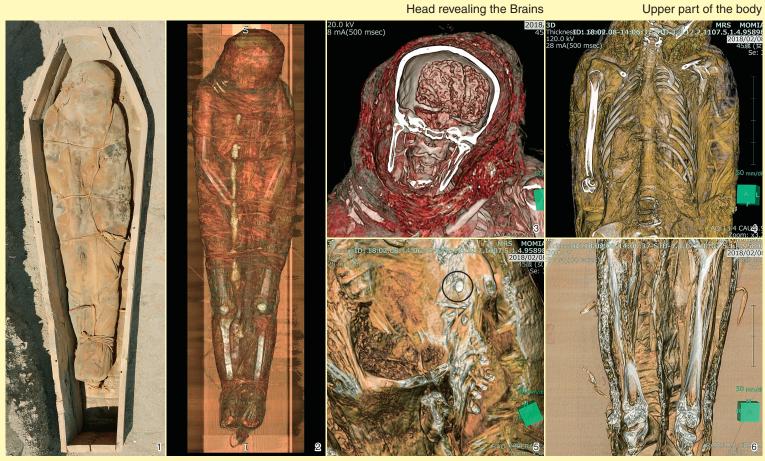
PRELIMINARY REPORT



2017



Grave 4 in 2016

3D image of the body

Scarab with string, the left wrist

Lower part of the body

AKORIS ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

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1 GENERAL VIEW

An extensive wall, which surrounded the ancient 14ha city of Akoris, is partially extant at the southern extremity of the main ruins and rises to 7m in height. Clearly it was constructed as a countermeasure against flash floods and mudslides, rather than as a military fortification, as raiding from the Eastern Desert occurred intermittently every 20–30 years. Our 1995 Report mentioned it dates from the Ptolemaic Period however this dating must be revised. Specifically, the construction period of the outer wall traces back to the Late Period, furthermore, it was restored as occasion demanded throughout the Roman Period and was discontinued during the Coptic Period. As mentioned in our 1999 and 2000 Reports, part of the outer wall was found at the northern extremity of the main ruins and the construction period also belongs to the Late Period. Thus the construction period of the outer wall is confirmed by it (Figs. 1–3).

A salient crag in the city zone is the location for many late Old Kingdom rock cut tombs and one Middle Kingdom tomb chapel on the west side as well as four Middle Kingdom tomb chapels and a missing New Kingdom building on the north side. These are the sole remnants other than the New Kingdom archaeological features in Akoris. Thus, human activities in Akoris are known to have begun in the latter part of the Old Kingdom at the latest and continued to the New Kingdom. In contrast, surface finds, pottery and mud brick walls, in the extensive habitation area extending north and eastward from the crag indicate that even the oldest buildings do not trace back to the New Kingdom, and a natural sand layer is found here and there beneath them. If the above sequence is correct, it is necessary to determine the location of the habitations established prior to the New Kingdom. (KAWANISHI)

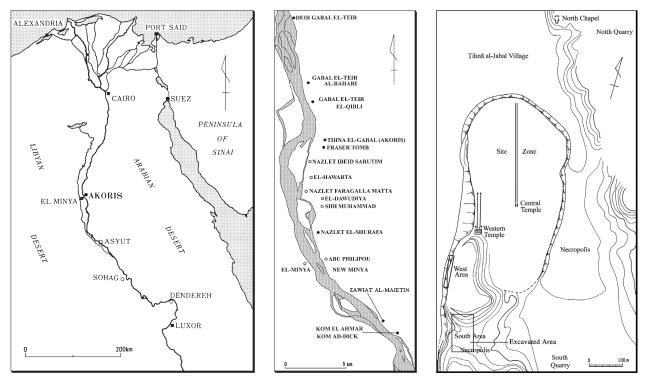


Fig. 1 Map of Egypt.

Fig. 2 Sites and Villages near Akoris.

Fig. 3 Map of Akoris.

2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

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

The settlement covering the south side of the salient crag stretches through the flat area and extends to the northern gentle slope of the adjacent south crag (Fig. 4). It ends in a low overhanged cliff bordering the upper scarp slope of the crag. Many small-sized rock-cut tombs line on the top of the cliff. All of these tombs have been ravaged by illegal excavation and contain no extant remains. But, as saw tooth masonry tool marks, which emerged during the Ptolemaic Period, are absent on the tombs, it can be inferred that the tombs date at least to the Pharaonic Period.

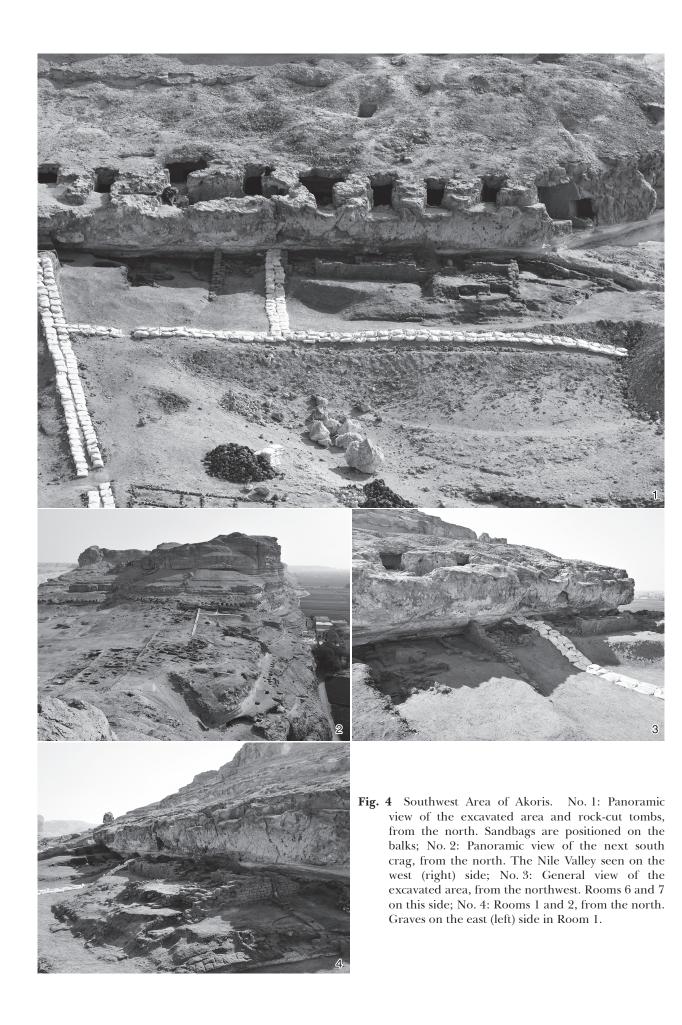
The southern end of the settlement on the gentle slope was hidden by natural and deliberate slides of loose limestone rock, rubble and sand fallen from the upper steep skirt. The 2017 survey began by removing these thick debris, which were next to the western part of the excavation undertaken in 2016, and the full extent measures 10m north-south by 30m east-west.

Intriguingly various kinds of remains were retrieved from the thick debris. All remains were undoubtedly brought down from the rock-cut tombs on the top of the cliff. Numerous remains including human and animal bones, cloth for mummy bandages, wooden coffins and small round beads are fragmented, whether large or small, with the exception of the beads. The sum total of the beads is reckoned at *ca.* 3650, of which 98% are made of faience and 2% are of glass and stone. Thus the overwhelming ratio of faience beads arouses curiosity.

The most historically important artifact, though fragmented, is a wooden stick with the cartouche of Amasis (Ahmose II) from the 26th Dynasty, which suggests the date of the tombs (Fig. 12-6). Moreover, a wooden coffin lid with a head and crown affixed also suggests a similar date (Fig. 5). According to wooden coffin chronology, it postdates the yellow coffin style of the first half of the Third Intermediate Period and predates the Ptolemaic coffin style. Consequently, as the evidence suggests, the rock cut tombs, if not all, date from the Late Period. Ptolemaic remains, cartonnage and pottery, were also present in the debris. Seemingly the tombs were reused in the Ptolemaic Period.

