

# Ecumene and economy in the horizon of religion: Egyptian donations to Rhodian sanctuaries\*

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## 1. Introduction: Divine offerings and human expectations

The dedication of votive offerings and gifts to gods is nearly a universal phenomenon occupying a central role among the religious practices of various ancient people including the Egyptians and the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> It forms a principal human reaction to divine

intervention to the visible world,<sup>2</sup> the motives of which however were not entirely clear throughout its cultural articulation. The king and the royal/priestly officials in the ancient societies could maintain their position only they could prove that they were favourably regarded by the divine, and the way to do this was through the offering of gifts to the divine presence. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, for instance, there is a fictional dialogue between a goddess and a petitioner that poses the theme of dedicating offerings to gods on the dualistic interaction between human and divine, and the effort of the former to symbolically receive help by the latter:

“...She approached the consecrated doors. She saw costly offerings and ribbons lettered in gold attached to the tree-branches and doorposts, which bore witness to the name of the goddess to whom they have had been dedicated, along with thanks for her deed”.<sup>3</sup>

This gratitude for help, which was actually the case in most offerings made in Greek sanctuaries,<sup>4</sup> could come along with the motives of *aporia* (disaster) and *euporia* (abundance), described by Plato in his laws:

\* The research on which this study is based forms part of a major project in progress that examines the Egyptian relations with Rhodes and the Dodecanese during the first millennium BC. We would like to thank the Director of the KB Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities, Dr. M. Fillimonos-Tsopotou, and the archaeologists Dr. P. Triantafyllidis (Rhodes) and E. Skerlou (Kos) for their valuable assistant and cooperation, as well as the Director of the Italian Archaeological School in Athens, Prof. Emanuele Greco, for his kind permission to study the objects. A shorter version of this paper was presented during the *IBAES VII* workshop in Berlin (26-28 May 2006), entitled: *Das Heilige und die Ware – Eigentum, Austausch und Kapitalisierung im Spannungsfeld von Ökonomie und Religion*. We would like to thank the workshop organizer, Dr. Martin Fitzenreiter, for his kind invitation and warm hospitality. Research for this study was co-funded by the European Social Fund (75%) and National Resources (25%) – (EPEAEK-II) PYTHAGORAS.

1 For Ancient Egypt see, *inter alia*, G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993); G. Englund, 'Gifts to the gods: a necessity for the preservation of cosmos and life. Theory and praxis', in: T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods* (Uppsala, 1985), 50-67. For Greece, see W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (1902) and, more recently, F.T. van Straten, 'Gifts for the gods', in: H.S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Brill, 1981), 65-151; F.T. van Straten, 'Votives and votaries in Greek sanctuaries', in: A. Schachter (ed.), *Le Sanctuaire grec* (1992), 247-84; T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods* (Uppsala, 1985); B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines. Aspects of Anthropomorphic Dedications* (Uppsala, 1989); J.D. Baumbach, *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece*, BAR International Series 1249 (Oxford, 2004), 1-10. For the sociological aspect of dedication and gift

donation to gods, see the main work by M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, transl. by E. Fischoff (London, 1965) and M. Mauss, *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, transl. by I. Cunnison (London, 1970) = 'Essai sur le don', *Année sociologique* II 1 (1923-24) = *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris, 1950, 19663), 143-279.

2 In 1923 Mauss (*Gift*, 12-15) was speaking of gift exchange between tribal men and their gods as means of abundance of wealth and as a secured method of acquiring the divine favour by giving something small in exchange of something great. A chief in such primitive societies could maintain his position only he could prove that he was favourably regarded by the divine, and the way to do this was through the offering of gifts to the divine presence (idem, 37-9).

3 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 3; cf. Baumbach, *Hera Sanctuaries*, 1-6.

4 See van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 70-74.

“Women in particular, all of them, and the sick everywhere, and those who are in danger, or in difficulty and need of whatever kind – and on the contrary when they get hold of affluence – then people have the custom to devote whatever is present to the gods, they make vows about sacrifices, they promise setting up (*scil.* of statues, altars, temples) to gods and daimones and children of gods”.<sup>5</sup>

A situation of danger or disaster could easily lead a person to establish a close link with the divine, tying and surrendering himself in exchange of divine favor and protection; speaking with modern economic terms, a kind of symbolic, imaginary “capital”.<sup>6</sup>

In nearly all cultic scenes from ancient Egypt a short text accompanies the donator, usually the king, saying that the king-priest’s gifts to the god provoke the gift in return of life, stability, prosperity and other beneficial states like health and joy.<sup>7</sup>

According to the Egyptian offering formula, the offerings consist of “all good and pure things on which the god lives”. There are, also, offerings that represent the chaotic forces that threaten the divine and royal order and, thus, have to be sacrificed.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand the Greek sources, both archaeological and literary, do not classify the offerings according to material or value. Anything could be dedicated and, thus, consecrated within the sacred environment of the sanctuary.<sup>9</sup> A homogeneity of the offerings that depends on the reciprocal correlation between the dedicators and the nature of the particular cult could easily be detected on most cases from Greek sanctuaries.<sup>10</sup>

5 Plato, *Laws*, 909e; cf. W. Burkert, ‘Offerings in perspective: surrender, distribution, exchange’, in: Linders and Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts*, 44.

6 See P. Bourdieu, *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique* (Genève, 1972), 227-43; cf. Burkert, in: Linders and Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts*, 43 and 45-6.

7 See, in general, Englund, in: Linders and Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts*, 61-3.

8 Compare the various apotropaic rituals that refer to the destruction of divine enemies and forces of chaos as sacrificial objects.

9 Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship*, 80.

10 See examples collected by Baumbach, *Significance of Votive Offerings*, 3-4; contra C.G. Simon, *The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults of Ionia* (1986), 419, who believed that there was no correlation between votive offered and

The divine entities did not only dictate the form or character of the offerings but, also, their redistribution among the donators. Since the ceremonial acceptance of the offerings by the gods were merely symbolical, the officiates could accumulate and redistribute the donations either internally within the temple precinct, or externally among neighboring or homogeneous temples and sanctuaries.<sup>11</sup> In fact, this purely economic aspect of the donating act underlines the basic trading and economic status of all sanctuaries and temples in both archaic Greece and Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Very soon, this gift exchange and distribution of offerings/donations were put on a regular basis and thus became an “institution”.<sup>13</sup>

This interactive form of communication between the supreme deity and the donator developed into a twofold action: on the one hand, there was the pre-existed action of surrender to the divine being and, on the other, the parallel bargain business – “trickery”, or the skill of “trading with the gods (*emporikē tēchne*)”, as it is stated by Platon.<sup>14</sup> All this very rich economy around the temple precincts was imbued with religious elements. They have their own ritual and etiquette.<sup>15</sup>

To what extent could these presupposed condition between the donators and the divine, and the specific motives – surrender to the divine will and/or economic interaction – they derived from,

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receiving deity. The different meaning the votive offerings and gifts to gods could be acquired according to the specific religious context they are found, and their significance for the study of the cult characteristics is shown in a passage from Plato’s *Phaedrus*. When Socrates visits a country shrine near Athens, he is unfamiliar with the nature of the cult, but, by looking at the figurines and statues, realizes that it belongs to Achelous and the Nymphs (*Phaedrus*, 230b).

