

# Cultural exchange on Malta and Gozo

A study of the *Aegyptiaca* on Malta and Gozo  
from the Phoenician and Punic periods.

**J.L. van Sister**



Front: Golden double amulet from Ghain Klieb:

<http://www.lessing-photo.com/p2/110106/11010613.jpg>

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**15/6/2012**

S0912395

BA3 Thesis

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Leiden, 2012

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## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to offer my thanks to everyone who contributed to this research. This of course includes my direct supervisor dr. Hanna Stöger, without whose knowledge and assistance I would not have gotten this far, and Dr Tesse Stek for guiding the thesis tutorials. I would like to thank Dr Versluys, who was my first supervisor and helped me pick a subject.

My special thanks go to Dr Nicholas Vella from the University of Malta for all his help during the research and the help with retrieving the articles and publications not available in the Netherlands. My thanks go out to Sharon Sultana (curator of the Phoenician collection at the National Museum of Archaeology, Valletta, Malta) and Heritage Malta for allowing me access to the objects available in the National Museum and for the help in finding them. Rebecca Wouda I would like to thank for taking the pictures on Malta, as I myself could not go there. Prof. Olaf Kaper helped me by looking at the objects from the viewpoint of an experienced Egyptologist and helped with the re-interpretation of some of the items. Finally Dr de Jong read my thesis and offered feedback on the religious and cultic matter discussed in the thesis, as well as on the theological framework.

## Introduction

The Maltese Islands are located in the centre of the Mediterranean. Owing to their geographic position these islands have been in the cross-currents of major cultural and political developments which took place in the larger Mediterranean region. Malta's rich archaeology bears witness to these diverse cultural, political, and religious influences. This thesis is concerned with the so-called *Aegyptiaca* found on Malta and the neighboring island of Gozo. This group of artifacts consists of small amulets, pendants, coins, and figurines, but includes also sarcophagi and architectural elements. The majority of the objects come from funerary contexts and share a common iconography related to ancient Egyptian belief systems. These objects have been studied as a group more than 20 years ago by the Austrian Egyptologist Günther Hölbl (1989). Over these years the assemblage of *Aegyptiaca* has increased, including new objects revealed in more recent excavations. Furthermore, new theoretical frameworks have been formulated within the context of culture contact and ancient religion, making this group of artifacts once again an interesting and challenging field of research.

The research question of this thesis relates to the role of *Aegyptiaca* in the context of cultural exchange processes between the Maltese Islands and the wider Mediterranean region during the Phoenician and Punic periods. This study seeks new explanations for the presence and function of these objects, their variety and the choices made by the local and foreign populations who inhabited the islands. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the significance these objects held for the population, this study will systematically examine these *Aegyptiaca* within their cultural setting.

This study applies the term *Aegyptiaca* to group these objects into a more general category; in contrast, the description *Egyptian* would only refer to Egyptian culture or denote objects derived from Egypt proper. Equally misleading would be the use of the descriptive term *Egyptianizing*; this term is often used to refer to objects or written texts relating to Egyptian culture, language or its people, but would exclude objects deriving from Egypt proper. All in all, the term *Aegyptiaca* seems the most appropriate 'label' for these objects, especially since we have not yet been able to determine whether the objects from Malta are Egyptian, Egyptianizing or of local or foreign origin.

This thesis has been divided into three parts followed by the conclusion. The first chapter will focus on the history of Malta and will offer a more detailed outline of the Phoenician

and Punic periods. The historical outline is intended to present a referential framework to place the *Aegyptiaca* within their socio-political and economic setting. The second chapter is concerned with earlier research into the *Aegyptiaca* from Malta. From the examination of earlier published work it could be established that apart from Hölbl's study not much systematic research has been carried out and therefore this thesis attempts to go beyond earlier publications and offers a data-based approach to the group of artifacts. The data-sets and the methodology of assessment will be discussed in chapter three. This chapter deals with the objects comprising Malta's *Aegyptiaca* combining Hölbl's (1989) assessment of artifacts from the Valletta Museum with Sagona's (2002) account of find-contexts and her descriptions of tombs and tomb furniture. This chapter (three) forms the core of this thesis, and in addition to a thorough description of the objects it will examine them within the theoretical frame-work of cultural contact and acculturation. The final chapter (four), by way of conclusion, will present a synthesis of the results achieved by this thesis and will offer suggestions for future research.



# 1. Historical Context

This chapter offers an outline of the history of Malta to provide the background against which we can contextualize the group of *Aegyptiaca* under discussion. As already stated in the introduction this study will focus on the Phoenician and Punic periods, while only a brief general historical outline will be presented of Malta's Prehistory and the more recent historical periods until the Roman Period, this because the *Aegyptiaca* can all be safely dated within this timeframe.

Malta is best known for its rich Prehistory reaching back to the Early Neolithic, usually set at about 7000-5000 BCE. It is possible that there was earlier colonization, but as yet there is no archaeological evidence to support this claim (Trump 2000, 19-20). The prehistoric period of Malta continues until about the first millennium BCE, consisting of many different cultural layers within this large time-frame.

The history or proto-history of Malta starts in the first millennium BCE, comprising two important phases, which are the focus of this research. These phases, the Phoenician and Punic periods, are defined differently by different authors. Trump starts the Phoenician phase "some time before the 7<sup>th</sup> century", while cultural contact with the Italian peninsula occurred as early as 900 BCE (Trump 2000, 22-23), a date which Bonanno also mentions in his book (2005, 6-9). The precise date and the nature of the Phoenician "expansion" are very much subjects of debate. Sagona for example pushes the date for the Phoenician phase back as far as 900 BCE (Sagona 2002, 2), based on the pottery repertoire on the island.

It is generally confirmed that by the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Malta had been in contact with the Phoenicians, as is evidenced by the presence of the rock-cut tombs and the rich material culture dated to that period. The absence of typical Phoenician settlement types and the position of the tombs however are not easy to explain, as the early tombs were not specifically located near the coast of Malta, but more land inwards (Trump 2000, 23), and seem to indicate a different type of colonization than simply setting up a trading post, in which case settlements would be centered more on the harbor areas. The excellent geographical location of the island in the middle of the Mediterranean, close to Sicily as well as Africa, allows for interpreting Malta as having been a strategic post for merchants and military purposes.

Diodorus Siculus wrote in the first century BCE in his *Bibliothekè Historikè*:

*“For to the south of Sicily three islands lie out in the sea, and each of them possesses a city and harbors which can offer safety to ships in rough weather. The first one is called Melite, which lies about 800 stadia from Syracuse and possesses many harbors which offer exceptional advantages, and its inhabitants are blessed in their possessions; for it has artisans skilled in every manner of craft, the most important being those who weave linen, which is remarkably sheer and soft. The dwellings on the island are worthy of note, being ambitiously constructed with cornices and finished in stucco with unusual workmanship.*

*This island is a colony planted by the Phoenicians, who, as they extended their trade to the western ocean, found in it a place of safe retreat, since it was well supplied with harbors and lay out in the open sea; and this is the reason why the inhabitants of this island, since they received assistance in many aspects through the sea-merchants, shot up quickly in their manner of living and increased in renown.*

*After this island there is a second one which bears the name of Gaulos, lying out in the open sea and adorned with well situated harbors, a Phoenician colony.”*  
(Diodorus Siculus V, 12 in Bonanno 2005, 11-12)

This passage specifically mentions the islands of Malta and Gozo (Melite and Gaulos respectively) in connection with fine craftsmanship, excellent harbor facilities and the presence of sea merchants. This supports the aforementioned theory of Phoenician merchants travelling to Malta. Whether they actually settled on the islands, mingled with the local population or just had a stop-over on their journey to the Western Mediterranean is uncertain. The archaeological evidence shows no traces of new Phoenician settlements in this period, but Diodorus Siculus clearly mentions Malta as a Phoenician colony. Bonanno points to Tyre as founder of the colonies on Malta, and attributes their colonization through the Mediterranean to the geomorphology of their homeland, as well as the social pressures and politics in their homeland (Bonanno 2005, 12-13). Because they were surrounded by mountains and larger powers they had to move to the West, crossing the sea, rather than moving towards the East. Malta, because of its geographical location, would then be one of the most useful islands in this process.

Since the name of this phase of Maltese history is based on a cultural complex in the East, most of the authors prefer to end the Phoenician phase on Malta when the Phoenician homeland diminished under the influence of growing powers in the East (such as Assyria and Babylonia), giving preference to the new “Punic” period. This Punic period is often nothing more (or less) than a word used to describe the Western Phoenician World after about 500 BCE. During this period there was unrest in the Mediterranean area. Carthage was growing bigger, while the Greeks, their enemies, were colonizing parts of Italy. Malta thus became an important colony to have because of its geographical position between these two forces. The material culture strongly points to close ties with the Southwestern neighbors, hence the use of the term Punic.

The political influence from Carthage was severely diminished in 218 BCE by Titus Sempronius Longus, after the Romans captured Malta during the Second Punic War. While technically having left the Punic period behind and being under Roman rule, we see a continuation of the older material culture, as well as a continuation of contact with Punic settlements in other parts of the Mediterranean, resulting in what Sagona likes to call the ‘Romano-Punic Period’ (Sagona 2002, 5). The latter is characterized by a material culture very much like the Punic one, and even follows some of the changes in the material culture of Carthage, after Malta has been formally integrated into the Roman Empire. This “Punic persistence” could be attributed to the resistance of a local population to the (in their opinion) invading Romans (van Dommelen 2005). The local inhabitants would fall back on an older culture to resist a new one.



## 2. Earlier Research

The first research into the Aegyptiaca culture on Malta started in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when G.F. Abela, the Vice Chancellor of the Order of St. John, described the anthropomorphic sarcophagus and the little Egyptian idols from the *Phoenician* tombs (Abela 1647 in Hölbl 1989, 23) in his *Descrittione* of Malta (1647). According to him the Phoenicians learned a lot from the Egyptians, as they were descended from them. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the **Gold Amulet band** (catalogue reference 2.2b) was found, which was at first classified as a Phoenician object (Hölbl 1989, 23). Canonico I. Di Constanzo, former owner of the amulet band, refers back to Abela's theories when explaining the Egyptianizing representations and the Phoenician inscription on the golden object (Hölbl 1989, 23).

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century D. F. Münter worked on the "Spuren ägyptischer Religionsbegriffe" (Münter 1806 in Hölbl 1989, 24) on Sicily and the islands nearby, explaining how Egyptian religion spread to the West during the 26<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> dynasties. This theory tried to explain the contemporary finds of his time, as the sarcophagus found in 1624 was not completely Egyptian in style, and neither was the golden amulet described by Abela. Münter states that these could signify the adoption of secret Egyptian scenes by the Phoenicians, which changed the original characters slightly (Münter 1806 in Hölbl 1989, 24). According to Münter Egyptian deities would have had to be worshipped on Malta, or at the least the Egyptians must have settled there, resulting in the great influence on material culture.

This theory was refuted by O. Bres in 1816. Bres argued, in contrast to Münter, for the adaptation of Egyptian religion by the Phoenicians, who only changed the style of the deities slightly. Bres assumed that the Egyptians and the Phoenicians shared some religious views; hence their gods could be portrayed in the same way (Bres 1816 in Hölbl 1989, 25).

In 1860 the scientific research on the tombs of Malta took a leap forward, prompted by the establishment of the Archaeological and Geological Society of Malta, which was concerned with the intellectual pursuit and the need to increase the examination and the conservation of the monuments, resulting in active fieldwork. This Society was assisted by the Maltese government, giving an advantage to the archaeological investigations (Sagona 2002, 13). In 1861 Dr E. Charlton addressed the Society of Antiquities of

Newcastle about some pottery recovered from a tomb at Malta which he found “nearer to the Egyptian and Phoenician type than to that of Greece and Southern Italy” (Charlton 1861).

We encounter new fluctuations in the interpretation of the material at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Cesare Vassallo, the librarian and the curator of the small collection of antiquities inside Malta’s Public Library, also supported the theory of an Egyptian settlement period. In his research he created the distinction between the Phoenician period, which contained the Prehistoric temples, and the Egyptian period, based on a grave, the sarcophagus, some *Aegyptiaca* and mostly on the golden amulet band mentioned before (Hölbl 1989, 25). Vassallo’s vision however did not find much support. A.L. Adams, during his research on the extensive nature of the isolated tombs and catacombs, did not recognize any Phoenician elements in the tombs at all, attributing all elements as belonging to the Greeks or the Romans. One element which is shared by all early studies however was the misconception about Malta’s Prehistoric temples since all early scholars attributed them to Phoenician (Sagona 2002, 14). This misconception remained standing until 1909, when Albert Mayr laid the foundation for the modern scientific assessment of the antiquities of Malta (Stöger 2000), which also included the *Aegyptiaca* (Hölbl 1989, 26).

A.A. Caruana, who succeeded Vasallo as librarian and curator, tried to create an overview of the extensive rock-cut cemeteries of the Maltese islands and presented his paper to the government, which funded him for his research. Caruana thought the formation of a Museum of Local Antiquities in Gozo to be a good incentive for tourism and proposed the archaeological exploration of endangered areas (Sagona 2002, 18). Sagona summarizes: “*The greatest legacy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeological pursuits was to bring the monuments under some government protection and to have drawn together individuals from all walks of life, for whom Malta’s rich past mattered. Eventually, from their initiatives, came legislation protecting the monuments, the development of the Museum proper, not just as an arm of the Public Library and a systematic approach to the investigations of ancient sites* (Sagona 2002, 18).”

Between 1910 and 1924 P.F. Bellanti wrote about Punic tombs, adding new insights to the research already conducted and published. While his work shows some disadvantages (his off-shore comparisons between Maltese objects and parallels elsewhere are out of date and his conclusions are bound by the contemporary limitations), he is one of the first

researchers to try and piece the available data together. While struggling to understand the exact relationship between the Prehistoric remains and Phoenician settlers, he saw patterns emerging and appreciated the value of precise details in archaeology (Sagona 2002, 21). He was the first to record the stratigraphic information acquired in excavations, and locally pioneered the analysis of soils from tombs.

Sir Themistocles Zammit, who served as the Rector of the University of Malta and was the first Director of the National Museum of Archaeology in Valetta, was renowned for his methodological *modus operandi*, drawing sketches of the tombs, providing measurements and information on the objects found in the tombs. Since most of the tombs had been raided or destroyed in the course of agricultural activities his main driving force was to discover intact tombs. Without doubt these would be more useful for the reconstruction of the standard repertoire of funerary pottery given to an individual burial. Nevertheless, he still measured and recorded the rifled tombs he encountered in his professional activities (Sagona 2002, 18-21). Another aim of the early archaeological work was to find and collect objects worthy of display in the museum.

Tancred Gouder, curator of the National Museum of Archaeology, Valletta, made a detailed study on amulets from Phoenician Malta, which are in fact most of the objects discussed in this work. His analysis of the amulets has led to a greater understanding of their nature and of their origin. In 1989 Günther Hölbl published his “*Ägyptisches Kulturgut auf den Inseln Malta und Gozo in phönikischer und punischer Zeit*”, a book dealing with every object Hölbl could find, and accompanied by a catalogue of the relevant objects in the museum of Valetta. This is also the book used largely for this research, as it is the most complete collection of data available. Hölbl’s publication contains an impressive amount of information, but it is not structured very well and focuses on the objects as material culture, leaving out discussions about the context and meaning of the objects in a broader perspective.

Anthony Bonanno, Head of Department of Classics and Archaeology at the University of Malta, has done extensive research into the history of Malta, and specifically into the Phoenician, Punic and Roman periods. In his 2005 publication he offers a detailed overview of the history of the Maltese archipelago and the sites associated with it. This publication offered a clear chronology and helps to put everything in its correct context and perspective.

