

Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.



Acta Symposii anno 2023

BUDAPEST

Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.

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

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Aegyptus et Pannonia IX.

Objects and Concepts.

Proceedings of the Conference

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

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THE 'OBJECTS AND CONCEPTS' CONFERENCE AND THE HEFS AEC

DR. HEDVIG GYÓRY, PHD

HEFS AEC president

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

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

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

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

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

Thursday, 19 January 2023

10:00–10:30

Arrival and Greeting

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

10:30–12:00 / EN

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

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

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

12:30–14:00 / HU

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

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

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

Friday, 20 January 2023

10:00–11:30 / EN

Rita Simon: The curious history of Tutankhamun's scarab

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

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

12:00–13:00 / HU

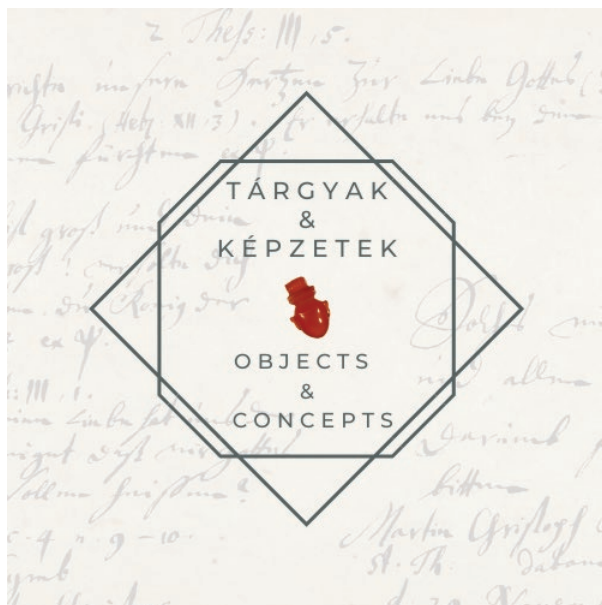
Andrea Fullér – Eszter Ferő: Tutanhamentől a szecesszióig: a Zsolnay gyár egyiptizáló díszműáruja [From Tutankhamun to Art Nouveau: the Zsolnay factory's Egyptionizing decorative goods]

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

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

13:00–13:30

Closing remarks



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2025, December

EGYPTIAN ARCHETYPES AND THEIR ADOPTION/ ADAPTATION IN ARCHAIC EAST GREECE:

A TALE OF TWO (CITY) SANCTUARIES

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ABSTRACT

The two mighty cities of Miletos and Samos in the eastern Aegean were heavily involved in the trade with Egypt, and in Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, in particular faience, from the eighth century BC onwards. This predates the establishment of Naukratis, ca 630 BC, and illustrates the fact that both imports and local workshops were responsible for the large quantity and varied types of objects found in Greece. The two sanctuaries, of Hera on Samos, and of Aphrodite at Miletos, received a large amount of these objects, both imported and locally manufactured – scarabs, amulets, figurines and vessels. However, of particular interest is that there is a very great difference between the two sanctuaries in the choice of such faience objects for dedication as votives. This article examines the differences and attempts to explain what factors were at work in the reception of Egyptianising material. It discusses what light this difference throws on the dedication practices of the two sanctuaries, and their relationship with Egyptian material and religious culture.

KEYWORDS: faience, Miletos, Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Samos Heraion, Egypt, trade, dedication praxis

INTRODUCTION

The role played in the development of Greek culture and civilisation by connections between Egypt and Greece, and the exchange of ideas and technology, which took place, has long been a subject of discussion. Already in the 5th century BC Herodotus proposed that Egypt was the origin of a number of Greek deities and rituals, Egyptians were pioneers in language research, in stone building techniques and statue models etc. Modern research has veered between dismissing Egyptian influence in Early Iron Age Greece out of hand,

to suggesting strong links from earlier Bronze Age to at least Geometric times, for instance in creating the silhouette pictorial style used on Late Geometric painted pottery. The theory of total dependence on Egyptian/African culture from a much earlier time has been most notably proposed by Bernal.¹ For the undoubted links in traded goods and influences both ways between Egyptian culture and the arts of the Minoan civilisation in the Bronze Age, see in particular Phillips.² This paper cannot deal with the complexity of the arguments, but will instead demonstrate how Egyptian ideas infiltrated certain areas of Greek culture and ritual that date to at least as early as the eighth century BC.

We must remember that the great trading nexus that existed between Mycenaean Greece, the Hittites, the Levant coast and Egypt, well-illustrated by the Tell Amarna letters³ and the contents of the Ulu Burun wreck ca 1300 BC,⁴ and before the Cape Gelidonya wreck ca 1200 BC,⁵ collapsed in the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, while in Egypt the Third Intermediate Period was marked by the break-up of the Late Ramesside kingdom and the splintering of Egypt into many small states. This had a catastrophic effect on the level of contacts between Greece, the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt.⁶

I would like to concentrate here on a very important span of time, when contacts through artifacts between Egypt and Greece were once again established, in a period between one hundred and fifty to two hundred years (750-600/550 BC), and to look at specific groups of objects made in faience, which chronicle a series of exchanges between Greece and Egypt, whether directly or indirectly. They demonstrate that Egyptian objects and their cultural meaning were already important in the eighth century,⁷ more than a hundred years before the foundation of Naukratis as a Greek emporion in the Delta of Egypt, around 630/620 BC.⁸ Since there is little or no direct evidence for Greek

1 BERNAL 1987, 1997, 2001.

2 PHILLIPS 2008.

3 KNUDTZON 1915a, 1915b; MORAN 1992. But there is no correspondence between the Mycenaeans or its king(s) in the Amarna tablets, which were written in cuneiform on clay tablets in varieties of Akkadian dialect, by court scribes employed by Near Eastern and Egyptian monarchs. For possible proof of actual relationships between Greece and Egypt in the 14th century, see CLINE 1995 on contacts between Mycenaean Greece, and CLINE – STANNISH 2011 specifically on the inscriptions at Kom el Hetan, which apparently list Aegean polities.

4 Ulu Burun: BASS 1986; BASS ET ALII 1989; PULAK 1994; WARD 2003.

5 Cape Gelidonya: BASS 1967, 1973, 1975.

6 MURRAY 2018. The last sad remnants of Bronze Age contacts are perhaps the faience stamp seals from Perati on the coast of Attic, dated to Late Mycenaean IIIC, late twelfth to mid eleventh century BC.

7 HÖLBL 1999, 2005, 2014.

8 PETRIE 1886; GARDNER 1888; BISSING 1951; BOARDMAN 1999; MÖLLER 2000; VILLING 2015-

goods in Egypt itself before the establishment of Naukratis,⁹ we may need to propose a third method of transmission, via trade/seafarers and the Cypro-Levantine coast, although the actual evidence is still extremely difficult to pin down. Suffice it to say, the influence is manifest, as I will show in this paper.

I have had the privilege of studying the *igyptiaka*, in particular the faience objects, from a number of important sites in East Greece, Crete and Egypt – Naukratis,¹⁰ and there are two especially interesting city states, Samos and Miletos, where specific sanctuaries have yielded generous amounts of faience material, allowing us to assess different patterns of consumption and also the degree of differences from the original Egyptian prototypes. From the very first appearance of faience objects in Iron Age Greece, there has been debate about the different sources of manufacture and influence. Here I shall be concentrating on material, which takes its models from Egypt, and I would like to share the insights I have gained, and suggest some fruitful ways to approach the material. The faience material from both sites illustrates the adaptation of Egyptian prototypes to use in an alien world, where the original conceptions of the deities and their meanings are lost or changed.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SAMOS AND MILETOS

The important city states of Samos and Miletos were both heavily involved in trading contacts with Egypt dating from the early seventh century through to the sixth century BC. This can be seen from both ends of the geographic spectrum, i.e. both in Greece and in Egypt itself. From the great sanctuary on Samos, the Heraion,¹¹ we have the largest collection of authentic Egyptian materials and artefacts found on any Greek site,¹² including an astonishing trove of fine 25th Dynasty bronzes which date from the first half of the seventh century.¹³ (This is in addition to the faience finds.) What these

2018, 2019, 2022; WEBB 2019a.

9 The evidence for earlier Greek settlement comes from Herodotus' account (2.154) of Carian and Greek mercenary soldiers being hired by Psammetichus I (664-610 B.C.), and then being settled in fortified camps – *stratopeda* –, which lay either side of the Nile, downstream from Bubastis, that is to the north, and nearer the Mediterranean Sea. He claimed to have seen the ship-hauls there, although the sites were by his time abandoned. The two candidates for these sites, Tel Defenneh (PETRIE 1888) and Migdol (OREN 1984), have been ruled out of court by BOARDMAN 1999 and LECLÈRE – SPENCER 2014.

10 WEBB 1978, 2016, 2017, 2021a. In particular – Kamiros, WEBB 1978, 2021; Knossos North Cemetery, WEBB 1996; Amnisos, WEBB 1999; Samos, the Heraion, WEBB 2016, 2021b; Miletos, WEBB 2025; Naukratis Webb 2013-2015a, 2013-2015b, 2019a, 2019b.

11 WALTER 1976; KYRIELEIS 1981.

12 SKON-JEDELE 1994; WEBB 2016.

13 JANTZEN 1972; BIANCHI 1990.

early links with Egypt imply for the Greek states is still a debated question, as the emporion of Naukratis was apparently not founded until 630/620 BC, although we know that Psammetichos I relied on help from Carian and Ionian mercenaries to establish himself.

Later, in Egypt itself, at the Greek trading post and emporion of Naukratis in the western Delta, the Samians established an impressive sanctuary dedicated to Hera.¹⁴ Miletos was also an extremely influential city-state, perhaps the greatest and most powerful in East Greece (until its destruction by the Persians in 494 BC), and it was involved in the Egyptian adventure from the very beginning, for, according to tradition, the Milesians were responsible for the actual foundation of Naukratis.¹⁵ Also, just as the Samians did for their



Figure 1. Google Earth Map of central area of coast of Asia Minor showing relative position of Samos and Miletos. Note that the large green area lying to north of Miletos was a great bay of the sea in antiquity.

14 Sanctuary of Hera – unfortunately, very little of the sanctuary actually survives. Initially identified by Petrie as the “Palaestra” – PETRIE 1886, 16-17; GARDNER 1888, 13, 67, pl. 4; SCHLOTZHAUER 2006, 311-313; SCHLOTZHAUER 2012, 154-157; MÖLLER 2000, 90-91, 93, 101, fig 2. Cups painted with dipinti naming Hera help with identification, see AVRAMIDOU 2016, and note 24.

15 BISSING 1951, AUSTIN 1970, BOARDMAN 1999, MÖLLER 2000.

chief deity Hera, they founded an impressive temple sanctuary at Naukratis in honour of their chief god Apollo.¹⁶ In addition, they established a large number of colonies in the Black Sea area, which contributed to the vital trading routes, which linked East Greece with the areas to its north, to the south, the east and to Egypt.¹⁷

The city-state of Samos controls the narrow strait between the island and the coast of Asia Minor opposite – which was called the *heptastadios porthmos* – the seven stade strait, 1.6 km/1 mile wide. The coastal traffic must have had to pay a toll/dedicatory gift to the city of Samos, probably to the sanctuary of Hera. The large number of shipwrecks found recently to the west of the island of Samos may indicate shipping attempting to avoid this toll.

The city-state of Miletos was situated on a peninsula which jutted northward into a wide bay of the sea, and had a number of protected harbours. It was a great and powerful centre of trade and colonisation. (The River Maeander has completely choked up the bay with silt since antiquity.)

These two East Greek Sanctuaries of Archaic date (I shall be looking at offerings made between 800-600 BC approximately) which I want to discuss, are barely forty eight kilometres (thirty miles) apart by sea (**Figure 1**). Both are (or were originally) beside the sea¹⁸ and both were dedicated to female deities. Moreover, they both lay directly on the vital sea route which ran north to south along the coast of Asia Minor on the Eastern edge of the Aegean sea; an area, which was richly settled with East Greek states, providing a direct link to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant, and Egypt, as well as to the Black Sea, where the state of Miletos established a large number of colonies.

Firstly, of course, the differences between the two sanctuaries are more marked than the similarities. We should describe the sanctuary of Hera on Samos as the major sanctuary of the city-state of Samos (Figure 2a-b), and one which had been a centre of cult from at least Bronze Age times.¹⁹ By

16 Temple of Apollo at Naukratis: PETRIE 1886, 11-15, pl. III: column and capitals, pl. XXXII: inscribed pottery, pl XLI: plan of Naukratis; MÖLLER 2000, 101; EHRHARDT – HÖCKMANN – SCHLOTZHAUER 2004; HERDA 2008.

17 GREAVES 2002.

18 Miletos was originally on a peninsula which faced north into a large bay of the Aegean sea, making it an attractive port to coastal traffic, with access to internal land routes, but through the alluvial process of deposition by the Maeander River (progradation), it is now completely landlocked in low-lying marsh land 10-15 kms from the sea, MÜLLENHOFF ET ALII 2008, BRÜCKNER ET ALII 2017. See also the map by Eric Gaba, Wikimedia Commons user: Sting. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Miletos_bay_silting_evolution_map-en.svg

19 WALTER 1976; KYRIELEIS 1981; TSAKOS 2003; NIEMEIER – MANIATIS 2010; KOUKA 2015, 223-242.

the period we will be looking at in the seventh century, it was equipped with major buildings, including two successive *hundred-foot long* temples (the two so-called “*hekatompeda*”), and a major focus of cult around a sanctified tree, which attracted a series of altars.²⁰ It also received an exceptional deposit of Egyptian bronzes, dated to the latest around 650 BC,²¹ quite apart from other rich finds of imported bronzes and ivories²² and exotic animal bones²³. After the establishment of the Greek emporion of Naukratis in the western Delta of Egypt ca 630/620 BC the Samians went on to found a sister sanctuary to the Heraion in Naukratis itself, which although poorly preserved, has yielded typical vessels with the goddess’s name painted on to them, and paralleled on Samos, confirming its identification.²⁴

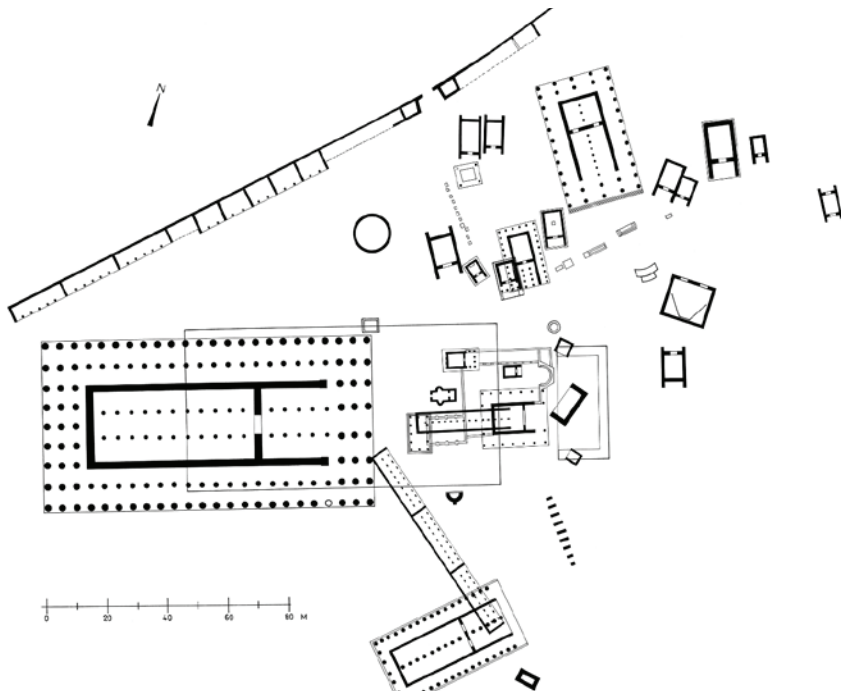


Figure 2a. The Sanctuary of Hera on Samos. Plan courtesy of the DAI-Athens

20 KYRIELEIS 1981, FIG. 100; NIEMEIER – MANIATIS 2010. See Plates 15, 16. Position of Sacred Tree marked in eastern part of nest of archaic altars.

