

## Case report

# An *Udjat*-eye amulet discovered at Dibbā al-Bayah (Sultanate of Oman): Long-distance trade relations in the Late Pre-Islamic burial chamber of the LCG-2 tomb

Giampiero Tursi<sup>a</sup>, Francesco Genchi<sup>b,\*</sup><sup>a</sup> *Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany*<sup>b</sup> *Department of Oriental Studies, Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy*

## ARTICLE INFO

## Keywords:

*Udjat*-eye  
Oman  
Pre-Islamic tomb  
Late period  
Long-distance trading

## ABSTRACT

The *Udjat* or “Eye of Horus” is universally known as one of the most powerful and popular Egyptian amulets. Its protective and regenerative properties made it an amulet that was widely used in funerary settings, but also worn by the living in daily life. The use of such amulets spread from Egypt to the whole of the Levant and, in later times, it also reached the Western Mediterranean and ancient Persia. Despite this widespread use, *Udjat* eye attestations in the Arabian Peninsula are extremely scarce, and have been limited so far to Saudi Arabia only. This paper discusses the first *Udjat* amulet discovered in the Sultanate of Oman, which was excavated in a Late Pre-Islamic tomb at Dibbā al-Bayah, whose funerary paraphernalia are as a whole outstanding in their variety and manufacture, testifying to the international nature of trades linked to the port of Dibbā.

This article aims to present in detail the first *Udjat* amulet found to date in Oman. The object, for which there are no exact comparisons, will be described in depth and contextualised on the basis of the other rich funerary materials from the same tomb. Ultimately, this discovery sheds further light on the historic role of Dibbā in ancient global and regional networks (Fig. 1). The appearance of this object alongside others of enormous value in tomb LCG-2 indicates the existence of long-distance trade networks that linked the entire Arabian Gulf to Mesopotamia and Syria, through the western part of the Parthian empire and the eastern Roman provinces. The presence of these imported luxury items in the southern Gulf is a clear indication of an active trade, a reflection of considerable commercial activity, which complements the scarce written sources available for this rather little-known period. Analysis of the archaeological material reveals the relationship that had been established towards the end of the 1st millennium BCE between the three centres of Dibbā on the east coast, Mleiha (Mouton, 2008; Overlaet, 2021; Overlaet et al., 2016; Overlaet et al., 2021) in the interior and Ed-Dur (Haerincx, 2001; Haerincx et al., 2021) on the west coast. This was evidently a trade trajectory that involved the arrival of goods on one of the two coasts and the crossing of the natural valley that opens between the Hajar mountains near the small, protected gulf of Dibbā.

## 1. Tomb LCG-2 and the “Chamber A”

The Dibbā burial complex lies in the Musandam Governorate (25°36′38.78″ north, 56°15′28.57″ east) of the Sultanate of Oman. It is characterized by the presence of two outstanding semi-subterranean Long Collective Graves (LCG-1 and LCG-2), whose general structures and funerary assemblages have already been described elsewhere (Genchi et al., 2018; Genchi, 2020; De Cataldo et al., 2020; Frenéz et al., 2020; Genchi and Tursi, 2022). In particular, LCG-2 consists of a structure measuring 24 m in length and 4 m wide, containing 138 individuals from primary burials and a minimum of 229 individuals buried in secondary depositions. The deceased were accompanied by thousands of valuable artefacts; among them, there is a striking amount of intact stone vessels, but also pottery vessels and bronze vessels, weapons and personal ornaments. At least three phases of frequentation have been identified. LCG-2’s original construction seems to date back to the Iron Age II, due to the massive presence of diagnostic pottery and stone vessels ascribable to the first half of the 1st millennium BCE. This date has been confirmed by radiocarbon analysis obtained from two charcoal samples collected from a pavement on which were found the stones of the eastern perimeter wall (1016–916 BCE cal. 2  $\alpha$  98 %; 1130–1014 BCE cal. 2  $\alpha$  83 %).<sup>1</sup> Based on comparative analysis of the grave goods

\* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: [francesco.genchi@uniroma1.it](mailto:francesco.genchi@uniroma1.it) (F. Genchi).<sup>1</sup> Circe Laboratory, Caserta (Italy). Lab Codes: DSH10398\_HA; DSH10386\_CH.

and a consistent series of radiocarbon dates, the tomb experienced later frequentations between the end of the of the Early and the beginning of the Late Iron Age (356–278 BCE cal. 2  $\alpha$  96 %; 328–198 BCE cal. 2  $\alpha$  92 %),<sup>2</sup> and also a final later activity attested to the PIR (Pré-Islamique Récente) period (277–338 CE cal. 2  $\alpha$  96 %; 54 BCE–120 CE cal. 2  $\alpha$  98 %).<sup>3</sup> This last use of LCG-2 was represented by a slightly oval structure composed of eight courses of stones, measuring a total height of 1.20 m, and completely sealed by three large slabs. This structure was directly built through the dismantled part of the western perimeter wall of the main long tomb, a technique which is also attested in two other chambers of LCG-2, and which was labelled “Chamber A” (Fig. 2). This chamber originally contained three primary depositions buried at different stages. The most recent phases have been documented by the presence of the remains of at least nine more individuals, on the basis of the skulls and long bones found scattered in the chamber. The presence of completely disjointed skeletons would represent the result of moving individuals according to the practice, well attested at Dibbā, of reducing skeletons in order to recover space, in the same chamber, for other burials.

## 2. The archaeological context

The *Udjat* amulet discussed in this contribution was discovered in December 2018 and recovered in the north-western side of Chamber A, containing three primary burials (Fig. 3) which are partially preserved.<sup>4</sup> Facing the northern wall, Burial 27 was the first primary deposition unearthed belonging to an adult male oriented *E-W* and placed in a right lateral position. It was discovered following successive interventions in the Chamber. The burial is in a very poor preservation. Specifically, no skull, lower limbs, upper right limb and pelvic girdle were recovered. The skeletal elements are very fragmented. Six thoracic vertebrae with associated ribs of the right side were recovered. They are slightly

displaced with respect to the connected thoracic vertebrae, two other thoracic vertebrae (at east of the connecting block) and two lumbar vertebrae (at west of the block). The left scapula and the left humerus were found connected. The radius is close to the humerus (probably the left upper limb was hyper-flexed with the hand at the height of the skull). After the removal of Burial 27, an extensive accumulation of bones intermingled with grave goods was found, corresponding to a minimum of four individuals based on the estimation of right femurs and right patellae. At the same level of this cluster but in the southern part of the Chamber was found the deposition of a 12–14-year-old individual deposited in a right lateral position (Burial 31). The individual was in the south part of the chamber huddled against the wall. It was orientated *SW-NE* facing South. The upper limbs were flexed with the hand at the height of the thorax. The lower limbs were hyper-flexed with calcanei in axis with the pelvic girdle. This individual probably laid down later than the three individuals identified in the northern part of the chamber. The individual was accompanied by a glazed jar placed at the feet and a soft stone button decorated with dot-in-circles near the hands. Finally, partially covering Burial 31, a 40–60-year-old male was discovered, placed in the central area of the Chamber and being labelled Burial 39. The body was orientated *E-W* facing south, was deposited in left lateral position. The lower limbs were flexed to bring the feet in axis with the column. The upper limbs were flexed with the right hand near the mandible and the left hand near the orbits.

