



NAUKRATIS IN CONTEXT: CULTS, SANCTUARIES AND OFFERINGS



British Museum Naukratis Project Workshop
22nd-23rd of June 2013
British Museum, Sackler Rooms, Clore Centre

DAY 1: RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA IN NAUKRATIS

Naukratis: religion in context (chair Ross Thomas)

Alexandra Villing (British Museum). Religion in a cross-cultural context: introduction

Throughout history, long-distance commerce brought into contact not just different peoples but also their religions. In the predominantly polytheistic systems of antiquity, religious practice and imagination provided a platform for a wide range of expressions of cross-cultural contact. Occupying a middle ground between institutionalization and social network, religion had the potential to be not just reflective but also regulatory of cross-cultural exchange – both economic and otherwise – from affirming stable group boundaries, to dissolving them in syncretisms. This is true also for the economic and sacred landscapes of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean of the first millennium BC, where religion and ritual feature prominently, not just in royal and civic contexts, but also in economic spheres such as the ethnically mixed trading port of Naukratis. The discussion of cults, sanctuaries and offerings may provide a lense through which to gain a better understanding of an intercultural milieu that is increasingly interconnected and fluid but also highly regimented in sacred traditions and social hierarchy.

Ivan Guermeur (CNRS). Egyptian evidence at Naukratis

Naukratis a longtemps été considérée comme emblématique des débuts la présence hellène en Égypte, et son nom, alors considéré comme « clearly Greek » (Lloyd, *Herodotus*, 1988) ou, à tout le moins, de bonne apparence hellénique, avait été explicité par Strabon comme l'expression de la puissance (κρατέω) en bateaux (ναῦς) de ses fondateurs Milésiens. Pourtant, Herman De Meulenaere avait déjà remis en cause cette interprétation helléno centrée (*Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, 1951, p. 100-102 ; *LÄ IV*, 1982, col. 360-361) et Jean Yoyotte a définitivement montré que le nom de la localité était en réalité purement égyptien, sans doute formé sur un vocable libyen (*Opera Selecta*, p. 512-520). L'analyse des différents monuments pharaoniques provenant la localité tend à montrer que la ville « égyptienne » avait une importance certaine et qu'une localité « La Maison du Port » (*pr-mrjt*)

avait pu préexister à l'installation de l'ἑμπορεῖον grec. C'est cette documentation indigène que nous présenterons et cet exposé des sources sera l'occasion de rappeler et de rééquilibrer la vision parfois encore trop hellénique de la réalité naucratite.

Coffee break

Greek vases as offerings: types, dedications and parallels (chair Udo Schlotzhauer)

Marianne Bergeron (British Museum). Greek vase offerings in Naukratis and other harbour sanctuaries

Corinthian and Chian pottery both appear at Naukratis in votive contexts in the last quarter of the 7th century BC. Corinthian pottery was popular and widely exported between circa 625-550 BC, yet the numbers at Naukratis are slight and do not reflect the same trends as the pottery did elsewhere. Chian wares, on the other hand, were found in large numbers at Naukratis. Whilst Chian chalices were found at various Greek harbour sanctuaries, the shape repertoire at these other sites does not reflect the diverse assemblage at Naukratis.

This paper will examine Corinthian and Chian votive offerings in the harbour sanctuaries of Cyrenaica, Chios and Naukratis and explore the different patterns that emerge and the possible reasons for their different uses.

Alan Johnston (University College London). The Greek votive inscriptions in Naukratis

This material is generally well known and studied, but some aspects are worthy of further consideration, in particular with respect to the sheer quantity of texts and its statistical possibilities. A review of the terminology of the texts, and of some lacunae, will be set against the record for individual deities at Naukratis and that seen in Greek sanctuaries elsewhere. In particular an attempt will be made to compare the record at Naukratis with that at other similar sites frequented by Greek traders, such as Gravisca and Palagruza. Can literacy levels be deduced from such material? Or from sites where traders were less likely to have left any significant number of dedications?

Norbert Kunisch (Oxford). Attic vase offerings at Miletus

Lunch break

Votive offerings and cult practices at Naukratis (chair Anna Stevens)

Aurélia Masson (British Museum). Naukratis: Egyptian votive offerings in context

For a long time, the Hellenocentric focus has in scholarly studies taken precedence over the marks Egyptian religion has made on Naukratis. Bar major, but rare, epigraphic testimonies,

the material evidence for Egyptian cults and ex-votos at Naukratis remains scarcely published or barely studied.

