Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt

Alexandra Villing, Marianne Bergeron, Giorgos Bourogiannis, Alan Johnston, François Leclère, Aurélia Masson and Ross Thomas

With Daniel von Recklinghausen, Jeffrey Spencer, Valerie Smallwood, Virginia Webb and Susan Woodford

http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis

Scarabs, scaraboids and amulets

Aurélia Masson
Contents

Introduction 3

1. Scarab and scaraboid seals 4
   1.1. The Scarab Factory 5
      1.1.1. Moulds 5
      1.1.2. Materials and technology 13
      1.1.3. Products 17
   1.2. Stone scarabs and scaraboids 31
      1.2.1. Chronological and typological disparity 32
      1.2.2. A dubious or vintage collection, models or local productions? 38

2. Egyptian amulets 41
   2.1. A great diversity 42
      2.1.1. Material 42
      2.1.2. Subjects 48
      2.1.3. Dating the amulets from Naukratis 71
   2.2. Local production and export 73
      2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory 73
      2.2.2. The Scarab Factory: more than an amulet workshop 77
      2.2.3. Amulets from other workshops at Naukratis 79
      2.2.4. Naukratis and the twilight of amulets in the Mediterranean world 82

3. More than merchandise: the local use of scarabs and other amulets 86
   3.1. Amulets, a protection in this life and the next 86
      3.1.1. Amulets from domestic contexts 86
      3.1.2. Amulets from funerary contexts 88
   3.2. Amulets as offerings to the gods 88
      3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries 89
      3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts 90

Conclusion 94
Introduction

Amulets are small figures and objects with magic or prophylactic properties, meant to be worn, so usually bearing a suspension loop or pierced. Scarabs, scaraboids and other amulets, as well as moulds used for their production, account for a large portion of the material found at Naukratis. Almost 467 scarabs and scaraboids, 518 other types of amulets and 381 moulds to produce them in glazed composition and Egyptian blue. This large group has received a biased interest in scholarship. The emphasis was on the products of the Scarab Factory, a workshop in activity in the early 6th century BC and which creations have been widely distributed across the Mediterranean. Another set of finds which retained the interest of specialists concerns archaic mixed style amuletic figures. These glazed composition figures were usually deposited in Greek sanctuaries at Naukratis and identified as non-Egyptian. Beside these finds, there is a sizeable corpus of amulets scantily known.

This situation can be explained first of all by the selection of the material available to scholars since the first publications on Naukratis. Moreover, the academic attention has been focusing on the foreign elements sometimes observed in this group of finds, on questions of intercultural relationships and trade with the wider Mediterranean area. The amulets of common Egyptian types, hitherto largely unpublished, shed new light on the Egyptian material culture and popular beliefs at Naukratis.

The present chapter will provide a more complete vision of the extant finds from the early excavations, their production, use and significance. Various archival documents – such as journals, notebooks, lists of antiquities sent to museums – help reconceptualize some of these amulets. Scientific analyses recently carried out on faience finds also brought new information on the chemical composition and origin of raw material. Together, the new data and information allow for a fundamental reassessment of the amuletic corpus from Naukratis and its significance.

This study will start with a presentation of the Scarab Factory – its products and associated moulds – followed by a discussion of a group of lesser known and difficult to interpret scarabs and scaraboids made in stone. It will then focus on the variety of other types of amulets discovered at the site, some of which were probably locally produced and possibly formed another key export from Naukratis. Finally, a close look at the contexts of discovery of the amuletic material at Naukratis will stress how part of this material was locally used by inhabitants and visitors to this international riverine port.

---

1 All images are © Trustees of the British Museum, unless otherwise indicated. I am grateful to Alexandra Villing for her comments on this study.
2 Vercoutter 1945, 265; Clerc 1991, 141.
4 Discussed in more detail in the chapter on Archaic mixed style faience figures.
5 Exclusively Petrie 1886 and Gardner 1888, since Hogarth did not publish any amuletic finds.
1. Scarab and scaraboid seals

Significant new insights can be gained in the more studied category of scarabs and scaraboids from Naukratis. At least 467 scarabs and scaraboids were identified across the collections, publications and archives. Many were previously unpublished, such as those discovered during Hogarth’s seasons at Naukratis. Numerous colour photographs – not only underside views, but also back and side views whenever possible – allow determining or amending identification of material, of scaraboid type, or of the style and technique used for the motif featured on the base.

The large majority of this group is made of glazed composition, but other materials are also well represented (Chart 1). As expected and pointed out by previous scholars, ram’s head scaraboids use exclusively Egyptian blue. Glazed composition and coloured paste scarabs as well as most of the scaraboid types are predominantly related to the Scarab Factory, and will be discussed first. Almost a quarter of the scarabs and scaraboids are made of stone and will be analysed separately later. The unpublished material is particularly abundant and challenges past interpretations of this specific category.

![Chart 1: Distribution of scarabs and various scaraboid types by material](image)

---

6 An unknown number of scarabs and scaraboids were sent to the Berlin Museum. These appear to be now lost. Only one catalogue entry was created per type.

7 For example, the scarab 88.861 kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is made out of Egyptian blue, information which was not noted on the published drawing (Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII, no. 28); the scarab British Museum EA27570 published by Petrie as being made out of stone (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 185), is in glazed composition.

8 British Museum EA35981, Museum of Fine Arts 88.873 and British Museum EA66515 are all scaraboids in the shape of a Black African head, though they were previously published as Bes heads (respectively published in Gorton 1996, 97, Type XXVIII A114-A115, Type XXXIV B25).

9 All the charts in this study are meant to indicate some general trends. We still have objects for which we lack photographs or even illustrations, relying sometimes solely on descriptions.
1.1 The Scarab Factory

In 1885, Petrie uncovered what is commonly referred to as the ‘Scarab Factory’ in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. It is not strictly speaking a building, but the discarded waste of a workshop. It specialized in the mass production of amulets, primarily in the form of scarab beetles in glazed composition and ‘Egyptian blue’. Amulets, hundreds of associated moulds and some raw material used in the production were discovered in the rubble.

Although this question remains somewhat debated, it is generally agreed that the main phase of activity for the Scarab Factory should be situated between 600 and 570 BC, under the reigns of Psamtek II (595–589 BC) and his successor Apries (589–570 BC), and should exclude the reigns of Psamtek I (664–610 BC) and Amasis (570–526 BC)11.

1.1.1. Moulds

‘I used to take scarab moulds at 3 a penny; now it is a favour to take them at 10 a penny; I have so many hundreds I do not know what we can do with them’ (Petrie diary 1884-1885, p. 121).

Terracotta moulds, made of local Nile silt clay12, were used to form scarabs and scaraboids’ backs, and other amulets. Only three scarab-moulds13 and the moulds for amulets in the shape of wedjat-eyes inscribed in a rectangle14 present two deep grooves through the edge of the mould (for example Fig. 1). These ducts accommodated a channel for suspension. Not all products from the Scarab Factory had a mould-made back, but they formed the majority (for example Fig. 2).

The chart showing the distribution of the collected moulds’ types across the collections is based on 381 specimens, of which 325 are illustrated by photographs in the catalogue (Chart 2)15. Many more were discovered since Petrie counted 678 such moulds in his 1886 publication.16 Furthermore, a ‘great number of scarab moulds’ was found during Hogarth’s excavations in 1899 near the Aphrodite sanctuary17 and some more came to light in his 1903 season in the Hellenion area. We can only

---

10 Petrie 1886, 36–8.
12 The micaceous Nile clay usually fires orange brown in colour. Thin section and NAA (Mommsen sample no. Nauk 122. NAA group QanN) analyses were conducted on one scarab-mould, British Museum 1965.0930.914, made of poorly processed clay with abundant inclusions (Spataro, Mommsen and Villing 2018, no. 19). On the manufacture, general shape and material of the moulds: Webb forthcoming.
13 British Museum 1965.0930.900; Nottingham, Castle Museum NCM 1888-63g; Macclesfield, West Park Museum B93.
14 See infra in Moulds for wedjat-eye amulets.
15 Some of these moulds are only known by a very general description, others are impressed with a too eroded motif and at last the paste remains inside the moulds can totally conceal the impression.
16 Petrie 1886, 37.
17 Edgar in Hogarth et al. 1898–9, 50.
assume that the chart reflects to some extent the actual assemblage, but
there was likely a bias towards more unusual types or better preserved
specimens, as the early explorers of the site might have discarded some
duplicates or moulds chocked with paste. The museums and other
institutions which received such finds might also have de-accessioned
some of them. The moulds for scarabs and Black African heads are
the predominant types; a variety of other scaraboid- and amulet-moulds are
represented by a few specimens each.

These moulds were mainly discovered in the area of the Scarab Factory to
the south of the town, near the sanctuary of Aphrodite, during Petrie’s
evacuation in 1885. Hogarth’s seasons in 1899 and 1903 provided an
additional number of them from different areas. The entry of Tuesday 14
March in Hogarth’s 1899 diary signalled that he excavated in the south of
the site the ‘remains of a chamber near Gardner’s rubbish heaps’, following
with the note ‘Heaps of pottery and scarab moulds’. The next day, he
wrote: ‘S[outh]. (scarab-mould) chamber finished in water – nothing
important found – only the moulds’. These could be from the Scarab
Factory discard. In 1903, Hogarth reports finding a scarab-mould in a pit
near the wall of the Great Temenos (entry of Thursday 30 April) and two
more scarab-moulds in the vicinity (entry of Tuesday 5 May). Finally, a list
of antiquities from Hogarth’s excavation in 1903 records an ‘eye mould’ as
well as ‘31 amulet + scarab moulds’ as coming from the Hellenion. Hogarth
probably more generally referred to the north-eastern part of the town,
including the Hellenion and an industrial area to the East. The moulds,
as well as many other finds discovered during Hogarth’s seasons, reached
the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and they do not differ from the ones
discovered by Petrie. The Hellenion is far from the Scarab Factory, thus it is
improbable that there were spoil heaps of Petrie’s excavations of the

---

18 Amulet-moulds were distributed among no less than 28 of them.
19 Hogarth’s diary 1899, entry for Tuesday 14 March. We are grateful to Caroline Barron for
granting us access to Hogarth’s diaries and to Valerie Smallwood for transcribing them.
20 Sites 38 (Hogarth) and 95 (Petrie) produced terracottas from the end of the Late Period-
early Ptolemaic period (see chapter on the Ptolemaic and Roman figures).
21 Seventy-four moulds from Naukratis are kept in the Ashmolean Museum. Thirty-nine are
registered with the prefix AN1886-1908, were found unnumbered together with other material
from Naukratis. These are likely to come from Hogarth’s seasons.
factory in that area. Could that be evidence for a second workshop? The presence of other workshops producing these widely exported amulets at Naukratis itself, or elsewhere in the Delta, should not be dismissed.

The distribution of the scarabs and scaraboids collected at the site (Chart 1) shows some interesting discrepancies with the moulds’ chart (Chart 2). While 131 Black African head moulds were found, only 16 such scaraboids in glazed composition and coloured pastes were gathered. Of these, only six were mould-made, while the remaining nine were cut out. On the other hand, 69 dome-shapes scaraboids were collected compared to only 16 moulds of such type. Such inconsistency, rather than purely coincidental, could be explained by the selection strategy of the finds. Moulds for domes are not as appealing a find to give to museums and other institutions that funded the excavations, compared to Black African head moulds. This explanation does, however, not satisfactorily explain the difference between the 131 Black African head moulds for six mould-made positives gathered at the site. It seems possible that such scaraboids were not fit for a local market and were all exported, while scarabs for instance could have been used at Naukratis itself. Black African head scaraboids catered to Greek ideas of exotic Egypt. The various types of moulds are described below.

Moulds for scarab beetles

The 200 extant scarab-moulds can be divided into two major types, which can be sub-divided depending on the degree of details of the back (see Diagram 1). They are meant to produce rather small, even miniature, scarabs between 0.70 to 2.10cm high, 0.50 to 1.65cm wide and 0.5 to 0.85cm thick. In the large majority of the scarab-moulds, the sides are vertical, with no indication of legs. Details of legs were usually added by incisions and carving after the moulding of the scarab’s back.

Diagram 1 after an impression of the most detailed scarab-mould found at Naukratis (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 3, drawing by Kate Morton, British Museum)

---

22 Two terracotta scarab-moulds were discovered at the nearby capital Sais (Sa el-Hagar), and in Tanta Museum: Wilson 2006, 291, T7. During a conference organized at the British Museum in 2013, P. Wilson presented images of other scarab-moulds from her new excavation at Sais which were in all points similar to the ones found in Naukratis (Wilson forthcoming).

23 For further arguments, see infra in 3. More than merchandise: the local use of scarabs and other amulets.

24 See Hölbl 1986, 210 for the variety of detailed back and leg treatments on final products.
The first type is illustrated by 73 specimens. The mould is impressed with a relatively well-defined back including all main features, although these are usually slightly simplified. The head and clypeus (front plate) are simply marked. The semicircular head has a single borderline (Fig. 3), and is sometimes flanked by side plates of irregularly trapezoidal shape (with side plates: Fig. 4). The clypeus is usually not serrated. The pronotum (dorsal plate of the prothorax) and the elytral suture are indicated by single dividing lines. In most cases (57 out of 73), V-shaped nicks for the humeral callosities (shoulder thickenings) are visible at the upper outer corners of the elytra (wing cases), behind the line of the prothorax.

More elaborate moulds additionally outline the eyes flanking the head and the scutellum (small triangle behind the line of the prothorax). The clypeus shows five frontal serrations and there is also some modelling for the forelegs and the hind legs. These well-modelled moulds are rare (Fig. 5).

The size of the impression varies from 0.70 to 2.00 cm in height and from 0.50 to 1.50 cm in width. The majority (at least 44 out of 62) measures between 1 to 1.30 cm in height and between 0.70 and 1.00 cm in width.

The second type is identified in 65 specimens. The mould has a very simply modeled back. Only the head is clearly outlined (Fig. 6) from the rest of the back, which is left plain. The clypeus is marked on 19 specimens.

The size of the impression is close to that of the first type, if somewhat bigger. It varies from 0.90 to 2.10 cm in height and from 0.65 to 1.65 cm in width. The majority (38 out of 61) measure between 1.05 and 1.50 cm in height and between 0.80 and 1.20 cm in width.

The remaining 62 specimens are of unknown types, either because the remains of core material hide the details of the impression (26 examples), or the impression is too eroded (13 examples), or no photographs have been accessible so far (23 examples).

**Moulds for Black African heads**

There is a wider variety of Black African head moulds than the four types published by Petrie and Gorton. The majority of 131 moulds are simple, with no detail for the hair (Chart 3). Their size varies widely, from 0.9 to 2.25cm in height, 0.85 to 1.90cm in width and 0.50 to 1.10cm in thickness.

---

25 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, nos 1–3.
26 We do not know the size of the impression for 11 out of 73 specimens.
27 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, nos 4–5.
28 We do not know the size of the impression for four out of 65 specimens.
29 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, nos. 8–11; Gorton 1996, fig. 35.
The first type of mould (BAHM 1), which is also the most common one with at least 70 specimens, is impressed with a Black African head with simple facial features, usually with characteristic large nose and thick lips sometimes upturned into a smile (Fig. 8). The face can be either elongated or rounded, and the eyes more or less protruding. Ears are shown on both sides of the head and the hair presents no further detail other than an indication of the hairline. The size of the impression varies from 0.90 to 2.20cm in height and from 0.85 to 1.80cm in width. The majority measures between 1.20 and 1.50cm in height and between 1 and 1.30cm in width (at least 50 out of 65).30

The rather common second type (BAHM 2), identified in 20 moulds, can be distinguished from the first type by the addition of a pair of V-shaped grooves on the forehead, running up from the top of the nose to the hairline (Fig. 9). The size of the impression varies from 1.20 to 2.20cm in height and from 1 to 1.90 cm in width. The majority measures between 1.20 and 1.85cm in height and between 1 and 1.70cm in width (15 out of 20).

The third type (BAHM 3), identified in 11 moulds, can be distinguished from the first type by the care used in representing the braided hair.31 Rows of tear-shaped indentations indicate the curls (Fig. 10). The size of the impression varies from 1.50 to 1.95cm in height and from 1.35 to 1.70cm in width. The majority measures between 1.50 and 1.70cm in height and between 1.35 and 1.55cm in width (8 out of 11).

The fourth type of mould (BAHM 4) is only attested in four specimens. This time, the impression of the Black African head presents a pair of V-shaped grooves as for BAHM 2 and similarly detailed braided hair as for BAHM 3 (Fig. 11). The size of the impression varies from 1.50 to 1.60cm in height and from 1.30 to 1.40cm in width.

30 We do not know the size of the impression for five out of 70 specimens.
31 Two of them were published in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 8–9.
Two moulds belong to a fifth type (BAHM 5).\(^{32}\) The main feature consists of a wrinkled forehead, with the numerous horizontal and parallel lines separated by a V-shaped groove springing from the top of the nose. The hair is left undecorated, with the hairline marked by three curved lines (Fig. 12). The size of the impression varies from 2.20 to 2.25cm in height and from 1.90 to 2.00cm in width.

The last type (BAHM 6) is only attested once and presents finer details than any other African heads.\(^{33}\) The hair is tied with a thin hairband above which the hair is braided into vertical rows of delicate chevrons, below which curls are indicated with a row of single squares. The facial features include small eyes, a wide nose and plump lips, while the ears are shown emerging from the hair (Fig. 13). The impression measures 1.90cm in height and 1.50 cm in width.

### Moulds for dome-shaped scaraboids

Sixteen moulds impressed with a circular stud to form dome-shaped scaraboids were identified (Fig. 14).\(^{34}\) The size of the impression\(^{35}\) varies between 1.15 and 1.45cm in diameter, and its thickness between 0.30 and 0.65 cm. Most of them (8 out of 11) belong to the larger range, between 1.30 and 1.45 cm in diameter. They often still retain some pale yellow core material (at least seven examples).

### Moulds for wedjat-eye amulets

Eleven moulds for wedjat-eyes amulets, belonging to two types, were identified at Naukratis. The amulets formed by these moulds always represent the right eye (Fig. 15).

Four moulds are impressed with a simplified version of a wedjat-eye inscribed in a rectangle, surrounded by a smooth sub-rectangular area and with ducts for provision of a string hole (Fig. 16).\(^{36}\) The outer edge of the impression is oval. The size of the moulded amulet ranges from 2.40 and 2.90cm in length, and, 2.05 and 2.50cm in height.

Five moulds are cut out, rather than impressed, with the motif of a plain wedjat-eye in bulla form, with a reeded suspension loop modelled at the top. In two cases, the wedjat-eye is placed between the blossoms of a lotus (top) and a papyrus (below) (Fig. 17).\(^{37}\) In the other tree cases, it

---

32 Possibly illustrated in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 11.
33 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 10.
34 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 18.
35 We do not know the size of the impression for five out of 16 specimens.
36 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 17; Hölbl 1986, 150, fig. 18.
37 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 16.
surmounts a corbel detailed with small rectangles and is topped by an upside down detailed papyrus bud (Fig. 18). The size of the impression ranges from 2.50 to 2.80cm in height and 1.45 to 1.90cm in width.

Two moulds from Cairo Museum for which we have not seen any photographs are labelled in the register as moulds for wedjat-eye. One of them is described as a ‘heart with an engraved wedjat eye’ (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26826), clearly referring to the second type of mould.

Wedjat-eyes produced from the first type of mould are found in Naukratis. For example, an openwork wedjat-eye (Fig. 19) presents the same size as the impression in one of the moulds (Fig. 16 above). No positives of the second type of mould have been so far recovered in Naukratis and this specific type of amulet seems fairly rare in general (see an example discovered in Egypt without further precision, Fig. 20).

**Moulds for Bes amulets**

At least five moulds for Bes amulets were discovered in Naukratis. Four of them were used to form Bes heads with protruding lionine ears and an incised mane both side of his full mouth and chin (Fig. 21). The head is usually crowned with four deeply grooved feathers, but a mould from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE26823) is identified in the register as a mould for a ‘Bes head, not wearing his feathered crown’. According to the measurements available for two moulds, the size of the moulded amulet ranges from 1.70 to 1.75cm in height and 1.35 to 1.40cm in width. A fifth mould, of which only the upper part is preserved, is impressed with a standing or crouching Bes. His feathered crown consists of five plain feathers (Fig. 22). A few small amulets of Bes discovered in the Heraion of Samos could compare to the type of Bes that would have been produced with this amulet-mould.

No direct positive of these moulds has been found in Naukratis, though we have a wide range of Bes amulets, some of which are rather similar to Bes heads that could have been produced locally.

**Rarer and missing types of moulds**

Two scaraboid-moulds are impressed with a couchant lion resting upon an oblong plinth (Fig. 23). Traces of pale yellow paste are still preserved in one of them. The size of the impression varies between 1.30 and 1.60cm in length, and, between 0.70 and 0.75cm in width. The scaraboids produced with this type of mould received a decoration on the underside (see below Fig. 41). Another mould is impressed with a plainly modelled feline head, that of a cat or a lion (Fig. 24). The size of the impression measures 0.90cm in height and 0.80cm in width.

---

38 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 14.
39 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 15.
40 Webb 2016, 70, pl. 11, nos 9–12.
41 See infra in 2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory.
42 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 6.
43 Impression illustrated in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 12.
Two moulds are impressed with what Petrie identified as an anthropoid bust (Fig. 25). A unique mould, impressed with a pointed circular stud of 0.95cm in diameter (Fig. 26), could have had such purpose. Close parallels have been uncovered elsewhere in Egypt.

Despite successful matches between moulds and products found at Naukratis, some moulds are missing for types of scaraboids found at the site. No scaraboid-mould for cowroids, daisy buttons, curled up lion, or with a Bes head has been identified. At any rate, these shapes are uncommon, with only a few examples known from Naukratis (for example, Fig. 27).

Also missing are moulds to produce the finely modelled ram-headed scaraboids (for example Fig. 28), even though these are generally recognized as a typical product from Naukratis. Not only do we lack moulds for them, but also none of these various scaraboids were actually found at the factory itself.

---

44 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 13.
45 Some contemporary examples of gaming pieces present faces on their upper parts. For example, a gaming-piece in glazed composition, dated to c. 600 BC, has the upper part in the form of Bes head (British Museum EA74093) and another is in the form of cat-head (British Museum EA6414).
46 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 19.
47 Spencer 1993, 37, pl. 33, nos 125–9; gaming piece in the form of a tall draughtsman; British Museum 1911,0617.29 and 1911,0617.28.
48 Illustrated in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 7.
49 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXV, nos 2 and 52 suggesting these shapes were produced in this workshop.
50 No letter F for Factory is accompanying their illustrations in Petrie’s publication (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, nos 110, 126, 135–6 and 143–4). Were they produced elsewhere at the site, or even perhaps at another site? The old registers of the Ashmolean Museum record specifically the Scarab Factory as a find-spot for the ram-headed scaraboid AN1888.213.
1.1.2. Materials and technology

When Petrie was clearing the Scarab Factory rubble, he signalled that he found ‘twenty lumps of blue paste, evidently kept as raw material; made up much like old-fashioned balls of indigo, rounded with hollowed sides; also two lumps of greenish-blue, one of green, and two of yellow-green paste’.\(^{51}\) Earlier, he noted in his journal ‘two made-up lumps of blue colouring, a piece of green colouring & a piece of native silicate of copper (chrysocolla) apparently’.\(^{52}\) None of these samples has been identified,\(^{53}\) but analyses carried out on the scarabs, scaraboids and core material within moulds provide information on the raw materials used in their manufacture. General information regarding their technology is also provided below.

**Body**

Scarabs and scaraboids in glazed composition, or Egyptian faience\(^{54}\), are most numerous, followed by Egyptian blue.

Faience is a non-clay ceramic composed mainly of silica, in form of crushed quartz pebbles or quartz sand.\(^{55}\) It is mixed with a small amount of lime – either naturally present in the sand or from crushed or heated limestone – and either natron or salt-tolerant plant ash as an alkali. These materials were more or less finely ground. There are variations in faience composition, but a fairly typical bulk composition is: Silica (SiO\(_2\)) 92–99%; Lime (CaO) 1–5%; Soda (Na\(_2\)O) 0–5%.\(^{56}\) All these elements are easily accessible in Egypt. Naukratis is particularly close to Wadi Natrun and al-Barnuji, the two primary Egyptian sources of natron throughout the 1st millennium BC and the 1st millennium AD.\(^{57}\) Natron is thus expected to have been the flux of choice at the Scarab Factory, rather than the ash of soda-rich plants. The source of alkali can be chemically determined by the quantity of potash, lime and magnesia, high levels in each indicating a plant ash source.\(^{58}\) Preliminary observations on cores of scarabs and paste remains in scarab-moulds from Naukratis suggest that the craftsmen indeed privileged natron.\(^{59}\)

Unlike the components of glass manufacture, the soda and lime are not present in sufficient quantity to melt the silica completely at the production temperatures.\(^{60}\) During firing, they form a small amount of glass that binds

\(^{51}\) Petrie 1886, 37.
\(^{52}\) Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 95.
\(^{53}\) One bit of blue paste for scarabs, from the Scarab factory’ is recorded on the list of Antiquities sent by the EEF to Taunton Castle (Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society). They also donated ‘2 scarab moulds and 1 mould for face’. I would like to thank Brigitte Balanda (volunteer at the EES) for informing me of the existence of the receipt of Naukratis objects by Taunton Castle, as well as Amal Khreisheh, Assistant Curator of Archaeology at the Somerset Museums Service, for providing us with the EEF list. These objects have not yet been located. They might have been transferred to another institution, though no such transfer has been recorded.
\(^{54}\) The term of faience is not really appropriate, but it is the most commonly used word in the Egyptological literature to designate this artificial material: Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 177.
\(^{56}\) Vandiver in Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, A18; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 186.
\(^{57}\) Shortland et al. 2006, 523, 526–7.
\(^{58}\) While natron typically contains less than 1% of each, soda-rich plant ashes contain several per cent each of potash, lime and magnesia (Tile et al. 2006; Tile and Hatton 2007, 86–7).
\(^{59}\) I would like to express my thanks to Andrew Meeks for this information.
\(^{60}\) Nicholson 2009, 2.
the silica grains. The firing temperatures probably varied between 800 and 1000°C, but it is possible that a longer firing at a lower temperature might have worked as well.\textsuperscript{61} Firing structures for faience are rarely identified with certainty and it seems that it was possible to manufacture faience in pottery kilns or even simple bread-ovens.\textsuperscript{62} Among the various kilns identified at Naukratis through excavations or magnetometer surveys, none can be specifically assigned to faience industries.

Objects in Egyptian blue present a homogenous break (or section), with no separate glaze layer.\textsuperscript{63} Egyptian blue is a synthetic pigment, chemically defined as copper calcium tetra-silicate.\textsuperscript{64} It is made of a combination of ground elements – heated quartz, copper compound and calcium carbonate (calcite) – together with a small amount of alkali, forming a mineral called cuprorivrite (CuO-CaO-4SiO₂). The ground pigment is afterwards combined with crushed quartz, calcite and water, forming a paste that was then shaped to form objects. It follows the same process as that of faience manufacture, minus the glazing.\textsuperscript{66}

**Shaping method**

The paste produced was viscous (thixotropic) and hard to shape. When it comes to mass-produced amulets, the damp paste was pressed into a moistened mould and quickly removed. After several uses, the paste built up inside the porous mould, rendering it useless.\textsuperscript{67} The moulds from Naukratis regularly present remains of the core material, most commonly pale yellow in colour (Fig. 29), but also whitish (Fig. 30: the whole of the impression is filled with white core material) or blue (Fig. 31). In one case, the same mould was used to produce Black African head scaraboids in glazed composition and Egyptian blue as the remains of pale yellow and blue substances inside the mould suggest (Fig. 32). Scarabs and scaraboids in coloured pastes were relatively rare in comparison to glazed composition and Egyptian blue specimens produced at Naukratis. Green paste remains filled a scarab-mould (Fig. 33), and the use of black and pink pastes are attested in a few scaraboids\textsuperscript{68}.

The moulded amulets were retouched, with some details being re-carved or added, such as the indication of legs at the sides. Motifs on the underside of the scarabs and scaraboids were stamped or incised. The stippling around the edges of a scarab, visible on scanning electron microscope backscattered electron (SEM-BSE) images, suggests that a pointed tool was used to ‘touch-up’ the design (Fig. 34).

