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A Special Dedication to Aphrodite and some Thoughts on the Early Years of the Greek Sanctuaries at Naukratis

DYFRI WILLIAMS

Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit in Naukratis am Nildelta gefundenen Fragmenten eines großen, rotfigurigen Volutenkraters des Nikoxenos-Malers, die sich heute in Bonn, Heidelberg, London und Oxford befinden. In den Rand des Gefäßes wurde mit großer Sorgfalt vor dem Brand eine bemerkenswerte Weihinschrift an Aphrodite Pandemos geritzt. Von diesem Stück ausgehend werden die verschiedenen Kultnamen und -plätze dieser Göttin in Naukratis – sowohl das unabhängige Heiligtum als auch ihr Kultbezirk innerhalb des Hellenion – einer neuen Betrachtung unterzogen. Bezüglich der ältesten Kontakte zwischen Griechen und Naukratis kommt der Autor zu dem Schluss, dass der Ansiedlung von Händlern eine Präsenz griechischer Söldner vor Ort vorausging. In diesem Zusammenhang werden auch die Anfänge der dort ansässigen, griechischen Kulte sowie Veränderungen und Konflikte während der Herrschaft des Pharaos Amasis kurz betrachtet. Der Beitrag schließt mit einigen Überlegungen zum möglichen Nutzungskontext des Volutenkraters.

Among the 7000 or more fragments of Greek pottery that were kept from the excavations of the extraordinary *emporion* site of Naukratis in the Nile Delta (1884–1886, 1899 and 1903), now distributed among some 70 museums and collections, including fragments in the University of Bonn, there are the remains of many unusual and important pieces that deserve closer study, something that is now made so much easier by the British Museum's on-line database created with the aid of scholars, paid and unpaid¹. From the several sanctuaries associated with the complex site comes pottery from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean, in addition to recently identified imitative local products. Of the early pottery, there is much East Greek pottery no doubt because the participating *poleis* recorded by Herodotos (Hdt. 2, 178), with only one exception, the island of Aigina, were East Greek ones². Many

fragments come from the island of Chios, some from other islands, such as Samos and Rhodes, and some from the leading coastal settlement of Miletos in southern Ionia and others from communities further north, including in Aeolis. There is also a small amount of material from the regions that bordered these East Greek settlements, namely Lydia and Caria, as well as from the eastern crossroads of Cyprus and Phoenicia; there are even some fragments from Etruria in the west. From the central Greek world comes pottery from Corinth and from Lakonia, as well as a good deal from Athens.

There are approximately 2800 fragmentary remains of dedications on pottery, and some 2500 of these were incised: they are usually assumed to have been added by or for the dedicator in Naukratis itself, although this may not always have been the case. Some dedications were recorded in paint

1 For the discussions of the excavations and groups of material see now the British Museum on-line multi-author publication Villing et al. 2013–2015. The idea of a wide-ranging study of all the Naukratis material was inspired by Sir John Boardman's work on early excavations and was conceived as a follow-on from the registration work carried out on the material in the British Museum from the excavations at Al Mina. The running of the project was taken on by Alexandra Villing, who subsequently secured major funding and has taken the project forward with great determination and success. In general see also the recent impor-

tant studies: Bowden 1996; Möller 2000; and now Villing et al. 2013–2015, esp. the following important essays: A. Villing, Greek-Egyptian relations in the 7th to 6th centuries B.C.; A. Villing, Naukratis: a city and trading port in Egypt; A. Villing, Discovery and Excavations: Naukratis from the 19th century until today; A. Villing, Reconstructing a 19th-century excavation: problems and perspectives; A. Villing – R. Thomas, The site of Naukratis: topography, buildings and landscape. See now Villing 2015.

2 For recent comments on the ethnicity of the traders see Villing 2013, 83 f.



Fig. 1: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum inv. 2042. Pyxisfr. from Klazomenai.

before firing and these must have been specially commissioned by or through traders or other intermediaries. Most numerous among such specially ordered dedications are those on vessels from Chios, where the potters rather seem to have cornered the market for fine ware with bespoke dedications in black glaze. Mainland Ionian workshops only very occasionally added specific dedications to their products. From the north, and in white lettering, there is only one piece from Naukratis, the

important large bowl naming Aphrodite “in Naukratis” (see below), to place alongside a remarkable example from Klazomenai on the rim of a pyxis now in Bonn, dedicated by Athēnagorē to Hermes (Fig. 1)³. As for products of southern Ionia, we know black glaze painted dedications on a group of Milesian mugs (to Aphrodite at Miletos and at Didyma to an unknown deity), but no examples have been found at Naukratis, although one might compare an unusual fragment of a closed vessel⁴.

3 BM GR 1888,0601.531: Villing 2013, 85 fig. 10; Johnston 2013–2015, 14 fig. 9. Bonn 2042: R. M. Cook, *A List of Clazomenian Pottery*, BSA 47, 1952, 139 no. 12; Jeffery 1961, 345 no. 63 pl. 66.

4 See Schlotzhauer 2012, 139 f. For the fragment of a closed vessel, Oxford G 141.19: Johnston 2013–2015, 15 fig. 10.

In addition, there is also a group of vessels from Samos that name Hera in black glaze, but these do not name the dedicator and were clearly not made specifically for use at Naukratis alone⁵. No such painted dedications on pottery made in mainland Greece are preserved at Naukratis, but they are (unexpectedly) extremely rare anywhere⁶.

The Dedicated Vase

Of the vases from Naukratis bearing incised dedications, one stands out as quite exceptional – indeed it is certainly not a graffito but rather a monumental inscription on a vase. The vase is an Athenian red-figured volute-krater, now known from three fragments: one in Bonn (inv. 697.90), one in London (GR 1900,0214.6) and one in Heidelberg (I. 156) (Figs. 2–5)⁷. Some ten years ago, as work was beginning on the British Museum’s “Naukratis Project”, I noticed the connection between the Bonn and London fragments and, subsequently, realised that an unpublished and (then) unregistered fragment in Heidelberg actually joined the British Museum part on the right.

The scene on the London-Heidelberg fragment is clearly taken from a symposium. On the left we see a food-basket, a hand holding a kylix by the handle, most probably in the act of a *kottabos* throw, and the back of the head of that banqueter, facing left. The Bonn fragment provides the head of another figure, facing to right. There is little perhaps to base an attribution on here but the cursory ears and the wavy hair contour with only occasional use of dots match well the style of the Nikoxenos Painter, whom we know decorated volute-kraters

in both the red-figure and black-figure technique⁸. He also used the continuous meander for a border pattern, as on the shoulder of a red-figure hydria in the British Museum and, more importantly, on the rim of the red-figured volute-krater in Munich, just as on the Naukratis fragments⁹. In any case, the date must be around 510–500 BC.

The possibility that these fragments are by the Nikoxenos Painter brings to mind two further fragments from a volute-krater in Oxford, excavated in 1899 at Naukratis, which Beazley attributed to that vase-painter (Figs. 6, 7)¹⁰. Here the rim of the vessel is not preserved, but the step into the lower frieze is – we do not know whether the lower frieze was decorated or not. One fragment comes from the extreme right of one side, for there is the reserved panel under the handle. In addition we see parts of the legs of a figure to the left who has a stick and wore a *chlamys*. The second fragment shows two figures at a column-krater set on the ground. The figure on the left wears a *chlamys*; the figure on the right might have been naked. The scale, surface, condition and style all compare well with the Bonn and London-Heidelberg fragments. The figures on the Oxford fragments would seem to come from a *komos* rather than a symposium, but one cannot be dogmatic about this. If they are from a *komos*, then they would suit well the other side of the vase – the next moment in the celebrations. The combination of meander rim pattern and one zone of figured decoration, as revealed by the Bonn and London-Heidelberg fragments, would place the krater alongside a group of late black-figure vessels, associated with the Leagros Group, with which

5 See Schlotzhauer 2006, 311 f.; Schlotzhauer 2012, 154–157; A. Avramidou, Reconsidering the Hera-Pottery from the Samian Heraion and its Distribution, in: A. Tsingarida et al. (eds.), *La céramique dans les sociétés anciennes. Production, distribution, usages. Proceedings of the ARC Project: Action de recherche concertée 2004–2009* (forthcoming; available in advance on <<http://www.academia.edu>> [28.09.2015]).

6 For two examples see Williams 2013, 49 fig. 6 (Thasos Mus.) and 55 fig. 7 (Boston, MFA 03.852).

7 My connection of the Bonn and British Museum fragments is recorded in Höckmann – Möller 2006, 16. For Bonn inv. 697.90 see Piekarski 2001, 40 no. C 15 pl. 14, 1: catalogued mistakenly as Athenian black-figure. The join with the

unpublished Heidelberg fr. was noted by me in 2006 and has been incorporated into Villing et al. 2013–2015.

8 On the Nikoxenos Painter see ARV² 220–223; and most recently, M. Robertson, *The art of vase-painting in classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992) 118–121.

9 BM GR 1843,1103.27 (E 160): ARV² 222, 19. Munich 2381: ARV² 221, 14.

10 Oxford G. 138.36 and 40: ARV² 221, 15; CVA Oxford (1) pl. 50, 12, 13. My suggested attribution and connection with the Oxford fragments has been included in Villing et al. 2013–2015. One might also wonder whether one or other, or both, of the red-figure volute-krater handle fragments, GR 1888,0601.601.a and b, could have belonged to this vase.