This paper will look at the various types of Egyptian votive offerings discovered at Naukratis. Whenever possible, they will be analysed in the light of their context of discovery, through the use of documentation from the early explorations of the site, such as excavation diaries, letters and photographs, which help to re-contextualise many of these finds. Based on this analysis, we will discuss Egyptian cultic practices at Naukratis and determine to what extent they pertain to the wider religious context of the Delta. We will also underline possible religious interactions between Egyptians and the foreign communities residing or simply visiting the numerous sanctuaries of this harbour town.

Ross Thomas (British Museum). Figures in context

Over the past 2.5 years the Naukratis Project has been documenting the full range of terracotta, plaster and stone figures, models and coffin-fittings spanning over 1000 years and from across the Eastern Mediterranean. Following the publication in our first phase of our Online Research Catalogue (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis>) of over 800 terracottas and the documentation phase nearing completion of all of the over 1600 terracottas and 400 stone figures, we can now start to see patterns emerging concerning the figures distribution over time and across the site. In addition, the Naukratis Project has undertaken two field seasons, involving architectural and topographic survey, magnetometry prospection, excavation and auger drilling. This fieldwork has allowed for the reconciling of different interpretations, answering many important questions concerning the layout of Naukratis, whilst raising further questions we hope to answer with future fieldwork. Over the course of cataloguing the figures, contextual information has been acquired for many pieces, allowing, in conjunction with our fieldwork results to provide real-world co-ordinates and depths for some of these pieces. This has helped date certain poorly understood figure types and provides a useful insight into the ritual offering practices in certain sanctuaries as well as domestic religion, production and trade.

Paolo del Vesco (University London College). Enshrined goddesses and ritual practices in a multicultural world

Three terracotta plaques in the British Museum (EA 1885.1010.28-29, GR 1886.4-1.1458) show a very interesting and peculiar decoration: a naked female figure in frontal view stands on the entrance of a shrine which presents architectonic and decorative elements of mixed origin.

One of the plaques was found in the excavation of Naukratis, the other two were originally in the collection of Greville Chester, and their provenance is said to be Palmyra. The dating of the objects is likewise uncertain. Through the analysis of the iconography and the study of the archaeological contexts of similar objects, the paper will try to assess the religious significance of the plaques within a multicultural context and the ritual practices in which the associated symbolic meanings were expressed.

Coffee break

Sanctuaries of Naukratis: their patrons, clientele and roles (chair Jeffrey Spencer)

Alexander Herda (Humboldt-Universität Berlin). On the cult of Apollo Didymeus Milesios in Naukratis. Milesian and Karian Mercenaries and traders and the beginnings of Naukratis

Recent studies on the material from the sanctuary of Milesian Apollo in Naukratis have revealed some surprises. They affect the dating, as well as character of the cult, its clientele, and the reconstruction of the sanctuary. The paper will give an overview and discuss consequences for the origins and early history of Naukratis.

Daniel von Recklinghausen (Universität Tübingen). The decoration of the temple of Amun at Naukratis

The Kestner Museum in Hanover possesses two fragments of reliefs of an Egyptian temple dating to the reign of Ptolemy I. They were purchased in the 1970s without any information concerning their origin. The reliefs are covered with scenes of a nome procession. Such processions are to be understood as the graphical and textual realisation of a religious topography of Egypt. Together with other types of processions, they visualise the world and its contents from a religious point of view. Therefore, they form an integral part of the decoration of the base of Graeco-Roman temple walls (soubassements). Due to stylistic reasons and to an identical text pattern for each entity, the Hanover reliefs belong without any doubt to a procession of nomes, which can be linked with a temple of the god Amun in Naukratis as was already noticed by J. Yoyotte. Another fragment of this nome procession along with some pieces of a so called economic procession was found by C.C. Edgar in Kom Geif /Naukratis in the early 20th century, nowadays conserved at Tanta. Edgar was the first scholar who argued that these fragments once belonged to an Egyptian temple situated in the so called Great Temenos. In this regard the sanctuary belongs to one of the few temple structures of the period of Ptolemy I known today.