After removing a large volume of debris, five rectangular rooms were revealed (Figs. 6–8). They are aligned in an east-west direction and partitioned off from each other by a wall. Four north walls stand in a straight line and the easternmost one is positioned slightly northward. Given such a standardized disposition, the construction dates must be contemporaneous. Another two interconnected rooms, different from the other five, were extant at the West Section, and the west wall curves at the north corner. They were poorly preserved and archaeological stratum context indicates that they predate the five. The seven rooms were numbered from east to west in consecutive order.

The low overhung cliff completely blocks the south sides of Rooms 1–5. An entrance was not confirmed in the partition walls between them but in the north walls of Rooms 2–5. Room 1 had lost most of its upper part and half of the north wall, which provided an entrance, is missing. These disturbances seem to be the result of two round structures and two graves built here afterwards. The internal dimensions of Rooms 1–5 are as follows:



Room 1: max. 2.55m north-south by 3.15m east-west Room 2: max. 2.30m north-south by 2.75m east-west Room 3: max. 2.55m north-south by 3.15m east-west Room 4: max. 2.75m north-south by 3.80m east-west Room 5: max. 3.55m north-south by 2.75m east-west

As the cliff side has subtle curves, the north-south walls are not uniform in length and the longer side in each room is noted above. The north-south wall of Room 5 is considerably longer than the others, due to the southward turn of the cliff. Rooms 6 and 7 at the West Section are independent from the cliff. Room 6 measures 2.40m north-south by 3.90m east-west, while the extent of Room 7 is unknown due to bad preservation (Fig. 8-3). Southwest part of Room 5 was reused by the grave named Grave 5 and the south wall of Room 6 was covered by the arch-shaped Coptic walls. Each room, except Rooms 6 and 7, cover an area of 7–8m². Considering the area is too narrow to accommodate a household, surely at least one room was provided on the north side and plural rooms formed an established house. Though such additional rooms were partially uncovered, the overall plan of house could not be confirmed because of the shortage of time.

While excavations could not reach to the floors in Rooms 1–5 because of the similar reasons, many pottery shards and building materials, such as mud bricks and roofing mud with botanical impressions disengaged from their original positions, were unearthed in and outside of these rooms. Notably, these are fewer in Rooms 1, 6 and 7, comparing with Room 5 where ceiling materials, twig and reed, were also revealed in the debris (Fig. 8-2). When two round structures and graves as well as a narrow curved wall of unknown use were built, extensive remains in Room 1 were swept away. Rooms 6 and 7 were located on the higher bedrock, and were consequently badly disturbed by the later construction of Room 5. The limited remains seem to have been caused by these matters.

The two round structures have an inside diameter of 75cm respectively. Such round structure is generally said to have been used as a granary, but these two structures turned red as a result of



Fig. 5 Wooden Coffin Lid Revealed in the Limestone Debris.

fire and ash is spread in and around them. Accordingly, there is the possibility that the structures were used for another use such as baking.

Six unlooted graves, five from the East Section and one from the West Section, were discovered and thoroughly excavated (Figs. 9 and 10). Another one, Grave 7, with its head part disturbed, is at the northeast point somewhat away from the excavated area and it is adjacent to G11 retrieved in 2016 (Figs. 6 and 10-3). At least two probable jar burials occurred against the over-hanged cliff, though no fetus remained. The archaeological stratum indicates that the six, including the jar burials, postdate Rooms 1–6. Graves 3 and 4 in the East Section are adjacent to each other and run parallel in an east-west direction (Figs. 9-4 and 5). These two child graves remain exceptionally well preserved and were represented by both wooden rectangular coffins and mummies. Grave 3, located southward, has a pair of small leather shoes stained in red as mortuary goods (Figs. 9-6 and 12-18). A well-preserved wooden anthropoid coffin with a female mummy, excavated in 2016, was also

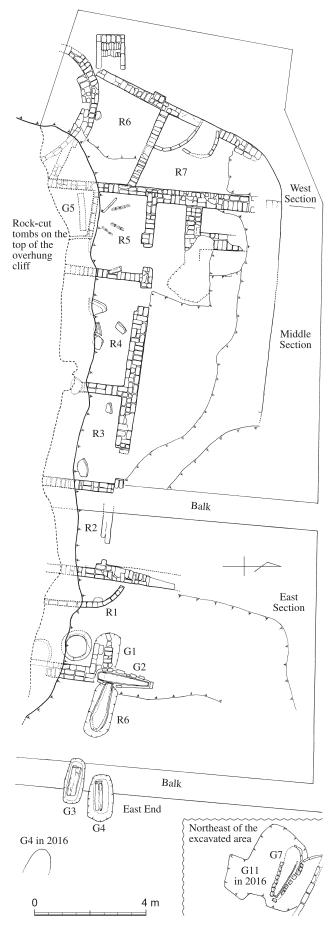


Fig. 6 Plan of the Excavated Areas.



Fig. 7 Rooms 1–5 Revealed directly underneath the Limestone Debris. No. 1: Room 1 and graves, from the north; No. 2: Room 2 at the center, Rooms 1 on the left side and Room 3 on the right side, from the north; No. 3: Rooms 3–5, from east. Room 3 is on this side; No. 4: Room 4, from the south.





Fig. 8 Rooms 3–7. No. 1: Rooms 3–5, from east. Room 3 is on this side and yields much bricks and roofing mud, from the west; No. 2: Room 5, from the south. Twig and reed, probably from the ceiling, are scattered with many bricks from the walls; No. 3: Rooms 6 and 7 predating Room 5, from the west. Part of Coptic arc-shaped walls seen on the right side.

adjacent eastwards and parallel to Graves 3 and 4, and red-strained leather and colorless fiber shoes, paired respectively, accompanied it. In the coffins of Graves 3 and 4 wooden nails are too long and the upper halves were pushed out from the joints. Such odd manner of wooden coffin making mirrors the woman's coffin. As for head orientation the woman is to the west and the two children are to the east. Though the head orientation is thus antipodal, considering the similarity of locations, coffins and mortuary goods, the two children suggest a kinship with the woman. The conclusive result must await some scientific analyses such as DNA identification.

Grave 6, though badly preserved, has an anthropoid coffin with decoration and some mortuary goods (Figs. 12-15–17). While interments pitted directly in the ground, designated graves, amount to about sixty from the 2002 season, graves such as Grave 6, accompanied with both decorated anthropoid coffin and mortuary goods, are rare and fall under the luxury category. The mummy of Grave 2 is the only male adult among the seven graves excavated this season (Fig. 9-2) and his head orientation is to the south in contrast to the others pointing to the east or the west. Additionally, the presence of a shaggy beard and mustache reflects a practice prevalent among Asians (Fig. 9-3). It was rather rare among the Pharaonic Egyptians and the beard style is different from them, though some examples have survived in statues and reliefs. Anyway Grave 2 is isolated from the others. Given that many Phoenician amphorae were transported to the settlement, the interred makes us to imagine to have been the diaspora who migrated from the Asian district and married to the Egyptian woman. The details of each grave are shown in Table 1.

Pottery from the end of the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Late Period is divided into three phases in Akoris (*Akoris 2016*). Based on our pottery chronology, Rooms 1–5 belong to the



Grave 5 in the West Section. No. 1: Grave 1, reedmade coffer, from the north; No. 2: Grave 2, from the east. Anthropoid wooden coffin surrounded by aligned bricks; No. 3: Bearded mortal remains in Grave 2, from the west; No. 4: Graves 3 and 4 before opening the lids, from the west. Grave 3 on the left side and Grave 4 on the right side; No. 5: Graves 3 and 4 after opening the lids, from the west; No. 6: Leather boots directly underneath the neck of mortal remains in Grave 4, from the west; No. 7: Grave 5, reed-made coffer, from the east.





Fig. 11 Leather Footwear in the Pit of the East Section.