The presence of an exotic object such as an *Udjat* eye, however, is part of an extraordinary set of grave goods, in terms of both the quality of the objects and its typological variety, reflecting the international nature of Dibbā’s intercultural network. Southern Mesopotamia seems to have been one of the main sources of imported pottery at Dibbā. Extant are, five large, glazed jars with handles and other small vessels that find parallels with many key centers in the region, such as Uruk, Larsa, Nippur and Susa. The presence of carnelian beads provides further



Fig. 1. Map showing the sites mentioned in the text. Source: QGis. (Double column).

<sup>2</sup> Circe Laboratory, Caserta (Italy). Lab Codes: DSH10397\_HA; DSH10394\_HA.

<sup>3</sup> Circe Laboratory, Caserta (Italy). Lab Codes: DSH10395\_HA; DSH10396\_HA

<sup>4</sup> The excavation of the burials was conducted by anthropologists Dr. Francesca De Cataldo and Dr. Martina Pallonetto.

evidence of trade, as this raw material was employed in bead production in Anatolia, Iran as well as India. Small flasks and small glazed bottles, as well as glass balsamaria, are clear indicators of trade links between Dibbā and various areas of the Roman Empire. The iron swords, although fragmented, undoubtedly refer to widespread Sasanian models, especially the one with the hook-shaped flanged hilt. Most of the grave goods seem to have been repositioned following the



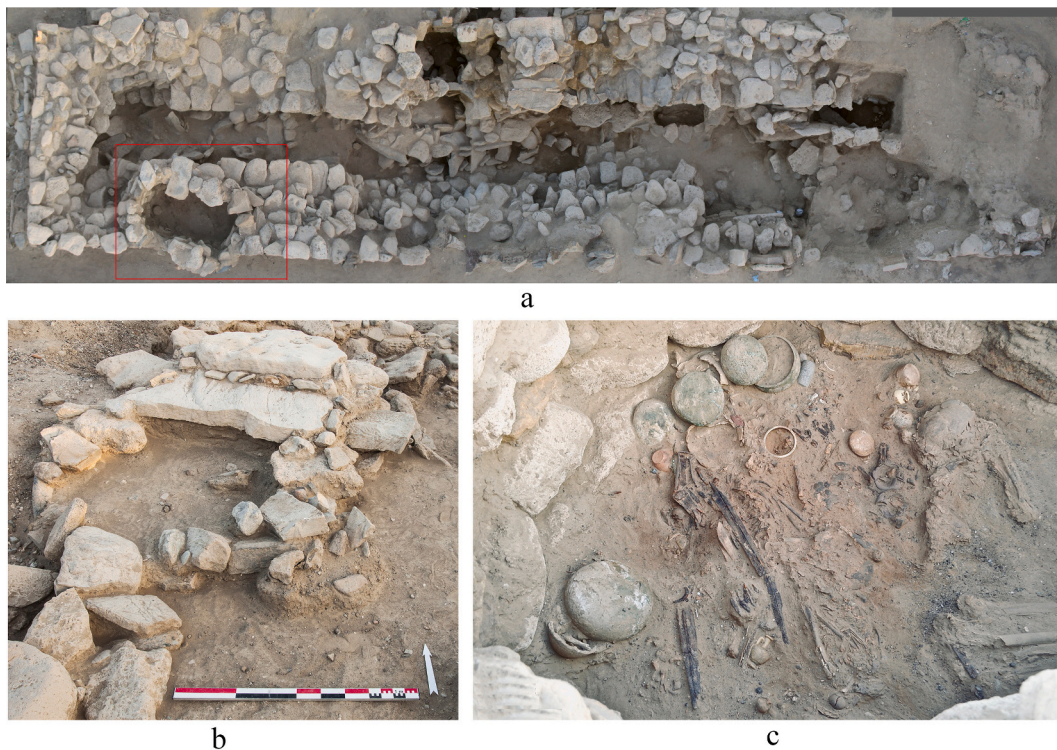


Fig. 2. a) Orthophoto of LCG-2 tomb with the location of chamber A built on the west perimetral wall; b) The chamber A before its exploration with the large closing slabs in their original position; c) Detail of the excavation of the burials in the northern part of the chamber. (Double column).

rearrangement of the burials. An original context can be proposed for the two iron swords belonging to burial 27 and, more tentatively, to the bronze vessels and glazed jars found arranged along the north-east wall of the chamber. However, the general spatial distribution of the other objects seems to have undergone clear rearrangements, for which it is unfortunately not possible to establish a precise association with individuals, as in the case of the *Udjat* eye. The amulet originally surfaced in SU 2287, found together with various other beads of various colors and shapes, with which it must have originally formed a necklace (Fig. 4). It is proposed that the amulet was originally associated with 18 beads; however, it is highly probable that the necklace was composed of a greater number of beads at the time of its creation. Unfortunately, the various remodeling of the tomb again compromises a more exact reconstruction of the necklace, as the beads were all found scattered about. The presented association is related to the proximity of these to the amulet at the time of excavation, though this may be coincidental. The beads are those typically found at Daba for the Iron Age and the late period. The majority of these exhibit a circular or bottom-shaped configuration, while the other examples display cylinder, conical and biconical morphologies. With regard to the raw materials, although a petrographic analysis has not been conducted, it can be recognized that the materials include carnelian, agate, and, tentatively, onyx and shell. (Fig. 5). Regarding the stratigraphic context, it is that of burial 39, where this group of pendants was located rather far from the chest of the individual. It was found at foot level but clearly distant from the deceased. Based on these observations, it is likely that the amulet belonged to one of these three primary burials, and probably to one of the adults corresponding to burials 27 and 39. However, an association between some of the secondary burials preserved by only a few bones and the amulet cannot be ruled out.

### 3. The Egyptian *Udjat* amulet

The Egyptian name *Udjat* or *Wedjat* (*wd3t*) means the “sound” or “healed” (Gardiner, 1957, 451 sign D10; Müller-Winkler, 1987, 93). The

term is closely related to the mythological conflict between Horus and Seth described in the first 16 pages of Papyrus Chester Batty I, dated to the XX Dynasty (ca. 1186–1069 BCE)<sup>5</sup> and which describes the battles between the two deities to determine who will succeed Osiris as king (Redford, 2001, 294). According to the myth, the wicked god Seth destroyed the eye of the falcon-headed god Horus, which was later miraculously healed by Thot, whereby the eye regained its name (Gardiner, 1957, 197). From an iconographic standpoint, the basic design of the *Udjat* eye remained quite unchanged over time. The eye of Horus is drawn as a human eye with a cosmetic line extending from its outer corner, an enhanced eyebrow line, and a stylized marking below the eye evoking the pattern of falcon feathers,<sup>6</sup> indicating the connection to the sky god Horus (Pinch, 2002, 131). The sun and the moon were both regarded as specular eyes of Horus, although the two eyes became differentiated in time, with the left one being the “Eye of Horus” and associated to the moon, whereas the right eye, or the “Eye of Re” (*irt*), was regarded as the symbol of the sun and was often personified by goddesses (Wilkinson, 1992, 43; Pinch, 2002, 128–129). It is usually supposed that the *Udjat* was the moon eye, which could symbolically renovate itself each month, but the term can also be applied to the sun’s right eye (Andrews, 1994, 43). Despite this religious distinction, the representation of the right *Udjat* was preferred on amulets for both practical and religious reasons (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 97; Bonnet, 1952, 855).