21 JANTZEN 1972; ŚLIWA 1983; BIANCHI 1990; SKON-JEDELE 1994; EBBINGHAUS 2006; BUMKE 2012.

22 JANTZEN 1972; WALTER – VIERNEISEL 1959B; FREYER-SCHAUENBERG 1966; KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1985; FURTWAENGLER 1981; KYRIELEIS 1984, 1986; KYRIELEIS – ROLLIG 1988.

23 SKON-JEDELE 1994, 1402-1634.

24 AVRAMIDOU 2016 argues that these large drinking vessels were used by workmen, but the



Figure 2b. Eastern area of the Sanctuary of the Heraion, Samos, showing specific deposits as red dots and area in green marking excavations to east of Great Altar, carried out by Niemeier and Henke, 2010-2013. Courtesy of DAI-Athens. The Sacred Tree was located just inside the last of the nest of Archaic Altars, marked with green star.

By contrast, the newly discovered Sanctuary of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe Hill ('Olive Hill' in Turkish), at Miletos, only received a temple at the end of

number found around the Altar itself in the Samian Heraion suggests a ritual use for them, according to J.-M. Henke's findings reported by SCHLOZTHAUER 2006.

the sixth century (Figure 3), though an earlier building may also have been a shrine, and was only a focus of votive deposits from 690/680 BC onwards.²⁵ It can probably be seen as an outlier, literally, to the other important sanctuaries of Miletos.²⁶ But it is exceptional from our point of view for the fact that the whole range of votives (Figure 4) – pottery, terracotta figurines and plaques, bronzes, seal-stones, together with amulets and scarabs, vessels and figurines made of faience, sacrificed bones etc., survive here in the deposits from an early archaic sanctuary,²⁷ (though it has only produced a very few imported bronzes from Egypt,²⁸ while other locally produced bronzes await publication). It is the case that the Persian destruction of Miletos (in 494 BC) and later clearing for Classical, Hellenistic and Roman buildings has largely rendered such material unavailable from other such deposits in Miletos. Although a very small sanctuary, compared with the Heraion on Samos, it received an equal

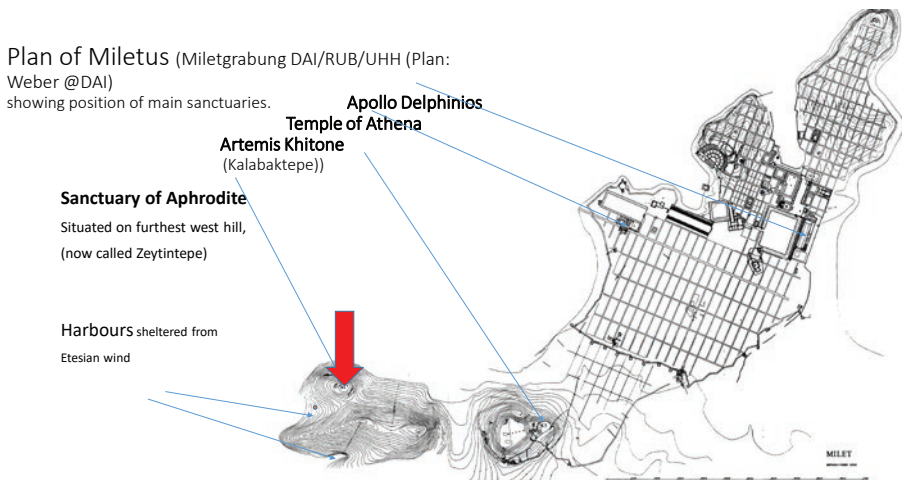


Figure 3. Plan of Miletus peninsula, with religious sanctuaries marked. Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH (Plan Weber ©DAI)

25 GRAEVE 2013.

26 Apollo Delphinios (now in process of excavation), the Temple of Athena (to be published by W.-D. Niemeier) and the Sanctuary of Artemis Khitone on neighbouring Kalabaktepe – the results of the older excavations are summarised by KERSCHNER 1995 and for recent excavations see KERSCHNER – SENFF 1997. Also, of course the oracular shrine of Apollo Didymaios at Didyma, which was linked by a Sacred Way with the central Milesian sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios – the most important of all the sanctuary sites in Miletos.

27 GRAEVE 2007, 2013, 2017; SENFF in NIEWÖHNER 2016, 139-142; GREAVES 2002.

28 HÖLBL 1999.

quantity of faience offerings to those made to Hera on Samos, although there is a very interesting contrast between the types which were popular at the two sites. So, although both sanctuaries were receiving very great quantities of the newly fashionable objects, there is a great difference between the types of faience objects dedicated as ex-votos.



Figure 4a. Zeytintepe: view from Degirmentepe looking north across the original bay of the sea: in the background the former island of Lade and the Mycale range. Photograph courtesy of Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI.

At both sanctuaries, we are looking at final numerical totals of faience objects, which are very similar. From Samos Heraion there are 680 catalogued up to 2016, while the new excavations from the area to the East of the Great Altar, produced over 200 identifiable pieces. While from Zeytintepe, Hölbl has catalogued over 600 objects,²⁹ and published two survey articles on the finds made up to 1999³⁰ and 2014³¹, to which it has been possible to add another 100 to 150 after further analysis of the finds. Thus, the finds of faience made in these deposits can be usefully compared, from the point of view of both dating (spanning the seventh and first part of the sixth century BC), quantity, and completeness of the recording.

29 HÖLBL, KONKORDANZ 1997, M001-M266; KONKORDANZ 2004, M267-M320A; KONKORDANZ 2008, M 321-M 400; KONKORDANZ 2009; BOTHROS M401-M672.

30 HÖLBL 1999.

31 HÖLBL 2014.

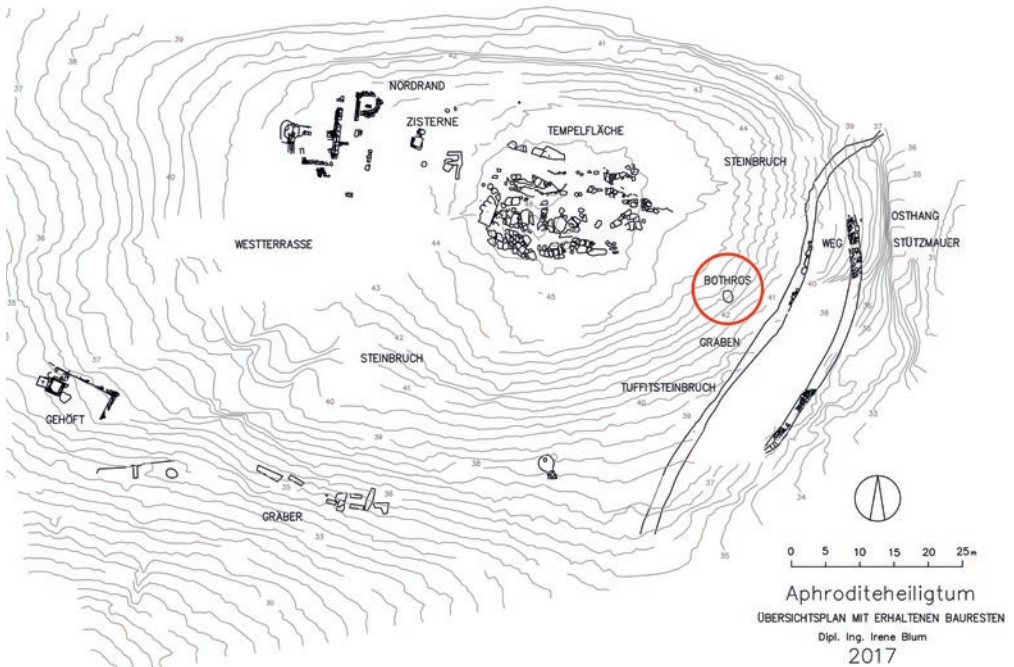


Figure 4b. Plan of Zeytintepe hill, with location of Bothros. Plan courtesy of Miletgrabung DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI.

The area around the Altars and the East façade of the new Dipteros Temple (or Rhoikos Temple, built in the sixth century) has proved particularly rich in deposits containing faience material, while other sealed deposits have yielded more precisely dated contexts though with more restricted content (Figure 2b). The recent excavations east of the Great Altar,³² intended to extend and corroborate the findings made in the same area by Hans Walter in 1963-1964, have brought to light an additional and substantial quantity of faience objects.³³ Dated contexts range from **Brunnen (Well) G** (1958) whose contents are now dated to between 680-630/620 BC³⁴ with pottery and Oriental and Egyptian objects,³⁵ to the latest finds made **east of the Great Altar**, 630

32 HENKE 2017A.

33 WEBB 2021b. The ambitious structures of the successive Dipteroi Temples, and the Great Altar, were erected not earlier than 570/560, and thus postdate the deposits we are discussing.

34 Jan-Marc Henke kindly informed me of the dating now established by Professor Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier.

35 This deposit is the earliest to be considered here, and suggests that faience objects, though prized, were not common in the Sanctuary as offerings before the beginning of the seventh

and 590/80BC.³⁶ See note below for more details of these find places.³⁷ Overall, looking at all the deposits listed above, we can assign the arrival and dedication of the faience material between 700/680 and 580 BC.

THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE ON ZEYTINGEPE ('OLIVE HILL'), MILETOS

The sanctuary site we are concerned with lies the furthest to the west of the known spread of occupation at Miletos, on a small flat-topped hill, now called Zeytingepe ('Olive Hill').³⁸ Originally, before the fatal silting up of the Latmos Gulf by the action of the silt-bearing Maeander River, the hill would have had a shoreline with small harbours on its north and west faces, and together with the more famous harbours of the peninsula of Miletos, would have provided a safe beaching/anchorage for seafarers arriving from the open sea. In fact it would probably have been the first landfall for those approaching the peninsula from the West. Although it had long been suspected that there must be a Sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite at Miletos, the evidence for the existence and exact position of this site was only uncovered in the

century. A vase in form of kneeling woman with baby on her back, presenting a cervid comes from **Brunnen G**: WALTER – VIERNEISEL 1959b, 36 and 39, pl. 82, 2; CLERC ET ALII 1976, 213-14, pl. 25, 1-3; WEBB 1978, no. 128, pl. 4; WEBB 2016, 204.

36 See HENKE 2017a, fig. 1 for precise position. It is to be remembered that these deposits of discarded votives predate the erection of the Great Altar, although their final deposition may be associated with preparatory work for it. See WEBB 2021b.

37 **Bothros M11**(1958): dated 630-600 BC: Faience falcon, glazed ware alabastron, see WALTER – VIERNEISEL 1959b, 35, 39, 42, nos. 1-3, pl. 83; WEBB 2016, 204; **Water basin O13-14** (1977): 610-580 BC, packed to rim with pottery and faience, see KYRIELEIS 1978, 385-396, 393, FIG. 11; FURTWÄNGLER 1980, 158-160, FIG. 2, PLS. 41-43; WEBB 2016, 205-206; **Brunnen 1 and 2**: 630-600 BC, not Wells but shallow water collecting basins (1983/84), which contained rich deposits of material from Egypt, Near East and Cyprus, including some typical faience material, see KYRIELEIS 2020; KYRIELEIS 1984, 693; CATLING 1983/1984, 3-70. See also KYRIELEIS 1986, pl. 15; KYRIELEIS – RÖLLIG 1988, 37-61, pls. 9-15; WEBB 2016, 205. **Regions A-G**: see SCHMIDT 1968, fig. 1 and passim; WEBB 2016, 195-203; **Region B**: In immediate area of the nest of Altars, in particular **Altar V** (before 600) and **Altar VI** (590-580), where material was deposited after sacrifices. Excavated by Hans Walter 1963-64, see WALTER 1968, 1976; SCHMIDT 1968; WEBB 2016, 196-8; WALTER – CLEMENTE – NIEMEIER 2019; **East of Great Altar**: two north-south trenches were opened, the first by Walter (1963-4), and the second to the east of Walter's trench by Niemeier and Henke (2010-2013) in order to confirm the total types of material and their dating. Both these deposits have yielded considerable quantities of faience. The dating of these final rich votive deposits lies between 630 and 590/580. See HENKE 2017a, fig. 1, WEBB 2021b, for precise position. It is to be remembered that these deposits of discarded votives predate the erection of the Great Altar, although they may be associated with preparatory work for it.

38 GRAEVE 2007, 2013; NIEWÖHNER 2016, 139-142.

early 1990's. The Sanctuary has been identified as dedicated to Aphrodite at Oikus, mentioned in a number of inscriptions,³⁹ and presumably, this is the particular shrine of Aphrodite, an identity that is confirmed by inscribed dedications to Aphrodite, which have been found there.⁴⁰ The sanctuary covers an area of approximately three quarters of a hectare, and is thus small when compared with the Samian Heraion, which extends to at least 6-7 hectares. Another difference is that no substantive structures were identifiable, apart from, perhaps, temporary limestone shelters and bothroi, and the Sanctuary only received a temple at the end of the sixth century BC, when building work was begun to erect a temple in white marble approached by a stone-lined causeway (both were destroyed in the Persian invasion 494 BC). Moreover, what are lacking are large-scale marble sculptures or bronze figures, of the types found at the Samian Heraion.

The sanctuary began to attract offerings in about 700/690 BC.⁴¹ During the excavations in the 1990's votive offerings, including bronzes, vases, and locally produced terracotta plaques in Dedalic style depicting the Winged Mistress of the Animals and more sexually explicit female figures (kiln sites have been identified on adjacent Kalabaktepe⁴²) plus a wide range of imported offerings⁴³ "were buried in natural cavities and artificial pits alongside bones of sacrificial animals and broken drinking vessels".⁴⁴ In addition, many varied objects of faience were found in these seventh and early sixth century BC deposits,⁴⁵ coming from the sources, which supplied the eighth/seventh century material (both Egypt, and the Levant) to city sanctuaries and burials in East Greece,⁴⁶ as well as later material of sixth century date, some of which can be assigned to a source in Naukratis.⁴⁷

39 HERRMANN 1965; HERRMANN ET ALII 2006, 174-176 no. 1279.

40 SENFF 2003.

41 Dated by earliest pottery found.

42 For pottery kilns at the Kalabaktepe in Miletos see BIERING – BLUM 1990, 39-50, SEIFERT – KRUMME 1991, 134-136; SENFF 1995.

