

PRELIMINARY REPORT

AKORIS

2016

Grave 4

Grave 10



Footwear from G4

AKORIS ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

2017

Published for
PRELIMINARY REPORT
AKORIS
2016

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Published by the Research Center for Cultural Heritage and Texts,
Nagoya University, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, Aichi 464-8601, Japan

Represented by
SUTO, Yoshiyuki

Printed by NAKANISHI PRINTING CO., LTD. Japan
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You can download the previous preliminary reports from *The Official Website of Akoris Archive*
(www.akoris.jp).

1 PREFACE

According to the CORONA photographs and senior villagers, various types of trees were planted in the narrow vacant space of many houses in Tihna el-Gebel bordering the site of Akoris half a century ago. The representative species were Nile acacia (*sont* in Arabic) and Date palm (*nakhla* in Arabic). These trees provided not only cool shade but also useful products for the inhabitants. The Nile acacia seeds were used as tanning agents and a folk medicine for the stomach, the bark for dyestuffs, the resin as an adhesive, the branches for implements handles and stakes, and the trunks for beams. In addition, the fruit of the date palm is popular still now and the young leaves were used for basketry and the bark for rope.

Later, electricity and waterworks came to the village in the first half of the 1980s, and building materials such as mud bricks were rapidly exchanged for limestone blocks and cement after the serious flood disaster in 1995. Thus the former external appearance of the village changed dramatically and the self-sufficient rural community containing a population of ca. 4000 has increasingly shifted to a capitalized, digitalized and populous stratified society. And yet, these staggering changes have posed material challenges to many villagers, and they are tired and apprehensive. Public order has deteriorated since the changes. Eventually the society lost its sustainability and has become vulnerable.

Future archaeologists may excavate the buildings of ordinary people at the site of Tihna el-Gebel. They will find various electrical products in the upper layers and compare these with poor utensils in the lower layers. The question remains as to whether future archaeologists will conclude this trajectory was a result of social evolution. While we have been engaged in shedding

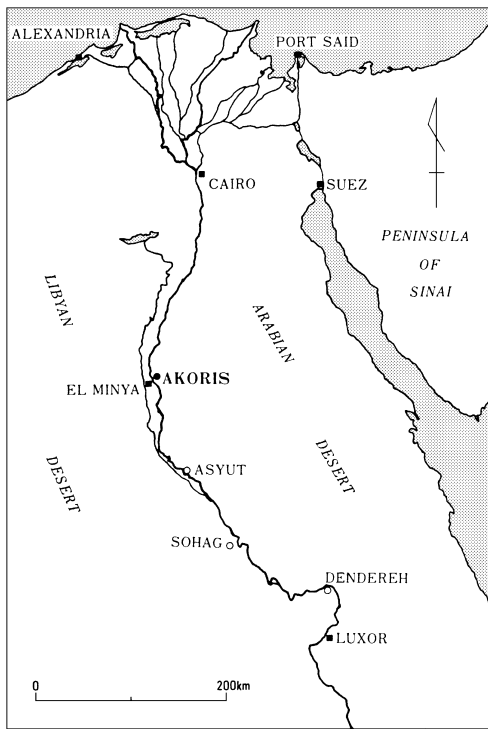


Fig. 1 Map of Egypt.

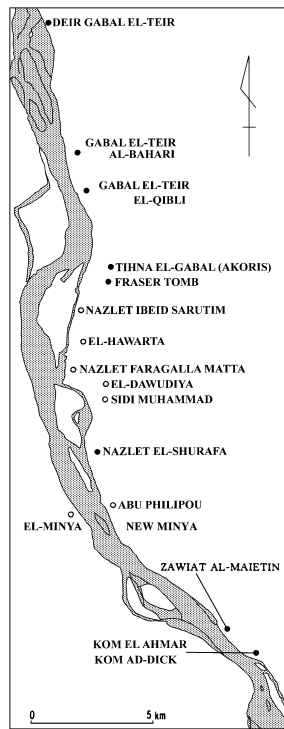


Fig. 2 Sites and villages near Akoris.

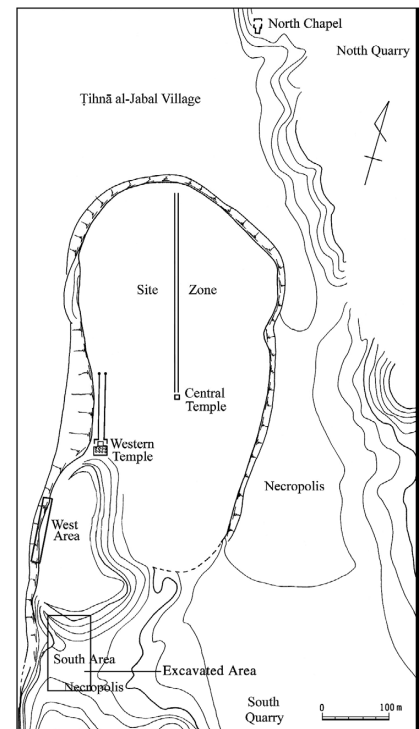


Fig. 3 Map of Akoris.

light on the actual life and subsistence strategies of ordinary people at the habitation site, the change in the present village constantly reminds archaeologists engaged at the site of the skepticism surrounding social evolutionism. (KAWANISHI)

2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

2-1 Excavations in the Southern Area of the Ancient City Zone of Akoris

Based on our findings, the excavated settlement area is attributed to the 20th to 22nd Dynasty when the pharaonic power of the 19th Dynasty began to decline. Our main purpose is to probe how the ordinary people refined their socioeconomic subsistence strategies under such conditions.

The settlement covers the south side of the north crag and stretches through the flat area to the north skirt of the next south crag (Fig. 3 and 4). According to the surface survey, it seems to have been rather isolated from the main city zone comprising the Third Intermediate Period (TIP) to the Coptic Era buildings. During the 2016 season two zones were excavated in the settlement. The first is the central part of the settlement in the bottom flat (Fig. 4-4 and 5). Our excavation from 2002 yielded a main street aligned east and west, and a sub-street diverted southward. The excavated area is east of the sub-street and west of the area excavated in 2015, across a balk left for later investigation (Preliminary Report 2015). The second is the north skirt of the south next crag (Fig. 9-1). It is in the southern end of the settlement and is south and west of the 2015 excavated area.

Central part of the settlement (Fig. 6) As shown in Fig. 6, interconnected rooms built of mud bricks and a sub-street were uncovered. Because the limestone bedrock dips gradually north and east, the accumulated soil is shallow in the south half of the excavated area and bedrock outcrops here and there on the floors. Each room is subdivided by walls referred as to N1-P5 respectively, mainly confined to part of the room (Fig. 5-1 and 2). Traces of *pisé* floor were confirmed in N2, N3, O1, O2, P1 and P2. They belong to the latest phase in the temporal sequence of the residential quarter. N1 is the west end of Section 4 excavated in 2015 therefore Section 4 forms a room, 6.5m east-west by 2.8m north-south. N2, N3 and O1 comprise several sections of rooms, and the north-south internal dimensions are 2.8m in N2, 3.7m in N3 and 3.9m in O1. Division walls extending eastward between N2 and N3, as well as between N3 and O1, were not present in the area excavated in 2015. Eastern sections of both division walls were lost by the later digging of a large pit. The floors of O1, O2 and N1-3 contained many ceiling fragments made of mud with tamarisk sprigs and traces. Given no finds on the ceiling, the housetop appears not to have been used for daily life. O6, P1 and P2 are small rooms. The north-south internal dimensions in P1 are ca. 3.9m, while P2 could not be measured because its south wall had disappeared as a result of raised bedrock. In O3 and O6 and P3-5, the walls are complex in position and formation, and were poorly preserved. The temporal sequence here awaits further research. According to stratigraphic and typological analysis, pottery of the 20th–22nd Dynasties can be divided into three phases, early, middle and late (Fig. 7). Based on our chronology, these rooms belong to the early/middle phase and the large pit belongs to the late phase.

Three test pits were dug in the sub-street to inspect the accumulated soil and dateable pottery.

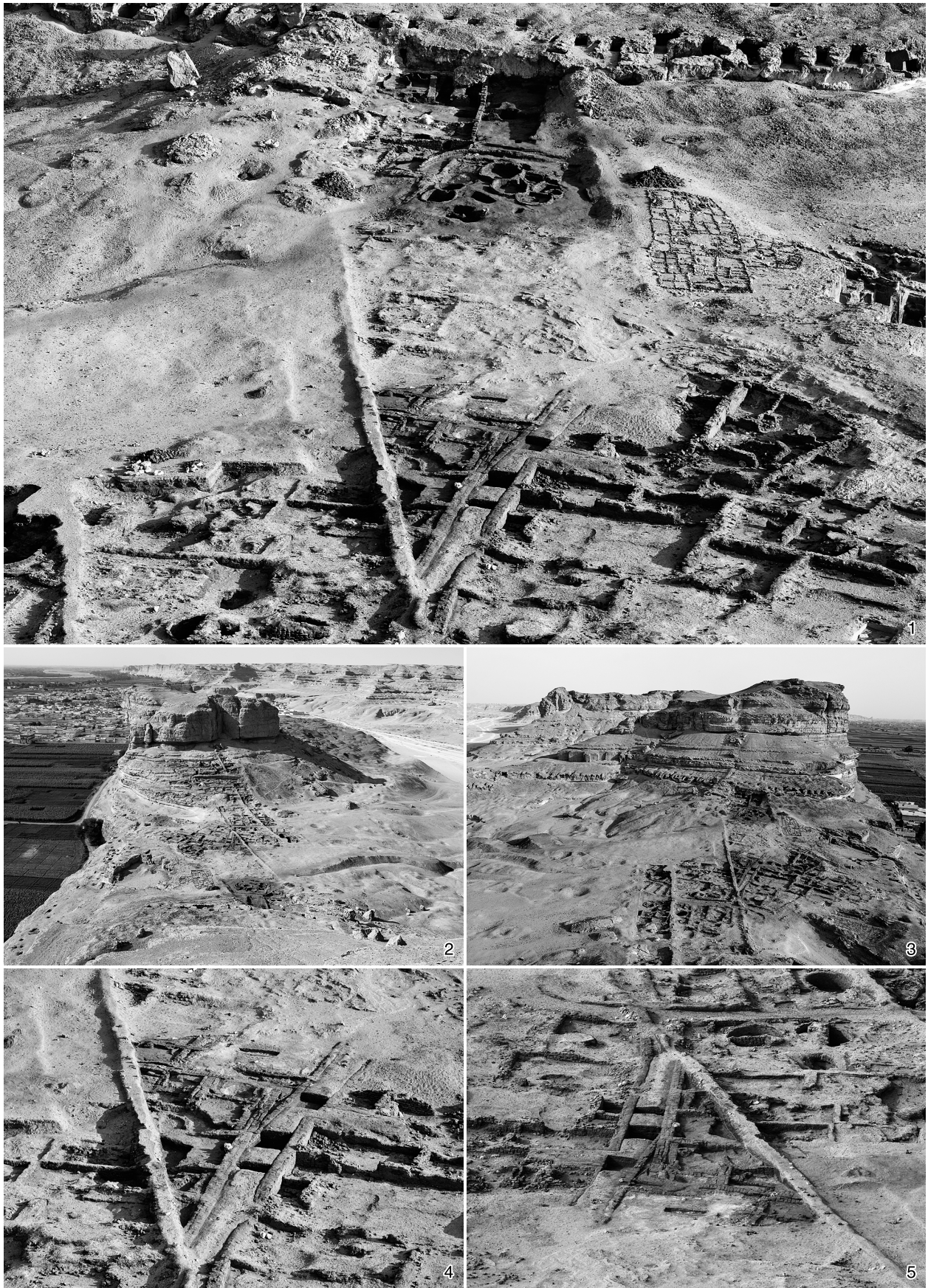


Fig. 4 Southwest area of Akoris. No. 1: Panoramic view of the excavated area, from north; No. 2: Panoramic view of the crag, from south; No. 3: Panoramic view of the next south crag, from north; No. 4: Central part of the settlement, from north; No. 5: The same part as No. 4, from south.

