

THARU: THE STARTING POINT ON THE “WAYS OF HORUS”

by

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations,
University of Toronto**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concentrates on the identification of the fortress of “Tharu”, the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt and the starting point on the Ways of Horus in North Sinai. It attempts to correlate the ancient Egyptian sources with archaeological fieldwork, in order to illustrate the importance and role of Tharu in ancient Egyptian history.

In Chapter 2, ancient references to the “Ways of Horus” are discussed. In addition, an interpretation of the inscriptions of Seti I is presented; these reliefs constitute a major source, because they depict the fortresses, stations and waterwells along the Ways of Horus. Recent archaeological evidence provides an identification of at least the first two fortresses mentioned, “Tharu” and the “Dwelling of the Lion”.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on ancient references to “Tharu”, as well as the orthography and meaning of the name. Chapter 4 also reviews the scholars’ debate regarding the identification of Tharu; the predominant view being that Tell Abu-Seifa was ancient Tharu. The hypothesis that Tell Haboua I is actually Tharu is put forward.

Chapter 5 discusses the SCA excavations at Tell Abu-Seifa, revealing a Graeco-Roman fortress, settlement, magazines and harbour.

In Chapter 6, the SCA excavations at Tell Haboua I are reviewed. The remains include a New Kingdom fortress - built on Hyksos remains - settlement, magazines, granaries and tombs.

Chapter 7 briefly highlights the recent discoveries at Tell Haboua II, which revealed a smaller New Kingdom fortress dating to the time of Seti I, as well as magazines and a settlement. This fortress may be identified as the “Dwelling of the Lion”, the second station on the Ways of Horus.

The discoveries at Tell Haboua I and II, strengthen the argument that Tell Haboua I may be identified as ancient Tharu, the starting point on the Ways of Horus.

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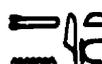
Finally, I appreciate the unfailing availability and assistance of Maria de Motta, Graduate Coordinator Assistant, and Kang Mei Wang at the Library of the Asian and Near Eastern Arts, Royal Ontario Museum.

I dedicate this thesis to the spirit of my father, my family and my beloved country, Egypt.

PREFACE

The discussion set out in this thesis focuses upon the identification of Tharu. In my work, I have chosen to translate the name of *T3rw* as “Tharu”, rather than as the more common “Tjaru”.

In many ancient Egyptian words, the *ʃ* and *t* were used interchangeably. It appears that the *ʃ* sound from the ancient Egyptian language has survived in modern Arabic, along with a number of other letters of the ancient Egyptian alphabet. Indeed, the letter ١ (“th”) occurs in classical Arabic and is pronounced by modern Egyptians as “t”. Thus, it appears that these sounds may replace each other.

There are a number of ancient Egyptian place names that include the *ʃ*-sound, which have survived into modern times virtually unchanged, except that the modern pronunciation uses a “t”. For example,  , *t3r* (modern Tirah, تيره)¹,  *twnʃ* (modern Tounch, تونة), near Matarieh and Lake Menzalah²,  *tn* (modern Tineh, تينة), near Bardis³ and  , *tnit* (modern Tounah, تاوناه), near Mallawi, province of Assiout.⁴ In classical Arabic, these place names would be pronounced with a “th”. It is noteworthy that none of the modern pronunciations use the “tj” sound.

¹ H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* (Cairo, 1925), vol. VI, 66.

² *Ibid.*, 72.

³ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Amer.scient</i>	<i>American scientist</i>
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity, Quarterly Rev. of Archaeolo.</i> (Newbury)
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Services des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</i> (Jerusalem)
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> (Cairo)
Björkman 1974	G. Björkman, "Neby, the Mayor of Tjaru in the reign of Tuthmosis IV", <i>JARCE XI</i> (1974), 34-51.
Brugsch 1863-1943	H. Brugsch, <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , VII (Leipzig, 1863-1943).
Camino 1954	R. Camino, <i>Late Egyptian Miscellanies</i> (London, 1954).
Cauville 1997	S. Cauville, <i>Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes</i> (Cairo, 1997).
<i>Cd'E</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Bruxelles)
Clédat 1909	J. Clédat, "Notes sur l'isthme de Suez", <i>RT</i> 39 (1909), 113-20.
Clédat 1910	J. Clédat, "Notes sur l'isthme de Suez", <i>ASAE</i> 10 (1910), 209-37.
Clédat 1912	J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Qasr Cheit", <i>ASAE</i> 12 (1912), 145-68.
Clédat 1914	J. Clédat, "Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse", <i>ASAE</i> 13 (1914), 79-85.
Clédat 1915	J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Cheikh Zouède", <i>ASAE</i> 15 (1915), 15-48.
Clédat 1916a	J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Khirbet el-Flousiyeh", <i>ASAE</i> 16 (1916), 6-32.
Clédat 1916b	J. Clédat, "Nécropole de Kantarah, fouilles de mai 1914", <i>RT</i> 38 (1916), 21-31.

- CRAIBL** *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris)
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- DE** *Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford)
- de Garis Davies 1918 N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes* (New York, 1918).
- EI** *Eretz Israel, Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (Jerusalem)
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- Hassan 1953 S. Hassan, *Excavation at Giza, vol. VII: The Mastabas of the Seventh Season and their Descriptions* (Cairo, 1953).
- IEJ** *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem)
- JAOS** *Journal of American Oriental Society* (Baltimore, New Haven)
- JARCE** *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Boston)

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> (London)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago)
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> (Toronto)
<i>KÄT</i>	<i>Kleine Ägyptische Texte</i>
<i>Kēmi</i>	<i>Kēmi, Rev. de Phil. et d'archéolo.Égypt. et Copte</i>
Kitchen 1979	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> , vol. I (Oxford, 1979).
Kitchen 1993	K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translation</i> , vol. I (Oxford, 1993).
Kruchten 1981	J.M. Kruchten, <i>Le Décret d'Horemheb</i> (Bruxelles, 1981).
<i>Kush</i>	<i>Kush, Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service</i> (Khartoum)
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> (Wiesbaden, 1975-1988)
<i>LD</i>	R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin, 1849-58).
Lichtheim 1976	M. Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i> , vol.I (Berkeley, 1976).
LSIP	Late Second Intermediate Period
Mariette 1865	M. Mariette, "La stèle de l'an 400", <i>Revue archéologique</i> , XI (1865), 169-90.
MB II	Middle Bronze II
MB IIB	Middle Bronze IIB
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires Publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie Orientale</i> (Cairo)
Montet 1931	P. Montet, "La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée", <i>Kēmi</i> IV (1931), 191-215.
NK	New Kingdom

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- Rd'É** *Revue d'égyptologie* (Cairo)
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- RT** *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris)
- SAK** *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hambourg)
- SAOC** *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations* (Chicago)
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- Sharpe 1837** S. Sharpe, *Egyptian inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources* (London, 1837).
- SIP** Second Intermediate Period
- SMA** *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* (Göteborg)
- Urk.IV** K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, historisch-biographische Urkunden*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1906-09); vol. i, second edition, 1927-30.
- WB** A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31).
- ZÄS** *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig and Berlin)

I. INTRODUCTION

The North Sinai region is the major land bridge which made possible communication with Asia throughout the different periods of ancient Egyptian history. As a strategic highway, the North Sinai played an important role in Egypt's history and particularly during the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom. Archaeological research in North Sinai has proved that it was always a vital border area that witnessed many political and military conflicts.

Many archaeological and textual studies concentrating on the "Ways of Horus" have been carried out for the purpose of identification of the stations and fortresses along the ancient highway between Egypt and Palestine; and in an attempt to reconstruct the military organization of Ancient Egypt in North Sinai. The first archaeological research in the eastern Delta and along the Mediterranean coast of North Sinai was conducted by Jean Clédat between 1904 and 1914. His excavations provided valuable archaeological data on the history of the area, but mainly from the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine periods; no archaeological remains earlier than the Roman period were revealed.¹

In 1920, Alan Gardiner studied the main sources on the "Ways of Horus" during the New

¹ J. Clédat, "Notes sur l'isthme de Suez", *RT* 39 (1909), 113-20 (hereinafter Clédat 1909); J. Clédat, "Notes sur l'isthme de Suez", *ASAE* 10 (1910), 209-37 (hereinafter Clédat 1910); J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Qasr Cheit", *ASAE* 12 (1912), 145-68 (hereinafter Clédat 1912); J. Clédat, "Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse", *ASAE* 13 (1914), 79-85 (hereinafter Clédat 1914); J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Cheikh Zouède", *ASAE* 15 (1915), 15-48 (hereinafter Clédat 1915); J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Khirbet el-Flousiyeh", *ASAE* 16 (1916), 6-32 (hereinafter Clédat 1916a); J. Clédat, "Nécropole de Kantarah, fouilles de mail 1914", *RT* 38 (1916), 21-31 (hereinafter Clédat 1916b).

Kingdom; his study has remained the main reference on that subject for decades.² The shortcoming of this study, however, is that the identification of the fortresses and their location - and consequently the alignment of the ancient route - were not based on any archaeological evidence. Rather, Gardiner based his identification solely on the interpretation of sometimes ambiguous ancient sources. Fortunately, a considerable amount of archaeological research has since been undertaken in North Sinai, to rectify the one-sided view taken by Gardiner.

For ten years (1972-1982), the mission of the Ben Gourion University surveyed the region and discovered many new sites dating to the New Kingdom, Saite and Byzantine periods.³

In 1979, the archaeological missions of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (now the Supreme Council of Antiquities or "SCA") undertook many projects to investigate North Sinai. From 1980 to present, SCA excavations have been conducted at many sites, such as Tell el-Kantarah, Katya, Kasrawit, Tell el-Luli and Pelusium. In 1984, the excavation at Tell Haboua I ("Haboua I") was commenced; this was followed shortly thereafter by the start of operations at Tell Abu Seifa and Tell Haboua II ("Haboua II") under the author's direction as part of the "Ways of Horus" Project. Another project, the "Salvage Project of North Sinai", was mounted concurrently under the direction of the Egyptian archaeologist Mohammed Abdul Maksoud.

² A.H. Gardiner, "The ancient military road between Egypt and Palestine", *JEA* VI (1920), 99-116 (hereinafter Gardiner 1920).

³ E.D. Oren, "Le Nord-sinaï", *Le Monde de la Bible* 24 (1982) 12-13; E.D. Oren, The "Ways of Horus in North Sinai" in A.F. Rainey, *Egypt, Israel, Sinai* (Tel Aviva, 1987), 69-119 (hereinafter Oren 1987).

The goal of the first stage of the Ways of Horus Project was the identification of "Tharu", the first station and starting point on the Ways of Horus, as well as the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt. The project first concentrated on the excavation of two sites: Haboua I and Tell Abu-Seifa. This work was followed, in the summer of 1998, by the excavation of Haboua II. A pre-excavation survey was conducted and various samples were analyzed and recorded. The results of all such research in North Sinai have been documented in the archives of the SCA.

As part of this project, all of the references from the ancient inscriptions on the Ways of Horus and Tharu were collected and reviewed, in an attempt to correlate them with the fieldwork. This thesis seeks to present the results of this textual review together with the archaeological evidence from the excavations of the SCA and others and to argue that - contrary to previous scholars' conclusions - Haboua I is actually the site of Tharu, the starting point on the "Ways of Horus".

II. THE WAYS OF HORUS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SOURCES

From early times, Egypt was an agricultural country depending entirely on products of the land. The main source of irrigation, the Nile, was divided into several branches. Over the centuries, these branches have shifted course and position and have gradually built up a delta plain. In the Delta, the land of the eastern part is the most fertile. (Fig. 1)

The fertility of this land did not escape the notice of neighbouring people. To the east, the desert was inhabited by nomadic tribes - referred to as *Shasu* in the ancient Egyptian records⁴ - who coveted the land of the Delta for its fertility and mellow pastures. Hence, the eastern border of Egypt was its most threatened. Meanwhile, the Sinai desert did not have the kind of natural barriers which could have easily protected the eastern frontier of Egypt. Rather, it was open to attack by an enemy either by crossing the desert or striking along the mediterranean coastal strip.

For this reason, defensive measures had to be taken by the rulers of Egypt. The route along the Mediterranean coast of North Sinai - from el-Kantarah to Raphia - was known in the Egyptian sources as "the Ways of Horus".⁵ It was the vital artery through which the military and commercial traffic between Egypt and Asia flowed. The "Ways of Horus" was secured by a network of fortresses and provided with water wells, as well as supply and custom stations that

⁴ For a discussion on these, see R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shâsou des documents égyptiens* (Leiden, 1971).

⁵ Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 115.

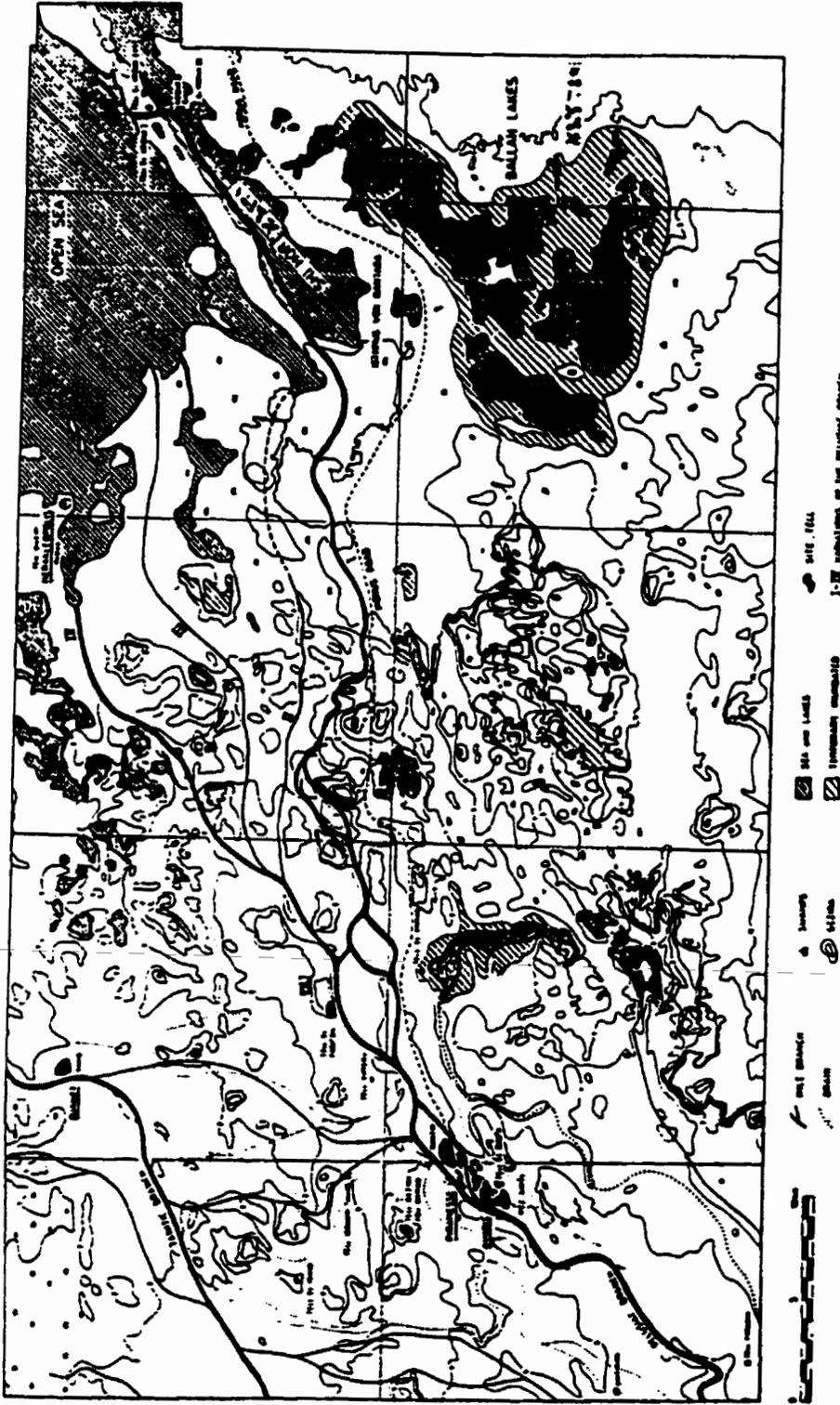


Fig. 1 — Map of the eastern Nile Delta and a reconstruction of the ancient environment and Nile branches.

were established along the route between the Eastern Delta and South Palestine. (Fig. 2)

The eastern frontier region constituted the 14th nome of Lower Egypt, *Hnt- i3bt*.⁶ In the list of nomes in the shrine of Senwosret I at Karnak, its capital is given as Tharu.⁷ Tharu was a strategically important point at which the lagoons south-east of Lake Menzalah and south of the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile left a narrow tongue of land to the north of Lake Ballah. This tongue of land must have been crossed by bridge and, consequently, it is known as *Gisr el-Kanatir* or *el-Kantarah*, meaning "the bridge". The inhabitants of this place have also given the nearby city the name el-Kantarah.⁸ From this strategic point the "Ways of Horus" started and led to Gaza.⁹ (Fig. 3)

It appears that defensive measures along the Ways of Horus were taken as early as the first half of the 5th Dynasty, as is indicated by the title "overseer of the Way of Horus"¹⁰ found on a limestone sarcophagus from the tomb of the "overseer of the desert" *Hkni-Hnmw* at Giza.¹¹ Similarly, the instruction addressed to King Merikare of the 10th Dynasty mentions the defence of the eastern frontier along the "Way of Horus".¹²

⁶ P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1^{re} partie (Paris, 1957), 187-89.

⁷ P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), 235-36.

⁸ Clédat 1916b, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

⁹ Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 103-04.

¹⁰ During the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, it appears that the Ways of Horus was written in singular as "the Way of Horus". From the Middle Kingdom onwards, it is written in plural as the "Ways of Horus". The plural translation has been adopted in this paper. Future research may shed more light on the possible explanation for this variation in orthography.

¹¹ S. Hassen, *Excavation at Giza, vol.VII: The Mastabas of the Seventh Season and their Descriptions* (Cairo, 1953), 49, fig. 42, Pl. 28 (hereinafter Hassen 1953).

¹² F.J. Quack, *Studien zur lehre für Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1992), 52-53, 182-83 (hereinafter Quack 1992).

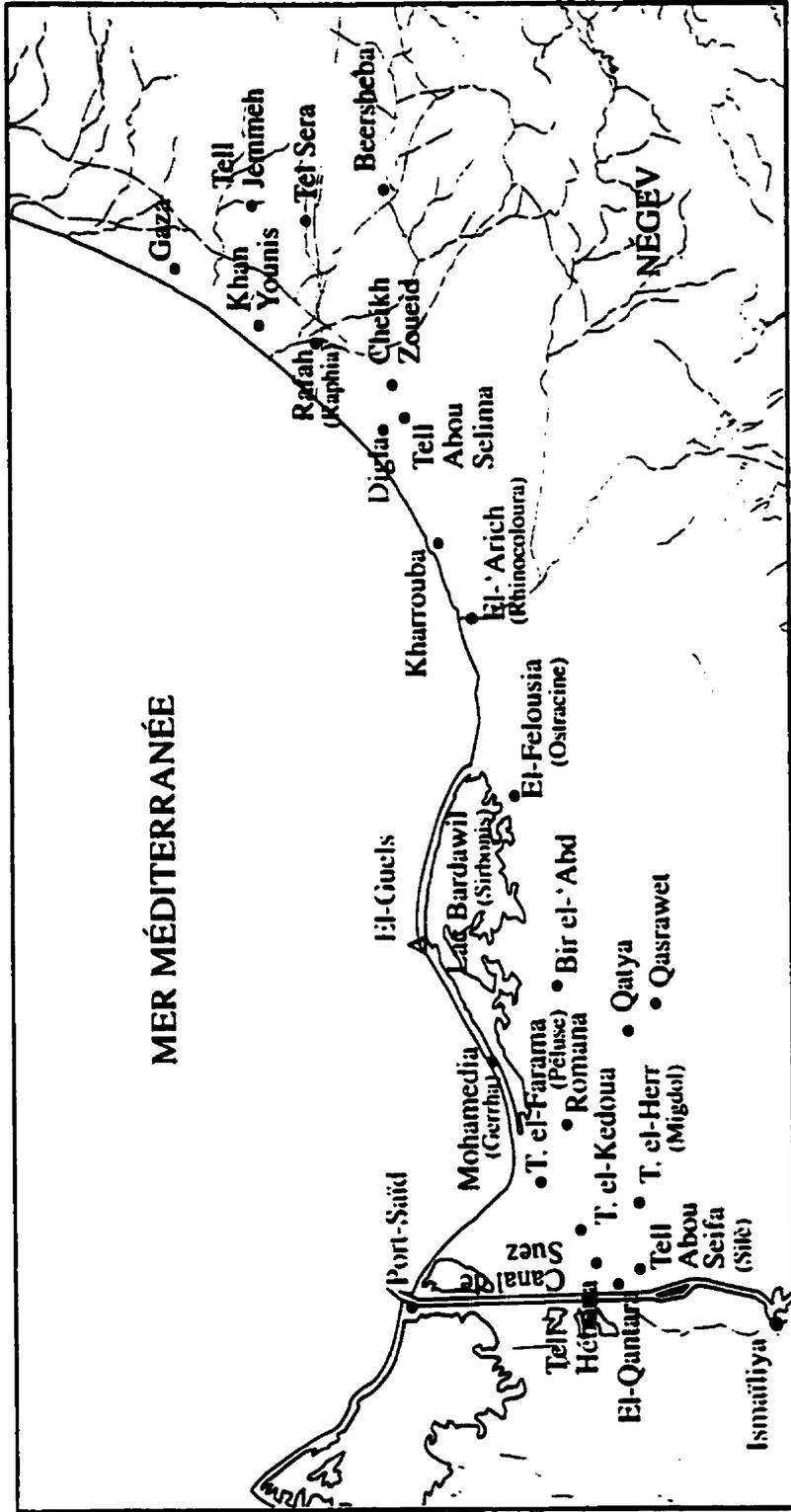


Fig. 2 - Map of North Sinai

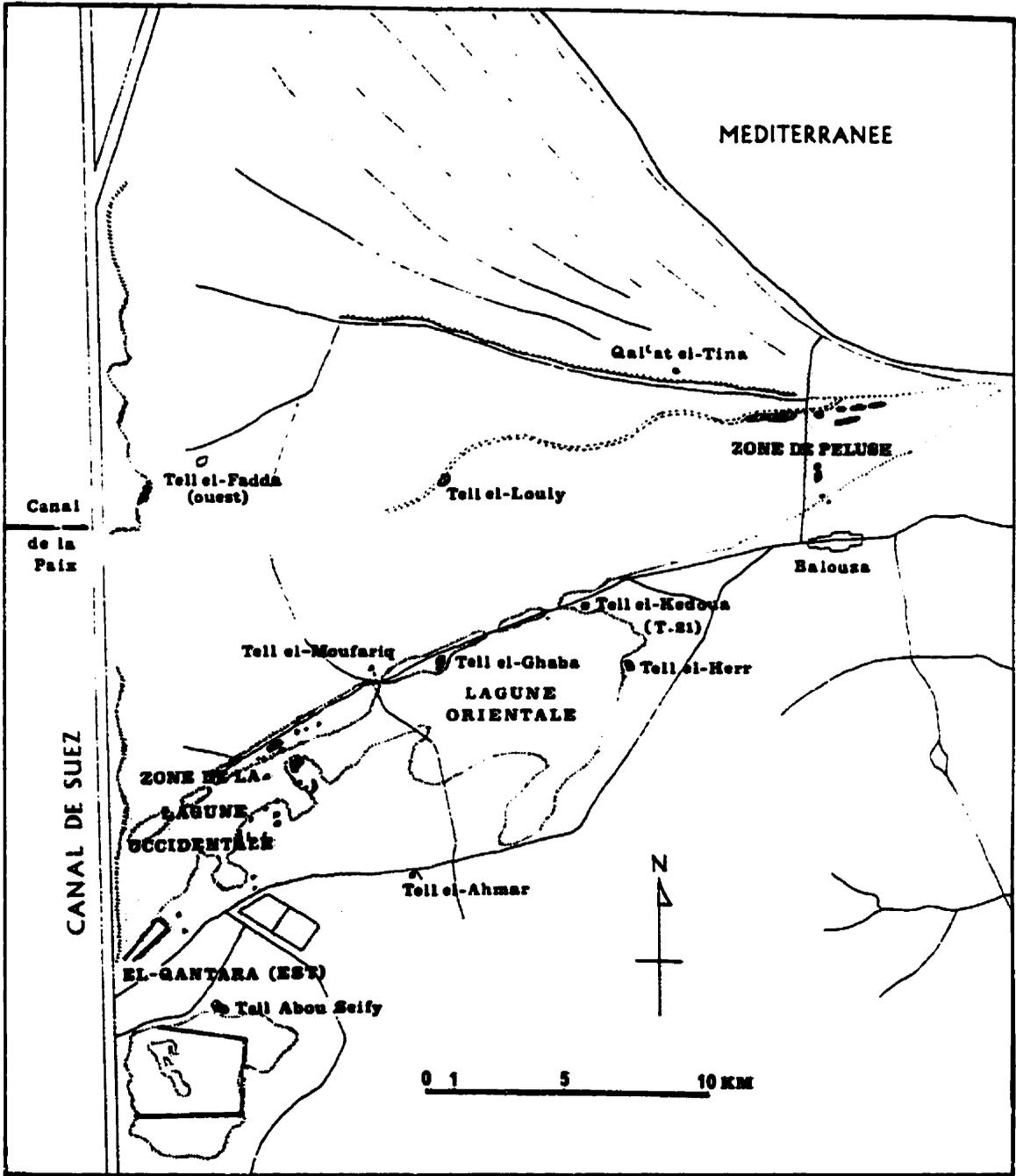
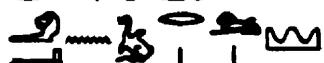
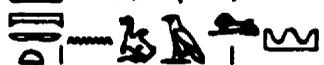


Fig. 3 – Map of the archaeological sites between el-Kantarah and Balouza (according to the Franco-Egyptian Survey)

The historical sources concerning the Ways of Horus in North Sinai indicate that an extremely well organized system of fortresses and road stations was established by the kings of Egypt to secure the major artery of communication with the Asiatic provinces while also guarding Egypt's eastern frontier.

From the description of the flight of Sinuhe¹³ we realize how effective the defensive system must have been. Moreover, from the annals of Thutmose III we know that in his first campaign to Asia he marched from the border fortress of Tharu to Gaza - about 250 km away - in a record time of ten days.¹⁴ This feat testifies to the efficiency of the organization of the "Ways of Horus".

The "Ways of Horus" was overseen by the Egyptian military organization. High officials were placed in charge of the "Ways of Horus" and the fortresses along the road, as we know from the following titles:

	<i>imy-r W3t-Hr</i> , "The Overseer of the Way of Horus"
	<i>h3ty-c n I3rw</i> , "The Mayor of Tharu"; and
	<i>hry pdt n I3rw</i> , "Troop captain of Tharu". ¹⁵

Every traveller was checked at the frontier posts, and each entrant had to identify

¹³ A.H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916), 91-92 (hereinafter Gardiner 1916).

¹⁴ M. Mariette, "Notice de quelques fragments de l'inscription de Karnak, contenant les annales du Règne de Toutmes III", *Revue Archæologique* II (1860), 21; *Urk. IV* (1903), 645-67.; R.O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo", *JEA* 28 (1942), 2-15.

¹⁵ A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the New Kingdom*, (Berlin, 1964), 53-56.

himself and to clarify the purpose of his entry. Then he was compelled to wait until his entry had been approved. In this manner, the home-coming Sinuhe was detained at Tharu until he was sent for and conducted to the residence of Senwosret I.¹⁶

A fragment of a diary kept by a frontier official in Tharu, dating from the 3rd year of the reign of Merenptah, contains the names and the business of all passersby on their way to Syria, especially messengers, travelling officials and officers leaving the country.¹⁷

Year 3, first month of summer, day 17, arrival of the captain of the troops of the well of Merenptah, l.p.h., which is on the highland, to investigate in the fortress which is in Tharu.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos and the accession of ambitious, strong kings to the throne of Egypt a new chapter in the history of Egypt began. The kings of the early 18th Dynasty conducted military campaigns into Palestine to recapture the reverence of Egypt and to regain its presence in the Asian provinces. Thutmose III undertook seventeen campaigns into Asia, extending the Egyptian sphere of influence as far as the Euphrates.¹⁸ The expeditions of Thutmose III paved the way for the establishment of Imperial Egypt, and the subsequent campaigns of Seti I and Ramesses II strengthened the Egyptian empire.

Consequently, during the New Kingdom, North Sinai became very important as the major

¹⁶ Gardiner 1916, *op. cit.*, 91-92.

¹⁷ J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol.III (New York, 1906), 270-71.

¹⁸ J.M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine", *BASOR* 241 (1981), 18-21.

land bridge between Egypt and Asia, over which military expeditions were dispatched and commerce flowed.

The “Ways of Horus” is mentioned in many ancient Egyptian sources. The references contain much important information regarding the strategic, economic, and political role the “Ways of Horus” played in ancient Egyptian history. The references come from various types of texts: papyri, sarcophagi, statues, royal war inscriptions, private titles, etc. Although some texts - including primarily the royal war inscriptions - might tend towards exaggeration, but the portions relating to the Ways of Horus appear to be reliable and accurate. One of the main reasons for my belief is that the references to the “Way of Horus” are incidental to the main purpose of the text and would not have been a likely target for exaggeration or self-aggrandizing editing.

The following section of this chapter will provide an overview of the references to the Ways of Horus in the textual sources.

1. **Old Kingdom**

(a) **Sarcophagus from the tomb of the “overseer of the desert”, *Hkni-Hnmw* at Giza (5th Dynasty)**

A limestone sarcophagus (2.7 x 1.2 x 1m) was found near the western wall of the burial chamber of the tomb of *Hkni-Hnmw*. On the eastern side of the sarcophagus is a horizontal row of hieroglyphic inscriptions reading:¹⁹

¹⁹ Hassan 1953, *op. cit.*, 49-52, figs. 40, 42.

The district chief of the desert, overseer of the desert, overseer of the hunters, director of the *Mitr*, king's acquaintance, overseer of the "Way of Horus", greatest of the ten of Upper Egypt, captain of the crew, overseer of the army, judge and nome administrator, chamberlain, staff of the people, *Iwn-Knm.wt*, priest, overseer of the Great Court, director of all the scribes, *Hkni-Hnmw*.

One of the titles which the owner of the tomb had, and which concerns us here is that of "the overseer of the Way of Horus", the earliest mention of the road in the ancient Egyptian sources.

(b) The pyramid text of King Teti (6th Dynasty)

The "Way of Horus" is mentioned in the pyramid text of Teti of the 6th Dynasty,²⁰

O, "Way of Horus", make ready your tent for Teti.

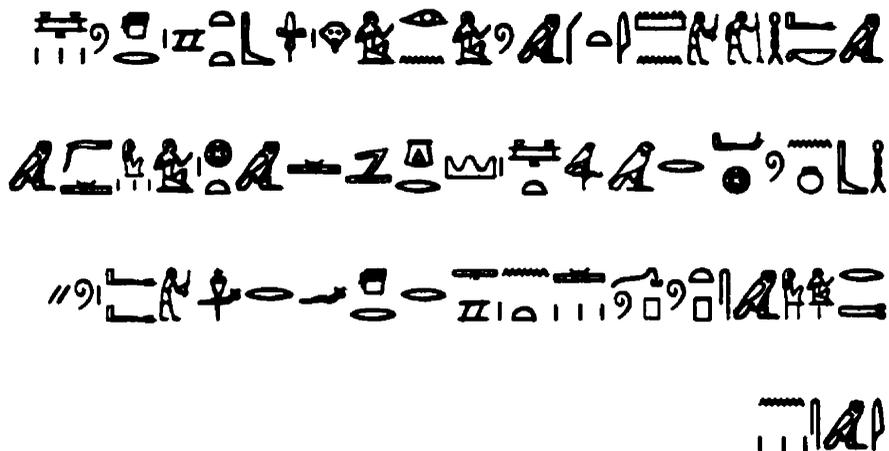
It is noteworthy that *W3.t-Hr*  was written in the same orthography in both the 5th and 6th Dynasty, while the  sign precedes the sign  in the 10th Dynasty's writing of the name.

²⁰ G. Maspero, "La pyramide du roi Teti", *RT V* (1883), 24; K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Erster Band (Leipzig 1908), 607a-b, 326.

2. First Intermediate Period

(a) The instructions addressed to King Merikare (10th Dynasty)

The text is preserved in a fragmented papyrus consisting of 3 fragments: Papyrus Leningrad 1116 A (second half of the 18th Dynasty), Papyrus Moscow 4658 and Papyrus Carlsberg 6 (late 18th Dynasty).²¹ The inscriptions contain the instructions of the father, King Khety III, to his son and successor Merikare. The part of the inscriptions that concerns us deals with the eastern Delta and the Asiatics, the hereditary enemy of Egypt:



Behold, I drove in my (.....) mooring post in the region (?) that I made (?) on the east. From the boundaries of Hebenu to the “Way of Horus”, equipped with cities, filled with people of the best of the entire land, so as to repel their attacks.

3. Middle Kingdom

(a) The story of Sinuhe (12th Dynasty)

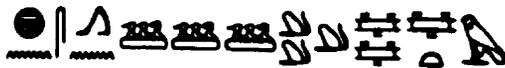
In the story of Sinuhe, the royal courtier fled from Egypt in a moment of panic after he

²¹ M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol.I (Berkeley, 1976), 103 (hereinafter Lichtheim 1976); Quack 1992, *op. cit.*, 52, 182-83.

4. New Kingdom

(a) **Inscription on the wall of Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari (18th Dynasty)**

A religious text is found on the wall of the chapel of Hathor at Deir el-Bahari,²⁵ where a bovine goddess Hathor addresses Hatshepsut, saying:



I have come from *Pe*, I have marched through *Dep*, I have travelled through the marshes, and the lands of the “Ways of Horus”.

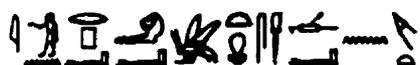
(b) **Inscription from the tomb of Senufer, Mayor of Thebes (18th Dynasty)²⁶**

On the tomb (Theban Tomb 96) of Senufer at Thebes, there is a scene of his garden's produce with a text mentioning the “Way of Horus”:



²⁵ E. Naville, *The temple of Deir el-Bahari*, IV (London, 1895-1908), 87-94; *Urk. IV*, 237: 7-9.

²⁶ *Urk. IV*, 1421:9-11; S. Sharpe, *Egyptian inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources*, (London, 1837), 55 (hereinafter Sharpe 1837).



Receiving the tribute of the products of the northern lands and of the “Ways of Horus”, together with the gifts of the Southern and Northern Oasis, by the prince and mayor, royal chancellor, sole companion rich in love, chief lector priest, [second] priest [of Amun], Puyemre, true of voice, which (my) lord had assigned to the temple of Amun.

In the same tomb, another scene represents the loading of wine jars; above the jars is written:²⁹



Wine of the vineyards of the “Ways of Horus”.

(e) **The Asiatic campaign of Seti I, Karnak (19th Dynasty)³⁰**

On the exterior north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak, there are a series of reliefs recording the first campaign of Seti I to Asia. The reliefs represent the road between Egypt and Palestine, the “Ways of Horus”, with a detailed registration of all the

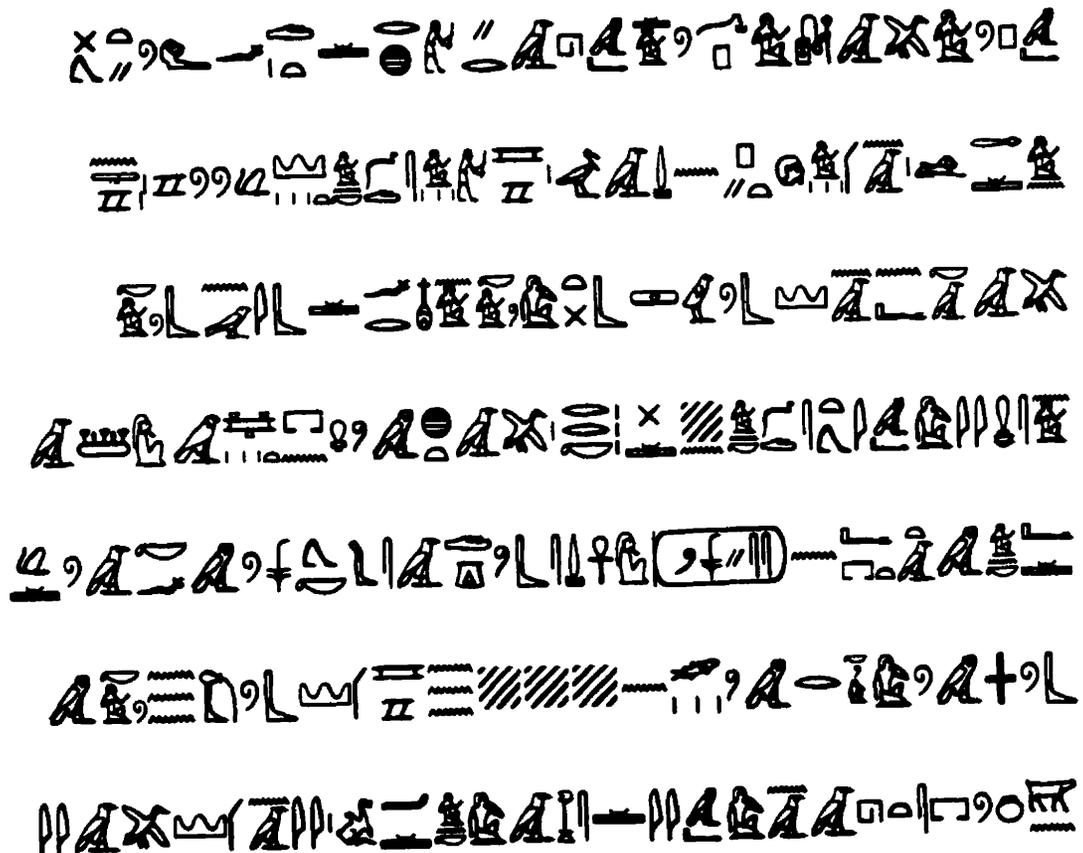
²⁹ de Garis Davies 1918, *ibid.*, Pl. XIII.

³⁰ Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 99-116; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, vol. I (Oxford, 1979), 6-24 (hereinafter Kitchen 1979).

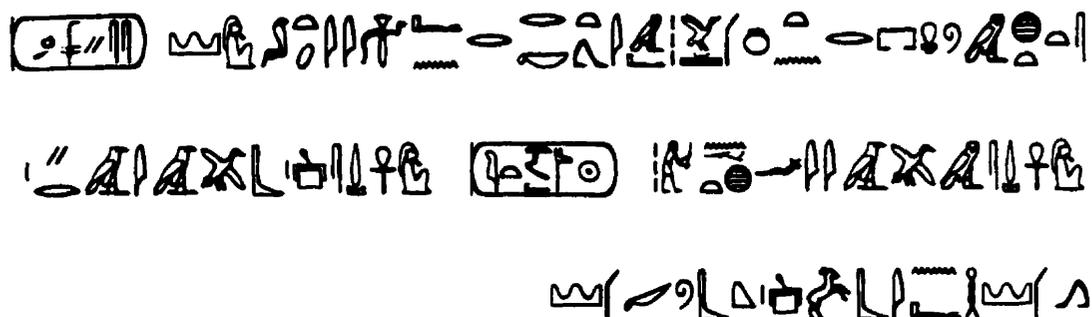
stations of the road. The reliefs of Seti I constitute a main reference for the subject of the “Ways of Horus” and will be discussed in detail, below.

(f) **Papyrus Anastasi I (19th Dynasty)³¹**

Papyrus Anastasi I from the reign of Ramesses II, is a kind of “geographic guide” written in a satiric language. It mentions the “Ways of Horus”, and lists the stations in North Sinai and the major fortified cities in Southern Palestine:



³¹ A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* (Leipzig, 1911), 4-34 (hereinafter Gardiner 1911); E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, edited by E.S. Meltzer (Atlanta, 1990), 98-110, but cf. especially 109.



O Good Sir, you elite scribe and *Mahe*r-warrior, who knows how to use your hands, a leader of *Naarin*-troops at the head of the soldiery, I have described to you the hill countries of the northern reaches of the land of Canaan, but you have not answered me in any way nor have you rendered a report to me. Come, and [I] will describe many things to you. Head toward the fortress of the “*Ways of Horus*”. I begin for you with the Dwelling of Sese, l.p.h. You have not set foot in it at all. You have not eaten fish from [its pool?] nor bathed in it. O that I might recall to you Husayin. Whereabouts is its fortress? Come now to the region of Edjo of Sese, l.p.h. into its stronghold of Usermare, l.p.h., and [to] Seba-EI and Ibesgeb.

5. The Main Sources³²

The main textual sources relating to the “*Ways of Horus*” are a series of reliefs executed on the exterior north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak from the time of Seti I. In terms of textual references, we rely mainly on this relief in this study. In particular, we will attempt to correlate this relief to the fieldwork. (Fig. 4) The second main source is papyrus Anastasi I from the reign of Ramesses II, discussed above.

³² The sources discussed in this section - the Seti I inscriptions and Papyrus Anastasi I - are the main sources for this study, because the inscription of Seti I is the only source naming and depicting the fortresses on the Ways of Horus, while Papyrus Anastasi I lists the names of the fortresses. As such, these sources are excellent material against which to compare the archaeological evidence.

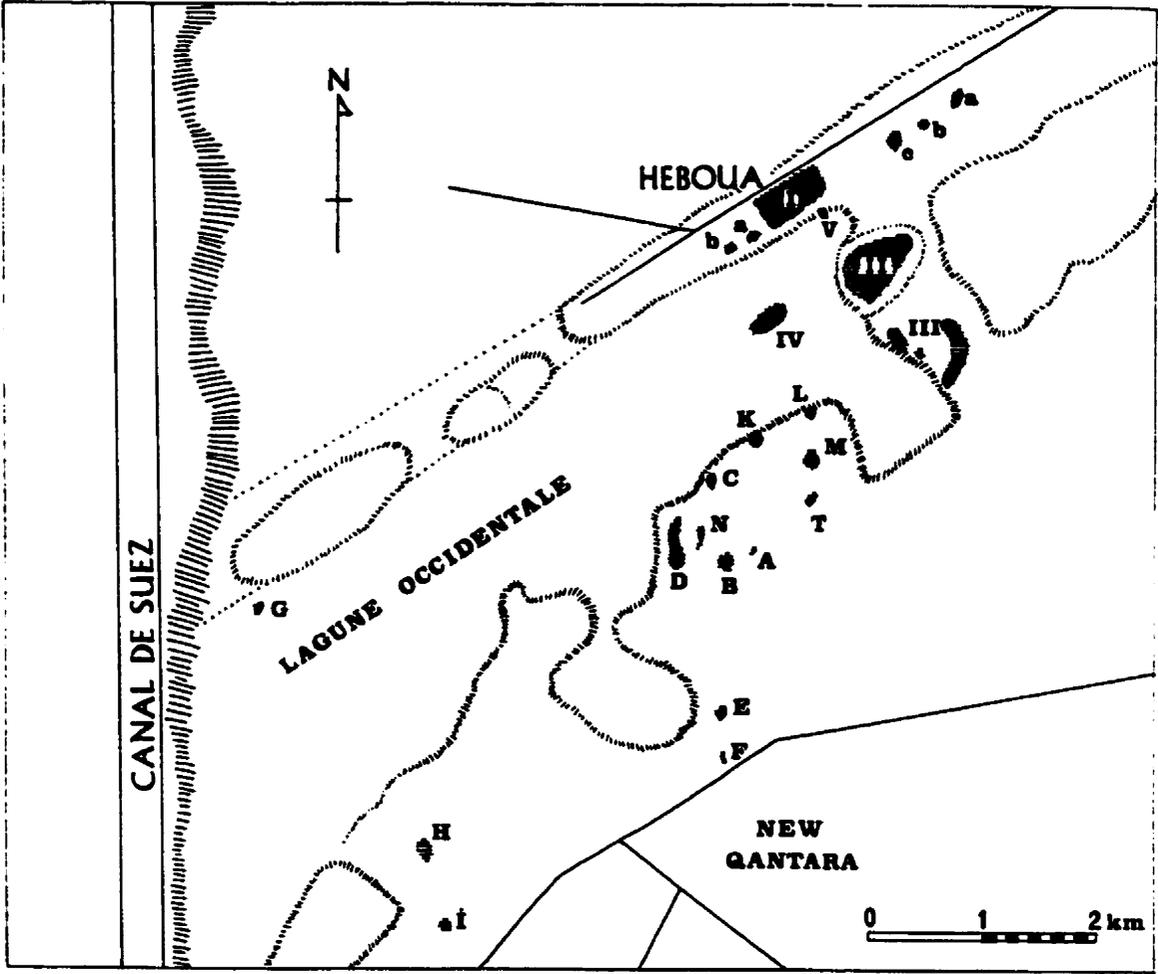
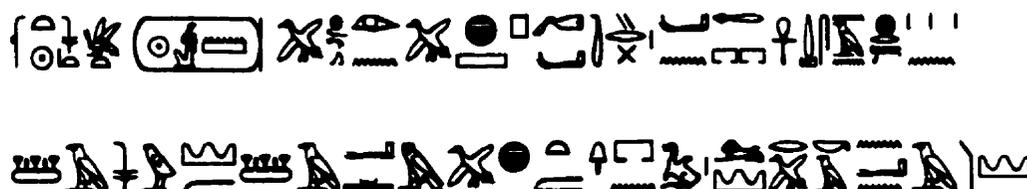


Fig. 4 - Map of the area of Haboua

The Karnak reliefs provide a geographical record of the first campaign of Seti I into Asia. The reliefs, with the accompanying inscriptions, show the military action in the field,³³ the submission of foreign cities, a victorious return to Egypt, and the presentation of the prisoners to Amun. (Fig. 5)

The opening statement in the Karnak reliefs is:³⁴



Year I of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Men-maat-Re. The destruction made by the mighty arm of pharaoh, i.p.h., amongst the fallen enemies of the *Shasu*, from the fortress of Tharu to Pa-Canaan.

The reliefs represent the campaign from east to west in three related scenes, in the centre of which stands the enlarged figure of Seti I in his chariot dragging groups of captives and marching along a road marked at intervals by fortresses. They are shown about to enter Egypt across a water-way or a canal, running north-south, whose water is infested with crocodiles and its banks lined by reeds and swamps, characterizing a fresh-water environment. The accompanying text refers to it as  *T3-dnit*, "the dividing canal" or "the canal". The reeds continue to the border of the reliefs, into another body of water which

³³ G.A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976), 100-02.

³⁴ Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 8:8-9; W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 55; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions: Translation*, vol. I (Oxford, 1993), 7 (hereinafter Kitchen 1993).

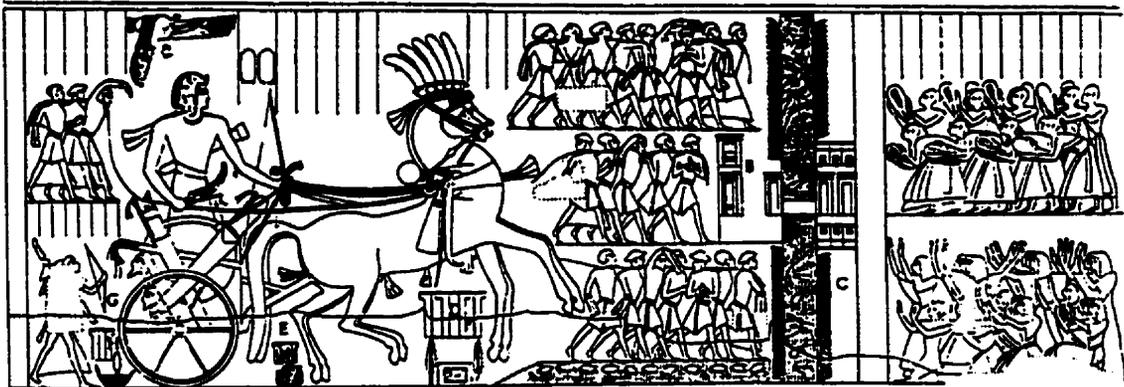


Fig. 5 – Representation of fortresses and stations along the “Ways of Horus”, Reliefs of Seti I on the north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak

has a barren shore and contains marine species. This body of water represents the salt water of the Mediterranean.

One of the depicted Egyptian-style fortresses straddles a bridge over the water-way, while a smaller one guards the road to the east. The bridge fortress is named:

p3 htm n t3rw, "the fortress of Tharu". The other one, guarding the road, is named:

t3 t p3 m3i, "the dwelling of the lion",³⁵ which was reachable by boat from the fortress "Tharu".³⁶

Papyrus Anastasi I provides a sort of "topographic record", as it lists the stations and fortresses in North Sinai and Southern Palestine. In both the Karnak reliefs and Papyrus Anastasi I, eleven forts and nine wells are listed, the majority of which took the names or epithets of either Seti I or Ramesses II. Consequently the identification of these stations with any specific site is very difficult, except for Gaza and Raphia at the Palestinian end of the "Ways of Horus".

In Seti I's reliefs, the fortress of the second station is again named:

t3 t p3 m3i, "the dwelling of the lion". The lion in the Karnak reliefs naturally refers to the pharaoh Seti I. In Papyrus Anastasi I this fortress or town is represented by:

t3 t n Ssi, "the dwelling of Sese", Sese being an epithet of

³⁵ Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 103, 106, 107.

³⁶ Gardiner 1911, 29, note 3; *Anastasi V* 24, 8 in R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 266 (hereinafter Caminos 1954).

Ramesses II. In Papyrus Anastasi V,³⁷ the name takes the form of:



t3 ʿt R^c-mssw-mry Imn, “the dwelling of Ramesses

(II), beloved of Amun”.

The fifth station is named:



p3 mktr n Mn-m3ʿt R^c, “the Migdol of Menma’ere

(Seti I)”, while the seventh station is a fortress called:



w3qyt n Sti Mry-n-Pth, “Buto of Seti Merenptah”, and recurs in papyrus Anastasi I³⁸ as the “tract

of Buto of Sese”, the latter being the nickname of Ramesses II, which replaces the official name

of Seti I. The eighth station is a fortress called:



p3 bhḥ n Mn-m3ʿt-R^c, “the castle of Menma’ere”.

Thus, the ancient sources provide evidence from earliest times of the network of fortresses and stations referred to as the “Ways of Horus”. These references also indicate that the fortress of Tharu lay at the starting point. The following chapters will focus on a review of Tharu, as seen in the ancient sources and the archaeological evidence.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Caminos 1954, *op. cit.*, 38-39.

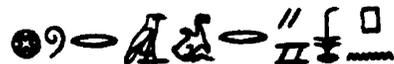
III. THARU IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SOURCES

1. New Kingdom

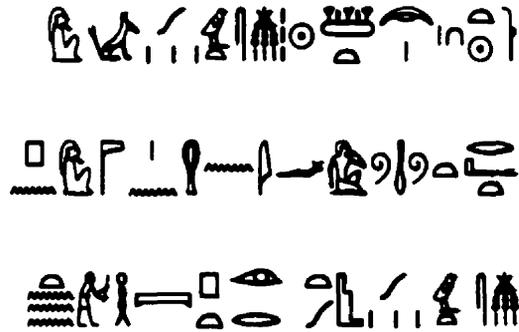
Tharu - mostly commonly written as  or  - is mentioned in a number of New Kingdom sources, as discussed below.

(a) **The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (Year 33 of King Auserre 'Apophis', 15th Dynasty)**

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus consists of a series of mathematical problems written on the recto of the papyrus. The date of writing is included as "the fourth month of year 33 of King Auserre (Apophis)", and it is stated that the author included materials copied from the reign of King Ny-maat-Re (Amenemhat III).³⁹ Subsequently, a series of entries were written on the verso of the same papyrus by another scribe in the early 18th Dynasty.