Fig. 2 a. b: London, British Museum inv. GR 1900,0214.6. Volute-krater rim fragment from Naukratis.



Fig. 3 a. b: Heidelberg, Universität inv. I. 156. Volute-krater rim fragment from Naukratis.



Fig. 4 a. b: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum inv. 697.90. Volute-krater rim fragment from Naukratis.



Fig. 5 a. b: Photomontage of the London and Heidelberg volute-krater rim fragments from Naukratis.



Fig. 6. 7: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. G. 138.36 and 40. Volute-krater neck fragments from Naukratis.

the black-figure work of the Nikoxenos Painter is also connected¹¹. We may perhaps presume that the same workshop was responsible for both the red-figure and black-figure kraters.

The Inscription

The inscription preserved on the rim of the joining London and Heidelberg fragments may be confidently restored as ... *tei Aphrod]*

¹¹ There are a good many fragments of such black-figure volute-kraters from Naukratis, e. g.: Bonn inv. 697.89 (Piekarski 2001, 39 no. C 12 pl. 13, 4); BM GR 1886,0401.1204 (single frieze), 1886,0401.1203 (B 600, 27; from Apollo sanctuary), 1886,0401.1235 (B 600,35; single

frieze), and 1965,0930.851 (single frieze); Oxford G 574 (double frieze); Louvre AM 1479 (1) (single frieze); Boston 86.580 (single frieze), 86.584 (handle; Fairbanks pl. 39, 354.2).

itei: Pandemoi: a[netheken]. In addition, the Bonn fragment has ...*Jamm*[...], surely part of the name of the dedicator, and no doubt from the same side of the vase as the London-Heidelberg fragment but further to the left, beginning the inscription. The rare combination of a double *mu* in a dedicator's name seems to recur at Naukratis on a Lakonian cup also dedicated to Aphrodite: it has been attributed to the Arkesilas Painter and so belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century¹². The graffito on the two preserved fragments of this cup was originally restored by Ernest Gardner as ...*Aphrod]itei o Ph[ila]mm[onos...*, but such a reading has been rightly dismissed by Peter Thonemann on the grounds that, following the deity's name, the definite article was much more likely to have introduced an ethnic, such as Phokaieus, than a patronymic, and that the fragment with double *mu* really belongs before the deity's name as part of the dedicator's own name¹³.

It has been suggested that the name on the Bonn fragment of the Athenian volute-krater could have been Psammis or Psammetichos, Pasammatas or even Philammon, although this last name is only attested late¹⁴. One also ought to bear in mind, however, the fragment from the rim of a Middle or Late Corinthian column-krater which preserves on the decorated rim the graffito ...*Jmmesm[anetheken?]*, which might suggest the form Psammes¹⁵. An Egyptian name or one with possible Egyptian over-

tones would tend to imply someone who lived in Naukratis or had a special connection with Egypt, which might seem quite attractive, but there are in fact very few such names actually indicated among the dedications from Naukratis – one notes only the female names Tamynis and Aigyptis, and the male names that reference the River Nile, Nelophanes and Nelomandros¹⁶. As a result, we should not ignore the possibility of a purely Greek name, such as Pammachos or Pammenes, for the dedicator of the volute-krater fragments¹⁷. Nevertheless, ever since Psammetichos I (his name, Psm-tk, was Libyan) used Greek and Carian mercenaries, names including the root *psamm-* seem to have become acceptable among the Greeks – and indeed one wonders if the Greek *psammos* for “sand” was a Libyan loan word¹⁸.

It is tempting to wonder if there might be any possibility of a connection between two or more of the graffiti from Naukratis with a double *mu*, the Lakonian cup, the Corinthian column-krater and the later Athenian volute-krater. Could, indeed, the dedicator of the Athenian krater at the end of the sixth century (perhaps Psammēs) have been the homonymous grandson of the dedicator of the vessels in the second quarter (presuming they are the same person)¹⁹? Such an idea would not be impossible, since overseas trading must often have developed sea-going dynasties, but such speculation lacks, as yet, any supporting evidence²⁰.

12 BM GR 1888,0601.529 (two rim frr.): B. Shefton, Three Lakonian Vase-Painters, BSA 49, 1954, 299–310, esp. 301; Möller 2000, 179 f. no. 7, and 239 no. c 8; Johnston 2013–2015, 55 no. 4 seems to prefer the reading ...*Jmm*[...], without explanation; he has however also noted a touch of a letter before the first *mu*: it might be the tail of an *alpha*.

13 Gardner 1888, 64, no. 767. Thonemann 2006, 11 f.; cf. Möller 2000, 179, with impossible variation, Philammon (corrected by Thonemann 2006, 11). For Phokaieus cf. the North Ionian black-figure krater or dinos, BM GR 1886,0401.946. Note, however, BM GR 1888,0601.393 +393a – see below.

14 For Psammis and Psammetikos see Thonemann 2006, 12 with fn. 5. For Pasammatas see Höckmann – Möller 2006, 21 fn. 83. For Philammon see Thonemann 2006, 12; and now P. M. Fraser, The Ptolemaic garrison of Hermoupolis Magna, in: E. Matthews (ed.), Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics (Oxford 2007) 69–85.

15 BM GR 1924,1201.1220: Johnston 2013–2015, 26, who

suggests the letter before the double *mu* might be an *epsilon*, but there is hardly enough and the tail of an *alpha* would be equally acceptable.

16 For the dedication by Aigyptis and Tamynis: Williams 2013, 44 fig. 3; Villing 2013, 87 fig. 12 b. For Nelomandros and Nelophanes, Thonemann 2006, 12.

17 For a Pammachos at the end of the sixth century see K. Schefold, Pammachos, AntK 17, 1974, 137–142.

18 For the Libyan origin of Psammetichos see Vittmann 2003, 15. The name Psammetichos seems to have been favoured by Greeks beyond Egypt: e. g. Periander's nephew and successor in the Kypselid tyranny (c. 587–584 BC), cf. E. Will, Korinthiaka (Paris 1955) 554 f.

19 For a dedicator using pottery from several different places of manufacture: Johnston 2013, 104–106 (Hermagathinos).

20 For trading families: A. W. Johnston, Trading Families, in: R. Catling – F. Marchand – N. Kanavou (eds.), Onomastologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews (Oxford 2010) 470–479.

The inscription itself is cut deeply, smoothly and unhesitatingly in the solid, undecorated top surface of the rim of the vessel in a particularly striking lapidary style. Indeed, it is clear that it must have been done before firing, when the clay was dry enough to take pressure but before it was too hard to allow such even and straight lines, perfectly curved arcs and deep points to be cut out. This has been wrongly doubted by both Möller and Johnston²¹. The smoothness of the sides of the carefully cut v-shaped grooves is identical to that of the finished surface of the rim itself (easily to be seen on the British Museum fragment where the line of a break passes down the length of the first letter). Comparison with the similarly lapidary style inscriptions on the lower wall of a small group of later fourth century Panathenaic prize-amphorae that were dedicated in various sanctuaries reveals the difference between the remarkable pre-firing inscription on the Naukratis krater and post-firing dedications of considerable pretensions²². The Naukratis dedication must have been made by a skilled member of the potter's workshop, presumably the potter himself²³.

The rim of the volute-krater, as with other krater shapes and the dinos, was a particularly good surface for a dedicatory inscription, flat and easily visible. The earliest example on an Athenian krater

is on a fragmentary piece from the Athenian Acropolis, the earliest of all Athenian "proto-volute-kraters", but is post-firing²⁴. We find a neater example on a later piece, contemporary with the Naukratis vase, found at Aphytis in the Chalkidiki with a dedication to the Nymphs, also post-firing²⁵. From Naukratis itself (and from the Hellenion) comes a fragment of a Lakonian stirrup-krater with decorated rim edge and with a post-firing dedication to Hera on the top of the rim: its large letters are very carefully cut, but they do not compare in any way with the deep, perfectly formed lettering of the Athenian volute-krater²⁶.

The cutting of the Naukratis dedication was clearly intended to give it special status and may well have been the idea of the commissioner who supplied the text. The sloping sides of the grooves for the letters, the careful ending of each letter's grooved elements, the insistence on strictly vertical and horizontal elements for the letters, and the careful use of deep inter-points between words all recall Athenian inscriptions on marble of the late 6th century and early 5th century BC. I know of no ceramic parallel, not even the pre-firing inscriptions on some special vases of the later fourth century on which the letters were cut and then filled with gold or cinnabar, were as carefully made²⁷. Some sixth-century painters produced careful

21 Höckmann – Möller 2006, 16; Johnston 2013–2015, 15 f. Hogarth's comment was correct: Hogarth et al. 1898/9, 44.
22 Olympia (?): Johnston 1975, 162 fn. 43; not in Bentz 1998. Kassandreia: M. A. Tiverios, *Makedones kai Panathenaia: Panathenaikoi amphoreis apo ton boreioelladiko choro* (Athens 2000) 32 (for the other examples). Lindos: C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos 1. Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914: les petits objets* (Paris 1931) 667 no. 2820 pl. 132. Kamiros: G. Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro 2. Necropoli, Acropoli, Clara Rhodos 6–7* (Bergamo 1932–1933) 363 no. 6 and 358 fig. 107; cf. Johnston 1975; Eleusis frr., inv. 2696 and 2641: noted by Tiverios 2000, 32 fn. 106. Labraunda: P. Hellström, *Labraunda, Swedish Excavations and Researches 2, 1, Pottery of Classical and Later Date, Terracotta Lamps and Glass* (Lund 1965) cat. no. 1, pls. 1. 2 and 31. 32 (on the figured panel); Bentz 1998, 193 no. 4.356. The fragments of two amphorae with similarly large lettering but in white paint added post-firing from Eleusis should also be fourth century rather than fifth, pace N. Metaxa-Prokopiou and J. Frel, *Two Panathenaic dedications in Eleusis*, AAA 5, 1972, 245–248; cf. Bentz 1998, 191 nos. 4.326. 4.327. Cf. also Amphipolis (from the gymnasium): Bentz 1998, 191 no. 4.319 pl. 135.

