

### Declaration

The detailed research described  
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specific acknowledgment is made.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

A STUDY OF THE MAIN RELIGIOUS MOTIFS IN THE DECORATION  
OF MEROITIC PAINTED AND STAMPED POTTERY

A thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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## II

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

### ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

ARCHAEOLOGY

### DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

A STUDY OF THE MAIN RELIGIOUS MOTIFS IN THE DECORATION OF  
MEROITIC PAINTED AND STAMPED POTTERY

BY

AHMED ABU EL GASSIM E-HASSAN

This research was undertaken by the present writer at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, Southampton University, the goal of which was to study the main religious motifs in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. Works done in this area were relatively rare as well as unsatisfactory. This thesis is no more than an attempt to make a contribution to the study of these religious motifs.

The data of the study were provided by the examination of the published and unpublished material from several sites of Meroitic Kush. The source material ranges in time from around the first century A.D. to the fourth century of the present era.

The main religious motifs in the decoration of the pottery under study were identified by viewing them in their original Egyptian format first and in their Napatan and Meroitic recast next, with their individual significance indicated. The analysis of the data led the writer to some possible interpretations and insights into the meanings of these motifs as well as their incidences and distribution within Meroitic Kush.

The result of the study showed that there are manifest religious concepts underlying the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. The main motifs did not function only as decorative elements but rather with symbolic religious meanings. Here, one hopes, may be a contribution to the efforts aiming at exploring fields of cognitive archaeology in Meroitic studies.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTORY

This introductory chapter aims to provide the necessary historical background to the nature of the topic, research objectives and problems as well as the scope and methodology of the present research.

#### **I. An Outline History Of Meroitic Kush**

The present study is confined to the Meroitic period of Kush (4th Cent B.C-4th Cent. A.D), which is the last phase in the history of Kush. The name of Kush first appeared in ancient Egyptian texts in the 12th Dynasty (c. 1991-1787 B.C; Rice, 1997), in reference to the land south of the Second Cataract. Evidently, this is the name of the land given to its inhabitants since the name was retained by Kushite kings in their records later on. Kush is suggested to begin as early as the mid of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Hofmann, 1967: 159). Its history is now conventionally divided into three phases: Kerman, Napatan and Meroitic, with no general agreement on the meaning of the terms. It is assumed that the Kushite Kingdom was first ruled from Kerma, then from Napata and finally from Meroe, hence the designation of the period above.

The Kerman Kush (c. 2400-1550 B.C.) flourished during what is known in Egyptian history as Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1730-1580 B.C; O'Conner, 1993). It extended from the Second Cataract in the North to the Island of Argo in the South (Maystre, 1973: 194). Its origin, however, remains obscure. The seat of Kerman Kushite government was mostly likely at Kerma (Fig. 1). During this period, many Egyptian elements were adopted and adapted by the Kerman artists and they were able to produce forms and motifs that reflected their perceptions and ideas. The decline of Kerman Kush began with the Egyptian occupation of the area from the

First to the Fourth Cataract, with the beginning of the New Kingdom during the 18th Dynasty (c. 1550 B.C.-1307 B.C; Rice, 1997).

However, with the advent of the 18th Dynasty occupation of Kush, Egyptian influences intensified. The worship of Egyptian gods was established on a larger scale. A series of temples dedicated to Egyptian gods and the Pharaoh were erected along the banks of the Nile between the First and the Second Cataract. As a result of this occupation, Egyptian gods continued to be worshipped by the Kushites long after the Egyptian occupation.

The Napatan phase of Kush began around the 8th century B.C. and lasted until the 4th century B.C. which marks the beginning of the Meroitic phase that continued to the 4th century A.D. The Napatan phase marks the rebirth of Kush Kingdom in the 8th century B.C. or perhaps earlier, in the region of Napata, downstream of the Fourth Cataract (Fig. 1). Kashto (conventionally Kashta) emerged during this period as a king bearing the title of "son of Re and King of Upper and Lower Egypt" (770-750 B.C.). The names of earlier Napatan rulers are unknown. In the 8th century B.C. the Kushites were able to occupy Egypt eventually and ruled both Egypt and Kush jointly, forming what is known in the Egyptian history as the 25th Dynasty (770-657 B.C). This Dynasty was formed of Kashto, Piye (conventionally Pianky, 750-716 B.C.), Shabaqo (716-702 B.C.), Shabito (702-690 B.C.), Taharqo (690-664 B.C; Rice, 1997) and Tanwetamani (664-657 B.C; Rice, 1997), during whose reign the Kushite rule of Egypt came to an end.

The Kushite advance into Egypt intensified Egyptian religious influences. The rulers of Kush turned to Egypt for inspiration and represented themselves as

pharaohs. Amun as a dynastic god was worshipped in the temples of Barkal, Sanam, Kawa and Pnubs (Fig. 1).

With the return of the Kushites from Egypt to Napata near Gebel Barkal (Fig. 1), under Assyrian pressure (c. 663 B.C; O'Conner, 1993), started the period which various scholars refer to as the "Napatan period". During this period, as during the 25th Dynasty preceding it, the Napatan Kushites manifested many Egyptian customs, religious views, rules, regulations, arts and crafts.

For unknown reasons the Kushite rulers seem to have made Meroe (Fig. 1) their capital as early as the sixth century B.C. and this marked the beginning of the period termed as Meroitic (Reisner, 1919; Dunham, 1946; Wainwright, 1952; Arkell, 1961; Shinnie, 1967). However, Meroiticists in the First Symposium on Meroitic Studies (Berlin, September 1971), agreed to date the early Meroitic period to the 4th century B.C., when the royal cemetery was transferred from Nuri (Fig. 1) in the region of Napata to that of Meroe (Hintze, 1984: 101; Abdalla, 1986: 20).

For obscure reasons, the Meroitic period came to be a time of indigenous cultural development and dynamism for shortly after the transfer of the royal cemetery to Meroe, and no later than the 2nd century B.C., an indigenous system of writing among other native cultural elements appeared in Meroitic Kush. Around the 2nd century A.D. the dominion of Kush extended so much that it included the entire land as north as Maharraqa. Present Egyptian Nubia became a Meroitic province with fortified towns such as Qasr Ibrim, Gebel Adda, Dakka and Faras (Fig. 1). In the field of religion, the period witnessed the birth of new Meroitic deities and an evolution of a series of Egyptian and Meroiticized Egyptian cults. In the late Meroitic period, around the first century A.D. the indigenous

culture gave rise to great religious decoration in Meroitic pottery, which is the subject of this study.

With the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Meroitic Kingdom collapsed. As yet no definite reasons could be given for its decline and fall. Various theories had been proposed by various scholars in this concern (Shinnie, 1955: 82-5; Kirwan, 1960: 163-73).

The Napatan and Meroitic periods extended for about a millennium, or more, without any recognizable chronological or cultural break. It is accepted by many scholars that the Meroitic Kush derives directly from the Napatan, without any gap in continuity (Haycock, 1972: 228). This continuity is evident in personal names, institutions (Abdalla, 1989: 875-883; 1986: 28-36), architecture, metallurgical traditions (Ali, 1989: 890) and religion (Haycock, 1972: 228). Reisner, a long time ago, demonstrated that the pyramids of the south cemetery at Meroe were a logical continuity of the latest at Nuri (Fig. 1) in Napata region (Reisner, 1909: 3-9). Such continuity has been demonstrated stratigraphically recently by excavations at the residential part of Meroe, where continuous occupation from early Napatan to the very end of the Meroitic was noted (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 16).

Due to geographical proximity, political and population contacts along the Nile Valley, Egyptian influences were continually felt in Napatan and Meroitic Kush in particular. To the Kushites the Egyptian culture was just as much as their own, as firmly rooted as Islam in the Sudan today (Haycock, 1968: 10). Elements borrowed from Egyptians via archaism had been analyzed and adjusted by Meroites to local conditions and indigenous taste (Katznelson, 1973: 82).

## II. Research Objectives And Problems

Lack of sufficient knowledge about most of the cultural aspects of Meroitic Kush at the beginning of the present century had caused earlier Egyptologists to regard Meroites as pseudo-Egyptian. In the last few decades, Meroitic studies emerged as an independent science of complex nature mainly due to efforts made by archaeologists, historians, philologists, anthropologist and environmentalists engaged in the study of the ancient history and archaeology of the Sudan (Ibid: 67). In recent years, Meroitic studies have become more specialized, and detailed research topics are the order of the day.

The present study which attempts to explain the significance of religious motifs on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, is a continuation of the latter trend. It aspires to delineate specific aspects of the Meroitic culture. Its central issue is to find out the main religious ideas underlying the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

The present researcher is aware of the fact that, in general, researches concerned with the interpretation of religious representations on painted and stamped pottery and other similar objects, have received enormous criticism (Gombrich, 1960). This is due to the fact that decoration is sometimes complex and there are no simple ways to interpret them. As Gombrich put it, getting inside the artist's mind and exploring his intention is a field of research with a long history (Ibid). Extreme views have expressed that all one's attempts to interpret artistic representations are doomed to failure unless one can talk to a participant of the relevant culture (Macintosh, 1977: 197). Hodder suggested that interpretation of decorative scenes and motifs depends on being able to question informants familiar with the context in which the art is produced (1982: 176). It is fortunate that such criticism does not apply to religious representations on Meroitic painted and

stamped pottery, since the significance of the motifs used in it is known from Egyptian and Kushite sources.

The fact that understanding art is difficult does not mean that it cannot be attempted, nor that reasonably well founded conclusions can not be drawn. Preliminary perceptive studies on Meroitic religion, based on iconographic evidence of temple relief were made by Leclant (1973; 1959); Zabkar (1975); Wenig (1974); Winter (1973); Hofmann (1976); Yellin (1978;1982: 217-234); Abdalla (1982: 61-104); and El Zaki (1985). However, there are several other scholars who used other sources of evidence such as architecture and written texts, and produced useful information and interpretation on Meroitic religion (Abdalla, 1982: 61-104; Ali, 1988).

It is hoped that this research will be an addition to such studies.

### **III. The Scope Of Meroitic Pottery Study With Special Reference To The Meroitic Painted And Stamped Pottery**

#### **1. Early works**

Before the beginning of the 20th century little was known about Meroitic painted and stamped pottery and it was obscurely referred to as 'late', 'Roman' or 'Coptic' and received little attention (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 35). However, more samples of Meroitic pottery were discovered during the First (1907-11) and Second Archaeological Surveys of Nubia (1929-34) between Shellal and the Sudanese border (Reisner, 1910: 346; Firth, 1912: 35-36; 1927, Figs. 4, 5; Emery and Kirwan, 1935: 509-14). Several other expeditions worked in Egyptian Nubia between the two surveys and after the Second Survey (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 35-42, Pls. 24-31; Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 51-8; Woolley, 1911; Griffith, 1923: 14 -81; Reisner, 1923: 41-39).

The Meroitic painted and stamped pottery came to be better known when Woolley and MacIver found great quantities of it and a few of the stamped pottery in the greatly plundered cemeteries of Shablul (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 36-42) and Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 51-8). They made a number of valuable observations about the decorated motifs on the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. In the townsite of Karanog, the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery found was in small quantities in relation to the other Meroitic domestic pottery. Thus, the excavator concluded that such painted and stamped pottery was possibly serving funeral offerings (Woolley, 1911: 41).

The painted and stamped Meroitic pottery is mostly wheel-made and represents only a fraction of the total Meroitic ceramic complex. It is comprised of two types of pottery : "the Meroitic fine ware" sometimes referred to as "eggshell ware" and "the ordinary ware". The "Meroitic fine ware" was found to consist of delicate thin-walled bowls, beakers, and cups while the "Meroitic ordinary ware" was made of larger vessels in a wide variety of forms and fabrics.

The first to deal with painted and stamped Meroitic pottery in any details, were Woolley and MacIver who noted the connection of this pottery to some Hellenistic influences from contemporary Egypt and therefore termed it as "Romano-Nubian" (Ibid).

Later, Griffith discovered in two seasons (1910-12) several examples of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery at Faras Cemetery (Fig. 1), the burials of which had been plundered in ancient time (1924; 1925). Like that of Karanog, the cemetery contained about several thousand graves. Griffith was the first to try to date Meroitic pottery by ordering the graves into four chronological stages but his attempt was considered unsatisfactory since the same pottery was found in all types

of graves at Faras (1924: 144-45). He dated the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery to a period ranging between the first and third century A.D. (Ibid: 145).

Further south, at Kerma (Fig. 1), Reisner found very meagre examples of Meroitic painted pottery in a Meroitic cemetery (1923: 41-49). Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found in the royal pyramids of Gebel Barkal and Meroe, and Abu Geili townsite (Crawford and Addison, 1951) in quantities smaller than those of Lower Nubian sites. The Meroitic painted and stamped vessels and sherds from the royal tombs at Meroe are fairly well illustrated (Dunham, 1957; 1963) but not in such a way as to provide a useable corpus for a systematic study. Garstang found considerable quantities of Meroitic painted and stamped sherds and vessels in the townsite of Meroe. The greater part of his material is stored at the museum of the University of Liverpool. He conducted archaeological excavations at Meroe for five years (from 1909 to 1914) chiefly in the "Royal City" and several temples but nearly all the pottery which has been illustrated and described comes from funerary contexts (1911: 37-47).

The literature shows that the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery in early works is derived mainly from Lower Nubia which constitutes a Northern province of Meroitic Kush. The pottery was obtained from cemeteries rather than from residential sites. As justly observed by Adams, classifications made for Meroitic pottery during this early period were rudimentary and had been undertaken for purely descriptive purposes (1986: 4).

## **2. Recent works**

In recent times, various pottery studies have been undertaken, primarily as a part of the Nubian Salvage Campaign (1959-69). Such campaign realized the need to save Nubian monuments endangered by the erection of the High Dam of Aswan.

During this campaign additional material of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found relatively in small quantities in many occupation sites and in large numbers as funerary objects in graves. It was discovered in smaller numbers in the townsites of Meinarti, Qasr Ibrim, Dakka, Sedeinga, Gebel Adda and such as humble village as Gaminarti (Adams and Nordstrom, 1963: 26). Yet this did not seem to alter the observation that the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found normally and consistently associated with tombs in the Northern Meroitic domain.

The leading work in Meroitic pottery studies of the period is that of Adams (1986). His material came from Lower Nubia, of the Meroitic, X-Group and Christian periods. The system of his classification involved two main processes: analysis and synthesis (Ibid: 63-65). The variables of his analytical study were: method of construction, fabric, surface treatment, vessel forms, colours, painted decoration, and relief decoration. His synthetic classification was based on four levels: Traditions, based on method of construction, Families within each Tradition based on fabric, Ware Groups within each of the major families based on vessel forms and decoration, and Ware generally based on colour and surface treatment (Ibid). Meroitic painted and stamped pottery is represented in his typology by Family M "fine eggshell" (R 35 Meroitic fine red ware, and W 26 Meroitic fine white ware) and Group N.1 (Ware R 32 Meroitic ordinary red ware, R 33 Meroitic stripped red ware, and R 34 Meroitic red ware in imitation to Roman ware).

Its diversity in forms, decorative traditions and fabrics in addition to its distribution indicates according to Adams, the possibility of multiple production centres (Ibid: 13). On archaeological and textual evidence, Adams dated the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery to the late Meroitic period 200 A.D.-350 A.D. (Ibid: 604). Thus, the Meroitic settlement in Lower Nubia was suggested by

him and previously by Griffith to be of a relatively short duration within the late Meroitic period.

As observed by Wenig (1978: 129), Adams' inclusion of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery in his classification was for typological purposes. Adams' pioneer and elaborate work on Meroitic pottery was designed mainly to serve the purpose of dating and ordering the Meroitic archaeological sites. His system of classification formed the basis of all recent ceramic studies in the Sudan, and his recent two volumes of 1986 on 'Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia' represent an attempt to place the study of Meroitic, X-Group and Christian pottery on a sound foundation.

During the International Nubian Salvage Campaign (1959-69) The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago conducted archaeological excavations in Egyptian Nubia between Abu Simbel and the Sudan frontier (1962-64). A large collection of Meroitic pottery was found in Meroitic cemeteries Q and B at Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991: 27-457). The collection included a considerable amount of painted and stamped pottery. Only pottery from Karanog and Faras exceeded it in amount in Lower Nubia (Ibid: 27). As the material was large it was classified and the following five groups were recognized in the Meroitic pottery:

- I. Meroitic fine ordinary pottery, which largely corresponds to Adams' Family M and Group N.1 (Ibid: 192).
- II. Kushite Wheelmade.
- III. Storage jars.
- IV. Kushite Wheelmade utility.
- V. Handmade ordinary.

The classification presented by Williams realigned most of Adams' categories (Ibid: 191). The main variables of the classification were: traditions, form groups, forms within the material, and decoration (Ibid: 27).

Further south, the archaeological survey on the Nile Valley south of Dal Cataract (Fig. 1) which started in early 1970's showed that *Batn al Hajar* (Belly of Stones) area was not an important centre of settlement during the Late Meroitic period. A small collection of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found in cemeteries of Irki Saab and Missiminia (Vila, 1978: 48-51; 1982a: 105-122).

In the Southern part of Meroitic Kush, Thabit and Vercoutter conducted an archaeological excavation between 1958 and 1960 at Wad Ban Naga on the east bank of the Nile, about 130 km. north of Khartoum (Fig. 1). They found in the royal residential area, and a temple a collection of Meroitic painted and stamped potsherds, the many of which are not yet studied or that published (Vercoutter, 1962: 263-299). Both Adams and Vercoutter pointed out that these potsherds seem to have been somewhat more common at Wad Ban Naga (Adams, 1973: 232).

Shinnie conducted an archaeological excavation from 1965 to 1972 at the site of ancient Meroe, the capital of Meroitic Kingdom, the report of which was written by Shinnie and Bradley (1980). They formulated a preliminary pottery typology for the wares obtained from two trenches at Meroe residential sector (Ibid: 151). The Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found in small quantities and only in the uppermost occupation levels. It is represented in their typology by "Type F" which is Wheel-made and includes mostly very fine-walled cups, beakers and bowls though few larger thicker-walled enclosed shapes occur. The fabric was found to be fine, light coloured with sand tempered clay varying in colour from white to light orange to pink. Its surfaces are normally well burnished.

The decoration is often made with paint, a combination of painted and stamped designs or rarely a burnished red slip. This pottery according to Shinnie and Bradley, nearly coincides in date with that of Lower Nubia (Ibid: 160). On basis of radiocarbon dates and Eastern Terra Sigillata sherds the painted and stamped pottery was dated to the period between the early 1st century A.D. and the middle of the 3rd century A.D. (Bradley, 1984: 207).

At Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Fig. 1), a very small quantity of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was found in the late occupation levels (Otto, 1967: 1-32; Adams, 1973: 288; Harting, 1988: 489-500). Otto studied the total corpus of the Meroitic pottery of Musawwarat Es-Sufra and worked out a preliminary typology of twelve main groups dating from the 5th or 4th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. In his chronology, the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery falls in period V which extends from the first century A.D. to the fourth century A.D. Shinnie and Bradley did not attempt to relate their pottery from townsite of Meroe with Otto's published classification which considerably overlaps in time with that of Meroe.

### **3. Problem of date and origin**

Through the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was generally thought to be confined to the late period of Meroitic phase both in Lower and Upper Nubia, and in spite of Griffith and Adams' pioneer works, its early formative stages and origin are still unknown. No absolute dates for individual decorated styles were made and detailed inner chronology of the different types of decoration is still a requisite.

Recently, in a quite different form of inquiry Wenig employed art historical methods in his study of Meroitic painted vessels from Karanog and Faras. He was able to identify at least four individual painters, the "cartoonist", "altar painter",

“antelope painter”, and “prisoner painter”, and at least two schools of painting “vine-leaf school” and “academic school” (1978: 95-98). The identification of these artists and schools of painting was based on similarities in certain painting styles. Wenig considered his attempt as a step towards the creation of Meroitic ceramic chronology since tombs that yielded vessels produced by the same artist must be of the same period (Ibid: 98).

Torok studied the styles of decoration of Meroitic painted pottery in an attempt to make an internal chronology, but his attempt, as he himself admitted, was too hypothetical (1987: 206). The styles which he identified and dated were the following:

1. The Silhouette Style which is equivalent to Wenig’s “Vine leaf school”. Resemblance between the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery and Hadra vases of Alexandria which was noted previously by Griffith (1925: 75), was also confirmed by Torok who traced the origin of vine leaf decoration to Hellenistic Hadra vases and dated it to the 2nd century B.C. (1987: 192).
2. The Stern Pharaonic Style which represents Wenig’s “Academic school” and was dated to 1st century A.D. (Ibid: 201).
3. The Polychrome Figural Style, the formative phase of which was dated to the middle decades of the 1st century A.D. (Ibid: 203).
4. The Guinea-Fowl Style, dated to the mid-third of the 1st century A.D. (Ibid: 205).

Torok believes that the Meroitic painted pottery was co-determined by the aesthetic quality of Hellenistic Egyptian pottery traded to Meroe in the first half of the second century B.C. or possibly earlier and serving as a source of inspiration for centuries (1994: 377-387)

Millet assigned a definite date in years A. D. to some wine jars from Meroitic cemeteries of Karanog, Adda and Ballana (1994: 305-8). He identified the names of persons written in demotic script on surfaces of these vessels. These wine jars were found to be gifts to the funerary equipment by the persons named.

The concentration of the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery in the North and their meagreness in the South indicated to Adams, Hintze, Shinnie and Vercoutter that they might be a Lower Nubian product, exported to the South as a luxury good (Adams, 1973: 232). On the other hand, preliminary analysis of eggshell pottery from Meroe, implies that this pottery has little in common with that of Lower Nubia and thus may have been made at Meroe (Bradley, 1984: 206).

It is noteworthy that sherds of a large vessels with painted decoration were found in the Great Enclosure at Musawwarat Es-Sufra, dated to the third century B.C. (Wenig, 1978: 74). This important find, as suggested by Wenig, indicates that Meroitic painted pottery in the South in particular, came into being earlier than has been hitherto assumed (1979: 133-4). It also suggests that the tradition of painted and stamped pottery may have developed in the Southern part of the Kingdom. Robertson who is now currently working on the pottery recovered by the Universities of Khartoum/Calgary excavations at Meroe, believes that Meroitic painted and stamped pottery is relatively late in the Meroitic sequence. He thinks that its origin lies in the reigns of King Natakamani and Queen Amanitare (12 B.C.-A.D. 12; personal communication). He is of the opinion that this type of pottery

was made at Meroe. The presence of raw clay at Meroe and Umm Ali regions (pure kaolin source) similar to that from which the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery appears to have been made, indicates that it could have been made there (Sayce, 1914: 145; Robertson, 1975: 26-7; Shinnie, 1984: 113; Adams, 1986: 435).

It is generally believed that the fine Meroitic pottery in Meroitic North is made of clay derived from lenses and layers in the Nubian sandstone either directly or from secondary deposits in the higher terraces of the valley (Lister, 1967: 74; Williams, 1991: 29). Material added to the clay in the ordinary Meroitic pottery varied with the intended size and use of the vessels as well as the cultural orientation of the potter (Ibid: 30). The Meroitic ordinary and handmade pottery almost all showed evidence of chaff inclusions. Much of this was of finely divided kind that would usually be called dung (Nordstrom, 1972: 51-53; Williams, 1991: 30). The fine Meroitic cups contain only very tiny voids and particles of ground or crushed sand. Ash or other organic inclusion exist alongside larger particles of sand and stones as actual temper in other forms of pottery. In this case, ash may have served as a flux used to reduce the temperature needed to sinter the vessel or as an agent to peptize the clay to make the surface smooth for decoration (Ibid).

No sites where the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was produced, have so far been identified. The main analytical studies of Meroitic and Post-Meroitic wares, published at present, have been those involving the analysis of finewares of Meroitic tradition from Wadi Qitna by spectroscopic analysis (Strouhal, 1984: 195-200) and the study of a variety of ware types from el Kadada by both thin-section petrography and chemical analysis (De Paepe, 1986: 39; De Paepe and Brijse, 1987: 149-174). In the research of el Kadada a local origin in

the general region of the site was suggested for the painted and stamped pottery (Ibid: 159-60).

Recently L. M. V. Smith conducted a research project in an attempt to investigate the potential of chemical analysis and thin-section petrography for establishing whether Meroitic painted and stamped finewares were made in the North, in the South or both regions (1995: 431-442; 1996: 23-31) . Since there is no definite Meroitic kiln-site material, the main provenance study has been carried out on the basis of comparison between sites of utilization and raw materials from different known localities in Meroe region and north of Dal Cataract. The result of his investigation appears consistent with the hypothesis that manufacturing loci for the painted and stamped finewares existed in the Southern as well as the Northern region of the Meroitic Kingdom.

The above outline of early and recent works on Meroitic pottery shows that archaeologists continued to work on Meroitic pottery within the conceptual framework of typologies, mainly designed for chronological purposes. Scientific analysis and its implication on questions of pottery characterization and provenance, was attempted only recently. Decoration on pottery, as a variable was utilized only as an additional criterion in pottery classification. It was not a subject of study itself, from which information can be gleaned on the Meroitic society and its religious beliefs. This, in fact, is the objective of the present study.

#### **IV. Samples And Methods Of Study**

The data used for this research is constituted chiefly of religious representations on Meroitic painted and stamped from thirty five sites of Meroitic domain. The pottery sample is obtained mainly from the Northern Meroitic cemeteries of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Shablul (MacIver and Woolley, 1909), Faras (Griffith, 1924; 1925), Qustul and Ballana (Williams,

1991), Sebuah and Adindan (Emery and Kirwan, 1935 ) and Gemmai, ( Bates and Dunham, 1927).

Additional supportive samples are included. These come from such Northern Meroitic sites excavated during the Nubian Salvage Campaign in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia as the cemeteries of Nag Gamus (Almagro, 1965), Nag-Shayeg (Catalan, M.P, 1963), Nelluah (Garcia Guinea, M.A. and Teixidor, J, 1965), Aksha (Vila, 1967) Semna South (Zabkar and Zabkar, 1982: 7-48) and Sedeinga (Leclant, 1982; 1994). Supportive samples are from the settlement site of Armina West (Trigger, 1967) and from the cemetery of Qasr Ibrim (Mills, 1982). Meroitic painted and stamped pottery of the important settlements of Meinarti and Gebel Adda, to my knowledge, has not as yet been published.

Besides, the material includes all the religious representations on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery found further south in the cemeteries of Missiminia (Vila, 1982), Kerma (Reisner, 1923: 41-9; Bonnet, 1990: 236-49), Kawa, Meroe (Dunham, 1957; 1963) as well as the occupation deposits of Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980) and Abu Geili (Addison and Crawford, 1951). It is supplemented with other unpublished small material available at The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at Cambridge which is currently undertaking excavations at Qasr Ibrim. A further unpublished additional material studied by the writer, was that of Wad Ban Naga and other minor sites, which is currently stored in the Khartoum Museum. The sample also includes a few unpublished potsherds from the townsite of Meroe, found by the writer in the collections of Department of Archaeology of University of Khartoum. Additional unpublished relatively larger sample from the same site (excavated by Garstang), was studied by the writer in the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. It is estimated that the sample under study represents not less than 50% of the total

population of the pottery assemblages with painted and stamped religious motifs, so far excavated.

One feels satisfied that the study of this corpus of material can be sufficient to form certain hypotheses concerning the significance of the main religious motifs on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, even though considerably more material and detailed studies will be required before these hypotheses can be verified.

The method adopted for studying the source material obtained is as follows: First, the main recurrent motifs are identified, with their individual significance indicated. Next, the rate of incidence of each single religious motif, or motifs in association, is recorded in relation to the total population of the sample being studied. The significance of motifs in association is also pointed out. In the analysis a data set is prepared and computerized statistical procedures are invoked by the use of SPSS for Windows, release 6.0. These procedures include tabulating and crosstabulating frequencies of religious motifs together with their related variables, and their pictorial display in form of charts (descriptive statistics). As many drawings of the main different religious motifs as possible are prepared. Indispensable photographs of representations involving these motifs are also taken.

## **V. Definitions**

The following definitions incorporated in this thesis has been collected from many different sources. I present , my own usage of these classificatory terms in brief to make their meanings clear on the outset of this research.

### **1. Motif**

The term motif in this thesis to refer to a basic decorative religious theme or idea expressed in any individual design. Adams used this definition more broadly (1986: 214).

## **2. Symbol**

A symbol is used in this thesis to mean something that stands for, represents or denotes something of religious concept on decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. Generally, its purpose cannot often be explained satisfactorily. It functions in art at many different levels according to the beliefs and social customs that inspire the artist (Hall, 1994: ix)

## **3. Style**

Though the definition of the term style and its derivatives is problematic, it is still employed with little effort at precise definition (Rice, 1987: 247). In this thesis, the term is used to refer to a group of individual designs made by the Meroitic potters on the surfaces of painted and stamped pottery during the Meroitic period of Kush within the Meroitic domain.

## **4. Naturalism and Schematisation**

Styles are often described in art by such expressions as naturalistic (realistic) and Schematized (abstract and geometric). The first term is used in this thesis to refer to styles that constitute depictions more or less accurately, with emphasis on the form. The second term is applied to styles in which depictions are lacking the details or reduced to a selection of particular features regarded in some way as essential or basic.

## **VI. Contexts**

The study of religious representations on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery depends largely on its social, cultural and historical contexts. Since most of the deities and religious symbols of the Meroitic Kush are of Egyptian origin, the study of the representations of such motifs depends largely on profound understanding of Egyptian religion and mythology as well as of Meroitic rendering of them, taking into account the factors that one believes are essential in any study

relevant to Kushite civilization. These factors which were presented by Abdalla, are: the time; the space; and contact and proximity with Egypt (1984: 23-4). These interacting factors can be briefly outlined as follows:

### **1. Time**

The Meroitic painted and stamped pottery used in this study is derived from late Meroitic contexts both in Lower and Upper Nubia and ranges in date between the 1st century A.D. to the 4th century A.D. and is contemporary with the Roman period in Egypt (Adams, 1976: 140; 1986: 604; Bradley, 1984: 207). Though the early Meroitic presence in Lower Nubia may be dated to the 3rd century B.C., the peak of Meroitic occupation of the area is generally accepted as dating from the second to the fourth century A.D. (Adams, 1976: 140; 1986: 604). Although many of the Meroitic major sites of Lower Nubia such as Karanog, Shabul, Faras, Gebel Adda, Armina West, Nag-el-Arab, Nag-Shayeg and Nalluah date to the late period of the 2nd to the 4th century A.D., yet Qasr Ibrim and Dakka were known fortified Meroitic towns at the time of Petronius' punitive expedition (23 B.C.) according to classical sources.

The Meroitic period itself witnessed phases vacillating between very strong Egyptian influence in various aspects of life to a very weak one, of Meroitic Lower Nubia playing virtually no role in Meroitic civilisation in the earlier half of Meroitic period to its being the counterpart of the South in all respects and an important Hellenizing factor in the later part of the period (Abdalla, 1984: 23).

### **2. Space**

During this period Meroitic Kush was extremely large with diverse ethnic groups, environments and economic structures. Its southern, eastern, and western limits were not yet clearly defined. Lower Nubia as far north as Maharaqa, (virtually outside Meroitic Kush at first) became an important part of Meroitic

Kush later, possibly after the introduction of Saqia (ox-driven water wheel; Adams, 1976: 141). The area enjoyed great prosperity as a result of its trade contacts with Egypt (after conclusion of a peace treaty) and the Southern Meroitic domain. Hellenistic pottery of Roman Egypt were fairly common in Meroitic site of Lower Nubia in form of amphorae, vases, and small cups covered with barbotine decoration (Trigger, 1965: 128). Other important objects imported via trade from Egypt were bronze, lamps, glass, faience, wood and ivory. In such a large territory of Meroitic Kush with diverse environments, economic sectors and ethnic groups, it was not surprising that Meroitic pottery exhibited diversity in form, decoration, fabric and production.

### **3. Contact and proximity with Egypt**

Due to the geographic proximity of Meroitic Kush with Egypt it was subjected to Graeco-Roman influences of the time of which it received and assimilated many cultural traits. Meroitic Lower Nubia which was on the frontier of Roman Egypt was more accessible to classical influences than was the southern Meroitic (Adams, 1976: 19). Woolley and MacIver used the term "Romano-Nubian" in reference to the material excavated from Karanog and Shablul to show the strong northward contact of Lower Nubia with Roman Egypt (Woolley and MacIver, 1910).

The Egyptian influences to which the Meroites were subjected were profound. They were felt in the basic aspects of artistic styles (Shinnie, 1989: 23). In civilization of Meroitic Kush, Egyptian influences had their roots in the earlier historical periods of the Old, Middle and New Kingdom. The Egyptian occupation of a great part of Kush during the New Kingdom consolidated such influences even further. Diverse elements of Egyptian culture were retained by Kushites even after Egyptian rule had ended after the 18th Dynasty. Egyptian influences were

intensified during the 25th Dynasty rule of Egypt. Though in the Meroitic period of Kush the indigenous characteristics of Kushite artistic and religious traditions became manifested, Egyptian influences mixed with Hellenistic were felt in decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

The Meroitic motifs of Egyptian origin on Meroitic painted pottery of Lower Nubia are represented by symbols of the lotus-flower, the '*ankh* (life) sign, the *Sa*-knot (tie), *Horus* Eye, the altar, the cattle, the gazelle, the leopard, the frog, the sun-disk, the scorpion, the crocodile, *Thoth*, *Hathor*, *Bes*, the serpent, the winged or wingless uraeus and the vulture with or without spread wings. On the stamped pottery, the motifs of Egyptian origin are limited to simple repeated forms of uraeus snake, the '*ankh* (life) sign, the lotus-flower, the frog, the offering-table and the *Sa*-knot (tie).

The very close contact between Kush and Ptolemaic Egypt facilitated the continuation of Ptolemaic influences in Meroitic Kingdom. It is to this period and the Roman period in Egypt (30 B.C. onwards) that are ascribed numerous Graeco-Roman features of Meroitic Kush. Of these, some are to be found in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery.

Greek influence is reflected on Meroitic painted pottery of Lower Nubia, in the arrangement of birds, and animals in processional rows (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 38) and this reminded MacIver and Woolley of the early Greek pottery and Proto-Corinthian or Samian ware. The excavators also recognized reminiscences of Greek satyrs celebrating a Dionysiac orgy or a Meroitic painted pot from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 54). Griffith noted general resemblances between the decoration of Alexandria Hadra vases of the late 3rd century B.C. and Meroitic painted pottery (1925: 25). To Woolley and MacIver, pottery of

Ptolemaic Egypt was the direct source of Meroitic potters and/or artists. On the other hand, Meroitic decoration of Graeco-Roman origin on Meroitic painted pottery is represented by floral motifs of vine, wreath, pomegranates, grapes, berries, tendrils, and leaves (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 55).

Despite these mixed ancient Egyptian and Graeco-Roman influences in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery, the pottery itself is essentially of local origin and growth. The contemporary Egyptian pottery of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Egypt, displays only a fraction of the decoration complexity of Meroitic painted pottery (Adams, 1978: 130). In fact, Meroitic painted pottery contained unique and complex elements that were neither Graeco-Roman nor ancient Egyptian. These elements are represented in the decorations which are close to nature to the extent that local floral species can often be identified (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 37). Animals such as antelopes, giraffes, and birds reflect possibly copying from nature and not foreign sources (Ibid).

Besides, the Graeco-Roman and ancient Egyptian influences alluded to above, were borrowed and adapted by the Meroites to produce an indigenous art. Thus, one would agree with Abdalla (1978: 92) that there is justification for the judgment stated by Woolley and MacIver that "the Meroite, was far more of an adapter than a copyist and generally recast his borrowings in his own mould but that he borrowed, and borrowed very largely, is none the less true" (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 55).

The effect of contact of Egypt on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery of Southern Meroitic Kush is not yet known in detail. Our knowledge of this pottery in the homeland of Meroitic Kingdom is very limited indeed. This is due to the fact that no detailed studies have yet been carried out on the few painted and stamped

pottery found, and the amount of excavation conducted in the heartland of Meroitic Kush has been very little compared with that done in the North, particularly Lower Nubia between the First and the Second Cataracts.

Though no systematic comparison between decoration of Meroitic northern pottery and those of the South has been made, many basic similarities and differences were noted. Decoration on pottery of both regions tends to reflect a homogeneous blend of native and imported traditions of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman. There is a difference possibly in the relative emphasis given to different motifs. At present, it seems that the Meroitic Northern painted decoration on pottery is more richer, more varied, more complex and more abundant. Painted designs of Southern Meroitic Kush unlike those of the North, are frequently found associated, with the stamped designs on the outside and painted on the inside. Sometimes the stamps are frequently combined with painted exterior rim bands within which they form a repetitive frieze or they are applied in orderly rows over the whole exterior surface. Stamped motifs which are usually applied on fine Meroitic eggshell ware, seem to be more common in the South than in the North (Wenig, 1978: 95). The motifs of the painted pottery of Meroitic North, in Shinnie and Bradley's view, are richer and more varied than is found further South (1980: 154). Most of the decorated vessels in Meroitic South are small cups and bowls and there are only a few examples of larger decorated vessels such as are very common in the North (Adams, 1972: 1). In Meroitic South, the ordinary pottery decorated in the same manner as the eggshell pottery is smaller in number than that of the eggshell pottery, while in the North such ordinary pottery is more common than the eggshell pottery itself (Ibid).

## CHAPTER TWO

### RELIGIOUS MOTIFS

This chapter deals with the meaning of each single religious motif in the pottery sample under study and the relation of each to other objects and materials in the Kushite tradition.

Certain motifs on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery are known from Meroitic religion, having passed into it from the Egyptian. Therefore, they functioned not only as decorative elements but also as religious symbols with significance. As a pre-requisite to understanding such religious significance in this work, it is essential to review them in their original Egyptian format first and in their Napatan and Meroitic recast next. The religious significance of these motifs is sought in Egyptian religion and mythology due to the fact that many of Egyptian religious concepts are extensively displayed in Napatan and Meroitic religious contexts. Invariably, their basic Meroitic forms differ but little from the Egyptian originals. That is so far as concept is concerned. It is in the sphere of their graphic representation that difference is noticeable between the Egyptian and Meroitic forms of such symbols.

The motifs represented in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under discussion occur in painted and stamped forms, whether these are separated or combined. Often, stamped forms are covered with red paint and applied only on the outside surfaces, while painted forms are made on the exterior or interior surfaces, or, rarely, under the bases of vessels.

The painted forms of motifs can be classified into two groups according to style as follows:

- A. Stylized forms: These are the most common ones. Sometimes they are elaborated and appear to betray influences of ancient Egyptian religion. Adams referred to these stylized forms as Meroitic Fancy Style (Style N.IA; 1986: 239).
- B. Naturalistic forms: These are somewhat uncommon and are found mainly on jars. Its representational decoration is much more naturalistic and dynamic than in the stylized forms. Its designs are often more casually executed than in stylized motifs. Adams described it as Meroitic Naturalistic Style (Style N.IC; 1986: 241).

On the other hand, most of the stamped forms with religious motifs are abstract, and lack details due mainly to the technique of decoration. Therefore, they are largely stylized, and found primarily on small vessels. They all fall within Adams' Meroitic Fancy style (Style N.1A).

The religious motifs can be classified arbitrarily into two major groups namely (I) symbols, and (II) deities. Each one of the two major groups is represented as follow.

## **I. Symbols**

### **1. The lotus-flower**

The concept of the lotus has a long history in Egyptian mythology and is connected with water, creation and rebirth. Depicted in its various forms it had great significance for the Egyptians (Fig. 2, b). It was the symbol of Upper Egypt and was sacred to the Egyptian god *Nefertem*, who was sometimes described as the god of fragrance.

In ancient Egyptian mythology the lotus was linked with the origin of life. Its sacred character was derived from its watery habitat, water being an archaic

symbol of the primeval ocean out of which the universe was created. According to the Heliopolitan theory of Creation, the lotus-flower was the first living element to appear on the mound that had emerged in the primordial waters. The lotus-flower was thought to have given birth to the Sun-god referred to as *Re* or *Nefertem*, and thereby life itself. Later on, the idea developed into that of a god seated or standing in a lotus. This is best seen in numerous vignettes of the Book of the Dead. In Chapter 81 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased expressed his intention to be transformed into a sacred lotus and his hopes to be reborn (Lurker, 1991: 78).

Bouquets of the lotus were a symbol of life and rebirth. Therefore, they played an important part in the cult of the dead. In ancient Egyptian religious contexts they were used to be presented to the gods and the deceased (Pls. 43, 44). In the Book of the Dead the lotus occurs repeatedly as a main element in the group of offerings. Many of the wall-paintings of tombs of Egyptians display great bouquets adorning the piled-up food tables, guests at banquets hold lotus before their noses (Gardiner, 1961: 39). Many capitals of columns in Egyptian temples were carved to represent a lotus, either in bud or open and bell-shaped.

On Egyptian offering-tables of Ptolemaic Period, the lotus occurs as offering together with offerings of water or beer and bread (Fig. 2, n). The lotus occurs singly or overlying other offerings or as an open big lotus with petals occupying the upper part of the field. On other offering-tables it occurs as a bouquet of open lotus with side buds and a stalk surrounding a vase.

The association of the lotus with creation and rebirth makes it the most profoundly significant floral motif in Egyptian art. Also in Napatan and Meroitic art it was one of the commonest in religious architecture as well as in faience, glyptic works and Meroitic pottery under study.

With regard to Kushite religious architecture, the lotus-flower or bouquet appears in single forms extensively in scenes in chapel walls of the royal tombs at Meroe and Barkal (Chapman-Dunham, 1952). In these funerary scenes the lotus appears as an altar for offerings or as a stand for *Isis*, in particular, or any other deity. As an offering, it is shown laid on top of a stand or other offering items or flanking or overhanging or entwining water vases, together with which it is placed amongst other offerings or on a plate, occasionally carried by Nile-figures. In rare cases it is held up by the deceased towards his/her nose. Except as a deity-stand and its being, together with water vases, carried by the Nile-figures, the lotus-flower and bouquet appear on Meroitic offering-tables, notably where it flanks and overhangs tall vases and most of the offering scenes (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pls. 3A (Beg. S. 4), D (Beg. S. 6); 4A (Beg. S. 10); 5C, D (Beg. N. 8); 10B (Beg. N. 12); 18B (Beg. N. 22); 21D (Beg. N. 18); 20B (Beg. N. 10); 18E (Beg. N. 1); Abdalla, 1982: 65). Furthermore, its use as an offering stand or altar is known from offering-tables from Meroe, Karanog, Nag Gamus, Faras, Shablul, Sedeinga, Barkal and elsewhere. Offering-tables with images of lotus-flowers or bouquets were found in both Meroitic North (i.e. Karanog Cemetery, Woolley and MacIver: 49; Pl. 1, Kar. 4; Pl. 15: 7088 G82, Pl. 16: 7092 G133, Pl. 17: 7095 G701, Pl. 20: 7108 G261) and South (i.e. Meroe, Garstang, 1911, Pls. LV-LVIII).

The lotus-flower or bouquet is also represented on scenes of Meroitic temples of Naga (Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 60), Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971 Pls. 21, 34, 35, 50, 51, 65, 67, 80, 85, 89, 93, 96) and Barkal (Lepsius, 1973, Pls. 8, 10). At Musawwarat there are particular situations of scenes of the lion (Apedemak) with a lotus-flower bouquet at his nose, behind or below him, or between two recumbent lions seated back to back, and of the flower being smelled by a lion.

Lotus-flowers were also represented on wall paintings at palaces of Meroe. One shows a prince on a lotus blossom and is similar to the scene in Temple F of Queen Shanakdakhate at Nag'a (Wenig, 1978: 100). In the palace of Wad Ban Naga a hall was found containing six columns with capitals in the form of lotus-flowers, similar to those found in Egypt (Vercoutter, 1962: 263-278). Similarly, Temple E of Wad Ban Naga is provided with eight sandstone columns of open lotus capitals (Ali, 1988: 322).

The lotus-flower occurs repeatedly as an amulet in Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 168, Fig. 60). The amuletic value of the lotus is obviously shown by its appearance in Napatan glyptic. The back of some amulets is sometimes shown enclosed in two flowers about to open and release the name of the ruler carved opposite on the face, conceptually like the famous bust of Tutankhamun of the god on the lotus (Williams, 1991: 46). This may be compared with the depiction of *Apedemak* as the primordial snake emerging from the primordial lotus-flower on the Lion Temple at Naga and the Sun-god (*Horus*) seated on the lotus on a bronze mirror-case from Faras (Griffith, 1924: 166, Pl. LVI; Shinnie, 1967, Pl. 75; Abdalla, 1982: 65). The lotus also appears as a seat for *Amun*, *Mut* and *Khons* in jewellery, bronze vessels and ivory objects of the Meroitic period (Dunham, 1957: 25, 319, 320, 366).

As regards incidence on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, the lotus seems to be the commonest symbol, found singly or in association with other religious motifs. It occurs repeatedly on the pottery of most of the Kushite Meroitic sites particularly Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Qustul, Ballana (Williams, 1991), Meroe (Garstang, 1911; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980), Faras (Griffith, 1924) and Wad Ban Naga (Vercoutter, 1962). The blue lotus-flower, the most sacred one, is also sometimes represented on Meroitic painted pottery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 278, Pl. 52: 8910, G 110). The depiction of the lotus-flower

or bouquet on the pottery in question, shows that the Meroites seem to have well understood its association with the concepts of creation, birth, life and rebirth. This is suggested by the frequent association of the lotus with such other religious motifs as the *'ankh*-sign, frog and *Sa*-knot.

The representation of the lotus ranges from stylized simple forms to elaborate and composite ones. The later which are the most frequent also combine two or more of the elements of lotus-flower which will be discussed below.

In its elaborate form the lotus-flower is often shown as an open flower with or without buds on either side (Pl. 1), joined to the flower at the leafy stem (Fig. 3, a-1 to a-7; Adams, 1986: 278, Fig. 130, m-4 to m-26). These elaborate lotus forms are the closest ones to Egyptian prototypes. The number of petals vary. They range in number between five to nine. Each design has three main petals, one in the centre and one at either side. In some examples the calyx is indicated by vertical lines. In some examples the flowers with their calyx, are depicted without stems. The occurrence of these in naturalistic forms is uncommon. In the rare cases recorded, the lotus-flower is drawn as an open flower with a stalk and a bird perched on each side. It is often drawn in solid black with a secondary colour of white stippling (Ibid: 241, Fig. 141, m-1). In a few cases the stylized elaborate lotus form is intermingled with the *Sa*-knot (Ibid: 275, Fig. 127, i-9) or the *'ankh*-sign (Ibid, Fig. 130, m-18). This association was possibly intended to give the motif a deeper religious meaning.

The second most common painted stylized form of the lotus in the decoration of the pottery assemblage under discussion, is the crescent (Pls. 2, 48-1; Fig. 3, a-11, a-12). The idea that crescents are forms of lotus-flowers is indicated by the occasional representations of lotus buds or flowers growing on crescents (e.g. Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pls. 54: 8161, 71: 8281, 77: 8331, 91: 8710;

Williams, 1991, Pl. 54; Adams, 1986: 278, Fig. 130, m-14). Painted crescents occur singly or in association with growing buds, leafy stems (Fig. 3, a-10) or rarely elaborate lotus. They sometimes occur in the checkerboard arrangement, or in association with 'ankh-signs or alternating with them. It can be argued that this style of crescent representation to express the notion of the lotus-flower is Meroitic since it is unknown with this concept elsewhere. In the Egyptian Late Period the crescent does not occur frequently except when it is coupled with the sun-disk as in the crown of *Thoth* or other deities.

A common form of stylized painted lotus-flower is the rosette which is used in several instances in checkerboard fashion; it appears in folds of serpents (Griffith, 1924, Pl. 44-2) and it rises out of or is supported by a crescent (Williams, 1991: 45). In some instances, bowls and plates are decorated on the interior with lotus petals in form of rosettes with or without buds in radial arrangement (Pl. 4; Fig. 3, a-13). Thus lotus buds emerging radially from the rosettes indicate that rosettes possibly refer to the lotus-flowers in Meroitic artistic and religious concepts.

These rosettes were probably of Egyptian origin. They were also known in Mycenaean and Hellenistic designs. But they have not been known as connotations for the lotus as the case in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

A less frequent stylized lotus type is that in which the stem is bent creating a horizontal or vertical trefoil flower (Fig. 3, a-14, a-15). It is shown in bands, often in alternate colours. This form of lotus was proposed to be of Hellenistic inspiration (Adams, 1986: 231). It is known in the decoration of pottery of Mediterranean cultures as the Phoenician, the Greek, the Cretan and the Palestinian.

In occasional occurrences the lotus-flower is stylized to its simplest elements in form of a bud (Fig. 3, a-17) or a leafy stalk (Fig. 3, a-16).

Painted forms of the lotus are sometimes represented in stylized geometric triangular shapes (Pl. 3; Fig. 3, a-18, a-19), taking their origin possibly from lotus-flowers which are bound base to base. Williams referred to these as truncated lotus-flowers (1991: 49). This type of lotus-flower is a very simplified version of the flower viewed sideways and appears usually as the major motif in many bands of cups (Ibid). One can argue that this geometric lotus form is Meroitic-styled in expression and treatment to the concept of the lotus, since truncated lotus forms seem to be specific to the Meroitic painted pottery in question.

Painted lotus forms also include open lotus-flowers which are drawn sometimes frontally with petals and leaves spread out alternately (Fig. 3, a-8, a-9; Adams, 1986: 278, Fig. 130, m-1 to m-3, Fig. 131, n-1).

A less common painted form of the lotus in the decoration of the pottery assemblage under study, is the wrapped flower which occur usually in association with arches or circular panels (Fig. 3, a-20, a-21).

Stylized stamped forms of the lotus are known throughout the Meroitic Kush. They seem to be more frequent and varied in the Southern part of the kingdom. The forms vary from open flowers with petals and leaves (Pls. 5, 6; Fig. 3, a-22 to a-25) to buds with stems (Fig. 3, a-26).

Crescent and rosette representations of stylized lotus occur also in stamped forms (Pls. 50-3, 51-3; Fig. 3, a-27). Their trend seems to be more frequent in the Southern Meroitic region of Meroe and Wad Ban Naga. They occur mainly on outside surfaces of cups and bowls, sometimes in association with 'ankh-signs.

Hence, the above outlined stylized forms of the lotus-flower on the pottery under study are of religious significance as indicated by Egyptian and Kushite religious art.

Thus, in their varied graphic representations, one notes that, the lotus-flowers on the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery are modified forms showing little similarities to the Egyptian forms (Fig. 2, b).

## 2. The '*ankh* (life)-sign

The second most important and frequent religious motif in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under discussion, is the tie or strap known as '*ankh* ('*nh*) sign (Fig. 2, a). The '*ankh* is the best known of all Egyptian amuletic motifs. It is formed of a T-shaped cross with an oval loop handle above the cross-bar; the most detailed examples depict binding at the base of the loop. In Egyptian, '*nh* means "life" as a noun, "to live" as a verb and "alive" as an adjective. The sign has come to have the connotations of "life", "rebirth", "eternity" and "continued sustenance" of the deceased in the afterlife. Therefore, it was a continuous characteristic of the god who holds it out to the king (Pl. 44). Air and water, the important elements of life, are referred to when a god holds the '*ankh*-sign before the king's nose, giving him the breath of life or water in the form of '*ankhs* running over the king during the ritual purification (Lurker, 1991: 27). Occasionally, the '*ankh*-sign is represented as an offering itself (Pl. 43). On other occasions, it is found on Egyptian offering-tables, bearing scenes of an '*ankh*-sign flanked with two water libation vases and water flowing out by itself from all three of them (Kamal, 1906, no. 23.162, Pl. XLI, no. 23.167, Pl. XLII, no. 23.170, Pl. XLIV, 1909: 120-129). It is also found as an amulet. The earliest '*ankh* amulets in ancient Egypt date to the late Old Kingdom and thereafter they occur sporadically throughout the dynastic period (Andrews, 1994: 86). As a symbol of potent force it was used in Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic temple walls, scenes of Meroitic

funerary chapels, stelae and elsewhere. Scenes of royalty on temple walls and stelae, show the 'ankh-signs behind kings (Dunham, 1955: 14) with phrases such as *Sa 'nh h3.f* "May Protection and life be behind him" (Ibid, Kawa Temple T, Pl. XVIIIe). Furthermore, 'ankh-signs were found as pottery libation trays or offering-tables at Meroe in the Temple of Amun (Garstang, 1911, Pl. X-4) and in the tombs of the North (Beg. N. 36 , 26 , 25) and West (Beg. W. 145, 26) Cemeteries at Meroe (Dunham, 1957: 69, 196, 198; Ibid, 1963: 153, 164, 173, 180, 183, 244, 248, 252, 269, 279, 347); Wad Ban Naga (Vercoutter, 1962: 272) and Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Ali, 1988: 348). They were also found as amulets for the living and the dead (Dunham, 1963: 319, 320, 366; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 175).

It seems that the 'ankh-sign had a role of significance in Meroitic religion and mythology as appears on scenes of the royal pyramids of Meroe and cemeteries from the reign of Amanikhable to the end of the Meroitic period (Dunham, 1957: 184, 196-199, 112, 340, 347, Figs. 120, 128, 129; Ibid, 1963: 112, 164, 340, 347 and Figs. D, 22, K, 6). On some of these scenes gods were depicted handing the 'ankh-sign to the king or holding the sign before the king's nose. The 'ankh-sign also appears on the wall of the Temple of *Amun* at Meroe and the Lion Temples at Naga (Lepsius, 1973, Pls. 57-63, 65) and Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971: Pls. 8b, 16a, b, c, 17a, 21, 25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 45, 48b, 50b, 51, 57, 59, 60b, 63, 75, 81, 1/4) and a column from Amara (Griffith, 1912: 11). Furthermore, the lion temple of Naga shows the 'ankh-signs issuing from the nostrils of *Apedemak* and going in both directions towards the nostrils of the king, the queen and the prince (Zabkar, 1975: 8). In the recent excavations of Universities of Calgary and Khartoum at the town of Meroe a ferricrete block in the form of an 'ankh-sign was found in the paving along the main axis of temple KC. 100 (Shinnie, 1984: 500). Also a painted scene from temple M. 720 at Meroe shows a royal figure sprinkled with 'ankhs (Bradley, 1984: 422).

On scenes of Meroitic offering-tables 'ankh-signs were found either singly or associated with water or a palm-branch (Abdalla, 1982: 88). As a motif in the field, as may be seen on an offering-table scene from Karanog (Griffith, 1911, Pl. 26, Kar. 128 T) the 'ankh-sign appears filling the whole field, its end continued in the spout and occupied the water exit. On a further offering-table scene (Kar. 78) the 'ankh-sign occupies the water exit and lies in the midst of a stream issuing from an oval reservoir at the mouth of the spout. A further offering-table scene from Karanog Cemetery shows two libation vases flanked by two cakes on each side (Woolley and MacIver, Pl. 16: 7091). The water flowing from the libation vases terminates into two 'ankh-signs. Associated with the 'ankh-sign is the palm-branch which is connected with *Isis* and probably *Isis*-worship. This, may be seen on the stela Mer 12 where *Isis* holds a palm-branch, from which dangle life-symbols. The foremost leaf, at the tip of the curve, is just above the nose of the deceased king standing before, and adoring, the goddess. The palm-branch, again with 'ankh-signs dangling from its leaves or with one 'ankh-sign in the middle of the leaves either hanging from the stalk or simply touching it from below, is seen held by the deceased persons in seven scenes from the royal chapels at Meroe. 'Ankh-signs were also employed on decoration of carved wood and braziers from the West Cemetery of Meroe and glyptic of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 33, no. 8126, 8127, 8111) and Faras (Griffith, 1924: 192, 52, Pl. 60) and in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

Like the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign appears repeatedly in the decoration of Meroitic pottery of most of the Meroitic sites particularly Meroe (Garstang, 1911; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980), Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991), Faras (Griffith, 1924) and Wad Ban Naga (Vercoutter, 1962). In the painted decoration of the pottery under study, the 'ankh-sign appears either alone in simple bands, or alternated with other symbols in a band. It is sometimes arranged in a checkerboard pattern (Pl. 8; Fig. 3, b-2; Adams, 1986:

275, Fig. 126, h-3), oval (Fig. 3, a-37) and hexagonal frames (Pl. 50-2; Fig. 3, b-10) and arches (Pl. 10; Fig. 3, b-10, a-34, a-36). It is frequently shown dangling from the mouths or tongues of serpents (Fig. 3, b-14) or frogs (Pl. 34; Fig. 3, b-17, b-19, b-20) and this demonstrates the well known association of serpents and frogs with creation, beginning and birth. It is also associated strongly with the lotus, leaves and rosettes. Sometimes, the base of the 'ankh-sign is shown as a thin wavy line as though it was part of a vine, or is drawn rarely as part of a plant leaf.

Most of the painted forms of 'ankh-sign on Meroitic pottery are stylized and peculiar to Meroitic Kush. The base was sometimes splayed and it was generally an outline or silhouette. Sometimes, the central knot was depicted as a ball and the loop was filled with paint (Pls. 8, 9, 47-2, 49-2; Fig. 3, b-1, b-2). This type of 'ankh-sign with central loop is the most frequent (Adams, 1986: 275, Fig. i-9). The second common form has also splayed base but lacks the central loop (Pls. 7, 9, 50-2; Fig. 3, 3-b). A less frequent form is drawn with a floral base of slender wavy line stem with or without central loop (Pls. 11, 12; Fig. 3, b-4, b-5). A further less frequent form is characterized by wings (Fig. 3, b-6). Adams referred to it as style N.IC (Meroitic Naturalistic Style, 1986: 241). These naturalistic winged forms are rare in the Southern Meroitic painted pottery. Painted 'ankh-sign are sometimes stylized to mere forms of crosses, usually in red paint (Pl. 51-2; Fig. b-7). In some instances, painted 'ankh-signs are represented with or without central loop but equipped with markings of the *wedjat*-eye (eye markings of a hawk, the symbol of *Horus*; Adams, 1986: 275, Fig. 127, I-6, I-7, I-8). The least frequent painted forms include the geometric style, and the so called ribbed or feathered 'ankh-signs which have splayed bases but provided with semi-circular heads (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XLV-12).

Stylized stamped 'ankhs occur in regular forms with or without central loop (Pls. 13, 14, 45-1, 50-1; Fig. 3, b-9). In rare cases, the stamped 'ankh-sign forms

occur with representations of feathers or ribs (Fig. 3, b-8). Winged 'ankh-signs, and those with markings of *wedjat*-eye occur rarely.

These stamped forms of 'ankh-sign are extant in both Northern and Southern provenances of Meroitic Kush, but they seem to be more prevalent in the Meroe region. They occur in single (Pl. 45-1) or associated forms (Pls. 14, 50-1; Fig. 3, a-39) in simple bands. Like the painted forms, they vary from simple representations to those in arches and in a few instances, in oval or hexagonal frames (Pl. 13; Fig. 3, b-11, b-12, b-13). These frames were believed to be of Hellenistic influences (Zach, 1988: 135).

The above varied stylized forms of 'ankh-signs on the pottery under study, when compared with Egyptian ones, (Pls. 43, 44; Fig. 2, a) exhibit differences in graphic representations, though they refer to one concept of religious significance.

### 3. The *Sa*-knot

This was a symbol of magical protection in ancient Egypt (Fig. 2, e) and Kush. Its real nature and composition is still uncertain. It possibly represents a herdsman's Sheller made of papyrus that has been rolled up and tied. Scenes of royalties, on walls and stelae, in Egypt as in Kush ( i.e. temples of Kawa, Macadam, 1955: 14; Ibid, Pls. VII-a, West Wall, VII-b, East Wall, Temple B, XVII-e, West Wall, Temple T, XIX-a, North Wall, Temple T) show the *Sa*-knot behind kings, with the familiar phrases *S3.f m-S3.f mi' S3 R'* "His protection behind him (Lit at his back) .... is like the protection of Re". It was also a characteristic attribute of *Bes* figures as also of *Taweret* who was worshipped as the deity of childbirth (Lurker, 1991: 102). *Taweret* is characteristically represented as a hippopotamus standing on its hind legs, leaning on the *Sa*-knot. Independently, the *Sa*-knot is found as a symbol on magic wands of the Middle Kingdom (Ibid).

In the Napatan period of Kush the Egyptian *Sa*-knot was used in architecture as window-grilles. For example a sandstone window-grille carved in form of an Egyptian *Sa* in a rectangular frame, was found in the pylon of temple T of Kawa (Macadam, 1955: 135, Pl. LXVIII C). The Napatans and the Meroites included the *Sa* amongst funerary objects deposited in tombs at Meroe, Barkal, Karanog and Faras (Dunham, 1957, Begrawiya N. 21, Pl. LXI : 22-1-76-79; N. 18, Pl. LXII : 21-3-632; Ibid, 1963, W. 109, Fig. 144-b; Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pls. 31: 7133, 33 : 8125; Griffith, 1924, Pl. 60: 50, 51, Pl. 64: 21). It was made of metal, faience, glyptic, wood and pottery. Many examples of the *Sa* faience amulets, uniquely Meroitic, were found in occupation deposits of the town of Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 168, Fig. 61).

In the decoration of the painted pottery in question, the *Sa* symbol is fairly frequent in the sites of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Meroe (Garstang, 1911; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980), Wad Ban Naga (Vercoutter, 1962), Faras (Griffith, 1924), Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991). Sometimes, it is depicted alternating with other motifs in a band (Pl. 19; Fig. 3, s-3). It generally retains its interior details, and is not shown in checkerboard pattern. It often accompanies the lotus-flower and sometimes occurs in combination with other religious motifs or as an independent symbol. In its regular rigid form (Fig. 3, d-1; Adams, 1986: 275, Fig. 127, I-1, I-2, I-3) it is generally carefully drawn and, though frequently altered, its shape is recognizable with ease. In instances, the *Sa*-knot is drawn with projecting wires (Ibid: 275, Fig. 127, j-4). In certain cases, it is represented with outspread wings, a characteristic shared with the vulture, uraeus and sun-disk (Pls. 23, 25, 26; Fig. 3, d-5, d-6, d-7; Adams, 1986: 275, Fig. 127, I-13 to i-18). In other cases, it is drawn in geometric form or in horizontal connected representations (Pls. 21, 22; Fig. 3, d-4; Adams, 1986 : 275, j-11, j-12). In a few instances, it can be easily confused with the open lotus-flower (Fig. 3, d-7; Woolley and MacIver, 1910: Pl. 82: 8614).

Painted forms of the *Sa* are also found in the South, in the Meroe region (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 120, Fig. 50-e). Winged and geometric forms also occur (Pl. 23; Garstang, 1911, Pl. L).

The *Sa*-knot occurs also in stamped forms and it seems to be more frequent in the South, in the region of Meroe. The stamped forms are usually made in simple repeated bands often in single forms (Pls. 47-1, 24; Fig. 3, d-8).

With regard to styles, most of the painted forms of the *Sa* sign are of the rigidly formal style referred to by Adams as Style N.IA (1986: 275, j-1, j-18). The style of graphic representation of these painted and stamped forms is different from Egyptian forms (Fig. 2, e) and is peculiar to Meroitic Kush. Therefore, it may be acceptable to describe such forms as being Meroitic-styled (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 168).

#### 4. The *wedjat*-eye

The '*wedjat*-eye' *wd 3.t*, or 'the sound uninjured' eye of *Horus*. Originally it is an Egyptian motif and a complex symbol incorporating a human eye with the eye markings of a hawk, the symbol of *Horus* (Pl. 44; Fig. 2, g). Myth tells how the eye of the moon which was denoted by the eye of *Horus* was stolen by *Seth* and then recovered and healed by *Thoth* (Lurker, 1991: 67). It was this eye which *Horus* presented to his father *Osiris* thereby assisting him to attain new life.

The *wedjat* or *udjat*-eye was in use as a symbol during the Late Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and continued to the Roman Period. Over so long a time, its forms were many and varied. It was used as a popular amulet by the dead and the living for protection from all sorts of evils including the evil eye. It also signified wholeness, health and well-being. Some *wedjat*-eyes had an arm carrying the '*ankh*-sign or the papyrus staff symbol for "to flourish".

The *wedjat*-eye appears in greater numbers on mummies and in offering ceremonies than any other symbol. After the New Kingdom the lotus god Nefertum was often depicted with *wedjat*-eye in one hand (Ibid).

The amuletic function of the *wedjat*-eye was so widespread and well known in Egypt that its appearance in sites of Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush is predictable. The symbol appears frequently in Kushite art since the early Napatan period (Griffith, 1923: 122, Pl. XXV, no. 38) and its presence indicates a cultural continuity up to the late Meroitic period. The *wedjat*-eye occurs repeatedly in Meroitic painting, faience, glyptic and metal (Dunham, 1955: 11, 26, 31, 54, 57, 71, 81, 117, 139, 146, 231; Ibid, 1963: 452; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 170, Fig. 64; Macadam, 1955: 188; Williams, 1991: 52).

The symbol of the *wedjat*-eye occurs on the painted pottery of most of the Meroitic sites particularly Meroe, Wad Ban Naga, Qasr Ibrim (Mills, 1982), Faras (Griffith, 1924), Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991). It is attested in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery of both Northern (Pl. 29; Adams, 1986: 283, Fig. 135, y-4, y-5, y-6) and Southern provenances (Garstang, 1911: Pl. L; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 120, Fig. 50-f), as one eye or a pair of eyes with markings of a falcon's head (Fig. 3, f-3, f-5, f-6, f-7). Its style of forms is almost classical Egyptian. It seems to be one of the rare motifs recasted by the Meroites without adding great modification in the style of representation.

Meroitic-styled stamped forms occur occasionally (Fig. 3, f-4). So far, four potsherds with stamped forms of *wedjat*-eye were noted among the pottery collection of the Southern Meroitic provenance. Two sherds were found at Meroe (Fig. 3, f-4; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 124, Fig. 54-g). The third was found at Hamadab (Hofmann and Tomandl, 1986: 57, Fig. 64-3) and the fourth one was found at Abu Geili (Crawford and Addison, 1951: Pl. XLA-8).

### 5. The ordinary eye

The ordinary eye was an important symbol in ancient Egypt. This unadorned human eye, as opposed to the *wedjat*-eye, occurs as early as the Fifth Dynasty in a burial at Mostagedda (Andrews, 1994: 69). From the Late Old Kingdom until the 18th Dynasty left hand sides of coffins were commonly decorated with a pair of eyes, in the belief that the deceased therewith might be able to see his way through heaven (Lurker, 1991: 48). At the end of the New Kingdom and the Saite Period the eyes were depicted on mummy cases at the breast, or feet area. They had an amuletic significance representing also *wedjat*-eyes which were offered to the deceased for protection from all sorts of evils. Amulets of ordinary eye appeared in Egypt as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Thereafter, they disappeared until the Late Period, when multiple examples were the norm.

As in ancient Egypt, ordinary eyes recur in Meroitic contexts as amulets. A parallel is indicated in the eyes that cover the garment of the deity from Kush and a garment of *Bes* in Egypt (Williams, 1991: 44; Dunham, 1963: 24, Fig. 16-2, 169, Fig. 121). Ordinary eyes were found depicted on ivory caskets and bronze vessels at the Meroitic site of Faras (Griffith, 1924: 174, 154, Pls. LXIV-5, XXXII-4a). Furthermore, they were found depicted on trappings of mummy cases in the royal cemeteries of Nuri and Meroe (Dunham, 1955, Pls. CXXA, CXXI-B, Nu. 8, Nu. 42, Nu. 59; Ibid, 1957 : 47, 64 Beg. S. 10, Beg. N. 7; Ibid, 1963 : 373, 377, 380, 383 Beg. S. 85, Beg. S. 63, Beg. S. 24)

In the decoration of Meroitic pottery in question, representations of ordinary eyes occur so far only in painted forms in sites of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 85: 8645); Argin (Catalan, 1963, Fig. 9-2) and Qustul (Williams, 1991: 52) , mainly on cups as follows:

1. As an ordinary simple pair of eyes (Pls. 31, 50; Fig. 3, m-2, m-3).  
This form is very rare.
2. As a single ordinary eye drawn in Meroitic-styled form in a frieze  
of a repeated eye of leaf shape (Pl. 30; Fig. 3, m-1).

But such situations as present data indicates, are of Northern provenance. Painted forms of ordinary eyes have not yet been attested in the South, in the Meroe region.

## 6. The offering-table

In ancient Egypt as well as in Meroitic Kush offering-tables are always associated with funerary rituals and offerings for the dead. Stone offering-tables were known in ancient Egypt from the beginning of the Old Kingdom and their use continued to the Ptolemaic (Pl. 43) and Roman periods.

Channels in the table were made for libations. Often libation vases were drawn in relief on the tray. Offering-tables were possibly meant to maintain the offerings into eternity (Lurker, 1991: 91).

Amulets of offering-tables were recurrent in ancient Egypt, perhaps to guarantee a fully supplied afterlife. None of these amulets can be dated before the Third Intermediate Period. Most of them were of glazed composition or bronze (Andrews, 1994: 93).

In Kush, offering-tables have been found in contexts of Napatan and Meroitic periods (Macadam, 1955: 134; Dunham, 1955: 300). They were found in great quantities in Meroitic cemeteries at various places, but notably Meroe, Faras, Armina West, Qasr Ibrim, Karanog, Sedeinga, Tomas, Abu Simbel, Barkal and Gebel Adda. They were found to be low rectangular or square stone slabs with

spouts. Representations of food and liquid offerings were made in the field while inscriptions were carved on the borders, for the benefit of the deceased. They are usually roughly sculptured in very shallow relief and often show a scene of a deity pouring a libation before, or sometimes onto an altar or a table which carried a representation of food offerings. On these scenes of Meroitic offering-tables it was noted that the most important offering items were bread, beer, oxen (head), fowl, meat, lotus-flowers, grapes and various vegetables.

In architecture, they were found depicted on funerary scenes on side walls of the royal tombs at Meroe and Barkal. These scenes show water being poured, by *Anubis* and his escort on an offering-table, the streams uniting into one and running down the spout (Chapman-Dunham, 1952). The offering-table was found as a graffiti in the Meroitic royal tomb of Shanekdakhete Beg. N. 11 (Hofmann, 1978: 79; Ibid, 1986: 63, Pl. 70) and in the temple of *Isis* in Taifa (Ricke, 1967: 32).

Representations of offering-tables in association with *Hathor's* emblem were found depicted on bronze objects in Meroitic tombs of Beg. W. 243 (Dunham, 1963: 352, Fig. p3) and Nelluah (grave 27; Garcia Guinea, Teixidor, 1965: 63, Fig. 25).