Fig. 10 Graves 6 and 7. No. 1: Grave 6, from the north. Anthropoid wooden coffin with colored lid; No. 2: Upper part of the Grave 6 coffin, from the west. Part of colored lid on the left side, and mortuary goods on the bottom board. Fragmented vegetable stitched artifact at the upper part away from the head of the mortal remains, fragmented vegetable fiber sandal near the head and shoulder and fragmented leather footwear directly underneath the head; No. 3: Grave 7, from the north. Anthropoid wooden coffin surrounded by aligned bricks. Located northeastward away from the excavated area and next to Grave 11 retrieved in 2016.

Early/Middle Phase and they were abandoned at the end of the Middle Phase or the beginning of the Late Phase. Rooms 6 and 7 are somewhat earlier and the graves belong to the Late Phase. Accumulated soil cut into by the graves were extant at the East End and had fragmented woven works together with finished and unfinished flaxen thread/yarn. They belong to the Early/Middle Phase.

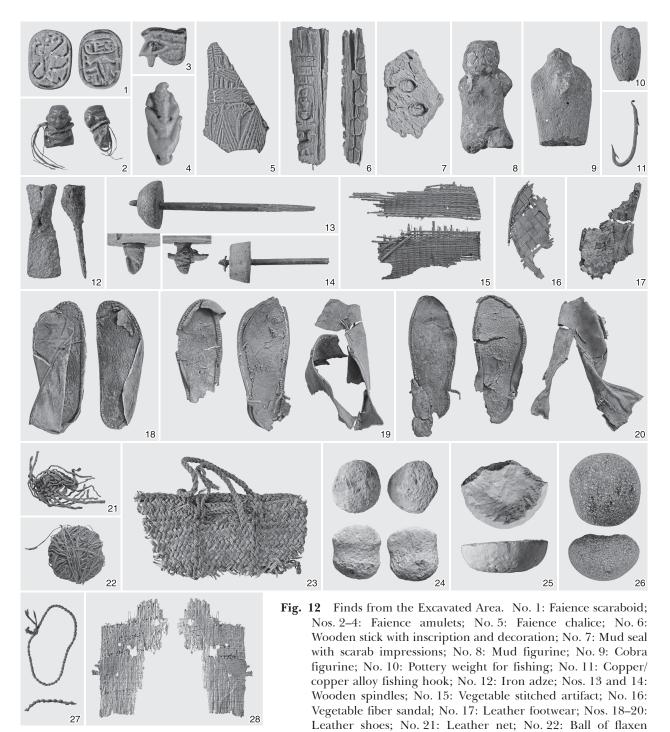
The mud brick size of Room 1–7 walls, 32cm in length × 16cm in width × 8cm in

thickness, may throw doubt on this dating. Mud brick size of many other walls confirmed from 2002 is $38 \times 19 \times 9$ –10cm in general, and according to our chronology published in the 1995 and 2000 Reports, the 32cm type mud brick belongs to the Late Period. However, undoubtedly various kinds of pottery accompanied the 32cm type mud bricks of Rooms 1–7, and they are similar to the pottery associated with the 38cm type bricks, which date from the Third Intermediate Period. At other sites the dating by pottery is more critical than by mud brick size, mud brick size, consequently such chronological inconsistency suggests that the appearance of the 32cm type mud brick goes back to the Third Intermediate Period, however, this speculation remains to be confirmed. (KAWANISHI)

2-2 Finds from the Excavated Area (Fig. 12)

No. 1: Faience scaraboid. Unearthed in the upper layer of accumulated soil including many fragments of fodder-like plants at the East End. L. $1.68 \times w. 1.23 \times$ thickness (hereafter t.) 0.45cm. The obverse is inscribed with the prenomen of Thutmose IV, *Mn-bprw-R^c* and an epithet *s3 'Imn* "son of Amun". The reverse depicts a pharaoh-headed sphinx figure with a *'nb* sign.

No. 2: Faience amulet of *Pataikos*. Unearthed in the upper layer of the same soil as above at the East Section. The lower half is lost. A scarab which was originally on the vertex is now lost. H. $2.11 \times w. 1.47 \times t. 1.13$ cm. A horizontal hole is pierced through the neck, and a twisted flax



yarn; No. 23: Vegetable fiber hand-basket; No. 24: Bobbin-shaped limestone weights; No. 25: Limestone vessel; No. 26: Grindstone of red granite; No. 27: Linen cord amulet; No. 28: Greek papyrus fragment.

string is attached to the shoulder.

No. 3: Faience amulet of *Udjat*-eye. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the eastern area of the Middle Section. L. $1.80 \times w$. $1.53 \times t$. 0.60cm. The eyebrow and eyeball are red. A horizontal hole is pierced under the eyebrow.

No. 4: Yellow faience amulet, probably a flower-shaped spacer, with a hole at both ends. Unearthed in the accumulated soil to the south of Grave 2 at the East Section. L. $2.31 \times w. 1.04 \times t. 0.48$ cm.

No. 5: Fragment of a faience chalice. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the East Section. Extant dimensions are h. $6.25 \times w. 3.62 \times t. 0.38$ cm. Lotus decoration is lined up in the lower row.

No. 6: Fragment of a wooden stick of unknown use. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the Middle Section. The both ends are lacking. Extant dimensions are l. $7.91 \times w. 2.24$ cm. A column of hieroglyphic inscription and scalelike decoration are inscribed. The inscription reads *ntr nfr nb t3wy Hnmw-ib-R^c s3 R^c...* "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Khnumibre, Son of Re ///". Since the title *ntr nfr* "Good God" is that of a deceased king, this stick probably dates from the reign of Psamtek III, the successor of Khnumibre (i.e. Amasis), and the last pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty.

No. 7: Mud seal with scarab impressions. Unearthed in the accumulated soil including many fragmented fodder-like plants at the East End. Extant dimensions are $7.79 \times 5.22 \times 4.04$ cm. The impression reads *'Imn-R'* "Amun-Re".

No. 8: Mud figurine. Unearthed in the upper layer of accumulated soil at the Middle Section. Exfoliation marks remain on the breast and the foot part is lacking. Extant dimensions are h. $7.02 \times w. 3.33 \times t. 3.2$ cm. Hair-like prominent streak is on the vertex. Both arms are expressed as short projections. A disproportionate, large swell is on the back, and a thick tail-like protrusion extends from the lower back.

No. 9: Cobra figurine. Unearthed in the disturbed layer at the southern end of the center of the East Section. The top of the head and the lower half of the body are lacking. Extant dimensions are h. $8.10 \times w. 4.93 \times t.$ of face 3.31cm (t. of body 1.87cm). Cf. *Akoris 2011*, pp. 4–14.

No. 10: Pottery weight for fishing. Unearthed in the upper layer of mud brick debris at the Middle Section. L. $3.15 \times$ diameter (hereafter d.) 1.70cm. A hole, d. 0.46cm, is pierced in the center.

No. 11: Copper/copper alloy fishing hook. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the East Section. L. $4.05 \times w. 1.53 \times d.$ (of middle part) 0.25cm.

No. 12: Iron adze. Unearthed in the accumulated soil under surface at the western half of the East Section. L. $6.26 \times w$. (of edge) 2.30cm. The socket, t. 2.01cm, is turned back. According to the stratigraphic context, it cannot be asserted positively that it dates from the ancient times.

No. 13: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the accumulated soil directly underneath the limestone debris at the West Section. The axis, $l. 20.10 \times d. 0.70$ cm, has the oblique groove for twisting thread at the end. The whorl, d. (of base) $5.01 \times h. 2.15$ cm, is made of tamarisk and is much worn out. The total weight is 27.2g.

No. 14: Wooden spindle. Unearthed in the accumulated soil to the south of Grave 2 at the East Section. Half of the axis is lacking. Extant dimensions are $1.8.80 \times d.0.60$ cm. A wooden piece is perpendicularly bound to the notch at the end of axis by vegetable string. Probably it was also used for

twisting thread. The whorl, d. 2.11 (at the top) \times d. 3.76 (at the base) \times h. 1.83cm, is made of tamarisk.

