

Reviving the Glory of Ancient Naucratis

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ABSTRACT

Naucratis – nowadays the village of *Kom Ge'if* – was one of the prominent cities during the Late Period of ancient Egypt. It is the place that witnessed the earliest direct contact between the native Egyptians and the Greeks who were permitted to permanently settle in that city, freely practice their own religious life, and more effectively engage in commercial activity. Before the late 19th century AD, the site was only known through the historical accounts, yet Petrie's recognition of the site opened the gate for a new phase of revealing its secrets through excavation work. The fieldwork reports largely verified the description stated in antiquity and included significant information, of which a good use can be made to recover the various features of the site. Based on the historical and archaeological importance of the ancient city, the site is worth being placed on the regional tourism map. Therefore, this article traces the history of the site, and surveys the excavations carried out to be the foundation for putting forward a proposal to develop a comprehensive strategy that would result in significant transformation. A comprehensive proposal to enhance the archaeological site of Naucratis in Egypt has been developed. This proposal includes introducing a unique form of tourism that blends cultural exploration with agricultural experiences centered around sesame cultivation as well as legend-induced tourism focusing on the fascinating narratives surrounding Naucratis.

KEYWORDS: Naucratis – *Kom Ge'if* – excavations – legend-induced tourism – agricultural tourism – sesame cultivation – on-site museum.

I- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Naucratis was the first and the only Egyptian city, in which the Greeks were concentrated since the time of the Saïte dynasty, that is roughly three centuries prior to the establishment of the well-known city of Alexandria. The exact date of the foundation of Naucratis was not specified in ancient sources; however, the archaeological evidence indicates a date in the late 7th century BC (615-610 BC).¹ It was situated on the westernmost Canopic branch of the Nile near the capital, Sais. It started as a colony and trading post of the Milesians,² who were most likely among the Ionians and Carians employed by king Psamtik I in his struggle for supremacy in Egypt, and in return they were granted settlements in the Delta.³ King Amasis – as a measure to mollify the Egyptian nationalist spirit on one hand and as a trial to

¹R. M. COOK, "Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 57, Part 2 (1937): 230-231, 233.

²E. M. SMITH, "Naucratis and Her Hinterland," *The Classical Journal* 22, no. 7 (1927): 533.

³C. ROEBUCK, "The Organization of Naucratis," *The Classical Philology* 46, no. 4 (1951): 219, n. 13; J. W. DRIJVERS, "Strabo 17.1.18 (801C): Inaros, the Milesians and Naucratis," *Mnemosyne* 52, Fasc. 1 (1999): 16-17 and n. 2, 19.

compensate the Greeks on the other hand – confined and concentrated the Greeks in Naucratis,⁴ granting them lands to establish sacred enclosures for their deities, of which the largest – as stated by Herodotus – is the Hellenion, which was constructed by a joint effort of nine cities constituting the three main tribes, into which the Greeks divided themselves: Ionians (Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae), Dorians (Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis), and Aeolians (Mitylene); other temples were also constructed there: temple of Zeus by people of Aegina, temple of Hera by the Samians, temple of Apollo by the Milesians,⁵ temple of Aphrodite,⁶ and temple of the *Dioskouroi*.⁷ Under Amasis, the city flourished reaching its peak of prosperity due to its monopoly of Greek trade⁸ through functioning as a river port serving the nearby capital, Saïs.⁹ Herodotus pointed out that Naucratis was approached by a ship-canal rather than being on the riverbank.¹⁰ Such proximity to the capital, Saïs, was undoubtedly advantageous to the city and its inhabitants.¹¹

The origin of the name ‘Naukratis’ is a matter of controversy. Two names are linked with the city: the first is ‘*Pr-mryt*’ meaning ‘the house of the harbour/port’ that was possibly the name of the site before the Greeks’ arrival as De Meulenaere believed, whereas the second is ‘*Nkrd*’, the origin of which is not known for certain. *Nkrd* could have been ancient Egyptian being transliterated in full (The Naukratis Stela JE 34002, column 13 [fig. 1]) as “*niwt krt*” meaning “the town of *krt*” (probably meaning the town of Carians), or it might have originated from the Greek word ‘*ναυκράτωρ*’ meaning ‘commander of the seas’ or ‘the master of a ship’. Another interpretation is that ‘*Pr-mryt*’ was only a descriptive epithet for the name ‘*Nkrd*’ due to the occurrence of both names on the Naukratis stela JE 34002 - column 10 (fig. 1): *pr-mryt dd.tw n.s krt* (*Pr-mryt called [Nau]kratis*).¹²

The city was administratively a single entity having its own institutions and magistrates with the inhabitants being divided into citizens and noncitizens. The administration of the port was in the hands of noncitizens as was the case for trade in

⁴ SMITH, “Naukratis and Her Hinterland,” 536; ROEBUCK, “The Organization of Naukratis,” 214.

⁵ HERODOTUS, *The Histories*, Book II, trans. by Henry Cary (New York, 1904): 151.

⁶ ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophistae*, Book XV, Trans. by C. D. Yonge (1854): 676.

⁷ The *temonos* dedicated to the *Dioskouroi* was not mentioned by historians but was revealed out of excavations in the site. ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, *Naukratis II* (London, 1888): 9.

⁸ SMITH, “Naukratis and Her Hinterland,” 536.

⁹ R. I. THOMAS, and A. VILLING, “Naukratis Revisited 2012: Integrating New Fieldwork and Old Research,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 20 (2013): 82.

¹⁰ W. M. F. PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I. 1884-5* (London, 1886): 10; J. H. WRIGHT, “Naukratis. Part I, 1884-5 by Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΩΝ and W. M. F. Petrie,” *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 3, no. 1/2 (1887): 105.

¹¹ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 8.

¹² D. A. DEMETRIOU, “Negotiating identity: Greek emporia in the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean” (PhD Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2005): 225-226; for the translation ‘the master of a ship’, see H. G. LIDELL, and R. SCOTT, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 7th edition (New York, 1889): 992; A. VON BOMHARD, *The Decree of Saïs. The Stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis* (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology: Monograph 7, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, 2012): 79-80; for the assumption of De Meulenaere, see H. DE MEULENAERE, “Naukratis,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982): 360-1.

Greek cities; it was shared by a number of officials being appointed by the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian cities, which took part in the establishment of the Hellenion.¹³ According to Herodotus, Naucratis was the only authorized marketplace for Greek products in Egypt.¹⁴ It is among the cities, which the ancient sources called *emporion* being “self-governing but dependent Greek *polis* located in non-Greek lands whose main purpose was to facilitate cross-cultural trade”.¹⁵ Not only it was the sole *emporion* in Egypt, but also – apart from Peiraius (the port of Attica) – Naucratis was the most frequently mentioned *emporion* in the ancient sources.¹⁶ In historical accounts, the city is referred to as either *emporion* or *polis*; it is likely that the city was an *emporion* during the Greek Archaic and Classical Periods, whereas it became a *polis* during the Hellenistic Period or possibly earlier in the late Classical Period.¹⁷

Naucratis witnessed a certain decline under the Persians;¹⁸ however, in the period between Alexander III’s arrival in Egypt and Ptolemy Soter's proclamation as a king, the city issued its own coinage, and under the Ptolemies, it continued to be as a self-governing unit and was a prototype for the Greek cities, which was then established in Egypt. Its citizens were generally not permitted to intermarry with Egyptians so as to retain its pure Greek character.¹⁹ The city produced a considerable number of historians/authors to Greek literature from the Ptolemaic Period, i.e. Apollonius, Polycharmus, Charon, Philistus, Lykeas and Staphilus.²⁰ The importance of Naucratis as a Greek city gradually faded after the establishment of the city of Alexandria.²¹ However, Naucratis continued to be occupied during the Roman Period. The discovery of silver and gold jewellery, coins and fine stone sculptures dating to the 1st century AD indicates a time of wealth and prosperity in the city. Terracotta figurines were still produced, yet not with the same quality, quantity and variety as existed during the Ptolemaic Period.²² Historians, i.e. Athenaeus, Chaeremon, and Julius Pollux, did not abandon the city at least till the late 2nd century AD.²³ The dramatic decline of the city is indicated through the gradual scarcity in the archaeological findings from the late 2nd century AD reaching its minimum in the late 3rd century AD. Also, temples declined in the 3rd century AD as proved by the fact that houses started to be built within sacred precincts.²⁴ Christianity was attested in Naucratis at the beginning of the 4th century AD during the persecution of those who

¹³ ROEBUCK, “The Organization of Naukratis,” 212-213.

¹⁴ W. D. E. COULSON, and JR. A. LEONARD, “The Naukratis Project: 1978,” *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 103 (Winter 1977-1978): 13.

¹⁵ D. DEMETRIOU, *Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean. The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia* (Cambridge, 2012): 118.

¹⁶ DEMETRIOU, *Negotiating Identity: Greek Emporia*, 197.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 206-208.

¹⁸ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 8.

¹⁹ ROEBUCK, “The Organization of Naukratis,” 216.

²⁰ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 8; M. GRANT, *The Rise of the Greeks* (UK, 2012): 217; J. P. MAHAFFY, *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (Cambridge Press, 2014): 17, n. 1.

²¹ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 8.

²² R. I. THOMAS, “Roman Naukratis and its Alexandrian Context,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 21 (2014): 199-200.

²³ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 9; MAHAFFY, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 17, n. 1.

²⁴ THOMAS, “Roman Naukratis,” 201-202.

followed the new religion under the reign of Diocletian. Christian symbols were found at Naucratis on lamps, pots and amphora stoppers dating to 5th-7th century AD. Following the Arab conquest of Egypt in 642 AD, Naucratis witnessed a sudden decline, whereas Alexandria retained its importance in the early Islamic period.²⁵ Petrie stated that a Kufic glass stamp from a bottle dating to the 8th century AD was the last trace of life found at Naucratis.²⁶

II-ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The location of Naucratis through ancient sources and geographical accounts was referred to as being close to a Nile branch in Western Delta. However, the exact location was not specified until the late 19th century AD. Towards the end of 1883, Sir Flinders Petrie bought an upper part of an alabaster statue of Archaic Greek style from Giza. Enquiring about its provenance, the answer was El- Nebireh near Damanhour at El-Beheira. Out of curiosity, he visited the site finding there a long low mound of town ruins. Examining this crater, many pieces of archaic Greek pottery were noted. He expressed a desire to work in that unknown promising place; however, he was still working at that time at Tanis.²⁷

Excavations in the Late 19th Century AD – Early 20th Century

In 1884, Petrie moved to the new site to start his excavations on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Searching for a place to rent, he found an old villa for a pasha, by its side there were two grey stone blocks. On one of them was inscribed a part of a decree of the city of Naucratis. Thus, the place was identified.²⁸ Such identification was then confirmed by the discovery of the Greek temples mentioned by Greek historians in the city of Naucratis.²⁹ With the arrival of Petrie, the earliest foundations of the site are ten feet below the level of the land. Petrie predicted that once the diggings reach out the cultivated land, the excavated site will be flooded forming a permanent lake preventing any future excavations in the site.³⁰

In the first season of work continuing to the summer of 1885, Petrie discovered the Hellenion, temple of Apollo, and temple dedicated to the *Dioskouroi*.³¹ The site of Apollo's precinct, measuring 42.7 m in width and 79 m in length, revealed the remains of two successive temples within an enclosure wall, parts of which existed at the arrival of Petrie extending less than a third of the whole circle, with the highest part measuring no more than 1.5 m. Elements of both temples and sections of the second temple's pavement could be found in the highest parts of the ground. The first temple, dated by Petrie to 620 BC, was constructed of limestone and artificially raised on slight mound of muddy sand (1.5 m in thickness); it revealed very few architectural fragments, vases, limestone statuettes, and terracotta figurines. The second temple of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 202, 204.

