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Kent, Kimlik, Ticaret: Arkaik Dönem’de Naukratis’in Yükselişi Üzerine Bir Gözlem

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Gamze Hasdemir Bozkuş*

Abstract: Trade in antiquity has been regarded as a dynamic concept, just as it is in today's world. That being said, defining the structure of long-distance trade in the Archaic period is highly problematic. However, a harbour settlement, Naukratis, has the potential to reveal the structure, organisation and interregional significance of trade activities and provide insight into their structure in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Archaic Period. The political and demographic structure of the city, which assumed the role of emporium from the Early Archaic Period onwards, was among the factors that shaped the trade organisation. Apart from the archaeological evidence, ancient sources also indicate that the Eastern Hellens played a leading role in trade, supported by the Egyptian Ruler Amasis. The information backed by literary and archaeological evidence demonstrates that social, political, and cultural factors determined the organisation of trade activities at Naukratis. This paper attempts to investigate the role of Naukratis within the Eastern Mediterranean trade world in the Archaic Period through literary and archaeological evidence.

Keywords: Naukratis, Trade Activity, Eastern Mediterranean, Archaic Period

Öz: Ticaret günümüz modern dünyasında olduğu gibi antikçağda da dinamik bir kavram olarak görülmektedir. Antikçağda uzak mesafeler arasında gerçekleşen ticaretin, Arkaik Dönem'deki yapısını tanımlamak oldukça problemlidir. Bu doğrultuda bir liman yerleşimi olan Naukratis, ticari faaliyetlerin yapısını, işleyişini ve bölgelerarası önemini göstermekte ve Doğu Akdeniz'de Arkaik Dönem ticari faaliyetlerin yapısı hakkında fikir vermektedir. Erken Arkaik Dönem'den itibaren emporio rolünü üstlenen kentin, siyasi ve demografik yapısı da ticaretin işleyişinde etkili olmuştur. Arkeolojik verilerin yanında antik kaynaklar da Doğu Hellen toplumunun ticarete öncü rol oynadığını ve bunun da Mısır hükümdarı Amasis tarafından desteklendiğini göstermektedir. Tüm bu veriler Naukratis'te ticari faaliyetlerin işleyişinde sosyal, siyasal ve kültürel faktörlerin etkili olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Araştırma kapsamında Naukratis'in Doğu Akdeniz'deki ticari konumu ve Arkaik Dönem ticaretinde üstlendiği rol arkeolojik veriler ve antik kaynaklar ışığında yorumlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Naukratis, Ticari Faaliyet, Doğu Akdeniz, Arkaik Dönem

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Introduction

The ancient city of Naukratis on the Canopus tributary of the Nile River in Egypt, south of Alexandria, was an important centre owing to its geopolitical location. As an Eastern Hellen settlement, it had a multicultural structure formed by different communities. However, what makes Naukratis unique is not limited to this structure. Its role as a trade centre is still subject to scholarly interest.

The ancient accounts regarding the foundation date of Naukratis are debatable; Herodotus and Strabo provide different dates. Strabo suggests 664-610 BC, the reign of Psammetikhos I, while Herodotus attributes it to the reign of Amasis (570-526 BC). Several later sources provide different dates¹.

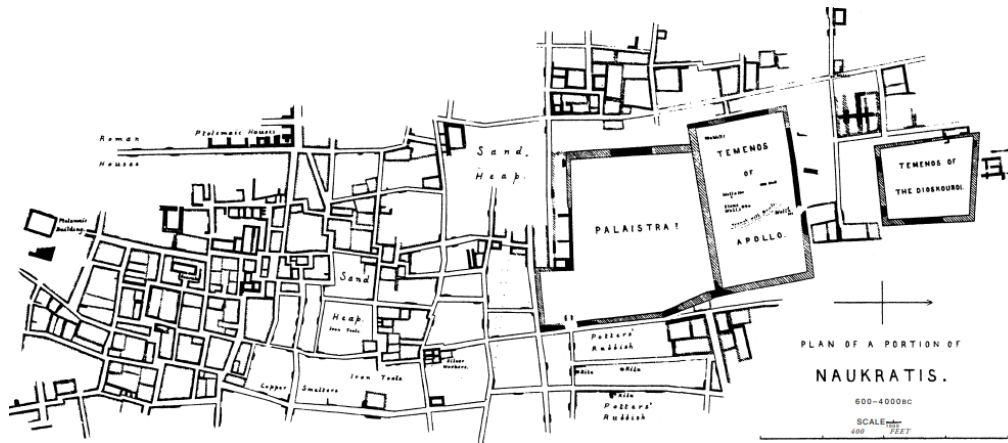


Fig. 1. Plan of Petrie's Excavations North of the Great Temenos²

The earliest accounts on the city's foundation come from Herodotus. His first passage about Naukratis reads as follows:

"Amasis became a philhellene, and besides other services which he did for some of the Hellenes, he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naukratis to live in; and to those who travelled to the country without wanting to settle there, he gave lands where they might set up altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are the cities that furnish overseers of the trading port; if any other cities advance claims, they claim what does not belong to them. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Hera and the Milesians for Apollo³". In the second passage he conveys the following information: *"Naukratis was in the past the only trading port in Egypt. Whoever came to any other mouth of the Nile had to swear that he had not come intentionally, and had then to take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or if he could not sail against contrary winds, he had to carry his cargo in barges around the Delta until he came to Naukratis. In such esteem was Naukratis held⁴".*

Strabo mentions that Naukratis was a colony of Miletos:

"For in the time of Psammitichus, and when Cyaxares was king of the Medes, some Milesians

¹ Demetriou 2012, 111.

² Petrie 1886, pl. XLI.

³ Hdt. II. 178.

⁴ Hdt. II. 179.

with 30 vessels steered into the Bolbitine mouth, disembarked there, and built the above-mentioned (Milesion Teichos) fortress. Some time afterwards they sailed up to the Saitic Nome and having conquered Inarus in an engagement at sea, founded the city Naukratis, not far above Schedia⁵”.

Certain statements in Strabo's account contradict the information provided by Herodotus. The first one is hidden in the identity of Inaros, against whom the Milesians went to war. Scholars discuss the absence of a person named Inaros⁷ in Saitic Egypt. Therefore, Strabo must have confused him with an Inaros, who fought against the Persians in Egypt in the mid-Vth century BC⁸.

Based on the passage of Herodotus, the connection between Inaros and Apries, the son of Psammetichus II, has been discussed.⁹ Apries suffered a crushing defeat in a battle against Amasis near Memphis, not far from Naukratis in the Saitic region¹⁰. The Milesians are presumed to have fought against Apries alongside the Egyptians as part of Amasis' army. The account of Herodotus, which mentions that Amasis summoned the Hellenes in the stratopeda to Memphis to recruit them, indicates the importance of Hellen soldiers for Amasis.

On the other hand, Herodotus also states that Apries led 30.000 Ionian and Carian mercenaries¹¹. Some scholars suggested that Amasis was hostile towards the Hellenes in the early years of his reign. However, this suggestion has yet to be proven¹².