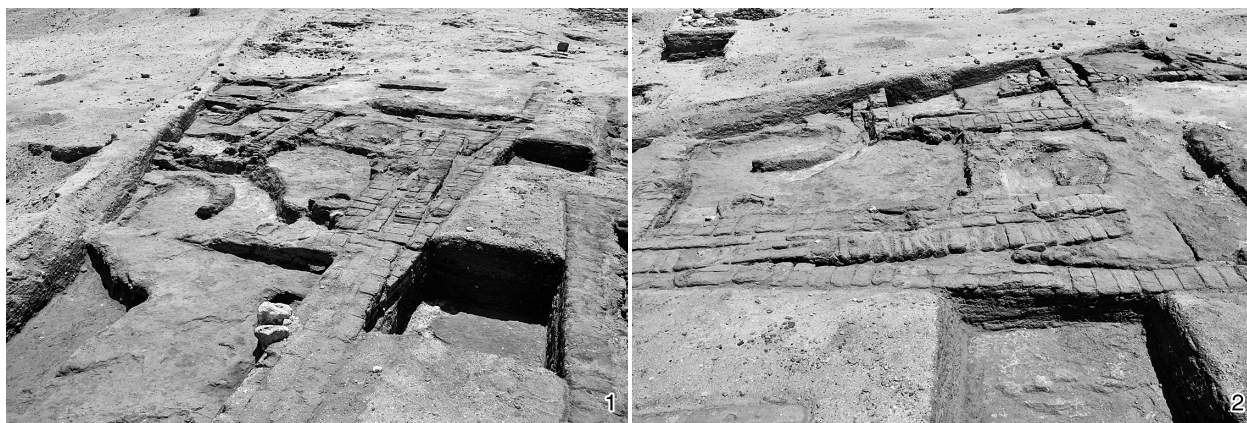


Fig. 5 Central part of the settlement. No. 1: Areas N2, N3 and O plus the sub-street; No. 2: Areas O and P.

Consequently, it was determined that both side walls of the sub-street were rebuilt and their composition is different. That is, while the west wall still keeps its original position after rebuilding, the east wall is aligned in different directions between the north and south sections. The north section follows the original direction, though the original position was unidentified. In contrast, the south section was altered to slant eastwards and aligned to join to the north section rebuilt. The above-mentioned rooms with *pisé* floors belong to the middle phase contemporaneous with the revived wall.

Comparing the architectural formation of buildings between the east and west areas extending from the sub-street, the east area is complex and the west area is simple. The west buildings remain close to their original position, whereas the east ones were often altered as shown in the eastern side of the sub-street. These differences need to be explained. Possibly the bedrock dipping to the east provided multiple construction layers. However, the existence of the upper layer suggests that the bedrock did not affect reconstruction and this was not a critical cause of the difference. Perhaps this reflects the characteristics of the inhabitants and the different functions of the east and west areas.

North skirt of the south next crag (Fig. 13) The house excavated in 2015 was cleaned again and its southern room unexamined previously due to the shortage of time was revealed (hereafter the House). Additionally, the western section adjacent to the last season's area was also uncovered (hereafter the West Section).

The southern room is aligned in an east-west direction. Each north and west side is delimited by a mud brick wall, and the south and east sides are bounded by bedrock (Fig. 9-2). It was divided into two sections by a mud brick wall. In the east section, a complete round structure with an inside diameter of 2.2–1.9m was discovered. Two, large and small, half-round structures attached to the low bedrock cliff were also uncovered. A thin mud arc-shaped wall with a narrow rectangular opening in its center joined these structures. The large half-round structure, located to the west, had a small anthropoid wooden coffin inside, referred to as Grave 10 (Cover-3). Its lid was plastered and shows characteristics of the 21st Dynasty. The buried corpse is of a 5–6 year-old child. These structures including the grave were situated on the bedrock. In the west section a burial mat rolled up with reed, Grave 9, was retrieved from the soil where the buried corpse of a child aged 5–6 months old was recovered (Fig. 11-3). A huge rock fall precluded us from exposing all of the west section, however, including the 2015 excavation extent, it measures 3.5m east-west by ca. 2.5m

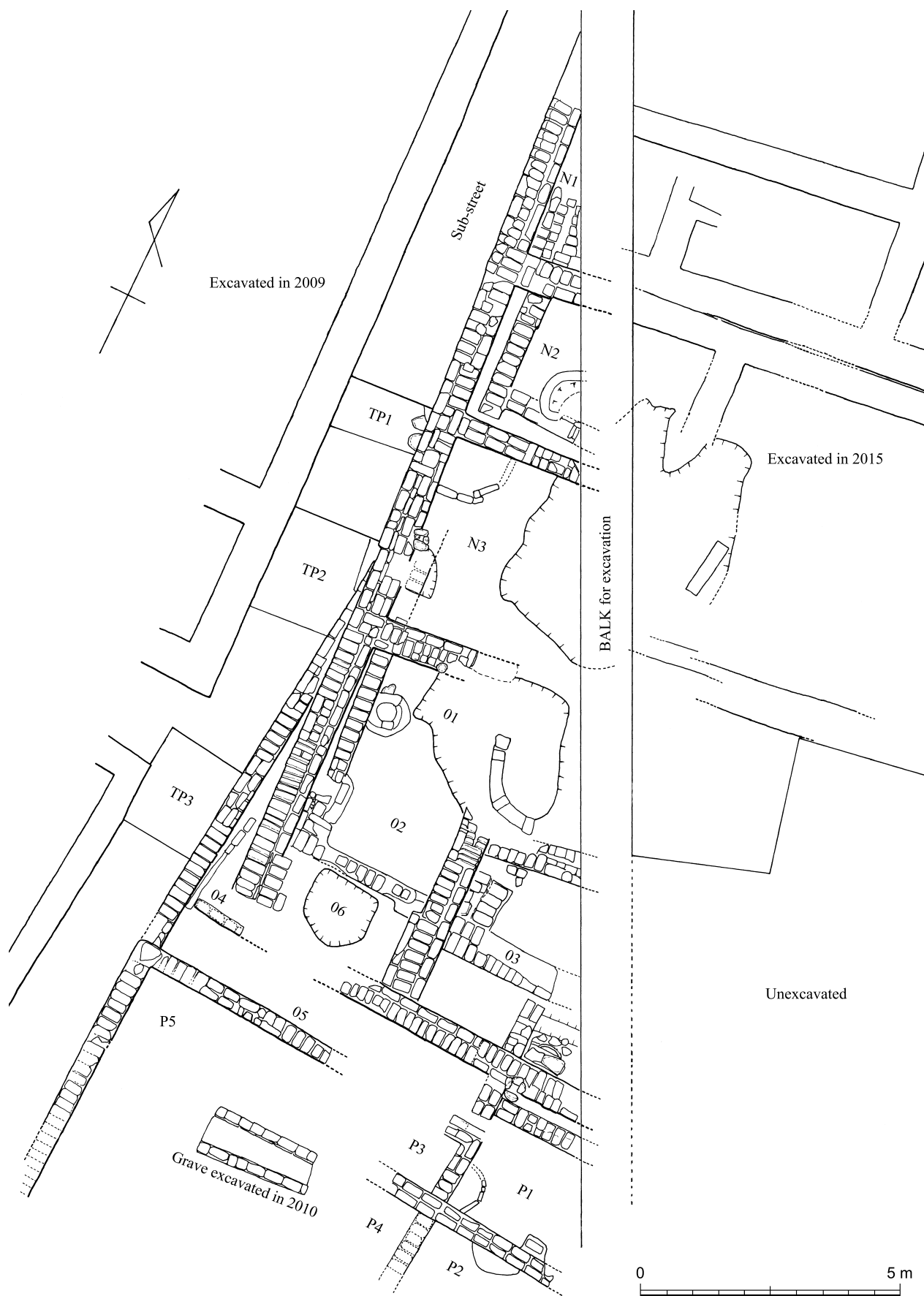


Fig. 6 Plan of the central part of the settlement excavated in 2016: The joints of walls uncovered before 2015 are not illustrated. TP: Test pit.