²⁶ PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 9.

²⁷ W. M. F. PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt, 1881-1891* (London, 1892): 36-37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁹ WRIGHT, "Naukratis. Part I," 103.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

³¹ GARDNER, *Naukratis II*, 9.

Apollo, dated by Petrie to 440 BC, may have been built of limestone or stuccoed and painted brick, with elaborate marble decoration, the details of which share similarities to those found in the later dated temple called the *Erechtheion* constructed on the acropolis of Athens.³² The precinct of the *Dioskouroi*, which is not mentioned by Classical authors, was harder to trace than Apollo's, though part of the east wall was clearly identifiable, and traceable wall fragments on the southern side; Petrie noticed that the western wall fragments were thinner than those on the other sides. Within the *Dioskouroi*'s enclosure, the only architectural element that was found is a chip from a limestone column inscribed with Greek letters as well as fragments of dedications in pottery dating to the 5th and 4th century BC were discovered. Petrie suggested this temple and the second temple of Apollo were reconstructed simultaneously.³³ The area of the Great Temenos, located at the southern end of the city, was mistakenly identified by Petrie as the Hellenion mentioned by Herodotus. The Great Temenos covers one third of the city's area; its dimensions inside the walls are 265 m in the north side, 259 m in the south, 227 m in the east, and 226 m in the west; the thickness of the enclosure wall has an average of 15 m; a preserved part of the enclosure wall measures 8.8 m high, yet the original height may have been 12 m or more. Within this precinct lies another building known as the 'Great Mound' (later called 'South Mound') consisting of series of brickwork chambers connected by passages that are not accessible on the ground level, but rather at a height of 5 m. It has a single narrow gateway through the stone walled two towers of a pylon having a brickwork filling. The excavation on the site of the entrance revealed two large rams made of white marble, in addition to a marble base of an animal (most probably another ram) bearing a dedication to the Theban Zeus, who was identified with the Egyptian god Amun. There are foundation deposits dating to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus discovered in that area since he repaired the partly damaged wall surrounding the Great Temenos and constructed a large building in the foyer, with which he filled the empty space at the entrance; Petrie clarified the difference in size between the original bricks of the Temenos dating to the 26th dynasty and the later added Ptolemaic bricks.³⁴ There was an enclosure that had been identified by Petrie as the *Palaestra* (wrestling place) in view of the discovery of a dedication of a *Palaestra*; and since the *Palaestra* is dedicated to Apollo, the enclosure adjacent to that of Apollo was so identified.³⁵ There was cause for optimism for the following season that two more temples, those of Aphrodite and Hera, may also be discovered based on one or two fragments of inscribed vases; nevertheless, it was impossible to determine with certainty where they are exactly located.³⁶

The concession to dig in the site was then handed over to Gardner in 1886. He first cleared out the site of the temple dedicated to the *Dioskouroi*, of which only the northern wall of its cella, pillars, and fragments of vases dedicated to the *Dioskouroi* were found. He also managed to discover the temples of Aphrodite and Hera. The

³² PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 11-15.

³³ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 35, 62-63.

³⁶ GARDNER, *Naukratis II*, 9.

temple of Aphrodite was the season's most fruitful find as stated by Gardner;³⁷ the discovery took place when men, digging on their own nearby the end of the excavators' trench, uncovered pottery fragments dedicated to Aphrodite. After removing the surface debris, the altar with its plastered thin walls was found in front of the temple reached by a flight of three steps, whereas in the area of the temple itself within the traceable enclosure, remains of three temples of different dates were revealed.³⁸ The enclosure that was previously identified by Petrie as the *Palaestra* was proved to be that of the stone temple of Hera, which was once constructed by the Samians as the historians stated, in view of the fragments found in the site having dedications to this goddess.³⁹ He also quoted that the dwelling houses in this site were entirely built of mud-brick, and then gradually served as foundations for later generations' buildings. Thus, very few remain to give a picture of what they looked like in that distant past.⁴⁰ Of the discoveries of this season was the cemetery lying in the low mounds located to the north of the ancient city. Only the unoccupied part of it was excavated; the results were unsatisfactory being used in later periods of the city after its decline, while the greater part of the cemetery was buried under a modern village.⁴¹

When Hogarth arrived at Naukratis in the late 1898, the site compared with Petrie's maps showed a great change as there were serious encroachments upon its mounds. Hogarth, joined by Edgar and Edmonds, started excavations there in 1899 funded by the Society of Dilettanti under the auspices of the British School of Athens. In the northeastern area of the site, there were revealed a partly preserved enclosure wall encompassing an area of 106.6 m, remains of structures (three successive temples constructed of stone and brick dating to three different periods from the 6th century BC until the Ptolemaic period), a fragment of an ionic cap with a part of its shaft with a diameter of 78.7 cm, fragmentary sherds and terracottas of religious character dedicated to several Greek deities (Aphrodite, Apollo, Herakles, Zeus, *Dioskouroi*, Artemis, Poseidon? ...).⁴² There is also a line of small chambers continuing eastward across the Temenos including dedicatory pottery fragments, the formulae on which suggested that these chambers/shrines were devoted to different deities.⁴³ These findings provided a reasonable assumption that this precinct, which is larger than any other temple on the site apart from the Great Temenos at the southern end, must be the Hellenion mentioned by Herodotus with all the material recovered being Greek and dating from the 6th century BC downwards. On the other hand, the Great Temenos, which was previously identified by Petrie as the Hellenion, is located

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13, 33-34.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴² D. G. HOGARTH, C. C. EDGAR, and C. GUTCH, "Excavations at Naukratis," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 5 (1898-1899): 27-28, 37-39, 42.

⁴³ D. G. HOGARTH, H. L. LORIMER, and C. C. EDGAR, "Naukratis, 1903," *Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 25 (1905): 112.

in the southern area in the side of the Egyptian quarter and produced only Egyptian artefacts rather than anything Greek.⁴⁴

Through a grant from Craven Fund of Oxford University, Hogarth returned to the site in 1903. One of the reasons for his return was to search for the foundation deposits which could bear a clue for the king who built the enclosure wall of the Great Temenos. Although Hogarth extensively explored the areas where the north and west walls should have been, he was never able to find any solid brickwork that measured even a quarter of the length that Petrie had previously claimed for his 'Great Wall', he rather discovered a severely damaged complex of buildings. Hogarth believed that Petrie was mistaken about the nature of the construction masses located on three sides of the Great Temenos: the masses were not a solid brick wall, but rather an accumulation of house remnants heaped up around a lower area that once housed Egyptian temples and public buildings; he also added that it was not evident from Petrie's own account that he ever conducted systematic digging to test the nature of these construction masses. Hogarth then argued that this southern area was not occupied by Great Temenos, but there may have been small precincts of Egyptian deities encircled by a ring of mudbrick houses. That season excavations, having most of its finds in the southern part of the site consisting mainly of Egyptian material, supported Petrie's supposition that the southern part was the earliest occupied; the latter was the Egyptian quarter versus the northern Greek quarter. He ended his report by stating that the site became exhausted having all the mounds' surface waste heaps cleared out for several times and having excavated all the temple sites.⁴⁵

Excavations at the Beginning of the Last Quarter of the 20th Century

The site was then neglected for decades until another project was adopted in 1977 that is the 'Naukratis Project',⁴⁶ which was mainly initiated at the instigation of R. M. Cook, who – earlier in 1937 – realized that further work is needed at Naukratis and its surrounding area.⁴⁷ The main investigators of the project were William D. E. Coulson from the University of Minnesota and Albert Leonard, Jr. from the University of Missouri-Columbia, with Gerald W. Johnson as a surveyor. The initial phase of the project was conducted in the period from December 15, 1977 to January 15, 1978, funded by the Smithsonian Institute under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt. The project team expressed their disappointment that the excavators of the late 19th century focused on the central archaic city skipping the later Ptolemaic and Roman periods and focused too much on the religious structures at the expense of the commercial and residential areas.⁴⁸ Thus, the 'Naukratis Project' targeted the areas in the site that were neglected by the early

⁴⁴ HOGARTH et al., "Excavations at Naukratis," 43-44.

⁴⁵ HOGARTH et al., "Naukratis, 1903," 105, 107, 110-112, 122, 135.

⁴⁶ W. D. E. COULSON, and A. LEONARD JR., "A Preliminary Survey of the Naukratis Region in the Western Nile Delta," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6, no. 2 (1979): 151.

⁴⁷ R. M. COOK, "Amasis" 236; WILLIAM D. E. COULSON, and ALBERT LEONARD JR., "Investigations at Naukratis and Environs, 1980 and 1981," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 3 (1982): 361 and n. 1.

⁴⁸ COULSON and LEONARD, "A Preliminary Survey," 151.

excavators and the local farmers,⁴⁹ focusing on the plentiful sherds on the shores of the lake in order to determine the chronological development at the site.⁵⁰ The first phase included providing a site plan, sample of the material culture from the surface, and a survey of the site measuring the state of preservation and the extent of modern despoilment.⁵¹ *Kom Ge'if* has enlarged from the time of the late 19th century to include five villages (Rashwan, Abu Mishfa, Gebril Abbas, Hassan Kasim, and El-Baradany) surrounding a lake that covered the early site of excavations (fig. 2).⁵² Such lake was unfortunately formed as a result of the substantial increase in the Delta's water table, the heavy winter rainfall, and its proximity of a small water canal.⁵³ The water level of the lake differed during the seasons reaching its highest level that was 15 m during the winter and its lowest level during the summer that was 3 m when it revealed parts of the architectural elements discovered by early excavators; however, other parts of the ancient city were not under water such as the Great Temenos.⁵⁴ It was difficult to determine the city's original size; the southern cultivated fields, particularly between *Kom Ge'if* and El-Roba, were littered with sherds that were mostly Roman in date, which gave a possibility that the site extended southwards during the early centuries of the empire. The large dumps of earth produced by the early excavations of the site were not visible at the time of this project; thus, it was hypothesized that these dumps were spread over the adjacent fields in the past period for use as high-phosphate fertilizer (*sebakh*). The lake's perimeter was subdivided into 7 areas within 25 km around the archaic city to facilitate data collection; most of the sherds dates from the Graeco-Roman Period that was disregarded by previous scholars. Through the sherd findings, the city continued to be populated in the Graeco-Roman period: the areas to the east of Petrie's archaic city were occupied during the Ptolemaic period, while the areas to the north and west were occupied later during the Roman period until at least the 6th century AD. Considering the large variety of pottery sherds including imitations of African Red Slip Ware and imitations of the true Attic ware, it is very likely that Naukratis in the western delta was a major center in the region for pottery production until a late Roman date.⁵⁵ The project recommended the necessity for future phases of excavations in the site.⁵⁶ However, they specified a promising area for excavations within the Great Temenos that is the 'Great Mound' (later called the 'South Mound'), whose western face had been dug by the *sebakhin* revealing parts of mudbrick walling; it measures 60 x 90 m and rising 5 meters above the ground level of their time showing potsherds at its top. The other large mudbrick building within the Temenos, on the other hand, is destroyed as had been referred to by Petrie.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ COULSON and LEONARD, "Investigations," 363.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁵¹ COULSON and LEONARD, "A Preliminary Survey," 151.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵³ COULSON and LEONARD, "Investigations," 363.

⁵⁴ COULSON and LEONARD, "A Preliminary Survey," 154.

⁵⁵ COULSON and LEONARD, "The Naukratis Project: 1978," 18, 19 (fig. 3), 22, 25; COULSON and LEONARD, "A Preliminary Survey," 151.

⁵⁶ COULSON and LEONARD, "A Preliminary Survey," 168.

