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7-77M ROMAN EHNASYA
(HERAKLEOPOLIS MAGNA)

1904

PLATES AND TEXT SUPPLEMENTARY TO EHNASYA

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

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ROMAN EHNASYA.

THE TERRACOTTA FIGURES.

THE large quantity of figures which were found in houses, and are dated by coins found with them, serve as a scale by which the age of such late examples of classical work can be fixed.

The date in centuries A.D. is placed at the lower left hand corner of each figure in the plates, where it is known; and the letter of the house at the lower right hand corner.

The general classification of these dated figures, and of others which were found, or bought from *sebakhin* at Ehnasya, without any dating, is as follows:—

Pl. xlv.	1-15.	Classical figures, more or less debased.
Pl. xlv.	16-20.	Serapis.
	21-28, 31, 32,	Isis.
	29, 30, 33.	Horus in Egyptian style.
Pl. xlvii.	34-49.	Harpocrates.
Pl. xlviii.	50-59.	Harpocrates.
	61-64.	Bes.
	65.	Osiris vase.
	66.	Hermes and the baboon of Tahuti.
	67, 68.	Palm trees and goddess.
Pl. xlix.	69-94.	Heads.
Pl. l.	95-99.	Heads.
	100-109.	Female genii.
	110-112.	Armed figures with double axe.
Pl. li.	113-129.	Standing figures, genii and comic.
	130-131.	Hands.

Pl. lii.	132-137.	Latest human figures.
	138-149.	Animal figures.
	150-151.	Models of objects.
Pl. lii A.	152, 156-167.	„ „
	153-4.	Animal figures.
	168-171.	Plaster moulds.

The style is fairly kept up to the middle of the IIIrd century, as dated by coins of Philip, some figures, as 1 and 7, being as good as we should expect one or two centuries earlier. In the IVth century, down to the younger Constantine, good traditions remain; the seated Serapis(?) 16, is well done, and yet is a local production as he holds the sacred *Bennu* of Herakleopolis (see 143) in his hand. The Harpocrates figures 37-39 are not as bad as might be expected; the Egyptian crown head-dress (141) was maintained; but the figures were becoming clumsy and rude (118, 120). After the IVth century such figures seem to have died out; only a rude style appearing in the VIIth century, starting from entirely different motives (132-137).

Pl. xlv. 1 is uncertain in meaning, Athena and Demeter both seem indicated. 2 is Hermes of the same origin as 66. 1 is Aphrodite Anadyomene, which was a common type, and many fragments and less complete examples were found. 4, Aphrodite with shell, is also usual. 5 might be Isis by the crescent head-dress. 6 is a well-known type of Aphrodite. 7 may be an Artemis. 8 is a debased type of Athena Promachos. 9 belongs to a group of figures with

B

double-headed axes, see 110-112. 10 is a Persian head, as also probably 80. 11 is Hermes Moschophoros, from a Hellenistic work of Hadrian's age imitating archaic style. 12 may be a Serapis head. 13 is a plaque modelled solid, with attachment holes, bearing Apollo sleeping holding a bow. 14 may be an Egyptian variant of Herakles. 15 is the same hero.

Pl. xlv. The Serapis types are familiar; but 16 holds the *bennu* bird which marks it as a local work of Herakleopolis; and 19 is the Serapis-headed uraeus, of which 20 shows the support; this Serapis uraeus is seen on the Alexandrian coinage. 21 to 28 are all probably intended for Isis. 29 is a copy of a larger figure of Horus seated in a wooden shrine, with Egyptian head-dress. The same is seen on the Harpocrates, fig. 30.

Pl. xlvii. The Harpocrates figures are of many types, passing more and more from the Egyptian of the last plate. 34 has still the Egyptian head-dress, but wears a clinging Greek robe. The double crown shows as a centre of a compound head-dress in 35-40, 46, 49. The triple crown seen in the last plate is also here in 43. The cornucopia is the general attribute; but the club of Haroeris appears in 44; and the round pot in 43, 49, the meaning of which is unknown. The phallic Horus type on the last page also occurs in 47. No. 41 may be Eros rather than Horus; and 42 may be a priest holding a sacred standard and the *bennu* of Herakleopolis. 45 is part of a group of priests carrying canopic jars of gods on a tray in a procession.