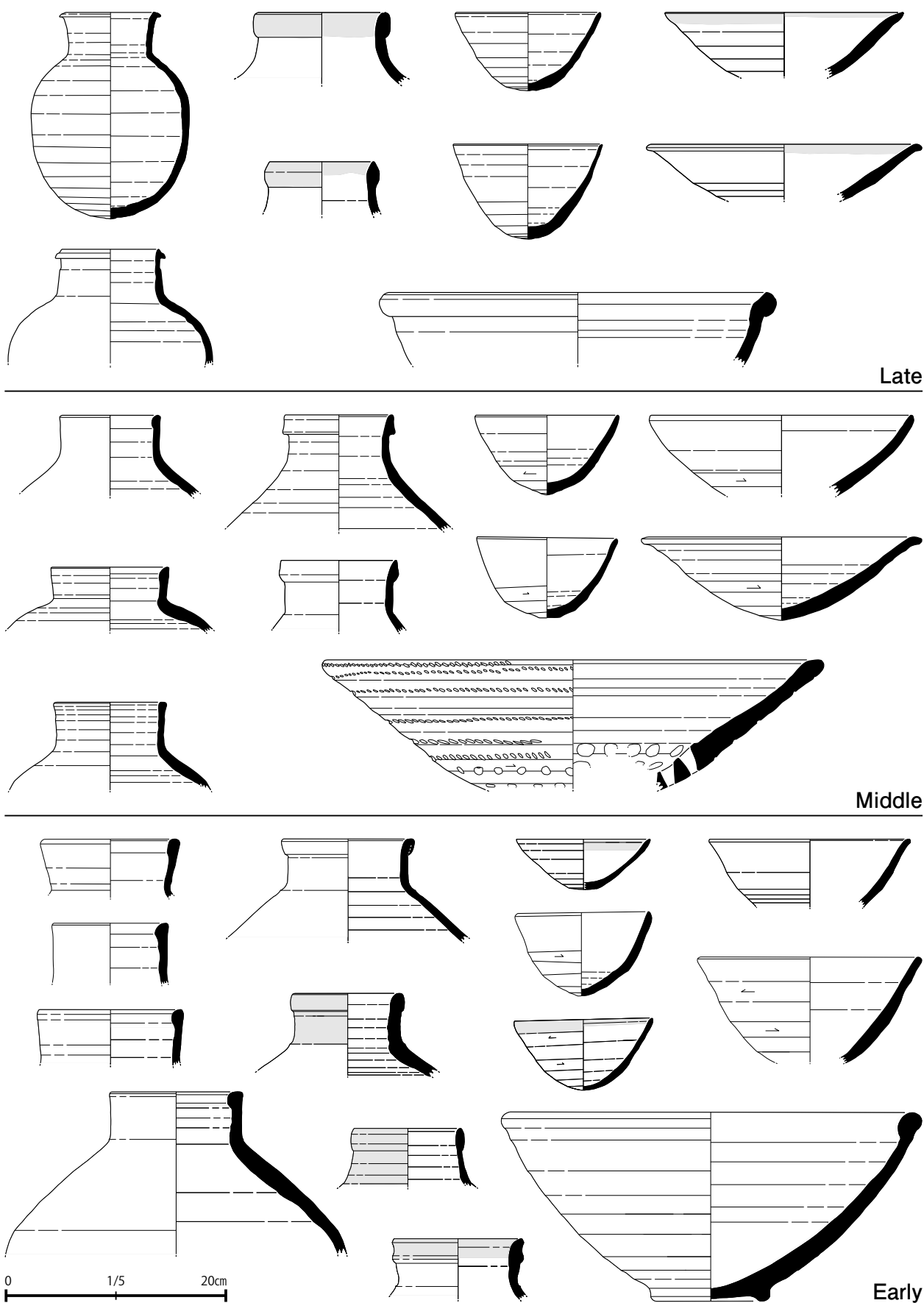


Fig. 7 Chronology of pottery: From the end of the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period. Completed by H. Mitobe thorough T. Takahashi's aid.

north-south, and was probably used as living quarters with an entrance. Analysis of the sequence in the southern room suggests the elongated southern room with a west-end entrance was completed and later abolished, and the dividing wall was placed so as to use the east space for silos. Later the destruction of the north wall ensued. The west section remained living quarters. Eventually each space changed in its function and was used for the two burials (G 9 and 10). The jar burial uncovered in 2015 damaged the north wall of the west space during its construction.

After the cleaning of the 2015 excavated part of the House, two facts were clear. One is in reference to the temporal sequence of the round structure in the middle room, where, judging from its stratigraphical context, it predates the construction of the House, therefore the sequence in the 2015 report should be corrected. Additionally, the top of a mud brick pavement or thick wall appeared just under the *pisé* floor at the northwest corner of the middle room. This indicates the existence of lower layer constructions. The other is the appearance of a floor in the room of another house at the north section excavated in 2015. A *pisé* floor was revealed and covers the full extent of the room measuring 3.5m north-south by more than 3.5m.

Thick limestone debris accumulated over the southern room. Though the 2015 report indicated that overhanging bedrock was used as the ceiling, this perception should be also corrected. The debris contained many wooden coffin and linen fragments, and numerous animal bones together with human bones. A small wooden mask, whose plaster had peeled off, attached to a missing coffin lid (Fig. 14-4), and several fragments of cartonnage were also found (Fig. 8). The wooden mask dates from the Late or Ptolemaic Period and the cartonnage is from the Ptolemaic Period. These dateable finds including pottery shards, suggest that they were removed from higher, nearby rock-cut tombs at the time of looting. Animal bones consisting of cows, pigs and dogs suggest that the south end was used as a cult place after the Pharaonic Period. It must be stressed that animal sacrifice was popular in funeral ceremonies during the Greco-Roman Period until Christianity forbade it in the 4th century C.E. As no Roman finds were retrieved here, it follows that the animal bones belong to the Ptolemaic Period and therefore deserve attention.



Fig. 8 Fragment of cartonnage.



Fig. 9 North skirt of the next crag. No. 1: Panoramic view, from south; No. 2: South end, from east.



Fig. 10 North skirt of the next crag. No. 1: Central section, from east; No. 2: Round structures, from south; No. 3: G1 and JB1-3; No. 4: G2; No. 5: G3; No. 6: G5; No. 7: G6A; No. 8: G6B. G: Grave; JB: Jar burial.

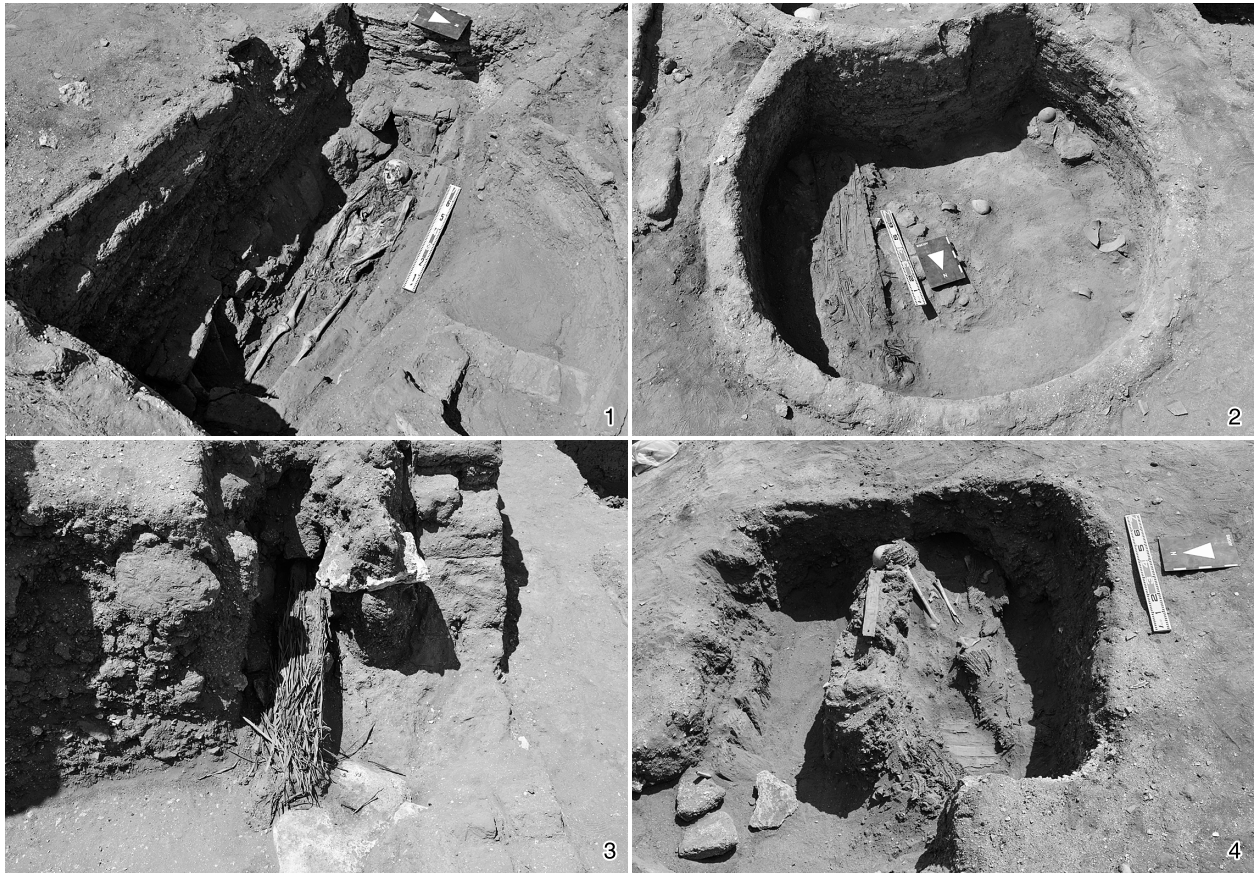


Fig. 11 North skirt of the next crag. No. 1: G7; No. 2: G8; No. 3: G9; No. 4: G11.

partitioned off by the long west wall of a house (hereafter W1), falls to the north. Overburden deposits in this section consisting of limestone debris had already been removed by the exploratory trench dug in 2010, and three jar burials, a mat burial and a grave with the wooden coffin of an infant had been retrieved from the top of the soil layer (Preliminary Report 2010). In the 2016 season this trench was extended to the west and dug down to 80cm. Though the real depth of the layer cannot be clarified without further excavation, the sediments contain rich straw especially in the upper soil, and many cloth fragments and pottery shards in the middle to lower soil layers. Three graves with wooden coffins, a grave with reed-made coffin, a basket burial, two mat burials and three jar burials were revealed and no new walls appeared in this section (Table 1).

The jar burials were exclusively situated against the overhanging bedrock cliff of the southern edge (Fig. 10-3). Judging from the finds in each jar, the east one, Jar Burial (hereafter JB) 1, was a neonate, the middle one, JB 2, is for a fetus and the west one contained no finds. Graves (hereafter G) 1 and 3 are mat burials (Fig. 10-3 to 5), G 2 is a basket burial (Fig. 10-4), and G 4, 5, 6A and 6B have a coffin (Cover-1 and 2; Fig. 10-6 to 8). Of the mat and basket burials, G 1 is next to the jar burials, and G 2 and 3 are against W1. Intriguingly the position of these simplified burials using jar, mat and basket are against the rock face or the wall. In contrast, the coffin burials were independently sited. Still, according to the 2010 excavation, the simplified burials were independently sited and a grave with a wooden coffin was against the arc-shaped wall mentioned below. It is unknown whether such differences, especially in the simplified burials, between the two season's finds were incidental. It is supposed that at least W1 was out of sight under the



Fig. 12 Fiber and Leather Footwear beneath the bottom of G4.

accumulated soil at the time of later burials. If so, soil accumulation and burials in the West Section follows disuse of the House. G 6A, with a small reed-made coffin, was situated above the G 6B wooden coffin. The buried corpse is of a two-year old child. Of three wooden coffins G 4 and 6B are anthropoid and G 5 is rectangular. Regardless of such differences, each buried corpse in these wooden coffins lies with its head in a westward direction, however the other burials do not have a specific head direction. Referring to Tab. 1, it

seems to stem from age. The lid of G 6B was overspread with sheaves of reed. The two anthropoid coffins accommodating an adult belong to the yellow coffin type popular in the 21st Dynasty.