G.A. Said-Zammit's work from 1997 on the population, land use and settlement on Punic Malta gives a rich overview of the context and landscape on Malta, as well as offers an extensive amount of data on the land use and the funerary landscape on the islands.

Claudia Sagona has carried out an astonishing amount of work analyzing the ceramic evidence Malta has to offer. In her publications she has combined her knowledge with the archaeological evidence, and created a typology for the pottery from Punic Malta. This has greatly contributed to the understanding of the tombs, and to the dating of them.

This thesis is based mostly on the studies carried out by Sagona and Hölbl, and will re-examine their work. By combining these sources an overview can be given, both of the material items, as well as of the cultural and theoretical issues linking them.



### 3. Aegyptiaca: A contextual study and interpretation of the material evidence

This research is focused on the fifty objects described in Hölbl's catalogue and the objects and architectural elements mentioned in his chapters (Hölbl 1989). This study does not include the many types of pottery described by Sagona (2002); this decision was made albeit the fact that pottery can be linked to various acculturation processes. Within the remit of this thesis however, pottery would not have added significant insights since it is a more widely spread phenomenon than for example statuettes of 'foreign' gods and amulets. Moreover pottery has already extensively been researched by Sagona. Most of the pottery is used in the daily life of people, and therefore has a different purpose from the artifacts under discussion in this thesis. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of pottery has been retrieved from funerary contexts, but nearly none of it has the Egyptian or Egyptianizing values of the objects researched, but instead were local wares or Phoenician/Punic wares. This thesis will also not include four Egyptian *stelae* which have been found on Malta, as recent research has pointed out that they seem to have been moved to Malta in a later period, probably in Roman times (Young *et al* 2009).

Since this study is based on previously published material, it is important to understand the methodology applied by earlier researchers to date and interpret the objects. As the exact provenience of the material is not always well recorded, and hardly any tombs have been excavated in a scientific way, reliable dates are difficult to establish. Hölbl examined the objects as an Egyptologist and dated a great amount of them by comparing typologies and finding parallels. In contrast, Sagona worked from a ceramic point of view and created her own chronology based on the typology of pottery and the context of the finds. This thesis aims at offering the combined evidence, drawing on Hölbl's and on Sagona's work.

In the following sections the material objects and their function, meaning and purpose will be discussed, following the order of the catalogue (see Appendix B). The objects under study have been grouped into four main categories: sarcophagi, amulets, coins and 'architectural elements and statues'. Figure 1 displays a map of Malta and Gozo, on which the find locations of our assemblage of *Aegyptiaca* are shown.

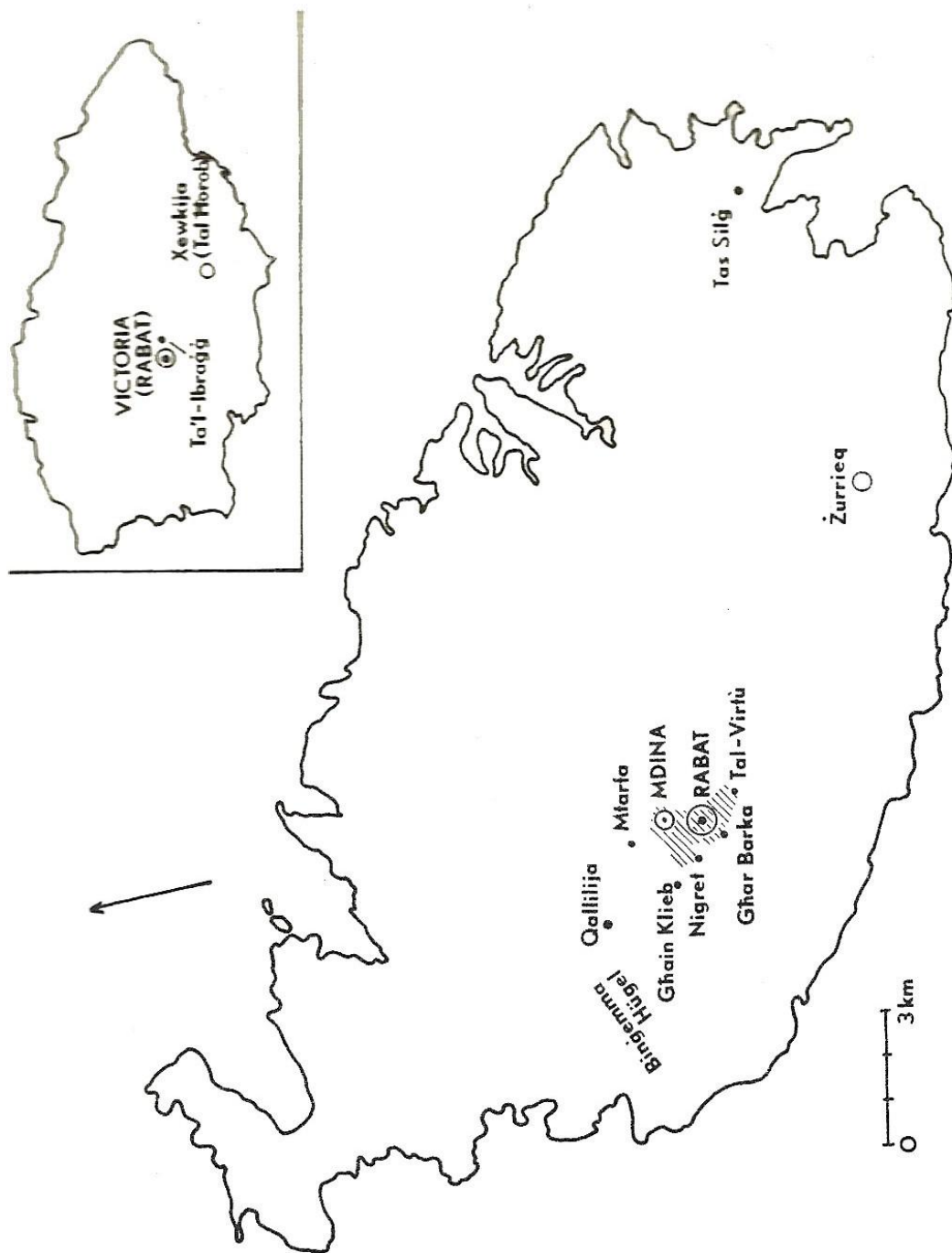


Figure 1: Map of Malta and Gozo displaying the provenience of the *Aegyptiaca* (source: Hölbl 1989, 30)

### 3.1 Sarcophagi

Sarcophagi are a valuable source of information on religious beliefs and more specifically on the cult of the dead. The fact that these sarcophagi are present in Malta suggests that conscious choices were made for adopting burial customs that were inspired by Egyptian belief systems. Furthermore, it reflects on the various ways cultural and religious influences could be combined to fit the demand of the people.

On Malta several 'Egyptianizing' sarcophagi have surfaced from the tombs found at Ghar Barka near Rabat, of which only one is currently present in the National Museum of Valletta (Hölbl 1989, 132; Sagona 2002, 818-819). Another one of the sarcophagi has been drawn and published in Abela's *descrittione* of 1647 (Figure 1) and two other sarcophagi are mentioned by Abela (Abela 1647, 153), but are now missing. It is unclear how many sarcophagi have actually surfaced during the excavations, as the sources seem to disagree on the amount and most of them have gone missing. We can be sure of three sarcophagi: the one depicted in Abela, the terracotta sarcophagus in the Museum of Archaeology and a third one found in the vicinity of Victoria on Gozo (Hölbl 1989, 132).



**Figure 2: Egyptianizing sarcophagus (source: Hölbl 1989, 133 Abb. 6)**

The sarcophagus displayed in figure 2 (catalogue 1.1) appears to have been made from one piece and contained a small opening lid. The head and feet of the sarcophagus are shaped like those of a human. An Egyptian wig is present on the head and falls onto the shoulders, a feature known from many parallels of Egyptian or Egyptianizing sarcophagi, such as those from Palestine (Hölbl 1989, 145). Apart from the wig the style of the sarcophagus does not appear to be Egyptian, but possibly Hellenistic or Roman.

The terracotta sarcophagus present in the National Museum of Valetta (catalogue 1.2) is in a different style when comparing it to the one from figure 2. The lid is considerably bigger and rather than a small opening in the middle as shown in sarcophagus 1.1, the terracotta sarcophagus has a lid that covers the entire sarcophagus. The lid itself is shaped in a similar way to a mummified woman of which the head and toes are molded into the lid, and has discrete elevations at the position of the breasts (Hölbl 1989, 134). Hölbl dates the sarcophagus to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE by looking at the stylistic elements of the

face. These elements are comparable to other Phoenician sarcophagi found in the West of the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> Moscati's observation concerning Phoenician stone sarcophagi might also be valid for the terracotta sarcophagus from Malta: "*The Phoenician stone sarcophagi are a genre of Egyptian origin, not only in their inspiration but often also in the models used.*" (Moscati 1989, 292).

### **Interpretation of the presence of sarcophagi**

Throughout the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean, Egyptian or Egyptianizing sarcophagi were encountered and documented. The Phoenicians adapted many aspects of the Egyptian religion, but it is uncertain whether this process of adaptation also included the extensive burial rites the Egyptians performed. Hölbl puts the start of the appearance of Egyptian/Egyptianizing coffins in the Palestinian Late Bronze Ages in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and attributes the sarcophagi to Egyptian officials or soldiers (Hölbl 1989, 135). He also mentions some sarcophagi used by royal families in Sidon, possibly spoils of war (Hölbl 1989, 138-139). The sarcophagi on Malta are probably introduced by the Phoenician settlers, and the small quantity of them tells us that it was not common practice to be buried in one, but it was reserved for the upper end of society, maybe local aristocrats or for Phoenician settlers of high social standing.

While in the Near East the presence of sarcophagi could have been explained by the Egyptian domination in the area, it might also have been the result of *cultural resistance*. The indigenous people might have consciously chosen for using the Egyptian type of sarcophagi to resist the dominating culture. Their *cultural identity* enables them to "*group themselves together and set themselves apart from others*" (van Dommelen 2005, 26), and thus plays an important part in the communal identity of the indigenous people. By adopting new customs and changing their own *cultural identity* they clearly make it their **own** decision rather than submitting to forced change, which would be set in motion by invading cultures. The presence of sarcophagi on Malta might not so much be an act of cultural resistance, but rather a statement used by the new invading culture, the Phoenicians, and not so much one used by the indigenous population.

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<sup>1</sup> For a step by step comparison of elements see Hölbl 1989, 142-143.

### ***3.2 Amulets***

The largest part of the *Aegyptiaca* can be grouped together in the category of amulets. This group contains many different forms and materials, each associated with a different deity or function (for a brief overview of deities appearing in this thesis see appendix A). Amulets were important in both the daily life as well as the afterlife. Phoenicians believed that they required protection from malevolent spirits, who were everywhere and were responsible for all the daily hazards. Amulets would offer protection against these spirits (Gouder 1978, 311) and could be worn around the neck on a chain attached by their hanging loops. Most of the amulets from Phoenician Malta are, according to Gouder: “*undoubtedly of Egyptian inspiration and are in fact mostly Egyptian importations*” (1978, 311). Carthage revealed a similar assemblage comprising a vast amount of imported Egyptian objects and copies (Moscati 1989, 208). The vast amount of *Aegyptiaca* (scarabs and amulets) found in tombs not only on Malta, but throughout the Mediterranean, is a clear indicator of the importance of Egyptian religious beliefs throughout the Phoenician world (Moscati 1989, 394; Schmitz 2002, 819).

Most amulets are representations of a deity or can otherwise be linked to a cult associated with them. The Maltese assemblage of amulets however does not provide a clear link to cultic activities (Gouder 1978, 315). The cult of Isis, although popular throughout the Mediterranean, is virtually absent from Malta and Gozo. Only a few depictions of Isis can be found, while the main deity worshipped on the islands was Astarte or a syncretic form of Astarte, such as Astarte-Hera (Bricault 2001, 146). The Egyptian iconography, as shown on the *Aegyptiaca*, is the product of a series of modifications and changes, both by Phoenician influences and by local responses. Undoubtedly this must have had its effect on the rituals and other religious purposes associated with the objects, as the meaning has been changed and sometimes even lost in the processes of adaptation and change.

#### **3.2.1 Amulet containers**

A good example for the importance of Egyptian belief systems within the Phoenician religious world can be seen from the **amulet sheath** (catalogue 2.1). This amulet was found in a destroyed tomb in Tal Virtu in 1968, containing a fragmented piece of papyrus inside the container (Sagona 2002, 1089). The container itself has a hawk’s head with solar disc and *uraeus* and can be interpreted as being the head of the Egyptian solar deity Horus. The amulet-sheath belongs to a type of imitations of Egyptian prototype amulets,

which were diffused through the Phoenician colonies and cities (Gouder 1978, 314). Most of the amulet has been preserved, apart from a small part of the lower tubular part (Gouder 1978, 313), which corroded over the ages. The papyrus is only missing a small part of the original surface, allowing a full textual interpretation of the contents. The papyrus, as can be seen in figure 2, contains a Phoenician inscription and a representation of the goddess Isis. Isis is facing right and is wearing a long dress with a belt around her waist. In her hands she holds a large scepter and an ankh, signifying the living, and on her head is a three-part wig with a throne. The inscription is a typical case of an enemy destruction spell and can be translated as follows:

*“Laugh at your enemy O valiant ones.  
 scorn, assail and crush your adversary.  
 ... disdain (him), trample (him) on the waters:  
 ... moreover prostrate (him)  
 ... on the sea, bind (him), hang (him)!”*  
 (source Tancred Gouder, 1978)



**Figure 3: Piece of papyrus from the amulet sheath (source: Gouder 1978, 315, fig. 2)**

According to Gouder these were the words Isis used to help the deceased to conquer a mythical adversary blocking the way to the Netherworld. The depiction of Isis on the papyrus is to be expected not only because of her high prestige under the Egyptian gods, but also because of her role as a protector of the dead (Gouder 1978, 314). Gouder thus interprets the text by looking at the function of Isis, a connection which Hölbl strengthens by making a link to Isis' victory over death in the Osiris myth (Hölbl 1989, 118). Hölbl however questions the original interpretation of the text itself, as the text was written in Phoenician (Hölbl 1989, 118) and hence would not qualify as an original Egyptian text. Hölbl claims that a connection between the papyrus and the amulet sheath can be established through the Horus myth, in which case the fiend in the incantation could be Apophis or the Seth creature (1989, 122-1223). Notwithstanding this link we need to keep in mind that Hölbl made the same mistake he accused Gouder of making: the text was written in Phoenician, therefore we cannot simply interpret its meaning by only looking at Egyptian parallels. One must look at the Egyptian as well as the Phoenician factors encountered in this case, as well as the changes brought upon them through the interactions, which would have taken place. The combination of the Phoenician and

Egyptian religious aspects and the changes that were made to them create problems related with the exact interpretation of the object.

This amulet holder and its content however do demonstrate the importance of Egyptian or Egyptianizing magic within the cults and religions practiced by the (possibly local) community who equip their dead with such an amulet. We also have to bear in mind what Ciasca said: “*The Phoenician rites must have been amalgamated with the local religious tradition*” (Ciasca in Moscati 1988, 206), reminding us to include the local interactions with the Phoenician culture. Although it was also common in mortuary practice to bury the deceased with status and prestige objects, in the case of the amulet container we can however exclude that it served simply as a prestige object since the iconography and the text on the papyrus clearly relate to death and afterlife. The only conclusion we can safely draw is that the amulet had some kind of religious value for the owner, but not necessarily the value attributed to it by the Egyptians.