The second problem in Strabo's passage lies in the interpretation of scholars that the Milesians arrived in Sais 'in time' (*chronos de*-Χρόνος) to found Naukratis. The broad consensus is to assume that the Milesians left their fortress to fight Inaros shortly after the foundation of Milesion Teichos. At this point, however, the translation of "*chronos de*" (Χρόνος) needs careful attention. Hence, this passage may be describing the 40 years between the reigns of Psammetichus and Amasis¹³. To summarise, it is suggested that the Milesians, who initially defended the coast, were later summoned to participate in a military campaign in the Saitic region and then settled in the

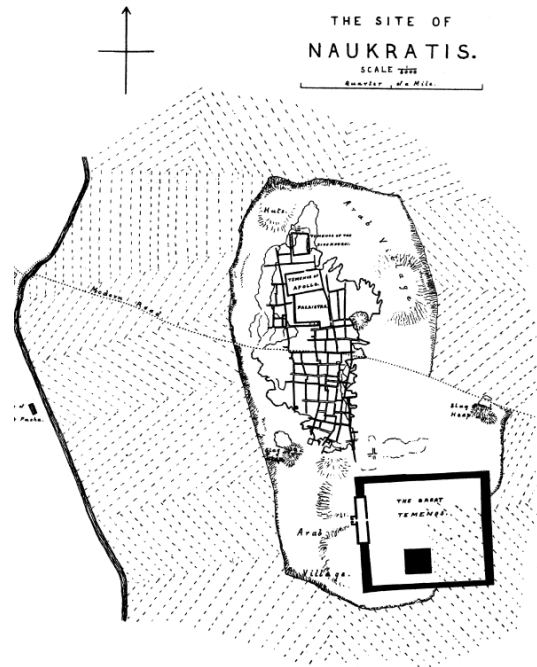


Fig. 2. Plan of Petrie's Excavations at Naukratis⁶

⁵ Str. XVII. 1. 18; see also Steph. Byz. *Ethnika*, no. 470, 12; *Suda*. No. 58.

⁶ Petrie 1886, pl. XL.

⁷ The only known Inaros was a Libyan who persuaded the Egyptians to flee after the death of Xerxes, see Thuc. I. 104, 110; Diod. *Lib.* 11.71, 74, 76.

⁸ This Inaros, a Libyan, rebelled against the Persian rule in Egypt in 465 BC. With assistance from Athens, which provided 200 triremes, he gained control of a significant portion of Egypt. However, in 456 BC, the Persian king Artaxerxes dispatched a substantial army to Egypt, defeating Inaros and destroying the Athenian fleet, see Drijvers 1999, 18; Möller 2001, 16. See also Hdt. VII. 7; Thuc. I. 104.

⁹ Hdt. II. 161.

¹⁰ Hdt. II. 163, 169.

¹¹ Hdt. II. 163, 169.

¹² Cook 1937, 232; Murray 1993, 234.

¹³ Haider 2001, 198-199.

pre-existing city of Naukratis with other Hellen¹⁴.

The third problem identified from Strabo's passage is his statement that the Milesians may have been the founders of Naukratis. Had Strabo considered Naukratis a Hellen city, he would have been expected to use the Hellen term *apoikia* (Αποικία) for the city¹⁶. Strabo's description of Naukratis as a Hellen polis founded by the Milesians must have been influenced by the legend of its foundation, which he heard during a visit to Egypt in the reign of Augustus.

Apart from Alexandria and Ptolemais, Naukratis was the only Hellen polis with a constitution in the country during the Ptolemaic and Early Roman Periods. The people of Naukratis had been spreading the legend that the Milesians founded their community in the Ptolemaic Period¹⁷. Thus, Strabo interpreted that the Milesians, whose commercial presence in Naukratis was also known in the VIth century BC, were the founders of the city¹⁸.

Administration of the City

The administrative system of Naukratis forms a significant subject of debate. The evidence regarding the administration of the city is scarce. As for the ancient sources, Herodotus is the only source providing information on the administration of Naukratis. Herodotus states that nine Hellen cities were responsible for the administration of the city and lists Chios, Klazomenai, Teos, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis, Cnidus and Mytilene¹⁹. It should be kept in mind that he categorises these cities according to the ethnic groups. The Hellen living in Naukratis defined themselves through the polis they belonged to. The city-ethnicity relationship can be seen in the votive offerings in the sanctuaries and on Archaic inscriptions.

Herodotus states that the nine Hellen cities mentioned above had rights over the Hellenion, and these cities appointed the *prostatai*²⁰, and no other city could claim rights²¹. No detailed information has been recorded about the job description of the *prostatai*. This passage is noteworthy in terms of providing information on the administration of the Hellenion. This information provokes the question of whether the administration of the Hellenion was related to

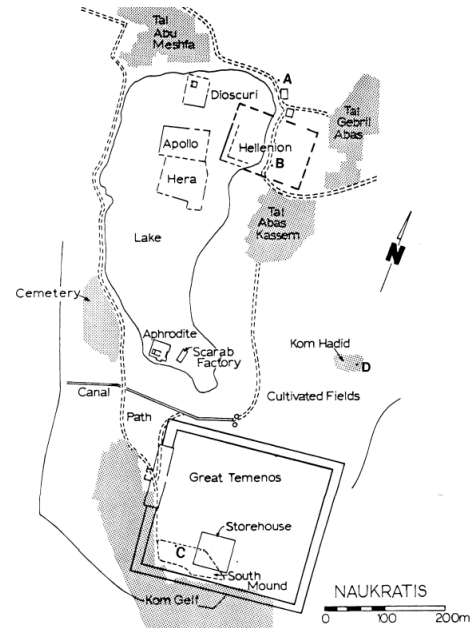


Fig. 3. Plan of Naukratis¹⁵

¹⁴ Pfeiffer 2010, 18.

¹⁵ Demetriou 2012, fig. 10.

¹⁶ Pfeiffer 2010, 18.

¹⁷ Möller 2001, 17-20.

¹⁸ Strabo's reference to Miletos as the founder of Naukratis is not based on compelling evidence. Herodotus and Diodorus confirm that Psammetichus I and II used Hellen mercenaries in their army. Yet, neither author provides information on the identity of the mercenaries, see Hdt. II. 152, 154; Diod. Lib. 1.66.10-1.67. The presence of Hellen mercenaries is attested by graffiti dated to 591 BC on the statue of Ramses II at Abu Simbel in Nubia. However, no inscriber specifically identifies himself as a Milesian.

¹⁹ Hdt. II. 178.

²⁰ *Prostatai*: Officers / supervisors in charge of the port.

²¹ Hdt. II. 178; Möller 2000, 23, 192-196.

the whole city. Assuming that the Hellenion was the only institution that managed the commercial activities of Naukratis may lead to the idea that it was indirectly responsible for the administration of the city. This relationship between the Hellenion and the harbour administration must have commenced with the foundation of the Hellenion. However, Herodotus does not provide any information on such a relationship²². Besides, it should not be disregarded that the Egyptian administration should have had a say in the commercial relations of the city. Herodotus clearly states what someone who mistakenly comes to the harbour should do²³. This passage suggests that the Egyptian administration wanted to control the commercial activities in the region. Amasis increased the trade motivation of the Hellenes by providing them a place where they could carry out their commercial activities. Thus, the Egyptian government must have established control over the merchants.

The closest example that can provide insight into the administrative system of Naukratis comes from Piraeus harbour. The officials who reported to their superiors about the operation of the harbour had duties such as inspecting the harbour and taxing imports²⁴. It is also known that there were positions such as *astynomoi* and *agoranomoi* in charge of the city centre of Piraeus²⁵. The information on the Piraeus harbour is generally dated to the IVth century BC. Although the evidence from Piraeus is of a later date than the chronological scope of this paper, presumably, there were similar authorities responsible for the administrative system in Naukratis. Apart from Herodotus, two Hellen inscriptions provide information on how commercial activities were conducted in Naukratis. Both inscriptions are invaluable in mentioning the expansion of Naukratis' status in the Classical Period and expressing the commercial and even political ties of the Hellen world with other regions. The first inscription has been found in Cairo. It is a Rhodian decree dated to 440-411 BC. The inscription honours Damoxenos, the proxenos of Lindus on Rhodes who resided in Egypt, and his descendants by tax exemption for imports and exports. The inscription also dictates the erection of the decree in the Hellenion, suggesting that Damoxenos lived in Naukratis²⁶.