As for G 4, both coffin and mummified body are exceptionally well preserved although the reason for this is unknown (Cover-1 and 2). Though the sex of the mummified remains cannot be directly identified due to the linen wrapping, the disposal of hands on the coffin lid suggest the remains may be of a female. Two pairs of footwear were confirmed just under the west end of the bottom plates of the coffin, which is aligned with the head (Cover-4 and 5; Fig. 12). Another pair of shoes unearthed inside the coffin of G 6B were contiguous with the shoulders. The right shoe aligned horizontally with the right shoulder and its toe pointed toward the head, while the left shoe aligned with the left shoulder and its toe pointed toward the foot.

The north end of the graveyard containing these burials was intersected by an arc-shaped wall and L-shaped walls. An elongated, curved space between the two walls is likely to have been used as a track. Nine round structures were constructed inside the L-shaped wall (Fig. 10-2). They can be divided into east and west groups by disposition, the west one comprises Nos. 1–5 and the east one, Nos. 7–9. The inside diameter of each round structure (hereafter RS) are as follows:

West group: RS 1: 2.0–2.7m; RS 2: 2.4m; RS 3: 2.2–2.4m, RS 4: 1.0m; RS 5: 1.9m; RS 6: immeasurable.

East group: RS 7: 1.9–2.1m; RS 8: 1.9m; RS 9: 2.1m

Additionally, a small round structure, 1.0m in inside diameter, was equipped at the corner of the L-shaped wall. While RS 1–9 was made of mud brick and used as silo, this structure was made of both mud and brick, and was used as oven.

Observing the stratigraphical context in each group, the construction sequence can be deduced. In the east group, RS 8 and RS 9 are coeval with each other, and are earlier than RS 7. In the west group, RS 1–3 and RS 5 were made in the numbered order, and RS 1 is later than the L-shaped wall. RS 6 is later than RS 1, and RS 4 is possibly earlier than the other five.

Three graves with a wooden coffin and a mat burial were confirmed north of the arc-shaped wall. G 7 had an anthropoid wooden coffin surrounded by upright mud bricks (Fig. 11-1). An unwoven reed mat was laid over the cover. The coffin style dates from the 21st Dynasty, and the construction is later than RS 1 and RS 6. A pair of shoes were uncovered in a horizontal position at the southwest part of the burial pit outside the coffin, which is aligned with the head. Possibly this was not their

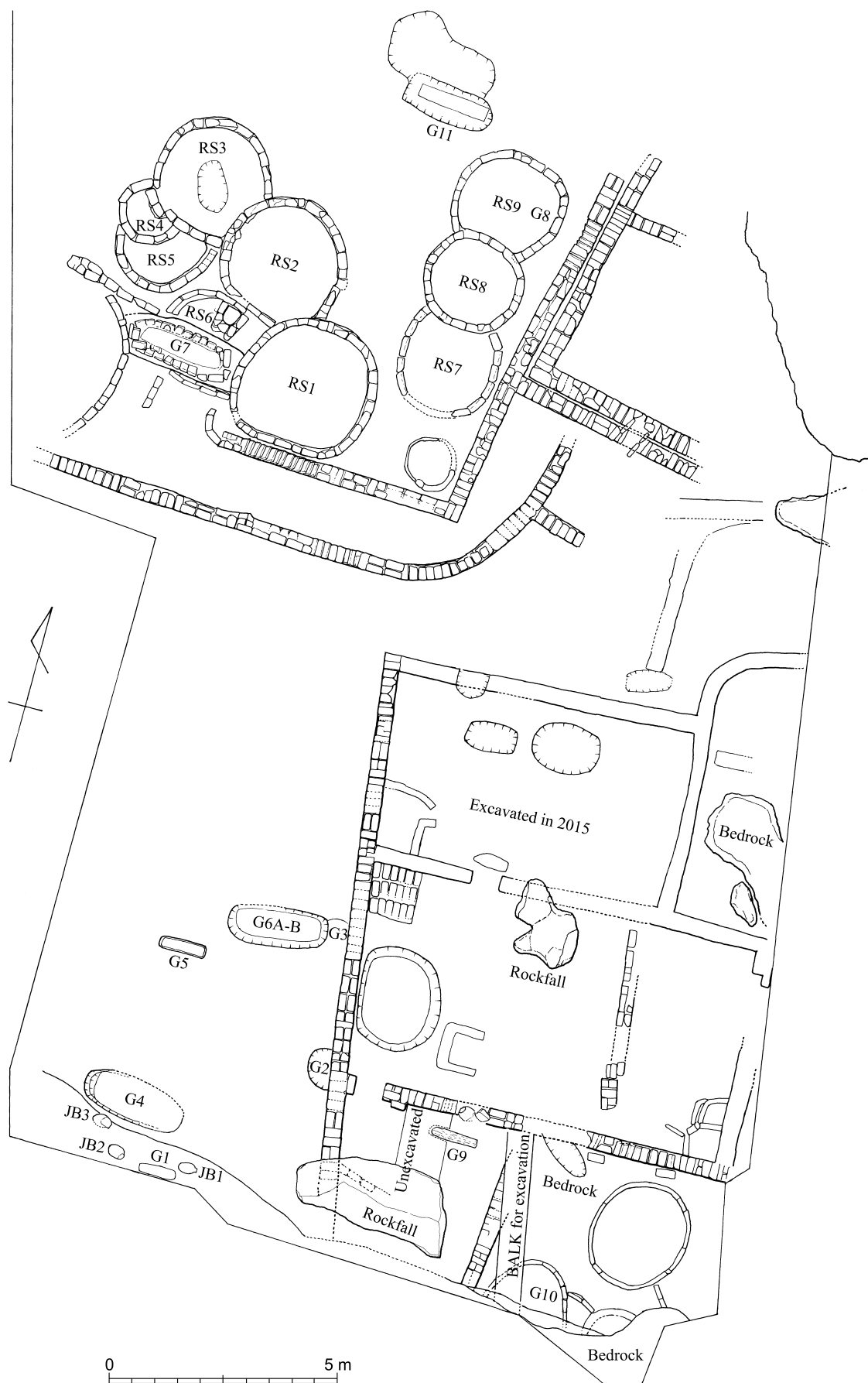


Fig. 13 Plan of the north skirt of the next crag.

original position. G 8 was preserved in a fragmentary condition and parts of the rotten bottom plates barely remained on the floor of RS 9 (Fig. 11-2), thus it is later than RS 9. Another grave, G 11, is situated north of the round structure groups (Fig. 11-4). It had already been looted and was poorly preserved, however, the bottom plates of an anthropoid coffin from the 21st Dynasty was present. The fragments of a mat burial were set above this grave. Of these three wooden coffins the burials from G 7 and 11 were aligned with their heads towards the west except G 8, which was aligned along the north-south axis. Thus these coffin burials lack unity in their head alignment.

As Tab. 1 indicates, at least two male burials were confirmed. As the nearly sixty burials unearthed from 2002 to 2015 were overwhelmingly females and children, these two examples provide irreplaceable data to reconsider funeral characteristics in the settlement. In addition, one adult and one teenage burial were uncovered in the graveyard south of the arc-shaped wall. The 2015 excavation and preliminary report suggested that the graveyard south of the arc-shaped wall was only for children, however this view should be reconsidered.

Other Analyses Adding the stratigraphical context to the foregoing pottery chronology, the temporal sequence of many archaeological figures in this season can be determined as follows.

First stage: The soil in the West Section of the south end accumulated during the early/middle phases. The soil extended eastward prior to the construction of the house. The rooms in the center of the bottom flat also belong to the same phases as the accumulated soil in the West Section.

Second stage: The accumulated soil was removed to construct the house. The House continued to be used during the middle to late phase. The round structures in the southern end belong to the middle/late phase.

Third stage: All the burials belong to the late phase and interment continued after the House was abandoned. The large pit in the center of the bottom flat also belonged to the late phase. Thus, use of the bottom flat had passed the extent of its associated socioeconomic activity and was increasingly diverted to graveyard/pasture during this stage.

Among the substantial finds from this season are forty wooden spindles recovered the south edge. In comparison with the relative scarcity and low density in the preceding excavations, its number and density were surprising. Numerous linen fragments, a large bundle of linen thread and some loom weights made of mud accompanied them, and sediments with those finds ascend to the west. This suggests that a textile workshop operated at a raised location further west.

(KAWANISHI)

2-2 Finds from the Excavated Area (Fig. 14)

No. 1: Faience amulet. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the south end of the house (hereafter the House) in the north skirt of the next south crag. The goddess Isis holding her child Horus on her knees. The upper part is lacking. The extant dimensions are h. 4.8, w. 1.6 and thickness (hereafter t.) 2.5cm. There are two hieroglyphic signs inscribed lengthwise on its back, of which the upper sign, lacking its upper part, can read *s3* while the lower one reads *'nh*.

No. 2: Faience amulet. The Bes figure. Unearthed in the fill accumulated in the northern ravaged grave. H. 1.7, w. 0.8 and t. 0.4cm. The head part is laterally pierced.

No. 3: Papyrus fragment. Unearthed in the fill of the west section (hereafter the West Section)

Tab. 1 Burials from the north skirt of the next south crag excavated in 2016. Drawn up by S. Tsujimura.

Structure	Burial Type	Size (cm)	Age, Sex, Direction of the Head	Species of Wood
Jar burial 1	Jar burial	40.7 × 25.0	Neonate, West	
Jar burial 2	Jar burial	29.0 × 43.2	Fetus, West	
Jar burial 3	Jar burial	29.0 × 45.0		
Grave 1	Mat burial		No bones	
Grave 2	Basket burial		3–6 months, West	
Grave 3	Mat burial		2.5–3 years, North	
Grave 4	Anthropoid coffin	189.0 × 55.2 × 28.5	Adult, Female?, West	Fig, Tamarisk (nail)
Grave 5	Rectangular coffin	105.0 × 25.0 × 55.0	4–5 years, West	
Grave 6A	Reed-made coffer	85.0 × 23.0–16.5 × 18.0–14.0	1.5–2 years, North	Reed
Grave 6B	Rectangular coffin covered with unwoven mat	169.0 × 40.0–29.0 × 23.0+	Male, 14–15 years, West	Sycamore fig/Fig (bottom), Nile acacia (side)
Grave 7	Anthropoid coffin covered with unwoven mat	180.0 × 40.0 × 25.0	Male, early twenties, West	Sycamore fig
Grave 8 (in RS 9)	Anthropoid coffin?		Female, around 20 years, and 4–5 years	
Grave 9	Mat burial		4–5 months, West	
Grave 10	Anthropoid coffin	101.0 × 26.0–23.0 × 24.0	5–6 years, West	Sycamore fig
Grave 11	Anthropoid coffin (painting)	182 × 46.5 × ?	Female, around 20 years, West	Fig/Sycamore fig (bottom), Dome palm (side)

adjacent to the area excavated in 2015 season, across a long west wall of the House (cited below as ‘the West Part’). W. 4.5 and l. 3.6cm. There are a few hieratic signs on the recto and verso written in black. They are too fragmentary to translate.