It was also universally known to be one of the most powerful, popular and long-lasting Egyptian amulets. The *Udjat* eye is first found in the late Old Kingdom and continued to be produced until the Roman Age in a wide variety of materials, such as faience, lapis lazuli, amethyst,

<sup>5</sup> In this contribution, the chronology of the Egyptian Dynasties follows: Kitchen, 1991.

<sup>6</sup> However, it is also believed that the element under the pupil may actually represent a tear (Prof. Francesco Tiradritti, personal communication 12th December 2018).





Fig. 3. The excavation of the primary burials with highlighted in red the finding spot of the amulet. (Single column). (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)



Fig. 4. Detail of the beads found together with the amulet. (Single column).

carnelian, obsidian, agate, diorite, steatite, serpentine and gold (Andrews, 1994, 43–44). The most frequently employed materials were, however, green faience and red carnelian, as was already mentioned in the XII Dynasty (ca. 1963–1786 BCE) by the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus as well as in Spells 17, 326 and 341 of the Book of the Dead

(Müller-Winkler, 1987, 96). Morphologically, this amulet belongs to the class of human body parts,<sup>7</sup> but symbolically it pertains to the divine sphere, for it does not protect a human eye but rather provides protection as a divine eye (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 93). The most ornate forms date to the Third Intermediate Period and the XXV Dynasty (ca. 780–656 BCE), when the amulet is enriched with further magical value with the addition of other deities or symbols, or with the multiple reproductions of *Udjat* up to four eyes, i.e. one for each cardinal point (Andrews, 1994, 44; 46 figs. A–D; Connor and Facchetti, 2016, 168; Bonnet, 1952, 855).

#### 4. The *Udjat* Amulet from “Chamber A”: its stylistic peculiarities and contemporary productions

The amulet (DA 50574)<sup>8</sup> is finely executed, resembling a roughly square plate measuring 3,5 cm (length), 2, 5 cm (height), and 0,5 cm (thick). It is made of green faience and is decorated on one side only, the side on which the right eye is depicted with no additional element or decoration. Its right corner and the lower part are not entirely preserved. The amulet was hung through a hole that was longitudinally pierced; all the eye’s features are realized through incisions (Fig. 6).

On the top, the amulet exhibits a black horizontal element usually taken to denote the eyebrow, which in this case is instead placed below it and designed by a continuous herringbone pattern running to the right, an innovation introduced since the XVIII Dynasty (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 119). The upper eyelid field between the eyebrow and the eye body is missing. The inner eyelid is in fact carved directly under the eyebrow, and neither its inner corner nor the right edges of the pupil are entirely visible. The outer eyelid corner is preserved to the make-up line, which are both actually drawn as a continuous line; this line is narrow and straight, parallel with the eyebrow and makes the pupil not perfectly oval. The vertical appendage is preserved for only a few millimeters, is placed just below the pupil and was composed of three vertical lines. The spiral arch abuts the outer edge of the amulet and follows it to the snail at its termination, which is instead too worn to recognize. The pupil is painted black at the inner edge of the eye, and the gusset field is flat and devoid of other decorations.<sup>9</sup> From a technological point of view, both the pupil and the black upper segment were probably made in the same way, by applying a black paint and a thicker black paste in the pre-firing phase (J. Auenmüller, personal communication, 12th October 2023).

Some typical stylistic features can be recognized, all belonging to the Late Egyptian Period. The rendering of the upper eyelid and the make-up as a continuous line seem to be an innovation of the XXII–XXV Dynasties, which remained predominant in Lower Egypt until the XXVI Dynasty (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 143). Moreover, the plate-like flat shape, the narrow eyelid area with the completely straight brow, the grooved appendage and the large and undecorated gusset area are all features which can be tracked to the Ptolemaic period (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 160–161). Regardless, the general dimension of the amulet and the fact that is worked only on one side prevent us from establishing a more precise chronological framework.

*Udjat* amulets which are stylistically comparable to the one from Chamber A can be found in Egypt, in the Southern Levant and in Iran.

Among the Egyptian parallels, we can list a group of three blue-green faience amulets, with a fourth one in limestone, ascribable to the Late Egyptian Period up to the Hellenistic Period and exhibited in the collection of the Museo Egizio in Turin (Nr. Inv.: 1124; v.n. 126; S. 115;

<sup>7</sup> For instance, the type has been grouped by Beck, in his pioneering work, in Group XXXI among “Beads and Pendants representing Parts of Human Beings”, Family A. 3 “eyes” (Beck, 2006, 34, 35 fig. 28, A.3.a – A.3.b – A.3.c).

<sup>8</sup> The object is as such listed in the recording system of the Ministry of Heritage and Tourism of Oman.

<sup>9</sup> On the terminology concerning the elements of the *Udjat* amulet, cf. Müller-Winkler, 1987, 94.





Fig. 5. Some of the beads associated with the amulet. Photo: F. Genchi



Fig. 6. The Udjat amulet excavated in Chamber A. Photo: N. Larosa; drawing: G. Tursi (Double column).

S. 119). A further piece from Naucratis, dated between the 6th and the 2nd centuries BCE (British Museum, Registration Nr.: EA 27555) can also be added, as well as one from Tanis (Louvre, Inv. Nr.: E 16197), and two other amulets thought to be of green glaze, one of which comes from Giza, and the second of which is unprovenanced (Petrie, 1914, Pl. XXV/138 y-138 ad).

Whitin the Levantine environment, very similarly manufactured examples include three faience amulets excavated at Ashkelon (Fig. 7.1) and which all date to between the Iron Age III and the Hellenistic Period

(Herrmann, 1994, Pl.65/1078–1081; Pl. 66/1086), and two further pieces from Katef Hinnom in Jerusalem, dated to the 7th–6th centuries BCE, one of which is decorated on both sides (Herrmann, 1994, Pl.72/1208–1209). Another unprovenanced amulet is incised on both sides and dated between the Iron IIC and the Persian Period (Herrmann, 2006, Pl.XCI/393). Finally, one example from Tell Jemmeh (Fig. 7.2) and a second one, again from Ashkelon, are characterized by the lid edges shaped as a continuous line with the make-up line and parallel with the straight upper eyebrow line, in a very similar fashion to our example

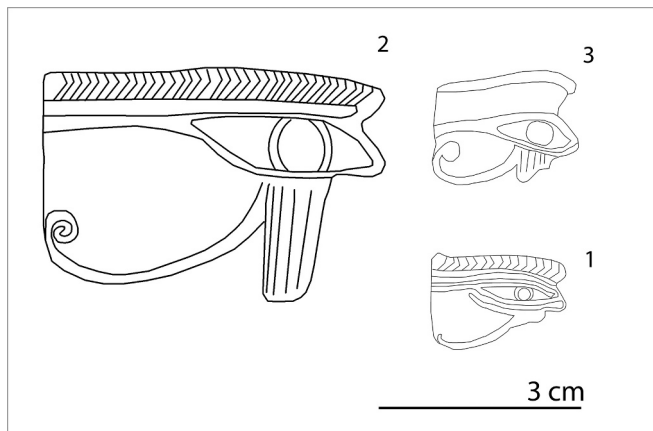


Fig. 7. Udjat examples from Ashkelon (adapted from: Herrmann, 1994, Pl.65/1078), Tell Jemmeh (adapted from: Herrmann, 1994, Pl.73/1225) and Gezer (adapted from: Herrmann, 1994, Pl. 60/970). Drawings: G. Tursi (Single column).

from Chamber A. Such a feature, in the Southern Levant, seems to be typical for objects from the period between the Iron Age IIC and the Hellenistic Period (Herrmann, 1994, 613). These amulets are worked on both sides, depicting two specular eyes, and are dated between the end of the Iron Age and the Hellenistic Period (Herrmann, 1994, Pl.73/1225; Pl.74/1226).

