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The image shows two ancient faience figurines. The one on the left is a seated figure with a rounded, somewhat abstract head and a rectangular body. The one on the right is a more complex, multi-lobed object, possibly a bowl or a small vessel, with a central depression. Both are made of a light-colored, textured material, likely faience, and are set against a plain, light-colored background.

ABSTRACT

Faience Found in the Recent Excavations to the East of the Great Altar in the Samos Heraion

Virginia Webb

New excavations east of the Monumental Altar in the Samos Heraion have revealed deposits of discarded votive material associated with sacrificial practices at the earlier altars. Faience objects make up a major part of this material and we now have a sequence of datable levels which span the fifty or so years prior to the new altar. This enables us to assess the significance of this material in the ritual landscape of the sanctuary. Direct links with Egypt can be established for a small number of objects, but the majority are in a style which borrows themes from Egyptian sacred animals and deities, but presents them in a 'mixed style'. Other objects reproduce the sacred baskets of Bastet, as well as local shallow bowls. An imitative tendency, linked to strong ritual significance, shows faience as an important carrier of meaning. The question of their origin does not have a single answer.

KEYWORDS

faience, Egyptianizing, Samos Heraion, altar, deposit

Faience Found in the Recent Excavations to the East of the Great Altar in the Samos Heraion

Introduction

¹ Recent excavations within the Sanctuary of Hera on the island of Samos have been undertaken by Professor Dr W.-D. Niemeier and Dr Jan-Marc Henke in the area to the east of the Monumental Altar (2010–2013 with preliminary excavations in 2009)¹. It is hoped that new evidence will establish more accurate dating for that structure, and for its predecessors, and, in addition, will establish new and evidence-based understanding of deposition practices. As the last area of the Sanctuary available for excavation, it is especially important to analyse the finds with metrological accuracy.

² I have been asked to introduce the faience finds², since they constitute such a large part of the recently excavated material, and provide an additional insight into the links which existed between Samos and Egypt in the seventh and early sixth century. Material of this type found in a selection of contexts throughout the Heraion Sanctuary has already been published³, but in many cases it was not possible to date this precisely where records had been lost. The importance of the newly excavated material is that it provides a succession of dated contexts, and an overview of the importance of faience of Egyptian and Egyptianizing origin in the deposition practices of the sanctuary during the period from the middle of the seventh century to the first quarter of the sixth century. Moreover, as the excavated area under discussion lies so close to the site of the early altars dedicated to Hera, and is immediately adjacent to the area excavated by Professor Hans Walter in the 1960's next to the eastern edge of the much larger and realigned Monumental Altar (or ›Rhoikos‹ Altar), we are able to use the deposited material to document the changes which immediately preceded this very significant alteration in sacrificial practices.

¹ Henke 2017a.

² I have been responsible for the faience material excavated in the Heraion since Professor Hans Walter's work. Since publishing all the faience material to date in 2016, important new excavations have taken place which have revealed a very large number of faience objects. This article is intended to serve as an introduction to the material found in these excavations, and to highlight the most important groups of objects. It is not a complete catalogue of all the finds.

³ Webb 2016.

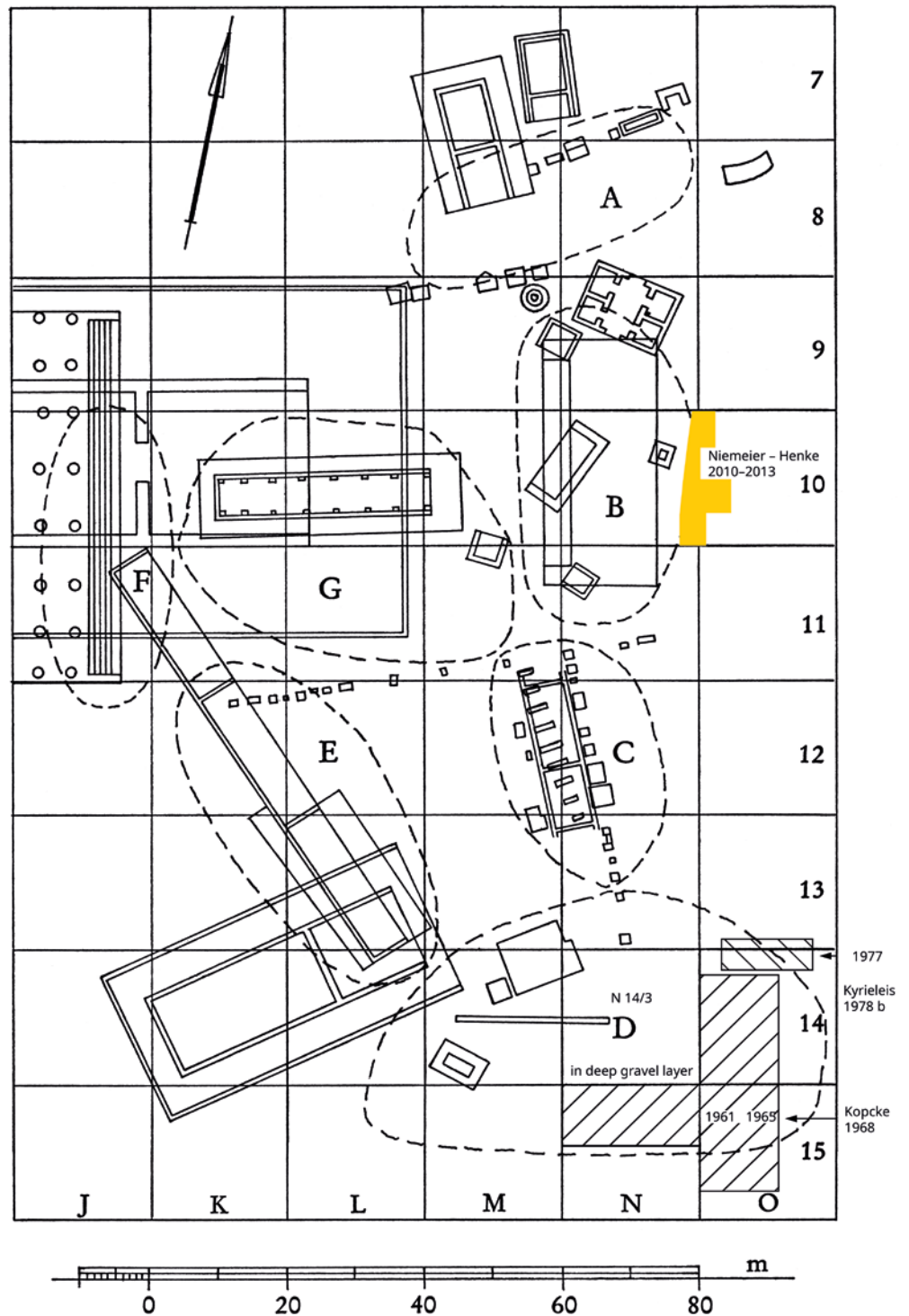
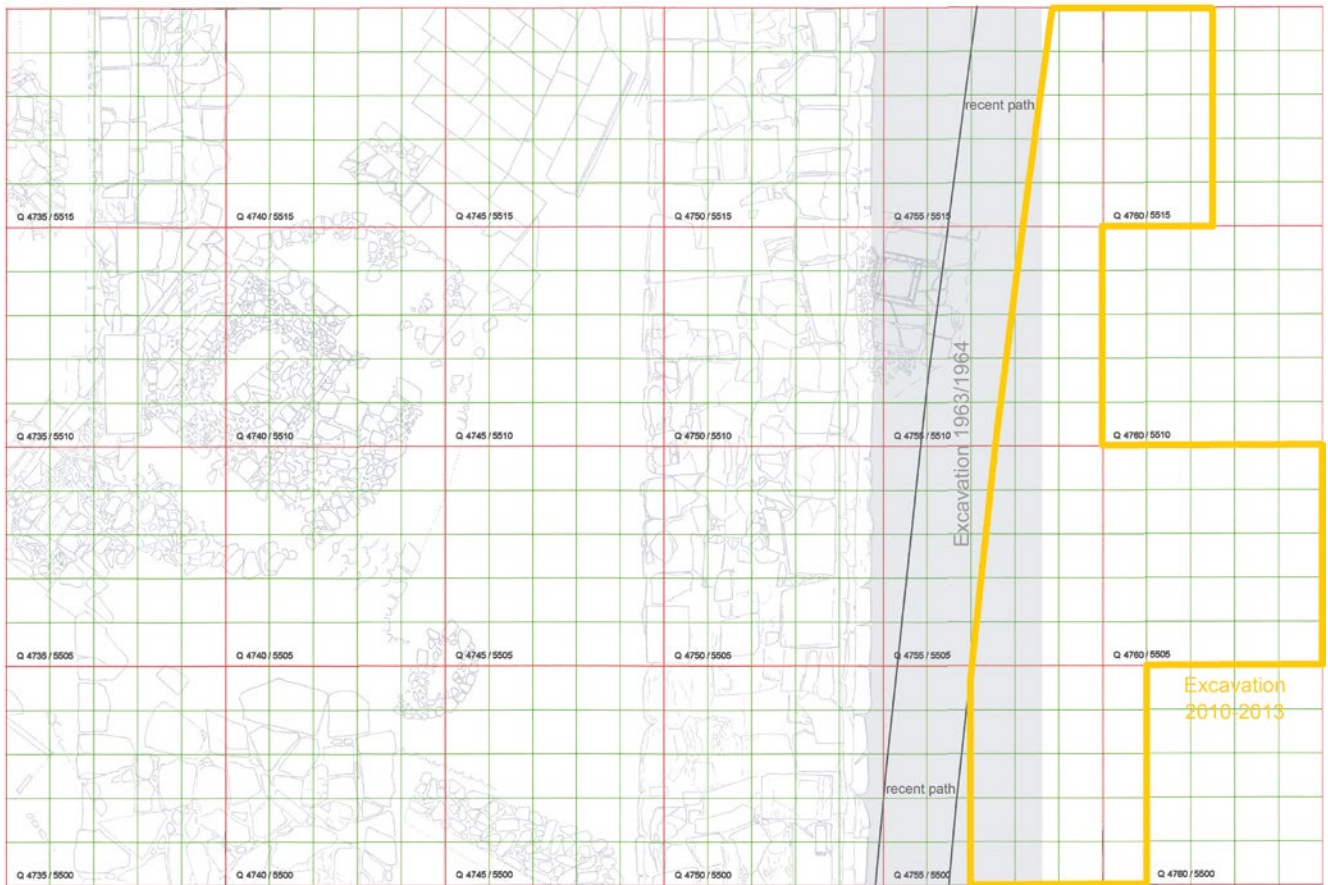


Fig. 1: Plan of Heraion with excavation area 2010–2013 marked in yellow (scale 1 : 1000)

3 The area to the east of the Great Altar was initially excavated by Professor Hans Walter in 1963–1964⁴ and formed an extension to his earlier work on the important group of early altars, focussed around the so-called *Lygosbaum* (willow tree under which Hera was reputed to have been born)⁵. He excavated a north-south trench east of the Monumental Altar, using a stratification system based on 10 cm layers measured above sea-level: unfortunately, however, the results were never published by Walter,

4 Under direction of Ernst Homann-Wedeking: Homann-Wedeking 1964, 220–226; Homann-Wedeking 1965, 428–439.

5 Buschor – Schleif 1933; Niemeier – Maniatis 2010; Walter et al. 2019.



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nor, it has become clear, did the strata fixed at an arbitrary 10 cm yield reliable information about deposition practices and dating. The layers were extremely rich in finds of late seventh century and early sixth century pottery, limestone, bronzes, faience, glass, ivory and other precious materials, and these objects were assumed to represent discarded votives. Walter identified the finds as the evidence of cult activity at Altars V and VI, (and VII, now amalgamated with VI⁶) dated to between the eighth century and the early years of the sixth century, and labelled the layers associated with the latest depositions as Find group 40⁷. It is now becoming clear that Walter's initial dating of the closure of Find group 40 to 560/550 B.C. is too late and, as he judged in 1980, it is now possible to date this to 590/580 B.C.⁸. The relationship of this find group to the material from the new excavations is now the subject of study by Niemeier, Henke and Neef.

4 The excavations carried out by Niemeier and Henke in 2010–2013 (with preliminary work in 2009) focussed on a strip of unexcavated land lying to the east of the area excavated by Walter (Fig. 1. 2). Since this area is the last part of the Heraion Sanctuary to be excavated, it is of the very greatest importance to retrieve as much information as possible about the relationships between the finds, and to observe and record the methods of deposition witnessed by the deposits including the customs associated with sacrifices of animals and the burial of their burnt remains. This detailed work, using the newest metrological techniques to record find groups and levels on a computer data base, is primarily in the hands of Jan-Marc Henke and he has already published

Fig. 2: Plan of excavations east of the Monumental Altar, Samos Heraion, 2010–2013

6 Walter et al. 2019.

7 Recorded as Fundgruppe XL (Find group 40) and currently under analysis by W.-D. Niemeier and J.-M. Henke. See Henke 2017a; Niemeier – Henke forthcoming; Henke forthcoming; Schmidt 1968, 75–78 for general summary, and Webb 2016, 198 f. for faience finds.

8 In a letter to the author, dated 08.08.1980.

his initial findings⁹. The final conclusions to be derived from the work undertaken on the totality of the finds will be presented by W.-D. Niemeier and J.-M. Henke. But it is of particular interest to examine the new finds of faience, since they constitute such a large part of the excavated material.

Faience

5 The importance of the faience material found on Greek sites, in both mainland Greece, the islands and East Greece, from the Early Iron Age onwards, has been a subject of study since the early years of the previous century¹⁰, and this has now been extended to its distribution in the West¹¹. But its existence at the Heraion and the importance of the finds made there has only been recognised comparatively recently¹². The source of much of the faience material is clearly Egyptian, or directly inspired by Egyptian techniques and style, and its dating lies comparatively late when compared with other sites in East Greece: between the early years of the seventh century and the middle years of the sixth century. This dating parameter, and the nature of the finds make clear that its presence in the Heraion is largely due to direct contacts between Egypt and East Greece. It must now be considered as a body of material lying alongside, and contributing to the ongoing debate about the totality of the Egyptian finds made in the Heraion and this material should be placed alongside the other bodies of valuable imported objects already studied¹³. The site has produced more objects overall of Egyptian origin than any other site in the Greek world¹⁴, and this, of course, includes the group of over one hundred especially fine 25th/26th Dynasty bronzes¹⁵.

6 A very large proportion of the objects found in the new excavations are made of faience. (They number about 2,277 fragments in total). Many of these are amorphous pieces which it is not possible to identify, but as Henke says »the majority of the identifiable objects conform to the find spectrum known from the Heraion«¹⁶. However, there are some differences, and some additions to the corpus which are of significance.

7 This material, we must assume, constitutes debris collected together after sacrifices carried out on the altars which served for the worship of Hera, before the Monumental Altar (»Rhoikos« Altar) was established sometime in the first half of the sixth century: ashes and bone fragments of sacrificed animals make this clear¹⁷. However, there is also the possibility of a clearing out of votives stored up from previous ceremonies or deposits since the faience material occupies a wide date span, going back to between 650/630 B.C. and ending around 570 B.C.

8 The earliest layers found can be dated to the Deposit closed around 630/620 B.C. (or a little later), while the latest recognisable layer of deposition is related directly to the Construction Layer of the Monumental Altar, dated to 570/560 B.C. In between these two »book-ends« as it were, the most important deposit is a dense layer of deposited

9 Henke 2017a.

10 Jacopi 1929; Jacopi 1931 etc.; Pendlebury 1930; Blinkenberg 1931; von Bissing 1941; Webb 1978; Skon-Jedele 1994; Hölbl 1999; Hölbl 2014; Webb 2016. These are the landmark publications.

11 Poulsen 1912 (1968); Orsi 1918; von Bissing 1930; von Bissing 1939; von Bissing 1941; Hölbl 1979 etc.; Padró i Parcerisa 1980; Padró i Parcerisa 1983; Padró i Parcerisa 1985.

12 Parlasca 1953; Diehl 1964; Diehl 1965; Webb 1978; Webb 2016.

13 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Ebbinghaus 2006; Bumke 2007; Skon-Jedele 1994; Webb 2016.

14 Skon-Jedele 1994, 1402–1634 catalogues and discusses all the finds of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material from the Heraion excavated up to that date.

15 Parlasca 1953; Jantzen 1972; Śliwa 1983; Bianchi 1990; Weiss 2012. Add Nubian »dolls« Walter – Vierneisel 1959b; Henke 2017a.

16 Henke 2017a; Webb 2016.

17 Henke 2017a, note 14.

finds dated at the latest to 590/580 B.C. and containing nearly 2,000 fragments of faience (Layer c – Henke 2017a). The majority of these pieces are completely unrecognizable, surviving only as fragments of core material, but nevertheless, of the identifiable fragments (three hundred and seventy in number) which have survived in this layer, these provide the widest distribution of faience object types. The possible explanation for the high level of destruction inflicted on the objects is discussed below.

9 My intention here is to outline the nature of the faience finds from the new excavations, to tie them in with the new dating parameters now established, and to link them back to those finds made in the rest of the Sanctuary, discussing whether there are different patterns of distribution and dedication, what the patterns of wear can tell us about their history as dedications in the sanctuary, and lastly what we can deduce about links with Egypt and its manufacturing and religious centres. The types and numerical distribution of faience finds present an apparently very different pattern from that seen at other East Greek Sanctuary sites¹⁸, and should add more information to the discussion of the much debated relationship between Samos and Egypt.