Schematic engravings of Meroitic offering-tables have been found on a number of rock art sites in Lower Nubia (Dunbar, 1941, Pl. XXIII/154, 155; Verner, 1975: 76-77) in the quarries of Kertassi and Taifa (Roeder, 1911, Pls. 74, 78-c, 126-a bottom) and at Soleb in Upper Nubia (Leclant, 1968, Pl. XXX, Fig. 37; Cervicek, 1982: 58).

Furthermore, offering-tables were also found as amulets in the royal cemeteries of Barkal and Meroe (Dunham, 1957: 23, 69, 72, 76, 91, 105, 109,

111; Ibid, 1963: 46, 69, 82, 84, 142), and in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

Offering-tables, painted or stamped, were attested as motifs in the decoration of Meroitic pottery of many sites, particularly Meroe, Wad Ban Naga and Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 78: 8482; Macadam, 1955: 218, Pl. XXXIV; Tomandl, 1982: III, Pl. 2; Ibid, 1987: 108, Fig. 1; Leclant, 1982: 58, Fig. 57; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 117, Fig. 47-d; Garstang, 1911, Pl. XLVII). The style of representation is Meroitic and has not yet been reported in the painting of contemporary Roman Egypt or elsewhere. Most of the painted forms of offering-tables have a rectangular platform each, with a libation channel (spout) on one side and a horned sun-disk on the other side (Fig. 3, e-5 to e-10). The horned disk is an emblem of *Hathor* who became a popular goddess during Persian, Ptolemaic and Roman times in Egypt and Meroitic Kush. Some of these painted offering-tables with *Hathor's* emblems are drawn with rosettes in the fields (Fig. 3, e-9) while a few are winged (Fig. 3, e-8).

Stamped forms of offering-tables also occur (Fig. 3, e-1 to e-4). Like the painted forms, they are usually drawn in two parts. One part is the *Hathor's* emblem which consists of the horns within which rests the solar disk, while the other is a rectangular field with libation channel. In the Southern provenance these stamped forms were found frequently, in sites of Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 124, Fig. 55-g), Wad Ban Naga (Pl. 38), Hillat Hassbab Allah (Tomandl, 1988: 171) and Abu Geili (Crawford and Addison, 1951, Pl. XL, A-5). In the Northern provenance, it was found in Meinarti (Adams, 1964: 147, Fig. 9-36).

## 7. The palm-branch

It was symbol of antiquity in Egypt (Fig. 2, o) as well as in Kush. In many Egyptian and Kushite temples the capitals of the columns were carved to represent

the lotus, the palm-branch or the papyri. The symbol appears at Kerma, with a possible antecedent in A-Group (Reisner, 1923, Pl. 56-4; Williams, 1986, Pl. 60-g; Ibid, 1991: 46). In Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush, it is an important frequent motif in funerary scenes on outside chapel walls of the royal tombs of Meroe and Barkal (Abdalla, 1982: 88). In these scenes, it is shown as one of the water associates (Ibid: 86). Its association with *Isis*, and possibly *Isis* worship is evident (Griffith, 1924: 49, 50). Moreover, it seems to be connected with life as may be seen on a stela from Meroe (Mer. 12), where *Isis* holds a palm-branch from which dangle life symbols reaching the nostrils of a seated deceased royal personage (Abdalla, 1982: 88). In seven scenes from the royal chapels at Meroe, the palm-branch with life symbols dangling from its leaves, is seen held by the deceased person (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pls. 3 A (North Wall), 7 B (South Wall) of Beg. N. 11; 10 A (North Wall), 10 C (West Wall) of Beg. N. 12; 16 A (North Wall), 16 B (South Wall) of Beg. N. 6).

The association of the palm-branch with *Isis* and life is also attested in scenes on walls of the Lion Temple of Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971, Figs. 17, 21, 41). In two scenes the palm-branch is held by goddess *Satis* (Ibid, Figs. 17, 41). The association of palm-branch with life symbols is also noted on scenes of cylinder sheaths found in the royal tombs of Nuri (e.g. Nu. 26 and Nu. 3, Dunham, 1955, Pls. CIX-C, XCV-A).

This palm emblem also appears repeatedly in the Northern Meroitic domain on Meroitic offering-tables, door jambs and even in some rock-drawings and other recently published minor monuments (Zabkar, 1978: 111; Williams, 1991: 46). It is also seen on painted pottery in some X-Group cemeteries (Firth, 1912: 92, Fig. 45) and perhaps a protective, on stamped impressions and mud seals (Emery, 1938: 136, II, Pl. 27-D). This indicates that this emblem continued in use during the X-Group period.

In rare instances, the palm-branch was found represented on a bronze bowl from Faras (Griffith, 1924: 50, Pl. XL-I), and on Meroitic black handmade pottery (Ibid, Pl. XL, 1, 17). At the same site, the palm-branch was found depicted on a roughly shaped stela topped by obscure remains perhaps of a rude winged sun-disk (Ibid: 175, Pl. LXV-4).

Furthermore, palm fronds were found occasionally as amulets in the occupation deposits of Meroe town (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 168, Fig. 80).

In the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery under study, palm-branches occur in schematic vertical forms, so far, only in the pottery of the Northern provenance in Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 44: 8172, Pl. 56: 8185, Pl. 59: 8203, Pl. 75: 8316, Pl. 85: 8648), Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XVIII-VIIIh, Pl. XCV: 6) and Armina West (Trigger, 1967, Pl. XXXVI-a 10, 11, XX-a5). The representation of the painted forms of the palm-branch is therefore a Northern Meroitic-styled (Fig. 3, a-46, I-1, I-2). Stamped forms do not occur. Though they are Meroitic-styled, one notes that, they differ slightly in graphic representation from Egyptian forms on capitals of columns (Fig. 2, o) and bronze situlae (Green, 1987: 73).

Thus, the occurrence of the palm-branch on the religious repertoire of Egyptian and Kushite art substantiates the significance of this motif in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery under study.

### 8. The *djed*-pillar

This is one of the sacred emblems known in ancient Egypt as *dd djed*-column' (Fig. 2, r). It occurs in the form of the hieroglyphic sign which means 'enduring', 'stable' and similar concepts. In shape, it consists of a tall broad shaft crossed near the top by four short horizontal bars. The real composition and nature

of the *djed*-pillar are still uncertain. A possible interpretation is that it was originally a pole around which ears of corn were tied in tiers (Lurker, 1991: 64). Other interpretations range from tree-trunk to backbone. The *djed*-pillar played a role in fertility rites and became a symbol of stability (Ibid). It was also given a significant role in the myth of *Osiris*, in being connected with the event of his resurrection. The raising of the pillar signified the triumph of *Osiris* over *Seth*, his enemy. Because of its symbolism, and its association with the after-life, the pillar became a meaningful and protective piece of amulet in funerary religion (Ibid: 47). Its first known occurrence as amulet in Egypt appeared in the Late Old Kingdom, but thereafter it became one of the most common of all funerary amulets.

In Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush, *djed*-pillars occur as amulets and shawabtis in cemeteries (i.e. Dunham, 1955: 298, Nu. 1, Nu. 6, Nu. 23, Nu. 59 and Nu. 80; Ibid, 1963: 69, 366, 373, 399, 400), and in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery.

In the decoration of Meroitic pottery under discussion, the pillar was not a common motif. It was attested only in painted forms on the pottery of such Northern Meroitic cemeteries of Shablul (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 25: 1), Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 41: 8166), as well as during the archaeological survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan (Emery and Kirwan, 1935, Fig. 57-2). In all four instances, *djed*-pillars were found, so far, in association with guinea-fowls which is something unparalleled in contemporary Roman Egypt (Fig. 3, p). Those of Karanog and Shablul belong to one style and they are so similar to the extent that they seem to have been drawn possibly by one and the same painter.

The instance which was found in a grave between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan, was made of a more 'simpler' stylized form. In Adams' classification of

Meroitic styles, the representations of the *djed*-pillars fall within the Meroitic fancy style (Style N.IA, 1986: 277, S-9, S-14).

## 9. The altar

Altars like offering-tables are associated with the idea of offerings. Altars are stone tables or raised level surfaces at or upon which sacrifice and offerings are made, in fact or symbolically. In ancient Egypt they have been found in temples, sometimes in the form of massive blocks standing in open courts. Examples of these, are the quadruple Heliopolitan altar and the stepped altars at Amarna. Sometimes, altars are made much smaller in size in the room preceding the sanctuary (Posener, Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1962: 6). They were also noted on scenes of offering-tables of the New Kingdom period (Pl. 44).

In Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush, altars were noted on scenes of offering-tables, and some temples of Meroe (Ali, 1988: 196-198), Barkal (Dunham, 1970, Pls. XXIX, XXX) and Kawa (Macadam, 1955: 55, 135).

Funerary scenes of Meroitic chapel-walls of Meroe and Barkal show two *hst* vases with water and an empty altar in between (Chapman-Dunham, 1952; Abdalla, 1982: 84). In these scenes, the lotus-flower appears as an alter for offerings. Furthermore, the use of lotus-flower as an offering stand or altar is known from offering-tables from Meroe and elsewhere (Garstang, 1911, Pls. LIX-2, LVI tomb 307; Giorgini, 1966, Pl. XXXI, tomb W16 at Sedeinga)

The schematic horned altar is widespread on the rocks of Northern Meroitic domain (Verner, 1975: 73-75, cat. nos. 6, 7, 31, 55, 115, 193, 200, 205, 207, 245, 323, 853; Cervicek, 1982: 58).

In the decoration of the Meroitic pottery in question, the present data indicates that representations of altars occur only in painted forms in pottery of Meroitic North, in the sites of Karanog and Shablul (e.g. Fig. 3, r-1 to r-3).

Altars depicted, are sometimes associated with offerings of food and drink. A scene of horned altar in standing on a broad stepped base with fillets hanging from its corners is drawn in a lotus form (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 45: 8157). Beside the altar, there are food offerings of geese, bees, garlands of flowers and plates full of unidentifiable types of food. A second example shows an altar in a very rude representation (Ibid: 56, Pl. 45: 8156). A third one, shows a more formal altar with a stepped base (Ibid: 56, Pl. 56: 8182). All these altars are drawn in what Adams referred to as Meroitic naturalistic style (Style N.IC). A unique simple stylized form from Shablul is represented by a table of offerings and a row of small altars bearing offerings (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 41, Pl. 29, Fig. 11).

#### 10. *Ba*

This is a widespread symbol of soul in ancient Egypt (Fig. 2, y). It is usually depicted in the form of a bird, hawk or falcon, sometimes with a human head. In the earliest Egyptian religious texts, gods were described as *Ba*. In connection with the King, the word *Ba* referred to his divine power. Late, it was applied to all people and came to denote the soul of the deceased.

The *Ba* is closely associated with the *Ka* and was one of the principal elements of the life in man which survived death. It was the *Ba* which revisited the world of the livings, traveled across the sky in the sun's god's boat and anxiously witnessed the weighing of the heart in the Under world lest the result prevent entry into the paradise. After death, the *Ba* was believed to visit its body in the tomb. Many graves had narrow passages so that the *Ba* might find its way there. In the royal cemeteries of Meroe, openings were left in the stone coverings near the

apex so that the *Ba* might enter them, and a ledge to stand on was placed beneath each opening (Mercatante, 1979: 19). In cemeteries of ancient Egypt, small figures of *Ba* made of gold and inlaid with semiprecious stones were placed on the breast of the mummy in the hope of preserving it from decay (Ibid). *Ba* amulets were also found as early as the 18th Dynasty and continued to the Late Period. In the Napatan cemetery of Nuri, golden amulets of the *Ba* were frequently found (e.g. Nu. 4, Nu. 15, Nu. 1 and Nu. 59; Dunham, 1955: 177, 149, 12, 27). The *Ba* was also found as faience amulets at Kawa palace and temple T in falcon forms (Macadam, 1955: 137, 190, Pl. XCVIII-b). In the royal cemeteries of Meroe, the *Ba* was found as amulets and sandstone statues (e.g. Beg. N. 11, Beg. N. 16, Beg. N. 38, Beg. N. 51, W. 609, W. 145, W. 4, W. 35, W. 111, W. 225, W. 384, S. 85, Dunham, 1957: 72, 137, 182, 192; Ibid, 1963 : 36, 112, 214, 222, 225, 244, 269, 334, 373,). The *Ba* is also shown in a group of scenes on the North walls of Beg. N. 7, N. 10, N. 11 and N. 12. The vignettes show the *Ba* at the tomb with the owner standing in front of it. The owner receiving water from the tree-goddess and *Anubis* performing the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pls. 4E, 7A, 10A, 28E). Furthermore, many of *Ba* statues in form of falcons and birds with human heads were found in Meroitic Northern sites of Shablul (MacIver and Woolley, 1909: 28-29, Pls. 16-20), Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 4, 46-48, Pls. 2-10), Faras (Griffith, 1924: 175-176; Pl. LXVI-LXVII), Qasr Ibrim (Mills, 1982, Pl. XC1, 2, 4, 5, 6), Nelluah (Almagro, 1965: 87), Nag Shayeg (Ibid, 1963: 182), Nag Gamus (Ibid, 1965: 161, 164, 177, Pls. VII-IX), Gebel Adda (Millet, 1963: 154), Aniba, Argin (Wenig, 1978: 101) and Amir Abdalla in Abri region (Fernandez, 1984: 425). Traditionally they have been attributed to the second and third centuries A.D.

On the pottery sample under study, the *Ba*-bird was found in two instances in cemeteries of Meroe, in stamped forms (Garstang's collection in the Liverpool University Museum; Pl. 50-4, 51-3; Fig. 3, x-1, x-2). The forms of the *Ba* in these

instances represent the hawk, the soul itself independent of its bodily counterpart. Thus, they differ from the Egyptian forms and the Meroitic *Ba* statues which have some human appearances and wings of the hawk.

The finding of the *Ba* on the Meroitic pottery and as amulets and statues in Meroitic tombs indicates that the symbol of *Ba* was of religious significance to the Meroitic Kushites.

### 11. *Tet*

This sign resembles the 'ankh-sign except that the traverse arms are curved downwards (Fig. 2, z). Its original meaning is unknown but after the New Kingdom it was connected with *Isis*. According to the texts with which it is sometimes inscribed it represents the blood of *Isis*, which together with her conjurations and formulas protected the dead and destroyed all that was harmful to him. It is a powerful amulet of protection and for this reason it was placed with the dead in the tomb and became a funerary amulet. The *tet* or *tit* symbol was often combined with the *djed*-pillar particularly in the decoration of temple walls, beds and sarcophagi (Lurker, 1991: 72).

In the Napatan Kushite period *tet* amulets and beads were frequently found in the cemetery of Nuri (e.g. Nu. 28 and Nu. 57; Dunham, 1955: 27, 127, 139). *Tet* amulets were also frequently found in the royal cemeteries of Meroe (e.g. W. 477, W. 140, W. 109, S. 17; Ibid, 1963: 69, 130, 199, 399).

On the pottery under study, the symbol of *tet* was noted in two incidences, on cups from the West Cemetery of Meroe (Dunham, 1963: 343, Figs. G. 38, G. 31). They were stamped single forms (Fig. 3, y-1, y-2).

Thus, the occurrence of this motif as an amulet of powerful protection in Egyptian and Kushite religious art indicates the religious significance of *tet* on Meroitic pottery, possibly as an emblem of protection.

## II. Deities

Certain deities, or symbols of deities, occur in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. Listed according to their rates of incidence, these are the following:

### 1. The serpent

The serpent appears earlier in Nubia on the pottery of late A-Group and early C-Group (Griffith, 1924, Pl. 51: 7; Williams, 1991: 42). It is a well known and a famous symbol in ancient Egyptian religion and mythology (Fig. 2, c, d). Its symbolism shows a clear contrast. As a chthonic animal it was thought to be one of the life-creating powers (Lurker, 1991: 108). *Mehen* a coiled snake, was regarded as a helpful attendant of the sun-god in his journey during the night. She was represented draped in many coils above the cabin. In contrast, the *Apophis* serpent was thought to be the most dangerous evil enemy of *Re* (Fig. 2, d).

Several serpent demons were included in the Book of the Dead, sometimes winged, armed with knives or standing up spitting fire. The serpent, because it sloughs its skin, became a symbol of resurrection. The serpent biting its own tail, thereby reflecting a full circle, was a symbol of the boundlessness of the sea because of the reptile's connection with the profound (Lurker, 1991: 108). The second shrine of Tutankhamun shows a mummiform of a god (perhaps *Ptah*) wound about by such a snake and this alluded to the ocean above and below which was so important in myth (Ibid). The serpent with many coils known as *Amduat* was believed to symbolize the pre-cosmic primeval state in which the sun-god, and all creation with him, renewed itself each night.

Of the several serpents known in Egyptian mythology and religion *Wadjet* (*Buto*) seems to be the most important deity. Its sacred animal, the uraeus was represented as a rising cobra with inflated hood wound around the King's diadem to signify his kingship and divinity (Ibid: 125). As a goddess, she was the eye of the sun spitting fire at the king's enemies. In the Book of the Dead *Wadjet* (*Buto*) is usually given the role of the destroyer of the foes of the deceased. It also appears with the sun-disk (sun-god). Therefore, it is often repeated in long friezes on tombs, stelae and temples of Napatan, Meroitic Kush and Egypt, apparently, as a warning to any one who would enter. An example from temple M. 720 at Meroe shows a painted scene of a royal or priestly procession accompanied with winged uraei (Bradley, 1984: 422). The royal headdresses were usually depicted with double uraei in sculpture and architecture (Wenig, 1978: 49). Since the representation of two uraei, as signs of royalty, were first introduced by Kushites on their conquest of Egypt, it is normal for this type of crown to occur in Meroitic reliefs involving royal and divine figures.

Serpents and uraei also occur as amulets in relief in Egyptian as early as the First Intermediate Period. Amulets of uraei were placed on the mummy, sometimes at the forehead or even the feet, but most often on the torso (Andrews, 1994: 76). The aim was to provide the dead with protection and resurrection. Amulets of serpents and uraei were also encountered repeatedly in Napatan and Meroitic contexts (Dunham, 1955: 12, 26, 27, 54, 58, 72, 117, 146, 249 ; Ibid, 1963: 18, 37, 38, 46, 59, 129, 133, 135, 146, 155, 161, 164, 167, 168, 171, 177, 183, 184, 188, 278, 322, 324, 333, 366, 415; Zabkar, 1975: 15, Pl. 8). They were stamped uniformly as sealings of white plaster or mud upon vessels of the amphora type, of Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 79-80). They were also found in bronze with sun-disks and some with raised heads and coiled bodies (Macadam, 1955: 180-181; Griffith, 1924, Pl. LIII: 8). As glyptic works they were found at Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 33: 8076, 8077).

On Meroitic pottery, serpents and uraei occur in both painted and stamped forms in most of the Meroitic sites particularly Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980), Wad Ban Naga, Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Faras (Griffith, 1924), Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991) .

In the decoration of the assemblage of Meroitic painted pottery in question, the representations of serpents are more often treated in a free style that owes nothing to Roman Egypt (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 54). In this style, they are often represented surrounding the circumferences of vessels. In other fewer cases, they are represented standing vertically, meandering or undulating regularly. Sometimes, details of their spotted bodies, coils and scaly necks are shown (Fig. 3, c-3, c-4, c-8, c-9, c-19, c-20). In a few instances they are winged, with sun-disks or crowns on their heads (Fig. 3, c-7). These with sun-disks or crowns are uraei (Fig. 3, c-4, c-7, c-9, c-10, c-21).

Thus, so far as available material can tell, the serpent does not seem to be a common motif on painted pottery in the South, in the Meroe region. Only two painted potsherds with serpent decoration were found at Meroe townsite (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51, e, f). On one of the sherds, a uraeus is depicted with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt on its head (Pl. 16), while on the other, it wears the sun-disk (Pl. 18).

In contrast with painted serpents and uraei, stamped forms of these serpents and uraei seem to be more common and varied in the sites of the Meroitic South. Most of such stamped forms, are standing serpents or uraei (Pls. 17, 48-3, 45-2, 46, 49-1; Fig. 3, c-5, c-6, c-11, c-12, c-13, c-14, c-15, c-16, c-17, c-18). They include coiled serpents, with inflated hoods, winged or wingless with or without sun-disks or crowns (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 123, Fig. 53).

The frequent occurrence of serpents and uraei in association with sun-disks, royal crowns or 'ankh-signs, in the decoration of the pottery under study, indicates the religious significance of serpents and uraei as symbols of life-creating powers, kingship and possibly survival after death. This is corroborated from Meroitic scenes in tombs and temples.

## 2. The sun-disk

The sun-disk is associated with sun worship in Egyptian religion, from early times to the latest period in Egyptian history. The oldest Egyptian sun god, whose cult dates from the early Dynastic period was *Re*. It was worshipped principally at Heliopolis. His disk is encircled by a uraeus. *Re* had associations with *Horus* who may wear the same symbol. From the Fifth Dynasty onwards the sun-disk had sometimes a pair of spread wings and was associated with ancient legends which hold that the wings were of a falcon stretched out over the world (Ibid: 130; Fig. 2-f). Towards the end of the Old Kingdom the solar disk was surrounded by two uraei which represented part of the royal symbolism. The ancient Egyptians divided the sun's passage across the sky into three phases, sunrise, noon and sunset, which they represented by a scarab, the disk of *Re* and Ram headed gods such as *Amun* and *Khnum*. The sun-god *Aten* whose cult reached its peak in the 18th Dynasty is depicted as a disk shedding its rays towards the earth carry rays terminating in a hand, one or two of which hold an 'ankh. In the New Kingdom the winged sun-disk was regarded as a symbol of victory and protection above temple doors and at the crest of funerary stelae. The sun-disk was also used as a crown for other deities, mostly linked in some way to *Re*. The protective symbol of winged sun-disk is a motif carved above every doorway in every Late Period temple in ancient Egypt.

Like those of Egypt, Napatan and Meroitic funerary stelae are characterized by winged sun-disks. For example, such forms were found in the royal cemetery of

Nuri (Nu. 44, Dunham, 1955: 230, 231, Pl. LXXB), Gebel Barkal (Ibid, 1970: 34, no. 23, Pl. XXXIV), the West Cemetery of Meroe (Beg. W.19, Ibid, 1963: 80, Fig. 60, b-c) and the cemetery of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 28-29, Pl.13 ; Shinnie, 1967: 15, Fig. 53). They also occur on chapel doors of the Northern Cemetery of Meroe (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pl. 8, a-b, Beg. N. 11; Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 30) and on metal objects (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 33: 8067).

Winged sun-disks occur in Meroitic art above the temple doors of Kush of Napatan (Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 3a, 8) and Meroitic periods (Ibid, Pl. 55a). For instance, in the Kiosk of Naq'a a frieze of uraei with sun-disks and winged sun-disks were found above the lintel doors of the square windows and entrances.

In Kushite art, sun-disks were found associated frequently with *Ba*-statues and such several deities as *Horus*, *Amun*, *Taweret*, *Khepri*, *Isis*, *Hathor* and *Thoth*.

The schematic winged sun-disks, sometimes flanked by uraei known from Meroitic doorways, recur in the rock art of the Second Cataract area (Hellstrom, 1970, Corpus X 2) and Lower Nubia (Verner, 1975: 84, Cat. no. 950; Cervicek, 1982: 58).

On the pottery sample under study, the sun-disk was found to be a common motif. It was found in the both Northern and Southern Meroitic domains, in painted (Fig. 3, c-7, c-8, c-9, c-10, c-21, t-2, e-5 to e-14) and stamped forms (Fig. 3, I-4, c-11 to c-18, e-1 to e-4), in many Meroitic sites particularly Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980), Wad Ban Naga, Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910), Faras (Griffith, 1924), Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991). Stamped forms represent the majority. Single forms of the sun-disk have not, so far, been noted on the sample. The whole occurrences were in associated forms. The association takes place

frequently with the uraei (Pls. 15, 18, 45-2, 49-1), or as a part of *Hathor*'s emblem or headdress (Fig. 3, e-1 to e-13).

As can be seen, the frequent incidences of the sun-disk on the studied pottery, as well as in Napatan and Meroitic religious architecture, and on metal objects, indicate that the sun-disk was possibly of religious significance to the Meroitic Kushites.

### 3. The demon

In most religions there is a belief in various kinds of supernatural beings known as demons ranking between the level of gods and men. These demons were known in ancient Egyptian religion. The Book of the Dead contained chapters referring to demons with the aim of preventing them from carrying off, or harming, the deceased (Lurker, 1991: 45). Other demons were messengers of the goddess *Sekhmet* as the embodiment of evil, and obey her in spreading disease and pestilence. On earth, some demons were believed to be evil, causing illnesses, whereas others were believed to ward off the forces of evil, acting as protectors and guardians of temples, tombs and coffins (Posener, Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1962: 61), especially in the 20th Dynasty, where they are depicted on the entrance walls.

In the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery in question, representations of what can be classified as demons were found in painted forms, so far, only on pottery of the Northern Meroitic provenance particularly of the sites of Karanog, Faras, Qustul and Ballana. By demons are meant certain abnormal faces, shown frontally, with pointed beards and caps or horns (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 57). Sometimes they appear with several different representations such as pointed ears, flat noses and beards with pendant curls or mustaches (Fig. 3, g-1, g-2, g-5). The faces are not stylistically uniform though they all lack mouths and have protruding

ears (Wenig, 1979: 291). Some faces have crescents on their foreheads (Pl. 36; Fig. 3, g-3, g-4). These crescents were believed by O'Connor to be scarification (1993, Pl. 26).

It is believed here, that the representation of demons is with a religious significance. This is for two reasons. One is that, the same Egyptian notion of demons, known in Egyptian mythology, could have spread into Kush along with other elements of influence. The other reason, is the association of such demonic figures with such well-known religious motifs as *Bes*, *Hathor*, the uraeus, the frog, the crescent and lion-heads.

Even if the concept of demons could have been Egyptian, it is clear that the style of representation of them is peculiarly Meroitic, seeming to have no close parallels in the painted styles of contemporary Roman Egypt.

#### 4. The frog

The frog as a deity is Egyptian in origin and is connected with water, life, fertility, childbirth and resurrection (Fig. 2, i). In Egyptian mythology, it was part of the legend of creation, as it was considered as a chthonic animal alluding to the forces which brought life into being (Lurker, 1991: 52). The male primeval deities of Hermopolis were often represented with frog heads, whereas their four female counterparts had snakes' heads-both were creatures symbolic of regeneration. During the New Kingdom the hieroglyphs of a frog was used as a sign *whm 'nh*, meaning 'living again', a well wished term written after the names of deceased persons (Andrews, 1994: 63). This connection with new life was even carried down to the early Coptic Period when frogs appeared on sarcophagi and pottery lamps with the epithet, 'I am the resurrection' (Wiedmann, 1897: 129). In addition, the frog was also the sacred animal of *Hekat (Hkt)* the goddess who was believed to preside over conception and birth. She was said to be present at the birth of every

king of Egypt. In the Middle Kingdom, her image was applied to magical knives which were laid, as a protection, above the wombs of women or newly born children. The frog was also represented as the companion of the Nile-god Hapi who assured fertility. Frog amulets were carried by Egyptians to guarantee fertility and resurrection. These amulets did not occur in numbers until the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period and continued to the late dynastic period (Andrews, 1994: 63).

In the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery of the Northern provenance the frog is one of the popular motifs and is usually shown with collars in normal profile view (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pls. 41: 40084, 45: 8821, 54: 8205, 57: 8188, 60: 8205, 66: 8238; Abdalla, 1982: 89; Williams, 1991: 43). It is often associated with the 'ankh-sign, the lotus-flower, the palm-branch, the offering-table with *Hathor* emblem, the Egyptian *Sa* and other floral motifs (Pl. 33). They are all Meroitic styled and fall within Adams Style N.1A (Meroitic Fancy Style; 1986: 282, Fig. 134, v-1 to v-8). But it is notable that some forms seem to be detailed and these are the most frequent. The second less frequent style lacks the details but reflects the basic concept of the motif (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 45: 8221). An uncommon style, is reflected by an occurrence of a frog deity with a human head (Fig. 3, h-8; Williams 1991: 365, Fig. 201a, Fig. 8: d).

In the Southern provenance of Meroitic Kush, occurrence of painted forms of frog does not seem to be a common motif. So far, only three sherds with painted frogs were found. Two of these were noted at Meroe townsite (Pls. 53, 54; Fig. 3, b-20; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51-d) and third was obtained from Wad Ban Naga (Pl. 34; Fig. 3, b-19). Each sherd shows a scene of a frog with a collar in the normal profile view holding a stalk shaped like an 'ankh-sign in the mouth. So like those of the Northern provenance, they are with collars, occasionally linked with the 'ankh-signs. Though the forms of the two regions are Meroitic styled and

reflect possibly the same religious predilection for frogs, a difference in the style of representation was noted. The Northern forms are occasionally associated with the lotus, the 'ankh-sign, the palm-branch and the Egyptian *Sa*. The Southern forms are associated, as present data indicates, with the 'ankh-signs and the baboons. The difference in representation of motifs is an indication for internal regional variation in the motifs within the vast domain of Meroitic Kush. Thus, it is possible that the pottery under study in the Northern and Southern provenances belongs to two or more different pottery production centres.

Stamped forms of the frog, occur in Meroitic sites of the South in Missiminia (Vila, 1982a: 159, Fig. 170/1 and 166, Fig. 177), and Meroe (Dunham, 1963: 129, 343 Fig. G/32-22-2-280). They were not yet recorded in sites of the North and this forms a further evidence for regional variability in representation of motifs and decoration. Representations of stamped frogs are sometimes depicted with collars. They are often made in forms of repeated rows of impressions on outside surfaces (Pl. 14; Fig. 3, h-3, h-4, h-9). They are frequently found in single forms. Associated forms are scarce.

It is possible that Kushites of the Meroitic period understood the religious and mythological significance of the frog. This is ascertainable in the decoration of the pottery under study, where the frog was more often than not combined with such motifs of life as the 'ankh-sign, the lotus-flower, the offering-table with *Hathor* emblem and the palm-branch. At Ba'asa in the Butana region, the discovery of colossal figures of frogs at a water-reservoir (Crawfoot, 1911, Pl. VII, 14-15), as observed by Abdalla (1982: 89), establishes the life-water associations of frogs from the Meroitic point of view without denying the Egyptian origin of the connection. Meroitic predilection for frogs is further attested by frogs on bronze plaques (Vercoutter, 1962: 288), the drawing of a frog with a collar on a slab

found in the site of the Lion Temple of Meroe and by the two lead frogs from the royal West cemetery at Meroe (Dunham, 1963: 169, Fig. 122-c).

On the Lion Temple of Musawwarat Es-Sufra there is a scene on the side wall showing a frog depicted as a base for a palm-branch held by goddess *Satis* (Hintze, 1971, Fig. 41). Similarly, the frog is also represented as a base of a stylized palm-branch on a scene of a cylinder sheath in the royal tombs of Nuri (e.g. Dunham, 1955, Pl. CIX-B, XCV-A).

Frogs were rarely depicted on Meroitic stone offering-tables as in Shablul (MacIver and Woolley, 1909 : 31, Pl. 32) but they were found in numerous numbers as amulets in Napatan (Dunham, 1955 : 11, 108 ; Wenig, 1978: 196), and Meroitic contexts (Griffith, 1923: 132, 143, Pl. XLVIII-15; Dunham, 1963: 15, 28, 36, 44, 53, 54, 55, 122, 127, 168, 177, 290, 308, 319, 366). They were also found stamped on sealings of some amphorae of Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 79-80). In Meroitic Kush, *Hekat* was known during the Ptolemaic period as 'the great one of Buhen' (Haycock, 1968: 236). So, as in Egypt, the frog seems to have played an important role in the Kingdom of Kush since it was found as an amulet, in temple reliefs and in sculpture. All this evidence indicates the religious significance of the representation of frogs on the studied pottery. The frog's representations in the decoration of this pottery might be intended to display goddess *Hekat* in her animal manifestations. However without an inscription naming her, it is impossible to be certain.

## 5. Hathor

*Hathor* 'Ht-hr' is a goddess with sun and horns (Gardiner, 1979: 449). Originally she was referred to as the daughter of *Re* and wife of *Horus*. However, in earlier times she was named 'mother of Horus' until replaced by *Isis*. According to ancient Egyptian mythology she was the great celestial cow who created the

world and all it contains including the sun. In consequence, *Hathor* is represented in Egyptian art as a cow-headed goddess. More often she is depicted as a woman with either cow's ears or a pair of horns within which rested the solar disk (Fig. 2, j). Heavy tresses usually frame her face. It is notable that both *Hathor* and *Isis* share the sun-disk and horns (Fig. 2, k). Probably only female figures with a cow's head are indisputably *Hathor*. One of the most common characteristics of this goddess was the sistrum, a rattle-like instrument (Lurker, 1991: 59).

There is evidence for veneration of a cow-goddess in Predynastic Egypt for cow heads were found on the Narmer palette (about 3000 B.C.). By the beginning of the Old Kingdom there is archaeological evidence and textual proof of the worship of *Hathor*. So she was one of the oldest known goddesses of Egypt and was the most widely worshipped goddess in temples across Egypt. Dendra was *Hathor's* main cult centre during the Old Kingdom. This was reinforced later when the great Ptolemaic temple dedicated to her was built there. Her cult symbol was a round pillar surmounted by cow's heads (Ibid).

*Hathor* was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as the protectress of women and was supposed to preside over their toilet. She was also considered as goddess of dance, alcohol, music and love and was associated with child-birth. Furthermore, she was believed to have nourished the living with her milk and was said to supply celestial food for the dead in the underworld. In later times she was also worshipped as a mortuary goddess in Thebes (Ibid: 59). She became more specialized in her function of funerary deity cult. Her amulets were known since the Old Kingdom. From the 18th Dynasty *Hathor*-head amulets always depict the goddess with heavy plaits and cow's ears. They were produced until the end of the dynastic history (Andrews, 1994: 20).

From the 18th dynasty *Hathor* played an important part in the region of Kush. She was worshipped at Faras as lady of Ibshek of the 18th Dynasty and Ramessid Period. A "Hathor Rock" with a rock-cut chapel were dedicated to her (Griffith, 1926: 20; Zabkar, 1975: 80). At Mirgissa a small sanctuary of *Hathor* of the New Kingdom was also found (Braines and Malek, 1980: 186).

She was also given a protection role over the Kushite territory of *Wawat* and was referred to in older and late texts as "Lady of Wawat" and "Mistress of Wawat" (Ibid). In Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush, *Hathor* was also venerated. She was known to have been worshipped in the Meroitic temples of Barkal (Temple C, Griffith, 1912: 3) Philae and Debod (Ibid: 32; Zabkar, 1975: 83, 103; Murray, 1977: 185). She was used decoratively on the northern wall of the chapel of the royal pyramid Beg. N. 11 (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pl. 7-A), on the walls of the lion-temple of Naq'a (Crowfoot and Griffith, 1911: 58) on the destroyed temple pillars of Wad Ban Naga (Ibid: 67; Vercotter, 1962: 267) and on the columns of the Barkal Temple B. 300 (Ali, 1988: 66).

A further evidence of *Hathor*'s religious significance in Kush, is attested by its representations in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under study and other objects. On Meroitic painted pottery representations of *Hathor* were found on pottery of the Northern provenance in cemeteries of Areika (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pls. 24b, 25-5), Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 99: 9002), Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pls. XLV: 7, LII: 2) and Ballana (Williams, 1991, Pl. 25a). In some of these representations the goddess is portrayed close to Egyptian style with a woman's head and face, cowlike ears and heavy tresses framing her faces (Fig. 3, e-11, e-12, e-13). Other forms of Meroitic style with full front faces, ears and pendant curls seem to resemble *Hathor* (Fig. 3, I-1, I-2, I-3, I-5).

Female painted forms of *Hathor*, as present data indicates, do not occur on pottery of the Southern Meroitic Kush. Instead, stamped and painted forms of what seem to be *Hathor* emblems were noted frequently in the pottery collection of Meroe (Garstang, 1911, Pl. XLVII; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 117, Fig. 47-d; 125, Fig. 55, g, h) and Wad Ban Naga. The goddess is shown in the form of an impressed or painted cow head, with the face and sun-disk between two horns (Pl. 37; Fig. 3, i-4). Painted forms of *Hathor*'s emblem were also found in such Meroitic sites of the North as Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pls. 78: 8482, 97: 9000), and Sedeinga (Leclant, 1982: 58, Fig. 57). This, to my mind, is an stylized Meroitic form for the emblem of *Hathor*. The association of stamped (Pl. 38; Fig. 3, e-1 to e-4) or painted forms (Fig. 3, e-5 to e-10, k) of *Hathor* emblem of the horns and sun-disks with offering-tables has been referred to in the previous pages of this Chapter.

Besides pottery, *Hathor* representation was found in numerous numbers in Napatan (Dunham, 1955: 54, 57, 110, 117, 147, in Nuri royal tombs) and Meroitic contexts (Ibid, 1963: 3, 18, 28, 36, 37, 55, 95, 135, 183, 184, 269, 288, 301, 317, 324, 361, 366, 373; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 167, Fig. 60) as amulets, earrings, mirrors and on glass vessels and cylinder sheaths (Dunham, 1955: 169). All this points to the religious significance of *Hathor* in the Meroitic culture.

## 6. The crocodile

In Egypt, the crocodile was worshipped under different names such as *Set* and (*suchos*) *Sobek* and both had different centres (Fig. 2 - 1, m). He was worshipped as a primordial deity and creator-god. His worship was popular in the Middle Kingdom. It lasted far into the Roman times. One of the peaks of its popularity was the 13th Dynasty when *Sobek* was part of the names of numerous royalties.

The crocodile played an important part in Egyptian mythology. In belief of the ancient Egyptians the crocodile played a dual role, as both a beneficent and a demonic being. In some myths he was regarded by the Egyptians as a personification of the powers of evil and death. Thus, he was associated with the evil god *Set* who was the enemy of *Osiris* (Mercatante, 1978: 32). In other myths, he is credited as an aid to *Osiris*. So he appears as both friend and enemy of *Osiris*. That is why he was worshipped in certain provinces as *Sobek* and hunted down and destroyed in others. His temples in Egypt were widespread. He was especially venerated at Fayum and the whole province was under his protection. He was also a subject of a cult in Upper Egypt (Kom Ombo and Gebelein). Little is known of the origin of *Sobek*. In Egyptian art he was usually portrayed as a crocodile and identified with both *Re* and *Horus* as a sun deity. Moreover, the crocodile was a symbol of rebirth, for it lived in the reincarnating waters of the primordial ocean into which it sank and from which it rose like the sun (Andrews, 1994: 37).

Amulets of crocodiles were found in ancient Egypt even before the beginning of the First Dynasty. They were possibly worn only for an apotropaic reason without any reference to the god and this probably remained the case for crocodile amulets until the end of dynastic history (Ibid: 26). Only a crocodile wearing a crown or a sun-disk, or more particularly a man with a crocodile's head, was intended to represent the god and such an amulet would have been worn in life as a sign of *Sobek's* patronage (Ibid: 27).

In Kushite (Napatan and Meroitic) contexts, the crocodile occurs occasionally as an amulet (Macadam, 1955: 190; Griffith, 1924, Pl. LXI: 40; in the West and South cemeteries at Meroe ; Dunham, 1963: 41, 146, 161, 164, 172, 183, 290, 319, 320). These amulets were perhaps used aversively rather than as animal manifestations of the god *Sobek*. In the Napatan period the crocodile was found depicted on the backs of plaques (Griffith, 1923, Pl. LX: 1-2). Crocodiles

appear in pairs supporting such deities as *Thoth* (Ibid, Pl. LX: 1), or singly with *Amun* (Ibid, Pl. LX111: 10), and in pairs on the faces of scarabs (Ibid, Pl. LVI: 9, 18). They were also noted as glyptic works at Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 33: 8068), Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pl. LX: 23), and Meroe (Dunham, 1963, Fig. 92 h, k). Crocodiles occur rarely on scenes of Meroitic temples. The only incidence so far recorded, is from the northern pylon of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971, Pl. 101). A votive tablet of *Horus* standing on the backs of two crocodiles was found at the foot of the high altar of Temple of *Amun* (Garstang, 1910: 62; Ibid, 1911, Pl. XI). This representation, to my mind, seems to be close to Egyptian models (Lurker, 1991: 67).

Crocodiles are not common motifs in the scenes of Meroitic offering-tables. The only case of crocodiles represented on an uninscribed offering-table, that is known, is that one from Gebel Adda. The scene shows two crocodiles lying along the opposite sides (i.e. banks) of the deep square depression (i.e. reservoir) in the centre (Abdalla, 1982: 86).

In the decoration of Meroitic pottery in question, representations of crocodiles occur, so far, as available material can tell, only in painted forms (Fig. 3, j-1 to j-6). They are found on the painted pottery of Meroitic sites extending from the First Cataract southwards as far as Kerma (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 26-1; Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 50: 8453, Pl. 62: 8218; Griffith, 1924, Pl. XXVI: LIVd, Pl. L: 14; Reisner, 1923: 44, Fig. 15; Emery and Kirwan, 1935, Fig. 406: 1; Bates and Dunham, 1927, Pl. LX11: 33; Catalan, 1963, Fig. 17: 1, Trigger; 1967, Pl. XXVIa: 9; Adams, 1986: 282, U; Williams, 1991: 206, Fig. 6H). The motif seems to turn up mainly on beakers (Wenig, 1978: 299). The forms are drawn mainly in Meroitic Fancy Style (Adams, 1986: 282, Fig. 134: U). A few of the forms seem to be depicted in more 'simpler' stylized shapes (Fig. 3, j-3).

Though the origin of the concept of the motif is Egyptian, its decoration in the painted pottery under study is Meroitic-styled and its Meroitic blending has no close parallels in contemporary Roman Egypt.

The above observation on the recurrence of the crocodile in Egyptian and Kushite religious art, indicates that its representation in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery is possibly of religious significance. To the Meroites the crocodile possibly symbolized the life giving water of the river (Torok, 1987: 88).

## 7. *Bes*

*Bes* was an Egyptian dwarf-god (Fig. 2, p) with female counterpart known with the name *Beset*. His worship was ancient in Egypt. There are indications that it was as early as the Old Kingdom. Certainly, it was in full force at the beginning of the New Kingdom. From the New Kingdom onwards he was widely represented, especially on domestic artifacts.

Under the name *Bes* are included several dwarf-like forms drawn with deformed legs, a big head with cheeky face, huge eyes and often with the tongue hanging out (Lurker, 1991: 32). He is sometimes bearded and may have a crown of feathers. He has a lion's tail and always naked. He usually wore a lion skin on his back. In later times, after the New Kingdom, he often wore a panther skin with hands and claws across the breast. In Graeco-Roman Period he sometimes carries a round shield and brandishes a sword as tangible evidence of his protective qualities (Andrews, 1994: 40).

*Bes* was regarded as a protective spirit for the aversion of evil in general and against such dangerous beasts and reptiles as lions, crocodiles, snakes and scorpions in particular. In the New Kingdom *Bes* presided over childbirth and appeared as a protector of expectant mothers. He was also supposed to preside over

the ladies toilet. As a warrior, or the god of war he is armed with a shield and sword and sometimes he has a bow. Moreover, he was closely associated with the worship of *Isis/Hathor* and was regarded as a patron of the arts, drinking, dance and music as well as being a god of war. He was thought to protect the sleepers from evil spirits and send them into sweet dreams (Viaud, 1981: 39). In the Late Period he was regarded as a creator god (Dunham, 1950, Pl. 54: 1034, 1117; Williams, 1991: 41). At the end of paganism he was even supposed to be the protector of the dead (Viaud, 1981: 39). Some Egyptologists believe him to be of non-Egyptian origin, since he is said to come 'from the holy land' and called 'Lord of Puoni' (Punt, on the African coast of the Red Sea; Black and Green, 1992: 42).

In Egyptian art, *Bes* was represented as an amuletic figure, and in temples such as that of Late Period at Dendera (Lurker, 1991: 33). He was found demonstrated in a remarkable series of faience vases with *Bes*' face and arms (Williams, 1991: 41). He was also frequently portrayed on stelae and represented as amulets (Mercatante, 1978: 23).

In Kush, *Bes* was known from early Napatan to the late Meroitic period. In the Napatan period of Kush, *Bes* figures were found carved on the pillars of the Barkal temple B. 300 (Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 6; Ali, 1988: 66). On a column of the lion-temple at Musawwarat the god *Bes* is seen with lotus-flowers in front of him. He is depicted with high plumes and hanging tail while playing the harp and dancing in front of a seated lion which wears a *hemhem* crown and smells a flower (Hintze, 1971, Pls. 92, 93). Also on one of the columns in the lion-temple of Musawwarat, the god *Bes*, heavily armed is shown grasping an antelope tight against his body. (Ibid, Pl. 89). Furthermore, *Bes* figures were used decoratively on the pillars of the destroyed Western Temple of Wad Ban Naga (Crowfoot and Griffith, 1911: 67; Vercoutter, 1962: 267). At Meroe temple KC. 104, remains of four sandstone columns made in form of the figure of the god *Bes* were found

(Shinnie, 1984: 502). *Bes* figures were also represented on the pillars of Meroe royal temple M. 292 and Kiosk M. 279 (Ali, 1988: 66).

*Bes* was one of the most important amuletic figures in Kush. He was found as amulets in great numbers in Napatan (Macadam, 1955: 188, Pl. XCVIII, a-b) and Meroitic contexts (Dunham, 1963: 3, 26, 36, 42, 44, 53, 59, 106, 122, 146, 151, 161, 172, 184, 266, 286, 316, 318, 322, 324). Furthermore, pottery molds for the figure of *Bes* were found in Barkal temples (Ibid, 1970: 42, Pl. XLVII, I, J). He was also represented on Meroitic painted pottery.

On the painted pottery of Meroitic North, figures of *Bes* are depicted in various Meroitic-styled forms reflecting the same Egyptian ideas about this deity (Fig. 3, n-1, n-2). A vessel from Karanog shows three grey figures of *Bes*. The three of them alternating with wine amphorae, are dancing. Each one of them is displayed holding a ladle in the right hand and a tambourine in the left hand (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 45: 8216). They are led by the fourth walking and playing a double-flute. The scene shows *Bes*, in association with wine, dance and music-making. It was this noisy activity, which was believed to reflect *Bes*'s protective role to drive away malevolent forces. On a second vessel from the same site of Karanog (Ibid, Pl. 62: 8220) *Bes* and *Beset* figures are drawn painted in white (Fig. 3, n-1, n-2). One form of *Beset* has a round head, earless and a face marked with the known Meroitic facial scars and wearing her characteristic tall feathered headdress. One form of *Bes* has a scaly torso, round head, pronounced ears, triangular nose and red mouth. On a third vessel from Karanog, two dancing figures of *Bes* are depicted with feathered headdresses and upraised arms (Ibid, Pl. 62: 8219). On a fourth vessel, *Bes* figures alternating with snakes and scorpions, are drawn frontally only with heads and shoulders, wearing a flat top knot which recall forms known in Egypt (Ibid, Pl. 61: 8214). On a sherd from Ballana, *Bes*

appears with the face drawn laterally, with huge lips and an almost pointed head (Williams, 1991: 41, Pl. 6a).

In the Southern provenance of Meroitic Kush, so far, only one representation of a dancing *Bes* was found, painted on a sherd from the North Cemetery at Meroe (Dunham, 1957: 177, Figs. 116, 21-3-300). *Bes* is depicted frontally with feathered headdress, carrying a tambourine in its left hand and a beater in its right hand. It is drawn in a style which differs notably from those of Meroitic North and Egyptian forms.

The existence of *Bes* amulets and the representation of *Bes* on Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic religious architecture as well as in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery under discussion, indicates that he was of religious significance in Kush of the Napatan and Meroitic periods.

## 8. The ibis

The ibis was known as a sacred bird in ancient Egypt from Predynastic period (Fig. 2, q). It acquired special religious importance because it was considered as the incarnation of the god *Thoth*, the moon god (Lurker, 1991: 68). It was regarded as both heart and tongue of the sun god *Re*. In the judgment Scene in the Book of the Dead, where the heart (i.e. Deeds) of the deceased are weighed against the feather (i.e. Truth) on the scales, it is *Thoth* who records the result and pronounces the final verdict on whether the soul is to be blessed or punished. According to the Egyptian Hermopolitan theory of creation, *Thoth* is the creator-god who gave the world its first sacred cosmic "egg" from which came life (Posener, Sauneron, Yoyotte, 1962: 53-54). According to ancient Egyptian legends, the ibis defended the country against the invasion of winged serpents (Ibid: 136).

In Egyptian art, *Thoth* in ibis form usually appears in human shape with the head of an ibis, though he is sometimes depicted entirely as an ibis. Sometimes, he is represented as a baboon. In his forms of baboon or ibis he is usually crowned with crescent moon and lunar disk. The ibis form amulets were first found in burials of the First Intermediate Period. By the Third Intermediate Period its amulet became supported by goddess *Maat* or her symbol (the ostrich feather). This gives the ibis amulet a funerary connotation. *Maat* or her symbol is a reminder of *Thoth*'s role as a recorder of the result of the weighing of the deceased's heart in the Underworld.

In Kush, *Thoth* in human body with ibis head occurs in architectural scenes of temples and royal tombs of Napatan (Lepsius, 1973, Pls. 12, 17) and Meroitic periods (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Beg. N. 5, Pl. 19, North and South Walls; Beg. N. 7, Pl. 5, South Wall; Beg. N. 10, Pl. 20, South Wall; Beg. N. 11, Pl. 7, North and South Walls; Beg. S. 4, Pl. 3, North and South Walls; Beg. S. 5, Pl. 3, North and South Walls; Beg. S. 6, Pl. 3, North Wall; Beg. S. 10, Pl. 4, South Wall; Bar. 5, Pl. 6, North and South Walls; Bar. 6, Pl. 13, North and South Walls; Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 72-a). At the Meroitic site of Faras a sandstone window-grille was found carved in the form of the squatting ibis-headed god *Thoth* (Michalowski, 1965: 180, Pl. XXXVIII-b; Wenig, 1978: 100). In Napatan and Meroitic contexts *Thoth* in ibis form also occurred in bronze pins, amulets (Macadam, 1955, Pl. LXXXVIII-d; Dunham, 1957: 188; 1963: 3, 69, 260, 400; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 170, Fig. 63) and in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under study.

On the pottery sample in question, *Thoth* in ibis form with a long beak occurred occasionally in painted forms only (Fig. 3, o-1 to o-4). It was reported on the pottery of Meroitic North, from cemeteries of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 93: 8131), Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XLVII: 2, L: 15) and Ballana (Williams, 1991: 355, 359, Figs. a, 189). In the South, it was found on pottery of

Meroe townsite (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 1; Hofmann, Tomandl, 1986: 56, Pl.. 65/2; Ibid, 1988: 133). The instance of Karanog was thought by Wenig to represent a vulture because of the shape of the beak (1978: 295). Each one of those of Faras and Meroe had a disk crown on its head, which symbolizes the aforementioned association of the ibis with the moon god *Thoth*. The ibis forms of Ballana were depicted in association with such religious motifs as the 'ankh-sign and crescent. Thus, the representation of ibis forms varied reflecting variations in styles. These varied Meroitic styles are expected within the vast domain of Meroitic Kush.

Thus, the representation of *Thoth* in ibis form in Egyptian and Kushite religious art, reflects the significance of its appearance in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery.

## 9. The scorpion

Like many dangerous animals the scorpion was venerated in Egypt as a suitable image of power and protection from the Early Dynastic Period (Fig. 2, s). A scorpion-goddess named *Selket* (*Srkt*) or *serket*, existed among Egyptian deities. In Egyptian art, she was portrayed either as a woman with a scorpion on her head or as a scorpion with the head of a woman. She was one of the four protector goddesses of coffins and canopic jars. She, too, was regarded as the protectress of both the living and the dead (Lurker, 1991: 105). She has powers that can be used among the living for healing venomous bites. Therefore, its figures were worn as amulets or on amulets. Scorpion-form amulets were made throughout the dynastic period from as early as the Old Kingdom. They were possibly used apotropaically without being symbolic of the goddess (Andrews, 1994: 24).

The Kushites held *Selket* as a deity too. One of their cities known as Dakka was called *P(r). Slkt* "House of the scorpion" (Griffith, 1937: 27, 29, 31, 311; 1935, Pls. 30 and 31).

In the decoration of the pottery in question, the scorpion occurred only in painted forms (Fig. 3, q-1 to q-4). It was not a common motif, having been found in rare instances on pottery of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 81: 8488, Pl. 61: 8214, G134), Hag Ismail village east of Amentago (Fig. 3, q-4) and Meroe townsite (Pl. 42; Fig. 3, q-1). Its representation varied from one object and region to the other, reflecting the variations in styles among these regions, extending from Lower Nubia to Meroe, in the South. Thus, for instance, while the forms of Karanog seem to be more abstract than the other two, the other form of Meroe seems to be more detailed and naturalistic.

While accepting the Egyptian origin of *Selket*, it seems that the style of its depiction is Meroitic, with no close parallel in contemporary Roman Egypt.

The veneration of *Selket* at Dakka and the occurrence of scorpions as amulets or on amulets in Napatan (Macadam, 1955: 192, Pl. XC1Xd), Meroitic contexts (Woolley and MacIver, 1910: 249, Pl. 40, no. 7755; Dunham, 1963: 55; Griffith, 1923: 16, Pl. LIV; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 169, Fig. 63) and in the decoration of the painted pottery under study points out the religious significance of the scorpion, in the Meroitic culture. The recurrences of scorpions as amulets in Napatan and Meroitic contexts, and on the pottery under study, were probably used aversively (by the *cippus*) rather than as animal manifestations of the goddess *Selket*.

## 10. The baboon

In Egypt, the baboon was worshipped in archaic times and by the 1st Dynasty had merged with *Thoth*. He is, in fact, is one of the two forms of *Thoth*. Originally, the baboon form of *Thoth* may have been a god of the moon and therefore he is occasionally depicted in Egyptian art as a seated baboon wearing the moon disk or the crescent moon upon his head. He also had a relation with the sun. In pictorial representations the rising sun is greeted by the baboons with screams and forepaws upraised (Pl. 44; Fig. 2, t). The Egyptians took this to be expression of adoration of the sun-god (*Re*).

*Thoth* is known in Egyptian hieroglyphics as *Djehuty*. In his baboon aspect he is represented as the patron of scribes, inventor of hieroglyphics and the lord of divine writing. Sometimes in the vignette to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, depicting the weighing of the heart, it is as baboon that *Thoth* records the result of the weighing. He was the god who reckoned the time, the years and the calendar and controlled the divisions of time (Posener, Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1962: 284). His mastery over writing and divine words made him a creative power and was considered by the Memphite theologians as the tongue of *Ptah*. In other contexts, still following the same conception, he was regarded as the heart of *Re* (Ibid). As a protector of *Osiris*, he became a helper of the dead (Lurker, 1991: 121). His major cult was in Middle of Egypt at modern al-Ashmunein.

Baboon amulets first appeared in Ramesside burials, made from glazed composition. Later, glass, bronze, silver and some stone were also employed (Andrews, 1994: 27).

In Kushite inscriptions this god is referred to as *Thoth* of Pnubs, whose cult places were at Debod, Dendur, Philae, and especially in the temple of Dakka (Murray, 1977: 212; Zabkar, 1975: 23). The ape-shaped *Thoth* appears mainly in

the scenes in which, identified with *Shu*, and sometimes playing on a lute, he welcomes *Tefnut-Hathor* on her return from Nubia (Ibid). *Thoth* in form of baboon head and human body appears in scenes of chapel walls of the royal pyramids of Napatan and Meroitic periods of Kush (Chapman- Dunham, 1952, Bar. 5, Pl. 6-A, North Wall; Beg. N. 11, Pl. 7-B, South Wall). *Thoth* appears also wholly in baboon form in scenes of royal chapel walls of the pyramids of Meroe (Ibid, e.g. Beg. N. 11, Pl.7-A, North Wall).

Furthermore, the god was found in scenes of temple walls. During 1974/75 excavations at Meroe, Shinnie found painted forms of baboons with raised arms in attitude of adoration, on wall of temple M. 720 (Bradley, 1984: 422). A graffiti of a seated monkey holding a writing tablet was also found in temple 300 of Musawwarat Es-Sufra. The writing tablet indicates a connection with the monkey of the Egyptian god *Thoth*, who was worshipped at Meroe (Wenig, 1978: 225).

Several monkey figures were preserved from the Napatan period at Gebel Barkal (Ibid). Statues of praying apes, denoted by *Taharqo*, were found in Kawa Temple T and A. (Macadam, 1955: 137, 141, Pls. LXX a-b, LXXVe, LXXVg). Two of these statues were having disks and horns.

In Meroitic contexts, several sculptured figures of the god were also found. For example a figure of a seated monkey of a sandstone was found at Faras in chamber 34 in the western palace (Griffith, 1926: 29-30, Pl. XV, I). The many small faience monkeys found in *Amun* temple at Meroe suggest that they were also related to the god *Amun-Re* as they were in Egypt (Ibid). Baboons were also found in Meroitic contexts as lids for canopic jars, and amulets in the royal tombs of Nuri (Dunham, 1955: 139, Pl. LXXXII, LXXXIII) and in the West and South Cemeteries at Meroe (Ibid, 1963 : 22, 36, 39, 44, 59, 69, 294, 311, 320, 440). In Abri cemetery (tomb 2-v-6/314), Vila found a pottery flask decorated at the neck

with two moulded seated baboons (1980: 121, Fig. 127). Each sacred baboon is represented in a posture of meditation.

In the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery under discussion, the representation of baboon is very limited. Only two painted instances were noted so far. The first came from the cemetery of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 50: 8463). The scene shows a band of lotus crescents with growing buds, and a human bodied ape or a standing baboon holding something in its two hands (Fig. 3, s-1). The second incidence was found at Meroe town (The University of Liverpool Museum). The design shows a row of baboons in association with a standing frog raising its arms possibly in attitude of adoration or praying (Pls. 53, 54; Fig. 3, s-2). Also, only one stamped form of the baboon was noted by the researcher among the collection of the Meroe pottery stored in the Department of Archaeology of University of Khartoum. It is in a frieze of baboons impressed on the band of a cup (Pl. 19; Fig. 3, s-3). Underneath the band, is a row of painted *Sa*-knots. The stamped baboons are depicted with upraised hands, in the poses of greeting the rising sun or adoring a shrine or a sun boat familiar in Egyptian and Kushite scenes of the Napatan and Meroitic periods.

The style of representation of both painted and stamped forms of the baboon is Meroitic. Unlike Egyptian forms, the painted baboon of Karanog has no moon disk on its head. Stamped and painted forms of the baboon have not yet been attested on decoration of contemporary Egyptian pottery.

Thus, the incidences of the baboons in forms of *Thoth* in Egyptian and Kushite religious art bring to notice, that the representations of baboons on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery was possibly of religious significance.

## 11. The lion

In ancient Egyptian religion the lion was associated with the sun gods *Re* and *Harakhty*. It was one of the oldest and most important deities in ancient Egypt. Its chief centre of worship was at Leontopolis in the northern Delta. Its association with *Re* is demonstrated well in representations of the sun on the backs of two lions facing east and west, representing the two horizons. The sun was believed to leave the jaws of the lion of the west in its underworld journey, to the jaws of the lion of the east, and shine. Thus the lion of the 'west' was called *sf* "yesterday", representing the past while that of the east was called *dw3w* "Morrow" and represented the future (Posener, Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1962: 150). Thus the lions became of utmost importance in the rejuvenation of the sun. The Egyptians believed that the gates of the morning and evening were guarded by lion gods and therefore they placed statues of lions at doors of palaces and tombs to guard both the living and the dead.

It is to be noted that as a deity in its own right, only the female, with the name *Sekhmet* was known in Egyptian religion (Fig. 2, u). In Egyptian art *Sekhmet* was represented as a lioness or as a woman with a lion's head. Her name meant 'the mighty one' and her nature being that of a war-goddess. She was also regarded as the one 'great of magic' (Lurker, 1991: 106). She was also connected with the fire-spitting uraeus of the king and thereby became the 'eye of Re'.

These same Egyptian notions of the lions and *Sekhmet* passed into Kush, of the Napatan and Meroitic periods. But it is of note that unlike the situation in Egypt, the male was a deity too, and one of paramount importance. During the Meroitic period, the male, with the Meroitic name *Apedemak* (*Apedemk*) emerged. Some scholars associated him with the Egyptian lion god *Mahes* (Zabkar, 1975: 52). The lion as a sacred animal of *Apedemak* is attested by temple reliefs. Figures of *Apedemak* were found in reliefs on his temples at Naga, Musawwarat Es-Sufra,

Amara and Meroe (Shinnie, 1967: 83, Pl. 31). These were generally dated between about 200 B.C. to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Its southern origin is repeatedly stressed in the hymn in his temple at Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Ibid: 23). In 1960 Vercoutter published a report on the excavations which he and Thabit has conducted at Wad Ban Naga. In his report he refers to five statuettes of crouching lions which he considers to represent *Apedemak*. At Musawwarat Es-Sufra statues of lions were found in *Apedemak* temple. That lions were probably related to fertility cult is supported by several lion sculptures found near hafirs of B'asa, Um Usuda and Musawwarat Es-Sufra. As well lion stone statues were found in Napatan palaces and temples at Kawa (Macadam, 1955: 138). Traces of *Apedemak* have been found in Northern Meroitic provenance in the form of decorated leather garment in Semna South, (Zabkar, 1975: 44-45) and in inscriptions of Armina West (Trigger and Heyler, 1970: 26-28, 30).

From Meroitic reliefs, it is possible to conclude that the Meroites regarded *Apedemak* as a creator and war-god. The first attribute is concluded from his representation as the primordial serpent issuing from the lotus-flower (Abdalla, 1982: 65). Evidently, here, *Apedemak* is identified with *Nefertem*, the creator god according to the Egyptian Heliopolitan theory of creation. This is supported by a hymn, from his temple at Musawwarat Es-Sufra describing him as a benefactor of all mankind and as one who provides nourishment for all men (Zabkar, 1975: 17). The second attribute as a war-god, is evident in the representation of *Apedemak* on his temple at Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971, Pls. 17, 25). In his right hand he holds a bow and arrows and cord tied around the neck of a captive enemy represented in small dimension.

Furthermore, figures of the lion-god appeared in Meroitic contexts on small objects, which probably were meant to represent *Apedemak*. Such figures, were frequently used as decorative elements on jewellery especially as ear rings and on

the armguards worn by the Meroitic kings and queens (Chapman-Dunham, 1952, Pl. 16A, B; Hintze, 1971, Pls. 21, 22b, 33b,c, 34, 35). Lion amulets were also found frequently in Napatan and Meroitic contexts (Macadam, 1955: 188-189, Pl. XCVIIIc; Dunham, 1963: 12, 39, 46, 47, 133, 146, 294, 300, 320; Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 168, Fig. 60).

In the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery in question, lions or lion-faces were found depicted on certain vessels from the cemeteries of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 43) and Faras (Griffith, 1924: 159, Pl. XLV-12, Pl. XLV-4, L-4: 101). The careful decoration on the vessel of Faras was attributed to what Wenig described as the "Academic School" (1978: 292). The decoration consisted of a frieze of what seems to be a frontal lion-face with a snake-body; and this reflects the same attributes of the serpent-lion *Apedemak* which were depicted on the pylon temple of Naga, and fragments of leather of Semna South. On the four vessels of the Faras cemetery, the decoration shows yet more examples of the Meroitic style of depiction, consisting of lions or frontal lion-faces, of which some are carefully executed while others are abstract (Pls. 39, 40; Fig. 3, t-1, t-2).

If, as seems to be the case, these Meroitic-styled representations of lion-faces refer to *Apedemak*, then one may safely conclude that in the decoration of their painted pottery, the Meroites represented not only gods and symbols of Egyptian origin, but also their own local god.

## 12. The vulture

The vulture as a deity dates to Predynastic times in Egypt, since one of the titles of the Pharaoh was *Nekhbet*. This goddess was tutelary deity of Upper Egypt, sometimes appearing on the royal diadem beside the cobra (*Edjo*). She was said to be a form of the primeval abyss that brought forth light. She was also a symbol of nature and a patron of childbirth during the New Kingdom and Late Period

(Lurker, 1991: 86). Iconographically, the vulture is often drawn with spread wings holding the ring, the symbol of eternity in her claws (Fig. 2, v). She also sometimes holds the 'ankh emblem of life, instead of the ring. With wings outstretched before her she is a protective symbol carved above royal or ritual scenes (Hart, 1986: 134).

Vulture amulets were first found in ancient Egypt in Late Old Kingdom burials and continued to the end of dynastic periods. Though for the dead such amulets would have an underlying apotropaic function they became associated with the protective vulture goddesses such as *Nekhbet* (Andrews, 1994: 37).

In Kushite contexts vultures were noted on scenes of temples of Napatan and Meroitic Kush at the Lion Temple of Musawwarat Es-Sufra (Hintze, 1971, Figs. 16, 20, 21, 25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 45, 67, 96c), Naga (Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 36), Meroe (Bradley, 1984: 422), and Barkal (Lepsius, 1973, Pl. 8). On many of these representations of temple reliefs vultures were numerous seen on dresses of gods and goddesses. Temple M. 250 of Meroe shows a massacre scene and a king on a throne with a protective vulture of *Nekhbet* hovering above his head (Ali, 1988: 207). On a stela from Meroe *Amun* temple, goddess *Mut* is depicted wearing a vulture headdress (Garstang, 1912: 47). A further example is found on a painted wall in the palace of Wad Ban Naga showing a royal personage with a vulture headdress (Vercoutter, 1962: 283-84, Fig. 13).

Furthermore, vultures also appear occasionally in Meroitic contexts on metal vessels, bronze bells, amulets, rings and in faience (Griffith, 1924, Pl. 53: 10; Dunham, 1963: 53, 69, 373, 415; Williams, 1991: 58). They were also found as amulets in Nuri royal tombs (Dunham, 1955: 23, 27, 52, 54, 117, 146) and Kawa (Macadam, 1955: 187).

In the decoration of the painted pottery under study, the representation of the vulture is infrequent. Only three incidences were, so far, recorded. The first (Fig. 3, u-2) was recognized on a vessel from Karanog Cemetery. It was depicted in details with spread wings, armed with a sword in each of its claws, or holding a fan (the sign of high rank) in each claws (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 48: 8170). The vulture is represented possibly as a protectress against evils. It is also an icon of royalty (O'Connor, 1993: 106). Woolley and MacIver described it as very Egyptian in its drawing (1910: 54). The second one was reported from Qasr Ibrim settlement and was among the Meroitic pottery collection of The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research (Fig. 3, u-1). The decoration on the sherd shows a vulture with outstretched wings. It is also drawn in details. The third occurrence (Pl. 35) is from the cemetery of Abri (Vila, 1982a: 105-122, Pl. 6: 2; 1982b: 133, Fig. 142, grave 2-V-20/311). The drawing shows two vultures at equal intervals on the body of the surface of the vessel, one with spread wings and the other with unstretched wings. The representation of the vulture is detailed, but differs in style from those of Karanog and Qasr Ibrim. Though the style of representation of vultures varies from object and region to the other, it is of Meroitic peculiarity. None of the representations of the vulture was drawn holding the ring of eternity or the emblem of 'ankh-sign as the case in many Egyptian and Meroitic drawings.

Judging from the above observations, it seems that the representation of vultures in the decoration of Meroitic painted pottery was possibly motivated by its religious significance, as indicated in ancient Egyptian and Kushite religious art.

### 13. The griffin

Griffin is the name used today in studies of arts for a fabulous composite animal, typically having the body (winged or wingless), hind legs and a tail of a lion and the head and foreparts of a bird, usually an eagle (Black and Green, 1992:

99-101). In ancient Egypt the griffin apparently had some religious significance and magic protection. In early times, the king was manifested together with the falcon form of the sky-god *Horus* in a united image of a griffin. In the Old Kingdom the griffin was regarded as a symbol of victory over enemies. In Ptolemaic and Roman times, the Sun-gods *Horus* and *Re* were represented as griffins (Lurker, 1991: 56). As a demonic entity with a winged lion's body and falcon's head, the griffin appeared on magic wands of the New Kingdom to overcome and make victory over typhoon animals (Ibid). The composite beast represents a symbolic combination of vigilance and strength (Fig. 2, w). In later periods, the griffin was regarded as the mightiest of animals and was a symbol of retributive justice. From the Egyptian religious art the motif of griffin possibly passed into the Napatan and Meroitic artistic repertoire.

In Kushite contexts, winged and unwinged griffins were noted on scenes of Meroitic Cemetery of Begrawiya North (Lepsius, 1973, Fig. 47) and Lion Temple of Musawwarat (Hintze, 1971, Figs. 79, 80, 81, 88, 92, 96). In the famous royal bath of Meroe the arms of three seats were made of conventional griffins carved in stone (Garstang, 1913: 78). In the same bath, there was found, a winged griffin of a stone, with the body of a lion and the head of a bird (Ibid). Winged griffins also occurred as amulets in Napatan (Dunham, 1955: 249, Pl. CXXA2/3, Nu. 15) and Meroitic contexts, (Ibid, 1963: 366, South Cemetery at Meroe, tomb S. 85: 23-3-764).

On the Meroitic painted pottery under study, griffin occurred twice at Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pls. L: 9, L11 : 3) and once at Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 77: 8334). Those reported from Faras are winged. One of them is drawn in detail and seems to be with a bird's head and an animal's body (Fig. 3, v-2, v-3). That of Karanog is wingless and seems to have a human face, an animal's ears and body (Fig. 3, v-4). Because of the differences in representation of griffins,

each instance seems to belong to a different Meroitic style, one of Faras and the other of Karanog.

All the above recurrences of griffins, in ancient Egyptian and Kushite religious art with symbolic religious significance, imply that griffins were represented on Meroitic painted pottery possibly to express the same concept.