Pl. xlviii. Other figures and heads of Harpocrates occur, down to 58. The pot is shown in 50, 51. The head, 53, has a cedar cone cap, and might perhaps be Attys. 60 is a Kanephora. 61-64 are figures of Bēs, 63 is a small jug, 62 and 64 are copied from legs of a tripod. 65 is the Canopic Osiris. 66 is Hermes as identified with Tahuti, by the

baboon with lunar disc by his side. 67 and 68 are figures of a goddess seated with a jar and a cup under two palm trees; that this was a divinity is shown by the niche in which to burn a lamp in her honour. Possibly this is the goddess of palm wine, by the wine-jar at her side.

Pl. xlix. The negro-head jug, 69, shows the west coast type of face, more like the Benin negro than the Sudani. Of the heads here few can be identified. 72 and 84 are probably Isis as wife of Serapis. 79 is a usual classical mask. 80 is a Persian. 85 is a model of an animal mummy. 87 is one of the parturition *ex voto* offerings, usual from the XVIIIth Dynasty onward.

Pl. l. No meaning has yet been given for these female figures, either with hands raised or put down. 107 is a doll, as such an one was found in a child's grave with other toys at Hawara: the others therefore may all be for toys.

Pl. li. The female figures 113-120 have not been identified by name. 118 and 120 are very common types. 121 is perhaps Isis and Horus. 122 is a Roman figure covered with wreaths. 124 is a dwarfish Harpocrates. 127 is a Roman circus rider with palm branch. 129 is a comic character from a Roman play. The hand in a wreath, 130, is strange and needs the whole subject to explain it. The arm, 131, has a serpent wound around it: a subject which often occurs in bronzes without any reference to Cleopatra.

Pl. lii. The very degraded figures, 132-136, show how completely the classical types had disappeared. Figures bordering on these are common at Elephantine. 138-9 are parts of baboons. 140 is a scrap of a cup decorated with slip, and with the *bennu* birds, 141-2, was found in house H of the IVth century. In 143 the *bennu* and baboon are shown on a plaque. 144 is a crocodile. 145 a horse's head. 146-7 birds' heads. 148 a young ostrich. 149 the *bennu*. 150-1 an unknown object which has

been intended to be joined with other pieces by plaster. Such compound figures were often made, especially for dolls, 107, of which separate arms and legs are common.

Pl. lii A. 152 is a shrine of the *bennu*. 153-4 are figures of camels, wearing the check tassels always seen on Bedawi camels at present. 155-157 are models of wayside shrines, showing a class of religious structures which have entirely disappeared, owing to their being made of cheap and perishable materials. They were the earlier type of the familiar Muhammedan *wely* of the present day; and even the dome roof is shown in 155. 158 is perhaps a salt dredger. 159 is a lamp shelter, for placing over lamps out of doors at a shrine. Pots are

similarly used now at modern shrines. 160 is an interesting model of a domestic shrine; it was made of wood, as shown by the panelling below. The opening is where the image stood, and here it held the small lamp. 161 is another shrine lamp-holder. 162 is the usual type of Syrian fire altar. 163 is the back of the throne of fig. 1, placed here as an example of furniture. 164 is a model of a basket-work chair. 165 is a model of a sack tied at the mouth, and bent by being placed over a donkey's back. 166 is part of a bottle with vine pattern. 167 the foot of a stand. 168-171 are four plaster moulds dated to the IVth century. Others undated are shown on pls. lvi and lxix A.

THE LAMPS.

