹⁹ Griffith 1924, 171-3, Pl. LXI, LXII.

¹³⁰⁰ Villa 1967, 153, Fig. 127b.

¹³⁰¹ Säve-Söderbergh 1981, 164, 169, 171; Pl. 103.

¹³⁰² Fernández 1983, 262, 534, 541; Fig. 66. 34-40, 80, 84.

¹³⁰³ Then-Obłuska 2016, 696-9, Fig. 2.14, 4.9.

¹³⁰⁴ Schiff-Giorgini 1966, 246-7, 252; Leclant 1966, 162.

¹³⁰⁵ Rilly, Vincent 2011, 36; Fig. 2, 41; Fig. 14.

¹³⁰⁶ (Reisner 1923c, 49, 52-3, Bonnet, Mahmoud 1991, 31, 34.

¹³⁰⁷ Edwards 1998, 36, 51, 63.

(W. 27, 162, 165, 223, 254, 159, 115, 308, 453, 125, 179, 180)¹³⁰⁸. It is worth to mention that painted and stamped representations of scarabs in the ceramic decoration were attested only in the hinterland of Meroe in Hamadab, Wad Ben Naqa, and Meroe¹³⁰⁹.

Type	Royal context		Queen Amanishakheto	non-Royal			Total	
	Tot.	No. of tombs		Tot.	No. tombs	No. sites	amulets	tombs
Scarab/Scaraboid	26	6	42	83	56	13	151	63
Plaque	1	1	0	14	13	5	15	14
Total	27	7	42	97	69	18	166	77

Table. 6.6. Qualitative and Quantitative Distribution of Scarab/Scaraboid in Meroitic Period.

In Ancient Egypt, scarabs had religious and magical significance and were believed to provide power or protection¹³¹⁰. The scarab represented the god Khepri, who was linked with the creative power of the heart and identified with the infant sun god¹³¹¹. Therefore, scarabs in the funerary context were the symbol of new life after death and regeneration¹³¹². In the Meroitic period, scarabs are found mainly in earlier tombs and are not nearly as typical of the cult of the dead as in ancient Egypt. The Meroitic scarabs/scaraboids were often imitations of older prototypes, and some were simply reused from the former periods. Stone or faience scarabs were found in the cemeteries of Qustul and Faras, but not at Ballana and

¹³⁰⁸ Dunham 1963, 106; Fig. 79j-n, 236; Fig. 162. 2,5, 244; Fig. 164.1, 248, Fig. 164, 81, 135; Fig. 99i, 137, Fig. 102f, 155; Fig. 112j, 161; Fig. 118, 164; Fig. 118m, 164; Fig. 134a, 184; Fig. 133s, 280; Fig. 162,20.

¹³⁰⁹ El-Hassan 2004, 27, Fig. e-14, Pl. 41.

¹³¹⁰ Wilkinson 2003, 230; 2008, 16.

¹³¹¹ Pinch 2002, 152-153; Brier, Hobbs 2008, 59.

¹³¹² Andrews 1990, 177; Quirke 1992, 35-36.

Karanog. These objects indicated that they came into increasing reuse in later times. Because valuable pieces were often stolen, it is difficult to estimate their frequency and chronological frame. The scarabs with scratched undersides, which could be used as seals, were not in common use in the Meroitic period, nor were the plaques¹³¹³.

In the current study, scarabs/scaraboids were manufactured from a range of materials, and the majority were of faience, steatite, gold, and more rarely jasper, lapis lazuli, and clay (Chart. 6.1).

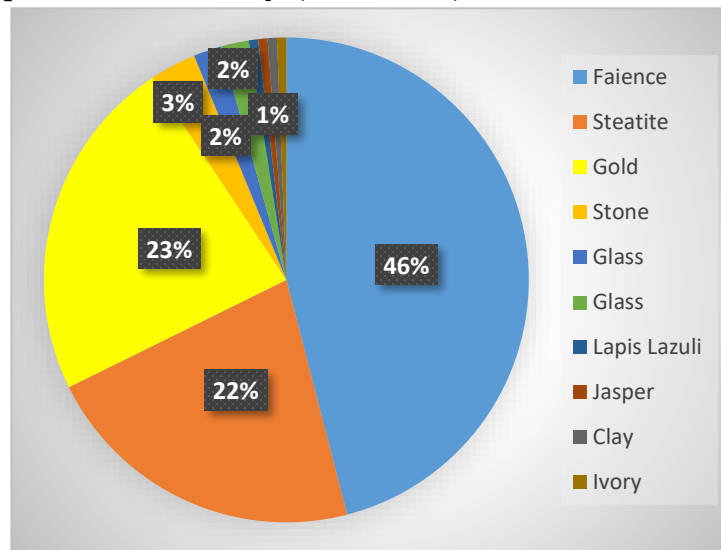


Chart 6.1. Frequency of the Materials of Meroitic Funerary Scarabs/Scaraboids.

Typological approaches in studying what Egyptologists call “seal amulets” were widely applied in the case of Egyptian scarabs¹³¹⁴. The current study attempts to build upon over many research into seal amulet typologies in both ancient Egypt and the surrounding regions. Past

¹³¹³ Williams 1991, 108, 147.

¹³¹⁴ Egyptologists were used to use the collective term “seal amulets” to describe scarabs, scaraboids, cowroids, plaques, and other sub-types. However, the majority of the seal amulets were never used as seals and instead were obtained as amulets for protecting both the living and the dead, see Ben-Tor 2007, 3.

discussions and critiques of typologies was considered alongside the specific typologies created for scarabs and other seal amulets. However, even studies that were based on excavated groups did not establish a conclusive chronological typology, and the absolute dates of any groups, as well as the historical conclusions based on them remained highly controversial¹³¹⁵.

The Meroitic dataset in the current study consists of 151 scarabs/scaraboids sorted, in addition to 15 plaques, as follow;

Type	Number	Percentage	Sites
Scarab	140	84%	Karanog, Nag Gamus, Abu Simbel, Gebel Adda, Qustul, Faras, Aksha, Abka, Amir Abdallah, Sai, Sedeinga, Gabati, Beg. W. Beg. N.
Scaraboid	10	6%	Karanog, Faras, Beg. N.
Cowroid	1	0.6%	Amir Abdallah cemetery
Plaques	15	9%	Qustul, Faras, Sedeinga, Kerma, Gabati.

Table. 6.7. Classification of the Seal Amulets in the Dataset.

The study adapted past seal amulet typologies¹³¹⁶ in order to analyses the Meroitic dataset. However, the recent studies used all available criteria of the objects to provide wide date ranges *i.e.* archaeological contexts, materials, dimensions, back designs, heads, legs, base inscriptions or iconographies, *etc.* Due to the absence of such a detailed information for the Meroitic dataset, particularly on the characteristics of scarab's profile *e.g.* heads, side views and legs, the current study focuses only for the main

¹³¹⁵ Ben-Tor 2007, 1-2; Wilkinson 2008, 20-21; Boonstra 2019, 9.

¹³¹⁶ For further information about former typological studies of scarabs, see Hall 1913; Petrie 1917; 1925; Tufnell 1984; Giveon 1985; Ward 1987; 1994; Ryholt 1997; Newberry 2003; Ben-Tor 2007; Cooney, Tyrrell 2005; Boonstra 2019.

features, which are documented in the archaeological reports including back-types and base iconographies of each object in order to figure out patterns of characteristics that are indicative of scarabs/scaraboids workshops in the Meroitic period. In the following part, a typological study is outlined on the basis of the available data.

6.1.1.4.1. Scarab

The majority of the corpus are scarabs (140 out of 151). The majority of these scarabs were reported by the excavators as a re-used scarabs from previous periods, otherwise, the study sheds new lights to group of scarabs, which shows indigenous characteristics in the back-types and base iconographies.

6.1.1.4.1.1. Back-Designs

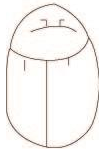
The back designs of scarabs range from simple or stylized with no more than a line or two delineating area of the elytra of the insect to very realistic features. In ancient Egypt, some scarab's backs had decorations in the form of geometric designs or texts or images of gods or religious symbols, which were used as a decisive tool for dating¹³¹⁷, but this type of scarabs were not attested in the Meroitic context.

Based on the available photographs of some of scarabs or on the ones studied by the author himself, the back design of the scarabs can be classified into two groups as follow¹³¹⁸;

¹³¹⁷ Wilkinson 2008, 25.

¹³¹⁸ It should be noted here that the author in this classification took into account the motifs which were depicted on the back side of the scarab to confirm the dating.

Group I. Egyptian Models/Reused/Imitated Scarabs. (Table 6.8)

Photo	Description	Sites	Remarks
	Single suture and pronotum lines with curved markings or V-notches on the elytra wings.	Gebel Barkal, Faras.	This type of back design dated to 19th–22nd dynasties ¹³¹⁹ .
	Double lined suture meets the single or double lined pronotum separation with an additional line encircling the edges of the elytra.	Qustul, Amir Abdallah ?	This type of back designs were typical of New Kingdom scarabs ¹³²⁰ .
	Single lines for suture and pronotum separation with a simple head.	Beg. N.	The scarabs of this type was found in Beg. N. belong to Queen Amanishakheto, which could be imitated from Egyptian models.
	No suture or pronotum division lines, rather only two small incisions at sides of upper back,	Faras, Gabati	This style seemingly characteristic of the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period ¹³²¹ .
	Two scarab beetles with distinguishable features sitting side by side on a nearly round oval base.	Beg. W.	These multiple scarabs date from the Thirteenth Dynasty until the end of the Ramesside period, based on their find contexts and base decorations ¹³²² .

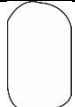
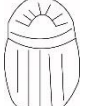
¹³¹⁹ See Petrie 1917, Pl. LIX, No. 8, 20; Rowe 1936, Pls. 33–34, Nos. 31, 34.

¹³²⁰ See Petrie 1917, Pl. LX, No. 47, Ol. LXV, No. 65, Pl. LXVI, No. 47; Rowe 1936, Pls. 33–34.

¹³²¹ See Petrie 1917, Pl. LXIII. 74, Pl. LXV, No. 16; Tufnell 1984, Pl. LII, No. 3041; Keel 1995, 48.

¹³²² Keel 1995, 61–62; Boonstra 2019, 141–142.

Group II. Indigenous/Particular Back Designs. (Table 6.9)

Photo	Description	Sites	Remarks
	The back had no suture or pronotum markings.	Amir Abdallah	---
	Single suture and pronotum lines. the head formed by three vertical lines on horizontal line.	Amir Abdallah	---
	A group of ambiguous lines on the back.	Amir Abdallah	---
	The back had an off-center incised single pronotum and suture.	Beg. N.	The three examples of this type were found in Beg. N. made of precious stones. It is worth to mention that there were no inscriptions in the base.
	Double suture and perpendicular lines of pronotum.	Faras	---
	Three horizontal lines in the middle and crossed lines at the top and bottom.	Faras	---
	Double lined suture meets double lined pronotum. Two small circular dots on each site of elytra.	Beg. W.	---
	Double lined suture meets double lined pronotum in the center of the back, in addition to another double suture in the upper part.	Beg. W.	---
	The scarab depicts with a naturalistic back design, the suture is in the form of oval, while the pronotum is presented in vertical lines.	Beg. W.	Similar to scarabs dated to Ptolemaic and Roman periods ¹³²³ .

¹³²³ See the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection, Accession No. 89.2.398, Brooklyn Museum collection, Accession No. 49.28a-c.

Based on the data in the former tables, we can conclude that the re-used Egyptian scarabs were concentrated in the areas of Qustul, Faras, in addition to examples from Beg. N., W., while other areas reflected local attempts to create indigenous scarabs in Faras, Amir Abdallah, and Beg. N., W. It is worth to mention that in all the “local” manufactured scarabs, the leg profiles –if available- were stylized and lightly incised. Usually, they consist of two horizontal parallel incised lines, while the legs of the Egyptian re-used scarabs were naturalistically carved and deeply incised.

6.1.1.4.2. Scaraboid

The term “Scaraboid” is used to refer to a type of scarab, which was produced with backs in the form of other animals or birds or even human faces¹³²⁴. Ten scaraboids had been found in the Meroitic funerary context in Beg. N. (N. 21)¹³²⁵, Karanog (G 779)¹³²⁶, and Faras (956A.28-9, 2001.21-22)¹³²⁷. The back designs of these scaraboids represented animals, especially birds, and scorpion¹³²⁸. All the scaraboids were pierced longitudinally maybe for hanging or inserted in necklace. Due to the absence of some photos for both sides of these scaraboids, a further typology cannot be provided, but it is worth to mention that the scaraboids from Karanog and Faras might be manufactured locally.

¹³²⁴ Wilkinson 2008, 25-26.

¹³²⁵ Dunham 1957, 83, Fig. 56, Pl. LXV.

¹³²⁶ Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 236, 257-8.

¹³²⁷ Griffith 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 21-23, 172, Pl. LXI.28-29.

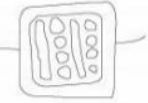
¹³²⁸ The scorpion amulets were found in pre-dynastic and early dynastic periods in Lower Nubia (A-Group), as well as in Egypt, see Wenig 1978, 165-155. Lohwasser (2002, 55) supposed that it could use for protection against the danger of the animal or perform an action in connection with mother functions Isis-Selket or Isis. It is worth to mention that painted representation of scorpion was attested on the Meroitic pottery from Karanog and Meroe, see El-Hassan 200423-24, Fig. 3, q-1-4, Pl. 42.

6.1.1.4.3. Cowroid

Cowroid is an oval shaped amulet, pierced longitudinally. One cowroid had been attested in the Meroitic funerary context in the cemetery of Amir Abdallah. The back is smooth and unadorned. The base decoration, oriented horizontally, depicts hieroglyphic letters which maybe the name of Amun. The entire inscription is surrounded by a single incised line.

6.1.1.4.4. Plaques

15 rectangular, round or square plaques, pierced from top to bottom, or from side to other side were sorted in the dataset. These plaques have been found in Qustul, Faras, Sedeinga, Kerma, Gabati. 12 of them were reported by the excavators as a re-used plaques from previous periods, and only three plaques from Sedeinga, Kerma, Gabati, probably show Meroitic characteristics.

Photo	Description	Site	Remarks
	Square-plaque depicts floral motifs, possibly palm trees.	T. 91. Kerma	The representations of palm branches were attested in the Meroitic iconographies on temples, pyramid chapels, and pottery ¹³²⁹ .
	Square-plaque exhibits circular dots between lines, on both sides.	II T.192. c4/c Sedeinga	Similar patterns -but only on one side- were presented on objects from the Napatan cemetery at Sanam ¹³³⁰ .

¹³²⁹ El-Hassan 2004, 15, Fig. 2, o.

¹³³⁰ see Griffith 1923, Pl. LIV, 3-4.

	Zoomorphic motifs in particular crocodile is shown in a side view, with tail and legs clearly visible.	GBT 39 Gabati	Painted motifs of crocodiles were attested on the Meroitic ceramics ¹³³¹ .

6.10. Indigenous Plaques in the Dataset.

6.1.1.4.5. Base Designs and Inscriptions

The study of the development of the scarabs was described primarily as the history of the designs, not the scarab as a whole¹³³². The bases of most scarabs/scaraboids and plaques included names and inscriptions, sacred symbols, and geometric motifs, which usually enhanced and increase the magical power and/or decorative value¹³³³.

It is difficult to effectively standardize all these designs as so many variants and combinations of these motifs, but basic categories may be followed. Based on the dataset of the study and the available photos, the base iconography could be divided into sub-group as follow;

6.1.1.4.5.1. King's Names, Epithets, and Royal Images (Table 6.11).

Early scholars supposed that the inscribed name of the king on the base of a scarab was an evidence to date it to this king's era, but it was later found that this is often not the case, as in many cases it had been produced centuries after the king's death¹³³⁴. This may support the hypothesis that these objects were considered as protective amulets¹³³⁵. The issue is made more complicated by the fact that Kushite kings adopted

¹³³¹ See El-Hassan 2004.

¹³³² Ward 1994, 194.

¹³³³ Budge 1930, XV.

¹³³⁴ Ward 1994, 195; Wilkinson 2008, 20.

¹³³⁵ Manzo 2011, 72.

Egyptian names for their titles, in order to get the power and success of earlier Egyptian kings¹³³⁶. These names are;

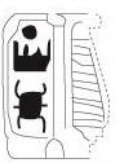
Name	Photo	Site	Reference	Remarks
<i>Sheshi</i> 14 th -15 th Dynasty		T. 937A Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI.7- 8.	This scarab is a typical example of the Second Intermediate period. The bottom inscription had the name and title of Sheshi, as well as a wish formula for his life. There were many scarabs with the name of Sheshi. which were found in Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine ¹³³⁷ .
? Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate period or imitated in later period.		GBT 39 Gabati	Edwards 1998, Vol. 1, 36, 63.	A similar inscription style on scarabs dated to Middle kingdom and Second Intermediate Period ¹³³⁸ .
<i>Pḥ ḥtp</i> 17 th –early 18 th Dynasty		K. 14 Kerma	Reisner 1923c, 49, 52-53.	Number of scarabs were made to honor Queen Ahhotep (New Kingdom). The inscription on the bases usually read as "King's Wife, Ahhotep". In this scarab title "King's Wife" was not mentioned, but it is noteworthy that among the queen's rings, one golden ring mentioned her name without titles ¹³³⁹ .

¹³³⁶ Doll 2012, 161; Lacovara, Knoblauch 2012; Fisher 2012b. In that case, the epigraphic and stylistic analysis for the base inscriptions were a crucial tool for dating.

¹³³⁷ Similar examples were documented, see Newberry 1906, Pl. XXL. No. 13-14; Hall 1913, 29-30, No. 268, 271; Petrie 1917, XXI; ; Rowe 1936: Pl. V, no. 206; Keel 1997: 231, no. 379; 389, no. 834, Newberry 2003: Pl. XXI, nos. 11–18, Tufnell 1984: Pl. XVII, nos. 1792, 1805, Pl. LVIII–LIX; Haynes, Markowitz 1991, Pl. 27; Cooney, Tyrrell 2005, 32; Ben-Tor 2007, Pl. 44; No. 11-21; Pl. 45, No. 9-11. Similar scarab SNM 20177 was found in Nubia in Maliek el-Nasir during SAS UNESCO 1968. (SNM database, May-April 2022).

¹³³⁸ See Hall 1913, 8, No. 75, 10, No. 101; Petrie 1917, Pl. XI, No. 11g; Pl. XII, No. 1, 5-6, 19-20, Pl. XXVIII. No. 88-89, 92-93; Ben-Tor 2007, Pl. 39, class 7A1, Pl. 85, Design class 3D1; cartouches, simple oblong ring, Pl. 90, No. 32-35.

¹³³⁹ Guerra, nons-Camagna 2019, 144, Fig. 1.

<i>Imn ḥtp</i> 18 th Dynasty		T. 2593 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI.	Precise dating for this scarab is a problematic, given that Amenhotep I was worshipped as a divined king through the Ramesside period and later. Therefore, the inscription most likely refers to Amenhotep I.
<i>‘3 ḥpr k3 R’</i> 18 th Dynasty		Bar. 18 Gebel Barkal	RCK IV, 49-50, Fig. 24.	A similar inscription on scarab with the throne name of Thutmose I is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, Accession No. 10.130.49.
<i>Mn ḥpr R’</i> 18 th Dynasty		T. 38 Aksha	Vila, 1967, 153, Fig. 127b.	Similar examples were attested in New Kingdom times ¹³⁴⁰ .
		T. 650 Qustul	Williams 1991, 147, Fig. 168e.	The possible reading of the name inside the cartouche could be also <i>Mn ḥprw R’</i> the throne name of Thutmose IV.
		T. 2539 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 13.	Similar scarab was attested in New Kingdom ¹³⁴¹ .
		T. 639 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 14.	A similar inscription of the previous one, but in horizontal direction ¹³⁴² .
		T. 1167/1 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 12.	---
		Bar. 13 Gebel Barkal	RCK IV, 26, Fig. 6, Pl. LXV.A	A similar plaque was attested in New Kingdom ¹³⁴³ . One scarab (SNM 03135) with the same inscription was found in Amara West ¹³⁴⁴ .

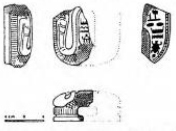
¹³⁴⁰ See Newberry 1906, Pl. XXX, No. 4; Petrie 1917, Pl. XXVII. No. 45.

¹³⁴¹ Hall 1911, 140, No. 1429.

¹³⁴² See Petrie 1917, Pl. XXVIII. 72.

¹³⁴³ Hall 1911, 129, No. 1289.

¹³⁴⁴ EES excavation 1938-39. (SNM database, May-April 2022)

		WT 3 Sedeinga	Schiff-Giorgini 1966, 246-7, 252; Leclant 1966, 162.	---
		W. 27 Beg. W.	RCK V, 106, Fig. 79g.	---
<i>Nb Ma't Ra</i> <i>hk3 W3st</i> 19 th Dynasty		T. 154 Qustul	Williams 1991, 147, Fig. 65c.	This could be the throne name of Amenhotep III or Rameses VI.

Scarabs with the praenomen of Thutmosis III were widely spread throughout Egypt, Nubia and on the Mediterranean coast¹³⁴⁵. Most of them are not contemporary with this king of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, but re-used in later periods. As at least 30 scarabs with the name *Mn-hpr-Ra* were found in the cemetery of Sanam¹³⁴⁶, in addition to in other Napatan cemeteries, like *e.g.* Missiminia¹³⁴⁷. Scarabs with the name of *Mn-hpr-Ra* were also attested in the Meroitic period in Gebel Barkal, Aksha, and Faras¹³⁴⁸.

6.1.1.4.5.2. Apotropaic and Divine Iconography (Table 6.12.).

Number of scarabs with apotropaic and divine iconographies were attested in the Meroitic period. These symbols included anthropomorphic figures of deities or zoomorphic figures which may have been used to

¹³⁴⁵ Boonstra 2019, 218.

¹³⁴⁶ Griffith 1923, Pls. XLI-LIV; Lohwasser 2010b, 455-456.

¹³⁴⁷ Vila 1980: 168, Fig. 191.

¹³⁴⁸ It is worth to mention that among 31 re-used scarabs of the Queen Amanishakheto (Ferlini Cat. 126), which found by Ferlini, there was one faience scarab had the name of *Mn-hpr-Ra* (Schäfer 1910, 175, No. 287, Fig. 168). As the study mentioned before (pp. 91-92), we are not quite sure that these materials belonged to the queen, or it could be collected by Ferlini before start his plundering of the pyramid of the queen.

symbolize kings or deities, but in other cases could have the meanings of powers and protections¹³⁴⁹, in addition to a number of apotropaic signs.