No. 15: Vegetable stitched artifact. Unearthed in Grave 6 as mortuary goods, placed beside the vertex. It is broken into two fragments because of poor preservation. One piece, 13.0×3.5 cm, is colored in red except the upper end. Another one, 10.0×4.5 cm, is colored red in the upper part and black in the lower part. Finely cut caules, probably of reed, are vertically disposed at intervals of 0.6mm. They are sandwitched between two layers of horizontal caules stitched with flax strings.

No. 16: Vegetable fiber sandal. Unearthed in the same grave as above. Only front part is remained. L. $15 \times w$. 7cm. The insole has sewn-edge and common plaited pattern, sewn on over/one under pattern with small strips of palm leaf.

No. 17: Leather footwear. Unearthed in the same grave as above. It is fragmentary, and the largest fragment is 10×5 cm. The sole has two or three layers sewn with linen thread.

No. 18: Leather shoes. Unearthed in the Grave 3 as mortuary goods. They are placed downward just directly under the neck of mummy. The sole size of left foot is l. ca. $15 \times w. 5.9$ cm, and right foot is l. $15.5 \times w. 5.7$ cm. The sole consists of two layers of dark brown leather which were reused from other products. The upper is made from a single piece of leather stained pale red on the outer face, and is closed with linen thread at the back of the heel.

No. 19: Leather shoe. Unearthed in the pit dug into the upper layer of black soil at the East Section (Fig. 11). It is the left foot of the first intermediary shoes (cf. *Akoris 2016*) broken into three pieces that are the insole, the mid/outsole and the upper. The dimensions of these parts are accordingly, l. $19.8 \times w. 9.3$ cm, l. 24.5×10.4 cm, and max. l. $19.9 \times max$. h. 9cm at the heel. It preserves 'ears' cut out from the mid- and out-soles. The sole layers are secured together with the upper, which is folded out towards the outside, with running stitching made of narrow leather strips. The edge of the upper is folded over by narrow leather strips and is tied up drawstring ('shoe laces'). It preserves a small patch stitched for the repair at the left heel of the upper.

No. 20: Leather shoe. Uncarthed in the same pit as above. It is for right foot broken into three pieces that are the in/midsole, the outsole and the upper. The dimensions of these are accordingly, l. $24.9 \times w$. 10.0cm, l. $26.2 \times w$. 9.6cm, and max. l. 25.9cm. The features of this shoe are the same as the shoe above.

No. 21: Leather net. Unearthed in the upper layer of accumulated soil at the western half of the East Section. Leather cords, w. of each one 4mm, are plaited in plain fabrics. The use is unknown.

No. 22: Ball of flaxen yarn, *pelote*. Unearthed in the limestone debris or the accumulated soil at the western half of the East Section. It was covered with clay. Dimensions are d. 2.84–2.99 × h. 2.01cm. The yarn is loosely twisted.

No. 23: Vegetable fiber hand-basket. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the western half of the East Section. L. $24 \times h$. 11cm. Parts of palm tree is used for materials. The basket consists of continuous belt braided by leaflets, and the looped handles are made of fibers.

No. 24: Bobbin-shaped limestone weights. Unearthed in the disturbed upper layer at the eastern half of the Middle Section. The left one measures h. $7.12 \times d. 5.46$ –6.83 (upper part); 6.42–6.55 (lower part) cm. The right one measures h. $7.48 \times d. 6.12$ –6.75 (upper part); 6.09–6.75 (lower part) cm. It might have been used for fishing.

No. 25: Limestone vessel. Unearthed in the limestone debris at the western half of the East Section. D. $10.45 \times h. 3.62$ cm. It is made of soft limestone, and tool marks remain on the inner and outer faces. Probably the inner face was worked with a narrow gouge/scorper and the outer side with a flat chisel. It is unfinished.

No. 26: Grindstone of red granite. Found on the surface of the excavated area. Dimensions are w. $7.41-7.72 \times h$. 4.98cm. The top is convex and heavily worn away, while the base is almost flat and remains the original surface.

No. 27: Linen cord amulets. As for the upper one, unearthed in the accumulated soil including many fragmentary fodder-like plants at the East End. Diameter is ca. 5cm. It makes fifty-two small knots evenly spaced.

No. 28: Greek Papyrus fragment. Unearthed in the accumulated soil under limestone debris at the West Section. L. $7.2 \times w. 4.1$ cm. The Greek letters on recto and verso are fragmentary.

(KAWANISHI)

2-3 Human Bones Unearthed in 2017

More than sixty graves have been found since excavations began in the South Area. Initial surveys suggest the graves appear to be widely dispersed however, children, neonates and infants, five years old and under, were buried in concentrations at the south end of the excavated area. In total fourteen child burials were retrieved through the 2010 and 2015 excavations. Given this data, it follows that the south end was considered a child cemetery widely known in the ancient Egypt and Nubia (*Akoris 2015*, Patch 2007). To reconfirm this, the excavation area was extended westward and an adult female and ten neonate/infant burials were found in 2016 (*Akoris 2016*). Thus, the 2017 work began to the west of the 2016 excavation area.

The excavation yielded human bones, at least five isolated skulls and other bones, as well as numerous animal bones from the limestone debris accumulated on archaeological features. After removing the debris, six unlooted graves (Graves 1–6), as well as seven rooms, were revealed. In addition, a looted grave (Grave 7), is located to the northeast of the main excavated area next to Grave 11 in 2016, and is comprised of the lower half of an adult body (Table 1).

The burials in the main excavated area consist of four children and one male adult in the East Section, and one female in the West Section. All child individuals, from Graves 1, 3, 4 and 6, were fully wrapped in a linen cloth. The end of the cloth was tied at the feet (Graves 1, 3 and 6) or the neck (Grave 4). After doing so, the wrapped individuals were fastened with string. The Grave 1 mummy was covered with reeds and was fastened in three spots with rope. The rope is made of palm and consists of two twisted cords braided together. It is difficult to determine the age of these mummified children because their exact height is unknown owing to the full bandage and cloth padding on the parietal bones (Graves 1, 3 and 4). In the case of Grave 1, a covering made of two cloth bands, loosely woven, was visible through a gap in the bandages (Fig. 13 No. 1). Considering the thickness of the padding and angled feet, the height of three children is less than 100cm respectively. The child in Grave 6, taller than the other three, measuring 117cm, does not have padding on its parietal bone. Well-preserved straight black hair can be seen peeping out through the cloth covering on the parietal bone, as this child has no padding (Fig. 13 No. 5). Thus, the other





Fig. 13 Mummies in 2017. No. 1: Grave 1. Padding on the skull of child, 3–4 years old; No. 2: Grave 2. Male adult having a shaggy beard and mustache; No. 3: Grave 5. Two holes, right and left respectively, open through the fossa olecrani at the lower end of both humeri of the female adult; No. 4: Grave 5. Pre-auricular sulcus with a distinct contour and a pit structure inside; No. 5: Black, straight natural hair peeped out through cloth of the child, 7–8 years old.

three are surmised to be 3–4 years old and the latter child is older, perhaps 7–8 years old. Intriguingly the older child was laid in an anthropoid coffin while the others were in rectangular coffins. However, a child laid in another anthropoid coffin, Grave 10 in 2016, is younger than the Grave 6 child and is 5–6 years old. Consequently, seemingly the adoption of the anthropoid coffin, even within the children's cemetery, is considered as a type of social symbol dividing the two age groups and the border age for this division is 5–6 years.

