Naukratis and the Eastern Mediterranean: Past, Present and Future

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The Greek trading port of Naukratis in the Egyptian Nile Delta would have been a bustling harbour town in the Archaic period, the Shanghai of ancient Egypt, as Thomas Brown once put it.[1] Greek ships docked here to sell Greek silver, wine and oil to Egyptians in exchange for linen, papyrus, grain, natron, and other goods. Greek traders deposited gifts in the local sanctuaries and stopped over with the local *hetairai*, whose famous beauty must have turned the head of many a sailor, not just, notoriously, that of the wine trader Charaxos from Lesbos, brother of Sappho (Hdt. 2.135).

The people of Archaic Naukratis, their cults and their trade, their relations with Egypt and their links with Greece, Cyprus and Phoenicia, and particularly their pottery – its use, its production centres in the East Greek world, and its distribution – are at the heart of the present volume, which arose out of a conference/workshop held at the British Museum late in 2004. This focus is reflected in the division of the volume into three main parts: the site itself and its cults; the pottery of Naukratis

Figure 1a The eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea

Figure 1b East Greece

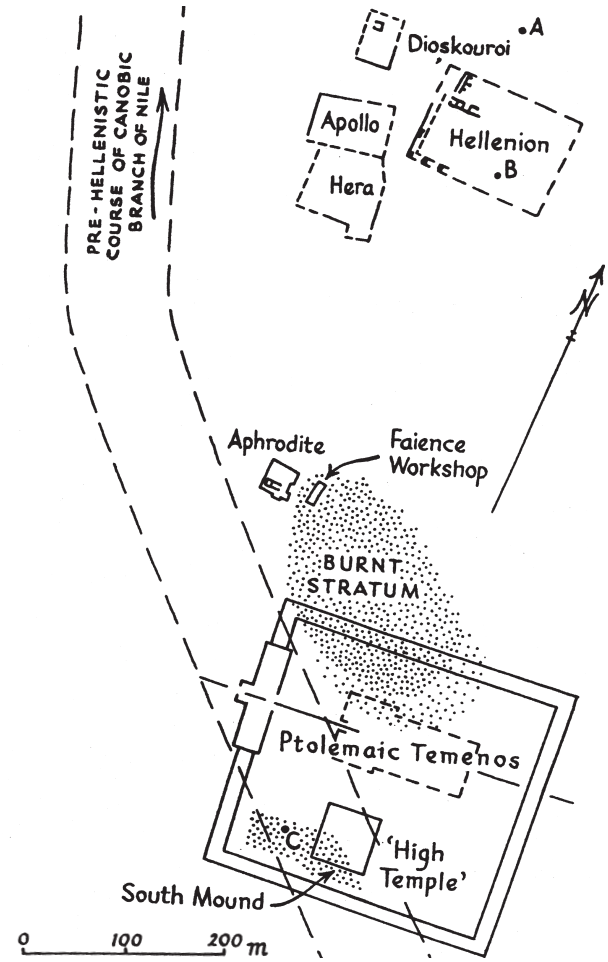

Figure 2 Naukratis from the late 7th to 3rd centuries BC

and its production centres; and the position of Naukratis in the wider context of trade and exchange in the Archaic Mediterranean. Revisiting old material, publishing recent fieldwork in East Greece, North Africa and the Black Sea, and presenting the latest research and analyses, the contributions assembled here make clear what advances have been made in all those areas over the past few decades.

This introductory essay aims to set the scene for the volume.[2] It is not a summary of the chapters it contains (abstracts prefacing each contribution give easy access to the main topics and results of each article), but rather introduces, connects and considers some of the key questions relating to the site of Naukratis and its position in the Eastern Mediterranean web of contacts during the Archaic period; in doing so it draws on, expands and links up in different ways the evidence and insights provided by the various contributions. The more specific and specialist insights relating to the pottery from Naukratis and its production centres are summarised and contextualised in greater detail in an overview essay at the beginning of section II.

Naukratis, 120 years after Petrie

Relations between Greece and Egypt go back a long time. In the Bronze Age contacts between the Minoan Cretans and Egypt are amply attested,[3] and the Minoans and Myceneans who had settled on the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, at sites such as Miletos, also attracted the Egyptians' attention: Ionians are for the first time depicted among subject states at time of Amenophis III (1403–1364 BC).[4] But after a long break it was only in the 7th century BC that significant contacts again developed.

Both East Greek and Carian mercenaries played a significant role in the Egyptian army of the 26th Dynasty,[5] having been first dispatched presumably following the alliance between Psammetichos I and the Lydian king Gyges in 662/1 BC, some even reaching advanced levels of command within their own 'foreigners" branch of the army and navy. Integration into Egyptian society can be witnessed particularly in the region of Memphis, where intermarriage and adoption of Egyptian names and burial customs are recorded.[6] In return, East Greek sanctuaries received 'diplomatic' gifts from the Egyptian pharaohs, and Egyptian goods and influence began to infiltrate Greece and the wider Mediterranean world.

Naukratis at this time was one of the main intersection points between the Greek and Egyptian worlds(**Fig. 1a**). According to Herodotus (2.178-9), it had been established at the instigation of the Pharaoh Amasis by 12 Greek cities, mostly located in East Greece (**Fig. 1b**), to act as a gateway for trade between Greece and Egypt:

> Amasis favoured the Greeks and granted them a number of privileges, of which the chief was the gift of Naukratis as a commercial headquarters for any who wished to settle in the country. He also made grants of land upon which Greek traders, who did not want to live permanently in Egypt, might erect altars and temples. Of these latter the best known and most used – and also the largest – is the Hellenion; it was built by the joint efforts of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phokaia, and Klazomenai, of the Dorians of Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassus, and Phaselis, and of the Aiolians of Mytilene. It is to these states that the temple belongs, and it is they who have the right of appointing the officers in charge of the port. Other cities which claim a share in the Hellenion do so without justification; the Aiginetans, however, did build a temple of Zeus