Another **amulet holder** with contents (2.2a and 2.2b) has surfaced in a chamber grave at Ghar Barka, of which no further information is known to us about the context of the tomb or the finds within it (Sagona 2002, 819). Amulet holders that could be worn around the neck often contained a scroll made from papyrus or metal meant to protect the wearer from sickness, dangerous animals or to improve fertility (Hölbl 1989, 104-105). The amulet holder itself displays a bearded man on the front and was not made in an Egyptian style<sup>2</sup>, and is one of a kind in its appearance (Hölbl 1989, 108). Inside the amulet a golden amulet band with Phoenician inscriptions and depictions of figures was found, representing a good copy of an Egyptian decan list (Hölbl 1989, 112). A ‘decan’ is an Egyptian representation of a small constellation, of which the rising and setting allowed the Egyptians to make use of temporal units associated with them. The 36 original decans each represented 10 days, to form a total of 360 days per Egyptian year. As parallels of the list have been found at Carthage, Sardinia and Tharros, the separate panels can be compared to one another. Many of the lions and snakes displayed on our amulet band (the first 52 registers, as numbered by Hölbl (Hölbl 1989, 107)) can indeed be found on the other lists as well. For a detailed iconographic analysis of the list and its different

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<sup>2</sup> Personal communication from prof. Olaf Kaper, Egyptologist.

elements see Hölbl 1989, as it will be beyond the scope of this study to discuss each panel separately. Just as with the parallels from Carthage and Tharros, the Maltese list contains an inscription invoking a deity to protect its wearer. In this case it reads: “Protect and bless PDY, son of HSLB’L, son of B’LHN” (Hölbl 1989, 112-113). Just as it is the case with the **amulet sheath** (2.1) discussed above, the amulet with the bearded man (2.2a and 2.2b) and its content witness to the unique position of Malta within the cultural exchanges between the East and the West, as the Egyptian religion became incorporated into the Phoenician East and Punic West, as can also be seen in the decan list found in Carthage. The similarities between the Carthaginian and the Maltese versions show the close connection that existed between the two regions.

### 3.2.2 Amulets displaying Levantine influences

The amulet of **Amon** (2.3) found at Tal-Horob (Gozo) shows the unique position of the Maltese islands within the cultural contacts and trading routes between the eastern and Western Mediterranean. The amulet depicts Amon with the Egyptian feather crown and beard, as well as the typical Egyptian positioning of the arms and legs. While the Egyptian deities from the Delta were often adapted by the Greek and the Phoenicians, statues of Amon are quite rare outside the Theban areas and were not often found in the Mediterranean (Hölbl 1989, 43). The statue of **Ra-Harakthi** (2.4) has a falcon’s head with a solar disc and an *uraeus* (an iconographical Egyptian snake, usually placed on the head of a deity or ruler, but also used separately), along with a three-part wig and a pleated loincloth. This combination of symbols is commonly found in Egypt, but is not well attested outside of Egypt, just like the image of Amon (2.3). Another **falcon-headed amulet** (2.5) has been found in Room 38 of the Tas-Silg temple complex (Ciasca 1966 in Hölbl 1989, 192). This bronze amulet has been heavily corroded, creating difficulties when properly describing and analyzing it. The anthropomorphic Horus carries a three-part wig on his falcon-head and has his left hand in a peculiar position, as if holding something.

Many Phoenician and Punic amulets and scarabs throughout the Mediterranean show a falcon-headed figure (often with a solar disk), which can be connected to the Phoenician god Baal and the Canaanite God Haurôn (Hölbl 1989, 46). They give us a clear example of how Egyptian and Canaanite influences came together in the Phoenician religion. The god Haurôn is an interesting case by itself; this Lebanese or Syro-Palestinian god was



adopted by the Egyptians and fully incorporated into their pantheon, probably brought back by soldiers having served in these regions (Zivie-Choche 2011, 3) or adopted by high Egyptian officials. Haurôn's iconography was then changed to comply with the Egyptian standards. Once this acculturation process was finished, the deity returned to the Near East in its changed form (Zivie-Coche 2011, 7). A text from Ugarit shows a close relationship between Haurôn and Astarte, another deity later adopted by the Egyptians as well as the Phoenicians. Haurôn may have been considered as her son and young lover, allowing for an easy comparison and association with the Egyptian Isis and Horus relationship (Albright 1941, 11). Hence the iconography of Haurôn in the Egyptian pantheon is similar to that of Horus, as both were associated with the falcon.

A very interesting falcon-headed amulet was found in a chamber tomb at Ghain Klieb. This **golden amulet** (2.6) consists of two figurines standing back to back, soldered together at the square base and at the top. The figurines were originally created as two separate entities with hanging loops and were soldered together at a later date, indicating a re-purposing of the amulets. The figurines are both anthropomorphic and both have a solar disc on their head and hold a flail (Egyptian symbol of sovereignty) and ankh (symbol of life) in their hands. One of the two figurines has the head of a falcon and the other of a jackal and they are often interpreted as being Horus and Anubis (Bonanno 2005, 65; Gouder 1978, 311; Hölbl 1989, 99). The representation of the jackal with a solar disc is not often used and could indicate two things: one, the figure might represent Anubis-Re, a late syncretic deity originally combining Anubis (the jackal god) and Ra, resulting in the strange iconographic mix of the two, or two, the figurine represents Anubis as he could have been adapted by the Phoenicians. The syncretic deity Anubis-Re is quite late in the chronology of Egypt, usually placed around the Roman period. However, since the figures can be dated to the mid of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, we can assume that it does not represent Anubis-Re. Hölbl therefore argues for a Phoenician-produced amulet. To strengthen his argument he points to the rare combination of objects in their hands (ankh and flail) and the solar disc on the head of 'Anubis'; adding that Phoenicians often placed solar discs on the heads of Egyptian gods (Hölbl 1989, 99 -100). Gouder argues that the *“queer combination of symbols in their hands – ankh and flail instead of crook and flail- has no meaning in Egyptian terms and points to imperfect understanding of Egyptian iconography”*, thus pointing to a Syro-Palestinian origin for the figurines (Gouder 1978, 313). Contrary to all these published interpretations, there are good reasons to argue that

the amulet was indeed originally produced in Egypt. Since the small figurines are crafted in such detail, Olaf Kaper claims that the high quality workmanship could only point to Egyptian craftsmen, as a copy would not show this exceptional level of detail in the same style the Egyptians would have.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the fact that not many parallels exist of this type of object outside of Egypt, only contributes to the assumption that it is of Egyptian origin.

If the figurines were indeed made in Egypt, the combination of the symbols is still a point of discussion. According to Prof. Kaper the combination of the symbols is undeniably peculiar, but not impossible or improbable.<sup>4</sup> As the figures can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or the Late Period of ancient Egypt, more creativity and variation was discernible in the iconography, allowing the combination of ankh and flail. Within funerary contexts the presence of these specific symbols is not too surprising. It is however necessary to doubt the original classification and identification of the deities themselves. Kaper's interpretation identifies Qebehsenuef (falcon-head) and Duamutef (jackal-head) as the deities venerated or depicted in this case.<sup>5</sup> These two deities are two of the four sons of Horus, who had the task of guarding the intestines of a mummy. Duamutef and Qebehsenuef were often displayed together when not grouped with their two other brothers, and have a good reason to be present in a chamber tomb.

Considering these possible interpretations we can still not determine with certainty where these figurines had their origins and how they can be interpreted. Nevertheless both arguments, Kaper's Egyptian origins and Gouder's and Hölbl's Phoenician provenience, connect these figurines to the protection of the deceased. While the one puts the origin of the figurines in Egypt and identifies them as sons of Horus, the other points to a Near Eastern origin and identifies the amulets as Anubis and Horus. Since the figurines were adopted by the Phoenicians and possibly repurposed by them and the indigenous people of the Maltese islands, only future research and comparisons can help to shed more light on this case.

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<sup>3</sup> Personal communication from Prof. Olaf Kaper, Egyptologist.

<sup>4</sup> Personal communication from Prof. Olaf Kaper, Egyptologist.

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication from Prof. Olaf Kaper, Egyptologist.

Also originating from Ghain Klieb, but from a different tomb, are **three parts of a gilded bracelet** (2.7), originally made from silver (Hölbl 1989, 124). These pieces are clearly not from an Egyptian workshop, but are Egyptianizing Phoenician productions (Hölbl 1989, 124), merging Egyptian and Near Eastern influences. In the middle of the three registers a tree is formed of stylized lotus flower volutes alternating with palmettes (Moscati 1988, 374), a motif more often encountered in Egyptianizing Phoenician art, as can be seen from parallels from Cyprus, Carthage and Sardinia (Hölbl 1989, 124). This tree can be seen as a symbol of fertility and revival, or as the sacred tree, which might support the heavenly space, as in the Sumerian mythology (Hölbl 1989, 127-128). Two griffins of the Syrian-Palestinian type with Phoenician wings are flanking the tree (Hölbl 1989, 125). While the griffins are not displayed in an Egyptian style, the symbolism associated with the griffins might still remain essentially Egyptian. The Egyptian griffin was an apotropaic power, a defender of the king, also associated with war (Goldman 1960, 327). It could also be seen as a symbol of the sun or the incarnation of the sun god rising in the East, or the embodiment of overcoming death and renewing life (Hölbl 1989, 127). In the Near East the griffin often appears in combination with the 'sacred tree' (Goldman 1960, 327), an image we see repeated on our bracelet pieces. The iconography and the symbolic meaning of the griffin are rather complicated since the griffin was adapted by different cultures (Egyptians and Minoan-Myceneans), and changed slightly, before returning back to the Near East (Goldman 1960, 327), just as it happened with the earlier mentioned deity Haurôn.

There are however also purely Egyptian motifs displayed on the bracelet parts. Above the tree and the griffins is a winged sun flanked by two *uraei*, both with solar disks. The winged solar disc was originally a symbol of the Egyptian deity Horus. In fact, the *uraei* became a standard attribute of Horus in the Old Kingdom (Vella 2000, 38). The winged sun is frequently featured in Phoenician art, so its presence here is not surprising. The connection with the sun god was reinforced through the combination of the winged sun and the griffin, as the griffin was often connected to solar symbolism in later representations (Goldman 1960, 327 - 328). Many parallels of such a combination have been found throughout the Mediterranean (Goldman 1960, 327), for example on bowls found in Nimrud. Hence the item from Malta clearly illustrates the complex cultural exchanges that have taken place over the course of the second and first millennium BCE,

combining Levantine/ Syrian influences with the Egyptian iconography in a Phoenician context.

A **golden amulet** (2.8) combining Egyptian and Assyrian influences was found in a chamber tomb near Rabat. The amulet gives us a clear example of how the Egyptian iconography was adopted and changed by the Phoenicians. Two snakes with granulated solar discs above their heads are flanking a mountain or hill. The hill is rendered in the same 'granulated' technique used for the depiction of hills or mountains in Assyrian palace reliefs (Hölbl 1989, 101-102) or on Phoenician metal bowls, such as the one originating from the Bernardini tomb at Praeneste (Fig. 4).



Figure 4: Detail from a bowl from Praeneste showing a hill rendered in the 'granulated' technique (source: Vella 2008, 27, fig. 2b)

Displayed between the two snakes above the hill is the Phoenician symbol of the sun and moon, pointing to the cosmic subject matter of the picture (Hölbl 1989, 102). At the top of the amulet a winged sun (associated with either Horus or Baal) is displayed in the granulation technique. The way this typical Egyptian symbol is displayed, namely in a non-Egyptian style, shows us the manner in which cultural traits were fused together to create a new meaning. The amulet itself is an import from Carthage, as research by Hölbl has pointed out (Hölbl 1989, 103). The amulet had its protective effect after the death of the owner, in contrast to many of the faience amulets, which were meant to protect the owner in life.

### 3.2.3 Amulets depicting Egyptian deities

More amulets associated with deities originating from Egypt came to light at Tal-Horob (Gozo), such as the **Mut Aegis** (2.9), the **Lion-headed goddess** (2.10) and **Lion-headed Bastet** (2.11). The Aegis is an Egyptian import and shows the *aegis* (collar) and head of the Theban goddess Mut, the latter is identified by the presence of the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt on her wig, worn only by men, gods and Mut (Capel and Markoe 1996, 128). The amulet was worn as a form of protection. Since all goddesses could be seen as being wives and mothers, Mut was connected to



Figure 5: Statue of Sekhmet at the temple of Mut (source:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/temple\\_mout/photo/mout\\_08.jpg](http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/temple_mout/photo/mout_08.jpg) )

Amon-Ra and their son Khonsu (Capel and Markoe 1996, 129). Mut's connection to the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, who originated in the Memphis area (Hölbl 1989, 46-48), is quite significant and our Lion-headed goddess might well be a representation of Sekmeth. The connection between these deities can be deduced from the presence of statues of the lion-headed goddess in the temple of Mut in Karnak, as can be seen in figure 5 (Capel and Markoe 1998, 135). While the presence of the lion-headed goddess might indicate at least a connection between the deities, it might also represent a syncretic form of Sekhmet-Mut. Sekhmet was often associated with medicine and healing arts and was the spouse of Ptah (Capel and Markoe 1998, 134-135). The lion-headed Bastet found at Tal-Horob should be approached from the same context. Bastet was usually depicted with a cat's head, especially during the later Egyptian period. In the case of the Maltese amulet that represents Bastet, the goddess is clearly identified from the inscriptions on the pillar at the back of the amulet; the inscription hails Bastet with her titles.

The **Head of Shu** (2.12) belongs to an Egyptian deity whose role it was to separate earth and sky (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 349-350). His presence in tombs can be explained by his ability to give breath to the deceased. The piece found at Tal-Horob is very deformed, and even though amulets of Shu were very popular in the Phoenician/Punic West, a comparative analysis is difficult to make because of its fragmentary state.

The amulets of **Thoth** (2.13), **Thoeris** (2.14) and an **Ibis** (2.15) can be related primarily to female fertility and the protection of birth and motherhood, even though Thoth is usually represented differently when connected to fertility. The Ibis amulet does not come from Tal-Horob (as the others do) but from a grave in Ta'l Ibragg (Rabat, Gozo). The ibis was a mythological representation of the god Thoth (in this case shown as an anthropomorphic figure with the head of an ibis) and can therefore be discussed in connection with the other amulets for this research.

Two more amulets need to be mentioned within the context of female fertility, birth and motherhood: one is the amulet of a **Male Baboon** (2.16) also from Tal-Horob, the other depicts a **Female baboon** (2.17) from Mtarfa. The male Baboon amulet has its origin in the Nile-valley. It can be interpreted as a fertility symbol, as well as an incarnation of the god Thoth (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 350). This type of amulet is well attested in the Phoenician and Punic realm, with one of the best parallels found in 'Atlit (Israel). There an amulet depicting a baboon was found between the legs of a buried female,

showing a clear connection to the female fertility (Hölbl 1989, 59). At Mtarfa an amulet of a **Female baboon** (2.17) was uncovered which does not originate from Egypt, but was crafted elsewhere, as was determined by looking at the stylistic elements of the object and comparing them with parallels (Hölbl 1989, 60).