³⁹ T.E. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, (Liverpool, 1923), 129, Pl. XXI (hereinafter Peet 1923); G. Robins and C. Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: an Egyptian Text*, (New York, 1987), 10-11; Redford 1992, *op. cit.*, 122, 128, 420.



Regnal year 11, second month of *Shomu*, *Aon* (Heliopolis) was entered. First month of *Akhet*, day 23, this southern prince broke into Tharu. Day 2[5], it was heard that Tharu had been entered. Regnal year 11, first month of *Akhet*, the birthday of Seth, a roar was emitted by the majesty of this god. The birthday of Isis, the sky rained.

(b) The Annals of Thutmose III (18th Dynasty)

The Annals of Thutmose III occupy the interior walls of the enclosing corridor that surrounds the Holy of Holies of the great temple of Amun at Karnak. The Annals contain more than 223 lines of entries, and form the longest and the most important historical inscriptions of ancient Egypt.⁴⁰

As a complete document of military achievements, they record the military campaigns of Thutmose III to Asia, beginning with the first and the most important of them:

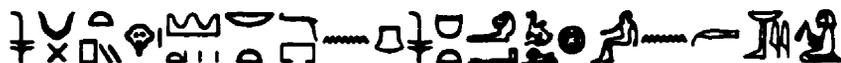


⁴⁰ LD III, 31, 6,6; *Urk IV*, 645-67; Lichtheim 1976, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 29.

Year 22, fourth month of the second season, day 25, his majesty was in (passed) the fortress of Tharu on the first campaign of victory, (made) to extend the frontiers of Egypt.

(c) **Rock-cut stela of Neby, the Mayor of Tharu at Serabit el-Khadem (Thutmose IV, late 18th Dynasty)**

A rock-cut stela with a corniced top, found in the mining area at Serabit el-Khadem, South Sinai, represents King Thutmose IV offering milk to Hathor, while the official Neby is following the king carrying a loaf of bread and a small bird.⁴¹ The inscription above the official reads:



The Royal Messenger in all foreign lands, steward of the Harem of the royal wife, Mayor of Tharu, child of the Nursery, Neby

The inscription below the king reads:

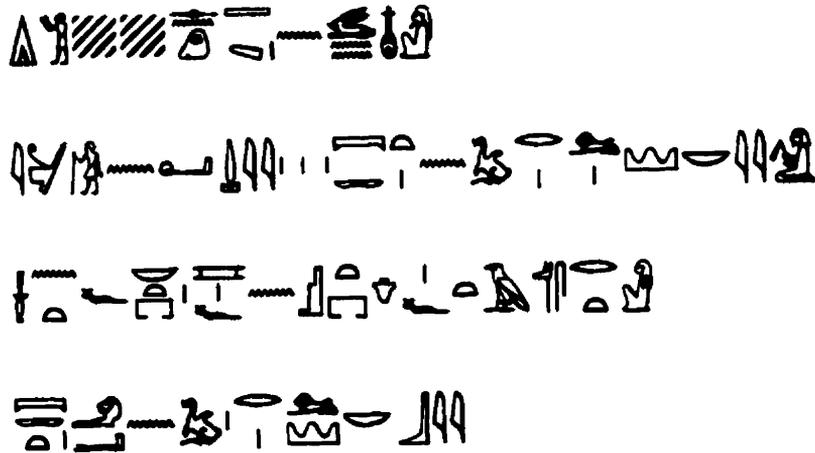


Year 4 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperure,
given life.

⁴¹ *Urk. IV*, 1634: 6-7; A.H. Gardiner and T.E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London, 1952), Stela #58, vol. I, Pl. 20, vol. II, 81; G. Björkman, "Neby, the Mayor of Tjaru in the reign of Tuthmosis IV", *JARCE XI* (1974), 34-51 (hereinafter Björkman 1974).

(d) **Stela of Neby, the Mayor of Tharu (Thumose IV, late 18th Dynasty)**

A limestone stela of the same Neby mentioned in the previous reference,⁴² now kept in Leiden Museum (Leiden V43), shows an image of Neby with his wife adoring Osiris, Lord of Abydos, in the top register with the following inscription:



Giving praise [to Osiris] and kissing the ground before Wennefer by the chief police and troop captain of Tharu, Neby. His sister, the lady of the house, his dearly beloved, Tauswert. The troop captain and mayor of Tharu, Neby.

The middle and lower registers are offering scenes representing Neby, “the troop captain of Tharu” and “the lady of the house, Tauswert” receiving offerings from “his son Haremhab”.

It is noteworthy that this text reveals Neby to have been the overseer of both the northern and southern frontier. The main inscription of the stela reads:⁴³

⁴² P.A.A. Bogaert, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, vol. 6, no. 22 (Den Haag, 1916); B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later 18th Dynasty*, Fasc. II (Warminster, 1984), 319-20, no. 548; *Urk. IV*, 1634: 13-15.

⁴³ *Urk. IV*, 1635: 2-11.

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽𓵾𓵿𓶀𓶁𓶂𓶃𓶄𓶅𓶆𓶇𓶈𓶉𓶊𓶋𓶌𓶍𓶎𓶏𓶐𓶑𓶒𓶓𓶔

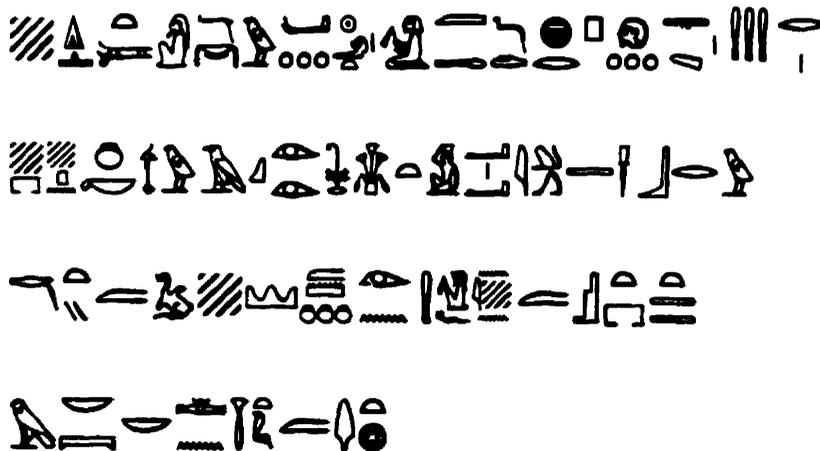
(e) **Canopic Jar of Neby, the Mayor of Tharu, (Thutmose IV, late 18th Dynasty)**

An alabaster canopic jar,⁴⁴ 34cm high, with a cover in the shape of a human face with unmarked features in Ronneby College, Sweden (belonging to the same Neby of the previous two references) bears an inscription reading:

To be recited: Isis, put your arms around what is inside you, protect Imsety who is inside you, the Mayor of Tharu, Neby, justified.

(f) **Block–statue fragment of Hatre, the Overseer of Goldsmiths (Amenhotep II, 18th Dynasty)**

In the Louvre Museum (E.25550) there is a block–statue of quartzite; the head and parts of the base and foot are missing. It measures 47cm in height and has a cartouche with the name of Amenhotep II engraved on the right arm. The four sides of the statue are inscribed. The inscription on its dorsal pillar yields a reference to Tharu and includes various titles for Hatre:⁴⁵



⁴⁴ Björkman 1974, *op. cit.*, (1974), 43-51, Pl. IV.

⁴⁵ J.L. de Cénival, "Les textes de la statue E.25550 du musée du Louvre", *R d'É* 17 (1965), 15-20.

The offerings that [the king] gives to Atum, for the chief of goldsmiths Hatre, justified. He says to those who are on earth, to the servants of this temple: I am a competent(?) artisan for Upper and Lower Egypt, the work of my arms reached Elephantine and Tharu to the north, in the monuments which his majesty made for Amun in this place, for Horus lord of heaven, lord of Mesen, for the goddess Wadjet of Imet.

(g) Wine Jar Sealings related to Tharu from Malkata (Amenhotep III, 18th Dynasty)

Two hundred and forty-five inscribed jar sealings were discovered at Malkata, 13 of which consist of cylindrical types.⁴⁶ These 13 sealings came from amphorae and indicate an association with Tharu and environs. The details of these sealings are as follows:

- (i) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n ꜥ3rw*, “The wine of Tharu”. This sealing was found at site D.5.B. at Malkata, the palace and associated complex of Amenhotep III on the West Bank at Thebes.
- (ii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n ꜥ3rw*, “The wine of Tharu”. This sealing was found at site D.5.B at Malkata.
- (iii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *Hr nb Msn hry ib Mꜥw*, “Horus, Lord of Mesen, residing in Lower Egypt”. Mesen is believed to have been near or at Tharu.⁴⁷ This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (iv) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *Hr nb Msn hry ib Mꜥw*, “Horus, Lord of Mesen, residing in Lower Egypt”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (v) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *Hr [....]*, “Horus, [Lord of Mesen

⁴⁶ W.C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III, *JNES* 10, (1951), 158, fig. 25; M.A. Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata and Birket Habu* (Warminster, 1978), 29-31, no.XII; C. Hope, *Malkata and the Birket Habu: Jar Sealings and Amphorae* (Warminster, 1978), 45, table 4.

⁴⁷ A.H. Gardiner, “The Delta Residence of the Ramessides”, *JEA* 5 (1918), 199 (hereinafter Gardiner 1918).

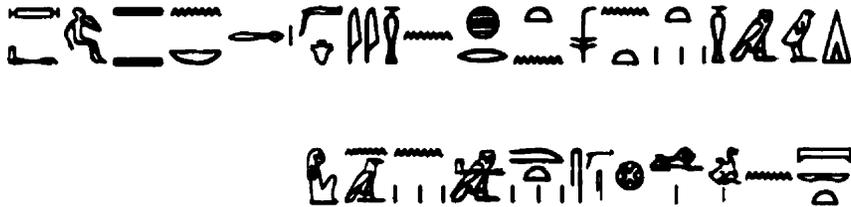
(?)]”. This sealing was found at site D at Malkata.

- (vi) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “wine of the fortress”, possibly Tharu which is often called *p3 ḥtm n I3rw*, “the fortress of Tharu”.⁴⁸ This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (vii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (viii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a double seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “the wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (ix) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (x) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (xi) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “ wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (xii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “ wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.
- (xiii) A jar sealing from an amphora with a seal impression, *irp n p3 ḥtm*, “wine of the fortress”. This sealing was found at site K at Malkata.

⁴⁸ Although it is not possible to say with entire certainty that *p3 ḥtm* refers to Tharu, it is noteworthy that Tharu is also referred to simply as “the fortress” and is the only fortress known from the sources for the production of wine.

(h) Shawabti of Menna, the commander of the troops of Tharu (18th Dynasty)

The inscribed shawabti of Menna,⁴⁹ the commander of the troops of Tharu reads:



Given as praise from the king, for the praised one, one who is greatly trusted by the Lord of the two Lands, child of the Nursery, Commander of the troops of Tharu, Overseer of the Horses, Menna.

(i) Fragment of a Taxation Decree from the Aten Temple at Karnak (Akhenaten, 18th Dynasty)

This largely unpublished fragmentary text was found in the Aten temple at Karnak and dates to the reign of Akhenaten.⁵⁰ Enough of the text remains to indicate that it imposed a tax on temples and municipalities throughout Egypt to support the religious innovation of Akhenaten. This tax included one deben of silver, one *men*-container of incense, two *men*-container of wine, and two rectangular lengths of thick cloth, which were to be supplied by cultic establishments throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. Among the gods referred to in this document is Horus of Tharu.

(j) Wine Jar Sealing from the tomb of Tutankhamun (18th Dynasty)

A wine jar, with neck and stopper missing, was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.

⁴⁹ W.M.F. Petrie, *Shabtis* (London, 1935), Pl. VIII, 49.

⁵⁰ W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, (Atlanta, 1995), 30, no. 6.

The jar bears an inscription mentioning the wine of Tharu:⁵¹

Year 5, sweet wine of the House-of-Aten [from] Tharu. Chief vintner Penamun.

(k) Decree of Horemheb at Karnak (18th Dynasty)

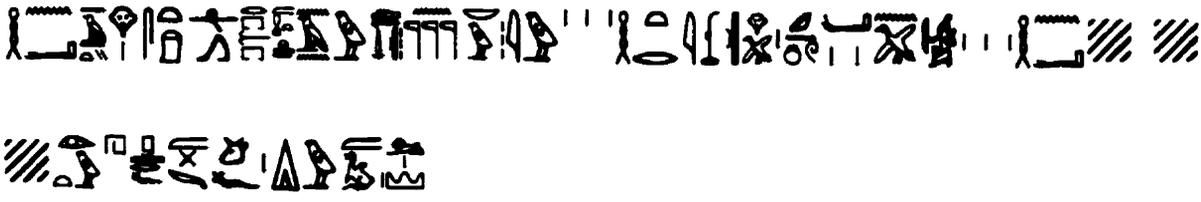
A very large stela of dark sandstone (CG 34162) was found on the last wall of the temple of Karnak towards the south, at the 11th pylon of Horemheb.⁵² The inscriptions contain a list of various crimes, some of which were punishable by severance of the nose of the culprit, and by deporting him to Tharu.⁵³ It appears that Tharu functioned as a deportation place and possibly had either a penal settlement or labour camps where prisoners were placed.

(Now) if there i[s the man] who (wants to) deliver dues [for] the breweries (?) And abbatoirs (?) of pharaoh, on behalf of the two deputies [of the army] ... [and there is anyone who interferes] (17) and he takes away the boat of any military man (or) of any (other) [per]son in any part of the country, the law shall be applied against him by cutting off his nose, he being sent to Tharu.

⁵¹ J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, (1965), 2, no. 8, 22, no. 8 text, Pl. II:8.

⁵² *Urk. IV*, 2144: 10-17, 2146: 8-15; K. Pflüger, "The Edict of King Horemhab", *JNES* 5 (1946), 261, Pl. 1; J.M. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb*, (1981), 28, 47-48, 86 (hereinafter Kruchten 1981).

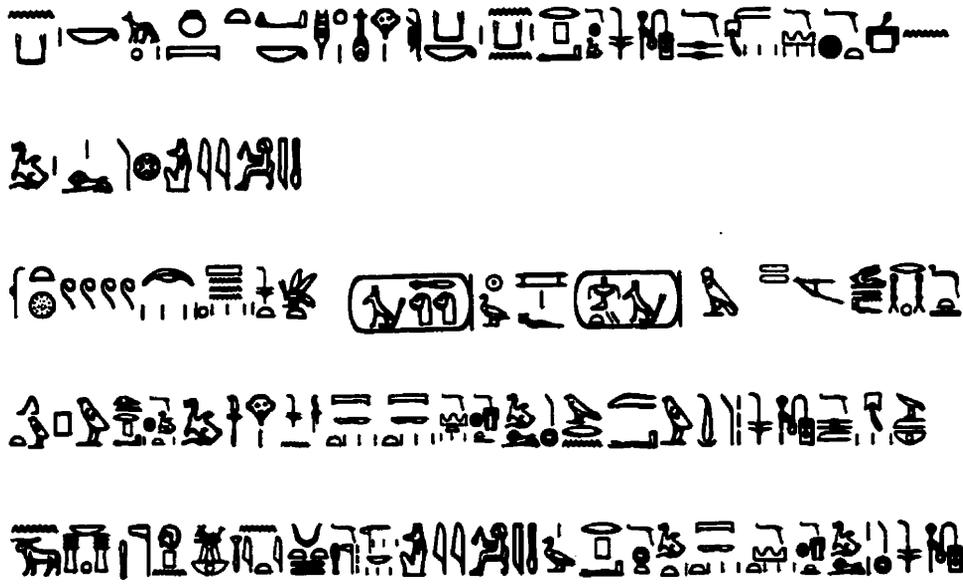
⁵³ On this, see D. Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt", *JESHO* 20 (1977), 2-64, especially 25.



(21)...and those who are supplying the harem, as well as the offerings of all (kinds of) gods in that they deliver dues on behalf of the two deputies of the army, a[nd he] ... (22) the law [shall be applied] against him by cutting off his nose, he being sent to Tharu.

(I) Stela of year 400 (Ramesses II, 19th Dynasty)

A red granite stela³⁴ found in the ruins of Tanis and located in the Cairo Museum (No. 60539) has an inscription relating to an act of homage to the god Seth from a high officer named Seti in the reign of Ramesses II. The stela gives an interval of 400 years between his reign and that of the rule of the Hyksos. The high officer has the title "overseer of the fortress of Tharu":



³⁴ A. Mariette, "La stèle de l'an 400", *Revue archéologique*, XI (1865), 169-90 (hereinafter Mariette 1865); P. Montet, "La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée", *Kémi* IV (1931), 191-215 (hereinafter Montet 1931); Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 287-88.



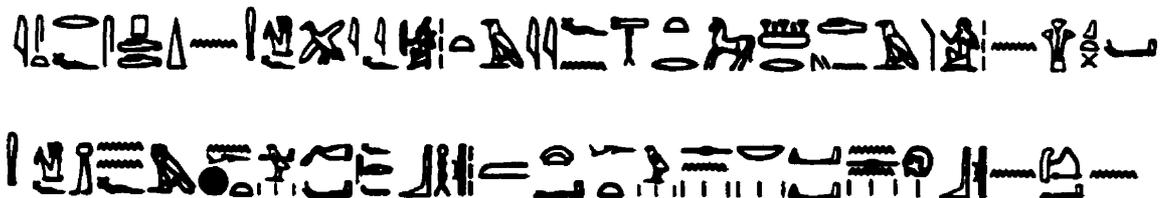
For your spirit, O Seth, son of Nut! May you give a happy life time in following your will (*k3*) for the spirit of the hereditary noble, city governor and vizier, royal scribe, master of the horse, overseer of desert lands, commander of the fortress of Tharu, Seti, justified.

Year 400, 4th month of the third season, day 4, of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Seth, the-great-of-strength: the son of Re, his beloved: The Ombite, beloved of Re-Hr-akhti, may he exist forever and ever. Now there came the hereditary prince; mayor of the city and vizier; fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, troop captain; overseer of foreign countries; overseer of the fortress of Tharu; chief of the police; royal scribe; master of the horse; conductor of the feast of the Ram-the-Lord-of-Mendes; high priest of Wadjet, she-who-opens the two lands; and overseer of the prophets of all the gods, Seti, justified.

Son of the hereditary noble, city governor and vizier, troop captain, overseer of the desert, fortress-commander of Tharu, royal scribe, master of the horse, Pramesse, justified, and born of the lady of the house, chantress of Pre, Tiu, justified.

(m) Asiatic campaigns of Ramesses II (19th Dynasty)

In his fifth year campaign to Kadesh, after the preparation of the troops and chariots, Ramesses II marched with his army from Egypt. Passing the fortress of Tharu, he led his army overland through Palestine and south Syria up to Kadesh.⁵⁵ His inscription reads:



⁵⁵ Ch. Kuentz, "La Bataille de Qadesh", *MIFAO* 55 (1928), 34; Lichtheim 1976, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 57; Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 11-12.



Now then, his majesty had prepared (8) his infantry, his chariotry, and the *sherden* of his majesty's capturing, whom he had carried off by the victories of his arm, equipped with all their weapons, to whom the orders of combat had been given. His majesty journeyed northward, his infantry and chariotry with him. He began to march on the good way in Year 5, second month of the third season, day 9, (when) his majesty passed the fortress of Tharu.

(n) **Golenischeff scarab (Ramesses II, 19th Dynasty)**

A scarab dating to the reign of Ramesses II, now in Moscow, bears an inscription referring to Tharu.⁵⁶ The inscription reads:



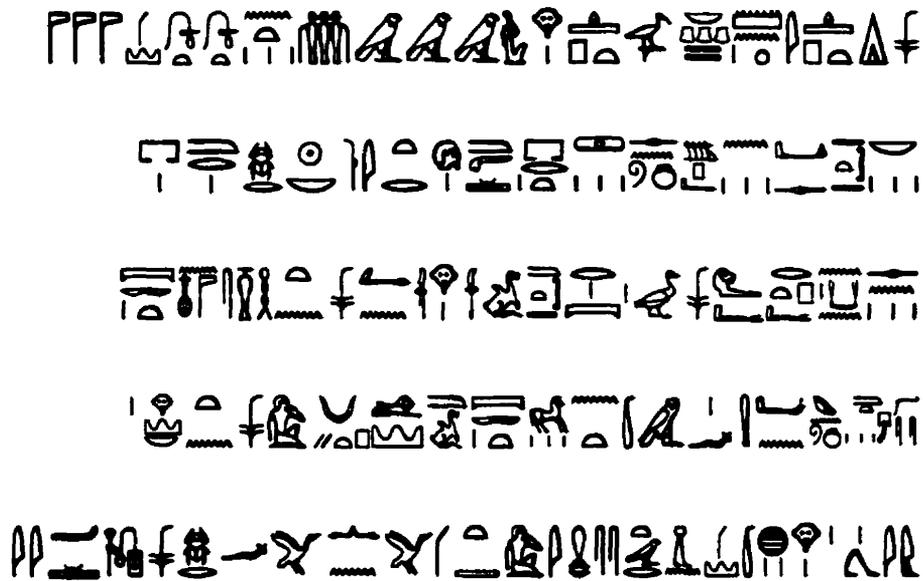
Usirmare Setepenre, Ramesses (II) Mery-Amun, who provides for Tharu, and (is) given life like Re forever.

(o) **Berlin stela of Huy, no. 17332 (19th Dynasty)**

A round-topped stela of sandstone⁵⁷ in the Berlin Museum - 80cm high and 65cm wide - has in the lower register an inscription consisting of five horizontal lines that read:

⁵⁶ Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 781, no. 282.

⁵⁷ L. Habachi, "Four Objects Belonging to Viceroys of Kush and Officials Associated with Them", *Kush* 9 (1961), 219ff.; Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 79, no. 8.



An offering that the king gives to Amun-re, lord of the-Thrones-of-the-two-lands, to Thoth, pleased with Truth, to the Horuses pre-eminent in Wawat and to all the gods of Nubia, that they may give the receiving of offerings coming forth before (them) at the beginning of every season which happens in their temple, to the ka of the prince and the mayor, the viceroy, the highest authority in Nubia, the fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, the praised by the Good God, the troop captain, the overseer of the horses, the deputy of his majesty in the chariotry, the troop captain of Tharu, the royal messenger to every foreign land, the one who comes from Khatti, who brings its great one; a person who can report where it (Khatti) is, has never existed, the royal scribe, Huy.

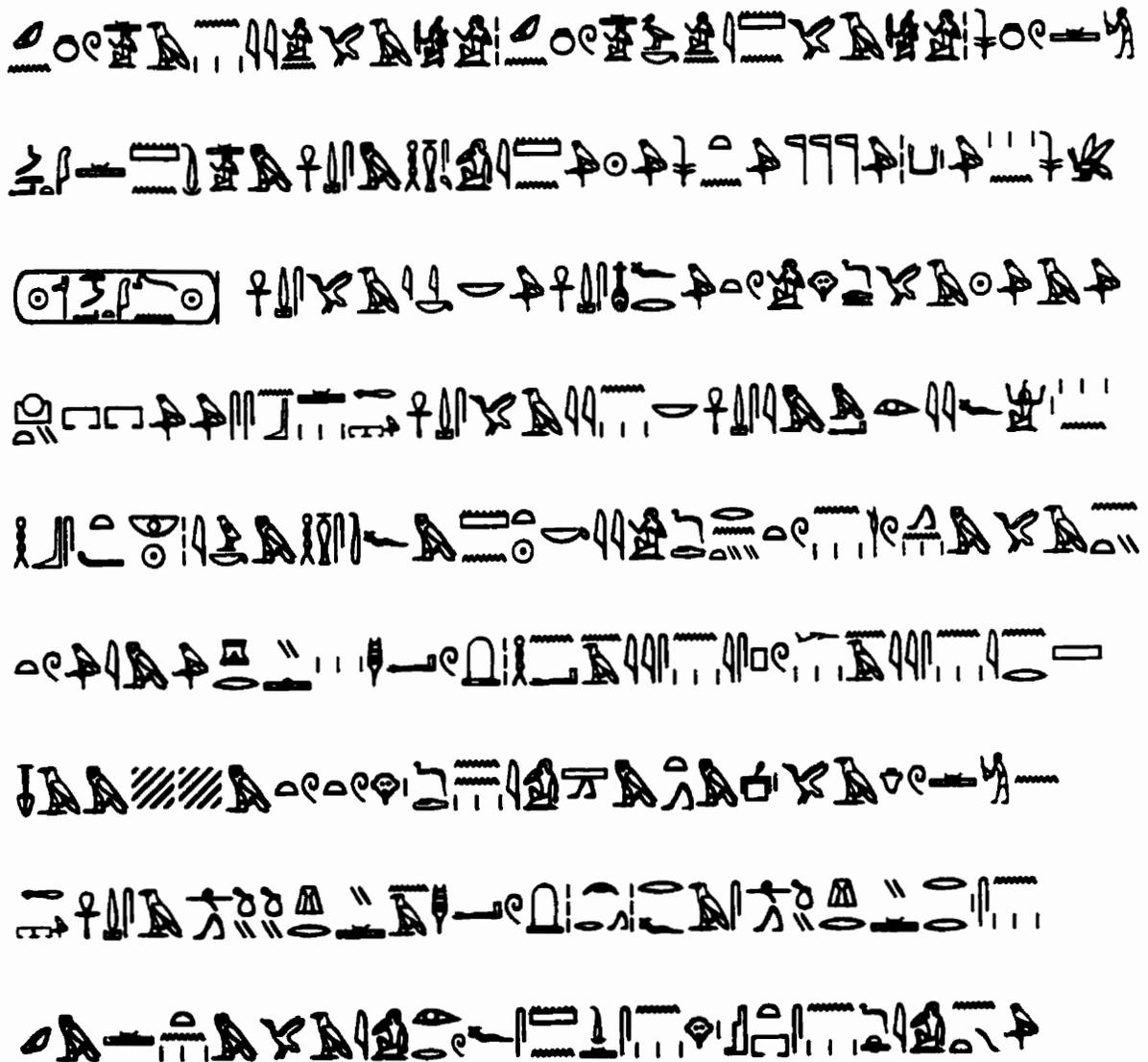
(p) **Papyrus Anastasi III (Merenptah, 19th Dynasty)**

Papyrus Anastasi III²⁸ dates to the second half of the 19th Dynasty, and mentions Tharu in many parts of it. The first mention of Tharu occurs at the beginning of the papyrus in the epithets and titles of a scribe's master:

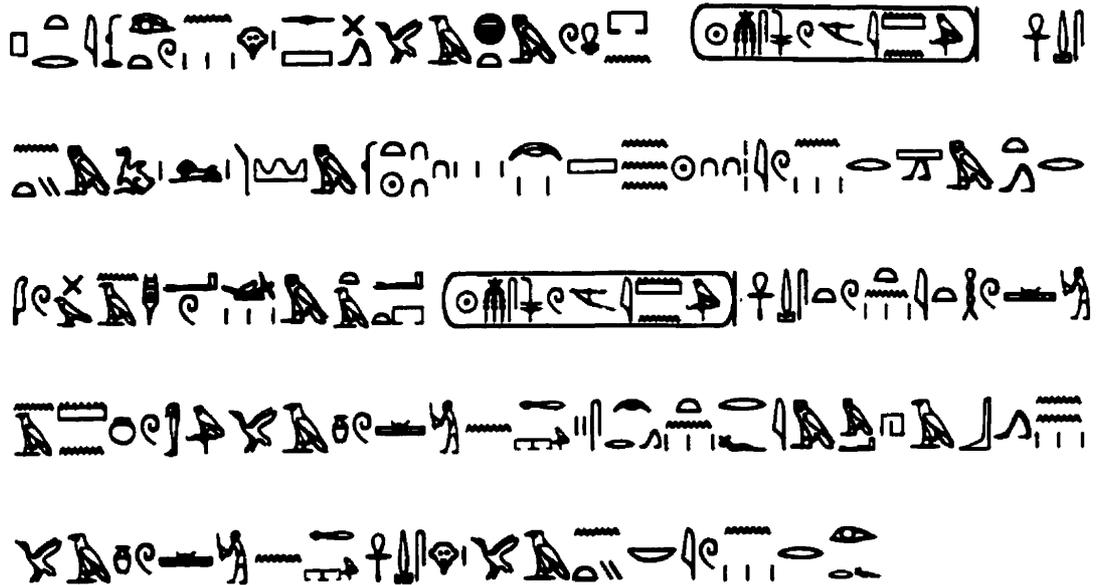
²⁸ A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 20ff (hereinafter Gardiner 1937); Caminos 1954, *op. cit.*, 108-09.

(r) Papyrus Anastasi V (Seti II, 19th Dynasty)

Papyrus Anastasi V⁶¹ - dating to the reign of Seti II - contains a reference to Tharu in one of its sections, namely a mention of transporting three stelae by ship to be erected in a fortress beyond Tharu:



⁶¹ Gardiner, 1937, *op. cit.*, 69-70; Caminos 1954, *op. cit.*, 265-66.



The lieutenant-commander of the army, Any, and the lieutenant-commander of the army (23,8), Bakenamun, <to> the king's butler Maat-men: In life, prosperity and health! In the favour of Amen-Re, king of Gods, and the kas of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Usirmare-setepenre, l.p.h. (24,1) your good lord, l.p.h., I say to Pre-Harakhti, keep pharaoh, l.p.h., (24,2) our good lord in health. Let him celebrate millions of jubilees (and may you be) in his favour daily. Another (24,3) topic: We set out from the place where the king is, bearing three stelae together with their *ispu* (24,4) and their plinths... The king said to us: "Go after the butler of (24,5) pharaoh, l.p.h., in all possible haste with the stelae: reach him in all haste with them that you may listen (24,6) to all that he says so that he may set them up in their place forever." Thus spoke the king: Look, we (24,7) passed the fortress of Ramesses-miamun, l.p.h., which is at Tharu in regnal-year 33, second month of (24,8) *Shomu*, day 23, and we shall go to empty the ships at The-Dwelling-of-Ramesses-miamun, l.p.h.; reach him yourselves. Let (25,2) the butler of Pharaoh, l.p.h., write to us about all that we are to do.

(s) **Papyrus Lansing, P.British Museum 9994 (20th Dynasty)**

Papyrus Lansing appears to have been written as a student's instruction piece and is entitled "(1,1) [Beginning of the Instruction in letter-writing made by the royal scribe and chief

overseer of the cattle of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Nebmare-nakht] for his apprentice, the scribe Wenemdjamun".⁶² In this instruction the teacher compares the comforts of the scribal life to the suffering of soldiers:

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻

Come, let me tell you the woes of (9,5) the soldier, and how many are his superiors: the general, the troop captain, the officer who leads, the standard-bearer, (9,6) the lieutenant, the scribe, the commander of fifty, and the garrison-captain. They go in and out of the halls of the palace, l.p.h., (9.7) saying: "Get labourers". He is wakened at any hour, one is after him as a donkey. He toils until the Aten sets in his darkness of night. He is hungry, his belly hurts; he is dead while yet alive. When he receives the grain ration, having been released from duty, it is not good for grinding.

He is called up for Syria and may not rest. There are no clothes, no sandals. The weapons of war are assembled at the fortress of Tharu.

(t) **Inscriptions from the temple of Dendara (Roman period)**

The inscriptions from the temple of Dendara contain many references to Tharu.⁶³ It is noteworthy that the word Tharu is written in different orthographies in the various Dendara inscriptions. The majority of these texts relate to the fact that Tharu - as the capital of the 14th nome - was sacred to Horus, the main deity associated with this nome:



(152-54) [Words spoken by] Horus, lord of Mesen, the great god, lord of Tharu, the lion foremost of Khenty-iabet, [who repulses] *Be* (=Seth) from *Baqet* (=Egypt).



(30-32) The foremost (lit. "first") secret image of the Ba of Horus, lord of Mesen and lord of Tharu has come before you, oh Osiris; it defends (*nd*) Egypt, it protects (*mk*) (its) monuments⁶⁴ and it throws Seth out of *Baqet* (=Egypt).

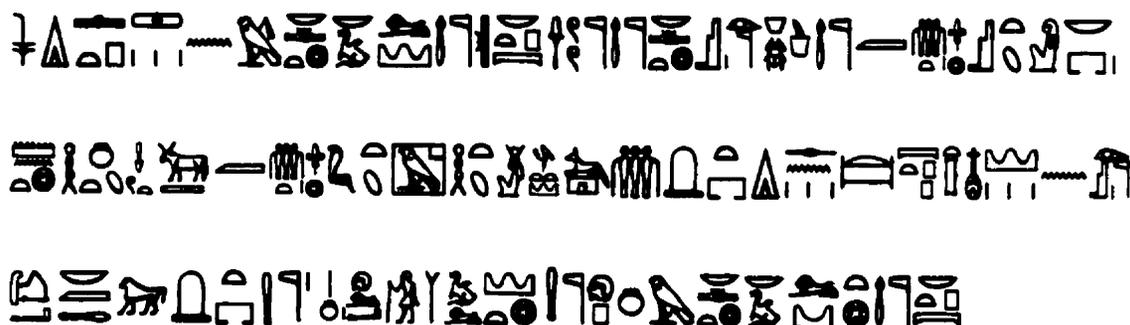
⁶³ S. Cauville, *Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes* (Cairo, 1997), 89, 160, 190, 288, 337 (hereinafter Cauville 1997).

⁶⁴ Cauville(1997, *ibid*, 94) suggests "fortresses" as an alternate translation.

(u) Inscriptions on a sarcophagus from el-Kantarrah (Roman period)

In 1911, Mohamed Effendi Shaban excavated a number of tombs at Tell Abu-Seifa. The excavations yielded three inscribed sarcophagi dating to the Roman period.⁶⁶ The large sarcophagus bears inscriptions accompanied with religious scenes and the name of a person called Padiamenemope with the titles “prince of Tharu”.

The second sarcophagus - belonging to Henti who also bears the title “prince of Tharu” - provides us with evidence of Tharu during the Roman period:



From this inscription, mentioning Horus as “lord of Mesen, lord of Tharu”, it is again clear that Tharu was associated with the cult of Horus-Behdet. The main shrine of this god was at Mesen, which - although unidentified as yet - may have been a place, or perhaps a temple, somewhere in the vicinity of Tharu.

⁶⁶ M.E. Shaban, “Fouilles exécutées près d’el Kantarah”, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 69-75 (hereinafter Shaban 1912)

the city located in this same area is called *el-Kantarah*, meaning the bridge.

In the Karnak reliefs, the fortress of Tharu is depicted as a rectangular construction with an entrance through a large gate on the Egyptian side. The textual references and the strategic location of ancient Tharu have suggested several possible locations, as shown in the scholars' debate set out in the next chapter. However, recent excavations - discussed in subsequent chapters - give a clear indication that the site and type of construction of ancient Tharu may be definitively identified with the remains found at modern Tell Haboua I.

As this chapter has shown, Tharu is referred to in a wide range of ancient sources. From such ancient records, Tharu is known to have been:

- the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt, *Hnt-i3bty*;
- the religious centre of Horus of Mesen worship;
- the first station on the military and commercial highway between Egypt and Palestine;
- a central military post for the preparation of the military campaigns to Asia;
- the starting point from which Egyptian armies marched to Asia;
- the military headquarters for the defensive system and the eastern gate of Egypt;
- a deportation place, as known from the decree of Horemheb; criminals were punished by nose severance and deportation to Tharu;
- a famous centre of vineyards and wine production, the yield of which was sent to the Theban temples;
- a tax station for the collection of taxes for the benefit of Amun;
- a famous source of *bulti*-fish

IV. THE IDENTIFICATION OF "THARU"

1. Orthography of the Name of "Tharu"

The name of Tharu was written in various orthographies in the ancient sources:



Urk. IV, 647.



Marucchi, *Guide du Musée Égyptien du Vatican* (Paris, 1927), 56-57, fig. 17.



Kruchten 1981, *op. cit.*, 29,16.



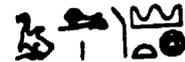
LD III, 126a, 128b.



G. Roeder, *Ägypt. Insch. Berlin*, II (1924), 212 and no. 17332.



Montet 1931, *op. cit.*, 191-215; Mariette 1865, *op. cit.*, 169-90.



H. Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, VII (1863-1943), 2-3 (hereinafter Brugsch 1863-1943).



M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, II (1909-1910), 58, no. 1158.



Papyrus Anastasi III and Papyrus Anastasi V; Caminos 1954, *op. cit.*, 108-09, 239; Gardiner 1937, *op. cit.*, 20ff., 69-70.



Papyrus Golenischeff in Brugsch 1863-1943, *op. cit.*, XL, 105, Pl. V, 1.



Shaban 1912, *op. cit.*, 72-73.

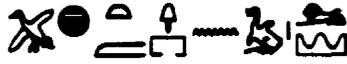


J. Dümichen, *Geografische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, III, Pl. 39.



Dümichen, *ibid.*, Pl. 23.

The determinatives used with the name “Tharu” also vary. Thus, Tharu may be written with the determinative of the city , or the determinative  (sandy hill-country over edge of green cultivation, “Gardiner, N 25”). Tharu is also written as follows:

 *p3 htm n T3rw*, “the fortress of Tharu”; or
 *p3 htm nty m T3rw*, “the fortress that is in Tharu”.

From these different writings of the city's name, it may be inferred that Tharu was not only a fortress on the ancient highway. Rather, it was also a fortified city on the edge of the cultivated land of the Eastern Delta, and the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt. Tharu appears to have contained all the main elements of architecture that characterize a major city and a capital. This impression has been strengthened lately with the discovery of a large New Kingdom fortress, settlement, palace, storehouse complex, administrative buildings, and temple at Tell Haboua I, the site that is - as discussed below - the best candidate for Tharu.

2. Meaning of the Name “Tharu”

Nothing has been written about the meaning of the city's name, “Tharu”. I propose that its name reflects the strategic importance of Tharu, and the role it played as the eastern gate of Egypt. The archaeological evidence uncovered to date - and discussed below - also conforms to the meaning of the word “Tharu” proposed herein.

The verb *t3r*  means “to fasten” or “to keep safe”, and with the ending (w), as a participle, it is my position that it should be translated as “the one who fastens” or

"the one who keeps safe", thus referring to the fortifications at Tharu. On many occasions the name I3rw was written with the same orthography of the verb, adding the determinative of the city at the end:  .⁷⁰ In addition, the same combination of signs of the verb I3r  is found with the addition of the determinative  , meaning "entrenched camp".⁷¹

Thus, considering that the main role of Tharu was to protect the eastern border of Egypt against any attack or infiltration of the tribes from the neighbouring desert to the east of Egypt - and consequently to keep the whole country safe - the orthography of Tharu conforms to the ancient Egyptians' conception of the fortified city as reflected in the meaning "one who keeps safe".

3. The Identification of Tharu: the Scholars' Debate

Much scholarly debate has focused on the location of Tharu, the headquarters of the Egyptian army's defensive strategy on the eastern frontier. Tharu has been identified by a number of scholars as Tell Abu-Seifa, 4km east of the present city of el-Kantarrah.⁷²

⁷⁰ *WB* V, 355.

⁷¹ Faulkner 303.

⁷² Shaban 1912, *op. cit.*, 69-75; G. Daressy, "Sarcophage d'el Kantarah" *BIFAO* XI (1913), 29-38; Clédat 1914, *op. cit.*, 8; Gardiner 1918, *op. cit.*, 242-44, 251; J. Clédat, "Note sur l'isthme de Suez", *BIFAO* XVI (1919), 19; Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 99-104; J. Clédat, "Note sur l'isthme de Suez", *BIFAO* XVIII (1921), 171-72; Kruchten 1981, *op. cit.*, 47, note 132.

(a) The Ramesside Pyramidion⁷³

The identification of Tell Abu-Seifa as Tharu was based primarily on a Ramesside pyramidion (Ismailia Museum no. 2249) investigated and published by Griffith, following his survey of the area in 1886 and again in 1888.⁷⁴ Griffith described this monument as a “kind of truncated obelisk”, surmounted with a colossal falcon.

This monument consisted of two fragments fitting together,⁷⁵ the sides of which were straight and surmounted by a cornice with three lines of inscriptions. It was 2.3m high and placed on a rectangular base of 1.1 x .8m. Griffith determined that it may have served as “the pedestal of a colossal hawk made in a separate block” and that:

the monument was a monolith figure of Horus as a hawk upon a pedestal, which Seti I had intended to dedicate in the temple of Horus in memory of his father. Ramesses II, like a dutiful son, completed the monument which was left unfinished at Seti’s death, and joined in the dedication.⁷⁶

In 1908, Clédat published the text on this pyramidion, which comprised two parts. On the base were two horizontal lines of inscriptions. The main side of the pyramidion is the front southern side, featuring a scene of Seti I offering two vases to a hawk-headed Horus carrying the  scepter. In front of the god are the words: 

⁷³ The inscriptions discussed in this part are based upon the publications of J. Clédat (“Notes sur l’isthme de Suez”, *RT* 31 (1908), 117-22) and H. Gauthier (“Le Pyramidion No. 2249 du Jardin d’Ismailia”, *ASAE* 23 (1923), 176-82), because they provide a more structured presentation of the texts than other authors, such as Kitchen.

⁷⁴ F.L.I. Griffith in W.M.F. Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Taphanes) in Tanis II* (London, 1888), 96-108 (hereinafter Griffith 1888); in 1847, the Ramesside monument was first published by Prisse D’Avenne in his *Monuments égyptiens*, 4, under the title “Monolithe d’Abou Seyfeh”.

⁷⁵ The latter fragment was subsequently found by Griffith at Tell Abu-Seifa. One of the fragments was kept in the Ismailia Museum’s garden, while the other was owned by a resident of Port Said. In 1923, the Ismailia Museum was able to acquire the second fragment as well.

⁷⁶ Griffith 1888, *op. cit.*, 104.

majesty desired to perpetuate the name of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menpehtyre, Son of Re, Ramesses (I), before this god, enduring and abiding eternally, forever and ever.

The base of the front southern side has the following inscription:



(Long) live: Horus-falcon, Strong Bull, beloved of Maat; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, R[amesses] II, Usimare Setepenre, "given life".

On the left-west side King Seti I is kneeling and being crowned by Horus and Wadjet.

In front of the king are the words:



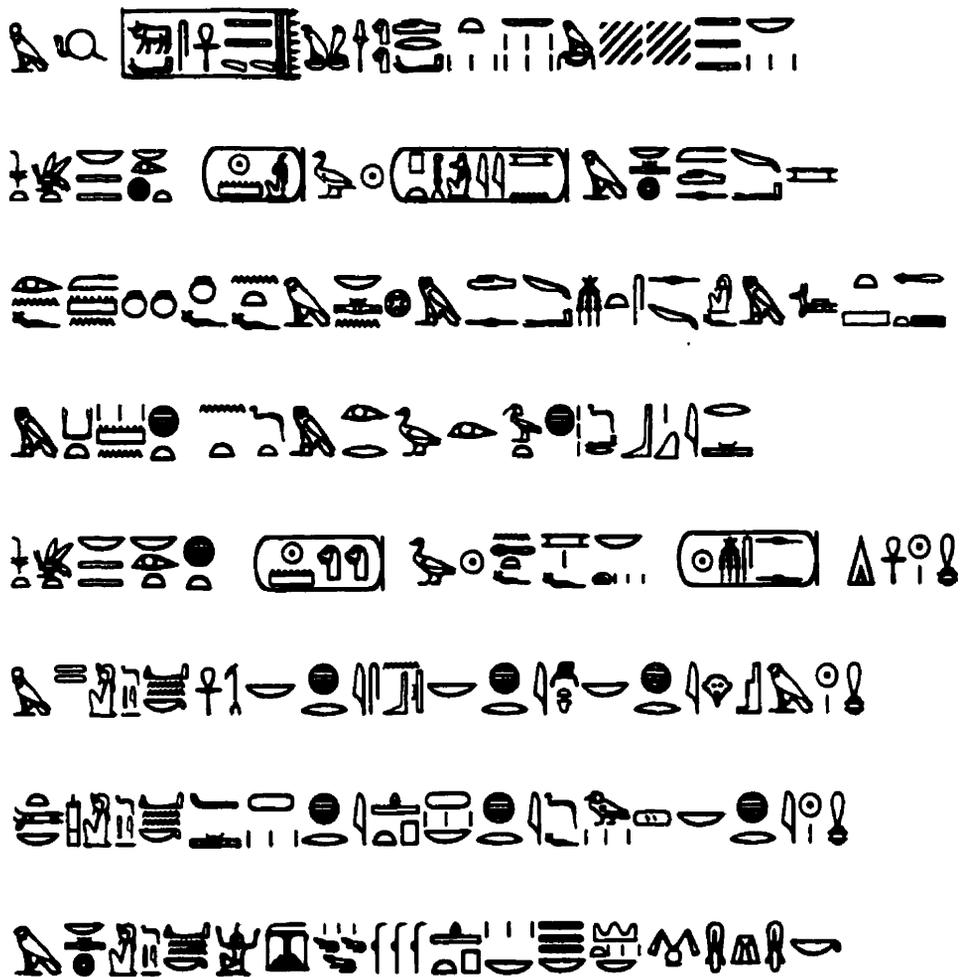
Horus, Lord of Mesen, the great god, Lord of Heaven.



Wadjet, Lady of Amet

Below, is the main text:⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Kitchen 1979, *op. cit.*, I, 105-107.



Horus-Falcon, strong Bull, bringing life to the two Lands; Nebty-Ruler, powerful of strength, subduing the Nine Bows; Golden Horus, rich in forces in all lands; king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two Lands, Lord who performs the rituals, Menmare, Son of Re, Seti (I) Merenptah, the beloved of Horus, Lord of Mesen, formidable of arm. He has made as his monuments for his father Horus, Lord of Mesen, formidable of arm, the fashioning of his image of quartzite, in excellent and everlasting workmanship as does a son who performs benefactions and who searches out excellence, <for> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Ceremony, Menpehtyre, bodily son of Re, beloved of him, lord of crowns, Ramesses I, given life like Re forever. Words spoken by Re-Horakhti: "I grant to you all life and dominion from me, all health from me, all health from me, and all joy from me, upon the Horus-throne, like Re". Words spoken by Atum, Lord of Heliopolis: "I grant to you all sustenance from me, all offerings from me, all provisions from me, upon the Horus-throne, like Re". Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Mesen: "I grant to you a million jubilees and a myriad of peaceful years, all flat lands and hill countries being united under your sandals".

On the left-east side is a scene of Ramesses I with the Atef crown  kneeling before a deity, and behind the king the words:

the good god, Menpehtyre



Behind Ramesses I stands a hawk-headed Horus, holding a palm branch in his right hand.

Below there are eight lines of inscriptions:⁷⁹



⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Horus-Falcon, strong Bull, bringing life to the two Lands; Nebty-Ruler, powerful of strength, subduing the Nine Bows; Golden Horus, rich in forces in all lands; king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two Lands, Lord who performs the rituals, Menmare, Son of Re, Seti (I) Merenptah, the beloved of Horus, Lord of Mesen, formidable of arm. He has made as his monuments for his father Horus Lord of Mesen, formidable of arm, the fashioning of his image of quartzite, in excellent and everlasting workmanship as does a son who performs benefactions and who searches out excellence, <for> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Ceremony, Menpehtyre, bodily son of Re, beloved of him, lord of crowns, Ramesses (I), given life like Re forever. Words spoken by Re-Horakhti: "I grant to you all life and dominion from me, all health from me, and all joy from me, upon the Horus-throne, like Re". Words spoken by Atum, Lord of Heliopolis: "I grant to you all sustenance from me, all offerings from me, all provisos from me, like Re". Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Mesen: "I grant to you a million jubilees and a myriad of peaceful years, all flat lands and hill countries being united under your sandals.

On the rear-north side are traces of a kneeling king.

The source of this pyramidion is unknown, but according to our recent excavations at Tell Abu-Seifa, Tell Haboua I, and Tell Haboua II, I suggest that this monument could have been removed from Tell Haboua I in the vicinity of el-Kantarah, where a New Kingdom temple was recently discovered.

Based largely on this pyramidion, in 1911 K thmann provided early identification of Tharu as Tell Abu-Seifa. He published his study in a doctoral dissertation entitled: *Die ostgrenze  gyptens*.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ C. K thmann, *Die ostgrenze  gyptens*, (Leipzig, 1911), 38-49.

In 1920 Alan Gardiner published his detailed study on the “Ways of Horus” and reaffirmed the identification of Tell Abu-Seifa as Tharu.⁸¹

(b) Tell Haboua I: a New Theory

The idea has received wider acceptance, and remained the prevailing theory for decades. However, the excavations conducted by the SCA provide a new interpretation for the identification of Tharu; indeed, discoveries at Tell Abu-Seifa, Tell Haboua I and Tell Haboua II have yielded new archaeological evidence. Based on this evidence, it will be shown that Tell Abu-Seifa ought to be excluded from consideration as ancient Tharu in favour of Tell Haboua I. The remaining chapters of this thesis will outline recent excavations, and the accompanying interpretation of the new archaeological evidence.

⁸¹ Gardiner 1920, *op. cit.*, 104.

V. TELL ABU-SEIFA

1. Introduction

Tell Abu-Seifa lies 4 km to the east of el-Kantarah; it is a low mound bounded on its southern side by lake Ballah, and on its western and northern sides by the basin of lake Menzaleh (now dried-up) 3 km away. The tell measures 600m north-south by 500m east-west.

The surface of the tell is covered by pottery sherds of various types and glass vessels. There are also large blocks of limestone, small stones of basalt and granite, a large quantity of mudbricks and corroded coins of bronze. Large pits and trenches cover the whole surface of the tell, indicating extensive digging of the site during the modern military operations in Sinai.

2. The Name of Tell Abu-Seifa

The Greek name of Tell Abu-Seifa was *Σελη*, while the Coptic name was *CEΛH* or *CAH*¹². In Roman times, a garrison was stationed at Tell Abu-Seifa or - as it was then known - Sile according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (dating to the beginning of the 5th century). The *Antonine Itinerary*, a contemporary geographical compendium, locates Sile at a distance of 24 Roman miles (about 22.5 English miles) from Pelusium on the road via Serapeum to Clysma (Suez).

Nothing, however, has been written about the reason for naming the site Tell Abu-Seifa

¹² H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*. (1925) VI, 67 (hereinafter Gauthier 1925).

in modern times. I propose that the modern name of Tell Abu-Seifa has its roots in the ancient Egyptian language, being derived from the ancient name *P3-Twfy*.

The area in the neighborhood of lake Menzaleh and the ancient Pelusiac branch is known in the ancient records as  or  *P3-Twfy*, meaning “the papyrus marshes”. The word *twf*, means “papyrus” and is used in various locations of the plant itself.⁸³

The story of Sinuhe gives a description of the ancient topography and vegetation of the area of Tell Abu-Seifa. We read:



I crouched down in the bush in fear that the guards on duty upon the wall might see me.

Considering the site’s location in the heart of the ancient *P3-Twfy* and its marshy nature in ancient times, it is quite possible that the ancient name for the area became attached to this important site and altered over time into the modern name, Tell Abu-Seifa.

⁸³ *WB V*, 359, 6 ff.; Gauthier 1925, *op. cit.*, VI, 72; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II (Oxford, 1947), 200-04; Papyrus Anastasi III, 2 (11-2), Papyrus Anastasi III, 3, 3 ff. and Papyrus Anastasi IV, 198-201 (15,6) in Caminos 1954 *op. cit.*

3. Previous Excavations

As discussed above, in 1888 Griffith investigated el-Kantarah and vicinity. He surveyed the area and excavated a few trenches at Tell Abu-Seifa. In the village of el-Kantarah, he examined part of the Ramesside pyramidion discussed above and determined that it had been removed from Tell Abu-Seifa, where another fragment was found.

