

f. The Hellenion<sup>114</sup>

Herodotus 2. 178 describes the Hellenion as the best-known and most visited sanctuary in Naukratis. Its building involved the joint efforts of nine poleis. Petrie<sup>115</sup> supposed the Hellenion to be identical with the Great Temenos that he had discovered. In 1899, while digging to the north-east of the old excavation area, Hogarth<sup>116</sup> discovered buildings with several chambers and sherds bearing inscriptions to individual deities such as Aphrodite, ?Heracles, Artemis, and ?Poseidon, but also to the collective gods of the Greeks, these found in particular to the north-west of Well 35.<sup>117</sup> These buildings were surrounded by a temenos wall of mud-bricks, with a thickness of 7.6–9.0 m.; it can be seen on the map (Figure 5) near 34 to the west, 39 to the south, and 67 to the east.<sup>118</sup> This area was excavated during the 1899 campaign along a north–south length of 107 m. (350 ft.). It was possible to extend the area under investigation somewhat to the north in 1903, until work was hindered by the water table which made it impossible to locate the northern boundary wall; it probably lies under what is today cultivated ground. Hogarth's identification, based upon inscriptions, of the buildings surrounded by a temenos wall as being the Hellenion will presumably be correct.<sup>119</sup>

It is difficult to reconstruct the architectural development of the building complex, much having already suffered destruction before digging commenced and deep standing water hampering the excavation of the lowest layers.

The oldest structures lay in the section which had suffered the greatest destruction, the presumed south-west area of the Hellenion. The temenos walls in the west and south go down to the virgin soil; the oldest sherds were found immediately inside them.<sup>120</sup> The traces of a large mud-brick

<sup>114</sup> Bold numbers in the text refer to Fig. 5. Cf. Fig. 1 for the situation of the Hellenion within Naukratis.

<sup>115</sup> *Naukratis I*, 23 f.

<sup>116</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 28–39; *JHS* 25, 1905, 110, 112–18.

<sup>117</sup> Aphrodite: In addition to the inscribed pottery, the worship of Aphrodite can be proved by so-called Aphrodite heads, child-birth votive figures, etc., from the 6th to 4th c. BC, which were found around 9, 11, 12, 14, 14a, 35; cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 72. ?Heracles: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 53 no. 3, 55 no. 63. Artemis: *JHS* 25, 1905, 115. ?Poseidon: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 38 f.; *JHS* 25, 1905, 116 ff. To the gods of the Hellenes: *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 31, 39, 54 nos. 14–20, 55 nos. 71–81 on Attic black-glazed kyhkes; for the shape cf. *British Museum Catalogue Vases* ii, 5 fig. 16; cf. *Naukratis I*, 62 pl. 35.690 (fragment found between the sanctuaries of Apollo and the Dioskouroi); *JHS* 25, 1905, 117 nos. 1–4.

<sup>118</sup> The eastern wall was only discovered in 1903; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 116 f.; 39 is indicated on pl. 2 in *ABSA* 5, 1889/9.

<sup>119</sup> Von Bissing, 80, doubted whether the chambers 10–20 and passageway 28 could belong to a temple; cf. p. 76, where he suggests a comparison with houses in Dimeh and Karanis. Doubts about the identification are renewed by H. Bowden, in *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (1906), 22 ff.

<sup>120</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 30; cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 114 pl. 5.1 for fragments found near 67.

platform (8), the pieces of a threshold of red granite (1), suggestive of an Egyptian rather than Greek temple,<sup>121</sup> and Chamber 3, in which a votive inscription to Apollo was found on a North Ionian LWG vase from before 570 BC,<sup>122</sup> all apparently belong to these oldest layers. The remnants of the sandstone structures 7, 9, 16 and 17, located underneath the later chambers, should also be attributed to the oldest period; these remains of walls are oriented parallel to the walls of chambers 3 and 5. The large earthenware basin (18) in which the sandstone relief of a warrior<sup>123</sup> was found is presumably connected with this structure. These oldest remnants from the Hellenion go back to the first half of the sixth century BC,<sup>124</sup> yet the mass of the vase fragments is not older than the second quarter of the sixth century,<sup>125</sup> allowing the conclusion that the Hellenion was either newly constructed following Amasis' reform in 570 BC or took at least its shape.

The long east-west wall of mud-bricks, adjoining Chambers 10, 11, 14, 15, 19 and 20 of the same material, lies on top of these oldest structures and sherds. Terracottas and rf sherds from the late fifth century BC were found on what remained of the floors. This indicates that the reconstruction of the Hellenion must have taken place before the end of the fifth century BC, perhaps during the first half but at the latest in the mid-fifth century BC.<sup>126</sup> Chambers 12, 13, 14, 14a and 22 should also be seen in connection with the chambers bordering on the wall; however, excavation on the former was considerably impaired by the water table. Fragments of a late Attic rf vase were found in 14a, terracottas from the fifth and fourth centuries in 14, and an early Chian sherd<sup>127</sup> in the mud of Chamber 22.