The excavations at Tal-Horob uncovered an assemblage of **Pataikoi** (2.18-2.21), while another **Pataikos** (2.22) was found in the vicinity of Rabat. Pataikoi were described already by Herodotus as being used as the figureheads on the bow of Phoenician ships, comparing them to images of the Egyptian deity Ptah (Rawlinson 1889, 95). The small, inconspicuous dwarf figures could have been regarded as amulets to protect the crew and the vessel they sailed on (Rawlinson 1889, 95). The term *Pataikos* was also used in general to describe people of a short stature (Hirschmann 2012). This type of amulets was widely-spread and probably had a protective purpose (Hölbl 1989, 50-53). Dwarfs were already seen as protectors against serpents and other animals in Egypt (Dasen 2008, 4). The presence of the cap of Ptah on two of the *Pataikoi* (2.22 and 2.20) led Hölbl to believe that the *pataikoi* were dwarfish manifestations of the god Ptah, an explanation offered by Kozma (Kozma 2006, 303) and affirmed by Dasen (Dasen 2008, 4). Ptah was the creator of mankind and gave humans breath, but was also worshipped as the god of artisans (Dasen 2008, 4; Dunand and Zivie-Choche 2004, 348; Kozma 2006, 308). While Ptah is usually depicted as a bearded man, wrapped like a mummy and wearing a tight cap (Dunand and Zivie-Choche 2004, 348; Kozma 2006, 308), he is also depicted as an achondroplastic dwarf, a representation often used on amulets (Kozma 2006, 308). Herodotus called this god the Pataikos, due to its similarity with the Phoenician *Pataikoi*. (Herodotus 3.37). Another possibility is also offered by Dasen, who explains the rise of the *pataikos* as a protective amulet in the Late Period as a result of contact with the Phoenicians, in which case the solar elements of dwarfs would have been primary elements (Dasen 2008, 4). Undoubtedly, all *pataikoi* have a strong connection to the earth, the circulation of nature and the powers of rebirth (Hölbl 1989, 50-53), and could be linked to representations of the god **Bes** through their iconography and meaning.

It is thus not surprising to encounter amulets of the dwarf god **Bes** (2.23-2.26) at Tal-Horob and Rabat. While Bes was depicted as being monstrous and being a crippled dwarf (often with a crown), he was said to have magical powers in the fields of love, fertility and childbirth, as well as having the power to offer protection against snakes and scorpions (Hölbl 1989, 53-57; Dunand and Zivie-Choche 2004; 344; Kozma 2006, 309).

Especially in the later periods the function of Bes shifted to the protection from evil. The typological studies by Hölbl on the double-sided amulet of Bes (2.20) shed light on the connection between Malta and the East, as well as the trade situation of the Maltese archipelago in the eastern periphery of the Phoenician-Punic West. This type of Bes amulets (double-sided) belongs to the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and has many more parallels in the East, such as the ones found at Palestine, Al Mina and Rhodos. Many of these eastern parallels are good copies of Egyptian originals, possibly crafted at a Rhodian workshop, and our **Bes** (2.20) belongs to this group. These type of double-sided Bes amulets have also been uncovered in the Western Mediterranean, e.g. at Vei, Carthago and Terni. Most of these amulets can be safely dated to the seventh century BCE, but the Rhodian originals or copies cannot be dated that surely. The presence of this type of Bes amulets on Malta shows its position as trading post between the Near East, connected to Rhodos and possibly Cyprus and (in)directly to Egypt, as well as connected to the West, to Sicily and Carthago.

The amulets of **Ra-Harakhti** (2.4), **Bes** (2.23) and one of the **Pataikoi** (2.22) were found in the same chest in a grave in Rabat as two more *Aegyptiaca*, the **Naiskos** (2.27) shrine amulet and a **Scarab** (2.28). This is a considerable number of *Aegyptiaca* present in a single grave, and thus represents a remarkable find. The scarab will be discussed later in this chapter together with the other scarabs found on Malta and Gozo. The **Naiskos** is a small amulet in the form of a shrine, decorated with six *uraei* with solar discs and a solar disc flanked by two more *uraei*. There is a small opening at the front of the shrine, in which in other cases statuettes could be placed. The **Naiskos** is a small version of the Egyptian votive shrines, of which one was erected at Tas-Silg. The amulet could have been worn around the neck by using the hanging loop at the top of the amulet. Wearing a small representation of an Egyptian or Egyptianizing shrine as a pendant seems a conscious choice and implies a personal identification with the religious and ritual behavior and beliefs associated with the shrine.

### 3.2.4. Scarabs and seals

Next to amulets a number of scarabs and seals have come to light from the tombs of the Maltese Islands. A seal with the head of a **Capricorn** (2.29) has surfaced in a tomb near Mtarfa. Its design is unusual, as it seems to depict the base of a pyramid with the head of a Capricorn on top of it whereas seals were usually shaped as a scarab. Underneath the base are hieroglyphs, which show an own facing to the right, as well as the letters M and S. According to Hölbl the seal is definitely originating from Egypt and is an import product (1989, 62).

Among the Phoenicians scarabs were in high demand to serve as protective amulets with a specific meaning, indicating the constant attention of the Phoenicians to the magical associations with the iconography of these amulets (Moscati 1988, 394). The hieroglyphs with names or representations of deities or pharaohs displayed on the scarabs were thus chosen for their ideographic component rather than their phonetic value (Moscati 1988, 394). Extensive research conducted by Gorton into the typology and the origins of Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs included the five examples from Malta (Gorton 2003). The **scarab** (2.28) which was found in Rabat belongs to the group of Phoenician scarabs which are characterized by their Egyptianizing motifs, and hence lacked the clarity shown by the original Egyptian motifs. The scarab depicts two *maat* feathers, deeply hatched with vertical lines, flanking a central column with a solar disk on top of it.

According to Gorton Phoenician scarabs often misused and even devalued the meaning of the hieroglyphs and reinterpreted the original Egyptian deities represented on them. Gorton suggests that the Maltese scarab (2.28) most likely comes from a Cypriote workshop (Gorton 2003, 43-60).

Two of our **scarabs** (2.30 and 2.31) belong to the group of Late Egyptian types and local imitations, on which 'good wish formulae' and names and representations of certain deities (Osiris, Khonsu, Amon-Ra, Ptah, Horus, Isis, Hathor, and Thot) appear, as well as the names of pharaohs of the later Dynasties predominate (Gorton 2003, 9 -23). Scarab 2.30 displays the name of Sebekhotep, one of these pharaohs (Hölbl 1989, 190; Gorton 2003, 23) , while scarab 2.31 asks the deity Khonsu for protection. These types of scarabs were most likely produced in Egypt itself and were widespread throughout the Western Mediterranean (Gorton 2003, 9-27). The scarab invoking Khonsu provides a good parallel to examples found in Carthage and Thera (Gorton 2003, 26). The last two **scarabs** (2.32



and 2.33) belong to the group of Egyptianizing scarabs produced for the Punic market and lack a clear register composition and a main motif placed in a horizontal field (Gorton 2003, 81-89). One of the scarabs (2.32) shows Horus and a group of Lotus flowers (Hölbl 1989, 190; Gorton 2003, 85), while the other (2.33) has not personally been examined or photographed by Hölbl.

The symbolic value of **scarabs** (2.28, 2.30-2.33) as signs of fertility and regeneration was recognized throughout the Mediterranean (Moscati 1988, 394), and Malta was no exception to this. The scarab was a popular item for merchants as it was small and relatively cheap, but still contained many protective magical elements, as well as an aesthetic value as jewelry (Gorton 2003, 1). The main function of the ringed scarab however was probably as a seal. The problem herein lies with the absence of names on these seals (in contrast to Levantine seals, which normally contain names) and with the problems of distinguishing one scarab from another (Boardman 2003, 13). Nevertheless there is some evidence for the use of scarabs as seals on papyrus (Boardman 2003, 13).

Most of the rings would have been worn around the neck during life, rather than on the finger, and were deposited as grave goods after death, sometimes on the chest of the deceased (Boardman 2003, 13; Moscati 1988, 394). This Phoenician or Punic emphasis on the death and the deceased, combined with the frequent representations of deities, argues for a more personalized religious and/or magical significance of the scarabs for the Phoenicians. Gorton states that they did not “*adhere to the original Egyptian views about the significance of the scarab form, or at least reinterpreted it*” (Gorton 2003, 185). Gorton concludes this from the way the scarabs were mass-produced, from what their iconography depicted and also from the location of the deposition of scarabs (Gorton 2003, 185).

### 3.2.5 Amulets with Egyptian symbols

A larger group of the *Aegyptiaca* derived from Tal-Horob are representations of the eye of Horus, the **Udjat eye** (2.34 – 2.42). This important symbol was popular throughout the entire Mediterranean and survived on Malta even until contemporary times (Zammit-Maempel 1968, 1). The *udjat* was associated with many different meanings, such as the solar eye, the eye of Ra, the eye of Horus, and a symbol of life (Zivie-Coche 2004, 321), moreover it was associated with farsightedness and eternal fertility, as well as bodily invulnerability and protection from harm (Zammit-Maempel, 1968, 3). It was regularly

worn as a protective amulet during life, but it remained powerful after death, reflected in the way it was often placed on corpses and in between the bandages of a mummy (Zammit-Maempel 1968, 3). Whether the amulets found on Malta were also worn during life remains questionable, as they were made from faience, which is quite vulnerable.<sup>6</sup> The assemblage of *udjat* eyes from Tal-Horob is similar in iconography, yet different in its exact style and decoration. Since all the Maltese *udjat* eyes come from the same deposit from Tal-Horob, it is difficult to say much about the popularity of the symbol on the entire islands.

One specific **pendant** (2.43), also originating from Tal-Horob, combines the iconography of the *udjat* on one side with a representation of *Bes* on the other side. The combination is not unusual when we look at the protective values assigned to both sides of the amulet.

The **Wadj** (2.44 and 2.45) is often found in funerary contexts and is one of the oldest hieroglyphs in the Egyptian language. It is associated with the stem of a papyrus and with youth, possibly implying eternal youth for the deceased. Also from Tal-Horob is an amulet shaped like a **Palmette Capital** (2.46) imported from Egypt, and a **tooth-shaped amulet** (2.47) and also an **amulet** (2.48) shaped like a small altar (Hölbl 1989, 75). Three further amulets from Malta and Gozo are **Square Plates** (2.49, 2.50 and 2.51) with crossed lines engraved on them. They were found together with one of the **Wadj** (2.45) amulets, while a **Djed** (2.52) was found at Bingemma Hill. The *djed*, just like the *wadj* was a symbol commonly found in funerary contexts, and was associated with rebirth and endurance (Hölbl 1989, 71). The column originally derived from the iconography of a tree, of which the branches have been lopped-off, and was associated with the Egyptian deity Osiris (Reno 1977, 84). Its original hieroglyphs meant stability and duration and thus fitted Osiris, the deity who had successfully overcome death and decay in his myths (Reno 1977, 84). The *djed* is well attested in both the West and the East of the Phoenician sphere of influence, and its symbolic meaning remained fairly unchanged in comparison to the original Egyptian symbol (Hölbl 1989, 71).

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<sup>6</sup> Personal communication from Prof. Olaf Kaper, Egyptologist.

### 3.3 Coins

Shortly after Malta was incorporated into the Roman Empire at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, coins started to be minted in bronze according to Roman standards. The coins in circulation before this period were those originating mainly from Carthage and a few other coin-minting Punic colonies of the West, particularly Sicily, and from the Greek Hellenistic world, mostly from Greek Sicily (Bonanno 2005, 96). Because the images became increasingly “*Hellenized*” during the Roman Republic, creating difficulties to identify the main deity, only the earlier coins will be discussed, as they often display Egyptian religious imagery, Punic language and divine iconography with little Greek influences (Bonanno 2005, 156-159). As these motifs are clearly Egyptianizing these types of coins can safely be grouped as *Aegyptiaca*, and will thus be discussed here.

Two types of coins in particular stand out because they show strong Egyptianizing and oriental content. The **coins with Astarte-Hera** (3.1) were the second type of coinage that was struck on Malta (Hölbl 1989, 161), while the **coins possibly depicting Isis** (3.2) were the third type of coinage minted. Coin 3.1 depicts on its obverse the head of a female with a veil and a diadem. She has been identified as being Astarte-Hera, the main deity worshipped at the sanctuary of Tas-Silg, a syncretism of the originally Phoenician deity Astarte with the Greek Hera. The reverse side of the coin (Fig. 6) shows a figure with an *atef* crown (the feathered crown associated with the Egyptian deity Osiris), a scepter and a whip. The figure is flanked by two winged female deities, wearing Isis-Hathor headdresses (the bull horns with a solar disk between the horns), and carrying a bent palm branch and a bowl in their hands. When we try to identify the deities from an Egyptian point of view we can recognize the central figure as Osiris flanked by Isis and Nephtys (Bonanno 2005, 86; Hölbl 1989, 162). An alternative interpretation, emphasizing the Phoenician cultural context, has also been offered by Hölbl (1989, 162), identifying the male deity as the Phoenician Eshmun flanked by two priests, or as Baal Hammon, flanked by two celestial acolytes (Hölbl 1989, 162).



Figure 6: Coin type 3.1 drawing; Osirian deity flanked by two women (source: Bonanno 2005, 86)

The coin type 3.2 also shows the head of a female deity, with a wig-like hairstyle normally worn by Isis (Bonanno 2005, 105), as well an Egyptian crown, similar to the Hemhem crown, which can be described as a bowl with two ram horns, two *uraei with solar disks* connected to the horns, and three *atef* crowns between them (Hölbl 1989, 165). The crown is displayed in an old Phoenician style, similar to the crown worn by a Near Eastern goddess on a golden amulet from Tharros (Hölbl 1989, 163). Based on the iconography it can be assumed that the head bears the traits of an old Phoenician tradition, and presumably belongs to Astarte, the chief goddess of the island, whose iconography in the West was indeed similar to that of Isis (Hölbl 1989, 164-165). Next to the head is the sign of Tanit and on the left the legend in Greek: MEAITAION. There are also coins struck with similar iconography, with the same obverse side. However, these display an ear of wheat instead of the sign of Tanit (Bonanno 2005, 105). Hölbl suggests that the deity shown is the Hellenistic syncretism of Isis-Demeter and Astarte-Hera-Juno, based on the wheat displayed. Bonanno's suggestion seems also interesting since it explains the presence of the ear of wheat by linking it to the value of wheat for the Maltese economy (2005, 105). In this case however it seems reasonable to argue for the deity being Astarte, or a syncretism of Astarte combining her with Isis. On the reverse of both versions of this type of coin we find an Osirian deity displayed with four wings around him, a scepter and a flail in his hands, and an *atef* crown on his head. This combination of symbols led Hölbl to conclude that the same deity was represented on both coin type 3.1 and coin type 3.2.

These coins were minted in Malta after it had fallen under Roman rule but indeed show a clear continuity of the Phoenician and Punic traditions. The divinities displayed on the Maltese coins were not Roman, but more likely the deities worshipped during the Punic period (Bonanno 2005, 86), possibly syncretisms of local, Egyptian and Phoenician deities. This adherence to Punic deities thus reflects the cultural setting of the island's population, rather than the political reality. It seems that the Maltese people remained attached to their older culture (in this case the Punic) rather than adapting to the Roman standards completely. This phenomenon, dubbed *Punic Persistence* or *cultural resistance* is not unique to Malta, but has also been observed in Roman Sardinia, where the locals decided to maintain their Punic roots through using their accustomed type of pottery, and even kept importing the newer types of pottery made in Carthage, while being under Roman rule (van Dommelen 2005, 37-40).