Based on the works of Edgar and Yoyotte, the paper will focus on the building program of Ptolemy I with a special emphasis on the situation in Naukratis. Though very limited in quantity and preservation, the remaining material from Naukratis – notably only soubassements – allows to make an educated guess pertaining to the original position of the fragments within the temple and to reconstruct the decoration pattern of at least some of the soubassements. This can be achieved by comparing the fragments with similar scenes and processions respectively from other temples, which are currently gathered and studied – particularly in regard of their position in the temple walls – within the research project “The Temple as a Canon of Egyptian Religious Literature” initiated by the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Furthermore, as there are identical parallel texts from other Graeco-Roman temples for every inscription of the Naukratis fragments (notably from the temple of Edfu, as the fragments of Hanover show), the development, use, and transmission of text(structure)s of temple inscriptions throughout Egypt will be taken into account. Special interest is laid again on the nome procession as it is to be regarded as the first attestation of a so-called quadripartite nome procession (preserved examples of Upper Egyptian temples date into the reign of the late Ptolemies and the Roman Emperors).

Damien Agut-Labordère (CNRS ArScAn-HAROC-Nanterre). Amun of Naukratis: the Egyptian temple and the Greek port of trade

Read by François Leclère.

During Saite, Persian and perhaps a part of the Hellenistic Periods, at least three institutional entities were located at the site of Naukratis: the King's domain, mentioned in the Decree of Sais; the Hellenion, managed by a group of Greek cities; and the temple of Amun of Beded, an Egyptian sanctuary where this local form of the Theban god Amun was worshipped. In this communication we would like to examine the interactions between the Hellenion and the temple of Amun. Unfortunately, no documents with a level of detail comparable to Herodotus' famous passage concerning the Hellenion (II. 178-179) or the Decree of Sais are available to give us wider information about the functioning of the Egyptian religious institution. We ought to draw from the Hieroglyphic and Demotic epigraphical dossiers gathered by Jean Yoyotte in his article "L'Amun de Naukratis", *Revue d'Égyptologie* 34 (1982/3: 129–36) and in his conferences given in the Collège de France between 1991 and 1994.

At first, we will give a **chronological overview of this documentation**, especially focusing on variations in the nature of the sources (donation stelae, "biographical" inscriptions, sacerdotal decrees ...). This approach will allow us to underline the existence of undocumented periods, when the temple activities seem to slow down. After this, it will be interesting to confront this "chronology of the temple" with these established for the Hellenion. Had the existence of the latter interfered with these of the Amun temple?

Then, focusing on **economic activities** attested in these documents, we will propose an economic portrait of the Egyptian sanctuary aiming to understand its agricultural and financial functioning. We will identify the proper resources of the temple attested in the documentation and the evolution of the god's patrimony. Could it be that some economic activities led by the clergy of Amun were connected with the trading of the port?

Greeks were not absent from this clergy. By isolating the few documents containing Greek anthroponyms, it will be allowed to propose an overview of the role played by some people linked with the Hellenion or with other Greek sanctuaries settled in Naukratis in the functioning of the temple of Amun.

We hope that this work will help to create a less divided perception of the various institutions settled in Naukratis and, ultimately, to promote a more inclusive analysis of the different aspects of its history.

John Taylor (British Museum). A new inscription from Naukratis

Read by Aurélia Masson.

DAY 2. NAUKRATIS IN PERSPECTIVE

Naukratis in Perspective: Cults, Sanctuaries and Offerings in the Mediterranean World (chair Marianne Bergeron)

Denise Demetriou (Michigan State University). Religious Middle Grounds in Cosmopolitan Emporia

Naukratis offers a perfect prism from which to examine the role of religion in mediating cross-cultural interactions. As a multi-ethnic commercial settlement (emporion) it was host to a resident population of Egyptians, Phoenicians, Carians, Cypriots, and Greeks from different city-states. Moreover, the majority of the excavated area in Naukratis consists of sanctuaries and the material culture excavated is primarily of a religious nature. In this paper, I examine evidence from Naukratis, in comparison to other Greek emporia located in non-Greek lands, in order to explore both what role religion played in multicultural emporia and also how these cosmopolitan communities shaped religion itself: did multi-ethnic communities have divinities that they worshipped in common, shared sanctuaries where they performed religious rituals, and did their choices of what gods to worship relate to their multi-ethnic and commercial nature?

