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Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs in the Aegean (8th-6th BC): The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia-Limenia at Perachora as a case study

Electra Apostola, Panagiotis Kousoulis, Christina Papadaki

Introduction

After the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial state around 1200 BC, the trade contacts of mainland Greece with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean are eliminated, as indicated by the reduction or scarcity of precious metals and “exotic” raw materials and crafts¹. Although the sea routes and trade are disturbed by pirate raids and the movements of the Sea Peoples, during the 12th and the 11th BC, communication channels are not completely cut off and mostly not forgotten². Sea routes from Cyprus to the Syrian-Palestinian coast, Crete, the Dodecanese and *vice versa*, are reactivated over time, since the Mycenaean ruling class, as well as warriors, craftsmen and seafarers migrate and settle in Cyprus and along with Cypriots renew contacts with those areas of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean³. The next phase of movements and interconnections of populations, products and ideas during the Early Iron Age lasts from the late 11th /early 10th to the 9th century BC⁴. A strong indication of maritime communication in the Eastern Mediterranean is reflected in the well-known story of Wenamun’s voyage from Egypt to the Bible and from there to Cyprus and back again to Egypt in the early 11th century BC⁵. The second half of the 11th and the 10th century BC constitute a significant period for the revival of commercial, ideological, religious and cultural relations, with the initiative of communica-

tion belonging mainly to Euboeans, Phoenicians, and Cypriots⁶. The creation of the Greek alphabet in the 9th century BC is an important milestone in the study of cultural interactions between Syria and Palestine, Cyprus, Crete and the Aegean, while the phenomenon of colonization dynamically brings back to the fore the regions of Central and Western Mediterranean⁷. The dominant position of Euboeans and Phoenicians in these early colonies and in sea routes is closely followed by Corinth, as the Corinthian trade flourishes from the second half of the 8th century BC, especially after the establishment of Syracuse in Sicily⁸.

Contacts between Greece and Egypt remain indirect during from the 10th to the 8th century BC and are primarily expressed through the sporadic distribution of Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects by Euboean, Phoenician, Cypriot merchants to Crete, Euboea (Eretria, Lefkandi), Thera, Attica (Eleusis) and other sites of the Aegean⁹. These artifacts, which circulate as gifts or trade products, are often the result of booty, tribute or grave looting¹⁰. Stories about the presence of Odysseus or the adventures of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt most likely reflect the first voyages of seafarers in the Nile Delta¹¹. In the 7th century BC direct relations be-

1 MANTELI *et alii* 2016, p. 43.

2 STAMPOLIDIS 2003, p. 42.

3 MURRAY 2017, pp. 199-200.

4 KANTA 2003, p. 40.

5 GOEDICKE 1975; SCHEEPERS 1991.

6 STAMPOLIDIS 2003, pp. 53-54. For recent studies on Phoenicians and Cypriots in the Aegean during the first millennium BC, see SHERRATT 2010, pp. 119-142; IAKOVOU 2012.

7 STAMPOLIDIS 2003, pp. 55-62; CHIDIROGLOU 2016, pp. 48-50.

8 STAMPOLIDIS 2003, p. 64.

9 SHERRATT 2010; ARRINGTON 2015. For a review with further reference see HÖLBL 2005, pp. 114-115.

10 SHERRATT 2010, pp. 132-134.

11 Od. 14.243-316, 17.424-44 (Odysseus in Egypt); Od. 12.5-35, 219-

tween Egypt and the Greek world were intensified; especially since Psamtek I (664-610 BC) made an alliance with Lydia and recruited Ionian and Carian mercenaries, along with other groups, such as Phoenicians, Jews and Cypriots to fight Assyrian domination¹².

Greek mercenaries probably from East Greece participated in the expedition of Psamtek II to Nubia, since their names were inscribed on the legs of the statue of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel¹³. Greek seamen may also have participated in the Egyptian navy built by Necho¹⁴. Many mercenaries married Egyptian women and were gradually assimilated in the Egyptian society and even followed local burial customs¹⁵. Acquaintance with Egyptian religious ideas is also attested in the bronze statuettes of Egyptian gods dedicated by Greeks and Carians in Egyptian sanctuaries¹⁶.

32 (Menelaus and Helen in Egypt on their return from Troy). There are also other important references about monumental Thebes (Od. 4.227-31) or the magic power of the Nile land (Il. 4.406; 9.382-83).

12 Hdt. 2.152-154. They were settled in camps in the Delta region and later they were transferred to Memphis by the pharaoh Amasis; For Greek mercenaries in Egypt see MÖLLER 2000, pp. 33-36; VITTMANN 2003, pp. 197-206; AGUT-LABORDERE 2012.

13 Among the names inscribed there was a man named Telephos from Ialysos, see VITTMANN 2003, p. 202, fig. 101.

14 For the navy of Necho: Hdt. 2.159. Necho may have used Corinthian shipbuilders for his fleet, see SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 210-211; TANNER 2003, p. 126; Some of the foreign mercenaries, interpreters and advisors employed by Egyptian state rose to high offices and later dedicated Egyptianizing statuettes inscribed with their names to Greek sanctuaries, like the well-known Pedon, to whom Psamtek I gifted the rulership of a town, VITTMANN 2003, pp. 203-206; HÖCKMANN, VITTMANN 2005, pp. 99-100; VILLING 2018, p. 75; For a basalt male statuette of the sixth century BC, with donor's name restored as [Σμύ]πδης from Kamiros, see SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1989-1990, no. 3011; Another fragmentary basalt statue, inscribed with the same name has been found in the sanctuary of Zeus Atavyrios, KOUROU 2014, pp. 86-87, fig. 37; Other individuals who gained status were the Carian Pigres and Wahibreemakhet, who held the title "Royal Sealer", VILLING 2018, p. 75.

15 The procedure of assimilation is very well reflected in the case of Wahibreemakhet, son of Alexikles and Zenodote, who was buried in an Egyptian sarcophagus around 600 BC as well as in Greek grave stelae from Saqqara with mixed iconographical features, see VITTMANN 2003, p. 203, pl. 21; HÖCKMANN, VITTMANN 2005, pp. 97-101; VILLING 2018, pp. 75-77.

16 For the bronze votives with Greek inscriptions in Egypt, see HÖCKMANN, VITTMANN 2005, pp. 100-101; VILLING 2018, pp. 75-77; It is remarkable that already in the 6th century BC there are clear equivalencies between Greek and Egyptian gods, as indicated by a bilingual dedication to Amun-Re equated with Zeus Thebaïos on a wooden statuette, MASSON 1977, pp. 55-57, pl. 2.1-4; VILLING 2018, p. 77, fig. 24; The participation of Greeks in the local religious practices is further shown by the existence of graffiti in the temple of Osiris at Abydos and the depiction of Ionians in a procession with the Isis cow and the Apis bull on a wooden painted plaque from Saqqara, see VITTMANN 2003, pp. 242-243, pl. 24b; For a Greek graffiti in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, see VITTMANN 2006, pp. 582-583.

Trade was of course one of the most significant aspects of this interaction. The story of the Samian Colaeus indicates that Greek traders were present in the Nile Delta from the middle of the seventh century BC¹⁷. The foundation of a seaport at Thonis-Heraclion in the 7th century BC, at the entrance of the Canopic branch underlined the significance of this area for the contact of Egypt with the Mediterranean¹⁸. However, trade and cultural contact with the Greek world was really intensified after the settling of Greeks on Naukratis at the end of the 7th century BC. Naukratis, originally an Egyptian settlement, was occupied by Greeks from twelve Greek cities settled at Naukratis probably during Psamtek's I rule, some of which were also homelands of the Ionian mercenaries, and soon grew into one of the most important seaports in the Mediterranean¹⁹.

The intense interaction described above was the stimulus for the transmission of Egyptian ideas and techniques in Greek art. Traces of Egyptian influences can mainly be found in monumental architecture, sculptures, vase painting, furniture and figurines and faience material²⁰. Less visible, but still traceable, is the relation of Egyptian religious ideology with Greek philosophy²¹. The transmission of knowledge about Egyptian religion and magic in the Aegean is demonstrated by the great amount of Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts, the so-called *Aegyptiaca*, found in Greek sanctuaries and tombs, which will thoroughly be discussed below.

Aegyptiaca from the Aegean and mainland Greece

From the 10th century onwards Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects (of Levantine origin), often mentioned as *Aegyptiaca* in modern scholarship, were

17 Hdt. 4.152.4; MÖLLER 2000, p. 32; For the presence of Greek traders and products in Egypt before Naukratis, see BOARDMAN 1980, pp. 145-149; SMOLÁRIKOVÁ 2002, pp. 23-46; WEBER 2012; VILLING 2018, pp. 73-77.

18 GODDIO, MASSON-BERGHOF 2016.

19 Although Herodotus (2.178-179) states that Amasis gave *Naukratis* to Greek settlers, there is evidence that it was already founded under Psamtek I (664-610 BC). For recent studies on Naukratis, see MÖLLER 2000; VILLING, SCHLOTZHAUER 2006; VILLING 2018, pp. 77-80.

20 For the Egyptian impact on the archaic art, see TANNER 2003; BECK *et alii* 2005 (various studies).

21 HAIDER 2004, pp. 447-473, with further references.

spread to Syro-Palestine,²² Cyprus,²³ Italy and Etruria,²⁴ Sardinia,²⁵ Carthage²⁶ and even in the Iberian Peninsula²⁷. However, Aegyptiaca from the Aegean constitute one of the greatest assemblages in the Mediterranean²⁸. The earliest finds come from burial contexts in Crete²⁹, Rhodes³⁰ and Euboea³¹. Aegyptiaca of the 10th-8th century BC were circulated mainly by Phoenician, Cypriot or Euboean merchants, since they are always discovered along with a considerable amount of Euboean and Phoenician pottery, while Greek pottery did not reach the Nile Delta before the 7th century.

The greatest amount of Aegyptiaca (Egyptian artefacts as well as Egyptianizing material from both the Levant and the Aegean) however dates to the period from the late 8th to the 6th century BC and consist mainly of genuine Egyptian artifacts and local imitations. Egyptian imports include mainly scarabs, figurines and amulets representing divine entities (e.g., Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, Sekhmet, Nefertum, Isis, etc.), bronze statuettes and beads. A significant category is faience Egyptianizing objects, such as vessels, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and amulets, which were most likely manufactured in one

or more faience workshops established on Rhodes or other sites of East Greece. Von Bissing³² suggested that a faience workshop had been established by Egyptians in Rhodes. Dunbabin³³ argued that the technology was introduced by Phoenicians. This assumption was further supported by Coldstream³⁴ who pointed out that Phoenician craftsmen may have settled in the late 8th century BC at Ialysos. The localization of a workshop is not certain, since no raw materials or manufacture waste has been found. However, the existence of a faience workshop in East Greece, probably on Rhodes, has been partially confirmed by the typological study of V. Webb³⁵, who suggested that the workshop may have been established by non-Greeks, more likely Phoenicians, but East Greeks would have probably contributed to its flourishing. The production lasts roughly from the middle of the 7th until the middle of the 6th century BC. Similar artifacts along with scarabs were produced at the Greek emporium at Naukratis from the early 6th century BC onwards. Their production in the site has been testified, since F.W. Petrie discovered in 1884-1885 the so called 'Scarab factory', an area east of the Aphrodite Temple, which included a high quantity of scarabs alongside raw materials, waste and moulds³⁶. The main phase of the workshop is placed between 600 and 570 BC³⁷.

Aegean Aegyptiaca are primarily concentrated at votive deposits of coastal sanctuaries and to a lesser extent in burial contexts. The highest portion of this material was found on Rhodes, at the sanctuaries of Athena located in the three main city states of Rhodes, Lindos³⁸, Kamiros³⁹ and Ialysos⁴⁰.

22 For Egyptian amulets distributed to Israel and Palestine: HERMANN 1994; HERRMANN 2016. For scarabs see selected studies by KEEL 1995; KEEL 2013.

23 CLERC *et alii* 1976 (Kition); CLERC 1991 (Amathus) pp. 1-57.

24 HÖLBL 1979.

25 HÖLBL 1986.

26 VERCOUTTER 1945.

27 GAMER-WALLERT 1978.

28 The first catalogue of Aegyptiaca from the Bronze and Iron Age Greece was compiled by Pendlebury in 1930. For main studies on Aegyptiaca from the Aegean see: HÖLBL 1978; WEBB 1978; BROWN 1985; SKON-JEDELE 1994; DE SALVIA 1991; HÖLBL 2005; HÖLBL 2006; KOUSOULIS MORENZ 2007; HÖLBL 2008; DE SALVIA 2011; KOUSOULIS 2011; HÖLBL 2014; HÖLBL 2016; APOSTOLA 2015; APOSTOLA 2016; HÖLBL 2016; WEBB 2016; KOUSOULIS 2017; APOSTOLA 2018; APOSTOLA 2019; APOSTOLA AND KOUSOULIS 2019A; BARCAT KOUSOULIS 2019; WEBB 2019. Although scarabs in the Aegean form the most abundant category of Aegyptiaca from the Aegean, a specialized study on scarabs is still missing, see only GORTON 1996; SCHWEIZER 2014; APOSTOLA KOUSOULIS 2019B.

29 The earliest find is a faience finger-ring from the necropolis of Fortetsa, from a tomb dating to c. 970-920 BC, see BROCK 1957, p. 15, no. 106, pl. 173. See also: SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1932-1943 (Vrokastro).

30 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 2337, no. 4313 (Bes amulet from a tomb of Ialysos necropolis dating to the early 9th century BC).

31 For a general review of early Aegyptiaca from the Aegean with further references see: HÖLBL 2005, pp. 114-115. Egyptian and Egyptianizing material from the tombs of Lefkandi date to the late 10th - early 9th century BC, see POPHAM, SACKETT, THEMELIS 1979, pl. 178 (22,28), 218c, 233 d, e; POPHAM, SACKETT, THEMELIS 1980, pp. 176ff., 224; POPHAM, TOULOUPA, SACKETT 1982, pp. 219ff.; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1140-1234. For bronze jugs from Crete and Lefkandi, see CARTER 1998.

32 VON BISSING 1941.

33 DUNBABIN 1957, pp. 39-40.

34 COLDSTREAM 1969, pp. 1-8.

35 WEBB 1978, pp. 9-10.

36 PETRIE 1886, pp. 36-38; GORTON 1996, pp. 91-92, 177-180. For recent treatment of products of the Naukratite faience factory, see also: WEBB 2015a, WEBB 2015b; MASSON 2018.

37 The main phase of the factory was during the reigns of Psamtek II (595-589 BC) and Apries (589-570 BC), since scarabs found there bore only the names of these pharaohs and the Greek pottery belongs almost to the same time. For the dating of the factory, see GORTON 1996, p. 178; WEBB 2016, p. 95; MASSON 2018, p. 5. The decline of the workshop is probably related with reforms of Amasis, see GORTON 1996, p. 178.

38 BLINKENBERG 1931, pp. 333-395, nos. 1207-1559; See also SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 2205-2334, nos. 3452-4307.

39 JACOPI 1932, *passim*; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1987-2204, nos. 3003-3451; HÖLBL 2016; The Egyptianizing material has been studied by WEBB 1978, *passim*.

40 MARTELLI 1988, pp. 104-120; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 2355-2644, nos. 4355-4867.

A smaller amount derives from the cemeteries of Kamiros⁴¹ and Ialysos⁴², as well as from Vroulia⁴³.

The most abundant assemblage from a single site in the Aegean derives from the Heraion of Samos⁴⁴. Significant amount of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material has been also found in Crete (Knossos⁴⁵, Eleutherna⁴⁶, Inatos⁴⁷, Amnisos⁴⁸, Idaean Cave⁴⁹, Kommos⁵⁰), the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, mainly from the sanctuary of Artemis in Ephesus⁵¹ and the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletus⁵². The total number of Aegyptiaca from the Cyclades is clearly smaller and mainly derives from the sanctuaries or burial contexts in Paros⁵³, Thera⁵⁴, Delos⁵⁵ and Naxos⁵⁶.

In mainland Greece an important group has been discovered in the sanctuary of Apollo in Eretria, in a place of worship dedicated to Artemis, and dates to the middle of the 8th century BC⁵⁷. A significant amount of Aegyptiaca comes from the sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon at Sounion⁵⁸. However, most Aegyptiaca, with the highest percentage of scarabs among them, have been found at the sanctuary of Hera Akraia Limenia at Perachora⁵⁹.

41 JACOPI 1931, *passim*.

42 JACOPI 1929, *passim*.

43 KINCH 1914, *passim*. Since the Late Bronze Age Rhodes played a significant role in the commercial and cultural relations, due to its 'strategic' geographical position in the sea routes of the eastern Mediterranean. From the eighth century BC onwards, the local sanctuaries grew into significant centers of this interaction as the imported artifacts from Egypt, Syro-Palestine, Assyria, and other areas of Near East indicate, KOUROU 2014, pp. 83-87.

44 KYRIELEIS 1995; VIGLAKI-SOFIANOU 2012. Aegyptiaca form part of a rich set of "exotic" votives deriving from different areas of the Eastern Mediterranean: JANTZEN 1972, pp. 5-37, pls. 1-36; BROWN 1985, pp. 72-102; BIANCHI 1990; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1402-1630, nos. 1687-2720; EBBINGHAUS 2006; WEBB 2016.

45 WEBB 1996.

46 STAMPOLIDIS, KOTSONAS 2006, pp. 337-360.

47 KANTA-KONTOPODI 2011; WILKINSON 2011.

48 STÜRMER 1992, pp. 231-233.

49 SAKELLARAKIS AND SAKELLARAKI 2013, pp. 157-167, pls. 91-94.

50 SHAW SHAW 2000, pp. 189 (figurines), 347-348 (beads), 351 (scarabs), 397-398 (faience vessels).

51 HÖLBL 1978; HÖLBL 2008.

52 HÖLBL 1999; HÖLBL 2014.

53 RUBENSOHN 1962, pp. 5-37, 73-79; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1364-1401, nos. 1647-1686.

54 HÖLBL 2006.

55 SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1072-1082, nos. 1469-1494, with further references.

56 SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 1354-1363, nos. 1642-1646, with further references.

57 HUBER 2003, I, pp. 88-90 (O 161-181), 96-100 (O 202-227), II, pp. 57-60, 63-66.

58 THEODOROPOULOU – POLYCHRONIADIS 2015, pp. 74-88, pp. 273-280.

59 JAMES 1962.

The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia-Limenia at Perachora: An overview

The Perachora peninsula, an area located next to the lagoon of Vouliagmeni (ancient Eschatiotis or Gorgopis), also known as Agrelis, extends to the north side of Lechaion, opposite ancient Corinth, west of Loutraki and north of the Isthmus canal, as part of the Geraneia mountain range, which separates it from the rest of Central Greece⁶⁰. The earliest use of the site dates to the 3rd millennium, as remains of building and burials of proto-Helladic period are located on the banks of Vouliagmeni and below the Geometric Temple of Hera⁶¹. Middle Helladic tombs and Mycenaean pottery testify to the continuation of habitation on the peninsula during the 2nd millennium BC⁶².

