Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture during the Archaic Period

Volume 1: Text

Submitted by Matthew Leslie Skuse to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics, May 2015.

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Abstract

This thesis proposes that we can better understand Greek society in the Archaic Period by evaluating the purposes of their interactions with Egyptian material culture and through a greater appreciation of Egyptian political and cultural history in the Third Intermediate and Late Period. The thesis combines an examination of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greek graves and sanctuaries with a study of Egyptianising motifs in Greek painted pottery and sculpture. With this evidence, the thesis primarily addresses questions of agency and of consumption. It aims to demonstrate that Greek interactions with Egypt are not defined by Phoenician intermediaries or by the foundation of Naucratis late in the seventh century. Instead, it is argues that the development of personal connections between the elite of certain Greek states and the rulers of Egyptian kingdoms in the eighth century could explain the escalation of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture during the Archaic Period and the regional variability of these interactions. The thesis also highlights the stark differences between Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material in different media and in different consumption areas. In their sanctuaries, the Greeks used Egyptian faience, stone, and bronze objects alongside Greek-produced imitations of these objects in order to define aspire to the status of being a member of the elite while accessing a magical potency associated with Egyptian material culture. In other media, however, the Greeks reject imitation of Egyptian subjects and iconography, and instead we find processes of interaction which use Egyptian material culture but do not refer to it explicitly. Therefore it is concluded that Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture not only draws attention to Greek connectivity with surrounding cultures, and the Greek association of Egypt and magical potency, but can also help us to reflect upon different forms of elite-elite and elite-non-elite interaction and self-identification in the Archaic Period.

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Volume 2: Appendices

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……………………………….

Introduction

Aims and Conclusions

This study considers the interactions of archaic Greece with Egyptian material culture. It examines both the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited in archaic Greek graves and sanctuaries and the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs, and focuses on incorporating evidence from the span of the Archaic Period. With this evidence, this thesis will explore answers to the questions of how and why archaic Greeks interacted with the material culture of Egypt. The findings which this thesis will present include:

1) Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture may be less widely evident than their interactions with Near-Eastern culture, but they can just be as important when we seek to understand the archaic Greeks, and the ways in which their developing societies manifest in material culture.

2) Archaic Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture can be understood in relation to corresponding and contemporary developments in the materiality of Egyptian religious and funerary practice. The motifs and amulets which become popular in archaic Greece are those which are popular in the funerary and religious activity of Third Intermediate and Late Period Egypt. As a result, we should strive to be more aware of Egyptian culture in order to aid our understanding of Greece's interactions with Egypt and the interfaces which may facilitate them.

3) The traditional interfaces for Greek interactions with Egypt, the Phoenicians and Naucratis, need to be given less prominence. Instead, we must place greater emphasis on understanding the impact of a few Greek hubs' interactions with Egypt on the wider patterns of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture. When examining these hubs, we must consider more models of exchange over a longer period of time, particularly in order to address the evidence of Greek interactions with Egypt in the eighth century. By doing so, we can begin to

understand why Greek interactions with Egypt take on characteristics which continue to be important in the post-Naucratis Archaic Period.

4) When we place more emphasis on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the eighth and early-seventh century, we find that new models for understanding archaic Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture become important. In particular, we find that interpersonal relations established between powerful members of eighth-century Greek society and contemporary Egyptian pharaohs might be an appropriate way of understanding the distribution and consumption of Egyptian material culture.

5) While interactions of the elite, among other factors, may have determined the temporal and spatial foci of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, it seems to be the Greek interest in Egyptian amuletic and funerary material which shapes the material expression of these interactions. It appears that Egypt was a sacred, magical land in the Greek imagination, endowed with special power in magical ritual and whose representations of the liminal spaces between mortals and the afterlife, and between mortals and the divine were of particular appeal to Greek artists.

6) Through examining Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, we find that it is probable that Greek conceptions of Egypt and of certain aspects of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture remain more or less consistent from the eighth century to the end of the sixth century, and that there is neither a strictly defined orientalising period, nor a single orientalising phenomenon, nor a linear maturation of Greek identity, but a series of processes of interaction which may be applicable to Greek interactions with other cultures, and in other time periods.

The remainder of the introduction will set out, in the following order:

- Historical and cultural contexts for Greece and Egypt
- The state of scholarship
- Methodologies and approaches
- Structure of the thesis

Contexts: Archaic Greece and XXIII-XXVI Dynasty Egypt

Before addressing my methodologies and approaches, some consideration must be given to the broader developments of the period in question, which, for both Greece and Egypt, saw a range of significant changes in political organisation and consumption of material culture which will have a considerable impact upon how we can interpret the material evidence discussed in this thesis.

Terminology: The "Early Iron Age" and the "Archaic Period"

The Greek Archaic Period has conventionally stretched from the traditional date for the foundation of the Olympic Games in 776 BC to the Persian War of 480 BC.[1] As such it covers the space after what has commonly been known as the Dark Age and before the Classical Period. All three of these periods' names are laden with value connotations, and can be criticised as presenting a narrative of post-Mycenaean Greek history in which Greek culture emerges from inscrutable and semi-mythical origins and transitions through primitive developments before arriving at a classical zenith. While Archaic Period and Classical Period remain universally used, albeit sometimes with "mental quotation marks", "Dark Age" is more problematic (or at least, has been more widely problematized).[2] The "Dark Age" has now been illuminated and demythologised, especially, and in fact almost entirely, through archaeological studies. As a result, what was once the "Dark Age" is commonly known by a more appropriate, and less loaded, archaeological term the "Early Iron Age".[3]

"Early Iron Age" is not without its own issues, though these are minor points to be aware of rather than reasons not to use the term. Firstly, mixing archaeological and historical conventions leads to some awkward mismatches. The Greek Early Iron Age dates from 1050-700 BC, and so discussion of the eighth century, which also falls into the Archaic Period,

[1] Davies 2009, p. 3.

[2] Davies 2009, p. 4; Snodgrass 1980, p. 11.

[3] This transition was not uncontested. By the time Whitley rightly stated that "The Dark Age of Greece is our conception" (1991, p. 5) the term had already been problematized in a range of scholarship, as discussed by Dickinson (2006, p. 6). Nonetheless, the term "Dark Age" appears repeatedly in Tandy's 1997 *Warriors into Traders*, though he quite clearly does not think of it as particularly dark, and Morris (2009, p. 66) describes life in the "Dark Age" as "wretched", which suggests that value connotations continue to linger.

faces a choice between two differently weighted and nuanced terms.[4] Similarly, but less of a concern here, the beginning of the Early Iron Age sits in the midst of ongoing developments in Greece. As a result, we currently use a mosaic, and not a seamless one, of interlocking dating conventions for Greek archaeology and history. Secondly, while "Early Iron Age" is a much fairer and more useful description of early-first-millennium Greece than "Dark Age" for use in broader Mediterranean studies, when covering the material culture of numerous regions, as in this thesis, it is important to note that the Greek Early Iron Age is contemporary with the Phoenician Middle Iron Age (IIB and IIC) and for Egypt the term "Iron Age" is less common, and when it is used, the Iron Age begins later than in the Near East or Greece, starting c.700 BC despite the limited use of iron (especially meteoric iron) from a much earlier date.[5]

An alternative to "Early Iron Age" would be using pottery dating, which can provide a consistent, even if not entirely accurate, chronology from the Bronze Age through to the Archaic Period. However, as difficult and regionally variable as the adoption of iron might be, pottery chronology is just as awkward and more regionally variable. Accordingly, this thesis uses "Early Iron Age" for the period 1050-700 BC and "Archaic Period" for the period 776-480 BC. As the Archaic Period encompasses almost all of the material discussed in this thesis, most of which appears in the final quarter of the eighth century or later, I have generally preferred to use "Archaic Period" when discussing developments and objects dated to the eighth century.

The Early Iron Age to 800 BC

As stated above, in the late twentieth century greater effort and more archaeological studies began to be dedicated to understanding the Early Iron Age and Archaic Period. As a result we now have more of an appreciation of these periods' profound importance in the development of Greek society and culture, though such attention has raised as many questions as it answers. There is not room in this thesis to discuss this period's many complex developments in any great depth and only a rapid summary of key developments is possible.

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[4] Dickinson 2006, pp. 1-10.

[5] For example the ritual instruments from Tutankhamun's tomb. Muhly 1999, p. 526. For Phoenician chronology, see the comparison of dates by Amiran (1969), Birmaki (1961), and Bikai (1978), presented in Aubet 1993, Table 1, p. 19.

After the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system in the late second millennium BC, Greece, as it entered the first millennium BC, was characterised by small and mobile communities which did not settle in one location for more than a few generations and mostly had little contact with other Mediterranean cultures.[6] The archaeological evidence for the structures and culture of these Early Iron Age communities, such as their funerary activity and settlement types, suggests that in some aspects there were initially continuities from the Mycenaean systems which had preceded them.[7] However, inevitably, the radically different population and settlement patterns of the Early Iron Age resulted in transformed political structures and different patterns of social display.

The heart of Early Iron Age communities seems to have been individuals and families who constructed legitimising identities as heroic and ancestral rulers through social display, and may have acted as a religious focus for their community as well as a political one.[8] Struggles both internal and external, between these individual leaders must account for some amount of the mobility of Early Iron Age communities. As Protogeometric and early Geometric pottery does not, for the most part, feature figural scenes it is difficult to get a broad sense of exactly what the forms of the elites' activity and display were until after 800 BC, though certain objects, such as bronze chariot models dedicated at Olympia in the ninth century, provide an indication of their dedicators' self-identification as (or as being connected to) heroic, idealised warriors.[9] The archaeology suggests that these leaders inhabited large "rulers' houses" and gave their relatives extravagant funerals.[10] Across Greece, cremation became widely popular as a means of acquiring "social capital" through spectacle, and

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[6] For the reduced Greek population between 1200 and 900 BC see Tandy (1997 pp. 20-23), though the severity of this phenomenon is debated, see Morgan 2009, p. 46.

[7] Some of the changes in material culture may also pre-date what is traditionally the end of the Mycenaean Period. Dickinson 2006, pp. 115-122. The idea of an immediate collapse and shift away from Mycenaean settlement is countered by the continuing use of large structures at certain sites Maran 2006, pp. 124-126.

[8] While open-air centres and particular natural features were undoubtedly central to ritual, evidence from large, central buildings within settlements, such as Megaron B at Thermon, emphasises the links between ritual and political or social activity, such as feasting, ritual consumption, and burial. Mitchell 2013, pp. 36-38; Morgan 2009, pp. 43-44, 53-54; Maran 2006, pp. 143-144; Whitley 2001, p. 160; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.

[9] Bronze votive chariot/charioteer, ninth-century BC, Olympia, Olympia Museum B 1671, Hatzi 2008, p. 63. See Crielaard (2006, pp. 279) on the depictions of ships in the Early Iron Age, suggesting that raiding, or at least sailing, was a socially-valued activity.

[10] See n. 8 above.

weapons seem to have been widely used as controlled funerary goods, serving to differentiate the heroic identities of leaders from other members of communities.[11] These different forms of display and identity-creation are combined at Toumba, Lefkandi, where a male and female were buried c.1000-950 BC with four horses and rich funerary goods, evoking the chariots and the heroic burials later described in Homer, in a very large apsidal building.[12] The expression of social prestige in the dedication of such a substantial structure to promote associations with a heroic ancestry is arguably echoed in the later monumentalisation of sanctuaries.[13]

The connections of Early Iron Age communities to the outside world varied quite dramatically. Many of these communities show little or no evidence of contacts with the wider Mediterranean. However, in the Euboean Gulf and nearby Attica, there is evidence of burial activity incorporating Levantine and Near-Eastern material culture.[14] Lefkandi's burials, including the Toumba burial above, and a rich, ninth century female burial from Athens, contained a range of Near-Eastern and Egyptian objects which indicate material contacts with the Levant, either through trade or interpersonal gifting.[15] Clearly foreign objects became appropriate expressions of status, and it is probable that the Euboeans were already at sea in their pursuit of such objects and other resources in the Mediterranean before 800 BC.[16] Ninth-century pottery depicting ships and found among valuable exotic objects attests to an elite interest in seafaring on Euboea, and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* later calls the island ναυσικλειτή τ' Εὔβοια.[17]

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[11] Morgan 2009, pp. 44-45; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, pp. 151-180.
[12] Morgan 2009, p. 45; Mazarakis-Ainian and Leventi 2009, p. 217; Walker 2004, p. 81.
[13] Though the level of wealth at Lefkandi does not exclude it from the wider phenomena of mobility and instability, as is evident in the total abandonment of Lefkandi and signs of burning at Eretria. Walker 2004, pp. 91-92.
[14] Crielaard 2006, pp. 271-297. The rise in Euboean metalworking in the tenth century may also be the result of contacts with the East, see Walker 2004, p. 79.
[15] Morgan 2009, p. 47.
[16] Either on their own ships, or as passengers on Phoenician ships, most likely the former, see Crielaard 2006.
[17] Thuc. 1.15.3; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* Line 31. See also Crielaard 2006, p. 279; Walker 2004, p. 77.

The end of the Early Iron Age and the Archaic Period 800-480 BC

As already noted, the eighth century belongs as much to the Early Iron Age as to the Archaic Period. Entering the Archaic Period we see continued themes of mobile communities and of social display by leading elites, which suggest the continuing existence of similar political structures. However, by the end of the eighth century Greek settlements across all four of Morris' regions of Greek culture are more numerous and more widespread, with wealthier, more fixed, more organised, and more populous communities, and with more connections to the wider Mediterranean and Near East and more access to the arts and resources of foreign cultures.[18] While there is insufficient space to discuss all of the developments of the Archaic Period here, some of the key themes, including urbanisation and population growth, social structures, mobility and connectivity, sanctuaries, and the arts, can be very briefly outlined.

An important feature of eighth-century Greek society is the growth of the population and its organisation in a large number of stable, more urbanised communities.[19] No simple lines can be drawn to link evidence for changes in demography and physical behaviour, that is population growth, urbanisation/agglomeration, and the creation of community space, with a change in social activity, that is the creation of Greek states.[20] Despite the debate which has raged in recent years about whether or not the archaic *polis* (or classical *polis*) can be described as a state, as Routledge has recently argued, we should "forget the state; focus on state formation".[21]

The consolidation of previously dispersed communities into larger and more fixed urbanised settlements, as well as a growing population, brought the elite aspects of different communities, those with land and power, together in a defined space, in which their elite identities needed to be shared and contested. As such, the elite continued to be required to negotiate and exercise their social status in ways which were mediated by the pressures

[18] For population growth, see Tandy (1997). For the reflection of social change in the nature and organisation of Early Iron Age and Archaic domestic and public spaces see especially Mazarakis-Ainian 2007, 1997; Lang 2007; Coucouzeli 2007; Prent 2007; Sjögren 2007. For the proliferation of "*polis*" communities, see Hansen and Nielsen 2004; Morgan 2003, pp. 45-107. For connections with the outside world, see Gunter 2009; Burkert 2004; West 1999; Morris, 1992.
[19] See above, n. 18.
[20] Sjögren 2007 pp. 149-155; Morgan 2003, pp. 45-107.
[21] Routledge 2013, p. 6; see also De Angelis' review (De Angelis 2015, http://www.bmcreview.org/2015/04/20150437.html [22/04/2015]).

among elites and the needs of the community as a whole. Sometimes these mediations resulted in individual or familial dominance of political decisions, while elsewhere an oligarchy, the rotation of offices, or exile (self-imposed or otherwise), were preferable solutions.[22] In general, however, we see that one result of these tensions was a principle of agonistic egalitarianism, which allowed for but also contained elite ambitions. However, these elites were joined in their competition by an aspirational class, who were facilitated by increased opportunities for individual enterprise and desired to emulate elite display as a means of re-framing their own social status.[23]

Forms of elite display vary regionally and were transformed continually under the upward pressure of the non-elite gaining access to these forms. In the Archaic Period, display seems to have centred around a member of the elite as a heroic warrior and sympotic host, with countless depictions of chariots, warriors, and Homeric myths appearing on sympotic pottery, as well as on decorated armour and other objects.[24] While rich burial goods and large houses characterise Early Iron Age evidence for elite activity, it increasingly seems to be the case throughout the Archaic Period that activities of display which moved private wealth into the community sphere, especially at sanctuaries, were deemed more advantageous or more acceptable.[25] This included, of course, the deposition of rich Near-Eastern and Egyptian objects.

While Greek communities became more stable and urbanised, individuals and groups of individuals continued to be mobile in the Archaic Period, and for many similar reasons.[26] However, with the proliferation of sea travel, the routes taken for these movements increasingly stretched across the Mediterranean Sea. It seems that members of Lefkandi's Euboean successors, Chalcis and Eretria, were the first to have ventured out to settle in the Western Mediterranean, with the foundation of Pithecusae probably taking place in the first

[22] Mitchell 2013.
[23] The idea of a *demos* in Greek communities had an increasing impact on the way in which the elite framed their own claims to power. See, for example, Solon *fr. 9*.
[24] For examples of archaic armour decorated with Homeric or heroic scenes, see Hampe and Simon 1981, pl. 193-196.
[25] Mitchell 2013, pp. 44-46; De Polignac 2009, pp. 427-443. However, we do find grave stelae becoming increasingly elaborate in certain regions in the sixth century, perhaps representing a compromise of public and private activity.
[26] Including the resolution of internal tensions (self-imposed or otherwise), opportunism, and a desire to be a founder. Malkin 1998, 2009, pp. 379-380.

half of the eighth century, and trade in the East, at Al-Mina.[27] The Euboeans were swiftly followed by others from Corinth, Sparta, and elsewhere, and by the end of the Archaic Period a web of Greek communities had been founded at coastal locations in the Black Sea, Asia Minor, North Africa, Italy and Sicily, and the trading-port at Al-Mina in the Levant had been joined by another at Naucratis, in Egypt.[28]

The consequences of this movement for Greek arts will be discussed below, but it can be highlighted that the impact of maritime activity on the Greeks of the Early Iron Age and Archaic Period was not limited to settlement and long-distance trade. One facet of the mobility of the archaic Greeks was the use of the sea to gain individual profit, not only for long-distance traders in valuable goods or those establishing new settlements but also for enterprising individuals, raiders, and farmers who were now more able to achieve more than just subsistence from agriculture.[29] This change helped fuel aspirations among non-elites. Another important facet of the Greeks' mobility, evident from the seventh century, but plausibly already occurring in the eighth century, was the movement of large numbers of *epikouroi*, a term often translated as mercenaries, but not always used in Herodotus and elsewhere to denote the same sense of payment.[30] Carty associates the movement of sixth-century *epikouroi* to Egypt with Polycrates' enslavement of other Greeks.[31] However, even scaling back from Herodotus' tally of the numbers of these soldiers at 30,000, the movement of Greek men to Egypt in the seventh and sixth centuries is probably not attributable to any

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[27] Walker 2004, p. 86. The chronology of Pithecusae is sometimes related to the find of a scarab of Bakenrenef, though the demonstrable second hand movement and trade of such objects make this an odd item with which to establish chronology. Morgan 2009, p. 58.

[28] Malkin 2009a, pp. 373-394; van Wees 2009, pp. 457-460; Malkin 1998; Tandy 1997, pp. 75-83. Trading-port is actually a slightly difficult description of Naucratis, which is deep in the Egyptian Delta rather than on the coast.

[29] Raiding and enslaving, selling crops, and selling talent were all ways of exploiting the mobility offered by the Mediterranean. See Van Wees' discussion of Hesiod *Works and Days,* especially *W&D* 618-90. van Wees 2009, pp. 457-460.

[30] Trundle (2004) highlights that it is not clear what the term means in Homer, but Archilochus (15.216) uses the term about himself, implying that it had some status other than being just an arrangement. In Herodotus it is unclear whether it denotes allies (as it often seems to, for example at 1.64, 1.154, 2.152, 2.163) or mercenaries, stating explicitly that some were paid, which implies that *epikouroi* does not necessarily convey the fact (Hdt. 1.54, 3.45). See also, Lavelle 1997, pp. 229-262; Austin 1970, pp. 15-22.

[31] Carty 2015, pp. 149-174.

individual policy.[32] As these *epikouroi* seem as much an Egyptian phenomenon as a Greek one, they will be discussed further in Chapter 1.

Two final subjects round out this sketch of archaic Greece: sanctuaries, and the arts. One of the major shifts in the forms of elite display, as mentioned above, was the dedication of objects, from pots to entire buildings, at sanctuaries rather than at private houses or burials. Countless objects of different types and values have been excavated from archaic contexts at sanctuaries, ranging from Near-Eastern ivories and Greek bronzes, to hair pins and faience scarabs.[33] The quantity of objects, the dedication of rich and humble offerings, and the sanctuary-to-sanctuary variety in object types attest to sanctuaries acting as a shared space for the expression of community as well as individual, ritual and identity.[34] During the Archaic Period these sanctuaries, both in and outside of settlement centres, also become increasingly monumentalised.[35] The initial stages of this monumentalising process appear to reflect the leaders' houses and open air ritual centres of previous centuries, as shown in the small apsidal temple/house at Perachora and the enlargement of altars at Samos and Olympia.[36] While it is not until the sixth-century that large, dipteral temples appear, over the course of the eighth and seventh centuries we do see the development of a new canon for large public buildings, with a peristyle around an elongated rectangular *cella*.[37] This transition to more substantial buildings is accompanied by the dedication of large, marble sculpture from at least c. 600 BC, with early examples at Delos and Didyma.[38] While the increasing use of large stone buildings and sculptures in Greek sanctuaries has often been attributed to Egypt, it is the broader developments in the role of sanctuaries for the communities who created and used

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[32] We might not even need to scale back Herodotus' reckoning by much, Tel Defenneh's fort could apparently hold up to 20,000 men and Psammetichus constructed a number of similar fortifications. Austin 1970, p. 20.

[33] An example of the variability of cult offerings is the dedication of starkly different objects at the sanctuaries which surround Corinth, at Isthmia we find weapons, and tools while at Perachora we find none of these, but large numbers of Egyptianising objects and *phialai*. Morgan 2009, pp. 53-54, 61.

[34] Morris, 2009, pp. 71-72; De Polignac 2009, 1995.

[35] The construction of large ritual buildings outside of the community centre arguably has a precedent in the afore-mentioned apsidal building at Toumba, which seems to have been outside of the main settlement, and so may have been built for this purpose.

[36] Whitley 2001, pp. 134-164; Osborne 1996, pp. 88-98; Schweitzer 1971, pp. 220-228.

[37] As, for example, in Samos' sanctuary of Hera. Schweitzer 1971, pp. 220-228.

[38] Examples include the early-sixth-century "Terrace of Lions" at Delos and the sculptures of the sacred way at Didyma, which included and Egyptianising lion (BM 1859,1226.11), see also the *kouroi* of the sixth century.

them which are more frequently useful in my discussion of how and Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture occurred in Chapter 3.[39]

Finally, this thesis' discussion of the interactions of Greeks with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects can be contextualised within a swathe of cultural or artistic changes. There are too many of these changes to do the period any justice here. From the development of naturalistic sculpture to the introduction of philosophy, we find that the Greeks' ways of expressing individual and community status, values, and beliefs became more varied. There are, however, certain advances, in tastes and in techniques, which resonate more than others with the topic of the current thesis. For example, the use of figural scenes and the appropriation of Near-Eastern creatures which begin in Late-Geometric pottery provide an important backdrop for the introduction of many of the Egyptianising funerary motifs discussed in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7.[40] The introduction of the Greek alphabet, evident from the mid-eighth century, adds interest to Greek interactions with the hieroglyphs found on Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs, as discussed in Chapter 3.[41] Chapter 1 benefits from the authoring and canonisation of stories such as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* which provide a range of evidence for understanding Greek relationships with each other and the wider Mediterranean. More examples appear throughout the thesis, but perhaps the most useful assessment of the period as a whole would be to highlight that the speed of these developments attests to a repeated desire for new forms of self-expression in order to maintain or to challenge the ability to frame individual or community identity.

In the space available this picture of the Archaic Period is inevitably a little rough and a little disjointed, but it suffices to highlight the key issues which contextualise the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in archaic Greece. These include: the mobility of Greek individuals and communities, the agonistic and identity-constructing behaviour of the elite *and* the non-elite members of these communities, and the development of the sanctuaries in which these objects were deposited. Having presented an outline of the Greek Archaic Period, I can now turn to an area less familiar to Hellenists, the contemporary period of Egyptian history.

[39] Davis 1981, pp. 61-81.
[40] Langdon 2008; Morris 1992; Snodgrass 1998, 1980; Hampe and Simon 1981; Schweitzer 1971.
[41] Wilson 2010, pp. 541-563.

Dynasty XXII-XXV Egypt

Egyptian history contemporary to the Greek Archaic Period receives little coverage in accounts of Greek-Egyptian interactions, which generally dedicate their time almost exclusively to Greece. Furthermore, while studies have more often provided some detail for Dynasty XXVI, the preceding period, 800-650 BC, is frequently simplified or ignored.[42] Perhaps most critically of all, cultural developments in the same period barely feature in explanations of the evidence for Greek-Egyptian interactions. While this thesis' aim is to understand Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture primarily in the Aegean and on the Greek mainland there is much to be gained by a brief account of Egyptian history and culture from c.800-500 BC.

For the first 150 years of the Greek Archaic Period, until Psammetichus took Thebes in 656 BC, Egypt was ruled by a range of native and non-native dynasties, Dynasties XXII-XXV.[43] These were the final dynasties of the Third Intermediate Period, a period which was once, and similarly incorrectly, seen in a similar light to the Greek "Dark Age", as something of a lull in between the cultural heights of autonomous Egyptian rule by the New Kingdom dynasties and Dynasty XXVI.[44]

In the Third Intermediate Period Egypt was not the monolithic, idle civilisation that it is frequently perceived as being, by Hellenists at least, and had a complex internal power structure. Attributing specific dates to this period is difficult, but a relative chronology and narrative can be constructed using a range of sources, including the victory stele of Piankhy, contemporary Assyrian chronicles, and the dedicatory inscriptions of various building projects.[45]

[42] Partly due to a lack of interest in the evidence for Greek interactions with Egypt before Naucratis and the Samian bronzes. For example, see Boardman (1980, p. 112), to whom earlier objects were "no more than causal imports", or Austin (1970, p. 13), for whom the bronzes were "more important".
[43] Pope 2014; Kitchen 1986.
[44] The term "intermediate" is comparable to "dark" in suggesting that the period marks a chaotic, obscured blip in social history. Kitchen 1986, pp. xi-xiii.
[45] The evidence for the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period is often found in the archaeological records of royal titles at various temples to which their influence reached, therefore it is generally the case that these dynasties are effectively self-appointed rather than centrally recognised. For example, Shabaqa's name appears on architecture at Buto, previously in the control of Bakenrenef, in the fourth year of his reign and indicates when the campaign of Shabaqa to dethrone Bakenrenef occurred within a relative chronology. Likewise, we find Bakenrenef's name at Memphis

During the first half of the eighth century, Egypt was split between the rule of two Libyan dynasties, Dynasty XXII, based at Tanis, and Dynasty XXIII, based at Leontopolis.[46] When the ruler of the Libyan Dynasty XXII, Shosenq V, died the dynasty's fragile hegemony of Lower Egyptian kingdom disintegrated, and was followed by a period of localised rule.[47] A Nubian leader, Piankhy, invaded Egypt from the south, and began to take control of Upper Egypt, establishing Dynasty XXV, while Tefnakhte, the first ruler of the Saite Dynasty XXIV, conquered his way south from the Delta, forming an alliance of Lower Egypt's local rulers to resist the Nubian advance (Map 3).[48] Tefnakhte was unsuccessful, and Piankhy took Thebes and Memphis, seemingly establishing the supremacy of Dynasty XXV over Upper and Lower Egypt.[49] However, Dynasty XXV does not seem to have been able or necessarily willing to exert itself as sole ruler of Egypt. In the late eighth century a handful of dynasties overlap, with a Dynasty XXII ruler at Tanis, Dynasty XXIII ruler in the Western Delta, kinglets at Heracleopolis and Hermopolis, a Dynasty XXIV ruler at Sais, and the supposedly dominant Dynasty XXV ruler in Napata.[50]

In this unstable mixture of powers, Tefnakhte's Dynasty XXIV successor Bakenrenef (Bocchoris) adopted policies which were openly hostile to Nubian rule, and built upon his father's position of power seeking to establish a native kingdom from his base in Sais from

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in the sixth year of his own reign but not thereafter. We can therefore say the Shabaqa's early reign was defined by a short campaign against the short-lived dynasty of Bakenrenef. It is notable that this pattern in the evidence suggests that material culture and the royal name may not only be important evidence to us, but might have played an exceptionally important role in the creation of authority in Egypt. Other sources include donation and victory stelae, Assyrian chronicles, and fragments of Assyrian annals. The process of cross-examining numerous sources in order to accomplish the chronology of the numerous dynasties in this period is too convoluted to repeated in the footnotes of this thesis, and so I have generally referred to the most significant sources and to the secondary reading. The only straightforward narrative of the period is Manetho, whose endeavour to create a single narrative of Egyptian rule should be taken as a sign of his work's unsuitability as a sole source for historical studies. Pope 2014, p. 263. See also Naunton 2010; Mumford 1998; Kitchen 1986.

[46] The rulers of Dynasty XXII in this period were Shoshenq III, Pimay, and Shoshenq V. The rulers of Dynasty XXIII in this period were Pedubast I, Iuput I, Shoshenq IV, Osorkon III, and Takeloth III. Kitchen 1986, pp. 85-137. Mumford 1998, pp. 398-403.

[47] Tefnakht, it seems, was already becoming powerful before Shoshenq died, calling himself "chief of the Libu", the Libyan tribes of which Shoshenq was pharaoh, on a donation-stela. See Kitchen 1986, pp. 354-355. See also Mumford 1998, pp. 401-403.

[48] Map 3: Late Libyan Egypt c. 730 B.C., Time of Piankhy, Kitchen 1986, p. 367, fig. 5.

[49] Piankhy set up a stele in the Gebel Barkal temple commemorating his victories when he returned to Napata. The details of his campaign and the surrounding period are put together using this stele and the naming of various kings and their allies or relatives in the material record of temple sites. The dating is accordingly, relative. Naunton 2010, p. 122; Kitchen 1986, p. 364.

[50] Pope 2014, p. 263; Naunton 2010, pp. 120-139; Kitchen 1986.

717 BC until he was killed by Piankhy's successor Shabaqa in 712 BC.[51] With Bakenrenef dead, relative unity appears to have been established by the time Taharqa, a Dynasty XXV ruler, takes the throne c.690 BC. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Delta region remained to some extent independent.[52] The architectural and material record of the period indicates local autonomy was consistently a point of pride among Lower Egyptian cities, with local rulers claiming royal titles rather than identifying themselves as governors for Dynasty XXV.[53] Whether these authorities opposed or cooperated with Taharqa in the south is not clear. The material record for Taharqa's involvement in the Delta is not extensive, and there is not a consensus on how we should interpret the few signs of his policy in Lower Egypt which do survive.[54]

The precarious unity Taharqa created did not last long. Having maintained probing interests in the Levant, the Egyptians riled the Assyrians.[55] The Assyrian king, Esarhaddon invaded, captured Memphis, and wounded Taharqa, effectively ending Dynasty XXV's ability to exercise control over the Delta.[56] Esarhaddon placed Necho I, descendant of Bakenrenef of Dynasty XXIV and father of Psammetichus I of Dynasty XXVI, in control of Sais, then removed him for treachery, before reinstating him once again.[57] When Necho I was

[51] Bakenrenef is later said, by Manetho, to have died extraordinarily violently at the hands of Dynasty XXV, but in the Egyptian records he simply stops being mentioned after six years of rule. Manetho frag. 64 and 66, from S*yncellus according to Africanus*; Kitchen 1986, p. 377.
[52] Even when Tefnakhte was defeated by Piankhy, his admission of defeat was sent with a request to confirm peace by sending a return messenger. His refusal to come to Piankhy in person like the rest of the "pharaohs" who Piankhy had defeated (as recorded in the Gebel Barkal Stele) is indicative of his strength, and the strength of Sais and the West Delta region in the later-eighth century. Kitchen 1986, p. 365.
[53] Pope 2014, pp. 257-260.
[54] Pope 2014, p. 265.
[55] Egypt, both before and during Nubian rule, consistently allied with Levantine coalitions and kingdoms against Assyria, as shown in *II Kings* 7:6, 18:13-35 and *II Chronicles* 32:21 and the *Annals of Sargon* 23-57. These alliances had a tangible outcome, with Egypt providing significant forces, as attested on the Assyrian *Monolith Inscription* from Kurkh, which records 1000 Egyptian soldiers among the forces facing Shalmaneser III. Mumford 2007, p. 146. See also Mumford 1998, Kitchen 1986, pp. 372-286, Oppenheim 1969, pp. 284-285.
[56] Various details of these campaigns are recorded in the *Babylonian Chronicles* and *Esarhaddon Chronicles* and in the *Dog River Stele* and *Senjirli Stele*. Between 674 and 664/3 BC the Assyrian and Kushite/Nubian were in a constant state of war which led to key cities, Memphis and Thebes, passing between Assyrian and Nubian hands a number of times. See Mumford 2007, p. 147; Kitchen 1986, pp. 380-408.
[57] As told by the chronicles above.

killed in an attempt of Dynasty XXV ruler Tanutamen to regain control of Memphis, his son Psammetichus I fled to Assyria, and returned with King Ashurbanipal to destroy the remnants of Dynasty XXV's forces, gaining a hegemony in Egypt which ended the Third Intermediate Period.[58]

The disunity of Egypt might suggest that the Third Intermediate Period was doomed not to contribute anything to the cultural achievements of Egypt's past, but in reality Egyptian culture was anything but static, and Whitley was quite incorrect to state that Egypt's "culture…continued with little change throughout the early first-millennium BC."[59]

With the use of monumental constructions seeming to provide a means of denoting power over an area, it is hardly a surprise that the Third Intermediate Period sees a range of building projects attributed to many different individuals. Dynasty XXV carried out significant embellishment of the temple of Karnak at Thebes, while in the Delta local rulers at sites such as Tanis and Bubastis carried out their own extensive building works.[60] Pre-existing emphasis on the religious duties of the pharaoh clearly continued, though these were open to manipulation, as seen in the elevation of Ptah to the chief position at Memphis by Shabaqo early in his reign.[61] With the decentralisation of power, important local temples replaced Thebes' west bank as the location for royal and elite burials and funerary statues, and funerary ritual also moved from a chapel or shrine near the tomb to the temple, a phenomenon intertwined with an increasing attribution of responsibility for the deceased to the gods.[62]

As well as the significant shift of funerary activity from dedicated tombs to small temple tombs, funerary activity underwent a number of more general changes. Funerary texts became more popular among more classes, and became more standardised than ever before

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[58] It is around this point that Herodotus becomes a much more reliable source for Egyptian history, probably aided by the creation of a consistent, Egypt-wide narrative by the stability of Dynasty XXVI.
[59] Whitley 2001, p.106. It can be noted that the First Intermediate Period had similarly seen artistic industry uninterrupted despite conflict. See Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, p. 180.
[60] Naunton 2010, pp. 143-144.
[61] Presumably such decisions are the religious manifestation of political manoeuvrings, though Akhenaten shows the extent to which pharaohs could pursue new theologies. (*Stela Moscow* 1.1.a.5646) in Pope 2014, p. 263.
[62] Evident in the increased use of funerary stelae depicting the deceased among the gods. Taylor 2010, pp. 233-237; Schneider 2010, p. 156; Naunton 2010, p. 143; Leprohon 1988, p. 165.

during the rule of Dynasty XXV. Different scenes from these funerary texts, namely the weighing-of-the-heart, were also depicted in royal tombs for the first time.[63] Similarly, elite funerary goods were reduced, but popular objects became more common and more standardised among more burials. The objects associated with the pleasures of life (food, instruments, and etc.) were no longer placed in the grave, which only included those materials directly relevant to the afterlife: *shabti*, canopic containers, a stela, an Osiris figure, and funerary papyri.[64] Many of the more elaborate objects in royal tombs appear to have been recycled from richer older tombs.[65] However, while a range of objects decreased, the number of amulets in funerary contexts increases sharply, including deity, animal, and human figurines, fertility-related Pataikos amulets, jewellery, and animals.[66] These amulets are also much increased in settlement contexts, which Taylor associates with a closing of the divides between living and mortuary traditions, and which we could also link to an increased enthusiasm for daily magic, evident in ritual texts demanding the execution of these rituals numerous times every day.[67] In summary, we can see the popularisation of magical objects for the Egyptian afterlife, with funerary ritual shifting to give more emphasis to the divine than the family and therefore probably becoming more accessible to more people.[68]

In the arts, the Third Intermediate Period saw refinement of faience and bronze work in an archaising style.[69] This style was fairly homogenous across Egypt, and though it has been attributed to the stimulus of archaising tastes of the acculturation of influential Libyan and Nubian elites, it was entirely Egyptian in its styles and subjects.[70] It is in this period that we find the Egyptians widely using the lost wax technique of bronze casting and the creation of a large number of fine bronzes.[71] Finally, though generally archaising, the period's art sees many motifs appear in new forms, especially in amuletic and funerary contexts. These

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[63] Taylor 2010, p. 225, 236. See also a Late Period tomb at Bahariya (Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140).
[64] Taylor 2010, pp. 230-231; c.f. Richards 2005, p. 85; Pinch 2003, p. 443.
[65] Taylor 2010, pp. 225-226.
[66] Taylor 2010, pp 236-237, c.f. Quirke 2005, pp. 122-123.
[67] Taylor 2010, pp. 236-237; Koenig 2007, pp. 65-66.
[68] Taylor 2010, pp. 225-230.
[69] Bianchi 1990, p. 61.
[70] Bianchi 1990, p. 62.
[71] Bianchi 1990, pp. 64-66.

include representations of Horus, Osiris, and Isis, richly decorated coffins, the bearded-snake motif, and the wooden funerary *ba*.[72]

Dynasty XXVI Egypt

Politically, Dynasty XXVI was very different from those of the Third Intermediate Period, and while the succession suffered some small hiccoughs, most notably in the transition from Apries to Amasis II through a coup after a disastrous attack on Cyrene (Hdt. 2.161ff), the period was generally characterised by internal unity and stability and a more active foreign policy, seeing engagements of various kinds with a number of Greek states.

If Assyria had expected loyalty from Psammetichus I when they set him in place to rule he quickly indicated that this would not be the case. Psammetichus almost immediately exerted his influence in Lower Egypt subsuming or replacing local rulers, before peacefully gaining dominance over Thebes in 656 BC and thereby reuniting Egypt.[73] Psammetichus shaped the course of Greek-Egyptian relations in the Archaic Period by militarising the country against the Assyrian threat, with forts at Sinai, Tell-Defenneh (Daphnae), Migdol, Mendes, Buto, and Tell-el-Maskhuta.[74] This Egyptian military included local forces, with an organised hierarchy, and thousands of Greek and Carian *epikouroi*, whose presence is attested as far south as Ramesses II's Abu Simbel temple.[75] A statue of Psammetichus which was dedicated at a Greek sanctuary near Kale, in modern Turkey, and inscribed with a record of the offerors service to Psammetichus (fig. 1.1) shows not only the presence of mercenaries in

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[72] Schmitz 2002, p. 819.

[73] Psammetichus unified Egypt in part using a procession featuring his daughter, who sailed south en-route to marry into another influential family's and received pledges of loyalty on the way, as recalled in the *Neithikert Stele*. Stelae set up in the region of Dashur show him emphasising his ability to quell external threats and rebellion. Naunton 2010, pp. 141-142; Wilson 2010, p. 242-243; Mumford 2007, p. 225-288.

[74] Wilson 2010, p. 243.

[75] An emphasis of military structures is seen in the proliferation of military titles found in the archaeological record and funerary texts. Wilson 2010, p. 244. For the evidence of the mercenaries see Austin 1970 pp. 15-22, and Hdt. 2. 152, 2.163. There are also cremation burials in Samian *amphorae* at Migdol, cremation being totally alien to the Egyptians, and Carian burials at Saqqara (Wilson 2010, p. 244-245), as well as Greek graffiti on Egyptian monuments, for example Meiggs and Lewis *GHI3*, no. 7. in Bernand and Masson 1957, pp.1-46.

Egypt but also the wealth of gifts which could be given to notable Greek, Lydian, or Carian mercenaries who acquired prestigious positions in Psammetichus' network of command.[76]

Alongside these mercenaries, increased consumption of Greek goods would appear to be indicated at Sais, where Greek pots are found in the temple's rubbish dump, though this activity did not necessarily begin in the Archaic Period.[77] The real sign of Greek commercial activity in Egypt is, of course, Naucratis. This trading post was founded in the seventh century, and may have had its role formalised or adjusted by Amasis II in the sixth.[78]

Culturally, Dynasty XXVI continued in the same vein as the Third Intermediate Period, with the temple at Sais being the location for royal and non-royal funerary activity,[79] a large number of monumental building projects across the Delta and Upper Egypt,[80] the extensive use of funerary texts and amulets, and the continuation of archaising styles in art.[81] Faience in the Late Period was refined, as were many of the arts, and faience makers were able to produce exceptional pieces, including in new glassy faience and a new green colour.[82] There were Late Period factories for the production of such objects at Buto and Memphis.[83]

There is not quite the same new development in the introduction of motifs and forms in Dynasty XXVI as in the Third Intermediate Period, but there are some features developing further from the Third Intermediate Period. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the commodification of sacral property for a wider array of the population, such as the availability of previously religious objects (bronzes, mummies), religious practice (sacrifices), amulets, and even temple space and crumbled walls for sale to the public.[84] A part of the market for this religious activity was the movement of large numbers of people around Egypt for religious festivals at cult centres, who left behind large quantities of votive evidence, fuelling the industries creating these objects, which had already been active in the

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[76] Sweeny 2011, p. 79.
[77] Wilson 2010, p. 246.
[78] Hdt. 2.178-179. See also Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006, pp. 1-8.
[79] Hdt. 2.169. Naunton 2010, p. 143.
[80] Naunton 2010, pp. 143-144. Reflecting a broader prosperity, see Hdt. 2. 177.
[81] Wilson 2010, pp. 241-255.
[82] Nicholson & Peltenburg 2000, p. 184.
[83] Nicholson & Peltenburg 2000, p. 186.
[84] Wilson 2010, p. 250.

Third Intermediate Period.[85] The popularity of cult was such that a fictionalised cult, complete with a fictionalised offerings list and a pseudo-history, could be used as a rallying point for a king, enabling ritual activity and the allotment of ritual titles.[86]

I have focussed on the culture of the Late Period more than on its history and foreign relations as culture is the area most weakly discussed in previous scholarship. However, it is worth noting that the Saite kings were highly active in their foreign policy towards the Levant and towards their Aegean and North African neighbours, which included taking territory in the Levant, taking control of Cyprus, and trying to invade Cyrene and Ethiopia.[87] Herodotus tells us that numerous Egyptian pharaohs were active in their relations with a range of powerful and wealthy archaic states, including Sparta, Samos, Miletus, and Athens.[88] The literary evidence is supported by a dedication, a small shrine found on Rhodes, which names Necho II, and would seem to be a gift from him.[89] The nature of these relations largely seem to be concerned with alliances against the powers in the Near East, initially Assyria and later Persia. There were likely also economic aspects to these links, including the movement of raw materials and *epikouroi*.[90] The evidence we have for these connections would indicate that they were expressed primarily through religious activity and gifts, and that they were intense throughout the Archaic Period until the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses c.526 BC.[91]

This assessment of some of the significant features in modern approaches to Greek and Egyptian history and culture in the period 800-480 BC makes it clear that both subjects are equally expansive and complex. Below, I move on to discuss the scholarly context for this thesis, and it is worth highlighting that scholars who have previously discussed Greek-Egyptian relations have not worked from the basis of a modern understanding of Early Iron Age/Archaic Period Greece. Moreover, and accepting that the picture of Egypt given above is only a crude introduction, it should be a point of concern that none of the scholars mentioned as discussing Greek-Egyptian relations below give an adequate amount of attention to the

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[85] Wilson 2010, p. 251, gives the example of Xois and Petimouthes from Balamun dedicating a statue at Karnak, far to the south of their home.

[86] For example, an inventory stela at a new sanctuary for Isis at Giza which records a falsified history of offerings. Wilson 2010, p. 251.

[87] Hdt. 2.161-163, 2.182.

[88] Hdt. 2.159, 2.180, and 3.47.

[89] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp.2355-2372, obj. #4354-4374.

[90] Syropoulis 2007, p. 89; Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1981; Austin 1970, pp. 15-40.

[91] Hdt. 2.178-182, 3.16, 3.39.

Egyptian side of these contacts, be it the political arrangements in Egypt, or the cultural and social developments. Some of the causes for this omission, it seems, lie in the historiography of the "orientalising period".

The state of scholarship

Egypt's place in the orientalising phenomenon

The orientalising phenomenon[92] and orientalising revolution[93] are phrases used to describe the period in which archaic Greek culture came into contact with, and took on many features of, the cultures of the Near-East and Egypt. Widespread acceptance of a major orientalising phenomenon in Greek culture was originally stymied by racialist ideologies and only truly took hold in the latter half of the twentieth century, though certain scholars had earlier recognised evidence of iconographical, material, or conceptual exchange. Now, an orientalising phenomenon is accepted to be a feature of the development of Greek culture in the archaic world, though some, most notably Bernal, have argued that much more must be done to challenge ongoing Eurocentrism.[94]

However, even now that the Near-East and Egypt are considered to have had wide-reaching impact upon the development of archaic Greek culture, Egypt's place in the scholarship of the orientalising phenomenon is often awkward, uncertain, and secondary to the Near East. In order to revise some of the generalisations and omissions in more recent scholarship on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, we must first understand how Egypt became subordinate to the Near East in studies of the orientalising phenomenon. While many conclusions of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century scholarship on the interactions of Greece with oriental art have become obsolete or been superseded, partly on account of the prominence of attitudes depreciatively associating art and race and partly through dated approaches, it is by tracing Egypt's position through the development of the orientalising phenomenon's scholarly history that we can understand how scholarship's current situation came about.

[92] Whitley 2001, p. 102.
[93] Burkert 1995.
[94] Bernal 1987.

To a certain extent, a lack of scholarly enthusiasm for the study of Egypt's place in the cultural history of the Mediterranean began with one of the greatest leaps in Egyptology, the decipherment of hieroglyphs. The realisation that hieroglyphic texts did not contain the philosophical and eschatological wisdom that had been anticipated of them was met with disappointment, and a sensation that Egyptian culture had been better-off as an unknown, as Erman says in 1885:

> This naive faith of the Greco-Roman world, that saw Egypt as the land of secret wisdom, lasted seventeen centuries. It is not so long ago that he who heard pyramids and obelisks described experienced the thrill of profound mysteries coursing through his being, that one examined with sincere reverence Egyptian coffins and their grotesque pictures of demons, and the Rosicrucians and Freemasons surrounded themselves with hieroglyphics and Egyptian "symbols." Today, when we have come to know the Egyptian monuments for ourselves, when we can read their inscriptions and study their literature, this nimbus is gone; the bright light of history has replaced the "holy twilight" in which even Goethe still saw Egypt, and the ancient Egyptians have become for us a people, who are no better and no worse than other peoples.[95]

This sense of disenchantment was not, however, shared by the public, and so far as academic study is concerned, ancient Egypt became (and allegedly still is) cursed by its own popularity among the public.[96] However, it is neither this dichotomy, nor Egyptology's place alongside Biblical studies as opposed to Classics, which contribute most to Egypt's current lack of purchase in the orientalising phenomenon. Instead, it is the course by which Near-Eastern influences on Greece were first supressed, and later flourished, which seems to have left Egypt behind.

Late-nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth century academic examinations of Greek cultural history were often hostile to the notion of influence of oriental, and particularly Semitic, cultures on Greece. The contact of Greece with surrounding cultures was frequently described as negligible or of negative consequence. Such was the extent of anti-Semitism and of anti-oriental currents proliferated by scholars such as Brunn and Beloch that the

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[95] Adolf Erman, *Ägypten und Ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen 1885: 3) quoted in translation in Marchand and Grafton 1997, pp. 25-26.

[96] MacDonald and Shaw 2004, pp. 110-114.

Phoenicians were often described in derogatory terms and suppressed to a position of little to no importance in the development of Greek culture, despite some recognition of the archaeological and artistic evidence for their importance and their appearances in Greek literature.[97]

Frederik Poulsen's *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (1912) could be seen as an important forerunner in detailed orientalising studies. In Poulsen we find the essential premise of orientalising studies – that Greek culture, in this case vase and bowl art, was "orientalisierend, deshalb müssen ihre Motive im Orient, teilweise auch in Ägypten gesucht werden."[98] Poulsen stresses that his work does not assess oriental art as an examination of oriental archaeology, but as an important element of Greek culture and as such the oriental elements of his work are "nicht Selbstzweck, sondern durch den Zwang der Verhältnisse entstanden."[99] It may be that the phrase "Zwang der Verhältnisse" not only indicates the weight of the evidence, but also pre-empts hostility from the contemporary academic community to the inclusion of the Phoenicians in Hellenic history and the breach of the divide between the east and the west. Perhaps it is because of this hostility that Poulsen's attention to tracing the ultimate origin of motifs is acute, equally if not more so than we find in many later examinations of orientalising themes in Greek art. In the course of Poulsen's discussion motifs are carefully and individually examined, and Phoenician work is identified as a mixture of motifs from surrounding culture groups. With this approach Poulsen notes

[97] Beloch's writing certainly reflects racialist beliefs "Die Sprache allein tut es freilich nicht. Ein Englisch redender Neger ist deswegen noch lange kein Engländer; und ein Jude, der Griechisch als Muttersprache redete, galt im Altertum so wenig als Grieche, wie uns heute ein Deutsch redender Jude als Deutscher gilt." (1912, p. 67), a surety of opinion which can be understood in relation to his headstrong nature (Momigliano 1994, pp. 97-120). It is worth noting, however, that while Beloch may have a different view of ancient Greece to his contemporary Poulsen, a view in which Greek culture was thoroughly Indo-European (specifically of a Germanic branch of the Indo-European family (1912, p. 67)) and came into its own by throwing itself free of the shackles of oriental control or influence (1912, p. 446), he did accept the presence of interactions between Greece and the orient, and of oriental elements in Hellenic cultures. For example, he stresses the importance of the Greek acquisition of a writing system, and of Hellenic culture on Cyprus he states "So trägt die kyprische Kultur äußerlich einen ungriechischen Charakter, und ohne das Zeugnis der Inschriften würden wir nicht glauben, hier überhaupt noch auf hellenischem Boden zu stehen." (1912, p. 328). Thus, the reality that oriental elements existed in Greece would appear to have long been understood, despite their importance having been masked, suppressed, or under-examined owing to racialist agendas (c.f. Heinrich Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*).

[98] Poulsen 1912, p. V.

[99] Poulsen 1912, p. V.

that the mixture of motifs used in Phoenician art of what we would now call the orientalising period (or the Phoenician Middle Iron Age) is not a randomly composed mixture. Instead, he concludes that there are patterns within the oriental elements combined in Phoenician art and conveyed by such art to Greece, such as that "Die unbetonten Gestalten sind mit anderen Worten ägyptisch, die Herrscher und Befehlshaber assyrisch."[100] This observation leads Poulsen to the assertion that Phoenician work can be called "Stupide Sklavenkunst durch und durch!" in light of their apparent submissive preferences for placing Assyrian motifs in dominant roles.[101]

However, it is not only the Phoenicians who suffer in Poulsen's assessment. The Egyptians are relegated to a secondary role both in the overall concept of Poulsen's oriental influences and in the details that they contributed. Egypt was a lesser influence on the Phoenicians and therefore a lesser influence on Greece. Meanwhile, the Assyrians were a dominant influence. The prioritisation of Anatolian cultural influences over Egyptian or Levantine cultural influences was not an uncommon compromise among the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century studies of oriental influences on Greece which sought to accommodate the apparent reach of Levantine art within their critical assessment of Judaic culture.

Poulsen's hierarchy of cultures saw Egypt's role in the progress of archaic Greek culture as secondary to Anatolian influences on Greece, and whether explicitly or implicitly, most of those writing in the remainder of the twentieth century result in similar outcomes. The tone of Dunbabin's 1957 *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* denotes an affirmation of Phoenicians as important actors in Greek archaic history. Drawing on his contemporaries' scholarship on Phoenician ivories in particular, but also bowls, bronzes and other crafted objects, Dunbabin establishes a range of close material ties between Greece and the Near East.[102] Egypt, however, generally receives little of the prominence given to Phoenician links, and on the subject of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found at Greek sites Dunbabin only says: "many of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in Greece dating from the eighth to sixth century may have come through the Phoenician coast,

[100] Poulsen 1912, p. 31.
[101] Poulsen 1912, p. 31.
[102] Dunbabin 1957, pp. 36-43.

some may have been made there."[103] He does later discuss the likelihood of scarab and faience vase production on Rhodes, possibly by Phoenicians, possibly by Egyptians, but only very briefly.[104] Thus, while the Levant gathered momentum as the key conduit in the orientalising period, Egypt continued to be a side note in the shadow of those interactions perceived to be more influential. Specific interest in Egypt was not uncommon, as is evident in the execution of a range of specialist studies throughout this thesis but the central accounts of the broader period seemed reticent to incorporate these findings onto the wider picture of the orientalising period.

This divide was, perhaps surprisingly, probably deepened rather than reduced by Boardman's *The Greeks Overseas*, published in 1964 but revised and improved with references and images in further editions in 1973 and 1980. Boardman readily acknowledged that Egypt had a role in the orientalising period, devoting four chapters (The Greeks in Egypt, Naucratis, Other Greeks in Egypt, and Egyptian Objects and Influences in Greece) to the interactions of Greeks and Egyptians, but his approach also compounded existing conceptions of Egypt's secondary role in the orientalising phenomenon.[105]

In these four chapters, Boardman highlights the volume of Greek contact with Egypt from the mid-seventh century onwards, first through the large quantities of Greek mercenaries active in campaigns or living in fortifications and settlements across Egypt, and later facilitated by the trading settlement at Naucratis. He further notes not only a broad range of Naucratis-era Egyptian goods spreading through the East Greek states and those with whom they traded most intensively, but also Egyptian influenced Greek goods found at other sites across Egypt's Greek mercenary communities.[106] In doing so Boardman applies a keen eye for artistic influences and draws upon a number of more specialised studies to broaden the picture of Egyptian influences from c. 650 BC onwards. Despite the strengths of Boardman's evidence, however, the role which he ascribes to Egypt in the orientalising period is both unclear and restrictive.

Boardman does not give any role for Egypt in Greek culture prior to mid-seventh century, attributing the appearance of Egyptian goods in Greece before this to "casual

[103] Dunbabin 1957, p. 39.
[104] Dunbabin 1957, p. 49.
[105] Boardman 1980, pp. 111-160.
[106] Boardman 1980, pp. 126-128, 133-135.

imports" resulting from the chance activity of Phoenician traders active along the Levantine coast, and describing the Greek awareness of Egypt prior to 664 BC as "slight."[107] Even in the 1980 edition of *The Greeks Overseas*, long after the publication of the Egyptianising Perachora scarabs, dating from as early as the late-eighth century, and after Webb's study of Rhodian faience production, Boardman maintains that the production of Egyptian faience *may* have happened "in the earlier seventh century…[as there was] certainly later in the century."[108] After this period, he describes the Greeks as being in a "mature" stage of the orientalising period, selective and self-aware in their appropriations and therefore:

> When we come to speak of Egyptian *influence* rather than objects, the material evidence is no less decisive. In non-material affairs the influence of Egypt was slight, or at any rate difficult to assess. Influence in religion was negligible…although in myth and representations of myth there were certainly borrowings.[109]

This slightly confusing statement represents Boardman's reluctance to use the broad array of material culture and evidence of extensive Greek contacts in Egypt to suggest that there were any non-superficial processes underlying Greece interactions with Egypt, as there were in their interactions with the East. It is this reluctance which leads to the final simplifying conclusion that "isolated Egyptian scenes of course reflect no deeper awareness or influence of Egyptian practices or beliefs" without much consideration of why the Greeks did interact with different Egyptian scenes in very different ways.[110] It is unfortunate that Austin's shallow account of Greece's material interactions with Egypt in the period before Naucratis, in one of the very few works dedicated entirely to archaic Greek interactions with Egypt, is defined by Boardman's assessment.[111] Austin claims to have listed all Egyptian objects from Greece in the Archaic Period in a single footnote less than one page in length; however it is quite clear that more effort was put into collating the bibliography for these objects than evaluating the material.[112]

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[107] Boardman 1980, p. 112.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Boardman 1980, p. 143.
[110] Boardman 1980, p. 151.
[111] Austin 1970, p. 50, n.13.1
[112] Austin 1970, pp. 50-52, n.13.2, 14.1.

That Boardman entirely overlooked the evidence from early archaic deposits at sites such as Perachora, attributing meaningful interactions in what he saw as the formative, orientalising, stage of the Archaic Period only to Near-Eastern contacts, might be partially explained by the phase of the scholarship on the orientalising phenomenon in which he initially wrote. From the 1960s increasing numbers of classical, philological, and theological journal articles set out cases for cultural exchange evidenced in extensive parallels between various elements of Greek narrative, literary, and philosophical culture and their Eastern counterparts. While some continued to maintain the notion that old Greek or Mycenaean concepts dominated the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition, many were now turning to the East in an attempt to trace literary and philosophical motifs back to their ultimate origins.[113] The conclusions of studies such as Gressith's 1975 article, "The Gilgamesh Epic and Homer", which identified features of Sumerian culture which "remained operable into Homeric times" indicating continuity of "cultural forces" were widely replicated and reinforced.[114] This identification of parallels between Homeric and Eastern epic was nothing new, however there was a fresh willingness to give full attention to creating a systematic and detailed study on the issue of Eastern motifs in Greek culture.[115] Similarly, outside of the study of epic, M. West's *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (1971) resurrected long rejected notions that Greek philosophy was heavily influenced by oriental religion, myth and cosmology. West's work created a defined period of concentrated philosophical borrowing in the late archaic c.550-480, and focused on the impact of Iranian cultures upon the development of Greek thought, the "gift of the Magi".[116] While Egypt features, and not infrequently, in West's account of philosophical and cosmological patterns, such is the scope of the examples included from India to Egypt that nothing is concluded specifically of Greek interactions with Egypt. Instead West's argument is constructed around the premise that the key actors in the dissemination of oriental wisdom are the Iranian magi.[117] With the sense of a far-reaching, and fundamental "literary" orientalising period established in principle, more substantial work on the subject was undertaken. Egypt, lacking evident literary influence on Greece, was therefore at a marked disadvantage.

[113] Webster 1960.
[114] Gresseth 1975, p. 2.
[115] Some of this previous work is noted by Burkert (2004, pp. 2-4), including a number of notable examples from the 1930s.
[116] West 1971, p. 203, 242.
[117] West 1997, p. 1971.

The study of literary and cultural interactions between the Near-East and Greece as an orientalising period or revolution came to its peak in the work of Burkert and West in the 1990s. West's *The East Face of Helicon* (1997) revealed the enormous scope for drawing parallels between West-Asiatic and Greek literary or narrative culture. West's parallels are often generalising, and rarely clearly delimited in respect of time, place, or agency, nonetheless, the scale of the debt of Greek poetry and myth to the East which his work indicates highlighted the intensity of interactions between the Greeks and their Eastern neighbours. In West's view this remarkable cultural relationship served to emphasize the distinction between the profound impact of the West-Asiatic cultures on Greece and the lack of cultural impact made by Egypt.[118] In this sense West followed Boardman in actively diminishing the Egyptian role in the orientalising processes of the Archaic Period in favour of a more influential Near-Eastern culture group.

In the same period, Burkert developed West's 1971 examination of philosophical, religious, and cosmological exchanges, while further discussing material culture and literary motifs. *The Orientalising Revolution* (1992) denounced the (long since gone) anti-Semitism of previous authors, and proceeded to argue that travelling craftsmen, bards, and wise-men of the Phoenician-Luwian-Aramaic culture sphere were responsible for the spread of motifs in material culture, cosmology, religion, and literature to the Greeks. These ideas were advanced in *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (2004) which reaffirmed his previous opinions, but also brought in more work on the magi, notable in West's *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient,* and on Egypt. Burkert's work on Egypt, outlining the possible connections of Orphic and Dionysiac mysteries with the Osiris cult, highlights both the potential and the problems in identifying Egyptian links with Greek culture. The evidence Burkert pursued was textual, not archaeological, and Egypt struggles to find a place in the energetic dialogue on Greece's literary debt to the Near East as, as has already been noted, Late Period Egypt has long been widely acknowledged not to have had literary themes and concerns which provide parallels for archaic Greek epic or philosophy.

Famously, one scholar, Bernal, did make a concerted effort to incorporate Egypt into Greece's literary and cultural heritage. Bernal's theory that Egypt, specifically a racially African Egypt, had the most profound influence on early Greek culture was enormously

[118] West 1997, p. 3.

controversial when first published in *Black Athena* in 1987, and has remained so ever since. Significant factual errors in the use of etymologies and linguistics and the uncritical use of myth led to the general consensus among many classical scholars that Bernal's methodology was inadequate to support any conclusion. Furthermore, while in support of the fundamental opposition to racialist scholarship, many were underwhelmed by the aptness of such a sensational and protracted attack on anti-Semitism in a scholarly context which seemed to have moved well beyond anti-Semitism to embrace evidence of Mediterranean connections.[119] Finally, bold, unsupportable statements of opinion, such as "I see no reason why educated Egyptians should not have known of America at the time of Plato" and further the quite impossible assertion that one sailing down the West coast of Africa would have a high chance of seeing Brazil, several thousand kilometres away at the closest point, characterise Bernal's general habit not to thoroughly research throwaway comments.[120] Bernal made relatively little use of any of the secure, archaeological evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, and instead pursued the myths which lay at the heart of Greek identity. Through the dubious employment of his etymological, mythological, and historiographical evidence, Bernal drew great scholarly scepticism to the validity of his radical conclusion that Egypt was primarily responsible for Greek culture, and there appears little doubt that *Black Athena* and its further volumes did not greatly, if at all, advance the long-term relevance of Egypt to the orientalising period or Greek history.

Therefore, as the discussions of the orientalising revolution reached their zenith, before other approaches to the period came into fashion, the range of evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture remained unconsolidated in any individual study. This is still the case today.

It is striking that, even in the early twentieth century, acceptance of wide-reaching and direct influences from Egypt was acceptable for those addressing a period more detached, temporally, from Classical Greece. Greek contacts with Egypt in the Mycenaean Period have always been more widely accepted. Flinders Petrie's publication of Aegean objects found in Egypt was followed just eleven years later with Arthur J. Evans ascribing to Egypt an extensive role in the development of Mycenaean ritual and religion.[121] This attention has

[119] As stressed by Vermeule 1979, pp. 272-273.
[120] Bernal 1991, pp. 301-2
[121] Evans 1901, pp. 91-204.

continued into modern scholarship, with discussion of a "special relationship" and direct rather than intermediated interactions.[122] Even if Evans' conclusions would not hold up today, it is interesting that with not a great deal of difference in the archaeological evidence for contacts in these two periods, the traditions in scholarship could be so different.

Modern approaches to Greek interactions with Egypt

While broader overviews of the orientalising period in the twentieth century, including both synthetic and literary studies, largely neglected Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the Archaic Period, studies carried out in the 1980s and 1990s which were focussed less on the wider phenomenon of the orientalising period and more on accounting for the Egyptian and Egyptianising archaeological evidence from Greece and the Mediterranean have now ensured that even passing remarks on Egyptian material culture in Greece are better informed.[123]

This process was already underway in the 1980s, though not for the Greek mainland. Hölbl compiled and analysed evidence of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture across the Western Mediterranean, in particular in the western Phoenician settlements on Sardinia, Malta and Gozo, and in Italy.[124] Hölbl's examinations of Egyptian material at these sites are notable for their relevance (which he often states) to sites across Greece, but also for the stress which they persistently place on Phoenicians as being the intermediaries for Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, and specifically Phoenician-Egyptian fertility magic. Hölbl's assumptions on the purpose of Egyptian objects colour his conclusions about its transmission and significance hugely, but have done little to affect the usefulness of his clear and important collation of the evidence.

The most influential work on Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture in Greece was finished in the 1990s. Both Skon-Jedele's 1994 thesis, a catalogue of all Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at Greek sites, and Gorton's 1996 discussion of Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs at a wide range of Greek, hybrid, and non-Greek Mediterranean sites offer a wealth of information on the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianising culture at Greek

[122] Wijngaarden 2011, pp. 225-249; Kelder 2010, pp. 125-140, 2009, pp. 339-352.
[123] Earlier studies on the material had existed, such as Pendlebury's *Aigyptiaca* (1930), but these were very dated, incomplete, and not especially widely used.
[124] Hölbl 1989, 1986a, 1979.

sites in the Archaic Period. The impact of this attention, and especially that of Skon-Jedele's catalogue, has been widely felt. Most studies which have mentioned Egypt's role in the orientalising phenomenon or the Greeks at Naucratis in the past fifteen years have demonstrated much more awareness of the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the archaeology of eighth and seventh century Greece, and more appreciation that the breadth of these objects' use is much greater than Samos' rich bronzes.[125]

More recently, Egypt has come back into the spotlight, though not necessarily with new results. Fletcher's 2004 study, mentioned above, explored the distribution of Egyptianising amulets around the Mediterranean by different groups of Phoenician intermediaries, though its methodologies and conclusions both seem to ignore most of Hölbl and Skon-Jedele's cataloguing, as discussed below and in Chapter 2. Hölbl continues to publish on the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found at various sites in Asia Minor, and especially Miletus, filling a gap in existing coverage which certainly needs to be addressed, though he also continues to employ the same approaches that he previously used to evaluate similar material from the Phoenician West and Italy thirty years earlier, and accordingly reaches similar conclusions.[126] More promisingly, at least in the application of new theoretical methodologies, Kousoulis' and Morenz' current ongoing examination of the material from Rhodes aims to provide a fresh perspective on the social, political, religious, and economic motivations behind Greek consumption of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects there.[127] The conclusions that have been reached by this project thus far are very limited, but it seems that their study, the recent and forthcoming publication of material from Thonis-Heracleion, Naucratis, and Samos, and Egypt's inclusion in studies of the processes of Mediterraneanization will all likely lead to Egyptian and Egyptianising material becoming more widely recognised as an important set of evidence for understanding developments in Greece and the Mediterranean c. 800-500 BC. Nonetheless, as is stated again below, the details of specifically Greek use of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture have still not

[125] Skon-Jedele's (1994) work is commonly referenced as the "see…" source for Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece, but the full body of the material she presents has never been used in any detail and new studies by Kousoulis and Morenz (as below) are using their own studies of Rhodes' material culture (Rhodes being one of the areas Skon-Jedele states to be incomplete in her work). The catalogue of Skon-Jedele is, therefore, a largely untapped well of source material.
[126] Hölbl 2014, 2008, 2007, 1999.
[127] Kousoulis 2012b, 2011; Kousoulis and Morenz 2008, 2007.

been established, and neither has the relationship between Egyptian/Egyptianising objects and motifs.

Conclusions

In sum, the development of the notion of an orientalising period which grew from Classical studies and can be seen to have been an organic process, which, once released from the bonds of anti-Semitism, naturally rushed to explore the most immediately apparent fields, those closest to the classical tradition. Accordingly, the literary element of the orientalising period expanded rapidly, as did studies of vase painting. In these fields, the strength of the evidence for Near Eastern literary and artistic influences on Greece consumed the attention of scholars, while a lack of comparable literary evidence and unsystematic examinations of the few rich and many rough Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece led to a certain indifference towards the role of Egypt in the orientalising phenomenon. As a result, Greek interactions with Egypt being largely limited by the extent to which they could be known through sources such as Herodotus, both temporally, being placed in the late Archaic Period, and in importance, being secondary to the Near-East. It is only more recently, through the systematic publication of Egyptian and Egyptianising finds, that Egypt's role in archaic Greece's orientalising phenomena is becoming the subject of more intense and sustained attention.

Nonetheless, and especially now that study of the orientalising phenomenon has evolved into the study of processes, both in Greece and in the wider Mediterranean, at the time of writing there has still been no sufficiently revisionary account of archaic Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture which works from the evidence, and through the complexities and problems of the evidence, to reach conclusions on the nature of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, this is the aim of this thesis.

Methodologies and approaches

For the sake of clarity, certain aspects of the methodology employed by this thesis are discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters. In particular, the methodology used to approach Greek interactions with Egyptian motifs is the subject of a more extensive discussion in Chapter 4. Here, I will outline some of the methodological decisions which relate to the whole thesis.

In particular, three important concepts need to be discussed: "Interaction", "Egyptianising", and "Consumption". The approach I have taken to these three issues has a broad impact on the whole of this thesis, and as I result I have tried to outline a clear position on each.

Terminology: Interaction, Egyptianising, Consumption

"Interaction"

In assessing how and why Egyptian material culture had an impact upon the development of Greek material culture I have opted to avoid, for the most part, framing my findings within an idea of "Egyptian influence on Greece" and instead favoured the expression "Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture". These interactions include, for example, the Greek application of Egyptianising motifs in vase painting and sculpture, their production and consumption of Egyptianising objects, the Egyptian-Greek and Greek-Greek exchange of Egyptian objects, and so on.

The decision to favour the term interaction over influence is prompted by a few considerations. First, and foremost, the notion of influence often presupposes a Greek passivity and Near-Eastern or Egyptian cultural superiority which is at odds with the Greeks' selective adoption and adaption of foreign material culture, consistently suggested by the evidence presented in Chapters 2-7 of this thesis. It also plays into the contrast which can deliberately or inadvertently be created between "impressionable" Greeks of the Early Iron Age, who are influenced by whatever Near-Eastern and Egyptian materials arrive upon their shores, and the sophisticated Greeks of the later Archaic Period, whose contacts with foreign material culture reflect mature and selective tastes. Instead, we find that evidence for various types of Greek interaction with Egypt is consistent and comparable across the three centuries

of the Archaic Period. Finally, the idea of influence obscures Greek agency, and is obstructive to drawing the links between what pieces of Egyptian material culture the Greeks engage with, what they do with this material culture, and why, which enable the understanding of the concerns and processes which underlie such engagement. The term interaction is better suited to the task, and to the idea, emphasised in recent scholarship, that the processes of the orientalising phenomenon involved much more than simply the introduction of foreign objects.[128]

Such an approach is hardly new. Modern studies of the orientalising phenomenon have more or less wholly shifted from examining influence to exploring more nuanced processes of "interactions" and "relations".[129] If anything, individual "interactions" are now falling out of favour as way of expressing the processes at work in the orientalising phenomenon, and in their place scholars are focussing on "Mediterraneanization", a network of interconnected processes emerging in the Early Iron Age which bind the Mediterranean as a whole and form the basis for the orientalising phenomenon.[130] This idea draws upon indications that we cannot come to a final understanding of the orientalising phenomenon without understanding the broader movements in Mediterranean culture and connectivity which were simultaneously or diachronically affecting the development of numerous of the Mediterranean culture groups.

However, as what little scholarship specifically addresses the subject of Greece and Egypt by and large dates to the twentieth century and still sets out its conclusions in terms of influence, it feels like the evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture is not currently in good enough shape to be re-evaluating it against the notion of Mediterraneanization just yet. To discuss the processes and concerns which form the basis of Greek and Egyptian interactions against the approaches of Mediterraneanization without a thorough, or a series of thorough, consideration of the evidence for these interactions is only going to leave a cavity under the foundations of one's conclusions. This is especially true in light of the conclusions presented explicitly in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, but implicit in the conclusions of Chapters 4-7, that we need to be more careful in understanding the

[128] Gunter 2009, p. 10; Whitley 1994, p. 51-70.
[129] See Gunter 2009, Whitley 2001, pp. 104-105.
[130] See Broodbank 2013; Whitley 2013; Morris 2003. Gunter's Greek-Assyrian sphere seems to fits within this wider network of processes, and highlights an issue with the term "Mediterraneanization". Gunter 2009.

differences between Phoenician and Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture before we attempt to thread the processes of these interactions together within a Mediterranean network. If we do not accomplish this task first, our picture of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture's place in Mediterraneanization will be meaninglessly linear and reductive.

As there is not room in this thesis both to establish an appropriately thorough reading of the evidence for interactions and then to assess, in any depth, how such evidence fits into a wider sense of the Mediterranean, I have focussed on the interactions. As such, this thesis can be thought of as building a bridge between those methodologies which are now very dated, and those which are currently being used in other areas. I have endeavoured to be aware of those ideas of "Mediterraneanization" at the far end of this gap, and not uncritically, but the focus for now must not be on reaching the use of these ideas but on laying solid foundations *en route*.

Egyptian and Egyptianising

In this thesis I consistently use the terms "Egyptian", "Egyptianising" and "Greek", in order to attribute specific objects, object types, or motifs, to a particular culture. However, this is currently a contested approach, and some scholars have rejected the designation of straightforward cultural identity to objects. Accordingly, it is necessary to set out the approach taken to the use of terms such as Egyptian and Egyptianising in this thesis, and to get a sense of how this usage relates to modern responses to the issue of cultural identification for material culture.

It was once the case that designations of objects were quite straightforwardly tied to a geographical culture, "Greek", "Egyptian", "Assyrian", and so on, based upon find contexts and overall appearance and subject. This led, for example, to the initial description of the Perachora scarabs as Egyptian.[131] However, with scholarship on the orientalising period picking up pace, objects were also frequently either Greek, or "oriental" and "orientalising", perpetuating a dichotomy between the Orient of the East and the Classical world in the west. Scholarship has moved away from the description of art as "oriental", realising that the terminology held dated connotations, and while the concept persists in terms such as the orientalising phenomenon or period, in lieu of more suitable names being invented, it is now

[131] Pendlebury 1930, pp. 76-77.

rarely used unflinchingly or uncritically. However, as “oriental” and “orientalising” have been thrown out, the terminology which has been introduced has not been consistent in its accuracy or its connotations.

Most scholars have now returned to attempts to tie objects to particular cultural origins, be they North-Syrian, Phoenician, Egyptian, Assyrian or otherwise. In the place of the more generic oriental, we now more often have the ambiguous term Near-Eastern, which avoids picking apart the thick mesh of overlapping cultural histories, influences, exchanges, and identities which lie under the umbrella terms of “Assyrian” or “Phoenician”. Gunter has recently set out a range of problems with such designations of style and tradition, both general “Near-Eastern” and more specific “North Syrian”, which range from the perpetuation of an East-West divide to the more practical need to identify re-distributable skill-sets and more production centres.[132]

The Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture of this thesis does not escape these practicalities. On the whole “Egyptian” is arguably more acceptable than “Near-Eastern” as a descriptor of an object’s style or production origin owing to the relatively homogenous and identifiable style and execution attributed to Third Intermediate Period and Late Period production, and the sense of Egypt as a concrete place rather than the vaguely oriental “Near-East”. More specific attributions of an Egyptian production location are rare, and are usually based upon style *and* inscription, as for the “Memphite” Perachora mirror, or on a subject identifiable with a particular religious centre, as for depictions of the Memphite Triad. However, the attribution of objects to Egyptian production is complicated, at least in some cases, by the presence of similar objects of Phoenician and Greek production. The origins of the most problematic objects, such as the faience Bes-amulets found in unusually large numbers on Rhodes and so thought to be produced there, but extraordinarily like those of Egyptian production, are currently impossible to reach certain conclusions on and will be difficult to unpick with just the existing, visual analysis of faience types.

The issue of cultural designators such as Egyptian and Egyptianising is, however, primarily not a practical but a theoretical one. Recently, Versluys provides a theoretical critique of the attribution of cultural identities. He states that when we use the term “Roman”, we should not think of a geographically located culture area but an “aggregative cultural

[132] Gunter 2009, pp. 80-123.

praxis" with a non-unilinear acculturation of material culture occurring between cultures.[133] Furthermore, these cultures should not be perceived as defined containers, but rather as the interrelationship of different connotations attached to places, materials, and ideas about materials.[134] Versluys is specifically critical of the terms "Egyptian" and "Egyptianising" for the material culture of the Roman Period, claiming that "Egyptian" had been part of the Mediterranean for quite some time and that in the end, while Egypt and Egyptianising objects seem to be intrinsically linked, due to an ongoing "aggregative cultural praxis" they are not.[135]

Aspects of Versluys deconstruction of cultural containers, and especially "Egyptian" and "Egyptianising", for the Roman Period are not necessarily applicable to the Archaic Period, even with Broodbank placing Egypt within a Mediterranean unit by 650 BC.[136] On a broad level, one could argue that as the process of producing and consuming Egyptianising scarabs, amulets, and statuettes occurs in both Phoenician and Greek communities of the Early Iron Age it represents a Mediterranean "aggregative cultural praxis", rather than a specifically Greek phenomenon, and therefore evidences processes of Mediterraneanization rather than an "Egyptianising" process in Greece or individual Greek-Egyptian, Phoenician-Egyptian, or Greek-Phoenician interaction.

However, when we look at the details of Greek interactions with Egyptian objects, Egyptianising objects, and Egyptian motifs in the Archaic Period, these seem to emerge as a result of *Greek* choices to engage with Egypt, rather than integration into an "aggregative cultural praxis" with the Levant (including Cyprus) and the Phoenician West. In Chapter 2 I note the possible emergence of a Mediterranean *koine* in the production and consumption of scarabs in the latter half of the Archaic Period, as production begins at Naucratis, but until this, and even after it in other, non-scarab media, there are considerable differences in the way in which Phoenicians and Greeks appear to interact with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, as shown in Chapters 1, 2 and 3. The continuing use of Egyptian deities and the scarab-beetle motif in Early Iron Age Phoenician art is a stark contrast with the introduction of only non-deity motifs popular in Third Intermediate and Late Period Egypt to

133 Versluys 2014, pp. 144.
134 Versluys 2014, pp. 147-157.
135 Versluys 2014, pp. 148-151.
136 Broodbank 2013, pp. 508-509, fig. 10.2.

most aspects of Greek art, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 4. Furthermore, even if we view the relationship of Greek and Egyptian culture in the Archaic Period to be non-unilinear, it is certainly very asymmetrical, and while a great amount of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture appears in Greece between 800-500 BC, there is surprisingly little corresponding material evidence of Egyptian engagement with Greek material culture. Instead, Egyptian material culture of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods shows more concern with connecting Egypt's own traditional styles with the a new social order.[137]

Therefore, as far as interaction with Egyptian or Egyptianising material culture are concerned we might not need to be concerned with the ideas of "aggregative cultural praxis" or non-unilinear acculturation. However, if we tackle the other central message of Versluys' work, the rejection of defined cultural containers, rather than just the Mediterranean focus of his Roman-period study, then big theoretical questions remain over whether, for example, we should think that for a Greek, a Rhodes-produced scarab is Egyptianising, or Egyptian, or whether it is Greek, or belongs to another category altogether, constructed by the Greeks for both objects which were made in Egypt and those made on Rhodes to look like they were made in Egypt, a Greek-Egyptian identity. This problem is also complicated by the existence of hubs, such as Rhodes or Samos, which define some Greek contact with Egypt and for whom the cultural designations of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects might differ to those of other Greek communities acquiring these objects through the hubs.

In summary, the appreciation of complexities in the relationship between different variables of an object (the locations of an object's production, circulation, and final consumption, the subject, iconography, or style, and materials of that object, and the designation of cultural identity to that object by its consumers) which is demanded by modern archaeological approaches is incompatible with the need to use practical terms for clarity and accuracy in the description of objects which we would attribute to different production origins, styles, and cultures. When the need to encompass this set of identity-qualifiers is so unfulfillable by any individual description it is best simply to choose a style of terminology and be aware of its limitations, and to address the simplifications these descriptions create in the discussion, rather than description, of the objects.

[137] See discussion in Taylor 2010; Wilson 2010; Naunton 2010.