23 On intentional pre-firing inscriptions by potters cf. Cohen 1991.

24 Athens, Acrop. 391: ABV 5, 10; Jeffery 1961, 70 f. no. 6 c. I am very grateful to Jasper Gaunt for bringing this first example to my attention.

25 Polygyros Mus.: E. Leventopoulou-Giouri, AAA 4, 1971, 365 figs. 16. 17; A. Arvanitaki – M. Tiverios – E. Voutiras, *Ceramica attica da santuari di colonie greche nella Calcidica*, in: S. Fortunelli – C. Masseria (eds.), *Ceramica attica da santuari della Grecia, della Ionia e dell'Italia* (Venosa 2009) 151. 156 fig. 5.

26 Oxford G 141.17: Hogarth et al. 1905, no. 7, B650; C. M. Stibbe, *Laconian Mixing Bowls: A history of the krater Lakonikos from the seventh to the fifth century B.C.* (Amsterdam 1989) 34 f. 104; Johnston 2013, 104 with fig. 7. Note also the graffito dedication on top of the rim of an undecorated East Greek krater, GR BM 1886,0401.1292, dedicated to Apollo.

27 BM GR 1909,0224.1 (from Naukratis), black-glaze, cinnabar; Chicago Art Institute 1889.26, white slipped, gold letters (from Taranto); and Lyon inv. E 388 b, black-glazed, gold letters. I am very grateful to Natacha Massar for my knowledge of the Lyon piece.

painted inscriptions on vases, but only one artist seems to take the same sort of care with incised letter forms and that is, of course, the earlier painter and potter Exekias, and he also produced an extraordinary pre-firing graffito, in tiny letters in both the Attic and the Sikyonian script, that on the fragmentary dinos from Cerveteri²⁸.

Lillian Jeffery noted that “the letter forms used by the vase-painter will almost certainly be considerably more developed than those cut by a contemporary mason”²⁹. Henry Immerwahr also commented on the differences between inscriptions on vases and those on stone, noting that at the beginning of the fifth century “writing on vases was less standardized and allowed for both old and experimental forms”³⁰. In the case of the Naukratis dedication there is clearly more that is experimental than usual, even though the medium was not the fluid, cursive writing of a loaded brush. First of all, in terms of the letters used, we find syllabic *eta* and *omega* for *omega*, both of which are beginning to appear on Athenian vases in the last two decades of the sixth century³¹. Secondly, as to the letter-forms themselves, the *alphas* have almost horizontal bars, a form that occurs on two rather problematic Peisistratid monuments, the altar set up by the younger Peisistratos sometime after his archonship of 522/1 BC and Hipparchos’ Ptoan dedication³². Furthermore, and most remarkable, the *omega* is smallish and has long flat *hastae*, details that one would normally associate with the second half of the fifth century³³. To imagine, however, that the inscription was cut post-firing, and indeed some 50 or more years after the vase was made, would make a nonsense of the evidence provided by the

inscription itself. We might do well, perhaps, to remember Jeffery’s observation that Kleitias’ writing on Ergotimos’ volute-krater in the second quarter of the sixth century used letter-forms that were “not normal in formal inscriptions until the third quarter of the century, or even later”,³⁴ while also allowing for the impact of the commissioner’s own Ionic script.

As a result, it seems we must conclude that the potter who cut the dedicatory inscription on the Athenian volute-krater, although he had closely observed the technique for cutting letters in stone, did not imitate contemporary Athenian forms but used a version of his commissioner’s script – or even his own. The latter suggestion might seem a rather surprising result to come to, but it fits well with the extraordinary innovation and sense of self-worth that potters and vase-painters in the last decade or so of the sixth century exhibit. Furthermore, we may speculate whether the craftsman who cut the letters was perhaps himself of Ionian origin and naturally more susceptible to an improved Attic-Ionic script. Indeed, the migration of such craftsmen from Ionia, as well as traders, may have played a role in the transmission and development of Athenian script in the late sixth century.

Cult-titles of Aphrodite at Naukratis

Let us turn now to the cult of Aphrodite at Naukratis. To judge from the preserved dedications, Aphrodite seems to have been second only to Apollo in popularity³⁵. For Aphrodite we find three apparent cult-titles or epithets³⁶. The first is simply Aphrodite “in Naukratis”, which was painted on the interior of a North Ionian krater, ...*Aphrodi]tei*:

28 Exekias: Williams 2013, 44 f. Cf. also Douris’ neat (but not quite so perfect) signature as potter and gift label on his aryballos: Williams 2013, 42 fig. 2. For other pre-firing incised signatures by potters see Cohen 1991. Note also that by Theodoros the Athenian in Boeotia: Williams 2013, 56 fig. 8.

29 Jeffery 1961, 63; see the whole discussion 63–65.

30 Immerwahr 1990, 133.

31 *Eta*: Immerwahr 1990, 141–144, esp. 143, cf. e. g. Euthymides, 65 no. 374 (Warsaw 142332). *Omega*: Immerwahr 1990, 165–168, esp. 167 f., cf. e. g. Leagros Group, 75 no. 443 with fig. 102 (Boston 63.473).

32 See the summary, Immerwahr 1990, 133. For the Peisistratid inscriptions see Immerwahr 1990, 76, nos. 454. 455 with p. 18.

33 Cf. Immerwahr 1990, 166 noting nos. 747 and 805. Cf. also the dedication to Apollo on the rim of a perirrhanterion from Naukratis, Heidelberg Univ. inv. 3247: A. Johnston, Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone, in: Villing et al. 2013–2015, 5 fig. 3.

34 Jeffery 1961, 63.

35 Johnston 2013–2015, 5 f. 29–39.

36 For cult epithets see now the very useful online database compiled by Dr Sylvain Lebreton, Liège: <<http://ntarcho2.univ-rennes1.fr/epicleses/accueil.php>> (28.09.2015).

*enaukrati*³⁷. It has also been restored on a Chian chalice in a fragmentary graffito: ...*Je emi tes[...]* *kraf*...³⁸ Other such toponymic epithets for Aphrodite elsewhere include, for example, *en Kotilōi* at Bassai³⁹, and might be compared with the adjectival formulations from islands or regions, as well as cities. They tell us little about the cult, only perhaps that it was popular or exceptional in some way, but the use of the toponym, of course, makes it certain that the vase was specially commissioned in North Ionia for dedication in Egypt.

The second epithet for Aphrodite at Naukratis is *Pandemos*, “Of All the People”, and is known from the volute-krater and two or three other graffiti on Athenian cups of the first half of the fifth century⁴⁰. This *epiklesis* has engendered a good deal of discussion⁴¹. It is known from several parts of the Greek world, and beyond, including Athens, Elis, Megalopolis, Thebes, Paros, Kos, Mylasa, Erythrai, and even Callatis (Scythia) and Pliokia (Illyria). It was also associated with Zeus and Dionysos (at Kyme in Aeolis). Despite Andrew Scholtz’s argument that the epithet *Pandemos* should reflect a “general access” capacity, it still seems more likely that it holds connotations of civic even political unity. Robert Parker has persuasively argued for a multi-faceted Aphrodite that allows for both the individually focused aspects of Aphrodite, as typified by the sacrifices made to her on Kos by newly-weds, traders and ship-owners⁴², and a



Fig. 8: London, British Museum inv. GR 1900,0214.5. Chalice foot fragment with inscription: *Aphro]ditei pyf*...

wider power that encompasses “inclusiveness and political unity”⁴³. Aphrodite was, as Parker has neatly put it, the “power to calm and assuage” in both private and public relationships, as well as at sea⁴⁴.

The evidence for the third epithet is very fragmentary, *...tei Aphro]ditei pyf*..., and no restoration

37 North Ionian (painted): GR BM 1888,0601.531 – note a fragment now seems to be missing that gave the *omicron* from the goddess’ name; note also Hogarth et al. 1898/9, pl. 4 no. 1 (part of *anetheken* written in white) is probably from this vessel.

38 Chian (incised; up-side-down): BM GR 1888,0601.182, 1888,0601,466 d-f and 1924,1201.15: Johnston 2013–2015, fig. 32.

39 Paus. 8, 41, 10; cf. also Paus. 3, 18, 8 (*para Amyklaioi*).

40 BM GR 1888,0601.211: Gardner 1888, 66 no. 818; Höckmann – Möller 2006, figs. 15. 16. BM GR 1888,0601.212: Gardner 1888, 66 no. 821; Höckmann – Möller 2006, figs. 17. 18. Note also BM GR 1922,0508.10: Johnston 2013–2015, 16, fig. 11 (Attic late black-figure cup fragment, which only preserves the initial *pi* of the epithet). See in general Höckmann – Möller 2006, 16 f.