Types of Faience Object

10 The analysis of the faience material focuses initially on two main groups which have already been studied and dated from sites in the Greek world and from Samos itself¹⁹. The first group consists of finely-made double and single vases²⁰, intended to contain perfumed oil or unguents which can be dated 650/640 B.C. to 620/600 B.C., named Phase 1, while the second group of material is in the form of figurines of birds, humans and animals, referring in their iconography to Egyptian religious concepts²¹, named Phase 2, which can be assigned a date between 640/630 and 590/580 B.C. However, in the present excavations there is a striking imbalance between the material from the two groups: the first group survives, with one exception, as a few, very badly weathered fragments, while the second group not only forms the bulk of the finds with particular large numbers of falcon figurines, but also survives in a much wider range of conditions, from scarcely recognisable fragments to intact heads and bodies, as well as adding another Egyptian religious avatar to the series of offering figures²².

11 Besides these two groups, a newly identified type of faience object suggests another link between Samos and Egyptian religious observance – fragments of grooved ware vessels (?) which are interpreted as ritual baskets, connected with the worship of Bastet. Another important ritual type of object made in faience is a shallow dish with depressed bobbin handles of East Greek type and ascribable to an East Greek manufacturing centre²³, though here only a few fragments survive. An undisputed link with Egyptian production centres exists, of course, in objects in Egyptian Blue – a New Year flask²⁴ of a type already known in the main excavations and on other East Greek

18 For example on the numerical differences between types of dedicated faience objects at the two sanctuary sites – the Aphrodite Sanctuary at Zeyintepe (Hölbl 1999; Hölbl 2014; Webb forthcoming) and the Heraion (Webb 2016; Webb forthcoming). In particular in the number of scarabs and amulets. But such a comparison can also be made with the finds from Ialysos, where over 200 scarabs were found as well as a very large number of amulets. Lindos and Kamiros also show a much wider range of object types.

19 Webb 1978, where defined as Archaic Greek Faience. Webb 2016; Webb 2017.

20 Phase 1 of 'Archaic Greek Faience' as defined in Webb 1978, 6 f. 11–60 chaps 2–4, and further discussed in Webb 2016; Webb 2017; Barcat – Kousoulis 2019.

21 Webb 1978, Phase 2, 98–106; Webb 2016.

22 Two examples of the Apis bull-calf, 27 (body) and 28 (head), Fig. 12, and a separate example 35 (head and forepart of body) Fig. 17.

23 Hölbl 1999.

24 42.

sites – and a very small collection of scarabs. Another type of object which has direct links with Egypt is an Ushabti figure with the remains of a hieroglyphic inscription – an object of especial interest²⁵ since only one other object of this type, of doubtful origin, exists from the Heraion²⁶. Finally, representing women's concerns, there are faience disc beads which occur scattered throughout the find layers, as well as a single spindle whorl²⁷ (Fig. 24) – up to now an unknown find amongst the material from the Heraion²⁸. The infrequency of offerings of women's jewellery at the Heraion is already well-known, though the few faience amulets, bracelets etc. could perhaps be considered as votives or gifts from women²⁹. What are clearly missing from this assemblage are the large quantities of scarabs and amulets such as we find on other sites in East Greece, for example from the *Ialysos* Votive Deposit on Rhodes³⁰, and, much nearer at hand, in the deposits of votive material in the *sanctuary of the Temple of Aphrodite, Zeytintepe, Miletos*³¹.

12 Thus the range of offerings largely conforms to the finds made from the earlier excavations, and presents a very specific group of Egyptianizing object types in faience, with the addition of two more types of vessel, which relate to both Egyptian and Greek ritual usage. We can see here how varied the production centres were that manufactured faience, but there is always an overriding element of ritual or religious importance in their intended use.

Condition of Objects – a Reflection of Dedication Practices

13 There is evidence of extensive damage to the majority of the faience objects, and apparently little attempt made to bury them with reverence or care³². There may well be more than one explanation of the evident damage inflicted on the objects. Whether the damage was inflicted during ceremonies at the altar(s), or when breaking them up in order to prepare them for use in the deposit³³, or whether indeed, some of the damage evidences long-term exposure to weathering is now difficult to determine. I will discuss this further below.

14 The Heraion excavations overall have yielded evidence of a range of dedication practices, from discrete groups of valuable *ex-votos* carefully sealed in closed deposits³⁴, to scattered objects, found widespread over important areas, which may evidence secondary use to fill up the uneven, marshy ground, or indeed careless dispersal

25 48, Fig. 23.

26 The lower half only of a ushabti with clear hieroglyphs which was very likely imported in recent times to the Museum in Samos, Webb 2016, cat. 93 pl. 10 fig. 10, 63, 64; Skon-Jedele 1994, 1455–1488.

27 46, Fig. 24 which, though found in ›recent disturbance‹ must belong with the main body of faience material found. This is the only object of this type from the Heraion. It is of the standard design, common in seventh century sanctuary sites, with a centrally pierced hole, and petal type decoration. See Blinkenberg 1931, 366 for a comprehensive list of find places up to his date of publication. Add Paros, Delion: Pendlebury 1930, cat. 290, 104 and Rubensohn 1962, no. 11, 170. From Bothros, Zeytintepe, Miletos, one example, inv. Z08.482.3, unpublished, Webb forthcoming.

28 Baumbach 2004, table 7.3, 179 does not record any spindle whorls from the Heraion in the Archaic period.

29 Webb 2016, 66–75, 76–79.

30 Skon-Jedele 1994, 2337–2644; Apostola – Kousoulis 2019, 9–20.

31 Hölbl 1999; Hölbl 2014. See Webb forthcoming.

32 Compare with Henke's description of burial of glass bowl fragments, Henke 2017a, 207 fig. 6.

33 Henke's observation of the position of broken fragments of faience etc. – the largest on top of the collection of smaller fragments, reflects, he thinks, the packing of the already broken pieces into baskets, and their being tipped out upside down.

34 For example, Brunnen (Well) 1977 – Kyrieleis 1978, 393 f.; Furtwängler 1980, 158–160; Webb 2016, 204. Brunnen (Wells) 1 and 2 excavated in 1983 – Kyrieleis 1984, 693; Kyrieleis 1985; Catling 1983/1984, 58 f.; Kyrieleis 2020.

of no-longer respected objects. The treatment meted out to some of the Egyptian bronzes might suggest valuable objects being treated with very little care when they were finally buried³⁵. And indeed, the recent publication of the Attic Prize amphorae and other Attic Black and Red figure pottery seems to confirm this³⁶. But it must be emphasized that in the case of the objects being discussed here we are dealing, at least in part, with material directly associated with ritual activities at the altars which preceded the building of the Monumental Altar.

Categories of Finds

Phase 1: Ointment Vessels

¹⁵ The earliest group of faience material which can be identified from the recent excavations consists of one specific closed vessel type – a major product of the coherent and discrete industry which appeared in East Greece around 650 B.C.³⁷. These are the finely-made double and single vases, the so-called ›Leopard Spot Group‹, and associated types, intended to store and dispense a semi-liquid oil or unguent³⁸. They have already been thoroughly studied with classification and dating³⁹. Although they are un-Greek in style and technique, it seems most likely that they were made in East Greece, and it is Rhodes which most clearly appears as their centre of manufacture⁴⁰.

¹⁶ From the recent excavations, east of the later site of the Monumental Altar, there are a number of identifiable examples of this group. But only one survives relatively complete and undamaged: it comes from the upper levels of the stratified deposit (Deposit 590/580 B.C.)⁴¹ (Fig. 3 a–c). Other examples have fared less well, for example, the remains of one vase split into two fragments (head and palmette, and upper body) found in separate find contexts and showing clear evidence of distortion, possibly caused by burning⁴² (Fig. 4 a–c). This level of damage continues with the remaining examples which are all in poor condition, and consist of body fragments, for instance

³⁵ Jantzen 1972, torso B 1312 pl. 2; head B 1690 pl. 3; right arm B 160 pl. 4; right leg B 1525 pl. 4. Findplaces: main torso B 1312 excavated in 1961 in square N/15; arms B 160 discovered in 1926/1928 south of the South Stoa next to the canal, B 126 in 1927 beneath the ›Rhoikos‹ Altar; right leg B 1525 disc in 1963 in the Heraion; the head B 1690 in 1965 Q/R2; all in diverse contexts, Viglaki-Sofianou – Russmann, in: Hill 2007, 110–113; Chatzidakis 2018, 102 f.

³⁶ These were smashed into small pieces and used to fill up the unevenness of the ground, Kreuzer 2017.

³⁷ Webb 1978; Webb 2016. Earliest finds are associated with Late PC and Transitional pottery, see Webb 1978, cat. 5–10 for range of dated contexts. Neef 2017 now dates the change in this ceramic boundary to 640/630 B.C.

³⁸ Two recently published analyses yield interesting results. Analysis of the contents of two vessels of this type found in the side chamber of a grand Etruscan tomb suggests a vegetable oil-base with the addition of milk products, perfumed with the resinated oil of a coniferous tree, and an aromatic binder, Frère et al. 2018. Another set of analyses of examples from a rich tomb assemblage from Kamiros further suggests that the vessels may have been reused for specific funerary purposes, after their original contents had been consumed, Coulié et al. 2017.

³⁹ Webb 1978, 11–35. For views on centre of manufacture and nationality of workers see: Coldstream 1969 who posits Phoenicians working in Ialysos; Rathje 1976 argues for Phoenician manufacture, and a source in Carthage, however, Ben Taher in: Stampolidis 2003, cat. 933 points out that though found in quantity at Carthage, they are infrequent as finds at other Phoenician sites in the West, see for instance the sole find from Sulcis, Bartoloni 2007, fig. 63; Webb 1978; Webb 1980 judges by the updated distribution pattern for a centre of manufacture in Rhodes, although the nationality of their makers, not Greek, can still not be securely assigned. See also Hölbl 1999; Hölbl 2014; Webb 2016; Webb 2017; von Bissing 1941 originally proposed that they represent the products of Egyptian workers established in Rhodes.

⁴⁰ They are part of the developing picture of Rhodes as a centre of manufacture and transshipment for precious oils, adopting Eastern technologies, but also under influence from Egypt, see Bourogiannis 2014; Webb 2017; Barcat-Kousoulis 2019; Apostola-Kousoulis 2019.

⁴¹ 1. Furthermore it shows interesting evidence of the failure of the mould in shaping the knee of the bent left leg. (Missing its head, upper torso, frog opening and top to jar.) Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

⁴² 2 and 3. Two much damaged fragments of one vessel. – Torso and part of jar, head and palmette. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

Fig. 3: a: Cat. 1. »Leopard Spot Group: vase, H 6.9; b: normal right knee and bent leg; c: left knee showing failure of mould



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left arm and shoulder, the body of a jar with a yellow rosette⁴³ and a number of bases⁴⁴. To these sorry relicts we can add one example of a parallel type, modelled as a single figure – a kneeling woman with a baby suspended centrally at her back and presenting a kneeling ibex⁴⁵, though here only two fragments survive – the woman’s head, and the ibex she holds⁴⁶ (Fig. 4 d). It is difficult to determine whether this level of damage is due to ritual destruction, or long term weathering. But see below for the apparently careful deposition of the »Low-relief style« pyxis and lekythos under the older Altar pavements.

17 The condition, and the small number, of these fragments confirms, as we would suspect from the chronology of the contexts, that these vessels were no longer in common use, and long past their peak of production. Evidence from previous excavations is that the products of this workshop were popular in the Heraion Sanctuary overall, as fourteen or so examples have been found⁴⁷. The only examples which have a secure context come from those deposits which date to not later than 590/580⁴⁸: two come from Walter’s excavations (1963/1964) to the East of the Great Altar⁴⁹, and another two examples (relatively complete, so intentionally dedicated) come from Wells (»Brunnen«) 1 and 2 – two rich deposits excavated by Kyrieleis with find groups containing prestige items in ivory, bronze and wood, and dated to the closing years of the seventh century⁵⁰. Other finds cannot now be dated. It is clear that the products of this workshop

43 4. 5. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

44 6. 7. Two other less certain fragments of bases? – 8 and 9 from Stratigraphical Unit (SU) 2013-2 which consists of many extremely fragmentary pieces. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

45 10. The type is distinctive, and corresponds exactly with an example found in the older excavations in the Heraion. Webb 2016, cat. 58 pl. 4, 4. See Lagarce – Leclant 1976, and Webb 1978 for discussion of origins of type.

46 Red ware vessels of late New Kingdom date which show a nursing mother. See Webb 1978, fig. 8 32–34 for discussion of examples of ethnic typologies which carry babies at their backs in a variety of distinctive ways. It is clear from these examples that the depictions in these vases are derived from those of Nubian women.

47 Webb 2016, cat. 20–45: six of the Fine Group, ten of the Standard group, and a number of fragments which may belong with the more complete examples, or represent further pieces. In addition there is a single example of the type where an ape replaces the human in presenting the storage vessel.

48 Webb 2016, 31.

49 Samos Webb 2016, cat. 25. 32, p. 199; Webb 2016, cat. 45, p. 198; all Walter Find group 40, now dated to no later than 590/580 B.C. see Henke forthcoming.

50 Kyrieleis 2020,11 inv. V1 5 and V1 6; Webb 2016, cat. 21 and 57, p. 205.



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were popular in the Heraion Sanctuary. They also have a wide distribution throughout East Greece in both sanctuaries and burials⁵¹. Of the parallel types – a squatting ape and a bearded man – there are no examples. Neither are there any traces in the new excavations of the earlier (prototype) groups, of which the Samos Heraion has already produced a number of examples⁵².

18 There is no evidence of the other main group of faience vessels – the pyxides, alabastra and lekythoi associated with the ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vases, decorated in the so-called ›Low relief‹ style and intended, like ›Leopard Spot Group‹, to contain and advertise perfumed oil or unguent. These first appeared in the middle years of the seventh century, alongside the double vases⁵³. There is evidence only of a stylistically related group of fine-quality faience containers in the form of ovoid aryballois⁵⁴. This apparent absence is in contrast to the previous excavations, where a complete pyxis was found

Fig. 4: a–c: Cat. 2 and Cat. 3. Upper part of ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vase, distorted and split in two; d: Cat. 10. Vase in form of woman carrying baby at back and ibex on lap, head, H 2.3, fragment of lap H 3.8

51 Webb 1978: Ildir-Erythrae; Old Smyrna-Bayrakli; Ephesus Artemision; Didyma; Kamiros; Ialysos; Lindos. Add Miletos-Zeytintepe, Hölbl 1999, Webb forthcoming; Knidos-Emecik, Berges 2006; Pedasa, Bulut 2018.

52 Several examples of the apparent prototype were found in the Heraion, Webb 2016, cat. 59–64. See in particular two dated examples – cat. 61 from the pre ›Rhoikos‹ flood-layer, pre 570 and into last part of the seventh century, cat. 64 – Brunnen G, Walter – Vierneisel 1959b, (Fundgruppe 17) whose contents are now dated to 680–640/630 by W.-D. Niemeier (personal communication).

53 Webb 1978, 6. 36–60. 64; Webb 2016, 17–24.

54 11. 12. This particular class is found in much greater numbers in the older excavations, see Webb 2016, cat. 14–19.

under the pavement of Altar VI by Walter⁵⁵, and two other fragments of pyxides came from other areas of the sanctuary, one of which is dated to the mid-seventh century⁵⁶. Add to these a fine lekythos decorated with two identical walking lions either side of lanceolate trees which survives complete from Walter's excavations of 1963 east of the Monumental Altar⁵⁷, and it therefore seems that such offerings were both infrequent and of rather special value in the sanctuary at the Heraion⁵⁸.

Phase 2: Figurines – Human, Animal and Birds

19 The largest body of faience material found in the new excavations belongs to Phase 2 of Archaic Greek Faience as previously defined⁵⁹. This whole class forms the bulk of the new finds with particularly large numbers of figurines depicting falcons – to be identified as the Horus falcon. All the figurines are comparatively large in size, do not have suspension loops⁶⁰ and stand independently on rectangular bases. They would have served as dedications in their own right, and not for amuletic purposes. Although these represent a range of human figures, birds, and animals linked in various ways to Egyptian divine iconography, they often depart from Egyptian stylistic principles, and are much cruder in style and method of manufacture than the comparable figures made in Egyptian style or the products of Phase 1. They show similarities with the so-called ›mixed style‹ initially identified in Cypriot limestone figures⁶¹, and in some cases demonstrate close links in their pose to the corpus of limestone figures, but their stylistic and technical development is separate⁶².

20 The glazing technique used by the Phase 2 industry is the application method⁶³, and it is distinct from the efflorescence method used in Phase 1⁶⁴. In the application method glaze is applied to the underlying core material as a liquid slip, and although it forms an impressive glaze surface on firing, it is not so well integrated chemically or physically with the core as that created by the efflorescence method: it can become detached quite easily and leaves areas of the object only partially glazed, or with no glaze at all⁶⁵. By comparison, objects glazed using the efflorescence method maintain an integrated glaze surface, although there are distinctive signs of the method in poor glazing in areas which are not exposed to air.

55 Webb 2016, cat. 3, p. 20. 21 for discussion of date. Walter 1968; Schmidt 1968, 74 f.; Walter et al. 2019.

56 Webb 2016, cat. 2 from N14/3 in deep gravel layer with pottery of mid-seventh century.

57 Webb 2016, cat. 13 pl. 2, 1. Find place: East of Great (›Rhoikos‹) Altar, south of Brunnen J (Weihgeschenk 2) +179–+170 = Walter Find group 40.