Griffith also traced a mudbrick wall, which extended 91.4m to the north of the centre of the tell, and suggested that it might have been a part of the Roman camp mentioned on a broken inscribed limestone slab found in the tell and re-used as a paving-stone. The Latin inscription on the paving-stone - dating from the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian - recorded the establishment of a Roman military post and seat of a bishopric called Sella or Sele (Sile). He also found a life-size recumbent lion - the head turned eastward - which was uninscribed and in poor condition. In addition, there were remains of rubble pavement, with some squared slabs of fine limestone, which he suggested might have been monument bases. Below, these discoveries will be discussed in more detail, in light of new interpretations based on recent excavations.

In 1914, Clédat discovered parts of a Roman fortress and an inner colonnaded street running north-south. The street measured 26.5m long with 9 columns, of which only the bases remained. He uncovered a mud-brick wall, which extended 195m. In addition four half-rounded towers were discovered.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Clédat (1916b, *op. cit.*, 21-31) describes his discovery as follows: "L'enceinte de la forteresse, j'ai reconnue au sud-est, sur la face sud et en partie sur la face ouest; la face sud a 195 mètres de longueur, avec quatre tours rondes et une aux angles; leur murs construits en briques crues ont 4^m55 d'épaisseur. Elle forme un quadrilatère

4. The Supreme Council of Antiquities Excavations

Between 1993 and 1999, as part of the “Ways of Horus Project”, the SCA conducted excavations at Tell Abu-Seifa. (Fig. 6) The mission discovered the whole layout of the Roman fortress, parts of which had already been discovered by Clédat. To the west of the tell, extensive remains of a Ptolemaic settlement were discovered, as well as a Ptolemaic harbour to the south.

(a) Stratigraphy

The excavations of Tell Abu-Seifa were conducted in different parts of the site and divided into zones: Zone A (on the eastern side), Zone B (on the western side) and Zone C (on the southern side). In addition, a surface survey of the entire area was undertaken, and pottery samples were taken and examined thoroughly.

The archaeological levels at Tell Abu-Seifa revealed during the excavations indicate the following occupation at the site:

- **Level I** **Roman Period (3rd Century AD)**
- represented by a Roman fortress in Zone A and settlement in Zone C
- **Level II** **Ptolemaic Period**
- represented by a Ptolemaic fortress in Zone A, the remains of a massive settlement in Zone B and a harbour in Zone C

aux cotes orientés exactement nord, sud, est et ouest. Je n'ai pas trouvé de portes, mais une des tours avait été sapée en croix.

Tell Abu-Seifa

1930 - 1935

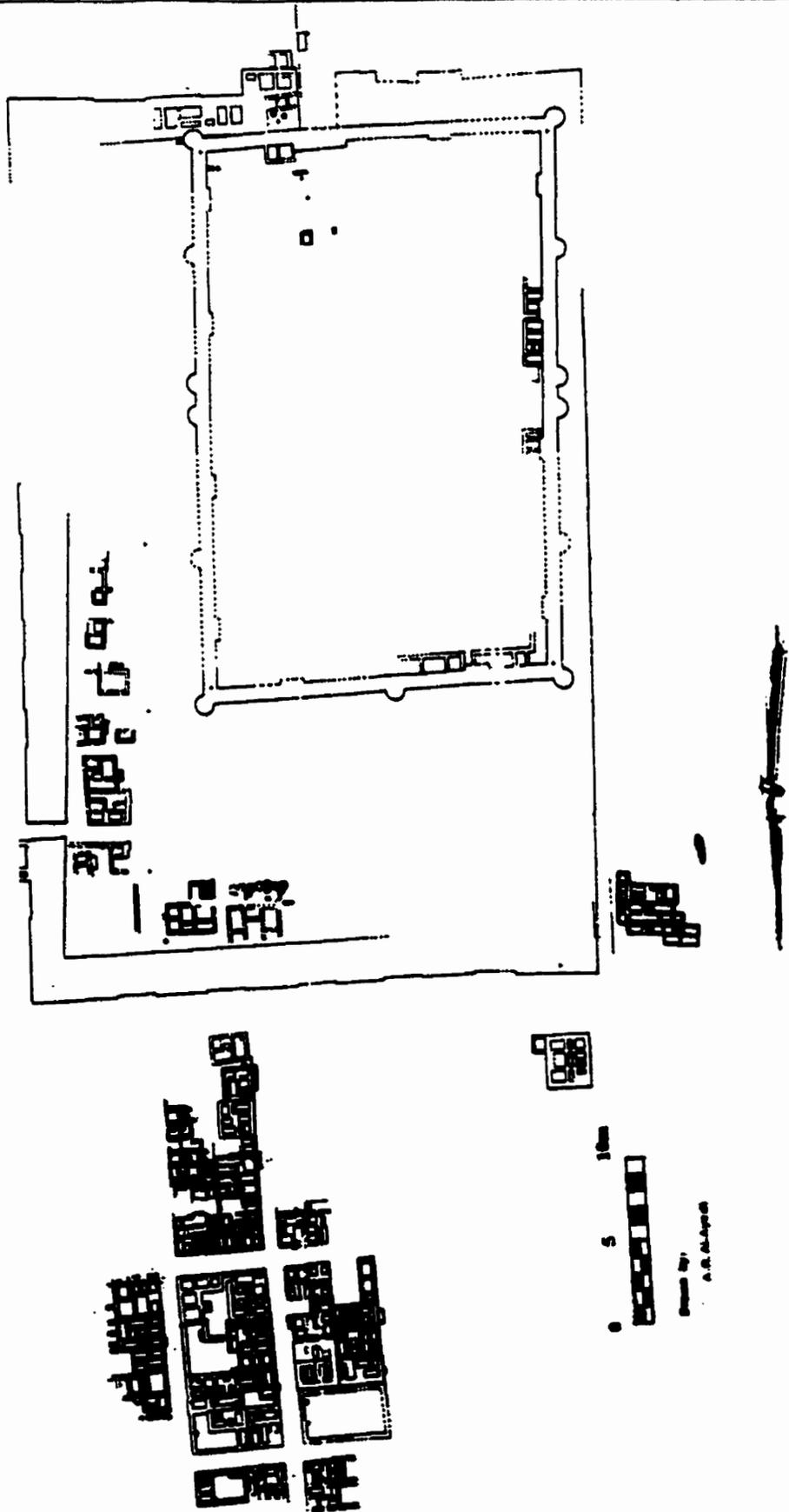


Fig. 6 - Tell Abu-Seifa: site plan

The two levels, as discussed, are the only distinct occupation levels at the site. Moreover, the ceramics from the surface survey do not indicate any earlier occupation.

(b) The Roman Fortress (Zone A)

The Roman fortress was built on the highest point of the tell, and within the ruins of an older and much larger fortress, dating to the Ptolemaic period. The Roman fortress construction was cut into the Ptolemaic fortress' enclosures to anchor its foundations. The north-eastern and south-eastern towers of the Roman fortress cut into the eastern enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic fortress. The evidence of this cut is clearly visible. (Plate I)

The Roman fortress is roughly rectangular in plan, measuring 195m east-west and 115m north-south. (Fig. 6) The two shorter sides have a perfect north-south orientation, while the longer sides deviate slightly to the west, forming a parallelogram.

The walls of the fortress only survive to a height of a few centimetres above the ground level, while the foundations reach to a depth of more than 7 courses. The walls are entirely built of alluvial mudbrick, mixed with plaster, lending them a whitish colour. Each brick measures on average 34 x 17 x 8cm. The thickness of the walls is 4.55m.

All four corners of the fortress are strengthened with semi-circular towers. (Plates II, III and IV) In addition, four similar towers are located on each longer side and one tower on each shorter side. On each longer side two central towers flanked the main entrances on both sides.

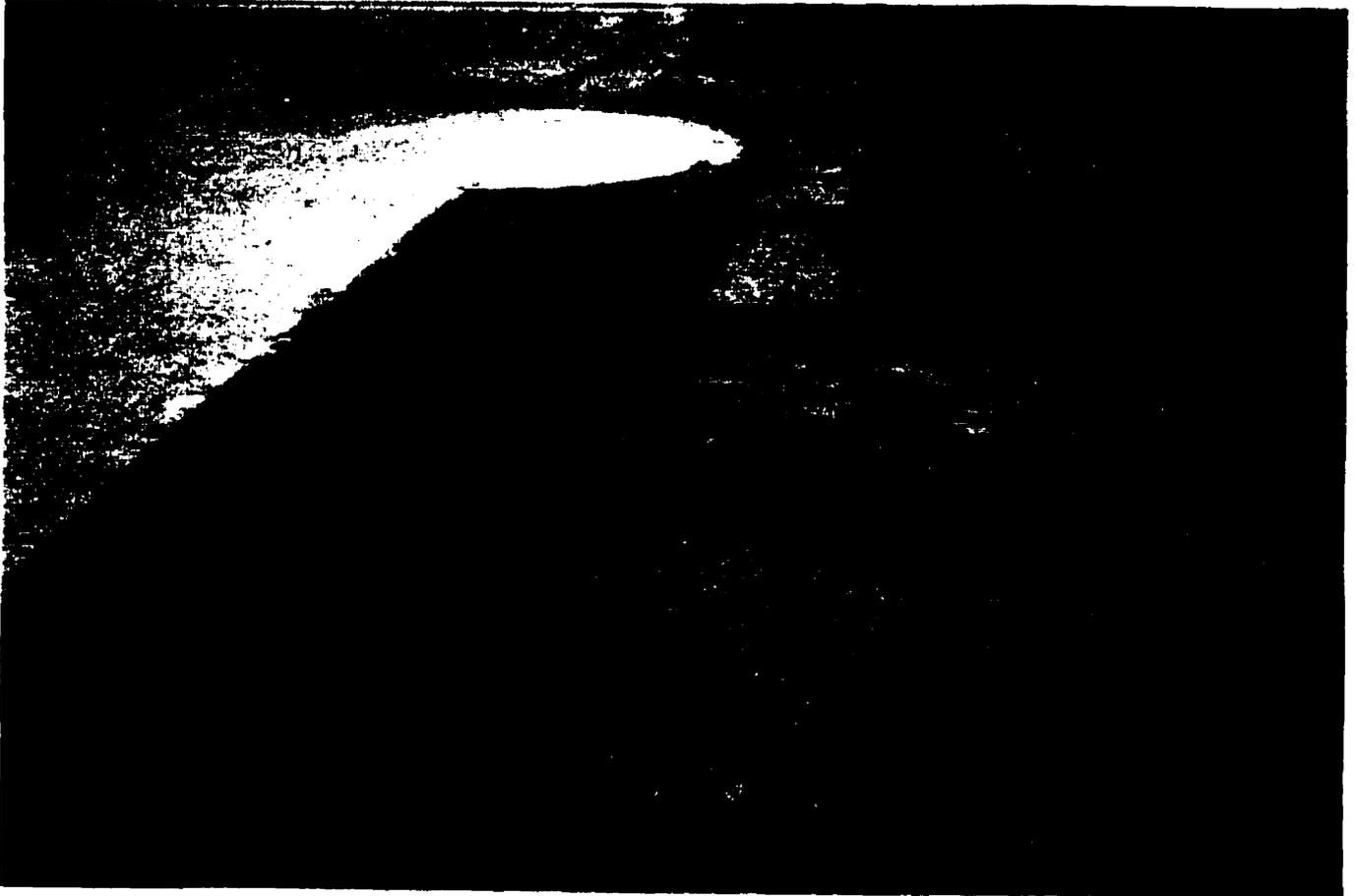


Plate I - North-eastern corner tower of the Roman Fortress; showing the cut into the darker Ptolemaic enclosure wall

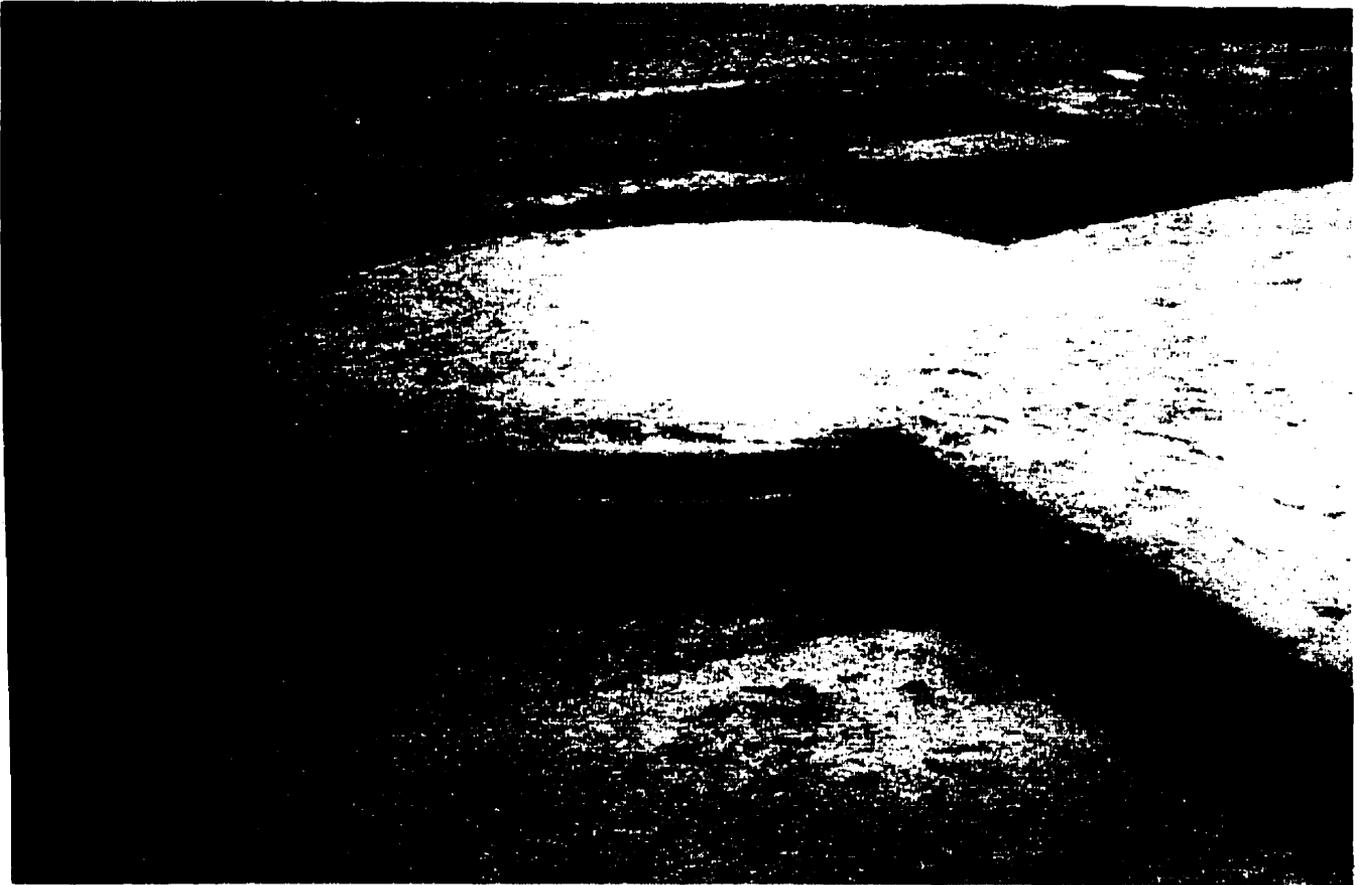


Plate II - Tell Abu-Seifa: detail of the south-western tower



Plate III - Tell Abu-Seifa: detail of the northern enclosure wall and the north-eastern tower

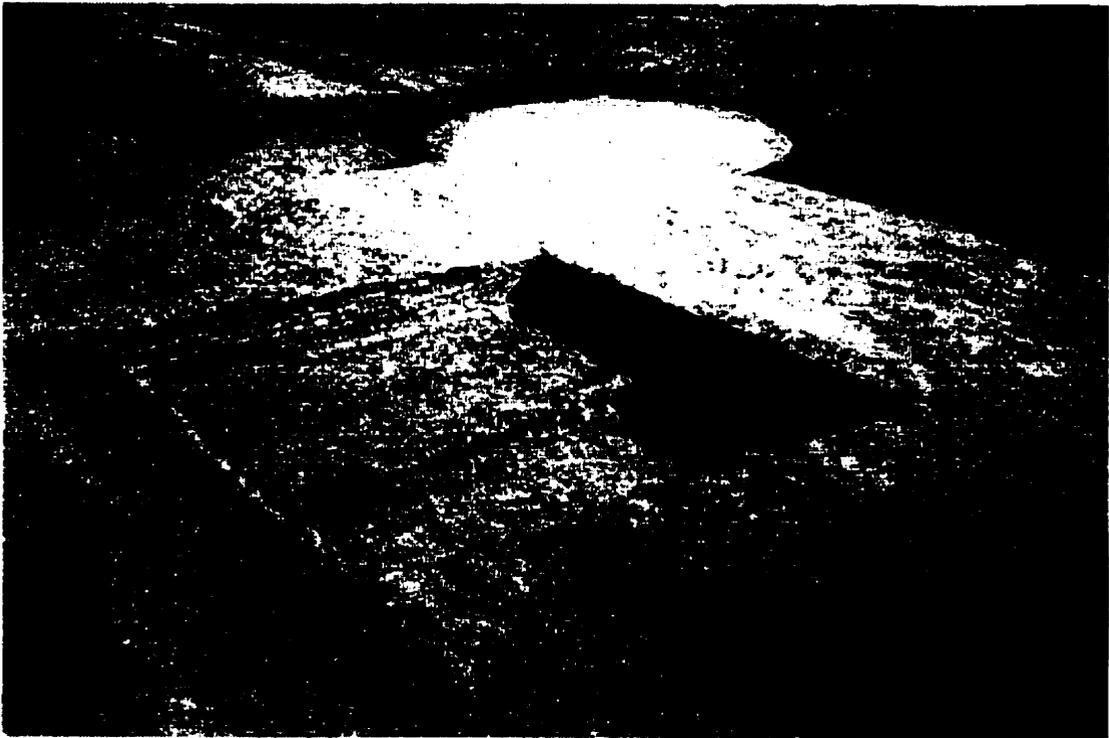


Plate IV - Tell Abu-Seifa: detail of the south-western corner, showing an internal room

The width of each entrance measured 5m. These two main entrances and the associated towers were each located on the same axis.

The single semi-circular tower of the eastern shorter side is not placed in the middle of the side wall, but rather several metres away from it, while the tower of the western side is placed exactly in the middle of the wall. The centre point of the circular towers coincides, in all cases, with the notional intersection of the outer faces of the adjoining walls. The radius of each tower is 6m.

Along the inner sides of the walls (except to the west of the southern main gate), internal buttresses are found placed equidistant from each other and located between the semi-circular towers on the outer side of the wall. The buttresses are rectangular in shape and are bonded with the main body of the enclosure wall. Each buttress measures 1.2 m wide and between 5-7m long. The buttresses may have served to strengthen the walls or perhaps as supports for staircases leading to the ramparts of the fortress.

The interior part of the Roman fortress is badly destroyed by military trenches dug during recent military operations in Sinai. The digging of the trenches produced huge amounts of debris accumulated inside the fortress, making excavation very difficult. At the same time, the digging itself has caused considerable damage to the archaeological remains. Nevertheless, the SCA missions undertook some limited exploration of the interior of the Roman fortress.

Inside the fortress, a number of rectangular rooms were built against the southern enclosure wall. The rooms utilized a different type of mudbricks than the enclosure wall. The mudbricks consisted of dark alluvial mud containing a mix of shells. It appears that these rooms were built subsequent to the construction of the fortress for several reasons. First, as mentioned, the material of the brick differs from that used in the construction of the fortress wall. Second, the walls of the rooms were not bonded with those of the fortress, but rather in some cases use the buttresses as the fourth wall of the room. Third, the elevation of the occupation layers in the rooms is higher than that of the fortress.

The rooms were built in two units, each unit consisting of several rooms and separated from the next unit by a space running perpendicular to the wall. The first unit consisted of four rooms, three of which used the fortress enclosure wall as a fourth wall. Only one room consisted of four independent walls. The second unit consisted of two rooms, which may have served as part of the barracks for soldiers and other daily life purposes. Inside these rooms, many types of pottery vessels and Roman coins were discovered.

The date of the fortress may be determined based on the finds; indeed, already Clédat had identified it as the Roman fortress of Sile.⁸⁵ The fortress was apparently founded in the Diocletian time at the end of the 3rd century AD. As mentioned above, this identification was supported by the discovery of a Latin inscription dated to the year 288 AD mentioning the military unit of the

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 23f.

Ala I Thracum Mauretana,⁸⁶ which was presumably stationed at this fortress.

The layout of Tell Abu-Seifa's fortress is similar to that of other Roman fortresses in Egypt. Those excavated to date often also have semi-circular towers. The best known examples have been found in Qasr-Qārūn/Dionysias⁸⁷ and in Nag^c el-Hagar.⁸⁸

(c) The Roman Settlement (Zone C)

Remains of a Roman settlement were found in the harbour area and are discussed more fully in the section entitled *The Ptolemaic Harbour (Zone C)*, below.

(d) The Ptolemaic Fortress (Zone A)

Remains of an earlier and much larger fortress were discovered on all sides of the Roman fortress. (Plate I) The Ptolemaic fortress is rectangular in plan, measuring 400 x 200m. (Fig. 6) It has massive mudbrick walls on a perfect north-south and east-west orientation.

The enclosures are built entirely of alluvial mudbricks - dark in colour - measuring 39 x 19.5 x 9cm. The thickness of the walls is 13m, except on the eastern side where the cut of the Roman fortress has destroyed the wall and makes it impossible to measure it accurately.

⁸⁶ Griffith 1888, *op. cit.*, 97ff, Pl. 51.

⁸⁷ J. Schwartz, *Qasr-Qārūn/Dionysias, 1950. Fouilles Franco-Suisses II* (Cairo, 1969), 70.

⁸⁸ M. Mustafa and H. Jaritz, "A Roman Fortress at Nag^c el-Hagar; First Preliminary Report", *ASAE* 70 (1984-85), 21-31.

The enclosure walls are strengthened with outer buttresses of varying sizes, ranging from 0.65-0.85m wide and 13-15m long. (Plate V) The north-eastern and south-western corners are fitted with towers. The north-eastern tower is circular in shape, while the south-western tower is rectangular. The small size of these two towers argues against their use for military purposes.

The main gate of the fortress is located on the eastern enclosure wall and is 13.5m wide. It is flanked by two rectangular towers, of which the southern one is completely destroyed. The northern tower is approximately 18 x 38m. In front of this gate, remains of a limestone pavement were found; although some of the slabs were complete, the majority were fragmentary. (Plate VI) The complete slabs are square and measure between 120-150cm. The pavement extends approximately 50m in total, running from 20m outside the gate into the interior of the fortress. This pavement was first discovered by Griffith in 1888 and was described by him as a "rubble pavement, with occasional squares of fine limestone measuring 80 inches, apparently bases of monuments".⁸⁹

By the gate, a limestone statue on a rectangular base of a recumbent lion looking to the right was found. (Plate VII) The statue is in good condition and is uninscribed and measures 140cm long and 60cm high. A similar, severely degraded, statue - also looking to the right - was found by Griffith: "I found a recumbent lion, natural size, in limestone, the head turned eastward to the right, the left paw crossed over the right. It was in bad condition and without

⁸⁹ Griffith 1888, *op. cit.*, 97-98.

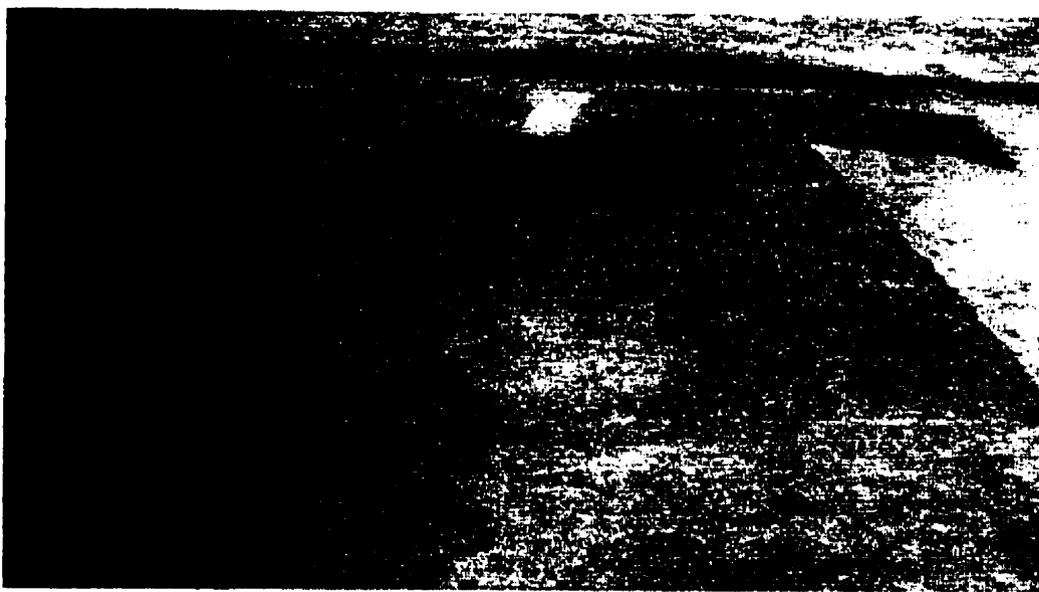


Plate V - Tell Abu-Seifa: detail of western enclosure wall, showing watchtower and buttress

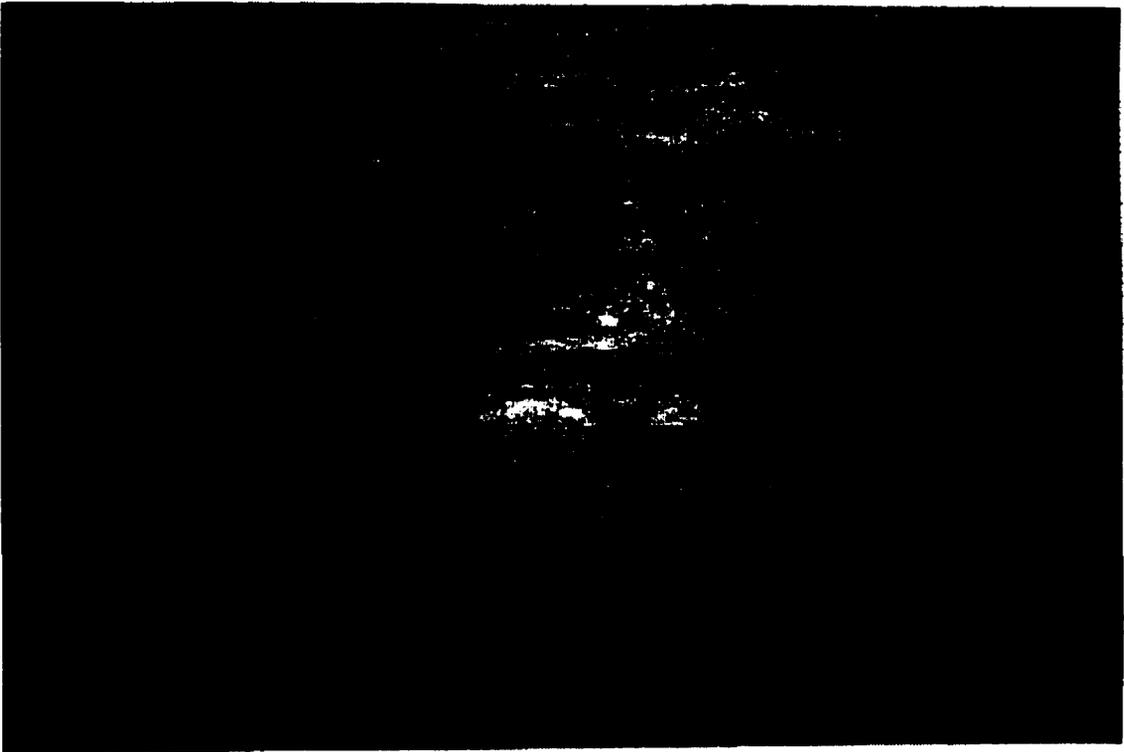


Plate VI - Tell Abu-Seifa: remains of the limestone pavement in front of the western gate

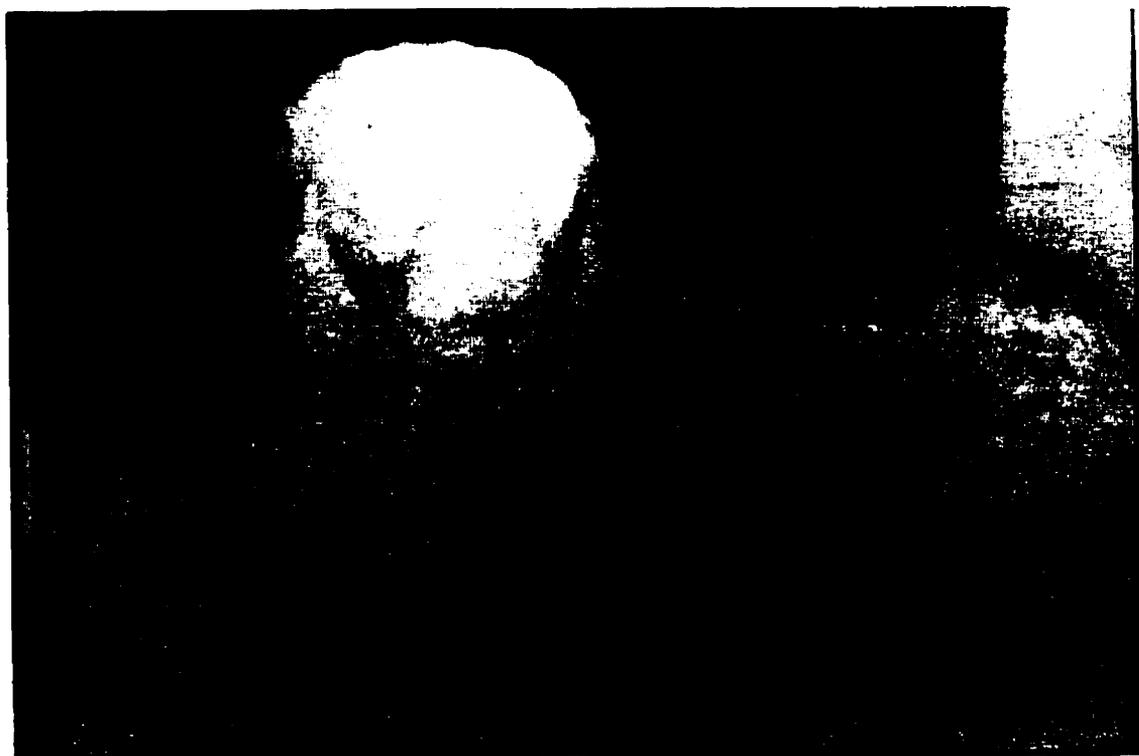


Plate VII - Tell Abu-Seifa: limestone statue of a recumbent lion

inscription.⁹⁰ One would have expected a pair of lions at the gate to face each other, but these two both face the same direction. Consequently, it appears that there may have been a line of lion statues projecting from each side of the gate.

Inside the fortress, a number of houses, magazines and silos were discovered in the north-western part. (Plate VIII) The houses have a rectangular plan and were built entirely of mudbrick walls of approximately 80cm thick. The floors were paved with compressed mud, containing numerous pieces of debris and embedded pottery sherds. To the west of the houses, a number of silos, pottery ovens and other cooking installations were found. The silos consisted of several different sizes and contained sherds, bird bones and large quantities of glass fragments.

The foundation of the enclosure reached a depth of 1.5m to the virgin sandy soil, as shown in the trench excavated by the wall. A few Ptolemaic coins (Figs. 7a and 7b) were found in the foundation trench, making the dating of the fortress to the Ptolemaic period certain. However, it appears that the site was subsequently abandoned and then reoccupied again in the 3rd century AD as a military station.

(e) The Graeco-Roman Settlement (Zone B)

Outside the fortress, at the western side of the site, the massive remains of a Ptolemaic settlement were discovered. (Fig. 6) The settlement was connected to the fortress by a main street (11m wide, running east-west) connecting to internal streets at a number of intersections.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 97.



Plate VIII - Tell Abu-Seifa: magazines, houses and silos inside the fortress

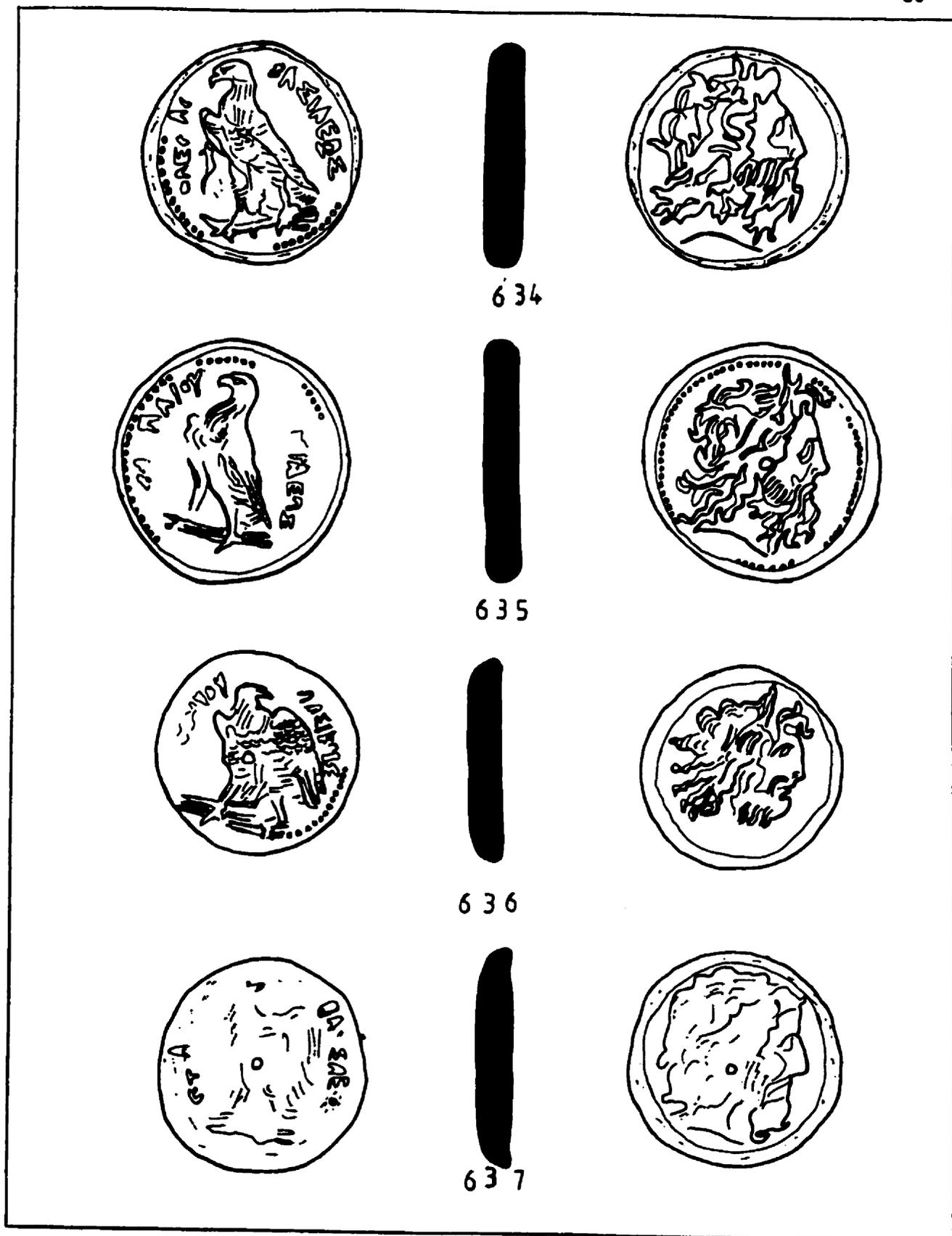


Fig. 7a - Tell Abu-Seifa: Ptolemaic coins



646



647



648



649



650

Fig. 7b - Tell Abu-Seifa: Ptolemaic coins

The houses were laid out in a regular grid pattern consisting of a number of complexes or quarters, separated by standardized streets of 6m in width. Each complex consisted of many houses, built of mudbricks measuring 39 x 17 x 9cm. The walls were 80cm thick and coated with plaster painted yellow. The floors were composed of compressed mud. Each house was provided with cooking and baking installations.

A number of small finds came from the settlement, including bronze Ptolemaic coins and small amulets and terracottas dating to the Roman period. In addition, rough pottery, ash and bird bones were found. One of the complexes contained an industrial area incorporating many ovens for the manufacture of glass and bronzework. (Fig. 8)

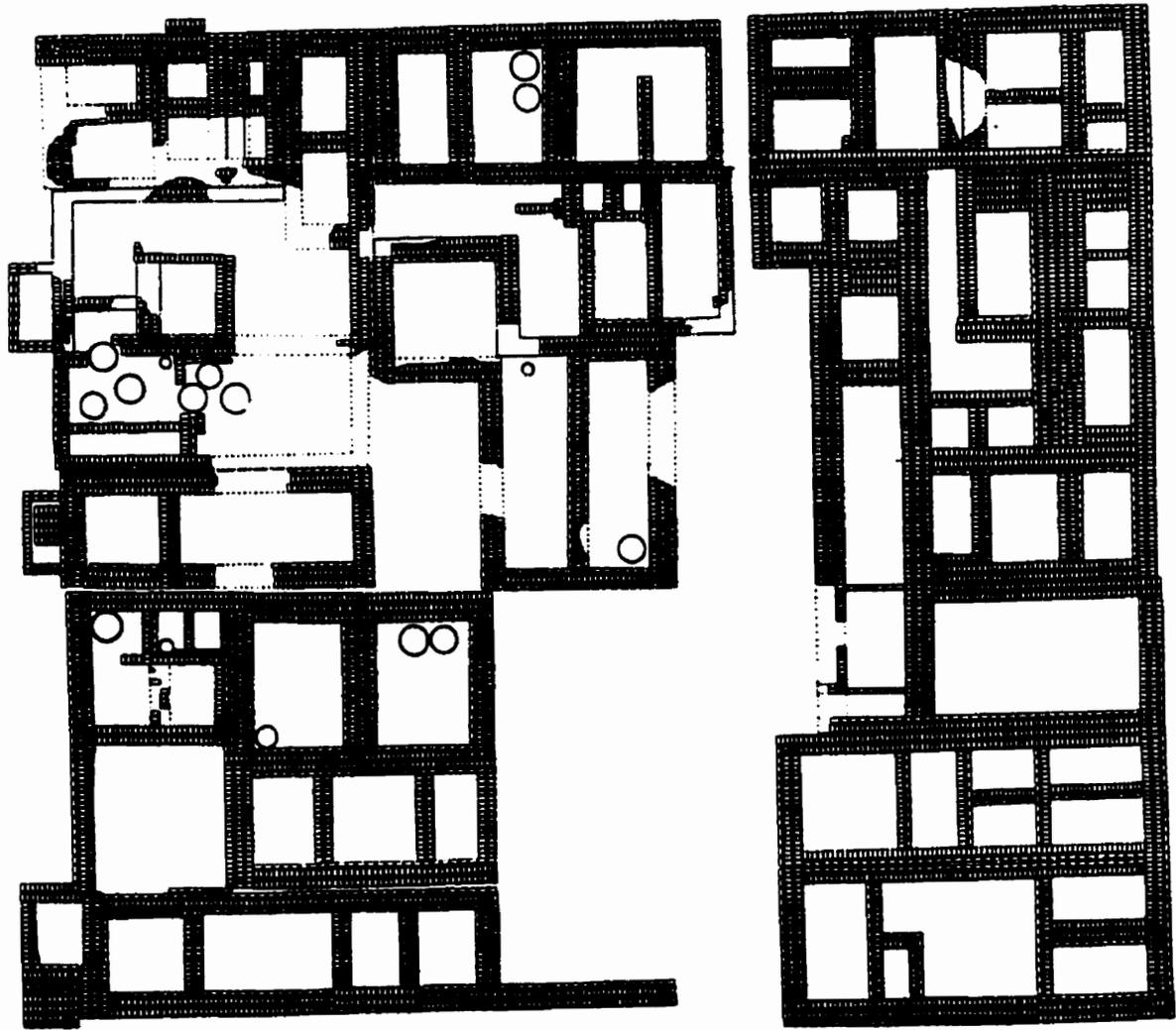
Although the houses were constructed during the Ptolemaic period, it appears that they were reused during Roman times due to the number of Roman pottery sherds and vessels and coins found inside the settlement.

(f) The Ptolemaic Harbour (Zone C)

On the southern side of the tell on the edge of a body of water (now dried up) a long platform was located. (Figs. 6 and 9) This platform was constructed of limestone blocks and was 2.7m wide. The foundations of the platform were, in places, 2m deep. (Figs. 10a and 10b) According to current excavations, the platform extends unbroken for 150m, although it appears that more remains of the platform will be found with further excavation. The platform extends east-west. The platform contained many mooring areas.

Tell Abu Seifa
1997
Gesellschaft für Orientforschung

A



Scale 1:100
A. H. S. 1997

Fig. 8 - Tell Abu-Seifa: plan of the industrial quarter

Tell Abu-Seifa
1933 - 1939

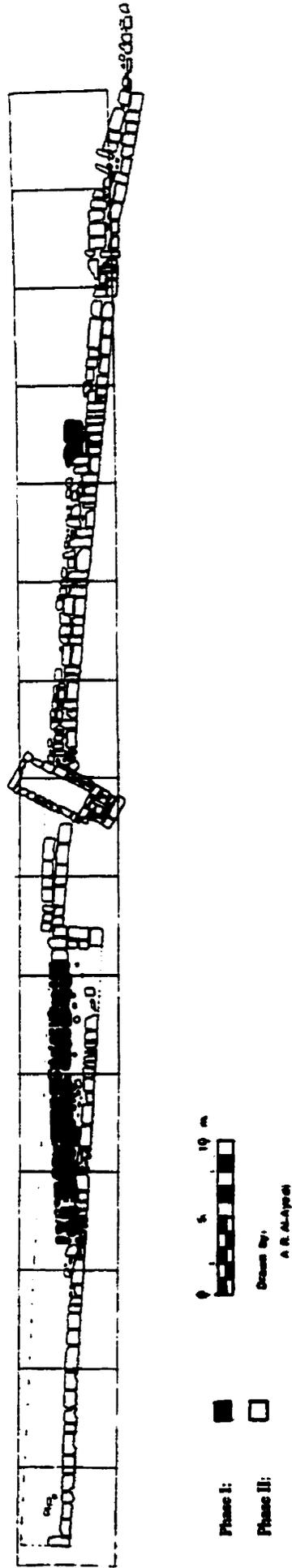
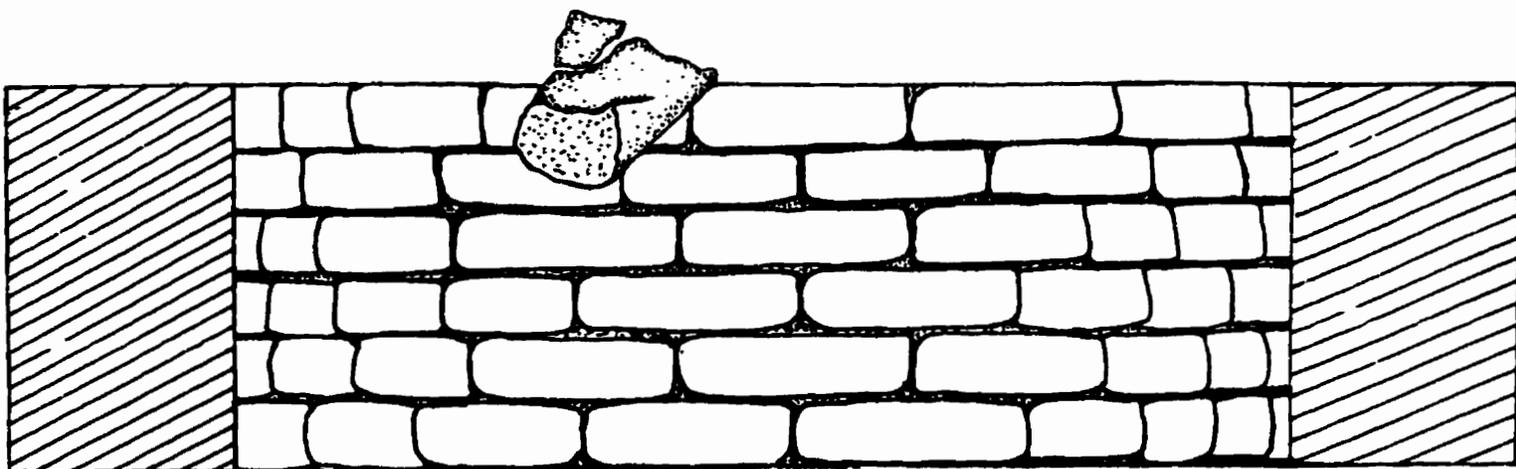


Fig. 9 - Tell Abu-Seifa: plan of the harbour



SECTION (A - A)

Fig. 10a - Tell Abu-Seifa: the harbour, Section A-A

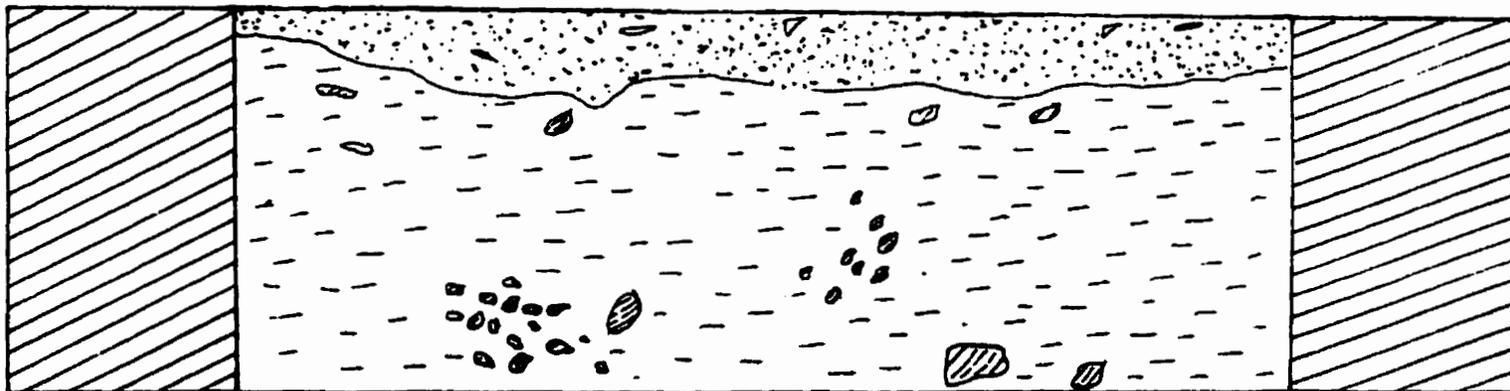
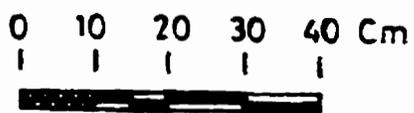


Fig. 10b - Tell Abu-Seifa: the harbour, Section B-B



Layer of soil mixed with sherds



Layer of sand mixed with plaster



Muddy soil



On the southern side of the platform (the waterside), huge quantities of pottery fragments were found, including sealed amphorae handles, and many badly corroded Ptolemaic coins. From the study of the pottery, it is noteworthy that a great amount of imported pottery from Palestine, Phoenicia and the Mediterranean (e.g., Cyprus and Crete) was present. The ceramics give us a good sense of the range of trading relations between Egypt and other countries and indicate the strategic importance of this part of the eastern Delta - both economically and politically - during this period. (see Pottery Catalogue below)

At one point in the platform, an unusual structure was inserted perpendicular to the platform. (Plates IX and X) The structure is roughly rectangular, although it is somewhat concave. It is constructed of limestone blocks with lime plaster mortar. The structure is 2m deep, but appears to extend deeper; unfortunately, excavations could not be continued due to the encroaching water table. Up to 1.7m depth, only alluvial mud was found. However, after 1.7m depth a huge number of pottery sherds and bronze nails were found.

At the end facing the water, two openings interrupt the face of the structure. (Figs. 11a and 11b) The first opening is a narrow regular slit measuring 10cm (at the widest point) x 104cm. At the bottom of the top opening there was a channel. A block of red brick (not shown in section) appears to have been used to block the channel. Below the first opening lies a second opening which is rectangular in shape and measures 36cm wide x 60cm (excavated height). The stone used in the construction consisted of three different sizes: (a) 100 x 60 x 60cm; (b) 90 x 60x 50cm; and (c) 70 x 60 x 40 cm. In addition, some irregular small pieces of stone were used.



Plate IX - Tell Abu-Seifa: harbour platform, showing water gauge(?) at right angle



Plate X - Tell Abu-Seifa: detail of water gauge(?)