"The council and the people decided; Despon was the secretary, Archeanax made the proposition to inscribe Damoxenos, son of Hermon, living in Egypt, as a proxenos and benefactor of the Lindians, in the temple of Athenaia and to grant him and his descendents exemption from import and export taxes both in war and in peace; and that Polykles, son of Halipolis should also inscribe this in Egypt in the Hellenion; and that this decree should be inscribed on a stone stele". [Trans. Pridik]

A few lines on the decree draw attention. The first of these is that Damoxenos, who was designated as the proxy of Lindus, was also a Hellen living in Egypt. The second is that the boule of Lindus implies that Damoxenos lives in Egypt. Towards the end of the text, there is a condition stating the erection of a stele in the Hellenion. Inscribing the Hellenion without naming where it stands (Naukratis) leads to the suggestion that it could have represented the whole of Egypt, which reveals the importance of the sanctuary both politically and commercially²⁷. This also indicates that Naukratis was the only recognised Hellen trading settlement in Egypt, at least from the re-organisation of Amasis onwards. Finally, the tax exemption granted to Damoxenos and his descendants for imports and exports also proves that Damoxenos travelled as a merchant, even

²² Roebuck 1951, 213.

²³ Hdt. II. 179.

²⁴ Dem. *Against Phor.* 34. 6.

²⁵ Arist. *Hist. An.* 50, 51.

²⁶ *Seg* 32, 1586; Pridik 1918, 19, no. 12.

²⁷ There is a reference to the Hellenion in Memphis, see Mitteis & Ulrich 1912, 221.

though he resided in Egypt. This is in contrast to Herodotus' passage, which seems to distinguish the travelling merchants from those who wished to reside in Egypt: "... to those who travelled to the country without wanting to settle there, he [Amasis] gave lands where they might set up altars and make holy places for their gods²⁸". This interpretation is significant because it implies that the nine cities responsible for the administration of the emporion formed a part of the population of Naukratis. Therefore, Herodotus identifies the people from the nine cities as part of the multi-ethnic population of Naukratis apart from being travelling merchants.

The other Hellen inscription, dated to 411-407 BC, is a decree recovered from the acropolis at Lindus. A Rhodian proxenos and his descendants were honoured with the freedom to enter and leave the harbour at will:

"The council decreed under the prytaneis of Deinias that: [..]as, son of Pytheas, an Egyptian from Naukratis, an interpreter, and his descendents, should be a proxenos of all the Rhodians; he and his descendents should have the right to enter and leave the port with the privilege of inviolability and neutrality, both in peace and war²⁹". [Trans. Demetriou]

The grants received by the son of Pytheas are quite similar to those given to Damoxenos. He and his descendants had the right to enter and leave the harbour with immunity in times of peace and war. Unlike Damoxenos, the son of Pytheas did not receive tax exemptions, perhaps indicating that he was not a merchant.

In addition to the abovementioned inscriptions, the Nektanebis Stele presents crucial evidence showing that the tax system was in effect in Naukratis. The Nektanebis Stele, dated to 380 BC, mentions the tax that the Hellens living in Naukratis had to pay. The relevant part of the inscription follows a long eulogy on the Pharaoh's courage, just rule and piety³⁰.

"[T]he tithe of the gold and of the silver and of all things which are produced in Pr-mryt, called <Nau>kratis, on the bank of the 'Anu, and which are reckoned to the King's Domain, to be a temple endowment of my mother Neith for all time, in excess of what has existed formerly. And let them be converted into one portion of an ox, one fat ro-goose and five measures of wine, as a continual daily offering, the delivery of them to be at the treasury of my mother Neith; for she is the mistress of the ocean, and it is she who bestows its bounty. My Majesty has commanded that the temple-endowments of my mother Neith be protected and reserved, and that everything that they of former time have done be perpetuated, in order that what I have done may be perpetuated for those who are yet to be during an eon of years. And His Majesty ordered that this should be recorded upon this stele, which should be placed in Naukratis on the bank of the 'Anu; thus would his goodness be remembered to the end of eternity". [Trans. Gunn]

The stele appears to identify Neith as the goddess who gifted the sea to Egypt. Therefore, Hellen merchants were expected to endow to the temple of the Egyptian goddess, who granted the sea enabling product exchange. Through this endowment serving political and religious interests, the Egyptian government exerted the desired pressure, making the Hellens dependent on the Egyptian government. The tax that the Hellens had to pay exemplifies the competitive relationship between the host country and the foreign merchant community. The exchange of goods provided the Hellens with profit and the Egyptian government with easier access to products. This autonomy also eliminated the risk of threats posed by foreigners under Egyptian rule. The Hellens, who paid taxes to the Egyptian government, thus ensured the development of peaceful relations.

²⁸ Hdt. II. 178.

²⁹ *Lindos II*, no. 16; Blikenberg 1941; Demetriou 2012, 126.

³⁰ Text translated by Gunn 1943, 58-59.

Political Structure of the City

Studies on Naukratis have led to discussions on the political identity of the city. When Herodotus states that the city existed before the reign of Amasis, he refers to the city as a polis. Most scholars have expressed that the city gained the polis status in the Hellenistic Period. The most significant evidence of this suggestion is that the city minted its own coins during this period. Although controversial, they are dated to the late IVth century BC, after Alexander's conquest of Egypt. The coins bearing Alexander's head on the obverse and a female head presumably representing Naukratis on the reverse are crucial in this context³¹. Based on this numismatic evidence, some scholars believe that Naukratis was an emporion during the Archaic and Classical Periods and gained the status of a polis in the Hellenistic Period³².

Herodotus' definition of Naukratis as a polis is a significant topic of discussion. A. Bresson argues that Herodotus uses polis as a settlement rather than a political concept. He tries to deepen this interpretation through two passages of Herodotus. The first passage mentions that the Peloponnesians suggested a place to settle the Ionians³³, while the other reports that the Egyptian pharaohs allowed mercenaries or merchants to settle permanently³⁴. Similar language draws attention in the dedicatory inscription of a Hellen from Priene, dated to the second half of the VIIth century BC:

"Pedon, son of Amphinneios dedicated me having come from Egypt. The Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichos gave me a golden bracelet and a polis on account of my excellence³⁵". [Trans. Demetriou]

The polis here is believed to refer to a settlement rather than a polis in the political sense. Although A. Bresson accepts that there was a settlement before the reign of Amasis, he thinks that this was not a typical Hellen polis.

Demographic Structure of The City

The demographic structure of the emporion is generally assessed through the presence of the settled population and merchants. The city, operating as a trade centre, is believed to have hosted merchants from different regions. The votive offerings found in the sanctuaries in the city form crucial evidence for these dynamics.

The sanctuaries are the primary sources providing information regarding the demographic structure of the city. The votive offerings found in the sanctuaries originate from the poleis of the travellers or merchants in the city. Another group represented in the city is the craftsmen. The natives of Naukratis are thought to have worked in a faience workshop dated to the VIth century BC³⁶. They were probably involved in the production of local Egyptian goods found at Naukratis.

³¹ Bresson 2000, 16-63; Möller 2000, 189.