43 GRAEVE 2007, 2013, 2017.

44 SENFF IN NIEWÖHNER 2016, 139-142; GRAEVE 2002.

45 HÖLBL 1999.

46 For the range of sites involved in the reception of such objects see WEBB 1978, 2016, 2021; HÖLBL 1999, 2005, 2014. Add BULYUT 2018: Pedasa in Caria; BERGES – TUNA 2000: Emeçik on Cnidos.

47 HÖLBL 1999, 2005; WEBB 2013-2015.



Figure 5. Bothros in process of excavation, showing the cylindrical shape, originally intended as a well. Photographs from Miletgrabung, DAI/RUB/UHH ©DAI courtesy of Professor Volkmar von Graeve. a) First discovery of the covering of stones b) Heavy stones protecting contents c) Cylindrical shape of excavated Well/Bothros

However, of even greater interest to this discussion was the discovery in 2008 of a richly stocked deposit of discarded ex-votos (Figure 5a-c) dated to between 700/690 and 630 BC. This was found on the eastern edge of the hill top in a Bothros, 17m deep (51 ft approx.; identified as Bothros at Location Q 08.74).⁴⁸ The Bothros, a circular pit (perhaps originally intended as a Well, though apparently not used as such since it was not lined, although there are footholds visible in the bottom section) was carefully packed to the rim with sanctuary rubbish and votives. Here were found large quantities of faience, which chart the existence of connections with other centres in East Greece and Egypt during the first three quarters of the seventh century. (There is some discussion and disagreement about the date of the closure of the Bothros.⁴⁹)

48 GRAEVE 2013, fig. 3 and discussion of full range of types of offerings; GRAEVE 2019; HÖLBL 2014; WEBB 2025 forthcoming.

49 For dating see NEEFT 2017, 54-56; but note comments in HÖLBL 2014, 194 on the possible

But it would seem to reflect the clearing up of the sanctuary after destruction caused, it is suggested, by the invading Cimmerians.⁵⁰

OBJECTS AND CONCEPTS

Now, in accordance with the aims of this conference – Objects and Concepts, I shall be looking at a small number of discrete groups of objects, which illustrate clearly the way that original Egyptian concepts have been altered in Greek contexts to serve, in different ways, as votive offerings to the local deity. It will also be necessary to discuss the different proportion of such objects between the two sites, which gives us additional insight into their perceived importance in the sphere of ritual offerings.

These are groups where I am confident that the proportion of types of faience objects found does in fact reflect the actual situation in both sanctuaries, since the pattern of deposition and the number of types is frequently repeated. The material from the Heraion comes not only from the excavated areas listed above, but also from earlier excavations where the actual records of find places have been lost. Dated contexts span between 680 BC and 575 BC. The overall picture of numerical popularity of find types is consistent across the site.⁵¹ At Zeytintepe the existence of dated contexts over the surface of the sanctuary provides a spread of types, which can be dated to both the seventh and early sixth centuries – a similar date range to the faience objects found on Samos –, while the contents of the Bothros, discovered in 2008, give us a range of objects limited to the period to between 700 and 630/615 BC.

GROUP 1: SCARABS

We know from the excavations of both Geometric and Archaic levels in Greek sanctuaries, and graves of contemporary date that scarabs were used for amuletic and protective purposes in the Greek world, their use spreading right across the Mediterranean as far as Greek and Near Eastern (Cypriot and Phoenician) sailors voyaged.⁵² The origin of the scarab is, of course, Egypt, but its popularity spread to the Near East in the Bronze Age. Amongst the material found at Miletos we have both Egyptian and Near Eastern scarabs, as well as

date range of the faience, which seems to demand a slightly later end date: “.... it could now be that the terminus ante quem of Bothros dates back to around 630 BC, which is important for the discussion about the emergence of the Kouros type. However, the reader will have noticed that from the perspective of the aegyptiaca, the aforementioned terminus ante quem seems a little too high (perhaps by 10 to 20 years)”. Further discussion is ongoing.

50 GRAEVE 2017.

51 I am grateful to Andreas Dalaveras for asking me to clarify this situation.

52 HÖLBL 1979: Sardinia etc.; SALVIA 1993: Pithecussae ref. Ibiza, Spanish sites – GAMER-WALLERT 1978.

a specific group which, although Egyptian in appearance, is not found at all in Egypt.

6a.



Figure 6: Scarabs of 'Perachora-Lindos' group, Gorton 1996 Type xxii, with distribution map (See Figure 6d) showing a selection of types found at Zeytintepe. All photographs by author. a) Z08.485.33, L. 1.45. An approximation to the signs of the name of Amenhotep III. The most common type, with other poorer examples.

6b.



6c.



b) Z09. 73.36- Face and back. L.1.5. Simplified version, though finely moulded.
 c) Z08.492.5. Face and Side view. L.1.5. Alternative arrangement, Neb Re and two Maat signs or Maat sign and the reed sign..

THE 'PERACHORA – LINDOS' GROUP.

A specific type of scarab (Figure 6a-c) was found in large numbers in the surface deposits on Zeytintepe Aphrodite Sanctuary during the first phase of the excavations, before the discovery of the Bothros in 2008. Their contexts dated from deposits of both seventh and early sixth centuries. After

the discovery of the Bothros, this number increased considerably. The numbers from both phases are impressive and have no equivalence in the finds from Samos, where there are a very limited number of scarabs indeed, and those which have been found are of a very different type. The first phase of finds from Zeytintepe was analysed by Hölbl and he concluded that out of the total (83), found up to 1999, four fifths belonged to the Perachora–Lindos Group,⁵³ while the remaining number could be identified as of Egyptian or Near Eastern in origin. With the discovery of the Bothros (**Figure 5**), the total of nearly a hundred scarabs found in surface deposits since 1999, has been augmented by another two hundred and fifty,⁵⁴ and of these, there are again large numbers of the distinctive ‘Perachora – Lindos’ group, at least two hundred, out of the Bothros total of around two hundred and fifty, again in the proportions of 4/5th of the total.

This very specific group of scarabs (Figure 6) have, since James’ publication of the material from Perachora, been identified as non-Egyptian. At the time of publication such scarabs were also identifiable in the deposits from Lindos, on Rhodes (hence the name).⁵⁵ Moreover, they have now been found on sites in the Aegean, the mainland of Greece, and Southern Italy, in particular at the trading settlement of Pithecussae,⁵⁶ which contains well-dated graves of the second half of the eighth century. Other sites include Cumae, and native Oenotrian sites (Pontecagnano, Timpone della Motta⁵⁷ and more recently Amendolara⁵⁸) on the Southern Italian mainland.⁵⁹ From the Greek area we also have finds from a number of sites.⁶⁰ See Distribution Map (Figure 6d).

It is this group, which I would like to bring to attention as the first example of objects, which, though apparently of Egyptian material and design, are now quite clearly recognised as non-Egyptian and of probably Aegean manufacture. This group can be dated from the second half of the eighth century and continued in circulation until the middle of the seventh century, and may well have been carried specifically by seafarers – we might name their calling-card.⁶¹ They are Aegean imitations of Egyptian scarabs, and, it is

53 HÖLBL 1999, see JAMES 1962; HÖLBL 1979; SKON-JEDELE 1994; GORTON 1996, Type XXII, 63-72. WEBB 2025 – 260 scarabs in total were found in the Bothros, of which over 200 belong to this group.

54 HÖLBL 2014 and unpublished material studied by Webb subsequent to this publication.

55 BLINKENBERG 1931.

56 SALVIA 1993; HÖLBL 1979.

57 MAASKANT – KLEIBRINK 2000, HÖLBL – KLEIBRINK 2024, 134-136.

58 AMENDOLARA, De Salvia in de la Genière, 2012.

59 HÖLBL 1979.

60 GORTON 1996, Type xxii, 63-72, see her lists and the distribution map on p. 71.

61 See GORTON 1996, 72; however, see in particular SKUSE 2021 on the Perachora scarabs, for

suggested, were made on Rhodes.⁶²

With this so-called 'Perachora – Lindos' Group of scarabs and scaraboids we have the first clear signs of the transformations of Egyptian forms into acceptable objects for ritual use in the Aegean and to the West, including Southern Italy.

First identified by James⁶³ in his publication of the *aigyptiaka* excavated at the site of Perachora (a small sanctuary with two successive temples, dedicated to Hera, on a projecting headland to the north-west of Corinth on the Gulf of Corinth). These scarabs are at first sight of Egyptian form. They bear a simple repertoire of hieroglyphic signs; often have carefully modelled legs in side view, and a regular scarab beetle back, all features which could be superficially identified as Egyptian. – But they are not. Many of the combinations of signs are nonsensical, and the total repertoire is extremely limited. For example, the common good luck signs of *nefer*, *maat*, *ankh*, *neb* and *tjet* and the uraeus repeatedly appear very often arranged with the *neb* sign underneath and a small number of signs above (Figure 6). The other site identified by James as having a large number of similar scarabs was the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes.⁶⁴ From Perachora there are three hundred scarabs of this type out of a total number of seven hundred and fifty, while from Miletos the total is two hundred out of two hundred and sixty from the Bothros alone. From the Heraion on Samos there are **none!**

By contrast, genuine Egyptian scarabs occur in much smaller numbers from both the first stage of the excavations⁶⁵ and the Bothros.⁶⁶ These include steatite scarabs similar in some cases to finds made at Naukratis, though probably, like them, of earlier original date.⁶⁷ (It is accepted that the best Egyptian scarabs are made of steatite.) We might note a fine 25th Dynasty steatite scarab in a silver suspension mount depicting two little known deities Mehyt and Onouris (Figure 6d), the patron gods of Thinis,⁶⁸ several faience scarabs bearing a triad of central pharaoh with a lion headed goddess either

another interpretation.

62 SKON-JEDELE 1994; GORTON 1996, type XXII.

63 JAMES 1962. Although Hogarth 1908, 207 had already noticed similarly non-Egyptian scarabs from the Ephesos Artemision Basis, and was of the opinion that they were earlier than the Naukratis production.

64 BLINKENBERG 1931.

65 HÖLBL 1999, 354, a dozen. HÖLBL 2005.

66 HÖLBL 2014.

67 HÖLBL 1999, fig. 3a-d, fig. 4 a-d, fig. 5a-d; cf PETRIE 1886; GORTON 1996.

68 Z 10.3.12 Cat. no 2, Fig. 5. All this group is published in WEBB 2025.

side⁶⁹ (comparable to an Egyptian example found in earlier excavations⁷⁰), two very different versions of the couchant royal sphinx motif,⁷¹ and several corresponding to Gorton's seventh century categories, made either in Rhodian⁷² or Near Eastern⁷³ workshops. Another scarab is now clearly identified as belonging to a Near Eastern-Tyrian workshop group of 9th– 8th century BC date.⁷⁴ But in total numbers these are swamped by the much larger quantity of the Aegean-made scarabs, in a probable ratio of 1:5.



Figure 6d) Silver mounted steatite scarab, Libyan origin Z10.3.12. Bothros, Zeytintepe, L.1.5, (with silver mount 2.2). Reproduced by permission of the Miletgrabung, DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI.

The fact that the locally-made/Aegean localized 'Perachora-Lindos' group (now more accurately called 'Aegean imitation production'⁷⁵ or 'Aegean production'⁷⁶) are overwhelmingly popular at Zeytintepe, Perachora, and Lindos, the important Cretan site of the Cave of Eleithuyia at Inatos, and appear in some quantities in Southern Italy at Pithecussae, Cumae, and the Oenitrian native

69 WEBB 2025.

70 HÖLBL 2014, Z 07. 152. 145, fig. 16, 190-191 and 197.

71 Z09.51.12 Fig 15, Cat 8; Z 10.18.25 Fig 17, Cat 9, WEBB 2025.

72 Z 09.34.10 horses/lions walking with flowers and birds above – equivalent to GORTON 1996, 75-76, Type XXIIIC.

73 Z 09.478.27 an orientalising design with a central figure grasping ibex on either side by leads. Probably of Near Eastern origin, WEBB 2025.

74 Z 10. 34.17, Cat 12, Fig 21 – WEBB 2025; BOSCHLOOS 2014; BOSCHLOOS 2018.

75 HÖLBL 1999, 354 terms it 'ägäischen Nachahmungsproduktion'.

76 For example, HÖLBL 2024, nos 32,33,34, pls. 68-70.

sites of Pontecagnano, Timpone della Motta, and Amendolara etc. indicates that this group of scarabs could be more easily accessed in the markets of East Greece/Rhodes, and being superficially Egyptian in appearance, were preferred by certain groups, who were dedicating them, over the much rarer, more expensive, and presumably much less easy to obtain genuine article. Who exactly these groups were is still a question being debated.⁷⁷

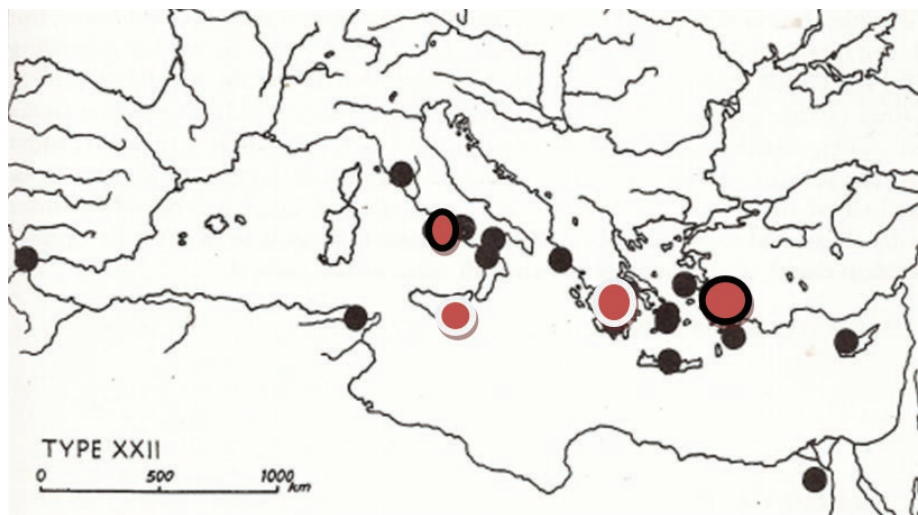


Figure 6e) Distribution map of 'Perachora-Lindos' Group scarabs after Gorton 1996, p. 71, with red dots added to indicate new find places. (Unfortunately size of dots is not calibrated to number of finds)

The excavations at the **Samos Heraion** have not yielded **any** examples of the 'Perachora – Lindos' Group, which is so frequently found at Zeytintepe, nor is there a wide selection of scarabs of other types. Instead, we find a small number of scarabs overall, which are of mainly Egyptian types and of Egyptian Blue,⁷⁸ with two exceptional ivory examples.⁷⁹ (Nor are there any glazed steatite or faience examples like those from Zeytintepe). In addition, the absence of the 'Perachora – Lindos' Group in the Heraion may well be linked to

⁷⁷ SKON-JEDELE 1994, under Perachora 253-674, and in Sections on the Rhodian deposits; GORTON 1996, Type XXII, 63-72, distribution map Fig p. 71; HÖLBL 2014; SCHWEIZER 2014; SCUSE 2021.