TELL ABU SEIFA
(1998)

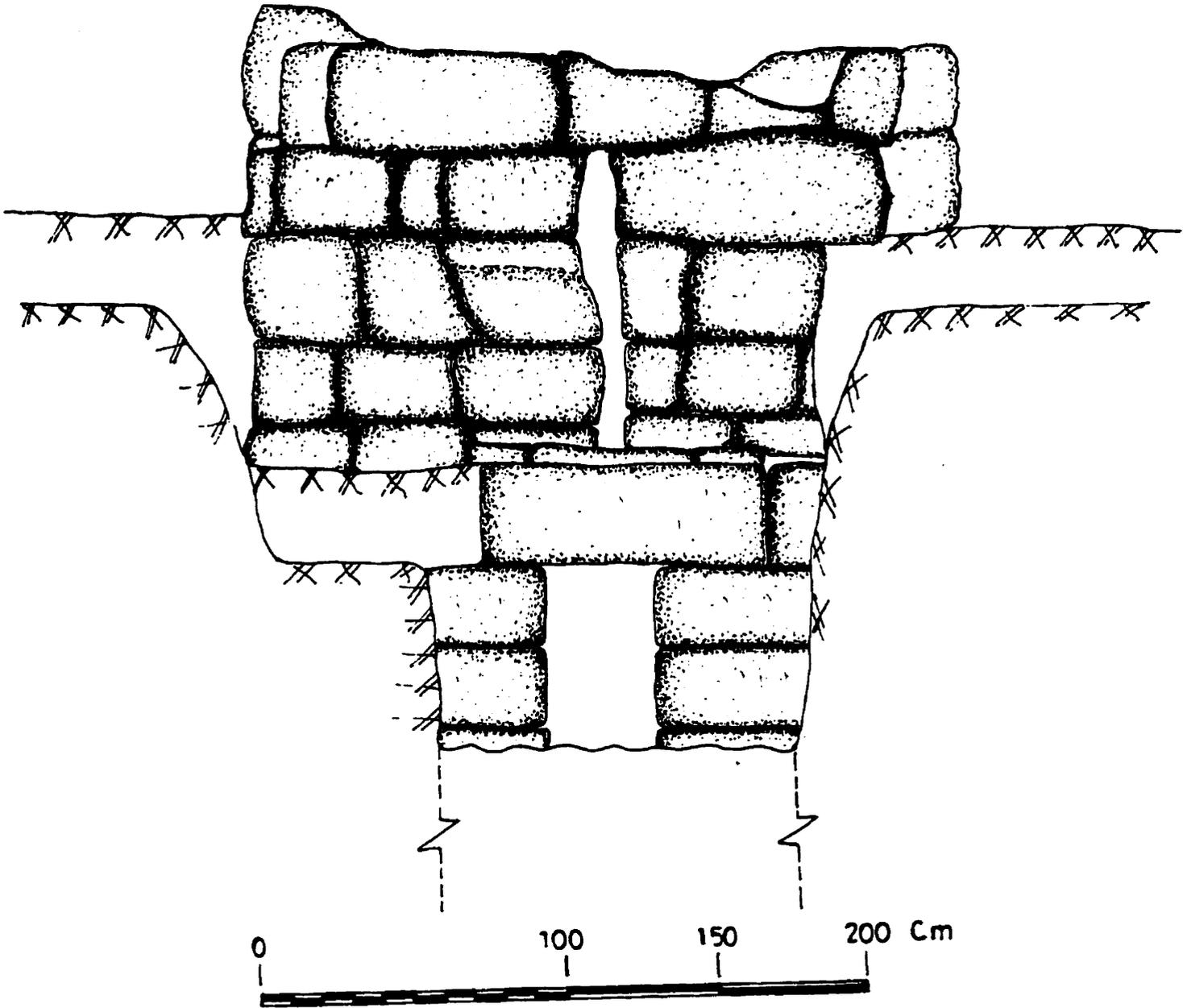


Fig. 11a - Harbour Area: Watergauge (?) in section (Section A-A)

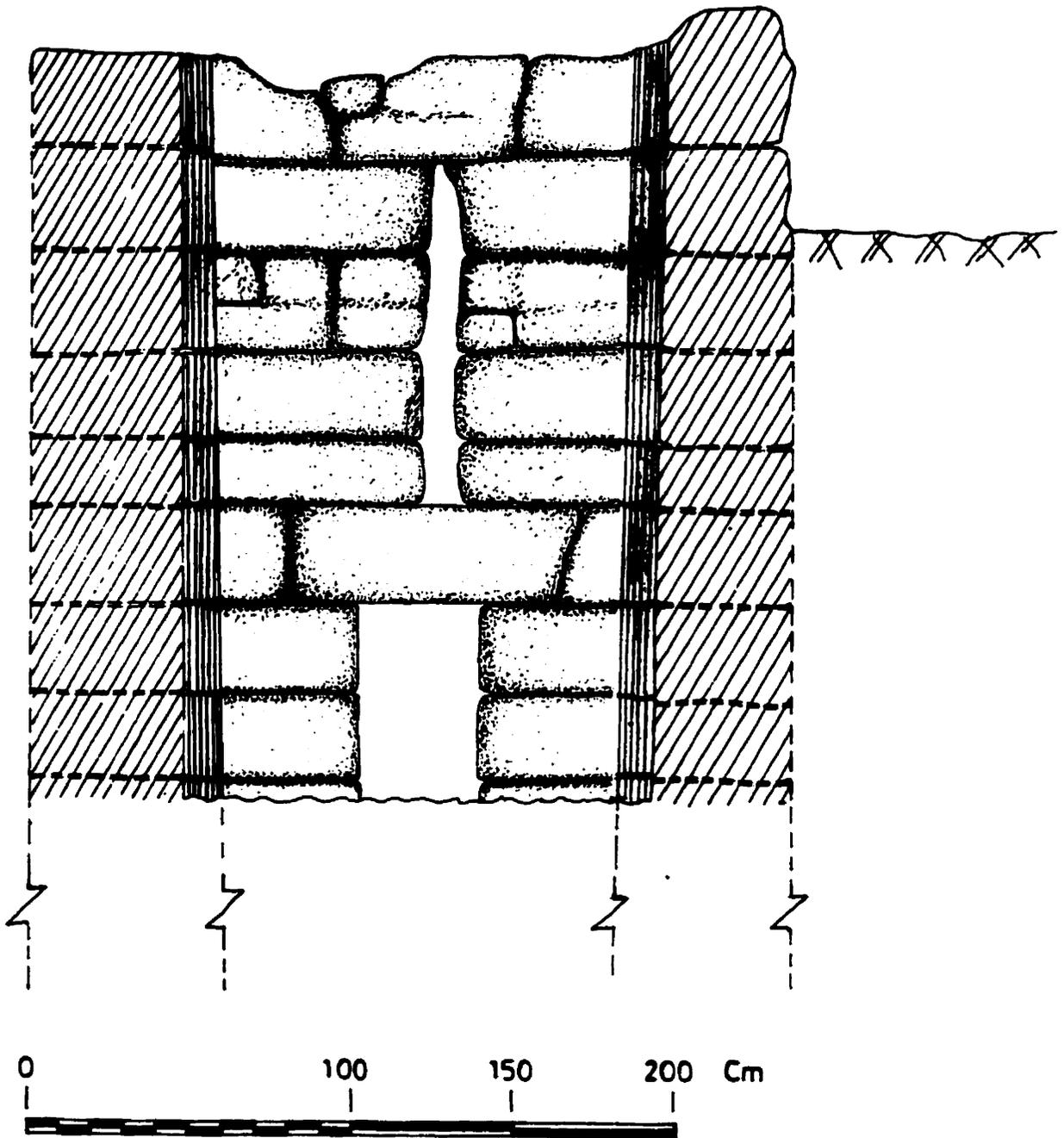


Fig. 11b- Harbour Area: Watergauge (?) in section (Section B-B)

The function of this basin is hard to ascertain. Although there is no conclusive evidence for either theory at this point, the basin *may* have served as a waterlevel measuring device or - less likely - as a ship repair installation. However, it appears that the platform was in use for a long period of time; we are quite certain that it was repaired in a subsequent phase of the Ptolemaic period, as can be clearly seen in the topplan. (Fig. 9)

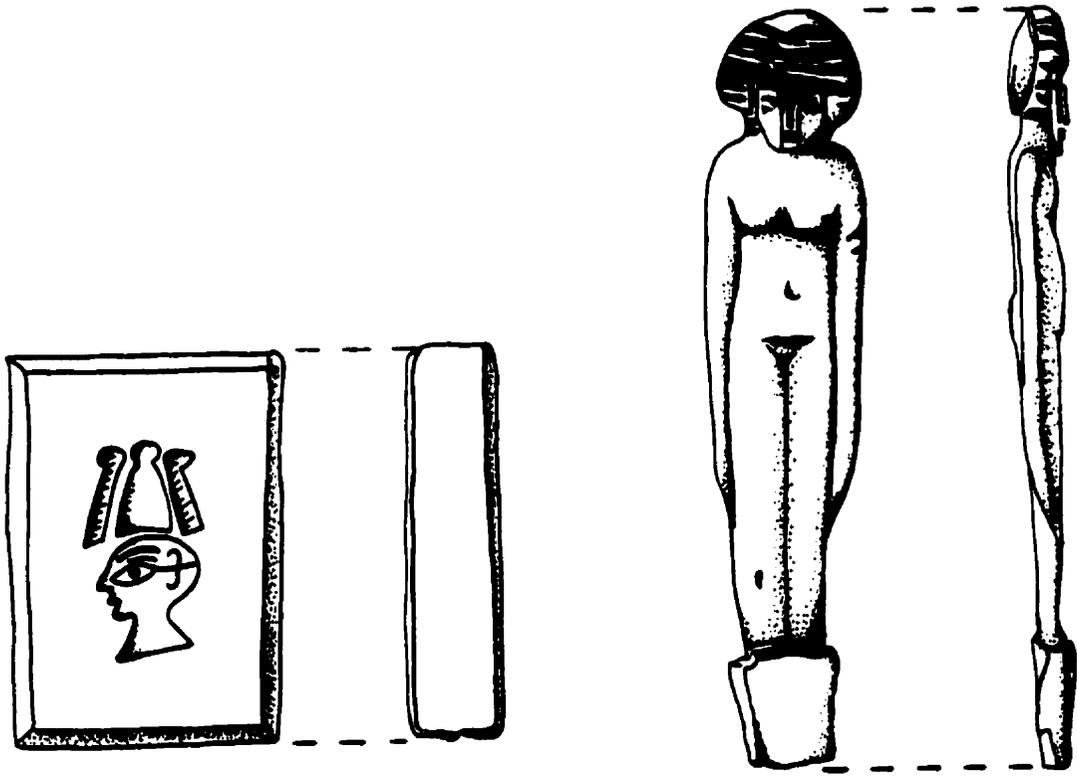
On the northern side of the platform ran a main road, measuring 16m wide. The street had an east-west orientation and ran parallel to the platform. The road was paved with compact mud mixed with pottery and shells. To the north of this street lay a large number of store magazines (Plate XI); the small finds (Fig. 12) date these magazines to the Ptolemaic period also.

The magazines were either rectangular or square in plan and ranged in size. They were constructed of dark mudbrick mixed with shells, measuring either 30 x 15 x 7.5cm or 38 x 19 x 9.5cm. The walls were coated with plaster and white-washed. The thickness of the walls is 110cm. Inside one of the magazines two silos were discovered, one of which contained well-preserved wheat grains. Clearly, the magazines were used in the storage of shipments to and from the harbour.

In the Roman period, the magazines appear to have been reused as houses. Excavation clearly showed that the walls of the magazines had been cut in the construction of the new settlement. Inside the houses, cooking installations and baking ovens were found. In addition, Roman pottery, coins and small finds were discovered. These houses were built of mudbrick



Plate XI - Tell Abu-Seifa: store magazines in the harbour area



Scale 1:1

Fig. 12 - Tell Abu-Seifa: small objects from the magazine area

mixed with plaster, giving a whitish appearance, similar to those used in the construction of the Roman fortress. It is likely that this settlement was concurrent with the Roman fortress.

VI. TELL HABOUA I (“THARU”)

1. Introduction

Tell Haboua I is located in north-western Sinai, 4 km to the north-east of el-Kantarah, 9.5 km north-east of Tell Abu-Seifa and 6km to the east of the Suez Canal. (Fig. 4) The site borders the north-west side of the “Western Lagoon” (now dried up). Another site, known as Tell Haboua II, lies 1 km to the south-east of Haboua I; this site will be discussed further below.

To the south of Haboua I is a depression separating Haboua I from Haboua II. According to the research of a Franco-Egyptian survey - including the study of satellite photos of the area - this depression contained water in ancient times.⁹¹ The trial trenches conducted in this area by the SCA further support this conclusion. In particular, the trial trenches revealed a crocodile skeleton. (Plate XII)

In addition, to the archaeological evidence, there appears to be pictorial evidence of this topographical feature and the associated fortresses. The reliefs of Seti I show an Egyptian-style fortress straddling a bridge over a waterway. A smaller fortress guards the road to the east. The bridge fortress is identified in the inscriptions as the “fortress of Tharu”. My thesis argument is that the fortress of Tharu corresponds to Haboua I, while the smaller fortress at Haboua II corresponds to the second station on the Ways of Horus identified as “the Dwelling of the

⁹¹B. Marcolongo, “Évolution du paléoenvironnement dans la partie orientale du Delta du Nil depuis la transgression flandrienne (8000 BP) par rapport aux modèles de peuplement anciens”, *CRIPPEL* 14 (1992), 23-31.



Plate XII - Tell Haboua I: detail of crocodile skeleton

Lion”,⁹² which will be discussed further below. The waterway running between the two fortresses depicted on the relief corresponds to the water-filled depression. In the following chapters, I will discuss the significant new archaeological evidence supporting this position.

2. The Eastern Frontier Canal

As discussed above,⁹³ the Karnak reliefs of Seti I depict a waterway associated with the two fortresses. The name of the waterway given in the reliefs is *T3-dnit*, meaning “the dividing water.” Many scholars have suggested that this waterway was a canal between Lake Timsah and Lake Ballah.⁹⁴ These scholars attribute the construction of the canal to Necho II of the 26th Dynasty.⁹⁵

The survey conducted by Sneh and others yielded a trace of an artificial canal 10 km to the north-east of el-Kantarah and they suggested that this was connected with another artificial canal (8 km in length) lying 10 km to the north of Lake Ballah. It was these scholars’ belief that the canal also interconnected with Lake Timsah, Lake Ballah and the Wadi Tumilat canal to the south of Lake Timsah. They further suggested that this canal continued from the region of Lake Ballah to the ancient coast line, later cut by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

The Franco-Egyptian survey’s research has also indicated the presence of water in this

⁹² A.R. Al-Ayedi, “The Dwelling of the Lion: A New Fortress on the Ways of Horus” (forthcoming).

⁹³ See pages 20-25 above.

⁹⁴ A. Sneh *et al.*, “Evidence for an ancient Egyptian frontier canal”, *American Scientist* 63 (Sept.-Oct. 1975), 542-48.

⁹⁵ W.H. Shea, “A date for the recently discovered Eastern Canal of Egypt”, *BASOR* 226 (1977), 31-38.

area, as discussed above. However, it is my impression that this body of water does not constitute a canal, but rather a network of lagoons south-east of Lake Menzalah and south of the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile. These lagoons left a narrow tongue of land on the other side of Lake Ballah. As discussed before, the presence of lagoons and marshes in this area conforms to our knowledge of the ancient topography as described in Egyptian sources. Thus, in my opinion, the representation of the waterway in the Karnak reliefs showed one of these lagoons running off the Pelusiac branch.

3. Previous Excavations

In 1886, Griffith - while investigating el-Kantarah and the vicinity - visited Haboua I and named it "Tell Samout". He described the site as being:

Tel Habwe [*sic*], on the south side of the caravan route; a small heap of red brick on the sand, 20 yards square, and very unimportant in itself.⁹⁶

4. The Supreme Council of Antiquities Excavations

The first excavation of Haboua I was conducted by the SCA from 1981-1999 (ongoing). These excavations were conducted in different parts of the tell, as follows: Zone A (northwest), Zone B (northwest), Zone C (south-east) and Zone D (east).

(a) Stratigraphy of Zones A and B

Many archaeological levels were discovered during the excavation of Haboua I. (Fig. 13)

⁹⁶ Griffith 1888, *op. cit.*, 101.

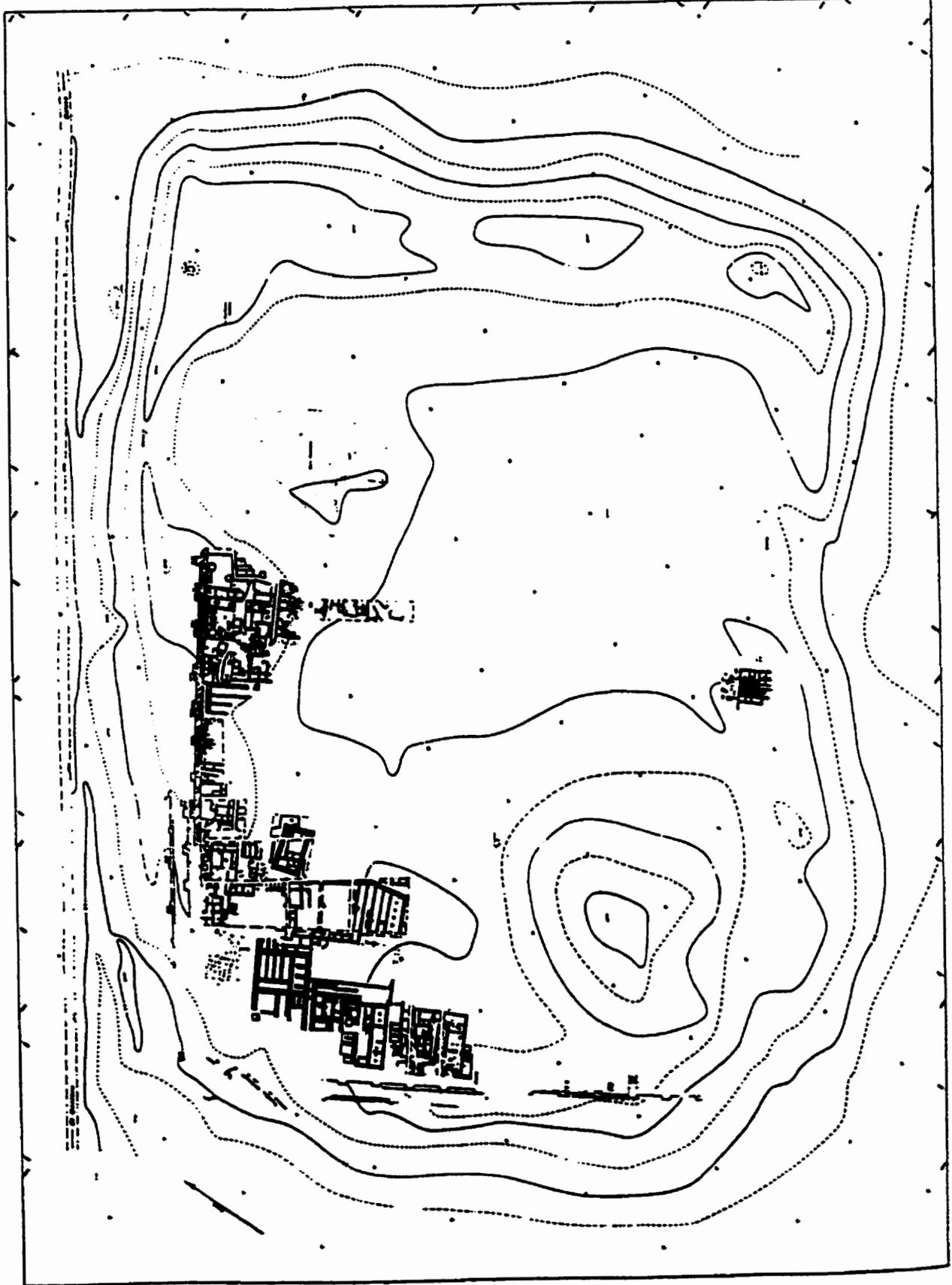


Fig. 13 — Tell Haboua I: topographic plan

The findings to date are presented here. However, it is my view, that extensive further work is required to uncover all of the occupation levels present at the site. A summary of the levels excavated to date are as follows:

- **Level I** **Graeco-Roman Period**
 - represented by a cemetery (many tombs have been discovered in the eastern part of Zone B and to the east of the site). These tombs extended eastwards and were placed directly on earlier remains.

- **Level II** **New Kingdom (Seti I, 19th Dynasty)**
 - represented by the city's fortification (reused) in the north-west part, 3 rectangular magazines ("MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3") located at the western part of Zone B and a settlement comprised of many rectangular houses excavated in Zone B, each house consisting of many rooms.

- **Level III** **New Kingdom (Tuthmose III, 18th Dynasty)**
 - represented by the fortification of the city, magazines, granaries and a settlement, an extension of the city to the east and west and large rectangular buildings with thick walls ("BUL.I and BUL.IV"). These constructions are built directly within the level of the late Second Intermediate Period.

- **Level IVa** **Transitional period between the last phase of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the New Kingdom**
 - represented by intensive settlement comprised of many houses (Zone B), many tombs built in the area of the granaries ("GR.I and GR.II") and two babies' amphora burials (Middle Bronze Age). The tombs of this level contained most of the Cypriot ceramics found at the site. This pottery is painted in white on a black background ("Groups XI and W.P.VI"). In addition, the tombs contained many examples of bichrome vessels ("Group VII and Group XII") and local ceramics of Egyptian type MBIIC.

- **Level IVb** **Second Intermediate Period**
 - represented by tombs placed in the granary GR.I and other tombs ("T.108, T.109, T.110, T.111, T.112, T.113 and T.114"), including a tomb placed against a wall in one of the streets, a group of granaries and settlements (Zone B). In this level, certain types of Palestinian ceramics ("Group V") and many sherds of the classical Kerma types ("Group Vx")

were found, indicating a commercial relationship between Kush and Eastern Delta during the Hyksos period.

- **Level IVc** **Second Intermediate Period**
- represented, in particular, by an interesting range of ceramics: Egyptian ceramics, a large quantity of Middle Bronze Age and some of Tell el-Yahudiyah types.
- **Level Va** **Middle Kingdom(?)**
- the excavation in this level revealed an inscription on a seal bearing the name of Niuserre II (Zone B).

(b) Stratigraphy of Zone C (new excavated zone)

The stratigraphy of the recent excavations in Zone C is comprised of Levels I, II and III.

More levels remain to be excavated in the future. The current stratigraphy of Zone C is as follows:

- **Level I** **No exact date can be determined for this level**
- represented by two tombs ("T.156 and T.157") dug directly into the floor of a room ("Room R.7"). These two tombs may date to the same date as the tombs of Zone B, Level I.
- **Level II** **New Kingdom (Seti I, 19th Dynasty)**
- represented by a large building consisting of a colonnaded hall and many rooms ("BUL.II"). On this level a doorpost inscribed with the name of Seti I was found on the surface.
- **Level III** **Transitional period between the last phase of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the New Kingdom**
- represented by a group of furnaces to the north of BUL.II.

(c) The Trenches

The SCA trenches were excavated by various different missions to provide an overview

of the occupation levels at the site. The results of the trench excavations have been useful in gaining a wider understanding of the site and have allowed us to direct our resources to the most important areas. The trenches are as follows:

(i) Trench I - Section A-A (Fig. 14 and Plate XIII A)

- excavated to the north of magazine MA.I, inside the city and against the northern enclosure wall. It is 2.8m long and 1.6m deep and is oriented north-east/south-west. The trench indicates five different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick enclosure wall composed of a mixture of mud and shells
- Level 2 - layer of sand containing shells
- Level 3 - mudbrick wall laid in a foundation trench, 1.5 bricks thick;
- circular ceramic furnace and sherds
- Level 4 - layer of ash, broken bricks and sherds
- Level 5 - layer of pure sand

- the trench shows that the northern enclosure wall was built on top of earlier remains and determines the northern border of the site.

(ii) Trench II - Section B-B (Fig. 15)

- excavated outside the city and against the northern enclosure wall. It is 2m long and 3.5m deep and is oriented north-east/south-west. The trench indicates three different levels:

- Level 1 - part of mudbrick enclosure wall preserved to six courses, each brick measuring 36 x 18 x 9cm; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and shells; the foundation of the enclosure is dug directly into the sand
- Level 2 - layer of sand, 50cm deep, with traces of ash and a few sherds
- Level 3 - layer of pure sand

- the trench shows that the northern enclosure wall was built on pure sand and determines the northern border of the site.

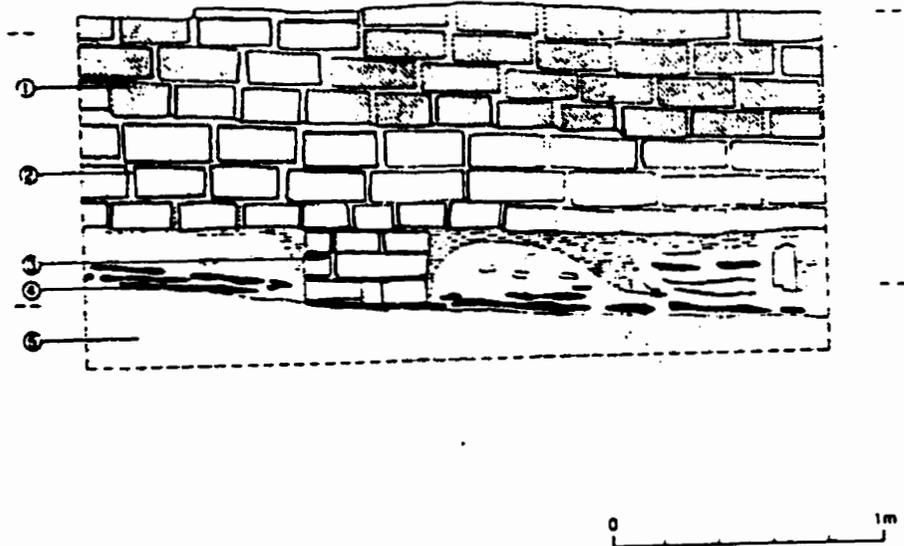


Fig. 14 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench I, Section A-A

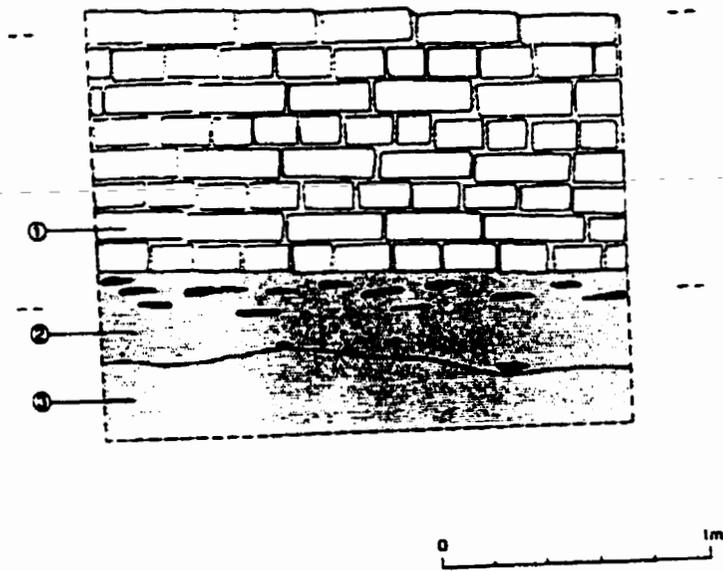
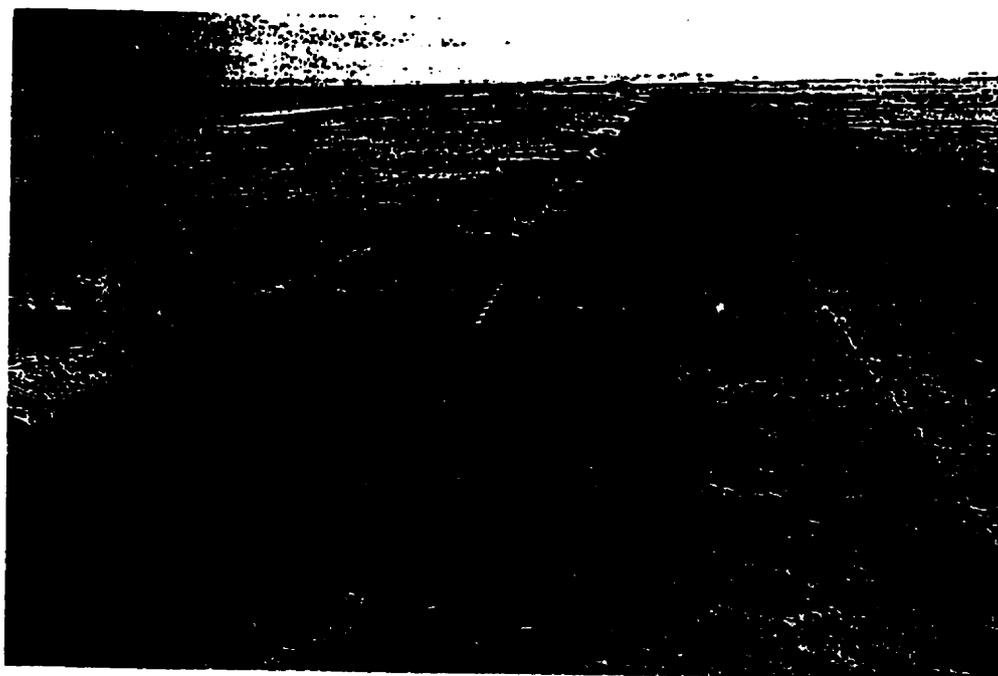


Fig. 15 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench II, Section B-B



A



B

Plate XIII A - Tell Haboua I: Trench I

Plate XIII B - Tell Haboua I: the northern enclosure wall of the fortress

(iii) Trench III - Section C-C (Fig. 16)

- excavated to the north of the granary GR.II against the northern enclosure wall. It is 3.5m long and 2.5m deep and is oriented north-east/south-west. The trench indicates three different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick enclosure wall; the mudbricks are blackish in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and a large quantity of shells; the header and stretcher construction of the wall is very regular in pattern
- Level 2 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and shells
- Level 3 - layer of pure sand

- the trench shows that the northern enclosure wall reached a depth of 1.5-1.85m and was built on pure sand of two different types of mudbrick at the limits of the ancient city.

(iv) Trench IV - Section D-D (Fig. 17)

- excavated in Street 5 against the southern wall of the granary GR.IV. It is 4m long and 1.5m deep and is oriented north-east/south-west. The trench indicates three different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick wall built directly on top of an earlier wall
- Level 2 - mudbrick wall built directly on pure sand
- Level 3 - layer of pure sand

- the trench shows the limits of construction to the east of Zone B.

(v) Trench V - Section G-G (Fig. 18)

- excavated in Street 2 outside and against the western wall of House H.II. It is 1.2m long, .8m wide and 3m deep and is oriented north-west/south-east. The trench indicates eight different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are black in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and shells; the header and stretcher construction of the wall is very regular in pattern
- Level 2 - mudbrick wall, serving as a foundation to the wall in Level 1; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and shells; the bricks are arranged in an alternating pattern above one another; there are large spaces between the bricks,

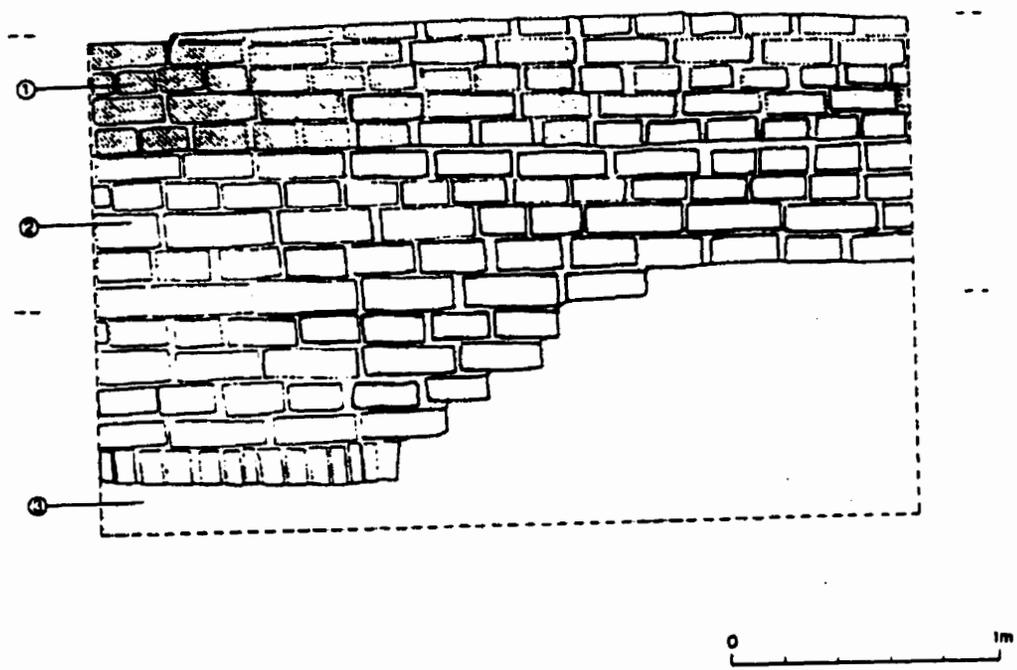


Fig. 16 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench III, Section C-C

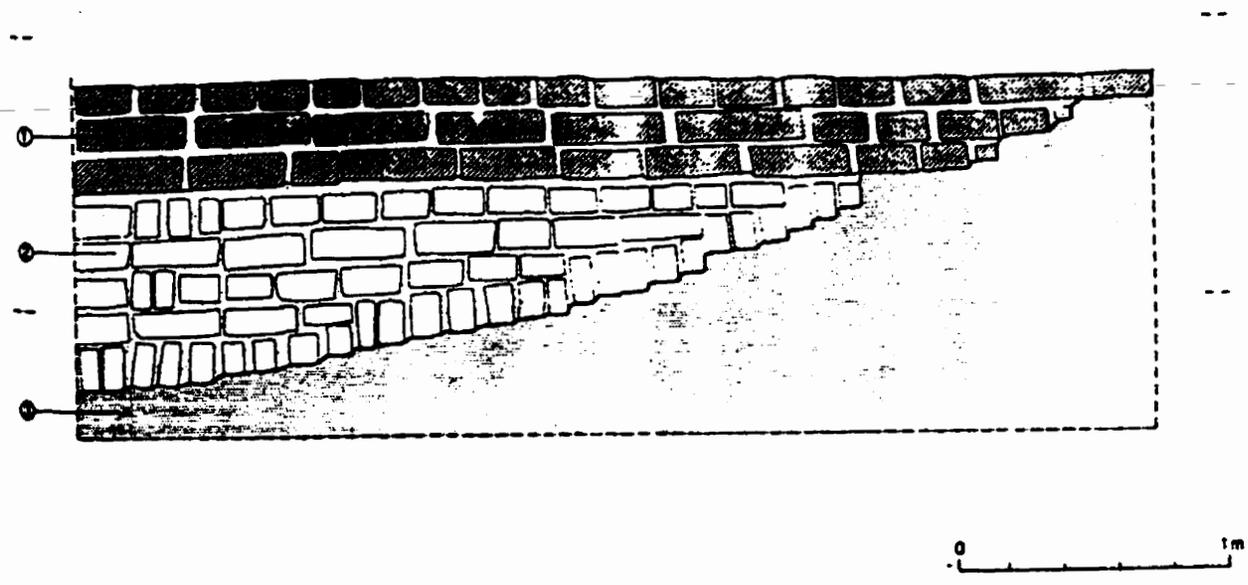
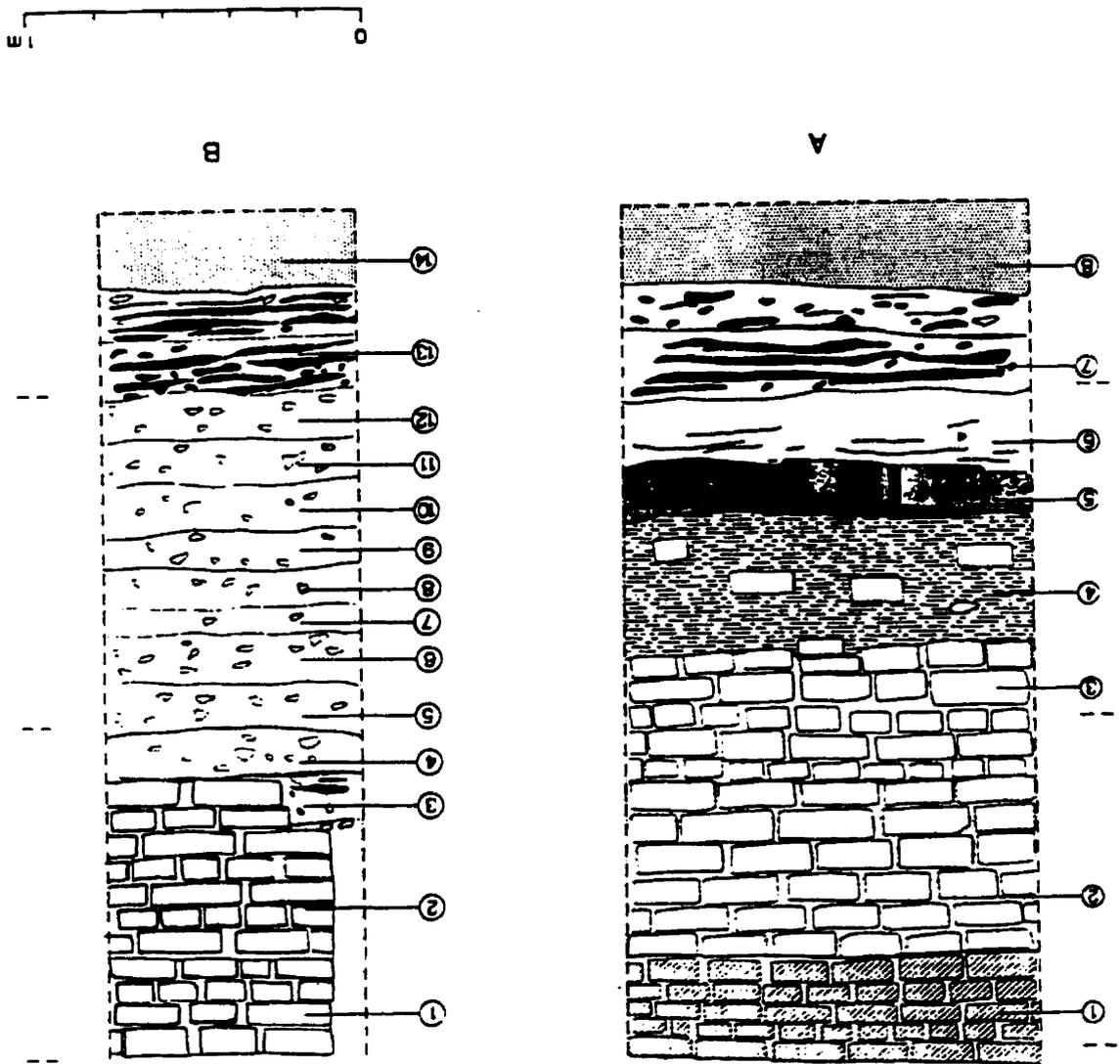


Fig. 17 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench IV, Section D-D

Fig. 18 - Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench V, Section G-G



which are filled with *mouna*; this wall is built directly on an earlier wall representing Level 3 and has the same orientation (north-west/south-east)

- Level 3 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour and are of very solid composition; the header and stretcher construction of the wall is very regular in pattern; this level revealed black-incised pottery
- Level 4 - layer of soil, containing ash, broken bricks and sherds; this level revealed a limestone seal and a jar handle
- Level 5 - mudbrick wall; each brick measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm; the wall is built on remains of broken bricks, sherds and animal bones
- Level 6 - layer of soil, containing ash and sherds
- Level 7 - layer of sand, containing ash and sherds, indicating the beginning of occupation at the site
- Level 8 - layer of pure sand

- the trench shows that, like Street 2, the three levels of construction have the same north-west/south-east orientation. The pure sand is located at a depth of 3m and below the archaeological levels.

(vi) Trench V - Section G-G (Fig. 18)

- this is the northern side of Trench V, excavated in Street 2. It is .8m long and 2.8m deep and is oriented east-west. The trench indicates fourteen different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour; the header and stretcher construction of the wall is very regular in pattern; this wall was built directly above the wall in Level 2 and represents the second phase of the House H. 1
- Level 2 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour; the bricks are arranged in an alternating pattern above one another; this wall is built directly on the debris representing Level 3
- Levels 3-12 - these levels vary in thickness from 10-15cm and are separated from each other by a layer of ash mudbrick wall; the levels contain remains of broken bricks, sherds and animal bones
- Level 13 - layer of sand, containing ash and sherds, indicating the beginning of occupation at the site
- Level 14 - layer of pure sand

(vii) Trench VI - Section E-E (Fig. 19)

- excavated in Zone B in Street 3 between the granaries area and the settlement. It is 4.5m long, 2.3m deep and is oriented north-west/south-east. The trench indicates twenty different levels:

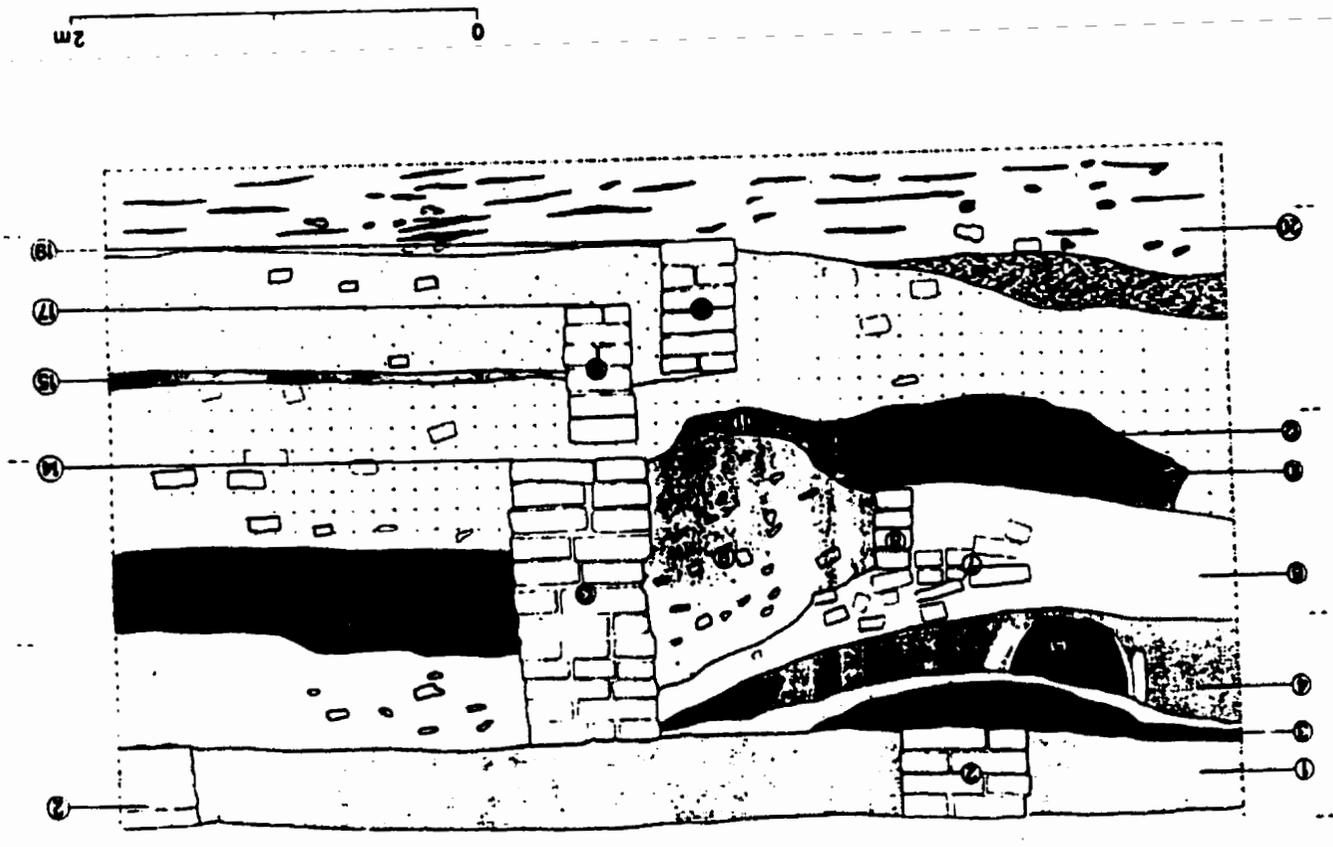
- Level 1 - destruction layer; use of the walls visible on the surface
- Level 2 - mudbrick walls
- Level 3 - layer of ash
- Level 4 - to the left: evidence of destruction
- Level 5 - to the left: furnace
- Level 6 - layer of ash
- Level 7 - destroyed wall
- Level 8 - mudbrick wall (1 brick thick)
- Level 9 - pit to the right of the wall in Level 8, containing sherds, broken bricks and ash and sherds at the base
- Level 10 - cut of the pit
- Level 11 - layer of ashy soil, containing brick fragments broken by the digging of the pit
- Level 12 - soil fill, containing ash, sherds and broken bricks
- Level 13 - thick mudbrick wall (2 bricks thick) reaching to a depth of 1.8m
- Level 14 - layer of mud, containing a few sherds
- Level 15 - use of the wall in Level 16
- Level 16 - mudbrick wall
- Level 17 - wall foundation
- Level 18 - mudbrick wall
- Level 19 - use of the wall in Level 18
- Level 20 - black ash; sherds of Tell el-Yahudiyah type and a few stones

(viii) Trench VII - Section F-F (Fig. 20)

- excavated outside the south-western corner and against the western wall of granary GR.I. It is 2.6m long and 3m deep and is oriented north-east/south-west. The trench indicates nine different levels:

- Level 1 - mudbrick wall; the mudbricks are yellowish in colour; the header and stretcher construction of the wall is very regular in pattern; the bricks of the foundation were placed horizontally and vertically; this wall was built directly on a layer of ash and constituted part of the western wall of the granary GR.I
- Level 2 - many layers of ash, broken bricks and sherds
- Level 3 - mudbrick wall; 3 bricks thick; preserved to a height of 6 courses; the wall was built on an earlier layer of debris
- Level 4 - use of the wall in Level 3; broken bricks, sherds and animal

Fig. 19 - Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench VI, Section E-E



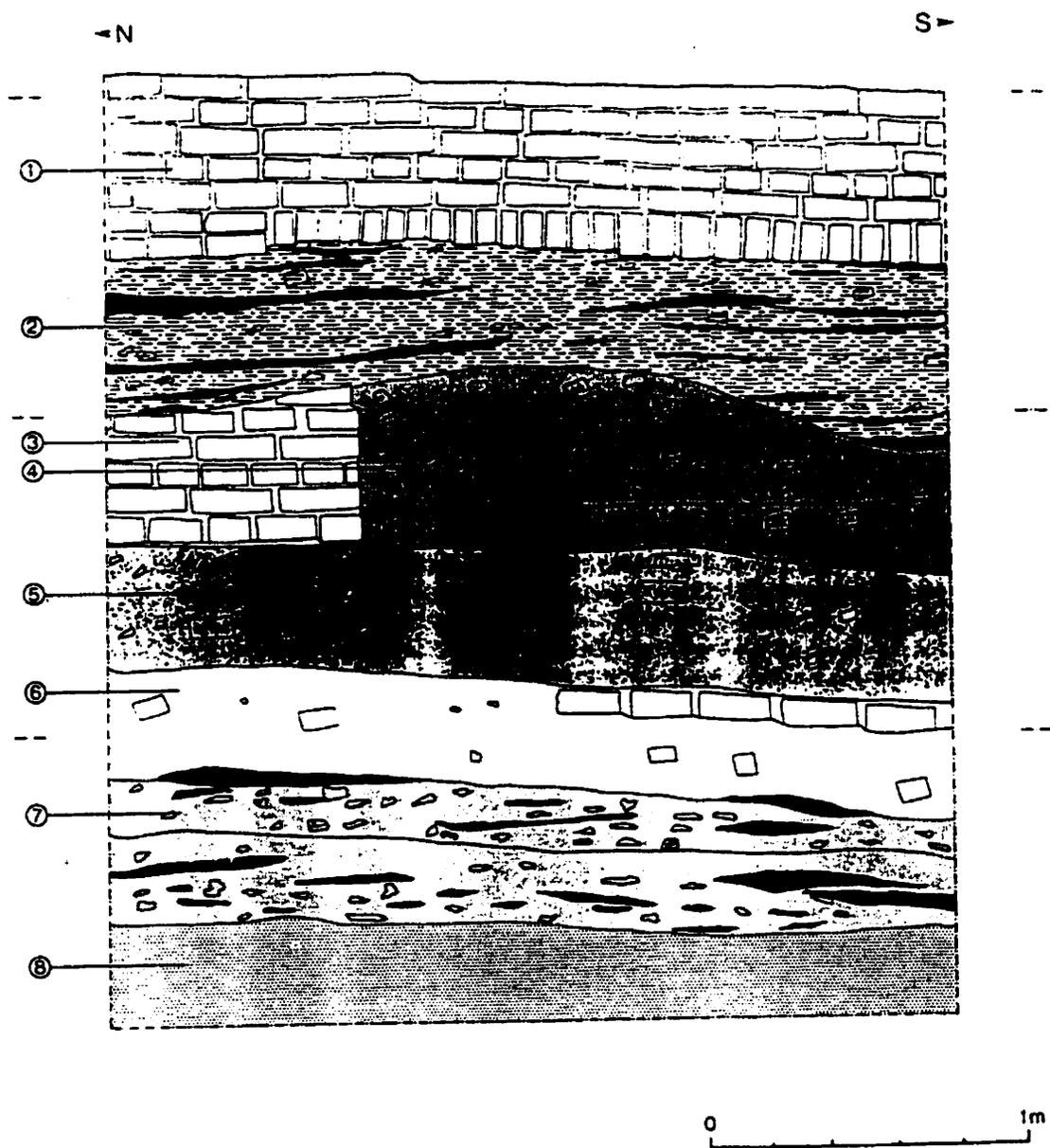


Fig. 20 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, Trench VII, Section F-F

- Level 5 bones; this level revealed one sherd of black incised pottery
- layer of compact mud, containing broken bricks, small grey stones and a few sherds
- Level 6 - layer of soil, containing a few broken bricks and sherds and a row of mudbricks (possibly a pavement)
- Level 7 - ashy layer, containing a large quantity of sherds and animal bones
- Level 8 - layer of sand, containing ash and a few sherds, indicating the beginning of occupation at the site
- Level 9 - layer of pure sand

(d) The Fortress (Zone A)

The excavation at Haboua I revealed a large rectangular fortress built of mudbricks.⁹⁷ (Fig. 21) The total measurements of the fortress cannot be ascertained exactly, because no trace remains of the eastern wall and to the south only a small part of the enclosure has been discovered. The north-western corner was completely destroyed during the recent military occupation of Sinai. Nevertheless, measurements exist for the northern and the western wall. The western wall is approximately 350m and the northern wall is preserved to a length of approximately 280m. Each brick of the main wall measures either (a) 40 x 20 x 10cm or (b) 35 x 17.5 x 5cm. The thickness of the main enclosure is 4m. The enclosure wall is preserved to a height of between 10-170cm. Along the northern and western sides of the fortress, two parallel mudbrick walls were discovered, indicating that, in addition to a main enclosure, there was a secondary enclosure wall.

⁹⁷ M. Abd El-Maksoud, "Une nouvelle forteresse sur la route d'Horus: Tell Heboua 1986 (Nord-Sinat)", *CRIPPEL* 9 (1987), 13-16.

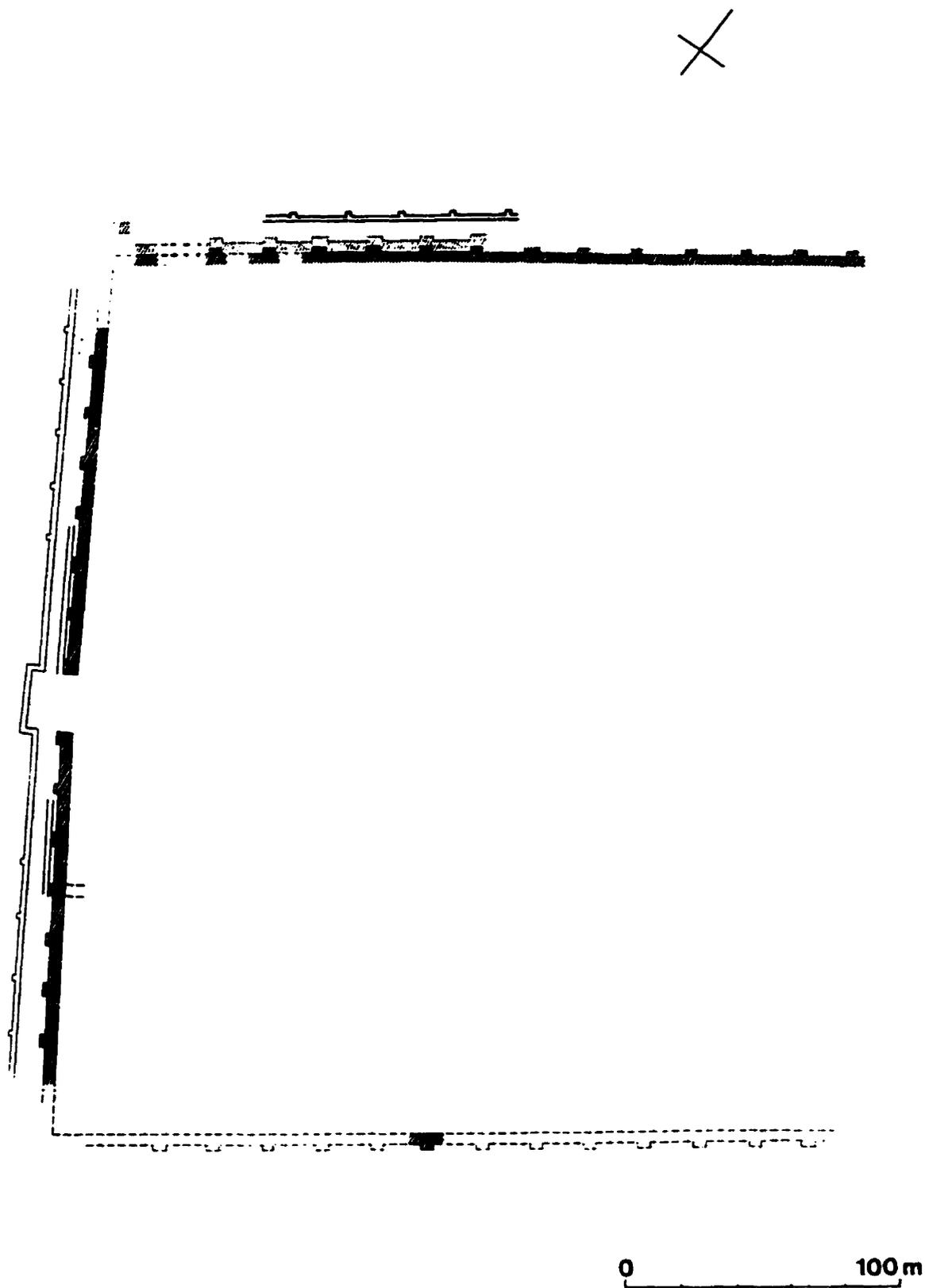


Fig. 21 – Tell Haboua I: plan of the New Kingdom fortress

(i) The Main Enclosure

The northern main enclosure wall (Plate XIII B) was reinforced by rectangular bastions placed in intervals of 14.9m, of which 10 have been preserved. Each bastion is 4.45 x 2.2m.