⁵⁷ COULSON and LEONARD, "The Naukratis Project: 1978," 17; COULSON and LEONARD, "Investigations," 363, 365; A. LEONARD JR., *Ancient Naukratis: Excavations at a Greek Emporium in*

The following three seasons (1980-1982) were sponsored by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, in addition to further funds from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Minnesota, as well as three colleges in Minnesota (the Carleton College, the College of St. Catherine's, and Gustavus Adolphus College), and the University of Missouri–Columbia. These seasons' excavations at the 'South Mound' primarily focused on understanding the nature of the architecture (i.e., form, function and chronology with a period exceeding two centuries).⁵⁸ In 1980, the mound's western slopes revealed three architectural phases underneath and provided types of pottery dating to the Ptolemaic period.⁵⁹ In 1980, a significant amount of sherds were exposed on the surface due to the lake's significant reduction in level, which offered an excellent opportunity for surface collection; the sherds along the lake's western shore were mainly Roman, whereas those along the northeast and east were mostly Ptolemaic, which indicate the development direction of the city in the later periods.⁶⁰ Such chronological development of the city stated in 1980 report is slightly different from that of season 1977-1978 as regards the lake's northern shore, which previously suggested Roman presence. During the season of 1981, excavations in the 'South Mound' continued very close to the east of the areas uncovered in the previous season (mound's western slopes), where a mud-brick building with at least three rooms was revealed; in one of these rooms, a bronze coin of Ptolemy Euergetes I was found, which supported the Ptolemaic date for that building. The mound's lower northern slopes showed two phases of construction work dating to the Ptolemaic period.⁶¹ The cultivated area to the east of the lake yielded a variety of the most significant material found during the survey, including coins for Ptolemy IV, VI, VIII as well as other non-Egyptian products fashioned in Rhodes, Cnidus, and Thasos dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Also, they supported Hogarth's claim of identifying the building uncovered on the northeast part of the site as being the 'Hellenion' due to the wealth of the material found in the areas to the east and north of the lake, which strongly implies the presence of a significant structure in that area.⁶² The surface of the 'South Mound' revealed a cemetery, which Petrie had claimed to remove to continue his digging, yet the discovery of an intact layer of tombs raised doubts regarding Petrie's claim. The season 1982 was the final digging in the 'South Mound' revealing sherds and microsherds of the same Ptolemaic repertoire found within that area. Also, the muddy coarse sand found while excavating the layers in the 'South Mound' suggested that most probably through this area flowed the Canopic Branch of the Nile or a canal connected to it.⁶³ Worthy of mention is that the project supported Hogarth's dating for the architecture at the city's southern end as being Ptolemaic or 4th century BC since no material, revealed from the project's excavated areas, proved to be pre-Ptolemaic

Egypt. Part I: The Excavations at Kom Ge'if (Atlanta GA: *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 54, 1997): 20.

⁵⁸ W. COULSON, A. LEONARD JR., N. WILKIE, "Three Seasons of Excavations and Survey at Naukratis and Environs," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 19 (1982): 73-74.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 78.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 74; LEONARD, "Ancient Naukratis," 26-28.

or post-Ptolemaic; furthermore, they supported Hogarth's viewpoint as regards the absence of what Petrie called the 'Great Temenos' since he was not able to find the thick massive walls stated by Petrie, while the walls uncovered by Hogarth sounded as being part of dwelling houses; Hogarth's description of the walls matched what was revealed through the project's excavated areas of the mound, with the exception of largest wall 1254/1565 found in the season of 1981 in the southern edge of the mound that measured 3 m in thickness, which certainly belonged to a massive structure!⁶⁴ Based on the abundant material uncovered in the site dating to the Ptolemaic period, Naukratis was not overshadowed by Alexandria; it remained as the principal port for travelers from Alexandria to Memphis. Its importance also continued during the Roman period in view of the establishment of a new city (Antinoopolis) in Middle Egypt after Naukratis. Contrary to the old belief that Naukratis was destroyed at the time of the Arab conquest in the 7th century AD, Coptic bishops from Naukratis are recorded in *scalae* lists up to at least the 14th century AD.⁶⁵

Excavations in the 21st Century

In 2002, a team from the Supreme Council of Antiquities headed by Mr. Sabri Ali Choukri were assigned to make rescue excavations in the southwest part of ancient Naukratis in view of the discovery of limestone blocks belonging to an ancient structure while building a school in the village of El-Baradany. The team revealed the stone blocks and had them documented, then the blocks were moved to the area of the 'South Mound', away from the school construction work. Such blocks were found to be a part of the paved limestone platform/quay – dating to the 3rd century BC – connecting the temple of Amun Re with the Nile (fig. 3), the construction of which showed the method of dovetail joints. Considering Petrie's discovery of parts of marble rams and a large red granite sphinx that were most probably part of Ptolemy II's work in that area, it is very likely that there was a sphinxes avenue linking the quay with the temple's first pylon.⁶⁶

In the early 2009, excavations on a small scale were undertaken by a delegated team from the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Mohamed Ali Abdel-Hakim, Fayez Anwar Abdel Motteleb, and Mohamed Rezq) on a land owned by the Agrarian Reform Authority that is located within the eastern shore of the lake at *Kom Ge'if* following the incident of illegal digging by one of the farmers by the end of year 2008. The team referred to the difficulties of digging a cultivated land with a black clay soil and the

⁶⁴ LEONARD, "Ancient Naukratis," 26, 29-30, 92.

⁶⁵ COULSON and LEONARD, "Investigations," 372.

⁶⁶ The authors are greatly indebted to Mr. Sabri Ali Choukri for providing a brief of the discovery, yet full details will be covered in his in-press article, S. A. CHOUKRI, "The Quay of Amun Re," in *Egypt's Cosmopolitan Port City: British Museum Excavations 2012–2019*, ed. Ross Thomas and Alexandra Villing, forthcoming. Employing the method of dovetail joints used in the construction of the platform was common in ancient Egypt starting from at least the 4th dynasty and continued in use during the Graeco-Roman period; examples are numerous including joining the walls' large blocks, casing blocks of the pyramids, bases of obelisks... etc, see H. M. ASHOUR, "Asalīb Ta'šīq Al-Kotal Al-Ḥagarīyah fī Miṣr Al-Qadīmah. Esloub Deil Al-Ḥamāmah Namouḍagan," *Journal of Scientific Research in Arts* 20, issue 10 (2019): 1-29. For Petrie's discovery, see PETRIE, *Naukratis: Part I*, 27-28, and the "Note" preceding p.1.

groundwater emerging at a depth of less than 60 cm. Pottery pots and fragments, a calcite plaque, a faience necklace bead, and part of limestone spindle were discovered; some of which had engravings like the god Bes, the Ibis bird of Djhouty, and other geometrical patterns.⁶⁷

The British Museum was engaged in a series of fieldwork seasons at Naucratis from 2012 to 2019 sponsored by Honor Frost Foundation, the British Academy (Reckitt Fund), the Institute of Classical Studies, London, and Christian Levett and the Mougins Museum of Classical Art, France; this is part of the wider research project of the British Museum entitled 'Naucratis: Greeks in Egypt'. In October 2012, a short (8 days) fieldwork season at the site was conducted for a better understanding of the history of the site. The team consisted of Ross Thomas (field director), Alexandra Villing, Marianne Bergeron, and a group of Beheira Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) inspectors (Entesar El Sayed, Eptisam Nabeel, Emad Hamdy, Tarik Sayed, and Hany Farouk). They managed to make an accurate map of the site correcting previous errors using GPS survey and to establish a matrix for the stratigraphy giving a possibility of having several meters of archaeology still preserved underground. Magnetometer survey suggested that the ancient settlement is stretched over an area that is larger than what was previously expected. The survey indicated that the temple of the *Dioskouroi* in the north became buried under the village of Abu Mishfa. The nearby Hellenion became under the cultivated areas and the road to the east of that village; granite fragments of its door jamb still exist, which help in locating the structure and give an indication that a substantial part of it is still preserved under the fields. The old cemetery is most probably located further to the north buried under the low mound between the villages of Abu Mishfa and Rashwan that is currently occupied by houses. Petrie's statement as regards the mariners' access to Naucratis from the west had been recalled stating his supposition of the existence of a landing stage in the western area; Hogarth, on the other hand, supposed that before crossing to the west, the Nile flowed down the east side of Naucratis. Thus, there is a general consensus that the Canopic branch with the main port was located in the west of the city, but there was also a probability of the existence of a canal with a dock running past Naucratis' eastern side, which was then supported by the existence of a waterway in the eastern area through the survey of Shaaban El-Awady and Penelope Wilson in 2009, thus considering Naucratis' an island. To the east of the lake, there once located the main residential area and craft or industrial activities, which is now buried under the cultivated areas and the villages of Gebril Abbas and Hassan Kasim covering all the distance to Kom Hadid, specifically the area around the latter village seems to have been the center for pottery manufacturing, which has been evidenced as early as the first half of the 6th century BC. In antiquity, there existed a workshop for producing terracotta figurines in the northeast area of the site, where large quantities were found including moulds. Lastly, the southern area of the site was largely occupied by what is called by Petrie the 'Great Temenos' including the temple of Amun Re accessed from the west by a pylon constructed by Ptolemy Philadelphus. The report also pointed out to a long-lived tradition, taking place for more than

⁶⁷ F. A. A. MASOUD, "Ḥafā' er Nauqratis 2009," *Annal of Arab Archaeologists, Studies on the Arab World Monuments* 17, no. 1 (2014): 1247-1270, and fig. 2 (for the exact location of the excavations).

a century in the same area to the south of the lake, which is a weekly market. In answering Petrie's existence or Hogarth's non-existence of the Great Temenos wall, the project team used magnetometry focusing on the enclosure's central and eastern areas, which showed north-south linear structures on its eastern border that corresponded to Petrie's plans suggesting the existence of the Egyptian sacred enclosure dating from the Late Period onwards. Such results supported the need for future archaeological work in the site.⁶⁸

There followed another British Museum fieldwork season in April 2013 (two weeks and half) aiming to collect more data to supplement the results of the previous season to set the foundation for the following work. New members joined the original team of the previous season: The Egyptologist 'Penelope Wilson' of Durham University, the geologist 'Ben Pennington'. Continuing the magnetometry program, started in the previous season, brought more insight into the potential size of the ancient city, which must have extended over a minimum of 0.52 square kilometers, accommodating inhabitants' number that exceeded 12000. The magnetometry in the area of the Great Temenos revealed a small part of its east wall, a long part of its north wall with a possibility of being overbuilt and bordered by tower houses, walls from a less scaled and irregularly shaped temenos that is most likely of earlier date, and three structures including a temple with a minimum of two construction phases; the latter is most likely the main temple dedicated to Amun Re, yet it is out of alignment with Philadelphus' pylon, thus supporting the hypothesis that the temple is of an earlier date. The magnetometry also revealed a number of square mudbrick structures within the Temenos wall, not specifying its exact location in regard with the wall (under, over, or against), corresponding with the tower houses. In the area of the 'South Mound', concealed by lots of mudbrick structures, Penelope Wilson conducted a small-scale excavation in three trenches and cleaned two sections of the exposed mudbrick; it revealed an east-west wall, formed by consistent arrangement of mudbricks, dating to the Ptolemaic period or possibly earlier during the Late Period that is recalling the massive mudbrick wall sections stated in Leonard's season of 1981, intersected by a north-south wall dating to late Ptolemaic- Roman Period that is constructed over a pit and debris. With the exception of very few Roman pieces, most of the material uncovered from the Temenos area are ranging in date from the 6th century BC to the Ptolemaic Period. Leonard's excavations and the recent archaeological work of Penelope Wilson in the 'South Mound' revealed more material of Roman date. The program of drill-coring was firstly conducted this season; it indicated the existence of the river channel in the west measuring about 3 m in depth and 250 m in width, presumably the Nile Canopic branch, "flowing south to north and laterally migrating from east to west over time". Pottery fragments were seen on the northern area that is both east and west of the villages of Rashwan and Abu Mishfa dating to the Ptolemaic and Roman era. Also, by the 'South Mound', there was pottery dating to the Late Period, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, in addition to Hellenistic stamped amphora handles and the head of a terracotta figurine of Harpocrates. As regards the Hellenion that is largely buried to the east of Abu Mishfa with its southern