Photo	Description	Site	Reference	Remarks
	Standing falcon-headed figure, with cobra above his head, large uraeus in front.	Beg. N. 8	RCK IV, 71, Fig. 42, Pl. LXV. H.	This scarab was reused and is similar to examples dated New Kingdom, particularly the Ramesside period ¹³⁵⁰ . Similar base design was attested on a scarab from a Meroitic tomb in Abka ¹³⁵¹ .
	The name of <i>Imn</i> between two signs of <i>nb</i> .	2064A.17 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 17.	Similar examples were attested in New Kingdom ¹³⁵² .
	The name of <i>Imn</i> or <i>Imn Ra</i> ? between two sign of <i>nb</i> .	T. 14 Amir Abdallah	Fernández, 1983, 262, 534, Fig. 66, 37.	A similar name of Amun was attested in some examples from New Kingdom ¹³⁵³ .
	<i>hpr</i> in the center between two uraeus turning their heads to the scarab.	T. 124 Nag Gamus	Almagro, 1965, 189, Fig. 221.3.	Similar scarabs were dated from Middle Kingdom up to New Kingdom times ¹³⁵⁴ .

¹³⁴⁹ Wilkinson 2008, 29.

¹³⁵⁰ Similar scarabs were found *e.g.* in Giza tomb 7420 (MFA 25.1780), see <https://rb.gy/ujstgz>, Naukratis (Ashmolean Museum ; AN1896-1908.EA.921), see Masson 2018, 37, Fig. 101. Scarab (SNM 2583?) and plaque (SNM 2593?) from Beg. W. 846 had the same designs, see Kormysheva 2006, 188, 191.

¹³⁵¹ Säve-Söderbergh 1981, 171, Pl.103.

¹³⁵² Petrie 1917, Pls. XXXII.31, LIII.17; Petrie 1925, Pl. XII, No. 738; Rowe 1936, Pl. XX, No. 769; Haynes, Markowitz 1991, No. 234.

¹³⁵³ Hall, 1911, 168, No. 1702; Petrie 1917, Pl. XXVI, No. 9; Newberry 1906, Pl. XXLX. No. 19.

¹³⁵⁴ See Rowe 1936, Pl. XXII, No. 869; Ben-Tor 2007, Pl. 40, No. 9-11; Pl. 97, No. 8, 10-11.

	Three apotropaic signs of <i>wdjat</i> , <i>nfr</i> , and possibly <i>dšrt</i> .	T. 557 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI.9.	Similar scarabs with these apotropaic signs were well attested in the Late Middle Kingdom ¹³⁵⁵ .
	The god Amun, crowned with two plumes, holds the Was sign, followed by the goddess Sekhmet.	T.2519 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI. 10.	---
	A scorpion in an oval frame. Its anatomical features were obvious, including the tail, front and lateral legs	T. 937A Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI.7-8.	---
	Uraeus inside oval frame	2871/R Faras	Griffith, 1924, 172, Pl. LXI. 3.3.	---
	Three scarabs and three <i>nfr</i> signs over the sign of <i>nbw</i> .	T. 2746 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 171, Pl. LXI.2-4.	Similar apotropaic signs over <i>nbw</i> signs were attested in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period ¹³⁵⁶ .
	Serpent with sun disk overhead, holds two signs of life, standing over <i>nb</i> sign.	179 Beg. W.	RCK V, 164, Fig.134a, 213c.	This representation of serpent is particular in the Meroitic period, when similar amulets of serpent and representation on rings were attested.

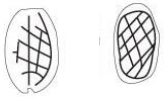
6.1.1.4.5.3. Geometric and Stylized Patterns (Table 6.13.)

Among the base iconography of the dataset, there were a number of geometric and stylized patterns. Geometric designs appeared on scarabs from

¹³⁵⁵ Ben-Tor 2007, Pls. 8, design class 3b3.

¹³⁵⁶ Newberry 1906, Pl. LX, No. 17; Ben-Tor 2007, Pl. 27, No. 5, Pl. 28, No. 11, Pl. 34, design class 3B4.

early times and continued as a form of decoration through the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period. They include a wide range of spirals, scrolls, coils, circles, and stylized floral motifs ¹³⁵⁷. It is not known whatever they were simply decorative or were charged with some magical meaning¹³⁵⁸. In the Meroitic period, few examples had these kind of designs, where some probably indigenous motifs were attested;

Photo	Description	Site	Reference	Remarks
	C–spiral patterns in the four sides and s–spiral pattern in the middle.	Bar. 17	RCK IV, 160, Fig. 104	This type of decoration was common in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period ¹³⁵⁹ .
	Linear marks intersecting each other.	T. 720B Faras	171, Pl. LXI. 24-25	Similar base designs was attested on Kerma seals ¹³⁶⁰ , and on scarab (SNM 03120) from Amara West dated to Meroitic period ¹³⁶¹ .
	Two intersecting lines in the form of a letter	T.199 Amir Abdallah	Fernández 1983, 262, 514, 534, Fig. 66.36.	Two other examples were found in Amir Abdallah cemetery.
	No geometric motifs, rather six horizontal incised lines.	T. Amir Abdallah	Fernández 1983, 541, 534, Fig. 66.88.	This design reminds of an example from Sedeinga, which both show low quality and local manufacture.
	Representation of offering table in association with Hathor's emblem.	T. 998 Faras	Griffith, 1924, 172, Pl. LXI. 31-32.	This representation was typical of the Meroitic period and was depicted on funerary

¹³⁵⁷ Ward 1994, 186.

¹³⁵⁸ Wilkinson 2008, 27.

¹³⁵⁹ Ben-Tor 2007, Pls. 2-5, 32. It is worth to mention that such these base designs were also attested in seal impression in Kerma, see Gratien 1993, 28.

¹³⁶⁰ Reisner 1923d, 75, nos. 1-4.

¹³⁶¹ EES excavation 1938-39. (SNM database, May-April 2022)

				objects and pottery in many sites ¹³⁶² .

6.1.1.4.5.4. Heart Scarabs

The ancient Egyptians were considered the heart as the most important organ of the body, the seat of feeling, emotion, and life. The heart was thus left on the mummy and according to Egyptian beliefs, it played a vital role in the afterlife judgement. As a result, from at least Thirteenth Dynasty, scarabs were made to assist the heart magically in this judgment. This kind of amulet was made to be placed on the mummy of the deceased. One chapter of the Book of the Dead, chapter 30B “*heart scarab chapter*”, mentioned a spell for preventing the heart from opposing the deceased, and this spell was later commonly inscribed on heart scarab¹³⁶³.

Many examples from New Kingdom period were manufactured with loops for a chain or wire, which indicated that these heart scarabs may also have been placed around the neck or suspended from the body. Popular materials for the manufacture of this specific amulet were the green jasper and the dark green to black serpentine, which was quarried in the Eastern Egyptian desert¹³⁶⁴. In the Graeco-Roman times, heart scarabs had fallen out of use, and the few that have been found in burials in this period were evidently of primarily ornamental nature and without the magical and symbolic meanings that was common in the earlier periods¹³⁶⁵.

¹³⁶² Perhaps the symbol of this offering table was to guarantee a fully supplies after life. For further information and examples of offering table with Hathor’s emblem, see El-Hassan 2004, 14-15, Fig. 3, e-5 to e-10, e-1 to e-4.

¹³⁶³ Wilkinson 2008, 33-34.

¹³⁶⁴ Andrews 1994, 56-57, 103.

¹³⁶⁵ Wilkinson 2008, 39.

One heart scarab had been found in Beg. W. 180, which was made of green stone (jasper?)¹³⁶⁶. Seven lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions of chapter 30 of the Book of the Dead were incised on the base and highlighted in white pigment. This heart scarab was reused from New Kingdom, and was similar to many examples from ancient Egypt¹³⁶⁷.

6.1.1.4.5.5. Uninscribed Scarabs

Among the Meroitic scarabs which were studied, there are eight uninscribed scarabs, one from Amir Abdallah cemetery and seven from Beg. W. These scarabs were made of faience or semi-precious stones. Many uninscribed scarabs of semi-precious material are difficult to date¹³⁶⁸. It is noteworthy that many uninscribed scarabs of semi-precious stones were also attested in ancient Egypt¹³⁶⁹.

Based on the former typology of the scarabs/scaraboids and plaques, the study can sum up that the limited number of scarabs/scaraboids in the Meroitic context¹³⁷⁰, and the presence of re-used objects¹³⁷¹, prevents us to figure out workshop traditions. Therefore, it is often difficult to provide chronological criteria for the scarabs without complex arguments¹³⁷². Nevertheless, the study can suggest that geometric and stylized patterns (6.1.1.4.5.3) could be considered typical Meroitic in style, which is consistent with the decline of the traditions of the ancient Egyptian language in the

¹³⁶⁶ Dunham 1963, 280, Fig. 160.20.

¹³⁶⁷ Petrie 1917, Pls. XLVII-XLVIII.

¹³⁶⁸ Cooney, Tyrrell 2005, 92.

¹³⁶⁹ For similar uninscribed scarabs in Egypt, see Cooney, Tyrrell 2005, 92-95.

¹³⁷⁰ Woolley, Randall-Maclver 1910, G 141.

¹³⁷¹ Williams 1991, 108, 147.

¹³⁷² Many thousands of seal amulets have been found on sites throughout Egypt, but dating are still an ambiguous approach with many difficulties and gaps in our knowledge. This is actually associated to the limited archaeological evidence about workshops and scarab production centers.

Meroitic period, in addition to scarabs from Queen Amanishakheto and other with unique iconographic items (*e.g.* serpent with life sign).

It is noteworthy that a considerable number of scarabs, scaraboids, and plaques attested in the city of Meroe¹³⁷³, where few numbers with geometric and stylized patterns were attested, which could be local examples and harmonized with aforementioned conclusions .

6.1.1.5. Phytomorphic

Different types of phytomorphic amulets have been attested in the Meroitic period. They distributed as follow;

Type	Royal context		Queen Amanishakheto	non-Royal			Total	
	Tot.	No. of tombs		Tot.	No. tombs	No. sites	amulets	tombs
Rosette	5	1	0	41	11	3	46	12
Flower-bud	0	0	0	3	2	2	3	2
Lotus blossom/flower like pendant	4	1	1	19	2	1	24	4
Grains	0	0	0	10	2	2	10	2
Total	9	2	1	73	17	8	83	20

Table. 6.14. Qualitative and Quantitative Distribution of Phytomorphic Amulets in Meroitic Period.

6.1.1.5.1. Rosette

The earliest Nubian rosette appear on Qustul A-Group censurs, the representation related to kingship, the same symbolism could be supposed

¹³⁷³ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 170; Nos. 360, 366, 397, 498, 1324, 1533, 2075a, 2110, 3465, 3474a, 2504a, 389, 1501, 292. Figs. 61, 62, 63; Näser 2004, 246; No. 7032.

as in ancient Egypt, as rosette related to early royalty on the scorpion and Narmer mace heads¹³⁷⁴.

The rosette was attested in the Napatan period as an amulet, examples had been found at Nuri (Nu. 27, 9, 5, 18, 17, 7, 2, 16)¹³⁷⁵, Kurru (Ku. 16, 54, 55)¹³⁷⁶, Beg. S. (S. 8, 85, 91, 95), and Beg. W. (W. 443)¹³⁷⁷. Rosette amulets were attested in Meroitic funerary context in royal context Beg. N. 8¹³⁷⁸, and in non-royal context in Faras (956A, 2763)¹³⁷⁹, Sedeinga (II T 186, 192, 239)¹³⁸⁰, and 36 amulets in Beg. W. (W. 27, 254, 125, 179, 430, 102)¹³⁸¹.

Rosettes were found in the city of Meroe and described as “rosette beads”¹³⁸², also were used as architecture motif in the Meroitic period, such as in the Water Sanctuary (M 195) in Meroe¹³⁸³, also the motifs of rosette were carved on offering tables, which were found in Naga in Lion Temple N. 300 and in room N. 106, where rosette is represented between ankh-signs¹³⁸⁴. Its function cannot be identified with certainty, but apparently it

¹³⁷⁴ Michaux-colombot 2015, 279, 281.

¹³⁷⁵ Dunham 1955, 109, Fig. 84, 122, 141, Fig. 107, 153, Pl. CXII.E, 155, Pl. CXIII.B, 161, Fig. 122, 169, Fig. 127, 208, Fig. 160.

¹³⁷⁶ Dunham 1950, 61, Fig. 21c, 91, Fig. 30d, 93, Fig. 31e, Pl. LXIV.A.

¹³⁷⁷ Dunham 1963, 391, Fig. 216g, 416, 420, 442, Fig. 232, 278, Fig. 173.12.

¹³⁷⁸ Dunham 1957, 69, Fig. 42, Pl. LXI.A, K.

¹³⁷⁹ Griffith 1924, 168, Pl. LIX, 174, Pl. LXIII.

¹³⁸⁰ Rilly, Vincent 2011, 75; Then-Obłuska 2015, 36, Fig. 11.

¹³⁸¹ Dunham 1963, 106, Pl. XIIc, 248, Fig. 164, 161, Fig. 117, 183, 274, Fig. 172, 192, Fig. 138j.

¹³⁸² Shinnie, Bradley 1980, Fig. 66, No. 2138; Then-Obłuska 2015, 36.

¹³⁸³ The term “Royal Baths” goes back to Garstang. It is recently described as a water sanctuary, which decorated with wall paintings and numerous statues. The decorative elements and faience tiles with rosette clearly dated to the time of Natakamani. The Hellenizing elements in Musawwarat es-Sufra and in Naga probably merged during that time, see Wenig 2019, 850.

¹³⁸⁴ Kroeper, Wildung 2002, 144, Pl. IV.

served as an inlay of some sort, probably these faience ones represent inlays¹³⁸⁵.

In the Late Meroitic period, the rosette shapes were also observed in the decorations on the lintels, this kind of decoration is linked with the wine marks, which was referred to complex degree of penetration of Dionysianism in Meroitic funerary religion¹³⁸⁶. The rosette was the most popular of the Hellenistic decorative motifs in Egypt, and the most quintessentially Hellenistic element found on the lamps¹³⁸⁷.

It is noteworthy that numbers of golden rosettes had been found in Wadi Terfowi in the Eastern Desert, tomb D 16.1, related to Beja, and dated second-first centuries BC. These rosettes had been found among number of golden amulets *i.e.* discs, cowrie shells, and hand¹³⁸⁸. These rosettes were similar to golden rosettes that found in Beg. N and Beg. W. This could confirm the relation between Meroe hinterland and region of Eastern Desert where the sources of gold were located.

6.1.1.5.2. Lotus Blossom/Three-Petal Flower

Lotus flower in Egyptian mythology, was connected to creation, water, rejuvenation, and rebirth. It was believed that Ra was born from a gigantic lotus flower, which emerged from underwater and open up its petals with the rising of the sun. The lotus symbolically was a solar symbol

¹³⁸⁵ Näser 2004, 238.

¹³⁸⁶ Francigny 2016, 37.

¹³⁸⁷ Sakoutis 2009, 42.

¹³⁸⁸ These golden objects were discovered during excavation of a robbed circulars in the Wadi Terfowi (Tomb D 16.1). the golden objects were; discs (SNM 31350), rosettes (SNM 31355), flies (SNM 31347), hand (SNM 31351) and cowrie shells (SNM 31354), which were created by beating gold foil over a form, while shells and scarabs (SNM 31353) were probably poured into an open mould, see Castiglioni 2004, 130-131; Lacovara, Markowitz 2019, 34, Fig. 13.

of creation and the origin of life¹³⁸⁹. In the Napatan and Meroitic art, the association of the lotus with rebirth and creation makes it more significant among the floral motifs and widely attested in religious architecture, amulets and plaques, inlays, and on Meroitic pottery¹³⁹⁰.

Lotus pendants were found in Napatan cemeteries, Kurru (Ku. 72)¹³⁹¹, Nuri (Nu. 28, 13)¹³⁹², Beg. S. (S. 85)¹³⁹³, in addition a large number of lotus amulets was found in the Sanam cemetery¹³⁹⁴. Several of lotus amulets were found in Meroitic period in royal cemetery Beg. N. (N. 6, 29, 27, 26, 18)¹³⁹⁵, and in non-royal tombs in Beg. W. (W. 212, 199)¹³⁹⁶. It seems that the Meroities understood the association of lotus with creation, birth, life, and rebirth, as appears to be suggested by scenes of deceased royalties (and of god Apedemak) holding lotus flowers towards their noses, and by the scene of Apedemak as the primordial snake issuing from the primordial lotus flower¹³⁹⁷.

The depictions of the “three-petal flower upon alter” were commonly attested in the chapels and on silver bowls in the first and second centuries AD. They were contemporary with the earliest depictions

¹³⁸⁹ Ruiz 2001, 138, Pinch 2002, 158.

¹³⁹⁰ El-Hassan 2004, 9.

¹³⁹¹ Dunham 1950, 104, Pl. LXX.A-C.

¹³⁹² Dunham 1955, 127, Fig. 95, 221, Fig. 171.

¹³⁹³ Dunham 1963, 366, Fig. 200.

¹³⁹⁴ Griffith 1923, Pl. LVIII 2-4, 7, LXV 6.

¹³⁹⁵ Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 13; Schäfer 1910, No. 279, 167-8; Dunham 1957, 170, Fig. 109, Pl. LXII.G, 194, Pl. Pl. LXVIII.I, 197, Fig. 128, 149, Fig. 99, Pl. LXII.B.

¹³⁹⁶ Dunham 1963, 241, 243, Fig. 163.14.

¹³⁹⁷ For further scenes of lotus flower or bouquets in Musawwarat es-Sufra temples, see Hintze 1971, Pl. 21, 35, 65, 67, 80, 85, 89, 96. Žabkar assumed that it is not lotus flower, but it is a cluster of acanthus leaves that the lion-god seems to emerge. Acanthus leaves were different than the Egyptian floral motifs, since the acanthus does not occur in Egyptian architecture. It is new at Naga and it is indeed a foreign non-Egyptian elements introduced into Meroitic art, see Žabkar 1975, 43.

of the milk libation rites performed for the ruler, and were attested in the figural graffiti of Post-Meroitic Philae, which suggests that the symbol was related to the worship of Isis and the milk libations that she performed in the funerary cult of Osiris. The three-petal flower images were found in the Beg. W. cemetery, which may be also related to the Isiac milk libation rites¹³⁹⁸. It is worth to mention that a fragmentary piece of lotus flower was recorded as an amulet from the city of Meroe¹³⁹⁹. The representation of the Lotus in the form of painted or stamped motifs on the Meroitic pottery seems to be the commonest symbol which was found singly or in association with other religious motifs in many Meroitic sites like Karanog, Qustul and Ballana, Faras, Wad Ben Naqa, and Meroe¹⁴⁰⁰.

6.1.1.6. Others

6.1.1.6.1. Shell

Shells were used in ancient Egypt as an amulet since the Pre-Dynastic period. Due to their amuletic significance for the Egyptians, since the 6th dynasty (2345-2181BC), shells were imitated in different materials like faience, gold, carnelian, and quartz. In ancient Egypt, it has been suggested that shells may have been used as amulet for health especially for woman and linked to fertility and female sexuality¹⁴⁰¹. In the Graeco-Roman periods, types of shells *e.g.* the bivalve, typically a scallop or oyster, were more usual. Shells were becoming one of Isis-Aphrodite's more important attributes and the birth of Aphrodite on a shell was depicted from

¹³⁹⁸ For further examples of the depictions of three-petal flower, see Ashby 2016, 257-258.

¹³⁹⁹ Näser 2004, 249, No. 5820.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For further information about painted and stamped lotus-flower, see El-Hassan 2004, 9-10, Fig. 2-b, 3-a1-a9.

¹⁴⁰¹ Andrews 1990, 173; Manzo 2011, 71; Fletcher-Jones 2020.

the fifth century BC onwards. The association of shells with Isis/Aphrodite occurs in Roman Egypt, for example some Romano-Egyptian female figurines in terracotta are shown holding a shell¹⁴⁰².

In the Nubian context, scholars¹⁴⁰³ supposed the Nubian origin of using shell as amulets. Shells were largely attested in Kerma assemblages as an amulet¹⁴⁰⁴. Imitated shell amulets were attested in the Napatan cemeteries, Kurru (Ku. 4)¹⁴⁰⁵, Nuri (Nu. 44)¹⁴⁰⁶, Beg. W. (W. 486)¹⁴⁰⁷, and in Sanam cemetery (679, 154, 587, 562, 1531/7)¹⁴⁰⁸, in addition to a large number of natural shells in all those cemeteries. In the Meroitic period, a number of imitations of shells were attested in gold and silver in the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto¹⁴⁰⁹, and in gold, silver, bronze, carnelian, beryl, faience in other Meroitic cemeteries in Faras (2782, 2389, 23, 2782/20)¹⁴¹⁰, Amir Abdallah (281)¹⁴¹¹, Beg. W. (W. 18, 27, 24, 453)¹⁴¹². It is worth to mention that the imitated shells in the Meroitic period were mainly cowrie shells.

6.1.1.6.2. Bell

In the Kushite period, bronze bells were frequently worn by oxen, goats, camels, horses. The bells from the royal Meroitic tombs were richly decorated

¹⁴⁰² Ogden 1990, 217-218.

¹⁴⁰³ Aldred, 1979, 44-45, 121, 124; Manzo 2011, 78.

¹⁴⁰⁴ D'Itria 2017.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Dunham 1950, 31, Pl. LIX.H. It is worth to mention that number of imitated shells had found in the graves of the horse, see Ku. 203; p. 112, Pl. LXIX.B, Ku. 209; p. 113, Pl. LXVIII, Ku. 210, Ku. 220, Pl. 116.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Dunham 1955, 231, Fig. 178, Pl. CXIV.A.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Dunham 1963, 15.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Griffith 1923, Pl. LVII.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 4, 15; Schäfer 1910, No. 251-4, 156-7.

¹⁴¹⁰ Griffith 1924, 167-8, Pl. LVII. 177, Pl. LXIX, 177-9, Pl. LXIX, LXX, LXXI.

¹⁴¹¹ Fernández 1983, 262, 534, Fig. 88, 84.

¹⁴¹² Dunham 1963, 101-3, Fig. 77g, 80f/6, 219, Fig. 155-6, 155, Fig. 112h,r.

and were found on the descending stairs leading to the burial chamber¹⁴¹³, some of these bells were incised with images of a bound captives¹⁴¹⁴. Reisner recovered at least 61 bells from 21 tombs in Beg. W and Beg. N. which might support the local production of these bells¹⁴¹⁵. The number of bells attached to each cord varied from one to twenty-two and conformed in general to fourteen types¹⁴¹⁶

No obvious evidence in the archaeological context refers that bells were used by individuals in Nubia as an amulet, but few evidence in Meroitic period could support the idea that bells could be among the Meroitic amulets. Four tiny golden bells were found among the treasure of the Queen Amanishakheto¹⁴¹⁷, in addition to this a number of tiny bells were inserted in the necklaces found in the Meroitic cemeteries in Faras (2369)¹⁴¹⁸, Argin North (Nag Shayeg)¹⁴¹⁹, tiny bell from Beg. W. 18¹⁴²⁰, and three small beads in the form of bell in a necklace (22-2-534) from Beg. W. 140¹⁴²¹. It is worth to mention that Wenig¹⁴²² also supposed that in the representation of Sherkaror from Gebel Qeili, a thin band with unspecified small pendants could probably be a band of bells.

