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EXCAVATIONS AT NAUKRATIS.

A.

SITE AND BUILDINGS.

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MR. ERNEST GARDNER, summing up in 1889 the results of the excavations at Naukratis which Mr. Flinders Petrie had begun in 1884, was of opinion that something still remained to be done on the site.¹ This opinion was shared by Mr. Petrie and has been expressed by him more than once, when Greek remains in Egypt were under discussion. A further campaign, therefore, has long been contemplated; and when I heard late in 1898 that very serious encroachments were being made upon the mounds of Gaif, it seemed that it was time to act.² Paying a flying visit to the place in December, I found that, compared with Mr. Petrie's map of fourteen years before, the Mounds showed a greatly changed appearance. The "Great Temenos" at the south end had become a cornfield: the "Arab village" shown in the map on the north-east edge of the mound was now divided from the uncultivated land by a broad belt of green, which in the east centre had been pushed far out into the hollow heart of the site by an artificial embankment twelve to fifteen feet high. Hundreds of natives were employed daily in digging *sebakh* (i.e. virgin earth for top-dressing the

¹ *Naukratis*, ii., p. 73.

² I had already been informed that the Egypt Exploration Fund was not prepared, in view of its heavy obligations elsewhere, to come to the rescue; and that neither Mr. Petrie nor Mr. Gardner in their private capacity wished to resume the work.

cotton-fields) all over the mounds; and it was obvious, even without their direct testimony, that large tracts, which in Mr. Petrie's time had stood high above the cultivation, were now level with or below it. I noticed particularly the region lying just east of the farthest northern limits of the great central hollow (which the natives said was due to Mr. Petrie's work) and where he had placed in order the 'Palaestra' and the *temenos* of Apollo and the Dioscuri. A broken granite door-jamb, lying some distance to the east of the last-named temenos, witnessed to some large building, in all probability a temple, having stood in this neighbourhood; and to the north were walls and layers of stone chips, seen in section one under the other in the cuttings made by the *sebakh*-diggers. The whole site seemed very wet, much wetter, in fact, than Mr. Petrie or Mr. Gardner had implied in their published accounts; and later we obtained ample evidence that the dampness had greatly increased since the encroachment began and is still increasing. I came away from the Gaif mounds, convinced that it was worth while to resume their exploration and that no time ought to be lost.

The Committee of the British School at Athens was enabled by the Society of Dilettanti to respond promptly to my appeal for funds; and as soon as the Bairam of 1899 was over I was able to open a third campaign at Naukratis. I was joined there by Messrs. C. C. Edgar and C. D. Edmonds, students of the School, and work was begun on Sunday, February 19th. The excavation was organized on Mr. Petrie's principles of dispensing with a regular *reis* and paying full local value for all objects found. With the help of the Government overseer, Hassan Abu Se'mi, guard of the mounds of Sa-el-Hagar (Sais), and of several of Mr. Petrie's old workmen, the undertaking was soon got into working order.

With the women, girls and boys who carried baskets, the total number employed for most of the time amounted to a little over a hundred. Like Messrs Petrie and Gardner we also had a miscellaneous crowd of *sebakh*-diggers for irregular scouts. From them we bought from fifty to a hundred small objects daily, and on their work some of our own intermediate and final conclusions have been based. The native diggers affected almost exclusively the extreme north and the extreme south of the mounds. The centre was left alone partly because it has largely been dug out already to or below the basal mud, partly because it lies off the main lines of communication with the surrounding villages.

We began with a certain amount of experimental trenching in the

north-eastern region and at various times tapped other parts of the mound; but since the lion's share of our work was done in the north-east, it will be best to treat excavation there as apart and continuous, and to reserve the account of the exploration, mainly experimental, undertaken in all other regions, to the second section of this Report.

I.—THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA.

As has already been stated, we found, on arrival at the mounds, a considerable area in the extreme north, which had not been touched by the previous excavators, already reduced by the labours of the *sebakh*-diggers to a manageable depth, the deposit upon the basal mud (as afterwards proved) averaging between six and two feet in thickness. This northern area, roughly 450 ft. north to south by 250 ft. east to west (cp. accompanying map I., II., III. *c*, *d*), was bounded on the east by mounds, still not greatly reduced, in which appeared late walls; on the north by the cultivation, on the fringe of which the ground rose to a height of some 8-10 feet above the general level and ran into the hillock to the north-west, on which is built the village in which we lived; on the west and south by the deep hollow, excavated to, and even below, the level of the basal mud by Messrs. Petrie and Gardner and subsequent *sebakh*-diggers. As pretty nearly all Mr. Petrie's landmarks had disappeared and his walls could no longer be traced,¹ we never arrived at absolute certainty about the location of his *Temené*; but, roughly speaking, our "North-eastern area" marched with the eastern edge of his combined Dioscuri and Apollo enclosures, and of about half the area which he called the "Palæstra" and Mr. Gardner re-named the "Temenos of Hera." Our attention was drawn to and fixed upon this area not only by the surface indications, mentioned already, but by the fact that, with two exceptions, all the fragments of vessels inscribed with dedications that were brought to us for sale in the first days of our stay, came from the rubbish heaps in this region, mostly those round the well marked 35 on the plans. The proximity of Mr. Petrie's *temené* was a positive recommendation, and the fact that up to that moment the *sebakh*-diggers had furnished us with no such significant

¹ We lived in hope of a visit from Mr. Petrie, during which we could have verified many topographical points: but illness prevented his coming.

finds from any other part of the mounds, supplied an equally cogent negative argument in its favour.

The first trench 50 ft. long (lengthened later to 70 ft.) was sunk in the north-western half of II. *c*, and proceeding westwards, we turned over the deposit, averaging 3 ft. in depth, as far as a line drawn through the points 35 and 6 on the plan: then the men were turned with their faces north and made to work steadily through the remains of buildings 3, 4 and 5, up to and over the long wall to the north of these, and through the line of chambers 10-21. At the same time an attack was made on the high ground to the north and chambers 27, 26, 25 and 24 were tested down to water level, but only 26 was at all completely cleared. In all these last-named chambers we were stopped by water before reaching the lowest and most remunerative stratum. Meanwhile the top rubbish was removed from above chambers 12, 13, 22, 30, 31, 32 and they were cleared as completely as water would permit. A shaft was sunk also at 33, but nothing was found above the water. Wide trenches were made to the east of the long east and west wall, resulting in the discovery of the wall fragments in I. *c*, but here mud and water stopped progress. At an earlier period shafts had been sunk to the mud (5 ft.) in the building numbered 37, but it was found to have been already dug out.

