
Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt

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<http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis>

Scarabs, scaraboids and amulets

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Introduction

Amulets¹ are small figures and objects with magic or prophylactic properties, meant to be worn, so usually bearing a suspension loop or pierced.² 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 1,400 finds are known today from many different museum collections, with 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.³ Another set of finds which retained the interest of specialists concerns archaic mixed style amuletic figures.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 The amulets of common Egyptian types, hitherto largely unpublished, shed new light on the Egyptian material culture and popular beliefs at Naukratis.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.

³ Gorton 1996, 91–131.

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.⁶ 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,⁷ of scaraboid type,⁸ 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**)⁹. 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.

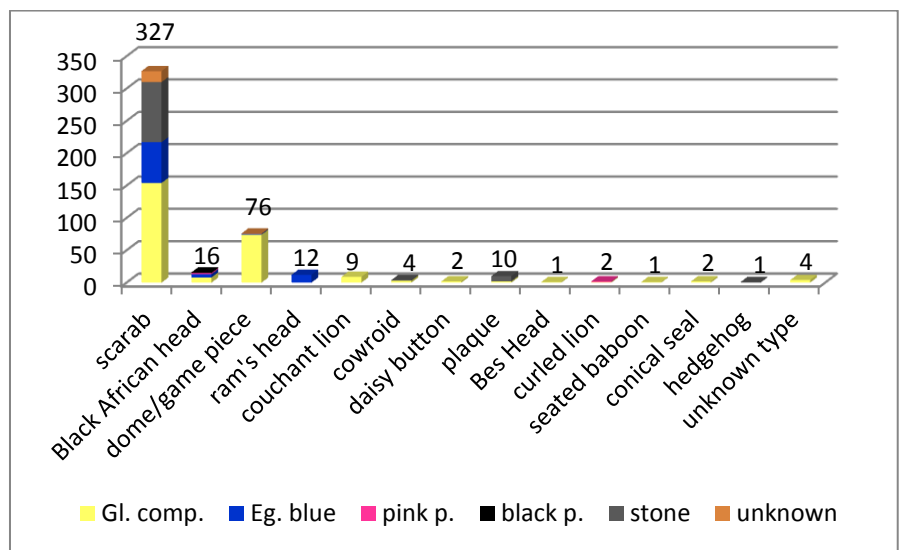


Chart 1: Distribution of scarabs and various scaraboid types by material

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.¹⁰ 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).



Figure 1 Scarab-mould with ducts. Nottingham, Castle Museum, NCM 1888-63g. Photograph © Nottingham City Museums & Galleries

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.

¹¹ Gorton 1996, 92. A forthcoming article by V. Webb looks into the major chronological phases for the faience industries at Naukratis, including that of the Scarab Factory. It agrees with this dating (Webb forthcoming). Von Bissing (1951, 65–6) included Amasis’s reign, and Möller (2000, 114–5, 153) Psamtik I and Amasis’s reigns.

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.



Figure 2 Scaraboids in the shape of a Black African head, a. mould-made. British Museum, EA66493 and b. rather crudely cut out. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.726. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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 them¹⁸. 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.

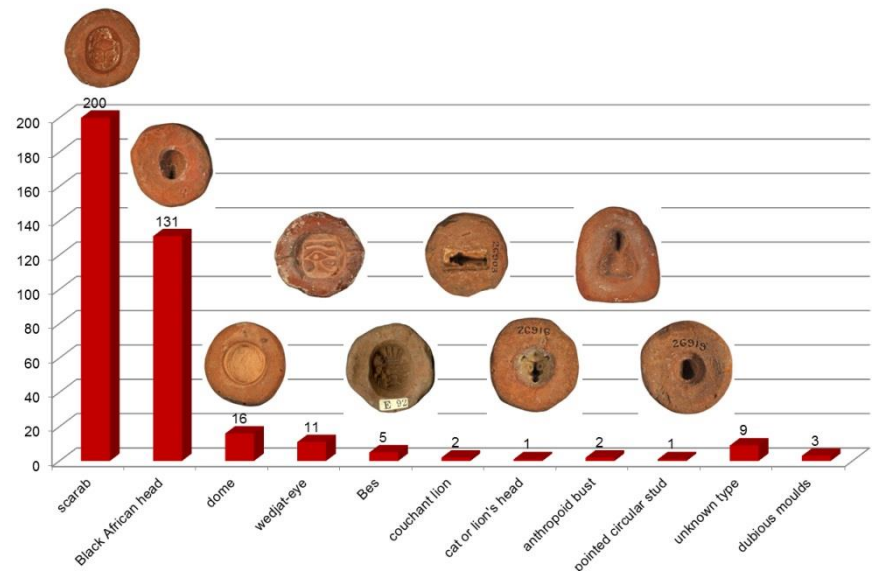


Chart 2: Distribution of the mould types

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 excavation 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'¹⁹. 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.²⁰ The moulds, as well as many other finds discovered during Hogarth's seasons, reached the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford²¹ 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 AN1888 and originate from Petrie's excavations. Thirty-five, registered with the prefix AN1896-1908, 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,²² 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-shaped 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.²³ 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.²⁴

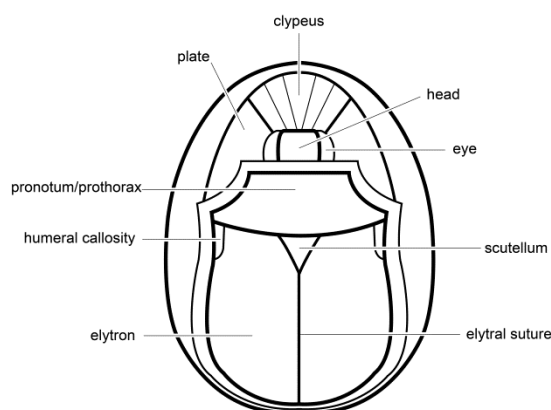


Diagram 1 after an impression of the most detailed scarab-mould found at Naukratis (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVIII, no. 3, drawing by Kate Morton, British Museum)

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.



Figure 3 Scarab-mould. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.216.13. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 4 Scarab-mould. British Museum, 1965,0930.912



Figure 5 Scarab-mould. British Museum, 1888,0601.744.2



Figure 6 Scarab-mould. Dundee, McManus Galleries, 1975-38(6). Photograph © Dundee City Council. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum



Figure 7 Scarab-mould. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.61.1887. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff

The first type is illustrated by 73 specimens.²⁵ 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)²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 (**Fig. 7**).

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)²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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, no. 8–11; Gorton 1996, fig. 35.

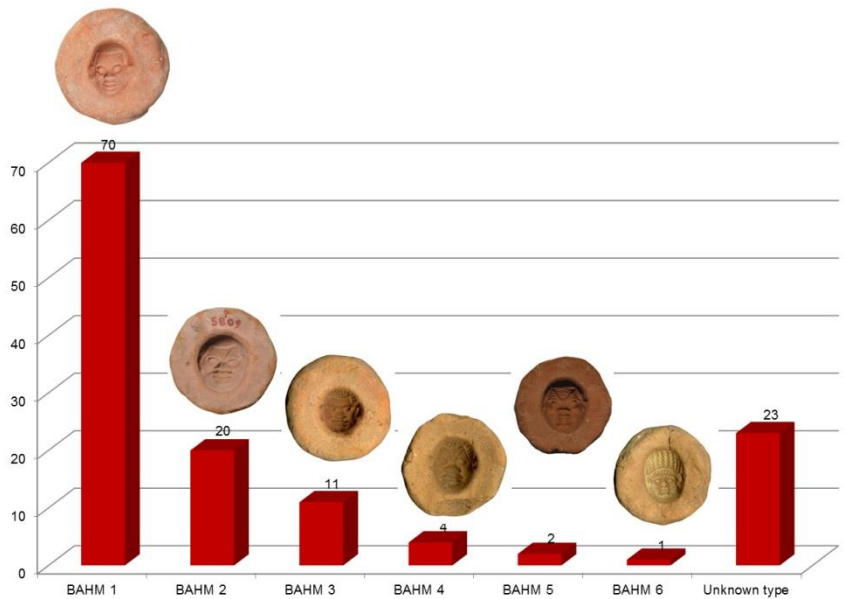


Chart 3: Distribution of the Black African head moulds (BAHM) types

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.



Figure 8 Black African head mould. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.42.1887. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 9 Black African head mould. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.1065. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 10 Black African head mould. British Museum 1920,0417.3



Figure 11 Black African head mould. British Museum, 1920,0417.4

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.



Figure 12 Black African head mould. British Museum, 2012.5020.1



Figure 13 Black African head mould. British Museum, 1920.0417.5



Figure 14 Dome-shaped scaraboid. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.216.15. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 16 Mould for wedjat-eye amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-E.4573. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 17 Mould for wedjat-eye amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.216.10. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

Figure 18 Mould for wedjat-eye amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-E.4572. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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 impression³⁵ 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).



Figure 15 Modern impressions of various wedjat-eye moulds, from left to right: British Museum, 1920.0417.1, 1896.0610.31, 1920.0417.7 and 1920.0417.6

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.



Figure 19 Wedjat-eye amulet. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H3436. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 20 Wedjat-eye amulet. British Museum, 1916,0212.115

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 leonine ears and an incised mane both side of his full mouth and chin (**Fig. 21**).³⁸ 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**).³⁹ 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.⁴⁰



Figure 21 Mould for Bes head amulet. British Museum, 1888,0601.747



Figure 22 Mould for standing Bes amulet. British Museum, EA26920 and modern cast

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.⁴¹

Rarer and missing types of moulds

Two scaraboid-moulds are impressed with a couchant lion resting upon an oblong plinth (**Fig. 23**).⁴² 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**).⁴³ The size of the impression measures 0.90cm in height and 0.80cm in width.



Figure 23 Scaraboid-mould in the shape of a couchant lion. British Museum, EA26903 and modern cast



Figure 24 Scaraboid-mould. British Museum, EA26916 and modern cast

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**).⁴⁴ The moulded shape measures 2cm in height and 1.40cm in width. It is hard to discern any human features from the moulds and their modern impressions. Could it be used to produce game pieces⁴⁵? A unique mould, impressed with a pointed circular stud of 0.95cm in diameter (**Fig. 26**), could have had such purpose.⁴⁶ And, even though no positive from these two types of mould has been identified at Naukratis, close parallels have been uncovered elsewhere in Egypt.⁴⁷



Figure 25 Game-piece mould (?). British Museum, EA26905 and modern cast



Figure 26 Game-piece mould (?). British Museum, EA26919 and modern cast

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,⁴⁸ or with a Bes head has been identified. At any rate, these shapes are uncommon (**Chart 1**), with only a few examples known from Naukratis (for example, **Fig. 27**).⁴⁹



Figure 27 Cowroid. British Museum, EA66462; daisy-button. British Museum, EA66431; curled-up lion scaraboid. British Museum, EA66525; Bes head scaraboid. British Museum, EA66502.



Figure 28 Ram-headed scaraboid. British Museum, EA30705

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.⁵⁰

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 A daisy button and a cowroid were found at the Scarab Factory itself (Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, 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 faience⁵⁴, 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 (SiO₂) 92–99%; Lime (CaO) 1–5%; Soda (Na₂O) 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.

⁵⁵ On faience technology Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983; Nicholson 1993, 2009; Friedman 1998; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000.

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 (Tite *et al.* 2006; Tite and Hatton 2007, 86–7).

⁵⁹ I would like to express my thanks to Andrew Meeks for this information.

⁶⁰ Nicholson 2009, 2.



Figure 29 Scarab-mould. Nottingham, Castle Museum, NCM 1888-63i. Photograph © Nottingham City Museums & Galleries



Figure 30 Scarab-mould. British Museum, 1965,0930.921



Figure 31 Scarab-mould. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.49.1887. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 32 Black African head mould. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, E398. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum



Figure 33 Scarab-mould. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.216.3. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

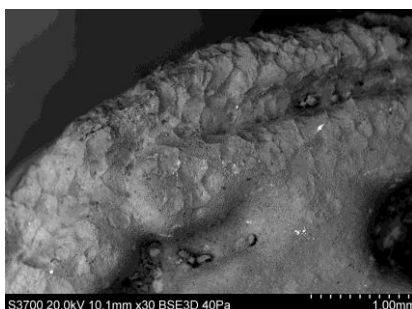


Figure 34 SEM-BSE image of the scarab British Museum, EA 66450. Photograph courtesy of Andrew Meek

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.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.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.⁶³ Egyptian blue is a synthetic pigment, chemically defined as copper calcium tetra-silicate.⁶⁴ It is made of a combination of ground elements – heated quartz, copper compound⁶⁵ and calcium carbonate (calcite) – together with a small amount of alkali, forming a mineral called cuprorivaite (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.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.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 scaraboids⁶⁸.

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

⁶¹ Nicholson 2009, 8.

⁶² Nicholson, Peltenburg 2000, 179–86; Nicholson 2009, 8.

⁶³ Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 177–8.

⁶⁴ Tite *et al.* 1984; 1987; Tite and Hatton 2007.

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).

⁶⁶ Vandiver 1983, A-17.

⁶⁷ Nicholson 2009, 3.

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.

methods.⁶⁹ Efflorescence, or the ‘self-glazing method’, produced a durable glaze with a good colour quality.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ Identifying the glazing method is, however, not always straightforward since two or even all three glazing techniques could be combined.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

Colouring agents

Although some are badly weathered, many scarabs and scaraboids from Naukratis retain blue-green or yellow glazing.⁷⁵ These colours were normally achieved by the addition of metal compounds. Scientific analyses carried on faience objects from Naukratis allowed determining the

⁶⁹ Vandiver 1983, A26-42; Tite and Bimson 1986; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 189–91; Tite *et al.* 2007.

⁷⁰ Vandiver 1983, A-7.

⁷¹ Vandiver 1983, A-4, A-124.

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.

colouring agents' types (XRF-analyses: Vandiver 1983, C51, 285-5-679 and 685; PIXE-analyses: Meek *et al.* 2016).⁷⁶



Figure 35 Dome-shaped scaraboid, originally with turquoise glaze. Paris, Louvre Museum, E8056 bis.13. Photograph © Musée du Louvre



Figure 36 Scarab originally with green glaze. British Museum, EA66486



Figure 37 Yellow-glazed scaraboid. British Museum, EA66444



Figure 38 Scarab with bichrome glazing. British Museum, EA66454

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**).⁷⁷ 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, Tuh el Qaramus and Gumaiyima),⁷⁸ but unlike elsewhere in Egypt, notably Memphis.⁷⁹ The restricted use of antimony pentoxide (Sb_2O_5) was interpreted as an economic measure, since the material was expensive and not necessary to achieve green and blue-green glazing.⁸⁰ However, among the faience objects newly analysed, five green-glazed scarabs from Naukratis contain significant levels of lead antimonate alongside copper oxides (**Fig. 36**).⁸¹ Such an association, which would have resulted in a yellow-green coloured glaze, was much in favour in late faience productions in Egypt.⁸² The comparisons between Naukratite and Rhodian faience objects showed little difference when it comes to green and blue-green glazed objects.⁸³

The yellow glaze contains rather high levels of lead and antimony (**Fig. 37**).⁸⁴ This is comparable with other contemporary faience objects from the Delta and Memphis.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷ 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,⁸⁸ something that has also been established with analyses of Egyptian blue samples.⁸⁹ 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 Kamiros 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 Meek *et al.* 2016, 97.