The sanctuary of Hera, one of the most important sacred places of antiquity, is founded at the western end of the Perachora peninsula by the Megarians, probably as early as the end of the 9th century BC, when they were in fierce rivalry with the Corinthians⁶³. At the end of the 8th century BC the Corinthians invade the western part of the territory of Megara, including Perachora, so the Heraion falls under their control⁶⁴. The flourishing time for the sanctuary coincides with the economic prosperity of Corinth and its leading role in the West until its destruction by the Romans in 146 BC⁶⁵.

The monuments in Perachora extend on three stepped levels that communicated with each other with stairwells (fig. 1). In the area around the port are the main religious buildings, the Temple of Hera, the elongated Altar, as well as some outbuildings. The Geometric Temple, from which only a part of the north wall survives, was a single-room apsidal building (8 x 5 m) with a high-picked roof and resembled the clay house-temple models dedicated during the late Geometric and Archaic period in the sanctuaries of Hera at Argos, Samos and Perachora⁶⁶. The construction of the temple dates to the first half of the 8th century, but it is destruct-

60 MAROUKIAN *et alii* 2005, pp. 177-193; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 3.

61 FOSSEY 1969, pp. 53-69. HATZIPOULIOU-KALLIRI 1983, pp. 369-375; STIROS 1995, pp. 17-21.

62 DUNBABIN 1948, pp. 59-69; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 3.

63 MORGAN 2002, pp. 105-142.

64 MENADIER 2002, pp. 85-91.

65 PLIATSIKA 2013, pp. 4-5.

66 PAYNE 1940, pp. 110-113; TOMLINSON 1976, p. 112.

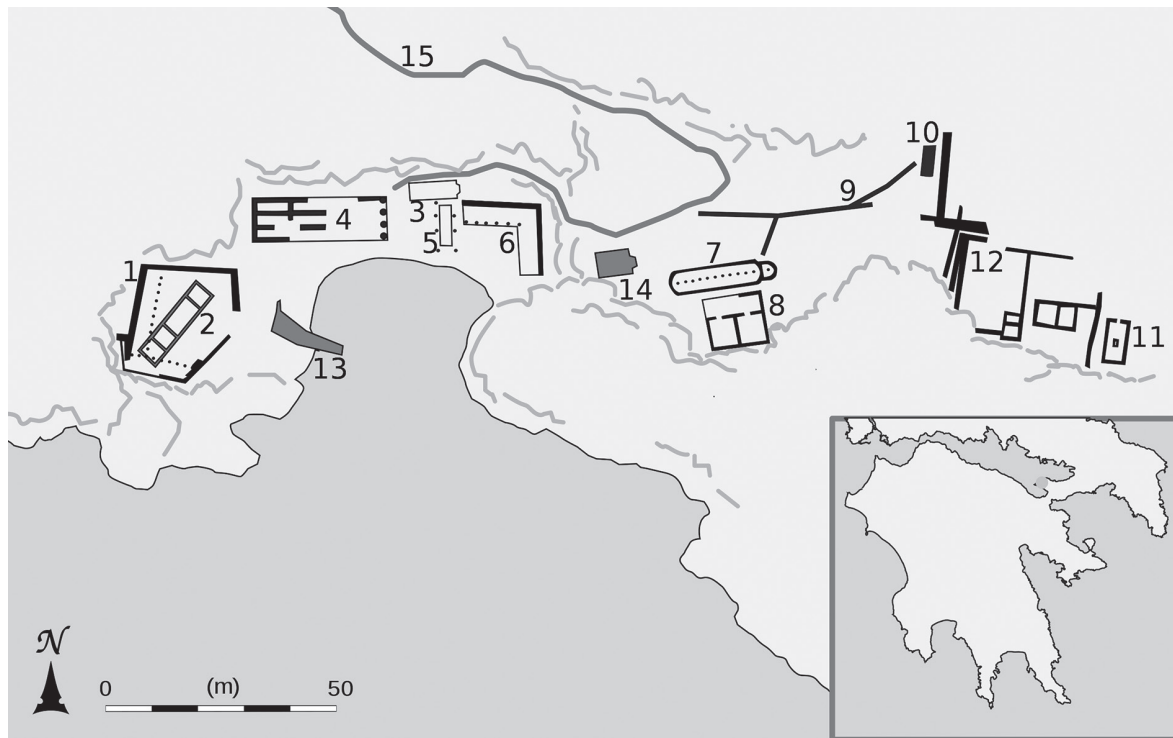


Fig. 1 - The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia-Limenia at Perachora: 1. West Court, 2. Roman house, 3. Geometric Temple, 4. Archaic Temple, 5. Altar, 6. L-shaped stoa, 7. Apsidal cistern, 8. Dining rooms, 9. Water channels, 10. Sacred pool, 11. Hearth Building, 12. Walls, 13. Modern jetty, 14. Modern chapel, 15. Modern footpath. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heraion_of_Perachora_map.svg

ed in the third quarter of the 8th century BC⁶⁷. The sealing of the geometric deposit is almost contemporary with the destruction of the temple. A second temple building may have been constructed in the late 8th century, succeeding the Geometric Temple, but no foundations were ever discovered⁶⁸. In the late 6th century, a new temple was erected embellished with the archaic altar being founded on the site of the old Geometric temple, which apparently retains its memory as a sacred building⁶⁹. East of the altar was a two-storied Stoa with an L-shaped plan, with a bench for rest, parallel to the base of the west, south and southwest wall⁷⁰. At the southwest end of this area there is the West Court, a large irregu-

lar pentagonal building, identified with the Agora, which is considered to serve the functional needs of the sanctuary and its visitors⁷¹.

After the destruction of the Geometric Temple the sanctuary was extended to two upper precincts situated on a hill 200 m to the east of the harbor. On the middle level lies the apsidal cistern, an underground reservoir, which was constructed in the late 6th century BC, intended for the collection of water as well as parts of the water supply network⁷². South of the cistern was a double “dining room”, most likely serving cult purposes⁷³, while at the eastern end of the middle level there was the so called “sacred pool”, an open artificial cavity created around the middle of the 8th century BC⁷⁴. More than two hundred bronze bowls (*phialai*) were found inside the so-called “sacred pool”, along with pottery, clay and

67 MAZARAKIS-AINIAN 1997, p. 319.

68 PAYNE 1940, pp. 82-83. Only Salmon believes that this temple actually existed, see SALMON 1972, p. 164.

69 PAYNE 1940, pp. 78-91; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 5.

70 Its construction is attributed to Demetrius I Poliorcetes, who conquered Corinth at the end of the 4th century, and may be associated with the destruction of the West Court by Agesilaus in 390 BC, see COULTON 1964, pp. 100-131.

71 COULTON 1967, pp. 353-371; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 7.

72 TOMLINSON 1986, pp. 167-171; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 6.

73 TOMLINSON 1990, pp. 95-101.

74 TOMLINSON 1986, pp. 167-171; PLIATSIKA 2013, p. 6.

bronze figurines, small ivory objects, pebbles, gravel and parts of a brick wall⁷⁵.

The upper terrace included a rectangular *temenos* surrounded by a stone wall. In the southeastern corner of the *temenos* was the Hearth Building, a rectangular, one-room, *megaron* type building with a hearth in its interior. This building is of great importance, since the greatest majority of Aegyptiaca derive from the votive deposits surrounding it. It is oriented to the north-south axis, with entrances possibly located on its west and north side⁷⁶. Payne originally interpreted the building as the Temple of Hera Limenia, due to relevant inscriptions found nearby, taking the hearth as an altar⁷⁷. Until recently, the research considered that here was the transitional worship center of Hera Limenia, after the collapse of the Geometric Temple of Hera Akraia and before the erection of the corresponding archaic one in the port, two separate cult centers existed at Perachora, where the goddess was worshipped, as Akraia and as Limenia⁷⁸. Salmon⁷⁹ argued that the building was used as a storeroom for votive offerings. More recently Richard Tomlinson⁸⁰ more convincingly suggested that the building functioned as a dining room, for the performance of symposia and ritual events that may have taken place. Later research confirms that the sanctuary was always a unity with its cult core on the coastal level. The principal name of Hera in Perachora was always "Akraia", as a deity of the rocky cape. The adjective "Limenia" was a secondary invocation of the goddess, originating either from the topographical position of her temple next to the natural port, or

from her capacity as protector of the ports and consequently of the sailors⁸¹.

Aegyptiaca from the sanctuary of Hera Akraia-Limenia at Perachora

The documentation of Aegyptiaca from the site started by Pendlebury⁸² who managed to publish only three scarabs found in the Geometric Temple of Hera Akraia at the harbor and a mirror bronze found in the upper precinct before his death. The majority of Aegyptiaca was published later by James in the second volume of the excavation report⁸³. The assemblage is very large, consisting of 921 pieces. The main categories are: scarabs, scaraboids and seals, amulets and figurines, beads, vases, spindle whorls, one mirror and one bracelet, but more than 80% consist of scarabs (fig. 2)⁸⁴.

The dating of Aegyptiaca remains quite problematic, since their correlation with the pottery is not clear. As the stratigraphy was quite disturbed by rain water and other factors, but mainly by posterior building construction, find spots of individual vases were not designated by the excavators⁸⁵. Pottery types were only generally as Protocorinthian or Corinthian classified without the use of more specific subcategories, which would more precisely designate the dates for Aegyptiaca as well. Moreover, since Dunbabin's dates have been considered too

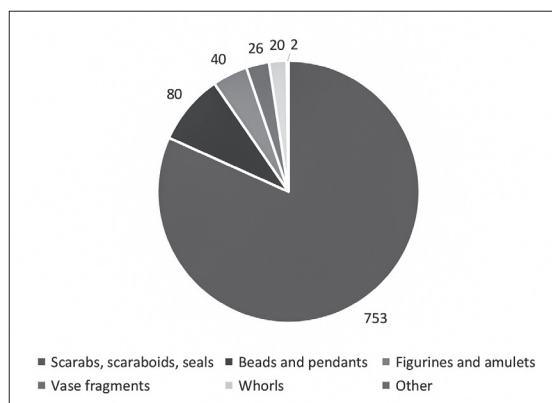


Fig. 2 - Categories of Aegyptiaca from Perachora.

75 TOMLINSON 1988, pp. 167-168. PAYNE 1940, p. 121, argues that the bronze bowls were rejected votives, while TOMLINSON 1990, pp. 99-100, suggests they were valuable utensils used as "drinking vessels" in *symposia* held in the well-known Hearth Building and the double dining room. Later, Dunbabin correlated the "*phialai*" with the possible function of Hera as an oracle, see DUNBABIN 1951, pp. 61-71. However, this theory is not accepted by modern research, see TOMLINSON 1988, pp. 167-171. The whole area was cleaned around 450 BC, when a new building program of the highest terrace started, so it is very likely that the "sacred pool" was filled with cult objects and votives that were originally located in more than one cult buildings, including the dining rooms, MENADIER 1996, pp. 121-122.

76 PAYNE 1940, pp. 110-116; PLATSIKA 2013, pp. 10-11.

77 PAYNE 1940, p. 112.

78 DUNBABIN 1951, pp. 61-71.

79 SALMON 1972, pp. 157-204.

80 The finding in roasting skewers of meat and iron sickles with which the sacrificial animals were slaughtered, also enhances this theory, see TOMLINSON 1977, pp. 197-202.

81 SALMON 1972, pp. 157-204.

82 PAYNE 1940.

83 JAMES 1962.

84 The chart is based on categories mentioned in SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 271.

85 SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 273-274.

high, most scholars follow today the revised dates introduced by Amyx for the Corinthian pottery⁸⁶. The data presented here are based on the discussion by James⁸⁷ and follow the division of finds in 11 deposit groups proposed later by Skon-Jedele⁸⁸. Less than half of Aegyptiaca (approximately 400 pieces) were found in deposits with datable pottery. The earliest evidence has been found on the upper precinct of the sanctuary, very close against the outer wall of the eastern wall of the so called "Hearth Building" (the main areas with Aegyptiaca on the site are marked in fig. 1). The earliest deposit is the so-called Egyptian Pit, owing its name to its depth (c. 1.65-1.39 m below surface) and dated to c. 735-670 BC⁸⁹. The second deposit group is designated as discovered again east of the temple (c. 1.52 m below the surface) and dating to c. 700-630 BC. Deposit Groups 3, 4, 5 were found along with Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery in the east of the Hearth Building (from c. 1.52 to 1.27 m below the surface), thus date to c. 700-590 BC. The deposit Group 6 is in a Protocorinthian *stratum* northeast of the Hearth Building and is dated to c. 700-630 BC. The deposit Group 7 was recovered in the lowest level of the northern part of a fifth century retaining wall, which was constructed west of the building, while the Group 8 is also found in the northwestern area along with Procorinthian and Corinthian pottery. They are dated to c. 700-630 and c. 700-590 BC respectively. The deposit Group 9 is not precisely located but only mentioned to be found in a Protocorinthian *stratum*, while the group 10 is generally referred as belonging to the Protocorinthian deposit of 1932. Both are dated to c. 700-630 BC. The same date is assigned to group 11, which is mentioned to have been recovered in the temple repositories. Individual finds, mostly scarabs, were mainly found in the cistern, below boulders of the "sacred pool", in the Stoa, the Hellenistic Houses, the Geometric Temple, the altar of the Archaic Temple of Hera Akraia and in the West Court. Most of the scattered finds can be dated to c.

700-590 BC. The majority of Aegyptiaca from the site derives from unstratified contexts. However, James⁹⁰ believes that many of them can be associated to the Protocorinthian contexts situated east and west of the Hearth Building which were discussed above. From the distribution scheme it can be assumed that more than 80% of Aegyptiaca is associated with contexts dated to c. 700-630 BC⁹¹ and may have reached the site within a very limited time span after their manufacture⁹².

Scarabs, Scaraboids and seals and their multiple significance

In Egypt scarabs were among the most popular amulets. Their use for the protection of the living and the dead begins in end of the Old Kingdom and continues until the Ptolemaic Period⁹³. They were made of various materials (steatite, faience, limestone, quartz, serpentine, hard stones, faience, Egyptian blue, etc.)⁹⁴. Their popularity is due to the strong symbolism of the scarab as an animal. The Egyptians worshiped different species of scarabs, but the most common was *Scarabaeus sacer*. The beetle collects its dung into a ball, rolls the ball and hides it in an underground location, and uses it as a breeding place for its eggs⁹⁵. The observation of the behavior and special power of the animal led from an early age to its association with rising sun, Khepri, who carries the solar disk in the sky every day, after passing through the dark world of the dead⁹⁶. Thus, scarab functions as a hieroglyphic sign for the verb *xpr*, "to come into being," and the rising sun is often depicted as a deity with a scarab head⁹⁷. Scarab amulets initially accompanied the dead, but they gradually evolved into stable amulets for the living⁹⁸. Scarabs are often hung along with other beads

86 AMYX 1988, p. 428.

87 JAMES 1962, pp. 464-466;

88 SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 277-280.

89 For the depth and the exact location of the deposits see JAMES 1962, pp. 464-466 (mentioned in inches). For the dates, see SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 277-280, pp. 394-407.

90 JAMES 1962, p. 464.

91 For the distribution scheme, see SKON-JEDEL 1994, p. 407.

92 Salmon notes that Aegyptiaca could have been imported to the site by a very few cargoes, SALMON 1984, p. 146. However, as we will show below, most of them could be even locally made.

93 The earliest scarab amulets are dated to the 6th Dynasty. For typology and multiple significance of Egyptian scarabs, see NEWBERRY 1908; HALL 1913; PETRIE 1917; PETRIE 1925; MARTIN 1971; HORNING, STAHELIN 1976; ANDREWS 1994, pp. 50-59; COONEY 2008.

94 HORNING, STAHELIN 1976, pp. 22-25; COONEY 2008, p. 4.

95 NEWBERRY 1908, p. 63; HALL 1913, pp. XIII-XIV; COONEY, p. 1.

96 ANDREWS 1994, pp. 50-51; COONEY 2008, p. 1.

97 COONEY 2008, p. 1.

98 PETRIE 1917, pp. 3ff.; ANDREWS 1994, p. 51.

and amulets to form necklaces or are attached to rings⁹⁹.

Plutarch¹⁰⁰ mentions that scarabs were worn by Egyptian warriors in the battle. According to Pliny¹⁰¹ a green *scarabaeus* (probably *Cetonia aurata*, L.) was used to improve the sight of those gazing upon it. The writer mentions also that the horns of a *scarabaeus* could be hung around the necks of the infants to restrain urine¹⁰² and that an amulet consisting of a *scarabaeus* (probably *Scarabaeus sacer*, L.) could be used for the treatment of quartan fevers¹⁰³.

Due to its properties, the scarab as an amulet can magically ensure the rebirth for its owner, while its magical effect is enhanced by various images inscribed on its underside, such as divine beings and good wish formulae, ruler's names and figures, non-royal names and titles, geometric and floral motifs, as well as images of foreign inspiration¹⁰⁴. From the New Kingdom onwards representations and names of deities and other divine beings as well as royal names and figures are more commonly depicted on the underside of the scarab¹⁰⁵.

In the Late Period, scarabs often bear names of glorious pharaohs of the New Kingdom, such as of Thutmose III (*mn-xpr-ra*) and function as talismans, although many of them can be read cryptographically as the name of Amun-Ra or represent names adopted by contemporary local rulers¹⁰⁶. Scarabs could also be used as administrative sealing tools by the state and the officials, as markers of social status and means of political propaganda and as protective and apotropaic amulets, expressing personal piety¹⁰⁷. Their interpretation is highly dependent on their production, distribution, iconography, perception and archaeological context; thus, their function and meaning are usually inclusive and multifaceted.

99 NEWBERRY 1908, p. 62; ANDREWS 1994, p. 52.

100 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 355a.

101 Plinius, *Natural History*, 29, 38.

102 Plinius, *Natural History*, 9, 34.

103 Plinius, *Natural History*, 30, 30.

104 ANDREWS 1994, pp. 50-51; COONEY 2008, p. 5.

105 NEWBERRY 1908, pp. 77-78.

106 For example, the name Menkara (*mn-kA-ra*), which is often inscribed on scarabs of the Third Intermediate and Late periods, belongs to a local ruler of the 25th Dynasty, see PETRIE 1917, pp. 31-33; GORTON 1996, p. 23; For the cryptographic renderings of Amun Ra, see DRIOTON 1957; Trigrams of Amun will be thoroughly discussed below.

107 MARTIN 1971; COONEY 2008, p. 6, with further references.

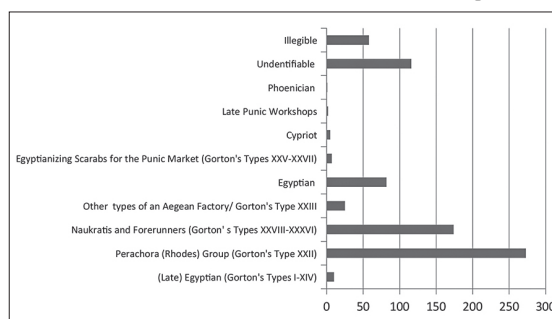


Fig. 3 - Scarab Types at Perachora-Preliminary Chart.