Petrie¹⁴²³ suggested that in ancient Egypt, as with the rest of the Classical world, Bes bells were considered an amuletic object and worn

¹⁴¹³ Séguenny 1984, 153.

¹⁴¹⁴ Flores 1996, 34; Sakoutis 2009, 75-76.

¹⁴¹⁵ Kendall 1982, 55.

¹⁴¹⁶ Emery, Kirwan 1938, 262.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ferlini 1837, Cat. No. 6; Schäfer 1910, No. 278, 167; Priese 1993, 27, Fig. 22.

¹⁴¹⁸ Griffith 1924, 177, Pl. LXIX.

¹⁴¹⁹ Catalán 1963, 22, Pl. VII, 3A, Fig. 20, No. 5.

¹⁴²⁰ Dunham 1963, 101-2, Fig. 77h.

¹⁴²¹ Dunham 1963, 133, Fig. 98n.

¹⁴²² Wenig 2015, 57, Pl. VIIa.

¹⁴²³ Petrie 1914, 28.

around the necks of children for protection. Indeed, several bronze examples¹⁴²⁴, either alone or on bracelets, have been found in burials of children and women. In several cultures, bells were used to ward off evil. As early as the 5th century BC, classic writers mentioned that the sound of bells frightened evil deities and some Graeco-Roman bells were decorated with other apotropaic symbols¹⁴²⁵. The protective nature of these bells was reinforced by Egyptian examples, held in the British Museum and Cairo Museum: not only Bes but also animals such as lizards (as though to protect against such dangerous things) are represented on them¹⁴²⁶.

6.2. Material

The amulets in the Meroitic period were manufactured from varied materials including metals (gold, silver, bronze, copper, and iron), stones (lapis lazuli, carnelian, turquoise, and steatite), few of organic materials (bones, ivory, shells, ostrich eggshell), and vitreous materials (faience, steatite, glass). The golden amulets of the royal Meroitic family members reflected very high artisanal standards. It is important to start with the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the materials of the dataset to better understand the general distribution of the materials along the Nile Valley in the selected sites during the Meroitic period.

¹⁴²⁴ Several bells of a rather similar type were discovered in Naukratis: FMA, accession No. 88.751-88.752; similar in British Museum, see BM 1888,0601.8; BM 1885,1101.101. On small bronze bells decorated with a Bes head and mythological animals, see Anderson 1976, 32-34, no. 33-38. They are often dated to the Graeco-Roman or Roman period. However, at least three of them were discovered in the cemetery of Naukratis, which provided mainly material of the early Ptolemaic period. In this context, they likely had an amuletic function, see Petrie 1914, 28.

¹⁴²⁵ For further information about bells as amulet, see Abd el-Hamid, M., 2015, 85-111.

¹⁴²⁶ Graves-Brown 2018, 53.

Material Used	Corpus	%
Gold	673	38
Faience	590	34
Silver	233	13
Bronze	23	1.3
Other metal (Electrum, Iron, Lead)	11	0.5
Steatite	46	2.5
Other Vitreous Materials (frit, glass)	33	2
Carnelian	16	0.9
Lapis Lazuli	2	0.1
Other stone (Jasper, Beryl, Agata, Alabaster, Granite, Quartiz, pearl)	24	1.3
Organic materials (Ivory, Leather, Shell, Eggshell, Bone)	47	2.5
Others (Wood, Clay)	3	0.1
Indeterminable	7	0.4
Composite	25	1.4
Not mentioned	15	0.8

Table 6.15. Distribution of the Materials of the Meroitic Funerary Amulets.

Based on interpreting the dataset, gold was the more precious used material, while faience was the more widely distributed material. Chart. 6.1. shows that the golden amulets were concentrated only in the Meroe region, associated to royal families and the elites in the capital city. This concentration also confirms that Meroe had an easier access to gold than other sites. It is worth to mention that the 18 golden amulets found in the Meroitic cemetery

of Faras were similar in shape and manufacture techniques to other golden amulets from Meroe.

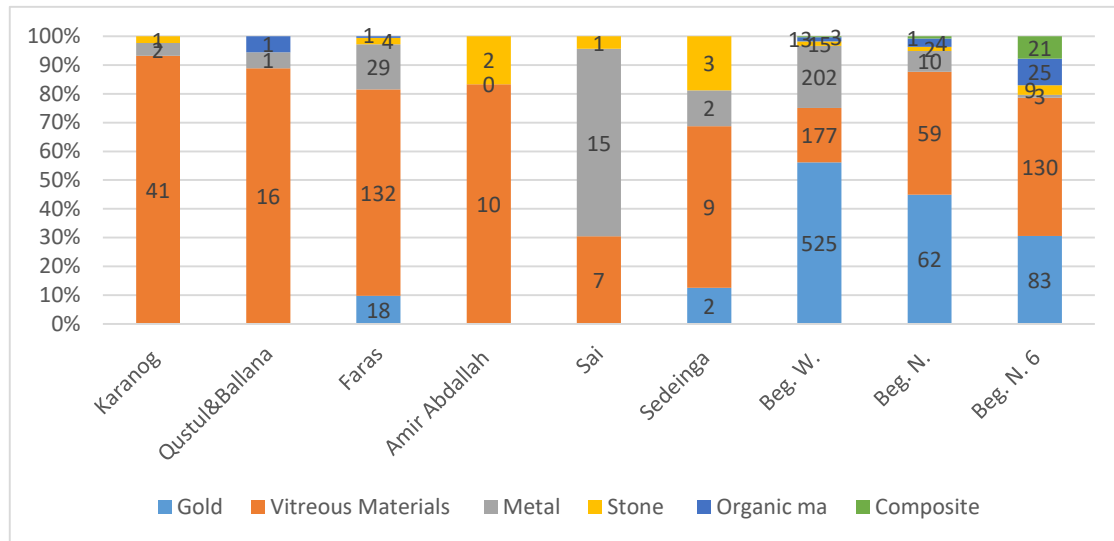


Chart 6.2. Distribution of Materials in the Main Meroitic Funerary Sites.

Throughout the long history of ancient Egypt, amulets were made of faience, semi-precious stones, precious metals and organic materials. Each of these materials was likely chosen by the craftsmen, or possibly the intended owner, due to its amuletic properties, perceived value, or ease of carving¹⁴²⁷. Numerous scenes on the wall of mastaba, tombs, and temples showed the workshops where gold and other materials were worked. Otherwise, there is no archaeological evidence that could help to track these processes in the Meroitic period, and the absence of representations of production and manufacture handicapped our understanding to reconstruct these processes in the Meroitic period.

It is important to stress that the commercial activities with Ptolemaic/Hellenistic Egypt were considered as a main gate to the cultural

¹⁴²⁷ Raven 1988, 237; Andrews 1994, 52.

and materials exchange¹⁴²⁸. These commercial activities could include also transfer of small objects from Egypt to Meroe. In the following part, a short discussion is considered about gold and faience, the most common materials used for amulets in the Meroitic period, but are dealt with in much more detail elsewhere¹⁴²⁹.

6.2.1. Gold

The geographical significance of Nubia in ancient times can be summed up in terms of trade, and mineral resources particularly gold¹⁴³⁰. The place of gold extraction in ancient Nubia was concentrated in the eastern region between the Nile and the Red Sea, where many traces -around 85 sites- of mining activities had been detected particularly in the regions of Wadi Allaqi, Wadi Gabgaba, and from Wadi Halfa to Kerma. These mining sites had been extensively used through the history by the ancient Egyptians, Ptolemies, Romans, and then the Arabs, so far, these sites are currently exposed to extensive illegal digging by the local population searching for gold. Welsby stated that there was no obvious evidence attested that mining activities had been done by the Kushites themselves and he supposed that trade with desert dwellers would have been more reliable option¹⁴³¹. Otherwise, scholars supposed that mining activities were done under the control of the Meroitic kingdom, and the temples seems to have possessed large quantities of gold.

¹⁴²⁸ Shinnie 1991, 49.

¹⁴²⁹ See *e.g.* Vercoutter, 1959; Nicholson, Shaw 2000; Klemm, Klemm 2008; Lacovara, Markowitz 2019.

¹⁴³⁰ Smith 1997, Kirwan 2002, 332.

¹⁴³¹ Welsby 1996, 169. It is worth to mention that the bibliographic sources used to describe Egypt's southern part as Nubia, and interpreted that the word Nubia was derived from the ancient Egyptian word "*nwb*" which mean gold, due to the extensive exist of gold in this area, see Markowitz 2012, 188. Recent linguistic study by Claude Rilly assumed that the name Nubia means slave, for further information see, Rilly 2010b.

Philostratus (c.170-247-250AD), a Greek sophist, recorded that there was a market for un-coined gold in the third century AD¹⁴³².

Preparing and manipulating metals and other substances in ancient Egypt for magical use was well developed. Alloys and worked materials all had their particular magical attributes¹⁴³³. Unfortunately, no traces for such these evidence occurs in the Kushite period, but the use of golden nuggets as a pendent in the Napatan period could refer to the significance of gold and affirm sacred connotation for the Kushites¹⁴³⁴.

Amulets of gold were frequently found particularly in the area of Meroe, but the heavy plundering of graves searching for precious metals in ancient and modern times, gave only a faint indication of the original abundance of gold amulets in the Meroitic cemeteries. Gold jewelry found in Meroitic burials among funeral furnishing consisted of earring, bracelets, rings, which were found in the royal tombs in very large number and were characterized by high quality. The quantity and quality of gold objects in royal burials reflected the degree of the social position of the deceased and their families, and its privileged access by the ruling class¹⁴³⁵.

6.2.2. Faience

The geography of Nubia was dominated by the Nile for most of its length from Aswan to the Atbara junction, the majority of Kushite structures were established either on or close to the edge of the Nile flood

¹⁴³² Kirwan 2002, 335.

¹⁴³³ Toledano 2004, 58.

¹⁴³⁴ Small golden nuggets were found in Beg. S. (S. 125), and in Beg. W. (W. 48, 585, 671, 859, 506, 652), see Lacovara, Markowitz 2019, 26-27, Fig. 6. It is worth to mention that these kind of golden nuggets had not been reported in the Meroitic tombs.

¹⁴³⁵ Eisa 1999, 51-52; Kirwan 2002, 335.

plain, while the river passes through varying geological regions of alternating sandstone and granite¹⁴³⁶. Ancient societies along the Nile Valley were benefited from rich supply of Nile mud that not only guaranteed agriculture soil but also provided the material for sun dried mud-bricks, which were used for architectural and cultic applications earlier the 3rd millennium BC¹⁴³⁷. This material was often used because it might have been a cheap substitute for more expensive materials. The material was also rather easy to use either by modeling or molding. Amulets were mostly made in moulds. Number of moulds could be made from the master amulet, so number of duplicate amulets could be easily produced. Holes were made by rolling a string in quartz paste and pressing it into the mold, when fired, the paste hardened into faience and the string burned away, leaving a hole¹⁴³⁸. Many moulds have been found, especially in the city of Meroe¹⁴³⁹.

Faience for archaeologists means glazed quartz frit or powdered quartz¹⁴⁴⁰, fired solid in a kiln at about 800°C, then covered with a glassy glaze that added color¹⁴⁴¹. The technique of glazing a layer of faience can be divided into three categories; efflorescence, cementation, and application. With efflorescence the glazing materials (salts) are mixed together with the faience material, and when the water evaporates the salts come to the surface, when fired this surface melts and forms a glazed layer¹⁴⁴².

¹⁴³⁶ Bradley 1992, 15.

¹⁴³⁷ Klemm, Klemm, Murr, Andreas 2019, 15.

¹⁴³⁸ Ruiz 2001, 81; Brier, Hobbs 2008, 59.

¹⁴³⁹ Friedman 1998, 18, Fig. 4; Nicholson 1998, 51; 2008, 110-1; Näser 2004, 245-6.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Lucas, Harris 1962, 156-167, 493; Duma 1997, 13.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ruiz 2001, 81; Brier, Hobbs 2008, 59.

¹⁴⁴² Friedman 1998, 15; Nicholson 1998, 50. For more information about the glazing techniques, see Nicholson 1998, 52-53, Fig. 27.

Colors of faience were derived from the various minerals that are found in the mud of the Nile. The color of the faience varied from pale green, blue, blue-green, blue-yellowish, and dark blue. The common color was blue-green through the addition of copper/silica to the glaze¹⁴⁴³.

Faience was widely used in ancient Egypt and Nubia for amulets and was the main material employed in amulets production¹⁴⁴⁴. The local production of faience had a long tradition since the early Nubian cultures, faience was used to manufacture locally made objects including large scorpion figures, lion figures, funerary beds, and other smaller objects¹⁴⁴⁵. It is worth to mention that there was no trace of manufacturing centers in the Meroitic archaeological context, but a number of pottery and stone amulet moulds had been found at Meroe, which suggest that Meroe was an important production center of faience beads and amulets¹⁴⁴⁶.

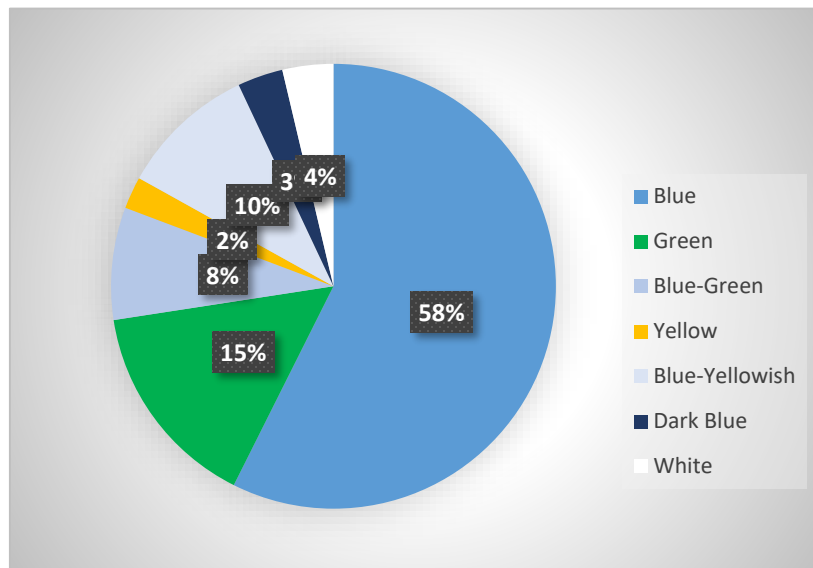


Chart 6.3. Colors of Amulets of Faience in the Dataset.

¹⁴⁴³ NicholSEN 2001, 494; Whitehouse 2009, 145.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Wilkinson 2008, 24.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Lacovara 2012a, 82.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, Fig. 80; Näser 2004, Nos. 245-246.

Faience did not disappear from grave assemblages after the Meroitic period and, unlike contemporary Egypt, it dominated Post-Meroitic bead assemblages during the 4th-6th centuries A.D. Nevertheless, beads and pendant amulets would never again be found in as great a variety as during the Napatan and Meroitic periods¹⁴⁴⁷.

6.2.3. Colors of Meroitic Funerary Amulets

Colors were important in ancient Egypt and had symbolic values¹⁴⁴⁸, and in most cases materials with specific colors were selected due to their magical values¹⁴⁴⁹. The colors were associated with many amulets and stones, and had a symbolic significance that accounts in part for their enduring popularity in jewelry, *e.g.* the red or red-orange color of carnelian was associated with vitality and the sun, the light blue of some forms of turquoise reflected the daytime sky and the water from which all things emerged at the creation, the green and blue-green of feldspar, and other forms of turquoise recall the new growth in the Nile Valley after the annual flood and comparable promise of resurrection in the afterlife, while the dark blue of lapis lazuli represented the protective night sky¹⁴⁵⁰. Colors and pigments were attested and used for painting of Meroitic structures¹⁴⁵¹, but unfortunately there was

¹⁴⁴⁷ Then-Obłuska 2015, 29.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Gaballa 1999, 15; Ikram, Dodson 1998, 137; NicholSEN 2001, 495; Graves-Brown 2018, 2.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Raven 1988, 237; Toledano 2004, 53.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Fletcher-Jones 2020, 8.

¹⁴⁵¹ Fulcher 2018; Pancin 2022.

no evidence that could help to reconstruct the symbolism of colors in Meroitic period¹⁴⁵².

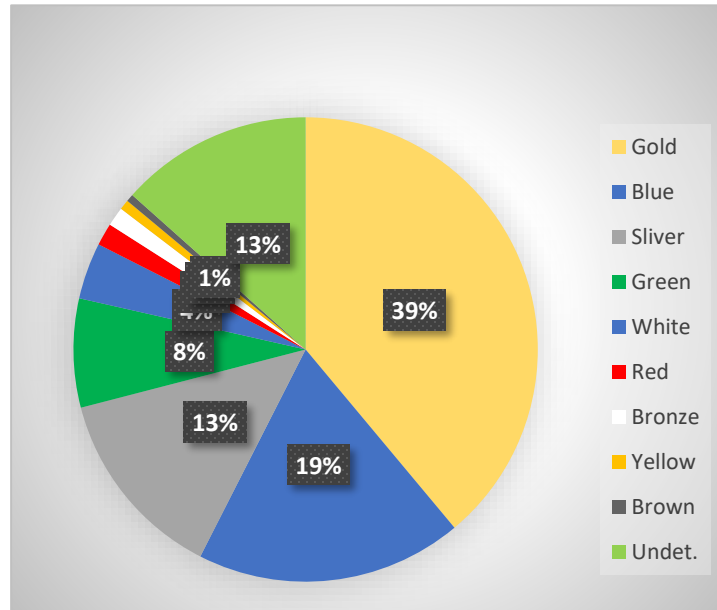


Chart 6.4. Colors of the Amulets in the Dataset.

6.3. Distribution of the Amulets

Major difference between Meroitic Lower Nubia and the Meroitic heartland are undeniable, but we could not attribute these differences to specific factor like ethnic variation or/and economic and social systems. Although the Meroitic inscriptions confirmed the family relations between the northern and southern province of Meroe, and the archaeological materials attested the common political administrations and economic activities in the two regions, but little is still known about the nature and extent of Meroe's political, ideological and socio-economic reach southwards into the heart of the Gezira plain, and beyond (Map. 2)¹⁴⁵³.

¹⁴⁵² For more about colors in ancient Egypt see, Andrews 1994, 88; Wilkinson 1994, 108-110; Pinch 2001; Robins 2001; 2005, 291; Toledano 2004, 53-56.

¹⁴⁵³ Brass 2014. Few Meroitic objects have been found in the Aksumite territory, but it seems clear that the Aksumite army used this route towards Meroe in the fourth century

Indeed, the rich of archaeological materials in the main centers along the Nile Valley in the Meroitic period permitted initial hypotheses to be formulated as to how the communities of the small surrounding centers were organized ideologically through their adoption of main centers practices. Therefore, we can assume that the precious objects were probably manufactured in the main production centers and then distributed to other small-scale centers. It is noteworthy that the distribution and the quality of the funeral equipments in the Meroitic period was affected by regional, social, political, and environmental diversities¹⁴⁵⁴.

Belief in the afterlife was always part of Nubian funerary religion. The Nubian history from the Neolithic to the Medieval period had a variety of funerary practices, which reflected the distinctive beliefs of different groups in the regions along the Nile Valley¹⁴⁵⁵. The objects put into the grave were usually described as burial equipments or grave goods, some of them were associated to the body and were laid on or beside the corpse. Scholars assumed that some of these materials were already worn during the life time of the deceased, since traces of usage are often detected. This means that the amulets in the funerary context could be the final use and not be the original context, and that these objects could probably have passed a long journey since manufacturing, charging with magical power in temples, using in life time, inheriting to another generation, and/or reusing until its final destination in the graves.

AD, Shinnie 1967, 52-56. For further information about Meroe and Aksum, see Fattovich, Manzo, Bard, 1998.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Eisa 1999, 46.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Yellin 2012a, 141.

Several variable factors, which could be related to amulets should be also considered to determine the nature of the distribution of the funerary amulets like cause of death, gender, age, religious affiliation and social status. Unfortunately, the paucity of such information concerning the context of the Meroitic amulets precluded a wide comparative analysis. Therefore, alternative range of analytical scales are employed to study multi-typological approaches for Meroitic amulets based on the available information including spatial distribution, sex, age, position on body, and integrating them within the wider social backgrounds.

6.3.1. Regional Distribution

Meroe was considered the capital of the kingdom and a focal center for trading¹⁴⁵⁶, where the commercial and industrial activities for iron working, copper, pottery, and glass production were well attested, in addition to the fact that there gold objects were concentrating¹⁴⁵⁷.

The royal city of Meroe has been investigated between 1909 and 1914 by a mission of the University of Liverpool under the direction of John Garstang, as large areas of the site were excavated. Garstang attempted to construct a historical sequence for the Meroitic kingdom on the basis of his finds at this site, but neither materials nor his interpretations were full published except in a series of sketchy, confusing, and often demonstrably inaccurate preliminary reports¹⁴⁵⁸. As a result much of the information acquired by Garstang has been lost and all later excavators have been severely

¹⁴⁵⁶ Shinnie, Kense 1982; Shinnie, Anderson, 2004, 73.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Shinnie 1991, 53.

¹⁴⁵⁸ See Garstang 1910; 1912; 1913; 1914; 1914-16; Garstang, Sayce, Griffith 1911; Sayce 1912.

handicapped¹⁴⁵⁹. Number of amulets had been found in Garstang excavation, but Török reported that the majority of the smaller artefacts were unearthed and collected in the absence of Garstang or the professional members of his staff. The majority of the finds were un-provenanced, and documentation was done for selective finds¹⁴⁶⁰, For this reason, it had proved difficult to extract information for subsistence or settlement studies¹⁴⁶¹, and we cannot provide an exhaustive discussion and interpretation of the finds¹⁴⁶². Unfortunately, even the amulets that had been found in the excavations of the city of Meroe in 1960s-1980s did not have an absolute dating¹⁴⁶³.

Although the state of documentation of the early excavation in the city of Meroe is not supportive for deep discussion, based on the comparison between the number of the amulets found in the cemeteries in Meroe and what had been found in the city of Meroe, we can assume that Meroe was a big production center during the Napatan and continued in the Meroitic period.

Archaeological research in the field of non-royal Meroitic funerary practices reveals a lack of information. The large cemeteries at Karanog and Faras thus far provide information concerning Meroitic burial traditions. The often-excellent preservation of Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia has provided information about burial practices and the construction of graves that shows clearly the nature of the elite communities in the north¹⁴⁶⁴, but because of many reasons this is not the case in the Meroitic heartland in the south¹⁴⁶⁵.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 1.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 4.

¹⁴⁶¹ Bradley 1992, 21-22; Sievertsen 2002, 163.

¹⁴⁶² Näser 2004, 216.

¹⁴⁶³ Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 166-170; Näser 2004, 246-252.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Bashir 2015, 7.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Edwards 2004, 175.