⁷⁸ DIEHL 1965, 839-842. figs. 15.16, no. 98; SKON-JEDELE 1994, nos. 2290, 2292-2297; WEBB 2016, 95-99.

⁷⁹ FREYER-SCHAUBENBURG 1966, 12, no. 31 & no. 32, pl. 34a, and GORTON 1996, 78-79, type XXIV, no. 2. Difference of opinion on Egyptian or Greek origin of no. 31.

the fact that the other categories of important dedications from Egypt are of the highest quality – most striking, of course, is the presence of a group of over one hundred high-quality Egyptian bronzes, which were dedicated at least as early as the ivory example above⁸⁰ and, which imply some type of important trading or ceremonial link between Samos and Egypt during the first half of the seventh century. See for instance the discussions by Skon-Jedele⁸¹ and Bumke⁸².

The existence of such a rich and unique cache of Egyptian objects appears to suggest that the source of such dedications is not the same as the relatively humble offerings made at Zeytintepe, where indeed there are only two finer Egyptian pieces, a bronze fragment of an incense burner and the head of a small figure in basalt.⁸³ The scarabs made of Egyptian Blue from the Samos Heraion feature Egyptian motifs, some of which can be paralleled amongst the Naukratis factory production,⁸⁴ although the contexts for these scarabs suggest a date earlier than the finds from the Naukratis factory discovered by Petrie.⁸⁵ From the recent excavations east of the Great Altar by Niemeier and Henke we have two further scarabs of Egyptian blue, one of which has parallels with scarabs found in both Naukratis and the West.⁸⁶ However, in total their number comes to very little more than a dozen. (A group of faience scarabs, forming a necklace or bracelet from Boehlau's excavation of the West Nekropolis of Samos,⁸⁷ which comes from a girl's grave, and is made up of seven small scarabs and scaraboids, and although these are of clearly Naukratite origin, they are later in date, and of poor quality.)

This difference in the distribution patterns between the two Sanctuaries must indicate another aspect of the East Greek response to Egypt and Egyptian culture, which reflects the differing roles of the two sanctuaries – the Aphrodite Sanctuary on Zeytintepe hill as the first accessible landing place at Miletos, lying outside the city boundaries, and having come into existence, at a late date, one might assume, because Aphrodite performed a particular role in the life of sailors.⁸⁸ The Sanctuary fulfilled a very personal role for its worshippers,

80 JANTZEN 1972; ŚLIWA 1983; BIANCHI 1990; SKON-JEDELE 1994; EBBINGHAUS 2004; BUMKE 2007; WEITZ 2005; WEISS 2012; THEODOROPOULOU – POLYCHRONIADIS 2015.

81 SKON-JEDELE 1994, 1402-1634.

82 BUMKE 2007.

83 HÖLBL 1999, 346-347, fig. 1a-c, fig. 2a-b.

84 WEBB 2016, 94-99, pl. 16.

85 PETRIE 1886; WEBB 2019; MASSON-BERGHOFF 2018. See GORTON 1996.

86 Henke 2017a; Webb 2021b.

87 BOEHLAU 1898, 45-47, 161 no. 45: the grave of a girl, five (actually six – the last broken in two) scarabs altogether, see: GERCKE – LÖWE 1996, 61-71; FELGENHAUER 1996, 171-173; WEBB 2016, 98-99.

88 See DEMETRIOU 2012.

and perhaps did not have such overall importance for the state itself. In point of fact, it was only created at the end of the 8th century BC, and it was not one of the main civic Sanctuaries of Miletos such as those dedicated to Athena,⁸⁹ or to Apollo Delphinios in the centre of Miletos,⁹⁰ and at Didyma,⁹¹ nor can it be compared with the long history of the great city sanctuary of the Heraion on Samos.

Comparative totals of 'Perachora – Lindos' scarabs:
Zeytintepe – 250-280 / Samos Heraion – none

GROUP 2: AMULETS AND TALISMANIC FIGURINES

The next distinctive category consists of amulets and talismanic figurines, which were imported to the Aegean, and dedicated in sanctuaries as well as in burials. Here we are dealing with the deposition of such objects in the two sanctuaries. In this category we again see a disproportion in the numbers, with Zeytintepe producing a much greater quantity overall than Samos, in the proportions of 5:1 (Figure 7). If we are to compare numbers and types of examples, we can use the classification of Hölbl who establishes that Zeytintepe also yields very unusual types of amulets, which are not found in other Aegean sites, with the exception of Rhodes (Ialysos). For instance, seven examples depicting Re-Horakhte,⁹² a very fine Mut amulet,⁹³ which has parallels from Veii⁹⁴ and Vetulonia,⁹⁵ as well as from Lahun, a Libyan period site in Egypt⁹⁶ and five sows representing the Sky goddess Nut (Figure 8c) – another unusual form for East Greece (there are four examples from the Bothros and one from the earlier excavations).⁹⁷

Total: Zeytintepe – 155 / Samos Heraion – 29.

89 NIEWÖHNER 2016, 112-115.

90 NIEWÖHNER 2016, 50-53.

91 NIEWÖHNER 2016; for Apollo Didymeus and Apollo Milesios see HERDA 2008.

92 Re-Horakhte: HÖLBL 2014, 185, pl. 1 & 2, fig. 2,4, note 55.

93 HÖLBL 2014, 186, fig. 6, Z 09.102.14.

94 Veii: HÖLBL 1979, II, no. 1, no. 2 (1), pl. IV, pl.32 1a-c, standing figure, second half of the 8th century BC – an equivalent fine piece, though in Egyptian Blue. Egyptian equivalent from Lahun, pl. 32 2 a-b.

95 Vetulonia: HÖLBL 1979, II, no. 500, pl. 33-34. Seated, nursing child god, first quarter of the seventh century.

96 HÖLBL 1979, I, 192, 198.

97 Nut represented as a sow followed by piglets, and in one case apparently shown giving birth. See HÖLBL 2014, 187, note 89, fig. 11, Z 09.5.19. For discussion of the identification see FÓTI 1973, 97-101 (Fr).

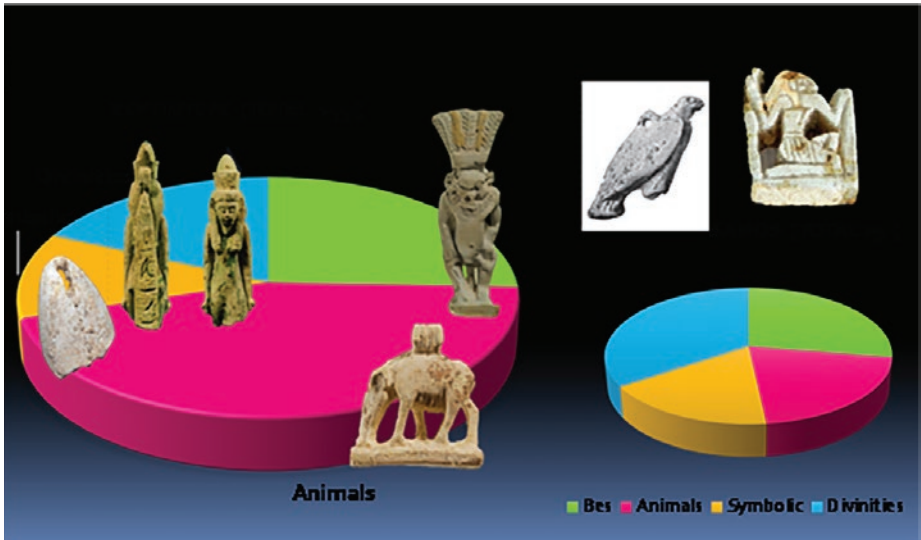


Figure 7: Comparison between total numbers of Amulets from the two sites. All photographs by the author. Zeytintepe (Left) – Samos (right)

There is also a selection of very fine *wedjat* eyes, now very fragmentary, one with the downward tear turned into a falcon's leg (Figure 8b), which can be paralleled with the finest work found in Egypt,⁹⁸ and another in quadruple form, which has parallels in a number of Mediterranean sites (Figure 8a).⁹⁹ Another amulet type unusual amongst finds in East Greek sanctuaries is, the examples, of which are in the form of a cowrie shell (Figure 8f), which also has implications for fertility as the shell mimics the female sex organ.¹⁰⁰

98 Z 09.125.3 unpublished from the Bothros: cf. with the complete very fine *wedjat* eye Andrews 1994, pl. 46a from Egypt but without precise provenance, and see GYÖRY 1994 for discussion of the Egyptian meaning of this amulet, with several examples from Napata where this specific type is worn as a necklace with smaller elements.

99 The second type – a compound *wedjat* amulet with four eyes conjoined and linked by papyrus columns comes from the Bothros Zeytintepe Z 08.463.196 (only half survives), cf. HÖLBL 2014, 189, note 11. An identical piece comes from Memphis: PETRIE 1914, no.140g, pl. 24; from Sanam Napata: GRIFFITH 1923, pl. 28/64, and now add Chatal Hüyük (in the Amuq plain in Northern Syria) HÖLBL 2018, 473, no. OIM-A48190; from Pithecussae I: DE SALVIA 1993, fig. 10, no. 272, p. 773, a poorer example. Both types are originally of high quality and clearly come from an Egyptian source.

100 Cowrie shell amulets Z 10.27. L. 3.3-5 almost complete; Z 10.34, half survives. Judging from finds in Egypt and Nubia, these could have belonged to a belt to be worn as a fertility charm.



Figure 8. Amulet types from Bothros, Zeytintepe. Photographs by author. Reproduced by permission of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI. 8a) Quadruple Wedjat eye Z09.125.3 (half repeated to show design) Photograph by author, compared with complete example from Memphis, PETRIE 1917, no.140g.

Again another amulet type which references female fertility is the representation of Thoueris/Taweret – the hippopotamus goddess of pregnant women – in human form with the hippopotamus head, (unlike the models of the actual animal which are found in the same class as the small falcons and cats discussed below¹⁰¹). Two examples were found in the Bothros. This is an unusual find for East Greece, although of course, very popular in Egypt itself (one example only from the Samos Heraion, and two from Rhodes).¹⁰² This selection of choice amulets implies a special relationship between the Aphrodite sanctuary on Zeytintepe and Egyptian products, whether they were picked up in Rhodes, where similarly unusual amulets, many of them of the highest quality, were dedicated in the Sanctuaries of Ialysos, Lindos and Kamiros, or in the Levantine trading ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, or even more distantly, in Egypt itself. Hölbl's list of parallels for the quadruple wedjat eye implies a date in the 25th Nubian Dynasty i.e. at the latest the first half of the seventh century, and a Mediterranean wide distribution through far extended trade routes.¹⁰³

101 BLINKENBERG 1931, 347, no. 1248; WEBB 1978, 93-94, nos. 453-456

102 Cowrie shell – ANDREWS 1994, 42, fig. 49c. Taweret: HÖLBL 2014, note 74: Z 09.129.18, Z08.463.12a; Samos: WEBB 2016, 68, no. 108 from a late seventh century context; Rhodes (not known if Kamiros) BM 1867,0506.12; Ialysos, Votive Deposit: SKON-JEJELE 1994, 2442-3, no. 4479 – SNO 27-3.

103 HÖLBL 2008, 473. For the type see also MÜLLER-WINKLER 1987, 98-100 „Das vierfache Udjat-Auge“ for the variations in Egypt and Nubia see p.127, 146, 148-149: already from Dynasty 22, although most of them Dynasty 25.



8b.



8c.

8d.



8b) Foot section of a wedjat eye, Z 09.125.3, L: 2.1 cm. H:1.3 cm. Photograph by author above complete example from Egypt, W.6.7, TIP, British Museum, ANDREWS 1994, pl.46. 8c) Nut amulet in form of a sow Z09.5.19. Photograph reproduced by permission of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI



8e.



8f.



8g.



8d) Cowrie shell faience amulet Z10.34a, L. 3 x W 2.5. Photograph by author. Courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI 8e) Horus Falcon, wearing solar crown Z08.482.15, Ht.3.2. Photograph courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI. 8f) Re-Horakhte Z09.102.15, H. 2.7. Photograph courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI. 8g) Bes: front and back sides. Zeytintepe Number not known. Photograph courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI.

Next to this range of authentic amulets, several of which are outstanding in their quality, though none of them occur in very great numbers, representations of **Bes** (Figure 8g) are the most frequently found – the ugly, lion-faced dwarf-god who protects the household, women and the bedroom. The majority of the Bes amulets are of medium dimensions, some with fine feather headdresses with added yellow glaze on the feathers, and detailed

faces, carefully moulded (Figure 8g) – parallels to these carefully made versions can be found in the Rhodian sanctuary deposits, although others are smaller and cruder. The comparable amulets from the Heraion are poor things.¹⁰⁴

Comparative totals of Bes amulets:
Zeytintepe 48 / Samos 8.

The overall numbers of amulets show that, by comparison with Zeytintepe, the Samos Heraion has produced a very small number of amulets,¹⁰⁵ which implies that the *service users* of the Sanctuary were not involved or interested in making dedications of such small and personal items, although we do have a similar talisman head, and a *Bes with Nursling* of Bubastite type from the Heraion.¹⁰⁶ Comparisons with material from other sites will be illuminating.¹⁰⁷

To sum up: the distribution and frequency of these genuine Egyptian amulets can best be compared with finds made in the Rhodian sanctuaries, and it would seem that the majority are imports from Egypt, either directly, carried by Milesian traders, or via the island of Rhodes, and the Levant coast. None of these are in the transformed types produced later for the Phoenician / Punic world.¹⁰⁸ So far, we are dealing with amulets which can be paralleled in Egypt itself and on selected sites across the Mediterranean, covering a range of accepted types, many with implications for female fertility. They were not specifically made for the Greek market, or for local tastes.

Total of all amulets:
Zeytintepe 155 / Samos 29

GROUP 3: HORUS FALCONS AND CAT AMULET-FIGURINES

When we look at the next most popular groups after the Bes amulets, it seems that the situation is rather different. Here we find simplified figures of two symbolic animals, the falcon and the cat (while on other East Greek sites

104 WEBB 2016, 70, nos 109-112, pl. 11. Height varies between 2,5x2,9 cm. Unfortunately, we have no find place recorded, but they give the appearance of belonging to a matching set – a necklace or bracelet?

105 WEBB 2016, 66-75, nos. 99-127, pls. 11-12.

106 WEBB 2016, 65, no.94, pl. 10, 6; no. 98, pl. 10, 11-12. See BULTÉ 1991, Chapter 1.

107 Bes amulets: They can be compared with those found in Rhodes, in particular in Ialysos. Cretan sites also have their share. They were of course widespread both in Near Eastern sites in the Syro-Phoenician area, and in the West. These were common items of trade throughout the Mediterranean in the 8th and 7th centuries, and need separate study.