The year 1903 saw the discovery of the other chambers belonging to this period, namely 57, 59, 61, 64 and 65. Bf sherds were found under their walls, together with rf sherds at some height above the foundations, along with the other fragments in 64 of the Stesichoros Kylix found in 1899.<sup>128</sup> The stone foundations found under the Ptolemaic Chamber 63 presumably belong here chronologically on account of the items with which they were found; moreover, they lie on top of 60 cm. of older finds, such as Chian

<sup>121</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 30, 35; von Bissing, 76.

<sup>122</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 31, 55 no 51 (cf. V.4.g. Chios no. 2c and Appendix 1.d.); cf. a vase of the same style Oxford C 119.42 (pl. 6.7-8); measurement of the mud-bricks does not yield a firm dating of this chamber.

<sup>123</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 33, 65-7 pl. 9; *BMCS* 1:1 B 437; unfortunately, it cannot be dated precisely, and furthermore appears to be unfinished. It could belong to the oldest structures, but could also have been buried here later, cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 126 f. fig. 8 for the same type.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 35.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. pottery finds in *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 59 pl. 7.1a-d (LWG), 62 pl. 8.6 (LC krater); *JHS* 25, 1905, 118-22; there was little LWG, but Fikellura ware, Clazomenian and Attic bf vases were found.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 9, 36.

<sup>127</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 33 f., 69.

<sup>128</sup> *JHS* 25, 1905, 114, 120 pl. 6.5; *ARI*<sup>2</sup>, 326.93.

sherds.<sup>129</sup> An older floor was found under the Ptolemaic one in Chamber 58; it seems to belong to this period.

The Ptolemaic layer is delimited by an underlying sand-bed 0.6–2.0 m. thick which appears to have been deposited artificially, perhaps as a result of an increase in the ground-water level. This sand deposit could be seen in 37, 39, 40 and 42 in the south, 46 and 49 in the west, under 63, and everywhere in the north-east.<sup>130</sup>

Chambers 23–27 in particular belong to the Ptolemaic reconstruction or new building, and adjoin a passageway (28). The finds from here were very meagre, apart from some late Greek and Roman sherds.<sup>131</sup> The Ptolemaic temple was perhaps adorned with Ionic building elements, as apparently indicated by an Ionic capital with part of a volute.<sup>132</sup> The eastern section of the Hellenion, which was not excavated until 1903, was also renewed or extended in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>133</sup>

As far as can be ascertained from the ground plan, the Hellenion is not typical Greek temple. Instead, the layout of the chambers calls to mind the Graeco-Egyptian temples in the Fayûm, such as at Dionysias (Qasr Qerûn), Karanis (Kum Ushim) and Bacchias (Umm el Atl).<sup>134</sup>

To sum up, we can portray the development of the Hellenion as follows. Three phases of building may be identified, in each case of stone and mud-brick.<sup>135</sup> The buildings from the Ptolemaic period (Phase III) can be classified best, since their walls survived in part to a height of 1 m. The vase fragments come from a period stretching from the third century BC down to Roman times. The buildings were constructed on a sandbed probably deposited in Ptolemaic times for the purpose of reconstruction work on the Hellenion, this sand-bed overlying structures from the fifth century BC (Phase II). Naukratis might have experienced a period of decline following the Persian invasion in 525 BC, lasting until some time in the next century. The succeeding upswing of the *emporion's* fortunes made itself evident in renewed constructional activity not only in the Hellenion (new buildings with a slightly altered alignment) but also on the Temple of Apollo (second building phase in the first quarter of the fifth century) and the Sanctuary of the Dioskouroi (construction of the temple). The oldest phase of construction should presumably be seen within the context of Amasis' reform in

<sup>129</sup> *JHS* 25, 1905, 114f.

<sup>130</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 36 with n. 1, 37; *JHS* 25, 1905, 109, 115.

<sup>131</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 34.

<sup>132</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 37; cf. von Bissing's sceptical remarks on p. 80.

<sup>133</sup> *JHS* 25, 1905, 115.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. *EEF Fayûm*; comparison is difficult, as these buildings have never been published comprehensively. However, they date from the Hellenistic to Roman periods.

<sup>135</sup> *ABSA* 5, 1898/9, 42.



570 BC. Although not built over in later times, it is unfortunately precisely these structures, lying in the south of the temenos, which have suffered most from the quarrying activities of the *sebakhin*.

The surveys undertaken by Coulson and Leonard<sup>136</sup> in 1980 and 1981 along the edge of the lake that today covers Naukratis produced a mass of late Classical and Hellenistic sherds from the area of the Hellenion. Unfortunately, the high water-level made excavation impossible, but core drillings<sup>137</sup> were carried out in 1982. No pottery was found in drill-hole A, to the north of the Hellenion; on the other hand, drill-hole B, east of the section of the Hellenion excavated by Hogarth, yielded numerous—if relatively uninformative—sherds and small pieces of charcoal. This suggests that the Hellenion extended in an eastwards—not northwards—direction, indicating that the temple had a canonical east-west orientation.