No. 4: Mask of a wooden anthropoid coffin. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the south end of the House. L. 22.5, w. 9.5 and t. 5.5cm. The top corners, both sides of cheek and the lower jaw are pierced for driving pegs into the coffin. The face and crown are thinly covered with refined soil, which was used as foundation of coloring. There are traces of black paint in places on the eyes, eyebrows and crown.

No. 5: Mud pottery cap. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. L. 9.0, w. 8.6 and h. 4.8cm. There are four stamps of a scarab seal remaining on the surface, while another one seems to have been flattened. The diameter (hereafter d.) of pottery rim is ca. 8.0cm.

No. 6: Detail of a stamp of No. 5. L. 1.9 and w. 1.3cm. It represents a cartouche of *mn-hpr-r^c* in the center with an unidentified figure on each side of it.

No. 7: Cray cobra figure. Unearthed from the subsurface deposit of the central part. The head dress and lower body are lacking. Extant dimensions are h. 7.7, w. 5.1 and t. 3.8 (head) and 1.9 (body) cm.

No. 8: Cray human figure. Unearthed from the subsurface deposit of the central part. The head part is lacking. Extant dimensions are h. 8.4, w. 4.6 and t. 2.7 (head) and 1.7 (body) cm. There are two small button-like protuberances vertically attached to the central line of the body front.

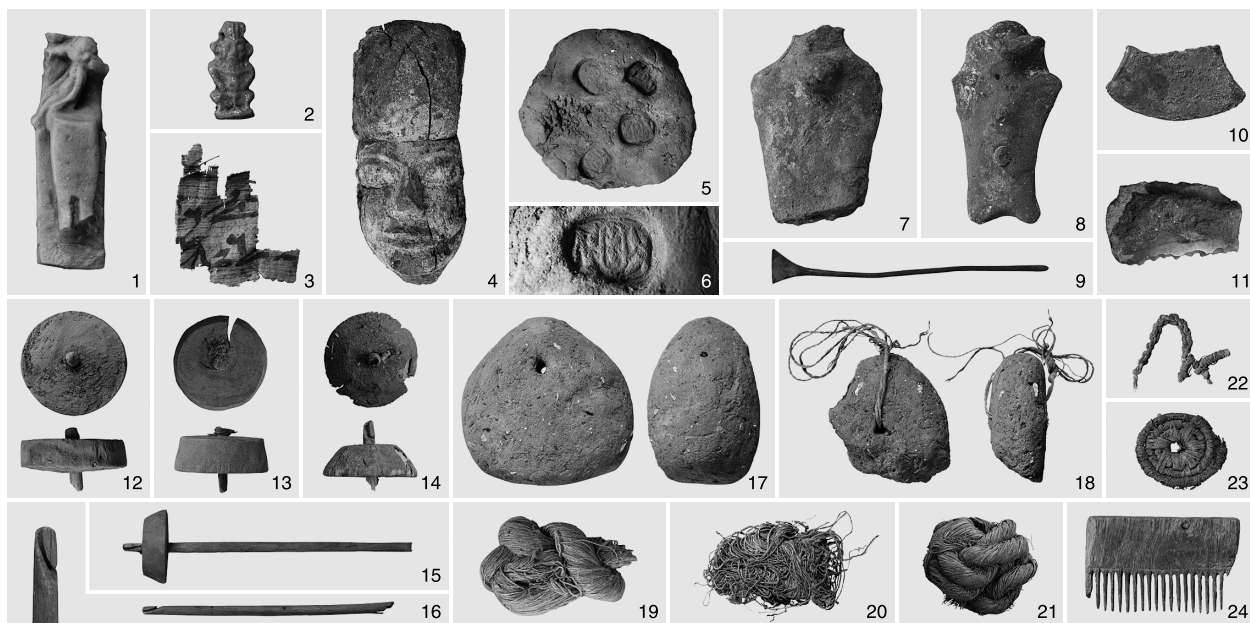


Fig. 14 Finds from the excavated areas. Nos. 1 and 2: Faience amulets; No. 3: Papyrus; No. 4: Wooden mask; Nos. 5 and 6: Mud caps; No. 7: Cobra figure; No. 8: Human figure; Nos. 9 and 10: Bronze/copper alloy products; No. 11: Flint sickle blade; Nos. 12–15: Wooden spindles; No. 16: Wooden axis of spindle Nos. 17 and 18: Mud loom weights; Nos. 19–21: Thread bundles; No. 22: Braided flax string; No. 23: Vegetable mat; No. 24: Wooden comb.

No. 9: Bronze or copper alloy implement. Unearthed in the southwestern fill in the West Section. L. 14.2cm. The triangular blade measures w. 1.8 and t. 0.7cm. The stick is 0.2–0.3cm in diameter. Considering that the vertical section of blade is inclined, this implement could be one broken half of a pair of tweezers. But the end of the axis does not show any trace of supposed fracture. If it's not the result of abrasion, the use of this implement is unknown.

No. 10: Bronze or copper alloy implement. Unearthed in the subsurface of the central part. The upper part is lacking. Extant dimensions are l. 8.0, w. 4.3 and t. 0.1–0.4cm. Possibly an axe with lugs or an adze.

No. 11: Flint sickle blade. Unearthed in the fill of the east end of the West Section. L. 6.5, w. 4.0 and t. 1.5cm. The saw-teeth show corn gloss. There is some bitumen adhered to the surface, and traces of wood on one side, indicating that the sickle handle was wooden.

No. 12: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the fill of the south end of the House. D. 5.1 and h. 1.5cm. The wood is Christ's thorn (*Nabaq* in Arabic).

No. 13: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the fill of Grave 6B in the West Section. D. 4.0–4.1 (top), d. 4.4–4.6 (base) and h. 1.7cm. The wood is tamarisk (*Abal* and *Athel* in Arabic). There are flax strings remaining at the end of axis.

No. 14: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. D. 2.6–2.7 (top), D. 4.7 (base), and h. 1.7cm. The wood is Christ's thorn.

No. 15: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. It is almost complete in preservation. D. 3.9–4.2 (top), D. 5.2 (base) and h. 1.7cm. The axis is 21.3cm in length. The end of axis is obliquely grooved for twisting thread. The wood is tamarisk.

No. 16: Wooden axis of spindle. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. One end is lacking. Extant l. 17.0 and d. 0.7cm. There is an oblique groove for twisting thread remaining at

the other end. The wood is probably Christ's thorn.

As shown above, unearthed spindles are divided into two types, cylindrical and truncated conic ones. Among the forty spindles unearthed in 2016, ten pieces are cylindrical, and thirty ones are truncated conic. All the truncated conic spindles, apart from an unidentifiable piece, are made of tamarisk, while four of the cylindrical ones are made of Christ's thorn, three of sycamore fig (*Gimmeiz* in Arabic) and three of tamarisk. Considering that tamarisk is harder and heavier than Christ's thorn and sycamore fig, these two types of spindle seem to have born each proper use, though it cannot be identified.

No. 17: Mud loom weight. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. H. 8.6, w. 8.8 and t. 5.7cm. Weight is 388g.

No. 18: Mud loom weight. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. The lower half and one side of the upper part are lacking. Extant dimensions are h. 8.2, w. 7.6 and t. 3.7cm, and weight 200g. There are braided strings passed through a hole. Probably the strings were tied to a bar of weaving machine.

No. 19: Bundled flax threads. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. 9.0, 5.8 and 3.9cm. The bundled threads of d. 0.5cm complicatedly twisted.

No. 20: Wad of flax thread. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. Width max. ca. 6.0cm. Thickness of string is uneven.

No. 21: Bundled threads. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. 4.2, 4.1 and 2.5cm. The identification of the material, flax or others, waits on further analysis.

No. 22: Braided flax string. Unearthed in the fill of the No. 2 test pit. L. 8.5 and w. 2.4cm. There are two tips of animal sinew, each of which is coiled by flax threads, attached to the end of the string.

No. 23: Vegetable mat or bottom part of a shallow basket. Unearthed in the southern fill of the West Section. The periphery is lacking. Extant diameter max. 5.1 and thickness 1.0cm. A bundle of some cords, made of a rather hard material such as split palm frond, are wrapped by a thread. It is coiled and fastened by a string girded radiately through the center.

No. 24: Wooden comb. Unearthed in the southern subsurface deposit of the central part. One side is lacking. Extant dimensions are l. 5.8, h. 3.6 and t. 0.8cm. It is made of Christ's thorn.

(KAWANISHI)

2-3 The Intermediary Leather Footwear between Sandals and Shoes

Leather footwear excavated from the South Area during the 2002–2009 seasons was introduced in a previous preliminary report¹⁾. The shoes in Akoris were derived from sandals which were traditional pharaonic sandals with 'ears' and a strap complex consisting of toe, side (front) and heel (back) straps²⁾. These shoes have an upper, which entirely covered the foot. The upper made from a single piece of leather was closed with linen threads (whip or running stitching) at the back of the heel. Our examples dating from the late New Kingdom to the early TIP, show that there are two phases of intermediary leather shoes (boots) between sandals and ordinary 'true shoes' (Tab. 2)³⁾.

In the first phase, the intermediary shoes have the same components as the traditional pharaonic sandals. One good example was unearthed from Grave 6B (Fig. 15-1). This pair of shoes

has double ears cutting out from two layers of the sole and the sub-ear inserted into the sole at the rear of the ears. The leather thongs remained at the ears and the back of the heel part could be regarded as the side and heel straps of sandals. The toe strap which was made of a rolled-up leather sheet and folded in half was pierced from the outsole and projected into the external face of the upper. The side and heel straps run over the surface of the upper through the holes pierced at the end of the toe straps.

A toe strap made of leather thong and double ears remained from another pair of the intermediary shoes unearthed from Grave 7 (Fig. 15-2). However, it is very difficult to distinguish these intermediary shoes from sandals since the almost all of the upper part was lost.

In the next phase, only the toe strap disappeared from the components and other elements still remained. The side and heel straps run over the surface of the upper and passed through the forefront of the opening slit of the upper instead of from a toe strap. The narrow leather thongs tied at the edge of the upper might be to prevent the opening slit from being broadened. A good example of this second intermediary footwear was found from under the head of the mummified remains of Tomb 2 in 2007 (Fig. 15-3)⁴⁾.