⁶⁸ THOMAS and VILLING, "Naukratis Revisited 2012," 82, 90-94, 96-99, 102-103.

borders being mostly swept away by the digging of the *sebbakhin* and archaeological works to the northeast of the dried-up lake, the magnetometry data added that there are surviving parts of it located to the north of Hogarth's work being bordered by a number of tower houses. Apart from determining the site's minimal size through magnetometry and identifying the Canopic branch location through the magnetometry and geological core drillings, this season provided a significant amount of data as regards the 'Great Temenos' through magnetometry in a way that a preliminary image of the whole area began to be reconstructed.⁶⁹

A third fieldwork season was conducted for four weeks in April and May 2014 with new members joining the original team (Aurelia Masson-Berghoff from the British Museum, Astrid Lindenlauf from Bryn Mawr College, Kris Strutt from Southampton University, and Beheira Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA) inspectors [Mohamed Magdy, Mohamed Roshdy, and Ashraf Salah]). This season's focus was on the northern area of the ancient city including the Hellenion and its surroundings; work was largely done through geophysical and geological auger surveys. The magnetometry revealed a significant number of mudbrick and stone structures in the north and east areas, as well as the possible presence of massive foundations for tower houses and other structures. It also revealed that the northern part of the Hellenion has its stratigraphy maintained to a depth of 5 m, while its southwest revealed more than 4000 pieces dating to the 6th century BC. This season's estimation for the site extent exceeds 0.6 square kilometers, which is larger than earlier figures. The magnetometry also detected the transition from settlement to canal infilling with structures constructed along the canal's border.⁷⁰

In 2015, a fieldwork season of four weeks in April-May was conducted. The original team is joined by Edwin de Vries (Amsterdam), MSA inspectors (Abdel-Halim

⁶⁹ "Fieldwork at Naukratis, 2013," Naukratis. The Greeks in Egypt, The British Museum, "Fieldwork at Naukratis, 2013," Naukratis. The Greeks in Egypt, The British Museum, accessed October 10, 2018,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt/naukratis_research_project/fieldwork_2013.aspx; "Fieldwork at Naukratis, 2013," Naukratis. The Greeks in Egypt, The British Museum, accessed August 11, 2021, https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20190801123225/https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt/naukratis_research_project/fieldwork_2013.aspx; R. THOMAS, "Naukratis, 'The Mistress of Ships', in Context," in *Thonis-Heracleion in Context*, ed. D. Robinson and F. Goddio (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology Monograph 8, 2015): 244, 248-249, 252, 254-255, accessed August 12, 2021, <https://www.ancientportsantiques.com/wp-content/uploads/Documents/PLACES/Egypt-Libya/NileDelta/Naukratis-Thomas2015.pdf>.

⁷⁰ K. STRUTT, R. I. THOMAS, "Geophysical Survey at Ancient Naukratis, Egypt," *The Newsletter of the International Society for Archaeological Prospection* 39 (2014): 4; KRISTIAN Strutt, "Archaeology and Survey in the Nile Delta at Naukratis," *kdstrutt.wordpress.com*, July 15, 2014, <https://generic.wordpress.soton.ac.uk/archaeology/2014/07/15/blog-catch-up-1-archaeology-and-survey-in-the-nile-delta-at-naukratis/>; "Fieldwork at Naukratis, 2014," Naukratis. The Greeks in Egypt, The British Museum, accessed September 8, 2021, https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20190801142640/https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_egypt/naukratis_research_project/fieldwork_2014.aspx.

Abdel-Hameed, Essam Saïd, and Amal Hamdy). This year witnessed the beginning of excavations in an unexplored section of the waterfront site, the results of which revealed new information about the marine activity and commerce at Naucratis. Furthermore, through the geological auger study, this season provided a better knowledge of the series of events that caused the Riverbank to be gradually shifted westward over the course of the site's 1200 years as an operating port rather than the previous fieldwork of the seasons 2012 and 2013 that merely located the Canopic Branch of the Nile. This season also targeted to investigate the early construction phases of the Hellenion and the *Dioskouroi* temple in the northern area of the site. The material revealed from the northwest edge of the dried-up lake are dated from 5th to 3rd century BC consisting of pottery, lamp, and amphora fragments as well as terracotta figurines linked to certain rituals performed or dedications during ancient Egyptian festivals related to the Nile inundation; in addition, elements of a ship hull was discovered in this area, indicating the presence of sea-going Mediterranean ships at Naucratis far earlier than the widespread use of the *ploion hellenikon* in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Excavations in the Greek sanctuary area provided fresh insights on the location and early construction history of the Hellenion, structures of which had parts not directly built on virgin soil, but rather built on a platform, as well as the location of the *Dioskouroi* temple, which was reliably identified through the discovery of an Ionian cup with a dedication to the *Dioskouroi*. The votive material revealed from the area between the Hellenion and the *Dioskouroi* temple, whether locally produced or imports mainly from Greece, Cyprus, and Phoenicia, is a clear indicative of religious Greek practices in northern area of the site.⁷¹

Another four weeks fifth fieldwork season was conducted in May 2016 with a larger team consisting of 18 British and Egyptian members. A grant from the Honor Frost Foundation was specified to investigate the site's function as a port that revealed structures within the harbour dating back to the Archaic and Classical periods, whereas further fund from the EES, Bryn Mawr College, and the Michela Schiff Giorgini foundation was set to resume the auger survey and excavations in the northern area of the dried-up lake (the Hellenion and the *Dioskouroi* temple) and the southern area known as the 'South Mound' within the Great Temenos. The geological auger study indicated that a river channel existed to the east of the site, but it dried up a long period prior to the establishment of Naucratis; then the Canopic branch had shifted to the west of the site before the city was inhabited. The magnetometry revealed parts of the wall that surrounded the Temple of Amun Re; through excavation trenches, the outer northern and southern faces of the massive mudbrick Temenos wall, revealed by Penelope Wilson in 2013 in the southwest corner of the 'South Mound', were identified showing a thickness of 17.85 m and running east-west; the bricks' sizes of the wall varied: the older ones are large-sized and are bigger

⁷¹ "British Museum Naukratis Project Fieldwork Report 2015. The Harbour of Naukratis, 'Mistress of Ships'. The British Museum Naukratis Project's Fourth Fieldwork Season at Kom Ge'if, Egypt (Beheira MSA site no.100253). April–May 2015," Honor Frost Foundation, accessed on September 9, 2021, https://honorfrostfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Nauk15_Ross-Thomas-Naukratis-report-2015_update-webpage.pdf.

than the bricks of the northern Greek sanctuaries, whereas the bricks of the later Ptolemaic and Roman restorations are smaller in size; the earliest phase of the construction of the Temenos wall was dated to c. 630-500 BC. The magnetometry also revealed the large casemate structure within the 'Great Temenos', the size and construction of which are exactly the same as previously reported by Petrie in the late 19th century. Among the findings through the excavations in the west were ship remnants (i.e., plank fragments with and without mortices) showing the Greek technique of mortise construction dating to the 5th century BC, in addition to Egyptian terracotta and limestone figurines of religious nature that are related to certain rituals dating from the 5th to the 4th century BC, besides thousands of pottery fragments including food service ware types mostly of Egyptian, Greek, and Cypriot types. In the northern area, the excavations focused on the Hellenion entrance and the *Dioskouroi* platform in full (versus the partial exposure of 2015's season). Worthy of mention is that at the close of the 19th century, Hogarth found the large mudbrick enclosure wall of the Hellenion, where excavations were conducted only in part, yet his report lacked the Hellenion gateway and the *Dioskouroi* platform; the season of 2016 revealed sections of the gateway, ramp, and threshold of the Hellenion and clarified that the gateway and the platform were in use in the late 7th – early 6th century BC, and that the platform was constructed on a level that is slightly lower than the Hellenion. Apart from the sole votive inscription dedicated to the *Dioskouroi* found in the previous season, other two inscriptions were found written in Ionian Greek on Ionian-shaped Nile silt mugs. As regards pottery and small finds, 2016 season uncovered abundant material (i.e., a number of over 16804).⁷²

The sixth fieldwork season, three weeks long, was conducted in October 2018 through a fund from the Honor Frost Foundation. This season's goals included continuing the excavation work in the north of the dried-up lake in the Hellenion's western side and the adjacent *Dioskouroi* sanctuary, locating the Hellenion's eastern limit and exposing its eastern wall width recorded by Hogarth, finding the oldest riverbank deposit in the settlement's western part that is close to the sanctuary of Hera, and continuing the excavations in the southwest corner of the 'South Mound' to add more information regarding the internal and external faces of the Temenos wall, as well as the casemate structure. Through the trenches opened across the Hellenion's eastern wall, its outer and inner edges were identified revealing a thickness of 10.9 m that is 0.4 larger than the measurement recorded by Hogarth. Clear remains of the casemate structure within the 'South Mound' were revealed; its external walls are 7 m in width and its construction technique is similar to the Delta's Saïte structures, especially those dating to Psamtik I. The bricks used in its construction were an alternation of mudbricks and sand bricks, which are larger than those used in the Temenos wall. The oldest findings of this area date to late 7th - early 6th century BC. The report added a general view of the area of the 'Great Temenos' as a precinct including the temple of Amun-Re, as

⁷² "British Museum Naukratis Project fieldwork report 2016. The Harbour of Naukratis, 'Mistress of Ships'. The British Museum Naukratis Project's fifth fieldwork season at Kom Ge'if, Egypt (Beheira MSA site no.100253). April–May 2016", Honor Frost Foundation, accessed on September 16, 2021, https://honorfrostfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Nauk16_HFF-Naukratis-report-2016-new.pdf.

well as storerooms and houses for priests. As for the material discovered, the northern area revealed Late Period sherds from the Hellenion wall, outside of which late Ptolemaic layer was found; the material from the west date from the late 7th century to the late 6th century BC and is neither Egyptian that was very scarce, nor Phoenician that was nearly nonexistent, but rather mostly from Cyprus and Greek islands or cities (i.e., Chios, Lesbos, Klazomenai, as well as North and South Ionian islands); the area of the 'South Mound' revealed locally made food service ware dating to the Ptolemaic Period, in addition to storage containers of Saïte style.⁷³

The seventh and final season was conducted for three weeks in March-April 2019 through a generous fund from the Honor Frost Foundation. The team consisted of members from various entities (British Museum [Dr. Aurélia Masson-Berghoff and Dr Jeffrey Spencer], Universities of Durham [Dr. Penelope Wilson], Beirut [Dr. Claire Malleson], and Cambridge [Ms Eleanor Maw], University of California (UCLA) [Camille Acosta], American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) [Dr Louise Bertini], as well as Hellenic Research Foundation and Institute of Historical Research (IHR) [Dr Giorgos Bourogiannis]), together with MSA inspectors (Abd Elhalim Abd Elhamid, Ahmed Elfeky, Marwa Hegazy, Tahany El-Bagoury, Mona Gomaa) directed by Dr. Ross Thomas. The excavations focused on the northern area (Hellenion [to continue the excavations in the eastern section started in 2018] and *Dioskouroi*'s temple [to identify its temenos wall]), River front in the west, and the 'South Mound' in the southwest corner of the 'Great Temenos' seeking additional information regarding the inner and outer faces of the Temenos Wall of the temple of Amun Re that was partially revealed in 2016, as well as identifying and comprehending the structures within that enclosure. Sections of the almost dried-up lake had not been sufficiently drained for investigation before this season's fieldwork in 2019, which then gave a chance for a better survey. This season uncovered structures that Petrie and Hogarth had once documented, which provided precise locations for the earlier excavation maps so as to match the new measurements with the old ones. The excavations in the north of the site revealed the northern temenos mudbrick wall of the *Dioskouroi*'s temple, a probable eastern temenos wall of the Hellenion, and a well dating to the 4th century BC (probably replacing an earlier one) within the Hellenion. The riverfront revealed a variety of Egyptian, Greek, and Cypriot objects from the earliest time at Naukratis (late 7th - early 6th century BC), whereas the botanical specimens were moved to the IFAO for more analysis. Also, in the southwest corner of the Great Temenos in the site of the 'South Mound', the southern and the northern faces of the temenos wall were uncovered, yet the western wall could not be located (the report gave a possibility of being under the modern road), thus location of the late period Temenos wall of Amun Re's temple is securely