As soon as we could no longer reach the basal mud at the north for the rising water, work was transferred to the south of the area. Pits and trenches were sunk all along its west edge and pushed eastwards nearly to the parallel dividing *c* and *d*. Here an area was reached, in which the basal mud was already exposed, and nothing was to be learned. Wide and deep trenches were accordingly sunk in the higher ground to the south-east (40-42), which was bounded by two visible walls. That done, the only part of the area left untried was its centre, west of the well 35, and this was turned over thoroughly in the last days of our stay, while trials were made in the high ground to the east of the whole region, which must be thoroughly searched hereafter as soon as the *sebakh*-diggers shall have lowered it sufficiently. Wells 35 and 36 were cleared out meanwhile.

This is the chronology of the excavation. But in describing the finds made, and the conditions under which they came to light, it will be best to ignore this order, and to go over the whole area from south to north.

Thereafter the nature and character of the area and of the buildings, whose traces it was found to contain, may be discussed in the light of the evidence.

As is seen on the accompanying map, the area is bounded on the south-east and south by thin walls, that on the south not continuing far west but apparently returning north in the east half of III. d. West of the return are only faint traces of unimportant structures: but north of it is the line of a very large wall running nearly due east until lost in the denuded hollow in the centre of the area. Outside (*i.e.* south of) this great wall in the south-easternmost part of the area (40-42), we found neither constructions of any kind nor any significant objects. The deposit upon the basal mud was as much as 8 ft. deep at the extreme south under the bounding wall, and a pit was sunk 2 ft. lower still, at 42, and reached water. Just under the surface at that point was much coarse pottery and ashes mixed with late black glazed ware: and at 4½ ft. appeared sherds of local fabrics lying on the basal mud. But no inscribed fragments were found here. In this region, as is the case generally at Naukratis, a very unproductive belt of muddy sand, about 4 ft. thick, intervenes between remains of the later Ptolemaic period and those of the fifth century and earlier.

East of this point (43), and beyond the cross wall (III. d. top) the deposit was thinner, the local sherds beginning at 3 ft. down. But only close to the great E.-W. wall (39) was anything important found. Here were slight remains of a foundation made of small chips of rough limestone laid in two layers, the whole only 7 cm. thick; but it was not laid actually on the basal mud, there being a thin interval of sand containing early sherds, one inscribed with part of a dedication to Herakles (*cp.* inscr. no. 3). Immediately west of the straight edge of this foundation were two large vessels of coarse red clay imbedded in their original positions in the mud. A similar vessel was found also in the northern part of the area, in a similar relation to a stone foundation (18, 17). Immediately to the south of this point, but at a slightly higher level than the chips or vessels were scanty remains of a concrete pavement above which were found inscribed sherds, while just outside it, but so nearly at its level that it is impossible to say whether just above or just below, lay the Aphrodite Pandemos dedication (No. 107).

North of the great wall (which could not be traced much east of 39) the deposit was at first very thin, and in the corner II. c. and d., the basal mud was already exposed. But for some distance south of the line 34-1, the deposit averaged three ft. and contained (57) some faint traces of brick construction. The first point at which any considerable find of inscriptions was made, was at 34, where in the corner of a small chamber abutting west on the great enclosure wall, which runs north, a number of dedications to the Dioscuri were discovered about 2 ft. above the mud. Just south of the southern wall of this small chamber and at a similar level occurred the lamp with Dioscuri dedication (No. 57); and south again of this, up to the line of the E.-W. enclosure wall, were found (scattered partly on the surface in *sebakh*-diggers' and rubbish heaps, partly a foot or two above the mud) a few dedications to Herakles (Nos. 33, 84), mixed with stray sherds of Apollo (No. 52), Artemis? (No. 65), and others not to be identified, including the inscribed stone horse (No. 58), which like two other horses found by the *sebakh*-diggers close to this same point, lay in untouched earth almost immediately upon the mud. Good fragments of early painted pottery, mostly Naukratite, were both found by us all along this west edge of the area and brought to us by *sebakh*-diggers working close by.

To the north of the "Dioscuri chamber" between the line of its south wall, carried on to the east limit of the area, and the beginning of the constructions, marked 6, 5, 4, 3 and 8 on the plans, the deposit was very thin, having been in many places dug out almost to the basal mud. Two terra-cotta heads (Nos. 1, 21), and some early sherds were found at 18 inches above the mud. A great red granite door-jamb (1), broken in two pieces, lay on the surface, having been lowered by previous diggers from a higher level. The whole, when unbroken, would have measured 117 inches \times 39½ \times 17½. A side has been left rough, and on the broad smoothed face are two oblong dowel or bolt holes, each 5 deep. We lowered the jamb three feet more and left it on the mud.

Immediately to the south of it was a fragment of thin wall, and traces existed of three more thin walls based on the mud a little to the north-west. But no returns appeared and, as the walls were mere cores without faces, even their direction is uncertain. Their tops were below the level of some fragments of concrete paving laid on a chip bedding at 28 inches above the mud (marked 2, 2, 2 on the plan); but under the westernmost fragment of this pavement were faint remains of a lower chip bed, only one foot above the basal mud, and separated from the upper bed by an interval of 16 inches of earth mixed with black-figure and Naukratite sherds. Below was a thin layer of burnt stuff resting on the mud. In all this region inscribed sherds turned up but rarely, and though there were obviously fragments of dedicated vessels, none found about here had preserved the name of any divinity which could be read or restored with certainty. The inscribed sherds occurred either (black-glaze fragments) in the surface rubbish or at an average of 16-20 inches above the mud, which is covered immediately by a patchy layer of ashes.¹ But the Bedawi boys who searched the rubbish heaps farther west on their own account (north and west of the well 35) brought us at one time or another many inscribed fragments of fifth, fourth and third century vessels dedicated to Aphrodite (No. 87), to "Gods of the Hellenes" (Nos. 76, 71, 77, 80, 78, 75, 81), and (one only) to Poseidon (?) (No. 62). The last named, it is worth noting, came from almost the same spot as the stone horses mentioned above (close to well 35). The well, marked 35, which was cleared in the last days of our stay, had a diameter of 3½ feet at the top. It was lined with tiles fitted in rings one within the other.² At a depth of 12 feet we began to find early sherds in the mud, but the bottom was not reached till 19 feet. On the basal sand lay rotten fragments of wood and in the last two feet of mud was found an almost perfect late black-figured Attic vase and a number of coarser jars. No inscribed sherds were obtained in this well. A great wall 27 feet thick bounds the area on the west. Immediately below the well we were successful in finding both its western and eastern face intact, but to north and south only traces remained. On the north it runs into the hillock east of the village: on the south it returns east in the great E.-W. wall described above. No such well-marked boundary limits the area on the east. The line of a passage or street is evident just west of the well-preserved structure marked 37, but its walls are thin. In all probability this passage and the structure 37 are within the great enclosure wall whose return north must be looked for in the high mounds, still unexplored to the east. Up to this point no structures had been uncovered by us from which (with the exception of the great enclosure walls) any plan could be reconstructed. It is impossible to say, however, that no traces of structures existed in this area other than these that we found and have marked on the plans. The difficulty of detecting and following brick walls in the saturated clay of Naukratis is far greater than I have experienced anywhere else, and fully bears out the words of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner.³ We used all possible care in the search, and now record faithfully just what we found: we can do no more.