41 Note the following: F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome 1985) 260 f.; Pirenne-Delforge 1994; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford 1996) 48 f.; A. Scholtz,

Aphrodite Pandemos at Naukratis, *GrRomByzSt* 43, 2002–2003, 231–242; Parker 2002, 152–155; R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor 2004) 13–28; Parker 2005, 407 f.; U. Möller in: Höckmann – Möller 2006, 16 f.; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Something to do with Aphrodite: Ta Aphrodisia and the Sacred*, in: D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Oxford 2007) 311–323; J. Larson, *Ancient Greek Cults: A Guide* (London 2007) 117–119 (Aphrodite in general, 114–125); M. S. Cyrino, *Aphrodite* (London 2010) 35–38; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Flourishing Aphrodite: An Overview*, in: Smith – Pickup 2010, 4–16, esp. 14–16.

42 Kos, late second century BC, Segre 1993, ED 178 (A), lines 15–25: Parker 2002, 157.

43 Parker 2002, 153 (in general 152–155); cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 316 f.

44 Parker 2002, 151; Parker 2005, 407 f. Cf. also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 434–437.

seems to have been previously offered (**Fig. 8**)⁴⁵. It appears on a finely potted foot of a chalice that does not seem to be Chian, but cannot be any later than the third quarter of the sixth century BC. I should like to propose Py[thochrestos], “declared/proclaimed by the Pythia” – indeed it is hard to think of a plausible alternative. Another graffito, on an East Greek Late Wild Goat dinos or krater, preserves only the end of a text ...]pyth. This is an apparent abbreviation, which as Johnston notes is best seen as connected with a deity⁴⁶. The epithet Pythochrestos, as applied to Aphrodite, is known from Erythrai and has been discussed most recently by Parker⁴⁷. It is also connected with Dionysos and Kore at Erythrai and on Thera with Dionysos.

Aphrodite Temene at Naukratis

The excavations at Naukratis revealed two concentrations of offerings to Aphrodite. The first is an independent sanctuary in the southern part of the excavated area, the second a cult area within a large complex in the north, identified as the Hellenion (**Fig. 9**).

The Independent Sanctuary

The wealth of finds from the small and reasonably well preserved independent *temenos* of Aphrodite ensures it a prominent place in the modern archaeology of the site, and it may have been one

of the more popular in antiquity despite its small size. It consisted of a small temple, stepped altar and enclosure wall and was set in a densely populated area close to the so-called Great Temenos or Egyptian temple of Amun-Ra Baded (“Amun-Ra at Naukratis”), whose cult clearly predates 577 BC, in the southern part of the excavated area⁴⁸. It is not mentioned by Herodotos, who only notes those grand precincts sponsored by powerful individual *poleis* – Milesian Apollo, Aeginetan Zeus and Samian Hera. The site was in relatively good condition, unlike much else, and Gardner’s excavations were careful for the period⁴⁹.

The finds go back to the last decade or so of the seventh century and one of the best preserved early pottery dedications is the well-known bowl or lekane dedicated by Sostratos (the end of the inscription is lost, so Aphrodite’s name may even have been followed by an epithet)⁵⁰. The first built temple probably dates from the second quarter of the sixth century⁵¹. A special dedication in it was, no doubt, the superb Athenian black-figure kantharos, from the workshop of Kleitias and Ergotimos, that showed Aphrodite as *kourotrophos*, holding Eros (and probably Himeros) (**Fig. 10**) – it would seem to have been accompanied by a group of Gordion cups signed by these craftsmen, one of which bears the remains of a carefully cut graffito dedication⁵². The erection of Temple II on the damaged

45 BM GR 1900,0214.5: Hogarth et al. 1898/9, pl. 4, 54; Höckmann – Möller 2006, 15 fig. 8. Perhaps also the Attic late black-figure cup fr. BM GR 1922,058.10, if not Pandemos (see above).

46 BM GR 1888,0601.190: Johnston 2013–2015, 50 with fig. 19 on p. 25. Cf. also BM GR 1886,0401.639, an East Greek cup, reading ...]pyth[... ; and BM GR 1886,0401.814, a Milesian rosette bowl, reading ...]utho[... Johnston 2013–2015, 50 supposes these two to be from an otherwise unrecorded personal name.

47 In general see Parker 2011, 265–272. For the 3rd cent. BC inscription from Erythrai see IK 201 (sale of priesthoods: it also mentions Aphrodite Pandemos).

48 The cult of Amun-Ra Baded is first mentioned on a stele of 577 BC, Berlin 7780: Höckmann 2012, 459 f.; see also for recent Saite finds, R. I. Thomas, Naukratis ‘Mistress of Ships’ in context, in: Robinson – Goddio 2015, 261.

49 See R. Thomas, Cypriot Figures, in: Villing et al. 2013–2015, 7 with fns. Note his intention to publish on the stratigraphy of the Aphrodite sanctuary.

50 For recent discussions of chronology see M. Kerschner, Perspektiven der Keramikforschung in Naukratis 75 Jahre

nach Elinor Price, in: U. Höckmann – D. Kreikenbom (eds.), Naukratis. Die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit. Akten der Table Ronde in Mainz 1999 (Möhnesee 2001) 69–94; Schlotzhauer 2012, 32–35.

51 Gardner 1888, 11–15 (discovery). 33–37 (history). 38–54 (finds) with pls. 1–3; useful summary in Möller 2000, 102–104.

52 BM GR 1888,0601.446 (B 601.17); J. D. Beazley – H. G. Payne, Attic Black-figured Fragments from Naukratis, JHS 49, 1929, 253–272. 262 f. no. 32 pl. 15, 24; ABV 78, 3; H. A. Shapiro, Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens (Mainz 1989) 121 f. pl. 53c; Hirayama 2010, 32. 248 no. C7 pl. 37 f; E. Pala, Aphrodite on the Akropolis: Evidence from Attic Pottery, in: Smith – Pickup 2010, 195–216, esp. 205, with 206 fig. 10, 3. For the group of Gordion cups signed by Ergotimos and Kleitias or from the former’s workshop, see most recently Hirayama 2010, 15–17. 48–51 nos. A17, A18, C10 and D9. The fragment with the remains of a graffito dedication is BM GR 1888,0601.215 (Hirayama 2010, no. A17.3).

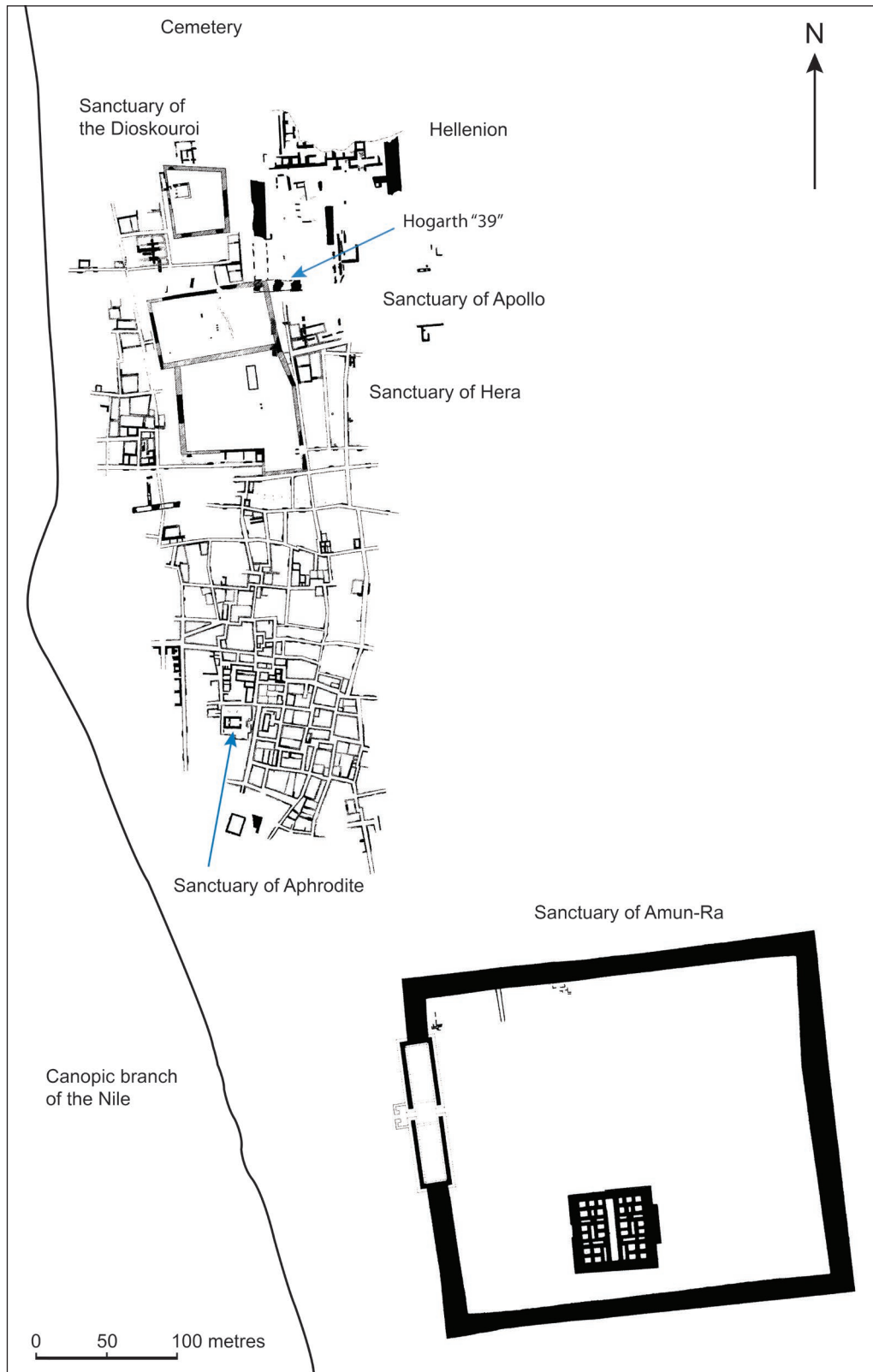


Fig. 9: Naukratis, Plan of site and sanctuaries.