#### 14. *Khepri*

Various kinds of beetles were venerated in Egypt from prehistoric times to the Christian Period (Petrie, 1977: 2-3). Its inscription evidence occurs in the pyramids of the Old Kingdom (Hart, 1986: 109). As a hieroglyph the scarab has the phonetic value *hpr* (*Kheper*) which as a verb means 'to come into being', 'to be created', and as a noun 'form' or 'manifestation'. To the Egyptians, the dung beetle was an image of self-creation. At Heliopolis, the scarab was believed to be a manifestation of the creator-god who came into being by itself, the god *Khepri*, the rising sun (Posener, Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1962: 252). He was equated with the creator-god *Atum* and was considered as a form of the sun-god (Lurker, 1991: 104). The beetle rolls a ball of dung before it, therefore, it was thought that *Khepri* rolled the solar ball across the sky (Pl. 44). For the Egyptians he represented the rising sun and symbolized the renewal of life and the idea of eternal existence (Viaud, 1982: 15). He was linked with the symbol of resurrection (Lurker, 1991: 74). For this reason, the beetle became a popular amulet in steatite or faience and was placed in tombs as a symbol of new life. From the Twenty-first Dynasty the winged scarab appears on sarcophagi as well as on mummy coverings. He was held as a symbol of resurrection and fertility (Fig. 2, x). His amulets were worn to attract the power of the god and secure his protection.

In Egyptian art, *Khepri* has different aspects. He could be in the form of a beetle, a human-being or a combination of a human torso and beetle as its head. He

was made as amulets and in paints of funerary papyri and wall of chambers of tombs (Ibid). Some major temples possessed each of which, a colossal hard-stone statue of *Khepri* (Ibid: 110).

In Napatan and Meroitic arts scarabs and scaraboids were found numerously as amulets in cemeteries, temples and residential areas (Macadam, 1955: 190-192, Pl. XCVIIb; Dunham, 1955: 26, 31, 34, 38, 54, 245; Ibid, 1963: 22, 37, 44, 65, 69, 366, 405). They were also represented as winged *Khepri* with a sun-disk on scenes of funerary stelae at Meroe (e.g. Garstang, 1911, Pl. XXIII-2).

In the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, representation of *Khepri* was not attested in the pottery collection of the Meroitic Northern provenance. The representation of *Khepri* was noted only in the South on two sherds from Wad Ban Naga and one sherd from each of Hamadab (Hofmann and Tomandl, 1986: 56 Pl. 65/5) and Meroe (Bienkowski and Southworth, 1986: 71, 49. 47. 838; Zach, 1988: 135). One of the sherds of Wad Ban Naga is decorated from interior surface with a painted four outstretched-winged scarab rolling its (sun-disk) ball in front of it (Pl. 41; Fig. e-14). This basically represents the god *Khepri* who signifies the rising sun and also rebirth after death. From the ball and scarab issues life in the form of an 'ankh-sign from the hind claws. The second sherd is decorated with a band of stamped beetles, associated with neither a ball nor an 'ankh-sign (Fig. 3, w). The stamped form of the beetles possibly expresses the same religious ideas of *Khepri* in its popular amuletic form.

Thus, it seems that the representation of *Khepri* in ancient Egyptian and Kushite religious art substantiates the religious significance of its depiction on Meroitic painted and stamped pottery.

### III. Conclusion

The motifs used in the decoration of Meroitic pottery become of great significance when they are viewed in their Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic religious backgrounds. The recurrence of these motifs on Meroitic pottery indicates or at least suggests that they had perpetual religious meanings expressed also lavishly in the Napatan and Meroitic repertoire on other material. As such, these motifs would be more than decorative. They would be of religious significance, pointing to underlying and complex religious and mythological concepts.

Though the religious and mythological themes of the motifs on the pottery under study are fundamentally Egyptian, their style of representation are predominantly un-Egyptian. In effect, their styles are predominantly Meroitic, reflecting Meroitic artistic traditions, and motivated possibly by deeper religious symbolism inherent in the Meroitic Kush.

A further important issue emerging from this study is the interior regional variation in the occurrences of these religious motifs in Meroitic Kush. Many symbols such as the 'ankh-sign, the lotus-flower, the *Sa*-knot, the *wedjat*-eye and the serpent are widespread. Other motifs such as demons, palm-branches, *djed*-pillars, horned altars, *Khepri*, griffins, ordinary eyes, lion faces, *Tet* and *Ba* are local.

Here, a division between the Northern and Southern regions of Meroitic Kush is evident. With the North, are associated painted forms of palm-branches, altars, *Hathor*, demons, *djed*-pillars, ordinary eyes and griffins. With the South, are associated painted *Khepri* and stamped forms of the offering-table, the frog, *Hathor* emblem, the *wedjat*-eye, the baboon, *Khepri*, *Ba* and *Tet*.

At the same time, yet another division is apparent between painted and stamped motifs. With the former, painted motifs are more frequent. With the latter, stamped motifs are more frequent.

Despite the noticeable variety in symbolism and regional preferences in representations of painted and stamped forms in the vast domain of Meroitic Kush, the unmistakable common feature of these motifs, is the fundamental concern with fertility, life, regeneration, eternity and protection in life on earth or life after death.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### OBSERVATIONS ON THE INCIDENCES OF RELIGIOUS MOTIFS

This chapter is a statistical analysis of the incidences of religious motifs on the sample of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery under study. It deals with the incidences of religious motifs and the relation of each motif to the other in order to attempt to perceive the possible meanings of these related religious motifs.

The religious motifs in the decoration of pottery assemblage under consideration, are classified into two major groups; namely, (1) single forms, and (2) associated forms. The religious significance of each single form has been discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore, reference, here, will be confined largely to associated forms.

#### **I. Frequency And Distribution**

As Tables 2, 28 and Chart 1 display, incidences of the religious motifs on the pottery in question from the North represent 67.6% (747 cases), whereas those from the South represent about 32.4% (358 cases). This difference in the incidences may be due, in the first place, to the concentration of excavations in the North on cemeteries, while in the South excavations were lesser and concentrated on residential areas (Table 4, Cht. 10). Secondly, painted and stamped pottery were possibly used mainly as funerary furniture in cemeteries of the North, while undecorated domestic pottery was utilised in residential areas (Woolley, 1911: 41). Table 1 demonstrates the frequency of the religious motifs according to sites. It shows apparently that most of the incidences were found in Karanog Cemetery (22.5%, 249 cases), Meroe (18.7%, 207 cases), Ballana and Qustul (12%, 133 cases), Faras Cemetery (10.5%, 116 cases) and Wad Ban Naga (9.9%, 109 cases).

The observation study exhibits that around 66.9% (739 cases) of the entire incidences were found in cemeteries, 29.7% (328 cases) in residential areas and 3.4% (38 cases) were of unknown contexts (Tables 3, 16, Cht. 2). Thus, more being from cemeteries than residential areas. Hence, the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery is largely funerary.

The painted forms are overwhelming for they represent about 81% (895 cases), whereas the stamped represent 18.4% (203 cases) and the combined painted-stamped .6% (7 cases, Table 11, Cht. 7). Statistical data indicates that around 80% of the painted religious motifs in the pottery assemblage under study are from Northern Meroitic sites, whereas 84.7% of the stamped forms are belonging to Southern Meroitic sites (Table 19, Cht. 13). All the combined painted and stamped motifs recur in the South (Upper Nubia). Thus, the stamped, and the combined stamped and painted motifs seem to be a characteristic of the Southern Meroitic pottery, whereas the painted forms are dominant in that of the North (Lower Nubia).

One observes that decoration is closely related to the form (shape and size) of vessel on which it occurs. As Table 26 and Chart 17 show, the major painted forms are cups (45.8%, 410 cases), jars (33.5%, 300 cases) and bowls (9.4%, 84 cases). The stamped forms are found mainly on such small objects as cups and bowls. Those with combined painted-stamped motifs are mainly bowls (57.1%, 4 cases) and cups (42.9%, 3 cases).

Most of these religious motifs were applied on the exterior surfaces of vessels (91.4%, 1010 cases, Table 14, Cht. 9). Most of the painted forms were decorated on exterior surfaces, whereas all the stamped motifs were executed on the exterior surfaces. Occasionally, the exterior bottom areas of cups and

hemispherical jars were decorated with painted radial patterns. In rare instances, small bowls and plates have symmetrical interior painted decoration. As Table 10 and Chart 6 indicate, the large proportion of the decorated surfaces are burnished (76.5%, 845 cases), whereas the rest are polished (23.1%, 255 cases) or matt (.5%, 5 cases).

Of the entire instances of the pottery objects under study, 63.5% (702 cases) are complete vessels, whereas 36.5% (403 cases) are sherds (Table 5, Cht. 3). This high percentage of complete vessels, may be due mainly to their being found mostly in tombs. Of these entire objects, cups represent the mode of the vessel forms as they represent 46.4% (513 cases, Table 6, Cht. 4). These are followed by jars (27.7%, 306 cases), bowls (16.4%, 181 cases), jugs (4.4%, 49 cases), bottles (2.3%, 25 cases) and plates (1.4%, 16 cases). Crosstabulation of the religious motifs by vessel forms and by Meroitic domains (Table 7, Cht. 11) show that cups (48.5%, 362 cases) and jars (37.8%; 282 cases) are dominant in the North, whereas bowls (45.3%, 162 cases) and cups (42.2%, 151 cases) are the main vessel forms in the South. Thus, bowls are surprisingly rare in the North, whereas jars are scarce in the South.

As Table 8, 18 and Chart 5 manifest, a large proportion of the vessel forms with motifs of religious significance, are fine (63.3%, 699 cases), while the rest are of ordinary (35.7%, 394 cases) and coarse fabrics (1.1%, 12 cases). Analysis of data (Table 9, Cht. 12) indicates a clear division between the Northern and Southern Meroitic domains in respect to the incidences of fine and ordinary fabrics. In the South fine fabrics were dominant (92.2%), while in the North ordinary fabrics were common (49.9%). About 99.6% (1101 cases) of these objects is wheelmade, while only .4% (4 cases) is handmade (Table 15). Thus, painted, and stamped religious motifs were found only in rare cases on handmade pottery.

## 1. Single forms

As Table 12, 21 and Chart 8 show around 74.7% (825 cases) of the entire religious motifs on the pottery under discussion recur in single forms. This indicates that the Meroitic potters and or artists were satisfied frequently with representation of single motifs to express their religious concepts. As it is observed, the artists and or potters were fond of dividing the surfaces of the vessels into zones, on which they distributed the religious motifs at regular intervals. All single forms are either stamped or painted. The latter account far more than the stamped motifs for they represent 81.9% (676 cases), while the stamped ones represent 18.1% (149 cases) only (Table 25, Cht. 16).

Statistical observations indicate that single religious motifs occur more repeatedly on objects from the North (68.8%, 568 cases) than those of the South (31.2%, 257 cases, Table 13, Cht. 14). Of the entire instances of single forms 67.4% (556 cases) were found in cemeteries, 29.6% (244 cases) in residential areas and 3% (25 cases) in unknown contexts (Table 22, Cht. 18). The main pottery objects with single religious motifs (Table 24, Cht. 15) are cups (49.5%, 408 cases), jars (24.5%, 202 cases) and bowls (17.5%, 144 cases). Of these vessel forms, (Table 23, Cht. 19), the majority were of fine fabrics (66.5%, 549 cases), whereas the others were of ordinary (32.6%, 269 cases) and coarse fabrics (.8%, 7 cases).

## 2. Associated forms

These, as evident in the statistical data, are lesser in frequency than single forms for they represent about 25.3% (280 cases) of the entire incidences (Table 12, Cht. 8).

As Table 13 and Chart 14 indicate, associated religious forms were found more repeatedly on objects from the North (63.9%, 179 cases), than those of the South (36.1%, 101 cases), more being from cemeteries (65.4%, 183 cases) than residential areas (30.%, 84 cases, Table 22, Cht. 18).

The painted associated motifs are overwhelming for they represent about 78.2% (219 cases), while the stamped ones represent 19.3% (54 cases) and the combined painted-stamped occur in 2.5% (7cases) only (Table 25, Cht. 16).

With percentages indicating the rates of incidence within each form of objects (Table 24, Cht. 15), the associated motifs were found mainly on cups (37.5%, 105 cases), jars (37.1%, 104 cases), bowls (13.2%, 37 cases) and jugs (5.4%, 15 cases). Of such objects (Table 23, Cht. 19) the majority were of fine fabrics (53.6%, 150 cases), whereas others were of ordinary (44.6%, 125 cases) and coarse fabrics (1.8%, 5 cases).

According to the descending rates of frequency of the groups of single and associated forms (Table 27), the motifs are represented as follows:

### **1. The lotus-flower**

As Tables 27 and 29 show, the lotus-flower, in its various forms, both single and associated is the most frequent motif (654 cases which represents 59.2% of the total motifs). Hence, it is the modal class (Table 27). Its incidence happens the most and it is the most popular motif. About 77.8% of its forms were noted in the North, while 22.2% were obtained from the South (Table 30). Around 74.9% of the lotus representations were found in tombs, 22.2% in residential areas and 2.9% were of unknown contexts (Table 31). The painted forms are overwhelming for they represent around 91%, while the stamped represents 8.3% and the

combined painted-stamped only .8% (Table 32). With percentages indicating the rates of incidence within each type of objects (Table 35), the lotus was found, mainly on cups (51.7%), jars (28.1%), bowls (10.9%), jugs (5.5%), bottles (2%), plates (.9%), others (.2%) and unknown forms (.8%). Of such objects (Table 34), the majority were of fine fabrics (62.1%), whereas others were of ordinary (37.2%) and coarse fabrics (.8%).

The lotus forms account far more than any other depicted religious motif. They are usually portrayed in many different styles and traits than any other motif. The forms of the lotus-flower can be arbitrarily classified into the following categories: (Table 29, Cht. 20)

1. Elaborate or composite (32.1%-210 cases).
2. Crescents (16.4%-107 cases).
3. Rosettes (15.1%-99 cases).
4. Trefoils (11.3%-74 cases).
5. Buds (11.2%-73 cases).
6. Open lotus (4.9%-32 cases).
7. Lotus leafy stems (4.6%-30 cases).
8. Truncated or geometric (3.2%-21 cases).
9. Wrapped (1.2%-8 cases).

### **1.1. Single forms** (Fig. 3, a-1 to a-27, Pls. 1 to 6).

Single forms of the lotus-flower represent about 72.9% (477 cases) of the total lotus forms (Table 33). This, in turn, represents about 57.8% of the total religious single motifs on the pottery sample in question (825 cases). Thus, the lotus single forms are the most frequent single religious motifs.

Statistical analysis (Table 28) shows that single lotus forms were found more repeatedly on objects from the North (79.5% - 379 cases) than those of the South (20.5% - 98 cases), more being from cemeteries (75.3% - 359 cases, Table 16) than residential areas (22.9% - 109 cases).

Single lotus forms appear more frequently in paint (Table 20) where they represent around 91.6% (437 cases), while its stamped forms represent about 8.4% (40 cases) only. As Table 18 manifests, a large proportion of the vessel forms with single lotuses are fine (66.5%-317 cases), whereas the rest are of ordinary (33.1%-158 cases) and coarse fabrics (.4%-2 cases). The main pottery objects with single lotus forms (Table 17) are cups (55.3%-264 cases), jars (23.7%-113 cases), bowls (12.4%-59 cases), jugs (5.5%-26 cases), bottles (1.5%-7 cases) and plates (.8%-4 cases).

### **1.2. Associated lotus forms (Fig. 3, a-28 to a-46)**

As Table 33 demonstrates, the associated lotus forms represent about 27.1% (177 cases) of the total lotus incidences (654 cases). In spite of this, the lotus-flower is the most frequent motif recurring in combination with other religious motifs. That is because, associated lotus forms represent about 63.2% of the total religious associated forms on the pottery assemblage under study (280 cases).

According to Tables 28 and 30, the associated lotus forms were more common on objects from the North (73.4%-130 cases) than those from the South (26.6%-47 cases), more being from cemeteries (74%-131 cases) than residential areas (20.3%-36 cases).

The associated lotus forms, as Table 20 indicates, appear more frequently in paint (89.3%-158 cases), whereas they occur in stamped (7.9%-14 cases), and

combined painted-stamped forms (2.8%-5 cases) in lesser frequencies. According to Table 18, most of the vessel forms with associated lotus forms are fine (53.7%-95 cases), while the remaining corpus are of ordinary (44.6%-79 cases) and coarse fabrics (1.7%-3 cases). The main vessel forms with associated lotus-flowers (Table 17) are cups (41.8%-74 cases), jars (40.1%-71 cases), bowls (6.8%-12 cases), jugs (5.6%-10 cases), bottles (3.4%-6 cases) and others (2.3%-4 cases).

Below are the religious motifs with which the lotus-flower is found in association.

#### 1.2.1. The '*ankh*-sign

This is the most frequent motif appearing in association with the lotus. The incidence of the dual combination lotus-'*ankh*', represents about 33.2% (93 cases) of the total percentage of associated motifs. Of the combined lotus-'*ankh*', about 64.5% were from the North, whereas only 35.5% were obtained from the South (Table 28). Moreover, about 65.6% were obtained from cemeteries, 25.8% from residential areas, and 8.6% of unknown provenance (Table 16). At the same time, 88.2% of the lotus-'*ankh*' are in paint, 10.8% in stamped representations and only 1.1% in combined stamped-painted forms (Table 20).

This high frequency of the lotus-'*ankh*' combination is due possibly to the association of both of them with life, birth, resurrection, and their role in funerary rites. The Meroitic artist could combine the motifs of the lotus and '*ankh*-sign in various ways. This is most evident in painted pottery; as the following examples show.

A formation from the Meroitic site Semna South shows a fine Meroitic cup decorated with a painted band of alternating lotus leafy slender stems and lotus leafy thick stalks. (Fig. 3, a-29). The crest of each lotus slender stem is surmounted by a winged '*ankh*-sign.

Another formation from the site of Meroe shows a sherd decorated with painted elaborated lotus-flowers with side buds, and 'ankh-signs, each in a heart or a leaf shaped frame (Fig. 3, a-30, Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 118, Fig. 48, f). A further formation from the same site shows a quatrefoil lotus rosette painted on the base of a cup, with 'ankh-signs emerging radially from the rosette (Fig. 3, a-35). Similar cases were also presented by Adams (1986: 285, Fig. 137, cc-11 d, cc-12 d).

A third formation is that of Karanog Cemetery which shows three elaborate lotus-flowers drawn on the upper part of a lekythos (Fig. 3, a-31). Each flower is flanked by two side buds emerging from the same base (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 49: 8330). An 'ankh-sign is portrayed connected to a lotus petal by a thin floral stem which takes a zigzag form, when it reaches the 'ankh-sign.

A fourth formation is that containing lotuses in alternation with 'ankh-signs in one band (e.g. Fig. 3, a-32). The lotus can be an open lotus-flower, a lotus leafy stem, a wrapped lotus (e.g. Fig. 3, a-34, a-36) or a crescent. In the last, the lotus crescent touch each other, with 'ankh-signs dangling from their meeting points (e.g. Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 65: 8235, Pl. 73: 8298).

A fifth formation is from Meroe, which shows a bowl decorated with a painted band of open lotus-flowers. On the calyx of each flower three 'ankh-signs were depicted (Fig. 3, a-28, Garstang, 1911, Pl. XLVII). Adams presented two similar cases from sites of Meroitic North (1986: 278, Fig. 130, m-11, m-18).

In stamped forms, lotus-'ankh combination also appear, more often in the South than the North. The association generally takes the form of a lotus crescent

overlaid with an 'ankh-sign (e.g. Fig. 3, a-39, Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 125, Fig. 55, d, e, f).

In rare instances, the lotus-'ankh combination takes the form of a stamped lotus rosette on the exterior surface and a painted 'ankh-sign on the interior. An example can be cited from Meroe. The formation shows a bowl rim-sherd, decorated on the exterior surface with a band of stamped lotus rosettes. The interior surface is decorated with a band of painted 'ankh-signs. Each 'ankh-sign is depicted inside a leaf or a heart shaped frame (Ibid: 117, Fig. 47, f).

As Table 27 shows, the lotus-'ankh combination is found further with one or more motifs, such as the frog, the *Sa*-knot, the serpent with or without the sun-disk, the lion, the demon, the *wedjat*-eye, the palm branch, the serpent and the ibis, *Hathor* and the baboon, and serpent-lion. Each of these will be discussed latter when dealing with their incidences.

### 1.2.2. The demon

Demons are the second most frequent motif recurring in connection with the lotus-flower (Table 27). This association took place in 11 cases. All the instances were found in cemeteries from the North (Tables 16, 28). All were painted (Table 20) on jars (8 cases) and cups (3 cases, Table 17).

The combination of the lotus with demons in several cases take the form of a lotus-flower, lotus leafy stem, bud or crescent. An example of such association is represented on a globular jar from Ballana (Williams, 1991, Pl. 32). The scene shows two demons, each with a crescent on the forehead, alternating with two lotus buds (Fig. 3, g-4). At the same time, a band of crescents, is drawn at the top, close to the mouth of the jar. The second example can be cited from Karanog (Woolley

and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 93: 8724). The representation shows a cup decorated with a band of painted heads of demons alternating with lotus leafy stems. The exact meaning of such association is not clear. Perhaps it is, connected with the role of demons as protectors of life, possibly in the netherworld.

Furthermore, the lotus-demon combination is linked with the '*ankh*-sign, something that strengthens the demon's association with life, protection and well-being. This association is found so far in one case only (Table 27). It is noted on a globular jar from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 49: 8275). The painted scene shows four demons' heads, each with a lotus crescent on its forehead. The heads alternate with a group formed of an open lotus-flower and rosettes separated by '*ankh*-signs.

The lotus-demon-'*ankh* combination is linked further, in one case with a winged *Sa*-knot (Emery and Kirwan, 1935: 159, Fig. 157-7, Pl. VI). The scene shows a globular jar decorated with a band of demon's heads with side lotus buds emerging from the neck, attached to a winged '*ankh*-sign and a winged *Sa*-knot. This formation strengthens furthermore the demon's association with life, protection and well-being.

In a further case from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XXVI: LIVd), the lotus-demon combination is linked with a crocodile. This crocodile may possibly represent or refer to, the ancient Egyptian god *Sebek* (*Suchos*), which was believed to have a protective role. Both the lotus and crocodile, naturally, are associated with water, the source of creation and life.

### 1.2.3. The *Sa*-knot

The lotus appears in combination with the *Sa*-knot in eight cases (Table 27). Of these eight cases, five were found in the North, whereas the other three were from the South (Table 28). Also of these eight cases, five were obtained from cemeteries and three from residential areas (Table 16). Five of the eight cases, were painted, one stamped and the remaining two were stamped on exterior surfaces and painted on the interior (Table 20). The objects decorated with the lotus-*Sa* combination, were six cups, one jar and a bowl (Table 17).

The first example of the lotus-*Sa* (Fig. 3, a-41) combination can be cited from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 79: 8960). The representation shows a globular jar decorated with a painted band of alternating *Sa*-knots and lotus buds, with a common root. The second example, from Shablul Cemetery (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 24-1; Adams, 1986: 275, Fig. 127, I-9), shows a painted cup decorated with the *Sa*-knot, from which emerges an elaborate lotus with side buds. So, the Meroitic artist combined the two motifs of the *Sa*-knot and the lotus purposely in various ways, since both of them have religious meanings. The lotus is linked with creation, rebirth, while the *Sa*-knot is a protective amulet of life. Thus, their intimacy may refer to a protected form of life.

As Table 27 manifests, the lotus-*Sa* combination is also found with other religious motifs such as the 'ankh-sign (4 cases), the *wedjat*-eye (2 cases) and the serpent (1 case). That is evident, because of the symbolism of life, birth, rebirth, and protection in the latter too.

#### 1.2.4. The frog

Table 27 shows that the lotus-flower is found in dual association with the frog in six cases, only in cemeteries in the North (Tables 16, 28). They are painted on jars (4 cases) of ordinary fabrics and cups (2 cases) of fine fabrics (Tables 17, 18, 20).

Both the lotus and frog partake in the meaning of life, both having been of the first elements to appear on earth from the primeval mound, heralding creation.

In the first example from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 41: 8257), the lotuses and the frogs are drawn on a globular jar, in two separate bands. In the top band, four standing frogs were portrayed in detail. The artist depicted the eyes, the neck region and the abdomen clearly with vertical lines and provided the neck with a series of small rings. In the lower band, a consecutive number of open lotus and lotus buds were drawn in black lines and filled with white paint on a red ground (Fig. 3, a-42). In the second example, also from Karanog Cemetery (Fig. 3, a-44), a band of painted stylised frogs, are represented. Each frog is depicted grasping in one hand a leafy slender stem of the lotus. The scene is executed in dark red lines on a creamy ground. The third example from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. L-13; Adams, 1986: 282, Fig. 135, v-6) shows a fine cup, decorated with a band of frogs. The representation is drawn in detail. It shows each frog grasping an elaborate lotus-flower with side buds (Fig. 3, a-43).

The lotus-frog association recurs in combination with the 'ankh'-sign in five cases (Table 27). Of these cases, four were found in cemeteries of the North, whereas the fifth was obtained from the cemetery of Missiminia in the South (Tables 16, 28). Of such five cases, four were painted and the fifth stamped (Table

20). The vessel forms decorated with the lotus-frog-*'ankh* combination, were two jars, two cups and a bottle (Table 17). An example of such formation can be cited from Sedeinga Cemetery (Leclant, 1982, Fig. 56). The representation shows a globular bottle decorated in detail with a painted band of frogs. Each frog is depicted grasping a lotus leafy stem ending with a winged *'ankh* (Fig. 3, h-7). So each leafy stem is surmounted by a winged *'ankh*-sign. Figure 3, h-6, reflects the same concept (Griffith, 1924, Pl. L-12), but it is drawn in less detail. The above association of the lotus, *'ankh* and the frog is understandable, owing to their connection with life, creation and re-creation.

Furthermore, and as Table 27 shows, the lotus and frog are also found with the *wedjat*-eye and sun-disk, but in only one case.

#### 1.2.5. The serpent

Another motif with which the lotus is associated, is the serpent. This association took place in six instances, all from the North (Table 28). Of these, four are from cemeteries, one from residential areas and one of unknown context (Table 16). All are painted (Table 20); two on jars, two on cups, one on a bottle and one on a jug (Table 17).

One such example is that on a cup from the cemetery of Murshid (Pl. 20, Fig. 3, a-45), in which a meandering serpent is drawn in detail, enfolding lotus buds in its coils. At the same time, a lotus bud is depicted dangling from the mouth of the serpent. All are drawn in dark red lines with red filling, on light ground. Another example from Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991, Fig. 179, Pl. 53c) shows a *lekhythos* with a meandering snake enfolding lotus buds in its coils.

The lotus-serpent combination recurs with other religious motifs, as Table 27 indicates. These additional motifs are:

1. The '*ankh*-sign (4 cases).
2. The sun-disk (3 cases).
3. The '*ankh* sign-the sun disk (3 cases).
4. The lion- the '*ankh*-the sun disk (1 case).
5. The '*ankh*- the ibis (1 case).
6. The *Sa*-knot (1 case).

As is evident in the statistics, these extended associations are more or less infrequent. The first example of them is from the cemetery of Nag Gamus (Almagro, 1965, Fig. 204). It is painted on a globular jar, in the form of bands. The top band is of lotuses represented as crescents, while the lower band has a detailed serpent from its mouth dangle three '*ankh*-signs indicating perhaps that the serpent is a donor of life (Fig. 3, c-19). A further similar representation is found on a lekythos from Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991, Pl. 53-c). It is painted in the form of a meandering serpent, enfolding lotus buds, while an '*ankh*-sign dangles from its mouth (Fig. 3, c-20). The third example is on a jar-sherd from the same site of Ballana (Williams, 1991: 448, Figs. 298a, b), painted in the form of coiled striated standing uraei, each with a sun-disk on its head and carrying a leafy lotus stem from which emerges a floral '*ankh*-sign.

#### 1.2.6. The palm-branch

According to Table 27, the lotus turns up in association with the palm-branch in three cases. They are from graves in the North (Tables 16, 28). In all of them, the scene is painted (Table 20) on the outside surfaces of two cups and a jar (Table 17).

The first example is painted on the exterior surface of a globular jar from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XVIII), showing a row of crescents with growing buds, alternating, irregularly, with palm-branches. All are drawn in black lines with red and black filling on a buff ground. The second example, of Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 85: 8648), shows a cup with lotus crescents with growing lotus buds alternating with palm-branches (Fig. 3, a-46).

The date-palm was a tree of life. Its branch appears repeatedly in Meroitic scenes as one of the water associates. That is because both of the palm-branch and the lotus are connected with water and life. Such a notion is illustrated clearly in the occurrence of both the lotus and the palm-branch in combination with the 'ankh-sign. This is shown in a painted scene on the exterior surface of a lekythos from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 48: 8313). The depiction shows a naturalistic scene of an open lotus-flower on a leafy stalk, accompanied with palm-branches and winged 'ankh-signs.

According to tables of data, the lotus recurs in infrequent dual combination with such religious motifs as the crocodile (2 cases), the *wedjat*-eye (1 case), *Hathor* (1 case), *Bes* (1 case), the vulture (1 case), the ibis (one case), the lion (one case), *Ba* (1 case), and the baboon (1 case, Table 27).

## 2. The 'ankh-sign

This is the second most frequent motif, on the pottery under consideration (Table 27). It represents about 295 cases (26.7%) of the total religious motifs (Table 36). About 54.6% (161 cases) of 'ankh-signs were found in the North, whereas 45.4% (134 cases) were from the South (Table 37). As Table 38 shows, 62% (183 cases) were from cemeteries, 31.9% (94 cases) from residential areas, and 6.1% (18 cases) were of unknown contexts. Table 39 shows that 77.6% (229

cases) were painted, 21.1% (62 cases) stamped, and only 1.4% (4 cases) decorated with combined painted-stamped representations. The forms of the 'ankh-sign (Table 42) were applied mainly on cups (37.6%-111 cases), jars (30.5%-90 cases), bowls (20.3%-60 cases), jugs (5.1%-15 cases) and bottles (3.4%-10 cases). The fabric (Table 41) was fine for most of the objects (64.4%-190 cases), then ordinary (34.2%-101 cases) and coarse (1.4%-4 cases).

The forms of the 'ankh-sign can be arbitrarily classified into the following categories (Table 36, Cht. 21):

1. Regular 'ankh-sign with a loop centre (28.8%-85 cases).
2. Regular 'ankh-sign without a loop centre (27.1%-80 cases).
3. Floral form, with a slender stem, or depicted in a bud or leaf shaped (heart) frame (23.4%-69 cases).
4. Winged 'ankh-sign (8.8%-26 cases).
5. Simple line crosses (6.8%-20 cases).
6. 'Ankh-sign with *wedjat*-eye markings (2.4%-7 cases).
7. Geometric (1.4%-4 cases).
8. Ribbed or feathered (1.4%-4 cases).

These various forms of the 'ankh-sign are represented by the following two major groups:

### 2.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, b-1 to b-13; Pls. 7 to 13)

As Table 40 displays, the 'ankh-sign appear in single forms in 46.1% (136 cases) of its entire instances. The regular 'ankh-sign, without the central loop is the modal form (37.5%-51 cases, Table 40). This is followed by forms with the central loop (33.8%-46 cases). Those with *wedjat*-eye markings (1.5%-2 cases) and geometric (.7%-1 case) are the least in incidences. Table 28, indicates that 64% (87 cases) of the single 'ankh-sign forms are Southern, whereas only 36% (49

cases) are Northern. Table 16, on the other hand, shows that about 50% (68 cases) were obtained from cemeteries, 44.1% (60 cases) from residential areas, and 5.9% (8 cases) of unknown contexts. Amongst these, painted forms are more frequent (62.5%-85 case, Table 20) than stamped ones (37.5%-51 cases). Of the entire 136 cases, 106 (77.9%) were on fine fabrics, 27 (19.9%) on ordinary and only 3 (2.2%) on coarse fabrics (Table 18). Table 17 shows the great variety of objects with single '*ankh*-signs. These are mainly cups (42.6%-58 cases), bowls (32.4%-44 cases), jars (17.6%-24 cases), bottles (2.2%-3 cases), plates (1.5%-2 cases), jugs (1.5%-2 cases), others (1.5%-2 cases) and unknown (.7%-1 case).

Adams presented many examples of varied painted forms of single '*ankh*-sign (1986: 275, 287, Fig. 127, I-1 to I-11; Fig. 139). The first example to be cited of the '*ankh*-sign, single and painted, is the one on a globular jar from Qustul and Ballana. The representation shows two rows of evenly distributed regular '*ankh*-signs without central loops (Williams, 1991, Pl. 103c). The second example (Fig. 3, b-3) from the same site, shows a sherd of a globular jar decorated by a row of '*ankh*-signs with central loops. Each '*ankh*-sign is depicted in a rectangular panel. The third example from the site of Wad Ban Naga (Pl. 9), shows a shallow bowl decorated on the interior with painted floral '*ankh*-signs which are evenly distributed. More examples for the various forms of single and painted '*ankh*-sign are presented in (Fig. 3, b-1, b-2, b-4, b-5, b-6, b-7, b-10; Pls. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12 41-2, 50-2, 51-2).

Shinnie and Bradley presented some examples from Meroe Town showing single forms of stamped '*ankh*-sign (1980: 124, Fig. 54,a to f). Further examples were found at the site of Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, b-9, b-11, b-12, b-13). Additional examples can be cited from the cemeteries of Missiminia and Meroe. That of Missiminia, shows a cup decorated with four bands of stamped '*ankh*-sign in

hexagonal panels (Pl. 13). The incidence of Meroe found by Garstang displays a bowl decorated with two bands of stamped 'ankh-sign (Pl. 45-1).

**2.2. Associated forms** (Pls. 14, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 41, 49, 50-1, 52; Fig. 3, a-28 to a-39, b-14 to b-20, c-19 to c-12, d-9 to d-11, e-10, e-13, e-14, g-2, g-3, g-5, h-5 to h-10).

The 'ankh-sign is the second most frequent motif occurring in combination with other motifs (159 cases, Table 40). Table 40 shows that its occurrence in association with other religious motifs is (53.9%-159 cases) more frequent than its occurrence in single forms (46.1%-136 cases). Furthermore, the floral 'ankh-sign, here, is the mode (Table 40). Its incidence is 36.5% (58 cases) followed by 24.5% (39 cases) of regular 'ankh-signs with loop centres and 18.2% (29 cases) of those without loop centres. Geometric and ribbed forms have the least rate of incidence. Table 28 shows that 70.4% (112 cases) of the associated 'ankh-sign forms are Northern, whereas only 29.6% (47 cases) are Southern. Table 16, on the other hand, indicates that around 72.3% (115 cases) were obtained from cemeteries, 21.4% (34 cases) from residential areas and 6.3% (10 cases) of unknown contexts. Amongst these, painted forms are more frequent (90.6%-144 cases) than stamped (6.9%-11 cases), and combined painted-stamped ones (2.5%-4 cases). Of the entire 159 instances, 82 (51.6%) were on fine fabrics, 76 (47.8%) on ordinary and only 1 (.6%) on coarse fabrics (Table 18). The main objects with associated 'ankh-sign forms, as Table 17 manifests, are jars (41.5%-66 cases), cups (33.3%-53 cases), bowls (10.1%-16 cases), jugs (8.2%-13 cases), bottles (4.4%-7 cases) and others (2.5%-4 cases).

Table 27 demonstrates the religious motifs with which the 'ankh-sign is found in dual combination. These motifs are:

### 2.2.1. The lotus-flower

This is the most frequent motif amongst the motifs occurring in dual combination with the 'ankh-sign (Table 27). Their association represents about 58.5% (93 cases) of the total (295 cases).

### 2.2.2. The serpent

The serpent ranks second to the lotus-flower, amongst the religious motifs occurring in combination with the 'ankh-sign. It appears in association with the 'ankh-sign, and only in paint, in 10 cases (Table 20). Nine of these cases were found in the North, whereas only one was from the South (Table 28). Cases from the North came from cemeteries (Table 16) and mainly from Karanog, Qustul and Ballana.

The first example of such 'ankh-serpent association is on a cylindrical jar from Ballana, with a band of standing coiled uraei (Fig. 3, b-14). Each uraeus has an 'ankh-sign dangling from its mouth (Williams, 1991: 283, 205, Fig. 222h, 8c). The second example is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 49: 8168), being on a jug decorated in red and black paint on a light ground (Fig. 3, b-15). A band of winged and standing cobras are shown, spitting streams of 'ankh-signs. The third example, also from Karanog Cemetery, is of a bottle, with a serpent painted in black lines, spotted and undulating, with three 'ankh-signs dangling from its mouth (Woolley and MacIver, Pl. 41: 8183).

It is known in Egyptian religion that serpents are connected with creation, resurrection and sun-worship. The winged form of the cobra, in the second example, may signify protection, while the streams of 'ankh-signs clearly portray the cobra as a donor of life. Such cobras are also associated with the sun-god and

the sun-god's delegate on earth, the kings, the cobras protected both god and king from evil and punished their enemies.

Alongside their association with one another, the serpent and the '*ankh*-sign occur with other motifs (Table 27), that have more or less the same religious significance, such as the lotus-flower (4 cases) and the sun-disk (3 cases). An example of such combinations painted on the outside of a jar from Nag Gamus (Fig. 3, c-19), showing details of a meandering serpent, spitting three '*ankh*-signs. On top of this formation lotuses are represented by a band of evenly arranged crescents (Almagro, 1965: 34, Fig. 13).

Table 27 indicates that the same '*ankh*-serpent-lotus combination may be accompanied with either one of the following rare instances; namely (1) the ibis and (2) the sun disk-lion.

### 2.2.3. The *Sa*-knot

According to Table 27, '*ankh*-signs turn out in dual association with the *Sa*-knot in seven instances. It is a northern phenomenon (Table 28) and found only in cemeteries (Table 16), and painted (Table 20), mostly on jars and cups (Table 17) of ordinary and fine fabrics (Table 18).

The first example of such dual combination, is the one on a jar from the cemetery of Karanog (Fig. 3, b-16), painted in purple and red on a light ground. The scene is made of two detailed and elaborate winged *Sa* with two winged '*ankh*-signs, at regular intervals (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 53: 8158). The second example is from Ballana (Williams, 1991: 363, Fig. 199a), being a band of interconnected *Sa*-knots painted on a cup-sherd. Each *Sa*-knot is depicted with an '*ankh*-sign at the top and the base.

The *Sa* was a symbol of magical protection. Hence, its association with the '*ankh*-sign may imply life prolonged with protection.

The '*ankh*-sign and the *Sa*-knot, as Table 27 displays, take place in triple association with the lotus-flower in four cases, from the North. Two instances can be cited as examples. The first example is on a globular jar from the cemetery of Matuga, in which is painted an '*ankh*-sign, on the calyx of an open elaborate lotus-flower (Pl. 28, Fig. 3, d-9). The lotus has side buds attached to a *Sa*-knot. A similar representation is noted on a cylindrical jar from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 96: 8551; Fig. 3, d-11). The second example is from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XLV-5). It shows a globular jar painted with a band of an elaborate lotus-flower with side buds, and a winged *Sa*-knot (Fig. 3, d-10). A horizontal '*ankh*-sign is drawn on the base of the calyx of the lotus-flower (Pls. 25, 26).

As Table 27 exhibits, the '*ankh*-*Sa* association recurs once with the frog. Both the frog and the '*ankh* have the connotations of birth and life, while the *Sa* is of protection.

#### 2.2.4. The frog

Table 27 demonstrates that the '*ankh*-sign occurs in dual association with the frog in six instances, of which four are from the North and the remaining two are from the South (Table 28). All four instances are painted (Table 20), on jars mainly (Table 17).

The first example, from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 60: 8205), is of a globular jar painted in black lines, with four seated frogs, each with a floral '*ankh* dangling from its mouth (Fig. 3, b-17). The frogs are

drawn in detail, showing body marks, eyes, and collars on the necks. The second example, from the same site (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 66: 8238), shows a row of four seated frogs, each alternating with a winged 'ankh-sign at regular intervals (Fig. 3, b-18). The third example, from Meroe Town (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51d), is of a jar-sherd decorated in paint with a seated frog, and a floral 'ankh dangling from its mouth (Fig. 3, b-20). The frog is also drawn in detail, again with body marks, eyes, mouth, spots and a collar on the neck. A similar formation is also noted on a bowl-sherd from Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, b-19).

As Table 27 shows, both the 'ankh and the frog appear in triple association with the lotus-flower in five instances. One example of such combination, is represented on a cylindrical jar from Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 205, Fig. 8d, Fig. 201a). It shows a frog with a human head grasping a leafy lotus stem, attached to an open lotus with side buds from which emerges a floral 'ankh. More examples, are those of Semna South (Zabkar and Zabkar, 1982: 436) and Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pl. L-12) cemeteries. That of Semna South is on the surface of a bottle, being in black lines on a pink ground (Pl. 33, Fig. 3, h-5). It shows a band of detailed seated frogs, each with a collar on the neck, holding a floral 'ankh. This scene is attached to the top band of interconnected horizontal lotus flowers. The representation of Faras Cemetery shows a cup painted with a band of seated frogs, each grasping a leafy lotus stem ending with an 'ankh (Fig. 3, h-6). A further example from Sedeinga Cemetery (Leclant, 1982, Fig. 56) has been passed by when discussing the lotus-flower (Fig. 3, h-7).

The above association of the lotus, 'ankh and the frog is understandable, due to their link with life, creation and re-creation.

Besides the lotus, the serpent and the frog, the '*ankh*' is found thrice in dual association with *Hathor*, twice with each of the palm-branch, the demon, and once with each of the ordinary eye, the crocodile, the offering-table, the ibis, and the sun-disk (Table 27).

Furthermore, as Table 27 shows, the '*ankh*'-sign occurs in more complex religious association with one or more religious motifs only once with each of the following combinations:

1. Frog-offering table-*Hathor*.
2. Frog-ibis.
3. *Sa*-frog.
4. *Sa*-demon.
5. Sun disk-*Khepri*.

### 3- The serpent

This is the third most recurrent religious motif on the pottery in question. It turns out in 120 cases (10.9% of the total percentages of frequencies of motifs) in both single and associated forms (Table 27). About 51.7% (62 cases) of its forms were found in the North, whereas 48.3% (58 cases) were noted so far in the South (Table 28). Around 47.5% (57 cases) of the serpent representations were found in cemeteries, also 47.5% (57 cases) in residential areas and 5% (6 cases) were of unknown contexts (Table 16). Table 20 indicates that 53.3% (64 cases) were stamped, 45% (54 cases) painted and only 1.7% (2 cases) decorated in combined painted-stamped representations. The forms of the serpents, as Table 17 shows, were found mainly on cups (40%-48 cases), bowls (26.7%-32 cases), jars (23.3%-28 cases), jugs (4.2%-5 cases), bottles (2.5%-3 cases), plates (1.7%-2 cases) and others (.8%-1 case). Of the entire 120 cases, 84 (70%) were on fine fabrics, 35 (29.2%) on ordinary and only one (.8%) on coarse fabric (Table 18).

### 3.1. Single forms

The serpent appears in single forms in 43.3% (52 cases). It is therefore, less frequent than in associated forms (Table 27). Both single and associated forms are known in the North and the South. Table 28 shows how the distribution of instances is equal in both areas, being 50% of the total in each of them. Table 16 indicates that 27 cases of the single forms were found in residential areas, 23 being from cemeteries, while two were of unknown contexts. Of these single forms, 32 cases (61.5%) were stamped whereas the remaining 20 cases (38.5%) were painted (Table 20). Most of the objects bearing single serpent forms were of fine fabrics (42 cases-8%, Table 18)), while only a small portion is of ordinary fabrics (10 cases - 19.2%).

Whether stamped or painted, the forms of the serpent were applied as bands, mainly on cups (42.3%-22 cases), bowls (36.5%-19 cases) and jars (15.4%-8 cases, Table 17). The stamped forms are usually, of hooded uraei, standing laterally, sometimes with striated bodies. In many cases they are coiled, and in rare cases crowned with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt (e.g. Fig. 3, c-5) or the Double Crown (white and red) of the Two Lands. Examples of these stamped forms are from the South, from Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 123, Fig. 5, 3f, g, h, I; Pls. 46, 48-3), and Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, c-6).

Painted forms of the serpents are usually of detailed bodies, lined and spotted. In general, they are laterally or vertically standing. In rare cases are they crowned with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. In some cases, serpents are drawn meandering, with detail of eyes and bodies. All these are usually applied on the outside surfaces and in very rare cases are they on the interior surfaces. The latter is on plates.



The first instance to be cited is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 59: 8199), on a globular jar decorated with a band of white and black hooded uraei. Each uraeus is standing vertically, with the eyes and horns detailed (Fig. 3, c-1). The second instance is from Meroe Town (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 5 1f). It is delineated in detail in the form of a standing uraeus with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt (Pl. 16, Fig. 3, c-14). The third instance is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 63: 8224), on a globular jar decorated with two detailed meandering serpents, in black lines on white ground (Fig. 3, c-3). The fourth instance, from the same site (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 51: 8472) on a cup, decorated with a band of laterally standing uraei in black lines, red filling on a pink ground (Fig. 3, c-2).

### 3.2. Associated forms

The serpents turn up in associated forms more often (56.7%-68 cases) than in single forms. According to Table 27, they repeatedly occur in association with several motifs, of which the most important are the following:

#### 3.2.1. The sun-disk

The sun-disk is one of the motifs with which the serpent is found in dual association. It is noted in 36 cases, of which 29 are from the South (Table 28). As Table 16 indicates, 75% (27 cases) of the instances were found in residential areas, also 19.4% (7 cases) in cemeteries and 5.6% (2 cases) were of unknown contexts. Table 20 displays that 86.1% (31 cases) were stamped and the remaining were painted (13.9%-5 cases).

Stamped forms, usually are of standing hooded uraei with sun-disks on their heads. In rare cases, are they coiled or winged with sun-disks also, and in rarer cases, is the sun-disk flanked two uraei. Examples of combined forms of uraei and

disks are from Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 123, Fig. 53c, e, j, k, m; Fig. 3, c-8, Pl. 17, c-13, c-14, c-15, c-16, c-17, Pl. 45-2), Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, c-12) and Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 88: 8672; Fig. 3, c-18). The many instances of Meroe are formed of bands stamped on cups and bowls.

On the other hand, the painted forms of the above combination regularly take the form of rearing uraei with sun-disks on their heads indicating that they represent uraei protecting the sun-god and punishing the enemies. An example of such forms is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 67: 8250). The scene is on a globular jar decorated with two bands of uraei in a dark red line and white filling (Fig. 3, c-10). Each uraeus is crowned with a sun-disk. The second example to be cited, is from Missiminia Cemetery (Vila, 1982: 166, 171/1). The representation is made on a cylindrical fine cup, decorated with a band of four winged uraei, each with a sun-disk on its head (Pl. 15; Fig. 3, c-7). The third example is from Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51e). It is on a sherd with a rearing uraeus, in black lines and brown filling, crowned with the sun-disk (Fig. 3, c-8). Further two sherds, possibly of a one vessel, from the same site (Garstang's collection at the Liverpool University Museum), are decorated with bands of rearing uraei with sun-disks on their heads (Fig. 3, c-9).

The combination of sun-disks with uraei or cobras may be due to the connection of the cobra with sun-worship. In the instances of association, the forms of the snake are often cobras. Therefore, here reference may be to the cobra goddess *Wadjet*, the tutelary deity of Lower Egypt and the King's protector. As Abelgadir M. Abdalla pointed out to me personally, the uraeus on the King's forehead, as Egyptian written sources state, is the power that destroys the King's enemies (De Buck, 1963: 54 line 9, Thuthmosis III's so called Poetical Stela). In

rare cases where the sun-disk is flanked by a cobra, the scene may refer to the sun-god *Re* with the cobras acting as protectors.

### 3.2.2. The 'ankh-sign

This is the second commonest motif in association with the serpent (Table 27). The rate of incidence and examples of the association and its meaning have already passed by in this Chapter, when discussing the 'ankh-sign.

### 3.2.3. The lotus-flower

According to Table 27, this is the third most recurrent motif appearing in dual combination with the serpent. The rate of incidences, examples of the association and its meaning have already been cited in this Chapter, when discussing the lotus-flower.

Furthermore, it is noticed that the serpent appears in dual combination once with each of the *Sa*-knot, and the demon (Table 27). It also appears in triple association once with *Bes* and the scorpion.

## 4. The *Sa*-knot (tie)

This is the fourth most repeated religious motif on the studied pottery. It represents about 7% (77 cases) of the total religious motifs (Table 43, Cht. 22). About 67.5% (52 cases) of its forms were noted in the North, while 32.5% (25 cases) were obtained from the South (Table 44), more being from cemeteries (64.9%, 50 cases) than residential areas (31.2%, 24 cases, Table 45). Table 46 shows that the *Sa*-knot appears more frequently in paint (77.9%, 60 cases) whereas it occurs in lesser frequency in stamped (18.2%, 14 cases) and combined painted-stamped forms (3.9%, 3 cases). One notes that the stamped forms are abstract, regular and of limited varieties, whereas the painted are more varying, including

beside the regular forms, interconnected, winged, geometric and other infrequent *Sa*-knot types (Table 46). The main objects with the *Sa* - knot decoration were cups (49.4%, 38 cases), jars (26%, 20 cases) and bowls (15.6%, 12 cases, Table 49). Of such objects the majority were of fine fabrics (68.8%, 53 cases), while others were of ordinary (28.6%, 22 cases) and coarse (2.6%, 2 cases, Table 48).

#### 4.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, d-4 to d-8)

According to Table 47, single forms represent about 62.3% (48 cases) of the entire incidences of the *Sa*-knots. Most of the forms are regular (52.1%, 25 cases), whereas the others are interconnected (20.8%, 10 cases), winged (18.8%, 9 cases) and geometric (8.3%, 4 cases, Table 47). Around 56.3% (27 cases) of the single forms were found in the North while 43.8% (21 cases) were noted in the South (Table 28). Of the entire incidences 54.2% (26 cases) were found in cemeteries, 39.6% (19 cases) in residential areas and 6.3% (3 cases) were of unknown contexts (Table 16). The painted forms are overwhelming for they represent around 72.9% (25 cases), while the stamped represent about 27.1% (13 cases, Table 20). The single *Sa*-knot was found mainly on cups (58.3%, 28 cases), bowls (22.9%, 11 cases) and jars (12.5%; 6 cases, Table 17). A large proportion of these vessels are fine (87.5%, 42 cases), while the rest are of ordinary fabrics (12.5%, 6 cases, Table 18).

Adams presented several examples of painted forms of single *Sa*- knot from Meroitic North (1986: 275, Fig. 127, I-1 to I-5 and I-10 to I-18). Single painted forms were also found in the South in Meroe (Pl. 22, Fig. 3, d-4, Pls. 23, 48-2) and Wad Ban Naga (Pl. 21). Single stamped forms were noted in the North e.g. in cemetery of Semna South (Pl. 24, Fig. 3, d-8) and in the South in Meroe Town e.g. (Pl. 47, 1, Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 124, Fig. 54, h, I).

#### 4.2. Associated forms (Pls. 25, 26, 28, Fig. 3, d-9 to d-11)

These, as Table 47 shows, are lesser in recurrence than single forms (37.7%, 29 cases). The list of incidence of religious motifs (Table 27) indicated that the *Sa*-knot turns out in associated forms with one or more of the following religious motifs:

1. The lotus-flower (8 cases).
2. The '*ankh*-sign (7 cases).
3. The '*ankh*-sign - lotus (3 cases).
4. The lotus-*wedjat* eye (2 cases).

Examples of such association and its religious connotations have passed by in this Chapter when discussing the lotus and the '*ankh*-sign.

Table 27 shows that the *Sa*-knot appears in dual association, only once with each of the following:

1. The *wedjat*-eye.
2. The baboon.
3. The crocodile.
4. The serpent.
5. The ordinary eye.

Furthermore, statistical data (Table 27) indicates that the *Sa*-knot appears once in combination with each of the following associated religious motifs:

1. '*Ankh* sign-demon.
2. '*Ankh* sign-frog.
3. Lotus flower-serpent.
4. Lotus flower-'*ankh* sign-demon.

## 5. The sun-disk.

According to Table 27, this is the fifth most recurrent religious motif in the sample of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery under discussion. Its total incidences is 46 cases, obtained from the South (31 cases) and Meroitic North (15 cases, Table 28). About 27 cases were found in residential areas, whereas 15 cases were noted so far in cemeteries, and four instances were of unknown contexts (Table 16). Most of the incidences are stamped (32 cases), whereas the remaining are painted (13 cases) or combined painted-stamped (1 case only, Table 20). The main objects were mainly cups (22 cases), bowls (13 cases) and jars (9 cases, Table 17), being mostly of fine fabrics, (37 cases), while the rest is of ordinary fabrics (Table 18).

Single forms of sun-disk have not yet been noted in the pottery sample under study. Thus, it seems that the sun-disk usually occurs in associated forms.

### 5.1. Associated forms

Table 22 displays that the sun-disk occurs in combination with the following religious motifs:

#### 5.1.1. The Serpent

As Table 27 shows, the sun-disk is the most frequent motif occurring in dual combination with the serpent (36 cases). Examples of such associations and its religious significance have been discussed in this Chapter in the section of the serpent.

#### 5.1.2. The Serpent-lotus

It was noted that the sun-disk appears in triple combination with the serpent-lotus in three instances in cemeteries of the North (Tables 16, 28). An example to

be cited, is from the cemetery of Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991: 441, Fig. 290 b). The representation shows a fine cup decorated with two stamped bands. The top one, is of uraei crowned with sun-disks while the lower band is of lotus rosettes. Such an example indicates the link of the sun-disk (possibly Re) with life, birth (lotus), protection and rebirth (uraeus).

#### 5.1.3. The Serpent-lotus-*'ankh*

As evident in the data (Table 27), the sun-disk-serpent- lotus is linked with the *'ankh*-sign in a quadruple association, in three instances. Examples of such combination and its religious significance has been stated in this Chapter when discussing the lotus-flower.

#### 5.1.4. Infrequent combinations

Furthermore, Table 27 shows, that the sun-disk recurs only once with one or more of the following religious motifs:

1. The *'ankh*-sign.
2. The *'ankh* sign-*Khepri*.
3. The *'ankh* sign-serpent-lotus flower-lion.
4. The lotus flower-frog-*wedjat* eye.

An example of such infrequent instances of religious combination can be cited from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 80: 40219). The scene shows a lekythos decorated with a painted winged sun- disk which is depicted shedding its rays possibly towards the earth, each ray terminating in an *'ankh*. The sun-disk possibly symbolises god Aten who is usually represented holding the *'ankh*-sign. Thus, this representation seems to signify Aten as a donor of rays of life or possibly as life creator.

## 6. The *wedjat*-eye

As apparent in the list of frequencies of motifs (Table 27), this is the sixth most frequent religious motif in the pottery assemblage studied. Its entire instances are 34. Table 28 shows how the distribution of these instances is equal in both North and South, being 50% of the total in each of them.

### 6.1. Single forms (Pl. 29; Fig. 3, f-1 to f-4)

According to demonstration of Table 27, the single forms are overwhelming for they represent about 76.5% (26 cases) of the total *wedjat*-eye forms. They were found in both North (14 cases) and South (12 cases; Table 28), being from cemeteries in the North, and residential areas in the South (Table 16). Single *wedjat*-eye forms appear more frequently in paint (Table 20), where they represent around 84.6% (22 cases), while its stamped forms represent 15.4% (4 cases). These rare stamped forms were noted, so far, only in the South. Both painted and stamped *wedjat*-eye forms are of limited varieties and styles. They turn up either in pairs or single repeated forms. They are more repeatedly accompanied with markings of papyrus staff. The single *wedjat*-eye was found mainly on jars (38.5%, 10 cases), bowls (26.9%, 7 cases) and cups (23.1%, 6 cases, Table 17). Most of these objects were of fine (50%, 13 cases) and ordinary (50%, 13 cases) fabrics (Table 18).

Adams presented several examples of painted single *wedjat*-eye forms from Meroitic North (1986: 283, Fig. 135, y4, y5). A further example to be cited, is from Faras Cemetery (Pl. 29, Fig. 3, f-1; Griffith, 1924, Pl. XVIII, VIIf). The scene shows a globular jar decorated with two painted pairs of *wedjat*-eye (left and right). Each eye is accompanied with papyrus staff markings.

For examples of painted single forms in the South, one can cite an incidence from Kawa (Fig. 3, f-2) and a further one from Meroe (Fig. 3, f-3). That of Kawa shows a jar-sherd decorated with two bands of *wedjat*-eyes. Each band is made of two pairs (left and right) of *wedjat*-eyes. The incidence of Meroe, on the other hand shows a sherd decorated with a band of repeated single *wedjat*-eyes (Garstang, 1911, Pl. L1, Fig. 3, f-3).

Single stamped forms were noted so far only in Meroe Town in Garstang's collection at Liverpool University Museum and in Zach's (1988: 133) and Shinnie-Bradley's publications (1980: 124, Fig. 54, g). The latter incidence shows a band of stamped *wedjat*-eyes, each is provided with a brow and a papyrus staff marking (Fig. 3, f-4).

## 6.2. Associated forms

As evident in the statistics, the associated *wedjat*-eye forms appear in Meroitic North and South (Table 28) only in paint (Table 20), in pairs or dispersed. The entire instances of these associated forms are eight only (Table 27). The religious motifs found in combination with the *wedjat*-eye are as follows:

### 6.2.1. The lotus-flower

As Table 27 indicates, the *wedjat*-eye is found in dual combination with the lotus-flower in two instances. An example of such combination is shown on a cup rim-sherd from Meroe (Garstang, 1911, Pl. L.1; Fig. 3, f-5). The formation shows a band of repeated *wedjat*-eye, each with its papyrus staff, located in a circular panel. Each *wedjat*-eye is separated from the other by wrapped lotuses, at regular intervals. This dual combination may imply life prolonged with protection, for the *wedjat*-eye is known as a popular symbol of protection against the evil eye and as a

symbol of the power of the god of light, while the lotus refers to life and birth, for it came out of the primordial waters at creation.

#### 6.2.2. The lotus-*Sa* knot

In two occurrences, the *wedjat* eye-lotus combine with the *Sa*-knot, thus forming triple associations (Table 27). These two instances of *wedjat* eye-lotus seem to put more emphasis of protection for life. The lotus denotes life, whereas the *wedjat*-eye and the *Sa*-knot are protective amulets.

An example to be cited, is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 48: 8309). The representation shows a globular jar on a stand, decorated on the top band with two pairs of *wedjat*-eyes, separated at regular intervals with *Sa*-knots (Fig.3, f-6). This scene is attached to a lower band of an elaborate lotus-flower pattern. All are drawn in black lines, with red filling, on pink ground. This same concept of triple combination of *wedjat* eye-lotus-*Sa* is represented on a bowl from the same site (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 78: 8457, Fig. 3, f-7).

As statistical data manifests (Table 27), the *wedjat* eye-lotus combination appears with other religious motifs. These additional motif are as follows:

1. The 'ankh-sign (1 case)
2. The *djed* pillar (1 case)
3. The frog-sun disk (1 case)

As notable in the data (Table 27), these extended religious associations are more or less infrequent.

## 7. *Hathor*

As statistical tables show, *Hathor* appears in 33 instances in the pottery assemblage under study. Of the entire incidences of *Hathor*, 19 were found in the South, while the remaining were found in the North (Table 28). Around 18 cases of *Hathor*'s representations were found residential areas, whereas the rest were found in tombs (Table 16). The painted forms are the most frequent for they occur in 21 cases, while the stamped represent 11 cases, and the combined painted-stamped represent only one case (Table 20). *Hathor*'s representations were found mainly on jars (10 cases), cups (10 cases) and bowls (9 cases, Table 17) of fine (24 cases) and ordinary fabrics (9 cases, Table 18).

### 7.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, I-1 to I-3)

*Hathor* was found in single forms in seven instances (Table 27). Five of these single forms were painted while the rest are stamped (Table 20).

In single painted representations, *Hathor* is usually delineated in a female human form with curls, collars and a sun-disk between two horns. An example of such representation can be cited from Shablul Cemetery (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 25 : 5, Fig. 3, I-1). The formation shows a cup-sherd decorated with a *Hathor*'s face, with her curls and collars. A similar representation is depicted on a jar sherd from the cemetery of Argin (Catalan, 1963, Fig. 18-2). The depiction shows *Hathor* with her collars, curls and cow's ears.

Single stamped forms of *Hathor* are rare. In such cases, *Hathor* is drawn with a cow's head, or as an emblem in the shape of a cow's head with a sun-disk resting between the horns. An example to be cited, is from Meroe Townsite (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 125, Fig. 55g). The scene shows a cup sherd decorated

with at least two bands of stamped cow's heads with a sun-disk resting between each two horns.

## 7.2. Associated forms (Pls. 37, 38, 51-1, Fig. 3, I-4, I-5, J-K, e-1 to e 13)

These associated forms of *Hathor* or her emblem appear in 26 instances. Thus, they are more frequent than single forms (Table 27). Most of these instances were found in the South (17 cases) in residential areas (Table 216). Of their entire instances, painted forms are dominant for they represent 16 cases (Table 20).

As evident in the statistical tables (Table 27), *Hathor* appears in association with the following religious motifs:

### 7.2.1. The offering-table

As Table 27 displays, *Hathor's* emblem recurs in dual combination with the offering-table in 15 cases, mostly from the South (Table 28). Most of these representations are stamped (9 cases). An example of such stamped associated forms can be cited from Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, e-3 ). The formation shows two rims of a bowl decorated with a stamped band of a rectangular offering-table with a libation channel on one side and a sun-disk resting between each two horns (*Hathor* emblem), on the opposite site. Further examples from the same site are displayed in Figure 3, e-1, e-2 and e -4.

Like the stamped form, the painted combination of *Hathor*-offering table takes the form of a rectangular table with a libation channel on one side and a *Hathor's* emblem (horns and a sun-disk or horns only) on the opposite side. The first example of such combination is from Meroe (Pl. 51-1;Tomandl, 1987: 110, Pl. 2). The representation shows a fine eggshell cup decorated in red with a band of *Hathors'* emblems, attached to rectangular offering-tables. The second example

to be cited, is from Qustul and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 274, Fig. 97). The delineation shows a jar decorated with *Hathor's* emblem in combination with a rectangular offering-table. The third example is from Qasr Ibrim (Fig. 3, e-7). It shows a plate decorated on the interior with *Hathor's* emblem in combination with a winged rectangular offering-table. More examples from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 97: 9000) and Meroe Townsite are presented in Figure 3, e-5 and e-6 in this thesis.

These forms of *Hathor* emblems recurring in association with offering-tables are Meroitic-styled showing modification of Egyptian format by the Meroitic potters and or artists. The association was possibly intended to give deeper religious meanings.

#### 7.2.2. The offering table-lotus flower

Table 27 displays that *Hathor* appears in dual association with the lotus in only one instance, from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. L11-2). The formation shows a sherd, possibly of a jar, decorated with a *Hathor's* face with her curls, collars and cow's ears in combination with a lotus-flower pattern (Fig. 3, e-12).

As Table 27 shows, *Hathor*-lotus combination is found further with the offering-table in three instances. These three cases of triple association are from Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 117, Fig. 47d), Khor Um Heiden (Tomandl, 1987: 107-108), and Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 78: 8482). The incidence of Meroe (Fig. 3, e-8) is delineated on the interior surface of a plate-sherd. The formation shows a *Hathor's* emblem in association with a rectangular offering-table and a quatrefoil lotus rosette. The formation of Karanog is painted on a cup. It shows a band of *Hathors'* emblems in combination with offering-

tables, with a lotus rosette in the field of each rectangular offering-table (Fig. 3, e-9).

### 7.2.3. The 'ankh-sign

Table 27 indicates that *Hathor* appears in dual combination with the 'ankh-sign in three instances. The first example of such combination is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 99: 9020-f). The formation shows a jar-sherd decorated in paint with *Hathor* who is delineated as a female with her collar, curls and headdress (sun-disk resting between two horns). This pattern is represented in dual combination with 'ankh-signs (Fig. 3, g-2). The second example is from Meroe Townsite (Fig. 3, I-4). The representation is made on a rim-sherd of a bowl, being a stamped band of cows' heads with sun-disks resting between the horns. This scene is attached to vertical 'ankh-signs painted on the interior surface of the bowl.

As Table 27 shows, *Hathor*-*'ankh* combination is found further with other religious motifs such as the offering-table, and the frog. The first incidence is from Meroe Cemetery, tomb 502 (Garstang, 1911, Pl. XLVII). The formation is found on a shallow fine bowl decorated on the interior with a square offering-table with a channel on one side and a *Hathor's* emblem on the opposite side. This pattern is surrounded by vertical 'ankh-signs which are drawn at regular intervals (Fig. 3, e-10). The second incidence is from Sedeinga Cemetery (Leclant, 1982, Fig. 57). The scene shows a globular jar decorated in paint with a band of frogs alternating with offering-tables at regular intervals (Fig. 3, k). Each offering-table is provided with a *Hathor* emblem at a side. This scene is attached to a lower painted band of floral 'ankh-signs, leaves and rosettes.

As evident in the data, *Hathor* is found repeatedly in combination with offering-tables (Table 27). This relationship indicates that *Hathor* was possibly a popular goddess and therefore offerings were frequently made for her. Her sun-disk indicates an intimacy with sun-worship or the sun-god *Re*, and therefore she is sometimes associated with the lotus or the 'ankh-sign. *Hathor*'s link with the lotus symbolises its association with creation and birth, whereas its link with the 'ankh-signs implies its connection with life.

On the other hand, *Hathor* is found in dual combination with the *wedjat*-eye in only one instance. This incidence was found on a globular jar from Qustul and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 374, Fig. 212-b). The scene shows three *Hathor* faces, each of which alternates with a *wedjat*-eye. *Hathor*'s face is schematic showing the wide eyes, cow's ears and manes. They are devoid of noses and mouths (Fig. 3, I-5). This representation may symbolise the protective role of goddess *Hathor*. The *wedjat*-eye is known in ancient Egyptian mythology as a protective amulet, whereas *Hathor* is known as a goddess of many attributes. Her combination with the *wedjat*-eye seems to lay emphasis on her role as a protector.

### 8. The demon

As Table 28 indicates, the demons were found in 32 instances, of which 31 were obtained from the North, while only one was noted, so far, in the South in a tomb from Hag Ismail village (Fig. 3, q-4). Thus, demon is mainly a Northern Meroitic phenomenon. Around 31 of the entire instances were obtained from cemeteries, whereas only one was found in residential areas (Table 16). All representations of demons were painted mainly on jars (20 cases) and cups (7 cases, Table 17) of ordinary (23 cases) and fine fabrics (Table 18).

### 8.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, g-1)

As Table 27 shows single forms of demon occur in 12 instances, in the North (Table 28), being found mostly in tombs (11 cases, Table 16). The first example to be cited, is from Karanog Cemetery (MacIver and Woolley, 1910, Pl. 70: 8272). The representation shows a globular jar decorated with a band of four mouthless demons, with protruding ears. The second example from Qustul and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 257, Fig. 79-a; Fig. 3, g-1) is represented on a cup. It shows a band of demon's faces, mouthless, with protruding ears and long manes.

### 8.2. Associated forms (Pl. 36; Fig. 3, g-2 to g-5, q-4)

As statistical tables show (Table 27), associated forms of demons are more perpetual than single forms. They occurred in 20 instances in cemeteries, more repeatedly on objects from the North (19 cases) than those of the South (1 case). The demon was found to recur in combination more repeatedly with the following religious motifs:

#### 8.2.1. The lotus-flower

The demon was found appearing in combination with the lotus-flower in 11 instances (Table 28). In only one incidence this dual combination was found further with more religious motifs such as the crocodile. Examples of demon-lotus combination and its religious significance have already passed by in this Chapter, when discussing the lotus-flower.

#### 8.2.2. The 'ankh-sign

Demons were found in dual combination with the 'ankh-signs in two instances. This dual combination is found further with a religious motif such as the Sa-knot (Table 27). An example of such combination can be cited from Karanog

Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 99: 9020 d). The representation shows a jar-sherd decorated with demon heads and 'ankh-signs (Fig. 3, g-2). The demon heads have eyes, protruding ears but are mouthless and noseless. The exact meaning of such combination is not clear. Perhaps, it is connected with the role of demons as protectors. Hence, the combination was made seeking possibly for protected, harmless long life.

### 8.2.3. The 'ankh sign-lotus

In further two incidences, the demon-'ankh combination is found with the lotus (Table 27). The example of such triple combination and its religious significance has been dealt with in this Chapter, when discussing the lotus-flower.

As evident in the statistics, the demon was found to occur in dual combination only once with each of the serpent, the scorpion and *Bes* (Table 27).

## 9. The frog

As statistical data displays (Table 27), the frog occurs in 31 incidences, 24 of which were found in the North, whereas only seven were, so far, noted in the South (Table 28). Out of the total incidences of the frog 23 were found in cemeteries, while only eight were found in residential areas. Painted forms were overwhelming (27 cases), while the stamped ones were rare (4 cases, Table 20). These painted and stamped forms were found to turn up mainly on jars (16 cases) and cups (10 cases, Table 17) of ordinary (18 cases) and fine fabrics (13 cases, Table 18).

### 9.1. Single forms

Single forms of the frog were noted in nine instances (Table 27). Thus, they are lesser in frequency than associated forms (22 cases). Of these single forms, six

were found in the North, while the rest was found in the South. Six cases were painted, whereas the remaining were stamped (Table 20). Thus, single painted forms of the frog were more perpetual than the stamped ones. Furthermore, painted forms are more recurrent in the North than the South (Table 28).

Single painted forms of the frog tend to reflect detail of bodies and eyes. Some frogs are collared, whereas others are collarless. The first example to be cited, is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 57: 8188). The formation shows a globular jar decorated with a band of four sitting frogs. These frogs are drawn at regular intervals with details of bodies, eyes and collars (Fig. 3, h-1). The second example is from Nag Gamus cemetery (Almagro, 1965: 56, Fig. 29). The representation shows a cup-sherd decorated with a detailed standing frog (Fig. 3, h-2).

Single stamped forms of the frog lack details and this may have been imposed by the decoration techniques. The first example to be cited, is from Meroe Townsite (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 126, Fig. 56a). The formation shows a cup sherd decorated with at least three rows of stamped sitting frogs (Fig. 3, h-4). The second example is from Wad Ban Naga (Fig. 3, h-3). It shows two sherds of a cup decorated with a band of sitting frogs, with detail of eyes and collars on the necks.

## 9.2. Associated forms

As Table 27 demonstrates, associated forms (22 cases) of the frog are more recurrent than single forms (9 cases). Of the entire instances of associated frog forms, 18 were found in the North, whereas the rest (3) were noted in the South (Table 28). The overwhelming cases (21) were painted, while only one was stamped (Table 20, Fig. 3, h-9).

Below, are the religious motifs with which the frog is found in association:

### 9.2.1. The '*ankh*-sign

As evident in the data, the frog appears in dual combination with the '*ankh*-sign in six instances (Table 27). All are painted (Table 20), mostly on jars (Table 17). Examples of such combination and its religious connotation have been dealt with in this Chapter when discussing the '*ankh*-sign.