58 The fact that these two objects survived intact indicates that special care was taken in their deposition – while the reverse holds true of the material excavated to the east of the altar complex, and dealt with here.

59 Classified as Phase 2 of Archaic Greek Faience in Webb 1978, 97–107 cat. 562–702; Webb 2016, 103–170 pls. 17–40, this grouping remains a useful overall category for a large and varied class of figures, which share a coarse fabric and applied glaze often green-blue, with details in a brown or bluish black, with a thick rectangular base, and typical features such as in-fill of legs and back pillar for humans, and in certain animals.

60 These are not the small amuletic figurines with suspension loops, which could be worn as amulets or talismans, or suspended in sanctuaries, although the general typologies are closely related. Webb 1978, Phase 2, Section A, cat. 277–561 p. 81–97.

61 Budde – Nicholls 1964.

62 Schmidt 1968; Sørensen 1978; Jenkins 2001; Höckmann – Königs 2007; Henke 2017b.

63 Nicholson 1998, fig. 27 C.

64 The efflorescence method of glazing generates a fine smooth glaze closely integrated with the core underneath, which can only be removed through extreme weathering and abrasion, although there are distinctive signs of the method in poor glazing in areas which are not exposed to air – classically a pock-marked appearance. Kaczmarczyk – Hedges 1983; Vandiver 1983; Vandiver 1998; Vandiver 2008; and Hölbl – Tite 1987, for different physical properties of the two methods, as seen under magnification. Busz – Gercke 1999, *passim*.

65 See Berges 2006, colour pl. 8, for contrast in appearance between the two methods: cat. 286 (efflorescence) and cat. 792 (application).



5

Horus Falcons

21 I will deal first with the frequently found figures of hawks, which must be identified as the Horus falcon, and belong to Egyptian divine iconography, representing both the Pharaoh, the God Horus, and other associated deities as known from earliest Dynastic times onwards⁶⁶. Such figures appear in the repertoire of aigyptiaka in both amuletic and figurine form. As amulets with suspension loops, they are found both at Naukratis, and widely distributed on Greek sites which received aigyptiaka⁶⁷. As large figurines, without the suspension loop, such as we are discussing here, the falcon not only appears independently on a rectangular stand, but can also accompany a human offering figure, either standing at the figure's side⁶⁸, or carried on a frame at shoulder or head height⁶⁹. These different forms add to the numerical total, confirming the importance of the falcon in our faience material. The bird depicted corresponds closely to the falcon represented in Egyptian art which can be identified in taxonomic terms as a combination of different falcon species⁷⁰.

22 The greatest number of these falcon figurines found at any site have already been studied from the previous excavations in the Heraion (nearly three hundred separate fragments which should represent between one hundred and two hundred pieces)⁷¹, and a further hundred and thirty identifiable fragments now come from the new excavations to the east of the Great Altar. These numbers when put together far outstrip finds made at other sites⁷².

23 Almost all of them derive from the life-like portrayal which was accepted throughout Late Period Egypt and before as a depiction of the sacred falcon, and in some cases reproduce this form closely⁷³. The bird is shown standing on a deep rectangular base, with an open triangular space between the base and the body⁷⁴ (Fig. 5 a). (A very

Fig. 5: a: Cat. 13. Horus falcon with glaze surface remaining, Webb 2016, cat. 342, L 7.6; b: Cat. 14. Head of Falcon showing the facial markings in blue-black glaze, H 3.4

66 See Davies – Smith 2005, 54 with encyclopedic references to previous publications.

67 Webb 1978, cat. 482–558.

68 Ialysos Votive deposit (?) Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4941. Other examples survive as broken-off bases only, a number from the Heraion.

69 Kamiros, Webb 1978, cat. 613; Webb 2016, cat. 199–202.

70 Porter 2011: a combination of a Peregrine (*Falco peregrinus*), and Common Kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) with some head traits of the Lanner falcon (*Falco biarmicus*).

71 Webb 2016, cat. 359–598. 599–604.

72 Webb 1978: Ephesus Artemision, Smyrna/Old Bayrakli; Rhodes: Ialysos, Kamiros, Lindos. Add Miletos, Zeytintepe, Hölbl 1999, Hölbl 2014; Knidos/Emecik, Berges 2006; Pedasa, Bulut 2018.

73 Two 2nd Dynasty faience models of the Horus falcon occur in the Foundation Deposit of Temple of Sat, Elephantine, Kopp 2020, cat. 18. 19 fig. 1 and pl. 36. These provide a prototype for later faience Horus falcons. I am very grateful to Dr Martin Sählhof and Dr Peter Kopp for this information.

74 13. Body of falcon retaining brilliant blue-green glaze, overall L 7.6. Excavated 1963/1964. East of Monumental Altar, Findgroup 40, dated before 590/580.

few examples have this triangular space filled in, making the model more secure against breakage.) The head and face of the falcon are well modelled, and the best examples show the features which are typical of Egyptian depictions, – a flat top to the skull, a strongly curved beak, and the typically protuberant round eyes, glazed black, with additional dark glaze emphasizing the tear drop marking under the eye, and eye line sweeping behind, – the shape which is formalised into the eye of Horus in Egyptian art (Fig. 5 b)⁷⁵. The rest of the body also conforms to Egyptian representations of the Horus falcon – the wings are shown with a strongly-modelled rectangular shoulder, and are folded right over left, neatly overlapping the tail. The feet in the best examples are modelled in full relief with three toes, and a projecting claw at the back, as in the comparable bronzes, although the majority of our faience examples simplify the feet to slightly raised areas of ›applied‹ dark glaze (Fig. 7 c)⁷⁶. From these details it is clear that the intention is to depict a falcon, and moreover, the Horus falcon so important in Egypt from earliest times. We must note here that none of the statuettes wears the double crown which is a signifier of the Horus falcon’s royal and divine status, but neither is this always found in Late Period bronzes depicting the Horus falcon⁷⁷: such representations of falcons in bronze produced in Egyptian workshops in the Saite period and earlier, which occur frequently on Delta sites, and are often to be associated with the Falcon burial galleries found there⁷⁸. It is suggestive that a number of such bronzes were also dedicated as votives in the Samos Heraion.

24 An almost intact bronze falcon from the Heraion offers a model for the best of the faience examples⁷⁹. The facial features are emphasized with inlay in precious metal (now missing), and the bird would have stood independently on a rectangular base. Furthermore, the body is hollow with a rectangular hole now left open underneath the back of the body intended to receive a package containing mummified remains of the bird itself or sample bundles of bones or feathers⁸⁰. This is a common feature of many of the bronze falcons found in Egypt, where they represent intercessory gifts to the deity from the individual and would be dedicated in an area sacred to the deity⁸¹. The Heraion has also produced separately-attached feet and claw parts in bronze which makes it clear that there were many more such dedications⁸². For this reason, we should seriously consider whether the faience model falcons may represent a similar motive on the part of those who dedicated them in Greek sanctuaries. Finally, it is of interest to compare the Heraion faience falcons with other finds of falcon/hawk figures from Greek sanctuaries of seventh century date. An especially interesting group was dedicated to Artemis at Ephesus, and found in the Basis and elsewhere, alongside the few finds of faience falcons⁸³. These falcons/hawks are made in a variety of materials – gold, silver, electrum, bronze, wood, ivory and bone⁸⁴, or glass⁸⁵, and display a quite different cultural and stylistic aesthetic from that of the faience falcons, being derived from Neo-Hittite and local Greek traditions.

75 14. Head of falcon well modelled with facial markings emphasized in blue-black glaze. H 3.4. From disturbed layer 2009.

76 19. Webb 2016, cat. 372, front half of large falcon base, L 6, W (complete) 3.9. Excavations of 1963/1964, Findgroup 40, east of Monumental Altar, dated to before 590/580.

77 Weiss 2012, Type T 18 p. 281 f.

78 Weiss 2012, Type T 18, cat. 803–809 pl. 43 c–e. Findplaces: Memphis, Athribis – Falcon cemetery, North Saqqara – Sacred Animal Necropolis.

79 Jantzen 1972, cat. B 1687 pl. 20; Weiss 2012, cat. 1775 p. 966.

80 Dodson 2009; Jett et al. 1985; Atherton-Woolham – McNight 2015. Viglaki-Sofianou in: Beck et al. 2005, cat. 71 fig. 13–71 p. 512–514 shows clearly the square opening in the under surface of the body of the Samos falcon.

81 Emery 1965; Davies – Smith 2005; Ikram 2005; Davies 2007.

82 Jantzen 1972, sixteen detached feet and lower legs, pls. 21, 22, which Jantzen ascribes to similar falcons to cat. B 1687. Śliwa 1983 for more examples.

83 Hogarth 1908, pl. 44, 10, 11.

84 Webb 2016, 155.

85 Hogarth 1908, 202 pl. 43, 1–4 and add Webb 2016, note 877 for glazed clay hawks from Perachora, and Sardis.



6

State of Preservation

25 None of the falcons survives complete from the new excavations (unlike some examples from previous, unassigned finds). Although there are a number of substantial fragments of head and body which still retain their bright, shiny glaze surface, the majority are fragments which lack any glaze surface, and show extreme abrasion and separation of parts. Such extreme destruction must owe at least some of its effects to long-term storage in unfavourable conditions, whether weathering or damage by people and animals is responsible. However, it is also very clear that much of the destructive damage has been intentionally inflicted⁸⁶ (Fig. 6 a). In addition, the damp conditions in the lower layers are destructive in a different way – I illustrate one falcon which demonstrates the effects of this on an otherwise relatively complete example, which, however, was probably not protected, as it lacked its original glaze surface⁸⁷ (Fig. 6 b). What survive most commonly of the falcons are fragments of the bases – either the tail or the foot end, or of the central area of the body, all badly abraded. However, it is still possible to estimate numbers and sizes by measuring the width of either the base or the body, which collates closely with the total dimensions of the figurine. Widths range from 1.5 to 5.0 cm, implying a total height of between 6 and 10/12 cm. When complete and undamaged they would have made an impressive display with their brilliant blue/green main glaze- ›scintillating‹ as the Egyptian word ›tjehnet‹⁸⁸ implies, with details of facial features, legs and feet highlighted in dark blue/black. Examples (from previous excavations) on display in the Samos Museum give some idea of the effectiveness of such falcons when standing in serried ranks.

Chronology and Origin

26 Falcons (all now fragmentary) are found throughout the deposits from the new excavations, many of them of substantial size. We begin with the earliest deposit which was closed in 630/620 B.C. or a little after. Here a number of faience fragments survive, including two large examples – a large complete base⁸⁹ (Fig. 7 a) and the front of a base

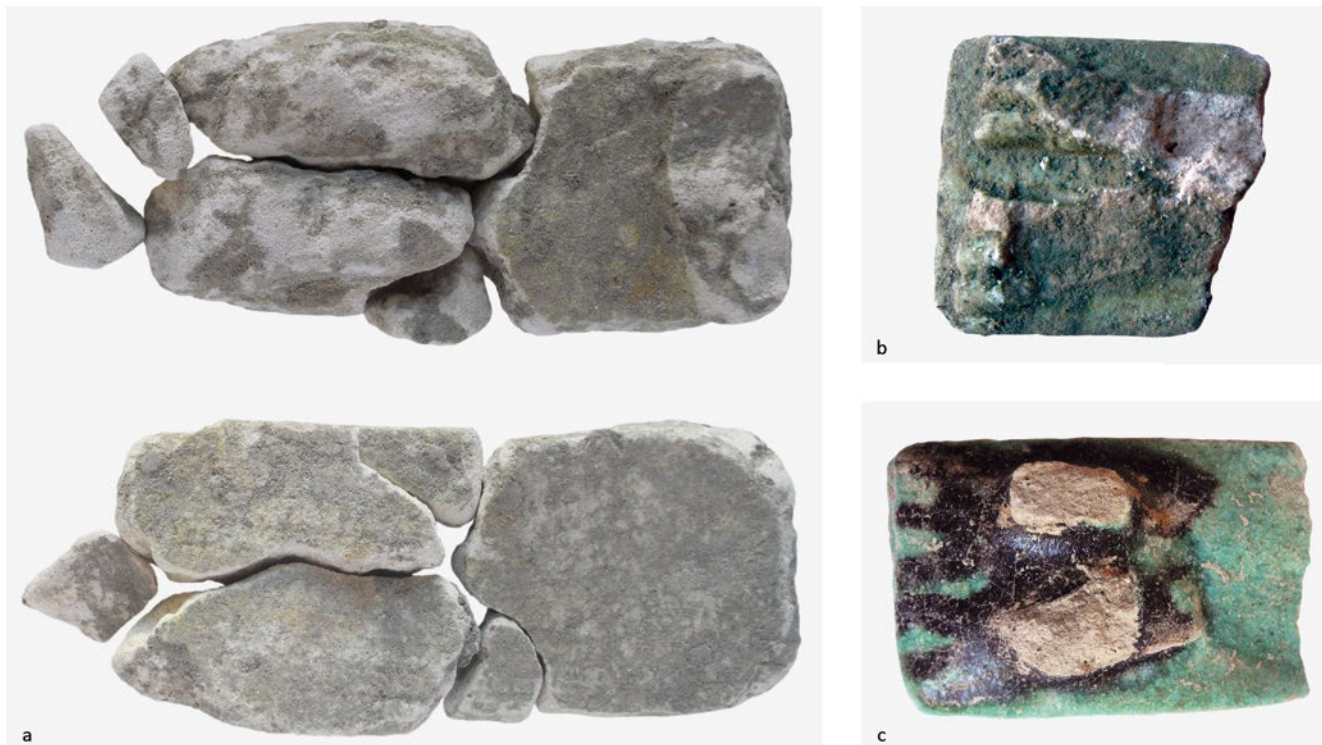
Fig. 6: a: Cat. 15. Falcon (large) with all glaze surface destroyed, head, legs and tail broken off and abraded, plus sliced off damage on left wing, L 10.3, W 4.4; b: Cat. 16. Falcon figure showing damaging effect of damp conditions, H 9.1

86 15. L 10.3, H 6.8, W 4.4, no glaze surface remains, from disturbed layer 2009.

87 16. Deposit 590/580 B.C.

88 Friedman 1998, 15–21.

89 17. W 4.00, L 10.5. Complete base, but broken into pieces. Grey crumbly core and surface, no glaze survives.



7

Fig. 7: a: Cat. 17. Falcon base, complete, but fragmented and completely missing glaze, upper and lower surfaces, L 10.5, W max. 4.0; b: Cat. 18. Falcon base (front part only) with claws modelled in relief, some glaze survives; c: Cat. 19. Falcon base (front part only) with original glaze preserved, Webb 2016, 372

with feet of three claws⁹⁰ (Fig. 7 b). Comparison with a well-glazed fragment from the previous excavations makes clear the amount of damage sustained⁹¹ (Fig. 7 c). Such impressive pieces from this early deposit are mirrored by finds from the Bothros Deposit at Zeytintepe, Miletos, closed ca. 630 B.C.⁹². These finds should imply that the falcon figures were already in circulation at or before 630 B.C. although there is some discussion about the exact closure date of the Zeytintepe Bothros⁹³. Moving up through the layers, falcons continue to appear right through to the latest deposit dated to the second half of the sixth century (where they are clearly residual survivors from earlier deposits). And in the largest deposit (closed in 590/580 B.C.), of the nearly 2,000 fragments of faience found, they form three quarters of identifiable objects⁹⁴. These falcon figures, we may presume, must have made up the major part of the faience material deposited. A few of the smallest base fragments (W. 1.5 to W. 1.8) may belong to falcon amulets, already found in the main excavations⁹⁵, but this small number reflects their comparative rarity in the Heraion.

27 But the description identifiable is an important one, for the mass of abraded and broken fragments with no surface features remaining far outstrips the identifiable fragments. These mostly have no glaze surface, and consist only of lumps of the chalky white core. It is not possible to be certain from what objects they originally come, although, judging from the overwhelming number of Horus falcons already identified,

90 18. W 3.6, Surv L 3.7. Three front claws modelled in relief, some glaze colour survives.

91 19. Webb 2016, cat. 342, from Walter Findgroup 40, East of Monumental Altar north of Well W2/J2 +185–+170. Dated to before 590/580 B.C.

92 Zeytintepe, inv. Z08.463.91, with modelled claws, base W 4.00; inv. Z09.14.3 feet applied roughly in dark glaze, W 4.8. See Hölbl 2014, 189 note 103. But the numbers found contrast in quantity – 340 from Samos Heraion as against 25 from Zeytintepe.

93 Discussion of this precise dating horizon are still ongoing. See Hölbl 2014, 194 for doubt about the closing date of 630 B.C. specifically for some of the faience material which was found in the Bothros at Zeytintepe, Miletos.

94 One hundred and thirty falcon fragments make up the greatest part of the total of one hundred and seventy other identifiable fragments, mostly of figurine types, but including Phase 1 vases, grooved ware vessels, dishes with depressed bobbin handles, etc.

95 Webb 2016, cat. 605–609 bis pl. 40.



Fig. 8: Cat. 20. Fragmentary walking figure, with back pillar

8

I would suggest that this is largely what they are. They are evidence of wholesale destruction. Henke's observation of deposition patterns suggest destruction taking place elsewhere, with the gathered up fragments being dumped from baskets⁹⁶.