I begin by showing, with epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Naukratis and Gravisca (a comparable site in Tarquinia), that the norm in multi-ethnic commercial settlements was to bypass the usual exclusivity of cult that characterized Greek religion by allowing any Greek, regardless of his/her origin, as well as non-Greeks, to use the temples. In Naukratis, this was true not only of a temple called the Hellenion, whose name suggests that it was common to all Greeks, but also of temples founded by specific poleis, such as the temples of Hera and Apollo founded by Samians and Milesians respectively. In Gravisca, both Greeks and Etruscans used the Greek sanctuaries, dedicated to Aphrodite, Hera, and Apollo. Yet, despite the flexibility offered by sanctuaries in multi-ethnic settlements, some individuals chose to worship divinities prominent in their city of origin: for instance, the material culture discovered in the temple of Hera in Naukratis is remarkably similar to that from the temple of Hera on Samos. Religion in emporia, therefore, could be used to express an individual's civic identity, and also could act as a mediator by creating a religious middle ground in which different Greeks and non-Greeks could coexist.

Next, I show by examining the cults of Aphrodite in Naukratis and in Gravisca and the Hellenion in Naukratis, that there was a general lack of religious specialization in multi-ethnic emporia, and that this, in turn, influenced the religious practices of their resident population. In both Naukratis and Gravisca, Aphrodite was worshipped under several epithets, with a remarkable range of offerings – including Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects –, and for a variety of roles (as patron of navigation, a guardian of the civic harmony, and a deity of sex). The temple of Aphrodite in Naukratis, therefore, shows how this goddess afforded cohesion and unity, which was necessary in a commercial settlement located in a non-Greek land, where Greeks from many poleis came together, cooperated in trade, ran the emporion, administered the temples, and formed a self-governing polis. The Hellenion in Naukratis is a uniquely named sanctuary that symbolizes the coalescence of new collective identities and new religious practices. The Greeks of Naukratis, grouped together in the settlement by the Egyptian authorities, had an extra impetus to see themselves as Hellenes, and actively constructed and expressed this new identity through their foundation of a common temple dedicated to the gods of the Greeks, the Hellenion.

Religion, therefore, played an important role in emporia: it mediated interactions among different ethnic groups by allowing them to come together in religious contexts, ultimately also

facilitating cross-cultural trade. At the same time, the multi-ethnic nature of these settlements transformed local religious practices, and this had repercussions regionally and in the wider Mediterranean.

Ireen Kowalleck (Universität Wien). Votive offerings and ritual practices in the Ionian sanctuaries of Apollo

The act of offering, either in the form of sacrifices or votives, constitutes one of two central ritual activities in ancient Greek cult practice; the other primary form is praise, expressed by hymns and prayers. Both offering and praise are strongly interrelated and were carried out to establish a reciprocal relationship between man and the divine through acts of giving. Whereas several features of ancient Greek rituals, e.g. prayer, dances, music etc., are not traceable in the archaeological record, the potential of the more permanent material offerings, mostly votive objects, for providing insight into specific ritual activities cannot be underestimated. In Ionia, ritual activity is prominently evidenced by series of votives which were deposited at three successive altars in the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros. Using a quantitative approach, the range of votive offerings and its development from the Proto-Geometric until the Hellenistic period will be explored. With Klaros as a starting point, the discussion will include further evidence from other Apollo sanctuaries in Ionia, namely the extra-urban sanctuary of the *polis* Miletos at Didyma, as well as Kato Phana and the 'Harbour sanctuary' at Emporio, both on Chios.

Virginia Webb (British Museum). Religious Practices at Naukratis as suggested by the faience finds and compared to Camirus in Rhodes

Naukratis in the first half of the sixth century is rich in certain types of object, in particular, the products of the faience factory, and parallel finds from other find-spots in the settlement. This material is only a little later, by twenty or so years, than the oldest evidence for settlement. I will look particularly at scarabs, scaraboids, and human figurines of offering bearers and musicians, all apparently designed to be worn as talismans, since they are all pierced for suspension. It is true that they were exported to other sites in the Greek world and throughout the Mediterranean. Were they intended to be worn by the living or the dead? Earlier evidence from Pithekoussai strongly suggested that scarabs were associated with children, and accompanied them in their burials. This evidence has radically influenced the interpretation of later material. I intend to look at the comparable evidence from one site in Rhodes, Camirus, where there are many different types of find spot recorded, with the addition of selected finds from other sites in East Greece. We can also include the infrequent, but telling finds of groups of scarabs in the Mediterranean world, which were clearly intended to be worn as necklaces, belts or other adornment, and the evidence of Cypriot statues which display the wearing of amuletic objects. The small figurines also produced in Naukratis may well have some associated importance. All these objects clearly had significance for their owners, but was this something that changed over time?