³² A. Bresson and M. H. Hansen also discussed the status of Naukratis as a polis before the Classical Period. Hansen investigated the existence of the emporion before 450 BC. Stating that the main function of the city was to facilitate trade, he defined the settlement as a polis, see Hansen 1996, 184-185; Hansen 1997, 91-94; Lehmann-Hartleben 1923, 37-38; Roebuck 1951, 212-220. On the other hand, A. Bresson argued that the city was an emporion but not a polis until the end of the Vth century BC., see Bresson 2000, 15-17, 74-84. However, Athenaeus' passage clarifies that Naukratis became a polis in the Late Classical Period. Athenaeus described Naukratis as a polis and mentioned the birthday celebration of Hestia Prytaneia. The Prytaneion representing the hearth was an integral part of a polis, see. Ath. *Deip.* 4.149d-150a. Based on this account, scholars broadly agree that the city was a polis from the Late Classical Period onwards.

³³ Hdt. IX. 106.

³⁴ Hdt. II. 154.

³⁵ SEG 37, 994; Demetriou 2012, 120.

³⁶ Möller 2000, 198.

Although W. M. F. Petrie mentions the existence of metal-melting furnaces in the city, evidence has yet to support this information. However, according to A. B. Llyod, iron smelting technology spread from Naukratis to Egypt³⁷. This interpretation may indicate a group specialising in iron smelting in the city. A. Bresson, on the other hand, mentions the existence of a shipyard at Naukratis, which he associates with Necho's attempt to establish the Egyptian fleet³⁸. There are also exceptional cases of the employment of potters from Chios to produce Chian pottery³⁹. The information above gives an idea of the craftsmen that may have been present in the city.

Commercialised intimacy forms another sector in the city. The city is famous for its *hetairai* (courtesans)⁴⁰. The most famous of this group is Rhodopis, named Doricha by Sappho⁴¹.

The merchants active in Naukratis provide clues regarding the demographic structure of the city. While describing the merchants, Herodotus generally associates them with the sanctuaries. Although Herodotus divides Naukratis into merchants and inhabitants, archaeological evidence suggests a unity. In addition, there is no division in terms of topography and sacred space. It is also hard to conclude that different rights or rules were applied to merchants and inhabitants. It is known that maintaining a stable and safe commercial operation in the city requires specific systems. However, the outline of these systems and how they work for the merchants and the inhabitants is not fully known. At this point, it is believed that peaceful methods were followed, and harmony was achieved between the inhabitants and the merchants.

Another source providing information about the inhabitants of Naukratis is the repertoire of pottery. The origin of the vessels found in the city are consistent with Herodotus' founder cities list. Chios stands out among these cities. The identification of the production centres of East Hellen pottery covers chemical analyses as well as stylistic analyses. In this respect, the local styles of Chian pottery are probably the best-researched examples. A large number of examples were found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Naukratis. Aeolian Bucchero pottery is known from Mytilene and Phocaea under the Aeolian influence. The same may apply to the variants of the Aeolian Late Wild Goat style. Different variants of the Wild Goat style and bird-bowls are known to have been produced at Klazomenai and Teos. Samos is represented exclusively by the ritual cups defined as Hera cups. The inscriptions on vessels clearly indicate Lesbos, Chios, Teos and Cnidus. Based on the local scripts and origins, some examples can be attributed to Phocaea and Klazomenai. Thus, a strong Ionian influence can be considered.

Apart from the Hellen, the local inhabitants of Egypt are also believed to have lived in Naukratis. However, it is hard to express the demography statistically. Considering that the commercial activities in the city were conducted under the Egyptian government, it is expected that the trade control mechanism was composed of Egyptian natives. The Egyptian products found in the city also suggest the existence of local production. However, it is hard to make an estimation based on the volume of Egyptian products. The fondness of Hellen society towards Egyptian products should also be kept in mind.

Sanctuaries in Naukratis

The city, where different communities lived together, has gained the characteristic of a

³⁷ Llyod 1983, 279-348.

³⁸ Bresson 1980, 291-349.

³⁹ Boardman 1980, 123-124.

⁴⁰ Hdt. II. 135; Ath. *Deip.* 13. 596bff.

⁴¹ Str. XVII. 1. 33; Ath. *Deip.* 13. 596c; J. Boardman has argued that her real name was Doricha but she used the pseudonym Rhodopis while working, see Boardman 1994, 137-149. Also, Sappho's brother Charaxos bought Rhodopis' freedom for a large sum, see Hdt. II. 135.

multicultural emporion through its structural composition. The co-existence of different identities has perhaps helped them to define their own identities. The highest instrument unifying them to use collective power is religion, as evidenced by the presence of sanctuaries dedicated to various gods and goddesses in the city⁴².

Herodotus provides the earliest account on the sanctuaries in the city⁴³.

The sanctuaries at Naukratis must have been open to all merchants, regardless of their origin. Probably all inhabitants of the city were free to access the sanctuaries⁴⁴. Thus, the temple of Apollo served not only as the god of the Milesians, but also as the basis for the recognition of a collective Hellenic identity, much like the temples of Zeus and Hera.

The Sanctuary of Hera

In his passage regarding the sanctuaries in Naukratis, Herodotus mentions that the sanctuary of Zeus was founded by the Aeginetans, the sanctuary of Hera by the Samians and the sanctuary of Apollo by the Milesians⁴⁵. The sanctuary of Hera, dated to the last quarter of the VIIth century BC, was identified by votive inscriptions⁴⁷. Pottery, mostly consisting of cups, was discovered in the sanctuary⁴⁸.

The ceramic analyses of the cups recovered from the sanctuary proved that these pieces were produced in Samos⁴⁹. The fact that these cups were also recorded in the Samian Heraion supports the possible connection between the two sanctuaries. The letters "HPH" observed on the cups indicate the cult of Hera⁵⁰. Identifying the dedicators of the offerings discovered in the sanctuary seems considerably difficult. However, the name Hyblesios is documented in the sanctuaries of both Naukratis and Gravisca as a dedicator⁵¹. The dedication of offerings in different cities combined with the rarity of the name strongly suggest that the dedicator is one and the same person, presumed to be a travelling merchant⁵². If this is the case, the choice to worship the same goddess in different centres, highlights the Samian identity of Hera's cult.

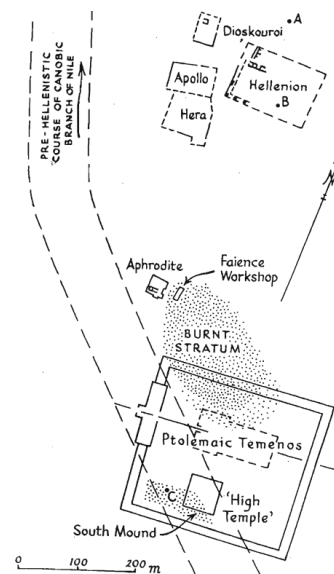


Fig. 4. Sanctuaries in Naukratis⁴⁵

⁴² Hdt. II. 178.

⁴³ Hdt. II. 178.

⁴⁴ Dedicatory inscriptions demonstrate the presence of women among the dedicators, see Apollo, Lampyris: Petrie 1886, 61, no. 117, pl. 21; Aphrodite, Mikis: Gardner 1888, 64, no. 745 pl. 21; Aphrodite, Pylia: Gardner 1888, 64, no. 761 pl. 21; Aphrodite, Philis: Gardner 1888, 65, no. 780 pl. 21; Aphrodite, Doris: Gardner 1888, 66, no. 798 pl. 21; Aphrodite, Phyllis: Gardner 1888, 66, no. 808 pl. 21; Hellenion, Eudemia: Hogarth 1905, no. 34.

⁴⁵ Möller 2000, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ Hdt. II. 178.