Scarabs, scaraboids and seals from Perachora

As noted above, the proportion of scarabs to other types of objects at Perachora is much higher than in any other place in the Aegean, covering almost 80% of the material. James includes 750 scarabs from the sanctuary of Hera Limenia and 3 scarabs from the contexts of Hera Akraia in his catalogue. Most of them though have close parallels in other sites of the Aegean, as we will show below. Types belonging to Gorton's Group 4 (XXII-XXIII), known in the bibliography as "Perachora-Lindos" or "Perachora-Rhodes", which is related to a "local" factory, and scarabs of Gorton's Group 6 (XXVIII-XXXVI), which is linked to the Naukratite and forerunning workshops in the Delta, predominate in the assemblage (fig. 3)¹⁰⁸.

A. Classical Egyptian scarabs

Genuine Egyptian scarabs were manufactured both of steatite and faience, whereas during the 25th and 26th Dynasty faience scarabs seem to have been more common than the steatite ones. It is noteworthy that the limited steatite scarabs found in Perachora could have been genuine Egyptian imports, although James, who also examined the originals, was not certain about it¹⁰⁹. Nine scarabs and two seals of this material were discovered at

108 Many of scarabs in James's catalogue were not seen in 1958 by the scholar and were known only from previous descriptions by Pendlebury. The classification presented below is based on scarabs which have been examined by the authors in the Museum Collection and have published parallels, especially in Gorton typology. Scarab labeled as unidentifiable cannot be ascribed to a specific type, either because they are too eroded or they were not found even by the recent survey in the Museum and are known only from descriptions

109 JAMES 1962, p. 461.

Perachora¹¹⁰. Some scarabs are also mounted in silver, which might indicate that they were considered more valuable owing to their origin rather than their material¹¹¹.

A few scarabs from the site correspond to Gorton's Group 1, which includes classical Egyptian types¹¹². Two scarabs of green glaze coarse composition are inscribed with a stylized flora pattern consisting of radiating volutes (fig. 4)¹¹³. The elytra are divided with one or even three lines, the wide prothorax is outlined with a single line and the legs are deeply carved. The floral motif has been interpreted as a symbol of sacred knots. It is not clear whether scarabs of this type were manufactured during the Middle Kingdom and used as talismanic objects, or they were produced in a later workshop imitating earlier models. These scarabs belong to Gorton's type I, which is widely distributed to Syria, Cyprus, Etruria, Sardinia, Sicily and Carthage during the 8th and 7th centuries¹¹⁴. In the Aegean close parallels derive from Sparta¹¹⁵, Lindos¹¹⁶ and Kamiros¹¹⁷.

One of the most impressive examples of the assemblage is a large and very well-formed steatite scarab (fig. 5a)¹¹⁸, found east of the Hearth Building, along with Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery (c. 700-590 BC). The elytra on the back are divided with three lines and the prothorax is separated from the elytra with a double line. Triangular notches show clearly the humeral callosities. The legs are very deeply carved with striations on the upper part. The underside bears a twisted cord motif consisting of a cross with uraeus in each quadrant. The body of the uraei is incised with horizontal hatched lines. Based mostly on the motif of the underside, the scarab seems to belong to Gorton's Type II, in-

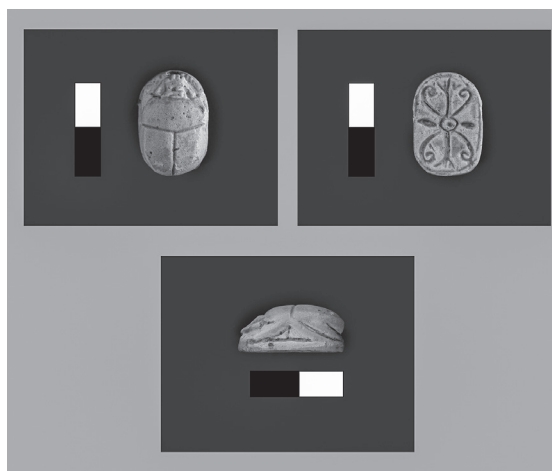


Fig. 4 - Egyptian Scarab from Perachora (JAMES 1962, no. D 440, 24x16x11mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

cluding examples incised in the center with a circle or a line, which divides the field in quadrants, with figures on the one half are reproduced on the other¹¹⁹. Scarabs of this type were produced in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom until the Late Period¹²⁰ and during the first millennium BC were widely distributed in Israel/Palestine, Cyprus and Sardinia¹²¹. In the Aegean similar scarabs have only been found at Lindos¹²².

Other scarabs from the site can be ascribed to Gorton's type VI¹²³. This type includes pieces made both of steatite and faience, with a single or double line dividing the prothorax from the elytra on the back, humeral callosities often indicated by notched lines and legs deeply carved¹²⁴. The underside is usually carved with the *cartouche mn-xpr-ra* flanked by two uraei, falcons or crowns, or accompanied by royal and divine figures. Scarabs of this type are common during the 18th Dynasty; thus, they could have been manufactured during this period and later used as talismanic objects during the Late Period. However, they could also have been manufactured in a later Egyptian

110 JAMES 1962, pp. 478, 484, 492, 498, 507, nos. D 4, 7, 135, 285, 288, 435, 455, 624, 626, 638, 639, figs. 33, 37, pl. 192-193; SKON-JEDEL 1994, p. 316.

111 JAMES 1962, pp. 478, 498, 507, nos. D 4, 455, 626, pls. 192-193; SKON-JEDEL 1994, p. 317.

112 GORTON 1996, pp. 9-22 (types I-VII).

113 JAMES 1962, p. 498, nos. D 440-441, fig. 35.

114 For the type and its distribution in the Mediterranean: GORTON 1996, pp. 9-10; Parallels from Egypt: PETRIE 1925, pl. 8, 262-265; HORNUNG, STAHELIN 1976, p. 353, no. 835; Parallels from Etruria: HÖBL 1979, p. 94, no. 444, pl. 70, 3; Parallels from Israel/Palestine: KEEL 2013, pp. 8, 26, nos. 16, 68 (Tel Gamma).

115 The earliest examples are found with Geometric pottery at Sparta, see PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 109, no. 298.

116 BLINKENBERG 1931, no. 1476.

117 WALTERS 1926, 64.10-7.904.

118 JAMES 1962, p. 497, no. D 435, pl. 192.

119 GORTON 1996, pp. 10-12.

120 PETRIE 1885, pl. 41, no. 66.

121 For its distribution in the Mediterranean see: GORTON 1996, p. 11.

122 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1472-1473, 1479.

123 JAMES 1962, nos. D 2, 4, 7, 8, fig. 30, pl. 192.

124 GORTON 1996, pp. 18-20.



Fig. 5 - a. Egyptian Scarab from Perachora (James 1962, no. D 435: 36x16x14mm). b. Egyptian Scarab (James 1962, no. D 7: 16x10x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

workshop following the classical style of the New Kingdom¹²⁵. Menkheperra (*mn-xpr-ra*), the praenomen of the 18th dynasty pharaoh Thutmose III (1481-1425BC) appears on scarabs long after the reign of this mighty king¹²⁶. However, the meaning of this name, 'Stable is the apparition of Ra', acted as a powerful maxim, like Menkara, 'Stable is the *ka* of Ra', would have, as assumed by the coexistence of both names in some works¹²⁷.

The type is widely spread in the Punic world¹²⁸, while parallels from the Aegean come from the Argive Heraion¹²⁹ and Delion at Paros¹³⁰. Noticeable is a steatite scarab from the unstratified contexts of Perachora, which bears a double line dividing the elytra and deeply carved legs. The underside is incised with the *mn-xpr-ra* cartouche accompanied by the red crown (fig. 5b)¹³¹ and has very close parallels in Italy¹³², Motya¹³³, Kition¹³⁴, and Naukratis¹³⁵.

Some other scarabs seem to belong to Gorton's Type VIII, which was imported from Egypt, more likely from Memphis, as indicated by the frequent use of the name of the god Ptah and examples found there¹³⁶. In scarabs of this type the prothorax is usually outlined with a double line. One, two or even three lines can divide the elytra, while V-shaped notched lines indicate the humeral callosities on the upper outer corners of the elytra. The underside bears names of gods, such as Ptah, Khonsu, Horus, Isis, Thot, Amun-Ra, or even royal names, such as Psamtek I and Sebekhotep IV. The assemblage from Perachora includes examples inscribed with the names of Khonsu¹³⁷, Ptah¹³⁸ and Mut¹³⁹ (fig. 6a). The earliest examples derive from the Egyptian Pit¹⁴⁰. The type is scattered in Italy/Etruria and the Punic sites¹⁴¹. In Greece, except for Perachora, the type is found in 8th century and 7th c. BC contexts from Lindos¹⁴², Sounion¹⁴³ and Thera¹⁴⁴.

125 GORTON 1996, p. 9.

126 For these scarabs see JAEGER 1982.

127 MASSON 2018, pp. 22-23.

128 For its distribution and further references: GORTON 1996, pp. 19-20.

129 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 59, no. 113.

130 RUBENSOHN 1962, p. 73, no. 1, pl. 11d.

131 JAMES 1962, p. 478, no. D 7.

132 HÖLBL 1979, p. 9, pl. 67/2, no. 28.

133 GORTON 1996, p. 19, no. 14.

134 KARAGEORGHIS, LAGARCE, LECLANT 1976, p. 52, no. 53.

135 MASSON 2018, p. 37, fig. 99.

136 For the type see GORTON 1996, pp. 23-27. For examples from Memphis see PETRIE 1909, pl. 34, no. 64.

137 JAMES 1962, pp. 484-486, nos. D pp. 137-140, pp. 161-162, p. 398, fig. 31.

138 JAMES 1962, p. 485, nos. D 142-145, fig. 31, pl. 192.

139 JAMES 1962, p. 495, no. D 141, fig. 31.

140 JAMES 1962, no. D 142 (Ptah).

141 For its distribution and parallels: GORTON 1996, pp. 23-26.

142 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1374, 1394, 1397-98, 1440.

143 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 89, no. 220, pl. 4.

144 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 108, no. 295.

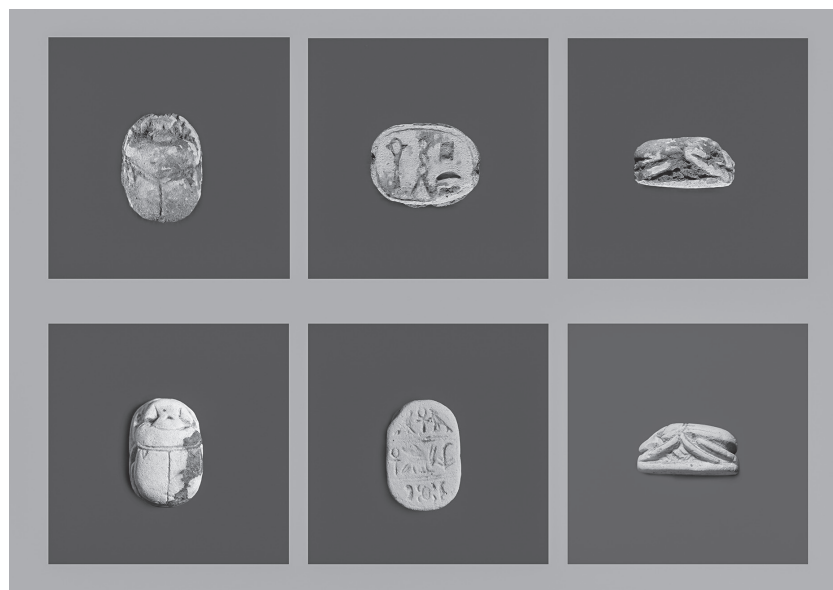


Fig. 6 - a. Egyptian scarab (James 1962, no. D 142: 15x11x7mm).
b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 83: 16x11x8mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

Two almost identical scarabs correspond to Gorton's Type XI, including scarabs of the Late Egyptian style with a register formation of the underside (fig. 6b)¹⁴⁵. The back of the scarabs has a double line separating the prothorax from the elytra and the latter are divided with a single line. The triangular notches representing humeral callosities on each of the elytra are clearly incised. The legs are very deeply carved and formed in detail. The underside is decorated with three registers divided by double lines. The upper register bears an *anx* flanked by two falcons. The middle register is incised with the title *nsw bjtj* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" accompanied by an *anx* and two unidentifiable signs below. The lower register depicts a scarab flanked by two *mAat* feathers. This type of scarabs was most likely manufactured by Egyptians, as the proper use of hieroglyphs and the symmetry of the registers indicate. It was mainly distributed in Italy/Etruria, Carthage, Sardinia and Ischia¹⁴⁶. In the Aegean similar examples were found at the Argive Heraeum¹⁴⁷ and at Lindos¹⁴⁸.

B. The "Perachora-Rhodes" type scarabs and their manufacture

Typology

The most abundant type of scarabs at the site is known in the bibliography as "Perachora-Lindos", "Perachora-Rhodes" group or as type XXII in Andree Gorton's typology of Egyptianizing scarabs¹⁴⁹. Most of these scarabs depict debased names, good-wish formulae or distorted combinations of hieroglyphic signs. The earliest deposit in which scarabs of this type were found is the so-called Egyptian pit, which is dated to c. 735-670 BC and situated in the area east of the "Hearth Building". Later deposits are mainly situated in the east, northeast and northwest of the "Hearth Building" and are dated to c. 700-590 BC. It is noticeable that more than 70% of the material derives from deposit groups closed by c. 630 BC. The high date to produce this type is confirmed by similar finds from Pithekoussai, where scarabs of the Perachora Rhodes type have been found in graves dated to the late 8th century BC¹⁵⁰.

145 JAMES 1962, p. 482, nos. D 83-84, pl. 192; For the type: GORTON 1996, pp. 31-34.

146 For its distribution with further references: GORTON 1996, pp. 32-34.

147 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 59, no. 114.

148 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1382, 1388.

149 For the type see GORTON 1996, pp. 63-72.

150 BOSTICCO 1957, pp. 217-218, nos. 91, 118; HÖLBL 1979, II, pp. 179, 182, 189-191, nos. 753, 759, 776, 779, 781, pls. 99, 107. DE SALVIA 1993, pp. 779, 782, 793, 805-806, nos. 286; 355, 504, 684, 715; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 286-287, 1257-1340.

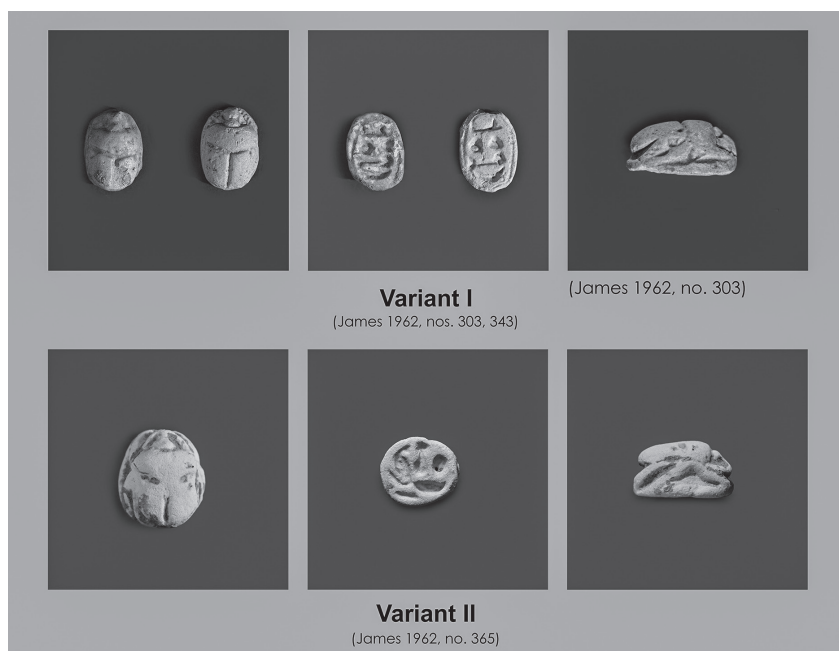


Fig. 7 - Variants of the Perachora-Rhodes Group (Gorton's type XXII). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

Scarabs of this type are mainly found at Perachora, Argos, Paros, Rhodes, but also in Ephesus, Miletus, Italy and Etruria, Punic Sites and Cyprus. It has been stated that this type may have been manufactured on Rhodes, from the latter half of the 8th century BC to the first half of the seventh century BC. However, this theory, which has been only based on suggestions, requires reconsideration, since the largest and more representative group of this type derives from the sanctuary of Hera Akraia Limenia at Perachora¹⁵¹.

Regarding the material, scarabs of this type are made of faience of fine composition, covered with a green blue or even dark brown glaze, which is rarely preserved. Regarding the shape, two main variants have been recognized so far by the ongoing typological reconsideration of the originals (fig. 7). The first variant includes scarabs with head of semicircular or trapezoidal shape, sometimes flanked by trapezoidal side plates (average dimensions: 14x10x6mm, 15x11x7mm). The *clypeus* is usually not serrated. The prothorax is outlined with a semicircular or angular single line and the elytral suture is indicated by a single straight line. In most cases, V-shaped nicks for the humeral callosities are visible at the upper outer corners of the elytra. The

legs are not very deeply carved. The second variant seems bulkier and taller due to the slightly different average dimensions (16x11x8mm, 15x12x8mm). The head has semicircular shape and is flanked by side plates of trapezoidal shape. All the lines of the back are single, wide and deeply carved. This scarab has usually V-shaped nicks for the humeral callosities and the legs at side are not deeply carved.

Gorton argues that scarabs of XXII type are deeply carved, or possibly cast and their low quality is most likely due to the overuse of moulds¹⁵². These scarabs would have most likely been manufactured in clay moulds, but no raw material of their manufacture has been found. However, coherence in material and the typology indicate that all belong to one workshop. It is noteworthy that all the scarabs bear an extremely limited repertoire of signs, usually within an incised border, many of which are usually debased, such as the *nb*-basket, the *mAat* feather, the sun disk, the phonetic *x*, the *nfr* sign, the *anx*, the sign *sA*, etc., while more than half of the scarabs are incorporated in series of very similar pieces concerning the shapes but mostly decoration, which could be considered as workshop runs. The study of the underside of these scarabs indicates that there are several subgroups. Skon-Jedele recog-

151 For a thorough discussion of this problem see the chapter below.

152 GORTON 1996, p. 63.

nized two main subgroups termed Hallmark A and B and variants, stressing out that these constitute 60% of the Perachora-Rhodes type. Both groups are inspired from Egyptian prototypes. Hallmark A Group incorporates scarabs incised with a garbled rendering of *nb-mAat-ra* (which is interpreted as the praenomen of Amenhotep or more likely as the protective formula “Ra is the lord of Maat”)¹⁵³ and its variants, while Hallmark B Group includes rudimentary renderings of the good wish formula *xt nbt nfrt* “Every Good Thing”. In many cases, one of the key signs of the core group is replaced with another sign or more signs are added, so that the resulting text is usually untranslatable¹⁵⁴.