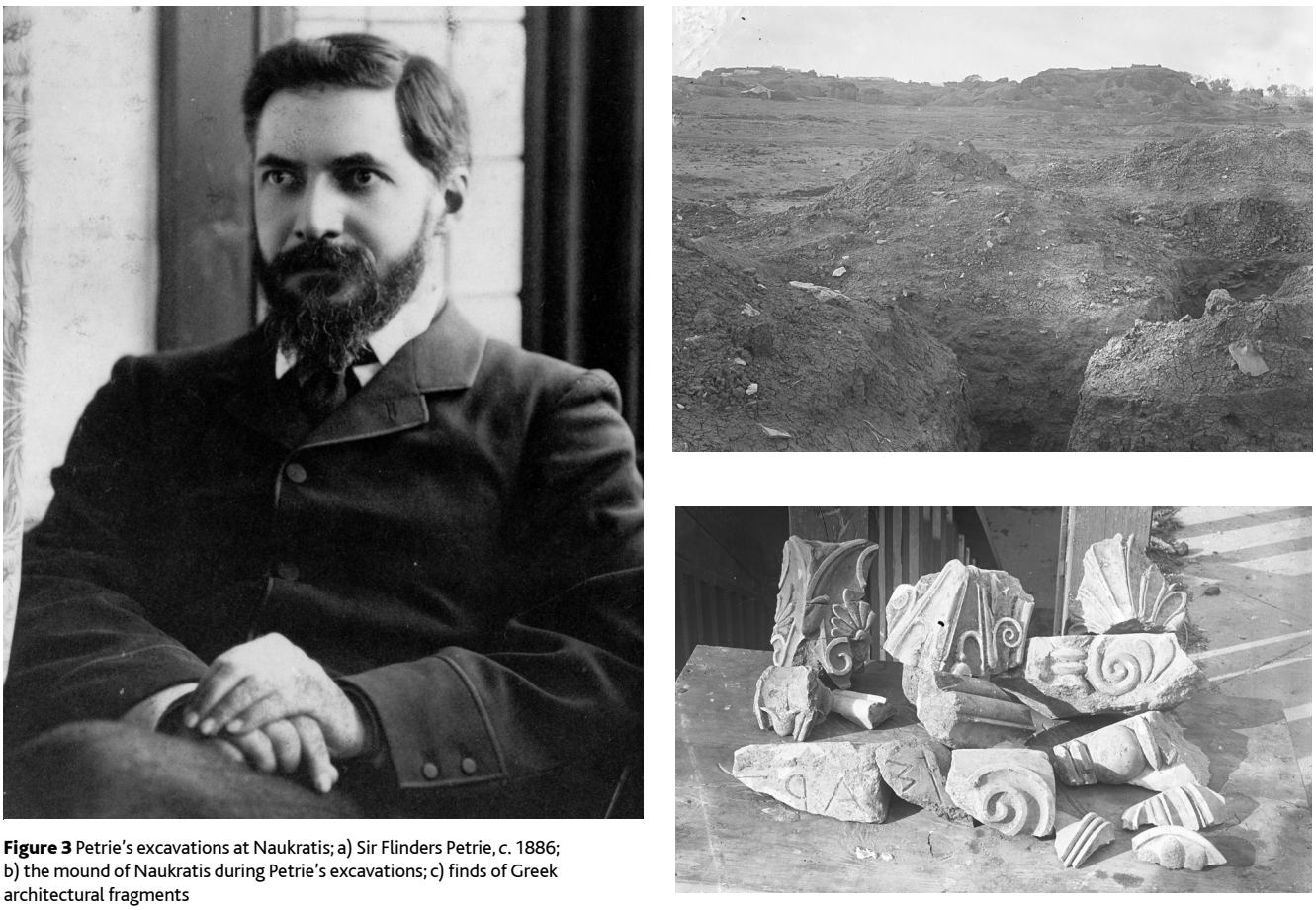

Figure 3 Petrie's excavations at Naukratis; a) Sir Flinders Petrie, *c.* 1886; b) the mound of Naukratis during Petrie's excavations; c) finds of Greek architectural fragments

> separately, the Samians one in honour of Hera, and the Milesians another in honour of Apollo. In old days Naukratis was the only port in Egypt, and anyone who brought a ship into any of the other mouths of the Nile was bound to state on oath that he did so of necessity and then proceed to the Canopic mouth; should contrary winds prevent him from doing so, he had to carry his freight to Naukratis in barges all round the Delta, which shows the exclusive privilege the port enjoyed. (tr. A. de Sélincourt)

Over 120 years ago, in 1884, Sir William Flinders Petrie discovered the remains of ancient Naukratis (**Fig. 2**) in the Western Nile Delta on the Canopic branch of the Nile and identified it correctly as the site mentioned by Herodotus. Petrie's first excavation campaign in 1884/5 (**Figs 3a–d**) at once uncovered rich remains relating to the Greek presence at the site; the sanctuaries of Apollo, Hera (originally identified as a palaistra), and of the Dioskouroi, along with the Scarab Factory and the Great Temenos (believed by Petrie to be the Hellenion) were excavated. Even if quite advanced for their time, excavations were by modern standards somewhat chaotic, conducted under difficult circumstances and in a constant race against the *sebakhin*, locals digging up soil for use as fertilisers on fields (cf. **Fig. 4e**).[7] Work was continued in 1885/6 by Ernest A. Gardner on behalf of Petrie. Gardner further excavated the sanctuaries of Apollo, Hera, and the Dioskouroi, and discovered the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Some years later, David Hogarth of the British School at Athens, in 1899 and 1903, concentrated on the Hellenion and the Great Temenos (**Figs 4a–d**).[8] More recently, an American expedition led by W.D.E. Coulson und A. Leonard in the 1970s and 80s set out to re-study Naukratis. Unfortunately, although their surveys and excavations shed much light on the post-Archaic site, its gradual destruction and the great lake that now covers the site of early Naukratis made it impossible to follow truly in the footsteps of Petrie.[9]

Research on Archaic Naukratis thus has to remain based on the finds of the old excavations. The four seasons of fieldwork produced much material evidence for the history of the site, while additional material was collected by travellers. Altogether these finds are vital evidence for the history of the Greek diaspora around the Mediterranean, for relations between Greeks and Egyptians, and for contacts and trade in the Eastern Mediteranean in general.

Yet in spite of the considerable importance of the site and the continuing scholarly interest it has attracted, no comprehensive publication of the surviving material from Naukratis has ever been attempted, a fact that has severely hampered scholarly study of the site. Petrie's and Gardner's publications of finds were a model of speed, and the results of Hogarth's excavations were also soon put into print.[10] But neither were comprehensive, according to Petrie's famous motto 'half a loaf is better than no bread'.[11] This situation would be less of a problem were it not for a further complicating factor: as the earlier excavation project was funded through subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Fund, the material from the site was distributed among subscribers; material from Hogarth's excavations, too, was spread among various collections, while further material was collected by private individuals. As a result, the finds are now shared between some 40 museums and collections all over the world – even though the largest part of this, some 50%, is held by the British Museum.[12] An additional handicap is the skewed nature of the preserved sample of material and the uncertainty about what was discarded already on site, an issue addressed in more detail by Schlotzhauer and Villing, this volume.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the site, and in particular its pottery, has attracted much scholarly attention over the past 120 years: one only needs to mention E.R. Price's study and

Figure 4 Hogarth's excavations at Naukratis: a) Hogarth on the excavation; b) excavation and village; c) 'Pavement of Artemis shrine?'; d) 'Pedestal vase *in situ*, Edgar holding the pieces'; e) Sebakhin at Naukratis