108 GAMER-WALLERT 1978, 139-154.

there is a more extended repertoire of animals linked to Egyptian cult beliefs produced with the same technique). These particular animal representations had a very powerful meaning in Egyptian plastic. Although they can be called amulets, they are widespread in the East Greek world, and although they share their method of manufacture (*efflorescence* rather than applied glaze) with Egyptian work, the range of colours is severely restricted and belongs with other figures of animals and humans, which appear in the so-called *mixed style*¹⁰⁹ in faience, and span a considerable period of time, coming from both seventh and sixth century contexts, as well as from the levels at Naukratis.¹¹⁰ A complete treatment of these groups was initiated by Webb,¹¹¹ and they share a number of features, which separate them from the true Egyptian amulets, which we have discussed above. Their use of colour is minimal – usually white or cream overall glaze, with black-brown used for salient details¹¹² – and their use of the efflorescence technique of glazing, which creates a firm bond between glaze and the core body underneath,¹¹³ which implies some knowledge of Egyptian technical procedures. This limited colour range is quite different from the finest amulets of Egyptian manufacture, which use a range of bright colours, and although these animal figurines/amulets borrow the main stylistic details from Egyptian plastic of rectangular base, back pillar, and striding or walking pose for both human and animals, they ultimately diverge from their Egyptian models. They include a range of Egyptian divine animals, simply depicted, but also naked female and male ‘walking’ figures¹¹⁴ with

109 “*Mixed style*” is the nomenclature used to describe certain classes of faience and limestone figures, which do not correspond exactly to the pure style of either Egypt or Greece, but relate to the style used in Cypriot terracottas and limestone figures found in both Egypt and East Greece. See BUDDE – NICHOLLS 1964, 5-8, for a definition; JENKINS 2001, 163-179; WEBB 2016, 104.

110 WEBB 1978, 92-97, where other archetypes in the form of bulls, rams, hippopotami and couchant lions also reference Egyptian religious forms, and must come from the same source of manufacture, which understood the Egyptian models, and techniques, but manufactured these derivative models for a non-Egyptian market. A single find from the surface excavations depicts a bull, see Hölbl in BECK ET ALII 2005, 122, fig. 19, probably an Apis bull, but this is a good example of the *Black and White Blob* group which is of sixth century date, a common find in East Greek sites, and a product of the industry in Naukratis – see WEBB 2019a for dating of the faience industry in Naukratis.

111 WEBB 1978, 81-92 lists the main types of human figurine.

112 Recent analysis of the dark colouring used on certain of these figurines found at Kamiros has detected the use of “low levels of cobalt and nickel” as well as the expected manganese and iron, “thus suggesting that a nickel containing cobalt source may have been used in their production at Rhodes, and not at Naukratis” – MEEK ET ALII 2016, 95-101. Similar traces of cobalt have been found in at least one example of the Archaic Greek Faience ‘Leopard Spot Group’ of double vases (PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS ET ALII 2015).

113 HÖLBL 1987.

114 “Striding” in the sense of the Egyptian statuary tradition, with the right leg forward, and the

emphasized pubic area. They are shown with a variety of attributes, which are not the norm in Egyptian art, for instance male figures playing the double flute or accompanied by animals. It is to this industry that the specific group of amulet-like falcon birds belong, as well as the cats discussed below.

A) FALCON FIGURINES IN AMULET FORM.

Although they are quite clearly based on the Egyptian representation of the Horus falcon with the wings folded right over left and black/brown glaze to emphasize the facial markings and the *socks*, it seems clear from their distribution that they must be products of an independent industry, which was targeted primarily at the East Greek world (Figure 9a-c).



Figure 9: Amulet-type figurines in form of falcon and cat. All from Bothros, Zeytintepe in efflorescence technique with added brown.

- a) Falcon Z09.125 Ht 3.4. Photograph by author.
- b) Z09.40.6 H: 3.46. Photograph courtesy of Günther Hölbl.
- c) Z10. 32.3. Ht. 3.25 Crude example using efflorescence technique. Photographs by author, Courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI

Moreover, although these falcon figures do not usually have any distinguishing crown on the head, there are a few examples in East Greek deposits of such amuletic figurines with insignia, thus making it clear that these falcon figures were originally intended to represent the bird sacred to Horus,¹¹⁵

back of the figure leaning backward to the support of a back pillar.

115 An exception is Z 08.472.5 (Milet Mus. Inv.7960), see HÖLBL 2014, 188, note 99. See other examples listed in WEBB 1978, p 96-97: Kamiros no. 551 and Old Smyrna no. 552 with double feather headdress; Rhodes and Ialysos nos. 553-554 with double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *pschent*: for a detailed description of the Ialysos example, which makes it clear that this is good Egyptian work see SKON-JEDELE 1994, 2481, no 4544, Rhodes Museum Inv. 7643;

though they may have largely lost this specific link in their new Greek context. Another interesting variation is a small number of such falcon figures showing the bird sheltering a human figure, in this case a naked female.¹¹⁶ The pattern, from which this group comes features the god Horus in the form of a falcon sheltering the King.¹¹⁷ From our perspective, these could be associated with any number of specific Horus cult figures, but we should perhaps settle on the Horus as representative of the Pharaoh, and the sun.¹¹⁸ (See Weiss on Egyptian dedicatory bronzes.¹¹⁹) The greater number of our falcon amulets from Zeytintepe were simply shaped, sometimes with a blade, with a cream glaze and roughly added brown-black blobs for face and feet. They differ in this respect from many of the falcon amulets from Rhodes, e.g. from Ialysos, which have finer details, traces of blue glaze, and are more likely to be direct imports from Egypt. An interesting link with the faience finds in Southern Italy is that an identical falcon comes from Francavilla Marittima, where two faience dishes of East Greek manufacture were also found and are paralleled amongst the finds from Zeytintepe.¹²⁰ These falcon amuletic figures also appear to differ in quality from the later products associated with Naukratis, as we can see in the walking bull from Zeytintepe,¹²¹ which is of Naukratite origin and comes from a later sixth century context.¹²² However, since so many of these

Lindos: wearing the Sun disc = BLINKENBERG 1931, 346, no. 1245, unfortunately not illustrated.

116 WEBB 1978, 94-95: Kamiros no. 482; Sounion nos. 483-4, and comments there on Egyptian origin of the pose. Add Ialysos (?) in SKON-JEDELE 1994, 2678, no. 4958 with sheltered female nude.

117 WILKINSON 1992, 83 gives two examples of the pose where the sheltering falcon protects the Pharaoh.

118 See PETRIE 1917, 48-49, no 245, pl. XLI; ANDREWS 1994, 27; Webb 1978, 94-97 lists examples known up to that date. The whole class spans dated contexts from the Proto-Corinthian deposit at Perachora (690-630 BC), to mid-sixth century finds.

119 See WEISS 2012, 281, T18, pl. 43. She demonstrates in her study that the Egyptian inscriptions on bronze falcons (either separate statuettes or attached to mummy boxes) show that the bird could represent any number of sanctuary specific forms of Horus – Horus from Pe, Horsiese, Hormerti etc., while the majority of the bronze falcons found in Late Period Lower Egypt are also without crowns.

120 HÖLBL 1979, 243, no. 1254, dishes no. 1252-3. This type has now been identified as coming from the Bothros, so pre-630/620. Examples from Francavilla Marittima: STOOP 1979, 81, no 9, pl.ii, 36. And see KERSCHNER 1997 for the apparent terracotta prototypes.

121 Hölbl comments on the difference in the colour of the black-brown spots between the two groups: HÖLBL 2014, 188, note 100; Hölbl in BECK ET ALII 2005, 122, fig.19.

122 As with the different assignment of falcon gods, above, so with bulls, see ANDREWS 1994, 24-25 who comments on the difficulty of distinguishing the different bulls worshipped in Egypt as representatives of one of a number of gods.

falcon figurines come from the Bothros and must be dated before 630/620 BC, we should assume a source other than Naukratis,¹²³ either elsewhere in the Delta of Egypt or in East Greece itself. The fact that a well-established faience industry was already producing sophisticated liquid/unguent containers from 650 BC onwards, situated in Rhodes and perhaps elsewhere in the Eastern Aegean, must assure us that such techniques were easily attainable outside Egypt.¹²⁴ From the Bothros come seventeen, from earlier excavations seven – in total therefore 25,¹²⁵ while from Samos there is a much less numerous group of related falcon amulet-like figurines also with suspension loops, which are slightly later in date.¹²⁶

Comparative totals of falcon, amulet-like figurines:

Zeytintepe 25 / Samos 5 (only one a true amulet, on a miniature base)

B) CAT FIGURINES IN AMULET FORM

Third in popularity in the Zeytintepe deposits are amulet type figurines in the form of a seated cat, which should ultimately be associated with the worship of the goddess Bastet, although we do not know how far this association would have been recognised in East Greece itself. We might remember the festivities in honour of Bastet at Bubastis in the Delta, thus accessible to visitors, as was the temple site itself (both later recounted by Herodotus¹²³). These festivities were dedicated to sexual excess, and moreover, the cat was herself a legendary producer of kittens. But note that Herodotus equates Bastet with the Greek Goddess Artemis, who had a powerful role in protecting the young of animals and humans, as well as being the Mistress of the Animals, Potnia Theron, and one of the goddesses of marriage and childbirth. The sanctuary of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe received terracotta plaques depicting a range of women/goddesses – probably Aphrodite, in a number of offering poses, including the mistress of the animals pose, alongside very suggestive naked women plaques,¹²⁷ while other material from the deposit also depicts the

123 Naukratis was not founded before 630/620 BC according to the earliest finds of Greek pottery, in particular Corinthian, while its faience factory does not appear to date before the beginning of the sixth century, see PETRIE 1886, 22 and passim; MÖLLER 2000; BOARDMAN 2009, 26-29; WEBB 2019a; BERGERON 2013-2015 on finds of Corinthian pottery.

124 WEBB 1978, chapters 2-5, Varia chapter 6; WEBB 2016, 17-47.

125 HÖLBL 1999, 361 only one example, probably Naukratite, from pre-Bothros excavations. seventeen from the Bothros, plus one outside it.

126 WEBB 2016, 171, nos. 605-609 bis, pl. 40. Six examples in all. A miniature falcon amulet from Samos no 101, 68, pl.11, 3. BLINKENBERG 1931, 346, no. 1243, first records of these from an East Greek site.

127 GRAEVE 2007, 2013, 2017, 2019.

Mistress of the Animals.¹²⁸ Bulté¹²⁹ illustrates plentiful figurines, which depict a complex Egyptian representation of this aspect of the goddess.



9d) Mus Inv 9039 H: 3. Photograph by author. Courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI

e) Cat amulet, efflorescence technique Z08.484.7. H: 3.18. Photographs courtesy of Günther Hölbl. f) Cat amulet in cut-out style. Z09.112.5. Photographs courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI

Our cat figurines (Figure 9d-f) share a similar fabric, glaze and style of modelling with the falcon amulets, have a suspension loop, and like them, would have been intended to hang on a necklace,¹³⁰ or be suspended as votive offerings. They are a common find on East Greek and Aegean sites.¹³¹ There are a dozen examples from the Bothros, with one from the earlier excavations in the surface deposits.¹³² These are not of the highest quality, and are, as often as not, shaped with a blade, and not mould made. They often feature the

128 GRAEVE 2013; NIEWÖHNER 2016, Fig 9 elaborate clay pouring vessel found on Zeytintepe.

129 BULTÉ 1991, 2003.

130 See Cypriot terracotta BLINKENBERG 1931, 336- 337, fig. 49. And KARAGEORGHIS 1977, 1991 passim.

131 WEBB 1978, nos. 467-481, where finds from Lindos, Argive Heraion, Aegina, Perachora, Chios-Greek Emporio are listed.

132 Amulets in form of a seated cat. To those from the Bothros listed by HÖLBL 2014, 188, note 88 – six in total, we can add another six – Z 08.425.37; Z08.476,79; Z09.109.26; Z09.116.1; Z09.122.6; Z10.34.40; and subtract one which probably represents a walking ibis, Z09.5.1. (Only one from the earlier excavations outside the Bothros, Z 08.198.193.) For other sites in Greece, which have yielded examples see WEBB 1978, 94, and SKON-JEDELE 1994, passim. In particular Lindos, Chios, Greek Emporio, Perachora, Aegina, Argive Heraion, Siphnos, Delos, and Cyprus. Dated contexts for some of these also point to the seventh century BC, although one example from Veii in Italy apparently comes from a burial of the second half of the 8th century, and was part of a necklace made up of glass beads, see HÖLBL 1979, 8, no. 26, pl. 62. See also Hölbl's comparator from Lahun.

black blobs so distinctive of the falcons. Sizes vary from 3,00 to 3,5 cm. From the Samos Heraion come only three, which show a very similar technique, and could well be from the same source.¹³³

Comparative totals of cat figurines in amulet form:
Zeytintepe 13 / Samos 3

So again, as with the *Perachora – Lindos / Aegean production* scarabs discussed above, we not only have the ready acceptance of actual Egyptian amulets in the East Greek area, but an additional class of amulet-like figurines, which mimic the falcon and the cat (and on other East Greek sites other animal symbols of Egyptian gods: Samos Heraion,¹³⁴ Rhodes etc.¹³⁵), but which do not use the mould-made technology of the Egyptian products, nor the variety of coloured glazes. This production, wherever it was sited, either in East Greece, or in the Delta of Egypt, proved to be extremely popular in the East Greek world, and they continued to be produced into the sixth century, when they appear at Naukratis.¹³⁶ Whether the cats were specifically for dedication to the goddess Aphrodite, is unknown, but in this case, the cat is not only an exotic and little known animal in Greece in the seventh century, but quite specific in its association with the goddess Bastet, who has strong links with fertility and reproduction.¹³⁷

Apart from the true amulet types discussed above (Group 2), we find the simplified falcons (Horus) and cats (Bastet), which belong to a very distinct group, which is clearly separate from the conventional run of Egyptian amulet types, although standing close to them in general conception. Boardman was already aware, from his dated contexts at Greek Emporio, of the distinctive Aegean nature of this industry, as earlier and separate from that of Naukratis.¹³⁸ Again, as with the *Perachora – Lindos* group of scarabs discussed above, we see a distinct class which stands in a unique relationship to Egyptian plastic, created to satisfy a market outside Egypt but still maintaining links with both Egyptian technique and style.

Comparative totals of figurine-type (falcon and cat) amulets:
Zeytintepe 38 / Samos Heraion 8

133 WEBB 2016, 69-70, nos. 106-108, pl. 11.

134 Samos Heraion, see WEBB 2016: rams of Amun – nos. 334-336, lions – nos. 337-338, pl. 34.

135 WEBB 1978, nos. 434-481: bulls, walking rams, rams with vertically striped apron, lions, hippopotamus.

136 For a falcon figurine, and a ram from Naukratis see WEBB 2019, 49, fig. 6, http://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Webb_trade_24.pdf

137 BULTÉ 1991, 2003. See discussion in WEBB 2016, 69-70.

138 BOARDMAN 1956, 241.

GROUP 4: LARGE FIGURINES WITHOUT SUSPENSION LOOPS – BIRDS, ANIMALS AND HUMANS.