Although this classification is useful, it can be considered inadequate, since there are other legends, such as *jmn ra nb*, which cannot be incorporated in this type, or totally garbled texts, which don't seem to be directly inspired from the main two core groups. Thus, in the present paper we will take under consideration, but we won't follow the same classification. The typological reexamination of the originals resulted in the recognition of four main groups:

- a) **Group A** including variants of the name or legend *nb-mAat-ra* (related to former Hallmark A Group).
- b) **Group B** including variants based on the good wish formula *xt nbt nfrt* (related to former Hallmark B Group).
- c) **Group C** including variants of the legend *imn ra nb*. In many cases the legend is confused with a garbled form of the *xt nbt nfrt* formula.
- d) **Group D** including combinations of signs belonging to the same restricted repertoire mentioned above, which result in totally meaningless texts. In this group a series of scarabs incised with a seated Maat figure surrounded by other signs can be detected.

The existence of subgroups is very important, since it indicates that most of the texts inscribed on scarabs are related with each other and are not the result of chance. Skon-Jedele notes that the repeat of the same forms may indicate the presence of Egyptian models at the place of manufacture, which were

copied probably in situ, resulting in types based on varied rendering of limited legends¹⁵⁵.

The **Group A** includes variants of the legend *nb-mAat-ra*, which may correspond to the prenomen of Amenhotep III or to the formula “Ra is the lord of Maat”. Scarabs inscribed with the prenomen of Amenhotep III are common from the 18th Dynasty until the Late Period and the central element of the names was not only written with the seated figure of the goddess Maat, but also with the *mAat* feather, with three signs often in different order¹⁵⁶. The inscription *nb-mAat-ra* in Egypt could also have represented a trigram of Amun, a three-letter acronym, whereby acrophony each sign is given one of the three phonetic values necessary to write the name Amun¹⁵⁷. Trigrams of Amun appeared already since the Old Kingdom and were common on Egyptian scarabs from the Middle Kingdom until the Roman period¹⁵⁸. They reveal the hidden nature of Amun expressed in his name *imn*, ‘the Hidden One’. Drioton¹⁵⁹ recognized different combinations of three signs to write the name Amun. By acrophony, each of these signs was given the three values necessary to write the name Amun – *i*, *m*, and *n* – or two of these three values. However, this use of this method for interpreting a very wide range of sign combinations has been criticized¹⁶⁰. In the case of *nb mAat ra* the sun disk stands for *i* (by acrophony from *im*= “eye's pupil”), the *mAat* feather stands for *m* and the *nb-basket* for *n*¹⁶¹. Thus, some of these inscriptions may derive from contamination of the above formulas represented on Egyptian prototypes. However, it is highly doubtful that Amun trigrams were conceivable outside Egypt.

The proper group includes six scarabs with degenerated writings of *nb-mAat-ra* (fig. 8a), while on one scarab *nb mAat ra* is rendered with the god-

155 SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 309-310.

156 JAEGER 1982, pp. 15-16. For the different ways of writing the prenomen of Amenhotep see HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, pp. 64-65, 261-65, nos. 359, 359, 361, fig. 10, pls. 36, 39.

157 HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, p. 64.

158 For trigrams of Amun, see DRIOTON 1957; HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, pp. 174-178; KEEL 1995, pp. 177-180.

159 For different combinations, including *imn*, *imn ra*, *imn nb* (*i*), etc., see DRIOTON 1957, pp. 11-28. Drioton used this method even for Phoenician, Cypriot and Syro-Palestinian seals, *Ibid.*, p. 33.

160 For the critique see: KEEL 1995, pp. 179-180.

161 For the values of signs see DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13-16. For the reading of *nb-mAat-ra* as a trigram of Amun see HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, pp. 64, 175.

153 For this reading see HORNUNG, STAEHELIN 1976, p. 175.

154 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 308.

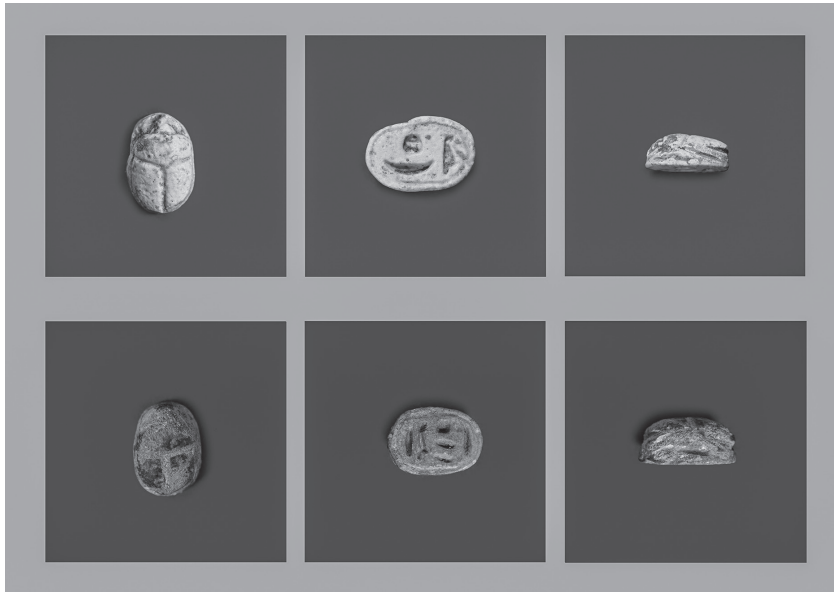


Fig. 8 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D307: 13x8x-5mm). b. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 326: 16x11x-8mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

dess Maat, paralleling the standard Egyptian rendering¹⁶². This iconographic detail along with the differences in shape may indicate that this scarab represents an import and could have been used as a prototype. However, the preservation of this piece prevents from further conclusions. The oldest datable evidence for these scarabs comes from the Protocorinthian Deposit (c.700-630 BC).¹⁶³ One variant of the proper group appears already in the Egyptian Pit (c.735-670 BC) and includes scarabs inscribed with *nb-mAat-ra*, accompanied by *nb* signs in the exergues (fig. 8b)¹⁶⁴ Skon-Jedele reads the combination of signs as *nb-mAat-ra, nb*, “Nebmaatrat, the lord”¹⁶⁵. However, it is doubtful if this combination is translatable, due to the confused placement of signs. Most of the datable variants derive from the Egyptian Pit or the Protocorinthian deposit, indicating that there were made almost simultaneously with the proper group. A further perturbation of the inscription *nb-mAat-ra* is visible in a series of scarabs appearing already in the Egyptian Pit and representing the same signs, but in a different order (from right to left

sun disk/*ra, mAat, nfr* and vertical *nb*-basket in the exergue)¹⁶⁶. A similar variant incorporates scarabs with the signs *nb-mAat-ra*, accompanied by a debased version of *anx*¹⁶⁷. Skon-Jedele translates the inscription as “Nebmaatrat, may he live”¹⁶⁸. However, this combination seems untranslatable, due to the confused placement of signs. Among them is one of the best-preserved scarabs of the assemblage, covered with green blue glaze deriving from the Egyptian Pit, dating to c. 735-670 BC (fig. D 9a)¹⁶⁹. It is noteworthy that all the anatomical parts of the back and the body are very well formed. The prothorax is tall and curve, the triangular head and trapezoidal *clypeus* are very well formed, whereas the legs are deeply carved and even the hind legs are clearly indicated. The signs, although debased, are very clearly carved or more possibly stamped. It might represent a derivative of Egyptian prototypes produced in the early years before the overuse of moulds decrease the

162 JAMES 1962, pp. 490-497, 507, nos. D 261, 268, 307, 399, 415, 627 (Maat figure), figs. 32-35, 37; SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 456-458, 2755, nos. 197-202, fig. 4.

163 JAMES 1962, p. 490, no. D 261, fig. 32.

164 JAMES 1962, pp. 479, 489, 493, nos. D 13 (Egyptian Pit), 215, 218, 240, 311, 326-327, 338-339, 421, figs. 30, 32-33.

165 SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 458-461, 2755, nos. 203-212, fig. 4.

166 JAMES 1962, pp. 488-492, nos. D 188 (from the Egyptian Pit), 217, 279, 320, 337, figs. 32-34. Skon-Jedele translates the inscription as “Nebmaatrat, the Good”, SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 481-483, 2757, nos. 275-279, fig. 6. However, it is doubtful whether this combination is translatable, due to the confused placement of signs.

167 JAMES 1962, pp. 479-481, 486-488, nos. D 24, 31-33, 41-43, 49, 51, 56, 168, 180, 202, figs. 30-33, pl. 192.

168 SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 472-475, 2756-2757, nos. 245-253, figs. 5-6.

169 JAMES 1962, pp. 487, no. D 168, fig. 31.

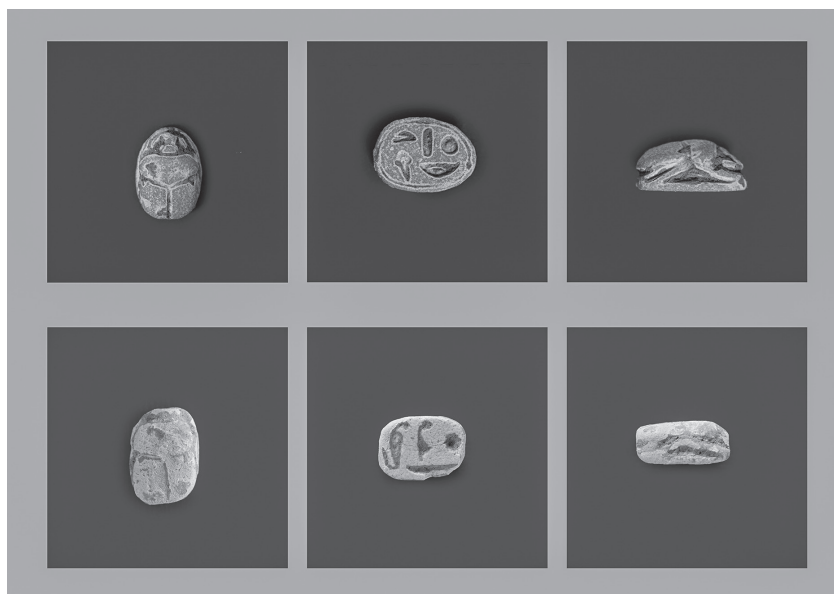


Fig. 9 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 168: 15x11x-7mm). b. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 27: 15x11x-6mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

quality of products. Close parallels come from the Argive Heraeum¹⁷⁰ and Lindos¹⁷¹.

Another variant of the main form is the *nb-mAat-ra*, occasionally debased, accompanied with an uraeus, with two examples deriving from the Protocorinthian deposit¹⁷². Close parallels of this variant come from the Argive Heraeum¹⁷³, Aegina¹⁷⁴, Lindos¹⁷⁵, Paros¹⁷⁶ and Inatos¹⁷⁷. Among the finds from Perachora there is a scarab of different shape, which requires further consideration (fig. 9b)¹⁷⁸. The glaze is not preserved and the interior part of the core, which is visible in some parts, is of fine and porous composition and has a yellow tinge. The morphology of the back looks different from the Perachora-Rhodes group. On the back the prothorax seems to be indicated by a double line, while a single line divides the elytra. The legs are not deeply carved. It is also noticeable that the uraeus depicted on the underside is rendered in detail. It is likely that this piece is an import and was used as a prototype for

the above-mentioned variant, although exact parallels are missing.

Group B incorporates scarabs with variants of the common good wish formula *xt nbt nfrt* ("Every good thing!"), where the sign *xt* is written as a simple disk without the horizontal striations. Scarabs of this group appear in the earliest deposit, the Egyptian pit, as well as in the latest levels (fig. 10a)¹⁷⁹. James¹⁸⁰ interprets the horizontal stroke, which is often used in this group, as meaningless sign, while Skon-Jedele argues that it can represent a book roll as determinative for the word *xt* ('thing')¹⁸¹. The good wish formula and variants was very popular in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods¹⁸². It is likely that among the proper group are a few scarabs, whose morphology and decoration may imply that they were imports (fig. 10b)¹⁸³.

In another series the *nfr* sign is replaced by the *mAat* feather and the resulting text can be rendered as *xt*

170 SKON-JEDELE 1994, no. 1101.

171 BINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1513-1514.

172 JAMES 1962, pp. 479-480, 495, nos. D 17-18 (Protocorinthian deposit), 27-28, 37-39, 44, 46-48, 373, figs. 30, 34, pl. 192. SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 476-480, 2757, nos. 258-271, fig. 6.

173 SKON-JEDELE 1994, no. 1102.

174 SKON-JEDELE 1994, no. 1353, fig. 35.

175 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1508-1511.

176 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 1390, no. 1661, fig. 39.

177 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 1796, no. 2831, fig. 45.

178 JAMES 1962, p. 479, no. D 27, pl. 192.

179 JAMES 1962, pp. 486-496, nos. D 163 (Egyptian Pit), 253, 267, 325 (Protocorinthian deposit), 193, 203, 257, 277, 286, 418, 352 and 401 (reversed), figs. 32-35, pl. 192; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 521-525, 2762, nos. 393-405, fig. 11.

180 JAMES 1962, p. 490, no. D 257, fig. 32.

181 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 521, no. 394.

182 For examples: HORNING-STAEHELING 1976, pp. 301-302, 407, nos. 710-711, Va 15; KEEL 2013, p. 124, no. 4, with further references.

183 See JAMES 1962, pp. 488, 493, nos. 203, 325, figs. 32-33. The scarab no. 203 has a wide and flat body and the *nfr* sign on the underside resembles the shape of the heart along with the windpipe, a notion which must imply that the craftsman knows the sign that really represents.

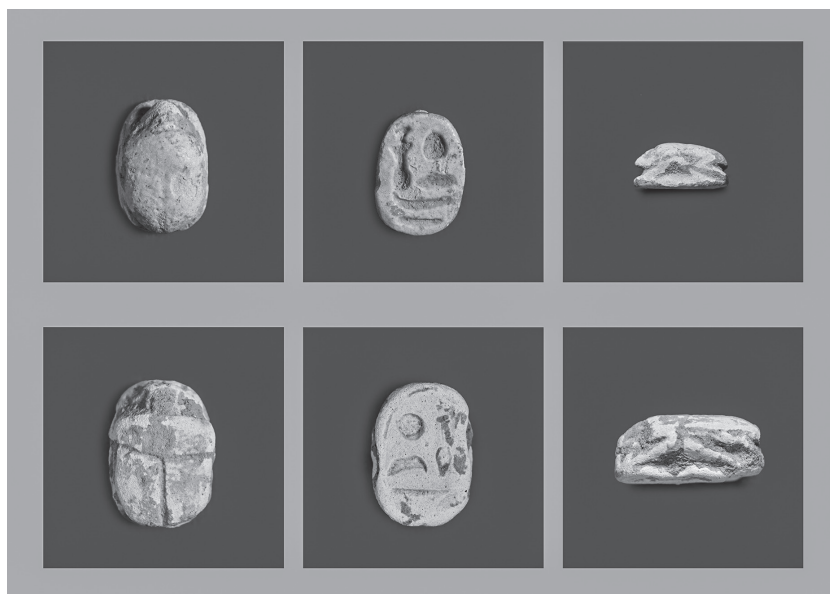


Fig. 10 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 286: 15x10x-8mm). b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 203: 16x13x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

nb mAat, with the signs vertically or horizontally arranged (fig. 11a)¹⁸⁴. This inscription can more likely be translated as “Every true thing”¹⁸⁵. It could also be interpreted as a very debased form of the common formula *imn ra nb* (i), “Amun-Ra is (my) lord”. In this case the mAat represents a debased form of the reed-stalk sign *i* (M 17), the sign *x* can be interpreted as a debased rendering of the sun disk, the sign *t* could have been a very debased rendering of the sign *mn*, while the horizontal stroke, which is present in many examples, might correspond to the complement sign *n*¹⁸⁶. One of the scarabs has different dimensions and morphology of the back comparing to the most scarabs of Perachora-Rhodes Group and the legend on the underside seems to have been cast, since the outline of the signs and the border line are perfectly rendered (fig. 11b). It is likely then that this specimen was imported from

Egypt and used as prototype for the rest pieces of the series. The consistency on the morphology of the back and the rendering of the underside in the above-mentioned series of this group indicate that they most likely form workshop runs.

Group C includes scarabs with variants of the name *jmn* (Amun) or *imn-ra* (Amun-Ra). A common inscription is the text *jmn ra nb*, meaning “Amun Ra, lord”, with the combination of the phonetic *j* (reed-stalk, M17), *mn* (draughtboard, Y5), *nb* (wickerwork basket, V 30), with a horizontal stroke for the phonetic complement *n* occasionally indicated¹⁸⁷. Two of these scarabs are almost identical regarding both the back and the underside, thus they have been made in the same mould and the signs may have been carved by the same hand (fig. 12a)¹⁸⁸. It is noticeable that the same formula is found on Cypriot scarabs from the site discussed below¹⁸⁹. These could have been used as prototypes for this series. Other scarabs and seals of poor-quality bear just the name *imn* rendered with debased signs¹⁹⁰.

184 JAMES 1962, pp. 489-497, nos. D 25, 189, 293-295, 301, 309, 316 (with a horizontal line), nos. D 175, 196, 201, 206, 247, 250, 251, 283, 292, 297, 304, 333, 335, 340, 407 (without horizontal line), nos. D 171, 194, 241, 291, 298, 308, 378, 310 (the signs *x* and *t* are horizontally placed above the horizontal line and the nb-basket or the nb-basket alone), figs. 30-35, pl. 192. James argues that most of these groups are untranslatable, although some can be interpreted as degenerate forms of the name Amenhotep III (nb-mAat-ra) (see nos. D 25, 189) or combinations of *xt nbt* with the mAat feather (see nos. D 171, 194); SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 528-545, nos. 414-429, 445-465, 2762-2764, figs. 11-13.

185 For this translation see SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 528-529, nos. 414; GORTON 1996, p. 64.

186 SKON-JEDELE adopts both translations, see SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 529-536, nos. 414-438.

187 Some were found in the Egyptian Pit and the Protocorinthian Deposit: JAMES 1962, nos. pp. 482-484, D 89 (Egyptian Pit), 98, 107, 114 (Protocorinthian deposit), 115-117, figs. 31, 34; SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 494-497, 2759, nos. 324-325, 327-329, 331-332, fig. 8.

188 JAMES 1962, p. 484, nos. D 107, 114, fig. 31. The scarab no. D 107 has also a horizontal line indicating the phonetic complement *n*.