It must be emphasized that a case can be made for these products being the **last** phase in a sequence of related productions. For instance, Rhodes had already been the production and distribution centre for an earlier class of scarabs, first half of the seventh century, while a range of other egyptianising objects, both small perfume containers, and large talismanic figures, were manufactured there in the second half of the seventh century. What we are seeing in the Naukratis factory is the end of a belief system, or fashion, and not the beginning of something new. By the time of the Persian invasion of Egypt in 525 B.C., the use of scarabs in the Greek world was on the way out.

Coffee break

Naukratis in Perspective: Cults, Sanctuaries and Offerings in the Mediterranean World (chair Thomas Kiely)

Jan-Marc Henke (Ruhr-Universität Bochum). Cypriot terracottas as initiators of technical and 'religious' innovations in East Greek communities?

Archaic Cypriot terracottas are a very large group of finds at many East Aegean find-spots, as well as at Naukratis. In the scientific research, the classification and dating of Cypriot terracottas is still based on the stylistic and chronological system applied by Einar Gjerstad in the first half of the 20th century. The system was challenged by Gerhard Schmidt in 1968. Based on the stratigraphic evidence from the Heraion of Samos, Schmidt proposed a higher dating of the styles, so that the import of Cypriot terracottas reached the East Aegean from about 670/60 until 570/560 BC. Sabine Fourrier declined both systems in 2007 and exposed Gjerstad's different chronological styles as contemporary regional styles on Cyprus. As a result of new research in the Heraion of Samos and in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletus, it can be shown that the origin of most of the Cypriot terracottas in the East Aegean – hollow shaped figurines, as well as plaque shaped statues – can be isolated to a very small number of workshops, mostly located close to the area of Salamis on Cyprus. New evidence in Miletus limits the chronology of the production as well as the import of most of the Cypriot terracottas, to a very short period of about two or three decades, from about 640/30 until 630/20 BC, even if the first imports started before 670/60 BC. According to this, the results establish a new perspective on the appearance of Cypriot terracottas in East Aegean sanctuaries and raise new questions about the background of the offerings as well as the identity of the dedicants. Many scholars oppose the idea of local Greek worshippers and expect Cypriot dedicants. Very often the Cypriot Costume of the terracottas is taken as an important argument against the Greek identity of dedicants. The paper goes forward to show the untenability of this argument. So it is very interesting to find an early group of terracottas in the East Aegean manufactured from local potters in a Cypriot style and with the specific Cypriot costume. There are many other clues to suggest Greek dedicants and to interpret the terracottas as witnesses of establishing social networks of the Greeks to the East via Cyprus from the late 8th until the early 6th century BC. As in case of the adaptation of Egyptian habits and religious symbols by the Greeks (for example the archaic Greek faience production) similar processes can be suggested in case of the Cypriot terracottas.

Heba Abd El Gawad (Durham University). Royal Cults and the packaging of Ptolemaic "Soft Power" Outside Egypt

'Soft power' (Nye 1990) refers to the capability of an entity, usually but not necessarily a state, to influence others through attraction, not force or threats. It co-opts people by appealing to them not by forcing them to comply. This soft side of power plays an integral role in shaping state's international relations and foreign policies. Among the resources of soft power are culture, media and religion. This brand of power is strikingly familiar to the Ptolemaic kings. For in their efforts to secure a power position within the political stage, they have deployed and invented a variety of "attractive" soft power technologies to gain wider appeal and extend their sphere of influence. One of the major resources and manifestations of Ptolemaic soft power outside Egypt was the royal cults. As made evident by the epigraphic, textual and archaeological remains, throughout the Greek world the Ptolemies involvement in the city's religious institutions or in the individuals' private sphere is manifested through the

development of the royal cult and the Ptolemies' assertion of their divine status. This paper attempts to offer a contextual analysis of the political motives and goals behind the installation and adoption of Ptolemaic royal cult outside Egypt. This is achieved through a political reading of selected epigraphic and archaeological evidence posing the questions of a) the nature of the royal cult and the circumstances surrounding its initiation; b) relation between the royal cult and the durability of Ptolemaic power overseas; c) the divine associations with local deities; d) the spread of the Ptolemaic royal cult within private and domestic spheres. The paper intends to highlight the role religion played in shaping the perception and extent of Ptolemaic power outside Egypt.