⁴⁷ One of them is an Archaic inscription found in the sanctuary of Hera, presumably indicating a joint worship space for Hera and Zeus: "ἱερον Δι[ος ἀπ]/οἴροπ[α] [αἰου]" (the sanctuary of Zeus Apotropaïos), (Gardner 1888, 68, no. 14, pl. 22). The other inscription reads as follows: ἱοῖ Ζευ[ι] ἱο[υ...] (Zeus'a) (Petrie 1886, 61, no. 122, pl. 32).

⁴⁸ Gardner 1888, 13, 60-61, 67, no. 841-848 pl. 22.

⁴⁹ Jones 1986, 665.

⁵⁰ Kron 1984, 292-297.

⁵¹ Bernand 1970, no. 502.

⁵² Fraser & Matthews 1987, Hyblesios article.

The Sanctuary of Apollo

The dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo helped to identify the sanctuary⁵³ dated to 570-560 BC⁵⁴. Although a couple of dedicatory inscriptions from the Archaic period may associate the sanctuary with the Milesians through city-ethnic, it can hardly be said that the offerings found in the temple were dedicated exclusively by the Milesians. Studies have revealed that the Cnidians also dedicated votive offerings to the god⁵⁵. Bernard identified the epigraphic documents recorded in the sanctuary as Chian inscriptions, but further studies have shown that they may have been of Ionian origin⁵⁶. Although A. Möller suggested that the sanctuary may have been revered by the Aeginetans, this suggestion has yet to be proven⁵⁷. Moreover, some scholars have identified Sostratos, a dedicator of the Naukratis Aphrodite sanctuary, as an Aeginetan and suggested that he may have been associated with Sostratos of Aigina, the dedicator of the sanctuary in Gravisca. The affinities with Gravisca and the votive offerings probably belonging to the same merchants suggest that the merchants did not follow fixed routes and travelled east and west. The epigraphic evidence from the sanctuary of Apollo suggests that the god was revered by Chians, Cnidians and the Aeginetans.

The Sanctuary of Aphrodite

Two sanctuaries seem to be absent in Herodotus' accounts on Naukratis. The first is the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi. The few inscriptions dated to the VIth century BC from this sanctuary, do not provide information regarding its ties with a one or more poleis⁵⁸.

The second sanctuary is the sanctuary of Aphrodite, which is also the oldest sanctuary within the settlement. Unlike the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, the temple of Aphrodite is known to contain numerous inscriptions, pottery, and figurines. The characteristic feature of the sanctuary lies in the uniformity of the finds. Among the finds are statues of athletes, flute players, hunters, draped female figures holding flowers, animals, birds, goats, and kourotraphoi figurines⁵⁹. The kourotraphoi⁶⁰ are not only similar to the examples in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Gravisca but also in other sanctuaries of Aphrodite throughout the Hellen world. Such feminine offerings are known to be common in the Mediterranean world.

The Hellenion

The Egyptian pharaoh Amasis granted certain rights to the Hellens, allowing them to live in Naukratis. Amasis' desire to consolidate his political and economic power influenced the granting of privileges to the Hellens. Amasis must have gained their trust by allowing them to build their own sanctuaries; thus, he prevented any future conflict.

Among the sanctuaries founded with this privilege granted by Amasis, the Hellenion temple is mentioned by Herodotus as the largest and most famous⁶¹. Herodotus lists Chios, Teos, Klazomenai, Phocaea, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis and Mytilene among the founding

⁵³ On the dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo, see Petrie 1886, 60, no. 2, pl. 32; 61, no. 99 and 110, pl. 32; 61, no. 218-9 and 233-4 pl. 33; 62, no. 237 ve 341, pl. 33.

⁵⁴ Gjerstad 1934, 67-84, pl. 9-10; Gjerstad 1959, 147-165; Bresson 2000, 25, no. 52.

⁵⁵ Petrie 1886, 61, no. 209, pl. 32 ve s. 62, no. 237 pl. 33; Gardner 1888, 68, no. 876, pl. 20; Hogarth 1898-1899, 55, no. 51.

⁵⁶ For these names, see Fraser and Matthews 1987, Polemarkhos, Lampyris, Polyarkides, Phanes, Charidion, Sleues, Klepsias, Karophnis.

⁵⁷ Möller 2000, 174.

⁵⁸ Petrie 1886, 62, no. 655, 675-682, pl. 35; Gardner 1888, 67, no. 833-37, 839, pl. 52.

⁵⁹ Gardner 1888, 55-59.

⁶⁰ Gardner 1888, pl. 14.7, 15.7.

⁶¹ Hdt. II. 178.

cities of the sanctuary⁶². Herodotus mentions in his passage that these cities were also in charge of appointing the *prostatai*. However, he does not name a particular city but states that all the founding cities were responsible for the administration.

Hellens aside from the citizens of the founding cities also visited the Hellenion and presented offerings to various Hellen gods. The expression θεοῖσι τοῖς Ελλήνων (to the Hellen gods) or θεων τῶν Ελλήνων (Hellen gods)⁶³ on the inscriptions proves the worship of several gods such as Artemis, Aphrodite, possibly Heracles and Poseidon⁶⁴. This aspect of worship and offerings to different Hellen gods is epigraphically attested exclusively in the Hellenion throughout the Hellen world. At this point, as observed by Hogarth, two passages of Herodotus show parallelism to each other⁶⁵. The first passage is a speech addressed to Kleomenes, king of Sparta, by Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletos, in order to convince him to help and persuade the Hellen cities in Asia Minor:

"Now, therefore, we entreat you by the gods of Hellas to save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery⁶⁶".

The second passage includes the speech by the Corinthian ambassador Sokles on the dangers of oppressing the Spartans:

"We entreat you earnestly in the name of the Hellen gods not to establish tyranny in the poleis⁶⁷".

A distinct difference can be observed between the expression of "Hellen gods" used by Herodotus in his accounts and the term read on the inscriptions. Herodotus' "Hellen" must have been referred to as an ethnicity or adjective. However, on the inscriptions it was used in the sense of collective Hellens. The expression on the Hellenion inscriptions holds utmost importance in defining the Hellens as a collective⁶⁸. Therefore, the name of the sanctuary and the offerings it housed have been interpreted as the first expressions of Hellenism.

The Hellens who came to Naukratis from different places worshipped both in the sanctuaries founded by particular poleis as well as in the joint sanctuaries. The Hellens are thought to have freely lived their identities at Naukratis, which exhibits a multinational structure, with the Hellenion reflecting a shared Hellenic culture.

The Hellenion represents a unique example of joint worship in the VIth century BC. The emergence process of this concept in the sanctuaries at Naukratis is crucial. Jonathan Hall has stated that Naukratis was one of the first examples of the creation of a collectivist identity. Initially, the Hellens living in Naukratis identified themselves as individuals from different poleis. However, over time, they started to maintain their common origin with the foundation of the Hellenion⁶⁹. Bresson, on the other hand, argued that the idea of the unity of the Hellen poleis through sanctuaries would contribute to the stability of the balances between them. He also drew attention to the power of the poleis to form a group or take sides in case they act according to

⁶² Hdt. II. 178-179.

⁶³ Hogarth 1898-1899, 53-55, no. 18; 64, 71-81, 95, 106; Hogarth 1905, 116, no. 1-4.

⁶⁴ Hogarth 1905, 117, no. 9-16, no. 8; 53-55, no. 3, 63; 55, no. 62; Hogarth 1898-1899, 28,46, 54, 60, 86-88, 91, 93, 107.

⁶⁵ Hogarth 1898-1899, 44.

⁶⁶ Hdt. V. 49.