⁷⁸ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 271.

⁷⁹ High concentration of antimony were recorded in faience recovered from Memphis (Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 272).

⁸⁰ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 271–2.

⁸¹ Meek *et al.* 2016, 97.

⁸² Kaczmarczyk and Nenna 2014, 301.

⁸³ Meek *et al.* 2016, 97–8.

⁸⁴ Meek *et al.* 2016, 96–7.

⁸⁵ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 271–2.

⁸⁶ Vandiver 1983, A-129.

⁸⁷ Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983, 138.

⁸⁸ Tite *et al.* 2007, 1580.

⁸⁹ Blet, Guineau and Gratuze 1997, 126–8.



Figure 39 Egyptian blue scarab containing bismuth. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.908. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

in 21st dynasty and later Egyptian faience objects were probably derived from leaded bronzes.⁹⁰ It is unclear if the bronze activities Petrie spotted inside the town of Naukratis were contemporary with the adjacent Scarab Factory.⁹¹ Bismuth was identified in significant quantities in an Egyptian blue scarab at Naukratis (**Fig. 39**).⁹² 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'.⁹³

In the context of a pilot study looking at the sources of copper and lead used in a wide range of commodities in Egypt⁹⁴, a small selection of faience finds from Naukratis was analysed which included four scarabs.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁷ 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,⁹⁸ 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'.⁹⁹ 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.

⁹² Vandiver 1983, C51, 285-5-685.

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.

⁹⁷ Gorton 1996, 91–131.

⁹⁸ The finds with some specimens dated to the 7th and others to the 6th century BC: see the recent reassessment by Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, 273–80.

⁹⁹ Gorton 1996, 178–80.

even less so in Egypt and the Levant.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.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**).

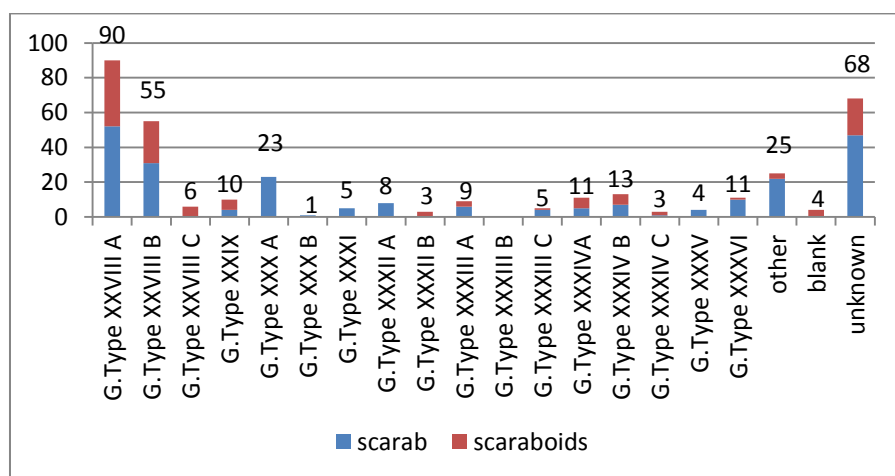


Chart 4: Distribution of Gorton's types found at Naukratis

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.

Observations on the typology



Figure 40 Scarab. British Museum, EA66499

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

¹⁰⁰ Gorton 1996, 63–72.

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.



Figure 41 Scaraboid in the shape of a couchant lion. British Museum, EA66472 with stamped motif

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.¹⁰² 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 88.868¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴ The scaraboid Louvre Museum E8056 bis.2¹⁰⁵ 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**).¹⁰⁶



Figure 42 Scarabs in Egyptian blue; a. British Museum, EA66466 and b. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.868. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 43 Black African head scaraboid. Paris, Louvre Museum, E8056 bis.2. Photograph © Musée du Louvre



Figure 44 Dome-shaped scaraboid. British Museum, EA66433

Several glazed composition specimens which were, or would normally be, attributed to type XXVIII have a clearly engraved motif (see for example **Fig. 44**)¹⁰⁷. 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,¹⁰⁸ 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 See *supra* in 1.1.1. Moulds.

¹⁰³ Gorton 1996, 98, type XXVIII A142 and A144a.

¹⁰⁴ Gorton 1996, 109–11.

¹⁰⁵ Gorton 1996, type XXVIII A203.

¹⁰⁶ Gorton 1996, 121–3, type XXXIV A.

¹⁰⁷ British Museum EA66432, EA66433, EA66434, EA66457, EA66469, EA66476 and EA66497, Museum of Fine Arts 86.687, 86.689, 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.

¹⁰⁸ Gorton 1996, 63.

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



Figure 45 Scarab. Paris, Louvre Museum, E8056 bis.5. Photograph © Musée du Louvre

Figure 46 Scarab. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.681. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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.



Figure 47 Scarab. British Museum, EA66485

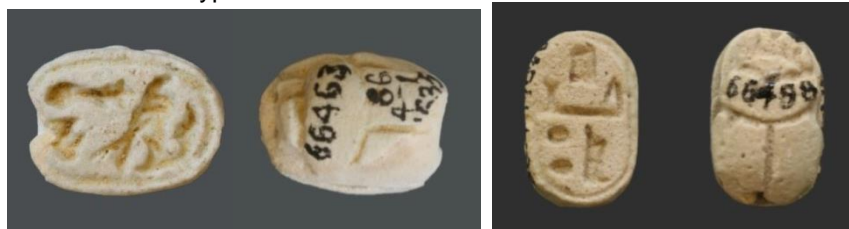


Figure 48 Scarab. British Museum, EA66463

Figure 49 Scarab. British Museum, EA66498

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

¹⁰⁹ Gorton 1996, 121–23.

¹¹⁰ Gorton 1996, 131.

¹¹¹ Gorton 1996, 130, type XXXVI nos 21–2.

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.

¹¹⁴ Gorton 1996, 131.



Figure 50 Scarab. British Museum, EA29281

types XXVIII¹¹⁵ (**Fig. 50**) and XXX A (**Fig. 51**)¹¹⁶, more rarely to her types XXXI¹¹⁷ (**Fig. 52**), XXXII A¹¹⁸ and XXXVI¹¹⁹. 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.



Figure 51 Scarab. British Museum, EA66484



Figure 52 Scarab. British Museum, EA66503



Figure 53 Large scarab. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.SC.107. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff

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



Figure 54 Large scarab. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.854. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 55 Large scaraboid with a peculiar inlaid technique on the back. British Museum, EA23713

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 EA66498.

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 XXXIV 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**).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.¹²⁴ Should they be interpreted as imports or local productions denoting a Phoenician influence?



Figure 56 Cone-shaped seals. British Museum, EA36066 and EA36059



Figure 57 a. 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



Figure 58 Scarab in Egyptian blue British Museum EA36057, with a three register composition, belonging to Gorton's type XXX B

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.¹²⁵ They include the scarabs British Museum EA66506 and EA66468 (**Fig. 57**),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 5¹²⁷ is represented, too, at Naukratis, by four similar specimens, two in Egyptian blue and two in glazed composition.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 (*Mn-kʿ-rʿ*) 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 Factory¹²⁹, but these Naukratis finds were not included in Gorton's list of her type XXV A¹³⁰. 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 EA36075.¹³¹ 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.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 Thutmose III (1481-1425BC), on many scarabs. It has been demonstrated that scarabs with Menkheperra's name do not all belong to Thutmose III's reign, especially those with Menkheperra's name not set in a cartouche: this name appears on scarabs

¹²³ Gorton 1996, 43–8, see especially fig. 8 nos 23–4.

¹²⁴ Gorton 1996, 43, 48, type XVB.

¹²⁵ Gorton 1996, 1996, 80.

¹²⁶ Gorton 1996, 86–7, type XXVI A1 and C7 respectively.

¹²⁷ Gorton 1996, 80–90.

¹²⁸ Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no. 62; Petrie 1889, pl. 61, no. 1940.

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.

¹³⁰ On more type XVA scarabs from Naukratis, this time made of steatite, see also *infra* in 1.2.1. Chronological and typological disparity.

¹³¹ Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII, no. 75; Gorton 1996, 35, type XII, no. 8c.

¹³² Gorton 1996, 80, 88; see also Petrie 1917, 31–2, pl. LII, no. 25.A.20-24.

before Thutmosis III reign and even more so long after.¹³³ 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.¹³⁴

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 gems¹³⁵ with an Eastern origin (**Fig. 59 f.**)¹³⁶.



Figure 59 a. Ram's head scaraboids featuring a winged Pegasus on the underside. British Museum, EA30705 b. Scarab decorated with a triton. British Museum, EA34956 c. Scarab decorated with a Greek-style chimera. British Museum, EA66526 d. Scarab decorated with a winged griffin wearing a pharaonic stylized double-crown. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.867. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston e. 'Master of the Animals' featured on the scarab. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.6. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff f. Scarab decorated with a herbivore lying on its back while a lion gnaws at its belly. British Museum, EA29961

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**).¹³⁷ 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.

¹³⁴ Gorton 1996, type XXV A30.

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.

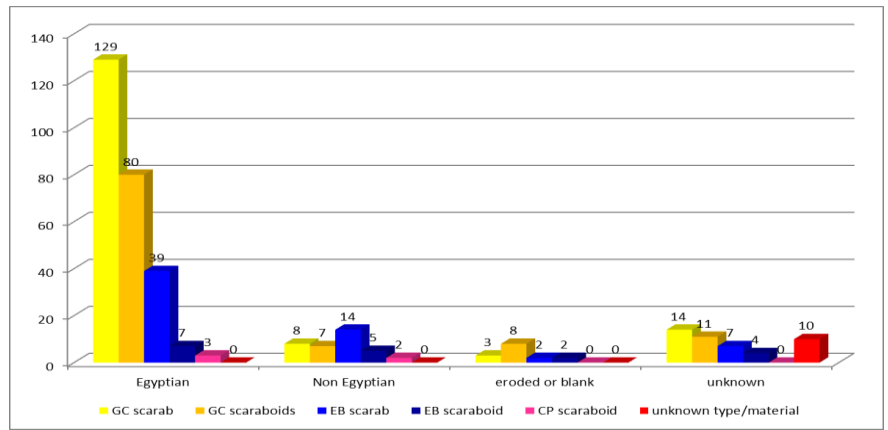


Chart 5: Distribution of motifs' types on scarabs and scaraboids in glazed composition, Egyptian Blue and coloured paste

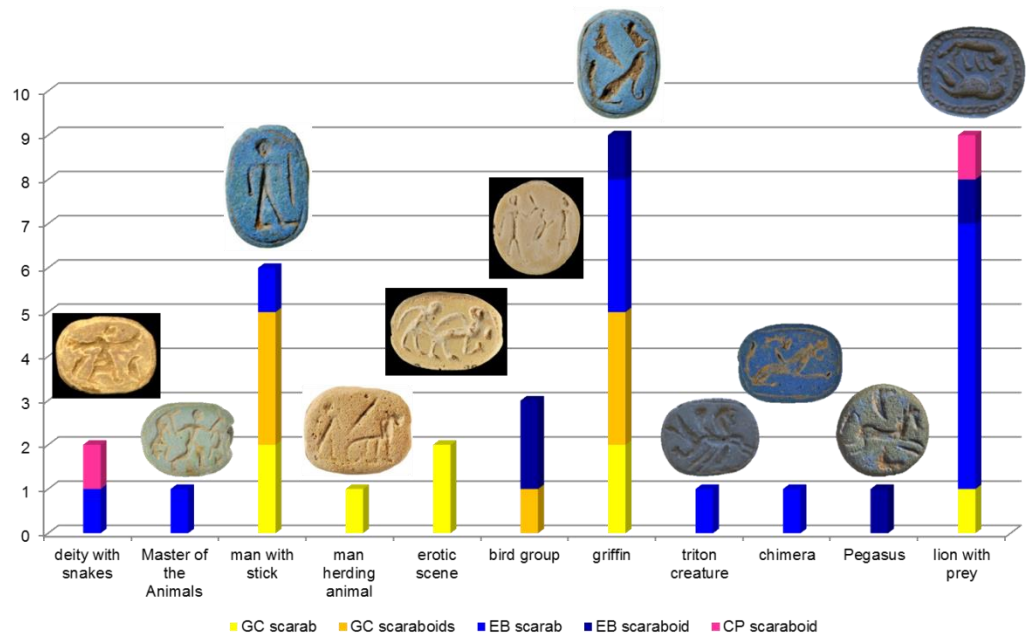


Chart 6: Types of non-Egyptian motifs and their distribution across material



Figure 60 Dome-shaped scaraboid with a scorpion. British Museum, EA66435



Figure 61 Scarab decorated with clump of papyrus. British Museum, EA66434



Figure 63 Scarab decorated with a winged human-headed sphinx. British Museum, EA66446

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).



Figure 62 a. Scarab decorated with two monkeys climbing a palm tree. British Museum, EA36058; b. Ram's head scaraboid. British Museum, EA29462

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)



Figure 66 Scarab featuring a libation Hs-vase and a falcon holding a flail above a horizontal cartouche containing the royal name Wahibra. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.856. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

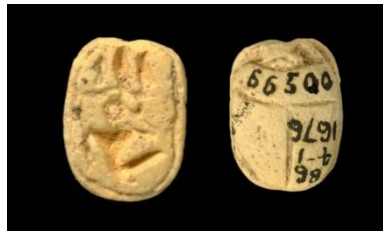


Figure 64 Scarab with the representation of a child deity wearing an Atef-crown, possibly Harpokrates. British Museum, EA66500



Figure 65 Scarab with the representation of a fertility figure, probably Hapy. British Museum, EA66516



Figure 67 Scarab possibly bearing an abbreviated version of the Horus name of Psamtek II, Menekhib British Museum EA66490



Figure 68 Lion-shaped scaraboid possibly bearing an imitation of the royal name Psamtek. British Museum, EA66478



Figure 69 Dome-shaped scaraboid crudely incised with a falcon holding flail facing an oval containing three debased hieroglyphic signs. British Museum, EA66476



Figure 70 Scarab incised with winged seated griffin to the right and a half-cartouche to the left, containing three debased hieroglyphic signs, cross-shaped symbol between two discs. British Museum, EA66477



Figure 71 Dome-shaped scaraboid decorated with a register composition containing a debased inscription. British Museum, EA66471



Figure 72 Dome-shaped scaraboid decorated with a register composition. British Museum, EA66473



Figure 73 Scarab possibly mentioning the name Menkheperra. British Museum, EA66475

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.¹³⁸ 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 cartouche¹³⁹. 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.¹⁴⁰ She includes in that group an instance where the cross-shaped symbol is replaced by a simple vertical stroke (Fig. 72)¹⁴¹. 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 *R^c* and the other a debased form of the scarab *hpr* (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.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Gorton 1996, 93.