⁷³ "British Museum Naukratis Project fieldwork report 2018. The Harbour of Naukratis, 'Mistress of Ships'. The British Museum Naukratis Project's sixth fieldwork season at Kom Ge'if, Egypt (Beheira MSA site no.100253). October 2018", Honor Frost Foundation, accessed on September 18, 2021, <https://honorfrostfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Nauk18-HFF.pdf>.

determined, in addition to the discovery of remains of mudbrick Ptolemaic houses bordering the inner and outer faces of the temenos wall to the south.⁷⁴

III-GENERAL COMMENTARY

Naukratis in the Western Delta was occupied for more than a millennium from the ancient Egyptian Late Period until the Arab conquest; it existed long before the arrival of Alexander the Great to Egypt, where the earliest direct contact between the Egyptians and the Greeks had occurred; both communities lived side by side interacting and influencing each other. It is through Naukratis that the Egyptian artistic ideas firstly reached Greece and had a profound impact especially on their sculptures (e.g., the *kouroi*). It was a major commercial center through its function as a port on the Nile Canopic branch that was running along its western side; the latter only survives through its last remaining part, that is the modern Abu-Diab canal.⁷⁵ The discovered material indicates strong bonds of trading with Phoenicia, Cyprus, and several Greek islands. The archaeological work in the site drew a map showing religious structures in the city; the southern part of the site was occupied by the Egyptian precinct including the temple of Amun-Re that was – as customarily designed – connected to the Nile by a processional way bordered by sphinxes ending with a quay on the riverbank, whereas the northern part had Greek temples built for their deities. The only Greek temple that is not located in the north, but rather in the vicinity of the Egyptian enclosure is the temple of Aphrodite. The temple of Zeus, which was mentioned by Herodotus as being established by traders from Aegina, has not yet been found; it still lies under the ground in an unexcavated area at the site. Three inscriptions assumed to be dedicated to Zeus Hellanios were found within the temple of Aphrodite.⁷⁶ The findings do not reveal whether the city had separate living area for each community – as indicated through the religious structures – or not. There were signs of a tendency to avoid intermarriage between native Egyptians and Greeks from both sides: Herodotus stated that Egyptians disregarded Greek customs, from which it may be inferred that the natives avoided intermarrying with the Greeks; likewise, a papyrus dating to the Roman Period stated that the Greeks had no marriage with the natives. Nevertheless, it seems that such regulations were not extremely strict since there is evidence of love and marriage between both communities, with some instances of intermarriage having their offspring among the elite of the society.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ “British Museum Naukratis Project fieldwork report 2019. The Harbour of Naukratis, 'Mistress of Ships'. The British Museum Naukratis Project's seventh fieldwork season at Kom Ge'if, Egypt (Beheira MSA site no.100253). March-April 2019”, Honor Frost Foundation, accessed on September 21, 2021, https://honorfrostfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Nauk19-english-and-arabic_edited-for-HFF.pdf.

⁷⁵ A. VILLING, and R. THOMAS, “The Site of Naukratis: Topography, Buildings and Landscape,” *Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt*, The British Museum, Online Research Catalogue (2015): 9, accessed October 10, 2021,

https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20190801114017/https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ng/naukratis_greeks_in_egypt/topography.aspx.

⁷⁶ A. VILLING, “Naukratis: Religion in a Cross-Cultural Context,” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 24 (2019): 224, 226.

⁷⁷ SMITH, “Naukratis and Her Hinterland,” 537-538; V. CHAPOT, G. COLIN, A. CROISSET, J. HATZFELD, A. JARDÉ, P. JOUGUET, G. LEROUX, AD. REINACH, TH. REINACH, *L'Hellénisation du monde antique*. Leçons faites à l'École des Hautes- Études sociales (Paris, 1914): 102-103; VILLING,

Naucratis started as a flourishing city, but then it seemed to fade gradually due to the prominence of the city founded by Alexander the Great directly on the Mediterranean coast despite the fact that the early Ptolemies took part in the construction and restoration works there (i.e., the ‘Egyptian Great Temenos’). Such long period of time of bringing mixed cultural backgrounds had certainly produced many different stories. Naucratis was the home of prominent historical figures as well as inspiring characters for fictional stories: it was the home of the female protagonist of the earliest version of the most famous classic Cinderella tale, whose name was Rhodopis (of Greek origin) mentioned by Herodotus,⁷⁸ then the tale was recorded by Strabo⁷⁹ and Aelian;⁸⁰ it was the home of Cleomenes, who was the most powerful man in the early stages of Hellenistic Egypt appointed by Alexander the Great as a nomarch of the Arabian district but in reality he acted as a satrap of Egypt⁸¹ until the arrival of Ptolemy Soter; it was the home of well-known writers and orators until at least the late 3rd century AD, of whom Athenaeus was the most famous; and according to papyri from Oxyrhynchus, games continued to be held in Naucratis until the 3rd century AD.⁸² In fact, the city of Naucratis represents one of the most significant episodes of the Egyptian-Greek relations that the excavations are progressively uncovering parts of its series; despite the extensive damage of the site by the time of the earliest excavations as well as the difficulties of digging there, *Kom Ge'if* witnessed very successful fieldwork seasons, providing significant data as regards the city's layout (recent fieldworks successfully identified structures reported in early excavations), construction techniques, trade contact, religious practices, and daily lives of its population. Nevertheless, lots of secrets are still hidden deep below the earth's surface awaiting to be revealed through future excavation work.

“Naucratis: Religion,” 237. A prominent example of an offspring of mixed parents was the Naucratis Horemheb, whose colossal statue at EMC is a clear indicative of his high status, cf. “A Colossal Statue of an Official Named Horemheb,” The Egyptian Museum, accessed November 8, 2021, <https://egyptianmuseumcairo.org/artefacts/colossal-statue-of-an-official-named-horemheb/>.

⁷⁸ HERODOTUS, *The Histories*, ed. A. D. GODLEY, 2.135, accessed November 15, 2021, <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+2.135>.

⁷⁹ STRABO, *Geography*, ed. H.C. HAMILTON, W. FALCONER, 17.1.33, accessed November 17, 2021, <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0239:book=17:chapter=1:section=33>.

⁸⁰ AELIAN, *Varia Historia*, ed. R. HERCHER, 13.33, accessed November 20, 2021, <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0591:book=13:chapter=33>.

⁸¹ I. LADYNIN, “Cleomenes of Naucratis in Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oeconomica* and the Topoi of the Ancient Egyptian Propaganda,” in *The Historiography of Alexander the Great*, ed. K. NAWOTKA, R. ROLLINGER, J. WIESEHÖFER, and A. WOJCIECHOWSKA, *Classica et Orientalia* 20 (Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2018): 75-90; M. MENDOZA, “Cleómenes de Náucratis: realidad, fuentes e historiografía,” *Trabajos de Egiptología, Papers on Ancient Egypt* 11 (2020): 215-224.

⁸² M. MALOUTA, “Naucratis,” *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2015), DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935390.013.114; THOMAS, “Roman Naukratis,” 194.

IV- TOURISM DEVELOPMENT⁸³

Research Methodology

Serving as the largest trading post in the late dynastic period in Egypt, the city of Naucratis played a pivotal role in facilitating trade and cultural exchange between two of the deep-rooted civilizations. It is a key chapter in the history of Egyptian Greek relations, with ongoing excavations gradually revealing its glory. Revival of such significant site will not only uncover the potential of a forgotten archaeological site in Egypt, but more importantly will reinforce tourism as well as cultural and trade relationships between Egypt and Greece. Therefore, this part of the research will unlock the potential of transforming the neglected site of Naucratis (*Kom Ge'if* nowadays) into a tourism and cultural hub. In so doing, a qualitative study is conducted to identify the status quo of the archaeological site and to explore the potential approaches of tourism development.

IV-1 Research Design

The detailed analysis of the history and archeological components of the site as well as the reports of the excavations that took place at the site were used as an inevitable foundation for the qualitative study to offer valuable insights into the debate on the possibility of utilizing the nonfunctioning city and reviving it as a tourist spot and a cultural and trade center, particularly for Greek and Egyptian tourists.

Research Question 1: What might be the opportunities for reviving Naucratis as an archaeological site including the earliest Greek cult temples in Egypt in the vicinity of the religious enclosure of the Egyptians and emphasizing its old trade and cultural role?

Research Question 2: What could be done to transform the nonfunctioning village into an appealing tourist destination and cultural center?

A well-planned research strategy was designed to answer those two questions using an extensive review of literature provided in the previous section together with the qualitative study to propose some theoretical contributions to the possibility of undertaking tourism development planning at the city. Furthermore, the research adopted a qualitative approach using: 1- *developed semi-structured interviews* with several stakeholders; 2- *personal observations* by the two authors; and 3- *focus group* by key stakeholders. The aim was to identify opportunities for reviving Naucratis as an archaeological site and explore the ideas to transform the city into a tourist and cultural spot.

IV-2 Measurement Instruments

SWOT analysis is an effective technique that is commonly used to develop tourism at archaeological sites because it provides a structured approach to evaluate both internal and external factors that impact the site's potential. It allows participants to freely express their experience about the site to ultimately develop a list of strengths,

⁸³ The authors are greatly indebted to Dr. Khaled Farahat – General Director of Beheira Antiquities, Mr. Abdelhalim Abdelhamid – Antiquities Inspector, and Mr. Ashraf Salah – Antiquities Inspector for their positive cooperation and for providing all the information needed.

weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. By understanding these factors, decision-makers can develop informed strategies for revitalizing and promoting the site.⁸⁴

To respond to the research questions, a SWOT analysis was conducted as a part of the qualitative study based on the semi-structured interviews with the governmental authorities, local people, antiquities inspectors, and other relevant stakeholders to evaluate the status quo of the city from the archeological and tourism development perspectives. The interviews were conducted face-to-face during September 2022.

Employing focus groups to plan for tourism development at archaeological sites was tested as a valuable qualitative research method that enables in-depth understanding of stakeholders' perspectives, preferences, and expectations. Focus groups facilitate interactive discussions among diverse participants, providing rich insights into how the site could be improved⁸⁵. Hence, a focus group was created from selected stakeholders to complement the insights from the interviews and spell out innovative ideas to leverage the city in tourism development to its fullest extent.

The personal observations conducted by the authors had enlightened the research with extensive knowledge of the case study's preparedness for tourism development based on scrutinizing the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats of the city under study. The interviews have sharpened the initial SWOT with new insights. Both the interviews and the focus group enabled the authors to seek fresh perspectives and provide in-depth responses to the research questions from different perspectives.

IV-3 Data Collection

IV-3-1 Personal Observation

Based on deep investigation of the literature review and on-site visits, the authors created an initial SWOT analysis for the city from the archeological and tourism development perspectives. This analysis provides a comprehensive overview of the internal strengths and weaknesses as well as external opportunities and threats facing the Naucratis archaeological site in Egypt. The initial list included (4) elements as Strengths; (6) elements as Weakness; (7) elements as Opportunities; and (5) elements as Threats. Table (1) illustrates the elements of the initial SWOT.