Fig. 10: London, British Museum inv. GR 1888,0601.446. Kantharos fragment, Aphrodite and Eros.



Fig. 11: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. G 138.23. Amphora fragment, courting.

and levelled remains of Temple I is usually thought to have followed a destruction linked to the Persian invasion in 525 BC⁵³.

John Boardman painted a picture of decline during the last quarter of the sixth century, which led him to set the rebuilding of the Naukratis temples in the early fifth century⁵⁴. This is perhaps a little too bleak, for although the import of East Greek pottery naturally declined as a result of the collapse of many of its production centres, fine Attic pottery continued to be imported. Indeed, from the last decade or so of the sixth century we find in the sanctuary of Aphrodite alone the exceptional red-figure lip-cup with a graffito dedication to Aphrodite, a “Pioneer” amphora with a courting scene (**Fig. 11**), and a good number of cups attributed to Oltos, the Hermaios Painter and the Euergides Painter⁵⁵. As a result, we may perhaps better assign the rebuilding of the temple to c. 520–510 BC. A particularly remarkable dedication

in the new temple was a white-ground cup with, on the interior, Europa and Zeus in the form of a bull, carrying her off, and scenes involving Herakles on the exterior. It is an early work of the vase-painter Onesimos and should date around 500 BC. It bears the remains of a dedicatory graffito on the black inside of the rim that may be restored as ...]ēiA[phroditēi...⁵⁶ A fragment from the decorated necking of a limestone column, probably a votive column, was perhaps one of the most elaborate dedication in the *temenos* associated with Temple II⁵⁷. There was also a third phase, the temple now being somewhat smaller, it would seem, than its predecessors⁵⁸.

The temple of Aphrodite has often been supposed to be a Chian foundation, purely on the basis of the large quantity of Chian pottery found there⁵⁹. The *aition*-like story, implausibly set in 688 BC, of Herostratos, a native of Naukratis, and his magical Cypriot statuette of Aphrodite, combined with the

⁵³ Gardner 1888, 35 f. 55; Hogarth et al. 1905, 109.

⁵⁴ Boardman 1980, 125, 132, cf. also 134 and 141. Cf. also temple of Apollo II, Höckmann – Möller 2006, 98 f. On the dating of Apollo temple II to 530–520/10 BC see Koenigs 2007, 340 f.

⁵⁵ Lip-cup, BM GR 1888,0601.609: ARV² 159, 2; D. Williams, *Greek Vases*² (London 1985) 70 fig. 52 a. Pioneer type amphora, Oxford G 138.23: CVA Oxford (1) pl. 50, 1; ARV² 35, 3. Cups, e. g. Oxford G. 141.3 (ARV² 56, 29; Oltos), Oxford G 700 (CVA Oxford [2] pl. 57, 9; ARV² 47, 144; Oltos), GR 1900,0214.10 (ARV² 110, 10; Hermaios Painter; recalls Hypsis and Nikosthenes’ Sarpedon cup in

the BM, ARV² 126, 24), and Oxford G 141.15 (CVA Oxford [1] pl. 14, 21; ARV² 93, 93; Euergides Painter).

⁵⁶ BM GR 1888,0601.777-8 and 1905,0126.1 (D 1): ARV² 429, 20; CVA London, British Museum (9) pl. 6.

⁵⁷ BM GR1886,0401.1570 (B 435): Koenigs 2007, 345 f. Kat. 44; Möller 2000, 103 f.

⁵⁸ Gardner 1888, 37; Möller 2000, 103.

⁵⁹ Cf. C. Roebuck, *The Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt*, CP 45, 1950, 236–247, esp. 241 f.; Austin 1970, 25; Boardman 1980, 120; Möller 2000, 195 no. 100. There is also a large number of Chian fragments from the Apollo sanctuary.

large number of Cypriot votive figurines, might equally be used to argue for a Cypriot foundation⁶⁰. Neither of these ideas, however, seems particularly sustainable and it is perhaps better to think in terms of its origins lying in the more general needs of the early inhabitants and visitors, from whatever *polis* (see below).

The Hellenion

The large and complex structure, surrounded by a thick mud-brick wall, discovered by Hogarth in 1899, reinvestigated in 1903, and now being re-examined once again (indeed it might have much more to offer), was plausibly identified by him as the Hellenion⁶¹. Herodotus described it as, in his day, the “largest, best known and most used” (Hdt. 2, 178) sanctuary of Naukratis. He records that it was built by the joint efforts of nine *poleis* (Ionian Chios, Teos, Phokaia and Klazomenai; Dorian Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos and Phaselis; and Aiolian Mytilene). The excavations recovered pottery dedications to several deities in different “pockets” or “chambers” of the structure⁶². These deities included Aphrodite, Apollo, the Dioskouroi, Zeus, Herakles and the catch-all “the gods of the Hellenes”⁶³.

The first phase of the Hellenion is currently placed in the second quarter of the sixth century, probably quite early⁶⁴. The Lakonian krater with a



Fig. 12: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum inv. GR 108.1899. Fragment of a phiale, love-making.

dedication to Hera carefully cut on the top of the rim, noted above, belongs to this early phase; so too a fragmentary East Greek black-figure phiale (perhaps South Ionian) dedicated to Aphrodite and suitably decorated inside with scenes of men and women having sex (Fig. 12)⁶⁵. The second phase would seem to begin sometime in the last two decades of the sixth century, in line perhaps with the rebuilding work in the Aphrodite and Apollo sanctuaries⁶⁶. A fine early dedication to Aphrodite in the second phase of the Hellenion complex was a red-figure cup painted by Oltos⁶⁷. The Hellenion

60 Herostratos: Athen. 15, 675f–676c; quoting Polycharmos, FGrHist 640F 1. For the Cypriot statuettes see Möller 2000, 154–161; and R. I. Thomas, Cypriot Figures in Terracotta and Limestone, in: Villing et al. 2013–2015, esp. 27–29 for the connection between the examples in the Aphrodite and Cyprus (especially Paphos). Cypriot foundation: E. M. Smith, Naukratis. A Chapter in the Hellenization of Egypt, JSOR 10, 1926, 119–206, esp. 145 (cf. also 167 where she claims the Temple of the Dioskouroi as Cypriot too). Many Cypriot figurines were also found in the sanctuary of Apollo.

61 On the Hellenion see Hogarth et al. 1898/9, 26–97, also Hogarth et al. 1905, 110, 135; Boardman 1980, 120; Möller 2000, 105–108, esp. 107 f.; Höckmann – Möller 2006; I. Polinskaya, Shared sanctuaries and the gods of others: on the meaning of ‘common’ in Hdt. 8, 144, in: R. M. Rosen – I. Sluiter (eds.), Valuing Others in Classical Antiquity, Mnemosyne Suppl. 323 (Leiden 2010) 43–70, esp. 53–57; Höckmann 2012, 461 f. New excavations (2012–2015): R. Thomas – A. Villing The Harbour of Naukratis, ‘Mistress of Ships’, esp. 9–11, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Thomas_Naukratis_2014.pdf> (29.10.2015). See also now

R. Thomas, Naukratis, ‘Mistress of ships’ in context, in: Robinson – Goddio 2015, 247–265, esp. 260 f.

62 Hogarth et al. 1898/9, 38; Hogarth et al. 1905, 112.

63 U. Höckmann in: Höckmann – Möller 2006, 15, lists rather more.

64 Höckmann – Möller 2006, 12 f. note, as the earliest evidence, a fragment of North Ionian Late Wild Goat with a dedication to Apollo, current whereabouts unknown: Hogarth et al. 1898/99, 31. 55 no. 51. See also Johnston 2013–2015, 37.

65 Cambridge GR 108.1899: CVA Cambridge (2) pl. 20, 8; Hogarth et al. 1898/9, 55 no. 46 pl. 4.

66 The dating of the second Apollo temple is disputed: Boardman 1980, 120 (“perhaps early fifth century”); Möller 2000, 94–99; most recently on the architectural evidence, Koenigs 2007, 313–344.