¹³⁹ British Museum EA66470 and EA66471; Paris, Louvre Museum E8056 bis.8; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.696; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.207.

¹⁴⁰ Gorton 1996, 106 and 110.

¹⁴¹ Gorton 1996, 106, type XXVIII C12. See also: Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975–61(2).

¹⁴² Jaeger 1982.



Figure 74 Scarab inscribed with the name Pa-di-Bastet. Paris, Louvre Museum, E8056 bis.13. Photograph © Musée du Louvre



Figure 75 Scarab bearing the name of Amun-Ra. British Museum, EA66485

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**).¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴

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.¹⁴⁵ Drioton, however, has presented a large number of combinations of three hieroglyphs to write the name Amun, which obscures any forthright understanding.¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ They implement the concealed nature of Amun expressed in his name *jmn*, ‘the Hidden One’. His name was indeed secret and powerful: ‘God is a Spirit, hidden his Name and his Mystery’.¹⁴⁸

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 acrophony¹⁴⁹, each of these signs was given the three values necessary to write the name Amun—*j*, *m* and *n*—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.¹⁵⁰ 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.

¹⁴³ 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.

¹⁴⁴ 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).

¹⁴⁵ Gorton 1996, 93.

¹⁴⁶ 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.

¹⁴⁷ Drioton 1958, 36–7.

¹⁴⁸ Passage of the Leiden hymns translated in Foster 2001, 77.

¹⁴⁹ 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’.

¹⁵⁰ 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).








Scarab/scaraboid	Hieroglyphs	Value for each
 Museum of Fine Arts, 88.862	Sun-disc Falcon Papyrus stem	<i>ī</i> , by acroph. of <i>īm</i> , 'eye's pupil' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>Mntw</i> , 'Montu' <i>n</i> , by acroph. of <i>nsys</i> , 'papyrus's umbel'
 British Museum, EA66439 ¹⁵¹	<i>Maat</i> feather Cat Sun-disc	<i>ī</i> , by equivalence with reed-stalk sign <i>ī</i> [M17] <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>myw</i> , 'cat' <i>n</i> , by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region <i>nīwt</i> [O49]
 British Museum, EA66458 ¹⁵²	Falcon <i>mn</i> -draughtboard Sun-disc (debased)	<i>ī</i> , by acroph. of <i>ḥm</i> > <i>īhm</i> , 'falcon' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>mn</i> <i>n</i> , by acroph. of <i>ntr</i> , 'god'
 Louvre Museum, E8056 bis.10 ¹⁵³	<i>Maat</i> feather Goose or duck Sun-disc	<i>ī</i> , by equivalence with reed-stalk sign <i>ī</i> [M17] <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>msy.t</i> , 'water bird' <i>n</i> , by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region <i>nīwt</i> [O49]
 British Museum, EA66528	<i>Maat</i> feather Lion Sun-disc	<i>ī</i> , by equivalence with reed-stalk sign <i>ī</i> [M17] <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>mjy</i> , 'lion' <i>n</i> , by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region <i>nīwt</i> [O49]
 British Museum, EA66488	<i>Maat</i> feather Key of life (debased) <i>Nb</i> -basket	<i>ī</i> , by equivalence with reed-stalk sign <i>ī</i> [M17] <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>mjw-ḥr</i> , 'mirror' <i>n</i> , by acroph. of biliteral sign <i>nb</i>
 Museum of Fine Arts, 88.859	Sun-disc Owl <i>Nb</i> -basket (debased)	<i>ī</i> , by acroph. of <i>īm</i> , 'eye's pupil' <i>m</i> , uniliteral sign for <i>m</i> <i>n</i> , by acroph. of biliteral sign <i>nb</i>

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 *r*^c, any of these combinations could be read 'Amun-Ra'. That is possibly the case of the lion-shaped scaraboid British Museum EA66495,¹⁵⁴ with the combination of a sun-disc, *mn*-draughtboard and owl with another sun-disc above its back. Lion-shaped scaraboids are particularly appropriate to bear the name of a solar deity.¹⁵⁵ The writing of the sun-god Ra was identified from ancient times with a lion,¹⁵⁶ particularly in the Late Period, when the lion became the phonetic equivalent *Rw*.¹⁵⁷ 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*.¹⁵⁸ Dome-shaped scaraboids mimic the sun-disc hieroglyph which possesses also all three values.¹⁵⁹ 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**).





Scarab/scaraboid	Hieroglyphs	Value for each
 Museum of Fine Arts, 86.687	Scarab (medium) Sun-disc Ibex	<i>i</i> , by acroph. of <i>ibb</i> , 'scarab' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>m3</i> , 'seer' <i>n</i> , by acroph. of <i>nbw</i> , 'male ibex'
 British Museum, EA66441	Dome=sun-disc (medium) Sun-disc Ibex	<i>i</i> , by acroph. of <i>im</i> , 'eye's pupil' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>m3</i> , 'seer' <i>n</i> , by acroph. of <i>nbw</i> , 'male ibex'
 British Museum, EA23617	Scarab (medium) Lion Sun-disc	<i>i</i> , by acroph. of <i>ibb</i> , 'scarab' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>m3y</i> , 'lion' <i>n</i> , by material variation with hieroglyph for townsite-city-region <i>niwt</i> [O49]
 British Museum, EA66444	Dome=sun-disc (medium) Lion (winged) <i>Nb</i> -basket	<i>i</i> , by acroph. of <i>im</i> , 'eye's pupil' <i>m</i> , by acroph. of <i>m3y</i> , 'lion' <i>n</i> , by acroph. of biliteral sign <i>nb</i>

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

¹⁵⁴ Petrie 1886, pl. XXXVII, no.104.

¹⁵⁵ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 113.

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-Ra¹⁶⁰. 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,¹⁶¹ a point of view shared by other specialists.¹⁶²

Yet, Drioton's thesis is debated and not accepted by all scholars.¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴ 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 imitations¹⁶⁵. Similar cryptic inscriptions were frequent on the seals of the Iron Age I in the Levant, following models of Late Ramesside mass-produced scarabs.¹⁶⁶



Figure 76 Scaraboid inscribed with a cryptographically written trigram. British Museum, EA66493



Figure 77 Scaraboid inscribed with a trigram. British Museum, EA66462



Figure 78 Scarab inscribed with a trigram. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H3719. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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 *mn*-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,¹⁶⁷ 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-dic signs are accompanied by a *ꜥ*-column on the scaraboid (Fig. 77 top illustrated above), and an undetermined sign – maybe debased *ꜥ*-column or *mt*-phallus signs – for the scarab (Fig. 78). Petrie interpreted the inscription on the scaraboid as the Horus name of Psamtek I, *ꜥ-jb*.¹⁶⁸ Such a translation supposes that the sun-disc replaces the *jb*-heart sign. If the *ꜥ*-column on the scaraboid and the undetermined sign on the scarab were a misshaped papyrus stem¹⁶⁹, 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.¹⁷⁰ 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).

¹⁶¹ Drioton 1955, 64–6; 1957, 17–8.

¹⁶² See for example Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 111.

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

¹⁶⁴ Poncy *et al.* 2001, 21.

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).

¹⁶⁶ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 110–5.

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).

¹⁷⁰ Gorton 1996, 63–72.

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,¹⁷¹ 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,¹⁷² 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.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'.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 stones¹⁷⁵. 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.

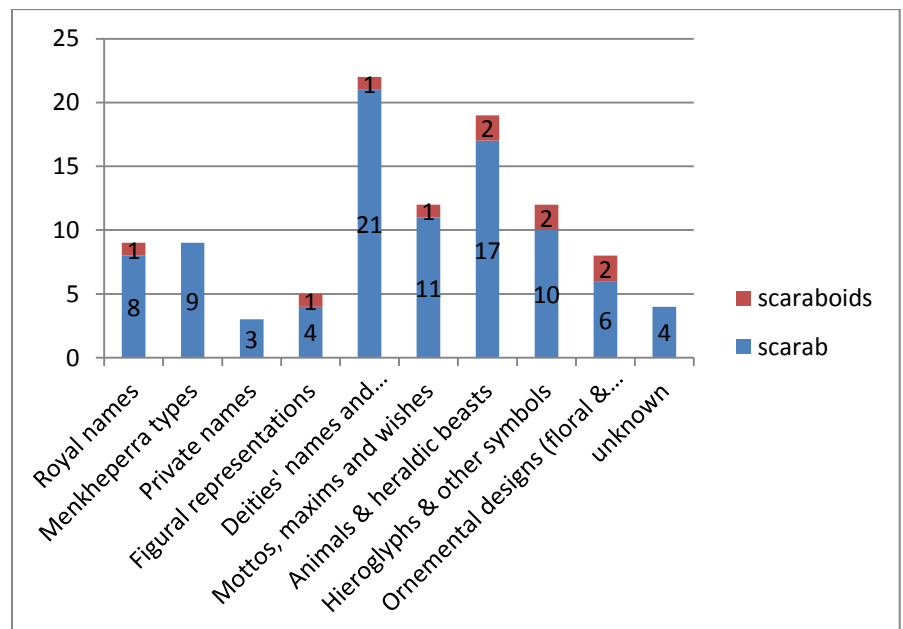


Chart 7: Distribution of motifs on stone scarabs and scaraboids

¹⁷³ Drioton 1958, 39.

¹⁷⁴ Gardiner 1935, 36. Gardiner noted that the peoples of the Mediterranean are mentioned three times in the papyrus Chester Beatty IV.

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**)¹⁷⁶.

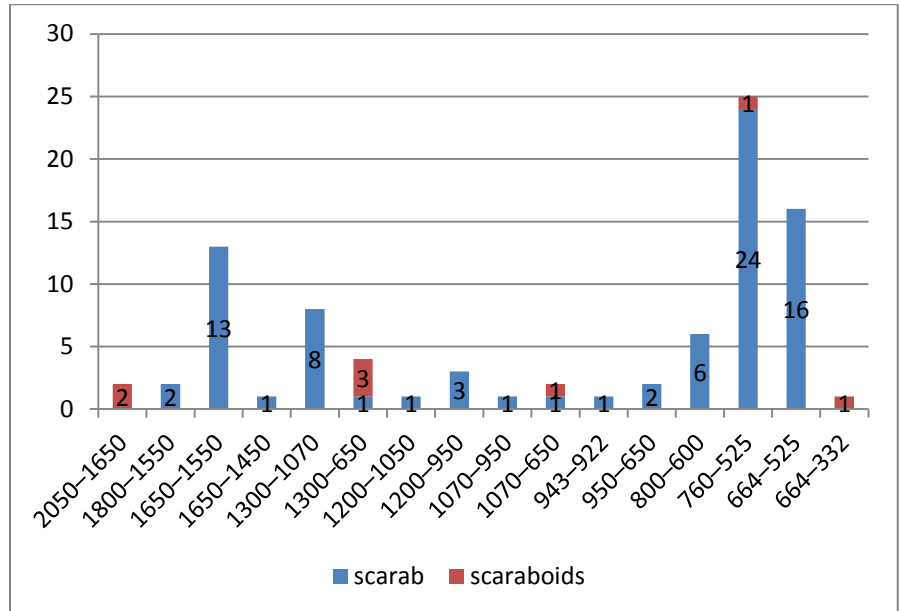


Chart 8: Chronological distribution of stone scarabs and scaraboids

Late Egyptian and Phoenician types



Figure 79 Scarab engraved with the name of Wahibre, referring to Psamtek I or Apries. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.1045. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 80 Scarab. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H3715. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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**).¹⁷⁷ This motif appears on scarabs found in contexts dated to the 8th-7th century BC in Egypt and the Mediterranean world.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

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).

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.

¹⁷⁸ In Matmar cemetery: Brunton 1948, pl. LXII, 26; in Tell el-Ajjul 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



Figure 81 Finely made scarabs, Gorton's type VIII. a. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, E75. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum b. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.SC.169. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff

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



Figure 82 Scarab, Gorton's type IX. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.864. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 83 Scarab, Gorton's type XI. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.917. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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

¹⁷⁹ Gorton 1996, 23–62.

¹⁸⁰ Gorton 1996, type VIII, 23–7.

¹⁸¹ Gorton 1996, 27.

¹⁸² Gorton 1996, 27–30.

¹⁸³ Gorton 1996, 30.

¹⁸⁴ Gorton 1996, 32, no. 14, and, 35, nos 8b–c.

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.



Figure 84 Scarabs, Gorton's type XII. a. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.675. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and b. Scarab. British Museum, EA36075

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



Figure 85 'Phoenician' type of scarabs. a. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.SC.70. Photograph © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Photography by British Museum staff b. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.920 and c. AN1896-1908-EA.922. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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 Etruria¹⁹³ 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,



Figure 86 Scarab bearing the royal name of Men-kheper-Ra Setep-en-Ra, probably Piy. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE33593.9. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 87 Scarab bearing the royal name Neferkara, prenomen of the 25th dynasty pharaoh Shabaqo Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.204. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

¹⁸⁹ Gorton 1996, 34–8.

¹⁹⁰ Scadone 1975, 59, pl. XIV, E17.

¹⁹¹ See *supra* in Late Egyptian and Phoenician types.

¹⁹² Gorton 1996, 43, 48.

¹⁹³ Hölbl 1979, II, 104, pl. 86/3, no. 477.

¹⁹⁴ Hölbl 1979, 160, 164.



Figure 88 Scarab naming Sheshonq I. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.1042. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Shabaqo (**Fig. 87**)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 numerous¹⁹⁶ and Egyptian stone scarabs bearing name of Libyan pharaohs are well-distributed in the Greek world, in Rhodes and Pithacoussai notably.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.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.



Figure 89 Scarab featuring a central cross pattern motif flanked by symmetrically arranged twisted ribbons. Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, A.1888.23 E. Photograph © National Museums Scotland

Type I scarabs are characterized by symmetrical patterns incised with a double outline.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.²⁰⁰ Type I scarabs are mainly distributed in the Western Mediterranean, but also in Greece, Cyprus and Rhodes during the 8th 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'.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.²⁰² The first scarab fits better this usual size range with its 1.50 x 1.10cm. Scarabs of the late 20th–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.²⁰³



Figure 90 Scarab with a central twisted ribbon and two crescent-shaped segments symmetrically arranged in lateral fields. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.9. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

One scarab incised with a floral and geometric design (**Fig. 91**) is possibly related to Gorton's Type II, despite its rather crude manufacture.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.



Figure 91 Scarab with a floral and geometric design. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.3. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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).

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

¹⁹⁷ Hölbl 2015, 80.