Marjory Venit's work on the Greek pottery from Naukratis, or Bernand's catalogue of the pottery inscriptions in *Le delta égypties d'après les textes grecs*. From a wider perspective, several authors attempted an evaluation of the history and significance of Naukratis, such as von Bissing in 1951 and John Boardman in his seminal work on *The Greeks Overseas*, indispensable still for the study of early Greco-Egyptian relations.[13] More recently, a crucial analysis of Naukratis and its role as a trading port was published in 2000 by Astrid Möller, spawning ongoing fruitful discussions, such as in a colloquium at Lyons dedicated to Naukratis.[14] A year after Möller's study, the proceedings of the 1999 Naukratis Colloquium at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz, appeared, adding further aspects to our understanding of the history and material culture of the Greeks and Carians in Egypt. The colloquium had been held under the auspices of the Mainz Naukratis Project, led by Ursula Höckmann, which between 1997 and 2003 made much progress in cataloguing and studying various types of Greek material at Naukratis with a focus on acculturation phenomena. Numerous subsequent articles and three forthcoming volumes present further results of the project.[15] Still ongoing is the work on the database originally set up by the Mainz Naukratis Project and continued by the British Museum, which will eventually allow an overview of the material held by different museums and collections. The present volume, too, is a result of the British Museum's collaboration with the Mainz group, and a starting point for future research into the extraordinary trading port that was Naukratis.

Life at Naukratis: Greeks and Egyptians

It has long been recognised that the material evidence from Naukratis dates back to the latter part of the 7th century BC, the time of the reign of Psammetichos I. Greek objects (notably pottery) first appear in Egypt around the middle or even the last third of the of the 7th century BC,[16] and the earliest finds at Naukratis of Greek pottery – Corinthian, Attic, East Greek and Carian (cf. Williams and Villing, this volume) – seem to confirm this.

It remains difficult, however, to reconcile this material evidence with the account in Herodotus which appears to ascribe the foundation of Naukratis to Amasis. Even if there is no unanimous consensus, it is agreed by most scholars[17] that Naukratis must have been founded during Psammetichos' reign, presumably under the leadership of the Ionian city of Miletos (and perhaps as one of several trading posts in the Delta), while a re-organisation under Amasis concentrated Greek trade just on Naukratis and gave specific status to the other Greek cities involved in the venture, an interpretation which seems quite compatible with the wording of Herotodus' passage quoted above.[18] They were allowed to establish the Hellenion and were granted the administration of the site through the *prostatai tou emporíou*, thus, perhaps, marginalising Miletos – a city which had been an important supporter of Amasis' adversary Apries. While the privileging of Naukratis at the expense of other trading posts can be seen as granting the site a special favour, it was also a way of keeping tight control of foreign traders entering the country, an aspect that may have gained importance particularly with the nationalist backlash that followed Apries' reign.[19]

As has been realised to its full extent only very recently, Naukratis was in fact not necessarily the first and only point of contact for ships entering Egypt in the region of Sais. The harbour town of Hone (Thonis-Herakleion) guarded the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile as it entered the 'sea of the Greeks', i.e. the Mediterranean, and seems to have been the very first port of call where trade goods were taxed on behalf of the Egyptian state. This was certainly the situation in the Classical period, when the stelai[20] erected by pharaoh Nektanebos I in Naukratis and Thonis-Herakleion specify that one tenth of taxes on imports passing through Thonis-Herakleion and on all transactions and local production of goods at Naukratis (*Pi-emrôye*) should be given to Neith of Sais. Yet it may have applied already to the late 7th century or 6th centuries BC, as finds from Thonis-Herakleion date back to at least the 6th century BC,[21] thus raising new questions concerning the status of both sites and their relationship.

What seems clear, however, is that Naukratis and Thonis-Herakleion must have had a close relationship at least from an Egyptian point of view, and both must have been guarded closely by Egyptian officials, like any other point of intersection with foreign lands. During the Saite period, officials known as 'Overseer of the gate of the Foreign Lands of the Great Green' (i.e. the Mediterranean) would have been in charge of securing the borders as well as – as suggested by Posener – administrating trade taxes,[22] and it seems likely that the administration of both sites reported to them, even if under the *prostatai tou emporíou* Naukratis can be assumed to have had autonomy at least in some regards. Just how strong an Egyptian presence would have been at Naukratis in the Archaic period remains uncertain.[23] The early excavators reported that in the southern part of the site only Egyptian objects were found, but it seems that these were mostly of Hellenistic date. Similarly, the Great Mound within the Great Temenos (identified originally by Petrie as a stronghold and storage building identical with the Hellenion) is now predominantly considered a 'high temple' in a temenos built in the 4th century BC under Nektanebos I for Amun of Batet,[24] although the possibility that it was a much earlier fort for an Egyptian garrison established by Psammetichos I (and restored by Ptolemy) is still maintained by some.[25] Others have suggested that Naukratis was originally an Egyptian settlement,[26] whose name *Pi-emroye* (or *Pr-mryt*, 'the Harbour/Port House'), used for Naukratis on the stelai erected by Nektanebos I in Naukratis and Heraklion/Thonis[27] as well as in several other hieroglyphic and demotic inscriptions,[28] was in fact the town's original name. Aristagoras of Miletos[29] even mentions an Egyptian settlement on the opposite side of the river to Naukratis at the time of its foundation, but no archaeological trace of this has been located to date.

Nevertheless, we surely must assume at least some administrative and policing staff as well as interpreters (cf. Hdt. 2.154). Archaic Egyptian inscriptions (of unknown provenance), one referring to the renewal of a donation connected with the temple of Amon-Re Batet (assumed to be in Naukratis) and the other to a man from Naukratis,[30] indeed seem to point to resident Egyptians at Naukratis,[31] and there may have been Egyptians involved in the local scarab workshop, too.[32] Fragments of 6th-century BC Egyptian pottery (**Schlotzhauer and Villing Fig. 41**),[33] even if rare in the known extant record, may well have belonged to such Egyptian residents. Only further study of the Egyptian remains from the site may ultimately shed more light on the question of Egyptians at Naukratis and on the level of direct interaction between Greeks and Egyptians at Naukratis itself.[34]

The presence of Greeks in the Archaic period, by contrast, is amply attested, at least in terms of pottery, if not in architectural remains (cf. **Fig. 3c**),[35] Of course, the evidence is largely confined to Greek sanctuaries, with the temenos of Apollo and the sanctuary of Aphrodite going back to the earliest period of the site, and the Hellenion to the time of Amasis,[36] and it thus remains unclear what proportion of Greeks actually permanently lived at the site compared to the proportion of traders who only passed through the port and deposited their votives along the way. The excavated cemetery at the site seems to cover merely the Classical and Hellenistic periods (although a dinos stand [?] perhaps of 6th century BC date is also said to have been found there).[37] Similarly, no firm evidence has been recorded for Archaic living quarters, apart from Petrie's record of some some Archaic finds in the area of the houses, even though these must have existed, both on the evidence of Herodotus talking of Greeks settling down and living permanently in Naukratis, and the existence in Archaic times of presumably not just seasonal workshops. The latter produced scarabs and faience, perhaps also terracotta figurines, alabastra, floral garlands and some sculpture, as well as, as is more fully discussed by Schlotzhauer and Villing in this volume, pottery in an East Greek style, at least from the time of Amasis onwards.