11 For Egypt, see *inter alia* the analysis of the ceremonial consumption of food donations in C. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn: a Cultural and Literal Study* (Liverpool, 2002); S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 69 (Leuven, 1995), 41 ff. and 82 ff.; for Greece, see the examples presented by Burkert, in: Linders and Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts*, 46.

12 See J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 1975), 158-61; Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 328-32.

13 Weber, *Sociology of Religion*, 223-29.

14 *Eutyphron*, 14e; cf. Burkert, in: Linders and Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts*, 43-50, esp. 49.

15 Mauss, *Gift*, 69-70; cf. E. Durkheim, *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse* (Paris, 1912), 598.

equally apply to the cases of numerous donations to Rhodian sanctuaries by Egyptian rulers during, mainly, the Archaic Period? What was the character of these donations and how do we evaluate the overwhelming abundant Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in the three main Rhodian sanctuaries at Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos? What was the purpose behind all these dedications of Egyptian rulers to local gods? Can we assume a kind of cultural infusion on behalf of the Egyptian rulers, in order to accustom themselves to the Greek tradition? How could these votives be compared in character and meaning with similar objects found in contemporary burials from the same areas?

This study is a preliminary report of our ongoing project on the *Aegyptiaka* from Rhodes that attempts to investigate certain aspects of cross-cultural interactions and economic relations between Egypt and the Aegean world during the first millennium BC. We will concentrate here on some important findings from the necropolis at Kameiros and the temple of Athena Ialysia at Ialysos, which are assigned to the Saite kings Psammetichus I and II and Necho II of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. In the course of our ongoing project we intend to include scientific analyses of the materials. Here we concentrate just on iconographic and stylistic criteria to distinguish between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects.

## 2. Rhodes and the Aegyptiaka.

The island of Rhodes occupies an important geopolitical position in the southeastern Mediterranean region, connecting Mainland Greece and the Aegean islands with Cyprus, Egypt and the Levantine coast (fig. 1). Archaeological evidence from the Early and Middle Bronze Age is still poorly attested, gathered mainly from the wider region of Trianda and Ialysos at the northwestern tip of the island.<sup>16</sup> The prehistoric settlement at Trianda was inhabited uninterruptedly from the Middle Bronze

16 C. Mee, *Rhodes in the Bronze Age. An Archaeological Survey* (Warminster, 1988); J.L. Davis, 'Review of the Aegean Prehistory I: the islands of the Aegean', *AJA* 96/4 (1992), 746-8. Early Bronze Age settlement traces – two "megaron-like" buildings and associated pottery – have been uncovered at Asomatos near Kremasti, west of Trianda; see, T. Marketou, 'Asomatos and Seraglio: EBA

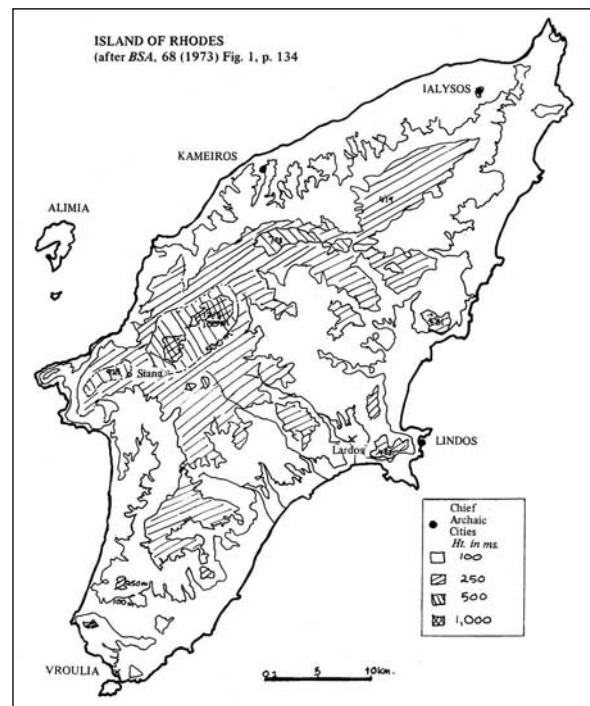


Fig. 1: Map of the Island of Rhodes indicating the three principal Archaic sites: Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos (after Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, map A).

Age until the Late Bronze Age IIA period. It developed close contacts with Minoans and underwent a remarkable expansion during the Late Bronze Age, becoming the first Aegean port and trading center for all routes coming from the East.<sup>17</sup> It was abandoned sometime during the fourteenth century BC, as a result of Thera's volcanic eruption.<sup>18</sup> With Trianda's

production and interconnections', *Hydra: Working Papers in Middle Bronze Age Studies* 7 (1990), 40-7 and 'Ασόματος Ρόδου. Τα μεγαρόσχημα κτίρια και οι σχέσεις τους με το Βορειοανατολικό Αιγίο', in: C. Doumas and V. Ia Ros (eds.), *Η Πολιόχνη και η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού στο Βόρειο Αιγίο. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Αθήνα, 22-25 Απριλίου 1996* (Αθήνα, 1997). Later phases of the Middle Bronze Age are best represented by finds from Mt. Filerimos, high above the northern coastal plain, southeast of Trianda; see, T. Marketou, 'New evidence on the topography and site history of Prehistoric Ialysos', in: S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen, 1988), 27-33.

17 L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, 'Ανασκαφή του Μινωικού οικισμού στα Τριάντα τη Ρόδου', *Archeologiko Deltio* 37 A? (1982), 139-87.

18 C. Doumas and L. Papazoglou-Manianoudaki, 'Santorini ash from Rhodes', *Nature* 287 (1980), 322-4; T. Marketou, 'Santorini tephra from Rhodes and Kos: some chronological remarks based on the stratigraphy', in: D.A. Hardy and C. Renfrew (eds.), *Thera and the Aegean World, vol. 3: Chronology* (London, 1990), 100-13.

apparent abandonment evidence from the Late Bronze Age settlements on Rhodes came to an end.

Mortuary evidence for the following centuries come entirely from the massive cemetery site at nearby Ialysos.<sup>19</sup> The Ialysos region was developed into a major Mycenaean center<sup>20</sup> retaining close contacts with Crete, Mainland Greece (huge amount of fine pottery was imported from the Argolid), Cyprus and the East Mediterranean up to twelfth century BC.<sup>21</sup> Thanks to its geographical position, Ialysos was on an important route toward Cyprus and the East Mediterranean. Special Cypriot imports, as well as specifically Cypriot burials and tombs have been recognized at the cemeteries of Makra and Moschou Vounara (Late Bronze Age IIB/IIIA1-IIIB).<sup>22</sup> The cultural connection with Anatolia and East Mediterranean is well illustrated by the pottery and

special burial features, such the single cremation in T. 19 of the cemetery.<sup>23</sup> Yet a rich variety of artifacts and Mycenaean pottery, including foreign objects like Egyptian scarabs and seals, from the over 125 chamber tombs of Mycenaean type have been unearthed.<sup>24</sup>

After an interval of nearly two centuries that no concrete evidence of trade/cultural interactions between Rhodes and the Levant have been revealed, the island resumes its overseas contacts in the early ninth century BC, when the Cypriot trading network, which has been established in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, became more intense.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, another route by the Phoenicians, direct successors of the Canaanites, which linked the Syrian/Phoenician coast to Italy and Sicily was also activated.<sup>26</sup> Both networks grew in importance during the eighth century and caused major imports from the Levant and Egypt.