¹⁹⁸ Gorton 1996, 9–22.

¹⁹⁹ Gorton 1996, 9–11.

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

²⁰¹ Gorton 1996, 11

²⁰² Gorton 1996, 9.

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, 280–1, no. 149; Keel 2013, 150–1, no. 26), a different treatment to our scarab.

²⁰⁴ Gorton 1996, 12–3.



Figure 92 Scarab. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.4. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 93 Scarab. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.200. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 94 Scarab. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE33593.2. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 95 Hyksos scarab from Naukratis. British Museum, EA37538

Likewise a scarab decorated with intertwined S spirals surrounding a *nfr*- and *ꜥnh*-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.²⁰⁵ Ignoring the Naukratis example, Gorton underlined that they occur very rarely in such a late context in Egypt²⁰⁶, and added that some of them were probably made in a later factory imitating Hyksos scarabs.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-Ajjul in the Levant.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).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.²¹⁰ Ramesside examples offer the best parallels,²¹¹ though some were discovered in Third Intermediate Period contexts.²¹² The Naukratis finds seem genuinely Ramesside. Large scarabs decorated with a beetle framed by two oval breads and topped by uraei flanking and facing either a plumed oval containing the name of Menkheperra or a *hs*-libation vase, should also not be dated to the Hyksos period. Naukratis provided one of each type, the first already well-known.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).²¹⁴ To my knowledge, this motif is not attested elsewhere in Egypt, but a faience scarab from Lindos in Rhodes presents a similar design.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 Hykos (Fig. 95). The motif depicted on the underside – a kneeling figure with lotus flower and

²⁰⁵ Gorton 1996, 15–6.

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.

²⁰⁷ Gorton 1996, 16.

²⁰⁸ Gorton 1996, 17–8.

²⁰⁹ Gorton 1996, 17, no. 5.

²¹⁰ Jaeger 1982, 205, § 1366, notes 867–8. See Ashmolean Museum AN1888.200, British Museum EA36083 and EA58331, and, Museum of Fine Arts 86.676 and 88.1043.

²¹¹ Hornung and Staehelin 1976, nos 695–6, 698–9; Jaeger 1982, § 383, § 1366 and 1393.

²¹² From Matmar cemetery: Brunton 1948, pl. LXIII, no. 108; from the Kushite cemetery of Sanam: Griffith 1923, pl. XLV, no. 8.

²¹³ Jaeger 1982, 89, § 386; Gorton 1996, 17, no. 5. It corresponds to the scarab Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.674.

²¹⁴ Gorton 1996, 17, no. 2.

²¹⁵ Blinkenberg 1931, 390, pl. 62, no. 1555, with references to another example from the Museum of Turin.



Figure 96 Hyksos scarab from Naukratis. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.857. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

cobras – has well-known parallels or variants.²¹⁶ The treatment of the back, the peculiar shape of the cobras and well as the fine cross-hatching inside the signs can be found on another Naukratis scarab (**Fig. 96**). The theme featured – a falcon protected by two ureai – is also a motif favoured in the Hyksos period.²¹⁷

'L-shaped' red crowns appear on a number of Naukratis scarabs, sometimes associated with the *ḥn-r* formula (**Fig. 97**)²¹⁸ or with a stylized head of Hathor (**Fig. 98**). These combinations are highly typical of the Second Intermediate Period scarabs, particularly of the Hyksos period.²¹⁹



Figure 99 Scarab. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 88.1044. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 97 Hyksos scarab from Naukratis. Bristol, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery, 1888A195.1. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

Figure 98 Hyksos scarab from Naukratis. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.8. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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.²²⁰ 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.²²¹ In addition to this specimen from Naukratis, Jaeger quoted several examples from various Mediterranean sites where such scarabs were discovered.²²² 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,²²³ 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 Kition in Cyprus.



Figure 100 Scarab. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE33593.7. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo

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**),²²⁴ a falcon-headed deity holding a cobra by the tail (**Fig. 101**),²²⁵ and a winged Baal-Seth deity (**Fig. 102**).²²⁶ These deities can still be found on early Third Intermediate Period scarabs.²²⁷



Figure 101 Scarab. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.921. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 102 Scarab. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE39124.2. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo

²¹⁶ Compare notably with numerous examples from Palestine: Petrie 1931, vol. 3, pl. 3, 71; Tufnell 1984, 132, class 9C2, pl. 37, nos 2530–40; Givon 1985, 88, no. 77; Keel 2010, 282–3, no. 591 and 2013, 192–3, no. 55.

²¹⁷ See examples from good contexts at Meggido, Jericho, Fara 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 Magnarini 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.

²²⁰ Gorton 1996, 19–20, no. 14.

²²¹ Hölbl 1979, 9, pl. 67/2, no. 28

²²² Jaeger 1982, 56, § 196.

²²³ Gorton 1996, 20.

²²⁴ See parallels in Jaeger 1982, 194, §1314–15; Magnarini 2004, 295.

²²⁵ Especially numerous under the reign of Ramses II according to Schulman 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**)²²⁸, and a seated king (**Fig. 104**).²²⁹



Figure 103 Scarab. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H5115.7. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

Figure 104 Scarab. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H3711. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 105 Scarab. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.903. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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,²³⁰ though several have been dated to the second half of the 20th and 21st dynasties.²³¹ However, the poor treatment of the back and sides of that scarab is comparable to late Ramesside or Early Third Intermediate period finds.²³²

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,²³³ has been singled out by J. Yoyotte to demonstrate the presence of an Egyptian population at Naukratis since the Libyan dynasty.²³⁴ 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; Śliwa 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 2010, 390–1, no. 861.

²³³ Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII no. 64.

²³⁴ Yoyotte 1993–4, 679.

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 context of discovery. The 'good scarabs' brought by sebbakhin mentioned in Hogarth's diaries indicate again that these were not found under much supervision²³⁶, 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 scarabs²³⁹.

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 Aramaic²⁴² 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 Ptahnefer 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.

²⁴³ British Museum 1886,0401.1722: Amiet 1994.

²⁴⁴ Petrie 1886, 41, pl. XX, nos 17–8.

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 contemporary to the earliest Scarab Factory activities?

The motifs on the glazed composition and coloured 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 archaizing 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 archaizing 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 archaizing 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, archaizing, late Egyptian and Phoenician types identified in 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

²⁴⁵ Der Manuelian 1994.

²⁴⁶ Masson forthcoming c.

²⁴⁷ Gorton 1996, 9.

²⁴⁸ Gardner 1888, pl. XVIII, no. 80.

²⁴⁹ See Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 333, pl. 81, no. 720 with additional bibliography.

²⁵⁰ Keel 2013, 51–2, no. 115.

²⁵¹ See for example an Egyptian scarab in steatite dated to the 22nd dynasty (945 BC–720 BC) found alongside late 7th century BC scarabs in the Artemision in Ephesus. (Hölbl 2008, 213, fig. 188).

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.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.²⁵³ A number of amuletic figures in copper alloy were recently published in Weiss’s catalogue of Lower Egyptian bronzes.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 Eg[yp]tian] stuff [...] is worthless’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’,²⁵⁶ the whereabouts of which are mostly unknown.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.²⁵⁸ Ironically, this bias has probably caused unnecessary debates regarding the sources of some types of amulets found in the

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](#).

²⁵³ See *infra* section 3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries.

²⁵⁴ Weiss 2012; on this category see also the chapter on [Bronze votive offerings](#).

²⁵⁵ Hogarth’s diary 1903, entry for Saturday 2 May.

²⁵⁶ Hogarth’s diary 1899, entry for Friday 17 March.

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.

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



Figure 106 Green glazed amulet of Bes. London, Petrie Museum, UC52848. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Figure 107 Turquoise glazed amulet representing a falcon-headed deity, possibly Ra-Horakhty or Horus. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum, H1030. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

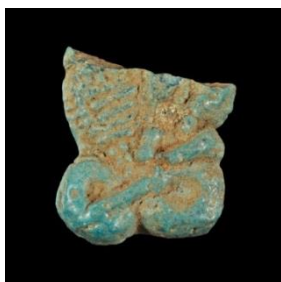


Figure 108 Amuletic pendant with bright blue glaze, representing Isis and Serapis as coiled pair of cobras. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.907. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photograph by British Museum staff

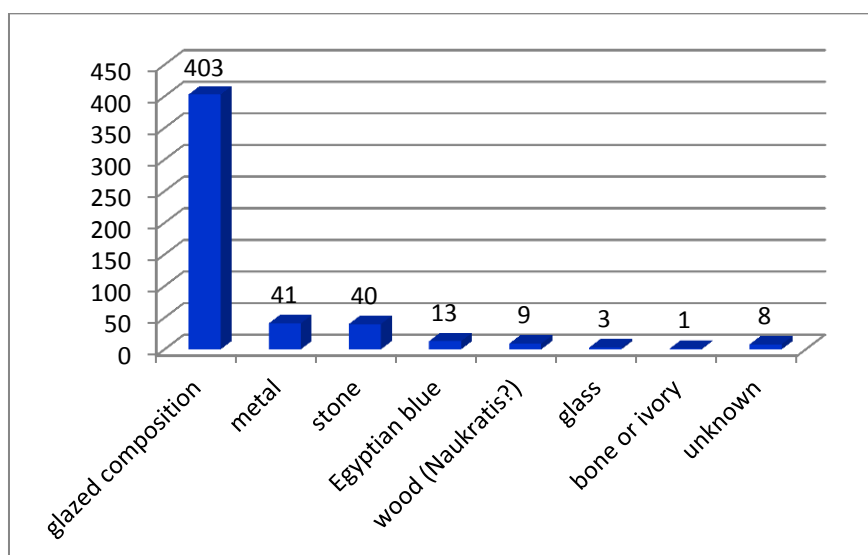


Chart 9: Materials of collected amulets (excluding seals)

Glazed composition

Faience amulets account for at least 77.8% of the corpus. This rather cheap material, usually combined with the efficient mould-made technique, allowed amulets to be mass-produced, particularly from the New Kingdom onwards. The type of raw materials and recipes used in the glazing are briefly addressed in the context of the discussion of the possible local production of faience amulets.

Variations of overall pale green or blue glazes are dominant in the amuletic corpus of Naukratis (**Figs 106–107**). Rarer darker shades of blue and green are identified for Ptolemaic or Roman amuletic figures (**Fig. 108**). Green was a colour associated with vegetation and the regeneration of

²⁵⁹ Germond 2005, 22.



Figure 109 Mixed-style amuletic striding naked figure with added dark brown glaze. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE26766. Photography © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 110 Amulet of a child deity, possibly Harpokrates, with added dark brown glaze on cream glazed composition. British Museum, EA68858



Figure 113 Dark brown glazed amulet representing the Egyptian god Mahes. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.807. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

nature, and the colour blue shared similar regenerative powers; red stood for hot and dangerous as well as life-giving and protective.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).



Figure 111 Pale turquoise with added black brown glaze amulets: two-sided wedjat-eye amulet. London, Petrie Museum, UC52394. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Figure 112 Bes amulet with feathered crown, eyes and beard marked by dark glaze. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.555. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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).²⁶¹ Brown or black colours were particularly linked to underworld and the idea of rebirth in the afterlife.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).



Figure 114 Sekhmet amulet with fine pale yellow core. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.876. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 115 Striding amuletic male figure in pink paste covered with a pale greenish yellow glaze. British Museum, EA68852

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.

²⁶⁰ Germond 2005, 23.

²⁶¹ See also the Nefertum amulet Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.808.

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,²⁶³ 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**).²⁶⁴ 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**).



Figure 116 Amuletic figure of Harpokrates. Liverpool, World Museum, 9.9.86.105.b. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 117 Amulet in the shape of a seated cat. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.311. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 118 Bell in copper alloy decorated with Bes and animal heads. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 86.317. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 119 Gold amuletic ornament representing Horus-the-Child with Isis and Nephthys. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE26779. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo

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.²⁶⁵

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 Nephthys (**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;²⁶⁶ they were meant to be placed on mummies, chiefly the torso of the deceased.²⁶⁷ In his *Journal*, Petrie describes this gold plaque as 'Horus between Isis & Nephthys, repoussé gold backed with plain, 1 x 1 ¼ in[che]s'.²⁶⁸ 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.²⁶⁹ 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'.²⁷⁰ 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.

²⁶⁷ Andrews 1994, 49, fig. 53d; Taylor and Strudwick 2005, 118–9.

²⁶⁸ Petrie *Journal* 1884–5, p. 167.

²⁶⁹ Diadem British Museum, 1886,0401.1765.

²⁷⁰ Petrie 1886, 43–4, pl. XXVII.



Figure 120 Gold amulet of Bes. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE33539. Photography © Egyptian Museum, Cairo

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.



Figure 121 Amulet of Nefertum in pale steatite. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, RES.86.326. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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



Figure 122 Worn out amulet in dark steatite representing an Osiris Canopus jar. London, Petrie Museum, UC54641. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

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 (striding 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-eyet, seems genuine limestone); Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26831 (pyramidal pendant, no photograph available); not located amuletic figure of Harpokrates, said to be carved from 'dark limestone' (Gardner 1888, 56, pl. XV, no. 13).

²⁸⁰ Andrews 1994, 95–6, fig. 64e and 95.



Figure 125 Wedjat-eye amulet in hard igneous stone. Montreal, Redpath Museum, 2536.01. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University



Figure 126 Lapis lazuli amulet in the shape of a cat-headed uraeus. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1888.175. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 127 Amuletic pendant in the shape of a celt in amazonite (?). British Museum, 1886,0401.1715



Figure 128 Wedjat-eye amulet in red jasper. Liverpool, World Museum, 9,9,86,84.o. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 129 Amuletic figure of Harpokrates carved from a bright banded green stone, probably jasper. British Museum, 1888,0601.79



Figure 123 Heart amulet in banded calcite. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-EA.696. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 124 Head-rest amulet in hematite. Montreal, Redpath Museum, 2504. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University

Hard stone amulets include several wedjat-eyes in coarse-grained black and white or pinkish cream stone, either granite, diorite or syenite (Fig. 125).²⁸¹ Difficult to carve, they do not show any detail. Four of them were bought together by Petrie and probably came from the same context.²⁸² A headless bird is manufactured in the same stone.²⁸³

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).²⁸⁴ They were all found during Gardner's season of 1885–6 and might come from the same context, unfortunately not recorded.²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶ Three 26th dynasty amulets, similarly small and in lapis lazuli, were found in Tell Dafana, including a lion-headed uraeus.²⁸⁷ A pale blue stone, possibly amazonite rather than turquoise, was used for an unusual amuletic pendant in the shape of a celt (Fig. 127).²⁸⁸ These two pale blue-green stones were usually associated with ideas of renewal and resurrection.²⁸⁹ 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.²⁹⁰

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 EA27629. 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.

²⁸⁷ Leclère and Spencer 2014, 61–2, pl. 22. British Museum EA20654, EA20662 and EA20666.