Now we come to a contrasting group of faience figures where we find that the numbers from the two sanctuaries we have been studying are reversed, with the Samos Heraion contributing a much greater number, thus implying a very different attitude by the worshippers to the types of offerings, which were acceptable and expected in the Sanctuary of Hera. While this distinctive class of figurines does occur at Zeytintepe, and at a number of other sites in East Greece, it is the finds at the Samos Heraion, which outnumber examples from any other site. Here we are dealing with solidly made figurines, as distinct from amulets, or quasi-amulets. **Not only are these considerably larger in size, and solid, they do not have suspension loops, and could be set up on their bases as offerings.**¹³⁹ They represent a range of human figures, birds and animals, which are linked in various ways to Egyptian divine iconography, and do correspond, in part, to the related representations in true amulets. However, they are more closely related to the smaller quasi-amuletic figurines in the so-called *mixed-style*, which we have just been discussing.

A) FALCON FIGURINES

They form the largest group of these figurines. The greatest number found at any site in East Greece has come from the excavations in the Samos Heraion,¹⁴⁰ though there are also a number from Ialysos on Rhodes and in other archaic sanctuaries.¹⁴¹ The great majority of these falcon figures (**Figure 10a-e**) are modelled in the conventional Egyptian fashion: standing on a rectangular base,¹⁴² with a triangular space between the base and the body, and, like the Egyptian bronze examples,¹⁴³ have the wings shown with a strongly modelled rectangular shoulder, and folded right over left to overlap the tail. They range

139 The display in the Samos Museum in Samos town (Vathy) gives a good idea of the impression they would have made.

140 WEBB 2016, 151-170, nos. 339-504, pls. 34-40; with the addition of more recent excavation east of the Great Altar, WEBB 2021b, 247-250, nos. 13-19.

141 See WEBB 1978, 2016, 2012b. Rhodes – Lindos: one example only, in BLINKENBERG 1931, 346, no. 1244, pl. 55, compared with the large number (50) of falcons of the amulet type 346, nos. 1243, 1245, pl. 54, 55; Ialysos: SKON-JEDELE 1994, lists two examples 2484-2485, nos. 4550-4552, and others 2679-2682, nos. 4960-4972, unnumbered in Museum catalogue, but probably also from Ialysos, some very large; Kamiros: WEBB 1978, 105-106, nos. 676, 682, 684, 686, 678, 693, 694; Ephesus, The Artemision: HOGARTH 1908, 208 pl. 44, 10.11; Cnidos: Emecik in BERGES 2000, 182, pl. VII, 6, pls. 113, 114; Caria: Pedasa in BULYUT 2018, 131-132, no. 23, fig. 3.

142 This conventional depiction, corresponding to the hieroglyph sign for the falcon (Gardiner G5), can be traced back to early times in Egypt.

143 EMERY 1970, 1971; WEISS 2012.



Figure 10. Falcon figures in bronze and faience. All photographs by the author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. a) Bronze falcon of Egyptian origin from Samos Heraion B 1687, L: 21,8 cm. b) Head of faience Horus falcon, showing applied glaze, overall green-blue, with black on eyes, beak and comma marking on cheek V 1508. H: 3,4 cm. c) Body of faience falcon showing applied blue-green glaze V 341, L: 7,6 cm. d) Front of base of faience falcon, with toes marked in black on top of applied green glaze, Samos Heraion V362, L: 6 cm, W: 3,9 cm. e) Complete falcon, without applied black glaze. Samos Heraion V 239, H: 8 cm.

in size from ca 6 cm to 12,5 cms in height. The main glaze colour overall is a brilliant blue-green derived from copper oxide,¹⁴⁴ which is applied to the core material as a liquid slip, hence called the *application method*, and though this process results in a thick glaze, this is not integral to the core, and is vulnerable to becoming detached.¹⁴⁵ The best examples reproduce the facial and other markings of Egyptian Horus falcon figures like the genuine Egyptian bronze falcon model from Samos (see below), with the rounded surface of the eye, and the so-called *mascara* markings of the face, the *tear drop* under the eye, and eyebrows, as well as the claws/feet and *socks* all emphasized with

144 See discussion of varying components of green-blue glaze, see KACZMARCZYK – HEDGES 1983, 265, 271, and *passim*; MEEK ET ALII 2016, 97-98. No technical analysis has yet taken place on this class of objects.

145 HÖLBL – TITE 1987; NICHOLSON 1998, 52-55, fig. 27c, after VANDIVER 1983, p. A 145 in KACZMARCZYK – HEDGES 1983, illustrates the steps taken in the application glazing a similar Horus falcon figure. Compare the efflorescence method, FRIEDMAN 1998b, Fig 4, p.18.

additional *applied* glaze in a dark, blue-black colouring. The fine bronze falcon of undoubted Egyptian origin was found amongst discarded votives buried in the sanctuary rubbish in the Samos Heraion,¹⁴⁶ and demonstrates how close to the Egyptian model are the best of these faience examples. Of note here of course is that this is not the colour scheme nor the technique of the amulet-like figurines discussed above, which were glazed in a plain whitish colour (or a pale green glaze) created by the *efflorescence technique*, with applied black/brown for additional detail, and which never use the dark blue-green main glaze used for the *applied method* on these large falcon figures. This clearly indicates that these distinctive figures are the products of a separate industry.

Why were they so important for dedication in the Sanctuaries of East Greece? I would suggest that there must be a strong possibility that these faience falcons were imbued with the same magical force assigned to the bronze and wooden falcons which occur so frequently on Delta sites and in the Falcon galleries found at Saqqara,¹⁴⁷ which were made hollow to contain the mummified remains of falcons, or related material, in order to form intercessory gifts to the deity from the individual.¹⁴⁸ The fine bronze falcon from the Samos Heraion is hollow cast, and has just such a cavity entered through a rectangular opening underneath the base of the body (for a falcon mummy or associated material which could stand in for the assumed mummy).¹⁴⁹ In addition there are a good number of separate falcon legs and claws in bronze from the Samos Heraion, indicating that such offerings were prized during the course of the seventh century.¹⁵⁰ From the Samos Heraion excavations, we have nearly 270 faience falcons from the published excavations,¹⁵¹ while another 70 identifiable fragments come from the new excavations to the east of the Great Altar¹⁵² making a total of 340. From the new excavations, specifically associated with votive material dedicated at the previous altars of Hera, which predates the erection of the Great Altar, the large number surviving, and the additional

146 Samos: JANTZEN 1972, 18, 20, pl. 20, bronze falcon, B 1687 with inlaid decoration on face (now missing), and rectangular opening underneath the hollow body, giving an entrance to the interior space, which confirms that it was intended to contain deposited material.

147 DAVIES 2007, 178.

148 EMERY 1970 and 1971; WEISS 2012; JETT ET ALII 1985; ATHERTON-WOOLHAM ET ALII 2015, 20-23 for mummy bundles; DODSON 2009, 512-514, fig. 13-71.

149 JANTZEN 1972, 18, 20, no. B1687, pl. 20; VIGLAKI-SOPHIANOU, in BECK ET ALII 2005, cat. 71 shows clearly the square opening in the under surface of the body.

150 JANTZEN 1972, sixteen detached feet and legs in pls. 21-22, which Jantzen ascribes to similar falcons; see ŚLIWA 1983 for more examples.

151 WEBB 2016, 151-170.

152 WEBB 2021b, no. 13, from previous excavations by Walter; nos 14-19, from Deposits dated to 630/620 and 590/580.

unidentifiable fragments (probably also falcons) confirm their predominance and importance in the material dedicated.¹⁵³ From Zeytintepe comes a much smaller number mostly found in the Bothros (4 outside, 21 in Bothros = 25). Therefore, the dating for the majority of the examples is firmly fixed in the third quarter of the seventh century, while they continue to appear in deposits down to the middle of the sixth century. Other sites in the East Greek world have also yielded examples made in the same group of workshops, but none in such numbers as found at the Heraion.¹⁵⁴

Comparative totals of falcon figurines:

Samos Heraion 340 / Zeytintepe 25

B) OTHER ANIMAL FIGURINES

Another group consists of animal figurines, which derive ultimately from Egyptian religious archetypes, but which diverge in design and style from them. One of particular interest shows a walking cow nursing her calf, which is shown tucked underneath her belly¹⁵⁵ (Figure 11). Unfortunately, none of this group survives complete. It would seem that these figures should represent the Hathor cow nursing Horus in the marshes of Chemmis, and we have parallels in the Phoenician Egyptianising ivories.¹⁵⁶ Samos received fine ivories from Near Eastern sources, though none with this motif.¹⁵⁷ But this is not to say that

153 WEBB 2021b, 247-251. For introduction to excavations, see HENKE 2017a. Many of the unidentifiable fragments from these new excavations must belong to solid figurines and very likely to falcons.

154 WEBB 2016, 152-3 for detailed list of find places.

155 WEBB 2016, nos. 299-301, fig. 21, 140-141 for full discussion of parallels and meaning. Examples only known from Samos, with one from the Kamiros Acropolis deposit, see WEBB 1978, no. 648, pl. 16.

156 MALLOWAN 1966, 527, figs. 436, 437. North West Palace (Rooms V and W); BARNETT 1975, pl. 5. From Fort Shalmaneser, Rooms SW 21, 2 and 37, where the pose appears in rectangular plaques clearly intended for a piece of furniture (= a bed or couch?), and in both left and right hand examples, plus examples with cut-out background of papyrus plants see HERRMANN ET ALII 2004, 38, nos. SO 397-SO 403; 46, no. SO 496; 122-7, nos. S 1643. S 1640; 125, nos. S 1687. S 1688; 143, no. S 1985. Another series comes from Room SW 11/12, HERRMANN – LAIDLAW 2013, pls. 114-122, I 85. 91. See DECAMPS DE MERTZENFELD 1954, nos. 886-889, pls. 90-92 (from Arslan Tash); 152, nos. 1035, 1036, pl. 114 (from Nimrud).

157 FREYER-SCHAUENBURG 1966 discusses the Near Eastern ivories from the Samos Heraion. Of additional interest is the finding to the East of the great Altar in the Samos Heraion of a series of small rectangular glass inlays of cobalt blue glass with central white rosettes: Catalogue numbers V 2003-2013 (unpublished and mistaken for lapis lazuli), which correspond to finds from Nimrud, attached to ivory furniture and pillaged/brought as tribute from centres in Syria, see READE 2021, Group 4, 104, 186 et alia.

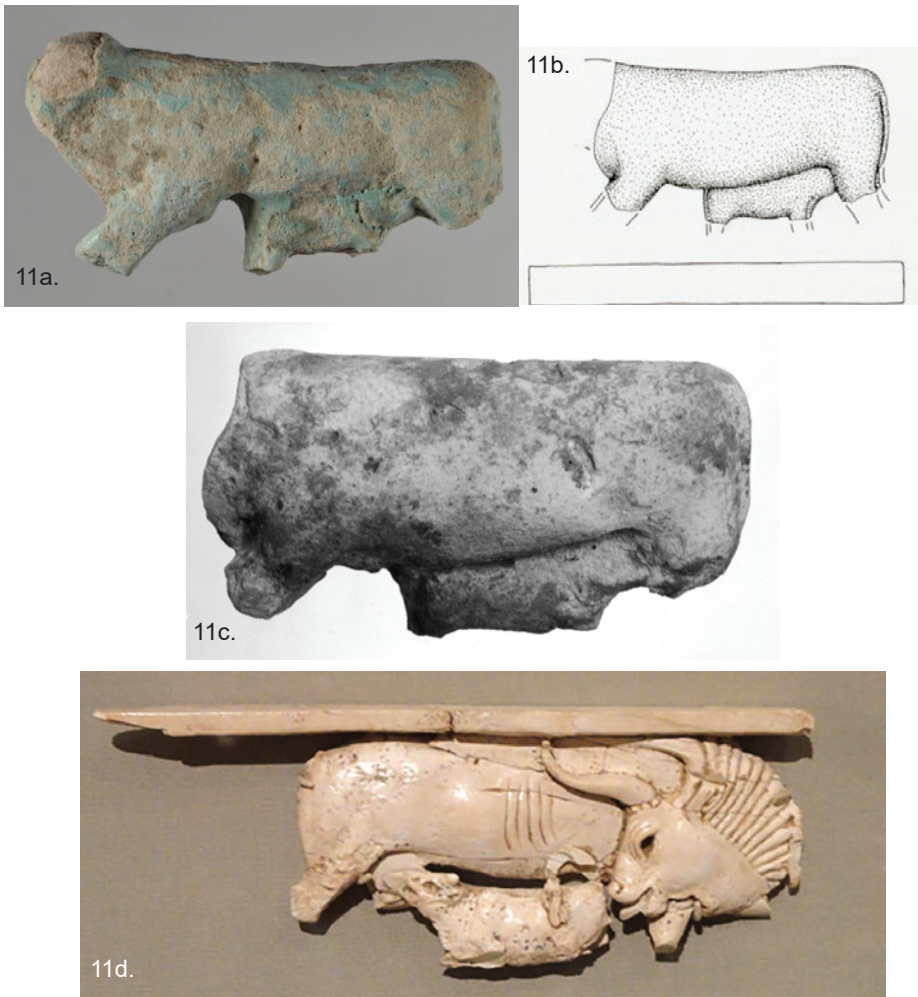


Figure 11. Cow nursing calf: representing Hathor cow nursing Horus calf. a). Cow nursing calf, Camirus Acropolis BM 1864.1007.1345, L.7. Photograph by Nicholas Salmon © The Trustees of the British Museum. b) Cow nursing calf, Samos Heraion V 208, L: 6,5. Drawing © Courtesy of the DAI-Athens, Samos Archive. c) Cow nursing calf, Samos Heraion V 208, L: 6,5. Photograph by Gösta Hellner, Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. d) Ivory furniture plaque in form of cow nursing calf. Syro-Phoenician work, Nimrud. Wikimedia Commons. 9th-8th BC.

such pieces would not have been known and existed in the sanctuary.

Of similar design is a parallel group (Figure 12), which depicts a walking ram with the horns turned forward, in the conventional depiction of the



Figure 12. Walking ram, with forward curved horns representing Ram of Amun.
 a) Ram and Base V 403, L: 8,5. Samos Heraion. Photograph by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. b) Drawing of V403, L: 8,5. Drawing © DAI- Athens. Samos Archive. c) Ram (now missing base),V 762, L: 9,00. Photograph by Gösta Hellner, Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. d) Photograph by the author, showing colour of glaze and added black on horns and apron. e) Ram in faience – Egyptian manufacture, Camirus acropolis deposit, London, BM 1864,1007.804, H: 9,5, L: 12 cm. Photograph by Nicholas Salmon. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Ram of Amun.¹⁵⁸ In both these groups the main figure is shaped as a cylinder,

¹⁵⁸ WEBB 2016, 143-144, nos. 305-314, fig. 23, pls. 31-32.

sometimes flattened underneath, with a clear space left between the body and the rectangular base, and the four legs modelled independently to support the whole weight of the body. Typical Egyptian models of similar animals have a supporting panel of faience, which fills in the whole area between base, legs and body, thus taking the weight of the body, as one fine example found at Kamiros demonstrates: this is a finely modelled piece of clearly Egyptian origin with good glaze surface remaining, and the supporting wall of material between base and body. It represents an example of the original model of the type, which inspired the copies made in the Greek sphere.¹⁵⁹ However, this design feature is omitted in these Greek examples, suggesting that the makers wanted to imitate realistic models of the animals such as those which were common in baked clay and bronze, and this results in the high level of breakage.