Accordingly, in this thesis I avoid the term "Aigyptiaka", as used by Hölbl, Skon-Jedele, and Pendlebury, , as the word is too alike "oriental" in implying homogeneity across different types of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture .[138] Instead, I have used "Greek", "Egyptian", "Greek Egyptianising", "Phoenician Egyptianising", and so on. In general, these terms are used as a means of reflecting the production origins of an object rather than the identity that it acquires in its final or intermediary consumption contexts. Egyptianising is used to denote any object which evidences Greek interactions with Egypt, or which follows the types of objects which evidence Greek interactions with Egypt. This is not to say that Egyptianising scarabs produced on Rhodes could not have been perceived as Egyptian or Rhodian scarabs or have become Rhodian scarabs in the views of the Greek consumers, but simply that these objects relate to a transition, at some stage, of styles and/or skills and/or materials between Egyptian and Greek material culture. The further discussion of what cultural identities could have been attributed to objects such as the Rhodes-Perachora scarabs, or even Egyptian-produced objects, and how this identification played into the desirability and function of the objects, are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

Consumption

In this thesis I have often used the terms "consumer" and "consumption" rather than "deposition" and "depositor" or "user" when discussing Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture from Greek contexts. This is because approaches which fall under the term "consumption archaeology" provide a conceptual framework which is well suited to the addressing the questions of how and why the Greeks interact with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture.

Consumption archaeology is a broad term which we can use to describe approaches which study the reflection of social practices in the consumption habits of a particular group of people as represented in the archaeological record.[139] The term consumption has been most often applied to modern ideas of consumerism or to the consumption of food and drink, and the vessels and tools associable with the consumption of food and drink, but can be, and has

[138] Hölbl 1999; Skon-Jedele 1994; Pendlebury 1930.
[139] Dietler 2010, p. 55-66; Manning and Hulin 2005, pp. 286-288, 290-291.

been, applied to any material culture.[140] Consumption became especially prevalent as a way of framing and understanding social practice in anthropology in the final quarter of the twentieth century and while the term was less of a zeitgeist in archaeology, consumption is increasingly well defined as a means of explaining the relationship between objects and the people who use them.[141]

The particular definition of consumption which I have used in this thesis is that which Mullins sets out in his 2011 article, "Archaeologies of Consumption". Mullins describes consumption to be a *process* of "self-definition and collective identification" to "confirm, display, mask, accent, and imagine" identity.[142] It is however, also the case that in the course of discussing consumption I also refer to ongoing scholarly discussions which fit within what Mullins describes as "reflective" approaches to consumption, which views consumption as defined by more-fixed identifiers, like gender or profession, rather than as self-defined. There is value in both approaches, and I have tried, in Chapter 3, to assess what symbiosis can be achieved between previous discussions of the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and the application of modern theoretical frameworks.

The main reason for choosing consumption, and specifically Mullins' definition of consumption, as a framework for understanding Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, including Egyptian objects *and* Egyptianising objects *and* Egyptianising motifs, is that it defines interactions with material culture as "an active, motivated, creative process" which is ongoing, and can be especially helpful when it is applied as a means of thinking about cross-cultural material practices.[143] In particular, "consumption" is a framework or approach which can help us to understand both the deposition of objects in graves and sanctuaries and also their acquisition, across various boundaries, as forms of active identity creation, which has been raised as a key facet of elite activity in the social structures of Archaic Period. Interaction with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on the scale that it occurs at Perachora, Samos, and Rhodes must have taken place not simply in an act of

[140] Including archaic material culture, for example by Foxall (1998, pp. 295-310), who argues for elite desires for self-differentiation steering the consumption of foreign objects not dissimilar to objects of local production, a conclusion also reached by Versluys (2014). Renfrew and Bahn 1991, pp. 377-378.
[141] Mullins 2011, pp. 133-135.
[142] Mullins 2011, p. 134.
[143] Dietler 2010, p. 26, 57.

“deposition” but in repeated, creative, and public social practice connected to other instances of interaction with similar objects in the community, sometimes over the span of more than a century. As a result, the terms “consumption” and “consumer/s” better convey that we should not be reliant upon a reading of an object’s individual production origin, final resting place, and who put it there in order to indicate why it was relevant to the depositor/s, but should consider the acquisition, movement, changing possession, and deposition of the object as an interlinked array of consumption contexts. Finally, consumption not only reflects social practice and culture, but it in materialising social order consumption constructs culture, that is to say, consumption creates and displays values, while also promoting and reinforcing these values.[144] Accordingly approaching consumption, rather than deposition, helps to thread the record of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture into a social history of archaic Greece which is better equipped to explain how and why Egyptianising objects may have become such a prominent part of the material record of certain Archaic Period sites, while being so absent from others.

Finally, Egyptian and Egyptianising objects represent a particularly interesting case of consumption with its own set of complexities, as these foreign objects have never been figured as part of a narrative of colonialism, as we find has previously been the case for many other types of acculturated material culture such as Roman objects across Europe. While this has not stopped the Egyptian and other Near-Eastern objects from being explained primarily as a reflection of a dominant-malleable culture relationship with Greece, wherein the Greek consumer seeks straightforwardly “better” material culture from neighbouring culture regions, it nonetheless means that the application of “active consumption” as a theoretical framework in this thesis is an opportunity to test the durability of the framework when dealing with intersecting networks of exchange and various levels of object identity (“Egyptian”, “Egyptianising”, “Rhodian” etc.).

Having defined three key terms used throughout the thesis, I will now introduce my approaches to the evidence.

[144] Dietler 2010, p. 59.

Evidence

Literature

Greek literary evidence barely features in this thesis for the simple reason that there is little of direct relevance to the subject of Greek interactions with Egypt in the Archaic Period, and accordingly is not especially systematically approached. While the Classical Period is rich in literary references to Egypt and the connections between Egypt and Greece, these are not the subject of this study.[145] Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* appear sporadically as insights into the archaic Greek world. These texts, especially the *Odyssey*, provide a range of observations on the roles of objects, Egypt, and Phoenician traders, but for a heroic world which is a simple mirror for neither archaic nor pre-archaic Greece. Nonetheless, Homer is an interesting source for Chapter 1 and 3, assisting our understanding the Greek perception and exchange of valuable and foreign objects.

The third significant piece of Greek narrative of interest to the current thesis is, of course, Herodotus. Herodotus' mentions of gift and friendship connections between various Greek states or sanctuaries and the Egyptian court are cautiously used in Chapters 1 and 3, as is his account of Naucratis. However, Herodotus' *Histories* does not provide, or even aim to provide, a straightforward narrative of Greek-Egyptian interactions in the Archaic Period. All other issues of intent and historicity (of which there are many) aside, Herodotus writes much later than even the latest material evidence used in the majority this thesis. One must be aware that when discussing Egypt, Herodotus often relates connections in periods closer to his own which post-date the archaeological remains, such as when he connects the foundation of Naucratis to Amasis (Hdt. 2.178-179). That is not to say that the *Histories* are not valuable, it simply highlights that we must be careful in how we approach Herodotus as a source for the Archaic Period, especially before the sixth century. How much Herodotus' wider observations on Egyptian culture reflect the interactions of Greeks and Egyptians in the Archaic Period is difficult to say, but extensive comments on his work probably belong in a study of the Classical Period rather than the Archaic Period.

Aside from Herodotus and Homer, various classical authors, including Plato and Euripides, are occasionally drawn upon, but usually in reference to the motifs of Chapters 5, 6, and 7

[145] Texts such as Plato's *Critias* and *Timaeus* and Euripides' *Helen*. See Vasunia 2001.

rather than to get to grips with their conception of Egypt. From Egypt, the few textual sources are not literary, *per se*, with funerary texts being used more for their vignettes than their textual content.

Finds from sanctuary assemblages and graves

Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis discuss the Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from sanctuary and grave assemblages at Greek sites, which are primarily made up of scarabs, statuettes, amulets, and beads from jewellery, though a broad range of other, more unusual objects also appear (see Maps 1and 2, and Graphs 1 and 2).[146] There is insufficient room in this thesis to list these objects and to describe how and why the Greeks came to use them and to further include the Egyptianising motifs. Therefore, my approach to using these objects is to provide summaries of sites in Appendix 1 and to draw on useful examples and patterns in my discussion. Generally speaking, the manner in which I have presented Appendix 1 takes after Skon-Jedele's 1994 doctoral thesis *"Aigyptiaka": A catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects excavated from Greek archaeological sites, ca. 1100-525 B.C., with historical commentary* in order to achieve as much clarity as is possible in presenting information about finds from a broad array of contexts.

Skon-Jedele approaches the material region by region, site by site, and object by object. As stated, I have not attempted to replicate Skon-Jedele's detailed account of each individual Egyptian and Egyptianising object in my thesis or its appendices, partly owing to space, but also because Skon-Jedele's twenty-year project to produce a catalogue nearly 3000 pages long is not a process which is likely to benefit much from repetition in the near future, and its most significant gaps, including Asia Minor, Samos' faience, and a full account of Rhodes, have already been filled or are currently being filled.[147] Instead, Appendix 1 supports the aims of this thesis, to understand how and why Greek interactions with these objects occurred, by creating short summaries of all of the major Greek sites at which we find

[146] Maps 1 and 2 represent the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects across at Greek sites on the mainland and in the Aegean, while Graphs 1 and 3 represent volumes of material across different Greek sites and the quantities of different types of objects found at Perachora, one of the few sites where we have both a large volume of objects and a publication of all of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects (Graph 1 data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1-2693, Graph 3 data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271).
[147] Webb has been working on the Samian faience, and Kousoulis and Morenz (2007) have indicated that they intend to republish Rhodes' material. For Asia Minor, see Hölbl 2014, 2008, 2007.

Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. However, as my thesis is aiming to address the question of how and why the archaic Greeks interact with the material culture of Egypt, some contexts beyond the Greek mainland and Aegean islands become relevant.[148] Accordingly, Appendix 1 also contains brief summaries of some sites in the Phoenician West and Italy.

In order to create Appendix 1 I have primarily used Skon-Jedele's catalogue for the mainland and Aegean Greek sites, as her detail and thoroughness are currently unmatched in other studies, including original excavation reports.[149] For certain especially significant Greek sites, such as Samos and Perachora, I have supplemented Skon-Jedele with other scholarship or excavation records in order to create broader impressions of these sites' assemblages, and I have included any further specific objects or details thought to be particularly relevant to understanding the Egyptian/Egyptianising aspects of assemblages. Impressions of the material outside of the Greek mainland build upon the work of a number of scholars. First and foremost are the comprehensive examinations of Egyptian and Egyptianising material in the Phoenician West (Sardinia, Malta) and Italy by Hölbl, whose more recent publications of the material from Asia Minor I have also used.[150] Supplementing Hölbl are Gorton, who gives a slightly incomplete and inaccurate, but roughly representative statistical analysis of the Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs found across the Mediterranean, and Herrmann, whose work on Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets from Palestine and Israel does not feature in the appendices but is used as a reference for Phoenician consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets.[151] Again, specific additions to the sites in the West are drawn from a number of more specialised studies, but the broad picture is taken from the sources listed above.

I have, by and large, been cautious in using statistical means of displaying or analysing evidence of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. To create a useful body of statistical analysis of Egyptian and Egyptianising material deposition across the Mediterranean or even the Greek sites in the Mediterranean would require inputting a large

[148] While Skon-Jedele (1994) offers historical commentary, her attention is very rarely to the reasons for the Greek use of Egyptian objects, and where such comments exist they never bridge numerous sites.
[149] Such as Austin's quite poor reckoning of Egyptian objects at Greek sites, which tries to cover the entire body of evidence in two footnotes. Austin 1970, pp. 50-52, n.13.2, 14.1.
[150] Hölbl 2014, 2008, 2007, 1989, 1986a, 1979.
[151] Gorton 1996.

number of variables such as object type, material type, decoration, execution, inscription, and deposition contexts, for thousands of objects. For such a time-consuming approach to be worthwhile in the current thesis, it would need to offer significant assistance to answering the question of how and why Greeks were interacting with Egyptian material culture. However, this is not the case, for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the differences between find volumes and types at Greek sites are so stark that statistical analysis is either hardly necessary to demonstrate differing levels or types of consumption, or is simply impossible. For example, the number of faience scarabs at Perachora is over seven hundred compared to around thirty at Sounium, and despite this enormous difference Sounium is the sanctuary on the Greek mainland which has the second highest volume of scarabs.[152] Similarly, there is a meagre quantity of bronze Egyptian or Egyptianising objects at sites other than Samos, for example only a single bronze mirror from Perachora, compared to well over a hundred largely fragmentary objects on Samos.[153] Accordingly, the larger sites, with hundreds of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, are immediately clear in the patterns of objects they yield, while the smaller sites, where a single amulet or few scarabs may be found, often lack sufficient volumes of comparable material for reliable statistical analysis, such as might conclude that "Site A" primarily consumed *wadjet* amulets while "Site B" primarily consumed *djed* amulets.

Secondly, statistical approaches are undermined by the incomplete quantification of the most numerous objects, especially at those sites where they appear in the greatest quantities. For Rhodes and Samos, the record of the faience objects is not currently complete. Even at sites with small numbers of Egyptian or Egyptianising finds inconsistencies in the recording of faience objects, particularly for objects which are parts of an unclear number of whole pieces, such as jewellery beads, can make statistical analysis a less reliable witness to the overall composition of an assemblage than excavation notes and descriptions of objects.[154]

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[152] See "Sounium" and "Perachora" in Appendix 1.
[153] Skon-Jedele 1994, obj. #1687-1812.
[154] This is also an issue for the Samos bronze fragments, which represent an uncertain number of original whole objects.

Fletcher's recent analysis of Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets highlights the dangers of statistical analysis.[155] Fletcher presented patterns in the types of Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets found across the Mediterranean using a GIS platform and a logarithmic-scale to map find quantities and types.[156] Fletcher seems aware of some of the inherent inaccuracies in the body of information and the logarithmic-scale method of representation.[157] However, he fails to comment on the dramatic differences between his raw data and that presented elsewhere. In an appendix Fletcher numbers the total "Egyptica" from Samos at 173, while ten years earlier Skon-Jedele's incomplete account of the Samos assemblage counted just fewer than one thousand Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Samos.[158] Furthermore, in order to accomplish a certain amount of clarity in the statistical presentation of evidence Fletcher divides objects into ten groups, nine of which are specific types of amulet and the tenth and generally largest of which counts *all* "Other Egyptica" (including scarabs). Fletcher's statistics from the quite small field of evidence in the nine clearly-defined groups lead him to conclusions which are incompatible with, or at least greatly complicated by, the larger, and more or less ignored, tenth group.[159] A similar phenomenon is seen in Baumbach's attempt to quantify assemblages, discussed in Chapter 3.

On account of these sorts of difficulties, statistical evaluations of the evidence are generally treated quite critically in this thesis. However, Gorton's flawed overview of Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs in the Mediterranean is frequently referred to. Gorton organises Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek scarabs into a series of thirty-nine "types", and the proportions in which these appear in different areas are compared to each other in a series of tables.[160] While a comparison of Gorton's data-set with Skon-Jedele's catalogue highlights that it is incomplete, and needs to be used with some caution, it is more accurate than Fletcher's and the proportional summaries of the evidence which Gorton gives highlight stark patterns which fit well with the more accurate accounts of the evidence in Skon-Jedele and Hölbl's work. Accordingly, Gorton's approach is not mirrored, but his conclusions are often considered here.

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[155] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 51-77. Further issues with the actual argument Fletcher presents are discussed in Chapter 2.

[156] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 53-54.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 71-74; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1402-1635, obj. # 1687-2720.

[159] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 51-77, the issues with these conclusions are discussed in Chapter 2.

[160] Gorton 1996, pp. 138-141.

Motifs

Previous studies of Egypt and Greece in the Archaic Period have focussed on either the finds from sanctuary assemblages and graves, like Skon-Jedele or Kousoulis, or the motifs from Greek art, like Boardman, but very rarely tried to bring together these two types of evidence.[161] Hölbl presents a discussion of both the Egyptianising motifs and objects in his study of Egyptian relations with Italy, but the motifs are simply listed, and the methodology makes no real effort to bring the evidence of the motifs to bear on the wider conclusions on interactions with Egyptian culture which Hölbl draws from the objects.[162]

Similarly, scholarship on individual Egyptianising motifs is now mostly dated, and does very little to contextualise motifs within the wider pattern of interactions with other Egyptian material culture. Therefore, in order to bring a discussion of these motifs up to date and to draw conclusions on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture which are compatible with the objects from sanctuaries and graves, this thesis organises its discussion of Egyptianising motifs according to the processes which appear to govern how and why they come to be used in Greek art. A much fuller discussion of the background to the study of the Egyptianising motifs and how my methodology is practically applied to the selection, organisation, and analysis of motifs is set out in Chapter 4, where it is more immediately relevant.

Egyptian evidence

Wherever possible, the Egyptian evidence used to discuss objects and motifs from Greek material culture is taken directly from the dynastic periods synchronous with the Archaic Period, the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. For a substantial amount of the material included in the thesis, including many amuletic objects and a range of motifs, this is made easier by the fact that these objects or motifs were newly introduced or at the peak of their popularity in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.[163] Some examples, however, are lifted from other dynastic periods, mostly where I have not been able to find

[161] This habit is probably linked to the wider phenomenon of the identification of high quality painted pottery as "vases", for which provenance is often more often considered than deposition contexts.
[162] Hölbl 1979, pp. 331-366.
[163] For example the bearded snake and the wooden *ba* bird statuette appear first in the Third Intermediate Period. See Chapter 7.

sufficiently detailed images or descriptions of types which are stated or exceptionally likely to have existed in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. Such a practice must be used with caution, but can be validated to a certain extent by the well-evidenced practice of Third Intermediate Period and Late Period reuse and recycling of old objects and motifs found in tombs and the trend for Third Intermediate Period and Late Period art to be archaising.[164] Nonetheless, Egyptian art is far from static, and no evidence is used in this thesis without careful consideration of the viability of its relevance to the period in question. For example, the nude, male, *kouros*-like statuettes which we find in Old Kingdom contexts are not brought in as evidence for the origins of the *kouros* in Chapter 7 despite the extraordinary parallels which exist between the two types. It is also worth noting that for many Egyptian items, especially small faience amulets, contexts are very poorly recorded due to the very widespread practice of removing objects from their deposition contexts for resale, reuse, or redistribution from antiquity through to the modern day. These objects are often without well-defined dates, and I have followed the rough dates (usually a dynastic period, such as "Dynasty XXV", or a grouping of dynastic periods, such as "Third Intermediate Period") attributed to them by museums and scholars, based on style, subject, and execution, uncritically.

On the dating of Egyptian objects, although Sais was very briefly the capital for Dynasty XXIV in 720-715 BC, I have followed the conventional usage of the term "Saite" to refer only to the better known Saite period of Dynasty XXVI.

Structure

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, which are arranged in three sections: "Agency", "Egyptian and Egyptianising Objects", and "Egyptianising Motifs". There are also two appendices in a second volume, the first of which gives basic summaries of where we find Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Greek sites, and the second of which contains the images referred to in the thesis.

[164] Sennefer's tomb, discussed more extensively in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, is a prime example for this process of reuse, and we find objects in Greece which have clearly been looted from tombs at some point, for example an exceptionally finely carved New Kingdom lion figurine from Samos (Tsakos and Sofianou 2012, pp. 148-149).

The decision to divide the evidence into two sections, “Egyptian and Egyptianising objects” and “Egyptianising motifs”, is problematic but necessary. The distinction that these sections appear to draw between faience “objects”, and Greek “art” contradicts the theoretical approach that thesis sets out to above, social or consumption archaeology, by seeming to extend old-fashioned juxtapositions of Oriental against Greek, and of crude ritual objects against works of art, thereby implying that we cannot see all material culture primarily as a reflection of social practices or concerns. This is an unwanted side-effect of the division of the evidence, and the principle that material culture can be considered a reflection of social practice is intended to shape discussion in both sections of the thesis. However, the means by which we can interpret agency and social practice for the faience objects presented in the “objects” section of this thesis and the Greek vase-painting and sculpture in the “motifs” section of the thesis are different, and separate discussions are preferable for the sake of practicality and clarity.

For the faience and other Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found at Greek sites, we generally have a range of contextual information (at least the find site and the other objects found there, if not a more specific context), and we can quantify the amounts of different find types at different sites. This means that we can assess social practice by examining an object’s final context, what other object types are found there, and its production context (where possible), and we can compare this social practice to that elsewhere in order to find patterns, looking at sites dedicated to different deities and situated in different local (for example, coastal) and regional settings. However, for Egyptianising motifs found on painted pottery, which after inscribed scarabs constitute the bulk of the evidence for Egyptianising motifs in Greek-produced material culture, similar, accurate information is not consistently available. As contextual and quantitative information is unavailable is less consistently available, and a particular composition or use of iconography might exist on only a single example, the analysis of social practice through painted pottery, as a body of evidence, using quantitative and comparative means is less viable. As a result, the ways in which painted pottery, and to a lesser extent sculpture, is used to assess social practice are inevitably different to the ways in which material such as faience scarabs can be and has been used, even if we attempt to think about these types of material in similar terms.

In separating the evidence into two sections, the thesis acknowledges that although we may explicitly intend to adopt a social or consumption archaeology approach to interpreting

material culture, and even be successful in doing so, the ways in which we arrive at our conclusions and how we interpret social practice through different groups of evidence, to which we can attach different levels of contextual and quantitative information, are undeniably different. Therefore, while it would be possible to incorporate Egyptianising scarabs and other objects produced as imitations in Greece into the discussion of Egyptianising motifs and avoid the difficult differentiation of objects and motifs, by utilising the process-based terminology employed in the latter half of the thesis, doing so may gloss over significant methodological differences, to the detriment of both discussions. Accordingly, it is most practical that the thesis reflects that different types of evidence are being used in different ways by splitting the evidence as it has done.

Agency

Chapter 1 draws on the findings presented in Chapters 2-7 in a discussion of the interfaces of contact which facilitated the Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. It begins by critically assessing the great emphasis on Phoenician intermediaries and Naucratis in previous scholarship discussing Greek-Egyptian contacts. Once the difficulties posed by these models of contact have been exposed, Chapter 1 then argues that there were a number of Greek "hubs" in direct contact with Egypt which governed the nature of other Greek interactions with Egypt. Finally, the chapter suggests solutions to some of the questions facing Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, and in doing so moves some of the emphasis away from the definition of contacts in relation to Phoenician intermediaries and Naucratis.

Egyptian and Egyptianising objects

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in Greek sanctuary assemblages and grave contexts. Chapter 2 explores the production and cultural origins of these objects, with a particular focus on the scarabs which comprise the bulk of Egyptian and Egyptianising material at Greek sites. This chapter reiterates the importance of understanding the difference between the Greek, (Cypro-) Phoenician, and Egyptian production of scarabs. It highlights key distinctions between Greek and Phoenician production of Egyptianising

objects and between pre- and post-Naucratis production of Egyptianising objects, which are crucially important to the conclusions of Chapters 1 and 3.

Chapter 3 takes the conclusions of Chapter 2 and applies them to the question of who was depositing Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and why they may have done so. A significant portion of the chapter is dedicated to the revision and reconsideration of the predominant views on the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, including sailors luck, fertility magic, and interstate exchange. Having reconciled these approaches with the limits of the evidence discussed in Chapter 2 and introduced other evidence applicable to Greek consumption of Egyptian objects, Chapter 3 concludes by drawing together the common ground in different aspects of the preceding discussions to outline some of the basic motivations which appear to underline Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in sanctuary and funerary contexts, including a unique level of magical prestige.

Egyptianising motifs

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, discuss the introduction of Egyptianising motifs to Greek art. Chapter 4 begins this section of the thesis by outlining the approaches to Egyptianising motifs that will be taken in the following chapters. It starts by highlighting that the process of imitation which we find in the Greek production of Egyptianising objects is not an appropriate way of describing other Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. As a result, I set out a methodology which rejects prior scholarship's fixed perspective on the plausible extent of conceptual or artistic exchange and instead emphasises variable processes underlying the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs. The chapter sets out three processes which can be used to describe many Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture: inspiration, experimentation, and accentuation.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 set out evidence for the three processes outlined above, with "inspiration" in Chapter 5, "experimentation" in Chapter 6, and "accentuation" in Chapter 7. Two or three examples of Egyptianising motifs in Greek art are used to establish how each of these processes work and each chapter concludes on the functions and implications of the particular process it discusses. The observations of Chapters 4-7 are then brought together at the end of Chapter 7.

Having addressed a range of the key aspects of relevant contexts, scholarship, approaches, evidence, and structure, I will now turn to the first body of evidence for discussion in this thesis, the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greek sanctuaries and burials in order to discuss the issue of agency.

I

Agency

Chapter 1

Agency and Exchange

Assessing the interfaces through which the Greeks were able to interact with Egyptian material culture is a large and complex task. Scholars addressing this subject have generally focused on two significant conduits for material contacts. The first is the activity of Phoenician traders, representing a mixture of "middleman" and "down-the-line-trade" models of exchange.[165] The second is the Greek trading post at Naucratis, which can be described as a "colonial enclave" or "port-of-trade" model of exchange.[166] The merits and applicability of both of these models will be discussed in this chapter.

However, it is also clear that these two dominant models of agency and exchange need to be challenged and supplemented. Discussions of both Phoenician traders and Naucratis as interfaces of exchange have struggled to acknowledge and incorporate thoroughly the production and exchange of Egyptianising goods within the Greek and Phoenician culture groups or the Greek adoption of Egyptianising motifs. Furthermore, scholarship on Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Mediterranean archaeology has, in discussions of other subject matter, more effectively used a broader spectrum of exchange connections and situations, including gift exchange or emissary trading.[167] Finally, the discussion of archaic Greek interactions with other cultures in the Mediterranean, and especially Egypt, is still sometimes delimited by the lingering assumption of dominant-culture-diffusion.[168] In 1997 West stated that "Culture, like all forms of gas, tends to spread out from where it is densest into adjacent areas where it is less dense."[169] Burkert, similarly, says that "in the period at about the middle of the eighth century, when direct contact had been established between the Assyrians and the Greeks, Greek culture must have been much less self-conscious and therefore much more malleable and open to foreign influence than it

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[165] Models of exchange as per: Renfrew and Bahn 1991, p. 368.
[166] Ibid.
[167] van Dommelen and Rowlands 2012, p. 20; Gunter 2009; Renfrew and Bahn 1991, p. 368.
[168] A theory which should no longer be, and largely is not, accepted, at least not in its simplest form, but studies of Egyptian material culture are dated. Whitley 2001, pp. 103-105.
[169] West 1997, p. 1.

became in subsequent generations."[170] The passivity of Greek actors in these attitudes towards cultural interactions between Greeks and other cultures only further compounds the simplification of interfaces of exchanges.

This chapter will tackle the issue of agency through a critical exploration of the two dominant strands in scholarship on possible interfaces of Greek-Egyptian interactions before exploring what other options may be plausible, or even necessary, additions.

A: Phoenician or Levantine traders

Once Phoenician involvement in the development of archaic Greek culture was no longer rejected for racialist reasons, discussed in the introduction, the scholarly position on the viability of the Phoenicians as mediators of cultural exchanges was inverted and they quickly became a go-to solution in discussions of how Near-Eastern material and ideas were conveyed to Greece. It is now the case that the majority of material exchanges in the "orientalising period" have typically been attributed to Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician intermediaries. For example, Whitley states that "of all the people of the Levant, the Phoenicians were by far the most important, at least as far as Greeks were concerned. The Phoenicians were the trading people *par excellence*".[171] It is, therefore, unsurprising that the common view has been that the Phoenicians were primarily responsible for moving the Egyptian material culture found at Greek sites from the East/Egypt to Greece, with conclusions on the subject seeming to have changed little since Dunbabin stated:

> These oddments, seals, amulets, scarabs, are all personal effects which may have been brought to Greece by Phoenician visitors, may have been picked up in Syria or Phoenicia by Greek sailors; but as there is as yet no material evidence of Greeks in the Phoenician cities at this time, the former is the more likely hypothesis.[172]

There is no obvious or direct evidence that this was the case, but there are two important factors fuelling the conclusion that Phoenicians were the agents in pre-Naucratis Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture. First, there is the

[170] Burkert 1992, p. 8.
[171] Whitley 2001, p. 110. The sentiment is echoed almost verbatim in Aubet's discussion of the *Odyssey,* (2001, p. 129). See also Hölbl 1979, 1986a, 1986b, 2008, 2014; Burkert 1992; James, 1962; Austin 1970, pp 13-14.
[172] Dunbabin 1957, pp. 39-40.

mobility of Phoenicians in the Middle Iron Age. Phoenician expansion into the Mediterranean began in the ninth century BC when they settled at Carthage and Kition, with a presence on Rhodes by c.800 BC.[173] In the eighth and seventh centuries the Phoenicians founded further colonies in the Western Mediterranean, including on Sardinia, Malta, and Sicily, with material exchanges at these sites between local communities and Phoenicians predating Phoenician settlement.[174] Phoenician mobility can be attributed, at least in the most part, to commercial interests revolving around the exchange of material culture, be it the acquisition of raw materials (especially metals) or the sale of manufactured goods.[175] The list of goods referred to in the Hebrew Bible book of *Ezekiel* highlights the wide range of trade objects the Phoenicians might carry, funnelled through their ports from the land-locked cultures to the East.[176] That the sphere of this Middle Iron-Age Phoenician commercial activity included Greece is well evidenced in the material culture and literature of the Archaic Period.[177]

What *forms* of exchange between Greeks and Phoenicians are represented in the material evidence is unclear. Aubet provides a diachronic discussion of Phoenician trade and stresses that in the Phoenician Middle Iron Age, contemporary to the Greek Archaic Period, a mixture of state and private traders were likely to have been operating in the Mediterranean.[178] However, while the Phoenician and other Near-Eastern objects at Greek sites can inform us of these objects' production origins and final consumption contexts, the

[173] van Dommelen 1998, p. 70.
[174] As suggested, for example, by the Nora Stele, found on Sardinia and dating to the ninth century, two centuries before firm evidence of a Phoenician population. The exact date for some Phoenician settlements in the West hinges upon the reading of such objects while elsewhere, as at Carthage, the settlement archaeology (pottery necropoleis, structures) is clearer. See Aubet 2001, pp. 206-208, 218-226. Precolonization is the term used by Moscati (1988, pp. 11, 17-18) to describe the apparent appearance of Phoenician culture in an area before the archaeology attests their clear settlement in that area, and scrutinised by van Dommelen (1998, p. 71). van Dommelen argues that much later literary evidence is given too much emphasis in assessing the probability of a "pre-colonization" period.
[175] Aubet 2001, p. 73, 76-77. The notion that all colonialism is motivated by a desire for material culture is explored by Van Dommelen and Rowlands (2012, p. 20), but whether they consider this material drive to include motivating factors such as the reduction of overpopulation and the need for foodstuffs, both evident in tenth-century Phoenician settlements, is not clear.
[176] *Ezekiel* 27.3-25.
[177] Hom. *Od*. 8. 145-164, 14.287-300, 15.455, 15. 415-416, 15.459. *Il.* 23.740-745.
[178] Aubet 2001, pp. 97-143.

involvement of Phoenician intermediaries and the modes or interfaces of exchange are down to educated guesswork.

In guessing at the forms of exchange between Greeks and Phoenicians archaic Greek literature is more helpful than archaeology, if used carefully. The gifting of a *krater* from Sidon's king to Menelaus in *Odyssey* (4.615-619) suggests that elite reciprocal gift exchange occurred between Phoenician and Greek elites engaging in interpersonal political relationships.[179] The account of a silver bowl's object biography in *Iliad* 23.740-745 further implies that an aspect of early Phoenician interactions with Greece was the giving of gifts. Yet, while the silver bowl is made by Sidonians and gifted to Thoas of Aetolia, the gift giver is of an unknown identity and there is no indication of either payment or reciprocation.[180] Thus, it is uncertain whether both private and state Phoenician traders couched material exchanges or the establishment of trade arrangements within the framework of elite reciprocal gifting, and whether the instance above reflects elite gift exchange or a one-directional instance of what Renfrew and Bahn described as "emissary exchange."[181] *Iliad* 23.740-745 relates a one-sided biography of the bowl as it is intended to establish the bowl's narrative identity and thereby validate its appropriateness in the Greek elite usage context, not to give an assessment of the processes of Greek-Phoenician exchange.[182] Overall, how widely spread the framework of reciprocity and gifting was used in the exchanges between Greeks and private Phoenician traders is unclear, and in the *Odyssey* there is clearly an overriding sense that the Phoenicians were engaged in mercantile profiteering rather than reciprocal and balanced exchange.[183]

The *Odyssey* passage (15.415-465) in which Phoenician traders set up a year-long camp to sell valuables, ἀθύρματα, suggests that alongside occasional gift-exchange there was sometimes a semi-permanent mercantile presence, a market economy, in which the Phoenicians unloaded all of their wares before moving on with a full haul of locally acquired goods. The story seems to attest to a process of roaming trade or cabotage, though whether or not spending an entire year in order to accomplish a complete turnover of cargo is realistic or

[179] Hom *Od.* 4.615-619.
[180] In Homer, for a Homeric hero, payment would presumably have been in the form of reciprocation.
[181] Renfrew and Bahn 1991, p. 368.
[182] The wider issue of object identity is explored by Whitley (2013, pp. 395-416) and Kopytoff (1986, pp. 64-91).
[183] For example, *Od.* 15.415, 14.287-300.

exaggerated is debatable. An interesting comparison for protracted Phoenician activity in one location might be the late-eighteenth century AD *Cutty Sark,* which tried for some months to acquire an arrangement in China for the most valuable cargo of the time, tea, and having failed then tramped around the Pacific picking up whatever other cargoes could be arranged by the captain.[184] Such *ad hoc* arrangements might have been of particular benefit to early Greek travellers and to those wishing to transport cargo without their own ship.[185] Aubet reads the previously discussed passage *Il.*23.740-745 as another example of cabotage, with the Phoenicians moving the silver bowl between ports and offering it for sale before utilising it as a gift to Thoas.[186] However, this interpretation of the text is quite precarious.[187] Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to conclude that the *Odyssey* passage above is grounded in a certain reality, and that significant amounts of Greek-Phoenician exchange merited Homeric contempt because it was executed within a framework of market exchange, by Phoenicians moving profitable cargoes across the Mediterranean.[188]

Thus, the Phoenicians are suggested by both the archaeological and the literary evidence to be responsible for some Greek interactions with foreign objects, both in the public formalised framework of gift-exchange and in a private capacity through market exchange, with some scope for the actions of private and public traders to have overlapped. However, it must be noted that, while many Early Iron Age and Archaic Period Greek representations of seafaring seem more concerned with taking than with trading for objects, the Greek elite are certainly not averse to making contacts overseas.[189]

The second significant factor assisting the conclusion that the Phoenicians make good candidates to be the agents of Greek contact with Egyptian material culture is their own long-

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[184] http://www.rmg.co.uk/cuttysark/history-and-collections/history/1878-83-tramping-for-cargoes [17/01/2015].

[185] Individuals such as Hesiod’s father, see van Wees’ discussion (2010, pp. 457-460) of *Works and Days*.

[186] Aubet 2001, pp. 130-131.

[187] Hom. *Il*. 23.745. The Greek ἐν λιμένεσσι is technically plural, suggesting the ship moved between several harbours. However, Homer’s *Odyssey* elsewhere uses the plural both to mean harbours (5.404) and to indicate a single harbour (4.846). To go so far as Aubet (2001, pp. 130-131) and say that the bowl was *displayed for sale* in numerous places is a departure from the text in either case.

[188] Whether the type of exchange determined the types of objects, and what proportion of the material from Greek sites could be attributed to each form of exchange, is not going to be possible to conclude upon here.

[189] Crielaard 2006, pp. 278-80.

standing and widely significant acculturation of Egyptian culture. Just as the Phoenicians were a trading people *par excellence*, they were also a cultural melting pot *par excellence*. The impact of Egypt on the Levantine region was substantial, and in some aspects even wholesale.[190] In particular, Egyptian deities and magical amulets, along with the accompanying material culture, were widely influential on the southern Levantine cultures, first the Canaanites and then the Phoenicians.[191] Egyptian deities were identified with Phoenician deities, or received their own cult.[192] The representation of these deities frequently conformed to Egyptian postures, clothing, and headwear, with only some stylistic and contextual changes.[193] Phoenicians made Egyptianising scarabs and amulets and used these as votive offerings in their graves and sacred spaces, much like the Greeks.[194] More specifically, Phoenicians used Egyptian amulets particularly in graves attributed to children and women, matching the general trend in deposition of objects in Greek funerary contexts, as is explored in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3. This pattern of similarities in the deposition of amulets, Hölbl has repeatedly argued, is the indication that it is the Phoenicians who introduce Egyptian material to the Greeks and shape their interactions with it.[195] Thus, the Phoenicians wove Egyptian culture, alongside Eastern cultures, into the fabric of the materiality of their religious and ritual activity. Furthermore, the Phoenicians evidently took these Egyptianising influences forth with them when they colonised the Mediterranean. The consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising Phoenician goods in sacred and funerary contexts in the Phoenician West is almost certainly to be taken as evidence that Phoenicians were transporting their Egyptian and Egyptianising goods and ideas across the

[190] For example, see the influence of Egypt on imagery employed by Byblos' monarchy in the second-millennium BC. Markoe 1990, p. 17.
[191] For art, see: Markoe 1990; Hölbl 1989, 1986a, 1986b, 1979 (esp. pp. 331-365). For religion: Hölbl, as before, Markoe 2000, p. 116; Clifford 1990, pp. 55-64. For more specific case studies of religious and artistic exchanges, literature includes: Schmitz 2002, pp. 817-823; Ward 1967, pp. 69-74.
[192] Markoe 2000, p. 116.
[193] Schmitz 2002, pp. 817-823.
[194] See Hölbl, as in n. 189 above, and Gorton, 1996.
[195] Hölbl 2014, 2008, 1986a, 1979.

Mediterranean, with stops at Greek ports to exchange goods probably happening *en route*, especially at Crete.[196]

Therefore, when one combines the evidence for the Egyptianising culture of the Phoenicians with the evidence for their facilitation of Greek interactions with Near-Eastern material, including through cabotage trading, it would seem almost without doubt that the resulting conclusion should be that the Phoenicians were responsible for some or all of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects we find in Greece before the foundation of Naucratis.

However, despite compelling arguments in favour of Phoenician intermediaries in Greek contact with Egyptian material culture, at least in the period preceding Naucratis, there are also problems with this conclusion. These can be reduced to three main concerns:

1) Differences in interactions with Egyptian material culture evident in Phoenician and Greek communities, including a dearth, in fact near-total absence, of Egyptianising Phoenician material at Greek sites.
2) Specific differences in the iconographic traditions evident in Phoenician and Greek Egyptianising scarabs.
3) Difficulty in establishing a suitable chronology or network placing Phoenician traders' in the exchange of Egyptian/Egyptianising goods in Greece.

We will consider each of these points in turn.

1) Phoenician acculturation of Egyptian culture was old and far-reaching. The syncretisation and introduction of Egyptian deities and accompanying Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture had already developed a strong presence in Levantine identity in the Bronze Age. R. Giveon describes the Canaanites as "lacking an autonomous artistic tradition", proceeding to explain that "there arose thus a need to express Canaanite religion in the artistic language of Egypt, with only minor changes."[197] Similarly, Hölbl has called the Egyptian/Egyptianising element of Phoenician art the common core of Phoenician culture.[198] While these Egyptianising processes experienced lulls, the Egyptian presence in Phoenician

[196] There is ample evidence in Hölbl 1986a, 1989. For an alternative interpretation of a small collection of Egyptian objects in the West Mediterranean see also Young, Marée, Cartwright, and Middleton 2009, pp. 23-30.
[197] Giveon 1978, p. 12.
[198] Hölbl 1986b, p. 198.

art and religion was never displaced, and so intensifications in Phoenician exchanges with Egypt, dependant on the political power of Egypt, tapped into a continuous and well-developed Egyptianising tradition.[199] As a result, a wide range of Egyptian gods and symbols were entirely at home in the Phoenician sacred and magical space.[200] This process lies in stark contrast to the Greeks' total rejection of the reproduction of images of Egyptian gods outside of the narrow range of imitation deity-amulets and statuettes made in faience to be the exact same as their Egyptian counterparts.[201] The Greeks show no desire to introduce Egyptian gods into painted pottery, sculpture, terracotta, or other media. Thus, Greek and Phoenician interactions with Egypt were incomparable, and the malleable Greek void, into which the sophisticated, gaseous Egyptianising-Phoenician iconography should have naturally poured, by West's reasoning, appears to have been determinedly preoccupied.

Alone, this point would not necessarily be too much of a concern. As subjects, allies, and neighbours of Egypt for millennia, the Phoenicians interacted with Egypt for longer and more intensively than the Early Iron Age and archaic Greeks. Accordingly, the Greeks should not be expected to reflect the breadth or the depth of Phoenician engagements with Egyptian culture. However, not only does the form of Greek interaction with Egyptian religious material not seem to reflect Phoenician acculturation of Egyptian culture, the Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from Greek sites also differ from what we might expect to stem from contacts with the Levant, namely in the dearth of Egyptianising Phoenician objects. While the faience beads found in many burials *could* be of Levantine origin, the majority of the inscribed scarabs which form the bulk of the evidence and are discussed immediately below and in Chapter 2 are decorated with different signs, characters, and patterns to those found on Egyptianising scarabs of Phoenician production. Furthermore, the statuette and amulet types represented in Greek deposits do not seem to reflect Egyptianising Phoenician styles and the range of their Egyptianising subject matter is both much narrower than and slightly different from that found at Phoenician sites.[202] Finally, a number of important Egyptianising

[199] These intensifications occurred in the fourteenth, eighth, and fifth centuries BC. Markoe 2000, pp. 17-18.
[200] For example, in individual graves on Sardinia we can find a wide array of different types of amulet, and the total range represented is quite broad. Hölbl 1986a, pp. 56-58.
[201] See Chapter 2.
[202] For example the *wedjat* and *djed* appear much more popular in Phoenician contexts, and the deities represented more diverse. Herrmann 2006, Hölbl 1986a, pp. 56-58. See also the discussion of Phoenician Egyptianising objects below, Chapter 2, pp. 96-97.

Phoenician object types are simply missing from the Greek Egyptian and Egyptianising material.[203] Even Crete, which has well-attested Phoenician connections, evidence of Phoenician settlement, and must owe some portion of its Egyptian and Egyptianising objects to Phoenician traders, lacks the most striking material evidence of Phoenician interactions with Egyptian culture attested at sites such as Malta in the west: stone stelae, stone scarabs, amulet holders, and stone statuettes.[204] Furthermore, this distinction works both ways. Just as the Egyptianising Phoenician objects are not found in any quantity in Greek contexts, until the foundation of Naucratis Greek-produced Egyptianising scarabs are not found in any significant quantity at Phoenician sites.[205]

It seems, therefore, that Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture is somewhat similar to the Phoenician acculturation of Egyptian material culture in respect of the basic popularity of amulets, but differs in execution, in the range and types of motifs, and often in material that is used (i.e. stone).[206] If the Phoenicians were responsible for transporting Egyptian/Egyptianising goods, we might reasonably expect to find much more evidence of Egyptianising Phoenician objects or the influence of these objects at Greek sites.

2) Contributing to the point above, but worth highlighting as a particular example, every significant study of the scarabs found on Greek sites has noted that they are mostly of a narrow type-range markedly different to those found on Phoenician sites.[207] The scarabs which are commonly found on Greek sites pre-Naucratis would appear to replicate a restricted body of Egyptian material focussing on a small group of hieroglyphs while Egyptianising Phoenician, Phoenician, and Egyptianising Cypriot scarabs are more liberal in the application of a range of Egyptianising motifs, such as Egyptian gods, the winged *Khepri*-

[203] See Herrmann (2006) and Hölbl (1986a, 1979) for common Egyptianising Phoenician objects. For more detail see Chapter 2.
[204] See Hölbl 1986a, 1979.
[205] Gorton 1996, p. 138.
[206] The popularity of replica or Egyptianising amulets seems such a universal feature of interactions with Egyptian material culture, continuing in force in museum souvenir shops and among traders near Egyptian archaeological sites, that we should hardly be surprised that this common ground exists. See Nunn (2000, p. 85) on stone Phoenician objects.
[207] See Chapter 2 for further discussion of the different scarab types common at Greek and Phoenician sites, and their distribution in the Mediterranean.

scarab, and the uraeus, in various combinations.[208] Similarly, we do not find lunar themes on the scarabs found in early archaic Greece, as appear often on Phoenician scarabs. Considering that the moon is the symbol of the maritime goddess of the Phoenicians, Tanit, this seems quite a blow to the association of maritime Phoenicians with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at Greeks sites.[209] That the Greek production of scarabs, coinciding with the most substantial depositions of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, is so different to that of the Phoenicians creates difficulties for the conclusion that the Phoenicians were the main interface for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.

3) Underlying these specific concerns presented by the material evidence is the wider question of the role of the Phoenicians in interacting with various states in the exact period (the late eighth century) in which Greek contacts with Egypt intensify and the production of scarabs begins. The picture of Mediterranean trade in this period is conflicted.

Phoenician interactions with Greece are generally held to have been widely influential in the eighth century, a point at which the Phoenician engagement with Egyptian material culture is also supposed to have peaked.[210] It is at this point that “orientalising” influences, attributed to the East but often without certain or clear models, emerge in the form and decoration of Greek pottery on Rhodes and elsewhere, for example in the discoid lip and decoration of Corinthian pottery.[211] The latter-half of the eighth century is also when we find that Greek consumption of Egyptian/Egyptianising objects increases, and the production of Egyptianising objects begins on Rhodes. Finally, this is also a period in which Phoenician prosperity is stable and high.[212] All these points would appear to suggest that Phoenician traders were responsible for early Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.

However, the wealth of Levantine objects circulating in the Aegean is lower in the eighth century than it was in the preceding century.[213] Morris suggests that the Greeks had moved past their need for rich Levantine goods, and that by the end of the ninth century

[208] For examples of Phoenician types: Fischer and Keel 1995, pp. 135-150; Gorton 1996, pp. 43-62; Ward 1967, pp. 69-74.
[209] Christian 2013, p. 192.
[210] Markoe 1990, pp. 17-23.
[211] Bourogiannis 2009, pp. 114-130, 2013, pp. 139-189. Fletcher 2011, pp. 11-42. Morris 1992.
[212] Bourogiannis 2013, p. 171. Fletcher 2011, p. 29.
[213] Fletcher 2011, p. 14.

"Greeks had come to terms with the east …feeling little need to impress one another by piling up Syrian bowls or Egyptian figurines in their graves".[214] Fletcher similarly concludes that the Greeks may simply have no longer felt a need to give and receive these gifts owing to structural changes in society, or that the Phoenicians may have simply become so dominant in trade as to no longer need to present such objects to validate their trading positions among Greeks.[215] Yet, the Egyptian and Egyptianising evidence from the period suggests the contrary, that the Greeks were still fully engaged with the world around them and still acquiring rich foreign goods to pile up, albeit now in their sanctuaries, and the literary evidence highlights the fact that interpersonal gift exchange with Egypt remained important into the late Archaic Period.[216]

It could be that the cessation of high-value exchange between Greece and the Levant primarily reflects the refocussing of Phoenician gift-exchange and emissary networks towards their Eastern neighbours, and that Levantine wealth was instead moving east into the sphere of the increasingly powerful Assyrians. In this scenario, a smaller number of private traders could have continued to do business with Greece, especially at Rhodes, where the presence of settled Phoenicians in the eighth century has been suggested but is far from certain.[217] Alternatively, the majority of high-status, and high-wealth Phoenician exchange in the late eighth century could conceivably have been aimed at acquiring the raw materials for trade with Assyria from their Western colonies and establishing trade associations through diplomatic gifts.[218] In either case Greek interactions with the Levant change form in the eighth century, though Fantalkin may go too far to say that "Greek contacts with the East were halted by Assyrian expansion" and the Assyrian supervision of Phoenician trade.[219]

If this is the case, how can we attribute the rich array of Egyptian/Egyptianising material being deposited in the Aegean from the late-eighth century to Phoenician trade? The evidence

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[214] Morris 2000, p. 254.
[215] Fletcher 2011, p. 14.
[216] With Necho II, Psammetichus, and Amasis. Hdt. 2.159, 2.180, 2.182, and 3.47.
[217] Fletcher is pro Phoenician settlement (Fletcher 2011, p. 15). However, Fletcher's references for Phoenician activity on Rhodes, Dunbabin (1957) and Coldstream (1969), are quite dated. Bourogiannis concludes that a permanent Phoenician presence is unlikely, but that visiting craftsmen are plausible. Bourogiannis 2013, pp. 172-173.
[218] Whitley (2001, p. 112) reads the lack of Phoenician activity in this period as an indicator that their attentions had moved further west, to their own colonies. See also, Bourogiannis 2013, p. 171.
[219] Fantalkin 2006, p. 201.

is quite conflicted. Markoe identifies a peak in Egyptianising trends in *early*-eighth century Levantine material culture, attributing this to the renewal of a political relationship between the kings of Dynasty XXII and the rulers at Byblos, evidenced in increased exchange of official material culture.[220] However, this brief period was preceded, and rapidly followed, by periods of Assyrian dominance, both politically and artistically.[221] While dominant over Phoenician trade, as they were in the later-eighth century when Egyptian and Egyptianising consumption is increasing in Greece, the Assyrians embargoed certain trade activities between the Phoenicians and Egypt, restricting the sale of strategic raw materials.[222] This control may not have had an impact upon the ability of the Phoenicians to transport some Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, as Chirpanlieva states:

> La conquête et la domination assyriennes du Levant dans la deuxième moitié du VIIIe s. av. J.-C., avec le règne de Téglath-Phalasar III (744-727 av. J.-C.), marquent une nouvelle période pour les cités phéniciennes, intégrées à une nouvelle province assyrienne et obligées de payer un tribute… En ce sens, les Phéniciens sont considérés comme des alliés politiques des Assyriens, mais l'Égypte, même si elle est en conflit avec les Assyriens, est néan moins intégrée à ces réseaux.[223]

Moreover, though, we can question what impact this situation may have had upon the value of Egyptian objects in Phoenician society, and the *desire* of the Phoenicians to use Egyptian objects to trade with or establish interpersonal interactions with Greeks during this period. A good number of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece are identified as having near-contemporary dates for production and consumption, and so do not seem to represent a Phoenician elite re-purposing old Egyptian objects which have now lost a certain strategic value within Phoenician society.[224] The sum of all of these contradictions is a large question-mark over the viability of the Phoenicians as the primary interface for Greek contacts with Egyptian material culture.

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[220] Statues and royal gifts inscribed with the names of the Dynasty XXII and XXIII kings. Markoe 1990, p. 22.
[221] Markoe (1990) highlights the Assyrian influences on Cypro-Phoenician silver bowls, also commented on by Poulsen, 1912.
[222] A letter from an official of Tiglatpileser indicates that the sale of wood to Egypt was forbidden for the people of Sidon. See Aubet 2001, p. 118. See also BM K3500, K4444, K10235 for the treaty of Esarhaddon and Ba'al of Tyre, on the control of trade.
[223] Chirpanlieva 2014, p. 31.
[224] Bianchi 1990, p. 61.

This doubt is compounded by the fact that the evidence for eighth-century Phoenician interactions with Egypt appears to be confined mostly to the area of Pelusiac branch of the Nile, i.e. the Eastern Delta and its rulers, while Memphis, whose deities and objects appear most frequently (almost exclusively) among the Egyptian and Egyptianising material in Greece, is in a region of influence controlled by those to the west of the Delta.[225] Although Egyptians were certainly moving around more for religious purposes in the period, promoting the spread of religious objects between centres, it remains to be seen how a narrowly Memphite selection of materials would dominate the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects moved to Greece.[226] Finally, orientalising processes on Rhodes associable with Phoenicians and Phoenician material culture only appear to begin to develop at the end of the eighth century, probably after the consumption of Egyptian object increases and the production of Egyptianising objects begins.[227] Therefore, while Phoenician interactions with both Egypt and Greece may have been continuing, that the Phoenicians were the bridging element in intensifying contacts and rich material exchange between late-eighth century Rhodes and the Memphis is difficult to reconcile with their cessation of movement of high value goods to Greece and their possible lack of engagement with the Egyptians of the West Delta.

It is worth noting before concluding that R. Fletcher has endeavoured to resolve some of the complexities of the Egyptianising material evidence in the Mediterranean by suggesting a northern band of North-Syria-Sidon-Byblos influence, covering Greece, and a southern band of Tyre-Phoenician influence, covering the West Mediterranean. While Fletcher is correct in identifying that elements of the material prove difficult to fit into exchange patterns, the addition of more definition to the Levantine traders is, in this case, unhelpful. As covered in the introduction, Fletcher's methodologies and catalogue of material are dubious, to such an extent that it is hard to know what to make of the argument, which is addressed in more detail in Chapter 2.[228] The introduction of two bands of traders conveying Egyptianising amulets is no solution to any of the problems raised here, and in particular offers no reason as to why the Memphite Triad would exist dominantly in the northern group

[225] Assuming, as Markoe does (2000, p. 51), that the Tyrian presence at Sais mentioned by Herodotus (2.112) occurs in the period of Persian conquest. For a map of regions of influence c. 730 BC see Kitchen 1986, p. 367, fig. 5.
[226] The Memphite Triad is by far the best represented deity group in Archaic Greek contexts.
[227] Bourogiannis 2013, p. 169. Of course, this does not mean that contacts were not well-established prior to this, and Phoenician/Levantine forms may have simply come into fashion c.700 BC.
[228] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 51-77.

and no explanation of how Egyptianising scarabs fit into this pattern. Interestingly neither the northern nor the southern zone of trade in Fletcher's map interacts with Egypt.[229] Therefore, while providing more definition to the vague label "Phoenician" is desirable, in this instance the conclusions miss the mark.

To sum up this discussion of the Phoenician traders as agents in the Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture, it can be seen that it is very plausible that the Phoenicians had some role in Greek contacts with Egyptian material, but that the details of eighth-century political developments and of the Egyptian and Egyptianising material found in pre-Naucratis Greek contexts are very difficult to reconcile with the conclusion that Phoenician traders were the main interface for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. It seems that, either we must accept that the Phoenicians were unlikely to bear prime responsibility for ferrying Egyptian and Egyptianising goods to Greece, and therefore unlikely to shape Greek interactions with these goods, or, that the Greeks were exceptionally discerning buyers and only bought genuine Egyptian or Greek Egyptianising products, or, that the Phoenicians were consistently transporting only a very narrow range of genuine Egyptian goods to Greek sites and in this process their own Egyptianising goods were almost completely omitted. Part C of this chapter shall argue that the first option is the more likely.

B: Naucratis

Just as the Phoenicians take prime position in discussions of the pre-mid-seventh century interfaces facilitating archaic Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture, Naucratis dominates discussion of the Greek-Egyptian relationship from the mid-seventh century on. Some have considered Naucratis to be "the centre for economic and cultural exchange between Egypt and Greece".[230] For these scholars, significant Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture can begin with, and be largely defined by, Naucratis.[231] Others are more cautious in evaluating Naucratis' role. A. Villing and U. Schlotzhauer describe the site as "one of the main intersection points between the Greek and Egyptian worlds."[232] Much as with the Phoenicians, there is little doubt that Naucratis played an important role in Greek

[229] Fletcher 2004b, p. 62.
[230] Stacey et. al. 2010, p. 19.
[231] Boardman 1980, p. 112; Austin 1970, pp. 13-14.
[232] Villing & Shultzhauer 2006, p. 2.

interactions with Egyptian material culture, but what that role actually was, in terms of production and consumption, has thus far rarely been considered, at least not in detail.

Naucratis was a Greek trading settlement on the Canopic branch of the Nile in Egypt. Exactly when and in what circumstances Naucratis was founded is not entirely clear. Herodotus' account attributes the foundation of Naucratis to the pharaoh Amasis, which would date it to around 570 BC.[233] A. Spencer suggests that this was roughly the date at which Naucratis was given to the Greeks formally by Amasis, but thinks that they settled on the site of an existing Egyptian settlement.[234] However, the evidence for an Egyptian settlement predating the presence of a Greek community is unclear. Even if Spencer is correct in identifying the temenos wall of the Great Temenos at Naucratis as an Egyptian structure, he dates it to Dynasty XXVI (i.e. 660 BC or later) and very little of the poorly documented Egyptian pottery can be dated to the seventh century.[235] Greek pottery from the site suggests that Naucratis was already established as a trading point with a significant Greek presence at some point in the mid- or late-seventh century, and most scholars now agree that Greeks were present at Naucratis from at least the late seventh century, placing them roughly contemporary to what is known of the Egyptian settlement.[236] That there was an Egyptian settlement pre-dating the Greeks at Naucratis is, therefore, yet to be determined. It is reasonably clear, though rarely commented upon, that the Greeks' foundation of such a significant trading port uncharacteristically far from the coast in Egypt must have been preceded by direct contacts between Greek individuals and representatives of the Egyptian monarchy either at the coast or in Greece.[237]

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[233] Hdt. 2.178.
[234] Spencer 2011, p. 35.
[235] Spencer 2011, pp. 38-39. It was previously the case that the Egyptian element of the town was dated to the Ptolemaic period (Leonard 1997, Villing & Shultzhauer 2006, p. 5). This viewpoint has now been reassessed by Thomas and Villing (2013, p. 83.), but the exact date of the temple is still unclear. Spencer (2011, p. 38) dates the temple to the seventh century BC, while Thomas and Villing (2013, p. 83) can only confirm that it was there early in the sixth century BC.
[236] Stacey et. al. 2010, p. 19. Villing & Shultzhauer 2006, p. 5.
[237] It is interesting that a Greek trade post was established at Naucratis rather than at a coastal site such as at Thonis Heracleion. In part, this arrangement may have stemmed from difficulties locating a Greek trading post amid the changeable waterways of the Nile Delta, but even so it seems uncertain that Naucratis was so straightforwardly dedicated to trade as we generally assume, and if it was, its location seems to reflect that the Saite kings desired to closely control or interact with the site.

Recent summaries of the state of archaeology at Naucratis highlight that certain questions about the site will not be resolved for some time, if ever.[238] These include: the date of Egyptian occupation and of the construction of the Egyptian temple currently proposed to be represented by the Great Temenos; the course of the Nile and the interaction of the settlement areas with the river; and the level of Egyptian presence at the site. The period of interest to the current thesis has been particularly obscured by the filling of a large lake, under which are the archaic sanctuaries.[239] The southern and most ancient area of the site has also been destroyed, leading to the loss of most of the probable Egyptian element.[240]

What the archaeology and literature can tell us is that there were pottery and faience industries at Naucratis.[241] We know that a large volume of Greek pottery was dedicated at the temples alongside faience amulets, including a large number of falcons which were perhaps locally produced.[242] Herodotus (2.178) provides a full list of founders of a "Panhellenic" sanctuary at Naucratis, the Hellenion: Chios, Klazomenai, Teos, Phocaea, Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Knidos, Phaselis, and Mytilene. Miletus, Samos and Aegina also had their own sanctuaries.[243] The states involved in Naucratis are all East Greek except Aegina, though Aegina certainly shared their great interest in trade.[244] This list is quite compatible with the pottery finds from Naucratis, among which the East Greek states are well represented, though we also find pottery from a number of regions not included in the literary record of founders, and it seems that traders or visitors from other states likely had some direct interactions with Naucratis, even if they were not involved in the founding of sanctuaries there.[245]

There is not space in this thesis to fully address the huge impact of Naucratis on archaic Greek trade. To do so could easily take up a thesis and at any rate the archaeology

[238] Thomas and Villing 2013; Spencer 2011; Villing and Schultzhauer 2006.
[239] Thomas and Villing 2013, p.83.
[240] Spencer expects to find his posited older, Egyptian element in the south as Egyptian towns expanded, typically, from south to north. Spencer 2011, p. 41.
[241] Villing and Schultzhauer 2006, p. 3. Spataro and Villing, 2009, p. 89.
[242] See notes to Late Period faience falcon from Naucratis, BM 2013,5012.12 (among others), referring to Webb, V. forthcoming, Faience finds from Naucratis and their implications for the chronology of the site, in R. Thomas (ed.), forthcoming. *Naucratis in Context I: The Nile Delta as a Landscape of Connectivity. Proceedings of the First Naucratis Project Workshop held at The British Museum 16th – 17th December 2011.*
[243] Hdt. 2.178.
[244] See "Aegina" in Appendix 1.
[245] Villing and Schultzhauer 2006, p. 7.

and material of the site is undergoing current publication.[246] Instead, I list below five points outlining the role we can attribute to Naucratis in the interactions of Greek with Egyptian material culture. These points largely seek to fit Naucratis into the ongoing narrative of substantial Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture which begin in the eighth century. Some may seem to point out the obvious, but do so in light of a salient attribution of Greek-Egyptian interactions to Naucratis.

1) As highlighted above, Naucratis was involved in the activity of traders from a number of Greek states, including, but not limited to the (mostly East Greek) founders of the Greek sanctuaries there. Naucratis is often described as a "port of trade", a neutral location, as Möller stresses, providing an interface between two cultures for the function of exchanging goods, and enabling the isolation and thus effective control of this exchange.[247] However, while the Egyptians clearly sought to channel and control Greek trade, as seen in the quotation below, the Greek experience of Egypt was not blinkered. Naucratis itself very possibly was inaccessible by sea-faring ships, being up-river within the Nile Delta. Greek traders probably had another point of first contact elsewhere, most likely at Thonis-Heracleion, at which they may have had to transfer goods to flat-bottomed craft.[248] Such barges and points of control are indicated by Herodotus, when he says:

   > ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου: εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὀμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἑκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν: ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο. (Hdt. 2.179)

   Whatever role we attribute to Naucratis in Greek interactions with Egyptian culture we must consider also that contact with Naucratis was, whether on a sea-faring boat or not, probably impossible without initial contact with the Egyptian administration at the coastal

[246] As part of the British Museum and Leverhulme Trust Naucratis research project.
[247] Renfrew and Bahn 1991, p. 368; Möller 2000. The localisation of the Greeks likely occurred in order to maximise control and revenues, as the Assyrians did for the Phoenicians (see above), rather than to segregate the Greeks, as Möller suggests (2000, p. 215).
[248] The full details of Thonis-Heracleion are still being published, but initial reports indicate activity from at least the early Late Period. Robinson and Goddio 2014; Goddio 2007.

edge of the Nile Delta. Furthermore, that exchange was focussed and regulated at Naucratis, close to Sais, rather than just at the coast, could suggest that major exchanges of goods with the Egyptian monarchy were to be negotiated and appropriated from bases at Naucratis, rather than the material exchange simply enacted there. Therefore, while Greek material in Egypt remains relatively contained in Naucratis, and can mostly be thought of as being in production/consumption contexts either A) outside of Egypt or B) at Naucratis, the Greeks who were travelling with it cannot be viewed in terms of being at "A" and then at "B", and would have needed to engage with Egypt, with its landscapes, structures, and people in a number of different places and a number of different ways.[249] Accordingly, when we think about Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, we should think less specifically about the role *of* Naucratis and more about how we can use the existence of Naucratis to read Greek experiences of Egypt.

2) Greek commercial activity in Egypt at Thonis-Heracleion and Naucratis probably involved encounters with the Egyptian temples central to the administration of taxation on trade. The architecture and monumental sculpture of Egyptian temples, such as those encountered by more Greeks due to the foundation of Naucratis, has often been discussed as a likely source of inspiration, if not more direct instruction, behind the development of Greek monumental sculpture and architecture in the seventh and sixth century Greek world.[250] This monumentalising desire seems to be the only *new* form of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture in the late-seventh and sixth centuries. However, whether we should consider the development of Greek tastes for Egyptian-like monumental construction and sculpture to be directly linked to Naucratis, or whether the wider experiences of Egypt among the mercenaries travelling into the heavily monumentalised depths of Upper Egypt, or the elite visitors to temples at Sais and

[249] We find Greek material elsewhere, for example at Tel Defenneh, but the same observation applies: we find Greek material where the Greeks were concentrated, but the Greeks cannot only have been where the Greek material is found. Austin 1970, p. 20.
[250] See the discussion of the *kouros* and the lion in Chapter 5 and the entry for "Samos" in Appendix 1. See also: Jenkins 2006, pp. 17-19; Donohue 2005, pp. 33-34; Ridgway 1977, p. 6; Whitley 2001, pp. 223-225. The similarities between emergent monumental architecture in East Greece and Asia Minor and the long-standing temples of Egypt are taken somewhat for granted, and a more thorough, modern examination of these would be useful.

elsewhere were equally important is unclear.[251] Arguably, those communities involved in Naucratis lead the way, with the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, constructed under Rhoecus' instruction, being among the earliest- if not *the* earliest-example of an 'Egyptian scale' temple project, but East Greece is also the area most associated with the *epikouroi* in Egypt.[252] Moreover, we should query whether the monumentalising desires of the later Greeks really reflect increased contact with Egypt and Egyptian temples and sculpture, with which they surely interacted in earlier periods, or rather the moving goalposts of Egyptianising elite display, which, on Samos at least, had already moved through the media of faience and bronze, and arguably needed a new and grander-still medium.

3) Aside from possibly the development of monumental sculpture and architecture, the foundation of Naucratis, being a manifestation and formalisation of pre-existing contacts, may have had little direct impact on Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods. While engaged in trade at Naucratis, Samos' consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods is remarkably high in both value and quantity. However, while the overall volume and the proportions of different types of objects at Samos appear affected by wealth, availability, and a desire for more prestigious media for elite display (i.e. bronze), the sorts of objects the Samians consume, deity statuettes and amulets, and the way in which they do so, at their most important sanctuary, are not different to those previously seen on Rhodes.[253] Furthermore, the interactions of the states involved in the foundation of Naucratis with Egyptian material culture appear to vary quite wildly. Other states known to be involved in Naucratis, such as Chios, show much less evidence of consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods.[254] We can conclude, therefore, that while Samos clearly maintained a strong relationship with Egypt, reflected in its consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, there is not necessarily an active at/not active at or pre/post Naucratis distinction or redefinition in the *manner* in which such relationships are reflected in the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising

[251] On Ialysos' mercenaries see the discussion of Meiggs and Lewis *GHI*[3], no. 7. in Bernand and Masson 1957, pp.1-46.
[252] For the Rhoecus temple see Whitley (2001, p. 225). Intended to be comparable, perhaps, to the renewed monumental and temple building efforts of their Egyptian contemporaries, such as that of Amasis described in Hdt. 2.175, 2.176. For mercenaries of East Greece and those possibly provided to Egypt by Polycrates see Carty 2015; Austin 1970, pp. 15-22.
[253] See "Samos" and "Rhodes" in Appendix 1.
[254] See "Chios" and "Samos" in Appendix 1.

material culture. Therefore, to place Naucratis at the crux of one's investigation of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture may misrepresent the case.

4) This non-linearity of the impact of Naucratis on consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture can also be considered to be true in respect of the Greek interactions with Egyptianising motifs. Pottery from Naucratis does not indicate either the special acquisition of items with Egyptianising motifs for deposition there or that the site produced pottery with particular Egyptianising motifs. There is no sense of a particular, extraordinary market for Egyptianising items at Naucratis. While this observation could be skewed by the loss of the Egyptian areas of the town, one could reasonably expect to see more evidence of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the item finds if it were occurring.[255] Looking beyond Naucratis we find more reasons why we should hesitate to attribute the nature of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture directly to the founding of Naucratis. For example, Naxos is where we first find the *kouros* developing, and therefore might be said to have a greater interaction with Egyptian culture than Chios did. However, Chios is on the founders list at Naucratis and we find a good number of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Chios while Naxos would appear to have consumed almost no Egyptian and Egyptianising material and was not on the founders list.[256] Similarly, Sparta, another state without evidence for direct involvement in Naucratis, shows significant interest both in the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and in interactions with Egyptianising motifs.[257] It is doubtful that we should attribute the use of Egyptianising motifs by the Spartans to Naucratis, simply because Naucratis existed by the time that these motifs appear. Therefore, we must not expect that involvement in Naucratis necessarily removes a blockage or creates an impetus for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, or that a lack of clear involvement creates a blockage. Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture are not determined directly by the foundation of Naucratis, but more likely defined by the sorts of power relationships and contacts underpinning the function of Naucratis. Over time, Naucratis may have contributed to the proliferation of these arrangements and relationships, and thereby the general saturation of Egyptian contacts throughout the

[255] Spencer 2011, p. 36.
[256] See "Naxos", Appendix 1. Naxos is barely mentioned in Villing and Schultzhauer, 2006.
[257] See Chapter 5, 6, 7 and "Sparta" in Appendix 1.

Greek world, but Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture do remain quite starkly localised into the sixth century.

5) The production of Egyptianising goods is a little more complex. We can be certain that the production of scarabs on Rhodes, discussed in Chapter 2, significantly predates Naucratis. That the industry producing certain faience objects relocated to, or was also started at, Naucratis does not necessarily signify new *forms* of interaction with Egyptian material culture. It may simply have been a quantitative or locational shift in production. However, the scarabs produced at Naucratis *do* change in the form of their decoration. “Naucratis group” scarabs, as identified by Gorton (see Chapter 2), encompass a broader range of types than those produced on Rhodes, and encompass more of the pictorially elaborate designs found on Egyptianising Phoenician and Late Egyptian type scarabs.[258] Their pattern of distribution is also broader, with a presence in the Phoenician west, in Italy, and in Greece and Asia Minor (see Map 4).[259] This shift in design could reflect the influences of Phoenicians with whom the Greeks traded in the west or, more simply, further contact with Egyptian examples at Naucratis. The scarabs made at Naucratis arguably represent the eventual creation of a sort of “international type” or *koine*, as was found for ivories in the late Bronze Age, suitable for all Mediterranean markets and consumers.[260] A similar broad appeal could also be noted of the mass production of Horus-falcon amulets at Naucratis, which spread across the Greek and Phoenician world.[261] Thus, while consumption of such objects in Greece appears to continue much as before, the production of these objects now reaches a wider audience. Whether these changes were intended to assist in accessing new markets, or simply facilitated by the exposure of craftsmen to new techniques and motifs, is not clear, though the fact that both scarabs and falcons are composed of a blue composition-core material specifically

[258] Gorton 1996, pp. 91-131.
[259] Gorton 1996, p. 138. Map 4 shows Gorton’s distribution maps (1996, pp. 143-144) for “Phoenician types” scarabs (top) “Common types on Greek Sites” scarabs (middle) and “The Naucratis factory” scarabs (bottom).
[260] Yassur-Landau 2010, p. 839.
[261] Fletcher 2004b, p. 54.

characteristic of Naucratis' faience production would imply that new techniques were locally developed.[262]

In conclusion, as with the Phoenicians discussed previously, it should certainly not be said that there was no role for Naucratis in the interactions of Greeks with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture. However, we must avoid drawing Greek interactions with Egypt in the Archaic Period into distinct pre- and post-Naucratis groups. It should be clear that Naucratis is as much, if not more, of a symptom of Greek interactions with Egypt as it is a cause for them. Moreover, the impact of Naucratis on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture is non-linear; it is not that the Greeks interact in different ways, or even necessarily *more*, with Egyptian material culture than before Naucratis, and we should perhaps appreciate Naucratis more for its political and organisational abnormality than as a central interface for Greek-Egyptian cultural contacts.

Having scrutinised commonly proposed interfaces of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the pre- and post-Naucratis Archaic Period, this discussion must now turn to how we can improve upon the current picture and understanding of these interactions.

C: Alternative Explanations

The purpose of the two preceding sections was not to dismiss Phoenician traders or Naucratis as interfaces facilitating Greek interactions with material culture. It remains likely that the Phoenicians played some role in the Greeks' initial contacts with Egyptian material culture, and the foundation of Naucratis, though a less linear factor than has been believed, is also undoubtedly important. Nonetheless, what appear to be obvious conduits for interaction are rarely simple, and adding to these two interfaces may help us to understand the range and nature of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, especially for the material which forms the basis of this thesis' discussion.

A number of questions have been left unresolved by discussions of the two interfaces of exchange through which Greeks have previously been proposed to interact with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture in the Early Iron Age and Archaic Period. Through

[262] Gorton 1996, p. 91, 183. See also entries for Naucratis-produced material throughout Skon-Jedele 1994.

addressing these issues I aim to add breadth and depth to our understanding of the interfaces of Greek-Egyptian exchange. These questions include:

1) How did Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited at Greek sites reach the contexts in which we find them?
2) How did the Greeks learn to produce Egyptianising faience objects?
3) How do the Egyptianising motifs of Chapters 5, 6, and 7 move from Egypt to Greece?

1) How did Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited at Greek sites reach the contexts in which we find them?

> It is scarcely any longer possible to tell a straight story sequentially unfolding in time. And this is because we are too aware of what is continually traversing the story line *laterally*. That is to say, instead of being aware of a point as an infinitely small part of a straight line, we are aware of it as an infinitely small part of an infinite number of lines, as the center of a star of lines.[263]

Malkin uses the quote above to indicate the complex web of links which he held to define connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean, the individual lines of which seem almost unperceivable due to the complexity of the whole network. However, when we come to examine the specific body of material with which this thesis is concerned – the evidence for Greek interactions with Egypt within the Greek Aegean during the Archaic Period – we find that it is certainly possible to begin to pick at this web of lines, or connections, and identify its thickest and strongest threads.

The question of *how* Egyptian and Egyptianising objects reach the Greek contexts in which we find them is really a two-part question. On the one hand, and most straightforwardly, it is a question of mapping, or describing, a network which facilitated Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture and who was moving the objects around these networks. On the other hand, however, it is also involves the more difficult question of

[263] John Berger, *The Look of Things* 1974, p. 40, as quoted by Malkin 2011, p. 11.

what processes govern the different movements of objects around these networks and to these particular hubs.

The second of these questions is answered later in the thesis. Chapter 3 discusses a series of ways of approaching the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture and concludes that we can attribute the consumption of these objects among the Greeks to one or both of two phenomena. The first is that interpersonal connections with Egypt by leading members of archaic Greek communities led to the use of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture as a means of creating elite identity, which was eventually pressured through various media, namely faience, bronze, and stone, by the spreading acquisition of comparable objects among non-elite members of communities, fuelled by the creation of local production centres. The second is that alongside this identity-forming understanding of consumption, there is probably also a persistent association of Egyptian material culture with magical forces, which further contributes to a desire for Egyptian and Egyptianising objects.

Chapter 3's conclusions are symbiotic with the discussion of networks presented below. In order to understand whether the model of "elite identity-creation" through consumption I have proposed in Chapter 3 really works, we need to understand whether a network existed which could facilitate such a phenomenon. However, in order to try to map networks and the variations in the Egyptian and Egyptianising material present at different sites, we sometimes need to understand how processes of consumption might have been shaped. The challenge for this chapter, therefore, is to hang together an explanation of the interfaces for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, which convincingly closes the circle of acquisition and consumption, without becoming a circular argument.

An Aegean network?

It has already been seen that many answers to the question of how valuable non-Greek objects were moving to and between Greek sites have looked to the Phoenicians as "traders *par excellence*", and have viewed the routes of their cabotage-trade, sometimes with diagrams of wind patterns and Mediterranean currents, as a foundation on which to try to map

exchange networks.[264] However, the need to incorporate alternative or additional ways of mapping the networks for Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects has been outlined above.

The most likely model for the dispersal of Egyptian objects to and around Greece is probably not the roaming cabotage of a single, accomplished mercantile community. The sharp contrast between the high volume of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods consumed at some sites and the very low volume consumed at others and the relative homogeneity of the types of Egyptian and Egyptianising material found across Greek sites are indicative of a small number of major hubs for Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, from which a small amount of Egyptian and Egyptianising material diffused, not radially across the surrounding area, but along routes of sea-travel and trade or through networks of interpersonal relations.[265] On the basis of the volume of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found, we could identify four of these hubs: Rhodes, Crete, Perachora, and Samos.[266] However, the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found at Perachora and on Crete in the late-eighth century appear to be very similar to those found in larger volumes, and among a more varied range of Egyptian objects, on Rhodes in the mid-late eighth century. Accordingly, two of our hubs, Perachora and Crete, actually seem to have been secondary parts of a network which was dictated by Rhodian interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, and we are left with just two hubs: Rhodes, primarily in the eighth and early-seventh centuries, and Samos, primarily in the seventh and sixth centuries.[267]

We can, therefore, identify the beginnings of a network between Rhodes, Crete, and Perachora. We can also, with relative confidence, identify a later network between Samos and the sites where we find similar Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Asia Minor, though this network also includes both Rhodes and Naucratis, and therefore offers more varied ways of approaching Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.[268] However, with the exceptions of Perachora and Crete, the diffusion of Egyptian and even Egyptianising material culture from Rhodes and Samos is generally slight in volume, and reaches a very broad array

[264] As, for example, in Thomas 2010, p. 37, fig. 2.2.
[265] Most of the sites at which we find Egyptian objects are relatively close to the sea. See Appendix 1.
[266] See Appendix 1 and Chapter 2.
[267] See Appendix 1.
[268] See "Asia Minor" in Appendix 1, and Hölbl 2014, 2008, 2007.

of communities.[269] This pattern of evidence distribution is not at all conducive to trying to map out networks in more detail. Nonetheless, there are three issues which we still need to address. Firstly, can we deduce more about the networks attached to these hubs, and how they work? Secondly, if Perachora and Crete are not hubs, but part of a network, why do they yield such abnormal volumes of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture? Thirdly, if Rhodes and Samos are the hubs dictating Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, what are the interfaces for their own interactions with Egypt?

We can approach the first of these issues, which is attempting to map more of the network for Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, through the consideration of two examples: Euboea and Perachora.

We can start our discussion of Euboea before the Archaic Period, in the ninth century, and may benefit from doing so. The site of Lefkandi on Euboea provides evidence for substantial interactions with Egyptian material culture c. 900-825, in the period shortly before the focus of this thesis.[270] As a result, the appearance of small numbers of Egyptian objects in neighbouring Attica in the late-ninth century would seem to be linked to the appearance of these objects at Lefkandi on Euboea. However, the sequence of Egyptian objects at Lefkandi ends c.825 BC, just as Egyptian objects begin to appear in Attica, creating an awkward mismatch in what would, ideally, be a matching chronology.[271] There are several ways of explaining this incongruity. One would be to say that ninth-century Assyrian expansion led to the inability of Phoenician traders to bring Egyptian goods to Euboea, but this does not seem very convincing.[272] A reasonable alternative might be that in the late-ninth century the Euboean elite fixed their attention on Levantine material culture encountered at Al-Mina, where we find their pottery in the late-ninth century, and perhaps where they were inspired to

[269] As good an example as any is the contrast between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at Perachora and nearby Ithaca, which are relatively close to each other. We can also note the similarity in Egyptianising objects but differences in pottery at Rhodes and Perachora, complicating how we construct lines of exchange. See Appendix 1.
[270] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1094-1096.
[271] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1096.
[272] Unlike a century later, the Assyrians did not impose strict regulation on the Phoenicians in the late ninth-century. Aubet 2001, pp. 54-55.

develop the Greek alphabet.[273] As such, they may have repurposed any Egyptian heirlooms which they had not already buried as gifts for exchanges with the elite in neighbouring Attica. It is also possible, considering the general mobility of Greeks (and especially Euboeans) that the residents of Attica whose burials contain Egyptian objects c.825 are actually member of the Euboeans of c.850 who have moved, and for whom Egyptian objects retain their relevance or availability until a later date. In either case, we can see through this example there are some issues with chronology and networks for which we can at least try present reasonable solutions, although we cannot explain them away.

However, this example takes two communities very close to one another, and who were the only two communities consuming very much Egyptian and Egyptianising material in their respective periods. Other examples, the examples from the Archaic Period, are more difficult. I will start by returning to the Euboeans, whose use of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects provides another conundrum. Skon-Jedele states that it is strange that the mid-to-late-eighth-century Euboeans of Pithecusae use Egyptian and Greek-produced Egyptianising objects in their burials when there is no evidence for the use of such objects on Euboea itself between c.825 and the very end of the eighth century, and when this evidence does appear, it is at Eretria, rather than at Chalcis, the settlement more often associated with western colonisation.[274] Her conclusion was that the consumers on Pithecusae obtained these objects from Al-Mina, which does not do much to resolve the strangeness of the situation.[275]

Again, solutions can be found. We can argue that rather than looking back to Euboea, or to Al-Mina, Pithecusae's Egyptian and Egyptianising object finds relate to practices on Rhodes. One of the earliest Greek inscriptions is scratched on a Rhodian import found at Pithecusae, in the burial of a child, stating that the cup is Nestor's and so most likely indicating that Rhodian pottery has high status.[276] Furthermore Gorton identifies the scarabs

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[273] This works if one takes the high-date c.825 for Al-Mina, but not if you take the lower, mid-eighth century, date. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1096. The alphabet is first evidenced on Nestor's Cup from Pithecusae and on objects from a range of other Euboean colonies. Mazarakis-Ainian and Leventi 2009, p. 214; Coldstream 2003, p. 406.