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

²⁸⁹ Germond 2005, 23.

²⁹⁰ Germond 2005, 23.



Figure 130 Pierced polished flat black pebble. British Museum, 1886,0401.1724



Figure 131 Amuletic pendant covered with magical symbols. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1896-1908-G.1012. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 132 Wedjat-eye amulets in Egyptian blue Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.799. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 133 Amulets in gilded wood, said to come from Naukratis Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 94.310. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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 lalysos 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 deities²⁹⁷ and symbols²⁹⁸.

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 lalysos 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, 206, no. 143.

³⁰⁰ Germond 2005, 22.



Figure 134 Scarab in blue glass Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H3812. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 135 Crescent-shape amuletic pendant in blue glass British Museum 1886.0401.1713



Figure 136 Amulet representing a seated cat, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.221. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 137 Amulet representing an ithyphallic herm with the head of a bearded man. London, Petrie Museum UC16477. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Glass

Glass is an unusual material for amulets, though it became slightly more popular from 400 BC onwards.³⁰¹ 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 1918³⁰². One crescent-shape amuletic pendant in opaque blue glass can probably be dated to the Roman period (**Fig. 135**).³⁰³

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.³⁰⁴

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.³⁰⁵ 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.³⁰⁶ Mixed-style

³⁰¹ Andrews 1994, 100.

³⁰² Cairo, Egyptian Museum TR14/9/18/19.

³⁰³ Example in translucent green glass: Dublin 2007, 56.

³⁰⁴ See for example the cat amulets Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.886, AN1896-1908-EA.689 and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.804.

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.³⁰⁷ They are normally considered as non-Egyptian types and particularly affiliated to Greek contexts.³⁰⁸

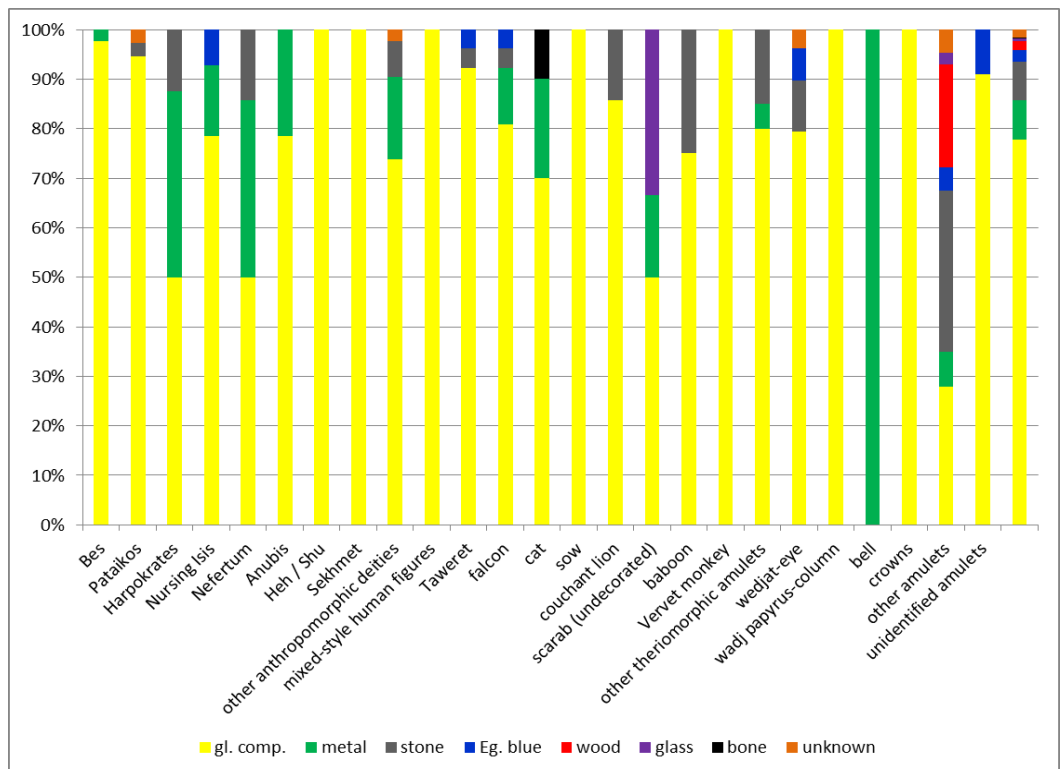
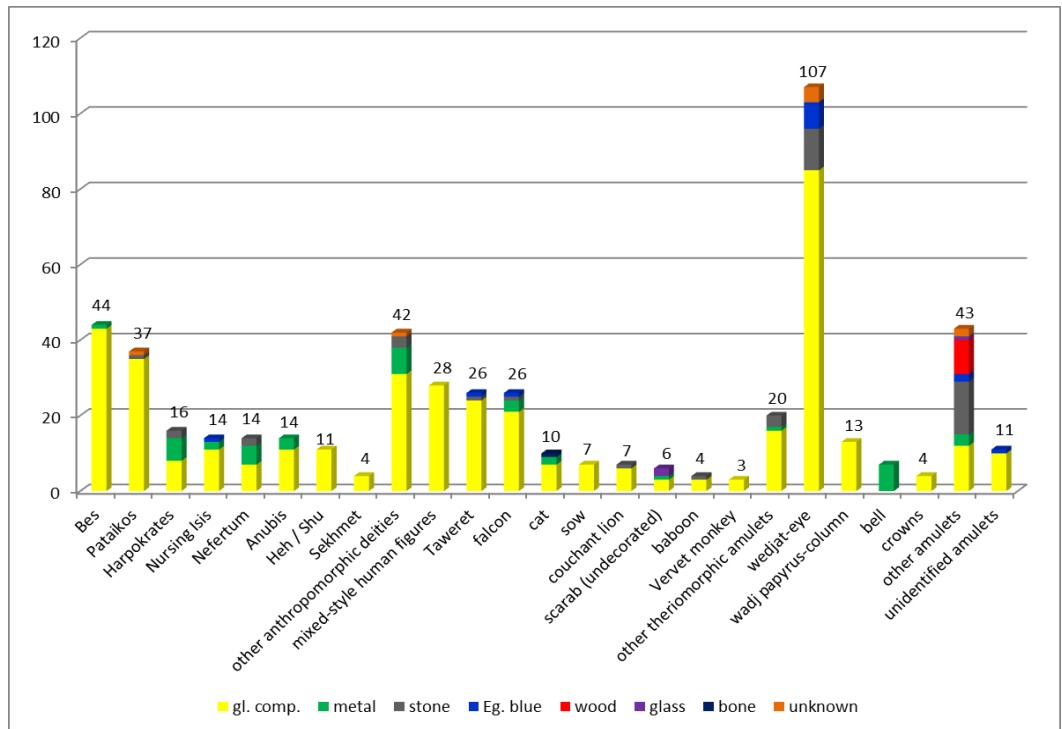


Chart 10: Distribution of amulet subjects by material

1908-EA.929) or a ram's head surmounted by a sun-disc (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.888) could well be connected to the local cult of the ram-headed god Amun-Ra Baded, attested in Naukratis since the 26th dynasty (Yoyotte 1982-3; Guerneur 2005, 126-38; Masson forthcoming b). However, other deities can be associated with a ram, such as the Egyptian creator god Khnum.

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.

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.³⁰⁹ 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'.³¹⁰ The dwarf deity invoked in this ritual could either be Bes or Pataikos.³¹¹ Amulets of Bes and Pataikos could have played such roles as well as many additional functions.³¹²

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.³¹³ 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.³¹⁴ 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).



Figure 138 Detailed amulet of a crouching Bes. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33543. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 139 Crude amulet of Bes. Liverpool, World Museum 27.5.86.43. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photograph by British Museum staff



Figure 140 Highly stylised amulet of Bes. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.88. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photograph by British Museum staff



Figure 143 Inscribed amulet of a striding Bes. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.211. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photograph by British Museum staff



Figure 141 Double-sided Bes amulet Montreal, Redpath Museum 2501.02. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University



Figure 142 Double-sided Bes amulet Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.451. Photograph © McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock / Inverclyde Council. Photographer François Leclère

³⁰⁹ On their association: Bulté 1998, 379 and 382; Dasen 1993.

³¹⁰ Borghouts 1971, 29, Spells 30–1; see discussion in Erp 2014, 30–1.

³¹¹ Györy 2011, 159.

³¹² Erp 2014.

³¹³ Loeben 2016, 50–1.

³¹⁴ On Bes amulets: Andrews 1994, 38–40; Velázquez Brieva 2007; Herrmann 2003, 18–9; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 69–73; Webb 2016, 70 and note 430.



Figure 144 Flat-backed Bes' head. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1 908-EA.863. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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



Figure 145 Bes' head within a circular serrated frame. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.810. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 146 Double-sided amulet with Bes' head and wedjat-eye. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H3813. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

Pataikos



Figure 147 Fragmentary amulet of Pataikos with protruding skull. Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,73. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

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 hairline³¹⁹ 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, pl. XII, nos 213–6; Andrews 1994, 40; Herrmann 2010, 129, no. 51.

³¹⁸ 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.

³²¹ Andrews 1994, 39.

³²² Györy 2002, 492.

³²³ For various types and more or less complex typologies of Pataikos amulets see: Matzker 1990; Herrmann 1994, 404–92; Herrmann 2003, 19–22; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 75–9.



Figure 148a-c (from left to right) Amulets of Pataikos in a range of styles. (a) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.798. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; (b) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.686 and (c) AN1896-1908-EA.860. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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.³²⁴ Only two were identified and both are quite crudely executed, one measuring 1.45cm, the other 4.05cm high (Fig. 149a–b).



Figure 149a-b (from left to right) Crude double-sided amulets of Pataikos. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum (a) H1039.1 and (b) H1039.2. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 150 Large complex amulet of Pataikos. British Museum EA58315

At least four mould-made figures in glazed composition belong to another type of Pataikos amulets (Fig. 150).³²⁵ 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.³²⁶ His head is topped by a scarab beetle in relief. A falcon or a kite rests on each of his shoulders,³²⁷ 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.³²⁸

Large amuletic figures of Pataikos standing on crocodiles already appear in the New Kingdom³²⁹ and developed in the Third Intermediate Period.³³⁰ Such amulets form a variant of Horus-on-crocodiles stelae.³³¹ 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 syncretic 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).

³²⁹ Györy 2003, 15–6.

³³⁰ Andrews 1994, 39.

³³¹ So-called *cippus*: Andrews 1994, 39.



Figure 151 'Cippus-amulet' with inscription on the base. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.4560. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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.³³² The base of one Naukratis example bears hieroglyphic signs, perhaps implying its use as a seal-stamp (Fig. 151).³³³ 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.³³⁴ 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.³³⁵ 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.³³⁶ Györy noticed a series of stylistic and iconographic changes in the Late Period versions of these amulets³³⁷ 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,³³⁸ 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.³³⁹ 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, 288–95.

³³⁴ See references in Györy 2003, 17–8.

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.

³³⁹ Györy 2003, 29.



Figure 152 Amulet of Pataikos wearing a sidelock and a beaded collar. London, Petrie Museum UC54621. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Figure 153 Steatite plaque with the Osirian triad. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33553. Photograph © Egyptian Museum, Cairo

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 mummiform 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

³⁴⁰ Erp 2014, 19, 29–30, 37.

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.³⁵⁰ 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 theme of bronze statuary.³⁵¹

At Naukratis, nursing Isis amulets are small to medium sized, with the height of complete examples varying between 1.6 and 4.6cm. Isis can be seen wearing a tripartite wig usually topped by a Hathoric crown or a headdress in the shape of the *st*-seat, 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**).³⁵² On one Egyptian blue example, the child god seems to stand in front of the goddess (**Fig. 156**).



Figure 154 Glazed composition amulet of nursing Isis. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H3538. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 155 Copper alloy nursing Isis. Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,102.b. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 156 Egyptian blue amulet of nursing Isis. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.803. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Child deity

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.³⁵³ Horus-the-Child was much revered in the Delta during the Late and Ptolemaic periods.³⁵⁴ 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.³⁵⁵



Figure 157 Amulet of Horus-the-Child striding. Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,65. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

Horus-the-Child is clearly depicted as an infant, naked with a lock of hair to the side of his head.³⁵⁶ 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 amuletic

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.

³⁵⁵ Andrews 1994, 16; Germond 2005, 42.

³⁵⁶ Andrews 1994, 16; Sandri 2006, 97; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 28–9; Weiss 2012, 126–57; Herrmann 2016, 308.



Figure 158 Amuletic pendant with child deity head. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts / 86.806. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 159 Nude child deity with a gigantic phallus coiled around his neck. British Museum EA90388



Figure 160 Kneeling ithyphallic child deity, British Museum EA27541

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.³⁵⁷ 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.³⁵⁸ Their iconography conveys ideas of fertility and regeneration, and such figures were particularly associated with the Nile inundation and related festivals.³⁵⁹ 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 a straight large phallus extending forward (**Fig. 160**). Both figures are rather small-sized and better preserved parallels feature a loop of suspension.³⁶⁰ All of this suggests that they could be worn as amulets.³⁶¹ Other types of ithyphallic figures of Harpocrates 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.³⁶² 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.³⁶³ 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 than Sekhmet's. The identification of Sekhmet is furthermore not always assured.

³⁵⁷ Similar amulets published in Herrmann 2003, 84–6, nos 375–401.

³⁵⁸ Bailey 2008.

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.



Figure 161 Fragmentary large amuletic figure of Nefertum. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.851. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 162 Crude faience amulet of Nefertum. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.655. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 163 Amulet of Nefertum. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.60. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

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.³⁶⁴ He enjoyed a special status in Bubastis too, as the patron goddess Bastet was related and often assimilated to the lion-headed Sekhmet.³⁶⁵ 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.³⁶⁶ Later, he was believed to also be a bearer of good fortune and became a popular subject in the Late Period amuletic corpus,³⁶⁷ although amulets of Nefertum started to be produced and exported in the Mediterranean world as early as the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.³⁶⁸

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.³⁶⁹ 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**).³⁷⁰ 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.³⁷¹

Nefertum amulets occur regularly in the Mediterranean world, particularly in the Third Intermediate Period, but also in the Late Period.³⁷² 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.³⁷³

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.³⁷⁴ 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 Wadjyt, and Amun's

³⁶⁴ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 56.

³⁶⁵ Weiss 2012, 106.

³⁶⁶ Germond 2005, 37.

³⁶⁷ Heinz 2011, 217.

³⁶⁸ Andrews 1994, 18–9; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 56.

³⁶⁹ One amulet, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.308, figures a male deity, seated on a simplified throne with a high back and wearing a high headdress. The design is so flat and stylized that it is difficult to tell if it is Nefertum or Amun who is represented.

³⁷⁰ See also Masson 2015, 77, fig. 3.8.

³⁷¹ Herrmann 1994, 242–5, nos 207–11, pl. XV.