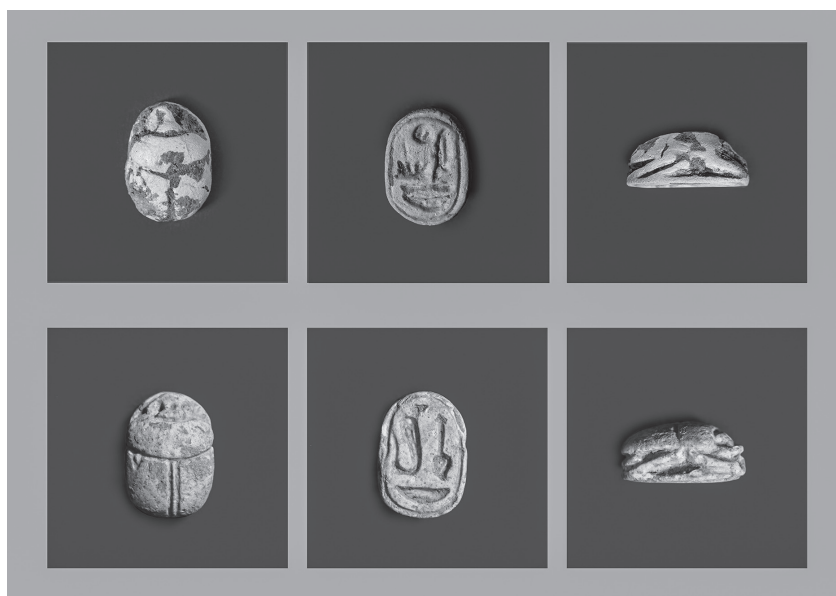
189 JAMES 1962, p. 484, no. D 118, fig. 31.

190 JAMES 1962, p. 484, nos. D 112, 119-120, fig. 31; SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 2759, nos. 295-298, fig. 8.

Fig. 11 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 201: 14x10x6mm). b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 295: 16x12x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).



Fig. 12 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 107: 14x10x6mm). b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 371: 19x14x9mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).



Group D incorporates series of scarabs bearing symbols in different combination, which are usually meaningless, but some of these could have been degenerate forms of Amun's trigrams¹⁹¹. At the sanctuary there are a few scarabs bearing the *nfr* sign along with an uraeus and a *nb*-basket¹⁹². This composition in Egyptian examples is interpreted as

cryptographic rendering of Amun, where the uraeus stands for *i* (from *jart* = "uraeus"), the *nfr* sign stands for *m* (from *mt* = "artery"), and the *nb*-basket for *n*¹⁹³. It is noticeable that two scarabs from the site have different morphology and dimensions comparing to Perachora-Rhodes Group, the body and the parts of the back are rendered in detail, the legs are deeply and well-formed and the signs are

191 JAMES 1962, pp. 486, 489, 493-495, nos. D 176, 192, 245, 360, 361, 367, 369, 374, 376, 383, 385-386, fig. 31-32, 34, pl. 192.

192 JAMES 1962, pp. 493, 495, nos. D 362, 364, 369, fig. 34.

193 DRIOTON 1957, p. 17, no. 7; HORNING, STAEHELIN 1976, p. 290, no. 494, pl. 53.



Fig. 13 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 178: 15x11x7mm). b. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 318: 15x10x6mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

elaborately carved (fig. 12b)¹⁹⁴. This evidence indicates that these may be Egyptian imports and may have inspired local imitations described below.

A long series of scarabs bears a *mAat* feather, an *uraeus* and the *nb*-basket, while in some cases there is also a horizontal line above the *nb*-basket (fig. 13a)¹⁹⁵. In Egypt the combination of the *uraeus*, the *mAat* feather and the *nb*-basket can form a trigram of Amun, where the *uraeus* stands for *j* (from the word *jart* “*uraeus*”), the *mAat* for *m* and the *nb*-basket for *n*¹⁹⁶. Combination of these three signs, although not translated as trigrams, are found on Egyptian scarabs of the 19th-20th Dynasty both in Egypt and in Israel/Palestine¹⁹⁷.

Another series include scarabs inscribed with the sign *nfr* often flanked by two *mAat* feathers or with *mAat* feather and an *uraeus*, occasionally with vertical *nb*-baskets in the exergues (fig. 13b, 14a)¹⁹⁸. Closely related but more debased are scarabs including the same group of hieroglyphs,

but in different arrangements¹⁹⁹. These compositions can be inspired from inscriptions including the signs *nfr* (“good”, “beauty”), *mAat* (“truth”), *anx* (“life”), which is also often depicted on Egyptian examples²⁰⁰. It is noteworthy that scarabs and scaraboids, which are most likely imports and bear the above-mentioned inscriptions, have been found at Perachora and may have been used as prototypes for some of the degenerated combinations mentioned above (fig. 14b)²⁰¹.

The derivation from Egyptian models is more visible in another group of scarabs, depicting a seated deity in the center, most likely Maat, accompanied by various debased signs (*nfr*, *mAat* feather, *anx*) (fig. 15a)²⁰². In a similar group a male god with beard- probably Osiris- is depicted in the center²⁰³. In Egyptian parallels the depiction of the goddess Maat along with *mAat* feather and the *nfr*, or alternatively the *uraeus* and *nfr* sign or the sun disk or the water sign may represent a trigram of Amun²⁰⁴.

194 JAMES 1962, pp. 488, 495, nos. D 192, 371, fig. 32, 34.

195 In some cases, the *mAat* feather is replaced by the reed-stalk sign *i* (M 17), JAMES 1962, pp. 486-490, 493, nos. D 174, 178, 185 (with the reed-stalk *i*), 211, 242, 248, 256, 276, 282, 359, 375 (with the reversed reed-stalk *i*), figs. 32, 34.

196 DIOTON 1957, p. 17, no. 6. For Egyptian parallels: HORNING, STAEHELIN 1976, p. 402, pl. 123.

197 KEEL 2013, p. 106, no. 26 (Gat), with further references.

198 JAMES 1962, pp. 486-493, nos. D 172, 186, 254, 255, 258-259, 266, 317-318, 336, 344-345, 349, 350, figs. 31-34; SKON-JEDEL 1994, pp. 577-580, 2769, nos. 570-580, fig. 18.

199 JAMES 1962, pp. 486-493, nos. D 166, 239, 259, 269, 280, 314, 334, 353, 356, figs. 31-34.

200 For Egyptian parallels, see NEWBERRY 1908, p. 193, pl. 42.

201 JAMES 1962, pp. 490-493, nos. D 255, 288, 341, 344, figs. 32-34, pl. 192.

202 JAMES 1962, p. 507-508, nos. D 628, 631, 632, 634-635, 658, figs. 37-38.

203 JAMES 1962, pp. 507-508, nos. D 642, 645, 652, 654, 656-657, figs. 37-38.

204 For Egyptian parallels see HORNING, STAEHELIN 1976, pp. 290-291, 326, nos. 493 495, 682, 683.

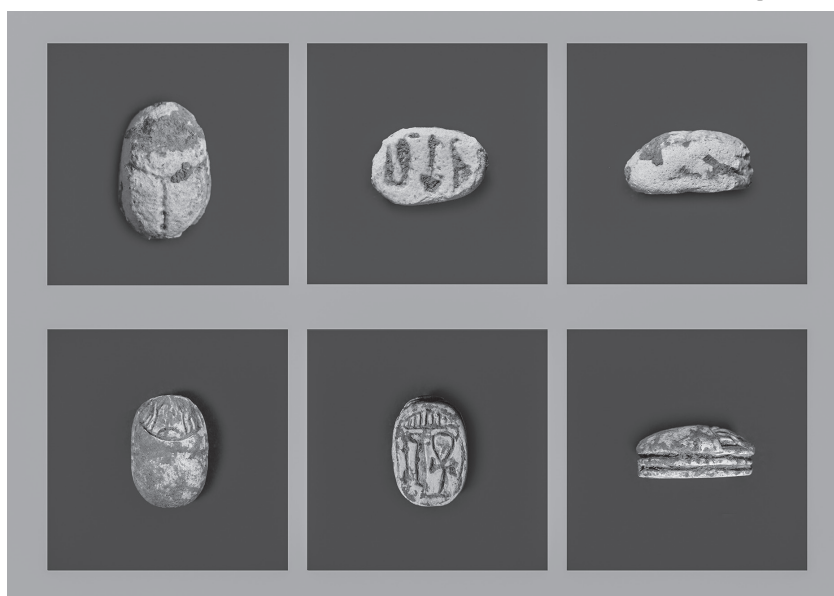


Fig. 14 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 383: 12x7x5mm). b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 288: 15x11x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

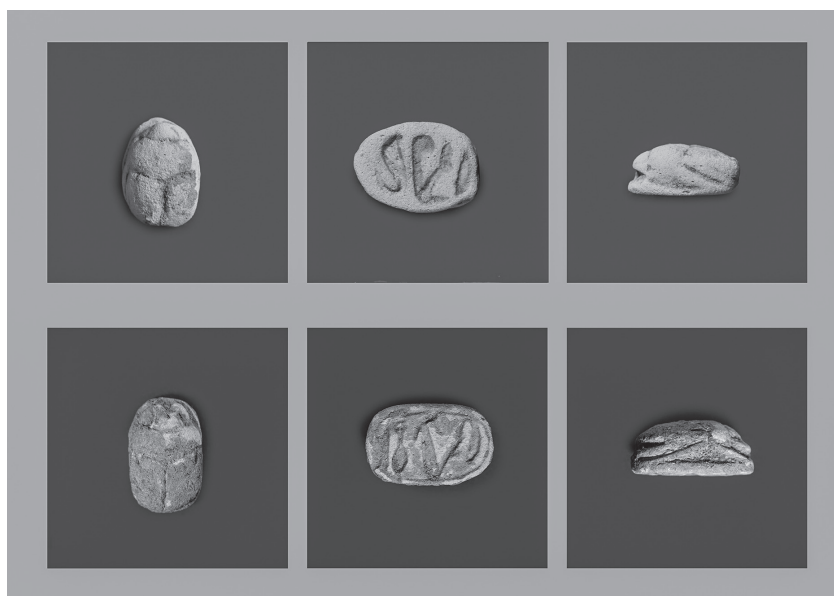


Fig. 15 - a. Perachora-Rhodes type (JAMES 1962, no. D 628: 15x11x6mm). b. Egyptian scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 643: 17x12x8mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

The motif may have been copied from similar Egyptian examples, which most likely have been found at Perachora, as indicated by the shape and decoration (fig. 15b)²⁰⁵. It is noticeable that in the Greek imitations the goddess is very generally and crudely rendered.

Reconsidering the origin

Although the origin of the Perachora Rhodes scarab type has been discussed in previous scholarship, this problem requires reconsideration²⁰⁶. Pendlebury thought that this type of scarab was Egyptian with close parallels in the 26th Dynasty²⁰⁷. This theory was later revised by James, who concluded

205 JAMES 1962, nos. D 629, 630, 633, 643, 655, fig. 37, pl. 193.

206 See SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 291-325, for a complete review of the previous scholarship about the subject.

207 PENDLEBURY 1930, pp. 76-77.

that these scarabs were of non-Egyptian origin, based in a series of observations²⁰⁸. James noted that the core particles of the faience were of much finer composition comparing to Egyptian examples. The spectrographic analysis including objects from Egypt, Rhodes and Naukratis conducted by the British Museum was not proved very helpful, though, since the material could not be really distinguished. Another feature indicating, according to James non-Egyptian origin was the fact that most of Aegyptiaca coming from the dump soil lost their glaze, while in the dry soil of Egypt the glaze is usually preserved²⁰⁹. These remarks were doubted later by Hölbl who demonstrated that even Egyptian scarabs could have lost their glaze²¹⁰. Among the most important argument established by James is that the hieroglyphs on these scarabs were very garbled²¹¹. Although most of Egyptian craftsmen were illiterate and garbling appears also in Egyptian scarabs, they could at least distinguish the signs, so the garbling is limited in Egyptian works. The high degree of degenerated texts on scarabs from the Aegean indicates that they were manufactured by non-Egyptian craftsmen. These scarabs derive from contexts dating to c. 735-630 BC, so they could not have been produced in Naukratis, since the production of the scarab factory there begins in the early 6th century BC. As noted above, Von Bissing²¹² argued that an Egyptian workshop including Greek workers was established on Rhodes. James rejected this theory since neither the high degree of garbling, nor the establishment of an Egyptian workshop abroad complies with Egyptian tradition. He concluded that its immediate origin can be traced in one or more workshops established by Phoenician craftsmen on the islands or mainland of East Greece, pointing out that origin from Rhodes cannot be certain²¹³. Coldstream²¹⁴ later stated that Phoenician craftsmen established a faience workshop on Rhodes, probably at Ialysos, during the late 8th century BC. V. Webb²¹⁵ based on the study

of Egyptianizing figurines and vases, demonstrated that there might have been one or more workshops in East Greece, probably on Rhodes, or elsewhere. However, scarabs were not included in her study. G. Hölbl²¹⁶ rejected the association of Phoenician craftsmen with the production of this type of scarabs since scarabs with garbled inscriptions are unknown in Phoenician tradition. He suggested, however, that Rhodes was the most likely place of manufacture of Perachora-Rhodes type scarabs, since a significant percentage of scarabs with the above mentioned garbled texts was found in Lindos and genuine Egyptian scarabs which can be used as prototypes have been found there²¹⁷.

This theory, which was nothing more than a preliminary assumption, as noted by the scholar, has been further supported by later scholars, who speculated the existence of a scarab workshop on the island, without thoroughly investigating the original material²¹⁸. Andree Gorton²¹⁹ mentions that scarabs of type XXII were most likely manufactured between the second half of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 7th century in the faience factory in Rhodes and the production of scarabs roughly corresponds with the first phase of the production of faience vases and figurines studied by V. Webb. However, a comparative view of scarabs from Lindos and Ialysos weakens the theory about the manufacture of this type of scarabs on Rhodes. The preliminary study of the material shows that most scarabs from Lindos belong to this type, but their number is limited and their variety very low if compared with the material from Perachora²²⁰. According to the preliminary chart shown here, the assemblage is three times smaller than the material from Perachora and there are very few workshops runs (less than 25% of the material) and even less identical pieces, whereas some of the variants presented at Perachora are absent²²¹. The percentage of genuine Egyptian scarabs at Lindos is important, but

208 JAMES 1962, pp. 461, 466-467.

209 JAMES 1962, p. 461.

210 HÖLBL 1979, p. 206.

211 JAMES 1962, pp. 462-463.

212 VON BISSING 1941.

213 JAMES 1962, p. 463.

214 COLDSTREAM 1969, pp. 1-8.

215 WEBB 1978, pp. 5, 9-10; WEBB 2016, p. 10.

216 HÖLBL 1979, pp. 212-215.

217 HÖLBL 1979, pp. 212-215.

218 SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 310-312.

219 GORTON 1996, p. 72.

220 For scarabs from the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos see: BLINKENBERG 1931, pp. 380-390, nos. 1393, 1395-1396, 1399, 1408, 1409, 1411, 1480-1505, 1507-1533, 1535-1553, pls. 61-62 (81 scarabs).

221 This chart is of preliminary character, since it is based on observations of the published material from Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos.

almost none of them bear the characteristic inscriptions described above, which could be used as prototypes for Perachora-Rhodes Group. Another site which could be related to Perachora-Rhodes Group is of course Ialysos, but the preliminary study there showed that the percentage of the type is very limited (less than 20 examples) and the signs on the scarabs very degenerated²²². Furthermore, scarabs of this type from Kamiros should not be even taken under consideration, since their number is very low²²³.

On the other hand, evidence from Perachora strengthens the possibility about a workshop near Perachora. As noted above, most of the scarabs are incorporated into workshop runs and these runs are usually composed of very similar scarabs regarding the inscription of the underside and many times even the back. All inscriptions include different combinations of a restricted number of signs, most of which may have been debased and garbled but this debasement evolve from specific Egyptian protective formulas or names: *nb-mAat-ra*, *xt nbt nfrt*, *imn ra(nb)*, *nfr*, *mAat*, *anx*. Furthermore, there are in the site some scarabs which may have been used as prototypes. All the variants strengthen further the idea that each workshop run evolves from copying and modifying another workshop run, an element further indicating the existence of a workshop *in situ*. De Salvia stated that a workshop for these scarabs may have been established in Corinth by Egyptian craftsmen, although in the same article he refers to Corinthian forgers²²⁴. This hypothesis was further seconded by Salmon²²⁵, but it was never thoroughly investigated. It is noticeable that the first scarabs of the type appear around 735 BC, at approximately the same time, when the sanctuary came under Corinthian control. Faience scarabs were closely associated with pottery manufacture as they were formed in clay mould and fired in pottery kilns²²⁶, while the use of copper colorant in faience

manufacture suggests a relation between faience and bronze industries²²⁷. We know that pottery and bronze industries flourished in Corinth and their products were among the most common votives in the sanctuary of Perachora²²⁸.

Based on the above-mentioned arguments, the existence of a scarab workshop in a site near the sanctuary is plausible. On the other hand, if these scarabs had been imported from elsewhere, probably soon after their manufacture in a very few cargoes, as Salmon suggested²²⁹, their close typological affinities could be better explained if they were parts of necklaces. Necklaces consisting exclusively of scarabs, most of which derive from the same workshop, are known in the Mediterranean, as it will be discussed below. A very characteristic example comes from a tomb at Taranto in Italy, where 145 scarabs from the Naukratis workshop, some of them very similar, were found together as parts of a necklace²³⁰. Based on the current evidence, this type of scarabs appears in high number, typological consistency and variety at Perachora. However, the absence of moulds and other remains of local manufacture leaves the problem of its origin open. New spectrographic analysis of the faience as well as new the systematic publication of scarabs from other sites of the Aegean, especially from East Greek sites such as Miletus, will probably shed more light to this question.

C. Large scarabs with narrative scenes (Group XXIII)

Typology

Another type of Egyptianizing scarabs with many examples from Perachora and others Greek sites is Gorton's type XXIII²³¹. This includes large scarabs (of 2-3 cm length) made of coarse composition covered with green or blue glaze. The prothorax is usually indicated with a single line, while the elytra are divided with two lines. Triangular notches of V

222 For the material from Ialysos see: SKON-JEDELE 1994, pp. 2493-2495, 2512-2518, nos. 4568-4572, 4601-4609 (14 scarabs). For scarabs from Ialysos see APOSTOLA, KOUSOULIS 2019A.

223 Scarab of these types were only found in the votive deposit of Athena sanctuary, see: JACOPI 1932, pp. 321-324, nos. 3-5, 7, 8, fig. 66 (5 scarabs).

224 DE SALVIA 1991, pp. 338-340.

225 SALMON 1984, p. 146.

226 The technical requirements for producing faience are modest and faience objects could even be fired in simple bread-ovens, see

NICHOLSON 2009, pp. 3-4.