The late seventh and sixth century BC was an important period of cross-cultural contacts between the Egyptians and the Greek world within the broader context of international politics.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of a Greek colony at Naukratis, in the Egyptian Delta,<sup>28</sup> facilitated to a great extent an undeniably

19 See recently L. Girella, 'Ialysos. Foreign relations in the Late Bronze Age. A funerary perspective', in: R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), *EMPORIA. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, *Aegaeum* 25 (Liège/Austin, 2005), 129-38, pls. XVI-XVII; T. Marketou, 'Excavations at Trianda (Ialysos) in Rhodes. New evidence for the Late Bronze Age I Period', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Rendiconti* 9/1, 39-47; T. Marketou et al., 'New Late Bronze Age chronologies from the Ialysos region, Rhodes', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 1/1 (2001), 19-29; also, supra n. 16.

20 C.F. Macdonald, 'Rhodes during the twelfth century BC and its role in the Aegean', in E.B. French and K.A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory* (Bristol, 1986), 263, who suggests that the emergence of Ialysos as a primary town in Rhodes during the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC, was due to a flow of population from the agricultural areas of southern Rhodes, without excluding the possibility of a Peloponnesian Mycenaean influence, as Mee believes (*Rhodes*, 89-90); idem, 'Problems of the twelfth century B.C. in the Dodecanese', *BSA* 81 (1986), 125-51; cf. M. Benzi, 'Rhodes in the LH IIIC period', in: French and Wardle (eds.), *Greek Prehistory*, 253-61; idem, 'Mycenaean Rhodes: a summary', in: Dietz and Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Dodecanese*, 99-172; and, more recently, E. Karantzali, 'The Mycenaean Ialysos: a trade station or colony?', in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 141-51; idem, *The Mycenaean Cemetery at Pylona on Rhodes*, BAR International Series 988 (London, 2001), 1-2, for a summary of and bibliography about the Rhodian Mycenaean cemeteries; also, supra n. 19.

21 Girella, in Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 134-8; cf. P. Åström, 'Relations between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in the Bronze Age', in: Dietz and Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Dodecanese*, 76-9, for Cypriot presence in and contact with Dodecanese.

22 Girella, in Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 131-4.

23 Idem, 134-5, with parallel cases and bibliography.

24 Karantzali, in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 141-51; idem, 'A new Mycenaean pictorial rhyton from Rhodes', in V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by The University of Crete (Rethymnon) and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Nicosia), Rethymnon 13-16 May 1997* (Athens, 1998), 87-105; cf. supra n. 19.

25 Åström, in: Dietz and Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Dodecanese*, 76-9; cf. N. Kourou, 'Phoenician presence in Early Iron Age Crete reconsidered', *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Punicos*, III (Cadiz, 2000), 1072.

26 C. Bonnet, 'Monde Égéen', in: V. Kriggs (ed.), *La Civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche* (Leiden/New York/Colgne, 1995), 646-62.

27 See relevant contributions in P. Kousoulis and K. Magliveras (eds.), *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in Ancient Mediterranean*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 159 (Leuven, 2007).

28 For a brief overview on the evidence for Naukratis, see recently K. Smoláriková, *Abusir VII. Greek Imports in Egypt: Greco-Egyptian Relations during the First Millennium B.C.* (Praha, 2002), 90-6; also, A. Leonard and W.D.E. Coulson, *Naukratis. Cities of the Delta*, pt. 1 (Malibu, CA, 1981), 1-67; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* (London, 1980), 118-33.

great impact on one civilization to the other, which went both ways, as it is revealed in a variety of artistic modes<sup>29</sup> and literary myths, such as that of the Danaids. These contacts between Egypt and Rhodes continued in the Hellenistic age.<sup>30</sup>

Within this extended trade and cultural network, the so called Rhodian *Aegyptiaka* – the greatest concentration of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects (around 3000) in the Aegean<sup>31</sup> – cover mostly the first half of the first millennium BC and best attest the island's Egyptian connections.<sup>32</sup> Before the emergence of *συνοικισμός* ("synoecism") in 408/407 BC,<sup>33</sup> the three city-states (*poleis*), Lindos,

Kameiros and Ialysos, were the most prominent in the island. In all of them, temples dedicated to the goddess Athena were erected at their center.<sup>34</sup> The importance of Rhodes for the contact of the Greek world with Egypt is reflected by the *Rhodian* tale of the Danaides, as well as in the mythographic motive of Menelaos stopping at Lindos on his way to Egypt.<sup>35</sup> In addition to the archaeological material Herodotus mentions that Amasis made donations to the sanctuary in Lindos.<sup>36</sup>

We can distinguish between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects. The habit to Egyptianise indicates the high cultural prestige within the Greek world. It was particularly attractive in the sacral world. The Egyptian and Egyptianising material comes almost exclusively from these three major sanctuaries of the goddess, so called Kameiras (Kameiros),<sup>37</sup> Lindia (Lindos)<sup>38</sup> and Ialysia (Ialysos).<sup>39</sup> Additional material has been recovered from graves in the extensive necropoleis at Kameiros and Ialysos, as well as from two tombs at Vroulia.<sup>40</sup> These

29 The basic study is that by J.L. Crowley, *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-Book 51 (Jonsered, 1989); cf. recently, R. Laffineur, 'From West to the East: the Aegean and Egypt in the Early Late Bronze Age', in: E.H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium, Proceedings of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium, University of Cincinnati, 18-20 April 1997*, *Aegaeum* 18 (Liège/Austin, 1998); E.J.W. Barber, 'Aegean ornaments and designs in Egypt', in: Cline and Harris-Cline (eds.), *Aegaeum* 18 (1998), 13-7

30 Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hellenistischen Rhodos* (= *Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte. Beihefte Neue Folge*; 6) (Berlin, 2003), esp. ch. 3: 'Rhodos und die Ptolemäer im 3. Jahrhundert' (p. 97-10).

31 That was one of the reasons that made J.D.S. Pendlebury not to include them in his pioneering catalogue with the *Aegyptiaka* from the Aegean area in 1930. As the author explained in his preface: "it would entirely outbalance the rest of the book".

32 For most recent catalogue, see N.J. Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka: a Catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects Excavated from Greek Archaeological Sites, ca. 1100-525 B.C., with Historical Commentary*, PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, MI: University Microfilms, Inc. (1994), 1976-2693; cf. also, R.B. Brown, *A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts Found on Greek Sites*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc (1974), for the Late Bronze Age Egyptian objects found in the Aegean. For the faience objects, especially, see V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects from East Greece, 650-500 B.C.* (Warminster, 1978).

33 Synoecism, from the Latin synoecismus and Greek synoikismos means, "the joining of several communities into one city-state" (V. Ehrenberg, 'Synoecismus', in M. Cary et al. [eds.], *Oxford Classical Dictionary* [Oxford, 1949], 873; cf. P. Åström, 'Continuity, discontinuity, catastrophe,

nucleation: some remarks on terminology', in: W.A. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, *The Crisis Years: The 12<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992), 27-8.