Beautiful examples of *Udjat* eyes are also widely attested further east, as demonstrated by a corpus of twelve amulets discovered at Susa and which are morphologically very close to the one discovered in Oman (Fig. 8). This type of amulet, together with the head of Bes, is the most widespread Egyptian-like object in Achaemenid Persia and, compared to the same *Udjat* of earlier periods, are characterized by their larger size (Qahéri, 2020, 72) which is around 6 to 7 cm in length. All the examples are made in faience and worked on both sides, the elements of the eye stand out in a slight relief, and the eyebrow is decorated with a similar herringbone pattern (Qahéri, 2020, 76–86). Yet, despite these similarities, the eye contour line is never directly attached to the eyebrow, the pupil is always incised and never painted, and the eyebrow line is similarly never present. The only exceptions can be seen on one side of an amulet where the eyebrow is rendered through an incised segment with no decoration, but only because the herringbone field is absent (Qahéri, 2020, 84, fig. B1.9). In another example, the eyebrow is also worked on one side only and is depicted as a black line (Qahéri, 2020, 80, fig. B1.5). But despite the presence of these two features, the amulet in question is stylistically distant from our *Udjat*. All specimens from Susa are dated between the XXVII and XXXI Dynasty, encompassing the Persian Period (525–332 BCE), while their provenance, unfortunately remains inconclusive since they could be produced in either Egypt or Persia.

In spite of this large number of stylistically comparable examples, it is difficult to find parallels when considering the black workmanship of the pupil and, especially, the eyebrow. The eyebrow area of our amulet indeed requires a deeper discussion.<sup>10</sup>

Usually, on this kind of amulet the upper element is the eyebrow, which can appear highlighted in a number of ways, either with incised lines or an overglaze. In either case, the presence of a pre-firing overglaze element is well known, as for instance is attested on four *Udjat* amulets coming from Heliopolis,<sup>11</sup> two from Naucratis,<sup>12</sup> and another

from Tell Dafana,<sup>13</sup> which are made of faience and are dated between the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069–656 BCE) and the Late Egyptian Period (664–332 BCE). Two more amulets can be added which were excavated in Tomb 1459 and 914 in the cemetery of Sanam in Nubia, dated between 700 and 600 BCE and which show both the pupil and the eyebrow in black (The Fitzwilliam Museum, Nr. E.118.1921; E.136.1921; Lohwasser, 2012, 501 Nr. 1459; 476 Nr.914). This technique is also widely attested in the Southern Levant (Fig. 7.3), as demonstrated by the *Udjat* eyes coming from Megiddo (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. LX/1007–1064), Lachish (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. LX/1032), Gezer (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. 60/970; Herrmann, 2006, Pl. LXXVIII/330–331), Tell Jemmeh (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. LX/1032–1068), Ashkelon (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. LX/1053), Dor (Herrmann, 2006, Pl. LXXVIII/326) and Beth-Shemesh (Herrmann, 2006, Pl. LXXVIII/328–329); all of these are dated between the Iron Age IA-IB to the Persian period. However, it should be stressed that many of the examples exhibiting this technique belong to a “schematic” type depicting only the pupil and the eyebrow (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 144–145), or else to the “black decorated” type (Müller-Winkler, 1987, 145), which is likewise different from the case in point. Indeed, the missing element always seems to be the incised area between the eye and the eyebrow.

In these examples, the band on the upper edge reproduces the eyebrow, whereas the interesting aspect in our amulet is that the space between the eye and the upper element, i.e. the “original” eyebrow, has been decorated in order to appear as the eyebrow. For the interesting combination of a dashed zone between the eye and the black lined eyebrow, there are considerably fewer parallels. Such artistic conventions do exist, but only on amulets worked in a much more elaborate form than the piece from Dibba. For instance, a parallel for this stylistic feature is an amazing *Udjat* amulet from Egypt, dated to the Third Intermediate Period, and stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Accession Number: 26.7.1032). Tentatively, a more exact comparison might also be represented by another Egyptian amulet displayed in the Louvre, which seems to bear black traces just above the eyebrow and to have been reproduced in the same herringbone pattern as the Dibba’s specimen (Louvre, Inv. Nr.: E 22261 P). The evidence is, however, too shaky to establish any feasible relationships. The same considerations can be made for another piece dated to the Late Period, which shows the black lined eyebrow as the terminal part of its surface, while the area below it and the eye shows faint traces of hatching corresponding to the inner corner of the eye (Louvre, Inv. Nr.: ME 695). Similar hints of a “double” eyebrow can be seen on another amulet, which is stylistically closer to our example, dated to the XXVI Dynasty (ca. 664–525 BCE) (Herrmann and Staubli, 2010, 127 fig. 24), although the black lined element is missing. Finally, a stylistic similarity can be tracked on an incised silver plaque of the Third Intermediate Period depicting the Eye of Horus, which is marked by a wide field filled with oblique lines and placed just between the eye body and the eyebrow, extending the entire length of the make-up line (Louvre, Inv. Nr.: N 4341 E).<sup>14</sup> Similar metal plaques with an incised *Udjat* were placed on the cut in the left hip of the deceased, which was created for evisceration in order to heal the lesion (Connor and Facchetti, 2016, 168; Salima and Dodson, 1998, 138). Additional evidence can be found in some cases when the amulets are realized in “openwork”, i.e. in which the gusset area and the area between the eye and the brow are rendered as empty space. In these instances the elements connecting the eye and the eyebrow can be decorated with similar lines, and we can also notice the use of black color to create the eyebrow, similarly to our amulet.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For this general discussion, the authors express their gratitude to Dr. Johannes Auenmüller, curator at the Museo Egizio Torino (personal communication, 12th October 2023).

<sup>11</sup> See Museo Egizio Torino, Nr. Inv.: S. 3169; S. 3214; S. 3188; S. 3185.

<sup>12</sup> See British Museum Registration Nr.: 2537.02; Nr: 9, 9, 86, 84.

<sup>13</sup> British Museum Registration Nr.: 1887, 0101.663.

<sup>14</sup> An almost identical example is also found in: Petrie, 1914, Pl. XXIV/139 n.

<sup>15</sup> See for instance: Museo Egizio Torino, Nr. Inv.: Provv. 2013; Louvre, Inv. Nr.: E 11856; and British Museum Registration Nr.: EA7321. Unfortunately, no more information is provided on their context of discovery. They come from an Egyptian environment and are dated around the Third Intermediate Period.