### 3.4 Architectural elements and miscellaneous Aegyptiaca

In addition to the numerous amulets more traces of the Egyptian influences have surfaced on Malta, such as statues and architectural elements. Phoenician and Punic architecture employed Egyptian or Egyptianizing elements to adorn their sacred buildings like tombs and temples. These architectural elements had religious connotations (Hölbl 1989, 146). One element commonly found and attributed to Egypt is the ‘cavetto cornice’, as can be seen in figure 7. The Punic building found in the parish garden of Zurrieq (4.1) is one of the few remaining monuments from the era, and clearly shows the cavetto cornice on top of the building (Bonanno 2005, 91; Hölbl 1978, 146-148). Some more worked masonry blocks with cornices have been uncovered at Mtarfa (4.2) and others at the Tas-Silg sanctuary (4.3). From this *temenos* a **capital** (4.4) originates, which clearly shows the Egyptian cornice combined with Greek influences (Hölbl 1989, 150-151). In various locations within the sanctuary *uraei* were found, some of which might show the Alexandrian influence on the Punic art (Ciasca 1984 in Hölbl 1989, 152), but this remains questionable, as *uraei* were used often on sacred spaces in the Punic world. Another architectural element originating from the sanctuary is a piece of worked stone with a **relief** (4.5) of a Phoenician lotus (simplified from an Egyptian original), comparable to a parallel from the Bernardini tomb in Palestrina (Hölbl 1989, 152-153). Several limestone *Thymiateria* (incense burners often used for rituals and religious activities) shaped like small pillars (4.6) have also been found at the sanctuary. The *thymiateria* consist of two big round ridges as well as a cavetto cornice on top of it.

A small votive shrine (*naiskos*) was discovered in the northern part of the of Tas-Silg sanctuary (figure 8). The front of the shrine (4.7) is carved in



Figure 7: Cornice of the Esna-chnum temple near Luxor (source: [http://www.nefershapiland.de/images/5870\\_esna\\_Hohlkehle\\_mit\\_Kartuschen.jpg](http://www.nefershapiland.de/images/5870_esna_Hohlkehle_mit_Kartuschen.jpg))

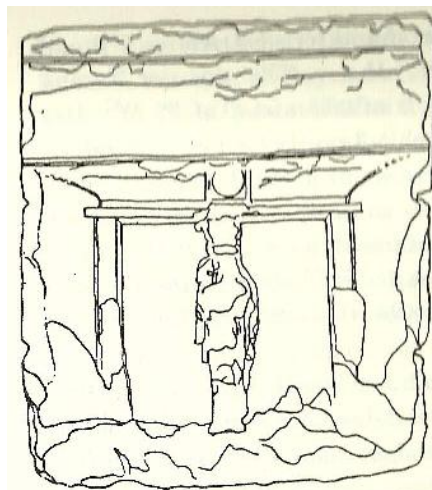


Figure 8: Naiskos from Tas Silg (source: Hölbl 1989, 154, Abb. 9)

relief, as it was the tradition for an Egyptian *naos*. Between the pillars a heavily eroded anthropomorphic figure is visible in an Egyptian position (Hölbl 1989, 153-154). At the top of the *naiskos* a cavetto cornice was placed, on which a sun-disc, flanked by *uraei* with sun-discs, would have been located (Hölbl 1989, 154-155). This is not unusual, as already in Egypt the motif was often placed on temple ceilings and ceremonial portals as a symbol of protection (Vella 2000, 38). While we cannot simply assume that the Phoenicians shared the same religious view associated with the symbol as the Egyptians did, still they would have had a good reason to employ this motif, as it not only appears on Malta, but in much other locations as well (Vella 2000, 38-39). Similarities between this *naiskos* and one originating from Sidon indicate a close connection between Malta and the Phoenician 'homeland'.

### **Miscellaneous Aegyptiaca**

A number of additional *Aegyptiaca* are present on the Maltese islands, but cannot easily be fitted into one of the previously discussed categories. Hence they will be discussed as a group of Miscellanea. One of them is a **broken, unprovenienced statue** (4.8); the statue has been severely damaged and can therefore not be compared stylistically to other parallels. A piece of the three-part wig is still visible and seems to indicate that the statue originated from Southern Egypt as has been suggested by dr. Berecher in Hölbl 1989. We cannot conclude much else from this broken statue.

While terracotta figurines are a substantial part of the Phoenician and Punic legacy elsewhere, only one small terracotta sculpture (4.9) originates from Malta. On its head is a double crown, adjusted to Phoenician style (Hölbl 1989, 161). More objects denoting Egyptian influences came to light at Ghain Klieb, retrieved from the same tomb where the **bracelet pieces** (2.7) was found. Two **Alabastra** (4.10) stone vessels often associated with perfumes and scented oils were part of the votive gifts presented to the deceased. While such vessels were often encountered in the Greek and Italian spheres, not many examples have been found on Malta (Hölbl 1989, 160). One of these vessels was made in the Egyptian style displaying the correct proportions. Although more *alabastra* have been found, a total count cannot be given and research is needed to provide more information. What can be said however is that the *alabastron* was clearly an object related to status.

## 4. Conclusion

This thesis examined the Aegyptiaca from the islands of Malta and Gozo within their iconographical and typological context. Expanding on Hölbl's catalogue this study reassembled the majority of Maltese Aegyptiaca including new objects discussed in more recent publications. The new catalogue, resulting from this work, comprises a total of 66 objects and represents to date the most complete assemblage of Malta's *Aegyptiaca*.

The objects studied in the course of this research bear witness to the cultural interaction and diversity occurring in the Mediterranean during the Phoenician and Punic times. In order to study the objects within their cultural as well as their find context the items have been grouped into categories of object types (sarcophagi, amulets, coins, architecture and miscellanea), most of them deriving from a funerary context, while a number of architectural objects comes from sanctuaries.

Based on earlier scholarly works this study presents a reassessment of the function, chronology and provenience of the objects, critically looking at the work done earlier. This re-assessment of these objects provided an opportunity to look at cultural interactions that would have taken place on the Maltese islands in the first millennium BCE.

The Maltese archipelago was an important geographic location during the first millennium BCE, thanks to its central position in the Mediterranean. It is because of this that the Phoenicians decided to colonize the islands and most likely interact with the local population. As the Phoenicians themselves already adopted many cultural traits from other cultures, such as the Assyrians and Egyptians, their culture was rich and diverse. When researching the *Aegyptiaca* present on Malta we need to pay attention to both sets of cultural exchanges, both locally and externally. Most of the *Aegyptiaca* are amulets, sarcophagi or an architectural part of a religious or sacred building, and thus must be examined carefully within their context. Especially with religious matter originating from somewhere else, a series of adaptations and modifications will have taken place, shifting the meaning away from the original values, as they were given to the objects by the Egyptians (or Phoenicians). As Moscati says: "*In synthesis, there are two figurative values affected by this requirement: on the one hand, the interpretation of religious themes in more broadly anthropological terms relating them to daily experience; on the other hand, the banalization of the original ritual significance, towards an increasingly*

*abstract and inclusive interpretation*” (Moscati 1988, 399). In this Moscati however judges the cultural processes taking place negatively, something I do not agree with. While indeed the original significance of the religious iconography has shifted, it is not necessarily a banalization or vulgarization of the original, but rather a newly synthesized aspect of the ever changing culture.

In our group of *Aegyptiaca* we find both objects originating from Egypt, as well as Egyptianizing objects originating from elsewhere. We must bear in mind that only a very small part of the uncovered Phoenician tombs actually contained one or more of these *Aegyptiaca*, which tells us the specific religious aspects associated with them might not have been spread across the entire population, but was restricted to a small group of people, probably the elite. Of a total of 668 discovered tombs, only 54 *Aegyptiaca* were found (Said-Zammit 1997, 33), which is of course only a very small percentage of the total amount of grave goods (such as pottery, jewelry and other objects). Notwithstanding these numbers we have to bear in mind the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record and have to accept that we will never be able to reconstruct the past in full detail. In Said-Zammit’s work (1997) the first millennium BCE is divided into five phases, based on the typology of the tombs. He argues for a gradual acculturation during the first phase (ca. 720-600 BCE) with acceleration in the second phase (600-450 BCE), based on the amount of Punic grave goods present in the tombs (Said-Zammit 1997, 5-40).

We cannot simply assume that the owners of the objects associated the objects with their original (Egyptian) magico-ritual values. Brown argues that Phoenician artists had more care for the aesthetic value of the objects and motifs than for their original significance (Brown 1992, 6-7), and discusses the problems associated with interpreting these motifs. The **amulet sheath** (2.1) with the Phoenician inscription however shows us that the underlying symbolism of the Egyptian/Egyptianizing motifs played an important role in the religious beliefs system of the Phoenicians. In this case the powers of the Egyptian deity are combined with a Phoenician destruction spell to reach a magical goal, emphasizing the importance and the adoption of Egyptian (or Egyptianizing) magic within the Phoenician world. The same conclusion can be drawn from the **amulet holder** (2.2a and b), which again combines Egyptian symbolism in the form of a decan list with Phoenician inscriptions, in this case a protection spell. These examples also show the important connection between the Phoenician East and the West, both influences can be found on Malta. They were not simply worn for their aesthetic values, but they contained



ritual value, however different from the original Egyptian value. They illustrate the intimate knowledge of Egyptian theology and other religious subject matter, which the creators of the objects possessed. It is as Barrett said in her work on Egyptianizing figurines from Delos: “*However, the intentions of the figurines’ producer and the intentions of their consumers need not always have been identical*” (2011, 433). The owner of the amulets was free to assign his or her own theological (or aesthetic) values to the objects.

During the early first millennium BCE the religious behavior of the inhabitants of Malta can best be described as orientalizing, combining Levantine and Egyptian factors in Phoenician religion (Bonanno 2005, 61), as can be seen clearly in the **gilded bracelet pieces** (2.7), which show associations with both Egyptian and Levantine cultures, reflected in style as well as in the iconography. People were buried in tombs, merging the Phoenician and local tradition, as well as cremated. Sometimes a sarcophagus in the Egyptianizing style would have been used, but only a few of them have been found, so the custom of using them seems not too widely spread. Several amulets associated with Egyptian deities have been uncovered in these tombs and confirm that aspects of the Egyptian belief system were practiced on Malta.

The fact that scarabs are encountered on Malta is not surprising, as they were found and used throughout the entire Mediterranean. The scarabs combined the aesthetic value of jewelry with the protective value of an amulet, often showing Egyptian or Egyptianizing iconography. The iconography on these scarabs however cannot always tell us much about the actual religious beliefs of the wearer, as the Phoenicians (and presumably the indigenous peoples) reinterpreted the scarabs to give them their own personal significance. The hieroglyphs displayed on the scarabs were usually chosen more for their ideographic value, moreover many scarabs with the similar and identical inscriptions were found throughout the Mediterranean, indicating mass-production. Because of these reasons the personal and religious value associated with these scarabs is hard to reconstruct.

The presence of Phoenician and Egyptianizing motifs on coins minted under the Roman rule might indicate the *cultural resistance* of the locals against the dominating Romans, but more likely they are an indication of the small amount of influence the Romans exerted on the local population. They also shed light on what happened when the cultures met, as deities merged together and adopted attributes of one another. The main deity worshipped during the Phoenician and Punic periods on Malta was originally the

Phoenician Astarte, but she adopted many functions and attributes of other gods, such as those of the Egyptian Isis, the Greek Hera and later also the Roman Juno. This syncretic deity is often displayed on coins and had a sanctuary at Tas-Silg. This sanctuary, originating from the Neolithic, displays many types of Egyptianizing elements, such as the sun-disc and a cavetto cornice, which is not surprising, as the Phoenicians often adopted Egyptian elements in the iconography of their sacred architecture.

The *Aegyptiaca* from the Maltese islands are a clear indicator of the active interactions between the islands and the eastern and western part of the Mediterranean. They can tell us more about the role of Egyptian religion in the Phoenician culture which was present on the islands. To reach a full conclusion more future research needs to be done on the influence of the local population on the Phoenician material culture.

Future studies on this topic can shed more light on this complex subject and can certainly contribute to our understanding of this important period in history. Especially research into the exact dating and distribution of these objects, as well as high-tech analysis of the objects might tell more about their origins and their functions. The correlation between the *Aegyptiaca* and Phoenician and Punic pottery as compared to the local wares is also an interesting topic for future research.

## Summary

This thesis was written with the objective to re-examine the *Aegyptiaca* on Malta and Gozo during the Phoenician and Punic phases, in order to achieve a better understanding of the cultural exchange processes, which would have occurred during the first millennium BCE. Because of the geographic location of the islands in the middle of the Mediterranean, Malta holds a unique position, where several different cultures meet and merge. Based on previously published material (Hölbl 1989 and Sagona 2005), every object has been critically discussed and analyzed within its archaeological and cultural context. The *Aegyptiaca* under study have been grouped into amulets, sarcophagi, architectural elements and miscellanea.

While some of the objects were created in Egypt, others were good copies of Egyptian originals, produced elsewhere. While a number of the objects might have been associated with purely aesthetic values, some of our objects allow for a deeper religious association. On Malta we see a convergence of Egyptian and Levantine influences, merged together in Phoenician art. This is not a strange phenomenon, as the Phoenicians themselves already adopted and changed many aspects of different cultures, which they again distributed across the Mediterranean. Where cultures meet they can merge together to form a new culture, but that is not always the case. People can also resist a new dominating culture by falling back on an older culture. This feat is shown in the numismatics of Malta and Gozo, as even under the new Roman domination coins were minted with Punic and Phoenician deities and motifs displayed on them.

## Samenvatting

Deze BA3 scriptie is geschreven met als doel het herbestuderen de *Aegyptiaca* op Malta en Gozo tijdens de Phoenicische en Punische periodes, om zo meer inzichten te verkrijgen over de culturele uitwisselingsprocessen, die gedurende het eerste millennium BCE plaats hebben gevonden. Door haar ligging midden in de Middellandse Zee bevindt Malta zich in een unieke positie, waar verschillende culturen samen komen en elkaar beïnvloeden. Gebaseerd op eerder gepubliceerd materiaal (Hölbl 1989 en Sagona 2005) is ieder object kritisch besproken en geanalyseerd in zijn archeologische en culturele context.

Hoewel sommige objecten direct afkomstig uit Egypte waren, waren anderen goede kopieën, elders gemaakt om te lijken op Egyptische originele objecten. Enkele van de objecten kunnen zuiver esthetisch gebruikt zijn, terwijl anderen lijken te wijzen op een diepere religieuze betekenis. Op Malta zien we Egyptische en Oosterse invloeden samenkomen en mengen in de Phoenicische kunst. Dit is niet vreemd, aangezien de Phoeniciërs zelf al veel invloeden van deze culturen overnamen en aanpasten, alvorens deze te verspreiden door de Middellandse Zee. Waar culturen in contact komen, kunnen ze vermengen, maar dat hoeft niet altijd. Men kan zich ook verzetten tegen een nieuwe dominante cultuur door juist terug te grijpen op een oudere cultuur, iets wat te zien is in de numismatiek op Malta: Er werden tijdens de Romeinse bezetting nog munten gedrukt met Punische en Phoenicische motieven.

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## Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of Malta and Gozo displaying the provenience of the *Aegyptiaca*.

(source: Hölbl 1989, 30)

Figure 2: Egyptianizing Sarcophagus

(source: Hölbl 1989, 133, Abb. 6)

Figure 3: Piece of papyrus from the amulet sheath

(source: Gouder 1978, 315, fig. 2)

Figure 4: Detail of a bowl from Praeneste

(source: Vella 2008, 27, fig. 2b)

Figure 5: Statue of Sekhmet at the temple of Mut

[http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/temple\\_mout/photo/mout\\_08.jpg](http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/temple_mout/photo/mout_08.jpg)

Figure 6: Coin type 3.1 drawing; Osirian deity flanked by two women.