34 Greek sanctuaries in the Aegean occupied a prominent role not only as trading points, but also as centers of formatting and establishing ethnic identity; see, N. Kourou, 'Rhodes: the Phoenician issue revised. Phoenicians at Vroulia?', in: N. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Πιλόες... Sea Routes... Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29<sup>th</sup> – October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2002* (Athens, 2003), 251-2.

35 M. Kaiser, 'Herodots Begegnung mit Ägypten', in: S. Morenz (ed.), *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten* (Berlin, 1968), 205-47, esp. 221, n. 1.

36 *Historiae* II, 182.

37 G. Jacopi, 'Le stipe votiva', in: *Clara Rhodos VI-VII* (1933), 279-365; Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 1987-2204.

38 Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, fouilles de l'acropole, 1902-1904, I: Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931); Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2205-2334.

39 For the *Aegyptiaka* from the Early Iron Age and Archaic graves in the region, see Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2337-2644. The votive material from the rich deposits which underlay the remains of the Hellenistic temple on the acropolis, is now under study for publication by a joint international team under the auspices of the Italian School of Archaeology; see, M. Martelli, 'Le stipe votiva dell'Athenaion di Ialysos: Un Primo Bilancio', in: Dietz and Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Dodecanese*, 104-20.

40 K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia. Fondation Carlsberg, Copnhague: Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)* (Berlin, 1914), cols. 47-8, nos.

Egyptian and Egyptianising objects found on the island of Rhodos correspond to Rhodian objects found in Egypt, especially the amphorai. They were used as containers for wine, oil, honey etc. in the Graeco-Egyptian trade.

The Rhodian *Aigyptiaka* are of different types and material, including bronze and stone statuettes, bronze vases, faience artifacts, carved ivories, numerous ostrich-egg fragments from Lindos, new year flasks and spherical aryballoi (see **3.2** below), or in the shape of hedgehog and bulti fish, statues and statuettes, scarabs and amulets, faience inlays bearing the hieroglyphic royal inscription naming Pharaoh Necho II (see **3.1.b** below), faience playing pieces of the Egyptian game of *Senet*, etc. The same repertoire of Egyptian deities is represented in abundance at all three sites, as are numerous Egyptianising figures of humans, animals, and birds which were probably produced both on the island itself and in Naukratis. Striking with the output of the Rhodian Egyptianising faience production is the rich series of miniature cosmetic vases, often of Greek shape but so strongly Egyptianising in elements of decoration and design as to indicate direct knowledge of the contemporary Egyptian art and/or at least the Phoenician iconographic *koine*.<sup>41</sup> The great majority of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Rhodes are somewhat related to the sacral field, but not exclusively restricted to it. Right from the start we can notice a complex interplay between the sacral, the political and the economic fields.

In general, we can distinguish four socially different types of sacral Egyptian/Egyptianising donations to Rhodian sanctuaries. These semiophores may be:

- a. stately Egyptian,
- b. private Egyptian,
- c. stately Greek, and
- d. private Greek.

The importance of these Egyptian objects within the praxis of the Greek culture is obvious from the fact that they generated an enormous cultural wave of

15-16, pl. 31 and col. 73, no. 15, pl. 39; Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2335-6. Vroulia is a small harbour at the southern tip of the island and it is thought to have served as a final provisioning place for objects sailing directly south to Egypt.  
41 See Webb's comments on the parallel productions in *Archaic Greek Faience*.

Egyptianisation on the island of Rhodes. As mentioned earlier Rhodes is the place of the strongest Egyptian impact on the Greek material culture and thus probably the mentality too. Especially for the production of Egyptian style faiences a Rhodian workshop is well known.<sup>42</sup> In this paper we are going to discuss a sacro-political stately Egyptian donation: the fragmentary shrine of Necho II and some Egyptian objects which might be either stately or private donations and their impact on the Rhodian Egyptianising tradition.



### 3. Case studies

#### 3.1 Hieroglyphic inlays of Necho II's shrine from Ialysos

##### 3.1.a Necho's place in history – an introduction

*N-k3-w* (= biblical Necho<sup>43</sup>) was the second pharaoh of the Twenty-sixth dynasty who ruled for 15 years (610-595 BC).<sup>44</sup> He was quite an important figure in international relations in the dramatic period around the breakdown of the Assyrian empire in 610 BC.<sup>45</sup> He is known not only from Egyptian and Greek (esp. Herodotus), but also from Near Eastern (esp. Hebrew Bible) sources. Nevertheless, just a few monuments from his reign survived.<sup>46</sup> To these objects we may add a Menit with the royal cartouche in the Egyptian collection of "Schloß Friedenstein" in Gotha<sup>47</sup> and especially the fragments from Ialysos.

42 Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, passim; Boardman, *Greek Overseas*, 112 and 127.

43 The name is written  as well as . Its interpretation is not certain but it might be an archaizing name meaning "belonging to the Ka's"; discussion in H. de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, Bibliothèque de Muséon 27 (Leuven, 1951), 50.

44 J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MAS 49 (Berlin, 1999); for absolute dates, cf. most recently L. Depuydt, 'Saite and Persian Egypt, 664 BC-322 BC', and 'Foundation of day-exact chronology: 690 BC-322 BC', in: E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. Warburton (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HdO I, 83 (Leiden, 2006), 265-83 and 458-70 respectively.

45 G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Mainz, 2003), 38-40.

46 T. Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen* (München, 1996), 259-61.

47 The object was recently identified by L. Morenz. We can assume that it was found by Ulrich Jesper Seetzen as early as in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most probably in Saqqara.

The ideological program is represented emblematically in the scarab Cairo, CG 37399 referring to Necho subduing all foreign countries.<sup>48</sup> This is a typical topos of pharaonic ideology but nevertheless it had a specific political connotation in the reign of Necho. Necho famously developed a specific interest in going to sea. Thus during his reign the enormous project of a channel connecting the Nile with the Red Sea was started in 600 BC.<sup>49</sup> This is the broader context for understanding Egyptian connection with Greece and especially Rhodes in the late seventh and early sixth century BC.

### 3.1.b Description and interpretation

The hieroglyphic inlays (fig. 2) under discussion are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes and represent the surviving portions of three, perhaps four, elements of the five-part royal titulary of the Saite Pharaoh Necho II, surely identified by the presence of the complete writing of the Horus name unique to that ruler.<sup>50</sup> They were found in the Athena-temple in Ialysos already in the early twentieth century but barely noticed in Egyptology yet. The monument adorned by these inlays must have been of a royal character, either made for Necho II or specifically commissioned by him.

*Horus name inlay (inv. no. 7683) (fig. 3).*<sup>51</sup> Ht. 7.4 cm; with at top of rectangle 2.1 cm. Convex in profile with flat back; thickness 1.1 cm. across top, 0.7 cm. across bottom, and 1.65 cm. across center. The inlay represents the falcon-god Horus (Gardiner sign-list, G5) wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (Gardiner sign-list, S5) and perched on a *srh*-sign (Gardiner sign-list, O33). The name which appears inside the *srh*-sign is composed of two individual signs: the upper *si3* (Gardiner sign-list, S32) and the lower *ib* (Gardiner sign-list, F34), together meaning "The Perceptive One", the Horus name of Necho II.<sup>52</sup>

48 P.E. Newberry, *Scarab Shaped Seals*, p. 351, pl. XVII.

49 The channel was completed under the reign of Dareios; see G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 135-6.

50 Cf. Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2355-73, fig. 77 (restoration of the inscription) and pls. 14-7.