As has been remarked by many scholars before, the profile of the Greek pottery finds in Naukratis is well matched to the literary account of the founding cities of the *emporion*, with

pottery from Ionia, Aiolis and the East Dorian region much in evidence, a picture reflected also in various contributions in the present volume (for a summary see Schlotzhauer and Villing, this volume). The presence of Greek pottery from elsewhere – Attica, Laconia, Corinth – matches the profile at Archaic East Greek sites and reflects the general pattern of pottery trade in the Archaic Mediterranean. The study of the pottery inscriptions, too, currently undertaken by Alan Johnston, essentially confirms this picture; once completed, it will provide a more complete understanding of the relative chronology and ritual life of the various sanctuaries. The study has already significantly expanded the range of dedicators and the number of pieces inscribed by each, in ceramic texts totalling well over 2500, yet it remains true that only a few visitors to the sanctuaries seem to have come from further afield: some possibly Lydian and Carian names can now be added to the already-known single Phoenician graffito (**Schlotzhauer and Villing Fig. 24**) and the two Cypriot graffiti of Classical date (**Höckmann and Möller Fig. 6**).[38]

In general, the cultic life of Archaic Naukratis presents itself as similar to that in the (East) Greek home cities, from where most cults were filiated and most pottery imported. East Greek decorated plates, for example, are much in evidence and presumably served as display pieces, similar to votive pinakes,[39] even if – as is the case with East Dorian plates with marine motifs discussed here by R. Attula (**Attula Figs 6-11**) – not all types of such plates are present. A particularly close connection with the homeland can be witnessed in the import of specially made crockery from the Samian homeland for sacred meals: mugs and cups with dipinti to Hera (**Villing and Schlotzhauer Figs 14-17**) of exactly the same type as have been found in large numbers in the Samian Heraion appear in the sanctuary of Hera at Naukratis, a Samian foundation (Hdt 2.178),[40] and clay analysis by Hans Mommsen shows that they were produced with the same clay as the numerous examples found on Samos. Other instances of commissioning of pottery from back home specifically for use and/or dedication in a specific sanctuary at Naukratis are also attested. A dipinto on a North Ionian LWG large cup, for example, designates it specifically for 'Aphrodite at Naukratis'; it may have functioned as a mixing bowl in communal drinking rites.[41] Chian chalices, too, carry bespoke votive dipinti: those by Aigyptis and Mikis (or –mikis) have been taken by Dyfri Williams to have been commissioned (presumably through intermediate traders or travelling acquaintances) by some of the famous hetairai resident at Naukratis,[42] while the Chian/Aiginetan pair of traders Aristophantos and Damonidas[43] presumably brought their chalices to Naukratis in person (**Johnston Fig. 1**). The actual presence of the dedicant at the sanctuary is also indicated by an interesting fragment (**Johnston Fig. 9**) that shows that transport across the seas might occasionally result in damage: a large Chian chalice with a painted pre-firing dedication by a …]mides has the mu incised at a point where the slip had peeled away, suggesting that the dedicator must have repaired the damage on the spot.

Much of this inscribed as well as most of the uninscribed decorated pottery consists of drinking vessels and mixing bowls and – as in most Greek sanctuaries – must have been used in communal rites in the sanctuaries. Even undecorated coarse bowls, mortaria, presumably used for the preparation of sacred meals in Apollo's cult, frequently bear votive inscriptions (cf. Villing, this volume). It is not difficult to imagine that communal ritual meals must have been of particular importance in a place like Naukratis, where Greeks were gathered in a foreign environment and where cult was one way of re-enforcing a communal spirit and identity, and where the gods were, moreover, vital in ensuring the success of voyages and trade ventures. Ritual dining to further social and political cohesion is perhaps most prominently associated with feasting for Apollo Komaios, who was honoured by a symposium in the prytaneion.[44] The prytaneion may have been located inside the Hellenion (**Höckmann and Möller Fig. 2**), the common sanctuary set up by the joint efforts of nine *poleis*, presumably following the reorganisation of Naukratis by the pharaoh Amasis around 570 BC. Here, as Höckmann and Möller conclude in the present volume, all three ethnic groups of Hellenes together worshipped the Greek gods and organized the administration for their *emporion* – a statement of their Hellenic, East Greek identity in the face of a foreign, Egyptian environment.

Naukratis and trade in the Archaic Mediterranean

Naukratis was, of course, not the only Greek *emporion* situated in a foreign environment, but one trading post among many in the Archaic Mediterranean, with manifold connections to other sites and with many of its features being paralleled, to some extent, at other sites.

For Cyrene, further west along the Mediterranean coast of Africa, Gerry Schaus and Ivan D'Angelo in their contributions to the present volume note that, as at Naukratis, finds include little 7th and much 6th century BC pottery, notably of North Ionian and Chian, as well as South Ionian, provenance. Schaus suggests that Chian traders first came to Naukratis and then went on to Cyrene, and that Fikellura pottery, too, reached Cyrene on the back of trade to Naukratis, alongside, possibly, faience, scarabs and alabaster alabastra of Naukratite production. All this would presuppose the existence of a coastal trade route connecting Naukratis with Cyrene, in addition to the well-known sea route via Crete, a possibility also raised by Ivan D'Angelo in his study of pottery from domestic contexts in Cyrene, which complements the picture of the sanctuary pottery discussed by Schaus. There are, however, also distinctive differences between the pottery profiles of Naukratis and Cyrene. For example, no early Attic pottery has as yet been found in Cyrene – unlike at Naukratis, which yielded some of the earliest exported Attic material.[45] Could this be explained by the involvement of Aigina in the foundation of Naukratis? Conversely, the Theran (**D'Angelo Fig. 6**), Cycladic and Cretan pottery at Cyrene demonstrates continuation of contact between colonists and their Aegean homeland. No pottery of these islands has been identified at Naukratis, yet the phenomenon of an on-going link with the mother cities is exactly the same, extending to otherwise little-exported pottery fabrics such as grey wares from the Aiolian and Trojan/Lesbian region (**Kerschner Fig. 10; Schlotzhauer and Villing Figs 11–13**).