28 Examples of falcon figurines come from many of the major sanctuary sites along the coast and offshore islands of East Greece, from Northern Ionia to the Doric island of Rhodes⁹⁷. But their numbers cannot be compared with the Samos finds, and in many cases their individual stylistic and technical traits vary slightly from the type established in the Heraion. This suggests that not only were they unusually popular in the Heraion, but also, judging by differences in modelling and manufacture that there were a number of workshops contributing to their distribution.

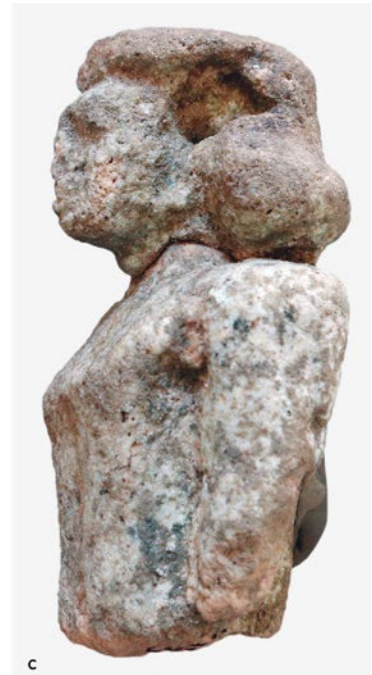
Human Figurines

29 From the new excavations we have a limited number of human figurines, which do not diverge from the types already published, but add one more accompanying animal. These are not depictions of gods or goddesses, as should be clear from the lack of any additional attributes, crowns etc.⁹⁸ (with the exception of the Nursing woman with baby – identified as Isis nursing Horus – see below). They must represent the wor-

96 Henke 2017a, 207.

97 To the lists in Webb 1978, Webb 2016 add Miletos, Zeyintepe Hölbl 1999, Hölbl 2014; Knidos/Emecik Berges 2006; Pedasa, Bulut 2018.

98 Like the striding figure in limestone imported to Samos, Kyrieleis 2020, inv. V 2, pl. 71, 1 and 2, they represent private individuals. Herodotus 2.143 comments on the statues shown to Hekataios at Thebes – they are *piromis/kaloi k'agathoi*, private individuals/gentlemen like the priests found in the Karnak cachette. Fairman



9

Fig. 9: Cat. 21. Male standing figure with back pillar, upper half only, H 5.2, W 4.6

Fig. 10: a: Cat. 22. Female figurine, H 4.0; b: Cat. 22. Back pillar of female figurine



10

shipper in various roles. First is a delicately modelled forward ›striding‹⁹⁹ figure which stands close to Egyptian style, with short clubbed hair/wig, small face, a bare torso with marked central line and umbilical depression, and wearing a ›shendyt‹ kilt¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 8). This piece comes from the second earliest deposit, 605/600 B.C., and was apparently carefully laid down, preserving the relationship of its surviving fragments, together with many unidentifiable faience fragments in the same layer. Further finds of walking, standing or kneeling figures demonstrate the ›mixed style‹, which displays features of Egyptian plastic but in a simplified form. Here we have two standing figures – a

1934 stands as an early discussion of this type of dedication; Moyer 2011 for up to date discussion of this issue.

99 ›Striding‹ is the term used to describe the conventional pose used in Egyptian sculpture for male figures with left foot advanced in front of right. It implies mastery and dominance, not necessarily motion. And was so adopted for the kouros pose of archaic Greek sculpture. However, certain bronzes of women who held authority adopt a similar pose, Hill 2007.

100 20. Walking male figure, wearing Egyptian ›shendyt‹ kilt, left foot advanced, found in fragments. Restored H 9.5–10. Deposit of 605/600 B.C.

male and a female, both depicted semi-nude: a male striding figure¹⁰¹, with back pillar and arms held by its side, has the simple torso, marked in a T-shape to represent the pectoral muscles – typical of early Saite statuary¹⁰², and a round face with large eyes and the heavy, smooth hairstyle¹⁰³ (Fig. 9). The contrast in proportions is clear when comparing the facial features of this example with that of a genuine Egyptian figure from Samos¹⁰⁴. The comparable female figure (now lacking head) has pronounced breasts, and stands with arms by the sides, and a back pillar¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 10). Judging by already published material from the Heraion¹⁰⁶ this ›mixed style‹ figure would be depicted naked with pubic area emphasized, facing front, on a rectangular base, with shoulder length hair, and a face with simplified features. The appearance in faience of such naked female figures, both as amulets and figurines, is another link with Egyptian minor arts¹⁰⁷. But, by contrast with the Egyptian figures, these never present offerings, and are only rarely shown playing double flutes. Unfortunately, we have no examples surviving of the monumental style of striding naked, or semi-clothed, figurines, both male and female, such as were found in the main excavations¹⁰⁸, some of which came from Walter’s excavations east of the Monumental Altar¹⁰⁹. Only one example¹¹⁰, much damaged, represents the other important figure type – the double flute player – many of which came from the previous excavations¹¹¹ (Fig. 11 c). A small badly damaged figure, probably an amulet, was also found, and this retains the high quality glaze produced by efflorescence – a thin, strongly adherent skin in creamy-white¹¹².

30 Two further pieces show male figures kneeling up, in the Egyptian pose and wearing the short kilt or ›shendyt‹ (lower parts only survive)¹¹³ (Fig. 12 a. b). These lack their glaze surface, but the core is of medium coarse texture which is routine in Phase 2 figures. It is possible that these also depicted double flute players, as is seen in smaller amulet-like figures¹¹⁴, though the kneeling position in Egyptian bronzes of the Late Period is associated with the king making an offering to the gods¹¹⁵. Other examples of this pose from both Samos and other sites are not so finely modelled, and may be later in

101 21. Standing male figure, with distinctive hair style, upper part only, back pillar narrowing towards the base. H 5.2. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

102 von Bothmer 1960, p. XXXV f.

103 Compare with an almost identical figure from earlier excavations, Webb 2016, cat. 185 pl. 19.

104 Webb 2016, cat. 183 pl. 19, and indeed with 20, Fig. 8 above.

105 22. Standing female, torso with well-modelled breasts only survives H 4.0. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

106 Webb 2016, cat. 223–228 pl. 24.

107 Bulté 1991 but these figures are richly decorated with ritual objects. The other strong influence on the production of naked female figures is from the Near East, see Böhm 1990, and as an example from Samos the bronze horse trapping which bears Near Eastern naked goddesses, Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988, but it does not seem that these were influential on the faience industry production, which relied so heavily on Egyptian style and technology.

108 Webb 2016, cat. 174 with head cat. 183. 181 pls. 17. 18.

109 To this group we can now add several fine examples from Miletos: Hölbl 2014, pl. 21, and see his discussion of the development of the Greek kouros, 27 f.

110 23. Head and torso only, broken off across back of head, crude workmanship. H 5.7. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Similar figures are found on the East Greek littoral from Ildir-Erythrae to Rhodes, although the greatest number of examples comes from the Samos Heraion.

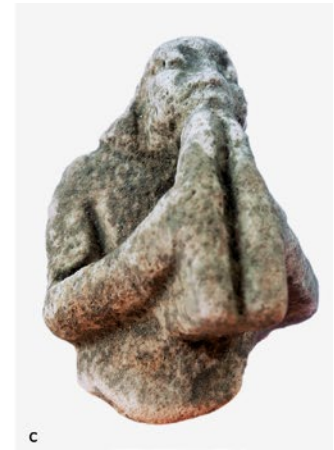
111 Webb 2016, 131–136 cat. 260–289 pls. 27. 28.

112 24. Very fragmentary, H. 1.8. Only upper part with bent arms survives, right horizontal, left bent up? Isis nursing Horus? Flute player? Deposit of 590/580–570/560 B.C. (First layer on top of Deposit of 590/580 B.C.)

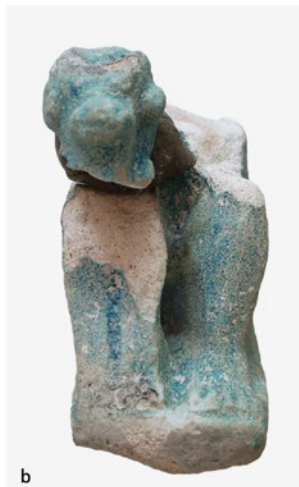
113 25. H 3.5; 26. H 5.1. Both from Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

114 Webb 1978, cat. 366–373 pl. 12, and a particularly fine example from the Heraion, Webb 2016, cat. 295 pl. 29.

115 This pose in Egyptian plastic can show the offerer with hands extended holding ›nw‹, jars – see Nesbanebdjedet (faience or glazed steatite), ca. 755–730 B.C. from Mendes, Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Willbour Fund, 37.344E. – a presumptive adoption of the Pharaoh’s prerogative. In 25th/26th Dynasty bronzes the offering gesture with empty outstretched hands is used in depictions of the Pharaoh, Russmann 1974; Hill 2007. The pose was adapted for general use in the Saite period, see a small faience figurine of good style, wearing the ›shendyt‹ with central lappet, outstretched hands, offering now broken off. Kamiros, Webb 1978, cat. 386, BM 1860,0201.102.



11



12

Fig. 11: a: Cat. 25. Kneeling figure, gt. L 4.3; b: Cat. 26. Kneeling figure, L of base 6.2; c: Cat. 23. Flute Player, H 5.7

Fig. 12: Cat. 27. Man presenting an Apis bull-calf with Cat. 28 bull-calf's head

him and wears a simplified Uraeus across its horns – it should be identified as the Apis bull calf, although the elaborate crown of the original model is reduced to a more convenient shape for modelling in faience¹²¹ (Fig. 13). This simplification with a horizontal line drawn across between the horns, can also be observed in Late Period stone images of the Apis bull¹²². The male figure places a hand on the animal's head, to guide it, but an

the sequence¹¹⁶. It was a pose which had a strong influence on East Greek minor arts¹¹⁷.

31 The other most frequently found group of human figures depicts a male ›striding‹ figure, in some cases probably shown playing the double flutes, although only examples in the miniature amulet form show this combination¹¹⁸ accompanied by an animal or bird which, it is implied, is being presented to the deity¹¹⁹. The clear identification of the animals presented is with Egyptian divine avatars¹²⁰. The new excavations add a new type to the repertoire: a ›striding‹ man presents a miniature bull/calf which walks beside

116 For other similar faience kneeling figures Berges 2006, cat. 801. 802 pl. 115; cruder examples a) Miletos, Zeytintepe, inv. Z09.14.7 (Bothros pre 630 B.C.) unpublished; simplified style; b) later in date, from the Samos Heraion, Webb 2016, cat. 298; c) later group, well into the sixth century, Webb 1978, cat. 414–419 fig. 24, p. 90 from Lindos, and Aigina.

117 Mandel in: Beck et al. 2005, 139–142 cat. 75–78, where she explores the influence of the pose on East Greek minor arts.

118 Webb 1978, cat. 355–363.

119 Webb 2016, pl. 22 from Melos(?), Louvre CA 1811(1909); Webb 1978, cat. 562 pl. 14; Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 1638.

120 Webb 2016, 113–121 ram (of Amun) (walking or carried), Horus falcons (standing beside the figure or carried on a frame at shoulder height or on head), ibex (walking), cat (seated). The exception to this assumption of an Egyptian link is the kneeling man with horse, which must be connected with the importance given to horse – related offerings in the Heraion, Kyrieleis – Röllig 1988.

121 27. 28. For similar simplification see figurines with suspension loops found in East Greece in form of Apis bull. Webb 1978, cat. 434–439 pl. 13. A later example comes from Kamiros, Makri Langoni, Tomb 178, Jacopi 1931, 312, which is dated to 575–550 B.C.; Hopper 1949, 266. The Egyptian Blue amuletic figure of an Apis Bull found in the Heraion is from a context of mid-seventh century date, Webb 2016, cat. 173 pl. 15, 9 and is an early indication of the importance of this particular animal.

122 Limestone Apis Bull, Louvre inv. N 390, reign of Nectanebo 1st?, from Egypt, Marković 2016, fig. 1.



13

oddity of the modelling is that the human figure strides forward on only one leg¹²³. The main part of this figure was found in an uppermost layer of recently disturbed material, and so does not come from a datable deposit¹²⁴, but the head of the bull-calf associated with it was found in the Deposit of 590/580 B.C., complete with the man's hand resting on it¹²⁵. A very similar, but apparently unattached, figure of a walking bull calf also comes from the same 590/580 B.C. deposit¹²⁶ (Fig. 17) see 35 below. The importance attached by the immigrant communities of Greeks and Karians to the worship of Apis is confirmed by the inscribed bronzes found in Lower Egypt¹²⁷, and depictions on the Karian funeral stele.

32 A ram carrier is the only other example of this ›offering‹ figure type – here it survives as the upper body of a man with a ram carried across his shoulders, supported by an unusually broad ›back pillar‹¹²⁸ (Fig. 13 a. b). Of interest is that this comes from the Deposit of 630/620 or a little later, and may represent an earlier phase in the industry. An identical piece comes from the previous excavations (unfortunately without dated context) and shows the same crude abbreviation in the modelling, with the ram's head crushed sideways into the figure's shoulder in order to minimise its projection¹²⁹ (Fig. 13 c). These ram carriers closely imitate the pose seen in Cypriot limestone figures¹³⁰, and also reproduce the short-sleeved tunic which they wear, complete with over-fall and waist-tie, a garment not seen in the other faience carrier types, all of which are modelled with the bare chest and short kilt of Egyptian plastic.

Fig. 13: a. b: Cat. 29. Ram carrier, H 7.41; c: 30 Similar figurine, Webb 2016, cat. 197

123 Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4941. 2673, striding human figure with falcon standing beside right side but only one leg – the left – is modelled, probably Ialysos votive deposit, unpublished, Rhodes museum, no number. See related simplification in a falcon carrier from Rhodes, Webb 1978, cat. 613 pl. 15, from Kamiros, Acropolis, BM 18607.797.

124 27. H 6.0. Deposit of recent disturbance, not datable.

125 28. H 2.15, W 2.0. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

126 35. Head and body found in two closely associated Stratigraphical Units. H 4.8, gr. L 4.85. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

127 Weiss 2012, 512–515.

128 29. H 7.41. Head and upper part of torso only survive. Deposit of 630/620 B.C. or a little later (north).

129 30. Webb 2016, cat. 197 pl. 20. Cf. with cat. 198, which has a more Egyptianizing style. Neither has a known findplace.

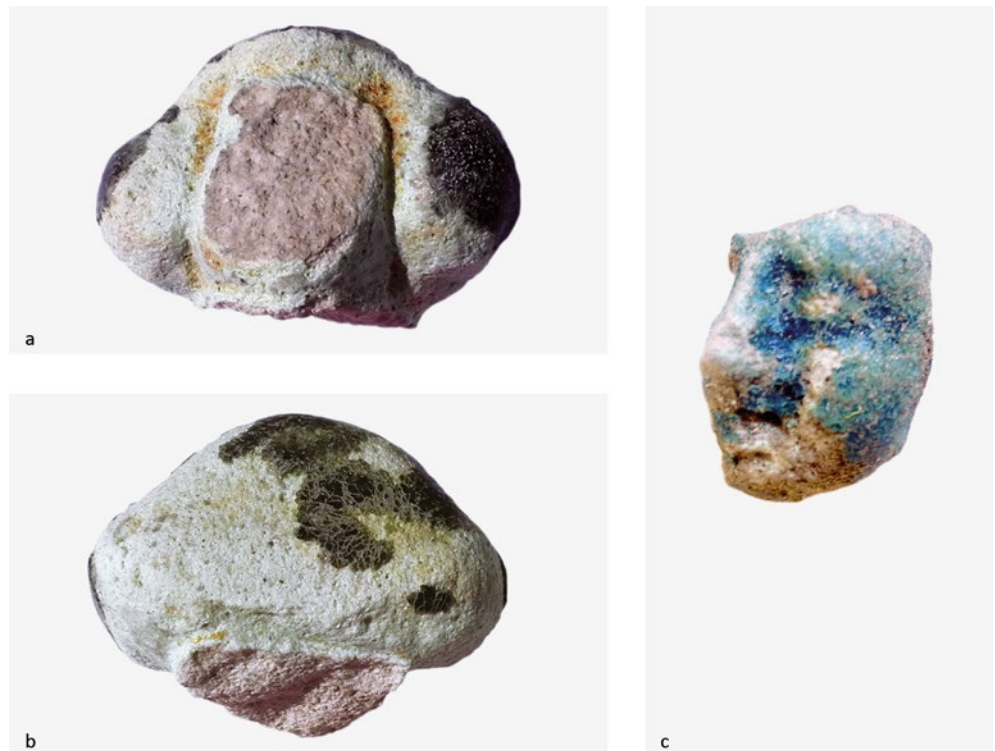
130 Cypriot limestone ram carriers in Schmidt 1968, 56 f. cat. C 121, C 122, C 182, C 195 pl. 97 from the Heraion. But the type is not restricted to Samos.



14

Fig. 14: a. b: Cat. 31. Isis nursing Horus, lower part only, H 4.54; c: Cat. 32. Upper part of identical figure, front view, H 5.4. Webb 2016, cat. 240

Fig. 15: a. b: Cat. 33 a. Head of woman, probably Isis figure. H 2.3, W 3.2; c: Cat. 33 b. Face of unknown figurine (Isis?), with delicate features, H 1.59, W 1.2



15

Woman Nursing an Infant – Isis and Horus

33 Only one group must be intended to represent a deity, although there are no attributes present. A seated woman dressed in a long skirt of Egyptian type is depicted sitting on a block throne, offering her breast to a naked male child who sits sideways on her lap, his feet protruding to her right¹³¹ (Fig. 14 a. b). This must represent Isis nursing Horus, since the figure sits on the block throne which constitutes her name-sign, and adopts exactly the same seated and nursing pose seen in Egyptian Late Period bronzes¹³².