[274] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1094-1100.

[275] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1102.

[276] An early, c.740 BC, inscribed East Greek *amphora* from Pithecusae, from a child's grave (575.1), further supports the idea that East Greek pottery might have been particularly appropriate for display or important actions. Coldstream 2003, p. 406.

from burials on Pithecusae dated between c.750 and 725 BC, as Egyptian-produced types, mostly made of steatite, while those between c.725 and 700 BC are faience and identified as being of Rhodian production.[277] We can compare this development to similar patterns on Rhodes, where we find a large number of Egyptian objects through the eighth century, and the production of similar objects on Rhodes in the late-eighth century. As a result, we can say that Pithecusae's communities have access to Rhodian material culture, and we begin to get a sense that the activity on Pithecusae might not be "Egyptianising" so much as it is "Rhodising", and imitating the consumption habits of the Rhodian elite. Whether Egyptian or Egyptianising material has or retains an Egyptian identity in such contexts remains debatable. Nonetheless, such a conclusion would fit well with the fact that, in the late-eighth century, both inscribed Rhodian cups and Egyptian and Egyptianising objects begin to appear at Eretria, indicating that the community there might also be emulating activity on Rhodes, or even on Pithecusae.

The situation, therefore, is complicated, but does not seem impossible to get around if we accept that some issues will remain unresolved, namely in this instance the Chalcis/Eretria split, which might anyway be a later literary fabrication.[278]

However, we run into two issues when we attempt to employ a similar methodology elsewhere to try and map a network around the Rhodes hub. The first is that not many sites are as easy to untangle as Pithecusae, which itself was not entirely straightforward. At Perachora, for example, we find hundreds of scarabs of Rhodian production which are deposited starting in the late-eighth century. Here, however, the pottery does little to help us. There are only two recorded fragments of East Greek pottery from the eighth century, only one of which is attributed to Rhodes.[279] It seems, therefore, that unlike on Pithecusae, the consumption habits of Rhodes are not a desirable package for the consumers at Perachora, which appear to be more specifically interested in acquiring Egyptian or Egyptianising objects, which in turn make up the bulk of the early imports at the site. The symptoms of connectivity are different at Perachora. It represents a different form of relationship with the Rhodian material culture, and accordingly a different sort of line in the network. This

[277] See Chapter 2 for a fuller explanation of scarab types.
[278] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1097-1098.
[279] Shefton 1962, pp. 373-374.

unpredictability is what contributes greatly to the second problem in mapping networks, which is that there is simply not enough evidence, enough Egyptian and Egyptianising material, from Greek sites with which to draw conclusions on where it came from and why. Pithecusae and Perachora are exceptions in that they provide a lot of evidence, with a relatively clear chronology. Elsewhere, where we might find two to three scarabs, we cannot simply turn to pottery, or any other object type, as indications of direct or indirect contacts as doing so is as likely to lead to the wrong conclusion as to the right one.

As such, the amount we can deduce about a network of lines for the exchange of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture is probably not much. We can say that Pithecusae may have been "Rhodising" in a number of ways, and that while Crete seems to have benefited from its position between Rhodes and Egypt in acquiring Egyptian material culture, the fact that Rhodes-produced amulets and scarabs have been found on the south of the island probably indicates that Cretans were engaging with Rhodes' material culture actively, and perhaps in a manner similar to Pithecusae, rather than simply picking up what the Rhodians were shipping back from Egypt. One thing that does seem to be clear about this network, however, is that the erratic spread of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture was quite probably mediated by Greeks, and the fact that Greeks were responsible for the contact of other Greeks with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture may have led to these objects having more complex, or simply different, identities to "Egyptian".[280]

This leads to a further question. If Crete and Perachora are not hubs, that is, points of contact with Egypt, why are Egyptian and Egyptianising objects so disproportionately well represented at these sites? For Crete, as mentioned above, the answer probably lies in its geographical proximity to Rhodes and between Rhodes and Egypt, making it easier for Rhodian consumption practices to become relevant to the Cretans and making Egyptian and Egyptianising material more accessible. We find Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at

[280] Greeks such as Hesiod's father, who is often mentioned in this thesis, travelling short distances and acquiring individual or small numbers of objects. See Hesiod's *Works and Days* 43-6, 630-90, and discussion by van Wees, 2009, p. 457.

nineteen Cretan sites, which indicates the extent of their diffusion and desirability on the island.[281] For Perachora, however, the situation is much more difficult to read.

Perachora's Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are difficult to attribute to a single exchange interface. The similarities between the scarabs deposited there and those made on Rhodes are so strong, and these scarabs are so numerous in comparison to the Egyptian-produced objects, that it would appear that, despite not being well substantiated by the pottery record or other material, some form of contact with Rhodes likely accounts for the Egyptian material at Perachora. The site's assemblage certainly does not indicate significant Phoenician links, yielding only one Near-Eastern ivory.[282] Nonetheless it seems odd that a site with no direct links to Egypt should acquire such a taste for Egyptianising scarabs. We know that at least one member of the ruling Cypselid family at Corinth took an Egyptian name, but only in the late-seventh century, during Dynasty XXVI, and long after the Egyptian and Egyptianising offerings begin in the eighth century.[283] However, regardless of when we date Cypselid ties with Egypt, we still face the issue that Perachora's assemblage as much "Rhodising" as it is "Egyptianising" but only the sense of its Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. Consequently, one wonders whether an individual from one or another of the two regions was attempting the establishment of interpersonal ties or seeking individual status in an Egyptian style, by bringing a large volume of Egyptianising, and a few Egyptian, objects to Perachora. Or, perhaps, the explanation lies in a strong association of the cult with the particular magical properties of scarabs; after all, Perachora's assemblage did also yield a high number *phialai*, the exact consumption context of which we do not really understand.

As much as we can speculate on the origins and functions of its deposit, Perachora's place in a network for the diffusion and consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects unfortunately is currently an unresolvable issue, showing that a large volume of objects does not necessarily make it easy to detect the motivations for consumption or the details and nuances of networks. This is also somewhat true when we look to answer the final question of this section, on the nature of the relationship between the two hubs, Rhodes and Samos, and Egypt.

[281] These nineteen sites are distributed across the whole island. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1668.
[282] Stubbings 1962, pp. 406-407, obj. #A9.
[283] Arist. *Pol.* 5.1315b25-6.

Rhodes was well-positioned to strike up trade with Egypt and on the basis of the volume and quality of Egyptian goods on Rhodes, and the production of uniquely Greek Egyptianising goods there, would appear to have been in direct contact with Egypt by the mid-eighth century BC at the latest. These connections clearly intensified in the late-eighth century, when the Rhodians began production of faience scarabs and deposited more Egyptian objects. The types of amulets produced on Rhodes from the late-eighth century, namely the production of representations of the Memphite Triad, would indicate that it had particular links with Memphis. However, non-object evidence of Rhodes' connection to Egypt begins only in the mid-seventh century when we find graffiti at Abu Simbel from Rhodian *epikouroi* in the service of Psammetichus' and when we know that Rhodes participated in the foundation of Naucratis.[284]

This leaves us with about one hundred years of material interactions to account for, and no clear evidence to use. Any conclusion, therefore, will be speculative. However, if we were to need to come up with an explanation, there are a number of factors which create an atmosphere in which one could easily imagine that Rhodes and Egypt could come into direct contact in the late-eighth century. Firstly, we know that in the latter-half of the eighth century a fiercely independent Sais, under the rule of Dynasty XXIV, was struggling to achieve power over Egypt and that it likely had control of Memphis for some or all of this time.[285] The forces fielded by Dynasty XXIV in this internal conflict were far from insubstantial, for example Tefnakht, while campaigning against Piankhy, garrisoned Memphis with 8000 men while he left to raise more troops in the Delta.[286] Accordingly, and considering that Psammetichus I seems to have raised thousands of Greek *epikouroi* from a very early stage in his reign, it is plausible that it was Dynasty XXIV, not XXVI, which initially looked towards the Aegean, and specifically to Rhodes, for support through alliances and the raising of an army. One of the kings of this dynasty, Bakenrenef, is attested a number of times at Greek sites, and somehow went on to have a considerable lineage in Classical literature.[287] It might be no coincidence that Tefnakht and Bakenrenef's ancestors, the Saite kings of Dynasty XXVI, later had a particularly Aegean-orientated foreign policy.

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[284] See "Rhodes" in Appendix 1.
[285] Kitchener 1986, pp. 362-377.
[286] As related by the Gebel Barkal Stele. Kitchen 1986, p. 364
[287] As Bocchoris, see Manetho, frag. 64, and 66 from S*yncellus according to Africanus*. *Manetho* Loeb 1964, pp. 166-167) Tac. *His*. 5.3.

Even if we do not pin relations to a particular dynasty or dynast, circumstantial evidence supporting the notion of Egyptian alliances in the Aegean in the late-eighth century is abundant. Any such alliance would coincide with the period in which Assyria had taken control of the Levant and had embargoed Phoenician trade of certain strategic materials with the Egyptians, forcing Egypt to seek other sources of raw materials.[288] As a result, it is also a period in which Egypt's kingdoms are pursuing diplomatic and strategic agreements, both among themselves and in their efforts to build coalitions against the Assyrians in the Levant area, agreements which include the deployment of Egyptian troops in Levantine armies.[289] Much is made of the Persian threat and it how it probably shapes the alliances of the Greeks and Amasis in the sixth-century BC, but there is nothing to preclude similar responses to the similar situation facing Egypt in the eighth century, and it is not implausible that Assyrian aggression, in particular the aggression with which it treated the Levant in the late-eighth century, would also cause concern for Rhodes and the other Greeks of the Aegean and Asia Minor.

Finally, *epikouroi* are a phenomenon which we associate with the Greeks in the seventh century, when we can first provide evidence for it on a large scale, but for Egyptians, the practice of employing and then settling (on rented land) small groups of 10-20 foreign soldiers was old and commonplace, particularly as the bodyguards of the pharaoh, and we can see the willingness of the Egyptians to reward such men in the gifts they give to their allies or *epikouroi* (fig.1.1).[290] As a result, the idea that raiders or wandering groups or individuals landing in the Nile Delta might have been entering the service of Egyptian pharaohs before the reunification of the kingdoms in the seventh century is hardly out of balance with our understanding of either Greek or Egyptian society. In the *Odyssey* (14.240-287) we see that Odysseus' ship of fighting men land in Egypt and raid, but are confronted and either enslaved or killed. Odysseus, however, is pardoned by the local king, and spends seven years with him, receiving gifts. It is not clear whether Odysseus or any of his enslaved men are used as *epikouroi*, but the story is quite plausibly based in some sort of reality about Greek

[288] See p. 62, n. 218.
[289] Mumford 2007, p. 146, and 1998.
[290] Broodbank 2013, p. 456.

interactions with Egypt, and Greek art attests to ships full of warriors from the eighth century.[291]

The sum of all of these considerations and circumstantial observations is that the situation in eighth-century Egypt is similar enough to that in Dynasty XXVI Egypt, where we have a lot of evidence for alliances, gift exchange, and *epikouroi*, that we can understand the Rhodian consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects as a result of similar interpersonal ties and alliances.

For Samos, the picture is, thankfully, clearer. By the time Samos' rich connections with Egypt have blossomed in the seventh century, there is ample evidence to suggest that that a network of interpersonal and trading networks existed between powerful Greek states and Egypt. This evidence includes the massive up-scaling of the Egyptian military, and the foreign elements within it, evident not only in Herodotus but also in the construction of a ring of large forts.[292] It also includes the foundation of Naucratis, which was presumably preceded by intensifications in Samian and Rhodian mercantile activities along Egypt's coast.[293] As a result, there is little difficulty in proposing that the Samian elite were participating in relationships with Egypt, and expressing these relationships in a newly extravagant way, through the dedication of Egyptian bronzes.[294]

2) How did the Greeks learn to produce faience?

It is often argued that faience factories on Rhodes must have either been informed by, or even manned by, Phoenicians.[295] These could presumably be considered as *demioergoi* (*Od.* 17.383-385) with a particular value to local Rhodian craftsmen.[296] However, considering contrasts in the output of the Phoenician and Greek scarab producing industry, discussed in Chapter 2, it seems reasonable to speculate that Rhodes gained this skill, at least in reference to the production of scarabs, through their own interactions with Egypt, evident in the rich

[291] Indeed, in places this raiding activity may have been a persistent feature of the Early Iron Age. It may have been local for the most part, but with Euboeans as far away as at Pithecusae in the early-mid-eighth century, it is certainly quite easy to imagine armed Greek men reaching Egypt.
[292] Wilson 2010, p. 243.
[293] Hdt. 2.178.
[294] For discussion of Samos and Egypt, see "Samos" in Appendix 1.
[295] See Chapter 2 for further details.
[296] Though *demioergoi* could be expected to be associated with high value objects, and the value of faience scarabs is not clear.

array of Egyptian and Egyptianising material from Rhodes. The deity statuettes and other objects likely produced on Rhodes specifically reflect the Memphite Triad, and Memphis was a substantial faience production centre in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.[297] While there are differences between coarse Egyptian and fine Rhodes faience types, discussed along with other aspects of the material in Chapter 2, these could be attributed either to a lack of comparable materials, or to the lower failure rate of fine grains used in Rhodian faience being an attractive quality to relatively inexperienced Rhodian faience makers.[298] Furthermore, the use of Egyptian moulds may be indicated by the exceptional likeness of Rhodian reproductions to their Egyptian counterparts.[299]

There is no straightforward solution to the question of who informed Rhodes' faience production and whether this information was offered or procured. Egyptian craftsmen were more mobile in the eighth century than ever before, but there is no evidence for these including faience workers, or for these craftsmen reaching Greece. If these skills were also developed at Perachora and on Samos, it is possible, but certainly not necessary, that Rhodians, rather than the Egyptians, provided the technical expertise to further Greeks.

3) How do the Egyptianising motifs of Chapters 5, 6, and 7 move from Egypt to Greece?

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis are dedicated to the study of what would appear to be the use of Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art. These motifs are, however, not comparable to those represented on or by objects found at Greek sites, nor are they comparable to the motifs found influencing Phoenician art, with the exception of the sphinx and some more generic features such as the lotus. Most, if not all, of the motifs would appear to have their origins in funerary art, but the interfaces of exchange for such objects is, as far as the archaeology is concerned, a mystery.

The most compelling origin for the motifs found in Greek art would appear to be funerary goods acquired from or seen in Egypt. The upright and bearded-snake motif, the human-headed bird, the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, the sphinx, the solar disk, the seated deity, and the lotus can all be found on typical funerary material of the Third Intermediate Period. In fact, single contemporary copies of *The Book of the Dead* can contain almost all of

[297] Nicholson & Peltenburg 2000, p. 186.
[298] Nicholson & Peltenburg 2000, p. 187.
[299] Hölbl 1979, pp. 197-198. See also, Chapter 2.

the Egyptianising motifs found in archaic Greek art.[300] The surge in popularity of almost every single significant motif discussed in this thesis during the Third Intermediate and Late Period, and the more general rise in popularity of *The Book of the Dead* as a funerary text, signifies that we are probably viewing Greek interactions with the contemporary, if archaising, fashions and activities of Egyptian temple-based funerary cult.[301]

Why the Greeks chose funerary images over those of deities will be discussed in later chapters, but how these images came to Greek art is also an important question. The motifs do not map entirely neatly onto the hubs of consumption and production of Egyptian/Egyptianising goods and the acculturation of motifs is clearly a little different to the acculturation of material culture. However, of the material hubs, Crete, Rhodes, and Attica (via Euboea) all seem to have had some level of interaction with Egyptian funerary motifs.[302] Naxos creates the *kouros*, either through its connections to Egypt or Samos. Sparta, in a period of attested political ties, presents perhaps the starkest localised array of interactions with Egyptianising motifs, including the development of the bearded-snake motif, the use of the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, and the bound deity type.[303] Overall, therefore, it seems that there is some relationship, as we might expect, between localities of the acquisition of Egyptian material and the adoption of Egyptian motifs in Greek art, even if the themes are not alike.

The correspondence between the consumption of Egyptian/Egyptianising objects and the use of Egyptianising motifs may add some weight to the notion of since lost copies of *The Book of the Dead*, existing in specific locations in Greece at specific times, for example in Sparta in the sixth century, as well as other wooden ornaments, such as the *ba* and stelae. These objects are perfectly plausible additions to the mixture of other contemporarily popular Egyptian votives and funerary objects found in Greek sanctuaries graves, fitting with the Greek emphasis on objects of explicitly supernatural function and an apparent interest in Egyptian hieroglyphs. However, by the very nature of this type of evidence it has not survived if it ever existed.

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[300] For example the *Book of the Dead* of Nehemesratawy, Late Period, Thebes, Museo Egizio Torino 1799.

[301] See Taylor 2010.

[302] Especially the human-headed bird, bearded snake, *prothesis*. See Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

[303] See Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

An alternative to the Greek acquisition of these objects is Greek contact with the temple-based industries producing them, or indeed with tombs. Herodotus (2.169) tells us of a number of temple-based tombs, and we can assume he was not the first to experience these. However, while some objects can be attributed to inspiration and recollection of images seen in Egypt, if this were the total nature of the contacts then, at least in some circumstances, the Greeks would have had to have been making close studies, for a number of the designs are too well detailed to reflect a recollection.[304]

Certain motifs do not quite fit into the wider pattern and should also be considered. In particular, the depiction of Heracles slaying the Stymphalian Birds discussed in Chapter 6 appears to be based on typical scenes of Egyptian fowling. However, while these would be fitting for a tomb in the New Kingdom, they appear to be less likely in the tombs of the Third Intermediate and Late Period Delta.[305] Greek artists penetrating into the Valley of the Kings seems a little of a stretch (though Greeks did get as far south as the Abu Simbel temples of Rameses II, far south of Thebes, and objects were being systematically looted from these tombs in the Third Intermediate and Late Period), and such scenes may have instead been encountered in royal palaces in the Delta, where they were likely painted on the walls.[306] Alternatively, again turning to Greek bases for interaction, the motif may have been copied from a scaled down version, based upon the grid-pattern technique used by Egyptian craftsmen to transfer popular tomb paintings.[307]

[304] For example those in Chapter 6.
[305] For a tomb of the period see the Late Period Tomb at Bahariya (Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140). While there are too few Late Period tombs to know whether this example is typical, it shows much more emphasis of *prothesis* and weighing-of-the-heart elements than it does of the living activities of the deceased typically found in New Kingdom tombs.
[306] There is not much evidence for palatial decoration from the Delta or from the Third Intermediate or Late Period, but we can note the prominence of birds in painted wall fragments from New Kingdom palaces at Tell el-Armana (for example, Cairo Antiquities Museum JE 33030 – 33031)
[307] We find many *ostraca* in Egypt with pictures of scenes familiar from wall painting and architecture (for example an *ostracon* depicting a lotus-column, Museo Egizio Torino S6269).

Conclusions

Problematizing existing approaches to the interfaces of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture highlights the need for more nuanced and localised (temporal and regional) explanations of the interfaces between archaic Greece and ancient Egypt. The emphasis is on the pluralisation of "explanations", as it is clear that there is not going to be one single new model which conveniently takes the place of the old one. When Greek-Egyptian interactions are decompressed from these two chunks we are faced with an intimidatingly complex picture exacerbated to a great degree by the non-uniform involvement of Phoenician agents and the absent evidence of clearly influential Egyptian funerary art.

It is quite clear that neither Phoenician traders nor Naucratis can be held to be representative of the total interfaces for Greek contact with Egyptian culture in their respective periods of primacy. Each of these interfaces has its merits, but equally each struggles to account for the three aspects of Greek interactions – production, consumption, and acculturation. The more that the Phoenicians were used to solve problems of transmission, the more an availability heuristic prompted and promoted the theory of Phoenician transmission. Meanwhile, Egypt has been characterised as a reclusive civilisation with a deep mistrust of foreigners, and dependant on their more outgoing Phoenician neighbours for interactions with the world around them.[308] The result is that pre-Naucratis direct interactions between Greece and Egypt have been neglected, despite the ripe historical circumstance for such interactions to take place. The same Eastern threats, needs for resources, and internal instability can be identified in the historic and pre-historic periods. When we start from scratch, however, there is a certain possibility that Greek-Egyptian contacts were facilitated not by intermediaries or trading posts, but by gift-exchange between politically interacting elites in Greek hubs and in Egypt, and between these elites and those around them, and that these interactions were ritually and religiously framed within wider civic consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising culture. Thus the agency of Greek contact with Egyptian material culture was at times autonomous and direct, and almost never casual.

[308] Kousoulis 2012c, pp. 130-136. Kousoulis highlights that in magical papyri, such as the Third Intermediate Period *Oracular Amuletic Decrees,* protection is sought from foreign illness "Syrian leprosy", and other physical and moral ills, such as "the child of the evil Syrians [who] does wrong." However, Kousoulis argues that a foreigner in Egypt or exposed to acculturation could be exempt from this dichotomy, to be foreign has no absolute value.

II

Egyptian and Egyptianising Objects in Grave and Sanctuary Contexts

Overview

Greek sanctuaries and graves from the Archaic Period have yielded a substantial quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects of varying origin, form, and value.

Chapters 2 and 3 consider a broad range of such objects in order to examine the interactions of archaic Greeks with Egyptian and Egyptianising material. Chapter 2 will examine the background of the evidence, including: the basic contexts, the production origins, the "cultural" origins, and the distribution of these objects. Chapter 3 will then discuss the deposition of the objects, their functions, and the implications of the material evidence for our wider understanding of Greek concerns and attitudes toward Egypt. This examination will take account not only of the movement or acquisition of objects, but also of the meanings we might propose were attributed to the objects, whether the objects appear to have been understood as "Egyptian", and if so the significance given to their "Egyptianness".

Some of the content in Chapter 2 may at first seem slightly superfluous to the core purpose of this section of the thesis. However, deciding upon the production, cultural origins, and distribution of these objects has enormous consequences for how we understand the interfaces of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture and what we can know of the reasons for the consumption of such objects. Accordingly, a review of the material evidence is necessary in order to form an adequately nuanced and informed analysis of the cultural interactions they represent.

Reiterating Key Issues

The introduction to this thesis provides notes on the methodologies and sources employed for the material evidence, including the rejection of statistical approaches in favour of a discussion based upon a wide survey of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Aegean sites. This survey, which is frequently used to comment on patterns in the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, is provided in Appendix 1.

A few basic points from the introduction can be repeated here. The material focal to this thesis spans the period c.800 BC to c.500 BC and is well spread across most of the period, though few single sites see continuous deposits across the entire three hundred year duration and the type and volume of the deposits changes quite dramatically over time as well

as between locations. As the period progresses there is generally a substantial shift from grave deposits to sanctuary deposits, though this is not necessarily mirrored across Greek sites abroad, for example in Italy rich grave goods continue until late in the Archaic Period.[309]

The focus of the thesis is on the Egyptian and Egyptianising material found at Greek sites within this period. However, a narrow pursuit of Egyptian and Egyptianising material found in Greek contexts often will not suffice to explain and contextualise the Greek consumption, production, or acculturation of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. As stressed in the introduction, a defining feature of archaic Greek material culture is the consumption of material culture from a wide range of Near-Eastern cultures as well as from Egypt. Furthermore, Egyptian motifs and objects were not only produced, moved, and consumed by the archaic Greeks, but also by Levantine cultures, as discussed in Chapter 1.

On account of these facts, I have kept as constant as possible a consideration of the broader contexts of Greek interactions with the material cultures of their neighbours and of Levantine interactions with Egypt. For this reason, numerous Phoenician sites are considered in Appendix 1, and the descriptions of key sites generally endeavour at least allude to the comparable evidence of interactions with Near-Eastern material culture.

What and Where

While the purpose of Appendix 1 is to provide a brief summary of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Greek sites, an even briefer summary here will help clarify the key discussions of this chapter and the next.

A very broad range of Greek sites have yielded Egyptian and/or Egyptianising material in Archaic Period contexts (see Map 1 and 2 and Graph 1).[310] As Maps 1 and 2, and Graph 1, illustrate, there is a clear distinction between the handful of Greek sites at which we find a quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the hundreds (Samos, Perachora, Rhodes, and Crete) and the much greater number of sites at which we find far fewer than one

[309] For example, a single sixth century tomb, Tomb 1 on *Via Nitti*, contained over 150 scarabs. Gorton 1996, p. 161. See also "Italy" in Appendix 1.

[310] Map 1 represents all of the Egyptian and Egyptianising find sites on the Greek mainland and in the Aegean, while Map 2 represents those sites with more than 50 and more than 100 published Egyptian and Egyptianising finds. Graph 1 represents the total quantities of finds for all of the sites listed in Skon-Jedele's 1994 catalogue (data from Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1- 2693).

hundred objects. Rather than a smooth pattern of distribution radiating from sites with high volumes of such objects out to those with few or none, we can also see that we typically find one extreme or the other, sometimes in relatively close proximity (for example at Salamis and Sounium, or Samos and Naxos), and this is especially true when we remove sites at which the material post-dates the foundation of Naucratis. As Map 2 shows, the sites at which we find large volumes of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are all close to the coast or on islands, and most of the smaller sites are also close to coastal areas, with few very objects found in central Greece. This discussion focuses primarily on the handful of sites on the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands which show extraordinary levels of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture.[311]

Summarising what sorts of objects are found across Greece is straightforward in most cases. Listed from most to least numerous, we find that faience scarabs, beads, amulets, and statuettes make up the vast majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greek sites, with faience vase fragments also becoming common in the seventh century. Graph 3 illustrates the quantities of different object types at Perachora, though the extraordinarily high volume of scarabs at Perachora is an exaggeration of the preponderance of scarabs at most sites.[312] Samos, Rhodes, and Crete offer a more diverse range of object types, including an extraordinarily high proportion of bronzes on Samos, and diverse array of stone objects, wooden objects, and individual rarities, such as a *Senet* board, or a hippopotamus tooth.[313] Scarabs represent such a large volume of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and are of such wide distribution that they take particular prominence in the following two chapters' discussion of Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and certain non-Aegean entries in the Appendix serve primarily to provide comparanda for Greek consumption of scarabs.

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[311] The material of Asia Minor is less accessible, as Skon-Jedele (1994) does not include it in her catalogue, and Gorton (1996) only discusses the material there very briefly. Hölbl offers the best information on the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in a series of articles (2007, 2008, and 2014), though he is selective in the examples he chooses to emphasize and does not yet offer complete catalogues for these sites. See "Asia Minor" in Appendix 1 for more detail.

[312] Graph 3 data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271.

[313] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1464, 1978. See also "Rhodes" and "Samos" in Appendix 1.

Chapter 2

Egyptian and Egyptianising Objects in Archaic Greece: Production

This chapter provides an essential assessment of key questions about the production origins of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found on Greek sites. While this chapter outlines arguments which have already been the subject of previous scholarship, such a task is necessary in order to demonstrate the disconnect and contradiction between observations which have been made about the evidence for Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greek contexts, and the conclusions drawn on the origins and producers of these objects. My use of the evidence in this chapter for a reassessment of these conclusions, namely that the Phoenicians produced or informed the production of, Egyptianising objects made in the Aegean, forms the basis for many of the conclusions I have drawn on *how* and *why* Greeks interact with Egyptian material culture in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.

A: Where were the Egyptian and Egyptianising items found on Greek sites made?

The Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in archaic contexts at Greek sites have been interpreted as originating from various possible sites of production. Scarabs, which represent the bulk of our Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from many sites, have been the focus of much of the discussion of whence Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited in Greece may have originated. However, less discussed issues also arise around the origins of objects such as amulets, figurines, and beads, which may initially seem to be of Egyptian production.

Egyptian Objects 800-750 BC

Two major types of objects are deposited (or consumed) c. 800-750 BC: on the one hand, crafted figurines, amulets, and scarabs in various materials, and on the other faience beads. The vast majority of these objects are found in funerary contexts.[314]

Most of the objects from the first half of the eighth century or before which appear Egyptian, through being made of faience, having an Egyptian subject (such as Isis) or shape (such as the alabastron), or bearing Egyptian iconography (hieroglyphs), can be considered to be of actual Egyptian production. The majority of these objects are either scarabs, such as those from the "Isis grave" at Eleusis, or statuettes, such as the Isis-Hathor figure from the "Isis grave", a Hatmehit amulet in a contemporary Attic grave, or the range of figures found in burials on Cos.[315]

The attribution of these objects to Egyptian production origins can be decided on visual examination of the style and the quality of execution.[316] For the scarabs, the differences in the iconographies and materials used in Egyptian examples distinguish them clearly from contemporary Phoenician and Cypriot examples, which tend to use traditional Egyptian motifs, such as the standing deity, sphinx, and uraeus, in combinations not common in Egypt (compare fig. 2.3 and 2.8).[317] For figurines, statuettes and amulets, there are a number of ways in which we can determine whether examples are produced by a Phoenician or Egyptian workshop. The easiest way to identify Egyptian figurines is the use of hieroglyphic inscriptions, which would not be expected on Phoenician reproductions, these can be found even on small, faience Egyptian objects, such as a Sekhmet figurine from Crete (fig. 2.2, Right). Similarly, certain subjects, such as the local, Mendesian goddess Hatmehit, depicted in the figurine mentioned above, are unlikely to be the subject of Phoenician figurines. If there are no inscriptions and the subject of the figurine is one commonly found in Egypt and the Levant (such as a *wedjat*, Sekhmet, or Nefertem), then the execution of the

[314] See Appendix 1, especially "Athens" and "Euboea".
[315] The Attic Grave is Grave B, of the Necropolis near the Halai Gate. At Cos figures include Anubis, Bes, and a seated deity, which represents either Osiris or Isis. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 15-16, 1966-1969. See also "Cos", "Athens", and "Eleusis" in Appendix 1.
[316] On this approach see Renfrew and Bahn 1991, pp. 358-359. This is the methodology used by Gorton 1996, and Skon-Jedele (1994, pp. 381-382), who notes the limitations of contemporary scientific analysis of faience fabrics.
[317] See Gorton 1996, pp. 43-62, 80-90.

figurine will be the best guide as to its production origins. In figures 2.1 and 2.2 we see Phoenician-made figurines (on the left of fig. 2.1 and 2.2) which have been differentiated from Egyptian-made examples of similar subjects (on the right of fig. 2.1 and 2.2) on account of differences in their execution.[318] The archaising discipline in the proportions of the Egyptian figurines and the careful execution of their limbs and other features contrast with the comparatively loose execution of the Phoenician examples, which is particularly obvious in the squat, almost chinless, necks and the broad faces, but can also be seen the rougher execution of the bodily proportions. Finally, the high standards of final quality achieved in Egyptian faience and bronze work in the Third Intermediate Period also differentiate them from Phoenician and Cypriot adaptations.[319] Some of the faience objects from archaic Greek contexts which are in poorer condition or poorly recorded are difficult to attribute to either Egyptian or Phoenician production as we lack knowledge of their surface detail to identify them fully, however, the scarabs and figurines among these might reasonably be guessed to also be of Egyptian production when found in early-eighth century contexts on the basis that the majority of the attributable examples are of Egyptian production.[320]

Of the early-archaic objects, those which have less certain origins are the very numerous faience glazed beads, such as are found in early Athenian graves, in the ‘Isis grave’ and another, unnumbered grave at Eleusis, and in a large number of burials on Cos, including

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[318] Fig 2.1 shows a pair of Nefertem amulets/figurines from Crete. Left: Faience Nefertem figurine, c. 700 BC, attributed to Phoenician production, Knossos, North Cemetery Tomb 78, Heracleion Archaeological Museum Y598 (Karetsou et al. 2001, p. 355, no.387). Right: Faience Nefertem pendant, eighth-seventh century, considered Egyptian, Kommos, Temple B, Heracleion Archaeological Museum Y594 (Karetsou et al. 2001, p. 353, no.383). Fig. 2.2 shows a pair of Sekhmet amulets/figurines. Left: Faience Sekhmet figurine, Phoenician Middle Iron Age, Sarepta (Lebanon), Shrine 1, Sarepta 3200 (Pritchard 1975, pp. 30-31, fig. 43.10). Right: Faience Sekhmet pendant, eighth-century BC, inscribed in hieroglyphs, Eleutherna, Rethymnon Archaeological Museum P17490 (Karetsou et al. 2001, p. 359, no.394). Both of the Phoenician-made examples feature a head which is pushed down against the body, a broader and flatter face, and different styles in the execution of the arms and legs.

[319] For example, the coarse, non-Egyptian beads which are particularly common among the earliest imports of the Early Iron Age sites, at Lefkandi, on Cos, and at Knossos, Crete, are often attributed to the Phoenicians on account of the poor finish, though this is a questionable criterion, considering the severe erosion of small faience objects found at Greek sites. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1960.

[320] These objects are not often published individually and instead are grouped together, sometimes without even being counted, for example the scarabs from Brauron. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 81, obj. #0023+.

one, Protogeometric Tomb 10, which contained 1200 beads.[321] Since some of these objects lack telling signs to establish a production origin; they may well have come from Egypt but could easily be of Cypriot or Levantine production. Some of the graves dating c.800-750 BC that contain beads and Egyptian objects, such as the ‘Isis grave’, also contain rare and valuable Near Eastern objects, some do not.[322] However, the crudity of certain groups of beads does appear to indicate that these were produced outside of Egypt, at Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician sites. Therefore, the earliest Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from archaic sites appear to indicate the consumption of certain valuable amuletic objects produced in Egypt and of jewellery produced in the Levant.

Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from 750 BC

After c.750 BC it is increasingly sanctuaries, such as those at Perachora, Rhodes, Samos, Eleusis, Sounium, Paros, Argos, Sparta, and numerous others, rather than graves, which yield the majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects.[323] Identifying whether many of these objects were produced in Egypt, the Levant, or Greece is much more difficult for this period than that above.

Egyptian Objects

Egyptian objects continue to be deposited at many Greek sites, though in dramatically variable quantities. The total consumption of Egyptian produced material at sites across Greece from the late-eighth century is more than that in the preceding period, but at most sites remains rather small and of quite a mixed nature, with previously evidenced objects such as faience Horus falcons or Bes deity amulets, stone scarabs, and beads appearing much

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[321] Examples include a child grave to the north of the agora, another child grave south of the Kerameikos, and the grave of a woman (Agora grave H16:6), Cos child burials include graves 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, 63, and 67, at and near Serraglio, Cos. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 58-73, 1959, 1969-1975.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Though deposition does continue in burials, such as a *pithos* child burial in the Kerameikos, grave VDAk 1, also in the Kerameikos, another in the Athenian agora (Agora Grave E 19:3), and a Corinthian grave (109 North Cemetery). Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 65-67, 237-238, obj. #0008, 0010, 0011, 0129.

more often and in many more places than Egyptian bronzes and other exotic items.[324] At some sites, such as Perachora, the moderate consumption of Egyptian objects is complemented by dramatically increased consumption of Egyptianising objects, discussed below.[325] On Rhodes, Crete, and Samos, on the other hand, one finds a very large quantity of Egyptian-produced material.[326] Much like the material identifiable as Egyptian pre-c.750 BC, the later eighth-century Egyptian material is of a type, style, material, and execution that strongly indicate that it was produced in Egypt. In certain cases objects have further been identified with particular workshops, such as a mirror from Perachora, which has been attributed to a Memphite workshop, or particular periods, such as the association of a large number of the Samos bronzes with the peak bronze production of the Third Intermediate Period.[327] It is notable that, while Rhodes, Crete, and Samos all see large volumes of Egyptian material, the patterns of material consumed differs between them.

On Rhodes and Crete we find similar Egyptian-produced material dating to the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, which is probably the result of Rhodian contacts at the island on their way to and from Egypt.[328] However, Egyptian finds from Rhodes, as outlined in Appendix 1, are extremely varied and include many exceptional pieces. Excavations on Rhodes have yielded a broad range of deity figures in bronze, stone, and faience, some of which, such as a falcon-headed (and human-bodied) Horus, are rare at Greek sites.[329] More unusual still are the eclectic array of rare, valuable objects including a Greek inscribed basalt statuette,[330] a granite head of Theban origin,[331] *Senet* markers,[332] and inlays from a shrine which is identifiable as a gift from Saite Pharaoh Necho II.[333] That these objects from Rhodes were of Egyptian production is often clear from their type and execution, though some of the

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[324] See Appendix 1.
[325] See “Perachora” in Appendix 1.
[326] See “Samos” and “Rhodes” in Appendix 1.
[327] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 314, obj. #0141; Bianchi 1990, p. 66.
[328] As discussed in Chapter 1.
[329] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1997-1998, obj. #3035.
[330] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1989-1990, obj. #3011. This statuette seems to also be discussed by Kousoulis and Morenz (2007, p. 188), but they appear to be inaccurate or describing another item, as they describe it as life size and one of a pair.
[331] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1990-1991, obj. #3012.
[332] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2583-2587, obj. #4824-4827.
[333] On account of the hieroglyphs used for “Horus”. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp.2355-2372, obj. #4354-4374.

faience and stone amulets could be argued to have a Phoenician production origin.[334] However, one substantial group of faience amulets and figurines from the island, also evidenced elsewhere in the Greek world, is so disproportionately represented that it may have been of local production, as discussed below.

The Egyptian-produced objects from Samos, mostly dating from the seventh and sixth centuries,[335] are intriguingly different to those from Rhodes. Instead of an eclectic variety of valuable objects, we find hundreds of pieces of faience and, more strikingly, a hundred or more bronzes of Egyptian types.[336] The only unusual, non-faience objects aside from these bronzes are faunal, namely a number of hippopotamus teeth and shells.[337] The faience has yet to be thoroughly published, but it is the bronze which currently sets Samos apart from any other Greek site, where Egyptian bronzes are comparatively very rare. The Samos bronzes, unlike the disproportionally numerous faience amulets from Rhodes, are not attributed to a local workshop and depict a very broad range of Egyptian subjects.[338] The types of bronzes popular at Samos are hard to detect from the fragmentary remains, but extant examples include: large (1/2 scale) human/divine figures and bull horns and hooves, smaller human and divine figures, and sacred animals, including the bronze legs of storks and falcons presumably once attached to bronze or wooden models.[339]

Most of the bronze items can be dated to no later than the mid-sixth century, and Bianchi associates many of them with production styles and techniques of the Third Intermediate Period, dating them to the very late-eighth- and first half of the seventh-century.[340] One of the latest produced bronzes, a depiction of Reshef of Saite type, was deposited in a pit with a terminal date of c.630 BC and must, therefore, have been moved

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[334] Many of the Egyptian amulet types unusual in Greece are at least a little more common at Phoenician sites, where we find a much broader array of amulet types. See Herrmann 2006.
[335] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1463-1467, Table 16, 17, 18.
[336] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1402. The faience from Samos will, eventually, be published by Webb.
[337] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1627-1629, obj. # 2709-2720.
[338] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1402; Bianchi 1990, pp. 72-77.
[339] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1441-1443. Skon-Jedele attributes the bronze bird legs to bronze models, but the number of legs and lack of bodies would indicate to me that Egyptian part wooden and part bronze bird models might be a better match for the evidence.
[340] Bianchi 1990, pp. 72-77.

very quickly from production to deposition context.[341] The speed of this interaction makes it reasonably clear that the links between Samos and Egypt were direct, and Bianchi goes so far as to say that Samians could have witnessed the production of the very bronzes they deposited.[342] The tight chronology of production and consumption ties into the wider argument for Samos' acquisition of the "lost-wax" or "Kernguss" technique from contemporary Egyptian bronze-workers, as reiterated by Bianchi.[343] While the bronzes appear to be definitely Egyptian, it is not clear where in Egypt such objects would have been produced. Some of the figures include examples probably once destined for a funerary use, comparable to the funerary use of bronzes at Tanis and perhaps recycled from such tombs, but they could come from almost anywhere.[344] That Samos' interactions with non-faience objects from Egypt are so completely concentrated on the bronzes in comparison to Rhodes' more varied evidence of rich goods seems unusual, but the possible reasons for such a form of consumption is discussed in Chapter 1 and 3.

Egyptianising Objects: Scarabs

The production origin of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects has been highlighted to have become gradually more varied over the course of the Archaic Period, initially being restricted to Egypt and possibly the Levant, before growing to include Rhodes and Naucratis, and potentially also Perachora and Samos. The faience scarabs which make up the majority of Egyptian/Egyptianising finds from most Greek sites are a particularly well discussed example of this process of the production of Egyptianising objects, and are worth looking at in more detail.

Across the entire Archaic Period, 800-500 BC, we find varying mismatched scarabs of Egyptian production deposited at Greek sites, as well as a small number of scarabs of Phoenician types (see Graph 2).[345] However, most of the scarabs which have been discovered

[341] The Reshef statuette above was found in the "Brunnen G" deposit dating no later than c. 630 BC. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1431-1432, obj. #1703.
[342] Bianchi 1990, p. 76.
[343] Bianchi 1990, p. 76.
[344] On the funerary purpose of bronzes, see Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1442. For the homogeneity of Egyptian art in this period, see Bianchi 1990, p. 62.
[345] Gorton's limited study calculates the proportion of Phoenician and Egyptianising Phoenician scarabs across mainland Greece to be just 7% of the total number of scarabs. James 1962, p. 461.

at Greek sites can be sorted into two major groups according to the material of their production and the nature of their decoration. The first group, found in contexts dating from the latter-half of the eighth century,[346] is that which Gorton describes as the "Common Types from Greek Sites" group, also known by Skon-Jedele as the "Rhodes-Perachora" type and by Hölbl as the "Perachora-Lindus Typus".[347] This group is generally referred to in this thesis as the Rhodes-Perachora group, or type. The second group is the "Naucratis group", which appears in the seventh century and quickly becomes the most popular, but appears to have some earlier precursors.[348] Most of this chapter shall focus on the development of the Rhodes-Perachora group, though the Naucratis group will also be discussed.

The Rhodes-Perachora Group

The production origin of the Rhodes-Perachora group has been the subject of much discussion, particularly (unsurprisingly) among those studying Rhodes or Perachora, where these scarabs are found in their hundreds. This discussion has, for the time being, settled into a wide consensus that the faience scarabs were produced on Rhodes from the late-eighth century, and in pursuing such a conclusion I do not break new ground. Nonetheless, as stated above, some discussion of how this conclusion has been reached is important to the discussion of agency in Chapter 1 and will lay an invaluable foundation for addressing the consumption of Egyptianising objects in Chapter 3, where I do deviate from my predecessors' conclusions. Furthermore, the current consensus is reasonable and probable, but not infallible, and deserves a critical assessment. Finally, the possible role of Perachora or Samos in the production of faience scarabs will be discussed in this chapter in addition to the more apparent workshops on Rhodes.

Initially, and only briefly, it was held that the Perachora-Rhodes group scarabs were genuinely Egyptian objects. Pendlebury believed the Perachora scarabs to be produced in Egypt by Egyptian craftsmen, on the basis of comparable Late Period (Dynasty XXVI) Egyptian scarabs, though he was concerned by the fact that the earliest objects from Perachora predated the Dynasty XXVI examples that he was using as the basis of his

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Graph 4 represents materials used in scarabs and seals found in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, using data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271; James 1962, p. 468.

[346] For example at Eretria, Pithecusae, Rhodes, and Perachora.

[347] Gorton 1996, pp. 63-79; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 291-379; Hölbl 1979, p. 213, 371.

[348] Gorton 1996, pp. 91-131.

comparison.[349] Pendlebury's conclusions were, however, quickly and effectively dismantled. T. James, who wrote up the report on Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the publication of the Perachora sites (Hera Limenia and Akraia), observed that the scarabs have a number of properties which make Egyptian manufacture rather unlikely.[350]

James noted a range of material properties of the majority of the scarabs at Perachora which he believed indicated non-Egyptian production origins. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of scarabs from Greek sites are made of fine-grain composition faience or paste while Egyptian faience scarabs are generally made of a much coarser grained faience (see Graph 4 for the distribution of material types in the scarabs of Perachora).[351] This fine faience type is classified as "Type I" by Skon-Jedele, and the coarse grain faience as "Type II".[352] These two faience types are illustrated in fig. 2.4, which shows the coarse-grained faience core of a falcon statuette base from Samos, and 2.5, which shows the fine-grained faience core of a *wadjet* eye from Miletus and a scarab of the Rhodes-Perachora group from Policoro, Italy.[353] Skon-Jedele concludes that while the difference between the two material types has yet to be scientifically demonstrated, as tests failed to show any meaningful difference between fine and coarse grain faience other than those qualities visible to the naked eye, the difference in physical properties would appear to indicate that the Perachora scarabs were manufactured at a different location to those found in Egypt.[354] A scientific examination of Egyptian faience production may help explain this conclusion.[355] It is possible that the

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[349] Pendlebury 1930, pp. 76-77. James dismissed Pendlebury's concerns over the dating; noting the lack of Dynasty XXV comparanda with which to create any settled dating for scarabs which is not reliant on context. James 1962, p. 463.

[350] James 1962, p. 461.

[351] James 1962, p. 461. Graph 4 represents materials used in scarabs and seals found in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, using data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271; James 1962, p. 468.

[352] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. xxx-xxxi.

[353] Unfortunately, published colour images of faience objects from Greek sites, and especially scarabs, are currently very scarce. Few suitable, published colour images of faience scarab cores, or indeed other faience objects' cores, could be found which would adequately demonstrate fine and coarse faience, even in well-illustrated volumes such as Karetsou et al.'s *Crete-Egypt* (2001). Accordingly, fig. 2.4 and 2.5 use different object types to illustrate the fine and coarse core composition found across a wide variety of different faience objects, including statuettes and scarabs. The images of the falcon base and *wadjet* eye were kindly provided for this purpose by Virginia Webb, from forthcoming publication of the faience objects found at numerous East Greek sites, including Miletus, Samos, and Rhodes. The fine-grained core scarab of the Rhodes-Perachora group is from Hölbl 1979, II, catalogue no. 1224, p. 239, fig. VII.9.

[354] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 293; James 1962, p. 467.

[355] Tite, Freestone, & Bimson 1983, pp. 17-27.

Rhodians were using an "efflorescence" technique producing fine grained faience as opposed to a "Qom" technique employed in Egypt capable of producing both fine and coarser grained faience.[356] It is also plausible that the Egyptianising scarabs produced by the Rhodians used a ground flint rather than ground quartzite, leading to much finer faience granulation even using the same technique.[357] In support of the faience-grain conclusion, the faience figurines and amulets at Perachora, Rhodes, Eleusis, Sounium, and so on can be noted to have two types of composition. Those which are more definitely Egyptian, in their representation of an obscure deity, their execution, or their inscription, almost always have a coarse faience composition, while those of possible mass-production on Rhodes, representing a limited range of Memphite deities and Bes, are often made of fine faience.[358] However there are exceptions to this rule, such as a figurine of the Egyptian deity Khonsu from Cameiros at Rhodes, annotated with hieroglyphs and definitely Egyptian, yet made of fine-grained faience.[359] Perhaps more importantly, certain scarabs bearing well-executed titles of pre-Dynasty XXVI Egyptian rulers appear in fine, "Type I" faience, indicating that other genuinely Egyptian examples may be mixed in with the Perachora-Rhodes group.[360] Nonetheless, the general pattern is quite clearly that scarabs found in a narrow enough type range and large enough quantity to have conceivably been mass produced in Greece are of a fine grain, while those from Egypt are largely of a coarse grain.

Also regarding the physical appearance of the Perachora scarabs, James noted that they were frequently without any trace of their original glaze surviving, or with little trace, while Egyptian examples (found in Egypt) generally maintained at least some trace of glaze.[361] James' interpretation was that the lack of glaze surviving on the Perachora scarabs and others in the Greek world distinguishes their site of manufacture from Egyptian scarabs, which retain the majority of their glaze. However, there are a number of complications in drawing this correlation, notably, as James accepts, that soil type could be a key factor in this difference.[362] Hölbl has also expressed some further doubts over the validity of using the

[356] Tite, Freestone, & Bimson 1983, pp. 18, 20-21, 26-27.
[357] Ibid.
[358] For a sense of the mixture of fine "Type I" and coarse "Type II", faience, see the range of Nefertem amulets from Ialysos. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 2401-2413, obj. #4420-4441.
[359] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 2001, obj. #3039.
[360] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 330.
[361] James 1962, p. 461.
[362] Ibid.

amount of surviving glaze as grounds for distinction of Greek and Egyptian scarabs, citing the finds at Sanam published by Griffith (1923) which were without glaze, yet in Hölbl's opinion very clearly genuinely Egyptian.[363] Whether the lack of glaze on many of the Greek examples is meaningful remains unclear, but I would be inclined to follow Hölbl and exercise caution in correlating glaze survivability with production origin as many of the figurines and scarabs found at Greek sites which would be described as of Egyptian production do appear to retain glaze as expected, but a number of scarabs which are described as being of Aegean manufacture also retain glaze.[364]

In addition to the coarseness of the faience and the longevity of the glaze, James noted two final material properties of most of the scarabs excavated at Perachora. Firstly, of the material at Perachora only a tiny proportion of the scarabs were made of steatite. Of well over seven hundred scarabs at Perachora, there were eleven made of steatite (see Graph 4).[365] James states that the proportions of steatite to faience scarabs at an Egyptian site might be expected to be around 50:50 as opposed to this much smaller proportion on Greek sites.[366] The pattern James notes is generally equally true of other Greek sites, where steatite items are comparatively rare.[367] However, Skon-Jedele has criticised this criterion as a measure of Egyptian production on the basis that James seems to use Bronze Age Egyptian material patterns for comparison in this much later period, and Hölbl also is similarly unconvinced.[368] Secondly, James states that the blue compound found at Perachora is uncommon in Egypt and almost entirely restricted to examples from the Late Period and Nile Delta region, being more common on sites in Western Asia.[369] Again, Skon-Jedele is critical of James' assessment, on two counts. Firstly, that the proportion of blue compound scarabs at Perachora (a very low proportion, of less than 4%) is in fact comparable to their proportion in Egyptian Nile Delta finds and significantly lower than the proportion of that type at Naucratis.[370] Secondly, that this Nile Delta comparison is the most relevant to our interests, considering

[363] Hölbl 1979, p. 206.
[364] There are many examples of this across Skon-Jedele's catalogue. Items which are made of fine-faience but with surviving glaze include scarabs (for example: 1994, p. 560, obj. #0515), and figurines (for example 1994, p. 2401, obj. # 4420).
[365] James 1962, p. 461.
[366] Ibid.
[367] See Appendix 1.
[368] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 294; Hölbl 1979, p. 207.
[369] James 1962, pp. 461-2, 467-8.
[370] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 295.

that the intense contact of Greeks and Egyptians would be more likely in this region of Lower Egypt than in less accessible regions of Lower and Upper Egypt.

As well as the material inconsistencies between Egyptian scarabs and those found at Perachora (and which one can equally highlight elsewhere, particularly on Rhodes, but also on Crete, at Eretria, and elsewhere), James and others have also noted other important differences in style and execution between those scarabs produced in Egypt and those of the Perachora-Rhodes group. Most importantly, the scarabs found on Greek sites, in the majority of cases, use a limited range of signs, which create either unclear phrases, interpretable through their similarity to common known sign groups, or entirely illegible groups. As Skon-Jedele summarises, James' observations that the use of signs is un-Egyptian are "almost indisputable for nearly half of the scarabs and seals in the [Perachora] assemblage, which bear hieroglyphic texts composed of an extremely limited repertoire of signs; often debased in form, used incorrectly, or both."[371]

The signs which were found to be most common on scarabs from c.750-650 BC at Perachora, Rhodes, and elsewhere were as follows (examples of some signs are given in fig. 2.6):[372]

- The seated deity, usually a non-specific male or female deity, but occasionally holding a *mꜣ't* feather as Maat *nfr,* the heart and windpipe sign.
- The *mꜣ't* feather, frequently confused with the reed.
- The uraeus cobra, which is frequently debased.
- The flowering reed.
- The simple disk representing either a) sun disk if read as missing a central dot, b) phonetic *ḫ* if read as missing a central segment, or c) *sp* "time" or "occasion" if read as missing grainy fill.
- The water ripple phonetic *n* sign which is often represented with a simple line both on Egyptian and "Perachora-Rhodes" scarabs.
- The sandal strap (commonly known as ankh) sign "life", though sometimes this sign appears to be a debased rendition of another loop like sign, *sꜣ*.

371 Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 299.
372 Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 299-303. These readings can also be found in the standard hieroglyph handbooks, Gardiner 1957 and Allen 2014.

- Wickerwork *nb* basket sign meaning "Lord".
- The bread-loaf phonetic *t* sign which is sometimes confused with the above *nb* basket.
- The human foot phonetic *b* sign which likely appears in a much debased form on a number of "Perachora-Rhodes" scarabs.

Where legible, the use of these signs is, in the majority of cases, for the writing of typical amuletic formulae or parts of the assorted royal nomen and prenomen of pharaohs. Both these subjects are very common for magical and amuletic scarabs from Egypt. However, one encounters a far greater range of signs in Egyptian scarabs than on the bulk of faience scarab types found at Perachora, Rhodes, and elsewhere.[373] Furthermore, while those scarabs which are illegible frequently still appear to attempt to mimic writing rather than treating hieroglyphs as simply having pictorial value, the proportion of scarabs which cannot be read is also much greater than we might expect of Egyptian workshops. Even among those scarabs which are legible as formulaic phrases or common royal names there are a range of exceptionally common simple mistakes, some of which have been mentioned above. One example of such a mistake is the frequency with which (*'Imn-Re Nb*) "Amen-Re Lord" is written with a feather "*maat"* where a reed "*I*" is appropriate. The *maat* feather closely resembles an inverted reed symbol, generally allowing for a secure interpretation of the intended or copied inscription. Nonetheless, as James highlights, there is no avoiding the fact that the volume of such mistakes may indicate repeated replication of mistaken originals, or the imprecise execution of designs, rather than production standards that one might expect of Egyptian workshops.[374]

While James' observations of the scarabs from Perachora have been revised and scrutinised by scholars since their publication, and further questioned here, his conclusion that Egypt is not a strong candidate for the production of the scarabs found at Perachora, Rhodes, and many other eighth-and-seventh-century sites has nonetheless been widely accepted. Each individual indicator, such as faience composition and glaze survivability, has some flaws, which encourages caution when applying them as measures of Egyptian

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[373] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 303.

[374] Mistakes are also common in Egypt, where literacy in hieroglyphs was very low, but it is exceptional for a large body of material to be defined by the same common set of mistakes in a narrow range of signs. Silverman 1997, p. 90; Baines 1983, pp. 572-599.

production to other material, such as statuettes. However, the overall picture is one which quite clearly points to the Perachora-Rhodes group having non-Egyptian production origins. This conclusion on the Perachora-Rhodes group was reached separately by Hölbl's assessment of scarabs deposited in Italy, which describes the common material properties and inscriptions of a range of scarabs there as belonging to a "Perachora-Lindus" (Rhodes) group, one of the dominant "currents" in Egyptianising scarabs in Italy.[375]

We can also add that the distribution pattern of scarabs with the sign types attributable to the Perachora-Rhodes group indicates that the objects were not produced in Egypt. In Gorton's maps of distribution patterns in the Mediterranean, based on his survey of Egyptianising scarabs, the "Common Types on Greek sites" group, which is equivalent to the Rhodes-Perachora group, is densely concentrated within the Greek world, with exceptionally few examples found at Phoenician sites (see Map 4 and Graph 2).[376] The fact that scarabs of this material composition and range of inscriptions are so common in Greece and so exceptionally uncommon in the Phoenician sphere, where we find a range of Egyptian types, would appear to compound other indications that they were not produced in Egypt.

In sum, it is a reasonable conclusion that the Perachora-Rhodes group of scarabs, which form the vast majority of scarabs found in Greece from contexts of c. 750-650 BC, and some found in later contexts, are not of Egyptian production despite their Egyptian appearance. Moving on from this conclusion one must look elsewhere for the production origins of the "Common on Greek sites" scarabs. It can already be seen in the distribution patterns indicated above that a Hellenic origin somewhere within the Aegean seems likely for these scarabs.

[375] Hölbl describes the group as a "Typus Perachora-Lindus", one of a number of "Ströme" of ägyptiaca in the Mediterranean. Hölbl 1979, p. 213, 371.
[376] Map 4 shows three of Gorton's (1996, pp 143-144) distribution maps for different scarab types in the Mediterranean. "Phoenician types" scarabs (top) "Common types on Greek Sites" scarabs (middle) and "The Naucratis factory" scarabs (bottom). It is undoubtable that these maps do not accurately represent the distribution of scarab types, but the overall patterns that the maps illustrate appear to be supported by excavation reports, and the analysis of Skon-Jedele and Hölbl. Similarly, Graph 2, which illustrates quantities of each of Gorton's scarab type groups found in Greece (including the Aegean islands), Rhodes, and Sardinia (data from: Gorton 1996, p. 138),utilises Gorton's inaccurate data, but presents clear trends corroborated by the material from Perachora and the conclusions of Skon-Jedele and Hölbl.

Skon-Jedele, Hölbl, and Coldstream have all concluded that the production of scarabs should be attributed primarily or even solely to factories or workshops on Rhodes.[377] In fact, Coldstream has gone so far as to conclude that within Rhodes it was specifically Ialysos which was the location of production for the Perachora-Rhodes group scarabs.[378] While neither Skon-Jedele nor Hölbl pinpoint production to such a specific location, a similar path of logic underpins the conclusions of all three.

The assertion that we should seek a single production origin, or a very small number of production origins, for the Perachora-Rhodes group is primarily based upon the shared representation of a narrow group of signs in particular formats across a widely scattered range of sites around Greece. It is commonly observed that the exceptionally similar nature of scarabs within the group, regardless of their find site, is indicative of a common origin. Skon-Jedele explains that these shared inscriptions include particular "Hallmark" groups which are distinctive in such a way that further knits the Perachora-Rhodes group of scarabs tightly together.[379] There are two "Hallmark" groups, labelled "A" and "B" (see fig. 2.7). The "Hallmark Group A" scarabs are *all* inscribed with an irregular variant of the prenomen of Amenhotep III – "Nebmare". This prenomen would standardly be represented in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the use of a sun disk "*Re*", a "*nb*" basket, and a seated depiction of the goddess Maat, with a feather headdress "maat" (*mꜣ't*). The "Hallmark Group A" depictions of this group replace the seated goddess Maat with a simpler *mꜣ't* feather hieroglyph, and also miss the central dot in the sun disk hieroglyph. The "Hallmark Group B" scarabs are all inscribed with an irregular variant of a good wish formula "*ḫt nbt nfrt*", except the initial sign for *ḫ* lacks internal striations, instead appearing as a regular disk.[380] Skon-Jedele states that further hallmarks can likely be distinguished, however they would be less of a clear group as A and B, which serve to prove the point.[381]

Having decided upon a central point of production, Rhodes presents itself as a natural candidate for the production of the Perachora-Rhodes group. Hundreds of Perachora-Rhodes group scarabs have been found on Rhodes and Rhodes not only hosts the largest selection of

[377] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 305. Hölbl 1979, pp. 213-214. Coldstream 1969, pp. 1-8.
[378] Coldstream 1969, pp. 1-8.
[379] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 307-310.
[380] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 308.
[381] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 309.

Egyptian material from the eighth century of any Aegean site,[382] but produced other faience objects, such as flasks, later in the Archaic Period, and quite possibly produced Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets as early as the eighth-century BC.[383] One could further draw links between the practice of faience manufacture on Rhodes and similar practices at Naucratis, where Rhodes was among the founding cities.[384] To go further, like Hölbl and Coldstream, and attribute scarab-production to a specific location on Rhodes is probably unwarranted, as the island's faience is spread over the three main sites, and there's little to choose between them.[385]

The conclusion that one can assign the production of the entire Perachora-Rhodes scarab group to Rhodes is, however, not without its problems. While Webb concluded that the Greek faience production of the later Archaic Period was dominated by production centres at Rhodes and Naucratis, she avoided the scarab material, and does not discuss the period of c.750-650 BC in which the production of Perachora-Rhodes scarabs begins, and in which many of these scarabs would appear to have been deposited.[386] Furthermore, the distribution of the faience material which Webb does focus on, namely a large number of faience vases clearly produced on Rhodes in the seventh century, often does not significantly overlap with the consumption of Egyptianising Perachora-Rhodes scarabs found at sites away from Rhodes.[387] Therefore, the argument for Rhodes as a natural candidate for a faience-production centre is partially anachronistic, and boils down to the observation that, as with the Egyptianising amulets/statuettes, the volume of scarabs deposited on Rhodes is exceptionally high and that island boasts a lot of evidence of Egyptian material culture in the eighth century.

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[382] A fact which Hölbl stressed in his attribution of the Rhodes-Perachora group to a Rhodian production centre. Hölbl 1979, p. 213.
[383] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 298-299. On faience flask production on Rhodes, see Webb 1978.
[384] Hdt 2.178.
[385] Coldstream 1969, pp. 1-8. See also "Rhodes" in Appendix 1.
[386] As, for example, at Perachora, where the "Egyptian pit" is dated to c.735-630 BC. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 412-413; James 1962 p. 466. For the contexts of comparable sites see Appendix 1, especially "Argos".
[387] This is even true where such flasks might be expected to be naturally appropriate objects, for example at Eleusis, or where scarabs are found in their hundreds, as at Perachora, where only a small number of faience vase fragments have been found including just one fragment in the earliest deposit, "the Egyptian pit". Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 118-130, 394-406, 413.

Such an argument is plenty adequate enough to suggest Rhodes as *a* production centre, but whether it precludes the possibility of other production centres is less certain. With over seven-hundred Egyptianising scarabs at Perachora, and rather little other East Greek (or Near-Eastern) material, either the movement of goods from Rhodes evidenced at Perachora is dramatically dominated by the movement of Egyptianising scarabs, or the consumption of scarabs there is supplemented by local production.[388] It could be argued that the hallmark groups Skon-Jedele identified as binding the group together resulted, in part, from interactions of other production centres with the output of an initial production centre on Rhodes, leading to mostly the same forms, material properties, and inscriptions. James concluded that to state any one location was entirely responsible for the production of such objects would be needless in the light of the relatively rudimentary technical requirements needed to produce scarabs.[389] As discussed above, the large quantities of faience at Samos or at Perachora make it possible to suggest that there was some level of local production. Despite this, however, and the fact that localised anomalies in the Rhodes-Perachora group are noted in scholarship, for example when Gorton mentions that some of the scarabs found on Samos seem to form a sub-type in the Perachora-Rhodes group, it has been rare for scholars to go so far as de Salvia, who argues for Corinthian workshop, and set out a case for alternative production locations.[390]

One should also further note that Skon-Jedele, while supporting Rhodes as a single point of production for the "Perachora-Rhodes" group, notes that the Perachora assemblage included an eclectic mix of scarab types. The hallmark groups discussed previously are in fact representative of only a portion of the "Perachora-Rhodes" scarabs at Perachora, which are in turn only representative of a portion (if a large one) of the total scarab assemblage.[391] Thus, the presence of "Hallmark" scarabs at Perachora need not necessarily be taken to represent a single location of manufacture, on Rhodes. Instead, scarabs may have been produced on a smaller scale at a number of locations. Only a handful of sites in the archaic Greek world ever yield enough scarabs and other faience to be considered as possible production sites, namely Perachora, Samos' Heraeum, and Naucratis (discussed below). Foster's *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* aligns the production of Greek faience with

[388] Dunbabin 1962, Payne 1940.
[389] James 1962, pp. 462-463.
[390] Gorton 1996, p. 173; De Salvia 1991, pp. 338-340.
[391] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 305.

centres of wealth rather than a single specialised source, and similar principle in the Archaic Period points to a more diffuse spread of localised faience production to the Greek mainland.[392] Certainly, neither Webb nor Foster is without critics, and moving forward both the single source and multiple source possibilities should be considerations.[393]

The Naucratis Group

Scarabs of the Perachora-Rhodes group have been found in contexts post-dating c.650 BC, but the majority of scarabs found in contexts post-dating the foundation of Naucratis are of a distinctly different type of decoration, and are labelled as a "Naucratis group", attributing them to the factories at the Greek trading colony, Naucratis.[394]

These scarabs have clear iconographic and material differences from the Rhodes-Perachora group. The designs are more frequently pictorial and, like Egyptianising Phoenician scarabs, are more likely to feature exaggerated motifs and Egyptianising figures alongside or instead of hieroglyphs.[395] Unlike the fine faience material of which the Rhodes-Perachora were made, a higher proportion of the Naucratis scarabs are made of a blue compound material. The evidence suggesting that these objects were produced in Naucratis is quite clear. In the excavation of Naucratis a faience/scarab workshop was found containing a large quantity of scarabs of Naucratis types along with the moulds required to mass produce these items.[396] It is, however, certainly plausible that some scarabs of the Naucratis group were also produced elsewhere, for example on Rhodes, where faience production was ongoing, or even on Samos.[397]

[392] Foster 1979.
[393] Milward 1983; Peltenburg 1982.
[394] Gorton 1996, pp. 91-131.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Objects such as BM 1965,0930.923, which is one of 205 such moulds from Naucratis in the British Museum.
[397] Skon-Jedele (1994, p. 1447) proposes that there was probably a faience centre on Samos. Given that the deposition of so many faience objects is elsewhere generally a sign of local production alongside imports it seems reasonable to accept Skon-Jedele's hypothesis. Webb (1978 pp. 97-107) also notes a distinct faience group on Samos.

Egyptianising Objects: Amulets/Statuettes

Amulets and statuettes representing the Memphite Triad (Ptah/Pataikos, Nefertem, Sekhmet) and Bes have been found in such great numbers on Rhodes and comprise such a high proportion of the amuletic/statuette finds there and at other Aegean Greek sites, that it has been proposed that they can probably be attributed to production on Rhodes, as the large-scale import of such a narrow group of types would be unusual (examples are given in fig. 2.9).[398] A similar argument forms one of the foundations of the attribution of the Egyptianising Perachora Rhodes scarabs, discussed above, to Rhodes. However, for the amulets and statuettes the conclusion is more difficult to back up. The fine-grained type of faience which can be associated with non-Egyptian workmanship is by no means uniformly used for these amuletic objects, far less so than for the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs. Furthermore, Hölbl notes that certain Rhodes-produced amulets are of such likeness to their Egyptian counterparts that the Rhodians would plausibly have been using Egyptian moulds to mass-produce them.[399] There is, therefore, not an easy way of systematically differentiating the Memphite Triad and Bes amulets which may have been produced on Rhodes from those which were produced in Egypt. It may be that, as with bronze objects for the Samians, many of these particular objects were imported in bulk having been produced in Egypt, in the faience factories known to have existed at Memphis,[400] as they became emblematic of a particular connection between the local elite and Egypt. This possibility shall be discussed further in Chapter 3.

It should be noted that the Memphite Triad and Bes amulets are also well attested at contemporary Phoenician sites, among a wide range of other types.[401] What distinguishes Rhodes' amulets from those of the Phoenicians is the high proportion of Memphite types in relation to others, and the closeness of the Rhodian examples to Egyptian parallels. However, as noted in previous chapters, Fletcher has attempted to resolve the first of these distinctions

[398] Hölbl 1979 pp. 197-198. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1978-1979.
[399] Hölbl 1979, pp. 197-198.
[400] Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, p. 186.
[401] In the Near-East we find a wide array of amulets including many *wedjat* eyes, Bes amulets, and a broad array of human and animal-headed gods, especially jackal headed Anubis and cat-headed gods. See Herrmann 2006, pp. 14-40. At the Phoenician sites in the west, we find a similar array, including falcon-headed statuettes, and statuettes in stone. See Hölbl 1979, esp. pp.79-163, and 1989.

by proposing a specific, Phoenician, point of production.[402] Fletcher argues that Rhodes (and the wider Aegean) belongs to a northern sphere of Phoenician influence in contact with the Greeks and Etruscans, which was dominated by Byblos and Sidon and distinct to a southern band in contact with the Phoenician West.[403] Fletcher further states that the Phoenicians of the northern band had a "predilection" for the Memphite triad (rather than *wedjat* eyes and other amulet types), and that this predilection explains the high proportion of Memphis Triad amulets on Rhodes and in Etruria.

However, this claim is quite difficult to substantiate using the archaeology of either the Levant or the Mediterranean. In the Levant, Fletcher's differentiation of the two Phoenician bands seems to rely upon a lack of sufficient evidence that the high numbers of *wedjat*-eyes found in the southern Phoenician cities are also to be found at sites in the northern Phoenician cities and in Syria, rather than positive evidence for a preference for the Memphis Triad, which we find well represented in both the northern and southern cities of the Phoenicians.[404] Archaeological data for the more northern of Fletcher's two bands of Phoenician states is sparse, and where it exists, barely corroborates the extreme preference for the Memphis Triad which would be needed to explain the prevalence of these deities across Greece. For example, excavations at Sarepta, between Tyre and Sidon, have yielded only eight Egyptian/Egyptianising amuletic objects, of which two were *wedjat*-eyes.[405] North of Sarepta the evidence for amulet types from the Phoenician Middle Iron Age becomes even patchier, meaning that there is simply insufficient quantitative data to judge the patterns of distribution for different amulet types.[406]

The evidence for the distribution and execution of amulets in the Mediterranean also defies Fletcher's reductionism. There are a good number of *wedjat*-eyes on Rhodes (at least fifteen), and specific, rare amulet types found at Sidon and Byblos, in Fletcher's northern band, can be found paralleled in the Phoenician west, at Carthage and Ibiza, in what is

[402] Fletcher 2004, pp. 51-77.
[403] Ibid.
[404] In the East we find a wide array of amulets including many *wedjat* eyes, Bes amulets, and a broad array of human and animal-headed gods, especially jackal headed Anubis and cat-headed gods. See Herrmann 2006, esp. pp. 14-40. In the West, we find a similar array, including falcon-headed statuettes, and statuettes in stone. See Hölbl 1979, esp. pp.79-163, and 1989.
[405] Fletcher 2004b, p. 60. The finds are photographed at: http://www.bu.edu/anep/SareptaShrine1Amulets1.gif. [10/01/2015].
[406] Fletcher offers no such data for Phoenician or North Syrian sites.

supposed be the southern band of influence.[407] More oddly, perhaps, Fletcher makes no comment on the fact that his own (often inaccurate) figures show that it is only Tarquinia in Etruria which demonstrates proportions of amulet types significantly different from those of his southern band of Phoenician trade, and Tarquinia has excellent links to Corinth (at least Perachora), where we can also witness something of a “predilection” for the Memphis Triad, whether through choice or a lack of choice.[408] Finally, that the examples of these amulets in the Greek and Etruscan sites are so completely dominated by faience when the Phoenician production of amulets is, to a much greater extent, balanced between stone and faience counts against Fletcher’s argument, and the basic conclusion the *wedjat* would not be popular at Byblos would seem to fly in the face of traditional association of the motif with seafarers, and with Hathor, “Lady of Byblos”.[409]

I would argue that Fletcher, though coming to an entirely different conclusion, offers the solution to the problem himself when he states:

“The most likely reason, therefore, for the distribution patterns as we see them are that the carriers of these objects were a people, or were trading and/or exchanging with a people, who had a particular relationship with Memphis or had a particular liking for these amulets”.[410]

It is simply that these people are Greeks rather than northern or southern Phoenicians, and that in the prominence of the Memphite Triad we see a knock-on (or, perhaps, knock-off) effect from Rhodes’ contacts with Egypt. Accordingly, I remain satisfied that one does not

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[407] For the distribution of amulets at Phoenician sites: Hölbl 1986a, pp. 79-164. A specific example would be Pataikos type 5.1.A.1.1 and 5.1.A.1.2 (p. 110). For Rhodes’ wedjat-eyes see: Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2048, 2242, 2471-2474, obj. #3134-3138, 3707-3708, 4521-4528.

[408] Osborne 2009, p. 88, 153; Haynes 2005, p. 55; Fletcher 2004b, p. 71.

[409] The eye symbol appears as protection on Egyptian boats (as, for example on the Stele of Neferrenpet, Museo Egizio Torino), and later eyes appear on Greek boats in the same way, whether they were present on Phoenician craft is, however, quite difficult to ascertain. However, the strong links between sailors, the wedjat eye, and Hathor ‘Mistress of Byblos’, evidenced, for example, in the depiction of an oar with two wedjat eyes being dedicated to Hathor ‘Mistress of Byblos’ at Deir el-Bahari, would seem to indicate that the wedjat eye could have held a particular place in Byblos’ acculturation of Egyptian iconography. See Griffiths, 1975 pp. 37-38. These observations are, however, based on associations which may have long since faded by the eighth century (see Zernecke 2013, pp. 226-242).

[410] Fletcher 2004b, p. 59. Fletcher has also been thoroughly criticised, on account of his handling of the Phoenician evidence and history, in Descoeudres, 2008.

need to look beyond Rhodes and Egypt to find the source of production for the majority of Memphite-Triad and Bes amulets found on Greek sites.

The final amulet group, rounding off this discussion, are the faience falcon amulets which increase in popularity from the mid-seventh century (fig. 2.11).[411] These may have been produced on Rhodes or Samos, but their increasing production and their wide distribution in the latter-half of the Archaic Period can probably be attributed to the Naucratis faience factories, at least to a greater extent.[412]

Conclusions

The production origins of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found at Greek sites diversify through the Archaic Period. Initially, the production origin of all of the objects is Egyptian or Levantine, with Egypt being more likely for most of the amulets and statuettes and the Levant more likely for the Egyptianising faience beads. By the end of the eighth century, however, at least one Aegean production origin was responsible for the mass-production of faience scarabs and likely also for the production of amulets/statuettes in a narrow range of types. As these objects are the most common in archaic Greek contexts, this means that by the end of the eighth century most of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited at Greek sites were likely produced within the Aegean. By the end of the seventh century, at least one more production centre had opened, in Naucratis. However, the consumption of Egyptian-produced material continued, and the wealth of this material peaked in the seventh and early-sixth century in the Heraeum of Samos.[413] It is almost always the case that where we find Egyptian objects we also find a greater number of Egyptianising objects of similar types. Accordingly, it is likely that the hubs of Egyptianising production in the Aegean also mediated contact with objects of Egyptian production, leading to the narrow range of object types found in most

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[411] Fig 2.4: Hölbl 2008, p. 219, 186. See also Fletcher 2004b, p. 54.
[412]It is probably worth waiting on Webb's forthcoming, "Faience finds from Naukratis and their implications for the chronology of the site", in R. Thomas (ed.), forthcoming. *Naukratis in Context I: The Nile Delta as a Landscape of Connectivity. Proceedings of the First Naukratis Project Workshop held at The British Museum 16th – 17th December 2011,* before trying to say a great deal about these objects, other than that they match the Naucratis scarabs in spreading across the Greek and Phoenician Mediterranean, and contribute to the case for Naucratis as the centre of a spread of Egyptian material culture as a process of Mediterraneanization.
[413] See "Samos" in Appendix 1. Most of the material does not have a clear context, but that which does mostly belongs to a pre-Rhoecus level. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1435-1437.

Greek contexts. This point has consequence in Chapter 1's discussion of the agency of Egyptian material, and in Chapter 3's discussion of consumption, as it reduces the role we attribute to the Phoenicians and increases the likelihood that we need to identify more direct connections between Greece and Egypt.

Notably scarce in this summary of production origins are the Levantine cultures. While a number objects at Greek sites, especially the non-descript faience beads and Bes amulets, might be attributed to Levantine production, very little clearly Egyptianising Phoenician material appears to be imported into Greece.

The conclusion that many of the Egyptianising scarabs deposited at Greek sites in the first half of the Archaic Period were actually produced in the Greek Aegean or at Naucratis is important for our wider understanding of how the Greeks interacted with Egyptian material culture. Not only does this conclusion demonstrate that the Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture incorporated the production as well as the consumption of Egyptian objects, but it also leads us to question in what ways objects which appear entirely foreign in form and decoration but have in fact, certainly on Rhodes, travelled very little distance appealed to Greek consumers.

B: The cultural origins of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects

This section of Chapter 2 on the one hand seeks to answer the question regarding whose hands crafted the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in archaic Greece, but on the other hand also aims to draw some conclusions about which culture was providing the models for the production of Egyptianising scarabs. It is obvious that the ultimate conceptual origin of these objects lies in Egypt, where many have very ancient precedents, but the more immediate influences are more contentious.

Objects produced in Egypt

The objects attributed to Egyptian production contexts, with the exception of Naucratis, can be ascribed to Egyptian craftsmen, and to an Egyptian cultural heritage.[414] As discussed in the

[414] As has been discussed in the introduction, Dynasty XXV, in which the quantity of Egyptian objects in Greece begins to increase, was technically one of Libyan and Nubian rule. However "Egypt remained Egyptian" through the period of Nubian and Libyan dominance, and while these cultures

introduction, there were flourishing native bronze and faience industries in Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, producing objects of high quality.[415] Tracking individual locations of manufacture in Egypt may not often be possible, with many amulet types and scarabs being widely popular across Egypt. However, the deities most represented by Egyptian-produced objects at most sites, including on Rhodes, fit well with contact with major centres in Lower Egypt, in particular Memphis.[416] Similarly, certain objects, such as a finely-worked bronze mirror found at Perachora have been linked to specific areas, in this case the Memphite workshops.[417] The inscriptions on objects of Egyptian production, in particular royal titles, might be expected to indicate further royal centres in contact with Greece. However, in reality the use of titles on scarabs and other objects, even outside of the mass-produced Perachora-Rhodes group, is not especially indicative of a particular point of contact, temporal or spatial, with scattered royal titles dating from the Old Kingdom through to Dynasty XXVI. Many titles used, including those on Perachora-Rhodes scarabs, date to the New Kingdom period, and so these scarabs must either be antiques or the replication of older examples.[418] The Nubian rulers of Dynasty XXV, despite technically dominating Egypt in the early Archaic Period, are poorly attested, with minor or local kings being equally well represented.[419] It appears relatively safe, therefore, to conclude that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in Greece belonging to the pre-Saite (pre-unification) period reflect the output of production centres in the minor kingdoms of the Delta region, and particularly Memphis, more than Nubian controlled Upper Egypt. However, as there was a great degree of homogeneity in Egyptian material culture across different regions and under dynasties of different ethnic origins in Third Intermediate and Late Period, the conclusion

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clearly had some impact upon the consumption of material culture, we need not be concerned about identifying a distinct Nubian or Libyan element, as generally the period's art was homogenous across Egypt. Naunton 2010, p. 138.

[415] On faience: Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, p. 184, and Nicholson 1993, pp. 28-41. On bronze, see Bianchi 1990, pp. 75-77.

[416] As has been discussed, Sekhmet, Nefertem, and Ptah, were the triad of deities worshipped at Memphis. Armour 1986, pp. 96-105.

[417] As in Payne's report, following after Bochardt's observations of similarities to those in Memphis (Bénédite, *Miroirs, Catalgoue géneral du Museé du Caire*. Pls 16-20). Von Bissing is mentioned to have made a similar observation, but is not cited. Payne 1940, pp. 142-143.

[418] James 1962, pp. 469-471.

[419] For example, five examples from Perachora name "Menkare", who was probably a minor king near the end of the Third Intermediate Period. There are also scattered references to "Bakenrenef" of Dynasty XXIV in the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greece and Italy. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 341.

that material from Greek reflects Lower Egyptian production centres is much more important for the discussion of agency than it is for considering whether the Greeks had specific tastes in Egyptian material culture.[420]

Egyptianising Objects: Perachora-Rhodes Scarabs

The distribution pattern of the two major groups of Egyptianising objects, the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs and faience amulets/statuettes, as mapped (though quite roughly) by Gorton and Fletcher, indicates that these objects were produced within the Aegean, on Rhodes and possibly at other sites. On this point I have concurred with previous assessments. However, who was responsible for the production of these objects, and what their immediate cultural heritage was, are more difficult and contentious problems.