51 *Clara Rhodos I*, 77, fig. 59.

52 According to von Beckerath, *Handbuch*, 224 ff. this name is booked only on an Apis-stela from the Serapeion of Memphis. Choosing this name Necho II followed the name-pattern of his predecessor Psammetichus I who was called *3 jb*.



Fig. 2: Inlays from the royal shrine of Necho II, Ialysos votive (© KB' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rhodes).

*Golden Horus inlay (inv. no. 9799).* Ht. 2.5 cm.; thickness 1 cm., with no curvature in profile. The inlay depicts the falcon-god Horus perched on the *nbw*-sign (Gardiner sign-list, S12), which formed the "Golden Horus" name of Necho's II titular. Although



Fig. 3: Horus name inlay from the shrine of Necho II, Ialysos votive (© KB' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rhodes).

the hieroglyphic signs of the title *mry-ntrw* "beloved of the gods", that follows the golden Horus name are not preserved, they can easily be restored. The upper surface of the inlay is worked in a technique combining shallow relief with incision. The flat back and the sides are undecorated and bear a brown encrustation, possibly the remains of an adhesive agent.

*Quail-chick inlay (inv. no. 9800)*. Ht. 3.75 cm.; thickness 1.25 cm., with no curvature in profile. The inlay depicts an elaborated quail chick (Gardiner sign-list, G43) with tiny feathered wing, large eye, and almond-shaped speckles on the body. It may have formed part of Necho's II nomen, *N(y)-k3w*. The upper surface of the inlay is worked in a technique combining shallow relief with incision, like the previous two inlays. The piece bears today brown traces around the eye and the legs, and carries slight accumulations of encrusted soil. The back and the sides are undecorated and bear a brown encrustation, possibly the remains of an adhesive agent.

*Cartouche-based inlay*. Maximum preserved width 4.8 cm.; ht. at center 0.9 cm.; maximum ht. (at right edge of curve) 1.3 cm. Concave in profile with flat back; thickness 1.85 cm. at center, 2.2 cm. at preserved right end, and 1.9 cm. at broken left edge. The upper surface of the inlay is decorated with a pattern of incised lines, depicting twists of rope on shallow relief. The cartouche-fragment belongs either to the *nsw-bjtj*- or the *z3-R*-name of Necho. The upper surface is slightly concave. The flat back and the sides are undecorated and bear a brown encrustation possibly of the remains of an adhesive agent. The left end of the piece is broken away.

*Ankh inlay*. Ht. 2.1 cm.; thickness 0.9 cm., with no curvature in profile. The upper surface of the inlay is worked in a technique combining shallow relief with incision. The flat back and the sides are undecorated and bear minute traces of a brown encrustation, like that on the previous inlays. The arm, which originally projected to the right of the piece, paralleling that opposite, is broken away. The *nh* inlay was part of the royal titulary, contained in the phrase *nh dt* "living forever", or *di nh dt* "given life forever". Such an epithet might have been set horizontally under the base of the cartouche containing the nomen, or under the pair of cartouches – if set side by side. The relatively small scale of the *nh* in comparison with the preserved cartouche base

suggests that the epithet might well have been an extended one.

*Stylised petal inlays (inv. no. 9804-9811)*. The upper surface measure 2.5 to 2.7 cm. in height and 1 to 1.05 in width; the backs 2.4 to 2.65 cm. in height and 0.85 to 0.95 cm. in width. Thickness 7 to 7.05 cm., with no curvature in profile. Eight inlays alike in shape, which probably decorated the wooden shrine which bore the royal titular. The face of each of these inlays is smooth and undecorated but very slightly convex. The backs are flat and undecorated. The inlays are worked in the form of teardrop-shaped stylized petals, rounded at the broad end and pointed at the other. For comparison we may refer to a striking example of the use of such inlays on the well known Tutankhamun's throne.<sup>53</sup>

*Oblong inlays (inv. no. 9812-9818)*. The faces measure 0.9 to 1.05 cm. by 0.7 to 0.8 cm.; the backs 0.75 to 0.9 by 0.6 to 0.65 cm.; thickness 0.75 to 0.8 cm., with no curvature in profile. All inlays are alike in shape. The faces of five of them bear two longitudinal ribs, while the upper surfaces of the remaining two oblongs are worn smooth. The backs are flat, with the sides slanting slightly inwards from face to back. The back and the sides bear a slight brown encrustation, like the inlays above.

*Floral inlay (inv. no. 9821)* (fig. 4). Ht. 6.4 cm.; width at base 4 cm.; thickness 1.25 cm., with no curvature in profile. The face of the inlay is flat and decorated only with an incised border, which today carries an accumulation of encrusted soil. Below the tip, the face of the piece is discolored with brown strains. The flat back and the sides of the piece, undecorated, bear a brown encrustation, like above. At the lower right corner of the piece, the surface is shattered away. Although the object depicted by the inlay cannot be identified with certainty, the curved shape and the pale color of the glaze suggest that it might have been the petal of a large lotus blossom or part of some other floral element. The tip of a wig of a large figure is another possibility, as portrayals of goddesses with outspread wings feature in the decoration on surviving shrines.<sup>54</sup>

53 See I.E.S. Edwards, *The Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), pl. 6.

54 Cf. Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2372-3.





Fig. 4: Floral inlay from the shrine of Necho II, lalysos votive (© KB' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rhodes).

The inlays discussed here were part of a shrine of considerable size as it is indicated by the size of the individual signs. We may notice the very detailed execution of the individual hieroglyphs. They are made in a distinguished Egyptian style within the Egyptian hieroglyphic tradition. Unfortunately, only few fragments of this shrine survived. Nevertheless, we can assume that the complete fivefold titulary of Necho II including the *s3-Rc* and the *nsw-bjtj*-name was recorded here. Judging from the direction of the signs only fragments from the left part of the shrine are known so far. The variation in the size of the individual hieroglyphs seems to indicate inscriptions in columns as well as in lines.

### 3.1.c Historical contextualization: Herodotus' account on Necho II's donation.

These archaeological findings can be related to one of the major textual sources of the Egyptian-Greek interaction: Herodotus. The Greek classical author devotes a significant reference in his account to the Saite Pharaoh Necho II, whose active foreign policy placed Egypt in the center of a political and cross-cultural nexus within the broader region of southeastern Mediterranean.<sup>55</sup> Under the command of Necho II himself the Egyptian army went to war

into the territory of Syria. King Josua of Juda was beaten and killed. In 606 BC a stronger opponent turned up: the Babylonian army. Thus, in 605 BC the Babylonians under Nabopolassar beat the Egyptian army in one of the great battles of antiquity in Carchemisch.<sup>56</sup> In 601 BC they attacked Egypt itself, but Necho II's army could stop them just on the border of the Eastern delta. Complementary to these activities on land, Necho II conducted various activities on sea and tried to establish a close contact with the Phoenician as well as with the Greek world. He collaborated with Greek city-states and some Greek man served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army.