The western main enclosure wall survives to a height of 1.5m. It also had 10 rectangular bastions of similar size. Two bastions projected from the west gate, being the main gate of the city. The wall is built directly on pure sand.

Of the southern main enclosure wall only a fragment remains, indicating this wall also contained bastions. No trace was found of the eastern wall.

(ii) The Secondary Enclosure

The secondary enclosure wall, running parallel to the main enclosure wall, has been preserved on the northern and western sides, although, again, the north-western corner has been destroyed. This secondary wall has a thickness of 1.2m and is preserved to a height of .8m. The mudbricks used to construct the wall measure 35 x 17.5 x 8.5cm. The distance between the two walls is 7m on the northeastern side and 4.5m on the northwestern side. No excavation has been conducted in the area between the main enclosure wall and the secondary enclosure wall.

The secondary northern wall was preserved to a length of 100m and had bastions, of which five remained. The secondary western wall was preserved to a length of approximately 350m and still had 9 bastions remaining.

(iii) The Gate of the Main Enclosure

The western gate of the main enclosure is the main gate of the fortress, facing towards Egypt. The gate is 12m wide - sufficiently wide to allow the passage of chariots and large military paraphernalia.⁹⁸

The floor of the gate was paved with mudbricks, measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm, laid three layers deep. The pavement extended from outside through the gateway to the inside of the fortress. Stone slabs were found on both sides of the gate. Another slab of limestone, measuring 130 x 48 x 16cm was found 15m to the north-east of the gate and was probably used in the construction of the gate.

(e) The Granaries (Zone A)

Zone A is located on the north-western part of the site. The enclosure wall lies to the north of this zone. Zone A consists of two granaries, comprising seven silos oriented on the same axis as the enclosure wall (north-east/south-west). One granary ("GR.I") consisted of three silos ("SI.1, SI.2, SI.3"), while the second granary ("GR.II") consisted of four silos ("SI.4, SI.5, SI.6 and SI.7"). In two trenches sunk in this area we observed that the occupation level was preserved to a depth of 40-80cm in the western part of the zone. In the eastern part of the same zone, the occupation level reached a depth of 120cm. It may be inferred that the eastern part of the zone was in use for a much longer period of time.

⁹⁸ During the excavation of Haboua I (1981-present) five horse burials were found, supporting the idea that horses were present in the fortress of Tharu.

(i) Granary GR.I

GR.I in the north-west of Zone A consisted of three silos, all with the same dimensions of 3.5m diameter. (Fig. 22) The silos were built of mudbricks, measuring 35 x 17 x 8-8.5cm. Silos SI.1 and SI.2 were connected to each other by a semi-circular mudbrick wall, built of half-brick. Silo SI.3 was connected to the enclosure wall by a small mudbrick wall and to the north of this silo a child burial was found.

GR.I was provided with a furnace located to the north-east of SI.2 and attached to the northern enclosure wall. The exterior diameter of the furnace was 1.1m, while the interior diameter was .9m. The furnace was constructed of yellowish mudbricks, measuring 35 x 7.5 x 8-8.5 cm. The thickness of the furnace wall is one half-brick. The furnace seems to be from the same level as the three silos.

(ii) Granary GR.II

Granary GR.II lies in the north-eastern part of Zone A. (Fig. 22) It consisted of four silos ("SI.4, SI.5, SI.6 and SI.7"), each measuring 3.2m diameter. The silos were built of mudbricks, measuring 35 x 17 x 8-9cm and each was a half-brick thick. The floor of the silos was made of compressed mud. A thick layer of ash was found on the floor of the granary, as well as a broken pot containing fish bones.

Between silos SI.5 and SI.6, a furnace ("F.2") was also found. The furnace measured 1m in exterior diameter and was constructed of half-brick. The brick was yellowish in colour,

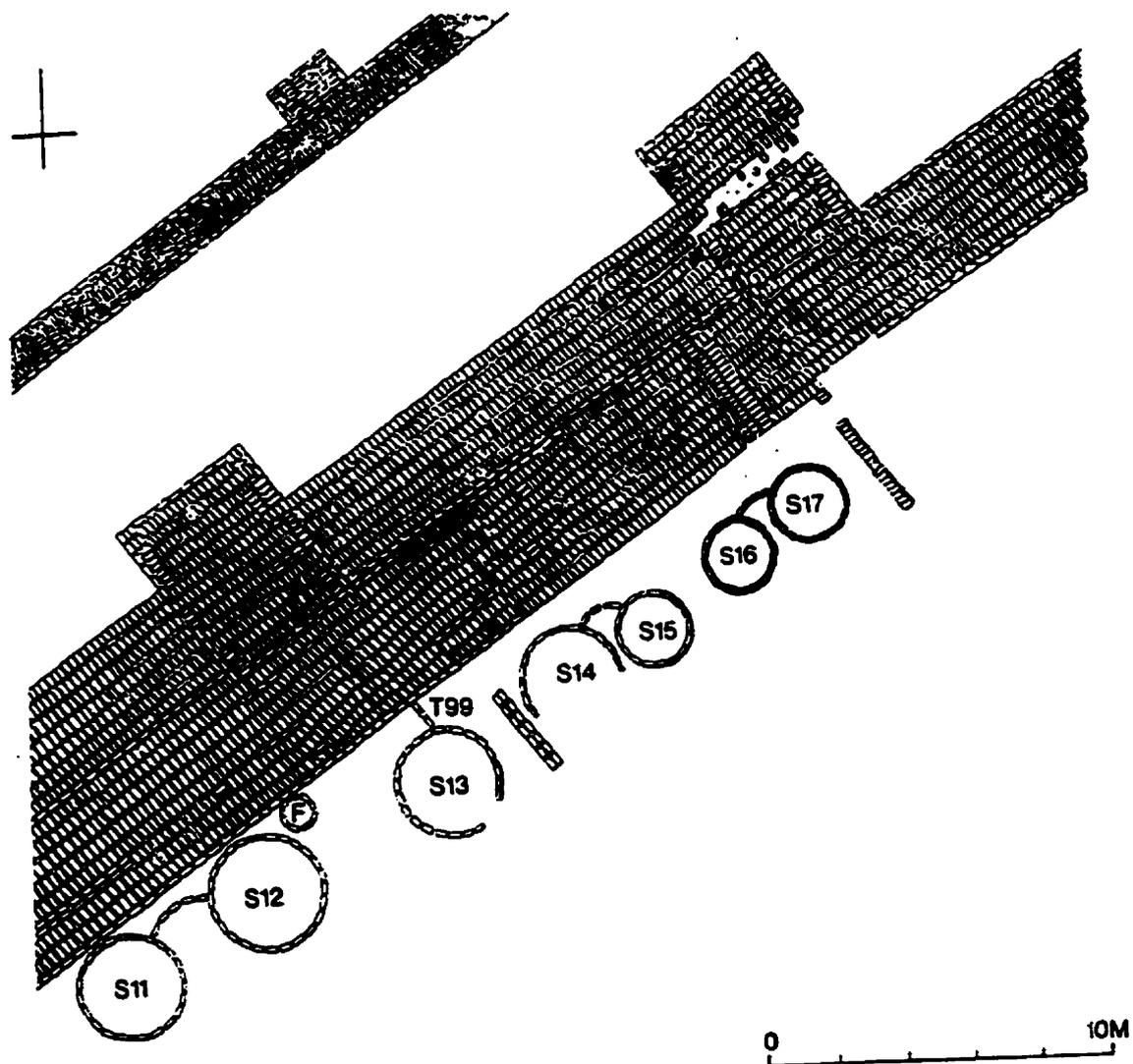


Fig. 22 -Tell Haboua I: plan of the granaries GR.I, GR.II (Zone A) and the north-western part of the fortification

measuring 35 x 17 x 8.5cm. Furnace F.2 appears to have been from the same level as the four silos.

(f) Zone B

Zone B is located at the north-eastern part of the site and runs along the southern enclosure wall. It covers an area of 100 x 25m and constitutes the highest part of the site. The remains in Zone B were in a good state of preservation and include a settlement, magazines, furnaces and buildings (Figs. 23 and 24).

Outside the northern enclosure wall and at the eastern part of the zone, many trenches were excavated and revealed pure sand, indicating that the northern limits of Zone B were at the northern enclosure wall (Trench 2, Section B-B). Similarly, on the eastern side, the eastern enclosure wall and part of the constructions of the eastern part of Zone B are founded directly on pure sand (Trench 4, Section D-D).

Excavations were conducted in these two areas to define the borders of the zone from the north and east. To the west, the zone is bordered by a row of magazines, discussed below. To the south-east, the zone is limited by the building BUL.I and to the south-west by the building BUL.IV.

(g) The Magazines (Zone B)

To the west of Zone B lie three rectangular magazines MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3, running

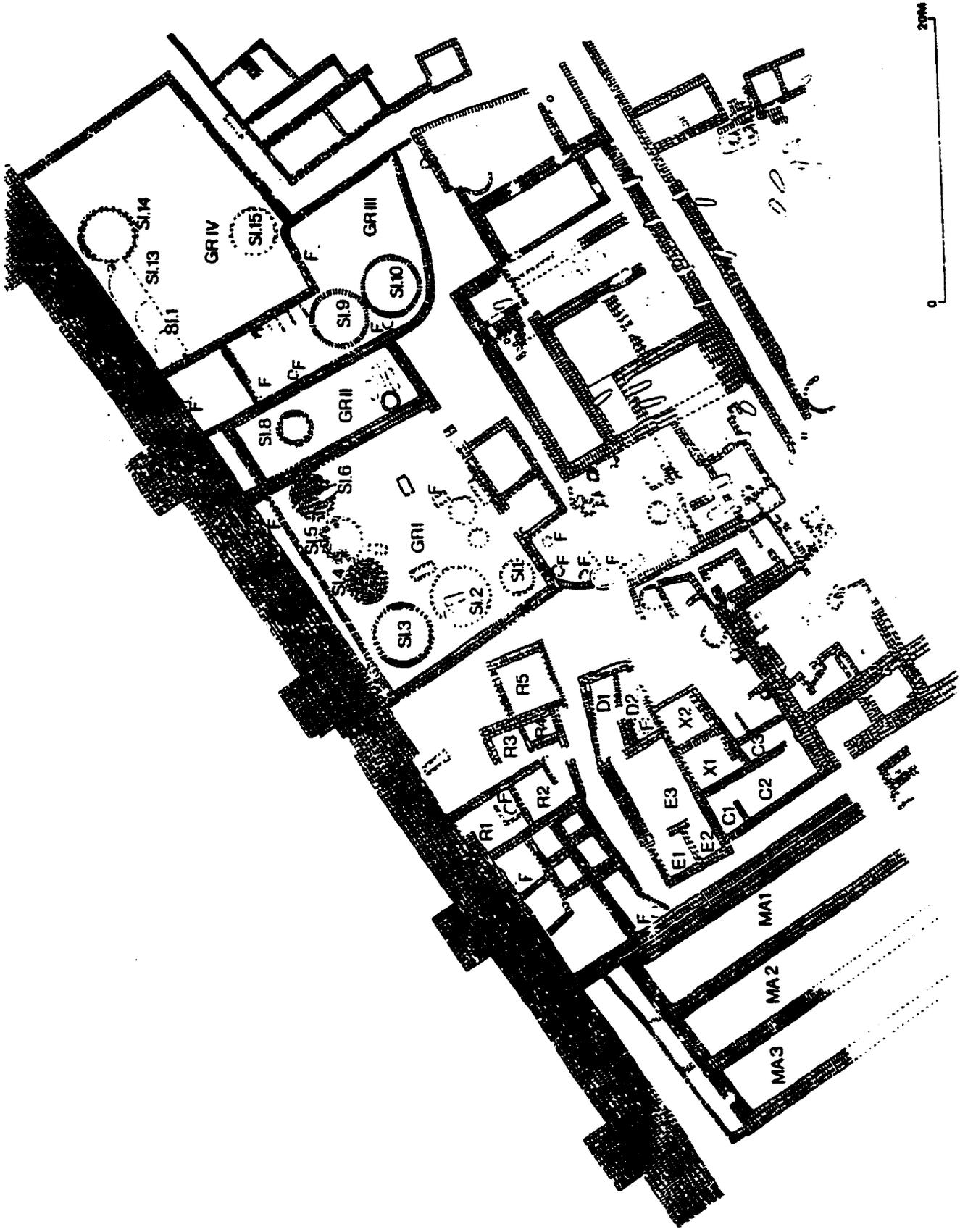
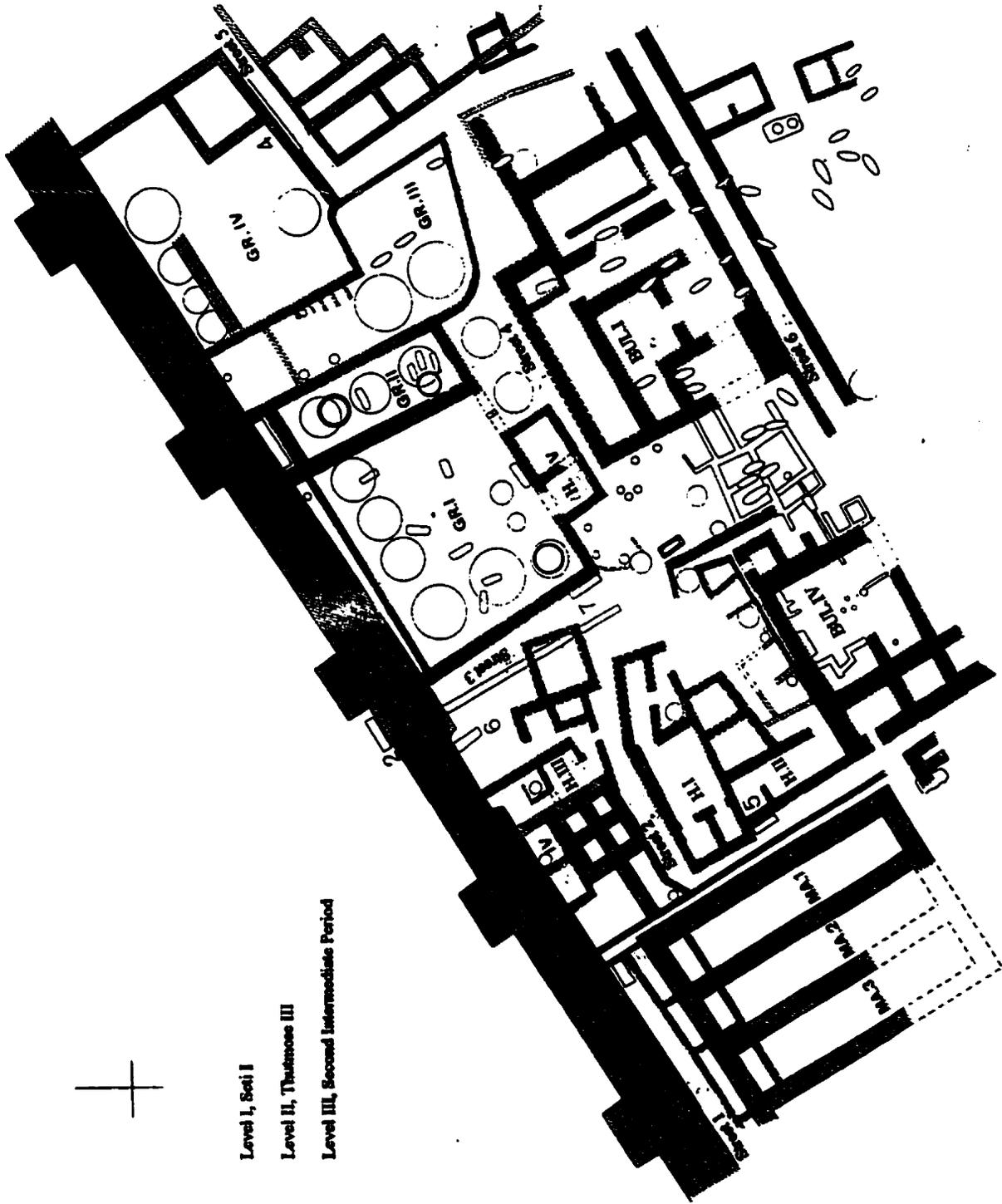


Fig. 23 - Tell Haboua I: plan of different areas of Zone B



Grey - Level I, Seti I
 Red - Level II, Thutmose III
 Green - Level III, Second Intermediate Period

Fig. 24 - Tell Haboua I: Zone B, diachronic plan

parallel to and separated from the enclosure wall by a street ("Street 1"). (Figs. 23 and 24) Street 1 is approximately 3m wide and has the same orientation as the enclosure wall and the row of magazines, apparently indicating that the magazines were designed during the same period (New Kingdom).

(i) Level 1 (MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3)

The magazines, located to the west of the settlement area, were each 25 x 3.5m. The walls were built of mudbricks, measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm. The bricks were black in colour, made of a mixture of mud and a large quantity of shells and in a very fragile state of preservation. The walls of the magazines were 1.2m thick. The floor was paved with a layer of compressed mud, 10cm thick. Underneath the mud lay a layer of sand, 5-6cm thick.

(ii) Level 2 (MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3)

The excavations at the magazine area in Street 1 and between the enclosure wall and the magazines revealed three rectangular rooms ("R.1, R.2 and R.3"). The rooms were parallel to the enclosure wall and were of varying sizes. The walls were built of mudbrick, measuring 38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm. The bricks were yellowish in colour and contained a large quantity of shell. The walls were 40cm thick.

In room R.2, a baking furnace (for bread) of 90cm exterior diameter was discovered. The furnace was constructed of the same mudbricks as the rooms. A layer of ash lay around the outside of the furnace on the floor of room R.2, together with animal bones. The rectangular

magazines - MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3 - were built directly on the top of the three rooms, R. 1, R.2 and R.3. No destruction was apparent between the two levels.

(h) The Settlement (Zone B)

The settlement area is located between the rectangular magazines to the west and the granaries to the east. (Figs. 23 and 24) It covers an area of 24 x 23m. The area of the settlement was cut in its northern part by the enclosure wall and it occupied a lower level than that of magazines MA.1, MA.2 and MA.3. Many burials were found either in the entrance, the floors or the walls of the houses.

One main street ran from the west to the east and divided the settlement area into two main units of houses. One unit consisted of Houses H.I, H.II, H.III and H.IV. The second unit was comprised of Houses H.V, H.VI, H.VII, H.VIII and H.IX. The houses were of varying sizes, but conformed to a reasonably standard plan; House H.I will be discussed in detail as an example of the design of the houses in the Zone B settlement.

(i) House H.I (Phase 1)

House H.I was located to the north of the southern unit of the settlement and was bordered on the north and west by Street 2. (Fig. 25) House H.I was rectangular and measured 10 x 5.5m. It was built of mudbricks, measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm.

House H.I consisted of three rooms: two small rooms ("E.1 and E.2") and a large room

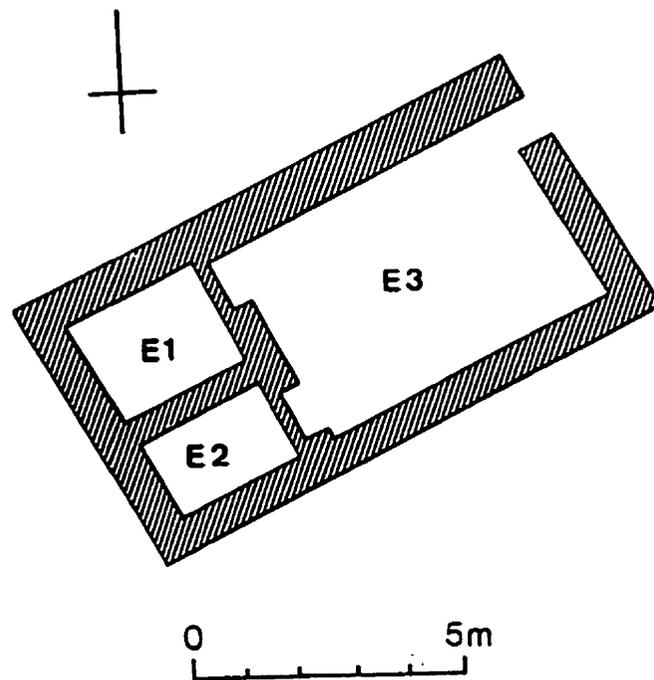


Fig. 25 - Tell Haboua I: plan of house H.I (Zone B), first phase

("E.3"). All of the rooms were constructed of mudbrick. Room E.1 lies in the north-western part of house H.1 and to the west of room E.3; it measures 2.5 x 2.2m. The brick used to construct room E.1 measured 40 x 20 x 10cm, was yellowish in colour and was composed of clay and a small quantity of shell. The thickness of the northern and western wall of this room was 60cm, while the southern wall was 40cm. The walls are preserved to a height of 20cm. The floor of room E.1 was paved with mudbricks of the same type as was used in the walls. The door of the room was at the eastern wall and measured 80cm wide.

Room E.2 of House H.1 was in the south-western part of the house and to the south of room E.1. The room measured 2.5 x 1.6m. The walls were all constructed of bricks similar to those of room E.1. The eastern, western and southern walls were 60cm thick, while the northern wall was 40cm thick. The floor was originally paved with mudbricks, but is now destroyed. The door, located in the eastern wall, was 80cm wide.

Room E.3 of House H.1 lay to the east of rooms E.1 and E.2 and was the largest room in the house. Room E.3 measures 5.7 x 4m. The walls were again of a material similar to those of the other two rooms. The thickness of the northern wall was 1m, while the southern and western walls were 60cm. Again, the floor was paved with mudbricks. The door (in the north-eastern part of the eastern wall) was of similar size to the others.

(ii) House H.1 (Phase 2)

The excavations in house H.1 revealed as a second phase the construction of an extension

in its eastern part. The extension consists of two rooms ("D.1 and D.2"), lying to the south of Street 2. Room D.1 lies to the north of D.2. The walls were built of mudbricks, measuring 35 x 17 x 8-8.5cm. The thickness of the northern and southern walls is 60cm. The door is in the southern wall of the room. A tomb ("T.127") was found under the northern wall and belongs to a level below that of D.1.

Room D.2 measured 5.5 x 1.7m and was constructed of two types of bricks: (a) 35 x 17 x 8-8.5cm and (b) 40 x 20 x 10cm. The bricks were black in colour and consisted of a mixture of mud and shells. These bricks were of poor quality. The thickness of the walls was 60cm. The floor was paved of compressed mud. The door was located in the eastern part of the southern wall.

A circular mudbrick baking furnace (for bread) was found in the western part of this room D.2. Its exterior diameter was 1.0m.

(i) The Granaries Area (Zone B)

The granaries area lies at the north-eastern part of Zone B (Figs. 23 and 24; Plates XIVA and XIVB); to the north of this area lies the northern enclosure wall. The granaries area follows a north-east/south-west orientation. The south-western part of the granaries area was located next to the settlement area, but the two areas were separated by a passageway. Beyond granary GR.IV no other construction was found. A trench was excavated against the eastern wall of GR.IV and revealed sand.

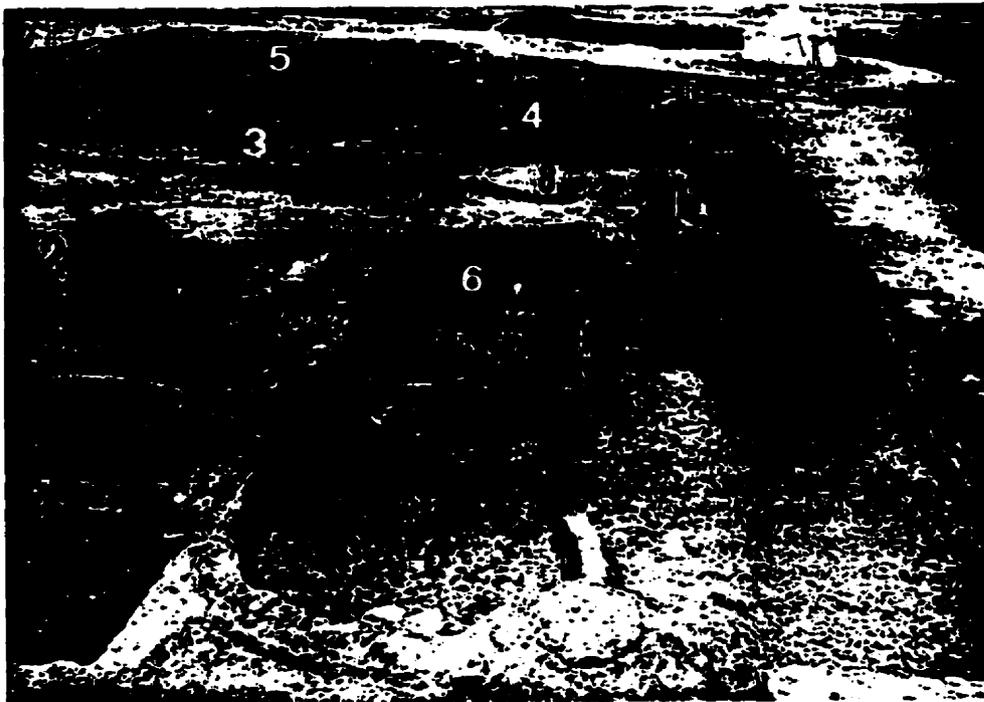


Plate XIVA - Tell Haboua I: granaries area, Zone B (north-east side)
Plate XIVB - Tell Haboua I: granaries area, Zone B (east side)

The granaries area consists of four large granaries ("GR.I, GR.II, GR.III and GR.IV") and covers an area of 1650m². Granary GR.I is roughly square, GR.II and GR.IV are roughly rectangular, while GR.III is irregular in its southern part. The four granaries together comprised ninety silos of different sizes. Many furnaces were located in the area, belonging to the same level; they were clearly used during the same period.

In the granaries area, many tombs were discovered in two different levels. The most recent level represented a Late Period cemetery.

(i) Granary GR.I

Granary GR.I is located to the north-east of the settlement area and to the west of granary GR.II. It measures 15 x 14.5m. It is surrounded by three mudbrick walls, with bricks measuring 38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm. The bricks are yellowish in colour and are composed of a mixture of mud and shells. The western and southern walls have a thickness of 60cm and were preserved to a height of six courses.

To the north of this granary GR.I, a wall of 40cm thick was added in a later period. The space between this wall and the enclosure wall was full of broken mudbrick. The floor of the granary was paved of compressed mud on which six silos ("SI.1, SI.2, SI.3, SI.4, SI.5 and SI.6") were placed.

A trench was excavated outside the south-western corner and against the western wall of

the granary. It showed that the granaries area was constructed directly on a layer of ash, 60cm thick (Trench VII - Section F-F).

Silo SI.1

Location	- south-western corner of granary GR.I
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 2.5m
Wall	- half-brick thick, preserved to 3 courses high
Floor	- not identified
Comments	- built on the remains of an earlier silo; SI.1 is the smallest silo in the granary

Silo SI.2

Location	- between SI.1 and SI.3
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm)
Diameter	- ext: 4.5m
Wall	- half-brick thick
Floor	- paved with mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm)
Comments	- two burials ("T.17 and T.18") of a later period were sunk into the floor of silo SI.2

Silo SI.3

Location	- in the north-western corner of GR.I and to the north of SI.2
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm); yellowish in colour
Diameter	- ext: 4.5m
Wall	- 40cm thick
Floor	- badly damaged; pieces of broken brick and ash were found inside the silo
Comments	- none

Silo SI.4

Location	- in the northern part of GR.I and between silos SI.3 and SI.5
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm)
Diameter	- ext: 3.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick; preserved to 1 course high
Floor	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9 cm)
Comments	- none

Silo SI.5

Location	- in the northern part of GR.I and between SI.4 and SI.6
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm); yellowish in colour
Diameter	- ext: 3.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick; preserved to 2 courses high
Floor	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9 cm)
Comments	- none

Silo SI.6

Location	- in the north-eastern corner of GR.I and attached to its eastern wall
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9cm); yellowish in colour
Diameter	- ext: 3.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick; preserved to 2 courses high
Floor	- remains of mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9 cm)
Comments	- a burial was found in the floor of the southern part of SI.6

(ii) House H.V

Outside Granary GR.I and against the southern wall, a house ("H.V") was discovered. It is rectangular in plan and measures 8 x 4.3m. It consists of two rooms ("A and B"). Room A lies at the western side of the house and measures 2.8 x 2.2m. The floor was paved with compressed mud. A big store jar was fixed in the floor in the south-western corner of the room and was probably used to store water. Room B was located to the east of Room A and measures 3.6 x 3m. A limestone doorstep (60 x 40cm) was found in the room; the door of Room B was located in the western wall.

(iii) Granary GR.II

Granary GR.II is located between GR.I and GR.III. (Fig. 26) It was a rectangular structure of 14.5 x 4.5m and was surrounded by three walls built of mudbricks (38 x 19 x 9-

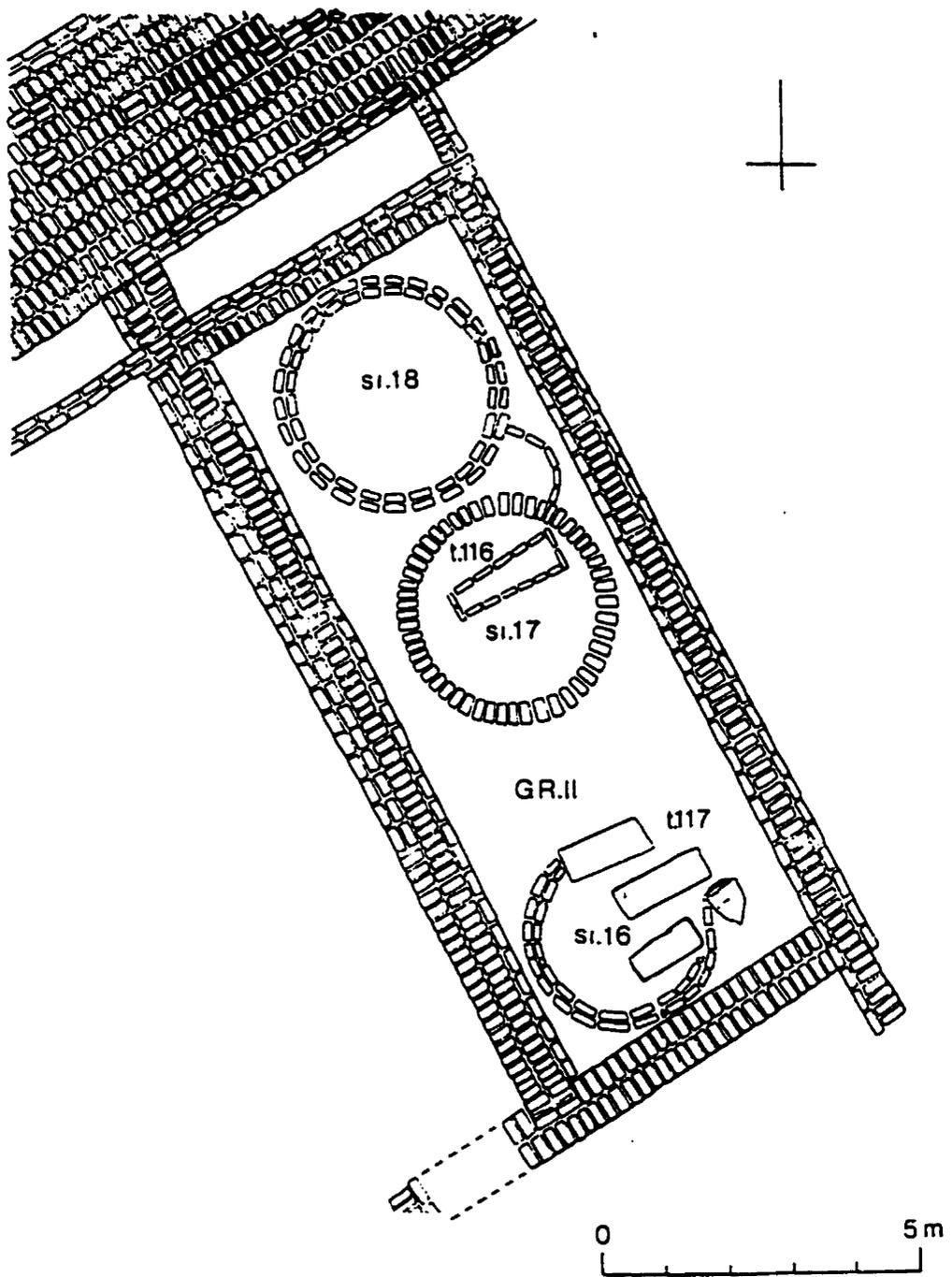


Fig. 26 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, granary GR.II, second phase

9.5cm). The bricks were yellowish in colour and composed of a mixture of mud and shells. The western wall was 1m thick, while the eastern and southern walls were .8m thick. The northern wall was added in later times and is .4m thick.

The space between the northern wall of GR.II and the northern enclosure wall contained a layer of ash, 60cm thick. The floor of the granary was paved with mudbricks of the same measurements and type as the walls.

The granary consisted of two phases of occupation. The first phase was represented by two silos ("SI.7 and SI.8"); the second phase by three silos ("SI.16, SI.17 and SI.18"). Another silo ("SI.19") was located in the street, near the southern wall of GR.II.

Granary GR.II (Phase 1)

Silo SI.7

Location	- in the northern part of GR.II
Material	- mudbrick (35 x 17.5 x 8-8.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 2m
Wall	- 40cm thick; preserved to 45cm high
Floor	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9 cm)
Comments	- none

Silo SI.8

Location	- in the south-western corner of GR.II
Material	- mudbrick (35 x 17.5 x 8-8.5cm); black (mixture of mud and shells)

Diameter	- ext: 1.5m
Wall	- half-brick thick; preserved to 30cm high
Floor	- mudbrick (35 x 17.5 x 8-8.5cm)
Comments	- none

Granary GR.II (Phase 2)

Silo SI.16

Location	- in the southern part of GR.II
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); mixture of mud and a small quantity of sherds
Diameter	- ext: 3m
Wall	- 40cm thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- in the floor a tomb was placed ("T.117"), comprising 3 adult burials and a child's amphora burial

Silo SI.17

Location	- between SI.16 and SI.18
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); mixture of mud and a small quantity of sherds
Diameter	- ext: 3.5m
Wall	- 40cm thick; preserved to 4 courses high
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- tomb ("T.116") was located in the floor

Silo SI.18

Location	- to the north of SI.17
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); mixture of mud and a small quantity of sherds
Diameter	- ext: 3.65m
Wall	- 40cm thick; preserved to 4 courses high
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Silo SI.19

Location	- outside and to the south of GR.II
Material	- mudbrick (35 x 17.5 x 8-8.5cm); mixture of mud and a small quantity of sherds
Diameter	- ext: 3.5m
Wall	- 40cm thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- a jar was fixed in the floor of SI.19

(iv) Granary GR.III

Granary GR.III is located between GR.II and GR.IV. It has mudbrick walls (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); the bricks are yellowish and black in colour and are comprised of a mixture of mud and shells. The walls are of irregular shape, but the structure measures approximately 30 x 20m. The thickness of the walls is 60cm, except for the western wall (80cm). The floor is made of compressed mud and a large amount of ash and sherds was found on the floor. GR.III is represented by two silos ("SI.9 and SI.10").

To the north of GR.III - between GR.II and GR.IV - there was a space measuring 4.5 x 4.2m. A circular furnace was found in this space. The furnace was built against the northern enclosure wall. The floor of this space was covered in ash.

Silo SI.9

Location	- to the south-west of GR.II and to the north of SI.10
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 3.5m
Wall	- 40cm thick

Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Silo SI.10

Location	- in the south-western corner of GR.III and to the south of SI.9
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 3.5m
Wall	- 40cm thick
Floor	- destroyed, but remains of mudbrick
Comments	- inside SI.10 a jar was found with fishbones inside

(v) Granary GR.IV

Granary GR. IV is located to the north-east of GR.III. It is rectangular in shape and measures 17 x 12.5m. The walls are constructed of mudbrick, measuring 38 x 19 x 9.5cm; the bricks are yellowish and are comprised of mud and shells. The walls range in thickness from 60 to 80cm. The walls are preserved to a height of 50cm. The eastern and southern walls were built in later times, after the eastern wall of granary GR.IV.

Granary GR.IV is represented by three different layers of occupation. The first, and most recent, is located at the south-eastern corner of the granary. The construction of this layer partly destroyed silos SI.11, SI.12 and SI.13, which represent the second, earlier layer of occupation. The third and oldest layer lies directly under a layer of ash (50cm thick). The remains of two silos ("SI.14 and SI.15") are located in this third layer.

Silo SI.11

Location	- in the north-western part of GR.IV and to the west of SI.14
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 2.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Silo SI.12

Location	- in the north-western part of GR.IV and to the west of SI.14
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 2.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Silo SI.13

Location	- in the north-western part of GR.IV and to the west of SI.14
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); black in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 2.2m
Wall	- half-brick thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- the southern part of the silo is completely destroyed

Silo SI.14

Location	- to the east of SI.13
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 3.4m
Wall	- 40cm thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Silo SI.15

Location	- in the south-western part of GR.IV
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9.5cm); yellowish (mixture of mud and shells)
Diameter	- ext: 3.5m
Wall	- 20cm thick
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

(j) Group 1 of Furnaces (Zone B)

In a more recent level than the granaries and to the south thereof, a group of four furnaces ("F.1, F.2, F.3 and F.4") was found. (Figs. 23 and 24) Generally, the furnaces are circular mudbrick structures, but one furnace was of rectangular construction. Each had the remains of a circular ceramic tray on top of the furnace of the kind still in use today in the villages in Egypt.

The details of the furnaces are discussed below.

Furnace F.1

Location	- to the south of GR.I and to the north-east of furnace F.3
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- kiln - ext: 1m
Wall	- half-brick thick
Comments	- rectangular construction; remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.2

Location	- to the south of GR.I and to the west of furnace F.3
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: 1.5m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- circular structure; pieces of rough pottery were found at the bottom of the furnace; remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.3

Location	- to the south of GR.I and to the east of furnace F.2 and F.1
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: 2.2m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.4

Location	- to the north-eastern corner of GR.I and built against the northern enclosure wall
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: .6m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

(k) Group 2 of Furnaces (Zone B)

A second group of furnaces was also discovered in Zone B, consisting of four furnaces ("F.5, F.6, F.7 and F.8") was found. (Figs. 23 and 24) These furnaces lay outside and to the south-west of granary GR.I. Furnaces F.5, F.6 and F.7 were built on top of a layer of ash, 25cm thick. Furnace F.8 was located below this layer of ash. The furnaces seem to have all been used for breadmaking.

Furnace F.5

Location	- outside and at the south-eastern corner of GR.I
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: .8m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.6

Location	- outside and to the south-west of GR.I, against its southern wall
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: .8m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.7

Location	- outside and to the south-west of GR.I
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Diameter	- ext: .8m
Wall	- 20cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace

Furnace F.8

Location	- outside and to the south-west of GR.I
Material	- mudbrick (40 x 20 x 10cm)
Diameter	- ext: 1.0m
Wall	- 40cm
Comments	- remains of circular ceramic tray found on top of the furnace; located in a level below F.6, F.7 and F.8

(I) Building BUL.I (Zone B)

A big building ("BUL.I") was located to the south-west of the granaries area. (Figs. 23, 24 and 27) This building was bordered to the north by Street 4, to the south by Street 6 and to the east by Street 5. On the west lies another large building ("BUL.IV"), which is not discussed herein. The eastern part of the building was built on top of earlier remains and to the north Street 2 separates the building from granaries GR.I and GR.II. The building is rectangular and has a north-east/south-west orientation. It consists of three rectangular halls ("Hall a, Hall b and Hall

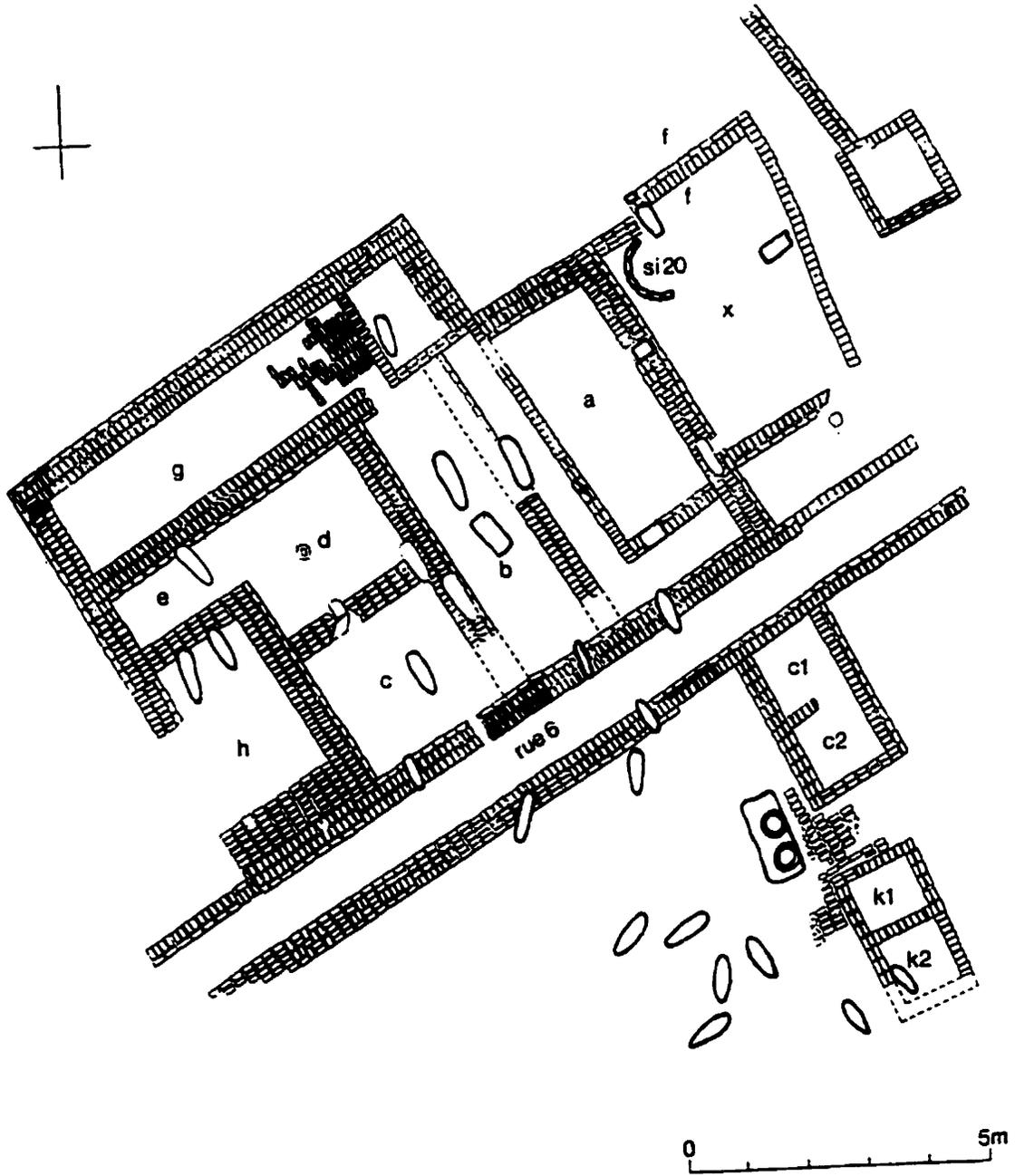


Fig. 27 – Tell Haboua I: Zone B, building BUL.I

g”), two rooms (“Room c and d”), a magazine (“e”) and an entrance-way (“h”).

(i) Hall a

Hall a is located at the eastern part of building BUL.I. It is rectangular in plan and measures 9.7 x 5m. The walls were built of mudbricks measuring either 38 x 19 x 9.5 or 40 x 20 x 10cm. The thickness of the northern, southern and eastern walls is 1m; the south-eastern part of the western wall was destroyed by a tomb (“T.132”) dating to a later period. Another tomb (“T.140”) was placed on the southern wall of the hall. The floor was originally paved with mudbrick; a few mudbricks were found measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm. The entrance of the hall was in the southern part of the eastern wall.

(ii) Hall b

Hall b - located to the east of the two rooms, Room c and Room d and to the east of Hall a - is also rectangular in plan and measures 9.9 x 2.8m. The walls are built of the same kind of mudbricks as Hall a. The thickness of the eastern wall is 60cm, while the others measure 1m thick. The western, southern and northern wall were partly destroyed by later tombs (“T.136 and T.137”). The mudbrick paving of Hall b also measured 40 x 20 x 10cm per brick and was placed directly on a layer of sand 25cm thick. The door - 1m wide - was located in the southern part of the western wall. A rectangular limestone block was found in the middle of the hall. Most probably it served as a doorstep.

(iii) Room c

To the west of Hall b lies Room c, constructed of mudbrick and measuring 38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm. The room measures 5 x 4.5m; the walls of the room measure 1m thick. The southern wall was partly damaged by two tombs ("T.142 and T.143") and the northern wall was completely destroyed. The floor was paved with compressed mud. Another tomb ("T.138") was found in the middle of the room, dating to a later period. The door in the northern wall leads to Room d.

(iv) Room d

To the north of Room c lies another room, Room d, measuring 5 x 4.5m. The walls were built of the same mudbrick as in Room c. The northern, eastern and western walls were 1m thick, while the southern wall was 80cm thick. The floor was made of compressed mud; a layer of ash, sherds and animal bones were found on the floor.

(v) Hall g

Hall g occupies the whole northern part of BUL.I. It is rectangular and measures 14 x 2.9m. The walls are 1m thick and are built of the mudbrick measuring 40 x 20 x 10cm. A few bricks on the floor were preserved and measured 40 x 20 x 10cm.

(vi) Hall x

To the east of building BUL.I and to the north of Street 6, a hall ("x") was found. The hall belongs to an earlier date than the building. The walls of Hall x were made of mudbrick., measuring 38 x 19 x 9.5cm; the thickness of the north and south walls was 60cm. The thickness

of the east wall was 40cm. Two furnaces of ceramics were built against the northern wall - one on the inside and the other on the outside.

(m) Other Features of Zone B

At the southern part of Zone B, the excavations revealed three houses, a large building and a group of seventeen furnaces. These structures will be published in the future and are not discussed herein.

(n) Zone C

Zone C is situated in the south-eastern part of the site, located inside the city near the southern enclosure wall. The excavations in this zone revealed many structures:

- a large building ("BUL.II");
- group of 15 furnaces;
- many tombs; and
- a wavy wall.

For the sake of brevity, only BUL.II will be discussed herein.

(o) Building BUL.II (Zone C)

The large building BUL.II, located in the south-eastern part of the site - consisted of a colonnaded hall ("Hall K") and a number of rooms. (Fig. 28)

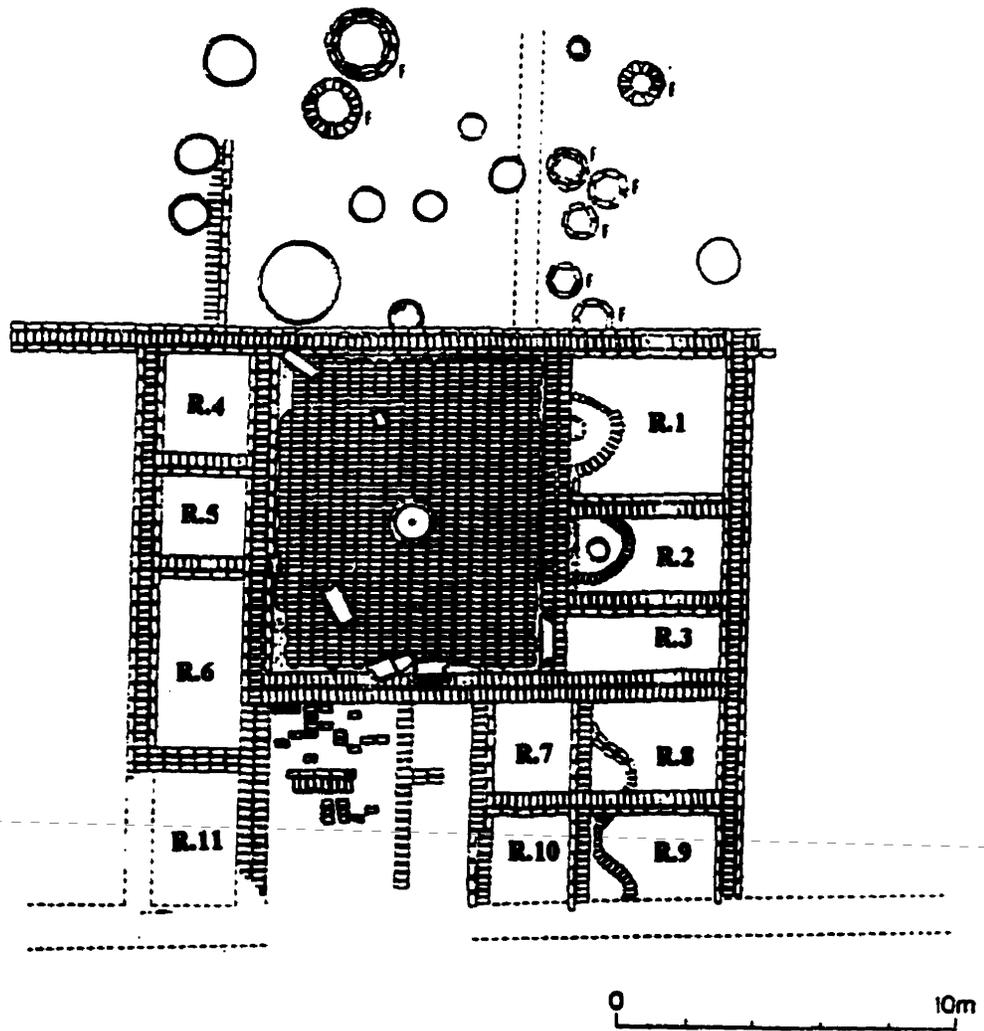


Fig. 28 - Tell Haboua I: Zone C, building BUL.II

(i) Hall K

Hall K is located at the centre of the building. To the east lie three rooms ("R.1, R.2 and R.3") to the west lie three rooms ("R.4, R.5 and R.6"). The hall measures 9.1 x 7.7m and was built of mudbrick. The bricks were either 38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm or 40 x 20 x 10cm, were yellowish in colour and were composed of a mixture of mud and shells. The thickness of the walls was 80cm. The walls were preserved to a height of only 2 courses. The floor was paved with well-preserved mudbricks (40 x 20 x 10cm), placed directly on a layer of sand. In the centre of the hall, a limestone column base (diam. 42cm) was located.