67 Oxford G 138.2: Hogarth et al. 1898/9, pl. 8, 10; CVA Oxford (1) pl. 14, 3; ARV² 66, 124. Cf. also the fine cup near Oltos (with repair), BM GR 1888,0601.604 and 1900,0214.28 (E 812, 1) and Cambridge N 142: Hogarth et al. 1898/9, 64 fig. 2 (London); CVA Cambridge (2) pl. 27, 3; ARV² 68, 10.

was certainly very active during the fifth century, as the finds show. One might note the once fine Early Classical cup with a white-ground interior including two horses' heads from a chariot that no doubt held a deity and, on the exterior in red-figure, an assembly of gods (including Pluton)⁶⁸. The series of female terracotta protomes also bears witness to Herodotos' comment on its importance during his time⁶⁹. There was a long third phase that continued through the Ptolemaic period and into Roman times.

The London fragment of the Athenian red-figure volute-krater was excavated in 1899 just outside the Hellenion, close to its thick southern (east-west) boundary wall (Hogarth's "39", three sections of wall, cf. **Fig. 9**) and not at the lowest level⁷⁰, while the Oxford fragments were excavated in the same year and so most probably came from the same general area. It seems most likely, therefore, that the volute-krater was a dedication to Aphrodite within the Hellenion (it can hardly be a stray from the Aphrodite *temenos*, which is too far to the south). We may imagine it as a particularly important pottery dedication in the rebuilt and soon dominant cult-complex.

Mercenaries and Traders

Herodotos connected the Hellenion with a grant of land by the Pharaoh Amasis (570–526 BC) to Greek traders who did not wish to live perma-

nently in Egypt and recorded that it was built by the joint efforts of nine of these, in contrast to the individual temples that were granted to those who had decided to settle there (presumably including Milesians, Samians, and Aeginetans)⁷¹. Since we know from the archaeological finds that the independent *temenē* began to be used as much as 40–50 years before the accession of Amasis, whereas the earliest finds from the Hellenion only go back to the second quarter of the sixth century, we must presume that Herodotos is only recording part of the story, as he promotes Amasis as a philhellene, and that a Greek presence at Naukratis dated back to the time of the Pharaoh Psammetichos I (664–610 BC) or Necho II (610–595 BC)⁷².

The first settlers, for whom a land grant must also have been given at Naukratis (as is implicit in Herodotos's text), were most probably mercenaries, not traders⁷³. Psammetichos I was the first Pharaoh to employ Ionian and Carian mercenaries, according to Herodotos (Hdt. 2, 154). Furthermore, Strabo (Strab. 17, 1, 18, 801c)⁷⁴ preserves a report of this earliest phase when he describes how, in the period 624–610 BC (the overlap between Psammetichos I and Kyaxares the Mede), a Milesian force of 30 ships landed at the Bolbitic mouth of the Nile (on which was Saïs, Psammetichos' capital) and erected some sort of a defendable structure (*teichos*), defeated the rebel Inaros and then finally sailed up the Nile beyond Schedia, and founded Naukratis⁷⁵.

68 White-ground cup fr., Oxford G 544: CVA Oxford (1) pl. 49, 4. 14; J. R. Mertens, *Attic White-Ground: Its Development on Shapes other than Lekythoi* (diss. New York 1977) 182 no. 68; 185; I. Wehgartner, *Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik* (Mainz 1983) 71 no. 81 with 205 fn. 202 pl. 23, 4.

69 R. Thomas, *Greek Terracotta Figures*, in: Villing et al. 2013–2015, 7–10.

70 Hogarth et al. 1898/1899, 30. 38. 56 no. 107 pl. 5, with find spot "39" on pl. 2; Höckmann – Möller 2006, 15. Ctr. BM website which is incorrect in its reading of Hogarth.

71 For a clear discussion of the literary evidence see Austin 1970, 22 f.; cf. Möller 2000, 182–184.

72 The involvement of Psammetichos I might be supported by the report (Hdt. 2, 30) that already in his time there were guard-posts in various parts of the country: at Elephantine in the south against the Ethiopians, at Daphnae on the Pelusian branch of the Nile against the Arabians and Assyrians, and at Marea against the Libyans. This arrangement is assumed, probably correctly, to overlap with the Egyptian references to overseers in charge of the three "gates to the Foreign Countries", one of the Temeh (Libya, in the west),

one of the Great Green (possibly the Mediterranean or the Nile Delta), one in the North (eastern Delta, where Phoenicians were concentrated). See Austin 1970, 28; Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006, 5 with fn 22.

73 On the presence of mercenaries: Williams – Villing 2006; Höckmann 2012, 459.

74 Herda 2008, 42 suggests his source was Artemidoros of Ephesos.

75 On Inaros see J. F. Quack, *Inaros, Held von Athribis*, in: R. Rollinger (ed.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 2006) 499–505, esp. 503 f. On this Greek landing see J. Y. Carrez-Maratray, *Greek Landings and Hellenic Appropriations in 'the Island' (the Egyptian Delta)*, in: R. I. Thomas (ed.), *Naukratis in Context 1: The Nile Delta as a Landscape of Connectivity. Proceedings of the First Naukratis Workshop held at The British Museum, 16–17 December 2011* (forthcoming). I am very grateful to Professor Carrez-Maratray for allowing me to read his paper before publication.

Some historians have discounted Strabo's narrative as a Milesian self-aggrandising construction, but it seems more and more likely that it has some basis in fact⁷⁶. The force that landed and threw up a defensive wall is unlikely, however, to have been a Milesian state-organised endeavour but rather an independent mercenary band, presumably with a large Milesian contingent.

There seem to be two ways to understand this information. The first would be that the force of 30 ships were intent on raiding the western Delta, especially the shipping in and out of the Canopic and Bilbotic mouths, and that Psammetichos was able to persuade them to help him in his fight against a rebellion in that area, led by a certain Inaros⁷⁷. The second would be to imagine that the landing was Psammetichos' initiative, that he in fact transferred some of his mercenary forces from the north-eastern Delta to help deal with Inaros⁷⁸. In either case, the outcome of the successful suppression of the rebellion was Pharaoh's gift to the successful mercenaries of a grant of land at Naukratis.

Evidence for early mercenary settlers at Naukratis is naturally extremely fragile. It might include the two late seventh century fragments of Carian pottery and two possible Carian graffiti, as these are unlikely to be traders' imports⁷⁹. Later names have been claimed as those of mercenaries – Pedon, inscribed on a Chian chalice, has been connected with the mercenary honoured by Psammetichos, and Phanes the Halikarnassian, son of Glaukos, who dedicated an Attic black-glaze dinos to Apollo in the third quarter of the sixth century, with the mercenary of that name mentioned by Herodotos (Hdt. 3, 4. 11)⁸⁰. To these uncertainties

one might add another, that of Polemarchos, who dedicated a large Milesian krater, a stand and an oinochoe, a very early (c. 610–590 BC) and exceptionally a multiple votive in the sanctuary of Apollo, for his is the sort of name that might well suggest military lineage⁸¹.

We should not think, however, that further retired mercenaries did not join their colleagues, for Psammetichos' successor, Necho II (610–595 BC), continued to rely on them, for example in his campaign in Syria – he also developed a navy thanks to the Ionians. Psammetichos II (595–589 BC) similarly drew on Ionian mercenaries for his campaign into Nubia in 592 BC – and the leader of the contingent of Ionians who scratched their names on the colossal statue of Ramases II was one Psammetichos son of Theokles, no doubt a second generation Ionian mercenary, named by his father after the first Pharaoh of that name who had employed and probably settled the family somewhere like Naukratis⁸². The use of Greek mercenaries was, of course, to continue, under Apries and Amasis II, whose connections with Phanes of Halikarnassos are described by Herodotos.

The import of Milesian, Chian, Aiolian, Corinthian and Athenian pottery in the last decade or so of the seventh century, as seen from the finds in the two apparently earliest *temenē* at Naukratis, those of Apollo and Aphrodite, would suggest the activities of East Greek and perhaps Aiginetan traders from very early on in the Greek history of Naukratis⁸³. Some traders may well have settled at Naukratis in these early years, partners or relatives of those who came and went, but there will also have been craftsmen and others who serviced the traders

76 Disparaging Strabo: e. g. Austin 1970, 22 f.; Bowden 1996, 25 f.; Möller 2000, 184.

77 For raiders, Hdt. 2, 152. This scenario is perhaps the less likely as Psammetichos' hold on the coast seems to have been very strong.

78 For Psammetichos two mercenary camps in the north-eastern Delta see Hdt. 2, 154; not now thought to include Tel Defenneh, see F. Leclère – J. Spencer, *Tel Dafana Reconsidered: The Archaeology of Frontier Town* (London 2014).

79 For the two pieces see Williams – Villing 2006; A. Villing, *The material culture of Naukratis – an overview*, in: Villing et al. 2013–2015, fig. 10, adds a joining fragment to

one of them. For the graffiti see Williams – Villing 2006, 48; Johnston 2013–2015, 13; ; Villing 2015, 230 f., where she seems to go too far in denying mercenaries a role.

80 Pedon: BM GR 1965,0930.26; Vittmann 2003, 203–206 fig. 106; Johnston 2013–2015, 49 fig. 59. Phanes: BM GR 1886,0401.677-8; Schlotzhauer 2006, 292–324, esp. 294–301 (dinos) and 300 f. (mercenaries); see also Johnston 2013–2015, 49.