131 31. H 4.54. Found in disturbed layer 2009.

132 Weiss 2012 publishes a large number of Late Period bronze statues of the same pose from Lower Egypt, the Delta region, but they invariably wear the full insignia consisting of the Uraeus crown, cow's horns and sun disc and the three part wig – Type G12 pl. 56 nos. 1162–1204.

Both Karians¹³³ and Greeks¹³⁴, at a slightly later date, dedicated such bronzes in Egyptian sanctuaries with specific inscriptions. From the preliminary excavations in 2009 (recent disturbance) we have the lower half of a faience figure complete with base, which corresponds exactly to an example found in previous excavations, and also retains much of its surface glaze¹³⁵ (Fig. 14 c). The fine little head must also belong with this group¹³⁶ as comparison with the fragments found in earlier excavations makes clear¹³⁷(Fig. 15). And we may be able to add a fragmentary face to the list of depictions of Isis and Horus (**33 b**) (Fig. 15 b). Further examples of the pose appear in a restricted number of styles, and from other sites where faience aigyptiaka were dedicated¹³⁸. Dated contexts from Samos indicate that these belong in the same time frame as other figural types from Phase 2.

Animals

34 A narrow repertoire of animals also exists, which must be linked to Egyptian divine animal avatars. Those types already encountered in the main excavations¹³⁹ are in the form of a cow alone¹⁴⁰, or nursing a calf (forms of Hathor)¹⁴¹, a ram (of Amun)¹⁴², and (more doubtfully) a couchant lion¹⁴³, as well as crouching monkeys, which may be linked to Thoth¹⁴⁴. We can now add two examples of a bull calf with a schematic Uraeus crown between the horns – the Apis bull calf (?) already encountered, either being presented as an offering¹⁴⁵, or as an independently modelled piece (below)¹⁴⁶.

35 The cow would have stood in striding posture on a rectangular base¹⁴⁷ (Fig. 16). It has the smooth body, cylindrical in section, with a long tail hanging down the back legs, identical to examples from previous excavations, and suggests a closeness to an Egyptian style of modelling¹⁴⁸. A slightly wider bodied cow, with a calf nursing underneath, found in the earlier excavations confirms the link with the theme of the Hathor cow¹⁴⁹. New Kingdom representations of Hathor as a cow nursing the Pharaoh, and ded-

133 Vittmann in: Beck et al. 2005, cat. 42 fig. 10.42, 489 f. Late Period, but no precise date. Weiss 2012, cat. 1751, 959, 512–515 with both Egyptian and Karian inscription of dedication. She does not discuss the importance to foreigners in Egypt of Isis lactans.

134 Weiss 2012, cat. 1745, 958, and 512–515. Dedicatory inscription in Greek.

135 **32**. Webb 2016, cat. 240 pl. 26, no find place. One fragment, cat. 250, 129, found by Walter in 1964, p. 198 east of Monumental Altar, +160–+150 together with a large number of fragmentary falcons, Find group 40 now dated to the latest to 590/580 B.C. Niemeier and Henke forthcoming.

136 **33 a**. H 2.3, W 3.2. With glossy black glaze on hair, modelled in rounded bunches either side of the head, face missing. Cf. for this style of hair and facial features the 25th Dynasty bronze doll from the Samos Heraion, Jantzen 1972, cat. B 1216 pl. 15; Viglaki-Sofianou in: Beck et al. 2005, cat. 70 fig.13.70, 512 f.

137 Webb 2016, cat. 240 and 241 pl. 26.

138 Webb 2016, cat. 237–250, with probable bases cat. 251–259. Cat. 249 must join with cat. 248 a as nearly complete baby Horus on lap. Webb 1978, from Kamiros cat. 604, and Ialysos cat. 606. Other fragments, unpublished, from Miletos, Zeytintepe, left shoulder and bent up arm, with child's head broken off, inv. Z09.73.104, two fragments of Horus baby, inv. Z09.106.9, Z 09.4.24, all from the Bothros, therefore all dated, according to Neeft, Neeft 2017, to before 630 B.C.

139 Webb 2016, 139–147 cat. 299–333.

140 Webb 2016, cat. 302–304.

141 Webb 2016, cat. 299, 300, and note 784.

142 Crudely modelled, but clearly intended to be the ram of Amun, with strongly curled horns, and the Pharaonic bib. See Webb 2016, 305 fig. 23 pl. 21, 1.

143 Webb 2016, cat. 318–320.

144 144 Webb 2016, cat. 327–333.

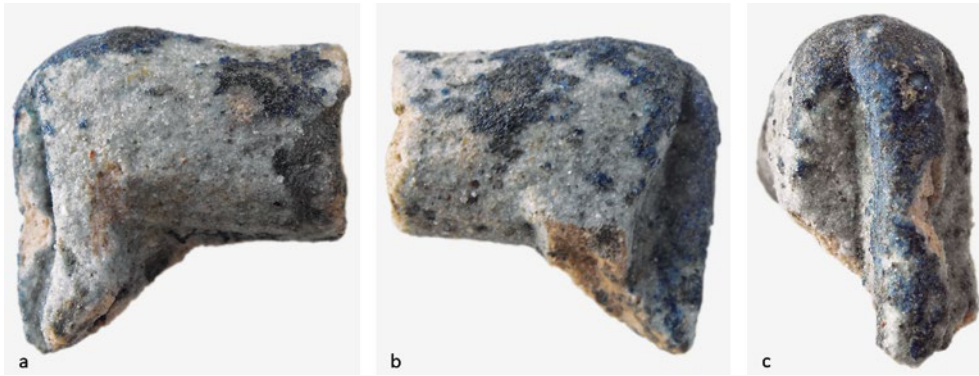
145 **27**, walking man, and **28**, head of bull-calf, whose detached head comes from Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

146 **35 a. b**. The separate bull-calf, possibly part of a similar group. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

147 **34**. Incomplete L 3.7, H 3.8. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

148 Webb 2016, cat. 302, 303 pl. 30, 4–6 fig. 22, no find places known, and add cat. 311 pl. 32, 1 which can be identified as belonging to the same group, but which depicts a ram, and comes from Walter's excavations East of Monumental Altar, 1963 south of Brunnen J (W2), Find group 40,+145–+135, dated to before 590/580 B.C.

149 From Samos Webb 2016, cat. 299–301, 140, 141 pl. 30, 1–3 fig. 21; from Kamiros, Webb 1978, cat. 648 pl. 16, BM GR 1864, 1007. 1345. A similar pose is popular in ivory furniture fittings from the Near East, see Webb 2016, note 784. From Nimrud, Barnett 1975, pl. 5; Fort Shalmaneser, Herrmann – Laidlaw 2013, I 85. 91 pls. 114–122; Arslan Tash, Decamps de Mertzfeld 1954, 1135 f. nos. 886–889 pls. 90–92; add Barnett 1985.



16

Fig. 16: Cat. 34. Standing Cow, L 3.7

flasks found in East Greece, in particular on Rhodes, and dated to the late seventh/early sixth century B.C.¹⁵¹, where the same slim bodied cow appears.

36 A new addition to the repertoire is a walking bull calf¹⁵² (Fig. 17). This is very similar to the Apis bull already seen in the combined group of man and animal (27 and 28). Its head is well modelled and its horns are joined with a straight line and bear a central mark in contrasting colour which must represent the Uraeus – the miniaturisation of the head dress is intentional, intended to minimise the possibility of damage. It has the same cylindrical body shape as the accompanied bull calf, as well as sharing the details of the head, and must surely come from the same workshop. As it is broken away on its right side, it might also have accompanied a presenting figure. The importance of the Apis cult, located in Memphis, to the settlers in Egypt, is clear from inscribed bronzes, and of course from Herodotus' interest in the details of the cult¹⁵³.

37 Finally, probably depicted playing the double flutes, though whether this is the intention of the enigmatic protuberance between its bent legs, is a crouching figure, an ape (36), (or possibly a human), which belongs to a highly stylised group, found both at Samos and on Rhodes¹⁵⁴ where the distinction between a crouching human figure and an ape is often unclear (Fig. 18).

Dating

38 This rather meagre selection of figure types corresponds with those which have already been found in the previous excavations, though with the addition of the two Apis bull calves. However, it has the advantage of providing us with datable contexts, with the majority coming from the Deposit closed 590/580 B.C., and demonstrating a coherence in dating between all Phase 2 types. It is may perhaps be significant that the more Egyptianizing striding figure (20) was found in the earlier context, 605–600, while the ram carrier (29) comes from the even earlier Deposit of 630/620 B.C. or a little later,

150 For a detailed study of this topic see Pinch 1993. Also examples in Webb 2016, 140 f.

151 Ialysos, Rhodes Museum inv. 7082, Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4832, 2593–2604 who argues, quite rightly, for an Egyptian origin for the New Year flask, Coulié – Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, cat. 28 p. 28. This belongs with a group of closely related flasks, found on East Greek sites, which bear depictions of the Hathor cow, the Horus falcon and the head of Hathor, and in one case, Harpokrates and the cow, all within the setting of the papyrus marsh Bianchi 1998, 225 cat. 117. Belonging to the same group is the example from Samos, Webb 2016, cat. 70–72 which bears a walking ibex, set against stylised trees, representing the other setting with Happy and Fortunate connotations – the desert margin, where hunting also took place.

152 35. Incomplete. L 4.85, H 4.8. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Two joining fragments.

153 See Weiss 2012, 512 f. for four inscribed bronze Apis bulls, and discussion of importance of Apis to the Karian and Greek settlers. Two bear a Greek inscription cat. 1753, 929, another has both Greek and Egyptian cat. 1742 a, and lastly a third combination, with Karian and Egyptian cat. 919. Herodotus 2.38, 3.28.

154 36. Very compact crouching figure, lower half only. From disturbed layer 2009. Compare the finds from earlier excavations, Webb 2016, cat. 290, 291, and examples discussed in Webb 1978, cat. 598–603, in particular cat. 600 pl. 15.

ications at Deir el Bahri of faience figurines depicting the Hathor cow, witness the strong association between the Goddess Hathor and her representation as a young cow¹⁵⁰. Perhaps most importantly for our purpose is the contemporary link which exists with the depiction of the Hathor cow on a series of Hathor-themed Saite New Year



17

which contained a much smaller number of faience pieces. Horus falcons are the most numerous of all the types, and make their first appearance in the earliest of the deposits, 630/620 B.C. thus suggesting that all this Phase 2 material has its origins at least as early as the 630s, and survived in the sanctuary for another forty to fifty years. Whether it owes its overwhelming presence in the richest Deposit of 590/580 B.C. due to recent usage in sacrificial contexts, or to its being finally disposed of after the build-up of old offerings/material, is not clear. This last suggestion is confirmed by observations made by Henke concerning the clearing out of Cypriot limestone and terracotta statue material¹⁵⁵.

Fig. 17: Cat. 35. Apis bull-calf, with simplified Uraeus crown, L 4.85, H 4.8

Origin

39 All these Phase 2 figures refer both in their pose and to a lesser extent their style, to Egyptian sources, as of course does the material of which they are manufactured. Their actual source is debated, and although it is possible that centres of manufacture existed in East Greece, with Samos itself being a strong contender, it would seem that, at least initially, such manufacturing centres are most likely to have been located in Lower Egypt, specifically the Delta region. The Horus falcons may well come from a centre where the falcon was a focus of cult¹⁵⁶. One example from Naukratis¹⁵⁷ of a freestanding falcon displays a different style of modelling, with exaggerated proportions, which suggests that Naukratis should not be the source of the falcons found in East Greece. In any case, this Naukratis example should have a sixth century date¹⁵⁸, much



Fig. 18: Cat. 36. Crouching Ape with double flutes, H 5.4, max. W 3.5

18

155 Henke in personal communication.

156 Mummified falcons in the Falcon Gallery at North Saqqara are accompanied by bronze model falcons, but not by faience models, Davies – Smith 2005; Davies 2007.

157 Inv. BM 1888,0401.1505. H 7.8 cm. See Naukratis Online Catalogue.

158 von Bissing 1951; Webb 2019.



19

Fig. 19: a: Cat. 37. Hemispherical ›basket‹ shape, H 7.05, W 7.0. Webb 2016, cat. 145; b: Cat. 38. Inside of sharply curved fragment with yellow glaze, L 3.15 × W 2.45; c: Cat. 39. Fragments of grooved walls of similar objects, (exterior and interior views) central fragments, H 6.75, W 4.4

later than the first appearance of our faience Horus falcons in both the Heraion, and the Bothros at Zeytintepe, pre 630/620 B.C.¹⁵⁹. Both these find-places witness the early appearance of such figures. As yet there is no comparable body of material from Egypt itself. For comparative material for the human figures, one fragment of a terracotta figurine surviving as a base and feet from Migdol¹⁶⁰ demonstrates the simple style of modelling which appears in many of the faience figurines, and can also be seen in the Cypriot limestone figures¹⁶¹.

Other Classes of Objects

40 Other classes of objects made of faience are not closely related to Phases 1 and 2, and provide us with a wider spectrum of what was produced using the medium of faience in both Egypt and East Greece during the latter part of the seventh century and the early years of the sixth century B.C.

159 The question of dated comparisons between the early evidence of Greek pottery found at Naukratis and the dating, in particular, of the Zeytintepe Bothros deposit, is not yet resolved.

160 Migdol, Oren 1984, fig. 50, in clay or terracotta, from site T 21.

161 It stems from the Saite revival of Old Kingdom sculpture.

Grooved Ware

41 Fragments of vessel walls marked with horizontal grooves belong to a distinctive, and previously unidentified, class of objects. These fragments are distinguished by a core material which is off-white, porous, of fine texture and very soft and powdery, and, in most cases, lacking any surface glaze (Fig. 19). These fragments occur in six separate Stratigraphical Units, and all (except one) come from the deposit dated to 590/580 B.C.¹⁶². They would appear to belong to a small number of vessels of a curved shape with upright walls, having a diameter of ca. 15 cm – the greatest height of preserved fragments amounts to 6.75 cm. The thickness of the walls varies between 0.8 cm and 1.1 cm, suggesting that this was a relatively thick-walled object. The horizontal grooves are crudely incised and not evenly spaced, with an approximate distance between them of 1.0 cm. No rims or feet have been found, which suggests that these do not belong to a conventional vessel, since they are the parts which normally survive best, although one fragment of a small curved piece was found with thick yellow glaze inside (Fig. 19 c. d)¹⁶³. Similar enigmatic wall fragments have been found in the main excavations¹⁶⁴. A possible comparison is with one much better-preserved object from the main excavated material (Fig. 19 a)¹⁶⁵. This is a bell-shaped hemispherical object (now broken in half vertically) which presents a similar, if more refined, external surface, i. e. it bears raised horizontal ribs separated by grooves, with the additional detail of a rosette device on the rounded base¹⁶⁶. This is not, however, a vessel as such, since it is sealed across its widest diameter by a flat surface of equal thickness to the walls. If it is not a container, then what is it? The most reasonable suggestion is that it is intended to represent a basket. Egyptian model baskets in faience are well known from the New Kingdom onwards¹⁶⁷. And it seems reasonable to compare this with the poorly-modelled wall fragments under discussion. However, they display no such quality as this hemispherical basket-shape. They are crudely made of very poor quality material, which is extremely friable, and normally unglazed – intended for dedication, one must suppose, and not for use. Some fragments have convex ridges separated by a groove, but the majority merely present a curved smooth surface scored with deep lines. In reconstructing their original form, we must assume they were curved from the base, with a maximum diameter of 15 cm. More problematic is whether they had a flat upper surface with a sharp heel, like the previous fine example from the main excavations. The few examples which are glazed on the inner surface possibly remained open.

Significance and Chronology

42 If this identification is correct, we should remember that faience is used in Egyptian cultural contexts as a magical substance to reproduce/imitate a real object and imbue it with symbolic power, not intended for use, but to stand for the object's power in the divine world of magic and incantation¹⁶⁸. And so, in this context, I would suggest that these grooved, basket-like objects represent the specific type of basket, a rounded form, which Bastet, the Cat-headed goddess¹⁶⁹, is shown carrying on her left arm in Late

162 **39** is a large fragment, broken into three parts, and probably from same vessel are other fragments found in same context. The greatest number in Stratigraphical Unit (SU) 2011-34, but others from SU: 2011-29, -45, -105, and -159. All from Deposit 590–580 B.C., except for one, a small curved fragment, **39 a** which is apparently the only identifiable piece amongst faience debris from the Deposit of 630/620 B.C. (south).

163 **38**. Sharply curved fragment with yellow glaze inside L 1.0, W 1.1, H 2.3, Th 1.1–0.7.

164 Webb 2016, cat. 86. 87 p. 61. No findplace known.

165 **37**. Webb 2016, cat. 145, 81 pl. 14, 5. 6. H 7.05, W 7.

166 Similar decorative devices appear on the omphalos projection of the *phialai mesomphaloi* mentioned below.

167 See Egyptian model baskets in faience which are ridged like simple basket work, for example, Friedman 1998, 218 cat. 29; colour plate p. 120.

168 See discussion by Patch in: Friedman 1998, 32–45. One instructive example is the use of faience for a throwing stick, clearly a quite impractical application of the material.