As Table 27 indicates, the frog-'*ankh* combination recurs only once with other religious motifs. These additional motifs are:

1. The *Sa*-knot
2. The ibis
3. The offering table-*Hathor* emblem

### 9.2.2. The lotus-flower

The frog turns out in dual combination with the lotus-flower in six instances (Table 27). All these cases were found in cemeteries of the North (Tables 16, 28). Examples of such combination and its religious significance have already passed by in this Chapter, when discussing the lotus-flowers. As Table 27 indicates, the frog-lotus combination occurs only once with other religious motifs such as the sun disk-*wedjat* eye, thus forming a quadruple association. Such incidence was found on a cylindrical jar from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XLVI, 10). The scene shows a painted band of two pairs of *wedjat*-eyes (left and right). This formation is attached to a lower painted band of frogs with a sun-disk on its head grasping a clump of lotus buds. In this combination, the *wedjat*-eye and sun-disk may symbolise protection, whereas the lotus buds and the frog are associated with life and resurrection. Hence, the combination was made possibly seeking for protection of life in birth and resurrection. Furthermore, the sun-disk on the head of each frog indicates that the frog was possibly goddess *Hkt* and the clump of lotus

buds may symbolise her as a donor of life, while the *wedjat*-eye act as protective symbol.

#### 9.2.3. The lotus flower- ' *ankh* sign

As Table 27 displays, the frog was found in triple association with the lotus-flower and ' *ankh*-sign in five cases, from the cemeteries (Table 16). Of these cases, 4 cases were painted and only one was stamped (Table 20). Examples of such combination and its religious significance have been dealt with in this Chapter when discussing the lotus-flower and ' *ankh*-sign.

#### 9.2.4. The baboon

As Table 27 shows, the frog was found in dual association with the baboon in one incidence from Meroe Townsite (Pls. 53, 53 , Fig. 3, S-2). Detail of this incidence and its religious significance will pass by in this Chapter when discussing the baboon.

### 10. The crocodile

The religious motif of the crocodile appears in 23 instances of the total religious motifs in the pottery assemblage in question (Table 27). Of the entire incidences of crocodiles, 21 were found in the North, while only two were noted so far in the South (Table 28). The majority of the cases were obtained from cemeteries (21 cases, Table 16). All the representations of crocodiles were painted (Table 20) mainly on jars and cups (Table 17).

#### 10.1. Single forms

Single forms of the crocodile represent the majority as they were found in 18 incidences (Table 27), 17 being in the North, whereas only one was found in the South (Table 28). An example of such single forms can be cited from Karanog

Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 50: 8453). The formation shows a cup decorated with a band of three crocodiles with detail of bodies, eyes, legs and tails (Fig. 3, j-3). The second example is from Kerma Cemetery (Reisner, 1923: 44, Fig. 36). The scene displays a band of three crocodiles on a shoulder of jar. The formation is also drawn in detail. Further examples of single forms of the crocodile are presented in Figure 3, j-1 and j-2.

## 10.2. Associated forms

Forms of the crocodile appearing in association with other religious motifs, are less frequent than single forms. They were found in five instances (Table 27). The most important religious motifs appearing in combination with the crocodile are the following:

### 10.2.1. The lotus-flower

The lotus-flower was found in dual combination with the crocodile in three instances. An example to be cited, is from Kerma Cemetery (Reisner, 1923: 44, Fig. 37). The scene shows a jar-sherd decorated with a band of two crocodiles. Each crocodile is delineated in detail, with growing lotus buds on its body. The combination may be due to the link of both the lotus and the crocodile with water, the source of creation and life. The crocodile was regarded in Egyptian mythology as the god of water and the Nile issued from his sweat.

### 10.2.2. Infrequent associations

As noted before in this Chapter in the discussion of the lotus, the combination crocodile-lotus is found further with the demon (Table 27), in one instance. In a further instance from the cemetery of Argin (Catalan, 1963: 78, Fig. 10-1) the crocodile was found in dual combination with the *Sa*- knot (Table 27). The formation shows a globular jar decorated with a band of a crocodile and a

horizontal *Sa*-knot (Fig. 3, j-5). This combination indicates that the crocodile may possibly represent or refer to, the ancient Egyptian god *Sebek* (*Suchos*), which was believed to have a protective role. The *Sa*-knot, in this combination lays more emphasis on protection.

## 11. The offering-table

As tables of statistics indicate, this religious motif is noticeable in 22 incidences, mostly from the South (16 cases, Table 28). Of the entire incidences of offering-tables, 13 were painted, whereas the rest are stamped (Table 20). All the stamped forms are from the South. Thus, the stamped offering-tables is a Southern Meroitic phenomenon.

Both the painted and stamped forms found, so far, are associated. Single forms have not been noted yet in the pottery assemblage under consideration.

### 11.1. Associated forms

As noted above, all the entire instances of the offering-table are associated. The religious motifs occurring in association with the offering-table are as follows:

#### 11.1.1. *Hathor*

The offering-table appears in dual combination with *Hathor* emblem in 15 instances, 12 of which are from the South (Table 28). Of the entire incidences of the combination offering table-*Hathor*, nine are stamped, whereas the rest are painted (Table 20). Examples of such association and its religious significance have already passed by in this Chapter when discussing *Hathor*.

### 11.1.2. Lotus flower-*Hathor*

As evident in the statistics, the dual combination offering table- *Hathor* recurs further with the lotus-flower in three instances and thus forming a triple combination. Examples of such association and its religious significance have already been discussed in this Chapter in the sector of *Hathor*.

### 11.1.3. Infrequent associations

As Table 27 indicates, the offering-table appears in painted form only once in dual combination with the 'ankh-signs. The combination offering table-'ankh is found further with other religious motifs such as *Hathor*, and *Hathor*-frog. As evident in the tables of statistics, the offering-tables appears only once in triple combination with the altar and the ibis. These instances, and their religious significance have been discussed in this Chapter in the section of the altar.

## 12. The palm-branch

The palm-branch appears in the pottery assemblage in question, in 14 instances in sites of the North (Table 28). So, palm-branch is a Northern phenomenon. All the occurrences are painted on exterior surfaces Table 27).

### 12.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, b2)

Single forms of the palm-branch were found in eight instances and hence, they are more recurrent than associated forms (Table 27). The representation were found mainly on jars and cups (Table 17) obtained mostly from cemeteries (Table 16).

Adams presented some examples of such single forms (1986: 289, Fig. 141 r 3 to r 6). A further example can be cited from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 56: 8185). The representation is made of a band of painted

vertical palm branches, each in a semicircular panel, on the exterior surface of a jar (Fig. 3, L2). A further example is represented on a two handled cylindrical jar from the same site (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 59: 8203).

## 12.2. Associated forms

The association of the palm branch with other religious motifs is confined, so far, only to the lotus-flower and 'ankh-sign.

### 12.2.1. The lotus-flower

The palm-branch appears in dual combination with the lotus- flower in three incidences from cemeteries (Table 16). Examples of such combinations and its religious significance have passed by in this Chapter when discussing the lotus-flower.

### 12.2.2. The 'ankh-sign

As evident in Table 16, the palm-branch appears in dual combination with the 'ankh-sign in two occurrences from cemeteries. The combination may be due to the close link of 'ankh-sign and the palm-branch with life. The date palm was known in ancient Egyptian mythology as a tree of life and it is therefore sometimes in association with the 'ankh-sign, the lotus-flower or both. An example of such dual combination is from Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991: 224, Fig. 34f, 195c). The representation shows a cylindrical jar decorated with a palm-branch and a winged 'ankh-sign (Fig. 3, L1).

### 12.2.3. The lotus flower-the 'ankh sign

Table 27 indicates that the palm branch turns up in triple association with the 'ankh-sign and the lotus-flower in one incidence. This is found on a lekythos from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 48: 8314). The

representation shows a painted stylised palm branches in association with a lotus-flower pattern and a winged 'ankh-sign.

### 13. The ordinary eye

This religious motif appears in nine cases mostly from cemeteries of the North (8 cases, Table 28). All the incidences are painted (Table 20).

#### 13.1. Single forms (Fig. 3, m-1 to m-3)

These represent the majority of the ordinary eye forms for they appear in seven occurrences (Table 27) mainly in cemeteries (Table 16). The form of each is usually accompanied with a brow. In some instances, they appear in pairs (left and right, Fig. 3, m-1ý). In two cases, they were represented in leaf shape forms (Fig. 3, m-3). Adams presented some examples of such single forms from Lower Nubian sites (1986: 283, Fig. 135, y-1, y-2, y-3). A further example to be cited, is from Qustul and Ballana (Williams, 1991: 280, Fig. 105, b). The representation shows a fine cup decorated with two rows of ordinary eyes (Fig. 3, m-2). Each eye is accompanied by a brow. An additional example can be quoted from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 85: 8645) where a cup is decorated with two bands of ordinary eyes. Each eye is provided with a brow (Fig. 3, m-1).

#### 13.2. Associated forms

The ordinary eye appears in combination with other religious motifs in two instances (Table 27). These occurrences are as follows:

##### 13.2.1. The 'ankh-sign

This dual combination of ordinary eye-'ankh is represented as a human face on the interior surface of a flat plate from Meroe Townsite (Pl. 52, University of Liverpool, Catalogue no. E8346). The scene shows a winged 'ankh-sign in

combination with a pair of eyes. The formation may indicate that the '*ankh*-sign represents the nose through which the breath of life enters (air), whereas the eyes were possibly acting as protecting amulets or providing the visibility in life on earth and the netherworld.

### 13.2.2. The *Sa*-knot

This appears in one incidence on a pottery casket from Faras Cemetery (Pls. 31-32, Khartoum Museum no. 728). The casket is decorated on two sides by *Sa*-knots in dark red lines and white and light red filling on black ground. The pair of ordinary eyes is drawn on one side of the lid. The combination of the *Sa*-ordinary eyes on this funerary box may have a religious connotation but its exact meaning is unknown. The combination was possibly made on the casket for protective purposes for the deceased in his netherworld life.

## 14. *Bes*

This religious motif was found in eight instances on the pottery assemblage under study (Table 27). Of the total occurrences, seven were found in cemeteries of the North (Tables 16, 28). Thus, *Bes* seems to be a Northern feature. All representations found, so far, were painted on exterior surfaces of jars and cups (Table 17).

### 14.1. Single forms

Single forms of *Bes* appear in five incidences (Table 27). The first example of such single forms can be cited from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 62: 8220). The formation shows a jar decorated with standing *Bes* and *Beset* in black lines, white filling and red ground (Fig. 3, n-1). The figures are drawn in detail with tails and deformed legs. The second example is from Qustul

and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 44, Fig. 6a, Pl. 24a). The scene shows a jar-sherd decorated with a lateral face of *Bes* with huge lips and pointed head.

#### 14.2. Associated forms

As data shows, *Bes* form appears in three occurrences in dual combination with each of the following religious motifs:

##### 14.2.1. The lotus-flower

This is found on a globular jar from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 62: 8219). The representation shows two *Bes* forms in combination with four lotus leafy stems and two lotus rosettes (Fig. 3, n-2). *Bes* figures are drawn in abstract forms, with mask-like faces, deformed legs, tails and up raised hands.

##### 14.2.2. The demon

This formation was found on a jar from the cemetery of Gemmai (Bates and Dunham, 1927, Pl. LXII, Fig. 26). *Bes* is depicted as a naked dwarf with long extended arms, and associated with a demon face which has protruding ears, and is devoid of mouth.

Furthermore, *Bes* appears in triple combination with the following:

##### 14.2.3. The serpent -scorpion

This combination appears on a jar from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 61: 8214). The depiction displays a painted stylised scene of a band of *Bes* faces in association with serpents and scorpions. *Bes* heads are drawn outstretched arms alternating with the serpents and scorpions. Each *Bes* is drawn in an abstract form and wears a tiara of feathers which suggests his primitive nature.

This combination possibly refers to the protective ability of *Bes* against evil bites of serpents and stings of scorpions.

## 15. The ibis

As data of displays, the ibis appears in seven incidences. Of the entire instances, six were found in cemeteries of the North. The seventh incidence was found in the South in the townsite of Meroe (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51a). All the representations of *Bes* found, so far, are painted (Table 20).

### 15.1. Single forms

Single form of the ibis appears in two incidences (Table 27). Thus, they are lesser in frequency than associated forms. The first incidence was found in Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 93: 8731). The portrayal shows a plate decorated on the interior with an ibis, in reddish brown lines on yellowish white ground (Fig. 3, o-2). The second incidence is from Qustul and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 355, Fig. 189, Pl. 29b). The scene shows a globular jar decorated with a band of two ibises and two guinea fowls, alternating at regular intervals (Fig. 3, o-1).

### 15.2. Associated forms

Associated forms of the ibis were more frequent (5 cases) than single forms. Of the entire incidences, four were found in cemeteries of the North (Tables 28, 16). As tables of statistics indicate, the ibis appears in association with one or more of the following religious motifs:

#### 15.2.1. The 'ankh-sign

This incidence was found on a rim-sherd of a cup from Meroe Townsite (Shinnie-Bradley, 1980: 121, Fig. 51a). The representation is painted in black lines

on red ground. The scene shows an ibis with a lunar disk on its head. A floral 'ankh-sign is depicted beside the ibis (Fig. 3, o-3). The ibis with its lunar disk may refer to god *Thoth* which was a known deity in Kush and ancient Egypt. The combination with the 'ankh-sign may refer to the deity as a creator or donor of life.

#### 15.2.2. The 'ankh sign-frog

This triple association of ibis-'ankh-frog appears on the exterior surface of a jar with a stand from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924: 160, Pl. XLVII: 2). The representation is depicted in dark red lines on yellowish ground. It is known in ancient Egyptian religion that the frog signifies resurrection, whereas the 'ankh-sign refers to life. Hence, the triple combination may reflect the association of god *Thoth* in ibis form with life and rebirth.

#### 15.2.3. The lotus-flower

This dual combination was found on the exterior surface of a cup from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924: 161, Pl. L-15). The representation shows an ibis with *Thoth* crown in association with a lotus stem with its crescents and buds. This combination seems to lay more emphasis on the association of god *Thoth* with life, possibly as a creator or donor of life.

#### 15.2.4. The lotus flower-'ankh sign-serpent

This quadruple combination was found on a globular jar from Qustul and Ballana Cemetery (Williams, 1991: 359, Fig. 194a, Pl. 29a). The Scene shows two bands of decoration. The top band displays a row of lotus crescents with growing buds in the form of 'ankh-signs (Fig. 3, o-4). Other inverted 'ankh-signs are represented at intervals between the lotus crescents. This scene is attached to a lower band which shows a row of alternating black and white ibises. Underneath this lower band a stylised coiled serpent is depicted. Thus, the association of the

ibis with the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign and the serpent seems to put more emphasis on the link of god *Thoth* with life, creation and rebirth.

#### 15.2.5. The offering table-altar

This incidence of triple combination was found in the cemetery of Shablul. Details of such representation will pass by in this Chapter when discussing the altar.

### 16. The *djed*-pillar

This religious motif appears in five instances, in painted forms. Most of its incidences were found in cemeteries of the North (4 cases, Tables 16, 28).

#### 16.1. Single forms

As tables of statistics indicate, single forms of *djed*-pillar appear in four instances on cups and jars from cemeteries of the North (Tables, 16, 17, 28). The first example to be cited, is from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 41: 8166). The representation shows a band of vertical *djed*-pillars alternating at regular intervals with guinea-fowls (Fig. 3, p-1). Each *djed*-pillar has a circular red crest, whereas the rest of the body is black. The scene is delineated in black and red lines with black filling on a white ground on a globular jar. The second example is from Shablul Cemetery (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 25: 1). It is represented on the exterior surface of a tumbler-shaped vase. The representation shows two *djed*-pillars alternating with two guinea-fowls. Each *djed*-pillar is surmounted by a circular red crest. MacIver and Woolley believed that such circular crests are sun-disks (1909: 40).

## 16.2. Associated forms

As evident in Table 27, the *djed*-pillar appears in association with other religious motifs in only one instance. It was found at Meroe Townsite on the exterior surface of a coarse jar-sherd (Liverpool University Museum, Catalogue no. E6930). The representation shows a *djed*-pillar in combination with a lotus-flower pattern and a *wedjat*-eye. The whole scene is delineated in black lines with white filling.

As known in ancient Egyptian religion both the *djed*-pillar and the *wedjat*-eye are protective amulets, whereas the lotus-flower pattern refers to life and creation. Hence the combination of these religious motifs may imply life prolonged with protection.

## 17. The Scorpion

This religious motif was found in five instances from both Meroitic North and South (Table 28). Of these instances, four were from cemeteries, whereas the fifth is from the residential area of Meroe Town (Pl. 42). All the occurrences of the scorpion representations are painted (Table 20).

### 17.1. Single forms

Single forms of the scorpion occur in three cases (Table 27). The first incidence was found in Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 81: 8488). The formation shows a cup decorated with a band of detailed scorpions designed in dark brown paint on white ground (Fig. 3, q-2). Each scorpion is drawn having four legs (2 front legs and 2 hind legs). The second instances is from Nelluah Cemetery (Garcia Guinea and Teixidor, 1965, Fig. 28-4, Pl. XXXII - b). It is delineated on a cup in dark brown lines with detail of limbs, tails and bodies (Fig. 3, q-3). Each scorpion is drawn having six legs. The third formation of

Meroe Town shows a cup rim-sherd decorated in dark red lines and red filling on white ground. The representation shows a detailed scorpion with sixteen legs and a raised tail (Pl. 42; Fig. 3, q-1). It seems that each formation is drawn in a different style and hence they were possibly drawn by different artists and or potters.

### 17.2. Associated forms

The occurrence of the scorpion in association with a further religious motif was found so far in two incidences. The first occurrence was found in a grave from Hag Ismail Village, near Urkutti, east of Amentago in the South (Khartoum Museum Collection, Fig. 3, q-4). The formation is made of two bands in dark red lines and white filling. The top band shows four evenly distributed winged scorpions. This scene is attached to a lower band of four full figures of demons with crowns of feathers. In this representation each demon is stabbed on the neck from two sides by arrowheads, whereas his bow is falling down. The exact meaning of such association is not clear. The scorpion is known in ancient Egyptian religion as an emblem of goddess *Selket*. Hence the winged scorpions are possibly represented as protective amulets. Wings seem to lay more emphasis on the role of protection. Demons are represented in this formation possibly as harmful spirits and symbols of evils. The purpose of this combination may be to protect, to ward off the forces of evil.

The second incidence of association is that of the scorpion, serpent and *Bes* which have passed by in this Chapter when discussing *Bes* forms.

### 18. The altar

According to the statistical tables, the altar was found in four incidences in cemeteries of the North (Tables 16, 28). So, altars were a Northern feature and confined to funerary contexts. They were found, so far, in painted forms only.

### 18.1. Single forms

Single forms of altars were found in three cases on exterior surfaces of jars (Table 17), from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 56: 8182; Pl. 45: 8157, 8156). The first instance shows a band of four lotiform altars. Each altar is provided with steps on its two sides at its base (Fig. 3, r-2). The delineation is made in black paint on red ground. The second instance is made of a horned altar and offerings of large almond shape, geese and insects. The portrayal is made in black lines and white and black filling on red ground. The third instance is made of a lotiform altar amid trees and tall plants, two pairs of night mare like gazelles are to be eating off the altar (Fig. 3, r-1). The delineation is made in black and white paint on red ground. The entire incidences of single forms of altars are drawn in a naturalistic style (Adams Style N.IC, 1986: 289, Fig. 141).

### 18.2. Associated forms

The occurrence of the altar with one or more religious forms is found in an incidence from Shablul Cemetery (MacIver and Woolley, 1909, Pl. 29: 11). The formation shows a combination of an altar with an offering table and a bird which seems to be an ibis. Furthermore, it displays a bird in what seems to be a shrine, a table of offerings and a row of small altars with offerings upon each (Fig. 3, r-3). The bird in front of the table of offerings seems to be an ibis which symbolise god *Thoth* or his emblem. Hence, the combination may represent offerings made for this deity or his sacred bird.

### 19. The baboon

This religious motif of the baboon appears in four instances (Table 27) from both Meroitic North and South (Table 28). Three of the instances are painted, whereas only one is stamped (Table 20). So far, all the occurrences of the baboon

are associated with other religious motifs. Single forms have not been found yet in the pottery assemblage under study.

### 19.1. Associated forms

As evident in statistical tables (Table 27), the baboon appears in dual combination with one or more of the following religious motifs:

#### 19.1.1. The lotus-flower

The combination baboon - lotus occurs in two instances in cemeteries of Karanog (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 50: 8463) and Faras (Griffith, 1924, Pl. XLVI: 9). That of Karanog is drawn on a fine cup in red and black design. A baboon is shown standing carrying a triangular object and associated with a lotus crescent with a growing bud (Fig. 3, s-1). The incidence of Faras is painted on a cylindrical jar. The formation shows a standing baboon in combination with a band of horizontal lotus trefoil and a quatrefoil lotus rosette. In these two occurrences the representation of the baboon may refer to god *Thoth*. Hence, the association of god Thoth in baboon form with the lotus may symbolise the deity as a donor or creator of life. This combination seems to be synonymous with the ancient Egyptian religious belief that *Thoth* in baboon or ibis forms, has the power to grant life (Mercatante, 1978: 190).

#### 19.1.2 The frog

The combination of baboon-frog is found in one case on two body-sherds of a globular jar from Meroe residential area (Pls. 53-54, Fig. 3, s-2). The design is executed in black lines and dark grey and red filling on white ground. The representation consists of a row of standing baboons in combination with a frog which is depicted in what seems to be attitude of adoration. Two of the baboons are carrying sticks. The style of representation is naturalistic and is unique in its

outline. The exact meaning of this combination is unknown. The baboon is possibly represented to refer to god *Thoth* or his sacred animal whereas the frog appears to symbolise rebirth. Hence, the scenes may express the power of *Thoth* to grant life to the deceased (Mercatante, 1978: 190).

### 19.1.3 The *Sa*-knot

The combination of baboon-*Sa* knot appears in one incidence from Meroe Town (Pl. 19, Fig. 3, s-3). The scene is executed on the exterior surface of a cup. It shows a band of stamped standing baboons with raised hands possibly adoring or greeting the sun-god *Re*. This scene is attached to a painted band of connected horizontal *Sa*-knots. The representation appears to indicate the link of god *Thoth* in baboon form with protection. The *Sa*-knot is known in ancient Egyptian religion as a protective amulet, whereas the baboon may symbolise god *Thoth* or his sacred animal.

## 20. The lion

Representations of lions occur in four instances in Faras Cemetery (Table 28). Thus, the lion is a characteristic of the Northern Meroitic pottery. All the incidences of lion representations are , so far, painted and occur only in associated forms.

### 20.1. Associated forms

The lion's head or the whole body of the lion occurs with other motifs of religious significance, as Table 27 indicates. These motifs are:

#### 20.1.1. The lotus-flower

The dual combination lion-lotus appears in an incidence from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924, Pl. L: 10; Table 16). The formation shows a cup

decorated with a band of a lion's face and body, lotus leafy stems and a lotus bud (Pls. 39, 40, Fig. 3, t-1).

#### 20.1.2. The lotus flower-*'ankh* sign

As apparent in tables of statistics, the lion occurs in association with the lotus-*'ankh* in two instances (Table 27). An example of such triple combination is found on a cup from Faras Cemetery (Griffith, 1924: 161, Pl. L: 4). The formation consists of a band of lion's heads and lotus buds. It is attached to an *'ankh*-sign delineated on the bottom of the base.

#### 20.1.3. The lotus flower-*'ankh* sign-serpent-sun disk

The combination lion-lotus-*'ankh* is found in a further incidence in association with other motifs of religious significance. These additional motifs are the uraei crowned with sun disks. The formation is found on a globular jar from Faras Cemetery (Table 16; Griffith, 1924: 159, Pl. XLV: 12). It shows a band of lion faces or masks in association with lotus-flowers from which emerge full face uraei crowned with sun-disks (Fig. 3, t-2). Between these motifs are pairs of *'ankh*-signs, one above the other, each formed like a fan (of *Bes*) with seven upright ribs.

The precise religious theme behind this combination is not clear. If the lion representation refers to the Meroitic lion-god *Apedemak*, the combination may indicate that he is involved with creation, rebirth and life (lotus-*'ankh*). The association of the lotus, the *'ankh* and the uraeus crowned with the sun-disk is understandable, owing to their connection with life, creation and resurrection.

## 21. The vulture

As statistical data displays, the vulture was found in three instances (Tables 27, 28). Of these, two were obtained from cemeteries, whereas the third was found in Qasr Ibrim settlement.

### 21.1. Single forms

Single forms of the vulture were found in two cases (Table 27). The first instance comes from Qasr Ibrim (Fig. 3, u-1). It is represented on a jar-sherd in black lines and red paint on a light brown ground. The scene shows a vulture with outstretched wings. The formation is drawn with detail of eyes, peak and feathers of the body and wings. The second incidence is from Missiminia Cemetery (Vila, 1982: 133, Fig. 142-4). It is delineated on a globular jar in black lines and red paint on orange ground (Pl. 35). The formation shows a vulture in a lateral position and a second one with stretched wings. The representation is also drawn in detail.

### 21.2. Associated forms

The vulture was found in one instance in combination with other religious motif such as the lotus rosette. This instance is found in Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 48: 8170). It is represented on a globular jar in black lines and white filling on a red ground. The top band is of lotus rosettes, whereas the lower one shows a vulture with detail of eyes, peak, claws and tail. The vulture is armed with a sword in each of its claws. The association of the armed vulture with the lotus rosette may symbolise the role of goddess *Nekhbet* or her sacred bird in the protection of life.

## 22. The griffin

The motif of griffin occurs in three instances from cemeteries of the North (Table 16). In all the three cases the representations are painted on exterior surfaces (Table 20).

### 22.1. Single forms

Single forms of the griffin are found in two cases from Faras Cemetery. Both instances are winged (Griffith, 1924, Pls. L: 9, L 11: 3) and drawn on fine small vessels (Fig. 3, v-1, v-2). An example of such single forms shows two sherds of a cup or a bowl decorated with a band of winged griffins. Each griffin is represented as a composite of an eagle's head, a lion's body and clawed feet.

### 22.2. Associated forms

The associated form of griffin occurs in one instance from Karanog Cemetery (Woolley and MacIver, 1910, Pl. 77: 8334). The formation shows a lekythos decorated with a band of three wingless monsters which seem to have human faces, animals' ears and bodies (Fig. 3, v-3). Each of these monsters alternates with a lotus leafy stem. The exact meaning of griffin-lotus combination is unknown. In ancient Egyptian mythology the griffin was a symbol of vigilance and strength. Its combination with the lotus perhaps implies life prolonged by protection for the user of the vessel.

## 23. *Khepri*

According to statistical data, this motif occurs in two instances in the pottery assemblage in question (Tables 16, 27, 28). These were found in the residential area of Wad Ban Naga in the South.

### 23.1. Single forms

Single forms of *Khepri* is found, so far, in one incidence. It is represented as a band of stamped scarabs on the exterior surface of a cup rim-sherd (Fig. 3, w). The scarabs are drawn laterally in abstract style.

### 23.2. Associated forms

*Khepri* was found in triple association with the sun-disk and the 'ankh-sign in one instance. The representation is painted on the interior surface of a flat bowl of fine white fabric. The design is executed in dark red lines and red filling on white ground. The scene shows a scarab in a four winged form holding a sun-disk between its front claws and an 'ankh-sign in its hind claws. (Pl. 41; Fig. 3, 3-14). This incidence clearly indicates the link of god *Khepri* with sun-worship and life. The scarab is shown perhaps as a donor of life which issues in the form of an 'ankh-sign from the hind claws.

## 24. *Ba*

The motif of *Ba* bird (hawk) recurs in two instances in stamped forms in the decoration of pottery assemblage from Meroe Townsite (Tables 16, 27, 28). The human head which characterises the *Ba* bird in Egyptian art is not yet noted. Though incidences of *Ba* are rare on the pottery assemblage under study, they seem to be a Southern Meroitic feature.

### 24.1. Single forms

One of the two instances of *Ba* occurs in a single form on exterior surface of a bowl of unknown context. The design shows three bands of stamped *Ba* birds in lateral forms (Pl. 50-4; Fig. 3, x-1).

## 24.2. Associated forms

The second instance of the *Ba* occurs in association with another motif of religious significance. The instance is found on a fine cup from the North Cemetery of Meroe (Pl. 51-3; Fig. 3, x-2). The design consists of a band of stamped *Ba* in combination with four rows of stamped lotus rosettes. In ancient Egyptian mythology the *Ba* was one of the principal elements of life in man. The soul or *Ba* is represented sometimes as a lotus floating on water and opening its blooms. This is the main reason behind the association of the *Ba* with the lotus. The association of these two motifs epitomizes the essence of life and sustenance of the deceased.

## 25. *Tet*

As evident in statistical tables, the religious motif of *Tet* occurs in the decoration of the pottery assemblage under study, in two instances from the West Cemetery at Meroe (Dunham, 1963: 343, Figs. G38, G31). The two instances recur in single forms on a cup (Fig. 3, y-1) and a beaker (Fig. 3, y-2) in the form of stamped bands of protective buckles. Though the incidence of this motif is infrequent, it seems to be a Southern Meroitic style.

## II. Conclusion

The motifs studied are all religious. They are Egyptian in origin, subjected to native treatment, evident in their stylisation whether they were painted or stamped. Stylisation often reached such extents that the stylised motifs showed great departure from their Egyptian origins.

Motifs, painted or stamped could be either single or associated with others. Associated motifs often showed a broad religious significance. They were found to combine in a particularly expressive manner. For instance, the lotus, 'ankh-sign and the frog, all signified creation, life and resurrection. Therefore, the occurrence

of any two , or the three, of them together reinforced the same idea through different aspects. Whether this or that, motifs varied in their incidences and reflected divisions between the North and South.

Observations on the incidences of motifs, displayed the frequencies of single and associated forms, and their distribution in Meroitic sites and domains. The study also displayed the crosstabulations of these motifs by contexts, vessel forms, pottery-making techniques, fabrics, surface treatment, decoration techniques and decoration location.

As regards frequency, Table 12 and Chart 8 manifested how single forms were the mode. Most recurrent of them were found to be the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign, the serpent and *Sa*-knot. At the same time and frequently these motifs were found in association, the one with the other, or with certain other motifs outside the group. It was noted that some motifs, such as the sun-disk, the offering-table, the baboon and the lion never appeared in single forms. These, latter, are against the *Tet* which, so far, occurred only in single stamped forms.

The commonest association noted, is that between the lotus-flower and the 'ankh-sign. This is followed by the combination of the serpent and sun-disk as well as the offering-table and *Hathor* emblem.

The preliminary statistical commentary reflected variability in the incidences of motifs, and their contexts, vessel forms, fabrics and decoration techniques within Meroitic Kush. It was noted that stamped forms are more abundant in the South than in the North. On the other hand, painted forms are commoner in the North than in the South (Table 19, Chart 13). Single forms of certain motifs such as the demon, the palm-branch, the ordinary eye, the *djed*-pillar, the altar, the

griffin and the ibis were noted only in the North. As against these are the *Tet*, the *Ba* and *Khepri*, noted in the South, with none as yet in the North. With regard to associated forms, these were found to appear more repeatedly in the North than in the South. Thus, several associated forms, known in the North, were not noted in the South, such as the lotus and demon, the 'ankh-sign and *Sa*-knot, the lotus and serpent, the lotus and frog (Table 28). These, latter, are against such instances of associated motifs in the South as the lotus and the *wedjat*-eye, the 'ankh-sign and the ordinary eye, the lotus-flower and *Ba*, the lotus, 'ankh-sign and demon, the lotus, 'ankh-sign and *wedjat*-eye, the 'ankh-sign, sun-disk and *Khepri*.

This diversity and variability in the incidences of motifs, contexts, vessel forms, fabrics, decoration location and decoration techniques between the North and South may be related to several factors. Of these are (1) the natural geographical division between North and South; (2) the multiplicity of the social, cultural and historical contexts; (3) the production of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery at different centres; (4) differences in wares; (5) lack of close cultural contact amongst the various local pottery production centres.

Despite this regional variability and diversity, the common popularity of the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign, the serpent, the *Sa*-knot and the *wedjat*-eye in many variations, may be understood as an indication of the universality of these traditional Meroitic religious motifs within the vast Kingdom of Meroitic Kush.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SYNTHESIS

#### I. Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to synthesize the analysis done in the foregoing chapters. In such a process, account shall be taken of the historical, geographical, economic and social factors pointed out and discussed in Chapter One.

The Meroitic painted and stamped pottery with the motifs under study, consists chiefly of Adams' Family M "fine eggshell ware" and the ordinary red ware of Group N.1 (1986: 435-440). This fine pottery represents "Type F" in the classification of Shinnie and Bradley (1980: 154). The whole corpus of this pottery is overwhelmingly wheelmade with burnished or polished surfaces. The main vessel forms of the finewares consist of delicate thin-walled bowls, beakers and cups, while the ordinary wares consist mainly of larger vessels such as jars, jugs and bottles.

#### II. Egyptianness And Archaism

The main motifs in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery were found to reflect religious beliefs which predominantly are of Egyptian origin. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, the review of these motifs in their original Egyptian format is our first attempt to formulate some ideas about the religious significance of these motifs. Such motifs were found to be of two main groups, namely:

A. Symbols: These are the lotus-flower, the *'ankh*-sign, the *Sa*-knot, the *wedjat*-eye, the ordinary eye, the offering-table, the altar, the palm-branch, the *djed*-pillar, the *Ba* and the *Tet*.

B. Deities or symbols of deities : These are the serpent, sun-disk, the demon, the frog, *Hathor*, the crocodile, *Bes*, the ibis, the scorpion, the baboon, the lion, the vulture, the griffin and *Khepri*.

These motifs appeared in ancient Egypt during different periods. Most of them continued with changes and modifications to the Late Period (from the 26th Dynasty 664-525 B.C to the period of Roman Emperors 30 B.C-A.D 323). As noted in Chapter Two, the religious significance of many of these motifs persisted in Egypt even during the Persian (343-332 B.C.), and Graeco-Roman political domination in Late Dynastic Period (332 B.C.-A.D. 323). For instance, the earliest occurrence of the 'ankh-sign dates to the Old Kingdom (c. 2686-2181B.C.) and thereafter, it continued to the Late Period. The *wedjat*-eye, first found in the later Old Kingdom, continued into the Roman period. *Hathor*, seems to be one of the earliest goddesses. Her representations were produced until the end of Dynastic history. *Bes*, whose images were found on every magic wand of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1991-1797 B.C; Andrews, 1994), gained popularity throughout the latter dynastic periods.

These religious motifs reflect the ancient Egyptian views to the Creation and its processes. Therefore, they dominated the religious symbolism and permeated all facets of life in ancient Egypt. They were also known in Kushite religion of the Napatan and Meroitic periods. They were not transferred in a cultural vacuum; they were conveyed together with the ideas for which they stood. Many of these religious ideas, in their original Egyptian connotations, are displayed coherently in the Kushite repertoire of the Napatan and Meroitic periods, but with certain peculiarities. The diffusion of these religious ideas is due to several factors. Of these are the geographical, historical, political and economic. As discussed in Chapter One, ancient Egyptian religious influences in Kush are traceable to the

earliest beginnings of Egypto-Kushite contacts, datable to the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Continued contacts between Egypt and Kush introduced newer influences in Kush and re-inforced previous ones. The Napatan (c. 8th cent. B.C-4th cent. B.C) and Meroitic (c. 4th cent. B.C-4th cent. A.D) periods reflected such influences most. In the earlier Kerma period of Kush, certain of these influences can be found. Egyptian occupation of a great part of Kush during the 18th Dynasty (c. 1550-1307 B.C; Rice, 1997) made the presence of such influences more extensive and prolonged, even after the Egyptian occupation. Kushite rule of Egypt, as the 25th Dynasty, and conduct of Kushite rulers as true Pharaohs is yet another important factor for intensification of Egyptian religious views. The Napatans considered themselves as legitimate sharers in Egyptian religious beliefs, not as outsiders. The same attitude continued into the Meroitic period.

The geographical proximity of Kush to Upper Egypt facilitated contacts between the two and diffusion of religious ideas into Kush. Many items, with Egyptian religious motifs could have been brought into Napata and Meroe in the course of normal trade and travel. This persisted into the Ptolemaic period of Egypt. Together with Egyptian influences, the Greek elements were introduced into Kush in the form of revitalized Egyptian influences rather than real Greek. Such elements of Ptolemaic Egypt, were noted in Meroitic Lower Nubian temples of Philae, Dakka, Debod and Kalabsha. Meroitic offering-tables, too, had some traits similar to those of Ptolemaic Egypt. And so does the Meroitic visual art. It is to this period in Egypt is ascribed the first appearance of Meroitic painted pottery from Musawwarat Es-Sufra and a number of fragments from Meroe city imported from Ptolemaic Egypt. The decoration of Musawwarat and Meroe sherds was mainly Hellenistic vine and wreath designs which continued for centuries in the South and later became abundant in Meroitic Lower Nubia.

### III. Meroiticness

In this part of Meroiticness I shall present a synthesis of the following related issues : (1) The Meroitic repertoire (2) Significance of the main motifs and their incidences in single and associated forms (3) Stylization (4) Variability.

During the Meroitic period, and shortly after the transfer of the royal cemetery from Nuri in the North to Meroe in the South, many native elements appeared in Kush. The period witnessed the emergence of new Meroitic deities and evolution of a series of Egyptian and Meroiticized Egyptian cults. Lower Nubia became a Meroitic province as a result of the Meroitic resettlement to the area. At the same time, Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, with religious motifs of Egyptian origin, blended with Hellenistic decorative elements and local stylization, began to appear in Meroitic South first, and possibly a century later in Meroitic North. So, the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery perhaps arrived into Lower Nubia from the South fully developed. The pottery of both domains reflects a mixed blend of ancient Egyptian religious motifs, with Hellenistic and local ones. But of all these, the ancient Egyptian is the most profound. Due to the proximity of Meroitic Lower Nubia to Upper Egypt, Hellenistic influences were more felt in the North than in the heartland of Meroitic Kush.

#### 1. The Meroitic repertoire

The religious motifs in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under study most likely originated in the South, where they were long lived and manifested lavishly and extensively on the main archaeological remains of the Meroitic period. These are present in scenes on : (1) Chapel walls of the royal cemeteries at Meroe, Barkal; (2) Walls of temples at Meroe, Naq'a, Musawwarat Es-Sufra, Amara and Barkal; (3) Offering-tables; (4) Funerary stelae; (5) Lintels and door-jambs; (6) rocks in Meroitic Lower Nubia. Scenes on such material were not in use at once,

but appeared in different periods and continued for varying lengths of times. At the same time, most of the motifs involved were also represented on, or as funerary objects, in the royal and private cemeteries at Meroe, Barkal, Karanog, Faras, Qustul and Ballana, Nalluah and elsewhere. Many of them were made of bronze or ivory. In likewise manner, many objects of bronze, silver, faience, ivory, wood and glass of the same period, and imported from Egypt, were decorated with the same religious motifs.

## 2. Significance of the motifs

Being mostly of Egyptian origin, the motifs used in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery naturally have the same significance as those in Egyptian civilisation. Such motifs and their significance are the following:

A. Deities or symbols of deities. Many representations on Meroitic pottery, painted or stamped, were possibly intended to represent gods or goddesses or their symbols in their animal manifestations. However, without inscriptions naming them, it is impossible to be certain about a number of them. Like the ancient Egyptians, the Meroitic Kushites possibly believed that most of their deities were able to manifest themselves in animal forms. Of these are, the frog, the serpent, the crocodile, the ibis, the scorpion, the baboon, the lion, the vulture, the griffin, *Hathor* and *Khepri*. In instances of *Bes*, the deity is represented as a human being with leonine features. Occasionally, *Hathor* is depicted in female human form with heavy plaits, cow's ears and horns with a sun-disk. It is perhaps not a remote possibility that such representations were meant to place the deceased, owner of the objects decorated, under the protection of the respective deities or their symbols, represented.

The most important protective deities or symbols of deities in the decoration of the pottery under study, were first the cobra, and the frog. Of the two, the first is the commoner. The cobra, known as the uraeus, was found crowned, sometimes with the sun-disk or, in rare instances, with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. As a goddess, it was the eye of the ancient Egyptian Sun-god (*Re*). Its representations were possibly intended to provide protection, usually reserved for the royalty. Other forms of serpents are probably represented to ward-off snake bites which were as greatly feared by the dead as by the living.

The frog, as a deity, was connected with water, life, fertility, childbirth and resurrection. She was also regarded as a protectress of women and newly-born children.

Others, in varying degrees of occurrences and importance are *Hathor*, *Bes* and *Khepri*. *Hathor* was considered to be a protectress of women and was supposed to preside over their toilets. She also acted as a goddess of love, and childbirth. Later, she was worshipped as a mortuary goddess. *Bes* represents a protective spirit for aversion of evils in general and against such dangerous beasts and reptiles. He also appeared as a creator god and a protector of expectant mothers. *Khepri*, the scarab is a symbol of spontaneous generation, new life and by extension, resurrection.

Against such protective elements stand such dangerous creatures as demons, serpents, crocodiles, scorpions, vultures and griffins. Their evils were perhaps intended to be avoided by *cippus*.

B. Symbols. These are amuletic representations on funerary objects found with the dead in tombs. By magical means, they were believed to endow the deceased with the properties they represent.

As statistical data shows, the most recurrent and important symbol is the lotus-flower, followed by the '*ankh*-sign and the *Sa*-knot. The lotus-flower is connected with water, creation and rebirth in ancient Egyptian mythology. Therefore, it played an important part in the cult of the dead. In several instances, *Nefertem*, believed by the Egyptians and according to the Heliopolitan theory to be the first Being and Creator-god, is represented seated or standing in a lotus. The lotus was used as an offering presented to gods as well as to the deceased. It represents an important item of offerings in funerary offering scenes. It is one of the ways of introducing to the dead the divine life in the rebirth so that man after death can be reborn from the lotus as the gods.

The '*ankh*-sign is the essence of life itself. It has the connotations of life, birth, rebirth, eternity and "continued sustenance" of the deceased in the afterlife. It is occasionally represented as an offering itself.

The *Sa*-knot is a symbol of magical protection. It was a characteristic attribute of *Bes*, the deity of childbirth.

Other symbols, not so current or as important as the previous ones are the *wedjat*-eye, the *Ba*, offering-tables and altars. The *wedjat*-eye was for protection from all sorts of evils including the evil eye. It also signified wholeness, health and well-being.

The *Ba* is thought to represent one of the three principal spirit forms which survived after death. It perhaps embodies the characteristics or personality of the deceased. It is represented so that it, hopefully, may be reunited with the corpse to which it belonged.

Offering-tables and altars are represented as images possibly as a second guarantee if the real offering rites were not forthcoming. By magical means these images of offering-tables and altars would become true, and their contents would become real, and thereby guarantee a fully supplied afterlife.

It became clear from the statistical analysis made, that the Meroitic potters and or artists made use of a relatively limited number of religious motifs and their combinations. These motifs were found to be either painted, stamped or in rare cases in combined painted and stamped forms. These motifs whether painted or stamped could be either single or associated, the one with the other or with certain other motifs. This is evident in the following analysis.

## **2.1. Incidences of religious motifs**

Religious motifs occurred either single or in association with others, and in various rates of incidences in each case.

### **2.1.1. Single forms**

The religious significance of each of these single motifs have been discussed in Chapter Two and Three where they are viewed in their Egyptian format first and in their Meroitic Kushite recast next.

Statistical study has shown that these single forms painted or stamped, outnumber the associated ones. This indicates that the Meroitic pottery decorators

were often contented with representations of single forms to express their religious concepts. Of these single forms, the painted are the most frequent. Of the painted forms, the most repeated single motifs were found to be the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign, the *Sa*-knot, *wedjat*-eye and the serpent. But on stamped pottery, the most frequent single motifs were noted to be the 'ankh-sign, the lotus-flower, the serpent and the *Sa*-knot. It was noted that some motifs, such as the sun-disk, the offering-table, the baboon and the lion never appeared in single forms.

In many cases, the characteristic or attribute of each one of these single motifs is evident in its representation. For instance, the 'ankh-sign, *Sa*-knot and serpents are sometimes represented with outspread wings, a characteristic shared with the vulture and the sun-disk. In Egyptian religion, outspread wings mean protection. Hence, the protective attribute of each of these symbols is clearly indicated. A further instance, is displayed (as noted in Chapter Two and Three) on a painted bottle from Karanog Cemetery. On the exterior surface of the bottle, three figures of *Bes* were displayed alternating with wine amphorae and dancing. Each one of the figures is depicted with a ladle in his right hand and a tambourine in the left hand. A fourth representation of *Bes*, shows him walking and playing a double-flute, and leading the procession. The scene shows, *Bes* in association with wine, dance and music-making. It was this noisy activity, which was believed to reflect *Bes*' protective role to drive away malevolent forces.

#### 2.1.2. Associated forms

These religious motifs were found in association, have lower rates of incidences than single forms. Furthermore, painted forms surpass stamped ones, while the combination of two motifs exceeds that of more than two. The commonest association noted, is that between the lotus-flower and the 'ankh-sign, as well as the offering-tables and the *Hathor* emblem. In lesser instances, the

combination may consist of three motifs or more as in the incidence of the lotus in association with the 'ankh-sign and the frog.

Of the entire painted forms in association, the commonest are the lotus with the 'ankh-sign. This is followed by the dual combinations of the lotuses and demons as well as 'ankhs and serpents. Relatively lesser use was made of combinations of stamped motifs. Of these, the most repeated combination is that between the serpent and the sun-disk. This is followed by the lotus with the 'ankh-sign, and the offering-table with *Hathor* emblem. Most of these forms consist of dual combinations. Only in two instances, is the association triple, as in the case of the lotus and a serpent crowned with sun-disk, and in the incidence of the lotus associated with the 'ankh-sign and the frog.

It seems that the associations of these religious motifs were made in particularly expressive manner in purpose. This is perhaps explained in the broad religious significance of associated forms. For instance, in the triple combinations of the lotuses, 'ankh-signs and frogs, all the motifs signified creation, life and resurrection. Therefore, the occurrence of any two or the three of them together reinforces the same idea through different aspects. The second instance, is that of the lotus, *wedjat*-eye and the *Sa*-knot. Their combination seems to serve the main religious theme of life, birth, protection and continuity.

## 2.2 Discussion

As observed previously, it is most likely that the Meroitic Kushites depicted religious motifs on the pottery under discussion to place the pottery owner under the protection of the thing or things depicted, be it a deity or his / her symbol. In other cases, where it is a mere symbol, then certain idea, such as birth, rebirth or continued sustenance in the afterlife, would be meant. Any one of these concepts is

expressed with one motif on most occasions. On a considerable number of cases, more than related motif is used. This calls to mind ancient Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic tradition of laying various funerary amulets with the deceased persons to ensure multiple protection, and diverse means for an eternal afterlife.

The combination of these religious motifs, with their broad religious significance, seems to be one of the major peculiarities of the pottery under study. It is notable that the same combinations described are lacking on other material of the Napatan and the Meroitic periods of Kush. As noted in Chapter Two, the lotus-flowers and 'ankh-signs appear as important offering items overlying other offerings on the funerary vignettes of the chapel walls of the royal tombs at Meroe and Barkal. In Meroitic offering-table scenes (Kar. 72; Kar. 77; Kar. 101) the lotus-flowers are represented more often as two lotus-flower bouquets flanking and overhanging the tall libation vases (Chapter Two). On an offering-table from Karanog (Kar. 4), the lotus is represented in the field together with two circular cakes on each side surmounted by an oval basin or reservoir to gather water and divert it to the spout. With regard to the 'ankh-sign it was found occasionally in association with water or palm-branch. For instances, an offering-table from Karanog Cemetery (Chapter Two) shows two libation vases flanked by two cakes on each side. The water flowing from the libation vases terminates in two 'ankh-signs. Another offering-table scene (Kar.78), from the same site, shows an 'ankh-sign in association with the spout of the offering-table. A further scene on an offering-table from the same site (Kar. 128) shows an 'ankh-sign unaccompanied by anything else, filling the field and its end continued in (or as) the spout. In its occupation of the water exit and its lying in the midst of a stream issuing from an oval reservoir at the mouth of the spout as in Kar. 78 as well as its occupation of the whole offering-scene by filling the field in Kar. 128, the 'ankh-sign epitomizes the essence of water offering in particular and of offering-making in general,

namely, life (again); that is rebirth and continued sustenance of the deceased in the afterlife. This scene calls to mind the pottery libation trays with 'ankh-sign divisions from the North and West cemeteries at Meroe and from the temple of Amun at Meroe. The scene on the stela Mer 12 shows goddess Isis holding a palm-branch from which dangle life-symbols. The palm-branch, again with 'ankh-signs dangling from its leaves is seen held by the deceased persons in seven scenes from the royal chapels at Meroe (Chapter Two).

As is apparent in Chapter Two and this discussion, the recurrent appearance of these main religious motifs on other material in the Egyptian, Napatan and Meroitic repertoires is an indication of the religious nature of the main motifs used in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. It is clear that the decorators of the pottery in question were conscious of this fact and aware of what they were doing.

### 3. Stylization

As noted in Chapter Two and Three, most of the motifs represented on the pottery under study point back to their ancient Egyptian origins and forms. Their styles of representation, however, on the whole may be described as being local, thereby differentiating the Meroitic style of pottery decoration from any other found in Egypt, or the Sudan in pre-Meroitic times. These local styles reflect "Meroiticness". This is the way Meroitic pottery decorators represented the objects expressing their Meroitic religious views in styles unnoted in Egypt, despite the fact that most of the motifs were of Egyptian origin. The style is characterized by continual and gradual reduction in the details of the motifs. As time progressed, objects gradually moved far away from their detailed Egyptian origins, so much that it was often too hard to recognize the thing represented and attribute to its exact Egyptian prototypes. This is what was meant by "stylization". It is a significant

feature of the "Meroiticness" in the decoration of Meroitic pottery. Another feature of "Meroiticness" is indicated by the predominance of non-Egyptian elements expressing the same Egyptian religious or other un-Egyptian notions. In other words, the pottery decoration and its style owe a great deal to Meroitic traditions, whereas the concepts expressed in this art are predominantly of Egyptian origin. Thus, Meroitic pottery decorators were able to free themselves from traditional Egyptian models to create an art expressing Meroitic sensibility.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the religious motifs in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery were characterized by two major styles described by Adams (1986 : 213-41) as (a) "stylized" (N1.A) and (b) "naturalistic" (N.1C). The first, that is "stylized", is the most dominant and famous in the pottery under discussion. In Meroitic North, "stylized" forms are found chiefly on white wares of Family M and group N.1 but also on red wares. In the South, they are found in Shinnie and Bradley's "Type F". This group of "stylized" forms include also the stamped religious motifs which are attested schematically and are found primarily on small vessels. "Stylized" representation is often differentiated from what is so called "naturalistic". By the latter, is meant the relative detailed representation of things used as decoration. This "naturalistic" style, is infrequent and seems to be confined mainly to the Meroitic North. The religious motifs depicted are limited. They are mainly lotuses, 'ankh-signs, altars and palm-branches. Their designs are often executed more casually and are found mainly on jars.

Furthermore, "Meroiticness" is also indicated by the use of stamping in the execution of many of these religious motifs, particularly in Meroitic South, and the blending, in it, of some motifs with Hellenistic elements. This is peculiarly Meroitic, unknown elsewhere in the Nile Valley. The stamping technique possibly

developed from the local Meroitic black and red polished pottery which had a long tradition of rocker-stamped decoration, with roots dating back as early as the C-Group tradition (c. 2400 B.C-1700 / 1500 B.C). It is noteworthy that many of the stamped religious motifs, on the pottery under study, were filled with red ochre, a tradition well-known in the handmade black and red polished Meroitic pottery. Thus, it is possible to state, part of the tradition of the decoration of religious motifs was possibly an indigenous development.

Though stamping and painting are different techniques of decoration, they are inseparable and historically linked in the Meroitic pottery in question. This is yet a further Meroitic peculiarity. Almost the same motifs, each one alone or in combination with others, were painted or stamped.

#### **4. Variability**

An important point illustrated in the present study (Chapter Two and Three) is the interior regional variations between the Meroitic North (Lower Nubia) and South (main land). Statistical observations revealed variability in the incidences of religious motifs and related attributes as the contexts, vessel forms, fabrics, decoration techniques and decoration location.

In brief, the main features of variation involve the following :

(a) Most of the pottery with the religious motifs under study were obtained from Northern Meroitic sites. This, in part, may be due to the fact that more archaeological work was done in the North than in the South during the Nubian Salvation expeditions in 1960's; (b) Most of the pottery of the North was found as funerary objects in cemeteries. Houses, as is usually the case in archaeology, were less productive than tombs. Thus, in Meroitic North, the same pottery is abundant and mainly funerary, whereas in the South it is scarcer and to a

certain extent domestic, possibly a sign of social status; (c) On the one hand, in the North, the religious motifs in the decoration of the pottery under discussion, were applied mainly on cups, jars and jugs. The jars and jugs themselves are, mostly, copies of Greek prototypes, known in Ptolemaic Egypt. On the other hand, in the South, these religious motifs were found mainly on bowls and cups. So, for reasons that are by no means fully understood jugs and jars of Egyptian imitation were abundant in Meroitic North and absent in the South. This division, namely confinement to jugs and jars in the North and bowls and cups in the South is peculiar and inexplicable; (d) Conversely, in the Meroitic South, fewer ordinary pottery is decorated with the religious motifs as those of the fine eggshell wares, whereas in the North it is commoner than the finewares themselves (Adams, 1972 : 1); (e) It was noted that stamped religious motifs are more abundant in the South than in the North. But, in contrast, painted forms are commoner in the North than in the South. Here, a clear division between the Meroitic North and South is found. Peculiar to the North are painted forms of the palm-branch, the altar, female *Hathor*, the demon, the lion, the *djed*-pillar, the ordinary eye and the griffin. But peculiar to the South, and painted is *Khepri*, but stamped, are the offering-table, the frog, *Hathor* emblem, the *wedjat*-eye, the baboon, *Khepri*, *Ba* and *Tet*; (f) Undifferentiated, both painted and stamped, these religious motifs divide between the North and the South too. Single forms of certain motifs, such as the demon, the palm-branch, the ordinary eye, the *djed*-pillar, the altar, the griffin and the ibis were noted only in the North. As against these, and also single, are the *Tet*, the *Ba* and *Khepri*, so far, noted, only in the South; (g) Associated forms, too showed division between the North and the South. These were repeatedly found more in the North than in the South. Thus, certain associated forms, known in one region are not found, or not so frequently, in the other. For instance, the lotus with the demon, the 'ankh-sign with the *Sa*-knot, the lotus with the serpent, and the lotus with the frog (Table 28) are peculiarly Northern, whereas for instance, the lotus

with the *wedjat*-eye, the '*ankh*-sign with the ordinary eye, the lotus with the *Ba*, the '*ankh*-sign with *Khepri* and the sun-disk, the lotus with the *djed*-pillar and the *wedjat*-eye, are peculiarly Southern. As noted in Chapter Three, and tables of data, the combined painted religious forms of the Meroitic North appear more varied and frequent than those of the South; (h) With regard to the location of these religious motifs on surfaces of vessels, it was noted that those decorated in paint on the interior surfaces are commoner in the South than in the North. Moreover, vessels decorated with painted motifs on the interior and stamped ones on the exterior at the same time, were found , so far, only in the South. In contrast, religious motifs painted on both the exterior surfaces and bottoms were found to be more recurrent in the North than in the South.

This notable diversity and variability between the Meroitic North and South imposes the obvious conclusion that manufacturing loci for the Meroitic painted and stamped pottery would have existed in both regions of Meroitic Kush. This would render obsolete the belief prevailing previously, that the presence of painted and stamped Meroitic pottery in the South was a result of internal trade, from the North, that is Meroitic Lower Nubia.

The exact reasons behind this diversity and variability in the incidences of religious motifs and their related variables are still unknown. What can be suggested as reasons may be the following: (1) The natural geographical division between Meroitic North (Lower Nubia) and South (main land). When Lower Nubia became a densely populated Meroitic province in around the second century B.C, Meroitic Kush became vast domain, extensively outspread. This vast area certainly embraced great cultural variations, as indeed does the modern Sudan. The two zones of Meroitic Kush were naturally divided by the inhospitable area of *Batn al Hajar* (Belly of rocks). The Nile route is impeded by cataracts. The influence of

these cataracts and the difficulty of transport is evident in the distribution of imported pottery south of Dal Cataract. Meroitic Kush was possibly linked together and to the outside world primarily by desert caravan routes which were hazardous to pottery trade. Thus, the relative isolation of Lower Nubia and its close proximity to Upper Egypt made its pottery more accessible to Hellenistic influences than that of the South.(2) The multiplicity of historical, economic and social contexts. Historical and cultural contacts of Kush with ancient Egypt during different periods of its history yielded an amalgam of Egyptian religious influences, that became part of the Meroitic complex religious identity. The emergence of Lower Nubia later as a Meroitic Province, and the close trade relations between Kush and Egypt via Lower Nubia, led to the appearance of Graeco-Roman influences, notably evident in the ceramic of the North, and, to a lesser degree, in that of the South.(3) The production of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery at different centres. This is clearly indicated by the lack of uniformity in styles and designs of the religious motifs and their decoration techniques, decoration location, fabrics, vessel forms and contexts.(4) Differences in wares. The major ecological differences between the two zones of Meroitic Kush, led to differences in the economy between the two domains. Meroitic South was proportionally more dependent on agrarian and pastoral resources, while the North was more dependent on trade with Meroe and Egypt. In consequence, the necessities of life possibly dictated for each region wares most suitable for its utilities. Thus, differences in utilities possibly led to differences in pottery.(5) Lack of close cultural contact amongst the various local pottery production centres. This is closely related to the first factor. The natural geographical division and the extensive distances separating the pottery production centres possibly led to isolation and lack of contacts amongst pottery workshops, in Meroitic Kush.

Despite this apparent regional variability and diversity, in the religious motifs on decorating Meroitic painted and stamped pottery, these motifs tend to reflect a homogeneous blend of native, archaic Egyptian and Graeco-Roman influences. The unmistakable common feature of these religious motifs, is their fundamental concern with fertility, life, regeneration, eternity as well as protection in life, on earth or after death. The common popularity of such religious motifs as the lotus-flower, the 'ankh-sign, the serpent, the *Sa*-knot, the *wedjat*-eye, the frog and *Hathor* emblem in many variations, indicates that the Meroites of both domains of Kush were possibly adhering to, and sharing, one fundamental system of belief.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSIONS

This study attempts to provide an insight into the main motifs with religious symbolism and meanings, in the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. The central issue in the research is to find out the main religious concepts underlying the decoration of this type of Meroitic pottery.

The data for this study was collected from published and unpublished material from several Meroitic sites in the North and South of Kush (Upper and Lower Nubia).

All the main motifs were found to be religious. They were largely of Egyptian origin passed into the Kushite (Napatan and Meroitic) religion via archaism. They were adopted and adapted by the Napatans and the Meroites who applied them in a variety of ways to their reliefs, statuary and in the decoration of the pottery under study.

In this attempt of study, the motifs were viewed in their original Egyptian format first and in their Meroitic recast second. Several of the main motifs selected, fell into two groups. The first group, is of deities or symbols of deities, in their animal manifestations. The second group, is of symbols of amuletic representation.

The main religious motifs in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under study whether single or associated the one with the other were, more often than not, represented with their religious attributes. This is more apparent in the associated motifs which were noted to have broad religious significance. The repeated

association of motifs sharing the same general ideas, is evidence that pottery decorators were conscious of these ideas and of the relationships amongst the associated motifs. Thus, deliberateness and awareness, on the parts of decorators, of what they are doing is undeniable. As such, most scenes on Meroitic pottery under study are not mere decoration. They are expressions of religious ideas and beliefs.

The common feature of almost all of these motifs is their fundamental concern with fertility, life, birth, regeneration, eternity and protection in life on earth or life after death. The representation of these motifs was possibly stimulated by the need to ensure the welfare of the user of the vessel in life on earth, or his welfare as a deceased person in the afterlife. Such seems to have been the function of religious motifs, in the decoration of Meroitic pottery under study.

Though traces of archaic Egyptian influences can not be hidden, yet the stylization in representing these motifs gave them their own distinctive local identities. Stylization reflected a great departure in them from the known traditional Egyptian formats, and, thereby, separation from the so called official art.

An important product of the analysis of the data was the distinct division between the Meroitic North and South regarding the variety and incidences of the religious motifs in the decoration of their pottery. Though it was not found easy to account for such a phenomenon, yet certain factors were proposed for explanation. These were : (1) The natural geographical division between the North and the South. (2) The multiplicity of historical, economic and social contexts. (3) The production of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery at different centres. (4) Differences in wares. (5) Lack of close cultural contacts amongst the various local pottery production centres.

In conclusion, the tentative results of this study can be briefly outlined as follows:

1. There are manifest religious concepts underlying the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery. The main motifs did not function only as decorative elements but also as ones with symbolic religious meanings. Thereby, insight has been had into the minds of Meroitic pottery decorators. Here, one hopes, may be a contribution to the rather unexplored field of cognitive archaeology in Meroitic studies.

2. The religious motifs chosen by the Meroitic potters and / or artists, reflected current ideological attitudes, permeating inter-personal and inter-group relationship. These motifs, as the study shows, were probably not in any way an isolated component in peoples' lives. Therefore, they should not be studied in isolation of their historical, ecological and social structures.

3. Almost all of these religious motifs were found in both Napatan and Meroitic religious milieus. This confirms the continuity of religious beliefs from the Napatan to the end of the Meroitic period of Kush. Hence, these religious motifs can be pointed out as one of the numerous areas (architecture, personal names, metallurgical traditions...etc.) in which Napatan-Meroitic continuity may be detected.

4. One of the results of this study is to establish that the representations of religious motifs in the decoration of the pottery studied, may have owed to the Meroitic cultural repertoire on other media (scenes of : chapel walls; walls of temples; offering-tables; funerary stelae; lintels and door-jambs; and rocks in Lower Nubia). The pottery decoration with its religious motifs must have been an

essential instigator as well as a conspicuous vehicle of transmission and certainly must have enjoyed its share of influence upon work in other media, perhaps including wall-painting itself.

5. If this attempt of research could not interpret satisfactorily the main motifs in the decoration of the pottery under study, it however attempted to explain the basic motivation which led to the creation of this art. It is certain that any human action including representation of religious motifs in the decoration of the pottery under study, is the resultant of many an infinite number of contributory causes. However, work of art is always open to afterthought and if this attempt of study seems to fit, one can never tell how far they were part of the original intention.

6. Since the data of the present work is collected from pottery, so far found, in Kush of the Meroitic period, it is by no means final. It needs to be re-examined and reviewed constantly as archaeological field-works progress in the Sudan and more pottery, hopefully, is found.

## LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

**Books and Journals**

BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'institut francais d'archeologie orientale du Caire.
BZS	Beitrage zur Sudan forschung. Wien-Modling.
CA	Current Anthropology. Chicago.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt. Princeton, New Jersey.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London.
Kush	Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Services. Khartoum.
LAAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool.
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition (Series), The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
RCK 1	Dunham, D., 1950, El Kuru. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush 1. Boston.
RCK II	Dunham, D., 1955, Nuri. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush II. Boston.
RCK III	Chapman, S. E.; D. Dunham, 1952, Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroe and Barkal. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush III. Boston.
RCK IV	Dunham, D., 1957, Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush IV. Boston.
RCK V	Dunham, D., 1963, The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush V. Boston.
SNR	Sudan Notes and Records. Khartoum.
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca. San Antonio / Texas.

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## LIST OF TABLES ABBREVIATIONS

altr	altar
ank sign	' <i>ankh</i> -sign
bbn	baboon
Bs	<i>Bes</i>
crocod	crocodile
djd plr	<i>djed</i> -pillar
dmn	demon
frg	frog
grfn	griffin
Hthr	<i>Hathor</i>
ibs	ibis
Lin	Lion
Lts flr	Lotus flower
Khpr	<i>Khepri</i>
Off. t	offering-table
o.e	ordinary-eye
plm	palm-branch
scrpn	scorpion
srp	serpent
s.d	sun-disk
tt	<i>tet</i>
vltr	vulture
w.e	<i>wedjat</i> -eye

Table 1 Frequency of religious motifs by sites.

SITES						
Value	Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Karanog		1	249	22.5	22.5	22.5
Shablul		2	24	2.2	2.2	24.7
Faras		3	116	10.5	10.5	35.2
Ballana&Qustul		4	133	12.0	12.0	47.2
Meroe		5	207	18.7	18.7	66.0
W.Banaga		6	109	9.9	9.9	75.8
Nag Gamus		7	34	3.1	3.1	78.9
Argin		8	58	5.2	5.2	84.2
Qasr Ibrim		9	19	1.7	1.7	85.9
Kerma		10	11	1.0	1.0	86.9
Armina West		11	25	2.3	2.3	89.1
Semna South		12	10	.9	.9	90.0
Sedeinga		13	7	.6	.6	90.7
Matuga		14	8	.7	.7	91.4
Sebua & Adindan		15	40	3.6	3.6	95.0
Gemmai		16	9	.8	.8	95.8
Missiminia		17	12	1.1	1.1	96.9
Kawa		18	7	.6	.6	97.6
Abu Geili		19	7	.6	.6	98.2
N.minor sites		20	15	1.4	1.4	99.5
S.minor sites		21	5	.5	.5	100.0
Total			1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0			

Table 2 Frequency of motifs by Meroitic domains.

## DOMAINS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
northern	1	747	67.6	67.6	67.6
southern	2	358	32.4	32.4	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 3 Frequency of religious motifs by contexts.

## CONTEXTS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
unknown	0	38	3.4	3.4	3.4
cemetery	1	739	66.9	66.9	70.3
settlement	2	328	29.7	29.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 4 Crosstabulation of religious motifs  
by domains and by contexts.

Page 1 of 1

		CONTEXT			
		Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement
		Row Pct			
		Col Pct			
			0	1	2
DOMAIN					Row Total
northern	1	7	679	61	747
		.9	90.9	8.2	67.6
		18.4	91.9	18.6	
southern	2	31	60	267	358
		8.7	16.8	74.6	32.4
		81.6	8.1	81.4	
Column			38	739	328
Total			3.4	66.9	29.7
					1105
					100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 5 Frequency of motifs by sherds and complete vessels.

COND

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
complete	1	702	63.5	63.5	63.5
sherd	2	403	36.5	36.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 6 Frequency of motifs by vessel forms.

## FORMS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
unknown	0	9	.8	.8	.8
jar	1	306	27.7	27.7	28.5
cup	2	513	46.4	46.4	74.9
bowl	3	181	16.4	16.4	91.3
bottle	4	25	2.3	2.3	93.6
plate	5	16	1.4	1.4	95.0
jug	6	49	4.4	4.4	99.5
others	7	6	.5	.5	100.0

Total	1105	100.0	100.0
-------	------	-------	-------

Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0
-------------	------	---------------	---

Table 7 Crosstabulation of religious motifs  
by domains and by vessel forms.

Page 1 of 2

DOMAIN	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
northern	1	4	282	362	19	23	747
		.5	37.8	48.5	2.5	3.1	67.6
		44.4	92.2	70.6	10.5	92.0	
southern	2	5	24	151	162	2	358
		1.4	6.7	42.2	45.3	.6	32.4
		55.6	7.8	29.4	89.5	8.0	
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued)	Total	.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 7

Page 2 of 2

		FORMS			
DOMAIN	Count				
	Row Pct	plate	jug	others	
	Col Pct				Row
		5	6	7	Total
northern	1	8	45	4	747
		1.1	6.0	.5	67.6
		50.0	91.8	66.7	
southern	2	8	4	2	358
		2.2	1.1	.6	32.4
		50.0	8.2	33.3	
	Column	16	49	6	1105
	Total	1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 8 Frequency of motifs by fabrics.

## FABRICS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
fine	1	699	63.3	63.3	63.3
ordinary	2	394	35.7	35.7	98.9
coarse	3	12	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 9. Crosstabulation of motifs by domains and by fabric types

Page 1 of 1

DOMAIN	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FAB			Row Total
		fine	ordinary	coarse	
		1	2	3	
northern	1	369	373	5	747
		49.4	49.9	.7	67.6
		52.8	94.7	41.7	
southern	2	330	21	7	358
		92.2	5.9	2.0	32.4
		47.2	5.3	58.3	
	Column	699	394	12	1105
	Total	63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 10 Frequency of motifs by surface treatment.

## SURFACES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
polished	1	255	23.1	23.1	23.1
burnished	2	845	76.5	76.5	99.5
matt	3	5	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 11 Frequency of motifs by decoration techniques.

DEC. TECH

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
painted	1	895	81.0	81.0	81.0
stamped	2	203	18.4	18.4	99.4
painted & stamped	3	7	.6	.6	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 12 Frequency of single and associated religious motifs.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
single in association	1	825	74.7	74.7	74.7
	2	280	25.3	25.3	100.0
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 13 Crosstabulation of Meroitic domains by  
single and associated religious motifs.

Page 1 of 1

		OCCUR		
		single	in assoc	
		1	2	
DOMAIN	Count Row Pct Col Pct			Row Total
northern	1	568	179	747
		76.0	24.0	67.6
		68.8	63.9	
southern	2	257	101	358
		71.8	28.2	32.4
		31.2	36.1	
Column		825	280	1105
Total		74.7	25.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 14 Frequency of religious motifs  
by decoration locations.

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
exterior	1	1010	91.4	91.4	91.4
interior	2	63	5.7	5.7	97.1
base	3	8	.7	.7	97.8
both interior & exterior	4	8	.7	.7	98.6
exterior & base	5	16	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 15 Frequency of motifs by pottery making techniques.

## POTTERY-MAKING

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
wheelmade	1	1101	99.6	99.6	99.6
handmade	2	4	.4	.4	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	1105	Missing cases	0		

Table 16 Crosstabulation of the religious motifs by contexts.

