

Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.



Acta Symposii anno 2023

BUDAPEST

Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.

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On the cover: Vase from the Zsolnay factory, © private
collection (see FULLÉR – FERÓ, fig. 14.)

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Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.

Objects and Concepts.

Proceedings of the Conference

19th-20th January, 2023, Budapest, Hungary

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THE 'OBJECTS AND CONCEPTS' CONFERENCE AND THE HEFS AEC

DR. HEDVIG GYÓRY, PHD

HEFS AEC president

The Ancient Egyptian Committee of the Hungarian-Egyptian Friendship Society (HEFS AEC / MEPT ÓEB) organised the 'Objects and Concepts' conference in collaboration with the Semmelweis Medical History Museum of the Hungarian National Museum on 19th-20th January 2023. Scholars joined the event in person in Budapest and online from around the world.

The conference aimed to provide a platform for presenting ongoing Egyptological and medical historical research projects related to artefacts, as well as results. It also offered the professional community and a broader interested audience the opportunity to become acquainted with new discoveries, as well as theoretical and methodological approaches. A key objective was to initiate dialogue among specialists in Egyptology, archaeology, ancient history, ethnography, cultural anthropology, Oriental studies and African studies. This would broaden professional perspectives, expand and share knowledge, and shape research approaches. This objective was largely achieved during the conference.

From an Egyptological standpoint, 2022 marked a dual jubilee: the 200th anniversary of Jean-François Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphic writing, and the commemoration of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb 100 years earlier. Drawing inspiration from these events, the conference aimed to reconsider what Tutankhamun's artefacts have taught us about ancient Egyptian culture and how the decipherment of hieroglyphs has deepened our understanding of ancient perceptions of artefacts, their meanings and their uses. The presentations focused on research projects exploring the understanding and interpretation of material culture in ancient and modern societies. This was achieved by reconsidering the real or perceived meanings of objects, or by examining their function, use, and social value.

Following the period of disruption caused by the COVID pandemic, this *Aegyptus et Pannonia* conference was announced as an in-person event in the hope that academic life would return to normal. In practice, however, online

participation has become a permanent feature of scholarly communication. There was still strong demand for remote presentations, with several participants requesting the option to attend online. To a limited extent, this was accommodated, and the conference was organised in a hybrid format. In keeping with tradition, the programme included both English- and Hungarian-language sections. Nevertheless, all contributors were asked to submit written versions of their papers in English for the conference volume. The speakers included nearly equal numbers of Hungarian and international scholars. Most of the studies published in the conference volume are revised versions of the presentations and reflect the discussions held during and after the event. A few papers were omitted due to the authors' other commitments. These were replaced by a study of Bes amulets, as a continuation done on the ornamental Bes amulets during the 18th Dynasty. Abstracts submitted to the 'Objects and Concepts' conference are available in a separate booklet and on the 'Fáraók Földjén' (In the Land of the Pharaohs / ibisz.iif.hu/ozirisz) website of the HEFS AEC, in both Hungarian and English.

Thursday, 19 January 2023

10:00–10:30

Arrival and Greeting

HEFS / MEBS + HNM CCP Semmelweis Medical History Museum (SOM)

10:30–12:00 / EN

Virginia Webb: Reception and alteration: Aegyptiaca in 8th- and 7th-century East Greece through the lens of sanctuary deposits on Samos and Miletus. Import or local production?

Benedek Varga: Connections in the museum representation of the Seuso Treasure

Urška Furlan: A case study of society through the production, consumption, and circulation of amulets of the Nile Delta in the first millennium BCE

12:30–14:00 / HU

Dóra Bohacsek: „Idézlek téged, démon, bárki vagy is (...)” – Latin nyelvű átoktáblák Észak-Afrikából [“I summon you, demon, whoever you are (...)” – Latin curse tablets from North Africa]

Krisztina Scheffer – Hedvig Győry: Udzsat szem amulettek a SOMban [Wedjat eye amulets in the collection of the HNM Semmelweis Museum for Medical history]

Gabriella Vámos: „Fújtak rá cukrot, hogy ne fájjon annyira...” A cukor mint a népi gyógyászat egyik alapanyaga [“They sprayed sugar on it so it wouldn't hurt so much...” Sugar as one of the ingredients of folk medicine]

Friday, 20 January 2023

10:00–11:30 / EN

Rita Simon: The curious history of Tutankhamun's scarab

Afaf Wahba: Objects associated with burials: concept, purpose, and meaning, with examples from recent excavations in Egypt

Esther Pons Mellado: A Predynastic vessel with human and animal representations

12:00–13:00 / HU

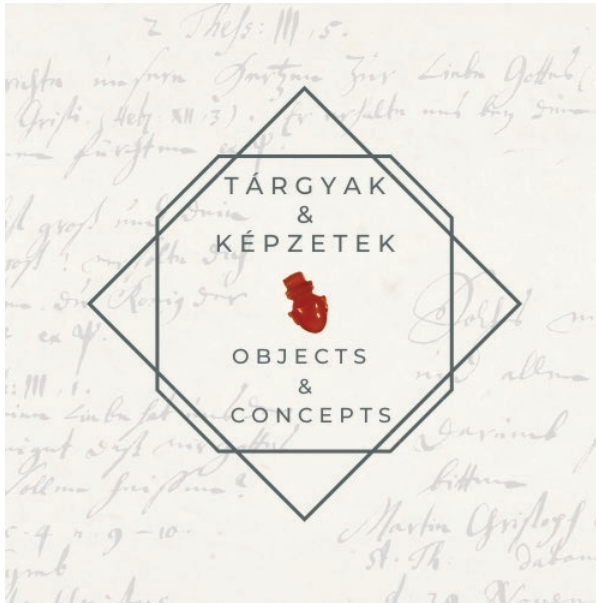
Andrea Fullér – Eszter Ferő: Tutanhamentől a szecesszióig: a Zsolnay gyár egyiptizáló díszműáruja [From Tutankhamun to Art Nouveau: the Zsolnay factory's Egyptionizing decorative goods]

Péter Véninger: Medma és Hipponion, két ókori görög város kerámia emlékei fazekas szemmel [Clay objects of two ancient Greek towns, Medma and Hipponion, with a potter's eye]

Hedvig Győry: Az év ókori egyiptomi emléke: A Thoerisz/Taweret amulettek kérdéséhez [The ancient Egyptian object of the year: To the question of the Thoeris/Taweret amulets]

13:00–13:30

Closing remarks



The title and design of the conference were linked to the double anniversary in 2022. In Hungary, as elsewhere, considerable attention was devoted to Jean-François Champollion, who used the Rosetta Stone to decipher the hieroglyphs, establish their grammatical system and identify their vocabulary. This paved the way for a new understanding of ancient Egyptian culture. Decades of intensive scholarly work have built on his results, enabling

modern audiences to read hieroglyphic texts and gain an understanding – at least in broad outlines – of the thought processes of ancient Egyptians. Nevertheless, further refinement is necessary in this field. One consequence of this breakthrough was that the interpretation of material culture reached a new level: previously uninterpretable or largely speculative assumptions were replaced by interpretations supported by textual sources or more precise approaches to perceived meanings.

The conference logo features a heart-shaped amulet inside a geometric frame, set against a 19th-century manuscript. This symbolises the ancient Egyptian belief that the heart was the key to both biological life and emotions and thought.

However, reading ancient Egyptian texts does not mean that all questions have been answered. One such issue concerns the Stela of Djedher¹ in the Museum of Fine Arts. In this stela the adoring official offering to Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys is shown – following New Kingdom models – with a balm cone on his head, yet its design suggests that its original meaning was lost in later periods. It became a cone-shaped element with branching lines emerging from it. This motif also highlights the deteriorated condition of the centuries-old models, later alterations to which were not always distinguished from the original forms by subsequent artists. By contrast, the jackal figure standing on a boat in the upper register of the stela – despite being a rare depiction – clearly symbolises Anubis's role as 'guide of the soul' in the afterlife. This role is explained from multiple perspectives in written Egyptian sources. For this reason, the stela was chosen as the backdrop for the call for papers.

Another significant anniversary in 2022 was the 100th anniversary of Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon's discovery of the treasures in Tutankhamun's tomb. The objects unearthed at that time had an enormous global impact thanks to their breathtaking beauty, unique forms and exquisite craftsmanship. Public interest in ancient Egypt in Hungary has always been intense,² as evidenced by numerous Egyptian-style monuments, such as the

1 MEKIS, Tamás, *Quelques données nouvelles sur les stèles Budapest MBA inv. no 51.1928 et Prague MN P 1636, et sur la famille de Iâhmès fils de Smendès, propriétaire de la statue Caire JE 37075*, in Coulon, Laurent, *La Cachette de Karnak Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 16. Cairo: Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities – Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 2016, 383-395.

2 For today's interest see e.g. FERÓ, Eszter, *The Body of Nefertiti: The Curious Incident of the Little Warsawa the Venice Biennial*, in JÚNOVÁ, Adéla Macková – STORCHOVÁ, Lucie – JÚN, Libor (eds.), *Egypt and Austria X – Visualizing the Orient: Central Europe and the Near East in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Prague: Academy of Performing Arts in Prague 2016, 107-118.

Jewish cemetery in Budapest,³ the Szivárvány Cinema in Kaposvár,⁴ and the monuments in Csákvár and Hédervár,⁵ or part of them⁶. Likewise, the Zsolnay Factory's Egyptianising artefacts⁷ testify to this enduring popularity. Other Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts illustrate this phenomenon further, including the wooden stela painted by Blanka Teleki (1806–1862). This was deciphered and published based on her painting by Emil Haeffner (1892–1953).⁸ When the stela – long thought lost – was later rediscovered, it emerged that the painting was an almost perfect copy.⁹ Further artefacts

3 FULLÉR, Andrea, *Egyiptizáló síremlékek a budapesti zsidó temetőben a 19–20. század fordulóján*. Ókor 18/3, 2019, 96-112; FULLÉR, Andrea, *Egyptianizing Funerary Architecture in Budapest*: Mladen Tomorad (ed.): *Egypt and Austria XII – Egypt and the Orient*, in *The Current Research. Proceedings of the Conference held at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb* (September 17th-22nd, 2018). Oxford-Zagreb 2020, 353-373

4 FULLÉR, Andrea, *A kaposvári Szivárvány Kultúrpalota egyiptizáló dekorációja*. Ókor 4/2014, 67-78; FULLÉR, Andrea, *Egyptianizing Decoration of the Szivárvány Cinema in Kaposvár*. in JÜNOVA Macková, Adéla – STORCHOVÁ, Lucie - JÜN, Libor (eds), *Egypt and Austria X. Visualizing the Orient: Central Europe and the Near East in the 19th and 20th centuries*. Prague: Academy of Performing Arts in Prague 2016, 179-191; FULLÉR, Andrea, *A kaposvári Szivárvány Mozi – A húszas évek egyiptomi stílusú mozzijainak hazai példája*, in BÁCS, Tamás – DEZSŐ, Tamás – VÉR, Ádám (eds.) *Aegyptiaca et Assyriaca. Tanulmányok az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Ókortudományi Intézetéből*. Antiqua et Orientalia 5. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó 2015, 76-92.

5 FERŐ, Eszter, *Csákvári piramis és hédervári szfinx: a magyar egyiptománia nyomában*. 4. Ókor 2014, 55-66; FERŐ, Eszter, *Pyramids in the „Back Garden”: Some Remarks on Egyptomania in Hungary*. Lecture at *The Perception of the Orient in Central Europe (1800–1918)*. Conference *Egypt and Austria IX*, 2013. Betliar, Slovakia, 2013. október 21-23; FERŐ, Eszter, *Az egyiptománia jelensége az újkori Magyarországon, avagy hogyan kerül piramis egy Esterházy kastélyparkba?* in BÁCS, Tamás – DEZSŐ, Tamás – VÉR, Ádám (eds.) *Aegyptiaca et Assyriaca. Tanulmányok az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Ókortudományi Intézetéből*. Antiqua et Orientalia 5. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó 2015, 59-76.

6 GULYÁS, András, *A house with winged sundisks in Peterdy street, Budapest*, in *Festschrift Gábor Schreiber*, in print.

7 See the article in this volume, and FERŐ, Eszter, *In Search of the Orient: The Zsolnay Way*, in CZERNY, Ernst (ed.): *Egypt and Austria XI – In Search of the Orient*. Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (September 20th to 24th, 2016). Egypt and Austria – Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien - Kraków 2018, 45–57; FERŐ, Eszter, *Zsolnay-titok másképp: egyiptománia a magyar iparművészetben*. *Zsolnay's secret in a new light: Egyptomania in Hungarian applied arts*. *Belvedere* 31/1, 2019, 166-178 – DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2019.1.11>; FERŐ, E. – FULLÉR, A. *Tűzben született lótuszvirágok*. *Egyiptizáló alkotások a Zsolnay gyárban*. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum 2023; FERŐ, Eszter – FULLÉR, Andrea, *Eosin Cat and Pyrogranite Sphinx – New Remarks on the Egyptianizing Colours of the Zsolnay Factory*, in HUDAKOVA, Lubica – HUDEC, Josef (eds.), *Egypt and Austria XIII – Between the treaties of Sistova and Lausanne: Contacts between the Orient and Central Europe in the 19th and early 20th Centuries*. Proceedings of the Conference held by the Aigyptos Foundation and the Egypt and Austria Society at Topoľčiansky (October 21st-25th, 2020). In press.

8 HAEFFNER, Emil, *Ein verschollene Stele aus der Sammlung F. Kiss in Buda*. *Oriens Antiquus*, Budapest I, 1945, 59-65.

9 See the latest publication of the Stele at MEKIS, Tamás, *Quelques données nouvelles sur les stèles Budapest MBA inv. no 51.1928 et Prague MN P 1636, et sur la famille de Iâhmés fils de Smedès, propriétaire de la statue Caire JE 37075*, in COULON, Laurent, *La Cachette de Karnak*.



in this field have been brought together in a recently published volume by the Museum of Fine Arts¹⁰.

Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain. Bibliothèque d'Étude 161. Cairo: Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities and Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 2016, 383-398.

¹⁰ KÓTHAY, Katalin Anna – LIPTAY, Éva, *Az ókori Egyiptom Magyarországon. Pillanatképek a magyarországi Egyiptom-képek, egyiptizálás és aegyptiacagyűjtés történetéből a 18. század kezdetétől 1939-ig, az első egyiptomi kiállítás megnyitásáig.* Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum 2025, with contributions from András Gulyás, Flóra Kevély, Katalin Kóthay, Éva Liptay and Tamás Mekis.

Motivated by the growing interest in Egyptology, our committee launched the annual 'Ancient Egyptian Object of the Year' initiative. The first object was the lotus flower in 2019; the bee from royal titulary was selected in 2020; Amenhotep, son of Hapu, in 2021; the Thoeris/Taweret amulet, which initiated the Taweret research project, in 2022; a representation of the goddess Seshat in 2023; the figure of the goddess Maat in 2024; and the Middle Kingdom soul house in 2025. These naturally formed part of the research and outreach programme for those years. Alongside this, we continued to deliver our customary public lectures at our headquarters and in schools. Our members pursued their own research, and we continued to hold our scholarly international conferences and annual student drawing competition. Selected submissions from the latter are usually displayed in an exhibition. Just a few days ago, we opened a children's drawing exhibition at the Child Museum in Cairo for the first time in our Society's history. This is the Egyptian presentation of our 2024 exhibition, 'The Holy Family in Egypt', organised jointly with the Deák 17 Gallery. This time, it was organised in Egypt with the support of the Hungarian Liszt Institute in Cairo. In addition to raising awareness, we conducted research largely related to anniversaries that year.

The Tutankhamun jubilee in 2022 was commemorated internationally and aroused widespread interest in Hungary. To mark the occasion, the Hungarian Post issued a commemorative stamp block and matching envelope¹¹ depicting the famous gold mask and nested coffins. In the background is a gold relief scene from a small shrine (JE 61481¹²) from the tomb depicting Tutankhamun and his wife, Ankhesenamun. Among the finds from this naos was a pendant depicting the standing king being suckled by Weret-hekau, the snake-bodied goddess ("*Great of Magic*"; JE 61952)¹³, suspended from a necklace. As the shrine had been found looted, it is not known whose statue it originally adorned. The Hungarian Minting Company also issued a gold-plated silver coin¹⁴ featuring Tutankhamun's mask on the front and a 3D image of his tomb on the reverse. A documentary presenting the latest research was shown in cinemas – the Italian movie 'The Temples of Art: Tutankhamun – The Latest Exhibition', which was shown from May onwards. All of these events were preceded by the international travelling exhibition 'Tutankhamun: The Pharaoh's Burial Chamber', which ran from 2019 to 2020, but unfortunately closed prematurely due to the COVID pandemic. Although it presented only high-quality replicas, it nevertheless made artefacts that were previously only known through images tangible for many

11 The blocks were printed by Pénzjegynyomda Zrt. based on the designs of the graphic artist György Kara.

12 <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/108.html>

13 <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/108c.html>

14 <https://www.erekmibocsato.hu/webaruhaz/tutanhamon-maszki-100-efordulo>

Hungarian visitors. Since November, the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM) has presented the assemblage in all its glory.

In addition to our educational outreach work, we continued to conduct research. The jubilee gave us the chance to focus more intensively on our Nephthys Project, which centres on Egyptian mummies. Within this framework, we organised several scholarly events, including a workshop on current issues in mummy research at the Hungarian Natural History Museum, as well as a special programme at the Semmelweis Museum dedicated to Tutankhamun's mummy. The amulets¹⁵ placed on his body in multiple layers played an important role in this programme. According to the Murray-Nuttall Handlist, there were 78 pieces in total. Interestingly, only three of these depict anthropomorphic deities, none of which are in the customary striding pose. Instead, they are all seated with their knees drawn up (Anubis, Thoth and Horus), and all have plain, undecorated backs. Among the animal amulets, in addition to various snake forms, only the vulture is depicted. There are two plant amulets (leaf and double leaf) and the majority are object amulets. Several are specifically royal protective objects, such as the was sceptres, while others are rare or otherwise unknown forms: Y- and T- shapes, knots, a khepesh, a mallet, a knife, a miniature bracelet, and a rhomboid form. Well-known examples include the wadj and the ankh. There is also a striking number of djed pillars and Isis knots, with seven of each. Two amulets stand out due to their material: an iron wedjat eye and an iron headrest amulet. The latter only became common in the Saite period. Carter recorded ten further items, which he simply called "amulets". One of these is a heart bearing a crest relief, and there are several beads inscribed with Tutankhamun's name, as well as a shell. The assemblage is supplemented by two earrings.