169 Her worship was established at Bubastis, in the Eastern Delta, and was given special prominence under the Bubastide Dynasty. Herodotus (2.59–67) describes in detail the annual festivities and enthusiastic behaviour

Period bronzes from Lower Egypt¹⁷⁰. A fine faience figure¹⁷¹ (which is clearly related to the worship of Bastet) actually carries four baskets, one on each arm, and one each attached to the ›broad collar protomes‹ on her shoulders which bear Bastet's cat head, which in turn suggests a link with an Egyptian find from the Heraion – the fine bronze ›broad collar protome‹ – identified as the other common attribute carried by Bastet¹⁷², the so-called ›aegis‹ which can represent Bastet herself or Hathor, with whom Bastet is often associated in the Late Period. Other indications of the importance of the worship of Bastet are the bronze cat statuettes found in the Heraion¹⁷³: of clear Egyptian origin, they also signal her presence. There are also a small number of faience cat amulets¹⁷⁴. It is not necessary to establish a close identification of Bastet and Hera, beyond the reference to general concepts of fertility and regeneration¹⁷⁵. Moreover, specific links between East Greece and the Eastern Delta, with particular reference to Bubastis, can be seen in the import of a class of naked female figures which has links with Bastet¹⁷⁶, and Bes standing on a Papyrus support, nursing Horus/or a miniature version of himself¹⁷⁷.

⁴³ The only dated contexts for these grooved ware objects (›Baskets‹) so far found exist in the Heraion and since these fragments are almost all found in the deposit dated to 590/580 B.C.¹⁷⁸, we should posit that they are contemporary with the majority of the finds and provisionally date between 630–590/80 B.C. (One example found in an earlier context deposit of 630/620 may be a stray, since no other identifiable faience survives from this context)¹⁷⁹. One final observation is that with a diameter of ca. 15 cm, and an uncompleted height of ca. 6.7 cm these objects were considerably larger than the piece (37) from the previous excavations (H 7.05 cm, W at greatest circumference 7.0 cm).

Shallow Dishes with Depressed Bobbin Handles

⁴⁴ These are a very different type of object from the well-defined groups of closed form which belong to the Rhodian manufacturing centres, or indeed to types of vessel coming from the Egyptian sphere which contained and dispensed a precious liquid (as discussed above).

⁴⁵ They are shallow dishes with the wall curving out from a broad foot ring with flattened spool or bobbin handles attached level with the rim (Fig. 20). A complete example (and its smaller twin) was found in a Calabrian burial from Francavilla Marittima¹⁸⁰,

of the worshippers. He identifies Bastet with Artemis.

170 Weiss 2012, Type T 121 pl. 32; ten examples with baskets: Saqqara, North/Serapeion, Memphis, Giza, Bubastis and Tanis. and Type G 15 a, North Saqqara and Naukratis; Roeder 1956, pl. 39. 40.

171 Parlasca 1953, pl. 47, note 30, no provenance; Bulté 1991, Doc. 122 pl. 26 a. b, p. 49. Faience figure of woman belonging with the group of naked females who are associated with the worship of Bastet.

172 Parlasca 1953, pl. 2; Jantzen 1972, cat. B 133, 9, 11 pl. 9, with Hathor head.

173 Jantzen 1972, cat. B 445 H 15.0; B 1608 H 8.1 pl. 23; cat. B 1070 H 2.2; cat. B 791.

174 Webb 2016, 69 f. Cat amulets cat. 106–108 pl. 11. All of similar style and scale-therefore probably belong to a single amuletic assemblage or necklace together with the baboon (Thoth) amulet cat. 105. Such simple amulets of clear Egyptian origin are not a common find in the Heraion.

175 Baumbach 2004.

176 Bulté 1991, cat. a25, a26, a27 from Kamiros, according to Salzmann, now New York Metropolitan Museum; Webb 1978, cat. 628–632. Add male bearded heads, Bulté 1991, 59 f., ›Pain du Sucre‹ (Sugar loaf) group, Type VI – ›Leur provenance est toujours localise dans le Delta est‹. See examples from Kamiros inv. BM G&R 1864, 1007.869 unpublished, and Delos, Deonna 1938, 306 pl. 89, 779. (Wrongly identified by Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 1493 as ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vessel.) See now Yellin 1998, cat. 69, 208 for overall survey of the significance of these objects.

177 Webb 2016, 66 cat. 98 = Kyrieleis 2020, VI 7 pl. 71; Ialysos, Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4415, 4416, 4417; Kamiros, Acropolis, probably the Well C7, BM 1864, 1007. 894. In Egyptian contexts Bulté 1991, Type 1 a–f cat. 1–47; Bianchi 1998, 75. 210.

178 Context and find analysis of the 2010–2013 excavations establishes that all the fragments of this vessel type come from the Deposit of 590/580 B.C., with the exception of one fragment, see below.

179 **39 a.** Varia 1530, Measurement-ID: 19.599, Stratigraphical Unit: 2012-78, curved fragment H 2.45, W 2.4, Th 0.75 > 0.8. From Deposit 630/620 B.C. (south). The only recognisable fragment from fifteen finds of faience.

180 A complete example from Francavilla Marittima, Stoop 1974–1976, 152, 3 pl. 72, pl. B; Stoop 1979, 81 no. 9 pl. 3 cat. 3–6, W 15.5.

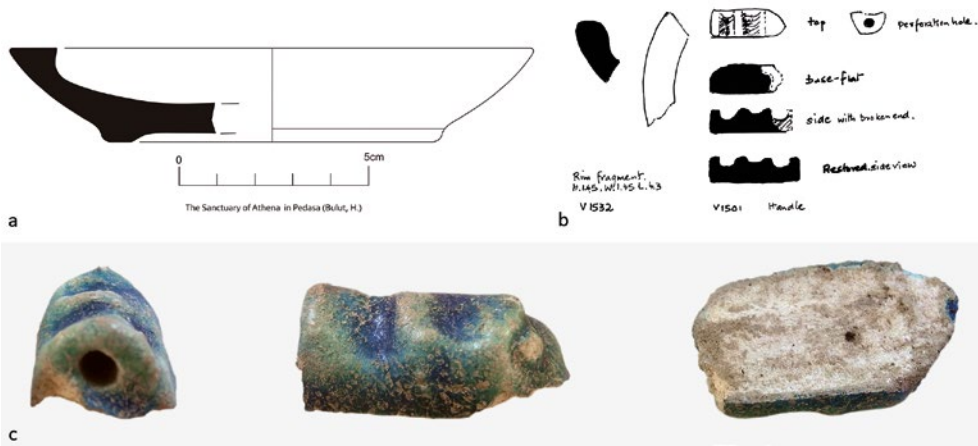


Fig. 20: a: rim and handle fragments from shallow bowl; profile drawing of shallow bowl found at Pedasa, Bulut 2018, fig. 2; b: Cat. 40. Rim fragment, H 1.65, W 1.45, L 4.3; c: Cat. 41. Handle, top and underside with flat surface for attachment, L 2.15, W 1.3

20

while from *Syracuse* comes the rim of a shallow dish with similar handle¹⁸¹. Our type was probably intended to make liquid offerings, either while pouring libations during the sacrifice, or in burial rites¹⁸². Finds of these have now been made in considerable quantities at Zeytintepe, Miletos, where Hölbl has identified a large number of fragments from both the Bothros (pre 630 B.C.)¹⁸³ and the more general spread of deposits in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite¹⁸⁴, and has established a strong link with an East Greek shallow dish form found at Ephesus and elsewhere¹⁸⁵. A number of examples of the faience type have also been identified in the recently excavated Sanctuary of Athena at Pedasa, a Karian city in the hinterland of *Halicarnassos*¹⁸⁶. From the new excavations in the Heraion, however, the finds are minimal – a bobbin or spool type handle, glazed blue with an incomplete perforation¹⁸⁷, plus fragments of rim¹⁸⁸, and of the foot ring (not seen)¹⁸⁹. The handle would have been one of a pair, or sometimes one of four, placed on opposite sides of the dish, modelled separately with a flat attachment surface at an angle, and fixed with extra glaze slurry to the wall of the dish before firing. (Thus, it often becomes detached.) It has a central depression, and two smaller depressions either side, and thus mimics the well-formed bobbin handles found on clay, stone and bronze vessels. From the older excavations there is some evidence of the use of this vessel type

181 Orsi 1918, fig. 173, 584.

182 Another group with a similar purpose must be the faience phialai mesomphaloi, not so far found in the Heraion, but fragmentary examples come from Zeytintepe, Miletos, inv. Z 09.14.28 unpublished, Webb forthcoming; Lindos, Blinkenberg 1931, cat. 1138; a complete example – Knossos, North Cemetery, Webb 1996, 608, T. 34, find cat. 40 pl. 294 fig. 181.

183 After a number of seasons of excavating the surface deposits on the Zeytintepe hill, a deep Bothros was discovered which contained a rich deposit of ex-votos, all dated from Corinthian pottery by Cornelius Neef, Neef 2017, to between 690 and 630. This terminal date may be lowered by comparison with other classes of material.

184 Hölbl 1999, 370 f. note 159 lists a wall fragment and detached handles from the excavations carried out at Zeytintepe before the discovery of the Bothros, which come from seventh century date contexts. There are now other examples from the Bothros itself, which is dated probably pre 630: inv. Z08.472.114, a third of vessel base; inv. Z09.10 foot ring frag and part of base, both identical to previous Samos finds, see Webb 2016, cat. 88, while inv. Z09.56.2 joined with inv. 51.7, and inv. 37.21 has a bulkier, more rounded design with a decorated rim. Also nine detached handles from the Bothros deposit.

185 Kerschner 1997, cat. 40. 41, 66, 128.

186 Bulut 2018, cat. 14–18, 129. 130 fig. 2.

187 41. Handle fragment, incomplete, L 2.15, W 1.3, H 0.78, diam. of perforation hole 0.3. Glaze: well attached blue. Core: grey colour, hard, medium texture. Land fillings underneath the construction layer of the Monumental Altar ca. 590/580–570/560 B.C.

188 40. Rim fragment, L (surviving) 4.3, H (surviving) 1.65, W of rim 1.5, Diameter (probable) of dish at rim, 12.5. Glaze: gone, but pale green colour survives. Core: pinkish buff colour, medium texture. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

189 Varia no number, Measurement-ID: 16.943, Stratigraphical Unit: 2012-35. Not seen, size not recorded. Described as ›Schalenstandring fragment‹.

at the Heraion – two base fragments with foot ring¹⁹⁰, and an assortment of depressed bobbin handles¹⁹¹. The only definite find places known are from Walter’s excavations east of the Monumental (ῶRhoikos) Altar¹⁹², together with a rich cache of other faience objects. But the majority of the fragments from the Heraion have no documented find place and despite the comparative thickness of the walls and rim, no further examples have survived in the new excavations. It should, perhaps, be concluded from the comparative paucity of finds, that, unlike at Zeytintepe, and at the Artemision at Ephesus¹⁹³, these vessels were not commonly used in the rituals associated with sacrifice at the Altars.

Origin and Chronology

⁴⁶ These shallow dishes must come from a manufacturing centre in East Greece, as the origin of their design is a Greek shape, not an Egyptian or Levantine one¹⁹⁴. The finds made in the Aphrodite Sanctuary on Zeytintepe are plentiful, and many come from the Bothros as well as being matched by finds from the Ephesus Artemision¹⁹⁵, and Hölbl suggests Ephesus as their origin. Other sanctuary sites yield comparatively few examples. But the other factor in their apparent absence from the more widespread archaeological record may be the comparative simplicity of their form, and the small handles which may be either ignored or initially misidentified, as in the case of a handle from the North Cemetery at Knossos¹⁹⁶. We have a number of dated contexts¹⁹⁷. That from the Heraion spans the last third of the seventh century, and beginning of sixth century, and appears to put the shallow dishes in the cultural context of Phase II figurines (see discussion below). The rim comes from the Deposit of 590/580, though the fragment of handle is from a slightly later deposit.

Egyptian Blue: New Year’s Flask

⁴⁷ A final vessel type which establishes direct contact with Egypt in the import of Nile water, sacred oils or ointments is represented by the fragments of a New Year flask¹⁹⁸. These flasks were given by servants to their masters on the occasion of the rising of the Nile, the beginning of the New Year¹⁹⁹. From the Heraion we already have evidence of a very specific type with low relief, coloured decoration²⁰⁰, but there are no comparable pieces from the new excavations. Instead we have fragments of a flask

190 Webb 2016, cat. 82. 83 pl. 10, 1. 2.

191 Webb 2016, cat. 88. 89.

192 Webb 2016, cat. 89, p. 62. 199. East of Monumental Altar north Brunnen J (ῶW 2) +170–+160 (1964) Vase – fragment of base foot of shallow dish together with other faience votive material dated to last third of seventh century/beginning of sixth century: Walking figure Egyptian type; Flute-player, head only; Flute-player, head only; Isis nursing Horus – head, hand and chest of baby only; Falcon, (fragments) seven in all; Figurine – base of walking quadruped, (ram or cow?); all of Phase 2 typology. For publication of entire find context (designated Xlo) see W.-D. Niemeier and Henke forthcoming.

193 See numbers listed in Hölbl 1999, note 158.

194 East Greek shallow dishes see Hölbl 1999, 370 f. note 158., Kerschner 1997, and Bulut 2018.

195 Hölbl 1999, note 138 gives list of faience imitations – six examples, with three handles.

196 Webb in: Coldstream – Catling 1996, T13, find 2, 63; 607, fig. 182 pl. 292, seventh century Cretan Orientalising period cremation of young adult inserted in a Pithos, faience handle initially identified as an »enigmatic« object of stone.

197 Similar finds from a seventh century rubbish layer, as well as the Bothros, at Zeytintepe, Miletos are probably to be dated to as early as 630 B.C., the grave from Francavilla Marittima is dated to mid-seventh century, while the handle fragment from Knossos North Cemetery comes from a Cretan Orientalising period cremation burial (mid-seventh century). The excavated material from Ephesus of the clay parallel shapes is also of seventh century date.

198 42. Egyptian Blue New Year flask, part of one half of lentoid body, broken into fragments, a convex ridge indicates side band, but no inscription survives. The interior surface is uneven, evidence of the method of manufacture used, by modelling vessel over a sand bag or similar. Deposit 590/580 B.C.

199 Hölbl 1979, I 34–41; Goyon 1972; Masson-Berghoff 2014; Webb 2016.

200 Webb 2016, cat. 70–72 fig. 6 pl. 8.

made of high-quality Egyptian Blue/or Blue Paste²⁰¹, which belongs to a specific group. No inscription is preserved (the side band would have had a short hieroglyph inscription – see the comparable example from Kamiros now in the British Museum)²⁰², and the simple papyrus shaped mouth and neck has broken off and does not survive in the deposit²⁰³, although several examples of such mouths and necks have been found in the earlier excavations²⁰⁴, as have the broken fragments of flask bodies²⁰⁵. Distribution of this particular group occurs across East Greece²⁰⁶, the Near East²⁰⁷, and Egypt²⁰⁸ itself, where, it is clear, they were produced.

48 A possible source of production might be Naukratis, where evidence of the use of the Egyptian Blue/Blue paste (calcium copper tetrasilicate) was found by Petrie associated with the scarab factory (scarabs, lumps of prepared material, fragments of small vessels, shallow dish with hieroglyphs)²⁰⁹. However, the evidence from Naukratis for faience production at the scarab factory at present does not date to before to the beginning of the sixth century²¹⁰ and the types of New Year's flask found there²¹¹ belong to a more complex design with elaborate papyrus umbel mouths, and are made of a yellowish core material with green glaze. It is likely, therefore, that the development of Egyptian Blue as a prestige and popular material should be associated with Saite innovations in faience production with which Egyptian Blue is associated, and such innovations are likely to have taken place at bigger urban or temple contexts, and at an earlier date in the Saite dynasty. The fragment of a Blue Paste ring neck alabastron found in the Heraion²¹² is evidence of a technically highly-skilled industry established in Saite Egypt – we can point to the evidence of a relatively complete example from the Treasury at Persepolis²¹³ which provides a parallel for the large vessel from which the fragment must have come. Other vessels of Egyptian Blue found at Persepolis confirm its importance as a material for high status objects in Saite Egypt²¹⁴. A comparable de-

201 Egyptian Blue, see Tite et al. 1987; Busz – Gercke 1999; Tite et al. 2008. Recent research has established the two phases of manufacture necessary for production of the fine, smooth, dense material.

202 Egyptian Blue flask from Kamiro, without a precise find place, Salzmann and Biliotti excavations, inv. BM 1864,1007.1820, with side band on which only the introductory inscription of three signs survives. ›Open a Good Year‹ – the invoked deity and the rest of the inscription are missing (or never present). Unpublished.

203 This is because of the very different techniques used to make the neck and the body. The neck is modelled as a thick walled cylinder round a circular rod (removed before firing) which creates a perfectly even perforation, while the body with relatively thin walls is moulded over a sand-bag or similar form, shaped in two halves and joined together with a side strip, and mouth element inserted.

204 Samos Heraion, Webb 2016, 93 f. cat. 156–159. Add inv. V1800, mouth and neck of flask, findplace: 1964 Walter, Under Altar VII – now reassigned to Altar VI (unpublished). Also Diehl 1965, 842 fig. 19, 101, fragment with an elaborate Broad Collar decoration (no findplace or date). All of Egyptian Blue.