**Glazing method**

The shiny and colourful appearance of faience was provided by glazing. Analyses, observations and experimentations established three main

\textsuperscript{61} Nicholson 2009, 8.
\textsuperscript{63} Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 177–8.
\textsuperscript{64} Tite et al. 1984; 1987; Tite and Hatton 2007.
\textsuperscript{65} It can be of various origins: carbonates such as malachite or azurite; oxides such as tenorite or cuprite; polysulphides; native metal (Blet, Guineau and Gratuze 1997).
\textsuperscript{66} Vandiver 1983, A-17.
\textsuperscript{67} Nicholson 2009, 8.
\textsuperscript{68} See notably the scaraboids in the shape of Black African heads, Paris, Louvre Museum E8056 bis.10 and E8056 bis.2. These scaraboids are cut out and not mould-made.
Efflorescence, or the ‘self-glazing method’, produced a durable glaze with a good colour quality. The colouring material, such as copper, is directly mixed with the moistened materials of the faience body. As the object dries, the salts migrate to the surface of the item, forming an effloresced crust. On firing, this layer melts and fuses with the fine quartz, copper oxide and lime. Since air is needed to produce an effloresced surface, the glaze is thinnest on those parts of the object where air is least able to circulate during drying, usually the underside. With the cementation method, the dry core is buried in a glazing powder, comprising lime, ash, silica, charcoal and a colorant. During the firing process, only the glazing powder in direct contact with the silica body becomes fused into a glaze, while the rest can be crumbled away from the object after firing. The glaze penetrates a little into the silica body, which is otherwise unaffected. With the last method, the application technique, the faience body material is coated with a slurry (a suspension of glazing ingredients) or a powdered glaze containing the colorant. After drying and firing, the coating becomes fused, but there is no fusion between the glazing layer and the body. Brush marks, drips and runs of glaze, and occasional finger marks commonly hint at applied glazing.

Efflorescence, cementation and application are all attested in 1st millennium BC faience industries, with applied glazes largely used during this period. Identifying the glazing method is, however, not always straightforward since two or even all three glazing techniques could be combined. The type of object is a helpful criterion to take into consideration. Cementation is suitable to glaze large number of small objects, but would be wasteful for large objects because of the large quantities of glazing mixture that would be required; efflorescence is an effective glazing technique for large scale productions of objects up to some 20-30 cm across; application is particularly appropriate for objects that need to be glazed on one side, while it would be time-consuming and inadequate to glaze all-over small objects. Therefore, when it comes to the mass-produced small scarabs and other amulets at the Scarab Factory, cementation or efflorescence would have been the most cost-effective and time-efficient glazing methods, or maybe a combination of the two.

**Colouring agents**

Although some are badly weathered, many scarabs and scaraboids from Naukratis retain blue-green or yellow glazing. These colours were normally achieved by the addition of metal compounds. Scientific analyses carried on faience objects from Naukratis allowed determining the

---

72 Both cementation and application glazing, in combination with the addition of glazing mixture to the body prior to glazing, are suggested for rings from Abydos and Amarna: Tite et al. 2007, 1582.
73 Tite et al. 2007, 1581.
74 These two methods were identified for Late Period shabtis: Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 185.
75 Other colours observed on other types of faience objects from Naukratis are briefly discussed below.
Some faience objects obtained their green, or more specifically turquoise, glaze from the sole addition of copper and/or iron oxides, with no lead antimonate (Fig. 35). Kaczmarczyk and Hedges were of the opinion that low levels of lead and antimony were characteristic for the green and blue-glazed Late Period faience from Naukratis and other sites from the Delta (Nabasha, Dafana, Tukh el Qaramus and Gumaiyima), but unlike elsewhere in Egypt, notably Memphis. The restricted use of antimony pentoxide ($\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_3$) was interpreted as an economic measure, since the material was expensive and not necessary to achieve green and blue-green glazing. However, among the faience objects newly analysed, five green-glazed scarabs from Naukratis contain significant levels of lead antimonate alongside copper oxides (Fig. 36). Such an association, which would have resulted in a yellow-green coloured glaze, was much in favour in late faience productions in Egypt. The comparisons between Naukratite and Rhodian faience objects showed little difference when it comes to green and blue-green glazed objects.

The yellow glaze contains rather high levels of lead and antimony (Fig. 37). This is comparable with other contemporary faience objects from the Delta and Memphis.

Bichrome glazing can be identified, for instance on a scarab where the yellow motif was set against a blue-green background (Fig. 38). Observations on the faience manufacture at Memphis revealed that one can obtain two different colours by applying a single glaze, but varying the glaze thickness; the thinner the glaze the lighter the colour.

It has already been demonstrated that in periods of intense trade, parts of the raw materials were imported, and that this imported raw material might not have been directly used in the faience production, but indirectly through the use of scraps of products from copper alloy industries. The source of the copper colourant is often identified as the scale resulting from the oxidation of bronze metal, suggesting collaboration between faience and bronze industries, something that has also been established with analyses of Egyptian blue samples. The leaded-copper blue glazes found

---

76 The proton induced X-ray emission (PIXE) spectrometry was performed with the AGLAE 2 MV ion accelerator of the C2RMF (Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France). The collaborative study between the British Museum, the C2RMF and the Louvre, led by Andrew Meek, was carried out on a representative sample of faience artefacts discovered in Naukratis and Kamos in Rhodes. They included faience vessels, scarabs, scaraboids and figurines, as well as objects related to the manufacture of these artefacts, such as moulds still filled with mixed raw materials, and wasters.

77 Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 271.

78 High concentration of antimony were recorded in faience recovered from Memphis (Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 272).


80 Meek et al. 2016, 97.

81 Meek et al. 2016, 97–8.


87 Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 138.

88 Tite et al. 2007, 1580.

in 21st dynasty and later Egyptian faience objects were probably derived from leaded bronzes. It is unclear if the bronze activities Petrie spotted inside the town of Naukratis were contemporary with the adjacent Scarab Factory. Bismuth was identified in significant quantities in an Egyptian blue scarab at Naukratis (Fig. 39). Since no other element was present in sufficiently high concentrations to have been the carrier for this much bismuth, Kaczmarczyk and Hedges suggest that it must have originated as an impurity in copper of a ‘very unusual source’.  

In the context of a pilot study looking at the sources of copper and lead used in a wide range of commodities in Egypt, a small selection of faience finds from Naukratis was analysed which included four scarabs. We wanted to determine the sources of copper and lead used in colouring the glaze. However, due to the high level of lead in the glaze of each examined scarab, the lead isotope ratios could only be used to discuss the provenance of the lead and not of the copper. In each case it proved to be consistent with the Laurion mines in Attica. The discovery of loaf-shaped stamped lead ingots at Thonis-Heracleion, the sister harbour of Naukratis, corroborates the import of lead from Laurion in Egypt during the Late Period.

1.1.3. Products

This section offers a discussion on the typology of scarabs and scaraboids in glazed composition and coloured pastes produced at the Scarab Factory.

Gorton’s Group 6

In Andrée Gorton’s essential study of Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs, her Group 6 consists of types thought to be mass-produced at the Scarab Factory. However, it also includes specimens which do not belong to the mass-produced variety but are still related to these types and were produced as early as 700 BC, too early to have been made in Naukratis. These early examples have been discovered in various archaeological contexts in the Mediterranean, notably in Perachora, Knossos, the Athenian Agora and possibly Sounion, as well as in Vetulonia and Veii in Italy. Gorton suggests that these specimens originate from another workshop, possibly in the Delta. Eventually, Naukratis took over introducing mass-production techniques to answer the high demand in the Greek market. The Scarab Factory products inundated the Mediterranean market, replacing the likewise mass-produced scarabs of Gorton’s type XXII. The latter, arguably produced in Rhodes, was widely distributed in Greece, but appears only occasionally on Punic sites and

---

90 Schiegl et al. 1990.
91 Masson 2015, fig. 3.1.
93 Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 272.
94 A collaborative project between the British Museum and CEZ Archaeometrie, Mannheim, funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung.
95 Masson-Berghoff et al. forthcoming.
96 Van der Wilt 2010.
98 The finds with some specimens dated to the 7th and others to the 6th century BC: see the recent reassessment by Thodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, 273–80.
even less so in Egypt and the Levant.\textsuperscript{100} Hence, the involvement of Greek
or other foreign (Phoenician?) craftsmen in the Scarab Factory could
explain the introduction of these new mass-production techniques, as well
as that of numerous un-Egyptian motifs adorning the scarabs and
scaraboids from Naukratis. Even if Naukratis scarabs in some ways carried
on the traditional Rhodian (or Aegean) production, their distribution
reached further, notably the central and western Mediterranean, where
Gorton’s type XXII is absent.\textsuperscript{101}

Gorton’s classification represents a crucial survey, taking in consideration
the material, size, shapes, motifs, styles and techniques of the scarabs and
scaraboids. However, its complexity and the fact that some of her types
cover a variety of material, shapes and themes (motif) make her
classification sometimes difficult to follow (Chart 4).

This chart is only indicative of the major types found at Naukratis. Some
objects are too eroded to ascertain a specific type, others are known only
thanks to old illustrations, and therefore attribution to a type might change
should new photographs become accessible in the future. Types XXVIII
and, to a lesser degree, XXX dominate the corpus of scarabs and
scaraboids discovered at the site, and, as we will see, these two types are
closely related. A significant number of scarabs and scaraboids do not
pertain to the regular products of the Scarab Factory, labelled as ‘other’ in
the chart. This category covers a wide variety of types and is also briefly
discussed below.

\textit{Observations on the typology}

Previously unpublished material often fits well into Gorton’s categories. It
sometimes widens the variety of scaraboids and motifs so far inventoried
per type. For example, the cowroid-shaped scaraboid British Museum
EA66462 (Fig. 27 above) and the stamped debased inscription on the
scarab British Museum EA66499 (Fig. 40) fall within Gorton’s type
XXVIII B. Yet new information on shapes, material and technology also
brings a need to revise the definition of some types. This chapter is not the
place to propose a revised classification as it would require detailed

\textsuperscript{100} Gorton 1996, 63–72.
\textsuperscript{101} Hölbl 2015, 85.
examination of hundreds of Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids discovered throughout the Mediterranean, but I would like to make a few remarks and suggestions for future studies.

An accepted trademark of the Scarab Factory is the use of mass production techniques. As seen previously, the back is often moulded, though not always. A major characteristic of Gorton’s types XXVIII and XXIX is that the device featured on the underside of scarabs and scaraboids is stamped. Some examples of this swift and economic mechanical method are evident (Figs 41 and 74 below). However, on close inspection, a significant group of scarabs and scaraboids attributed to the prevailing type XXVIII are not stamped, but incised or engraved. If Gorton published a number of examples found in Naukratis as belonging to the large group XXVIII, it is because she frequently relied only on published illustrations of the underside of scarabs and scaraboids. Some of them are actually made in coloured pastes, and these never bore an impressed motif. The Egyptian blue scarabs British Museum EA66466 and Boston Museum of Fine Arts 88.868 thus need to be reassigned to the more appropriate type XXX A (Fig. 42a-b). Type XXX applies to scarabs in coloured pastes, especially Egyptian blue, with roughly carved motifs similar to the themes found in the type XXVIII. The scaraboid Louvre Museum E8056 bis.2 would probably fit better Gorton’s type XXXIV A, as it is made out of coloured paste and the motif, a scorpion, is in outline with cross-hatched lines on the body (Fig. 43).

Several glazed composition specimens which were, or would normally be, attributed to type XXVIII have a clearly engraved motif (see for example Fig. 44). As was the case with the moulded back, the motifs could have been retouched with a pointed tool after being impressed in the wet paste, but they look more often to have been directly incised or carved out. The hieroglyphic signs featured on the widespread, assumed to be Rhodian, type XXII are carved or impressed, and it seems that the Naukratis type XXVIII presents also both techniques. When the motif is more delicate than usual and made with finer incisions, it seems more appropriate not to classify examples as type XXVIII. This is the case e.g. for the scarabs

---

102 Gorton 1996, 98, type XXVIII A142 and A144a.
104 Gorton 1996, type XXVIII A203.
105 Gorton 1996, 121–3, type XXXIV A.
106 Gorton 1996, 63.
107 British Museum EA66432, EA66433, EA66434, EA66457, EA66469, EA66476 and EA66497, Museum of Fine Arts 86.687, 86.694, 86.702 and 88.858, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SC.100, and possibly Nicholson Museum NM00.128.7. This is undoubtedly not an exhaustive list, since the badly worn surfaces of many specimens hamper the distinction between stamping and incising, and there are still a significant number of scarabs and scaraboids for which we do not have any photograph.
Louvre E8056 bis.5 (Fig. 45) and Boston Museum of Fine Arts 86.681 (Fig. 46) respectively published by Gorton as type XXVIII A92 and A159; their rather large size and technique are more fitting for her type XXXIV A.¹⁰⁹

Some simplifications in Gorton’s typology could also be introduced. Her type XXXVI comprises such a variety of motifs and shapes that Gorton herself qualified it as ‘not particularly coherent’.¹¹⁰ Many of her type XXXVI specimens, however, could be attributed to her larger and more coherent type XXVIII. Scarabs inscribed with the name of Amun-Ra¹¹¹ present a size (L: 1.1cm), a treatment of the back and legs, as well as a stamped rather than incised inscription that are all consistent with the type XXVIII (Fig. 47 and Fig. 36 above). If one accepts engraving beside stamping as techniques in type XXVIII, then other specimens could also be reassigned in that group, such as the scarabs British Museum EA66463 (Fig. 48)¹¹² and British Museum EA66498 (Fig. 49).¹¹³ Type XXXVI also contains several scarabs featuring a ‘cruciform composition with Menkheperra’.¹¹⁴ The specimen Gorton mentions as coming from Naukratis was identified as the scarab H3715 kept in Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum. It is actually made out of steatite, not glazed composition, and should therefore not be included in this type.

Observations on the back and leg treatments can offer some precision to the classification and may help propose some new groupings. For example, a series of scarabs in glazed composition and Egyptian blue present the same technical details at the sides where the legs are represented by broad incised lines forming a triangle which is not cut away. Judging from the available side views, they essentially belong to Gorton’s

¹¹² Gorton 1996, 130, type XXXVI no. 28. There is also a related scarab not listed by Gorton, Bristol City Art Gallery & Museum H3719.
¹¹³ Gorton 1996, 129, type XXXVI no. 15. This one is very close to British Museum EA66497, published by Gorton as type XXVIII B16, though its inscription is roughly engraved like British Museum EA66498.
types XXVIII\(^{115}\) (Fig. 50) and XXX A (Fig. 51)\(^{116}\), more rarely to her types XXXI\(^{117}\) (Fig. 52), XXXII A\(^{118}\) and XXXVI\(^{119}\). This observation is another indication as to how close the types XXVIII and XXX are, in addition to displaying the same range of motifs as well as the overall same sizes and shapes of scarab. Type XXVIII consists solely of glazed composition specimens, with stamped and, as just demonstrated, possibly incised motifs, while type XXX comprises coloured paste ones with incised motifs. The few examples of the other three types indicate the ‘porosity’ between some of Gorton’s types and the need to either redefine them or reassign some specimens to other larger types.

Twenty-five specimens could not be assigned to any of Gorton’s Naukratite types. Even though they do not fit the mass-produced scarabs and scaraboids of the Scarab Factory, it does not mean that none of them were produced locally.

Among these specimens, there are rather large ones which do not match the usual size of amulets produced at the Scarab Factory. For example, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SC.107 measures 2.60cm in height whereas the scarab moulds from Naukratis produced scarabs measuring only up to 2.10cm (Fig. 53). In addition to being large, some are remarkably well made in comparison with the standard Naukratite products, such as the scarab Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 88.854 (Fig. 54)\(^{120}\), or they employ different techniques of production. For example, the oval pastille British Museum EA23713 exceptionally uses an inlaid technique (Fig. 55). The motif on the underside is comparable to a scarab from Vulci,\(^ {121}\) and this peculiar inlaid technique, as well as the shape and size of the scaraboid, can be paralleled with a scaraboid from Tarquinia which is said to be possibly imported from Naukratis.\(^ {122}\)

Other specimens can be associated with types that Gorton thinks are produced elsewhere. British Museum EA36059 and EA36066 are cone-shaped scaraboids that can be compared to examples found at Punic sites.

\(^{115}\) Feature visible on the following glazed composition scarabs: Bristol City Art Gallery & Museum H5115.14 and H3805; British Museum EA29281, EA66446, EA66453, EA66457, EA66465, EA66475, EA66480, EA66488, EA66492 and EA66494; maybe Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.905 (unfinished or very eroded scarab).

\(^{116}\) Feature visible on the following Egyptian blue scarabs: Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.908 and AN1896-1908-EA.926; British Museum EA66452, EA66466, EA66474, EA66484, EA66491 and EA66510.

\(^{117}\) Feature so far only identified on the Egyptian blue scarab British Museum EA66503.

\(^{118}\) Feature so far only identified on the glazed composition scarab British Museum EA66518.

\(^{119}\) The few type XXXVI scarabs showing such features are the ones I think belong to her type XXVIII: City Art Gallery & Museum H3719; British Museum EA66463 and EA66488.

\(^{120}\) The Museum of Fine Arts registered this scarab as coming from the Scarab Factory. However, such a find-spot was assigned to most amulets found at Naukratis received by Boston, and we should therefore be cautious.

\(^{121}\) Hölbl 1979, 70–1, pl. 83/4, no. 338.

\(^{122}\) Hölbl 1979, 57–8, pl. 77/1, no. 263; Gorton 1996, 124. Type XXIV B18. Gorton’s type XXXIV B, however, usually displays an Orientalizing theme, which is not the case with that scaraboid incised with a debased hieroglyphic inscription.
such as Carthage, and belong to her type XVB (Fig. 56).\textsuperscript{123} According to Gorton, who did not include these two specimens from Naukratis, such scaraboids belong to a Phoenician type of the 7th-6th centuries.\textsuperscript{124} Should they be interpreted as imports or local productions denoting a Phoenician influence?

Gorton group V ‘Egyptianizing types for the Punic market’, covering her types XXV to XXVII, is also represented by a few examples found at Naukratis. Gorton rejects a production at Naukratis since scarabs of this group are too rare at the site and they already appear in early 7th century contexts; she prefers to attribute their origin to either another Delta site, Rhodes or/and a Punic site.\textsuperscript{125} They include the scarabs British Museum EA66506 and EA66468 (Fig. 57),\textsuperscript{126} both belonging to her type XXVI which was widely distributed in the Mediterranean area and particularly common at Punic sites. It also appears in Egypt at Tell Nebesha (British Museum EA18533). Type XXV A from Gorton’s group 5\textsuperscript{127} is represented, too, at Naukratis, by four similar specimens, two in Egyptian blue and two in glazed composition.\textsuperscript{128} The underside is divided in three registers featuring a winged sun-disc in the upper register, a griffin facing an oval containing the name of Menkara (\textit{Mn-k#-r}) in the middle register, and a right facing fish in the lower register. The fact that four of them were discovered by Petrie denotes a production at the Scarab Factory\textsuperscript{129}, but these Naukratis finds were not included in Gorton’s list of her type XXV A.\textsuperscript{130} Three-register compositions are characteristic for the Naukratite types XXVIII C and XXX B (Fig. 58) and a scarab in steatite found at Naukratis presents a similar composition, British Museum EA36075.\textsuperscript{131} The name of Menkara, which also appears on the aforementioned scarab British Museum EA66468, was identified as a Delta king, vassal of the 25th dynasty pharaoh Shabaka, and strengthened the assumption that Gorton’s group V is particularly linked to this period.\textsuperscript{132} His name, however, appears in all Naukratis examples in an oval, not a cartouche, in the same fashion as the name of Menkheperra, the 18th dynasty pharaoh Thutmosis III (1481-1425BC), on many scarabs. It has been demonstrated that scarabs with Menkheperra’s name do not all belong to Thutmosis III’s reign, especially those with Menkheperra’s name not set in a cartouche: this name appears on scarabs

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure56.png}
\caption{Cone-shaped seals. British Museum, EA36066 and EA36059}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure57a.png}
\caption{Scarab in Egyptian blue British Museum EA66506, belonging to Gorton’s type XXVI A and b. scarab in Egyptian blue British Museum EA66468 belonging to Gorton’s type XXVI C}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure58.png}
\caption{Scarab in Egyptian blue British Museum EA36057, with a three register composition, belonging to Gorton’s type XXX B}
\end{figure}

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{123} Gorton 1996, 43–8, see especially fig. 8 nos 23–4.
\item\textsuperscript{124} Gorton 1996, 43, 48, type XVB.
\item\textsuperscript{125} Gorton 1996, 1996, 80.
\item\textsuperscript{126} Gorton 1996, 86–7, type XXVI A1 and C7 respectively.
\item\textsuperscript{127} Gorton 1996, 80–90.
\item\textsuperscript{128} Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no. 62; Petrie 1889, pl. 61, no. 1940.
\item\textsuperscript{129} Earlier production of this type in other workshops is not dismissed here. After all, many types produced at the Scarab Factory reproduce motifs that are found on scarabs dated to the 25th dynasty.
\item\textsuperscript{130} On more type XVA scarabs from Naukratis, this time made of steatite, see also \textit{infra} in 1.2.1. Chronological and typological disparity.
\item\textsuperscript{131} Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII, no. 75; Gorton 1996, 35, type XII, no. 8c.
\item\textsuperscript{132} Gorton 1996, 80, 88; see also Petrie 1917, 31–2, pl. LI, no. 25.A.20–24.
\end{enumerate}
before Thutmose III reign and even more so long after. The meaning of Menkheperra, ‘Stable is the apparition of Ra’, acted as a powerful maxim, as Menkara, ‘Stable is the ka of Ra’, would have. An argument in favour of this interpretation is a scarab found in Sardinia where the name of Menkara appears in conjunction with that of Menkheperra.

**Multicultural motifs and Egyptian inscriptions**

‘All these scarabs that have hieroglyphs are more or less blundered, [...] showing as I suppose that they were copies by ignorant Greeks’ (Petrie diary 1884-1885, p. 126).

The complexity and dynamism behind cultural assimilation and combination (and their limits), as evidenced by part of the material culture at Naukratis, find an interesting illustration in the products of the Scarab Factory. The highly varied motifs on the underside of scarabs and scaraboids reveal inspiration from different cultures, which raises the issue of the involvement of Phoenician and/or Greek craftsmen in the factory. They feature a number of Greek and Orientalizing themes.

These foreign motifs include mythological creatures – like Pegasus (Fig. 59 a.), triton (b.), chimera (c.) and griffin (d.) – or deities such as the ‘Master of the Animals’ (e.). A lion attacking, or following, a prey is a recurrent theme on the Naukratite products that can be paralleled to Archaic Greek gems with an Eastern origin (Fig. 59 f.).

All these non-Egyptian motifs, however, only account for 10% of the total scarabs and scaraboids in glazed composition (GC), Egyptian blue (EB) and coloured pastes (CP) identified at Naukratis (Charts 5 and 6). Non-Egyptian motifs are noticeably more common in Egyptian blue scarabs and scaraboids, compared to glazed composition examples. There is a small amount of specimens which are either blank or too eroded to be able to determine the motifs (around 4%). At last, the ‘unknown’ category comprises specimens with unclear motif (for example we hesitate to identify a lion, a sphinx or a griffin), as well as non-illustrated examples with insufficient description from the museum’s registers (about 13%).

---

133 See particularly Jaeger 1982.
135 For example Walters 1926, pl. VIII, no. 450; see also Hölbl 1979, pl. 77, no. 263.
136 Vercoutter, 1945, 149–50. See British Museum EA29961, EA66509, EA66511, EA66512 and EA66515; Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE39125.3.
137 Eight scarabs, made of unknown material, are excluded in that count as they could be made out of stone.
Almost three-quarters of the scarabs and scaraboids found at Naukratis display Egyptian motifs and a wide variety of hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Representational Egyptian themes include animals or plants commonly found in Egypt, like a scorpion (Fig. 60), papyrus thicket (Fig. 61) or two monkeys climbing a palm tree (Fig. 62).

They also reproduce subjects related to religious and popular beliefs. The sphinx, a fantastic creature traditionally associated with the strength of the pharaoh, is a common device on Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids (Fig. 63). Representations of Egyptian gods occur on a few specimens, and among the deities are attested Harpokrates (Fig. 64), Bes (Fig. 53 above) and Hapy (Fig. 65).
Names of 26th dynasty pharaohs are documented on Naukratite scarabs and they are sometimes easily readable, like Wahibra, the prenomen of Psamtek I or more likely the name of Apries (Fig. 66). What has been interpreted as abbreviated forms or imitations of royal names is possibly legible on other examples. They concern the Horus name of Psamtek II, Menekhib, (for example Fig. 67) and the royal name Psamtek (for example Fig. 68). In many cases, the hieroglyphs are so debased that the interpretation is even more open to debate. Three degraded hieroglyphic signs, usually consisting of a cross-shaped symbol between two discs, are often seen as a debased version of pharaohs’ names. They are either contained in an oval (Fig. 69) or in a ‘half-cartouche’ (Fig. 70).

A similar trio of debased signs can also be found in a variety of compositions without any oval or cartouche. For example, the debased hieroglyphic signs are arranged in a register composition, with a repetition of the three debased signs surrounding a central mn-draughtboard sign (Fig. 71). Gorton suggested that such a debased inscription could stand for the name wah-ib-Ra or men-ib-Ra – which should be corrected to Menekhib. She includes in that group an instance where the cross-shaped symbol is replaced by a simple vertical stroke (Fig. 72). Names of earlier pharaohs were tentatively identified in other debased inscriptions. For example, the scarab British Museum EA66475 bears a composition which includes a mn-draughtboard sign flanked by two discs which could be read as Menkheperra: one of the disc would stand for the sun-disc R² and the other a debased form of the scarab ḫpr (Fig. 73). As we saw earlier, Menkheperra corresponds to the royal name of Thutmose III, but was also a popular motto – ‘Lasting is the Manifestation of Ra’ – on scarabs and scaraboids long after his reign.
Scarabs and scaraboids were also inscribed with what is considered to be private Egyptian names typical of the Late Period, such as Pa-di-Bastet, Pa-di-Aset or Pa-Imen (e.g. Fig. 74).\footnote{For Pa-di-Bastet: British Museum EA66497; Paris, Louvre Museum E8056 bis.13; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 88.858; Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.926. For Pa-di-Aset: British Museum EA66498. For Pa-Imen: London, Petrie Museum UC71935.} These inscriptions could alternatively be interpreted as prophylactic maxims, which would have reinforced the magical value of the amulet: Pa-di-Bastet means ‘Given by Bastet’, Pa-di-Aset ‘Given by Isis’ and Pa-Imen ‘The gift of Amun’. This is clearly the case for inscriptions which starts with ‘Praised by’ or ‘Protection of’, followed by the name of a god.\footnote{Scarab British Museum EA66440, for example, is inscribed with ‘Praised by Khonsu’. Petrie published a scarab, not yet located, inscribed with ‘Protection of Isis’ (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no. 115). Drioton 1957. Drioton dedicated a series of articles on Egyptian cryptography prior to his article on Amun’s trigrams, they are listed in Drioton 1953, 356–7. On cryptography on scarabs, see also the discussion in Keel 1995, 177–80.}

At last, the name of the Egyptian god Amun is predominant among the hieroglyphic inscriptions found on scarabs and scaraboids from Naukratis. The name of Amun or Amun-Ra can be explicitly spelt out (Fig. 75) or written in a cryptographic way. Many of the following combinations of hieroglyphs have been perceived as whimsical inscriptions: the intrinsic value of individual hieroglyph conveyed further magical qualities to the amulet.\footnote{Drioton 1958, 36–7.} Drioton, however, has presented a large number of combinations of three hieroglyphs to write the name Amun, which obscures any forthright understanding.\footnote{Foster 2001, 77.} These trigrams, or three-letter acronyms, are very common on Egyptian scarabs from the Middle Kingdom until the Roman period, and are already attested since the end of the Old Kingdom.\footnote{Masson, Scarabs, scaraboids and amulets.} They implement the concealed nature of Amun expressed in his name \textit{jmn}, ‘the Hidden One’. His name was indeed secret and powerful: ‘God is a Spirit, hidden his Name and his Mystery’.\footnote{Mainly in Drioton 1957, 13–30; see also Keel 1995, 244–6. The hieroglyphs can be in any sort of order as explained by Drioton in his paper on cryptography by perturbation (Drioton 1944).}

Each sign was already on its own related to essential and positive values (health, life, renewal, justice…) or symbols (uraeus, sun-disc, falcon, red crown…). Then, mostly by acrophony\footnote{Oxford dictionary definition of acrophony: ‘the use of a graphic symbol originally representing a word (or the object to which it refers) to denote the initial syllable or sound of that word’.}, each of these signs was given the three values necessary to write the name Amun—\textit{i}, \textit{n} and \textit{o}—or two of these three values. Several instances (not all) of Amun cryptography as encountered at Naukratis are presented below (Table 1), following the list of the most common signs used in Amun cryptography.\footnote{Passage of the Leiden hymns translated in Foster 2001, 77.} These are attempts in deciphering trigrams, which could be either considered as cryptographic or as senseless. As we will see below, this is a quite contested issue and this method should not be applied uncritically to all abstruse trigrams found on Naukratite scarabs.