The main door of building BUL.II was in the southern wall of this Hall K and was of double width. Many limestone blocks found *in situ* most probably served as doorsteps. Building BUL.II contained eleven rooms ("R.1, R.2, R.3, R.4, R.5, R.6, R.7, R.8, R.9, R.10 and R.11"), which are described below

(ii) The Rooms in BUL.II***Room R.1***

Location	- north-east of Hall K
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Dimensions	- 4.4 x 4m
Wall	- eastern, western and northern walls: 80cm thick; southern wall: 60cm thick
Floor	- mudbrick (40 x 20 x 10cm)
Comments	- the location of the door could not be determined

Room R.2

Location	- east of Hall K, between Room R. 1 and R.3
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm)
Dimensions	- 4.4 x 2.2m
Wall	- eastern and northern walls: 80cm thick; southern and western walls: 60cm thick; preserved to 2 courses high
Floor	- damaged, but remains of mudbrick (40 x 20 x 10cm)
Comments	- none

Room R.3

Location	- south-east of Hall K
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions	- 4.4 x 1.5m
Wall	- eastern and southern walls: 80cm thick; northern and western walls: 60cm thick; preserved to 2 courses high
Floor	- mudbrick (40 x 20 x 10cm)
Comments	- door (70cm wide) in the western wall; a limestone doorstep was found

Room R.4

Location	- north-east of Hall K
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions	- 2.9 x 2.35m
Wall	- eastern, western and northern walls: 80cm thick; southern wall: 60cm thick; preserved to 2 courses high
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- door (90cm wide) in the eastern wall; a limestone doorstep was found <i>in situ</i>

Room R.5

Location	- west of Hall K
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and sand)
Dimensions	- 2 x 2.2m
Wall	- eastern and western walls: 80cm thick; northern and southern wall: 60cm

Floor thick
Comments - compressed mud
 - the location of the door could not be determined

Room R.6

Location - southwest of Hall K
Material - mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and sand)
Dimensions - 4.9 x 2.4m
Wall - eastern and western walls: 80cm thick; northern and southern walls: 60cm thick
Floor - compressed mud
Comments - the location of the door could not be determined

Room R.7

Location - south of Hall K
Material - mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud, sand and shells)
Dimensions - 2.6 x 2.2m
Wall - southern, eastern and western walls: 60cm thick; northern wall: 80cm thick
Floor - compressed mud
Comments - the location of the door could not be determined; two later tombs ("T.156 and T.157") were dug into the floor of room R.7

Room R.8

Location - east of Room R.7
Material - mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions - 3.6 x 2.6m
Wall - northern and eastern walls: 80cm thick; southern and western walls: 60cm thick
Floor - compressed mud
Comments - a layer of ash covered the floor

Room R.9

Location	- south of Room R.8
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions	- 3.6 x 2.4m
Wall	- northern and western walls: 60cm thick; eastern wall: 80cm thick; preserved to 1 course high; the southern wall has been completely destroyed
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- a large quantity of ash covered the floor

Room R.10

Location	- west of Room R.9
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions	- 2.4 x 2.2m
Wall	- northern, eastern and western walls: 60cm thick; southern wall has been completely destroyed
Floor	- compressed mud
Comments	- none

Room R.11

Location	- south of Room R.6
Material	- mudbrick (38 x 19 x 9-9.5cm); yellowish in colour (mixture of mud and shells)
Dimensions	- 3.6 x 2m
Wall	- northern and eastern walls: 60cm thick; southern and western wall have been completely destroyed
Floor	- not identified
Comments	- R.11 has been reconstructed; some details of the room are speculative

(p) Zone D

Zone D is located at the eastern part of the site and occupies an area of 800m², between Zone B (to the north) and C (to the south). The excavations at Zone D revealed different levels

of occupation, the most recent of which was represented by the tombs (New Kingdom through Late Period) and the most ancient level by late Second Intermediate Period remains. The main structures discovered in this Zone D are as follows:

- settlement (houses "H.01, H.02 and H.03"); (Figs. 29 and 30)
- a large building ("BUL.III"); and
- tombs and burials.

For the sake of brevity, only certain representative tombs will be discussed herein; the remainder will be discussed in a later publication.

(q) Tombs and Burials

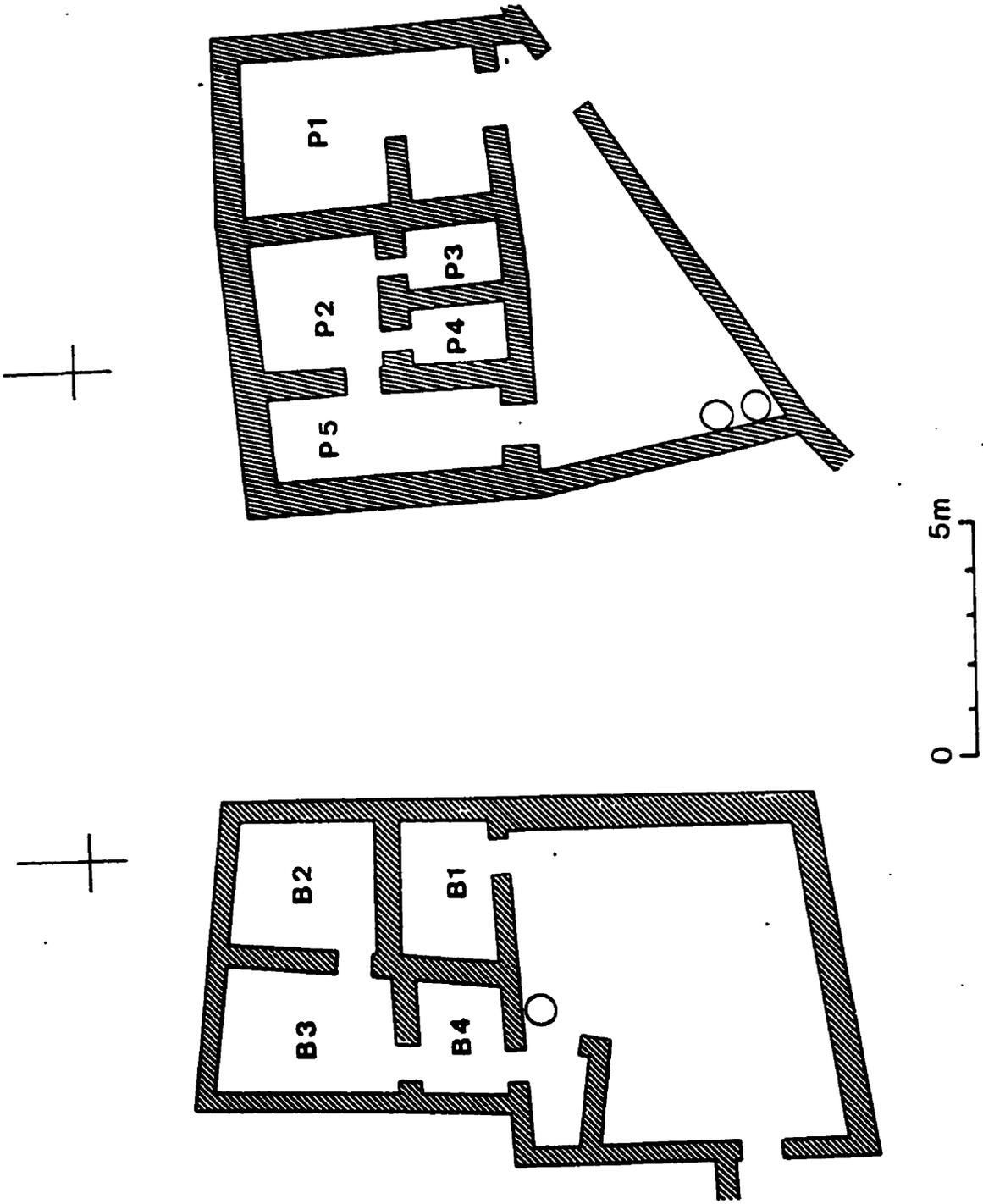
The excavations at Haboua I revealed various different types of tombs and burials. (Fig. 31) Seventy-one tombs and burials were discovered, which may be divided into certain distinct types (A-G). One representative tomb of each type will be discussed below.

Type A Type A consists of a rectangular grave, lacking any kind of construction, although sometimes covered with broken bricks and other times with soil. These Type A's were generally only used for an individual burial. The body was usually placed in a hole, either in the floor of a building or in the top of a wall. Examples were found in Zone B, in the settlement and the granaries area. (Plates XVA, XVB and XVC)

Type B Type B consists of a grave placed in the sand outside the enclosure wall (northern

Fig. 30 - Tell Haboua I: Zone D, house H.03

Fig. 29 - Tell Haboua I: Zone D, house H.02



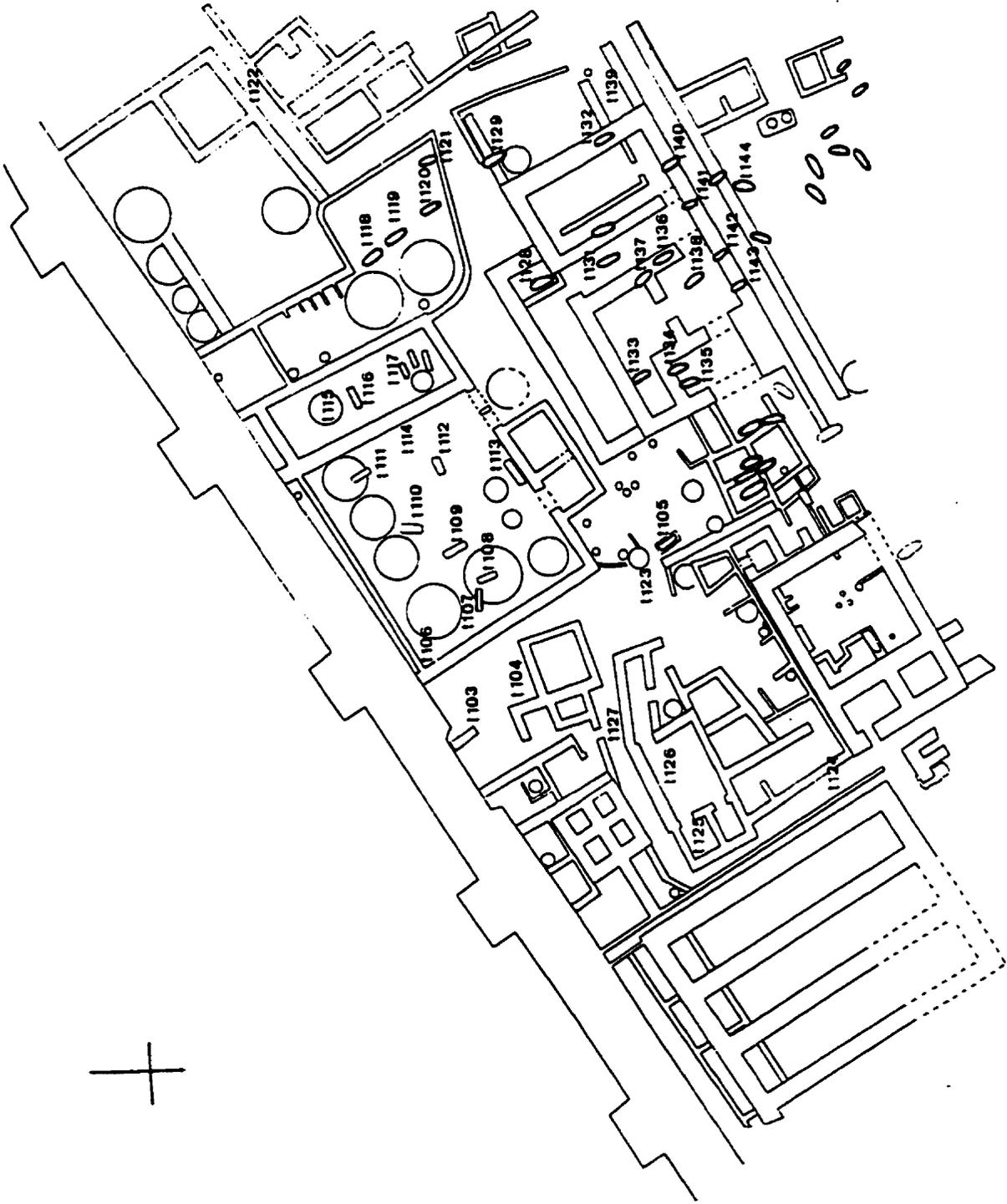


Fig. 31 -- Tell Haboua I: Zone B, situation of different tombs and burials



Plate XVA - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.111 in granary GR.I, silo SI.6

Plate XVB - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.107 in silo SI.2

Plate XVC - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.108 in silo SI.2

and western walls) in the corners where the bastion meets the enclosure wall. These graves were mostly used for children.

Type C This type of burial falls into two forms: rectangular with rounded angle or rectangular with an ovoid angle. Sometimes the burials were covered with a mixture of sand and lime. The burial was placed either in a wall or the floor of a building. Many examples were found in Zone B and D.

Type D Type D consists of a child burial placed in an amphora. (Plate XVIA) This type D was discovered in Zone B in the granaries area. Burials similar to Type D are known in Egypt and Palestine during the Second Intermediate Period.⁹⁹

Type E Type E is represented by a type of tomb constructed of three new mudbrick walls, placed against an existing wall. The tomb follows the same orientation as the existing wall. Type E is rectangular in shape and was usually reserved for individuals. Many examples were found in Zone B (e.g. T.113 and T.122). The same types of burials were found at Tell el-Dab^a, dating to the late Second Intermediate Period (Stratum D/3).¹⁰⁰

Type F Type F is a tomb consisting of a rectangular structure. (Plate XVIB and XVIC)

⁹⁹ E.C.M. van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab^a* (Vienna, 1982), 28-29; figs. 32, 33 and 34.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 26-39; fig. 48.



A



B



C

Plate XVIA - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.117

Plate XVIB - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.116

Plate XVIC - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.116, objects

The walls were built of mudbrick; the wall thickness was mostly halfbrick. A door was located in one side and led to a semi-circular chamber containing the funerary objects. The head of the body was always placed facing the door.

Type G Type G is represented by a burial in a limestone sarcophagus. (Fig. 32 and Plate XVII) The sarcophagus was placed directly in the sand, without any surrounding brickwork or structure. The only example was found in Zone D.

One example of each type of tomb or burial will be discussed below:

T.107 (Type A) (Plate XV B)

Level	- IV
Location	- to the west of granary GR.I and to the north of silo SI.2; Zone B
Structure	- grave (Type A)
Dimensions	- 1.6 x 1.5m
Orientation	- north-south
Burial	- adult skeleton in poor condition
Position	- lying on the right side; head to the north; facing west

T.99 (Type B)

Level	- III
Location	- outside and against the northern enclosure wall; Zone A
Structure	- burial in sand (Type B)
Dimensions	- 1.5 x .5m
Orientation	- north-east/ south-west; parallel to the northern enclosure wall
Burial	- adult skeleton in poor condition
Position	- lying on the back; head to the south-west

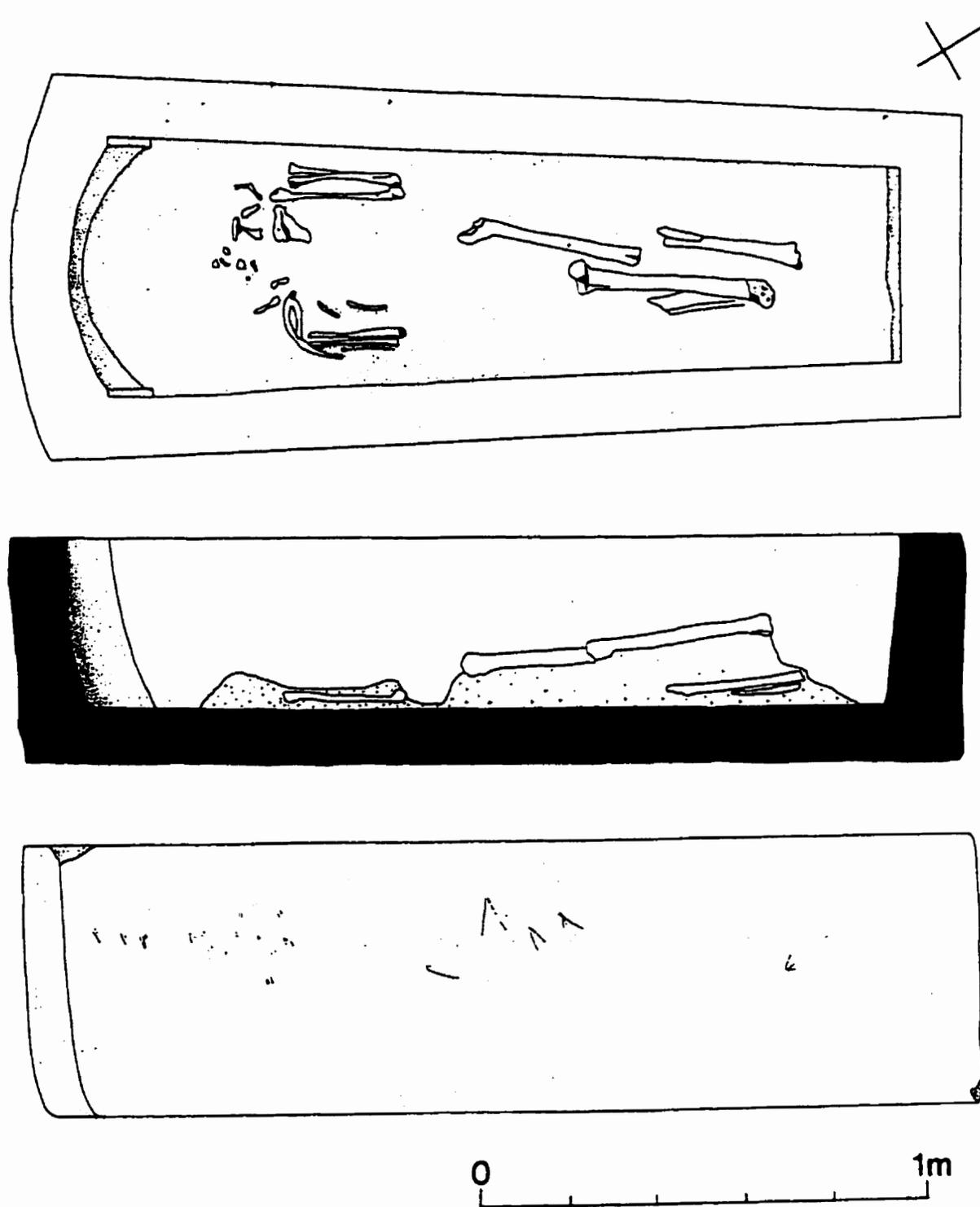


Fig. 32 – Tell Haboua I: Zone D, limestone sarcophagus

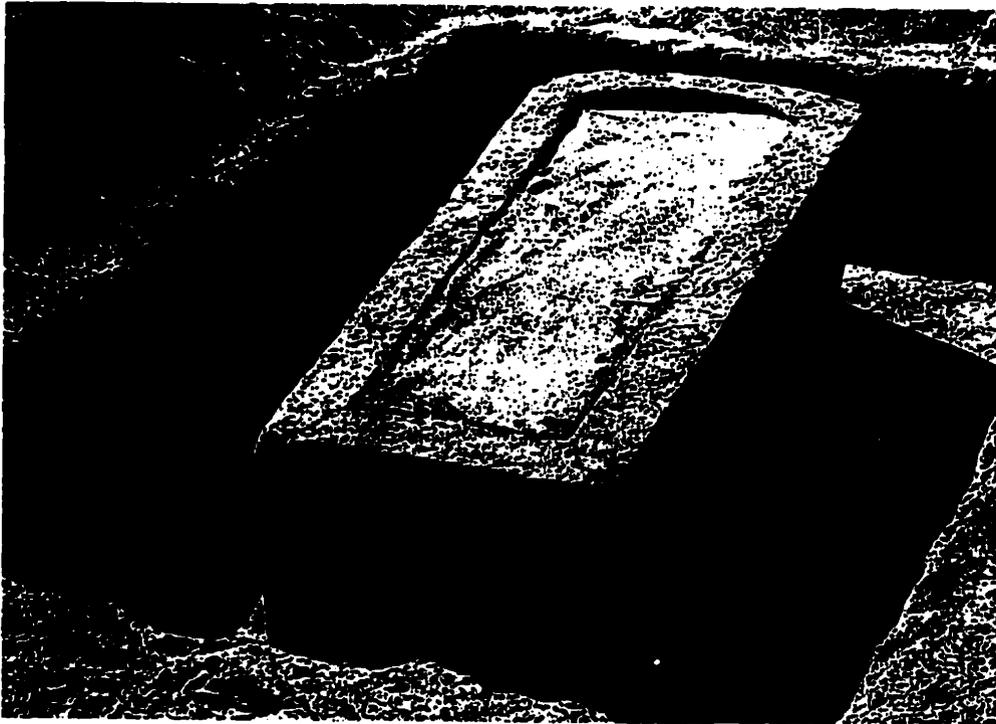


Plate XVII - Tell Haboua I: Tomb T.157, limestone

T.119 (Type C)

Level	- I
Location	- north of GR.III and to the east of SI.4; Zone B
Structure	- grave (Type C)
Dimensions	- 1.5 x .65m
Orientation	- north-west/ south-east
Burial	- adult skeleton
Position	- lying on the back; head to the south-east

T.168 (Type D)

Level	- III
Location	- southern wall of the building BUL.IV; Zone B
Structure	- amphora burial
Dimensions	- 1.35 x .9m
Orientation	- east-west
Burial	- burial of a child in an amphora, placed on the wall
Position	- difficult to determine

T.122 (Type E)

Level	- III
Location	- at the entrance of Street 5, against the southern wall of granary GR.IV; Zone B
Structure	- tomb built of three mudbrick walls against the southern wall of granary GR.IV
Dimensions	- 1.9 x .65m
Orientation	- north-east/south-west
Burial	- a complete adult skeleton (1.6m long)
Position	- lying on the right side; head to the north-east; facing north-west

T.166 (Type F)

Level	- III
Location	- to the west of BUL.I; Zone B
Structure	- tomb built of four mudbrick walls
Dimensions	- 1.5 x .9m
Orientation	- north-south
Burial	- an incomplete adult skeleton
Position	- lying on the back; head to the south

T.157 (Type G) (Plate XVII)

Level	- I
Location	- to the east of Zone D
Structure	- limestone sarcophagus in the sand
Dimensions	- 1.66 x .6m
Orientation	- north-east/south-west
Burial	- adult skeleton in poor condition
Position	- lying on the back; head to the north-east

5. Commentary

The excavation of Haboua I revealed very significant structures; for the sake of brevity, some of these structures will be published in further publications. The structures discovered at Haboua I show the importance of the site, including from a military and administrative perspective. The discovered materials conform to the descriptions of Tharu in ancient sources. The following section will provide a discussion in more depth of some of the more important discoveries at Haboua I.

(a) The Fortress

The fortress discovered at Haboua I constitutes the biggest fortress in North Sinai¹⁰¹ and perhaps in all the eastern Delta. As discussed above, the full measurements of the fortress can not be determined exactly; however, the measurements for the two best-preserved main enclosure walls indicate that the western wall was approximately 350m and the northern wall was preserved to a length of approximately 280m. The walls were strongly buttressed, indicating that Haboua I was a fortified city of some importance.

¹⁰¹ E. Oren discovered a square New Kingdom fortress, measuring 50m² at Kharouba, near Bir-el-^sAbed; cf. E. Oren, 1987, *op. cit.*, 69-119. The author of this thesis also discovered another New Kingdom fortress, dating to the Seti I at Haboua II, measuring 100m². The fortress will be discussed further below.

The construction of double fortified walls is known from Tell el-Rataba in the eastern Delta, dating to the time of Ramesses III.¹⁰² The fortress of Haboua I is the only other known example of the double fortified wall. However, during the Middle Kingdom, the double fortified wall was often used and many examples have been preserved, including at Buhen and Semna in Nubia.¹⁰³ The most ancient examples of fortresses with double outer walls were identified at Shounet el-Zibib, Abydos and Hierakonpolis.¹⁰⁴

(b) The Granaries

Harvest scenes and granaries form part of the daily life activities the ancient Egyptians depicted on the walls of their tombs, particularly in the New Kingdom. The study of archaeological remains of granaries is useful, because it shows the extent of the civilian and military supply of grain and suggests the economic importance of a settlement. The discovery of different types of granaries and silos in excavations gives some idea of the range and development of the various types in use in ancient times. Ahmed Badawy has contributed significantly to the analysis of the iconography of granaries and the evolution of the different types in use during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.¹⁰⁵

Granaries fall into two main categories: first, domestic granaries; and second, public

¹⁰² W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906) 28-34, Pl. XXXV; A.W. Lawrence, "Ancient Egyptian Fortifications", *JEA* 51 (1965) 89-90.

¹⁰³ G. Reisner, "The Egyptian Forts from Halfa to Semna", *Kush* 8 (1960) 11-15.

¹⁰⁴ S. Clark, "Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses", *JEA* 3 (1916), 160.

¹⁰⁵ A. Badawy, *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Égyptiens* (Le Caire, 1948) 123-24, fig. 147-48.

granaries. The first category is found in most domestic areas in ancient Egyptian cities and many examples are known from all periods. In Kahun, granaries were built in every domestic area of the city in the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁶ At Tell el-Amarna, silos were found arranged in groups in special granary areas.¹⁰⁷

Granaries in fortified cities were considered a strategic supply of grain rations. The fortified stations on the Ways of Horus in North Sinai were supplied with granaries, silos and magazines. The study of the large quantity of silos and magazines discovered - along with many other remains - at Haboua I, will shed much light on the strategic importance of this site and the military role it must have played during the New Kingdom.

The supply stations on the Ways of Horus played a great role in serving and supplying the military expeditions marching along the road. The importance of such stations is mentioned in the ancient sources and mirrored in the archaeological evidence.

A group of four silos - each one 4m in diameter and dating to the New Kingdom - was discovered in Bir el-^cAbed. Their estimated total capacity was 40 tonnes of grain.¹⁰⁸ Applying that estimate to the granaries discovered at Haboua I, gives their approximate capacity.

¹⁰⁶ B.J. Kemp, "Middle Kingdom Granaries", *ZAS* 113 (1986), 121-22, fig. 2; W.M.F. Petrie, *Illahun and Gurob* (London, 1891), Pl. XIV.

¹⁰⁷ T.E. Peet & C.L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaton*, (London, 1923), Pl. VII.

¹⁰⁸ Oren 1987, *op. cit.*, 78-83, Pl.A, 81.

Granary #	Silo	Diameter	Capacity (tonnes)
GR.I, Zone A	SI.1	3 m	7.5
	SI.2	3.5m	8.75
	SI.3	3m	7.5
GR.II, Zone A	SI.4	3m	7.5
	SI.5	2m	5
	SI.6	2m	5
	SI.7	2m	5
GR.I, Zone B	SI.1	2.5m	6.25
	SI.2	4m	10
	SI.3	4m	10
	SI.4	3m	7.5
	SI.5	3m	7.5
	SI.6	3m	7.5
GR.II, Zone B	SI.7	2m	5
	SI.8	1m	2.5
	SI.16	3m	7.5
	SI.17	3m	7.5
	SI.18	3.5m	8.75
GR.III, Zone B	SI.9	3.5m	8.75
	SI.10	4m	10
GR.IV, Zone B	SI.11	2m	5
	SI.12	2m	5
	SI.13	3m	7.5
	SI.14	3.5m	8.75
	SI.15	3m	7.5
TOTAL			178.25

TABLE 1 - Approximate capacity of the granaries at Haboua I

The excavations at Haboua I showed a concentration of granaries in the northern part of the city, indicating the continuity of the occupation in this part of the city from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom. During the siege of Avaris, the city of Tharu (Haboua I) served as a supply reserve for the rearguard of the army for the capital city. As a result, according to the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, it was critical that the fortress of Tharu be taken and the supply line cut, prior to a successful operation against Avaris.¹⁰⁹ During the New Kingdom, the granaries and magazines at Haboua I were also protected by the fortified city, in order to supply armies on the highway from Egypt to Palestine.

(c) The Settlement

The settlements discovered at Haboua I added important information on the urban architecture in the Delta during the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom to that known from Tell el-Dab'a.¹¹⁰ The study of the settlement at Haboua I showed that the habitation at the end of the Second Intermediate Period was concentrated in Zone B, beside the granaries area. At the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, settlement continued in the same area. Thus, it seems that this area was always reserved for settlement.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter III, Section 1(a) "The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (Year 33 of King Auserre 'Apophis', 15th Dynasty).

¹¹⁰ M. Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse, Archaeological Exploration in the eastern Nile Delta* (Oxford, 1981) 266-67, fig. 17, Pl. XXXVIIb.

VII. TELL HABOUA II

1. The Supreme Council of Antiquities Excavations

In the summer of 1999, excavations conducted under my supervision revealed a New Kingdom fortress.¹¹¹ Based on the ceramics and two pieces of Egyptian cornice - one bearing the cartouche of Seti I and the other that of Ramesses II - the fortress was dated to the reign of Seti I.

The fortress is 100m² in plan. The walls are 4m thick and have bastions on all sides. There are rectangular towers in all four corners. (Plate XVIII)

Inside the fortress, many granaries and a complex of store magazines were discovered. Each magazine consists of a rectangular structure of 25.6 x 3.8m. Large quantities of store jars were found inside the magazines. In addition, a great deal of imported pottery from Syria, Palestine and Cyprus was discovered. Moreover, a number of Egyptian blue painted jars - decorated with lotus flowers in black, red and blue - were found in the magazines.

A hint of the military life of the fortress is given by the small finds, which included bronze spearheads and daggers.

The fortress had been constructed on the remains of older structures dating to the Hyksos

¹¹¹ A.R. Al-Ayedi, "The Dwelling of the Lion: A New Fortress on the Ways of Horus" (forthcoming).



Plate XVIII - Tell Haboua II: the newly-discovered New Kingdom fortress

period. The excavations revealed a horse burial dating to this time. (Plate XIX) In addition, these levels were noteworthy for the Tell el-Yahudiyah ware discovered.

The intense concentration of store magazines indicates that this fortress served as a central magazine for the area. It would be premature to give a thorough site report on Haboua II at this point. However, the existence of a New Kingdom fortress - resembling, in plan, the fortress of Haboua I and, in topographic aspects, the Karnak reliefs of Seti I - containing remains bearing the names of Seti I and Ramesses II suggests that Haboua II is the "Dwelling of the Lion", the second station on the Ways of Horus.



Plate XIX - Tell Haboua II: a horse burial inside the fortress

VIII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this thesis has reviewed chronologically the textual references relating to the Ways of Horus and Tharu, in order to determine their significance in ancient times. The sources indicate that the highway was known as early as the mid-5th Dynasty. It is clear from the texts that the road was well-provisioned with supplies, military stations and water wells. This road was the vital artery through which the military and commercial traffic flowed between Egypt and Asia.

The first and main station on the Ways of Horus was "Tharu". This fortress was the starting point for military campaigns to Asia and an important strategic centre - both militarily and economically. The discovery of New Kingdom and Hyksos structures and objects during excavation reinforced the accuracy of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and reflected the strategic importance of Tharu. The meaning of the name of Tharu - proposed in this thesis as "the one who keeps safe" - appears to have been very appropriate.

The main textual source in this study was the Karnak reliefs of Seti I. In light of excavation results, it appears to have been a reliable source. Notwithstanding that many scholars believed Tharu to have been located at the Graeco-Roman site of Tell Abu Seifa, this paper has proposed that it should actually be identified as Haboua I. The topographical and pictorial representations correlate with the archaeological evidence from Haboua I. The discovery of a second New Kingdom fortress - on the other side of an ancient waterway and to the east of

Haboua I - further consolidated this view. This latter fortress may well represent the second station on the Ways of Horus: "the Dwelling of the Lion".

The excavations of the SCA have shed a great deal of light on the nature of ancient military settlements in North Sinai. At Tell Abu-Seifa, the existence of magazines and the well-preserved harbour indicate a lively trade during the Graeco-Roman period. However, no earlier remains have been found at this site. As discussed above, based on the evidence available, Tell Abu-Seifa should be excluded from consideration as the site of ancient Tharu. Indeed, according to the archaeological evidence Tell Abu-Seifa is more probably the site of the Graeco-Roman Sile, which bears no relation to Tharu.

The SCA's work at Haboua I has provided significant knowledge about a New Kingdom fortress on the Ways of Horus. The extent of the fortifications at Tharu speak clearly of the power of the ancient Egyptian security system on the eastern border.

The granaries discovered at this site were both substantial and plentiful and - as the table included in this study demonstrates - the capacity was probably appropriate to feed large numbers of soldiers. As such, it was clearly well-suited to the role of central supply station. In addition, the existence of significant administrative buildings hints at some of the economic and political activities that must have taken place at this important fortress. Finally, the discovery of houses and industrial installations within the fortress suggests the domestic aspects of a major fortified settlement.

The discovery of a large quantity of wine storage jars agrees with textual references to Tharu as a wine-producing area, although no wine jar sealings were discovered. The texts also mention that Tharu was famous for *bulti*-fish; the discovery of jars containing fish bones strengthen the view that in this area - rich with water resources such as the Pelusiac Nile branch and the lagoons - fish were plentiful.

The variety and quantity of imported pottery discovered at Haboua I - and its location by one of the major waterways accessing the Delta and the Mediterranean - gives some idea of the trade and commercial activities carried on in these times. This site clearly played an important role as one of the ports where trade goods were shipped and received. A detailed study will be published in the future on the imported pottery of Tharu.

The rich yield of the sites discussed in this study provide us with great incentive to conduct further research in this area. Further excavation promises to offer deeper insight into the course and nature of the Ways of Horus. *Insh 'allah* future seasons will allow us to further reconstruct the ancient Egyptian military organization in North Sinai.

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X. CATALOGUE OF CERAMICS

In the interest of brevity, this catalogue of ceramics from Tell Abu-Seifa and Haboua I contains only a representative sample of all items found. The drawings of the pottery from Tell Abu-Seifa were prepared by the SCA's draftsman, U. Zayat. The drawings of Haboua I were prepared by A.R. Al-Ayedi. As a result, there are some inconsistencies in the convention of ware sections.

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 1

1(a) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 19cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

1(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 18cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

1(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 22.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

1(d) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 22cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6.5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

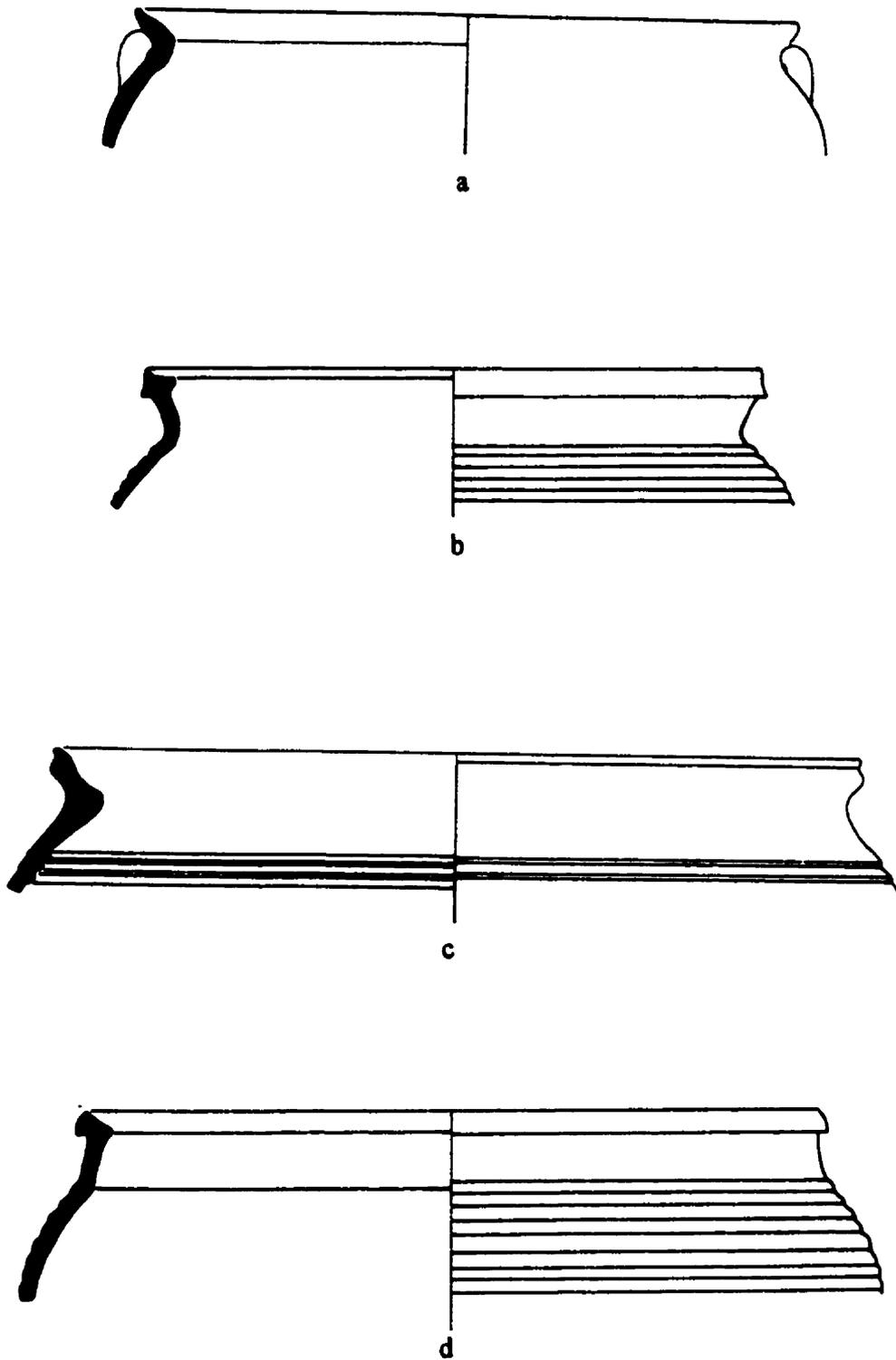


Fig.1

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 2**2(a) Cooking Pot**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 19cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

2(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

2(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 14.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

2(d) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 22cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 7cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

2(e) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 22.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 8cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

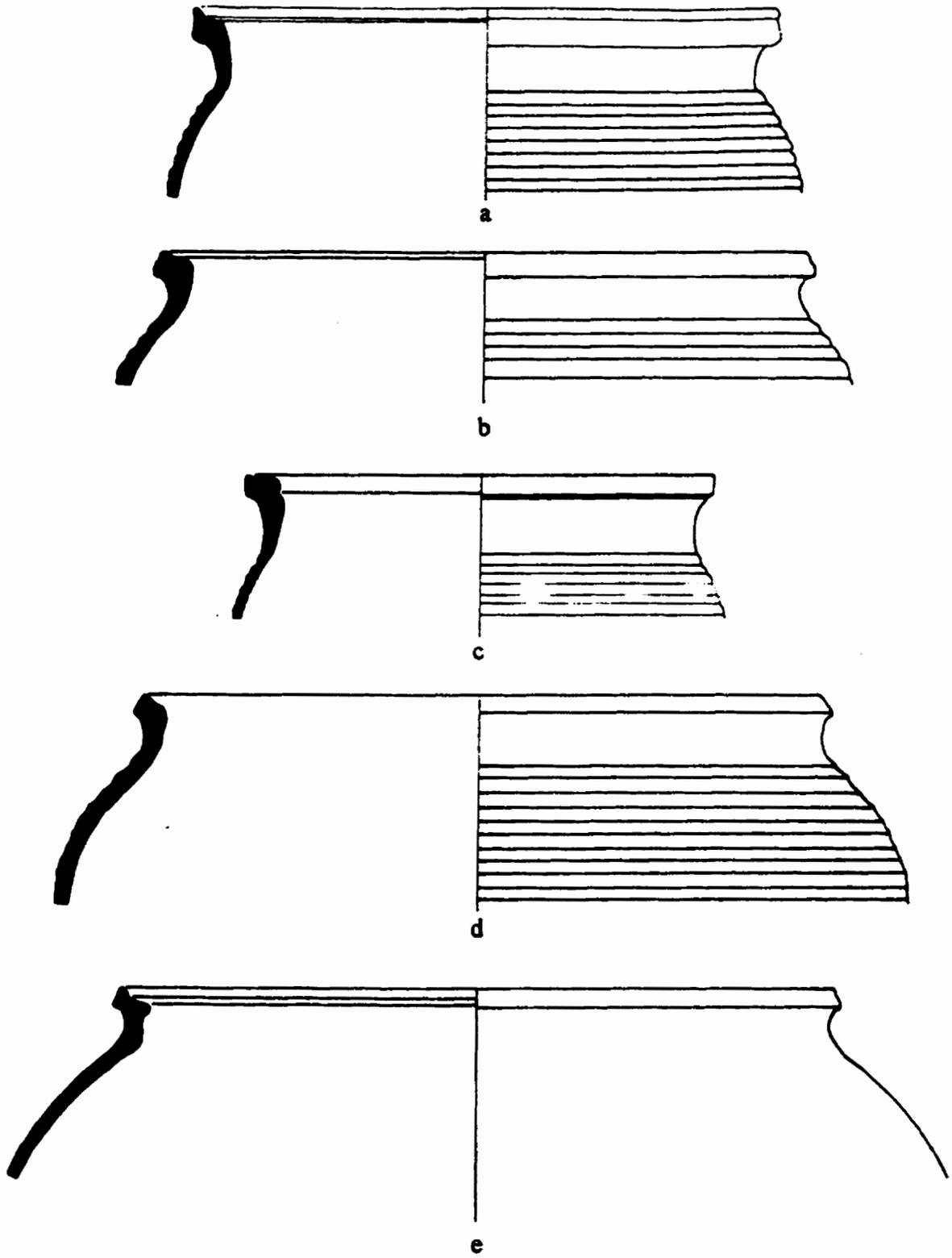


Fig.2

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 3**3(a) Cooking Pot**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 18cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

3(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 22cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

3(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 17cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

3(d) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 17cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman fortress
Remarks: Upper part only

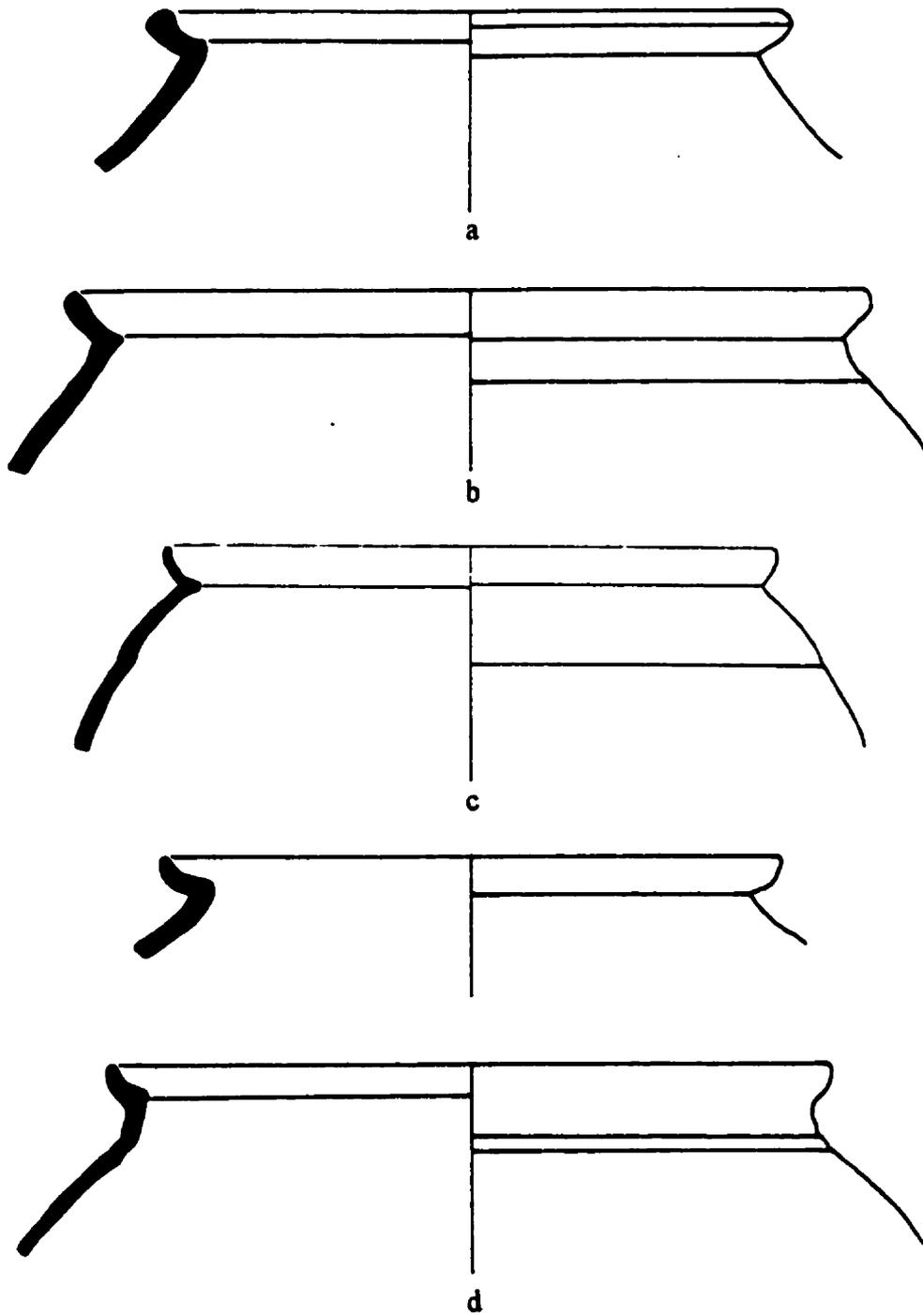


Fig.3

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 4**4(a) Cooking Pot**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 20cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

4(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

4(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 20.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4.5cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

4(d) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 17cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 3cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

4(e) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 20cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 6cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

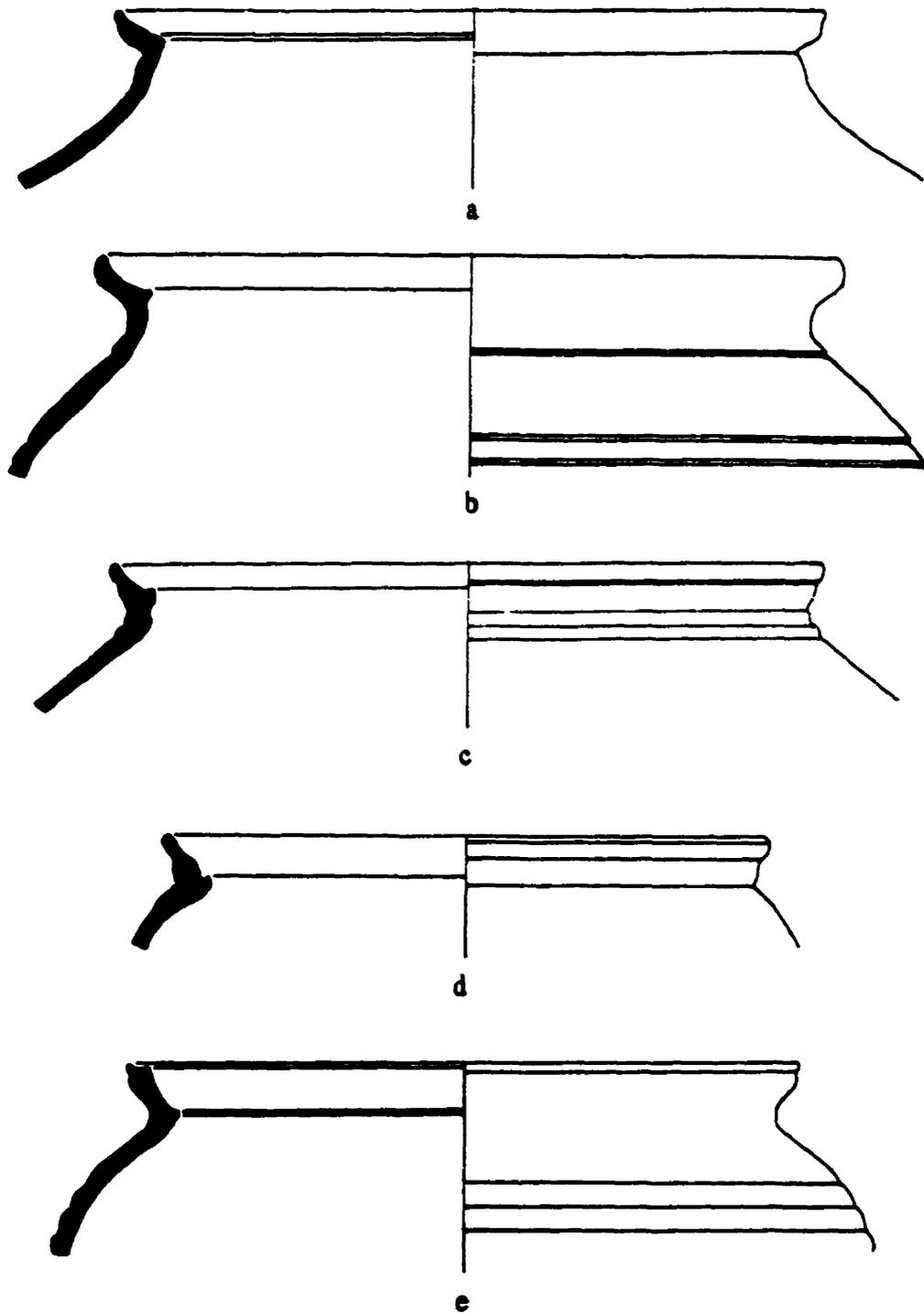


Fig.4

Scale 1:2

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 5**5(a) Cooking Pot**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21 cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4 cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

5(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 20 cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 5.4 cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

5(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 17 cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 7 cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

5(d) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 27cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 4cm
Date: Roman
Provenance: Roman settlement
Remarks: Upper part only