81 For the date see Schlotzhauer 2012, 122.

82 Theokles: Vittmann 2003, 200 f.

83 Discussions of earliest pottery in these sanctuaries: see fn. 50. Evidence of Chian and Aiolian traders: Johnston 2013, 40.

and their profits, including shipwrights, “hoteliers”, cooks, and, of course, *hetairai*, the profession for which Naukratis was to become so famous.

The Founding of the Sanctuaries at Naukratis

If we turn again now to the known sanctuaries, beginning with those that had a particular sponsoring *polis*, it is intriguing to note, in connection with the Milesian sanctuary of Apollo, that Necho II (610–595 BC) dedicated a linen corslet to Apollo Didymeus in Didyma (Hdt. 1, 159) following his defeat of the Jewish King Josiah at Magdolos in 609 BC, a victory gained presumably with Milesian mercenary help⁸⁴. Such a report rather presupposes that the sanctuary was already in existence by this time. Furthermore the interconnection, has prompted Alexander Herda to wonder whether the foundation of the Apollo sanctuary at Naukratis was even sanctioned by the oracle in Didyma, which might account for the appearance of a graffito on a Milesian cup dedicated in the Naukratite sanctuary of Apollo seemingly naming the god as Didymeus⁸⁵.

The date of the setting out of the Samian sanctuary of Hera cannot be determined⁸⁶. Nevertheless, it is a very large *temenos* and is built right up against Apollo’s, sharing indeed one boundary wall, and thus suggesting that its origins also go back to the late seventh century and perhaps even to the same event. Gardner noticed that the deliberately levelled area that he took to be the foundations of the temple were some 15 cms below the level of the Apollo sanctuary, which might indicate that the Hera sanctuary was indeed early. It is quite possible that there were Samian mercenaries active with Necho, if not already with Psammetichos I.

The location of the sanctuary of Zeus Hellenios, mentioned by Herodotos, has so far eluded detection, although an inscription, two dipinti on Chian vessels and a graffito on an East Greek cup testify to the cult⁸⁷. The idea of editing the text of Hero-



Fig. 13 a. b: London, British Museum inv. GR 1888,0601.586. Fragments of a dinos, friezes with symposium above and ships below.

dotos so that it reads *Dioskourōn* rather than *Dios* for Aigina’s sanctuary, while consigning Zeus to a consort role within the Hera *temenos*, has won some adherents, but it is perhaps preferable to allow the cult of the Dioskouroi its own, independent role, alongside that of Aphrodite⁸⁸.

As already noted, the origin of the sanctuary of Aphrodite is not recorded, but the land must have been granted very early by the Pharaoh, whether Psammetichos I or Necho II, and its establishment will no doubt have been supported by mercenaries and traders alike (as well as *hetairai*). Here we

84 Herda 2008, 42.

85 BM GR 1886,0401.262: N. Ehrhardt – U. Höckmann – U. Schlotzhauer, Weihungen an Apollon Didymeus und Apollon Milesios in Naukratis, in: Bol – Höckmann – Schollmeyer 2008, 163–178, esp. 167–170 with figs. 1. 2. Herda 2008, 43.

86 See Gardner 1888, 60 f.; Möller 2000, 101.

87 Möller 2000, 104; Johnston 2013–2015, 32.

88 Pro emendation: Boardman 1980, 121; Möller 2000, 202 with fn. 146. Ante: Austin 1970, 60 no. 1.

might turn to Aphrodite's epithet Pythochrestos. It is usually assumed to indicate an instruction from Delphi, but Greek custom in this seems to be far from regular⁸⁹. In the case of Naukratis, since the only strong candidate for the epithet comes from the first phase of the Hellenion, one might conclude that the cities who joined together to found that *temenos* asked Delphi about which gods should be included. Yet, if the other possible examples could indeed be restored as Aphrodite Pythochrestos, then, since they are earlier and probably from the independent sanctuary, we might link the oracle with the foundation of the independent *temenos*, which is perhaps preferable as a scenario, despite the lack of clear evidence.

The other non-aligned sanctuary, that of the Dioskouroi, with its small west-facing temple, is hard to date from its meagre finds⁹⁰. It is located at the extreme north of the Greek strip alongside the canal. Among the finds from the *temenos* is a fine fragmentary Middle Corinthian black-figure column-krater bearing a dedication to the Dioskouroi and decorated with a panel including two riders that might have been thought of as the Dioskouroi themselves⁹¹. Furthermore, from the *temenos* also came two fragments of a very fine and remarkable North Ionian black-figure dinos (or krater) with a symposium in the upper zone and, below, a ship scene, sometimes interpreted as Odysseus and the Sirens, but more likely a celebration of sea-faring prowess (**Fig. 13 a. b**)⁹².

The choice of these two deities, Aphrodite and the Dioskouroi, was surely determined by their special importance to sailors. Some of Aphrodite's epithets make her connection clear, such as Pontia, Euploia and Epilimena⁹³, as well as an Aphrodite Praeias, she of the gentle wind⁹⁴. Her companionship and protection were frequently sought by those crossing the sea, from Theseus to Solon⁹⁵. The Dioskouroi were similarly considered saviours of sailors in storms, with epithets like Soteres and Ploteres⁹⁶. We might well, therefore, think of them as a natural *koine* of protecting deities for Naukratis⁹⁷. Indeed, the location of the two sanctuaries, at the southern and northern end of the settlement area, would seem to suggest the limits of the first land grant along the bank of the Canopic Branch of the Nile, that of Psammetichos I or Necho II in the later seventh century. One final, tantalising piece of evidence for a dedication following a sea journey to Naukratis is a graffito on a fragment of a Chian chalice which Johnston has read as part of the aorist participle of ἐκπλέω⁹⁸.

Amasis and the Hellenion

Sometime around 570 BC or soon after, Pharaoh Amasis II must have formalised or reorganised the *emporion* by extending the earlier land grants made to those who had already settled there and adding a new land grant to non-settlers, "for sanctuaries and altars". This seems to fit well with the idea of the Hellenion and the overall topography of the site,

89 Parker 2011, 265–272, esp. 270 f.

90 Gardner 1888, 30–32. Summary, Höckmann – Möller 2006, 99 f.

91 BM GR 1888,0601.751 etc.: Petrie 1886, pl. vi, 6, with pl. 35, no. 665 (inscription); "buried in sand under West wall of Temenos of Dioskouroi".

92 BM GR 1888,0601.586 and 1900,0214.1: CVA London, British Museum (8) pl. 7, 1. 2, note comments of R. M. Cook, p. 20. For other East Greek representations of ships cf. the four from the area of Knidos: R. Attula, Archaic Greek Plates from the Apollo Sanctuary at Emecik, Knidia: Results and Questions Concerning Dorian Pottery Production, in: Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006, 87 f.

93 See Parker 2002, 146–155, esp. 151 f. Note also D. Wachsmuth, Pompimos o daimon. Untersuchungen zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen (Diss. Berlin 1967) 476–479. See also now M. Eckert, Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer, Hephaistos 28, 2011, 99–124.

94 Parker 2011, 90 fn. 66 (Dionysius Byzantinus, Anaplas Bospori).

95 Plut. Theseus 18, 2: 21.1. Solon fr. 19 (West). Cf. Demetriou 2012, 93 f.

96 Cf. Hom. h. 33; Alkaios fr. 78 D. – M. Treu, Alkaios² (Munich 1963) 24 f.; and Ps-Hyg. astr. 2, 22 etc. For representations see E. Köhne, Die Dioskuren in der griechischen Kunst von der Archaik bis zum Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. (Hamburg 2005) esp. 26–28, on St. Elmo's Fire.

97 Cf. Parker 2002, 147, used of Aphrodite and Astarte of Phoenicia. Höckmann – Möller 2006, 15, note relevance to sailors. On Aphrodite and the sea see most recently: C. Papadopoulou, Aphrodite and the fleet in Classical Athens, in: Smith – Pickup 2010, 217–233; D. Demetriou, Τῆς πάσης ναυτιλίας φύλαξ: Aphrodite and the Sea, Kernos 23, 2010, 67–89. Note also that at Gravisca the earliest sanctuary was that of Aphrodite: Demetriou 2012, 88–96, esp. 85 fig. 8, room I.

98 BM GR 1924,1201.688: Johnston 2013–2015, 35 with fig. 38.

especially the way that the individual sanctuaries are spread in a strip down the band of the Coptic Branch of the Nile, while the Hellenion is set further back. It is also at the extreme northern edge of the Greek zone, nearest to the later cemetery and furthest away from the Egyptian cultic heart of the site, the temple of Amun-Ra Baded⁹⁹.

Interestingly, Herodotos seems to allude to a continuing conflict between the nine *poleis* of the Hellenion and the other cities represented at Naukratis (Hdt. 2, 178, 3), including Miletos, Samos and Aigina. He describes it as being over the “ownership” of the *temenos* and the “appointment” of the *prostatai tou emporiou*. This would seem to suggest that Amasis’ reorganisation was not an act of philhellenism as Herodotos would have us believe, but was rather aimed at control, by undermining the dominance of Miletos, Samos and Aigina. He did this by giving the other cities, who had previously only been able to participate in the general cults of Aphrodite and the Dioskouroi, the chance to set out a new large cult complex with sections dedicated to whichever deities they favoured. With this seems to have come the right to appoint *prostatai* of the port. Quite what function these officials had is unclear but it may have encompassed the representation of individual trading cities in the port as well as the operation of the Hellenion¹⁰⁰. Since, from the Egyptian perspective, the levying of taxes must have held particular importance and from the Greek side the alleviation or exemption from the same was even more so, the *prostatai* may have had particular power and privilege in this area.