The objects around us reflect the era in which we live and our identity, whether our lives are structured according to religious or secular principles. In ancient Egypt, these two aspects were inextricably linked, as is perfectly illustrated by amulets. They were chosen to provide protection and enhance outward appearance. Beyond religious and secular considerations, their protective and aesthetic functions were expanded by elements that shaped identity. From this perspective, fashion and social expectations also played a significant role, sometimes even overriding individual characteristics — particularly in the case of a pharaoh. It is therefore especially interesting to examine the amulets placed on Tutankhamun's body to protect him in the afterlife. Even a young pharaoh was provided with everything necessary, since he was already regarded as a god in life — a status that became even more pronounced after death.

15 <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakeres.pl?sid=41.33.51.9-1766043880&qno=1&sta=0&qtx=amulet>

The exceptionally high quality of the amulets reflects his rank, and the selection clearly reflects the period in which he lived: the transition from the Amarna reform to the Ramesside era, which emphasised individual religiosity.

As a result of the presentation of Tutankhamun's mummy, the HEFS AEC and the Semmelweis Museum have jointly initiated a project aimed at analysing the SOM amulets from historical, medical and religious perspectives. While the SOM amulets cannot rival Tutankhamun's exceptional *wedjat* eye, magnificent divine figures, or elegant papyrus columns, the everyday beauty of the SOM heart amulet likewise merits attention. Although the museum's *wedjat* eye amulets played a central role in the conference presentation, the heart, scarab, *djed* pillar and other amulets received limited attention. Nevertheless, this joint article focuses on the *djed* pillar. From a historical perspective relating to the museum's collections, it occupies a special place alongside the scarab with which it was acquired. As the scarab (*hpr* beetle) from one of Tutankhamun's pectorals is emphasised elsewhere in the volume, we have chosen to focus on the *djed* pillar instead. This symbol also played an important role in Tutankhamun's tomb. In addition to the seven *djed* amulets placed on his body, one¹⁶ was deposited in a niche on the southern side of the burial chamber in the western corner and subsequently walled up. Another pillar¹⁷ was found almost at the centre of the southern side of the fourth, innermost naos, directly in front of the sarcophagus. The solar-lunar form of the *djed* pillar also appears on one of the pharaoh's pectorals¹⁸.

The first article in the volume summarises the research of Andrea Fullér and Eszter Feró on Zsolnay ceramics, with a particular focus on the Tutankhamun series. Through their meticulous research, the authors were able to ascertain the location of numerous pieces, establish the identities of the artists, trace the origins of the motifs, and determine the sources of the images used. They also demonstrated that works produced prior to the discovery of the tomb were in fact included in the Tutankhamun series.

The author's study categorises 18th Dynasty naturalistic Bes amulets according to their iconography. Using excavation finds and museum collections

16 That is beside the head. Carter no. 260, H: JE 61379. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=82.131.230.142-1766356119&qno=1&curr=260>

17 Carter no. 250, JE 61785, max. H: 56 cm – <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=82.131.230.142-1766356119&qno=1&curr=250>

18 Carter no. 261i – M: 12x 16,3 cm. The pectoral is representing the *djed* pillar topped by moon sickle and sun disc between Isis and Nephthys. Another pectoral in the same set has in the middle an Osiris figure, while at the third pectoral the central figure is missing. See <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/perl/gi-ca-qmakesumm.pl?sid=82.131.230.142-1766356119&qno=1&curr=261i>.

as a basis, the study attempts to map the relationships between the resulting groups, as well as their chronological and spatial distribution. The study also highlights new conceptual phenomena present on amulets predating the Amarna period.

The third article, which was also written by the author, focuses on Old Kingdom Taweret amulets. It is primarily based on publications documenting excavations conducted by Guy Brunton in the Qau-Matmar region of Middle Egypt. As well as analysing iconographic groupings, the article examines the usage of Taweret amulets across individual cemeteries, assesses usage patterns and attempts to reconstruct contemporary perceptions of the goddess based on assemblages.

Esther Pons Mellado presents a Naqada II vessel from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, the provenance of which is unknown. The vessel is lavishly embellished with depictions of antelopes, goats, and gazelles, whose parallel depictions are listed on a variety of other vessels. Together, these vessels vividly illustrate how the ‘green desert’ surrounding the Nile — the Sahara of today — was able to sustain such rich wildlife during the Predynastic period.

In their joint study, the author and Krisztina Scheffer trace the acquisition of the djed pillar amulet in the Semmelweis Museum’s collection, explore the possible motivations behind its purchase, and introduce the collector who once owned it. The study also provides an overview of djed pillar representations and variations of the amulet form across periods, alongside an examination of their associated Pharaonic concepts. It also takes a brief look at some modern reinterpretations of the form.

Rita Simon examines one of Tutankhamun’s pectorals, the central feature of which is a scarab crafted from Libyan Desert Glass. She discusses the discovery of this material and considers possible pathways by which it arrived in Egypt, taking into account the contemporary role of the Western Desert. She also provides a theological interpretation of the composition as a whole. Her new interpretation emphasises Tutankhamun’s solar-lunar character.

Gabriella Vámos examines the medicinal use of sugar in eye treatments in Hungary using historical and ethnographic sources, which can be traced back to domestic sources from the 16th century onwards. Her research shows that, initially, cane sugar was used primarily among aristocratic circles to treat cataracts and trachoma. From the late 18th century onwards, sugar made from sugar beets appeared in peasant eye treatments; the most recent ethnographic source of which dates to 1974.

In his contribution, Péter Véninger discusses a technical phenomenon identified during a joint Hungarian–Italian project on terracottas from the southern Italian cities of Medma and Hipponion. Votive figurines in the

sanctuaries of these cities, founded by the Calabrian Lokroi, were typically produced not by trained craftsmen, but by the dedicators themselves. This meant that, in addition to offering tangible objects, they also offered their own labour to the goddess venerated at the sanctuary.

Afaf Wahba presents an Old Kingdom burial assemblage from Saqqara, notable for its reed coffin. Although the owner was not one of the wealthiest individuals, he can still be considered relatively prosperous. His body was wrapped in domestic linen, and he was given a headrest to accompany him into the afterlife. Anthropological analysis suggests that he was a middle-aged man whose skeletal remains show signs of diseases and alterations that may indicate his occupation.

Virginia Webb compares Egyptian and Egyptianising faience objects from the Heraion on Samos and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Miletus (Zeytintepe). She discusses these objects in several groups, including scarabs, amulets, falcon and cat figurines, non-suspendable bird, animal and human figurines, and miniature baskets. Her analysis reveals that visitors to the sanctuaries of the two goddesses offered Egyptianising objects that were made outside Egypt and differed from each other in many respects at the two sites.

As this brief overview demonstrates, the studies in this volume examine various aspects of Egypt's material culture, including archaeology, art, craftsmanship, everyday life, religion, and the country's influence on the wider world. A study also presents an example of ethnographic methodology, tracing the origins of the Hungarian use of sugar for medicinal purposes and illustrating how economic changes can lead to significant transformations in the use and interpretation of materials over time. This diversity of examples has enabled us to fulfil our primary objective of examining the historical changes and transformations in the meanings, interpretations and functions of objects.

Unfortunately, the publication of the volume was delayed due to technical and organisational issues, including a damaged hard drive. This resulted in the publication appearing later than planned. Nevertheless, the thorough and professional research conducted by the authors, the support received, and the efforts of the other contributors made the publication possible.

Firstly, we would like to thank the speakers who delivered inspiring lectures and shared insights into their research. We would also like to thank the HNM PCC Semmelweis Museum and its Director General, Benedek Varga; the House of Nations and its President, György Kilián; as the venue providers, and all the collaborators for their hard work on the technical and organisational tasks during the conference.

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Thanks to everyone's devoted efforts, we are once again able to present readers with a high-quality publication in both print and digital formats.

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PLAQUE AMULETS FOR THE GODDESS WITH HIPPOPOTAMUS BODY IN THE OLD TO THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

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ABSTRACT

The well-known image of the goddess Taweret/Thoeris is the result of a long development process. The first phase began during the 6th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom. In the first half of the 20th century, Guy Brunton and his team conducted extensive excavations in the Qau-Matmar region, uncovering large quantities of amulets in burial assemblages from various periods. They created a comprehensive typological system to catalogue and publish these artefacts.

In this article, I further refine the Taweret class (no. 21) and compare the Qau-Matmar region pieces with some amulets from other regions. I analyse the typological forms and their connections to each other, as well as their temporal and geographical distribution within funeral assemblages. By presenting new facts and possibilities, I hope to further our understanding of the early worship of the goddess.

First the article discusses the new typological system of Taweret amulets from the early period, within the chronological framework provided by Seidlmayer, Wiese, Quirke and Dubiel for the 6th to early 12th Dynasties. I then present my conclusions, drawn from these Taweret plaque amulets.

KEYWORDS: Taweret, Thoeris, typology, Qau, Matmar, funeral assemblage, religion, female and child burial

INTRODUCTION

One of the topics at our conference was the Taweret/Thoeris amulet, “the ancient Egyptian object of the year 2022”. When today people hear the name of this goddess, they usually picture a figure with the body of a hippopotamus standing on two legs, with the paws of a lion and depicted with a crocodile lying on her back, as well as human arms and female breasts. These amulets are usually displayed on small pedestals at exhibitions around

the world. The Egyptians primarily considered this goddess to be the protector of pregnant and nursing women, as well as newborns. They believed she ensured the successful outcome of childbirth and the feeding of the child, as well as protecting them against evil forces. In this latter role, everyone could count on her help at night. It is therefore not surprising that so many amulets were made for her and that she is often referred to as the “most popular” and “most beloved” goddess. But was it always like this in the land of the pharaohs? When and how did she first appear, and what did her worship mean to the ancient Egyptians? What can the earliest objects depicting her tell us about her? This article is the result of research undertaken to find answers to such questions.

Since the Predynastic Period, the ancient Egyptians have attributed divine powers to the hippopotamus. They wore images of the animal or small statuettes of its head as protective amulets alongside other pendants. During the Old Kingdom, pendants depicting figures with the head and body of a hippopotamus, standing upright on two legs with a tail on its back, appeared alongside these amulets, which suggests that the divine power inherent in the hippopotamus was now perceived as more human-like. According to the custom of the time, amulets were small and formed necklaces or bracelets alongside many differently shaped amulets, making it difficult to determine the intended effect of each piece, including the two-legged hippopotamus. However, this form endured with minor or major changes until the Roman era, meaning the essence of the figure survived for thousands of years.

The labels on pharaonic depictions revealed several names of this deity, and since these names also appear in contemporary texts, their function can be determined. Based on the Pyramid Texts and later texts, we know that she was called Ipet in the early periods of Saqqara and Thebes, and that the Theban Opet festival, one of the greatest festivals of the New Kingdom, was associated with her. The name „Ipet” sounds similar to the ancient Egyptian word for „*harem*”, suggesting that the goddess was likely associated with the women’s quarters from the beginning. She was also called „Reret”, and since „*rere*” means „*sow*”, this connects her to the fertility cult. However, this designation can also be explained by the goddess’s appearance. (In several European languages, the hippopotamus is equated with another animal through mirror translation: the „*river-horse*”.) However, the goddess’s name became so widespread by the Graeco-Roman period that ancient authors referred to her by its Greek form: Thoueris, Thoeris or Toeris. This name originated from the ancient Egyptian Ta-weret or Taurt, meaning „*The Great (Female)*”. In this article, I present the design of the plaque amulets made for this deity (Petrie, Amulet No. 236). As the name given to each piece by its wearer is unknown, I have chosen to refer to the iconographic form as Taweret, in accordance with the most common ancient Egyptian designation (from the New Kingdom).

Two major time periods can be distinguished in Egyptian amulet-

making: the period of early amulets, when small, simple shapes were typically made in the form of plaque amulets; and the classical period, which includes the larger, more sculptural amulets usually exhibited in museums. Changes can be observed within both periods, and several versions of both forms could be worn simultaneously, even within a single piece of jewellery, by the living and the dead alike. The two periods are not sharply separated; plaque and statuette forms existed from the beginning, but their relative proportions changed during the 18th Dynasty. While both forms coexisted and numerous transitional plaque shapes were in use (some of which were worn during the Ramesside period), statuette amulets emerged at this time, and then almost completely displaced plaque amulets.

TAWERET PLAQUE AMULETS

Some Egyptian amulets were carved from bone or various stones, but made rarely from metal. Most were crafted from Egyptian faience using a negative mould. While it is almost impossible to carve two identical Taweret figures, identical pieces pressed from a negative mould can be produced easily and quickly in large quantities. Nevertheless, variations among the Taweret amulets can be observed even at the earliest known sites. This may be due not only to the processing method, but also to the fact that the exact depiction of the goddess had not yet been established. It is also possible that a distinction was made between different versions, just as there were several local forms of the god Horus. Indeed, different forms and aspects of this goddess existed simultaneously. The multiple names may even reflect this. However, the essence remained the same for all of them, as the amulet class remained practically unchanged from an iconographic point of view throughout the country for thousands of years.

OLD KINGDOM – FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Miniature pendant amulets are characteristic of this time. Due to the nature of excavations, they typically originate from funerary contexts. They formed part of bead and pendant sets and were typically threaded tightly together with other miniature amulets on a single-strand necklace or bracelet. Alternatively, they were separated by knots on the string. When only one or a few amulets were found in a tomb, they were placed in the middle of the jewellery.

These amulets are generally simple, stylised plaques with a suspension hole running through them so that the edge of the plaque is visible when worn. Important changes can be observed during the First Intermediate Period, namely a change in the method of suspension to a ring on the back of the amulet. This meant that the figure could be seen en face, showing the whole

body from the side. Several typological groups can be discerned.

In his book on amulets, Flinders Petrie (1914) classified the various forms of Taweret/Thoeris amulets (referred to as Taurt at the time) as number 236, distinguishing type A, which is flat; type B is three dimensional and Type C is double-sided. He categorised all flat forms as belonging to the early period, ranging from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.

In 1928, Guy Brunton developed a detailed typology of all the amulets and beads that he and his team had found in the Qau-Matmar region. He classified the Taurt (now Taweret) shapes as groups 21C, H, M and S, and looking at this classification, I would argue that the S group is a variation of the M group. The C group includes different individual shapes from the First Intermediate Period, which could be placed into the H and M groups as late variations. Rather than using letters, I prefer to name the groups after their characteristics. The main groups thus are the long-tailed Taweret group (M) and the Taweret with an arched back and tail (H).

Excavations by Guy Brunton suggest that Taweret amulets were popular mostly among those buried in cemeteries 3000–5000 years ago in Badari, as well as in the western part of the Southern/main Cemetery at Qau. Their forms varied within the expected range. They were also found in the Hemamiyeh, Mostagedda, Zaraby and Matmar regions. Brunton dated almost all of the published tombs using Petrie's serial method. He distinguished phases of the First Intermediate Period by Dynasties. Rather than using 7th-10th Dynasties as historical dates, he used them to indicate the sequence¹, i.e. the period when the administrative and political system of the Old Kingdom collapsed (Dynasties 7-8), and the order of the Middle Kingdom began to develop (Dynasties 9-11).

As he was interested in graves containing burial goods, it seems that he did not excavate or publish tombs being without interred objects, a practice that was apparently common at the time for male burials. This may explain why the vast majority of tombs contain the remains of women or children. Nevertheless, the most extensively documented large cemeteries from this period in Egypt are located in the Qau-Matmar region. Studying these cemeteries can provide insight into the era's customs and tastes.

Most of the graves here had been looted, either partially or extensively. The upper body, where most of the amulets had originally been placed, was the main focus of the disturbance. This made difficult to assess the artefacts, which were scattered haphazardly within the graves. Furthermore, Stefan Seidlmayer (1990) examined burials containing sufficient pottery or seals to enable statistical serial calculations.² Based on this research, he established

1 BRUNTON 1928, 1.

2 SEIDLMEYER 1990, 361, 378-379, 394-397, with a synoptic table on p. 395, fig. 168 concerning

a new relative chronological framework. When this framework is applied to absolute chronology, a comparison of the material in various geographical areas reveals minor or major differences. Nevertheless, this approach is effective in identifying general trends in the period preceding the Middle Kingdom.

In the absence of a better solution, the chronological phases are referred to by dynastic terms, in line with the terminology used by Wiese and Dubiel³:

Seidl-mayer's phases	Period based on Wiese's chronology	Dubiel's chronology
IA	Dynasties 4-5	Old Kingdom, beginning before the 4 th Dynasty until the reign of Pepi II.
IB	Teti – Merenre I (Dynasty 6), ca. 70 years	
IIA	Pepi II – Nitokris (late Dynasty 6), ca. 70 years / 2254-2185 BC	Pepi II / End of the 6 th Dynasty (= death of Pepi II). Transition to the First Intermediate Period
IIB	Dynasty 7-8, ca. 22 years	Early First Intermediate Period to 8 th Dynasty
IIC	Dynasty 9, ca. 49 years	Period of Heracleopolitan dominance (9 th Dynasty/10 th Dynasty)
IIIA	Dynasty 10-11 parallel, ca. 85 years	Late First Intermediate Period – still 10 th Dynasty to early 11 th Dynasty (Heracleopolitan/Theban dualism)
IIIB	Mentuhotep II – Sesostris I (Dynasty 11-12)	Middle 11 th Dynasty (before unification of the empire), transition to the early Middle Kingdom (until early 12 th Dynasty = Sesostris I)

Stephen Quirke,⁴ who was working on the apotropaia, also studied these burials, focusing on the amulet assemblages. He divided them into three groups: an early group (IA, IB and IIA); a transitional group (IIB and IIC); and

the various sites discussed. DUBIEL 2009, p. 21: IIIB equals with Bruntons's Dyn XI-XII.

3 WIESE 1996, p. 44; see also DUBIEL, 2009, p. 22.

4 QUIRKE 2016, 481.

a late group (IIIA and IIIB). This approach combined eras from Seidlmayer's system, which, in certain cases, was overly detailed. Quirke also dated some amulet groups that were missing from Seidlmayer's chronology. Here, I applied their grouping system to the Qau-Matmar region and compared it with that used for some other sites containing Taweret amulets in burials⁵:

EARLY GROUP (DYNASTY 6)

IA phase: none

IB phase: Qau 531, 696, Badari 5534, 5535, Mostagedda 10008b, 10019, Matmar 582

IIA: Mostagedda 10020, 28/521, Qau 959, 1166, 7699, Hemamiyeh 2083, Badari 3119, 3122, 3185, 5544, Matmar 3201,

Dyn 6: Zaraby, also Naga ed-Deir N714, N2016, N2021, N2212, Abydos E47 Harageh 593

TRANSITIONAL GROUP (EARLY FIP, DYNASTY 7-9)

IIIB: Matmar 3330, Qau 600, 633, 1030, 7347, Hemamiyeh 2098, Mostagedda 28/532, Abydos G102

IIC: Qau 1152, Hemamiyeh 1948, 1975, Badari 4904, Naga ed-Deir N609, Abydos E45

LATE GROUP (LATE FIP/DYNASTY 10-11 – EARLY MK/DYNASTY 11 – BEGINNING OF DYNASTY 12)

IIIA: Badari 3523, 4947, Mostagedda 591,

IIIB: probably Assiut EA46594+ EA46595 (BM)

NUMBER OF TOMBS CONTAINING TAWERET AMULETS BY DUBIEL: IB: 6, IIA: 3, IIIB: 1, IIC: 4, IIIA 3 (based on assemblages dated by the system of Seydlmayer)

The earliest tombs containing Taweret amulets date to the IB phase, suggesting that they were produced during the 6th Dynasty and were particularly popular during the reign of Pepi II. The chronology also shows that this class of amulet was absent from the published material from the Qau-Matmar region during the IIIB phase, though small quantities were found elsewhere.