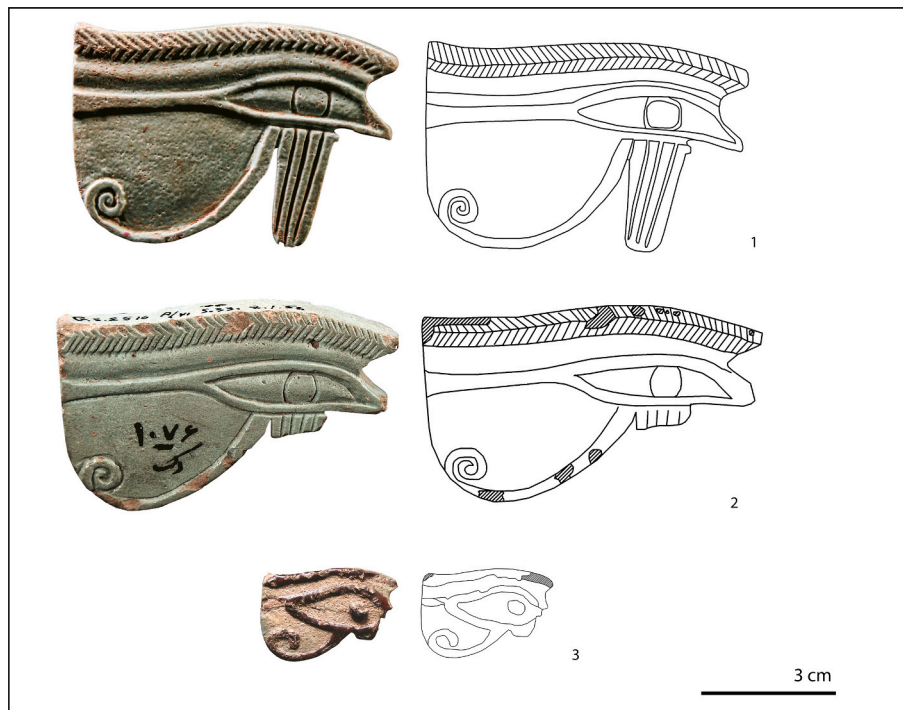


Fig. 8. Udjat examples from Susa. Photos by courtesy of the National Museum of Iran. Drawings: G. Tursi, adapted from: Qaheri 2020, 76 fig. B1.1; 80 fig. B1.5; 84 fig. B1.9. (Single column).

Significantly, however, this combination seems to be more frequent in the opposite arrangement, namely when the dashed zone is depicted as the final element and is instead preceded by the eyebrow line. This feature is attested in Egypt in some more elaborate amulets, such as two models with impressions from Qantir dated to the XIX-XX Dynasties (Herrmann and Staubli, 2010, 128 fig. 41; 129 fig. 42), as well as on another amulet, stylistically closer to our piece, from Naucratis and dated to the XVI Dynasty (British Museum Registration Nr.: EA 27556). Again, similar *Udjat* amulets depicting the combination between dashed and simple eyebrows also occur in the Southern Levant. Three specimens from Megiddo, datable to the Iron Age IIA–B, show a thinner band positioned between the contour of the eye and the eyebrow; in one case, the band also presents three dashes at its end, perhaps recalling the eyebrow (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. 60/981; 61/992–995). Additional examples come from Beth-Shemesh (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. 62/1003), Ashkelon (Herrmann, 1994, Pl. 65/1081) and Deir el-Balah, which are also dated between the Iron Age III and the Persian Period (ca. 587–333 BCE) (Herrmann, 2006, Pl. XCII/397–398).

##### 5. *Aegyptiaca* in the Arabian Peninsula

Having dealt with the occurrences of the Eye of Horus between Egypt, Levant and Iran, let us now consider the circulation of *Aegyptiaca* in the Arabian Peninsula. Cultural contact between these two areas is indicated by a quite conspicuous corpus of Egyptian and Egyptianizing items, which have been found at almost every archaeological site all over the Arabian Peninsula. The function which Egyptian objects had in Arabia and their interpretation is nevertheless uncertain. *Aegyptiaca* found in the Arabian Peninsula were clearly used by local populations, and items such as figurative amulets, scarabs and statuettes are also attested either as grave goods or as votive offerings to temples and dedicated to local gods (Sperveslage, 2019, 303; Sperveslage and Eichmann, 2012, 377). However, the phenomenon of Egyptian finds in Arabia can also be viewed within the framework of the “Elite Emulation” model, since these prestige objects and motifs were integrated into sacred and funerary contexts (Sperveslage, 2019, 307). This suggests that

these objects did not simply satisfy a fashion need, but could also be an expression of a kind of religious assimilation with an apotropaic background.

Egyptian-style material culture collected in the Arabian Peninsula includes a wide variety of objects: not only amulets and scarabs but also anthropomorphic and zoomorphic faience figurines, which depict, for instance, deities such as Bastet, Bes, and Isis, as well as crocodiles, bulls and apes. Also noticeable is the presence of alabaster and faience vessels, the latter of which are sometimes decorated with painted lotus flowers (Sperveslage, 2019, 439 Figs. 68–69-70; Sperveslage, 2016, 317 Fig. 14.8) and faience beads. Sphinx sculptures and bronze figurines also represent Harpocrates (Wilkinson, 1992). An especially prominent center yielding Egyptian materials was without doubt Taymā, where a direct pharaonic interest also seems to be attested as early as the XX Dynasty on the basis of a hieroglyphic royal inscription bearing the names of Ramesses III (ca. 1184–1153 BCE), discovered in 2010 (Sperveslage and Eichmann, 2012; Sperveslage, 2013; Sperveslage, 2016). Albeit to a lesser extent, several amulets and figurines also come from Dhahran, as well as from Qaryat al-Fāw, Med’ā in Salih, Al-Ula and from Thaj (Wilkinson, 1992). Outside Saudi Arabia, Egyptian-style items also come from Bahrain, Marib in Yemen, Mleiha and Saruq al-Hadid in the UAE (Mahfouz et al., 2021, 44) as well as Failakah in Kuwait (Sperveslage and Eichmann, 2012; 371), where, more recently, four scarabs were also discovered (Mahfouz et al., 2021). With regard to the Oman Peninsula, the historical trade connection of the region with Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley is also confirmed by the very meagre presence of Egyptian materials. Indeed, we can only list here a scarab from a grave at Bawshar and other two pieces from Sahar and from Bat, respectively (Mahfouz et al., 2021, 44). However, a Levantine influence can be tracked on two further seals from Bidbid and Bani Bu Hasan (Frenze et al., 2020, Fig. 5). Most exceptional in this regard is the discovery in 2012 of two stamp seals exhibiting hybrid features between Dilmum seals and Egyptian scarabs, both of which were found in the first tomb (LCG-1) at Dibbā (Frenze et al., 2020, Fig. 3). One of these in particular, which depicts a striding horned animal (Frenze et al., 2020, Fig. 3, DA 35873) is likely to represent a local adaptation of an Egyptian-

like scarab following a production that originated in the Middle Bronze Levant and probably reached the northern Oman via the Gulf (Frenez et al., 2020, 9–10).

Insight into the commercial relationship between Egypt and southern Oman during the Iron Age and the Classical period may also be gleaned from a building on the Inqitat promontory in Dhofar, where a bead made of mosaic glass cane displaying a central flower pattern was discovered in a container (Lischi, 2020). This type of bead was prevalent in the Roman Empire and its sphere of influence. Nevertheless, it is widely acknowledged that it originated in Egypt, with the example from Inqitat belonging to the Alexandrine tradition (Lischi, 2020). Finally, it is noteworthy to mention the discovery of a reworked stone vessel fragment within Building X of the Early Bronze Age site of Ras al Jinz. The artifact was initially described as a cylindrical vessel crafted from red and white conglomerate stone, visually resembling vessels of Egyptian origin (Cleuziou and Tosi, 2000, 36). This remarkable artifact would have constituted the sole evidence of exchange between the Old Kingdom Egypt and the Umm an-Nar communities of southeastern Arabia (Frenez, 2021, 3). Nevertheless, a recent examination of the vessel has revealed that the artifact is crafted from limestone containing white-yellowish fossils embedded in a red and brown matrix, which is most plausibly derived from the greater Indus Valley (Frenez, 2021, 3–6).