## MOTIFS by CONTEXTS

		CONTEXTS			Page 1 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total
	Row Pct				
	Col Pct	0	1	2	
lts flr	1	9	359	109	477
		1.9	75.3	22.9	43.2
		23.7	48.6	33.2	
ank sign	2	8	68	60	136
		5.9	50.0	44.1	12.3
		21.1	9.2	18.3	
srp	3	2	23	27	52
		3.8	44.2	51.9	4.7
		5.3	3.1	8.2	
sa	4	3	26	19	48
		6.3	54.2	39.6	4.3
		7.9	3.5	5.8	
w.e	5		14	12	26
			53.8	46.2	2.4
			1.9	3.7	
crocod	6	1	16	1	18
		5.6	88.9	5.6	1.6
		2.6	2.2	.3	
dmn	7		11	1	12
			91.7	8.3	1.1
			1.5	.3	
frg	8		4	5	9
			44.4	55.6	.8
			.5	1.5	
plm	9	1	5	2	8
		12.5	62.5	25.0	.7
		2.6	.7	.6	
Hthr	10		4	3	7
			57.1	42.9	.6
			.5	.9	
Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued)	Total	3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

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(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

		CONTEXTS			Page 2 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row
	Row Pct				Total
	Col Pct	0	1	2	
o.e	11		5	2	7
			71.4	28.6	.6
			.7	.6	
Bs	12		5		5
			100.0		.5
			.7		
djd plr	13		4		4
			100.0		.4
			.5		
scrpn	14		2	1	3
			66.7	33.3	.3
			.3	.3	
altr	15		3		3
			100.0		.3
			.4		
tt	16		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.3		
vltre	17		1	1	2
			50.0	50.0	.2
			.1	.3	
grfn	18		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.3		
ibs	19		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.3		
ba	20	1			1
		100.0			.1
		2.6			
Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued)	Total	3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

		CONTEXTS			Page 3 of 9	
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement		
	Row Pct					
	Col Pct					
		0	1	2	Row Total	
khpr	21			1	1	
				100.0	.1	
				.3		
lts-ank	22	8	61	24	93	
		8.6	65.6	25.8	8.4	
		21.1	8.3	7.3		
srp-s.d	23	2	7	27	36	
		5.6	19.4	75.0	3.3	
		5.3	.9	8.2		
off.t-Hthr	24		3	12	15	
			20.0	80.0	1.4	
			.4	3.7		
lts-dmn	25		11		11	
			100.0		1.0	
			1.5			
ank-srp	26		9	1	10	
			90.0	10.0	.9	
			1.2	.3		
lts-sa	27		5	3	8	
			62.5	37.5	.7	
			.7	.9		
ank-sa	28		7		7	
			100.0		.6	
			.9			
lts-srp	29	1	4	1	6	
		16.7	66.7	16.7	.5	
		2.6	.5	.3		
ank-frg	30		4	2	6	
			66.7	33.3	.5	
			.5	.6		
Column Total		38	739	328	1105	
(Continued) Total		3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0	

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

		CONTEXTS			Page 4 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	0	1	2	
lts-frg	31		6		6
			100.0		.5
			.8		
lts-ank-frg	32		5		5
			100.0		.5
			.7		
lts-ank-srp	33		3	1	4
			75.0	25.0	.4
			.4	.3	
lts-ank-sa	34		3	1	4
			75.0	25.0	.4
			.4	.3	
lts-ank-srp-s.d	35	1	2		3
		33.3	66.7		.3
		2.6	.3		
off.t-lts-Hthr	36		1	2	3
			33.3	66.7	.3
			.1	.6	
lts-srp-s.d	37		3		3
			100.0		.3
			.4		
lts-plm	38		3		3
			100.0		.3
			.4		
ank-Hthr	39		2	1	3
			66.7	33.3	.3
			.3	.3	
lts-ank-lin	40		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.3		
Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued) Total		3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

MOTIFS	CONTEXTS				Row Total
	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	
	Row Pct Col Pct	0	1	2	
41			2		2
lts-bbn			100.0		.2
			.3		
42			2		2
lts-sa-w.e			100.0		.2
			.3		
43			2		2
ank-plm			100.0		.2
			.3		
44			2		2
lts-crocod			100.0		.2
			.3		
45				2	2
lts-w.e				100.0	.2
				.6	
46			2		2
ank-dmn			100.0		.2
			.3		
47			1		1
lts-ank-dmn			100.0		.1
			.1		
48		1			1
ank-o.e		100.0			.1
		2.6			
49			1		1
lts-ba			100.0		.1
			.1		
50			1		1
ank-crocod			100.0		.1
			.1		
Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued) Total		3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

		CONTEXTS			Page 6 of 9	
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total	
	Row Pct					
	Col Pct					
		0	1	2		
51				1	1	
lts-ank-w.e				100.0	.1	
				.3		
52			1		1	
lts-Bs			100.0		.1	
			.1			
53			1		1	
lts-Hthr			100.0		.1	
			.1			
54			1		1	
lts-ank-plm			100.0		.1	
			.1			
55			1		1	
ank-frg-off.t-Ht			100.0		.1	
hr			.1			
56			1		1	
lts-ank-srp-ibs			100.0		.1	
			.1			
57			1		1	
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn			100.0		.1	
			.1			
58			1		1	
lts-ank-srp-s.d-			100.0		.1	
lin			.1			
59			1		1	
sa-crocod			100.0		.1	
			.1			
60			1		1	
ank-sa-dmn			100.0		.1	
			.1			
Column		38	739	328	1105	
(Continued) Total		3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0	

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

		CONTEXTS			Page 7 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	0	1	2	
61			1		1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e			100.0		.1
			.1		
62			1		1
ank-frg-ibs			100.0		.1
			.1		
63			1		1
lts-dmn-crocod			100.0		.1
			.1		
64				1	1
ank-s.d-khpr				100.0	.1
				.3	
65				1	1
lts-d.plr-w.e				100.0	.1
				.3	
66			1		1
off.t-altr-ibs			100.0		.1
			.1		
67			1		1
ank-sa-frg			100.0		.1
			.1		
68			1		1
lts-sa-srp			100.0		.1
			.1		
69			1		1
dmn-Bs			100.0		.1
			.1		
70			1		1
scrpn-dmn			100.0		.1
			.1		
Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued) Total		3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

MOTIFS	COUNT			CONTEXTS			Row Total
	Count	Row Pct	Col Pct	unknown	cemetery	settlement	
				0	1	2	
	71				1		1
Hthr-w.e					100.0		.1
					.1		
	72				1		1
lts-ibs					100.0		.1
					.1		
	73				1		1
lts-lin					100.0		.1
					.1		
	74				1		1
sa-srp					100.0		.1
					.1		
	75				1		1
sa-o.e					100.0		.1
					.1		
	76				1		1
srp-dmn					100.0		.1
					.1		
	77					1	1
sa-bbn						100.0	.1
						.3	
	78					1	1
frg-bbn						100.0	.1
						.3	
	79					1	1
ank-off.t						100.0	.1
						.3	
	80					1	1
ank-ibs						100.0	.1
						.3	
		Column		38	739	328	1105
(Continued)	Total			3.4	66.9	29.7	100.0

(cont.) Table 16

## MOTIFS by contexts

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MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	CONTEXTS			Row Total
		unknown	cemetery	settlement	
		0	1	2	
lts-vltre	81		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
ank-off.t-Hthr	82		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
srp-scrpn-Bs	83		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
ank-s.d	84		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-grfn	86		1 100.0 .1		1 .1
Column Total		38 3.4	739 66.9	328 29.7	1105 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 17 Crosstabulation of the religious  
motifs by vessel forms

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 1 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
lts flr	1	4	113	264	59	7	477
		.8	23.7	55.3	12.4	1.5	43.2
		44.4	36.9	51.5	32.6	28.0	
ank sign	2	1	24	58	44	3	136
		.7	17.6	42.6	32.4	2.2	12.3
		11.1	7.8	11.3	24.3	12.0	
srp	3		8	22	19	1	52
			15.4	42.3	36.5	1.9	4.7
			2.6	4.3	10.5	4.0	
sa	4	1	6	28	11		48
		2.1	12.5	58.3	22.9		4.3
		11.1	2.0	5.5	6.1		
w.e	5		10	6	7	3	26
			38.5	23.1	26.9	11.5	2.4
			3.3	1.2	3.9	12.0	
crocod	6		10	5	1		18
			55.6	27.8	5.6		1.6
			3.3	1.0	.6		
dmn	7	1	5	4			12
		8.3	41.7	33.3			1.1
		11.1	1.6	.8			
frg	8		4	3	2		9
			44.4	33.3	22.2		.8
			1.3	.6	1.1		
plm	9		5			1	8
			62.5			12.5	.7
			1.6			4.0	
Hthr	10		2	4			7
			28.6	57.1			.6
			.7	.8			
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 2 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate 5	jug 6	others 7	
lts flr	1	4 .8 25.0	26 5.5 53.1		477 43.2
ank sign	2	2 1.5 12.5	2 1.5 4.1	2 1.5 33.3	136 12.3
srp	3	1 1.9 6.3	1 1.9 2.0		52 4.7
sa	4	1 2.1 6.3	1 2.1 2.0		48 4.3
w.e	5				26 2.4
crocod	6		1 5.6 2.0	1 5.6 16.7	18 1.6
dmn	7	2 16.7 12.5			12 1.1
frg	8				9 .8
plm	9		2 25.0 4.1		8 .7
Hthr	10	1 14.3 6.3			7 .6
Column		16	49	6	1105
(Continued) Total		1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 3 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
o.e	11		3	3			7
			42.9	42.9			.6
			1.0	.6			
Bs	12		4	1			5
			80.0	20.0			.5
			1.3	.2			
djd plr	13		2	2			4
			50.0	50.0			.4
			.7	.4			
scrpn	14			3			3
				100.0			.3
				.6			
altr	15		3				3
			100.0				.3
			1.0				
tt	16			2			2
				100.0			.2
				.4			
vltre	17		2				2
			100.0				.2
			.7				
grfn	18			2			2
				100.0			.2
				.4			
ibs	19		1				2
			50.0				.2
			.3				
ba	20				1		1
					100.0		.1
					.6		
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

## MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 4 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate 5	jug 6	others 7	
o.e	11		1 14.3 2.0		7 .6
Bs	12				5 .5
djd plr	13				4 .4
scrpn	14				3 .3
altr	15				3 .3
tt	16				2 .2
vtre	17				2 .2
grfn	18				2 .2
ibs	19	1 50.0 6.3			2 .2
ba	20				1 .1
(Continued) Column Total		16 1.4	49 4.4	6 .5	1105 100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 5 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
21				1			1
khpr				100.0			.1
				.2			
22		1	26	44	10	4	93
lts-ank		1.1	28.0	47.3	10.8	4.3	8.4
		11.1	8.5	8.6	5.5	16.0	
23			4	19	12		36
srp-s.d			11.1	52.8	33.3		3.3
			1.3	3.7	6.6		
24			1	5	8	1	15
off.t-Hthr			6.7	33.3	53.3	6.7	1.4
			.3	1.0	4.4	4.0	
25			8	3			11
lts-dmn			72.7	27.3			1.0
			2.6	.6			
26		1	3	3			10
ank-srp		10.0	30.0	30.0			.9
		11.1	1.0	.6			
27			1	6	1		8
lts-sa			12.5	75.0	12.5		.7
			.3	1.2	.6		
28			3	2		1	7
ank-sa			42.9	28.6		14.3	.6
			1.0	.4		4.0	
29			2	2		1	6
lts-srp			33.3	33.3		16.7	.5
			.7	.4		4.0	
30			4		1	1	6
ank-frg			66.7		16.7	16.7	.5
			1.3		.6	4.0	
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 6 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate 5	jug 6	others 7	
	21				1
khpr					.1
	22		7	1	93
lts-ank			7.5	1.1	8.4
			14.3	16.7	
	23	1			36
srp-s.d		2.8			3.3
		6.3			
	24				15
off.t-Hthr					1.4
	25				11
lts-dmn					1.0
	26		3		10
ank-srp			30.0		.9
			6.1		
	27				8
lts-sa					.7
	28		1		7
ank-sa			14.3		.6
			2.0		
	29		1		6
lts-srp			16.7		.5
			2.0		
	30				6
ank-frg					.5
Column		16	49	6	1105
(Continued) Total		1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 7 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
31			3	3			6
lts-frg			50.0	50.0			.5
			1.0	.6			
32			2	2		1	5
lts-ank-frg			40.0	40.0		20.0	.5
			.7	.4		4.0	
33			3		1		4
lts-ank-srp			75.0		25.0		.4
			1.0		.6		
34			4				4
lts-ank-sa			100.0				.4
			1.3				
35			2	1			3
lts-ank-srp-s.d			66.7	33.3			.3
			.7	.2			
36				1			3
off.t-lts-Hthr				33.3			.3
				.2			
37			2	1			3
lts-srp-s.d			66.7	33.3			.3
			.7	.2			
38			1	2			3
lts-plm			33.3	66.7			.3
			.3	.4			
39			2		1		3
ank-Hthr			66.7		33.3		.3
			.7		.6		
40			1	1			2
lts-ank-lin			50.0	50.0			.2
			.3	.2			
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 8 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate 5	jug 6	others 7	
lts-frg	31				6 .5
lts-ank-frg	32				5 .5
lts-ank-srp	33				4 .4
lts-ank-sa	34				4 .4
lts-ank-srp-s.d	35				3 .3
off.t-lts-Hthr	36	2 66.7 12.5			3 .3
lts-srp-s.d	37				3 .3
lts-plm	38				3 .3
ank-Hthr	39				3 .3
lts-ank-lin	40				2 .2
Column Total		16 1.4	49 4.4	6 .5	1105 100.0

(Continued)

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 9 of 18

		FORMS					Page 9 of 18
MOTIFS	Count	unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	Row Total
	Row Pct						
	Col Pct						
		0	1	2	3	4	
41			1	1			2
lts-bbn			50.0	50.0			.2
			.3	.2			
42			1	1			2
lts-sa-w.e			50.0	50.0			.2
			.3	.2			
43			2				2
ank-plm			100.0				.2
			.7				
44			2				2
lts-crocod			100.0				.2
			.7				
45			1	1			2
lts-w.e			50.0	50.0			.2
			.3	.2			
46			2				2
ank-dmn			100.0				.2
			.7				
47			1				1
lts-ank-dmn			100.0				.1
			.3				
48					1		1
ank-o.e					100.0		.1
					.6		
49				1			1
lts-ba				100.0			.1
				.2			
50			1				1
ank-crocod			100.0				.1
			.3				
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued)	Total	.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 10 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate 5	jug 6	others 7	
lts-bbn	41				2 .2
lts-sa-w.e	42				2 .2
ank-plm	43				2 .2
lts-crocod	44				2 .2
lts-w.e	45				2 .2
ank-dmn	46				2 .2
lts-ank-dmn	47				1 .1
ank-o.e	48				1 .1
lts-ba	49				1 .1
ank-crocod	50				1 .1
Column Total		16 1.4	49 4.4	6 .5	1105 100.0

(Continued)

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 11 of 18

MOTIFS	Count		FORMS					Row Total
	Row	Pct	unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
	Col	Pct	0	1	2	3	4	
51				1				1
lts-ank-w.e				100.0				.1
				.3				
52				1				1
lts-Bs				100.0				.1
				.3				
53				1				1
lts-Hthr				100.0				.1
				.3				
54								1
lts-ank-plm								.1
55				1				1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht				100.0				.1
hr				.3				
56				1				1
lts-ank-srp-ibs				100.0				.1
				.3				
57				1				1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn				100.0				.1
				.3				
58				1				1
lts-ank-srp-s.d-				100.0				.1
lin				.3				
59				1				1
sa-crocod				100.0				.1
				.3				
60				1				1
ank-sa-dmn				100.0				.1
				.3				
Column			9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total			.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 12 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate	jug	others	
		5	6	7	
51					1
lts-ank-w.e					.1
52					1
lts-Bs					.1
53					1
lts-Hthr					.1
54			1		1
lts-ank-plm			100.0		.1
			2.0		
55					1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht hr					.1
56					1
lts-ank-srp-ibs					.1
57					1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn					.1
58					1
lts-ank-srp-s.d- lin					.1
59					1
sa-crocod					.1
60					1
ank-sa-dmn					.1
Column		16	49	6	1105
(Continued) Total		1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 13 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
61 lts-frg-s.d-w.e				1 100.0 .2			1 .1
62 ank-frg-ibs			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
63 lts-dmn-crocod			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
64 ank-s.d-khpr					1 100.0 .6		1 .1
65 lts-d.plr-w.e				1 100.0 .2			1 .1
66 off.t-altr-ibs			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
67 ank-sa-frg			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
68 lts-sa-srp			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
69 dmn-Bs			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
70 scrpn-dmn			1 100.0 .3				1 .1
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 14 of 18

MOTIFS	Count	FORMS			Row Total
	Row Pct	plate	jug	others	
	Col Pct	5	6	7	
61					1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e					.1
62					1
ank-frg-ibs					.1
63					1
lts-dmn-crocod					.1
64					1
ank-s.d-khpr					.1
65					1
lts-d.plr-w.e					.1
66					1
off.t-altr-ibs					.1
67					1
ank-sa-frg					.1
68					1
lts-sa-srp					.1
69					1
dmn-Bs					.1
70					1
scrpn-dmn					.1
Column		16	49	6	1105
(Continued) Total		1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by vessel forms

Page 15 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
71			1				1
Hthr-w.e			100.0				.1
			.3				
72				1			1
lts-ibs				100.0			.1
				.2			
73				1			1
lts-lin				100.0			.1
				.2			
74							1
sa-srp							.1
75							1
sa-o.e							.1
76						1	1
srp-dmn						100.0	.1
						4.0	
77				1			1
sa-bbn				100.0			.1
				.2			
78				1			1
frg-bbn				100.0			.1
				.2			
79							1
ank-off.t							.1
80					1		1
ank-ibs					100.0		.1
					.6		
Column		9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total		.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

## MOTIFS by forms

MOTIFS	Count		FORMS			Row Total
	Row	Pct	plate	jug	others	
	Col	Pct	5	6	7	
Hthr-w.e	71					1 .1
lts-ibs	72					1 .1
lts-lin	73					1 .1
sa-srp	74				1 100.0 16.7	1 .1
sa-o.e	75				1 100.0 16.7	1 .1
srp-dmn	76					1 .1
sa-bbn	77					1 .1
frg-bbn	78					1 .1
ank-off.t	79		1 100.0 6.3			1 .1
ank-ibs	80					1 .1
Column			16	49	6	1105
(Continued)	Total		1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by forms

Page 17 of 18

MOTIFS	Count		FORMS					Row Total
	Row	Pct	unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
	Col	Pct	0	1	2	3	4	
81				1				1
lts-vltre				100.0				.1
				.3				
82				1				1
ank-off.t-Hthr				100.0				.1
				.3				
83				1				1
srp-scrpn-Bs				100.0				.1
				.3				
84								1
ank-s.d								.1
85				1				1
lts-ank-sa-dmn				100.0				.1
				.3				
86								1
lts-grfn								.1
Column			9	306	513	181	25	1105
(Continued) Total			.8	27.7	46.4	16.4	2.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 17

MOTIFS by forms

Page 18 of 18

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate	jug	others	
		5	6	7	
lts-vltre	81				1 .1
ank-off.t-Hthr	82				1 .1
srp-scrpn-Bs	83				1 .1
ank-s.d	84		1 100.0 2.0		1 .1
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85				1 .1
lts-grfn	86		1 100.0 2.0		1 .1
	Column	16	49	6	1105
	Total	1.4	4.4	.5	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 18 Crosstabulation of the religious motifs by fabric types.

MOTIFS by fabrics

Page 1 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FABICS			Row Total
		fine 1	ordinary 2	coarse 3	
lts flr	1	317	158	2	477
		66.5	33.1	.4	43.2
		45.4	40.1	16.7	
ank sign	2	106	27	3	136
		77.9	19.9	2.2	12.3
		15.2	6.9	25.0	
srp	3	39	13		52
		75.0	25.0		4.7
		5.6	3.3		
sa	4	40	8		48
		83.3	16.7		4.3
		5.7	2.0		
w.e	5	13	13		26
		50.0	50.0		2.4
		1.9	3.3		
crocod	6	6	11	1	18
		33.3	61.1	5.6	1.6
		.9	2.8	8.3	
dmn	7	4	8		12
		33.3	66.7		1.1
		.6	2.0		
frg	8	5	4		9
		55.6	44.4		.8
		.7	1.0		
plm	9		8		8
			100.0		.7
			2.0		
Hthr	10	4	3		7
		57.1	42.9		.6
		.6	.8		
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued)	Total	63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

		FABRICS			Page 2 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	fine	ordinary	coarse	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
		1	2	3	
o.e	11	3	3	1	7
		42.9	42.9	14.3	.6
		.4	.8	8.3	
Bs	12	1	4		5
		20.0	80.0		.5
		.1	1.0		
djd plr	13	2	2		4
		50.0	50.0		.4
		.3	.5		
scrpn	14	3			3
		100.0			.3
		.4			
altr	15		3		3
			100.0		.3
			.8		
tt	16	2			2
		100.0			.2
		.3			
vltre	17		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.5		
grfn	18	2			2
		100.0			.2
		.3			
ibs	19		2		2
			100.0		.2
			.5		
ba	20	1			1
		100.0			.1
		.1			
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued) Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

		FABRICS			Page 3 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	fine	ordinary coarse		Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
		1	2	3	
khpr	21	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-ank	22	55 59.1 7.9	37 39.8 9.4	1 1.1 8.3	93 8.4
srp-s.d	23	33 91.7 4.7	3 8.3 .8		36 3.3
off.t-Hthr	24	12 80.0 1.7	3 20.0 .8		15 1.4
lts-dmn	25	3 27.3 .4	8 72.7 2.0		11 1.0
ank-srp	26	3 30.0 .4	7 70.0 1.8		10 .9
lts-sa	27	6 75.0 .9	2 25.0 .5		8 .7
ank-sa	28	2 28.6 .3	5 71.4 1.3		7 .6
lts-srp	29	2 33.3 .3	4 66.7 1.0		6 .5
ank-frg	30	2 33.3 .3	4 66.7 1.0		6 .5
Column Total		699 63.3	394 35.7	12 1.1	1105 100.0

(Continued)

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

		FABRICS			Page 4 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	fine	ordinary	coarse	Row
	Row Pct				Total
	Col Pct	1	2	3	
lts-frg	31	3 50.0 .4	3 50.0 .8		6 .5
lts-ank-frg	32	2 40.0 .3	3 60.0 .8		5 .5
lts-ank-srp	33	1 25.0 .1	3 75.0 .8		4 .4
lts-ank-sa	34	1 25.0 .1	3 75.0 .8		4 .4
lts-ank-srp-s.d	35	1 33.3 .1	2 66.7 .5		3 .3
off.t-lts-Hthr	36	3 100.0 .4			3 .3
lts-srp-s.d	37	1 33.3 .1	2 66.7 .5		3 .3
lts-plm	38	2 66.7 .3	1 33.3 .3		3 .3
ank-Hthr	39	2 66.7 .3	1 33.3 .3		3 .3
lts-ank-lin	40	1 50.0 .1	1 50.0 .3		2 .2
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued) Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

		FABRICS			Page 5 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	fine	ordinary	coarse	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
		1	2	3	
41		1	1		2
lts-bbn		50.0	50.0		.2
		.1	.3		
42		1	1		2
lts-sa-w.e		50.0	50.0		.2
		.1	.3		
43			2		2
ank-plm			100.0		.2
			.5		
44			1	1	2
lts-crocod			50.0	50.0	.2
			.3	8.3	
45		1	1		2
lts-w.e		50.0	50.0		.2
		.1	.3		
46			2		2
ank-dmn			100.0		.2
			.5		
47			1		1
lts-ank-dmn			100.0		.1
			.3		
48		1			1
ank-o.e		100.0			.1
		.1			
49		1			1
lts-ba		100.0			.1
		.1			
50			1		1
ank-crocod			100.0		.1
			.3		
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued) Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

Page 6 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FABRICS			Row Total
		fine	ordinary	coarse	
		1	2	3	
51	1				1
lts-ank-w.e	100.0				.1
	.1				
52			1		1
lts-Bs	100.0				.1
	.3				
53			1		1
lts-Hthr	100.0				.1
	.3				
54			1		1
lts-ank-plm	100.0				.1
	.3				
55			1		1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht hr	100.0				.1
	.3				
56			1		1
lts-ank-srp-ibs	100.0				.1
	.3				
57			1		1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn	100.0				.1
	.3				
58			1		1
lts-ank-srp-s.d- lin	100.0				.1
	.3				
59			1		1
sa-crocod	100.0				.1
	.3				
60			1		1
ank-sa-dmn	100.0				.1
	.3				
Column	699	394	12		1105
(Continued) Total	63.3	35.7	1.1		100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

		FABRICS			Page 7 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	fine	ordinary	coarse	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
		1	2	3	
61		1			1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e		100.0			.1
		.1			
62			1		1
ank-frg-ibs			100.0		.1
			.3		
63			1		1
lts-dmn-crocod			100.0		.1
			.3		
64		1			1
ank-s.d-khpr		100.0			.1
		.1			
65				1	1
lts-d.plr-w.e				100.0	.1
				8.3	
66			1		1
off.t-altr-ibs			100.0		.1
			.3		
67			1		1
ank-sa-frg			100.0		.1
			.3		
68			1		1
lts-sa-srp			100.0		.1
			.3		
69			1		1
dmn-Bs			100.0		.1
			.3		
70			1		1
scrpn-dmn			100.0		.1
			.3		
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued) Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

Page 8 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FABRICS			Row Total
		fine	ordinary	coarse	
		1	2	3	
Hthr-w.e	71		1 100.0 .3		1 .1
lts-ibs	72	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-lin	73	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
sa-srp	74			1 100.0 8.3	1 .1
sa-o.e	75			1 100.0 8.3	1 .1
srp-dmn	76		1 100.0 .3		1 .1
sa-bbn	77	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
frg-bbn	78	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-off.t	79	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-ibs	80	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
Column		699	394	12	1105
(Continued) Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

(cont.) Table 18

## MOTIFS by fabrics

Page 9 of 9

FABRICS				
Count	fine	ordinary	coarse	
Row Pct				
Col Pct				
	1	2	3	Row Total
MOTIFS				
81		1		1
1ts-vltre		100.0		.1
		.3		
82	1			1
ank-off.t-Hthr	100.0			.1
	.1			
83		1		1
srp-scrpn-Bs		100.0		.1
		.3		
84		1		1
ank-s.d		100.0		.1
		.3		
85		1		1
1ts-ank-sa-dmn		100.0		.1
		.3		
86		1		1
1ts-grfn		100.0		.1
		.3		
Column	699	394	12	1105
Total	63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 19 Crosstabulation of religious motifs  
by domains and decoration techniques.

Page 1 of 1

DOMAIN	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1	2	3	
		Count	Count	Count	
northern	1	716	31	-	747
		95.9	4.1		67.6
		80.0	15.3		
southern	2	179	172	7	358
		50.0	48.0	2.0	32.4
		20.0	84.7	100.0	
Column		895	203	7	1105
Total		81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 20 Crosstabulation of the religious motifs by decoration techniques.

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 1 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR		painted & stamped 3	Row Total
		painted	stamped		
		1	2		
lts flr	1	437	40		477
		91.6	8.4		43.2
		48.8	19.7		
ank sign	2	85	51		136
		62.5	37.5		12.3
		9.5	25.1		
srp	3	20	32		52
		38.5	61.5		4.7
		2.2	15.8		
sa	4	35	13		48
		72.9	27.1		4.3
		3.9	6.4		
w.e	5	22	4		26
		84.6	15.4		2.4
		2.5	2.0		
crocod	6	18			18
		100.0			1.6
		2.0			
dmn	7	12			12
		100.0			1.1
		1.3			
frg	8	6	3		9
		66.7	33.3		.8
		.7	1.5		
plm	9	8			8
		100.0			.7
		.9			
Hthr	10	5	2		7
		71.4	28.6		.6
		.6	1.0		
Column		895	203	7	1105
(Continued)	Total	81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 2 of 9

MOTIFS	Count		DECOR			Row Total
	Row Pct	Col Pct	Painted	Stamped	Painted & Stamped	
			1	2	3	
o.e	11		7			7
			100.0			.6
			.8			
Bs	12		5			5
			100.0			.5
			.6			
djd plr	13		4			4
			100.0			.4
			.4			
scrpn	14		3			3
			100.0			.3
			.3			
altr	15		3			3
			100.0			.3
			.3			
tt	16			2		2
				100.0		.2
				1.0		
vltre	17		2			2
			100.0			.2
			.2			
grfn	18		2			2
			100.0			.2
			.2			
ibs	19		2			2
			100.0			.2
			.2			
ba	20			1		1
				100.0		.1
				.5		
Column			895	203	7	1105
(Continued)	Total		81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 3 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1	2	3	
		1	2	3	
khpr	21		1		1
			100.0		.1
			.5		
lts-ank	22	82	10	1	93
		88.2	10.8	1.1	8.4
		9.2	4.9	14.3	
srp-s.d	23	5	31		36
		13.9	86.1		3.3
		.6	15.3		
off.t-Hthr	24	6	9		15
		40.0	60.0		1.4
		.7	4.4		
lts-dmn	25	11			11
		100.0			1.0
		1.2			
ank-srp	26	10			10
		100.0			.9
		1.1			
lts-sa	27	5	1	2	8
		62.5	12.5	25.0	.7
		.6	.5	28.6	
ank-sa	28	7			7
		100.0			.6
		.8			
lts-srp	29	6			6
		100.0			.5
		.7			
ank-frg	30	6			6
		100.0			.5
		.7			
	Column	895	203	7	1105
(Continued)	Total	81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 4 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1 painted	2 stamped	3 painted & stamped	
lts-frg	31	6 100.0 .7			6 .5
lts-ank-frg	32	4 80.0 .4	1 20.0 .5		5 .5
lts-ank-srp	33	3 75.0 .3		1 25.0 14.3	4 .4
lts-ank-sa	34	4 100.0 .4			4 .4
lts-ank-srp-s.d	35	2 66.7 .2		1 33.3 14.3	3 .3
off.t-lts-Hthr	36	3 100.0 .3			3 .3
lts-srp-s.d	37	2 66.7 .2	1 33.3 .5		3 .3
lts-plm	38	3 100.0 .3			3 .3
ank-Hthr	39	2 66.7 .2		1 33.3 14.3	3 .3
lts-ank-lin	40	2 100.0 .2			2 .2
Column		895	203	7	1105
(Continued) Total		81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 5 of 9

		DECOR			
		Count			
		Row Pct	Painted	stamped	Painted & stamped
		Col Pct	1	2	3
MOTIFS					Row Total
	41		2		2
lts-bbn		100.0			.2
		.2			
	42		2		2
lts-sa-w.e		100.0			.2
		.2			
	43		2		2
ank-plm		100.0			.2
		.2			
	44		2		2
lts-crocod		100.0			.2
		.2			
	45		2		2
lts-w.e		100.0			.2
		.2			
	46		2		2
ank-dmn		100.0			.2
		.2			
	47		1		1
lts-ank-dmn		100.0			.1
		.1			
	48		1		1
ank-o.e		100.0			.1
		.1			
	49			1	1
lts-ba				100.0	.1
				.5	
	50		1		1
ank-crocod		100.0			.1
		.1			
Column			895	203	7
(Continued) Total			81.0	18.4	.6
					1105
					100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 6 of 9

MOTIFS	Count		DECOR			Row Total
	Row Col	Pct Pct	Painted	Stamped	Painted & Stamped	
			1	2	3	
51			1			1
lts-ank-w.e			100.0			.1
			.1			
52			1			1
lts-Bs			100.0			.1
			.1			
53			1			1
lts-Hthr			100.0			.1
			.1			
54			1			1
lts-ank-plm			100.0			.1
			.1			
55			1			1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht			100.0			.1
hr			.1			
56			1			1
lts-ank-srp-ibs			100.0			.1
			.1			
57			1			1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn			100.0			.1
			.1			
58			1			1
lts-ank-srp-s.d-			100.0			.1
lin			.1			
59			1			1
sa-crocod			100.0			.1
			.1			
60			1			1
ank-sa-dmn			100.0			.1
			.1			
Column			895	203	7	1105
(Continued) Total			81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 7 of 9

		DECOR			
		Count			
MOTIFS	Row	Pct	Painted	Stamped	Painted & Stamped
	Col	Pct	1	2	3
					Row Total
	61		1		1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e		100.0			.1
		.1			
	62		1		1
ank-frg-ibs		100.0			.1
		.1			
	63		1		1
lts-dmn-crocod		100.0			.1
		.1			
	64		1		1
ank-s.d-khpr		100.0			.1
		.1			
	65		1		1
lts-d.plr-w.e		100.0			.1
		.1			
	66		1		1
off.t-altr-ibs		100.0			.1
		.1			
	67		1		1
ank-sa-frg		100.0			.1
		.1			
	68		1		1
lts-sa-srp		100.0			.1
		.1			
	69		1		1
dmn-Bs		100.0			.1
		.1			
	70		1		1
scrpn-dmn		100.0			.1
		.1			
Column		895	203	7	1105
(Continued)	Total	81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 8 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1 painted	2 stamped	3 painted & stamped	
Hthr-w.e	71	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-ibs	72	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-lin	73	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
sa-srp	74	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
sa-o.e	75	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
srp-dmn	76	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
sa-bbn	77			1 100.0 14.3	1 .1
frg-bbn	78	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-off.t	79	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-ibs	80	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
Column		895	203	7	1105
(Continued) Total		81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

(cont.) Table 20

## MOTIFS by decoration techniques

Page 9 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		painted 1	stamped 2	painted & stamped 3	
lts-vltre	81	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-off.t-Hthr	82	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
srp-scrpn-Bs	83	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
ank-s.d	84	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
lts-grfn	86	1 100.0 .1			1 .1
Column		895	203	7	1105
Total		81.0	18.4	.6	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 21 Crosstabulation of the  
religious motifs by occurrence.

MOTIFS by occurrence

Page 1 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	OCCUR		Row Total
		single 1	in assoc iation 2	
lts flr	1	477 100.0 57.8		477 43.2
ank sign	2	136 100.0 16.5		136 12.3
srp	3	52 100.0 6.3		52 4.7
sa	4	48 100.0 5.8		48 4.3
w.e	5	26 100.0 3.2		26 2.4
crocod	6	18 100.0 2.2		18 1.6
dmn	7	12 100.0 1.5		12 1.1
frg	8	9 100.0 1.1		9 .8
plm	9	8 100.0 1.0		8 .7
Hthr	10	7 100.0 .8		7 .6
Column (Continued) Total		825 74.7	280 25.3	1105 100.0

(cont.) Table 21

MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	OCCUR		Page 2 of 9	
	Count	single	in assoc	Row
	Row Pct Col Pct			
		1	2	Total
	11	7		7
o.e		100.0		.6
		.8		
	12	5		5
Bs		100.0		.5
		.6		
	13	4		4
djd plr		100.0		.4
		.5		
	14	3		3
scrpn		100.0		.3
		.4		
	15	3		3
altr		100.0		.3
		.4		
	16	2		2
tt		100.0		.2
		.2		
	17	2		2
vltr		100.0		.2
		.2		
	18	2		2
grfn		100.0		.2
		.2		
	19	2		2
ibs		100.0		.2
		.2		
	20	1		1
ba		100.0		.1
		.1		
	Column	825	280	1105
(Continued)	Total	74.7	25.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 21

MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	OCCUR		Page 3 of 9	
	Count	single	in assoc	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	1	2	
khpr	21	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-ank	22		93 100.0 33.2	93 8.4
srp-s.d	23		36 100.0 12.9	36 3.3
off.t-Hthr	24		15 100.0 5.4	15 1.4
lts-dmn	25		11 100.0 3.9	11 1.0
ank-srp	26		10 100.0 3.6	10 .9
lts-sa	27		8 100.0 2.9	8 .7
ank-sa	28		7 100.0 2.5	7 .6
lts-srp	29		6 100.0 2.1	6 .5
ank-frg	30		6 100.0 2.1	6 .5
Column Total		825 74.7	280 25.3	1105 100.0

(Continued)

(cont.) Table 21

MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	Count		OCCUR		Row Total
	Row Pct	Col Pct	single	in assoc	
			1	2	
	31			6	6
lts-frg				100.0	.5
				2.1	
	32			5	5
lts-ank-frg				100.0	.5
				1.8	
	33			4	4
lts-ank-srp				100.0	.4
				1.4	
	34			4	4
lts-ank-sa				100.0	.4
				1.4	
	35			3	3
lts-ank-srp-s.d				100.0	.3
				1.1	
	36			3	3
off.t-lts-Hthr				100.0	.3
				1.1	
	37			3	3
lts-srp-s.d				100.0	.3
				1.1	
	38			3	3
lts-plm				100.0	.3
				1.1	
	39			3	3
ank-Hthr				100.0	.3
				1.1	
	40			2	2
lts-ank-lin				100.0	.2
				.7	
	Column		825	280	1105
(Continued) Total			74.7	25.3	100.0

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(cont.) Table 21

MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	OCCUR		Page 5 of 9	
	Count	single	in assoc	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	1	2	
41		2	2	
lts-bbn		100.0	.2	
		.7		
42		2	2	
lts-sa-w.e		100.0	.2	
		.7		
43		2	2	
ank-plm		100.0	.2	
		.7		
44		2	2	
lts-crocod		100.0	.2	
		.7		
45		2	2	
lts-w.e		100.0	.2	
		.7		
46		2	2	
ank-dmn		100.0	.2	
		.7		
47		1	1	
lts-ank-dmn		100.0	.1	
		.4		
48		1	1	
ank-o.e		100.0	.1	
		.4		
49		1	1	
lts-ba		100.0	.1	
		.4		
50		1	1	
ank-crocod		100.0	.1	
		.4		
Column	825	280	1105	
(Continued) Total	74.7	25.3	100.0	

(cont.) Table 21

## MOTIFS by occurrence

		OCCUR		Page 6 of 9
MOTIFS	Count	single	in assoc	Row Total
	Row Pct		iation	
	Col Pct	1	2	
	51		1	1
lts-ank-w.e			100.0	.1
			.4	
	52		1	1
lts-Bs			100.0	.1
			.4	
	53		1	1
lts-Hthr			100.0	.1
			.4	
	54		1	1
lts-ank-plm			100.0	.1
			.4	
	55		1	1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht hr			100.0	.1
			.4	
	56		1	1
lts-ank-srp-ibs			100.0	.1
			.4	
	57		1	1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn			100.0	.1
			.4	
	58		1	1
lts-ank-srp-s.d- lin			100.0	.1
			.4	
	59		1	1
sa-crocod			100.0	.1
			.4	
	60		1	1
ank-sa-dmn			100.0	.1
			.4	
	Column	825	280	1105
(Continued)	Total	74.7	25.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 21

## MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	Count		OCCUR		Page 7 of 9	Row Total
	Row	Pct	single	in assoc		
	Col	Pct		iation		
			1	2		
61				1		1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e				100.0		.1
				.4		
62				1		1
ank-frg-ibs				100.0		.1
				.4		
63				1		1
lts-dmn-crocod				100.0		.1
				.4		
64				1		1
ank-s.d-khpr				100.0		.1
				.4		
65				1		1
lts-d.plr-w.e				100.0		.1
				.4		
66				1		1
off.t-altr-ibs				100.0		.1
				.4		
67				1		1
ank-sa-frg				100.0		.1
				.4		
68				1		1
lts-sa-srp				100.0		.1
				.4		
69				1		1
dmn-Bs				100.0		.1
				.4		
70				1		1
scrpn-dmn				100.0		.1
				.4		
Column			825	280		1105
(Continued) Total			74.7	25.3		100.0

(cont.) Table 21

## MOTIFS by occurrence

MOTIFS	Count		OCCUR		Row Total
	Row Pct	Col Pct	single	in assoc	
			1	2	
	71		1	1	1
Hthr-w.e			100.0	.4	.1
	72		1	1	1
lts-ibs			100.0	.4	.1
	73		1	1	1
lts-lin			100.0	.4	.1
	74		1	1	1
sa-srp			100.0	.4	.1
	75		1	1	1
sa-o.e			100.0	.4	.1
	76		1	1	1
srp-dmn			100.0	.4	.1
	77		1	1	1
sa-bbn			100.0	.4	.1
	78		1	1	1
frg-bbn			100.0	.4	.1
	79		1	1	1
ank-off.t			100.0	.4	.1
	80		1	1	1
ank-ibs			100.0	.4	.1
	Column		825	280	1105
(Continued)	Total		74.7	25.3	100.0

(cont.) Table 21

MOTIFS by occurrence

Page 9 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	OCCUR		Row Total
		single 1	in assoc iation 2	
lts-vltre	81		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
ank-off.t-Hthr	82		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
srp-scrpn-Bs	83		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
ank-s.d	84		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
lts-grfn	86		1 100.0 .4	1 .1
Column Total		825 74.7	280 25.3	1105 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 22 Crosstabulation of contexts by  
single and associated religious motifs.

Contexts by occurrence

Page 1 of 1

CONTEXT	Count	OCCUR		Row Total
	Row Pct	single	in assoc	
	Col Pct	iation		
		1	2	
unknown	0	25	13	38
		65.8	34.2	3.4
		3.0	4.6	
cemetery	1	556	183	739
		75.2	24.8	66.9
		67.4	65.4	
settlement	2	244	84	328
		74.4	25.6	29.7
		29.6	30.0	
	Column	825	280	1105
	Total	74.7	25.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 23 Crosstabulation of single and  
associated motifs by fabric types.

Occurrence by fabrics

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FAB			Row Total
		fine	ordinary	coarse	
OCCUR		1	2	3	
single	1	549	269	7	825
		66.5	32.6	.8	74.7
		78.5	68.3	58.3	
in association	2	150	125	5	280
		53.6	44.6	1.8	25.3
		21.5	31.7	41.7	
Column		699	394	12	1105
Total		63.3	35.7	1.1	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 24 Crosstabulation of vessel forms  
by single and associated motifs.

Forms by occurrence

FORMS	OCCUR		Page 1 of 1	
	Count			
	Row Pct	single	in assoc	Row
	Col Pct	1	2	Total
unknown	0	7	2	9
		77.8	22.2	.8
		.8	.7	
jar	1	202	104	306
		66.0	34.0	27.7
		24.5	37.1	
cup	2	408	105	513
		79.5	20.5	46.4
		49.5	37.5	
bowl	3	144	37	181
		79.6	20.4	16.4
		17.5	13.2	
bottle	4	15	10	25
		60.0	40.0	2.3
		1.8	3.6	
plate	5	12	4	16
		75.0	25.0	1.4
		1.5	1.4	
jug	6	34	15	49
		69.4	30.6	4.4
		4.1	5.4	
others	7	3	3	6
		50.0	50.0	.5
		.4	1.1	
Column		825	280	1105
Total		74.7	25.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 25 Crosstabulation of decoration techniques  
by single and associated motifs.

Decoration techniques by occurrence

Page 1 of 1

		OCCUR		
DECOR	Count	single	in assoc	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	1	2	
painted	1	676	219	895
		75.5	24.5	81.0
		81.9	78.2	
stamped	2	149	54	203
		73.4	26.6	18.4
		18.1	19.3	
painted & stamped	3		7	7
			100.0	.6
			2.5	
Column		825	280	1105
Total		74.7	25.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 26 Crosstabulation of vessel forms  
by decoration techniques.

Forms by decoration techniques

Page 1 of 1

FORMS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1 painted	2 stamped	3 painted & stamped	
		1	2	3	
unknown	0	6 66.7 .7	3 33.3 1.5		9 .8
jar	1	300 98.0 33.5	6 2.0 3.0		306 27.7
cup	2	410 79.9 45.8	100 19.5 49.3	3 .6 42.9	513 46.4
bowl	3	84 46.4 9.4	93 51.4 45.8	4 2.2 57.1	181 16.4
bottle	4	25 100.0 2.8			25 2.3
plate	5	16 100.0 1.8			16 1.4
jug	6	49 100.0 5.5			49 4.4
others	7	5 83.3 .6	1 16.7 .5		6 .5
	Column Total	895 81.0	203 18.4	7 .6	1105 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 27 Frequency of religious motifs.

## MOTIFS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
lts flr	1	477	43.2	43.2	43.2
ank sign	2	136	12.3	12.3	55.5
srp	3	52	4.7	4.7	60.2
sa	4	48	4.3	4.3	64.5
w.e	5	26	2.4	2.4	66.9
crocod	6	18	1.6	1.6	68.5
dmn	7	12	1.1	1.1	69.6
frg	8	9	.8	.8	70.4
plm	9	8	.7	.7	71.1
Hthr	10	7	.6	.6	71.8
o.e	11	7	.6	.6	72.4
Bs	12	5	.5	.5	72.9
djd plr	13	4	.4	.4	73.2
scrpn	14	3	.3	.3	73.5
altr	15	3	.3	.3	73.8
tt	16	2	.2	.2	73.9
vltr	17	2	.2	.2	74.1
grfn	18	2	.2	.2	74.3
ibs	19	2	.2	.2	74.5
ba	20	1	.1	.1	74.6
khpr	21	1	.1	.1	74.7
lts-ank	22	93	8.4	8.4	83.1
srp-s.d	23	36	3.3	3.3	86.3
off.t-Hthr	24	15	1.4	1.4	87.7
lts-dmn	25	11	1.0	1.0	88.7
ank-srp	26	10	.9	.9	89.6
lts-sa	27	8	.7	.7	90.3
ank-sa	28	7	.6	.6	91.0
lts-srp	29	6	.5	.5	91.5
ank-frg	30	6	.5	.5	92.0
lts-frg	31	6	.5	.5	92.6
lts-ank-frg	32	5	.5	.5	93.0
lts-ank-srp	33	4	.4	.4	93.4
lts-ank-sa	34	4	.4	.4	93.8
lts-ank-srp-s.d	35	3	.3	.3	94.0
off.t-lts-Hthr	36	3	.3	.3	94.3
lts-srp-s.d	37	3	.3	.3	94.6
lts-plm	38	3	.3	.3	94.8
ank-Hthr	39	3	.3	.3	95.1
lts-ank-lin	40	2	.2	.2	95.3
lts-bbn	41	2	.2	.2	95.5
lts-sa-w.e	42	2	.2	.2	95.7
ank-plm	43	2	.2	.2	95.8
lts-crocod	44	2	.2	.2	96.0
lts-w.e	45	2	.2	.2	96.2
ank-dmn	46	2	.2	.2	96.4

(Cont.) Table 27

## MOTIFS

lts-ank-dmn	47	1	.1	.1	96.5
ank-o.e	48	1	.1	.1	96.6
lts-ba	49	1	.1	.1	96.7
ank-crocod	50	1	.1	.1	96.7
lts-ank-w.e	51	1	.1	.1	96.8
lts-Bs	52	1	.1	.1	96.9
lts-Hthr	53	1	.1	.1	97.0
lts-ank-plm	54	1	.1	.1	97.1
ank-frg-off.t-Hthr	55	1	.1	.1	97.2
lts-ank-srp-ibs	56	1	.1	.1	97.3
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn	57	1	.1	.1	97.4
lts-ank-srp-s.d-lin	58	1	.1	.1	97.5
sa-crocod	59	1	.1	.1	97.6
ank-sa-dmn	60	1	.1	.1	97.6
lts-frg-s.d-w.e	61	1	.1	.1	97.7
ank-frg-ibs	62	1	.1	.1	97.8
lts-dmn-crocod	63	1	.1	.1	97.9
ank-s.d-khpr	64	1	.1	.1	98.0
lts-d.plr-w.e	65	1	.1	.1	98.1
off.t-altr-ibs	66	1	.1	.1	98.2
ank-sa-frg	67	1	.1	.1	98.3
lts-sa-srp	68	1	.1	.1	98.4
dmn-Bs	69	1	.1	.1	98.5
scrpn-dmn	70	1	.1	.1	98.6
Hthr-w.e	71	1	.1	.1	98.6
lts-ibs	72	1	.1	.1	98.7
lts-lin	73	1	.1	.1	98.8
sa-srp	74	1	.1	.1	98.9
sa-o.e	75	1	.1	.1	99.0
srp-dmn	76	1	.1	.1	99.1
sa-bbn	77	1	.1	.1	99.2
frg-bbn	78	1	.1	.1	99.3
ank-off.t	79	1	.1	.1	99.4
ank-ibs	80	1	.1	.1	99.5
lts-vltre	81	1	.1	.1	99.5
ank-off.t-Hthr	82	1	.1	.1	99.6
srp-scrpn-Bs	83	1	.1	.1	99.7
ank-s.d	84	1	.1	.1	99.8
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85	1	.1	.1	99.9
lts-grfn	86	1	.1	.1	100.0
Total		1105	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 1105

Missing cases 0

Table 28 Crosstabulation of the religious motifs by Meroitic domains.

MOTIFS by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 1 of 9
MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct			Row Total
		northern 1	southern 2	
1ts flr	1	379 79.5 50.7	98 20.5 27.4	477 43.2
ank sign	2	49 36.0 6.6	87 64.0 24.3	136 12.3
srp	3	26 50.0 3.5	26 50.0 7.3	52 4.7
sa	4	27 56.3 3.6	21 43.8 5.9	48 4.3
w.e	5	14 53.8 1.9	12 46.2 3.4	26 2.4
crocod	6	17 94.4 2.3	1 5.6 .3	18 1.6
dmn	7	12 100.0 1.6		12 1.1
frg	8	6 66.7 .8	3 33.3 .8	9 .8
plm	9	8 100.0 1.1		8 .7
Hthr	10	5 71.4 .7	2 28.6 .6	7 .6
Column (Continued) Total		747 67.6	358 32.4	1105 100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

MOTIFS	Count		DOMAINS		Row Total
	Row Pct	Col Pct	northern	southern	
			1	2	
o.e	11		7 100.0 .9		7 .6
Bs	12		4 80.0 .5	1 20.0 .3	5 .5
djd plr	13		4 100.0 .5		4 .4
scrpn	14		2 66.7 .3	1 33.3 .3	3 .3
altr	15		3 100.0 .4		3 .3
tt	16			2 100.0 .6	2 .2
vtre	17		1 50.0 .1	1 50.0 .3	2 .2
grfn	18		2 100.0 .3		2 .2
ibs	19		2 100.0 .3		2 .2
ba	20			1 100.0 .3	1 .1
(Continued)		Column Total	747 67.6	358 32.4	1105 100.0

(cont.) Table 28

MOTIFS by domains

MOTIFS	Count		DOMAINS		Row Total
	Row	Pct	northern	southern	
	Col	Pct			
			1	2	
khpr	21			1	1
				100.0	.1
				.3	
lts-ank	22		60	33	93
			64.5	35.5	8.4
			8.0	9.2	
srp-s.d	23		7	29	36
			19.4	80.6	3.3
			.9	8.1	
off.t-Hthr	24		3	12	15
			20.0	80.0	1.4
			.4	3.4	
lts-dmn	25		11		11
			100.0		1.0
			1.5		
ank-srp	26		9	1	10
			90.0	10.0	.9
			1.2	.3	
lts-sa	27		5	3	8
			62.5	37.5	.7
			.7	.8	
ank-sa	28		7		7
			100.0		.6
			.9		
lts-srp	29		6		6
			100.0		.5
			.8		
ank-frg	30		4	2	6
			66.7	33.3	.5
			.5	.6	
Column			747	358	1105
(Continued) Total			67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 4 of 9	
		Count			
		Row Pct	northern	southern	
		Col Pct			Row
			1	2	Total
MOTIFS					
	31		6		6
lts-frg		100.0			.5
		.8			
	32		4	1	5
lts-ank-frg		80.0	20.0		.5
		.5	.3		
	33		3	1	4
lts-ank-srp		75.0	25.0		.4
		.4	.3		
	34		4		4
lts-ank-sa		100.0			.4
		.5			
	35		2	1	3
lts-ank-srp-s.d		66.7	33.3		.3
		.3	.3		
	36		1	2	3
off.t-lts-Hthr		33.3	66.7		.3
		.1	.6		
	37		3		3
lts-srp-s.d		100.0			.3
		.4			
	38		3		3
lts-plm		100.0			.3
		.4			
	39		1	2	3
ank-Hthr		33.3	66.7		.3
		.1	.6		
	40		2		2
lts-ank-lin		100.0			.2
		.3			
Column			747	358	1105
(Continued)	Total		67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 5 of 9
MOTIFS	Count			Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct	northern	southern	
		1	2	
41		2		2
lts-bbn		100.0		.2
		.3		
42		2		2
lts-sa-w.e		100.0		.2
		.3		
43		2		2
ank-plm		100.0		.2
		.3		
44		1	1	2
lts-crocod		50.0	50.0	.2
		.1	.3	
45			2	2
lts-w.e			100.0	.2
			.6	
46		2		2
ank-dmn		100.0		.2
		.3		
47		1		1
lts-ank-dmn		100.0		.1
		.1		
48			1	1
ank-o.e			100.0	.1
			.3	
49			1	1
lts-ba			100.0	.1
			.3	
50		1		1
ank-crocod		100.0		.1
		.1		
Column		747	358	1105
(Continued)	Total	67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

MOTIFS	Count		DOMAINS		Row Total
	Row	Pct	northern	southern	
	Col	Pct	1	2	
	51			1	1
lts-ank-w.e				100.0	.1
				.3	
	52		1		1
lts-Bs			100.0		.1
			.1		
	53		1		1
lts-Hthr			100.0		.1
			.1		
	54		1		1
lts-ank-plm			100.0		.1
			.1		
	55		1		1
ank-frg-off.t-Ht			100.0		.1
hr			.1		
	56		1		1
lts-ank-srp-ibs			100.0		.1
			.1		
	57		1		1
lts-ank-Hthr-bbn			100.0		.1
			.1		
	58		1		1
lts-ank-srp-s.d-			100.0		.1
lin			.1		
	59		1		1
sa-crocod			100.0		.1
			.1		
	60		1		1
ank-sa-dmn			100.0		.1
			.1		
	Column		747	358	1105
(Continued) Total			67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 7 of 9
MOTIFS	Count			Row Total
	Row Pct	northern	southern	
	Col Pct	1	2	
61	1	1		1
lts-frg-s.d-w.e	100.0			.1
	.1			
62	1			1
ank-frg-ibs	100.0			.1
	.1			
63	1			1
lts-dmn-crocod	100.0			.1
	.1			
64			1	1
ank-s.d-khpr			100.0	.1
			.3	
65			1	1
lts-d.plr-w.e			100.0	.1
			.3	
66	1			1
off.t-altr-ibs	100.0			.1
	.1			
67	1			1
ank-sa-frg	100.0			.1
	.1			
68	1			1
lts-sa-srp	100.0			.1
	.1			
69	1			1
dmn-Bs	100.0			.1
	.1			
70			1	1
scrpn-dmn			100.0	.1
			.3	
Column		747	358	1105
(Continued) Total		67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

## MOTIFS by domains

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DOMAINS		Page 8 of 9
		northern	southern	Row Total
		1	2	
Hthr-w.e	71	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-ibs	72	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-lin	73	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
sa-srp	74	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
sa-o.e	75	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
srp-dmn	76	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
sa-bbn	77		1 100.0 .3	1 .1
frg-bbn	78		1 100.0 .3	1 .1
ank-off.t	79		1 100.0 .3	1 .1
ank-ibs	80		1 100.0 .3	1 .1
Column		747	358	1105
(Continued)	Total	67.6	32.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 28

MOTIFS by domains

Page 9 of 9

MOTIFS	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DOMAINS		Row Total
		northern	southern	
		1	2	
lts-vltre	81 100.0 .1	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
ank-off.t-Hthr	82 100.0 .3		1 100.0 .3	1 .1
srp-scrpn-Bs	83 100.0 .1	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
ank-s.d	84 100.0 .1	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-ank-sa-dmn	85 100.0 .1	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
lts-grfn	86 100.0 .1	1 100.0 .1		1 .1
Column		747	358	1105
Total		67.6	32.4	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

Table 29 Frequency of lotus-flower types.

## LOTUS-FLOWERS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
open lts	1	32	2.9	4.9	4.9
buds	2	73	6.6	11.2	16.1
lts leafy stems	3	30	2.7	4.6	20.6
rosettes	4	99	9.0	15.1	35.8
crescents	5	107	9.7	16.4	52.1
truncated lts	6	21	1.9	3.2	55.4
trefoils	7	74	6.7	11.3	66.7
composite lts	8	210	19.0	32.1	98.8
wrapped lts	9	8	.7	1.2	100.0
	.	451	40.8	Missing	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	654	Missing cases	451		

Table 30 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers  
by Meroitic domains.

Lotus-flowers by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 1 of 1
	Count			
	Row Pct	northern	southern	
	Col Pct			Row
		1	2	Total
LTS				
open lts	1	17	15	32
		53.1	46.9	4.9
		3.3	10.3	
buds	2	61	12	73
		83.6	16.4	11.2
		12.0	8.3	
lts leafy stems	3	29	1	30
		96.7	3.3	4.6
		5.7	.7	
rosettes	4	57	42	99
		57.6	42.4	15.1
		11.2	29.0	
crescents	5	82	25	107
		76.6	23.4	16.4
		16.1	17.2	
truncated lts	6	16	5	21
		76.2	23.8	3.2
		3.1	3.4	
trefoils	7	64	10	74
		86.5	13.5	11.3
		12.6	6.9	
composite lts	8	181	29	210
		86.2	13.8	32.1
		35.6	20.0	
wrapped lts	9	2	6	8
		25.0	75.0	1.2
		.4	4.1	
Column		509	145	654
Total		77.8	22.2	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 31 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers  
by Meroitic contexts.

Lotus-flowers by contexts

Page 1 of 1

		CONTEXTS			
	Count Row Pct Col Pct	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total
		0	1	2	
LTS					
open lts	1	4	14	14	32
		12.5	43.8	43.8	4.9
		21.1	2.9	9.7	
buds	2	1	61	11	73
		1.4	83.6	15.1	11.2
		5.3	12.4	7.6	
lts leafy stems	3		29	1	30
			96.7	3.3	4.6
			5.9	.7	
rosettes	4	7	53	39	99
		7.1	53.5	39.4	15.1
		36.8	10.8	26.9	
crescents	5	3	74	30	107
		2.8	69.2	28.0	16.4
		15.8	15.1	20.7	
truncated lts	6		14	7	21
			66.7	33.3	3.2
			2.9	4.8	
trefoils	7		57	17	74
			77.0	23.0	11.3
			11.6	11.7	
composite lts	8	2	186	22	210
		1.0	88.6	10.5	32.1
		10.5	38.0	15.2	
wrapped lts	9	2	2	4	8
		25.0	25.0	50.0	1.2
		10.5	.4	2.8	
Column Total		19	490	145	654
		2.9	74.9	22.2	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 32 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers  
by decoration techniques.

Lotus by decoration techniques

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1 painted	2 stamped	3 painted & stamped	
LTS					
open lts	1	20 62.5 3.4	12 37.5 22.2		32 4.9
buds	2	69 94.5 11.6	3 4.1 5.6	1 1.4 20.0	73 11.2
lts leafy stems	3	30 100.0 5.0			30 4.6
rosettes	4	83 83.8 13.9	14 14.1 25.9	2 2.0 40.0	99 15.1
crescents	5	85 79.4 14.3	21 19.6 38.9	1 .9 20.0	107 16.4
truncated lts	6	20 95.2 3.4		1 4.8 20.0	21 3.2
trefoils	7	72 97.3 12.1	2 2.7 3.7		74 11.3
composite lts	8	208 99.0 35.0	2 1.0 3.7		210 32.1
wrapped lts	9	8 100.0 1.3			8 1.2
Column Total		595 91.0	54 8.3	5 .8	654 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 33 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers by occurrences.

Lotus varieties by occurrence

		OCCUR		Page 1 of 1	
	Count	single	in assoc		
	Row Pct		iation	Row	
	Col Pct	1	2	Total	
LTS					
open lts	1	28	4	32	
		87.5	12.5	4.9	
		5.9	2.3		
buds	2	56	17	73	
		76.7	23.3	11.2	
		11.7	9.6		
lts leafy stems	3	15	15	30	
		50.0	50.0	4.6	
		3.1	8.5		
rosettes	4	65	34	99	
		65.7	34.3	15.1	
		13.6	19.2		
crescents	5	74	33	107	
		69.2	30.8	16.4	
		15.5	18.6		
truncated lts	6	19	2	21	
		90.5	9.5	3.2	
		4.0	1.1		
trefoils	7	67	7	74	
		90.5	9.5	11.3	
		14.0	4.0		
composite lts	8	150	60	210	
		71.4	28.6	32.1	
		31.4	33.9		
wrapped lts	9	3	5	8	
		37.5	62.5	1.2	
		.6	2.8		
Column Total		477	177	654	
		72.9	27.1	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 34 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers by fabric types.

## Lotus-flowers by fabrics

Page 1 of 1

		FAB			
	Count				
	Row Pct	fine	ordinary	coarse	
	Col Pct				Row
		1	2	3	Total
LTS					
open lts	1	26	6		32
		81.3	18.8		4.9
		6.4	2.5		
buds	2	43	30		73
		58.9	41.1		11.2
		10.6	12.3		
lts leafy stems	3	19	11		30
		63.3	36.7		4.6
		4.7	4.5		
rosettes	4	66	33		99
		66.7	33.3		15.1
		16.3	13.6		
crescents	5	78	28	1	107
		72.9	26.2	.9	16.4
		19.2	11.5	20.0	
truncated lts	6	17	4		21
		81.0	19.0		3.2
		4.2	1.6		
trefoils	7	45	29		74
		60.8	39.2		11.3
		11.1	11.9		
composite lts	8	105	101	4	210
		50.0	48.1	1.9	32.1
		25.9	41.6	80.0	
wrapped lts	9	7	1		8
		87.5	12.5		1.2
		1.7	.4		
Column		406	243	5	654
Total		62.1	37.2	.8	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 35 Crosstabulation of lotus-flowers by vessel forms.

Lotus-flowers by vessel forms

Page 1 of 2

		FORMS					Row Total
	Count Row Pct Col Pct	unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
LTS							
open lts	1		5 15.6 2.7	15 46.9 4.4	11 34.4 15.5		32 4.9
buds	2		26 35.6 14.1	38 52.1 11.2	5 6.8 7.0	1 1.4 7.7	73 11.2
lts leafy stems	3	1 3.3 20.0	7 23.3 3.8	17 56.7 5.0			30 4.6
rosettes	4	2 2.0 40.0	20 20.2 10.9	38 38.4 11.2	31 31.3 43.7	5 5.1 38.5	99 15.1
crescents	5		18 16.8 9.8	65 60.7 19.2	14 13.1 19.7		107 16.4
truncated lts	6		1 4.8 .5	16 76.2 4.7	1 4.8 1.4	2 9.5 15.4	21 3.2
trefoils	7		18 24.3 9.8	44 59.5 13.0	1 1.4 1.4	4 5.4 30.8	74 11.3
composite lts	8	2 1.0 40.0	89 42.4 48.4	97 46.2 28.7	8 3.8 11.3	1 .5 7.7	210 32.1
wrapped lts	9			8 100.0 2.4			8 1.2
Column (Continued) Total		5 .8	184 28.1	338 51.7	71 10.9	13 2.0	654 100.0

(cont.) Table 35

## Lotus-flowers by vessel forms

Page 2 of 2

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate	jug	others	
		5	6	7	
LTS					
open lts	1	1 3.1 16.7			32 4.9
buds	2	1 1.4 16.7	2 2.7 5.6		73 11.2
lts leafy stems	3		5 16.7 13.9		30 4.6
rosettes	4	1 1.0 16.7	2 2.0 5.6		99 15.1
crescents	5		10 9.3 27.8		107 16.4
truncated lts	6		1 4.8 2.8		21 3.2
trefoils	7	1 1.4 16.7	6 8.1 16.7		74 11.3
composite lts	8	2 1.0 33.3	10 4.8 27.8	1 .5 100.0	210 32.1
wrapped lts	9				8 1.2
Column Total		6 .9	36 5.5	1 .2	654 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 451

Table 36 Frequency of 'ankh-sign types.

## 'ANKH-SIGNS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
reg.with loop centre	1	85	7.7	28.8	28.8
floral	2	69	6.2	23.4	52.2
winged	3	26	2.4	8.8	61.0
crosses	4	20	1.8	6.8	67.8
ribbed	5	4	.4	1.4	69.2
geometric	6	4	.4	1.4	70.5
reg.without loop centre	7	80	7.2	27.1	97.6
with w.e markings	8	7	.6	2.4	100.0
.		810	73.3	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	295	Missing cases	810		

Table 37 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs  
by Meroitic domains.

'Ankh-sign by domains

		DOMAINS		Page 1 of 1
	Count	northern	southern	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct			
ANKH		1	2	
reg.with loop centre	1	39	46	85
		45.9	54.1	28.8
		24.2	34.3	
floral	2	50	19	69
		72.5	27.5	23.4
		31.1	14.2	
winged	3	23	3	26
		88.5	11.5	8.8
		14.3	2.2	
crosses	4	13	7	20
		65.0	35.0	6.8
		8.1	5.2	
ribbed	5	1	3	4
		25.0	75.0	1.4
		.6	2.2	
geometric	6	3	1	4
		75.0	25.0	1.4
		1.9	.7	
reg.without loop	7	26	54	80
		32.5	67.5	27.1
		16.1	40.3	
with w.e marking	8	6	1	7
		85.7	14.3	2.4
		3.7	.7	
Column Total		161	134	295
		54.6	45.4	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 38 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs by contexts.

'Ankh-signs by contexts

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	CONTEXTS			Row Total
		unknown 0	cemetery 1	settlement 2	
ANKH					
1		4	45	36	85
reg.with loop ce		4.7	52.9	42.4	28.8
ntre		22.2	24.6	38.3	
2			51	18	69
floral			73.9	26.1	23.4
			27.9	19.1	
3			20	6	26
winged			76.9	23.1	8.8
			10.9	6.4	
4			16	4	20
crosses			80.0	20.0	6.8
			8.7	4.3	
5			1	3	4
ribbed			25.0	75.0	1.4
			.5	3.2	
6			4		4
geometric			100.0		1.4
			2.2		
7		14	39	27	80
reg.without loop		17.5	48.8	33.8	27.1
		77.8	21.3	28.7	
8			7		7
with w.e marking			100.0		2.4
			3.8		
Column		18	183	94	295
Total		6.1	62.0	31.9	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 39 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs  
by decoration techniques.

'Ankh-signs by decoration techniques

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	DECOR			Row Total
		1 painted	2 stamped	3 painted & stamped	
ANKH					
1		70	13	2	85
reg.with loop ce		82.4	15.3	2.4	28.8
ntre		30.6	21.0	50.0	
2		68		1	69
floral		98.6		1.4	23.4
		29.7		25.0	
3		24	2		26
winged		92.3	7.7		8.8
		10.5	3.2		
4		15	5		20
crosses		75.0	25.0		6.8
		6.6	8.1		
5		1	3		4
ribbed		25.0	75.0		1.4
		.4	4.8		
6		4			4
geometric		100.0			1.4
		1.7			
7		41	38	1	80
reg.without loop		51.3	47.5	1.3	27.1
		17.9	61.3	25.0	
8		6	1		7
with w.e marking		85.7	14.3		2.4
		2.6	1.6		
Column Total		229 77.6	62 21.0	4 1.4	295 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 40 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs by occurrences.

'Ankh-signs by occurrence

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	OCCUR		Row Total
		single 1	in assoc iation 2	
ANKH				
1		46	39	85
reg.with loop ce		54.1	45.9	28.8
ntr		33.8	24.5	
2		11	58	69
floral		15.9	84.1	23.4
		8.1	36.5	
3		14	12	26
winged		53.8	46.2	8.8
		10.3	7.5	
4		8	12	20
crosses		40.0	60.0	6.8
		5.9	7.5	
5		3	1	4
ribbed		75.0	25.0	1.4
		2.2	.6	
6		1	3	4
geometric		25.0	75.0	1.4
		.7	1.9	
7		51	29	80
reg.without loop		63.8	36.3	27.1
centre		37.5	18.2	
8		2	5	7
with w.e marking		28.6	71.4	2.4
		1.5	3.1	
Column		136	159	295
Total		46.1	53.9	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 41 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs by fabric types.

'Ankh-sign by fabrics

Page 1 of 1

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FAB			Row Total
		fine	ordinary	coarse	
		1	2	3	
ANKH					
reg.with loop centre	1	61	24		85
		71.8	28.2		28.8
		33.5	22.0		
floral	2	36	33		69
		52.2	47.8		23.4
		19.8	30.3		
winged	3	8	18		26
		30.8	69.2		8.8
		4.4	16.5		
crosses	4	14	5	1	20
		70.0	25.0	5.0	6.8
		7.7	4.6	25.0	
ribbed	5	3	1		4
		75.0	25.0		1.4
		1.6	.9		
geometric	6	2	2		4
		50.0	50.0		1.4
		1.1	1.8		
reg.without loop	7	57	20	3	80
		71.3	25.0	3.8	27.1
		31.3	18.3	75.0	
with w.e marking	8	1	6		7
		14.3	85.7		2.4
		.5	5.5		
Column Total		182	109	4	295
		61.7	36.9	1.4	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 42 Crosstabulation of 'ankh-signs by vessel forms.

'Ankh-sign by forms

Page 1 of 2

		FORMS						
		Count	unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		Row Pct						
		Col Pct						
			0	1	2	3	4	
							Row Total	
ANKH								
	1		1	19	33	22	3	85
reg.with loop ce		1.2	1.2	22.4	38.8	25.9	3.5	28.8
ntr		33.3	33.3	21.1	29.7	36.7	30.0	
	2		2	26	21	12	2	69
floral		2.9	2.9	37.7	30.4	17.4	2.9	23.4
		66.7	66.7	28.9	18.9	20.0	20.0	
	3			15	6	2		26
winged				57.7	23.1	7.7		8.8
				16.7	5.4	3.3		
	4			4	12	2		20
crosses				20.0	60.0	10.0		6.8
				4.4	10.8	3.3		
	5			1	2	1		4
ribbed				25.0	50.0	25.0		1.4
				1.1	1.8	1.7		
	6			2	2			4
geometric				50.0	50.0			1.4
				2.2	1.8			
	7			20	35	20	3	80
reg.without loop				25.0	43.8	25.0	3.8	27.1
				22.2	31.5	33.3	30.0	
	8			3		1	2	7
with w.e marking				42.9		14.3	28.6	2.4
				3.3		1.7	20.0	
Column			3	90	111	60	10	295
(Continued)	Total		1.0	30.5	37.6	20.3	3.4	100.0

(cont.) Table 42

'Ankh-signs by forms

Page 2 of 2

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate	jug	others	
		5	6	7	
ANKH					
1		2	4	1	85
reg.with loop ce		2.4	4.7	1.2	28.8
ntr		66.7	26.7	33.3	
2		1	4	1	69
floral		1.4	5.8	1.4	23.4
		33.3	26.7	33.3	
3			3		26
winged			11.5		8.8
			20.0		
4			2		20
crosses			10.0		6.8
			13.3		
5					4
ribbed					1.4
6					4
geometric					1.4
7			1	1	80
reg.without loop			1.3	1.3	27.1
			6.7	33.3	
8			1		7
with w.e marking			14.3		2.4
			6.7		
Column		3	15	3	295
Total		1.0	5.1	1.0	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 810

Table 43 Frequency of Sa-knot types.