Some burials were excavated to the east of the royal city at Meroe by Garstang but much more extensive cemeteries must have existed for such a large urban population¹⁴⁶⁶. In general, in the Island of Meroe two large cemeteries which may be related to common people have been excavated, the first at Kadada south of Meroe¹⁴⁶⁷, and at Gabati to the north¹⁴⁶⁸. Both cemeteries were in use for a long time.

Meroitic funerary practices showed a series of cultural changes over time across the different provinces of the kingdom. The Meroitic period appeared to have two different burial traditions concerning the position of the body, the extended position, and the contracted one¹⁴⁶⁹. The two Meroitic cemeteries at Karanog and Faras showed that there the most common position was the extended one, where the body was laid on the back. In most of these tombs there was no use of coffins and the bodies were not mummified¹⁴⁷⁰. In contrast, at Kadada and Gabati, the widespread burial position is the contracted position, with the deceased oriented north-south laid in an oval shaped niche located at the western end of a sloping ramp¹⁴⁷¹.

As for the funerary goods, in Faras and Karanog cemeteries, the funerary materials that were found in the graves consisted mainly of pottery and bronze vessels, as well as of personal ornaments such as different types of beads, and rings. Offering tables, stelae and *ba* statues were also common finds in the superstructure. The offering tables and *ba* statues were associated with Meroitic burials in the north and indicated a deep ritual association with

¹⁴⁶⁶ Edwards 2004, 147.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Geus 1982a; Geus 1982b; Lenoble 1994.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Edwards 1998.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Geus 1991.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Shinnie 1967, 152.

¹⁴⁷¹ Edwards 2004, 175; Bashir 2015, 8.

the cults of Isis and Osiris¹⁴⁷². The excavated cemeteries in the Meroitic heartland at Kadada and Gabati showed that superstructures were very rare and no offering tables and stelae or *ba* statues were found. This may be interpreted as a regional difference¹⁴⁷³.

Therefore, we are on a solid ground about the diversity of funerary practices in the Meroitic period, but concerning the Meroitic amulets, it is still difficult to affirm a comprehensive interpretation concerning amulets in the northern and southern provinces also due to the heavy plundering in ancient and modern times.

Table 6.16. Regional Distribution of Meroitic Funerary Amulets.

Amulet/ Site	Karanog	Faras	Others Lower Nubia sites ¹⁴⁷⁴	Sai& Sedeinga	Shendi Reach region ¹⁴⁷⁵	Bar.	Beg. N.	Beg. W.
Bes	×	×	×	×	---	×	×	×
Isis (any)	---	---	---	×	---	---	×	×
Hathor	---	---	---	---	---		×	×
Osiris	×	---	---	×	---	×	×	×
Pataikos	---	---	---	×	×	---	×	×
Harpocrates	---	---	---	---	×	---	---	×
Ram head	---	×	×	×	×	---	×	×
Lion	×	×	×	---	---	---	×	×
Uraeus	×	×	×	×	---	×	×	×
Crocodile	×	×	---	×	---	---	---	×

¹⁴⁷² Shinnie 1967, 152; Geus 1991, 70.

¹⁴⁷³ Geus 1991, 70; Edwards 2004, 175; Bashir 2015, 8.

¹⁴⁷⁴ This is included the sites of Ballana and Qustul, Aksha, Nag el-Arab, Argin North, Nag Shayeg, Abka, Amir Abdallah, Abri-Missimina.

¹⁴⁷⁵ This is included the site of Kerma, Hagar el-Baida 2, Gabati.

Frog	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	×
Birds (any)	×	×	---	---	×	---	×	×
Fly	---	×	×	---	---	---	×	×
Wdjat	×	×	×	×	---	---	×	×
Heart	×	×	×	---	---	---	×	×
Crescent	×	×	---	---	---	---	×	×
Ankh	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	×
Sa	---	×	---	---	---	---	---	×
Lion on Crescent	---	×	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ankh on Crescent	---	---	×	×	---	---	---	---
Sun&Uraeus	×	---	---	---	---	×	×	×
Scarab	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Scaraboid	×	×	---	---	---	---	---	×
Plaque	---	×	×	×	×	×	---	---
Rosette	---	×	---	×	---	---	×	×
Flower bud	---	×	×	×	---	---	×	×
Shell	---	×	×	---	---	---	×	×

In the following part, the study will try to investigate the use of the amulets according to the social position of the individuals (royal, non-royal)¹⁴⁷⁶, biological sex (male, female), and age (adult, child, infant), also in order to understand the social processes that underlie the Meroitic use of

¹⁴⁷⁶ It is worth to mention that an attempt to distinguish the social context of individuals in the term of (royal, elite, and non-elite) had been done. But unfortunately due to the heterogeneous of the information about the context, the study was limited its approach only to royal and non-royal.

Egyptian forms, as it is necessary to move beyond typological comparisons, and put the material in its Meroitic social context.

6.3.2. Social Perspective

The structure of the Meroitic society seems to have been considerably more differentiated than that of the earlier times. Between the royal family and ordinary folk, Adams recognized both a class of wealthy, titled officials and local landed gentry, in addition to further evidence of differentiation within the peasant class itself, with the lowest stratum possibly consisting of landless sharecroppers¹⁴⁷⁷. Like in ancient Egypt, although the common people played little or no active part in the formal rituals which were conducted in the framework of the official cults, they had their own opportunities and avenues for worship their deities and had their own particular expressions of religious and funerary practices¹⁴⁷⁸.

The abundance of grave goods was in many cases a reflection of the individual wealth of the tomb owner or his family¹⁴⁷⁹, otherwise few objects had been found in humble graves for low stratum families, even if the heavy plundering of several of the Meroitic graves handicaps us to understand such a differentiation. While other factors could be also considered like substructure and superstructure, location in cemetery, it is still difficult to standardize these factors. For this reason, the study limited its scope to the discussion of the distribution of amulets in royal and non-royal assemblages.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Adams 2010, 21.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Wilkinson 2003, 46.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Welsby 1996, 83.

Table 6.17. Distribution of Meroitic Funerary Amulets for Royal and Non-Royal.

Amulet	Royal	non-Royal	Amulet	Royal	non-Royal
Bes	×	×	Heart	×	×
Isis (any)	×	×	Crescent	×	×
Hathor	×	×	Ankh	×	×
Osiris	×	×	Sa	---	×
Pataikos	×	×	Lion on Crescent	---	×
Harpocrates	---	×	Ankh on Crescent	---	×
Ram head	×	×	Sun&Uraeus	×	×
Lion	×	×	Scarab	×	×
Uraeus	×	×	Scaraboid	---	×
Crocodile	---	×	Plaque	---	×
Frog	---	×	Rosette	---	×
Birds (any)	×	×	Flower bud	×	×
Fly	×	×	Shell	×	×
Wdjat	×	×			

6.3.1.3. Gender Perspective

In the Meroitic period, the presence of strong independent queens on the throne is well known¹⁴⁸⁰. In comparison with the ancient Egyptian queens, the queens of Kush had their own discrete traditions which limited the viability of comparisons between them. Direct borrowings from ancient Egypt can be detected in the representations, but the adoption of iconographic

¹⁴⁸⁰ Welsby 1996, 25.

features was however, relatively limited and not comparable to the frequent and notable adoption of Egyptian queenly titles and epithets¹⁴⁸¹. The royal woman, above all the king's mother, had also functions in the crowning of the king among the Kushites. The matrilineal component of inheritance of the claim to the throne was common across Africa. It is also a determining factor among the Kushites and stands in contrast to the patrilineal concept of ancient Egypt¹⁴⁸².

The archaeological and textual evidence refers that the royal woman occupied an outstanding position in Meroe comparing to contemporary Egypt or in the Mediterranean cultures¹⁴⁸³. The first appear of a Nubian queen as an independent ruler was in the Meroitic period, and the Meroitic ruling queens inherited many rights and privileges of the Napatan queens, but their roles were expanded to include additional responsibilities which were previously restricted to kings, such as ritual practices and smiting the enemies¹⁴⁸⁴. Most of the Meroitic queens were buried at Meroe or Gebel Barkal, and the pyramids of the queens were not different than the pyramids of the kings, and not very different from Napatan queen's burials¹⁴⁸⁵.

On the contrary, the information about the non-royal Meroitic woman is very limited, because of the few representations of non-royal woman on

¹⁴⁸¹ Lohwasser 2001a, 69.

¹⁴⁸² Lohwasser 1999, 134.

¹⁴⁸³ Schäfer 1910, 97; Lohwasser 1999, 128, 134.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Michael Zach has listed seven *Kandakes* in the Meroitic period, three of them well also called “*qore*” as ruler, namely Amanirenas, Amanishakhato, and Amanitore. This title is a definite proof that these former queens had taken the throne, however for the rest queens who, lack this title had demonstrated as a ruling queens on the iconographic evidence like sitting on the lion throne, wearing or carrying royal insignia, or having royal titles, see Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012a, 180.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Lohwasser 2013b, 234-235.

Meroitic monuments and the very limited inscriptional evidence¹⁴⁸⁶. It is worth to mention that due to the state of documentation and available information about the context of the Meroitic funerary amulets, the study focuses on a limited number of amulets.

Among the dataset of the current study, there are only 24 documented contexts offering insights about gender related to amulets (Table 6.18).

Table 6.18. Distribution of Amulets in Gender Perspective.

Site	No.	Type	number	Gender
Karanog	E7794	Bes	1	♂
	E7844	Bes	4	♀ ♂
	E7921	Bes	7	♂
	E8013	Bes	1	♂
	E8023	Osiris?	3	♂
	E7797	Cat	1	♂
	E8023	Cat	1	♂
	E8016	Lion	1	♀ ♂
	E8022	Lion	1	♀ ♂
	E8026	Duck	2	♂
	E8026	Crocodile	2	♂
	E7752	Wdjat	1	♀ ♂
	E8027	Wdjat	1	♂
	E8029	Heart	1	♀
	E8024	Sun&Uraeus	2	♀ ♂
	E8020	Scarab	1	♀ ♂
	E8021	Scarab	1	♀ ♂
Abu Simbel	75.2	Scarab	1	♀
Nag Shayeg	118	Ankh on Crescent	1	♂
Abka	SJE 416.9	Scarab	1	♂
	SJE 416.22	Scarab	1	♀ ♂

¹⁴⁸⁶ Haynes, Santini-Ritt 2012a, 170.

Abri-Missiminia	2-v-20/13.2A	Wdjat	2	♀ ♂
Amir Abdallah	281.84	Shell	1	♀
Hagar el-Beida 2	12	Falcon-Horus	1	♂

6.3.1.4. Age-Specific Perspective

In the Meroitic funerary context, the finds showed that children and infants were adorned with amulets alike adult male and female, in contrast to contemporary Roman Egypt¹⁴⁸⁷. Few attempts to relate the amulets to the age of the associated individuals had been done in Egyptology, due to the limited archaeological information on this aspect. Balanda¹⁴⁸⁸ tried to follow this approach for Napatan period. However, it emerged that it is still difficult to associate number of amulets to specific age groups, and further investigations is needed.

Among the dataset of the study, there are 88 documented contexts from 11 sites concerning the age of the individuals related to the amulets (Table 6.19-20).

Table 6.19. Dataset of Amulets in Age-Specific Perspective.

Site	No.	Type	number	Age
	E7794	Bes	1	Adult
	E7844	Bes	4	Adult
	E7921	Bes	7	Adult
	E8013	Bes	1	Adult
	E8023	Osiris?	3	Adult
	E7934	Bird	1	Child
	E7797	Cat	1	Adult
	E8023	Cat	1	Adult
	E8016	Lion	1	Adult

¹⁴⁸⁷ Then-Obluska 2014.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Balanda 2015, 467, 470.

Karanog	E8022	Lion	1	Child, Adult
	E8026	Duck	2	Adult
	E8026	Crocodile	2	Adult
	E7752	Wdjat	1	Child, Adult
	E7754	Wdjat	1	Child
	E8027	Wdjat	1	Adult
	E7767	Heart	1	Child
	E7934	Heart?	1	Child
	E8029	Heart	1	Adult
	E7755	Crescent?	1	Child
	E8024	Sun&Uraeus	2	Child, Adult
	E7934	Scorpion	1	Child
	E8020	Scarab	1	Adult
	E8021	Scarab	1	Adult
Abu Simbel	73.22	Bes	1	Child
	75.2	Scarab	1	Adult
Faras	2658.1	Bes	4	Infant
	2380.6	Wdjat	25	Child
	2372.4	Lion on Crescent	7	Child
Nag Shayeg	202	Ram head	1	Infant
	118	Ankh on Crescent	1	Child, Adult
	24	Bell?	2	Child
Abka	SJE 416.9	Scarab	1	Adult
	SJE 416.22	Scarab	1	Adult
Amir Abdallah	141.34	Scarab	1	Infant
Abri-Missiminia	2-v-20/178.2	Bes	1	Child
	2-v-20/285	Seated figure	1	Child
	2-v-20/285	Ram head	1	Child
	2-v-20/13.2A	Wdjat	2	Child, Adult
	2-v-20/179.A-B	Flower bud	2	Child
Sedeinga	II. T.262.C3	Shu	1	Child
Kerma	91.1	Pataikos?	1	Child
	37	Harpocrates	1	Child

Hagar el-Beida2	12	Falcon-Horus	1	Adult
Beg. W.	22-2-600d	Hathor	21	Adult
	23-1-308n, t, v	Bes	7	Child
	23-1-318a	Bes	1	Child
	23-1-319a	Bes	1	Child
	23-1-308o	Harpocrates	3	Child
	23-1-308p	Harpocrates	2	Child
	23-1-308r	Harpocrates	1	Child
	23-1-308m	Amun	4	Child
	23-1-308l	Min	4	Child
	23-1-308s	Baubo	2	Child
	23-1-308u	Closed hand	2	Child
	23-1-38a	Uraeus	10	Adult
	22-2-600c	Uraeus	20	Adult
	22-2-601b	Uraeus	21	Adult
	22-2-598	Ram head	44	Adult
	23-1-274	Small child	1	Child
	22-2-578k	Lion	1	Adult
	23-1-43b	Lion	12	Adult
	23-1-43b	Lion	11	Adult
	23-1-308e	Lion	5	Child
	22-2-600a	Fly	13	Adult
	22-2-601c	Fly	13	Adult
	22-2-583c	Ram	12	Adult
	22-2-583d	Ram	1	Adult
	22-2-584a	Ram	1	Adult
	22-2-585a	Ram	1	Adult
	23-1-308g	Hawk	3	Child
	23-1-308k	Cat	3	Child
	23-1-308j	Jackal	2	Child
	22-2-557c	Undet.	1	Adult
	23-1-54c	Heart	1	Child
	23-1-276d	Heart	1	Child
	23-1-276a	Crescent	1	Child

	23-1-306	Crescent	9	Child
	23-1-318a	Crescent	22	Child
	23-1-308a	Wdjat	2	Child
	22-2-591g	Wdjat	1	Adult
	22-2-592b	Wdjat	11	Adult
	23-1-308b	Scarab	2	Child
	23-1-323	Scarab	2	Child
	22-2-605	Scarab	1	Adult
	22-2-611	Scarab	1	Adult
	22-12-18, 19 23-1-69	Flower	14	Child
	23-1-308f	Graps	3	Child
	23-1-308h	Vase	2	Child

Based on the former table, the study can distribute the amulet in age perspective, as follow;

6.20. Distribution of Amulets in Age-Specific Perspective.

Amulet/Age	Infant			Child			Adult		
		No. Context	No. Sites		No. Context	No. Sites		No. Context	No. Sites
Bes	×	1	1	×	4	4	×	4	1
Pataikos	---	---	---	×	1	1	---	---	---
Harpocrates	---	---	---	×	2	2	---	---	---
Hathor	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	1	1
Osiris	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	1	1
Ram head	×	1	1	×	1	1	×	2	2
Uraeus	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	2	1
Bird (any)	---	---	---	×	2	1	×	1	1
Cat	---	---	---	×	1	1	×	2	1
Lion	---	---	---	×	2	2	×	4	2
Fly	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	1	1

Crocodile	---	---	---	---	---	---	×	1	1
Wdjat	---	---	---	×	5	4	×	4	3
Heart	---	---	---	×	3	2	×	1	1
Crescent	---	---	---	×	3	2	---	---	---
Lion on Crescent	---	---	---	×	1	1	---	---	---
Ankh on Crescent ¹⁴⁸⁹	---	---	---	×	1	1	×	1	1
Sun&Uraeus ¹⁴⁹⁰	---	---	---	×	1	1	×	1	1
Scorpion	---	---	---	×	1	1	---	---	---
Scarab	×	1	1	×	1	1	×	6	4
Flower bud	---	---	---	×	2	2	---	---	---
Bell	---	---	---	×	1	1	---	---	---

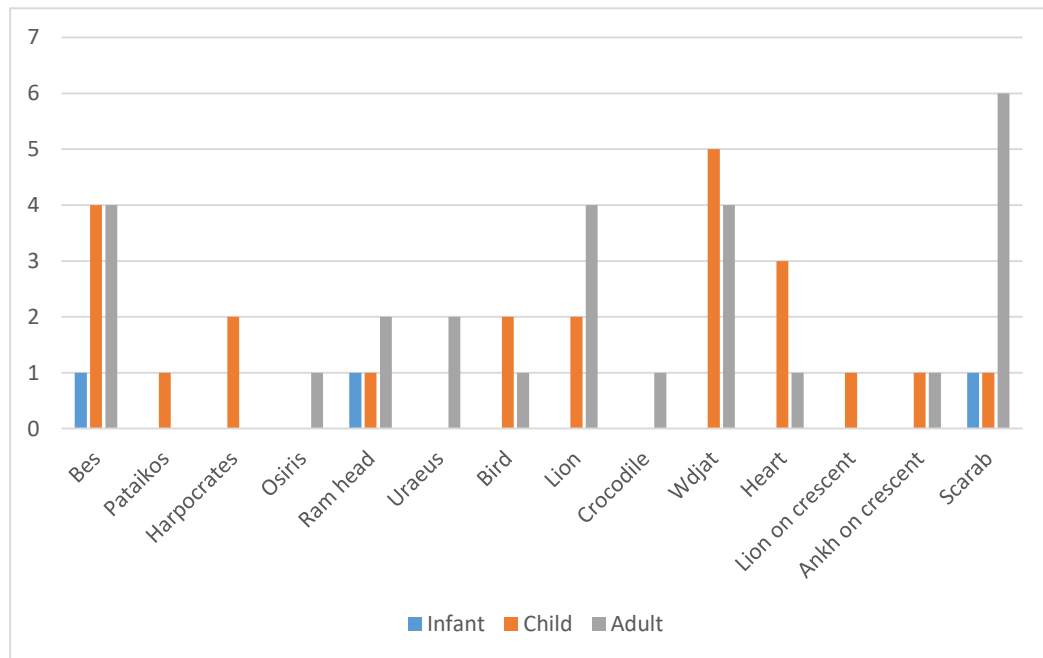


Chart 6.5. Distribution of Amulets in Age-Specific Perspective.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Only one amulet was attested in both child and adult context.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Only one amulet was attested in both child and adult context.

6.3.1.5. Position on Body Perspective

Funerary amulets in ancient Egypt continued to be important throughout Egyptian history, but their type and number changed over time. The location of the amulet on the body also changed¹⁴⁹¹. Funerary texts usually specify where on the corpse an amulet should be placed. From the New Kingdom until later dynastic times, the exact positioning was important, and some rare diagrams on Late period papyri provided a schematic layout for the positioning of amulets on bodies, although contemporary bodies had amulets scattered over them in a random fashion¹⁴⁹².

Amulets were worn on the body in several ways, suspension holes for attachment were not essential for funerary amulets since they often laid on body¹⁴⁹³. In ancient Egypt, the position of the amulet on the body was linked to a magical meaning thanks to textual sources¹⁴⁹⁴. In the Meroitic context, the proximity of the amulet to breathing and the vocal apparatus perhaps is not

¹⁴⁹¹ Ikram, Dodson 1998, 138.

¹⁴⁹² For plans of the positions of amulets on the bodies, see Petrie 1914, Pls. L-LIII.

¹⁴⁹³ Andrews 2001, 77.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Andrews 1994, 7.

accidental. The position of amulets on body can be reconstructed in 34 documented contexts from five sites (Fig. 6.1).

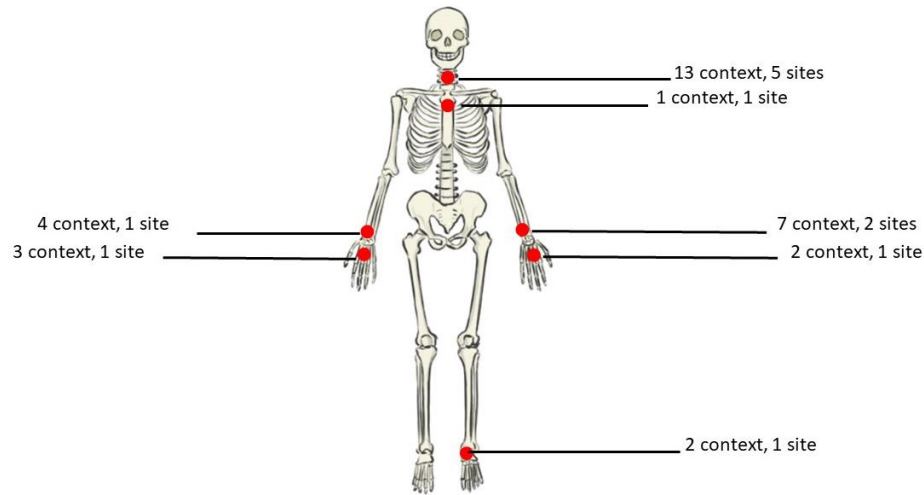


Fig. 6.1. Position of Meroitic Funerary Amulets on Body.

Table 6.21. Distribution of Position of Amulets on Body.

Site	No.	Type	Number	Position of body
Faras	2658.1	Bes	4	Neck
	2380.6	Wdjat	25	Neck
	2372.4	Lion on Crescent	7	Neck
Amir Abdallah	106.38	Bes	1	Neck
	159.38	Bes	1	Right wrist
	138.40	Ram head	1	Neck
	105B.39	Heart ¹⁴⁹⁵	3	Ankles
	14.37	Scarab	1	Neck
	14.35	Scarab	1	Right wrist
	199.36	Scarab	1	Right wrist
	105A.80	Scarab	1	Neck
	281.84	Shell	1	On the feet
	161.81	Offering table?	1	Right wrist
Abri-Missiminia	2-v-20/178.2	Bes	1	Neck
	2-v-20/179.A-B	Flower bud	2	Neck
Kerma	91.1	Pataikos?	1	Neck

¹⁴⁹⁵ Fernández, 1983, 541. This amulet had been described by the excavator as insect.