Figures of this type were also found in cemeteries outside the Qau-Matmar region. While their main characteristics appear consistent across the country, minor variations emerge in the details. However, as many amulets remain unpublished, their location and the context in which they were discovered are unknown. Therefore, any results obtained from the study of presently published material should be considered provisional.

Based on my research,⁶ it is evident that Taweret amulets became most

5 DUBIEL 2009, 84: her summary for Thoeris of Qau-Matmar region, using only the dated examples by Seidlmayer – IA: 0, IB: 6, IIA: 3, IIIB: 1, IIC: 4, IIIA 3, IIIB: 0.

6 This result can be compared to that of Brunton, who had a bit divergent conclusion, when wrote, that there were 14 pieces from the 6th Dynasty, 7 pieces from 7th-8th Dynasties, and 1 piece from

popular at the end of the Old Kingdom (IIA), particularly during Pepi II's reign and the subsequent chaotic period. After the transitional period, they suddenly almost vanished (IIIA–B). By the final FIP phase, they had disappeared from the Qau-Matmar cemeteries.

Brunton's excavation in his book *Qau and Badari*, vol. I–II yielded a total of 21 pieces, a negligible quantity compared to the several hundred amulets found in total. The most popular raw material was faience (16 pieces), but it is interesting that so many Tawerets were manufactured during the 6th Dynasty, and four of which were made of ivory or bone. A golden sheet also survived. Thus glazed faience appears to have been the most popular material for Taweret amulets, which is consistent with the general trend in amulet manufacture.

Blue-glazed faience was the most common material, which was pressed into a flat negative mould. The resulting plaque was typically perforated transversely through the head and, on rare occasions, through the belly. This meant that the amulet's actual shape was not visible when worn. The same phenomenon can be observed with bone and ivory amulets.

The golden Taweret amulet from Tomb 1030 is also flat and has a suspension ring on the back, a feature that became typical of faience amulets from the period after the 6th Dynasty. This enabled horizontal stringing along the object's axis, meaning the profile figure on the string could be seen face-on. While the method of stringing faience objects may have been inspired by metal amulets, the transformation of their appearance also reflects a change in attitude towards amulet-wearing.

I. LONG-TAILED TAWERET (21M)

Brunton referred to this shape as 'long-tailed' (21M).⁷ This group appears to be the most popular, with many variations. It depicts a large-bellied hippopotamus standing upright with a schematic crocodile tail along its back, usually with a tapering tail. The amulets are made from bone, stone or faience. As the suspension hole demonstrates, they were designed to be viewed from the edge, presenting a thin, undulating profile. After the 6th Dynasty, back-ringed examples were also manufactured, presenting the whole body from the side.

Due to the schematic design, only a few more elaborate pieces exist, e.g. 21M5⁸ in Mostagedda, where the arm is indicated to help identify the shape. This group of amulet is attested from the 6th Dynasty (IB) to the end of the FIP (IIIA). Relatively large quantities of such amulets have been found in the Qau – Matmar regions, including sites such as Mostagedda, Hemamiyeh and Zaraby.

9th-10th Dynasties.

7 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV and XCVI.

8 BRUNTON 1937, p. 99, pl. XLVI, LXIV, tomb 10008B

Brunton mentions parallels from Saqqara and the British Museum, as well as from Abydos (E45),⁹ but it was also found in Harageh during this period.

1. BASIC SHAPE



The pieces in this group are so stylised that the plaque only shows the outline of the figure's profile. One side has a straight line and the other has a wavy line. The undulating top features two or three small humps, while the bottom is cut into a V-shape, dividing the legs and the end of the tapering tail. It is

impossible to tell if one or two feet were intended. The front, with the wavy line, comprises three main sections starting from the top and moving downwards. The top part can be divided into two horizontal sections or left as one. This is the head. The general shape resembles a hippopotamus's head. This is the part where the suspension hole is located. Below that, there is one or two humps representing the (breast and) belly of the hippopotamus. Then there is a slightly forward-facing angular section for the leg(s) and foot(feet).

The tiny 21M22 miniature amulet¹⁰ from Tomb 633 in Mostagedda is drilled through the belly, as there is only sufficient space for a hole there. Dating to the 7th-8th Dynasties, it belongs to the late Old Kingdom or the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (FIP). In the same tomb, there is another tiny M18 figure, which can be strung in two ways: (a) through a suspension hole just above the foot/leg section creating a closed bottom, with a connecting strip between the front and backside; or (b) through a suspension ring at the back. Thus, both the old and new methods were applicable, despite the weight distribution causing it to be upside down in the old method.

The appearance of this group can be dated to the middle of the 6th Dynasty (the Seidlemayer IB period), as evidenced by pieces in tombs 696 in Qau¹¹ and 5535 in Badari¹². It was still in use at the end of the FIP (e.g. in tomb 591 in Mostagedda¹³).

VARIATIONS

They are practically the same, but some details are changed.

9 Brunton 1928, 10, the BM EA57774 is said in the online catalogue of the British Museum to be purchased from Hon Richard Bethell, without mentioning any origin.

10 Brunton 1937, pl. XLVII, tomb 633, Brunton 1928, pl. XCIX-XIV. According to the distribution list they were kept in reserve in UC, but I could not find them in the online catalogue.

11 Brunton 1927, pl. XLIV, Qau 1928, pl. LIII, now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC18001.

12 Brunton 1927, 31-32 and 60, pl. XXVII, XLVIII.

13 Brunton 1937, 102, British Museum EA 62487, Andrews 1981, 53, no. 329.

A, TAIL ADDED IN RELIEF

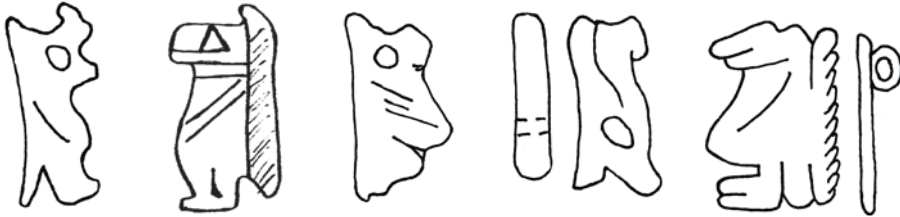


In rare cases such as for instance 21M2, the tail resembles an elongated letter S. This feature is evident during the 6th Dynasty¹⁴ and at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (7th-8th Dynasties)¹⁵. Examples can be found in Badari Tomb 3119, Mostagedda Field No. 521 (excavated in 1928), Tomb 10020, Matmar Tomb

3330, Naga ed-Deir Tomb N609 and Qau Tomb 7347.

A later development is that – although the shape of the faience figure remained practically the same, but more schematic – in keeping with the era, a suspension ring was added to the back. As example, see the piece from Badari tomb 3523¹⁶.

B, ARM INDICATED



The 21M5¹⁷ in the Mostagedda tomb 10008B (IB) and the Matmar tomb 3201 (IIA) have the aforementioned shape, but with an oblique relief band running from the middle of the body to the top corner of the foot/leg section. This can only be interpreted as the arm of the figure. The suspension hole has been drilled through the head again. The known pieces date to the 6th Dynasty or slightly later.

14 21M2: Brunton 1928, pl. XCV, XCVI, XLVI, tomb 3119, now in Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20422; and Brunton 1937, 99, pl. XLVI, XLIX, LXIV, tomb 10020.

21M3: Brunton 1937, photo pl. LV, drawing pl. LXVI, excav. no. 28/521, now in Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC25660, H: 1,7 cm; Brunton 1948, 34, §66, pl. XXV, tomb 3330; according to the distribution list it was given to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Cambridge.

15 Brunton 1927, pl. XXXVI, tomb 7347.

16 BRUNTON 1918, pl. tomb 3523, inv. number of the whole necklace in the Petrie Museum is LDUCE-UC20827, called as 21C12 in the typology of Brunton.

17 BRUNTON 1937, 99, pl. XLVI, LXIV, Tomb 10008B, now in the British Museum EA63117. BRUNTON 1937, 99; Tomb register. pl. XLVI; Brunton 1948, 33 §66, pl. LXXI, Tomb 3201, the string is now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC42355.

A notable example is the golden amulet found in Matmar tomb 582¹⁸. Here, a Taweret figure in the long-tailed form can be seen, albeit with a slightly shorter tail and a geometric pattern. The characteristic shape of the hippo head is reproduced and divided by lines to depict the muzzle and eye. Below this, two horizontal lines appear to depict a neck, while two parallel, oblong lines suggest arms. The gold sheet is slightly bulging and grooved to create a sense of low relief. The back is plain with a suspension ring in the middle, allowing the entire amulet to be seen when strung on a cord. The tomb can be dated to the time of Pepi II (IB).

I also classify here the piece in the Qau tomb 600¹⁹ (21S3) which is a simplified, big-bellied figure with a missing foot/leg. The oblong convex band on the body appears to indicate the presence of an arm.

A similar characteristic is evident in Brunton's 21M4 type in Qau, tomb 1152²⁰, where the outline of the body is softer and the belly slopes downwards, rendering the foot/leg shorter. This gives the whole figure a more naturalistic impression. The line of the arm has also changed, blending into the upper tail-separator line. The suspension hole has descended to the largest part of the belly. Another 21M4 Taweret figure can be found in the British Museum's online catalogue, among the amulets of the necklace EA46595 from the Hogarth excavation in Asyut in 1907. When strung together, these amulets could only hang upside down. Based on Stefan Seidlmayer's research²¹, most of the artefacts found here belong to phase III, though some can be dated more precisely to the earlier phase IIIA.

Another development among the gold amulets is exemplified by the elaborate piece found in Qau, tomb 1030,²² which dates to the IIC phase. Here, the belly is even more pronounced, giving the appearance of pregnancy. An oblique band indicates the arm. The head is narrow and the foot part is divided in two by a horizontal line. The crocodile tail is reduced to a band on the back. However, an additional tail-like feature fills the space between the lower part of the tail and the hippo's leg.

18 Brunton 1948, 32, pl. XXV, Dyn. 8. Now in Auckland War Memorial Museum, New Zealand 1932.558. Picture kindly provided by the Museum, by Dr Josh Emmitt, Curator Archaeology.

19 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVI, I could not find in the tomb register

20 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LXV (tomb register Dynasties 9-10), tomb 1152, pl. LXV. I could not find its present location.

21 SEIDLMEYER 1990, 350.

22 It is now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. for the whole string: LDUCE-UC20511. BRUNTON 1928: Dynasty 7-8.

C. *DEBASED OR DEFORMED*



Some of the long-tailed Taweret amulets are almost unrecognisable, and can only be identified by their typology. An example of this can be seen in Harageh tomb 593²³ from the 6th Dynasty (IIA), where the figure's profile is formed by several wedge-like protrusions and an oblique upward cut at the lower back. The amulet was strung through the head's hole, meaning that only the protrusions were visible when it was worn. Another unusual piece is found in tomb N2016²⁴ in Naga ed-Deir, where the back forms an irregular zigzag line.

D. *ANGULAR*



Los tomb G102²⁵ features geometric stylisation. Here, we have an amulet with a grooved back that refers to the crocodile, the upper protuberance of which most likely wants to hint at the crocodile's head. In contrast, the upright frontal edge on the hippo's head represents her nostrils and the surrounding area, which are characteristic of the animal. The head is divided into two halves by a horizontal groove, thereby emphasising the muzzles. The angular shape in the middle of the body represents the protruding belly and the rectangle below is the foot/leg. Only the bulging parts were visible when strung. Other Taweret amulet was also found in tomb E45²⁶ in Abydos, dated to the 9th Dynasty (see overview IIC).

E. *INDIVIDUAL CASES*



A special example is Manchester 7334²⁷ (21C9), which was discovered in Badari tomb 4904. The tomb is dated by Seidlmayer to the transitional phase (IIC). The shape is barely recognisable. The head resembles a stylised scissors' blade that opens in two directions. The stout body is divided

23 ENGELBACH 1923, 9 and 36, pl. IX.5, pl. LVII, Dynasty 6, now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC6437.

24 DAVIES 2020, 43, 371-372, now in the Hearst Museum, inv. n. PAHMA 6-14303.

25 RANDALL-MCIVER – MACE 1902, pl. XL, no. 1. Present place is unknown for me.

26 NAVILLE – PEET 1914, 18, pl. II. 6, p. 49: Dynasty 6 amulets (BM EA49336).

27 BRUNTON 1927, 31, Brunton 1928, pl. XCV, although it is dated in the publication to the 6th Dynasty, the general characters contradict this, as also the analysis of Seidlmayer proves it. The string is now in Manchester, inv. no. 7334.

into two vertical halves by an oblong cut from the bottom almost all the way up to the head, the front side of which indicates the foot/leg, and the rear the tail. A suspension ring is formed on the upper half of the back.

2. WAVY-LINE TAWERET



Another version of the long-tailed Taweret can be seen at certain sites. It has an S-shaped body, with the front and back nearly parallel, a large angular head with a split muzzle and a protruding eye region. A hump at the back hints at the crocodile's head, which has merged completely into the hippo's body. The angular crocodile tail at the bottom arches slightly back. The foot/leg section is also angular. The figure was suspended by drilling a hole in its middle, enabling the front edge to be seen when it was strung up. It is typically made of bone.

On the Naga ed-Deir amulet, the muzzles are almost closed, and the hippopotamus' foot is long and elevated. The burial can be dated to the 6th Dynasty.²⁸ Two more examples are in the Petrie Museum.²⁹ Although they have no burial context, they belong to the Group 8, whose shapes are well attested in the Qau region during the 6th Dynasty and later periods. Therefore, as Petrie suggests, this peculiar Taweret shape can safely be dated to the end of the 6th Dynasty.

Grenfell and Hunt found a practically identical piece in Tebtynis/Umm el-Baragat in the Fayum, except that the cut between the angular crocodile tail and the hippopotamus's feet/legs is missing. The head is defined by deeper grooves, and the muzzles appear half-open. This piece belonged to a group of amulets and beads dating back to the 6th Dynasty. The excavators dated the assemblage to the 12th-14th Dynasties, but no reason is given.³⁰

28 REISNER 1932, 280: Map, iii B4; type vi d w; photo C4277; fig. 263. The site is in the Girga district, near Badari.

29 PETRIE 1914, no. 236b-c, pl. XL; for the group see p. 53. He enumerates the amulets as 12a 6 (fist clenched / BRUNTON 1928, 8T, pl. XCIV, all Dyn. 6) ; 22a (jackal head – BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV, no. 16G-N, calls this shape dog head, all Dyn. 6); 94c (vulture standing, BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVII, no. 46, Dyn. 5-9); 138a (wedjat eye, BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVIII, no. 62, Dyn. 6-9); 145a (Horus infant – BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCIII, no.3: child with hand to mouth, Dyn. 6-9); 206b (baboon); 236b (Taurt), 245k (falcon, BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVII, no. 45 Dyn. 5-9.) Brunton's table of the amulet typology is labelled 4-11th Dynasty, but most of the amulets seem to disappear after the 9th Dynasty.

30 Hearst Museum, online collection: <https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/catalog/f705c130-83f0-47cc-ace7-ac974dcc7a06>, string with inv. no. PAHMA6-20898. From cemetery 4.

3. HIGH RELIEF TAWERET IN FRONTAL VIEW



The goddess with the large belly is depicted on an amulet found in a pit at Naga ed-Deir, which contained no human remains. It was once part of a carnelian assemblage of amulets, now kept in the Hearst Museum.³¹ The head is only loosely based on a hippopotamus head; the snout and eye are not indicated by protuberances. Rather than hinting at a crocodile on the back, there is a plaque with a suspension loop behind the head. The goddess is intended to be shown in a frontal view rather than the side view usually seen with other back-looped amulets. It presents practically the front side of a statuette.

II. WITH BACKWARD ARCHED TAIL (21H)

Following Brunton's classification again, most of the figures could be described as short-tailed, although a few of them have a tail that reaches to the base. These are fewer and they show less variation than the group I. They seem to date from the 6th Dynasty into the FIP, although not to the end.

A. BASIC TYPE



Here, we can see the hippopotamus standing upright, exposing its belly. The hippo's head emphasises its nostrils, and if it is large enough, the top of its eye is visible too. The crocodile's part on its back gives the amulet a bird-like appearance.³² This is because it has been merged with the hippopotamus: the tapering tail is separated from the upright body of the hippopotamus, and the head part is positioned behind the hippopotamus's head, occasionally separated by a groove. The shape of the hippopotamus's head follows her special shape. Her entire body is a large belly. The leg/foot part is thick and often longer than the tail, which is arched backward, either reaching the base-line, or being shorter. The suspension hole is at neck height or lower.

An elaborate piece is now in the Petrie Museum from Badari tomb 3185³³. It contained two Taweret amulets from the Late 6th Dynasty (IIA),

31 DAVIES 2020, 45, 373-375, fig. 7.3 containing all the amulets. Map N/A [ed.: This record is Reisner's note of preliminary work that was done in 1901.]: Naga ed-Deir, tomb N2021, now in Hearst Museum, inv. no. PAHMA 6-14306.

32 E.g. Hemamiyeh tomb 1948, where in the ensemble there is again the elaborate Taweret, similar to the Badari tomb 3185 piece. BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVI, LX, Dynasty 8. Seidlmayer dates the tomb to IIC phase.

33 BRUNTON 1928, 10, pl. LVI, now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20441; DRENKHAHN

one of which was an exquisite bone Taweret (21H3). The indentations of the crocodile's body are clearly visible on her back, and the separation from the lower body is marked by a deep cut. The nostrils are emphasised, the region of the eye highly protrudes, and the head and body part are clearly divided by a groove. The figure's mixed character is also evident in the human arm.