## SA-KNOTS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
regular	1	42	3.8	54.5	54.5
geometric	2	4	.4	5.2	59.7
winged	3	16	1.4	20.8	80.5
connected	4	15	1.4	19.5	100.0
	.	1028	93.0	Missing	
	Total	1105	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	77	Missing cases	1028		

Table 44 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots by Meroitic domains.

Sa-knots by domains

Page 1 of 1

		DOMAINS		
		Count		
		Row Pct	northern	southern
		Col Pct	1	2
SA				
regular	1	26	16	42
		61.9	38.1	54.5
		50.0	64.0	
geometric	2	4		4
		100.0		5.2
		7.7		
winged	3	14	2	16
		87.5	12.5	20.8
		26.9	8.0	
connected	4	8	7	15
		53.3	46.7	19.5
		15.4	28.0	
Column		52	25	77
Total		67.5	32.5	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028

Table 45 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots by contexts.

Sa-knots by contexts

Page 1 of 1

		CONTEXTS			
SA	Count Row Pct Col Pct	unknown	cemetery	settlement	Row Total
		0	1	2	
regular	1	3 7.1 100.0	24 57.1 48.0	15 35.7 62.5	42 54.5
	2		4 100.0 8.0		4 5.2
	3		14 87.5 28.0	2 12.5 8.3	16 20.8
winged	4		8 53.3 16.0	7 46.7 29.2	15 19.5
	5				
	6				
connected	7				
	8				
	9				
Column Total		3 3.9	50 64.9	24 31.2	77 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028

Table 46 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots  
by decoration techniques.

## Sa-knots by decoration techniques

Page 1 of 1

		DECOR			
	Count	painted	stamped	painted & stamped	Row Total
	Row Pct Col Pct				
		1	2	3	
SA	regular	26	14	2	42
		61.9	33.3	4.8	54.5
		43.3	100.0	66.7	
geometric	2	4			4
		100.0			5.2
		6.7			
winged	3	16			16
		100.0			20.8
		26.7			
connected	4	14		1	15
		93.3		6.7	19.5
		23.3		33.3	
Column		60	14	3	77
Total		77.9	18.2	3.9	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028

Table 47 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots by occurrences.

Sa-knots by occurrence

Page 1 of 1

		OCCUR		
SA	Count	single	in assoc	Row
	Row Pct Col Pct	1	2	
regular	1	25	17	42
		59.5	40.5	54.5
		52.1	58.6	
geometric	2	4		4
		100.0		5.2
		8.3		
winged	3	9	7	16
		56.3	43.8	20.8
		18.8	24.1	
connected	4	10	5	15
		66.7	33.3	19.5
		20.8	17.2	
Column		48	29	77
Total		62.3	37.7	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028

Table 48 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots by fabric types.

Sa-knots by fabrics

Page 1 of 1

		FAB			
		Count			
	Row Pct	Col Pct	fine	ordinary	coarse
SA			1	2	3
regular	1		29	11	2
			69.0	26.2	4.8
			56.9	45.8	100.0
geometric	2		3	1	
			75.0	25.0	
			5.9	4.2	
winged	3		4	12	
			25.0	75.0	
			7.8	50.0	
connected	4		15		
			100.0		
			29.4		
Column			51	24	2
Total			66.2	31.2	2.6
					77
					100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028

Table 49 Crosstabulation of Sa-knots by vessel forms.

Sa-knots by forms

Page 1 of 2

	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS					Row Total
		unknown	jar	cup	bowl	bottle	
		0	1	2	3	4	
SA							
regular	1		8	22	9		42
			19.0	52.4	21.4		54.5
			40.0	57.9	75.0		
geometric	2			3			4
				75.0			5.2
				7.9			
winged	3	1	10	2	1	1	16
		6.3	62.5	12.5	6.3	6.3	20.8
		100.0	50.0	5.3	8.3	100.0	
connected	4		2	11	2		15
			13.3	73.3	13.3		19.5
			10.0	28.9	16.7		
Column		1	20	38	12	1	77
(Continued) Total		1.3	26.0	49.4	15.6	1.3	100.0

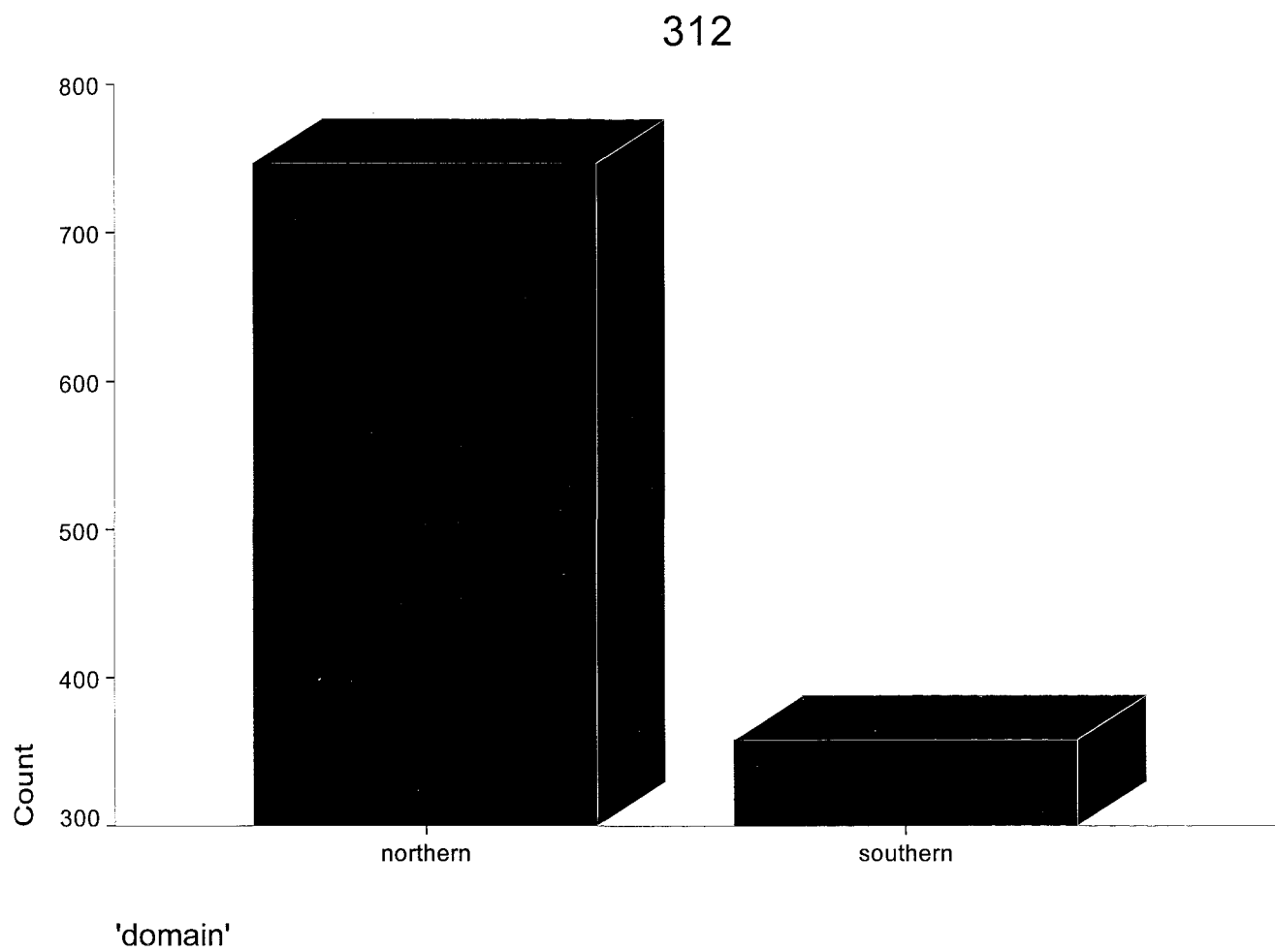
(cont.) Table 49

Sa-knots by forms

Page 2 of 2

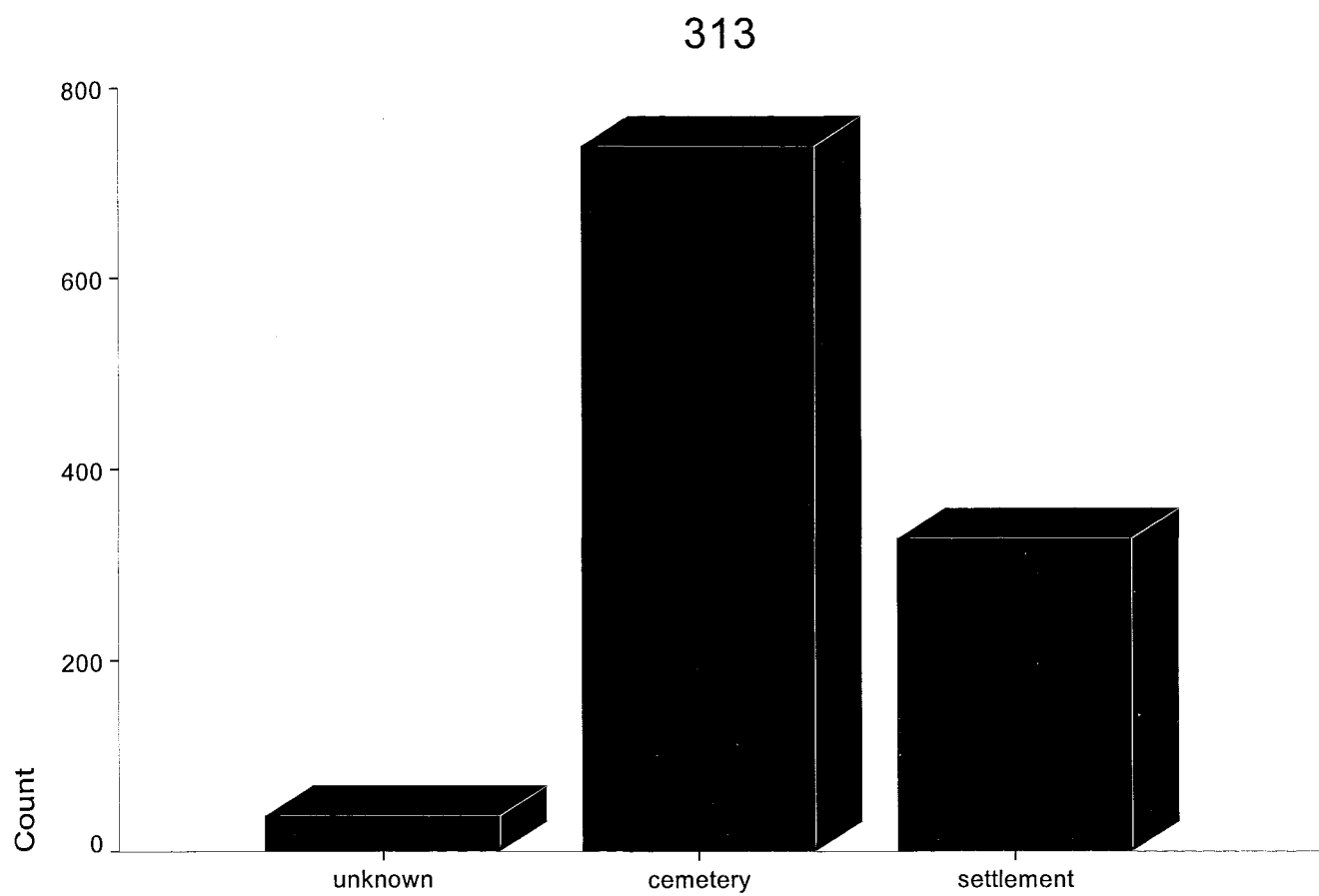
	Count Row Pct Col Pct	FORMS			Row Total
		plate	jug	others	
		5	6	7	
SA					
regular	1	1 2.4 100.0		2 4.8 100.0	42 54.5
	2		1 25.0 50.0		4 5.2
	3		1 6.3 50.0		16 20.8
connected	4				15 19.5
Column Total		1 1.3	2 2.6	2 2.6	77 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1028



Cht. 1

Bar chart of religious motifs by Meroitic domains.

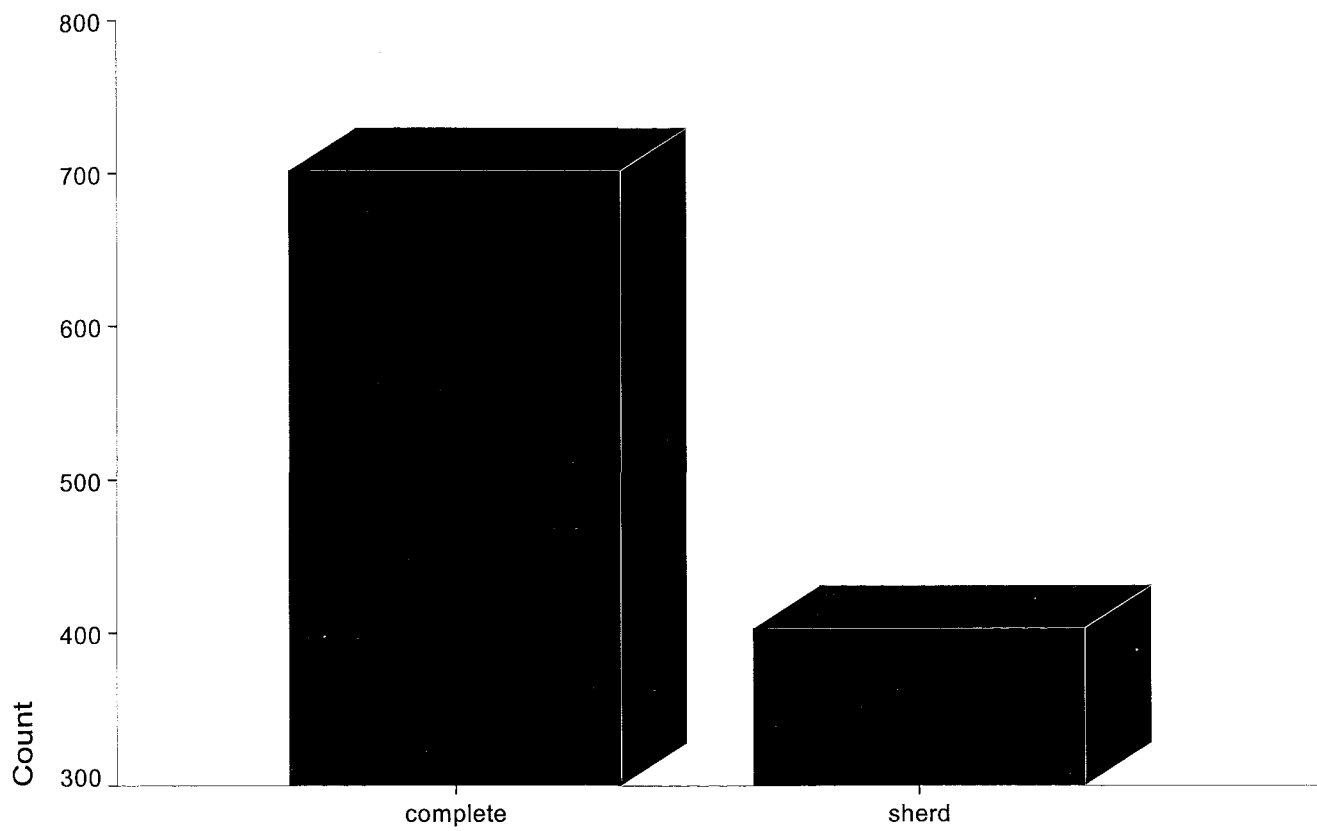


context 'context'

Cht. 2

Bar chart of religious motifs by contexts.

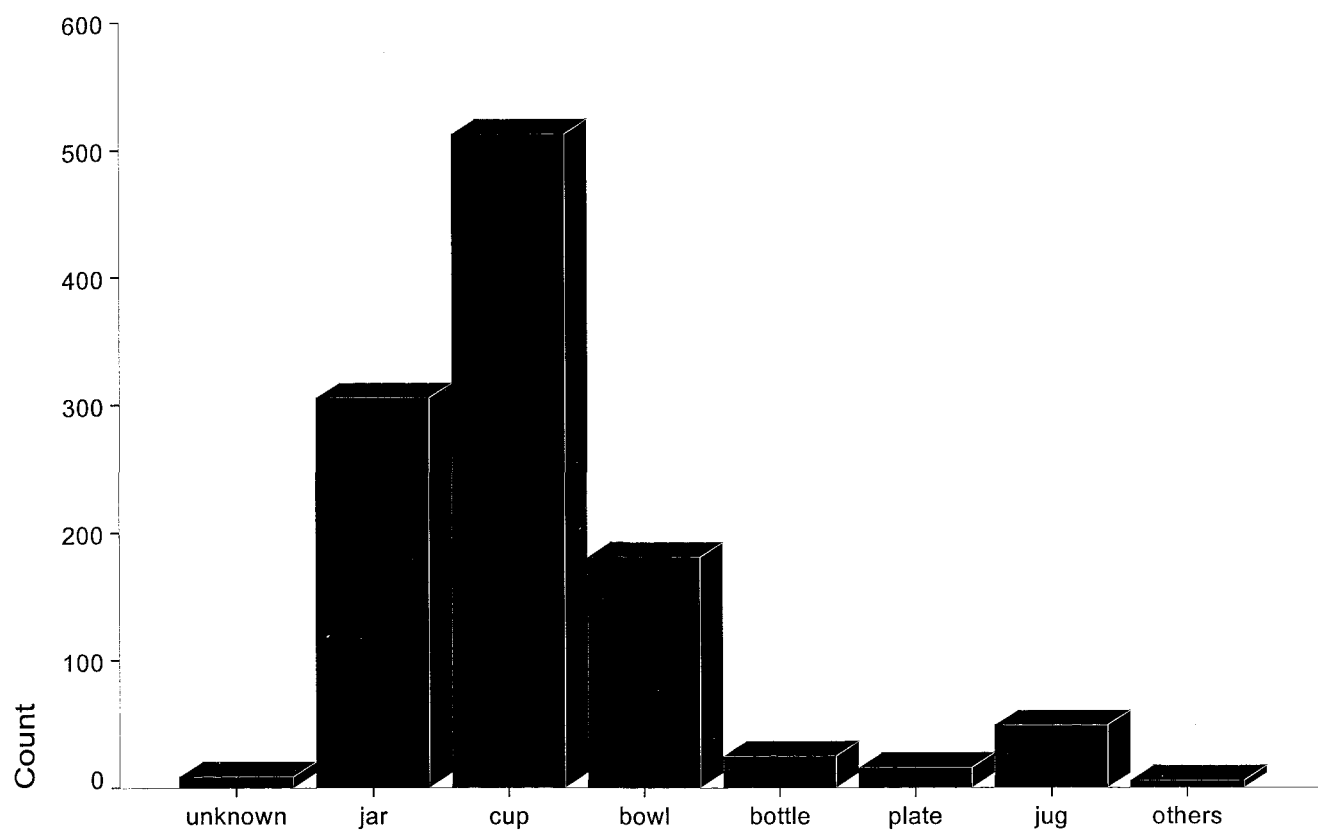
314



cond

Cht. 3

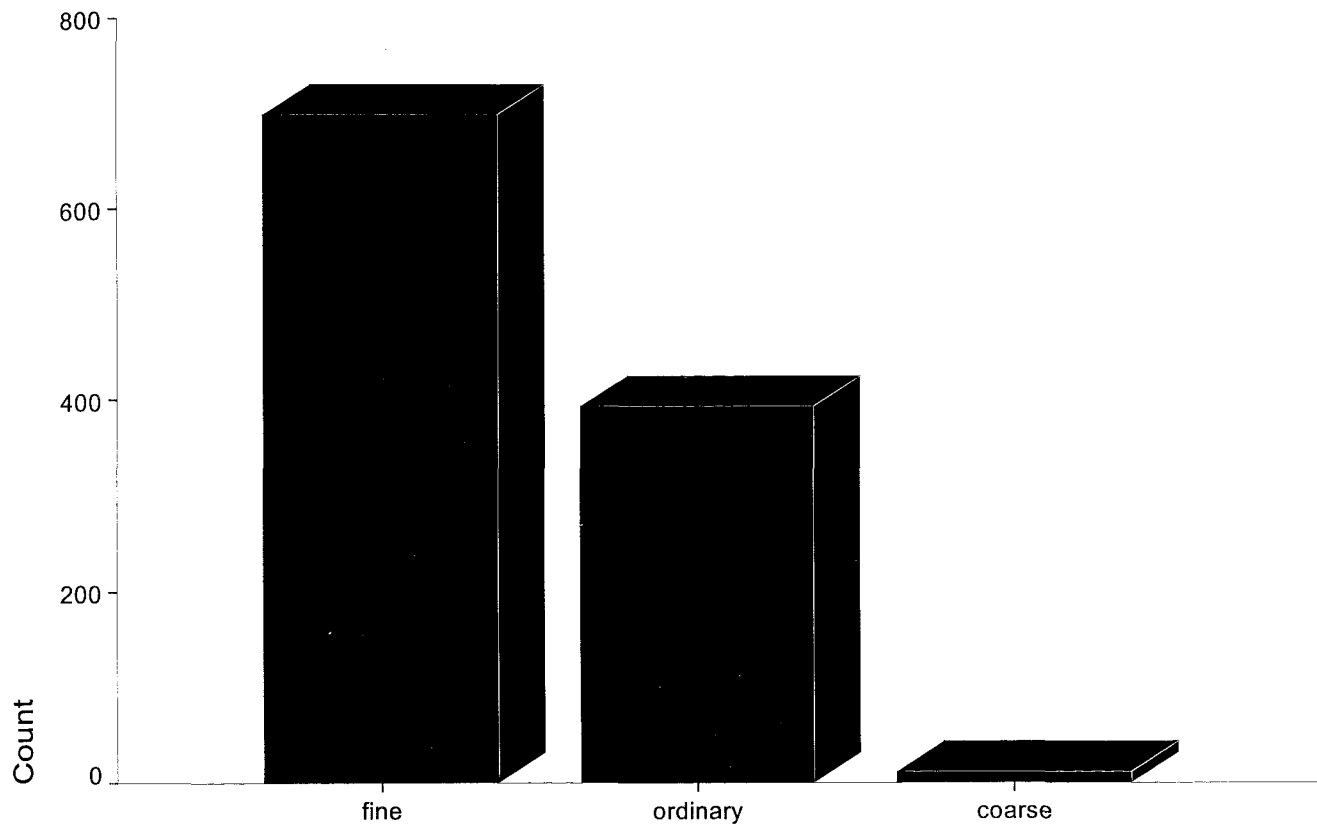
Bar chart religious motifs by sherds and complete vessels.



form 'form'

Cht. 4

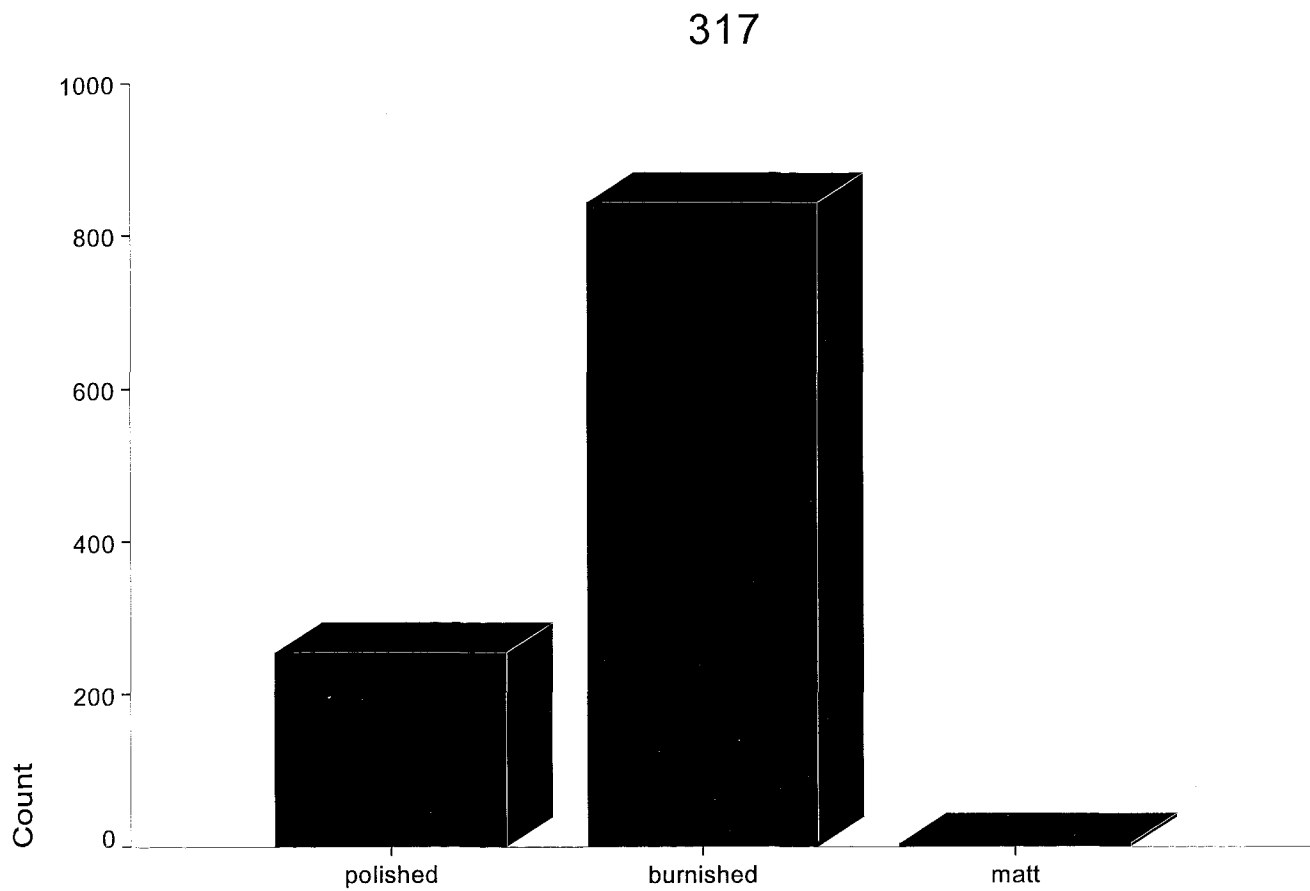
Bar chart of religious motifs by vessel forms.



fabric 'fabric'

Cht. 5

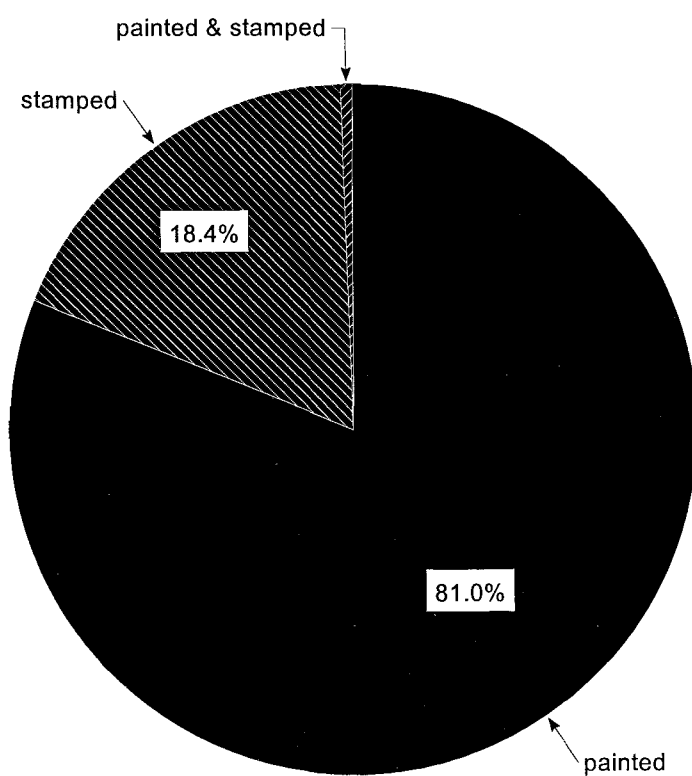
Bar chart of religious motifs by fabric types.



surface 'surface'

Cht. 6

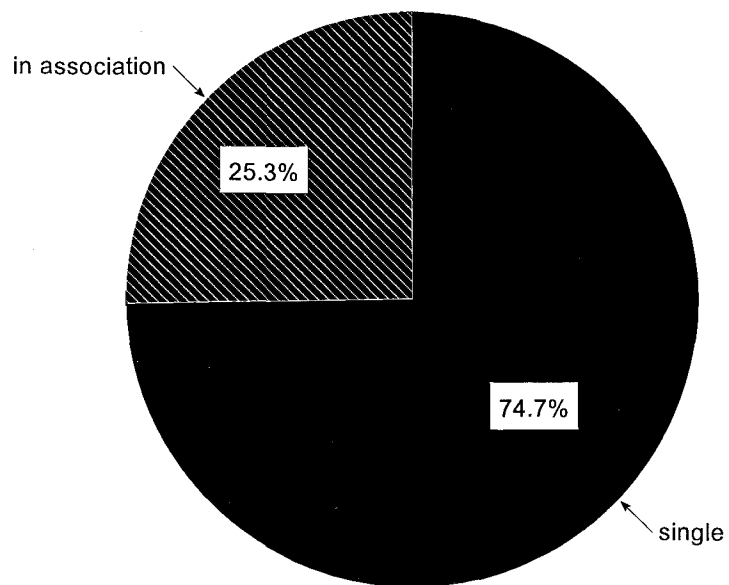
Bar chart of religious motifs by surface treatment.



Cht. 7

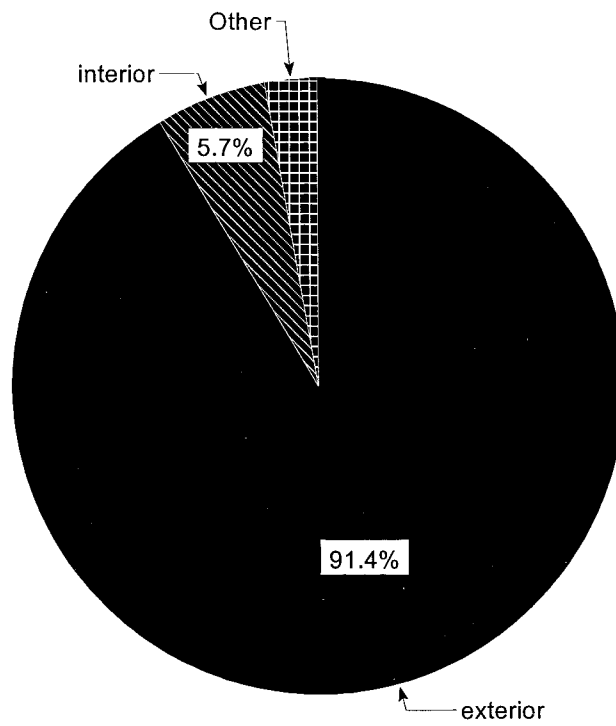
Pie chart of religious motifs by decoration techniques.

319



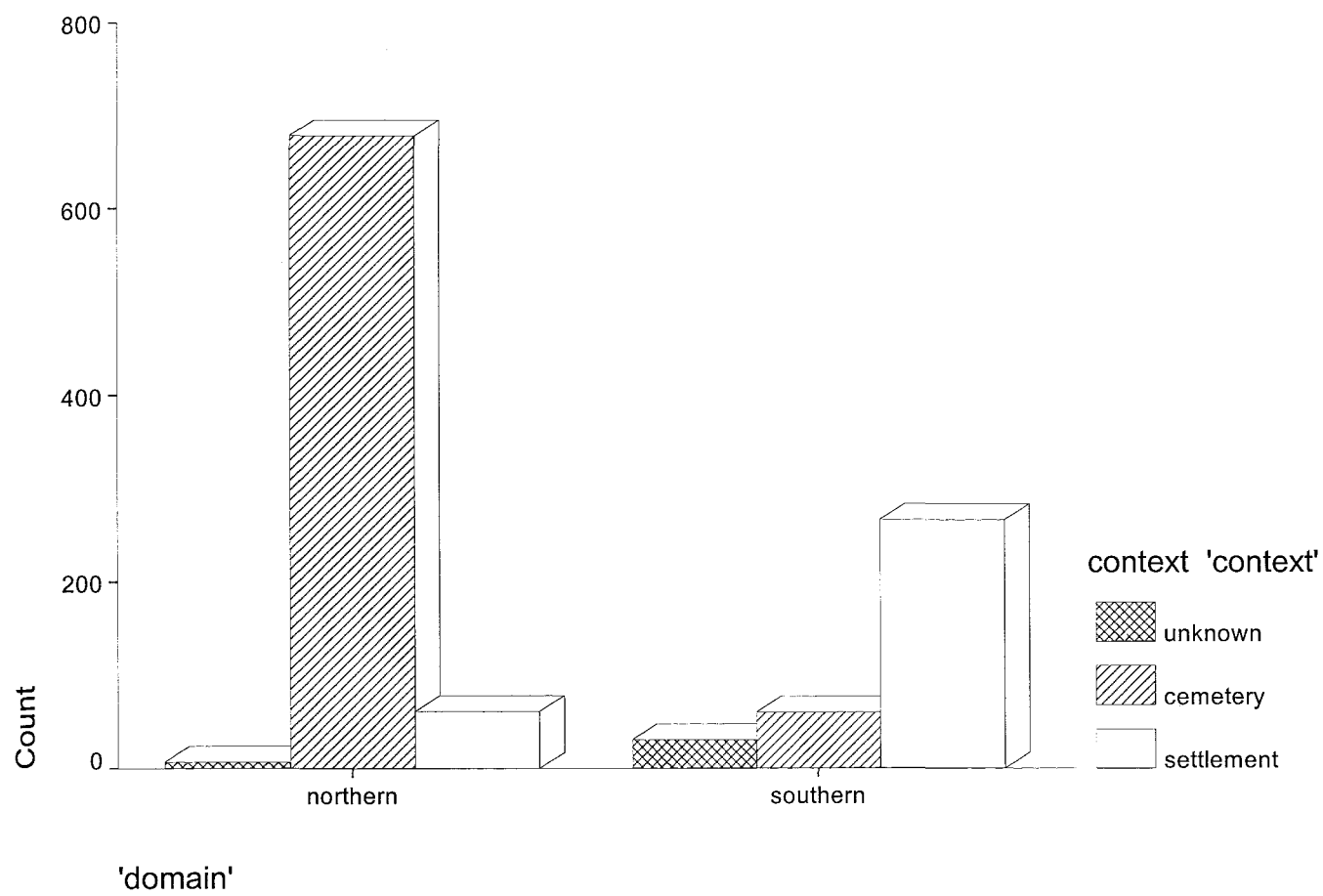
Cht. 8

Pie chart of frequency of single and associated motifs.



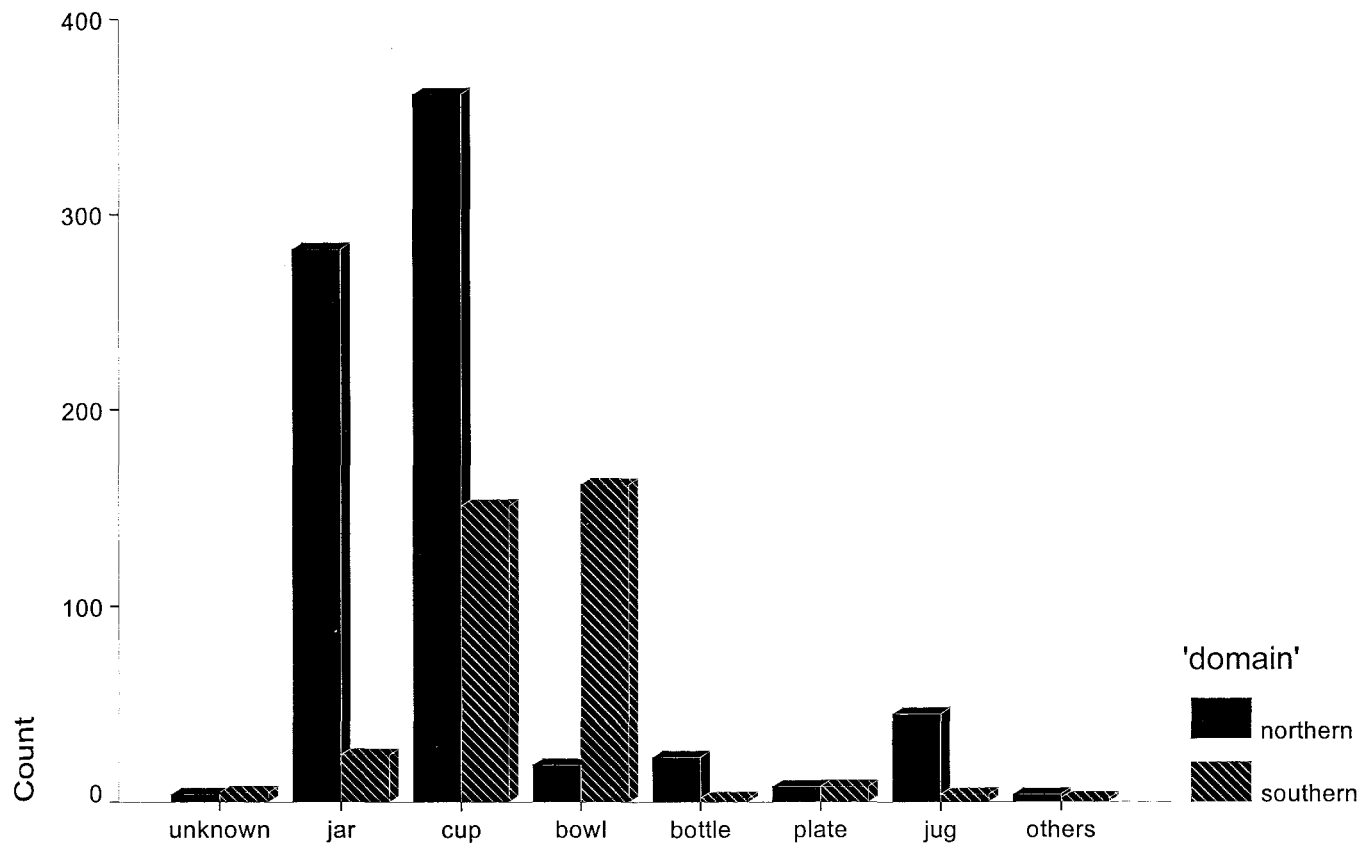
Cht. 9

Pie chart of religious motifs by decoration location.



Cht. 10

Bar chart of religious motifs by domains and by contexts.

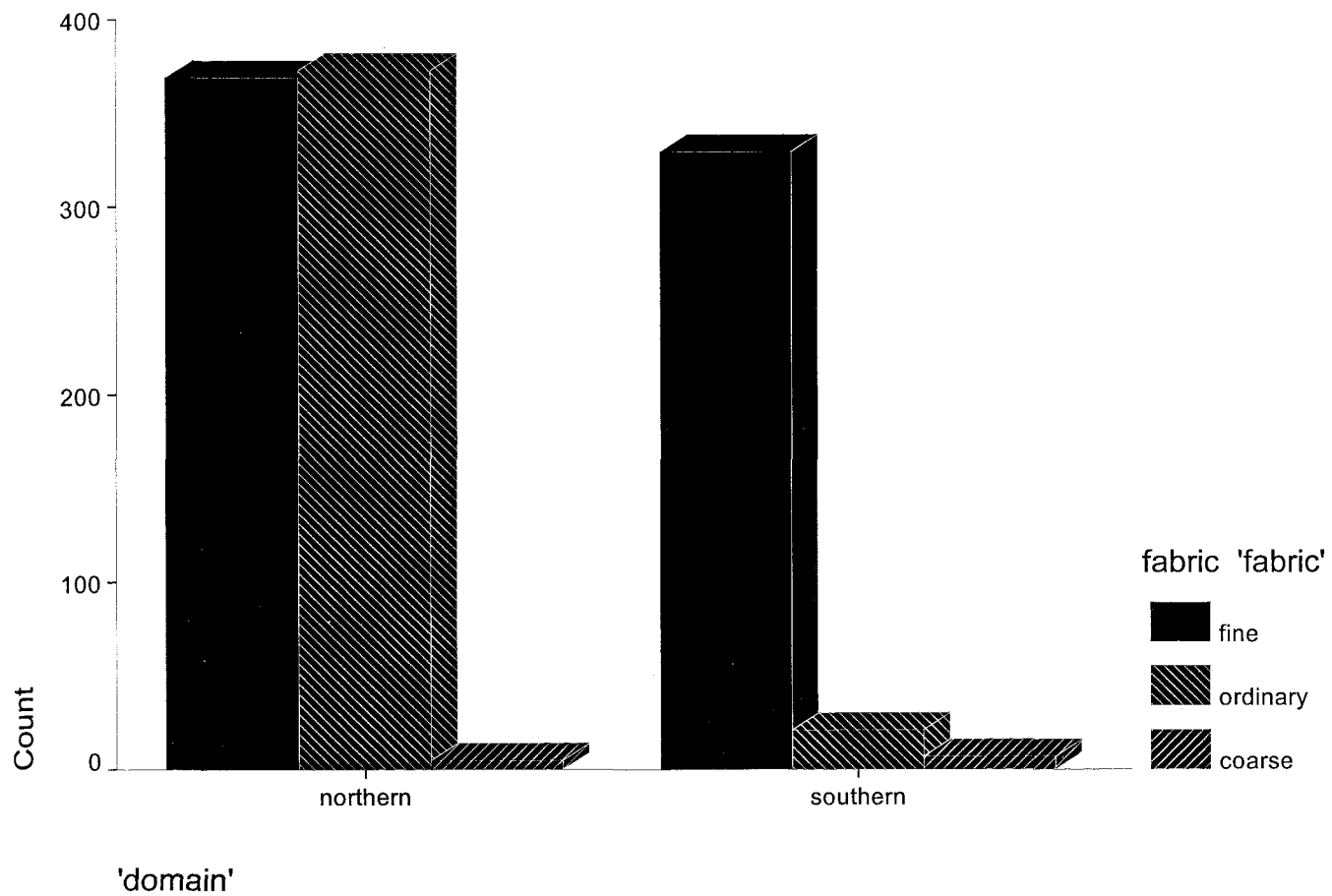


form 'form'

Cht. 11

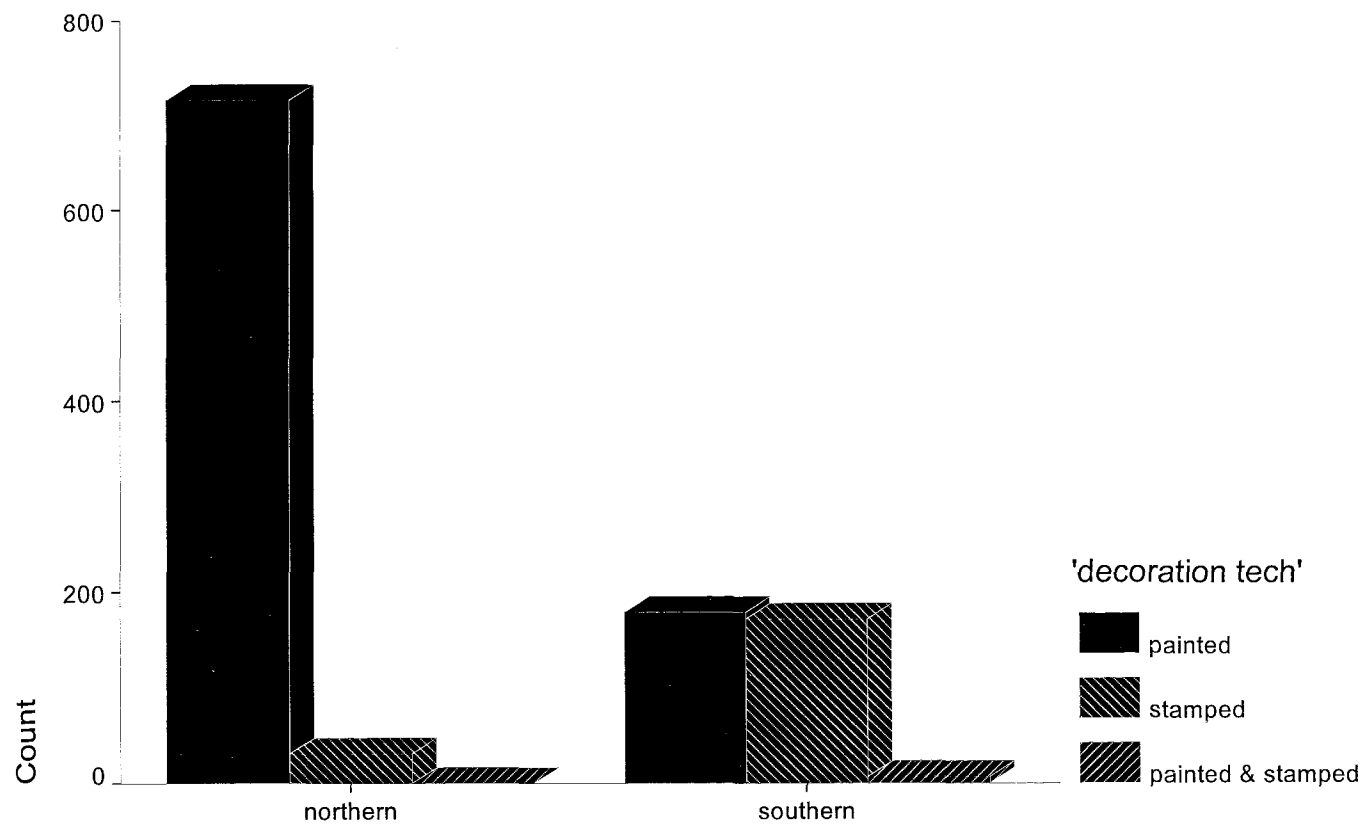
Bar chart of religious motifs by vessel forms and by domains.

323



Cht. 12

Bar chart of religious motifs by domains and by fabrics.

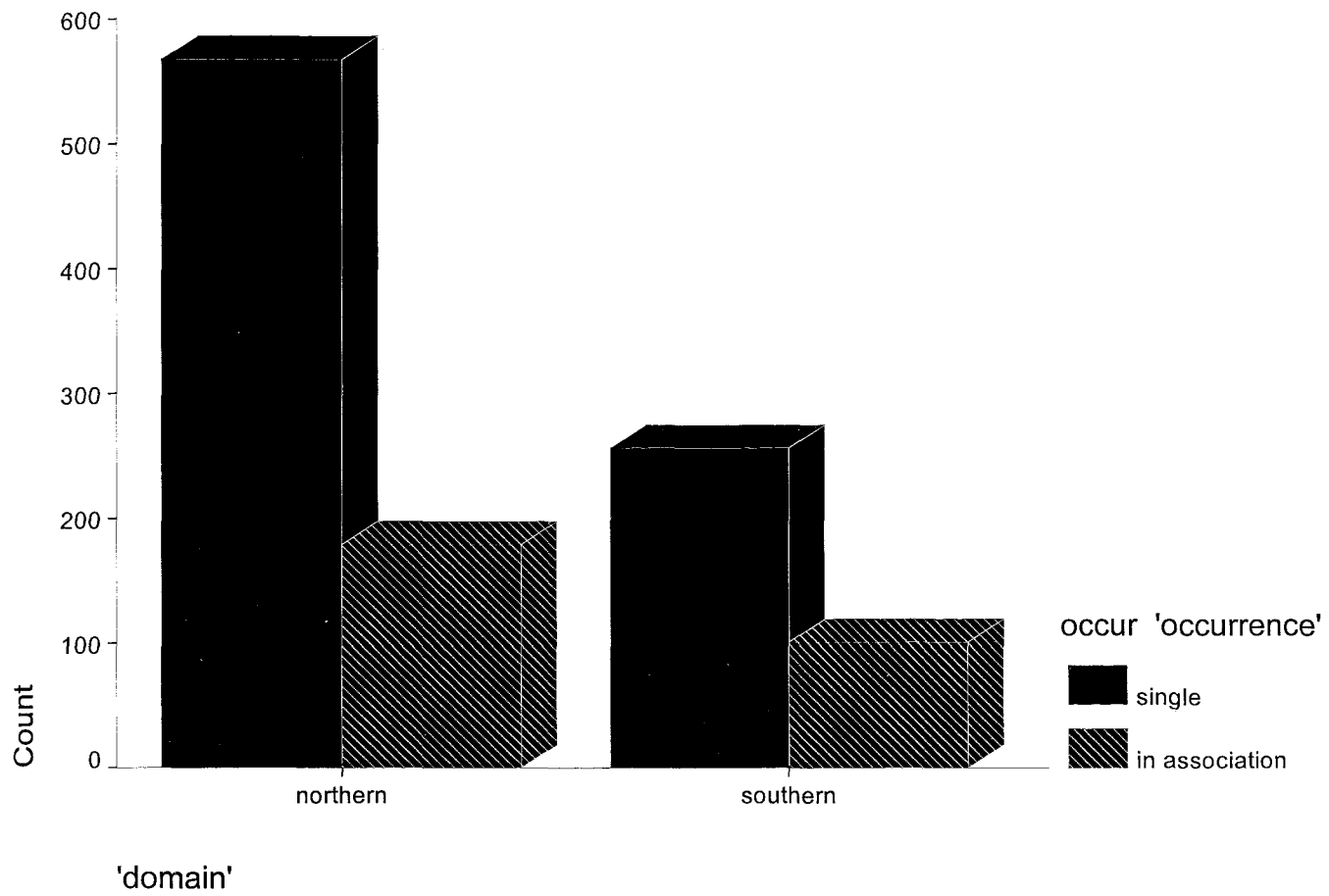


'domain'

Cht. 13

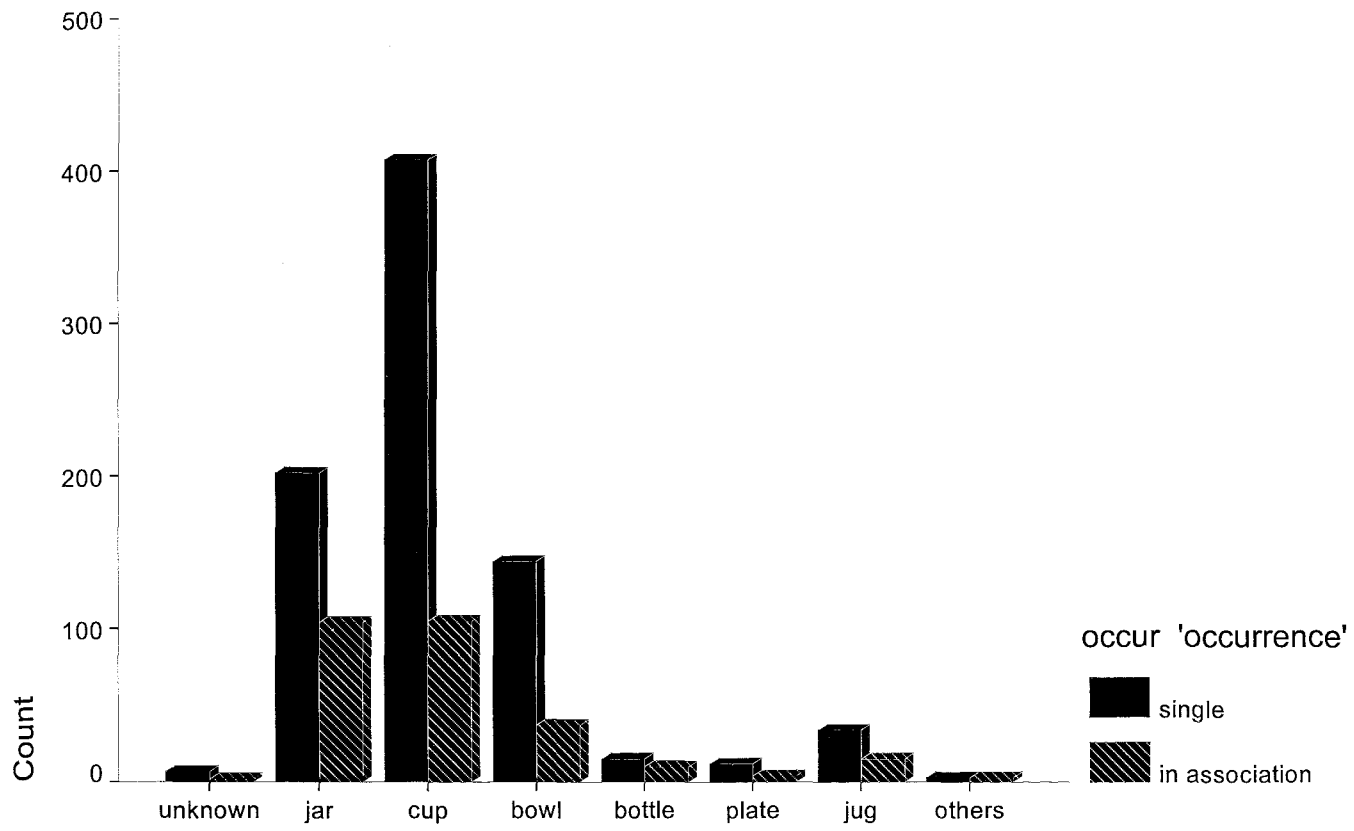
Bar chart of religious motifs by domains and by decoration techniques.

325



Cht. 14

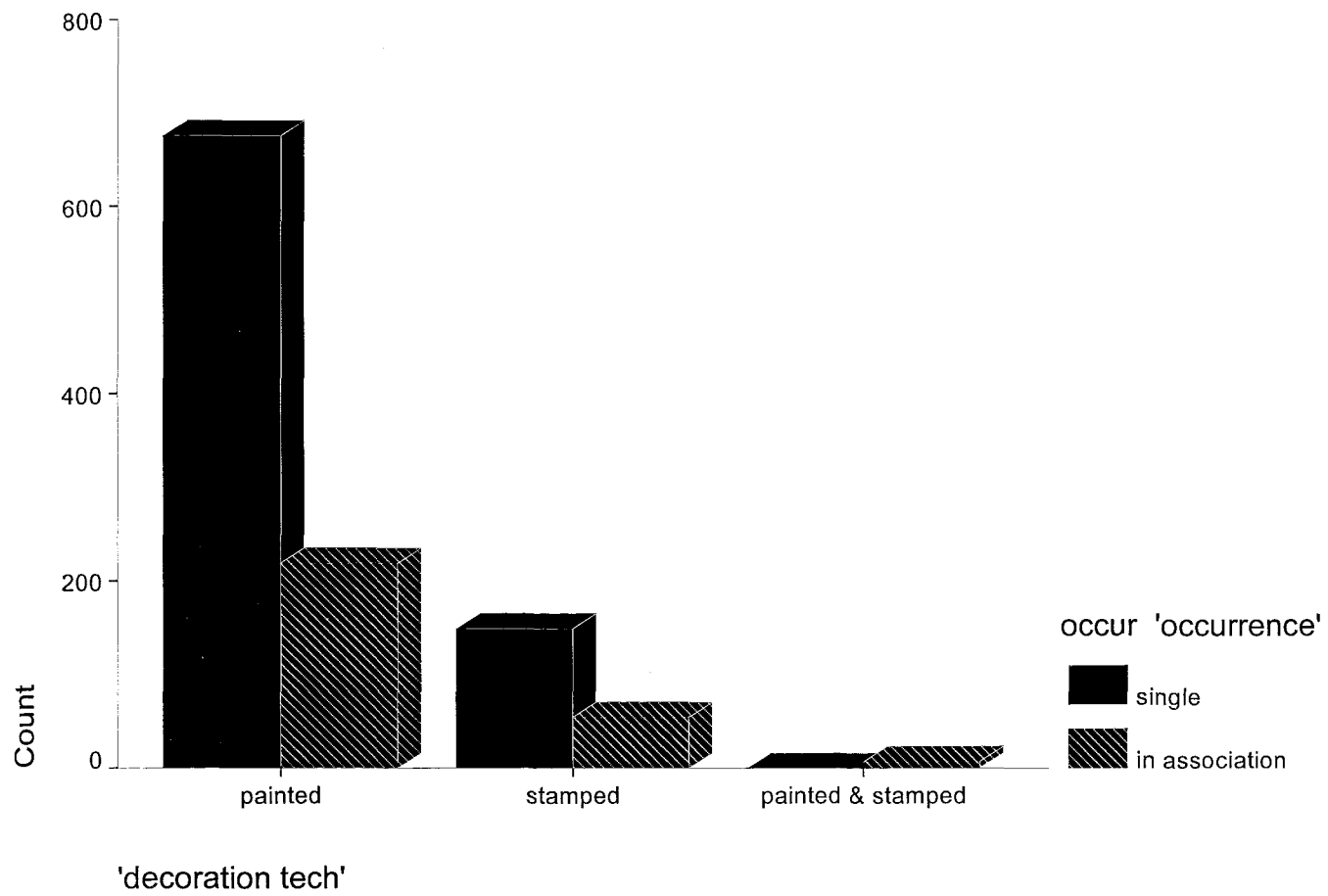
Bar chart of single and associated religious motifs by Meroitic domains.



form 'form'

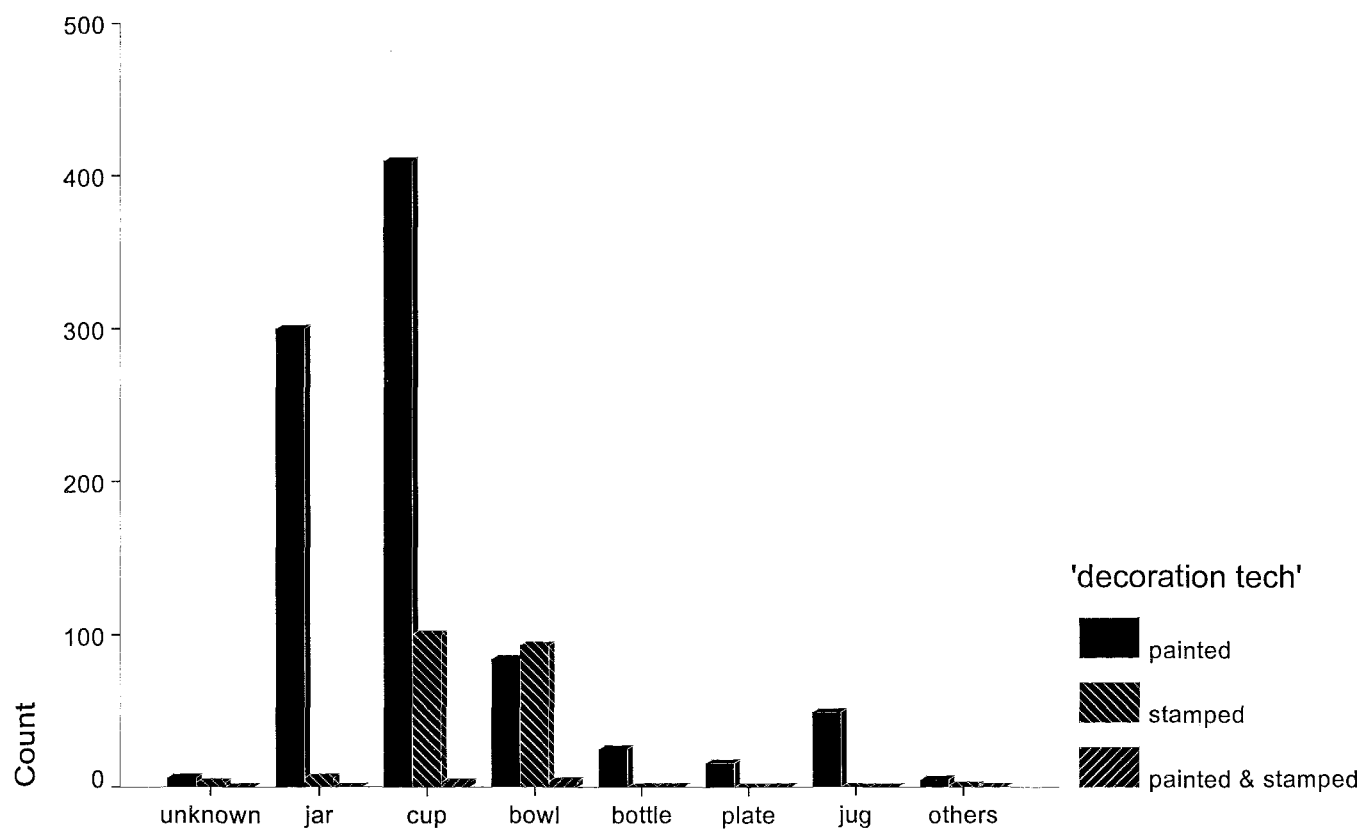
Cht. 15

Bar chart of vessel forms by single and associated religious motifs.



Cht. 16

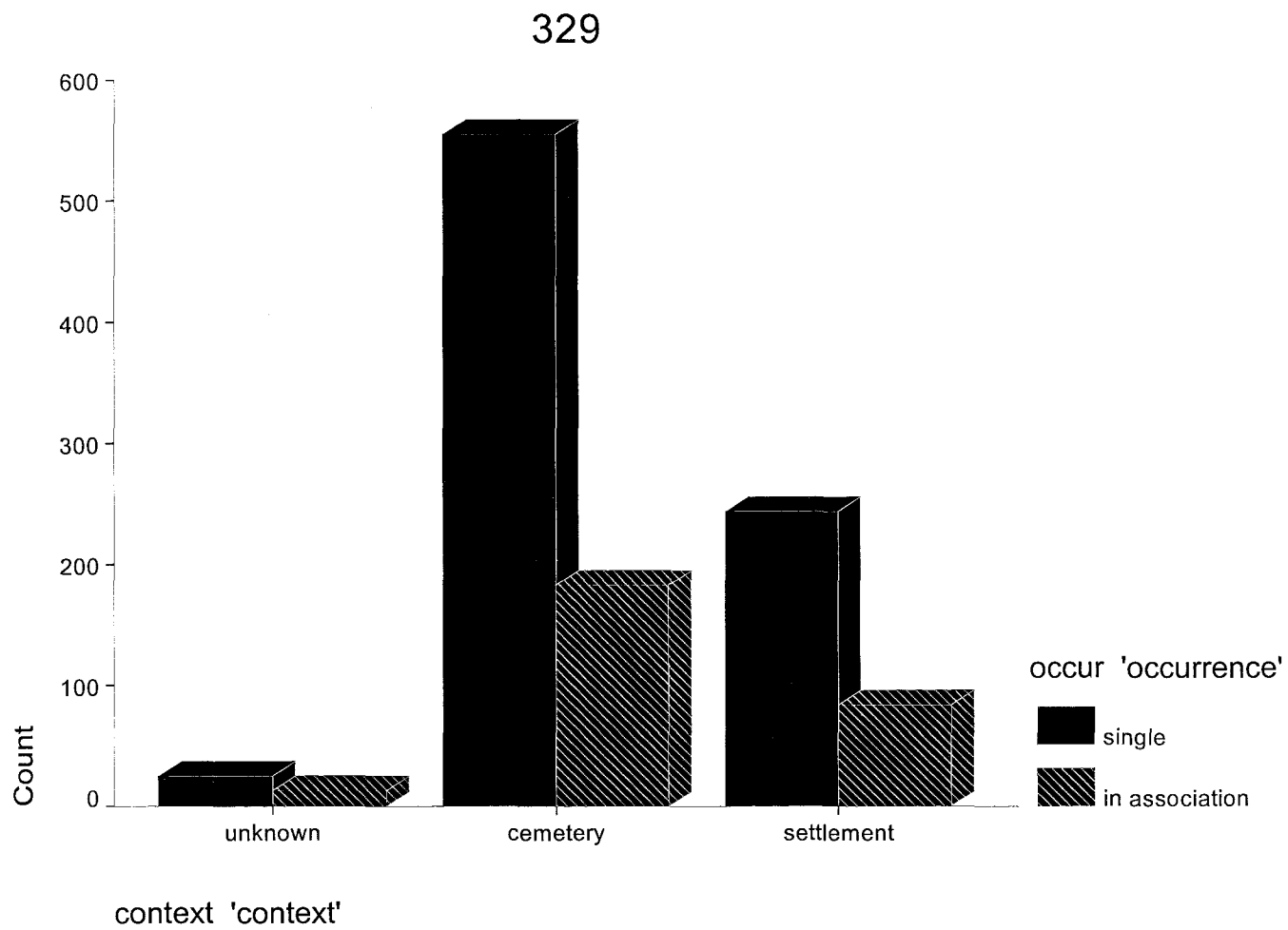
Bar chart of decoration techniques by single and associated motifs.



form 'form'

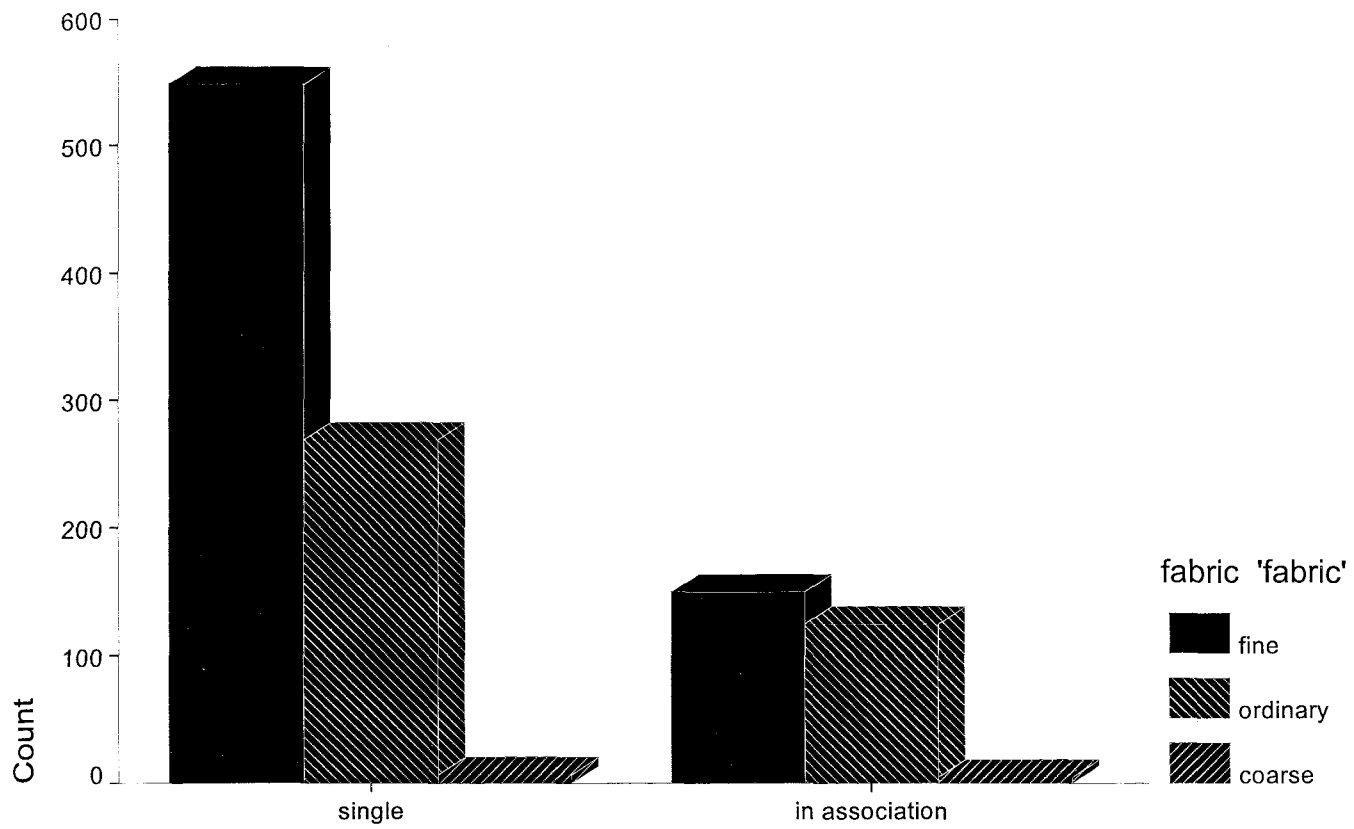
Cht. 17

Bar chart of motifs by vessel forms and by decoration techniques.