Beg. W.	22-2-600d	Hathor	21	Left wrist
	23-1-318a	Bes	1	Neck
	23-1-319a	Bes	1	Neck
	23-1-38a	Uraeus	10	Left hand or wrist
	22-2-600c	Uraeus	20	Left wrist
	22-2-601b	Uraeus	21	Right wrist
	22-2-598	Ram head	44	On chest
	23-1-43b	Lion	12	Right hand
	23-1-43b	Lion	11	Left hand
	22-2-600a	Fly	13	Left wrist
	22-2-601c	Fly	13	Right wrist
	22-2-583c	Ram	12	Right hand
	22-2-583d	Ram	1	Right hand
	22-2-584a	Ram	1	Left hand
	22-2-585a	Ram	1	Left hand
	22-2-557c	Undet.	1	Right wrist
	23-1-318a	Crescent	22	Necklace at neck
	22-2-611	Scarab	1	Near left hand

Based on the former tables, we study can assume that:

- The largest number of amulets in terms of quantity and diversity of shapes as concentrated in the cemeteries of Meroe in the royal and elite cemeteries, followed by the non-royal Meroitic cemetery in Faras. Several of sites like Karanog, Amir Abdallah, Sai, and Sedeinga, showed a remarkable variation in the numbers and shapes of amulets, which reflects the regional variation in terms of shapes, materials.
- The previous statistical data showed the wide occurrence of some forms of amulets such as the amulets of Bes, ram's head, lion, Wdjat, uraeus, and scarabs, while other types showed a limited regional distribution such as Isis, Hathor, Harpocrates, frog, and Ankh.

- Due to the limited contexts that reflected the social context, gender, age, and position on body of amulets, the study could not relate types to a specific social group. The majority of amulets are attested in both royal and non-royal contexts (Bes, Isis, Hathor Pataikos, ram head, lion, uraeus, fly, Wdjat, heart, crescent, scarab, flower bud). On the contrary, some amulets are only attested in non-royal context (Harpocrates, crocodile, frog, Ankh on crescent, scaraboid, plaque, and rosette). Based on the 24 documented contexts for gender in the Meroitic context, the study suggests that the amulets of Bes, ram head, lion, Wdjat, and scarab are attested for both male and female alike, while one shell amulet only occurs in a female burial.

- As for age specific amulets, amulets of Bes, ram's head, and scarabs appeared in the burials of adults, children and infants, while some amulets are attested for both adults and children (birds, lion, Wdjat, heart, Ankh on a crescent, sun and uraeus). Others were associated with the burials of adults (Hathor, Osiris, Ankh, fly, crocodile) or children's burials (Pataikos, Harpocrates, flower bud, bell). Based on the 34 documented contexts from five sites where the position of amulets on body was recorded, several of amulets were placed on neck (Bes, ram's head, lion, Wdjat, lion on crescent, scarab, flower bud, and Pataikos?), while others are attested on the right or left wrist maybe attached as a bracelet (Bes, lion, uraeus, fly, ram, scarab). In addition, two amulets were placed in a specific position *i.e.* ankle (amulet of heart) and on the feet (shell).

6.4. Workshops Typology and *Chaîne Opératoire*

In order to some get insights into the production of the Meroitic amulets, it is necessary to go back to the methods of manufacturing these amulets during the Meroitic period. When attempting to locate specific amulet

workshops, it is necessary to know whether -or not- a specific site showed evidence of such industry activities or the infrastructure required to support it. While it may not be possible to definitively re-create the exact manufacturing process of each amulet in this study, understanding how each amulet, or rather each type of amulet, was made is crucial. The aim of this section is to think about the holistic process of manufacture, from the beginning to end, and to try to understand all the stages that might be involved.

The term “workshop production” has been dominating recently in Egyptology and in the studies of ancient world, the term refers to the place of the specialized production with many artisans and a range of skills¹⁴⁹⁶. *Chaîne opératoire* or in English “operational sequence” is a term which is used in archaeology and sociocultural anthropology. It functions as a methodological tool for analyzing the technical processes and social acts involved in the step-by-step production¹⁴⁹⁷.

Based on the current state of archaeological progress in the field of the Meroitic studies, no sites where the Meroitic amulets was produced have so far been identified in terms of clay or other materials and firing kilns. Nevertheless, the local production of amulets can be assumed based on other evidence like spatial distribution of amulets, discovery of moulds, and archaeometric investigations of the amulets.

In the workshop production studies, scholars¹⁴⁹⁸ distinguished between state/temple-run specialized workshops versus domestic workshops

¹⁴⁹⁶ See, Di Paolo 2014, 125; Boonstra 2019, 188-189.

¹⁴⁹⁷ For further information about this approach and study examples, see Bar-Yosef, Van Peer 2009; Bajeot, Roux 2019; Lewis, Arntz 2020.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Olson 1996, 28; Di Paolo 2014, 114-115.

producing for household or individual consumption. In ancient Egypt there is plentiful evidence for private or informal workshops creating goods for public consumption that were separate from those mandated by the state¹⁴⁹⁹. Unfortunately, due to the limited archaeological evidence for workshops in the Meroitic period, it is difficult to trace such a kind of distinction. Perhaps the Meroitic workshops were multi-functional, where a group of craftspeople were involved in different productions. During his excavations at el-Kurru and Meroe cemeteries, Reisner distinguished two different styles of amulets, and therefore he called these products as made by “workman X” and “workman Y”¹⁵⁰⁰.

Fragmentary evidence could partially help to affirm the local production of amulets in the Kushite period. Number of moulds were found in the city of Meroe¹⁵⁰¹. These moulds were made from pottery (5604, 5637, 5688, 6338, 6463, 6599, 6644) or stone (5522, 5564, 5697), and bear negative forms of amulets (5564, 5604, 5688, 6338) and beads (5522, 5637, 5697, 6599, 6644, 6463). Some of these mould designs were tentatively identified; a fish (5564), a lotus flower (6463), a cowrie shell (5637) and human figures, *i.e.* anthropomorphous deities (5604, 5688, 6338). Four moulds were apparently used for the production of tubular (5522, 5699) and ovoid (5697, 6644) beads¹⁵⁰². The finding of a number of moulds in the city of Meroe confirms without doubt that the city contained workshop(s) for the manufacture of

¹⁴⁹⁹ Cooney 2006, 44-45

¹⁵⁰⁰ Dunham 1963, VIII.

¹⁵⁰¹ Näser 2004, 245-246.

¹⁵⁰² Näser 2004, 245-246, Fig. 112. Unfortunately, there was no information by the excavator about dating and context, and all moulds were found in the uppermost stratigraphic levels. Näser (2004, 309) reported that the dating concerning these materials were impossible to reconstruct in stratigraphic sequence particularly from smelting area.

amulets. In addition some moulds had been found in Kushite temples, like Doukki Gel¹⁵⁰³, Kawa¹⁵⁰⁴. Moreover, two unfired amulets (GN 209 ram head, and GN 226 Wdjat) were collected in the Amun temple at Meroe¹⁵⁰⁵.

This evidence from temples could shed further light on workshops operated and run by temples, where amulets were manufactured¹⁵⁰⁶ alongside with other workshops¹⁵⁰⁷. Set of priests "magicians", the Meroitic temples, where all magical knowledge was conserved and practiced, can be expected as the place where ceremonial and magic activities for the individuals were performed¹⁵⁰⁸. These practices could include cults to charge amulets with magic power. It is noteworthy that we should not entirely rule out the possible systematic reuse of amulets from preceding periods in the Meroitic funerary context, particularly scarabs.

With the limited knowledge about workshops currently available¹⁵⁰⁹, it is impossible to discuss the size or production capability of known workshop sites. Further studies and excavations will certainly unearth more evidence for

¹⁵⁰³ Twenty-nine moulds were well found in Doukki Gel; four moulds of them were used to make bronze pieces (No. 305 Cobra, No. 169 Harpocrates, No. 378 Maat, No. 382 Apedemak). For further information about these moulds, see Bonnet, Valbelle, Marchi 2021, 265-267, Fig. 201-207.

¹⁵⁰⁴ These mould are Lotus (0046), uraeus (0041) Wdjat (0843, 2087), Osiris (0969), see Macadam 1955, Pl. XXXVI, CV.

¹⁵⁰⁵ These two unfired amulets were found by Garstang and currently sorted in the World Museum at Liverpool. These two amulets were purchased by World Museum among a small group of small objects from Garstang Museum in Liverpool, personal communication during study Meroitic objects in the museum, October 2019.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Otherwise, Näser (2004, 251) assumed that the amulets that had been found in the temples were probably not used as a personal amulet but as votive offering. For further information about amulets as offerings to gods, see Masson 2018, 88-90.

¹⁵⁰⁷ In ancient Egypt, various evidence affirmed the presence of workshops operating by temples, Budge 1930, XXIII.

¹⁵⁰⁸ This conception was attested in the ancient Egyptian temples, see Toledano 2004, 31-32.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Sackho-Autissier 2016, 29-30.

amulets production in Meroitic period and find further evidence of production sites.

6.5. Archaeometric Approach to the Faience Amulets¹⁵¹⁰

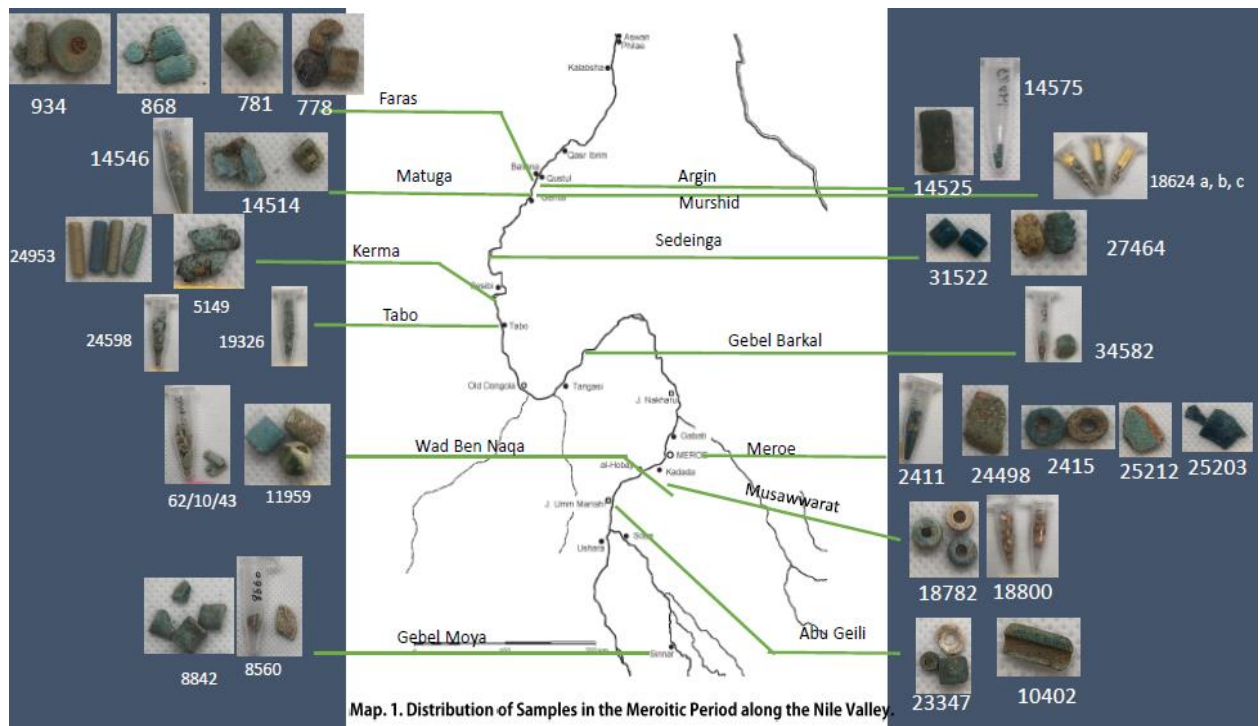
Amulets of faience were the commonest and more widely distributed in the Meroitic sites. Analysis of samples makes up one of the strands of this study in order to provide information on the materiality and manufacturing process. This information will be used to determine the regional characterizations and technical choices that were taken by the Meroities who made the amulets.

The Sudanese National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) generously allowed me to export samples for analysis, allowing a detailed scientific study of the faience samples. The samples consisted mainly of small fragments or broken pieces of faience beads, or faience powder. The selection criteria were based on the variation of surface, colors, and sites where the finds were collected (Map.6.1). Microscopic investigations were used to identify their material and surface characteristics, and then the analyses of X-ray diffraction (XRD) and X-ray fluorescence (XRF) were used to determine the main chemical components and trace elements. It is important to stress that so far no archaeometric studies have been conducted on large scale on faience materials of the Meroitic period¹⁵¹¹. As a result, we know little about manufacturing techniques of the faience in the Meroitic period. The study is going to offer hypotheses on Meroitic faience based on

¹⁵¹⁰ The archaeometric section of the study was done with the assistance and supervision of Prof. Sherif Omar, Associate Professor and Faience Specialist at Conservation Department, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University.

¹⁵¹¹ Few archaeometric studies were conducted for faience in Nubia, *e.g.* Duma 1997, 13-23; Sackho-Autissier 2016, 29-39.

data given in the hope that these will be tested with further investigations. Therefore, this is not a comprehensive archaeometric study, but an interim report that is intended to provide first insights and stimulate future research.



Map. 6.1. Distribution of the Samples Collected for Investigations¹⁵¹².

6.5.1. Material and Methodology

The samples were studied using the portable optical digital microscope aiming to investigate the surface, colors, manufacturing techniques, defects, and damage factors. The characterization of optical microscope is as follows: image sensor 1.3 Megapixels, magnification factor 10~1000 times, photo capture resolution 640×480, 320×240, and LED illumination light re-source adjustable by the control wheel. this is a non-destructive method of examining and diagnosing the condition of faience, identifying the surface

¹⁵¹² All the samples were registered in Sudan National Museum. The mentioned numbers are the accession number (SNM) in the museum.

characterization, manufacturing defects, *etc.*, that are unobservable by the eye¹⁵¹³.

Ten samples were presented to XRD analysis of the glazing layer. The aim of the XRD analysis is to identify the components and structure of the glaze layer of faience. XRD analysis was conducted in the laboratory of the Faculty of Nanotechnology at Cairo University. An XRD device with the following specifications was used: Diffractometer type: PW1840, Tube anode: Cu, Generator tension (KV): 40, Generator Current (mA): 25, Wavelength Alpha1 (Å): 1.54056, Wavelength Alpha2 (Å): 1.54439, Intensity ratio (Alpha2/Alpha1): 0.500, Receiving slit: 0.2, Monochromator used: NO.

The investigation of 25 samples by portal XRF was aimed at defining the qualitative compositional and structural characteristics of a group of faiences samples distributed along the Nile Valley from Faras to Gebel Moya. XRF analysis was conducted in the laboratory of IFAO by handheld XRF analyser (SciAps X-200) with original lens diameter 15mm. Number of measurements per sample were three, time for each measurement was 90Sc. Number of Scan within the application 2 Spectrum scans, beam-1 is 4KeV for 60s, and beam-2 is 10KeV for 30s.

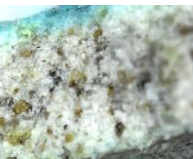
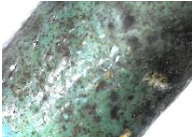
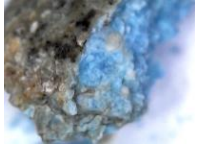
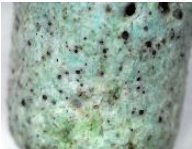
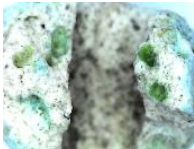
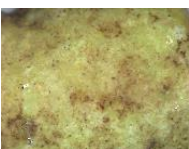
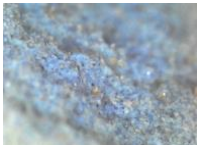
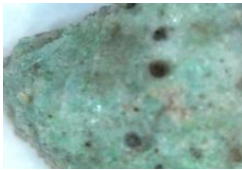
6.5.2. Results

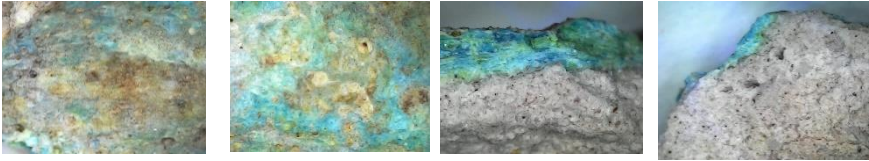
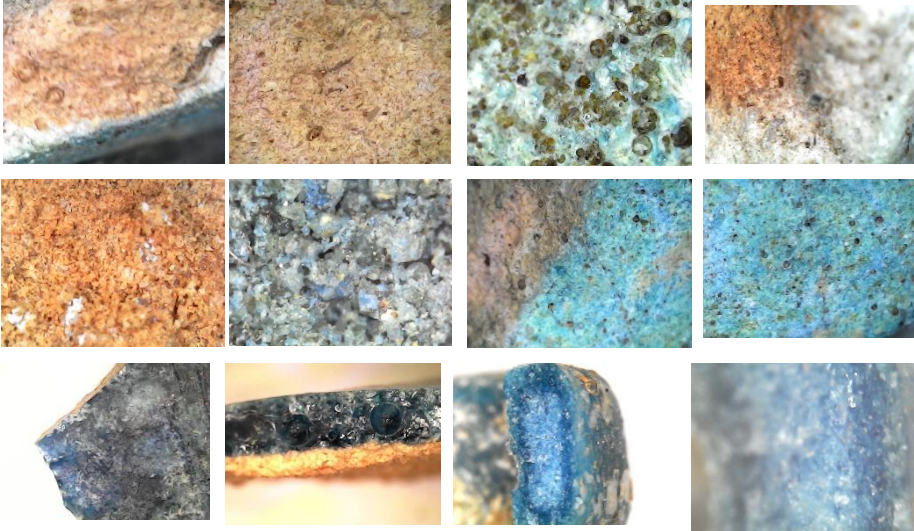
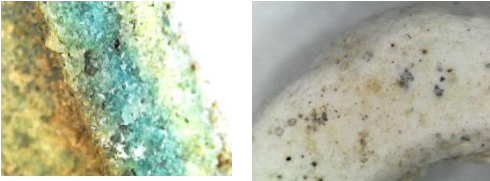
6.5.2.1. Microscopic Investigation

In the following table, the faience samples are sorted in geographic order from the north to the south, as follow;

¹⁵¹³ Ali, Omar 2021.

Tab. 6.22. USB-Digital Light Microscope Images of Faience Samples.

Site	Microscopic Images
Faras	   
Argin	 
Matuga	   
Murshid	   
Sedeinga	      
Kerma	   
Tabo	  

Gebel Barkal	
Meroe	
Musawwarat es-Sufra	
Wad Ben Naqa	
Abu Geili	
Gebel Moya	

Based on the visual and microscopic examination, the study can conclude that;

- The colours of the samples are ranging from light to dark blue and green, yellow, black, white, and turquoise.
- Two different glazing techniques were used, occasionally in combination: efflorescence and application¹⁵¹⁴.
- Samples particularly from Faras, Murshid, Meroe, and Wad Ben Naqa show manufacture defects in the glaze layer, such as pinholes and air bubbles¹⁵¹⁵. Glaze preservation of the samples is variable, the majority of samples showed signs of deterioration, such as stoning, erosion, colors alteration and fading, glazing detachment, and accumulation of dirt and dust. These deterioration are due to the poor storage and improper preservation.
- The siliceous pastes of the samples are different in terms of cohesion - in some cases it was fragile, probably due to the difference in the methods of preparation and grinding of faience components.
- The inner core of faience samples, specifically from the Meroe region, was distinguished by a reddish color, which indicates the use of sand containing impurities of iron oxides (Fe_2O_3) as a source of silica, the main component of faience. While the white color of the inner core of faience samples indicates the use of Quartzite as a pure source of silica¹⁵¹⁶.

¹⁵¹⁴ For more information about glazing techniques, see Nicholson 1998, 52-54; 2009, 4-7.

¹⁵¹⁵ Glazing defects in faience were common in ancient Egypt particularly in the Late period, see Ibrahim, Hassib, Omar 2022, 1-14.

¹⁵¹⁶ Nicholson, Peltenburg 2000, 186.

6.5.2.2. X-Ray Diffraction

No.	Sample No.	Site	Results
1.	781	Faras	Quartz (64.8%), Lazurite (20.9%), Calcite (10.5%), Clinoatacamite (3.9%).
2.	14514	Matuga	Calcite (72.3%), Quartz (16.4%), Dolomite (8.4%) Halite (2.8%).
3.	24953	Kerma	Cuprorivaite (46.7%), Wollastonite (22.1%), Calcite (16.3%), Quartz (14.9%).
4.	34582	Gebel Barkal	Quartz (43.8%), Lazurite (35.2%), Calcite (7.7%), Atacamite (7.1%), Halite (4%), Paratacamite (2.3%).
5.	2411	Meroe	Calcite (57.5%), Wollastonite (38.1%), Hematite (3.1%), Quartz (1.4%).
6.	25212	Meroe	Quartz (73.2%), Calcite (19.7%), Halite (3.9%), Hematite (3.1%).
7.	24498	Meroe	Calcite (75.5%), Quartz (24.5%).
8.	27674	Atbara	Wollastonite (46%), Cuprorivaite (31.9%), Calcite (14.7%), Quartz (7.4%).
9.	18800	Mussawarat es-Sufra	Hematite (75.2%), Calcite (20.6%), Quartz (4.2%).
10.	62/10/43	Wad ben Naqa	Lazurite (82%), Quartz (7%), Calcite (10.9%).

6.23. The XRD Results of Faience Samples.

The XRD analysis is a semi-quantitative investigation, which helps to identify the chemical components of the body and the color materials of the glazing layer, in addition to the changes that occurred in the glaze layer. Due

to degradation in the glaze layer and the loss of its original properties, XRD investigation was an appropriate tool to understand these changes due to degradation. Based on the results of the XRD (Tab. 6.23.), the study concluded that;

- The sample from Faras (781) shows the presence of quartz (64.8%), as a main composition of faience. While the occurrence of calcite (10.5%) indicates that lime was added to the components of faience during the manufacture process. The blue color of this sample is due to the use of lazurite (20.9%), while the occurrence of clinoatacamite (3.9%) indicates to discoloration from blue to green due to Copper Chloride Cancer, which always affects the blue faience¹⁵¹⁷.

- The occurrence of calcite (72.3%) dolomite (8.4%) in the sample from Matuga (14514) indicates the use of dolomitic limestone in the body, while the halite (2.8%) refers to deterioration due to the salts of the sodium chloride.