The Phoenicians are often concluded to have been heavily involved in the production of the Perachora-Rhodes group.[421] As explored in Chapter 1, the Phoenicians have been seen as the primary conduit of exchange between Egypt and the Aegean. A small, perhaps permanent, community of Phoenician craftsmen has been attributed with the introduction of faience crafting to Rhodes.[422] There is a lot of circumstantial evidence to support such a conclusion. The Phoenicians have been proposed as responsible for other crafts developments on Rhodes, namely the development of new pottery shapes.[423] Though proposed to date to around 700 BC these developments might still be slightly later than the earliest eighth-century Egyptianising material, dated somewhere between 735-700 BC.[424] Burkert, a keen advocate of the prominence of Levantine craftsmen in shaping the orientalising period, provides a number of examples of literary indications of the mobility of craftsmen, along with the presence of vase painters – Amasis, Lydos, and Brygos, with Egyptian, Lydian, and Phrygian names respectively.[425] While Burkert's literary sources are mostly post-archaic, Homer's mentions of *demioergoi* (for example, *Od.* 17.383-385) make clear a range of crafts

[420] Bianchi 1990, p. 62.
[421] James 1962, p. 461; Hölbl 1979, p. 388; Gorton 1996, p. 181.
[422] Coldstream 1969, pp. 1-8.
[423] Bourogiannis 2013, pp. 139-189.
[424] James 1962, p. 466. Also, see "Perachora" in Appendix 1.
[425] Burkert 1992, p. 23.

in demand from travelling skilled workers, which overlap well with a number of aspects of Greek culture discussed as changing significantly during the orientalising period – seers, healers, carpenters or craftsmen, bards.[426] The involvement of such Levantine workers in the faience industry is certainly plausible. Phoenician production of faience and stone scarabs is well attested, with the Phoenicians appearing to experience some of the same difficulties with faience evident in the Greek deposits, for example the degradation of the glaze.[427]

However, Phoenician influence on the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs and other Egyptianising faience objects produced on Rhodes is difficult to ascertain. The primary issue is that the Rhodes-Perachora scarabs are not of similar decoration to the Phoenician Egyptianising scarabs found in the Levant or in the Phoenician West (fig. 2.11). While the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs use a narrow range of hieroglyphs in a small range of, often garbled, combinations or depict simple animal scenes, Phoenician Egyptianising scarabs are replete with elaborate religious characters and symbols embodying the syncretisation of Egyptian and Phoenician religious iconography.[428] Phoenician produced scarabs commonly depict lunar and astral symbols, a range of gods and goddesses, winged scarabs and *uraei* with an emphasis on the pictographic and pictorial conveyance of meaning.[429] The Rhodes-Perachora scarabs, on the other hand, more often use logographic hieroglyphs with less emphasis on pictographic or pictorial elements except in animal scenes.[430] An example of this would be the use of the *maat* feather on Rhodes-Perachora scarabs, where on Phoenician examples we might instead expect to see a seated goddess holding the *maat* feather. Noting basic differences in the hieroglyphic groups used Hölbl states that the group of signs demonstrated on the Perachora-Rhodes group is so distinct from those of Phoenician scarabs that it must have originated from direct contact with a different Egyptian source.[431] He also

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[426] Burkert 1992, p. 24.
[427] Hölbl 1986a, p. 411.
[428] Fischer and Keel 1995, pp. 135-150; Gorton 1996, pp. 43-62; Ward 1967, pp. 69-74.
[429] Fischer and Keel 1995, pp. 135-150; Gorton 1996, pp. 43-62; Ward 1967, pp. 69-74. "Schematisierung und Geometrisierung, Tendenzen, die sich bereits in Ägypten feststellen lassen, jedoch sehr stark in der punischen Produktion zum Durchbruch kommen, zeigen uns, daß eine einfache Andeutung des Wesentlichen genügt, um ein Amulett funktionsfähig zu machen." Hölbl 1986a, p. 411.
[430] Gorton 1996, pp. 63-79.
[431] "Wichtig ist, daß sich diese sicher außerhalb Ägyptens erzeugten Skarabäen nicht etwa an phönikisches Imitationsmaterial, sondern nur an ägyptische Stücke anschließen lassen, sich von diesen aber trennen und selbständig weiterentwickeln." Hölbl 1979, p. 371.

states that the consumption of the Perachora-Rhodes group scarabs is a distinctly Greek phenomenon.[432] Nonetheless, Hölbl still concludes that the Perachora-Rhodes group and its consumption at Greek sites in the Aegean reflect the direct influence of Phoenician craftsmen, stating that direct relations between Greece and Egypt began in the seventh century.[433]

Aside from the differences in decoration, it can be noted that the Phoenician sites, including on Cyprus, yield a higher proportion of stone scarabs and amulets/statuettes, and the Greeks, who at this stage made scarabs only in faience.[434] Furthermore, as has already been noted, the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs are not distributed in the Phoenician world. They occur in a relatively isolated bubble of distribution in the Greek world and Phoenician scarab types are not common at Greek sites.

There appears to be, therefore, minimal evidence for Levantine cultural influence on the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs, indicating that the Levant was neither the source of the craftsmen nor the source of the models to be copied.

If we rule out a dominant Levantine influence on the production of Egyptianising objects on Rhodes or elsewhere in the Aegean there are only two realistic options left, Greeks and Egyptians. A case has been presented for Egyptian workshops on Rhodes, by von Bissing, or near Corinth, by de Salvia, however there is little evidence to substantiate such claims.[435] Furthermore, a primary argument against Egyptian production for the group was that Egyptians would not consistently produce the garbled texts of the Perachora-Rhodes

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[432] Hölbl 1979, p. 217.

[433] This conclusion is repeatedly stated by Hölbl. It is the focus of his study of fertility (1986b), but was present already in his examination of Italy (1979, p. 388), and has continued to influence his more recent work on Asia Minor (for example, 2014, p.182).

[434] Gorton 1996, pp. 57-62. See also Nunn (2000, p. 85) who, though for the sixth-fourth centuries, states that 55% of Phoenician scarabs were cut in jasper, a proportion similar to the Egyptian use of steatite cited by James.

[435] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 297-298; De Salvia 1991, pp. 338-340. James (1962, p. 463) rejects von Bissing (citing *Zeit und Herkunft der in Cerveteri gefundenen Gefässe aus ägyptischer Fayence und glasiertem Ton*) partly on account of the garbled inscriptions, and partly on account of the lack of Egyptian craftsmen abroad. In fact, if we look at Egypt's relations with the Near East in the Third Intermediate Period (Mumford 2007, 1998), we see that this is not entirely true; nonetheless we have no evidence of *faience* workers abroad, let alone in Greece.

group.[436] Instead, the Rhodes-Perachora group appears to reflect the “mere copying of a narrow group of signs.”[437] It therefore seems likely that the producers of the Rhodes-Perachora scarabs were Rhodian craftsmen, working immediately from Egyptian examples. The fact that any semblance of recognisability of the hieroglyphic forms remains across the high volume of examples produced is indicative of some level of consistent concern for the source material. The technical skill to make such objects may have been acquired in Egypt; perhaps specifically after contact with Memphis’ faience workshops, considering that the faience amulets of Rhodes indicate strong links with the city. A later parallel for the movement of technical skills along threads of trade and political alliance is clear in Samos.[438]

Egyptianising objects: Statuettes and Amulets

The amulets found in the Greek Aegean are, as has been mentioned, dominated by the primary gods of Memphis. This is one of the very few specific links we can draw between Archaic Greece and a particular area of Egypt. If one concludes, as argued above, that some of the Egyptianising amulets evident on Rhodes and elsewhere in the Greek Aegean were produced on Rhodes, it would be reasonable to attribute their production to a similar group of craftsmen as the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs, working from models acquired, directly or indirectly, from Memphis. However, as these objects lack distinctive qualities, such as appear to rule out Levantine or Egyptian craftsmen or models for the scarabs, the producers and models of these objects may feasibly have been Egyptian, Levantine, or Greek. Nonetheless, the fact that only three gods from a single triad and Bes are depicted by such objects would lead one to suspect that there is a direct link between production in the vicinity of the Memphite temple and on Rhodes, with Memphis being the source of the models and possibly moulds for the replication of such objects on Rhodes.

Naucratis Scarabs

Those producing the Naucratis group scarabs were almost certainly Greek, though exactly who was involved is not clear. Rhodes would be a natural candidate, with their pre-existing experience of faience and their involvement in the founding of Naucratis, however it is possible that Samos was also involved in faience production at Naucratis, considering the

[436] James 1962, p. 463.
[437] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 303.
[438] See “Samos” in Appendix 1.

large volume of faience found on the island and the presence of seemingly localised types among it.[439] A widening of decoration types from the Perachora-Rhodes to the Naucratis scarabs indicates that they used new models, which could have been accessed either through greater contact with the Egyptians or through contacts with the Phoenicians in the East or West.[440] Therefore, the cultural ancestry of the Naucratis scarab is quite possibly a hybrid of Egyptian, Egyptianising Greek, Egyptianising Phoenician, and Phoenician types. As such, to some extent these scarabs appear to reflect a process of Mediterraneanization rather than simply further Egyptianising tendencies.

C: Conclusions

It is relatively clear that a large amount of the material found in archaic Greece which can be described as Egyptian and Egyptianising was produced in the Aegean. The largest group of this Egyptianising material, the Perachora-Rhodes scarabs, were not the product of Levantine influences, but were inspired directly by Egyptian models and circulated among Greeks, likely by Greeks. The consequence of such a conclusion is that a significant proportion of the objects comprising Egyptian and Egyptianising assemblages have not moved across substantial cultural boundaries or expanses of open sea to get from their from their point of production to their point of consumption, and have certainly not been moved from Egypt or the Levant. Nonetheless, these objects are deposited alongside those objects, rare and valuable, which *are* of Egyptian production, bearing similar symbols and depicting similar gods.

The coexistence of these two types of objects, Egyptian and Egyptianising, the Greek role in the production and acquisition of these objects, and the lack of Egyptianising Phoenician material, all have a significant impact upon how we tackle the more interesting question of the consumption of these objects, as shall be discussed in Chapter 3.

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[439] Webb 1978, pp. 97-107.
[440] Gorton 1996, pp. 91-131.

Chapter 3

Egyptian and Egyptianising Objects in Archaic Greece: Consumption

Chapter 2 explored the production of the Egyptian and Egyptianising material from Greek sites and established that a significant portion of these objects were produced in the Aegean, while others represent direct or indirect contact with Egypt. Furthermore, Chapter 2 found that the Phoenicians were unlikely to have been directly involved in informing the production of these goods, while Chapter 1 and 2 argued that the Phoenicians were also unlikely to have been moving Egyptian goods, owing to a lack of Phoenician or Egyptianising Phoenician material culture at certain sites.

This chapter will build upon those conclusions as it examines the next stage in these objects' lives - their consumption. The discussion of consumption is arranged in three parts. First, it will establish the "cultural identity" of the consumers, to whatever extent this may be definable. Secondly, the chapter will outline the three of the most significant approaches one can take to the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at Greek sites, fertility magic, sailors' luck, and interstate/interpersonal relations. Finally, the discussion will bring together preceding points and further observations in an effort to present a rounded conclusion on who was consuming the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and why.

Greeks, Egyptians, Phoenicians?

It is clear that the consumers of the majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Aegean sanctuary and funerary contexts are very likely to have been Greeks.[441] Briefly running through the three possible cultural identities for the consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects will underline the validity of such a conclusion.

Egyptian state officials and their entourages were probably involved in the consumption of genuine Egyptian objects in Greek sanctuary contexts in acts of ritual

[441] By which I mean: Greek speakers, whose social, burial, and ritual practices were broadly equivalent, and for whom the majority of material culture consumed and produced was essentially relatable to other Greek communities in the Aegean.

consumption motivated by the expression of interstate or interpersonal connections, as is discussed further below. This is most likely to have occurred at significant hubs such as Rhodes where we find a large quantity of objects produced in Egypt, but plausibly also took place elsewhere, as a number of the sites named by Herodotus as recipients of Egyptian diplomatic gifts do not yield extraordinarily large amounts of Egyptian-produced or Egyptianising material.[442] However, it seems quite safe to say that the Egyptians, for whom the objects in these contexts would have served primarily a formal state purpose, were unlikely to be directly involved in the consumption of the large number of Aegean-produced Egyptianising objects found on Rhodes, at Perachora, and elsewhere and we have no reason to suggest permanent or semi-permanent Egyptian communities in archaic Greece.[443]

The Phoenicians are unlikely to have had a role in the consumption of most Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Aegean contexts. As has been repeatedly stressed above, Phoenicians, on the whole, did not engage with Aegean-produced Egyptianising objects until the foundation of Naucratis and so are unlikely consumers for Greek-produced Egyptianising objects at Greek sites. For the consumption of Egyptian objects, it has been noted in Chapter 1 that it seems unlikely that Phoenician traders were using these objects to facilitate trade in the eighth century.[444] There is also little evidence of Phoenician presence at the coastal sanctuaries of the Greek mainland which contain Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, Perachora and Sounium, where we find only a scattering of Levantine objects. For archaic Rhodes and Crete, however, the situation is less clear.

On Rhodes it does not appear likely that there was a sufficiently persistent or substantial Phoenician or Levantine presence to have been the consumers of any notable quantity of the Egyptian and Egyptianising goods found in the island's sanctuaries. There is little evidence of Phoenician communities (burials, pottery) or of Phoenician ritual activity, though there is a lot of Levantine material of the sorts we find widely across Greece.[445] On Crete, however, the majority hold that a small Phoenician or Levantine community was

[442] See Hdt. 2.159, 2.180, and 3.47 for the gifts of the Saite pharaohs to Miletus, Delphi, and Sparta.
[443] The presence of Egyptians in the Near East is actually reasonably well attested, with soldiers and craftsmen being moved around during the upheaval repeated the Assyrian invasions. However, these do not seem to be moving communities, and there is no mention of similar movements to Greece in the Egyptian sources, see Mumford 2007, 1998.
[444] Fletcher 2011, p. 14. Morris 2000, p. 254.
[445] Bourogiannis 2013, pp. 139-189.

present, partly on the basis of large amounts of Levantine imports, but mainly because of the local adoption of the materials, techniques, and styles of Levantine crafts, as evidenced in the gold work of the Teke grave, and a small but suggestive field of evidence for burial and ritual habits, such as the Russian-doll style stacking of burial vessels at Arkades, identified as characteristically North Syrian.[446] Whether, however, this evidence represents "Phoenician" consumption of material culture on the island or more specifically "Cretan" consumption is unclear, and scholarship has been in flux as to the extent and veracity of the Phoenician or Levantine habitation of Crete. Levantine material is not consistent across the island's contexts or chronology and the range of subjects depicted in the Egyptian and Egyptianising material on Crete is narrow, and in its range and types is much more like that found in the Aegean (especially Rhodes) than that in the Phoenician East or West.[447] Temple B at Kommos, exemplifies some of these convolutions. The temple contained a possibly, but not definitively, Levantine-style tri-pillar shrine behind which was placed an orientalising Cretan bronze shield and into the gaps of which two Egyptian-produced figures common in Greece and the Levant (Sekhmet and Nefertem) and a Greek bronze horse had been wedged.[448] Stampolidis and Kotsonas argue that this shrine may evidence Phoenician influence on Cretan ritual.[449] However, by the time the Egyptian amulets are deposited Phoenician pottery is no longer found at the site.[450] It is reasonable to conclude from this mixture of Greek, Levantine, and Egyptian elements that even if Levantine elements do persist in ritual, the context and actors for the consumption of many Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Crete can only be described as uniquely Cretan, with strong Aegean (especially Rhodian) influences.

On the whole, conclusions that Phoenician consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects must have informed the Greek consumption of such objects are based upon flawed models of Greek consumption, as is discussed below. With a number of

[446] See discussion in Morris (1992, pp. 150-172), Stampolidis and Kotsonas (2006, pp. 337-360), Negbi (1992, pp. 599-615), Hoffmann (1997, esp. pp. 153-190), and Skon-Jedele (1994, pp. 1663-1949). For the stacked-vessel burial and the Teke gold jewellery, see Morris (1992, p. 161) and Stampolidis and Kotsonas (2006, pp. 351-353).
[447] See "Crete" in Appendix 1.
[448] Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, p. 353. Skon-Jedele takes after Shaw (1989, p. 172), that the wedging served to secure the three objects against disturbance, as the sanctuary was open, rather than a ritual purpose. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1878-1881.
[449] Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, p. 353.
[450] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1878-1881.

significant sites, such as Perachora, directly contradicting such conclusions, it is more beneficial to attempt to understand the processes underlying Greek consumption than to identify an outside influences, as will be returned to in the final section of this chapter.

With Egyptians supposed to be involved only in the consumption of Egyptian-produced objects, and the Phoenicians an improbable consumer group, it is evident that the majority of the consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greek contexts were Greeks, as might be expected. The role of various identities for these Greeks, including professions, status, and gender, play out in the sections below, but the role of regional identities can be considered here.

As can be seen in Appendix 1, there are clear, localised spikes in the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at sites including Ialysos, Cameiros, Lindos, Perachora, Samos, and Crete. There are also less pronounced spikes at Chios and in Asia Minor. These places are not all Dorian or Ionian, nor are their primary sanctuaries all focussed upon the worship of a particular deity. There is a rough likeness between the deposits at Dorian Rhodes, Crete, and Perachora and similarly between Ionian Samos and Asia Minor. However, these similarities are both limited, with the overall composition of Rhodes and Perachora’s assemblages being quite different, and primarily governed by date, with consumption in Rhodes, Crete and Perachora contexts peaking before it does on Samos or in Asia Minor. On the whole, the very broad spread of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects across Greek sites makes it impossible to associate consumption with the articulation any individual Greek state or *ethnos* identity. Instead, we must appreciate that consumption is at once a universal habit and also subject to extreme variances from community to community, as have been discussed in Chapter 1.

Therefore, in order to better understand what sorts of Greeks may have been engaged in the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and what social, political, economic, or religious/magical concerns may have driven them, we must look in more detail at the evidence and contexts of consumption. The first two approaches to the Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects discussed by this chapter, sailor’s luck and fertility magic, are what Mullins describes as reflective approaches. In attributing consumption to the individual drives of particular gender or professional groups these approaches identify the objects as the exhibition of simple identities. However, having

explored a third approach, gift-exchange and interpersonal relations as a form of consumption, we can begin to understand the consumption of these objects as an "active, motivated, creative process".[451] The final section of this chapter is dedicated to the ways in which we can try to tie together valid observations from the reflective approaches and modern definitions of consumption as process of identity tension and creation.

A: *Sailors' Luck*

One of the most commonly proposed hypotheses on the identity of the Greek consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is that they were mostly sailors, whose consumption of these objects was motivated by their desire to acquire magical protection on voyages and to give thanks for successful voyages.

The suggestion that sailors are the primary consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is presented primarily in relation to two coastal sanctuaries, Sounium and Perachora, but has been extrapolated by Skon-Jedele from these sites to those on Rhodes, at Samos, and beyond.[452] In her discussion of Sounium, Skon-Jedele states that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are "exceedingly appropriate" dedications for at coastal sites, and that their consumption at these sites marked the first act of sailors once they get to shore, hence occurring at the sanctuaries nearest to the sea (see Maps 5, 6, 7, and 9 for the coastal location of sanctuaries at Samos, Perachora, and Sounium).[453]

Discussion of the assemblage at Sounium, which includes the second largest collection of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on the Greek mainland, has repeatedly come to the same conclusion.[454] As Skon-Jedele states:

> The assemblage from Sounion has regularly –and quite reasonably- been referred to in scholarship as the accumulated offerings of Attic merchants and sailors, dedicated at

[451] Dietler 2010, p. 26, 57.
[452] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 166.
[453] Ibid. Map 5: A plan of the Samian Heraeum, Kyrieleis 1981. Map 6: Maps showing the position of the Samian Heraeum, https://goo.gl/maps/gT3xb2VyXtn/https://goo.gl/maps/H5f9BPQ4MQR2 [02/11/2015]. Map 7: Plan of the area around the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora, Payne 1940, Plate 137. Map 9: Plan of the sanctuaries on the cape of Sounion, Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, p. 305, fig. 4.
[454] Although Sounium yields far fewer Egyptian and Egyptianising objects than Perachora. See "Perachora" and "Sounium" in Appendix 1.

the sanctuary in thanks for a safe return from voyages to Egypt and other distant shores.[455]

The first of these scholars, Pendlebury, identified the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects as curios brought from a far country, the "lucks" of Attic "merchant adventurers" who dedicate them in gratitude for their safe return to Greece.[456] This attitude is mirrored in Dinsmoor and Schoder, who both see these foreign objects as evidence of Athens' flourishing engagement with the wider Mediterranean.[457] Similarly, while Morris contends that the sailors engaged in this activity are from Aegina, based upon the dearth of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in Athens and the comparably rich body of Egyptian and Egyptianising finds on Aegina, she still comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects of Sounium's and Perachora's assemblages reflect that these sanctuaries act as a first stop for sailors returning from the East.[458]

Notably, the return of sailors from the East Mediterranean is even championed by those explicitly aware that the majority of the objects likely did not originate in the Levant or Egypt, but on Rhodes. James and Dunbabin reject that the sailors visited Egypt, but appear to agree that the objects at Perachora reflect the movement of Greek or Phoenician sailors from the East.[459] Likewise, Skon-Jedele suggests that the sailors acquired Egyptian and Egyptianising objects while stopping in Rhodian ports as they travelled from the Near East or Egypt, and for the express purpose of offering at Sounium or Perachora, as thanks for a successful return.[460] Indeed, Skon-Jedele goes even further, and describes the lack of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Athens as evidence that while such objects were "exceedingly appropriate" for sailors, "Egyptian-type bric-a-brac were simply not appropriate as dedications at the major civic temples".[461]

Such conclusions, however, need to be more carefully reconciled with the wider assemblages of these sites. At Sounium the recorded assemblage includes 77 Egyptian and

455 Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 135.
456 Pendlebury 1930, p. 82.
457 Schoder 1974, p. 198. Dinsmoor 1971, p. 27.
458 Morris 1984, p. 99.
459 James 1962, p. 462; Dunbabin 1957, pp. 39-40.
460 Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 160-161, 268.
461 Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 166.

Egyptianising objects (mostly of types produced at Rhodes and Naucratis), only a single object of Near-Eastern production, and a large amount of East Greek and Cycladic pottery.[462] In light of pottery evidence of interaction with Rhodes and the Cyclades it is reasonable to conclude that a high number of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, if not all of them, could have been brought directly from Rhodes by sailors. Therefore, for Sounium, the sailor consumption hypothesis seems fitting, with the caveats that, firstly with only one Near-Eastern object present, there is little to suggest that the consumers at Sounium need to have travelled beyond the Cyclades and Rhodes to the Near East, and secondly, the *kouroi*, weapons, and tools of Sounium's assemblage indicate that others, including Attic elites, were likely participants in the sanctuary.[463] Therefore, Sounium's Egyptian and Egyptianising objects could easily represent civic or/and sailor consumers.

At Perachora, the assemblage contains over 900 Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and a large number of locally-made orientalising objects (*phialai* and ivories), but only a very small amount of objects of Near-Eastern production, and very little East Greek material.[464] The lack of East Greek pottery (about 50 recorded items in total, which can be compared against the more than 30 from Argos and more than 20 from Laconia) is somewhat understandable at a site so dominated by consumption of local Corinthian pottery (over 1200 recorded Proto-Corinthian pieces). However, that only a couple of pieces of East Greek pottery from Rhodes are deposited in the eighth and early-seventh century, only adds to the impression that the Perachora sanctuary's assemblage evidences contacts inland in the Peloponnese as much, if not more, than out in the Mediterranean.[465] It is difficult to reconcile the largely localised character of the Perachora assemblage with sailors arriving from the East being principal consumers, certainly not sailors whose first action upon returning to port is to deposit goods acquired abroad. Accordingly, if sailors are the consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising material at Perachora, it would appear likely that this was not the sanctuary to

[462] The Near-Eastern object is a storm-god, fitting for the sanctuary's proximity to the sea and for a sailor to have deposited. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 138.
[463] Skon-Jedele does endeavour to relate the *kouroi* to sailors, but this is questionable. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 139.
[464] The Levantine produced objects include a Levantine ivory head (Stubbings 1962, pp. 406-407, obj. #A9,) but other objects, including ivories and *phialai* are orientalising, not Near Eastern.
[465] The report of Perachora's assemblage notes only one Rhodian and one East Greek pottery fragment of the late-eighth century (Shefton 1962, p. 373, obj. #4035 and 4036). For a broader sense of the lack of East-Greek pottery, compare the findings of Corinthian pottery reported by Dunbabin (1962, pp. 4-132) with those of other regions reported by Shefton (1962, pp. 393-402).

which they returned, but which they visited before they departed unless, that is, returning sailors *only* saw fit to deposit Egyptian and Egyptianising goods from their cargoes.

For both Perachora and Sounium, the key question therefore is whether or not we can we consider the Greeks to have thought that Egyptian and Egyptianising goods were pertinent to the fortunes of sea travellers. It is true that ancient seafarers were routinely exposed to risk and therefore could be expected to be especially drawn to small, portable trinkets with exotic magical functions. However, if it is specifically Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and in particular scarabs, which had special meaning for mariners, then the cause of this specificity is obscure. We might expect such a strong association of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects with sailors to have stemmed from contact with Phoenician mariners. However, the key motifs we might expect from Phoenician mariners, namely the *wedjat*-eye and scarabs or amulets bearing depictions of Astarte or Tanit or their iconography, are missing or rare in the relevant Greek assemblages, even on Rhodes, as is Egyptianising Phoenician material more generally. Therefore, if such an association existed it was equally likely a Greek invention. However, it is difficult to pinpoint why such an association would come to exist. A mythological background seems dubious; the Homeric heroes' adventures at sea do involve Egypt, but not in especially fortuitous circumstances.[466] A simpler approach might be to suggest that the Greek sailors simply lacked a comparably suitable vehicle for protective magic as the Egyptianising scarab – something small, exotic, inscribed with symbols, and probably cheap to produce but with a sense of high magical value. Even this explanation leaves an awkward question as to why Levantine Egyptianising scarabs are quite so scarce, which may only be resolvable by accepting that circumstance somehow dictated that Greeks had minimal contact with the Levant's Egyptianising material culture.[467]

Of course, these small, exotic, magical trinkets could appeal to a range of different consumers, and so sailors need not be especially prioritised. The idea of sailors as a specific, distinct consumer group is, in itself, questionable. Firstly, the idea of "sailors" as a contained but large consumer group, especially sailors whose activity is only present at very particular sites, is at odds with our understanding that the Archaic Period was one in which many

[466] Hom. *Od.* 17.424ff.

[467] Or through a reassessment of the Rhodes-Perachora group and the dominance of this group on Greek sites.

different types of people were going to sea for many different reasons, as outlined in the introduction. As a result, connections to the sea, if these underline the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, are unlikely to be reflective of a strictly delimited consumer group. Dedications with specific maritime associations, namely objects depicting or in the form of boats, can be found at well-connected Greek sites, for example on Euboea and Samos.[468] However, on Samos in particular, it is far from clear whether these objects reflect the consumption habits of traders or of the wider community. It appears that the cult of Hera on Samos had profound links to the sea and seafaring.[469] There is evidence of extensive ritual activity on a path linking the sea and the sanctuary.[470] Among the votive objects at the sanctuary were miniature wooden ship models and wooden furniture elements carved in the shape of ships, with a full sized ship also apparently dedicated in the sanctuary.[471] In the late Archaic Period, ships appear on Samos' coinage, and later still Pausanias writes that the sanctuary was established by sailors from the Argo (Paus. 7.4.4).[472]

The combination of these various aspects of cult suggest that naval power, both military and commercial, may have become a community-wide motif for offerings and display on Samos rather than these offerings being directly related to individuals' sea-faring ventures. This possibility, combined with the very variable value of Egyptian objects in the assemblages where we find Egyptianising objects would suggest that delimiting our consumer group with terms like "merchant" or "sailor" may be a mistake.[473] These terms do not fit well with the overall impression of mobility in the Early Iron Age and Archaic Period. Instead, we must consider why elite and non-elite people within these communities, who might be travelling long or short distances by sea for a variety of reasons, would become fixed upon Egyptian and Egyptianising objects as a means of ritual display.

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[468]Crielaard 2006, p. 279; Pedley 2005, pp. 164-165; Walker 2004, p. 77.

[469] Rituals for Hera might also have a broader link to seafaring, with depictions of her holding a boat of flowers being found at Tiryns and Perachora. Kyrieleis 1993, p. 112.

[470] Pedley 2005, pp. 164-166.

[471] Pedley 2005, pp. 164-166; Kyrieleis 1993, pp. 112-115; Tsakos and Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, p. 111. With the dedication of a full size boat in the temple it is tempting to draw comparisons to ritual boats in Egypt, where sacred boats would process from the water into the temple sanctuary itself. However, no ancient sources indicate that this was the case.

[472] Pedley 2005, pp. 164-166.

[473] Compare, for example, Perachora's fine bronze mirror or Samos' *Sem*-priest statuette with the mass-produced faience of each site. See Appendix 1.

In conclusion, therefore, the sailor consumption hypothesis is a suitable approach to aspects of the evidence for consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greek sanctuary contexts, but inadequate as a sole explanation. Attempting to separate a sailor group of deposits from the wider community is more broadly a difficult (and probably valueless) exercise, and the assemblages from major coastal sites such as Perachora, Samos, and Sounium, inconsistently evidence a specific pattern of behaviour in which returning sailors deposit foreign objects. Accordingly, while the central observation that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are suitable as magical trinkets for the preservation of sailors is rational, we must likely involve other consumers and other motivations in considering Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.

B: *Fertility and Childhood*

While the suggestion of sailor consumption identified the function of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in relation to the consumption contexts' geographical location, G. Hölbl and J. Baumbach propose that these consumption contexts and the drives for consumption are instead defined by gender. Both Hölbl and Baumbach propose that the primary function of all, or almost all, Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in all contexts is to promote procreative fertility and for the protection of women and children.[474] The manner in which each proponent of consumption defined by fertility constructs their argument is considerably different, and it is worth considering the two scholars individually.

In a broader study of votive activity at Hera's sanctuaries Baumbach categorises the assemblages of these sanctuaries, including the Heraeum of Samos and the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora, into major categories. These include fertility, familial concerns, military concerns, and others. Baumbach places *all* Egyptian and Egyptianising objects of all different materials, subjects, and value from these sanctuaries in the category of objects related to fertility.[475] However, why these objects should be considered to be related to fertility is not clearly expressed. Instead, the objects at the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora are presented within the context of a "substantial" field of evidence primarily concerned with

[474] Hölbl 2014, 2008, 1986b; Baumbach 2004.
[475] Baumbach 2004, p. 176.

fertility.[476] For example, objects read to relate primarily to the promotion of fertility at Perachora include twenty-eight statuettes of women holding doves, an unclear number of statuettes holding flowers or fruits, and thirty-eight bone pipes, such as a child would use.[477] These various object types, among others, are represented in a table of results and quantified with a system of ticks, one tick for "0-10" objects, two ticks for "10-20", and three ticks for "20+". All of the above object types are shown with three ticks, indicating that they appear in a quantity of twenty or more, and the total number of these objects is probably around eighty-five in total.[478] As a result, scanning down the list of object types, associations, and quantities in Baumbach's table, we see that most of the three-tick object types are associated with fertility. Also given three ticks, are "amulets" including the nine-hundred Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and all of the orientalising Greek seals, over a thousand objects in total.[479] It seems that, deliberately or not, Baumbach has taken the impression of a much smaller, but equal in his presentation of the data, body of evidence for fertility concerns and applied it without question to a much more varied and much larger body of evidence, including scarabs, seals, statuettes, and so on. This approach to the data fails to makes a credible argument for a relationship between the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and fertility concerns. These results do highlight that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects co-exist in sanctuary contexts with a number of objects plausibly related to the promotion of fertility, and so highlight that promotion of fertility might be a driving factor in the consumption of objects, but do not indicate why Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are used for this purpose, or why they are used in such sporadic concentrations.

For a more thorough assessment of the associations of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and fertility magic, we must turn to the extensive scholarship of Hölbl. Hölbl approaches the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in archaic Greece from the basis of the conclusions he draws on the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising

[476] Baumbach 2004, pp. 17-49, 176.
[477] Baumbach 2004, pp. 17-49, 176.
[478] The account of the terracotta figurines in Jenkins' write up of Perachora's terracottas (Jenkins 1940, pp. 191-255) makes it clear that there are not going to be many more than twenty statuettes with fruit or flowers. Looking at the images of these largely-fragmentary terracotta figurines, it is a little unclear exactly how Baumbach came to her conclusions on the numbers of figures with each type of offering.
[479] Baumbach 2004, p. 176

objects in Phoenician contexts.[480] For Phoenician culture, Hölbl notes the identification of scarabs with fertility in cult activity on Cyprus and the depiction of Hathor in Phoenician art as evidence for the Phoenicians' complete (conceptual and iconographical) adoption of Egyptian fertility magic.[481] The argument linking these observations to the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects by Greeks has four main points:

1) The Phoenicians adopted the Hathor-cow in order to represent fertility, demonstrating wholesale engagement with the Egyptian belief structure and iconography around the concept of fertility. It was this Hathor-cow which was the vehicle for the transference of Egypt's association with fertility magic from the Levant to Greece in the ninth century BC.
2) The sanctuaries in which we find the most substantial assemblages of Egyptian and Egyptianising material are associated with female deities, namely Hera, Athena, and Artemis.[482]
3) Women and children comprise the overwhelming majority of burials in which we find Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in both Phoenician and Greek contexts.
4) Therefore the consumption of all Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is defined by the special relevance of their Egyptian qualities to the promotion of fertility.

My summary is no briefer than Hölbl's own presentation of the argument, as he never offers an expansive explanation of the manner in which all of these observations weave together into a single cohesive hypothesis on the fertility function of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. Nonetheless, Hölbl does repeatedly restate his conclusion that the promotion of fertility and the protection of woman and child are the primary objectives of Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, including in recent scholarship on Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Asia Minor, in 2008 and 2014, stating in the latter that

[480] The argument is presented repeatedly in Hölbl 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 2008, 2014. For the most detailed account see Hölbl 1986b, pp. 197-205.
[481] Hölbl 1986b, pp. 198-199. Whether or not he is correct to do so is questionable, but not necessarily important here.
[482] This correlation is very clear in the Greek assemblages; however Hölbl offers no quantitative analysis of the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Phoenician contexts. Many of the Phoenicians' primary cults are dedicated to women, and I suspect that many of the criticisms applied in this discussion for Hölbl's reading of the Greek assemblages would also be viable in his reading of the Phoenician assemblages.

"die (these objects) in ihrer überwiegenden Mehrheit nach unseren bisherigen Kenntnissen dem Leben der Frauen und Kinder dienen sollten."[483]

Hölbl's argument, however briefly he sets it out, has considerable strengths. In archaic Greece a correlation between contexts involving women, children, and female deities and the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is undeniable.[484] Furthermore, that this pattern exists, according to Hölbl, among both Phoenician and Greek communities' consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects seems significant. In addition, some objects are found in a context which seems broadly to maintain their specific associations with fertility in Egypt, for example the Egyptian bronze mirror from Hera's sanctuary at Perachora can be deemed an especially fitting dedication to the goddess.[485] However, perhaps unsurprisingly for such a briefly outlined theory with such reliance on Phoenician comparanda, there are issues in the development of Hölbl's hypothesis, which will necessitate editing and supplementing his argument. Here I will address each of the three stepping stones to Hölbl's conclusion in turn, reshaping the argument as the discussion develops in order to reach an outlook on the relationship of the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods and fertility magic which can be employed in my own conclusions in section D of this chapter.

1) Hölbl's suggestion that the primary vehicle for the association of fertility with Egyptian material culture is the Hathor-cow motif, which is adopted in the Levant and from there moves to the Greek world via Euboea, is a problematic detail in his broader hypothesis. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the Hathor cow is exceptionally poorly attested among the early Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece, including the scarab inscriptions and the motifs attested in vase art (faience and pottery), and including the objects excavated from Euboea.[486] While Hölbl is keen to highlight a Hathor plaque from the Artemisium at Ephesus, too little further evidence of the motif in Greek contexts exists to expressly associate the motif with fertility, let alone to suggest that the image had such impact as to shape the Greek

[483] Hölbl 2014, pp. 194-195; 2008, pp. 209-215.
[484] See Appendix 1 for the sanctuaries of Athena at Cameiros, Lindos, Ialysos, Smyrna, and Sounium, the sanctuaries of Hera at Samos and Perachora, and of Artemis at Ephesus.
[485] Payne 1940, pp. 142-143.
[486] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1188-1194, 1250-1253, 1256. There are cows on certain items, but the iconography very rarely suggests that the cow is Hathor.

perception of all Egyptian or Egyptianising material culture.[487] Secondly, that the Middle Iron Age Phoenicians held Hathor as the principle symbol of fertility might be questioned, as there is some evidence that Isis had taken her place in certain aspects of Phoenician theology.[488] Therefore, if the Greeks did hold Egyptian material culture to be particularly applicable for the magical promotion of fertility and protection of women, and children, there is too little evidence that the Hathor-cow motif was the vehicle for such a powerful idea.

This criticism does not sink the broader fertility-magic hypothesis but suggests that, if correct, Hölbl has focussed on the wrong iconographical vehicle for the concept. By the first millennium BC Hathor's role as the fertility goddess has been syncretised into the function of several other deities.[489] As stated above, of these deities Isis appears most popular in Phoenicia. However, while the *kourotrophos* motif of Isis nursing Harpocrates appears among Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greek contexts, it is not especially prominent and not replicated by Greek workshops. Instead, the familial unit of Sekhmet, the Memphite fertility goddess,[490] Ptah, depicted in his Memphite dwarf-form with particular associations to apotropaic magic,[491] and Nefertem, the son from whose head the lotus of (re-)creation flowers, is surely the amuletic or iconographical manifestation of widespread associations of Egypt with fertility, if these existed, as this familial unit is by far the most popular Egyptian deity group found represented in the Aegean.

If we discard the significance of the Hathor-cow motif and the Phoenician transmission of their own fertility rituals to Greece, we must question how Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, including these deities of the Memphite Triad, would come to specific relevance to fertility magic. One option is that this material culture simply did not have this relevance. An alternative explanation would be that the Phoenicians conveyed the importance of the Memphite Triad to Greece, but Phoenician involvement in Greek contacts with Egyptian material culture has already been questioned. A third, compelling, option is that the Memphite Triad were associated with the hyper-fertility of the Egyptian Delta due to direct Greek contacts in the region. Herodotus (2.14) would later tell us that the Memphite

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[487] Hölbl 2008, p. 221. Another example can be found on Rhodes, Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 2051, obj. #3144.
[488] Zernecke 2013, pp. 226-242.
[489] Budin 2011, pp. 35-148.
[490] Budin 2011, p. 49.
[491] Dasen 2008, p. 1.

region was so fertile that the farmers simply had to throw down their seeds and allow the river to provide for them. While it is unclear if or when Egypt might have become a provider of grain to the Greeks, it seems that those Greeks who visited Egypt were impressed by the agricultural abundance offered by the Nile.[492]

In sum, while I largely disagree with the details of Hölbl's argument, I concur that there is sufficient grounds for a strong impression of Egyptian fertility to have been made on early Greek travellers, and for this to have had a role in the subsequent consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects.

2) The next step in Hölbl's argument uses the fact that the consumption of most Egyptian and Egyptianising objects occur in the sanctuaries of female deities as evidence that the primary consumers of such objects were women seeking to promote their fertility. However, it is flawed to draw a straightforward link between the female gender of a sanctuary's deity and the consumption of all objects at the sanctuary for the promotion of fertility. We have already seen that some activity at Samos' sanctuary of Hera had clear associations with maritime power. Similarly, the assemblage from the sanctuary of Athena at Sounium appears to evidence the ritual consumption of weapons and tools.[493] As such, Hölbl is wrong to use the gender of a sanctuary's deity as a significant means of identifying the connotations of objects deposited at that sanctuary. Nonetheless, more defensible conclusions on a relationship between fertility magic and the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in sanctuaries can be drawn, with some care.

Fertility magic, though not the only focus of ritual activity, is very likely to have been an aspect of cult at Samos and elsewhere.[494] Consumers addressing concerns either for procreative or crop fertility expressed through private individual actions or wider festivals, or community fertility in festivals and other community ritual may have been drawn to Egyptian

[492] Foxall (1998, pp. 295-309) sets out the argument that while Egyptian grain might not have been *needed* in the Archaic Period (see Garnsey 1988), Egyptian grain, much like Nilotic fish on Cyprus, might have become a desirable product. In either case, the dense greenery of the Nilotic landscape means that there does not need to have been a grain trade in order for the Greeks to associate Egypt with growth and fertility.

[493] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 144.

[494] Larson (2007, p. 33) suggests that representations of pomegranates and pinecones from Samos are indicative of fertility ritual, however the pomegranate is depicted as a fitting gift for Zeus (?) on pottery (see Chapter 5) and so we cannot be certain in how we attribute such offerings.

and Egyptianising objects as symbols of the hyper-fertile Nile region related to them in stories by travellers. Who were these consumers? Hölbl suggests, on the basis of a tiny selection of evidence from Sarepta, in Phoenicia, that consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects to enact fertility magic was a popular religion, engaged with by poor women.[495] This notion fits with certain evidence from Greece, including women's role in images of cult activity involving symbols associated with fertility, such as the pomegranate, and Plato's later, deriding, attribution of most superstitious religious activity to women.[496] However, the rich variety of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at Greek sites certainly do not appear to reflect the interests of only one class of consumer, and nor does fertility necessarily connote one gender of consumer. Budin, in her book *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age*, launches an effective attack on the assumption that fertility is an especially female-gendered concern across the ancient Mediterranean, Egypt and the Near-East.[497] Therefore, even if the promotion of fertility is a key consideration in the use of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, we need to clarify that this consideration could apply both privately and on a state level, among the elite and non-elite, and to both men and women. With this, significant, caveat, there is no reason to deny that some extent of the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greek sanctuary contexts was driven by an association of such objects with the hyper-fertility of Egypt. However, it remains the case that this explanation does not do enough to explain the extraordinary regional variations in the Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, or the types of objects involved.

3) Hölbl places most emphasis on the final piece in his argument for the association of Egyptian material culture and fertility, the evidence that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are particularly prevalent among Greek and Phoenician burials of women and children, which provides his most (perhaps only) compelling evidence for a causal relationship between the Greek and Phoenician use of these objects. However, his conclusion that the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in funerary contexts was driven by a desire for fertility magic needs two assumptions to be correct in order to work. First, a correlation must be identified between the burial of women and children and the consumption of Egyptian and

[495] Hölbl 1986b, p. 199.
[496] See Chapter 5, on the "bound-god" motif for images of women offering pomegranates. Pl. *Laws,* 909e.
[497] Budin 2011, esp. pp. 1-34.

Egyptianising objects. Second, the drives for this consumption must be shown to have been fertility.

Hölbl is correct to highlight that the majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greek funerary contexts come from the graves of women and children.[498] However, whether this shows that these objects were deemed *especially* applicable to these contexts is uncertain, though quite probable. This is because the basic observation that the graves of women and children yield the majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods is problematized by the demographics of burials in the Archaic Period, and by considerations of gender in burials. Morris' research, focussing on Attica but with wider relevance, highlights a few issues with Hölbl's observation:

a) Infant mortality was so high that child graves can be expected to represent a high proportion of burials, as much as about 50%.[499] Cremation was more common for adults, especially adult males, and became the norm for adults after 700 BC.[500]
b) The peak of Archaic Period child burials at Athens, roughly paralleled elsewhere, was in the late-eighth century, about one generation after the peak for adults in the mid-eighth century. The peak in child burials corresponds with the period in which we find that the volume of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects increases in sanctuary contexts, both at Perachora and on Rhodes, and the production of such objects likely begins on Rhodes.[501]
c) Children were more likely to be buried with funerary goods in the early Archaic Period.[502] Accordingly, with children comprising such a large proportion of burials, we would expect the evidence for funerary goods of various kinds to be significantly skewed towards association with child burials.

While one has to be very cautious in extending Attic trends to the wider Aegean, the sum of these points is that we would expect the evidence to appear especially high for the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in child burial contexts, as these child

[498] See Appendix 1, the pattern is especially pronounced at Pithecusae, which may be skewing the overall perspective on the issue.
[499] Morris 1987, p. 58.
[500] Morris 1987, pp. 20-21.
[501] Morris 1987, p. 73.
[502] Morris 1987, pp. 20-21.

burial contexts represent a high proportion of the total excavated contexts for the consumption of funerary goods contemporary to the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods in sanctuary contexts at Perachora and on Rhodes. This trend is exacerbated and illustrated by examples such as the excavated Serraglio cemeteries of Cos, where 88% of the burials are of children and the location of the burials of the rest of the adult community is unknown.[503] Among the graves of this cemetery, the funerary goods of the child burials with objects are generally much more numerous and richer than the funerary good buried with the adults.[504] We must, therefore, see the apparent correlation of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and child burials within the wider context of relatively high proportions of child burials and of child burials with valuable grave goods. Accordingly, whether or not Egyptian and Egyptianising objects are *especially* relevant to these contexts is not quite so clear cut as Hölbl states.

There are also complications in the assertion of gender in adult graves. Some graves, such as the Isis grave, contained remains which have been identified as belonging to a biological gender, in this case female.[505] However, an "anthropological" approach, using grave objects to attribute gender to a grave's inhabitant, is less accurate, and this is the approach which Hölbl identifies for his central evidence.[506] There is generally a less obvious distinction between male and female burials than there is between child and adult, and so it is worth approaching the anthropologically assigned gender of graves with some caution.[507] This issue is demonstrated at Tiryns, where an all-adult cemetery has been described as containing mostly female bodies on the basis of grave goods, particularly jewellery.[508] However, the gender connotations of Egyptian or Egyptianising faience jewellery are not clear, and one of the graves contained such jewellery alongside weapons, making the attribution of gender identity through the most obvious gendering of material culture seem unreliable.[509] In Egypt, jewellery and fertility amulets are appropriate goods for both male

[503] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1957.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Young and Angel 1939, p. 234.
[506] Hölbl 1986, p. 203, n. 9. Weglian, in "Grave Goods Do Not a Gender Make" (2001, pp. 137-157), presents a sceptical view of anthropological approaches. Her broader concerns are with the possibility of exceptions to gender normalities in graves, such as males buried in a typical female position.
[507] Whitley 2001, p. 96.
[508] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 777.
[509] Tiryns "Grave 23". Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 777.

and female tombs.[510] The sum of these concerns is that what seems to be a pattern of high consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in child or "female" burial contexts may not bear directly on the meaning of these objects, especially as all child burials seem to be more likely to receive any forms of goods deemed either a) valuable, through a process of gift exchange or purchase, or b) magically potent in any way, be this for fertility or otherwise.

The second step in attributing Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from burials to the association of such objects with fertility magic is that the association of fertility, in the procreative sense, with the burial of children is quite obscure and needs more explanation. Why a deceased child should be buried with Egyptian and Egyptianising objects related to childbirth is unclear, especially when so many of these objects were plausibly acquired for or used in burial contexts only, being too large and delicate to be worn by children in life.[511] Nonetheless, Hölbl is insistent that grave goods reflect priorities and possessions of the deceased in life, not in death.[512] It is more convincing, I propose, to suggest that Egyptian and Egyptianising goods in the grave served for the protection and rejuvenation of the deceased. Looking back to Egypt, the funerary jewellery, female deity objects, and female figurines associable with fertility found in burial contexts do not only relate to fertility in life, but also and primarily to fecundity in death, fitting with the wider assemblage of common burial goods' focus on the successful regeneration of the deceased in the afterlife, such as funerary texts, spell amulets, and stelae.[513] The idea that the Greeks sought to provide regenerative or protective goods for the deceased would need to be corroborated by further evidence, for example the observation that on fifth-century *lekythoi* depicting Charon, we find him caring primarily, in fact almost exclusively, for women and children. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable, and suffices here, to conclude that such items were not necessarily left-overs from life and attributable to fertility, but might have instead been seen as adaptable to functions specific to funerary contexts, be these protective or rejuvenating.

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[510] An often used example of a male tomb with many objects also used to represent familial/fertility concerns is the Dynasty XVIII tomb of Setau (T1352). Wilfong 2010, pp. 174-175; Silverman 2003, p. 85, 227; Budin 2011, pp. 1-34; Meskell 1998, p. 368.
[511]See for example the child burials on Cos, containing large and delicate faience necklaces. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1960, 1969-1975.
[512] Hölbl 2008, pp. 210-2011, 1986b, p. 200.
[513] Silverman 2003, p. 85, 227; Meskell 1998, p. 368; Budin 2011, pp. 1-34; Schmitz 2002, p. 819; Taylor 2010, 236.

In conclusion, the definition of all Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising goods as participation in fertility magic is impossible to prove or disprove, but it is improbable, and not convincingly argued by Hölbl. It is unlikely that the Phoenician Hathor-cow motif transported a notion of Egypt as particularly capable in fertility magic, but other aspects of Greek contact with Phoenicians or Egyptians could certainly have led to such a conclusion. Considering the abundant vegetation of Nilotic landscapes and the fact that Egypt may have been a source of desirable grains, the imagination of Egypt as hyper-fertile would be unsurprising.[514] Associations of Egypt with fertility of the land or of people, therefore, may have played an important role in the popularity of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in many Greeks contexts. This role cannot, however, be defined as the private magic of women, for fertility magic is widely applicable in respect of gender and participation. Furthermore, in funerary contexts we may need to nuance the reading of such objects more than Hölbl was willing to, viewing these as protective objects or as hopes for rejuvenation rather than out of place references to procreative fertility. Finally, as with the sailor-consumer hypothesis, there is little in this approach which explains the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and the apparently local nature of their desirability.

C: *State and Personal Relationships*

The attribution of archaic Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects to sailors or to those concerned with fertility offers ways of interpreting Greek individual and community interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, but to round out the picture of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece we must also discuss the acquisition and consumption of Egyptian material within the structures of inter-state relations.

In Chapter 1, I highlighted that direct contacts between Greek hubs and Egypt can be proposed to be a significant interface of exchange for extensive Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, though such a model is far from certain. Thinking about gift exchange as a form of consumption is appealing, as when we think about the consumption of Egyptian-produced objects, a first step might be to look at Egyptian objects as a display of status by the elite, based on the foreign-value and scarcity of the object. However, we would

[514] Syropoulis 2007, p. 89; Foxall 1998, pp. 295-309.

generally expect to find that the material culture of the elite is imitative, and that what was an elite object on Rhodes would also be an elite object elsewhere in the Mediterranean. This would not necessarily totally flatten out the distribution of such objects, but should make their distribution less uneven, with more obvious Greek-Greek links. However, as has been stated, Egyptian objects have a universal, but definitely not equal, appeal among Greek communities. The question, therefore, is what would cause Egyptian objects to gain a high, localised prestige, and fits with our understanding of the social history of the Archaic Period. An answer could be found if these objects were framed within reciprocal gifting, a practice well attested across Egypt, Greece, and the Near-East, and gained importance through that process.[515] This section of Chapter 3 considers the possible impact of such gift exchange upon the consumption of Egyptian objects in the Archaic Period.

Mycenaean relations with Egypt are well established, with gift exchange seeming to have played an important role in arranging connections between Mycenaean and Egyptian palaces, to such an extent that an "Egyptian room" for the reception of Egyptian emissaries at Mycenae has been proposed.[516] The evidence for these connections is both archaeological and textual. We find Mycenaean pottery in Egypt, including at El Armana, and Egyptian objects at Mycenae, including faience plaques bearing the name of the king Amenhotep III. We also find references to gifts from the kings of an Aegean state, Tanaju, in the annals of Thutmose III.[517] These relationships may well have also included military aspects, suggested in the depiction of what appear to be Mycenaean warriors fighting alongside Egyptians on a papyrus from El Armana, and the excavation of a perforated boar tusk, such as would be attached to armour, at Pi-ramesse.[518] Such offerings could either indicate direct military involvement or symbolise support.

In contrast, the interstate/interpersonal interactions of archaic Greece and Egypt are poorly covered in scholarship, in particular for the period between c. 800 and 660 BC. For the Saite kings, and especially Necho II, we have evidence perfectly parallel to that of the

[515] See Gunter (2009, esp. pp. 124-154) for a recent discussion of gifting among the Greeks, Assyrians, and Egyptians. See also Mitchell 1997.
[516] For Mycenaean connections with Egypt see: Wijngaarden 2011, pp. 225-249; Kelder 2010, pp. 125-140, 2009 pp. 339-352.
[517]Kelder 2010, pp. 125-140. The olive is also proposed as an important feature of these interactions, based upon Egyptian mural from El-Armana. Kelder 2009, pp. 339-352.
[518] Kelder 2010, pp. 126-127.

Mycenaean Period. Faience inlays naming Necho II have been excavated from the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos, and Herodotus makes mention of military clothing dedicated by Necho II and Ahmose to Greek sanctuaries (Hdt. 2.159, 2.182).[519] The evidence indicates that interstate relations, with a military element, were re-established and booming by c.600 BC at the latest. However, this affirmative evidence post-dates the period that I suggest to be most critical in shaping the Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, the eighth and early-seventh centuries, in which mass-production of Egyptianising objects begins on Rhodes and Egyptian objects are dedicated on Rhodes and Samos in large numbers.[520]

Identifying the details and drives of the consumption of Egyptian objects at Greek sites within the framework of gift-exchange with Egypt, and whether we should consider that the expression of direct contacts in such gift exchange truly re-emerged only in the latter half of the Archaic Period, when an "Egyptianising phenomenon" was arguably well underway, or were a constant feature from the earliest Greek contacts with Egypt, are quite clearly tasks of critical importance. Addressing these issues not only will enable us to broaden the picture of Greek consumption, but also to understand better the interactions of the consumption of Egyptian objects with that of Egyptianising objects. I will start by building a clearer picture of Saite gift-exchange, responding to the recent work of Kousoulis, and Morenz. After some discussion of the later, better evidenced period, I will explore the options for Greek and Egyptian gift exchange in the Archaic Period between c. 800-660 BC.

Studying the contacts of Rhodes with the court of the Dynasty XXVI (Saite) kings, and in particular Necho II, Kousoulis and Morenz express a desire to define interstate relations as reflecting overlapping political, religious, ideological, and trade concerns.[521] They therefore propose to examine the "Egyptianisation" of Rhodes through dedications of four types: public Egyptian, private Egyptian, stately Greek, and private Greek.[522] The only one of these four types which they have thus-far developed is that of public Egyptian, of

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[519] For discussion of these faience inlays see: Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2355-2372, obj. # 4354-4374 and Kousoulis and Morenz 2007.

[520] See "Rhodes" and "Samos" in Appendix 1. While Samos' most famous connections to Egypt occur in the sixth century many of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from datable contexts predate this, some considerably. The consumption of such objects on Samos appears to have begun in the late-eighth or seventh century.

[521] Kousoulis 2012a, p. 1; Kousoulis 2012b, p. 291; Kousoulis and Morenz 2008, p. 137. .

[522] Kousoulis 2012a, p. 1; Kousoulis and Morenz 2008, p. 137.

which they conclude: "pharaonic donations can be understood as materialisations of a polysemic economy in the horizon of the ecumene".[523] However, the terminology of this statement masks what is, in fact, quite a straightforward set of observations.

Kousoulis and Morenz identify a transactional model for the relationship of "donators", objects, and gods in which there existed a correlation between the appropriate types of offerings and the primary nature of the cult, citing Baumbach (whose approach has been critiqued above).[524] For example the association of Hera and Bastet made the feline representations of Bastet from the Samian Heraeum particularly appropriate dedications.[525] They also argue that the aim of state Egyptian donations was for the Egyptian pharaohs to "accustom themselves to the Greek tradition".[526] Therefore, when Necho II dedicated his military dress c.600 BC to the Milesian sanctuary of Apollo, administered by the Branchidae (Hdt. 2.159), Kousoulis and Morenze interpret this as Necho consciously meshing political and religious messages. The act of dedication and the choice of military dress sought to compound and promote the military connections between Miletus and Egypt, their alliances and the use of Milesian mercenaries. Simultaneously the dedication of the armour at the sanctuary of Apollo was religiously appropriate as Apollo is associable with archery and war and Egypt's equivalent to Apollo, Horus, is also associable with war.[527] In support of such a conclusion Kousoulis and Morenz highlight that Necho's dedication of a shrine to Athena at Ialysos is especially fitting as Athena can be paralleled with Neith, an important deity at Sais.[528]

Perhaps by the time of Necho II, late in the seventh century, the Egyptian and Greek elite were operating with a cross-cultural understanding of the appropriateness of individual offerings for individual cults. Nonetheless, we can question the extent to which we can draw associations between parallels in Egyptian and Greek cult and the consumption of particular objects in the contexts of interstate/interpersonal rituals. Both the dedication of the military cuirass to Apollo and the dedication of a shrine at Ialysos have been taken as signs that Necho was operating within a desire to accustom himself to the local Greek traditions.

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523 Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, p. 188.
524 Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, pp. 179-180; Baumbach 2004, pp. 3-4.
525 Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, p. 188.
526 Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, p. 181.
527 Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, p. 187.
528 Ibid.

However, the Milesian sanctuary of Apollo at Miletus and the Ialysian sanctuary of Athena are both the most substantial sanctuaries of their respective communities. If the Egyptians were to have given state dedications to other, more obscure sanctuaries it might be more indicative of targeted religious concerns, but it is difficult to argue this when evidence simply points to dedications at the primary sanctuary associated with a particular *polis*. This is especially true when one considers that the remaining portions of the shrine Necho dedicated to Ialysos' Athena show no explicit connection to Neith, and only bear Necho II's titles.[529]

Kousoulis' and Morenz' case, therefore, rests upon the dedication of a cuirass to Apollo at Miletus. This offering was very appropriate for Necho II's political message, namely his military alliance with the Milesians and perhaps particularly the Branchidae, but whether it was considered as a particular representation of the links between Horus and Apollo is impossible to say. As the cuirass is specifically said to be the one worn by Necho II in war, it is a representation of personal power, in keeping with his shrine above, and also with the painted and sculpted self-representations sent by Ahmose to Cyrene, Lindos, and Samos (Hdt. 2.182), and the statues and inscribed objects sent by the Dynasty XXII and XXIII rulers to Byblos.[530] For Egyptian emissaries abroad, consecration of royal power was as important as divine, as is further evidenced in the inscriptions from the tomb of an emissary, Sennefer, discussed below, wherein gifts are given to Byblos with prayers promoting the pharaoh's well-being. While religious gifts are also known, for example a gold image of Athena supposedly sent by Ahmose to Cyrene which must have been a representation of an Egyptian goddess (Hdt. 2.182), that the cuirass was particularly or deliberately associated with Apollo is doubtful, and the same could be said of the cuirass allegedly sent by Ahmose to the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos (Hdt. 2.182).

State gifts, therefore, may have acted to "accustom" the Egyptian rulers to the Greeks to a certain extent, but the calculation of the impact of these objects appears to be primarily political, and there is little to indicate that the possible religious parallels as Egyptian and Greek deities ever received quite the concerted attention that Kousoulis and Morenz propose. This conclusion might be supported by the fact that Herodotus ties such objects into his narrative of interstate politics rather than his discussion of parallels in the Egyptian and Greek

[529] Kousoulis and Morenz 2007, pp. 185-187.
[530] Markoe 1990, p. 22.

pantheons.[531] It also becomes clear that when we come to consider the consumption of these interstate offerings, we cannot so much speak of an individual consumption context as of a consumption narrative. For the Saite pharaohs and their representatives, Egypt's state gifts to Greek sanctuaries start "life" (that is to say, they acquire meaning and function) in Egyptian contexts and, much like those previously given to Mycenae or to Byblos, seem to be pointed self-propaganda. Both in Egypt and in Greece, Egypt's state-offerings could be considered to reinforce the popular Egyptian conception of the ruler as conqueror and to spread the presence of royal identity. The types of objects that they dedicate are, therefore, to be steered as much by these considerations as by Greek desires or religious appropriateness, though in turn, of course, these local elites bore the prestige of controlling the symbolically and materially valuable interactions of foreign and local wealth and dedications. Furthermore, for both the pharaoh and for his local partners, who must have organised not only trade, but also the drawing up of mercenary forces, military dedications also symbolised an important and mutually comprehensible facet of their political engagement.[532]

While the religious associations of these objects for each culture cannot be equated without caution, there is probably a mutual understanding among both parties that exchanges are best expressed in religious contexts with the consumption of Egyptian objects maintaining a potent sacral element, at least if we consider the civic sanctuary and not an individual recipient to be the initial point of Greek consumption. Whether or not this latter point can be considered to be the case probably varies between objects. As the types of state dedications of Saite kings are so comparable to those of the New Kingdom, the practices, as evidenced in the Sennefer tomb, could also reasonably be assumed to be comparable, with Egyptian emissaries directly offering objects in a sacred context. However, the basalt Egyptian statuette inscribed in Greek for Smyrdês and found in the sanctuary of Athena at Cameiros may, perhaps, represent a gift acquired in Egypt and then brought back to Rhodes for inscription and re-consumption in the Greek sacred context.[533] Consequently, our picture of the consumption of Egyptian objects in the latter half of the Greek Archaic Period, contemporary to the Saite pharaohs, is a rich tapestry of consumption narratives, enacted

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[531] Hdt. 2.159, 2.180, 2.182, and 3.47.

[532] *Epikouroi* in Egypt were most likely to have been operating in small groups organised by individuals such as Amphimeos, who dedicated a statue at Kale (Hieropolis Archaeology Museum in Pamukkale, Turkey), which is consistent with the Egyptian practice of hiring foreign troops and giving them small amounts of land, which was rented from temples. Broodbank 2013, p. 456.

[533]Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1989-1990, obj. #3011.

primarily in sacred spaces and underpinned by a religious ritual framework, but driven by the interests of elites from both parties to be associated with control over the symbolic and material value of their wider connections.

This notion of pointedly political exchange fits well for the Saite Period. In the Saite Period we can be relatively confident that the pharaohs sought Greek alliances and that a flow of *epikouroi*, metals, foodstuffs, and other goods constituted bulk exchange between Egypt and Greece, with gifts serving to help to establish, express and, therefore, reinforce these arrangements. However, can we apply such concepts of donations and gifts to the pre-Saite period?

Gunter is keen to emphasise that there need not be such a significant commercial or military undercurrent to the exchange of high value objects.[534] She is probably close to getting to the heart of things when she observes that gift exchange is essentially giving in order to get what you want, mirroring Shipley's conclusion that archaic trade was pointed and acquisitive.[535] For Gunter gift exchange was propelled by the Greek conception that intrinsically valuable objects which conveyed a sense of spatial distance were supernaturally charged. Further, if Homeric accounts are a guide, they also became socio-politically charged, acquiring a heritage of elite ownership and prestige value as they passed through notable ownership.[536] Thus, the afore-mentioned example of Necho II's armour could be said to have value in its biography, being witness to an important war, and in the distance it has travelled, as well as in the immediate socio-political, religious, and economic contexts in which it is consumed. However, in discussing the amuletic and pre-Saite Egyptian material, it seems that Gunter drifts from the models of gift exchange and reciprocity applied to other, Near-Eastern, objects and towards a model of one-directional and apolitical Greek acquisition of Egyptian objects for purely Greek motivations.

At least partially steering this drift, and where Gunter misses the mark, is the fact that she follows Skon-Jedele in stating that the Egyptian faience objects, such as those found in wealthy Attic or Euboean burials, were not intrinsically valuable and therefore must have become important having taken a substantial amount of additional value from their magical

[534] Gunter 2009, p. 139
[535] Ibid. Shipley 1987, p. 62; Humphreys 1978, p. 167.
[536] Whitley 2013, pp. 395-416. Kopytoff 1986, pp. 64-91.

properties, accentuated by distance.[537] The notion that these objects acquired different and additional value in their movement to Greek contexts is understandable but the suggestion that they lacked intrinsic value seems a little strange, as one could presume that in order to apply models of ritualised gift exchange to interpersonal or interstate interactions, gifts must be appropriate in the perception both of the giver and the receiver, even if in different ways or on different levels. The consumption narrative of all gifts begins in their selection as a gift. This is certainly suggested in the inscriptions from Sennefer's tomb, in which the many objects presented at a shrine near Byblos in an act of ritual gifting to establish a trade deal are dedicated directly from the Egyptian emissaries to the pharaoh and Horus and so must presumably have been deemed appropriate offerings by those at both ends of the exchange.

Furthermore, the idea that we can really separate intrinsic and non-intrinsic value in faience objects, which have such universal importance in Egypt, is questionable, and so whether or not the Greeks would view the material as deficient in intrinsic value, at the very least until the establishment of the Rhodian faience factories, and probably after.[538] With the Greeks seemingly lacking the ability to create faience themselves, let alone large and elaborate faience jewellery, the blue-glazed and moulded material must surely have been as remarkable as metal, and could have attained value through its scarcity, fragility, and its colour and glazed finish, as well as its distant origins and magical functions. We can, therefore, consider that the Egyptian objects from early-archaic contexts, such as burials in Attica and on Cos, may have initially been suitable gifts from the Egyptian kings to those with whom they conducted direct dealings.

The notion of absent value, however, is not what causes the most difficulties in suggesting that such direct dealings can form part of the consumption of Egyptian objects at Greek sites before the latter half of the Archaic Period. What is most problematic is the apparent lack of a clear mesh of eighth- or early-seventh-century archaeological and textual evidence which is present for Saite gifts in the late-seventh and sixth century. Firstly, there is no single, substantial object as clearly identifiable with a prominent individual pharaoh as the faience-work from Ialysos or Mycenae. Secondly, there is little evidence of direct Greek involvement in Egypt prior to the Saite Period. Both of these issues are, however, negotiable.

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[537] Gunter 2009, pp. 141-142; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 21-22, 95, 105.

[538] Considering the high quality of Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Egyptian faience, in comparison to the rough work of Rhodes' factories. Nicholson 1993, pp. 28-41.

To address the first issue, we can highlight that Greek interaction with the fractured kingdoms ruling Egypt between c.800 and c.660 BC could be said to be evidenced in the assortment of Egyptian royal names found on scarabs and other faience objects from the eighth century. These included a number of references on scarabs to a contemporary Delta kinglet "Menkare" and the use of the short-ruling, late-eighth century Dynasty XXIV king Bakenrenef's name on a roughly contemporary scarab at Pithecusae and two faience vases from Sicily.[539] The evidence is significantly less tangible than that for the later period, but there is some room for manoeuvre, especially if we consider that these eighth-century rulers were quite plausibly also utilising goods removed from much older tombs as gifts.[540]

The second problem, which is that the Egyptians of the early archaic archaeological record, and even later as far as prestige goods are concerned, are all give and no take, by which I mean to highlight that there is a lack of significant corresponding Greek luxury objects appearing in Egyptian contexts to those Egyptian objects appearing in Greece, is perhaps less significant. Greek interactions with the Levant have generally appeared to leave minimal mark on Levantine archaeology in the Early Iron Age. Nonetheless, exploring the issue highlights an important consideration.

One explanation of the issue would be to think of early archaic Greece's prestigious material culture as so dominated by Levantine and Egyptian riches that they simply recycled these back to the Egyptians. The second, most popular, explanation is the role of Phoenician intermediaries. We have clear, if exaggerated, indications that such prestige objects could move widely between owners in Homer's account of the sceptre of Agamemnon (*Il.*2.102-108). If the Egyptian objects had passed through Phoenician hands then, as is the case for Boardman, Austin, Dunbabin, and others, one need not consider that direct contact with Egypt affected the consumption of Egyptian material culture in Greek contexts until the latter half of the seventh century. However, the arguments against this, based upon the range and details of the objects, have been stated in Chapter 2, and we can point to the tight chronology between production and consumption for objects including the Bakenrenef scarab of

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[539] Ritner 2009, p. 444; Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 341, 1269.

[540] For an example of tomb recycling in the Third Intermediate and Late period see, for example, the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96), which was re-used extensively in the Third Intermediate Period, with a total of 14, 000 coffin fragments having been dated to the Third Intermediate Period, as well as an array of other burial goods. http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds.html [22/02/2015]; Hodel-Hoenes 2000, pp. 117-139.

Pithecusae and the faience and bronze of Samos and Rhodes, as evidence of direct contact from the mid-eighth century on.

A third solution and perhaps a more satisfactory one, is to highlight that gift exchange with Egypt, both in the Early Archaic and Late Archaic Period, was asymmetrical, with the Egyptians less concerned with the acquisition of prestige goods and more interested in influence, alliances, and strategic materials. Sennefer's tomb, out of context as it may be, demonstrates how such a process might work:

> in the place where I was and [my expedition] was happy …
> I entered /// this mountain…
> above the clouds. I entered the forest [The goddess appeared to me] /// [I caused]
> the presenting to her of offerings of millions of things concerning [the life, prosperity, and health of your majesty] … [Then she permitted me to take these trees]
> therefrom. Byblos gave them to her Horus for her satisfaction. I caused [that trees be cut down]
> from the choicest thereof. I brought 60 cubits in [their] length …
> they being of the highest quality, the upper parts thereof being thick[er than] …
> I [brought] them [down] from the hills of the god's land, and they approached the edge of the forest … [The barges were loaded, and I travelled on the]
> sea with a good wind and came (successfully) to [land] …
>
> (TT 99, Wall 4, lines 6-14)[541]

Like the Saite kings' desire for mercenaries and allies centuries later, Sennefer is after a specific strategic resource, timber (likely for the construction of ships). In order to acquire this resource he dedicates an array of objects directly to the sanctuary of a local deity soon after arriving on the Levantine coast, before negotiating the deal at the civic centre. The people of Byblos are not accounted to mirror his dedication at the sanctuary; instead the wood itself is their contribution to the god Horus. Therefore, for the Egyptians, the acquisition of strategic resources is directly couched in religious terms, they dedicate religious objects for the prosperity of their pharaoh and god, and in return Byblos "dedicates"

[541] Translation from: http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds.html [22/02/2015]. See also, Hodel-Hoenes 2000, pp. 117-139.

the wood to their god. The redistribution and repurposing of these dedications is left open to both participants in the deal.

In Chapter 1 I highlighted how the political situation in Egypt in the late eighth century was ripe for the rulers of Memphis to engage in the pursuit of similar strategic resources and allies, with Assyria controlling Phoenician trade of strategic resources and power struggles raging between Egyptian princes. In light of the form of exchange outlined above, it is plausible to conclude that a fair amount of the increasing volume of Egyptian objects which were consumed in Greek contexts, on Rhodes, Samos, Euboea, and at Perachora, found their way into Greek consumption contexts having been a part of ritualised exchange between Egypt and either individuals or sanctuaries in these communities. If so, it is quite possible that some number were actually direct dedications by an Egyptian cohort visiting a notable local sanctuary, as in the above example. In any case, once such objects were within the Greek world they could then be left in dedication to the deity, building a visual, biographical monument to the interstate and interpersonal relationships that they embodied (such as Herodotus can later encounter) or be passed around through consumption contexts until a final use or breakage, having desirable material qualities, added magical value from distance, and biographical value from the possession of a notable foreign king.[542]

The development of an argument for gift-exchange between Egypt and Greece in the period before the Saite kings is, therefore, viable but laboured. Why should we consider such an exercise worth consideration? Simply put, the wealth of pre-Saite objects in funerary and temple contexts on Euboea, Perachora, Rhodes, and Samos is too great to imagine that there was no elite involvement, and there is cause to believe that Phoenician traders or sailors were not mediating contact between Greeks and Egyptians. If such contacts took place, it is reasonable to suppose that some of them occurred within the well-established inter-elite framework of gift exchange. Nonetheless, with so little clear evidence it is only with caution that I suggest that a certain amount of the consumption of Egyptian objects in Greek contexts pre- 660 BC may also have been defined by direct interstate/interpersonal Greek relations with Egypt.

[542] For an example of a gift-exchange object being “traded up”, see Hdt. 3.47, It might be that objects we find in funerary contexts, such as the elaborate, adult-sized faience necklace found on a Euboean child (Grave T 22 from Lefkandi c. 900-875 BC, Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1207-1209, obj. #1509-1562) were acquired specifically for the child’s burial, but these could also have been heirlooms or gifts which had circulated for some time before their final deposition.

What remains is to consider what impact this form of consumption may have had on the others discussed in this chapter, of mass-produced objects and in funerary contexts, and to attempt to link all of these observations and conclusions together in a more holistic evaluation of the consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and the drives for consumption.

D: *Reconciling patterns in consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects*

The patterns of the Greek consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising material can appear disparate and unmanageable but we must attempt to bring them together, as they are clearly associated.

Firstly, we must collapse together fertility and sailors' luck, together with a range of other magically charged motivations. The contexts and nature of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, though they lean somewhat towards a fertility and rejuvenation interpretation, defy the attribution of consumption to a specific consumer group, motivated by a singular set of desires. Instead, it is more manageable to conclude that most of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, which are almost exclusively of religious or magical subjects, should be held to be consumed by those wishing to engage in some form of magical or religious transaction, protective or otherwise beneficial. That this function was also applicable in funerary consumption contexts, even where the object was clearly only worn in death and not in life, is indicative of the breadth and strength of the magical associations of Egyptian, and not long afterwards Egyptianising, objects.

The magical value of these objects, according to Gunter, might be explained through the distance that they travelled. However, the Egyptianising objects from contexts such as Lindos, or even Perachora, have not travelled a great distance from a foreign land if they have been produced at a Rhodian factory. Whence then, do they derive their value? Undoubtedly the grotesque and dumorphous nature of certain amulets was appealing, as was the material quality of the faience, but we can also detect in the deliberate emphasis of their Egyptian qualities. We can see this both in the use of faience to represent, again and again, Egyptian deities of characteristic features, the dwarf Pataikos, lion-headed Sekhmet, and lotus-crowned Nefertem. Moreover, it is evident in the inaccurate, but certainly very deliberate, application of hieroglyphs to many hundreds of Greek-produced scarabs. Therefore, these objects, certainly from the late eighth century, if not before, were not necessarily desirable through a

physical distance travelled, but also through the "distance" of the religious and magical ideas of "Egyptianness" which were bounded in them. That this "Egyptianness" was specifically "Egyptianness" and not simply foreignness can be argued by highlighting both the volume of the deposition of these objects in contexts where we also find other, sometimes entirely unrelated, Egyptian objects but very little other foreign material, and also by the probable extent of Greek sailors' contact with Egypt's characteristic religion, architecture and script by the late eighth century.

On what account might the concept of "Egyptianness" have gathered value? There are a few possibilities, all of which must be considered in light of the interesting observation that the value of Egyptianness was only to some extent universal, and appears to be heavily focussed around a select range of hubs, Euboea, Rhodes, Samos, and so on, without necessarily spreading greatly along the trade routes between these communities and their fellow Greeks.

a) The first is that the travellers (traders or pirates) and mercenaries travelling back from Egypt were impressed by the fecundity of the Nile and the rich temple structures, monumental sculpture, and religious observances of the Egyptian culture they encountered. These travellers were then responsible for spreading such impressions among the local communities to which they belonged, with the assistance of symbolically enriched objects brought back to Greece with them. This might be especially true of the earliest Greek adopters of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, Euboea and Rhodes, who we also know to have been highly mobile.
b) A second approach is that the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects represent widespread community engagement with the celebration and affirmation of interstate connections with Egyptian allies, and that this may have been expressed through the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, if not also some manner of Egyptianising cult. Such an interpretation might be applicable to a site such as Perachora, where a small but rich body of Egyptian material in the assemblage is overwhelmingly outweighed by Egyptianising objects.
c) A third approach would be to say that *if* Egyptian and Egyptianising objects were a dominant feature of transactional gifts in interpersonal and interstate interactions occurring in religious space and actions in the eighth and early seventh century at

> places such as Rhodes, this could go some way towards explaining how Egyptian-type material became perceived as especially suitable transactional material for use in sacred spaces and magical arrangements (the deposition of objects in temple contexts for the protection of ships and sailors). In essence, their perceived high value in one sphere of symbolic activity may have easily bled into other activities carried out in the same physical, sacral spaces. Again, this model would fit well for Rhodes and Perachora. It might also be particularly applicable to Samos, where the volume of Egyptian bronzes might indicate that while Egyptian objects had gained especially high social value, faience might have gained too broad an accessibility and needed to be supplemented by more exclusive, but still "Egyptian" object types for the highest elites.

Any of these approaches defies Skon-Jedele's labelling of Egyptian-type objects as "bric-a-brac", and identifies the Egyptian character of Egyptianising objects as an endeavour to imitate or create symbolic transactional value rather than perceiving this character as a mark of low status. Such a conclusion feels more fitting for the mixed value of Egyptian and Egyptianising (and other) objects found in many of the assemblages, especially those on Rhodes and Samos.[543]

Deciding upon which of the above is most likely to be correct is probably not possible. I suspect that some combination of these factors, with temporal and regional variations, may have played simultaneous roles in the Greek creation of and attribution of high value to "Egyptianness" and the consumption of material culture expressing "Egyptianness". This process, then, is what leads us to find Egyptian and Egyptianising objects consumed in the same contexts.

[543] See "Rhodes" and "Samos" in Appendix 1.

E: Conclusions

Chapters 2 and 3 have set out three key arguments:

1) Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material were not dominated by the influences of Levantine traders. Instead, it appears that the Greeks, independently, both acquired and produced Egyptian objects for consumption in Greek contexts.

2) This engagement with Egyptian and Egyptianising culture was not defined by the foundation of Naucratis in the late-seventh century, and had already taken shape much earlier, with the production of Egyptianising objects beginning in the eighth century.

3) From the Greek production of Egyptianising objects through to the Greek consumption of Egyptianising and Egyptian objects we can highlight that they give specific, extraordinary sacral/magical value to the representation of 'Egyptianness', which at first manifested in the consumption of Egyptian objects in funerary contexts, but later flourished in the consumption of many Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in funerary and temple contexts.

Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 will now consider how these observations can be tied into the processes governing the utilisation of Egyptianising motifs in Greek art.

III

Egyptianising Motifs in Greek Art

Chapter 4

Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art: *Imitation* and finding new approaches

Chapters 2 and 3 outlined the production and consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in archaic Greek contexts and found that Greek-produced imitations of Egyptian amulets and statuettes became popular in certain Greek communities on account of the social-prestige and magical power these communities associated with certain forms of Egyptian material culture. Most modern studies of archaic Greek relations with Egypt have only discussed these faience amulets and statuettes when considering the Greek objects which evidence interactions with Egyptian material culture. However, there is further evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the Greeks' use of Egyptianising motifs in pottery and sculpture.

This chapter first examines the extent to which the process of imitation evidenced in the Greek production of Egyptianising faience amulets (including scarabs) and statuettes is also evident in other Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. Then, having established that a process of imitation is only evident to a very small extent in the Greek production of non-faience Egyptianising objects, this chapter sets out a methodology for approaching Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art, which is applied in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

A: Imitation

Imitation is a *process* of copying, *as closely as possible*, from an original. The term imitation adequately describes the Greek production of Egyptian and Egyptianising faience objects seen in Chapters 2 and 3. However, Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in media other than faience can very rarely be described as "copying" Egyptian objects, and only a few scattered examples which we could describe as imitations exist.