As will be seen, however, on the plan, the extreme north of the area was found to contain more significant structures. Firstly, as we turned over the earth northwards, we came upon remains either of a platform or a foundation, or less probably of a primitive enclosure wall of brick 37 feet across north to south (8). West of this and abutting on it was a chamber (3) of which all four walls were preserved to an average height of 18 in. above the basal soil. Its bricks were in condition to be measured and were uniformly 16 in. \times 4 in. They would correspond, therefore, in date (according to Mr. Petrie's canon)⁴ with the bricks in the Great Temenos, and should be referred to the earlier half of the sixth century B.C. Inside the chamber was a layer of hammered mud 10 in. thick resting on the basal soil. The whole structure, as we found it, was below the level of the fragment of concrete pavement immediately south. Inside this chamber were found the dedication to Apollo (No. 51) and numerous fragments. Also on the mud just outside its north-west and south walls appeared many fragments of dedicated vessels, of which all that bore a divine name,

¹ Cf. Petrie in *Academy* July 16, 1887 for this earliest layer, and *cf. infra* p. 36.

Cf. Nauk. ii. p. 35.

² *Nauk.* i. p. 9, ii. p. 12.

⁴ *Nauk.*, i. p. 89.

which can still be read, were to the honour of Aphrodite (Nos. 54, 88, 91, 92, 93). The north wall continued a little way west of this chamber and was then lost; but after a short interval was a larger chamber (5), in which appeared a rectangular patch of fine sand inserted into the basal mud (6); the patch was 5 in. thick and 78 in. N. to S. by 66 in. E. to W. We cleared it very carefully in hope of a foundation deposit, but found only the hard mud beneath. It must have been laid under some small structure, perhaps an altar, belonging to the earliest temple in this area: the earth above and about showed signs of much disturbance, late sherds having fallen to within a few inches of the mud—a result of the extraction of the stone superstructure by the Arabs.¹ At the north end of this chamber occurred fragments of fifth century terracotta figurines, at an average of 10 in. above the mud level. The walls of this chamber, mere cores of mud and probably only foundation courses, were preserved only to a height of about 2 ft. As in the small chamber (3) there were remains of a floor of hammered mud. Nothing of importance was found in the very shallow layer of deposit between this chamber and the west enclosure wall.

On being pushed northwards, however, the trenches soon revealed the existence of a wall running due N. to S. along their whole length. A few inscribed fragments (Aphrodite No. 86) were found in the process of approaching it, and half the inscribed base of a limestone statuette with the feet preserved. The other half was recovered later on the north side of the long wall, and the whole proved to bear a dedication to Herakles and a new sculptor's signature, Sikon of Cyprus.

(a)

ΣΙΚΩΝ 'ΙΩΗ
ΣΕΚΥΤ
ΑΡΙΣΤΙ 'ΥΡΑΚΛΕΙ

Σικων ἱερουργεῖ Κέρκω. Ἄριστων Ἡρακλεῖ.

Both halves lay within a very few inches of the mud. As so often has happened to Naukratite excavators, we were forced to hack for some distance into the face of the long N. to S. wall before being assured of its being a wall at all, and thus we came to lay bare (7) three stones *in situ*, which later we found to be continued northwards by a patch of massive stone work (17) corresponding to another patch still more massive, a little to the east (16). Both these sandstone patches rest on a thin layer of earth and chips, laid on the mud. The three stones, first found, averaged 5 in. thick, and were of varying sizes, the largest 31 in. by 15 in. Their orientation was very exact, as was that of the continuations to the north, whose stones were of the same thickness. Those in the east patch (16), however, averaged 8 in. in thickness and were disposed in two courses, the uppermost course being bevelled along its straight western face. The occurrence of a large clay vessel (18) fixed in the mud within the line of the stones (17), which had been interrupted to allow it place, has been already alluded to above. A single stone and a fragment of tile apparently *in situ*, used as paving, were found much farther east at the same level, also similarly under the south face of the long wall (9).

¹ There were traces of disturbance in one or two other spots about here. Mr. Gardner tells me that he made some trial trenches in this region, and perhaps these disturbed spots are a result of them.

The long wall was no more than a mud core, left standing to an average height of four feet above the basal soil, on which, however, it did not rest. A thin layer of muddy sand, in which sherds and other things occurred, intervened. The same is true of the tranverse walls which returned north from it. The chambers included by these, were dug out by us to the basal soil at all points from 20 to 10 (v. map). The westernmost region (21 and 32) was found to have been already dug, and to be full of loose blown sand, on the top of which the rubbish, that had been heaped by the *sebakh*-diggers, yielded some late terra-cotta fragments and one inscribed sherd (No. 50). In the next room to the east (20) was found at 12 in. above the mud a floor of hammered earth overlaid with fine plaster, part plain crimson; part crimson and white stripe, and part blue and white stripe. Only small fragments of the coloured surface were preserved, and those in terrible condition, owing to the dampness which was now increasing rapidly as we proceeded north. The earth below this flooring and above it up to the surface (4 ft.) was singularly empty of remains, and the few sherds were not earlier than fourth century.

In the next chamber (19) occurred a similar floor in a similar state, but this time overlaid with yellow and red stripe plaster. The stone foundation and the large vessel in the south east corner have already been mentioned. A notable find was made in clearing the earth out of the latter, viz. the early Warrior Relief (Pl. IX., cf. p. 65). Together with the vessel and the stones, it lay just below the level of the plaster floor. Indeed the bottom of the vessel penetrated several inches into the basal mud; but no early pottery was found in this chamber.

The next room (15) was empty of everything except the massive sand-stone foundation (16), which ran away both N. and S. under the enclosing walls. Its lower course was let down into the basal mud, and, when prized out, it left a sharply defined pit. We removed all the stones, to the number of seventeen, which were not too firmly embedded under the walls, in order to be sure that no foundation deposits underlay them. But there was no sign of anything but the uniform bed of black mud.