\footnotesize

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Sign} & \textbf{Values} \\
\hline
\textit{i} & \textit{i} \\
\hline
\textit{n} & \textit{n} \\
\hline
\textit{o} & \textit{o} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Common signs used in Amun cryptography.}
\end{table}

\end{footnotesize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scarab/scaraboid</th>
<th>Hieroglyphs</th>
<th>Value for each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Sun-disc</td>
<td>ḫ, by acroph. of ḫm, ‘eye’s pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of ṁnw, ‘Montu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Papyrus stem</td>
<td>ḥ, by acroph. of ḥns, ‘papyrus’s umbel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Maat feather</td>
<td>ḫ, by equivalence with reed-stalk sign ![image3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of ṁyw, ‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sun-disc</td>
<td>ḥ, by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region ![image4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>ḫ, by acroph. of ḫm &gt; ḫm, ‘falcon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mn-draughtboard</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of mn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sun-disc (debased)</td>
<td>ḥ, by acroph. of ṃtr, ‘god’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image6" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Maat feather</td>
<td>ḫ, by equivalence with reed-stalk sign ![image3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goose or duck</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of msy.t, ‘water bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sun-disc</td>
<td>ḥ, by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region ![image4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image7" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Maat feather</td>
<td>ḫ, by equivalence with reed-stalk sign ![image3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of m��, ‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sun-disc</td>
<td>ḥ, by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region ![image4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image8" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Maat feather</td>
<td>ḫ, by equivalence with reed-stalk sign ![image3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key of life (debased)</td>
<td>ṁ, by acroph. of m��-ḥr, ‘mirror’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nb-basket</td>
<td>ḥ, by acroph. of biliteral sign nb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image9" alt="Scarab/scaraboid" /></td>
<td>Sun-disc</td>
<td>ḫ, by acroph. of ḫm, ‘eye’s pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owl</td>
<td>ṁ, uniliteral sign for ṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nb-basket (debased)</td>
<td>ḥ, by acroph. of biliteral sign nb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Cryptographic names of Amun – possible interpretation of hieroglyphic inscriptions on Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids

---

151 On this specific combination, Drioton 1957, 16, no. 3; see also: Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 343, pl. 86, no. 774; Teeter 2003, 80, no. 118
152 Other scholars saw an abbreviated form for the Horus name of Psamtek II (Hölbl 1979, 165).
153 On this specific combination: Drioton 1957, 17, no. 5. Magnarini proposes an additional reading if the bird is identified with a duck, the translation could also be ‘Shu, son of Ra’ (Magnarini 2004, 317, 10.55).
With the addition of the sun-disc, the hieroglyphic sign used to write RA, any of these combinations could be read 'Amun-Ra’. That is possibly the case of the lion-shaped scaraboid British Museum EA66495, with the combination of a sun-disc, maa-draughtboard and owl with another sun-disc above its back. Lion-shaped scaraboids are particularly appropriate to bear the name of a solar deity. The writing of the sun-god Ra was identified from ancient times with a lion, particularly in the Late Period, when the lion became the phonetic equivalent RW. If we go a bit further, the medium of the inscription itself could be part of this overall Amun symbolism and, sometimes, act as one of the hieroglyphs needed to write the name of the god. By acrophony, the scarab beetle can have any of the three values – i, m or n. Dome-shaped scaraboids mimic the sun-disc hieroglyph which possesses also all three values. Only two hieroglyphs on the underside of these amulets would be needed in this configuration. Again, a few examples below will illustrate this suggestion (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scarab/scaraboid</th>
<th>Hieroglyphs</th>
<th>Value for each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Museum of Fine Arts, 86.687</strong></td>
<td><strong>Scarab (medium)</strong></td>
<td><strong>i</strong>, by acroph. of ḥbb, 'scarab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sun-disc</strong></td>
<td><strong>m</strong>, by acroph. of ml, ‘seer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ibex</strong></td>
<td><strong>n</strong>, by acroph. of niw, ‘male ibex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Museum, EA66441</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dome=sun-disc (medium)</strong></td>
<td><strong>i</strong>, by acroph. of ḥm, ‘eye’s pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sun-disc</strong></td>
<td><strong>m</strong>, by acroph. of ml, ‘seer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ibex</strong></td>
<td><strong>n</strong>, by acroph. of niw, ‘male ibex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Museum, EA23617</strong></td>
<td><strong>Scarab (medium)</strong></td>
<td><strong>i</strong>, by acroph. of ḥbb, ‘scarab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Lion</strong></td>
<td><strong>m</strong>, by acroph. of mIy, ‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sun-disc</strong></td>
<td><strong>n</strong>, by material variation with hieroglyph for townscape-city-region niwt [O49]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British Museum, EA66444</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dome=sun-disc (medium)</strong></td>
<td><strong>i</strong>, by acroph. of ḥm, ‘eye’s pupil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Lion (winged)</strong></td>
<td><strong>m</strong>, by acroph. of mIy, ‘lion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Nb−basket</strong></td>
<td><strong>n</strong>, by acroph. of biliteral sign nb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Cryptographic names of Amun – possible interpretation of hieroglyphic inscriptions on Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids

---

154 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no.104.
156 Parcerisa 1983, 83, notes 27−9, pl. XIX, 09.04.
157 De Wit 1951, 138.
158 Drioton 1957, 14.
159 Drioton 1957, 13.
With such an approach, the majority of the Naukratite scarabs bearing hieroglyphic signs could be translated by Amun or Amun-Ra. Inscriptions seen as royal names or maxims could also be interpreted as a cryptic reading of the name of the god. Drioton’s study, again, offers several parallels, such as the previously discussed name of Menkheperra, but also names or imitations of names of other pharaohs, including those of the 26th dynasty and Menkara, a point of view shared by other specialists.

Yet, Drioton’s thesis is debated and not accepted by all scholars. Some specialists wonder if the hieroglyphic inscriptions on scarabs should be systematically interpreted in terms of cryptographic values, since many of these small amulets were produced and circulated in the Mediterranean world where Egyptian symbols were possibly poorly, if at all, understood. Their remark should be particularly taken in consideration in multicultural Naukratis. One might argue that the hieroglyphic signs are sometimes so degraded on the Naukratite scarabs that the true meaning escaped the craftsmen who produced them as they possibly directly copied ‘genuine’ Egyptian scarabs or even Phoenician or Greek imitations. Similar cryptic inscriptions were frequent on the seals of the Iron Age I in the Levant, following models of Late Ramesside mass-produced scarabs.

There are several cases where translating the inscription as Amun seems far-fetched. The trigram on a Black African head scaraboid could hardly be read as Amun since the owl and the ma-draughtboard signs would both have the value of m (Fig. 76). Hölbl proposed to interpret this inscription as an abbreviated form for the Horus name of Psamtek II, but it could also be a failed attempt to the name of Amun. A cowroid-shaped scaraboid and a scarab also bear difficult to interpret trigrams. The falcon and a sun-disc signs are accompanied by a ḫ-column on the scaraboid (Fig. 77 top illustrated above), and an undetermined sign – maybe debased ḫ-column or mt-phallus signs – for the scarab (Fig. 78). Petrie interpreted the inscription on the scaraboid as the Horus name of Psamtek I, ḫ-jb. Such a translation supposes that the sun-disc replaces the jb-heart sign. If the ḫ-column on the scaraboid and the undetermined sign on the scarab were a mishapen papyrus stem, then the cryptic reading of Amun would also be possible.

The Naukratite mass-produced types are seen as the continuity of the presumably Rhodian mass-produced type XXII. The range of inscriptions

---

160 Many other inscriptions are attested in the corpus of glazed composition scarabs. The debased inscription on the scarab published by Petrie (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no. 108) is the hardly recognizable motto ‘Respectability and strength’ (better recognized on a scarab discovered in Cerveteri: Hölbl 1979, 31, pl. 72/1, no. 102).


162 See for example Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 111.

163 See bibliographic references quoted in Dan 2011, 185–8.


165 After all, Phoenician and Greek material cultures were already been imbued with Egyptian culture and beliefs in the Early Iron age, using and reproducing Egyptian amulets (as demonstrated in numerous studies, notably by Gorton and Hölbl).


167 Hölbl 1979, 71, pl. 83/1, no. 341.

168 Petrie 1889, pl. 60, no. 1899.

169 The papyrus stem can have the value m by acrophony with mḥy.t, ‘papyrus (Drioton 1957, 14).

is still rather different, whether they carry a real meaning or not. For example, scarabs with good wish formulae, such as ‘all good things’ or ‘all just things’, are particularly numerous in the type XXII. And while the name of Amun is well-attested in this type, it dominates in the Naukratis corpus if we accept most cryptic readings of the god’s name. The array of hieroglyphic combinations found at Naukratis shows more consistency, and in my opinion understanding of cryptography, in comparison to type XXII.

The prevalence of the name of Amun has a special resonance in Naukratis where he was the main Egyptian deity revered at the site. His cult and temple had been clearly established since the 26th dynasty, at least since the early 6th century BC, while the Scarab Factory was active. Amid the numerous functions and powers attributed to Amun, one appears particularly relevant in the harbour town: Amun was a powerful ally for the sailors. This aspect was discussed in Drioton’s paper on the original theological nature of Amun, before he became the dynastic god of Egypt, but not so much in association with Naukratis.

A passage of the Leiden hymns, written under the reign of Ramses II, lists the acts of mercy and compassion Amun bestowed humanity; he is described as a god who can appease tempests, his name acting like a spell to calm contrary winds:

‘A water-spell is Amun, his Presence is over the waters of Chaos – Death the Crocodile is powerless when God’s name is spoken. The winds contend, a rebel wind blows back – yet the departing one is content to remember God. Words will work in the moment of terror, and breezes are sweet for who calls upon him, the Rescuer of the weary’ (trans. in Foster 2001, 74).

The Ramesside papyrus Chester Beatty IV offers a comparable praise:

‘Thy name will be protection for every lovely one; safety and health for him that sails upon the waters, rescuing from the crocodile; a memory good at the moment of turmoil, rescuing from the mouth of fever. Everyone hath resort to thy presence that they may make supplication to thee’ (trans. in Gardiner 1935, 32).

An Augustan inscription found at Medamud still echoes the belief that the name of Amun was a protection for sailors when they face tempests:

‘The gentle breeze (zephyr) of his name cast-offs the North wind (aquilon), saving his friend from the murderous storm. He clears the zenith, he brings a favourable wind for anyone who is in his good graces.

171 Masson forthcoming b and c; Thomas 2015, 261–3.
172 Drioton 1958.
He saves the boats of the righteous, he makes them all land’ (after translation from Drioton 1927, 38-9, no. 343).

The association of Amun with the (invisible) air has been attested since the Old Kingdom. Drioton believed that Amun was revered as the patron of sailors whose activities depended on favourable winds, an aspect that Amun developed since the earliest mentions of his name in the Old Kingdom and kept throughout antiquity.\textsuperscript{173} The protection of Amun was not limited to Egypt: as a universal god, his influence ‘extends to the barbarians outside the frontiers of Egypt’.\textsuperscript{174} Thus the production of amulets bearing his name makes much sense in the context of Naukratis, the main international trading port of Egypt at the time of the Scarab Factory.

1.2. Stone scarabs and scaraboids

About 22\% of the scarabs and scaraboids collected at the site are made of stone. The corpus includes 93 scarabs, four rectangular plaques, four oval plaques, one cowroid- and one hedgehog-shaped scaraboid. They are almost exclusively carved from white, pale yellow or pale brown steatite, but also from green stones\textsuperscript{175}. Many were left unglazed or have lost all glazing. Remains of pale blue and green glazes are sometimes preserved. The topics are highly varied (Chart 7), with deities’ names and representations dominating the corpus, closely followed by motifs including animals or fantastic creatures.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chart7.png}
\caption{Distribution of motifs on stone scarabs and scaraboids}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{173} Drioton 1958, 39.
\textsuperscript{174} Gardiner 1935, 36. Gardiner noted that the peoples of the Mediterranean are mentioned three times in the papyrus Chester Beatty IV.
\textsuperscript{175} Not yet located scarab in green jasper published in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 186; plaque in dark green stone, probably greywacke, British Museum EA27571.
1.2.1. Chronological and typological disparity

Some of these items are only known by descriptions in register and others by a drawing of the motifs featured on the underside, which is often not sufficient to propose a (precise) dating. We have, however, enough information to demonstrate the chronological heterogeneity of these objects, ranging from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period (chart 8)\textsuperscript{176}.

Chart 8: Chronological distribution of stone scarabs and scaraboids

Late Egyptian and Phoenician types

A group of scarabs belongs to the 26th dynasty (664-525 BC). The securely dated ones are inscribed with royal or private names of that period (Fig. 79). A significant number, however, are difficult to assign a specific date to and are generally typical of the 25th or 26th dynasty (either dated to 800-600 BC or 760-525 BC). The scarab City Art Gallery & Museum H3715, for example, bears a corrupted and schematic variant of the names of Menkheperra and Ptah associated with red crowns (Fig. 80).\textsuperscript{177} This motif appears on scarabs found in contexts dated to the 8th-7th century BC in Egypt and the Mediterranean world.\textsuperscript{178} Several of the scarabs that can be dated between the 8th and the 6th century BC fit types for which Gorton tentatively places the production in Memphis, or even elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. They belong to her group 2 that

\textsuperscript{176} Parts of the following statements and interpretations were presented at a colloquium organized in Warsaw in 2013, in a paper where I explored the early evidence of Egyptian material culture at Naukratis, and which should be published in the conference proceedings (Masson forthcoming c).

\textsuperscript{177} This scarab was listed alongside others scarabs bearing similar cruciform compositions with the name of Menkheperra, in Gorton’s Type XXXVI (Gorton 1996, 131, no. 44). Since it is made out of steatite, it does not fit this type. On the evolution of this design from the New Kingdom till the Late Period, see Jaeger 1982, § 290–1, § 1311.

\textsuperscript{178} In Matmar cemetery: Brunton 1948, pl. LXII, 26; in Tell el-Ajul in Palestine: Rowe 1936, no. 519; in Cyprus, Sicily and Carthage: Jaeger 1982, § 1311, notes 789–90.
covers late Egyptian types and local imitations, and the Phoenician types of her group 3. 179

From Gorton’s group 2, the types VIII, IX, XI and XII are identifiable among Naukratis finds. A few finely made scarabs match Gorton’s type VIII, 180 a type well documented on Punic and Etruscan sites in the West, as well as in Greece and Cyprus (for example Fig. 81a-b). Gorton suggested that such scarabs were produced from the 8th till the 7th century BC in Memphis where parallels close to scarabs found in Sardinia were discovered; she excluded a production at Naukratis as, to her knowledge, no such type was brought to light there. 181

Another stone scarab from Naukratis could be related to Gorton’s type IX, though it might be a bit too large and made with slightly less care than usual for this type (Fig. 82). Type IX scarabs are documented from contexts dated between the mid-8th and the 6th century BC and are particularly well-distributed in the Western Mediterranean, especially in Carthage, and little attested in Greece. 182 In the absence of comparable material found in Egypt or the Near East, Gorton proposes to see the source of this type in Carthage, without dismissing a possible Egyptian production. 183

As Gorton already noted, scarabs with a register composition in the Late Egyptian style, defined as types XI and XII, are documented at Naukratis. 184 Type XI, illustrated by one scarab from Naukratis (Fig. 83), was especially popular on Punic sites, less so in Greece, and rarely in the Levant and Egypt 185. Examples from good archaeological contexts place its main production in the late 8th-early 7th century BC. 186 One example from Lindos bears the name of a 26th dynasty pharaoh, indicating a continuation of this type in the Saite period. 187

The type XII, of which Naukratis produced at least two specimens (Fig. 84a-b), is mainly attested during the 25th dynasty, although one example from Eleusis dates back as early as 800 BC. 188 Punic sites are again the prevalent contexts of discovery, with Greek and Cypriot sites providing a

185 Gorton 1996, 31–4. A relatively close parallel to the composition of this scarab was found in Tharros in Sardinia (Höbl 1986, II, pl. 142/3 and 4; Gorton 1996, 32–3, no. 6).
186 Gorton 1996, 34.
187 Scarab with the name of Wahibre published in Blinkenberg 1931, pl. 60, no. 1388.
188 Gorton 1996, 37.
few similar scarabs alongside Naukratis.\(^{189}\) Scadone suggests that the engraving style on a scarab found at Cagliari indicates a local production in Sardinia.\(^{190}\) Gorton supposes that more than one workshop produced this type of scarab, possibly in Egypt.

In the previous chapter on the Scarab Factory, we observed the presence of so-called Phoenician types belonging to Gorton’s group 3.\(^{191}\) The corpus of stone scarabs from Naukratis offers new examples missing from Gorton’s inventory of that group (among them see fig. 85). Most seem to present affinities with the aforementioned type XVA. This type was allegedly produced in the Levant and Punic world during the 7th and 6th centuries, and, was still popular until the 4th–3rd century BC in Carthage.\(^{192}\)

**Early types**

A substantial number of scarabs and scaraboids predates, or seems to predate, the occupation of Naukratis.

We already saw that scarabs decorated with motifs particularly typical of the 25th dynasty were discovered at Naukratis. Still, the possible continuation of these types into the 26th dynasty, at least in the second half of the 7th century BC, should not be overruled. In the category of definitely earlier scarabs can be included specimens mentioning the names of kings of the Third Intermediate period. One scarab is inscribed with the name Men-kheper-Ra Setep-en-Ra (Fig. 86). A similar inscription on a mounted scarab discovered in Bisenzio in Etruria\(^{193}\) was interpreted as the name of Piy, the founder of the 25th Dynasty.\(^{194}\) A glazed composition scarab from Naukratis mentions the prenomen of another Kushite king,

---

\(^{190}\) Scandone 1975, 59, pl. XIV, E17.
\(^{191}\) See supra in Late Egyptian and Phoenician types.
\(^{193}\) Höbl 1979, II, 104, pl. 86/3, no. 477.
\(^{194}\) Höbl 1979, 160, 164.
Shabaqo (Fig. 87)\textsuperscript{195}. At last, the prenomen and nomen of the founder of the 22nd dynasty, Sheshonq I, are engraved on a scarab (Fig. 88). Parallels to this specific scarab are numerous\textsuperscript{196} and Egyptian stone scarabs bearing name of Libyan pharaohs are well-distributed in the Greek world, in Rhodes and Pithacoussai notably.\textsuperscript{197}

Gorton Group 1 encompasses scarabs and scaraboids ranging from the Middle to the New Kingdom. Genuine or copies of ‘Classical Egyptian types’ were excavated in first millennium contexts across the Mediterranean world.\textsuperscript{198} Gorton lists a few Naukratis examples, but many more were encountered at the site. The following overview completes her survey and amends some of her dating.

Type I scarabs are characterized by symmetrical patterns incised with a double outline.\textsuperscript{199} Two previously unpublished scarabs engraved with a central twisted rope were discovered in Naukratis. The first one is a very well-made scarab with a finely treated back and a skillfully engraved motif (Fig. 89). The second one displays a more careless craftsmanship with roughly incised details of the back, legs simply indicated by two horizontal grooves and the motif on the underside crudely carved out (Fig. 90). Central twisted rope is a design particularly distinctive of the Second Intermediate Period.\textsuperscript{200} Type I scarabs are mainly distributed in the Western Mediterranean, but also in Greece, Cyprus and Rhodes during the 8\textsuperscript{th} and 7th century BC according to a few well-dated archaeological contexts. Gorton interprets them as ‘talismanic remains from the Egyptian Middle Kingdom or the products of a later workshop producing scarabs on the earlier model’.\textsuperscript{201} Could the second scarab be an archaising copy of a later date? An additional argument is its small size, 1.25 x 0.95cm, in comparison with normal Type I scarabs which are on average size 1.6 x 1.2cm.\textsuperscript{202} The first scarab fits better this usual size range with its 1.50 x 1.10cm. Scarabs of the late 20\textsuperscript{th}–21st Dynasty (c. 1130–945 BC) trying to copy Second Intermediate designs can present similar crudely engraving technique and schematic treatment of the legs at the sides.\textsuperscript{203}

One scarab incised with a floral and geometric design (Fig. 91) is possibly related to Gorton’s Type II, despite its rather crude manufacture.\textsuperscript{204} Similar designs are found on Middle Kingdom scarabs but they persist into later periods. This type has a wide distribution from Sardinia and Sicily in the West to the Levant, with the best specimens found in Cyprus. This led Gorton to suggest that it was produced in Egypt and Cyprus.

\textsuperscript{195} According to its find–spot from the Museum’s register, this glazed composition scarab comes from the Scarab Factory. The inscription written on its base, however, is atypical among the scarabs from Naukratis, as it refers to a pharaoh of the 25th dynasty, Shabaqo. It is also larger than the usual scarabs produced at the Scarab Factory (2.30cm high).

\textsuperscript{196} Matouk 1971, 128, 754, 220, 782–3; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 279, 437–9, pl. 47.

\textsuperscript{197} Hölbl 2015, 80.

\textsuperscript{198} Gorton 1996, 9–22.

\textsuperscript{199} Gorton 1996, 9–11.

\textsuperscript{200} See examples from good contexts of the 13th–15th dynasty at Meggido, Jericho, Fara and especially Tell el- Ajul: Tufnell 1984, 126, class 6C2, pl. XXVII.

\textsuperscript{201} Gorton 1996, 11

\textsuperscript{202} Gorton 1996, 9.

\textsuperscript{203} Keel 1997. 219,340; Magnarini 2004, 55, 01.04. Compare with other scarabs decorated with a comparable roughly engraved motif and dated to the 15th–early 18th dynasty (1650–1500 BC): their back has minimal details and the legs are only indicated by a groove (Keel 1997, 290–1, no. 145; Keel 2013, 150–1, no. 26), a different treatment to our scarab.

\textsuperscript{204} Gorton 1996, 12–3.

Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt | 35
Likewise a scarab decorated with intertwined S spirals surrounding a nfr- and ‘nbh-signs finds parallels in the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period, or, at least reproduce early models (Fig. 92). Scarabs associating volutes and hieroglyphs are characteristic of Gorton’s Type IV and are found in a few contexts dated to the first millennium BC, notably in Ibiza, Sicily, the Levant and Cyprus.\textsuperscript{205} Ignoring the Naukratis example, Gorton underlined that they occur very rarely in such a late context in Egypt\textsuperscript{206}, and added that some of them were probably made in a later factory imitating Hyksos scarabs.\textsuperscript{207}

Another group of scarabs decorated with motifs typical of the Hyksos period would be Gorton’s Type V. This type can be found in some late contexts on Punic sites, mainly in Ibiza, and, exceptionally in Olbia on the Black Sea and in Tell el-Ajul in the Levant.\textsuperscript{208} The Naukratis specimens that Gorton mentioned in her type V, however, do not fit a Hyksos date. There is first a scarab depicting Bes in composition (Fig. 93).\textsuperscript{209} Jaeger already identified several Naukratis scarabs and convex rectangular plaques where Bes appears in association with other elements, such as a hand, crocodile, worshipping monkeys and tied prisoners.\textsuperscript{210} Ramesside examples offer the best parallels,\textsuperscript{211} though some were discovered in Third Intermediate Period contexts.\textsuperscript{212} The Naukratis finds seem genuinely Ramesside. Large scarabs decorated with a beetle framed by two oval breasts and topped by uraei flanking and facing either a plumed oval containing the name of Menkheperra or a bs-libation vase, should also not be dated to the Hyksos period. Naukratis provided one of each type, the first already well-known.\textsuperscript{213} The second previously unpublished scarab was found during Hogarth’s 1899 season in Naukratis, and can be compared to an example from Ibiza (Fig. 94).\textsuperscript{214} To my knowledge, this motif is not attested elsewhere in Egypt, but a faience scarab from Lindos in Rhodes presents a similar design.\textsuperscript{215} It seems very unlikely that these pertain to the Hyksos period, and, even if they try to imitate earlier models, a 26th dynasty is possibly preferable.

Nevertheless, Naukratis provided many other specimens that can be securely dated to the Second Intermediate Period and were not listed in Gorton’s inventory of Classical Egyptian types. Some would fit well in the aforementioned type V. Here are a few examples. The style and design of the scarab British Museum EA37538 are distinctively Hyksos (Fig. 95). The motif depicted on the underside – a kneeling figure with lotus flower and

\textsuperscript{205} Gorton 1996, 15–6.
\textsuperscript{206} She only quotes an example from Mostagedda, a site in Upper Egypt where tombs of all dates, including some dated to the Second Intermediate period, were discovered.
\textsuperscript{207} Gorton 1996, 16.
\textsuperscript{208} Gorton 1996, 17–8.
\textsuperscript{209} Gorton 1996, 17, no. 5.
\textsuperscript{210} Jaeger 1982, 205, § 1366, notes 867–8. See Ashmolean Museum AN1888.200, British Museum EA36083 and EAS8331, and, Museum of Fine Arts 86.676 and 88.1043.\textsuperscript{211} Hornung and Staaehelin 1976, nos 695–6, 698–9; Jaeger 1982, § 383, § 1366 and 1393.\textsuperscript{212} From Matmar cemetery: Brunton 1948, pl. LXII, no. 108; from the Kushite cemetery of Sanam: Griffith 1923, pl. XLV, no. 8.
\textsuperscript{213} Jaeger 1982, 89, § 386; Gorton 1996, 17, no. 5. It corresponds to the scarab Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.674.
\textsuperscript{214} Gorton 1996, 17, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{215} Blinkenberg 1931, 390, pl. 62, no. 1555, with references to another example from the Museum of Turin.
Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt

A last stone scarab from Naukratis relates to Gorton’s Type VI, supposedly typical of the 18th dynasty (Fig. 99). Gorton illustrates a similar scarab from Motya. Another close parallel, but made of glazed composition and with a winged sun on the top register, was discovered in Italy, in a context dated around 700 BC. In addition to this specimen from Naukratis, Jaeger quoted several examples from various Mediterranean sites where such scarabs were discovered. Type VI scarabs are attested on several Punic and Greek sites; Gorton noticed that in Ibiza and Sicily, they are found in association with types IV and V, all types now recognized in Naukratis. Dated contexts outside of Egypt include early 7th century BC at Perachora in Greece and 7th to mid-5th century BC in Kiton in Cyprus.

Several specimens from Naukratis are Ramesside or Early Third Intermediate Period types that are not included in Gorton’s overall survey. Characteristic Ramesside motifs include representations of Ptah standing in front of an offering table (Fig. 100), a falcon-headed deity holding a cobra by the tail (Fig. 101), and a winged Baal-Seth deity (Fig. 102). These deities can still be found on early Third Intermediate Period scarabs.

217 See examples from good contexts at Meggido, Jericho, Farai and Ajjul: Tufnell 1984, 132–3, class 9C3b, pl. XXXVII; for various Hyksos parallels, see the references given in: Keel 1997, 596–7, no. 3 and Magraniri 2004, 234, 09.28.
218 See also: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.918.
219 Tufnell 1984, 119–21, class 3B3b-d, 3C and 10D pl. XII, XVI and XLVIII.
221 Hölbl 1979, 9, pl. 67/2, no. 28.
222 Jaeger 1982, 56, § 196.
225 Especially numerous under the reign of Ramses II according to Scholman 1961, 24.
226 On this motif: Dąbrowski 1992, 38–9; fig. 2g; Śliwa 2015, 88, no. 112.
227 See for example a scarab from Medinet Habu with falcon-headed deity holding a cobra: Teeter 2003, 65, no 87; scarabs with winged Baal-Seth from Tell el-Fara South: Keel 2010, 92–3, no. 153 and 130–1, no. 238.
Hastily made and mass-produced scarabs of the 20th–21st dynasty are also featured at Naukratis with scarabs and one scaraboid depicting hunting or battle scenes (Fig. 103), and a seated king (Fig. 104).

The same low quality of execution can be recognized on other scarabs decorated with designs that appear in a much earlier period. For example, the geometric pattern on the scarab Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.903 (Fig. 105) finds many parallels in the Second Intermediate Period, though several have been dated to the second half of the 20th and 21st dynasties. However, the poor treatment of the back and sides of that scarab is comparable to late Ramesside or Early Third Intermediate period finds.