A male adult skeleton (Grave 2) was well preserved, although the cloth-wrapped corpse and soft tissue scarcely remain. He is 155–160cm tall, rather shorter than the average stature of man at that time, and his age is inferred to be between the thirties and the early forties. Unusually he has six lumbar vertebrae, while normal people have five, however, seemingly he lived without difficulties. What astonished us is that he had yellowish-brown curly hair and a shaggy dark brown beard and mustache (Fig. 13 No. 2). The depictions of similar mustache and beard can be seen among mummy masks in the First Intermediate Period to the Middle kingdom, mummy portraits in the Greco-Roman Period and images of Asians, but the excavated mummy with this shaggy mustache/ beard is rare in any period.

Bones in Grave 5 maintained their original position although the wrapping cloth scarcely remains. The dead is inferred to be middle thirties to early forties in age, and the pelvis tells us it is a female. Though the pre-auricular sulcus is one of characteristics of female pelvis, the degree of bony scars is related to pregnancy or parturition (Hougton 1975; Igarashi 1992). Her pre-auricular sulcus with a distinct contour and a pit structure inside indicates that she was multipara (Fig. 13

No.	Туре	Coffin size (cm)	Mummy (sex, age)	Mummy size (cm)	Head direction	Mortuary goods	Remarks		
1	reed burial	infant 3–4 yr		102×23.5	east				
2	anthropoid coffin	187 × 38 (inside)	male, 30–45 yrs.	(160) × ?	south		curly hair mustache and beard vertebrae lumbales 6		
3	rectangular coffin	$110 \times 32.5 \times 28.3$	infant, 3–4 yrs.	101×25	east	leather shoes			
4	rectangular coffin	$115.8 \times 26.8 \times 20.8$	infant, 3–4 yrs.	106×22	east				
5	reed burial		female, 35–45 yrs.	?	west		multipara holes in both humeri		
6	anthropoid coffin with painting	170×42 (inside)	infant, 7–8 yrs.	129×30	east	leather sandal fiber sandal vegetable artifact	straight hair		
7	anthropoid coffin	?	female, about 20 yrs.	5	west		multipara		

Table 1: Burials Excavated in 2017.

No. 4) is noteworthy that two holes, right and left respectively, open through the fossa olecrani at the lower end of both humeri (Fig. 13 No. 3). Repetitive movements of sticking out and/or lifting up the arms generally cause these types of holes. In her case the holes are different in size between the right and left, and the right one, 0.8×0.7 cm, is larger than the left, left at 0.5×0.35 cm. Seemingly she was right-handed, and her daily work was not easy. The condition and obvious suffering of her elbows during her life reflect known work patterns: grinding flour, weaving textile, shaking milk for cheese making and drawing and carrying water come to mind.

As mentioned above, in the looted grave, Grave 7, the lower half of the body was excavated. Judging from the pelvis, the deceased is a female. She was approximately twenty years old at death and was probably multipara by the condition of pre-auricular sulcus. (TSUJIMURA)

2-4 Investigation of the Mummy (Grave 4 in 2016): Using Computerized Tomography

This season, photographs of a fully wrapped adult mummy were taken using both normal X-ray and CT scan with the cooperation of radiologists in the Minia Oncology Center and the Conservation Center in Cairo (Fig. 14 No. 7). As reported in *Akoris 2016*, the mummy was found in the Southwest Area and was laid in an anthropoid coffin (Cover No. 1). After excavation, the mummy was kept in the Egyptian Storehouse in el-Bahnasa and then was placed in a bag made of special film to protect against microorganisms and oxidation. As the film has no effect on the transmission of X-ray, it was not necessary to be concerned about contamination during photography and removal of the mummy from the bag. The CT examination was performed on a Siemens Somaton Definition divided into twenty slices at the Minia Oncology Center. Experts of the Autopsy Imaging Information Center in Japan combined the two-dimensional slices of data to produce a 3D image of the body inside the wrappings.

The mummy was moist enough to dampen the bottom of the coffin despite the arid land where it was found. The CT scan yielded information to solve this mystery. The CT scan images indicate

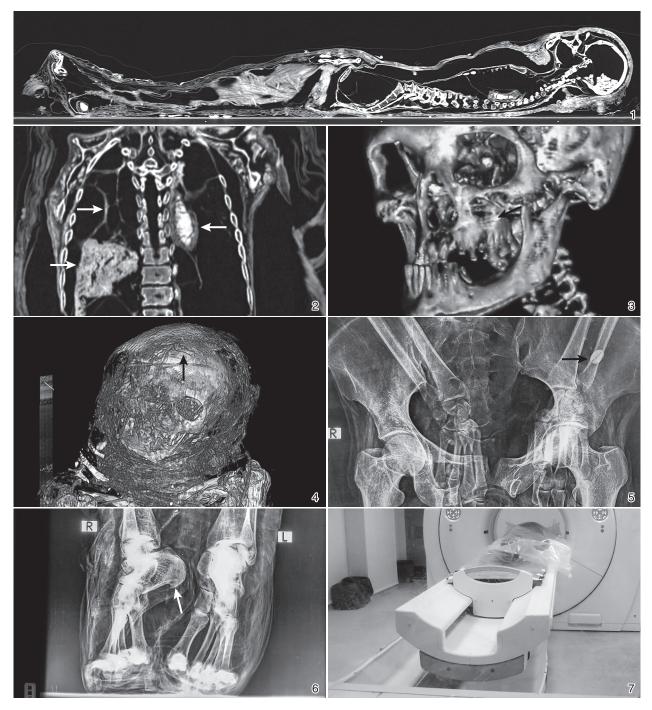


Fig. 14 X-ray Photos and 3D Images of the Mummy of Grave 4 in 2016. No. 1: Longitudinal CT scan of mummy of Grave 4 in 2016; No. 2: Internal organs (the heart, the lung, the liver); No. 3: Large dental abscess found at her upper-left second premolar and the left side of mandible without premolars and molars; No. 4: Amulet(?) in the shape of a cylinder on the head; No. 5: Scarab with a string wound at the left wrist; No. 6: Osteophyte arising from the bottom of tuber calcanei (the heel); No. 7: Mummy in a bag made of special film examined by CT scan (computerized tomography) in the Minia Oncology Center.

the corpse is very well preserved; not only the bones but also the brain and internal organs (Cover No. 3, Fig. 14 No. 2). The heart, liver, lungs and the carotid artery can be ascertained. A longitudinal section of the mummy also shows an empty space between the outer bandage layer and inner corpse (Fig. 14 No. 1). This fact probably suggests that the corpse had not been desiccated completely when mummified, and subsequently body fluids oozed to the outside and the body shrank over time. Furthermore, given the evaporation of the oozed fluids slowly seeped into the

ground, it is not unusual that the space is in a moistened condition with no damage to the bandage layer.

The CT scan analysis of the skeleton, especially the pelvis, confirms that the corpse is an adult female as indicated by the curved hands posed flat on the chest of the coffin lid. She is approximately 145cm tall. As her head is tilted to the left, several centimeters could be added to her height. The slight disappearance of the skull suture, the degree of tooth wear and the unremarkable lipping of vertebrae tell us that she was around thirty years old at death. Inconsistent with her age, her dental condition was very severe (Fig. 14 No. 3). Almost all the pre-molars and molars of the mandibula (the lower jaw) are missing and the sockets in the jaw are no longer present. In addition, two dental abscesses were found at the end of upper-left second pre-molar and low-left first incisor. Periodontal disease could be the reason why she lost almost all her lower back teeth, and such a severe condition suggests that she died of septicemia caused by the bacteria from the dental abscesses. She would have felt pain not only in her teeth but also feet. The osteophyte arising from the bottom of tuber calcanei (the heel) indicates that she usually carried a heavy load in her lifetime (Fig. 14 No. 6). The thorax was deformed by mild scoliosis, but probably she must have felt no pain. Thus, her physical features show that her daily task load would have been heavy and undertaken while suffering from teeth and feet pain. As mentioned previously, the embalmment was not sufficient and it is indeed by chance that the body was preserved well.