Also in the North, on the shores of the Black Sea, Milesian colonies (with a trading-post element) such as Istros (Histria) and Berezan – discussed in the present volume by Iulian Bîrzescu and Richard Posamentir – mirror the strong East Greek profile in pottery finds that is found at Naukratis. At Berezan, for example, from about 630 BC onwards, North Ionian, Chian,

South Ionian and Aiolian pottery suitable for drinking parties as well as decorated plates is much in evidence. In the 7th century BC Milesian, or South Ionian, pottery is predominant, while the picture changes dramatically in the first half of the 6th century BC in favour of North Ionian products (**Posamentir Figs 3–4**) – the same pattern as has recently been established by Michael Kerschner for Western Greek colonies.[46] Also at Naukratis the large amount of 6th century BC North Ionian pottery is remarkable; unlike at Berezan (**Posamentir Fig. 11**), however, bird, rosette and other hemispherical bowls seem dwarfed in numbers by South Ionian cups with everted rim ('Knickrandschalen'; **Schlotzhauer and Villing Figs 21, 23, 27–29**) – although we cannot be sure if this might not be due to their owners being keener to inscribe them, and thus making them more attractive for the excavators to keep. Finally, unlike at Naukratis, where a local pottery workshop has now been established with some certainty (Schlotzhauer and Villing, this volume), Posamentir's research suggests that unusual pieces of pottery from Berezan more likely stem from workshops established not at Berezan itself but located in another Milesian colony in the Hellespont area. [47]

At Naukratis, as in other Greek sites abroad, a characteristic mixture of pottery produced in the home cities and elsewhere can thus be observed. Who brought it here? The mariners who peddled those wares, or themselves dedicated them in the sanctuaries, clearly were not always of the same origin as their cargo. The wide distribution of Athenian and Corinthian pottery, for example, must be due in no small measure to the activities of Aiginetan traders, even though evidence such as the Corinthian dedication on a Corinthian louterion from Chios (**Johnston Fig. 8**) also points to the involvement of Corinthians themselves.[48] The distribution of Laconian pottery is presumably due largely to traders from Aigina and Samos. Similarly, as is argued in this volume by Michael Kerschner, Aiolian pottery produced in Kyme (and Larisa?) may well have been traded by Phokaians. As regards Cypriot mortaria found at Naukratis, as Alexandra Villing points out in the present volume, they may have been traded not merely by Cypriots or Phoenicians but also by Greeks. Unfortunately, the scarce evidence for trade amphorae among the extant pottery from Naukratis prohibits a reliable profile of this type of trade to be established; among the inscribed pieces that were kept by the excavators are several Cypriot and Chian as well as some Samian, Klazomenian, other North-Greek, and Corinthian amphorae (e.g. **Johnston Figs 14, 21**); in addition, amphorae of Phoenician type were found (cf. Johnston, this volume, and Villing, this volume).

The trading connections of Naukratis thus extended eastwards beyond the borders of Greece, towards Cyprus and Phoenicia, and westwards towards Cyrene. As Alessandro Naso demonstrates in his contribution to the volume, they even reached as far as Italy, from where several pieces of Etruscan bucchero pottery reached Naukratis. Again, this does not necessarily suggest the actual presence of Etruscans, but might be due to mediation by East Greeks or Aiginetans; a sizable number of bucchero sherds has, after all, been found in Archaic Miletos and other East Greek sites as well as on Aigina. Nevertheless, some degree of contact or trade is attested between Etruria and Southern Italy and Egypt from the mid-8th century BC onwards,[49] though often probably through Greek and Phoenician/Cypro-Phoenician or Carthaginian merchants.[50]

Phoenician and Cypro-Phoenician traders were important players in the Archaic Mediterranean in general. As Alexander Fantalkin argues in the present volume, alongside Cypriots and Euboeans they were instrumental in the renewal of contacts between Greece and the East in the 10th to 8th centuries BC, encouraged in their ventures by the Assyrian empire, while from the 7th century onwards East Greek trade and expansion gained in importance, supported by Lydian imperial policy. Archaic East Greece was naturally more a part of the East than the West, but was also a mediator between the two, while mainland Greece remained on the margins (a situation, as Fantalkin points out, that paradoxically turned out to be instrumental in its unique development towards the 'Greek miracle' in the Classical period).

That Phoenician traders played a role in Egypt, too, alongside the Greeks, is suggested by Diodorus (1.68.8), who points out that Greeks and Phoenicians were the main traders admitted into Egypt since the time of Psammetichos I. Phoenicians are attested notably in the Eastern part of the Delta and in the region around Memphis.[51] Did they also come to Naukratis, as some have suggested?[52] A single Phoenician inscription on a cup of East Dorian (Knidian?) production (**Schlotzhauer and Villing Fig. 24**),[53] Phoenician-type amphorae,[54] a Phoenician dipinto on a trade amphora,[55] and Classical or later amphorae of Phoenician type with Greek dipinti[56] hardly provide sufficient evidence to assume that Phoenician traders regularly frequented the port of Naukratis in the Archaic period, even if, of course, we need to remember that we do not possess the complete archaeological picture of the site. The situation is thus somewhat similar to the question of the presence of Cypriots in Naukratis, where, as is suggested by Villing in this volume, Archaic Cypriot sculpture, terracotta figurines, some pottery and few (Classical) inscriptions hardly suffice to postulate a thriving Cypriot community, even if, as Schlotzhauer[57] once pointed out, occasional visits or even a handful of residents are not inconceivable.

Archaic Naukratis, in its function as a primarily East Greek trading post in Egypt, was thus one of several vital points of contact between the main players of the ancient Mediterranean and their wide network of connections – a complex web of trade routes that linked the whole Mediterranean in the Archaic period, from East Greece to the Phoenician coast, Cyprus, mainland Greece, the Nile Delta, North Africa, Sardinia, Etruria, and Spain. More specifically, it connected the two great civilisations of Greece and Egypt. What impact did this role have on the Greeks at Naukratis, on the Greeks back home, and on the Egyptians?

Greece and Egypt: Naukratis as cultural crossroads

As far as can be judged from the limited research done to date, in spite of the influx of numerous Greeks into Saite Egypt, the Egyptian adoption of Greek elements of culture in the Archaic period seems to have remained rather limited.[58] This is exemplified by the relative lack of interest in painted Greek *symposion* pottery, so popular in many other regions of the ancient world but only rarely found in Egyptian contexts.[59] Only transport amphorae were valued not only for their original contents but also as convenient containers for re-use (Hdt. 3.5-7 – note also the Chian amphora from Tell Defenneh with sealings of Amasis: **Johnston Fig. 18**).