IV-3-2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with multiple stakeholders (5 inspectors; 8 local community, 4 governmental authorities). Based on the initial SWOT analysis previously created by the authors, the respondents were asked to agree or disagree with its elements and to freely comment on any. The respondents were also encouraged to express their viewpoints and whether they have additional elements to

⁸⁴ M. M. HELMS, and J. NIXON, "Exploring SWOT analysis – where are we now? A review of academic research from the last decade," *Journal of Strategy and Management* 3, no. 3 (2010): 215-251.

⁸⁵ J. W. CRESWELL, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 4th edition (Sage Publications, 2014).

be included in the final list. Table (2) illustrates the final list of SWOT with the insightful contributions made by the respondents.

S	W
1-Naucratis was a key trading post during ancient Greek Egyptian interactions. 2- The site is rich with a source of artifacts from various cultures (Egyptian, Greek, and Roman). 3- The site holds a unique place in Egypt’s heritage as the first Greek settlement in Egypt. 4- The archaeological work at the site is ongoing with possibilities of great discoveries.	1-Naucratis is almost inaccessible to tourists. 2- The site lacks adequate facilities and services. 3- Naucratis is not widely recognized neither for domestic nor for international tourists. 4- No marketing or branding efforts. 5-Lack of security measures. 6- No management plan in place.
O	C
1-Naucratis can attract tourists interested in less-explored, yet historically rich sites. 2- Naucratis can attract Greek tourists who are interested to explore the first Greek settlement in Egypt. 3- International interest to unearth the treasures of the site. 4- Availability of international fund 5- The site could foster the trade between Egypt and Greece 6- The site can offer possibilities for cross cultural exchange between the Egyptian and Greek people. 7- In-site museum could be established to showcase the artifacts uncovered from the site.	1- Flooding, erosion, or other natural factors could damage the site. 2- Underwater risk. 3- Competition with high-profile sites like the Pyramids and the Valley of the Kings. 4-No private or public fund allocated for the site. 5- The site is exposed to looting, vandalism and illegal excavation. 6- The dried-up lake poses environmental risk to the vicinity.

Table (1)
Initial Elements of SWOT for Naucratis
Source: The authors

IV-3-3 Focus Group

Five key stakeholders were selected based on their long experience with the site and its attributes, or simply because of their direct contact with the site as a part of their job.⁸⁶ The group was provided by a brief of the literature review of the study and the findings of the SWOT and were asked to brainstorm the strategic options stemmed from the agreed upon SWOT as well as the ideas that could be deployed in order to revitalize the old function of the city and introduce new opportunities for tourism development. The discussion was moderated by the authors for over three hours. One of the stakeholders asked to voluntarily record the minutes that were read out loud by the end of the meeting to assure the consensus of all the group members.

IV- 4 Data Analysis

TOWS matrix is always used based on the elements of the traditional SWOT analysis to systematically link these elements to develop strategic options. This approach enables the planners to leverage the strengths to capitalize on opportunities, mitigate

⁸⁶ Mr. Abdelhalim Abdelhamid – Antiquities Inspector; Mr. Ashraf Salah – Antiquities Inspector; Dr. Khaled Farahat – General Director of Beheira Antiquities; Mr. Gaber Khairy – Village Chief; and Mr. Farahat Mohamed – Chief Security Guard.

threats with their strengths, and address weaknesses to exploit opportunities, thereby fostering a more dynamic and actionable strategic planning process.⁸⁷ Therefore, based on the agreed upon SWOT, a TOWS matrix was developed to provide strategic options for Naucratis by combining its internal factors (Strengths and Weaknesses) with external factors (Opportunities and Threats). Table (3) illustrates the TWOS matrix including four strategies stemmed from the SWOT analysis.

S	W
<p>1-Naucratis was a key trading post during ancient Greek-Egyptian interactions.</p> <p>2- The site is rich with a source of artifacts from various cultures (Egyptian, Greek, and Roman).</p> <p>3- The site holds a unique place in Egypt’s heritage as the first Greek settlement in Egypt.</p> <p>4- The archaeological work at the site is ongoing with possibilities of great discoveries.</p> <p>5- <i>The site is a destination for visitors interested in exploring ancient ruins and learning about the history of Egypt.</i></p> <p>6- <i>Naucratis is located near major cities like Cairo and Alexandria, making it easily reachable for visitors.</i></p> <p>7- <i>The site is safe and secured.</i></p>	<p>1. Naucratis is almost inaccessible to tourists.</p> <p>2- The site lacks adequate facilities and services</p> <p>3- Naucratis is not widely recognized neither for domestic nor for international tourists.</p> <p>4- No marketing or branding efforts.</p> <p>5-Lack of security measures.</p> <p>6- No management plan in place.</p> <p>7- <i>The site lacks adequate infrastructure.</i></p> <p>8- <i>Few staff members are responsible for the site.</i></p> <p>9-<i>The site is dirty and there is garbage everywhere.</i></p>
O	C
<p>1-Naucratis could attract tourists interested in less-explored but historically rich sites.</p> <p>2- Naucratis can attract Greek tourists who are interested to explore the first Greek city in Egypt.</p> <p>3- International interest to unearth the treasures of the site.</p> <p>4- Availability of international fund</p> <p>5- The site could foster the trade between Egypt and Greece</p> <p>6- The site could offer possibilities for cross cultural exchange between the Egyptian and Greek people.</p> <p>7- In-site museum could be established to showcase the artifacts uncovered from the site.</p> <p>8- <i>Partnering with universities and research institutions for further excavations can uncover new findings.</i></p> <p>9- <i>There is enormous community support for development projects.</i></p>	<p>1- Flooding, erosion, or other natural factors pose threat on the site.</p> <p>2- Underwater risk.</p> <p>3- Coemption with high-profile sites like the Pyramids and the Valley of the Kings.</p> <p>4- No private or public fund allocated for the site.</p> <p>5-The dried-up lake poses environmental risk to the vicinity⁸⁸.</p> <p>6- <i>The site is exposed to urban encroachment</i></p> <p>7-<i>The site is exposed to unsustainable development projects.</i></p> <p>8- <i>Economic downturns rush the community to misuse the site to generate revenues.</i></p>

Table (2)
Final Elements of SWOT for Naucratis
Source: The authors and stakeholders

⁸⁷ H. WEHRICH, “The TOWS Matrix: A Tool for Strategic Planning,” *Long Range Planning* 15, no. 2 (1982): 54-66; Y. WEBER, and S. Y. TARBA, “Strategic Agility: A State of the Art,” *California Management Review* 56, no. 3, (2014): 5-12.

⁸⁸ No. 5 in the intimal SWOT (5- The site is exposed to looting, vandalism, and illegal excavation) was not agreed upon by the focus group; hence, the authors removed it.

SO Strategies ((Strength-Opportunity):	WO Strategies (Weakness-Opportunity)
Strategies leveraging the site's unique Greek Egyptian heritage to attract niche tourists interested in cultural interactions and ruins tourism.	Using available international funding to improve infrastructure and accessibility.
ST Strategies (Strength-Threat)	WT Strategies (Weakness-Threat)
Implementing preservation techniques to protect valuable artifacts from environmental risks.	Developing a sustainable tourism plan to balance preservation needs with the economic well-being of the adjacent community.

Table (3)
TOWS Matrix
Source: The focus group

The above TOWS analysis provides a framework for developing a comprehensive strategy for Naucratis. It suggests focusing on niche tourism, research partnerships, and community engagement while addressing critical issues like site preservation, infrastructure development, and sustainable management.

IV-5 Results and Presentation of Findings

The results of the study highlight the necessity to follow a multi-faceted approach that incorporates the following to guarantee impactful outcomes:

a- Commercial Development

- *Well-developed Infrastructure:* The government might call on the international funded agencies that previously invested in the excavations of the site together with the private sector and businessmen to jointly invest in introducing infrastructure and services like pathways and trails, communication networks, restaurant and cafeteria, visitor center, health services, banks, toilets, and bazars among others to transform the nonfunctioning city into a high-tech spot for tourism. These requirements are fundamental prerequisites for any type of development.
- *Shopping Spots:* An endeavor to revive the city as an authorized marketplace for the Greek products in Egypt, Flea market, like Monastiraki Flea Market in Athens, could be established to sell the specialized Greek products of high demand among tourists including but not limited to olive oil, olive soaps, sea sponge, and the traditional Greek souvenirs. Another market could be created similar to *Khan El-Khalili* in Cairo showcasing the traditional Egyptian souvenirs (e.g., silver ware, copper and wood carvings, and pottery).
- *Sesame Cultivation and Production:* Since sesame is one of the important agricultural crops cultivated in the area, it could be taken as a product theme for the site. In addition, small enterprises for producing and selling sesame-based products could be encouraged (e.g., *Tahini*, oil, butter, *halava*, bars, snacks, sesame seed bread or bun, brittle, milk, and flour).

b- Tourism Development

- *Color Scheme of Greek Island Houses*: Since the urban encroachment is inevitable at the site, the houses could be painted in the traditional blue and white colours imitating the colour of the houses in Greek islands, thus adding a touch of Greek spirit to the ancient site of Naucratis. Together, the Greek market and the partial reconstruction of the city's architectural style – discussed below – will offer visitors a glimpse into the essence of Greek culture, revealing the city's grandeur.
- *Mixed Tourism Types*: It can be argued that mixed types of tourism could be easily promoted at the site thanks to its buffer zone. In addition to culture tourism, two other types of tourism could diversify the tourism product at the site.

I- Legend-induced tourism: could be promoted by leveraging the fascinating narratives surrounding Naucratis using the following:

- Thematic Tours: Create guided tours that explore the life of Rhodopis and other notable figures associated with Naucratis. These tours could include storytelling that recount the legend of Rhodopis who married the king of Egypt as the inspiration for the Cinderella tale, engaging visitors with both historical facts and folklore.
- Cultural Festivals: Organize annual festivals celebrating legends or famous tales related to Naucratis. These events could feature reenactments of stories, craft markets, traditional music, and dance, attracting both locals and tourists.
- Interactive Exhibits: Develop exhibits in local museums that focus on Rhodopis and the intersection of history and legend. Utilizing multimedia displays, visitors could immerse themselves in the narrative, learning about ancient life in Naucratis and its influence on later tales.
- Digital Marketing Campaigns: Utilize social media and digital platforms to share stories about Rhodopis and other figures from Naucratis. Engaging content, such as videos or podcasts, can attract a wider audience and promote the city as a destination for those interested in history and legend.

II- Agricultural tourism: It is another type of tourism that could enrich the tourists' experiences multidimensionally. Some of the key actions that should be considered include:

- Agri-archaeological experience: Design interactive demonstrations and hands-on activities, enabling visitors to engage in traditional agricultural practices pertinent to the historic period of the site. This may include planting crops, tending animals, or even using methods and tools from ancient farming.
- Farm-to-Table Dining: Create an on-site farm, or source from local producers, to provide farm-fresh, historically inspired *cuisine*. Visitors will deepen their understanding of the site's agricultural heritage while enjoying regional specialties made with local ingredients.
- Traditional Crafts Workshops: Establish workshops where guests can learn various traditional crafts and skills relative to the agricultural history of the

site; examples are weaving, pottery-making, or food preservation techniques.