There may well have been protests at the time of Amasis’ reorganisation from the “big three” *poleis*, but a second natural moment for the argument to break out again with renewed vigour would have been when the Hellenion was rebuilt in the late sixth century and Miletos, Samos and Aigina

sought to stake their claims. They did not succeed and were perhaps forced to put their energy into rebuilding their own sanctuaries. The use, therefore, of the cult epithet Pandemos at the end of the sixth century and through the first half of the fifth century (it does not occur before or after this period) may have had particular connection with the need to achieve greater Naukratite cohesion at that time. It is significant that the epithet may also have been used in dedications at the independent sanctuary of Aphrodite (the other two examples are probably from there), thus indicating a particular moment when it was felt necessary, rather than different aspects for the goddess in the two cult areas.

In support of such a deliberate deployment of Aphrodite Pandemos, one might perhaps look to the fourth century BC inscription found at Erythrai in 1977¹⁰¹. In this we learn that the city sent three ambassadors to an oracle (not specified) to ask what could be done to restore *omonía* among the citizenry. The answer was brought back that a temple and statue should be provided for Aphrodite Pandemos. The use of the cult title Pandemos seems to have held a political unifying charge at Athens too and, although the historical moment is lost in its aetiological cover story of Theseus, the epithet is unlikely much before c. 500 BC – indeed, one might wonder if it could have had anything to do with support of the Ionian Revolt.

Conclusion

In conclusion, let us return to the volute-krater dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos in the Hellenion at Naukratis. The form and content of the inscription give the dedicated vase a particularly unusual status. The shape itself was of particular importance and the vase must have made a striking centrepiece for a symposium, while the painted decoration is particularly suitable to its function¹⁰². We

⁹⁹ Cf. comments on topography in Austin 1970, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Bowden 1996, 33. Note that at Erythrai, the *prostatai* are mentioned as holding the keys to the treasury and controlled the use of its funds on Herzog inv. AS 14: R. Parker – D. Obbink, *Aus der Arbeit der “Inscriptiones Graecae” VI. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I, Cheiron 31, 2000, 415–449, lines 16–18; Segre 1993, ED 178 (A), lines 10–20; Parker 2002, 158.*

¹⁰¹ R. Merkelbach, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 8 (Bonn 1986) 15–18; SEG 36, 1986, 1039; SEG 39, 1989, 1238.

¹⁰² On the importance of the volute-krater see most recently Pipili 2014, 27–42; A. Tsingarida, *Entre Grecs et non-Grecs. Quelques usages du cratère à volutes en Méditerranée archaïque*, in: *De la Genière* 2014, 61–75. Neither mention the inscribed rim fragments of this Naukratis krater.

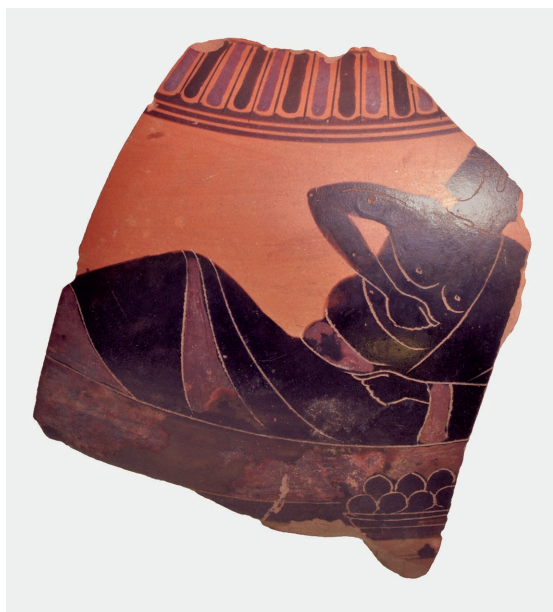


Fig. 14: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum inv. Gr 179.1894. Psykter fragment, symposium.

cannot know if it was a single dedication or part of a set, as in the case of the dedication by Polemarchos to Apollo that included a Milesian dinos or krater, its stand and an oinochoe for serving its contents¹⁰³. We can, however, easily imagine it set out to receive the wine and water for special banquets in the sanctuary complex¹⁰⁴. In addition to serving vessels and drinking vessels, the banquet paraphernalia for a period between about 540 and 460 BC might also have included a psykter to facilitate coo-

ling the wine¹⁰⁵. Although the shape was regularly exported to Etruria and has been found in Athens, especially black-glaze examples, in both the Agora and on the Acropolis, it is only known from one sanctuary outside Athens and that is at Naukratis. Two fragments of psykters have been preserved, one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge¹⁰⁶. The Ashmolean's fragment preserves part of the neck and the rim (with an ivy leaf band on the outer edge of the rim); the Fitzwilliam's fragment is from the shoulder and is decorated with a symposiast (**Fig. 14**). Both fragments may be from the same vessel; figured style is that of the Swing Painter and is, therefore, earlier than the volute-krater under discussion. Unfortunately, we do not know where they were found.

Feasting and drinking in the Aphrodite cult places presumably occurred at the time of the regular festival of Aphrodite, but we should also bear in mind that private groups might also have celebrated *ta Aphrodisia* there on the successful completion of an enterprise, whether maritime¹⁰⁷, martial¹⁰⁸, or even civic¹⁰⁹. Among the dedicators of pottery for such symposia we may confidently recognise traders (such as the Samian Hyblesios or the Aiginetan Damonidas)¹¹⁰. Mercenaries are harder to isolate, but, as noted above Pedon, Phanes the son of Glaukos, and even Polemarchos may all have been mercenaries or from families of mercenaries. Other professions surely also held such events, including even the rich *hetairai* themselves for which Naukratis was famous¹¹¹. The Rhoikos who dedicated

103 BM GR 1886.0401.830.A: Möller 2000, 91. 127–130 pl. 1b; Villing 2006, 59 f.; Schlotzhauer 2012, 121 f. no. 85 pl. 19 a. b. Large letters, inscription accentuates name in centre of one side of vessel; found in the deepest level of the Apollo sanctuary.

104 On the use of pottery in Naukratis see recently Villing 2013, 83–87.

105 On psykters see S. Drougou, *Der Attische Psykter* (Würzburg 1975); and more recently, especially on psykterkraters, A. Pasquier, *Une cratère rafraîchissoir au Musée du Louvre: du vin frais pour un banquet de luxe*, *Mon Piot* 78, 2000, 5–51; M. Tiverios, *A New Krater-Psykter in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, in: S. Buzzi et al. (eds.), *Zona Archeologica: Festschrift für Hans Peter Isler zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn 2001) 421–431; M. Padget, *A Unique Vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in: A. J. Clark –

J. Gaunt (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* (Amsterdam 2002) 249–266, esp. 251–253.

106 Oxford AN 1885.448. Cambridge GR 179.1894: CVA Cambridge (2) pl. 20, 15 (wrongly identified as the lid of a lekane).

107 Maritime: *Plut. mor.* 1097 E, sailors celebrating; cf. 785 E sailors celebrating despite loss of ship.

108 Victories: cf. *Plut. mor.* 301 F; and *Plut. Cimon and Lucullus* 1, 3, disapproving of victory Aphrodisia.

109 Magistrates: *Xen. hell.* 5, 4, 4–7.

110 On traders as dedicators, see most recently Williams 2013, 44; and on Aiginetan traders, Johnston 2013, 107–111. Cf. also *Athen.* 15, 675f–676c (quoting Polycharmos).

111 *Hetairai*: *Hdt.* 2, 135; D. Williams, *Aegina, Aphaia-Tempel: V. The Pottery from Chios*, *AA* 1983, 185; Möller 2000, 199 f.; Williams 2013, 44; Villing 2013, 86 f.

a Samian double-decker eye-cup to Aphrodite has been claimed as the Samian architect¹¹². A certain Hermophanes, who dedicated a very large East Greek Wild Goat dinos, *Ermophanes anetheken tei A[phroditei]:onausite*[...], might have been recording his profession at the end of his dedication, rather than his ethnic or patronymic¹¹³. Was he perhaps a shipwright (restoring a form such as *nausite*[*ktōn*], even though that would be a *hapax*), a very important craft at a port, for many ships will have needed repair and overhaul. Administrators,

like the *prostatai*, will also have held symposia, either at the end of their tenure, as indicated by Xenophon, or at a moment of particular need. Might we then imagine that the Athenian volutekrater was specially ordered in Athens through an intermediary by Psammes (?), an official of the Hellenion, perhaps himself a *prostates*, as a suitable centrepiece for an event aimed at reuniting antagonistic elements among the élite inhabitants of Naukratis under Aphrodite Pandemos' calming guidance?

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Abbreviations

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112 GR 1888,0601.392: Möller 2000, 175 f.; Villing 2013, 86 fig. 11. As a Samian he might have been expected to make a dedication to Hera rather than Aphrodite.

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