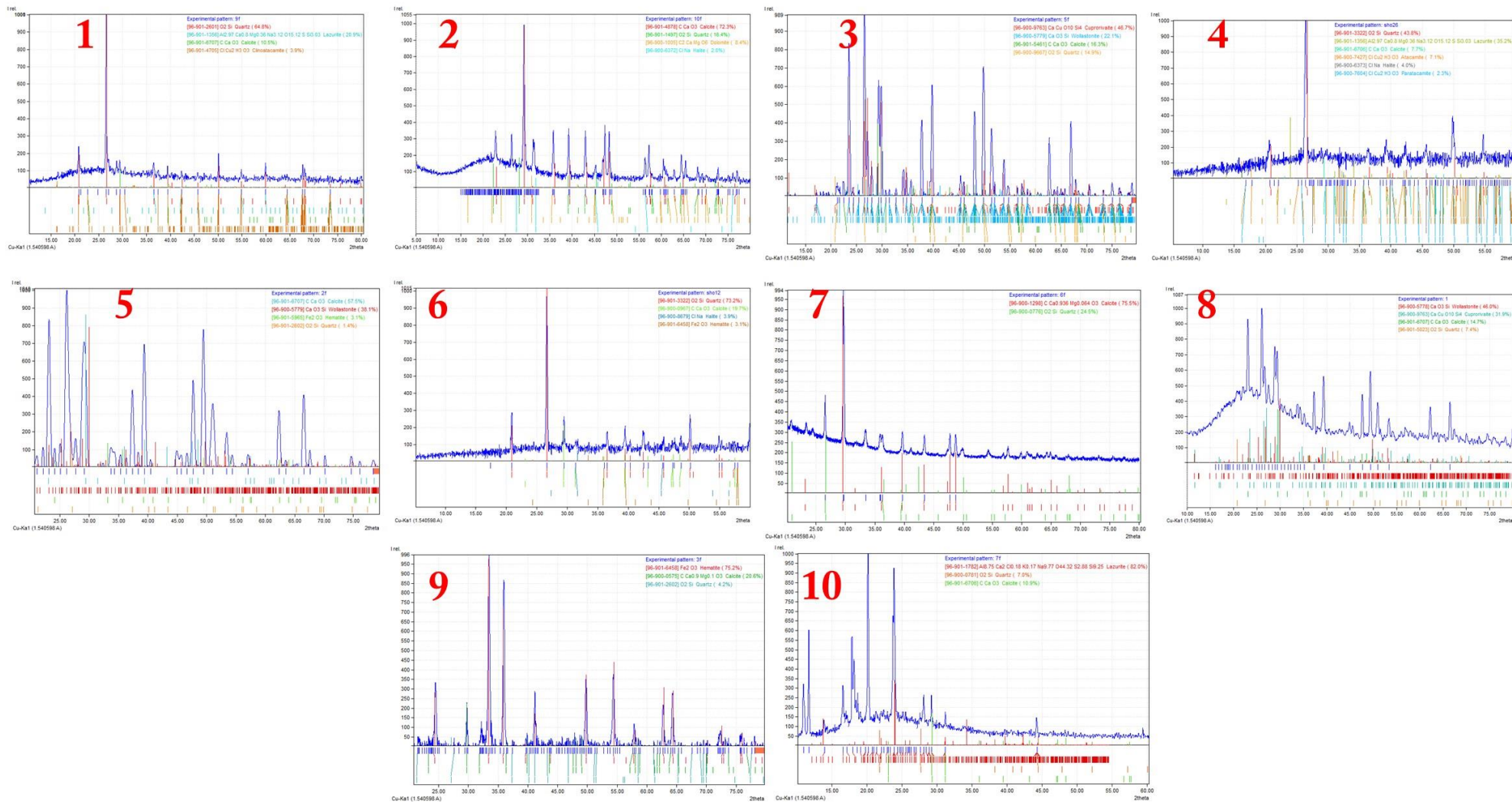
- The samples from Kerma (24953) and Atbara (27674) contain the chemical compounds of cuprorivaite, wollastonite, calcite, quartz. These four compounds are the main components of the Egyptian Blue.

- The sample from Gebel Barkal (34582) shows the occurrence of quartz (43.8%) and calcite (7.7%) as a main components of faience, while lazurite (35.2%) was used to get the blue color. The presence of atacamite (7.1%), halite (4%), paratacamite (2.3%) indicate the discoloration due to copper chloride cancer.

¹⁵¹⁷ For further information about the Copper Chloride Cancer see, Schiegl, Weiner, El-Goresy 1989.

- The samples from Meroe (2411, 25212, 24498) contain calcite and quartz as a main components of faience, while two samples (2411, 25212) contain hematite in the same proportion (3.1%) which indicates the use of sand containing impurities of iron oxides (Fe_2O_3) as a source of silica, as a results the body appears reddish. The occurrence of halite (3.9%) in sample (25212) due to the effect of the salts of the sodium chloride.

- The sample from Mussawarat es-Sufra (18800) indicates the use of sand containing impurities of iron oxides due to the occurrence of hematite (75.2%). While the of lazurite (82%) occurs in Wad Ben Naqa (62/10/43) sample most likely to get the blue color.



6.2. XRD Patterns of the Glazing Layers of the Samples.

6.5.2.3. X-Ray Fluorescence

The qualitative-chemical analysis of faience samples shows that¹⁵¹⁸

Site SNM No.	Faras			Matuga		Sedeinga			Kerma		Tabo
	781	934	778	14546	14514	Black	27464 Yellow	Blue	24953 Blue	Yellow	
SiO₂	51.51%	70.38%	61.33%	29.29%	25.99%	17.56%	68.20%	37.16%	78.94%	82.89%	67.51%
Al₂O₃	2.04%	3.99%	1.98%	15809	2.34%	18546	3.44%	12346.7	2.48%	11127	15547
Fe₂O₃	2000.9	4520.4	2409.9	3422	4524.6	3560.4	5202.4	1438.1	7244.86	6558.70	2067.8
CaO	1.79%	9606.1	5793	3.08%	21.97%	4354.2	2.50%	8454.5	15.11%	4965.57	1927.4
MgO	---	---	2.62%	---	1.99%	---	---	---	---	---	---
K₂O	282.47	2570.49	1119.07	---	158.164	---	974.28	---	86.9721	---	1750.40
TiO₂	214	1259	304.4	530.5	474.1	1990	539.5	---	548.6	357.59	222.2
MnO	45.967	54.101	65.593	12.277	291.94	1.33%	80.054	57.071	43.6425	32.899	41.448
CuO	1.71%	1.44%	1.40%	2.25%	9255.7	9648.1	5549.4	1.61%	20.17%	3408.25	2.04%
ZnO	1419	2492.4	1047.7	2990.1	328.22	4141.7	2076.3	2228.3	962.65	739.24	2921.1
SrO	27.5546	46.9492	37.1336	129.022	627.25	306.29	25.6624	20.340	673.017	9.14	25.7808

¹⁵¹⁸ The measurements of the samples are in percentage (%) or in parts per million (PPM), --- means not detectable.

SnO₂	1860.3	455.53	1279.9	582.11	432.81	38.088	---	592.27	852.917	---	335.56
PbO	3516.8	927.15	3062.2	487	339.1	1544.8	3.89%	276.84	381.975	4.862%	3461.2
ZrO₂	10.806	28.097	10.401	44.306	27.556	12.157	14.859	4.592	8.91528	11.036	4.8629
SO₃	8633.57	2995.39	11221.42	4170.82	---	---	---	3650.90	1375.70	---	9624.45
NiO	66.042	31.176	89.329	36.775	---	45.937	12.088	33.848	12.088	---	39.065
CoO	---	---	---	4479.74	---	1859.8	---	311.263	---	---	---
Rb₂O	---	---	3.71824	---	---	---	10.607	3.6088	---	---	3.2808
Cr₂O₃	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	49.249	---	---
Ag₂O	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	21.052
P₂O₅	8936.78	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3482.45	---
V₂O₅	114.788	---	---	---	---	56.5168	---	---	---	---	---
As₂O₃	---	---	---	20.06	11.223	388.3	---	23.105	808.42	---	---
Sb₂O₅	---	---	---	1.55%	12293.8	---	2.02%	---	---	6324.87	---
Nb₂O₅	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Tab. 6.24. The XRF Results of Faience Samples (Faras, Matuga, Sedeinga, Kerma, Tabo).

Site SNM No.	Gebel Barkal 34582		Meroe					Musawwarat es-Sufra		Wad Ben Naqa		Gebel Moya	
	Glaze	Body	2411	24498	25212	18800	18791	11959	62/10/43	8842	8560		
SiO₂	55.75%	75.58%	24.86%	64.63%	82.75%	74.98%	78.60%	13.95%	45.50%	22.08%	49.27%	80.80%	98.49%
Al₂O₃	4.48%	2.548%	11929.5	2.77%	3.26%	5.03%	11.34%	3.23%	3.72%	2.78%	16574	18639	16636
Fe₂O₃	8094.67	8854	2390.74	9215.98	9427.4	10297.8	8061.9	1992.1	3882.6	6934.2	3340.9	2546.7	2259.07
CaO	4.9391	8231	1.96%	4.07%	5.09%	5.8906	13239	242.06	1.46%	1.4692	10%.86	12182	4745.24
MgO	2.22%	---	---	7.51%	---	2.50%	---	---	---	---	10581	---	---
K₂O	3583.01	2041.84	---	3667.28	2146.7	633.980	845.62	---	328.97	1534.9	844.183	6391.7	---
TiO₂	1271.6	1910.47	197	12.584	2807	2243.3	2733	312.9	949.6	584.2	354.8	216.7	---
MnO	99.9388	153.78	36.6700	89.221	144.35	229.188	111.55	22.983	86.252	14.591	53.713	198.52	97.743
CuO	2.63%	2734.78	3.91%	2.29%	2347.2	3.62%	1785.1	3651.1	5075.5	9449.5	3.19%	3.10%	1.44%
ZnO	124.96	1083.59	2913.59	637.28	922.32	---	556.13	1584.8	2210.1	1612.6	1962.8	1247.5	2289.12
SrO	107.616	33.77	145.105	75.449	30.984	85.9750	49.787	7.3321	73.202	86.211	129.25	69.891	44.7022
SnO₂	371.611	166.95	1454.2	141.306	42.277	300.38	20.186	10.284	12.061	1480.6	1436.9	3202.4	881.22
PbO	1546.53	51.414	2576.3	122.154	23.806	3261.6	44.596	35.44	48.366	2.22%	694.7	6655.5	281.47
ZrO₂	30.1228	26.151	---	18.911	24.044	59.570	47.683	3.7822	14.454	46.468	---	10.941	3.5120

SO₃	16048.2	4505.29	---	14059.2	3006.8	---	11724.6	---	1753.03	---	11806.7	14949	3485.5
NiO	24.686	---	29.01	---	13.615	---	8.144	39.32	33.593	---	32.8305	157.79	17.8149
CoO	1174.35	---	---	1042.88	---	1213.01	705.81	---	---	---	---	---	---
Rb₂O	1.8591	5.249	---	4.3744	6.4522	---	1.2029	---	1.7497	3.3901	---	9.7330	---
Cr₂O₃	---	---	26.4513	---	103.46	41.211	---	30.543	---	---	45.741	---	---
Ag₂O	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P₂O₅	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
V₂O₅	---	---	---	---	---	61.589	80.869	---	45.879	---	---	77.299	---
As₂O₃	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	18.484
Sb₂O₅	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1184	---	---	---
Nb₂O₅	---	---	---	---	---	---	3.0040	---	---	---	---	---	---

Tab. 6.25. The XRF Results of Faience Samples (Gebel Barkal, Meroe, Musawwarat es-Sufra, Wad Ben Naqa, Gebel Moya).

Based on the results of the analysis of the XRF of the glazing layer of faience and few for the body, which are summarized in the tables (6.24, 6.25), we can conclude that:

- Silicon oxide (SiO_2) is the basic component of faience. This also contained aluminum oxide (Al_2O_3), which is the most important components to fix the glaze layer in the body during the burning process. The presence of percentages of calcium oxide (CaO) indicates the use of lime in the process of making faience paste. The presence of small percentages of potassium oxide (K_2O)¹⁵¹⁹, in addition to trace amount of other elements is also attested as shown in tables.
- The presences of Magnesium oxide (MgO) in high proportions is attested in samples No. 778 from Faras with a rate of 2.62%, No. 1451 from the Matuga region with a rate of 1.99%, No. 34582 from Gebel Barkal with a rate of 2.22%, No. 24498 with a rate of 7.51%, and sample No. 25212 with a rate of 2.50% from Meroe. The presence of MgO in high proportions indicates that the ashes of local plants were used as a source of alkali. It worth to mention that that the plant ashes were purified prior to use by dissolution to leave insoluble calcium and magnesium carbonates¹⁵²⁰.
- Copper oxide (CuO) was attested in all samples in different proportions. It indicates the use of copper oxide to obtain the color of the blue and green glaze, which is one of the most common colors of faience¹⁵²¹.
- Manganese oxide (MnO) was attested in high proportion in the black sample No. 27464 at a rate of 1.33% from the Sedeinga area in comparison with other samples.

¹⁵¹⁹ See Nicholson 2009, 2.

¹⁵²⁰ See Tite, Manti, Shortland 2007, 1568, 1583.

¹⁵²¹ Wiedemann, Bayer, Reller 1998, 195–203; Trzciński, Zaremba, Welc 2020, 14.

This indicates that manganese oxide was used to obtain the black color of the glaze layer¹⁵²².

- It is clear from the results that the lead glaze method was dominating in all samples, which is based on the use of lead oxides (PbO) as a flux agent. It should be mentioned that the ancient Egyptians had used the Alkaline glaze method since Pre-Dynastic times, but starting from the Ptolemaic period (330-30BC), the ancient Egyptians knew the lead glaze method¹⁵²³. It is noteworthy that the use of lead also improved the optical brilliance of the glaze and decreased its viscosity during

firing¹⁵²⁴. This means that the faience industry in Meroitic period was up to date with contemporary methods in Ptolemaic Egypt.

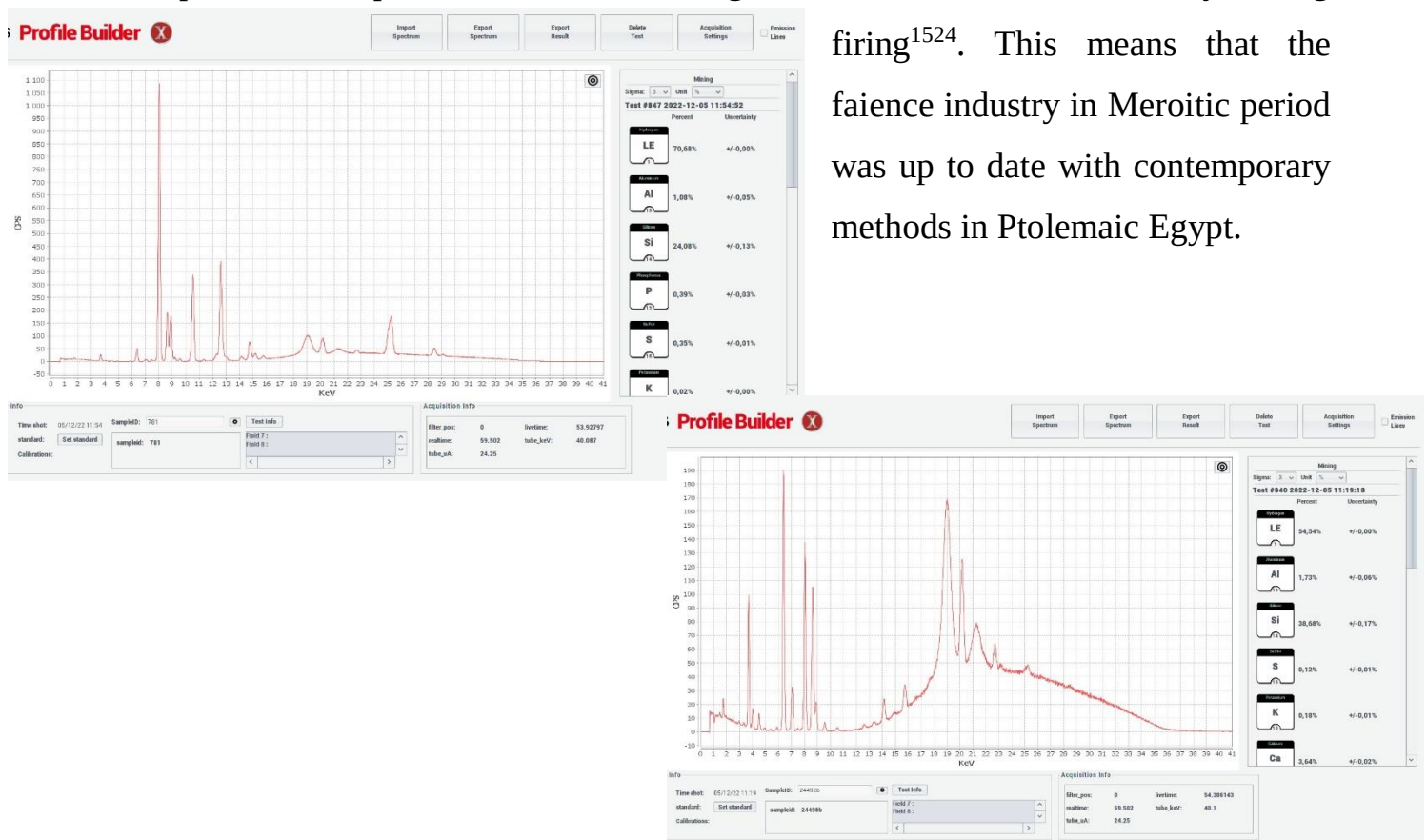


Fig. 6.3. Spectrum of Beam-1 of Two Samples N. 778 from Faras (left), and N. 24498b from Meroe (right).

¹⁵²² Tite, Freestone, Bimson 1983, 17-27.

¹⁵²³ Mao 2000, 195-197; Trzciński, Zaremba, Welc 2020, 11.

¹⁵²⁴ Zaremba, *et al*, 2020, 18, 20.

6.5.4. Results and Discussions

The data obtained by the joint usage of different complementary analytical techniques on Meroitic faience provided detailed diagnostic information about the raw materials for both the body and the glaze layer, the type of glaze layer and the color materials of some samples. Consequently, the archaeometric approach helps for enriching the knowledge of the technological-productive aspects of Meroitic faience, and led to important archaeological results.

The components of the Meroitic faience are similar to the the faience in Egypt with different proportions in both the body and the glaze layer. This variety indicates that the manufacture processes involves variety of craft techniques and raw materials, *e.g.* the body of the samples from Meroe region was reddish-brown, which indicates the use of sand containing iron impurities, where the hematite compound was determined by XRD, and iron oxide was determined in large proportions by p-XRF. Glaze rich in Al, Si, P, as well as Ca, Pb and Fe, points to the application of high firing temperatures to melt the components and produce high-fire glaze.

Lazurite was used in some samples from Faras, Gebel Barkal, and Wadi Ben Naqa to obtain the blue color of the glaze layer. It should be noted that these samples showed the presence of discoloration as a result of the infection the cancer of copper chloride.

The samples form Kerma and Atbara contain the same chemical compounds of the Egyptian blue faience. This raises more questions about the source of Egyptian blue faience in the Meroitic sites. It remains to be determined if it is imported from Egypt, or locally produced, leaving open the possibility that Egyptian craftsmen contribute to transfer of this technique to the Meroitic workshops.

The most prominent aspect of the difference between the Egyptian and the Meroitic faience is the presence of percentages of lead in the glaze layer in the study samples. Alkaline glaze technique was the oldest and most common in ancient Egypt, while lead glaze technique appeared in the Ptolemaic period by adding proportions of lead oxides. Lead-alkali glazes methods appear to be common in Meroitic faience¹⁵²⁵.

The samples suffer from dangerous phenomenon that affects the faience materials and destroy it, which is the copper chloride cancer, it makes a complete chemical transformation of the glaze layer and turns the glaze layer from blue to green. In addition to this the deterioration due to the salts of the sodium chloride is also evident. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that the necessary interventions are taken by the restorers to preserve the faience objects.

In consideration of these very promising result, it is also strongly recommended that further archaeometric investigations are conducted by applying qualitative and quantitative microstructural analyses of the faience glaze and body layers, and colors oxides with application of EDX or EBSD detectors in scanning electron microscopy (SEM).

¹⁵²⁵ For further information about lead-alkaline glazing method, see Mao 2000, 185-204.

6.6. Ethno-Archaeological Approach

Ethno-archaeological research cannot provide clear answers about ancient societies, but it is considered as an important interpretative discipline and tool, that can be used to suggest actions and discover information that is otherwise difficult for the archaeologists to imagine and reconstruct¹⁵²⁶. For this motive, the study used the ethno-archaeological approach as a tool to broaden the frames of reference, in order to create interpretations. Ethno-archaeological survey particularly through observations and interviews provided information on the actions that might be correlated in using in amulets, the choices and the purposes of amulets, in addition to the dynamic and variable attitudes toward amulets.

Ethno-archaeological interviews were conducted in May 2022 with people living in Khartoum. Due to the intense public protests during my visit, the survey consisted of conversations recorded by hand or in some cases recorded by phone. Twenty interviews were conducted. Interviewees were selected on the basis of diverse gender (male or female), ages (20s up to 60s), standard of education (university professors, NCAM inspectors, students, craftsmen, taxi drivers and public in the Market of Omdurman) according to who was available and wished to speak.

The interviews were conducted directly through discussion varied in length. A brief introduction was given that included the information about my PhD dissertation. The questions put to the respondents followed a general structure, but varied slightly according to the direction the conversation was taking and the willingness of the interviewee to engage in each topic. In particular, the main questions were:

¹⁵²⁶ For further information about ethnoarchaeology, see Kendall 1989, 625-745; Wendrich 2002, 8-12.

- A. What is your definition for the amulet? Do you believe in its use?
- B. In your social context (family, friends), is their definitions different than yours?
- C. What is the local practices related to use amulets in your social group?
- D. What is your point of view of using objects of the predecessors as kind of blessing?

It seems to me that answering such these questions could provide interesting insights for the archaeological interpretations of the ancient amulets. In the following part, I will summarize the answers of these former questions in groups as follow;

- A. The definition of the amulet differed from person to person, as in every definition the peculiarity in some details was attested. There is almost complete agreement for the interviewees that there is a difference between two amuletic traditions; the first called the veil “Hijab – حجاب to cover” which is a type of amulet that has been closely associated with the Islamic religion and often consists of verses from the Holy Qur’an that are tied or wrapped in a certain way and then bound. As for the second type, it is related to heritage and popular beliefs. The amulet in the second type could be pendants in the form of eye, specific kind of stone (black or blue or red), shells, and spices.

The attitudes of the interviewees were differed concerning their own believe in both types of amulets. Some believed in both types (35%) for protection of evil eye and in bringing livelihood and good luck, while most of them (60%) tended to believe only in the traditions of the Islamic religion of veils and Quranic verses. It is worth to mention that a limited number of interviewees (15%, particularly university staff and students 20s-30s years old) do not belief in both types. They thought that even Quran is something precious to understand and ponder, and it should not be something to be hanged around the body, while this group showed very limited respect for societal traditions related to amulets and believing in the magical power.

- B. The majority of the interviewees confirmed that the definition of amulets in their social context did not differ too much. But they stressed the difference in the degree of their faith and belief from the extreme believing particularly for elderly people to the total ignore in the young generations.
- C. There were many societal manifestations and practices that interviewees reported on the use of amulets in their social context. The study will be limited to mention a number of them;

- *Jertiq* (الجرتيق); Jertiq is one of the most important rituals practiced in marriage ceremonies and is considered an important rite of passage. This custom is almost confined to the central and northern region of Sudan, and it has become one of the most important marriage customs even in the capital Khartoum. The main goal of the Jertiq rituals is to ensure protection from evil eye, and to affirm fertility and bring good luck for the bride and the groom.