The recumbent lion

The most easily identifiable example of imitation is the recumbent lion which appears in a number of instances in a very similar form to Egyptian parallels. In the sixth century the Greeks used lions in monumental sculpture, as well as depicting them in bronze.[544] Many of these lions are experimental and hybrid types, decidedly Greek in their overall appearance, that are often sculpted in forms which closely resemble the couchant lions and sphinxes of Egypt but have the squat faces and angular bodies characteristic of the Greek development from Near-Eastern lion types towards a natural style (fig. 4.1).[545] These examples cannot be described as imitations of Egyptian types, and reflect a broader desire of the Greeks, especially from the beginning of the sixth-century, to display free-standing monumental sculpture in their sanctuaries and as grave-markers. However, the sixth-century marble recumbent lion sculptures from Didyma, c. 600 BC (fig. 4.2), and Miletus, c. 525-500 BC (fig. 4.3), which can now be found in London and Berlin, are clear imitations of Egyptian examples.[546] These lion sculptures are close to Egyptian precedents, for example a Dynasty XVIII recumbent lion in the British Museum (fig. 4.4) in their accurate naturalism, both in the overall soft lines and physiology and in the details, including the tail swept up under or around the hind leg, the distinctive crossed front paws, and the twisted hind paw tucked under the body.[547] The two lions, especially the earlier example from Didyma, are of a quality comparable to the very highest levels of Greek sculpture of their time.[548]

[544] Examples, aside from those below, include the lions of the "Terrace of Lions" at Delos and a mid-sixth century marble sculpture from Didyma, BM 1859,1226.12. See Ridgway (1993, pp. 40-42, 220-223), Pedley (1976, pp. 22-23), and Richter (1930, p. 3) on the Didyma and Delos lion sculptures and their relationship with Egyptian art.

[545] See, for example, an Attic grave-marker, mid-sixth century, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P1699. Banou and Bournias, 2014, pp. 110-111.

[546] Lion sculpture, c. 600 BC, Didyma, inscribed τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ὠρίωνος παῖδες το(ῦ) ἀρχηγο(ῦ), Θαλῆς καὶ Πασικλῆς καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος κ(α)ὶ Εὔβιος καὶ Ἀναξίλεως, δε(κά)την τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι, BM 1859,1226.11, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA5814 [01/05/2015]. Lion sculpture, c. 525-500 BC, Miletus, Berlin Antikenmuseen 1790, http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=698510&viewType=detailView [01/05/2015].

[547] Red granite recumbent lion of Amenhotep III, Dynasty XVIII, BM EA2, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/YCA62963 [01/05/2015]. For a Third Intermediate Period or Late Period example, from a religious or public building, see Museo Egizio Torino 866.

[548] When compared to roughly contemporary examples of marble sculpture, such as a *kouros* of c. 590-580 BC, MMA 32.11.1.

However, unlike the Egyptianising objects of Chapters 2 and 3, it is unclear whether or not these lions deliberately play on their similarity to the Egyptian examples which they imitate. The lions have no Egyptian markings (namely, hieroglyphs) on them, unlike most Egyptian examples, and the developing Greeks taste for naturalism is well attested elsewhere in the sixth-century, in painted pottery, and in bronze and stone sculpture (fig. 4.5, 4.6).[549] This means that relaxed and naturally proportioned Egyptian lion sculptures could have been more appealing, technically and stylistically, than the more heavily stylised lions of previous Greek art, with their angular bodies and snarling mouths. Consequently, these lions might be described as the result of a process of imitation, but as their sculptors do less than would be possible to refer the viewer back to Egypt, they are certainly not quite the same as the scarabs or statuettes discussed previously.

The "Re" hieroglyph and other instances of "imitation"

This shift away from the deliberate inclusion of distinctively Egyptian symbols is characteristic of other non-faience applications for Egyptianising motifs, and when we try to describe other Egyptianising motifs in Greek art as imitations, we quickly find that this term cannot be used, even for Egyptianising motifs, such as the solar "*Re*" disk or the lotus, which are most familiar to us from Chapters 2 and 3.

The first, and perhaps only, convincing case of imitation in Greek vase painting is the depiction of four Egyptian cartouches on the neck of a North-Ionian *amphora* found at Thebes, which, although appearing above a Greek scene, are accurate reproductions of the name "Apries", a Dynasty XXVI pharaoh, perhaps copied from a scarab or a carving (fig. 4.7).[550] A more tentative (or even tenuous) example of imitation is the use of disks above the backs of animals, sometimes with a central dot, which might be copied from the "*Re*" hieroglyph found above the backs of animals on many of the Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs from Greek sites.[551] A notable example would be a Laconian *kylix* which contains

[549] Compare, for example, the lion of a late-eighth century four-legged stand, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum 407, Banou and Bournias, 2014, p. 73, and the lion on an Attic amphora, 520-500 BC, BM 1839,1109.2, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA6523 [01/05/2015].
[550] North-Ionian *amphora*, sixth century, BM 2006,L01.1, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA83085 [01/05/2015].
[551] A motif often found on examples of Gorton's "Common Types on Greek Sites: Type XXIII A". Gorton 1996, pp. 73-75. See also the examples from the Perachora report, including obj. # D495-499, D525-536, D600-604 in James 1962, pp. 504-509, fig. 36 and 37.

three bands of extremely busy internal decoration (fig. 4.8). This decoration includes the use of disks above a hawk to the left of the image and above a lion to the right, and dotted disks above of the *Re* hieroglyph over two central cocks.[552] The disks could easily be interpreted as a decorative motif of Greek invention similar to the disks, rosettes and patterns long used to fill empty spaces in empty spaces, a style known as *horror vacui* (fig. 4.9).[553] However, the use of the single central dot within the circle, as well as the placement of these circles directly over the backs of animals, means that it is at least possible that the use of the disk draws from the very common inclusion of a solar *Re* disk above animals on Egyptian and Greek Egyptianising scarabs, which would make it one of the few examples of overlap between the material of Chapters 2 and 3 and the motifs applied to Greek pottery. This conclusion is, perhaps, tenable in light of the use of the lotus as a headdress on a number of contemporary *kylikes* by Laconian painters, especially the Rider Painter. One notable example depicts a young man on a horse with a large flower sprouting from his head (fig. 4.10).[554] This use of the lotus might take after amuletic depictions of the young Egyptian god Nefertem/Nefertum, from whose head lotuses grew, which were common at Greek sites and probably produced on Rhodes from the eighth century BC (fig. 4.11), providing a precedent for the Laconian use of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited in Greek sanctuaries for embellishing Greek scenes.[555]

However, it is quite clear that even for the motifs which best relate to the Egyptian and Egyptianising material from Greek sites, the motifs to which we can prove that the Greeks had direct access, the term "imitation" does not work. Even if the examples above do represent the use of the "*Re*" disk and Nefertem's headdress in Laconian art, which is very

[552] Laconian IV *kylix,* in Taranto Museum. Lane 1933-1934, pl. 47, 48. See also a Laconian II *hydria*, Lane 1934, pl. 43.
[553] Seen, for example, in the fragments of a sixth-century Laconian *kylix* attributed to the Rider Painter, Pipili 1998, p. 92, fig. 8.12, and to an even greater degree on an Attic, eighth-century *krater* depicting a *prothesis* and warrior scenes, MMA 14.130.14.
[554] Laconian *kylix*, 550-530 BC, attributed to the Rider Painter, BM 1842,0407.7, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/YCA69365 [01/05/2015]. See for comparison a Laconian III *kylix*, Lane 1933-1934, pl. 44 c, and a Laconian *dinos*, attributed to the Rider Painter, 560–540 BC, Louvre E662.
[555] As the examples from Greece are generally so badly worn and poorly photographed, a contemporary Egyptian bronze statuette of Nefertem, c.700-650 (MMA 38.2.19, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/548392 [01/05/2015]) is shown in fig. 4.11. For descriptions of the typical faience models found in Greece, see Skon-Jedele (1994, obj. #3040-3056+, pp. 2002-2007), these faience examples include the typical lotus-form crown.

questionable, these are re-contextualised and altered versions of the original motifs, which do not copy the subject matter as closely as possible, or closely at all. As a result, this chapter will now draw a line under the material culture of Chapters 2 and 3, and set out an approach with which we can better tackle the evidence for Greek contacts with Egyptian material culture in pottery and sculpture.

B: "Objects" and "Motifs"

The description of some evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture as "objects", and another as "motifs", may seem at first to be a misrepresentative or obstructive approach.[556] Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in bronze, faience, stone, and other materials discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 can in almost every case be regarded as representing motifs, such as gods, or hieroglyphs, or depictions of animals. Equally, the pottery, amulets, and sculpture which bear the motifs discussed in the following chapters of the thesis can clearly be regarded as objects, many of which were also found in archaic sanctuary and grave contexts. Therefore, separating these two bodies of evidence might seem to perpetuate the exception of foreign curios from Greek art and of an oriental element from the classical tradition, viewing the so-called oriental material as something which only had value in its strangeness and alterity and not in its stylistic, iconographic or technical qualities.[557] However, there is specific value in distinguishing "objects" and "motifs" for the purposes of this thesis, for two main reasons. Firstly, as has been seen, there are some fundamental differences in the way that we can describe Greek interactions with objects and motifs. Secondly, there are different methodological considerations when approaching the objects and motifs.

[556] I use the term "motif" to mean a design, subject, pattern, or composition, but not a theme or concept, as it is often employed in studies of narrative.
[557] These distinctions were evident, for example, in W. Humbolt's rejection of Egyptian objects from the plans for a Berlin museum of Greek and other art as Egyptian objects were only intellectually stimulating and not morally improving like Greek and other art. Tanner 2003, p. 116.

1) Differences in the evidence for interaction:

The overwhelming majority of the objects discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 were either Egyptian objects which had been transported to Greek consumption contexts or objects produced by the Greeks with a subject, shape, style, and material closely resembling Egyptian counterparts, in all respects imitations, which were then consumed in Greek contexts. On the contrary, the body of evidence to be discussed here, and in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, is often not describable as "Egyptianising" in the shape, style, or material of the objects, and it is only Egyptianising in its interaction with the subject matter, the motifs, of Egyptian material culture. Therefore, the significant difference between the two groups of evidence, objects and motifs, is that while the objects discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 used Egyptian motifs or subjects on objects which also imitated Egyptian material culture in their material properties, shape, and execution, the motifs discussed in the following chapters are reimagined and manipulated into new forms, with new details and are mostly found applied on a range of objects which, in their form and material properties, fit within the wider Greek consumption of non-Egyptianising Greek-produced material culture.

The discussion of *imitation* above has already outlined some aspects of this difference, but it can more clearly be demonstrated through a couple of prominent examples. The scarab-beetle is abundantly represented in archaic Greek temple contexts and hundreds of Egyptianising scarabs were produced at Greek faience production centres. Furthermore, the scarab motif appears both as a hieroglyph on certain scarabs and as an additional element on some amuletic depictions of the dwarf deity Pataikos.[558] However, the scarab beetle is not a motif which is employed in broader contexts in archaic Greek art. The scarab motif is absent from archaic painted pottery, and the Greek production of scarab amulets in the round is almost exclusively executed in blue or green faience with Egyptianising decorations until the sixth century, when they appear in stone and with fine depictions of Greek narrative and mythological subjects.[559] Therefore, the scarab motif appears to be inextricably attached to

[558] The scarab on a Pataikos figure can be found, for example, at Lindos, Rhodes. Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 2217, obj. #3615.

[559] Exceptions include a single bronze scarab model of Elian production, found at Olympia (Olympia Archaeological Museum B 148, Hatzi 2008, p. 66) and scarce scarab-form Levantine or orientalising ivory seals (for an example see Boardman 1970, pl. 2), though most of these (such as those in Boardman 1970, pl. 278), are discoid. The scarab beetle may also appear on the Arcesilas cup (see Chapter 6).

its manifestation in the Egyptianising scarab amulet, as an object which in all respects (material, shape, decoration) would appear to be labouring under the pretence of being Egyptian or at least alluding to Egyptian magical power through being in all respects Egyptianising. There is a similarly stark contrast between the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects representing Egyptian deities as evidence for the Greek acceptance of, and even enthusiasm for, Egyptian deities, including those with animal features, and the complete rejection of these same deities in other forms of Greek material culture, such as painted pottery. The most popular types of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in archaic temple and funerary contexts seem to have had minimal impact upon wider archaic art. On the other side of the coin, meanwhile, we find that subjects and motifs from Egyptian funerary art, discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, are appropriated repeatedly and in a variety of ways by archaic Greek painters and sculptors in different periods and different regions, despite Egyptian funerary art being absent among the extant Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from sanctuary and funerary contexts.

As a result of these distinctions, found across the spread of Greek interactions with Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture, there is, therefore, an inevitable division between "objects" and "motifs". Part of the task for Chapters 5-7, will be to explore what creates the distinctive patterns in Greece's interactions with different aspects of Egyptian material culture, and to better understand the relationship between what seem, on the surface, to be sharply contrasting archaic Greek interactions with the hundreds of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found across Greek sites, and with a range of subjects and motifs of Egyptian art.

2) *Differences in methodologies and approaches:*

A second consideration, when splitting the "objects" from the "motifs", is that the two types of evidence are typically subject to different approaches and methodologies.

For objects found in sanctuary or grave assemblages, especially "oriental" or "orientalising" objects, discussion most often revolves around the origin, movement, function, and significance of various material in the assemblage, quantification of material types, and comparison between the "Egyptian" and "Egyptianising" (or oriental and orientalising) objects in the assemblage. In doing so, a broad picture of the context in which

the object was deposited can be established. Furthermore, the Greek consumers' awareness of the foreign aspects of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is frequently taken for granted and worked into models of these objects' value, consumption, and movement, as seen in Chapter 3.

For painted pottery and other Greek art, however, exact find contexts are often heavily distorted by their prior (and perhaps continuing) position of value as treasured individual pieces of art rather than as aspects of an assemblage or context. This has frequently led to such pieces' ill-recorded and/or private acquisition and subsequent circulation in private collections. There is also a lack, even in quite comprehensive volumes, of a quantitative analysis of motifs which is in any way comparable to the quantification of certain objects from assemblages. In comparison to discussion of the objects of Chapters 2 and 3, therefore, that of the consumption of Greek "motifs" is less likely to be steered by the final consumption context of the object and more likely to be steered by consideration of an individual piece's previous "life" in use among Greek elite, shaped by the consumption associations of an object's type (for example, *kylix*).[560] Neither approach has more or less value than the other, but it is worth noting that the methodological schism exists, despite efforts to close or reduce it.[561] It is also of specific interest to the current discussion is that the Greek recognition and appreciation of Egyptianising or orientalising motifs as being in some sense foreign, let alone specifically Egyptian, is taken as much less of a certainty, as is seen below, than the Greek association of Egyptianising objects with Egypt. To some extent this may reflect the legacy of attitudes in scholarship identifying the development of initial "crude" or "rude" orientalising styles in Greek pottery into the black-figure style as a linearly qualitative, rather than technical or stylistics, shift by Greek artists.

In conclusion, it is clear that there is a difference between the information available for, and the methodologies applied to, the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs and Egyptian

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[560] For example, the Greek pottery of the tombs of Etruria is more likely to have been interpreted primarily in relation to the connotations attached to the sympotic contexts associated with the pottery's shapes than the Egyptian bronze mirror at Perachora is to be interpreted through its use as a mirror, or the faience shrine of Necho on Rhodes in relation to its use as a ritual tool. Instead, objects from Egypt and the Near-Eastern are more likely to be seen as the result of one-off or short term interactions, as is the case in the "sailor's luck" model of consumption discussed in Chapter 3.

[561] See for example Whitley's recent discussion of object "lives" beyond the deposition or consumption context. Whitley, 2013, pp. 395-416; Kopytoff 1986, pp. 64-91. See also Neer (2002) on the mediation of identities through consumption.

and Egyptianising objects. Moreover, even the briefest examination of the available evidence indicates that there is a difference in the types of interactions evidenced in objects and motifs.

C: The methodology of Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

1) *Prior methodologies for the selection and organisation of motifs.*

Most of the scholarship which considers Greek artists' interactions with Egyptian motifs is focused on particular case studies, such as the Arcesilas Cup or the soul-bird, and will be addressed primarily in the chapters for which it is most relevant. However, before setting out the methodology taken in selecting, organising, and examining the artistic motifs discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, it is worth summarising the current situation of scholarship on Greek interactions with Egyptian motifs as a whole. This discussion will be quite limited, as Egyptianising motifs in Greek art have, as a consolidated body of evidence, received much less attention than the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Greek contexts, and have often been featured as a subsidiary aside in discussions of orientalising motifs. Even studies which focus entirely on the relationship between archaic Greece and Egypt can be found to omit Egyptianising motifs entirely, as in Austin's *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, or not use these motifs as a body of evidence with much significance for the wider picture of Greek-Egyptian interactions, as is the case in Skon-Jedele's *Aigyptiaka*. Nonetheless discussions of a wider array of Egyptianising motifs can be found, namely in Boardman's *The Greeks Overseas*, Hölbl's *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien* and Tanner's chapter "Finding the Egyptian in Early Greek Art".[562]

Boardman's chapters on Egyptian or Egyptianising influence in Greek art in *The Greeks Overseas* ("Naucratis", "Other Greeks in Egypt", and "Egyptian Objects and Influence in Greece") offer perhaps the broadest and most accessible coverage of the relationship of Greek and Egyptian motifs.[563] Boardman's selection of motifs seems to be based primarily upon his extensive personal knowledge of Greek painted pottery. He presents a varied and enlightening range of examples, organised in a loosely chronological narrative,

[562] Tanner 2003; Boardman 1980; Hölbl 1979.
[563] Boardman 1980, pp. 111-160. I have excluded, on account of their wider imprecision, some significantly older accounts of Egyptian motifs in Greek art, such as Amelia Edwards' chapter "Egypt the Birthplace of Greek Decorative Art" in her 1891 book *Pharaohs Fellahs and Explorers.* New York. pp. 158-192.

and individually only discussed briefly. This eclectic approach to both the selection and the organisation of the material matches the overall methodology of *The Greeks Overseas*, in which Boardman observes possible artistic influences by gathering a wide array of evidence which, probably partly due to a general conservatism in Boardman's approach to Greek engagement with foreign ideas, is organised in respect of temporal boundaries (such as pre- and post- Naucratis) and technical themes (such as the use of space) rather than by processes of interaction or the possible conceptual associations of different types of motifs (for example, motifs denoting status, or supernatural potency). Hölbl's coverage of the Egyptian motifs found in archaic Italy (with relevance and frequent reference to Greek art) is similar, selecting central motifs and presenting them in a series of summaries, each discussing an individual motif. The discussion prioritises temporal and regional variances in examples of the development of individual motifs but, much like Boardman, does not make much attempt to tie together motifs into a methodological framework focussed upon the motivations for or processes of Greek interactions with Egyptian motifs.[564]

Even Tanner, who is generally keen to stay clear of the constraining methodologies of previous scholarship, and discusses Greek contacts with Egypt within broader structures of social change, approaches the topic of interaction as a list (with the total omission of painted-pottery motifs), discussing the Egyptianising elements in the bronze and faience figures, then in temple architecture, then in *kouroi*, each with a selection of chosen examples.[565]

In the selection and organisation of Egyptianising motifs there have been, therefore, two salient themes. Firstly, the selection of motifs to be considered most central is based upon a sort of connoisseurship, and often on perceived importance or interest rather than quantity or distribution. Secondly, the organisation of these motifs is in loosely thematic or technical groups, with little prioritisation of either processes or motivations for interaction, or of the synthesis of the "motifs" body of material with the wider Egyptian and Egyptianising evidence from sanctuary and grave contexts.

[564] Hölbl 1979, pp. 331-365.
[565] Tanner 2003, pp. 115-144.

2) *Current Methodology: Identifying motifs*

Without dedicating the thesis as a whole to the discussion of Egyptian motifs in Greek art (and likely even if I were to do so) there is not room for the discussion of every motif employed in archaic Greek art which may have conceivably originated in Egypt in the sort of detail which might be desired. Moreover, unlike the objects discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the quantification of all Egyptian and Egyptianising motifs has never been attempted. It is unlikely that such a task is achievable. Databases to accurately account for the motifs on vast numbers of Greek painted pottery fragments from the Archaic Period do not exist, and painted pottery does not even account for the total body of the evidence discussed in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 which also include media such as amulets, protomes, and sculpture. Also, a good number of the motifs which one can describe as "Egyptianising" in a certain stage are given generic labels which entangle them with other Greek or Near-Eastern inspired motifs and many evolve significantly over the course of the Archaic Period. This means that a "sphinx" in 680 BC and a "sphinx" in 600 BC will not necessarily be very similar and it would require further investigation to sort a data-set of Egyptianising motifs, which would in any case be subjective. In sum, this means that any statistical approach to the material, even using ballpark figures, would require a vast amount of time for little return.

Such a task is not only impossible for the current thesis, but also is probably unnecessary for the thesis' aims. However, this means that motifs must be chosen, and in the same slightly haphazard manner as Hölbl, Boardman, or Tanner. The only way to progress upon such methods is to endeavour to be thorough and open-minded. Accordingly, the process of choosing which motifs to discuss in the current thesis began with the compilation of a set of motifs which may be Egyptianising and which were either highlighted in previous scholarship or encountered in an extensive, but not exhaustive, review of painted pottery and other art forms through a range of publications, online databases, and museum collections.[566] As such the body of evidence is somewhat governed by an availability heuristic, with the foci of previous scholars unavoidably impacting upon, though not governing, the motifs which were most immediately prominent in gathering an initial data-set.

[566] Including: the collections and databases of the Musée du Louvre, British Museum, and Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Beazley Archive's database of Attic pottery; and collections of Greek pottery and other objects in Boardman 1978, 1980, 1991, 2001, Hampe and Simon 1981, Schweitzer 1971, Dunbabin 1962, Richter 1961, Lullies and Hirmer 1957, Lane 1933-34, Pipili 1998, Venit 1988, and the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* among others.

The main motifs through which one could discuss Greek interactions with Egypt include (in no particular order, and excluding those covered in Chapters 2 and 3):

- The bearded snake
- The leonine/double throne
- The weighing-of-the-heart vignette
- The bound god
- The sphinx
- Lotuses, especially protruding from the head, and palmettes
- The festival boat
- The disembodied head at a shrine
- Hunting of birds
- The recumbent lion
- The *kouros*
- The *Re* hieroglyph sun-disk
- The human-headed bird
- The use of extreme proportions
- The griffin
- The falcon
- Hieroglyphs
- The use of natural proportions
- The Hathor curls
- The monumental column and capital
- The partitioning of space
- The *prothesis*

This is not an exhaustive list, but it is representative of a good amount of the main examples.

3) *Current Methodology: Organising Motifs*

The set of motifs above is too large to cover in the appropriate level of detail in this thesis. Moreover, for the task of considering what the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs can tell us about Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture the somewhat haphazard organisation of previous scholarship needs to be reconsidered and a heuristic structure employed. Accordingly, chapters 5, 6, and 7, are based around a series of processes or forms of interactions which each use only one or two main case studies, with reference to other supporting evidence.

This methodology can be compared to Miller's description of forms of Attic interactions with Persian metal objects, evident in clay vessels, with three, specific terms for the processes involved:

- *Imitation*, which is copying, as closely as possible, of foreign examples.
- *Adaptation*, which is the modification of foreign examples to accommodate Greek social practices.
- *Derivation*, which is the application of foreign technique to a local form, marking a shift in tastes towards foreign tradition.[567]

These distinctions allowed for finer detail in Miller's examination of the processes behind Greek interactions with Persian material culture, and so the use of the Attic pottery evidence yielded greater results for her wider study of Athens and Persia in the fifth century.

However, upon looking at the body of evidence for use in chapters 5-7, it immediately becomes clear that while the essence of Miller's methodology is replicable, the terminology which she used to describe processes would fit poorly onto the examination of motifs considered in this thesis, understandably as her study focused on pottery forms rather than decoration. *Imitation* has already been discussed as being a term better used for the Egyptianising objects of Chapters 2 and 3, as the Greek interactions with Egyptianising motifs rarely prioritises exact copying. Similarly, *Derivation* is a term which, within Miller's definition, is better suited to the production of objects in the round than to interactions with and the application of motifs to objects. While in a broader sense the application of

[567] Miller 1997, p. 136.

Egyptianising or orientalising motifs to Greek pottery might mark a shift in tastes towards foreign tradition, this is a long standing and quite vague observation without the particular detail this thesis needs to pursue. The remaining category, *Adaptation*, is also too vague for fruitful application to the Greek motifs. Almost all, if not all, of the Egyptianising motifs could be put in this category.

Therefore, a new series of descriptions for the Greek interaction with Egyptian motifs is required, which can split varying forms of *Adaptation* or *Derivation* and provide crisper conclusions on the processes driving these interactions. On examination of the Egyptianising motifs found in Greek art, I have identified three types of process:

- *Inspiration*. This term describes the process by which the Greeks took Egyptian motifs which they had encountered and re-detailed them for use in similar contexts in Greek art. These motifs were only ever deployed in Hellenised forms and never seem to have returned to Egyptian models in their subsequent development. The central examples which are used to highlight this process are the *kouros,* the *prothesis*, and the bound god.
- *Experimentation*. This term describes the process by which individual Greek artists created one-off, decontextualized and technically adept adaptations of Egyptian compositions, recast with Greek actors in order to accomplish a novel and interesting , representation of a specific but uncommon Greek scene, social practice, or concern. The central examples used to explore this process are the Arcesilas Cup and the depiction of Heracles' combat with the Stymphalian Birds on BM 163.
- *Accentuation.* This term describes the process by which Greek artists used Egyptian motifs to accentuate the supernatural aspects of pre-existing Greek motifs. While reinforcing existing associations, these Egyptianising motifs also expanded the iconography, and arguably the conceptual functions, of the existing motifs. The central examples which are used to highlight this process are the human-headed bird and the bearded snake.

These three types will frame a range of ways in which the Greek interacted with Egyptian motifs, but it is also clear that there are blurred and inexact edges between the

categories, and that while examples highlight processes; it must be stressed that they should not be entirely compartmentalised by these processes.

4) *Current methodology: Choosing examples*

The examples of motifs given in the following chapters can be put into three groups:

1) Unique cases of a motif or subject, or examples with only with one or two comparable cases. An example of the first would be the unique Arcesilas cup, and of the latter, the BM163 Heracles and the Stymphalian birds amphora, for which few parallels exist.
2) Examples chosen to represent a wider range of examples of a motif applied in a particular style and context and representative of the overwhelming majority of that wider range of examples. This category could include a single example of the geometricizing human-headed-bird protomes of the late-eighth century, or the leonine throne of sixth-century Laconian funerary relief sculpture.
3) Examples of a certain application of a motif which does not necessarily reflect the broader application of that motif. The broader relevance of these examples to the motifs more general usage will be highlighted in the text, and where possible some idea of the relative proportion of the context discussed to other uses will be given. For example, the individual case of a lotus sprouting from a human head on the Rider Painter *kylix*, mentioned above, might be representative of lotuses sprouting from human heads, but reflects only a portion of a wider range of lotuses sprouting from objects and a tiny portion of the total examples of the lotus motif.

The types of examples available for use should affect our appreciation of the impact of the motif in question, the processes of and motivations for its use, and its implications for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. Essentially, a single, remarkable example such as the Arcesilas Cup needs to be considered differently to the widespread application of a motif for a particular purpose within a community, such as the Laconian bearded snakes, and differently again to the seemingly Panhellenic popularity of the human-headed bird.

In general, aside from the constraints of the individual first type of examples, many of the examples chosen in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 intentionally diversify from and add to those chosen in previous scholarship on the same topic, simply to validate and contextualise key points of discussion.

5) *Current Methodology: Approaches to Greek interactions with Egyptian Motifs*

Underlying the manner in which Egyptianising motifs in Greek art have been discussed is the predisposition of much (especially older) scholarship covering both Greek-Egyptian and more broadly Greek-Near-Eastern interactions to adopt a particular standpoint on spectrum of exchange marked by conceptual diffusion at one end and independent evolution at the other. The position of some older scholarship on the spectrum in relation to the wider intellectual developments of its times has been outlined, though briefly, by J. Tanner.[568] Nonetheless, Tanner's roughly chronological approach to the historiography of the topic conceals the longevity of the division of conservative and diffusionist viewpoints, which has continued into more modern scholarship with lasting effects.

The extreme end of the "independent evolution" part of the spectrum, with specific reference to Egypt, can be characterised by the attitudes of Heinrich Brunn. Brunn's best known work, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte* (1893), rejected all Semitic influences on Greek art from its earliest stages, on the basis that cultures viewed humanity individually and incomparably, and were thus largely immune to cultural intrusions.[569] However, in a previous essay, "Ueber die Grundverschiedenheit im Bildungsprincip der griechischen und ägyptischen Kunst" (1854), Brunn had already specifically concluded that Greek and Egyptian art were fundamentally and irreconcilably different, and that the Egyptians and Greek were separated by blood, culture, and by the very nature of their lands.[570] In an intellectual context which was more widely emphasising the link between aesthetics and

[568] Tanner 2003, pp. 115-144.
[569] Brunn (1893, 1:73, p. 115) as quoted in Marchand and Grafton 1997, p. 16.
[570] Brunn 1856, pp. 153-166.

racial identity, Brunn created a picture of Greek and Egyptian art wherein the two were logically incapable of finding common ground to interact with one another.[571]

Of course, Brunn's racialist perspective does not persist, but the outright rejection of comparability between Egyptian and Greek understandings of art also characterised Boardman's investigation of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture a century later. Boardman approached the Egyptianising motifs in Greek art from the standpoint that the Greeks could not have understood the concepts behind these motifs, stating that "isolated Egyptian scenes of course reflect no deeper awareness or influence of Egyptian practices or beliefs", despite the wide impact of certain motifs, and the use of certain motifs in similar contexts in Greek and Egyptian art.[572] Boardman also believed that the Greeks were sufficiently culturally mature not to be affected by foreign concepts, and this emphasis of a rather detached Greek control over their interactions with the world around them was reiterated later by Hurwit.[573] This approach results in safety from exaggeration or misinterpretation of similarities in the context and function of motifs in Greek and Egyptian art, but it also precludes the discussion of these similarities, and prevents the attainment of detail in differentiating the role conceptual awareness may have played in the transmission and utilisation of certain motifs.

The premise of cultural diffusion which sits at other end of the spectrum is equally problematic and, in many ways, no more modern than that of independent evolution.[574] We could place work such as Bernal's *Black Athena* at the extremity of the diffusion standpoint. Bernal's work, which could almost be described as "*hyperdiffusionism*",[575] prioritises the premise of cultural diffusion over the capabilities of the evidence to support this premise,

[571] The idea of a link between aesthetics and culture can be found especially in Winkelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764 – referred to in Marchand and Grafton 1997 pp. 14-17) and Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* compiled in 1835.
[572] Boardman 1980, p. 151.
[573] Boardman 1980, p. 74, 141; Hurwit 1985, p. 135.
[574] It is applied to the Mycenaean Period in the nineteenth century, as discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, and also for the Archaic Period, though without much impact, for example in the chapter "Egypt the Birthplace of Greek Decorative Art" in Edwards 1891, pp. 158-192.
[575] "Hyperdiffusionism" is a term used by Marchand and Grafton (1997, p. 10) to describe the attitudes of those such as G. E. Smith, for whom all religion had its roots in Egypt.

resulting in untenable conclusions.[576] Bernal is out of place in the mainstream modern scholarly dialogue, but other diffusionist standpoints can be equally difficult, if more persuasive. Scholars such as Hölbl, as seen in Chapter 3, and Weicker and Vermuele, as seen in Chapter 5, have drawn upon Egyptianising motifs quite uncritically as vehicles for the transmission of complex concepts from Egypt to Greece, namely the fertility-promoting Hathor-cow and the "Soul-bird" of an afterlife. These scholars are willing to suspend the questions raised by cultural differences or issues of agency, and even chronology, in favour of fundamental similarities in the broadest areas of thought, in the promotion of life and in the ideas centring on death.

As a result, in respect of the attitude taken towards these motifs, I take neither a firm diffusionist standpoint, that concepts can be seen to flow freely between the Near-East or Egypt and Greece, nor an independent evolution standpoint, that the motifs were used with little or no sense of original function and meaning. Instead, I have approached the motifs with flexibility on the issue, and will explore the fact that different motifs and different processes reflect different extents of Greek receptivity, need, and conceptual engagement. It will also be noted and explored in later chapters, that there is not a strict maturation in the Greek interactions with Egyptian motifs. While the Greeks do seem to be less likely to engage in new processes of *accentuation* in the later part of the Archaic Period, the development of motifs already introduced, and the engagement with Egyptian motifs in other ways, means that we can refute Boardman's proposal that the Greeks became linearly less receptive to foreign material culture.[577]

This methodology and approach is intended to facilitate the best application of motifs, which form a difficult and disparate body of evidence, to the broader research questions of the thesis, tackling not only which motifs appear to evidence Greek interactions with Egypt, but how and why these interactions occurred.

[576] These assertions include that the Egyptians knew of the Americas, having seen them while at sea. Bernal 2002, p. 298.
[577] Boardman 1980, p. 143.

Chapter 5

Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art: *Inspiration*

"Imitation" has been found to be a process of interaction which is not particularly useful in considering the broad range of examples of Egyptianising motifs in Greek art. We clearly need to identify other processes to describe the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs, which run parallel to the imitative practices which are evident in the Greek production of Egyptianising amulets. This chapter discusses the Greek use of three Egyptianising motifs, the *kouros*, the *prothesis*, and the bound-god, in a series of short discussions which explore the next most straightforward process of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture, "inspiration".

The term "inspiration" here describes a process by which Greek artists (including sculptors) introduced motifs and compositions which they had encountered in Egyptian material culture for use in similar contexts in Greek art, but with substantial alterations to the details of these motifs. Thus, these Egyptianising motifs bear a direct relation to the use of corresponding Egyptian motifs, but are thoroughly Greek.

A: *Kouroi*

Kouroi, the life-sized, colossal, and sometimes under life-sized nude male sculptures made first on Naxos in the late-seventh century and later found across Greece, fit quite awkwardly into any account of the interactions of Greek and Egyptian material culture, let alone into a particular way of describing the processes driving those interactions.[578]

The appearance of *kouroi* immediately calls to mind similarly-posed and scaled human sculpture from Egypt. The male *kouros* poses with its left leg forward, head straight,

[578] On Naxos' early adoption of monumental sculpture including the *kouros*, see Ridgway 1993, pp. 32, 46, 53-58, 64; Carter & Steinberg 2010, p. 126, Pedley 1976, p. 18ff.

and arms held by its sides (fig. 5.1).[579] The position is similar to an artificially disciplined, but not necessarily rigid or taut, stride. A dominant type of male figure in Egyptian sculpture of all sizes, from statuettes to colossal sculpture, also holds this posture, with the left leg forward, head straight, and arms held by its sides (fig. 5.2, 5.3).[580] However, efforts to compare the sculptural proportions of *kouroi* to contemporary Egyptian sculpture have not resulted in a definitive answer to the question of whether or to what extent *kouroi* were modelled on Egyptian statuary. Guralnick studied the proportions of *kouroi* and concluded that some *kouroi* in the late-seventh and sixth centuries follow canonical Egyptian sculptural techniques, while others do not.[581] This would hardly seem surprising, considering the tendency for motifs and technical skills to move non-linearly through a web of connections, and the inability of appropriately trained craftsmen to be everywhere at once. However, Carter and Steinberg have more recently co-authored an article which dismisses Guralnick's findings by systematically critiquing her data methodologies.[582] Their conclusion was that the differences between *kouroi* were the result of inevitable regional variation, and that there was no evidence to link particular examples of *kouroi* to the Egyptian sculptural canon.[583] As a result, it is possible that the *kouros* was, in fact, sculpted as based on Egyptian bronze, rather than stone, models in the same pose (fig. 5.4, 5.5).[584] The lack of the typical Egyptian pillar-type back-support on even the earliest *kouros*, as is also absent on small Egyptian statuettes, might support such a conclusion, though the fact that the *kouros* is always nude, with Hellenised facial features and hair, indicates that the Greeks were perfectly capable of adding, removing, and changing such elements as they saw fit.

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[579] The example of fig. 5.1, the Samian *kouros* of c.580 BC (Tsakos and Sofianou 2012, pp. 288-295), is representative of the pose and overall form, but individual examples vary in the execution of the face, hair and musculature. Differing examples from Attica, Melos, and Tenea are pictured in Lullies and Hirmer 1957, pl. 11-13, 32-35, and 53-55. For a discussion of Egyptian and Samian sculpture, see also Davis 1981, pp. 61-81.
[580] The examples used here are a Dynasty XXV (760–660 BC) example from Karnak, depicting the priest Khonsuiraa, MFA 07.494, and a near-identically posed Dynasty V example, BM EA1239, from a tomb at Dishasha, which offers a good comparison of the type.
[581] Guralnick 1978, pp. 461-472.
[582] Carter and Steinberg 2010, pp. 103-128.
[583] Carter and Steinberg 2010, pp. 103-128.
[584] The examples given in fig. 5.4 and 5.5 are a bronze, sixth-century *kouros* and a comparable bronze Egyptian figure, ninth-seventh century, both from Samos' Heraeum, from Tsakos and Sofianou 2012, pp. 51-52. More closely similar Greek and Egyptian examples exist in the Samos Archaeological Museum, but it is worth using two clearly-photographed examples from the same context.

Although they cast doubt on a canonical relationship between the proportions used in *kouroi* and in similar Egyptian sculpture, Carter and Steinberg do not positively or negatively comment on the possibility that Egyptian types inspired the *kouros*.[585] Considering that the notion of canonical borrowings is not generally a requisite feature of Greek interaction with Egyptian art for the other motifs discussed in this thesis, we can still comment on the likelihood that the *kouros* was a result of a process of inspiration. It is clear that the close similarity in the form of the *kouros* and Egyptian representations of men is not necessarily an inevitable result of a desire to monumentalise the male form. While Egyptian sculpture and, to a certain extent, *kouroi,* may be a result of a desire for naturalism in portraiture, that naturalism need not have led both cultures to represent nearly the exact same pose.[586] Furthermore, the form of the *kore* which develops in the sixth-century also bears some similarity to representations of women in Egyptian sculpture, as in both Greek and Egyptian sculpture we see that the woman is static, sometimes with one hand (often holding an object) held to her chest, while the man is dynamic, nude, and generally without accessories, with both fists clenched to his sides (fig. 5.6, 5.7).[587]

The sum of the stylistic and technical similarities is an impression that Greek contact with Egyptian sculpture likely did have an impact on the initial development of the form of the archaic *kouros*. Such a conclusion is supported by the rise in sanctuary-based individual sculpture in Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, as mortuary cult moved into religious space.[588] This development in Egyptian culture must have provided ample exposure to standing Egyptian sculpture for any Greek visitor to Egyptian sanctuaries, which also housed images of gods and pharaohs.

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[585] They note that both the Egyptian canon is not fixed and that the mixture of the Greek statues is more understandable as a regional variation rather than canonical/non-canonical, however they do not mention the subject of Egyptian influences more generally, leaving Egypt's role an open question. Carter & Steinberg 2010, pp. 125-126.

[586] For other examples of naturalism in Greek art, see the discussion of the lion in Chapter 4.

[587] Compare a Kushite (Dynasty XXV) statue of a woman, 643-623 BC, with the *kore* of Phrasikleia from Merenda, c.550-540 BC, National Archaeological Museum, Athens, http://www.namuseum.gr/collections/sculpture/archaic/archaic13-en.html [01/05/2015]. While the Greek example is based upon a column-shaped torso, the detailing of the hand positioning is comparable to that of the Egyptian type, as also found on another Late Period statuette of a woman, c.610-595 BC, MMA 30.8.93. See also Russmann 2010, pp. 944-957, esp. p. 953.

[588] Schneider 2010, p. 156; Naunton 2010, p. 143; Leprohon 1988, p. 165.

However, none of the Greek *kouroi* seem to be purposefully or accidentally Egyptianising in any of their details, almost all are nude, and none feature Egyptian hair or features, an Egyptian short tunic, or Egyptian accessories, such as the pectoral or headdress.[589] Accordingly, unlike Greek uses of scarabs, amulets, and various other motifs, *kouroi* never seem to have been desired as objects evocative of Egyptian relations, even if the overall effect of their use was relatable to Greek contacts with sculpture in Egyptian contexts. Instead, it seems likely that Egyptian and Egyptianising objects such as faience amulets and bronzes had run their course as appropriate media for agonistic social display in Greece, and that the rows of life-sized, over-sized, and colossal sculptures in Egyptian sanctuaries may have prompted the elite to consider stone sculpture as a new means distinctive social display. This inclination towards monumentalising, marble display is shown in other sculptural forms, such as the Delos "Terrace of Lions", the temple of Rhoecus on Samos, and the sculpture of the sacred way at Didyma, all dating to the sixth century BC.

If *kouroi* were never intended to be seen as Egyptian or Egyptianising objects what was their specific appeal? It is widely considered that the *kouroi* were representations of youthful aristocratic virtue for the elite, either as representations of individuals or as examples of an ideal type.[590] Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Egyptian art had more concern than ever for naturalism in individual portraiture, and similar tastes seem to be shaping the development of sixth-century Greek art.[591] Neer, however, in agreement with Mack, views *kouroi* not as individuals but as a genre designed to relate laterally to one another rather than to individuality, thus to view one evokes the memory of the genre and the sculptures deliberately play on sameness.[592] This idea fits quite nicely into the egalitarianism of the archaic elites identified in the introduction, but there is no reason that *kouroi* cannot be both a reflection of a broader genre and the representation of an individual. The nude form, while not unknown in Egypt, represents Greek values which fit within the broader elite identification of themselves as heroes, who acquire eternal beauty and youth in death.[593] There are many other ways of approaching the *kouroi* and other Greek statuary. Vernant, for

[589] Russmann 2010, pp. 944-945, 953, 957.
[590] Borg 2005, pp. 33-53; Stewart 1986; Hurwit 1985, pp.198-199. Shanks 1999, p. 119. Vernant 1990, pp. 51-58, Vernant 1991, pp. 50-91.
[591] Russmann 2010, p. 945, 954.
[592] Neer cites Mack's 1996 thesis "Ordering the body and embodying order: the *kouros* in archaic Greek society". Neer 2010, p. 39.
[593] See Guralnick 1978, p. 467. Neer 2010, p. 30.

example, attributes the form of early Greek statuary to the desire for statuary to mark the presence of what is absent (divine, deceased, or otherwise) and Neer identifies the removal of stone in the sculpting process as metaphorical.[594] These approaches do not matter greatly for the current discussion. What is clear, however, and important, is that while Egyptian statues were the receptacles to be inhabited by the divine or deceased, through which a divine or deceased being could be engaged in ritual activity and offerings, there is no evidence that *kouroi* are viewed as participants in ritual.[595] This means that there is no need to associate the specific significance of the *kouros* with Egyptian sculpture, even if the form of the *kouros* and the context for its display are similar.

In conclusion, the Greeks were inspired by a walking Egyptian sculptural type, which was commonly set up around Third Intermediate and Late Period Egyptian sanctuaries in celebration of private individuals, to create a new form of sculpture, the *kouros*, and possibly also the *kore*, for the expression of social values through a new and restrictively expensive medium.

B: The *prothesis*

Another example of the Greeks recreating a version of an Egyptian motif for use in a similar context, but with the rejection of any Egyptian details, is, arguably, the *prothesis*. An Egyptian inspiration for the *prothesis* and *ekphora* depicted on Greek pottery in the eighth and seventh centuries is quite convincingly argued for by Benson.[596] The full detail of Benson's argument need not be repeated here as there is relatively little new to add. In short, Benson highlights that there are a wide range of parallels between the composition of the *prothesis* in Greek geometric art and the *prothesis* of Egyptian funerary art, both in the arrangement of the figures around the funerary bed and in their postures and expressions of mourning. Examples of these parallels include the elevated funerary bed, the separation of the *prothesis* scene into a number of registers, the postures of the mourners, and the positioning of figures, including crouching figures, in different registers above and below the main

[594] Vernant 1990, pp. 51-58; 1991, pp. 50-91. See also Neer's discussion of the *kouros*, in which he identifies the removal of stone as a metaphor for absence. Neer, 2010, pp. 30-37.
[595] Robins 2008, p. 29.
[596] Benson 1970, pp. 88-99.

register containing the body (see, for example, the similarities in fig.5.8 and 5.9).[597] The organisation of the Egyptian *prothesis* provided the Greeks with a spatial model for the depiction of grandiose, perhaps artificially grandiose, funerary arrangements. The contexts for the application of the *prothesis* in Greece and Egypt were acutely similar, with it being used on Egyptian coffins and tomb walls and on Greek funerary pottery, at times the Greek equivalent of a coffin.[598] However, despite the comparable contexts for use, and the impact of the Egyptian *prothesis* on the spatial arrangement of the scene, the Greeks appear to have largely removed the Egyptian elements within the scene or surrounding the scene on Egyptian examples, including any animal-deities or monsters, any Egyptian text, and any small deity chapels or Nilotic plants.[599]

Benson describes the Greek use of the Egyptianising *prothesis* as evidence of "pliancy and susceptibility". [600] However, the scenes are changed enough that, if they are inspired by Egyptian examples, they demonstrate a deliberate and selective focus on those elements of the Egyptian *prothesis* which could be understood to appeal most to the concerns of the consumers, namely providing a new means of exaggerating and displaying the scale of the mourning, the sense of occasion, and the involvement of a high number of individuals associated with the burial of the deceased. As the *prothesis* motif develops in later Greek art, we continue to find similarities between Egyptian and Greek examples, but whether this is indicative of repeated Greek interactions with Egyptian funerary art, or simply shared funerary practices, is not clear (see fig. 7. 33, 7. 34).[601]

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[597] Benson 1970 pp. 88-99, Benson gives very limited references for his examples, a number of which are drawn, so they can be quite hard to find. However, clear Greek examples include the *prothesis* scenes on two eighth century *kraters* (Athens National Museum 812 and 990) and for Egypt there is the clear example on the Late Period coffin of Anchpechrod (Berlin Staatliche Museen 20132).

[598] Both Egyptian coffins and tombs, and Greek funerary pottery, seem to reflect the identity of the interred person, whether we interpret these as eschatological or social. We see an excellent example of an Egyptian *prothesis*, with certain similarities to Greek examples, in a tomb of the Late Period at Bahariya (Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140).

[599] Seen, for example, in the scenes surrounding the *prothesis* on the late-Third-Intermediate-Period cartonnage of Hor (Brooklyn Museum 37.50E) and more generally common in Egyptian funerary art.

[600] Benson 1970, p. 91.

[601] For example, the *prothesis* of an Athenian black-figure *pinax*, c. 560-550 BC, Louvre CA 255, and in Late Period tombs, such as that at Bahariya (See Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140).

We can see, therefore, that as with the *kouros*, the *prothesis* provides evidence for a process of inspiration, through which the Greeks used Egyptian scenes to create something similar, and for a similar context, but without any sign of deliberate allusions to Egypt or Egyptian visual culture.

C: A bound god

One final case-study will round out the discussion of this process, the depiction of a bound god, often identified as Zeus, in Laconian sixth-century vase painting.

In the next chapter I will discuss Greek contacts with the weighing-of-the-heart vignette from the *Book of the Dead,* with which the Arcesilas Painter creates a depiction of Arcesilas and his goods. It will be suggested that on the Arcesilas Cup we find that the eschatological context in which Osiris appears is transformed into a weighing scene, and that he is replaced by a king in royal clothing, Arcesilas. Here, however, it is suggested that the Greeks used the same weighing-of-the-heart vignettes, and other scenes of Egyptian mortals before their gods, for their own representations of similar scenes, of Greek gods and of worship.

On sixth-century Laconian painted pottery we find a number of depictions of an enthroned deity who seems bound up in his robes in a roughly similar fashion to the depiction of Osiris or of Re-Horakhty in Osiris' clothing, which was exceptionally common on funerary stele of the Third Intermediate Period (fig. 5.10).[602] A typical example of the type can be seen on a Laconian black-figure *kylix* c. 560-550 BC on which a god (one assumes) bound from head to foot in his robes sits on an unusual throne of squares and comparable

[602] The pictured example (a funerary stela depicting the deceased before a seated Osiris-form Re-Horakhty, Third Intermediate Period, Thebes, BM EA37899, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/YCA63159 [01/05/2015) features Re-Horakhty, a falcon-headed deity who takes on Osiris' role. It is interesting to note the extraordinary prominence of the eagle as, while the eagle had long been associated with Zeus, for the Arcesilas Cup, discussed in Chapter 6, it seems very possible that some of the animal-headed deities of the Egyptian weighing-of-the-heart become humans *and* animals, so that Anubis becomes a human and his animal component is expressed in a cat-like creature under Arcesilas' chair, Thoth becomes a human and his Ibis head becomes the stork which flies above the scene, it is possible that such a process could account for some extent of the prominence of the eagle here.

examples can be found on other Laconian black-figure pottery of the same period (fig. 5.11, 5.12, 5.13).[603] The depiction of a god bound in their robes is an unusual development in Greek art, without a clear significance. The appearance of the motif in a period of Laconian art in the mid-sixth century which sees the introduction of many Egyptianising motifs prompts consideration of whether and why Greek artists may have used Egyptian material culture as an inspiration for the depiction of Greek deities.

This unusual bound version of Zeus is arguably an example of the Laconian painters taking an Egyptian scene for which they broadly understand the relative significance of the characters and removing many of the odd or un-relatable elements in order to keep the essence of what they want – a novel means to depict divinity, a means of creating a distinction between the mortal viewer and the immortal subject of the scene.

That the Greeks would use Egyptian material culture as inspiration for the depiction of their own deities' power is certainly suggested elsewhere in Greek art. The depiction of Zeus on a sixth-century Attic Siana *kylix*, clutching a palmette-topped staff, seated on a leonine throne, from which grows a lotus and a snake, is perhaps the most exaggerated example of Egyptianising motifs being used as a set of divine possessions (fig. 5.14).[604] In this image we find a number of elements which each have power connotations in Egyptian art compressed to reflect the power of one individual, Zeus. The scene has no direct Egyptian parallel, and none of the motifs strictly imitate any individual feature of Egyptian material culture. Nonetheless, the overall impression is that for the Athenian painter a certain set of motifs, which he might or might not have identified as foreign or even specifically Egyptian but were nonetheless both, are ways of expressing divine presence.

More directly relevant to the Laconian bound-gods, however, are the unusual (in Greek art) depictions of mortals offering objects to what would appear to be seated deities. There are a lot of blurred lines here. On the Laconian *kylix* in figure 5.13 we see a bound

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[603] The pictured examples are: fig. 5.11 - a Rider Painter *kylix*, mid-sixth century, depicting Zeus and an eagle (Louvre E668); fig. 5.12 - a Laconian III (575-565 BC) *kylix*, featuring Zeus with an eagle (Lane 1934, pl. 37 b); and fig. 5.13 – another Laconian *kylix,* 575-565 BC, featuring Zeus (?) on a leonine throne receiving an offering of a pomegranate, attributed to the Boreads Painter (BM 1888,0601.524, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA41536 [01/05/2015]).

[604] Attic siana *kylix* depicting Ajax seizing Cassandra and the Apotheosis of Heracles, 570-560 BC, attributed to the C Painter (BM 1885,1213.11, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA5957 [01/05/2015]).

figure on a leonine throne, who looks much like the "Zeus" which appears with an eagle on two other *kylikes*, but he is receiving an offering of a pomegranate, which is held up quite close to the bound, seated Zeus' (?) face. Elsewhere, we also see the dedication of pomegranate to a pair of individuals seated on a leonine throne on the Chrysapha relief (fig. 7.8).[605] The offering of pomegranates to a seated individual on a throne perhaps also occurs in Chian art in roughly the same period. Sherds of 'Chalice style' Chian pottery from Naucratis depict worshippers with pomegranates, and other sherds depict seated individuals, it is difficult to piece together many scenes from the fragments, but one series of fragments suggests that the Chian pottery, which was more generally in some details similar to contemporary Laconian pottery, did depict scenes of offering to a seated deity.[606]

The curious overlaps between the funerary and the divine contexts, the bound Zeus, the leonine throne, and the unusual scene of what appears to be a seated, bound god being offered a pomegranate, which is held close to the seated god's face, might all suggest that what we witness in these scenes is a variety of outcomes of Greek artists' contacts with a variety Egyptian depictions of offerings to gods, or more likely, considering the pomegranate and the leonine throne, of funerary offerings to deceased relatives in which the offerings are held to the face level of the recipients, often seated on leonine thrones (fig. 5.15, 5.16).[607] Such a conclusion is supported by a number of small details, including Egyptianising leonine throne,[608] and the appearance of two individuals on a double leonine throne, much like those

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[605] Laconian grave relief, c.540 BC, found in a tumulus at Chrysapha. (Berlin Antikenmuseen SK 731).

[606] For pomegranate offerings see rim-sherds of Chian Chalice-Style pottery, 570-560 BC, including BM 1888,0601.481, and BM 1924,1201.353. For the series which appear to show a possible offering scene, see BM GR. 1888.6.1550a, GR 1924.1201.206, GR 1924.1201.204., GR 1924.1201.342. The footstool on one of these fragments (GR 1924.12.1.206) is very like that in Egyptian scenes, though such objects also appear in Assyrian art. The garlands held by figures on Chian pottery is closely similar to that held on Laconian scenes, such as a fragment by the Naucratis Painter (Cyrene 71-659 Schaus, 1979, pl. 16). For more details on the similarities see Williams 2006, pp. 127-132.

[607] Examples are very numerous, the two examples given in fig. 15 and fig. 16, both from New Kingdom burials at Thebes, demonstrate some of the similarity in posture with the figure on the Laconian *kylix*, BM 1888,0601.524. Fig. 5.15: Dynasty XIX Stela, Thebes, Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Chicago, Inv.1490, http://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/#D/MC/14399/H/1430222734150 [01/05/2015]. Fig. 5.16: Dynasty XXI Stela of Padiamun, Thebes, BM EA8484, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/YCA64083 [01/05/2015].

[608] These are notably different to Assyrian thrones. Where Assyrian thrones do have sculpted leonine feet, these face outwards and lack the sculpted leonine legs of the Egyptian examples. Assyrian

in Egyptian funerary art, on the Chrysapha relief and perhaps also on a Chian cup fragment, where we find a pair of overlapping heads.[609]

As such, there is scattered evidence that a number of different Greek artists, from two regions which we can closely associate with Egypt in the sixth century, chose to take the general composition, and one or two details, of Egyptian scenes of deities and offerings as inspiration for their own depictions of similar activities. This example, if it stands, fits perfectly with the Attic approach to creating funerary scenes about two centuries earlier. The relatively short span of time in which we find a glut of these motifs is also similar, although for less clear reasons.

D: Conclusions

Inspiration is the least complicated way of thinking about Greek uses for Egyptianising motifs. Inspiration describes a process by which the Greeks take an Egyptian motif, Hellenise it through the replacement of Egyptian characters with Greek ones and the removal of certain Egyptian designs, and then use it a context much like the original context of the Egyptian motif. The consistency with which these motifs are reapplied in similar contexts implies, but by no means proves, that the Greek artists either encountered these motifs in context, or understood Egyptian art well enough to understand the broad significance of a scene or object. The conclusions drawn across the three examples of this chapter also compound two other important observations. One is that an explicit quality of "Egyptianness", expressed through Egyptian gods, accessories, and hieroglyphs, is not given the same priority it was for the objects of chapters 2 and 3, and seems to lack the same desirability in the media of stone or painted pottery (of various periods) that it appeared to maintain in faience objects. A second is that the Egyptian motifs with which the Greeks appear to be engaging most often are all found most commonly in funerary art.

As this thesis moves forward to consider more nuanced processes for the Greek introduction of Egyptianising motifs, *experimentation* and *accentuation,* these two basic

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thrones also have more elaborate turning, and pine-shaped finials and feet are normally used to adorn the throne rather than lions' paws

[609] Chian Chalice-style fragment, sixth century, BM GR 1888.6.401.1283.

observations will be found to be true of the whole range of evidence used to discuss Egyptianising motifs.

Chapter 6

Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art: *Experimentation*

In the previous chapter the term *inspiration* was used to describe a process by which the Greeks took motifs encountered in Egyptian art, and applied them in the same contexts in Greek art, but with entirely different details, such that these motifs could have been produced as the result of a memory of Egyptian material culture, or even a second hand account of it. In contrast, this chapter discusses examples of a process of *experimentation*, in which we find individual Greek artists drawing upon close studies of Egyptian compositions and taking the details of these scenes entirely out of context, refiguring them in order to create detailed and novel scenes which were not common elements of Greek art, and whose impact on wider Greek art seems slight. By the very nature of the process of *experimentation*, the evidence for this process is in the details of individual examples rather than the overall appearance of a broad array of images. Accordingly, just two examples will be at the centre of this discussion of *experimentation*, the Arcesilas Cup (fig. 6.1) and amphorae depicting the fight of Heracles and the Stymphalian Birds (fig. 6.8, 6.9), though similar conclusions could be drawn from the study of other examples, including an Egyptianising satyr boat parade, a scene of Heracles trampling the Egyptians, or the afore-discussed Chrysapha relief.[610]

[610] Boardman 1980, pp. 149-150, 1958, pp. 4-12. Fig 6.1: Laconian *kylix* attributed to the Arkesilas Painter, c. 560 BC, found at Vulci, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, De Ridder 189, http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/record/ark:/12148/c33gbhc8h [01/05/2015]. Fig. 6.8: Athenian Black-Figure *amphora* depicting Heracles scattering the Stymphalian Birds on one side and satyrs on the other, 530-520 BC, Vulci, BM B163, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA9932 [01/05/2015]. Fig. 6.9: Fragments of an Athenian Black-Figure *amphora* depicting Heracles scattering the Stymphalian Birds, Munich, Antikensammlungen 8701, Beazley 1956, pl 136.52.

A: The Arcesilas Cup

The Arcesilas Cup is a *kylix* painted in the mid-sixth century, c. 560 BC by the Arcesilas Painter, a Laconian painter named after this *kylix*.[611] The cup was found at Vulci, almost certainly in a tomb, and passed into the collection of the Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France through a public sale in 1836.[612] The Arcesilas Cup is of interest here because of its oft mentioned connections to scenes from Egyptian funerary contexts, specifically to the vignettes accompanying spells 125-126 of the *Book of the Dead* depicting the weighing of the heart.[613] These connections will be discussed in detail below, but first I will detail the cup's scene.

The Arcesilas Cup's scene and inscriptions

Bresson (2000) offers the most meticulous description of the cup to date, though the majority of its detail is actually quite easy to make out (fig. 6.1).[614] The Arcesilas Cup is separated into two sections, a main register and a lower register.[615] These scenes are separated by a firm line, but form part of the same scene. In the main register the central elements are, from left: a large figure seated on a folding chair under a tarpaulin (all characters are male), a worker facing him and pointing to him with a small stylus, a large scale loaded with goods, two workers moving goods to be weighed, and another figure pointing to the scales. Detailing around these figures includes a number of animals, from left: a lizard behind the seated figure, a panther below his stool, two birds and a monkey atop the weighing mechanism's beam, and two other birds in flight, resembling an eagle and a stork. In the lower register,

[611] Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, De Ridder.189.
[612] Ibid.
[613] Not all copies of the *Book of the Dead* are illustrated with vignettes, and which sections are illustrated varies. The weighing-of-the-heart vignette, representing spells 125-6, is among the most commonly represented, especially in Third Intermediate Period and Late Period examples. Spells are numbered according to conventions set out by Karl Richard Lepsius and detailed in Taylor 2010, p. 289.
[614] Bresson 2000, p. 85. Schaus' more recent discussion (2006, pp. 176-178) adds nothing notable to the discussion of the cup, and lacks Bresson's detail.
[615] Though Webster (1939) recognises the weighing beam as creating a third register, it is not really distinct from the central, main register. Arguably, if the scene has three demarcated parts, the guard's corner of the lower register is the third.

from left, we find: a standing or squatting man in a demarcated area, two workers carrying goods, and a pile of goods. The goods in question are in sacks and may be silphium, wool, or something else entirely.

Around the figures of the scene there are a number of inscriptions, which are important to the interpretation of the scene, but to which it is often difficult to attribute firm readings. In the upper register we find, from left: ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ, ΣΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ, [ΣΤ]ΑΘΜΟΣ, ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ, ΟΧΥΔΟ, ΖΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ.[616] In the lower register, from left: ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ, ΜΑΕΝ. The inscriptions do not always correspond directly to figures, but many do seem to align with certain individuals: ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ with the seated figure, ΣΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ with the figure pointing at the seated figure, [ΣΤ]ΑΘΜΟΣ, ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ, and ΟΧΥΔΟ all hover around the two central figures loading the scales, and finally the rightmost figure, pointing at the scales, is labelled ΖΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ. In the lower register the rightmost character seems to be labelled by the nearby word ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ and the word ΜΑΕΝ is placed between the two workers carrying goods and the pile of goods.

Two of the inscriptions can be given quite straightforward readings. The seated figure is labelled with the name ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ, which gives the cup and its painter their names. By the dating of the cup this ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ can be identified with some certainty as Arcesilas II, ruler of Cyrene. This attribution fits well with the figure's detailing. ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ wears lavish clothing, including footwear and an elaborate hat; he also has long braided hair and holds a staff. This presentation and his detailed folding-stool/throne, size, and positioning under a canopy highlight the relative importance of this figure to the other smaller, more plainly clothed, and labouring characters. The leftmost figure in the lower register, under ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΣ is probably labelled not by name, but by function. His annotation, "ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ", can be read as "one who guards". This reading is supported by the fact that he stands/squats outside in an area separate to that occupied by the two workers and their goods, demarcated by a thick black line.

The remaining inscriptions, ΣΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ, [ΣΤ]ΑΘΜΟΣ, ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ, ΟΧΥΔΟ, ΖΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ, and ΜΑΕΝ are open to interpretation and most have contested meanings,

[616] As given by the record of the Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/record/ark:/12148/c33gbhc8h. [12/05/2013]

often derived from readings of the cup's scene.[617] The reading of the inscriptions generally falls into two categories: exclamations, and appellations or proper names. The interpretations of the cup's overall significance will be treated in more detail below, but the various readings for the inscriptions can be noted here.

ΣΟΦΟΡΤΟΣ appears above the figure facing the king and pointing towards him with what appears to be a stylus. The word is proposed by Nuemann to be a proper name, Σωφορτος, related to Σωβιος. This name would indicate "one whose cargo is intact", and be attributed to a rich merchant's son, perhaps even a particular individual.[618] This view is accepted by E. Simon, but Bresson is more critical of the use of Σωφορτος as a personal name and its attribution to a supposed wealthy mercantile family.[619] Instead, Bresson follows Chamoux's reconstruction of [Ι]σωφορτος, but instead of taking the word to be a name, as Chamoux does, Bresson reads [Ι]σωφορτος as an exclamation directed at the king, "the weights are equal."[620] It seems more convincing to read the inscription as relatable to the equal weights, whether an appellation of the figure's role or, as Bresson states, an exclamation, than follow Nuemann's attempts to create a proper name and its suitable background.

The words above the centre-right figures, the two workers who load the weights, are the most fragmentary. The first, [ΣΤ]ΑΘΜΟΣ lacks a particularly sound translation. Bresson and Nuemann are both unsure on exact reconstructions, and their [--]Α̣ΘΜΟΣ is more tentative than the Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France's [ΣΤ]ΑΘΜΟΣ.[621] Nuemann does, however, propose ΕΠΙΣΤΑΘΜΟΣ, which Bresson relays without addition, though it is clear that there is no definite solution.[622] ΙΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ is rejected outright by Nuemann, who instead reads]ΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ as [Φ]Ο̣ΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΣ. He

[617] Neumann finds an additional E[ ], but there is nothing that can be done with it. Neumann 1979, p. 91.
[618] Neumann 1979, p. 87-88.
[619] E. Simon 1976, p.60; Bresson 2000, p 87. Aubet (2001, p. 107) also says that no mercantile middle class existed in the Archaic Period, or even for a long period thereafter.
[620] Chamoux 1953, 262; Bresson 2000, pp. 87-88.
[621] Neumann 1979, p. 88.
[622] Neumann 1979, p. 88.

translates this word as another appellation, “Lastenträger”, “carrier”, relating the word to the scene of the movement of goods played out below it.[623]

The next two words OPYXO (OXYΔO is given by the Arcesilas Cup’s description of the Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, but scholars generally read it as OPYXO, backwards, with a rho rather than a delta), and ΣΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ have wildly varying interpretations.[624] Benton reads OPYXO to mean “Dig in!” An exclamation by the foreman directed at the birds eating insects from the woodwork.[625] Lane may also have believed the word to be an exclamation “lower-away!” an order from the foreman to the workers.[626] However, others read this inscription as an anthroponym, or functional anthroponym at least. Schaus reads OPYXO as a misspelled (perhaps deliberately) reference to Ἐρυξω, Arcesilas’ wife as part of his interpretation of the scene as satirical. Neumann reads OPYXO as either an appellation or proper name, “of (continuous) digging”, perhaps of silphium tubers.[627] Bresson also finds this reading attractive, championing Chamoux’s interpretation of the goods as silphium tubers and translating OPYXO as “déterreur”, “one who digs up/reveals”, labelling the worker as one who digs up the silphium tubers.[628] In all, the relation of OPYXO to digging of silphium is a valid understanding but one interpretation seems overlooked. The term OPYXO or “déterreur” may not relate to the digging up of tubers of silphium but to the bringing up of the goods directly below the figure labelled with this term, which would give it more direct relevance to the scene.

The final word of the upper register is ΣΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ. It is read by Benton to mean “insect-eater”, but this is dubious.[629] Neumann suggests ΣΛΙΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ results from the metathesis of ΣΙΛΦΟΜΑΧΟΣ, and means silphium-kneader, though he admits there is nothing about the scene that reinforces this reading.[630] Bresson makes a somewhat delicate case for “silphium-balance”, based on a compound of silphium and a transliteration of

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[623] Neumann 1979, pp. 88-89.
[624] http://medaillesetantiques.bnf.fr/ws/catalogue/app/collection/record/ark:/12148/c33gbhc8h. [10/09/2014].
[625] Benton 1959, p. 181.
[626] According to Benton (1959, p. 181) though she gives no reference and Lane’s 1933/34 discussion does not mention this reading.
[627] Neumann 1979, p. 88.
[628] Neumann 1979, pp. 88-89. Bresson 2000, p. 88.
[629] Benton 1959, p. 88.
[630] Neumann 1979, p. 90.

Egyptian.[631] The Egyptian transliteration, first proposed by Studniczka, associates “mekhat” (balance) (m -measures, m + khaj - measuring instrument) with μαχος, and Bresson adds that the word “silphium” may itself have an African origin.[632] This argument relies heavily on the assumption that silphium is the weighed good and the resemblance between ΖΛΙΦΟ and silphium may be a false lead. In light of recent hypotheses on the use of foreign words spelled out phonetically on Greek vases it may be that we should be questioning more thoroughly whether the more tenuous readings of various words above, largely driven by interpretations of context, might be overturned by an examination of their correspondence to phonetically similar Egyptian or Libyan words.[633] The second inscription of the lower register, MAEN, lacks any satisfactory translations at present.[634]

The Arcesilas Cup’s Egyptianising elements

Having outlined the essential details of the Arcesilas Cup, we can now turn to the features of the cup which may have been derived from Egyptian art. The Egyptianising aspects iconography and composition of the Arcesilas Cup have already been discussed by a number of scholars, including Bresson, Lane, Puchstein, Benton, and Boardman. However, when one examines previous studies of the Arcesilas Cup it is clear that, at least so far as the use of Egyptianising iconography and composition are concerned, few detailed comments or comparisons were made before Bresson’s discussion in *La cité marchande* (2000).

The opinion that the Arcesilas Painter used Egyptian motifs to compose the cup’s scene may date back as early as the year after it was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Puchstein, writing in both 1880 and 1881, refers to such an opinion in Wilkinson’s 1837 *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, but it is unclear that Wilkinson ever makes comparisons between the cup and Egyptian art.[635] Puchstein himself makes minimal comment on the specific details of the Arcesilas Cup which would connect it with Egyptian art. In his short 1881 article “Zur Arcesilasschale”, referenced by Lane and Bresson as the

[631] Bresson 2000, pp. 88-89.
[632] Bresson 2000, p. 88.
[633] Mayor 2014, pp. 447-493.
[634] Bresson 2000, p. 87. Neumann 1979, pp. 91-92.
[635] I cannot find discussion of the cup in any of the wide range of editions and volumes of Wilkinson’s 1837 *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* that I have looked in despite chasing Puchstein’s exact references (1881, p. 185, n. 5; 1882 p. 218, n.1).

original example of connections being drawn between the cup and Egyptian art, Puchstein focuses on the links between Egypt and Cyrene (thought at that time to be the production origin of the cup) more than the details of the cup itself, or their links with Egyptian art.[636]

Moving beyond the nineteenth century, Lane's 1933/4 examination of Laconian pottery, as highlighted above, referred its readers to Puchstein for further details of Egyptian elements.[637] Commenting on the Arcesilas Cup's unusual composition, Lane notes the cup's exotic animals, attributing these to the fauna of Cyrene.[638] He also stated an "unmistakable" relationship between the cup and Egyptian wall painting but gave no further detail on whether he means the weighing of commercial goods by officials or the weighing of the heart in scenes from the *Book of the Dead* vignettes. Despite Lane's limited attention to the issue Benton still directs her readers to his discussion for further details when she mentions that there is likely a relationship between the weighing scenes of Egyptian art and the Arcesilas cup.[639] Therefore, up to 1950, despite repeated interest in the cup's Egyptian elements, no full examination of the details seems to have been committed to paper, with a chain of scholars referring back to studies which actually provide no further details.

Boardman contributed only a little further detail when he noted the Arcesilas Cup's Egyptian parallels in a footnote in a 1958 article on a Greek vase found in Egypt.[640] Boardman references Puchstein and Lane, but it is clear from his analysis both in that footnote and later in *The Greeks Overseas* that he believes the weighing scene is reminiscent not of the *Book of the Dead,* after Puchstein, but of the weighing of goods by officials, giving as a particular example the weighing scene from the tomb of Neferronpet at Thebes (fig. 6.2).[641] It seems plausible that this is the sort of weighing that Lane also had in mind, considering that Lane attributes the Arcesilas Cup's animals to the fauna of Cyrene rather

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[636]Bresson (2000, p. 89, n. 29) refers to "Puchstein 1880", and Lane (1933/34, p. 162 n.1) to Puchstein 1881, probably due to the relevant copies of *Archäologische Zeitung* having two dates inside. However, it is clear that both refer to Puchstein 1880/1881, "Zur Arcesilasschale", *Archäologische Zeitung* 38, pp. 185-186, as the only reference to the Arcesilas Cup in Puchstein's 1881/1882 article "Kyrenäische Vasen", *Archäologische Zeitung* 39, pp. 215-250, is a footnote mentioning Wilkinson, noted above, and curiously not his own article dated to the previous year.

[637] Lane 1933/34, p. 162, n.1.

[638] Lane 1933/34, p. 161.

[639] Benton 1959, p. 182.

[640] Boardman 1980b, p. 149.

[641] Ibid.

than to the *Book of the Dead*.[642] Despite both referencing Puchstein, therefore, neither of them seems to be in agreement with him.

It is in Bresson that we find the majority of the relevant detail. Bresson makes a convincing case for the presence of Egyptianising motifs from vignettes of the *Book of the Dead* in the internal scene of the Arcesilas Cup. In particular he contributes specialist literature on the weighing mechanism, notes the presence of the baboon, and with accuracy likens the worker nearest to Arcesilas, holding a stylus, to the scribal Thoth.[643] However, as there are a number of points which we can add to this list, and expand upon within it, the cup's Egyptian links will be re-examined here.

The first features we can note are quite broad ones. While Bresson states that the scene's overall composition is like the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, it is when we contextualise this observation within other contemporary scenes of weighing that the importance of this seemingly causal likeness becomes clear. The positioning of a single seated figure to the left of a weighing scene is unparalleled in archaic Greek art. Other weighing scenes of the period focus on the depiction of symmetry, with a single individual at either end of the scale, either both standing, or both seated (fig. 6.3, 6.4).[644] The Arcesilas Cup instead uses an asymmetrical arrangement, in which many characters operate a large set of scales in front of one overseer, and this asymmetry is exactly and uniquely parallel to the arrangement of figures in the *Book of the Dead*'s weighing-of-the-heart vignette, for example in Nehemesratawy's *Book of the Dead* (fig. 6.5).[645] Furthermore, we can note the large and prominent positioning of the scales, and the high number of characters involved in the weighing, both of which are features shared with the majority of examples of the weighing-of–the-heart vignette in the *Book of the Dead*.

[642] Lane 1933/34, p. 161.

[643] Bresson 2000, pp. 89-94.

[644] These scenes always appear rather ambiguous in their intended meaning; no other weighing scenes exist in the extant works of the Laconian black figure painters. Fig. 6.3: Athenian *amphora* by Taleides, dating 575-525 BC, featuring a weighing scene on one side and Theseus slaying the Minotaur on the other, MMA 47.11.5, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/254578 [01/05/2015]. Fig. 6.4: Athenian *oinochoe* featuring draped men in starred robes weighing goods, of c. 550-500 BC, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1105, Beazley 1956, pl. 426.4.

[645] *Book of the Dead* of Nehemesratawy, Late Period, Thebes, Museo Egizio Torino 1799, Author's image.

Moving onto the details of these figures we find many more similarities between the Arcesilas Cup and the weighing-of-the-heart vignette (fig. 6.6). The two large seated characters, Osiris and Arcesilas, with their thrones, staffs, crowns, and positioning under a canopy/roof are quite clearly relatable. Bresson highlights two important likenesses between the Arcesilas Cup and the activities particular to the weighing-of-the-heart vignette. The first is the posture and positioning of the figure holding a stylus, which are parallel to the figure of the scribe Thoth in the weighing-of-the-heart vignette. Both face the figure of key authority, both seem somewhat detached from the manual act of weighing, both hold a small stylus. The second similarity is that the figure farthest right on the cup points upwards to the central point of the balance. This is paralleled by the presence in some weighing of the heart vignettes of a figure, generally Anubis or Horus (or at least a falcon-headed deity), who points upwards to, or holds, a plumb line dangling from the centre of the balance beam. While the plumb line is absent on the Arcesilas Cup, the figure appears to be posed in the same space and posture, as if to look to a central line. To Bresson's two observations we can, arguably, add a third, and possibly even a fourth. The central figure (third from left) who clutches at something near the left hand ropes of the scale (nearest Arcesilas) finds parallels in numerous depictions of Anubis in weighing-of-the-heart vignettes who, sometimes crouched down, holds onto the balance on side of the scale occupied by truth, which is always the side closest to Osiris, generally the left (fig. 6.5, 6.6).[646] The postures are not exactly the same, but the positioning seems equivalent. The fourth possible likeness is between the bundled-up guard isolated in the corner of the lower register and the crouched deities in a separate register above or below some weighing of the heart vignettes (see fig. 6.5). The huddled, shrouded and knees-to-body pose, diminutive scale, and positioning of these characters in distinctly portioned-off areas are all very similar.

[646]There are a remarkable number of examples of Third Intermediate Period and Late Period funerary texts in the collections of the Museo Egizio Torino, in which Osiris is consistently depicted to the left of the scene. The examples used here are the *Book of the Dead* of Nehemesratawy, as above, the contemporary *Book of the Dead* of Tasnahkt (Museo Egizio Torino 1833) and the Dynasty XX (New Kingdom) *Book of the Dead* of Aaner (Museo Egizio Torino 1771). The preserved examples are all from Thebes, but as funerary activity was localised at sites such as Sais and the weighing-of-the-heart vignette was painted in Late Period tombs, such as that at Bahariya (See Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140), we can safely say that these scenes would be widely spread across Upper and Lower Egypt.

So far we have seen some sweeping similarities and five potentially identifiable characters, three already recognised by Bresson, and a further two suggested here. It is worth highlighting that all of these figures appear in contemporary weighing-of-the-heart vignettes, including Nehemesratawy's *Book of the Dead* and similar contemporary examples from the Museo Egizio Torino, and so while no single extant example seems to shows all five characters in the exact positions described above, it is far from inconceivable that a single parallel scene could exist.

After the figures, the next most striking feature of the Arcesilas Cup is arguably the high number of animals in the scene. One of these, the baboon, has an immediate and striking resonance for anyone who has seen the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, and is one of Bresson's two key pieces of evidence.[647] The baboon, which sits at the centre of the weighing mechanism, is comparable to the baboon which sits at the centre of the weighing mechanism in most representations of the weighing-of-the-heart (fig. 6.7). The positioning of the baboon on the Arcesilas Cup, and its squat seated posture, are too like the Egyptian baboon, which represents Thoth, to be dismissed as coincidence. While other monkeys and baboons are present in Greek art of the sixth century there are none in a comparable position, and it is difficult to attempt to provide an alternative origin for the baboon of the Arcesilas Cup.[648]

Bresson makes little note of the birds on the cup, but these are worth mentioning. If we look outside of the narrow range of weighing-of-the-heart vignettes that Bresson uses as comparanda we can easily find that in Late Period examples there are sometimes vultures at either end of the weighing beam, providing a parallel for the placement of two eagles (?) in the same position on the beam from which the scales are suspended on the Arcesilas Cup (fig. 6.7).[649] The stork and eagle/falcon may be simple Greek fillers, as the latter is common in Laconian vase painting. They may alternatively be attributed to the high frequency of birds and avian motifs in Egyptian funerary texts. We could also view the cup's flying stork and

[647] Bresson 2000, p. 92.
[648] Examples of monkeys seemingly based upon Egyptian precedents include: an Etruscan monkey pendant of the seventh-century BC (MMA 1992.11.50) and a Rhodian aryballos in the form of a monkey, c. 600-575 BC (MMA 1992.11.2, 46. 417). The snub-nosed monkey of Near-Eastern art may have also influenced some Greek representations, but is different to the snouted monkey shown on the Arcesilas cup.
[649] Dynasty XX (New Kingdom) *Book of the Dead* of Aaner (Museo Egizio Torino 1771, Author's image. Bresson only uses the well-known papyri of Ani and Hunefer (2000, p. 91) but examples like this one the identification of more specific parallels in the Egyptian and Greek scenes.

eagle/falcon as mundane transformations of the ibis-headed and falcon-headed gods, Thoth and Horus, who commonly appear in the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, though this pleasingly neat step might be a stretch.[650]

The baboon was the first of Bresson's key pieces of evidence. The second is the weighing mechanism, which he explores with the use of Glanville's 1935/36 "Weights and Balances in Ancient Egypt".[651] The weighing mechanism of the Arcesilas Cup is, in some details, Greek. The scales, like those in other archaic Greek depictions of weighing, lack a central support post or plumb line, such as we find on the scales of the weighing-of-the-heart vignette (fig. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.6). Instead, we find that large Greek scales are depicted as being suspended from above. However, the key element of the Arcesilas Cup's scales is that the ends of the weighing beam terminate in conical embellishments, from which the ropes for the suspension of the plates descend.[652] These conical embellishments are characteristic of real Egyptian scales in the New Kingdom but not in the Late Period, and their continued representation in funerary texts until the Roman period was a reflection of artistic tradition rather than actual continuing use.[653] It is not necessary to go into great depth on the development of the scales here, but it suffices to say that the distinct conical end elements of the scales on the Arcesilas Cup resemble those of the Egyptian artistic tradition, but not used in reality in the contemporary period.

We can add a final two features of the Arcesilas Cup's composition to round off the Egyptian parallels of the piece. The first is the use of proportion. The abuse of natural proportions to such an extent that the guard of the lower register is only equal to Arcesilas' shin and if Arcesilas were standing he would tower over all of his workers is a compositional choice with precedent in the Egyptian weighing-of-the-heart vignettes. Such use of scale is present elsewhere in Egyptianising elements of Laconian art, such as the Chrysapha relief, and may owe its presence in Greek art to the Egyptian utilisation of scale as demonstrative of relative power and importance. The second parallel in composition is the use of two-three registers to demarcate regions of the scene. Unlike elsewhere in Greek art, the lower register

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[650] This is suggested above, p. 179, n. 590. It is easy to object to such a reading, but equally it offers an alternative to outright rejection as a way of thinking about how Greek artists' negotiated scenes which included Egyptian animal-headed deities.
[651] Bresson 2000, pp. 93-94.
[652] Bresson 2000, p. 93
[653] Ibid.

is fully a part of the upper scene, but demarcated by a thick black line and using reduced figures. This feature is common in the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*, which have numerous clear registers for most scenes, and arguably owes its clear and unusual execution on the Arcesilas Cup to the influence of these vignettes.

In sum there is little on the Arcesilas Cup which is not relatable to the Egyptian weighing-of-the-heart vignette, and many of the parallels we can draw are quite convincing.