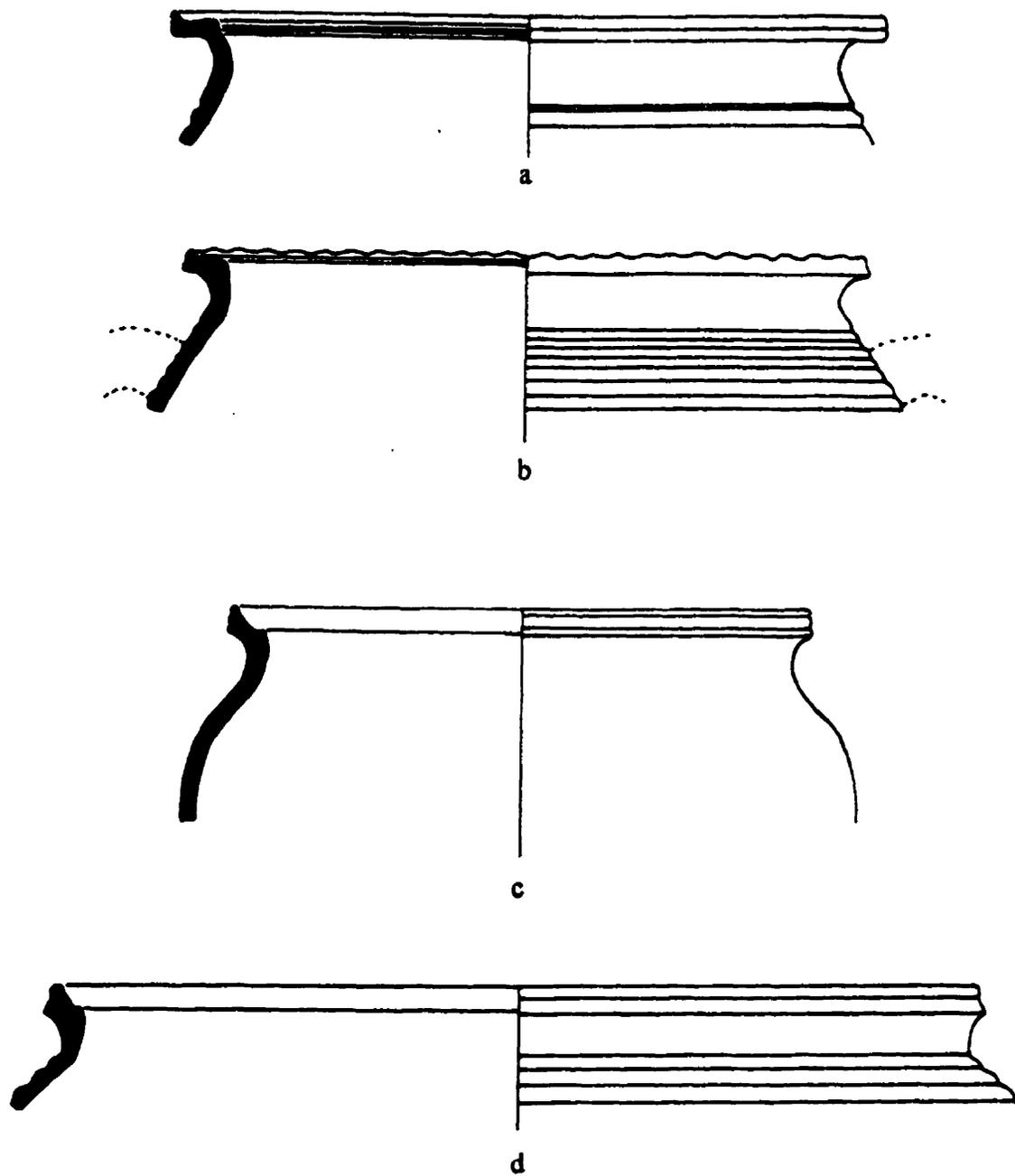


Fig.5

Scale 1:2

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 6**6(a) Cooking Pot**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 8cm
Base diam.: 6cm
Height: 20cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Fire remains on the exterior

6(b) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 8cm
Base diam.: 7cm
Height: 18cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Fire remains on the exterior

6(c) Cooking Pot

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 7cm
Base diam.: 6.4cm
Height: 17cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Fire remains on the exterior

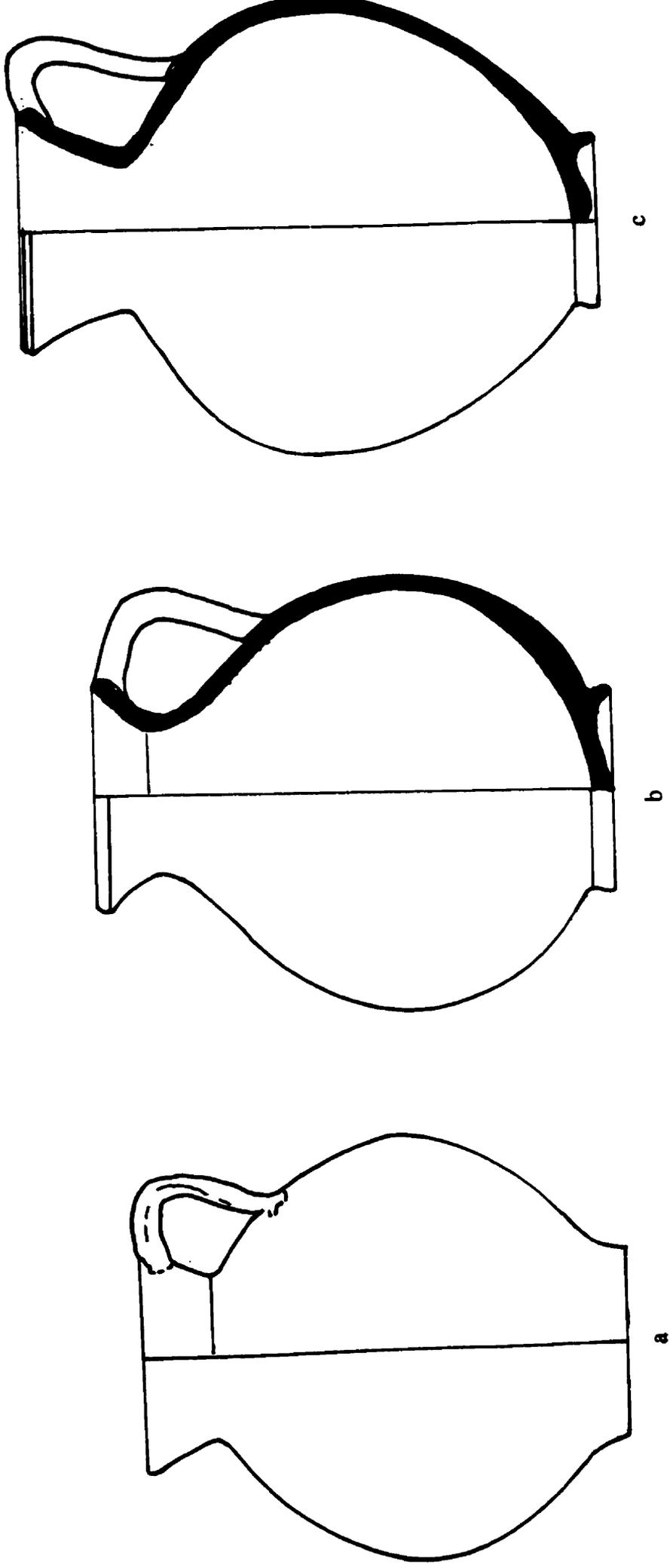


Fig.6

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 7**7(a) Plate**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 16cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 6cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Thick walls

7(b) Plate

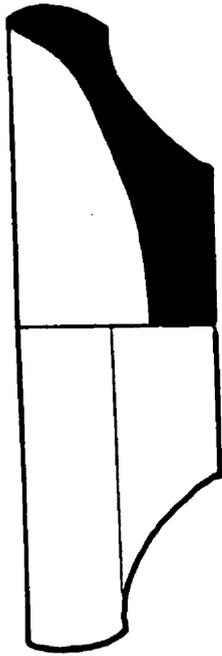
Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 16cm
Base diam.: 8cm
Height: 5cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Thick walls

7(c) Plate

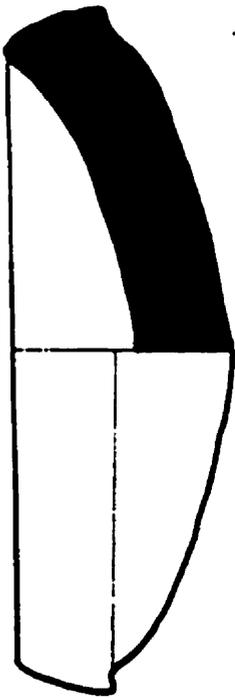
Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 19cm
Base diam.: 11cm
Height: 6cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic fortress
Remarks: Thick walls

7(d) Plate

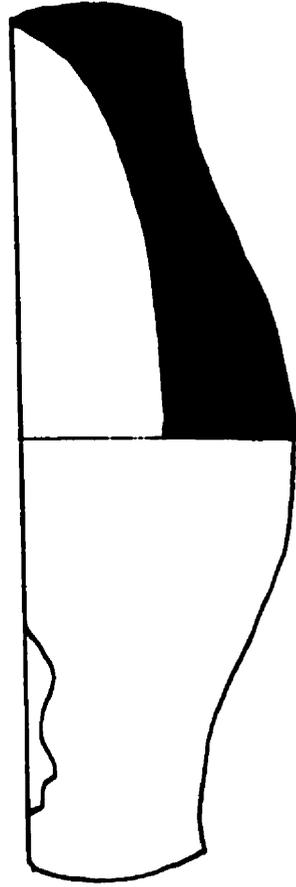
Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 22cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 7cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: Thick walls



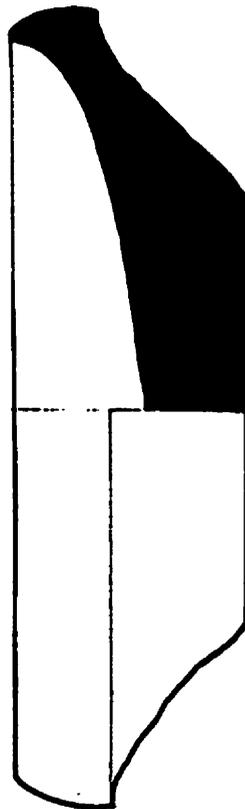
b



a



d



c

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 8**8(a) Plate**

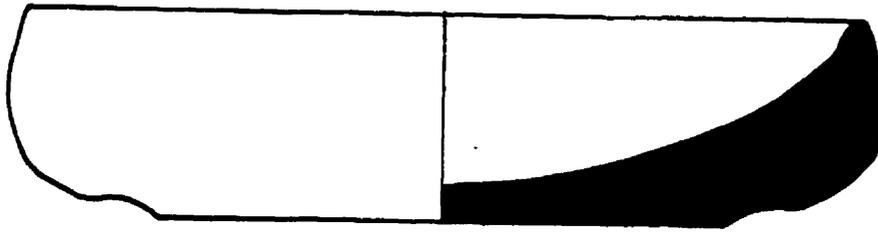
Fabric: Nile silt, medium-fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 22cm
Base diam.: 15cm
Height: 5.7cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Industrial area
Remarks: ---

8(b) Plate

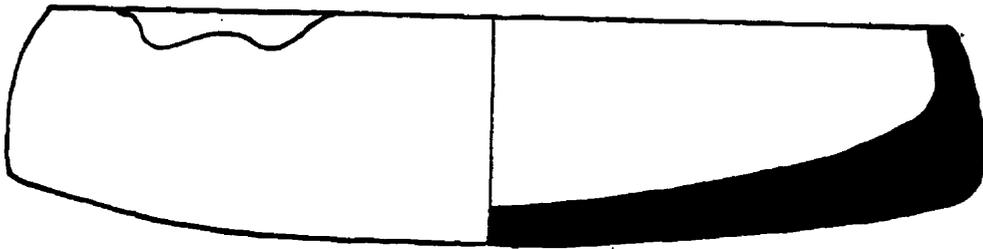
Fabric: Nile silt, medium-fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 24cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 6cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Industrial area
Remarks: ---

8(c) Plate

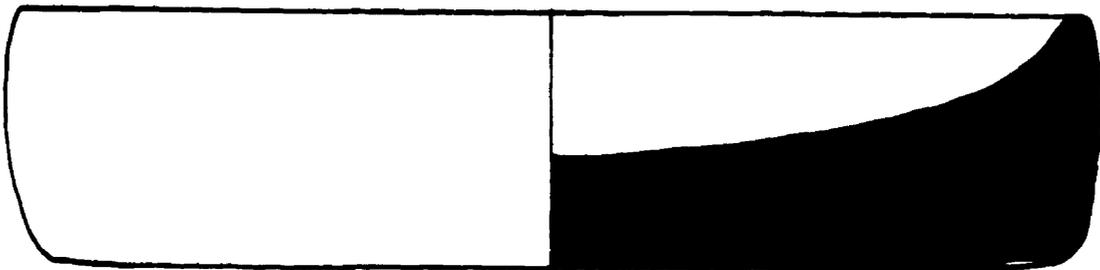
Fabric: Nile silt, medium-fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 28cm
Base diam.: 27cm
Height: 6.8cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Industrial area
Remarks: ---



a



b



c

Fig.8

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 9**9(a) Bowl**

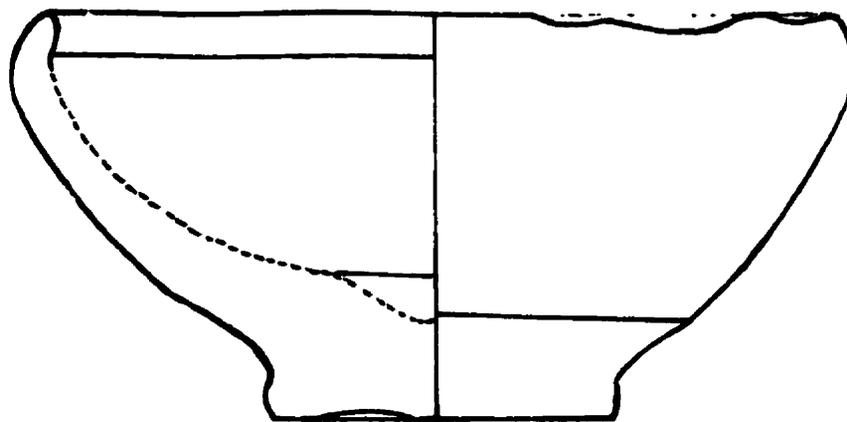
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21cm
Base diam.: 9cm
Height: 10.8cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---

9(b) Bowl

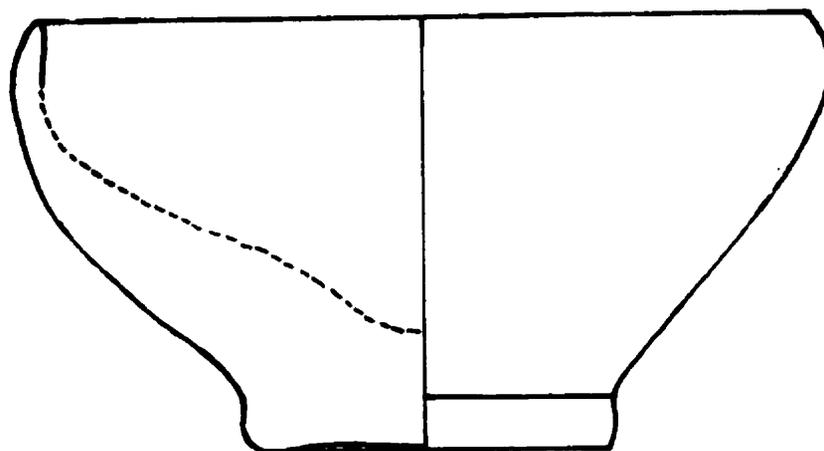
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21cm
Base diam.: 9cm
Height: 11.2cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---

9(c) Bowl

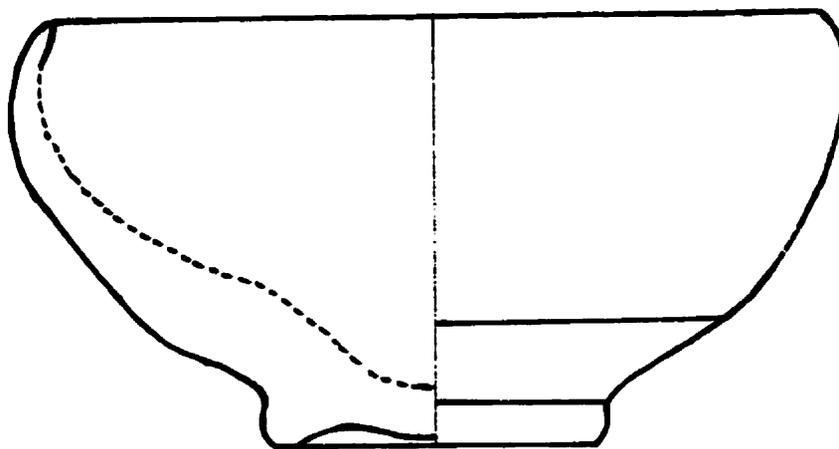
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 21cm
Base diam.: 9cm
Height: 11.2cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---



a



b



c

Fig.9.

Scale 1:1

TELL ABU-SEIFA - Fig. 10**10(a) Bowl**

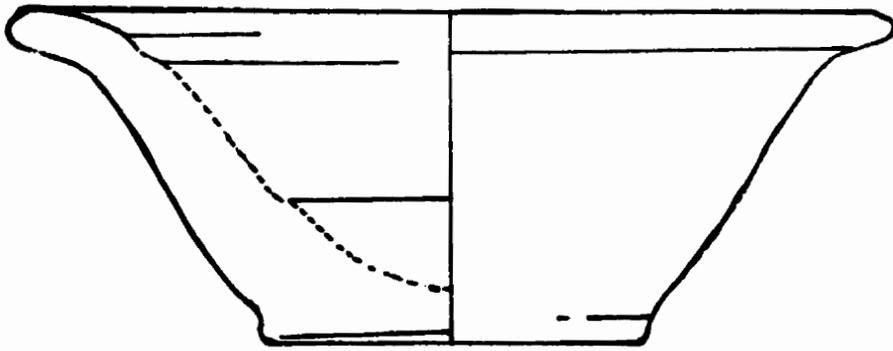
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 23cm
Base diam.: 10cm
Height: 9cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---

10(b) Bowl

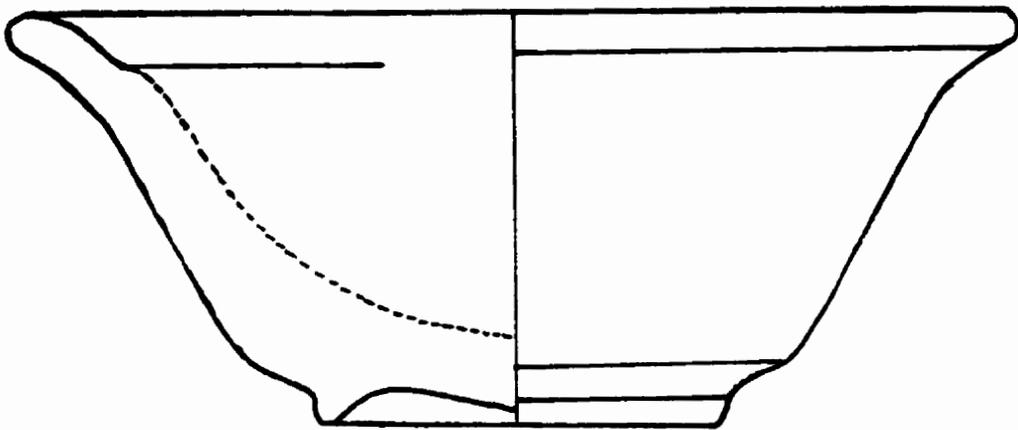
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 27cm
Base diam.: 11cm
Height: 11cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---

10(c) Bowl

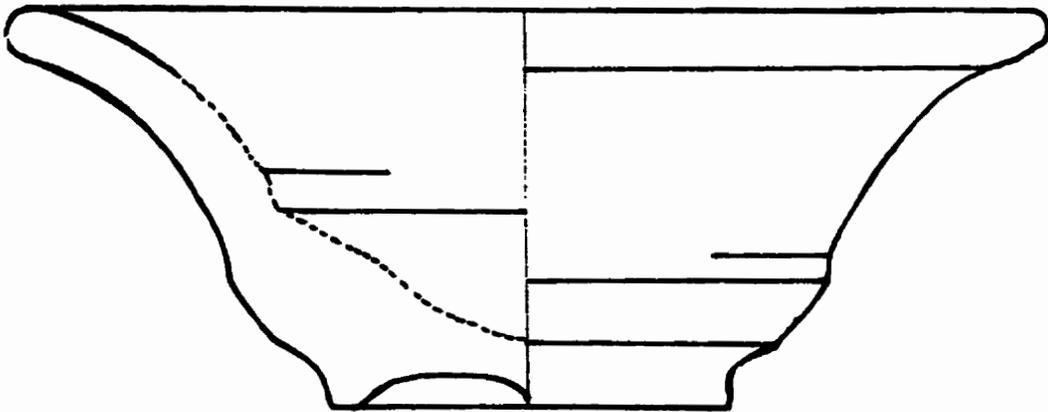
Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 27.8cm
Base diam.: 10.6cm
Height: 10.4cm
Date: Ptolemaic
Provenance: Ptolemaic settlement
Remarks: ---



a



b



c

Fig.10

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 1**1(a) Cup (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 7.2cm
Base diam.: 3-4cm
Height: 10 cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, abb. 276.3

1(b) Cup (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red, reddish brown
Rim diam.: 7.8cm
Base diam.: 3-3.4cm
Height: 10-10.5cm
Date: MB IIB
Provenance: H.VI, zone B.
Remarks: cf. Holladay, *Tell el-Maskhouta*, Pl. 1:5

1(c) Cup (5 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine or rough
Colour: Red, reddish brown
Rim diam.: 6.4-7.6cm
Base diam.: 3.6-4cm
Height: 8.5-10cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.I, Zone A; H.I/E.3, Zone B; GR.I, Zone B; BUL.II/R.10, Zone C; H.02, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Anne Seiler, *Cahier de Ceramique*, V, zn 94/65, fig. 1, 26

1(d) Cup (6 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Brown, reddish brown and reddish yellow
Rim diam.: 6.4-7.2cm
Base diam.: 3.4-4cm
Height: 9-10cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.II, Zone A; GR.II, Zone B; BUL.II/R.2, Zone C; H.02, zone D; Trench I
Remarks: cf. Anne Seiler, *Cahier de Ceramique*, V, zn 94/1, fig. 1, 26

1(e) Cup (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red, reddish brown, brownish yellow
Rim diam.: 6-7.7cm
Base diam.: 3.5-4cm
Height: 9.3-12.5cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B; H.VII/R.3, Zone B; GR.I, Zone B; BUL.II/R.10, Zone C; H.02, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Anne Seiler, *Cahier de Ceramique*, V, zn 94/65, fig. 1, 26

1(f) Cup (6 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Brown, reddish brown, and reddish yellow
Rim diam.: 6.4-7.2cm
Base diam.: 3.4-4cm
Height: 9-10 cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.II, Zone A; GR.II, Zone B; BUL.II/R.2, Zone C; H.02, Zone D; Trench I
Remarks: cf. Anne Seiler, *Cahier de Ceramique*, V, zn 94/1, fig. 1, 26

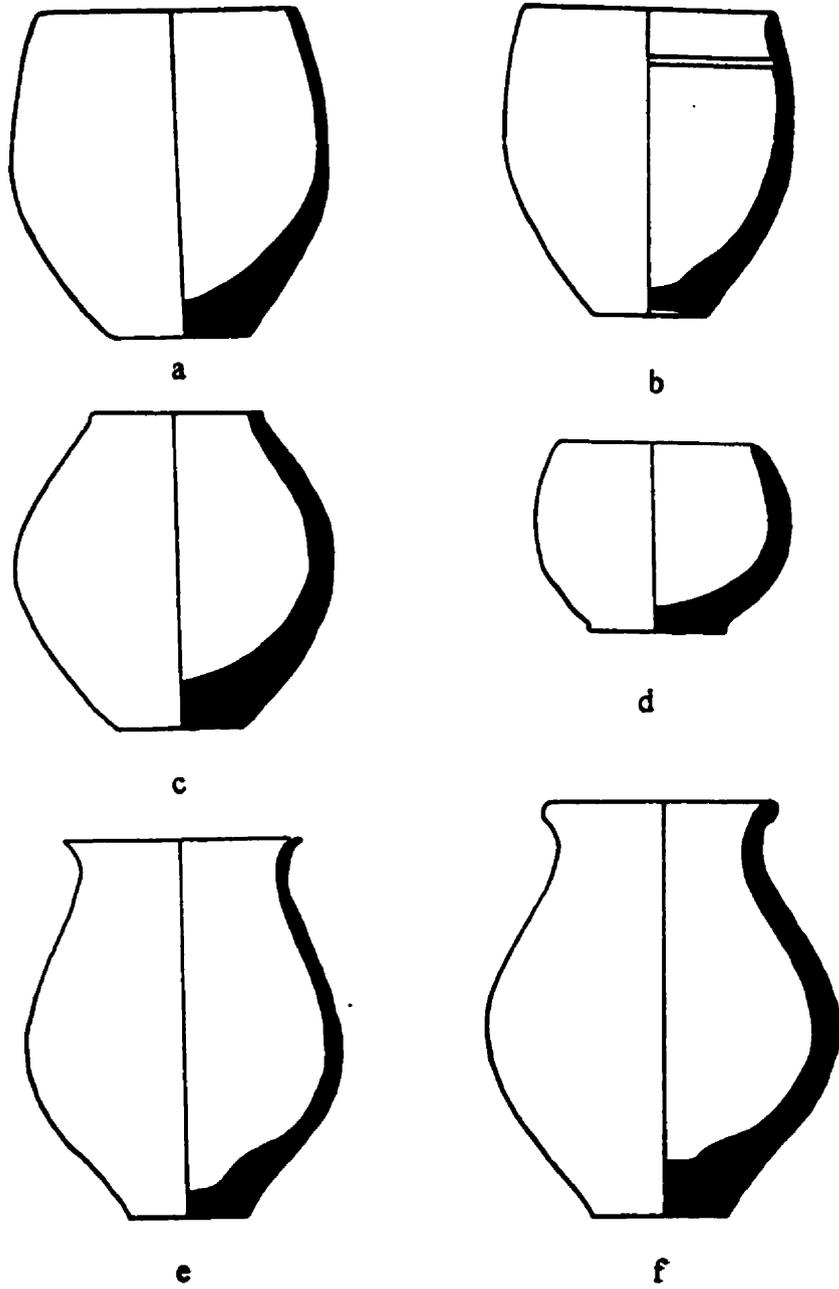


Fig.1.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 2**2(a) Cup (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 7.2cm
Base diam.: 3-4cm
Height: 10cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, abb. 276.3

2(b) Cup (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red, reddish brown
Rim diam.: 7.8cm
Base diam.: 3-3.4cm
Height: 10-10.5cm
Date: MB IIB
Province: H.VI, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Holladay, *Tell el-Maskhouta*, Pl. I

2(c) Cup (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 6.5cm
Base diam.: 3.8cm
Height: 9.4cm
Date: NK
Provenance: H.III/R.3, Zone B
Remarks: ---

2(d) Cup (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 7.1cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 10.3cm
Date: NK
Provenance: H.III/R.3, Zone B
Remarks: ---

2(e) Beaker (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 6.8-7cm
Base diam.: 3.4-3.5cm
Height: 11.4-12cm
Date: NK
Provenance: H.VIII, Zone B; T.165, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie and Brunton 1924, Pl. LXV:81(c)

2(f) Beaker (7 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 6.5-7.6cm
Base diam.: 3-4.6cm
Height: 10-12.5cm
Date: NK
Provenance: GR.II, Zone A; H.III/R.5, Zone B; GR.I, Zone B; BUL.II, Zone C; H.02, Zone D; H.03, Zone D
Remarks: ---

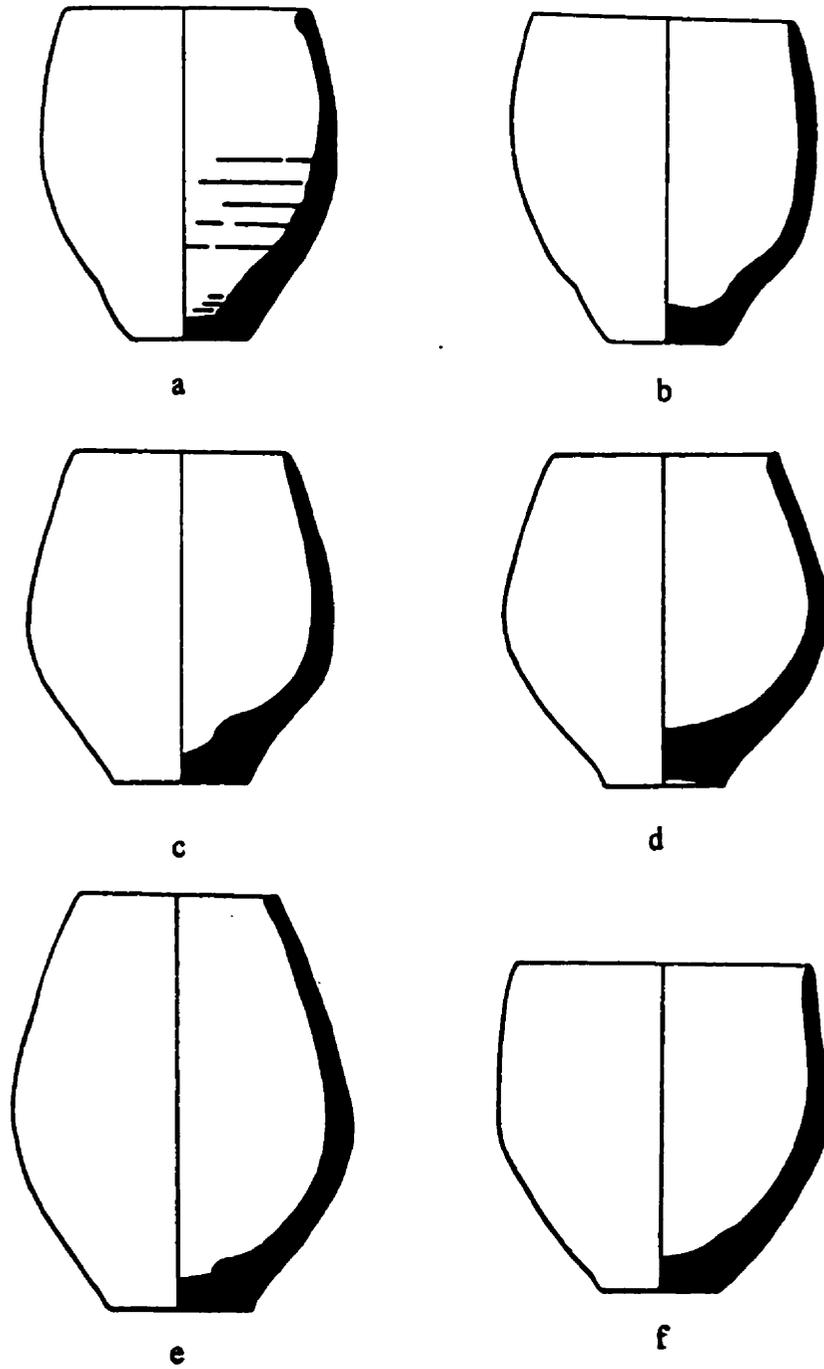


Fig.2

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 3**3(a) Jar (2 specimens)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red and brown
Rim diam.: 6.1-7cm
Base diam.: 3.5-4.2cm
Height: 12-12.5cm
Date: NK
Provenance: H.III/R.3, H.VII/R.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Engelbach 1923, Pl. XLV:831

3(b) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 8cm
Base diam.: 5cm
Height: 12.4cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.03, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Engelbach 1923, Pl. XLV:81

3(c) Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 6.6cm
Base diam.: 2.2-2.4cm
Height: 14.4-16cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.II, Zone A; H.II/C.2, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie and Brunton 1924, Pl. LXV:81; Engelbach 1923, Pl. XLII:22

3(d) Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 8cm
Base diam.: 2-2.2cm
Height: 14-14.2cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.I, T.116, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Brunton 1930, Pl. XXIX:167

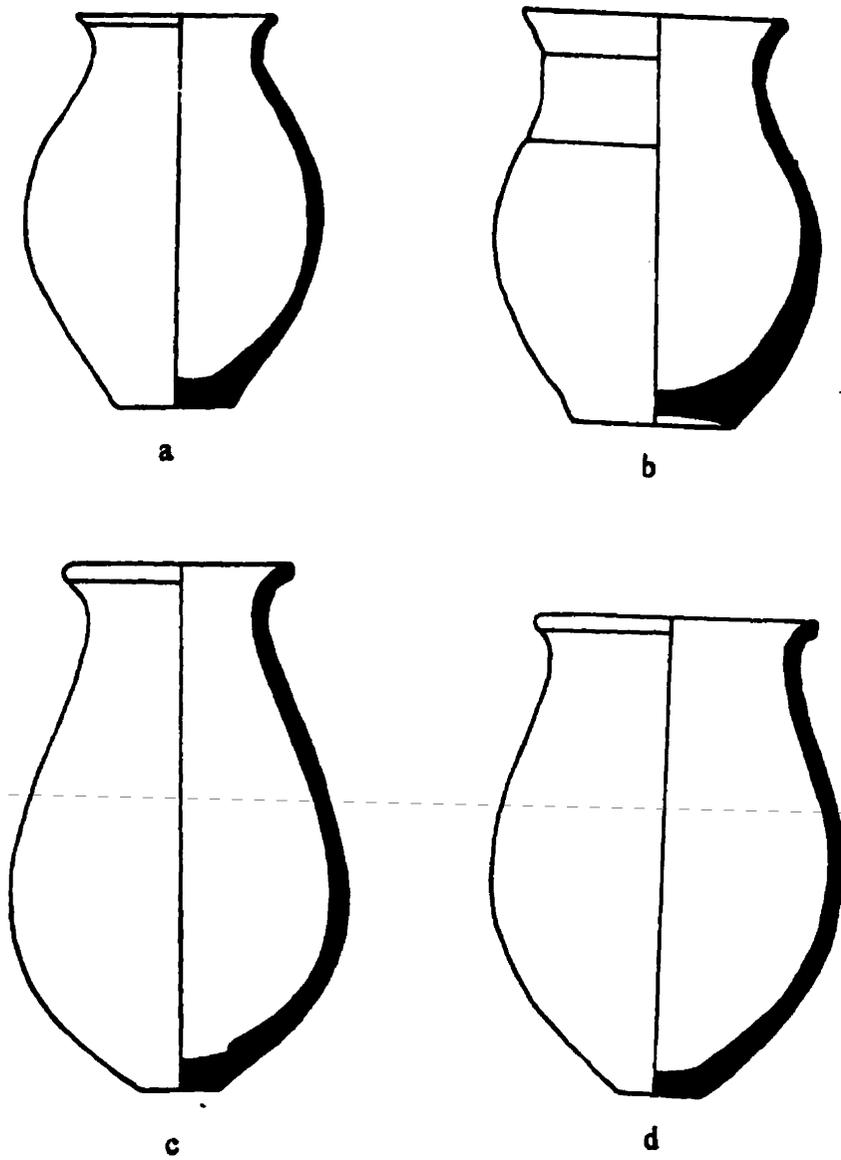


Fig.3.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 4**4(a) Jar (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 7cm
Base diam.: 3.5cm
Height: 12.5cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1906, Pl. XII(d):24

4(b) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 8.5cm
Base diam.: 6cm
Height: 20cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.I/E.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1906, Pl. VIII:89/414

4(c) Beer Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is highly polished
Colour: Red and reddish brown
Rim diam.: 8.8cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 30cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.I/E.1, GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Engelbach 1923, Pl. XLII:25(e)

4(d) Beer Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is highly polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 9.1cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 28.2cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Brunton 1930, Pl. XIV:22(m)

4(e) Beer Jar (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is highly polished
Colour: Red and reddish yellow
Rim diam.: 6.9cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 16.2-26.8cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.II, Zone A; GR.II, Zone B; H.VIII, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:23 (Stratum E1-D/3)

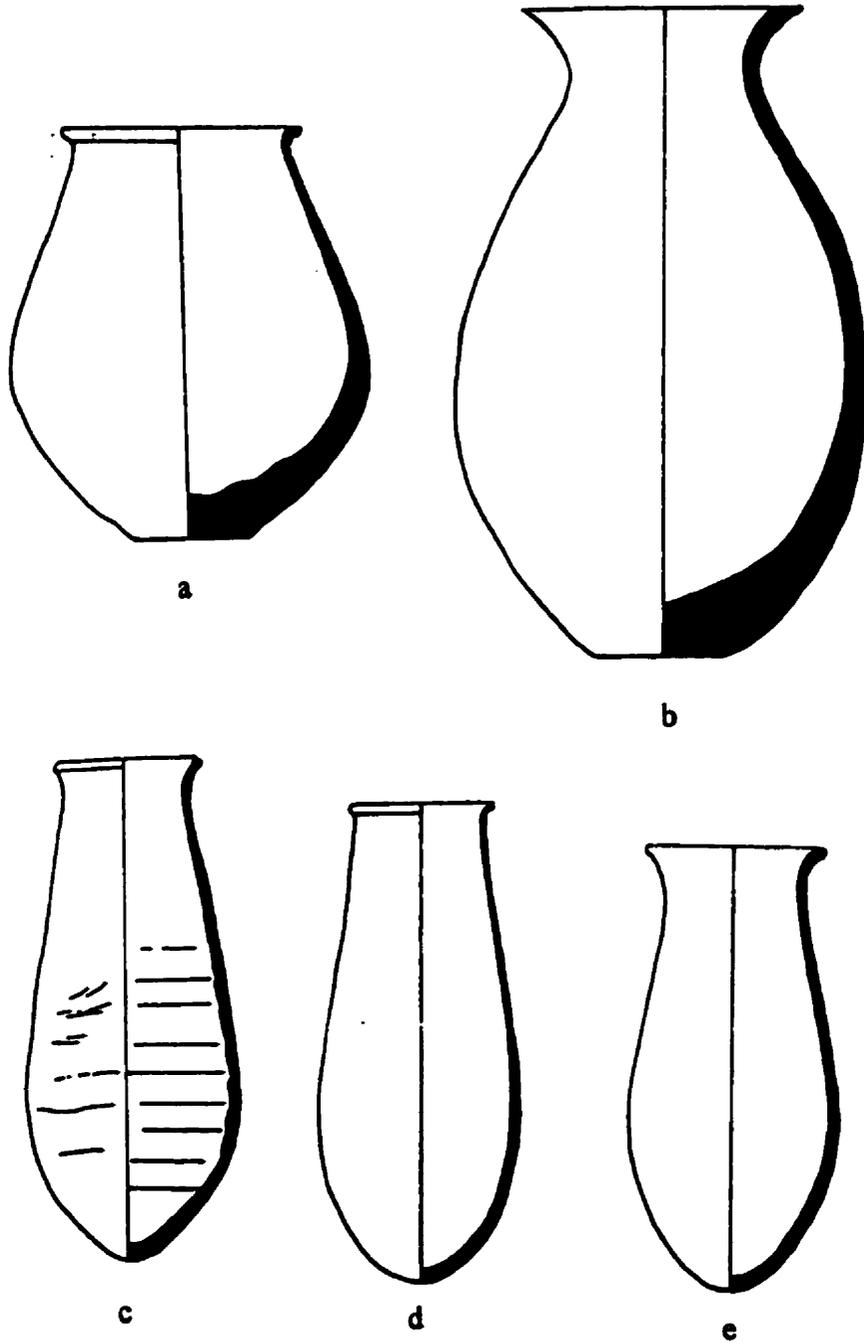


Fig.4.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 5**5(a) Jar (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 8.7cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 16.2cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.I/E.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie, *Gochen*, 1906, Pl. XXXIX(c):61

5(b) Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 4.2-7.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 23.2-26cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: H.IV, Zone B; GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:24

5(c) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Yellow
Rim diam.: 3.6cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 22cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: H.I/D.2, Zone B
Remarks: ---

5(d) Jar (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough and fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red and reddish brown
Rim diam.: 10.4-11.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 16.4-38cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C; H.01, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1906, Pl. VII(d).411 and Plate VIII:58

5(e) Jar (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown and reddish brown
Rim diam.: 5.6-12cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 15.8-35.4cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B; H.III, Zone B
Remarks: Fire remains on external surface; cf. Petrie and Brunton 1924, Pl. LXV:37(m)

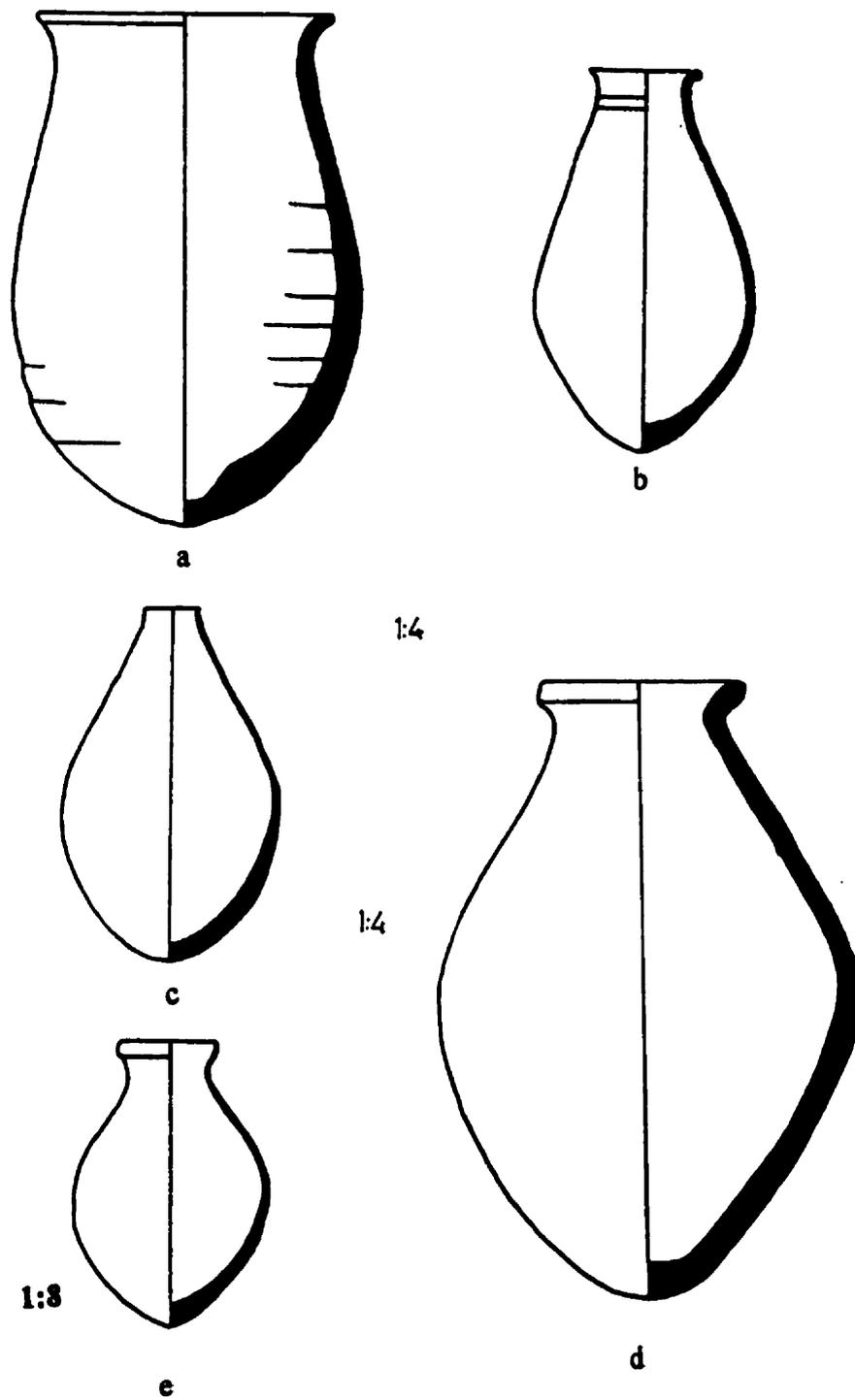


Fig.5.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 6**6(a) Jar (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish yellow
Rim diam.: 13.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 27.6cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: ---

6(b) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 10cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 20.5cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: H.I/E.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:19

6(c) Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 9-9.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 19.2-20cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Brunton 1927, Pl. XXXIV:2513

6(d) Jar (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish brown
Rim diam.: 8.4-10.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 18-19.5cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.I, GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: Brunton 1927, Pl. XXXIV:25(b)

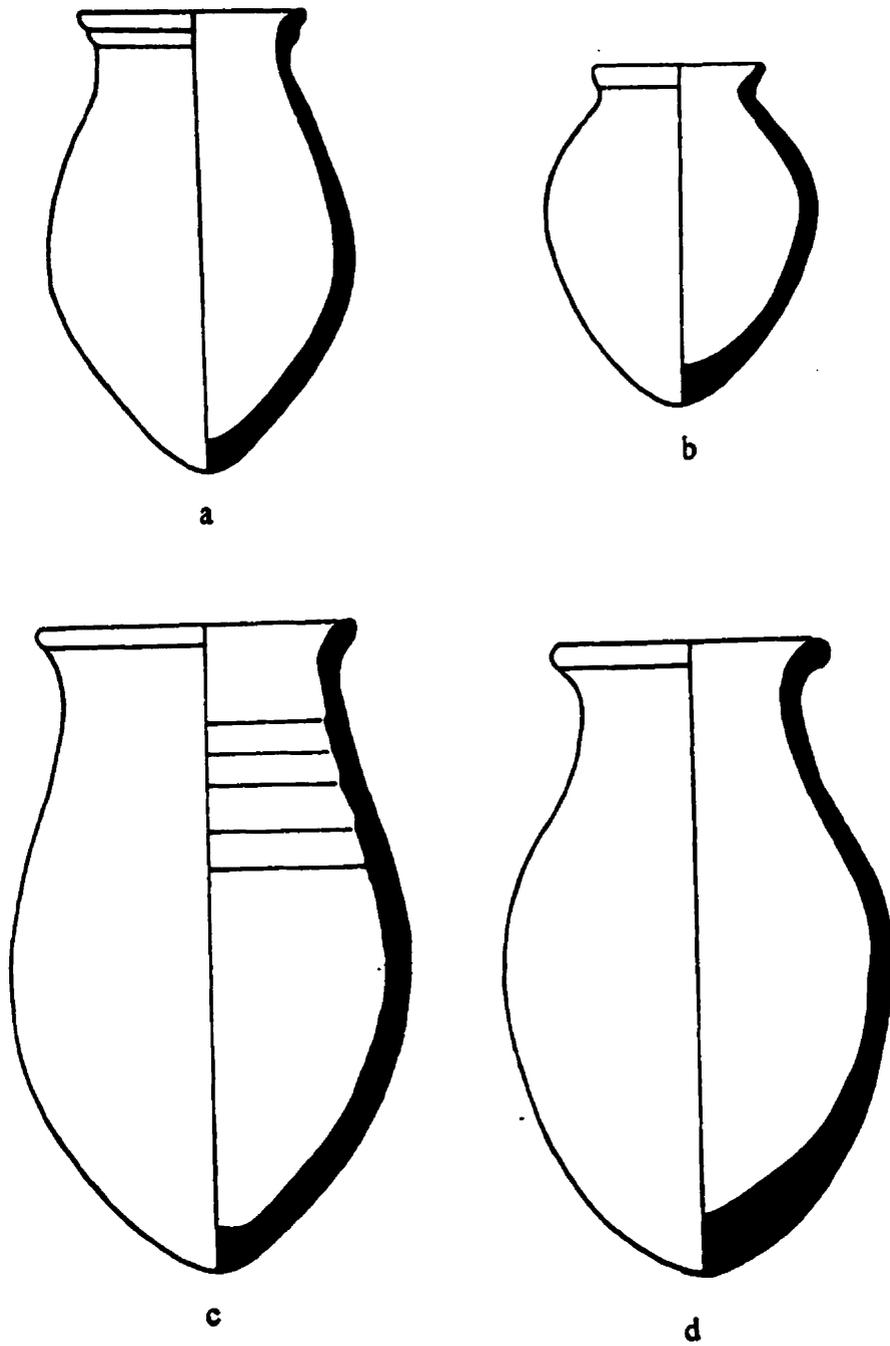


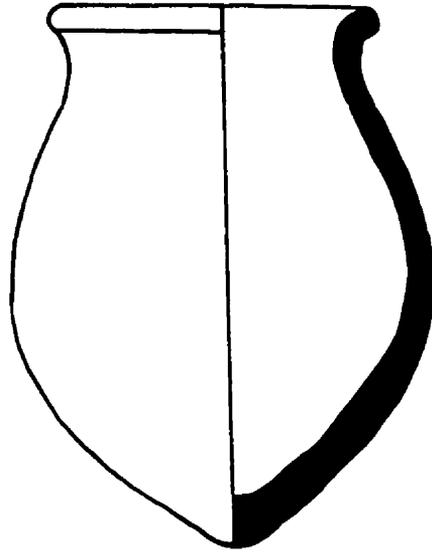
Fig.6.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 7**7(a) Jar** (1 specimen)

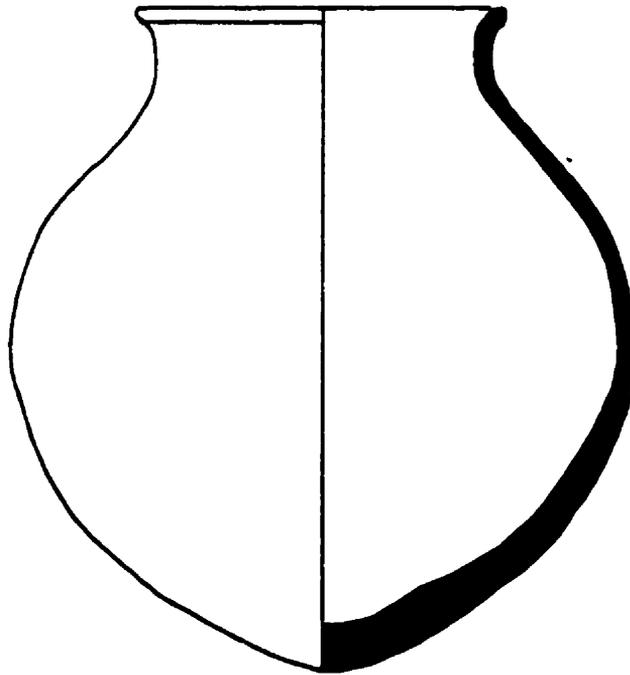
Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 8.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 16.2
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: ---

7(b) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 20cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: GR.III, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Brunton 1927, Pl. XXIV:36(k)



a



b

Fig.7.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 8**8(a) Pot (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Greyish-brown
Rim diam.: 6.5cm
Base diam.: 6cm
Height: 10.2cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.II/C.1, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1906, Pl. XIIA

8(b) Pot (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Greyish-brown
Rim diam.: 4.6cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 8cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.II/C.1, Zone B
Remarks: ---

8(c) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Yellowish-red
Rim diam.: 10.6cm
Base diam.: 6cm
Height: 15.4cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie and Brunton 1924, Pl. LXIV:2/232

8(d) Beer Jar (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine and rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 7cm
Base diam.: 3.6cm
Height: 11.8cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK.
Provenance: H.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:16