The final phase comprises the 'true shoes' without any strap complex and ears. The shoes found from Grave 4 were made of pale red colored leather and have simple soles and uppers (Cover-4; Fig. 12). They were stitched together with leather thongs (running stitch) and long narrow thongs like 'shoe laces' tied up at the edge of the upper.

A pair of fiber footwear overlapped with the red colored shoes from Grave 4 was unearthed (Cover-5; Fig. 12). This fiber footwear consists of a sole plaited from palm leaf with the Y-shaped strap complex and the upper made of the woven wicker reed. This was broken at the toe part of the sole but it would have comprised a large extended toe that curled backwards. The upper was a 'partial upper' not covering an instep, but covering only a side and a heel. The footwear with this upper is categorized as 'open shoes' by the Ancient Egyptian Footwear Project (AEFP)⁵⁾. There are a lot of examples of fiber open shoes from many sites, but there are a few examples made of leather. AEFP conjectured that it would have developed from open shoes with both features of sandals and shoes to true shoes (closed shoes)⁶⁾.

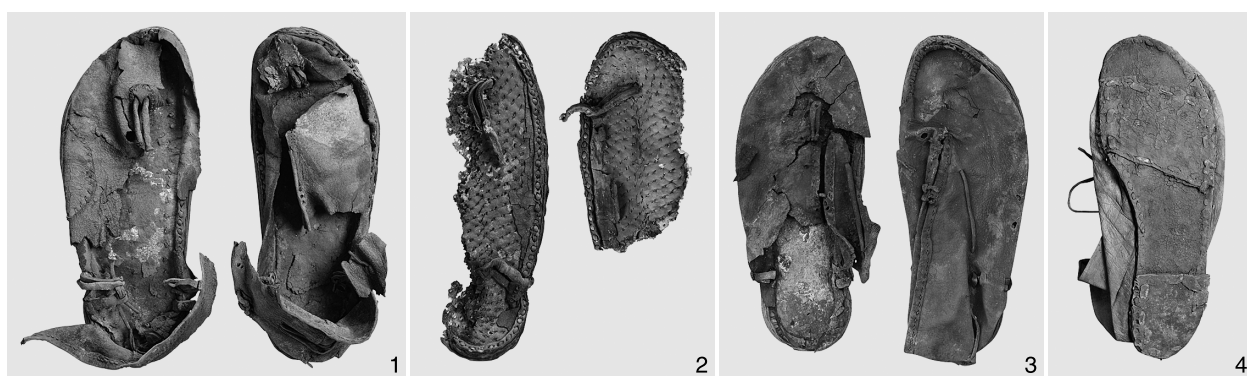
The theories about the appearance of shoes in Egypt suggest introduction from abroad. This evidence at the moment reflects probably the first manufacturing of domestic shoes in Egypt during the 18th Dynasty⁷⁾. From the brief examination of our examples, the period during the late New Kingdom to the early TIP corresponds to a technological transition before becoming popular of the true shoes.

All of the footwear mentioned above were unearthed from burials accompanied by footwear as grave goods and among more than sixty burials found in the South Area. These burials only possessed footwear as grave goods and in contrast most of the burials did not have grave goods. It was probable that at least three pairs were not made as grave goods but made and used in daily life. There were traces of repair or reinforcement with leather patches and signs of them having been worn (Fig. 15-4). These are very interesting subjects for the investigation of the burial customs and the daily life of the local common people in Akoris, however further discussion is needed.

(HANASAKA)

Tab. 2 Intermediary shoes from the South Area.

Type	Structure	Size (cm)		Front strap	Ears
Intermediary shoes 1	Grave 6B	L	Sole l. 24.6, w. front 9.7, w. heel 7.7	Y, rolled sheet	Y
		R	Sole l. 25.1, w. front 11.0, w. heel 7.6	Y, rolled sheet	Y
Intermediary shoes 1	Grave 7	L	Sole l. 23.6, w. max 7.6	Y, thong	Y
		R	Sole l. 16.7, w. max 8.5	Y, thong	Y
Intermediary shoes 2	Tomb 2 (2007)	L	Sole l. 20.0, w. max 7.9	N	Y
		R	Sole l. 19.5, w. max 8.2	N	Y
True shoes	Grave 4	L	Sole l. 22.1, w. front 7.6, w. heel 5.3	N	N
		R	Sole l. 22.3, w. front 8.3, w. heel 5.5	N	N
Fiber open shoes	Grave 4	L	Sole l. 29.2, w. front 9.8, w. heel 8.5	—	—

**Fig. 15** Intermediary shoes. Nos. 1 and 2: 1st intermediary shoes; No. 3: 2nd intermediary shoes; No. 4: Leather patches at the outsole for repair or reinforcement.

3 INVESTIGATIONS IN THE PTOLEMAIC QUARRY

3-1 Newly found obelisk at New Minya

The unfinished limestone obelisk identified during the last season at the New Minya quarry (GPS Data: 28,4.5279N, 30,48.5339E, 160m a.s.l.) was re-investigated⁸⁾. By cleaning the surface of the obelisk and the surrounding grooves, the final state of the extraction work reached by the ancient quarrymen became visible (Fig. 16-1). The depth of the trenches around the obelisk is not deep, being less than 1 meter. The trench on three sides around the obelisk are wide and were made simultaneously by extracting stones of a moderate size in the middle, which could be carried out by 2–3 workmen (Fig. 16-2), whereas the narrow trench in east concentrates mostly to deepen itself (Fig. 16-3). As a result the east trench reached as deep as 75cm, while the other trenches remained 20–50cm deep. A simplified calculation gives an approximate value of the hitherto cut stone volume to be 19m³.

Since the base of the obelisk is 2.4m (4 1/2 cubit), the workmen would have gone down to reach the 2.4m depth for the width of the obelisk, and then further undercutting the obelisk⁹⁾. The total volume of stone to be removed is thus estimated to be c. 160m³, which indicate that the work was abandoned at the phase of 1/8 of the total extraction work.

Observing the surface of the bedrock, it seems that the location of the obelisk was carefully selected to fit inside the natural fissures that are visible throughout this quarry site. It is noteworthy



Fig. 16 Unfinished obelisks. Nos. 1–3: New Minya Quarry; Nos. 4–6: South Quarry of Akoris. No. 1: Bird's-eye view looking westward; No. 2: West trench with a row of quarried blocks; No. 3: Narrow trench on the east side; No. 4: Bird's-eye view looking eastward; No. 5: Broad opening on the west side with a row of quarried blocks; No. 6: Heaps of chipped away rock along the trench.

that there are major fissures near the four sides of the obelisk, and that the dimensions of the obelisk were presumably determined based on these restricted area.

The reason of the interruption of the quarry work of obelisk is not clear so far. Minor fissures were found at the unfinished monument, but fatal fissure seems not to be observed on the shaft of the obelisk. R. Engelbach reported in his publication on the famous unfinished granite obelisk at Aswan in 1922 that a few vertical holes for examining the nature of mother rock below were detected¹⁰⁾; however, at our site, such attempts were not seen. The revised plan and sections will be delineated near future.

3-2 Unfinished obelisk at the southern quarry area of Akoris

In this season, we began with our documentation work of another unfinished obelisk at the southern quarry area of Akoris (GPS Data: 28,10.2131N, 30,46.8631E, 137m a.s.l.). This obelisk lies at the top and along the edge of the mountain (Fig. 16-4). Similar to the obelisk at the quarry site at New Minya, the four sides of the obelisk is surrounded by two narrow trenches (in the east and south) and two broad openings, in which stone blocks have been already quarried. The stones of two broad openings on the west and north side were quarried by making narrow trenches of ca. 30cm in a regular interval of ca. 130cm (Fig. 16-5). Thus the numerous large blocks lying in the vicinity of the unfinished obelisk, which, for instance, have the dimensions of $123 \times 290 \times 90$ cm, $145 \times 260 \times 88$ cm, or $132 \times 188 \times 81$ cm, can be regarded as the product from these openings. The heaps of small stones that surround the edges of the obelisk and of these trenches would also represent the remnants of the quarried stones (Fig. 16-6).

Four days were spent to clean the top surface of the monolithic block. We found a few small pottery sherds, which were not helpful in dating the debris, and also rest of plants, which we hope to analyze it with radiocarbon dating. There are also irregular cuts into the obelisk that are perhaps of later date.

Measured from the top surface, the obelisk is 32m long, 4.2m wide at the base, and 4.1m wide at the top. It seems that the obelisk is again laid out to avoid the existing fissures of the bedrock, as in the case of the other obelisk at New Minya quarry. The east trench measures c. 2.7m from the top surface of the obelisk to that of the debris. It seems that about the half of the extraction work had been done. The top surface of the obelisk is horizontal except for the northern part, where it begins to incline sharply: it may indicate the pyramidion. Precise measurements will be undertaken after the trenches of the obelisk are cleaned in the next season. (NISHIMOTO and YASUOKA)

4 STRIDING DRAPED MALE FIGURE OF CHAPEL F

Chapel F is a rock-cut temple dug into the western flank of the prominent crag overlooking the settlement area of Akoris (Fig. 17-1). Although this small cubic chamber (c. $3.5\text{m} \times 3.6\text{m}$) is named in alphabetical order along with other larger chapels constituting the Western Temple (Chapels A to E), it is actually situated on a different upper horizontal rock layer and should be set apart from the chapels below. Furthermore, Chapel F seems to have been designed as a temple right from the beginning, while Chapels A to E were originally tombs of Middle Kingdom date with deep vertical shafts in the middle of their rooms, and converted into temples only later in Roman times. Various traces of cutting on the steep cliff to the north of Chapel F suggest that there must have been other similar rock-cut chapels in the vicinity, though this temple is highly exceptional with the refined relief and partly painted decoration on its façade, inside walls, and ceiling (Fig. 17-2).