1.2.2. A dubious or vintage collection, models or local productions?

The scarab naming Sheshonq I (Fig. 88 above), which was already published by Gardner, has been singled out by J. Yoyotte to demonstrate the presence of an Egyptian population at Naukratis since the Libyan dynasty. If we were to follow such logic, then the Ramesside and Hyksos scarabs would point towards an even earlier occupation of the site. This argument is not tenable in the face of the past and ongoing archaeological research which determined that there was no occupation prior to the 26th dynasty at Naukratis. The site’s chronology should be first established by more disposable material, such as ceramics, rather than by scarabs which represent easily transportable, reused and thesaurized objects. Interpreting these stone scarabs is therefore particularly problematic.

The context of discovery of these stone scarabs could help us understand their context of use, and their function at the site. Unfortunately, records of find-spots are often lacking, vague or unreliable.

The Scarab Factory was recorded as the find-spot for 26 stone scarabs and one scaraboid in various museums’ registers. This is particularly the case for all stone scarabs held in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, for

---

228 On this motif: Keel 1997, 561–2; Magnarini 2004, 271, 10.09. A comparable hunting or battle scene is decorating the underside of a scaraboid with an ibex carved out on its back (British Museum EA36101 already published in Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII, 73, 67). Scaraboids of the same shape are well-attested (Hornung, Staehelin 1976, 331, no. 783; Jaeger 1982, § 492, ill. 272).

229 For many close parallels, see particularly the references listed in: Magnarini 2004, 335–7, nos 10.73–5; Keel 2013, 406–7, no. 560; Silwa 2015, 67, no. 81. A similar theme is depicted on the scarab British Museum EA36086.

230 For example Tufnell 1984, 115, class 1B, pl. I, no. 1018.

231 Keel 1997, 528–9, no. 26; Magnarini 2004, 57–8, n°01.05–6.

232 20th–21st dynasty scarab: Magnarini 2004, 57, n°01.05; 21st–22nd dynasty scarab: Keel 2013, 390–1, no. 861.

233 Gardner 1888, pl. XVII no. 64.

the majority of those in the City Art Gallery & Museum in Bristol, and a
couple in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and in the Nicholson Museum
in Sydney. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston tends to attribute the
Scarab Factory as the find-spot for most of the amuletic material, so this
information must be taken with extreme caution. Such a find-spot,
furthermore, was not specifically recorded in diaries or earlier publications.
In his 1886 publication, Petrie indicated that that the stone scarabs he
illustrated were found in Naukratis by the sebbakhin; they were particularly
engaged in digging up the sebbakh (fertilized soil) in the town area, an
activity that Petrie had controlled little. 235 The 17 stone scarabs found
during Hogarth’s seasons did not have any specific information as to their
topic of discovery. The ‘good scarabs’ brought by sebbakhin mentioned
in Hogarth’s diaries indicate again that these were not found under much
supervision, 236 although interesting contexts for some scarabs are
recorded in other passages. 237 Hogarth, unfortunately, does not specify the
material of the scarabs retrieved by the sebbakhin.

The Naukratite origin for some of the stone scarabs therefore appears
rather suspicious. Neighbouring sites such as Kom Firin were settled at
least since the Ramesside period and the adjacent cemetery of Silvagou
which provided some Second Intermediate Period burials could have been
visited by the same sebbakhin. 238 At least Petrie was careful enough to not
accept any finds he thought were of dubious provenance, and that included
scarabs. 239

The stone scarabs that the sebbakhin ‘repeatedly told’ Petrie were coming
from the town could have been used by Naukratite inhabitants, simply worn
as charms or adornments, but also as official seals. One of the stone
scarabs from the town bears the name and titles of Ptahnefer, ‘wise of
mouth, messenger of the king and governor of governors’. 240 He was a
26th dynasty regional prefect directing several governors of the provinces
of the ‘Kingdom of the West’ depending on Sais. 241 The actual use of early
seals at Naukratis is indicated by the joint discovery of a Persian stamp-
seal in bronze bearing an official’s name in Aramaic 242 together with a
cylinder seal in hematite, probably produced during the Kingdom of Aleppo
around the late 18th–early 17th centuries. 243 They were found in a house
located to the south of the town, outside of the Great Temenos. 244

235 Petrie 1886, 38, pl. XXXVIII.
236 The mentions of ‘scarabs’ or ‘good scarabs’ brought by sebbakhin to Hogarth appear in the
following entries of his 1899 diary: 2, 3, 5, 11 and 17 March 1899. On the 6 March 1899,
Hogarth said that he got offered some scarabs at the market.
237 See infra in 3. More than merchandise: the local use of scarabs and other amulets.
238 On these sites see notably Spencer 2008; 2014.
239 ‘Mr Stone […] very kindly brought over three scarabs which had been sold to him as
coming from here & gave them over to me to go with the other things. I do not think they are
from here, as none like them have been seen here; probably they are from Afrin, & so brought
here. I shall return them, if there seems no reason to believe they are from here. It is like the
report of things from San last year; wherever work is going on, things are attributed to it to
give them a name” (Journal 1884–5, 138).
240 Not yet located, but published in Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 188.
241 For translation and interpretation of that scarab: Yoyotte 1994–5, 670. This Pharaoh
could be the same person as the one mentioned on steles from the Serapeum in Memphis
(Thirion 1995, 173, nos 194–5).
242 British Museum 1886,0401.1706: Villing 2013, 75, fig. 1.
244 Petrie 1886, 41, pl. XX, nos 17–8.

Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt | 39
If some of them truly originated from the Scarab Factory or another workshop, different explanations are plausible. Some of the stone scarabs attributed to the 26th or 25–26th dynasty could have been produced locally. We have identified a number of late Egyptian and Phoenician types, some of which were supposedly produced in Memphis before the Scarab Factory production took over. Could these scarabs have been imported from Memphis to be sold at Naukratis, or were they part of an early production at Naukratis or contemporaneous to the earliest Scarab Factory activities?

The motifs on the glazed composition and colored paste scarabs found or made at Naukratis share similarities with those featured on stone scarabs. For the most recent stone scarabs, it could indicate a common source of inspiration for contemporary local productions. The art and the material culture of the Saite period in general are often inspired by earlier artistic models which can be combined to create something new.245 This archaising tendency can be observed on scarabs and a few other Naukratis finds.246 It led Gorton to state that ‘scarabs of Hyksos, 18th and 19th dynasty types were still being produced much later, as finds seem to indicate on a number of Late Egyptian sites including Naukratis’.247 For example, a scarab published by Gardner248 is inscribed with ‘Bastet gives all good things’, a motto quite popular on New Kingdom scarabs and scaraboids.249 The archaising way the nfr-sign is written could point toward a late copy, maybe of the 25th–26th dynasty. A scarab from Tel Gamma in Palestine, bearing the same motto and presenting a similarly written nfr-sign, has been attributed to the late 22nd–early 25th dynasty (c. 830–700 BC).250

However, some early types encountered at the site can hardly be seen as archaising copies, but rather genuine antiques. Specimens predating the occupation at Naukratis could have served as models, but they could also represent an ancient antique dealer’s collection. The dealer(s) could have brought antiques to Naukratis from other Egyptian sites, possibly nearby Kom Firin or even Memphis, to sell the precious merchandise to Greek, Phoenician and Cypriot traders.251

Whatever interpretation we favour, the classical, archaising, late Egyptian and Phoenician types identified in the Naukratis corpus of stone scarabs find numerous parallels in the Mediterranean world. As we have noted previously several times, Gorton pointed out many of such finds in Punic sites, but also in some Greek, Cypriot and Levantine sites, indicating that there was a wide market for such scarabs. These sites are sometimes earlier than the Naukratis occupation, like Perachora, but others also provided definite products of the Scarab Factory, such as Carthage, Tharros, Ibiza, Lindos and Olbia. In these later cases, I strongly believe...
that Naukratis played a role in the making and/or selling of these stone scarabs.

2. Egyptian amulets

‘No doubt a fabric in such a place as Naukratis would be specially subject to foreign influence, and it is very possible that some of the strangers, whether Ionian or Cypriote or Phoenician, took up the manufacture. But if so, they must for the most part have confined themselves to reproducing the Egyptian types, for after all the number of faience objects of un-Egyptian appearance found at Naukratis is very small compared with those that are entirely Egyptian’. (Edgar 1905, 134).

Scarabs and scaraboids aside, a corpus of 518 amulets has been identified as coming from the early excavations of Naukratis.\textsuperscript{252} About 90\% of them were not previously published. The amulets appearing in earlier publications often concern mixed-style amulets or Egyptian amulets found in Greek sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{253} A number of amuletic figures in copper alloy were recently published in Weiss’s catalogue of Lower Egyptian bronzes.\textsuperscript{254} For the rest, only a few Egyptian amulets of fine craftsmanship, made of precious material or which would have appeared intriguing to earlier scholars, were illustrated in the excavation’s reports.

An entry in Hogarth’s diary stating that ‘small Egyptian stuff […] is worthless’\textsuperscript{255} suggests that probably not all Egyptian amulets were kept. As for those which were selected, many were since lost or are yet to be found. For his 1899 season alone, Hogarth reported that he packed ‘scarabs etc. nearly 100, amulets about 200’,\textsuperscript{256} the whereabouts of which are mostly unknown.\textsuperscript{257} Ordinary Egyptian amulets were probably so common that they were not deemed worthy to be signalled alongside imported finds or other objects imbued with foreign influence. This 19th-early 20th century finds selection strengthened the idea that Naukratis was a purely Greek town.\textsuperscript{258} Ironically, this bias has probably caused unnecessary debates regarding the sources of some types of amulets found in the

\textsuperscript{252} I exclude from this number the decorated or inscribed scarabs and scaraboids discussed in the previous pages, but include the mixed-style figures in glazed composition as well as metal objects that could have had an amuletic function. I am very aware that many of these categories are not satisfying and that they correspond to an artificial division of the material. Some of these objects are further discussed in the chapters on Archaic mixed style faience figures, Bronze votive offerings and Jewellery and mirrors.\textsuperscript{253} See infra section 3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{254} Weiss 2012; on this category see also the chapter on Bronze votive offerings.\textsuperscript{255} Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for Saturday 2 May.\textsuperscript{256} Hogarth’s diary 1899, entry for Friday 17 March.\textsuperscript{257} The vast majority of the finds from Hogarth’s 1899 season ended up in Cambridge, in the Fitzwilliam Museum and in the Museum of Classical Archaeology; some are also in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. Only 12 scarabs and other amulets from Naukratis, however, could be identified in Cambridge, and at least two of them are from Gardner’s 1885–6 season. The Ashmolean Museum holds a sizeable number of scarabs and other amulets: 130 in total, 22 of which were discovered in Gardner’s 1885–6 season. For the remainder, the bulk most probably originates from Hogarth’s 1903 season, the finds of which were given to Oxford.\textsuperscript{258} Villing 2015; Masson forthcoming c.
Mediterranean. Before discussing their possible local production and distribution, we first need to present the corpus.

2.1. A great diversity

Amulets found in Naukratis display a great variety of material and subjects. Their date ranges from the Late to Roman periods, with the bulk likely to date between the 6th and 3rd century BC.

2.1.1. Material

The vast majority of the amulets are made out of glazed composition, a usual trend in the Late Dynastic Egyptian amulets, followed by stone, metal and Egyptian blue (Chart 9). Other materials count very few specimens each. Beside more socio-economic or even practical criteria, the material’s choice for an amulet bore symbolic and magical values. Specific materials or colours were required in the making of certain types of amulets, as detailed for example in the Book of the Dead.259

259 Germond 2005, 22.
nature, and the colour blue shared similar regenerative powers; red stood for hot and dangerous as well as life-giving and protective.\textsuperscript{260}

Amulets with dark brown glazing added to a cream, pale yellow or pale greenish blue glazed background are particularly numerous in the mixed-style group. This group usually represents un-Egyptian subjects like naked figures or flute players, and these were normally modelled by hand or with a blade (Fig. 109). This combination of glazes is also occasionally applied to amulets depicting Egyptian gods (Fig. 110). A series of mould-made wedjat-eyes and Bes heads present a similar combination of turquoise glaze with brown glaze added for details (Figs 111-112).

Overall brown glaze on amulets, finally, is exceptional and so far only attested for two small amuletic figures purportedly discovered in the Scarab Factory (Fig. 113).\textsuperscript{261} Brown or black colours were particularly linked to underworld and the idea of rebirth in the afterlife.\textsuperscript{262}

The glaze is often damaged, usually badly so, allowing us to see the paste within which these amulets were fashioned. The core is usually pale yellow in colour, fine or a bit sandy, and often comparable to the core of scarabs and scaraboids produced at the Scarab Factory (Fig. 114) White cores are also attested and, in one case, the core is made of pink paste (Fig. 115).

\section*{Metal}

Amulets made out of metal, mainly in copper alloy but also in gold, are quite common at the site. They make up 7.9\% of the corpus.

\textsuperscript{260} Germond 2005, 23.
\textsuperscript{261} See also the Nefertum amulet Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.808.
\textsuperscript{262} Robins 2001.
Numerous small copper alloy objects equipped with a means for suspension, usually a loop, could have had an amuletic role. Those depicting deities are not included in the amulet catalogue, but they deserve a mention in this chapter. They often depict themes also found in the faience and stone amuletic corpus. Harpokrates and Nefertum are among the anthropomorphic deities that appear in all three media (Fig. 116). Falcons and cats, probably associated with the Egyptian gods Horus and Bastet respectively, are also found in the three materials within the repertoire of theriomorphic amulets (for example Fig. 117).

A group that is exclusively made out of copper alloy are small bells with protruding animal heads and, in at least one case, a Bes head (Fig. 118). They all have a suspension loop or a knob on the top. Their iconography and funerary context imply an amuletic function.

The use of gold is rarely attested in the amuletic corpus of Naukratis. Two amuletic ornaments, with no visible means of suspension, are made in a repoussé technique on gold plate. The first one depicts Horus-the-Child (Harpokrates) standing on a plinth, protected by the two sibling-goddesses, Isis and Nephtys (Fig. 119). This triad was popular within the Egyptian amulet repertoire between the Late and Roman periods, but such amulets are usually made out of glazed composition, more rarely in metal; they were meant to be placed on mummies, chiefly the torso of the deceased. In his Journal, Petrie describes this gold plaque as ‘Horus between Isis & Nephtys, repoussé gold backed with plain, 1 x 1 ¼ in[che]ls.’ The piece was discovered alongside other adornments, notably a gold diadem that can be precisely dated to 67–98AD, and its style is consistent with a late 1st century AD dating. The whole treasure was brought to light by locals in the 1884–5 season at Naukratis, ‘south-west of the town at a high part, lying in the loose dust among the houses’. This gold amulet could have been worn during the life of the wearer, but the lack of means of suspension, the fragility of the thin plaque and the topic – sibling-goddesses protectors of the dead – would make more sense if it had

---

263 See chapter and associated catalogue on Bronze votive offerings.
264 For Nefertum, see Masson 2015, 77, fig. 3.8.
265 Special meaning and functions discussed in chapter on Bronze votive offerings; see also infra in 3.1.2. Amulets from funerary contexts.
266 Petrie 1914, no. 152c for an example in bronze.
269 Petrie British Museum, 1886, 0401.1765.
270 Petrie 1886, 43–4, pl. XXVII.

Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt | 44
originally been placed in a funerary context. Alternatively, it could be part of a votive deposit.271

The second gold amulet represents the dwarf god Bes (Fig. 120). This amuletic adornment was discovered in the area of the Hellenion. Hogarth mentioned the find in his 1899 diary: ‘In morning a little gold Bes [...] found by a woman who grumbled at 12 francs. However it kept work alive at N. end.’ 272

Stone

Almost as common are the amulets carved from stone, with at least 40 specimens. A wide variety of stones is represented.

A series of amulets is made of easy to carve steatite (soapstone). Most are unglazed and either pale yellowish green or dark greenish grey in colour. The lighter hue of steatite is used for three amulets displaying a similar crude technique and style (Fig. 121).273 This would suggest a local production, or at least a similar origin.274 The darker variety of steatite is used for an eclectic group of amulets representing deities and belonging to various dates.275 Two of them, an amulet depicting Pataikos and another of an Osiris Canopus jar, have fairly worn surfaces, a significant indication of use (Fig. 122). One steatite amulet of a Vervet monkey is covered with a green glaze276 and a fine beige steatite amulet of a falcon still bears traces of gilding.277 Limestone is well attested in Egyptian amulets,278 though this other soft stone is less common than steatite. It was identified for three specimens at Naukratis, but limestone could have been mistakenly attributed for steatite.279

Moderately hard but brittle stones include calcite for one heart amulet (Fig. 123) and hematite for a head-rest amulet (Fig. 124). The use of dark stones, and particularly hematite, was widespread in the making of minute head-rest amulets during the Late Period.280

271 See chapter on Jewellery and mirrors for a presentation and discussion of the whole find. 272 Hogarth’s diary 1899, entry for Thursday 2 March. 273 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.326 (Nefertum); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.684 (Nefertum); Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2267 (striking male deity). 274 See discussion on this group infra section 2.2.3. Amulets from other workshops at Naukratis. 275 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.184 (Pataikos) and 86.188 (Thoth as a seated baboon); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.173 (Taweret); Montreal, Redpath Museum 2507 (Hathor or Isis, only crown preserved); Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33553 (Osiris triad); London, Petrie Museum UC54641 (Osiris Canopus jar). 276 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33556 (Fig. 199 below). 277 British Museum EA27531, first published in Masson 2015, 78, fig. 3.9c. 278 Germond 2005, 22–3. 279 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.186 (wedjat-eye, seems genuine limestone); Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26831 (pyramidal pendant, no photograph available); not located amuletic figure of Harpocrates, said to be carved from ‘dark limestone’ (Gardner 1888, 56, pl. XV, no. 13). 280 Andrews 1994, 95–6, fig. 64e and 95.
Hard stone amulets include several wedjat-eyes in coarse-grained black and white or pinkish cream stone, either granite, diorite or syenite (Fig. 125). Difficult to carve, they do not show any detail. Four of them were bought together by Petrie and probably came from the same context. A headless bird is manufactured in the same stone.

Semi-precious stones were recognized in a small number of amulets. Three minute theriomorphic amulets—a bird (a vulture or an ibis?), a couchant lion and a cat-headed uraeus—are made out of lapis lazuli (Fig. 126). They were all found during Gardner’s season of 1885–6 and might come from the same context, unfortunately not recorded. Originating from the north-east regions of Afghanistan, lapis lazuli was a highly prized material in the production of amulets since the Predynastic period and was often used in the Late Period to create small amulets evoking joy and pleasure. Three 26th dynasty amulets, similarly small and in lapis lazuli, were found in Tell Dafana, including a lion-headed uraeus. A pale blue stone, possibly amazonite rather than turquoise, was used for an unusual amuletic pendant in the shape of a celt (Fig. 127). These two pale blue-green stones were usually associated with ideas of renewal and resurrection. Red jasper was used to fashion a wedjat-eye (Fig. 128) and green jasper for an amuletic figure of a child deity, probably Horus-the-Child/Harpokrates, (Fig. 129). Red jasper was a traditional material for amulets, symbolizing life and positive aspects of the universe; green jasper was less common, usually chosen for heart-scarab amulets rather than anthropomorphic deities.

---

281 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1886.536; Montreal, Redpath Museum 2536.01 and 2536.02; Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.23; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.187; Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33548.a and b; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E125.

282 ‘I have bought lately four grey syenite eyes, one the biggest I have ever seen’ (Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 143).

283 British Museum EA267629. On the discovery of this amulet, see infra section 3.1.1. Amulets from domestic contexts.

284 British Museum 1888,0601.58; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.174 and AN1888.175.

285 One of them, the bird amulet, was published in Gardner 1888, pl. XIX no. 4.

286 Germond 2005, 23.


288 Petrie erroneously described the amulet as being in polished blue paste (Petrie 1886, 43).

289 Germond 2005, 23.

290 Germond 2005, 23.
In addition, Naukratis yielded several polished stones pierced at one end, often black in colour, that we decided to include in the amulets catalogue (for example Fig. 130). Many were discovered during the first season in Naukratis, when in his Journal, Petrie wrote: ‘among the small things of this week I should note several black flint pebbles pierced for suspension’.\(^{291}\) Without any context, it is difficult to ascertain the amuletic or ritual function of such object. They could perhaps have had a practical use, such as fishing-nets, line- or loom-weights, but their irregular shapes and polished surfaces make such an assumption doubtful. Petrie reported in his work on amulets the presence of similar pendants in burial contexts, where they were used as forehead pendants to ‘distract and avert the evil eye’.\(^{292}\) Closer perhaps are finds from Ialysos in Rhodes, where many comparable pendants in polished stones of various colours including black were found.\(^{293}\) One pierced flat serpentine stone from Naukratis bears crudely incised motifs and letters, doubtless of magical value (Fig. 131). The identification of the representation and letters is, however, uncertain.\(^{294}\) The letters in squares visible on one side can be compared to Coptic magical amulets, and, the male figure on the other side recalls the attitude of an orant with outstretched arms often represented on Coptic magical papyri, gems or pendants.\(^{295}\) Alternatively, we could interpret the letters as being Phoenician and see in the male figure a very crude depiction of Bes holding wild animals.\(^{296}\)

**Egyptian blue**

A small group of 13 amulets are in Egyptian blue, in addition to the already discussed scarabs and scaraboids made from the same material. Half of them are more or less detailed wedjat-eye amulets (for example Fig. 132). The others represent various deities and symbols.\(^{297}\)

**Wood**

Nine amulets in gilded wood and still strung together have been published as coming from Naukratis (Fig. 133).\(^{299}\) They were donated to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1894 by Mrs S. D. Warren. The excellent state of preservation of the amulets and the string makes it highly unlikely, however, that this group was found in a Delta site. Due to its fragility, such material was also rarely used in amulet production.\(^{300}\)

\(^{291}\) Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 156.
\(^{292}\) Examples he broadly dated between the Prehistoric and Modern periods: Petrie 1914, 29, pl. XVI no. 130.
\(^{293}\) Material from the Temple of Athena Polias at Ialysos exhibited in the archaeological museum in Rhodes Town.
\(^{294}\) I would like to thank my colleague Adrienn Almásy for her helpful remarks and parallels on this unusual piece.
\(^{295}\) Such as gem British Museum 1986,0501.159; serpentine pendant in Schwartz and Schwartz 1979, 17.
\(^{296}\) On Phoenician inscribed amulets see Schmitz 2002.
\(^{297}\) Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33534 (Taweret), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.803 (Isis nursing) and London, Petrie Museum UC6485 (Montu as a falcon).
\(^{298}\) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES 86.284 (heart surmounted by sun-disc), British Museum 1888,0601.57 (bunch of grapes) and EA27557 (wing probably from a winged scarab).
\(^{299}\) Sakamoto 1999, 104, 296, no. 143.
\(^{300}\) Germond 2005, 22.
Glass

Glass is an unusual material for amulets, though it became slightly more popular from 400 BC onwards. It was identified in three examples at Naukratis. One small, undecorated and badly preserved scarab is made out of translucent blue glass (Fig. 134). Another blue glass scarab, for which no photograph is yet available, is kept in the Cairo Egyptian Museum; it was given by Edgar in 1918. One crescent-shape amuletic pendant in opaque blue glass can probably be dated to the Roman period (Fig. 135).

Bone or ivory

At last one amulet was carved from bone, or possibly ivory. It represents a seated cat, a popular theme in the Naukratis amuletic corpus (Fig. 136). The rather rudimentary style echoes cat amulets in glazed composition found at the site.

2.1.2. Subjects

A huge variety of subjects are represented in the amuletic corpus of Naukratis (Chart 10). Many anthropomorphic, theriomorphic and other types of amulets number only one or two specimens, and these will receive at best a short mention in this chapter. Other topics, however, appear repeatedly, reflecting either a local production and/or a specific predilection at Naukratis. As explained earlier, a great number of amulets discovered during the early exploration have not yet been identified and some were probably not kept. These figures nonetheless reveal certain trends in the production or use of amulets at Naukratis.

Most amulets from Naukratis pertain to regular types of Egyptian amulets. Beside wedjat-eyes, deities protecting vulnerable pregnant women and children or guarding against dangerous animals dominate the corpus. Gods and symbols related to fertility and regeneration are also regularly found at Naukratis, whereas more characteristic funerary amulets are infrequent.

Naukratis amulets depict almost exclusively Egyptian gods, excluding an amulet in the shape of a Greek-style ithyphallic herm (Fig. 137). Some of these deities are generally favoured across Egypt, while others are particularly revered in the Delta, the Memphite region, or possibly specifically related to local cults in Naukratis. Amun, Mut and Khonsu, the Theban triad revered in the largest Egyptian sanctuary at Naukratis, appear only sporadically in the repertoire of amulets, if at all. Mixed-style

---

301 Andrews 1994, 100.
302 Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR14/9/18/19.
303 Example in translucent green glass: Dublin 2007, 56.
305 See the associated catalogue of amulets for the full inventory.
306 There is no distinct amulet of Amun and Mut, and only one very poorly preserved amulet of Khonsu (British Museum EA27549). Amulets representing a ram (British Museum EA58318), a ram-headed deity (British Museum EA27535 and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-
amulets form a separate group in terms of iconography and technology.\textsuperscript{307} They are normally considered as non-Egyptian types and particularly affiliated to Greek contexts.\textsuperscript{308}

\textsuperscript{307} The mixed-style amulets depicting male and female figures account for 5.4% of the amuletic corpus. To these could be added many falcons and other theriomorphic amulets sharing a similar technology.

\textsuperscript{308} See chapter on Archaic mixed style faience figures.
**Anthropomorphic amulets**

**Dwarf amulets**

The closely related dwarf deities Bes and Pataikos represent 15.7% of the amuletic corpus. Dwarf deities seem to have played a particular role in assisting during child labour, as we learn from two 19th dynasty obstetrical spells that ought ‘to be recited four times over a dwarf of clay placed on the brow of a woman who is giving birth while suffering’. The dwarf deity invoked in this ritual could either be Bes or Pataikos. Amulets of Bes and Pataikos could have played such roles as well as many additional functions.

**Bes**

Bes, the dwarf leonine god with grotesque facial features, could ward off evil and was also connected to fertility. As the protector of pregnancy and childhood, he was extremely popular amongst all sections of Egyptian society. In addition to amulets, his image appears on masks possibly worn by dancers and magical objects and seems particularly linked with the domestic sphere. As in the first millennium BC his cult spread rapidly throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean, Bes amulets became not only popular throughout Egypt, but also in the Mediterranean world. Naukratis has yielded a wide variety of Bes amulets.

The bearded dwarf, with lion ears and a tail behind his back, often wears a crown made of high ostrich feathers. He is usually represented naked, in a squatting position with his hands on his hips. He appears as such on several amulets from Naukratis, like on a beautifully naturalistic example in Cairo (Fig. 138). Many offer simpler and cruder versions, though the overall shape and identity of the god remain recognizable (Fig. 139). In extreme cases of stylization, his body and characteristic headdress are only rendered by horizontal grooves (Fig. 140). Double-sided Bes amulets can also be more or less stylized (Figs 141–2). One amulet depicts Bes standing, in a striding pose, with his arms along his sides and his back leaning against an inscribed back pillar (Fig. 143). These amulets can be small to medium-sized, from 1.35cm to more than 4.5cm high (the largest one is fragmentary).

---

**Notes**

311. Cyöry 2011, 159.
312. Erp 2014.
313. Loeben 2016, 50–1.
At least 13 amulets only represent the head of the god with or without his typical feathered crown, a type that first appears in the Third Intermediate Period.\(^{315}\) Bes heads were a type of amulet produced locally, as indicated by the discovery of amulet-moulds at the Scarab Factory.\(^{316}\) Yet the amulets found at Naukratis do not completely fit these moulds. Their height varies between 0.90 and 3.20cm. Bes is either shown on his own (Fig. 144), as an aegis with a beaded large collar (Fig. 106 above), or on a circular plaque (Fig. 145). Modelled heads of Bes on such plaques sometimes bear the representation of a wedjat-eye on the other side, a type also present at Naukratis that appeared in the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 146).\(^{317}\)

**Pataikos**

Pataikos was probably related to the creator god and patron of craftsmen Ptah, revered in Memphis.\(^{318}\) He could also be associated and combined with various other gods. His shaven head usually features a line interpreted as a hairline\(^{319}\) or the tight cap of Ptah,\(^{320}\) and, the back of the skull is protruding, which is a common trait of dwarfism (Fig. 147). He was associated with fertility, assisted in birth and rebirth in the Underworld, and protected against dangerous animals, particularly snakebite.

Amulets of Pataikos became very popular between the Third Intermediate and the Ptolemaic periods, though they were produced as early as the 6th dynasty.\(^{321}\) Their distribution is wide throughout Egypt and in the Mediterranean world, with a special concentration in the Memphite region, where the creator god Ptah had his cult centre.\(^{322}\)

At Naukratis, amulets of Pataikos belong essentially to three types, with a possible fourth type only illustrated by one example. The details, style and craftsmanship vary extensively within the first type.\(^{323}\) All amulets of Pataikos, including large composite ones, present either a hole (usually pierced widthways through the head or the neck), a loop behind the neck

---

\(^{315}\) Andrews 1994, 40.