Other model animals include two miniature bull-calves, which bear a simply indicated uraeus crown of the Apis bull across their horns,¹⁶⁰ and confirm the link with Egyptian concepts. All of these animals relate to those, which appear in Egyptian religious contexts, but betray simplification and a crude style. In addition, there are lions, a seated cat-like sphinx, and squatting monkeys.¹⁶¹

Comparative totals of animal figurines:
Samos Heraion – 35 / Zeytintepe – 5

c) HUMAN FIGURINES

Another group, which demonstrates close links with Egyptian plastic but in this case diverges from it quite quickly, are **human figurines** (Figure 13, nude or wearing a *schenti*) in the conventional Egyptian *striding pose*, a few of high quality, with the back pillar, a supporting strut between the legs, and standing on a rectangular base with their hands clenched at their sides.¹⁶² A fine little Egyptian limestone from Samos gives us the model, which was

159 Egyptian faience representation of a walking ram; we must assume the Ram of Amon, from Kamiros, Rhodes: BM 1864.1007,804. Length 12 cm, H (rem) 9,5 cm, WEBB 1978, no. 638, pl. 16. Analysis of glazing technique by TITE – HÖLBL 1987 revealed the use of the *application technique*, see their table I.

160 WEBB 2021b, 254, Cat. 27, fig. 12, 259, Cat. 35, fig 17.

161 WEBB 2016, 139-145.

162 Samos Heraion: WEBB 2016, nos. 174-181, pls 17-18. Height up to 30 cm. Compare with the stocky modelling implying a different, perhaps local production centre, incomplete, from Miletos: HÖLBL 2014, fig. 21, Z08. 643. 53 and an unpublished seated figure, also fragmentary: Z08.486.42, both from the Bothros.

Figure 13. Humanfigures with strong links to Egyptian plastic.



13a.

a) Standing/striding figure Samos V 506, H: 10,5 with head V 233. H. 2.7. Photographs by Gösta Hellner. Reproduced courtesy of DAI-Athens. b) Samos-Heraion V 507. H: 9,5 cm. Photograph by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. c) Egyptian limestone walking figure, Samos Heraion V2, H: 25,8 cm. Kyrieleis 2020. Photograph by author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens.



13b.



13c.



13d.



13e.



Figure 13d) Samos Heraion V508. H: 20 cm. Photographs by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. e) Zeytintepe Z 08.463.53. H: 10,28 cm. (Total height, when complete ca. 20 cm) Photographs by author. Reproduced courtesy of DAI/RUB/UHH © DAI

the original pattern.¹⁶³ Where the head survives, this is in good style with a conventional bag-wig.¹⁶⁴ The clearest examples reproduce the *bipartition*¹⁶⁵ of the naked torso and the simple depiction of the foot, deriving from archaizing Egyptian art. One example from Samos (Figure 10c) even shows the vertical grooves on the shin, which are another distinctive archaizing feature of Libyan/Saite sculpture.¹⁶⁶ And an attractive piece from the recent excavations has good Egyptian features.¹⁶⁷ However, these reasonably accurate pieces, which reference Egyptian models, are soon adapted for a range of offering poses, the majority of which are much poorer in execution, and which reflect a mixture of Egyptian, and *mixed style* motifs (Figure 13).

D) FLUTE-PLAYERS AND OFFERING FIGURES

A range of popular poses result, which feature both standing female figures and striding male figures: playing the double flutes, and most interestingly associated with a variety of animals or a bird (Figure 14a-h), all of which belong closely with Egyptian concepts: for instance, accompanied by an Apis bull-calf (in miniature form but identifiable by the small uraeus indicated across his horns),¹⁶⁸ carrying a ram,¹⁶⁹ holding an ibex by the horns,¹⁷⁰ or presenting a falcon on a stand held at shoulder height.¹⁷¹ It is quite clear here that the Apis bull-calf, – with clearly marked if miniaturised uraeus, – the ram with curled forward horns, the ibex and the falcon are not animals, which are used in Greek art, but derive from Egyptian iconography.

163 KYRIELEIS 2020, V 2, 89, pl. 71,1-2, limestone Egyptian striding figure found in late seventh century context in the Samos Heraion; SKON-JEDELE 1996, no. 1889; find context CATLING 1983/1984, 58-60, KYRIELEIS 1984, 693.

164 WEBB 2016, Cat. 183, pl.19, no. 5.

165 WEBB 2016, Cat. 174, pl. 17, nos. 4, 5.

166 WEBB 2016, Cat. 179, pl. 17, no. 6. See note 651, and FAZZINI 1972, 66, fig. 36 on the faience plaque of Iuput II, for such an archaizing device intended to emphasize the antiquity and well-established nature of his kingship.

167 WEBB 2021b, fig. 8, Cat. 20.

168 WEBB 2021b, 254, 273, fig. 12, Cat. 27 and 28; fig.17 a, b, c, Cat 35.

169 WEBB 2016, 115, no. 197-198, pl. 20, carrying a ram in a distinctive pose across the shoulders, which mimics a similar pose used in the Cypriot limestone figures. Now add an identical figure WEBB 2021b, 255, 273, cat. 29, fig. 13 a & b found in a context dated to ca 630 BC.

170 WEBB 2016, 118, nos. 205-206, fig. 25. pl. 21, figures holding ibex by the horns.

171 Falcon on a standard, see WEBB 2016, nos. 199-202, pl. 20, double falcons on head from Kamiros, WEBB 1978, no. 613, fig. 24, pl. XV, another faience example from Ialysos, Rhodes: no. 7681, WEBB 1978, no. 614, fig. 24.

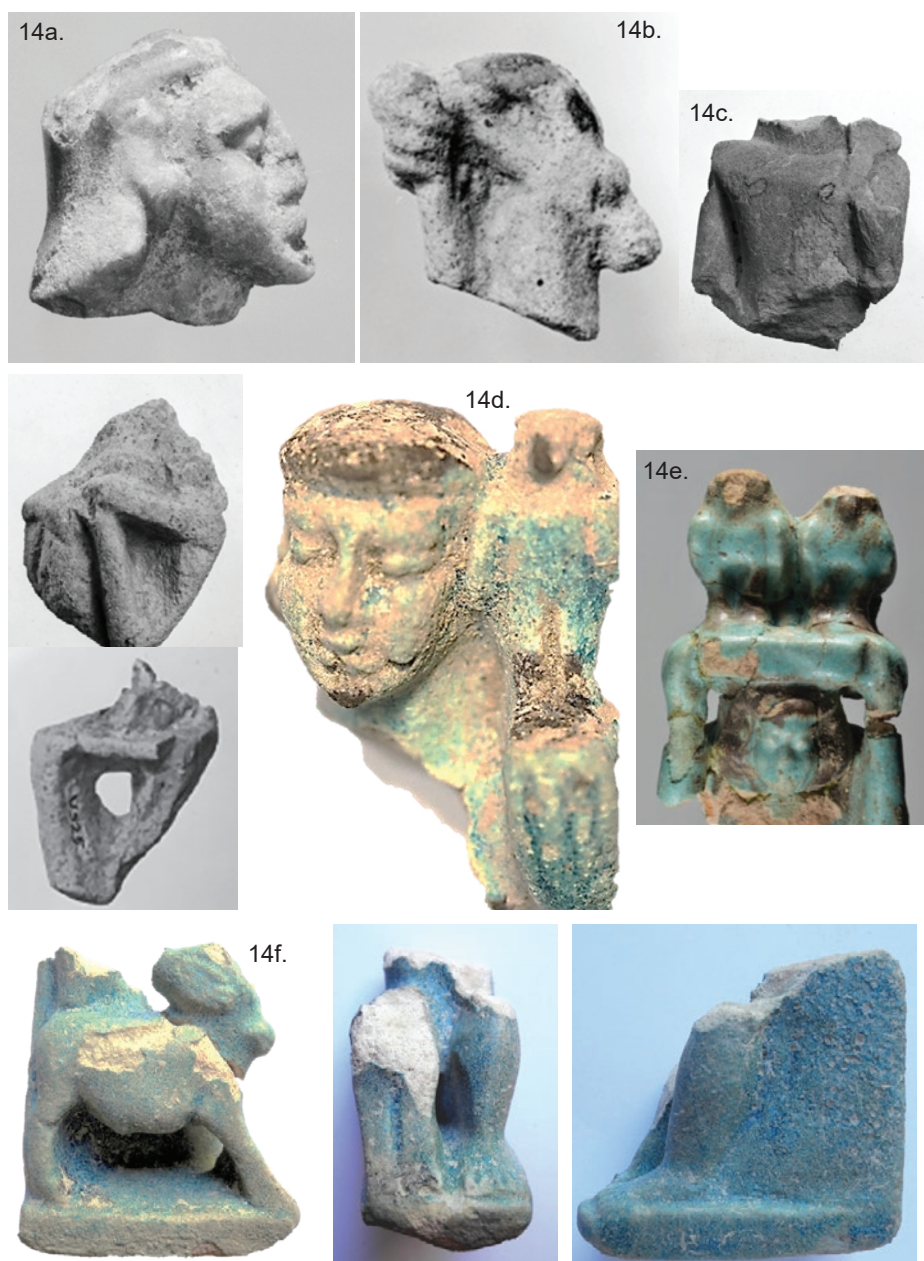


Figure 14. Offering bearers with animals and birds. a) Head of offering bearer, Samos Heraion V 400, H: 3. Photograph by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens
 b) Hand of Offering bearer leading ibex, Samos Heraion V 763, H: 4,5. Photograph by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens
 c) Fragments of figures supporting falcon

on frame, Samos Heraion V523 H: 5,5, V 524 H: 4,5, V 525 H: 3,5. Photographs by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. d) Offering bearer presenting falcon on frame, H: 4. Ialysos, Votive Deposit, Rhodes Museum no. 7681. H: 4. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Hellenic Republic e) Offering bearer presenting two falcons on a tray supported on head, Camirus Acropolis deposit, 'between walls D and E', H: 7. BM 1864,1007.797. Photograph by Nicholas Salmon © The Trustees of the British Museum f) Walking figure presenting miniature Apis bull, Samos Heraion V 1582, H: 6,0, L: 6,2cm. Photographs by the author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. g) Miniature Apis Bull, showing uraeus in centre of horns, V 1521, H: 4,8, L: 4,5. Photographs by the author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. h) Kneeling man presenting horse (fragment) Samos Heraion, V 266, H: 2,5, L: 3,4 cm. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens.

14g.



14h.

The intention is to represent all these animals being brought as offerings to the deity, and they must derive from the commonly represented offering bearers in Egyptian art who are shown, often as foreigners, in tomb paintings, or in *a-jour* plaques attached to boxes, and later in the Early Iron Age as motifs, which were transferred to the plaques used in Syro-Phoenician ivories.¹⁷² For instance, the importance of the ibex in Egyptian art is linked to the similarity of the shape of the ridged horn to the palm branch, which stands for the year *mp.t*.¹⁷³ In the Saite period the ibex head features as handles on New Year flasks, and on scarabs, as a powerful symbol of good luck, and on a fragmentary New Year flask found at the Heraion a walking ibex against a background of lanceolate trees appears as the main decorative motif on one side of the flask.¹⁷⁴ A New Kingdom tomb painting shows an ibex being

172 See WEBB 2021, 115 and notes 686 and 697, for discussion of the antecedents - New Kingdom à-jour metal plaques, and ivory versions for Syro-Phoenician furniture.

173 KEIMER 1947, 1-15 and 27-36, figs. 25-27; LAGARCE – LECLANT 1976, 238-9; HÖLBL 2005, 508; WEBB 2016, and discussion in WEBB 2025 on a scarab with an ibex.

174 WEBB 2016, 52-56, no. 70, pl. 8, for the appearance of the ibex amongst the faience finds from Samos Heraion, on a fragmentary New Year flask with low relief scene of an ibex walking against a background of lanceolate trees.

presented – held by its horns as in our figures – to the tomb-owner, Rekhmire,¹⁷⁵ alongside other horned African caprids, gazelle etc. The appearance of the ibex, with real horns, in the precious vessels from the tomb assemblage of Tutankhamun makes clear its beneficent powers.¹⁷⁶

In addition, the special importance of the falcon is clearly shown in the number of human figures which carry a falcon¹⁷⁷ on a horizontal frame, possibly T-shaped (one crudely modelled figure from Kamiros actually carries two falcons on a tray on his head).¹⁷⁸ We have, of course, already met the falcon in two contexts, as a miniature, amulet-like figure, and as a larger lifelike model. Here the falcon (perhaps originally a symbolic model) is presented by an offering bearer. The use of the frame on which the Horus Falcon stands suggests a relationship with the Egyptian ideogram of the falcon on a standard, to represent the *nome* symbols or the divine emblems¹⁷⁹ and surely, we must understand this as another link with Egyptian concepts. The figure from the lalysos votive deposit on Rhodes preserves its head, which sports a small beard on the tip of the chin,¹⁸⁰ and this corresponds exactly to two fine little heads found in the Heraion, which most likely come from similar figures.¹⁸¹ Two larger heads, one from Kamiros,¹⁸² the other from Zeytintepe,¹⁸³ conform to this type, and further confirm their identity. Such beards in Egyptian art belong to foreigners, and this confirms our interpretation of these figurines presenting

175 WEBB 1978, 35, fig. 9, a ii) from the tomb of Ptah-hotep, 53, fig. 18 from the tomb of Rekhmire, see VANDIER 1964, 4, 1, fig. 460.

176 Tutankhamun: CARTER ET ALII 1963, III, no. 578, pls. 41, 74; no. 584, pl. 49 B.

177 In Egyptian art the falcon stands as the symbol of the god or the king. GARDINER 1999, 468 sign G7 = falcon of Horus determinative archaistically of gods, e.g. Amun, or the King. Also ideogram of the king speaking, *wi* = first person.

178 WEBB 1978, 101, Kamiros, no. 613, pl. 15 with two falcons on tray, other examples nos 614-618, pl. 15. One no 614 and fig. 24 from Lalysos, and (now) four examples (fragmentary) from Samos, see WEBB 2016, 116-117, nos. 199-202, fig. 14, pl. 20. From Zeytintepe, a similar, but much larger head see note 179 below.

179 GARDINER 1999, R12 Horus falcon on a standard. The image (not a real bird) is carried as a standard on a plank of wood supported by a pole and cross piece. As SIMPSON 1971, 152 puts it “the time-honoured ensign on which the *nome* symbols and divine emblems were carried from earliest Dynastic times”. See wooden falcon on standard in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 7503 (SIMPSON 1971, 163, fig. 12). And one must assume that these were actual examples of such objects presented in processions.