If we restrict the search to *Udjat* eye amulets, these are much less frequently attested. The examples known so far are four in total and are all located in Saudi Arabia. Two of them come from the necropolis at Sana'iye directly south of the settlement of Taymā, while the third one is from the region of Thaj, around 30 km south of Abqaiq and 30 km from the coast (Sperveslage, 2019, 117). The last example has been recovered at Qaryat al-Faw. Let us scrutinize these examples one by one.

The first item from Sana'iye is decorated on one side only, which depict the right eye; the eyebrow is rendered through a cross-hatching and, as on the item from Dibbā, there is no distance between this and the eye's contour. Its dimensions are, however, much smaller, measuring around 1 cm length, and a pierced eyelet was used for hanging (Sperveslage, 2019, 429 figs. 20–22). The second *Udjat* is somewhat smaller and less finely crafted, is longitudinally pierced and decorated on both sides, and the right one is particularly worn. The eyebrow, whose details are not highlighted, is very close to the eyelid (Sperveslage, 2019, 429 figs. 23–25). Both items are thought to have been imported from the Nile Valley, on the basis of the lack of good parallels from the Levant, and are dated to the XVI Dynasty (Sperveslage, 2019, 92; Sperveslage, 2016, 316).

The example from Thaj was the easternmost so far found and is, remarkably, made of carnelian. Its provenance is nevertheless unclear and it is documented only by an old drawing, from which one can see very schematic and abstract carvings on both of its sides, which present no anatomical details (Sperveslage, 2019, 447, fig. 103). It is longitudinally pierced and measures 1 cm in length, it has been dated to between the 3rd century BCE and the 2nd century CE on the basis of ceramic finds from the same site (Sperveslage, 2019, 117).

From Qaryat al-Faw there are a number of Egyptian and Egyptianizing amulets whose importance is not inferior to Tayma's assemblage, but which are mainly datable to the Roman period (Sperveslage, 2019, 304). Unfortunately, the original context of many of them is unknown and preliminary analysis have not been published (Sperveslage, 2019, 98). This is also the case with the last known *Udjat* amulet. It is said to be of light blue faience with glazed yellow parts, which is characteristic of faience from the Roman period (Sperveslage, 2019, 99), has an eyelet attachment, and measures 1,3 cm in length (Sperveslage, 2019, 100; 323 kat. 47).

Finally, further evidence of the *Udjat* eye in non-amuletic form is available from Qasr al-Hamra, which is noticeable for its nature and iconography. It consists in a fragmented storage container bearing a stamp impression depicting a left *Udjat* flanked by two walking pigs (Sperveslage, 2019, 460 figs. 155 to 158). The pupil, the eyebrow, the

downward lines and the make-up line are all made in raised relief, but oddly the eye's contour is missing. Based on Egyptian comparisons of amulets depicting pigs, this impression is datable to the Third Intermediate Period up to the late 7th century BCE at the latest (Sperveslage, 2019, 161–162).

## 6. Discussion and possible origins

We have thus considered the circulation of similar amulets of the *Udjat* type in an area extending from Egypt to Iran. Unfortunately, most of the amulets in museum collections have an unknown provenance or precise information about their context, which does not help in narrowing the possible date of manufacture of the objects, and the same applies to many of the quoted parallels. All the examples mentioned above are consistent with a dating to the Late and Persian Periods, with some specimens ascribable to the Hellenistic Period. An older dating seems to have the eyebrow worked in paste or black color, which in Egypt is found in the Third Intermediate Period; in the examples found in the Southern Levant, this feature tends to belong to the Iron Age IB–IIA.

As has been noted, the bichromy which characterizes the *Udjat* from Dibbā is not found on other *Udjat* amulets presenting the same general stylistic features. The combination of black pupil and black eyebrow is indeed attested only on a few examples from Egypt, which are however realized in “openwork” or using the “black decorated” technique. In some pieces from the Southern Levant, they are also different in that they many of them are “schematic” and depict only the pupil and the brow. The amulet from LGC-2 would therefore represent an interesting hybrid type between the two techniques, for which a precise parallel is hard to find. Indeed, the only object which exhibits the very same combination of “double” eyebrows is found on a particularly elaborate Egyptian amulet, which otherwise does not stylistically conform to it (Fig. 9). The variety of design options in producing this kind of amulet is incredibly varied, and certain features could remain in use for long periods, so that a strictly chronologically structured classification of the different designs is not possible. Given this, our specimen from LCG-2 at Dibbā can be dated to the Late Period of the Egyptian chronology,<sup>16</sup> or to the Hellenistic period at the latest.

Just as its dating can only be framed in fairly general terms, its provenance is also a matter of speculation. In the Southern Levant, the spread of *Udjat* amulets in faience is well attested at Beth-Shean and Lachish around the Late Bronze Age IIB (ca. 1200–1150 BCE)



Fig. 9. *Udjat* eye from Egypt exhibiting the combination of dashed/black eyebrow. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Single column).

<sup>16</sup> The spread of artefacts of all kinds in the Mediterranean area would coincide with the advent of the Saitic dynasty in Egypt (664–525 BCE), which promoted an increased religiosity in Egypt with the consequent spread of Egyptian magical-religious practices (Verga, 1968, 20).



(McGovern, 1985, 60–61). The production of these objects reached its peak in the Persian period, before declining to a lower point in the Hellenistic period (Herrmann, 1994, 612). This trend would be consistent with the *Udjat* and, indeed, a Levantine provenance for some of the Egyptianizing materials found in the Gulf area has already been suggested (Mahfouz et al., 2021, 47). What is more, the great amount of *Aegyptiaca* from Tayma has been connected to the proximity of the site to Egypt, although it has also been noted how in Eastern Arabia the greater distance may have promoted the importation of Egyptianizing objects from the Levant (Sperveslage, 2019, 304).

The corpus of amulets from Susa, with the exception of one piece which is decorated in black (Qahéri, 2020, 80, fig. B1.5), all appear to be stylistically coherent, and are possibly linked to a specific workshop. Chronologically, they are certainly close to our amulet too. However, their size ranges around 5 to 7 cm in length and there are no traces of color; moreover, they are all decorated in relief and not with engravings. Still, the presence of skilled Egyptian craftsmen not only in Susa but also Persepolis and Borazjan in the Achaemenid Empire is well documented by textual evidence (Zehbari, 2021). And what is more, the pottery assemblage from Chamber A yields a noticeable group of Parthian glazed wares. All in all, the lack of precise comparisons for our amulet cannot preclude the possibility of a provenance from nearby Iran.

However, all in all the most plausible possibility is that the object originated directly from the Nile Delta. Considering the good workmanship of the piece, the presence of the same combination of eyebrows attested in Egypt, and the probable Egyptian provenance of the only other two *Udjat* amulets found in Arabia, an Egyptian origin of this item is most likely.

In this scenario, the distance travelled by the artifact would undoubtedly be astounding, yet the period between the VII and III century BCE saw the flourishing of Punic and Greek-Egyptian workshops in the Delta region, through which amulets of the *Udjat* type in faience reached the western Mediterranean in large quantities (Verga, 1968, 20; López Grande and Velázquez Brieva, 2012). These trade routes also intensified in later times when the Oman peninsula was integrated into the Indo-Roman trade network (Sperveslage, 2019, 125), during which time exotic objects could be found at enormous distances from the place of production. This amulet might represent an heirloom slightly earlier than the building of Chamber A and originated in the Egyptian Delta, which reached the south-eastern Arabian Peninsula in a period of “globalization” between the Roman world and the Indian Ocean (Witcher, 2017, 635).