Room 14, however, proved the richest of all our find-spots, for in its south-east corner, immediately on the mud and partly under both walls was found a layer of fine broken terra-cottas (cf. infra p. 69). They were happened upon late on March 2nd, and proved very difficult to extract, being penetrated by the wet. We worked into the dark, and got out eleven heads, three only being complete, and numerous other fragments, on which blue and red pigment was for the moment very evident. The spot was guarded through the night and two more heads and a few fragments came to light next day, together with the missing half of the Sikon basis (*supra* p. 32). Remains of a conduit made of earthen pipes from 4½ to 6 in. diameter lay at a slightly higher level than the terra-cottas. The layer of terra-cottas continued spasmodically over the west end of the next chamber to the east (11), mixed with fragments of brilliant blue stucco, a few late black figure sherds and a very few inscribed bits. The later pavement was here a little higher (23 in.) above the mud than at the west and consisted of a thin layer of concrete 1½ in. thick. In this chamber we were stopped by the water, for as we proceeded north and east, approaching the line of cultivation, we soon found ourselves in sheer slime, in which lay terra-cotta fragments, now of the same lamentable consistency as the stuff in which they were embedded. The same conditions impeded us to the south-east: walls were almost indistinguishable and terra-cottas were reduced to pulp. But potsherds, of course, were not so seriously affected and it is remarkable that we found no more early ware at the eastern end of this long wall than at the western. Two terra-cotta heads of greater solidity than usual were our only significant finds beyond the point marked 9 on the plan, if we except three inscribed sherds found in the surface rubbish beyond 54, one dedicated to Apollo (No. 52), one to Aphrodite, and one bearing three characters of the Cypriote script (No. 114).¹

With the line of wall, which bountis this row of chambers on the north, we reached the limit of the deeper clearance made by the *sebakh*-diggers. In front of us rose a bank of debris averaging 16 ft. in height from the basal soil. The stratification of it (just north of 14) was on this wise. In the first foot of slime above the mud were remains of terra-cottas, red-figure and other late fifth century sherds; above this was the line of a flooring laid on fragments of coarse plaster; above this

¹ Cf. *Naukr.* I. p. 36 for Cypriote influence on this site.

lay 7 ft. of packed sand containing no remains whatever: above this appeared in section on the face of the cutting a stratum of limestone chips: 2 feet above this on the western part of the face (30) a second and thinner stratum of chips, but on the eastern face nothing but sand, mixed with a few sherds and terra-cotta fragments, until at 14½ ft. above the mud appeared a thick stratum of concrete laid on chips, 7 in. thick, which was not, like the other chip layers, partial only, but seems to have extended all over the northernmost part of the site: lastly above this were from one to three feet of rubbish, mostly an accumulation of sherds, terra-cotta fragments &c., thrown away by the *sebakh*-diggers, and almost all of Roman period. The same diggers had driven some headings into this mass, and in particular had opened a long passage leading due north between two fairly well-preserved walls (28). We found returning walls to the east of this, also well-preserved, at a height of 14 ft. above the mud level, and proceeded to make sinkings into the chambers that they enclosed, while at the same time we were working from the south also into the face. In the northernmost chamber (27) the water filtering in from the field close by soon stopped us, after we had cleared about 10 ft. from the west wall to a depth of 8 ft. or thereabouts. A little hollow Bes figure in thin beaten gold was found among the surface rubbish here, but nothing else beyond amphora handles, coarse sherds, and fragments of unimportant terra-cottas of Roman date. No pavement was met with. In the larger room to the south (26) we were able to clear the whole to a certain depth. Here was no pavement and the walls did not go down below a point about 8 ft. above the basal level. On the surface lay the usual Roman rubbish: then nothing but sand, until at 7 ft. above the basal level late Greek sherds appeared, one or two bearing inscriptions. Two feet lower we were in the water and had to desist. The next chamber to the south (25) was very small: here we came on the concrete pavement, 7 in. thick, seen on the south face of the cutting at 8 ft. above the mud. In the region to the east of these chambers (23) we made no attempt to get down, knowing that water would stop us long before we could approach the basal mud.

On the south face, however, we were still able to work our way inwards on the basal mud level or some little distance north of the northern wall of the first row of chambers. At the west end of the cutting (31, 30) we found by so doing absolutely nothing of significance, and not a single early sherd. But farther east we were better rewarded, though the lowest stratum was no better than slime. In the space marked 14*a*, between which and the chamber 14, we never satisfactorily established the existence of any wall, the layer of Vth century terra-cotta fragments continued just above the level of plaster bedding mentioned above. With the fragments were also found, in 14*a*, many pieces of a very fine late red-figured Attic vase.

Into the adjoining chamber to the east (12) the terra-cotta stratum continued till it perished in slime and water. We were not able to recover anything from this latter chamber in sufficiently good preservation to be of any use; and the same must be said of the next two chambers to the north (22, 13) divided from 14 and 12 and from each other by walls not going down within 7 ft. of the mud. From the westernmost (22), when already in standing water, we dredged up one fine bit of early Naukratite painted ware; but a whole day's further dredging resulted in no further discovery.

It was now obvious that we could do no more good with the very little that was left of the mounds to the north. The cultivated land just beyond them was, during all our stay, in a condition of perpetual inundation, the waste water from a large area collecting here and forming a small marsh. To this fact and the circumstance that the walls in this part of the mound do not go down to hard mud, but leave an interval through which the water permeates readily, is owed the excessive dampness. As only the lowest strata were at all productive we did not trouble to clear the upper any more than has already been described.

Nothing more remains to be related concerning the exploration of this "North-eastern Area" except the clearing of a large well (36) immediately west of it, on the eastern edge of the hollow region already cleared to and even below the basal mud by the previous excavators. This well had a diameter of 71 inches inside measurement, and was found to have perfectly straight walls lined with large tiles nearly 4 inches thick, not laid in rings as is the usual case with Naukratite wells, but flush. There were no footholds in the sides. We cleared it of its slime, finding the bottom at 24 ft. which would be equivalent to 22 ft. below the basal mud level. The results were disappointing: neither good inscribed nor painted pottery was found in this well, but several coarse jugs and

amphorae (one with $\Sigma\Omega$ painted on its side) lay at the bottom, together with a boar's skull, early local sherds, fragments of two Isis terra-cottas (v. *infra*. p. 85 and pl. XII. No. 127) part of a heavy iron collar, and some stone weights.

It is obvious that we have to do in this "North-eastern Area" with remains of more than one structure and more than one epoch. The important part is evidently that contained within the great enclosure of which we found the broken west and south sides. The rest of the area, *i.e.* the extension of it south of that enclosure, contained no remains of any significance: the walls found there were such as are appropriate to houses; and the inscribed sherds were so few and various as to warrant no other inference than that they were stragglers from the enclosures to the north and south-west.

With regard to the main part of the Area it must first be remarked that it was obviously a single enclosure from the earliest times. No wall of sufficient size to be that of a *temenos*, other than those described above, has left any traces of itself. The Enclosure walls west and south are based actually on the mud with (so far as we could see) no underlying rubbish at all; but immediately within them occur the earliest sherds. Yet the Enclosure walls also agree so well with the late structure to the north that it would appear that the latter was built with reference to them.

In the south-western corner of this Enclosure we found scanty remains of a structure, shown by the bricks of one of its chambers to belong to the earlier half of the sixth century. Together with the Enclosure wall it is probably contemporary with the first settlement of Greeks at Naukratis. The traces of a large brick platform, noted at 8 (map), seem to belong to the same structure, as does probably also the granite jamb (1). To the same period, though it is impossible to say if to the same structure, must be referred the sandstone patches at 7, 17, 16 and the earthen vessel (18) which contained the sandstone Warrior relief. Here we have remains of an important stone structure, accurately orientated, and uniform with the great enclosure wall.