³⁷² In the Levant and on Punic sites: Herrmann 1994, 240–6; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 56; Herrmann 2016, 98–101, 330–3.

³⁷³ Herrmann 1994, 246, no. 214.

³⁷⁴ Apostola 2015; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 39–41; Herrmann 2016, 75–82.



Figure 164 Amulet of a lion-headed goddess, probably Sekhmet. Montreal, Redpath Museum 2410. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University



Figure 165 Amulet-mould for Sekhmet figures. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 11.45971. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 166 Amulet of a lion-headed goddess seated on a throne (?). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.4551. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

consort Mut.³⁷⁵ 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.³⁷⁶ 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.³⁷⁷ She played a particularly important role in Western Delta, as mistress and protector of the Occident, notably against the Libyan threat.³⁷⁸

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).³⁷⁹ 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 Wadjet show the goddess crowned with a similar attribute.³⁸⁰ 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.³⁸¹

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.³⁸² Finally, an amulet of which only the middle part is preserved (**Fig. 166**) could belong to one of the well-

³⁷⁵ Andrews 1994, 33–4.

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 2008, 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



Figure 167 Amulet of Anubis or Wepwawet, reasonably well-fashioned. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.871. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 168 Stylized amulet of Anubis or Wepwawet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.874. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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 (Upuaut).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 4.4cm. 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



Figure 169 Crude amulet of Shu showed in profile. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.621. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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 On these two deities: Quertinmont 2016, 129–33.

³⁸⁵ See chapter and catalogue on [Bronze votive offerings](#).

³⁸⁶ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 36; Herrmann 2016, 314–5.

³⁸⁷ Masson forthcoming b.

³⁸⁸ Jeffreys *et al.* 1988, pl. 26a, 78/226, pl. 41e–f, pl. 16a–d.

³⁸⁹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.178 and 86.179.

³⁹⁰ Weiss 2012, 448.

³⁹¹ On both types of amulets: Andrews 1994, 19 and 88–9; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 51–2.

³⁹² Herrmann 2006, 88–92, pls XX–XXII.



Figure 170 Amulet of Shu looking straight ahead. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.620. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 171 Stylized amulet of Shu. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.66. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 172 Well-finished amulet of Taweret. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.685. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 173 Stylised amulet of Taweret. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.266. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

amulets dated between the 25th dynasty and the Ptolemaic period.³⁹³ 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.³⁹⁴ Shu amulets were discovered in burials of the Third Intermediate Period and 26th dynasty, often placed on the lower torso of mummies,³⁹⁵ but they were also common in Late Period settlements.³⁹⁶

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.³⁹⁷

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.³⁹⁸ 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.³⁹⁹

Taweret amulets are attested throughout the dynastic period since the Old Kingdom⁴⁰⁰ 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.⁴⁰¹ Amulets depicting a hippopotamus walking on its four legs are exceptional in Egypt.⁴⁰² 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.⁴⁰³

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

³⁹³ Herrmann 2016, 326–31.

³⁹⁴ Germond 2005, 44.

³⁹⁵ Andrews 1994, 19; Quertinmont 2016, 301.

³⁹⁶ Masson forthcoming d.

³⁹⁷ Herrmann 2016, 328–9, no. 0081.2006.

³⁹⁸ Loeben 2016,

³⁹⁹ Loeben 2016, 48–9.

⁴⁰⁰ Andrews 1994, 40; Ferrari 1996, 40.

⁴⁰¹ Various types of Taweret amulets: Andrews 1994, 40; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 80–2; Herrmann 2016, 368–73.

⁴⁰² Loeben 2016, 47.

⁴⁰³ For example: Giddy 1992, pl. 52, 78/1, pl. 53, 78/85, pl. 77, 78/1, 78/85; Wilson 1982, 30, pl. XXVIII nos 9–10.



Figure 174 Amulet of Taweret with loop above head. Montreal, Redpath Museum 2501.01. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University



Figure 175a-b (from left to right) Amulets of Taweret with pierced back pillar. (a) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.267. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (b) Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,62. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

threatening attitude (**Fig. 172**). In other cruder and more stylized amulets, it is only possible to make out the general silhouette 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 *ꜥꜥ*-sign, 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 *ꜥꜥ*-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



Figure 176 Egyptian blue figure of Taweret. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33534. Photography © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



Figure 177 Steatite figure of Taweret. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.173. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

Falcon

This bird of prey is often related to the solar and royal god Horus,⁴⁰⁶ but several deities and the pharaoh himself could assume a falcon form.⁴⁰⁷ For example, Nefertum who was associated and identified as Horus, could take the shape of a falcon.⁴⁰⁸ When it comes to falcon amulets, the identification proves even more difficult, especially when the falcon does not wear a headdress.⁴⁰⁹ 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.

⁴⁰⁶ Weiss 2012, 281–2.

⁴⁰⁷ David, Smith 2005, 54.

⁴⁰⁸ Györy 2003, 25–6.

⁴⁰⁹ Andrews 1994, 27–8; on various types of falcon amulets: Herrmann et al. 2010, 103–4; Herrmann 2016, 188–90, 383–5.



Figure 178 Falcon amulet. Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,90.a. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 179 Mixed-style amulet of a falcon. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.222. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 180 Amulet of a falcon wearing a pschent. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2084.1. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 181 Amulet of a falcon wearing a pschent standing on a standard. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.815. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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.⁴¹⁰ 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 pinching 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 turquoise 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.⁴¹¹

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)⁴¹² 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.⁴¹³ Similar bronzes are attested in various Late Period contexts, notably in the Memphite region,⁴¹⁴ but also from Thonis-Heracleion, Buto and Athribis.⁴¹⁵

One amulet in Egyptian blue shows a falcon wearing a double-feathered crown framing a small sun-disc (**Fig. 182**). The tall feathers have incised chevrons. Such headgear is normally specific to the Theban warrior god Montu, a god who could offer protection against enemies.⁴¹⁶ Montu amulets are exceptional outside of the Nile Valley, as pointed out by Hölbl.⁴¹⁷ He mentions a falcon-headed amulet with a similar headdress

⁴¹⁰ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.309. Weiss 2012, 738–40, pl. 43c–f, type T 18 (see especially no. 805 for this amulet).

⁴¹¹ See detailed discussion in chapter on [Archaic mixed style faience figures](#).

⁴¹² Masson 2015, 78, fig. 3.9c.

⁴¹³ 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](#).

⁴¹⁴ From the falcon complex and catacomb in North Saqqara: Davies and Smith 2005.

⁴¹⁵ Weiss 2012, 740–5, pl. 44, type T 19.

⁴¹⁶ Andrews 1994, 29–30.

⁴¹⁷ Hölbl 2015, 82–3, fig. 5; Hölbl 2016, 243, pl. 3 no. 8.

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.⁴¹⁸ 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.⁴¹⁹



Figure 182 Amulet of Montu (?) in the shape of a falcon. London, Petrie Museum UC6485. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Figure 183 Falcon-headed harpoon-amulet. British Museum EA27590

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.⁴²⁰ 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.⁴²¹ The popularity of cat amulets increased in parallel from the Third Intermediate period, in Egypt and beyond.⁴²²

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



Figure 184 Cat amulet in glazed composition. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.690. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 185 Stylised cat amulet in glazed composition. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.90.c. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

⁴¹⁸ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 104, no. 11; Herrmann 2016, 384–5, no. 0865.1994.

⁴¹⁹ Andrews 1994, 79–80, fig. 80.

⁴²⁰ Kessler 1989, 150–4.

⁴²¹ Zivie and Lichtenberg 2005.

⁴²² On cat amulets in general: Andrews 1994, 12, 33–4; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 89–90; Herrmann 2016, 168–72, 374–7.



Figure 186 Cat amulet in copper alloy. Bolton Museum 1886.31.66.a. Photograph © Bolton Library and Museum Service. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum



Figure 187 Sow amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.892. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 188 Stylised sow amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.891. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 189 Detailed sow amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.889. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

contexts dated between 600 and 333 BC.⁴²³ 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**).⁴²⁴ 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.⁴²⁵

Sow

The sow is an animal primarily associated with the sky goddess Nut, and like the cat, with ideas of fecundity and maternity.⁴²⁶ 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.⁴²⁷ While many sow amulets mention the name of Nut, others bear the name of Isis, archetype of the divine mother.⁴²⁸ They start to be popular with the Third Intermediate Period, though they were already produced in the Late New Kingdom⁴²⁹ and are widespread in Egypt and in the Mediterranean world during the Late Period.⁴³⁰

Sow amulets from Naukratis are all in glazed composition. The most common type is small-sized (between 1.20 and 1.95cm) 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.⁴³¹

One larger specimen, measuring more than 3.90cm 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**).⁴³² 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, 297–8, 783–91, pl. 49, type T 32.

⁴²⁶ Germond 2005, 29.

⁴²⁷ Taylor and Strudwick 2005, 120.

⁴²⁸ Andrews 1994, 35.

⁴²⁹ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, no. 4.

⁴³⁰ Germond 2005, nos 6–7; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 94; Herrmann 2016, 178–80, 378–9.

⁴³¹ Herrmann 2003, 128, pl. XCII, nos 667–8.

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;⁴³⁴ he specifies that since these amulets were very damaged, only a few were collected.⁴³⁵

Couchant lion



Figure 190 Crudely made lion amulet. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.287. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 191 Well-made lion amulet. Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975-208. Photograph © Dundee City Council. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum



Figure 192 Lion amulet of the mixed-style group, from the Temple of Apollo. British Museum 1886,0401.1326

Lions symbolize the power of the sun and the pharaohs.⁴³⁶ They could embody the sun god Ra himself.⁴³⁷ Amulets alongside other small objects reproducing their shape were already produced in the Predynastic period.⁴³⁸ They are still regularly found in Late Period and Ptolemaic contexts, not only in Egypt but also in Nubia and the Mediterranean world.⁴³⁹ Lion amulets imbued the wearer with divine and royal protection as well as with regenerative powers.⁴⁴⁰

At Naukratis, lion amulets were recovered in numbers similar to the sow amulets, but nothing so far suggests that they were as common.⁴⁴¹ Apart from an amuletic bead carved from lapis lazuli,⁴⁴² 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.⁴⁴³ His amulets were particularly favoured by scribes, judges and priests.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁴ For discussion on this context of discovery, see *infra* section 3.2.2. Amulets in Egyptian votive contexts.

⁴³⁵ Edgar 1905, 134.

⁴³⁶ De Wit 1951.

⁴³⁷ Allen 1974, 55; Andrews 2016, 98.

⁴³⁸ Germond 2005, 30.

⁴³⁹ 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, 175, 376–9).

⁴⁴⁰ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 91.

⁴⁴¹ I do not include in this category scaraboids in the shape of a couchant lion (see *supra* section 1.1.1. Moulds).

⁴⁴² Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.174.

⁴⁴³ Shaw and Nicholson 2008, 327.

⁴⁴⁴ Andrews 1994, 27; Germond 2005, 31.



Figure 193 Ibis amulet in open work. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.324. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 194 Walking ibis-headed amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.868. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 195 Glazed composition amulet of Thoth as a seated baboon. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.884. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 196 Steatite amulet of Thoth as a seated baboon. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.188. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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.

⁴⁴⁸ Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 34–5; Herrmann 2016, 67–70, 312–5.

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.

⁴⁵⁰ Andrews 1994, 49; Taylor and Strudwick 2005, 107.

⁴⁵¹ Various types of baboon amulets: Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 99; Herrmann 2016, 380–3.

⁴⁵² Germond 2005, 31.

⁴⁵³ British Museum 1888,0601.78.



Figure 197 Wooden figure of Thoth baboon seated on palm leaf capital. London, Petrie Museum UC60012. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



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



Figure 199 Glazed steatite amulet in the shape of a Vervet monkey with its babies. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33556. Photography © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



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 Leclère

Thoth as a baboon appears at Naukratis in a few additional objects for which we have only a description.⁴⁵⁴ One glazed composition amulet depicts a seated baboon with a wedjat-eye on its knees.⁴⁵⁵ 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.⁴⁵⁶ Another glazed composition figure of possible amuletic nature represents a monkey on a pillar.⁴⁵⁷ 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 crown with a crescent with full moon.⁴⁵⁸

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.⁴⁵⁹ They supposedly help the wearer with love and sexual fulfilment during his/her life and in the underworld.⁴⁶⁰

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**).⁴⁶¹ 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.⁴⁶² 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,⁴⁶³ unlike on this amulet.

⁴⁵⁴ 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 [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.

⁴⁵⁵ Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE33544.

⁴⁵⁶ Andrews 2000, 49, fig. 38h and 102–3.

⁴⁵⁷ Munich, Bavarian State Collection of Antiques, object not located and register number unknown.

⁴⁵⁸ Andrews 1994, fig. 24a and c.

⁴⁵⁹ Andrews 1994, 66.

⁴⁶⁰ Andrews 1994, 66–7, fig. 71; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 100–1; Herrmann 2016, 382–3.

⁴⁶¹ For complete example see Andrews 1994, fig. 71c; Herrmann *et al.* 2010, 100, figs 5–6.

⁴⁶² Andrews 1994, 67, fig. 71d.

⁴⁶³ On this type see Bulté 1991. Compare for example the faience staff-terminal in the form of a figure of Bes, British Museum EA26267. A Vervet monkey is depicted alongside a child, two frogs and an oryx.

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.⁴⁶⁴ This explains why the wedjat-eyet also came to represent the restoration of Osiris' body torn apart by Seth.⁴⁶⁵ Wedjat literally means 'the sound one'.⁴⁶⁶ 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 mummies⁴⁶⁷ and they were almost systematically used in various positions on Late Dynastic mummies.⁴⁶⁸ 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.⁴⁶⁹ 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.⁴⁷⁰

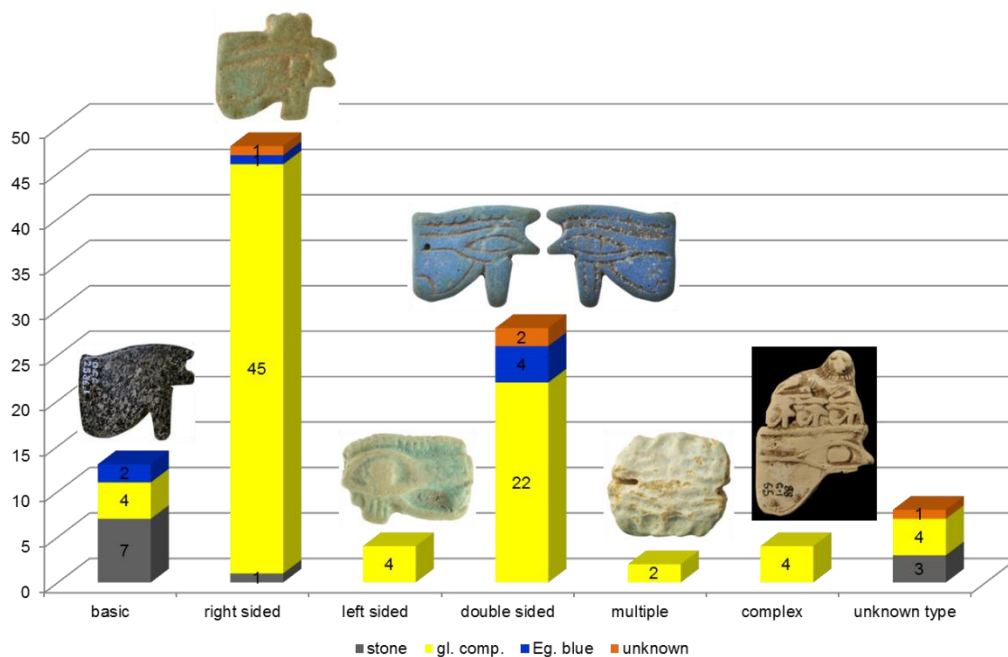


Chart 11: Distribution of wedjat-eyes' types per material

As the prophylactic symbol per excellence, wedjat-eyes dominate by far the amuletic corpus at Naukratis, with 20.7%.⁴⁷¹ 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.⁴⁷² Double-sided wedjat-eyes are also ubiquitous.