\(^{316}\) See supra section 1.1.1. Moulds.

\(^{317}\) For parallels: Petrie 1914, pl. XXXIV no. 190q; Hornung and Staehelin 1976, no. 694; Müller-Winkler 1987, 47; Kl., XII, nos 212–6; Andrews 1994, 40; Hermann 2010, 129, no. 51. Andrews 1994, 39, see also a mention in Histories III, 37, where Herodotus compares to Pataikos the Memphite cult statue of Ptah, which he calls Hephaistos, its Greek counterpart.

\(^{319}\) Matzker 1990, 201.

\(^{320}\) Györy 2004, 55.


\(^{322}\) Györy 2002, 492.

\(^{323}\) For various types and more or less complex typologies of Pataikos amulets see: Matzker 1990; Hermann 1994, 404–92; Hermann 2003, 19–22; Hermann et al. 2010, 75–9.
or a reserved space for suspension. Such features indicate a protective function as amulets to be worn.

The most common type represents the hydrocephalus dwarf god on his own, naked, crouching with his crooked legs on a rectangular base. His hands, closed into a fist, rest on his hips. Like other amulets found at Naukratis, Pataikos amulets feature the whole range of styles from naturalistic rendering to the most stylized one (Fig. 148a–c). Their size differs widely, from 1.40cm in height for the smallest example to more than 6.30cm for a fragmentary large amulet.

The second type consists of double-sided amulets of Pataikos, a type appearing in the Third Intermediate Period. Only two were identified and both are quite crudely executed, one measuring 1.45cm, the other 4.05cm high (Fig. 149a–b).

At least four mould-made figures in glazed composition belong to another type of Pataikos amulets (Fig. 150). Although their iconography and style are rather homogenous, they were produced using different moulds. They are well-made and large, measuring between 5.80 and 8.30cm. The naked dwarf god grasps a snake in each of his hands and stands on two crocodiles, in the fashion of Horus-on-crocodiles stelae. His head is topped by a scarab beetle in relief. A falcon or a kite rests on each of his shoulders, and the sibling goddesses Isis and Nephthys stand by his sides. Isis-Maat, a winged female deity holding a large Maat feather in each hand, is carved on the back.

Large amuletic figures of Pataikos standing on crocodiles already appear in the New Kingdom and developed in the Third Intermediate Period. Such amulets form a variant of Horus-on-crocodiles stelae. The

---

324 Erp 2014, 35–6 with additional references.
325 The others are British Museum EA58315, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.4560, Museum of Fine Arts 86.709 and maybe Petrie Museum UC54640 (incomplete).
326 On these stelae, see Berlandini-Keller 2016, 159 with further bibliographic references.
327 The symbolism of the birds of prey on Pataikos’ shoulders is disputed. Various interesting interpretations are presented by Györy (2003, 21–8). Amid other hypotheses, the author demonstrates the links between the god Ptah, his symmetrical form Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the hawks, and associates the sibling goddesses Isis and Nephthys, protectors of the deceased Osiris and the child Horus, with kites.
328 The Naukratis amulets show Isis-Maat crowned either by a sun-disc, a Maat feather inscribed in a sun-disc or a Hathoric crown. The god Ptah is said to be the Lord of Maat, hence the possible association with the Maat goddess and symbol on these amulets (Dasen 1993, 93).
particularly rich iconography of these large amulets allows us to better understand their roles and functions. They are believed to protect against dangerous animals, notably snake bites, but probably also play a role in childbirth. The base of one Naukratite example bears hieroglyphic signs, perhaps implying its use as a seal-stamp (Fig. 151). In Egypt, many were found in tombs and a few are attested in houses in Edfu; they could also be worn during their owner’s lifetime for special purposes, such as speeding up delivery. Györy, who studied in detail this specific group of amulets, mentioned that they are documented along the Mediterranean coast. At Naukratis, two of these composite amuletic figures were found in the proximity of the Great Temenos alongside many other amulets and some votive objects. They were maybe deposited in thanks for a happy delivery or recovery from a poisonous wound. The production of these complex amuletic figures of Pataikos clearly declines after the 25th dynasty, even though they persist well into the Late and Ptolemaic periods. Györy noticed a series of stylistic and iconographic changes in the Late Period versions of these amulets and the Naukratis examples feature some of them. First of all, the sibling goddesses Isis and Nephthys replace other deities, such as the goddesses Neith and Sekhmet, who used to be featured flanking Pataikos. Then, the figure of Isis-Maat becomes the standard deity depicted at the back of the amulet. During the Late Period, the crocodiles can look straight ahead instead of forming a circle at the feet of Pataikos: this is something that is visible on the amulets Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.4560 (Fig. 151 above) and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.709, but not on the other examples from Naukratis. The earliest New Kingdom examples bear cryptographic inscriptions referring to Atum and Amun, whereas the Late Period versions denote a shift in the iconography emphasizing the raise in significance of the Osirian myth.

The Spell XIV on the magico-medical Metternich stela, dated to the reign of Nectanebo II (360-342 BC), clarifies this point. The iconography of the Late Period amulets of Pataikos above crocodiles echoes passages of this spell: ‘the protection of Horus is the dwarf, who traverses the two lands at twilight’, ‘the magic of his mother, Isis is his protection’, ‘the protection of Horus is the august scarab, who flies in the sky’, ‘the protection of Horus is the great hawk, which flies in the sky, on the earth and in the Netherworld’. Each of these formulae are followed by ‘and the protection of the patient is likewise’, suggesting that the protection that Horus benefited from could be transferred to the wearer of the amulet. The crocodiles and snakes evoke the chaotic forces of Seth, the enemy of Osiris and of his legitimate successor Horus. Ptah/Pataikos acts here as the guardian, or is identified with, Horus-the-child.

332 On the use of Pataikos figures in medical practice, see Györy 2011.
333 Györy 2001, 27–40; on the various inscriptions found on these figures: Daressy 1905, 308, pl. IX and no. 39230–1; Vercoutter 1945, 268–95.
335 See infra section 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.
336 Györy 2003, 19.
337 Györy 2003, 16–20; on the evolution of these amuletic figures see also Vercoutter 1945, 269–70.
338 Györy 2003, 15.
This association is further evidenced by another amulet from Naukratis. The very poorly preserved and made amulet could belong to a fourth type of Pataikos’ amulet. Pataikos is represented more standing than crouching, his hands on his hips, wearing a large collar (almost totally eroded) and a sidelock to the left of his head (Fig. 152). This type of amulet is rare in Egypt, but not unknown during the 26th Dynasty, and seems to stress the relation between the child-like nature and appearance of Pataikos with Horus-the-child.340

The Osirian family

The favour in which the Osirian triad – Osiris, Isis and Horus-the-Child – was held during the Late and Ptolemaic periods is visible in the material culture of Naukratis.341 Even though the triad formed by Horus and the sibling goddesses Isis and Nephthys appears more regularly in the Egyptian amuletic corpus (Fig. 119 above), the Osirian triad is documented on a few amulets.342 From Naukratis, a singular steatite plaque with a probable magic function features the three seated deities in relief while the back is incised with various deities arranged on two rows, including Isis holding snakes and scorpions in her hands (Fig. 153). A copper alloy group of the Osirian triad features a ring welded to the back of each deity,343 suggesting that this could have been worn as an amulet,344 even though it was eventually deposited in large votive cache.345

More usual are amulets representing Isis nursing her son, Horus-the-Child, or the child deity on his own. Together, they make up 5.8% of the Naukratite amulets. They are made from a range of materials, mainly glazed composition, but also copper alloy, stone and Egyptian blue.346 Some copper alloy figures of mumiform Osiris have a suspension loop at the back. Most are rather large (up to 12cm) and they always have another suspension ring welded to the side of the base and/or a tang beneath the base, an unusual feature for Egyptian amulets. We decided to not include them in the count of amulets, but an amuletic function should not be entirely discounted for such figures.347

Suckling goddess

Amulets of suckling goddesses are often identified as Isis nursing her son Horus, though they can also represent other deities.348 As an exemplary mother goddess, Isis was particularly suited to protecting women and children during their lifetime and afterlife.349 Figures of Isis nursing her child are regularly found on mummies, particularly from the Late Period onwards, and such a figure made of gold is mentioned among the 75

---

341 Masson 2015, 77; Masson forthcoming b.
342 Examples of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in Petrie 1914, 36, nos 156a–d.
343 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.261.
344 Weiss 2012, 351, 846, pl. 60g, no. 1244.
345 On this context see Masson 2015 and infra in 3.2.2. Amulets section Egyptian votive contexts.
346 For all copper alloy specimens see also chapter on Bronze votive offerings.
347 See small bronze Osiris figures considered as amulets in Herrmann 2016, 86.
348 See examples of a lion-headed goddess nursing a child god in Andrews 1994, fig 19a and C.
349 On amulets of nursing Isis or other goddesses see Andrews 1994, 48–9, fig. 18; Herrmann et al. 2010, 30–2; Herrmann 2016, 308–12.
amulets listed on the MacGregor papyrus. Amuletic and votive figures of Isis nursing Horus became highly popular in Egypt and beyond from the Late Period onwards, and are one of the major themes of bronze statuary.

At Naukratis, nursing Isis amulets are small to medium sized, with the height of complete examples varying between 1.6 and 4.6 cm. Isis can be seen wearing a tripartite wig usually topped by a Hathoric crown or a headdress in the shape of the šeat, the hieroglyphic sign used to write her name (Fig. 154). The goddess is usually seated on a cubical throne with a more or less short plain back, holding Horus on her knees and presenting her left breast to feed him. The throne is not featured on bronze examples (Fig. 155). On one Egyptian blue example, the child god seems to stand in front of the goddess (Fig. 156).

Child deities, typically recognized as Horus-the-Child, appear in a large number of small votives and amuletic figures made from a wide array of materials and shapes at Naukratis. Horus-the-Child was much revered in the Delta during the Late and Ptolemaic periods. The protective powers of his mother Isis and other guardians kept him safe while he was an endangered child hiding in the marshes from the wrath of his uncle Seth. Similar protection was offered to the wearer of an amulet representing the divine child.

Horus-the-Child is clearly depicted as an infant, naked with a lock of hair to the side of his head. Amulets found at Naukratis show him striding or seated with his legs slightly bent, both hands along his body or one hand brought to his lips (Fig. 129 above and Fig. 157). One Ptolemaic amulet

350 On this list featured on the back of a 1st century BC Book of the Dead see Capart 1908; Mosher 2001.
351 Weiss 2012, 330–1, 822–33, pl. 56, G12.
352 Bronze figures without suspension loop are not included in this chapter as their amuletic nature is improbable.
353 Masson forthcoming b.
354 Sandri 2006.
pendant in glazed composition represents the head of the toddler in high relief within a circular frame. In addition to his distinctive sidelock of youth, he sports a complex collar the details of which disappear below the glaze, but it seems to include a series of small amulets (Fig. 158).

A particular group of faience figures depict a child deity with a large phallus. They imitate the limestone and terracotta figures that form such a significant group in the material culture of Naukratis that they were named 'Naukratic' figures by the early explorers of the site. Although they used to be regarded as a foreign feature, it is now clear that they were highly popular in the Memphite region and the Delta. They seem to represent yet another aspect of Horus-the-Child, though the identification of the child deity is not accepted by all scholars. Their iconography conveys ideas of fertility and regeneration, and such figures were particularly associated with the Nile inundation and related festivals. One glazed composition version of these figures show the young god squatting, with his colossal phallus wrapped around his neck and holding it with both hands (Fig. 159). Another fragmentary specimen figures him kneeling with with a straight large phallus extending forward (Fig. 160). Both figures are rather small-sized and better preserved parallels feature a loop of suspension. All of this suggests that they could be worn as amulets.

Other types of ithyphallic figures of Harpokrates made of faience were found in Naukratis, but it is unclear if they played any amuletic role as they lack means of suspension and they are rather large in size. Amulets of macrophallic child deities have been found in limited numbers outside of Egypt. A few examples are known from the Levant and in Cyprus with one example dated as early as the 25th dynasty, but they otherwise pertain more to the Late and Ptolemaic periods. While the production of 'Naukratic' figures in terracotta and perhaps in stone is attested during this timeframe at Naukratis itself, it is unclear if this was the case also for the faience ones.

The Memphite triad

Ptah, his consort Sekhmet and their son Nefertum formed the divine triad connected with Memphis and its region. Ptah amulets are rare and none has so far been recognized in Naukratis, while amulets of the latter two gods were relatively common and in Naukratis make up 3.5% of the corpus, with Nefertum’s amulets more conspicuous that Sekhmet’s. The identification of Sekhmet is furthermore not always assured.

357 Similar amulets published in Herrmann 2003, 84–6, nos 375–401.
359 Warmenbol 1998, 279; see also the detailed presentation and interpretation in the chapter on Egyptian Late Period figures in terracotta and limestone.
360 See for example British Museum EA90363 and EA90396.
361 Herrmann et al. 2010, 67.
362 For example British Museum 1886,0401.1495 represents the naked ithyphallic child deity reclining on a base and is directly inspired by stone specimens, dated about 400–200 BC; this type was also reproduced in terracotta with some minor iconographic variants. Paris, Louvre Museum E20829, a 3rd century BC faience figure covered with a dark green thick glaze, shows the nude young god carrying a pot below his left arm and bringing his right hand to his lips in the traditional attitude of the child (recently published in Kaczmarczyk and Nenna 2014, 309–10, fig. 4 and 333).
363 Herrmann 2016, 336–7; Clerc 1988, pl. 16.
Nefertum

Nefertum was a popular deity in Lower Egypt. He was particularly so in Memphis where, from the New Kingdom onwards, he and his parents Ptah and Sekhmet, formed the sacred local triad. From very early on, Nefertum was connected with the young sun emerging from a lotus flower on the Primeval Waters, and therefore with ideas of regeneration. Later, he was believed to also be a bearer of good fortune and became a popular subject in the Late Period amuletic corpus, although amulets of Nefertum started to be produced and exported in the Mediterranean world as early as the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.

Amulets of Nefertum found in Naukratis have a wide range of sizes, from 2 to 7.40cm. They were produced in different materials, most commonly in faience, but also in metal (bronze) and stone (steatite), just like amulets of Horus-the-child. Whatever the choice of material, the god is usually represented standing, in a striding pose, wearing his characteristic headdress composed of an open lotus flower surmounted by high plumes. On large faience figures, the headdress can be carefully detailed with numerous incisions (Fig. 161). It usually remains recognizable on much cruder examples (Fig. 162). Contrary to copper alloy examples, faience and stone amulets of Nefertum always show him leaning against a back-pillar. Earlier amulets of Nefertum can show the god in the round.

Nefertum amulets occur regularly in the Mediterranean world, particularly in the Third Intermediate Period, but also in the Late Period. The Late Period amulets actually find good parallels in the Levant, suggesting Naukratis as a possible source for them. For example, one of the Naukratis Nefertum amulets (Fig. 163) is similar to an amulet unearthed in a level dated around 600–333 BC in Ashkelon.

Sekhmet

In Lower Egypt, lion-headed goddesses were particularly worshipped in the Memphite region and Bubastis. Amulets in their likeness started to be produced in the Third Intermediate Period and were widely distributed in the Mediterranean world. They are often identified as Sekhmet, but several Egyptian goddesses can display such an appearance, like the feline goddess Bastet, the protectress of Lower Egypt Wadjet, and Amun's...
In mythology, Sekhmet acts as the vengeful Eye of Ra ready to destroy humankind and her name itself means ‘The Powerful’. The lion-headed goddess appears violent and unpredictable, able to cause scourge and torments. However, by appropriate rituals, she could be tamed into the cat goddess Bastet and become a benevolent protector against Seth and Apophis, the prime enemies of Ra and Osiris. Like many other Egyptian deities, despite and possibly because of this ambiguous dangerous nature, her image could form a potent charm against afflictions and offered protection against dangerous animals. She played a particularly important role in Western Delta, as mistress and protector of the Occident, notably against the Libyan threat.

At least four glazed composition amulets of a lion-headed goddess were discovered in Naukratis. For one, the identity as Sekhmet is confirmed by the inscription on the back pillar mentioning Sekhmet (see Fig. 254 below). The 10cm high amulet represents the goddess standing, with her back leaning against the inscribed back pillar, with her arms straight down by her side. She wears a tripartite striated wig without headdress and a tight-fitting long dress. Two other amulets represent the maned lion-headed goddess wearing a headdress composed of a sun-disc and uraeus (Fig. 114 above and Fig. 164). They both belong to large amuletic figures. The arms of Redpath Museum 2410 are executed in open work and the general modelling of Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.876 is finely executed. As connoted by her headdress, the goddess is associated with the solar cult. Sekhmet was the daughter of the solar god Ra and is often depicted wearing a similar headdress, but lion goddesses could also be identified as an emanation of Amun-Ra in the Late Period and bronze figures naming Wadjyt show the goddess crowned with a similar attribute. Such amulets were perhaps produced in Naukratis. The Museum of Fine Arts keeps a terracotta mould for casting large figures of a standing maned lion-headed goddess crowned with a sun-disc and uraeus, and the museum’s records stipulate that it was discovered in the Scarab Factory (Fig. 165). I have serious doubts, however, about this provenance.

A fifth amulet found at Naukratis, but for which we do not have any illustration, belongs to a different type. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E45 is a ‘head of Sekhmet, used as an ornament’ described on a register card of the museum, which also records the Scarab Factory as the find-spot. It probably describes an aegis topped by the head of a lion, possibly crowned by the usual solar disc and uraeus. Finally, an amulet of which only the middle part is preserved (Fig. 166) could belong to one of the well-

---

376 Germond 2005, 37.
377 Györy 2011, 162.
378 Sekhmet had an important cult in nearby Kom Firin and amulets representing a leonine goddess as well as objects (vessels, stelae and shabtis belonging to Sekhmet priests) bearing her name were found at the site: Spencer 2006, 6 and 26–7; Spencer 2014, 57, 171, 176 and 333, pl. 452.
379 On its context of discovery see Masson 2015, 78, fig. 3.9a and infra in 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.
380 Andrews 1994, 34.
381 See infra section 2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory.
382 For parallels see Andrews 1994, 42, fig. 40; Herrmann 2016, 81–2, 322–3; Webb 2016, 72–3, pl. 12 no. 4.
known amuletic figures of a lion-headed goddess seated on a throne treated in open work, attested in late TIP and 26th dynasty contexts in the Levant.\(^{383}\)

**Other common anthropomorphic deities**

*Anubis/Wepwawet*

Eleven amulets in glazed composition and at least three figurines in copper alloy with a means of suspension represent a canine-headed god (jackal or wolf), probably Anubis or Wepwawet (Upuau).\(^{384}\) Both are associated with the Afterlife. Anubis, son of Nephthys and Osiris or Seth, was the god of embalming, the guardian of necropoleis and the one who weighed the heart of the deceased in the tribunal in the underworld. Wepwawet, whose name means ‘the Opener-of-the-Way’, is regarded in some Egyptian myths as Anubis’s son and was often confused with him in later periods. The faience amulets are small to medium-sized, ranging from 1.7 to 4.4 cm. They usually depict the god standing, in a striding pose with arms by his sides, wearing a short kilt (shendyt) detailed by vertical stripes and his back leaning against a back-pillar (*Fig. 167*). On more stylized examples, the body of the deity is barely modelled and only the pointy ears allow identification (*Fig. 168*). The copper alloy examples are usually poorly preserved, but they all seem very simple in design and a loop is placed behind the head.\(^{385}\)

Amulets of the canine-headed deity are quite common throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean world during the Late Period.\(^{386}\) Despite the rather small number we could gather from various collections, these amulets were probably far more numerous at Naukratis and the god might have had some local significance.\(^{387}\) Two life-sized sculptures representing a seated dog, of the same type as a statue found at the Anubieion at Saqqara,\(^{388}\) were discovered to the north of the enclosure wall of the Great Temenos.\(^{389}\) Furthermore, the cult of Wepwawet is well attested in the nearby royal city of Sais during the Late Period.\(^{390}\)

*Shu*

Several glazed composition amulets representing a kneeling god raising his two hands to the side of his head were discovered in Naukratis, a posture shared by the gods Shu or Heh.\(^{391}\) The god carries an element far too rudimentary to be recognizable directly; but less stylized examples show that Shu normally holds a sun-disc and Heh palm ribs symbolizing millions of years. Since their iconography can be very close, scholars often prefer not to select between both deities.\(^{392}\) In his most recent publication, Herrmann identified Heh in New Kingdom amulets with the god clearly grasping palm ribs by the side of his head, while he distinguished Shu in all

---

\(^{383}\) Herrmann 2006, 77, pl. XIII, no. 52; Herrmann 2016, 78, no. 68 and 320, pl. 7.

\(^{384}\) See chapter and catalogue on *Bronze votive offerings*.

\(^{385}\) Herrmann et al. 2010, 35; Herrmann 2016, 314–5.

\(^{386}\) Herrmann forthcoming b.

\(^{387}\) Jeffreyrs *et al.* 1988, pl. 26a, 78/226, pl. 41e–f, pl. 16a–d.

\(^{388}\) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.178 and 86.179.

\(^{389}\) Weiss 2012, 448.

\(^{390}\) Herrmann 2016, 88–92, pls XX–XXII.
amulets dated between the 25th dynasty and the Ptolemaic period. All examples from Naukratis would fall into the Shu amulet category.

Shu, the son of the sun according to the Heliopolitan creation myth, represents the principle of air separating the earth Geb and the sky Nut, the children he conceived with his sister Tefnut. Shu amulets were discovered in burials of the Third Intermediate Period and 26th dynasty, often placed on the lower torso of mummies, but they were also common in Late Period settlements.

Complete examples from Naukratis measure between 0.7 and 2.6cm. They belong to two main types. The god is either represented in profile (Fig. 169) or looks straight ahead (Fig. 170). In some cases, he is wearing a short kilt detailed with vertical incisions. Many examples belong to a much stylized type with the god looking straight ahead (Fig. 171), a crude type encountered outside of Egypt, notably in the Levant. One example from Dor was found in a context dated between 450 and 333 BC.

**Theriomorphic amulets**

**Taweret**

Taweret, whose name simply means ‘the Great One’, was a deity closely associated with the dwarf god Bes. Together they protected the newly born Horus. Her hybrid shape combines the body of a hippopotamus, the limbs of a lion and the tail of a crocodile, three of the most dangerous animals of Egypt. With such a fearsome appearance, she warded off evil, protecting women in labour and children. Taweret images do not only occur as amulets, but also on various furniture elements of the bedroom, magical wands and small statues.

Taweret amulets are attested throughout the dynastic period since the Old Kingdom and at Naukratis they represent 5% of the amuletic corpus. The goddess shares elements of anthropomorphic amulets. She is always represented standing on her hind legs in a striding pose. Amulets depicting a hippopotamus walking on its four legs are exceptional in Egypt. The tripartite wig, the sagging breasts and the belly bulging as if it was with child, give her a female appearance. Examples are usually found in burials and domestic contexts of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.

Taweret amulets discovered at Naukratis are usually made in glazed composition and small to medium-sized (from 1.50 to 4.85cm). Their style again is hugely disparate. In some cases, her wig is finely striated, the long crocodile tail decorated with incised chevrons and she bares her teeth in a
threatening attitude (Fig. 172). In other cruder and more stylized amulets, it is only possible to make out the general silhouhette of the goddess with her protruding belly and hippopotamus head (Fig. 173). The means of suspension can be placed above the head in the shape of a small loop pierced widthwise (Fig. 174) or behind her shoulders with a hole pierced at shoulder level, making a small protuberance (Fig. 175a-b).

A couple of larger figures were possibly not amulets in the literal sense, since no means of suspension mean is visible (or not preserved?). A 9cm high Egyptian blue amulet depicts Taweret with her forepaws resting on the hieroglyphic š3sign, standing for ‘protection’ (Fig. 176). The small tang above her head was possibly meant to fix a crown and/or a suspension system. The piece can be compared with a large faience amulet of Taweret who also holds a š3-sign in front of her: she bears the modius of a crown consisting of a short cylinder around which rearing cobras (uraei) are arranged.404 Another carefully designed figure of Taweret from Naukratis, measuring 5cm in height, was carved in a light greenish olive steatite (Fig. 177). The surface is slightly rough and not polished, but the amulet seems finished with the striated tripartite wig and the indication of chevrons incised on her tail. If they were not worn as amulet, these figures could have played a magic/religious role in the domestic sphere, similar, for example, to the small statues of Taweret uncovered in houses at Amarna.405

**Falcon**

This bird of prey is often related to the solar and royal god Horus, but several deities and the pharaoh himself could assume a falcon form. For example, Nefertum who was associated and identified as Horus, could take the shape of a falcon. When it comes to falcon amulets, the identification proves even more difficult, especially when the falcon does not wear a headress. Falcons had protective functions, notably guardian of the young Horus and the pharaohs, Horus’s earthly incarnations. Falcon amulets were as common as those of Taweret’s in Naukratis (5% of the amuletic corpus), and they present a large selection.

---

404 Morlanwelz, Musée royal de Mariemont, no. B.464 in Quertinmont 2016, 89, cat. 19.
405 Loeben 2016, 48.
of types, materials and finishes. Their size varies between 1.15 and 7.80cm in height.

The majority represent a falcon without a headdress, standing on a rectangular base, with a suspension loop on the back. One is a small crudely-fashioned bronze amulet reminiscent of examples found in Lower Egypt, particularly in the Memphite region, Thonis-Heracleion and Athribis.¹⁰¹ Sixteen other amulets are made of glazed composition, essentially belonging to two types. Four small falcon amulets display an overall greenish blue glaze when preserved (Fig. 178). The features are very stylized and the design flat. Wings, feet and beak are defined by a few lines or by piching the paste. Twelve medium to large-sized amulets are better modelled and bichrome (Fig. 179). They are often covered with a colourless main glaze, but pale green and tuquoise coloured glazes do occur. A distinctive dark brown glaze is added to mark the eyes, socks, beak and the tail feathers of the falcon. The tail and feet are in open-work. The tail feathers are overlapping, with the right wing over the left, and the wings are outlined by projecting ridges. Bulging eyes and parrot-shaped beak are further common characteristics of this group, which is closely related to the mixed-style figures. These falcon figures, as well as other theriomorphic amulets made in a similar style representing a couchant lion and a ram, are of the same date as the mixed-style human figurines; numerous examples found outside of Egypt belong largely to the 6th century BC.¹¹¹

Amulets of a falcon wearing the pschent, the double-crown symbolizing the authority over Lower and Upper Egypt, are well-documented in Naukratis. One is a finely made gilded steatite amulet (Fig. 253 below)¹²¹ and three others are in glazed composition (Fig. 180). The deity represented should probably be identified as Horus, legitimate ruler of Egypt and protector of pharaohs. A bronze example features the crowned falcon perched upon a standard comprised of a flat rectangular platform with a papyrus-column beneath (Fig. 181). The suspension loop welded to the back of the falcon implies the amuletic nature of this object, which reproduces in miniature a ceremonial staff-terminal.¹³¹ Similar bronzes are attested in various Late Period contexts, notably in the Memphite region,¹⁴¹ but also from Thonis-Heracleion, Buto and Athribis.¹⁵¹

One amulet in Egyptian blue shows a falcon wearing a double-feathered crown framing a small sun-disc (Fig. 182). The tail feathers have incised chevrons. Such headgear is normally specific to the Theban warrior god Montu, a god who could offer protection against enemies.¹⁴⁶ Montu amulets are exceptional outside of the Nile Valley, as pointed out by Hölbl.¹⁴⁷ He mentions a falcon-headed amulet with a similar headdress

---

¹⁰¹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.309. Weiss 2012, 738–40, pl. 43c–f, type T 18 (see especially no. 805 for this amulet).
¹¹¹ See detailed discussion in chapter on Archaic mixed style faience figures.
¹²¹ Masson 2015, 78, fig. 3.9c.
¹³¹ See for example a normal-sized finial of the same shape British Museum EA64545 and a comparable small-sized one (but without loop) British Museum EA61847. Naukratis yielded a several staff-terminals, including two depicting a snake on a papyrus-column: British Museum EA27596 and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.815. See chapter on Bronze votive offerings.
¹⁴¹ From the falcon complex and catacomb in North Saqqara: Davies and Smith 2005.
¹⁴⁶ Weiss 2012, 740–5, pl. 44, type T 19.
from the temple of Aphrodite in Miletus and other examples from Kameiros in Rhodes, the Inatos cave in Crete and Calabria in Southern Italy (Athenaion of Francavilla Marittima). To that short list can be added a blue-glazed amulet similar to the Naukratis one from a tomb in Lachisch in Palestine, dated around 925-720BC. This type of amulet is not known prior to the Third Intermediate Period.