This chapel was first investigated by Ahmed Kamal in 1903¹¹⁾, and described briefly in the main excavation report of Akoris published in 1995 with the plans and engraved prints of reliefs on both inside and outside walls¹²⁾. The entrance, 157cm in height and 63cm in width, is crowned with a protective winged sun disc and another sun disc with two uraei, and flanked by columns with three successive vertical panels, each representing seated or standing human or divine figures (Fig. 18). On both sides, a seated male figure is depicted on the uppermost panels. The second

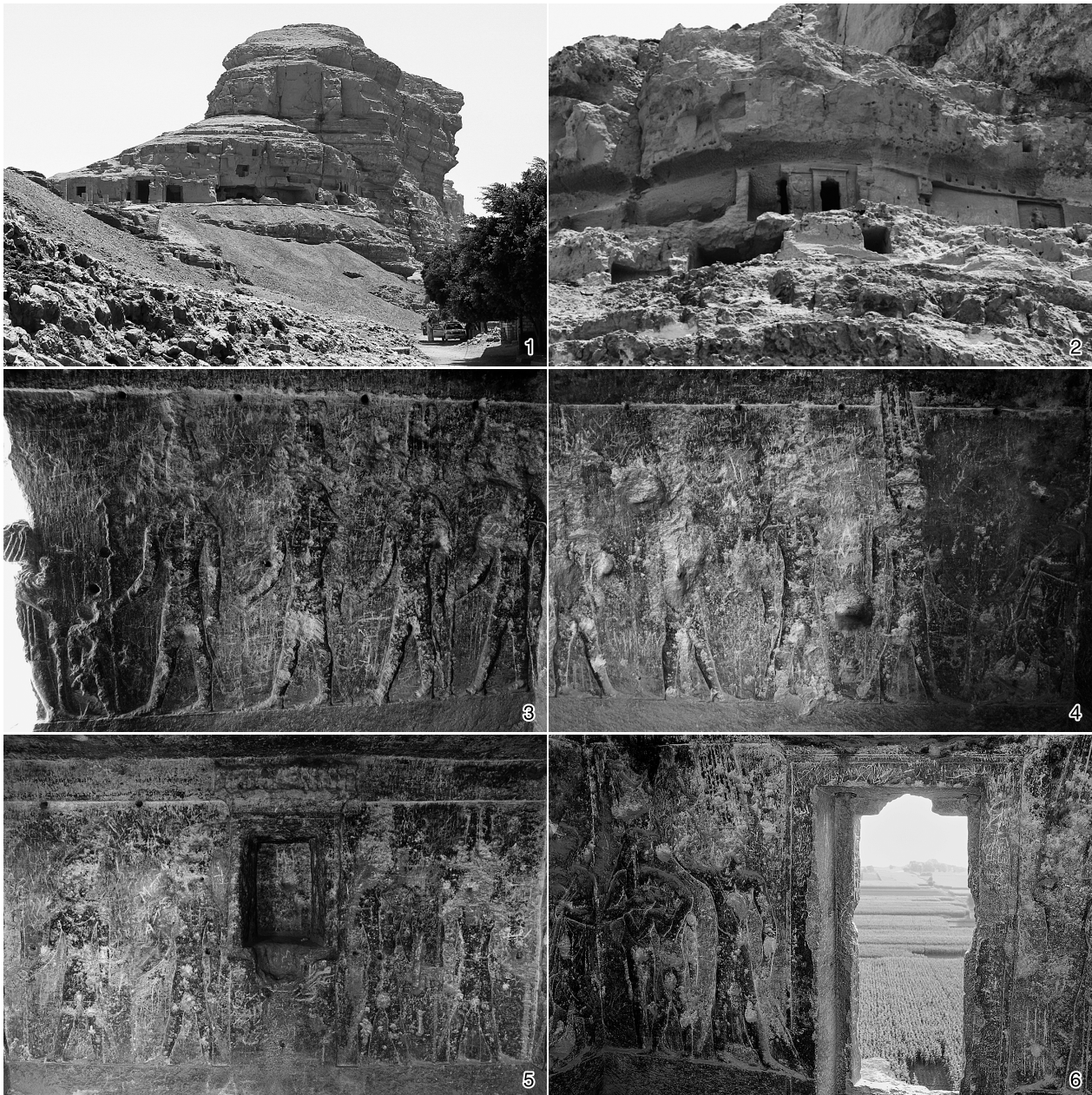


Fig. 17 Chapel F. No. 1: Crag overlooking the Settlement area of Akoris; No. 2: Chapel F from the plain below; No. 3: Reliefs on the north wall; No. 4: Reliefs on the south wall; No. 5: Central altar on the eastern wall; No. 6: Reliefs on the walls flanking the entrance.

deity on the left column is Anubis and the third standing deity is identified with Hapy. On the right column, Horus is depicted on the second panel and the God of Nile is standing on the third panel.

The general configuration of the reliefs on the walls inside the chapel suggests that the man depicted on the upper panels of the façade was a personage of special eminence. He seems now represented twice on both western corners of the north and south walls, in the same size as the gods standing in front of him (Fig. 17-3 and 4). Those gods who receive the offering from him and a little boy on the north wall and following northern part of the east wall are Sobek, Tutu, a ram-headed god, Anubis, Osiris and Harsiese¹³). Similarly the six gods of Ammon-Re, Khnum, Hapy, Nefertem, Tutu, and Thoth receive an offering from him on the south wall and southern part of the east wall. The starting point of their processions is the central altar of typical Greco-Roman style on

the east wall (Fig. 17-5). On the opposite west wall Goddess Isis is giving the breast to a child at both sides of the entrance (Fig. 17-6), and they are protected by Min on the northern side and by Ammon-Re on the southern side respectively. This child is certainly the same boy who is standing with the man on the north wall, and may be his own son rather than some deity such as Harpocrates. The overall iconography of the reliefs on both outside and inside walls, thus, strongly suggests that the chapel was a dedicatory monument consecrated by the man recurrently appears on the reliefs together with his little son.

But the most impressive iconographical feature of Chapel F is the huge relief of a standing man, as tall as 183cm, represented in a free space to the left of the façade, who is certainly identified with the personage shown on the reliefs inside the temple (Fig. 18). He is holding a bunch of flowers and slightly lifting up his draped garment with his left hand. The position of his right hand indicates that he is burning incense on an elongated altar represented rather precariously in the air. His posture is almost the same as that of the figure close to the western corner of the north wall, while the altar there is set directly on the ground. The general context as well as his apparently shaven head and his ceremonious gesture unambiguously demonstrate that he was a prestigious priest of late Ptolemaic or early Roman Akoris. Then what was the function of this regal priest in the rural society and what was the purpose of his consecrating this religious monument?

As Diodorus Siculus famously put it, the priests were one of the three main propertied bodies of Ptolemaic Egypt, alongside the Crown and the warrior class (Diod. 1.73.2), and as such they must have been actively involved in various social and economic enterprises beyond the confinement of purely cultic ceremonies¹⁴). But except for the powerful dynasties of High Priests of such major religious centers as Memphis or Thebes, details of their specific activities through local temples and their historical development are difficult to trace. What we know from the papyrologically well-informed case of the Arsinoite nome is that the priestly functions as well as the religious titles of minor priests were quite diversified¹⁵). A document of 229 BC from the Themistos meris of the Arsinoite nome, shows that some 7 per cent of total adults formed the priestly sector in this tax-area with such titles as *Pastophoroi*, *Phoibetai*, and *Theagoi* etc. But situation is far more obscure in other regions. Although the family archive of Dionysios son of Kephala provides valuable information on the economic activities of the local military personnel at Akoris, it refers only to the fact that Dionysios somehow held a priestly office in the cult of ibis-god¹⁶), and it is difficult to conjecture the social standing of being an insignificant priest in the local network.

For the moment, thus, the only clue for revealing the nature of the priest of Chapel F at Akoris seems to be the iconographic composition of the relief itself. In this respect, the striking similarity between the image of the priest of Chapel F and that of 'the striding draped male figure' is inescapable¹⁷). The striding draped male figure is an appellation for the specific statue type of the late Ptolemaic period, the hallmark of which is its draped configuration around the body. The striding posture with the left leg advanced reflects the standard Egyptian artistic tradition, though the naturalistic modeling of the body and the treatment of folds of the drapery are often regarded as the product of Greek influence. The characteristic dress is usually composed of a shirt, a skirt, and a draped shawl with fringe. Even though the shaven head and the short draped shawl without fringe may make the appearance of the priest of Chapel F rather conservative, it is fairly certain

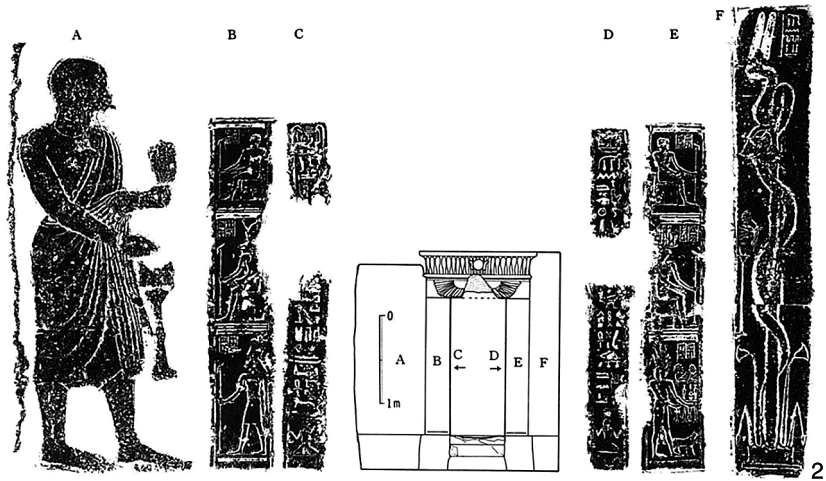
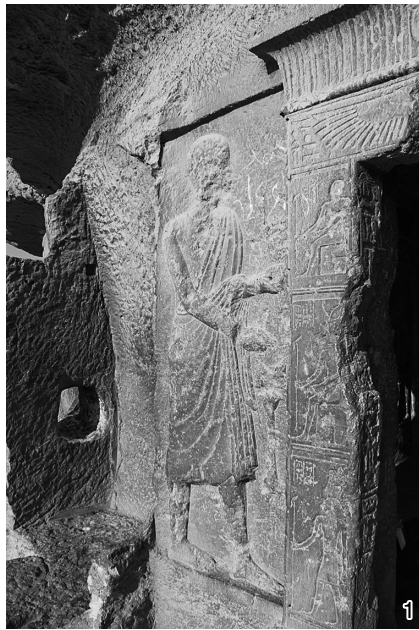


Fig. 18 Entrance of Chapel F. No. 1: Relief of a striding male figure on the northern wall of the entrance; No. 2: Engraved prints of the reliefs.

that the relief was a variant of this specific type of realistic portrait statue that became popular after 125 BC¹⁸).

It is well known that such realistic portrait statues were sometimes erected in the temple courtyards, or even placed in chapels built in front of the temples in order to connect them with rituals¹⁹. The case of Panemerit, who got divine worship through his statues set up in the forecourt of Amon²⁰), suggests that the priest of Chapel F might have been also a powerful elite, whose chapel was consecrated in order to exhibit his prestige. It was natural that his chapel became one of the important religious foci of late Hellenistic and Roman Akoris and is still venerated today by local people who visit this chapel to pray for pregnancy²¹). (SUTO)

5 EL-SHOURAFA: The Site of ‘The Crag Great-Of-Victories’?

El Shourafa is located on the east bank of the Nile, 7km south of Akoris, and almost 2km north of el-Minya. There are two Old Kingdom tombs found in Sheikh Mubarak district there, and some New Kingdom relics including a statue of Khaemwaset, a son of Ramesses II, were unearthed at el-Shourafa²²), attesting to some age-old importance of this site. Chaban, M. E. found a mud brick bearing the name of a High Priest of Amun-Re, Menkheperre at the ruins of a fortress there, apparently dating back to the 21st Dynasty²³). Such a fortress is mentioned in the Victory Stela of Piye of the 25th Dynasty, as follows;

‘Then they (i.e., Piye’s army) fought against ‘The Crag Great-of-Victories (*t3 dbnt wr nhtw*)’. They found it filled with troops, all kinds of fighters of Lower Egypt. A siege tower was made against it; its wall was overthrown. A great slaughter was made of them, countless numbers, including a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht²⁴).’