Immediately above the level of the ruined wall-tops of this period in the south of the enclosure we found remains of a pavement resting on early local and black-figured sherds. This must have been laid down in the fifth century. Close by on the north we find the long east-west wall which rests on a thin layer of rubbish, referable at latest to the middle of

the same century, and bounds chambers, whose pavements over-lie early remains, but have above them terra-cottas and red-figure sherds of the later fifth century. It is natural therefore to connect this structure with the concrete fragments to the south, and to see in it remains of a mud-brick building which in the fifth century was superimposed on a pre-existing sandstone structure.

To the north, however, of this as well as at a point to the south-east (37) we have considerable remains at an altogether higher level. They over-lie the thick belt of unproductive sand which seems to cover the earlier strata at many points on the site.¹ This belt of empty sand is a very curious feature, and can be due to one of two agencies only, either drift acting during a long period of desolation, or artificial human labour. It is hard to credit the first alternative. At what period after the middle or end of the fifth century is it possible that Naukratis could have lain for a long term of years desolate or nearly so?² We know that Cleomenes, the governor left in Egypt by Alexander in 331 B.C., was born at Naukratis. Put his birth about 360 at latest and no sufficient interval for such accumulation can be said to divide that date from the period at which Herodotus visited the place. It is possible, indeed probable, that Naukratis declined greatly after 331, which year saw the foundation of the new Greek emporium, Alexandria; but Mr. Petrie established the fact that Naukratis was issuing an autonomous coinage under the first Ptolemy,³ while the foundation deposits found in the "Great Temenos" belong to the second king of that name. The historical probabilities are all against any great break in the continuity of Naukratite prosperity.

Nor is the second alternative a very easy one to credit, but it is easier than the first. To find a motive for a great artificial heaping of sand over the remains of early buildings we must remember that the level of the Delta cultivation, and therefore of the water, steadily rises. Both are now about 10 ft. (at the least) higher than when the Greeks came to Naukratis.⁴ The deposit on those parts of the mounds, that were covered by houses, might

¹ We established its existence also at the S. of our "north area" 39-42-40 where the *sebakh*-diggers had not worked so low as in the centre. It appeared everywhere to the N.E. and was present also in the region 46-49 on the west.

² The argument as to the great decline or even temporary abandonment of the site in the late fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. based by Mr. Petrie on the fact that he did not find red-figured ware, has been disposed of this season by our finding plenty of red-figured sherds of all periods.

³ *Nauk.* i. pp. 8, 66.

⁴ *Nauk.* i. p. 10.

have kept pace with this rise, or even exceeded it,¹ as is the case to this day with Egyptian villages; but the Temple areas would fall behind and become wet hollows, such as may be seen on many sites now, e.g. Teli Ferain i.e. Buto. Naukratis, it must be remembered, is, and must always have been, a very low site, little raised above the flood level. The increasing evil of dampness in the public places was probably not dealt with during the last century of Persian rule in the Delta, which was marked by a succession of great revolts; but Ptolemaic builders, on taking in hand the restoration of earlier buildings and the resuscitation of the towns, (as we know they did resuscitate them everywhere in Egypt, notably in the Fayûm), could not avoid the obligation to solve the water difficulty at Naukratis, and ere restoring the Hellenion and other temples, were obliged to provide a new and dry bed.² To those restorers therefore we may ascribe conjecturally the artificial covering of so much of the site with a layer of dry sandy earth,³ upon which was erected in the great enclosure at the north of the town the building whose foundations we found 8 feet above the original basal mud, with flooring at different levels, the most general and important being 6½ feet above the base of the foundations. This building was as accurately orientated as the structure below it, and like the latter it seems to have been contained within the great enclosure of earlier date. The natural inference is that it was a Ptolemaic restoration, designed to serve the same purpose and to bear the same character as the building it superseded.

Unfortunately the *sebakhin* on the one hand and the cultivators on the other, had left us but a fragment of the whole. We found among the top rubbish here a bit of an Ionic cap with part of its volute, originally 3½ inches in diameter. This perhaps belonged to the Ptolemaic temple. The fragmentary ground plans recovered by us of these different structures are inconclusive: on such a site they could hardly be otherwise. The best that can be said for them is that they reproduce more vestiges of construction than our predecessors found in any of the neighbouring *temenê*. Probability suggests that all public structures in Naukratis faced west towards the line of the navigable canal.⁴ In that case we have found the southern wall of a fifth century temple with a line of chambers within it and

¹ *Nauk.* i. p. 20.

² Probably the chambers without doors or windows, found in the 'Great Temenos' by Mr. Petrie, were designed to counteract dampness rather than human foes.

³ Cp. Mr. Petrie's inference as to the bed of the Apollo Temple *Nauk.* i. p. 12, and Mr. Gardner's as to the artificial raising of the local Aphrodite shrine, *Nauk.* ii. p. 36.

⁴ *Nauk.* i. 12, ii. 11.

probably a long passage to the north of them. Beyond this point we could not penetrate at the required level. Of the Ptolemaic temple on the higher level we can say nothing more than that it was perhaps of the Ionic order¹ and partly built of stone and that it also contained on its south side a number of small chambers disposed along a passage.

The arrangement of both structures recalls rather the Graeco-Egyptian temples of the Fayûm towns, e.g. Dionysias (Qasr Qerûn), Karanis (Kum Ushim) and Bacchias² (Umm el Ati), than purely Hellenic shrines.

I have assumed that we are dealing in this area with Temples. The existence of an enclosure wall; the expensive construction of certain buildings in stone; the accurate orientation; and most of all the quantity of dedicated sherds and remains of ex-voto terracottas—these features combine to render a sacred character not doubtful. That these were temples of Greek Gods all the objects go to prove, but of what gods? Unlike Mr. Petrie who found within one of his enclosures dedications to the Dioscuri only, and within another dedications only to Apollo, we have found within our enclosure dedications to several gods.

In the south-west was a "pocket" of dedications, of which the six, that have preserved their inscriptions, are in honour of the *Dioscuri*. Messrs. Petrie and Gardner also published six specimens from their "Dioscuri Temenos" situated immediately to the west of ours.

In and about the chamber numbered 3 on the plans we found a number of dedications to *Aphrodite*. A few stragglers from other parts of the area, of which one, the best cut of all our inscriptions, qualifies the goddess as Pandemos, swell the total. These can have no connection with the small and probably native Aphrodite-shrine dug by Mr. Gardner, whose site lies nearly a quarter of a mile distant. And we have not only inscribed sherds to attest the existence of a shrine of Aphrodite in the north area, but a quantity of terracottas of Aphrodite type and a pedestal shown us by an Arab as having been found in that region.

(b) Pedestal in hard blue limestone, 68 x 27 x 15 cm. Complete.

ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ
ΤΕΡΦΗΙΟ
ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ

Δεινόμαχος Τερφήιο(ν) Μυτιληναῖος Ἀφροδίτη.

¹ Like the temple of the Milesian Apollo laid by. *Nauk.* i. p. 13.

² v. forthcoming volume on the Fayûm to be issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch.

These sherds and terracottas cover a period of nearly two centuries. That there should have been at least two seats of Aphrodite worship at Naukratis is only what we should have expected from the statements of its townsman Athenaeus (xiii. 596 b., xv. 675 f.). The place was notorious for its devotion to the Goddess of light love about whom the Naukratite Polycharmos composed a book, and for the beauty of the local devotees of her cult. Perhaps the extraordinary quantity of indecent terracottas and stone images, which the site still yields, is due to the prevalence of her worship. The place must have been the Port Said of antiquity!

Apollo is represented by stray sherds found all through the area but especially towards the south-west. The most notable is the early dedication, no. 51, found in chamber 3.

Herakles, whose dedications have not been previously recognised at Naukratis, is honoured on a statuette base found south of chamber 3, and on several sherds, scattered from that point southwards to the extremity of the area.

Zeus has two dedications on stone (*Nauk.* ii. 12, 13, and 1, 2) previously found at Naukratis.

Poseidon? and *Artemis*? are represented by a very doubtful dedication apiece; but it is probable that also the early stone horses (v. *supra* p. 30 and pl. XIV. nos. 10, 11) were offered to the former.

There remain a series of dedications, found for the most part in the south-western part of the Area between chambers 3 and 34, and unique in their ascription. The formula appears to be Θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων or Ἑλληνίοις with variants. No one sherd unfortunately has preserved the whole dedication, but on one or another we have full warrant for it. Seventeen different fragmentary dedications bear some part of a word with root Ἑλλην—; and how many more, which show parts of indecisive words like ἀνέθηκεν, originally bore the same full formula it is now impossible to judge. Probably one sherd found by Mr. Petrie (*Nauk.* i. p. 62, No. 690) is to be referred to the same series.

II.—OTHER PARTS OF THE MOUND.

As has already been stated, the centre of the Gaif mounds is a vast hollow dug out to, or even below, the level of the basal mud, and in parts

permanently flooded. This large central region (indicated on the map by a ground-tint) is finished so far as archaeological exploration goes: Messrs. Petrie and Gardner extracted from it the last evidence of its ancient character and history that will ever be recovered.

There are left, therefore, after their and our excavations (1) a thin belt of mound extending all the length of the site on the west, (2) an irregular tract at the extreme south, contained between the central hollow and the area of the "Great Temenos," now all under cultivation, (3) an isolated patch of high mound on the north-east, bounded west by our excavations and on all other sides by cultivation, and about equal in extent to what I have called the "North-eastern Area."

1. The long western strip was trenched by us, as by Messrs. Petrie, Griffith and Gardner, at various points from the edge of the village on the north to near the point marked "Roman brick-work." Mr. Petrie, whose trenches revealed nothing clear in this region, conjectured that the line of the ancient canal ran at the west edge of the Mound, and that for some distance east it was faced by a row of warehouses, shops and the like, while behind these rose the shrines in the *temenê* of the different gods, situated in what is now the central hollow. So far as our equally unsatisfactory trenching went it supported this conjecture. Beginning from the north, our trenches were sunk near the puits 45, 46-49, and 50 (v. the map). At 45 a bit of a late Ptolemaic dedication and two inscribed sherds had been found on or near the surface by *sebakh*-diggers.

(c) Fragment of marble slab, broken left:

ΤΗΤΟΣ
ΘΕΟΙΙΙΙΣ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ

Comparing inscription (c) *infra*, I restore

Ἀνθήκεν Ἀκράτητος
τοῖς οὐνοῖς θεοῖς
..... καὶ Διονύσῳ.

For the dedicator's name cf. Pape, *s.v.*

Accordingly I had a series of pits sunk 8 feet to the hard mud north and south of the E.W. wall shown at this point in the map: but they led us to no conclusion. Between this point and 46 are signs of several thin walls. From 46-49 we sank sixteen pits and trenches. Generally we came on early sherds at from 10 to 20 inches only below the actual surface: at 15 to 20 inches further down we were in hard mud entirely empty of antiquities. The general surface in this region is well below the cultivation level, but just west and south of 48-49 rise high mounds with a straight cut face. In these could be seen a line of chips resting on sand at 5½ feet above our average surface, and above it a layer of Roman remains, burnt bricks &c. about 3 feet thick. The 5½ feet of sand under the chips seemed to be absolutely empty of sherds. Except some early sherds we found nothing significant in all this region. Two inscribed fragments (one to Hera), found at the edge of the hollow near 46, were in the surface rubbish and probably stragglers from further east.

Beyond the high ground to the south of these trenches we made trial of the deposit again, but in several pits reached water almost at once—from three to five feet down—and the lower mud was absolutely empty of antiquities. On the surface lay late sherds and fragments of poor character, and just under it a little early Naukratite ware. In one place (just west of the well 50) was a

considerable layer of burnt stuff, just below the surface, containing numerous blue paste and stone amulets,—*Bes* figurines, eyes, hawks, etc. of poor quality. The walls found were very thin and poor, and so rotten that even their direction could not be made out. The impression created by the result of all the trenching here, over an area of about 200 feet north to south, was of house and shop remains of poor quality. The well, marked 50, was cleared by us to the bottom at 26 feet from the surface. It is 50 inches in diameter and lined with tiles disposed in rings. It proved richer in pottery than the other two wells cleared by us, producing fragments of figured Naukratite vases from 12 to 14 feet down (v. *infra* p. 59 and Pl. VII. 1), and four inscribed sherds from the very bottom (No. 41 and three small fragments) as well as large coarse pots, goat and ibex horns, stone weights, and a piece of a small and interesting early stone figure.

2. South of this point both Mr. Gardner and Mr. Petrie (or Mr. Griffith, according to the Arabs), had trenched over a considerable tract: and, that passed, the southern region is reached where no one has yet found anything but Egyptian remains. Large numbers of *sebakh*-diggers were at work here daily, and we observed not a single exception during our stay to the rule that everything found by them in the pre-Roman strata south of the line dividing VII. and VIII. (v. map) would be of non-Greek character. Mr. Petrie, in writing to me, bore the same witness, "I found nothing but Egyptian south of Aphrodite" (*i.e.*, the Aphrodite temple cleared by Mr. Gardner). We were often pressed to dig bereabouts, especially in IX. X. d, (v. map) where the weekly market is held, but the inducement held out was always a story of a find of Egyptian bronzes. We bought a considerable number of such bronzes found in this part of the mound, and some inscribed objects, a sistrum handle in fine blue ware, bearing the rather rare cartouche of Psammetichus III., but none of the texts are more than fragments of conventional formulae. To the east (VII., VIII., IX., b,) the mounds are still high, despite the daily visits of Prince Hussein's carts, and there only late Roman stuff is found. In VIII., IX., c. a considerable tract has been levelled lately, and an attempt has been made to cultivate it. In VII. d. was a little untouched earth within two walls of an early chamber (51), and, excavating it, we found a good many early sherds with inscriptions, some to Aphrodite. They are doubtless stragglers from Mr. Gardner's temple hard by. The base of these walls was in water, a proof how greatly the dampness has risen since our predecessors' time. In the surface rubbish round about lay many scarab moulds, remains of Mr. Petrie's "Scarab factory."