⁶⁷ Hdt. V. 92.

⁶⁸ Zeus Hellenios may have received his epithet at Aigina. However, the evidence regarding the epithet is from a later date. See Aristoph. *Kn.* 1253. also Pind. *Nem.* V. 9-11 refers to Zeus Hellenios. These examples are similar to the passages quoted from Herodotus: He used the Hellenios/Hellenia as an adjective (Hellen) describing Zeus and Athena.

⁶⁹ Hall 1997, 49-50.

their ethnic interests⁷⁰. The balance achieved between the Ionians and the Dorians in particular, was also emphasised by Herodotus. Although the two groups were enemies in the Peloponnesian War, they had united and allied in the Persian War. In this sense, the Hellenion reflects the example of association and equality between the Ionians and the Dorians. The Hellenion gained importance in terms of unifying the Hellens of different origins on a common Hellenic identity and serving their common interests.

I. Malkin interpreted this unifying aspect of the Hellenion as the earliest expression of Pan-Hellenic identity⁷¹. He also believes that the Egyptians had internalised the Pan-Hellenic identity emphasised at the Hellenion⁷². The most crucial evidence overlooked by Malkin is the Amasis Stele, which proves that Ionians and Carians had a strong presence in Egypt⁷³. This inscription retrospectively records the wars between Pharaoh Amasis and his predecessor Apries. The inscription proves the presence of Hellen mercenaries in the revolts:

"His majesty [Amasis] was in the palace, deliberating the affairs of the land, when one came to say to him: "Apries has [left]. He [leads] the vessels that [have departed]. Hellens (H 'w-nbw) without number traverse the northland. It is as if they have no master to govern them. He [Apries] has summoned them and they have accepted. The king had assigned them a residence in the Pehu An: They infest all of Egypt. They have reached Sekhet-Mafek, everything that is in your waters [=territory] runs away from them." [Trans. Demetriou]

The stele shows that Amasis permitted the residence of Hellens regardless of their ethnic origin. The Pehu An in the inscription is probably Naukratis. If so, then at least some of the inhabitants of Naukratis may have been mercenaries. It is also noteworthy that the Egyptians addressed the Hellens by a single name, "H" w-nbw⁷⁴. I. Malkin provides further evidence for the presence of Hellen mercenaries in Egypt⁷⁵.

All the evidence discussed above demonstrates that Naukratis followed the tradition of foreign settlement in Egypt. As mentioned by Herodotus, Amasis, following the example of the previous Pharaohs, gave land to the Hellens, Phoenicians and Carians to settle. Moreover, Amasis did not separate the Hellens of different ethnic origins but gathered them all in Naukratis. Living together in Naukratis regardless of origin and subsequently founding the Hellenion, enabled the Hellens to actively embrace their identity and unite under a single roof.

Commercial Activities in Naukratis

Herodotus states that there was only one commercial harbour in Egypt, and that the ships could

⁷⁰ Bresson 2000, 40.

⁷¹ Malkin 2001, 9.

⁷² Malkin 2003, 91-96. I. Malkin's interpretation of the Egyptians' perception of the Hellens has some points. The Egyptians perceived the Hellens as exhibiting a collective structure in general (Malkin 2003, 92-94). Psammetichus I (664-610 BC) rewarded the Ionians and Carians, who were mercenaries in his army, with land to live (Psammetichus gave the Ionians and Carians, who worked side by side to settle on both sides of the Nile, called Stratopeda, see Herodotus, II. 154.) The settlement called Stratopeda is, in fact, synonymous with the occupation of the settlers. Herodotus also reported that Psammetichus attempted to have Egyptian children learn the Hellen language (Hdt. II. 154.). The fact that the Pharaoh allowed Egyptian children to live in the Stratopeda (garrison, headquarters) means that Egyptians were not originally a part of the population. The Egyptian government must have applied the same practice to mercenaries from other origins. For example, Phoenician soldiers from Tyre settled in the Tyre camp (Hdt. II. 112.) and Jewish soldiers in the Elephantine camp (Porten 1984, 372-400). Therefore, these settlements did not become completely independent, and, unlike Naukratis, they were closed-off settlements in Egyptian territory. Later, Amasis brought the inhabitants of the Stratopeda to Memphis to keep them closer to himself (Hdt. II. 154.).

⁷³ Daressy 1900, 1-9; Demetriou 2012, 249.

⁷⁴ Leahy 1988, 183-199.

⁷⁵ Malkin 2003, 92.

not enter it uncontrolled⁷⁶. Scholars believe that Naukratis achieved prosperity thanks to its unique monopoly⁷⁷. This system, which aims to protect Egypt from external threats alongside Naukratis, becomes comprehensible when we take a glance at the history of earlier periods. Restrictions on commercial activities facilitated customs and tax collection. Securing the delta against intruders was an Egyptian tradition⁷⁸. In other words, Naukratis must have been not only a trade centre but also a military security zone where mercenaries lived, as discussed in the Amasis Stele.

The Egyptian administration must have implemented a taxation system in the operation of commercial activities in Naukratis. The Nektanebis I Stele⁷⁹, at the centre of the Great Temenos (dated to 380 BC), provides insight into the taxes to be paid to the Temple of Neith in Sais. The Egyptian pharaoh provided the products belonging to the royal treasury from the village named Hent⁸⁰ as well as one-tenth of the gold, silver, timber, and processed wood from Greece⁸¹ to the Temple of Neith. Additionally, a tenth of the gold and silver, along with all goods produced in Pi-emrôye (Naukratis) on the banks of the Anu River⁸², was given to the goddess⁸³.

It is likely that these practices recorded on the Nektanebis I Stele were established by the pharaoh himself. Considering the long history of the taxation system, a similar system must have been implemented during the reign of Amasis. The erection of the statue of Nekhthorheb⁸⁴, who was responsible for defending the Delta and supervising the regulations, especially during the reign of Amasis, implies the existence of such practices.

The products traded in Naukratis constitute a substantial topic that awaits scholarly discussion. In this context, gold and silver take the first place. Considering the Pharaohs' interest in gold, this is not surprising. Gold is believed to have been supplied from the neighbouring regions of Egypt. On the other hand, pure silver and timber are known to have been in great demand. The timber is thought to have been brought either by the Phoenicians or Egyptian officials⁸⁵. High-value silver was discovered in Greece⁸⁶. Although Herodotus' account on Kolaïos and Phokaeas is not clear, Tartessos was possibly one of the main sources of silver in the VIIth and first half of the VIth century BC⁸⁷.

A large number of silver coins have been found in Egypt, especially in the Delta region, the earliest dated to 500 BC⁸⁸. No intense demand for coins is observed when the distribution system of Egypt is analysed⁸⁹. Therefore, the silver coins from Greece are presumed to have been preferred to meet the demand for silver as a precious metal. Silver was a prestige object used exclusively by the Egyptian elites to exchange gifts or to display wealth.

⁷⁶ Hdt. II. 179.

⁷⁷ Faure 1978, 59; Braun 1982, 32-56.

⁷⁸ Similarly, Rhakotis must have been a fortress in defence against pirates and other foreign threats in the Western Delta, see Str. XVII. 1. 6; Venit 1985, 185.

⁷⁹ Erman & Wilcken 1900, 127-132.

⁸⁰ The location of this village is unknown.

⁸¹ Sethe 1901, 121-123.

⁸² Canopus tributary of the Nile.

⁸³ M. Lichtheim interpreted these statements as one-tenth of all goods taxed (or subject to tax) in Naukratis. He stated there is no evidence of customs at 10% and a trade tax of 10%; see Lichtheim 1980, 87.