Mortuary goods were prepared to protect her during the journey to the eternal world. While two pairs of footwear, leather and fiber, were found beneath the bottom of the coffin in 2016 (*Akoris 2016*), the CT scan images indicate the presence of some articles in/under the bandages. A cylindrical product (amulet?) on the head (Fig. 14 No. 4) and a scarab with a string round the left wrist (Cover No. 5, Fig. 14 No. 5) are visible. In addition, a long piece of leather or wooden strip, 2.4×60.2 cm, possibly a stole, extends from the breast to the abdomen on the body (Cover No. 2).

Further analysis of the CT scan images will provide more information about the actual condition of the mummy. (TSUJIMURA)

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NOTES

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3 ARCHITECTURAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL INVESTIGATIONS

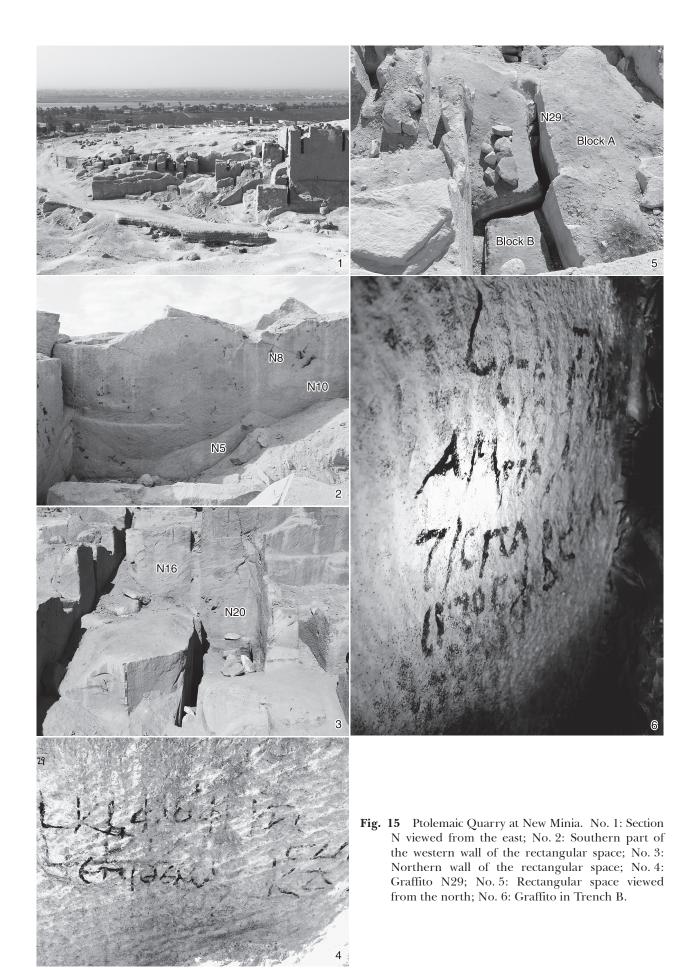
3-1 Investigations in the Ptolemaic Quarry at New Minya

In a survey of the Ptolemaic limestone quarry at New Minya, we focused on Section N, situated at the southern end of the western side of the valley (Fig. 15-1). At the southern end of the section, a path runs from the bottom of the valley to the Nile. Rectangular parallelepiped blocks were quarried by open-cast mining in this section leaving a deep rectangular space that measures 15 meters from the north to the south by 6 meters from the west to the east. The height of the western wall of the rectangular space measures 6 meters from the present surface. Due to the debris in the space, however, it was impossible to know the actual height from the bedrock floor to the surface. The upper side of the wall is not horizontal, and the northern edge is higher than the southern edge.

While we have recognized Greek and demotic graffiti on the walls of the space and on stone blocks left in the space, we cleaned and measured the section, and registered the graffiti this year. The dates of graffiti on the western and northern walls confirm that the section were quarried in the 240s BC. Legible graffiti on the western wall provide three dates: "the second regnal year (of Ptolemy III), the month of Choiak, 3rd" (i.e. January 24, 246 BC; graffito N8) on the upper part of the wall; "the third regnal year, the month of Pauni, 8th" (i.e. July 27, 245 BC; graffito N10) on the middle part; and "the third regnal year" (i.e. 245/4 BC; the month and day are illegible; graffito N5) on the lower part (Fig. 15-2). Graffiti on the northern wall show later dates. A graffito on the upper part of the northern wall (N16) reads, "the fourth regnal year, the month of Pharmouthi" (i.e. late May to mid-June, 244 BC), and a graffito on the lower part (N20) reads, "the fourth regnal year, the month of Pauni" (i.e. late July to mid-August, 244 BC). Thus, it is assumed that the location of the graffiti on the northern wall, three meters above the surface, was quarried in the summer of 244 BC (Fig. 15-3).

There was a problem with dating vertical trenches surrounding a large stone in the northwestern part of the rectangular space (Block A). The southern part of the eastern face of Block A bears a puzzling Greek graffito (N29), which reads, "the twenty-second regnal year, the month of Phaophi, 28th" in the first line and "*epithema*" in the second (Fig. 15-4). The "twenty-second regnal year" is most likely that of Ptolemy III because there has been no graffito earlier than "the thirtythird regnal year (of Ptolemy II)" attested so far in the New Minya quarry. Thus, the graffito dates from December 15, 226 BC. Numerals to the right of the graffito seems to read "6 1/2 1/3(?) $1/12(?) \times 20 1/4(?) \times 7$ ". The indicated volume cannot be that of the trench in front of the graffito, while it seems too large for the volume of Block A.

If this dating of graffito N29 is correct, there would be a chronological gap between the quarrying of the western and northern walls and the processing of Block A or digging of its eastern trench. In order to discover other graffiti on the eastern face of Block A, we removed the debris in the trench and found two horizontal trenches. One trench is located under Block A (Trench A), while the other is under a smaller block (Block B) at the north-eastern corner of the space (Trench B) (Fig. 15-5). There is a shallow trench between the two blocks. There are some Greek and demotic graffiti written on the ceilings of the both horizontal trenches. Graffiti in Trench B bear the



date of the sixth regnal year (i.e. 242/1 BC) (Fig. 15-6), and those in Trench A cannot be read with certainty. The graffito with the date of 226 BC on the eastern face (N29) was written fifteen years after digging Trench B, and independently of the other known graffiti.

As far as the available evidence suggests, quarrying in Section N was conducted at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III, namely in the 240s BC. Quarrying was interrupted for an unknown reason. Around 226 BC, some kind of quarrying processes resumed and left the graffito with the date of 226 BC on the eastern face of Block A. It remains unknown if stone was actually taken at this time. Further investigation may reveal precisely how the section was quarried under the reign of Ptolemy III. (SUTO and TAKAHASHI)

3-2 Colossus at New Minya Quarry

Over three working days we cleaned, documented, and analyzed the unfinished colossus at the New Miniya Quarry (GPS Data: 28,4.4994N, 30,48.5672E, 160m). We spent most of the time cleaning the top surface of the colossus and the ancient trench cut along the colossus (Fig. 16-1). After cleaning the top surface, we took photographs of the surface and recorded chisel marks. Furthermore, we documented additional information, such as the positions and dimensions of the stones, the fissures in the bedrock, and the chiseled lines depicting the profile of the pharaoh, in order to complete the drawings rendering the site, which we have been working since the last seasons.

In the remaining time, we cleaned the level underneath the colossus for the next season. In recent years, a considerable amount of rubbish and bat excrement has accumulated in the subterranean galleries underneath the colossus, which has caused major problems in resuming our investigation underneath the colossus. We plan to concentrate on the final documentation work underneath the colossus in the next season. (YASUOKA and NISHIMOTO)

3-3 Unfinished Columns at the North End of Akoris

We moved to clean a monumental column shaft (Block E) that had been partly visible at the wadi in the northern end of the ancient city of Akoris (Fig. 16-2; GPS Data: 28,11.2024N, 30,46.5379E, 41m). This shaft lies partly under the modern road, and as such, only cleaning half of the shaft was possible.