227 MASSON 2018, p. 16.

228 PAYNE 1940, pp. 110-122; SALMON 1972, p. 173.

229 SALMON 1984, p. 146.

230 HÖLBL 1979, II, p. 130, nos. 1065-1221, pls. 116-117; GORTON 1996, p. 161. For further examples see below.

231 For the type see GORTON 1996, pp. 73-77 (type XXIII).



Fig. 16 - a. Large scarab (James 1962, no. D 502: 25x18x11mm). b. Large scarab (James 1962, no. D 508: 25x18x11mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

shape are often placed on the upper outer corner of the elytra to mark the humeral callosities. The motifs are deeply carved or stamped and some filling motifs are often drilled. Scarabs of this type from Perachora are decorated with couchant or walking ibexes, a cat with hieroglyphic signs, a lion, a hare, cows or calf, a man urging an ibex or a baboon, a man on horseback, etc. and come from unstratified contexts except for two examples deriving from contexts dating to 700-590 BC (fig. 16a)²³². Only a scarab bears the inscription *nb tAwy* ("Lord of the two lands")²³³, which is often found on Egyptian scarabs during the New Kingdom and the Late Period²³⁴. It is noteworthy that the signs are deeply and well carved. All the above-mentioned examples belong to Gorton types XXIIIA. Gorton identifies two scarabs from Perachora as belonging to her XXIIIB type, which includes representations of a walking winged sphinx with outstretched wings (fig. 16b)²³⁵. In one of these examples the field is decorated with drilled circles surrounding the figure. The existence of this subtype though has to be reconsidered, since there are not parallels from oth-

er sites and the motif of the winged sphinx is also common in the type XXIIIA. On the contrary, type XXIIIC, called as the "Bird Group", is represented by several examples from Perachora. Representations include a lion or bull with hieroglyphs, floral motifs and birds as filling motifs (fig. 17a)²³⁶. Gorton ascribes also to this subgroup a scarab incised with a couchant sphinx wearing the atef crown with falcon and disk over back and a winged uraeus in front²³⁷. It is important that this type is mainly distributed in the Aegean, with only few examples from South Italy, Etruria, Cyprus and Spain²³⁸. Regarding Greek sites, except for Perachora, scarabs of type XXIII have been mainly found at Lindos²³⁹, Kamiros²⁴⁰, Delos²⁴¹, Aegina²⁴², Sparta²⁴³ and Philia (Thessaly)²⁴⁴.

Reconsidering of the origin

Gorton associates the production of this type with Rhodes, pointing out that the elongated body of the

232 JAMES 1962, pp. 482, 485, 501-505, 511, nos. D 150 (boat with ibex), 490-491 (ibex), 482 (cat), 488 (man with ibex), 508-509 (hare), 541 (lion), 559 (cow), 569 (calf), 686 (man on horseback), figs. 31, 36-38, pl. 192.

233 JAMES 1962, p. 482, no. 82, fig. 31.

234 HORNUNG, STAHELIN 1976, pp. 231-232, no. 206, pl. 20.

235 JAMES 1962, pp. 501, 505, nos. 502, 584, pl. 192.

236 JAMES 1962, pp. 502-503, no. D 512, 527-528 (lions with bird), 555-556 (bull with bird), fig. 37, pl. 192.

237 JAMES 1962, p. 505, no. D 576, pl. 192; GORTON 1996, p. 75, no. 6.

238 Based on the form of the figures and the shape, the latter piece may be genuine Egyptian.

239 For its distribution see GORTON 1996, pp. 73-75.

240 BLINKENBERG 1931, no. 1421.

241 British Museum GR 65.2-12.1; WALTERS 1926, p. 40, no. 327.

242 See GORTON 1996, p. 73, nos. 13-14, with further references.

243 GORTON 1996, p. 75, no. 10 with further references.

244 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 109, no. 301.

245 See GORTON 1996, p. 73, no. 15 with further references.

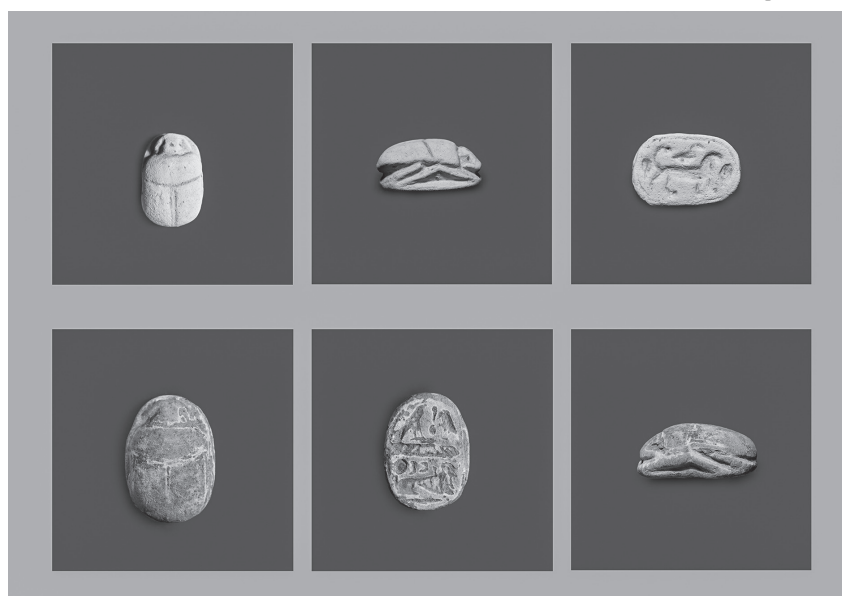


Fig. 17 - a. Large scarab (James 1962, no. D 527: 22x15x10mm).
b. Gortons' type XXV scarab (JAMES 1962, no. D 63: 19x13x8mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

depicted animals is reminiscent of the style found in East Greek vase painting and the fact that there are not exact parallels from Egypt²⁴⁵. The shape and the crudely made motifs on the underside demonstrate that these scarabs are surely produced outside Egypt. However, the origin of this type requires further reconsideration, as the extremely limited amounts of this type at the sites of Rhodes indicate that they could hardly be produced there. On the other hand, Perachora is the place with most examples and the greatest variety. It is plausible, therefore, that their production was located on the site or in Corinth and was inspired by other types of imported or locally made scarabs. Although there are not exact parallels from Egypt, animals with signs, human figures or hieroglyphic inscriptions are depicted on Egyptian scarabs, which have been found in the early contexts of Perachora²⁴⁶. The size and the shape are reminiscent of large Egyptian scarabs imported at the site, while the coarse composition is the more suitable and resistant material for the production of large scarabs with narrative scenes. Furthermore, it is remarkable that some of the motifs, such as lions, winged sphinxes and bovines are also present in Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases, while the bird is a common filling motif there and is commonly depicted along with lions, as in

the cases of scarabs mentioned above²⁴⁷. The drilled circles decorating the field around the winged sphinx are also reminiscent of the small disk-like rosettes filling the field on many Corinthian vase paintings, although this motif is also common in East Greek vase painting²⁴⁸. Conclusively, motifs found on the locally made scarabs discussed above, the pre Naukratis scarabs (discussed below) and other Egyptian examples, along with the motifs of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery could have inspired the decoration of these scarabs. The different size and material do not exclude the possibility that they were also locally produced in the same time or even later than the Perachora-Rhodes group discussed above, scarabs of this type appear in low numbers, even in Perachora, and although seem to belong to the one workshop; they do not appear in series of very similar pieces, as the type above. Thus, the theory about local manufacture forms just a possibility. Only further analysis of the material could shed more light to this question.

D. Egyptianizing scarabs popular in Punic Sites

Gorton's types XXV and XXVI belonging to the "Egyptianizing types for the Punic Market" are

245 GORTON 1996, p. 77.

246 See the chapter "Egyptian scarabs" above for further discussion.

247 AMYX 1988, *passim*.

248 AMYX 1988, *passim*.

also documented at Perachora. A common feature of these types is that the underside is divided in registers, the motifs are carefully carved and the cartouche usually depicted bears the name *mn-kA-ra*²⁴⁹. Menkara was identified as a Delta king, vassal of the 25th dynasty pharaoh Shabaka and the meaning of the name, 'Stable is the *ka* of Ra', acted as a prophylactic formula, like the popular name Menkheperra discussed above²⁵⁰.

At Perachora three scarabs are related to type XXVA. All of them are made of fine composition and their legs are clearly and deeply formed, while on the back the prothorax is indicated with a double line and the elytra are divided with one line²⁵¹. The underside is divided in registers through a winged sun disk in the middle. One of them bears a *nfr* sign flanked by two falcons at top, while the lower register shows a couchant sphinx with the name *mn-kA-ra* a *nb*-basket in the lower exergue (fig. 17b)²⁵². Gorton ascribes two other scarabs from unstratified contexts depicting respectively a winged sphinx and a falcon with *mn-kA-ra* cartouche to her type XXVB, which includes examples with similar motifs depicted without registers on the underside²⁵³. Gorton's type XXVI is very similar in material, shape iconography and distribution with XXV²⁵⁴. However, it is less common at Perachora. One scarab from unstratified context depicts a falcon along with a *mn-kA-ra* cartouche on the right below in the middle and a *nb*-basket below²⁵⁵.

Except for Perachora types XXV and XXVI are found at few other sites of the Aegean, namely Lindos²⁵⁶, Sounion²⁵⁷, Eleusis²⁵⁸ and the Argive Heraeum²⁵⁹. Both types are widely distributed in the Punic world especially in Sardinia, Carthage, but also in Cyprus and in the Levant and their origin is attributed to similar workshops or to the same work-

shop situated in the Delta, on Rhodes or on a Punic site, since they appear in early 7th century contexts before the Scarab factory at Naukratis²⁶⁰. The few parallels from the Delta and the differences in shape, material and size with her common types of Greek sites (XXII-XXIV) indicate another typological tradition. Masson²⁶¹ points out that four examples of the type XXV were also found at Naukratis, but they were not included in Gorton's catalogue, thus a production there cannot be excluded. Even though, the discovery of one specimen of the type XXV attributed to the Egyptian Pit at Perachora makes this relation difficult. The wide distribution in the Punic world along with the characteristic hatching technique, at least in type XXV, which is popular in Phoenician workshops, strengthens the assumption stressed by Gorton that were produced in a workshop of a Punic site. The theory is further enhanced by the regular presence on both types of motifs which are common in Phoenician and Punic iconography (e.g., winged sun disk, scarab, winged scarab, winged sphinx).

E. Scarabs from the Naukratis factory and forerunning workshops²⁶²

Although a great proportion of scarabs from stratified contexts belongs to the early deposits (c. 735-630 BC), a significant part of the unstratified material can be much later and thus it can be associated even with Naukratis²⁶³. The number of scarabs belonging to Naukratis production is significant, although many examples seem to derive from Pre-Naukratis production by workshops situated in the Delta. These types correspond to Gorton's types XXVIII-XXXVI²⁶⁴. The so called 'Scarab Factory' at Naukratis was discovered by Petrie in 1885 in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Aphrodite²⁶⁵. The raw material, the numerous moulds and the waste of manufacture indicated the presence of a work-

249 For the type see GORTON 1996, pp. 81-85 (type XXV).

250 PETRIE 1917, pp. 31-32, pl. 52; MASSON 2018, pp. 22-23.

251 JAMES 1962, pp. 481, 505, nos. D 63 (Unstratified), 573 (Group 1, c. 735-670 BC), 578 (Group 11, c. 700-630 BC).

252 JAMES 1962, p. 481, no. D 63, pl. 192.

253 JAMES 1962, p. 481, nos. 61-62, pl. 192; GORTON 1996, p. 83, no. 4-5 (B).

254 For the type GORTON 1996, pp. 85-88 (type XXVI).

255 JAMES 1962, p. 481, no. D 64, pl. 192.

256 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1370-1372 (type XXV), 1414 (type XXVI).

257 THEODOROPOULOU-POLYCRHONIADES 2015, pp. 273-280.

258 PENDLEBURY 1930, pp. 80-81, nos. 166, 174 (no. XXV).

259 JAMES 1962, p. 60, no. D 128 (type XXV), 129 (type XXVI).

260 GORTON 1996, p. 80.

261 MASSON 2018, p. 22.

262 The presentation of scarabs of Perachora deriving from Naukratis and forerunning workshops includes the most representative examples.

263 SKON-JEDELE 1994, p. 288.

264 GORTON 1996, pp. 91-130 (Types XXVIII-XXVI).

265 The excavator found 678 moulds, see PETRIE 1886, pp. 36-38; MASSON 2018, p. 5.

shop producing scarabs and amulets of faience or Egyptian blue. The material of the 'Scarab factory' was recently reinvestigated by Masson, who located 381 scarab and amulet moulds (out of 678 moulds mentioned by Petrie) from different areas of the site, of which 200 come from the factory²⁶⁶. According to Petrie, Egyptian figures representing *wedjat* eyes, deities, falcons, etc., as well as human and animal figures were also associated with the local production²⁶⁷. However, this relation is not considered certain²⁶⁸. *Aryballoi* and New Year's flasks have also been identified as products of the same workshop²⁶⁹. Most scholars believe now that the main phase of this factory should be dated between 600-570 BC, between the reigns of Psamtek II (595-589 BC) and Apries (589-570 BC)²⁷⁰. Most of Naukratis scarab types were widely distributed in the Mediterranean and they were found mostly in sanctuaries and secondly in burials. However, there are scarabs found in contexts outside Egypt dating to the 8th and 7th century BC (i.e., Perachora, Knossos, Athens, Sounion, Italy), which most likely derive from pre-Naukratis production centers somewhere in Egypt²⁷¹. In Egypt workshops manufacturing amulets or scarabs were often associated with sanctuaries. A workshop was located at the temple of Amun at Kawa in Nubia during the time of Taharqa²⁷². Several amulets and scarab-moulds have also been found at Sais²⁷³ and Memphis²⁷⁴, suggesting the possibility of workshops at these sites.

At Perachora several scarabs from the Egyptian Pit or the Protocorinthian deposit, can be ascribed to pre-Naukratis types, as we will show below. Since the pre-Naukratis scarabs are usually made of Egyptian blue and are closely related to motifs of the Naukratis factory they are discussed here together with the Naukratis types.

The most common type (Gorton's type XXVIII) incorporates pieces manufactured of creamy col-

ored faience covered with green, blue or yellow glaze²⁷⁵. In the scarabs of this type the pronotum/prothorax on the back is usually outlined by a circular or angular line. The elytra are divided with one, two or even three incised lines. Their average size (11x8x6 mm) is small comparing to the Perachora-Rhodes Group. Except for the regular scarabs, scaraboids of this type from the site include African heads and daisy buttons, as well as disks or pastilles (often called in the bibliography as seals). Although Gorton points out that the motifs on the underside of this type are impressed, Masson suggests that incision is also used²⁷⁶. The main feature of these scarabs is that they have been manufactured with a cast technique and the figures usually depicted (i.e., lions, sphinx, cats, birds and other animals, garbled royal names) have a standard style. Lions, sphinxes and ibexes are represented with long bodies and the first two have also curly tails, while the hieroglyphic inscriptions are almost always debased. This type was mainly distributed to the West, especially to Carthage, Sardinia, Etruria, Italy, South Russia²⁷⁷. In the Aegean the type has also been found at Lindos²⁷⁸ and Kamiros²⁷⁹, but also on Chios²⁸⁰, at the Argive *Heraeum*²⁸¹, Eleusis²⁸² and Sounion²⁸³ and Sparta²⁸⁴.

Several scarabs and disks from Perachora bear on the underside the common motif of a lion with a sun-disk over the back walking towards the right, often accompanied by a flower or *mAat* feather in front²⁸⁵, whereas other examples show a couchant lion accompanied by a flower or other often degenerate signs (*anx*, *nb*, *t*) (fig.18a)²⁸⁶. Less common is the motif of a winged lion, which is usually inscribed on

266 MASSON 2018, pp. 5-7; See also: WEBB 2019, p. 315.

267 PETRIE 1886, p. 38; WEBB 2015a.

268 WEBB 2019, p. 316.

269 WEBB 2015b; MASSON 2014.

270 GORTON 1996, p. 92; MASSON 2018, p. 5.

271 GORTON 1996, p. 91; MASSON 2018, p. 17.

272 MASSON 2018, p. 79, note 547.

273 WILSON 2019, pp. 352-353, fig. 9.

274 NICHOLSON 2013; WEBB 2019, p. 319.

275 For the Type XXVIII, see GORTON 1996, pp. 93-107.

276 MASSON 2018, p. 19.

277 GORTON 1996, pp. 94-106.

278 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1403, 1434, 1437-1439, 1451, 1453, 1454, 1553.

279 JACOPI 1931, pp. 319, 326, figs. 356 (nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, 12), 362 (nos. 1, 4-9, 11).

280 LAMB 1935, nos. 35, 43, (recumbent lion), 44 (title Sa-Ra), 55 (garbled inscription *imn ran b*), 56 (walking lion).

281 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 60, no. 125.

282 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 80, no. 169.

283 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 84, nos. 204, 209, 212, 214, 218, 222.

284 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 49, no. 83.

285 JAMES 1962, pp. 502-503, nos. D 516-526, 535-536 (scarabs), 529-534 (circular seals), fig. 36, pl. 192; For parallels: GORTON 1996, pp. 93-95.

286 JAMES 1952, p. 503, nos. D 537-539, fig. 36, pl. 192; For parallels: GORTON 1996, p. 95; MASSON 2018, p. 28, table 2.

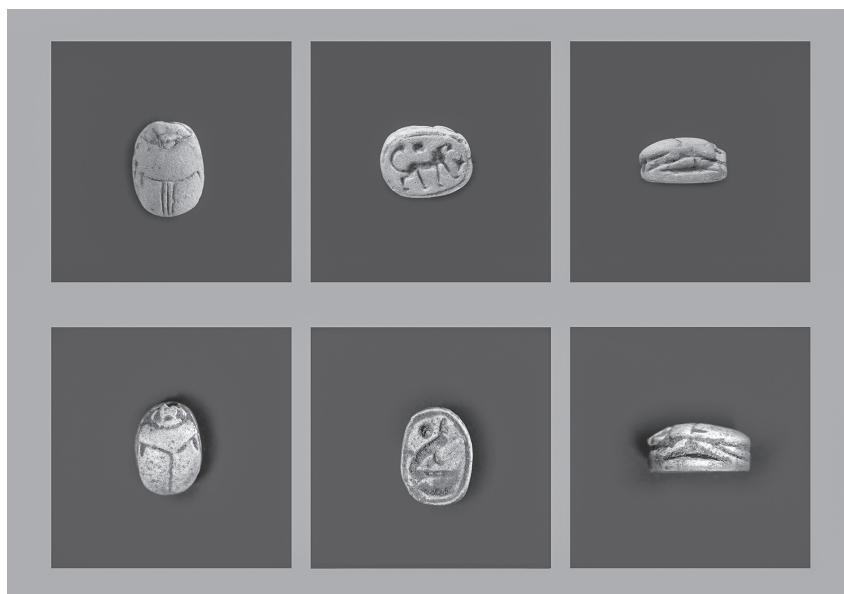


Fig. 18 - a. Gorton's XXVIII A type (JAMES 1962, no. D 517: 14x11x7mm). b. Gorton's XX-VIII A type (JAMES 1962, no. D 478: 10x7x5mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

disk seals²⁸⁷. Petrie²⁸⁸ pointed out that the lion is associated with the name of Psamtek I and that is why this motif is so common from the beginning of the Saite Dynasty. However, the lion is also used in the cryptographic writing of the god Amun (trigrams of Amun)²⁸⁹. By acrophony the lion corresponds to *m* from the word *mAy* ("lion") and it can often be accompanied in front by a *mAat* feather (standing for *j* by equivalence with reed-stalk sign M17) and by a sun disk (standing for *n* as a variation of the word *nwt*), resulting in the writing of Amun (*imn*)²⁹⁰. Several examples bearing this combination have been found at Perachora²⁹¹. The rendering of a lion along with *mAat* feather (standing for *i* by equivalence with the reed-stalk sign *i*, M 17) and *nfr* (standing for *n* from *nfr*), which is found on examples from the site, can also be interpreted as trigram of Amun²⁹². The same holds true for the combination of the lion with the sun disk (standing for *i* from the word *itn* "sun disk") and a *nb*-basket (standing for *n* from the word *nb* "lord, all")²⁹³.