This group appears to have been in use from the end of Pepi II's reign until the end of the 9th Dynasty, the period to which the Hemamiyeh Tomb 1948 burial is dated (Seidlmayer II.C).

B SIMPLIFIED VERSIONS



Other examples are simplified. Dated to the end of the 6th Dynasty (IIA), the bird-like amulet (21H6) in Badari Tomb 3122³⁴ only shows the outline of the amulet, clearly depicting the eye and nostril regions. On the figure³⁵ in Hemamiyeh tomb 1975, dated to the 7th-8th Dynasties, these features practically vanish, and the amulet is presented in a slightly rounded shape with the suspension hole in the middle of the belly. The tail is very short. In Badari tomb 4947³⁶ (Seidlmayer IIIA) is depicted a small, flat bellied, turquoise Taweret with a short tail that curves slightly backwards (21H12).

C. WITH TRANSFORMED BACKSIDE



The hippopotamus figure appears in its usual simplified form in tomb 7699³⁷ in Qau. Taweret has a lowered belly and a suspension hole at the back of her rectangular head, which features separate upper and lower muzzles. Her foot/leg is separate and angular. However, rather than the usual narrow crocodile tail's shape, she has an insect-like feature on the back.

1987, pl. XCV, XCVII.

34 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV, tomb 3122. It is now in the Petrie Museum, inv. n. LDUCE-UC20423.

35 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV, it belongs to a string kept now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20521D. On page 10 Brunton also refers to a similar piece in Abydos, tomb E45.

36 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV, dated by Brunton to the 8th Dynasty, and by Seidlmayer to IIIA period.

37 BRUNTON 1927, pl. XXXVI, LVIII, tomb 7699, Dyn 6-8. Now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20678. DRENKHahn 1987, pl. xxvi. H: 1,2 – 1,1 cm.

Two particularly elaborate Taweret figures were found in tomb 1030³⁸ in Qau. One of these (21C3) is depicted standing upright on a baseline. It has a well-designed hippopotamus head with the typical muzzle, nostril and eye regions. Rather than a crocodile's tail, there is a wig-like addition on her head and back that extends almost to the baseline and merges with the human arm beneath the head. The arm holds the belly at the lower part. Above the belly, the breast is also indicated. Interestingly, the figure's body appears to have a long tail beneath the wig-like addition that replaces the crocodile's tail. There is a suspension ring in the middle of the back. Seidlmayer's system dates the assemblage to the IIB period, and Brunton dates it to the 6th-8th Dynasties.

OVERVIEW OF THE MATERIAL

In order to analyse the differences between the various regions, a typological comparison of the Taweret amulet corpus will be conducted within the Qau-Matmar region (10th Upper-Egyptian nomos) itself. This will then be compared with the different forms found at Naga ed-Deir, which is located further south in the 8th Upper Egyptian nomos, as well as with forms from some other sites. This will provide a basis for identifying general trends and potential variations across Egypt. Meanwhile, establishing a chronological framework which will enable us to develop a preliminary understanding of how this class evolved.

PHASES IB-IIA TAWERET AMULETS

Early group (Dynasty 6)

IB phase: Qau 531, 696, Badari 5534, 5535, Mostagedda 10008b, 10019, Matmar 582

IIA phase: Qau 600(?), 959, 1166, 7699, Hemamiyeh 2083, Badari 3119, 3122, 3185, 5544, Mostagedda 10020, 28/521, Matmar 3201, Zaraby
Dynasty 6: Naga ed-Deir N714, N2016, N2021, N2212, Abydos E47, Harageh 593

BURIALS IN QAU, PHASE IB

Looking through the IB material, the only Taweret amulet group present in the Qau-Matmar region is the long-tailed Taweret (I). These amulets originate from the main Qau cemetery, Etmieh/Southern (300–1200), the Badari cemetery (5300–5800), and cemeteries in Mostagedda and Matmar.

Qau 531³⁹ was robbed in such a way that no human remains were left behind.

38 BRUNTON 1927, pl. XLVIII, tomb 1030, Dyn. 7, pl. LIX, now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20511.

39 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LIII, BRUNTON 1927, 70. Given to Rochdale according to the distribution list.



The deceased was buried in a coffin, as the remaining plaster suggests. The burial was accompanied by four alabaster jars and a substantial jewellery set. This may explain why the tomb was disturbed. Some of the jewellery, possibly dropped accidentally, was found alongside the Taweret amulet, including cylinder beads, a Hathor head, an ornamental scarab and a probable velvet monkey amulet (74B4). Though incomplete, the assemblage suggests that the burial was probably that of a woman – other graves containing similar amulets were prepared for females.

Qau 696⁴⁰ tomb, in the same cemetery, was intact and contained two small pots, which were most likely used for cosmetics or medicine. This tomb also contained several types of bead and amulet, and the amulet assemblage is similar to that found in the above plundered tomb: two women, a child, a lion, a Hathor head, a hare, a gazelle head, two scarabs, a scorpion, a falcon, and a wedjat eye. There was also an amulet representing probably a velvet monkey (74B4) together with the two basic long-tailed blue-glazed Taweret amulets.



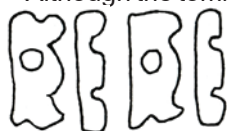
BURIALS IN HEMAMIYEH, PHASE IB

This type of amulet is also known from the undisturbed Hemamiyeh 2083⁴¹ tomb, which contained the remains of two children lying side by side in the supine position with their hands down. This tomb also contained other amulets and beads. Their placement is not specified. The children had only a few faience amulets, including two lions, two dog heads, three Hathor heads, a gazelle head, a Taweret, a scarab and a wedjat eye, as well as split cowries. Brunton notes⁴² that the latter are “probably Predynastic re-used”. The Taweret amulet clearly reproduced the basic type in miniature. The double number of some amulets may be due to the double interment: a lion, a dog head, a Hathor head, a Hathor head/a gazelle head, a scarab/a wedjat eye might be in pair, only Taweret is missing her pair.



BURIALS IN BADARI, PHASE IB

Although the tombs in Badari Cemetery (5300–5800) had been “exhausted”⁴³ by earlier *sebakh* diggings, they contained Taweret amulets. Badari 5534 was a shallow shaft that had been



40 BRUNTON 1927, pl. XLIV, BRUNTON 1928, pl. LIII. It is now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC18001.

41 BRUNTON 1927, 29, BRUNTON 1928, pl. LXXI, XCV. The amulet is now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20417.

42 BRUNTON 1927, 29, pl. LXXI.

43 BRUNTON 1927, 4.

disturbed by a Roman burial, leaving the torso intact but disturbing the leg. The beads and amulets were threaded onto vegetable fibre in three strands around the neck, indicating a taste that was completely different to that seen among the women of Qau. Alongside the beads and two long-tailed Taweret amulets, the necklace comprised three crouched men, a hand, a lying lion, four dog heads, a hippo head, two Hathor heads, a ram's head, five cats, two frogs, a fish, a scarab, a turtle (74Q3) and an undetermined triangular shape (74R3/arrowhead?).



Another woman was buried close to the above tomb in a reed coffin. Tomb 5535⁴⁴ was intact and contained her cosmetic box, which included five alabaster vessels, part of an extra alabaster cylinder jar with the appropriate spatula, as well as beads, sliced shell, and amulets in the form of a lion, a Hathor head, and a dog. She also had a necklace made of stone beads and carnelian amulets in the shape of a standing man, a leg, two dog heads, a hare, a frog, a fish, a uraeus (?), a bee/hornet, a wedjat eye and a shell. Both of her arms were adorned with bracelets, some of which were made by amulets partly with parallel class of amulets. Both bracelets had: standing man (4 (right)/1 (left)), woman (1/1), child (1/1), Hathor head (2/5), falcon (1/1), vulture (1/1) and heart-shaped pendant bead (1/1). The left bracelet was longer and also featured an arm, a hand, a Heh and a tiny, long-tailed Taweret, bringing the total number of amulets to 15.

BURIALS IN MOSTAGEDDA, PHASE IB



The partially disturbed female burial 10008B⁴⁵ in Cemetery 10000 in Mostagedda contained a wooden coffin having two pots near the upper body, as well as two stone jars and a bone clapper near the feet. A copper mirror had been placed in front of her, and beads and amulets, probably from one or more necklaces, were found around her neck. This necklace comprised many beads made from various kinds of stone and faience, as well as a carnelian dog amulet and several small, roughly shaped green and black glazed faience amulets depicting three men, a child, a hand, a fist, three lions, three dogs, two dog heads, three Hathor heads, two ram heads, a hare, a frog, a scorpion, a dagger and a long-tailed Taweret with arm indicated. The woman faced in her wooden coffin probably buried as extension, to the burial of a man and a child (10008A). No finds for them were found.

Tomb 10019⁴⁶ also in Mostagedda was designed for female burials. Three bodies were found inside, two of which had been disturbed. This occurred

44 BRUNTON 1927, 6, 31-32, 60, pl. XXVI, XXVII, XL, XLVIII.

45 BRUNTON 1937, 99, pl. XLVI, LXIV

46 BRUNTON 1937, 99, pl. XLVI.



after the third funeral, when the belongings of the women who were ultimately buried there were stolen. The bodies were found in burial chamber C and shaft B, above the woman interred first (A). Upon finding these upper bodies, the robber(s) did not search the tomb for more treasure. The woman (A) buried in the chamber below was provided with food in the form of two jars placed at the northern end of her burial chamber. She also wore several amulets on a necklace, including images of two men, a woman, a pair of twins, two dog heads, the head of Hathor and two differently shaped unidentified amulets, as well as a small, long-tailed Taweret figure.

BURIALS IN MATMAR, PHASE IB

In Matmar tomb 582,⁴⁷ the remains of a child were found in an undisturbed



burial in a wooden coffin containing just a few items: two golden amulets (one in the shape of a crown, and the other in the shape of the long-tailed Taweret goddess), and a rough beer jar. The figure of the goddess was manufactured with great attention to detail, including the eyes, muzzle, neck and arm. Based on these three types of artefact, we can conclude that the child was symbolically

provided with food, power and maternal care.

IIA – During the second half of the 6th Dynasty, an increasing number of burials contained the Taweret amulet. The second typological group, featuring a Taweret with a backward-arched tail, emerged during this period in the Qau-Matmar region. Meanwhile, plain amulets began to show greater detail and variation.

BURIALS IN QAU, PHASE IIA

As Brunton points out, if the round numbers are not recorded in the registers,



they are typically found on the surface of the site and cannot be attributed to any particular tomb. This is the case with Qau 600⁴⁸. The faience figure is incomplete; the outlines can be seen, but the lower

47 BRUNTON 1948, pl. XXV; Distributed to Auckland, New Zealand – Auckland War Memorial Museum, / Collection of Auckland Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, 1932.558, 18752.1. Picture kindly provided by the Museum, by Dr Josh Emmitt, Curator Archaeology

48 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVI, tomb 600, Dyn. 8.

end is missing. The Taweret amulet belongs to the long-tailed group, with the groove hinting at the basic shape with the arm indicated. Being alone, and not having a particular character, it can be produced in any phase of the time span in the cemetery 600, although the IIA seems to be more probable because of the variation with arm indicated.

Tomb Qau 959⁴⁹ in the western part of the South Cemetery was undisturbed, even so it contained only two amulets: a basic, long-tailed, blue-glazed Taweret and a crocodile, which were strung on a necklace with various types of beads. A pottery of the same type as that found in Tomb 696 – again, probably for cosmetic purposes – completed the burial assemblage.



Probably also a female individual was buried in a wooden coffin in the undisturbed tomb Qau 1166⁵⁰ again in the South Cemetery's western part. This tomb contained a basic, long-tailed, ivory Taweret said to be in the same form as the previous one, together with beads and a standing human figure, two dogs, a falcon, an wedjat eye, an unidentified (possibly a hill, 73E6) amulet, and, similarly to Qau 959, the crocodile (in this case two pieces). No pottery or other items were found.



Also an ivory Taweret was found in the "quite disturbed" IIA⁵¹ Qau 7699⁵² tomb in the main cemetery, the gender of whose owner could not be identified. A string of beads and amulets, as well as a pottery were also found. The amulets are a woman, four Hathor heads, two hands, an wedjat eye, a vulture, a duckling, six lions, a button-seal, a scarab, a falcon(?), a monkey(?) and an unidentified piece, together with a Taweret with a backward arched tail in a funny way. The jewellery was partly carved from bone, partly manufactured from faience.



BURIALS IN BADARI, PHASE IIA

The 3119⁵³ tomb in Badari North yielded two different variations of the Taweret amulets, highlighting the fact, that simultaneously different shapes of faience amulets were manufactured and used. As they belonged to the

49 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVI. The assemblage is not mentioned in the distribution list, so it might go to the Petrie Museum.

50 BRUNTON 1927, pl. XXXV, BRUNTON 1928, pl. LV. Finds were given to Brussel.

51 SEIDLMAYER 1990, 139.

52 BRUNTON 1927, pl. XXXVI, tomb 7699, Dyn 6-8, pl. LVIII, amulets, pl. XXXVI. Given to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. London LDUCE-UC20678; DRENKHahn 1987, pl. xxvi, M: 1,2 – 1,1 cm.

53 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LVI, XCV + XCVI. Now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20422, where three faience Taweret is mentioned, but the codes for the same two types are given as in the publication.



same long-tailed group, the concept behind them must have been the same. The duplication meant thus the reinforcement of her protection, and the difference in shape should be traced back to technical or stylistic reason. And indeed beside the usual plain basic type, the other is a more detailed one, with the embossed tail.

This might mean a more precise/accurate idea about the goddess, or the appearance of a more demanding customer segment, who wanted to get faience amulets that resembled more closely those made of gold.

The tomb is assigned with a question mark to a woman, who was interred in a wooden coffin. It is undisturbed, so that originally it didn't contain any other objects, just the small faience amulets – not even beads are mentioned. It is not stated where the amulets were found, but the most probable place is around the neck. The two children, two monkeys, three lions, a gazelle head, six Hathor heads, four cats, a scarab and a bunch of grapes with the two Taweret figures make up a necklace if these pieces are laid out in possible distance from each other, which means, that they were strung probably as shown by a string from the South Badari cemetery, tomb 5544 (see below).

Badari 3122⁵⁴ is undoubtedly an undisturbed female burial, complete with a stuccoed coffin, in the aforementioned cemetery. The objects found in the burial were beads, amulets and split shells. The faience assemblage contains various beads and amulets, including a pair of twins, a dog's head, three Hathor heads, two sphinxes and an unidentified standing figure (74C3), as well as Taweret. The Taweret



amulet depicts the goddess in a new iconographic form that resembles a blue-glazed bird at first glance. However, the shape of its head is unusual for a bird. Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that this is actually a hippopotamus head, as indicated by the closed muzzle, the nostril protuberances, and the region around the eyes. On the back is a schematic crocodile head blending into the hippopotamus body. The leg/foot part is broken, but the oblique direction can be determined based on the remaining stump. The tapering tail of the crocodile creates the effect of a bird's tail. While her new form does not reveal any new information, it certainly represents a new artistic style, which may have been inspired by a new cult statue located nearby.

This new shape appears again in Badari tomb 3185, much more elaborated and straightened, with the characteristic details of the head, body, arm and the crocodile with grooved back. This time the whole amulet resembles a standing big-bellied, hippo-headed human figure with a crocodile stuck to the back. The animals' separateness was emphasized at the hippo's head and tail

54 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV. Quirke 2016, 489. Now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20423.



by a carved band between the two bodies. The hippo's neck, indicated again by a carved band also gave the goddess a humanlike character. This impression is then confirmed by the human arm held on the belly. She raises her feet slightly. Although it is a plaque the ivory seems to be carved from both sides. The way of wearing did not change, however, in the sense that it could be strung through a hole at the meeting point of the two bands mentioned above, so it looked to the viewer with the front side. In another sense, this amulet belongs to those, which were used alone or with few others.

In this case, her companion was another ivory piece representing a duckling. As the tomb was "quite disturbed", some other items could originally have been there. This situation is also the reason why nothing is known about the owner.



By contrast, we know that the partially disturbed Badari 5544⁵⁵ tomb belonged to a young woman in the 5500 Badari Cemetery. She was buried in a reed coffin, but a Roman burial cut into the tomb and removed her lower part, leaving only the head, forearms and a few vertebrae in situ. Her Taweret amulet is a simple, basic representation of the long-tailed figure. It belonged to one of her eight strings of beads and amulets threaded onto vegetable fibre. The spacing was achieved by 'buttonholing' the thread. As the strings were stuck together, the exact arrangement of the amulets is uncertain. As far as the excavators could ascertain, the contents of the various strings seem to be as follows:

- 1st: three bone human heads, possibly with a few Hathor heads;
- 2nd: larger blue-glazed amulets, such as a man, a dog's head, two Hathor heads, a sphinx, a crocodile and a scarab.
- 3rd: smaller blue-glazed amulets and a few bone lions with spiral cylindrical beads.
- 4-7th: beads (cylindrical, ring-shaped, sliced shell and crumb beads).
- 8th: small blue-glazed amulets, possibly including a lion, two dog heads, a frog, a falcon, a bunch of grapes and a basic, long-tailed Taweret, together with barrel beads.

The Taweret amulet circle seems to have changed compared to the above assemblages. Thus, the choice of amulets reflects a change in the taste of the Badari community using this cemetery. Human figures remained, but the emphasis shifted towards representations of children, including twins. The Hathor head remained, but the presence of dangerous animals decreased

55 BRUNTON 1927, 32, pl. XLVIII, and Brunton 1928, pl. LVIII for the tomb register. The assemblage was given to Bolton, Chadwick Museum.

(e.g. lions, dog heads, falcons, gazelles and cats). Meanwhile, protective and helpful figures (e.g. monkeys and scarabs) increased in popularity, as did floral motifs (e.g. bunches of grapes). Body parts disappeared. However, these observations are only hypothetical, as much of the cemetery has been disturbed and robbed, making it impossible to know what is missing.

BURIALS IN MOSTAGEDDA, PHASE IIA



Some burials containing a Taweret figurine also date to the this period in Mostagedda. Although there is no written record of tomb 521⁵⁶, the inventory number of the Taweret amulet indicates that it was excavated in 1928. The tomb register shows that a child was buried there. Although the tomb was undisturbed, this amulet was the only object found with the body — there were no beads. This Taweret belongs to the long-tailed group, as does the one found in tomb 10020, where the tail is also separated from the body of the hippopotamus.