Interpretations of the Arcesilas Cup and its use of Egyptian art

The Arcesilas Cup's connection to Egyptian funerary art, specifically the weighing-of-the-heart vignette accompanying spell 125-126 of the *Book of the Dead*, seems quite securely attested by a unique set of features individually, let alone as a single composition, alien in Greek art. It remains to be established why this should be the case.

We can dismiss, without much hesitation, the suggestion that the Arcesilas Cup's scene sought to convey the same eschatological ideas as the weighing-of-the-heart vignette. Despite the cup's presumable funerary find context, there is no indication that it relates to the weighing of the soul of a deceased individual. Bresson may be incorrect in stating that the Greek translation of the scene completely removes "religious" elements. While the baboon is unlikely to have still conveyed its particular Egyptian functions as representative of Thoth, and thereby the recording of justice, the presence of the many birds and the lizard still lend the cup a fantastical element which may have significance.[654] Nonetheless, even if we do not describe the scene as translated from religious to mundane, we must accept that the act of weighing here appears to have no clear relationship to the soul of any of the characters involved.

Whether the archaic Greeks conceptually associated weighing with the judgement of the deceased is unclear. We find Hermes executing the *psychostasia* of Memnon and Achilles in a number of late-archaic depictions, but the weighing is carried out with hand scales.[655] Certain depictions of Hermes with these scales and more generic εἴδωλα and non-combatants

[654] Hurwit 2006, pp. 121-136.
[655] For example on an Athenian *kylix,* 525-475, Beazley 1942, 46.21.

would appear to suggest that the weighing process became more widely associated with Hermes' role as *psychopompos,* but there is nothing to suggest this leading up to c.560 BC.[656] It is also notable that while aspects of Hermes' treatment of the dead might be compared to aspects of the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, the Greek *psychostasia* is never depicted in a composition derived from the naturally applicable weighing-of-the-heart vignette. [657] The image of a miniaturised man being weighed is present in Egyptian art, but rare and probably an unlikely precedent for such Greek scenes.[658]

It would appear that even if the Arcesilas Painter was aware of the particular significance that the Egyptians attributed to the scenes of the weighing-of-the-heart he was not concerned with representing this significance in the Arcesilas Cup. This is a step away from the process of *inspiration*, which saw the introduction of new, Egyptianising motifs used in similar contexts to their Egyptian use, and is different to the process of *accentuation* discussed in the next chapter, in which we see the Greeks develop old, animal motifs using anthropomorphising motifs from similar contexts in Egyptian.

If the Arcesilas Painter did not want to depict a scene of *psychostasia*, what was the function of the cup, and why did it draw inspiration from an Egyptian vignette?

A number of scholars have argued that the cup is in some way satirical, which works well with Arcesilas' short reign and that he had acquired a reputation as unlikeable, or χαλεπός.[659] However, the individual cases for satirical readings are all quite difficult to support. Benton's reading of the cup revolves entirely around the birds in the scene. She suggests that the birds are being invited to eat away the pests infesting the cargo and weighing mechanism. The entire scene is a mockery of the figure of Arcesilas, who is

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[656] For example on an Athenian Red-Figure *stamnos* from Cumae (Boston MFA 10.177). Hand-held scales from a Mycenaean grave (Sixteenth-century BC, Grave III, Grave Circle A, Athens National Archaeological Museum) bear little relevance to this point, and cannot really be used as evidence for a Mycenaean funerary *psychostasia*.

[657]In particular the manner in which Hermes physically leads the dead on *lekythoi*, such as an Athenian Red-Figure *lekythos,* 475-425 BC (*LIMC* V, pl.248, HERMES 606), where the gentle mortal/immortal hand-holding interaction brings to mind the interactions of gods and the deceased in Egyptian funerary art.

[658] Neb-Seni Papyrus funerary vignette (BM 9.900). Budge 1904, p. 156.

[659] The early Battiad kings are little discussed compared to those later, whose struggles to maintain power are noted by Mitchell 2002, pp. 89-97. He is described as χαλεπός, "difficult" or "hard", by Plutarch (*de Mul. virt.* 260, see Applebaum 1979, p. 17)

impotent in the situation. However, Benton's reading of the inscriptions is too selective, giving readings for only the two of the inscriptions which she can relate to her general impression of the cup.[660] Her interpretation of "dig in" as an invitation for the birds to eat the insects may also be too reliant on modern idiom. Furthermore, Benton, and later Applebaum's, conclusion that the similarity of the goods being weighed on each end of the scale undermines the authority figure of Arcesilas by showing the weighing scene to be pointless is probably flawed.[661] Other scenes of weighing from the Archaic Period are rare, but those which do exist also show indistinguishable goods on either end of the scale (fig. 6.3, 6.4). Whether this is simply an artistic tradition or whether it indicates the portioning off of goods rather than their comparison to a fixed weight is not clear, but there is little grounds to suggest that the similarity of the appearance of the goods implies that the weighing action, and by extension Arcesilas, is redundant or inept.

Equally unappealing is the belief, bafflingly still entertained as the most plausible option by Bresson, that the painter painted this cup upon returning from a visit to Cyrene, and through it sought to represent what he saw there. The consensus among many of these scholars is that the cup represents exotic animals in an endeavour to capture the fauna of Cyrene, and to capture the weighing of Cyrene's silphium.[662] Bresson, despite attributing the fauna to the *Book of the Dead* proposes that the scene is an attempt to render an act of weighing witnessed by the painter in the agora (or the royal store, he is unclear on this point) of Cyrene.[663] This is nonsensical. The stylisation of the weighing scene, and its many parallels to the weighing scene to the *Book of the Dead*, in spatial composition, the array of animals, the allocation of roles to the figures, indicate that there is little space or need to suppose that the cup, of Laconian production and found in Etruria, was ever connected to Cyrene more tangibly than by the name of the king depicted.

[660] Benton 1959, p. 181.
[661] Applebaum 1979, p. 19.
[662] This view is expressed by the scholars mentioned in this discussion (Puchstein 1881, pp. 185-186; Lane 1933/34, p. 161) but the attitude that the scene reflects a real observation also appears more generally in the coverage of the Arcesilas Cup, for example when Applebaum (1979, pp. 19-20) attributes the scene to a particular season, or Buschor (1921, p. 93), who says that the artist encountered the various animal motifs in Africa, stating that only the lizard was an abstracted addition.
[663] Bresson 2000, p. 94.

Even if the painter had visited Cyrene, that the weighing of such goods would be witnessed is not certain. Assuming, for the time being, that the goods weighed are silphium, we still know little about its production and control. The Battiads' wealth was associated with silphium in the fifth century, as demonstrated by Aristophanes in *Wealth* (925) and the importance of silphium for the Cyrenean economy by the late Archaic Period is clear, as evidenced by late archaic/early classical coins featuring the plant or its seed, and of a divinity seated before a silphium plant.[664] However, Austin suggests that silphium would not grow in the region of Cyrene, and must have been extracted from the Libyan peoples around Barca and Euesperides, a conclusion also found in Mitchell.[665] Thus the portioning of silphium into royal and non-royal lots may have occurred before it ever got to Cyrene, as a royal monopoly on silphium would surely not allow the import of non-royal supplies of the plant into the city. In total, there is little to suggest that the weighing scene of the Arcesilas cup even vaguely resembles an actual activity in which the king sat and spectated the division of his royal share of silphium, or, for that matter any other goods. Whether the goods weighed are silphium or wool, which was likely also important in the colony's early economy and plausibly also in Arcesilas' control, it remains to be shown that scenes such as that on the cup ever took place.[666]

The function of the Arcesilas Cup and Experimentation

There is not compelling evidence that the Arcesilas Cup was a piece of satire, a representation of *psychostasia*, or a depiction of a real encounter with the weighing of goods at Cyrene. Instead I would propose that the scene is the depiction by the Laconian artist not of any witnessed *instance* of economic, political, and social action but of a *form* of economic, political, and social action, the royal monopoly of a certain aspect of the Cyrenean economy, likely silphium or wool.

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[664] Mitchell repeatedly states the importance of silphium in propping up the Battiad regime. Mitchell 2002, pp. 89-97. See a tetradrachm type dated 485-475 BC for the association of the settlement Cyrene and the silphium plant, pictured with bibliography:
http://www.cngcoins.com/Article.aspx?ArticleID=313 [20/03/2015].

[665] Austin 2008, p. 210. Mitchell 2002, p. 98.

[666] Sheep and silphium were two important parts of the sixth-century economy of Cyrene. The Greeks were more readily able to exploit the local resources of the former, but Cyrene later identified itself with the export of the latter. White 1984, p. 28. Schaus 2006, p. 176.

Looking at what the Arcesilas Cup removes, retains, and adds informs us a little about its artist's priorities. The religious and supernatural elements are almost entirely gone. Animals are included, but with the exception of the baboon, their presence is not out of keeping with contemporary art. What is retained includes the power relationship between the king and his workers, expressed through proportion and clothing, the activity of weighing in as much detail as possible, and the interesting compositional arrangement of the characters. Added to the scene are goods, indicating the power relationship is now concerned with controlling commercial rather than the eschatological value found in the weighing-of-the-heart vignette. The king's continuing overbearing presence in the scene would seem to imply that he has individual influence over whatever resource is being weighed. The inscriptions are arguably a replication of hieratic or hieroglyphic labels, but the independent Greek use of annotations would hardly be a surprise. These annotations appear to serve to emphasise the Cyrenean context of the cup, and affirm the process of officiating of the weighing process. The minimal deviations, in respect of placement of characters, from the compositional choices of the *Book of the Dead* suggest no real weighing activity was in mind when the scene was composed, and that the artist's primary attentions lay instead in the interesting representation of Arcesilas' power and his commercial interests.

As such, the scene appears to collapse and condense a variety of aspects of the Cyrenean royal monopolisation of valuable goods, whether wool or silphium, in order to stress the relationship between the character of the king or his power, and the economic activity. Why a Laconian artist would need to represent this idea of royal power, the power to separate a portion of particular goods for his own stocks, is unclear. It is possible that the cup is intended to express negatively the absolute rule of Arcesilas through the monopolisation of a cash crop, but it is equally possible that the cup was intended simply as a demonstration of this power. The Arcesilas Cup is dated to 560-550 BC and any relationship with the internal politics and economics in Sparta, or to Cyrene or Etruria, at the time are difficult to interpret. Assuming that it is not only a retrojected principle, the post-Lycurgus Spartan citizens should have held an idealised principle of egalitarian citizen society, at odds with the monopolisation of wealth depicted on the cup, and therefore the weighing scene may be a critical interpretation of foreign individual excess.[667] However, for the citizens, especially in relation

[667] Hodkinson 2009, pp. 209-210. The primary sources, all later, include Plu. *Lyk.* 9-10, 13.3-5, 16.6-7, 17.4, 19.3, 27.2; Aris. *Pol.* 1294b21-7; Xen *Lak. Pol.* 7.3-4*; and* Thuc. 1.6.

to the wealthy kings, the egalitarian ideal was clearly not a reality, even before the property concentration of the fifth and fourth centuries, with the concentration of wealth and power through practices such as royal endogamy and political marriages attested in the mid-sixth century (Hdt. 5.39, 5.41).[668] As such, it would be possible to read the cup as a commentary on the inappropriateness of domestic as well as foreign acquisition of great personal wealth or commercial monopoly.[669] One could attempt to pursue the issue of the relevance of such weighing to the Laconian artist and the object's intended Laconian, Cyrenean, Samian, or Etrurian buyer further, but with little contemporary detail on the Spartan kings' interactions with the Spartan economy, and especially on agriculture, or resources comparable as silphium and wool, it is difficult to add further detail to exactly what connotations this weighing scene might carry. Moreover, it is very difficult to read the Arcesilas Cup itself as providing either a positive or a negative comment on the activity it depicts.

An alternative reading of the scene could be found in the Spartan relationship with Cyrene, which although indirect, may have been of interest to Spartan elites with interstate interests. There is wider evidence for Spartan elite interests abroad in the mid-sixth century, for example in the inscribed dedications of Laconian objects at foreign sanctuaries, including a bronze lion at Samos.[670] Alternatively, the amount of painted Laconian pottery found at Samos is indicative of a rich export market, at least for the Laconian pottery of named painters, and this export market appears to have included, though to a minor extent, Cyrene.[671] We might, therefore, read the Arcesilas Cup's scene as intended to interest a specific (a Cyrenean elite, or exiles?) or general export market, perhaps at Cyrene, or on Samos, where new and Egyptianising motifs may have been particularly popular.[672] Finally, the cup's royal subject and final consumption context, in a burial at Vulci in Etruria, might even indicate that the object circulated as a gift among elites. However, much as with the possible political readings, all of these interpretations of the cup are ill-supported by its decoration or inscription, and the cup's intended connotations are unlikely to be firmly revealed by further discussion.

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[668] Hodkinson 2009, pp. 399, 410-11.
[669] Hodkinson 2009, pp. 281-282, tables 8a-9d.
[670] Tsakos and Sofianou 2012, p. 122. Hodkinson 2009, pp. 294-298
[671] Pipili 1998, p. 86.
[672] Samos is, as shown in Chapter 2 and 3, where we find the richest array of Egyptian goods, but was more generally a melting pot of tastes in material culture.

More relevant to the current thesis is the Arcesilas Cup's interaction with Egyptian art. The marriage of the asymmetrical weighing scene with the asymmetrical royal economy of Cyrene is a well thought out idea, unique and unprecedented, and completely competently executed. It is unclear whether the artist was tasked to create a representation of Arcesilas' power, and subsequently chose to use an Egyptianising composition to represent this, or whether the artist came to possess the Egyptian composition, in original, copy, or memory, and thought up a comparable Greek context in which to use the composition. Whichever way the composition came to be employed, the extent and detail of its parallels with the weighing-of-the-heart vignette is indicative of a close study of an eschatological Egyptian scene, carefully transformed into a compositionally novel and complete depiction of Greek social, political, and economic activity not previously represented in Greek art. This one-off, isolated execution of the transformation of a near-complete Egyptian eschatological weighing scene into a form applicable to Greek interests can be described as a process of *experimentation*, for it would appear to suggest an individual artist's close interaction with an individual motif of Egyptian material culture in the pursuit of a particular result.

B: The Stymphalian Birds

The Arcesilas Cup is not the only example that a process of *experimentation* was one of the ways in which Greeks interacted with Egyptian material culture.

Further examples of *experimentation* include the depiction of the fight of Heracles with the Stymphalian birds on two very similar mid-sixth century black figure amphorae, attributed to the same painter group (fig. 6.8, 6. 9).[673] These amphorae seem to be the first depictions of Heracles' Stymphalian Birds labour on painted pottery. Both amphorae depict Heracles in his characteristic lion skin to the left of a flock of birds, some of which are lying down, and others of which scatter as he fires at them with a slingshot.[674]

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[673] An Athenian Black-Figure *amphora*, 530-520 BC, (BM B163, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA9932 [01/05/2015]) and another of the same period (Munich, Antikensammlungen 8701, Beazley 1956, p. 136, fig. 52) both attributed to Group E.

[674] The other side of the example in Munich is lost, but that in London shows Satyrs, and has no clear connection to the scene of Heracles' labour.

The action's spatial arrangement and the execution of the birds seem to owe much to one of the most popular scenes of elite Egyptian art, fowling in the marshes (fig. 6.10).[675] On the broadest level, the introduction to Greek art of a composition depicting a man approaching a partially scattering flock is parallel to Egyptian scenes of elite men hunting birds in the marshes. Boardman notes (for BM B163, but it is true of both examples) that unlike elsewhere in Greek art, the depiction of the Stymphalian birds maintain natural proportions in relation to Heracles, much like Egyptian fowling and Nilotic scenes (fig. 6.11).[676] We could further add that the execution of the birds in a variety of settled and darting poses as well as the chaotic and overlapping volume of the birds are also characteristics which we find in equivalent Egyptian images but which are out of place in contemporary Greek art. It appears likely, therefore, that the painter of these depictions of Heracles' attack on the Stymphalian Birds drew upon a scene of Egyptian fowling.

The clarity and quality of the execution of the fowling scene depiction on these two black-figure amphorae of the mid-sixth century and the contrastingly coarse, and less busy, later examples (fig. 6.12) following in their wake would indicate that this motif's introduction to Greece was the work of an individual artist who had come into contact with the motif either through travel (in which case the motif has been carefully studied abroad) or a transported sketch or example.[677] The examples he created were then copied and adapted, though not extensively or especially finely.

These Egyptian scenes of fowling are primarily to be found in Egypt in royal or elite funerary contexts, although it is very likely that such scenes might also have been applied to the walls of the Late Period Egyptian palaces. While evidence of Egyptian palatial wall painting is almost entirely lost, what remains indicates that a fowling scene would not be out

[675] The example used is from the New Kingdom funerary chapel of Nebamun (BM EA 37977). Other examples of very similar scenes from Theban tombs are easily found (for example, Wilkinson and Hill 1983, pl. 63) but evidence for wall painting in Lower Egypt is scarce, though their palaces and tombs must have been painted, and birds probably did feature (see, for example, the depiction of birds in the paintings of El-Armarna's palace in James 1985, p. 39, fig. 41).
[676] Boardman 1980, pp. 148-149.
[677] Athenian Black-Figure *amphora* depicting Heracles scattering the Stymphalian birds, 500-490 BC, Musée du Louvre F387. See also a comparable example on a Black-Figure *lekythos*, c.550-500 BC, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1842 (Beazley 1956, p. 455).

of place among other Nilotic scenes depicting animals and elite life.[678] In either case, the context or function of the Egyptian bird-hunt appears to impact very little upon its appearance in Greek art, and instead the Greek interaction with the motif seems primarily concerned with the application of Egyptianising compositional and stylistic elements in the creation of a representation of a myth which was, up to this point, not a subject tackled by vase painters.

The lack of a contemporary or even near-contemporary literary account of the conflict between Heracles and the Stymphalian Birds makes it difficult for one to interpret what elements of the myth may have been sacrificed, or indeed invented, on account of the introduction of the Egyptianising design, however the composition is clearly more concerned with the replication of the Egyptian scenes' detailed rendering of the scattering birds than with any representation of ferocity or peril, the birds show no aggression, and being realistically scaled seem to pose no threat to the figure of Heracles. Therefore, the tone of the composition remains closer to the entirely one-sided exploit of the fowling Egyptian noble than the struggle of contemporary depictions of other Greek myths, for example Heracles against the Nemean Lion.

The sum of these points, therefore, is that the two amphorae of the mid- or late-sixth century represent the work of an individual artist who is quite familiar with the Egyptian fowling motif, and employs the compositional details of this motif experimentally to create a representation of a myth very rarely, if ever, previously found in Greek painted pottery. The resulting Egyptianising depiction of Heracles' labour has limited impact, and imitations quickly lose the detail of the original pair. As such we can describe the Stymphalian Birds motif as evidence for a process of *experimentation* as a form of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture

[678] As already noted, there is not much evidence for palatial decoration from the Delta or from the Third Intermediate or Late Period, but we can note the prominence of birds in painted wall fragments from New Kingdom palaces at Tell el-Armana (for example, Cairo Antiquities Museum JE 33030 – 33031).

C: Conclusions

A number of further cases of *experimentation* exist, as highlighted at the beginning of this chapter. However, analysing these motifs will only serve to repeat the same conclusions outlined in the two preceding studies, as they all appear to indicate the close attention of an individual artist to a particular composition of Egyptian art in order to create a unique depiction of a scene not previously widely represented in Greek art, and whose attention to detail in the Egyptianising aspects of the composition is not subsequently replicated in what few imitations might exist.

The two examples outlined in this chapter are sufficient demonstration of the process of *experimentation* as a form of Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture, the use of new Egyptian motifs in one-off or limited explorations of new ways in which to depict unfamiliar scenes. This is the form of interaction most like conservative assessments of the interactions of Greeks with Egyptian material culture, as those engaging in *experimentation* seem to care little about context or meaning of motifs and compositions, and instead give their attention to the compositional and sometimes stylistic details of the Egyptian material from which they draw inspiration. As such *experimentation* appears a more detached use of Egyptian material culture than the process of *accentuation,* whereby motifs generally preserved some aspects of their context and function.

That this process is most evident in the sixth century, and more so in the latter half of the century, is perhaps a symptom of a maturation of Greek artistic culture, such that it is no longer as interested creating monstrous parades with passive foreign creatures, and more concerned with introducing foreign motifs only where these can be melded with a clearly Greek aesthetic and narrative. However, the evidence for a process of accentuation discussed in the following chapter, suggests that the Greeks maintained a flexible range of responses to Egyptian material culture until the end of the sixth-century, and so it might be better to propose that *experimentation* does not represent maturity, but simply resourcefulness, with Greek artists deftly exploring the ways in which they can make use of Egyptian motifs and compositions available to them whose significance and context did not directly resonate with Greek visual culture.

Chapter 7

Egyptianising motifs in archaic Greek art: *Accentuation*

This chapter will examine the thesis' final process for the introduction of Egyptianising motifs to Greek art, *accentuation*.

In the terms of this thesis *accentuation* describes the introduction of Egyptianising motifs to Greek art in order to stress particular supernatural aspects of existing motifs. The addition of new, Egyptianising iconographic elements to familiar creatures not only fit within a broader use of monstrous and unnatural creatures in archaic art, but also enabled the application of these motifs in more nuanced roles as indicators of the supernatural. In particular, we find the process of *accentuation* is evident in the Greek adoption of anthropomorphising animal motifs from Egyptian art. The two examples discussed in this chapter, the bearded snake and human-headed bird, were adopted in order to accentuate the supernatural connotations already attached to the snake and the bird motifs. The ongoing archaic Greek exploration of ways in which to express the particular nuances of these supernatural roles sees them repeatedly engaging with different aspects of Egyptian art, leading to a broad field of evidence for Greek interaction with Egyptian material culture.

A: The Bearded Snake

The process of *accentuation* of existing motifs as a result of interaction with Egyptian art can be demonstrated first through the case of the bearded snake. The bearded snake is a strong starting point whence to expound the theory of a process of *accentuation*, as connections between this motif and the bearded snakes of Egyptian art have already been suggested in the scholarship and the meaning of the snake and the bearded snake in Greek art has been the focal subject of much discussion.

Here the bearded snake will be approached in two steps. Firstly, the artistic background and application of the bearded snake and its relation to Egyptian parallels will be demonstrated with reference to a number of contexts. Secondly, the probable functions of the

snake and bearded snake will be outlined, highlighting that the bearded snake is an example of *accentuation* as a process of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.

The snake and bearded snake in Greek art

Non-bearded snakes can be found on a number of vases spread across Greece and found in funerary contexts from the Protogeometric and Geometric periods of early archaic Greek vase painting.[679] These snakes are generally depicted in two dimensions as though seen from above or in three-dimensional form moulded onto rims or handles, a tradition pre-dating the Archaic Period (see fig. 7.1, 7.2).[680] The snakes have a closed mouth, minimal detailing, a fairly consistent thickness, gentle undulations, and are frequently surrounded by dots if painted.

The bearded snake first appears in Greek art in the seventh century BC. Ogden finds a tentative earliest date for the motif within the first half of the seventh century with an example of bearded snakes growing from the heads of the Gorgons c.670 on a proto-Attic *amphora* from Eleusis (fig. 7.3.a-c).[681] This example must be taken cautiously, but presents an interesting view of the introduction of the bearded snake into Greek art. Ogden highlights that the bearded snakes on this *amphora* have leonine facial features and as a result he questions whether the faint wisps below these heads' chins might be attributable to manes rather than beards.[682] However, that these are early bearded snakes seems highly plausible. There are two types of head on the snake bodies which grow from the gorgons' heads. Some bodies terminate in an anguine head, depicted in the same sort of top-down perspective, and with the same diamond shaped heads and eye positioning of many of the earlier geometric

[679] For examples of painted snakes see fig. 7.1, a Late-Geometric/Early-Protocorinthian *oinochoe* featuring a painted snake, 725-690 BC, MMA 24.97.23, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/10.210.7 [01/05/2015].See also: Mitropoulou 1977, p. 17, especially fig. 2, a Corinthian vase (Corinth Museum T 2545). For examples of moulded snakes see fig. 7.2, an Attic Geometric neck *amphora*, 725-700 BC (MMA 10.210.7, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/251484 [01/05/2015]). See also: a Protoattic *hydria* of c.700 BC (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne D23/1982) and examples such as two Geometric Rhodian *oinochoai* found in Grave V, Exochi necropolis, now in Rhodes Archaeological Museum (pictured in Schweitzer 1971, pp. 81-82, fig. 43, 43).

[680] Pre-archaic examples include the Cypro-Geometric red-ware jug featuring a moulded snake, 1050-925 BC, found at Polis-tis-Chrysokhou, BM 1890,0731.41

[681] Eleusis Archaeological Museum. Ogden 2013, p. 155 n. 34.

[682] Ogden 2013, p. 155.

and proto-geometric un-bearded snakes. These snakes are un-bearded. The other bodies terminate in longer heads depicted in profile, unlike prior snakes of Greek art, and these heads have a snout-like physiology similar to contemporary early archaic depictions of lions. Some of these snouted snakes have a wispy beard protruding, not from the scruff of the neck like a mane, but from the tip of the chin. Both types of head have the split, pointed tongue of the snake, and no teeth. Both types are also probably intended as fully anguine, as unlike the snub-nosed heads of the gorgons' snakes, the lion on shoulder of the same object has a thin, but not split, tongue and many teeth (fig. 7.3.b-c). It is plausible that the squat, leonine features arise from some difficulty expressing the previously top-down, diamond-headed snake in profile and the consequential adaptation of more familiar motifs, rather than a conscious effort to introduce leonine features, or simply from a preference for the snub-features.[683] It will be important later in this chapter that we find the bearded snake and the snake in profile appearing in Greek art for the first time simultaneously.

After the bearded snakes of the Eleusinian *amphora* there is a gap of several decades before the next extant example of the bearded snake. Ogden, Mitropoulou, and Guralnick all point to the bearded snake on a Laconian cup from c. 625 BC as the first unmistakable presence of the beard on snakes, which this time have clearly anguine heads (fig. 7.4).[684] Examples in the last quarter of the seventh century are nonetheless extraordinarily scarce. It appears, based on the extant evidence, that despite early interest it is not until the sixth century that the bearded-snake motif gains its momentum in its popularity across Greek art.

The bearded-snake motif of the sixth century is consistently characterised by the representation of a snake with a small "beard" protruding from its lower jaw. This beard is sometimes scruffy and sometimes thin and straight. The motif is depicted in profile, usually with detailing of the mouth and eye, in contrast to the top down representation of the snake used previously. The top-down perspective snake of the geometric period continues to be used, for example on the many Corinthian alabastra depicting a snake between two

[683] Snub-nosed lions appear often on Protoattic pottery, including the Eleusinian amphora above and the Analatos *hydria* of the early seventh century, Athens Archaeological Museum, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/tools/pottery/painters/keypieces/protoattic/analatos.htm [14/02/2015]).

[684] A date of 625 BC can be established by the clear appearance of beards on the gorgon of a sherd of Laconian II pottery. Lane 1933-34, pl. 32a, and also noted by Guralnick 1974, p. 183 n.62 and Ogden 2013, p. 155.

cockerels.[685] However, while we find the in-profile snake without a beard, the bearded snake is not (due to the constraints of the viewpoint) depicted in the top-down perspective. That the introduction of the depiction of the snake in profile and bearded appear to occur at the same time may suggest that either the profile perspective was developed in order to allow the addition of the beard, or that the motif of the in-profile and bearded snake was conceived or encountered as a whole, as argued below. The bearded (and non-bearded) snake in profile can appear stretched out vertically, as on the Chrysapha relief (fig. 7.7), or horizontally, as on the Rider Painter's Polyphemus Cup (fig. 7.8).[686] It can also be found tightly undulating horizontally or vertically, as in the Rider Painter's serpent-slaying scene on another black-figure Laconian cup (fig. 7.6).[687] The in-profile or bearded snake is frequently full-bodied, as above, but also appears with just the head and upper body of the snake, especially when emerging from objects or included in composite creatures (fig. 7.9, 7.10). In these cases the snake generally curves the neck up in a rough s shape, with the head held level, but can also be found with a looped body.

The bearded snake's use in sixth-century vase painting is exceptionally frequent and repetitious. Accordingly, only a selective collection of examples of the contexts need be mentioned here. The bearded snake appears in a variety of contexts, of which the most numerous are: funerary (fig. 7.8, 7.20),[688] religious or ritual (fig.7.11),[689] as a monstrous creature or a part thereof (fig. 7.4, 7.10),[690] and as an adornment of a shield or the *aegis* (fig.7.9, 7.21).[691] In archaic art it is most commonly used as a shield blazon or monstrous

[685] A Corinthian *alabastron,* c. 620-590 BC (MFA 91.210), is as good an example as any of this common type. On funerary vases the snake can be moulded, as on the handle and neck of a Proto-Attic Hydria of c 700 BC (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne D23/1982), or painted, as on a tenth-century Protogeometric *amphora* (Athens Kerameikos Museum 586).
[686] Chrysapha Relief and the Polyphemus Cup both dating to 550-540 BC, Berlin Antikenmuseen SK 731 and Louvre E 669.
[687] Laconian black-figure *kylix*, attributed to the Rider Painter, 550-540 BC, Louvre E 669.
[688] As on Spartan grave reliefs and a number of vases, including an Attic black-figure *hydria* c.525-475 BC showing a snake in a tomb, Nimes, Musee Archeologique 53, Beazley 1971, 165.83TER.
[689] Boeotian black-figure *lekanis*, c, 550 BC depicting a snake which appears over a lotus-like pedestal behind an altar, BM 1879,1004.1. The *aegis* and Laconian grave reliefs also clearly carry aspects of ritual and religious function.
[690] The given examples are the Cerberus on a Caeretan *hydria*, c. 525 BC, Louvre E701, and a hydra on a Laconian II bowl sherd, c.625 BC, Lane 1933-1934, p. 124, pl. 32.
[691] The given example of the shield, a shield-snake on an Athenian black-figure *skythos,* c.525-475 BC (J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.150A, Greenhalgh 1973, p. 121. fig. 64), is one of many, many instances of this type. See Chase 1902 on shield devices. For the use of the snake on the *aegis*, see the

element, with its religious and funerary applications being less common, though there is some regional variation, with the bearded snake more commonly appearing in funerary contexts in Laconian art than elsewhere. The popularity of the motif continues in these capacities in vase painting beyond the Archaic Period. In sculpture the evidence of the bearded snake is significantly rarer. While there are archaic examples of the bearded-snake motif in both relief and in-the-round sculpture, the motif only appears to be widely popular in sculpture after the period covered in this thesis, when it is used to represent Zeus Meilichios.[692]

In summary, the snake was a common feature on Greek pottery even before the Archaic Period, but it only appeared as an elongated, quite featureless, outline and did not interact with the objects or characters around it in visually explicit ways. However, with the introduction of the beard and the in-profile perspective, the snake becomes both more detailed and more versatile, and can be found in prominent positioning interacting with humanoid characters or attached to objects and creatures of significance.[693]

The bearded snake's Egyptian parallels

Having briefly established the form and general contexts of bearded snakes in archaic Greek art, we can now turn to assessing the motif's relationship with Egyptian art. The hypothesis of an Egyptian origin for the Greek bearded-snake motif has been put forward with reference to an assortment of Egyptian funerary art by Mitropoulou, who refers to the more thorough examination by Guralnick of a single case, the Chrysapha relief. The idea has more recently,

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given example, Athena on an Attic black-figure *hydria* of c500-500 BC, found in Etruria (Wurzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus.: 309, Beazley 1956, pl. 268.28), and compare, for example, a Panathenaic neck-amphora of the Princeton Painter, C.550-540 BC, MMA 53.11.1. Ogden gives an overview of a number of further and alternative examples of the applications of bearded snakes to those here in Ogden 2013, pp. 155-157.

[692] The Chrysapha funerary relief will be repeatedly referenced as a relief-sculpture example, but we can also find the motif in monumental sculpture at the Artemis temple of Corfu c 600 BC and in the round with an early-sixth-century *poros* sculpture from the Athenian Acropolis. Guralnick 1974, p. 183.

[693] This discussion will not draw upon the vast and complex well of post-archaic evidence relating to the snake and the bearded-snake, including the literary and iconographic tradition of creatures such as Lamia and the Erinyes. This is both a matter of practicality and a decision to be cautious in identifying archaic beliefs and iconographies with those of the Classical Period.

and more cautiously, been revisited by Ogden, but there remains no examination of more depth than Guralnick.[694]

The archaic Greek bearded snake's parallels in Egyptian art are easily found. The snake had extraordinary presence in Egyptian funerary art, being the most common of the creatures depicted, and appears in profile, vertically or horizontally, undulating or outstretched (fig. 7.12).[695] The false beard motif common in association with various Egyptian creatures, kings, and gods also has a long history in Egyptian art, and appears often on the snake in the Third Intermediate and Late Period art, preceding and contemporary with the appearance of the bearded snake in archaic Greece (fig. 7.13).[696] Egyptian examples of the bearded snake are mostly found in funerary contexts, including depictions of funerary texts, on coffins, and on stelae (see below). In these contexts the bearded snakes often coexist with (and are in some cases conjoined with) non-bearded snakes.[697] In two-dimensional art, the bearded snakes are always drawn, painted, or carved in profile, often with detailing of the face, and their thin and long beards protrude directly from their chin.

Examples of Egyptian bearded snakes which we can parallel to the full-bodied snakes of Greek, and particularly Laconian, art include the detailed, bearded, and in-profile representations of certain serpentine deities (perhaps Meretseger, or Nehebkau, but generally of an unknown identity) found incorporated into wooden funerary stelae in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. Examples include the Third Intermediate Period funerary stele of Djeddjehutyiuefankh (fig. 7.14), on which he approaches an unidentified upright, bearded, and crowned serpent deity, Ra-Horakhty and Osiris, or the contemporary

[694] Ogden 2013, p. 161. Mitropoulou 1977, pp. 88-94. Guralnick 1974.

[695] See, for example, an extract from the Netherworld Papyrus of Gautsoshen of the Third Intermediate Period c. 1000–945 BC, MMA 25.3.31. For earlier examples of the undulating and straight forms, see also the barque of Ra in the depiction of the *Book of* Gates of KV16 (belonging to Ramses I, c. 1290 BC), as pictured in Tiradritti 2008, p. 280.

[696] Early examples include the Dynasty XXI (1000-945 BC) coffin of Gautsoshen, MMA 26.3.7. Guralnick (1974, p. 184) gives an Old-Kingdom date for the bearded snake, but evidence of the motif is scarce before the Third Intermediate period. Guralnick's early evidence, the text of *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, exists through later copies, and early bearded snakes, such as that in KV-34's depiction of the fifth hour of the Amduat, often have beards only on human heads. It is reasonable to conclude that the bearded-anguine head motif was introduced, or at least only became popular, in the Third Intermediate Period.

[697] For the common image of the bearded and non-bearded snake combined, see for example the Late Period Papyrus of Dirpu, pictured in Guralnick 1974, pl. XXXVII.2.

scene from Hetepamun's funerary stele in which Hetepamun approaches an unidentified snake deity, Ra-Horakhty, and Osiris.[698] A similar motif also appears in Third Intermediate and Late Period funerary texts and carvings.[699] We can also note that the crown on these snakes may contribute in some part to the crest given to bearded snakes in Greek art, as on a Euboean amphora's depiction of a serpent (compare, for example, fig. 7.15 and 7.16).[700]

Further to the full-bodied Egyptian snake, we can suggest that the uraeus, though not generally bearded, may have contributed to the exceptionally similar form of the Greek bearded/un-bearded snake used as a device on shields, monsters, and Athena's *aegis*. The uraeus as a crown ornament is not accurately depicted in Greek art until a mid-sixth-century depiction of Busiris, a century or so later than the bearded snake's first appearance on the Protoattic *amphora* from Eleusis above.[701] Nonetheless, there is a close similarity in the posture of the bearded snake element commonly found throughout sixth-century Greek pottery and that of the Egyptian uraeus, namely in the s-formed body which dips down slightly and then rears in the characteristic cobra fashion (compare fig. 7.9 with 7.17 and 7.18).[702] We can further compare the snake's coils in the afore-mentioned depiction of a dragon on an Euboean *amphora* and the Cerberus of a Caeretan hydria with the exceptionally similarly coils of the gathered-up uraeus in many depictions (fig. 7.10, 7.16, 7.17, 7.19).[703] Finally, on a more superficial level, the protruding nature of the half-bodied snakes of Greek art is itself quite an unusual development, and does not seem to predate the Eleusinian amphora. There are, therefore, a range of similarities between the bearded snake, and indeed

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[698] Djeddjehutyiuefankh Stele, Third Intermediate Period, Ashmolean Museum. A painted wooden stele naming Djeddjehutyiuefankh as son of the priest of Amun-Re, Djedesefankh and the lady Nesmutaaneru on which he is shown approaching three deities, a snake-headed god, the falcon-headed Ra-Horakty and Osiris. See also: Hetepamun Stele, Third Intermediate Period (Robins 2008, p. 224, Fig. 268) and the stele of Meri-ef-bastet-it, Third Intermediate Period, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wein, AE_INV_8479.

[699] For examples see Guralnick 1974, pl. XXXVII.2.

[700] Euboean *amphora* depicting a hero fighting a serpent, c.560-550 B.C, Louvre E707.

[701] 'Fragment of Siana cup, attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, c.a. 565 BC Palermo, Museo Archaeologico Regionale 1986.' Miller, 2000: Fig. 16.2, p. 421.

[702] As in a Late Period amulet from the Memphite region of Egypt (MMA 23.10.37).

[703] Examples include a uraeus for a frieze, in copper paste and gold (Fig. 7.17. Late Period. MMA17.192.46) and an ivory fragment depicting cobra (Fig. 7.19. First Dynasty. Found in the tomb of Den at Abydos. BM. EA35552) and finally, a limestone sculpture of a uraeus on a basket from the Third Intermediate or Late Period. (Walters Art Museum 22.264. http://art.thewalters.org/detail/16688/model-of-a-vulture-and-uraeus-seated-on-a-basket/ [17/03/2015])

the snake more generally, in Greek and Egyptian art, including the snake's depiction in profile, a range of postures used, the addition of a beard (and crown?), and the use of the half-bodied snake as an embellishment.

However, despite the breadth of similarities, there is difficulty in finding exact, or near-exact, matches between the Egyptian and Greek application of the bearded-snake motif. The closest to a replication of Egyptian context for the bearded snake is the upright bearded snake of the mid-sixth century Chrysapha relief from Laconia (fig. 7.7).[704] This grave or cult marker, which was found at Chrysapha, near Sparta, was uncovered upright in a tumulus like arrangement alongside a stone marked *HEPMANOΣ*, denoting that the site was associated with Hermes of the underworld.[705] It features a bearded snake rearing behind two individuals, presumably revered, deceased mortals, seated on leonine thrones and who are receiving offerings. The chthonic and funerary implications of the context of this stele can be easily likened to the presence of snakes and bearded snake in the deceased's journey through the underworld in Egyptian funerary scenes, but these functions will be discussed in more detail below. Aside from the contextual parallels, Guralnick has highlighted that for each aspect of the posture and positioning on the Chrysapha relief's bearded snake we find a convincing Egyptian equivalent. In particular we find that the upright posture of the bearded snake, the placement of a rearing snake in close proximity to the seated deceased/deities, and the positioning of the snake's head above the deceased are all depicted in a number of papyri and sarcophagi.[706] These features of the Chrysapha relief are, notably, absent from Greek art prior to 600 BC.[707] Combined with other Egyptianising elements on the relief, including the spatial and proportional organisation and the elongated double leonine throne, the impression of Egyptian influence on the composition of the Chrysapha relief is overwhelming.[708]

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[704] Guralnick 1974.
[705] Guralnick 1974, p. 175.
[706] Guralnick 1974, pp. 185-186. Guralnick's examples include the coffin of Pensenḥur (Dynasty XXII), BM 24906, on which an upright snake is in front of a seated deceased woman, and another image on which the dead woman holds a snake, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Coffin no.L55-16. She also mentions papyri on which we find the snake rearing behind seated goddesses as a symbol of protection, as in the *Papyrus of Teye* and the *Papyrus of Djeḥutimes*.
[707] Guralnick 1974, p. 181.
[708] The tiny scale of individuals offering gifts in comparison to those receiving them and the depiction of the receivers of these gifts superimposed on one another on a single throne are both features which have more in common with Egyptian than contemporary Greek art.

The Chrysapha relief, therefore, depicts the bearded snake in both a form and context which appear distinctly Egyptianising, and the upright form of the snake, so like the snake on the afore-mentioned Egyptian funerary stelae, can be found on a number of other late archaic Spartan stelae.[709] However, these reliefs date to at least seventy-five years after the introduction of bearded snakes to Greek art, and other instances which we could regard as relatively direct parallels between the Greek bearded-snake motif and Egyptian art are scarce, despite the motif's popularity in both cultures. A certain parallel is the use of the bearded snake as a uraeus on the brow of a male head, presumed to be Busiris (fig.7.22).[710] Reasonably convincing are parallels between the form and positioning of bearded snakes in a coiled/upright and a densely contracted form placed around a shrine on a Rider Painter cup (fig. 7.6) and the positioning of the undulating or contracted snake alongside the sides and tops of the guardian shrines or individual deities such as Ra in funerary texts (papyric and painted).[711] More tentatively still, we could highlight similarities between the common Egyptian image of the serpentine Meretseger in front of an offering table and a Greek vase depicting a snake behind a shrine as the subject of offerings by a procession on a sixth-century Boeotian *lekanis* (fig. 7.11).[712] However, it is generally clear that the Greek use of the bearded snake rarely closely imitates the details of the use of the motif in Egyptian art.

Thus, rather than drawing on a deep pool of particularly close contextual parallels between the Greek and Egyptian bearded snakes, one must highlight the strength of the motif's significant features: the presence of a beard and the abnormality of the beard as a monstrous addition in Greek art, the combination of the beard with the introduction of in-

[709] For other stone stelae see Tod and Wace 1906, pp. 102-108. Other literature on the use of snakes in Laconian grave markers includes G. Salpata's "The tippling serpent in the art of Laconia and beyond" (2006), though the emergence of a drinking snake motif is attributed to the fifth-century BC, and the significance attributed to the drinking snake in this context (p.558) – that it was a divine symbol and a means of reconciling Spartans with divine order, is not applied to the Archaic Period. Salpata has more recently covered similar motifs in terracotta plaques in detail and with particular emphasis of the social function of such objects and scenes ("Laconian and Messenian Plaques with Seated Figures: The Socio-Political Dimension" (2014)), but her focus is on the Classical Period, and she makes little reference to how the snake in particular, let alone the bearded snake, contributes to the scenes in which it appears. For further discussion of Laconian hero-reliefs, though again without much discussion of the snake, see also Hibler 1993.

[710] Fragment of Athenian cup depicting a *uraeus* crown, 575-525 BC, attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale 1986.

[711] See the depiction of Ra in a barque surrounded by a snake in KV 16's *Book of Gates*, or snakes which undulate along shrine structures in the Third Intermediate Period *Book of the Dead* of Tasnakht, Museo Egizio Torino 1833.

[712] For example a New Kingdom stela of Meretseger, Museo Egizio Torino 3609.

profile depiction, the new functions of a rearing semi-snake as an addition to shields and elsewhere, and add to these the few examples of specific compositional overlap as indicators that Greek artists initially, and more closely in instances thereafter, drew upon Egyptian inspiration.

Alternative Origins

The scarcity of direct parallels between Egyptian and Greek utilisations of the bearded-snake motif, and the insecurity or dismissal of general similarities, has understandably led to alternative explanations being proposed by some scholars examining it. In an early exploration of the bearded-snake motif, Harrison suggested that the "anomaly" of the bearded snake is "softened" by the explanation that it is either a mistaken replication of a dropped, biting jaw or the "possible and even highly probable" result of having seen such a dropped jaw from a distance.[713] Ogden has similarly, though less firmly, speculated on confusion or circumstance as the origin of a snake beard, questioning whether the Greeks themselves misinterpreted the tongue of crude previous examples as a beard, and raising the lack of similar beards on other mythical beasts as a cause for scepticism.[714] Of the two, Ogden's origin of accident within artistic replications is certainly more plausible than Harrison's case for some sort of observational error in the wild, since it seems unlikely that the Greek's heavily stylised snakes (with or without beards) were the result of extensive natural observation. However, no suggestion of accidental origins provides a compelling reason for the spontaneous appearance and near immediate rise in popularity of the motif, nor the sudden and concurrent developments of perspective and application. Furthermore, the earliest firm example of the beard, from c.625 BC, is depicted as a clear beard, wedge like and striated in a fashion indicative of hair rather than with a thin beard mistakable for a tongue or lower jaw. The evidence for the bearded snake prior to this example is so scarce that we cannot evidence a process of evolution from a third jaw or tongue to beard, nor can we find appropriate pre-625 BC depictions of the snake with tongue outstretched from which the beard may have accidentally deviated.

[713] Harrison 1922, p. 327.
[714] Ogden 2013, p. 161.

Ogden's further reservation that the bearded snake is the only example of the beard being applied to a Greek monster, and thus a "bearded-X" motif is not more widely evident in Greek art, may be resolved through a couple of considerations.[715]

Firstly, if we consider, as shall be argued below, that the beard is in essence an anthropomorphising element introduced to further demonstrate the supernatural power of the snake, then application of the beard to other creatures may not have been appropriate. Most other creatures in the Greeks' monstrous menagerie were anthropomorphised through human heads and/or limbs, and made more monstrous through additions of wings or by becoming composite creatures, often after contacts with other cultures.[716] The human headed creatures would benefit little from a beard, as they already have the most telling human features, and the monstrous composite creatures were becoming monstrous in other, more imposing, ways. More importantly, however, it is reasonable to speculate that the bearded snake, depicted in profile, was encountered as a motif in its whole, and that a separable role of the beard itself as an emblem of royal or divine power as existed in Egypt would not be well understood enough by Greek artists for the empowering function of the beard to have been transferable. The other creature we most commonly find bearded in Egypt, the sphinx, already had a human head in Greek and Egyptian art.[717] The beard on the human head of a sphinx, just as it existed on the human heads of Egyptian portraiture, may not have been the most attention-grabbing facet of the sphinx. In both cases the beard is in a naturally and ordinarily acceptable location, whereas seeing the same beard on a snake is striking and memorable, as the beard is the most abstract and anthropomorphising feature of the snake's otherwise natural physiology. Therefore, it seems plausible that the idea of a bearded snake most likely was perceived by the Greek artisans as a motif in its entirety and the beard is either inseparable or at least an unnecessary addition to other monstrous creatures, rather than the concept of the disembodied divinising beard being perceived by the Greek artists. This hypothesis of contact with the

[715] Ogden 2013, p.161.
[716] Taking examples such as the anthropomorphised soul bird, sphinx, or harpy, or the monstrous chimera, gorgon, or griffin, we can see that the snake is individual in its need for a beard.
[717] This is true in the vast majority of cases. The ram-headed criosphinx may have occasionally had a beard, but a pointed beard is within Greek conventions for representing goats anyway. The hieracosphinx is unbearded.

Egyptian motif in its whole, at some stages at least, ties in neatly with the other changes in the posturing and perspective used for representations of snakes discussed above.[718]

In sum, the bearded-snake's origins in Egypt are not a forgone conclusion. Dismissing the case for accidental deviation from a lower jaw or tongue to a beard does not necessarily bolster the Egyptian origin hypothesis. We can also never firmly dismiss the possibility of Greek independent innovation even when, in cases such as this, the borrowing of Egyptian motifs may appear to be a rational and neat conclusion. Despite these caveats, the Egyptian case is a strong one. While examples of satisfactory contextual parallels such as the depiction of Busiris' uraeus or the Chrysapha relief are few and appear relatively late, those that exist serve to highlight that it is likely that the Greeks did periodically draw upon Egyptian sources as inspiration for compositions which included bearded snakes. Moreover, we have seen that the Greek depiction of the snake expands quite dramatically in a number of ways during the Archaic Period, each of which has clear parallels in pre-existing Egyptian modes of representing snakes. The evidence leads to the sensible, though not infallible conclusion, that the Greeks took inspiration from Egyptian art in the depiction of snakes and the bearded snake throughout the Archaic Period.

[718] A third option for the origin of the bearded snake seems possible, though much less likely than either of those given in the body of the text – something we could term 'iconographical metathesis.' The snake appears in some depictions with a beard which appears somewhat broader at the base and therefore more triangular in shape, a beard more like that which the Greeks often give to the goat. This seems to be true of an afore-mentioned early example – the c.625 BC Laconian sherd. An Etruscan depiction of a triple headed dragon in the fourth century BC 'Tomb of the Infernal Quadriga' in the necropolis of Pianacce at Sarteano, Siena (as pictured in Steingräber 2006, p. 228) is one of the clearest examples of this type of beard, though it can be found elsewhere, for example on an amphora from Boeotia the dragon slain by Cadmus sports a wispy beard, c. 560-550 BC, Louvre E707, For a sculptural example, see the terracotta statue of Minerva Tritonia, also from Italy fifth century BC, Museo Archeologico Lavinium Pomezia (Photographed at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/dandiffendale/7526276886/in/set-72157632291149102 [11/10/2014]). It is possible, though awkward, both chronologically and in the face of the motif's spread and popularity, that the addition of a goat-like beard to the snake may have occurred in the process of experimenting with hybrid forms such as the Chimera, which is generally composed of the maned lion, bearded goat, and, often bearded, snake. At least one example suggests such a process working in reverse, where goat is given forked tongue (though the goat in question also takes thin beard generally given to snakes) Black-figure *amphora* showing a Chimera, 550-525 BC, Tolfa Group from southern Etruria, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel. The idea might be appealing to those who seek internal explanations for the development of the bearded snake, but fits poorly with the evidence.

With this conclusion in mind, we can turn more fully to the issue of *accentuation*, by demonstrating just what functions the bearded-snake motif fulfilled in archaic Greek art, and that the bearded-snake motif was an accentuation of the roles fulfilled by a pre-existing and more generic snake motif.

The Functions and Significance of the Snake and Bearded Snake

In order to argue that the bearded snake served to accentuate the supernatural connotations, we must first set out what significances may have been attributed to the snake and bearded snake motifs.

The distinguishable significances of the snake in very early archaic art are few. As has been seen, the pre-beard, pre-profile form of the snake had limited varieties of representation and was often moulded rather than painted. However, probably the clearest significance of the snake in archaic Greek art, which is its association with chthonic powers associable with death and the underworld, appears to exist from the beginning of the Archaic Period. Early funerary vases are replete with moulded and painted non-bearded snakes, and later we find bearded, and occasionally non-bearded, snakes depicted in and around the tomb, and sculpted near a deceased individual on numerous Spartan hero/grave reliefs. As a result, scholarship on archaic uses of the snake is mainly in consensus that the snake is significant to the contexts and functions of funerary vases, however opinions differ on what exactly this significance is.

The snake is argued by most to be a representation of the actual soul of the deceased individual with whom the object on which it appears is associated, though for reasons outlined below, this seems unlikely. Mitropoulou highlighted the snake's presence on the handles or body of geometric archaic funerary pottery and stated that the snake is the guardian or familiar of the soul, based on the much later statement of Pliny (*N.H.* XVI.85) associating a serpent with a hero's soul.[719] Mitropoulou relates his own conclusion to similar arguments, that the snake more emphatically represents the *soul* of the deceased, made in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries by J. Harrison and E. Küster.[720] Küster describes the snake as a "Seelentier" and a "Verkörperung der Toten", associating the movement of the

[719] Mitropoulou 1977, pp. 15-17, fig. 1 Athens NM 222, 2 and fig. 2 Corinth Mus. T. 2545; Guralnick 1974, p. 185.
[720] Küster 1913, pp. 62-71; Harrison 1922, pp. 267-269.

snake in and out of the ground with the movement of the body into the grave, and more viscerally noting that maggots will emerge from a corpse.[721] Beyond these observations of natural habits, however, Küster's evidence that this significance existed in the Archaic Period is limited. He gives as evidence the snakes of the Spartan reliefs and the snakes depicted in tumuli on vases, referenced below, but is also reliant on Pliny's later comment as the key evidence of the association of snake and soul.[722] Similar criticisms could be levelled at his contemporary, Harrison. Her hypothesis is much the same as Küster's. However, where Küster sees the addition of the beard to the Chrysapha relief's snake to be part of the wider phenomenon of creating monstrous creatures,[723] Harrison maintains that it is the beard which is emphatically anthropomorphising, and as such an integral part of the association of snake and soul.[724] For Harrison, the beard adds additional human qualities which narrow the gap between the worlds of the living and the deceased, stressing the association of the snake with the deceased. However, like Küster, Harrison's only other body of evidence is a pair of entombed snakes on vase paintings (only one of these is bearded, though further examples of this scene can be found with a little searching, for example the Athenian hydria of fig. 7.20), meaning that neither argument has definite evidence. [725]

Scholars since Küster and Harrison have not deviated much in their conclusions. Coldstream attributed the role of snakes to indicating the funerary function of the vases on which they appear.[726] Dietrich traces the relevance of snakes to death back to the role of snakes in chthonic cults of fertility and death, discussed further below.[727] Ogden comments that this consensus on the re-emergence of the deceased in an anguine form is "unsurprising".[728] Finally, in Guralnick's examination of the motif, she simply relates

[721] Küster 1913, p. 62.
[722] Though Küster only gives the Chrysapha relief as his example, more Laconian grave reliefs featuring snakes can be found in Tod and Wace 1906, pp. 102-108.
[723] Küster holds his opinion having read, and rejected, that of Harrison. Küster 1913, p. 76 n. 2.
[724] Harrison 1922, p. 327.
[725] The examples given are vase paintings on a *kotylos* and a *lekythos* (sans beard) from Naples Museum. Harrison 1922, fig: 96, 97, c.f. an Athenian black-figure *hydria* c.525-475, Nimes, Musee Archeologique: 53, Beazley 1971, 165.83TER.
[726] Coldstream 1968, p. 32.
[727] Dietrich argues for the snake as a chthonic being, only becoming associated with the soul in a later period. Dietrich 1967, p. 47 n. 2, and also pp. 134-145 and 152-156.
[728] Ogden 2013, p. 249.

Küster's conclusions, highlighting the prominence of the snake on the Chrysapha relief.[729] Other, similar, Laconian reliefs may support this, as they generally show a snake rearing in front of a seated couple, who often seem to pour it offerings, which fits well Guralnick's wider comments that the snake was imagined to emerge through the bottomless funerary vessel in ritual activity.[730]Among the major voices, only Cook dissents, stating that the snake in funerary contexts is a meaningless abstract ornament and that we should not attribute such significances to it.[731] Considering, however, the development of such direct associations of the snake and the grave as depicted in sculpture and vase painting (fig. 7.7, 7.20), we can probably dismiss Cook, and conclude that the snake was sometimes significant as a representation of the otherworldly, liminal role of the grave.

What role did the bearded, or in-profile, Egyptianising snake play in representing this supernatural association? That the snake exists on objects of a funerary nature before the introduction of elements that we could describe as Egyptianising indicates that the impact of Greek contacts with Egyptian material culture on the conceptual identity of the snake may have been minimal, though the extent to which Egyptian art depicting the afterlife were populated with snakes may have helped buoy its popularity in similar Greek contexts.[732] Nonetheless, it seems obvious to suggest that the addition of the anthropomorphising beard enabled Greek artists to more explicitly highlight that the snakes they depicted in funerary contexts occupied not the natural and physical world, but the unnatural or supernatural world. The beard not only makes the snake unnatural, its addition also emphasises that the space the snake occupies, in the grave, marks the transition between the existing, natural world and an extraordinary place where such unnatural things as the melding of humanoid and animal forms are possible, perhaps feeding into wider Greek conceptions of what existed beyond death. Of course, if the snake *is* a representation of the soul, the beard also adds a more explicit reference to the snake's lost human aspect. This argument essentially underpins Harrison's approach to the meaning of the snake: "human for the artist means divine", thus

[729] Guralnick 1974, p. 183.
[730] Guralnick 1974, p. 183; Küster 1913, pp. 40-41 fig. 31; Tod and Wace 1906, pp. 102-108.
[731] Cook 1960, p. 20.
[732] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the interfaces facilitating Greek contact with Egyptian funerary scenes.

the beard removes any doubt that the animal aspects does not belong in the world of the mundane.[733]

The beard thus served to accentuate and strengthen the pre-existing functions of the snake, while the in-profile perspective and rearing posture enabled it to fulfil this role alongside other characters and in visually novel ways.

However, in these scenes the snake does not seem to be equivalent to or a representation of the deceased, who are/is also represented separately in full human form. In many of these grave stelae, the deceased make(s) offerings to the snake and are often a pair, while the snake is only ever individual. Therefore, while it is possible that the snake in these scenes represents the human soul in an animal form, there is little about the scenes in which the snake appears, even on Laconian stelae, to support such a conclusion. Instead, the Laconian grave stelae are more likely to indicate that contact with Egyptian art, especially the Egyptian funerary stelae on which the deceased offers to a snake deity, may have had an impact upon how the Greeks represented the snake as a supernatural creature which existed in the afterlife *alongside* the deceased, where it perhaps also had some role in the dedication of offerings to the deceased, as well as representing the a liminal space between the worlds of the living and the dead.

As well as, and inextricably linked to, the snake's depiction in funerary contexts are its uses as a representation of divine, and specifically chthonic, power. Dietrich, Küster, Harrison, and Mitropoulou all underline that the funerary implications of the snake appear in relation to its more general chthonic associations. The introduction of the Egyptianising, bearded and/or in-profile snake enabled the Greeks to emphasis the snake motif's chthonic associations in a range of ways. The beard, as already discussed, enabled the snake to become more obviously otherworldly, allowing its presence to more explicitly signify the chthonic, unnatural, or religious elements of the scene in which it appeared (for example fig. 7.1, 7.7). Perhaps more importantly, the introduction of the active, rearing, and uraeus forms of the snake enabled both diversity in the snake's engagement with other actors (for example in fig. 7.6, 7.7, 7.16) and for the snake to become symbolic of divine power (fig. 7.21), favour (fig. 7.9), or chthonic monstrosity (fig. 7.10). As such, the Egyptianising forms of the snake facilitated its use as short-hand for the unnatural, and the multiple snakes employed on the

[733] Harrison 1922, p. 327.

Cerberus or Athena's *aegis* in the examples above show that, just as for the high-volume of snakes in the Egyptian underworld, the snake's contribution to the otherness of a scene was somewhat quantifiable and could be exaggerated through repetition.

The impact of the Egyptian snake of the archaic Greek development of the snake's application as a symbol of chthonic power was, most likely, mostly if not entirely superficial. It is certainly true that there are parallels in the Greek and Egyptian use of the snake in chthonic contexts. The snakes of the Egyptian underworld have a range of specific functions, but these can be reduced to two overarching categories.[734] As a destructive force, the snake can represent an obstacle in the orderly progression of the underworld journey, which must be overcome by the deceased, comparable to Greek monsters bearing or in the form of snakes.[735] Frequently, though, the serpent has a beneficial and positive function. Snakes appear in the form of the Mehen-serpent and other unnamed serpents as powerful allies and as the manifestation of gods, offering protection and even encircling the process of regeneration itself, in a basic sense reminiscent of the snake on Greek shields and clothing.[736] However, the chthonic role of the snake appears to be evident in pre-archaic Hellenic culture, where it is associated with a chthonic goddess, long before the appearance of the Egyptianising, bearded snake.[737] We can, therefore, conclude that much like for the funerary snake, the bearded, in-profile, Egyptianising snake provided useful models which Greek artists could use to accentuate and make explicit in a wider variety of contexts associations which had previously been inferred and restricted to more limited contexts.

Whether the Greeks, in stressing the existing roles of the snake through Egyptianising forms, actively considered the Egyptian origin of these Egyptianising forms and the material on which they were represented is not clear. Obviously, the majority of cases of the Egyptianising snake owe their existence to the replication of Greek examples, but a small number must have experienced Egyptian depictions of the snake. An effort to maintain a link

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[734] Mitropoulou comments only on the protective functions, but the destructive qualities of the snake deity Apep/Apophis should not be overlooked. Hornung highlights these nuances – destructive and regenerative. Hornung 1999, p. 38, 90.
[735] Apep or Apophis is a serpentine representation of darkness and disorder whose slaying is found in funerary texts, for example the tenth and eleventh hour of *Amduat* texts. Hornung 1999, p. 64.
[736] See *Amduat* hours eleven to twelve 11-12 and the *duat*, where gods appear as or on snakes, or under the protection of encircling snakes, and the entire process of regeneration takes places within the 'world-encircler' serpent. Hornung 1999, pp. 40-41.
[737] This is most evident in the snake goddess figurines excavated on Crete. Ogden 2013, p. 9.

between the bearded snake and the Egyptian material in which it originally belonged might be suggested by the Typhon Painter's name vase, a 560-500 BC black-figure *kylix*, on which bearded snakes emerge from lotuses.[738] Similarly, the snake which is possibly depicted as an object of ritual sits atop a lotus like structure.[739] However, the use of lotuses and other Egyptianising motifs in Laconian vase painting and elsewhere, discussed in Chapter 5, was so widespread that such evidence must be approached extremely cautiously.[740] The only certain example of the Egyptianising snake in a context deliberately recalling Egyptian art is the uraeus of Busiris' crown on a fragment of an Athenian cup (fig. 7.22).[741] Accordingly, that the Greeks saw the Egyptianising snake as Egyptianising remains plausible, especially in instances such as the Chrysapha relief, but far from certain.

Conclusions

This section of Chapter 5 has argued that the snake of archaic art was Egyptianising not only in its acquisition of a beard, but also in the postures and perspectives in which it was often depicted.

The use of the bearded snake, and the snake's other Egyptianising forms, in archaic art were not simply iconographic developments. Instead, these innovations in the depiction of the snake were adopted by Greek artists and spread rapidly as they complemented and strengthened the snake's pre-existing chthonic associations with death and the supernatural while also expanding the range of contexts in which the snake could be applied. The Egyptianising bearded snake is, therefore, primarily an example of a process of *accentuation*, but one that also highlights the expansion of the snake motif's versatility resulting from Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. While the bearded-snake was Egyptianising in that it uses elements of motifs found in Egyptian material culture, there is very little to suggest that it was ever deliberately connected to Egypt, and therefore the motif

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[738] Typhon Painter, c. 560-500 BC, Laconian black-figure *kylix*, (On loan to the MMA, image and details found: http://www.theoi.com/Gallery/M10.2.html [16/02/2015])
[739] See fig. 7.11.
[740] Even Zeus' thunderbolt, with which he slays Typhon on the c.540 BC Chalcidean black-figure *hydria* (Antikensammlungen, Munich, 596) is in fact made up of conjoined lotuses. The form is a subject of much manipulation and reinvention.
[741] Athenian black-figure cup of c. 575-525 BC, Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale 1986, Beazley 1956, pl. 64.11.

more likely drew its appeal from how appropriately it expressed Greek ideas than from a specific association with Egypt or Egyptian images of the underworld.

B: The Human-Headed Bird

The bearded snake is a concise example of the *accentuation* of Greek motifs through the introduction of Egyptianising elements, but a more complex and complete case for *accentuation* as a process of the Greek adoption of Egyptian motifs can be found in the human-headed-bird motif of archaic Greek art (generally called “sirens” in scholarship).[742]

The bird is found frequently in all periods of Greek art and birds appear singularly or in numbers in a broad range of contexts. However, the human-headed bird which appears in archaic Greek art is of particular interest in this discussion because this motif is comparable in design, and sometimes in the context of its application, to the Egyptian representation of the *ba*, or soul, as a bird with a human head. This examination of the human-headed-bird motif will first set out evidence that Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture have a significant impact upon the human-headed bird’s appearance in archaic Greek art. Thereafter, the discussion will demonstrate that the human-headed bird motif is, much like the snake, an example of a process of *accentuation* (and of the accompanying broadening of the motif’s roles) by examining the relationship between the applications of the human-headed bird and prior uses of the bird motif.

The human-headed bird in Greek art

The human-headed bird motif appears Greek art in numerous forms almost simultaneously. Bronze protomes and at least one terracotta *askos* in the form of the human-headed bird appear from the very end of the eighth century, around 700 BC (fig. 7.23, 7.24, 7.25).[743]

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[742] Calling examples of the human-headed bird motif sirens is avoided in this discussion for reasons which will become clear below.

[743] Fig. 7.23. Two bronze “siren” protomes of Peloponnesian production, eighth-seventh century, Olympia Archaeological Museum B 1690, B 28, Hatzi 2008, p. 89. Fig. 7.24. Two bronze “siren” protomes of Near-Eastern (North Syrian?) production, eighth and seventh centuries, Olympia Archaeological Museum B 5090, B 4312, Hatzi 2008, p. 88. Fig. 7.25. A bronze “siren” protome of Greek production, with orientalising features, seventh century, Delphi Archaeological Museum, Colonia 2006, p. 56.

Within twenty years, if not sooner, human-headed birds begin appearing in vase painting, as seen on an East Greek *oinochoe* of c.700-680 BC (fig. 7.29).[744] By the sixth century, a detailed image of the human-headed bird was commonplace in vase painting, and the association of the motif with the myth of Odysseus and the sirens is evident from the mid-sixth century (fig. 7.56).[745] Throughout the sixth century the human-headed bird also appears as the form for terracotta and bronze vessels and bronze amulets.[746] In these media the human-headed bird continued to be popular beyond the Archaic Period.

Certain forms of the human-headed bird (from here on shortened to "HHB") of Greek art will be covered individually in much greater detail throughout the next few sections of this chapter but a broad and deep discussion of the full range of the motif's variations and contexts in archaic art would take a great deal more space than can be afforded here, and has already been executed at least twice.[747] Instead, the introduction and expansion of the HHB motif from Egyptian art and other sources will be given centre stage. The structure within this discussion is roughly geographical, and within that framework typological. First, protomes and other possible results of Greek contact with the arts of the Near-East are summarised. Secondly, the parallels between the HHB in Greek vase painting, terracottas, and bronzes and the *ba* of Egyptian material culture are outlined.

Near-Eastern human-headed birds & their impact in Greek art

Before looking at Egyptian parallels for the HHB in Greek art, it is necessary to highlight the importance among the earliest examples of the HHB in Greek art of its depictions in a bronze, protome form, which is probably of Near-Eastern origin.

These bronze HHB protomes had a human head, with either a human or an avian torso, often within a ring, and with outstretched wings behind the torso and arms which rest

[744] From a tomb at Cameiros, but thought to have been made at Miletus. BM. 1861,0425.48
[745] Perhaps first appearing on a Late-Corinthian *aryballos*, c. 575-550 BC, Boston MFA 01.8100.
[746] For example Fig. 7.43., a "Siren" figurine, or *askos*, from a child burial, Knossos North Cemetery, 700 BC, Heraklion Museum, Author's Image.
[747] Hoftstetter 1990; Weicker 1902.

on the backs of the wings (fig. 7.23, 7.24).[748] These protomes are usually found in scholarship tentatively labelled as "sirens" or "(sirens)".[749] The first examples appear in Greece in the late-eighth century, but most date to the early-seventh, and continue in this form until the mid-late-seventh. These attachments are generally associated with Near Eastern, specifically Urartian or North Syrian, designs.[750] The majority of the "siren" attachments are found on Greek and Italian sites, some 75% at the time of Muscarella's investigation of the type, with far fewer being found in the Near East.[751] However, of those excavated in Greece and Italy, only one quarter are considered to be Greek in style, having an angular, geometricized face, while the majority are noted as belonging to an orientalising type, with rounder features, which has also been evidenced in the East, particularly at Anatolian sites such as Gordion.[752] It is, therefore, widely thought that despite many fewer examples existing in Near-Eastern contexts, a Near-Eastern origin is quite certain. Of the two main candidates for where exactly this Near-Eastern origin may have been, North Syria and Urartu, North Syria is currently more popular than an Urartu, owing to a complete dearth of Urartian examples.[753] The North Syrian case itself, however, also rests on a narrow range of examples, especially in comparison to the number found at Greek sites, and as such a secondary, Greek centre of production (perhaps with Eastern craftsmen) for the orientalising type might be plausible.

Wherever produced, the orientalising features of the "siren" protomes are undeniable. The soft featured, bearded face,[754] ring,[755] and Eastern-style hat[756] of examples from the

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[748] See examples from Delphi (Delphi Museum, 20-23) dating between c. 800 BC and the late-seventh century in Colonia, 2006 pp. 55-58. For examples found at the sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia, including a late-eighth century Janus-headed example (Archaeological Museum of Olympia B 1735), a bearded example with an Eastern hat (Archaeological Museum of Olympia B 4312), a plain Eastern-produced example (Archaeological Museum of Olympia B 5090) and seventh-century Peloponnesian examples (Archaeological Museum of Olympia B 1690, B 28), see Hatzi 2008, pp. 88-90. For examples from Athens, Olympia and Salamis, see Hampe and Simon 1981, figs. 160, 161, 166, p. 100.

[749] For example by Colonia (2006, pp. 55-5) and Hatzi (2008, pp. 88-90).

[750] See Muscarella 1988, p. 28-29, n. 4; Muscarella 1962, pp. 317-329.

[751] Muscarella 1962, pp. 317-318.

[752] Ibid.

[753] This argument is assisted by a lack of cultural uniformity in Urartu, and the likelihood of limited metal goods production centres. See Zimansky 1995, pp. 103-115.

[754] The beard of the Eastern gods and kings has a particular shape, as seen in the relief of the meeting of Ashurnasirpal II with his official from the North-West Palace at Nimrud, BM 1850,1228.9, and again on a relief from the same location showing soldiers accompanying the royal lion hunt, BM ME 120859. See also the Greek examples from Vetulonia, Olympia, and Gordion given by Muscarella 1962, Plate 103 a-e.

orientalising group "siren" protomes all inspire associations of the form with Eastern artistic cultures (fig. 7.23, 7.24, 7.25). In combination, this set of features has clear likeness to Eastern relief and seal depictions of the god Ashur, who can be depicted within the winged disk of Shamash, firing or holding aloft his bow or a ring in a representation of divine and royal power (fig. 7.26).[757] However, exactly what mixtures of elements inspired this form of protome is unclear. The forward facing aspect, outstretched wings, and arms resting the wings are all individually more reminiscent of Egyptian *ba* depictions than Assyrian reliefs of Assur (though frontal protomes can be found elsewhere in contemporary Eastern art, as seen in the human-headed bull protome of a Neo-Elamite vase of the eighth-seventh century).[758] Additionally, the positioning of the Greek protomes' arms outstretched on their wings is quite unlike depictions of Ashur, whose arms generally hold a bow or are held up, but could be compared to Egyptian amuletic depictions of the winged *ba* (fig. 7. 27)[759] or winged goddesses such as Nut,[760] or to the winged goddesses of Egyptianising Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician images.[761] Examples from the geometricizing Greek group are closer still to certain forms of the Egyptian *ba* than Assyrian precedents, though this is largely due to a reduction in the number of differentiating, orientalising features, namely the beard and hat, rather than an increase in similar features or stylistic details.[762] It seems unrealistic to assume any direct influence of the *ba* amulet in the creation of the Greek or North Syrian protomes,

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755 The ring is seen clearly in Near-Eastern depictions of Ashur, as below, and in Greece on many examples of the HHB, such as a seventh- century "siren" protome of an orientalising tripod from Delphi. Colonia 2006, p. 54. The winged ring or disk motif and its movement from Egypt to the Near East are discussed by Ornan 2005, pp. 207-242.

756 As seen in the above relief of soldiers from the Ashurnasirpal II lion-hunt relief and in Greece on "siren" protomes on cauldrons found at Delphi and Salamis. Colonia 2006, pp. 56-57; Hampe and Simon 1981, p. 100, fig. 166.

757 Scurlock 2013, p. 155. Coldstream 2003, pp. 362-365.

758 Neo-Elamite vase with bull-headed protome handle, eighth-seventh century BC, MMA 43.102.45a.

759 The example of fig. 7.27 is a *ba*-shaped pectoral (Third Intermediate Period, BM EA 54416, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/WCO27639 [01/05/2015]) with the *ba* holding its outstretched wings. Other examples from the Third Intermediate and Late Period include: a pendant now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (09/001/5055), and comparable amulets of the Late Period from the Brooklyn Museum (08.480.213) and recently auctioned by Christie's (SALE 4925 LOT 133, London, 2012).The motif is also painted within coffins as on a Third Intermediate Period coffin foot piece (Brooklyn Museum 75.27), and in the head space of a contemporary example from the coffin of Neshkons, held in the collection of the Merrin Gallery, New York.

760 For example a Third Intermediate Period winged Nut amulet in faience, MMA 26.7.982a–c.

761 Such as those on silver bowls, including a Cypro-Phoenician bowl from Amathus, c. 750-600 BC, BM 123053.

762 See those in fig. 7.23.

but it is nonetheless plausible that certain Egyptianising elements in Phoenician art, such as the holding of outstretched wings, had an impact upon the Near-Eastern development of the form of these protomes.

Aside from protomes, bird-headed humans are more commonplace than human-headed birds in Eastern art. Nonetheless, it is possible that contact with material from Near-Eastern cultures channelled through the Levant did inspire certain of the forms of the HHB found in Greek painted pottery. The HHB motif may appear in the Near East as early as the bronze-age, with a composite human-headed creature with the legs (and possibly lower torso) of a bird appearing on a Babylonian *kudurru* (boundary stone).[763] More contemporary to the appearance of the HHB in Greek art is a tile found at Qalaichi Tepe, identified as Mannean and dating to eighth-seventh century BC, which depicts a male HHB with a beard, horns, and avian legs, in a walking posture (fig. 7.28).[764] This HHB is strikingly similar to our earliest Greek example (fig. 7.29) which also has bird feet and a pointy beard.[765] Similarly, a seventh-century metal Urartian pectoral recently auctioned from a private collection (and also of unclear provenance) depicts two fields of walking, male, human-headed birds, whose erect wing form is much like archaic examples of the walking human-headed bird, discussed at greater length below.[766] The male HHBs of three-dimensional Near-Eastern metalwork would, therefore, appear to have had (limited) two-dimensional parallels.

However, both the Babylonian kudurru and the Mannean tile are quite difficult to connect to Greece. The scarcity of two-dimensional examples of the HHB in the East and the lack of evidence that material bearing the motif made their way from the Eastern inland to the

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[763] The creature has the head and torso of a human male archer, with a scorpion tail and possibly lower torso. Kudurru (boundary stone) of Nebuchadnezzar I, twelfth century BC, BM 9085.
[764] Illegally excavated, this tile is now in the Tokyo Museum, TJ5678, and has speculative labelling: “Possibly from N.W. Iran, Iron Age, 8th-7th Century”.
http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_collection/index.php?controller=dtl&colid=TJ5678&lang=en See also: http://www.cais-soas.com/News/2006/August2006/18-08-earthenware.htm and http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/countries/mannea/ for more details of the object’s excavation.
[765] An *oinochoe* found in a tomb at Cameiros, but probably made at Miletus, c.700-680 BC, BM 1861,0425.48, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA5474 [01/05/2015].
[766] Bonhams Sale 21928 Catalogue, Lot 116. pp 104-105. The catalogue states that the item was published in: H.J. Kellner, “Pectorale aus Urartu”, *Belleten*, 41, No. 163, 1977, pp. 481-93 and in R. Merhav (ed.) *Urartu. A Metalworking Center in the First Millennium B.C.E.*, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1991, p. 169, fig. 6. The catalogue dating is likely based upon Kellner’s approximation, though his dating technique for Urartian material has been elsewhere criticised as the material lacks appropriate dating contexts. See Collon 1993, pp. 125-127.

Levant or beyond, diminish the possibility that such examples had an impact on archaic vase painting. If, contrary to current momentum in the debate, the metalwork human-avian composite protomes above were identified to be of Urartian rather than North Syrian origin, it would be reasonable to consider whether the HHB motif present on the Urartian pectoral above may have also been depicted on the Near-Eastern material with which the Greeks came into contact. Therefore, while these few examples do highlight that the mixture of human heads and avian features did exist in a narrow range of forms in the two-dimensional art of the Near East, at the moment it is difficult to set out a clear case that the HHB motif in two-dimensional Greek art was developed under the influences of Near-Eastern parallels.

Egypt's Ba and the human-headed birds of archaic art.

It is likely that Near-Eastern examples were the inspiration for the Greek HHB protome, and may, if we can resolve issues of agency, have inspired initial experiments with the HHB found in Greek vase painting. However, whichever conclusions we reach on the viability and extent of Eastern influences, a substantial body of evidence exists to suggest that the development of the HHB motif between 700-480 BC was to some extent a result of Greek interactions with the HHB motif in Egyptian art.

The attribution of HHB's *form* on painted painting and other objects to Egypt, leaving aside for the time being its functions and conceptual associations, is nothing new, though much as with the bearded-snake motif the discussion of evidence linking the Greek HHB motif with the Egyptian *ba*-bird has proven to be widespread but rarely conclusive.

Concerted attention to the HHB motif's associations with the *ba*-bird of Egyptian art effectively begins with Georg Weicker's 1902 examination of the "siren" motif in *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst*. Weicker marries the general observation of the physiological resemblance of the two human-headed and bird-bodied creatures with a few more penetrating observations of detailed parallels, but is more interested in an insistent argument for conceptual overlaps, which we shall return to below.[767] Weicker's approach to comparisons of the *ba* and the human-headed bird of Greek art are mirrored in an array of later scholarship. The specifics of various viewpoints are included throughout this discussion, wherever the scholarship applies itself to particular examples, but those noting a relationship

[767] Weicker 1902, esp. pp. 9, 16, 85-96, 119.

between the Egyptian *ba* and the HHB of Greek art most notably include Vermeule, Cooney, and Hölbl.[768] The salient feature of these conclusions is that the methodology cherry-picks only one or two examples of iconographical links and proceeds to explore potential conceptual links. Even Cooney's article and Vermeule's on the subject are based around only a handful of explicitly mentioned images depicting a narrow range of types of HHB.[769] Hölbl provides even less evidence, stating simply the connection between Egyptian *ba* and Greek siren may exist, indirectly or directly (via Eastern intermediaries), but not dwelling on the array of available evidence.[770]

Accordingly, in an effort to compile a broader assessment of the parallels between the *ba* and the HHB, I have included a range of contexts and media, including variations in vase art as well as representations of the human-headed bird in terracotta, bronze, and occasionally stone. While not everything can be covered in the greatest detail, a broad approach to the evidence will help argue that Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture not only have an impact on their creation of the HHB, but also helped shape the development of the motif throughout the Archaic Period.