A last type of falcon amulet discovered in Naukratis is illustrated by a falcon-headed harpoon-amulet made of copper alloy (Fig. 183). The suspension loop was probably lost due to the heavy corrosion. Such amulets are particularly typical of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, and refer to Horus of Edfu. The harpoon is his preferred weapon to strike enemies in the form of a hippopotamus, and such amulets grant the wearer the power of Horus the Harpooner to overcome evil.

Cats

Cats are typically associated with the goddess Bastet, an appeased manifestation of Sekhmet. Guardian of maternity and household, Bastet was also linked with festivity and drunkenness. She was particularly favoured in Lower Egypt and had her main cult centre in Bubastis. Her cult, which first appeared in the Early Dynastic period, saw a significant upsurge in the first millennium BC when animal worship and the practices of mass-mummification of cats alongside that of many other species became a major trend in Egyptian religion. The popularity of cat amulets increased in parallel from the Third Intermediate period, in Egypt and beyond.

Cat amulets found at Naukratis are small-sized, between 1.40 and 3cm in height. All represent a cat seated on a rectangular base, with a suspension loop making a more or less pronounced protuberance behind the head. As usual, glazed composition prevails as a material of choice, while style varies. Some slightly crudely mould-made examples indicate legs, ears, eyes, mouth and possibly tail (Fig. 184). Others offer a highly stylized and compact silhouette of the cat with a few lines to roughly define some of its features (Fig. 185), a type that is encountered notably on Levantine sites in

419 Andrews 1994, 79–80, fig. 80.
421 Zivie and Lichtenberg 2005.
contexts dated between 600 and 333 BC. The amulet carved from bone (or ivory?) remains very basic with few incised details and a fairly rough surface (Fig. 136 above). Two solid-cast bronze amulets figure a seated cat with its tail wrapped around the body in a very plain design (Fig. 186). They belong to a type of cat figure common in Lower Egypt, particularly in the main cult centre of the goddess Bubastis, but also on many sites of the Delta and in the Memphite region.

### Sow

The sow is an animal primarily associated with the sky goddess Nut, and like the cat, with ideas of fecundity and maternity. Nut is concerned with the cyclic regeneration of life: at dusk, Nut swallows the sun and gives birth to the stars, while at dawn she swallows the stars and gives birth to the regenerated sun from her womb. While many sow amulets mention the name of Nut, others bear the name of Isis, archetype of the divine mother. They start to be popular with the Third Intermediate Period, though they were already produced in the Late New Kingdom and are widespread in Egypt and in the Mediterranean world during the Late Period.

Sow amulets from Naukratis are all in glazed composition. The most common type is small-sized (between 1.20 and 1.95 cm) and consists of a graphic and crude interpretation of a sow walking on a rectangular base, with a suspension cylinder pierced lengthways added to its back (Fig. 187). The features are stylized with a great economy of detail to indicate the legs, belly and head of the sow. Stylization is sometimes pushed to such an extent that the mammal becomes barely recognizable and could be confused with a hippopotamus (Fig. 188). Hippopotamus amulets do exist, but they are very rare in comparison.

One larger specimen, measuring more than 3.90 cm in length, is far better modelled. Much care is dedicated to details, such as the abundant fine incisions marking the hair on the body and a well-rendered curly tail (Fig. 189). On that example, the suspension loop affixed to the back of the sow is triple-ridged and pierced widthways, a detail that can also be observed on other well-made theriomorphic amulets found at Naukratis.

Only seven sow amulets have been identified at Naukratis, but they originally seem to have been quite common at the site. When Hogarth discusses amuletic finds from the Archaic levels of the Artemis sanctuary in Ephesus, he mentions a mammalian animal, likely a sow or hippopotamus and notes that the ‘hippopotamus’ is a ‘small pendant of a type common at the S[outhern] (Egyptian) end of the site of Naukratis’.433

---

423 Herrmann 2016, 170–1, nos 358–64.
424 The second amulet is Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.311, published in Weiss 2012, 785, no. 1002.
425 Weiss 2012, 297–9, 783–91, pl. 49, type T 32.
427 Taylor and Strudwick 2005, 120.
428 Andrews 1994, 35.
429 Herrmann et al. 2010, no. 4.
431 Herrmann 2003, 128, pl. XCVI, nos 867–8.
432 Its pale blue-green glaze was analysed (Vandiver 1983, C51, 285-5-682).
433 Hogarth 1908, 203.
Edgar also quotes sows as the first type of common small faience objects retrieved from a trench at the southern end of the site.\footnote{Edgar 1905, 134.} He specifies that since these amulets were very damaged, only a few were collected.\footnote{De Wit 1951.}

**Couchant lion**

Lions symbolize the power of the sun and the pharaohs.\footnote{Allen 1974, 55; Andrews 2016, 98.} They could embody the sun god Ra himself.\footnote{Germond 2005, 31.} Amulets alongside other small objects reproducing their shape were already produced in the Predynastic period.\footnote{Germond 2005, 30.} They are still regularly found in Late Period and Ptolemaic contexts, not only in Egypt but also in Nubia and the Mediterranean world.\footnote{See for example a Late Period context in Mendes (Wilson 1982, 32), a 26th dynasty context in Meroë (Dunham 1963, 42, fig. 28b) and Late and Ptolemaic periods contexts in the Levant (Herrmann 1994, 121–2, n°618–27; Herrmann 2016, 176, 376–9.).} Lion amulets imbued the wearer with divine and royal protection as well as with regenerative powers.\footnote{Herrmann et al. 2010, 91.}

At Naukratis, lion amulets were recovered in numbers similar to the sow amulets, but nothing so far suggests that they were as common.\footnote{I do not include in this category scaraboids in the shape of a couchant lion (see supra section 1.1.1. Moulds).} Apart from an amuletic bead carved from lapis lazuli,\footnote{Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.174.} they are all made out of glazed composition. The lion is always represented lying on a small rectangular base with its rear feet drawn up either side. The overall design and model are unique each time. Their length varies from 1.45 to 4.4cm. As expected, the rendering of the lion is simple in the smaller range (Fig. 190). Larger examples are usually of better craftsmanship, with neat incised lines and modelling indicating all major features of the lion. One example of superior quality, with a reeded loop on the back, details the mane, tail, ribs and powerful muscles of the animal (Fig. 191). Its face has an open mouth, prominent nose, small eyes in relief and large rounded ears. The faience amulets are all covered with a turquoise glaze except one example which displays a clear cream glaze with added brown glaze to mark the mane and paws of the lion (Fig. 192). Such a finish links this piece with the mixed-style group. The body is modelled rather accurately but without an abundance of incisions to mark the mane, ribs and muscles. The animal’s upcurved mouth is closed, its nose and ears rather subdued, while its eyes are rendered with small blobs.

**Thoth**

Thoth, whose main cult centre was in Middle Egypt at Hermopolis Magna, appears sporadically and in various forms in the amuletic corpus of Naukratis. The god of knowledge, magic and writing could be associated with two animals, the ibis and the baboon.\footnote{Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 327.} His amulets were particularly favoured by scribes, judges and priests.\footnote{Andrews 1994, 27; Germond 2005, 31.}
Ibis

At least one amulet from Naukratis depicts an ibis bird.445 The glazed composition amulet is now headless, but its thin neck, the general angle of the body and what is left of its feet belong to an ibis (Fig. 193). Better preserved examples often show the tip of the long curved beak resting upon a Maat feather.446

Ibis amulets are relatively rare outside of Egypt.447 However, amulets of Thoth combining a human body with an ibis head were well-distributed in the Mediterranean world, particularly between the late 8th and middle of the 4th century BC.448 This type also occurs at Naukratis albeit seemingly in small numbers (Fig. 194).449

Thoth in his ibis form is a common sight on funerary scenes where he is seen recording the outcome of the weighting of the heart and subsequent judgment. Ibis-headed amulets were almost systematically placed in the wrappings of Late Period mummies, usually on the chest of the deceased.450

Seated baboon

The cynocephalus (‘dog-head’ in Greek) ape is another animal manifestation of Thoth and a common topic for Egyptian amulets.451 Baboons were often perceived and depicted as worshippers of the sun.452

From Naukratis, an amulet in glazed composition features the god as a squatting baboon, with its paws on its knees, its tail curled to the side, its phallus visible between its legs, and a hole for suspension pierced at head level (Fig. 195). The god is represented in a similar attitude on another amulet crudely carved from olive grey steatite, pierced at the back of the head for suspension (Fig. 196). This theme is reproduced to a much higher level of quality on a glazed stone figure.453 The fur is indicated by a variety of fine incised striations, giving a naturalistic appearance to the baboon. The lack of means of suspension indicates that this piece had probably no amuletic function.

---

445 Two others amulets depict a bird in which I would rather recognize as a vulture, a bird associated with the goddess Nekhbet, protectress of Upper Egypt. One is a minute amulet carved from lapis lazuli, British Museum 1888,0601.58. The bird stands on a small base and the feathers of its wings are detailed by fine incised lines in the same fashion as in vulture amulets (see for example a lapis lazuli amulet of a vulture from Tell Dafana, British Museum EA20662, published in Leclère and Spencer 2014, 62, pl. 22; see other Late Period vulture amulets in Herrmann 2003, 146, pl. CX, nos 836–9). The second is a headless bird amulet carved from mottled black and grey hard stone, British Museum EA27629. Petrie identified the bird as an ibis, but a vulture (or a falcon?) seems more likely (fig. 243 below).

446 Specimen from Tell Dafana in Leclère and Spencer 2014, 62, pl. 22; Herrmann 2003, 147, pl. CX, nos 840–1.

447 Herrmann et al. 2010, 106.


449 Another one is Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E16. There might be more but the identity of some very crude anthropomorphic amulets is unsure.


453 British Museum 1888,0601.78.
Thoth as a baboon appears at Naukratis in a few additional objects for which we have only a description.\footnote{A glass vessel in the form of cynocephalus baboon can be added to that short list (Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum 9392). Petrie also mentions ‘A very fine baboon vase in red pottery 4 ½ in [che]s high [11.4cm] was sold to us; an impression from an excellent mould before & behind: the creature is sitting with his forepaws round one knee, & with a ribbon bearing three amulets around his chest’ (Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 98). This object has not yet been identified.} One glazed composition amulet depicts a seated baboon with a wedjat-eye on its knees.\footnote{Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33544.} Thoth was the god who restored the left eye of Horus, the wedjat eye that Seth injured during a fight. Amulets of Thoth were therefore believed to bestow regenerative powers to their wearers. This association with the eye of Horus is visible on amulets of Thoth in his baboon or ibis-shape.\footnote{Andrews 1994, fig. 24a and c.} Another glazed composition figure of possible amuletic nature represents a monkey on a pillar.\footnote{Andrews 1994, 66.} It could be compared with a small wooden figure of a baboon seated on a column, said to come from Naukratis (Fig. 197). Despite its poor condition, the fine incisions detailing fur and leaves are still clear, as is the protrusion on its head, possibly originally used to affix a lunar disc. Numerous representations of Thoth, including amulets, show the god crowned with a crescent with full moon.\footnote{Andrews 1994, 66–7, fig. 71; Herrmann et al. 2010, 100–1; Herrmann 2016, 382–3.}

\section*{Vervet Monkey}

Vervet monkeys, a species not linked with Thoth, have a long history in the Egyptian amuletic corpus, at least since the Late Old Kingdom.\footnote{For complete example see Andrews 1994, fig. 71c; Herrmann et al. 2010, 100, figs 5–6.} They supposedly help the wearer with love and sexual fulfilment during his/her life and in the underworld.\footnote{Andrews 1994, 67, fig. 71d.}

The small number of Vervet monkey amulets found in Naukratis shows some disparity in the subject. None are complete, but it is possible to tell that they belong to quite tall amulets, usually rather well-executed. On one, the Vervet monkey is standing, as if supported by its long tail, with its paws by its side (Fig. 198).\footnote{On this type see Bulté 1991. Compare for example the faience staff-terminal in the form of a figure of Bes. British Museum EA25267. A Vervet monkey is depicted alongside a child, two frogs and an oryx.} A second type shows two smaller monkeys appearing on both shoulders, behind the well-modelled ears of the adult monkey (Fig. 199). Other known examples show the monkey holding its baby on its knees or at its feet, enhancing the association of the Vervet monkey with fertility and family love, and these were particularly aimed at women.\footnote{Munich, Bavarian State Collection of Antiques, object not located and register number unknown.} More unusual perhaps is the presence of a plumed headdress at the back of the monkey (Fig. 200). The details are especially numerous on that amulet, with abundant vertical and diagonal strokes indicating the fur, the teeth shown by small squares. Feathered headdresses such as this one are characteristic of the dwarf god Bes. The combination of Bes with Vervet monkeys is well-documented on various faience objects where the monkey holds a secondary place in regards of Bes,\footnote{Andrews 2000, 49, fig. 38h and 102.} unlike on this amulet.

\begin{itemize}
\item Figure 197 Wooden figure of Thoth baboon seated on palm leaf capital. London, Petrie Museum UC60012. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL
\item Figure 198 Glazed composition Vervet monkey amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908:EA.875. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff
\item Figure 199 Glazed steatite amulet in the shape of a Vervet monkey with its babies. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33556. Photography © Egyptian Museum, Cairo
\item Figure 200 Vervet monkey amulet, associated with Bes?. Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.454. Photograph © McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock / Inverclyde Council. Photographer François Lectére
\end{itemize}
Symbols

Wedjat-eye

The Wedjat-eye symbolizes first and foremost the restored eye of Horus. The left eye of the falcon god was injured during one of his fights against his uncle Seth and was healed by Thoth. Horus eventually offered his whole eye to his father Osiris, bringing him back to life. This explains why the wedjat-eye also came to represent the restoration of Osiris’ body torn apart by Seth. Wedjat literally means ‘the sound one’. Such amulets therefore possess universal powers of healing, protection and regeneration. Worn in the lifetime of the wearer, it also accompanied the deceased in the afterlife. A pair of wedjat-eyes was prescribed in the wrappings of mummies and they were almost systematically used in various positions on Late Dynastic mummies. The wedjat-eye remained a powerful charm from the late Old Kingdom until the Roman period. The amulet combines anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements – a human eye and brow together with animal facial markings below, a drop shape abutting an up-curling spiral. The drop shape reproduces the dark feathering to the front of the cheek of the lanner falcon (*falco biarmicus*) while the up-curling spiral looks like the lacrimal line on the faces of lions or other big felines.

As the prophylactic symbol per excellence, wedjat-eyes dominate by far the amuletic corpus at Naukratis, with 20.7%. They are small to medium-sized amulets (in stone from 1 to 4.5cm; in glazed composition from 0.7 to

---

464 Andrews 1994, 43.
465 Von Bonhard in Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016, 175.
466 Andrews 1994, 43; Germond 2005, 41.
467 Capart 1908, 19, no. 52.
468 Petrie 1914, pls L–LII.
469 Aufrère 2015, 45.
470 Andrews 2016, 96 with selected bibliography.
471 On other sites, wedjat-eyes can represent an even larger proportion, for instance 51% at Tell el-Herr: Marchi and Favri 2016, p. 97, note 7.
5.1 cm; in Egyptian blue from 0.85 to 2.90 cm). They belong to different types – from basic to complex – with a variety of material and finishes. The majority of wedjat-eye amulets found in Naukratis and elsewhere represents the right eye of Horus (Chart 11), although it is commonly accepted that the damaged and eventually restored eye was the left one, the eye associated with the moon, while the right eye of Horus was associated with the sun. Double-sided wedjat-eyes are also ubiquitous.

Most of the 11 stone examples found in Naukratis are basic wedjat-eyes with no detail on both sides. Several of them are made out of hard igneous stone (Fig. 125 above), one of red jasper (Fig. 128 above) and another of limestone. One example is a one-sided right wedjat-eye, carved from a white stone picked out in black (Fig. 201). It is said to be diorite, but considering the quality and refinement of the incised details it must be soapstone.

A significant proportion of the wedjat-eye amulets was made out of glazed composition (79.4%), less from Egyptian blue (6.5%). Some museum registers regularly record the Scarab Factory as their context of discovery, an information that must be treated with caution. We saw earlier that the Scarab factory provided two types of moulds to produce wedjat-eyes, one for wedjat-eyes inscribed in a rectangle, the other for wedjat-eyes in bulla form. Only positives of the former have so far been identified on the site (Fig. 19 above).

Most of the types manufactured in glazed composition are common also elsewhere in Egypt, but also in the Mediterranean world. Levantine sites, particularly contexts dated between 600 and 333 BC, offer numerous exact parallels. Most of the amulets are pierced lengthwise, with only few displaying a tubular loop on the top of the brow. I have counted more than 30 variations, with different combinations of techniques, finishes, types and levels of detail. Some are more popular than others, possibly indicating a local production. They ordinarily feature an overall green or turquoise glaze. A dark brown glaze can be added to mark some details, most often the pupil and the brow. This glaze fades sometimes into pale brown, yellow.

Right-sided wedjat types are most common. A dark brown glaze can outline standard markings on its own, but this is rather rare (Fig. 202). More often, it is added to a moulded more or less detailed right eye (for example Fig. 203). Open-work one-sided right wedjat-eyes within a round or oval serrated frame also appear regularly in our corpus (Fig. 204).

The double-sided types often use styles, techniques and finishes also used for the right-sided types. They can either reproduce the same features on both sides (for instance Fig. 205), or different features (as on Fig. 206).

---

474 See supra section 1.1.1, Moulds.
475 See supra section 1.1.1, Moulds.
476 For example Herrmann et al 2010, 124–9; Herrmann 2016, 391–421.
Basic, left- and multiple wedjat-eye amulets in glazed composition are rare, so it is uncertain if these were produced locally. Among the more complex specimen of wedjat-eye amulets, one is of particular interest for its rarity. It is a double-sided wedjat-eye surmounted by three minute wedjat-eyes, topped by a recumbent lion (Fig. 207). The subsidiary eyes are reversed on the back. Despite the abraded surface, one can see that the amulet was finely fashioned, with much incised details and some open-work was around the small wedjat-eyes. The combination of a lion (solar symbol) with a wedjat-eye is rare. It is documented so far on a dozen other amulets, usually dated to the Third Intermediate period, but the type probably persisted into the 26th dynasty and such a date would fit better the Naukratis find. Memphis yielded a couple comparable examples.

Wedjat-eyes in Egyptian blue are usually double-sided with the standard markings finely incised on both sides (Fig. 208). A few do not present any detail (Fig. 209). One right wedjat-eye is inscribed within a rectangular frame which border features a stripe decorated with small squares (Fig. 132 above).

---

477 For a basic wedjat-eye, see for example London, Petrie Museum UC52398.
478 Published in Gardner 1888, 87, pl. XIX, no. 2.
479 Petrie 1914, 33–4, pl. XXIV, nos 141j–k; Müller-Winkler 1987, 47, 103–4, 150, pl. XII nos 217–8.
480 As recently proposed in Andrews 2016, 99.
481 Reisner 1907, no. 5755; Anthes 1959, 54, pl. 34a, no. 300.
482 The description of two deaccessioned amulets Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.271, RES.86.283 fits with this type. These two are said to come from the Scarab Factory.
Wadj-column

Papyriform amulets, known as wadj-columns, are most widespread during the Late Period although the type appears already in the early New Kingdom and persists into the Ptolemaic period.\(^{483}\) Related to the verdoyant vegetation, and from there to ideas of regeneration and youth, they are one of the standard amulets placed on the mummy.\(^{484}\)

They are quite common at Naukratis, representing 2.5% of the amuletic corpus. The specimens are usually small-sized – between 1.2cm and 3.2cm – and very simple in design (Fig. 210).\(^{485}\) Larger examples exist, including one amulet measuring 11cm.\(^{486}\) One relatively large (5.3cm high) amulet has details of leaves marked by pre-firing incisions on the umbel and at the tip of the column (Fig. 211). In all cases, suspension loops are always placed atop the papyriform capital. Many Late Period sites in Egypt yielded similar amulets,\(^{487}\) as did 6th-4th century BC contexts in the Levant.\(^{488}\)

Crows

Four amulets depicting pharaonic crowns are preserved from Naukratis, which only accounts for 0.7% of the total. Two amulets represent the white crown of Upper Egypt (Fig. 212) and the other two the red crown of Lower Egypt (Fig. 213). They are all made out of glazed composition with a pale green or turquoise glaze and therefore do not reproduce the specific colour of these crowns.

Amulets in the shape of red and white crowns are typical of the 26th dynasty, or slightly later, despite red crown amulets being already produced in the First Intermediate Period.\(^{489}\) They were symbolic of divine and royal powers.\(^{490}\) Amulets of this type appear in several Late Period Egyptian settlements\(^{491}\) but are rarely found outside of Egypt, with examples attested on Phoenician and Punic sites\(^{492}\) as well as on Greek sites, such as the Heraion of Samos.\(^{493}\)

2.1.3. Dating the amulets from Naukratis

A precise and in-depth chronotypology of amulets discovered in Egypt – especially for the late periods – does not yet exist.\(^{494}\) Ironically, this constrasts unfavourably with scarabs and other amulets uncovered in the rest of the Mediterranean world – originating from Egypt or not – have

\(483\) Andrews 1994, 81–2; Herrmann 2006, 228–9, nos 440–6, pls XCIX–C.
\(484\) Germond 2005, 24; Herrmann et al. 2010, 135–8.
\(485\) Its pale blue-green glaze and dark green spot glaze were analysed (Vandiver 1983, C51, 285–5-683).
\(486\) Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33536, no photograph available.
\(487\) For example from the Memphite region (Giddy 1992, pl. 49, 78/284, pl. 53, 78/86, pl. 77, 78/284), in Mendes in the Delta (Wilson 1982, 31–2, pl. XXIX n°1–2).
\(488\) Herrmann 2016, 422–5.
\(489\) Andrews 1994, 74.
\(490\) Germond 2005, 22.
\(491\) Wilson 1982, 32; Leclère and Spencer 2014, 60–1, pl. 22.
\(492\) Vercoutter 1945, 267, fig. 7; Herrmann et al. 2010, 149, type 97.
\(493\) Webb 2016, 67, pl. 11 no. 2.
\(494\) As noted again recently by Gisèle Clerc: ‘Malheureusement, il n’existe actuellement pour l’Egypte aucune étude d’ensemble de ces figurines et amulettes en faïence établie à partir de fouilles ayant livré des niveaux datables avec précision’ (Clerc 2014, 131).
entire volumes and numerous papers dedicated to their study. Keeping this observation in mind, we know that the activity at the Scarab Factory covers the first half, particularly the first three decades, of the 6th century BC. Some amulets found at Naukratis fit well with a 26th dynasty dating and the possibility that some of these could have been produced in Scarab Factory or another contemporary workshop cannot be discounted. However, other amulets can be assigned a more general Late Period date, while some types seem to genuinely persist into the Ptolemaic period. We should not forget either that Naukratis had a long occupation covering the period between the late 7th century BC and the 7th century AD. The production and/or use of amulets were certainly not limited to the Saite phase of the site. Therefore, the dating of Egyptian amulets in the catalogue is in most cases left rather wide, except when the finds belong to more characteristic types of amulets or originate from specific contexts.

The majority of the amulets discovered in Naukratis probably belong to the 6th–3rd century BC. The quality and style displayed by the amulets are quite wide-ranging, with various degrees of stylization and care in the details. Amulets with fine incisions include, for example, that of a sow discussed above (Fig. 189 above). At the other end of the scale, a significant group consists of highly stylized amulets that are often given a post-Saite date when found outside of Egypt. On Levantine sites, these types of amulets tend to be dated to the Persian period (450-333BC).

A few amulets carved from dark greyish green steatite can be assigned a later Ptolemaic or Roman period dating due to the range of topics represented: the amulet in the shape of an Osiris Canopus jar, for instance, belongs into the Roman period (Fig. 122 above). The serpentine pendant incised with letters and symbols, discussed above, is tentatively dated to the Late Roman period (Fig. 131 above).

Beside these, a group of 17 figures in glazed composition is typical of the late Ptolemaic and/or Roman periods. Some of them lack any loop or hole for suspension. As these were not meant to be worn, their amuletic function is doubtful. They all belong to the collection of F. W. von Bissing, which is now in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. They often depict more Greek themes (Fig. 214), though not always (Fig. 215). The range of coloured glazes applied on the body is fairly wide and the choice of colours, usually quite vivid, differs from earlier faience amulets. Their Naukratite provenance is, however, suspicious. The same can be said of the bronzes from this collection. Consequently, I have not included them in the general charts of this chapter.

---

495 For a discussion on this matter see infra section 2.2. Local production and export
496 For examples see infra section 3. More than merchandise: the local use of scarabs and other amulets.
497 See numerous examples in Hermann et al. 2010 and Hermann 2016. Aurélie Carbillet demonstrated, however, the presence of such amulets in closed contexts of the late 7th–6th century BC in Cyprus (unpublished; presentation given on the 9 February 2015 at a conference organized by the Musée du Louvre in Paris).
498 See chapter on Bronze votive offerings.
2.2. Local production and export

As we just saw, the majority of the amulets are made in glazed composition, many fit well with a 26th dynasty – or a more general Late Period – date and, even though they display a wide typological range, some types are frequent enough to raise the question of their local production. Petrie himself supposed that many more faience objects than just scarabs and scaraboids were produced in Naukratis. He noted that ‘many small Egyptian figures, double eye, hawks, Ptah, Anubis, snake, beads, &c., were also found in the disturbed stuff; and as moulds for sacred eyes and Bes were found in the [scarabs] stratum, we can hardly avoid attributing all these figures to the [Scarab] factory.’

And when Edgar discussed a large assemblage of amulets discovered near the Great Temenos, he affirmed that they were produced at the Scarab Factory. Unfortunately, neither Petrie nor Edgar published any illustrations of these amulets. In the following paragraphs, I try to identify the objects produced at the Scarab Factory, other than the scarabs and scaraboids discussed in the first part of this chapter. I will also explore the possibility of the presence of other amulet workshops at Naukratis.

2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory

I have already discussed the different types of amulet-moulds from the Scarab Factory and shown that only a few positives from moulds for wedjat-eyes were found at the site. While Bes is the second most common amulet after wedjat-eyes and has a wide range of types, none of the Bes amulets could be identified as a positive from any of the five Bes amulet-moulds discovered in Naukratis. On the other hand, several amulets depicting a Bes head probably come from the same (type of) mould. They are all bichrome with an overall turquoise glaze and details – feathers, eyes and beard – carelessly marked in dark brown glaze. One example was analysed (Fig. 112 above) and the blue-green glaze as well as the black brown glaze are coherent with other products found in Naukratis, some of which are known to have been produced locally at the Scarab Factory. The turquoise of the glaze results from copper oxides, while a mixture of manganese and iron associated with barium was used for the black glaze.

In addition to moulds, an object that is tentatively identified as a waster was discovered in Naukratis (Fig. 216). It represents the head of a male figure ‘stuck’ to a double-sided representation of Bes of which only the head is preserved. Double-faced Bes amulets may have been locally produced, since several specimens were collected at Naukratis, and this artefact

---

499 Petrie 1886, 38.
500 Edgar 1905, 134. On this context, see infra in 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.
501 See supra in 1.1.1. Moulds.
503 Meek et al. 2016, 97–8. The same piece was also analysed by Vandiver (Vandiver 1983, C51, 285-5-681).
504 Three amulets of a double-sided Bes, albeit more stylized, were discovered in Naukratis: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E140; Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.68; Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.451. The latter is said to come from the Scarab Factory.
could be interpreted as further evidence. I am not convinced, however, that it is a waster with two fragments of amulets wedged together. It could also be a fragmentary figure of a man resting his head on a headrest. Bes is popular when it comes to headrest iconography.  

A waster of a falcon amuletic figure (Fig. 217) was found unregistered alongside other objects from Naukratis and possibly Kamiros as well as Egypt Exploration Fund labels from Petrie’s excavations at Naukratis in 1885. Falcon figures are a type common to both Naukratis and Kamiros and both sites most likely produced them. However, the elemental chemical composition would tend to associate the waster with products from Kamiros. Scientific analyses have identified very low levels of nickel along with cobalt, a composition that matches that of two scaraboids and a scarab excavated in Kamiros.