#### *g. The Great Temenos*

The largest building structure discovered by Petrie in 1884/5 was a massive mud-brick edifice surrounded by a temenos wall, the so-called 'Great Temenos' (Figures 1 and 6), which he identified with the Hellenion.<sup>138</sup> He described a temenos wall some 15 m. thick (50 ft. on average), running approximately 260 × 230 m. (851–870 × 742–746 ft.). He stated the height as 8.80 m. (29 ft.) at better-preserved places, estimating the original height to have been some 12 m. (40 ft.). However, Petrie<sup>139</sup> ascertained that the entire wall—apart from a small section on the south side near the south-western corner—had been dismantled by the Arabs down to the present level, a mere 1.50 m. to 3 m. (5–10 ft.) remaining in many places. The survival of the higher sections is attributable to the fact that there was an Arab cemetery to the south-west and some houses were built against the wall. If his remarks are compared with his plan,<sup>140</sup> in which those areas under cultivation are indicated by hatching, then doubts unavoidably emerge regarding the reconstruction of his temenos walls. It could be that Petrie interpreted the remains of houses later found by Hogarth<sup>141</sup> as a continuous temenos wall. None of the pottery found there could be dated to before 500 BC.

Petrie uncovered a Ptolemaic building on the west side of his reconstructed temenos walls.<sup>142</sup> He found traces of a pylon on the external long

<sup>136</sup> *JARCE* 19, 1982, 79f.

<sup>137</sup> *JARCE* 19, 1982, 92 fig. 5; *Muse* 16, 1982, 144–6.

<sup>138</sup> *Naukratis* I, 23f.

<sup>139</sup> *Naukratis* I, 24.

<sup>140</sup> *Naukratis* I, pl. 40.

<sup>141</sup> *JHS* 25, 1905, 111.

<sup>142</sup> *Naukratis* I, 26–30 pl. 42; cf. von Bissing, 61f.

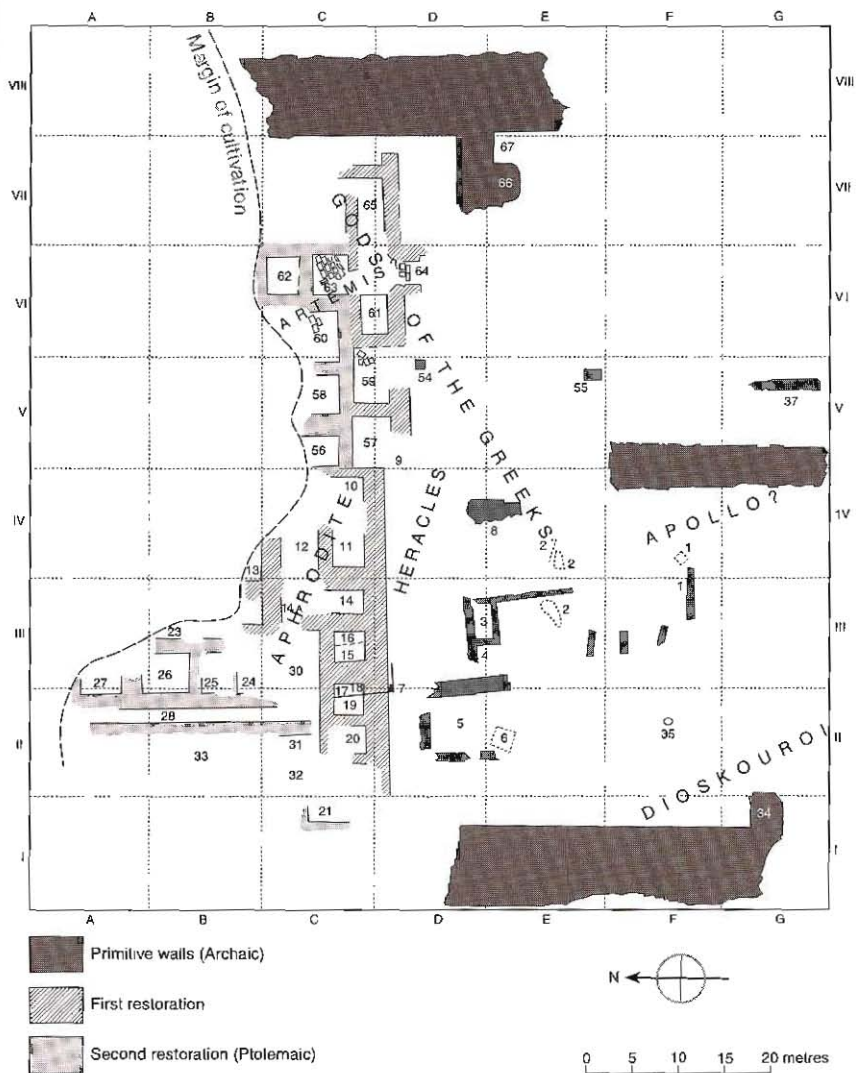


Fig. 5. The Hellenion (*JHS* 25, 1905, 113 fig. I, with additions)