Greek and Egyptian human-headed birds in two-dimensional, painted forms

The Greek HHB is first and most commonly found in archaic vase paintings depicted in profile as a large, standing bird with a human head (fig. 7.29, 7.30).[771] With this appearance it appears often and in a broad range of contexts, including within repetitive scenes of monstrous creatures and in the midst of funerary activity, most often in ambiguous functions. We can find a direct parallel for this form of HHB in Egyptian material culture. The Egyptian HHB, representing the *ba*, is also frequently found in a similar standing position, in profile, with a portrait head. The contexts of these depictions are most often funerary, in tomb

[768] Vermeule 1979, esp. pp. 8, 18-19, 65-75; Cooney 1968; pp. 262-271; Hölbl 1979, p. 352; others include Tsiafakis 2001, p. 11, and Dimosthenis 2014, pp. 195-206.
[769] Vermeule 1979, pp. 18-19; Cooney 1968, pp. 262-271.
[770] Hölbl 1979, p. 352.
[771] A quick look at the HHB on a few examples would illustrate some types of this widespread motif, including: An *oinochoe* found in a tomb at Cameiros, but probably made at Miletus, c.700-680 BC, BM 1861,0425.48; a sixth-century Boeotian tripod *pyxis* (Harvard Art Museums 1960.289); another tripod *pyxis*, c. 600 BC, Corinthian (Harvard Art Museums 1925.30.3.A-B); an Athenian *dinos* by Sophilos, c. 570 BC, (Harvard Art Museums 1995.18.23.A-E); an *alabastron*, c. 620-590 BC, found Rhodes but of Corinthian origin, (MFA 91.211); and an East Greek sherd found at Naucratis, c. 540-530 BC (BM 1886,0401.1116).

paintings, papyri, stelae, and on coffins, with the *ba* often in close proximity to the deceased (fig. 7.31, 7.32).[772] The most striking similarity between the two motifs is, therefore, the addition of the human head to the avian body, an action which is unprecedented in Greek art prior to c.700 BC, but is much more ancient in Egyptian art. This parallel physiological abnormality, together with the fact that the Greek HHB and Egyptian *ba* motifs are both found in prominent positions within funerary contexts (fig. 7.33, 7.34), forms the basis for the association of the development of the Greek HHB with contact with the Egyptian *ba* motif.[773]

However, there are a few notable differences between the two motifs, which should be accounted for. As we would expect, the human heads have different features, according to each culture's portraiture preferences and stylistic traditions. More importantly though, the Greek human-headed bird frequently, indeed almost always, has outstretched crooked or curving wings in the standing position, whereas the Egyptian *ba*'s wings generally remain both straight and closed tight to its body when it is depicted in the standing posture. Of the human-headed birds in Greek vase painting which do not have their wings outstretched, examples with the wings curling up into a tip, as on the early-seventh-century East Greek *oinochoe* above, are more common than straight winged examples such as two sixth century column-*krater* fragments found at Naucratis (fig.7.29, 7.35).[774]

If Egypt provides the model for the Greek HHB, then what is the cause of this difference? It could be that the crooked wing form points more convincingly towards the Greeks taking after the precedent of Near-Eastern examples, such as the afore mentioned

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[772] Fig. 7.30 and 7.31 show the Late Period *Book of the Dead* of Tasnakht (Museo Egizio Torino 1833) and a scene from the outer coffin of Sennedjem (Dynasty XIX), showing the *ba*s of the deceased and his wife on top of their tomb (Žabkar 1968, Pl. 3). Other examples from the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period include the *ba* depicted in: the Third Intermediate Period (Dynasty XXI) coffin of Gautsoshen (MMA 26.3.7); the inner coffin of Nany, Singer of Amun, Third Intermediate Period (Dynasty XXI), MMA 30.3.24a; the Late Period *Book of the Dead* of Tasnakht, Museo Egizio Torino 1833.

[773] The HHB is common near scenes of *prothesis*, for example on a *phormiskos*, c.550-500 BC, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU190, and on objects of a funerary function, such as a terracotta sarcophagus rim (Clazomenae, c.525-500 BC, MMA 21.169.1), but is actually surprisingly hard to locate in the centre of funerary scenes. This does occur on two sixth-century, Attic *pinakes*, one in the MFA 27.146, and one in Berlin-Charlottenburg Museum 31. 332. See Vermeule 1979, pp. 18-19; Tsiafakis 2001, p. 22, n.19.

[774] Fig. 7.35. shows an East Greek column-*krater* fragment, 540-530 BC, BM 1886, 0401.1116. For similar column-*krater* fragment, found Naucratis 600-575 BC Alexandria 9355 (Venit 1988, pl. 252, p. 76, 186).

Urartian pectoral (fig. 7.36), where the spread wings provide a closer match to the Greek HHB, as inspiration for the HHB of archaic vase painting.[775] However, there is little certainty in such conclusions. The Urartian pectoral is equally problematic as a physiological parallel to the Greek HHB, as the *ba* and the archaic Greek human-headed bird are both almost always bird-footed, while the Urartian examples are clearly human-footed.[776] Furthermore, the curled wings used on many Greek monsters, including frequently on the HHB, are more similar to examples of curled wings in Egyptian art (of the flying *ba* and various other deities in both two-dimensional and three-dimensional examples),[777] while the crooked wings used interchangeably with these are most comparable with Eastern designs.[778] Therefore, Greek artists appear to have experimented with a range of monstrous wing types interchangeably.

With the apparent fusion of Egyptian and Eastern elements in this earliest and persisting form of the HHB in vase art it might be best to consider the emergence of the motif as a Greek combination of elements, which certainly fits well with the archaeology of Rhodes and Crete, whence the motif seems to emerge. Whatever the *origins* of the motif, in both its two- and three-dimensional applications, we find evidence that Greek artists periodically refer back to Egyptian material culture to produce new forms of the HHB motif, while there is no evidence of further interactions with Near-Eastern motifs in depictions of the HHB, beyond the earliest examples.

Moving on from the most basic standing posture, a number of more particular depictions of the HHB in Greek vase art can be paralleled with Egyptian representations of the *ba* and help clarify the possible role of Egyptian precedents. Firstly, depictions of the HHB with arms are comparable to the *ba,* which is often depicted with arms raised in praise or to receive sustenance (fig.7.37). Perhaps the closest likeness to the Egyptian *ba* is actually

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[775] Bonhams Sale 21928 Catalogue, Lot 116. pp 104-105.

[776] There are few exceptions to this rule, but these exceptions do include the two *pinakes* above, Tsiafakis 2001, p. 11.

[777] Actual curled-winged *ba*-birds are only common in amuletic form, but the motif is exceptionally common in Egyptian art. See, for example, the deities and winged scarab of the late-Third-Intermediate-Period cartonnage of Hor, which also features a prothesis *scene*. Brooklyn Museum 37.50E.

[778] As can be seen, for example, on an Urartian ivory throne ornament, eighth-seventh century BC, depicting a crooked-winged bird-headed demon. BM ME 118951.

found on an Etruscan black-figure amphora (fig. 7.38).[779] The HHBs of this *amphora* are painted in a repeated loop, in what looks like a revel, but their postures are comparable in form to the *ba* as we see it on many Egyptian funerary objects, lifting their arms in praise of the gods.[780] However, in Greek art we also find the HHB with arms, first empty-handed and later carrying objects such as the instruments of the sirens. Considering that it already had an anthropomorphising head, the HHB arguably gained little more monstrous functionality from being presented with human arms, which were in any case an unusual addition to a Greek monster. Nonetheless, the HHB was depicted on an Amasis Painter *kylix* with arms before it seems to have had any real use for them, shortly before it begins to be depicted with instruments (fig.7.39).[781] Arguably, therefore, the addition of hands was inspired by the empty-handed Egyptian *ba*, and only after this were the hands hastily supplied with objects to hold, generally instruments (fig. 7.40), but in one case, curiously, a fish.[782] Therefore, it would appear that in the late sixth century as well as the early seventh we can see that Greek interactions with the Egyptian *ba* motif helped to shape their depictions of the HHB.

Supporting this conclusion, if we venture slightly beyond the Archaic Period, into the fifth century, we can highlight that the HHB with wings outstretched above a corpse can be seen comparably in Egyptian funerary texts and on an Attic column *krater* depicting the death of Procris (fig. 7.41).[783] The posture of the HHB and its positioning in relation to Procris'

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[779] Etruscan Neck-Amphora c. 500-520 BC, BM 1938,0318.1. The Etruscan siren is also African in appearance? – compare an *oinochoe*, Micali Painter, c.525–500 BC, MMA 06.1021.40.

[780] As, for example, a *ba*-bird statuette in wood, Late Period, Roemer Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, Inv.nr.2126, or, as in fig. 7.37, on a painted wall fragment from the Tomb of Amonemipet, TT 215, New Kingdom, Museo Egizio Torino 0777.

[781] Amasis Painter *kylix*, sixth-century. Boston 10.651.

[782] Examples with instruments appear in large numbers at the very end of the sixth century, into the early-fifth century, for examples see an Athenian black-figure *lekythos* attributed to the Edinburgh Painter, c. 525-475 BC, Athens, National Museum, 1130, Beazley 1956, p. 476, and a contemporary Athenian black-figure skythos attributed to the Theseus Painter (Greifswald, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universitat, 197). For the HHB with a fish, see a coin of Kyzikos, c. 550-500 BC (Boston MFA 04.1364). We also find that HHB *askoi* can use their arms to hold funerary objects, see below.

[783] Attic red-figure column-*krater* c. 460-430 BC, BM 1772,0320.36.+, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA7183 [01/05/15]. Identified in the BM record as "a Harpy (?) waiting for her soul", but as the HHB shows no signs of aggression, it is reasonable to associate it with the artistic tradition placing HHBs around death in a more benign role. Another example of the HHB in flight in a similar posture can be found much earlier, on an Attic amphora c. 625-575 BC (Athens, National Museum, 221/CC652), though there is no corpse below this example.

corpse are both comparable to representations of the *ba* flying over the corpse or delivering sustenance to the corpse in Egyptian representations of the *prothesis* (fig. 7.42, 7.34).[784]

In summary, it appears plausible that Greek contact with the Egyptian *ba* not only led to the introduction of a HHB motif to Greek vase painting, but was also a source for the sporadic development through the Archaic Period and beyond. This should hardly be surprising, as once the Greeks had a HHB motif, the similarities to the Egyptian *ba* can only have become more tempting for exploration, despite the maturity which Boardman and others would claim that Greek art had acquired by the late sixth century.

Human-headed birds in three dimensional objects

Evidence for the role of Egypt's material culture in the development of archaic Greece's three-dimensional objects representing the HHB in bronze and terracotta fully supports the conclusions above.

Terracotta vessels in the form of the HHB can be found from as early as c.700 BC, when we find a HHB funerary jug in a quite distinctly Egyptianising form, with male (perhaps even Egyptianising) features and moulded arms, beating its chest and open mouthed in mourning (fig. 7.43).[785] Another, seemingly derivative, example follows soon after, c. 675-650, also from Crete, with painted arms and a Hellenised female face (7.44).[786] This is then shortly followed by a Rhodian example c. 640 BC, which seems to mark the completion of the transformation from the fully moulded funerary jug of c.700 BC, to the small, smooth, prone and unarmed, perfume bottle which is the form thereafter most commonly taken by

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[784] See, for example, the *ba* hovering over the bed of the deceased in the Late Period *Book of the Dead* of Tasnakht, Museo Egizio Torino 1833, the *ba* in the *prothesis* of a Late Period Tomb at Bahariya (Tiradritti 2008, pp. 352-358 and Aufrère, Golvin and Goyon 1994, pp.125-140), or the *ba* sustaining the corpse on the Papyrus of Neb-Qed, reproduced in Žabkar 1968, pl. 5.

[785] A HHB *askos* or figurine from a child burial in the Knossos North Cemetery, 700 BC, now in Heraklion Museum, Author's Image.

[786] Cretan "siren" *askos*, c. 675-650 BC, BM 1868,0110.767, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA5463 [01/05/2015].

terracotta HHBs (7.45).[787] Clearly the arms were deemed an unnecessary complication at this stage, which makes their later reintroduction an interesting step.

During the sixth century the HHB continues to be represented in a prone form in a large number of terracotta and several bronze vessels. While their arms are gone, and their faces Hellenised, one can still identify possible interactions with Egyptian parallels in the execution of these vessels. Sixth-century examples are more delicately moulded than their late-seventh-century predecessors (7.46). Moreover, unlike previous examples, the wings are detailed with crossed tips, a feature noted by Weicker as distinctly Egyptian (fig. 7.47).[788] Now, unlike early, rotund examples, the clean lines of their wings and tails stylistically mirror Egyptian statuettes of the standing *ba* (fig. 7.48), while the tucked-under legs parallel Egyptian bronze birds (as found at Samos), and the prone *ba* model as seen being carried by the deceased Hor-Min in an Egyptian funerary relief (fig. 7.49).[789] These developments fit within broader shifts in Greek tastes, but as other evidence indicates that the Greeks continue to interact with funerary *ba*s, see below, the possibility that Greek artists continued to use Egyptian examples is not implausible. Thus, while the terracotta human-headed birds are rapidly drawn into the Greek artistic repertoire, Hellenised, and simplified in the seventh century, as their execution becomes more complex again in the sixth century, their detailing evokes Egyptian material culture. Much as with the painted HHB, it can be argued that the Greeks repeatedly, or consistently, held the *ba* as a point of reference for the execution of the HHB in three-dimensions.

This can also be seen in bronze, where small sixth-century amulets or pendants in the form of the human-headed bird in the standing position are exceptionally similar in form to *ba* amulets in wood, gold, or faience (fig. 7.50, 7.51, 7.52).[790] The wings are close to the

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[787] BM 1860,0404.30, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA5459 [01/05/2015]. See also Boston MFA 65.566 for a sixth-century example of the type at Corinth. Jugs do still appear, as an example from c.500 BC, Sicily, shows: BM. 1846,0512.14.

[788] Weicker 1902, p. 102. We can also see this detailing on an over-life-size stone falcon or eagle from Crete (Heraklion Museum) which shows Egyptianising influences in many aspects of its execution, and may be inspired by large Egyptian representations of the Horus falcon, which was often sculpted in a similar scale and placed outside of temples.

[789] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. Nr. 7274, reproduced in Žabkar 1968, pl. 4.

[790] Egyptian examples include: Late Period or Naucratis faience *ba*-bird amulets (as in, Hölbl 2008, p. 219 fig. 188); Late Period wooden ba-bird amulet (MMA 66.99.143) Late Period gold ba-bird amulet, (MMA 23.10.49). See also, Andrews 1994, pp. 67-68.

body, the posture is the same, as is the physiology and placement of suspension loop (where applicable). All aspects except the human head's facial features are alike.[791] Similarly, as we move to the end of the Archaic Period and into the Classical Period, bronze protomes in the form of the standing human-headed bird are extremely close parallels to Egyptian funerary models of the *ba* rendered in painted wood (compare 7.53 with 7.48, for example).[792] Here we find, again, that there are no major differences in wing shape and position, in posture, or in physiological detail, except for the Hellenised faces. The form in which the wings sweep back to create a triangular hollow between legs and tail-tip is characteristic of Egyptian representations of the hawk body.

Across the three-dimensional evidence, therefore, we come to the same conclusion as for the HHB of Greek vase painting, that the Egyptian *ba* was a point of reference not only for the introduction of the motif, but also repeatedly thereafter in choosing how it was depicted. This phenomenon, across both types of evidence, may have been aided by the rising popularity of both funerary texts and of the *ba* motif in sculpted amuletic and figurine form in Egypt in the Third Intermediate and Late Period, as discussed in Chapter 1. However, it is worth noting that despite quantities of falcon and stork statuettes and Horus amulets, the *ba* does not feature in the extant Egyptian material from archaic Greece.[793]

The examples outlined above cannot provide conclusive evidence of a relationship between the Egyptian and Greek motif of the HHB, nonetheless there are a range of parallels which I consider to be sufficient evidence that it is likely that over a span of two centuries, from the early-seventh century through to the fifth century BC, the Egyptian *ba*, and perhaps other Egyptian falcon amulets, were a point of reference for Greeks in their introduction and development of a HHB motif.

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[791] While earlier examples of the human-headed bird in Greek amulets may exist, such as a very-late-eighth century pendant (Getty 96.AC.72), which would appear to have a rough human-head on top of an elongated and arched neck, these are entirely different in character and it is unclear whether they even depict a human head. The Getty example is exceptional in its form. It has a long neck, but is too early to have been influenced by the phallus-bird motif, which emerges only after c. 600 BC Boardman 1992, pp. 227-242. Its body is reasonably like glass bird pendants of the eighth-seventh centuries BC (MMA 17.194.454, 17.194.455, 17.194.451, 17.194.452, 17.194.453).

[792] Greek "siren" bronze attachment, mid-fifth century BC, BM 1951,0606.10, http://collection.britishmuseum.org/id/object/GAA49281 [01/05/2015].

[793] The *ba* as an amulet becomes popular in Egypt in the Dynasty XXVI. Janssen 1973, p. 41.

Functions of the human-headed Bird in Greek art and their origins

A selection of the evidence that Greek artists repeatedly used Egyptian material culture as a source from which to develop the HHB has been presented. This discussion can now move to the broader significance of this conclusion by arguing that these interactions with Egyptian material culture demonstrate a process of *accentuation*. In order to do so I shall demonstrate that the HHB was used to stress the existing supernatural roles of the bird, especially in funerary contexts and that thereafter the development of the HHB motif in various Egyptianising forms served to emphasise new and continuing associations of the HHB. However, before laying out my own position I will briefly, and for now uncritically, summarise key scholarship on the HHB's functions.

Scholarship which has discussed the parallels between the *form* of the Greek HHB and the Egyptian *ba* has mostly agreed in its assessment of the shared functionality of these two motifs. Weicker, having noted iconographic similarities between the *ba* and the human-headed birds of Greek art, goes on to explain the role of the *ba* and its interaction with the *ka* in Egyptian funerary beliefs stating that this funerary role was "Ebenso bei den Griechen."[794] With uncompromising certainty Weicker relates that the *ba*'s role in Egyptian funerary objects (roughly speaking as the representation of the deceased individual, though the details will be returned to below) as parallel to the HHB's role in Greek art. The *ba* and the Greek "Seelenvogel" belong in the underworld, or the chthonic world of Hades.[795] Not only are the two parallels, according to Weicker, but the Egyptian HHB is the conceptual model for the Greek.[796] That the Egyptian *ba*'s funerary function is responsible for its appearance in comparable Greek funerary scenes is also stated by others. Writing in 1968, Cooney finds the influence of the *ba* on the Greek siren to be very likely.[797] Cooney's primary interest is in the visual similarities, but the conceptual development of the siren is also attributed to Egyptian

[794] Weicker 1902, p. 9.
[795] Ibid.
[796] Weicker 1902, p. 2, 86.
[797] Cooney 1968, pp. 265-267.

precedents.[798] Similarly, Vermeule is convinced not only of visual similarities, but of a causal conceptual link between the Egyptian *ba* and the Greek siren.[799]

There is, however, some opposition to Weicker's and others' approach. Buschor sets out to provide an alternative reading to Weicker's, arguing that the "sirens" are instead an equivalent being to the Muses.[800] He proposes that the sirens, like muses, are charming creatures who escort souls. In this function they were the alluring musical escorts of the souls in the underworld. Gresseth views Buschor's conclusions favourably, particularly in Buschor's separation of the siren idea from the preceding Oriental art form and his description of the siren as a "Himmelssiren" rather than a "Todesdämon".[801] Gresseth's own reading of the sirens, aside his praising of Buschor, is that the sirens represent an aspect of the trope of magical song.[802] The sirens' form does not come from oriental art, says Gresseth, but from pre-literary folkloric traditions.[803] Their wings and human heads are therefore always an element of their form even when this is not explicitly mentioned, for example in Homer (see below).

Buschor's viewpoint is, in turn, quite effectively tackled by Pollard, who deconstructs Buschor's arguments primarily by highlighting key differences and divergences in the genealogical and narrative traditions attributed to the siren and the muses.[804] Pollard's deconstruction is not accompanied by a reconstruction, and so there is little sense of what overall meanings he attributes to the sirens or HHBs. However, he notes that the relationship between the sirens and the oriental HHB motif is more complex than Buschor or Gresseth indicate, highlighting the use of male human-headed birds in roles later associable with the siren.[805] Finally, aside from these viewpoints there is a suggestion by Marót that the entire motif, both visually and functionally, was drawn from Eastern sources. Marót wishes to begin discussion of the siren with Homer and thereafter bring together the artistic and literary

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[798] Cooney's distinction is a somewhat self-contradictory. Cooney firstly stresses that the functions were "very different" before proceeding to highlight the functional overlap in the protective role of both motifs. Cooney 1968, p. pp.265-267.
[799] Vermeule 1979, p. 75.
[800] Gresseth 1970, p. 203, citing Buschor *Die Musen des Jenseits*.
[801] Gresseth 1970, pp. 203-204.
[802] Gresseth 1970, pp. 217-218.
[803] Ibid.
[804] Pollard 1952, pp. 60-63.
[805] Pollard 1952, pp. 62-63.

traditions.[806] While the marriage of the artistic and literary tradition seems a sensible approach, his proposed Phoenician etymology and conceptual origin for the word "siren" and the subsequent marriage of this "siren" to a corresponding oriental iconography and form is tenuous and, quite fairly, deemed improbable by Gresseth.[807]

In short, there are two viewpoints, quite opposed to one another, as to what the HHB's function was, wherever its form originated. One camp sees the HHB primarily as a representation of the human soul, of which the association with the siren is an extension. The other camp views the HHB foremost as a representation of the Homeric siren and primarily associable with magical song. It is a notable problem that the terminology employed by each side to describe the artistic motif is generally, as seen in the above paragraphs, not neutral (i.e. the "HHB" preferred here) but pre-loaded to express function. Weicker calls the human-headed bird motif the "Seelenvogel" and Vermeule mirrors this in calling it the "soul-bird". No less problematic is the attribution of the name "sirens" to representations of HHBs prior to the first explicit association, in the mid-sixth century, of the HHB motif with the Odyssey passage in which the sirens appear, and in contexts which have no explicit relevance to this mythological name.[808]

Thus, while HHB is a slightly uglier phrase, it is the description from which we must begin our investigation of this motif's meaning as it is also the only description which gives appropriate weight to the link between the HHB and the bird motif which preceded and existed alongside it.

The Non-Human-Headed Bird

The bird motif in early-archaic and pre-archaic Greek art has a number of possible functions. In Mycenaean art we find winged creatures on funerary vessels and *larnakes*.[809] Vermeule identifies these as proto-*kers* or soul-birds.[810] However, how the birds relate to the significance of the contexts in which they appear is unclear. *Larnakes* feature a variety of

[806] Marót 1960. pp. 142-149.
[807] Gresseth 1975, p. 204, n. 5.
[808] On a Late-Corinthian *aryballos* (575-550 BC, Boston MFA 01.8100), though whether or not this vase uses the HHB to represents the sirens is debatable.
[809] Vermeule actually further argues that a "winged" woman is a representation of the departing soul, which is a bold conclusion. Vermeule 1979, p. 65.
[810] Vermeule 1979, pp. 65-75.

scenes, including large numbers of goats, as well as “sphinxes”, chariots, fish, octopuses, floral motifs, funerary meals, and birds, many of which have been interpreted to reflect ideas of a voyage by sea to a Nilotic afterlife.[811] We understand the function of none of these motifs well enough to say that any represent the soul, or an image of the afterlife.

Another cause for caution before identifying the Mycenaean bird with the soul is that we also see the bird sitting upon the oversized double axes of clear ritual significance in both three dimensional and two dimensional representations.[812] The associations of the bird with deities and religious equipment, as on a painted sarcophagus from Ayia Triada, or on small models of religious shrines, denote that the bird had a broader or different role as an indicator of a divine presence in the Mycenaean period, as argued by Nilsson.[813] Whether the birds in Mycenaean and later art are a representation of the gods, or a representation of the presence of the gods, or of the gods’ power, is debatable, and has been extensively discussed, particularly in reference to whether Homer, in the Archaic Period, means to indicate that gods can transform into birds, or whether the bird only acts as a metaphor or placeholder for the god.[814] Whatever the outcome of such a discussion, however, we can conclude that the bird in Mycenaean art can be a manifestation of supernatural power and perhaps the divine, but is much less certainly a direct representation of the human soul.[815]

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[811] Watrous 1991, pp. 296-301.

[812] As seen on the Agia Triada sarcophagus, birds also crown on other symbolic objects, for example a golden sceptre (Hampe and Simon pl. 145, pp. 100-101).

[813] On the sides of the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus from Tomb 4 birds are depicted sitting on top of the double axes of the ritual attendants. These birds have also been discussed not as souls but as an epiphany of the gods by Nilsson (1950:434). A representation in gold of a small shrine may further support this notion (Gold relief, Sixteenth Century, Shaft Grave IV, Mycenae in Nilsson 1950, fig. 77).

[814] There are a range of notable contributors on the link of bird and deity in Homer (Esp. *Iliad* 7.57ff) including: Dirlmeier (1967) who argues against bird-form representations of deities; Bannert (1978) saying that the gods were intended to be shown having the qualities of the birds’ movement but not physically being birds; Erbse, that the gods appeared as but were not birds (1980) Dietrich (1969), stating that the poetic use of the birds was simply a way of expressing the presence of gods which did not actually need to be physically present. For the Mycenaean period, Nilsson (1950) discusses the role of the bird as an embodiment of the god’s power with numerous examples.

[815] Nilsson 1950, p. 334. Nilsson is certain that there were strong Egyptian links with Mycenaean and Minoan culture, and does mention a soul in a flying form (1950, p. 47), but appears much more convinced by the idea that the bird represented the manifestation of a deity when depicted in art (1950, pp. 332-341).

It is unclear what, if any, continuity we should identify in the purpose of the bird in Mycenaean and archaic Greek art. In early archaic art the funerary significance of the bird becomes more explicit than before. The bird reappears repeatedly in Geometric scenes of *prothesis* and *ekphora*, not human-headed as later, but in close or physical proximity to the deceased (as in fig. 7.33, 7.34).[816] We can also note that bird-shaped *askoi* are appropriate offerings in Geometric burials, as, for example, on Lefkandi (fig.7.54).[817] This is not to say that the bird only appears in explicitly funerary contexts, it also appears on items from funerary contexts but in scenes with ambiguous connections to this context. Nonetheless, it would probably be unrealistic to argue that, by the Geometric Period, no connection existed between the bird and funerary beliefs.

Whence this relevance to funerary scenes originated is an open question. While Mycenaean art is significantly stylistically divorced from the later Geometric style, it has been widely argued that the Geometric artistic tradition was not without Mycenaean influences. Benson has argued that the use of the horse in Geometric art marks a rediscovery of Mycenaean artistic technique, especially through the examination of scenes of *prothesis* and *ekphora*.[818] Similarly, Dirk Lenz has argued that the 277 examples of birds in Aegean and Cypriot vases he examined indicated that the Late-Geometric representation of the bird may have been influenced by the Greek disturbance of Mycenaean tombs and their contents despite the initially obvious stylistic differences.[819] While the Geometric use of birds is not exactly the same as that of the Mycenaean period, with a higher incidence of a close relationship of the body and bird in the Geometric period, it would seem to remain relatively likely that for the Geometric-period Greeks did experience the bird in Mycenaean art. Whether, however, the contexts in which these birds appeared influenced their application in Geometric funerary scenes is not clear. We could alternatively look to the role of the *ba* in the Egyptian *prothesis,* which has been suggested to have been used in the creation of Greek *prothesis* scenes in Chapter 5, as an explanation for the sudden proximity of the bird to the deceased in Greek art (again, see fig. 7.33, 7.34).

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[816] Examples are numerous and include the previously mentioned late-Geometric (late-eighth century) Attic amphora (Athens National Museum 18062), seventh-century Attic funerary cart model (Vermeule 1979: Fig 12) and a late-seventh century Attic funerary plaque (Vermeule 1979: Fig. 13).
[817] For examples see: Protogeometric bird *askos* (Inv. 8288) Submycenaean bird *askos* (Inv. 8297), both from Tomb 16, Skoubris necropolis, Lefkandi. Archaeological Museum of Eretria.
[818] Benson 1970, pp. 26-31.
[819] Lenz 1995.

The cause or root of the association between bird and funerary contexts in Geometric pottery art is unclear, as is the precise function of the bird. These issues are not entirely critical here, however, and the most important point to carry forward is simply that the bird's relevance to funerary scenes clearly predates the introduction of the HHB motif.

The human-headed bird

It is against this backdrop that we must consider the HHB, not emerging from a void, but complementing a pre-existing demonstration of uses for avian creatures of unclear but definitely supernatural significance. The need for this contextualisation of the HHB motif within the wider and preceding uses of avian imagery is clearly indicated by the HHB's positioning in the exact contexts previously occupied by the bird. The HHB appeared in some of its earliest examples as the shape for vessels, at least some of which were deposited in funerary contexts, much like the Protogeometric and Submycenaean bird-*askoi* found in burials at Lefkandi and elsewhere.[820] The HHB also appears in the exact same position as the bird in scenes of *prothesis*, sitting under the bed of the deceased. It would seem clear, in light of this evidence, that the HHB was at least to some extent a continuation of the Geometric bird.

This continuity means that we can identify the HHB's use in funerary contexts as an important part of its identity from the point of its introduction to Greek art, at least in forms other than the protome. We can also say that this function survives to the Classical period, where we find that the HHB flies from the body of the dying or holds funerary objects, notably including the pomegranate (fig. 7.55).[821] The result of these points is that the HHB appears to be used as a means of accentuating the associations of the bird with death. Much as the beard stressed both the unnatural power of the snake and that the snake occupied a space in which unnatural power resided, so too the anthropomorphising head of the HHB adds emphasis to the unnatural otherness of the funerary bird, which like the bearded snake, whether a soul or not, clearly occupies the same conceptual space as the deceased.

[820] See examples above.

[821] Early-fifth century bronze *asksos* holding a pomegranate, J. P. Getty Museum 92.ac.5 (see Tsiafakis 2001, p. 9). See also the fifth-century *Procris* vase of fig.7.41, though this role soon seems to be transferred to humanoid winged creatures.

Does this clear continuation of a funerary function mean we should dismiss outright the notion that the human-headed bird is primarily the siren, a creature associated with magical song? Perhaps not absolutely, though we must curtail once and for all the anachronistic attempts to start a functional and material assessment of the human-headed bird with its first literary mention in Homer's *Od.* 12.36-200.

The image of the human-avian mix in Greek art does not appear explicitly linked with the "siren" of Homeric myth until the early sixth century, when we find Odysseus facing what the Boston Museum of Fine Arts identifies as the sirens, three human-headed birds sitting upon a platform (fig. 7.56).[822] Even then the MFA record may be incorrect in this observation, as on the aryballos Odysseus' ship is purposefully attacked by two large birds, which fit better with the *Odyssey*'s dual σειρήνοιιν (*Od.* 12.167). It is not clear whether the sirens have yet turned from two to three individuals, and what role vases such as this may have played in such a development. It is plausible that at this point the conceptual relationships between the sirens of Homer and the motif of the human-headed bird were developing, but still under negotiation, and that the firm utilisation of the motif as a siren cannot in fact be certain until two vases of the mid-sixth century explicitly label it as such.[823] This is over one hundred years later than the human-headed bird's appearance in vase painting, and later still than its appearance in bronze. The designation of human-headed birds as sirens is not evidenced in literature until the classical period, where they appear in work such as Euripides' *Helen* (Eur. *Helen* 167) with Homer's early sirens barely described and seemingly land-bound, or at least in no way suggested to be avian-bodied (Hom. *Od.* 12.39ff 12.200ff). Thus while the association of the siren and an avian, be it bird or human-headed bird, form is crystal clear by the early-sixth century, the application of the term "siren" very broadly to the human-headed bird motif ignores the fact that the siren comes to be

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[822] Late Corinthian *Aryballos*, c.575-550 BC MFA 01.8100. Interestingly, the birds attack the ship in a somewhat similar fashion to a bird attacking a ship on an eighth-century stand from the Idaean Cave (Langdon 2008, pp. 216-217), if there were wider motif of birds attacking ships, then this would complicate our reading of the interactions between sirens and HHBs even further, though at the moment I have only found these two examples.

[823] Two items are labelled. The Neandros Painter's *kylix* (550-540 BC MFA Boston 61.1073) features the word *SEREN* and an Archippe Group Attic *hydria* is inscribed *SIREN EIMI* (Louvre E869) in both cases these inscriptions are found among other illegible inscriptions attached to leonine figures or sphinxes (which would later be labelled as *Sphinx*), which may indicate a period within which the links between visual and literary monsters were being clarified and codified.

represented by this motif, and that it previously and synchronously has a separate and equally important role in non-mythological contexts.

How these two aspects came to be conflated is not clear. The earliest terracotta human-headed bird given above, from Heraklion Museum, beats its chest and is open mouthed in mourning. Could this be the open-mouthed expression not of a wailer but a singer? Perhaps, but the immediate changes to this motif, which closed its mouth and removed its arms, and other examples suggest that the singing associations of the human-headed bird were of little or no importance for a very long time after the motif's introduction. The human-headed bird is usually closed-mouthed and stationary until near the end of the Archaic Period, and so if the song is a prominent feature then the Greeks are satisfied for this to remain implicit until the inclusion of instruments in the late-sixth century. It might be the avian form itself alluded to song such that the HHB's human heads did not need to appear to sing. Nonetheless, given what clear contexts we do have for the human-headed bird for much of the Archaic Period, it may be safer to suggest that initially it was the chthonic and funerary associations of the HHB which chimed with the sirens of Homer's passage, rather than its avian body or associations with song. This is more clearly suggested, though in a roundabout way, in the material evidence. Classical *askoi* in the form of human-headed and handed birds are depicted with funerary regalia, including the pomegranate (as on the Bronze *askos*, J.P Getty Museum 92.ac.5, other sirens are also depicted holding or wearing the pomegranate)[824] and the polos, associating them with the chthonic underworld powers, namely Persephone.[825] Both the pomegranate and the polos are widely held to represent the notion of the afterlife and rejuvenation in the afterlife. The link between the roles of Persephone, the HHB, and the sirens of Homer's myth as singers of woe at death therefore likely existed long before it is

[824] Bronze *askos*, South Italian, Getty 92.ac.5. Tsiafakis 2001, p. 12. Other examples include the earliest extant bronze 'soul-bird' from the temple of Apollo Tyritas in Kynouria deposited in the first quarter of the sixth century (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18805) and a similar example from Crotone, produced in South Italy (Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale 6713). Tsiafakis 2001, p. 16. The pomegranate is not only an object we find in graves and on grave reliefs (see further discussion in the section on worshipping), but also later in fourth-century South-Italian tomb wall paintings such as an example from Paestum appearing between two eggs (Naples, Museo Nationale 9351), and Cumae (Naples Museo Nationale). Both discussed in Tsiafakis 2001, p. 18, 24-n.61).
[825] According to V. Müller (1915) *Der Polos: Die griechische götterkrone,* p.9, and followed by Tsiafakis 2001, p. 19.

attested in in Euripides' fifth-century play *Helen* (167ff).[826] Thus the primary identifiable attribute of the archaic HHB, even when it is embroiled in the myth of the sirens, remains its funerary function.

However, before moving onto the possible reasons for these associations, and further discussing the development of the HHB as a process of accentuation, it is essential to recognise the "silent majority" of the uses of the HHB in archaic art. We find the HHB in hundreds of examples where it lacks context to associate it appropriately with any clear function, funerary, divine, or as a siren. It would be wrong to describe these examples as meaningless, but to attribute specific meaning to them without any reasonable cause would be worse still, and this is exactly what their retrospective appellation as "sirens" does. These examples, much like the un-attributable use of birds in decorative motifs of Geometric art, remain largely unreadable beyond their expression of the unnatural and interesting. Their use may tell us, however, that whatever specific funerary applications the HHB held were supported by its position in a wider conception of the anthropomorphising creature as otherworldly and the interesting.

Egypt, the human-headed bird, and accentuation

It appears that the HHB had strong connections to death and the funeral during the Archaic Period. I have suggested that this role stemmed from the pre-existing bird motif and that it thus forms an example of accentuation. Others, however, have stated that the HHB was specifically a *Seelenvogel* or soul bird in the mould of the Egyptian *ba*, and therefore suggest that the process of its introduction was in fact much more complex than simply to accentuate pre-existing concepts. This discussion of the HHB will assess the viability of a Greek conception of the soul in avian form, before looking to the assertions of Vermeule and Weicker that this association stems from Egyptian concepts represented by the *ba*. In doing so, I aim to show that the HHB cannot be considered to represent a broad conceptual borrowing from Egypt, and should instead be envisaged as an example of accentuation.

[826] It also appears later, in Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.892ff. Pseudo-Hyginus *Fabulae 141*. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 5.552ff.

The imagination of the soul in an avian form in archaic Greece is found in literature and, arguably, in art. In both cases it appears as a characteristic of the eschatological form of the soul, the soul of the dying or dead. While in Homer other intangible facets of a person, such as the *thymos* or the *menos* may come in and out of the body, it is only the *psyche* which can free itself of the body and travel to Hades independently. When this occurs we may find that the soul is described as fluttering, πταμένη, as Patroclus' and Hector's do (Hom *Il.* 16.856, 22.362). This characterisation of the soul in a bird-like form is supported in the *Odyssey*, where we find the suitors screeching like bats (*Od.* 24.5, 9) as they are led to Hades. The bird-like *psyche* may also be found in certain classical period sources. These include Sophocles, who in *Oedipus Tyrannus* (175-177) states ἄλλον δ᾽ ἂν ἄλλῳ προσίδοις ἅπερ εὔπτερον ὄρνιν κρεῖσσον ἀμαιμακέτου πυρὸς ὄρμενον ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἑσπέρου θεοῦ, and Plato, who in *Phaedrus* 246b-c discusses the soul as taking on different forms and being superior when furnished with feathers - ἐπτερωμένη.[827] The use of avian imagery by both appears to reflect a wider sense of the appropriateness of a bird-like form for the human soul.[828] The use of the bird and HHB can, without much imagination, be interpreted as the soul in scenes where it occupies the closest possible space to the body of the deceased, though much as with the bearded snake, this is never certain.

If the bird and HHB *were* representations of the soul, to what extent can we discuss the *ba* of Egyptian art as the origin of this concept? Vermeule, Weicker, and to a lesser extent Cooney, all point to Egypt as the conceptual origin of the Greeks' use of avian forms to represent the soul, identifying the two cultures' concepts and their representation closely.[829] However, they do not offer close interpretations of the function of either the *ba* or the HHB of archaic art. Their arguments are primarily based on the superficial parallels of both cultures' uses of HHBs in funerary contexts. It will be worthwhile to assess the *ba* and its similarities to the Greek bird and HHB in more detail.

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[827] Sophocles *OT* 175. Plato *Phaedrus* 246b-c discusses the soul as taking on different forms and being superior when "furnished with feathers" - ἐπτερωμένη.
[828] Harrison 1908, pp. 200-201.
[829] Cooney 1968. Vermeule (1979, p. 75, but see also 1965, p. 131) is among the most recent and well known proponents of the theory, but far from the first. Georg Weicker, 1902, argued that the soul bird and siren are one and the same, a conclusion reached here, and that both represented the soul. Bernhard Schweitzer has also described all Minoan birds as representative of the soul being free of the body. Schweitzer 1922, p. 22, 78.

Egypt's *ba,* frequently represented pictorially as a human-headed falcon or falcon and logographically by the hieroglyph G29 (a stork) or G53 (a human headed bird), is a complex concept with more than one application.[830] We can note that the divine role of the bird in Egypt is both extremely widely represented in Egyptian art and significantly predates the Mycenaean period, let alone the Archaic Period. The bird connoted divinity most obviously in the form of the bird-headed deities, primarily various manifestations of Horus and Thoth in either an entirely avian or bird-headed form.

The *ba* is a representation of or manifestation of individual power and thus it can be a representation of an aspect of the soul but also represents divinity in association with objects, deities, and places.[831] It can be used to denote a manifestation of a living or dead god, or an aspect of a god's divinity, for example the phoenix is a *ba* which has come forth from Osiris, and the deity Sokar can be similarly described as the *ba* of Osiris.[832] We can also ascribe the concept of *ba* to pharaohs and inanimate objects, such as statuary, in which sense it conveys an external manifestation of divine power or the innate quality of divine power, as in the Late Period where it is used frequently to denote the divine power innate in the mysteries of scripture.[833] The *ba* of the pharaoh can manifest itself materially as a bird surmounting his head, connoting his individual and divine power.[834] This range of applications for the *ba* is suggested by Žabkar to be consistent in its underlying function, the manifestation of divine or vital power, a quality which a being can possess, or an entity a being can be, or become.[835]

Recent work on the concept further clarifies the conceptual link between *ba* and physicality of the bird. The *ba* of the god takes on a physical form, and can be described as "a falcon of gold" and the *ba* of Osiris is said to come "flying out of the heavens like a hawk with glittering plumage. He soars like a falcon to his shrine."[836] The god entered the statue in the form of the *ba* to enliven it to become the *ka* or the living image of the god.

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[830] Allen 2014, pp. 99-100; Gardiner 1957.
[831] Allen 2014, p. 100, where we find the word translated "impressiveness"; Assmann 2006, esp. pp. 90-95; Žabkar 1968, p. 85.
[832] Assmann 2006, p. 137; Žabkar 1968, p. 14.
[833] Žabkar 1968, pp. 48-49.
[834] Žabkar 1968, p. 68
[835] Žabkar 1968, p. 162.
[836] Teeter 2011, p. 44. The link between the *ba* and the statues of the temples was reaffirmed through prayer.

In its funerary function, the *ba* represented the freedom of movement of the deceased in the afterlife. It is the *ba* which is the free soul, travelling from the body, and funerary ritual had to facilitate both the separation of *ba* and body, and later their reunion.[837] The latter rituals frequently focussed upon the statue or stelae of the deceased.[838] The separation takes place before burial but during the funerary practices, and the attribution of the *ba* to the sky is essential, allowing it to partake in the perpetual and therefore rejuvenating journeys of the sun deity.[839] The *ba* left the corpse through the top of the head and thereafter settled over the lain out body, where it ensured the well-being of the body, and its ability to speak, to drink, and to remember, all important faculties for the underworld.[840]

This dual functionality, the avian *ba* as representation of the manifestation of divine power and of the free soul, has compelling parallels with the Greek bird from the Mycenaean period onwards. The divinity embodied in birds continues through Greek thought and Greek art from the Mycenaean birds placed on ritual axes to the birds represented with Zeus.[841] The imagination of the free soul, the *psyche*, in bird form is present in Greek literature, and the positioning of the bird or human-headed bird on top of or under the body in Greek art, as on the model of the funerary cart, on a funerary plaque where it appears under the funerary bed, and in a similar position on geometric funerary vases is comparable to the release of the Egyptian *ba* during the funeral and its subsequent guardianship of the body. While for Plato (*Phaedrus* 246b-c), the soul travels around heaven, changing form, and governing over the cosmos, similarly the Egyptian *bas* "have flown up to heaven" or are "journeying in heaven."[842] An obscure image of a human-headed winged creature emerging from the head of another seated figure is a tempting parallel to the *ba* emerging from the head of the deceased,

[837] Assmann 2006, p. 90.
[838] The manner in which the *ba* and *ka* were guaranteed a fruitful existence in the afterlife was tied to the existence of the statue, as seen in the quote below. This statue was the focus of ritual activity to free the *ba* and enable it to nourish the *ka*. Teeter 2011, p. 143. Assmann 2006, p. 92.
[839] Assmann 2006, pp. 90-93.
[840] Assmann 2006, pp. 93-95.
[841] See Chapter 5, esp. fig.5.11 and 5.12.
[842] Plato, *Phaedrus,* 246b-c ψυχὴ πᾶσα παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ, ἄλλοτ᾽ ἐν ἄλλοις εἴδεσι γιγνομένη. τελέα μὲν οὖν οὖσα καὶ ἐπτερωμένη μετεωροπορεῖ τε καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διοικεῖ". The Egyptian passages preserved in inscribed texts at the Ptolemaic Temple of Edfu, see Žabkar 1968, p. 45. However, these are surely representative of the beliefs of the Late Period and prior, as we commonly find the *ba* associated with the sky. Assmann 2005, n.21 pp. 429-430.

but if any meaning could be determined we would more likely think of a crude and early image of the birth of Athena.[843] We could even highlight a correspondence between the lines:

> Your *ba* endures in the sky,
> Your corpse in the netherworld,
> Your statues in the temples.[844]

and the Greek practices of placing birds on funerary objects, burying the dead with funerary goods, and placing *kouroi* in sacred spaces.[845] In summary, the *ba*'s great range of functions and accompanying flexibility in expressing all manner of elements of divine presence while also being a representation of the soul makes it a very accommodating concept to which one can relate Greek conceptualisations and visualisations of the divine and the soul in avian form.

However, such convenient parallels should not be taken as indicative of a causal relationship, at least not without some scrutiny. Vermeule's assertion that "the *ba*-bird looks very like the soul birds of both Bronze-Age and Orientalising Greece except for the portrait head" is, to be blunt, factually incorrect.[846] The *ba* bears only an unclear and visually detached relationship to the bird of the Mycenaean period, which has no human head and is not closely comparable in any of its details, beyond simply being avian.[847] Vermeule's retrojection of the late archaic visual similarity between *ba* and the human-headed soul-bird/siren covers up the awkward dissimilarity between the visual representations of the arguable Greek imagination of the soul as a bird in its initial developmental stages (both Mycenaean and Geometric) and the Egyptian representations of its supposed parallel, the *ba*. The Greek human-headed bird does not appear until c. 700 BC, about half a century after the use of the bird in Geometric funerary scenes and long after the divine and funerary applications of the motif in Mycenaean and Submycenaean art. The strong continuity of the

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[843] This object defies simple readings, the seated figure looks outwards, as figures in certain funerary scenes do, but the overall composition has much more resemblance to later scenes of the birth of Athena. Pithos, 700-675 BC, Archaeological Museum of Tinos, B 64.

[844] Sauneron *Rituel de l'Embaumement* (Cairo 1952, 7.18), in Assmann 2005, p. 91.

[845] Of course, these activities do not necessarily happen synchronously in any one location, and so the association is a false lead.

[846] Vermeule 1979, pp. 75-76.

[847] The *ba* does not necessarily take on the image of the bird in its forms as a representation of divine beings, places, or objects. It could as easily be a ram or a jackal-headed divine being, as is the case on a Bentresh Stela and a Dendera inscription, both in Teeter 2011, p. 44.

scenes and forms in which the Greeks employed the Geometric bird and the HHB would indicate that it is unnecessary and quite forced to attempt to tie together the relationship of Greek and Egyptian motifs of the human-headed bird with the parallels in the conceptual application of this motif. There is not sufficient evidence for the bird as a soul in Greek thought, and the rapid delimitation of the Greek HHB as, by and large, female, is indicative that it probably does not act as a manifestation of the deceased.

HHB as evidence for Accentuation

It has been demonstrated that the HHB motif's origins remain something of an open question, with Near Eastern and Egyptian elements both seeming to appear in the late eighth/early seventh century. However, it has also been shown that various developments of the HHB motif, which later became associable with the siren, suggest that Greek artists initially and thereafter repeatedly used the *ba* of Egyptian art, as a point of reference, while the bronze forms attributable to the Near East are discontinued or transformed.

The HHB was used in a number of contexts, most of which are of ambiguous or decorative purpose but a significant number of which we can associate with funerary activity or other explicitly supernatural roles. In these roles the HHB certainly does not reflect the importation of an Egyptian model of representing the soul, as has been suggested by Vermeule and Weicker. Instead, the addition of the human head to the bird as an anthropomorphising element accentuates the otherworldly character and supernatural power of an existing bird motif, which already had some form of connections with funerary activity. Not only does the use of the Egyptianising HHB accentuate the bird's supernatural connotations in vase painting, it also does so in other media, especially in terracotta vessels and in bronze amulets.

In the Greek use of Egyptianising models for a range of forms of the HHB, in painted pottery and in other media across two centuries, we can see that the process of accentuation occurs not in a single "orientalising" or "Egyptianising" moment, but repeatedly. In particular in Greek bronze protomes and amulets we find that the HHB may have continued to be a point of reference into the sixth and even fifth century. We might then ask whether or not the Greeks had in mind an explicit association of the HHB motif and Egypt? This is, however, very unlikely. Much like other motifs in this discussion, the HHB does appear with lotuses

sprouting from it or under it, but this is far from certain indicator of Egyptian associations. The most we can currently say is that the Greek artists may have considered the Egyptian *ba* when developing the HHB motif, and cannot have failed to appreciate the similarities between the *ba*, whenever they may have encountered it, and their own HHB, even if they did not consider the motif foreign. We can further note that the HHB occupies an unnatural space with which the Greeks may have associated with the far flung corners of the world, including Egypt. However, it is never made clear that the HHB's power is in any way related to the Greeks' broader vision of Egypt or to the potency of Egyptian magic, and accordingly it is best to assume that this was not the case.

C: Conclusions on *Accentuation*

This chapter has taken the bearded snake and the human-headed bird of Greek art and argued that the development of both stemmed from and continued to be shaped by Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. In particular, the art of contemporary third Intermediate Period and Late Period Egyptian funerary culture, and not of the types extant in the material record of Greek graves and sanctuaries, can be seen to have provided the models for Greek artists.

Each motif functioned to accentuate the supernatural roles played by more visually mundane creatures, the snake and the bird. By creating a more unnatural image, the human-headed bird and bearded snake better characterised the liminal spaces between the living and the dead as a world of extraordinary powers. This process of accentuation was not, in either instance, a one-off occasion of interaction, but one which was ongoing, and repeatedly returned to Egyptian models for new ways in which to develop and deploy the human-headed bird and bearded snake motifs. We might, therefore, speculate that the Greeks attached a specific status to Egyptian motifs in the expression of supernatural and otherworldly power. Alternatively, it may be the case that Egyptian art was either generally of a high-standing, or was especially attractive to Greek artists on account of its unusual and anthropomorphising motifs' similarity to their own, more mundane (in appearance) animal motifs. In either case, it is clear that the continuation of Greek attention to Egyptianising models for these motifs, while other motifs which must have occurred in the same spaces are equally continually ignored, reflects an artistic culture in the Archaic Period which is not moving linearly from a point of susceptibility to maturity, as some have suggested, but rather is selective from the

very outset, and willing to adapt and adopt until the very end of this period, and, it would seem, beyond.

Conclusions to Chapters 5, 6, and 7

The evidence presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 suggests that it is very likely that Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture in the Archaic Period included the introduction of some Egyptianising elements in painted pottery and sculpture alongside the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in funerary and sanctuary contexts. Although not all of the motifs discussed are equally suggestive of Greek borrowings from Egyptian art, certain examples, including the Arcesilas Cup, the Chrysapha Relief, and sculpture of lions and *kouroi*, present a strong case that borrowing did occur.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 have also argued that we can use terminology which describes the processes by which the Greeks began to use Egyptianising motifs more accurately than the word “borrowing”. By examining motifs which may have been introduced as a result of contacts with Egyptian art in the context of other Egyptian and Greek uses of these and similar motifs, it has been argued that processes of “imitation”, “inspiration”, “experimentation”, and “accentuation” can be identified in the introduction of Egyptianising motifs to Greek vase-painting and sculpture.

These terms, which could also be applied to other developments in Greek art, including orientalising introductions, highlight that the processes which appear to shape the Greek use of Egyptianising motifs are not dissimilar to processes more widely expressed in the development of new techniques, iconographies, and subjects in the material culture of the Archaic Period. The lack of clearly Egyptian iconographies or subjects, such as the hieroglyphs and deities which are commonplace among Egyptian and Egyptianising objects deposited in Greek graves and sanctuaries, indicates that the Greek use of Egyptianising elements in painted pottery and sculpture was unlikely to have been dependent on a particular notion of “Egyptianness”, or perhaps even “foreignness”. It has also been argued, especially in Chapter 7, that Egyptianising motifs introduced into Greek painted pottery and sculpture were used, even from the very first instances of their introduction, as a means of representing Greek scenes, values, and concepts, and did not act as vessels for the transfer of Egyptian conceptual associations for motifs to Greece.

As the iconography, subject matter, and form of the objects deposited in Greek graves and sanctuaries during the Archaic Period is mostly different to that seen in the Egyptianising

motifs discussed in Chapter 5, 6, and 7, there is no evident agency by which such motifs reached Greece. Most of the Egyptian examples of the motifs discussed in these chapters have been drawn from Egyptian funerary art. Some examples, including the weighing-of-the-heart vignette, used as the base for the Arcesilas Cup, and the bearded-snake motif, reflect contemporary tastes in Egyptian papyri and tomb decoration (p. 16, 195, 214). How could such motif have been conveyed to Greece? As discussed in Chapter 1 (pp. 87-89), the Greeks may have encountered these funerary motifs while in Egypt, either through visits to temples and tombs, or to workshops producing funerary material such as wooden stelae and papyri. Alternatively, funerary objects, including papyri and stelae, may have been among Egyptian and Egyptianising goods brought to Greece, though we have no evidence to support such a conclusion. The first of these options may be more viable, as the period in which nearly all Egyptianising motifs become most clearly evident in Greece, from the later-half of the seventh century, overlaps with the period of most extensive Greek presence in Egypt.

The stark contrast which has been recognised in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 between the subject matter and iconography of Egyptian and Egyptianising bronze and faience objects found in Greece and the Egyptianising motifs applied in Greek sculpture and painted pottery suggests that the value for certain objects of being “Egyptian” did not translate into all media. This observation will be expanded upon below, where conclusions from both of the thesis’ major sections are drawn together.

Conclusions

A number of recurring conclusions dominate existing studies of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, including:

- That the most important Egyptian object finds are the richest, the bronzes of Samos, which post-date the foundation of Naucratis. Therefore, Naucratis is pivotal in understanding Greek interactions with material culture.
- That the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in late eighth-century contexts can be attributed to Phoenician activity, and therefore are not really informative on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.
- That Egyptian history, cultural *and* political, is implicitly or explicitly taken to be quite stagnant and largely unnecessary for understanding Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture.
- That Egyptian objects take their value from being foreign curios which evoke a notion of a distant land.

However, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that these conclusions on Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture need extensive revision, especially if we are going to be able to answer the important question – "how and why do Greeks interact with Egyptian material culture in the Archaic Period, and what can these interactions tell us about Greek society?"

An initial, and important, observation is that the material presented in this thesis suggests that the first intensification of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture occurs in the late-eighth century, not in the late-seventh century. The evidence for this intensification is a surge in the Greek deposition of Egyptian and Egyptianising scarabs and statuettes, and the introduction of Egyptianising motifs (at this point, the *prothesis* and the human-headed bird, though more soon follow). Furthermore, similar types of evidence for interaction appear repeatedly in different places across the duration of the Archaic Period. As a result, we can conclude that some of processes which govern the Greeks' early interactions

with Egypt continue to shape their later interactions. Accordingly, if we want to understand the *processes* of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, it is best to start in the eighth century.

Chapter 1 used this basic premise to challenge the two explanations of the interfaces for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture found in previous scholarship, Naucratis and Phoenician intermediaries. It found that the hypothesis that Phoenician intermediaries dominated Greek contacts with Egyptian material until Naucratis is difficult to reconcile with the details of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found in Greece, and may be anachronistic in the broader picture of eighth-century Mediterranean history. It also found that the material from Naucratis started too late for us to maintain that the foundation of the Greek community there should be considered the *cause* of Greek interactions with Egypt, even for sites such as Samos. In fact, Naucratis may have had very little impact on the *processes* of Greek interactions with Egypt, though it may have been responsible for a proliferation of Greek-Egyptian contacts.

Instead, Chapter 1 concluded that two "hubs", Rhodes and Samos, each with a great number more Egyptian and Egyptianising objects than any other Greek sites, defined a wider network of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture. For other Greek communities, therefore, it is often unclear whether the consumers of Egyptian and Egyptianising material were primarily conscious of its "Egyptianness" or of the elite consumption habits of Rhodes or Samos, or perhaps a mixture of the two factors. Finally, Chapter 1 set out the case for interpersonal agency between Greece and Egypt, highlighting that Dynasty XXIV and XXVI could be expected to have sought comparable interactions with the Greeks.

Chapter 2 examined the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found most commonly at Greek sites and reached one significant conclusion, which was that a large volume of Egyptianising objects, namely scarabs, were produced at Greek sites in the Aegean from the late-eighth century independently of Phoenician craftsmen or traders, following Egyptian patterns distinct to those which were used by the Phoenicians. Previous scholars had established the case for such a conclusion, but seem to have balked at the thought of excluding Phoenician intermediaries from the development of Egyptianising industries in the Aegean. Chapter 2, however, found that this conclusion was a small and logical step from the

observations of existing scholarship. Chapter 3 then took these conclusions and used them to challenge existing models of consumption for Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Greece.

Chapter 3 found that the consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects cannot be explained by examination of single, "reflective" consumer group, such as sailors or women. Firstly, these conclusions were found to struggle to account for the variability in the volume and types of Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture between different sites. Moreover, any such conclusion misrepresents the flexible identities of the Archaic Period Greeks when it comes to activities such as sea-faring or worshipping a goddess, and so while consumption of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects across the breadth of the Greek Aegean seems to have been steered by a wider sense of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects as being of particular magical significance, these objects cannot be interpreted solely as sailors' trinkets or fertility amulets. Instead, we should also think about how Egyptian and Egyptianising objects fit into the process of identity creation which we can see evidence for in other aspects of Greek material culture.

Accordingly, Chapter 3 argued that the variations in the type and the volume of Egyptian material between Greek sites can be interpreted as a reflection of different habits in elite self-identification, with some communities choosing to construct identity through the material display of connections [real or imagined] with an Egyptian elite or the Egyptian court. Initially a means of gaining social capital from foreign travel or interactions, this method of creating elite identity fuelled local aspirations for Egyptian material culture, leading to the creation of intensely localised markets for imitations of Egyptian objects which changed the parameters of what was and was not "elite". As a result, instead of focussing on Samos' mid-seventh century bronzes as just a reflection of new prosperity on the island, or as the beginning of new or concerted Greek interactions with Egypt, we could say that these bronzes reflect a shift of Greek attention to a new Egyptian medium as access to an old one, faience, is proliferated by factories on Rhodes and, possibly, on Samos itself. This same process would also serve to explain why the Greek elite eventually adopt Egyptianising stone sculpture in the sixth century.

In this way, the way Greeks interact with Egyptian material culture can be placed within a broader narrative which acknowledges a Greek identification of Egypt and Egyptian material culture with particular magical potency, but also appreciates the that the creation,

control, and eventual rejection of this association between Egypt and magical power are all a part of the jostling negotiation of Greek social status among the elite and the wider community.

Considering this conclusion, the findings of Chapters 4-7 might seem surprising. Firstly, while the consumption of objects rotates through different media associated with Egyptian temples and tombs throughout the Archaic Period, Greek interactions with Egyptianising motifs are mostly fixed upon a single form of Egyptian art, which is their funerary art. Secondly, and moreover, while the Greeks *imitate* Egyptian gods and hieroglyphs when producing Egyptianising objects, a number of different processes shape the majority of the uses of Egyptianising motifs evident in sculpture and painted pottery. These processes did not imitate Egyptian gods and symbols, but instead transformed and reimagined them in various ways.

Therefore, for Greek artists, Egyptian funerary materials were a pattern book, in which to find ways of expressing new scenes and ways of reinventing old scenes. Yet, whatever sense of value could be attributed to the "Egyptianness" of Egyptian and locally-produced Egyptianising objects in faience and bronze clearly had no substance, or a different sort of substance, in other media.

Perhaps it was the case that peer-peer interactions, such as are represented in sympotic and (some) funerary materials demanded quicker developments in fashions than the faience makers could accommodate. However, considering that explicitly Egyptian motifs (gods, hieroglyphs) are *never* in fashion, it seems more likely that the elite had constructed two synchronous consumption "zones". The first was a public, religious zone, in which the elite used Egyptian material acquired by personal travel and exchange, and with high magical value through its grotesqueness, hieroglyphs, and duomorphism, in order to create an exclusive dominance of sacred space. The second was a private zone, in which the elite sought out depictions of scenes displaying peer-group values and contemporary fashions, such as the monstrous and unfamiliar, which were in some sense, in their iconography, composition or execution, novel. While the Greek painted-pottery was not necessarily used in a private context, in being representative of private Greek elite activity it reflected the private, as opposed to the public, zone of consumption.

As such, rather than identifying Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture as the result of casual or chance interactions with a scattering of objects and motifs we can and should attempt to fit the objects within a broader understanding of the processes and concerns which shape the Archaic Period. When we do so, and especially when we do so with a rough grasp of Egypt's contemporary history and cultural developments, we find that the evidence for Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture in Greece paints just as rich a picture of how and why orientalising processes are happening in archaic Greece as the Near-Eastern evidence does, and is well deserving of more concerted attention.

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Appendix 1

Egyptianising and Egyptian Material Culture in the Mediterranean

It is not possible to provide a complete and detailed examination of all of the Egyptian and Egyptianising material found in the Mediterranean in an appendix. Such an account of the Greek Aegean took Skon-Jedele (1994) twenty years and over two and a half thousand pages to present, and even in that substantial volume, the material presented from Rhodes and Samos was only a portion of the total.

Instead, the primary aim of this appendix is to condense Skon-Jedele's research into a useable volume of information for the purpose of referencing some trends in the quantities, types, and contexts of Egyptian and Egyptianising material found across various sites in the Greek world. Some of these sites are also given a little further contextual information, including the presence or absence of Near-Eastern imports, the factors contributing to or inhibiting contact with Egypt, and so on. The information given, and the level of detail, is not entirely consistent, but it does not need to be in order to facilitate an understanding of key themes in the distribution of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, for more complete records one can refer to Skon-Jedele (1994), to Gorton (1996), or to individual excavation reports (though these are often feature dated analysis).

For the purposes of the current thesis, much more focus has been placed on the Greek sites in the Aegean than on Greek and Phoenician communities in the wider Mediterranean. Nonetheless, I have decided that it is important to provide some information on Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at these sites, especially the scarabs, which form an important part of our understanding of Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture, and are documented (to a certain extent) by Gorton (1996).

To briefly summarise the key scholarship employed in detailing the objects and their find contexts: For the Greek Aegean, Skon-Jedele's (1994) catalogue is the primary resource, though I have also used Gorton (1996) and specific works on various sites. For Naukratis, Villing and Schlotzhauer (2006) and Gorton (1996) have been used, in lieu of more detailed,

study of the faience. For the Phoenician West, and for Italy, Hölbl's detailed assessments of the material (1989, 1986a, and 1979) have had the greatest impact, but, again, Gorton (1996) is also used. Finally, for my brief assessment of Asia Minor, Hölbl's recent publications (2014, 2008, and 2007) and Gorton (1996) are used.

The summary of sites starts in the Greek Aegean and moves through the Mediterranean regions in a clockwise motion, passing through Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus and the Levant, North Africa, the West Phoenician colonies, and ending with Italy.

The Greek Aegean

Attica:

Athens: A range of objects from the beginning of the ninth century through to the end of the Archaic Period. A single bronze, depicting Harpocrates, has been found in an unreported context during excavations on the Acropolis. The majority of the 21 objects from Athens are either without context/from fill, or are found in Geometric burials. These include a single burial of the late-eighth century containing three Egyptian lion amulets (Dipylon Cemetery Grave 13), and another, earlier eighth century burial (Grave B, excavated 1964) containing an Egyptian Hatmehit amulet. We also find beads in two infant burials and one female burial, and a scarab in another infant burial.[1]

Anavyssos: A single scarab from a Geometric Period burial, which also contained rich jewellery, which was locally made but in Levantine styles (gender and age of burial unrecorded by Skon-Jedele).[2]

Brauron: An unspecified number of scarabs from an archaic context at Brauron's sanctuary of Artemis.[3]

Salamis: A single faience bead, from a Submycenaean cist-grave (the gender and age of the burial are not given).[4]

Eleusis: A collection of 23 objects, mostly faience scarabs and beads, but including one Isis figurine.[5] The contexts are unknown for about half of the objects, but we have a collection of Egyptian objects from the "Isis Grave", including the Isis figurine, three scarabs, and two bead necklaces (one found on the neck of the skeleton), a scarab and beads from another unnumbered grave, and a number of scarabs and seals from the area of the Telesterion. The "Isis Grave" contained other rich objects from the East and a large amount of Geometric

[1] Gorton 1996, pp. 165-166; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 58-72.
[2] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 77.
[3] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 81.
[4] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 134.
[5] Gorton 1996, p. 165; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 82-130.

Pottery, dating the grave to the eighth century. The Telesterion deposits, however, are later, dating to the late-eighth or, as is more likely, the seventh century.

Sounium: The largest Attic assemblage of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects has been found at Sounium, at site of the temple of Poseidon and the site of the temple of Athena.[6] These temples are on the tip of the Sounium peninsula overlooking the sea, and the site may have been a stopping point for passing traders and sailors. The deposit from the temple of Poseidon was put to ground in the very late sixth or early fifth century, and a new temple was built in the early fifth century. The deposit from the temple of Athena dates to a similar period and contained, aside from the Egyptian and Egyptianising material, a number of tools and objects associated with warfare.

The pottery record of Sounium contains, alongside Attic wares, a good amount of Cycladic, Corinthian, and East Greek pottery.[7] The dating of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects themselves runs from c.700 BC to the late-sixth century, with those from the temple of Poseidon being focused around the mid-seventh century, and those from the temple of Athena focused later in the late-seventh and sixth century.[8] There are over seventy-five faience objects, most of which are scarabs. Finds in the temenos of Poseidon included: two mummiform amulets, a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris amulet, five Horus amulets, two of which shelter female figures, a lion amulet, a human male figure, and a fragmentary goddess amulet. Also, at least forty-two scarabs and seals were present, along with a number of faience beads, and an unknown quantity of unpublished material. Of these scarabs and seals only one was of blue compound, the others being of green or brown paste or various other materials. With the possible exception of the blue compound scarab (which may originate in Naucratis), the scarabs here are of the Perachora-Rhodes group (Common on Greek sites types), including one Hallmark Type A variant.

Despite the quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the temenos of Poseidon, a single North Syrian statuette of a storm god is the only object of Near Eastern origin found at this site. In the temenos of Athena have been excavated fourteen scarabs and seals and no amulets or statuettes. The majority of these scarabs and seals are of blue-

[6] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 174-189.
[7] Some of the Attic material has been argued by S. Morris to have been made on Aegina. Morris 1984, p. 99.
[8] The dating and origin of the material from Sounion was the subject of some debate between von Bissing, Pendlebury, and James, which is discussed in full by Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 150-154.

compound, and likely originate from Naucratis. The subject matter of the scarabs and seals at both sites are typical, with dedications to Ra and Atum, the royal names Nebmare and Menkheperre, illegible hieroglyphs, and striding animals (frequently with solar disks) on the scarabs from the temenos of Poseidon, and more pictorial representations of men and deities on scarabs from the temenos of Athena.[9]

The Corinthia

Corinth: From Corinth see have thirteen Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, most without contexts, and some (the Bes and two scarabs) from later, Roman graves: one Bes figure, ten scarabs, a flute-player, and a helmet *aryballos*.[10] Skon-Jedele attributes the lack of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Corinth to the city's destruction and the robbing of graves by the Romans for *nekrokorinthia*. While this may have contributed to the dearth of items I am reluctant to assume that an especially large body of material *needs* to have existed, and if it did, our evidence from the area (namely, Perachora) would indicate that we could not find much more than more scarabs. We do, later, have a Cypselid named Psammetichus, and good reason to believe that a naval power such as Corinth was well-attached to the Saite Dynasty XXVI.[11] However, like many of the Greeks' political relationships with Egypt attested in Herodotus and other sources, the archaeology is not a simple match to the narrative

Isthmia: Only three scarabs have been found in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, in undated contexts.[12] That there are so few is striking considering the number of scarabs at Perachora.

Perachora:[13] There are two temple sites at Perachora, Akraia and Limenia, which are both very close to one another, and both situated near the natural harbour (see Map 7).[14] The quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising finds at Perachora is very large, 921 in total, but composition of the Egyptian and Egyptianising assemblage is unlike Samos or Rhodes, with a huge number of Egyptianising scarabs, and very few Egyptian objects. The earlier of the two

[9] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 135-189.
[10] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 234-241.
[11] Arist. *Pol.* 5.1315b25-6. See the discussion by Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 197-225.
[12] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 242-252.
[13] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 253-673; James 1962, pp. 461-516.
[14] Payne 1940, Plate 137.

temples (though it was later reused), the temple of Hera Akraia, has yielded a small quantity of Egyptian scarabs from early-eighth century contexts. The temple of Hera Limenia, however, has yielded more than 700 scarabs, 42 bronzes, figures, and amulets, and a range of faience vessels, whorls, and beads (see Map 8 for the area of the temenos in which the majority of these objects were found).[15]

Of the stratified material from Perachora: 20% of scarabs and 12% of amulets belong to the late-eighth or early-seventh century deposits, 85% of amulets and 56% of scarabs belong to the seventh-century up to c.630 BC, and the remainder belong to the seventh century up to its end 600/590 BC.[16] The stratified scarabs which are found in contexts dating to the late-eighth and early-seventh number 50, and if the stratified material is representative of the whole assemblage, the total from this period would be about 140.[17] These figures indicate the contrast between the volume of scarabs on Samos and other mainland Greek sites. However, with only 41 examples of figures or non-scarab amulets, it is unclear why Perachora should feature such a high number of scarabs.

As is discussed in Chapter 2, many of these scarabs appear to have been produced in the Aegean, either at Perachora or on Rhodes. Most are of a fine faience type uncharacteristic of Egyptian scarabs and 300 examples using combinations of a narrow group of signs, with over 150 of these using two “Hallmark” inscriptions, each with a characteristic error.[18] These scarabs have been attributed to Rhodes, as discussed in Chapter 2, but in general, the assemblage does not show much evidence for contacts with Rhodes or other East Greek sites, with most material coming from Corinth, Athens, and the Peloponnese. With only one bronze of Egyptian-production, and only 11 steatite scarabs, there is also not a great deal of evidence with which to argue that Perachora’s assemblage reflects direct interactions with Egypt.[19] Finally, while Larson mentions a number of Near-Eastern bronzes at the site, there is no record of these in Skon-Jedele or in the excavation reports.[20]

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[15] These faience vessels, whorls, and beads come to a total of about 120 objects. Payne 1940, Plate 140.
[16] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 407.
[17] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 408-413.
[18] Gorton 1996, pp. 166-168; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 303-305.
[19] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 436.
[20] Larson 2007, p. 34; Payne 1940.

Accordingly, Perachora is a curious assemblage, fixated on the mass-consumption of a very narrow type of object, faience scarabs. Some of the issues that this raises are discussed throughout the thesis.

The Argolid

Argos: A small group of objects (from very limited excavations) including a single Bes amulet, an Egyptian scarab, and some beads.[21] The find contexts are split as one would expect, with beads being found in Geometric infant burials and amulets from Archaic Period contexts in the sanctuary of Athena.

Asine: A group of 27 beads from a Protogeometric (late-tenth century) infant burial, found around the neck of the skeleton.[22]

Halieis: A single *aryballos* from a sixth-century grave.[23]

Heraeum: Skon-Jedele records nearly 100 items from the Argive Heraeum, but many of these are fragments less well-recorded elsewhere.[24] The object types include only a single bronze figure (of Harpocrates), and only three other deity amulets, one Bes, one Shu, and one Pataikos. There are also about 47 scarabs, and a number of other amulets, including animals and a few human figures. While much of the material was unstratified, that which was found in a datable context probably belongs to the seventh century.[25] This would date the objects to around the time of, or narrowly before, the foundation of Naucratis.

Poros: A single scaraboid, of New Kingdom, Egyptian production, which was possibly an antique at the time of its deposition at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Calauria, as the find context is not clearly known.[26]

Tiryns: The evidence from Tiryns is entirely from funerary contexts and, unusually, comes from four adult inhumations containing both weapons and jewellery (the gender of the burials is unknown).[27] All of the burials are Early Geometric and all of the objects are disk beads

[21] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 686-689.
[22] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 694.
[23] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 697.
[24] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 732-771.
[25] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 698-710.
[26] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 772-776.
[27] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 780-781.

from necklaces. It is, therefore, not entirely clear whether we should attribute these objects to either Levantine or Egyptian production.

Arkadia

Tegea: For Tegea Skon-Jedele lists only one object, a bronze Nefertem, Egyptian or perhaps Egyptianising, from the sanctuary of Athena.[28] For site to have an individual object of this type is unusual, but the figure was found among other bronze offerings. The dating is uncertain, but one would most expect to find an object like this in mid-seventh to mid-sixth century contexts.

Laconia

It is arguably the painted pottery and sculpture of Laconia, rather than its Egyptian and Egyptianising assemblages, which offer the greatest insight into the region's interactions with Egyptian material culture. That is not to say, however, that Laconian sites do not yield Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. At the sanctuary of Orthia, we find 49 objects, most of which were badly worn, including around thirty scarabs and four figurines, none of which represented the Memphite Triad common on Rhodes (though plausibly only because of their small number).[29] It is, perhaps, surprising that, like at Samos, these objects do not date to the period for which Herodotus provides us with an account of Spartan alliances with Amasis (Hdt. 3.47), but to contexts with a terminal date in the seventh-century, closer to the deposition of similar objects at Perachora. By the end of this period it seems that interest in such objects may have waned. Elsewhere, we find nine Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at the Menelaion, including a male figure, two scarabs, some faience beads, and seals, from contexts dating to the mid-seventh to mid-sixth century.[30] We also find a single *ushwabti* at Mistra, which has no excavation context.[31]

[28] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 785.
[29] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 818-831.
[30] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 837-839.
[31] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 842.

The Western Peloponnese

Olympia: The sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia is rich in votive offerings from the Archaic Period, including a large amount of orientalising material.[32] However, Skon-Jedele lists only one Egyptianising object found at Olympia, an *aryballos* of the late-sixth century.[33] Skon-Jedele notes that despite the sanctuary's Panhellenic appeal it was not well placed to receive Egyptian and Egyptianising goods, being inland in the west Peloponnese. Nonetheless, it remains remarkable that with some number of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects at other Peloponnesian sites there should not be more at Olympia.[34] Even more remarkable, considering the absence of faience scarabs from the site, is that a single bronze scarab beetle of local production has been found at Olympia, representing the only example I have come across. While Skon-Jedele does not mention this object in her study, the form is unusual enough that I believe it could be described as an Egyptianising experiment.[35]

North West Greece

Ithaca: Perhaps unsurprisingly, as an island, and especially as an island near to Perachora (and Corinth), Skon-Jedele states that Ithaca yielded a number of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from two sanctuaries.[36] One of the two sanctuaries, the Polis Cave, was, like Perachora, a coastal sanctuary with clear links to Corinth.[37] This sanctuary yielded more material than the other, on Mt Aetos, but neither produced much material, with Skon-Jedele listing just eight Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in total.[38] Curiously, while Skon-Jedele notes that all of the objects on Ithaca are represented at Perachora, she does not comment on the fact that while the votive deposits on Ithaca are generally of low quality goods, the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects of higher value are proportionally better represented than at Perachora, with two silver rings and only three scarabs.[39] The dating of the scarabs would

[32] Hatzi 2008.
[33] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 845-846.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Bronze scarab from an eighth-century Elean workshop, Olympia Archaeological Museum B 148, Hatzi 2008, p. 66.
[36] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 849.
[37] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 852-855.
[38] The Polis Cave sanctuary has been speculated by some to be the site of a very old cult of Odysseus, but there is little to support this particular conclusion. Larson 2007, p. 199.
[39] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 859-86.

also appear late and the types are not connected to the Rhodes-Perachora types for at least two of the three examples.[40] Gorton attributes one of the three to the Naucratis factory.[41] The connections between material from Perachora and Ithaca are, therefore, not as clear as Skon-Jedele makes out.

Corcyra: The island of Corcyra had, at the time of Skon-Jedele and Gorton's examinations, yielded only one scarab, from an archaic context, which both Gorton and Skon-Jedele identify as of the Rhodes-Perachora type, following the assertions of the original excavation report that the object dated from the late-eighth to the mid-seventh century.[42]

North East Greece

Iolcos: There is only one entry for Iolcos in Skon-Jedele's, a set of faience beads from a child cist burial (Tomb 43) of the early Protogeometric Period (c. 1100-1050 BC).[43] The piece is interesting as similar objects have been found on Euboea, and as Iolcos is on the coast near Euboea it is reasonable to suppose that local interactions with the Euboeans may be responsible for appearance this example at Iolcos.[44]

Pherae: The one, well-published Egyptian object for Pherae is not representation of the sum of such material observed there. The only thoroughly described item is a genuine Egyptian bronze *situla* depicting Egyptian deities.[45] Pendlebury attributes this object to the Geometric period and a Geometric context, but Skon-Jedele contests that the type is more likely Saite, and the context more likely to be mid-seventh century. [46] Other Egyptian/Egyptianising are stated to appear in low numbers, two Osiris amulets are mentioned by Kilian-Dirlmeier, scarabs by Pendlebury, and it seems and there were other Egyptian/Egyptianising faience objects from the sanctuary.[47] The contexts for these items remain unknown. Georganas and Skon-Jedele both locate them as sanctuary finds, but it might be that some material originated

[40] Gorton 1996, p. 169 Skon-Jedele, p. 859.
[41] Gorton 1996, p. 169.
[42] Gorton 1996, p. 169, Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 862-863.
[43] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 891. The similar item is Skon-Jedele obj. #1581+ (1994, p. 1188), from an early Protogeometric tomb (S16) at Lefkandi.
[44] Iolcos and Euboea are mentioned together in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* line 219.
[45] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 897-898.
[46] Pendlebury 1930, p. 227; Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 897.
[47] Georganas 2008, p. 278; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 897-899; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, pp.217-221.

in the sites' numerous rich burials.[48] There is evidence of trade with Corinth, but it is notable that we currently note more Egyptianising and Egyptian material at this inland site than the nearby, coastal site of Iolcos.[49]

Philia: The Sanctuary of Athena near Philia yielded three objects, two scarabs and a statuette, notable for their deposition so far inland in the North of Greece.[50] The items date to the first half of the seventh century and are plausibly a part of one group as no context is reported. Skon-Jedele identifies the pieces as being of Egyptian production but Gorton describes one scarab as a "Common Types on Greek sites" group "Type XXIIIIC" and another as "Naucratis" group "Type XXXIVB".[51] It stands to reason that Gorton's more specific description is accurate, considering that Skon-Jedele follows an earlier description of the objects by Boufides.

North Central Greece

Delphi: Skon-Jedele lists just one object from Delphi, a stone scarab of the Geometric Period. The scarab is of contested type and origin. Gorton describes it as an example of his 'Common on Greek Sites' type XXIV, but Skon-Jedele doubts that a stone scarab would originate from the Rhodes-Perachora factories and attributes the example to Levantine or Cypriot workshops.[52] However, the only similar examples in Gorton's type XXIV from Cyprus (Kition) are dated much later, from the sixth century.[53] A stylistically similar example from the late eighth century found on Samos may have the same source, but the type is rare and this does little to help establish the origin. Considering that Cypriot scarabs were generally made of stone and the decoration is of such a rare type, a Cypriot/Levantine origin does seem more likely, and Gorton's type XXIV scarabs may need to be re-evaluated as individual pieces.

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[48] Georganas 2008, p. 278; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 898-899.
[49] Georganas 2008, p. 278.
[50] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 900-904.
[51] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 903. Gorton 1996, p. 166.
[52] Gorton 1996, p. 166. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 867-868.
[53] Gorton 1996, pp. 77-79.

Thebes and Tanagra: The Boeotian material from Thebes and Tanagra is grouped together by Skon-Jedele, which is sensible due to the very small number of Egyptian or Egyptianising objects recovered from this area.[54] The material consists of three *aryballoi*, one of which is fish-shaped, a monkey-shaped vase, and a single scarab which was likely produced in Dynasty XIX Egypt. The contexts vary. The scarab is deposited (plausibly for the second time) in the Geometric Period, but the other objects date to the seventh century and probably are of Rhodian or Naucratite production.[55] There is altogether not much evidence of Theban interest in Egyptian material, as Pendlebury stated.[56]

The Aegean Islands

Aegina: Aegina is an important site in the foundation of Naucratis, where it had its own sanctuary.[57] While there is little to indicate Aegina's presence in Naucratis, the volume of pottery from Chios and other partners in the Naucratis trading port found on Aegina is likely testimony to the intensity of its activity in Egypt.[58] As might be expected there are a relatively large number, around 125 (or closer to 135 including those of unclear provenance), of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects recorded to have been found on Aegina, from unstratified contexts at the temple of Aphaia and the temple of Aphrodite.[59] These include twenty-two flutists and other male figures and, remarkably, no deity figures. We do, however, find a range of animal figures, about twenty scarabs and seals, and a range of helmet and hedgehog faience *aryballoi*. The pattern of objects on Aegina seems to be testimony to a particular local taste, which rejects the deity figurines and amuletic objects which are very popular elsewhere.

Andros: A single scarab, likely Egyptian, depicting a sphinx couchant and Thutmose III's prenomen "Menkheperre".[60] It can be judged to have been deposited in the late eighth century, as it was found at the Zagora settlement, which was abandoned c.700 BC.[61]

[54] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 880-888.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Pendlebury 1930, p. 87.
[57] Hdt. 2.178.
[58] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 915.
[59] Gorton 1996, p. 169.
[60] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 981-983.