(source: Bonanno 2005, 86)

Figure 7: Cornice of the Esna-chnum temple

[http://www.nefershakiland.de/images/5870\\_esna\\_Hohlkehle\\_mit\\_Kartuschen.jpg](http://www.nefershakiland.de/images/5870_esna_Hohlkehle_mit_Kartuschen.jpg)

Figure 8: Naiskos from Tas-Silg

(source: Hölbl 1989, 154, Abb. 9)

## Appendix A: Overview of mentioned deities

Deity	Provenience	Attributes	Function	Consisting of
<b>Amon</b>	Egypt	Feather crown	King of the gods	X
<b>Anubis</b>	Egypt	Jackal	Protector of the necropolis	X
<b>Anubis-Re</b>	Egypt	Solar Disc; Jackal	X	Anubis and Ra
<b>Astarte</b>	Sidon	X	Chief goddess of Sidon	X
<b>Astarte-Hera</b>	X	X	Main deity	Astarte and Hera
<b>Baal</b>	Levant	X	Any deity/ Storm god	X
<b>Baal Hammon</b>	Carthage	Beard, Ram's horn	Chief god	X
<b>Bastet</b>	Egypt	Cat/Lion	X	X
<b>Bes</b>	Egypt	Dwarfish	Apotropaic god	X
<b>Duamutef</b>	Egypt	Jackal	Protector of Intestines	X
<b>Eshmun</b>	Sidon	X	Chief god of Sidon	X
<b>Haurôn</b>	Syrio-Palestina	Falcon	Comparable to Horus	X
<b>Hera</b>	Greece	Peacock, Diadem	Marriage, Woman and birth	X
<b>Horus</b>	Egypt	Falcon	Skygod	X
<b>Isis</b>	Egypt	Wig, Dress	Motherhood, Magic and Fertility	X
<b>Isis-Hathor</b>	Egypt	Wig, Dress, Sun-disc, Cow horns	Mother Goddess	Isis and Hathor
<b>Mut</b>	Egypt	Double Crown	Mother goddess	X
<b>Nephtys</b>	Egypt	Crown with house and basket	Protector of the mummy	X

<b>Osiris</b>	Egypt	Flail and Ankh	Ruler of the death; cycle of life	X
<b>Ptah</b>	Egypt	Mummy wrapped	Funerary	X
<b>Qebhsenuf</b>	Egypt	Falcon	Protector of Intestines	X
<b>Ra-Harakthi</b>	Egypt	Falcon/Hawk	Ruler of all created parts of the world	Ra and Horus
<b>Sekhmet</b>	Egypt	Lion	Medicine and healing	X
<b>Shu</b>	Egypt	X	Separation of earth and sky	X
<b>Serapis</b>	Alexandria	X	Comparable to Osiris	X
<b>Tanit</b>	Ugarit	X	Lunar	X
<b>Thoeris</b>	Egypt	Hippo	Motherhood	X
<b>Thoth</b>	Egypt	Ibis or Baboon	Moon God	X

## Appendix B: Catalogue

This catalogue is based on the information gathered from Hölbl 1989, Sagona 2002 and a re-examination of the material by both the author and partially by Prof Kaper. First the sarcophagi will be shown, followed by the amulets. Finally, the architectural elements and miscellanea will be discussed.

### 1. Sarcophagi

#### 1.1 Anthropomorphic sarcophagus

Dimensions: Not measured

Material: Presumably terracotta

Origins: Ghar Barka

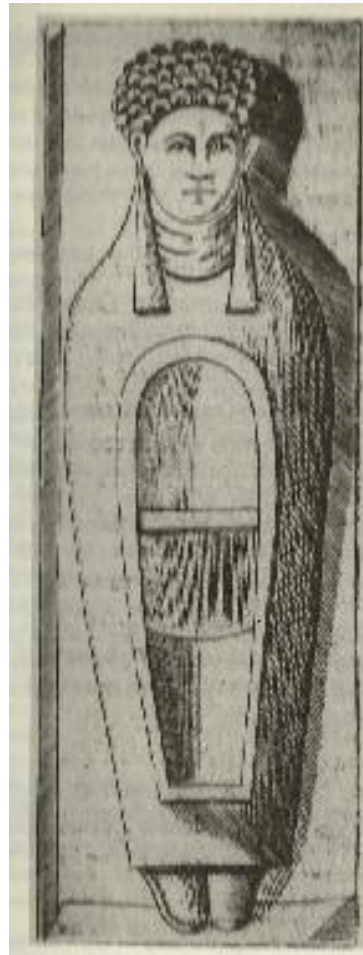
Context: Burial, Necropolis

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic, female

Attributes: The head and the feet of a human are depicted and formed. A late-Egyptian wig with parts falling on the breast is present.

Parallels: Over 80; Saqqara, Cyprus, Solunt at Palermo and Cádiz.



1.1 Image source: Hölbl 1989, 133

## **1.2 Anthropomorphic terracotta sarcophagus from the Valetta museum**

Dimensions: > 1,5 m (l)

Material: Terracotta

Origins: Ghar Barka

Context: Burial, necropolis

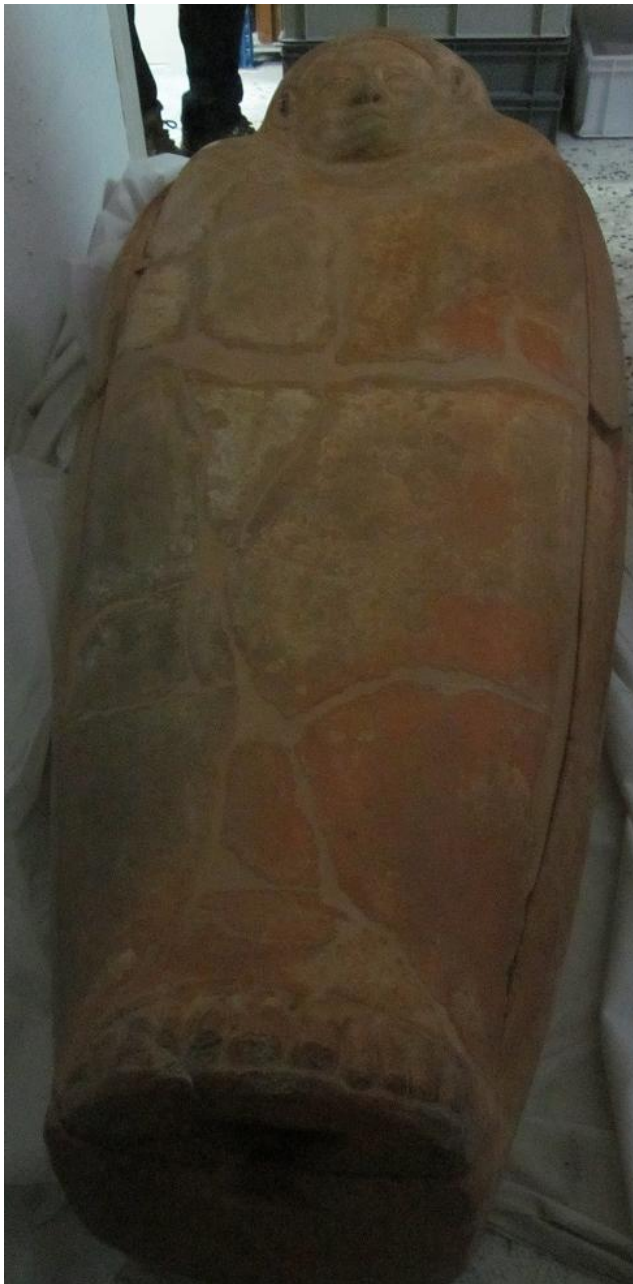
Chronology: 5th century BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic, female

Attributes: The head and the feet of a human are depicted and formed.

Parallels: Over 80; Saqqara, Cyprus, Solunt at Palermo and Cádiz.

There are three more sarcophagi from Malta and Gozo, but there is not further information available.



1.2 Image: courtesy of Heritage Malta

## 2. Amulets

### 2.1 Amulet sheath with head of a falcon

Dimensions: 49,4 x 10,9 x 12,5 (mm)

Dimensions of papyrus: 70 x 48 (mm)

Material: Bronze

Origin: Tal Virtu

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing

Attributes: Hanging loop, Uraeus, solar disc, hawk's head, pieces of papyrus contained within it.

Papyrus:

The text on the papyrus is a Phoenician inscription of an enemy destruction spell accompanied by a representation of Isis. The goddess is facing the right and is wearing a long dress with a belt knotted around the waist. On her head is a three-parted wig and in her left hand a large scepter. Isis holds an ankh in her right hand.



2.1. Image: courtesy of Heritage Malta

2.1 Image source: Gouder 1978, 315

### 2.2a Amulet holder

Dimensions: 40 mm (h)

Material: Gold

Origin: Ghar Barka

Context: Burial, chamber grave

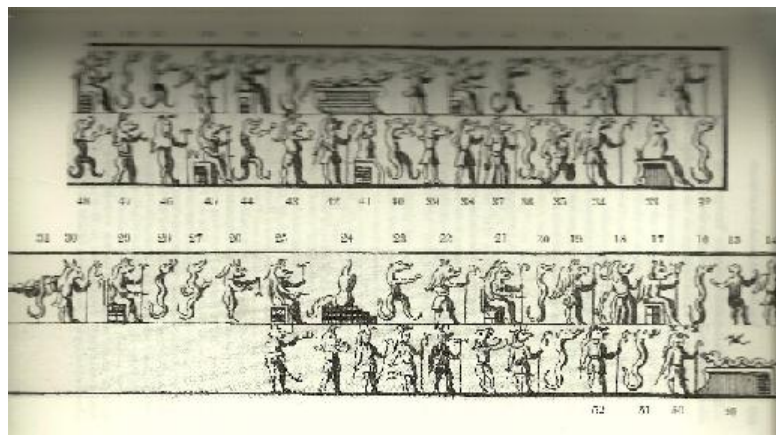
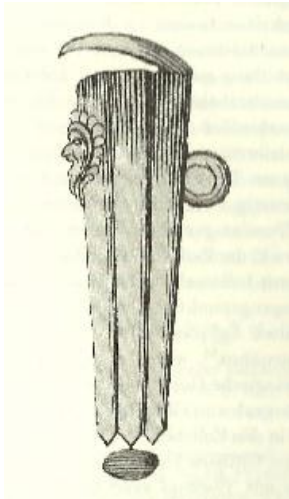
Accompanying finds: Gold amulet band

Chronology: 600-500 BCE

Form: Cylindrical

Attributes: Hanging loop, bearded man. This object is not in Egyptian style.

Parallels: None



2.2b Image Source: Hölbl 1989, 107

2.2a Image source: Hölbl 1989, 106

### 2.2b Gold amulet band

Dimensions: 245 mm (l)

Material: Gold

Origin: Ghar Barka

Context: Burial, chamber grave

Accompanying finds: Found inside the amulet holder

Chronology: 600-500 BCE

Form: Square

Attributes: Decan List, depicting many standing or seated figures, with altars, thrones and steps between and next to the figures. An inscription is visible on some panels: Protect and bless PDY, son of HLSB`L, son of B`LHN.

Parallels: Carthage, Sardinia and Tharros.

### 2.3 Amon

Dimensions: 27,5 x 12 x 7,4 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob, Gozo

Context: Burial

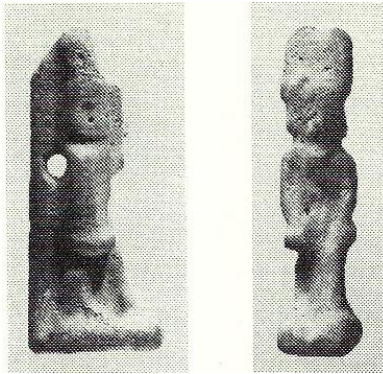
Chronology: 650-550 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Striding position, arms next to body, hands in a fist.

Attributes: Hanging loop, feather crown, Egyptian beard, and pillar on the back side.

Parallels: Rhodos



2.3 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 1.1

### 2.4 Ra-Harakthi

Dimensions: 32 x 11,6 x 6,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Rabat

Context: Burial, grouped together with other objects (2.4, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27, 2.28)

Chronology: 700-550 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Striding position, left foot first, arms next to the body, hands in a fist, standing against a back pillar.

Attributes: Falcons head, solar disk with snake, three-part wig, and pleated loincloth.

Parallels: The only parallel is found in Rhodos.



2.4 Image courtesy of Malta Heritage



### 2.5 Falcon-headed figure

Dimensions: 39 x 17,4 x 6,6 (mm)

Material: Bronze

Origin: Tas-Silg

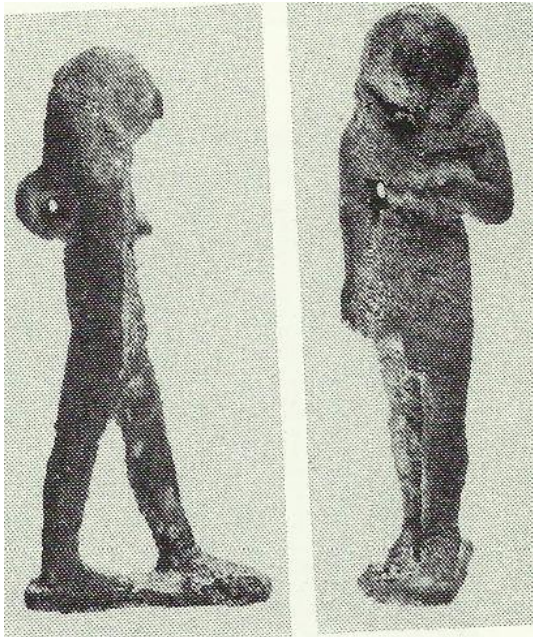
Context: Cultic/Ritual, Tas-Silg, Room 38, layer 5

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Left hand with palms outwards in front of the breast. Right arm hangs, striding position.

Attributes: Three-part wig, hanging loop



2.5. Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 15.2

### 2.6 Golden double amulet

Dimensions: 24,8 x 12,3; Bases together 10,8 x 5,4 (mm)

Material: Gold

Origin: Ghain Klieb

Context: Burial, chamber tomb

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Two figures, standing back to back

Attributes: The two figures have been soldered together later. A falcon-headed figure and a jackal-headed figure are standing back to back. Both have a flail and ankh in their hands and solar discs on their heads. Soldered together at the hanging loops.



2.6 Image source: Bonanno 2005, 64-65

### 2.7 Bracelet pieces

Material: Gold

Origin: Ghain Klieb

Context: Burial, shaft grave

Chronology: 700-600 BCE

Attributes: Phoenician palm-tree in the center, flanked by two slim gryphons, winged sun flanked by two Uraei with solar discs.

Parallels: Cyprus, Carthage and Sardinia



2.7. Image courtesy of Heritage Malta



2.7. Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 16.2

### 2.8 Golden pendant

Dimensions: 25 mm (w)

Material: Gold

Origin: Rabat

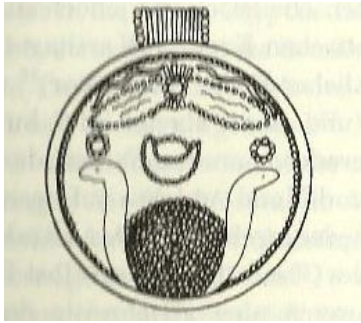
Context: Burial, chamber tomb

Chronology: 700-600 BCE.