At Mostagedda 10020⁵⁷, an intact female burial was discovered containing a Taweret with a long, embossed tail. The deceased was found wrapped in cloth inside a wooden coffin. She was adorned with bracelets on each wrist and a necklace. The necklace and the bracelet on her right wrist were made up of beads, while the bracelet on her left wrist was made up of amulets in the form of two men, a woman, a lion, a scarab, a cowry shell, another type of shell and possibly a fish. A food supply was also provided for her in three vessels: one at her feet and two around her head; one of these was placed on top of a cosmetic box (A). This contained two horn vessels and a cosmetic spoon, and was placed beside the head.

The other box (B), which was placed at her feet, contained three small alabaster jars, two bone applicators, some red ochre, beads and amulets in the form of a blue-glazed frog seal⁵⁸, a man, a child, the Taweret, an arm, a Hathor head, a fish, a falcon, two wedjat eyes, a cowrie shell, a lotus flower, a pendant in the shape of a vessel (89D9) and an amulet of an unidentified shape (74B7). The placement of the amulets in the cosmetic box is unusual and it is unfortunately unknown whether they were strung together to make jewellery or simply placed there loose. However, it is clear that they belonged to the woman's beauty set: the small jars certainly contained ointments, which

56 BRUNTON 1937, pl. LV, drawing pl. LXVI. It was kept in reserve, and has now in the Petrie Museum inv. no. LDUCE-UC25660; H: 1,7 cm.

57 BRUNTON 1937, 99, pl. XLVI, XLIX, LXIV, for a jar LXI, 29. Given to Cairo (Reg. 52955-7) and the button seal to Berlin ÄM 23298. See also Wiese 1996, 72, pl. 22, no. 440.

58 BRUNTON 1937, pl. LX, no. 37.

could have been applied using the applicators. Their purpose is unknown, but cosmetic and medical uses can be hypothesised. The red ochre would have been used to prepare a special mixture just before use. This could have been used to colour the cheeks or lips, or for medicinal purposes. Whether on a string or loose, the amulets were used to enhance the magical effect. It is interesting to investigate the concept behind them, as several of the amulets (such as the frog, Taweret, the head of Hathor, the cowry and the lotus) are generally associated with fertility. Amulets depicting a man and a child were also typical burial goods found in female graves in this region.⁵⁹ Fish, falcon, hand/arm and wedjat eye amulets could also signify protection, and belonged to the Taweret cycle in Badari. This further supports the idea that they also could be associated with fertility or female support.

BURIALS IN MATMAR, PHASE IIA



In Matmar, the 5th Dynasty cemetery in area 3200 extended into the 6th Dynasty and spread to area 3300. Matmar 3201⁶⁰ was a pit for which the tomb register states that it contained beads and amulets. No deceased person is mentioned. The description of the finds states that the faience amulets were found loose inside it.⁶¹ The amulet assemblage consists of a man, a woman, two children, two arms, two falcons, four crocodiles, three long-tailed Tawerets with an indicated arm, two ram's heads, a dog, a wedjat eye and a ninepins-shaped pendant (89A). What is unusual about this assemblage of amulets from our point of view, is the triplication of the Taweret figure; in all other cases, the Taweret figures were either singular or duplicated; the number three is not attested elsewhere. This peculiarity may be connected to the function of this assemblage, which remains, however, unknown. The pit does not appear to be a tomb; it is merely a hole, which raises the possibility of a foundation deposit. However, the 'why?' question remains.

BURIALS IN OTHER REGIONS, PHASE IIA

Tomb Naga ed-Deir N714⁶² was a long, open pit with a wide chamber at one end. The burial chamber contained the remains of two disturbed skeletons. The first skeleton was female (I.), while the second skeleton's gender was unknown (II.). Among the debris in the front were parts of a red-polished strand

59 DUBIEL 2009, 41-50 and passim.

60 BRUNTON 1948, 33, pl. XXV, list of amulets and beads on pl. LXXI.

61 BRUNTON 1948, 33 §66, 63 and 141, pl. XXV, XXXI, LXXI. They are now in the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC42355.

62 REISNER 1932, 280: Map, iii B4; type vi d w; photo C4277; fig. 263; SEIDLMEYER 1990, 355: between IA-IIA.



and a red pan. In the burial chamber, around the neck of skeleton I, were beads and amulets, including one bone Taweret figure and eight blue-glazed amulet-beads (Heh, Hathor head, cowry, crocodile, ape, dog, Taweret and an unidentified one). The bone Taweret figure is unusual compared to those found in the Qau-Matmar region, as it features wavy lines on its long tail. As a new iconographic shape, it may represent a specific form of Taweret here (or elsewhere), given that amulets are easily carried or reproduced.

The unfinished funeral chamber of Tomb N2016⁶³ in Naga el-Deir was found utterly plundered. It dates back to the 6th Dynasty. Scattered on the floor were three golden Heh amulets, stone beads and faience amulets (PAHMA 6-14303). In the top layer of the pit, a small glass bottle, a fragment of a large dish bearing a Coptic inscription and broken pottery were found. Alongside the beads in the PAHMA 6-14303 collection, there are faience amulets in the form of two lions, a double lion head, a Hathor head, a pendant in the shape of a child with a finger to the mouth⁶⁴ and a Tawaret. All of these have worn glaze. The Tawaret figure belongs to the debased, long-tailed group.



Naga ed-Deir N2021⁶⁵ was an empty pit, but according to museum records, several artefacts originate from this location. These include four jars, a



carnelian amulet bracelet (PAHMA 6-14306), metal beads, and various other beads and amulets made from stone and faience. ‘Rectangular cloth, shells, etc.’ are also indicated. Among the pieces of the carnelian bracelet is the Taweret amulet, together with ten human faces, four fists, five wedjat eyes, two falcons, two bees/hornets, and one dog head⁶⁶. Only the outline of the Taweret figure is carved, but it is still possible to see that instead of the band for the crocodile there is a plaque separated from the hippo’s body. This is a variation of the long-tailed Taweret group and represents a unique design. The front is in high relief, while the back is a plaque with a suspension loop behind the head, imitating metal objects. This solution is uncommon among carnelian amulets – the other 24 pieces are

63 DAVIES 2020, 43, 371-372, map p. 44, Map D4; photos A8267, B8251, C8193, C8464, C8465.

64 DAVIES 2020, 372 raised the possibility of Ihy? Khonsu? or Shed? – instead of the Hathor head, “paddle (?)” is suggested in her book. Permalink: [ark:/21549/hm21060014303](https://doi.org/10.21549/hm21060014303)

65 DAVIES 2020, 45, 373-375, fig. 7.3 containing all the amulets. “Map N/A [ed.: This record is Reisner’s note of preliminary work that was done in 1901.]”; photos A 4943, B 8247, C 9628, C 9629. For the carnelian amulets see permalink: [ark:/21549/hm21060014306](https://doi.org/10.21549/hm21060014306)

66 Based on the photograph in DAVIES 2020, 373, fig. 7.3, I would suggest to describing this as a dog head instead of a lion head.

all pierced through the body for suspension.

Another small, basic Taweret with a long tail has been found in Cemetery 2000 in Naga ed-Deir, tomb 2212⁶⁷. Fragments of saucers were scattered in the filling, and remains of a decayed coffin were found in the burial itself, with the upper part of the body missing. However, pieces of a faience necklace were still present. Consisting of various beads and amulets (PAHMA 6-14440), the necklace included a Taweret figure, a “was” head, two Hathor heads,⁶⁸ two lions, a dog head, a frog, a cowry and a “paddle” amulet (It might be an arrowhead). All of these items are visible in the photo⁶⁹.



Peet deemed Abydos E47⁷⁰ to be the most significant tomb of category B in cemetery E, with the burial chamber carved beneath one of its long sides. Red polished pottery was found above the shaft. The deceased lay in a semi-contracted position in a wooden coffin, with a string of amulets and beads made of carnelian, gold, and green-glazed stone around the neck. There was also a black stone cylinder seal bearing an incised inscription⁷¹, that appears to be intended for magical protection. The amulets included carnelian legs, two carnelian hippopotamus heads, five bone falcons, a wooden crocodile, two blue faience scarabs and a black faience figure representing either a hare or a dog. There was also one wooden amulet, four bone amulets and four carnelian amulets. The picture appears to show a Taweret amulet. This assemblage was donated to the Brussel Museum.



In tomb Harageh 593⁷² of the Dandy cemetery of the 6th Dynasty, no human remains or coffins were found. The tomb had been disturbed by a Coptic burial, and the earlier body had been dismembered. Following the intrusion, only beads and amulets remained. Based on the photo in plate IX.5 and the Petrie Museum’s online collection, these include three lions, a man, a long-tailed debased Taweret, a woman, a pendant, a Heh figure, a Hathor head, a hare, and an unidentified





67 DAVIES 2020, 87 and 89, 400-401, map D5 (red) p.86,

68 DAVIES 2020, 400, where it is called „Bes eating snakes”.

69 DAVIES 2020, photo C 8201 (fig. 7.14).

70 NAVILLE 1904, 14, 19, pl. II.7, pl. VII bottom.

71  Eric Peet refers to  in Newberry 1908, 50, fig. 26 as analogy from the Berlin Museum.

72 ENGELBACH 1923, p.9, 36, pl. IX.5 and LVII, beads: 57c, 68y, 73f, l2, s2. For the button seal with the bee pattern see ENGELBACH 1923, pl. LVII, no. 57C; PETRIE 1925, pl. 1,2; WIESE 1996, pl. 37, no. 772, type D21. The assemblage was given to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC6437.

amulet. The entier assemblage has class of amulets also known in the Qau-Matmar region and Naga ed-Deir.

ANALYSIS

QAU

Taweret amulets first appeared in the Qau cemeteries during the IB phase. The Taweret amulets found in IB graves 531 and 696 belonged to the long-tailed group. Group II was also present among those of phase IIA (959, 1166 and 7699). One Taweret amulet had an unusual form, with her backside transformed (7699), and her tail arched backwards. All Taweret figures were simple in form, reduced to outlines, and pierced perpendicular to the plaque at head height.

The gender of the owner of Qau 7699 is unknown, and there were no human remains in Qau 531. However, the other Qau tombs containing Taweret amulets were made for or probably intended for females (696, 959 and 1166).

The intact tomb (696) contained an assemblage of burials from the IB period, including a Hathor head, a scarab, human figures, representations of dangerous and protective animals, and a wedjat eye. The disturbed IB tomb contained three of these items. The presence of the crocodile figure in IIA, which was not among the dangerous animals in the earlier phase, is noteworthy when compared to the earlier IB burial assemblages with the Taweret figure in Qau cemeteries. This figure was found in an intact tomb (959) without any other amulets, and in another tomb (7699) alongside several others. It seems to have been given a prominent role here. The human figures, the Hathor head and the scarab remained popular due to their symbolism of fertility and rejuvenation, as did the cowry shell, which had not been seen before. The monkey, which was still in use, appears to have held similar symbolism. The lion/dog's protective presence against wild animals is well known, but they may also symbolise power, as the falcon does. Human body parts, such as hands and the wedjat eye, may have continued to protect the corresponding body part, i.e. the hand and the capacity to act, and the eye and the ability to see. Thus they were fertility and body protecting amulets.

HEMAMIYEH

It seems that the Taweret amulet was not known in Hemamiyeh during the IB phase, and was also little known in the IIA phase. Only Hemamiyeh 2083 contained one – a basic, long-tailed piece without any modifications, presenting only the outline. It was found in an undisturbed burial for two children. The assemblage had characteristics similar to those of the Qau assemblages, including a Hathor head, a scarab, a dangerous animal (a gazelle this time) and a wedjat eye. The cowries also fit the fertility aspect of the assemblage. Thus, all the classes are known from other tombs in the neighbourhood, except for the gazelle head. However, its symbolism fits in.

BADARI

The earliest Taweret figures in the Badari South cemetery date to phase IB and were discovered in tombs 5534 and 5535. These basic, long-tailed Taweret figures have a perpendicular suspension hole in the plaque. The figures are small and only outlined. They present on the string practically the edge of the figure. A similar situation is seen in two phase IIA tombs (3119 and 5544). The difference is that tomb 3119, in Badari North, contains two Taweret figures, one of which has a separated long tail in relief. However, two other Badari North tombs (3122 and 3185) contain a piece belonging to the second group of Taweret figures with a tail arched-back, in two different variations. One is carved from ivory and the other is made of faience.

In both phases, Taweret figures were used alongside other amulets in female burials, when the gender of the deceased could be determined. When we compare the assemblages of the two IB Badari burials, striking similarities emerge. Both contain amulets of human beings (men, women and children), Hathor heads, lions, dogs, frogs, fish, and body parts (such as hands, legs, and arms), as well as other animal shapes, either in full or just the head. The wealthier woman, who could afford a deeper tomb with a reed coffin, had a wider selection of items. The trend continued into the IIA phase. New to the IIA phase are the sphinx and the bunch of grapes, which are present in two burials. It is unusual to find twin figures, such as the pair of Taweret and the duckling. The monkey in Badari North follows the Qau fashion, albeit somewhat belatedly.

MOSTAGEDDA

The Mostagedda cemetery yielded two IB Taweret figures from the long-tailed group (10008 and 10019). One belongs to the basic long-tailed group, characterised by its simple form and shaping; the other is a variation, featuring the arm. In both cases the plaque is pierced perpendicularly thus the amulet displayed the front edge on a string. The IIA phase Tawerets (521 and 10020) from two different Mostagedda cemeteries also belong to this group, but demonstrate a stylistic change in that the tail is separated and embossed. They were both made of faience, but from different moulds.

All three pieces found in Cemetery 10000 originated from a female burial, while the piece from Cemetery 500 originated from a child burial.

A feature common to the two IB Mostagedda burials is the presence of amulets in the form of human figures (man, child/woman, twins), dangerous animals (dog, lion, ram) and a Hathor head alongside the Taweret. This set is supplemented with body parts (hand and fist) and fertility symbols (such as

hare⁷³ and frog). The IIA assemblages exhibit similar characteristics, expanded by the addition of a Hathor head, a cowry shell, a lotus flower, a vessel-shaped pendant, and animals such as frogs, fish and falcons suggesting a stronger fertility aspect. Unlike the female burials, the child's grave contained only Taweret amulet. As the tomb was intact, it reflects the original intention. The quantity of amulets given to children appears to have varied: Matmar 582 yielded only two amulets, whereas Hemamiyeh 2083 contains a nice series of various class amulets.

MATMAR

The only IB-phase Taweret published by Brunton from Matmar is a golden amulet belonging to the long-tailed group with a separated tail in relief. The IIA-phase piece, on the other hand, presented a different variation: a faience figure with indicated arms.

The IB phase Taweret amulet was found in a child's grave, alongside another golden amulet: a crown. The IIA phase pieces were found in a pit without any human remains. The set contained human figures, dangerous animals (crocodiles, rams, dogs and falcons), body parts (arms and wedjat eyes) and a unique shape resembling a modern ninepins figure, whose identity and function are unknown. When compared to other assemblages from the Qau region, they have the same common classes and point to the same direction of fertility in female burials. This tendency is fulfilled in the apotropaia of the Middle .⁷⁴ In the case of the child burial, however, the situation is slightly different: the crown may indicate a desire for magical power similar to that of the pharaohs.

NAGA ED-DEIR

An examination of the Taweret amulets from the Naga ed-Deir cemetery 2000, during the 6th Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period and later used for Coptic burials, reveals two special forms not found in the Qau-Matmar region's cemetery, in addition to the group of long-tailed Tawerets (debased: N2016, basic: N2212). Therefore, two new subtypes had already emerged in the Naga ed-Deir cemetery still during the 6th Dynasty. The first (N714) is made of ivory and depicts the goddess's body as an S-shaped wavy line. The other is represented by a single piece of carnelian (N2021). This piece shows a front view of the goddess in high relief on a plaque with a loop on the back. While the former may represent a simple stylistic variation, adapting the goddess's shape to appeal to a new customer group, the latter changed her representation so much that it reflects an entirely different concept of her.

73 GYÓRY 2017, 371-372.

74 QUIRKE 2016, passim.

The wavy-lined piece (N714) was found alongside a female skeleton; in the other three cases, the gender is unknown, and in two cases the skeletons were missing entirely. However, the assemblages show that the characteristic objects accompanying her are the lion or dog and the Hathor head. Human figures are presented less frequently and differently than in the Qau-Matmar region; faces substitute male or female figures, although child figures remain. It cannot be ruled out that the ape (N714) was intended to represent a man. The Hathor head, cowry and frog point to the same fertility symbolism as found in the Qau-Matmar region, while also here the crocodile represents dangerous animals. Tomb N2021 features a slightly different design incorporating fists, but the wedjat eye, falcon and bee/hornet fit seamlessly into the fertility iconography found elsewhere around the goddess.

DISCUSSION

The most popular 6th Dynasty amulets found in the 18 Qau-Matmar region's tombs, which were investigated, seem to be the lion or dog, including the whole body and the separated heads (12 tombs/34 pieces), and typical for the time frame of 4th-11th Dynasties are the so-called Hathor head (12 tombs/22 + ? pieces⁷⁵), the figure of a man in various shapes (10 tombs/24 pieces), the child (6 tombs/8 pieces), the wedjat eye (7 tombs/8 pieces), the falcon (8 tombs/11 pieces), the scarab (8 tombs/9 pieces), the crocodile (5 tombs/10 pieces) and the shells (5 tombs/3 pieces + slices of shells), although there are also other, less frequent amulets.⁷⁶

The presence of the dog in the Qau-Matmar district might be a hint at the deities Upuaut and Anubis. The Hathor is associated with the general idea of fertility and prosperity, which could be a good connection to the owners, when known: the female. The child figure could represent a magical reincarnation of the person to be protected, or the deceased person, while the human or male head could represent the divine protector. We can interpret all these pieces as symbols of female protection due to their shape or association with a god.

Regarding the children, I found three burials from this time period: Matmar 582, Hemamiyeh 2083 and Mostagedda 521. All of these burials were intact and contained long-tailed Tawerets. Two burials contained a few amulets (one or two), while the third (Hemamiyeh 2083) had the usual items found in female tombs.

These diverse forms thus provided protection in multiple directions. However, protection in the same direction by repetition of Taweret amulets is

75 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LVIII: instead of a digit „few” is written.

76 There were 14 unidentifiable pieces all together. Also in the cemetery of Naga ed-Dei, there were some unidentified amulets.

relatively rare. Tombs 696 in Qau and 3119 and 5534 in Badari each yielded two Taweret amulets, while Matmar 3201 yielded three. The same long-tailed group was present in all cases, albeit in different variations. The long-tailed group generally represents the most popular shape found in all the cemeteries investigated during this period. The Taweret with a backward arched tail is mostly found in the Badari and neighbouring Hemamiyeh cemeteries, while the wavy-line Taweret is very rare, known only from a few dispersed places outside the Qau-Matmar region.