3. The encroachment of the cultivation from the eastward upon the centre of the site has absorbed all the eastern fringe of unexcavated deposit shown in Mr. Petrie's map (*Naukr.* i. pl. 40), except in the north-east corner. Here is at present the highest part of the Mound, rising at its outer north-eastern edge from 10 to 12 feet above the cultivated area, *i.e.*, about 20 feet on an average above the basal mud level. This mound, however, has been largely reduced, and is some 12 feet lower at the eastern limit of our excavation (54, 55, 37, 53). At a point on its southern face we found a party of *sebakh*-diggers hacking into the remains of an early house (44), with small rooms based on the mud. They found here the fragments of a fine figured Fikellura vase (cp. *infra* p. 60 and pl. VII. 2), and we, continuing their work for some little distance further into the cliff, opened out a room in two of whose corners were coarse amphorae built into the thickness of the walls, one containing remains of bronze household utensils, and the other some stone weights. We got also from the lowest stratum hard by some bits of inscribed vases, but no certain dedications. It was not, however, worth our while to push far into a cliff, some 15 feet high and hard as iron, to get only house remains. Not far away to the east (38), at a much higher level, another party of *sebakh*-diggers came on a coarse concrete floor, upon which at different times they found terra-cotta fragments of the Ptolemaic period, and a shallow limestone trough or oblong basin,¹ measuring 26 in. × 18 × 4, scored in the centre with herringbone incisions (perhaps to represent corn), and roughly inscribed round two sides of the rim in lettering of the second century B.C.

(d) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

The flooring may be conjectured, therefore, to be that of a Ptolemaic shrine of Demeter. The scanty sherds found hereabouts were also of the same period. Terra-cotta heads of the second and

¹ Left at Ghizeh.

third centuries were found by *sebakh*-diggers in this neighbourhood, and it appeared to be from the highest levels of this north-eastern region that the greater part of the late terra-cottas (largely of Tanagra type or phallic), and other Ptolemaic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman objects, sold to us during our stay, were derived.

The few remaining lapidary inscriptions are subjoined.

(e) Syenite basis broken L.

ΝΑΚΡΑΤΗΤΟΣ

Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκράτης.

Cf. supra e, which is of the same period, perhaps the same dedicator.

(f) Marble fragment broken all sides.

IL
ΠΔΕΠ/

(g) Sandstone fragment, broken all sides.

ΝΙΚ
Σ
ΔΥΜ

(h) Limestone fragment broken all sides.

ΑΣ
ΤΑΤ
ΚΑ

(j) Small stele with pediment.

Ο//Ι//ΟΜ
ΤΥ
Γ

(k) Limestone fragment broken at bottom. In the centre a design of circles between the points of a star. On the right edge ΜΟΣΑΙ//Ι//Ι. On the left . . . ΙΗ.

(l) Fragment of soapstone, scratched on both sides. On the obverse appear ΞΕΝ - ΕΡ - ΑΜΦΙΑΤΟΣ - Η. On the reverse Μ - ΟΣΤΥΡ - Χ - ΑΙΡ.

III.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The main fact, which our exploration has established, is the existence of a great *temenos* partly preserved in the northern part of the Mounds, to the east of the line of *temenê* explored by our predecessors, and containing remains of three successive temples in stone and brick of three periods from the sixth century to Ptolemaic. Its western enclosing wall is at least 27 feet thick; the fragment of its southern wall, now much perished, is not less massive. We have cleared the enclosed space for 350 feet in a northerly direction, and only reached the southern edge of the main buildings contained in the area. The northern limit in all probability still lies far distant under the cultivation. Of the return of the southern wall on the east we have found as yet no sign.

This *temenos*, therefore, is much larger than any other on the site except the great enclosure at the southern extremity, called by Mr. Petrie the "Hellenion." The largest of the other northern *temenê*, the so-called "*Heraion*," is roughly 300 feet square, and its walls are 10 feet thick. On the west of the Mounds there is not room for any *temenos* at all equal to ours in extent; and, as a matter of fact, exploration has shown that probably for the most part that quarter was occupied by shops and houses. The southern region produces Egyptian remains only. The centre has been explored thoroughly and the nature of its buildings has been determined in the main. Such part of the Mounds on the North-east as is still unexcavated will contain little more than the south-eastern angle of our *Temenos*.

This precinct, therefore, is by far the largest and most important that has been found, or apparently can ever have existed, at the Greek end of the site. The only other enclosure of greater or equal size is Mr. Petrie's "Great *Temenos*" situated far from the region where Greek things are found, at the farther side of the remains of an Egyptian quarter. If that precinct were nevertheless Greek, and indeed the principal Greek precinct, it would be contrary to such reasonable expectation, as may be based on the invariable distinction of populations by race or faith into separate self-contained quarters in eastern towns. To reach the southern precinct the Greek traders, coming from the sea, would have had to sail past their compatriots' quarter and penetrate through the streets of the Egyptians. And, as a matter of fact, that southern precinct, searched from end to end by Mr. Petrie, yielded nothing Greek, but only what was Egyptian. The large structure, whose remains were explored in the southern part of the enclosure, was not only not Greek, but had not apparently any sacred character. No one who looks at its plan will fail to agree with Mr. Petrie's view that it was nothing but a fort. Everything found within the building, as well as in the whole enclosure and the tract north of it for some distance, was incontestably Egyptian, and whether it was a Saite camp of observation, designed to overawe the alien quarter to the north, or a market area, or a religious *temenos*, we may be sure that it was an Egyptian foundation, probably of Psammetichus I, restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus I.

Rather than that, then our North-eastern *Temenos*, ought to be the "Hellenion" of Herodotus, the "largest, most famous and most frequented"

of the *temenê* in the Greek settlement of Naukratis. We have shown that our Temenos had certainly a religious character and that everything found in it is Greek, ranging from the sixth century downwards. If the words of Herodotus (ii. 178) are taken to mean¹ (though it is unnecessary to interpret them so) that the *Agora*, of which the nine founders of the "Hellenion" were privileged to supply the *πρόσταται*, was held within the precinct, there is ample room for it. If, however, it was held outside, then the doubtful neighbouring area called the "Heraion" would supply a not unlikely site.