Although most of these scarabs derive from unstratified contexts, some scarabs made of blue compound were found in the Protocorinthian deposit²⁹⁴. The early date of the deposit (c. 700-630 BC) indicated that they could not have related to the Naukratis factory, since its foundations dates in the early 6th century BC, thus some of these early examples could have been manufactured in another workshop of the Delta. The representation of fantastic creatures associated with the lion, such the sphinx or the griffin, is less frequent on the scarabs and seals of the Naukratis factory found in the sanctuary²⁹⁵.

A more common motif on scarabs of pre-Naukratis and Naukratis production is a cat with disk over back with a papyrus or another floral motif and hieroglyphic signs (*mAat*, *nb*, *nfr*) (fig. 18b)²⁹⁶. In these cases, the cat is accompanied by disk over back and a *nb*-basket and occasionally a *nfr* sign in front²⁹⁷. These combinations could have represented cryptographic renderings of the name *imn* (Amun) or the legend *imn nb* (*i*) "Amun is (my) lord", since the cat can stand for the sound *m* (from the word *miw* = "cat"), the sun disk for the sound *i* (from the word *im* "eye's pupil"), while the *nb*-bas-

287 JAMES 1952, p. 502, no. 532, fig. 36.

288 PETRIE 1917, pl. 55, no. 4.

289 DRIOTON 1957, p. 20, no. 38. For the phonetic values of the signs, see *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

290 For the phonetic values of the signs, see DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13, 16, 20.

291 JAMES 1962, pp. 502-503, nos. D 523-525, 536 (seal), fig. 36.

292 JAMES 1962, p. 502, nos. 521; For the phonetic value of each sign: DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13, 20.

293 JAMES 1962, p. 502, nos. D 530-534, 539 (seal), fig. 36; For the phonetic value of each sign: DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13, 15, 20.

294 JAMES 1962, p. 502, nos. D 514-515, fig. 36.

295 JAMES 1962, p. 501, nos. D 505-507, fig. 36, pl. 192.

296 JAMES 1962, p. 499, nos. D 468, 469, 473-481, fig. 36, pl. 192; for the phonetic value of each sign: DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13, 15, 20.

297 JAMES 1962, p. 499, nos. 478-481, figs. 35-36.

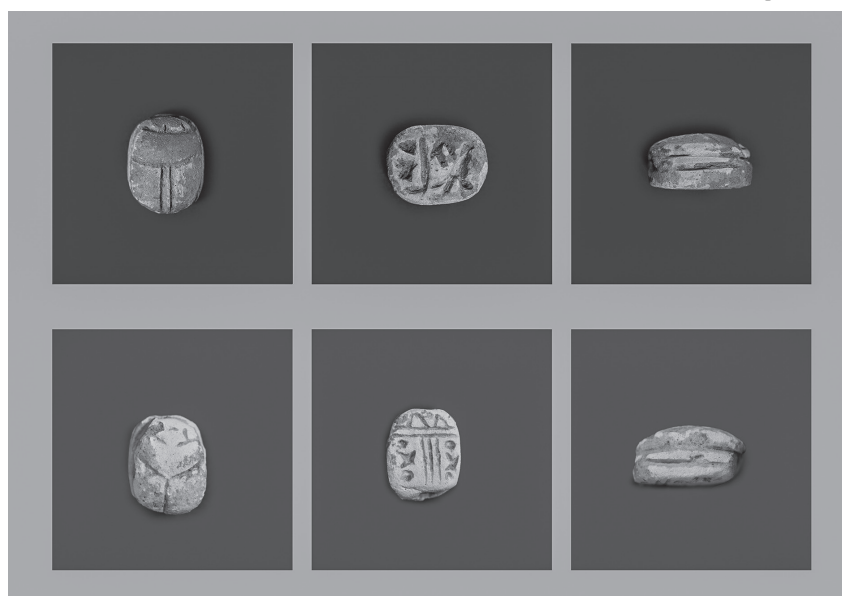


Fig. 19 - a. Gorton's XXVIII B type (JAMES 1962, no. D 609: 11x9x6mm). b. Gorton's XXVIII C type (JAMES 1962, no. D 459: 13x11x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

ket and the *nfr* sign correspond to the phonetic value n, as noted above²⁹⁸. Other animals can be also represented along with a sun disk or the *mAat* feather. Examples from the site show baboons, falcons, ibexes and jackals²⁹⁹.

Several scarabs from the site correspond to Gorton type XXVIII B, which includes examples with hieroglyphic inscriptions³⁰⁰. Two scarabs are inscribed with a garbled rendering of the inscription *wAH-ib-ra*, the Horus name of Psamtek I, which is rendered as a cross sign between two circles, accompanied by the falcon Horus (fig. 19a)³⁰¹. In other cases the falcon can also be represented next to the inscription *mn ra*, which is probably a garbled form of the Horus name of Psamtek II, *mn-ib-ra*³⁰².

A garbled rendering of the royal name *mn-xpr-ra* (prenomen of Thutmose III = "Stable is the apparition of Ra") appears on two identical scarabs of the Protocorinthian deposit, which could be ascribed to workshops from the Delta predating Naukratis due to their early dating (fig. 19b)³⁰³. The field of

the underside is vertically divided into two or three registers, with repetition of the motif. An alteration of the theme is represented on a scarab which shows the garbled inscription and the falcon Horus. All these scarabs belong to Gorton's Type XVIII C³⁰⁴. Several scarabs from the Naukratis factory and forerunning workshops may represent totally decorative themes. Most common in the examples from Perachora is the dotted circle motif, which consist of five or more dotted circles surrounding the field of the underside and frequently linked by spirals or simple lines. These scarabs are ascribed to Gorton's Type XXIX³⁰⁵. Occasionally the center of the field is decorated with a hieroglyphic sign (*mAat*, *nfr*, *anx*, *uraeus*). The prothorax of this type of scarabs is usually indicated with a single line and the elytra are divided by one line, while they often³⁰⁶. Three scarabs which were found in the Egyptian Pit are more likely associated with workshops predating Naukratis³⁰⁷. In the Aegean examples of the same type come mainly from Kamiros³⁰⁸, Lindos³⁰⁹ and

298 For the phonetic value of each sign: DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13, 15, 20; For parallels from Naukratis see MASSON 2018, p. 27, table 1.

299 JAMES 1962, pp. 499, 501, nos. D 461-464 (baboon), nos. 486, 487, 489, 492-493, 495-498 (*ibex*), no. 511 (jackal), 613-615, figs. 35-37, pl. 192. For the phonetic value of each sign: DRIOTON 1957, pp. 13-16.

300 GORTON 1996, pp. 101-102, nos. 6-7, 43.

301 JAMES 1962, p. 506, nos. D 608-609, fig. 36.

302 JAMES 1962, p. 506, no. D 611, fig. 36.

303 JAMES 1962, p. 498, nos. D 459-460, fig. 35. These two scarabs are identical. GORTON 1994, p. 105, nos. 2-3, mentions that no. 460

was found with Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, but according to first publications bot no. 460 and no. 459 come from the Protocorinthian deposit.

304 GORTON 1994, p. 105, nos. 2-3.

305 GORTON 1996, pp. 108-109 (type XXIX).

306 JAMES 1962, p. 497, nos. 422-423, 427-434, fig. 35, pl. 192; for the type: GORTON 1996, pp. 108-109.

307 JAMES 1962, nos. D 424-427.

308 JACOPI 1931, p. 326, fig. 326.

309 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1477-1478.



Fig. 20 - a. Gorton's XXXIIA type (JAMES 1962, no. D 682: 9x6x-4mm). b. Gorton's XXXIIB type (JAMES 1962, no. D 484: 10x7x-5mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

Sparta³¹⁰, but the type is also distributed in Punic sites, Etruria as well as South Russia³¹¹.

Another type of scarabs with many examples from Perachora is Gorton's type XXXII, including scarabs with a single line separating the prothorax from the elytra and a single or double line dividing the elytra³¹². The legs of these scarabs are not usually well formed. The repertoire of the underside includes lions attacking other animals, human figures with animals (XXXIIA) and alternatively human or animals with birds (type XXXIIB). In contrast with type XXVIII these scarabs have not been produced with casting technique and compositions on the underside are crudely drawn and deeply carved. Examples from Perachora derive from deposits with Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery or from unstratified contexts and usually show human figures with an ox, a gazelle or a horse (fig. 20a)³¹³. Two other scarabs show respectively a gazelle and a dog along with a bird, belonging to Gorton's Type XXXIIB, which is called the "Bird Group" (fig. 20b)³¹⁴. Although most type XXXII scarabs derive from unstratified contexts, there

are three scarabs found in the Egyptian Pit and the Protocorinthian deposit, which seem to belong to an earlier factory possibly situated in the Delta³¹⁵. This type was mainly distributed to Cyprus, Carthage, Cumae and in the Aegean³¹⁶. Examples from the Aegean derive from the Argive *Heraeum*³¹⁷, Kamiros³¹⁸ and Lindos³¹⁹. It is remarkable that this type of scarabs from the Naukratis Factory has very similar motifs with Gorton's Type XXIII described above. Human figures along with animals (i.e., ibexes, horses, oxen), or fight between animals appear also on these scarabs, whereas scenes with human and birds constitute a separate group also belonging to this type, which is also called Bird in Gorton's typology. These similarities address that the large scarabs of Aegean origin might have been used as prototypes for scarabs manufactured at Naukratis. Both types seem to have been inspired, though, from other scarabs derived from pre-Naukratis workshops in the Delta predating Naukratis mentioned above.

Scarabs of Gorton's type XXXIII depict common motifs with the popular type XXVIII discussed above, but they were predominately made of blue

310 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 48, nos. 80-81.

311 For its distribution and further references: GORTON 1996, pp. 108-109.

312 GORTON 1996, pp. 114-117 (type XXXIII).

313 JAMES 1962, p. 511, nos. D 682-683, 685-687, 688-692.

314 JAMES 1962, p. 501, nos. D 484, 499, fig. 36.

315 JAMES 1962, p. 511, nos. D 499, 679, 684, fig. 36, 38.

316 For its distribution see: GORTON 1996, pp. 115-117.

317 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 60, no. 127.

318 British Museum, GR 64.10-7.954.

319 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1444, 1469.



Fig. 21 - a. Gorton's XXXIII type (JAMES 1962, no. D 575: 11x7x4mm). b. Gorton's XXXIV type (JAMES 1962, no. D 697: 13x10x7mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

compound and their shape is totally different³²⁰. The prothorax is usually indicated with a single line and the elytra are divided with one or two lines, although there also examples with plain back. The legs are very deeply carved. One scarab from the Egyptian Pit represents a seated cat with sun disk over back, a *mAat* feather (standing for *j* by equivalence with reed-stalk sign M17) in front and *nb*-basket below³²¹. As discussed above, this combination could stand for a cryptographic rendering of the name of the god Amun in the formula *imn nb (i)*³²². On two other scarabs a walking lion and a couchant sphinx with the inscription *imn ra* are depicted (fig. 21a)³²³. In the same type belongs a scarab depicting a couchant winged sphinx with a sign in front which could represent a garbled form of the *mAat* feather³²⁴. Since all the examples of XXXIV type derive from the Egyptian Pit and the Protocorinthian Deposit, we can assume that they represent a pre-Naukratis production. Examples of this type have also been found in the Argive Heraeum³²⁵, Lin-

dos³²⁶ and Kamiros³²⁷, Sounion³²⁸ and other sites of the Mediterranean (mainly Carthage, Sicily and Cyprus)³²⁹.

Further identifications of scarabs from Perachora with Gorton's types require reevaluation. Only one scarab of blue compound from unstratified context depicting a king in chariot can be attributed to her type XXXIV with some certainty (fig. 21b)³³⁰. The back is very well formed with a circular line indicating the prothorax and one straight line—often ending with a triangular V—dividing the elytra. This scarab is relatively tall and the legs are very clearly and deeply carved. Gorton³³¹ has also ascribed another scarab from the Protocorinthian deposit showing a human figure with raised arms between gazelles to the same type. However, the latter is a large scarab of coarse composition with deeply carved- or cast- figures, so neither the size nor the material or the style seems so compatible with type XXXIV, including scarabs of blue compound with

320 For the type see GORTON 1996, pp. 118-121 (type XXXIII).

321 JAMES 1962, p. 499, no. D 467, fig. 35.

322 DRIOTON 1957, p. 23, nos. 62-63.

323 JAMES 1962, p. 502, no. D 515, fig. 36; p. 505, no. D 575, fig. 37.

324 JAMES 1962, p. 501, no. 504, fig. 36. James identifies the figure as a griffin, but it is more likely that a sphinx is actually represented.

325 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 60, no. 121.

326 BLINKENBERG 1931, nos. 1378, 1384, 1389, 1457, 1559, pls. 59-60.

327 WALTERS 1926, nos. 260-261, pl. 5; JACOPI 1931, p. 326, fig. 362 (tombs); British Museum, GR 64.10-7.915.

328 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 38, no. 179; 83, no. 181, pl. 4.

329 For its distribution see: GORTON 1996, pp. 118-120.

330 JAMES 1962, p. 511, no. D 697; GORTON 1996, pp. 121-127 (type XXXIV).

331 JAMES 1962, p. 511, no. D 694, pl. 193; GORTON 1996, p. 123, no. 6 (Group B).

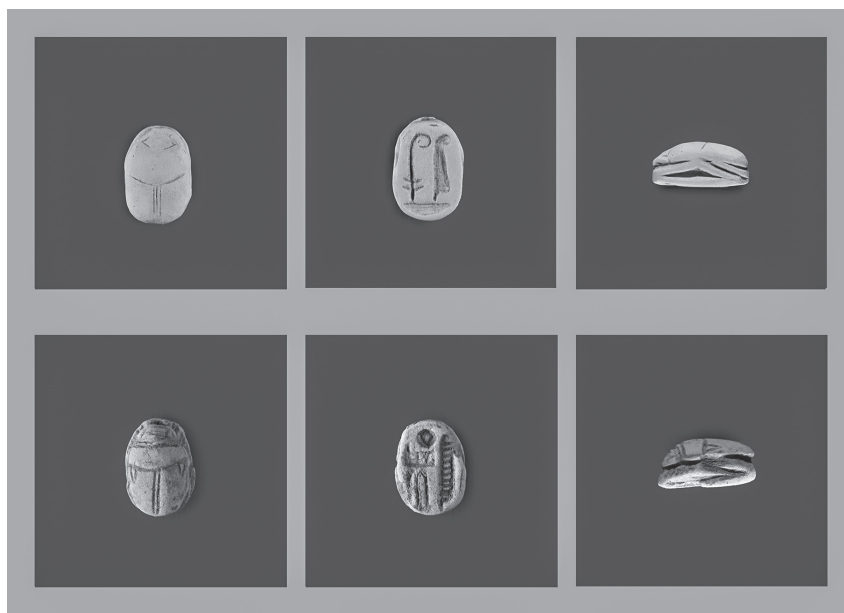


Fig. 22 - a. Gorton's XXV (Phoenician) type (James 1962, no. D 195: 18x10x7mm). b. Gorton's XXI (Cypriot) type (James 1962, no. D 113: 16x12x8mm). National Archaeological Museum (Photo: A. Michail).

delicate drawings. The distribution of this type of scarabs covers Carthage, Spain, Italy and Sardinia and Cyprus³³². In the Aegean it is not very well represented, with individual examples from Lindos³³³, Samos³³⁴ and Chios³³⁵.

F. Phoenician and Cypriot types of scarabs

James³³⁶ pointed out that the majority of scarabs with garbled hieroglyphs from Perachora (Perachora-Rhodes Group, Gorton's XXII type) are non-Egyptian and associated their production with Phoenician workshop(s) possibly established in the Aegean, more likely on Rhodes. However, Hölbl³³⁷ stated beyond any doubt that these artifacts were not manufactured by Phoenician craftsmen since their shape and iconography does not comply with Phoenician tradition. That Phoenicians were not actively engaged in the production of these type of scarabs is also assumed from the extremely limited presence of real Phoenician or Punic scarabs in the Greek world during the 8th-7th century BC.

Phoenician scarabs were manufactured in many workshops in the Levant and the Punic sited during the 8th – 6th century BC. They were mainly made of faience and steatite and even though bear Egyptianizing themes, the hieroglyphs are usually debased and the figures are modified with the addition of Phoenician and Orientalizing features in the Egyptian prototypes, which results in a really mixed iconography³³⁸. Furthermore, the motifs are deeply carved and often hatched, but they lack the symmetry, the precision, the delicacy of Egyptian drawings.

At Perachora one faience scarab found east of the Hearth Building along with Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery can be ascribed to Gorton's Type XV, which includes scarabs from several Phoenician workshops displaying traditional motifs in a composite style (fig. 22a)³³⁹. The prothorax of this scarab is indicated with one circular line, while three straight lines divide the elytra and the legs are deeply carved. The underside is incised with the *mAat* feather, the royal plant (*swt*) and the *nb*-basket below. Scarabs with the same motifs have been found in Spain³⁴⁰. This type is very well represented

332 For its distribution and further references: GORTON 1996, pp. 122-126.

333 BLINKENBERG 1931, no. 1430.

334 DIEHL 1965, pp. 839-842, no. 97-98.

335 LAMB 1935, nos. 45, 50-51, pl. 32.

336 JAMES 1962, pp. 462-463.

337 HÖBL 1979, pp. 212-213.

338 GORTON 1996, pp. 43-52 (types XXV-XXI).

339 JAMES 1962, p. 488, no. 195, fig. 32.

340 At Alicante, see GAMER-WALLERT 1978, p. 182, no. A 5, pls. 55a-b.

in the Punic world, especially at Carthage, Tharros, but it is also scattered in Italy and Cyprus³⁴¹. In the Aegean its distribution it is documented at Eleusis³⁴², Aegina³⁴³, Crete³⁴⁴ and Chios³⁴⁵.

The rich scarab assemblage from Perachora also included Cypriot types. Three scarabs from unstratified contexts can be ascribed to Gorton's type XXI³⁴⁶. The scarabs are made of glaze green composition; the prothorax on the back is outlined with a single line, while the elytra are divided by one or two lines and the humeral callosities are indicated by triangular notches at the upper outer corner of the elytra (fig. 22b)³⁴⁷. All of them bear a garbled rendering of the name Amun-Ra, where the signs *j* and *mn* are hatched with crossed lines. This type has been found at Agia Irini in Cyprus along with pottery dating to 700-476 BC and was widely scattered in Punic sites, especially in Carthage and Spain, whereas examples from Greek sites other than Perachora are absent³⁴⁸.