205 Webb 2016, cat. 149, 91 and possibly cat. 148.

206 Miletos, Zeytintepe. Broad collar fragment inv. Z94.114.68, Hölbl 1999, fig. 24, and a section of neck and mouth fragment inv. Z07.161.12 and Z07.176.6, Hölbl 2014, note 35 (unpublished). All come from excavations on Zeytintepe made before the discovery of the Bothros; Lindos, Blinkenberg 1931, cat. 1300 pl. 56, 356; Kamiro, inv. BM 1864,1007.1820 above.

207 207 Assur, Andrae and Moortgat, Findnumber 14734, in layer of 8th – 7th century, now Berlin, von Bissing 1941, note 10 considers it older than 630 B.C.; Busz – Gercke 1999, cat. 171, 349 f.

208 Finds made at both Memphis, and Thebes, in royal/religious contexts: the Palace of Merenptah in Memphis, note 216 below. Medinet Habu note 219 below.

209 Webb 2019, for finds of Egyptian Blue. a) Scarabs from Scarab Factory appear in identical forms in both faience and Egyptian Blue, Petrie 1886, pl. 37, marked b for Blue Paste; b) a number of amulets; c) prepared samples of Egyptian Blue; d) bowl rim with hieroglyph inscription inv. BM 1885, 1101.31. See British Museum Online catalogue under Naukratis-Egyptian Blue.

210 Petrie 1886; von Bissing 1951; Gorton 1996; Webb 2019.

211 Masson-Berghoff 2014.

212 Webb 2016, cat. 146 fig. 11 pl. 15, no. 6, and see discussion there of the other finds.

213 Webb 2016, pl. 15 cat. 1, Tehran, Iran Bastan Museum inv. 2200, Schmidt 1957, pls. 47, 2; 48. One of a group of high status ointment containers brought, we may assume, from Egyptian Pharaonic treasure houses as booty after Cambyses conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C.

214 The base of a small statue, inscribed for Amasis, can now be added to the list of Egyptian Blue objects with a clear Egyptian origin, Busz – Gercke 1999, cat. 74, 306.

velopment in the Saite period is that of the soapy-textured apple green faience²¹⁵, used in particular for New Year's flasks.

Significance and Chronology

⁴⁹ These Egyptian Blue New Year Flasks, with their simple mouth, neck and broad collar design, probably come from a centralised manufacturing centre. An important context from Egypt is provided by the excavations in the Palace of Merenptah, Mit Rahineh, Memphis where finds of the type under discussion were made²¹⁶, together with Corinthian pottery dating at its earliest from around 630²¹⁷. Also found here were examples of the later Phase 3 faience aryballois²¹⁸. These finds attest to close links with Greece from at least the last quarter of the seventh century to the middle of the sixth. See also the fine examples from Medinet Habu, undated, but which must also be of Saite period²¹⁹. The example from the Assur excavations is dated to seventh century²²⁰, while a similar example in pale green faience from Deve Huyuk unfortunately has no precise context²²¹.

⁵⁰ Our piece comes from a context dated to 590–580 B.C. at the latest, so we should propose an earlier date of arrival in the Heraion, and then deposition. We have here the products of a popular and widely distributed class of containers – popular both inside and outside Egypt from at least the last quarter of the seventh century onwards²²².

Egyptian Blue Scarabs

⁵¹ Apart from one very badly damaged faience scarab²²³, and an Egyptian Blue scarab which retains no features at all²²⁴, the only identifiable scarab found in the new excavations is one in Egyptian Blue²²⁵ – less than a centimetre long, with a clearly incised depiction on its base, although it has snapped off along the perforation line, so that only the lower half of the base incised with the decorative scheme survives. The small number of scarabs found in the excavations as a whole is further confirmed here, contrasting with their popularity in other sanctuary sites on the East Greek littoral, as, for

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- 215 Kaczmarczyk – Hedges 1983, 266 and *passim*. The authors remark particularly that »the chemical compositions of green Saite glazes were cleverly manipulated ... for aesthetic reasons«, and that there was a distinct change in the faience technologies established in the Saite period from what had gone before. The same considerations should apply to the production and development of Egyptian Blue.
- 216 The Palace of Merenptah in Memphis. Eckley B. Cox (1915–1923 and 1955–1956) expeditions, and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, make clear the frequent appearance of such E. B. flasks in Lower Egypt at the time of the Saite period and early Greek interest in the area. Four mouth and neck fragments, Philadelphia inv. 29.84.5633, 29.84.626, 29.84.641, 29.84.671 Findplaces – Room 101, and Room 200, unpublished.
- 217 Boardman 1999, 134 f. fig. 157, Corinthian vase fragment ca. 630 (Philadelphia inv. 29.71.190).
- 218 From the same findplace, there is evidence of Phase 3 aryballois: Hedgehog aryballos fragment Philadelphia inv. 29.84.698, spherical aryballos (Egyptian Blue) fluted, Philadelphia inv. 29.84.622, from the same area as the New Year flasks above (unpublished). From Memphis unspecified find places, Webb 1978, spherical aryballos cat. 794, grasshopper cat. 950, walking ibex cat. 962. But it is to be noted that these all belong to Phase 3, and must be dated to 575/550–525 B.C.
- 219 Fragments of New Year flasks in Egyptian Blue, inv. 15999, 16000, 16001, 16002, 16657 from excavations at Medinet Habu, now Oriental Institute, Chicago. Location excavated in course of clearing Temple enclosure in 1927 by U. Hölscher, unpublished.
- 220 Busz – Gercke 1999, cat. 171, 350.
- 221 Moorey 1980, 42 f. cat. 131 fig. 8; Klengel-Brandt 1990, 138 1C cat. 24.
- 222 See Hölbl 2019, 306–308, flask found at Chatal Huyuk on the Amuq plain, and for a survey of all types of New Year flasks outside Egypt, but he does not distinguish between faience and Egyptian Blue.
- 223 43. Pinkish core, no glaze, base erased. L 1.15, W 0.85, H 0.6. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
- 224 44. Egyptian Blue fragment – bead, rod or mini-scarab; inv. V1665, Egyptian Blue fragment, split in half, scarab?
- 225 45. Egyptian Blue scarab L 0.85, W 0.5, H 0.5. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
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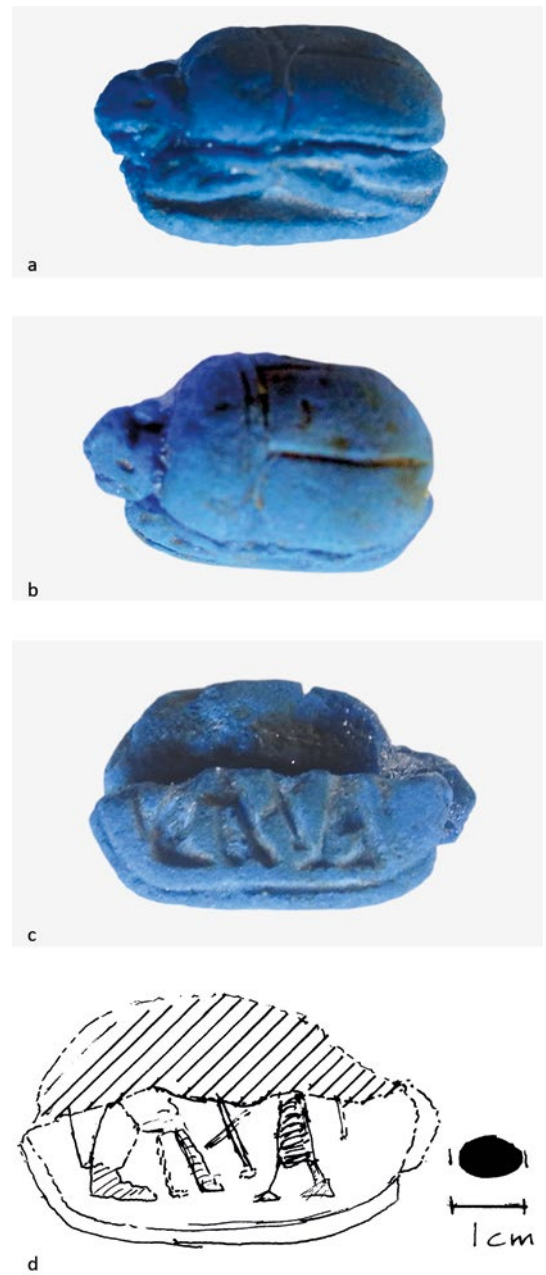
instance, at the Temple of Aphrodite on Zeytintepe, Miletos,²²⁶ and the Rhodian sanctuary sites²²⁷. The features of both scarabs back and face are clearly modelled. It has a simple back, with double straight line marking the prothorax (pronotal suture) dividing the front from the wing covers behind, the median division of which is indicated by a single central line. The clypeus (face shield) protrudes in front, and the legs are represented by deeply under-cut double V-shaped relief lines. On the base only, the lower half of the scene survives, with deeply incised grooves representing the legs of two opposed figures, either seated sphinx and man, or man versus man, confronting each other with the crossed stick sign in between them (Fig. 21). This links it with a distinctive group of scarabs classified by Gorton as produced in the Naukratis factory²²⁸, but because of its fine quality material and careful modelling it also stands close to the varied group of Egyptian Blue scarabs found in the earlier excavations in the Heraion²²⁹. It is likely that it is either an early product of the Naukratis factory or indeed a pre Naukratite product from elsewhere in the Delta. Dated at the latest to before 590/580.

Kneeling Figure

52 Small figurine depicts a kneeling figure in long tunic with central double band running vertically down both the front and the back²³⁰ (Fig. 22). Though this was found in a later, much disturbed deposit, I suspect that it belongs with one of the associated industries in faience, which can be dated to the late seventh – early sixth century²³¹. The vertical central bands echo those which decorate the robes worn by a well-defined group of kneeling figure vases found in East Greece and Cyprus²³², which belong with Phase 1 kneeling vases in date and type. Moreover, the use of a fine textured yellow core material, probably originally glazed blue green, links this find with an unusual head vase from Ialysos Votive Deposit, so far unique, also made from a yellow core material, and with unusual facial markings²³³.

Ushabti

53 A final piece of evidence for links with Egypt is the very much damaged Ushabti (Fig. 23) found in the main deposit closed around 590–580 B.C.²³⁴. As a unique find, (apart from the disputed Saite Ushabti already discussed²³⁵) this



21

Fig. 21: Cat. 45. Scarab, Egyptian Blue, L 0.85, W 0.5, H 0.5

226 Hölbl 1999; Hölbl 2014.

227 Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 3796–4007 from Lindos, over 200 scarabs; cat. 4557–4781 from Ialysos Votive Deposit, over 200 scarabs.

228 From a group of sixteen scarabs purportedly found at ›Pozzuoli‹ and now assigned to Cumae, BM 1856, 1226.1337. One sub group most closely resembles our scarab: Hölbl 1979, I, 152; II, cat. 928–929, 199, pl. 108; Gorton 1996, Group XXXII A, cat. 15–22, 115, Fig. 26. Gorton, 114, points out the miniature size of many examples, under 1 cm in length. Like Hölbl, she asserts an origin in Naukratis.

229 Webb 2016, cat. 160–166 pl. 16.

230 Inv. V 1592, 64.574, Find group 26, H 4.2. From Hellenistic pit. 3rd–2nd century B.C.

231 From the Ialysos deposit comes a head vase in a similar yellow paste which has strong stylistic connections with Near Eastern ivories – Webb 1978, cat. 269, 78; Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4855, 2635.

232 Lagarde – Leclant 1976, 183–290; Webb 1978, 29–31 see especially pl. 5, Kition cat. 131, and Kamiros cat. 134; now add from Miletos, Zeytintepe, Bothros inv. Z08.453.140, and inv. Z09.67.24.

233 Skon-Jedele 1994, cat. 4855, 2635, Rhodes museum, no. 10873. Unpublished, Webb forthcoming.

234 Inv. V 1541.70.758, Find group 1 59, H 7.4 cm.

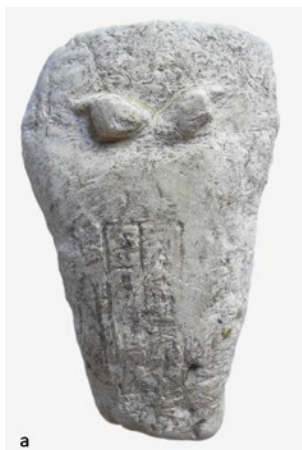
235 Webb 2016, cat. 93, p. 63 f. fig. 8 pl. 10, 4. 5.



22

Fig. 22: Cat. 47. Kneeling figure, yellow faience, H 4.2

confirms a date in the New Kingdom, as the material was not used in the Late Period. Dr Moje comments that he is worried by the position of »the hands and chest parts being deeper than the lower part of the body which is very odd, it looks if this upper part was heavily reworked at some time. Furthermore, the upper part is strange too as no parts of the neck are visible, looking as if there is a round surface.« Both Dr Moje and Dr Griffin suspect that the piece might be a fake, created by someone who knew something about ushabtis and Egyptian hieroglyphics. If this is so, we are looking at a new phenomenon amongst the Heraion finds. If the piece is of New Kingdom date, as an already very old import, we might compare it with the fine ivory lion found in a carefully hidden deposit in the Heraion which is of New Kingdom date²³⁸. Furtwängler suggests the source of the lion as a royal grave, robbed in the 18th/19th Dynasty, when tomb robbery was common²³⁹. But the ivory lion is in very good condition, so its survival history must be very different from that of the Ushabti which shows signs of extreme damage, and even reworking. The popularity of Ushabti-type amulets amongst aigyptiaka from East Greek sites is already recognised²⁴⁰, but the importation of actual ushabtis is much less frequent, though not unknown²⁴¹. It may well take its place amongst the largely imitative Egyptianizing objects, since it shows evidence of remodelling. However, the fact that it bears a hieroglyphic inscription, (though now largely lost) militates against it being a fake, for the external market in East Greece for imported, Egyptianizing objects did not require the complementary confirmation of hieroglyphs²⁴².



23

Fig. 23: Cat. 48. Ushabti, alabaster/calcite, H 7.4

236 Personal communications from Dr Jan Moje, October 31st, 2020, and Dr Ken Griffin, November 27th, 2020.

237 I am very grateful to Dr Moje for this reading. But as he says it is very damaged and it is not possible to accurately reconstruct the name of the intended master, whose call to work in the afterlife would be answered by the ushabti.

238 Furtwängler 1981, cat. E 133, 107–127 from deposit dated at the latest to ca. 610 B.C.

239 Peet 2006 and Kitchen 1973.

240 Webb 2016 discusses Ushabti amulets cat. 115, 116, p. 72, and finds of Ushabti in the Mediterranean cat. 93, p. 63 f.

241 Hölbl 1979, cat. 600 pl. 150. However, he dates this to between the 27th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic period.

242 See discussion below.

is of great interest because it bears a hieroglyphic inscription, though now badly eroded. I am very lucky to have the informed opinion of experts²³⁶. It would seem that this is of New Kingdom date and that it bears an inscription which reads:

1| Wsjr ḥtmw bjtj '...'
Osiris, seal bearer of the Lower Egyptian king ...
2| s3 n '...'
.....²³⁷.

54 The material appears to be alabaster/calcite, and this further

Conclusions

55 We have here the extremely poorly-preserved remnants of sacrificial material, which evidence destruction of various types. Some of the objects are badly distorted, or exist as very small badly damaged fragments (Phase 1), which may witness to their storage in poor conditions before being buried, since their period of currency is earlier than the dates of the deposits that we have here. The majority of the objects (Phase 2 figurines) evidence very substantial destruction, and there may be more than one explanation for this. It seems likely considering the time span of the Phase 2 objects – from at the latest 630 B.C. to the time of the main deposit, 590/580 B.C., that much of the material was already discarded, and would not have been involved in recent ceremonies at the altar. This would explain the poor survival of the glazes, the separation of parts and the rubbing down of surfaces, which appear to be historic damage by abrasion, while the final stage of destruction occurs when the core was broken up into unrecognisable fragments: some objects, though surviving comparatively intact, show evidence of heavy abrasion as well as slicing cut marks²⁴³. There is evidence in the deposits of burnt material from sacrifices, both a pit filled with very fine ash, and a large selection of bone fragments, from cattle, sheep etc. and even gold foil and lapis lazuli fragments associated with cattle horns²⁴⁴. But as far as the faience pieces are concerned, whatever their origin, it was the intention of those depositing them to break them up into small, compactable fragments. We are lucky that a number of objects escaped this wholesale destruction: and it is the majority of these which, of course, make up recognisable fragments of falcons, though none survive complete, unlike those surviving from other deposits. The pieces identified as ›ritual baskets‹ are extremely fragmentary and cannot be reconstructed with certainty, and only two (possibly three) small fragments of the shallow dishes with depressed bobbin handles were found which is very likely linked to their earlier date span. In the same way, the thoroughly smashed fragments of one side of an Egyptian Blue New Year flask are all that survives, but it can be compared with another group of fragments from previous excavations, and like it, still retains part of the raised side band. In a lower level (605/600 B.C.) two faience objects survive, one of which is a delicately modelled Egyptianizing figurine, which though broken into fragments, was found still lying in one place, and retaining half of almost all its elements (20) (Fig. 8).