Is there, however, any more positive evidence that our Area is the Hellenion? We found a large number of dedications to various Greek deities within the single Enclosure, and it would appear that certain of these deities were specially associated with particular spots; for our Aphrodite and our Dioscuri dedications occurred in distinct "pockets." It seems not improbable that here we have traces of a practice of honouring individual gods at shrines or 'Treasuries' situated in a common precinct, which explains the extraordinary excess of vase fragments with dedicatory inscriptions found at Naukratis, over those found on any other Greek site. It was necessary in fact, if you would have the reward of your *ex-voto* to a particular god, to specify his name. Hence a fashion which spread to all shrines in the place, e.g. to the little native Aphrodite temple far off at the southern end of the Greek quarter. Our sherds nos. 57, 107, 1 and 30, inscribed before the potters' process was complete, show that vases were made to order in Naukratite shops.

But of most significance are the dedications *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων*. It is impossible not to connect these with the *Ἑλλήνιον*. Whatever the precise significance of this unique formula of dedication or of the unique name of the greatest Greek Precinct in Naukratis, they go together; and the occurrence of so many relics of vases so dedicated within our Temenos practically completes the evidence that it is the Temenos called by Herodotus the "Hellenion."

What does the name *Hellenion* signify exactly? According to strict Greek usage it ought to be the title of a sanctuary of a certain god, or gods, qualified as *Ἑλληνίος* or *Ἑλλήνιοι*. Mr. Edgar compares (*infra* p. 55) the oath sworn in Hdt. v. 49. and 92 by the *θεοὶ Ἑλλήνιοι*: and there can be no doubt that the *Hellenion* was the Precinct rather of these gods

¹ Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209.

than of Zeus Hellenios. This epithet, applied either to a group of gods or to Zeus, is very rarely alluded to in ancient literature. In the plural it occurs only in the two passages cited above from Herodotus, which are both found in speeches in which Greeks are urged to remember a common nationality. It was appropriate enough under the circumstances of Naukratis. The dedicatory formula on our sherds must be a vulgar but not unnatural variant or corruption of *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνιοις*; and perhaps some of the mutilated inscriptions should be so restored.

To the discussion of the question of the date at which Greeks first settled at Naukratis we make a destructive contribution by urging the inconclusiveness of the archaeological evidence. Mr. Edgar states our position in regard to this below (p. 47). One further point may be noticed here. We found the south of the site to have been occupied exclusively by an Egyptian town with no Greek *temenê* within it. What is the date of this town? prior or posterior to the Greek settlement? No hieroglyphic text found there has given us its name, and at present the *terminus ad quem* of the cartouches on its scarabs or other objects is the reign of Psammetichus I. Some day foundation deposits may be lighted on under the angles of the 'Great Temenos' which will go far to decide the question: but for the present we can only urge the improbability that Amasis should have allowed the Greeks to settle on a site which had no Egyptian garrison. Considering his original attitude to these aliens (Hdt. ii. 169) we may fairly regard his "concession" of Naukratis as a prudent measure of concentration, almost amounting to the repression of a dangerous element, which should no longer be allowed to penetrate at will into the Delta, but be confined to one spot within easy striking distance of Sais. The "Great Temenos" of Mr. Petrie is in all likelihood what remains of the Egyptian camp of observation, designed to watch the populous northern suburb; and is at least contemporary with the beginnings of the latter. How much earlier the Egyptian town¹ may be, it is not possible yet to say.

The literary evidence on this matter of the foundation has been so exhaustively treated by Prof. G. Hirschfeld (*Rhein. Mus.* xlii. p. 209) that we confine ourselves to the archaeological data. It is possible, if Strabo's Inaros be taken to be some unknown individual (p. 801), to reconcile his statements with those of Herodotus, by supposing that the Milesians came

¹ The view of the pre-existence of an Egyptian town at Naukratis is at least as old as Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s.v.

alone before Amasis and founded their single Precinct of Apollo and that round that other Precincts were laid out by later settlers. But neither our spades nor those of our predecessors have turned up any relics of Greek Naukratis which in our opinion need be earlier than the date which the words of Herodotus, interpreted naturally, seem to ascribe to the first settlement of Hellenes—about 570 B.C.

The results of our trenching in the long western strip, added to the experience of our predecessors, have left us little stomach for further exploration in that shallow and unproductive region. The southern tract remains to be excavated by some one interested in the Egyptian town, which in all probability was existing before the Greek traders were allowed by Amasis to found their large suburb to the north. The north-eastern corner of the Mound, however, ought to be further explored by us with as little delay as possible. The great enclosure, in which we dug, seems to be continued eastward: the Demeter basin proves the existence of at least one shrine of later times in the area yet undug: the highest strata are very productive. It is, however, the lowest stratum that best repays expenditure at Naukratis, and this lies here, as elsewhere on the site, below a thick belt of hard sand. The *sebakh*-diggers are at work on the upper strata every day, and their labours, ere another year or two years have passed, will have greatly lessened the task that awaits the scientific excavator in this region; but they will also have diminished his gains.

In another quarter a rich return might be expected for a liberal expenditure of money. The Arab village which lies, not on the Mound, but very close to it on the north, certainly covers the site of a cemetery, other than the small Hellenistic one explored in 1884 and now destroyed. Mr. Gardner sank pits on this mound and satisfied himself that it contained burials; and there was brought to us a limestone grave-relief of not bad period and style, found by an Arab of the superjacent village below his house. Any one who will find the money to expropriate this village will in all likelihood discover beneath it tombs from the sixth century onwards and a rich treasure of broken vases and terracottas.

B.

THE INSCRIBED AND PAINTED POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

§ 1.—All archaeological scholars are familiar with the splendid find of Greek pottery which we owe to Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner, and with the incised dedications on which are preserved the handwriting and names of the early inhabitants of Naukratis. Those interested in either subject will find in the following pages some additional material selected from the results of the recent excavation.

But before proceeding to describe this material in detail I wish to say something of a more general character concerning the question to what date the early Greek remains at Naukratis are to be assigned, and whether the results of excavation confirm or disprove the well-known statements of Herodotus regarding the origin of the Greek settlement. The problem as to the age of Naukratis is of archaeological as well as of historical interest, because so few Greek antiquities earlier than 550 B.C. have as yet been satisfactorily dated.

I.

Mr. Petrie (*Naukr. i.*), supported by Mr. Gardner (*id. i. and ii.*), argued that the Greeks had settled in Naukratis and founded temples there as early at least as 630 B.C., and that, among other things, the fabric of pottery which is now known as Naukratite had been started by about 620 B.C. These conclusions, although contested at the time, appear to be generally acquiesced in. They are accepted for example by M. Joubin in a discussion of Naukratite art (*B.C.H.* 1895, p. 80 ff.), and by M. Perrot in the latest volume of his *magnum opus*, and made to serve as chronological data. If one inquires into the evidence on which this confidence is reposed, it will be found to consist almost entirely of certain careful observations made by Mr. Petrie during the excavations of 1885. Let me begin by restating them.