The incident mentioned by Herodotus in his *Book II* of the *Historiae* refers to the sacral donation of Necho II to the pan-Ionian and pan-Aeolic shrine of Apollon at Brachidae, which lay approximately eleven miles south of Miletus: "The dress which he wore on these occasions he sent to Brachidae in Milesia, as an offering to Apollo".<sup>57</sup> Brachidae was regarded as an ideal place for public-relations gestures such as that of Necho. Archaeologically this donation remains unknown so far and in general objects from Necho II reign are rather scarce, since the shrine was plundered and burnt by the Persians in 494.<sup>58</sup>

Necho II's donation of his military dress the victorious king wore when conquering Gaza and Megiddo in 605 BC is quite different from the traditional Egyptian gifts to the gods such as beer, wine, milk or land-ownership. The Egyptian pharaoh is thus presented in a Greek style as a warrior hero. This presentation may have addressed especially the Greek soldiers serving in the Egyptian army. The donation of Egyptian *militaria* addressed two different groups. In a first place they were donations for the god in return for victory on the battlefield. Apollon was the god shooting the arrows with his bow and, thus, he was related to war. We can expect a specific relation of some of Necho's soldiers to Apollon. On another level, we may consider Apollon to be the *interpretatio aegyptiaca* of the Egyptian god

55 Cf. A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, vol. 1: Introduction*, Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain 43 (Leiden, 1975), 14-23.

56 Various seal impressions with the cartouche of Necho II were found in Carchemisch.

57 Herodotus, *Historiae II*, §159; cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 216-17. For the shrine, see Herodotus, *Historiae I*, § 46/3, 92/2, 157 ff.; V, 36; VI, 19.

58 Herodotus, *Historiae VI*, §19.

Horus.<sup>59</sup> Horus was the royal god *par excellence* who supports pharaoh subduing his enemies. This interpretation finds an analogy in the Egyptian donations of cat-bronzes to the Heraion in Samos because Hera was considered to be the Greek equivalent to the Egyptian Bastet.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, two different readings are possible. According to their cultural standpoint the Greeks may have thought just of Apollon while Egyptians probably considered Apollon to be their Egyptian god "Horus". The second group of addressees was the Greeks. Necho won victories with the aid of Greek soldiers<sup>61</sup>; therefore, this Greek-style donation honored them. Furthermore, Necho II had great ambitions in international politics. To fulfil them he needed the help of the Greek soldiers famous for their combat strength. This staging of Necho II as hero of Gaza in the important Apollon-sanctuary also served to make Necho II attractive as chief for the Greek soldiers, and helped the recruitment of the Greeks as soldiers in the Egyptian army. Thus the sacral, the political and the economic field are closely interrelated.

Necho II's donation of a shrine to the temple of Athena at Ialysos can be interpreted in a similar way. Firstly, it was regarded as donation to the goddess, but it addresses the Greeks, too. Furthermore, we may understand Athena as the *interpretatio graeca* of the Egyptian goddess Neith. In an Egyptian perspective this Athena-Neith might have been interpreted as a warrior goddess. This Neith was the major goddess of Sais, which in turn was the place of origin of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and it was elaborated as a sacral centre during the reign of the Saite kings and served as a burial place for Necho II.<sup>62</sup>

These two cases of sacral donations by Necho II to the sanctuaries of Greek gods at Milet and Ialysos show a rather close relationship of this Egyptian pharaoh with the Greek gods. This does not mean, however, that he was necessarily graecophile. Such donations to the Greek sanctuaries may have served

during specific recruitment-campaigns. They could, also, promoted Greek trading interests. Yet specific religious interests and piety cannot be excluded. These pharaonic donations can be understood as materialisations of a polysemic economy in the horizon of the *ecumene*.

### 3.1.d Another perspective: the dedications of Smyrthes

A complementary aspect is represented by the donations of two life-seized Egyptian statues to the Athena temple in Kameiros. Those bear a secondary inscription: "Smyrthes dedicated me".<sup>63</sup> We can not ascribe a specific date to them, but a late 7<sup>th</sup> century date is quite likely. These Egyptian objects consist of individual votive offerings and they were not the outcome of stately politics. They were dedicated by a Greek rather by an Egyptian. Unfortunately, we know nothing specific about this Smyrthes. Greeks served as soldiers on the Egyptian sides but they served on anti-Egyptian sides too. How did this Smyrthes get the Egyptian statues? They would be an unlikely payment. It seems more likely that Smyrthes received them as booty. Thus, he stood on an anti-Egyptian side, but his acting was dictated by economic and ecumenic aspects too.

A comparison with the statues donated by Smyrthes raises another option. We might consider the Necho-inlays as booty too, but this is rather unlikely. Still, definite proof is lacking due to the fragmentary state of preservation. Furthermore we should note that two men from Ialysos serving as soldiers in the Egyptian army left inscriptions in Egypt as far south as Abu-Simbel.<sup>64</sup>

## 3.2 Psammetichus I

The rather close connections between Egypt and the Dodecanese did not start with Necho II; this pharaoh continued the activities of his father and predecessor Psammetichus I (664-610 BC), the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>65</sup> The following three objects

59 Cf. among others Herodotus, *Historiae IV*, §144.

60 Baumbach, *Votive Offerings*, 147-73, with bibliography.

61 E. Bernand, O. Masson, *Les inscriptions d'Abou-Simbel*, REG 70 (1957), inscriptions 2 and 4.

62 Sais was the burial place for Necho II (Herodotus, *Historiae II*, 169). The tomb was discovered already in the eighteenth century, but the objects got lost; see De Meulenaere, *Herodotos*, 64.

63 These statues are now in the basement of the Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities in Rhodes.

64 *Supra* n. 61.

65 K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1986<sup>2</sup>), 399-407 and 359-69; F. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum*

were assigned to this specific ruler and they could provide us with additional information: a New-Year flask with a single cartouche on its belly now in the Louvre Museum (fig. 5),<sup>66</sup> a scarab from Kameiros (inv. no. 61.11-11.13), now in the British Museum (fig. 6),<sup>67</sup> as well as an inscribed aryballos from lalysos (inv. no. 10875), now in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes (fig. 7).<sup>68</sup>



Fig. 5: New-Year flask with cartouche with the royal name of Psammetichus I or Apries on its belly, Louvre Museum (after Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, pl. XVIII).

The New-Year flask indicates that votive-offerings were related to specific festivals. New-Year-flasks were part of an Egyptian festival and specific customs, but the idea of the new-year celebration was easily adoptable into other cultures. A closer examination of the lalysos-flask reveals that it was

4. *Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 11-21; detailed and correct analysis of the first decade of his reign can be found in A. Spalinger, 'Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I', *JARCE* XIII (1976), 133-47.

66 Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 116, pl. XVIII, no. ii.

67 G. Hölbl, 'Aegyptiaca im östlichen Mittelmeerraum', in: M. Görg and G. Hölbl (eds.), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum*, *ÄAT* 44 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 119-62, esp. 140 and pl. V.1; cf. H.R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum*, vol. I (London, 1913), 253, no. 2527; Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 139; Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2078-2079, no. 3213.

68 Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 117-8, pl. XVIII; Skon-Jedele, *Aigyptiaka*, 2617-22, no. 4842, fig. 80.