Cht. 18

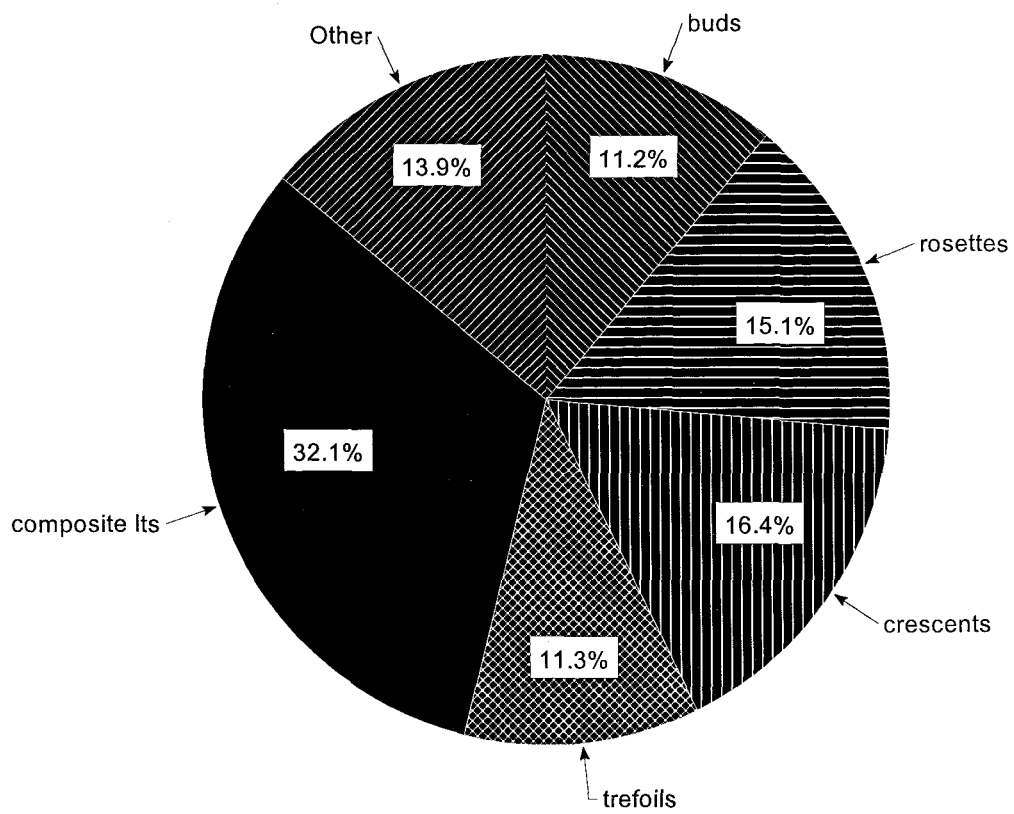
Bar chart of single and associated motifs by contexts.



occur 'occurrence'

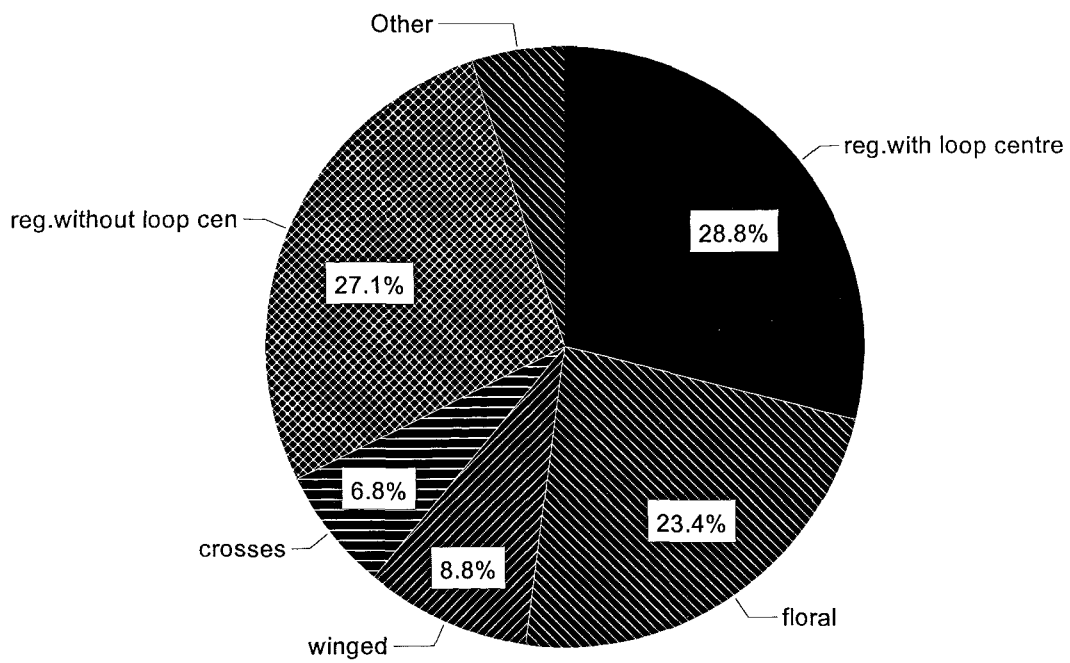
Cht. 19

Bar chart of single and associated religious motifs by fabrics.



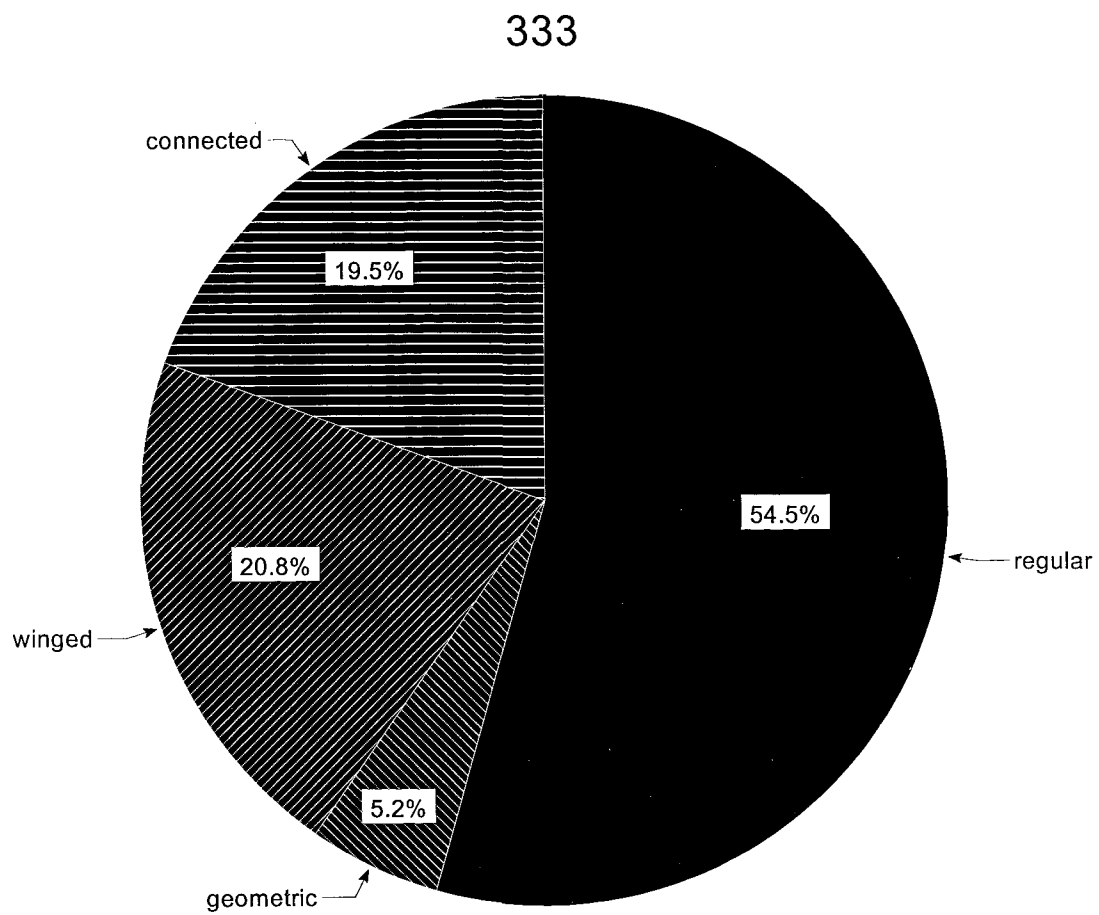
Cht. 20

Pie chart of frequency of lotus flower types.



Cht. 21

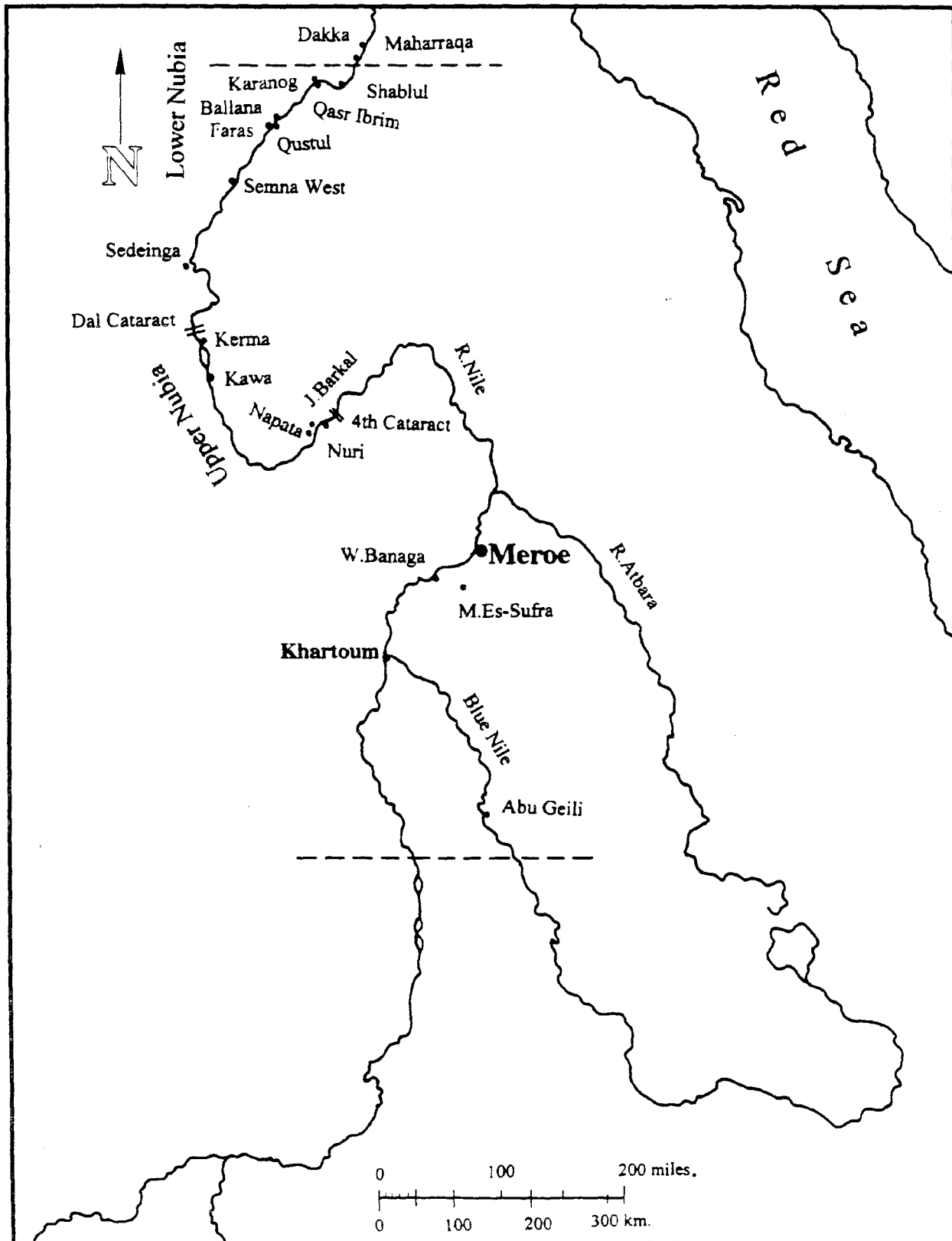
Pie chart of frequency of 'ankh types.



Cht. 22

Pie chart of frequency of Sa-knot types.

**Fig. 1 Meroitic Kush : some localities referred to in the thesis.**



**Fig. 2 Some examples of Egyptian religious motifs.**



**a. The *ankh* - sign.**



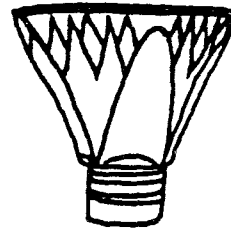
**b-1 A lotus flower with side buds.**



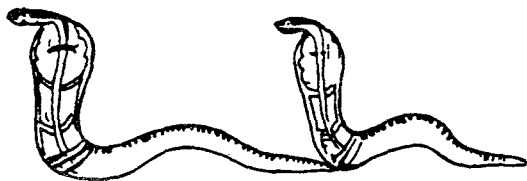
**b-2 An open lotus flower with slender stem.**



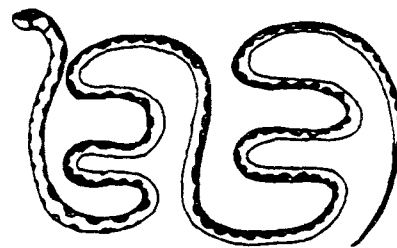
**b-3 A lotus bud**



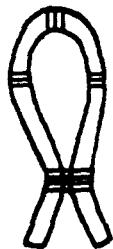
**b-4 A bouquet of open lotus flower.**



**c. *Uraeus* snakes.**



**d. The serpent *Apophis*.**



**e. The *Sa* ( amulet ).**

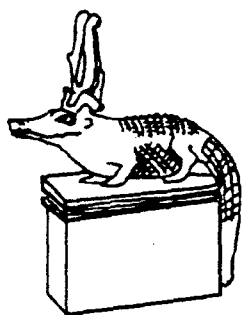
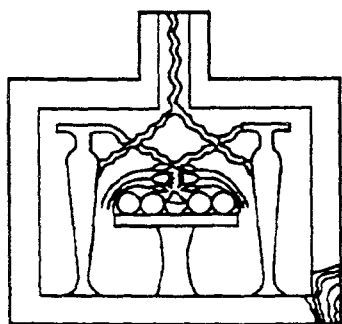


**f. The winged sun - disk.**

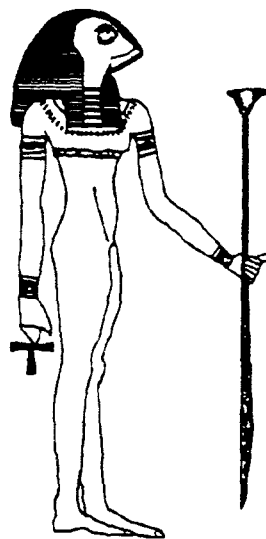
Fig. 2 (cont.).

g. The *wedjat* -eye.

h. The ordinary eye.

j. Goddess *Hathor*.l. God *Sebek* (*Suchos*).

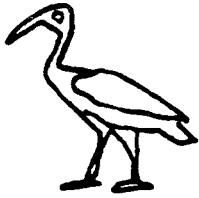
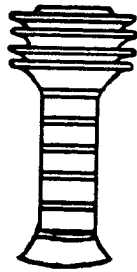
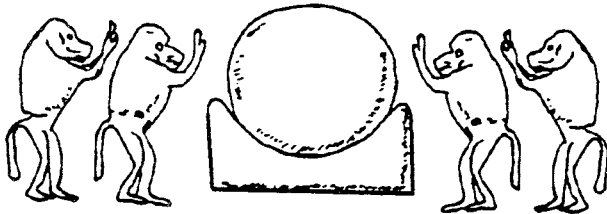
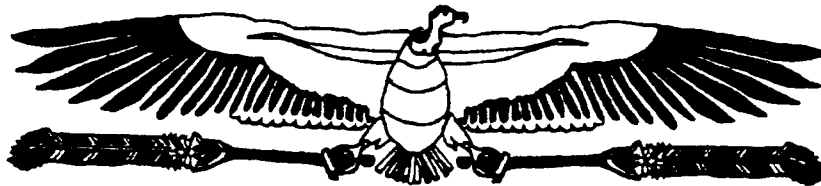
n. An offering-table with offerings on an altar.

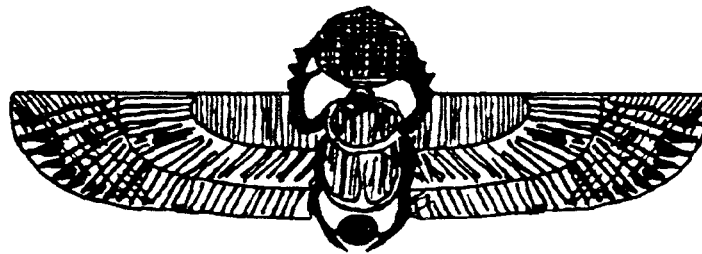
i. Goddess *Heket*.k. The emblem of *Hathor* / *Isis*.m. The crocodile, the sacred animal of *Sebek*.

o. The palm-branch.

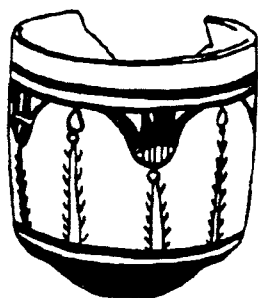
p. *Bes*.

Fig. 2 (cont.).

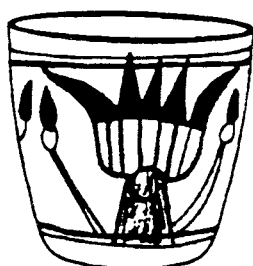
q. The sacred ibis,  
emblem of *Thoth*.r. The *Djed* pillar.s. The scorpion, emblem of  
goddess *Selket*.t. The sacred baboons adoring the sun-god *Re*.u. Goddess *Sekhmet*.v. The vulture-goddess *Nekhbet*.

**Fig. 2 (cont. ).****w. The griffin (*Achech* and the *Sag* ).****x. The winged sacred scarab with its dung ball,  
emblem of the solar god *Khepri*****y. The *Ba* in a bird form.****z. *Tet* , symbol of the blood *Isis*.**

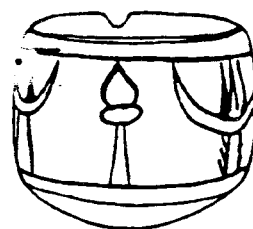
**Fig. 3 Examples of religious motifs on the decoration of Meroitic painted and stamped pottery .**



a-1



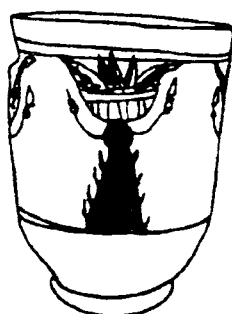
a-2



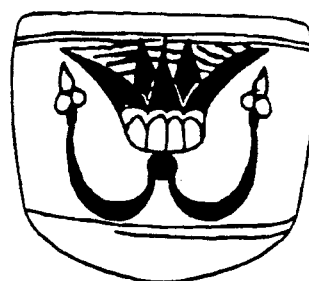
a-3



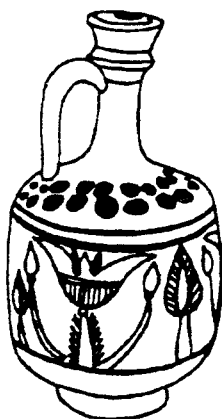
a-4



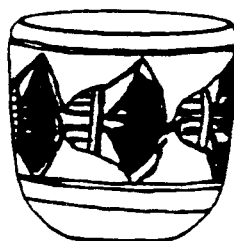
a-5



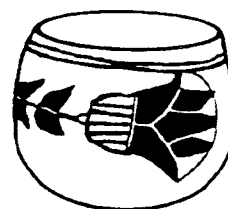
a-6



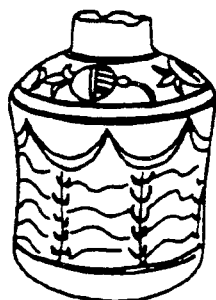
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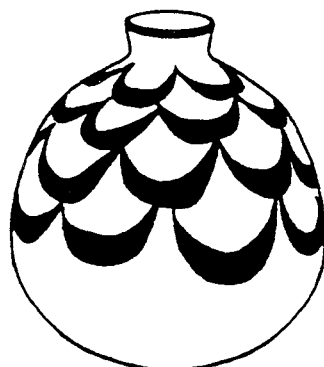
a-8



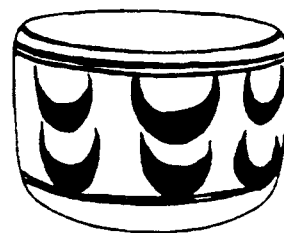
a-9



a-10

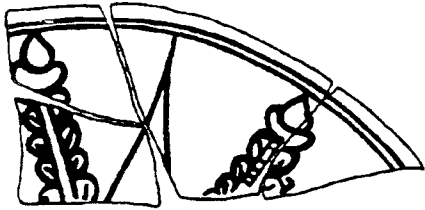


a-11



a-12

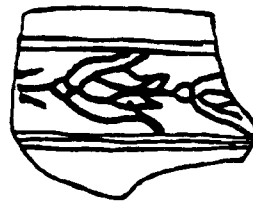
Fig. 3 (cont.)



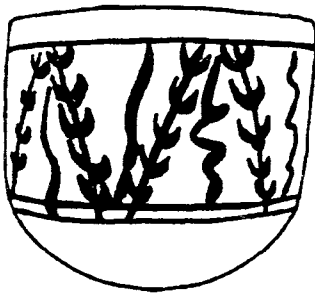
a-13



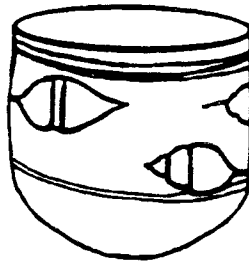
a-14



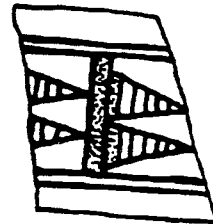
a-15



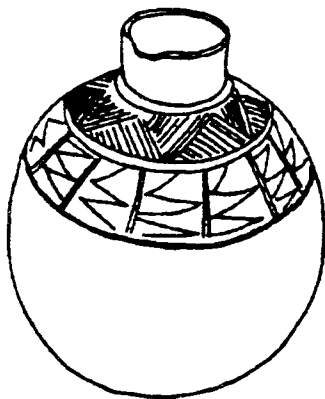
a-16



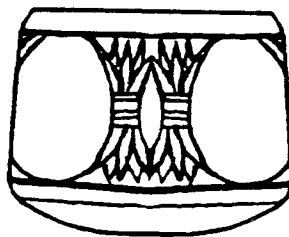
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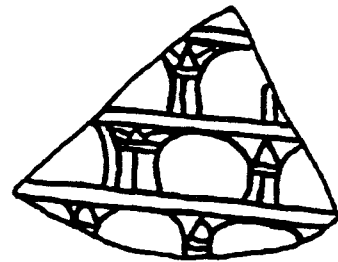
a-18



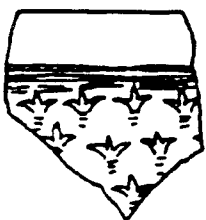
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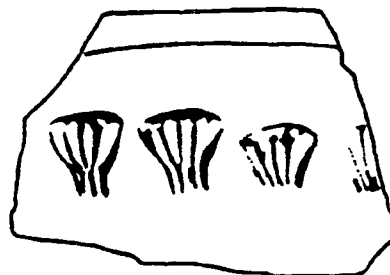
a-20



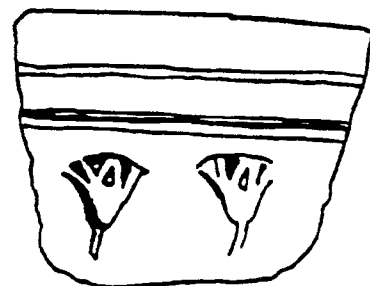
a-21



a-22



a-23

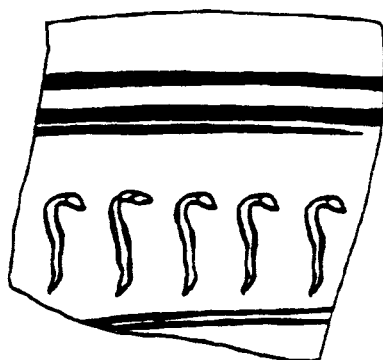


a-24

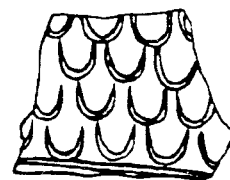
Fig. 3 (cont.)



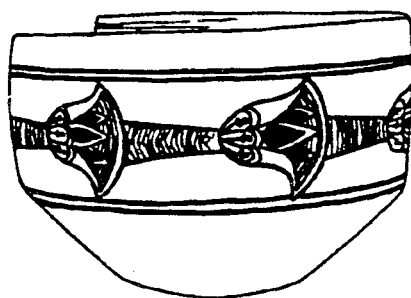
a-25



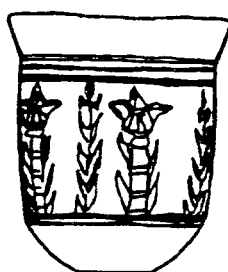
a-26



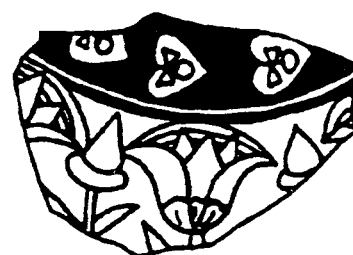
a-27



a-28



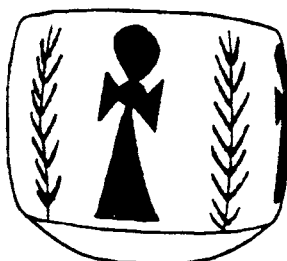
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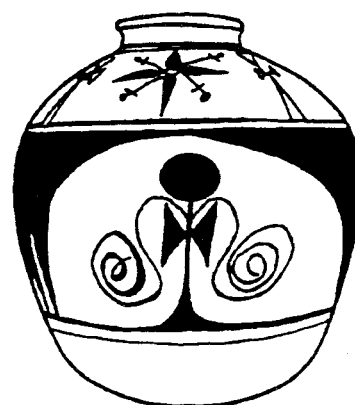
a-30



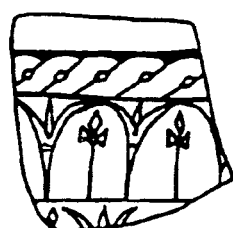
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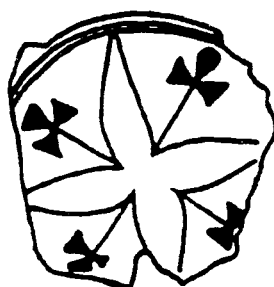
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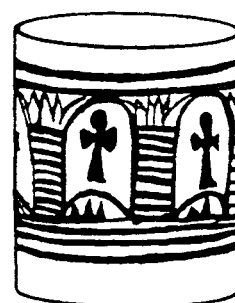
a-33



a-34

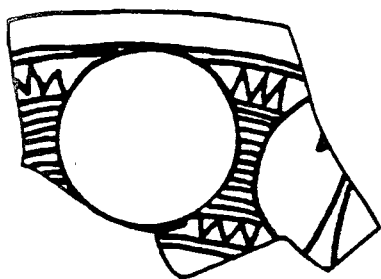


a-35

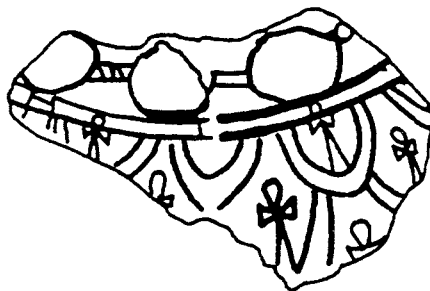


a-36

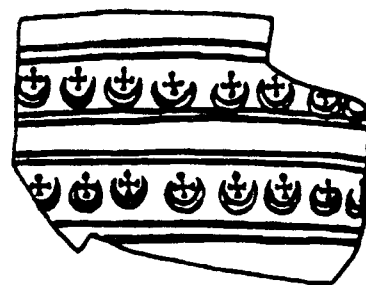
Fig. 3 (cont.).



a-37



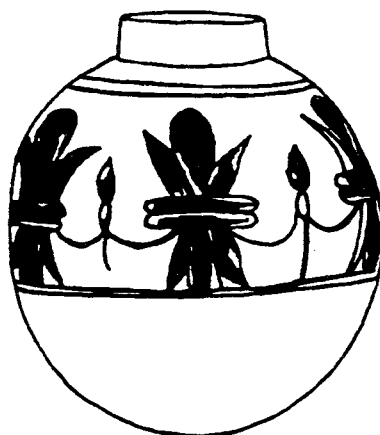
a-38



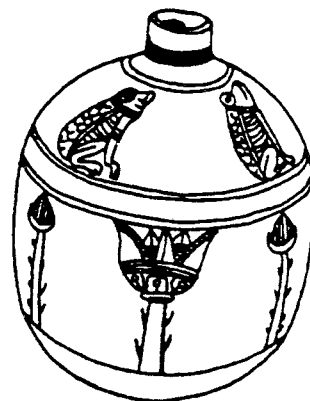
a-39



a-40



a-41



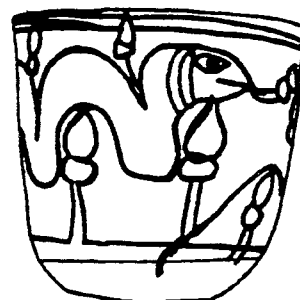
a-42



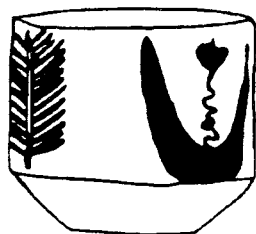
a-43



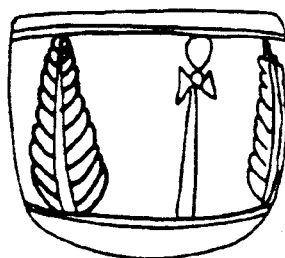
a-44



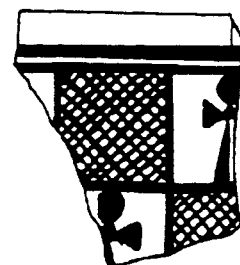
a-45



a-46

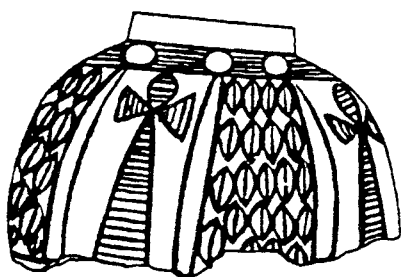


b-1

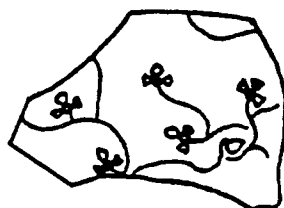


b-2

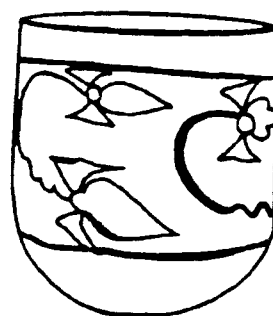
Fig. 3 (cont.)



b-3



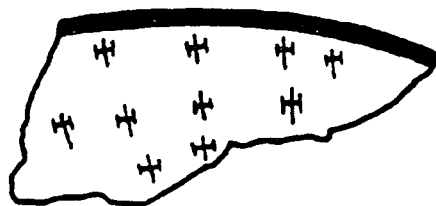
b-4



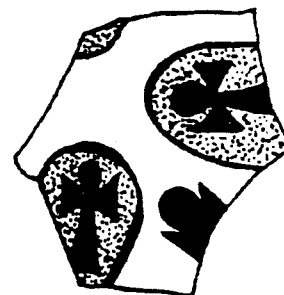
b-5



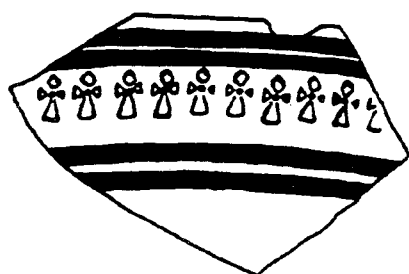
b-6



b-7



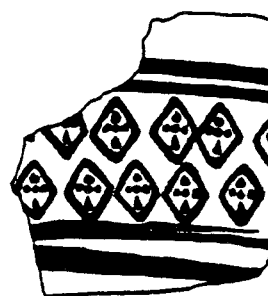
b-8



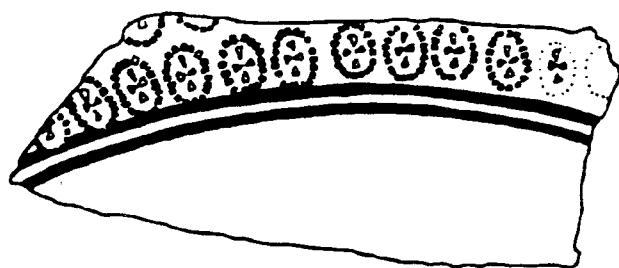
b-9



b-10



b-11

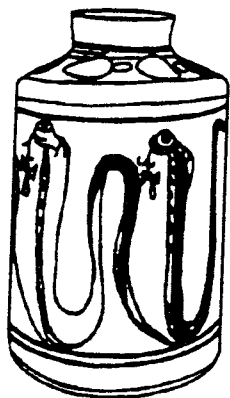


b-12

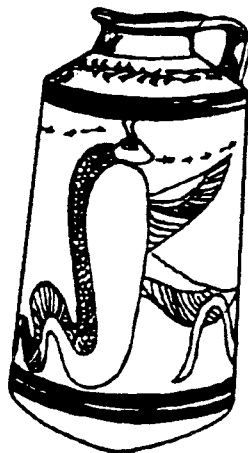


b-13

Fig. 3 (cont.)



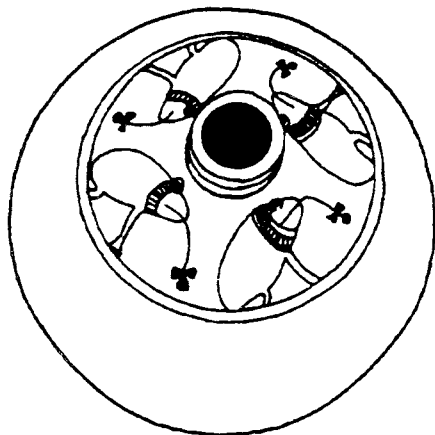
b-14



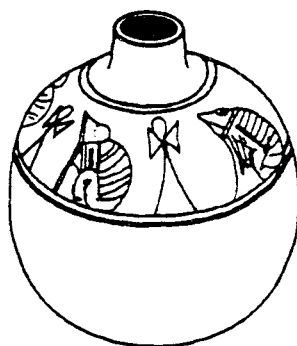
b-15



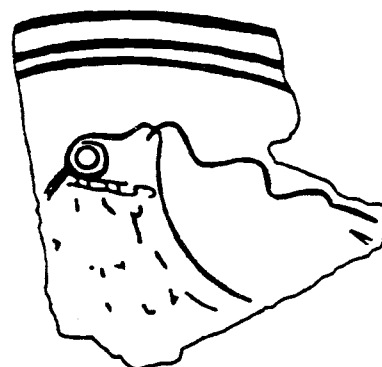
b-16



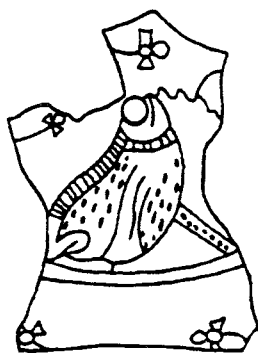
b-17



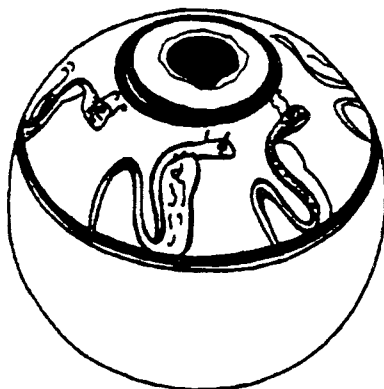
b-18



b-19



b-20

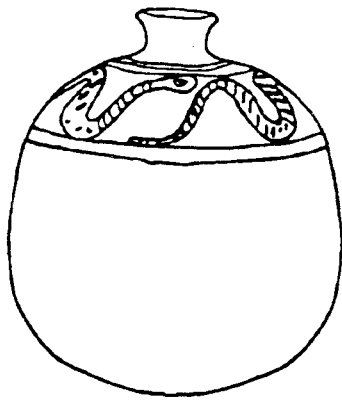


c-1

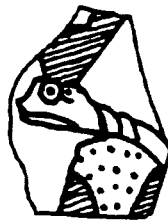


c-2

Fig. 3 (cont.).



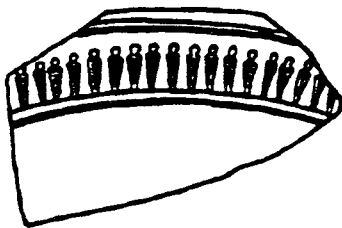
c-3



c-4



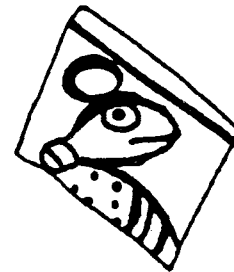
c-5



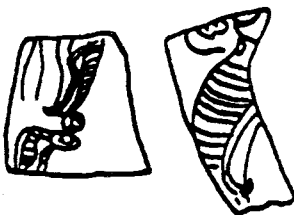
c-6



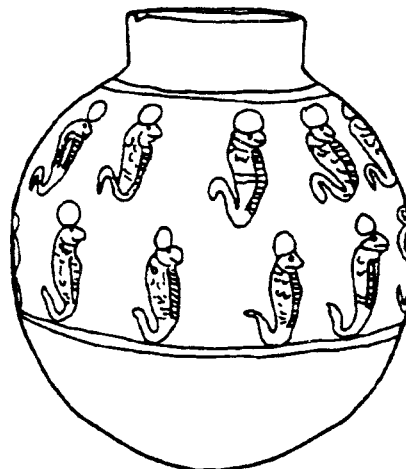
c-7



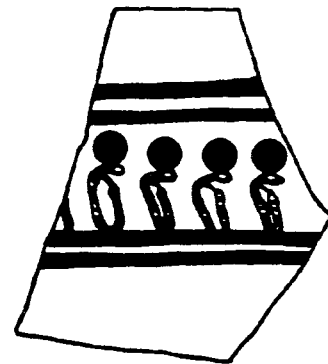
c-8



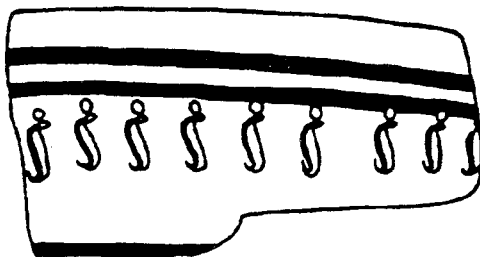
c-9



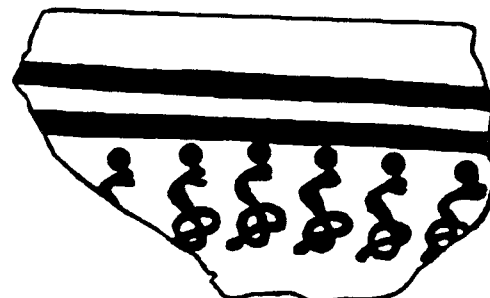
c-10



c-11

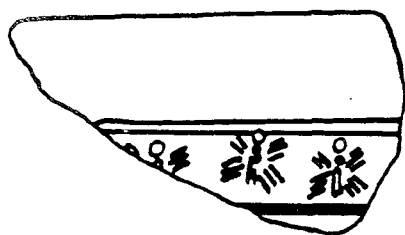


c-12

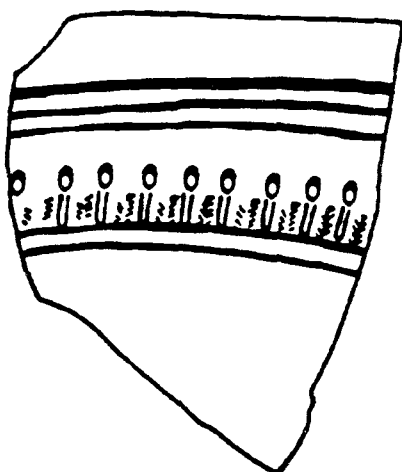


c-13

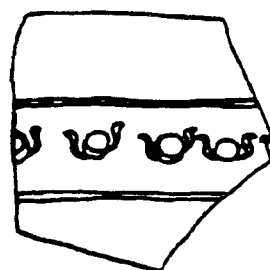
Fig. 3 (cont.).



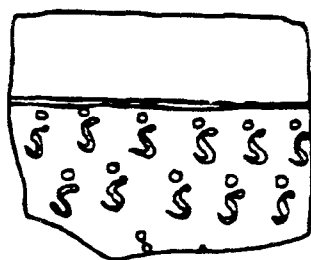
c-14



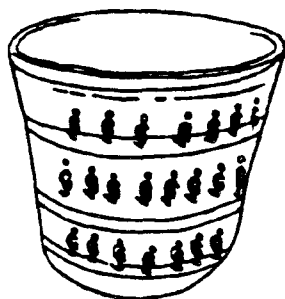
c-15



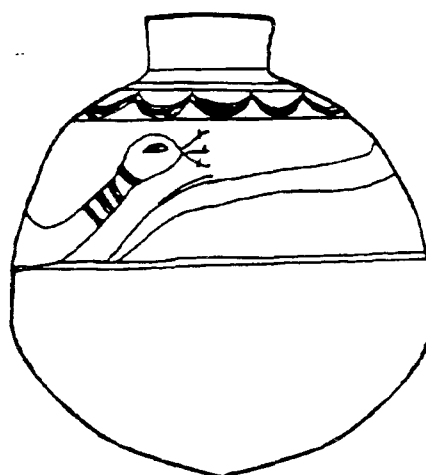
c-16



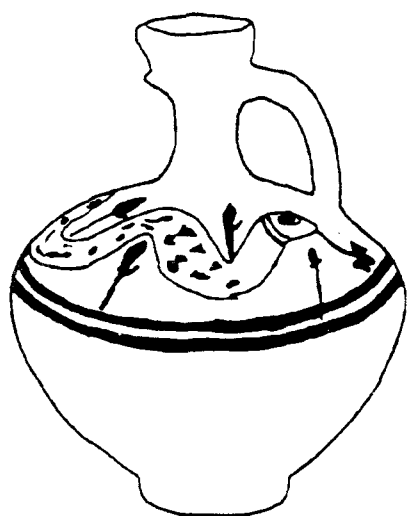
c-17



c-18



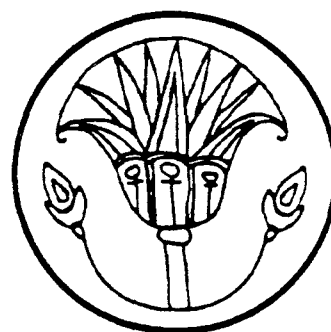
c-19



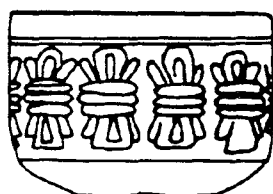
c-20



c-21



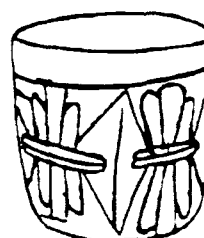
c-21



d-1



d-2

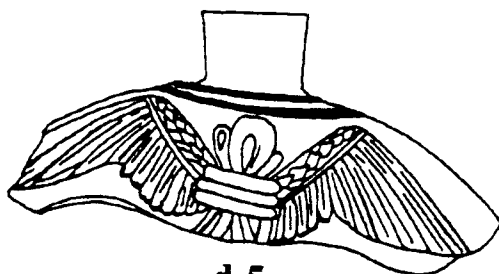


d-3

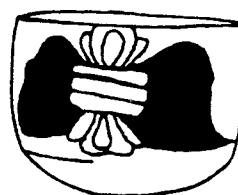
Fig. 3(cont.).



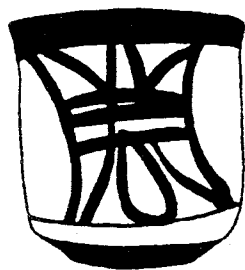
d-4



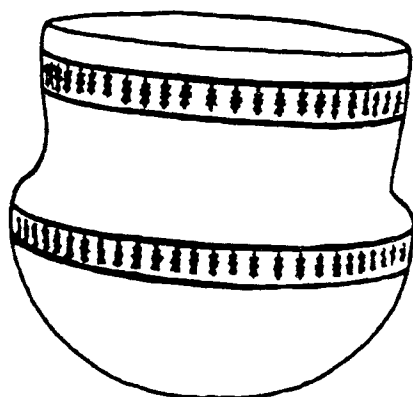
d-5



d-6



d-7



d-8



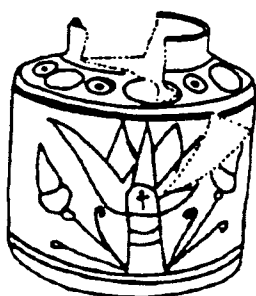
d-9



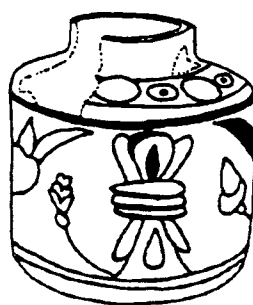
d-10



d-10

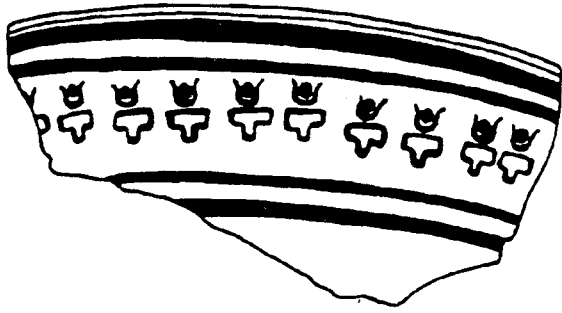


d-11

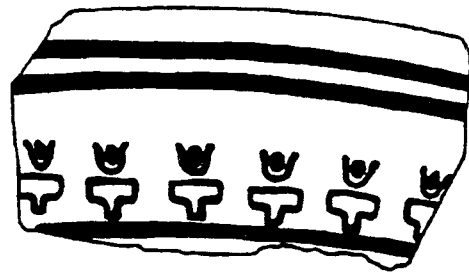


d-11

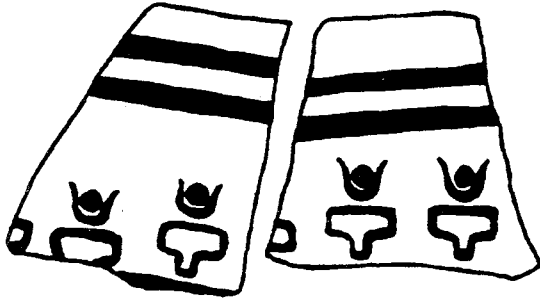
Fig. 3 (cont.)



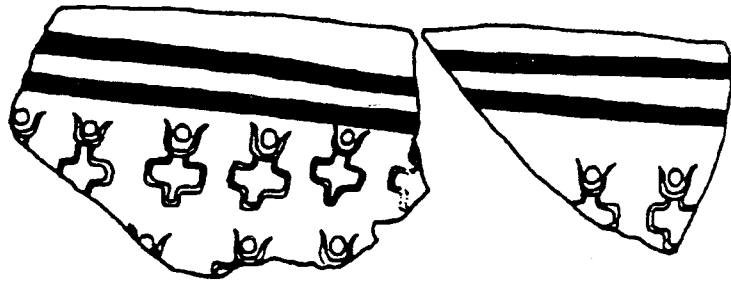
e-1



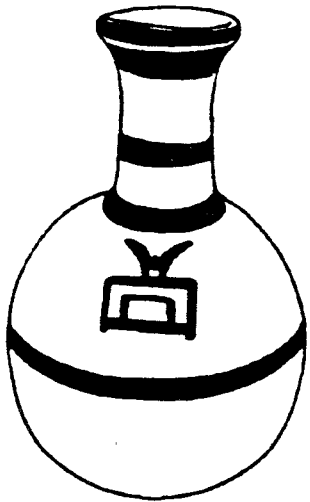
e-2



e-3



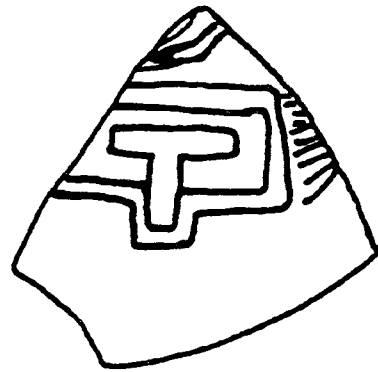
e-4



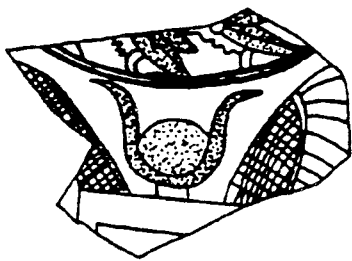
e-5



e-6



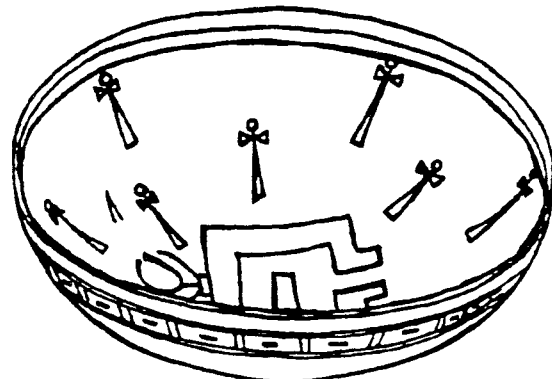
e-7



e-8



e-9

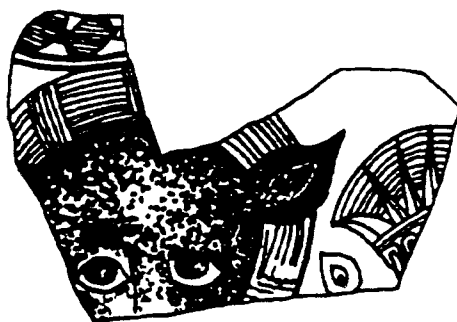


e-10

Fig. 3 (cont.).



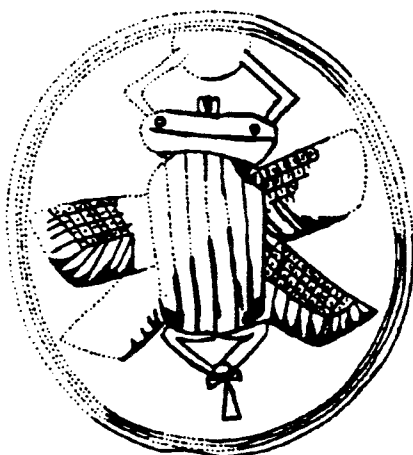
e-11



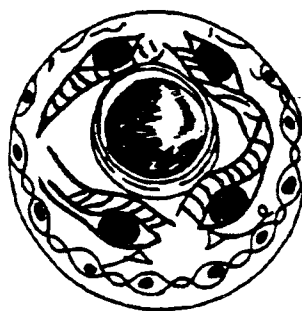
e-12



e-13



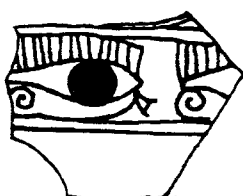
e-14



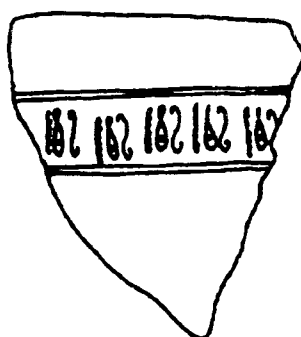
f-1



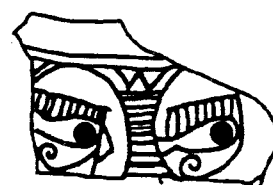
f-2



f-3



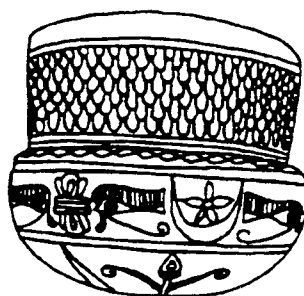
f-4



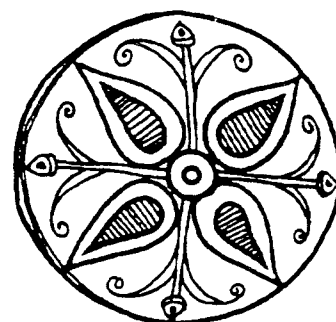
f-5



f-6



f-7



f-7

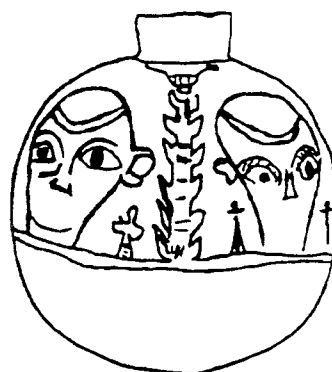
Fig.3 (cont.).



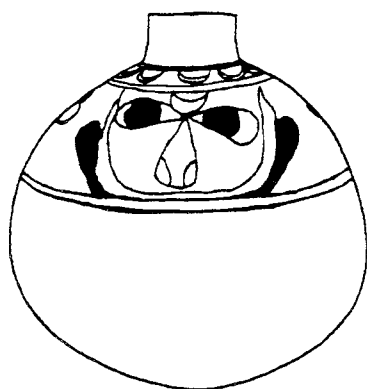
g-1



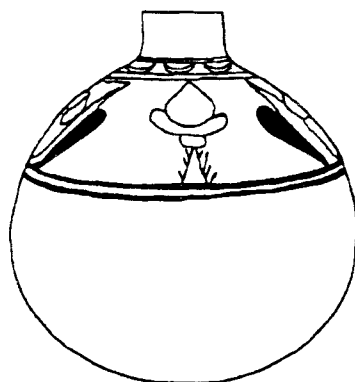
g-2



g-3



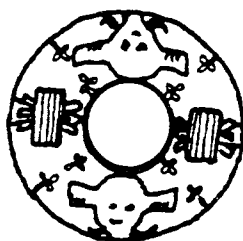
g-4



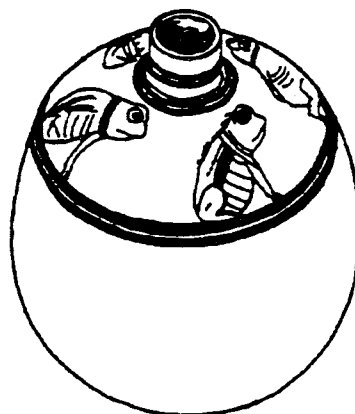
g-4



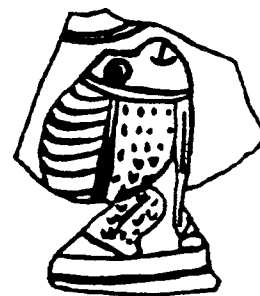
g-5



g-5

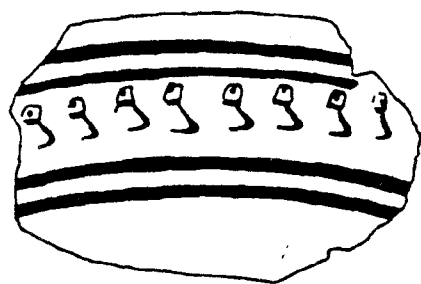


h-1



h-2

Fig. 3 (cont.).



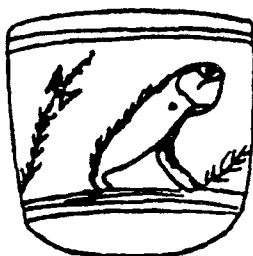
h-3



h-4



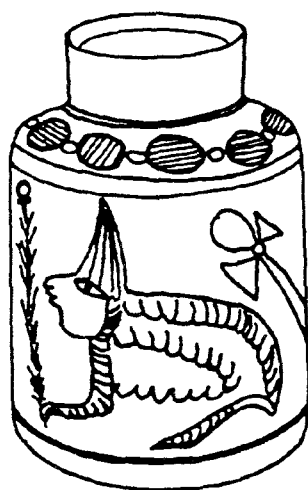
h-5



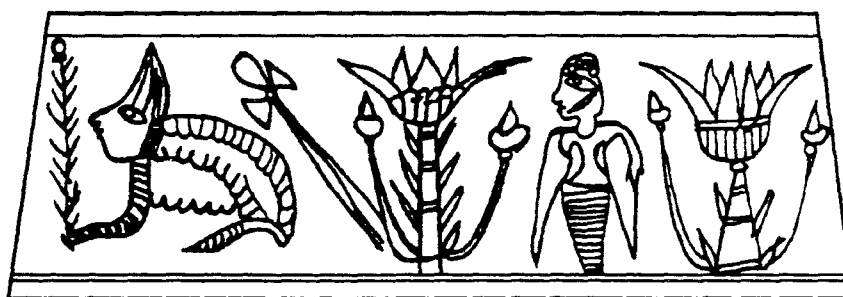
h-6



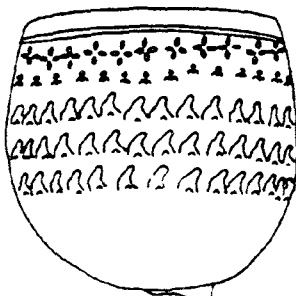
h-7



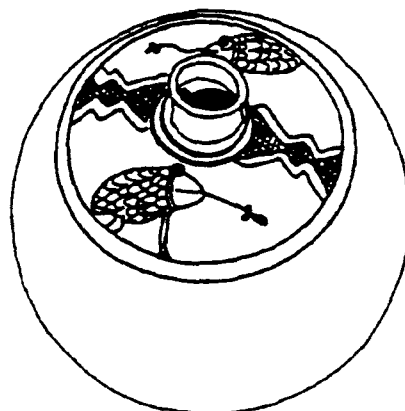
h-8



h-8

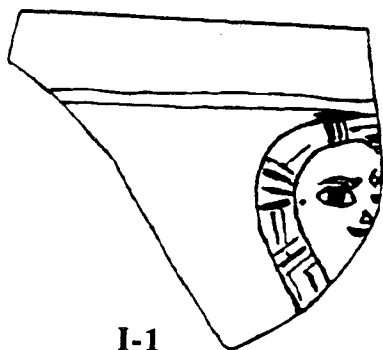


h-9



h-10

Fig. 3 (cont.).



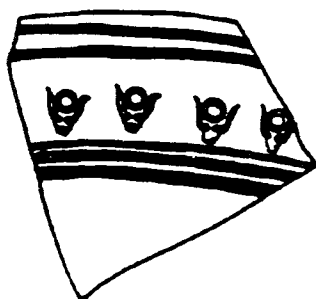
I-1



I-2



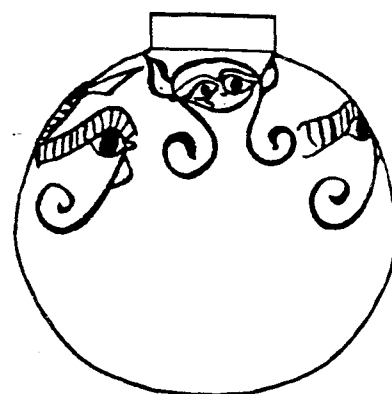
I-3



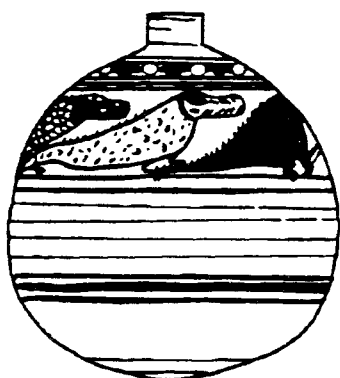
I-4



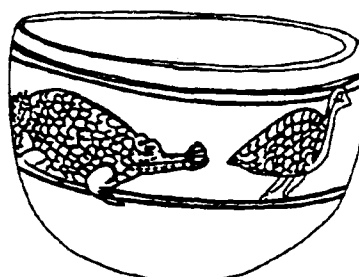
I-5



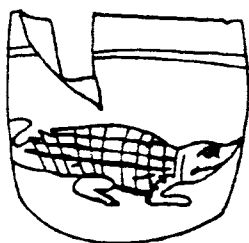
I-5



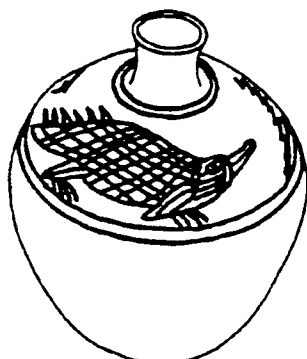
j-1



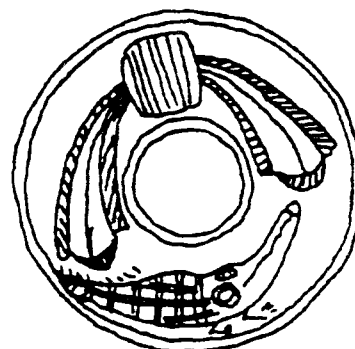
j-2



j-3

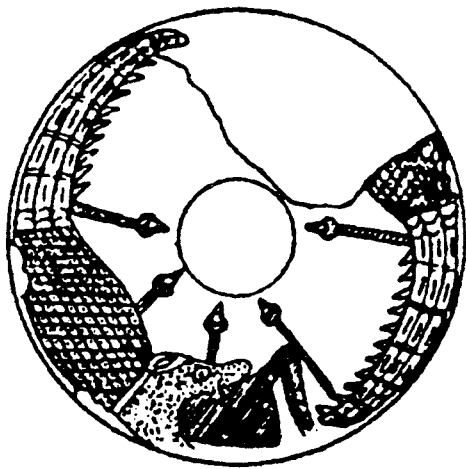


j-4

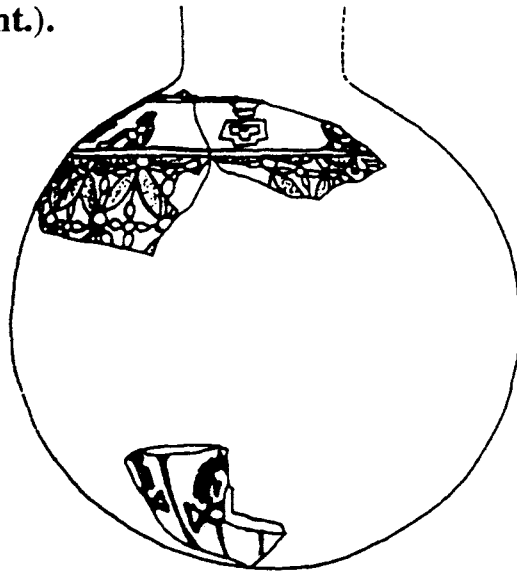


j-5

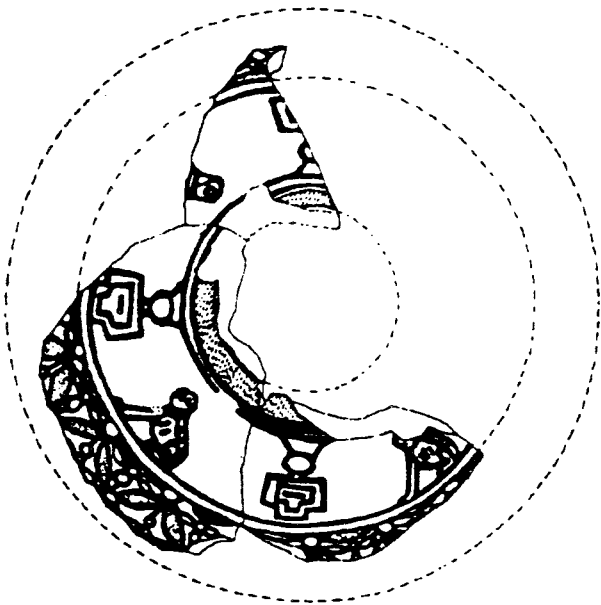
Fig. 3 (cont.).



j-6



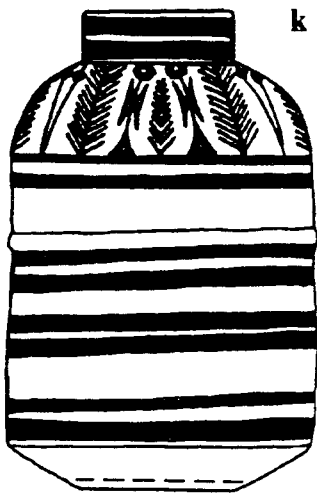
k



k



l-1



l-2

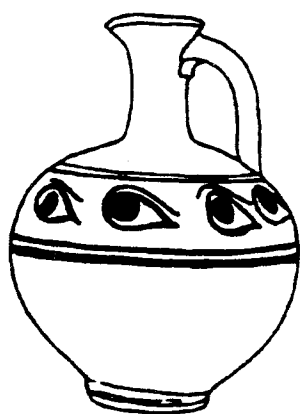


m-1



m-2

Fig. 3 (cont.).



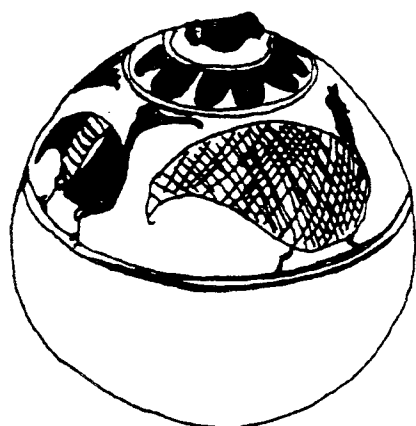
m-3



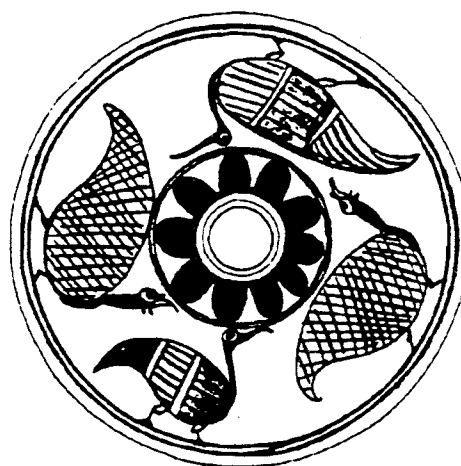
n-1



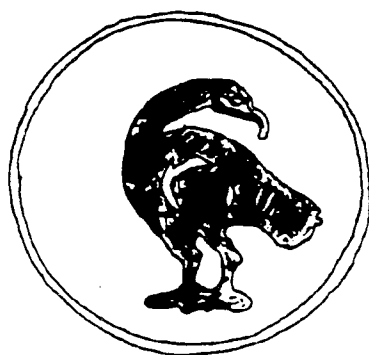
n-2



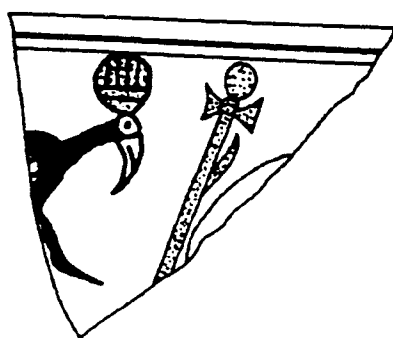
o-1



o-1



o-2

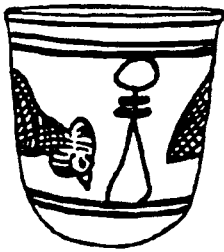


o-3

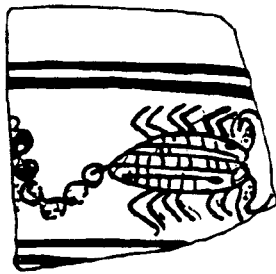


o-4

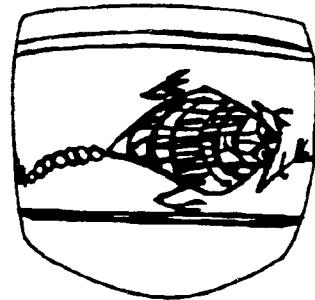
Fig. 3 (cont.).



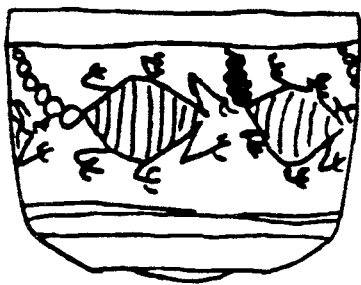
p



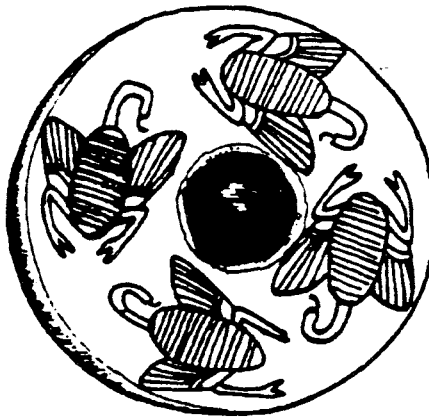
q-1



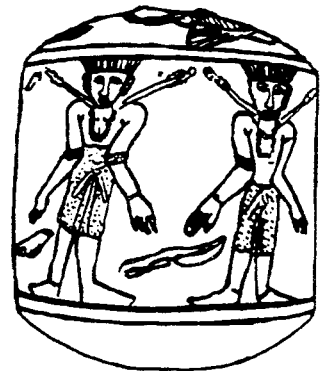
q-2



q-3



q-4



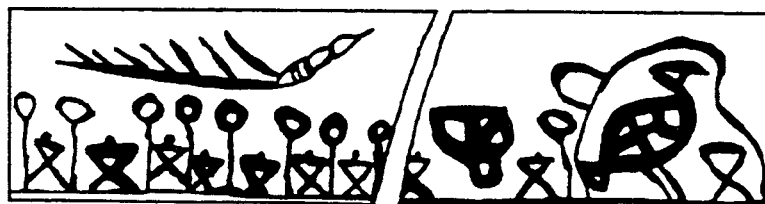
q-4



r-1

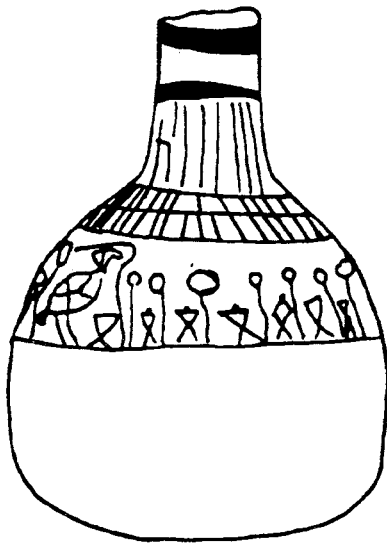


r-2

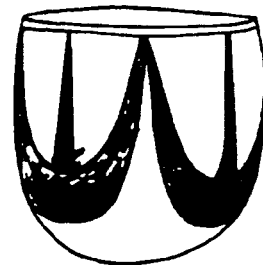


r-3

Fig.3 (cont.).