‘The Crag Great-of-Victories’ mentioned here apparently refers to some kind of fortification, once assumed to be located at modern Tihna el-Gabal (Akoris)²⁵). However, no evidence of fortress

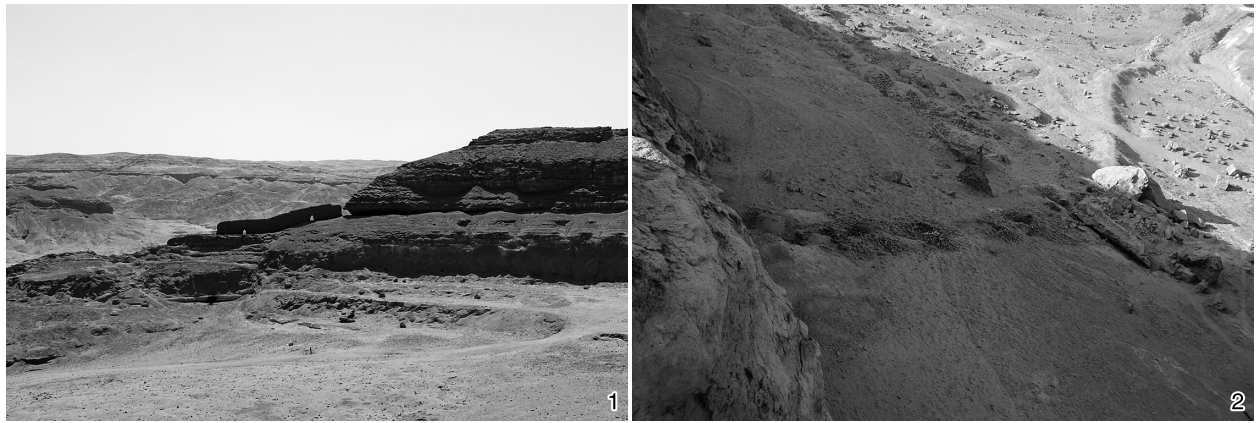


Fig. 19 East area in the site of El-shourafa. No. 1: South half of the 'defensive wall' from west; No. 2: North half of the 'defensive wall' from north.

or defensive wall which Piye's army supposedly attacked has been found from Akoris so far²⁶⁾, which makes probable that this fortress was actually located somewhere else. Gauthier, H. identified this place not with Tihna el-Gabal but with the military base which was built by abovementioned Menkheperre at el-Hibeh²⁷⁾.

However, el-Shourafa is certainly another candidate for 'The Crag Great-of-Victories', since the brick above of Menkheperre attests to the existence of a 21st Dynasty fortress there, and since the southern part (27.25m in length \times 3.20m in height and 60cm in thickness) of the defensive wall of the fortification remains in the eastern side of this site (Fig. 19-1). The foundation of this wall has been found, indicating that the original wall (c. 450m in length) crossed a *wadi*, which was probably used as a passage between the Nile Valley and the Eastern Desert. This wall was extended on the hills on both sides of the *wadi*, probably to be a part of fortification.

French scholars of Napoleonic expedition once reported another defensive wall built in the south of el-Shourafa. According to their description²⁸⁾, this wall was built from mud brick and was 4m in height, 2.20m in thickness, extending from a height of the eastern mountain to the vicinity of the Nile. They believed that this wall was constructed to protect the quarrying area behind the mountain or to control the border of this area during the conflict times between the north and the south of Egypt²⁹⁾.

We surveyed this site, now beside the police camp called Tabet Darb el Naar (Shooting training camp) to the south of Sawada village and found the foundation of this wall (320.65m in length) in some parts (Fig. 19-2), which were reused as monks' houses in the Coptic period, similar to the abovementioned wall at el-Shourafa in style and materials.

There was probably once existed a network of military fortifications belonging to Menkheperre of Theban theocracy in the 21st Dynasty, which includes the main fortress³⁰⁾, the abovementioned northern crossing wall, and this wall to the south of Sawada village. The geographical features such as the mountain chain and the Nile would have given protection to this area against the attack from the east and the west. Such natural defenses must have been much strengthened by this network of fortifications.

Several years ago, some Ptolemaic limestone quarries in the vicinity of Akoris, including the one in el-Shourafa, were investigated by a Japanese archaeological mission³¹⁾. There is another quarry

site Om Selim in el-Shourafa area, which was an alabaster quarry of which date is unknown. Several Roman coins found in this area attest to some economic activities there, and at least three of them are dated to the reigns of Aurelian to Probus (A.D. 270–282), according to their obverse inscriptions, which are;

The first coin: Aurelian (A.D. 270–275): AKA ΔOM AYPHAIANOC CEB

The second coin: Tacitus (A.D. 275–276): A K KA TAKITOC CEB

The third coin: Probus (A.D. 276–282): A K AYP ΠPO BOC CEB

In the Coptic period, the fortress of el-Shourafa was reused as a gathering place for monks. This gathering place dates back to the latter half of the 3rd century through the end of the 7th century according to pottery fragments, and there are about twelve houses of monks to the north of the fortress, together with traces of a church and tombs still visible on the surface³²).

The archaeological importance of el-Shourafa area is thus attested through abovementioned monuments and relics dating back to Pharaonic period. This area was also probably the site of the important fortress, ‘the Crag Great-of-Victories (*t3 dbnt wr nḥtḳw*)’, mentioned in the Victory Stela of Piye. El-Shourafa maintained its importance after Pharaonic period, and was reused as a settlement of Coptic monks. (SHENOUDA)

NOTES

- 1) *Akoris Preliminary Report 2009*, pp. 10–17.
- 2) AEFp use ‘front strap’, ‘back strap’ and ‘heel strap’ to the words respectively in this section. see Veldmeijer, A. J. 2010 *Tutankhamun’s Footwear: Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear*, Norg.
- 3) The shoes in Akoris are corresponded to ‘Leather Stubbed-Toe Ankle Shoes’ by AEFp. Veldmeijer A. J. 2013 “Studies of ancient Egyptian footwear. Technological aspects. Part XVII. Leather Stubbed-Toe Ankle Shoes”, *Jaarberichten Ex Oriente Lux*, vol. 44, pp. 61–77.
- 4) *Akoris Preliminary Report 2007*, Front cover (right column), p. 9 and 11, Fig. 7-53 and 54.
- 5) Veldmeijer, A. J. 2009a “Studies of ancient Egyptian footwear. Technological aspects. Part XII. Fibre shoes”, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, no. 14, pp. 97–129.
- 6) Veldmeijer, A. J. 2009b “Studies of ancient Egyptian footwear. Technological aspects. Part XVI. Leather open shoes”, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, no. 11, pp. 1–10; Id., 2009c “Studies of ancient Egyptian footwear. Technological aspects. Part XVI. Additional pair of leather open shoes”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 45, pp. 233–245.
- 7) *Ibid.*, 2009b p. 6; Driel-Murray, C. van “Leatherwork and skin products”, in Nicholson, P. T. and I. Shaw (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, pp. 315–316.
- 8) For the general information of this obelisk, see *Preliminary Report 2015*, pp. 19–22.
- 9) It is likely that, the undercutting process of the obelisk was similar to that of the colossus lying nearby. The workmen would have left a strip of bedrock of ca. 90cm in a regular distance, which in the case of colossus varies from ca. 3.1 to 7m.
- 10) Engelbach, R. 1922 *The Aswan Obelisk with Some Remarks on the Ancient Engineering*, Cairo, pl. I.
- 11) Ahmed Bey Kamal, M. 1903 “Fouilles à Tehneh”, *ASAE* 4, pp. 232–241.
- 12) Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.) 1995 *Akoris: Report of the Excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt 1981–1992*, Kyoto, pp. 41–43, Fig. 31–33.
- 13) For the identification of gods, see Kaper, O. E. 2003 *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-god and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*, Leuven 2003, 254–255.
- 14) Lloyd, A. B. 1983 “The Late Period, 664–323”, in Trigger, B. G. et al. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, Cambridge, pp. 301–309.
- 15) Clarysse W. and D. J. Thompson 2006 *Counting the People in Hellenistic Period*, vol. 2: Historical Studies, Cambridge, pp. 177–186.

- 16) Lewis, N. 1986 *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Oxford, p. 126.
- 17) Bianchi, R. 1978 "The Striding Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt", in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (eds.) *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des Internationalen Symposions 27–29 September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz, pp. 95–102.
- 18) Gorre, G. 2013 "A Religious Continuity Between the Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods? Self-Representation and Identity of Egyptian Priests in the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BCE)", in E. Stavrianopoulou (eds.) *Shifting Social Imageries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*, Leiden, pp. 99–114.
- 19) Goddio F. (ed.) 2006 *Egypt's Sunken Treasures*, Munich, pp. 178–181.
- 20) Zivie-Coche, Ch. 2004 *Tanis: Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires*, Paris, pp. 235–291.
- 21) Tsujimura, S. 1995 "Primitive Beliefs in Tehneh Village", Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.) *op. cit. Akoris: Report of the Excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt 1981–1992*, Kyoto, p. 471.
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- 23) Chabân, *ibid.*, p. 223. Also see Wainwright, *ibid.* However, Kessler doubts about the existence of such a pre-Roman fortress at el-Shourafa. See *ibid.* pp. 241–242.
- 24) Lichtheim, M. 1980 *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. III, p. 71. For the text, see Grimal, N.-C. 1981 *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh) y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089*, pp. 46–47 (16*).
- 25) e.g., Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.) *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.
- 26) Editors' note: Our investigations in Akoris confirmed large-scale multiple walls of the TIP surrounding the Western Temple Area, and found two stelae donated by Pinudjem I and Osorkon III in the precinct. We hope the author to take these findings into consideration.
- 27) Gauthier, H. 1924 *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, Tome VI, pp. 97–98. Kessler holds that 'The Crag Great-of-Victories' is some unlocated fortress, not Tihna el Gabal. Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–270.
- 28) *Description de l'Égypte*, Tome. 23, p. 293.
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This project is sponsored by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 24401031 and JP15H01888.