Fig. 6: Psammetichus I's scarab from Kameiros (after Hölbl, in: Görg and Hölbl [eds.], *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum*, pl. V.1)

not an original Egyptian object but an imitation of an Egyptian prototype. This is particularly obvious by the shape of the *w3h*-hieroglyph, which clearly shows a problematic form. Thus, there is at least a possibility that the combination of the wish "a happy year" and the king's name may have been reinterpreted in Rhodes.<sup>69</sup> Other new-years flasks from Psammetichus I show distinct shapes of signs.<sup>70</sup> Two can be directly related to Rhodes, while the rest could also be ascribed to Rhodes by paleographic comparison. These Egyptianising New-Year flasks are examples for energetic inversions in the sense of Aby Warburg.<sup>71</sup>



Fig. 7: Inscribed aryballos from lalysos votive (© KB' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rhodes).

69 This may have been a productive misreading; cf. H. Bloom, *A map of misreading* (New York, 1975).

70 Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 115.



71 A Warburg, "Preface to the Mnemosyne-Atlas", in: I. Bartaliedl, C. Greisner-Brandt and N. Sato (eds.), *Rhetorik der Leidenschaft – Zur Bildsprache der Kunst im Abendland* (Hamburg/München, 1999), 225-8.

A similar scenario fits for the scarab of Psammetichus I coming probably from the necropolis at Kameiros (Fig. 6).<sup>72</sup> Its base shows the sphinx with the double crown combined with a cartouche with royal name of king Psammetichus (or Apries<sup>73</sup>) and that of the god Amun-Ra. Here again the *w3h*-sign of the vertical cartouche with the prenomen of Psammetichus I, is quite distinct from the standard hieroglyphic form.<sup>74</sup> We may wonder whether the Greeks interpreted the sphinx as an image of the king or a god or a demon, but unfortunately there are no specific clues for deciphering the Greek reading of this object.

In the case of the aryballos from lalysos the situation is much more distinctive.<sup>75</sup> This aryballos belongs to a group of associated faience vases, which although bear close similarities to earlier sixth century Corinthian examples in clay, they show influence of the Egyptian kohl pot. It is a flat-bottomed vase with its body being decorated with incised renderings of Egyptian motifs and two vertical cartouches – opposite the base of the handle – surmounted by a sun-disc flanked by double plumes, and set in a rectangular compartment formed by pairs of double incised verticals. The cartouches are not properly made, since the looped-rope motif at their base is indicated by a simple pair of double incised lines. They are flanked by a pair of Horus falcons, each wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt. In the space between each of the falcons and the decoration under the handle is a pair of triple-stalked papyrus clumps (Gardiner sign-list, M16). The space under the handle is covered with monkey-figures on either side of a central palm, which raise their arms towards the fronds at the top of the trees.

The two cartouches contain the prenomen (left) and nomen (right) of either Psammetichus I or Apries, both of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. From the hieroglyphs signs inside them, those that have been

badly drawn are the loop-sign (Gardiner sign-list, V28) and the *ib*-sign in the prenomen (*H<sup>cc</sup>-ib-R<sup>c</sup>*), as well as the curved top of the *w3h*-sign in the nomen (*W3h-ib-R<sup>c</sup>*). Webb, followed by Skon-Jedele, although agrees with the “problematic” form of the hieroglyphs, assigns this aryballos and the associated objects to a workshop at Naukratis.<sup>76</sup> This does not necessary mean the specific objects were manufactured by Egyptians, but rather by Greeks immigrants that imitated native prototypes. In such case the appearance of these vases in the lalysos votive clearly indicates an Egyptianisation (fig. 8).

We can assume that the Egyptian hieroglyph  served as the model for these Rhodian imitations. Furthermore, it seems likely that the Rhodian forms were inspired by a hieroglyphic form of which the lower part was damaged. In a second step this form was reinterpreted, probably as an animal skin or bar (). Such reinterpretations are a typical feature of cross-cultural contacts.<sup>77</sup> These Greek imitations derive from Egyptian prototypes. Thus we can conjecture real Egyptian objects donated by Psammetichus I to sanctuaries in Rhodes. They were considered by the Rhodians to be highly prestigious. Therefore the scarab and the New-Year flask but probably other objects too were imitated.

In addition to the Egyptian and Egyptianising donations to sanctuaries we know various Egyptian and more often Egyptianising objects donated to tombs. Various tombs in the necropolis of Kechraki contain Egyptianising objects which were modified in the cross-cultural contact.<sup>78</sup> These Egyptianising objects confirm the high cultural value of the Egyptian semiophores on the Greek side of the *ecumene*. The Rhodian workshops of Egyptianising faiences indicate a longing for these sacral objects. Down to earth one could probably make good business with the sacral objects. Nevertheless, the demarcation between business and the sacral world might be too modern.

72 Hölbl, in: Görg and Hölbl (eds.), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum*, 140 and pl. V.1.

73 The name could refer to either Psammetichus I or Apries, both of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, since both Pharaohs bear identical royal names; see discussion in Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 117.

74 Compare the much more crudely executed Psammetichus I's name on a similar scarab from Kameiros (not seen) in *Clara Rhodos IV*, fig. 362 (top left).

75 On this vase-type, see Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 114-9 and Boardman, *Greek Overseas*, 127-8.

76 Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 117.

77 Cf. Warburg, *Preface*, H. Bloom, A map of misreading, New York 1975.

78 C. Gates, *From Cremation to Inhumation: Burial Practices at lalysos and Kameiros during the Mid-Archaic Period, ca. 625-525 B.C.*, Occasional Paper 11 (Los Angeles, 19-22 and 41-3.

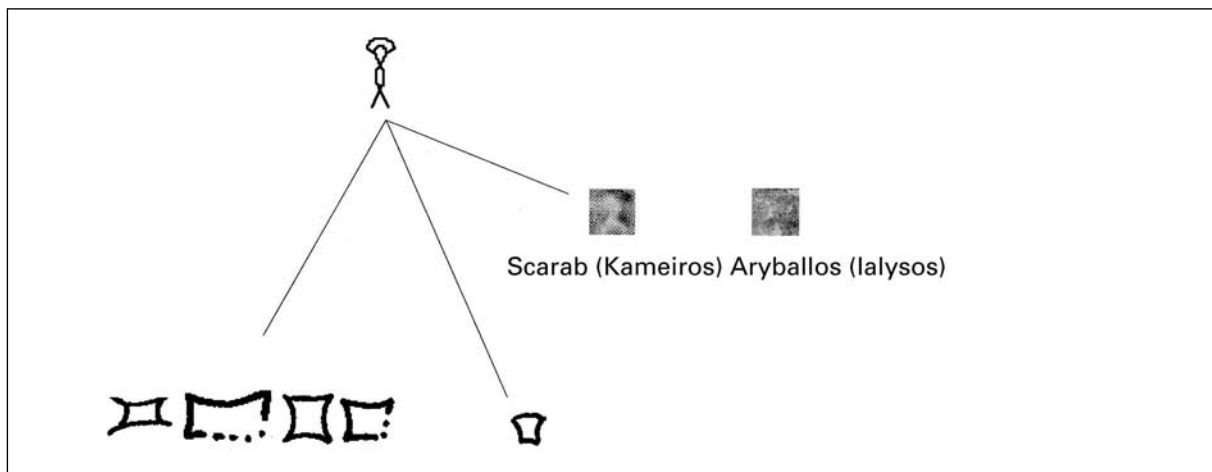


Fig. 8: Egyptianizing forms of the *w3h*-sign.