Figure 201 Detailed wedjat-eye amulet in steatite. London, Petrie Museum UC52358. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

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.⁴⁷³ 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.⁴⁷⁴ 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.⁴⁷⁵ Only positives of the former have so far been identified on the site (**Fig. 19** above).



Figure 202 One-sided right wedjat-eye with added glaze outlining all standard markings. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.84.n. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

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.⁴⁷⁶ 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.



Figure 203 One-sided right wedjat-eye with added glaze for pupil, standard markings of wedjat-eye modelled. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2009.2. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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**).



Figure 204 Open-work one-sided right wedjat-eye within a frame. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.694. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff

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**).

⁴⁷² Andrews 1994, 43; 2016, 96.

⁴⁷³ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.186.

⁴⁷⁴ See *infra* section 2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory.

⁴⁷⁵ See *supra* section 1.1.1. Moulds.

⁴⁷⁶ For example Herrmann *et al* 2010, 124–9; Herrmann 2016, 391–421.



Figure 205 Double-sided wedjat-eye with added glaze for pupil and modelled standard markings for both sides. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.693. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 206 Double-sided wedjat-eye with right-facing side with added glaze outlining all standard markings and left-facing side decorated with modelled standard markings. Liverpool, World Museum 9.9.86.84.d. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

Basic,⁴⁷⁷ left-sided 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).⁴⁷⁸ 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 openwork 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,⁴⁷⁹ but the type probably persisted into the 26th dynasty⁴⁸⁰ and such a date would fit better the Naukratis find. Memphis yielded a couple comparable examples.⁴⁸¹



Figure 207 Complex wedjat-eye amulet with reclining lion. British Museum 1888,0601.55

Wedjat-eyes in Egyptian blue are usually double-sided with the standard markings finely incised on both sides (Fig. 208).⁴⁸² 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).



Figure 208 Egyptian blue wedjat-eye with incised details. British Museum EA27556



Figure 209 Egyptian blue wedjat-eye without decoration. London, Petrie Museum UC52399. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

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.



Figure 210 Simple wadj-column amulet. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.898. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 211 Detailed wadj-column amulet. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E65. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum



Figure 212 Amulet of the white crown. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.697. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 213 Red crown amulet. Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,86. Photograph © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). Photography by British Museum staff

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

Crowns

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 settlements⁴⁹¹ but are rarely found outside of Egypt, with examples attested on Phoenician and Punic sites⁴⁹² 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 contrasts 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'Égypte 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.⁴⁹⁵ 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.⁴⁹⁶

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).⁴⁹⁷



Figure 214 Amulet of Hermes, probably not from Naukratis. Allard Pierson Museum 7638. © Allard Pierson Museum

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).



Figure 215 Amulet of Bes brandishing a sword, probably not from Naukratis. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7631. © Allard Pierson Museum

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.⁴⁹⁸ 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 Herrmann *et al.* 2010 and Herrmann 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’.⁴⁹⁹ And when Edgar discussed a large assemblage of amulets discovered near the Great Temenos, he affirmed that they were produced at the Scarab Factory.⁵⁰⁰ 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.⁵⁰¹ 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.⁵⁰² 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.⁵⁰³



Figure 216 Waster with two amulets or a single amuletic figure (?). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1886.452. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum

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,⁵⁰⁴ 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.

⁵⁰² Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.555 and AN1896-1908-EA.862; Liverpool, World Museum. See another close type but slightly smaller in size: Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H1042.3.

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 9,9,86,69; 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.⁵⁰⁵



Figure 217 Waster of a falcon figure. British Museum 2013.5012.11

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.⁵⁰⁶ 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.⁵⁰⁷



Figure 218 Amulet of Isis nursing. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.298. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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-eyes⁵⁰⁸ and popular deities such as Pataikos,⁵⁰⁹ Bes,⁵¹⁰ Taweret,⁵¹¹ Isis nursing,⁵¹² and many more anthropomorphic⁵¹³ and zoomorphic⁵¹⁴ deities as well as various other topics (for example **Figs 218-219**).⁵¹⁵ They number one to a few specimens for each type. Four amulets were crafted in Egyptian



Figure 219 Amulet of an uraeus. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.329. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

⁵⁰⁵ See for example British Museum EA18156.

⁵⁰⁶ See chapter on [Archaic mixed style faience figures](#).

⁵⁰⁷ Meek *et al.* 2016, 98.

⁵⁰⁸ Double-sided wedjat-eye 86.800, 86.805, deaccessioned RES.86.272 and RES.86.280; various types of one sided (right eye when mentioned) wedjat-eye deaccessioned RES.86.273, RES.86.274, RES.86.276, RES.86.278 and RES.86.281; wedjat-eye with both sides flat and plain deaccessioned RES.86.275 and RES.86.279; worn example deaccessioned RES.86.277; double eye, i.e. one facing up and one facing down on a convex surface deaccessioned RES.86.282.

⁵⁰⁹ Crouching Pataikos 86.798, deaccessioned similar amulet RES.86.263 alongside deaccessioned fragmentary amulets RES.86.264 and RES.86.265; rather stylized Pataikos RES.86.331.

⁵¹⁰ Crude amulet of Bes RES.86.303, alongside better example RES.86.301 and deaccessioned similar amulet RES.86.302; highly stylized Bes RES.86.327 (said to be Djed pillar) and deaccessioned P.5243; head of Bes in serrated frame 86.810 (Boston registers state Naukratis as a context of discovery, but Amelia Edwards records the Scarab Factory as a find-spot); deaccessioned 'emblem' of Bes RES.86.304 (probably meaning Bes head).

⁵¹¹ Various stylized versions of Taweret RES.86.266, RES.86.267 and RES.86.268; deaccessioned Taweret amulet RES.86.269.

⁵¹² RES.86.298, fragmentary RES.86.310, deaccessioned RES.86.299 and RES.86.300.

⁵¹³ Striding Anubis RES.86.288a, RES.86.289, RES.86.290 and RES.86.333; Nefertum amulets RES.86.308 and 86.808; Nephthys RES.86.325, Mahes 86.807; amulets of Shu of different design RES.86.322, RES.86.323 and RES.86.332; falcon-headed deity, possibly Horus RES.86.313; Harpokrates 86.806; unidentified anthropomorphic deity RES.86.316.

⁵¹⁴ Couchant lion RES.86.285, RES.86.286 and RES.86.287, each of different styles; falcon RES.86.328 (quite stylized) and deaccessioned RES.86.314 (with pschent and mixed-style, in 'soft yellowish white clay, with dull brown spots'); cat 86.804; ibis RES.86.324; uraeus RES.86.329.

⁵¹⁵ Wadj-column 86.801, 86.802 and deaccessioned RES.86.291; scarab with loop (not seal) RES.86.306; Djed pillar deaccessioned RES.86.315; crown of Lower Egypt RES.86.318; unidentified and crude amulet RES.86.309; naked male figure RES.86.311 (usually in bichrome mixed-style, but here in blue glaze).



Figure 220 Amulet-mould for menat counterpoise, unlikely from the Scarab Factory. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 11.45970. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 221 Amulet of Taweret. Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.282. Photograph © McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock / Inverclyde Council. Photographer François Leclère



Figure 222 Amulet of Isis nursing. Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.449. Photograph © McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock / Inverclyde Council. Photographer François Leclère



Figure 223 Amulet of an uraeus. Greenock, McLean Museum & Art Gallery 1987.448. Photograph © McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock / Inverclyde Council. Photographer François Leclère

blue⁵¹⁶ and another one in stone.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.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).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,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

⁵¹⁶ Isis nursing Horus 86.803, heart-shaped amulet RES.86.284, two wedjat-eye amulets 86.799 and RES.86.283.

⁵¹⁷ Nefertum amulet in steatite RES.86.326 (said to be an amulet of Montu).

⁵¹⁸ 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).

⁵¹⁹ 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.

⁵²⁰ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1987.288 and another deaccessioned amulet, number unknown.



Figure 224 Amulet of Isis nursing Horus. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.212. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum



Figure 225 Menat-counterweight of an aegis. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H3814. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff



Figure 226 Djed pillar surmounted by an Atef-crown Montreal, Redpath Museum 2500. Photograph © Redpath Museum, McGill University



Figure 227 Falcon figure. Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975-39. Photograph © Dundee City Council. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum

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.⁵²⁴ Still, close parallels postdate the Saite dynasty and are attributed a Persian to Ptolemaic date.⁵²⁵

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,⁵²⁶ the rim of a bowl in blue paste⁵²⁷ 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.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**),⁵²⁹ but also on the back pillar of the standing Bes amulet,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.⁵³¹



Figure 228 New Year's flask inscribed with good wishes for the New Year. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.3411. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum

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*'.⁵³² From Petrie's work in his first season we were able to locate two shabtis.⁵³³ The first is a Saite or slightly later shabti in greenish-blue glazed composition

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).

⁵²⁵ Herrmann 2003, 156, pl. CXIX, nos 910–4.

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.

⁵²⁷ This artefact could either be British Museum EA27569 or Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26771.

⁵²⁸ See chapter on [New Year's flasks](#).

⁵²⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-E.3411 A and AN1896-1908-E.3411 B.

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).

⁵³¹ Meek *et al.* 2016, 97.

⁵³² Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 95.

⁵³³ Another fragmentary inscribed shabti was discovered during the second season at Naukratis, in 1885–6 (British Museum 1888,0601.52).



Figure 229 Mould-made shabti possibly made and found at the Scarab Factory BM 27550



Figure 230 Scaraboid and two Egyptian blue beads from the Scarab Factory. London, Petrie Museum UC73690. Photograph © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Figure 231 Large faience bead with stamped decoration from necklace (detail). Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975-105. Photograph © Dundee City Council. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum



Figure 232 Scarab Louvre Museum E8056 bis.1. Photograph © Musée du Louvre



Figure 233 Game-piece. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 11.45919. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 234 Rosette pendant with loop behind. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.320. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

that Petrie discussed as coming from the early levels of the town;⁵³⁴ it is inscribed with the usual shabti spell,⁵³⁵ but the shabti's owner and his mother have foreign names.⁵³⁶ 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.⁵³⁷ 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.⁵³⁸ Two Egyptian blue beads associated with a dome-shaped scaraboid belonging to Gorton's type XXIX⁵³⁹ 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).⁵⁴⁰ 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,⁵⁴¹ but is well-attested during the 25th–26th dynasty.⁵⁴²

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).⁵⁴³ 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)⁵⁴⁴ and rosette beads with radial lines, the centre of which is marked by a thick blob of dark brown glaze (Fig. 236).⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁴ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.75.

⁵³⁵ Schneider 1977, esp. 118–23.

⁵³⁶ 'Good blue glazed shabti, 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.

⁵³⁷ James 2002, 242.

⁵³⁸ On jewellery from Naukratis, see chapter on **Jewellery and mirrors**.

⁵³⁹ Gorton 1996, 108–9.

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. Idem 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 Magnarini 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 86.809 and RES.86.321.

⁵⁴⁵ 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



Figure 235 Rectangular bead with crossed lines. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.321. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 236 Rosette bead. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.29 7. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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**).⁵⁴⁶ Both are said to come from the Scarab Factory.



Figure 237 Rosette pendant with loop behind. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.305. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

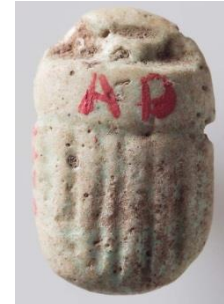


Figure 238 Amulet in the shape of a scarab with a loop behind Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.306. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



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.⁵⁴⁷ 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,⁵⁴⁸ further demonstrated by Webb⁵⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁴⁶ 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.

⁵⁴⁷ Griffith 1922, 87–9, pl. XVII; see also Webb 2016, 66 note 403.

⁵⁴⁸ Petrie 1886, 14, 19 and 36.

⁵⁴⁹ See chapter on [Archaic mixed style faience figures](#).

supported by scientific analyses.⁵⁵⁰ By stylistic comparison, these figures have been dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC.



Figure 239 Highly stylized amulets found and possibly made in Naukratis

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 Museum⁵⁵¹ and in Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum⁵⁵² are only said to come from Naukratis, the amulets in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts⁵⁵³ were allegedly all found in the Scarab Factory. Yet, we already offered a word of

⁵⁵⁰ See *infra* section 3.2.1. Amulets from Greek sanctuaries.

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).

⁵⁵² Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2009.6 (found in Naukratis during Petrie's first season in 1884–5).

⁵⁵³ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.86.316, RES.86.323, RES.86.327, RES.86.328, RES.86.266, RES.86.287 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.⁵⁵⁴ As for the remaining 15, they were found during Hogarth's work and are now kept in the Ashmolean Museum.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).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,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 Kition⁵⁵⁸ and Amathus⁵⁵⁹ 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-Achaic tombs, especially of the end of that period (600-475 BC), have also provided similar stylized amulets.⁵⁶⁰

Gisèle Clerc has suggested that these amulets could be clumsy local imitations and not made in Egypt.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,⁵⁶² mentioning the workshops producing amulets and beads located along the Canaan coast.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.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

⁵⁵⁴ See *supra* section 2.2.1. On Egyptian amulets made and found at the Scarab Factory.

⁵⁵⁵ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.687, AN1896-1908-EA.689, AN1896-1908-EA.691, AN1896-1908-EA.860, AN1896-1908-EA.884, AN1896-1908-EA.885, AN1896-1908-EA.886, AN1896-1908-EA.887, AN1896-1908-EA.891, AN1896-1908-EA.892, AN1896-1908-EA.869, AN1896-1908-EA.872, AN1896-1908-EA.874, AN1896-1908-EA.895, AN1896-1908-EA.897 (all from Hogarth's seasons).