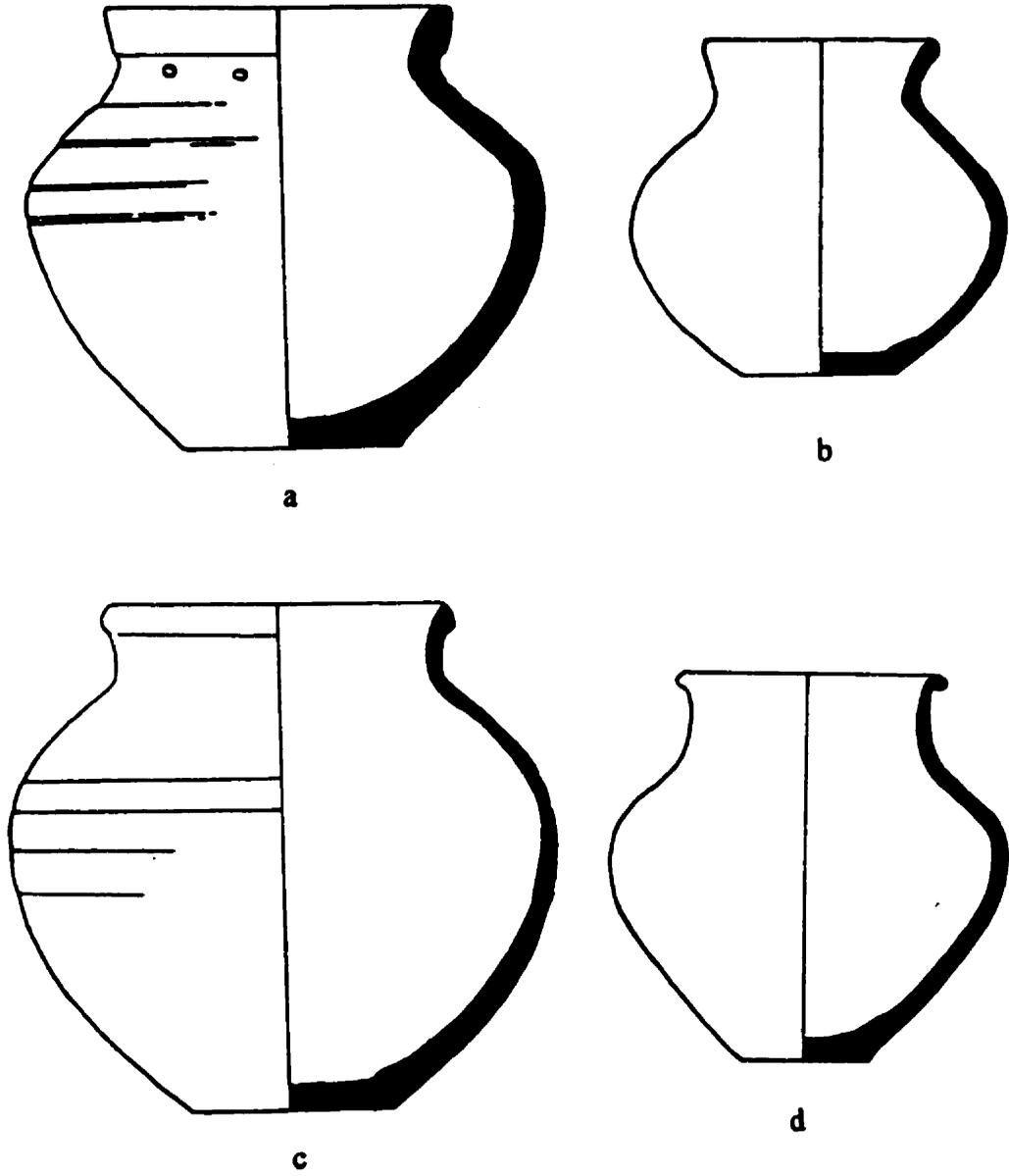


Fig.8.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 9**9(a) Pot (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-yellow
Rim diam.: 12cm
Base diam.: 4.4cm
Height: 11cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: GR.I, Zone B
Remarks: ---

9(b) Pot (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 6cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 7.5cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Zone B
Remarks: ---

9(c) Pot (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 8.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 9.8cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: MA.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie, *Gochen*, 1906, Pl. XXXIX:78(d)

9(d) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 9.6cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 6cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: Black cross-hatch design on the external surface; Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:16

9(e) Upper Part of Two-Handled Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.II, Hall K, Zone C
Remarks: Incomplete

9(f) Lower Part of Conical Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Marl, fine
Colour: Grey
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: SIP
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: Imported pottery; cf. Tufnell 1958, 188, Pl. 76

9(g) Pot (1 specimen)**Fabric:** Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished**Colour:** Reddish-brown**Rim diam.:** 16.8cm**Base diam.:** ---**Height:** 26.5cm**Date:** LSIP and beginning of NK**Provenance:** H.I/E.3, Zone B**Remarks:** Remains of red paint on the neck of the pot; cf. Brunton 1930, Pl. XVI:59

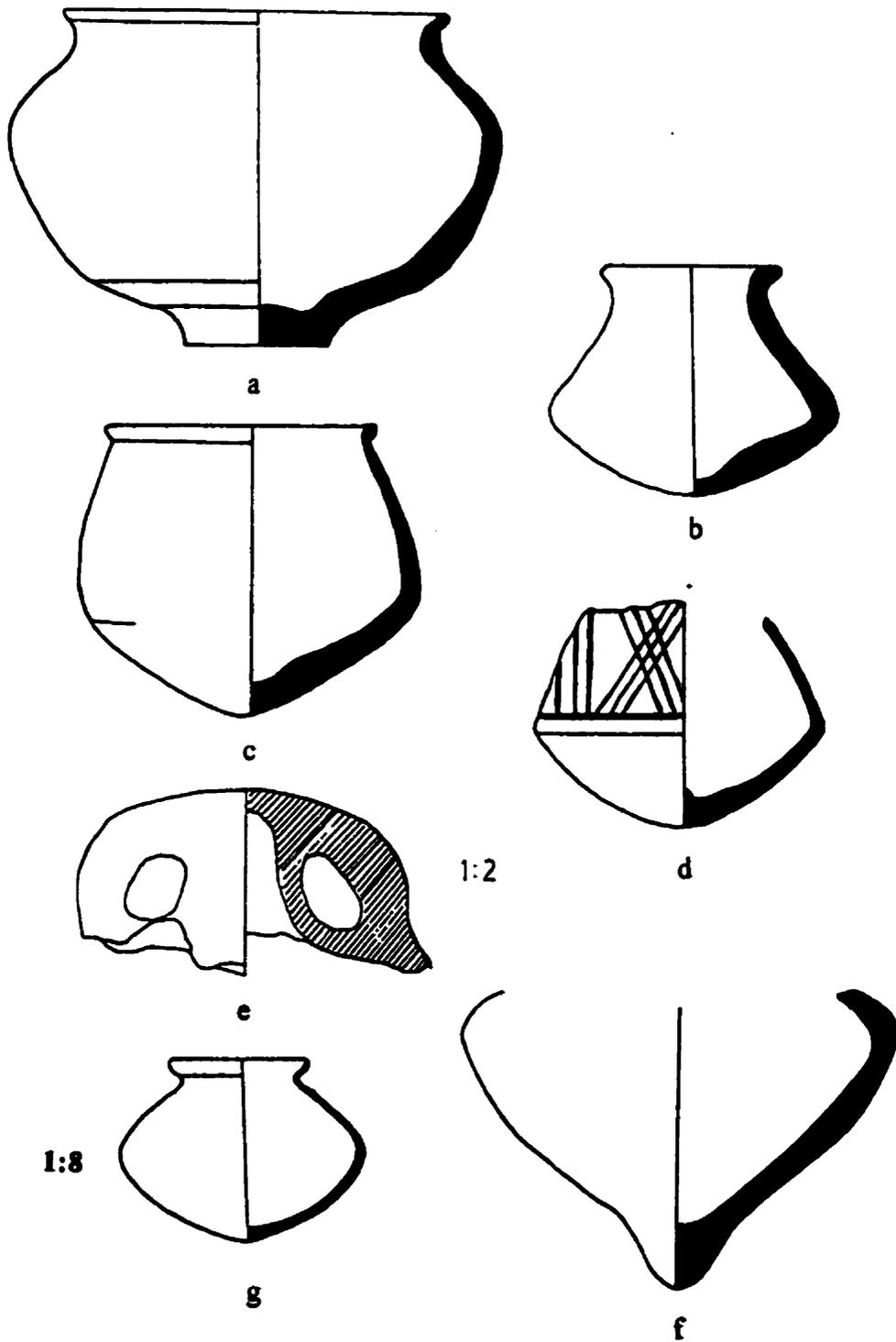


Fig.9.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 10**10(a) Jar (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 10.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 18cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Zone C
Remarks: cf. Peet 1923, Pl. LIII:164

10(b) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 7.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 19.4cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: H.I/E.1, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Peet 1914, Pl. 84:5

10(c) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-yellow
Rim diam.: 8.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 20cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: H.I/E.3, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1934, Pl. XXXVIII:28, 33, 35

10(d) Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 8.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 24cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: SI.19, Zone B
Remarks: ---

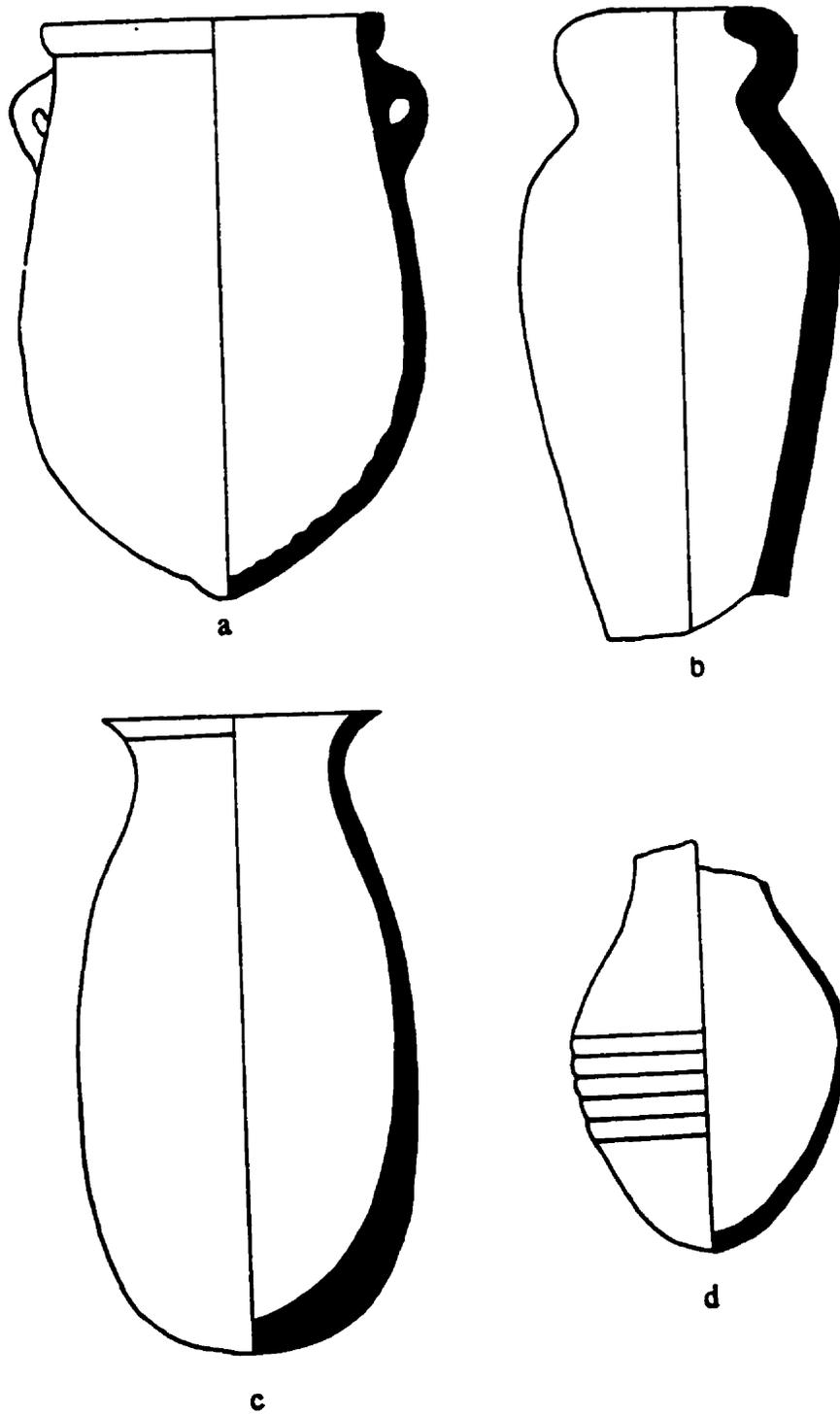


Fig.10

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 11**11(a) Jar (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 9.6cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 20cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Zone C
Remarks: Two black bands on the external surface

11(b) Jug (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 8cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 26cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Zone B
Remarks: ---

11(c) Jug (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 6.8cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 7.5cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.I, Zone B
Remarks: ---

11(d) Lower Part of Jar (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: 6cm
Height: preserved to 10cm
Date: NK
Provenance: Street 3, Zone B
Remarks: ---

11(e) Jug (1 specimen)

Fabric: Marl, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 9cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 9.8cm
Date: NK
Provenance: Zone B
Remarks: Imported pottery

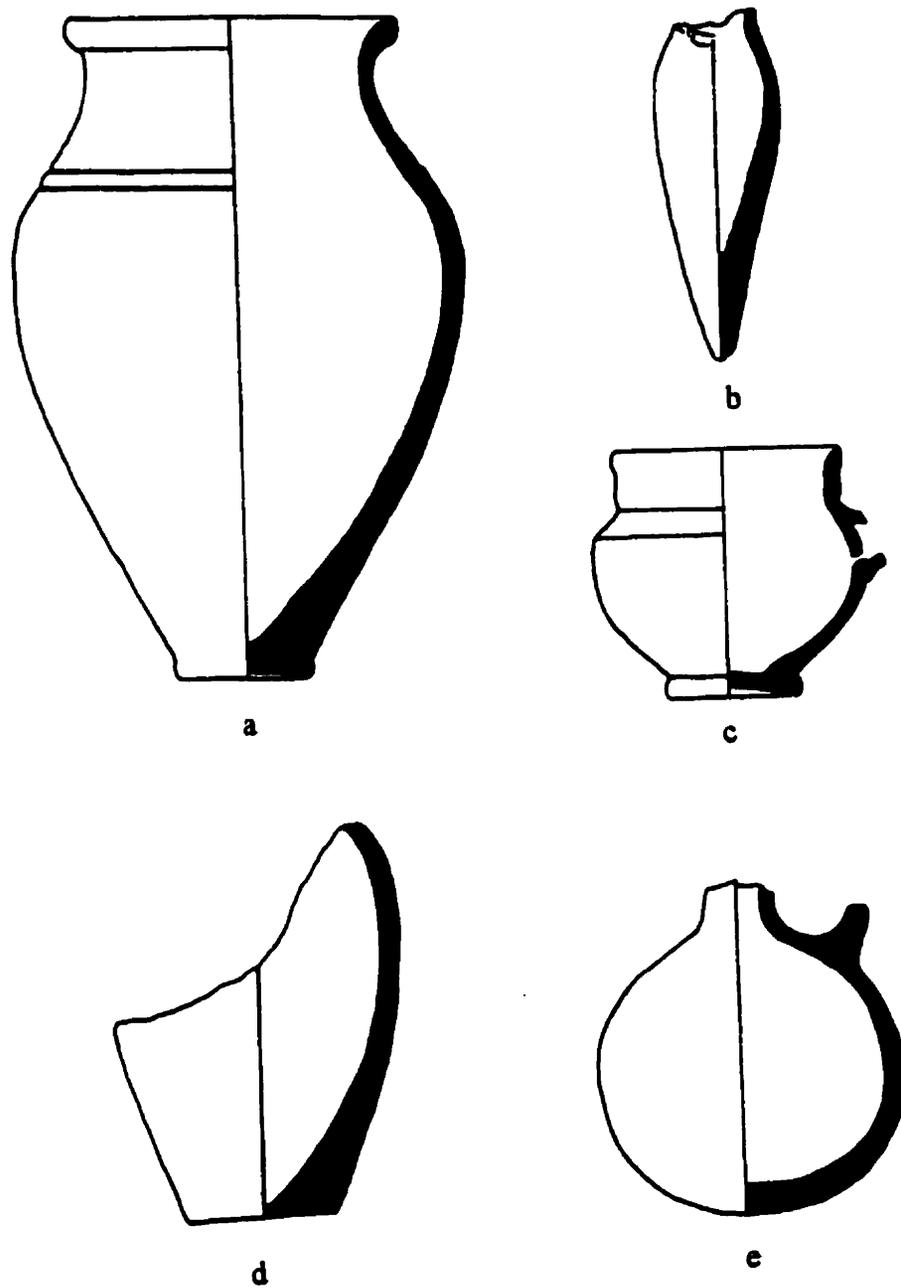


Fig.11

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 12**12(a) Jug** (1 specimen)

Fabric: Marl, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Yellow
Rim diam.: 4.4cm
Base diam.: 4.6cm
Height: 15.6cm
Date: MB IIB
Provenance: T.103, Zone B
Remarks: Imported pottery; cf. Amiran 1969, 106, Pl. 34:7

12(b) Jug (1 specimen)

Fabric: Marl, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-yellow
Rim diam.: preserved to 2.4cm
Base diam.: 6.4cm
Height: 20.7cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: T.103, Zone B
Remarks: Imported pottery; cf. Amiran 1969, 106, Pl. 34:8

12(c) Jug (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-yellow
Rim diam.: preserved to 3cm
Base diam.: 5.5cm
Height: preserved to 19cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: ---

12(d) Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Yellow
Rim diam.: preserved to 2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 11cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: ---

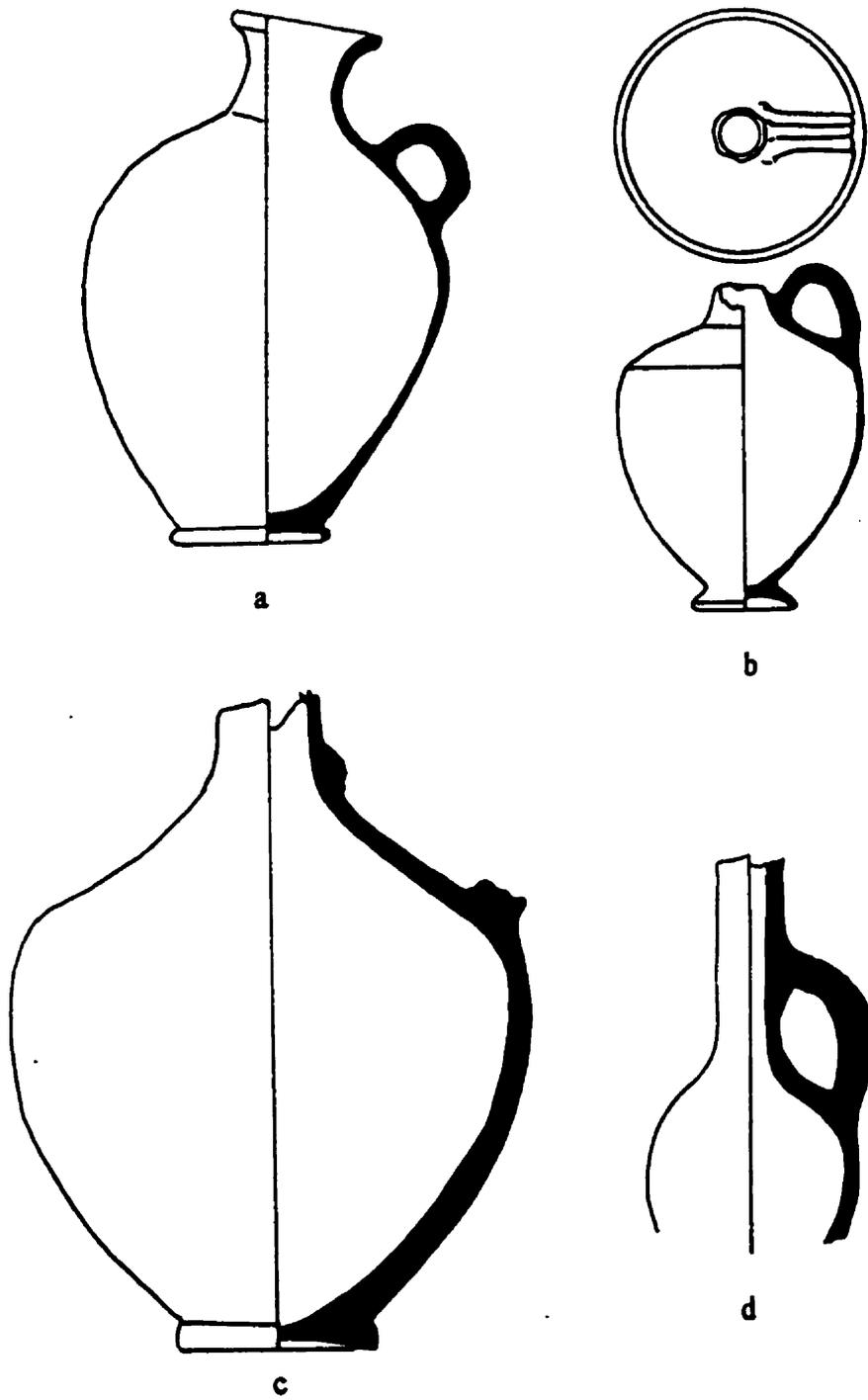


Fig.12.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 13**13(a) Juglet (2 specimens)**

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-yellow
Rim diam.: 3.2-4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 16.9-17.3cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: H.III, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Tufnell 1958, Pl. 78:798

13(b) Juglet (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 2.4-2.8cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 11.6cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: ---

13(c) Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 2.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 11cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Zone B
Remarks: ---

13(d) Juglet (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: preserved to 3.2cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 20cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: GR.IV, Zone B; BUL.II, Zone C; House 01, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Mallet 1988, fig. 42:4

13(e) Juglet (5 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 3.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 20cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: GR.IV, Zone B; BUL. II, Zone C; House 01, Zone D
Remarks: cf. Albright 1932, Pl. 15:7

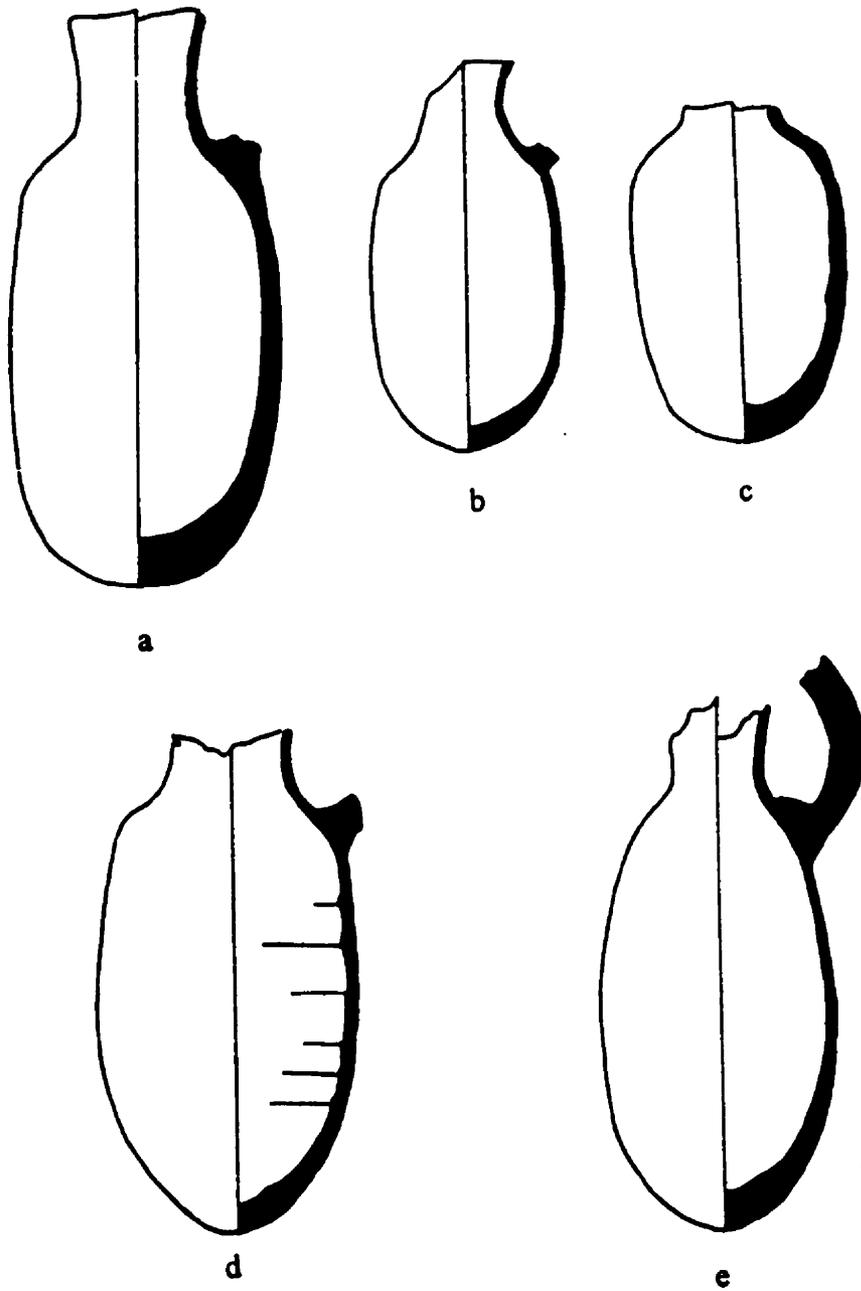


Fig.13

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 14**14(a) Juglet (4 specimens)**

Fabric: Fine ware
Colour: Dark brown
Rim diam.: 4-5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 15.4-17cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: GR.IV, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Mallet 1988, fig. 42:4

14(b) Juglet (2 specimens)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: 3.4cm
Base diam.: 3cm
Height: 11.2cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: H.III/R.3, Zone B
Remarks: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware; cf. Petrie, *Tell el-Yahoudiyeh*, 1906, Pl. VIII(b), 107, 108

14(c) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: preserved to 4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 5.8cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: MA.1, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie and Brunton 1924, Pl. LXV, 34(v)

14(d) Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Fine ware
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: preserved to 7.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 10cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: Trench VI
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1931, Pl. XLIX, 74-08

14(e) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: 7.2cm
Height: 16.5cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: H.I, Zone B
Remarks: cf. Petrie 1931, Pl. XLV

14(f) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 15cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Trench V
Remarks: ---

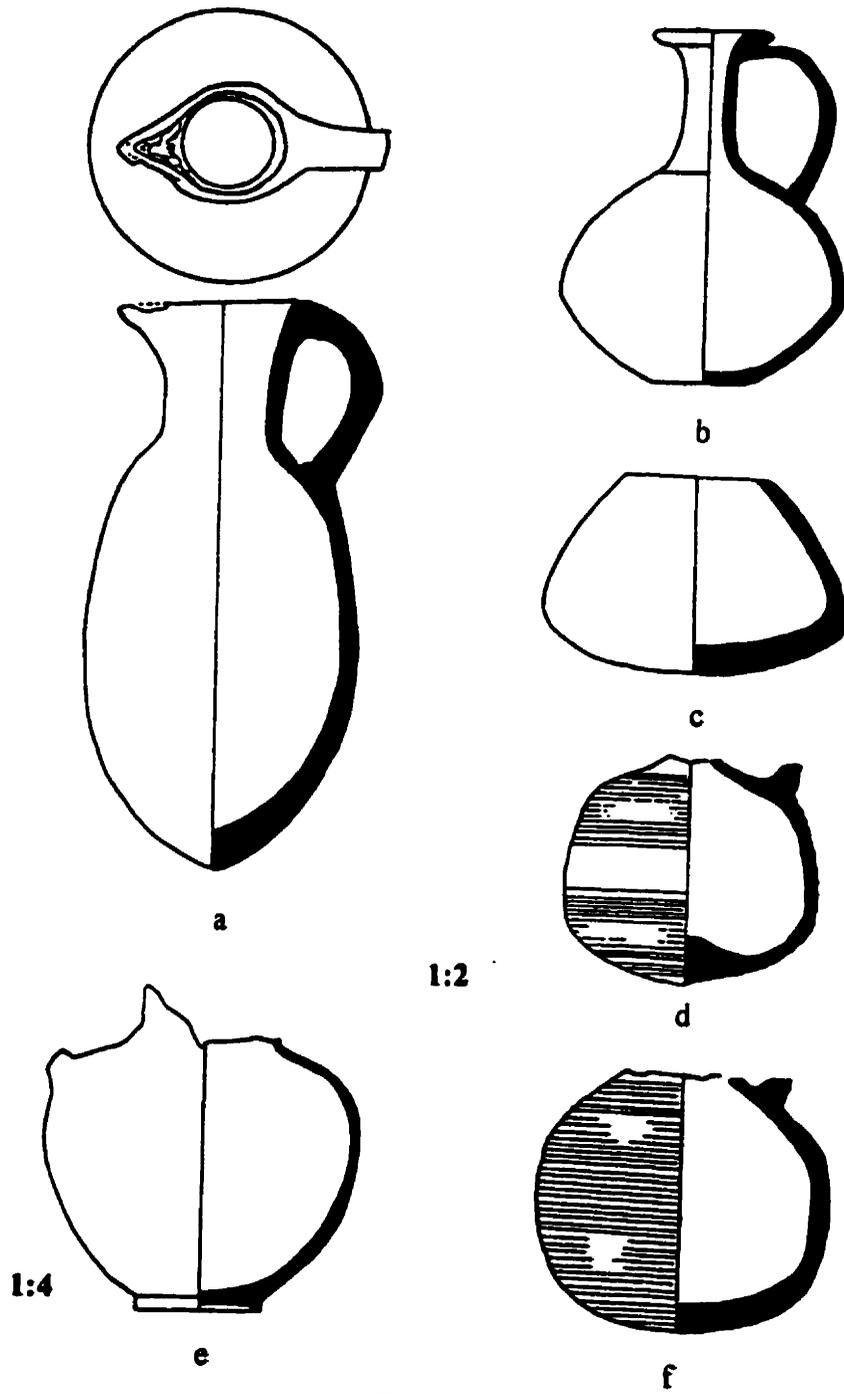


Fig.14

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 15**15(a) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Rough ware
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: preserved to 10.2cm
Date: LSIP
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: ---

15(b) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Rough ware
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: LSIP
Provenance: Trench VI
Remarks: ---

15(c)-(f) Sherd (3 specimens)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: MB II
Provenance: Trench VII, Zone B
Remarks: Tell el-Yahudiyah type

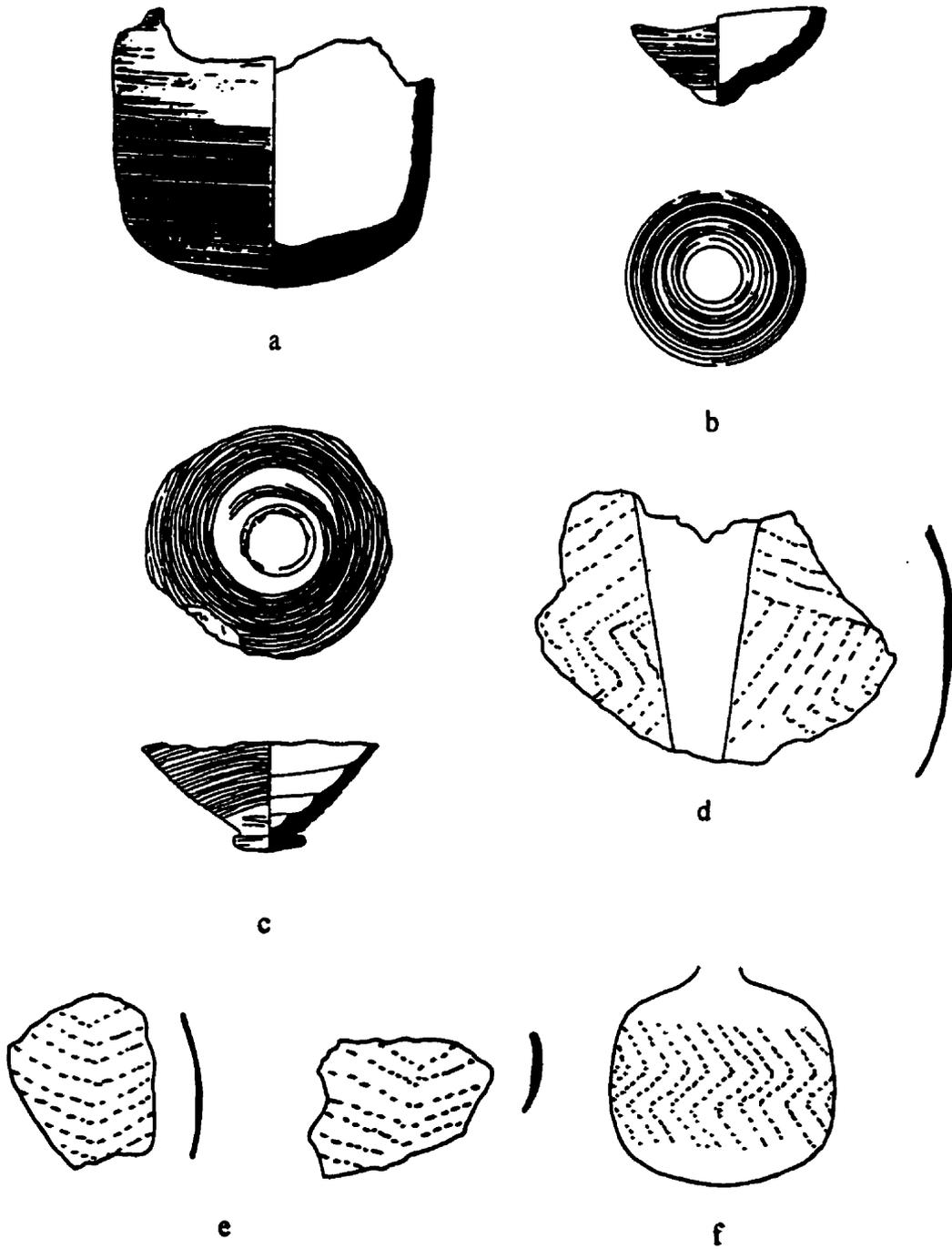


Fig.15

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 16**16(a) Juglet (4 specimens)**

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black with yellow and white decoration
Rim diam.: 4.4cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 6.5-15.6cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: H.I, GR.II and T.166, Zone B
Remarks: Cypriot type; imported pottery; cf. Petrie 1906, Pl. VIII(b):102(g), 47

16(b)-(c) Sherd (2 specimens)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black with white decoration
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: Zone B
Remarks: Tell el-Yahudiyah type; imported pottery

16(d) Juglet (2 specimens)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black with white and yellow decoration
Rim diam.: 4.4cm
Base diam.: 5cm
Height: 14.5cm
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: T.117, Zone B
Remarks: Cypriot type; cf. Petrie 1898, Pl. XXXIII:24

16(e) Lower Part of Juglet (1 specimen)

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Black with white decoration
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: LSIP and beginning of NK
Provenance: H.III, Zone B
Remarks: Cypriot type

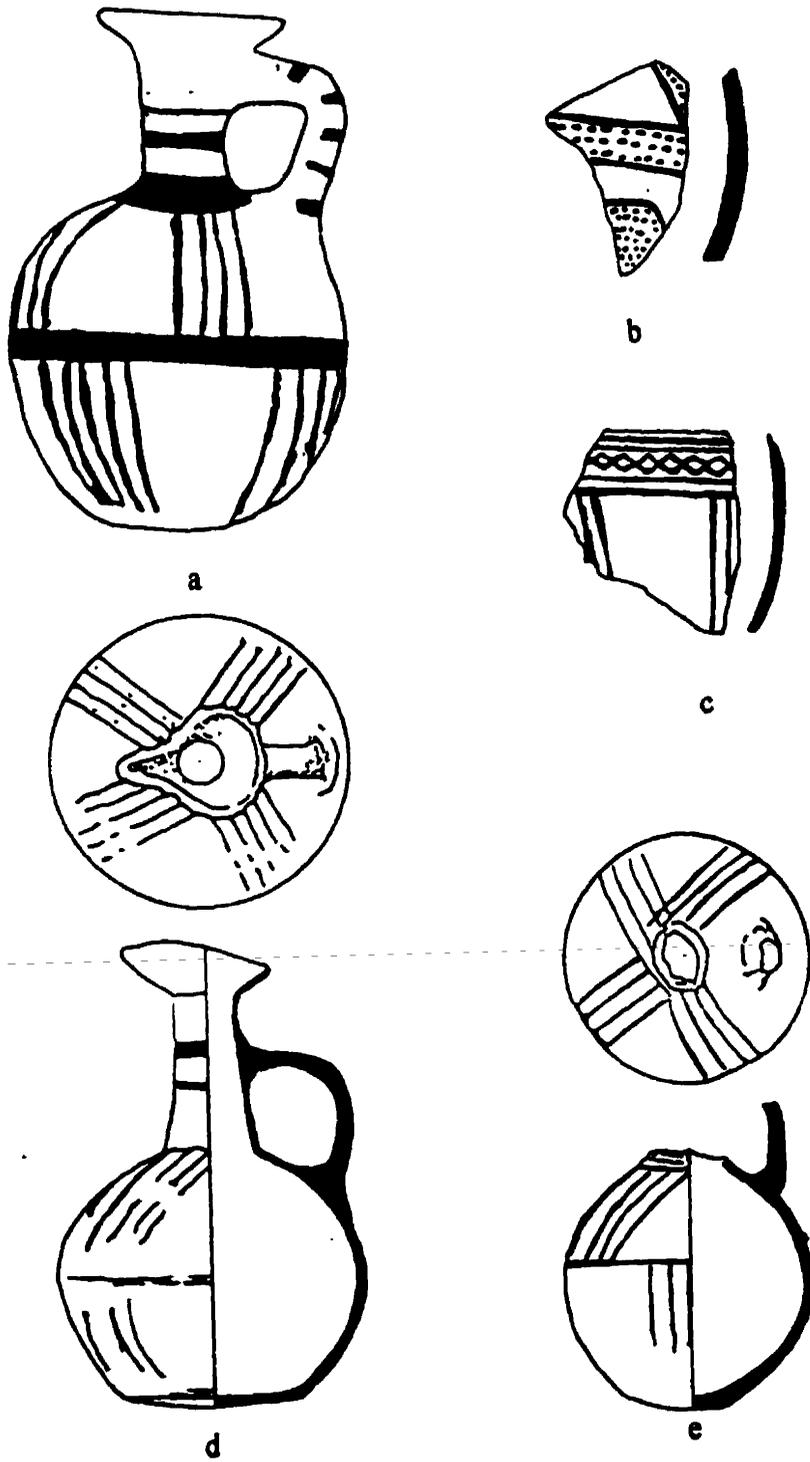


Fig.16.

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 17**(a)-(e) Sherd (5 specimens)**

Fabric: Fine ware; the external surface is polished
Colour: Bichrome: black and white
Rim diam.: ---
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Zones B and C
Remarks: Cypriot type; Petrie 1931, Pl. XLVIII:57H3.

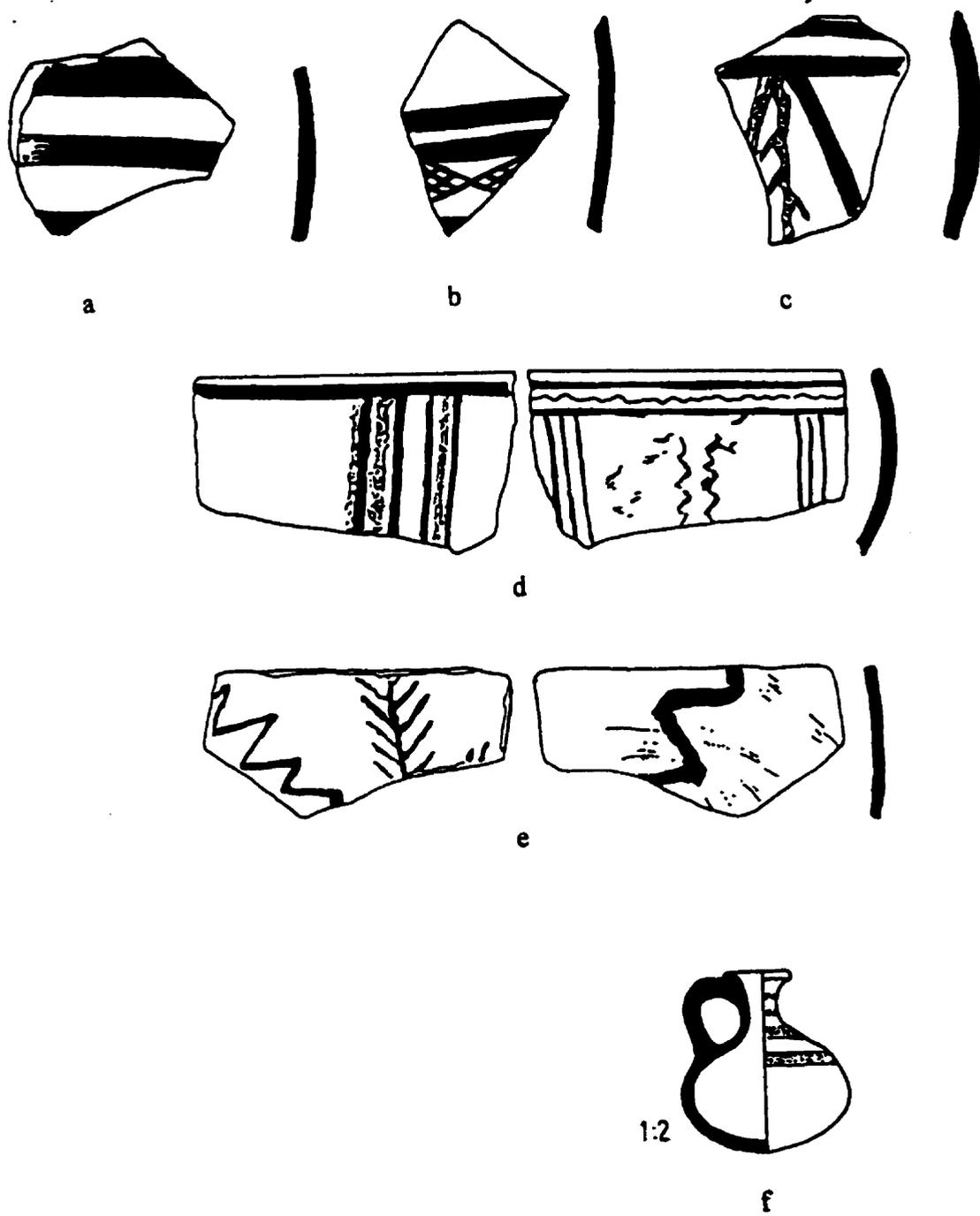


Fig.17

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 18**18(a) Stand (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 17cm
Base diam.: 21cm
Height: 13cm
Date: SIP
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:8

18(b) Stand (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 10cm
Base diam.: 9cm
Height: 4.4cm
Date: SIP
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: cf. Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:3

18(c) Stand (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 6.5-8.5cm
Base diam.: 6.6-7.4cm
Height: 2.5-3.5cm
Date: ---
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: ---

18(d) Stand (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 8-9.6cm
Base diam.: 8-10cm
Height: 3.7-4.2cm
Date: ---
Provenance: GR.I, Zone A; BUL.I, Zone B; BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: ---

18(e) Stand (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 7.6-11cm
Base diam.: 6.2-10cm
Height: 3.4-4.6cm
Date: ---
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B; GR.III, Zone B; BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: ---

18(f) Stand (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, fine; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 9.3cm
Base diam.: 8cm
Height: 4.5cm
Date: SIP
Provenance: H.I, Zone B
Remarks: Bietak 1991, 42, fig. 10:2

18(g) Stand (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 7-9.2cm
Base diam.: 8.8-9.2cm
Height: 3.7-4.4cm
Date: ---
Provenance: GR.I, Zone A; GR.III, Zone B; BUL.I, Zone B; H.02, Zone D
Remarks: ---

18(h) Stand (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 18cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 12cm
Date: ---
Provenance: GR.II, Zone B
Remarks: Upper part only

18(i) Stand (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 7.8-8.8cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: ---
Date: ---
Provenance: H.02, Zone D; H.03, Zone D
Remarks: Upper part only

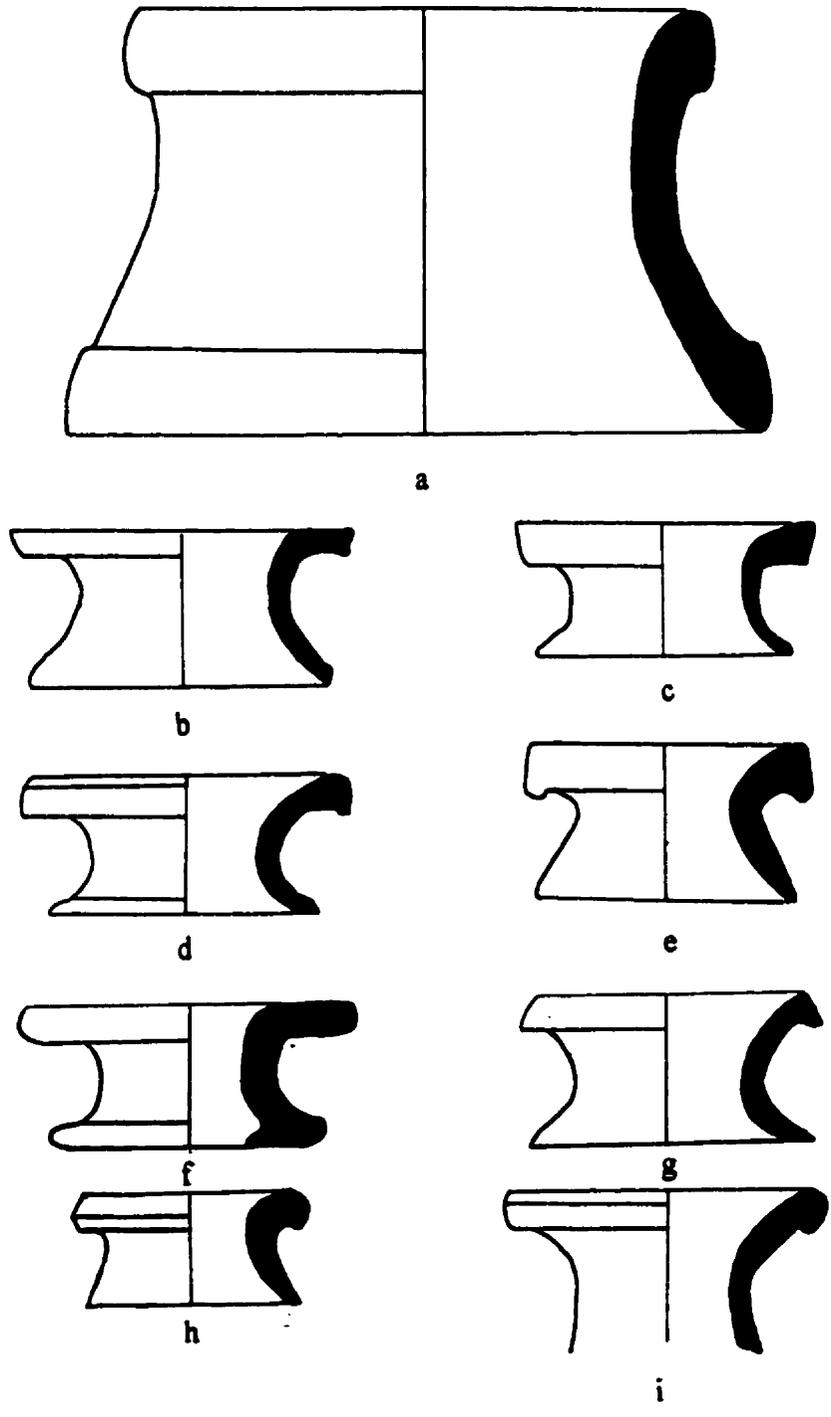


Fig. 18

TELL HABOUA I - Fig. 19**19(a) Plate (1 specimen)**

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 3.1cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: ---

19(b) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10.1cm
Base diam.: 5cm
Height: 3.2cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.III, Zone B
Remarks: ---

19(c) Plate (3 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 9.2-12.9cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 3.4-4cm
Date: NK
Provenance: Street 2, Zone B
Remarks: Hand-made; Nagel 1938, fig. 6:51

19(d) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10.4cm
Base diam.: 2cm
Height: 3.4cm
Date: NK
Provenance: BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: ---

19(e) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 9.5cm
Base diam.: 3.9cm
Height: 3.7cm
Date: NK
Provenance: BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: ---

19(f) Plate (4 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish-brown and brown
Rim diam.: 11cm
Base diam.: 4.4cm
Height: 4cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.I, Zone B; Street 4, Zone B
Remarks: Hinkel 1965, Pl. XXIX

19(g) Plate (5 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Reddish-brown
Rim diam.: 8-12.2cm
Base diam.: 4.3-5.2cm
Height: 3cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: H.I, H.III, BUL.I and BUL.IV, Zone B
Remarks: Nagel 1938, fig. 6:51

19(h) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 10.2cm
Base diam.: 5cm
Height: 3.7cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: ---

19(i) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10cm
Base diam.: 4cm
Height: 3cm
Date: 18th Dyn.
Provenance: BUL.I, Zone B
Remarks: Nagel 1938, Plate XV:1165

19(j) Plate (1 specimen)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough; the external surface is polished
Colour: Brown
Rim diam.: 10.5cm
Base diam.: ---
Height: 3.7cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: Ben-Dor 1950, 34-35, fig. 33(d)

19(k) Plate (2 specimens)

Fabric: Nile silt, rough
Colour: Red
Rim diam.: 10.4-20.5cm
Base diam.: 5-10cm
Height: 3.8-7cm
Date: MB II
Provenance: H.I, Zone B; BUL.II, Zone C
Remarks: Nagel 1938, Pl. XV

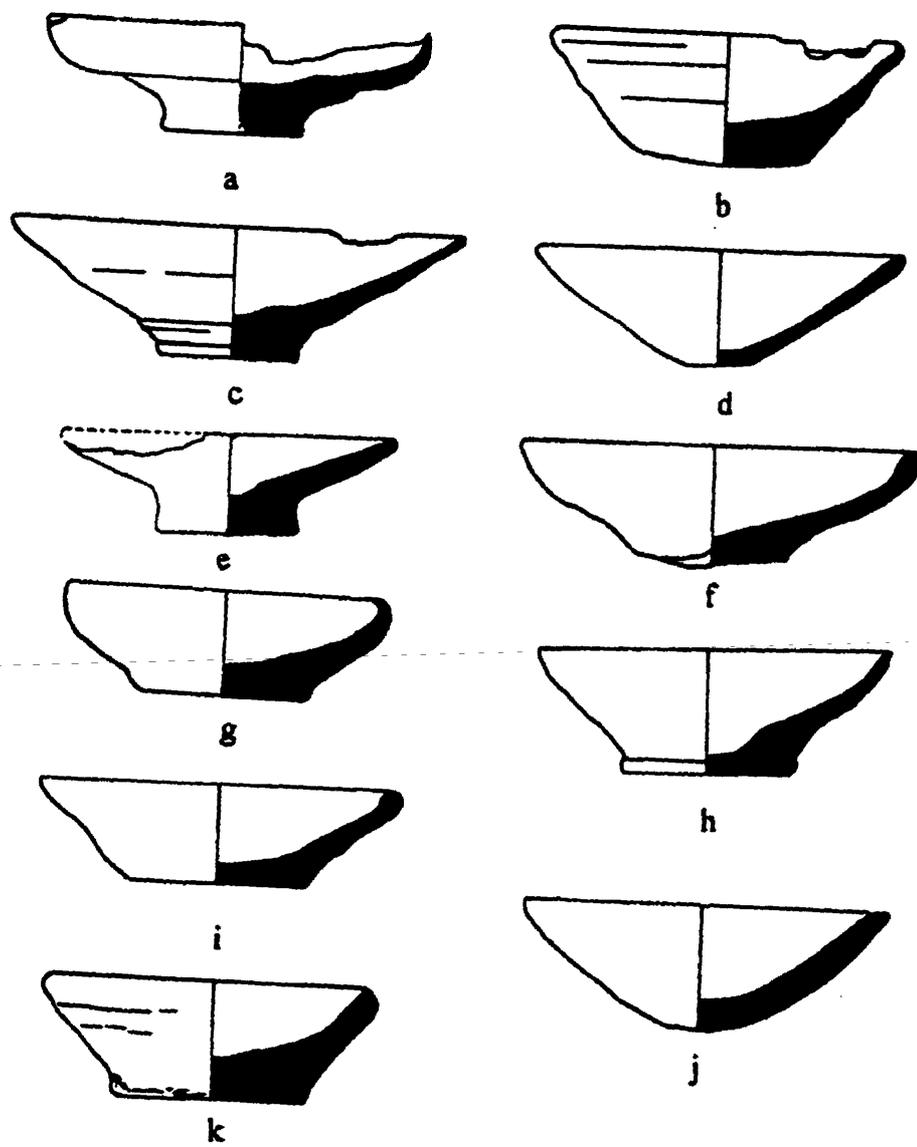


Fig.19.