Indeed, long-tailed Qau-Matmar region amulets were present in other parts of the land, for example in Naga ed-Deir, Abydos and Harageh, and Brunton also mentioned them in Saqqara.⁷⁷ Variations can be observed, such as the wavy-lined pieces in Naga ed-Deir and Tebtynis (the dating of which is under consideration), as well as a high-relief shape from Naga ed-Deir.

We can thus conclude that Taweret amulets in the style of Qau-Matmar were used at least from the 1st Lower Egyptian nomos (Saqqara) to the 8th (Abydos) nomos in Upper Egypt, but were not the only ones. Other varieties were also manufactured with minor or major modifications. However, such amulets were not necessarily worn everywhere; for example, Mahasna does not appear to have yielded any Taweret amulets.⁷⁸

The increasing number and variety of Taweret's amulets suggests that more and more women found her assistance important. Their initial uniform appearance suggests that her cult originated in a specific location, possibly outside the Qau-Matmar region. However, after its establishment, the cult quickly spread throughout the entire territory, with a similar pattern emerging in many other parts of the country during the 6th Dynasty. The appearance of Taweret in several places in the country at roughly the same time, in a similar form with only minor stylistic differences, may be related to some kind of central activity. Concurrently, the fact that people were able to pay special attention to maternal care suggests that general conditions were peaceful.

PHASES IIB-IIC

TRANSITIONAL GROUP (EARLY FIP / DYNASTIES 9-11)

IIB: Qau 1030, 7347, Hemamiyeh 2098, Mostagedda 28/532, 633, Matmar 584, 3330, Abydos G 102.

IIC: Qau 1152(?), Hemamiyeh 1948, 1975, Badari 4904, Naga ed-Deir N609, Abydos E45

77 BRUNTON 1928, 10.

78 GARSTANG 1903.

BURIALS IN QAU, PHASE IIB

Tomb Qau 1030⁷⁹ in the South Cemetery was used for a young woman



and contained two types of Taweret amulet. Despite the tomb having been disturbed, two stone vases were left alongside three mirrors of different sizes, a wooden trinket box, two gold bangles,⁸⁰ beads and 70 disintegrating amulets. Gold and faience amulets were

found around the neck, while two carnelian leg amulets, as well as beads and *Conus* shells, were found around the ankles. All of the remaining amulets had a suspension loop except four faience amulets, which had a horizontal hole.

The gold amulets in this circle are made up of sheets and form a new composition. There are four pieces in the shape of a crown on a basket, two ankh signs, an ibis and a long-tailed Taweret sheet with the arm also indicated. In all cases, the entire figure could be seen on the string, probably separated by beads. This long-tailed Taweret is a special case among the long-tailed ones, and is standing out in height among the others on the string as a unique piece. This suggests that it was a central piece of the jewellery. The necklace probably granted power over malevolent creatures through the royal symbols, and wisdom through the ibis-Thoth, during a fertile life. The latter wish is expressed by the *ankh* and Taweret images.

The young woman also wore a protective necklace adorned with delicate, blue-glazed faience amulets. Alongside the Taweret figure were representations of seven men, two children, four Hehs, seven Hathor heads, five jackal-headed men, four jackals, a baboon, a lion, a bee/hornet, seven falcons, four vultures, six ibises and six wedjat eyes. The order of the amulets on the string is unknown. This arrangement is consistent with traditional compositions featuring women alongside men, children, Hathor heads, dangerous and protective animals, and fertility symbols, such as the Taweret amulet. This latter one is a special variant with a backward-arched tail. As it is

79 BRUNTON 1927, pl. III, XLV, XLVIII, LIX, p. 9: „the body became divided in two at the waist as it was being pulled out into the shaft, leaving a gap of nearly 2 feet”, but leaving the gold jewellery in the tomb means that they were disturbed. It should have happened not much later than the interment, because the body was not yet completely disintegrated – the necklace still remained at the neck. BRUNTON 1927, 33; Quirke 2016; kept in Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20511.

80 BRUNTON 1927, 8 observed, that the gold bangles were used typically during the 7th-8th Dynasties, just one can be dated to the 6th Dynasty, and one to 9th-10th Dynasties. As he dated this tomb to the 6th Dynasty, I suppose, that this is the one, Brunton hints at. The way of suspension by a loop at the end is, however, typical for the later period, so I date this assemblage to IIB, but do not exclude even IIC.



pressed in negative, it was certainly manufactured in series; however, as only this example is known, it was probably made locally. Jackal-headed men and jackals are uncommon. Their presence here is but understandable given that the nomos's main god was a jackal god. The owner was wealthy and probably belonged to the middle-class

high-ranking of the nomos.

Qau 7347⁸¹ originates from the South Cemetery and dates back to the 8th Dynasty. As the tomb is not listed in the tomb register, the owner, the circumstances of its use, and other details remain unknown. This Taweret has



an unusually slender body, a long tail, and an elongated belly, thus the general appearance is much more natural than usual, although it belongs to the basic long-tailed group. A piercing runs perpendicular through the plaque at neck height.

BURIALS IN HEMAMIYEH, PHASE IIB

In Cemetery 1900-2100 in Hemamiyeh, the female grave 2098⁸², which had been partly disturbed, was found to contain a Taweret figure. The deceased was buried in a coffin and, besides personal adornments, only pottery was found. The simple, long-tailed Taweret was strung on a thread alongside many



different types of bead and a blue-glazed steatite knucklebone. No further details are mentioned. This basic, long-tailed Taweret figure was made of blue-glazed faience and had a hole behind its head.

BURIALS IN MOSTAGEEDDA, PHASE IIB

In 1928, a long-tailed Taweret made of faience with a separated tail in relief was found in tomb 532⁸³ at Mostagedda. The tomb had brick walls and contained the bones of a woman in a wooden coffin. Despite having been quite disturbed, several amulets remained, accompanied by two small alabaster cosmetic vessels and pottery. One of the stone vessels had a thin coating of black ointment on one side, suggesting that it had once contained liquid.⁸⁴ The amulet assemblage included three differently shaped men, a child, a

81 BRUNTON 1927, 79, pl. XXXVI, tomb 7347, Dyn. 8. Given to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20701.

82 BRUNTON 1928, pl. pl. LXI, LXXIII, XCVI, tomb 2098, 8th Dyn. It was distributed to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20552.

83 Brunton 1937, 98, pl. XLVI, LV, LXIII, 17-18, LIX, 3e. For the button-seal see also Wiese 1996,



pl. 8, no. 175. Berlin inv. no. ÄM 22923: , dated also to the 7th-8th Dynasties. About the hippo-headed button seals see p. 161.

84 BRUNTON 1937, pl. LIX.3e, LXIII, 18. Distributed to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20701.



dog head, a lion head, a seal amulet in the shape of a hippo's head, a heart-shaped calcite pendant, and a blue-glazed triangular pendant that may have been an arrowhead. Plate LXIII also shows limestone lions. Seidlmayer dated the assemblage to IIB.

Two basic, long-tailed Taweret figures were found among the artefacts in tomb 633⁸⁵ at Mostagedda. As the tomb had been disturbed, it was not possible to determine the gender of the owner. This also means that the assemblage found may be incomplete. Only a large quantity of beads and amulets were kept, including human and child figures, two Heh figures, an arm, a scorpion, three falcons of different shapes, an ibis and a knucklebone together with the two tiny Taweret figures representing different stages of development. One of the Taweret figures has both a suspension loop on the back and a hole through which it could be strung – though upside down. These two features enabled the piece to be used in an alternative way at a time when the correct method seems to be unclear. The piece was thus produced during a transitional period, aligning well with the IIB phase. Only the two Heh figures were manufactured using this new method.

BURIALS IN MATMAR, PHASE IIB



A tiny little Taweret was found in Matmar 584⁸⁶, a 'quite disturbed' tomb dating to the 7th or 8th Dynasty. Due to the disturbance, the gender of the owner is unknown. However, the jewellery suggests that it was most likely a woman, as the assemblage included beads and various forms of amulet, such as a man, a child, a hand, two legs, a dog's head, a falcon and a monkey. The man, child and falcon have a suspension loop, while the others are pierced for suspension. The tiny Taweret figure belongs to the basic long-tailed group. Only an edge-shaped groove at the bottom hints at the crocodile's tapering tail. As usual, the head is pierced.

Matmar 3330⁸⁷ contained two burials. Both women were lying side by side in their coffins in the chamber. The conclusion of the publisher is that

85 BRUNTON 1937, pl. XLVII, XLIXA, LVI; Brunton 1928, pl. XCIX-XIV. Kept in reserv at the Petrie Museum.

86 BRUNTON 1948, pl. XXVII, XXXI,23, LXXII. It was given to the Auckland Collection in New Zealand. <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/collections/search?f=place%3AMatmar+info@aucklandmuseum.com>

87 BRUNTON 1948, 34, §66, pl. XXV, bead register: pl. LXXI. XXXI. 42= 24c, XXXII. 117. The distribution list names the items as belonging to Eth (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Cambridge), now the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (inv. no. 1932.440). (https://collections.maa.cam.ac.uk/media/library_images/web/573243_1932.440_001.jpg I thank to be able to find the assemblage in Cambridge by the help of Helen and Nigel Strudwick.



burial B took place later than burial A, because the inner coffin (A) had been plundered in the upper part, but the coffin (B) placed later at the outer side stayed untouched. In the latter case, an infant was also buried in the north-east corner of the coffin. According to the bead register, the woman wore a necklace with faience figures of a man, a child, a long-tailed Taweret with a tail in relief, a Hathor head, an unidentified fragment, a fancy cylinder bead, and two *Nassa* shells. Now they are in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

BURIALS IN ABYDOS, PHASE IIB

The tombs in the Abydos Cemetery G⁸⁸ date from the Predynastic to the Ptolemaic periods. Although tomb G102⁸⁹ is not mentioned in the publication depicting the Taweret alongside a button-seal⁹⁰ (



) and a leg amulet, it is evident that all three artefacts originate from the same tomb. Tomb G102 is dated to the 6th Dynasty.⁹¹ The tomb probably had the same structure as the others in the cemetery. In some cases, the superstructure also remained. This consisted of a solid mastaba with one to three niches and a small courtyard at the front for offerings. The building was constructed on top of a pit or shaft in which the deceased was placed.⁹²

A decade after the publication of the images, finds from a tomb in Cemetery G with the same number were presented.⁹³ These finds were discussed in the context of 12th Dynasty,⁹⁴ but the above objects were not mentioned. We learn that an 18th Dynasty child was buried there in a wooden coffin containing many amulets, primarily in the form of falcons. Below this, two further wooden coffins were found, one containing a male body and the other the remains of three small children. All of these were dated to the 18th Dynasty.

88 PETRIE 1902, 34-40, 86. PEET-LOAT 1913, 8-22 and 23-28, PEET-LOAT 1914, 48-53.

89 RANDALL-McIVER – MACE 1902, 86, pl. XL, no. 1: no special data given; PETRIE 1925, pl. IV, below no. 244.

90 WIESE 1996, p. 19, pl. 43, cat. no. 885, bottom with geometric pattern (F. 1. Kreuz-Kleeblatt / SM-C), angular button seal with loop (SF-BB1), 7/8th Dyn.

91 RANDALL-McIVER – MACE 1902, pl. XL.

92 PEET-LOAT 1913, 8-9.

93 PEET-LOAT 1913, 23-24.

94 PEET-LOAT 1913, 23-24.

Below these, at the bottom of the shaft, two disturbed chambers were excavated. In the southern chamber, a man had been buried with beads, a wedjat eye, a stucco mask overlaid with gold foil and a soul house in the wall. Only flint and a spoon remained in the northern chamber.

The origin of the Taweret amulet is thus obscure. The original tomb was probably used later for another tomb. Based on André B. Wiese's typology of tomb seals, the tomb containing the amulets dates to a slightly later period than has previously been suggested. Based on the button seal, the assemblage belongs to the 7th-8th Dynasties, i.e. Seidlmayer IIB (eventually IIC) phase.

BURIALS IN QAU, PHASE IIC

In Qau 1152,⁹⁵ a shaft containing a chamber and the remains of a rather disturbed burial in a wooden coffin was excavated. It was not possible to determine the gender of the deceased. However, it was possibly an adult, as the bones of children can easily be distinguished. Among the remains were an orange buff drop-shaped vessel, two amulets (one depicting Taweret and one depicting a lion), and ring beads. The drop-shaped vessel (K-B32-02) is unusual at Qau and can be dated to the IIC-IIIB phases, meaning the burial could not have occurred any earlier than the IIC period (Brunton: 8th or 9th Dynasty). The Taweret amulet belonged to the long-tailed group and had an arm indicated.



BURIALS IN HEMAMIYEH, PHASE IIC

Tomb Hemamiyeh 1948⁹⁶ was built for a child and contains a stuccoed coffin. Found intact, the tomb contained a globular jar, as well as beads and amulets in the form of a Taweret, a lion, two crocodiles, a ram's head, three falcons and a wedjat eye. Seidlmayer dates this collection to the IIC phase.⁹⁷ The Taweret amulet is a simplified version with an arched tail that curves backwards. Made of blue-glazed faience, it is small, as are the other amulets that made up the necklace. While most of the amulets protected the child from dangerous animals, the Taweret amulet provided maternal protection and the wedjat eye amulet may have given the child the ability to see.



95 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LXV (tomb register for the 9th-10th Dynasties), LXXIV for beads, XCV for the amulets. Brunton dated to the 9th Dynasty. It was distributed to Bristol.

96 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCVI, tomb register LX. Distributed to Manchester.

97 SEYDLMAYER 1990, 138.



The undisturbed female burial in tomb Hemamiyeh 1975⁹⁸ contained two wooden coffins, two globular vessels, stone and faience beads, amulets, and shells. The shells were found with a leg amulet at the ankle. The location of the other amulets is not recorded, but they were probably strung together to make a necklace. As the publication does not mention two burials, one of the coffins was presumably empty. The amulet assemblage comprised a child, a dwarf, a Heh, a Taweret with a backward-arched tail, a hand, two wedjat eyes, two Hathor heads, two lion heads, a shell and a table amulet. All of these objects were common in female burials at that time, except for the table, which may have been an offering table indicating the need for food offerings in the afterlife.

BURIALS IN BADARI, PHASE IIC



The female tomb Badari 4904⁹⁹ in the South, from the IIC phase had been partially disturbed. Only the legs were found in the correct position, accompanied by a pair of carnelian leg amulets. The woman had been buried in a wooden coffin alongside a pottery vessel, which had been placed in the north-east corner of the tomb. The amulets and beads appear to have been scattered due to tomb robbery, suggesting that they may have belonged to a piece of jewellery worn around the neck or wrist. The amulets and beads found depicted an individually shaped long-tailed Taweret, Heh, a man, a hand, two wedjat eyes, a baboon, two lions, a dog's head, a falcon, a crested crane, two shells, and various types of bead. Due to the disturbance, it is likely that more valuable items were placed in the tomb. However, it is unclear whether any amulets were among the items taken, given that the robbers did not take the numerous amulets and beads found. The remaining amulets fit well into the typical assemblage of young female burials, with the exception of the rare crested crane.

BURIALS IN OTHER REGIONS, PHASE IIC

Although tomb Naga ed-Deir N609¹⁰⁰ had been plundered, the remains of the deceased were still present. Amongst the debris, grave goods were found,

98 BRUNTON 1928, pl. XL, XCV; QUIRKE 2016. The objects were distributed to the Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20521D.

99 BRUNTON 1927, 31; BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCV, LVI. The assemblage was given to Manchester, inv. no. 7334.

100 REISNER 1932, 111, 122, 128, 129, 134, no. 34, for the button seal see p. 112, fig. 47, no. 11, pl. 40: B 4897, 3/2 (N 609, faience)



including an alabaster jar, a copper mirror, numerous beads, a glazed steatite button seal¹⁰¹ typical of the 9th Dynasty according to the typology of Wiese, and figurine amulets. There were also twelve ivory lions, one jackal(?) head, a piece of fruit, a cowry and a faience Taweret amulet belonging to the long-tailed Taweret group with a slightly protuberant tail separated from the body.



The Abydos cemetery mainly contained chamber tombs with a shaft (type A). During the 1909-1910 season, grave E45¹⁰² was found to have been disturbed in the shaft itself. A wooden coffin was found close to the east wall with three vases beside it. The semi-contracted female body had a string of amulets, two seals and beads around her neck. The three lions, the Taweret, the fish, the scarab, the falcon and the three dog's heads were made of ivory, while the human hand, two legs and heart, the two hippopotamus heads and several other unmentioned shapes were made of carnelian. A frog(?) and an other object were crafted of blue-glazed faience. There was also a wooden bolt amulet. In the pictures, a Taweret can also be seen, having a short backwards-arched tail and a two-



banded head. One of the button seals () is incorporated into André Wiese's work (no. 328)¹⁰³ and is dated to the 9th Dynasty, i.e. the Seidlmayer IIC period. The other¹⁰⁴ is hippopotamus shaped with geometric design. The assemblage was given to the British Museum.

101 WIESE 1996, pl. 24, no. 477, Dyn. 9. M: 12,5x7 mm, Enstatit, D.6, "Zwei miteinander verbundene Antilopen-Vorderteile in tete-beche-Anordnung, b. Degenerierte Formen."

102 NAVILLE 1914, p 19, pl. II. no. 6, picture in the middle, pl. VII upper photo; PEET 1914, 17-29. The button-seal (EA 49336.1) is rectangular geometric design (WIESE 1996, type F) and roughly incised human figure (WIESE 1996, type C).

103 WIESE 1996, 19, Cat no. 328: SF-BA2, SM-F (sitting child) is the „roughly incised human figure“ of NAVILLE 1914,18. Concerning the other one, described by „a rectangular geometric design“, Marie Vandenbeusch and Elisabeth Sawerthal were so kind to find it. It turned out to be a hippopotamus head, with geometric pattern, which can be dated also to the IIC period (WIESE 1996, 60).

104 Inv. no. EA49336,2 without a picture in the online catalogue (<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA49336>). Other objects: shell, turtle, 3 lions, fish, hippopotamus head, dog's heads, falcon, wooden bolt, cowroid, hand, leg, mouse?, Taweret, scarab and several undetermined carnelian, ivory and faience amulets. – the inventory numbers are EA 49336.1-32, the Taweret being EA 49336.9. I thank the information to Marie Vandenbeusch and Elisabeth Sawerthal.