⁵⁵⁶ Berlev and Khodzhash 1998, nos XV.28, XV.49, XV.320, XV.324, XV.432, XV.434, XV.477, XV.557 to 561.

⁵⁵⁷ Herrmann 2003; 2006; 2016. The list of examples given here is not exhaustive: Herrmann 2003, pl. XVI nos 119–20 (ibis-headed Thoth), pl. XVIII nos 136–7 (Anubis), pl. XXXIII no. 234, pl. LXXXV no. 601 (cat), pls XCI-XCII nos 663–4 (sow); Herrmann 2006, pl. IX no. 33 (Anubis), pl. XXI-XXII nos 75 and 82 (Shu), pl. LV no. 202 (Taweret), pl. LXII nos 235–7 (lion), pl. LXIV no. 247 (baboon), pl. LXVIII no. 263 (crocodile), pl. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX nos 377–9 (wedjat-eyes); Herrmann 2016, pl. 11 nos 0081.2006, 0082.2006 and 0110.2016 (Shu), pl. 21 no. 246.2016 (Bes); pls 31–2 nos 0202.2006, 0333.206 and 0334.2016 (Taweret), pl. 38 no. 0061.2002 (baboon), pl. 40 no. 0263.2006 (crocodile).

⁵⁵⁸ Clerc *et al.* 1976, 152–3, pl. V, nos 1108–12; numerous examples illustrated in Clerc 2014.

⁵⁵⁹ Karageorghis *et al.* 1991, 53, 55, 65–9, 74, 78 and 96.

⁵⁶⁰ For example, see amuletic material found in late Cypro-Achaic Tomb 30 in Kition: Clerc 2014, 72–77, esp. nos 57, 64, 66, 68. Also unpublished material studied by Aurélie Carbillet.

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).

⁵⁶² Clerc in Karageorghis *et al.* 1991, 143.

⁵⁶³ Ward 1978, 83–7.

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.



Figure 240 Steatite amulet of Nefertum. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.684. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum



Figure 241 Steatite amulet of Ptah (?), possibly locally produced. Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H2267. Photograph © Bristol Museums, Galleries & Archives. Photography by British Museum staff

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 Naukratis⁵⁷² 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 Hölbl 1986, 159–62.

⁵⁶⁸ 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.

⁵⁶⁹ Amulets of Horus-the-child, Nefertum, Pataikos and ibis-headed Thoth: López-Grande *et al.* 2014, 177 nos 24–25, 186 no. 30, 222 nos 92–93, 316 no. 268.

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.⁵⁷³ 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 testimonies⁵⁷⁴ can be found in 10th-9th century BC tombs at Lachish in the Levant,⁵⁷⁵ in an early 9th century BC tomb in Lefkandi on Euboea⁵⁷⁶ and in the Tomb of Isis at Eleusis dated to 800 BC.⁵⁷⁷ 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 relations⁵⁷⁸ and it was suggested that carriers have changed over time.⁵⁷⁹ 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 comparisons⁵⁸⁰ and more recently on physico-chemical analyses.⁵⁸¹ 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.⁵⁸² 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.

⁵⁷⁵ Hölbl 2015, 76–7.

⁵⁷⁶ Hölbl 2014, 162; on the significance of the amulets and other '*minor exotica*' found in early Iron Age burials at Lefkandi: Arrington 2015.

⁵⁷⁷ Hölbl 2014, 162–3; Hölbl 2015, 77.

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' [...] 'The evidence of amulet distributions certainly supports the idea of Sidonian-Euboean (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.⁵⁸³ 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.⁵⁸⁴ Although the pattern of distribution of peculiar amulet types can vary across time, regions and/or cultures,⁵⁸⁵ 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.⁵⁸⁶ 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.⁵⁸⁷ 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 Naukratis⁵⁸⁸ and a Bes head amulet from Ibiza⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰ Among the abundant and varied amuletic corpus excavated from the burials,⁵⁹¹ 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 Naukratis⁵⁹² (**Fig. 208** above) share affinities with those found in Tharros graves.⁵⁹³ An amulet in the shape of a Bes head⁵⁹⁴ 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.⁵⁹⁵



Figure 242 Bes head amulet from Naukratis. British Museum EA27540

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

⁵⁸³ Fletcher 2004, 66.

⁵⁸⁴ Hölbl 2015, 83–4.

⁵⁸⁵ For example Fletcher 2004; Apostola 2015; Hölbl 2015.

⁵⁸⁶ Hölbl 2014, 165. In one of the burials, one of each amulet type were 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 Brieva 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

⁵⁹¹ Barnett and Mendleson 1987, 108–17, pls 66–71.

⁵⁹² British Museum EA27556 and Liverpool, World Museum 9,9,86,124.a.

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 Brieva 2007, pl XXI no. 3.

⁵⁹⁵ British Museum 1856,1223.1640. Barnett and Mendleson 1987, 230, pl. 66l and 132, 30/18.

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.⁵⁹⁶ However, the common Bes and Pataikos amulets found at Al Mina⁵⁹⁷ diverge from the various types encountered at Naukratis.⁵⁹⁸ Only few good parallels for Naukratis finds are known from Greek sanctuaries where numerous amulets were deposited. For example, the Argive Heraion in the Peloponnese⁵⁹⁹ and the Archaic levels of Artemis's sanctuary in Ephesus⁶⁰⁰ 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.⁶⁰¹ 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'.⁶⁰²

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',⁶⁰³ 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.⁶⁰⁴ This point introduces the last but main factor. Many sites which yielded Egyptian amulets, notably Greek sanctuaries and tombs, have earlier material, predating Naukratis.

⁵⁹⁶ Woolley 1938, 157–60; Hölbl 2017, 37–48.

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.

⁶⁰³ Gorton 1996, 178.

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',⁶⁰⁵ 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.⁶⁰⁶



Figure 243 Amulet of a bird carved in stone. British Museum EA27629

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 Eg[yp]tian amulets occurred at once [... along with] necks of lotus bottles [...]'. He continued that he did 'not get down to bottom anywhere here. A

⁶⁰⁵ Petrie Journal 1884–5, p. 138.

⁶⁰⁶ Hogarth's diary 1899, entry for 12 March.

maze of walls'.⁶⁰⁷ 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 Egyptian eye amulet & other scarabs in it', and, further in his diary, Hogarth reports from the 'W[estern] chambers [...] 3 bits [of] Egyptian amulets – etc. (out of pot on floor)'.⁶⁰⁸ 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 ura (?),⁶⁰⁹ a small porcelain Thoth & a porcelain scarabaeus of good workmanship'.⁶¹⁰ 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'.⁶¹¹ Of the 147 types of scarabs and scaraboids illustrated by Petrie, only 47 were actually found in the factory itself.⁶¹² 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).⁶¹³ 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,⁶¹⁴ 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 composition⁶¹⁵ and in Egyptian blue⁶¹⁶ 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 Dafana⁶¹⁷ and from Tanis.⁶¹⁸ All these examples illustrate how Naukratite scarabs had a



Figure 244 Sealing impressed with a locally produced scarab. British Museum EA 27573



Figure 245 Scarab found during Hogarth excavations. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.925. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum



Figure 246 Standard scarab produced in the Scarab Factory found at Tell Nabasha. British Museum EA18629

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](#).

⁶¹⁴ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.904, 905, 908, 909, 910, 911, 913, 914, 915, 916, 923, 924, 925 and 926.

⁶¹⁵ British Museum EA18628, EA18629, EA18630, EA18631, EA18632 and EA18633.

⁶¹⁶ British Museum EA18523 and EA18558.

⁶¹⁷ British Museum EA 35634 and EA35420. Petrie 1888, 73, pl. XLI, nos 68–9; Gorton 1996, 119; Leclère and Spencer 2014, 65, pl. 23

⁶¹⁸ Petrie 1888, pl. 8, no. 23; Gorton 1996, 110, type XXX A15.

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.⁶¹⁹ 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.⁶²⁰ 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 mummies⁶²¹ – were found in the Scarab Factory (**Fig. 226** above and a deaccessioned specimen from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, RES.86.315).⁶²²



Figure 247 Amulet of Bes from the cemetery. Dundee, McManus Galleries 1975-88. Photograph © Dundee City Council. Photographer François Leclère, British Museum

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.⁶²³ Most of the copper alloy bells decorated with protruding animal heads originated from the cemetery⁶²⁴ 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.⁶²⁵

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 tradition⁶²⁶ and material, even though some Egyptian elements can be recognized in some of the burial equipment.⁶²⁷

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.

⁶¹⁹ Taylor and Strudwick 2005, 87; Taylor and Antoine 2014, 86–9.

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, 29.

⁶²⁴ Gardner 1888, 28, pl. XVI, no. 7.

⁶²⁵ Petrie 1914, 28, pl. XV, no. 124 a–b; see also chapter on [Bronze votive offerings](#).

⁶²⁶ Amulets were not exclusively used in Egyptian tombs. They also appear in Phoenician, Cypriot, Greek and Punic burials (often in children burials: Arrington 2015).

⁶²⁷ 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,⁶²⁸ especially in sanctuaries dedicated to Greek goddesses who were linked with fertility and the protection of children.⁶²⁹ 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’.⁶³⁰



Figure 248 Kneeling naked male figure from the sanctuary of Apollo. British Museum 1886,0401.1325



Figure 249 Falcon figure from the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.221. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum



Figure 250 Walking ram from the sanctuary of Apollo. British Museum EA58318

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 area⁶³¹ and in 1903 of many moulds for scarabs and other amulets from that same area.⁶³² 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.⁶³³ 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.⁶³⁴ 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.

⁶²⁹ Hölbl 2008, 210.

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 Apollo⁶³⁵ and two from the sanctuary of Aphrodite.⁶³⁶ 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).



Figure 251 Pataikos amulet from the sanctuary of Apollo or the town (?). British Museum EA68851



Figure 252 Amulet of an Egyptian god from the sanctuary of Apollo. British Museum 2013,5012.10



Figure 253 Gilded amulet of a falcon wearing the pschent, from the cache of bronzes. British Museum EA27531

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.⁶³⁷ 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'.⁶³⁸ Amulets of the child-god Harpokrates are possibly attested in both Greek sanctuaries.⁶³⁹ 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.⁶⁴⁰ 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'.⁶⁴¹ 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.⁶⁴² 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.⁶⁴³ Its bulk is formed by Egyptian bronzes of pharaonic tradition, mainly consisting of votive boxes and figures of Egyptian deities.⁶⁴⁴ 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' (**Fig.**

⁶³⁵ City Art Gallery & Museum H2084.1, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 86.811, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE26770, British Museum EA58319 and possibly the previously unregistered British Museum 2013,5012.12.

⁶³⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1888.221 and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 11.45929.

⁶³⁷ Petrie 1886, 14.

⁶³⁸ Petrie 1886, 39, 99, pl. II no. 15.

⁶³⁹ British Museum EA68858; second amulet not yet localized, but published in Gardner 1888, 56.

⁶⁴⁰ Petrie 1886, 99, pl. II no. 14.

⁶⁴¹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts RES.87.260. Description after the Museum of Fine Arts Pottery Ledger.

⁶⁴² Petrie 1886, 41–2.

⁶⁴³ On the dating of the cache and identification of objects: Masson 2015.

⁶⁴⁴ See chapter on [Bronze votive offerings](#).



Figure 254 Large inscribed amulet of Sekhmet, from the cache of bronzes. British Museum EA27544



Figure 257 Spacer-bead, from the cache of bronzes. British Museum EA27560



Figure 256 Amulet of Isis nursing Horus, likely from the cache of bronzes. British Museum EA27547



Figure 255 Amulet of a Vervet monkey, possibly from the cache of bronzes. British Museum EA27536

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 description⁶⁴⁵ 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. The description could correspond to the crude blue glass scarab Bristol, City Art Gallery & Museum H3812 (**Fig. 134** above). The museum's registers record, however, the rather implausible find-spot of the Scarab Factory for this object.

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'.⁶⁵¹ 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[yp]tian 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'.⁶⁵²
- The day after, he reported 'nothing but quantities of Eg[yp]tian] amulets etc.' from the same context.⁶⁵³
- 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'.⁶⁵⁴
- 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.⁶⁵⁵

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).⁶⁵⁶

2. Amulets (S. SITE.)

55 Eyes.	12 Taunt.	6 Embryo.	4. Hawks.
14 Scarabs.	12 Bes.	7 Anubis.	2. Ibi.
1 Apis.	2 Apes.	7 Thoth.	3. Rings with hieroglyphs.
3. Elephants.	1 Mummy.	7 Senii.	10 Cats.
1. Column.	1 Button.	9 pendants.	22 Beads.
1 Pshent.	3 Osiri.	4 Heads.	1 Horn.
1 Green Glass Eg.	1 "Apollo".	1 Cartouche	1. Jackal

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 with some suggestions added in brackets (**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.

Type	Number
Eyes [=wedjat eye]	55
Scarabs	14
Apis	1
Elephants [sows?]	5
Column [wadj-column]	1
Ps[c]hent	1
Crown Lower Eg.	1
Taouret [Taweret]	12
Bes	12
Apes [vervet monkeys?]	2
Mummy [shabti?]	1
Button [dome-shaped scaraboid?]	1
Osiris	3
"Apollo" [naked male figure? Nefertum?]	1
Embryo [=Pataikos?]	6
Anubis	7
Toth [as ibis or baboon?]	7
Genii [large complex Pataikos?]	7
Pendants	9
Heads [Bes head or unidentified gods?]	4
Cartouche	1
Hawks	4
Isis	2
Frag. with hieroglyphics	3
Cats	10
Beads	22
Horus [falcon-headed god?]	1
Jackal	1

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



Figure 259 A group of fifteen wedjat-eyes strung together, found in the Great Temenos area. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.906. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum



Figure 260 Amulet of Isis nursing Horus. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.850. Photograph © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Photography by British Museum

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.

⁶⁵⁷ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.849 and AN1896-1908-EA.850.

⁶⁵⁸ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN1896-1908-EA.898, AN1896-1908-EA.899 and AN1896-1908-EA.900. AN1896-1908-EA.698 is registered as a find made in 1885-1886.

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.⁶⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁶⁰ 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.⁶⁶¹ 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.⁶⁶² This is how also the small reused fragments of stelae deposited just outside the major sacred enclosure of Ptah in Memphis have been interpreted.⁶⁶³

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 chronology for 1st millennium BC amulets found in Egypt itself is long

⁶⁵⁹ Strutt and Thomas 2014, 5, fig. 4; Thomas 2015, 256–7, fig. 13.2; Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016, 41, fig. 24.

⁶⁶⁰ Coulon and Defernez 2004.

⁶⁶¹ Masson forthcoming c; on the pre-Ptolemaic dating of the sacred enclosure see Spencer 2011.

⁶⁶² Masson forthcoming b.

⁶⁶³ Schulman 1967.

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.