⁸⁴ Möller 2000, 208.

⁸⁵ Helck 1975, 264.

⁸⁶ Cary 1932, 136-139.

⁸⁷ Hdt. I. 163.

⁸⁸ Price & Waggoner 1975, 16-22; Thompson *et al.* 1973, 225-230.

⁸⁹ Curtis 1951, 482-491; Daumas 1977, 425-440.

The Hellens are believed to have taken silver to Egypt in exchange for grain. The grain was collected in royal warehouses indicating that it was under the control of the pharaoh and the authorities. The trade interests between the Hellens and Egypt must have centred on grain. However, information provided by the sources on the grain trade between Egypt and Greece in the Archaic Period is still scarce. There is no account of grain-loaded ships from Egypt bringing wealth from the sea until the beginning of the Vth century BC⁹⁰.

There is no clear evidence indicating that Naukratis exported grain between the late VIIth and VIth centuries BC. However, there are records of grain import in some Hellen poleis⁹¹. If Egypt exported grain to the Hellens, the grain cargo was probably transported by the Phoenicians⁹². Increasing Persian power and the taxes paid to the Persian king decreased the export potential of Egyptian grain. This must have pushed the Hellens to the Black Sea region in search of other grain sources.

Other products besides grain were exported from Egypt to Greece. Egyptian linen was a preferred material in Greece both for cloth making and for producing rope⁹³. Papyrus, which was used to make rope during the Homeric period⁹⁴, became the main writing material in the Classical Period⁹⁵. Therefore, papyrus was among the products exported to Greece⁹⁶.

It is believed that Egypt was rich in various minerals, ivory and ebony, resins for perfumes and alabasters. These products were probably introduced to Greece through traders or travellers⁹⁷. Although these products do not indicate regular trade with Egypt, they were undoubtedly items of cultural interaction.

Wine and olive oil were the other Hellen products in demand in the Egyptian market. The volume of these products transferred in amphorae is hard to estimate. Some of the Archaic amphorae found at Naukratis originate from the poleis mentioned earlier by Herodotus⁹⁸. From the IVth century BC onwards, stamped amphora handles provide detailed information regarding the city/producer or the persons responsible for the transfer. Although this period is beyond the chronological scope of the study, it still provides evidence from ancient sources regarding the early olive oil and wine trade. Sappho's brother Charaxus is known to have bought wine from Lesbos⁹⁹ to take to Egypt. These accounts clarify that the Hellens used olive oil and wine as exchange products in the market.

Another significant source of evidence revealing the trade potential of Naukratis is pottery. These pieces are invaluable for guiding researchers in archaeological studies. Thus, focusing on the regional-urban distribution of the ceramics found in Naukratis and identifying the cities most involved with this source of evidence would provide a general perspective of commercial activities. Therefore, the examination of the ceramic groups found in the city by various researchers and the clay analysis of some groups are invaluable within the context of trade.

⁹⁰ Möller 2000, 210.

⁹¹ Meiggs & Lewis 1988, 6-12, Teos, line 12; Thuc. III. 2, Lesbos; Tod 1933, 163, Klazomenai line 114, 14; Hdt. I. 17-22, Miletos. Herodotus does not mention any food imports during the attacks of Alyattes. See also Roebuck 1950, 245.

⁹² Semple 1921, 51.

⁹³ Hdt. II. 105.182.

⁹⁴ Hom. *Od.* XXI. 390.

⁹⁵ Hdt. IV. 58.

⁹⁶ Austin 1970, 36.

⁹⁷ Hdt. II. 180.

⁹⁸ For the Chian amphorae, see Petrie 1886, 21, 23; for the Samian amphorae, Petrie 1886, n. 16.2; Dupont 1982, 208; for the Lesbos amphorae Petrie 1886, n. 16.6; Grace 1971, 52-95. For further studies on the amphorae, see Sezgin 2012, 83-115, 175-189, 201-229; Grace 1979, Doğer 1988.

⁹⁹ Str. XVII. 1. 33.

Pottery, mostly of East Hellen production, constitutes the largest category of material found at Naukratis. Many of the ceramics recovered are now spread across over 40 museums and collections. Considering that 5000 sherds were recovered per day during the excavations, the ceramics represent a large quantity of evidence¹⁰⁰. The publication of the excavations by W. M. F. Petrie, R. J. Smith, E. A. Gardner, Edgar and Lorimer, as well as the studies on East Hellen pottery by scholars such as J. Boehlau, H. Prinz and E. Price, have guided researchers¹⁰¹.

The results of the analyses of more than 70 examples were first published by Dupont¹⁰². The studies also include pieces in the East Hellen style attributed to a local workshop of Naukratis. In addition to Dupont's work, Richard Jones and John Boardman analysed more than 50 ceramics, including wild goat style, East Hellen black-figure, Klazomenaian ceramics, Fikellura vases, Chian ceramics, bird-bowls, eye-bowls, rosette bowls, Hera cups, locally produced terracotta figurines and situlae from Tell Defenneh¹⁰³. According to Dupont's analyses, Chian ceramics are entirely distinguished from the Naukratis clay¹⁰⁴ and fall under the Rhodian group along with the situlae¹⁰⁵ and the Vroulian cups. Mike Hughes, who analysed a smaller group of pottery, assessed a Hera cup, four lamps and a Samian amphora under the Samian group 'L'¹⁰⁶. Hans Mommsen conducted a comprehensive analysis programme on ceramics from Naukratis and Tell Defenneh.

North Ionian ceramics constitute another ceramic group found at Naukratis. The excavations in Klazomenai and Smyrna are especially significant in providing insights into the styles created in these cities. On the other hand, cities like Phocaea and Teos¹⁰⁷ remain uncertain in terms of archaeological evidence. However, some high-quality ceramics, identified as Group D by P. Dupont, are considered as productions of Teos¹⁰⁸. There are also the North Ionian ceramics classified as Group B by H. Mommsen and M. Kerschner. This group, which includes the bird-bowls, encompasses various styles ranging from the wild goat to black-figure. Both stylistic examinations and analyses support that these ceramics are of North Ionian origin¹⁰⁹.

Chian ceramics found at Naukratis constitute a large group. Early studies have suggested that this dense group may have been a local production. The workshops producing Chian pottery, discussed by Dyfri Williams, have yet to be fully clarified. Therefore, further studies and chemical analyses in Chios and its hinterland would guide the discussions on the origin of this ceramic group¹¹⁰.

Miletos seems to be the leading polis when the South Ionian presence is examined. Besides the fact that Miletos and Samos were the founding cities of Naukratis, the ceramics recovered from the site, particularly the Hera cups bearing inscriptions, provide significant evidence. Clay analyses

¹⁰⁰ Gardner 1888, 15.

¹⁰¹ Boehlau 1898, 52-151; Prinz 1980, 1-153; For discussions on ceramics in Naukratis, see Kerschner 2001, 183 - 195; Schlottzhauer 2001, 111-126.

¹⁰² Dupont 1983, 36, 38.

¹⁰³ Jones 1986, 698-702.

¹⁰⁴ Jones 1986, 662-663.

¹⁰⁵ Jones 1986, 669-670; Beazley *et al.* 1931, 25-27.

¹⁰⁶ Hughes *et al.* 1988, 475.

¹⁰⁷ The excavations and clay analyses carried out in recent years in Teos suggest that the city stands out as a production centre. Despite the identification of some amphorae found in Egypt and around the Black Sea as Klazomenaian productions, the form characteristics of these vessels indicate otherwise. At this point, the origins of these vessels should be reconsidered. For Teian amphorae see Sezgin 2017, 15-36.