In the other direction, the case was different. Life in Egypt certainly did not fail to make an impression on the Ionian and Carian soldiers in the pay of the pharaoh, and a considerable degree of acculturation is manifested by the adoption of Egyptian motifs and their mixing with Greek/Carian traditions on the grave stelai of Saqquara.[60] Carians and Ionians might marry Egyptian women, adopt Egyptian names, be involved in Egyptian cults[61] and adopt Egyptian burial customs. Inhumation in a completely Egyptian style is attested, for example, in the late 7th century BC for the son of Alexikles and Zonodote at Tell el-Nebesheh(?); he even adopted an Egyptian name, Wah-ib-Re-em-ahet.[62]

Returning from Egypt to their home cities (be it permanently or for a visit), both mercenaries and traders, as well as possibly craftsmen, not only brought with them Egyptian goods to dedicate in the local sanctuaries[63] (most conspicuous is the Egyptian statue dedicated by Pedon at Priene in the late 7th century BC)[64] but also tales of the grandeur of Egyptian temples, Egyptian painting, Egyptian cult and ideas of the afterlife that were to leave a profound influence on those who heard them. For example, as Bilge Hürmüzlü has established recently, the Egyptian idea of the preservation of the body for the afterlife may well be responsible for the introduction at Archaic Klazomenai of inhumation in general and of Egyptian-style sarcophagi in particular, a phenomenon that seems paralleled also in Archaic Samos.[65] Such a change is a fundamental transformation of beliefs, not a mere superficial fad, and testifies to the profundity of Egyptian influence on Eastern Greeks. Equally significantly, Egyptian architecture and technology proved fundamental for the development of (East) Greek monumental architecture, such as it is found at Didyma or on Samos,[66] and sculpture, such as the monumental lions of Egyptian type at Didyma[67] – part of a shared culture of monumentalisation, used not least for political ends.[68] Perhaps the most successful of these developments was of course the *kouros* and *kore* motif.[69] Beyond the realm of art, we also find Egyptian ideas in cosmology or philosophy.[70] Phenomena such as the popularity of Egyptian amulets – scarabs and faience[71] – further demonstrate the appeal exerted by Egyptian ideas of divine protection on the wider Mediterranean world, which at the time amost seems to have been in the grip of some 'Egyptomania'.[72]

That the deep impression made by Egyptian ideas also extended to the medium of Greek pottery is suggested, for example, by the Laconian Arkesilas cup (**Schaus Fig. 1**); as is set out by Schaus in the present volume, its depiction of the king of Cyrene overseeing the weighing of goods seems to have been influenced by the Egyptian iconography of the weighing of hearts (souls) on entry in the afterlife (**Schaus Figs 2–3**). In East Greek vase-painting, too, Egyptian motifs appear: we find them on a Fikellura (MileA II) fragment from Naukratis depicting the mythical Egyptian king Bousiris;[73] on the amphora from Saqqara featuring a typically Egyptian way of representing bull's horns mentioned by John Boardman in this volume; in the falcon on the *nb* basket and the stick-fighters on the situlae from Tell Defenneh discussed in this volume by Sabine Weber (**Weber Figs 16–17**); and, perhaps most obviously, in the band of cartouches on the Apries amphora from Thebes examined in this volume by Donald Bailey (**Bailey Figs 1-5**). Representations of black Africans, such as on the (North-Ionian?) fragment from Naukratis (**book cover**), must also ultimately derive from contacts with Africa.

With most of these representations having been found in Egypt, it is tempting to suspect that they were locally produced by Greeks in Egypt. Yet as will emerge from the various discussions and analyses in the present volume, on balance and on present evidence it seems more likely that most of these pieces were produced in various East Greek centres. If so, they were clearly produced with Egypt in mind, quite possibly commissioned, even though for what client and what precise purpose remains unclear: a symposium, a dedication in a sanctuary, a prize, a gift?[74] What will also emerge, however, is that there was indeed some local production of East Greek style pottery in Naukratis (**Schlotzhauer and Villing Figs 30–40**). What is surprisingly at first glance, however, is that there is nothing at all Egyptian about this pottery, beyond the use of the local clay. Shapes and decoration are all Ionian, even if rather idiosyncratic – no cartouches, here, or Egyptian symbols.[75] This contrasts sharply with the adoption of Egyptian funerary ideas by Carians and Ionians at Saqqara, and also with the influence of such ideas in East Greek cities and the adoption of Egyptian iconography in some East Greek pottery, but also, in Naukratis itself, with the mixture of Egyptian and Greek motifs in at least some products of the Naukratis scarab workshop. It thus seems that the (East) Greek inhabitants of Naukratis admitted Egyptian influence only selectively into their material culture, and, at least in their pottery production, were more intent on expressing and re-enforcing their Greek identity, similar to the way a certain common (East) Greek administrative and cultic identity was shaped in the Hellenion (Höckmann and Möller, this volume). Rather than uniformly encourage acculturation and exchange, the special position of Naukratis, an (East) Greek enclave closely controlled by Egyptians but not integrated into Egyptian society, in fact seems to have encouraged a drawing together and re-enforcement of a Hellenic identity precisely in opposition to the surrounding Egyptian environment. Frequently paralleled in expatriate communities in the ancient and modern worlds, this should hardly surprise, yet the lack of enthusiasm for things Egyptian nevertheless strikes one as paradoxical at a place that was the very heart of Greek contact with Egypt and that radiated out Egyptian influence all across the Greek Mediterranean and beyond.

Illustration credits

Fig. 1 drawing Kate Morton; Fig. 2 drawing Marion Cox, after Möller 2000, fig. 1; Fig. 3a © Egypt Exploration Society; Figs 3b-c © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, PMAN 2698, 2683; Figs 4a-e courtesy of John Boardman.

Notes

1 Braun 1982, 38.

2 We are grateful to D. Williams, S. Ebbinghaus, S. Woodford, V. Smallwood and F. Waschek for comments on the manuscript of this introduction, to the contributors to the volume for providing information on various questions; to J. Boardman for kindly supplying photographs from Hogarth's excavations, and to S. Quirke and P. Spencer for identifying and supplying images from Petrie's excavations.

3 Karetsou 2000.

4 Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005, 82-3, fig. 6.

5 Cf. especially the extensive discussions by Haider 1988, 1996, 2001, and Kaplan 2002; see also Williams and Villing, this volume.

6 Cf. Haider 1988, 1996, 2001. For a critical view of Haider's assessment of foreigners in the Egyptian army see Pressl 1998.