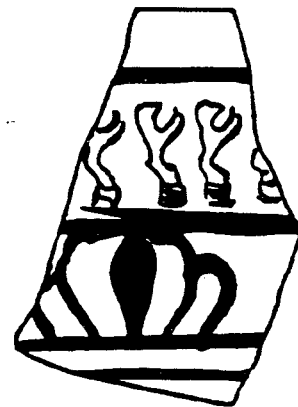
r-3



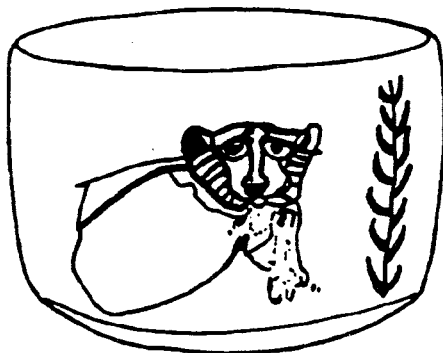
s-1



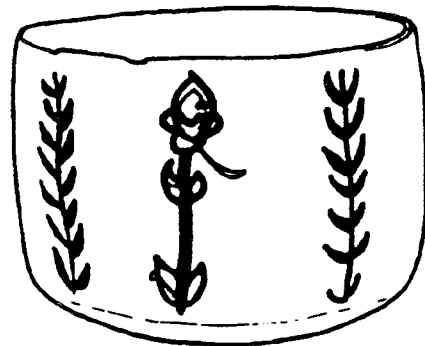
s-2



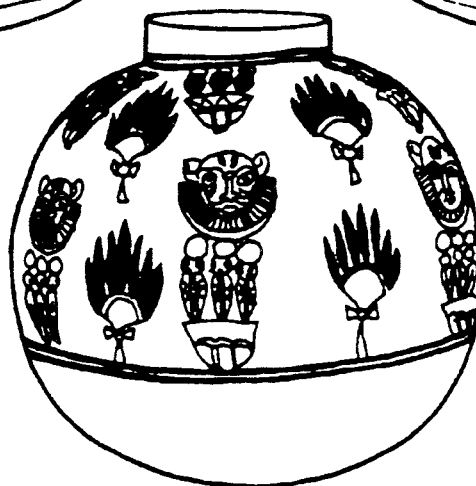
s-3



t-1

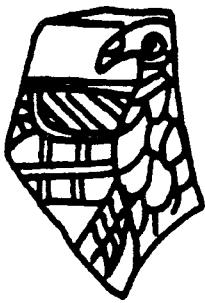


t-1



t-2

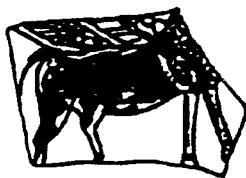
Fig. 3 (cont.)



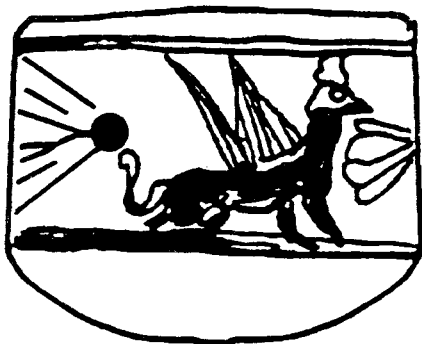
u-1



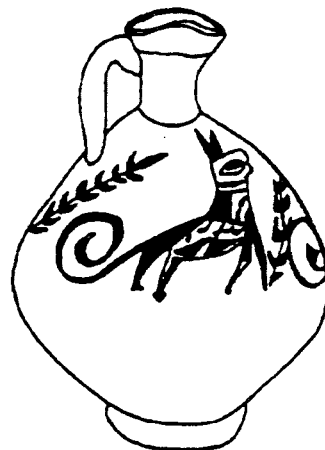
u-2



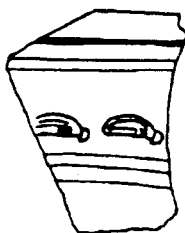
v-1



v-2



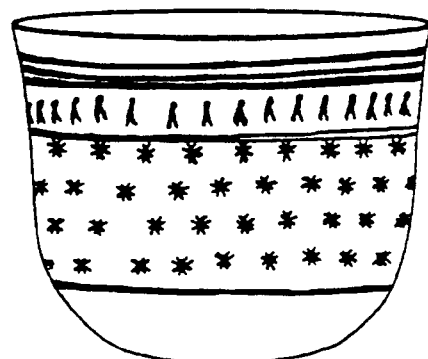
v-3



w

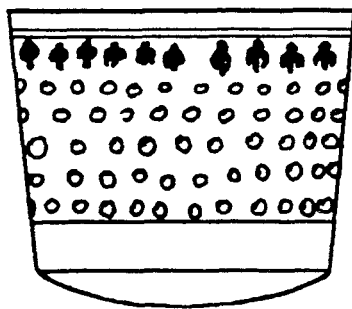


x-1

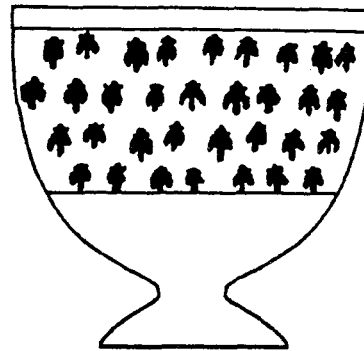


x-2

Fig. 3 (cont.)



y-1



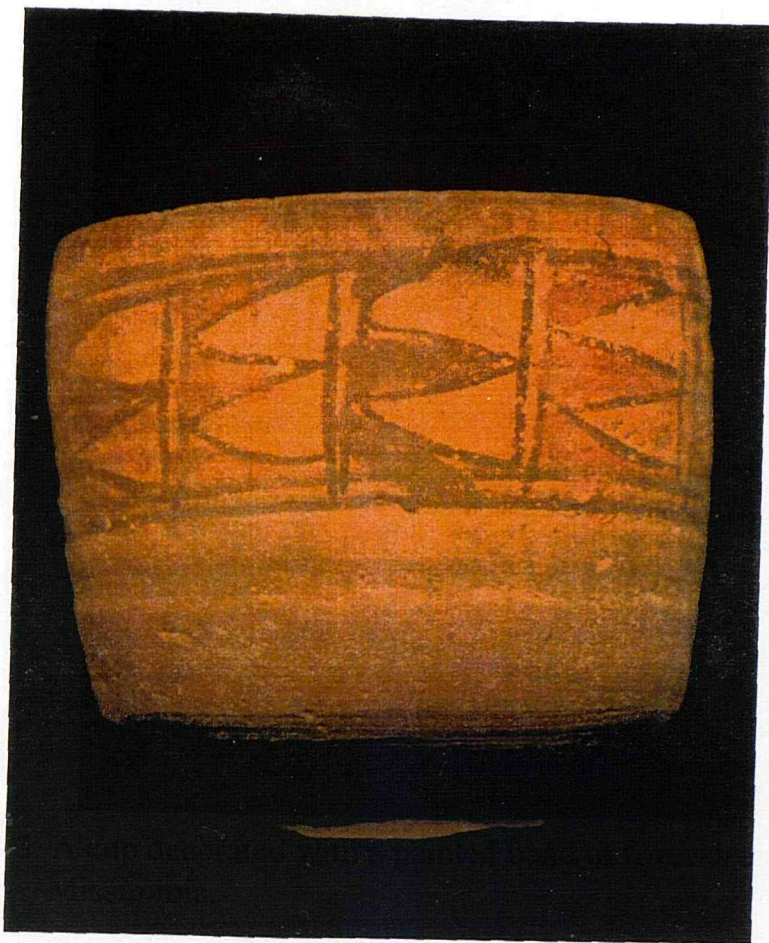
y-2



Pl. 1. A cup decorated with a painted band of alternating open lotus flowers and lotus buds - Faras.



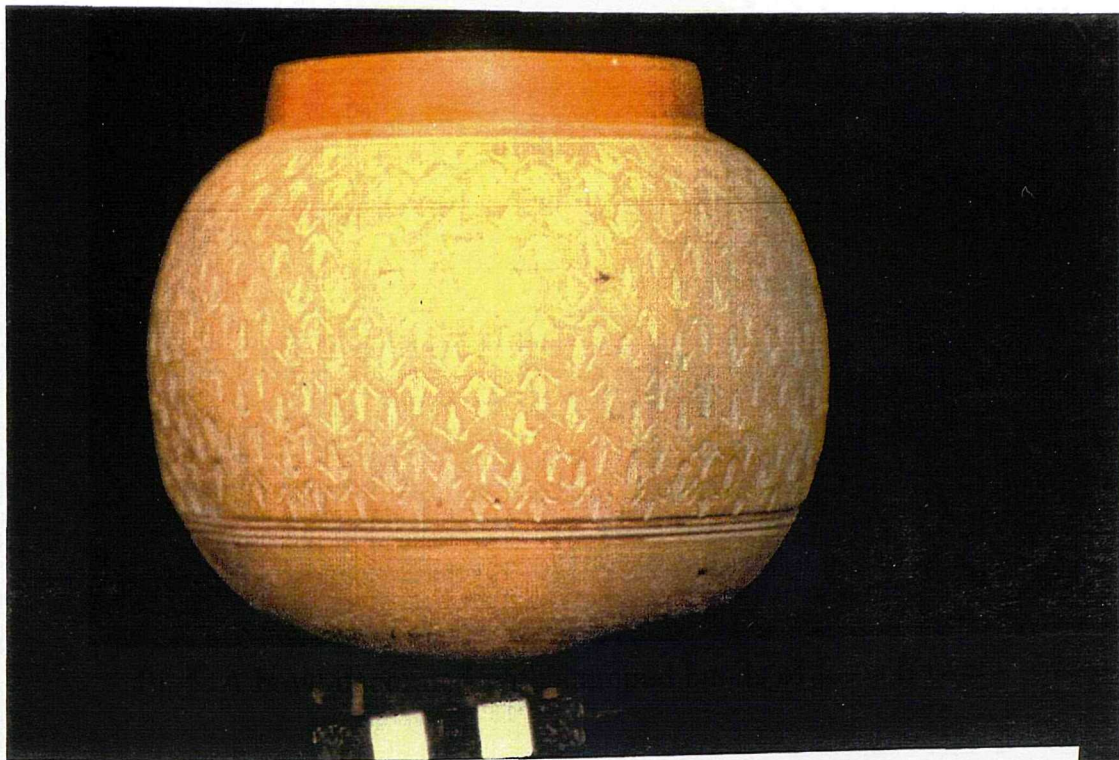
Pl. 2. A cup decorated with two painted bands of lotus crescents - Faras.



Pl. 3. A cup decorated with a painted band of truncated lotus flowers - Missiminia.



Pl. 4. A plate-sherd decorated on the interior surface with a painted lotus rosette from which leafy lotus buds emerge radially- Meroe.



Pl. 5. A bowl decorated with stamped bands of lotus flowers - Meroe.



Pl. 6. A rim-sherd of a bowl decorated with a band of stamped open lotus flowers - Meroe.



Pl. 7. A cup decorated with three bands of painted 'ankh' - signs - Wad Ban Naga.



Pl. 8. A cup-sherd decorated on the exterior surface with painted 'ankh' - signs in a checkerboard frame - Meroe.



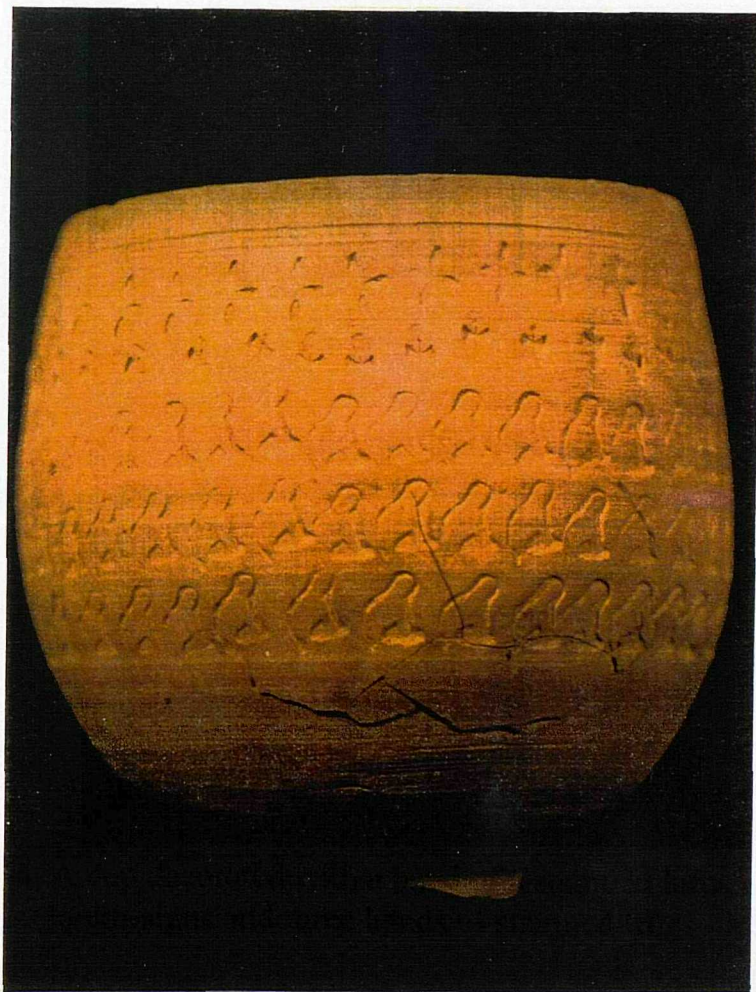
Pl. 11. A rim-sherd decorated on the interior surface with painted floral 'ankh' - signs - Meroe.



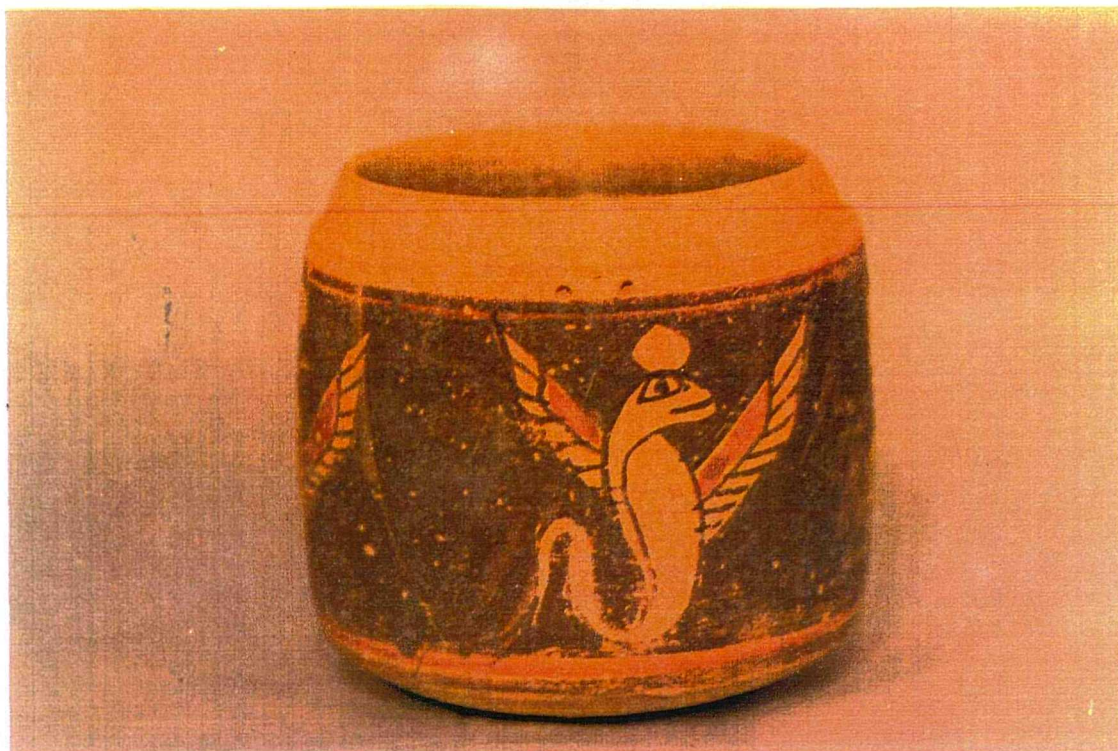
Pl. 12. Three sherds of a shallow bowl decorated on the interior surface with painted floral 'ankh'-signs - Wad Ban Naga.



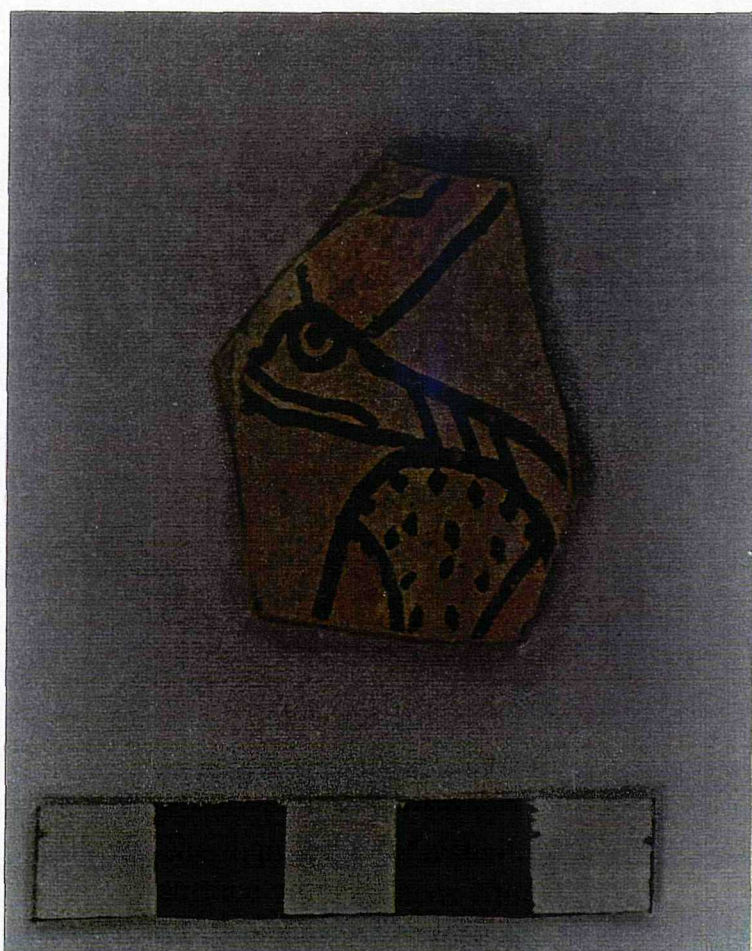
Pl.13. A cup decorated with stamped bands of 'ankh-signs in hexagonal frames - Missiminia.



Pl.14. A cup decorated with a band of a stamped lotus rosettes, winged 'ankh-signs and three bands of stamped frogs - Missiminia.



Pl.15. A cup decorated with a painted band of winged uraei. The head of each uraeus is surmounted by a sun disk - Missimnia.



Pl.16. A body-sherd, possibly of a shallow bowl, decorated on the interior surface with a uraeus which is crowned with the red crown of Lower Egypt - Meroe residential area.



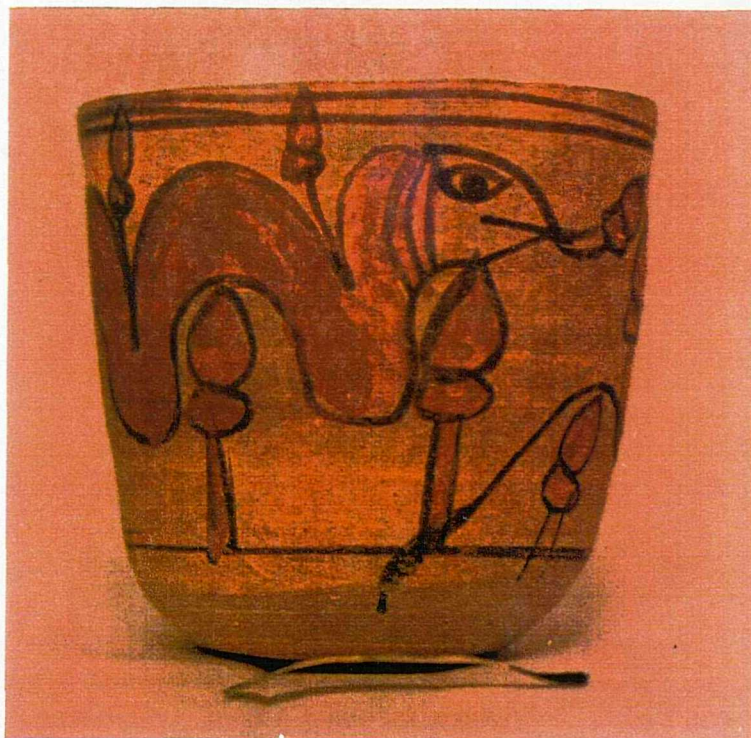
Pl.17. A bowl-sherd decorated with a band of stamped coiled uraei. The head of each uraeus is surmounted by a sun disk - Meroe, residential area.



Pl.18. A plate-sherd decorated on the interior with a painted uraeus. The head of the uraeus is surmounted by a sun disk -Meroe, residential area.



Pl.19. A cup rim-sherd decorated with a band of stamped standing baboons, with raised hands, possibly adoring or greeting the sun-god Re. Below this stamped decoration, there is a band of painted connected horizontal Sa - Meroe.



Pl.20. A cup decorated with a painted scene of a meandering snake flanked by lotus buds, while a lotus bud emerges from its mouth - Murshid.



Pl.21. A rim-sherd of a bowl decorated with a painted band of connected Sa (amulets)-Wad Ban Naga.



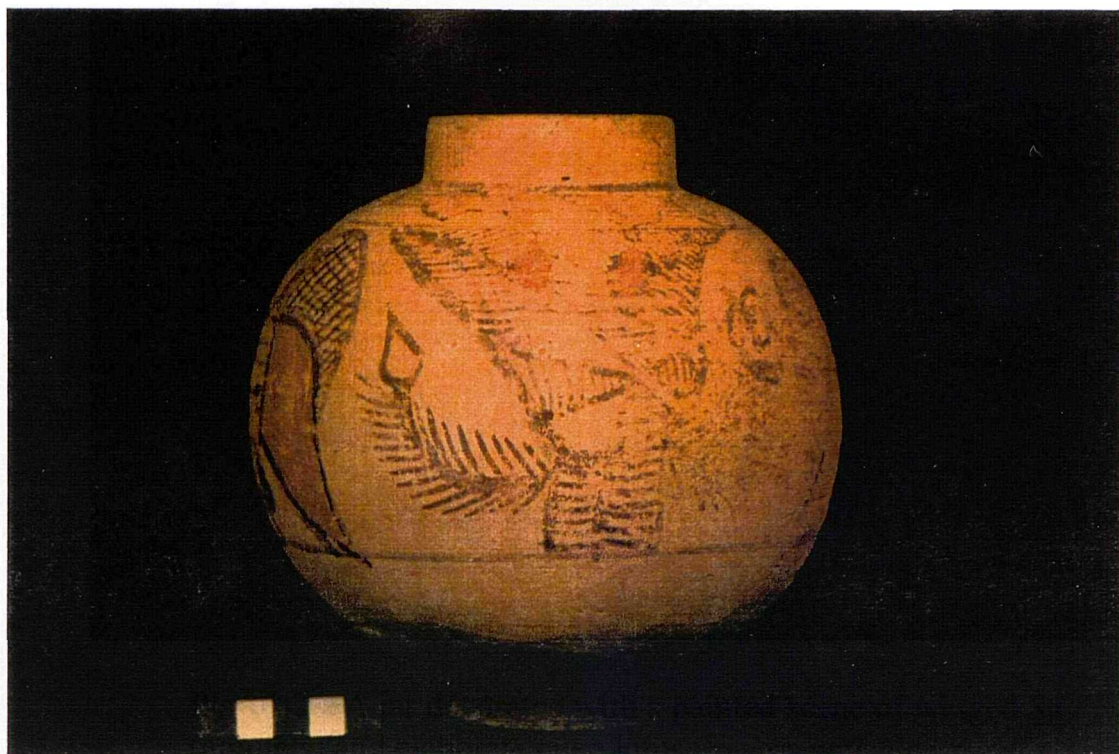
Pl.22. A body-sherd of a cup decorated with a painted band of connected Sa (amulets)-Meroe.



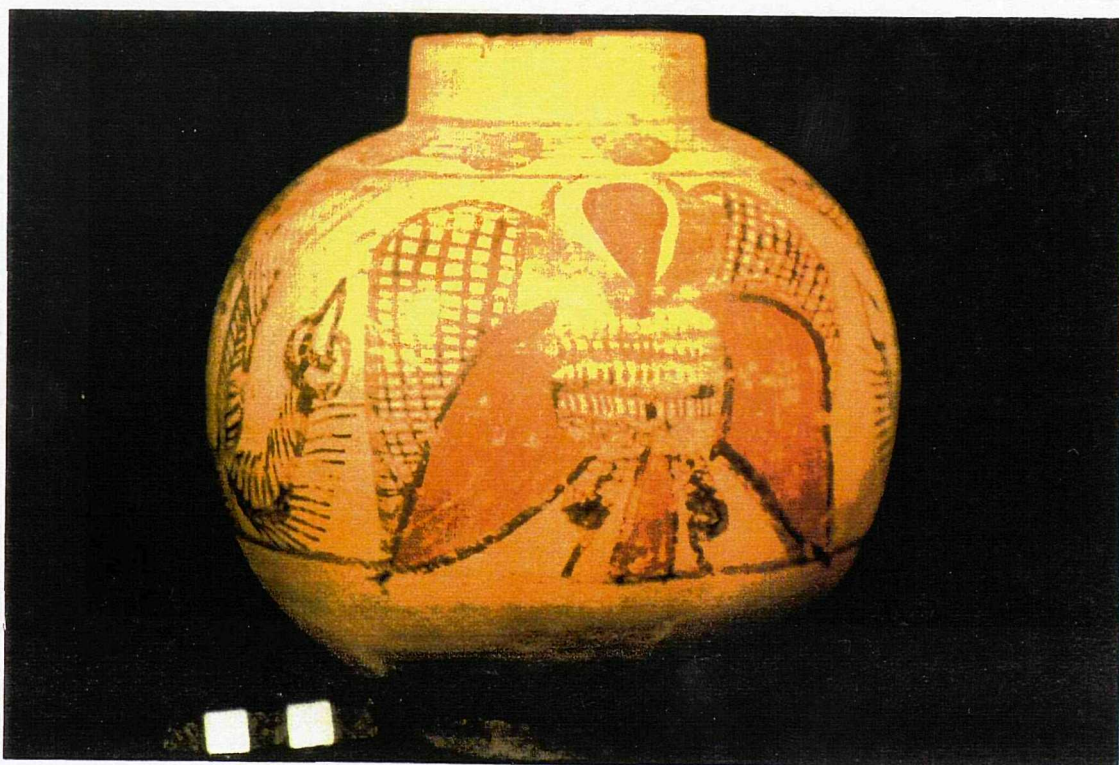
Pl.23. A body-sherd of a shallow bowl decorated on the interior surface with a painted winged Sa (amulet)-Meroe.



Pl.24. A carinated bowl decorated with two separated bands of stamped Sa (amulets)-Semna South.



Pls.25-26. A jar decorated with a painted scene of winged Sa (amulets) and elaborate open lotus flowers with side buds. A horizontal 'ankh-sign is depicted above the stalk of each flower-Faras.

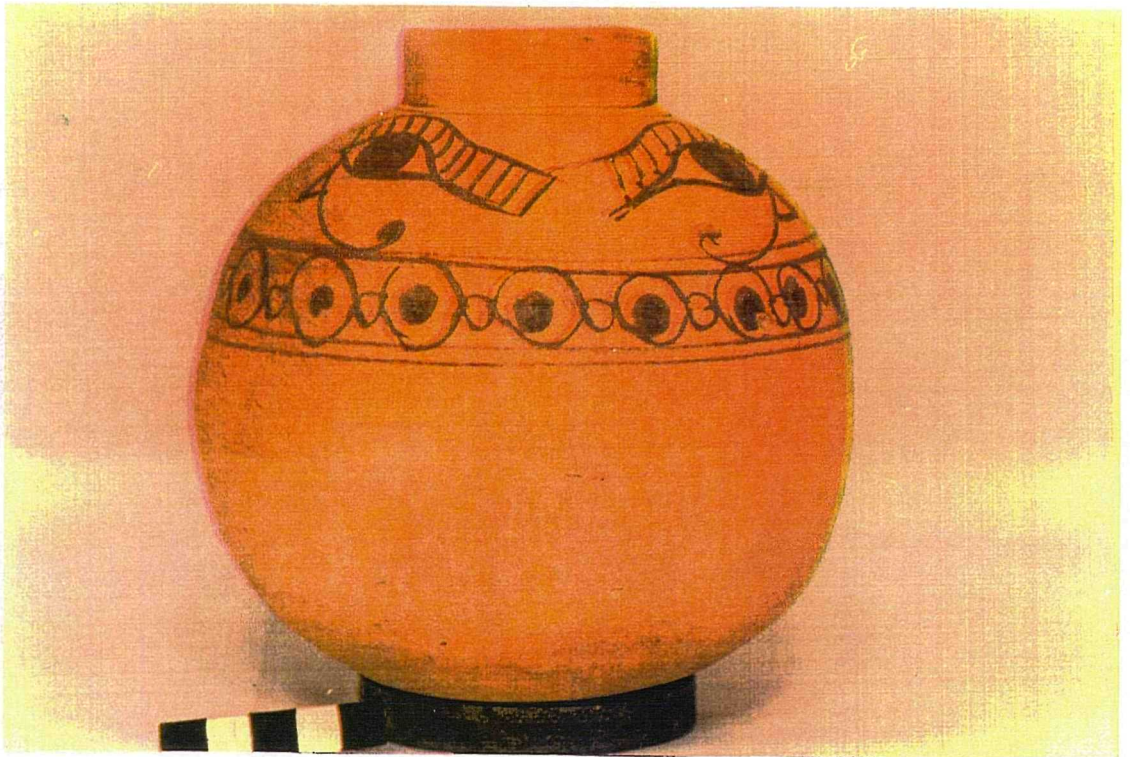




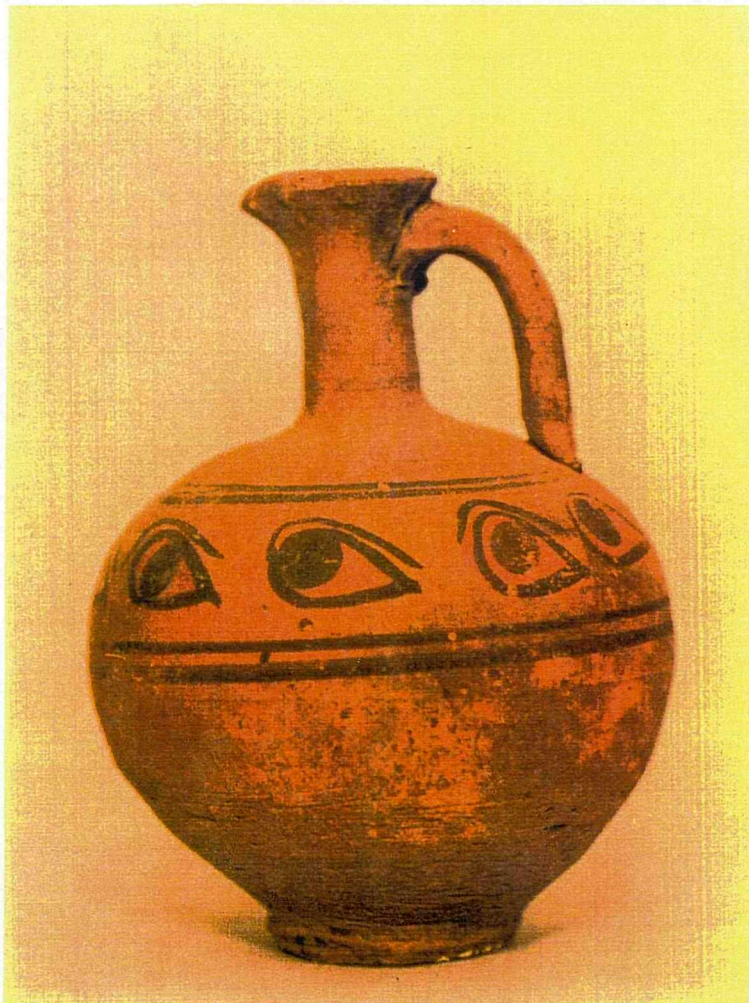
Pl.27. A jar decorated with two painted bands. The top band shows a lotus rosette with lotus buds emerging radially from it. This rosette alternates with an 'ankh-sign on the same band. The bottom band shows three arched winged 'ankh- signs with spiral lines -Gemmai.



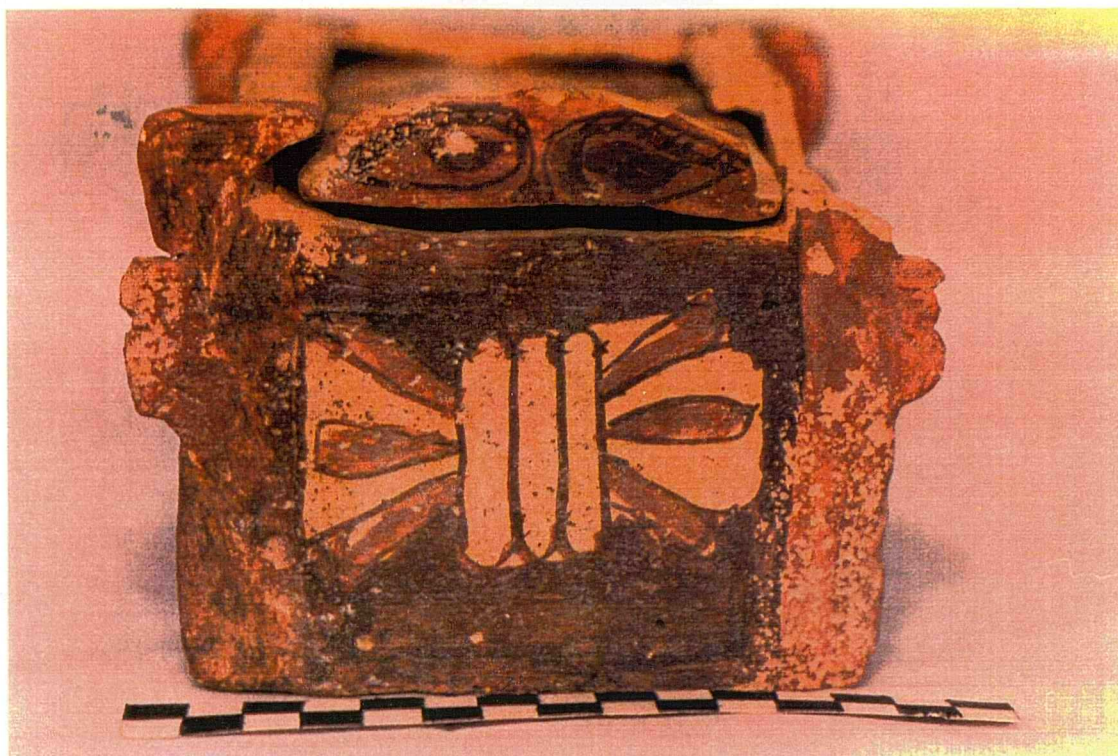
Pl.28. A jar decorated with painted Sa and an elaborate open lotus flower with side buds. A vertical 'ankh-sign is depicted above the stalk of the lotus flower-Matuga.



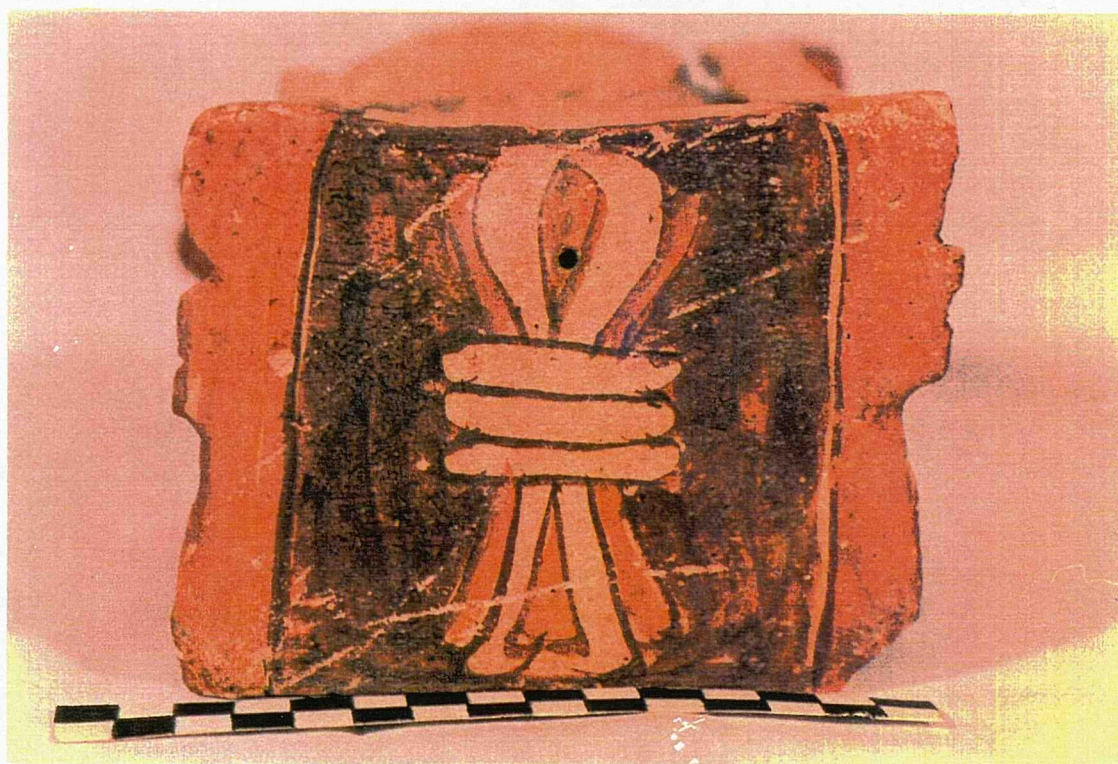
Pl.29. A jar decorated with a band of two painted pairs of wedjat-eyes  
- Faras.

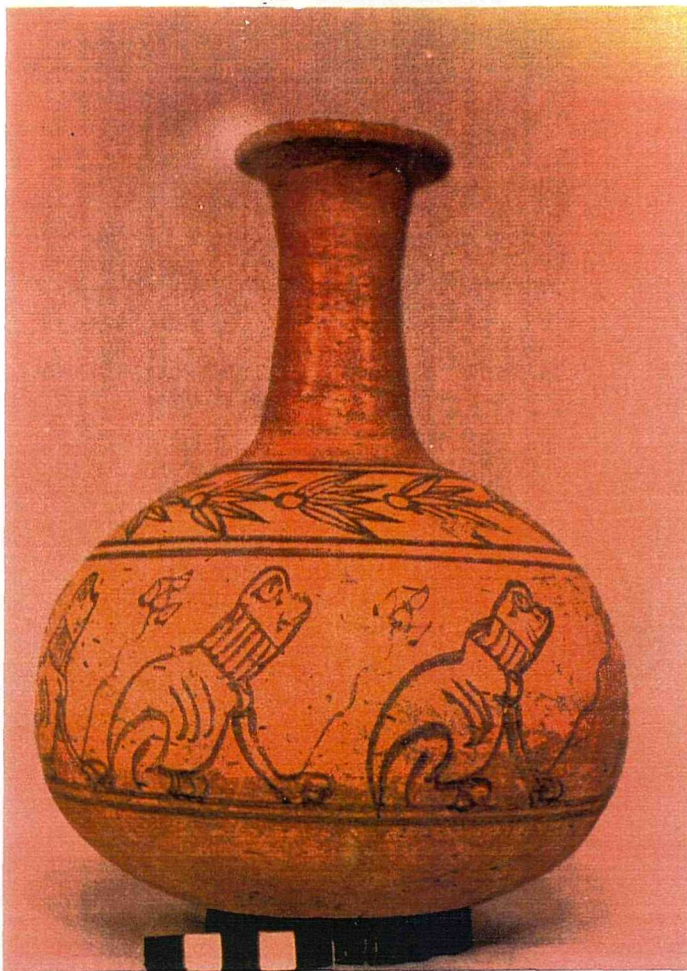


Pl.30. A lekythos decorated with a band of painted leaf shaped  
ordinary eyes - Kumber.

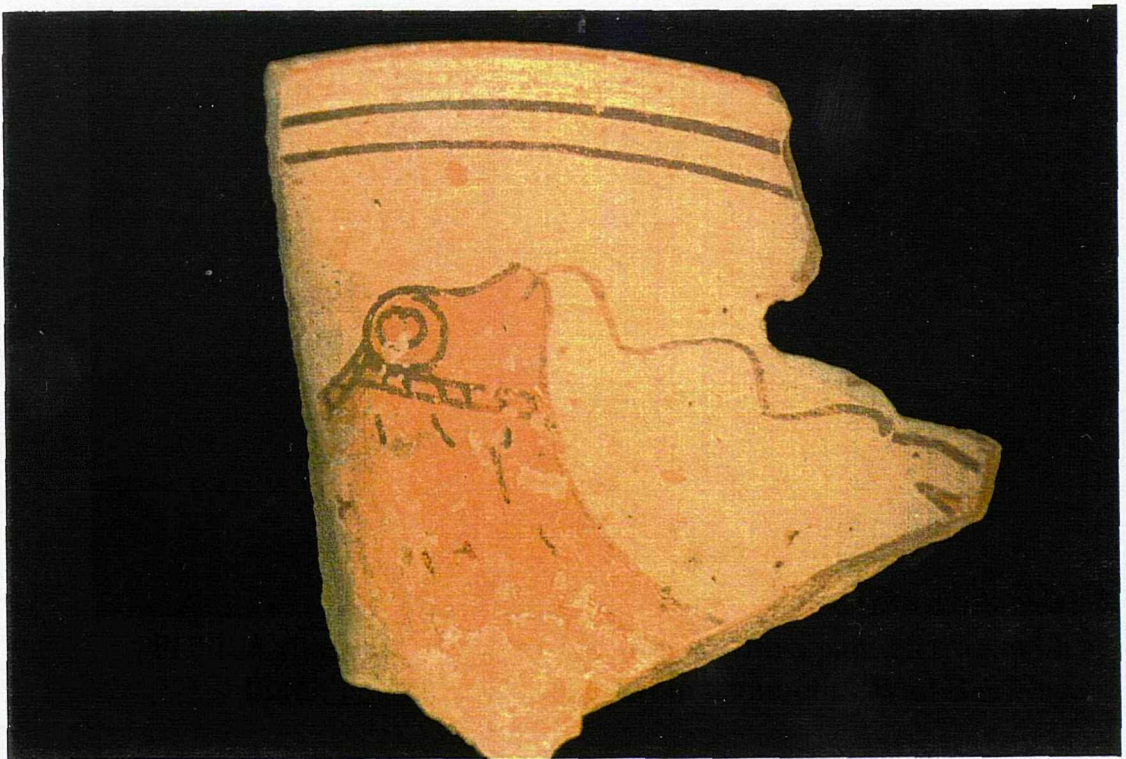


Pls.31-32. A casket decorated with a painted vertical Sa (amulet) on one side, and a horizontal Sa on the other. The lid is decorated with a painted pair of human ordinary eyes and a nose - Faras.





Pl.33.A bottle decorated with two painted bands. The top band is made of connected flowers. The bottom band shows stylised frogs, each with a collar on its neck and holds a floral 'ankh-sign - Semna South.



Pl.34. A rim-sherd of a bowl decorated with a painted frog, with a floral 'ankh-sign dangling from its mouth - Wad Ban Naga.



Pl.35. A jar decorated with a painted band of two vultures, one of which is depicted with outstretched wings - Missiminia.



Pl.36. A plate decorated on the interior surface with a painted demon which has long ears and a crescent on its forehead - Faras.



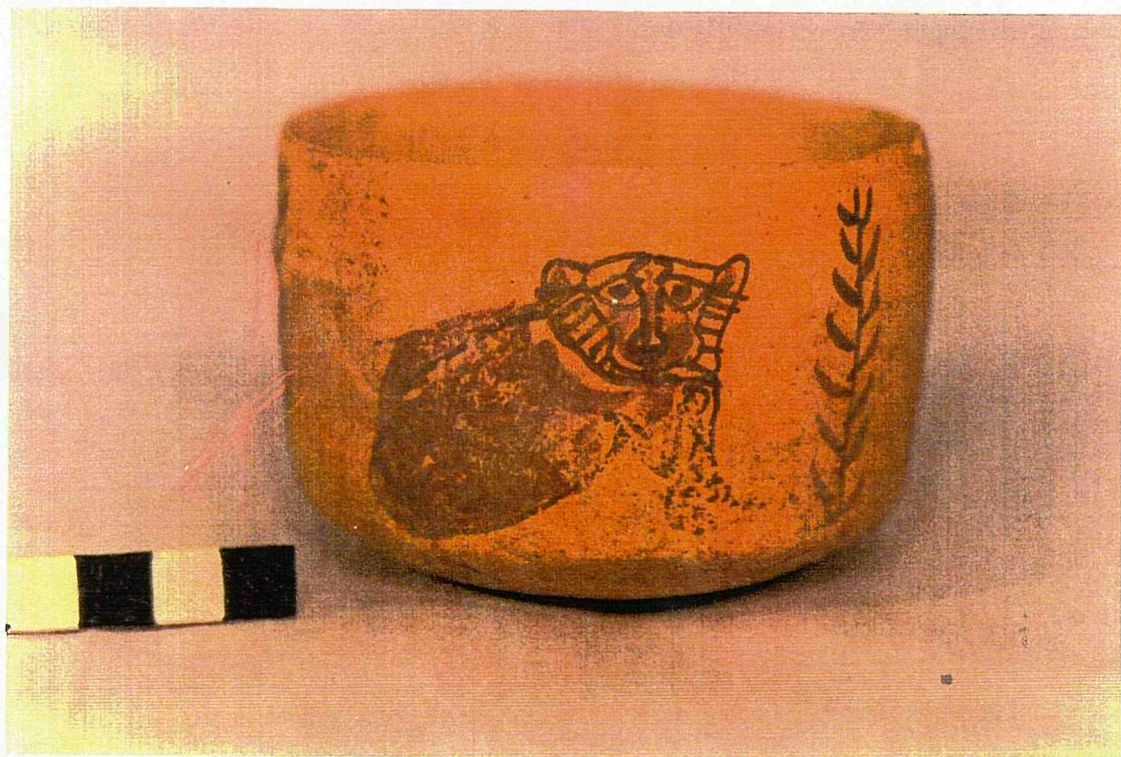
Pl.37. A rim-sherd of a bowl decorated on the exterior surface with a band of stamped cow heads surmounted by sun disks and horns. The interior surface of the sherd is decorated with painted vertical 'ankh-signs-Meroe.

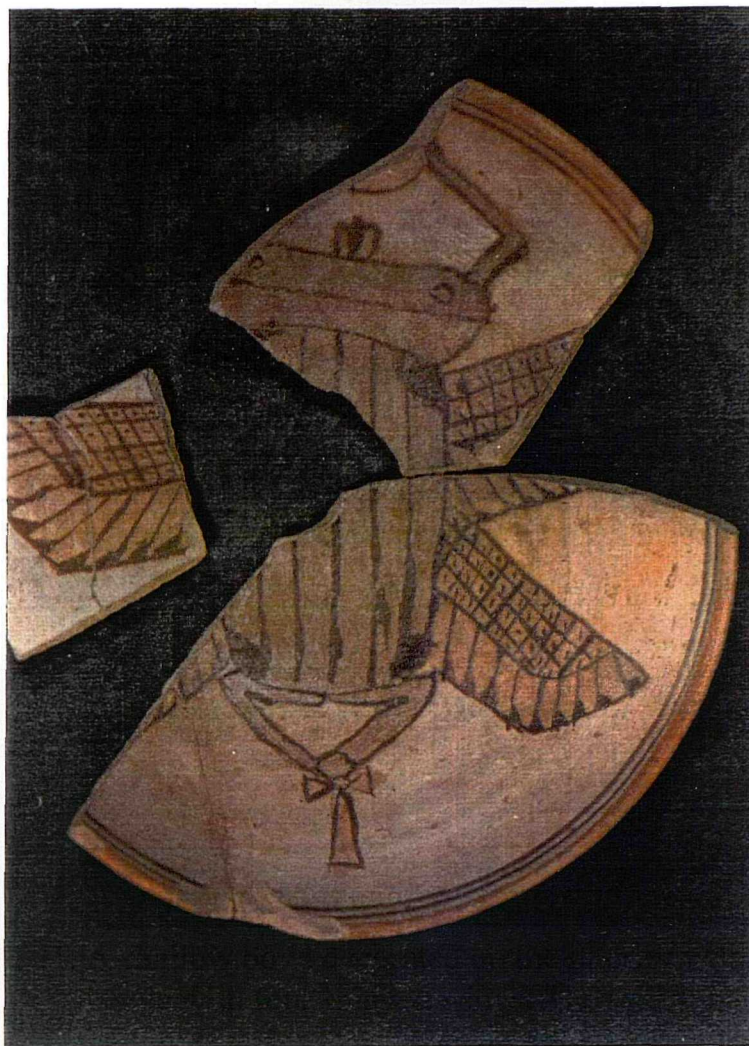


Pl. 38. A rim-sherd of a bowl decorated with a band of stamped offering-tables and Hathor emblems - Wad Ban Naga.



Pls.39-40. A cup decorated with a painted band of a lion, a lotus leafy stem and a lotus bud - Faras.

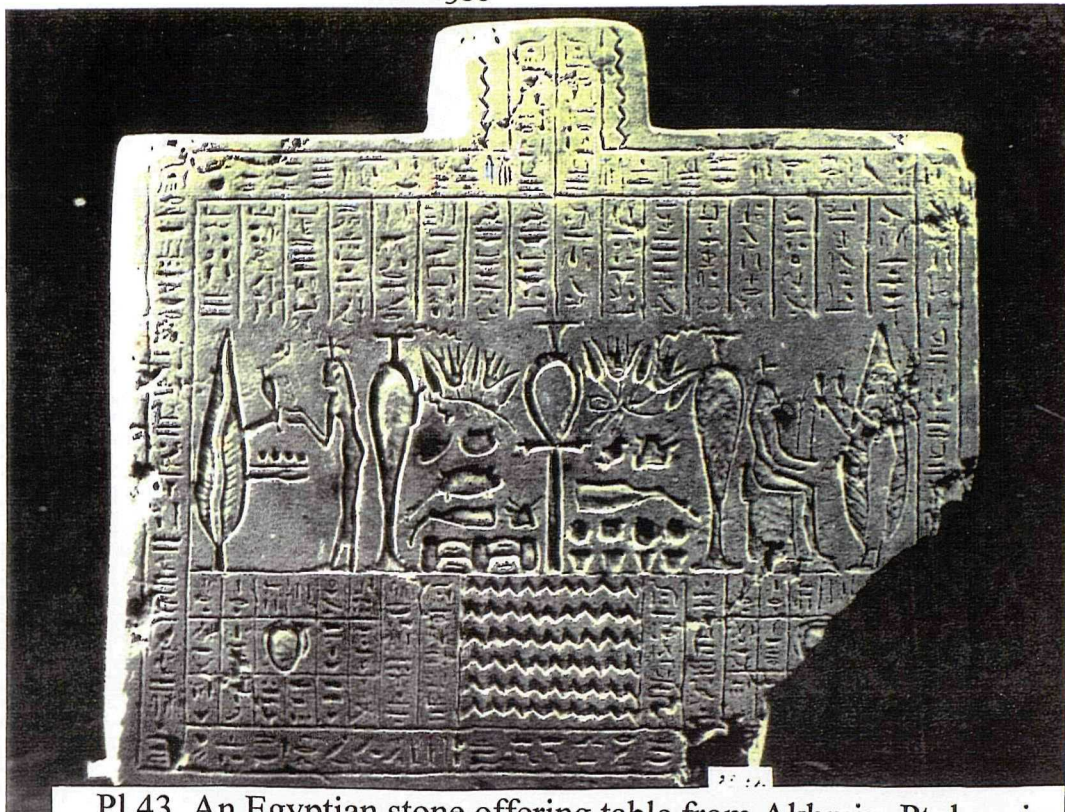




Pl.41. A shallow bowl decorated on the interior with a painted scarab beetle with four splayed wings. The scarab beetle holds its dung ball in its upper claws and an 'ankh-sign in its hind claws- Wad Ban Naga.



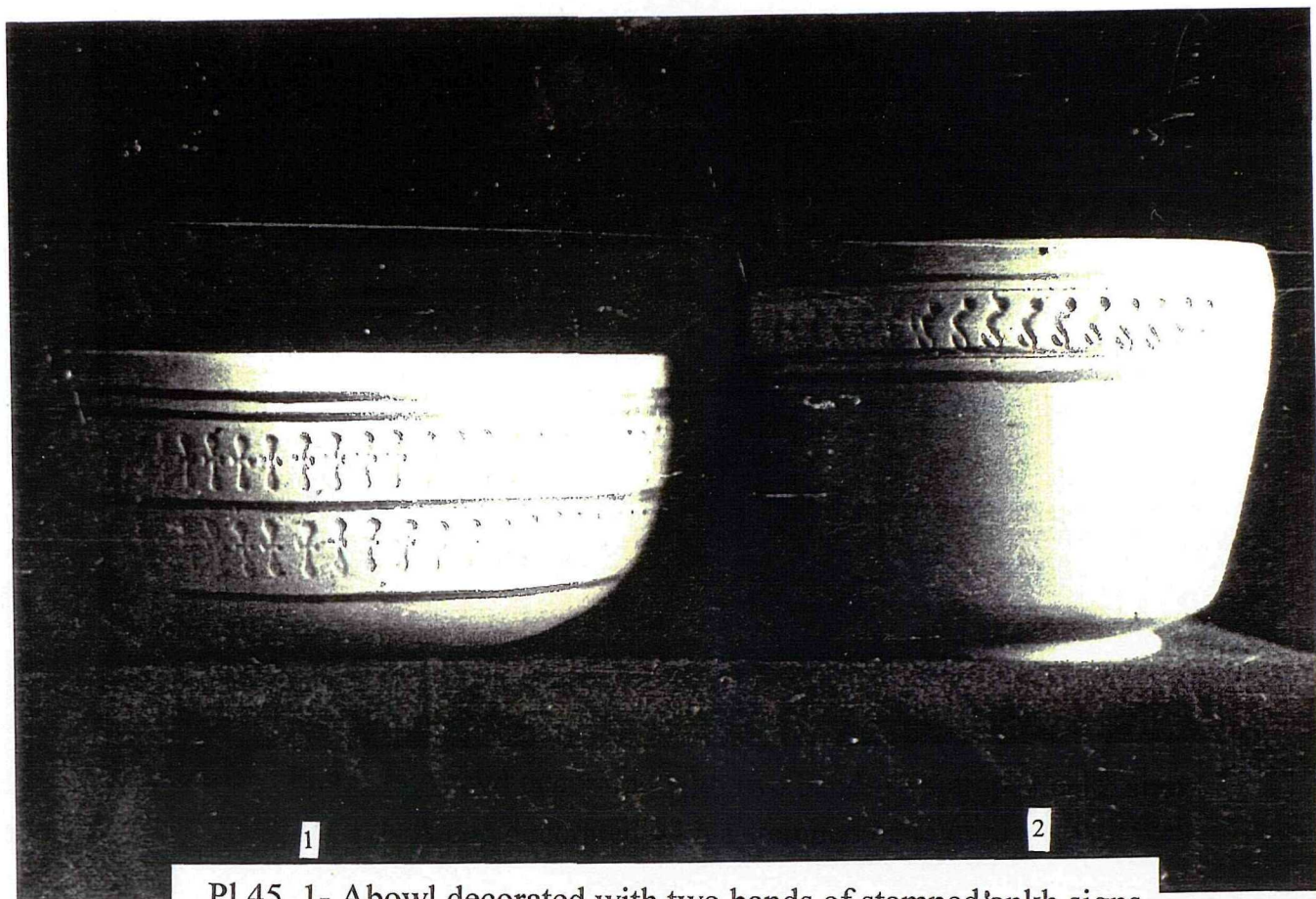
Pl.42. A rim-sherd of a cup decorated with a painted detailed scorpion - Meroe.



Pl.43. An Egyptian stone offering table from Akhmin, Ptolemaic period. Cairo, Mus.no. 23162.



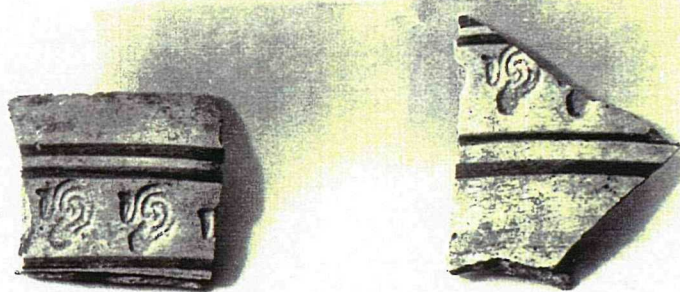
Pl.44. An Egyptian funerary stela of the New Kingdom. Rijks Museum, Leiden.



Pl.45. 1- Abowl decorated with two bands of stamped 'ankh signs.

2- A cup decorated with a stamped band of uraei with their heads surmounted by sun disks.

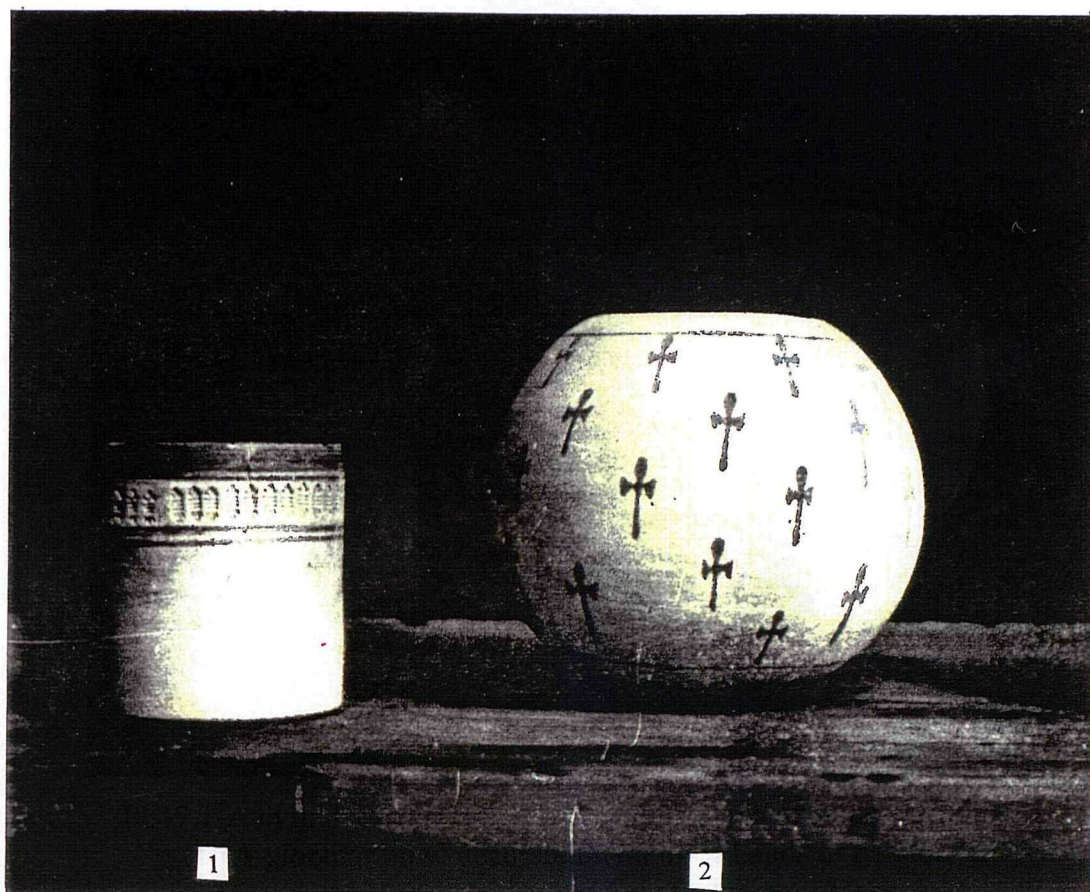
Meroe - M.1068. The Univesity of Liverpool Museum.



cm

Pl.46. Two sherds of a cup decorated with a band of stamped coiled uraei. Meroe - Z.352.

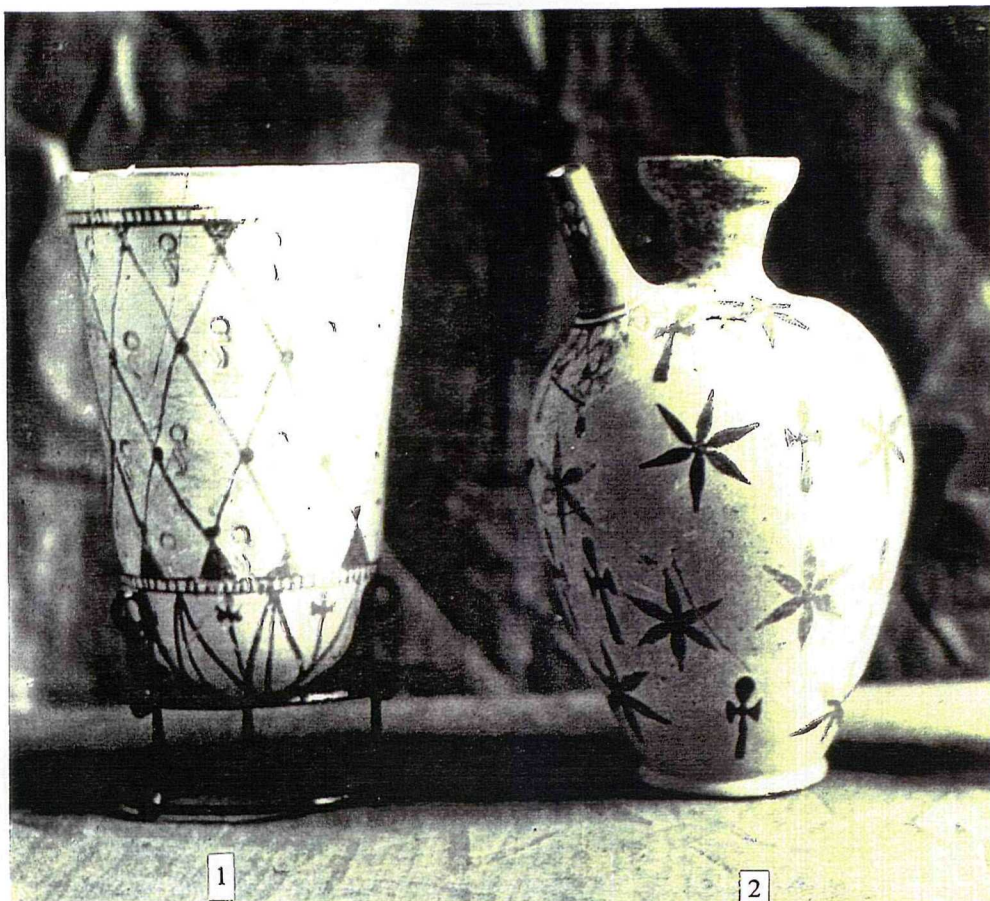
The University of Liverpool Museum, cat. no. E.8350.



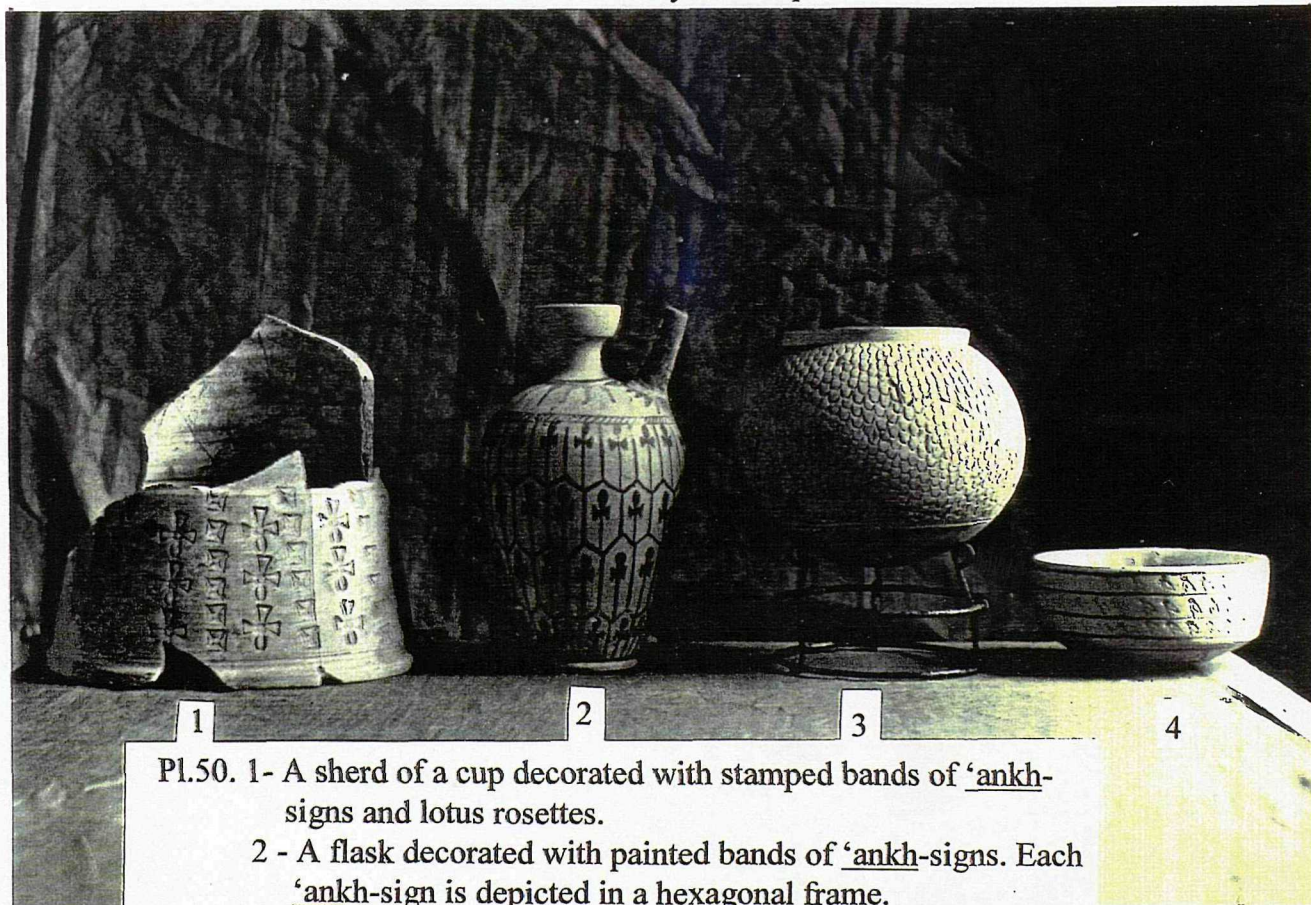
Pl.47.1-A cylindrical cup decorated with a band of stamped Sa-knots.  
 2-A globular bowl decorated with three bands of painted 'ankhs.  
 Meroe - M.1065. The University of Liverpool Museum.



Pl.48. 1- A cup decorated in paint with eight bands of lotus crescents.  
 2 - A cup decorated in paint with stylised bands of Sa (amulets).  
 3 - A bowl decorated with a band of stamped standing uraei.  
 Meroe - M.891. The University of Liverpool Museum.



Pl.49. 1- A cup decorated with bands of stamped uraei with their heads surmounted by sun disks. The base is decorated with a painted lotus rosette from which emerge ankh signs.  
2 - A flask decorated with painted lotus rosettes and ankh signs.  
Meroe - M883. The University of Liverpool Museum.



Pl.50. 1- A sherd of a cup decorated with stamped bands of ankh-signs and lotus rosettes.  
2 - A flask decorated with painted bands of ankh-signs. Each ankh-sign is depicted in a hexagonal frame.  
3 - A bowl decorated with stamped bands of lotus crescents.  
4 - A bowl decorated with three bands of stamped ba birds.  
Meroe - M.881. The University of Liverpool Museum.



1

2

3

Pl.51. 1 - A cup decorated with painted bands of offering tables and Hathor emblems.

2 - A cup decorated with painted crosses of 'ankh signs.

3 - A cup decorated with a stamped band of ba birds and four bands of stamped lotus rosettes.

Meroe - M.886. The University of Liverpool Museum.



cm



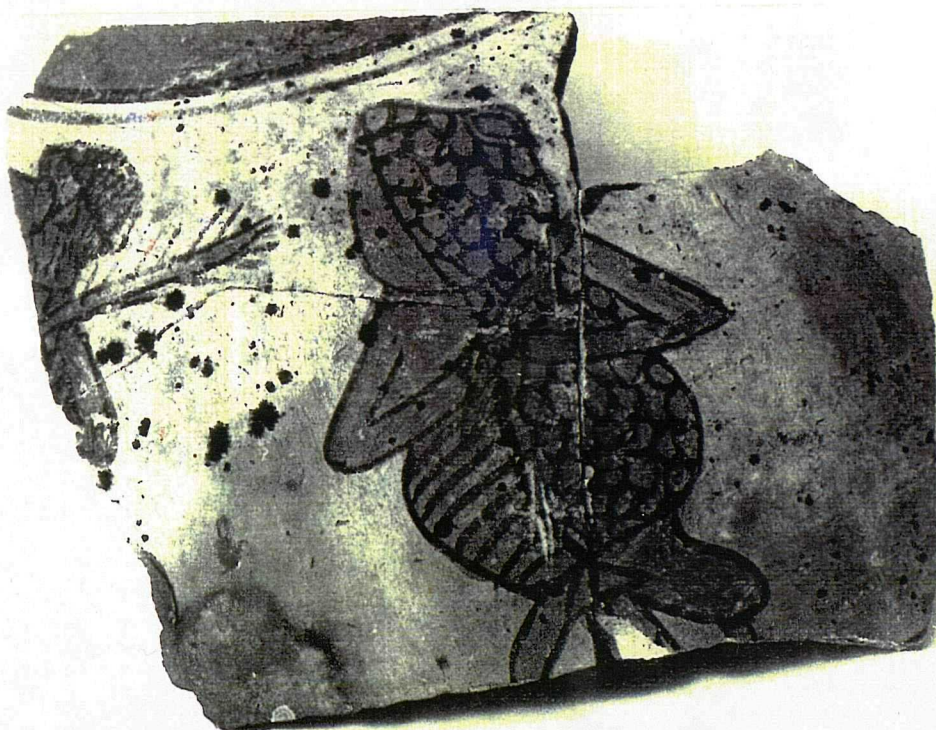
Pl.52. A plate decorated on the interior surface with painted 'ankh sign and a pair of human eyes. The scene forms a human face. Meroe-Z.349. The University of Liverpool Museum, cat. no. E.8346.



cm



Pls.53 - 54. Two fragments of a jar decorated with painted stylised baboons and a frog. Meroe - Z.342, Z.343. The University of Liverpool Museum, cat. nos. 8339a, 8339b.



cm