#### 4. Conclusions

Summing up, two major issues can be derived from and are of special interest in the previous discussion. The first concerns with the morphological characteristics of these objects, which could contribute to answering the question whether they consist of genuine Egyptian imports or not. The second issue, which partly derives from the first, concerns with the functionality and contextualisation of these objects within the broader nexus of the international relations of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, which can be seen as an epitome of the continuous attempts by the Saite kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynast to re-establish a political and social link with major cultic centers in the Aegean and the Levant.

In two recent articles, E. Cline<sup>79</sup> and R. Laffineur<sup>80</sup> questioned the multivalent nature of the imported *Orientalia* in the Late Bronze Aegean and attempted to set up a framework of specific rules and properties of what consisted of an import/export, as well as to define its status and value within the newly acquainted cultural context. Cline speaks of reception theory and familiarity with the imported objects on behalf of the intended audience as an essential tool for assigning a correct value to them.<sup>81</sup>

79 E. Cline, 'The multivalent nature of imported objects in the ancient Mediterranean world', in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 45-51.

80 R. Laffineur, 'Imports/esports in the Eastern Mediterranean: for a specific methodology', in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 53-8.

81 Cline, in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 49-50 and n. 11 for bibliography on reception theory and cultural applications.

Even if such objects, like the faience plaques of Amenohotep III from Mycenae or the cylinder seals of found at Boeotian Thebes,<sup>82</sup> were not used in the precise manner that they should have been back in Egypt, they were regarded as highly precious and venerated objects, having been assigned a whole new function and identity within a different cultural environment. The objects themselves have not been changed; only the nature of its reception – to Egypt they were exports, to Greek mainland or, in our case, Rhodes they were imports – and possibly its status and worth. Laffineur argues in favour of a more broad base when investigating an issue of imported foreign objects, that takes into consideration not only artistic similarities, but multiple aspects of exchanging, such as raw materials and commodities that have not been preserved in their original shape, skills in craftsmanship and knowledge, that could be learned from abroad, and also religious beliefs and cult practices.<sup>83</sup>

The sacral donation of Necho II to the sanctuary of Athena Ialysia could also add to this argumentation, for it consists of a genuine piece, which although carried the traditional role of a royal gift from a foreign ruler, it was also adapted to the international syncretistic religious background of the

82 See E. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, B.A.R. International Series 591 (Oxford, 1994), 31-47 and 133-43; idem, 'An unpublished Amenohotep III faience plaque from Mycenae', *JAOS* 110/2 (1990), 200-12; contra C. Lilyquist, 'On the Amenohotep III faience fragments from Mycenae', *JAOS* 119/2 (1999), 303-8.

83 Laffineur, in: Laffineur and Greco (eds.), *Aegaeum* 25 (2005), 58.

receptive culture. Although, no information survive on the ideological component of these votive offerings, the locally manufactured Egyptianising objects – not only the scarabs or the vases examined in the previous pages but, mainly, the vast number of amulets and faience statuettes – clearly exemplify that Rhodians had gained insight into Egyptian religious beliefs. Thus, they were probably familiar with the significance of at least some of these objects.<sup>84</sup> A kind of accompanying “sacralisation ritual”, in which the objects were transformed from mundane to sacred sphere, should have taken place.<sup>85</sup>

At the same time, such donations epitomised the significant role that Rhodian sanctuaries played within the international setting of movement and emporium of the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.<sup>86</sup> Besides their function as collecting points and meeting places for art works of all sorts,<sup>87</sup> the Greek sanctuaries in the Dodecanese, especially on Rhodes

and Kos,<sup>88</sup> as well as those on Samos and the rest of the Aegean world,<sup>89</sup> could serve certain religious, economical and social parameters – similar to those of the oriental Ionian world – that foreign rulers wanted to accustom with. Both Psammetichus I and Necho II – and later Amasis and Apries – evidently used them as instruments of foreign policy to cement relations with Greek states with whom they were allied and of whose members they had actual or potential need.<sup>90</sup> In addition to that, such sacral donations – either genuine objects or imitations of Egyptian prototypes – indicate a strong tense for a high cross-cultural interactivity in the sphere of economy and religion, which facilitated by the existence of an already established north-south trade network that connected Ionia with Nile Delta, and the Syrian/Phoenician coast with Italy and Sicily.

84 Compare similar situation for the bronze Egyptian amulets from the Samian Heraion; see Ph. Brize, *Archaische Bronzenvotive aus dem Heraion von Samos*, *Scienze dell'antichità* 3-4 (1989-1990), 321.

85 That was common practice for the Egyptian “personalised” votive offerings; see Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 339-42; cf. S.J. Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets*, *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology* 49 (Cambridge, 1984), 243-57, for the act of sacralisation of private possessions before they were assigned to a deity or temple as donations.

86 One should just notice the quality and, mostly, the quantity of the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects that have been found on Rhodes in the Geometric and Archaic Periods as opposed to those in the Late Bronze Age. This contrast is an accurate reflection of the religions and economic importance that Rhodes acquired towards the second half of the first millennium BC onwards, as a major center of an international trade and economic route between the Near East, Greek mainland and Italy. Cf. P. Kousoulis, ‘Rhodes before the Saite kings: some thoughts on the Egyptian relations with Rhodes and the Dodecanese during the Ramesside Period’, in: S. Snape and M. Collier (eds.), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of Kenneth A. Kitchen* (Liverpool, in press).

87 Cf. Kyrieleis, in: N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (London/New York, 1995), 148-9, for the significance of the foreign objects in the cult of Hera at Samos; also, A. Hermay, ‘Votive offerings in the sanctuaries of Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete during the Late Geometric and Archaic Periods’, in: Karageorghis and Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean*, 272-3; *infra*, n. 86.

88 Personal communication with the excavator, Dr. E. Skerlou (February 2007); cf. E. Skerlou, ‘Το ιερό της Γεωμετρικής και Αρχαϊκής Περιόδου στην περιοχή Ηρακλής της Κω. Μία πρώτη παρουσίαση’, in N. Stampolidis and A. Yannikouri (eds.), *Το Αιγαίο στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήπου. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Ρόδος, 1-4 Νοεμβρίου 2002* (Athens, 2004), 177-88.

89 The Samian Heraion is situated on the southeastern coast of Samos in the fertile plain of Khora. The earliest traceable temple of Hera is the hekatompodon, which dated back to the first half of the seventh century BC, which was replaced by a monumental temple around 570/60 BC. Most of the findings were discovered in an extensive stratum that covered large parts of the south temenos, the altar, the bothros, the wells and the South Stoa. There was a large amount of imported items from foreign countries, especially from Egypt and Near East. For the topography, history and excavations of the Heraion, see H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens, 1981), with bibliography; idem, ‘The Heraion at Samos’ (transl. by J. Binder), in: Marinatos and Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries*, 125-53; A. Mallwitz, ‘Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert’, *AA* (1981), 623-31; H. J. Kienast, ‘Topographische Studien im Heraion von Samos’, *AA* (1992), 174; for a re-evaluation of the votive offerings found in the sanctuary, cf. Baumbach, *Significance of Votive Offerings*, 147-73 with previous bibliography; For the bronzes (e.g. cat-like Bastet statues and amulets), see U. Jantzen, *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos*, vol. VIII (Bonn, 1972); for the ivories, see B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion* (Hamburg, 1964); cf. Kyrieleis, in: Marinatos and Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries*, 145-49 for the significance of these orientalia to the cult of Hera.

90 Cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus II*, 162-3.