ANALYSIS**QAU**

More tombs were built in the Qau cemeteries during phase IIB than in phase IIA. However, the number of tombs containing Taweret amulets decreased to two (1030 and 7347), which were divided equally between the south and north cemeteries. This meant that the proportions shifted. In the next phase (IIC), only one tomb of this type (1152) remained in the North cemetery. Consequently, the wearing of Taweret amulets gradually decreased, and by the 9th Dynasty they had almost completely disappeared. The amulets were usually suspended by a perpendicular hole in the plaque and the workmanship was typically of an ordinary standard. They were usually crafted from blue-glazed faience, but in the high-ranking tomb (Qau 1030), they were also made of gold sheet. The two Taweret amulets in this latter tomb are exceptional in that they are of a very high standard and follow the new trend of suspension by the back loop. The amulets belong to the long-tailed group, either basic or with an indicated arm, with the exception of the faience Taweret in tomb 1030 which has a transformed, backward-arched tail. It may have been designed specifically for high-ranking customers.

The gender of the individuals in the Qau tombs is known only in Qau 1030 because the others were disturbed; it is female. In Qau 7347, even no human remains were found. When we compare the Qau assemblages IIA and IIB, the main constituent elements remain the same: human figures, Hathor heads, dangerous animals such as falcon or vulture, and especially lion, as well as the wedjat eye. However, the new trend evident in the high-ranking tomb is the use of power symbols (crowns and bees/hornets), references to wisdom (ibises) and rejuvenation symbolism, as expressed by the Heh sign. The jackal also plays a prominent role in this tomb. These changes may suggest a new attitude towards local high-ranking identity. In the IIC phase, the lion was the only amulet besides the Taweret figure.

HEMAMIYEH

In Hemamiyeh, the earlier IIB phase is represented by one tomb (2098), while the next phase is represented by two (1948 and 1975). The former tomb contained a basic, long-tailed Taweret, similar to that found in the IIA phase, while the latter contained basic and simplified variations of the Taweret with a backward-arched tail. Both pieces have simple forms, but the length of the tail differs. They are also pierced perpendicular to the plaque through the belly of the animal.

Tomb 2098 and 1975 were made for women, while tomb 1948 was made for a child. The IIB Hemamiyeh tomb differs greatly from all the others in terms of its assemblage, as the necklace contained only beads and faience knuckle bones alongside the Taweret amulet, suggesting that the latter was the central piece on the string. However, as the tomb was partly disturbed, it

is not possible to ascertain whether there were originally other amulets. The Hemamiyeh II.C tombs contained more amulets. The female burial (1975) contained the standard assemblage, including a Taweret figure, a human figure, the head of a lion as a dangerous animal, and a wedjat eye, as well as a Heh figure, a shell, and a hand. The table-shaped amulet is unique to this tomb. The undisturbed child burial (1948) contained only dangerous animals, such as a lion, a crocodile, a ram's head and a falcon. This differs from the IIA child burial, which contained only a lion and a wedjat eye.

BADARI

Taweret was very popular in Badari during phase IIA. Interestingly, I could not find a Taweret amulet among the published tombs during phase IIB, and only one was found during Phase IIC (4904). This amulet was placed in a female tomb and features a suspension loop on the back of the plaque, representing an individual variation of the long-tailed group. The accompanying amulets include some that are known from earlier periods, such as human figures, body parts (hands and the wedjat eye), dangerous animals (such as lions, dogs, and falcons), and rejuvenation symbols (such as shells and the god Heh). There are also some new amulets, such as a walking baboon and a crested crane. The Hathor head, so often found in earlier assemblages, is absent here.

MOSTAGEDDA

Two Tombs, 532 and 633 in Mostagedda were equipped with Taweret amulets during the transitional period. Both date from the IIB phase and were left after plundering. The three figures, two of which were found in Tomb 633, belong to the basic long-tailed Taweret group. The other tomb contained identifiable female bones, and the iconographic type featured a Taweret with a tail that was separated at the back.

As both Mostagedda tombs have been plundered, any comparison of the artefacts must be tentative. However, we can conclude that the assemblages feature human figures (men and children) and dangerous animals (dog, lion and hippo, as opposed to scorpion and falcon). In Tomb 633, the renewal is emphasised by the presence of Heh figures. The arm may symbolise physical integrity or the ability to act. The role of the ibis as a representative of Thoth, the god of wisdom, remains to be investigated in this context. So too does the function of the faience knuckle bone or the arrowhead(?) pendants. Compared to the previous phase, the Hathor head and wedjat eyes, among other things, are missing.

MATMAR

In Matmar, Taweret is not attested in the IIC phase. However, two assemblages date to the IIB phase (Tombs 584 and 3330). Both of the IIB Taweret figures published by Brunton belong to the same long-tailed group,

comprising the basic type and a variation with a tail in relief. The gender of the owner of the former is unknown, while the latter was worn by a woman whose coffin also contained the remains of a newborn baby. Alongside Taweret, the assemblages contain human figures (men and children), dangerous animals (a dog and a falcon), body parts (legs) and a monkey. In the former case, there is also a Hathor head and an unidentifiable fragment. As the relevant part of the latter tomb was intact, the burial that took place there later followed the previous custom of placing a Hathor head there.

DISCUSSION

The amulets of IIB and IIC phases in the Qau-Matmar region generally followed earlier designs, but minor changes can be traced. They were also used in large quantities. Strings consisted of different classes of amulet. It is unusual for a string to contain amulets only of the same type, and there is no record of this with Taweret.

Iconographical group I, the long-tailed Taweret, was widespread, as evidenced by all the investigated sites. Alongside the basic form and its simplified versions, the variation with a separate tail in relief and arms indicated became standard. Only one instance of deviation from these standard shapes occurred in the Brunton material: a single example from Badari 4904.

Group II Taweret, with a tail that arches backwards, is only attested in the cemeteries of Qau 1030 (IIB phase) and Hemamiyeh (IIC phase: 1948/basic and 1975/simplified). All three variations are attested once, which suggests that this group also inhabited the region for a prolonged period, albeit within a limited number, before gradually falling out of fashion.

People therefore continued to use both Qau-Matmar groups during the IIB and IIC phases, with long-tailed Taweret being the most common. The stringing was usually solved with a perpendicular hole, but following the solution used for metal amulets, suspension loops on the back also became common place. This technical change resulted in a different view of the representation, i.e. a frontal view. Consequently, the shape of this amulet, which still depicted the goddess from a side view, became more visible. Several of these amulets are more carefully crafted, suggesting a wealthier consumer base. While this may have been merely a fashion statement, I find it more plausible that this visual affirmation served to confirm the effectiveness.

The Taweret amulet occurred duplicated in this period twice. In Mostagedda 633, two long-tailed pieces of the basic group were found scattered on the grave's soil; consequently, it is unclear how many pieces of jewellery they belonged to. Qau tomb 1030 yielded two sets of amulets made from different materials: eight pieces of gold and 55 pieces of faience in 28 classes, ten of which were multiplied. In this case, the two Taweret figures belonged to two different sets and were probably originally strung on different threads. The golden pieces may have belonged to a bracelet, while the much

larger number of faience pieces could have formed a necklace. The former must have been an expensive piece of jewellery. Although the second set may appear mediocre, it could not have been cheap due to the many unique faience pieces, the production of which required the work of a master sculptor. Their joint use suggests that they had the same protective significance.

In the publications I investigated, I found fewer tombs containing the Taweret amulet for this period than for the previous one. This can be partly explained by the smaller total number of tombs (c. 310 in Qau II, pl. 59-63) compared to the 6th Dynasty (c. 400 in Qau II, pl. 53-58). However, it should be noted that Brunton mainly excavated tombs containing artefacts. Where he found 'poor' tombs in large quantities, he closed the site and looked for another one with more promising finds. Therefore, the known tombs do not reflect the number of burials, but they may indeed reflect the actual proportions of amulets because tombs without finds were excluded. Of course, tomb robberies may have altered the proportions, but in these cases, amulets were not the primary target of the robbers. They were probably only taken at random and not consistently sought out. The results therefore suggest that Taweret was used to the greatest extent in the IIB phase in this region, except in Badari. However, as the material is very limited, these statements can only be tentative.

Quite a number of tombs were severely disturbed, thus the gender of the owner could often not be determined. Among the known owners there is one child (Hemamiyeh 1948) and four women (Qau 1030, Hemamiyeh 1975, Hemamiyeh 2098, Mostagedda 532, although based on the artefacts, several others seem to be female burials), which ratio is consistent with the custom of the earlier phase, in the sense that there are more female graves comprising the Taweret figure than there are child graves. The Matmar 3330 is exceptional, as mother and child were buried together.

Brunton mentions a profusion of amulets in tombs from this period (IIB-IIC).¹⁰⁵ However, the number of those amulets found together with Taweret paints a different picture:

IB: 4, 14, 26, 41 (box, necklace, two bracelets), 21, 9, 2 – together: **107 pieces**

IIA: 2, 8, 20, 22, 9+shells, 2, 39 (two bracelets and two strings of necklace), 1, 14, 11+shells, 22 = **130 pieces + shells**

IIB: 62 (necklace, bracelet, anklet), 11, 7, 12, 9, 5, 2 = **108 pieces**

IIC: 2, 14, 8, 13 = **35 pieces**

IIIA: 5, 8, 4 = **17 pieces**

Therefore, the number of amulets used in burials alongside Taweret does not reflect the general trend. They reached their peak during the 6th Dynasty, particularly during the reign of Pepi II (IIA). Earlier (IB phase) and after this

105 BRUNTON 1928, 7.

phase, during the 7th and 8th Dynasties (IIB phase), the number of amulets used was practically equal, the IB's only slightly lower. From the IIC phase onwards, their use declined drastically. At least, this is evident from the amulets found in the Qau-Matmar region following tomb robberies. In this case, the method of excavation does not affect the result, as even the 'poor' tombs, i.e. those without equipment, were missing amulets.

The earlier tradition continues with regard to the content of assemblages in IIB–IIC. Human-shaped amulets of men and children were popular, and human body parts appeared sporadically. Gods rarely appeared in their anthropomorphic form, although Shu-Heh was present throughout the phases. In contrast, the Hathor head, which was so popular during the 6th Dynasty, lost all its popularity. The jackal-headed man appeared in only one tomb. Lions and dogs remained relatively common, but other animals appeared sporadically. Scarabs disappeared from this period. Symbols such as the *ankh*, the crown, and the knucklebone appeared sporadically, but only during the IIB phase.

When we compare the amulets found in the Qau-Matmar region with those found at other sites, we can see that the standard long-tailed Taweret is also present elsewhere (e.g. at Naga ed-Deir, N609), but that other shapes were also used. For example, an angular variation not found in the Qau-Matmar region can be seen in Abydos during the IIB and IIC phases (G102, E45). This suggests that a unique form of the goddess may have originated further south, potentially in Abydos. What we can be sure of is that this series was invented by an independent workshop with its own master sculptor.

From a religious perspective, this suggests that people continued to worship the goddess in her 6th Dynasty form. During the IIB phase, people continued to pay close attention to personal matters, including maternal care, and some could afford special pieces. However, life was changing, with other areas increasingly becoming a priority. There is a marked difference between the two phases. By the IIC phase, amid these uncertain and confusing times, the cult of the goddess gradually receded into the background, at least in its earlier form. Nevertheless, attempts were made to make her assistance more effective. Yet, the number of IIC specimens shows that fewer and fewer women were using this method to help themselves during childbirth and newborn care.

PHASE IIIA

Late group (late FIP – early MK / Dynasty 10-11)

IIIA: Badari 3523, 4947, Mostagedda 591,

IIIB: none in the Qau – Matmar region

BURIALS IN BADARI, PHASE IIIA

Badari 3523¹⁰⁶ is an undisturbed female tomb located in the Badari North area. Inside, there was a wooden coffin and two storage jars (81j and 91u). Around the woman's neck were beads and five blue faience amulets in the shape of a Taweret, a Heh, an arm, a lion and an ibis. The symbolism of the amulets aligns perfectly with previous expectations. The Taweret amulet belongs to the long-tailed group and is a version with tail in relief. The loop on the back is a common feature of this late phase. Due to the small size of the amulet, it occupies almost the entire back.



Tomb South Badari 4947¹⁰⁷ contained the intact remains of a woman in a brick-walled tomb with a wooden coffin. Five vessels and a bowl were placed next to the coffin, with a copper mirror close to the head. The deceased was adorned with a pair of gold bracelets, and wore long strands of faience and shell beads around her neck, as well as a string of gold ring beads, various stone beads, and carnelian amulets. These included a hatted man (1H23), a hand (8C18), two wedjat eyes (62F10), a lapis lazuli fly (36C3), a golden nebtj-shaped sheet amulet (65C3), a green faience frog (34F3), a steatite button seal bearing a figure of a person on the reverse (SF-CC2, SM-F), and a seal in the form of a golden scarab soldered to a rounded square plate bearing an incised figure of a crocodile or lizard on the base – beside the Taweret (21H12). The Taweret amulet, which has an arched tail, is made of turquoise, a rare material for this category of artefact. Her assemblage includes amulets also found in other female tombs, with the exception of the fly. Previously, these amulets were not considered important. This is the first time the fly has been recorded in this context. Together with the two seals, they convey a completely new worldview.



BURIALS IN MOSTAGEDDA, PHASE IIIA

Mostagedda 591¹⁰⁸ is dated to the 9th-10th Dynasties, corresponding to the

106 BRUNTON 1928, pl. LXVII (tomb register), LXXV (beads), XCV (Taweret). For the pottery see pl. XCI (81j and 91u). Put among the 9th-10th Dynasties tombs by Brunton, and listed in SEIDLMAYER 1990, 134 as IIIA tomb. Now kept Petrie Museum, inv. no. LDUCE-UC20827.

107 BRUNTON 1927, 36, pl. 32, no. 23, pl. 33, no. 137; Brunton 1928, pl. LXIII (tomb register), LXXXVIII (pottery), XCV (Taweret). Brunton dated the tomb into the 7-8th Dynasties, (p. 14), SEIDLMAYER (1990, 134) to the IIIA phase. The assemblage was distributed to Manchester.

108 BRUNTON 1937, 102, distributed to the British Museum, Inv. no. BM EA62487. ANDREWS 1981, 53, no. 329. (no picture): „A necklace (found at the neck of a female) composed of one short truncated convex bicone of carnelian, a few tiny ring beads of blue glass and green glazed composition, and four wooden amulets. Brunton thought he could identify among the amulets two



IIIA phase. Two pottery were found in the filling. Below, an undisturbed female burial was discovered in a wooden coffin containing faience and carnelian beads, as well as four decayed wooden amulets around her neck. Three of these amulets have been identified as two plain, long-tailed Taweret figures and a child.

ANALYSIS

During the IIIA phase, no tombs containing Taweret amulets were found in Qau, Hemamiyeh or Matmar, although the cemeteries were certainly used. However, given the large number of disturbed graves, this does not necessarily imply that the use of Taweret amulets ceased, although there was certainly a marked decline in their use.

BADARI

In Badari, I have found only two examples from the late First Intermediate Period (IIIA-IIIB): one from the north and one from the south, both from phase IIIA and none from phase IIIB. The two small amulets, made of faience and turquoise, are simple Taweret figures representing the two main groups in the Qau-Matmar region. The Badari North figure has a long tail and is made of common blue-glazed faience. It has an emphasised tail and a suspension loop at the back. The Badari South figure is a Taweret with an arched tail. The choice of material, turquoise, is unusual. Both originate from intact female burials. Although both assemblages contain anthropomorphic figures (Heh/man), human body parts (arm/hand) and animals (lion and ibis/frog and fly), their composition is completely different. The South Badari woman was undoubtedly wealthier; her jewellery was made of precious stones or gold, and she could also afford fashionable button seals. She represents a new spiritual age and retains only the essence of Taweret, not the circle that was built up around her. Dangerous animals no longer feature in this context. However, the fertility aspect remained, and the woman surrounded herself with a new kind of protection and fertility aid.

MOSTAGEDDA

The only Mostagedda tomb containing Taweret amulet had a pair of wooden Tawerets, which is very unusual for this region as the soil usually 'eats' organic materials. The same almost happened to these amulets. They were in such bad condition that they were not considered worth publishing with picture in the British Museum's printed or online catalogues. However, Carol Andrews identified them as Brunton 21M16: small, basic, long-tailed

Thoeris amulets and an infant" Referring to BRUNTON 1928, pl. XCIII, 31, (infant); pl. XCVI, 21M16 (Thoeris). Neither the online catalogue says more about the shapes. H: 1,2 cm.

pieces. Such small wooden pieces were relatively easy to obtain; theoretically, anyone could carve one for personal use. However, these were most probably expensive pieces. In that soil, a coating should have protected the tiny figures; that is, they were covered in metal. As wood was sometimes coated in gold, this seems to be the most likely solution in this case.

DISCUSSION

The custom of wearing Taweret amulets remained among women in the Qau-Matmar region during the IIIA phase, but only in a very restricted area and it became extremely rare. Its use began to change, but it continued to be worn as part of a necklace alongside beads and other classes of amulet.

The British Museum possesses two Taweret amulets found in Asyut, a nearby location: EA46594 and EA46595. These amulets are possibly part of the same assemblage and were dated to the Middle Kingdom, Dynaasty 12, by the excavator, D. G. Hogarth (1907). EA46595¹⁰⁹ is said to be an exact variation of the long-tailed Taweret already known from the Qau-Matmar region (Brunton's 21M4). A bead, a *Nassa* shell and four amulets were threaded onto a twisted, knotted flax string. The small amulets are fixed among the knots. The last one is an arrowhead, and before that, a bird, a Taweret and a human figure can be made out, all of which fit well into the Taweret circle. The other Taweret from Assiut, EA46594,¹¹⁰ possibly from the same tomb, is also on a twisted and knotted flax string together with faience figures of a falcon, a man and a crouching man. The figure itself is very simplified and almost unrecognisable. No data about the context is given in either case.

As this region supported the Lower Egyptian Heracleopolitan Dynasty during the FIP, it is expected that the people living here followed the fashion of that region. If this assumption is correct, we can expect to see a general survival of basic, long-tailed Taweret amulets.

109 ANDREWS 1981, 48, no. 262. pl. 22. The string: 51 cm long, no detail of the Taweret is given. „Amuletic string: the original twisted and knotted flax fibre thread, now in two pieces, on which are threaded a sliced ‚Nassa’ shell, one long convex bicone dark-blue-glazed composition bead and four amulets. The amulets, three of them of turquoise-blue-glazed composition, the fourth of green and blue, consist of an arrow-head (?), a small fiddle-shaped human figure or possibly Ptah-Sokar, a hawk or vulture on a stand and a debased Taweret amulet (Brunton's 21M4). FIP. Excavated by: Dr David George Hogarth, Asyut town.” For bibliography: Register and Diary of D.G. Hogarth's excavations at Asyut, 1907, and Report to the Trustees of the British Museum, all in MSS.”