56 By contrast, figurines found in the later, main deposit (690/680 B.C.) were less fortunate, and only survive as completely disarticulated and separated parts. This, the largest deposit which was closed around 590/580 B.C. not only included some deposition of precious, ritually disposed of material, carefully laid together, though without their parts intact²⁴⁵, but also, I would suggest, secondary disposal of little valued objects, used, we may assume, to provide a solid filling because of the damp ground conditions. Henke's conclusion from his analysis of the finding of unrelated fragments of terracottas, faience figurines or Corinthian flasks closely packed together, with the largest at the top of the group, is that the objects had been smashed elsewhere, and then packed into baskets prior to disposal. We should consider the possibility that some at least of the objects had been current in the sanctuary for some time, as we know that the vases of the ›Leopard Spot Group‹ date back to around 650 B.C., while the figurines belonging to Phase 2 of Archaic Greek Faience began to appear at least as early as 630 B.C. if not before. They had likely been stored in poor conditions and were now being finally cleared away: they were no longer useful as objects with the power to intermeditate with the deity.

243 15. Fig. 6 a, falcon body, heavily abraded, with slice mark alongside of wing.

244 Henke 2017a.

245 Glass bowls, Henke 2017a.

57 The second point I would like to make is about the relationship of the faience objects to their original prototypes in Egypt. Although many of the Horus falcon model figurines would be quite acceptable as an offering to an Egyptian deity, and do not deviate far from the original prototype, other object types are very distant from any proper Egyptian model. ›Mixed style‹ figurines dominate the greater part of Phase 2. One example must be the figurines which are intended to represent Isis nursing Horus. We have stated the case for this identification, but it is quite clear that the amount of simplification and distortion which has entered into the creation of this faience model has no parallel with the acceptable depiction of the goddess and her nursling which we can see in contemporary Egyptian bronzes, where the goddess is always shown wearing her elaborate ritual crown and tripartite wig. Our figures are stripped of this completely and probably would not have been acceptable in Egypt. What we are looking at here is a distorted reproduction of Egyptian ritual objects, which would only have been acceptable in a foreign milieu. This also applies to many of the human figurines and animals in the so-called ›mixed style‹, as well as to the ›ritual baskets‹ which, like the better preserved find from the old excavations, are modelled on, but not actually real, examples of an original type.

58 A final point to make is the complete lack of hieroglyphic inscriptions, which might have been used to identify either the figure represented or the donor²⁴⁶. (The exception is the Ushabti, which is probably without parallel, and possibly the Egyptian Blue flask, but in both these cases, the inscription is related to their original use, and not to any dedication in a foreign land.) Although the amuletic material from the earlier votive deposits on Rhodes and Miletos often bears the standard ritual invocation to the deity, or the ankh sign for life, which it bore in its original role in an Egyptian context, no such inscription ever appears on the faience material we are discussing here.

59 This confirms that we have a body of material, which though often apparently referring to Egyptian originals, also stands at a considerable distance from them. We might argue that this represents a second wave in the relationship between East Greece and Egypt, in which a completely new style – an Egyptianizing one – was quite acceptable to the recipient market, and moreover one in which cheaper, mass produced goods could be received as appropriate offerings for the deity. The fine bronzes of 25th and early 26th Dynasty date which the Heraion had received in the years of the first substantial contact with Egypt, were replaced with a much poorer substitute. The exact mode of transmission and the relationship still remains to be established, and the possibility that manufacture was taking place in East Greece and with a strong possibility in Samos, cannot be discounted.

60 But it is possible to suggest that certain centres of cult and ritual situated in the Delta and Lower Egypt should be involved, these could be Bubastis for the ritual baskets of Bastet, Saqqarah or Memphis for the worship of the Apis bull, and general links with sites in the Delta for the Horus falcons, the Hathor cow, and the figures of Isis and Horus. Of note is that we have no indication of interest in the deities so popular in earlier contexts in the Aegean and the West in amuletic form, for instance: Sekhmet and Nefertum.

61 A final observation must also be made. There is no evidence of faience objects of Naukratite type from the present excavations, either figurines, amulets or scarabs, with perhaps the exception of the miniature Egyptian Blue scarab, which has similarities with types assigned to Naukratis²⁴⁷. This combined with the dating parameters

246 This departs very much from the habit in Egypt, where foreign donors accepted genuine Egyptian bronzes and might well inscribe them in Greek, Karian and/or Egyptian with their name and the god to whom the dedication was made, Weiss 2012, 511–513.

247 It most probably belongs to the pre Naukratite source proposed by Gorton 1996, 91.

established for the earliest find contexts of the Phase 2 material (630 B.C. or a little later), means that we have a clear division from the dated contexts from Naukratis. At Naukratis it is now considered not possible to date the earliest material to before 640/630 B.C. This implies that our faience material, of Phase 2 in particular, must originate from some other source in Delta Egypt, or indeed from a centre in East Greece. After all, if the ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vases and their fellows could be produced in Rhodes, while the shallow dishes with depressed handles most probably come from a centre in East Greece – Ephesus or Miletus, then there is nothing intrinsically unlikely in Phase 2 figurines being produced in the East Greek area.

62 Catalogue List

First an explanation of the significance of the numbers which accompany each object:

»1« = Catalogue Number assigned for purposes of present report.

»V(aria) 1519« = Number entered in Varia Catalogue of faience and other material for DAI, Athens records.

»M-ID« = Measurement-ID: 14.298 – unique identity number assigned at time of excavation.

»SU« = Stratigraphical Unit: 2011-34 – year date and stratigraphical unit from which the object comes.

1 V 1519, M-ID: 14.298; SU: 2011-34

Lower part of ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vase, missing head, upper torso, frog opening and top of jar; evidence of use of mould; a) normal right leg, b) left knee showing failure of mould. H 6.9 cm.

Fig. 3 a–c

2 and 3 V 1673, M-ID: 13.317, SU: 2010-103; V 997, M-ID: 12.870, SU: 2010-107

Upper parts of ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vase, distorted and split in two. Found in separate stratigraphical units. Cat. 2: head and palmette, H 3.5 cm. Poor state of preservation, stained, burnt (?), with features distorted. Cat. 3: torso and part of jar, H 4.2 cm.

Fig. 4 a–c

4 V 1611, M-ID: 69.989; SU: 2013-159

Left shoulder only of ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vase; glaze creamy/off white, with yellowish tinge, with part of Hathor lock curl, and dot for nipple, marked in brown/black; well modelled, H 3.55 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

5 V 1591, no M-ID; SU: 2013-24

Fragment of curved wall of jar; white glaze with porosities, fine white core. L 1.5 cm, W 2 cm, Th 0.5 > 0.2 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

6 V 1669, M-ID: 17.166; SU: 2012-24

Base fragment of ›Leopard Spot Group‹ vessel. Showing imprint of woven material, used as working surface, on underneath. L 4.2 cm, W 2.3 cm, H 0.5 cm. Found in filling of excavation trench 1963/1964 (recent).

7 V 1583, M-ID: 14.971; SU: 2011-34

Base fragment, ditto; with imprint of material on underneath surface; much damaged. L 2.5 cm, W 2.5 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

8 V 1645, M-ID: 63.824; SU: 2013-2

Base fragment, ditto; white powdery core. L 3.2 cm, Th 0.5 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

9 V 1646, M-ID: 63.741; SU: 2013-2

Base fragment, ditto; fine white core; no glaze. L 3.2 cm, W 2 cm, Th 0.4 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

10 V 1517, M-ID: 14.634; SU: 2011-34

Vase in form of kneeling woman, with baby in basket on her back, presenting an ibex – two fragments survive. Head H 2.4 cm; front of torso with ibex H 3.8 cm. The type is distinctive, it belongs to ›Leopard Spot group‹, and corresponds exactly with an example found in previous excavations in the Heraion, see Webb 2016, 58, and discussion 36–38. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

Fig. 4 d

11 V 1514, M-ID: 65.624; SU: 2013-72

Wall fragments of rounded lekythos-type shape; poor preservation; no glaze remaining; white friable core. H 2.3 cm. Construction layer of the Monumental Altar 570/560 B.C.

12 V 1791, M-ID: 66.243; SU: 2013-6

Wall fragments of rounded lekythos shape. H 2.3 cm, W 2.3 cm. First layer underneath the deposit of 590/580 B.C. in the south trench.

13 Webb 2016, cat. 342

Body of falcon retaining brilliant blue-green glaze. L 7.6 cm. Findplace: 1963 East of Monumental Altar, north of Brunnen J (›W20‹), +180 = Findgroup 40.

Fig. 5 a

14 V 1508, M-ID and SU not recorded

Horus falcon head; well modelled; showing the facial markings emphasized in blue-black glaze. L 3.8 cm, W 3.0 cm, H 3.4 cm. From disturbed layer 2009.

Fig. 5 b

15 V 1512, M-ID and SU not recorded

Horus falcon body only; badly damaged; missing legs, tail and top of head, left wing sliced off; no glaze remains; core medium texture of porous ›burnt sugar‹ consistency. L 10.3 cm, H 6.8 cm, W 4.4 cm. From disturbed layer 2009.

Fig. 6 a

16 V 1678, M-ID: 13.319; SU: 2010-106

Falcon body; missing head; showing the destructive effect of the extreme damp conditions. H 9.1 cm, base L 6.25 cm, W 2.8 cm, H 0.7 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

Fig. 6 b

17 V 1660bis, M-ID: 74.215; SU: 2013-292

Base only of falcon; no glaze remaining. L 10.5 cm, W 4 cm, H 1.3 cm. Deposit of 630/620 B.C. or a little later (north).

Fig. 7 a

18 V 1595, M-ID: 16.686; SU: 2013-73

Falcon base; front part with claws modelled in relief;

some glaze colour remaining. L 3.7 cm, W 3.6 cm. Deposit of 630/620 B.C. or a little later (north). Fig. 7 b

19 Webb 2016, cat. 372, V 362
Large falcon base; fragment of front half; glaze intact, blue-green with black-brown on claws of feet. L 6 cm, W 3.9 cm. Find place 40, East of Monumental Altar, dated before 590/580. Fig. 7 c

20 V 1659, M-ID: 67.766; SU: 2013-114
Standing figure; on base with back pillar, left foot advanced, middle of body missing; no glaze remaining. H (rem.) 9.5–10 cm. Deposit of 605/600 B.C. Fig. 8

21 V 982, M-ID: 12.855; SU: 2010-106
Standing male figure head with flaring out hairstyle and torso only, broken at waist; no glaze survives. H 5.2 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 9 a–c

22 V 1710, M-ID: 74.522. SU: 2013-2
Standing female, torso only; no glaze remaining; medium coarse core. H 4.0 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 10 a, b

23 V 1679, M-ID: 15.521; SU: 2011-29
Flute-player, upper half only, missing back of head, no back pillar. H 5.7. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 11 c

24 V 998, M-ID: 14.132; SU: 2011-15
Miniature human figure, upper part only, right arm horizontal, with left bent. Fluteplayer? Or Isis nursing Horus? Fine white glaze, and core. H 1.8 cm. Deposit 590/580–570/560 B.C. First Layer on top of the Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

25 V 983, M-ID: 12.631; SU: 2010-103
Kneeling figure, lower part only; no glaze remaining; medium coarse core. Greatest L 4 cm, H 3.5 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 11 a

26 V 1515, M-ID:14.366; SU: 2011-29
Kneeling figure, lower part only, and missing left side; strongly modelled in Egyptian style; no glaze remains; medium coarse texture; pinkish colour. Base complete L 6.2 cm, H (surv.) 5.1 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 11 b

27 V 1582, M-ID: 64.504; SU: no record
Walking male figure, lower part only, presenting quadruped, a small bull/bull-calf. Missing upper part of human figure. Head of bull with hand on head found separately, **28** below. The information on Stratigraphical Unit for **28** confirms that **27** belongs with

the material found in the Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Blue glaze and some traces of black. Disturbed layer, 2009. Fig. 12

28 V 1533, M-ID: 60.978; SU: 2012-65
Head of bull calf, with human hand on head, joins with **27**; glaze – bright blue-green thick, with darker colour on V-shaped groove between horns, marked with blob representing Uraeus. L 2.8 cm, H 2.15 cm, W 2.00 cm. The information on Stratigraphical Unit confirms that **27** belongs with the main body of material found in the Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 12

29 V 1666, M-ID: 70.173; SU: 2013-164
Male figure carrying ram across shoulders, with unusually broad back pillar, upper part only; traces of green glaze survive, with dark colour on hair. W 3.95 cm, H 7.47 cm, Th 3.2 cm. Deposit 630/620 B.C. or a little later. Fig. 13 a, b

30 Webb 2016, cat. 197
Male figure carrying ram across shoulders. H 7.1 cm. Find place not known. Fig. 13 c

31 V 1507, M-ID: 10.722; SU: not recorded
Figure of Isis nursing Horus, lower part only, missing torso, and figure of seated baby Horus; glaze – dark turquoise green; core medium texture, hard. L (of base) 4.9 cm; H 4.54 cm. From Trench outlier, not datable. Fig. 14 a, b

32 Webb 2016, cat. 240 pl. 26
Upper part from identical figure to **31**. H 5.9 cm. Find place not known. Fig. 14 c

33 a V 1567, M-ID: 60.729; SU: 2012-96
Head only of Isis figure(?); black glaze on rounded bangs of hair either side of head; face damaged and lost. W 3.2 cm, H 2.3 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 15 a, b

33 b V 1518, M-ID: 14.563; SU: 2011-34
Face of unknown figurine (Isis?), with delicate features. W 1.2 cm, H 1.59 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 15 c

34 V 988, M-ID: 12.615; SU: 2010-103
Standing cow, front of body with long tail; traces of dark blue glaze; core creamy buff, medium texture. L 3.7 cm, H 3.8 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C. Fig. 16

35 a V 1521, M-ID: 60.205; SU: 2012-65
Head of walking bull-calf; glazed blue, ridge between horns – a horizontal line, with dark blue on horns and central blob of glaze for Uraeus.

35 b V 1521, M-ID: 60.691; SU: 2012-65
Body of walking bull-calf. L 4.85 cm, H 4.8 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
Fig. 17

36 V 1514, M-ID: none; SU: none
Squatting ape (or man) playing double flutes.
Max. W 3.5 cm, H 4 cm. From disturbed layer 2009.
Fig. 18

37 Webb 2016, cat. 145 pl. 14, 5. 6
Hemispherical basket shape, split in half vertically, decorated with horizontal ridges, separated by grooves, with rosette emblem on base; glaze gone, with some dark colouring on rosette; core medium coarse texture. W 7.0 cm, H 7.05 cm. Fig. 19 a

38 V 1788, M-ID: 66.868; SU: 2013-105
Grooved vessel, sharply curved fragment; with yellow glaze on inside surface. W 2.45 cm, H 3.15 cm, Th 1.0 cm at top, 0.8 cm at bottom.
Fig. 19 b

39 V 1526, M-ID: 14.420; SU: 2011-34
Grooved ware fragment broken into three. W 4.4 cm, H 6.75 cm, circumference ca. 15 cm (centre); with other smaller examples from same context, V 1528, M-ID: 14.464; SU:2011-34. V 1531, M-ID: 14.808; SU: 2011-34. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
Fig. 19 c

40 V 1532, M-ID: 14.458; SU: 2011-34
Rim fragment of bowl; glaze gone, pale green colouring remains; core medium, pinkish buff. W 1.45 cm, H 1.65 cm, Est diam. 12–12.5 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
Fig. 20 b

41 V 1501, M-ID:14.028; SU: 2011-12
Handle, broken across; glazed blue; core-hard grey, medium texture. L 2.15 cm, W 1.3 cm. Landfillings underneath the construction layer of the Monumental Altar 590/580–570/560 B.C.
Fig. 20 c

42 V 1664, M-ID: 17.251?; SU: 2012-35
Egyptian Blue New Years flask, fragments of one side. W 5.9 cm, H 3.85 cm, Th. 6.9 > 4 cm. Deposit 590/580 B.C.

43 V 994, M-ID: 12.630; SU: 2010-103
Scarab, all markings erased; no glaze remains; pinkish core. L 1.15 cm, W 0.85 cm, H 0.6 cm. Deposit of 590/580 B.C.



24

Fig. 24: Cat. 46. Biconical spindle whorl, W 3.0, H 2.0

44 V 1663, M-ID: 14.303; SU: 2011-29
Egyptian Blue fragment, bead or mini scarab? Deposit of 590/580 B.C.

45 V 999, M-ID: 12.640; SU: 2010-103
Scarab, Egyptian Blue, split across face, good hard fabric. L 0.85 cm, W 0.5 cm, H 0.5 cm.
Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
Fig. 21

46 V 1557, M-ID: 16.621; SU: 2012-7
Biconical spinning weight, decorated with rosette petals on either half, nine on one side, twelve on other. Perforation well drilled and glazed inside. Glaze all gone on outside, faint traces of blue-green colouring, core white fine. W 3.00, H 2.00, Perforation 0.45 across. Recent disturbance, therefore no dated context.
Fig. 24

47 V 1592, M-ID: 64.574; SU: 2013-26
Figure kneeling up, missing head, wearing all over robe with double margin down front and back. H 4.2 cm. From Hellenistic pit 3rd to 2nd century B.C.
Fig. 22

48 V 1541, M-ID: 70.758; SU: 2013-59
Ushabti figure, missing head and feet, in alabaster/calcite? With badly eroded inscription on front in form of two vertical columns, divided horizontally into squares. H 7.4 cm, W 4.45–2.25 cm, Th 2.5 cm (front to back). Deposit of 590/580 B.C.
Fig. 23

49 V 1518bis, M-ID: 14.637; SU: 2011-34
Standing Bes figure, upper part of central back only, with thighs and top of tail, front broken away; probably Bes with nursling; glaze gone, but traces of green survive; core, fine white and powdery. W 2.7 cm, H 2.67 cm, Th 1.47 cm.

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