Nye, J., 1990. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. Basic Books: New York.

Lunch break

Naukratis in Perspective: Cults, Sanctuaries and Offerings in Late Period and Ptolemaic Egyptian sites

Delta (chair François Leclère)

Franck Goddio & Catherine Grataloup (Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology). Herakleion–Thonis

Penelope Wilson (Durham University). "Gateway to the Underworld": The Cult Areas at Sais in the Saite Period

The paper will discuss the evidence from excavations in the 'Great Pit' area, which suggests that a series of cult buildings once stood there. The evidence includes votive stone gateway fragments, which may relate to the cult of Osiris or Osiris Hemag at Sais; a number of fragmentary female figurines of types well known from other late Period votive deposits; amulets and Greek finewares. The paper will also discuss a group of small, Nile Silt votive pottery vessels with a diverse set of forms reflecting types dating from the New Kingdom through to the Late Period. The significance of this votive set and the possible offerings made using these vessels will be discussed in the light of the cults known to have been active at Sais.

Coffee break

Elsewhere in Egypt (chair Aurélia Masson)

Wolfgang Müller (Schweizerisches Institut in Kairo). Syene/Aswan – The Garrison Town of the Late Period

Recent excavations in Old Aswan conducted by the Swiss-Egyptian Joint Mission revealed new insights into the topography and development of the town. A recent investigation of the Late-Period town wall in the vicinity of the Temple of Isis and in several rescue excavations all over the modern city provides evidence on construction and chronology of the wall and of the town's extents. The way of construction of the wall, the mud-brick part of the wall rests on a

massive (up to 6m high and 11m wide) socle made of rose-granite rubble, is unique for Egypt but has parallels in other parts of the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean.

Besides the wall, domestic and other structures and the material culture associated with them shall be presented in the paper. Several complete ground-plans of houses were excavated. The character of both the material culture and the architectural features differ significantly from those observed in the nearby settlement on Elephantine Island.

The findings in Aswan complement the archaeological record and papyrological evidence from Elephantine and are an important addition to our knowledge of the First Cataract Region during the Late Period.

Anna Garnett (Manchester Museum). "I too came to you, Pan!" A Sacred Greco-Roman Landscape in Egypt's Eastern Desert

Wadi Mia is part of a complex wadi network which cuts through the Nubian sandstone cliffs in the desert east of Edfu. It was utilised as both a route to the gold mines of the Eastern Desert, in particular those mines at Barramiya, Samut and Sukari, and a point of departure for an important route through the Eastern Desert from Edfu or Coptos to Berenike on the southern Red Sea coast. Kanais, situated 35 miles east of Edfu in the Wadi Mia, is the site of a temple, a well and an associated settlement dated to the reign of Seti I, when the temple was dedicated to seven deities: the great triad of Amen-Re, Re-Horakhty and Ptah, as well as Horus of Edfu, Isis, Osiris, and the deified Seti I.

During the Greco-Roman Period, the temple of Seti I was repurposed as a Paneion, a temple dedicated to the Greek god Pan with whom the Egyptian god Min was identified, as travellers through the region viewed Pan as being directly responsible for their safe return from the desert. Such Paneia were constructed throughout Egypt during the Greco-Roman Period when Kanais was of particular interest as a result of its position on the overland route between the Nile and the Red Sea at Berenice as a result of new Red Sea trading links with India and elephant-hunting expeditions for the Ptolemaic army. It was important for travellers through the region to mark their passage epigraphically. This was a ritual action, engaging with the landscape both on departure and entry to the desert from the temple site and therefore gaining protection from Pan for the duration of their journey. As such, many ex-votos dedicated to Pan during the Hellenistic and early Roman Periods were inscribed onto the surrounding rock and to the temple itself.

This paper will evaluate the pharaonic temple at Kanais in the context of the existing desert landscape and assess how the site was redeveloped as an integral feature of the Greco-Roman religious landscape in Egypt.