180 WEBB 1978, 101, no. 614, fig. 24, Rhodes Museum no. 7681; SKON-JEDELE 1994, no. 4494.

181 WEBB 2016, nos. 203-204, pl. 20.

182 WEBB 1978, 101, no. 622, pl. 15. Head only, height. 5,7 cm, so larger in scale than those previously discussed.

183 Z 08.492.2. Unpublished, another unnumbered figure.

a variety of animals as not only offering bearers, but also foreigners bringing tribute. Finally, there are fragments of a kneeling figure presenting a miniature horse¹⁸⁴ – an adaptation to the faience group of a type of depiction which occurs in bronze, ivory or wood, in Greek products.

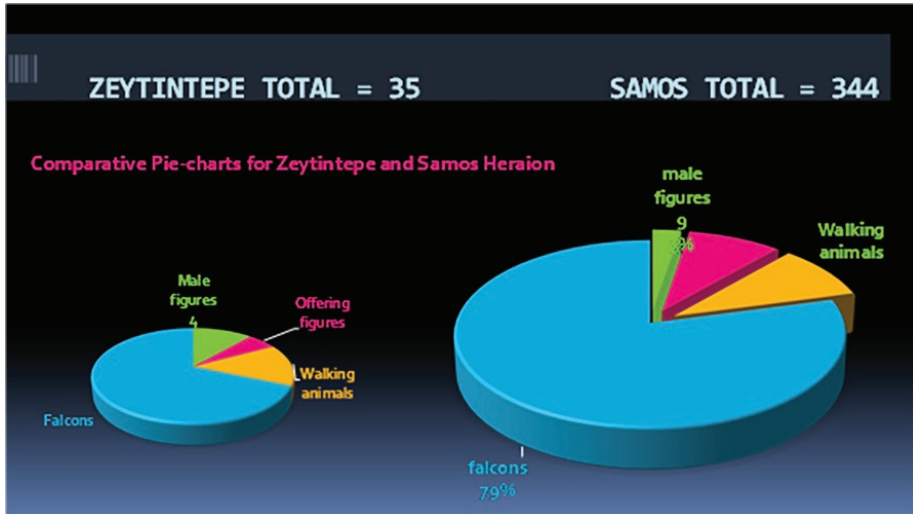


Figure 15. Comparison between totals of human and animal figurines from Bothros, Zeytintepe and Samos Heraion.

The animals thus presented are related (except for the horse) to the Egyptian animals, which either represent specific deities, or which feature in scenes in Egyptian art of foreigners presenting animals as tribute or gifts, but their execution is in a consistently simplified style and combined with the exaggerated features of the faces and hair, betray a crude adaption of the original Egyptian figures (Figure 14).

Comparative totals of human figurines:
Samos Heraion – 86 / Zeytintepe – 16

E) THE GODDESS ISIS NURSING HORUS

This trend of adapting models from Egyptian art, and presenting them not only in a very different style and with simplified features, can be seen very clearly in a distinctive group of figurines, which depict a seated woman with plain ankle-length skirt nursing a naked male child seated on her lap. She sits

184 WEBB 2016, 118-119, nos. 207-209, fig. 16, pl. 21.

on a plain block throne and wears no distinguishing insignia (**Figure 16**). She has a shoulder-length hairstyle, a typical *mixed style* hair/wig, which is swept outwards at the neckline in an identical style to those given to the popular flute-players and offering figures discussed above – the tripartite wig of the Egyptian original has completely disappeared.



Figure 16. Figurines representing Isis nursing Horus. From Samos Heraion.
 a) Seated female figure nursing male child, V379, H: 9,7. Photographs by Gösta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. b) Upper part of nursing female with male child, V 1070, H: 5,9. Photograph by author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. c) Base of nursing female with legs of baby on lap. V1507, H: 4,54. Photograph by W.–D. Niemeier. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens.

Although there can be no doubt that the intention is to represent the Egyptian goddess Isis nursing Horus, there do not seem to be any parallels to this simplified depiction in Egyptian plastic. From Late Period Egypt, the bronze/copper alloy groups representing Isis nursing Horus show without exception the goddess depicted as wearing her distinctive elaborate crown, with cow's horns either side of a sun disc, and the tripartite wig with two lappet hanging down either side of the goddess's face.¹⁸⁵ When the figure is adapted for faience amulets, then it is still possible to reproduce this crown, though it is rather difficult to execute and it can be replaced with the symbol of Isis, the block throne, which she wears on her head in place of the crown.¹⁸⁶ But in the faience figures discussed here, we see that, in the hands of faience-makers working for the local market, an Egyptian type of a divine figure has been

¹⁸⁵ WEISS 2012, pl. 56, type G12; HILL 2007, 149-151.

¹⁸⁶ Amulet from Thebes: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrus Sammlung, inv. 4535. Published as cat. no 114 in GRIMAL – PERDU 2012.

simplified almost beyond recognition. Nonetheless, the pose of the nursing mother is reproduced very closely, with the male child sitting sideways, his naked legs hanging down on the right side of the mother's lap, and his torso clearly marked with the T-shaped representation of the male chest, which again closely echoes influence from Egypt. The best-preserved pieces still retain the blue-green *applied glaze*¹⁸⁷ and added black on the hair, which appears identical to the glazing treatment of the large falcons above.

Comparative totals of Isis nursing Horus
Samos Heraion – 12 / Zeytintepe – 4/5

GROUP 5: BASKETS FOR THE GODDESS BASTET(?)

A final group of objects, which suggest close links with Egyptian cult, are fragments of horizontally grooved vessel walls, which have been found in the Heraion (**Figure 17c-d**). A large number of broken fragments have come from the recent excavations east of the Great Altar. These are grooved, but made of a very friable faience and are only rarely glazed.¹⁸⁸ All these fragments come from Deposit dated to ca 590–580 BC from the excavations to the East of the Great Altar. These would seem to be connected with a more complete object in the form of a semi-circular bowl-shape found in the earlier excavations in the Heraion, the outer surface of which is modeled with regular horizontal grooves with a carefully glazed rosette decorating its central base (the object was mistakenly positioned upside down in the original publication).¹⁸⁹ Models of baskets are common in Egyptian plastic, and they reproduce the grooved effect of basketwork in a similar way.¹⁹⁰ I am suggesting that this well-made bowl shape actually represents a basket,



Figure 17a) Bronze statue of Bastet with basket and sistrum. Late Period. Metropolitan Museum, New York, Rogers Fund, 1958, Acquisition number, 58.67, Open access.

187 NICHOLSON 1998, 52-55, fig. 27 ; PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS ET ALII 2015.

188 WEBB 2021b, 260-261, 274, fig. 19, nos. 38, 39.

189 WEBB 2016, 81, no. 145, pl. 14, 5-6; WEBB 2021b, no. 37. Similar decorative devices appear on the omphalos projection of phialai mesomphaloi in faience, Zeytintepe Z09.14.28, unpublished; Knossos North Cemetery WEBB 1996, T(omb) 34, f(small find) 40: vol. I 85, vol. II 608, vol. III fig. 181, vol. IV pls. 294-295; Lindos: BLINKENBERG 1931, 366, no.1338, not illustrated.

190 FRIEDMAN 1998, no. 92, colour plates 120, 218, New Kingdom, or Third Intermediate Period probably from Tuna el Gebel, where there was a well-established faience industry, also responsible for the distinctive low relief chalices which influenced the production and style of faience vessels,



Figure 17b) Bronze aegis, Hathor-Isis, Samos Heraion, B 133. H: 12 cm (now lost). Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. c) Hemispherical basket-shape, Samos Heraion V 384, H: 7,05. Photographs by Gosta Hellner. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens. d) Fragments of ridged vessels, Central fragment, V1526 H: 6,75, W: 4,4; on left V1528, on right V1531. All from same context, dated 590-580 BC. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of the DAI-Athens.

and that the poorly preserved fragments of similarly, though crudely grooved vessel fragments belong with it, and that they are connected with the Bastet cult – representing the basket, which Late Period figurines of the goddess Bastet (Figure 17a) from Lower Egypt carry on their left arm, sometimes shown containing kittens. Such figurines are widely found in Lower Egypt in bronze/copper alloy¹⁹¹ and there are also elaborate faience figurines related to Bulté's fertility type, which carry baskets. One striking example is an elaborate faience figure,¹⁹² who carries four baskets, one on each arm, and one each attached to the „broad collar protomes” on her shoulders – which bear the cat's head of the goddess Bastet –, plus two seated cats held centrally on her chest. This figure belongs with the group of naked females in faience who are linked with

the pyxides and alabaster, made in East Greece.

191 WEISS 2012, type 121, pl. 32; ten examples with baskets: Saqqara, North/Serapeion, Memphis, Giza, Bubastis and Tanis; and type G 15a, pl. 57g from Bubastis; North Saqqara and Naukratis: ROEDER 1956, pl. 39, 430.

192 PARLASCA 1953, pl. 47, note 30; BULTÉ 1991, 49, Doc 122, pl. 26 a, b – no provenance. This belongs with the group of naked females in faience, who are linked with the worship of Bastet at Bubastis; published by BULTÉ 1991. Closely related examples are found at Kamiros, Ialysos, and Cave of Lilianou, Crete, see WEBB 1978, nos. 628-637(bis).

the worship of Bastet at Bubastis.¹⁹³ Others studied by Bulté carry rectangular baskets or round vessels on their heads.

If this identification is correct, we should remember that faience is used in Egyptian cultural contexts as a magical substance to reproduce/imitate a real object and imbue it with symbolic power, not intended for use, but to stand for the object's ritual significance in the divine world of magic and incantation.¹⁹⁴

Comparative totals of Bastet basket fragments:
Samos Heraion – 8 (estimate) / Zeytintepe – none

CONCLUSIONS

THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE ON ZEYTINTEPE

We have looked at a range of faience objects all of which, apparently, except the well-made amulets, were manufactured in the Aegean and for the Greek market, and have identified in them the dominance of Egyptian style and techniques, placing Egyptian forms in an alien world, and manipulating them for cultic and religious purposes.

Scarabs first: the largest number found consist of Aegean imitations the originally called *Perachora* – *Lindos* group, last quarter of the eighth and first quarter/half of the seventh century, which could easily be taken as Egyptian by their clientele. Their distribution indicates their importance for Greek seafarers on the early trade routes to the West. Their appearance in such quantities here shows that our Zeytintepe shrine was heavily involved in sea trade routes receiving visits from traders from its earliest inception 690-680 BC. None are found in the Heraion on Samos.

Amulets consist of both some high-class, Egyptian-made examples, and more standard products, though not of derived Levantine or Punic types. Probably ranging in date from the second half of the eighth century through the seventh century to 630 BC, judging by the terminal date of the Bothros. Many of the same types are also found in Rhodes,¹⁹⁵ and in the wider Mediterranean, both East – Chatal Hüyük in the 'Amuq plain, in North Syria,¹⁹⁶ to Pithecussae in the West,¹⁹⁷ and indicate that there was an eager market for such pieces, in the frenetic trading links between East and West. Zeytintepe's sanctuary of Aphrodite has a much greater number, and more special selection of these compared with the Samos Heraion.

193 BULTÉ 1991, Doc 93-95, pl. 18.

194 PATCH 1998, 32-45.

195 SKON-JEDELE 1994, Rhodes – plentiful listings, most unfortunately not illustrated.

196 HÖLBL 2019.

197 DE SALVIA 1993.

Both scarabs and amulets are highly portable, and carry a cargo of Egyptian folk beliefs: the scarabs in the power of protection indicated by the incantations, the amulets in the spells related to the deities they represent. How much and how consistently these values were applied in their new home is much debated.

Next, **animal figurine-like amulets**, made in the Aegean, specifically in the form of falcons and cats (although other animal forms are found on other East Greek sites), are much more commonly found at Zeytintepe than at the Samos Heraion. Clearly, they were regarded, like the true Egyptian amulets, as portable charms. They imitate genuine Egyptian amulets but in a generally crude way. All these objects are of seventh century date, probably before 630BC and pre-date the apparently similar, but later, production from Naukratis. Again, the majority are found on Zeytintepe, compared with the Heraion on Samos.

We could argue that if these are all gifts to the goddess **Aphrodite**, then it is in her role as protector of sailors, to seal the bargain with her for protection at sea, or in thanks for successful voyage under her protection. Many of the colonies founded by Miletos (with Naukratis probably among them) had important shrines to Aphrodite in her role as protector of the sea farer.¹⁹⁸ The other possibility is that these, especially the scarabs, were the votive gifts of women, brides, mothers and wives.¹⁹⁹

THE HERAION ON SAMOS

Large Figurines without suspension loops – birds, animals and humans.

The mighty international shrine of Hera on Samos receives quite a different range of faience offerings. Very few scarabs, and only a few amulets – nothing to compare with the offerings found at Zeytintepe. What **are** popular in the Heraion, are the solid figurines of animals related to Egyptian cult – falcons (for Horus), the most popular figures, and others – a cow nursing a calf – which parallels the goddess Hathor nursing Horus, the Ram of Amun, the ibex with its connotations of good luck, Apis bull-calves (newly discovered in the recent excavations) – these three latter being offered by offering bearers – and Isis in human form nursing Horus, while humans are depicted as both striding figures and offering bearers bringing these Egyptian-type animals, often given small beards, which mark them out as foreigners bringing tribute, derived as such from Egyptian iconography. Not only do these represent a quite different relationship with Egyptian religious beliefs – taking concepts and

¹⁹⁸ For example GREAVES 2004, DEMETRIOU 2012.

¹⁹⁹ Careful analysis of their usage in graves throws further light on their importance to the individual see SCHWEIZER 2014.

changing them to suit local conditions, but they are also made in a different technique from that used for the amulets and scarabs, using thick glazing in the application method, with dark greeny-blue copper oxide colouring. The falcons must be paralleled with the bronze falcons with mummified remains inside, which became so popular in Late Period Egypt, where the dedicator has an individual stake in his/her dedication, with its message for the deity, while the other representations refer clearly to animals which had an important role in relation to Egyptian gods. The faience figures are datable from around the middle of the seventh century to the early years of the sixth century. They surely imply a close relationship with Egypt and her cult practices, and may well be the products of local workshops associated with the sanctuary of Hera. Lastly, the possibility of baskets related to the worship of Bastet. Here I am on much speculative ground, but I think it worthwhile proposing this link, because we know of the importation from Egypt of Bastet-related female figures to both Rhodes and Samos. Here of course we have to remember the extraordinary earlier importation of fine Egyptian bronzes to the Heraion, going back into the first half of the seventh century. Is it possible to argue for a replacement in offering practices from the genuine Egyptian bronzes of 25th Dynasty date to cheaper, but still Egyptian-type objects, which would have been accessible to a wider market and indeed, were dedicated in very large numbers?_ Thus, we have extraordinarily rich deposits of specific classes of faience *aigyptiaka*, which not only demonstrate most clearly the differences in the votives dedicated between the two shrines, but also a range of relationships with Egyptian cult beliefs.

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