110 ANDREWS 1981, 47, no. 255. pl. 7, now in two pieces. Long of the string: 32,7 cm The same drawing is published in the BM Jewellery Catalogue I. and in the online collection of the museum, only with two amulets.

INTERPRETATION***FREQUENCY OF TAWERET AMULETS***

Of course, based on the material investigated, we cannot define the wearing habits of Taweret amulets precisely, but we can provide a general overview and highlight some trends. By comparing the number of graves excavated and published by Guy Brunton's team, we can conclude that Taweret amulets were not particularly favoured by the inhabitants of the Qau-Matmar region during this period. However, some people were attached to their use, particularly young women, and they were also occasionally given to children.

In Qau, based on Seidlmayer's selection of tombs for the seriation analysis, the main/southern cemetery was the richest in objects during the IIB phase, although the IIA phase had almost the same number of graves included in the analysis. These two phases yielded the most Taweret amulets in the region as a whole. Initially (IB), people buried in both the main/southern cemetery (Qau696) and Itmanieh/Ezbet Aulad el-Hagg Ahmed (Qau531) seem to have had the same attitude towards Taweret, but a significant change is evident in the later phases: amulets in her form completely disappeared in Itmanieh, whereas their presence intensified in the main cemetery (IIA: 959, 1166, 7699 / IIB: 1030, 7347, IIC: 1152, IIIA: none).

In Hemamiyeh, the population only started using these amulets later than in Qau (in the IIA phase), but they maintained the practice and intensified its use during the IIC phase (the 9th-10th Dynasties), before abandoning them in the IIIA phase amid the fighting over unification.

The situation in Badari was more varied: the area nearer to Qau started using Taweret amulets earlier (IB) and continued to do so, whereas in northern Badari they only came into fashion during the IIA phase and had been abandoned by the IIIA phase.

The people of Mostagedda handled these amulets differently again. They were interested in them throughout the IB–IIB phases, then lost interest, but were still familiar with them in the IIIA phase.

The people buried in the main cemetery in Matmar started using these amulets at the same time as the neighbouring people in Mostagedda, but not as intensively. They reached their peak during the IIB phase, after which they stopped using them.

Considering the whole region as a unit, it can be concluded that this class was the most popular during the IIA phase, when the second typological group also emerged. Gradually, its importance was lost. Taking the geographical situation into consideration, we can conclude that the use of these amulets began almost everywhere simultaneously in the IB period, but they remained in use for the longest time in the northern area, specifically in Mostagedda and Badari.

Qau-Matmar region, tombs investigated and dated by SEIDLMEYER 1990 (for details see 133-134, pl. 30 of his work)

PLAQUE AMULETS FOR THE GODDESS WITH HIPPOPOTAMUS BODY

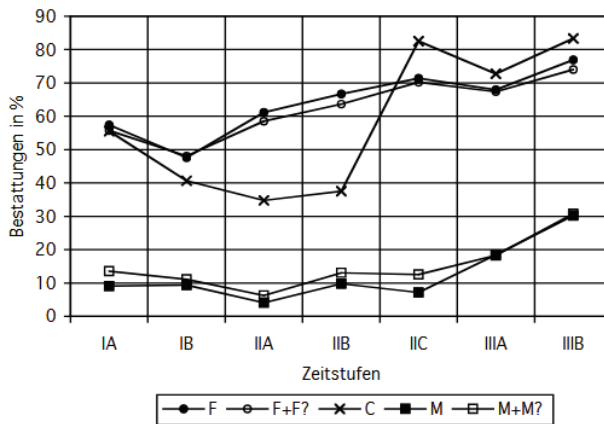
Site	all tombs during the 7 phases	IB	IIA	IIB	IIC	IIIA	all tombs
Qau main cem	539	30	52	60	33	23	198
Qau at Itmanieh	217	13	16	25	14	6	74
Hemamiyeh	311	7	21	23	50	32	133
Badari South	233	4	9	12	42	56	123
Badari North	161	8	11	20	34	40	113
Mostagedda	298	11	14	13	23	28	89
Matmar main cem.	256	20	22	17	25	38	122
all together	2015	93	145	170	221	223	852

Tombs containing Taweret amulets

Site	all tombs during the 7 phases	IB	IIA	IIB	IIC	IIIA	all tombs with Taweret amulets
Qau main cem.	539	1	3	2	1	0	7 (+1*)
Qau at Itmanieh	217	1	0	0	0	0	1
Hemamiyeh	311	0	1	1	2	0	4
Badari South	233	2	1	0	1	1	5
Badari North	161	0	3	0	0	1	4
Mostagedda	298	2	2	2	0	1	7
Matmar main cem.	256	1	1	2	0	0	4
all together	2015	7	11	7	4	2	33

* Qau 600 is a surface find, without context, but it belongs to the main/south cemetery

Graphik II.3 - Chronologische Verteilung von Schmuck nach Geschlechtergruppen



For explanation see next page

If we compare the use of Taweret amulets across the whole region with the general use of jewellery by women and children during this period, as summarised by Ulrike Dubiel in the above table,¹¹¹ a striking discrepancy emerges – the opposite of the general trend is observed.

THE SHAPE OF THE TAWERET FIGURES

The first Taweret amulets were crafted in the first half of the 6th Dynasty. Like the other amulets of the time, they were small and strung through a perpendicular hole. They were generally rough in shape, often consisting only of outlines. The main view was of the edge of the plaque, which showed only an undulating band. The metal pieces were usually in the form of sheets and could only be strung when a loop was attached to the reverse. This meant that here the profile of the goddess became the main view, which was a much more recognisable and attractive shape. Nevertheless, the method of suspension remained unchanged during the 6th Dynasty and only occasionally changed in later phases. The first such solution in faience originates from the IIB phase.

The goddess's form does not clearly reveal her composite nature. It is evident that she is standing on two short animal legs. However, the leg is so schematic that it is impossible to connect it to any specific animal. Her belly and sometimes her breast protrude, and her head is peculiarly shaped, reminiscent of a hippopotamus's in outline. This identifies the animal. Her back is straight and tapers at the lower end. Therefore, there should be something stuck to her back. In the IIA phase, this is sometimes a separate band with a grooved fishbone pattern. While none of these depict a crocodile, we know from later representations that she was merged with one. The back of a delicately carved IIA ivory amulet (Badari 3185) is the only example that resembles a stylised crocodile. The lower part of this element is sometimes arched. This phenomenon appears in the IIA phase, resulting in an independent typological group. Another new feature is the depiction of the goddess' arm. This first appears on a golden amulet in IB, and then on faience and ivory plaques during the reign of Pepi II (IIA). Due to its length and straightness, it can only depict a human arm.

The elaboration of the pieces is usually limited to the most important parts, the outline, and in special cases, the arm and the band for the crocodile's tail, which is sometimes decorated with grooves. There are cases when the whole figure is so simplified that it can only be recognised when placed in a

111 DUBIEL 2008, 27, table II.3. Here F means female burial, C is child and M is male owner of amulets. The question mark points to uncertain cases. The table thus shows in percentage the number of the owners of any class of amulets according to their gender and time phase. Here we can see, that practically every second female burial contained amulet in all period, from IIC to IIIB even two-third, the amount increased even more in child burials at that time – unlike Taweret amulets where just the opposite process can be observed.

typological series. Individual cases also exist, of course.

This situation can be observed even outside the Qau-Matmar region, for example in Naga ed-Deir or Abydos in the 8th Upper Egyptian nomos, and in Harageh in the 20th Upper Egyptian nomos. I have found only two rare types that I consider to be deliberate innovations (IIA phase): the Wavy-line Taweret and the High Relief Taweret. Both originate from the long-tailed group. Production of the former appears to have ceased in the next period, while the latter merged into Taweret statuettes.

The repetition of the same types, alongside the presence of unique figures, suggests that amulets made from different materials were produced locally. In contrast, the uniform image in the Qau-Matmar region suggests that the patterns originated from a central location where a master sculptor created the sample specimens himself.

THE CIRCLE OF THE TAWERET AMULETS

During the transition period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, Egypt was a fragmented country rife with power struggles. However, the shapes of the amulets remained similar to those of the 6th Dynasty, with little attention paid to the details. Initially, a hole was used for fastening, but a suspension loop attached to the back panel soon became a useful alternative at all materials they were made of. Amulet classes continued to be used in various combinations, typically strung together to form bracelets or necklaces. Taweret also appeared among them. Various assemblages of her amulets were found throughout the period in the Qau-Matmar region; over 30 classes of amulet were identified in them, some of which appeared rarely while others were more common depending on personal preference, prevailing mood, or local characteristics.

Her figure was typically worn alongside at least one other amulet. The only exception I found was the undisturbed child's burial in tomb 521 at Mostagedda. Interestingly, the golden Taweret from tomb 582 in Matmar, which also contained the remains of a child, was accompanied by only one other amulet: a double crown on a *neb* sign. Tomb 959, an undisturbed female burial in the Qau main cemetery, also contained only a crocodile amulet with her, as did tomb 3185 in Badari, where a duckling amulet accompanied her. However, as this tomb was badly looted, it is possible that several other high-quality amulets were placed there and stolen when the owner was removed. The pairings are unique thus they do not permit to take any general conclusion.

In all the other investigated tombs, including those at Naga ed-Deir, Taweret was part of a larger assemblage. The original stringing sequences have only survived on a few occasions, and even then only partially. It is thus unclear whether Taweret amulets had a standard position, or if the various shapes were arranged according to personal preference. Consequently, it is also unclear how the double Taweret amulets were originally located, or what

part of the string they occupied.

The distribution of the accompanying amulets varied from phase to phase and from place to place, but a few general trends can be discerned. Human figures, such as men, women and children, were common during the 6th Dynasty. Initially, male figures were especially popular with her, and during the reign of Pepi II, the popularity of child figures rose, although the number of female amulets also increased. This was the period when twin amulets were made. During the transitional IIB–IIC phases, male and child figures became equally popular, while female amulets decreased significantly before eventually disappearing altogether. No twin amulets are known from these phases. In the second half (i.e. IIC phase), the dwarf amulet appeared. By the IIIA phase, only samples of male and child amulets remained.

Human / Number of tombs	IB	IIA	IIB	IIC	IIIA	all tombs
man	9	6	5	1	1	22
woman	4	3	1	0	0	8
child	4	4	5	1	1	15
twin	1	1	0	0	0	2
dwarf	0	0	0	1	0	1
all together	18	14	11	3	2	48

Body parts are relatively rare among the assemblages containing Taweret amulets. The most common item is the wedjat eye, which is represented throughout each phase. It was most popular during the second half of the 6th Dynasty, experiencing a smaller peak again later during phase IIC. The arm was only present in the initial 6th Dynasty, but became popular during phase IIA. During the 7th-8th Dynasties, it lost its popularity and had disappeared by the end of the FIP. Hand amulets were present continuously, while the fist only appeared at the initial times. Leg amulets were often worn around the ankles, but appeared sometimes strung into the strings around the neck.

Figures of gods known from later iconography are rare, with the exception of Taweret, Heh, a jackal-headed male, and the Hathor head. They are the only examples. The Hathor head was very popular in the 6th Dynasty, but its use decreased significantly in the second half of the transitional period (IIC), and it disappeared by the end of the First Intermediate Period. The man with the palm, or Heh, emerged during the 6th Dynasty, increased slightly in popularity during the next two phases, and returned to its initial level by the end of the period. The jackal-headed person appeared only once, in a special assemblage.

Human body members / number of tombs	IB	IIA	IIB	IIC	IIIA	all
wedjat eye	3	5	2	3	1	14
arm	1	3	1	1	0	6
hand	2	2	2	1	1	8
fist	1	0	0	0	0	1
leg	1	0	2	1	0	4
all	8	10	7	6	2	33

The occurrence of plants in amulet shape beside Taweret amulet was limited to the IIA phase, taking the form of two bunches of grapes (Badari, twice) and once a lotus flower (Mostagedda).

Object amulets attested to in a single phase are the dagger (Mostagedda IB), the hill? (Qau IIA), a ninepins-shaped pendant (Matmar IIA), the *ankh* (Qau IIB) and the knucklebone (Mostagedda IIB). A triangular (arrowhead?) amulet (Badari IB, Mostagedda IIB) and the crown (Matmar IB, Qau IIB) appeared sporadically, during IB and IIB phases.

Taweret amulets were often used alongside amulets in the form of animals or animal heads. Some were used in the form of a head or the whole body, while others took both forms. Certain classes are testified only in one assemblage, such as the uraeus (Badari IB), the sphinx (Badari IIA), the jackal (Qau IIB), the crested crane (Badari IIC) and the fly (Badari IIIA). In these cases, it appears to have been an individual choice. Appearing only during one phase but at several sites, such as the case of the duckling (Qau and Badari IIA) or the hare (Qau, Badari, Mostagedda IB), may also reflect generational feature. The hippo-head seems to be a special case, as it is attested once as an ordinary amulet, and once in the shape of a button seal (Badari IB, *Mostagedda IIB).

Some classes were attached to the Taweret amulets more often, in different phases, such as the scarab, crocodile, scorpion, gazelle head, fish, ibis, cat and bee/hornet. Some were only attested there during the 6th Dynasty. Fish (twice in Badar IB, Mostagedda IIA), gazelle head (Qau IB, Hemamiyeh, Badari IIA), and cat (Badari IB, IIA) belong to this group due to their presence in its two different phases. The apotropaic use of the scarab is also characteristic of the 6th Dynasty period (Qau, Badari IB, Qau, Hemamiyeh, Badari); after which it disappeared from this context. The bee/hornet also emerged in this context during the 6th Dynasty (Badari IB) and continued into the next phase (Qau IIB), it seems although with a small temporary hiatus, and different sits. The situation is similar with the scorpion, amulets (Qau, Mostagedda IB and IIB) and the crocodile (Qau, Hemamiyeh, Matmar IIA, Hemamiyeh IIC). Although started only later, but the use of ibis (Qau, Mostagedda IIB, Badari

IIIA) amulet presents a similar temporary pattern. These were present in two or more phases independently of each other. As there is only one phase between each one, it cannot be excluded that they were also used in between. The use of shell and crocodile amulets is particularly emphasised during the second half of the 6th Dynasty.

Figures of the lion and dog, falcon, monkey, baboon, vulture, frog and ram head were used more often. The last three were the most popular during the 6th Dynasty, and appeared sporadically later. The monkey or baboon and the vulture remained popular for longer. The vulture disappeared in phase IIC, while the other animal disappeared a phase later, as did the falcon. This bird was more popular than any other animal amulet used in the circle of the Taweret amulets, except for the lion- and dog-shaped ones, a trend that continued from the 6th Dynasty to the beginning of the 12th Dynasty.

Animal /number of tombs	IB	IIA	IIB	IIC	IIIA	all
lion and dog	5	7	3	4	1	20
falcon	5	6	3	2	0	16
monkey / baboon	2	2	2	1	0	7
vulture	3	2	2	0	0	7
ram head	2	1	0	1	0	4
frog	3	3	0	0	1	7
shell (cowry etc.)	2	4	0	2	0	8
scorpion	2	0	1	0	0	3
crocodile	0	4	0	1	0	5
ibis	0	0	2	0	1	3
scarab	3	5	0	0	0	8
gazelle head	1	2	0	0	0	3
fish	2	1	0	0	0	4
cat	1	1	0	0	0	2
bee/hornet	1	0	1	0	0	2
duckling	0	2	0	0	0	2
hippo head	1	0	0*	0	0	1
hare	3	0	0	0	0	3
uraeus	1	0	0	0	0	2
sphinx	0	1	0	0	0	1
cresred crane	0	0	0	1	0	1
fly	0	0	0	0	1	1
jackal	0	0	1	0	0	1

*the hippo head appeared also in the form of a button seal during IIB phase.

Based on these statistics, which could, of course, change at any time with the addition of new material, we can assume that the composition of the Taweret amulet circle changed significantly from site to site and over time. However, the standard Taweret amulet circle only included the lion or dog, and almost to the end also the falcon and for a long while the human shapes, the Hathor head and the wedjat eye amulets. All the other classes seem to depend on specific choices. To find more regularity, the knowledge of more material is needed.

THE USE AND FUNCTION OF THE TAWERET AMULETS

Based on the material discussed, the class of the Taweret amulet was created during the first half of the 6th Dynasty, and it was used alongside other small plaque amulets. Production began in the Qau-Matmar region with the long-tailed group. These amulets were occasionally used for children, but they became particularly popular among middle-class women who could afford to be buried in coffins. In these burials, the amulet was always part of a necklace or bracelet, alongside many other classes of amulets primarily featuring human figures (typically men, but also women and children), body parts (such as hands, arms, legs and eyes), the head of Hathor, and images of wild or dangerous animals, but the composition of the assemblages does not seem to be permanent, and even some main constituents were changing. As men were not believed to need the help of these amulets, and no male burial from this period contained this combination of amulets, the set gave protection in special women affairs, the most obvious reason for which could have been childbirth or gynaecological cases. The first assumption seems to be more probable, as the Taweret amulet appeared already in an intact child burial at the time of its creation, without the aforementioned amulets, but with a crown.

Thus, the Taweret amulet was also related to children. The common feature between the female and child spheres is childbirth and child rearing, probably during the breastfeeding period, which ideally lasted three years in ancient Egypt. Therefore, it is highly probable that the Taweret class of amulets were created from the beginning to assist with these activities.

Another question is when they were worn: during life in general, during specific life stages, or only for the afterlife. The latter seems very improbable. Although wear marks are not usually mentioned, given the goddess's function, it is highly probable that the amulets were made for daily use rather than for tombs. Were it a funeral amulet, men would have needed it too because they were also expected to be reborn in the afterlife.

Taweret figures were therefore connected to cases somehow related to birth. Ulrike Dubiel noted that in some cases, younger females had more amulets than older women, as protective objects that were no longer required could be passed on to individuals at greater risk who needed that specific

form of support.¹¹² Applying this theory to the present case suggests that younger women required this level of protection more than older women, and the most probable risk factor to which they were exposed was childbirth, with all its potential consequences and complications. Children also needed this amulet, as they were subject to the same process. However, as their role was considered minor, they needed less protection. Consequently, Taweret amulets and her circle were found in fewer of their burials.

SUMMARY

All these data points to a restricted use of the amulets of the hippopotamus goddess in the burials of the 6th-11th Dynasty period, although we know, that she was important at this time even for a pharaoh. Among the Pyramid Texts we find Pyr 269, §381-82, which is a prayer to her by her Old Kingdom name Ipy, at least in Saqqara: "O my mother Ipy, give me this breast of yours, that I may apply it to my mouth and suck this your white, gleaming, sweet milk! As for yonder land in which I walk, I will neither thirst nor hunger in it for ever." And this maternal care is possibly what ordinary people expected from her, both in the Netherworld and in earthly life.

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