During this ceremony, it is believed that some metals such as gold, copper, precious stones, and beads, perfumes and incenses are effective in expelling evil spirits, in addition to some of the ancient legacies such as the use of scarabs¹⁵²⁷, aiming to protect the newlyweds in these important moments. It is noticeable the dominance of women in the steps of this rituals with the almost complete absence of men, which is particular and historically call the attention to the dominance of queens in the rites of enthronement of the king and the role of the queen mother in Napatan and Meroitic periods.

- All the female interviewees referred to specific types of amulets which they used and had a deep meaning particularly for pregnant women and for newborn

¹⁵²⁷ Ward mentioned that believing in acquisition of scarabs had continued down to the present day in Nubia. A scarab found by a local inhabitant often becomes a family heirloom, a kind of a magical good-luck piece, passed down from generation to generation, see Ward 1994, 189. Further information about wedding ceremonies, see Kennedy 2005, 171.

babies. These amulets included specific types of beads of stone, leather pendants, and shells.

- Two among the interviewees referred to family practices to protect the houses from evil eyes and harm spirits. The first (male, in his forties) reported practices still done by his grandmother while constructing new buildings or houses by putting specific types of seeds and spices in a small linen piece and bounding then buried in the corner of the building. The second (female, in her thirties) reported that one of her neighbors believes that there are evil spirits that attack houses, especially in the evening, and in order to provide protection for her house, she used to write phrases and marks on the walls of her house.

- Other interviewees reported different practices, which are not common in the society. They write certain symbols, phrases, and signs, then soak them in water for a while, then the person drinks the water in the hope of obtaining a livelihood, bringing good luck, or getting rid of a magical power that controls him. This practices are called *Nahya* (نحاية). In other cases, phrases and symbols were written on paper, then this paper was burn and the person has to smell its smoke, which is called *Bakhrat* (بخارات derived from the word incense)

D. Most of the interviewees, who are more than fifty years old, agreed that the use of tools and small objects of the ancestors, has a magical ability to protect and bring livelihood, in addition to an adherence to heritage, customs and traditions. They also affirmed that this concept is somehow different for the mid age and young generation. The survey showed that the middle generation (people in their forties) still appreciate and keep following the practices of the ancestors, otherwise, the young generation (twenty and thirty years old) showed limited belief and respect of these practices.

Based on the ethno-archaeological interviews, the study can sum up that there are various attitudes concerning amulets practices in the society, but there are some fairly consistent themes like the general purposes of protection, fertility, and brining good life. The occurrence of group of people, who are responsible for make the amulets and charge it with magic power. In addition, it is also evident their deep believing in materials of antecedents. Some cases reflected regional patterns of amuletic practices that were related to the individual needs, *e.g.* there are types of amulets in desert regions to protect against scorpions and snakes, while as a result of armed conflicts in the Darfur region, a type of amulet had the aim of protecting against bullets. Furthermore, the presence of amuletic practices is correlated to organic materials particularly wood, leather, and botanical materials. It is worth to mention that these amulets of organic materials would have disappeared in the archaeological context, leaving no traces¹⁵²⁸.

I cannot pretend to claim that this approach has been exhaustive due to the situation in Sudan during my visit, but the ethno-archaeological study had the merit of bringing attention on the intangible processes of *chaîne opératoire* for amulets, and further important issues emerging from this study and raises more questions *e.g.*

¹⁵²⁸ Due to the dry climate, the finds from Qasr Ibrim revealed large numbers of organic material including wood, basketry, cloth, and leather. Otherwise, the disappearance of organic materials from Meroe region results from the presence of white ants (termites). A leather necklace with leather pendant was found among organic materials from Qasr Ibrim, which could have amuletic function. This leather necklace is currently preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir Reg. No. JE 92222.

who made the amulets in the Meroitic period? Was there running business related to amulets in the Meroitic period¹⁵²⁹? Were there markets of amulets?¹⁵³⁰.

6.7.1. Iconography

The appearance of new structural features and the changes in iconographies of the pyramid chapel's decoration reflected without doubt the introduction of new artistic traditions. These new traditions could be noted during the reign of Meroe's first ruling queen Shanakdakhete, and are also found in the first pyramids in north group of Gebel Barkal, which may be associated with a new dynastic group¹⁵³¹. Although the Egyptian adoption were the paramount in the Meroitic culture- even if superficially in most cases- the Meroitic artists were continually borrowing from the Egyptian traditions, but the Meroitic iconographic traditions still have a distinctive character of its own, because they simply absorbed the different influence and adapted them in their own artistic and spiritual sphere¹⁵³². Therefore, the Egyptian iconography had become an indigenous expression for Kushite ideology¹⁵³³.

The iconographic representations of jewelry of the Meroitic queens were similar to that had been worn by the Meroitic kings, as both kings and queens wore

¹⁵²⁹ This question was raised in my mind specifically after a discussion with Claude Rilly (May 2021) about the Meroitic graffiti on the Great Enclosure of Musawwarat es-Sufra. I asked if there was any evidence that indicate that there were a group of scribes engraved graffiti on behalf Meroitic pilgrims. Rilly assumed based on the epigraphic evidence and the styles of the graffiti that group of scribes or priests inscribed Meroitic graffiti on behalf of the visitors to the site as a kind of religious business which could be running privately or by the temples.

¹⁵³⁰ It is worth to mention that the rich inscriptions on ostraca in Deir el-Madina provide information related to workshop records, commission, trade, receipts, prices of various funerary goods on the private market, and inheritance of privately produced craft goods, for further information see Cooney 2006, 45-48, 50-54; 2007; Boonstra 2019, 19.

¹⁵³¹ Yellin 2014a, 80.

¹⁵³² Welsby 1996, 177.

¹⁵³³ Wildung 2004, 179.

different kinds of broad bracelets, necklaces, rings, earrings, and pendants¹⁵³⁴. The lack of iconographical evidences from the Napatan period handicap the study to track the development of these representations in the Meroitic period¹⁵³⁵.

6.7.1. Pyramid Chapels

The iconographic studies of the representations in the Meroitic period have led to the conclusion that artistic traditions since Arnekhamani had shown Meroitic features to a large extent, which are mainly documented in the use of local clothing and insignia, and the development of clothing enables in some cases to date monuments with depictions of the royal couple with almost no inscriptions¹⁵³⁶. Concerning the representation of the pendants and the amuletic symbols in the representations of pyramid chapels, the study in chapter four (Table 4.14) sorted the representation in chronological order. In the following part the study attempts will be made to discuss further religious aspects for these iconographic traditions.

6.7.1.1. Ram Head

During the Napatan period, the ram head was largely used as an amulet in the religious and funerary contexts, while in the Meroitic period the representations of ram head as a necklace were commonly present and developed¹⁵³⁷. The Meroitic kings and queens often were shown wearing string around the neck with three or

¹⁵³⁴ Lohwasser 2010a, 781.

¹⁵³⁵ Lewczuk 1992a, 158.

¹⁵³⁶ Wenig 2015, 129-130.

¹⁵³⁷ Fantusati 2015, 267.

sometimes with only one pendant in the form of ram head with sun disk¹⁵³⁸. Török suggested that only the kings wore this kind of necklace¹⁵³⁹.

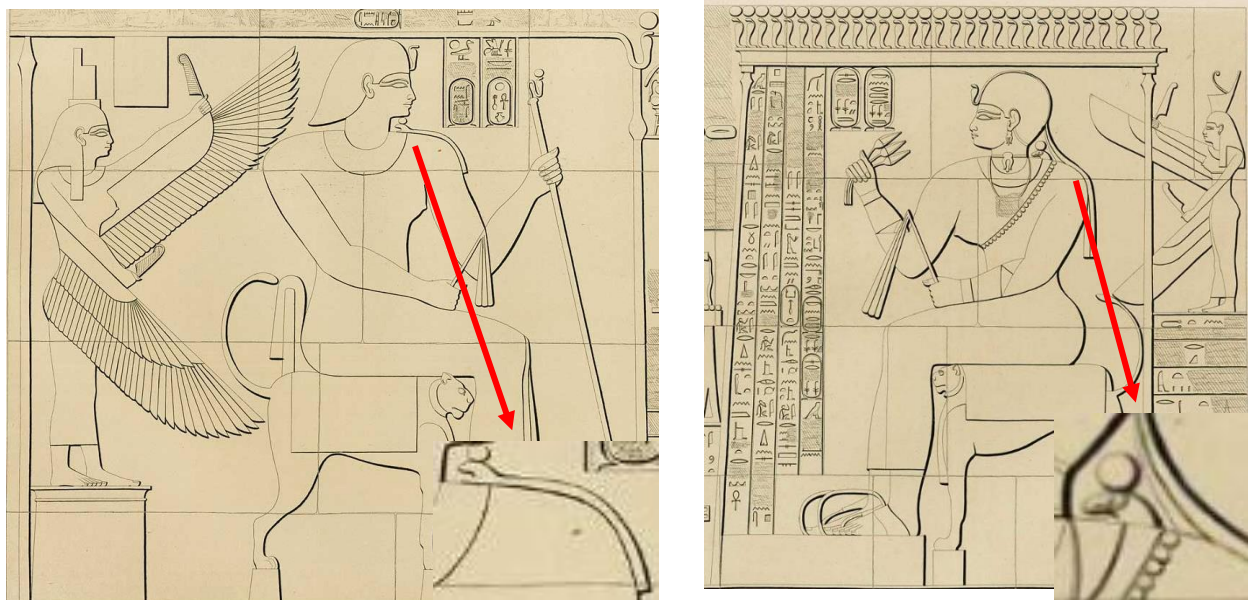


Fig. 6.2. Representations on the North Wall of Beg. S. 4 (right), 5 (left).

(LD, V, 52a, 53c)

Following the classification of the ram head amulets (see table 6.3, pp. 110-113), the study seems to point out that there was a variation in the headdresses in the representations of ram head on the pyramid chapels, as type 1 (schematic ram head with sun disk) was attested in the early chapels (Beg. S. 4), type 3 (ram head with wide sun disk) in Beg. N. 12, 13, 2, 17, 18, 28, 36, and Bar. 4, type 4 (ram head with sun disk and cobra) only in Beg. N. 8, and type 7 (ram head with sun disk and frieze of cobra) only in Beg. N. 17.

¹⁵³⁸ Morkot 2012a, 121; Fantusati 2015.

¹⁵³⁹ Török 1987b. The earliest records for this kind of necklace originates from Kawa, and comprises two representations of the King Taharqa. For more examples about the representation of this necklace before the Meroitic period, see Fantusati 2015, 265-266. Hypothesis had been advanced by Fantusati (2015, 266) for different manifestations and meaning for this necklace based on the number of the ram heads (one or three).

6.7.1.2. Ribbons on Shoulder

In the royal Meroitic representations, the ribbons that fasten the coat were represented as hanging down closely following the line of the far shoulder. The ribbon ends usually reach the height of the armpit, the knot on the shoulder was protected by a small sacred figure¹⁵⁴⁰.

The earliest preserved representation of ribbons on shoulder was found in the King Amanislo's (third century BC) chapel Beg. S. 5 (Fig. 6.2). The small figure on the shoulder was a recumbent ram crowned with a sun disc. The same divine image was protecting the coat ribbons of the king's mother Kanarta in the approximately contemporary chapel Beg. S. 4. The ram with the sun disc re-appeared on the shoulder of the king's mother Bartare (Beg. S. 10) in the second half of the third century BC. A king, whose name was not preserved, was represented in the early first century BC in Beg. N. 20 with a miniature couchant lion as protector of his coat ribbons. Unfortunately, it cannot be confirmed, whether the coat ribbon and the tasseled cord of Queen Shanakdakhete (Beg N. 11) in the late second century BC were protected by a ram or a lion figure¹⁵⁴¹.

Russmann¹⁵⁴² pointed out that the ram with the sun disc is the image of Amun, and added that this amulet had "peculiarly southern connotations". Therefore, it is particularly interesting that the image of the deity who plays a special role in Kushite kingship ideology would appear as protector of the ribbons that are fastening the royal coat. The image of the recumbent lion, in turn, seems to refer to Apedemak, who also played an important role in Kushite kingship ideology¹⁵⁴³.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Török 1990, 161.

¹⁵⁴¹ Török 1990, 161-162.

¹⁵⁴² Russmann 1974, 26.

¹⁵⁴³ Török 1990, 162.

The combination of the images of the Nubian Amun and perhaps of Apedemak with the ribbons that serve as means of fixing the royal coat demonstrates that the act of fixing as well as the devices serving the fixing were endowed with a sacral significance. The appearance of the Nubian Amun as a protector of the fastened coat points moreover again towards the rites of investiture, and is associated also with the concept of the election of the king and with the coronation ceremonies.

6.7.1.3. Ribbons around the Upper Arm

The ribbons which tied around Apedemak's upper arm also occur in a column in the Lion temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra. The significance of the ribbons around the upper arm was ambiguous. Török stated that this kind of ribbons could be similar to the animal tails which were suspended on the upper arm of Nubian princes and princesses in New Kingdom tribute scenes. These tails belonged originally to the circle of magical signs associated with the power of animals as well as with the power over animals- thus with the notion of the king (or chief) as animal and with the magical interconnection with wearing animal skin¹⁵⁴⁴.

6.8. Situating Meroitic Funerary Amulets within a Wider Nubian Context

The Meroities did not follow a specific set of stylistic criteria, but they were capable to adopt and adapt the non-local elements to create a blended style all their own¹⁵⁴⁵, including some of ancient Egyptian adoption, and the contemporary Mediterranean ones. The interaction between these cultural elements formed the indigenous identity of the Meroitic period in different aspects like religion¹⁵⁴⁶ and art¹⁵⁴⁷, representation and symbolic meaning¹⁵⁴⁸, and language¹⁵⁴⁹. This is mean that

¹⁵⁴⁴ Török 1990, 172.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Wenig 1978, 65.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Graves 2010, 9.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Wenig 2015.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Kormysheva 2006, 12; Sakoutis 2009, 35.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Rilly 2010a.

the scholars of the Meroitic period have a big challenge to determine the different elements interacting in a single object or representation and the syntax regulating their interaction.

6.8.1. Egyptian Elements

The long history of interaction between ancient Egypt and Kush played a significant role in the development of local societies thanks to the Nile, and the links between Egypt and Nubia since Prehistoric times, which played a considerable role in flow political, social, cultural, and economic influences into Nubia¹⁵⁵⁰ and Egypt. When we look at the history of relations the two regions, we could notice an ebb and flow of contact and power. The degrees of contact over time were varying, particularly with Egyptian expansion south in the New Kingdom¹⁵⁵¹. Strong Egyptian adoption was also clear in the 1st millennium BC, when Egyptians migrated to Nubia and succeeded to integrate and establish permanent settlements there¹⁵⁵².

When the Kushites established a distinct kingdom during the Napatan period, they adapted elements of Egyptian culture through art, religion, language, writing systems, and titularies¹⁵⁵³. They inherited from the Egyptians the administration of the Nile Valley from the First to the Fifth Cataract. The old religious centers in Upper Nubia became the most prominent cult centers, and the Kushite culture adapted the Egyptian manifestations – at least for the upper class¹⁵⁵⁴. The “Egyptianisation”, was described by scholars as an attempt by the Kushite royal family to assert an Egyptian

¹⁵⁵⁰ Eisa 1999, XX.

¹⁵⁵¹ Nubia was clearly influenced artistically by Egypt in New Kingdom period, they were interacted with Egyptian craftsmen and were gained their experience, in that point Fisher (Fisher 2012b, 88) stated the “much of New Kingdom Nubian art may have been crafted by Egyptians and completed by Nubians or vice versa”.

¹⁵⁵² Markowitz 2012, 192.

¹⁵⁵³ Schellinger 2017, 78-79.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Priese, 1992, 10-11.

identity for political benefits¹⁵⁵⁵. Nevertheless, scholars recently stressed the presence of non-Egyptian “indigenous” features in the Napatan period¹⁵⁵⁶. In the Meroitic period, there was a visible syncretism of the Egyptian with indigenous cultural traits¹⁵⁵⁷, in addition to the interaction with Mediterranean world via Egypt¹⁵⁵⁸. As a result, the Meroities succeeded in combining these different cultural components in a local way, which we can describe as “Meroitization”.

Due to the limited archaeological evidence of domestic magic in the Meroitic period¹⁵⁵⁹, the first interpretation by scholars concerning the Meroitic amulets revolved around the idea of the Egyptian adoption in their designs and executions, or the possibly that these amulets were imported to Meroe from Egypt, or were manufactured by Egyptian craftsmen residing in Meroe. Of course, a number of Egyptian reused amulets were attested in the Meroitic contexts, which shows how the Egyptian beliefs integrated into Meroitic beliefs. However, this does not mean that these reused amulets were adopted in the same way as in Egypt or in the same way throughout Nubia, but logically they were adapted in regional context to fit local demands. This hypothesis was supported by recent excavations and researches which are emphasizing variability where early studies pinpointed standardization and acculturation¹⁵⁶⁰.

Based on fragmentary evidence in the Meroitic period, the study could affirm the local production of the amulets in local workshops (see, pp. 336-340), however it is impossible to reconstruct how the Meroities were thinking concerning the meaning and the function for these amulets, and even the meaning of the Egyptian

¹⁵⁵⁵ Howley 2018, 25.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Török 1990, 151; Spencer, Stevens, Binder 2017; Smith, Buzon 2017.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Bradley 1992, 15.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Lacovara, Markowitz 2012, 54.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Millet 1984, 115.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Lemos, Tipper 2021, 5.

amulets in the Meroitic funerary contexts remains ambiguous¹⁵⁶¹, and it is still difficult to detect how much of the Egyptian meaning remained.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the types of amulets in ancient Egypt shows that few amulets of deities predate the New Kingdom, while from the end of New Kingdom, amulets of deities became numerous and more diverse in subject. During the Saite period, funerary amulets were used in significantly increased number and form, and the types which had previously been found only in royal burials were available to all¹⁵⁶². On the other hand, in Nubia (table 6.23), we might note a convergence in the previous quantitative and qualitative analysis, as the types of anthropomorphic amulets in Kerma period were very limited, while the greatest accumulation of Egyptian-type amulets in Kushite tombs occurred during the 25th dynasty in earliest burials in Beg. W. and Beg. S. cemeteries, dated to the reigns of Kashta and Piye¹⁵⁶³, where both Egyptianized and non-Egyptianized graves were equipped with Egyptian amulets¹⁵⁶⁴. Since this period there was a strong Egyptian influence on the Middle Nile Valley¹⁵⁶⁵, then the number and distribution of amulets started to decline¹⁵⁶⁶.

6.8.2. The Ptolemaic and Romano-Egyptian Elements

Contacts between Nubia and the Mediterranean world intensified with the conquest of Egypt by Alexander and the subsequent Ptolemaic period. At that time Greek language and elements of Greek culture including religion, art, and architecture were adopted in Egypt. These aspects were eventually transferred to Nubia where Greek was probably understood and used by the ruling and merchant

¹⁵⁶¹ Kormysheva 1992, 188; Almansa-Villatoro 2018, 175; Howley 2018, 21.

¹⁵⁶² Andrews 2001, 82.

¹⁵⁶³ Török, Hofmann, Nagy 1997, 18.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Török 1996, 510.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Taylor 1991, 42.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Hofmann 1995, 2854.

classes¹⁵⁶⁷. These initial connections between Hellenistic Egypt and Meroitic Nubia eventually evolved into Greeks traveling and living at Meroe, as evidenced by writings in Book V of Pliny the Elder's (AD 24-79) *Natural History*, thus bringing their culture and ideas to Meroe. While Greek political influence in Nubia waned toward the end of the Ptolemaic period¹⁵⁶⁸, the cultural one continued.

With the treaty of Samos, peace was prevailed in the region, as evidenced by the presence of Kushite pilgrims in Philae Island and Roman goods were imported into Meroe, such as amphorae, jewelry, household furnishings, and decorative objects. Many of these objects were discovered in royal and elite residential buildings and funerary sites, an indication that these objects were not only traded but a part of them may have been gifted by way of diplomatic relations between the two powers¹⁵⁶⁹. An inscription in Meroitic hieroglyphs on a Meroitic pyramid records a visit of Romans to Meroe, who brought gifts from Caesar. The southernmost Latin text was found at Musawwarat es-Sufra, and was written by a Roman visitor¹⁵⁷⁰.

The Mediterranean influence was strongly present in the royal and elite Meroitic context in many aspects like architecture¹⁵⁷¹, religion¹⁵⁷². art¹⁵⁷³. The city of Meroe had abundant imported evidence for foreign goods from Mediterranean and Greco/Roman Egypt, which reveals how Meroe was open to the international

¹⁵⁶⁷ Lobban 2004: 341; Schellinger 2017, 97.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Lobban 2004, 344.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Török 1989; Burstein 2004, 17.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Dann 2013, 250. For further details about these inscriptions see Hirschfeld 1874, 83.

¹⁵⁷¹ Yellin 2012b, 235; Pancin 2022, 143.

¹⁵⁷² Sist 2006: 475-481; Sackho-Autissier 2010a: 203-207; Ciampini, Bąkowska-Czerner 2014, 699.

¹⁵⁷³ Schellinger 2017, 110.

cultures¹⁵⁷⁴, in addition to the objects which had been locally manufactured probably in Meroe under the influence of Hellenistic traditions¹⁵⁷⁵.

The peak of the Hellenistic-Roman influence can be dated to the first half of the first century AD. Sist¹⁵⁷⁶ has dated all objects of this type to the period of Natakamani, since the palace B1500 was built by that king¹⁵⁷⁷, in addition to the Water Sanctuary, and the Hellenizing elements in Musawwarat es-Sufra and in Naga probably also emerged during his time¹⁵⁷⁸. As a result, Török supposed that these influences were episodic¹⁵⁷⁹.

Concerning the amulets, gold jewelry was more abundant in Egypt following the arrival of Alexander, compared with the previous few centuries, but the types were almost entirely Hellenistic rather than Egyptian traditional forms, with exception for some common traditional Egyptian symbols such as the *Wdjat*-amulets¹⁵⁸⁰. The deities depicted on Romano-Egyptian jewelry were generally limited to Hathor/Aphrodite, Isis, Nephthys, Sarapis, Harpocrates and Bes, although other deities such as Anubis and Osiris also occurred¹⁵⁸¹. It is noteworthy that Meroitic decoration of Graeco-Roman origin on Meroitic painted pottery is represented by floral motifs of vine, wreath, pomegranates, grapes, berries, tendrils, and leaves¹⁵⁸².

In the Meroitic context, number of amulets showed clear Hellenistic affiliations, such as: Bes, Baubo, Crescent, and grapes, considered a symbol of

¹⁵⁷⁴ Shinnie 1991, 53.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Kormysheva 2006, 12.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Sist 2006.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Roccati 2008.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Wenig 2019, 850.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Török 2011b, 42.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Ogden 1990, 9, 22.