Finally, the pivotal position of Dibbā al-Bayah should be considered. Whether one examines the navigation and trading opportunities from Roman Egyptian ports to the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa, or the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, an intriguing text for our discussion is the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. This document, written in the 1st century, reports the role of a port near the strait of Hormuz and named Omana (Casson, 1989, 180). Its exact location is disputed. Some scholars have placed the port within the Persian Gulf or near the strait (Casson, 1989, 180–81), where it was initially identified with ed-Dur or Mleiha, while more recently the port of Dibbā has also been proposed (Sperveslage, 2019, 125).

## 7. Conclusion

An *Udjat* amulet in faience found in a pre-Islamic period burial chamber built through the rearrangement of the original wall of the collective tomb LCG-2 and dated to Iron Age II/III (1100–300 BCE) represents an outstanding discovery at Dibbā al-Bayah. The amulet was found together with other pendants and beads that formed a necklace. A clear association between the amulet and the deceased cannot be established, yet it can be assumed that it originally belonged to one of the two adult individuals. Based on its stylistic properties, this *Udjat*-type amulet can be assigned to the Late (664–332 BCE) or the Hellenistic Period (323–32 BCE). Despite similarities with various

contemporaneous specimens from both Egypt, the Southern Levant and Iran, the present piece is characterized by having the eyebrow line in black immediately followed by another one rendered with hatches. Considering this stylistic peculiarity and the general workmanship of the item, as well as the probable Egyptian provenance of similar amulets found in Arabia, an extra-Egyptian production seems the least likely hypothesis. The presence of such a valuable and exotic item in a tomb in Oman does not indicate the presence of Egyptians or the adoption of their funerary customs. On the other hand, considering its association with many other prestige items, the amulet does not seem to have been used simply as a bodily ornament. Accordingly, a decorative function alone should also be ruled out. Instead, one should acknowledge the apotropaic and magical characteristic of the object which, in any case, could have been decontextualised from its original symbolic function.

The discovery of an Egyptian amulet so far to the east remains extraordinary, but it has to be contextualised, for it is not an accidental discovery but is part of an ensemble of luxury items, most of them imported, recovered in the necropolis of Dibbā. These objects found in the LCG-2 tomb point to the existence of long-distance trade networks linking the whole Arabian Gulf to Mesopotamia and Syria, via the western part of the Parthian empire and the eastern Roman provinces. A further clue about the area’s history is the discovery of a large and surprising assemblage of materially identical objects to those of Chamber A, which were found several years ago in a Roman-Parthian tomb in Dibbā al-Hisn (Emirate of Sharjah, UAE), only a few kilometres from the necropolis of Dibbā al-Bayah (Jasim, 2006). This discovery supports the hypothesis that the east coast of the Oman Peninsula was a point of arrival or at least a port connecting the Ocean and the Gulf. It seems that the ancient port of Dibbā provided a comfortable anchorage for commodity-laden ships from the Roman world, which would sail down from the kingdom of Charax through the Arabian Gulf, cross the Strait of Hormuz and then head eastwards to the Indian Ocean. Between the I century BCE and the II century CE, the port of Dibbā was probably equivalent in significance to Sumhuram, (Comfort, 1960) on the South Arabian coast, as well as the Roman ports of Qaseir al-Qadim and Benerike on the Red Sea (Peacock and Blue, 2006). These, together with Indian ports, were among those actively involved in an international commercial network which traded in a wide range of commodities from Rome, Egypt, India, Iran and Mesopotamia in exchange for frankincense, myrrh and aloe, the main commodities from southern Arabia (Casson, 1989, 17). This network of ports also include Ed-Dur located on the west coast of the UAE, which could have acted as a berth on the opposite side, just as Mleiha could have acted as a hinge between the coasts being located inland. Objects of great value which are like those found in Chamber A of the LCG-2 tomb were found in both important centers.

Finally, in light of the evidence from the *Aegyptiaca* found in Yemen and the glass beads from the Nile delta in the Khor Rori area, it is also possible to consider a southern route via the Red Sea and along the coast of Southern Arabia. Ultimately the discovery of a *Udjat* eye of Egyptian origin in the Dibbā burial complex demonstrates the site’s crucial value in terms of trade and intercultural relations across the Strait of Hormuz. It also confirms how the site’s privileged location facilitated contact with the surrounding regions over a long period on the basis of evidence of imports from the end of the II millennium BCEE.

## CRedit authorship contribution statement

**Giampiero Tursi:** Writing – original draft. **Francesco Genchi:** Writing – original draft.

## Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare the following financial interests/personal relationships which may be considered as potential competing interests.

Francesco Genchi reports financial support was provided by International Association of Studies on the Mediterranean and the East.

Francesco Genchi reports a relationship with University of Rome La Sapienza that includes: employment. If there are other authors, they declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would firstly like to thank the Ministry of Heritage and Tourism of the Sultanate of Oman for their continued support in their research. We would like to thank the Minister His Highness Salim bin Mohammed al-Mahruqi, Mr. Sultan al-Bakri, Special advisor for Heritage to H.E. the Minister of Heritage and Tourism and Ali al-Mahruqi, General Director of Archaeology. Special thanks are extended to Dr. Johannes Auenmüller, Curator of the Egyptian Museum in Turin, for his valuable comments and for providing us with numerous comparisons from various institutions. A thanks is also extended to Jonathan Griffiths for proofreading the English text, and to Prof. Francesco Tiradritti for his initial information following the discovery in 2018. Moreover, the main thanks go to La Sapienza University of Rome, which supports our research in Oman, as well as ISMEO (International Association for Mediterranean and Oriental Studies) and MAECI (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation).