7 Cf. for example Petrie 1886b, 13, on the destruction of a column fragment from the temple of Apollo, or Gardner 1888, 12-5. On Petrie and his work, see Drower 1985.
8 The history of the excavations as been summarized most recently by Leonard 1997, 1-35; cf. also Möller 2000a, 90-2. Only a very brief account is therefore given here.
9 Coulson 1988, 1996; Coulson and Leonard 1977/8, 1979, 1981a, 1981b, 1982a, 1982b; Coulson *et al*. 1982; Leonard 1997, 2001.
10 Petrie 1886b; Gardner 1888; Hogarth 1898/9, 1905.
11 Petrie 1888, V.
12 On the history of excavations and distribution of finds, see Cook 1954, 60-1; Bernand 1970, 634-6; Schlotzhauer 2001, 112-13; Höckmann 2001, V-VI; Kerschner 2001a, 72-4. Research into the whereabouts of Naukratis material are still ongoing; collections so far identified are: (in Britain): Bath (Royal Literary and Scientific Institution); Birmingham; Bolton; Bristol (City Museum and Art Gallery); Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum and Museum of Classical Archaeology); Dundee (McManus Galleries); Edinburgh; Glasgow (Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, and Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery); Greenock (McLean Museum and Art Gallery); Liverpool (Liverpool Museum); Harrow School; London (British Museum, UCL and Petrie-Museum); Macclesfield; Manchester (Manchester Museum); Newbury (West Berkshire Museum); Newcastle upon Tyne (Hancock Museum); Nottingham (Brewhouse Yard, Museum of Nottingham Life); Oxford (Ashmolean Museum); Reading (Ure Museum); St Helens (The World of Glass); Southport (Atkinson Art Gallery); (elswhere): Dublin (Department of Classics); Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Museum – from Coll. v. Bissing); Den Haag; Leiden (Rijksmuseum – from Coll. v. Bissing); Brussels (Musées Royaux – from Coll. J. de Mot); Paris (Louvre, from Coll. Seymour de Ricci); Compiègne; Berlin (Antikensammlung); Bonn (Akademisches Kunstmuseum – from Coll. v. Bissing); Heidelberg (Antikenmuseum – from Coll. O. Rubensohn and P. Gardner); Hildesheim; Karlsruhe; Leipzig (from Cambridge, Fitzwilliam); Munich (Antikensammlung – from Coll. v. Bissing); Palermo; Syracuse; Alexandria; Cairo; Athens (BSA; L. Benaki); Moscow; Boston; Brooklyn; Bryn Mawr; Chautauqua; Chicago; Clinton/NY (Hamilton College); New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art – from Coll. E. Price); Philadelphia; San Francisco; Vermont; Toronto; Sydney (Nicholson Museum). We are grateful to U. Höckmann (Mainz Naukratis project) and M. Marée (British Museum, Department of Ancient Egyt and Sudan) for contributing to this listing.
13 Price 1924; Venit 1982, 1988; Bernand 1970; Bissing 1951; Boardman 1999.
14 Möller 2000a; several contributions in *TOPOI* 12/13, 2005.
15 Höckmann and Kreikenbom 2001. Ursula Höckmann examined the Kouroi of limestone and alabaster, Gabriele Nick the small scale sculpture, Wolfgang Koenigs the remains of architecture from the sanctuaries at Naukratis, and Sabine Weber und Udo Schlotzhauer the Archaic Greek pottery from Naukratis and the rest of Egypt. The results are published in Nick (forthcoming); Höckmann and Koenigs (forthcoming); Schlotzhauer and Weber (forthcoming).
16 The fragment of a sub-geometric oinochoe from Memphis is generally acknowledged to be the earliest preserved fragment: Weber 2001, 136, pl. 21.1.
17 *Pace* James 2003 and 2005. On Mediterranean chronologies, see most recently Nijboer 2005; Tsetskhladze 2006; as well as Fantalkin, this volume, ns 35, 43, 81.
18 Astrid Möller (2000a, 2001, 2005) in particular has studied the role Naukratis played as a trading *emporion* in Egypt and has established the way it functioned as a port of trade at the intersection between Egypt and the Mediterranean; her findings do not need be repeated here (note, however, that she argues against a prominent role of Miletos: Möller 2001). On the nature of early Greek trade, see most recently Reed 2004. As Reed argues, early voyaging aristocrats – such as Sappho's brother Charaxos, known to have sailed to Naukratis with a load of Lesbian wine – are unlikely to have engaged in trade as a regular activity but might have used it as a means of financing 'sightseeing' voyages – like the Athenian Solon, said to have travelled to Egypt 'both on business and to see the country' (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*]). The growth of dedicated trade, by independent and agent traders, from the last third of the 7th century BC onwards, may well be reflected in the developments at Naukratis as attested by Herodotus.
19 Cf. Pébarthe 2005, 172; Bresson 2005; Carrez-Maratray 2005.
20 Leonard 1997, 13; J. Yoyotte in Goddio and Clauss 2006, 316-23.
21 Goddio and Clauss 2006, 92-9; J. Yoyotte in Goddio and Clauss 2006, 316-23; D. Fabre in Goddio and Clauss 2006, 289-303. Finds suggest that the town existed from the 26th Dynasty onwards; they include East Greek trade amphorae as well as East Greek and Corinthian fine-ware pottery: C. Grataloup in Goddio and Clauss 2006, 332-49.
22 Cf. Pressl 1998, 70-3; Posener 1947; cf. also Austin 1970, 27-8; Carrez-Maratray 2005, 202-3. The post is attested from the time of Psammetichos II; under Amasis it was filled by Nachthorheb, whose statue is preserved (Vittmann 2003, 220-1, fig. 111). It was complemented by an 'Overseer of the gate to the Foreign Countries in the North', who seems to have been in charge of the Eastern Delta region frequented by Phoenicians, and an 'Overseer of the gates to the Foreign Lands of the Temeh', i.e. Libyans. The interpretation of the 'Great Green' (*ouadj our* – W3d-wr) as the Mediterranean is still dominant, in spite of a recent re-interpretation as the Nile Delta (Vandersleyen 1999).
23 The situation is not helped by the fact that, to date, the Egyptian finds from Naukratis have not been systematically collected and studied.
24 Cf. Möller 2000a, 108-13.
25 Hogarth 1898/9, 41-3, 45-6, an interpretation considered likely also by Spencer 1996, 1999, and Smoláriková 2000. Just how problematic the archaeological evidence for the site is, is indicated by the fact that in 1903 Hogarth was not able to find the Great Temenos that Petrie had recorded in his excavations: Hogarth 1905, 111-12.
26 Discussed most recently by Möller 2001, 5-11.
27 Leonard 1997, 13; J. Yoyotte in Goddio and Clauss 2006, 316-23.
28 Yoyotte 1982/3; 1992.
29 *FGrH* 608 F 8.
30 Berlin 7780 dating from the reign of Apries (589-70 BC) and St Petersburg, Hermitage 8499, dating from 554 BC; cf. Yoyotte 1992. An 'Egyptian from Naukratis' is also mentioned in the later Lindos decree, cf. Bresson 2005; Möller 2005.
31 As pointed out by Möller 2001.
32 Gorton 1996, 92.
33 We are grateful to Jeffrey Spencer for his identification of this piece. For Egyptian pottery at Naukratis, see also Edgar 1905.
34 There is no reason to assume that the law forbidding Naukratites intermarriage with Eyptians, dating from Hadrianic times, goes back to this early phase; intermarriage is certainly attested for Carians and Greeks elsewhere in Egypt, and Amasis himself is known to have married a Greek princess from Cyrene. The very fact that such a law was needed later on may, in fact, point to intermarriage as a common practice in an earlier period; cf. Braun 1982, 43
35 Cf. Koenigs in Höckmann and Koenigs (forthcoming).
36 Cf. Möller 2000a, 94-113; 2001, with Kerschner 2001, 70; cf. also Höckmann and Möller, this volume.
37 Gardner 1888, 21-9; Höckmann 2001b, 217 n. 2. The dinos stand (sample Nauk 21; Fairbanks 1928, 116 no. 336, pl.37) has parallels in vessels from the Archaic cemetery of Klazomenai; we are grateful to Bilge Hürmüzlü for this information. An Archaic bowl produced by a Greek potter at Naukratis with a votive inscription to Aphrodite (**Schlotzhauer and Villing Fig. 40**) may also, surprisingly, come from the cemetery, since it bears a modern graffito 'CEM' written by the excavators.
38 To date no inscription in Carian script has been identified, although there are some Carian sherds (**Williams and Villing Figs 1–2**) that presumably were brought by Carians. Whether the few examples of Etruscan bucchero (**Naso Figs 3–4**) were brought by Etruscans is uncertain.
39 Cf. Paspalas, Attula, Höckmann and Möller, all this volume.
40 Discussed in detail by Schlotzhauer 2005 and 2006, 294-301, and Kron 1984, 1988; cf. also Villing, this volume, on pottery for ritual meals at Naukratis.
41 BM GR 1888.6-1.531: Gardner 1888, 64-5 and pl. 21 (inscr. no. 768); Möller 2000a, 178 no. 4.
42 Cf. Williams 1983a, 185; Williams 1999, 138 and fig. 52 d.
43 Cf. Williams 1983a, 184-6; Johnston, this volume.
44 For an extensive discussion, see Herda (forthcoming b).
45 Venit 1984.
46 Kerschner 2000, 487.
47 Posamentir and Solovyov 2006.
48 As also suggested by Schaus, this volume.
49 Hölbl 1979, 368-73.
50 Cf. also Bellelli and Botto 2002.
51 On Phoenicians in Egypt, see Kaplan 2003, 8-9; Vittmann 2003, 44-83; Docter 1997. A Phoenician community at Naukratis has again