Delos: On Delos we find a range of Egyptian and Egyptianising material without any firm dates.[62] There are a few objects which would appear to be genuinely Egyptian, including: two figures (one of a Nubian style); a fine "Menkheperre" scarab, and another fragmentary statuette. Other objects include two Bes amulets, a small number of other amulets of possible Greek production, and a number of scarabs (more than seven, but the records do not list of those with worn face).[63] The relative scarcity of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is somewhat surprising. Delos had a number of sanctuaries,[64] with connections to many Greek states including Samos,[65] later associations with Egyptian deities,[66] and monumental marble sculpture, including the "Terrace of Lions" and early *kouroi*, which would appear inspired by Egyptian art.[67] A few additional items were found in the "purification trench" on nearby Rheneia, mainly beads, but the removal of grave goods does not explain the paucity of temple finds.[68]

Chios: According to Herodotus (2.178), Chios was involved in the foundation of Naucratis. We find an abundance of Chian pottery at Naucratis, providing evidence for trade contacts, though whether or not Skon-Jedele was correct to identify a Chian dependence on Egyptian grain is debatable.[69] With such evidence for Chian activity in Egypt, it is perhaps surprising that the total number of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Chios, found at the sanctuaries Phanae and Emporio on the island's south coast, is less than 100.[70] These objects are entirely consistent with a seventh-century intensification of interest in Egyptian material culture prompted by opportunities at Naucratis, consisting of a handful of faience figurines, ten Naucratis type scarabs, and many faience vase fragments.[71] It has been suggested, by Kyrieleis, that some of the difference between the Samos deposit and that on Chios could be explained by an antagonistic relationship between the two, which certainly seems like a

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[61] Roisman 2011, 3.3.
[62] Skon-Jedele lists 33 objects in total, including those from the purification trench. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1069-1082.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Wilson 2013, p. 209; Kent 1948, pp. 243-338.
[65] Faulkner 2011, p. 286.
[66] For example, over fifty Isis statuettes from the second-first century BC. Hadjidakis 2003, p. 37.
[67] See Chapter 4 and 5.
[68] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1083-1086.
[69] See Garnsey 1988.
[70] The total number of recorded objects in Skon-Jedele's catalogue is just 73, though a good number of these are fragments, and the total objects may be somewhat lower. As well as a harbour sanctuary at Emporio, the finds come from sanctuaries dedicated to Athena, and to Artemis, and Apollo. Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1041-1068. Gorton 1996, pp. 172-173.
[71] Ibid.

plausible option, but it is still the case that Samos is the exception among the Aegean islands and cities of Asia Minor, not Chios.[72]

Lemnos: The total number of finds Skon-Jedele identifies at Lemnos is nineteen.[73] Curiously these include no scarabs, despite the positioning of the island in between the south Aegean, where they are numerous, and the Black Sea, where we also find some. The objects were found in two contexts. One object, a canopic jar lid, was allegedly found in the necropolis of Myrina and dates to the seventh century, but Skon-Jedele suspects this might be of a much later date.[74] The other objects are all from funerary contexts at Hephaisteia, where a very large number (291) of cremation burials were excavated.[75] The objects date to the eighth and seventh centuries, most likely mostly the seventh. The number of objects is perhaps a little misleading, nine are Bes amulets from a single necklace found in a single burial (B-X)[76], and the other nine are beads from another grave (B-XLVII).[77] There were no objects found in sanctuaries on the island. It might be possible to explain what items are present through the island's Euboean phase, if we accept such a thing to have existed; however there is little need for such an explanation as the island appears to have had many connections in the later archaic period.[78]

Melos: No objects from Melos have been found in situ. While some objects are listed by Skon-Jedele from various collections, I will not include these here as without context it is difficult to make much use of them.[79]

Naxos: Though Naxos appears to be a good candidate for the development of the Egyptianising *kouros* sculpture type, and a wealthy trading state (Hdt. 5.28-30), other evidence for Greek interactions with Egyptian material culture on the island is very scarce. On Naxos Skon-Jedele lists three scarabs, of which at least one appears Egyptian, a plaque,

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[72] Kyrieleis 1984, pp. 187-204.
[73] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1346-1348.
[74] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1342.
[75] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1342-1343.
[76] Ficuciello 2011, p. 45.
[77] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1346-1347.
[78] For the Euboean phase, see: Ficuciello 2011, p. 41. Contra this view see Danile 2012, pp. 84-88.
[79] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1351-1353.

and some faience vase fragments, all excavated from mixed Archaic Period contexts in the Naxian sanctuary at Kaminaki. Gorton simply omits Naxos from his book.[80]

Paros: 40 Egyptian and Egyptianising objects have been found on Paros, all in the Delion sanctuary. These include a necklace strung with a *wedjat* amulet and 18 faience and paste scarabs, including one "Classical Egyptian" and numerous "Common Types on Greek Sites" group scarabs.[81] Among the objects were nine amulets and figures, including a Bes, two Pataikos amulets, flute and lyre players, a lion, an ape, and a Sekhmet, and a number of further scarabs, whorls, and beads.[82]

Samos: The quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found on Samos is hard to judge in total owing to the fragmentary nature of a large quantity of bronze figurines and an unpublished (but undoubtedly very high) number of faience objects.[83] Nonetheless, it is clear that Samos is either the largest assemblage, or among the largest, of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the Aegean. Not only is it the largest assemblage of Egyptian and Egyptianising material, but it is also the "richest" in the sense that it contains well over 100 fragments of Egyptian bronze sculpture, mostly dating to the Third Intermediate Period.[84] It is, quite plausibly, through the acquisition of these bronzes that the Greeks began to utilise the hollow-cast "Kernguss" technique.[85]

These bronzes depict a range of subjects, primarily deities and animal-deities, and their deposition contexts mostly date to the seventh-century and very early sixth century, before the construction of Rhoecus' temple. Alongside the bronzes we find hundreds of (currently unpublished) faience objects, including Egyptian and Greek scarabs. Of those deemed to be Greek produced, many may have come from individual local schools, not mass production factories.[86] Beside faience and bronze, there are also more unusual objects in stone and ivory, such as a finely-carved New Kingdom lion.[87] Falcon statuettes highlight the variety of object

[80] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1361-1363.
[81] Gorton 1996, p. 169.
[82] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1381-1401.
[83] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1402-1644.
[84] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1402; Bianchi 1990, p. 61. Jantzen 1972.
[85] See Bianchi 1990. Kyrieleis 1993, p. 100.
[86] Gorton 1996, p. 173; Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1403; Webb 1978, pp. 97-107.
[87] Tsakos and Sofianou 2012, pp. 148-149.

types, appearing on Samos in bronze, wood, alabaster, and faience where elsewhere we generally only find similar objects in faience.[88]

The evidence for Egyptian contacts is well-substantiated by the literary record, which recalls Samos' sixth-century ruler Polycrates' friendship (Hdt. 3.39-45), Herodotus also tells us that a Samian sailor, Colaeus, is blown off course while travelling to Egypt (Hdt.4.152), and that Samians are involved in the foundation of Naucratis (Hdt. 2.178), where their pottery is well-attested.[89] Later, Diodorus (1.98.5-9) tells us that Samian sculptors, Theodorus and Telecles visited Egypt to master new techniques. These sources mostly relate to a period slightly after the current dating for the peak in volume of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, but regardless, we can see that Samos' links with Egypt remained widely known for a considerable time after their relations broke down (shortly before the Persian invasion).

The votive objects found at the site further indicate that Samos' cultural contacts were not limited to Egypt, but included Cyprus, the Near-East, and probably even the Phoenician West, though Samos' strongest connections to the Near East pre-date the deposition of many of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and may have stalled by the time of the deposition of most of the Egyptian and Egyptianising material found at the Heraeum.[90] Finally, the importance of the maritime power underpinning both the wealth and power of the island's community is suggested in the dedication of many small wooden boats.[91]

Siphnos: Six objects are listed by Skon-Jedele, a cat amulet and fragments of faience vessels, all of which are similar to objects found on Rhodes.[92]

Thasos: A faience male figure and a faience falcon have been found in a sixth-century layer of fill at the Artemisium, two further scarabs (no detail is given on their decoration, and a faience bead also found in the agora, in unstratified contexts.[93] Accordingly, despite Thasos' silver coins appearing in relatively large numbers in Egyptian hoards in the sixth century,

[88] Tsakos & Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, p. 141.
[89] Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006/
[90] West Phoenician contact is attested (though perhaps through an intermediary) by a comb from Andalusia, c.640-630 BC (Tsakos & Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, p. 148). See also Lipinski 2004, pp. 155-158. Many of the Near-Eastern objects (for example those in Tsakos & Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, pp. 134-138) date to the eighth-seventh centuries, while the Egyptian objects largely date to the early seventh-six centuries.
[91] Tsakos & Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, p. 109.
[92] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1635-1642.
[93] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1647-1648.

there is very little evidence to indicate interactions with Egyptian material in the Archaic Period.[94]

Thera: Skon-Jedele notes seven objects, including a Bes figure, a female figure, scarabs (of Late Egyptian types) and beads. All are dated to the seventh century by their find contexts and, unusually for the seventh-century; all of these objects are found in burials (seven burials, of which only one is mentioned to be a child burial).[95]

Euboea

Euboea is the Greek region for which we have the earliest evidence of overseas interests and settlement. There is evidence of Euboeans at Pithecusae from the early-eighth century, at their pottery depicts ships in the ninth.[96] The Euboeans may have been exploring the wider Mediterranean as early as the Phoenicians, rather than following in their footsteps, but this is a much debated issue.[97] In any case, the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Euboea cannot be closely correlated with how much or how little they are moving around the Mediterranean. At Lefkandi, we find 106 Egyptian objects in 26 graves of the Protogeometric Period (950-825 BC), including nine child burials, one female, and one shared male and female.[98] These objects include a small number of bronze objects (but not bronze statuettes), a handful of deity amulets, a scarab, and many bead necklaces. However, in the following period, that in which Lefkandi is abandoned and Euboeans colonise areas in the West, we find no Egyptian or Egyptianising objects on Euboea. It is not until the end of the eighth century that these reappear, at Eretria. At Eretria, we find Egyptian and Egyptianising objects (the quantities of scarabs and other objects are not recorded) in the temenos of Apollo, together with evidence of contacts in the East.[99]

[94] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1644.
[95] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1658-1661. Gorton 1996, p. 170.
[96] Crielaard 2006, p. 279.
[97] See Papadopoulos 1997.
[98] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1990-1994. Whether this contributes compelling evidence for a correlation between women and children and Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and what that correlation might mean, is discussed in Chapter 3.
[99] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 123-1253.

Skon-Jedele attempts to fill the gap between the Euboean evidence from Lefkandi and Eretria using the material from Pithecusae.[100] Pithecusae is striking, in that there are a number of eighth-century burials containing scarabs, including of Rhodes production, and the overwhelming majority of these are children; with a scarab placed on their chest.[101] However, while the Pithecusae scarabs are certainly interesting, it seems doubtful that we should see them, ass Skon-Jedele seems to, as filling a gap between two periods of Egyptian tastes on Euboea. Their main utility is that they fix the Rhodian production of scarabs, and the earliest Perachora deposit containing these scarabs, in the eighth century.

Crete

Skon-Jedele records approximately 250 Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, including a fine ivory chest, scarabs, figurines and amulets, faience jugs, and beads, scattered across nineteen different sites on Crete, a far more consistent spread than in any other region.[102]

Crete's Geometric Egyptian and Egyptianising objects resemble those found on Euboea, and the eighth-seventh-century finds clearly relate to the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Rhodes, as a result, it could be concluded that Crete's interactions with Egyptian material culture were somewhat dominated by the activities of other sea-faring Greek communities.[103] However, we do have evidence for the Cretans themselves being active in navigating the North African coast (Hdt. 4.151, Hom. *Od.* 14.258-272). It might be that Cretans instead took on Euboean or Rhodian fashions in the consumption of such objects, but were not dependent on others for the acquisition of Egyptian objects.

The date range of the material spans from the Bronze Age through to the seventh century, at which point it stops. It is found in grave and sanctuary contexts, including the Idaean Cave, where we also find Levantine bowls and ivories. In archaic contexts, dated to the final century of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Crete, 800-700 BC, we find a

[100] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1257-1340.
[101] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1258.
[102] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1663-1949.
[103] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1670-1675.

good number of Rhodes-Perachora scarabs and the Memphite Triad is very well represented (for example at Amnisos), indicating that these statuettes were especially popular.[104]

For Crete, Gorton's account of the scarabs seems to be inaccurate, which is worth bearing in mind for the reliability of his data for sites for which I have not been able to use a comparable source.[105]

Asia Minor

The scattering of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found across Asia Minor mostly, as would be expected, relate to those found on Samos.[106] Herodotus tells us that a number of the cities of Asia Minor are involved in the foundation of Naucratis (2.178), that Ionian *epikouroi* fight in Egypt (2. 152, 2.163), and that the pharaohs give gifts to the sanctuaries of Asia Minor (2.159). Finds from sanctuaries at Ephesus, Miletus, and Ethyrae date to the seventh century and contain comparable material to that of Samos, bronzes, faience amulets, and scarabs (perhaps locally made, as Gorton suggests), but on a much smaller scale.[107]

Rhodes

Evidence of interactions between Egypt and Rhodes is scarce before the Early Iron Age, with Rhodes seeming to be something of a non-entity in the Bronze Age.[108] However, after the foundation of Lindos, Ialysos, and Cameiros this picture dramatically changes and Rhodes' position at the heart of a web of cross-Mediterranean sea routes led to the development of strong contacts with Cyprus, the East, Greece, and Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries.[109] It is commonly argued that there was a Phoenician presence on Rhodes

[104] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1689-1691.
[105] Gorton 1996, pp. 170-171.
[106] Hölbl 2014, 2008, 2007, 1999; Gorton 1996, p. 173.
[107] Hölbl 2007, p. 460; Gorton 1996, p. 173.
[108] Kousoulis 2011, p. 290.
[109] Bourogiannis 2009, pp. 114-130; Kousoulis 2012, pp. 283-92.

alongside trading contacts with Phoenicia and Cyprus, though this is debatable.[110] Contacts between Rhodes and Egypt can be attested through a wide variety of literary and archaeological sources including: Amasis' gifts to Lindos' sanctuary of Athena (Hdt. 2.182), the involvement of Rhodians in the foundation of Naucratis' Hellenion (Hdt. 2.178), graffiti of Ialysian mercenaries at Abu Simbel during Psammetichus' campaigns, proxeny decrees at Naucratis, and a likely gift of Necho at Athena's sanctuary in Ialysos.[111] Nonetheless, the best evidence of Egyptian and Rhodian interactions in the eighth and seventh centuries lies in the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects present on Rhodes.

A very substantial quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising material has been excavated on Rhodes, primarily at three sites – Cameiros, Lindos, and Ialysos.[112] The majority of these objects come from the Sanctuary of Athena at each location, though there is also some material from the necropolises of Cameiros and Ialysos.[113]

The genuine Egyptian material found at Rhodes is striking not only in its volume but also in its range, and while the three major sites vary in the quantity of different types of objects the material is roughly consistent at all three major sites:[114] large quantities of faience whorls and beads, of faience Egyptianising vases (of Greek shape), numerous bronze and stone statuettes, hundreds of scarabs,[115] amulets depicting a narrow range of deities, and assorted objects of rarer types – Senet pieces, ivories, ostrich shell, and etc.[116] Many of the scarabs are probably of local production, with Gorton identifying 51% of the island's scarabs as "Common Types on Greek Sites" or "Rhodes-Perachora" types, and 34% as Naucratis types, while only 4% are "Egyptianising Phoenician", and only 11% Egyptian or Late Egyptian types, as is discussed at much greater length in Chapter 2 of the thesis.[117] The

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[110] Bourogiannis 2009, pp. 121-122.
[111] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1976. On Ialysos' mercenaries see Bernand and Masson 1957, pp.1-46. On Amasis' gifts, see: Vickers and Francis 1984, pp. 119-130; 1984, pp. 68-69.
[112] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1997.
[113] On Vroulia, see Jeffery 1976, p. 198.
[114] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1978.
[115] Including a Heart-of-Osiris funerary scarab clearly taken from or intended for a funerary context, Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1978.
[116] Gorton 1996, pp. 171-172; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1976-2694.
[117] Gorton 1996, p. 138. It must be noted, however, that Gorton's total numbers of scarabs are generally based upon samples of the evidence. For example, while he notes 800 scarabs from Perachora, he uses only 374 scarabs from all of from Greece when examining the proportions of different types found there. Nonetheless, the proportions he seems to identify are quite accurately consistent with the wider pattern of the material. See the report on the Perachora scarabs in James 1962, pp. 461-516, and the discussion of the type in Skon-Jedele 1994.

primary deities found time and again across Rhodes are Bes, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Sekhmet, and Nefertem, three of whom reflect the key figures of Memphite cult Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefertem.[118] It should be noted that Skon-Jedele uses Ptah-Sokar-Osiris to describe what Hölbl and others call "Pataikos" figurines, small dwarf amulets, often with a grotesque expression and a scarab on their head. While these are sometimes referred to by their inscriptions as Ptah-Sokar, "Pataikos" is more useful in differentiating these faience amulets from the wooden, funerary Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes of Late Period Egypt, which have a different form and function.[119] Some of the Rhodian figures may have been produced locally, due to the sheer volume of representations of such a narrow array of gods, again see Chapter 2 for a fuller discussion. The Bes amulets, however, are so close to Egyptian forms that if they are of local production, Hölbl has suggested that the Rhodians must have been using a set of contemporary Egyptian moulds, which Skon-Jedele finds an attractive possibility.[120]

A much abbreviated selection of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from Rhodes' three main archaic sites will round out the overall impression of the breadth and quantity of material found there. Votive objects across all three sites are associated with the local temenos of Athena unless stated otherwise:

Cameirus: At Cameirus, finds other than the many examples of the Memphis Triad and the unrecorded, but clearly high, number of "Rhodes-Perachora" scarabs included:[121] Bronzes, including: two female figurines with movable arms, dated to Dynasty XXV, numerous falcon claws with attachments indicating that they were part of larger sculptures, a bronze wing from a bird or scarab amulet, and a bronze cobra. Stone objects, including: a basalt male figurine inscribed in Greek lettering (of circa 550 BC) with a votive inscription, a granite head of late period Theban production (Dynasty XXV-XXVI). Faience, including: many flute-player figurines, a figure of Amen-Re in polished stone, numerous (at least 20) glazed Bes amulets in "Type IIA" faience and composition core faience, pierced for suspension, an Harpocrates in seated position (from *pithos* burial 178-(18) at Makri Langoni), a glazed composition Horus-Re with human body and falcon head (a rare example of an

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[118] Armour 1986, pp. 96-110.
[119] For the "Pataikos", see Hölbl 1986, p. 350. For Skon-Jedele's use of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris to describe the same type, see for example Skon-Jedele 1994 obj. #3054, pp. 2007-2008. For an example of the entirely different looking Ptah-Sokar-Osiris funerary figure, see a Late Period example, BM EA47577.
[120] On Bes moulds see Hölbl 1979, pp. 197-199.
[121] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1987-2204.

Egyptian animal-headed deity other than Sekhmet in Greece), and another similar example in "Type I" faience with a mummiform (though Skon-Jedele does not identify it as such, this sounds like it represents Re-Horakhty), pierced for suspension, a Type IB composition Khnum with supporting pillar at back, and, in a chamber tomb, a "Type IB" faience Khonsu in mummy wrappings with a *w3s* sceptre, false beard and lunar crown, looped for suspension, and with a partially legible New Year's wish appealing to Khonsu inscribed on the supporting pillar behind the figure. Finally, there were also a greater number of Egyptianising faience flasks at Cameiros than any other sites, though this does not necessarily indicate that they were produced here and then moved to the other sites, as has been argued by Coldstream.[122]

Gorton also notes that near Cameiros, a small number (some 20) of scarabs were found at the cemetery of Macri Longoni. They were found in two burials, both *pithoi* of the monumental Cameiros type dating to the sixth century. Other scarabs were also found but in unknown contexts. The majority of these scarabs are of Gorton's "Naucratis" types, with some from the "Common Types on Greek sites" group.[123]

Ialysos:[124] Coldstream has suggested that a Phoenician presence at Ialysos was responsible for the earliest examples of Rhodian made faience, and that the Phoenicians brought this craft to Rhodes, though this might be questioned on account of the narrow range of Egyptian amulets found at the site, and the narrow range of Egyptian objects in general.[125] However, the material from Ialysos is also evidence for direct connections to Egypt in the Saite Period, Dynasty XXVI. Egyptian material includes a sculpted cosmetic spoon (found in cremation burial 2-(123)), and a series of faience inlays from a small shrine which names, and was probably a gift from, Necho II as well as cartouches featuring the names of other dynasty XXVI pharaohs, Psammetichus and Apries.[126] Other Egyptian and Egyptianising objects include a remarkable glut of Memphite Triad amulets, including some of less-common protome forms, as well as the usual range of flute players, Bes amulets, animals, and scarabs.

[122]Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1979; Coldstream 1969, pp. 1-8.
[123] Gorton 1996, p. 172.
[124] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2337-2644.
[125] Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 1979; Coldstream 1969 pp.1-8.
[126] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1978, 2341-2342.

Lindos:[127] At least 299 scarabs were found on the acropolis at Lindos, and of the Rhodian sites it is Lindos where we find the most "Rhodes-Perachora" type scarabs (though, less than at Perachora).[128] Most of these scarabs come from the archaic stratum of the middle of the acropolis area, which only narrows their dating to some point before the mid-sixth century.[129] Others were found mixed in the fill on the acropolis, and two were found in a votive deposit placed outside the limits of the sanctuary.[130] This external deposit also included terracotta figures and other objects dating it to a timeframe within the sixth-fifth century.[131] Finally, two scarabs were also found in debris on the western slope of the acropolis. The finds from the archaic stratum are of the "Common on Greek sites" types with a few of Naucratis and Egyptian types. The surface/mixed fill finds contained a higher proportion of Naucratis types than any other types.

The Eastern Mediterranean

The Black Sea

A small number of scarabs have been found in tombs at Olbia which also contained Attic black-figure vases and other pottery of Rhodian, Chian, and Milesian styles, all datable to the Greek expansion into the region in the late-seventh and sixth centuries.[132] The scarabs are of "Naucratis" types of the same period. At Berezan, near Olbia, scarabs and scaraboids were found along with Egyptian amulets and figurines.[133] Gorton numbers the scarabs of this area at twenty six in total.[134] It would seem safe to conclude that these items reflect inter-Greek trade, and there is no indication of direct Egyptian contacts.

[127] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 2205-2334.
[128] Gorton (1996, p. 171) lists only 200; in Skon-Jedele, however, we find at least 299 (1994, pp. 2249-2308); see also James 1962, pp. 461-516.
[129] Gorton 1996, p. 171.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Gorton 1996, p. 174.
[133] Matthieu 1926, pp. 68-69.
[134] Gorton 1996, p. 138.

Cyprus

Cyprus mirrors Greece in the soaring popularity of scarabs during the eighth century, starting in the early-eighth century (Cypro-Archaic I).[135] Cyprus differs from Greece, however, in having a larger proportion of scarabs made of stone, and they feature different motifs. These stone scarabs are sometimes Egyptian, but the majority appear to be made locally, with a wide range of variations suggesting multiple small workshops. Some of these, in the "Phoenician types" (types XX, XXI) category of Gorton's survey, have been found at Carthage but not at Rhodes (likewise, those mass produced at Rhodes are scarcer at Carthage than those from Cyprus), which may suggest that Cyprus and Rhodes formed separate links between East and West despite their geographical proximity.[136] This fits with our broader understanding of the focus of Levantine trade in the eighth century, as discussed in Chapter 1. The scarabs from Cyprus with known provenance are split between two contexts. At Agia Irini scarabs were found in some quantity in the temenos, "equally distributed" in layers dating from the eighth–fifth centuries.[137] The range of types found here is very broad, encompassing "Classical Egyptian", "Late Egyptian", "Phoenician", "Common Types on Greek sites", "Egyptianising for the Punic market" and "Naucratis" types. Similarly at Kition scarabs have been found in Bothros 1, which is outside the courtyard, to the north of the temple of Astarte. Significant quantities of other Eastern materials have also been found, suggesting contacts with the East (fitting the nature of the temple).[138] These scarabs represent a narrower date and type range, dating to 600-450 BC and lacking Naucratis types. Elsewhere in Cyprus, at Amathus, scarabs have been found in tombs dated mostly to the seventh and sixth centuries.[139] Amathus has also been noted to contain in its tombs an exceptionally large quantity of Levantine imports. Cyprus' material culture provides evidence for a range of interactions with Egyptian and Levantine material culture, which should come as no surprise considering both the location of the island and its submission to Amasis II (Hdt. 2.182).

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[135] Gorton 1996, p. 175.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Gorton 1996, pp. 175-177.
[138] Gorton 1996, pp. 176.
[139] Gorton 1996, pp. 176-77.

The Levant

It is impossible to attempt to summarise the quantity of the Egyptian and Egyptianising material from the Near East in any succinct way. Egyptian cults and material culture of all manner of types became very popular in the Near East in the second millennium BC.[140] Phoenician cities were frequently under the control of, or allied to Egypt, giving the objects a different level of social purchase in the region.[141] Therefore, though the material of the Levant is occasionally referred to throughout the thesis for comparison to that found in Greece, it is worth noting that Phoenician sites yield a much greater variety of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and that these objects represent a very different, much more accepting, use of the Egyptian gods than we can suggest for Greek consumers.[142] Furthermore, while objects found in the Levant include the predictable range of scarabs, amulets, figures, as well as Egyptian stelae, and statues, it is of note that Gorton identifies none of the "Common Types on Greek sites" as being present in the Levant in his brief assessment of the Near East, which is in keeping with the comments of Hölbl and Skon-Jedele, and the general absence or dearth of "Common Types on Greek sites" or "Rhodes-Perachora" scarabs in Phoenician contexts in the west of the Mediterranean.[143] Finally, as is addressed in the body of the thesis, the material of the objects noted from Phoenician sites is far more commonly stone than those objects found in Greece, which are predominantly faience.[144]

North Africa

There are a few major sites in North Africa where one can find Egyptian or Egyptianising objects from the eighth-sixth centuries. Around Carthage, scarabs can be found beginning in seventh-century contexts (datable by the inclusion of Protocorinthian *aryballoi* in the deposits).[145] These scarabs are found in tombs at the Dermech-Douïmes necropolis, Byrsa, the Tophet, and the Juno Hill.[146] They can also be found further in other locations beyond the end of the sixth century which need not be listed here. Using Gorton's typologies and data, a wide range of types are represented at Carthaginian sites. The seventh-century tombs yielded an exceptionally small number of "Common Types on Greek Sites" type XXII alongside

[140] Giveon 1978.
[141] Mumford 1998.
[142] Herrmann 2006; Hölbl 1986a.
[143] Gorton 1996, pp. 174-175.
[144] Gorton 1996, p. 43.
[145] Gorton 1996, pp. 145-150.
[146] Gorton 1996, pp. 146-149.

many more examples of "Phoenician", "Egyptianising Phoenician", and "Late Egyptian" types.[147] In later, sixth-century, tombs "Naucratis" types dominate in both the range of types present and quantity of examples. In the tombs around Carthage, Egyptian or Egyptianising statuettes, jewellery and amulets were also placed around the body.[148] The pattern of types found in tombs elsewhere in North Africa is similar to that above. However, in Libya, at the Greek sites of Kyrene and Tocra, scarabs were found not in tombs but in temple deposits.[149] These scarabs date to the sixth century and are of "Naucratis" types. Gorton mentions no other Egyptian or Egyptianising finds alongside those scarabs found at the sixth-century Greek sites in Libya and nor does Donald White's summary of the excavations at Cyrene's Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone. However, White's fourth preliminary report does list a few materials in the deposit which may be Egyptian or somewhat Egyptianising, including faience beads and figurines and a bronze hawk relatable to Egyptian types.[150]

Naucratis

When Naucratis was excavated a large number of scarabs were found, at least 200 of which are now in the British Museum. A large number of these were found in a building alongside moulds and waste materials, indicating the presence of a workshop creating faience amulets and scarabs. The scarabs at Naucratis are mostly of a "Naucratis" type, which is distinct from previous types in material composition and in decoration. This type becomes exceptionally widespread (a *koine*?) across almost the entire Mediterranean in the sixth century. Alongside these scarabs, we find a number of faience falcons, which will be more accessible after the publication of Webb's forthcoming examination of Naucratis' faience.[151]

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[147] Gorton 1996, p. 146.
[148] Gorton 1996, p. 145. See also Catalán 2002, pp. 65-67; Ramón 2002, p. 145.
[149] Gorton 1996, p. 150.
[150] White 1981, 1976, p. 177.
[151] Gorton 1996 pp. 91-137; Webb "Faience finds from Naukratis and their implications for the chronology of the site", in R. Thomas (ed.), forthcoming. *Naukratis in Context I: The Nile Delta as a Landscape of Connectivity. Proceedings of the First Naukratis Project Workshop held at The British Museum 16th – 17th December 2011*.

The Phoenician West

The Iberian Peninsula

Phoenician sites in the Iberian Peninsula (mainland Spain and Portugal, as well as Ibiza and Gibraltar) have yielded scarabs in tombs of both cremation and inhumation burials, the majority of which are securely dated to the sixth century or later.[152] The list of sites provided by Gorton does not need to be recited in full here, but there are some notable patterns. Ibiza's main site of interest, Puig des Molins has a very limited range of types, lacking any "Egyptianising types for the Punic market" and the mass produced "Common Types on Greek sites" group and with very few of the mass produced "Naucratis factory" types.[153] Types most represented are the "Classical Egyptian types", "Late Egyptian", and "Phoenician types".[154] Overall, sites in the Iberian Peninsula are notable for a lack of examples from "Common Types on Greek Sites" scarabs, or even "Naucratis" types. This latter fact sets Iberian sites apart from many others in the Phoenician world. The inhumations were otherwise similar to those at Carthage, and included Corinthian *aryballoi* and bucchero ware.[155] The Ibiza site generally reflects connections with Carthage and the Levant, with some indication of local development of particular types. Other Iberian sites do include items from Naucratis, though these represent just 13% of the total Iberian scarab finds which Gorton uses, however the types associated with Greek sites are still entirely absent across the find spectrum as a whole, and the majority (66%) are of Gorton's two Classical and Late Egyptian groups.[156] A large number of other Egyptian objects have also been found in these tomb contexts and others across the Iberian Peninsula. These objects include Egyptian faience *aryballoi* at Puig des Molins, and alabaster vases, used as cinerary urns, in the necropolis of Laurita, with hieroglyphic inscriptions which clearly denote genuine Egyptian origins.[157]

[152] Based in part on pottery, including Attic black and red figure vases. Gorton 1996, pp. 151-152.
[153] Gorton 1996, pp. 151-154.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Gorton 1996, p. 151.
[156] Catalán 2002, p. 65; Ramón 2002, p. 145; Gorton 1996, p. 138.
[157] Catalán 2002, p. 67.

Sardinia

This Phoenician settled island has yielded a large number of scarabs, the majority being found in shallow chamber tombs at Tharros. The account of the excavation is not adequately detailed or organised to provide detailed dating and contexts; however the material can still be arranged by type. The bulk of the scarabs Gorton notes from Sardinia are of "Phoenician" (56%), "Classical Egyptian" (8%), and "Late Egyptian" (14%) types.[158] While none of the earlier "Common Types on Greek sites" are present, 12% of the scarabs from Sardinia are of "Naucratis" types.[159] Excavations on Sardinia have also yielded considerable other Egyptian and Egyptianising material (including amulets, and stone stelae) which is discussed at length by Hölbl.[160] The amulets are said by Hölbl to be the largest portion of Sardinia's Egyptian and Egyptianising objects and are arranged into 65 groups.[161] The Egyptian and Egyptianising amulets are in a broad range of forms, typical of Phoenician sites - there are recognisable deities in human or anthropomorphic forms including Ptah, Bes, Osiris, Isis, Thoth, Anubis, Nephthys, Harpocrates, and Nefertem; there are other figures such as Patäken figures, Lion-headed and Cat-headed deities, more generic standing figures, some of whom are crowned, some not; there is a wide range of animals, including fantastical creatures such as winged lions; and finally, there are amuletic symbols including the *udjat*, *djed* (which is rare on Greek sites), and *wedjat*.[162] The subjects represented allegedly possess a wide range of protective and beneficial forces for the wearer, which could be variously interpreted. Hölbl's particular interpretation of the Sardinian material (and other Phoenician material) is discussed in Chapter 3.

Malta

Tombs yielded five scarabs of Egyptian and Phoenician types, as types comparable to those found at Carthage.[163] Hölbl (1989) has examined the range of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects on Malta and Gozo and concluded that the material indicates that there was route between Phoenicia and Malta ties via Cyprus and Rhodes, though I am sceptical of this conclusion owing to the total absence of Perachora-Rhodes or Cypriot scarabs on Malta. It

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[158] Gorton 1996, p. 138.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Hölbl 1986a.
[161] Hölbl 1986a, p. 411.
[162] Hölbl 1986a, pp. 79-107.
[163] Gorton 1996, p. 164.

can be noted that Egyptianising objects not found at Greek sites, for example amulet sheaths are found on Malta, and other Phoenician sites.[164]

The North Mediterranean

France

The very few scarabs which have been found in what is now France were found at just two sites, both in the Western Languedoc. At one of these sites, Montlaures, the context was an infant burial, while the other find context is unclear. The scarabs are of "Naucratis" types, and both of the two sites yielded mixed and wide ranging imports reflecting contact with Italy.[165]

Southern and Central Italy

Italy presents a complex field of evidence of scarabs and other Egyptian and Egyptianising materials, which is difficult to adequately summarise. In Italy scarabs and other objects can be found in both tomb and temple deposition contexts. The several hundred scarabs found in Italy account for only a portion of the total Egyptian and Egyptianising finds which have been catalogued and discussed by Hölbl at some length across two volumes.[166] Any detailed discussion of the finds in Italy would require more substantial space than can be given here, however, alongside scarabs there are Egyptian and Egyptianising faience vases and vessels, amulets representing a large range of Egyptian subjects, *ushabtis*, and Egyptianising Phoenician metalwork, as well as beads and other assorted items. The finds reflect a mixture of those which we would associate with Phoenicians and those we would associate with the Greeks, but there are some regional variations. At Tarquinia and Pithecusae, for example, we find that Rhodes' Egyptianising objects are particularly prominent.[167]

[164] Gouder 1978, p. 315; Murray 1928, pp. 45-51.
[165] Gorton 1996, p. 154.
[166] Hölbl 1979.
[167] Fletcher 2004b; Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1257-1340.

As far as the scarabs of this region are concerned, there is a large variance in date and context. The San Montano necropolis at Pithecusae yielded a number of scarabs across a number of tombs ranging in date from the mid-eighth century to the early-sixth century (dealt with in more detail under "Euboea"). The majority of the scarabs were found in those tombs from the late-eighth century, with the earlier of these having mostly scarabs of "Late Egyptian" types, and the later eighth-century tombs containing some "Common Types on Greek sites" group scarabs.[168] There a large number of "Lyre Group" scaraboids were also found, though there were no examples of this type in actual scarab form at the site.[169] The earliest scarabs are made of steatite, suggesting genuine Egyptian or Phoenician origins, but faience becomes more common in the last quarter of the eighth century BC.[170] The steatite scarabs relate to those found at Agia Irini.

Elsewhere in central and southern Italy there are fewer individual deposits. Gorton makes the general comment that while the earlier sites, San Montano, the late-eighth century tombs at Pontecagnano and a mid-eighth century tomb at Francavilla Marittima, contain scarabs of the "Common Types on Greek sites" and "Classical (or Late) Egyptian" groups, later deposits are generally dominated by "Naucratis" types.[171] Indeed, in total Naucratis types make up 71% of the scarabs Gorton documents in central and southern Italy; however this number is skewed by the volume of these objects deposited in two locations, at Taranto and Satricum.

While Naucratis types are numerically dominant in the later archaic period, 'Common on Greek sites' types can still be found in a substantial number of tomb or temple contexts. A tomb at Amendolara from the first half of the seventh century BC and at Calatia in the first quarter of the seventh century BC both contain small quantities of "Common Types on Greek Sites" group scarabs, as did an undated tomb at Torre del Mordillo containing twelve scarabs.[172] A deposit in a sacred area in Policoro, dated to the sixth-fifth century, also contained the "Common on Greek sites" type, though in tiny quantity.

[168] Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1257-1340. Gorton 1996, pp. 155-64.
[169] Gorton 1996, p. 159.
[170] Gorton 1996, p. 159.
[171] Tomb 6, 11, and 17 at Pontecagnano, Tomb 67 at Francavilla Marittima, and the Sepolcreto Michelicchio tomb in the necropolis of Torre del Mordillo. Gorton 1996, pp. 161-162.
[172] Tomb 125 at Amendolara, Tomb 16 at Calata. Gorton 1996, pp. 161-162.

At Conca (Satricum) about 50 scarabs and scaraboids were found in the votive deposit of the temple of Satricum. The majority of these were Naucratis types, with a single Phoenician type represented. At Cumae from unknown contexts we find Naucratis type scarabs, strung on a necklace with Egyptianising for the Punic market types.[173] At Taranto a large quantity of Naucratis type scarabs were found in just two locations, in a single tomb on the via Nitti ("Tomb 1") there were 158 scarabs and there were 11 in "Tomb 11" on the Arsenal, both mid-sixth century, these scarabs were all of Naucratis types.

The picture of scarab deposition in Italy is thus more complex than at many other sites outside of Greece, with synchronous deposition of scarabs in tomb and temple complexes in different locations. We also find comparable regional variation in the non-scarab finds.[174]

Etruria

Gorton states that scarabs have been found at numerous sites in Etruria, in funerary contexts within tombs at Bisenzio, Capena, Cerveteri, Falerii, Marsiliana d' Albegna, Narce, Tarquinia, Veii, Vetulonia and Vulci.[175] The finds begin in the late-eight century and stretch through to the late-seventh/sixth century. The scarabs Gorton notes are of numerous types, though the "Common on Greek site"' types are scarce (7%), perhaps surprisingly so, considering other Etruscan engagements with Greek consumption habits.[176] The most represented single type group is Naucratis (38%), but most of the scarabs in Etruria are Egyptian or heavily Egyptianising Phoenician types (44% in total). Certain of the graves, including that at Monte lo Greco, Narce which contained "Naucratis" type scarabs, also contained Egyptian statuettes and other blue frit objects which pre-date Naucratis.[177]

[173] Gorton 1996, p. 161.
[174] Fletcher 2004b, pp. 51-77.
[175] Gorton 1996, pp. 162-164.
[176] Gorton 1996, p. 138.
[177] Ibid.

Sicily

The majority of scarabs from Sicily are in the Palermo Museum and largely without known provenance.[178] It is likely that these scarabs came from Phoenician tombs of the 6th century, on the western side of the island around Palermo. Like Sardinia and Ibiza, the types of scarabs found on Sicily are mainly of Egyptian and Phoenician types, with few examples of mass produced 'Naucratis' types and none of the "Common on Greek sites" types.[179] There are few examples from the Greek sphere of influence, but those which were found were found in rock-cut inhumation tombs at Syracuse, some alongside early seventh century Corinthian pottery.[180] The Phoenician aspect of Sicilian Egyptianising material is typical of the Western Phoenician sites in its close material relationship with Egypt via Carthage rather than with the Phoenician East.[181] Other Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found on Sicily included a faience vase with an inscription naming Bakenrenef, pharaoh of Dynasty XXIV.[182]

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[178] Gorton 1996, p. 157.
[179] Gorton 1996, p. 138.
[180] Gorton 1996, p. 157.
[181] Moscati 2001, p. 585; Gorton 1996, p. 158.
[182] Ritner 2009, p. 444.

Appendix 2

Maps, Graphs and Figures

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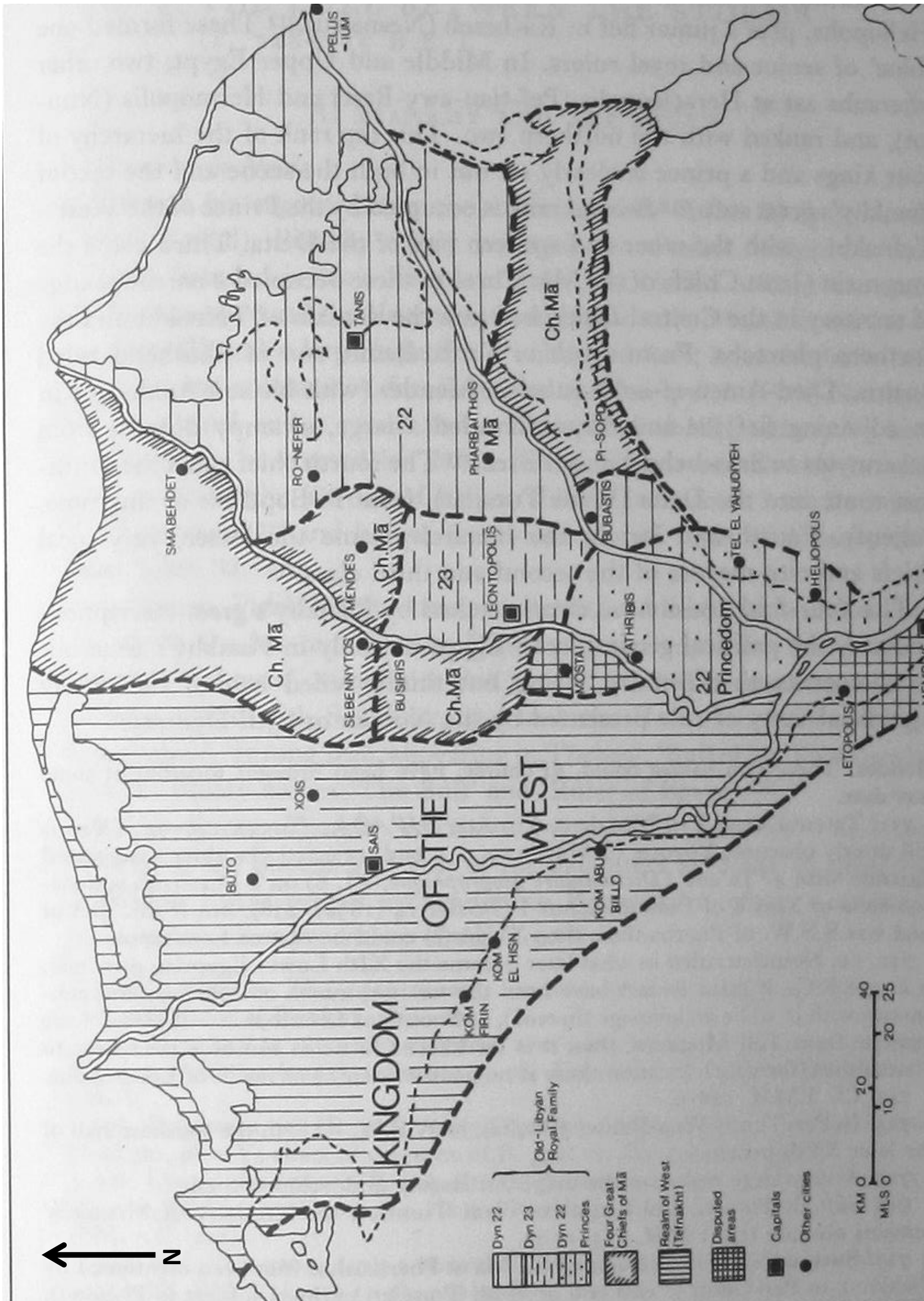
Maps

Map 1: All locations on the mainland and in the Aegean from which any quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from Archaic Period contexts has been published, as detailed in Appendix 1.[184]

[184] Maps 1 and 2 are based upon the open access map "Aegean – coasts" available from http://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=3170&lang=en [07/10/2015].

Map 2: All locations on the mainland and in the Aegean from which over fifty (marked with squares -Chios, the Argive Heraeum, Laconia, and Sounium) and over one-hundred (marked with circles - Aegina, Perachora, Samos, Crete, Ialysos, Lindos, and Cameiros) Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from Archaic Period contexts have been published.



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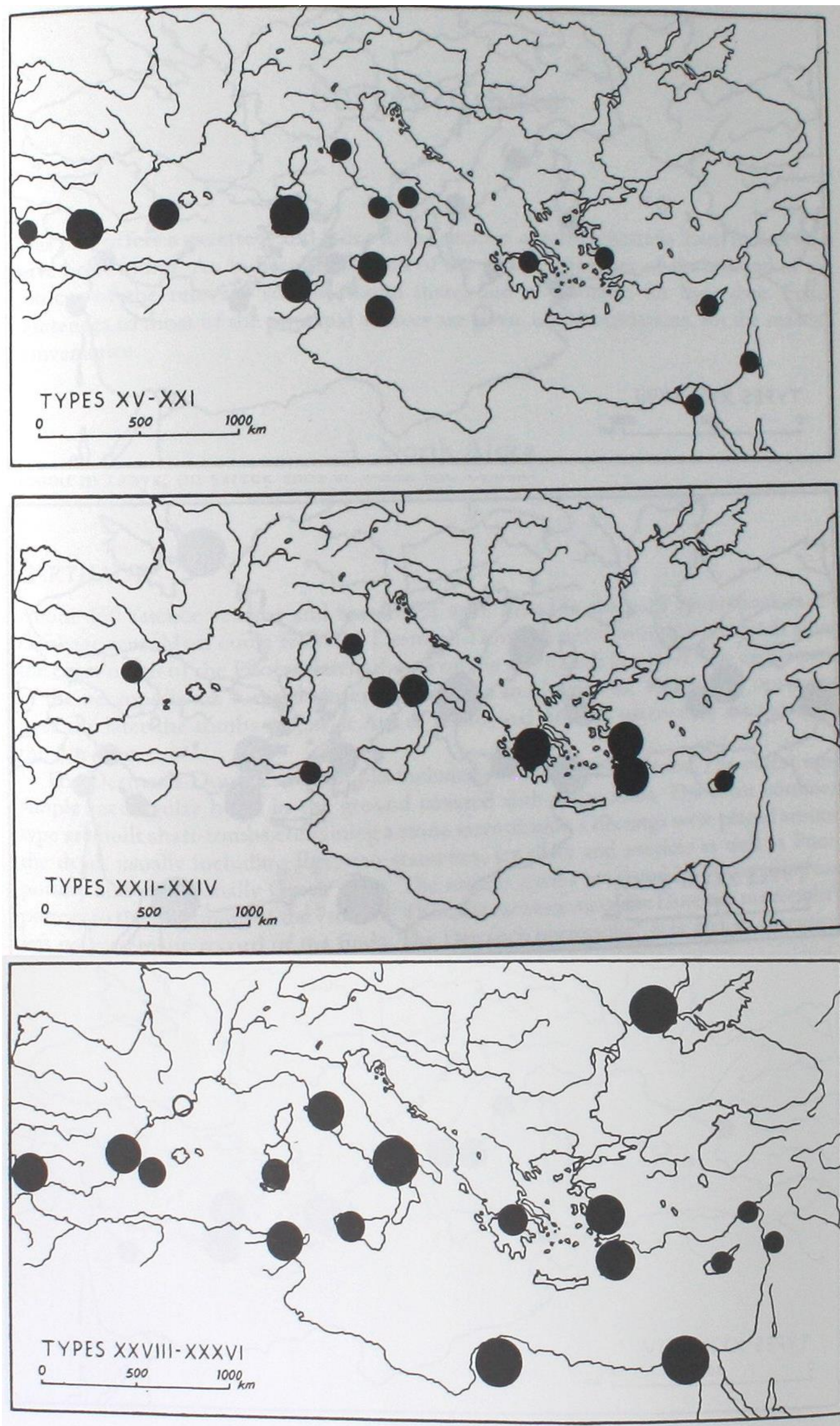
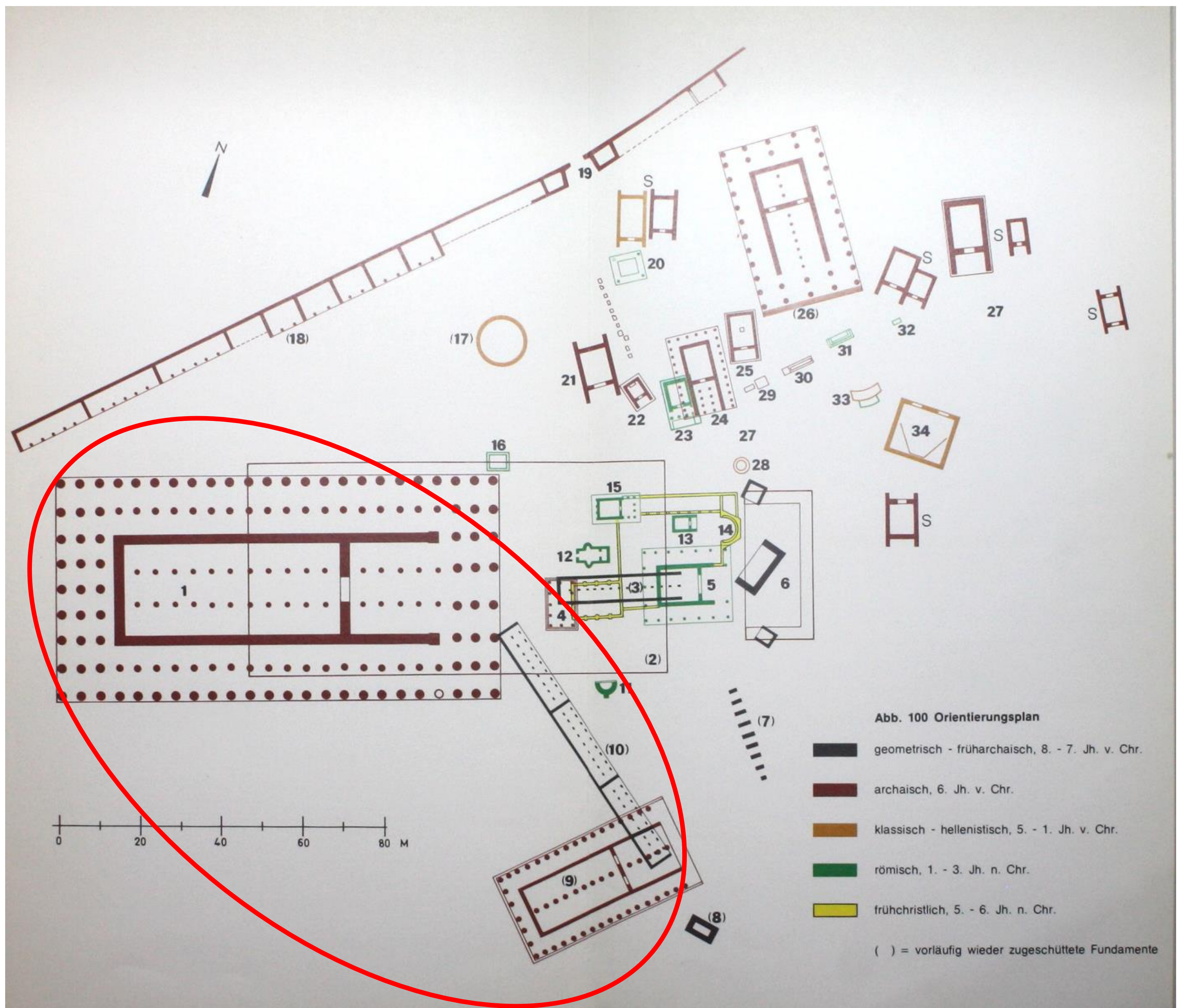
Map 4: Gorton's distribution maps (Gorton1996, pp 143-144) for "Phoenician types" scarabs (top) "Common types on Greek Sites" scarabs (middle) and "The Naucratis factory" scarabs (bottom).[185]



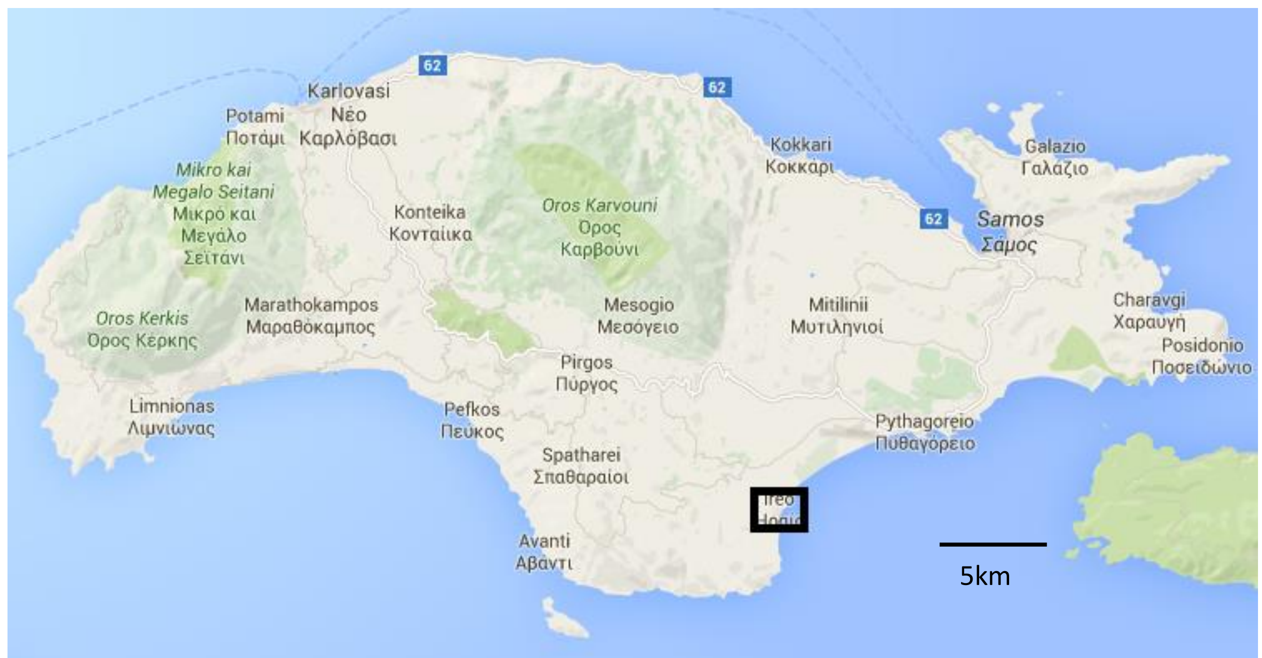
[185] It is worth noting that although Gorton appears to use different sized dots to indicate the number of scarabs in each area of the Mediterranean, these dots are not representative of the relative quantities, especially as Gorton's exact figures for scarabs at different sites are not accurate.

Map 5: A plan of the Samian Heraeum (Kyrieleis 1981). While the contexts for Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from the site are often not clear, the majority of these finds came from the southern area of the site, circled in red.[186]

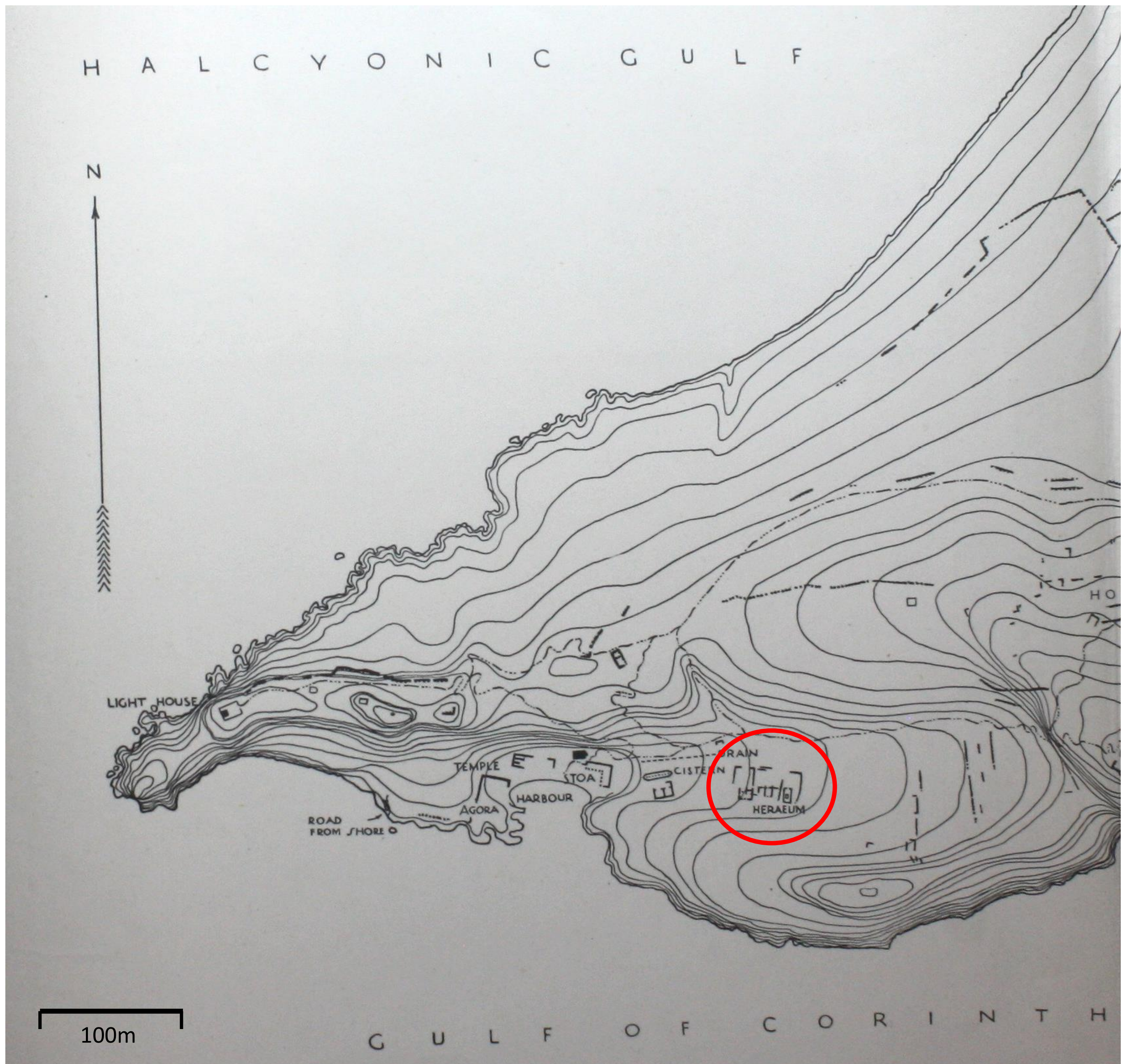


[186] For excavation contexts, see Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1463-1467.

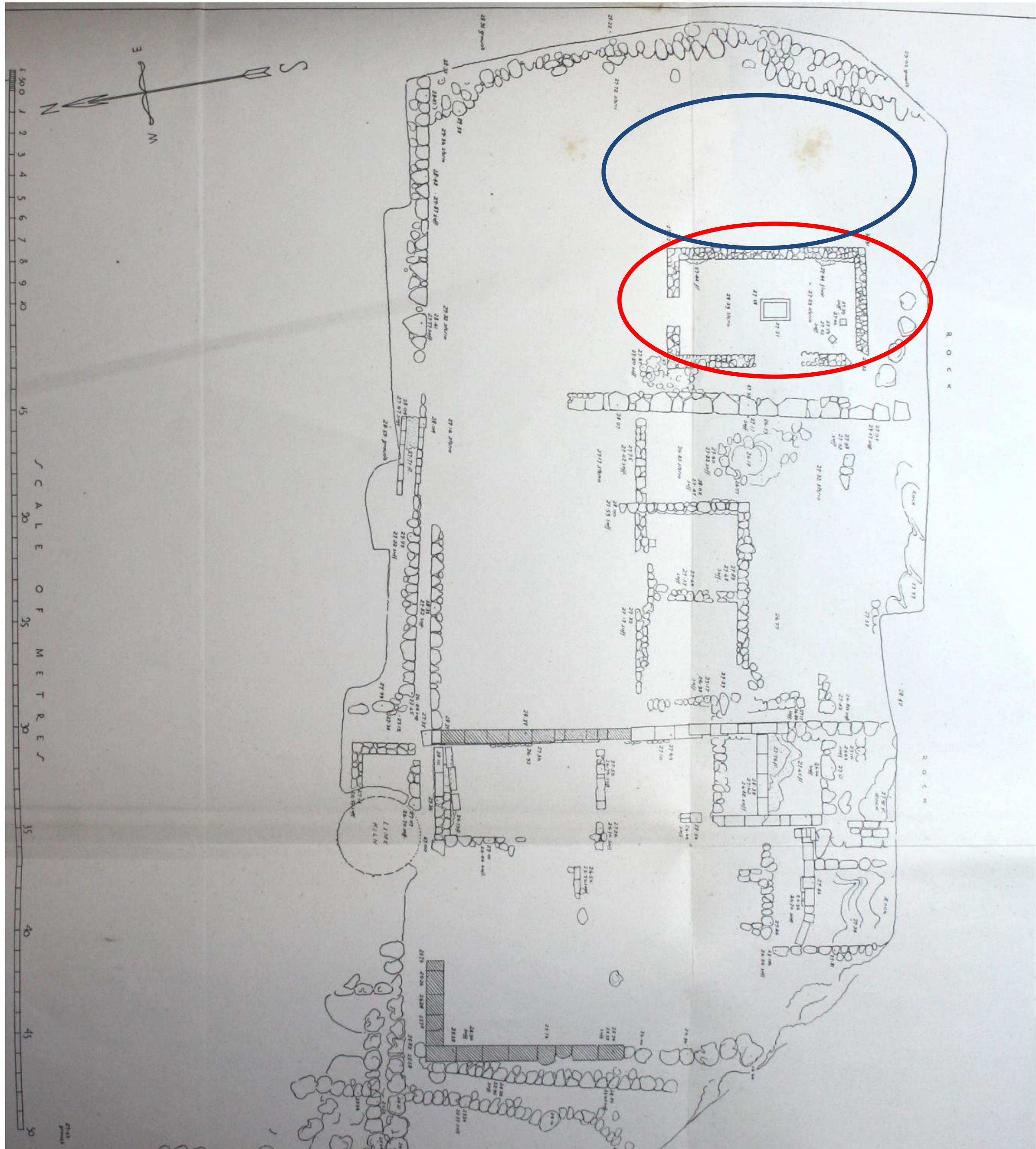
Map 6: Maps showing the position of the Samian Heraeum and its proximity to the sea (Above: https://goo.gl/maps/gT3xb2VyXtn. Below: https://goo.gl/maps/H5f9BPQ4MQR2 [02/11/2015]). The area of the sanctuary in which most of the Egyptian and Egyptianising finds for which we have a context were excavated is circled in red, as in Map 5.



Map 7: Plan of the area around the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora (Payne 1940, Plate 137), showing the proximity of the sanctuary (in red) to the sea.



Map 8: Plan of the sanctuary of Hera Limenia at Perachora (Payne 1940, Plate 140), showing the Geometric/Archaic Period phase temple (in red) and the area in which most of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects were found (in blue).[187]



[187] See also Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 394-406; James 1962, pp. 461-516.

Map 9: Plan of the sanctuaries on the cape of Sounion, Athena (north) and Poseidon (south), showing their coastal location (Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015, p. 305, fig. 4).

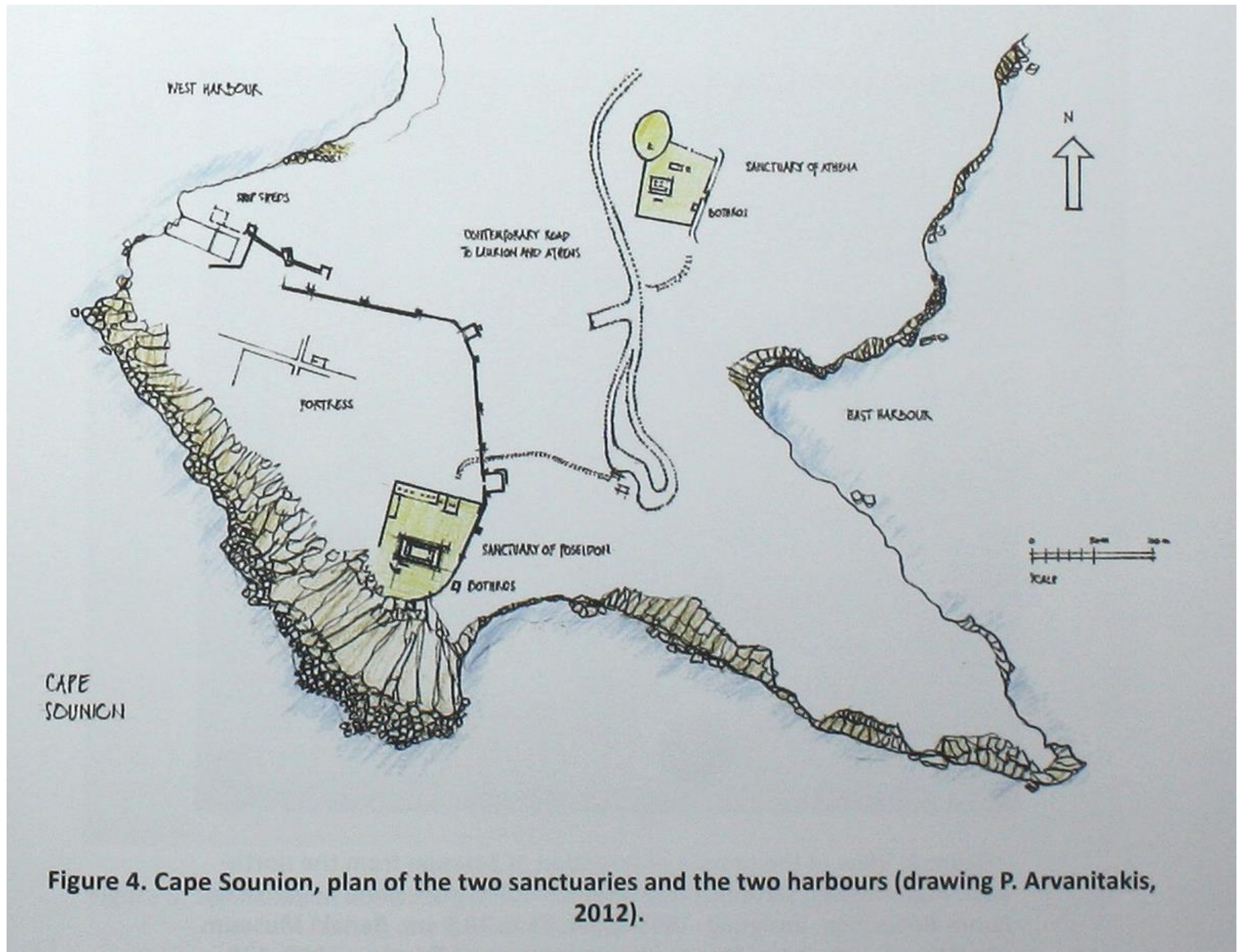
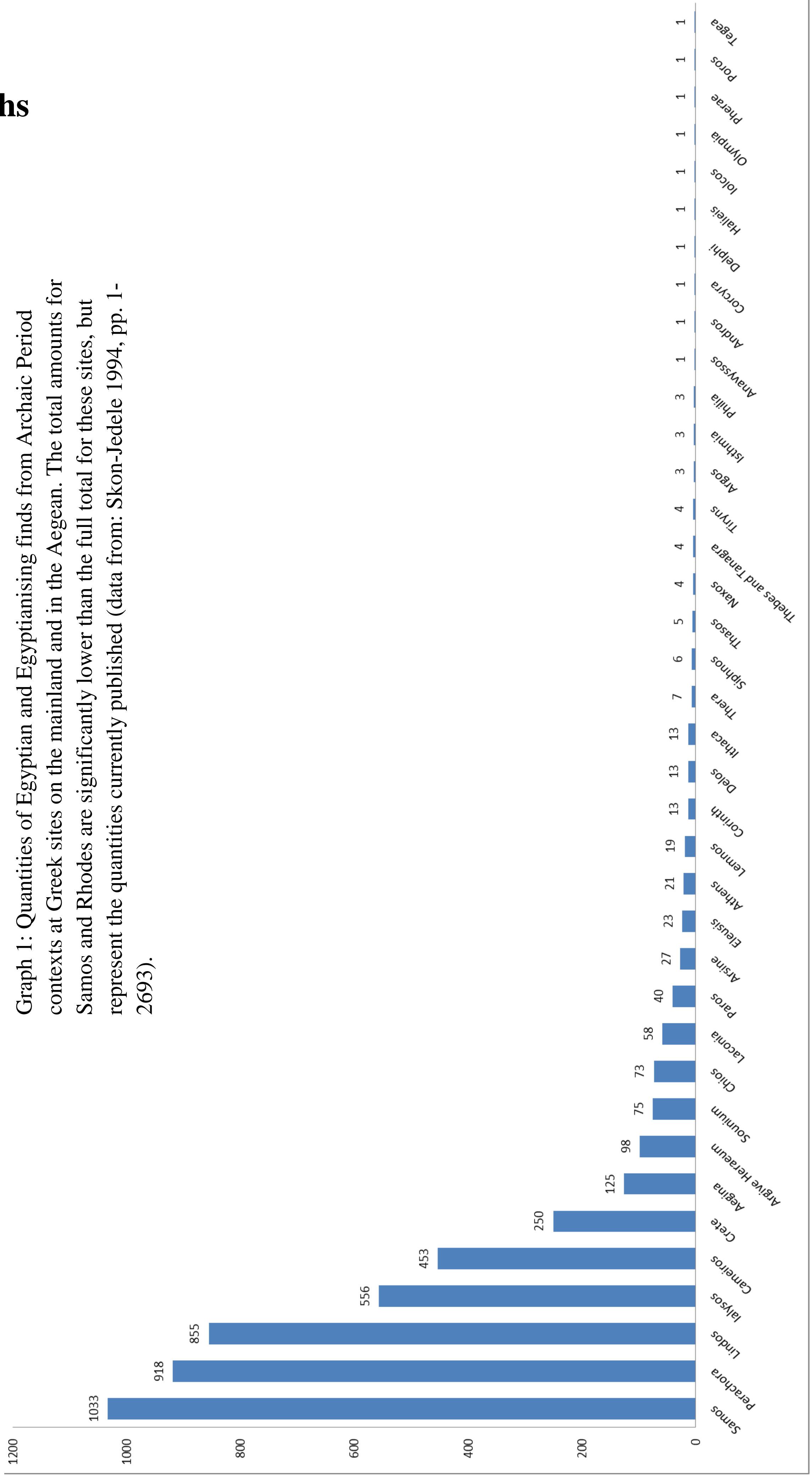
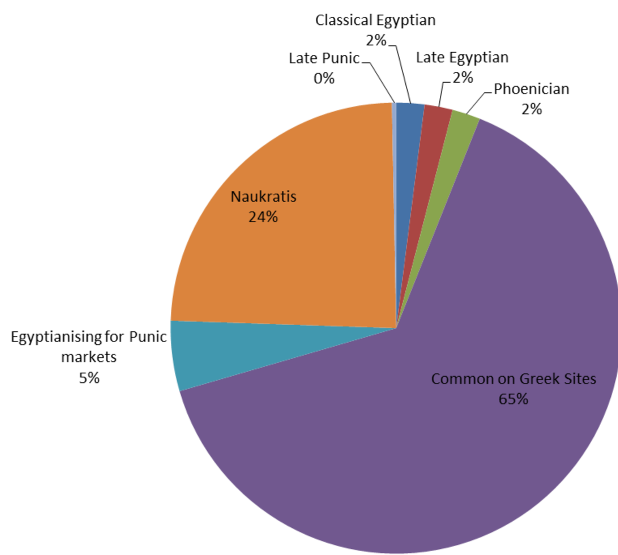


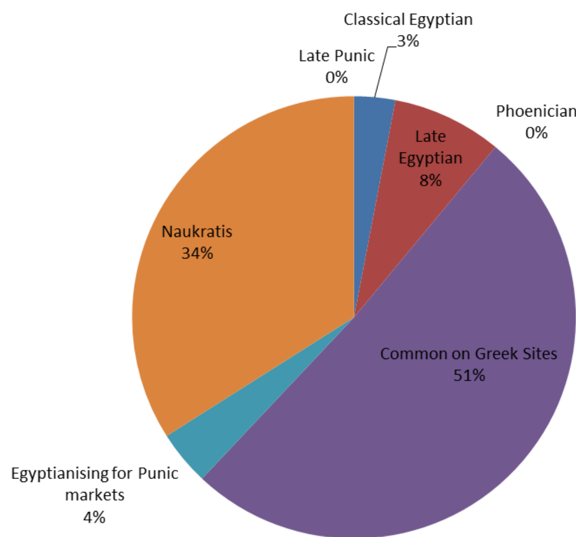
Figure 4. Cape Sounion, plan of the two sanctuaries and the two harbours (drawing P. Arvanitakis, 2012).

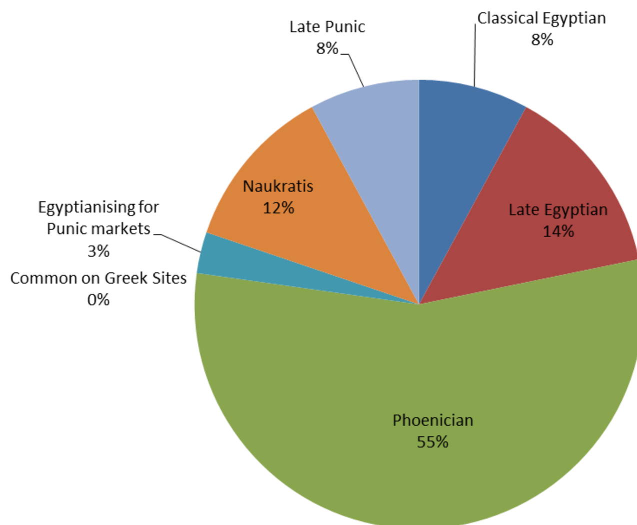
Graphs



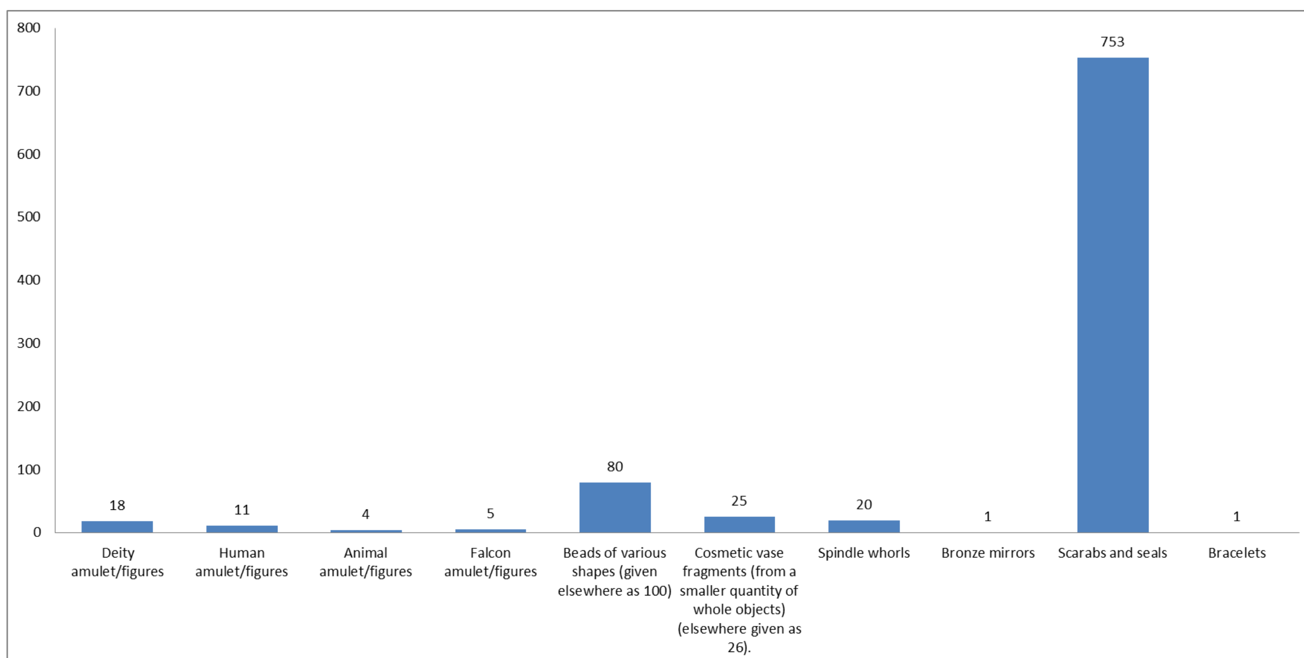
Graph 1: Quantities of Egyptian and Egyptianising finds from Archaic Period contexts at Greek sites on the mainland and in the Aegean. The total amounts for Samos and Rhodes are significantly lower than the full total for these sites, but represent the quantities currently published (data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, pp. 1-2693).



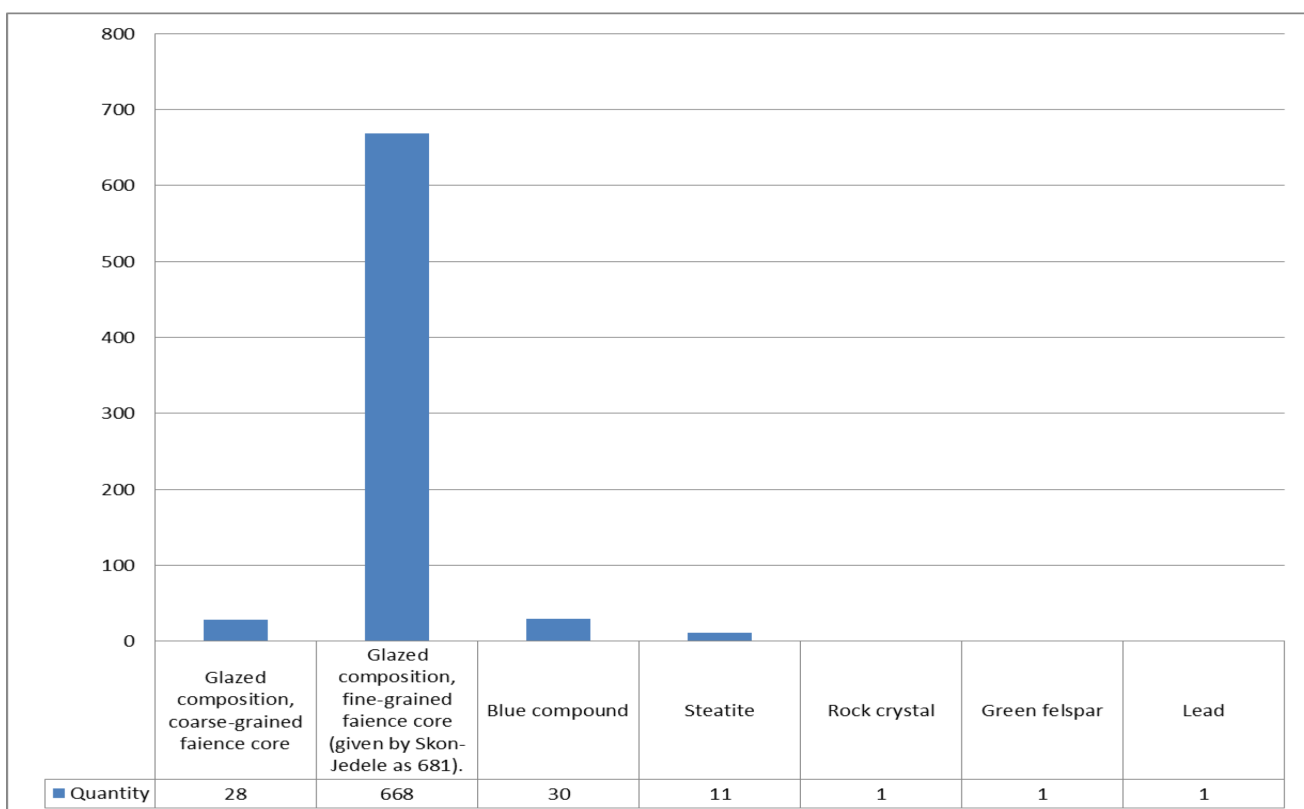




Graph 2: Proportions of each of Gorton's scarab type groups found in Greece (including the Aegean islands), Rhodes, and Sardinia (data from: Gorton 1996, p. 138).



Graph 3: Quantities of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (data from: Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271).



Graph 4: Materials used in scarabs and seals found in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora (data from Skon-Jedele 1994, p. 271; James 1962, p. 468).

Figures

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