## References

- Andrews, C., 1994. Amulets of Ancient Egypt. British Museum Press, London.
- Beck, H.C., 2006. Classification and nomenclature of beads and pendants. *Beads: J. Soc. Bead Res.* 18, 1–76.
- Bonnet, H., 1952. Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Casson, L., 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Cleuziou, S., Tosi, M., 2000. Ra's al-Jinz and the prehistoric coastal cultures of Ja'alán. *J. Oman Stud.* 11, 19–73.
- Comfort, H., 1960. Some imported pottery from Khor Rori (Dhofar). *Bull. Am. Sch. Orient. Res.* 160, 15–20.
- Connor, S., Facchetti, F., 2016. In: Panini, F.C. (Ed.), *Amuleti dell'Antico Egitto*. Museo Egizio Torino.
- De Cataldo, F., Genchi, F., Ramazzotti, M., Coppa, A., 2020. 2020. Funerary variability and long-term reuse in Daba collective grave from I millennium BC. In: *The IASA (International Association for the Study of Arabia) Bulletin*, 25, pp. 13–14 (Seminar for Arabian Studies, Leiden, 11–13 July 2019, Poster).
- Frenez, D., 2021. A non-Egyptian «Egyptian» stone vessel from Ras Al Jinz RJ-2, Sultanate of Oman: critical review of an entrenched hypothesis. *Archaeol. Res. Asia* 28, 100321. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2021.100321>.
- Frenez, D., Genchi, F., David-Cuny, H., Al-Bakri, S.S., 2020. The early Iron age collective tomb LCG-1 at Dibbā al-Bayah, Oman: long-distance exchange and cross-cultural interaction. *Antiquity* 95 (379), 104–124. <https://doi.org/10.15184/aky.2020.224>.
- Gardiner, A., 1957. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed., rev. Griffith Institute, Oxford.
- Genchi, F., 2020. Long collective graves LCG-1 and LCG-2 at Daba Musandam governorate, Sultanate of Oman. In: Cleuziou, S., Tosi, M. (Eds.), *In the Shadow of the Ancestors, the Prehistoric Foundations of the Early Arabian Civilization in Oman* (Second expanded edition), pp. 463–469. Archaeopress Publishing Ltd in association with the Ministry of Heritage and Tourism, Sultanate of Oman.
- Genchi, F., Tursi, G., 2022. The softstone vessels assemblage from the long collective grave 1 (LCG-1) at Dibbā al-Bayah (Sultanate of Oman): a preliminary assessment. *Arab. Archaeol. Epigr.* 1–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aae.12209>.
- Genchi, F., Fattore, L., Nava, A., Maini, E., 2018. The LCG2 complex at Dibbā (Musandam, Oman, II-I millennium BC): structural, material, and osteological elements. *Proceed. Semin. Arabian Stud.* 48, 99–117.
- Haerincx, E., 2001. Excavations at ed-Dur: the tombs. The University of Ghent South-East Arabian Archaeological Project. Leuven, Peeters II.
- Haerincx, E., Overlaet, B., De Waele, A., Delrue, P., 2021. Small Finds from ed-Dur, Umm al-Qaiwain, UAE (Late 1st century BCE to Early 2nd century CE). Vol. IV: Excavations at ed-Dur, Umm al-Qaiwain, United Arab Emirates. Leuven, Peeters.
- Herrmann, C., 1994. Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Mit einem Ausblick auf ihre Rezeption durch das Alte Testament. In: *OBO 138*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Fribourg.
- Herrmann, C., 2006. Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Band III. In: *OBO 24*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Fribourg.
- Herrmann, C., Staubli, T., 2010. 1001 Amulett: Altägyptischer Zauber, monotheisierte Talismane, säkulare Magie. In: *Bibel + Orient Museum, Friburg. Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart*.
- Jasim, S.A., 2006. Trade centres and commercial routes in the Arabian gulf: post-Hellenistic discoveries at Dibba, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates. *Arab. Archaeol. Epigr.* 17, 214–237.
- Kitchen, K.A., 1991. The Chronology of Ancient Egypt. *World Archaeology*, 23, No. 2. Taylor and Francis, Chronologies, pp. 201–208.
- Lischi, S., 2020. A mosaic glass “flower” bead from Inqitat, Dhofar. *J. Indian Archeol.* 15–16, 24–30.
- Lohwasser, A., 2012. Aspekte der Napatanischen Gesellschaft: archäologisches Inventar Und funéraire Praxis Im Friedhof von Sanam - Perspektiven Einer Kulturhistorischen Interpretation. *Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 67; Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 1*. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
- López Grande, M.J., Velázquez Brieva, F., 2012. Amuletos-placa de iconografía egipcia: El modelo Vaca/Udjat en el ámbito Fenicio-Púnico. In: *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología*, 37–38, (2011–12), pp. 509–523.
- Mahfouz, E.-S., Al-Duweish, S., Saied, A., 2021. Egyptian scarabs discovered on Kuwait's Failaka Island and similar finds from the Gulf region. *Arab. Archaeol. Epigr.* 2021, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aae.12178>.
- McGovern, E.P., 1985. Late bronze Palestinian pendants: Innovation in a cosmopolitan age. In: *Jsof/Asor Monograph Series*, 1. Department of Biblical Studies, The University of Sheffield, Jsof Press.
- Mouton, M., 2008. La péninsule d'Oman de la fin de l'âge du fer au début de la période sassanide (250 av.–350 ap. J.-C.). In: *BAR International Series*, 1776. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Müller-Winkler, C., 1987. Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amulette. Mit Publikation der Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz, ehemals Sammlung Fouad S. Matouk. (OBO Series Archaeologica 5), Freiburg Schweiz und Göttingen.
- Overlaet, B., 2021. Wine for the afterlife – tombs and burial practices at Mleiha in SE-Arabia. *Bulle. des séances- Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer* 65, 147–168.
- Overlaet, B., Macdonald, M., Stein, P., 2016. An Aramaic-Hasaitic bilingual inscription from a monumental tomb at Mleiha, Sharjah, UAE. *Arab. Archaeol. Epigr.* 27, 127–142. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aae.12072>.
- Overlaet, B., De Prez, B., Couchez, K., Massagé, L., Van Ham-Meert, A., 2021. The 2017 Belgian excavations at Mleiha F, Sharjah, UAE. *Annuaire Sharjah Archaeol.* 18, 16–38.
- Peacock, D.P.S., Blue, L., 2006. Myos Hormos-Quseir al-Qadim; Roman and Islamic ports on the Red Sea. In: *Survey and Excavations 1999–2003*. Oxford, vol. 1.
- Petrie, W.M.F., 1914. *Amulets Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London*.
- Pinch, G., 2002. *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology. Handbook of World Mythology*, Bloomsbury Academic.
- Qahéri, S., 2020. Objects égyptiens et égyptianisants d'époque achéménide conservés en Iran. Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Bristol.
- Redford, D.B., 2001. *Contendings of Horus and Seth*. Oxford University Press, The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt I, pp. 294–295.
- Salima, I., Dodson, A., 1998. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Sperveslage, G., 2013. Ägyptische Einflüsse auf der Arabischen Halbinsel in vorislamischer Zeit am Beispiel der Oase von Tayma. *Zeitschrift für Orient – Archäologie*, Band 6, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Orient, Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, Berlin, pp. 234–252.
- Sperveslage, G., 2016. Intercultural contacts between Egypt and the Arabian peninsula at the turn of the 2nd to the 1st millennium BCE. In: Moreno García, J.C. (Ed.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East 1300–500 BC*. Oxbow, Oxford and Philadelphia, pp. 303–330.
- Sperveslage, G., 2019. Ägypten und Arabien. Ein Beitrag zu den Interkulturellen Beziehungen Altägyptens. *Alter Orient un Altes Testament*, vol. Band 420. Ugarit – Verlag, Münster.
- Sperveslage, G., Eichmann, R., 2012. Egyptian cultural impact on north-West Arabia in the second and first millennia BC. *Proceed. Semin. Arabian Stud.* 42 (2012), 371–384.
- Verga, S., 1968. Considerazioni in margine al significato magico-religioso e alla tipologia dei “ugiat” conservati nel Museo J. Whitaker di Mozia. *Sicilia Archeologica. Rassegna periodica di studi, notizie e documentazione edita dall'Ente Prov. le Turismo di Trapani*. Anno XIV, 45, pp. 15–24.
- Wilkinson, R.H., 1992. *Reading Egyptian Art. A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Witcher, R., 2017. The globalized Roman world. In: Hodos, T. (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*. London and New York, pp. 634–651.
- Zehbari, Z., 2021. On Participation of Egyptian Artists in Achaemenid Art. In: Hess, C.W., Manuelli, F. (Eds.), *Bridging the Gap: Disciplines, Times, and Spaces in Dialogue*. Volume I, Session 1, 2, and 5 from the Conference Broadening Horizons 6 Held at the Freie Universität Berlin, 24–28 June 2019. Archaeopress, Oxford, pp. 59–79.