been suggested by James 2003, 256-8 (cf. also Yoyotte 1994), going back to ideas of Hogarth and Edgar. Phoenicians are thus credited with the production of carved Tridacna shells, faience and scarabs at Naukratis. Against this supposition, the scarabs produced at Naukratis from the late 7th century BC onwards until the mid-6th century BC and widely exported (cf. Gorton 1996, 91-131; Hölbl 2005) are considered by many experts to have been produced primarily by Greek craftsmen (Hölbl 1979, 141, 207-9), perhaps with Egyptian help (Gorton 1996, 92). As regards tridacna shells, the plain tridacna shells from the site (Petrie 1886b, 35, pl. 20.16,16a; Edgar 1898/9, 49) do not need to have been destined for carving, as undecorated shells were also found deposited in graves in cemetery of Naukratis (Gardner 1888, 29) and are common also in many other sites (Möller 2000a, 163-6). The timber and worked wood mentioned in the stele of Nectanebos I as imports to Egypt passing through the port of Hone, of course, may well stem from Phoenicia or Cyprus; but this only applies to a later date.

52 Cf. e.g. Braun 1982, 41.

53 Schlotzhauer 2006, 301-7, 316 figs 4-6.

54 Torpedo-shaped amphora Petrie 1886b, pl. 16.3.

55 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G.124, from Hogarth's excavation in the Hellenion 1903, presumably the piece mentioned by Hogarth 1905, 118, even though he describes the letter as a *shin* while the Ashmolean fragment seems to show a *mem*.

56 Hogarth 1905, 124 fig. 3.

57 Schlotzhauer 2006, 305.

58 This is not a topic to which much research has been devoted; however, one gets the impression that Herodotus is generally right in his assessment (2.91) that 'the Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs', even if he himself then goes on to mention an example to the contrary, namely the Greek-style athletic games at the Egyptian city of Chemmis.

59 Cf. most recently Weber (forthcoming). We are grateful to the author for supplying a copy of her article before publication.

60 Höckmann 2001b; Kammerzell 2001.

61 Grallert 2001; Höckmann 2001b; Kammerzell 2001.

62 Grallert 2001.

63 Ebbinghaus 2006.

64 For Pedon, see e.g. Boardman 1999a, 281 fig. 324; Vittmann 2003, 203-6, fig. 103; Höckmann and Vittmann 2005, 100 fig. 2; cf. also Kourou 2004 for Egyptian statuettes dedicated in East Greek sanctuaries.

65 Hürmüzlu 2004b. Note also the fact that Aiolian Larisa seemst to have been home to Egyptian troops retired from service for Cyrus, so that continued contact with Egyptians existed even in the homeland: Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.7.

66 See e.g. Bietak 2001.

67 Höckmann 2005.

68 See. e.g. Tanner 2003.

69 See e.g. Kyrieleis 1996, 68-86, 108-27.

70 For a detailed discussion, see Haider 2004.

71 Gorton 1996; Hölbl 1979; Webb 1978; James 2003, 251-6.

72 Scarabs seem to have been produced from the late 7th century BC onwards until the mid-6th century BC and were distributed across the Aegean and as far as Italy, Spain, Carthage and the Black Sea region; cf. Gorton 1996, 91-131, and most recently Hölbl 2005. On 'Egyptomania', see Ebbinghaus 2006, 201.

73 Discussed in detail by Schlotzhauer and Weber 2005.

74 Dedications especially by *Hellenomemphitai* and *Caromemphitai*, Ionians and Carians at Memphis, into Egyptian sanctuaries are certainly attested; cf. Braun 1982, 46-7 fig. 4; Höckmann 2001b. East Greek painted pottery is not normally encountered in Egyptian sanctuaries, but an exception is Saïs: cf. P. Wilson, Saïs Report, March-April, 2003, http://www.dur.ac.uk/penelope.wilson/3g2003a.html (27 June 2006); Weber (forthcoming). Other instances of Greek painted pottery in connection with Egyptian towns and burials are cited by Weber 2006. The possibility of 'prize vases', raised by Herodotus' mention (2.91) of Greek-style gymnastic contests at Chemmis in the district of Thebes, is discussed most recently by Decker 2003.

75 The same conclusion (labelled with the term '*Beharren*') is also reached also by Schlotzhauer in Schlotzhauer and Weber 2005, 80-1.