Form: Circle

Attributes: A mountain stands in the middle, flanked by two snakes. Above the mountain floats the Phoenician symbol of the sun and moon. Above is the winged sun symbol.

Parallels: Carthage, similar iconography, but snakes wear a crown



2.8 Image source : Hölbl 1989, 101

### 2.9 Mut Aegis

Dimensions: 24 x 17,6 x 7 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob, Gozo

Context: Burial

Chronology: 750-450 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Attributes: Egyptian collar, parts of the wig still visible, double crown, and the back is smooth, hanging loop.

Parallels: Gezer, Al Mina, Cyprus, Veii



2.9 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 2.1

### 2.10 Lion-headed goddess

Dimensions: 37 x 11,9 x 12 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 1000-600 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

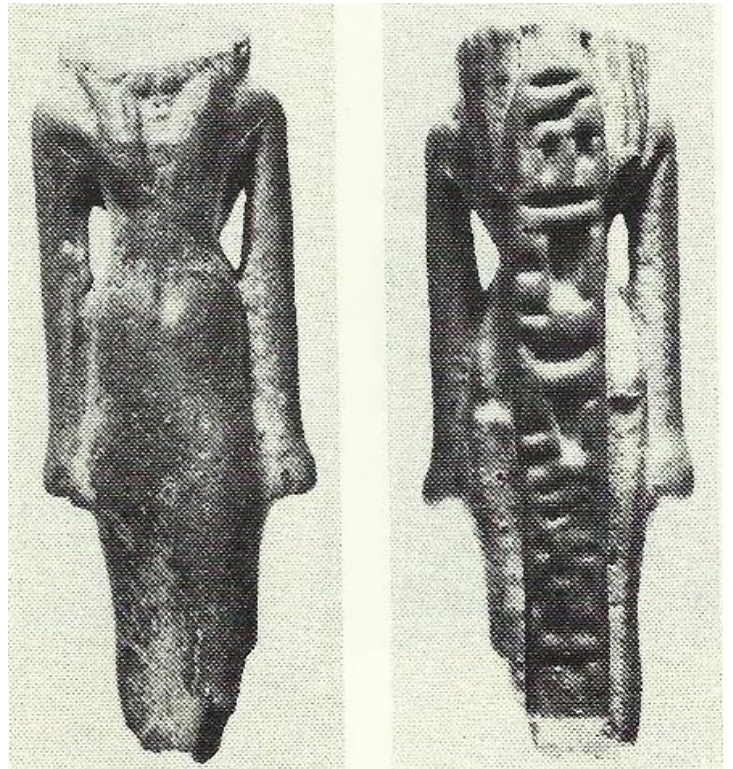
Position: Standing, Arms next to body, Left hand in front of the body

Attributes: Scepter (Papyrus), Lion's nose & Manes, Solar disk, back pillar without inscription

Parallels: Tell Abu Hawam, Megiddo, Sarepta



2.10 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 2.2



2.11 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 2.3

### 2.11 Lion-headed Bastet

Dimensions: 45,5 x 17,5 x 14,8 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 900 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Left leg at the front, Hands in fists next to the body

Attributes: Without head or feet, small part of manes visible, back pillar with inscriptions.

Parallels: Lachish

Inscription: Bastet and titles

### 2.12 Head of Shu

Dimensions: 13 x 14,1 x 8,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

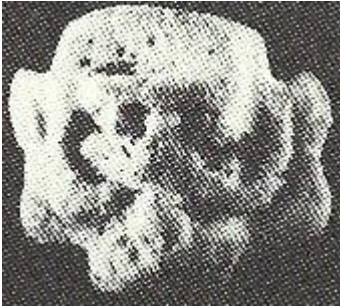
Origin: Tal-Horob, Gozo

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Opened hands



2.12 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 6.3

### 2.13 Thot

Dimensions: 36,3 x 8,8 x 13,2 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

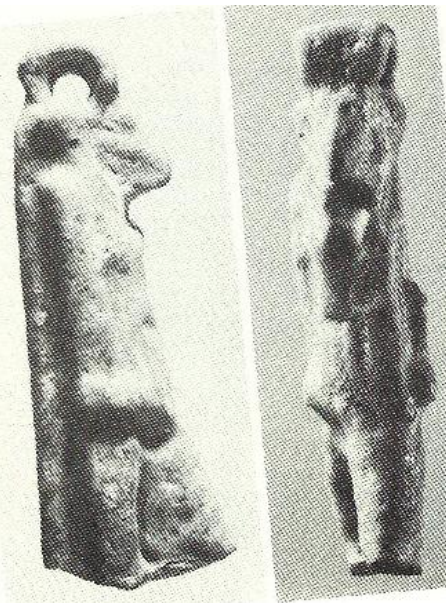
Chronology: 900- 450 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Fisted hands

Attributes: Back pillar, hanging loop, skirt, parts of the wig, Ibis head, feet and base missing

Parallels: Byblos, Cyprus



2.13 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 6.4

### 2.14 Thoris

Dimensions: 22 x 6 x 8,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 600-450 BCE

Form: Animal

Position: Static legs, polished back, pregnant hippo

Attributes: Hanging Loop

Parallels: Cyprus



2.14 Image source : Hölbl 1989, Tafel 6.5

### 2.15 Ibis

Dimensions: 12,2 x 14,6 x 6,1 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Ta'l Ibragg

Context: Burial

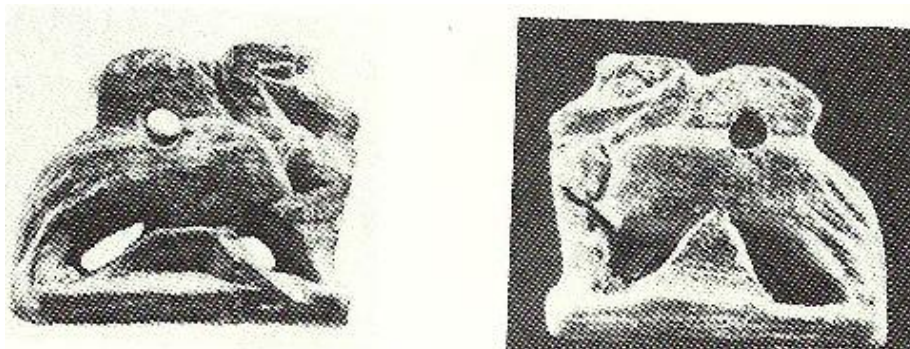
Chronology: Not established

Form: Animal

Position: Supporting beak on a feather

Attributes: Hanging Loop, beak, feather

Parallels: Sardinia, Ibiza



2.15 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 7.3

### **2.16 Male-baboon**

Dimensions: 18,2 x 8,1 x 9,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

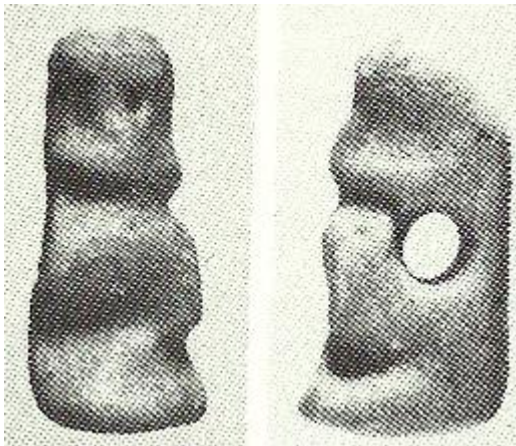
Context: Burial

Chronology: Persian period

Form: Animal

Parallels: 'Atlal

Import from Nile-valley.



**2.16 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 7.1**

### **2.17 Female baboon**

Dimensions: 15,7 x 8,6 x 6,9 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Mtarfa

Context: Burial

Chronology: 600 BCE

Form: Animal

Position: Sitting, supporting the nose with two hands

Attributes: Hanging Loop

Parallels: Carthage, Sardine, Ibiza

Not made in Egypt



**2.17 Image: Courtesy of Heritage Malta**

### **2.18 Pataikos**

Dimensions: 38 x 17 x 13,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 700-300 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing, hands in the side

Parallels: Tell el-Far'a, Megiddo, Sidon

Popular, late-Egyptian type



**2.18 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 3.1**

### **2.19 Pataikos**

Dimensions: 13,4 x 8,6 x 6,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing, hands on the hips



**2.19 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 4.3**



### **2.20 Pataikos**

Dimensions: 46 x 12,4 x 10,4 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 600-550 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing, hands in the side

Attributes: Possible cap of Ptah

Parallels: Byblos, Carthago, Sardinia, Morocco, Ibiza

Egyptian artifact typical of the Libyan-Persian time



2.20 Image: courtesy of Heritage Malta

### **2.21 Pataikos**

Dimensions: 25,3 x 12 x 8,2 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

Context: Burial

Chronology: 750-600 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing, hands on hips

Attributes: Ostrich feather duo.

Parallels: Al Mina, Karchemish, Rhodos, Vulci



2.21 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 4.2

### 2.22 Pataikos

Dimensions: 28,8 x 9,7 x 8,1 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Rabat

Context: Grouped together: 2.4, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27, 2.28

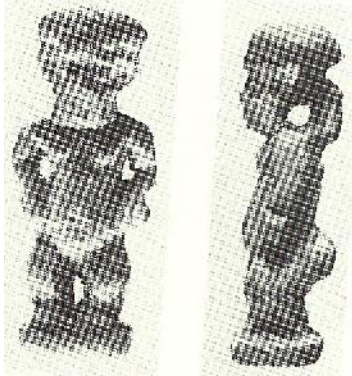
Chronology: 600-550 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Standing, hands in the side

Attributes: Naked, Cap of Ptah, pronounced eyes and plastic breast, hanging loop in neck

Parallels: Byblos, Carthago, Sardinia, Morocco, Ibiza



2.22 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 3.2

### 2.23 Bes

Dimensions: 42 x 24 x 11,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Rabat

Context: Burial, grouped together: 2.4, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27, 2.28

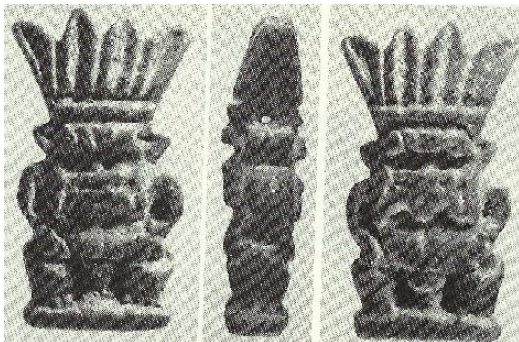
Chronology: 750-650 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Sitting

Attributes: Two-fronted, feather crown

Parallels: Tell en-Nasbeh, Al Mina, Rhodos, Carthage, West-Sicily, Veii, Terni, and Vetulonia



2.23 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 5

### **2.24 Bes**

Dimensions: 22,4 x 11,3 x 7,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

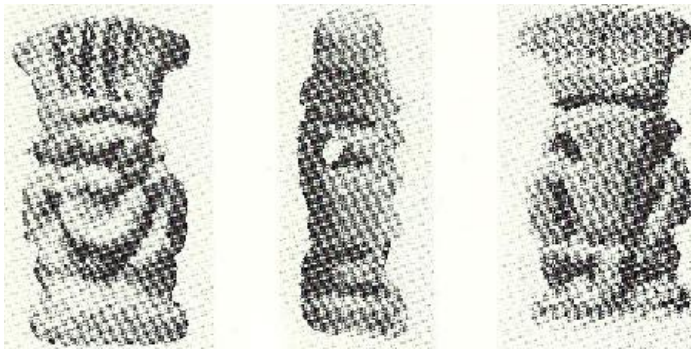
Context: Burial

Chronology: 650 BCE

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Sitting, hands on legs

Attributes: Feather crown, Pierced hole near the ears, No back pillar



2.24 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 4.4

### **2.25 Bes**

Dimensions: 19 x 8,7 x 6,7 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

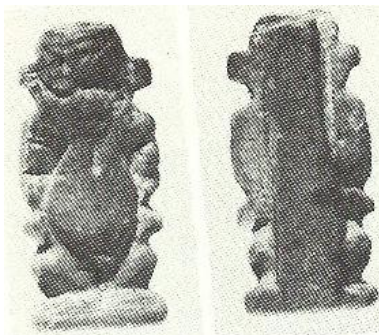
Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Sitting, hands on legs

Attributes: Back pillar, missing feather crown



2.25 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 6.1

### **2.26 Bes**

Dimensions: 16,9 x 7,3 x 6,2 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob

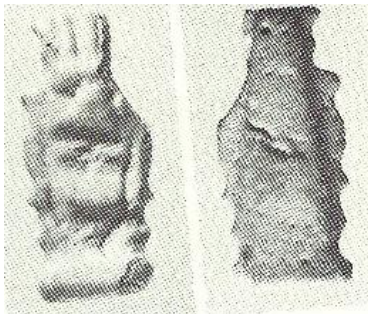
Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Anthropomorphic

Position: Sitting, hands on legs

Attributes: Back pillar, feather crown



2.26 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 6.2

### **2.27 Naiskos**

Dimensions: 31,5 x 16 x 16,8 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Rabat

Context: Burial, Grouped together: 2.4, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27, 2.28

Chronology: 650-550 BCE

Form: Shrine

Attributes: Hanging Loop, 6 cobras with solar disks on the top, cornice with sun disk and flanking cobras

Parallels: Rhodos, Aegina, Carthage, Kairo



2.27 Image: courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.28 Scarab

Dimensions: 16 x 10 x 5,6 x D=26 (mm)

Material: Steatite

Origin: Rabat

Context: Grouped together: 2.4, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27, 2.28

Chronology: Not established

Form: Beetle

Position: On a ring

Attributes: The separation between the elytra (wings) and the thorax and prothorax is clearly carved by a line. Wings are clearly engraved. Back side: Decoration in high relief, on two very different and vertically hatched, hatched diagonally, outward-looking feathers, between the tips a small solar disk, deep spot roughly engraved crosshatched space between the springs



2.28 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 14.2



2.28 Image courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.29 Capricorn

Dimensions: 15,2 x 11,4 x 7,9 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Mtarfa

Context: Burial

Chronology: 650-550 BCE

Form: Animal

Position: On a pyramid base

Attributes: Hanging loop, hieroglyphs on the base (right facing owl)

Parallels: Carthage, Sardinia



2.29 Image: courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.30 Scarab

Dimensions: 13,7 x 10,4 x 6,5 x D=27,3 (mm)

Material: Steatite

Origin: Nigret

Context: Burial

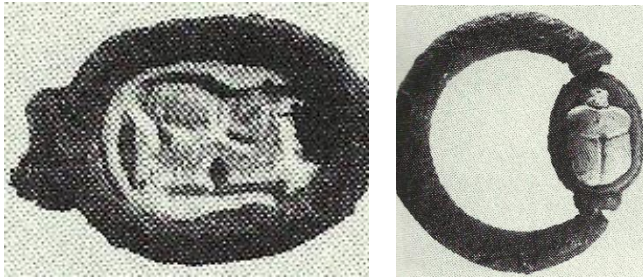
Chronology: 700-600 BCE

Form: Beetle

Position: On a ring

Attributes: The separation between the elytra (wings) and the thorax and prothorax is clearly carved by a line. On the backside is Sebekhotep (fat crocodile).