For approximately two weeks we cleaned the three sides surrounding Block E. As the East-West Section shows (Fig. 17), underneath two decades of modern debris lies a thick layer of stone chips and fine sands (Arabic "*Hiba*"), which accumulates up to 2.2m. This layer developed after a flood that swept and flattened the area in 1995. Just below this layer is also another layer of black soil containing glass bottles, plastics, and textile materials, which slopes down from the west side of the road to the bottom of the wadi. The border of these two layers goes underneath the bottom level of Block E, which was c. 3.6m below the contemporary ground level. It follows that a considerable part of Block E had been exposed until only a few decades ago. Many Egyptian colleagues and the local people who grew up in the village testified that they were able to see the column from at least its middle.

Finds pertaining to antiquities from these layers were limited. As mentioned above, the soil is

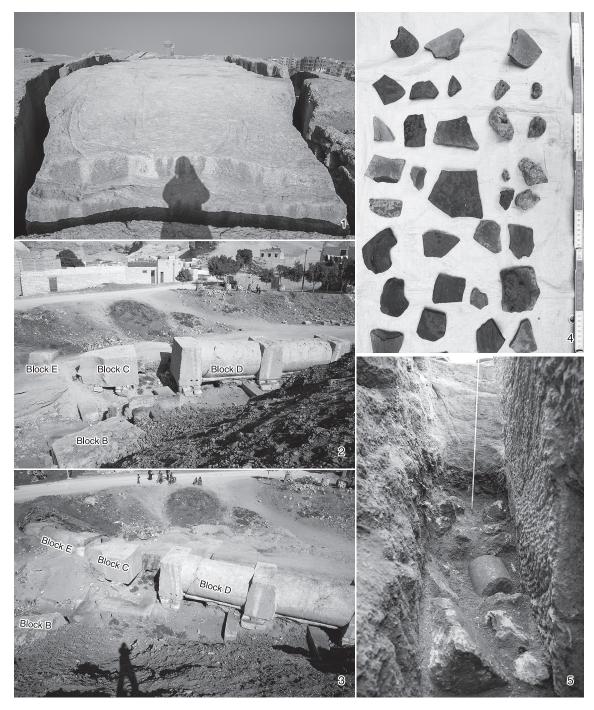


Fig. 16 New Minia Quarry and the North End of Akoris. No. 1: Unfinished colossus in New Minya after cleaning; No. 2: North end of Akoris before cleaning; No. 3: North end of Akoris after work; No. 4: Example of finds from Layer VI; No. 5: Scattered stone blocks at the northeastern corner of Block E.

disturbed, and most of the finds are pottery sherds from the Ptolemaic and Coptic period, mixed in a single layer (Fig. 16-4). Some stone objects and slags were also found. We made a section drawing depicting these layers (Fig. 17) Around Block E, we uncovered approximately 30 limestone blocks, which were again a mixture of works from the modern period and antiquity, containing column drums, stone slabs, a tombstone with a cross, or rubble (Fig. 16-5).

The characteristics of the shaft are very similar to the first shaft that has already been uncovered in Block D during the seasons $1997-2000^{1}$. Both blocks have retained their rectangular forms at

the middle and at both ends—this was the initial form extracted from the quarry, and which afterwards was carved into a circular section of the shaft (for Block E, it is assumed that it also retained the rectangular form at the end, which today lies under the modern road). In the center of the square surface of one end of Block E, there was a square hole of 4.5×4.5 cm. We may safely assume that this hole served the same purpose as the hole made in the center of square surfaces at both ends of Block D, which were rectangular in shape (8 × 6cm (E), 10 × 5 cm (W)).

The comparison of the dimensions of Block E to D (Table 2) shows that they were intended for the same monument. The rectangular part at one end measures c. 2.95m (diameter) by c. 1.70m (thickness of the rectangle). The depth is c. 3.0m so that the section forms a square. Using the measurements of the half of Block E, the total length can be estimated as c. 14.5m as in Block D.

There are some irregularities observed in Block E. Comparing with Block D, Block E does not rest on the blocks of stone. Also, this column is noticeably tilted to northeast, whereas the first column as well as other major stones lying in the vicinity lay horizontally on the smaller blocks (Fig. 16-3). Since Block D and another larger block are aligned to an axis, it is possible that Block E, which slightly deviates from this axis, was originally aligned to the same axis as well. We plan to clean the place in the next season, where we assume the second column had originally been located.

Considering the intended form of the column, the proportions of the diameter to the total height is 1 : 5 for Block D & E (Table 3). This is too thick for a classical style even if we add Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian capital to it, or assume c. 20cm less in diameter at the stage of completion²). Rather, the proportion of the reconstructed column would be suitable for the Pharaonic style. Taking the consistently tapered shape of the shaft into consideration, the palm column, the sistrum column and the composite column would be possible candidates³). Among these columns, the palm columns are known to have been constructed without clear distinction between the shaft and the capital⁴). As for the sistrum and the capital, and thus are likely to be the intended style. Both styles were popular at the time.

From the Greco-Roman Period, sistrum and composite capitals are known to have had standardized proportion. There are elevation drawings and architectural models of sistrum capital that shows the remains of gird used as guidelines in drawing the outline of the capital⁵). The proportions of the sistrum capital are standardized in this period: the width to the height of the capital is 4:9, the division of the height into Hathor face and naos is 4:5, etc. Since the diameter of the column and the width of the capital is known to be c. 2:3, the approximate height of the intended column would have been c. 20.7m (≈ 39 royal cubits or 70 feet) excluding the abacus and the base. As a whole the proportion of the diameter of the column to the total height of the column would have been 1:7.13.

If the column was intended to crown a composite capital, the height of the capital excluding the abacus would equal the lower diameter of the capital (1 : 1), which is slightly wider than the top diameter of the shaft. Excluding the abacus and the base, the total height of the column would have been c. 17.4m (\approx 32.8 royal cubits or 59 feet). As a whole the proportion of the diameter of the column to the total height of the column would have been 1 : 6.

In both cases, the columns upon their completions would have been the largest monolithic

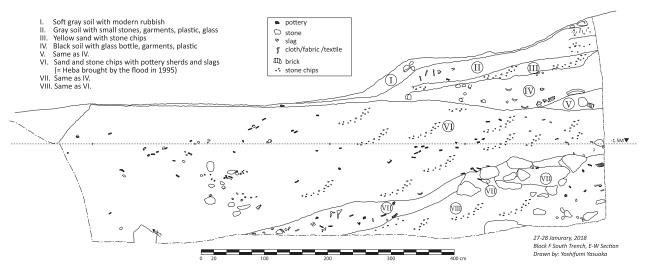


Fig. 17 South-Section of the South Trench of Block E.

		J					
	Eastend (Northside/Southside)		Middle		Westend (Northside/Southside)	Total Height	
Block D							
Width	1775/1810	4946/4994	1703/1927	5130/5110	1925/1744	14388/14542	
Height	2780/2790		2880/2790		2940/2970		
		Ptolemaic P.					
Block E							
Width	2156/2646	4205	1866/1942	—	_	14066/14556 (7705+4205+2156/2646)	
Height	2906/2940		2902/2780				

 Table 2:
 Major Dimensions of the Colossal Columns of Akoris.

Table 3: Dimensions and Proportions of Colossal Columns Known from Egypt.