Museum registers mention the Scarab Factory as a find-spot for almost one hundred amulets, information often supported by the Egypt Exploration Fund distribution lists. These amulets vary a lot in subjects and styles, from quite finely made to the most stylized types. This provenance looks, however, suspicious in some cases.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston holds the largest group of amulets allocated to the Scarab Factory excavation. Excluding scarabs and scaraboids, 69 out of 84 amulets are assigned such a find-spot. Sixty-four are made out of glazed composition. They include common wedjat-eyes and popular deities such as Pataikos, Bes, Taweret, Isis nursing, and many more anthropomorphic and zoomorphic deities as well as various other topics (for example Figs 218-219). They number one to a few specimens for each type. Four amulets were crafted in Egyptian
blue\textsuperscript{516} and another one in stone.\textsuperscript{517} To check against the museum registers, I have consulted the original pottery ledger kept at the Museum of Fine Arts. These were written – or at least supervised – by Amelia Edwards, and they too mention the Scarab Factory as the find-spot for a large number of amulets.\textsuperscript{518} In the same pages, amulets from other contexts are listed and for these, the document clearly states ‘Not from the scarab factory’ at the beginning of each description. That is the case of the falcon figure 86.811 which was ‘Found in the Temple of Apollo’, and, the amulet 86.812 in the shape of a menat counterpoise surmounted by heads of Shu and Tefnut as well as the large amulet of Pataikos 86.709 are both said to be from ‘Naukratis’, without further detail. The double-sided wedjat-eye RES.86.330 was found in the Scarab Factory according to the museum registers, but Amelia Edwards’s list clearly stipulates that it is ‘Not from the Scarab factory’. Even though some (maybe most?) of the 69 amulets could very well be from the Scarab Factory – and despite the seeming precision in distinguishing find-spots, even for those pieces where all lists coincide – the information should be considered with caution. The Scarab Factory provenance appears to have been assigned a bit too systematically and in some cases is very unlikely. For example, the amuletic pendant representing a child deity cannot be dated before the Ptolemaic period, so long after activity ceased at the Scarab Factory, but it was reported to have been found in the Scarab Factory in both the museum registers and Amelia Edwards’s list (Fig. 158 above).\textsuperscript{519} The Museum records list as well two amulet-moulds as coming from the Scarab Factory, one to produce amulets in the shape of menat-counterpoise (Fig. 220) and another for large Sekhmet amuletic figures (Fig. 165 above). Not only have no positive of these moulds been uncovered at the site, but these objects do not appear in the original Egypt Exploration Fund distribution list sent to Boston, which cast some doubts on their provenance.

The registers of the McLean Museum & Art Gallery allocate the find-spot Scarab Factory to ten out of 11 glazed composition amulets they received. The amulet types cover more or less the same as the ones from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, with amulets of Pataikos,\textsuperscript{520} Bes (Fig. 142 above), Taweret (Fig. 221), Isis nursing (Fig. 222), Anubis (1987.450), Shu (1987.439), uraeus (Fig. 223), wedjat-eye (1987.452) and double-eye (1987.293).

Conversely, only two out of 84 glazed composition amulets the Ashmolean Museum received are registered as coming from the Scarab Factory, a striding Bes and an Isis nursing (Fig. 143 above and Fig. 224). Their pale

\begin{itemize}
  \item Isis nursing Horus 86.803, heart-shaped amulet RES.86.284, two wedjat-eye amulets 86.799 and RES.86.283.
  \item Nefertum amulet in steatite RES.86.326 (said to be an amulet of Montu).
  \item The following objects are specifically recorded with the find-spot ‘Scarab Factory’ (pages 180–217 in the pottery ledgers): nos P.5196 to P.5274 and P.5278 to P.5280, so excluding objects nos P.5275 to 5277. There is a different hand-writing in an earlier part of the records (pages 44–51) listing scarabs, dome-shaped and lion-shaped scaraboids from the Scarab Factory. These familiar products of the Scarab Factory are listed alongside late types of stone scarabs (nos 86.674, 86.675, 86.677 and 86.682) and one possibly early type of stone scarab (no. 86.676).
  \item P.5250 in the original records. There is, nonetheless, later material also from the nearby Aphrodite sanctuary. The general area of the Scarab Factory is, therefore, at least possible.
\end{itemize}
yellow paste recalls that of many locally produced scarabs. The museum
registers mentioned that the artefacts AN1888.200 to AN1888.213 are
‘small paste objects found together with the clay moulds […] at the Scarab
factory’ in 1885. In addition to the amuletic figures, we recognise in the lot
not only well-known and standard products of the workshop, but also
scarabs of earlier date – scarabs AN1888.200 and AN1888.204 discussed
above (Figs 87 and 93 above), as well as the scarab AN1888.201.

The City Art Gallery & Museum in Bristol also specifies a Scarab Factory
provenance for only a small proportion of its amuletic material, three
among the 40 amulets sent to Bristol. Alongside amulets of Bes head
H3813 (Fig. 146 above) and aegis H3814 (Fig. 225), there is a scarab in
blue glass (Fig. 134 above). Glass production in this workshop was not
reported by Petrie, shedding doubt on this scarab’s specific find-spot.521

The registers at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology &
Anthropology record the Scarab Factory as the find-spot for six out of 11
amulets. Unfortunately, five of them are not accounted for and only the
wadj-column amulet E65 can be illustrated (Fig. 211 above). The other
amulets include one amulet of Bes (E44), one of Sekhmet (E45), one of
Pataikos (E41) and one of Shu (no. E66). The entry E16 comprises at least
three amulets representing Egyptian deities (‘amulets of Knum, Isis and
Bes from the scarab factory’).

According to the Egypt Exploration Fund list, the Redpath Museum in
Montreal obtained in 1887 several ‘paste objects’ from the Scarab Factory,
along with two moulds. The seven amulets in glazed composition they
acquired (in addition to six stone amulets) might come from such a context.
They encompass the usual amulets, such as wedjat-eyes (nos 2537.01
and 2537.02), Bes (double-sided: Fig. 141 above; simple: no. 2663),
Taweret (Fig. 141 above), Sekhmet (Fig. 164 above), but also an
elaborate Djed-pillar (Fig. 226).

Finally, one of the amulets kept in the McManus Galleries in Dundee has
competing information regarding its find-spot (Fig. 227). The falcon figure
is said to come from the ‘town’ in the 1975 register, but the find-spot
‘faience factory’ is recorded on an old label and the base bears in pencil
the mark Φ4 which normally refers to a context in Aphrodite sanctuary.522

Despite the more or less obvious mistakes in these records and the
resulting confusion, the repetition of some types across museums makes
the Scarab Factory provenance more plausible. Rather similar amulets of
Isis nursing, now kept in Boston, Greenock and Oxford, are all said to be
from the Scarab Factory (Figs 218, 222 and 224 above). A comparable
amulet was probably discovered next to the Great Temenos, possibly in a
votive deposit.523 Another example are the uraeus amulets now kept in the
museums in Boston and Greenock (Figs 219 and 223 above). Their size
(1.7–1.8cm high) and appearance are rather similar, and among the
amulets Petrie reported to have found associated with the Scarab Factory

521 For an alternative find-spot, see infra in 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.
522 See chapter on Cypriot figures in terracotta and limestone.
523 See infra section 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.
are ‘snake’ types.\textsuperscript{524} Still, close parallels postdate the Saite dynasty and are attributed a Persian to Ptolemaic date.\textsuperscript{525}

\subsection*{2.2.2. The Scarab Factory: more than an amulet workshop?}

In his publication, Petrie reported the presence of other finds in the rubble of the Scarab Factory, alongside all types of amulets and moulds (Petrie 1886, 37-8). They include ‘rough white tiles for inlaying […] coloured blue on the face’, a ‘pilgrim-bottle’, a green-glazed chariot with four horses,\textsuperscript{526} the rim of a bowl in blue paste\textsuperscript{527} and a dish containing a quantity of blue paint ready for use (maybe cobalt).

The association of New Year’s flasks with the Scarab Factory was already stressed by Petrie in his publication, though he did not illustrate any examples.\textsuperscript{528} Amelia Edwards’ records for the objects sent to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston describes the neck of a New Year’s flask found at the Scarab Factory as follows: ‘Dull brownish white. No glaze. Lines well defined. All gone from just below where the neck joined the body. One monkey is quite complete, the other mutilated. Flaring lotus capital with incised ornament’ (deaccessioned RES.86.317). The description is in line with other specimens found at the site. Good wishes for the New Year appear as is custom on Naukratis New Year’s flasks (Fig. 228),\textsuperscript{529} but also on the back pillar of the standing Bes amulet,\textsuperscript{530} which is made in a similar pale yellow paste and said to have been found in the Scarab Factory (Fig. 143 above). Scientific analyses carried out on a wide range of faience finds discovered at Naukratis indicate a similar composition and glaze recipe among various categories. Some of the analysed yellow and green glazed scarabs and New Year’s flasks present an analogous correlation between lead and antimony levels, suggesting that a single material containing both of these ingredients was used in their production.\textsuperscript{531}

In his Journal of the first Naukratis season, Petrie again noted the presence of New Year’s flasks, but also of shabtis among other products of the Scarab Factory: ‘Beside the [moulds and scarabs], several little vase necks of lotus form in soft glaze pottery; four broken ushabti’.\textsuperscript{532} From Petrie’s work in his first season we were able to locate two shabtis.\textsuperscript{533} The first is a Saite or slightly later shabti in greenish-blue glazed composition

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{524} Various Egyptian deities assumed the shape of a cobra (Andrews 1994, 34–5; Herrmann 2010, 110–1), so its identification as Wadjet is uncertain; I prefer to keep the more descriptive term ‘uraeus’. In addition to these two amulets, the Naukratis provenance of a third snake amulet is uncertain. British Museum 2013.5012.13. It also pertains to a different type, an amulet of Nehebkau. His body combines the tail and head of a snake, with human hands and sometimes human legs (on this type: Herrmann 2003, 115, nos 568–9; Germond 2005, 71, no. 23).
\item \textsuperscript{525} Herrmann 2003, 156, pl. CXIX, nos 910–4.
\item \textsuperscript{526} This object is not identified yet, but it can be compared with a stone pendant found in town, likely British Museum 1934.0309.2.
\item \textsuperscript{527} This artefact could either be British Museum EA27569 or Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26771.
\item \textsuperscript{528} See chapter on New Year’s flasks.
\item \textsuperscript{529} Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.3411 A and AN1896-1908-E.3411 B.
\item \textsuperscript{530} For an amulet of Horus-the-Child sporting a similar invocation on the back pillar, see Vercoutter 1945, 297, no. 849 (from Dermech II-Ancona, T. 324).
\item \textsuperscript{531} Meek et al. 2016, 97.
\item \textsuperscript{532} Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 95.
\item \textsuperscript{533} Another fragmentary inscribed shabti was discovered during the second season at Naukratis, in 1885–6 (British Museum 1888,0601.52).
\end{itemize}
that Petrie discussed as coming from the early levels of the town; it is inscribed with the usual shabti spell, but the shabti’s owner and his mother have foreign names. The second is a mould-made shabti with a flat back (Fig. 229). The modelled details of the face and crossed arms holding hoes have partially disappeared below a thick dark green glaze. Its plain lappet-wig is tied with a fillet, twisted in the back and marked in black, a detail that is otherwise common on Third Intermediate Period shabtis. This uninscribed shabti could be one of the ‘four broken ushabti’ mentioned by Petrie.

Various kinds of beads were probably also produced at the Scarab Factory. Two Egyptian blue beads associated with a dome-shaped scaraboid belonging to Gorton’s type XXIX are said to have been discovered in the Scarab Factory (Fig. 230). Furthermore, dotted circles, which are characteristic of Gorton’s type XXIX, were applied to a few beads found at Naukratis (Fig. 231). They could have been made in the same workshop as the scarabs and scaraboids featuring the same stamped motif (i.e. Fig. 232). This specific motif imitates earlier designs, but is well-attested during the 25th–26th dynasty.

Amelia Edwards’ Boston registers (discussed above) mention various glazed composition objects – other than amulets and the aforementioned New Year’s flask – as coming from the Scarab Factory. They include a few game-pieces, which look like undecorated and unpierced dome-shaped scaraboids (for example Fig. 233). A number of beads are also listed, such as simple disk beads (Fig. 234), rectangular beads with a serrated edge and double lines incised crosswise on both faces (Fig. 235) and rosette beads with radial lines, the centre of which is marked by a thick blob of dark brown glaze (Fig. 236).

---

534 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.75.
535 Schneider 1977, esp. 118–23.
536 Good blue glazed shabtis, with inscription, in style of the 26th dynasty; from the early levels of the town, together with much Greek pottery (Petrie 1886, 21). This shabti will be published separately in Masson-Berghoff and Vittmann forthcoming.
538 On jewellery from Naukratis, see chapter on Jewellery and mirrors.
540 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E64: one green glazed faience bead with similar stamped circles (as for scarabs/scaraboids) among various beads in glass and glazed composition. Note the Phoenician style eye-bead among them. Iden among beads of a necklace discovered in the cemetery, one large faience bead with stamped decoration Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975-105.
541 For example on scarabs of the Hyksos period: Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 359, 361, nos 864 876–8.
542 Magnanini 2004, 167, 04.05.
543 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.292, 11.45919 and 11.45920, deaccessioned RES.86.319.
544 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.296 and RES.86.297. A nearly identical bead was found in a domestic context dated c. 450–350 BC within the Persian Period fortress at Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt | 78
Another bead with a rosette has a loop on the back (Fig. 237) recalling an amulet in a scarab shape with a loop for suspension added to its underside (Fig. 238). Both are said to come from the Scarab Factory.

That shabtis and beads could be produced in the same workshop as amulets is indicated for example by the discovery of several moulds to produce shabtis, amulets and beads in the Temple of Kawa in Nubia. The evidence presented above appears to suggest that the same was the case also at Naukratis. The designation of ‘Scarab Factory’ seems therefore too restrictive: this workshop in fact produced a large range of artefacts, from scarabs and scaraboids to Egyptian amulets, beads and vessels, and possibly over a period of time long after the initial production of scarabs in the early 6th century BC.

2.2.3. Amulets from other workshops at Naukratis

That amulet workshops other than the Scarab Factory were operating at Naukratis is probable, though not easy to prove with confidence. And also the foreign origin of some groups of amulets needs to be considered in some cases.

It is now almost certain that mixed-style figures in glazed composition were locally produced, and not at the Scarab Factory, a hypothesis already suggested by Petrie, further demonstrated by Webb and now

Migdol/Tell el-Herr on the Sinai Peninsula on the fringes of the Eastern Nile Delta: Marchi 2014, 91 fig. 126h. The find-spot of the Naukratis bead, however, would suggest an earlier date.

This shape of scarab is particularly well attested in the Late Period (Rowe 1936, pl. XXIV; Hornung, Staehelin 1976, 368–9, pl. 103, no. 916–7). Naukratis has yielded two other examples of scarab amulets, a bit different from this piece: British Museum EA66517 and EA66522.

Griffith 1922, 87–9, pl. XVII; see also Webb 2016, 66 note 403.

Petrie 1886, 14, 19 and 36.

See chapter on Archaic mixed style faience figures.
supported by scientific analyses.\textsuperscript{550} By stylistic comparison, these figures have been dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.

Naukratis seems particularly rich in amulets of highly stylized design. I have put a medley of these amulets on a single plate to show how they can fit together as a group (Fig. 239). These amulets are small-sized, measuring 0.7 to 4cm when complete, but mainly between 1.2 and 2.8cm. Anatomic details, headdress and/or clothes are barely indicated, only rendered by a few grooves. Sixteen of them were recovered during Petrie’s first season in 1884–5. While the amulets kept in Liverpool, World Museum\textsuperscript{551} and in Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum\textsuperscript{552} are only said to come from Naukratis, the amulets in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts\textsuperscript{553} were allegedly all found in the Scarab Factory. Yet, we already offered a word of

\textsuperscript{550} See infra section 3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries.
\textsuperscript{551} Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.88, 9.9.86.90.a, 9.9.86.90.c, 9.9.86.84.m, 9.9.86.62, 9.9.86.66, 9.9.86.76 and 9.9.86.80 (found in Naukratis during Petrie’s season in 1884–5).
\textsuperscript{552} Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2009.6 (found in Naukratis during Petrie’s first season in 1884–5).
\textsuperscript{553} Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.316, RES.86.323, RES.86.327, RES.86.328, RES.86.266, RES.86.267 and RES.86.288b (found in the Scarab Factory during Petrie’s first season in 1884–5 according to the museum's registers).
caution when it comes to the amulets records in the Museum of Fine Arts’ registers.\textsuperscript{554} As for the remaining 15, they were found during Hogarth’s work and are now kept in the Ashmolean Museum.\textsuperscript{555}

Comparable examples of unknown origin are kept in museums in Ukraine (Odessa Archaeological Museum) and in Russia (the Kramskoy Museum of Fine Arts in Voronezh and the Alexei Gorky Perm State University).\textsuperscript{556} These were maybe discovered in the Black Sea region, but the absence of archaeological context prevents any further conclusions. Many stylized amulets of exactly the same type were discovered in the Levant,\textsuperscript{557} usually from contexts dated between 450 and 333 BC (corresponding to ‘Persian’ amulets published by Herrmann), but also from slightly earlier and later contexts. Cyprus, too, offers many relevant parallels. Some of the published amulets discovered in Kiton\textsuperscript{558} and Amathus\textsuperscript{559} correspond exactly to the stylized amulets from Naukratis. Some of these tombs have been assigned a Cypro-Classical I (475-400 BC) or II (400-300 BC) date, but Cypro-Archaic tombs, especially of the end of that period (600-475 BC), have also provided similar stylized amulets.\textsuperscript{560}

Gisèle Clerc has suggested that these amulets could be clumsy local imitations and not made in Egypt.\textsuperscript{561} She has stressed the propensity to attribute to Levantine workshops the origin of aegyptiaca found in the Syro-Palestinian area and Cyprus, especially those of mediocre quality,\textsuperscript{562} mentioning the workshops producing amulets and beads located along the Canaan coast.\textsuperscript{563} She adds, nonetheless, that Egyptian sites have provided some ‘pretty nasty’ amulets too, and the import of products from Egypt to Cyprus is secured by the presence of cowries from the Red Sea in 11 tombs in Amathus that have provided aegyptiaca.\textsuperscript{564} Even though workshops located outside of Egypt could have produced similar stylized amulets, their production in Naukratis is made likely by the discovery of a large number at the site. The start of their production could possibly be placed in the later part of the Saite period, although they seem more

\textsuperscript{554} See supra section 2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory.
\textsuperscript{556} Berlev and Khodzhash 1998, nos XV.28, XV.49, XV.320, XV.324, XV.432, XV.434, XV.477, XV.557 to 561.
\textsuperscript{558} Clerc et al. 1976, 152–3, pl. V, nos 1108–12; numerous examples illustrated in Clerc 2014.
\textsuperscript{559} Karageorghis et al. 1991, 53, 55, 65–9, 74, 78 and 96.
\textsuperscript{560} For example, see amuletic material found in late Cypro-Archaic Tomb 30 in Kition: Clerc 2014, 72–77, esp. nos 57, 64, 66, 68. Also unpublished material studied by Aurélie Carbillet.
\textsuperscript{561} Clerc in Karageorghis et al. 1991, 105 and 113–4. When she discusses a crude amulet possibly of Horus (T. 244/51), she also mentions that tombs dated to the 6th to 4th century BC at Kition provided 12 similar amulets, all unpublished (Clerc in Karageorghis et al. 1991, 105 and note 109).
\textsuperscript{562} Clerc in Karageorghis et al. 1991, 143.
\textsuperscript{563} Ward 1978, 83–7.
\textsuperscript{564} Clerc in Karageorghis et al. 1991, 143. Argument also repeated in Clerc 2014, 131.
widespread in the Persian period.\(^{565}\) The Scarab Factory was no longer active by then, or rather scarabs and scaraboids were no longer produced in that workshop.\(^{566}\) Yet, Naukratis has provided a great number of glazed composition amulets displaying varying degrees of stylization, and this group only forms one isolated sample. It is possible that medium-sized, more detailed amulets were also produced at Naukratis.

A few amulets carved in lightly coloured steatite share details in the manufacture and style which could indicate a local production. They represent Egyptian gods, two of Nefertum (Fig. 240 and fig. 121 above) and one of a striding male deity, probably Ptah (Fig. 241). The design is simplified and schematic with crude and deeply incised details. The figures are not well proportioned, with large bulging eyes and a stocky body.

Günther Hölbl has already assembled a series of steatite amulets from Sardinia and the Levant that share the same characteristic, crude treatment of the figure with stark globular eyes, large nose and thick lips.\(^{567}\) They depict popular Egyptian gods including those present at Naukratis.\(^{568}\) These amulets also find close parallels in specimens recovered from the cemetery Puig des Molins in Ibiza.\(^{569}\) Two comparable amulets of Nefertum from the Levant were discovered in contexts dated between the Persian and Ptolemaic period,\(^{570}\) which points towards a rather late production. All these amulets seem to come from the same workshop – could it be Naukratis? The difficulty to distinguish between genuine Egyptian amulets and imitations of diverse origin normally only applies to finds made outside of Egypt.\(^{571}\) The discovery of Phoenician-type scarabs and Punic objects at Naukratis\(^{572}\) should, however, makes us pause: it is not entirely inconceivable that the amulet assemblage at Naukratis included locally made products, Egyptian products from other sites as well as imports from the Phoenician or Punic world.

### 2.2.4. Naukratis and the twilight of amulets in the Mediterranean world

Foreign traders and other visitors to Naukratis provided a ready market for the locally produced amulets. Amulets from a country renowned for its powerful magic offered them a potent protection as well social prestige. Outside of Egypt, amulets were used especially for protecting women and children and were placed in their tombs or dedicated in temples of female

---

\(^{565}\) Regarding Shu figures from Amathus (T. 176/18, T. 235/14, T. 242/17) – which are very stylized but of a different type and are regarded as local imitations – Clerc (in Karageorghis et al. 1991, 114) quotes examples from a context in Mendes where stylized Shu amulets are found alongside much more elaborate Shu figures in a context dated to the second half of the 6th century BC (Wilson 1982, 31, pl. XXVIII:8); such cases advocate against a ‘progressive schematisation’, as Clerc puts it.

\(^{566}\) So far, I have not found any highly stylized amulets in contexts where Naukratite scarabs or hybrid-style amulets were found.

\(^{567}\) Illustrated in Hölbl 1986: Ptah pl. 5.2; Sekhmet pl. 7.3-4; Nefertum pl. 8.3-5; Pataikos pl. 17.1, pl. 22 and pl. 23.1; Isis nursing pl. 31; Horus-the-Child pl. 34.5–6; ibis-headed Thoth pl. 49.6–7.


\(^{570}\) Herrmann 2003, 69, pl. XXXVI, nos 249–50.

\(^{571}\) Hölbl 2014, 165.

\(^{572}\) See for example the model of an altar with Punic iconography discussed in chapter on Altars, sundials, minor architectural objects and models.
divinities. The distribution of both Egyptian and Phoenician or Aegean-made Egyptian-style amulets in the Mediterranean world – it may be in the form of scarabs, figures of Egyptian deities or symbolic amulets – started long before Naukratis became a major international harbour town. Some of the earliest testimonies can be found in 10th-9th century BC tombs at Lachish in the Levant, in an early 9th century BC tomb in Lefkandi on Euboea and in the Tomb of Isis at Eleusis dated to 800 BC. The presence of aegyptiaca in the Aegean and Italic areas flourished particularly during the Orientalizing period, from the mid-8th to the mid-6th century BC. It means that Naukratis might have played a role in the latest part of this period, but it is certainly not from this centre that the phenomenon started.

The distribution patterns of aegyptiaca across the Mediterranean – according to their subjects, types and supposed origins – have interested numerous scholars. It has been demonstrated that aegyptiaca particularly abound in sites and regions with good overseas relations and it was suggested that carriers have changed over time. When it comes to amuletic products from Naukratis, only the distribution of scarabs and mixed-style figures has been so far the subject of studies, mainly based on visual and stylistic comparisons and more recently on physico-chemical analyses. They have been recognized from Spain to eastern Greece, from Tunisia to southern Russia, as well as in the Levant and Cyprus. They chart the wide range of the trading networks that linked Egypt with the Mediterranean world via Naukratis. Now that we have collated hundreds of previously unpublished finds, it would be worthwhile to test if the other types of amulets follow a similar distribution. It would be beyond the scope of this study to look at such questions in detail, but I would like to put forward a couple of observations.

First of all, the amuletic figures and symbols discovered in Naukratis correspond in general to the same class of amulets that is also found outside of Egypt. Amulets depicting the Memphite gods Sekhmet and Nefertum as well as deities inclined to protect vulnerable pregnant women and children or supporting fertility such as Isis, Bes and Pataikos, were popular all over the Mediterranean during the so-called Orientalizing period. Among zoomorphic amulets, cats, sows and falcons were particularly appreciated and widespread in the Mediterranean, mainly since.

---

573 Hölbl 2014, 164.
574 For a brief survey (with references) of Early Iron Age contexts in the Aegean which have yielded amuletic material, see Arrington 2015, 13.
576 Hölbl 2014, 162; on the significance of the amulets and other ‘minor exotica’ found in early Iron Age burials at Lefkandi: Arrington 2015.
578 That is the case for all the Aegean (Perachora, the Argive Heraeum, Aegina and Sounion, and in the East Greek world, the Ionian centres of Ephesus, Erythrai, Miletus and the island of Samos, and in particular the towns of Rhodes) and Italic (mainly Etruria, Campania and the gulf of Taranto) centres where aegyptiaca have been found (Hölbl 2014, 163–4).
579 Fletcher argued in favour of some sort of cooperation between Greeks and Phoenicians with a Sidonian lead between at least 800 and 650 BC, in amulet trading in eastern and western Mediterranean; after that ‘Sidonians and Northern Phoenicians and Syrians lost contact to a large extent with Greece and the Naukratis factory filled the void’ (Hölbl 2014, 163–4). “The evidence of amulet distributions certainly supports the idea of Sidonian-Eubocean (or Greek) cooperation in early ventures to the west, eventually supplanted by competition between Greeks and Tyrian-dominated Phoenician colonies in the west” (Fletcher 2004, 66).
580 For example Gorton 1996.
581 Meek et al. 2016.
582 Hölbl 2015, 83.
650 BC in the Aegean. Rhodes excepted, wedjat-eyes appear rarely in Eastern and Central Greece and in mainland Italy, but they are most common in Cypriot, Phoenician and Punic sites. Although the pattern of distribution of peculiar amulet types can vary across time, regions and/or cultures, all the above amulet types dominate the amuletic corpus at Naukratis (see Chart 10 above). Naukratis workshops therefore followed trends which proved to be popular in the Mediterranean (either all over or in some regions), sometimes for a long time. Some of the most common subjects represented in the Naukratis amuletic corpus also find an echo in the amulet types from 5th and 4th centuries BC Phoenician burials. Female tombs at ‘Atlit in northern Palestine yielded scarabs, wadj-symbols, wedjat-eyes, as well as amulets representing the gods Shu, Pataikos and Taweret. Many of these deities and symbols were also commonplace in Late Period Egyptian sites.

Second, sites or regions where Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids have been found do not necessarily yield amulets similar to those found and possibly produced at Naukratis. For example, many Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids were uncovered in the Iberian Peninsula. The few Egyptian types of amulets published alongside do not find direct parallels in Naukratis, though they belong to the same common classes of amulets. The situation is quite similar in nearby Ibiza: only a few steatite amulets match specimens found at Naukratis and a Bes head amulet from Ibiza resembles one from Naukratis (Fig. 144 above). Sites in Sardinia offer a slightly different picture. A few scarabs and scaraboids made in Naukratis were discovered in Tharros. Among the abundant and varied amuletic corpus excavated from the burials, the glazed composition, Egyptian blue and steatite amulets are sometimes closely related to what can be found in Naukratis. Some of the rather crudely made figures of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic Egyptian deities in glazed composition can be compared to finds from Naukratis. The double-sided Egyptian blue wedjat-eyes from Naukratis (Fig. 208 above) share affinities with those found in Tharros graves. An amulet in the shape of a Bes head resembles closely one from Naukratis (Fig. 242). The Nefertum steatite amulets from Naukratis (Figs 121 and 240 above) find a good parallel from Tomb 30 in Tharros.