¹⁵⁸¹ Ogden 1990, 22.

¹⁵⁸² Woolley, Randall-MacIver 1910, 55; El-Hassan 2004.

Dionysos and probably had fertility powers for their wearers¹⁵⁸³. The Mediterranean ideological traits associated with wine are visible in the Meroitic period and were often associated to Apedemak. Indeed, references to Apedemak were attested in contexts where representations related to the Dionysiac Mediterranean wine-cult abound such as the water sanctuary in Meroe and the palace of Natakamani in Gebel Barkal¹⁵⁸⁴.

It is worth to pay the attention to the fact that the Hellenistic concepts, forms, stylistic elements and objects arrived in Meroe after were mediated by Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt¹⁵⁸⁵, and Graeco-Roman deities were usually presented in Egyptianized forms, sometimes Egyptian gods Hellenized in appearance¹⁵⁸⁶. Although the Meroitic kings and queens preserved the traditional Egyptian iconographies¹⁵⁸⁷, Hellenizing examples were attested in the Meroitic period particularly in few pieces among the treasure of the queen Amanishakheto and few golden pieces from the Western cemetery in Meroe. These adoption may express the political ambitions of the Meroitic elites¹⁵⁸⁸.

Bearing these points in mind, it is important to mention that it is still difficult to reconstruct the religious and funerary significance of these amulets. The amulets may appear in Egyptian form, but their religious significance may have been transformed. Likewise, the amulets that showed Hellenistic influence may have lost their original meaning perhaps twice, the first in Egypt and the second in Nubia.

¹⁵⁸³ Ogden 1990, 204.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Manzo 2006; 2022, 70.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Török 2006a, 468.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Bonner 1946, 32.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Ashby 2016, 4.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Manzo 2022, 70.

6.8.3. The Characterization of the Meroitic Funerary Amulets

The Egyptian adoption of Egyptian traits was obvious in the first phase of the Kushite period “Napatan period”¹⁵⁸⁹, but it seems that many of the characteristics of the Meroitic art differ from those in Egyptian art, and the Meroitic cultural achievements and tendencies were particularly evident in religion in the representation of Meroitic gods, in the native clothing, insignia and attributes¹⁵⁹⁰. Also, the temple reliefs reflected different religious and mythological ideas than the standard Egyptian. Although number of the Egyptian gods, were worshipped in the Meroitic period in purely Egyptian shapes, they were nevertheless changed on a local basis corresponding to new epithets and new functions¹⁵⁹¹, in addition to the changes in their consorts, forming new divine pairs or triads. However the degree of these changes varied and is often difficult to be deciphered¹⁵⁹².

In the publications of early scholars in the Nubian studies, the Egyptological background was usually dominated in their interpretations for the Kushite material cultures¹⁵⁹³, for example Adams¹⁵⁹⁴ stated that “*We have already identified Egypt as the source in Nubian cultural history*”. But based on recent discoveries and studies, it seems that the political and economic situation in Meroe –even earlier- offered more stability to develop an original culture, in relation with a wide context and with neighbours cultures, in addition to its last long established relation with Egypt¹⁵⁹⁵.

Török drew the attention on the difference between the adoption and the adaptation of conceptions borrowed from another civilization, and illustrated

¹⁵⁸⁹ Adams 1964a, 120.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Wenig 2015, 3.

¹⁵⁹¹ Quirke 1992, 177.

¹⁵⁹² Kormysheva 2006, 13.

¹⁵⁹³ Breasted 1908.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Adams 1967, 24.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Eisa 1999, 9.

adaptation as a determinant of Meroitic cultural behavior¹⁵⁹⁶. The Meroitic artists knew how to absorb, adopt and combine foreign elements to create new works of “undeniable” Meroitic character¹⁵⁹⁷. The arts considered a testimony of the indigenous attempts to create a local cultural unit in wide context with different contemporary civilizations¹⁵⁹⁸. Some examples demonstrate an extremely high standard of technique *e.g.* the jewelry of the Queen Amanishakheto, which is clearly carried out by the same craftsmen, whom created the reliefs of the monuments. There is no reasons to assume that Egyptian goldsmiths worked for the Queen of Meroe, but it doesn’t mean that the Meroitic goldsmiths did not leaned on the simultaneous works of the ancients Egyptians, while preserved Egyptian goldsmith works from the same period in a purely Egyptian style are lacking¹⁵⁹⁹.

To affirm the local manufacturing and transformation in using amulets in Meroitic period in wider context with other Meroitic finds, we have to understand the nature of other Egyptian-inspired Meroitic finds, such as Ushabti, which is a main part in the Egyptian funerary practices. Haynes and Leprohon¹⁶⁰⁰ concluded that there are difference between the Kushite royal Ushabti and the Egyptian in specific ways such as the distinguishable iconographic features of the headdress, the double uraeus, the bags, the implements, the royal features¹⁶⁰¹. These former differences affirm the local production. Scholars also believed that the bronze lamps in the Meroitic period were imported from Hellenistic world, but Sakoutis¹⁶⁰² proved by examining lamps that they were locally manufactured in Meroe. In addition to

¹⁵⁹⁶ Török 2011a, 42-43.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Török 1984b, 351; Sakoutis 2009; Wenig 2019, 847.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Dafaalla 1993, 27; Yellin 2014b.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Schäfer 1910, 99-100.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Haynes, Leprohon 1987, 22.

¹⁶⁰¹ For further information and the local characteristics of Ushabti in the Kushite period, see Bovot 1996.

¹⁶⁰² Sakoutis 2009.

this, the study of painted religious motifs on pottery showed that, although the religious painted or stamped motifs on the Meroitic pottery are fundamentally Egyptian in shape, their style is predominantly un-Egyptian “indigenous”, reflecting the Meroitic artistic tradition¹⁶⁰³.

This study is the first to collate, analyze, and try to provide interpretative remarks on the Meroitic funerary amulets. Placing Meroitic amulets in the context of Nubian cultural history to create a typology for funerary Meroitic amulets including quantitatively assessing attributes to provide a better view of evolutionary changes, the same purpose was already done by researchers to study the amulets of Kerma and Napata periods. In order to fully understand the internal complexity and diversity of the amulets in the Nubian history, the study attempted to trace the distribution of the types of the through Kerman, Napatan, and Meroitic period.

¹⁶⁰³ El-Hassan 2004, 27.

6.26. Distribution of the Meroitic Funerary Amulets in Wide Context with the Kerman and Napatan Funerary Amulets.

Type/Period		Kerma			Napatan					Meroitic						
Group	Sub-Group/Site	Kerma	Sai	Mirgissa	Nu.	Ku.	Beg. S.	Beg. W.	Sanam	Beg. N.	N. 6	Karanog	Qustul & Ballana	Faras	Sai & Sedeinga	Beg. W.
Anthropomorphic	Isis (any form)	---	---	---	13	1	2	108	54	---	---	---	---	---	1	2
	Bes	3	---	---	3	---	---	31	34	3	8	16	---	4	7	36
	Osiris	---	---	1	1	---	1	---	---	3	---	3?	---	---	2	1
	Patakios	---	---	---	17	---	2	62	49	2	---	---	---	---	---	1
	Harpocrates	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	17	---	---	---	---	---	---	20
	Hathor	---	---	---	7	7	4	26	51	2	11	---	---	---	---	61
	Sekhmet	---	---	---	5	---	2	6	16	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Twin boys				---	---	10	129		---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Tawaret	525	---	1	3?	---	1	1	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Maat	---	---	---	1	2	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Human figure	3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	12	---	---	---	---	1	8
	Ram head	---	---	---	10	5	6	24	19	18	---	---	2	9	7	133
	Lion	1	---	1	---	1	1	7	4	2	5	2	1	2	---	32
	Frog	1	---	1	---	2	1	16	55	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
	Crocodile	4	---	1	---	---	---	15	1	---	---	2	---	1	1	6

Zoomorphic	Hawk	10	2	1	3	2	2	15	---	3	1	---	---	1	---	3
	Fly	14	---	1	---	---	---	42	20	1	---	---	1	3	---	37
	Bird	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	3	---	---	1	---	---	---	2
	Ape	207	1	1	1	---	4	22	13	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Sow	---	---	---	---	---	---	15	41	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Vulture	---	---	---	2	8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	---
	Hippo	3	---	1	---	---	---	2	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Cat	---	---	---	2	---	---	6	18	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
Symbols	Wdjat	2	7	1	154	45	771	83	352	5	67	3	---	28	3	27
	Uraeus	1	---	1	---	14	104	6	5	9	14	---	1	---	---	165
	Heart	---	---	---	1	4	2	3	9	2	6	3	1	3	---	85
	Crescent	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	8	---	---	---	1	---	33
	Ankh	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	5	---	56	---	---	---	---	13
	Lion on Crescent	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	7	---	---
	Ankh on Crescent	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---
	Sun&Uraeus	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	4	---	2	---	---	---	5
	Djed	23	1	1	---	15	1	8	?	---	16	---	---	---	---	---
	Nefer	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Sa	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	2	---	---	---	---	53	---	55

	Tyet	---	---	1	1	4	2	2	---	2	---	1	---	---	---	---
	Papyrus column	---	---	---	10	4	7	3	35	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	Menat	---	---	---	---	4	1	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Seal Amulet	Scarab	13	17	1	40	22	21	512	542	26	42	3	11	28	3	21
	Scaraboid	21	---	1	2	---	1	10	127	---	---	1	---	2	---	---
	Plaque	---	---	---	35	2	28	18	98	---	---	---	2	8	1	---
Phytomorphic	Rosette	2	---	---	118	3	2	1	2	5	---	---	---	2	3	36
	Flower-bud	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	14	26	1	---	---	1	1	19
Others	Shell	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	14	---	---	13	---	8
	Bell	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	---	---	1	---	4

In the following discussions, considerable attention has been paid to the work of earlier scholars¹⁶⁰⁴. The tradition of amulets went on changing and continual fluid evolution during the long history of Nubia. During Kerma period, the amulets depicting anthropomorphic deities are not attested, while among the most widespread amulets in Kerma there are those that represented animals and symbols. The amulets may have reflected new political status of Kerma and a regional power¹⁶⁰⁵. In the Napatan period, the wide attestation of the amulets in the forms of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, symbols, and scarabs was obvious and reflected transformation and deep belief in amulet-related practices¹⁶⁰⁶.

Even if the placing of amulets in graves during the Meroitic period declined significantly compared to the Napatan period¹⁶⁰⁷, this is particularly interesting and revealing with regard to the interplay of endogenous and exogenous traditions. In addition, the principle of the amulet was not banned from the Meroitic death cults without replacement. Many of the earlier amulet motifs can be found on other artifacts *e.g.* signet rings, earing, religious motifs on pottery, and iconographies, which were probably assigned a similar function.

Many of the amulets that had been found in in the successive periods of Kerma, Napata, and Meroe demonstrated a strong relation and interaction with Egypt, but many examples of these amulets seems clearly locally manufactured. In the Meroitic period, the Meroities were succeed to adapt and combine different foreign elements and produce an indigenous character in amulet traditions.

¹⁶⁰⁴ D'Itria 2017; Balanda 2020.

¹⁶⁰⁵ D'Itria 2017, 366, 368-9; 2021, 50.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Balanda 2015.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Hofmann 1995, 2855.

The dichotomy in the traditions of amulets in the Meroitic period, shows that there are two types of amulets that are non-local, whether Egyptian or Hellenistic, or a local style in the terms of shape, manufacture, and symbolism. Indeed, the dataset of the Meroitic funerary amulets contained unique types that were neither ancient Egyptian or Graeco-Roman. These indigenous Meroitic types are lion on crescent, ankh on crescent, which symbol for Apedemak, in addition to different forms of ram's head, and lions¹⁶⁰⁸.

¹⁶⁰⁸ It is worth to mention that these indigenous motifs were widely painted or stamped on the Meroitic pottery from different sites, Shinnie, Bradley 1980, 135, Fig. 55; El-Hassan 2004.

7.1. Conclusion

The data of the current study were provided by the examination of the published and unpublished materials that had been found in several funerary sites dated to the Meroitic period. A total number of 1769 amulets from 21 funerary sites have been accumulated and studied as a unit. The collected data allowed to identify all the types of amulets from the funerary context and different distributive patterns. The qualitative and quantitative conclusions were already presented in the body of the dissertation; in the following pages I will focus on synthesize the conclusions.

The study presented the first large-scale classification attempt that has combined a theoretical and scientific approach for the Meroitic funerary amulets that were found in the royal and non-royal tombs, in order to try to elucidate the symbolism of Meroitic funerary amulets and to seeks to correct previous assessments of the amulets, in addition to identify many factors affecting the distribution of certain types of amulets and try to understand the religious significance and meanings related with their use. Despite the many obstacles associated with this study, the most important of which is the discrepancies in the documentation, the lack of images and complete description.

The noticeable decrease in the quantitative and qualitative distribution of amulets in Meroe compared to the Napatan period is not related - as determined by scholars- to the decline of believing in apotropaic amulets and the limited knowledge of the narratives behind these images. In contrast, the attestation of the increase of the distributions of specific types of amulets is attested in the Meroitic period in comparison to the Napatan one (see table.6.23), in addition to the emergence of new types of amulets that had been never appeared before neither in Napatan period or in Egypt. Moreover, we have to bear in mind the heavy plundering of all Meroitic cemeteries in ancient and modern times, which may explain a limited distribution of

certain types of amulets. We cannot deny the emergence of a new types of amulets in the Meroitic period that may have also had apotropaic functions that may have developed as a result of their internal belief, which associated with amulets aspects. The common feature of almost of the amulets is mainly related to the concepts and symbolism of life, birth, regeneration, eternity, and protection in life and after life.

Meroitic funerary practices showed a significant regional diversity and considerable changes over time. Nevertheless, based on the dataset of the current study, the study cannot affirm the complexity and diversity in the amulets tradition in the Meroitic northern and southern provinces. The attestation of types of amulets in Lower Nubia *e.g.* Ankh on crescent and its total absence in the heartland of Meroe, does not necessarily mean that these types form a regional specificity. Indeed, it should be stressed that the same symbols occurring on the amulets may have characterized also other artifacts like seal impressions, rings, brick moulds or maybe the future excavations reveal their existence also in regions where they apparently lack.

Large numbers of different types of amulets were discovered in the Meroitic centers such as Faras, Begrawiya, which may have been acted as main centers for the manufacture and then distribution. While other sites (Karanog, Amir Abdallah, Sai, and Sedeinga) showed medium or small numbers of amulets. These former sites showed a regional diversity in terms of the shapes and materials of the amulet (particularly the faience), which in turn reflects that these sites could be considered as regional centers for manufacturing on a small scale in comparison with Faras and Meroe.

Although the study presented a diachronic and synchronic reconstruction of the distribution of the funerary Meroitic amulets, however, it is still difficult to use amulets as a dating tool in the Meroitic period in the same way as pottery, and the

attempts to make an internal chronology was too hypothetical due to many factors, the most important of which is the scatter of chronological information about archaeological contexts also due to looting and thus dispersed stylistic means. Therefore, using the Meroitic amulets as an internal dating tool in Meroitic period remains challenging. But placing the Meroitic amulets in a broad dating system also considering the previous periods in the Kerma and Napata phases achieves better results.

During the Meroitic period a change to kingship ideology occurred, which is perhaps the result of a new dynastic line, related to the shift of the royal burial ground from the Napatan to the Meroitic region. With these changes came a new found emphasis on Meroitic gods including Apedemak, Arensnuphis, Sebuimaker, and the different forms of Nubian Amun. From a certain point onwards, this historical process may seem partially traceable in some practices related to amulets and apotropaic powers in the Meroitic period, as new forms of amulets appeared in the funerary context and dedicated to the local forms of deities, as well as the replacement with Apedemak of the traditional Egyptian deities.

It is very difficult to draw and definite conclusions about the functions and symbolism of every type of funerary amulets. In order to understand the purposes of the Meroitic amulets in its Meroitic context, especially with the complete absence of textual sources, we have to liberate from the Egyptocentric perspectives which dominated the publications of the early scholars. The state of complex entanglement in which the Meroitic civilization melted in its diverse local sphere, with the ancient adopted Egyptian traditions, and contemporary foreign Mediterranean concepts with Egyptian flavors, makes it difficult to set a specific framework for understanding this disparate interdependence in the various manifestations of civilization in Meroe, which may have been moreover different from context to another. Thus, specifically

with regard to the religious and spiritual aspects of the Meroitic period, it is impossible to reconstruct the mixed and dynamic internal terms of the Meroitic people concerning their own spiritual sphere, which indeed could be variant and belonged primarily to individual's sphere.

The theories and approaches related to “*syncretism*”, “*hybridism*”, and “*entanglement*” may represent more constant and realistic approaches in trying to understand the dynamic interactions in the Meroitic period. It should be noted that the use of these theories may provide innovative results in the analysis of some aspects related to tangible heritage like architecture, language, iconographies, and arts, while for intangible heritage, I argue that there is no single suitable theoretical approach to understand such these vanishing concepts. The spiritual interactions were always difficult to decipher -even in the modern societies.

Although the typological approach and the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the dataset of the current study was important in understanding many aspects related to amulets in the Meroitic period, there are many other aspects other than typology to be taken into account when considering the respective influences of the originating and receiving cultures to enhance our understanding of intercultural dynamics and the transformations material culture undergoes in its move from one culture to another. Thus, we cannot look only at the typological features of the amulets in order to properly understand the interplay of cultural forces between the originating and the receiving cultures, but must also investigate the social practices that surrounded its use. But unfortunately such this information cannot be obtained for all archaeological objects.

The aim of interweave a multi-stranded approach (typological, archaeometric, and entho-archaeological) is to identify different aspect moving beyond the

traditions of amulets and try to understand the interactions between people, materials, and environment;

- For the typology, the large number of amulets in terms of quantity and diversity of shapes concentrated in the region of Meroe in the royal and elite cemeteries, followed by the non-royal Meroitic cemetery in Faras. Number of sites *i.e.* Karanog, Amir Abdallah, Sai, and Sedeinga, showed a remarkable variation in the numbers and shapes of amulets, they also reflected regional variation in terms of shape, material. The dataset shows the prevalence of some forms of amulets in both northern and southern provinces such as the amulets of Bes, ram's head, lion, Wdjat, uraeus, and scarabs, on the other hand, a limited distribution of amulet types such as Isis, Hathor, Harpocrates, frog, Ankh.

- The data obtained from the archaeometric study by the joint usage of different complementary analytical techniques on Meroitic faience provided detailed diagnostic information about the raw materials for each of the body and the glaze layer, type of glaze layer and the colored materials of some samples. The components of the faience in the Meroitic period are similar to the the faience in Egypt with different proportions in both the body and the glaze layer. This variety indicated that the manufacture processes involve variety of craft techniques and raw materials possibly related to the different production centers, *e.g.* the body of the samples from Meroe region was reddish-brown, which indicates the use of sand containing iron impurities, where the hematite compound was determined by XRD, and iron oxide was determined in large proportions by p-XRF. Glaze rich in Al, Si, P, as well as Ca, Pb and Fe, points to the application of high firing temperatures to melt the components and produce high-fire glaze.

- The ethnographic survey may reflect aspects similar to the amulet traditions in the Meroitic period *e.g.* the common purposes of having amulets (various concepts

of protection, good life and luck), the internal diversity (social, regional, technical), perhaps reflecting the social structure with distinctive socio-cultural groups, in addition to shed light on multi intangible perspectives which cannot be traced in the archaeological context.

This research has shed light on some aspects and raised new questions which might be answered through further excavations in the Meroitic cemeteries in Lower and Upper Nubia and its surroundings. But I have to emphasize that this can only be a mid-point review, as further investigations on the subject has not yet come to an end.

7.2. Moving Forward

This is the first in depth study on the amulets across Meroitic funerary sites. Although this research has provided some conclusions and answers for some questions, there is much we still do not understand about Meroitic amulets, and more questions need to be asked. Indeed, the further research will hopefully expand knowledge on this topic and fill the gap in our present knowledge, in addition to allow further conclusions to be drawn on the degree of local adaptation, materiality, and distributions.

Further investigation is still needed on three main axes,

1. Expanding the scope of the quantitative and qualitative study in other contexts, particularly in the religious context in the Meroitic temples, and the domestic and societal context in the Meroitic settlements. This will contribute to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the amulets traditions and distribution in comparison with funerary context.
2. Developments in archaeological inference and techniques may provide a unique opportunity to re-orientate the published and extant material evidence within an updated interpretive framework on the Meroitic small finds. Therefore, further archaeometric investigations and laboratory analyses, could provide more information about techniques, fabric, temper and firing, technical choices and workshop distributions.
3. The ethnographic approach provided an important interpretation in the attempt to the reconstruction of the processes and practices in the antiquity, but a further systematic study in Sudan is still needed, which would achieve a better understanding of the archaeological context.

Abbreviation List	
<i>AAR</i>	African Archaeological Review, Cambridge.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore/New York.
<i>ANM</i>	Archéologie du Nil Moyen, Lille.
<i>ARA</i>	Annual review of Anthropology, Palo Alto.
<i>Archéo-Nil</i>	Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil, Paris.
<i>ARC</i>	Archaeological Review from Cambridge, Cambridge.
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), Cairo.
<i>BzS</i>	Beitrag zur Sudanforschung, Wien.
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal, Cambridge.
<i>CCEC</i>	Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes, Athens.
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles.
<i>CRIPPEL</i>	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille, Lille.
<i>EVO</i>	Egitto e Vicino Oriente, Pisa.
<i>GAMAR</i>	Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports, Gdańsk.
<i>HTR</i>	The Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge.
<i>IAJFTH</i>	International Academic Journal Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management, Helwan.
<i>IBAES</i>	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie, Online.
<i>IJAHS</i>	The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Boston.
<i>JAA</i>	Journal of African Archaeology, Frankfurt.
<i>JAEL</i>	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections, Arizona.
<i>JANER</i>	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions, Leiden.
<i>JARCE</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo.
<i>JCH</i>	Journal of Cultural Heritage, France.
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
<i>JIIA</i>	Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology, Heidelberg.
<i>JRAI</i>	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
<i>JSSEA</i>	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto.
<i>Kush</i>	Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum.
<i>LAAA</i>	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.

<i>MAeSB</i>	Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, Berlin.
<i>Meroitica</i>	Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie, Berlin.
<i>MittSAG</i>	Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Berlin.
<i>MNL</i>	Meroitic newsletter, Paris.
<i>OMROL</i>	Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden.
<i>PAM</i>	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, Warsaw.
<i>PJAE</i>	PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology, Leiden.
<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'égyptologie, Paris.
<i>RSE</i>	Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, Roma.
<i>S&N</i>	Sudan and Nubia; Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society, London.
<i>SAAC</i>	Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization, Kraków.
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
<i>SARS Newsl.</i>	Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter, London.
<i>SJE</i>	Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications, Uppsala.
<i>SNR</i>	Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum.
<i>VA</i>	Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio.
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin/Leipzig.

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