- Interpretive Trails: Design walking trails that connect the archaeological remains to working farms. This could be facilitated by storytelling interpretation to explain the historical relationship between the site and the agrarian landscape.

c- Cultural Development

- *Reconstruction of Sections of Ancient Religious Structures: Kom Ge'if's* visitor can see nothing apart from what remained from the former lake existed in the site since 1903 despite the many seasons of excavations there. On the other hand, the archaeological site of *Tell Al-Abqa'in* in El-Beheira governorate witnessed a noticeable change after reconstructing low courses upon the archaeological remains there using the same type of the ancient building blocks. Taking *Tell Al-Abqa'in* as a model, the same measures can be carried out at *Kom Ge'if*; the only difference is that there are no archaeological remains shown above the ground. However, low courses can be reconstructed on the sections of the ancient structures that had been identified by the recent archaeological work and accurately matched the reports of the late 19th century, the seasons of which had been conducted on a much better ground condition. In doing so, the local inhabitants of the surrounding villages will recognize the historical and archaeological importance of the site, and tourists will have a better accessibility to the site, instead of identifying the place through maps only, and will surely find it worth the burden of the long travel.
- *Archaeological On-site Museum* (figs. 4-6): The history of excavations at the site resulted in uncovering uncountable artifacts. A big portion of those artifacts have been registered and kept in the British Museum and other world-class museums. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo also houses quite large number of those artifacts, and the remaining objects are kept in the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities stores.⁸⁹ Establishing a world-class museum (fig.4) showcasing some of the artifacts that are meticulously collected from the stores would narrate the history of Naucratis and highlight the cultural exchange between Egypt and Greece. The authors selected an area, with an approximate measurement of 180 x 45 m², directly to the south of the dried-up lake (fig. 5). It is currently a football court. Our proposal⁹⁰ is a community-centered museum that celebrates ancient Egypt's multicultural heritage. The proposed museum (fig. 6) has its main entrance from the west, where visitors move through open gathering spaces and zones that blend seamlessly into a landscape inspired by the form of an Egyptian cartouche, preserving features like the former lake area. The museum's five zones consisting of administration, workshops, exhibition halls, virtual reality hall, and the valley. The workshops will focus on traditional crafts such as pottery and sesame products. The Virtual Reality Hall will allow the visitor to view the ancient city of

⁸⁹ Namely: Tell El-Yahudiyeh – El-Qalioubia Governorate; Tell El-Rab'a- Dakahlia Governorate; Tel El-Fara'in – Kafr El-Sheikh Governorate; and Maria Antiquities stores – Alexandria.

⁹⁰ The museum's design, plan, and above description are proposed by the architect AYA ELZEKI.

Naucratis.⁹¹ The exhibition halls will display material retrieved from the site whether locally produced or imports; copies of the valuable artifacts discovered in the site – owned by non-Egyptian museums – can be also included. Classical elements, including abstracted pediments and columns, create a timeless aesthetic. In the valley, a glass floor reveals buried antiquities, offering visitors a direct connection to the rich history of the city and its cultural legacy. The concept of incorporating glass floors in the museum's interior is inspired by the Acropolis Museum in Athens revealing the ongoing excavations beneath the structure. The selected location of the museum permits any subterranean excavations that could be carried out in the future.

- *Cultural Events and Festivals:* The city could be the host venue for events like art exhibitions, music and dance performances that celebrate the shared legacy of both cultures. This could be arranged through intensive cooperation between the Ministries of Tourism and Culture in both countries.
- *Hosting a Pottery-making Workshop:* This would be a creative way to blend the area's rich historical significance with modern cultural tourism. Naucratis, known for its ancient Greek-Egyptian interactions, has a long tradition of pottery craftsmanship, making it an ideal location for such an activity. The workshop could invite visitors to learn traditional pottery-making techniques, inspired by ancient artifacts found in the region. Participants could create their own pottery while exploring the history of the craft in Naucratis. This hands-on experience would provide an engaging way to connect with the site's heritage, attract tourists, and support local artisans, fostering economic development through cultural tourism. The workshop could also promote small local enterprises by offering handmade pottery for sale, blending both education and economic sustainability. This workshop can be part of the proposed museum.
- *Staff and Students Exchange:* Encourage the joint research and mobility between students and scholars of both countries to study the archaeology, culture, history, and impact of Naucratis and explore the international funding opportunities to unlock the potential of the city.

d- Site Management Development:

- *Develop Site Management Plan:* The plan is a type of a holistic nature that puts significant emphasis on visitor management and create services and facilities as well as a well-structured interpretation program that preserve the archaeological site while offering visitors engaging experiences.
- *Establish diversified types of Accommodation Properties:* Establish eco-friendly and family-owned small hotels to attract different segments of the tourist market, particularly those interested in history and ancient civilizations and inspire to be classified as 'responsible tourist'.

⁹¹ A 3D reconstruction of the ancient city of Naukratis was made by Grant Cox through the research work of the 'Naukratis Project' by the British Museum, cf. A. MASSON-BERGHOF and R. THOMAS, "Naukratis in Context: Programme and Bibliography," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 24 (2019): 1 (front cover image), 2 (n. 1).

e- Local Community Development:

- *Local Community Engagement:* Ensure meaningful participation of indigenous peoples, local communities, and civil society organizations in the governance and implementation of the projects co-created by the government and the private sector. This entails developing those types of projects that are heavily dependent on the local community to assure the availability of decent job opportunities.
- *Empower Marginalized Groups:* There was almost a consensus among the nearby residents that it became inevitable that the women and young girls should bring income to the household. Equipping women and the jobless youths with the relevant skills to contribute to the ongoing development projects would not only empower them but would also cultivate sense of ownership and loyalty.

IV- 6 Challenges and Considerations

-Lack of Financial Resources and Funding: Reviving Naucratis requires significant financial resources. This needs to develop a mega project and assure to create a pool of fund from government, private sector, and international fund agencies.

-Environmental Impact: To assure that the development in the area is maintained environmentally sustainable and to minimize the impact on the archaeological site, Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) should be conducted by professional archaeologists, experts, and professionals to analyze possible effects and consequences of development on the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the site. Additionally, it is essential to ensure that any revival efforts respect the authenticity and culture sensitivity of Naucratis and avoid cultural commoditization.

-Geopolitical Factors: Political stability and social acceptance are crucial for the envisaged development projects. Additionally, robust bilateral relations between Egypt and Greece should be guaranteed to allow and facilitate the exchange of trade and tourism movement between the two countries.

IV-7 Discussion

A comprehensive proposal to enhance the archaeological site of Naucratis in Egypt has been put forward. This proposal includes introducing a unique form of tourism that blends cultural exploration with agricultural experiences centered around sesame cultivation and legend-induced tourism focusing on the fascinating narratives surrounding Naucratis. Additionally, there is a suggestion to establish an on-site museum to exhibit some of the remarkable artifacts unearthed in the region. Furthermore, it is recommended to capitalize on the existing underground structures of the old city by undertaking reconstruction of certain sections to maintain the historic integrity of such valuable buried remains and making them accessible to visitors. Additionally, revamping the local architecture by painting houses in the iconic white and blue colors of the Greek islands will help visitors to visualize the ethos of the old city. To support the local economy and promote craftsmanship, small-scale enterprises could be developed to create artisanal goods such as pottery and crafts within the vicinity. Organizing cultural events, exhibitions, and festivals at Naucratis can increase public awareness and draw more visitors to the site.

CONCLUSIONS

Kom Ge'if is a unique site that witnessed a significant episode of the ancient Egyptian history. It brought the culture, religion, and various practices of the Egyptians together with those of the Greeks at one place. There were separate areas for the religious establishments of each community, yet there is no evidence showing whether they had also separate residential areas or not. The reports delivered through all the seasons of the excavation work identified sections of the underground ancient structures and showed extensive trading activity with various Mediterranean cities through the findings. Unfortunately, the historical and archaeological importance of the city is currently not shown above the ground, yet they can be materialized through various measures stated in the above-mentioned proposal seeking to bring back the spirit of the glorious past. In addition to reviving the cultural link between Egypt and Greece, the modern village needs likewise to thrive economically, which can be realized through initiating a commercial exchange between the two countries based on certain trade facilities, with Naucratis as a central focus; it is a multifaceted yet potentially rewarding initiative. The revival process necessitates a comprehensive approach that harmonizes cultural preservation, economic growth, community engagement and sustainable tourism. By thoughtfully addressing the challenges and seizing the potential opportunities, this project can cultivate a thriving hub that commemorates the shared legacy of these two great civilizations.

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Fig. 1. The Naukratis Stela JE 34002

After ANNE-SOPHIE VON BOMHARD, *The Decree of Sais. The Stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis* (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology: Monograph 7, School of Archaeology, University of Oxford, 2012): 18, fig. 2.4.

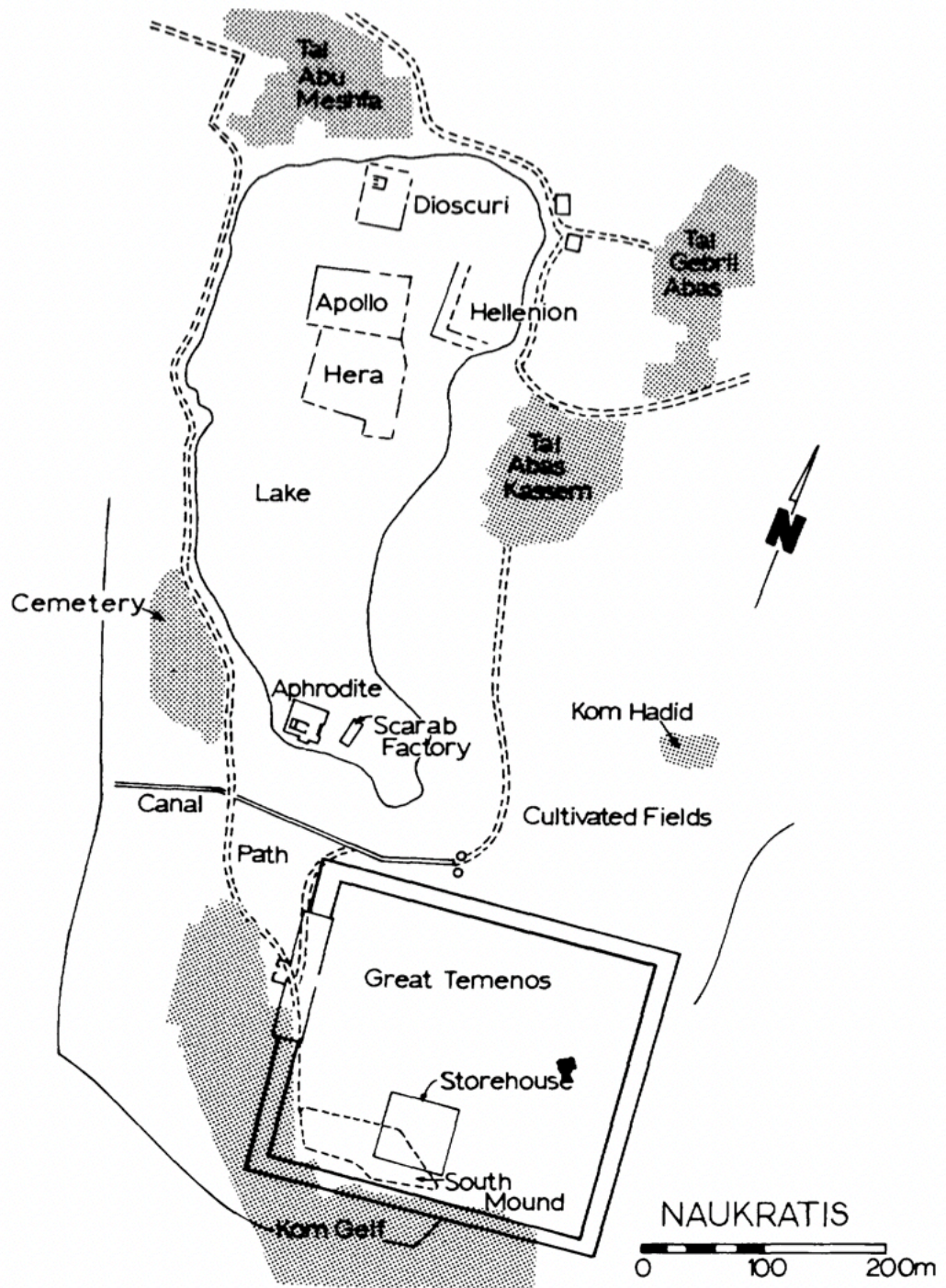


Fig. 2. Plan of *Kom Ge'if* by Gerald W. Johnson showing the structures covered by the lake (from 1903 to 2011) and the modern surroundings.