Similar discrepancies can be noticed in the Eastern Mediterranean. Scarabs and scaraboids of Naukratite origin have been recognized in Al

---

583 Fletcher 2004, 86.
585 For example Fletcher 2004; Apostola 2015; Hölbl 2015.
586 Hölbl 2014, 165. In one of the burials, one of each amulet type was placed ‘between the woman’s legs from the pubic region to the ankles’. Such a placement, and the types of amulets can be associated with fertility and pregnancy, as well as ideas of rebirth and regeneration (Hölbl 2014, 165).
587 Published notably by Padró i Parcerisa 1980.
588 See supra in 2.2.3. Amulets from other workshops at Naukratis.
589 Velázquez Brieza 2007, pl XL no. 1.
590 See for example Gorton 1996, 94, 123, 127; Barnett and Mendleson 1987, 96–7, pl. 48.3–4, pl. 50.22, pl. 51.27 and 98, pl. 52a–d.
593 Barnett and Mendleson 1987, 140, pl. 80 no. 4/28, pl. 115 no. 21/42 and 225, pl. 128 no. 28/31.
594 Velázquez Brieza 2007, pl XXI no. 3.
Masson, Scarabs, scaraboids and amulets

Mina (Woolley 1938, 161-2; Hölbl 2017, nos 45, 47, 56, 60, 65). This trading post located on the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria (now in Turkey) also yielded a few Egyptian amulets. Only few good parallels for Naukratis finds are known from Greek sanctuaries where numerous amulets were deposited. For example, the Argive Heraion in the Peloponnese and the Archaic levels of Artemis’s sanctuary in Ephesus both yielded several Naukratite scarabs and scaraboids, alongside mixed-style faience figures and typical Egyptian amulets. Lythgoe noted parallels with similar material found in Aegina and suggested Naukratis as the origin for all the faience artefacts from the Heraion. However, apart from a wadj-column amulet – a common and simply designed amulet – the other Egyptian amulets are not related to specific types from Naukratis. A sow amulet from the Artemision closely recalls several specimens found at Naukratis (Fig. 187 above). Hogarth already noted this parallel as he wrote that the ‘hippopotamus’ (confused with a sow) is a ‘small pendant of a type common at the S[outhern] (Egyptian) end of the site of Naukratis’. Several factors could explain these convergences of topics, but divergences in types. Beyond the simple hazard of discovery, we should not forget the possibly biased selection of the published amuletic material. After all, we had to wait over a century to have a global view of the amuletic material from Naukratis. Then, the markets and trading networks could be different depending on the types of amulets or between the products of the Scarab Factory and those from different amulet workshops in Naukratis. Foremost, the amulets found at Naukratis are certainly not all contemporary with the Scarab Factory activities. We already saw that some should probably be dated later than the first half of the 6th century BC. Rather than the ‘advent of Amasis and his restrictive reforms’, a shift in the types of faience production could explain the end of the production of the scarabs and scaraboids at Naukratis. Maybe this shift answered a higher demand for amuletic figures and symbols rather than the mass-produced scarabs. A decline in Egyptian scarabs in Carthage and in the Black Sea region is noticeable in the 5th century BC, though they do not disappear totally before the end of the 3rd century BC. There seems to be a marked preference for Punic scarabs and other types of amulets, something that could be explained by political and economic changes implemented by the Persians, but also by an evolution in fashion or in popular ritual practices and beliefs. This point introduces the last but main factor. Many sites which yielded Egyptian amulets, notably Greek sanctuaries and tombs, have earlier material, predating Naukratis.

597 Woolley 1938, pl. XIV; Hölbl 2017, nos 6–11.
598 Woolley nonetheless suggested a Naukratite origin for the amuletic material uncovered at Al Mina: ‘It will be noted that the most characteristically Egyptian amulets, figurines of Bes, Horus, Osiris etc., predominate in the lower levels of the site, 6–8; this fact points to the dependence of the Egyptian trade on the activities of the Greek station at Naukratis and its relative unimportance after the close of the sixth century when that station had been closed down’ (Woolley 1938, 158).
599 Lythgoe 1905, 368, pl. CXLIII.
600 Hogarth 1908, 204–8, pl. XLIV.
601 Lythgoe 1905, 368.
602 Hogarth 1908, 203.
604 Vercoutter 1945; Dan 2011, 191.
Naukratite amulets arrived on the market after the heyday, during the ‘twilight’ of this fashion.

3. More than merchandise: the local use of scarabs and other amulets

Journals and notebooks of the excavators as well as list of antiquities sent to museums contain some information that helps to recontextualize some of the amuletic finds at Naukratis. We have already considered and discussed the amulets that several museum registers and EEF lists allocate to the Scarab Factory. This find-spot is one of probably several locations where the significant local production of amulets took place, a production that tells us of the site’s wide networks of international trade, and, of the high magical and social values accorded to Egyptian amulets in the Mediterranean world, and is often exclusively discussed from this perspective. Amulets have, however, also been found in a number of other contexts at the site that demonstrate their local use, attesting the religious practices and beliefs of the inhabitants and visitors of Naukratis. References to such contexts are sometimes rather vague or not specific enough to precisely identify the amulets or the contexts themselves, but nonetheless they are crucial for understanding the local function of amulets.

3.1. Amulets, a protection in this life and the next

3.1.1. Amulets from domestic contexts

Amulets found in domestic contexts can relate to the belief that they ensure magical protection or enhancement of their owners in their daily life. At Naukratis, ‘excavations’ in the town area were usually conducted by sebbakhin who sold their finds to Petrie and Hogarth. Therefore the precise contexts of finds from this area is usually unknown and they might not necessarily come from houses. For example, Petrie noted in his journal that the sebbakhin found ‘a charming ibis (head gone) in grey syenite an inch high’, a description that closely corresponds to the amulet of a headless bird (Fig. 243). A list of antiquities from the 1903 excavations by Hogarth records several amulets among the ‘sebakh’ finds: two amulets of ‘Thouris’ (=Taweret), one of ‘Horus’, one of ‘Hippo’ (=sow?), one of Anubis, one of ‘Thot’, one uraeus, one ‘lotus’ (=wadj-column), an ‘Eye’ (=wedjat eye), nine scarabs, and one ushabti. Hogarth also records a surface rubbish heap yielding ‘Egyptian amulets etc.’ that could have come from any type of context.

Other amulets come from better defined contexts, such as the trenches Hogarth opened to the south of the site. He documented in his diary that to the south he ‘sunk several pits within 50ft [15m] edge of cultivation, & then Egyptian amulets occurred at once […] along with] necks of lotus bottles […].’ He continued that he did ‘not get down to bottom anywhere here. A

---

606 Hogarth’s diary 1899, entry for 12 March.
mace of walls. Such a description possibly indicates houses, but it could also indicate storerooms or workshops, contexts possibly associated with the trade of such objects rather than their local use. It is also unclear if another context described by Hogarth belongs to a house. One of the ‘rooms’ that Hogarth excavated in 1903 had a ‘cist-pot in position on floor’ with a ‘small Eg[yp]tian] eye amulet & other scarabs in it’, and, further in his diary, Hogarth reports from the ‘W[estern] chambers […] 3 bits [of] Eg[yp]tian] amulets – etc. (out of pot on floor).’ As we will see below, Hogarth brought to light a large number of amulets in the vicinity of the Great Temenos and some of these deposits seem so large that they could be votive rather than domestic in nature.

Other find-spots are better localized. Griffith, for instance, reports finding many objects in a layer of burnt rubbish from a house, located ‘few yards to the N[orth] ward’, outside the enclosure wall of the Great Temenos on the west side; this context yielded among other things ‘half of very large porcelain uta (?), a small porcelain Thoth & a porcelain scarabaeus of good workmanship.’ The accompanying drawing of the underside of the scarab – a couchant lion with a sun-disc above its back – allows us to identify a common product of the Scarab Factory.

This confirms what Petrie wrote about the products of the Scarab Factory: they were discovered in the rubbish of the workshop itself but also ‘elsewhere in the town’. Of the 147 types of scarabs and scaraboids illustrated by Petrie, only 47 were actually found in the factory itself. The fact that the locally produced scarabs and scaraboids were not all meant for international export is furthermore documented by a sealing impressed with a very common design from the Scarab factory, a walking lion (Fig. 244). Hogarth’s excavation also yielded a significant group of scarabs and scaraboids that were not found within the factory. The examples that reached the Ashmolean Museum include ten scarabs and four dome-shaped scaraboids made in glazed composition or Egyptian blue, most of which are typical products from the Scarab Factory (e.g. Fig. 245). They are further evidence that the Naukratis scarabs and scaraboids were not only produced for export, but also used on a very local scale. Naukratite scarabs were also brought to light on other Egyptian sites. For instance, several scarabs in glazed composition and in Egyptian blue similar to those produced in Naukratis, are registered as coming from Tell Nabasha, a site located to the north-east of the Nile Delta (e.g. Fig. 246). Also from the eastern Delta a few examples can be signalled from Tell Dafana and from Tanis. All these examples illustrate how Naukratite scarabs had a

---

607 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 1 May.
608 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 18 April.
609 The transcription of the word is uncertain. Could it be a wedjat-eye?
610 Petrie Notebook 150, entry by Griffith for 7 January 1885.
611 Petrie 1886, 36
612 Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII. Only the ones marked F to the lower right hand of the illustrated amulets were actually found in the factory.
613 Scarabs and scaraboids can function as seals since their bases were inscribed with designs and/or hieroglyphs. See chapter on Seals and seal impressions.
615 British Museum EA18628, EA18629, EA18630, EA18631, EA18632 and EA18633.
616 British Museum EA18523 and EA18558.
618 Petrie 1888, pl. 8, no. 23; Gorton 1996, 110, type XXX A15.

Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt | 87
local and regional market in addition to the wider Mediterranean one, or at least were locally and regionally distributed and used.

3.1.2. Amulets from funerary contexts

The trappings of mummies often include amulets: they magically keep the corpse from degradation and endow special powers that will protect the deceased in his journey in the afterlife. Distinctive funerary amulets are rather rare in our corpus. For example, there is one amulet in the shape of head-rest and made of hematite (Fig. 124 above), an amulet supposed to magically support the head of the deceased that is usually placed at the level of the neck on the mummy, a fragile articulation between the head and the rest of the body. We know, however, nothing of its precise context of discovery. The museum registers and EEF lists claim that two faience djed-pillar amulets – another typical amulet placed on mummies – were found in the Scarab Factory (Fig. 226 above and a deaccessioned specimen from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, RES.86.315).

The 1975 registers from McManus Galleries in Dundee give the ‘cemetery’ as a find-spot for a Bes head in faience, information based on an old label (Fig. 247). Gardner indicated the discovery of small amulets of Bes in bone and faience in two or three graves at Naukratis. Most of the copper alloy bells decorated with protruding animal heads originated from the cemetery and these could have played an amuletic role. Petrie stressed that bells worn by the deceased on a bracelet were meant to protect against the evil eye.

This scarcity of funerary amulets or of amulets within funerary contexts can be explained by the fact that the tombs so far uncovered at Naukratis chiefly attest non-Egyptian burial tradition and material, even though some Egyptian elements can be recognized in some of the burial equipment.

3.2. Amulets as offerings to the gods

Better reported are amulets discovered within sanctuaries or in their vicinity, implying the votive function of some of these objects.

---

620 Andrews 1994, 95; see also an example from Kom Firin cemetery in Spencer 2008, 14, pl. 51.
621 Andrews 1994, 82–3; Herrmann et al. 2010, 147–8, type 94.
622 A third djed-pillar amulet (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 94.310) – which belongs to a group of nine Ptolemaic gilt-wood funerary amulets still displayed on their original string – is probably not from Naukratis, considering its perishable material and the excellent state of preservation (Fig. 133 above).
623 Gardner 1888, 28, pl. XVI, no. 7.
624 Gardner 1888, 28, pl. XV, no. 124 a–b; see also chapter on Bronze votive offerings.
625 Amulets were not exclusively used in Egyptian tombs. They also appear in Phoenician, Cypriot, Greek and Punic burials (often in children burials: Arrington 2015).
626 See notably chapter on Ptolemaic and Roman figures, models and coffin-fittings in terracotta; Villing 2015.
3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries

The dedication of scarabs and other amulets is well-documented in sanctuaries located outside of Egypt. Testimonies are particularly numerous in the East Greek world, notably in Samos, Rhodes, Ephesus, Chios and Miletos, especially in sanctuaries dedicated to Greek goddesses who were linked with fertility and the protection of children. A similar phenomenon can be recognized in the Levant. Numerous Egyptian amulets were discovered in the shrine of Astarte at Sarepta, a shrine in use between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC. Hölbl suggested that these humble offerings were deposited by women "for a goddess who protected conception, pregnancy, birth and childcare."  

At Naukratis, the sanctuaries of Hera and of the Dioskouroi seemingly did not yield amulets. The case of the Hellenion is more delicate since Hogarth rarely specified properly the context of discovery of the numerous amulets he brought to light during his seasons in 1899 and 1903. I have already mentioned the discovery in 1899 of a gold amulet of Bes from the Hellenion area and in 1903 of many moulds for scarabs and other amulets from that same area. However, it is unclear whether these finds truly originate from within the large Hellenion complex or from its neighbouring domestic and industrial area. The 1903 list of Antiquities mentions also 'Egyptian amulets (Hellenion)' without further explanation. Amuletic figures were, nonetheless, definitely uncovered in the sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite. Many of these are already well-known and studied. Almost all of them are rather large and share the same manufacturing technique and style, so-called mixed-style. A dark-coloured glaze is added to mark various details over the usually colourless or more rarely light turquoise glaze. The dark glaze was analysed and the recipe is consistent for all figures found in the Greek sanctuaries at Naukratis, and found unlike the dark glaze’s recipe used for similar bichrome figures produced at Kamiros in Rhodes. This observation suggests that these amulets were locally produced at Naukratis.

Eleven of these amuletic figures – eight from the sanctuary of Apollo and three from the sanctuary of Aphrodite – present non-Egyptian subjects, even though their posture, hair-style and/or clothes is inspired by Egyptian art. They represent for instance double-flute players or naked male and female figures (i.e. Fig. 248).

More typically Egyptian topics can be recognized in the remaining amulets – up to ten from the sanctuary of Apollo and four from the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Half of them represent falcon figures – five from the sanctuary

---

628 See chapter on Archaic mixed style faience figures; Hölbl 2008; Hölbl 2016 for 22nd to 25th dynasty amulets found in votive deposits in Rhodes.
630 Hölbl 2014, 165.
631 See supra section 2.1.1. Material.
632 Discussed supra section 1.1.1. Moulds.
633 Petrie 1886, pl. II; Gardner 1888, pl. XV no. 13 and pl. XVII, no. 4; Webb 1978, nos 299, 329, 364, 381, 385, 446, 499, 547.
634 A ‘Naukratis recipe’ for the black glaze consisting of a mixture of manganese and iron with low levels of barium in some cases is opposed to a ‘Kamiros recipe’ consisting of a mixture of manganese and iron with low levels of cobalt and nickel (Meek et al. 2016, 98–9).
of Apollo and two from the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Except for one specimen, which shows the falcon wearing the royal double-crown, the pschent (Fig. 180 above), all others lack any regalia (i.e. Fig. 249). Two more theriomorphic amulets were found in the sanctuary of Apollo, a ram (Fig. 250) and a lion (Fig. 192 above).

Other amulets represent Egyptian anthropomorphic deities, but their find-spot is not always clear. Petrie noted a ‘figure of Ptah’ among the votive figures found in the sanctuary of Apollo. Could it be this small Pataikos amulet covered with an almost colourless glaze (Fig. 251)? Petrie, however, included this piece among other amulets ‘found in town’.

Amulets of the child-god Harpokrates are possibly attested in both Greek sanctuaries. One of them has an overall colourless glaze with added brown glaze for the side-lock, which recalls other figures deposited in the Greek sanctuaries (Fig. 110 above). Yet, Petrie again refers to the town as a find-spot in the plates’ contents for this amulet. Two more amulets are of unidentified Egyptian deities. One deaccessioned amulet, discovered in a deposit within the Aphrodite sanctuary (context Φ5), is described as the ‘upper half of a high crowned figure of a god, white with light-brown friable coating’. The description of the glazing once more relates this find to the group of mixed-style figures. The other is a fragmentary amulet of an Egyptian god wearing the double crown (Fig. 252). This blue-glazed amulet was found unregistered among other objects with labels from the Egypt Exploration Fund from Petrie’s excavations at Naukratis in 1885. Two of the labels are for finds from the ‘Temple of Apollo in Naukratis, VIth cent. B.C.;’ they concerned a ‘glazed-sand figure’ and a ‘glazed-sand head’. This amulet most probably represents the latter, as no other object in the box corresponds to this description.

3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts

Egyptian votive contexts too have also yielded amulets. A few amulets were discovered in the midst of a votive cache brought to light to the south of the town. The group of objects was deposited around the late 5th–early 4th century BC. Despite this deposit said to be located in a house, its votive nature is supported by its content. Its bulk is formed by Egyptian bronzes of pharaonic tradition, mainly consisting of votive boxes and figures of Egyptian deities. Among the remaining objects, Petrie signals a ‘small pottery hawk, gilt’, a description that matches a gilded steatite amulet of Horus in the shape of a falcon wearing the pschent (Fig. 253).

Petrie also listed four amulets in ‘glazed pottery’ (=faience) that can be confidently identified: one of ‘Bast, 4 inches high, with inscription’
254), one of ‘Tahuti’ (= Thoth) who has possibly been confused with a Vervet monkey since the god often takes the shape of a baboon (Fig. 255), and, two of ‘Isis and Horus’ (i.e. Fig. 256). Another faience object from that cache is a spacer bead that Petrie’s description allows us to recognize as an elaborate floral spacer-bead (Fig. 257), which finds 6th century BC parallels in Tell Dafana.646 All faience objects show damage by fire, which corresponds to Petrie’s claim that nearly all finds were injured in burning.647 The amulets that can be clearly recognized are usually of good quality and fit well with a Late Period dating.

The area of the large Egyptian religious complex, the Great Temenos, appears to be particularly rich in amuletic finds. The excavation within the enclosure wall of Amun-Ra Baded sanctuary itself provided little evidence for amulets, or at least very few were reported. A ‘very roughly moulded glass scarabaeus’ was picked up in the north-east corner of the Great Temenos during Petrie’s first season,648 and during the American excavation led on the South Mound in 1980, a glazed composition amulet of Bes was found in a context that can be dated to the Late Period.649 On the other hand, a large number of amulets were discovered around the sanctuary, outside of the sacred enclosure, an observation noted both during Petrie and Hogarth’s campaigns.

Petrie supervised a ‘deep pit in a small open space (i.e. without standing walls)’, outside the enclosure wall to the west. Griffith reported the finding of a considerable number of Egyptian porcelain beads together with small figures of deities, sacred eyes, and needles scraps of bronze.650 The deposit appeared at about a depth of ‘6 feet’ (= ca. 1.8m). He described one of the finds as ‘a fine porcelain Horus on crocodiles with figures of Hathor & Nephtys but without inscription’, which doubtlessly can be identified with one of the large complex figures of Pataikos (Figs 150-151 above).

645 This is the ‘ornamented piece, with threading holes, lotus pattern, in green and red pottery, fine work’ (Petrie 1886, 42).
646 Petrie 1888, pl. XL nos 5–6; Leclère and Spencer 2014, pl. 26, inv. no. EA 18640.
647 Petrie 1886, 42.
648 Petrie Notebook 150, entry by Griffith for 7 January 1885.
649 Leonard 1997, 297, pl. 7.14, MMC. 20, object no. MC#64a.
650 Petrie Notebook 150, entry by Griffith for 7 January 1885.
The discovery of a great quantity of small faience amulets was briefly reported by Edgar in his 1905 article: ‘One of the trenches at the South end of the site produced a great quantity of small faience objects of the Saitic period, but they were much injured by the dampness of the soil and comparatively few were worth keeping. Most of them were small figurines of well-known type – sows, Thoueris, the god Shu, etc. No doubt they were made in the local factory.’ This trench actually corresponds to a series of pits Hogarth opened just north of the enclosure wall in order to find the northern face of the Great Wall:

- On the 2 May 1903, he found instead of the sought-after Great Wall ‘parallel walls outside it on N[orth] & between them quantities of Eg. stuff, amulets, bronzes, pottery, alabastron, but very little Greek & that in basal mud’. He suspected that they ‘may be in [a] small shrine of some Eg[yptian] god’. Among other objects he reported having discovered on that day he recorded ‘43 paste statuettes (incl. that with hawks on shoulder & winged figure), 15 eye and other amulets, 5 scarabs, 9 scarab & other beads and 1 scarab mould’.

- The day after, he reported ‘nothing but quantities of Eg[yptian] amulets etc.’ from the same context.

- On the 5 May, he ‘tried pits away to E[ast] or N[orth]-E[ast] where a good deal of Greek stuff on the top. Here again Great walls with 6th & 5th Cent[ury] ware under them. But so far the stuff looks like houses, burnt remains, etc. A stone trough, & rather good amulets. […] The pits on W[est] not much use. Some Greek stuff […] on mud level here, & amulets’. Alongside other finds he listed for that day ‘12 figurines (“Apollo”) (paste), 56 amulets & heads (paste) and 2 scarab moulds’.

- A day later, he wrote that the ‘N[orth]-E[ast] chambers of main S[outhern] site yielded quantities of amulets (remains of about 50 from two men alone), but in very bad condition owing to wet earth’. On that day were retrieved ‘15 paste figurines, 21 beads & amulets and 2 scarabs’ among other objects.

A list of antiquities for 1903 excavations by Hogarth summarises the types and number of ‘amulets’ kept from the excavations to the south of the site (total number of 194) (fig. 258).

---

Figure 258 Excerpt from a list of antiquities sent to the Ashmolean Museum, mentioning amulets from trenches located to the south of Naukratis, supervised by Hogarth in 1903

---

651 Edgar 1905, 134.
652 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 2 May.
653 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 3 May.
654 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 5 May.
655 Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for 6 May.
656 These were all kept in the tin box no. 2 in the larger Box IV.
I reproduce this list in the following table (Table 3). There are some discrepancies between Hogarth’s diary and the list. For example, 12 ‘Apollo’ figurines are mentioned in the diary compared to only one in the 1903 list. Maybe Hogarth decided to only keep the best preserved example or their identification was changed for another type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eyes (=wedjat eye)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarabs</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apis</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephants [sows?]</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column [wadj-column]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps[cr]hent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown Lower Eg.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taouret [Taweret]</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apes [vervet monkeys?]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mummy [shabti?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button [dome-shaped scaraboid?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osiris</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Apollo” [naked male figure? Nefertum?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embryo [=Pataikos?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anubis</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoth [as ibis or baboon?]</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genii [large complex Pataikos?]</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pendants</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heads [Bes head or unidentified gods?]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartouche</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawks</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frags. with hieroglyphics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cats</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus [falcon-headed god?]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: List of amulets from trenches located to the south of Naukratis, supervised by Hogarth in 1903

Since most of Hogarth’s finds ended up in the Ashmolean Museum, it has been possible to identify some of the best described or unusual objects listed as coming from that area; they are consistent with the Saite dating given by Edgar, and can more specifically be dated to the 6th century BC (discussed in Masson forthcoming c). Many amulets from Naukratis were registered between 1896 and 1903 at the Ashmolean Museum, so including both Hogarth’s excavation seasons. The paste statuette ‘with hawks on shoulder & winged figure’ which corresponds to yet another large composite figure of Pataikos (Fig. 151 above) and the ‘15 eyes’ which are still kept together (Fig. 259) are among them. The two ‘Isis’ might match the two figures of Isis nursing Horus registered between 1896 and 1903.657 One of them (Fig. 260) is comparable to some specimens said to come from the Scarab Factory (Figs 218, 222 and 224 above). Other amulets are more difficult to pin down. For example, the ‘column’ could correspond to any of the amulets in the shape of a wadj-column registered between 1896 and 1903.658 In any cases, we are far from the total number of amulets retrieved from this context.

The recent geophysical survey conducted at Naukratis reveals the presence of small casemate buildings – most of which are probably tower houses – packed along the northern face of the Great Temenos wall. So how should we interpret the deposits excavated in May 1903? Are we in presence of an Egyptian shrine as first suggested by Hogarth, a simple domestic context or maybe a workshop? In favour of the latter, we can underline the presence of a few amulet-moulds among the finds, though this evidence is rather thin considering the hundreds of moulds discovered in the Scarab Factory. In favour of the first hypothesis is the presence of bronze figures of Egyptian gods in the same deposits. The existence of shrines or chapels in the vicinity of large sanctuaries is not uncommon. At Karnak, for example, chapels dedicated to Osiris were built just outside the limits of the temple of Amun-Ra, to the north, during the TIP and 26th dynasty. Petrie’s discoveries – made to the west of the Great Temenos and its main pylon – are even less likely to be related to domestic contexts: no house a priori would have been built right in front of the domain of the god while his temple was in use, already well attested under the 26th dynasty. If we accept this interpretation, the overwhelming number of faience amulets versus bronze figures could indicate the rather humble nature of these votive deposits. Amulets might represent modest offerings deposited by people (Egyptian and maybe non-Egyptian as well) who could not access the main sacred domain of the god. This is how also the small reused fragments of stelae deposited just outside the major sacred enclosure of Ptah in Memphis have been interpreted.

**Conclusion**

This analytic study and accompanying catalogue of scarabs, scaraboids and amulets excavated at Naukratis have brought together a large group of finds, often previously unpublished, with new contextualizing information. Exploring questions of production and distribution as well as consumption of these amulets at Naukratis, this work has opened new debates and has stressed the need for new typological classification, as much as for consideration of provenance, significance and use.

Not only more material but also a wider perspective is now available for many of the Scarab Factory products, which should encourage a revision of Gorton’s typology. New types or sub-types could be created, fused or reinterpreted for glazed composition, Egyptian blue and stone scarabs and scaraboids. We can correct or refine general morphological and technological features for each of them. However, such a project should be combined with new observations and analyses of similar types distributed across the Mediterranean, a major task that aegyptiaca specialists will, I hope, undertake. As for common Egyptian amulets, a precise chronotypology for 1st millennium BC amulets found in Egypt itself is long...
overdue, and should be developed along the lines of the numerous studies conducted on aegyptiaca of that period.

The first explorers of Naukratis have repeatedly expressed their disregard for amuletic finds, unless they showed obvious Mediterranean connections. While excavations diaries and notebooks report the continuous finding of Egyptian amulets, early publications barely mention them, and it seems that only a fraction was sent to museums. Nonetheless, the assemblage united here is sizeable enough to determine some trends in the subjects amulets depict. They tally in general with contemporary amulets found elsewhere in Egypt and the Mediterranean world, with the prominent wedjat-eyes followed by amulets linked with the protection of children and pregnant women, as well as with ideas of fertility and regeneration.

Naukratis should be considered as a place of production and trade for many more types of amulets than previously thought. The Scarab Factory itself was producing a wider range of objects than scarabs and scaraboids. Petrie briefly described other faience products he found, including vessels, amuletic figures and symbols. However, unlike the scarabs and scaraboids, he chose not to illustrate them. This prejudice creates difficulties of identification which can be solved, but only to some extent, by museum registers and Egypt Exploration Fund lists. Other workshops may have produced amulets at Naukratis, a supposition so far mainly supported by observations on a few discrete groups and their potential distribution patterns. Amulet production at Naukratis between the end of the 26th dynasty and the beginning of the Ptolemaic period might have played an important role for the site, so far never considered. Crude amulets brought to light in Cypriot, Phoenician and Punic contexts that have been identified as local imitations could actually be of Naukratite origin.

The distribution of Egyptian amulets from Naukratis to regional and international markets is a topic which is only superficially treated in this study, but could be a promising field for future research. As they browse through this catalogue, colleagues working on aegyptiaca in the wider Mediterranean will hopefully start to recognize Naukratis’ significance in terms of amulets beyond scarabs and mixed-style figures. At the same time, it is important to remember that while Naukratis was instrumental in disseminating amulets in the Mediterranean world, it was not at the origin of the Egyptianizing wave in the Mediterranean world during the Orientalizing period. Egyptian common amulets were not produced at Naukratis before the end of the 7th-6th century BC, i.e. Naukratis stands at the end of a long wave of ‘Egyptomania’ in the Mediterranean world, and its products contributed merely to its twilight. More research has to be carried out on other amulet production centres before Naukratis, Memphis being a natural candidate, but not the only one.

Finally, the recontextualization of amuletic finds from Naukratis has revealed how this material was not exclusively aimed at export, but also found a more local and traditional market. Beyond the trade perspective, amulets also reflect beliefs and ritual practices at the site itself. They were a material expression of popular beliefs and hope for protection, and it thus should not be surprising that many were discovered also outside of the context of workshops. Although precise contextual information is not
always available, their subjects in combination with known find-spots highlight some interesting religious aspects. We see that the amulets from Naukratis either correspond to more general contemporary (Lower) Egyptian patterns, or are more specific to Naukratis, linked to locally revered Egyptian and Greek deities. At Naukratis as elsewhere in Egypt, amulets were worn for protection in this life and the next, and scarabs and scaraboids were used as seals. They were also deposited as offerings in and around Greek and Egyptian sanctuaries, a phenomenon which is not so well-attested in Egypt, but evokes Mediterranean practices.