Archaeological Contextualization

Other Votive Offerings from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora

Interpretation of scarabs requires a thorough contextualization based on their relation to other votive offerings and the nature of the local cult. The votive offerings of the Geometric and Archaic period come from the so-called sacred pool and the two deposits, the earliest of which is contemporary with the apsidal temple, while the later deposits are in the upper terrace, on the eastern and northeastern side of the Hearth Building³⁴⁹. Pottery from the sanctuary is mainly of Corinthian origin and consists of drinking vessels (*skyphoi*, cups), wine vessels, *aryballoi* and *pyxides*³⁵⁰. Approximately contempo-

rary with Aegyptiaca are other artifacts, such as Argive, Lakonian, Boetian, Attic pottery³⁵¹, stone seals of Argive, Cycladic and Phoenician types³⁵², ivory figurines from the Levant of East Greece³⁵³, bronze fibulae³⁵⁴, gold and silver jewelry³⁵⁵, terracotta figurines³⁵⁶. East Greek pottery from the upper precinct is mainly dated between the middle seventh to the middle 6th century BC, whereas Rhodian Orientalizing wares are absent and only one vase was identified as Rhodian³⁵⁷.

Hera, the firstborn daughter of Saturn and Rhea and the wife of the highest of the gods, was venerated in the Greek world mainly as protector of women, marital and family life, as well as *kourotrophos*, while her cult was also associated with human, plant fertility³⁵⁸. A special category of votives at the sanctuary consists of artifacts closely associated with women, childbirth, and fertility of people, earth, and animals, such as clay female figurines, some with flowers and fruits or wreaths on the head and others kneading bread³⁵⁹, as well as figurines of infants³⁶⁰, pigeons, dogs, horses, bulls, deer and lions³⁶¹. The role of the worshipped deity as *kourotrophos* and protector of women is further reflected by the dedication of clay models of placentas, similar to those found in the sanctuaries of Hera at Argos and Corfu³⁶², models of children and toys³⁶³, models of beds³⁶⁴, weaving tools (whorls, weights, spindles)³⁶⁵, toilet utensils (bronze fibulae and pins, mirrors)³⁶⁶ and jewelry, such as rings³⁶⁷, and ivory seals³⁶⁸. The close association of Hera with sailors is indicated by a group of clay female figurines with flowers and decorated ships, inter-

341 For the distribution of the type and further references: GORTON 1996, pp. 44-48.

342 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 96, no. 232.

343 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 80, no. 171.

344 PENDLEBURY 1930, p. 11, no. 12, pl. 1 (Arkades).

345 LAMB 1935, pl. 32 (no. 42).

346 GORTON 1996, pp. 61-62 (type XXI).

347 JAMES 1962, p. 484, nos. 109, 113, 118, fig. 31.

348 For parallels from Agia Irini: GJERSTAD 1935, pls. 248-250 (nos. 2603, 2640, 2695, 2754). For the distribution of the type and further parallels: GORTON 1996, pp. 61-62.

349 PAYNE 1940, pp. 110-120; TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 57.

350 SALMON 1972, pp. 168-174.

351 DUNBABIN 1962, pp. 334-341, pp. 368-388.

352 DUNBABIN 1962, pp. 452-527.

353 DUNBABIN 1962, pp. 403-451.

354 PAYNE 1940, pp. 167-175.

355 PAYNE 1940, pp. 184-186.

356 PAYNE 1940, pp. 249-255.

357 DUNBABIN 1962, pp. 369-392.

358 BAUMBACH 2004, pp. 171-177, pp. 191-192.

359 PAYNE 1940, pp. 249-255; BAUMBACH 2004, p. 34; TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 58.

360 BAUMBACH 2004, pp. 28, pp. 46-47, pp. 176, pp. 179-180.

361 TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 58.

362 SALMON 1972, p. 181; TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 58.

363 BAUMBACH 2004, pp. 28, p. 30, p. 176, p. 179; TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 59.

364 PAYNE 1940, p. 33.

365 TERMATZIDOU 2006, p. 58.

366 PAYNE 1940, pp. 33, 69; BAUMBACH 2004, p. 34.

367 FOLEY 1988, p. 85.

368 DUNBABIN 1962, pp. 403-451; BAUMBACH 2004, p. 26.

puted as depictions of the goddess, clay models of ships and bronze hooks³⁶⁹. The weapons (swords, spearheads and arrows) found in the sanctuary are connected with the victorious outcome of battles and in general with the war struggles of the community³⁷⁰.

Distribution of scarabs in other sites of the Aegean and the Mediterranean

Interpretation of scarabs from Perachora requires a brief review on the distribution of these artifacts in the Aegean and the Mediterranean. As also shown above, the greatest number of scarabs, like Aegyptiaca as a whole, derive from sanctuaries of female deities, namely from the sanctuaries of Athena at Lindos, Kamiros and Ialysos, the sanctuary of Artemis on Paros, the Heraion of Argos, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. However, scarabs' presence in burial contexts, although less common, is more indicative for their significance, especially when they form part of a necklace.

The scarabs were usually singly hung on a string around the neck or inserted in silver pendant. However, they could also strung all together or along with other amulets, forming a necklace a practice particularly popular during the 7th century BC. The more characteristic example of a group of scarabs presumably representing a necklace derives from an unknown context at Cumae³⁷¹. The group includes seventeen scarabs, two of which set in a silver mount. It is noticeable that all scarabs are made of Egyptian blue, belong to two types of the Naukratis factory, have a very similar style and some even identical motifs on the underside³⁷². Another assemblage has been found in a very rich burial of the 6th century BC at Taranto in southern Italy and includes 145 scarabs, many of which belong to the Naukratis production³⁷³.

De Salvia interpreted scarabs distributed outside Egypt as amulets ensuring children's protection and women's fertility³⁷⁴. His interpretation was

based mainly on the great number of scarabs found in female and child geometric burials of Pithekoussai. This assumption has been partially confirmed by the depiction of scarabs as parts of necklaces on archaic and classical terracotta and stone figurines of female figures and boys³⁷⁵.

Similar groups, which may represent necklaces, have been found in burials of women and children in the Aegean. In a Late Geometric/Early Orientalizing cremation burial of a woman from the Knossos North Cemetery two faience scarabs were found along with four beads³⁷⁶. In the same cemetery in a child's burial dating to the middle 7th century BC four scarabs made of Egyptian blue scarabs were found along with two faience figurines of Egyptian deities and glass beads³⁷⁷.

Single scarabs or scarab groups come from the East Greece and are particularly indicative for their significance. A child's pithos burial from Makri Langoni 180 at Kamiros contained sixteen scarabs of Naukratite type, along with a rich group of ceramics³⁷⁸. Webb suggests that the scarabs were imported ready-strung as a necklace³⁷⁹. One of the richest burials at Kamiros necropolis, the pithos burial Makri Langoni 178, which contained the bones a six-year-old child, also included four scarabs of Naukratis production along with amulets, mixed styled figurines and a large group of ceramics³⁸⁰. In this case the restricted number of scarabs along with the large size of the accompanying amulets would make the use of scarabs in a necklace difficult. It might be of importance that the scarabs were found along with a lion amulet, two amulets of Harpokrates, a bull and a cat figurine. Most of these figures are closely associated with the ideas of reproduction and fertility, like scarabs. The same may hold true for the single Naukratite scarab found in a four-year-old child pithos burial dating to the first half of the 6th century from Papatislures³⁸¹. The

369 BAUMBACH 2004, p. 180.

370 BAUMBACH 2004, p. 181.

371 British Museum 1856, 1226.1337; HÖLBL 1979, II, pp. 198-200, nos. 918-934, pl. 108; GORTON 1996, pp. 160-161, fig. 34.

372 They belong to Gorton's Type XXX and XXXII, see GORTON 1996, p. 110, nos. 3-9 (b), p. 115, nos. 15-22 (b).

373 HÖLBL 1979, p. 130, nos. 1065-1221, pls. 116-117; GORTON 1996, p. 161.

374 DE SALVIA 1978, pp. 1041-1047.

375 CLERC *et alii* 1976, pp. 167-182.

376 WEBB 1996, pp. 228, 604, T. 226, f. 3-4, fig. 183; WEBB 2019, p. 324.

377 WEBB 1996, p. 228, T. 28, f. 3-4, 9-10, f. 8, f. 24, f. 20; WEBB 2019, p. 324.

378 JACOPI 1931, pp. 321-326, figs. 359-362; WEBB 2019, pp. 331-332, fig. 17.

379 WEBB 2019, p. 331.

380 JACOPI 1931, pp. 313-319, figs. 356; WEBB 2019, pp. 332-333, figs. 18-20.

381 JACOPI 1932, pp. 26-27, 40, figs. 30-32; WEBB 2019, p. 334, fig. 21.

scarab of Naukratite type was found along with four mixed style figurines- three females and one male. Another group of six scarabs ascribed of Naukratis origin is discovered in another tomb of the same cemetery³⁸².

Another group of scarabs was discovered in the burial of a girl in the West Necropolis of Samos dating to the first half of the 6th century BC³⁸³. The burial contained six scarabs along with East Greek plastic vases. The scarabs belong to the Naukratis production and –according to Webb- may have formed a necklace worn by the girl³⁸⁴.

Although most of the above-mentioned necklaces were found in burials, a group of eighteen scarabs, dated to c. 735-630 BC, were found under a slab in the temple of Artemis at Delion of Paros and form part of a necklace used for the decoration of the statue of the worshipped deity³⁸⁵. Based only on the illustration of the underside, we could ascribe twelve of these scarabs to Perachora-Rhodes Group discussed above³⁸⁶.

Discussion - Conclusion

The thorough discussion on typology and contextualization of scarabs from Perachora presented here confirms the multilayered significance of this assemblage as a case study for Aegyptiaca. The great variety of types, including imported Egyptian as well as Egyptianizing scarabs, which were manufactured locally or even in other sites of the Aegean is indicative of the significant role of the sanctuary in the cultural routes of the Mediterranean. The introduction of classical Egyptian as well as Late Egyptian scarabs from workshops probably located in the Nile Delta confirms the written and archaeological evidence for the presence of foreign merchants and mercenaries in that area. It further underlines the pioneering role of Corinth and the strategic significance of Heraion of Perachora for the commercial and cultural interaction between

the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. Imported scarabs may have inspired the reproduction of garbled hieroglyphic inscriptions in the so called Perachora-Rhodes group (Gorton's type XXII). The high amount and variety of this type of scarabs, mainly composed of closely related workshop runs with a great degree of coherence, is so striking and unique at Perachora, that it could represent a complete typological workshop. The existence of a local workshop at Perachora or Corinth is plausible and would better interpret the high concentration and coherence of this type at the site, although other possible sites in the Aegean, cannot be excluded, especially since Aegyptiaca from Miletus have not yet been fully published. Further typological study as well as spectrographic analysis of this type can certainly shed more light to questions concerning its origin and distribution.

Motifs found on the locally made scarabs discussed above, the pre Naukratis scarabs and other Egyptian examples, along with the motifs of Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery could have also inspired the decoration of the large scarabs with narratives scenes, possibly manufactured in Perachora or in other sites of the Aegean (Gorton's Type XXIII). Although scarabs from Naukratis are less common and mostly derive from pre- Naukratis scarab centers, probably situated in the Nile Delta contexts, their presence in the sanctuary demonstrates that even in the 6th century BC the site remained a significant contact point in the sea routes of the Mediterranean. The scarab factory at Naukratis seems to continue the tradition of garbled inscriptions inspired by trigrams of Amun, which firstly appeared in Perachora group (Gorton's XXII), as well as the narrative scenes with animals also present in both types of the Aegean (Gorton's types XII and XIII). However, hieroglyphic combinations found at Naukratis shows more consistency and understanding of cryptography.

It is remarkable that both Perachora Group (Gorton's type XXII) scarabs and some of the Naukratite types are inspired by trigrams of Amun. The prevalence of the name of Amun in the harbor town of Naukratis scarabs is reasonable, because Amun's cult and temple was established since the XXVI dynasty, at least since the early 6th century BC. In the Ramesside times Amun was closely as-

382 JACOPI 1932, pp. 62, 70, fig. 75.

383 WEBB 2016, pp. 99, nos. 167-172, pl. 16.

384 WEBB 2019, p. 335.

385 RUBENSOHN 1962, pp. 21-22, p. 73.

386 RUBENSOHN 1962, pp. 73-75, nos. 3, 4-5, 7-11, 12-15. The scholar ascribes some of these scarabs to Naukratis, but the early date and the garbled hieroglyphs on the underside indicate that some of these scarabs belong to Perachora-Rhodes Group.

sociated with sailors, while in religious hymns of the New Kingdom his name is used to calm threatening winds³⁸⁷. However, it is rather doubtful that this property of the god was known outside Egypt. Scarabs from Perachora could also be associated with sailors, since the protective role Hera for this special category is further reflected both in her name as *Limenia* and in the discovery of relevant votives. However, Hera at Perachora was mainly venerated as goddess of human, earth and animal fertility. This aspect of the cult is demonstrated by the great abundance of female figurines, bronze bovine statuettes, figurines of children and *kourotrophoi*. The evidence from burials of women and children confirms that even in the Aegean scarabs were worn as protective charms by these social groups, thus their dedication in sanctuaries of female deities, like sanctuaries of Hera, is considered reasonable. Considering the above-mentioned reference by Plutarch, that scarabs were worn by men as amulets in battle, and the protective role of Hera for sailors and soldiers already discussed, some of these scarabs could have been dedicated by Greek or other mercenaries returning from Egypt or the Levant.

Iconography of scarabs is indicative of their multilayered meaning. The repetition of a restricted number of signs with magical value (i.e., *nfr* = good, beautiful, *anx* = life, *mAat* = truth, *sA* = protection, etc) and their clumsy rendering on the popular Perachora group scarabs indicates they were not conceived just as decorative motifs, but most of them were recognizable as symbols of magic and regeneration, at least by craftsmen imitating them or even by some owners. Even if scarab decoration was not perceived as grammatical phrase by their owners, the combination of magical signs along with the regenerative role of the scarab beetle as symbol could enhance the apotropaic power of these objects and ensure the supernatural protection of their holders. Although the combination of hieroglyphs or the cryptographic renderings of Amun could not be read and reproduced properly, the knowledge of the protective character of such inscription may have been known and initiated their local mass

reproduction. Animals and mixed creatures with profane mythological connotations or apotropaic role, such as lion, *ibex*, or bull, sphinx, or griffin, were already known in Greek art, so they could be easily reproduced on scarabs from the Aegean and later from the factory at Naukratis. Conclusively, scarabs could be worn by women, children and sailors during lifetime, but also selected and dedicated as appropriate votives to the goddess from worshippers willing to ask for or just thank the goddess for her divine intervention in a dangerous delivery, in a long voyage to the West, or in another risky situation. Except for vehicles of personal piety, though, scarabs from Perachora can also be interpreted as markers of social identity. Although most of Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts were manufactured of modest material, their early date and their exotic character revealed in their iconography, indicate that they could be used as means of self-promotion by merchants or other social groups participating in the rekindled cultural interaction of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Heraion at Perachora was the last significant sanctuary of mainland Greece in the sea routes to the Ionian Islands and the open Adriatic Sea. The great variety of scarabs in this strategic location reveals that as early as the late 8th century BC some Egyptian religious ideas, motifs and symbols were transmitted, assimilated and transformed within the Greek cultural milieu.

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387 DRIOTON, p. 31; MASSON 2018, p. 30.

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RIASSUNTO - I contatti tra Grecia ed Egitto rimangono indiretti tra il X e l'VIII secolo a.C. e avvengono tramite lo scambio di oggetti egizi da parte di mercanti greci, fenici, ciprioti per lo più in siti greci dell'Egeo, che circolano principalmente come prodotti commerciali marittimi. Quest'ultimo era uno degli aspetti più significativi dell'interazione tra i popoli del Mediterraneo orientale e fu stimolo per la trasmissione sia di idee che di tecniche egiziane nell'arte greca. Gli *Aegyptiaca*, infatti, dimostrano la grande influenza che la cultura egizia ebbe sulla Grecia giacché questi manufatti si trovano nei santuari e nelle tombe greci, tra cui quello di Hera-Limenia Perachora. Il confronto e l'analisi approfondita della tipologia e della contestualizzazione, in particolare degli scarabei, in questo santuario, confermano il significativo multistrato del caso studio. La grande varietà di tipi, compresi gli scarabei egizi importati e gli scarabei egiziani, fabbricati localmente o anche in altri siti dell'Egeo, è indicativa del ruolo significativo del santuario nelle rotte culturali del Mediterraneo. Questo tipo di manifattura aveva larga fruizione sia nell'uso quotidiano che in contesto sacro, in qualità di doni votivi per la dea come ringraziamento per il suo intervento. L'*Heraion* a Perachora era l'ultimo significativo santuario della Grecia continentale nelle rotte marittime verso le Isole Ionie e l'aperto Mar Adriatico e la grande varietà di scarabei in questa posizione strategica rivela che già alla fine dell'VIII secolo a.C. alcune idee, motivi e simboli religiosi egizi furono trasmessi, assimilati e trasformati all'interno dell'ambiente culturale greco.

SUMMARY - Contacts between Greece and Egypt remained indirect between the 10th and 8th centuries BC. and they took place through the exchange of Egyptian objects by Greek, Phoenician, Cypriot merchants mostly in Greek Aegean sites, which circulate mainly as maritime commercial products; since it was one of the most significant aspects of the interaction between the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and that it was an impulse for the transmission of both Egyptian ideas and techniques in Greek art. The *Aegyptiaca*, in fact, demonstrate the great influence that Egyptian culture had on Greece since these artifacts are found in Greek sanctuaries and tombs, including that of Hera-Limenia Perachora. The comparison and in-depth anal-

ysis of the typology and contextualization, specifically of scarabs, in this sanctuary, confirm the significant multilayer of the case study. The large variety of types, including imported Egyptian scarabs and Egyptian scarabs, manufactured locally or even in other Aegean sites, is indicative of the sanctuary's significant role in Mediterranean cultural routes. This type of manufacture was widely used both in daily use and in a sacred context, as votive gifts for the goddess as thanks for her intervention. The Heraion at Perachora was the last significant sanctuary of mainland Greece in the sea routes to the Ionian Islands and the open Adriatic Sea and the great variety of scarabs in this strategic position reveals that as early as the end of the 8th century BC. some Egyptian religious motifs and symbols were ideas transmitted, assimilated and transformed within the Greek cultural environment.

Parole chiave: Grecia, Egitto, *Aegyptiaca*, Mar Mediterraneo, Scarabei, Santuario.

Keywords: Greece, Egypt, *Aegyptiaca*, Mediterranean Sea, Scarabs, Sanctuary.