After W. D. E. COULSON, and A. LEONARD JR., "Investigations at Naukratis and Environs, 1980 and 1981," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 3 (1982): 363, ill. 3.

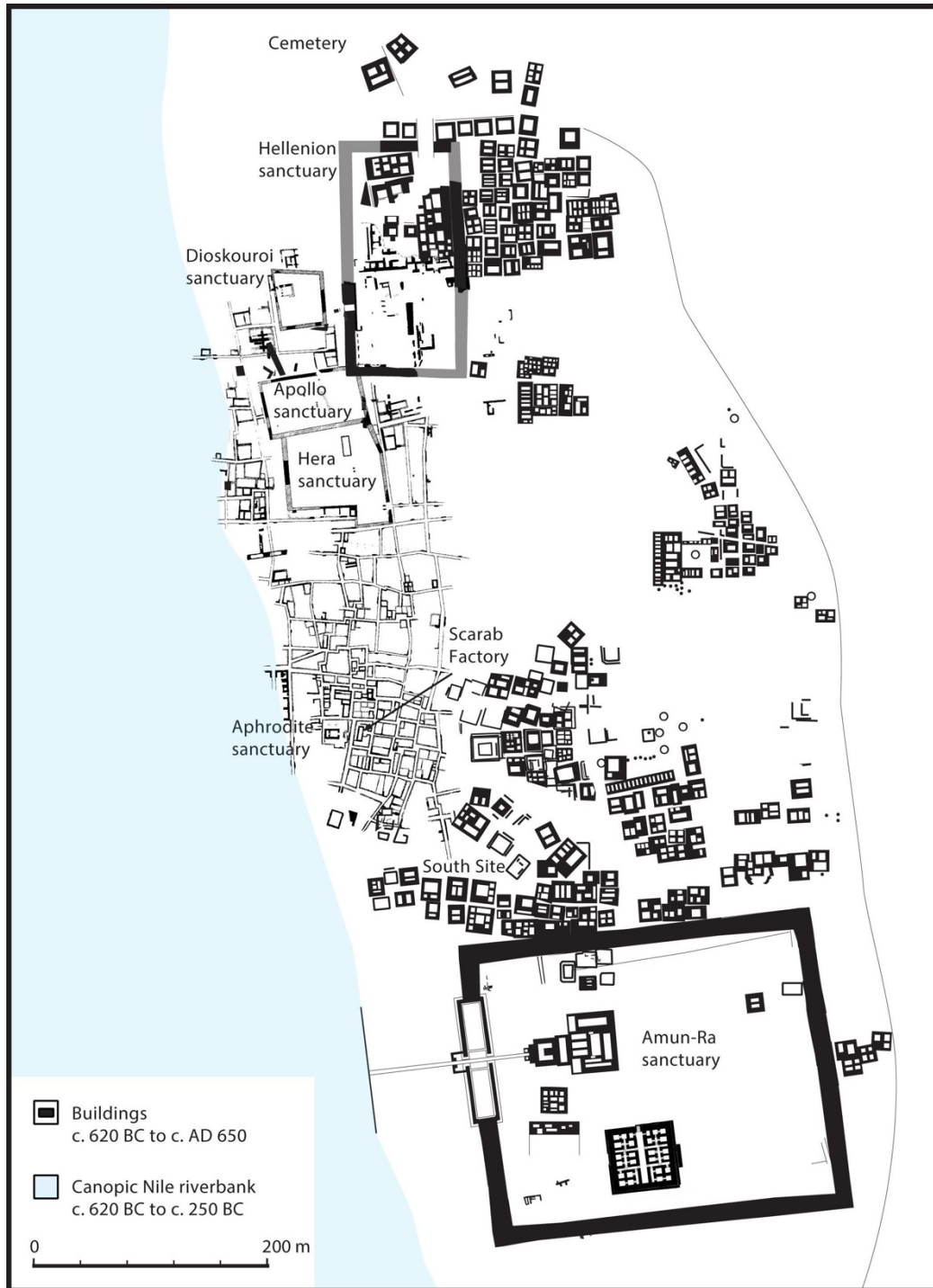


Fig. 3. Map of the ancient city of Naucratis by Ross Thomas

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After A. VILLING, "Naukratis: Religion in a Cross-Cultural Context", *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 24, 2019, p. 220, fig. 10.



Fig. 4. AI - Generated Design for the Proposed On-site Museum, edited by architect AYA ELZEKI.

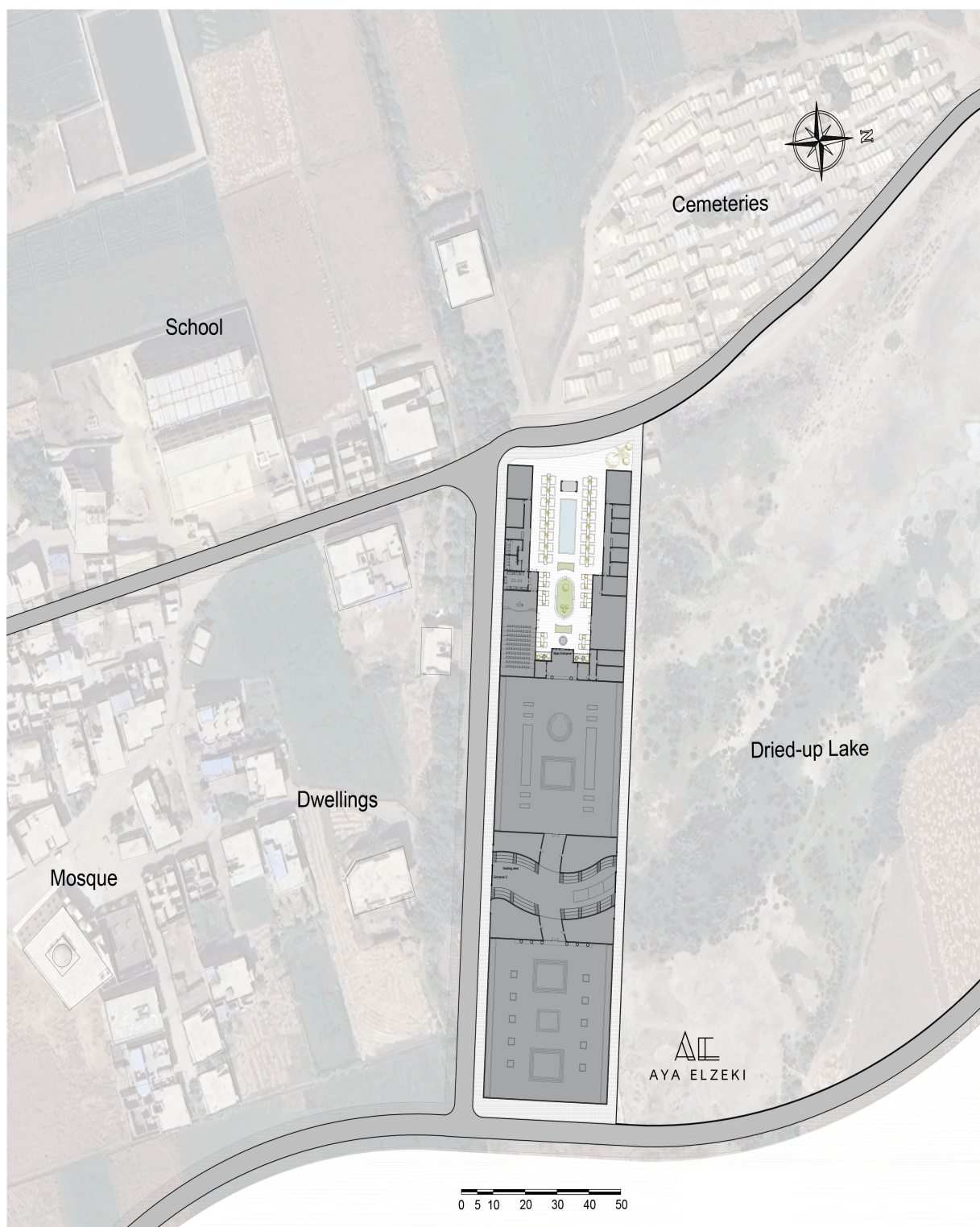


Fig. 5. Location of the Proposed Museum by architect AYA ELZEKI



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Fig. 6. Plan of the Proposed On-site Museum

إحياء مجد نقراطيس القديمة

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الملخص:

تعتبر نقراطيس – المعروفة حالياً بقرية كوم جعيف بمحافظة البحيرة – واحدة من أهم مدن العصر المتأخر، حيث شهدت هذه المدينة حلقة مهمة من تاريخ مصر القديمة. وتفردت نقراطيس بكونها مدينة مصرية جمعت بين ثقافة مجتمعين المصري واليوناني، وشهدت على مدار حقبة تاريخية طويلة طقوسها الدينية وممارستها اليومية. وعلى الرغم من وجود المؤسسات الدينية لكل مجتمع على حدة، إلا أنه لا يوجد دليل على ما إذا كانت هناك خطوط فاصلة بين المناطق السكنية للمجتمعين المصري واليوناني. وقد تبين من خلال تقارير البعثات الأثرية المختلفة في المنطقة وجود نشاطاً تجارياً واسعاً مع مدن البحر الأبيض المتوسط المختلفة، مما يؤكد الأهمية التاريخية والأثرية للمدينة، والتي مع الأسف لم تنل حقها من الاهتمام على الرغم من تعدد البعثات التي تمركز عملها فيها والتي كشفت عن أجزاء من معابد المدينة القديمة، المدفونة حالياً تحت الأرض. لذلك يهدف هذا البحث إلى وضع مقترح قائم على دراسة تاريخية وأثرية للمنطقة يتضمن تدابير متنوعة بغرض إعادة إحياء المجد القديم للمدينة والذي بدوره يمكن أن يكون له بالغ الأثر في تعميق التبادل الثقافي وزيادة الحركة السياحية بين مصر واليونان. وعلى صعيد آخر فإن استعادة المدينة لرونقها القديم، ولو بشكل جزئي، سوف يؤدي إلى تحقيق انتعاش اقتصادي لقرية كوم جعيف نتيجة لنشاط الحركة التجارية والسياحية بالمنطقة. ومن خلال تطبيق دراسة كيفية، اعتمدت على المقابلات، الملاحظات الشخصية، ومجموعة عمل مركزة خلص البحث إلى وضع مقترح لتطوير المنطقة وإعادة إحياء المدينة القديمة والذي يعد مبادرة واعدة متعددة الأبعاد أهم ركائزها المشاركة المجتمعية وتحقيق التنمية المستدامة. ولتحقيق ذلك، يضع المقترح نهجاً شاملاً يحقق التوازن بين الحفاظ على التراث، وتحقيق النمو الاقتصادي المرجو لسكان المجتمع المحيط من خلال إنشاء مركز سياحي مزدهر يخلد الإرث المشترك لهاتين الحضارتين العظيمتين.

الكلمات الدالة: نقراطيس – كوم جعيف – الحفائر – السياحة المستوحاة من الأساطير – السياحة الزراعية – زراعة السمسم – متحف الموقع التراثي.