¹⁰⁸ Dupont & Thomas 2006, 51-52, fig. 1.1-5, 11, 14, 16; 4.

¹⁰⁹ Schlottzhauer & Villing 2006, 56.

¹¹⁰ Schlottzhauer & Villing 2006, 59.

revealed that these vessels were not locally produced but imported¹¹¹. In this respect, the Hera cups draw attention to the cult connection between Naukratis and Samos.

The excavations carried out in Cnidus, one of the founding cities of Naukratis, reveal examples of Archaic ceramics, especially decorated plates. The prominent depictions of Potnia Theron and the ship in the decorations are not surprising for the sanctuary of Apollo, which is close to the harbour. Compared to the examples found at Naukratis, it is known that their origin is attributed to East Dorian, especially Cnidian workshops. The example of a plate with a Phoenician inscription found at Naukratis illustrates the cosmopolitan nature of trade throughout the Mediterranean¹¹². Rhodes is another city that had a share in the harbour of Naukratis. It has been suggested that the situlae found at Tell Defenneh and studied by Sabina Weber could be of Rhodian origin¹¹³.

The 26 mortaria recovered during the excavations at Naukratis are now preserved in the British Museum. Certain features observed on the mortaria suggest that some of them were rapidly produced¹¹⁴. Parallel examples of mortaria of the Eastern Mediterranean or Cypro-Phoenician type, a significant type in the Archaic period in the Cypro-Phoenician and Ionian contexts of the Eastern Mediterranean, can be seen in many different regions in the VIIth and VIth centuries BC¹¹⁵. The studies also recorded Corinthian mortaria¹¹⁶. These mortaria could be seen in many parts of the Mediterranean from 500 BC onwards. Corinth presumably took over the Phoenician-Cypriot market, prevailing in the Eastern Mediterranean, from this date onwards¹¹⁷.

Clay analyses of the mortaria recovered from Naukratis indicate Cypriot origins¹¹⁸. Therefore, the mortaria discovered at Naukratis must have been of Cypriot production, much like those found in most of the Levant and Egypt. As in Cyprus and the Levant, mortaria from Egypt are known to be strongly associated with torpedo and basket-handled amphorae of Cypro-Phoenician production¹¹⁹. Thus, mortaria may have reached the Nile Delta as part of Cyprus-Phoenician cargoes including East Hellen ceramics, which may have been transported by Phoenician merchants¹²⁰.

Conclusion

The active continuation of commercial activities in the Eastern Mediterranean world during the Archaic Period was realised under the leadership of certain cities, regions, and even political attitudes. In this context, Naukratis assumed an active role in the commercial activities of the Archaic Period emerging as a significant trade centre. The rising prominence of Naukratis is supported by research.

Naukratis experienced a notable surge in trade, driven by various factors. To begin with, the Egyptian government adopted trade as a policy, leading to subsequent economic prosperity. Egypt must have foreseen that economic superiority brings along a great deal of power. Starting with this idea, the Egyptian administration carried Naukratis to a key point in commercial activities in

¹¹¹ Schlottzhauer 2006, 311-313.

¹¹² Schlottzhauer & Villing 2006, 60.

¹¹³ Weber 2006, 145. East Hellen situlae are found mainly in Egypt, especially at Tell Defenneh, Memphis and Naukratis but they have also been discovered in Greece. In Samos and Rhodes, they were found from the late VIIth century BC to the VIth century BC in the Heraion of Samos and in Rhodian tombs, see Cook 1954, 29-37; Cook & Dupont 1998, 116-118.

¹¹⁴ Villing 2006, 31.

¹¹⁵ Villing 2006, 33.

¹¹⁶ Villing 2006, 33.

¹¹⁷ Iozzo 1985, 58-59.

¹¹⁸ Mommsen *et al.* 2006, 69-71.

¹¹⁹ Maeir 2002, 235-246.

¹²⁰ Artzy & Lion 2002, 183-202.

the Eastern Mediterranean since its very foundation. Pharaoh Amasis settled the Hellenes in Naukratis and allowed them to live freely. This strategy resulted in the Hellenes establishing their sanctuaries and enjoying their freedom in Egyptian territory. At this point, Amasis' primary purpose was to keep economic and political power in his hands. Thus, by granting certain rights and freedoms to the Hellenes, he prevented any rebellion and war on their part. Amasis's attitude is interpreted as his military, political, and commercial success.

The Hellenion, founded thanks to the freedom granted by Amasis, enabled the Hellenes to gather under a single roof. The use of the name "Hellenion" by the Hellenes is interpreted as one of the earliest expressions emphasising Hellenic identity. Besides, as Herodotus states, the fact that the Hellenes had the right to establish sanctuaries and choose prostatai among the citizens of the founder cities is seen as a reflection of the collective power of the Hellenes. The worship of different Hellen gods in the sanctuary implies a strong Hellenic identity. Furthermore, the Hellenion gathered Hellenes of different origins and created a shared cultural consciousness. In addition to uniting the Hellenes under a common identity, the sanctuary may have played a role in the organisation of commercial activities. This suggestion is supported by the administration of the sanctuary by the Hellenes and the votive offerings by merchants from various cities and regions. Although the evidence is scarce, the large number of votives found in the sanctuary coming from different cities and regions strengthens this interpretation.

The political and commercial development observed in Naukratis is the product of a common organisation, indicating that trade in the Archaic Period operated within certain systems. Moreover, as the inscriptions and ancient sources suggest, the Egyptian government controlled trade via the tax system. The inscriptions clearly stated that the ships entering the harbour had to pay taxes, as in the Ionian example mentioned above. The inspection of the ships and the collection of taxes were probably carried out by Egyptian representatives. Thus, the Egyptian administration assumed a significant role in the commercial operation of the harbour. Moreover, the information provided by Herodotus on the ships coming to the harbour clearly confirms that the Egyptian administration kept the region under its control.

The entry of the products into the harbour and their distribution to the hinterland requires a comprehensive organisation. The volume of the goods, the destination city or region, and the nature of the transfer system are integral components of this organisation. Although archaeological evidence is scarce, imported materials found in other parts of Egypt demonstrate that Naukratis was also a major distribution centre. It is thought that mainly wine, olive oil, and metals such as gold and silver were imported, and various minerals, ivory, ebony, and resins for perfume-making were exported in return. Grain, linen, and papyrus were also among the exported products. Luxury consumer goods such as perfumes are particularly a significant part of the trade. The exchange network where various products such as metal and agricultural products were marketed formed the basic outline of the commercial system in Naukratis, and ceramics benefited from this commercial network.

Silver was a prestige object in Egypt, circulating only among the elite, who utilized it either for gift exchange or to demonstrate their wealth. It can safely be assumed that Hellenes carried silver to Egypt on account of its value as a metal, exchanging it there for grain. Since the grain was accumulated in the royal storehouses, it was subject to the supervision of the pharaoh and his officials. Therefore the Hellenes, seeking to obtain the desired grain, were compelled to do this via the official channels and exchanged the prestigious silver for it, this process ensuring that the latter remained in the hands of elite.

Many of the products for which Egypt was known and for which it was famous, including

various minerals, ivory and ebony, resins for the preparation of perfumes, alabaster vessels for storing them, and the like, may have come to Greece through the merchants and travellers stopping at Naukratis. These goods testify to trade with Egypt, have cultural significance.

The commercial position of Naukratis enabled the circulation of goods in long-distance trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, different regions or cities became commercially accessible. The strategically beneficial location of Naukratis to access the maritime trade routes and harbours played a major role in both trade and economic development.

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