Parallels: Carthage, Thera



2.30 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 13.1

### 2.31 Scarab

Dimensions: 14,8 x 8,2 x 5,2 x D=27,5 (mm)

Material: Steatite

Origin: Qallilija-Plateau

Context: Burial (Ash urn)

Chronology: 700-600 BCE

Form: Beetle

Position: On a ring

Attributes: The separation between the elytra (wings) is shown by a simple line and the separation between thorax and prothorax is clearly carved by a double line. On the back side:

Khonsu, Sa and an owl



2.31 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 13.2

2.31 Image courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.32 Scarab

Dimensions: 16 x 10,6 x 6 x D=25 (mm)

Material: Egyptian Blue

Origin: Rabat

Context: Burial (rock-cut tomb)

Chronology: Not established

Form: Beetle

Position: On a ring

Attributes: Surface is eroded. Back side: Horus gives protection. Falcon to the right and papyrus plant with three flowers



2.32 Image courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.33 Scarab

Dimensions: Not measured

Material: Faience

Origin: Rabat

Context: Burial (rock-cut tomb)

Chronology: Not established

Form: Beetle

Position: On a ring



2.33 Image courtesy of Heritage Malta

### 2.34 Udjat

Dimensions: 14,4 x 20,8 x 4,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

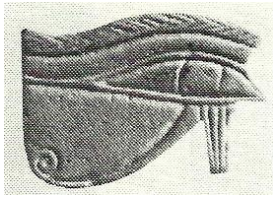
Chronology: 900-450 BCE

Form: Eye

Position: Right eye

Attributes: Thin lines, pupil not emphasized

Parallels: Byblos, Tell Jemmeh, Babylon, Susa, Beiruth, Al Mina, Cyprus



2.34 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 8.1

### 2.35 Udjat

Dimensions: 19,5 x 24,5 x 5,4 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

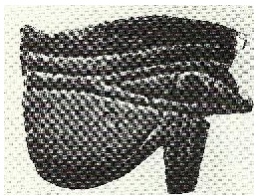
Chronology: 900 – 450 BCE

Form: Eye

Position: Right Eye

Attributes: Thin lines, pupil emphasized and dark, Brow not emphasized

Parallels: Byblos, Cyprus



2.35 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 8.2

### 2.36 Udjat

Dimensions: 12 x 18 x 4,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

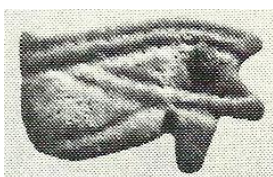
Chronology: 600-450 BCE

Form: Eye

Position: Right Eye

Attributes: Thin lines, pupil emphasized and dark, Brow not emphasized

Parallels: Cyprus



2.36 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 8.3



### 2.37 Udjat

Dimensions: 16,8 x 20,9 x 7 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: Libyan-400 BCE (what does Libyan mean here?)

Form: Eye

Position: Right Eye

Attributes: Thin lines, brow emphasized

Parallels: Byblos, Cyprus, Rhodos, Tyras



2.37 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.1

### 2.38 Udjat

Dimensions: 16,4 x 25 x 5,2 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

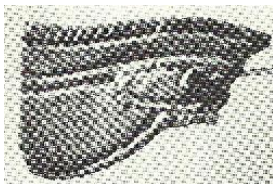
Chronology: 900-400 BCE

Form: Eye

Position: Right Eye

Attributes: Thin lines, brow emphasized

Parallels: Byblos, Cyprus, Rhodos, Tyras



2.38 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.2

### 2.39 Udjat

Dimensions: 16,4 x 22,2 x 4,4 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

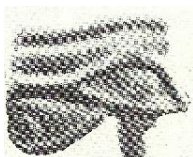
Chronology: 1100-400, 700 BCE

Form: Eye

Position: Right Eye

Attributes: In relief

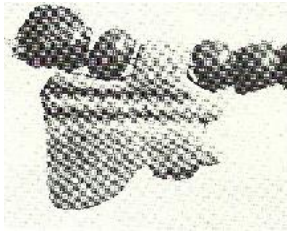
Parallels: Lachish, Hazor, Megiddo, Ashdod, Beth Shemesh, Átlit, Nebo, Tell Halaf, Karkemisch, Cyprus, Rhodos



2.39 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.3

#### **2.40 Udjat**

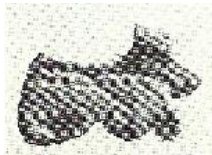
Dimensions: 11 x 13,1 x 6 (mm)  
Material: Faience  
Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)  
Context: Burial  
Chronology: 600-400 BCE  
Form: Eye (fragmented)  
Position: Right Eye  
Attributes: Unpierced hanging loop  
Parallels: Sardinia, Ibiza



**2.40 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.4**

#### **2.41 Udjat**

Dimensions: 13,5 x 14,2 x 6 (mm)  
Material: Faience  
Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)  
Context: Burial  
Chronology: Not established  
Form: Eye (fragmented)  
Position: Right Eye



**2.41 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.5**

#### **2.42 Udjat**

Dimensions: 10 x 16,3 x 4,9 (mm)  
Material: Faience  
Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)  
Context: Burial  
Chronology: Not established  
Form: Eye  
Position: Right Eye  
Attributes: no drawing



**2.42 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.6**

### **2.43 Pendant**

Dimensions: 12,1 x 13 x 6,1 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

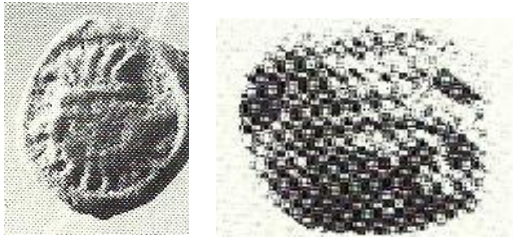
Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Round

Attributes: Hanging loop (pierced), Both sides decorated, Udjat eye; other side: Bes with feather crown, beard

Parallels: Asia



**2.43 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 9.7**

### **2.44 Wadj**

Dimensions: 45,5 x d=11,5 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Papyrus scepter

Attributes: Hanging loop



**2.44 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 10.3**

#### **2.45 Wadj**

Dimensions: 26,5; section: 9,7 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Bingemma hill

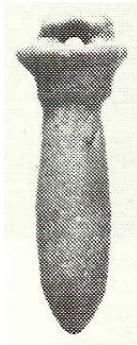
Context: Burial ( with Djed)

Chronology: Not established

Form: Papyrus scepter

Attributes: Hanging loop

Parallels: Carthage, Sardinia, Ibiza



**2.45 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 10.2**

#### **2.46 Palmette Capital**

Dimensions: 32,2 x 29,5 x 12 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

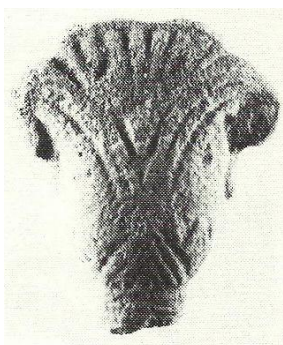
Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Capital

Attributes: Stylized lilies bloom in the form of a palmette, striped petals in a triangular form, on the stem of which a part is broken.

Parallels: Deir el-Balah



**2.46 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.2**

#### **2.47 Tooth-shaped amulet**

Dimensions: 16,7 x 8,9 x 4,2 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Tooth



**2.47 Image source:** *Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.3*

#### **2.48 Amulet**

Dimensions: 8,5 x d=10,3 (mm)

Material: Faience

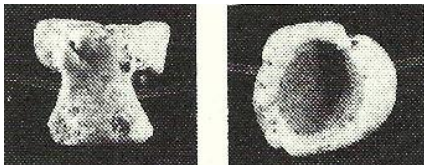
Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Altar

Attributes: Hanging



**2.48 Image source:** *Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.4*

#### **2.49 Square plate**

Dimensions: 29 x 19,8 x 5,7 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Malta

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Square

Attributes: Square, rounded edges, engraved with crossed lines, hanging loop



**2.49 Image source:** *Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.5*

### **2.50 Square plate**

Dimensions: 13,5 x 9,2 x 5,4 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: 700-550 BCE

Form: Square

Attributes: Crossed lines, perforated in the length

Parallels: Carthage



2.50 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.6

### **2.51 Square plate**

Dimensions: 10,8 x 9,3 x 3,8 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Tal-Horob (Gozo)

Context: Burial

Chronology: Not established

Form: Square

Attributes: Crossed lines, perforated in the length



2.51 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 11.7

### **2.52 Djed pillar (H6)**

Dimensions: 26,9 x 10,7 x 5,8 (mm)

Material: Faience

Origin: Bingemma hill

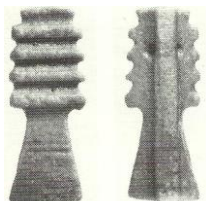
Context: Burial (with the Wadj)

Chronology: Not present

Form: Pillar, geometric tree

Position: Standing

Attributes: Hanging loop



2.52 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 10.1

### 3. Coins

#### 3.1 Coin with Astarte-Hera

Material: Bronze

Chronology: After Roman conquest

Obverse: Astarte-Hera.

Reverse: Figure with double crown, flail and scepter, flanked by two winged figures with a leaf and a horned solar disk.

Parallels: Tharros, Palestrina, Amrit



3.1 Image source: Bonanno 2005, 123

#### 3.2 Coin with possible Isis

Material: Bronze

Chronology: After Roman conquest

Obverse: Left facing goddess with a crown, surrounded by a Greek inscription and a combined symbol (3.2a and 3.2b).

Reverse: Backside shows a four winged god with a scepter, flail and Atef crown (Image 3.2c).

Parallels: Tharros



3.2a Image source: Bonanno 2005, 158



3.2b Image source: Bonanno 2005, 158



3.2c Image source: Bonanno 2005, 158

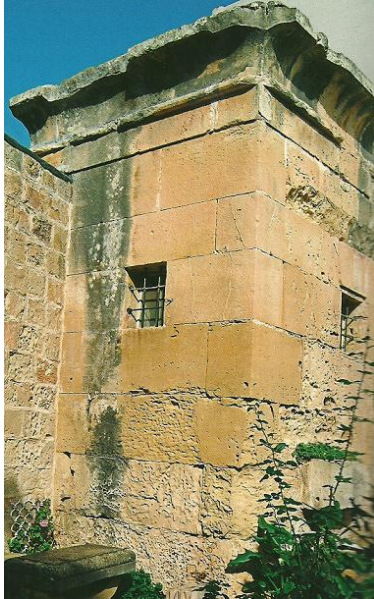
## 4. Architectural elements and other objects

### 4.1 Tower of Zurrieq

Origin: Zurrieq

Form: Building with a tower

Attributes: Rounded groove with a ridge



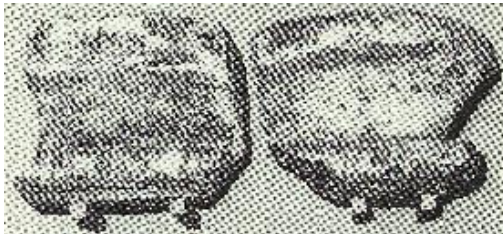
4.1 Image source: Bonanno 2005, 90

### 4.2 Cornice

Origin: Mtarfa

Context: Architectural

Attributes: Rounded groove with ridge



4.2 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 19.1

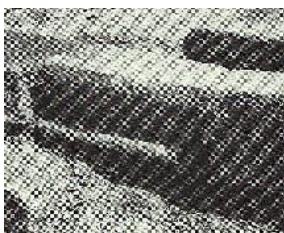
### 4.3 Sanctuary of Astarte

Origin: Tas-Silg

Context: Sanctuary

Attributes: Blocks with the rounded groove and ridges, Uraeus freeze.

Parallels: Amrit, Nora, Tharros



4.3 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 19.2



#### **4.4 Capital of column**

Origin: Tas-Silg

Context: Sanctuary

Attributes: Cavetto Cornice



4.4 Image source: Bonanno 2005, 120

#### **4.5 Relief block**

Material: Stone

Origin: Tas-Silg

Chronology: 4th century BCE

Attributes: Decorated with leaves and a lotus in Phoenician style. Two leaves are bent outward and three leaves are between them.



4.5 Image courtesy of Heritage Malta

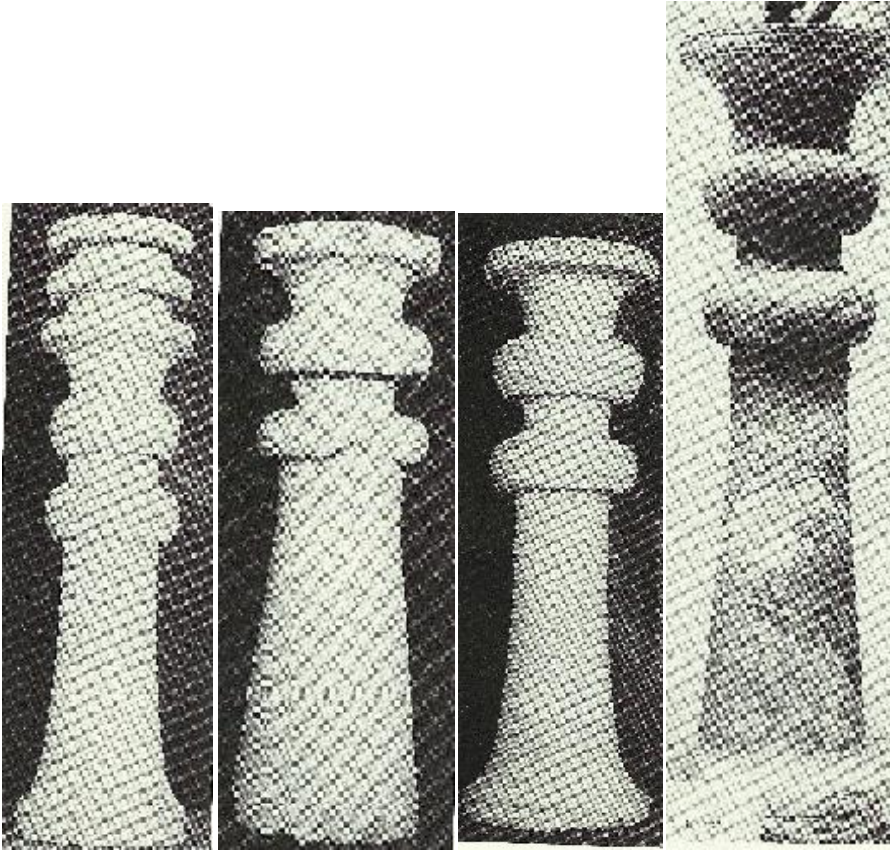
#### 4.6 Thymiateria

Material: Limestone

Origin: Tas-Silg

Chronology: End of the 4th – 3rd century BCE

Form: Tapered column, cornice



4.6 Image source: Hölbl 1989, Tafel 23

#### 4.7 Votive Shrine

Origin: Tas-Silg

Material: Limestone

Chronology: 5th century BCE

Attributes: Egyptianizing architectural structure with some Phoenician Naiskoi. Human figurine in Egyptian position

Parallels: Megiddo, Achzib, Sidon, Cyprus, Mozia

#### 4.8 Broken Statue

Material: Limestone

Origin: Unknown

Form: Anthropomorphic

Attributes: Three-part wig

Parallels: Palestrina



4.8 Image courtesy of Malta Heritage

#### 4.9 Statuette

Dimensions: Not measured

Material: Terracotta

Origin: Rabat

Form: Anthropomorphic

Attributes: Phoenician styled double crown (pschent), seamlessly connected to a head-cloak, similar to the Egyptian kings' headwear



4.10 Image courtesy of Malta Heritage

#### **4.10 Alabastron**

Material: Stone

Origin: Ghain Klieb

Context: Shaft tomb

Chronology: 7th/6th century BCE

Form: Egyptian Alabastron and proportions

Parallels: Many



**4.10 Image courtesy of Malta Heritage**