		*				0,1				
Location	Column Type	Period	Lower Diameter	Height of Shaft	Height of Capital	Total Height (excl. Base)	H-Sh/D	T-H/D	Total Height (incl. Base)	
Alexandria, Pompei's pillar ⁷⁾	Corinthian	Diocletianus	2.7	20.5	3.2	23.7	7.7	8.9	28.7	
Dendera, Pronaos ⁸⁾	Sistrum	Tiberius	2.4	8.4	5.1	13.5	3.4	5.5		
Edfu, Court ⁹⁾	Composite	late Ptolemaic P.	1.4	6.2	1.7	7.8	4.6	5.8		
Akoris, Blocks D & E	Sistrum or Composite (?)	Ptolemaic P.	2.9	14.5	—	—	5.0	—		
Akoris, Block H	Classical (?)	Ptolemaic P.	1.2	6.9	_	_	5.8	—		
Hermopolis Magna, Pronaos ¹⁰⁾	Papyrus Bud	Nektanebo I.	2.6	9.5	3.9	13.4	3.6	5.1	14.4	
Karnak, Great Court ¹¹⁾	Open Papyrus	Taharqa	2.4	14.9	4.0	18.9	6.2	7.9		
Karnak, Hypostyle ¹²⁾	Open Papyrus	Ramesses II	2.5	14.8	4.4	19.2	5.8	7.6		

columns in Egypt until the construction of Pompey's pillar, which was erected in 297 AD during the reign of Diocletian⁶⁾. (YASUOKA and NISHIMOTO)

NOTES

- 1) See Preliminary reports from 1997 to 2000.
- 2) It would still be too thick for the Doric column, whose proportion (1 : 6) is known to be the thickest among the three classical orders.
- 3) There is also a lotus column, but this can be omitted since its attestation is limited to a few examples from the entire history.
- 4) See for example the Roman examples form Philae.
- 5) Yasuoka, Y., Untersuchungen zu den Altägyptischen Säulen als Spiegel der Architekturphilosophie der Ägypter, Hützel 2016, Fig. 5.1 and 5.13–15.
- 6) Thiel, W., "Die 'Pompeius-Säule' in Alexandria und die Viersäulenmonumente Ägyptens. Überlegungen zur tetrarchischen Repräsentationskultur in Nordafrika", In: Boschung, D and Eck, W. (Eds.), Die Tetrarchie: Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 249–322.
- 7) Description de l'Egypte, Antiquiés, V, pl. 34.
- 8) Zignani, P., Le temple d'Hathor à Dendara, Cairo 2010.
- Fauerbach, U., "The Creation of an Egyptian Capital", in: Preys, R. (ed.), 7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion. Leuven, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2005, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 95–111.
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- 11) Lauffray, J., "La colonnade-propylée occidentale de Karnak dite «Kiosque de Taharqa» et ses abords", in: Kêmi 20, 1970, 111–164.
- 12) Lepsius, C. R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, I, Berlin 1849, Taf. 80.

4 TEMPLE OF AMUN-MAI-KHENTY AT AKORIS

Amun-Mai-khenty ('Imn-M3i-hnty) is a local god at Akoris¹), whose name means 'Amun, the lion that is in the front'²). Labib Habachi³) translated this name as 'Amun of the island in front'. He held this island to be Ezbet Boushra Hanna⁴) on the opposite west bank of Akoris. Kessler⁵) interpreted M3i hnt as a reference to the rock that lies on the western side of the Nero Temple⁶).

Amun-Mai-khenty is represented as a ram-headed deity⁷⁾. In the inscriptions from Akoris, this deity has a title 'great god', clearly distinguished from Amun of Thebes, 'Foremost of Karnak'⁸⁾.

There are some documents from Akoris referring to Amun-Mai-khenty as the followings:

- 1. A stela of Ramsses III referring to Amun-Mai-khenty and Amun-Re of Thebes⁹). Amun-Mai-khenty is not depicted on this stela, although Amun of Thebes is depicted on the right side of this stela, namely on the direction of Thebes. Sobek is depicted on the left, the direction of Nero temple.
- 2. A stela of Pinudjem I discovered from a shaft of Chapel B. It depicts Amun of Thebes and Amun-Mai-khenty¹⁰⁾.
- 3. A stela of Osorkon III referring to the temple of Amun-Re-Mai-khenty¹¹⁾.
- 4. The *ouchabtis* for a priest of Amun, dated to the Third Intermediate Period, found from Tomb No. 2 to the west of Nero Temple¹²⁾.

In addition to these materials above from Akoris, there are those from the other sites, as follows:

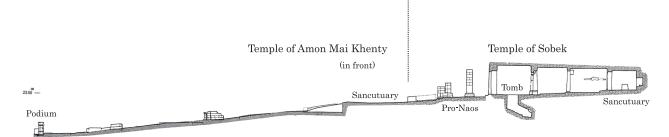


Fig. 18 Double Temple of Amun the Lion in the Front and of Sobek Behind.

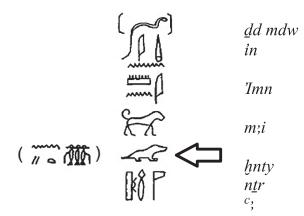


Fig. 19 Inscription of Pinudjem I Which Used a Crocodile Sign instead of the Usual Spelling of Khenty.

- 5. The Onomastica of Amenope dating from the reign of Ramses III, mentioning $pr M_{3i}$ "the temple of the lion"¹³⁾.
- 6. The Great Harris Papyrus dating from the reign of Ramses IV, mentioning *pr 'Imn-M3i-bnty*¹⁴⁾ as one of the temples built by Ramses III.
- 7. The Wilbour Papyrus dating from the reign of Ramses V, mentioning *pr 'Imn-M3i-bnty*¹⁵); the temple of Amun the lion that is in the front.
- 8. The Papyrus Jumilhac from Ptolemaic period mentions '*Imn-M3i-bnty* in *Mr-nfrt* (i.e. Tihne) with its local god Sobek¹⁶).

These documents indicate that the cult of Amun-Mai-khenty with its temple at Akoris dates back to the 20th dynasty and was maintained at least until the Ptolemaic period.

The remaining question is the location of the temple of Amun-Mai-khenty.

The Nero temple at Akoris was probably dedicated to the cult of Sobek, of which cult is referred to in Docs. 1 and 8 above.

The word 'khenty' refers to something in front of another, which could be this temple of Sobek. If so, there might have been a temple for Amun-Mai-khenty in front of the Nero temple, and those temples might have formed a double temple like the temple of Kom Ombo. This Amun temple is possibly to be traced at the area to the north of the Nero Temple' which is in front the carved part¹⁷) (Fig. 18).

In the inscription of Pinudjem I (Doc. 3), the scribe spelled the word 'khenty' of the name of Amun-Mai-khenty, by a crocodile sign, a cryptography, which might refer to Sobek¹⁸⁾ of which sanctuary was contiguous to that of Amun-Mai-khenty. (Fig. 19) (SHENOUDA)

NOTES

- 1) Leitz, Chr., 2002 Lexikon der Agyptischen, Gotter und Gotterbezeichnungen, band 3, Leuven, p. 212.
- 2) Kessler, D., 1981 Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalout, Wiesbaden, p. 254.
- 3) Habachi, L., 1974 "Three large rock-stelae carved by Ramesses III near quarries", JARCE 11, p. 74.
- 4) Kessler, D., op. cit., karte 1.
- 5) Ibid, p. 258.
- 6) Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.), 1995 AKORIS, Report of the Excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt, 1981– 1992, plates, pl. 7 up.
- 7) Ibid, fig. 224.
- 8) Ibid, pp. 299-300.
- 9) Habachi, L., op. cit., pl. VIIa.
- 10) Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.), op. cit., fig. 224.
- 11) Ibid, pp. 301-302.
- 12) Hakim Effendi Abou Seif, 1926 "Rapport sur les fouilles faites à Tehneh en Janvier et Février 1926", ASAE 26, pp. 34–35; Gauthier, H., 1926 "Note sur les statuettes funéraires trouvées dans les tombes de Tehneh", ASAE 26, pp. 41–43.
- 13) Gardiner, A., 1947 Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 2, Oxford, A 383.
- 14) Erichsen, W., 1933 Papyrus Harris I, Brussel, p. 72.
- 15) Gardiner, A., 1948 The Wilbour Papyrus, IV, Oxford, p. 55.
- 16) Vandier, J., 1961 Le papyrus Jumilhac, Paris, p. 47f.
- 17) Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.), op. cit. plates, pl. 7 up, pl. 8, and pl 19 up.
- 18) Ibid., pp. 300-301.

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Supporting Persons and Organizations

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