THE Roman towns in Egypt abound with lamps of pottery of all kinds, from the best classical style down to the rudest without any design. As the excavations of the houses at Ehnasya yielded many lamps which could be fairly dated, it seemed worth while to attempt a *corpus* of Romano-Egyptian lamps. The material consisted of the dated examples from houses, undated from the excavations, lamps found by the *sebakh* diggers and bought by our party, and lamps bought from dealers at Medinet el Fayum. I have not distinguished between these various groups, as it is clear that the great majority were made at some distance and brought by trade to these towns, so that they might as well be found in one place as in another close by. Some comparison of the wealth and taste of towns might be possible from comparing an impartial collection of lamps from each source; but we only had a selection of the most marketable from Medinet el Fayum, and hence their being better on an average than those of Ehnasya only showed that the poorer ones had been weeded out before we got them.

In arranging these lamps in classes I have tried to follow the actual order of development of the types, so as to show how changes arose by degradation and copying. The classes are fairly distinguishable when once known; but some debased lamps borrow two or three different elements, and can be classed in various ways. Most of these are placed in one class of Joint types (J), as they are instructive for showing the unintelligent copying. The makers' marks incised on the bases are useful in tracing a series of degradation. Where there were enough examples I studied one maker's series at a time

so as to trace his decadence; and the decay of the mark follows with the decay of the type. These marks I copied on to squares of paper, one inch in the side, which are here shown at the top right hand of each lamp, wherever any mark is visible. The principal makers' marks are A, B, and the palm branch; the whole of the marks are classified on plates lxxii-iv, and are described on pp. 13, 14.

The twenty-five classes of lamps are distinguished by letters, and the varieties of the class by numbers. The letters are, as far as possible, initial letters of the class name, so as to aid the memory in dealing with them. From this first *corpus* it will be possible to denote the greater part of Romano-Egyptian lamps in future by letter and number, as R 27 or B 48; but this will, of course, be largely added to in future publications, with new types. In order to allow of these being in future numbered into their proper order, the numbers assigned here are spaced apart where there seem to be wider intervals in the series. Any minute differences can be further distinguished by letters if need be, as R 27c, or B 48a, as I have done in the *corpus* of prehistoric pottery. In the first two classes, as these lamps are only a fringe of the large subject of ordinary classical lamps, I have not trusted to our collections of the year, but have noted all of the types in the Museums of Alexandria and Palermo as well, and so formed a list of types which is here given.

The names of classes may be stated here together to give a general view of the subject. The subdivisions are stated in describing each class.

		Totals
Classical	C Plate liii	57
Delta	D „ liv-v	54
Head	H „ lv	24
Rosette	R „ lvi	30
Plain	Q „ lvii	11
Multiple	M „ lvii	24
Wreath	W „ lviii	41
Echinus	K „ lviii	13
Round-body	O „ lix	35
Shouldered	S „ lix	42
Dolphin	V „ lx	74
Radiate	U „ lxi	31
Loop	L „ lxi	37
Groove	G „ lxi-ii	65
Frog	F „ lxiii	62
Frog and corn	E „ lxiv	63
Corn and palm	P „ lxv	61
Joint types	J „ lxvi	30
Arms and boys	A „ lxvi	31
Boss	B „ lxvii	60
Deep-cut	Y „ lxviii	22
Ankh and cross	X „ lxviii	28
Byzantine	Z „ lxviii	9
Neck	N „ lxix	43
Stem	T „ lxix	20
Supplementary	„ lxixA	28
Unclassed	„ lviii	6
Flower cups?	„ lvi	8
Moulds, and plaster	lvi, lxixA	10
		1020

C. *Classical lamps.* Pl. liii.—These are not arranged completely in order, as several were obtained after the series of photographs were taken, and had therefore to be inserted later. The Fayum and Ehnasya examples are so small a part of the types that I have also listed all the types in the Alexandria Museum (mostly from that city), and in the Palermo Museum; and these are here arranged in systematic order with *corpus* numbers, and letters for the minor varieties. The letters A, F, P, refer to the

source for each. This classification will serve for the arrangement of collections:—

- 1 Apollo bust radiate, P.
- 2 Bust on crescent, P.
- 4m Helios and Selene busts, A.
- 4s Selene bust, F.
- 6 Hermes bust, A, F.
- 8a Herakles, A.
- 8h Herakles and horse, F.
- 10a Serapis standing, A.
- 10c „ „ with wreath, A. F.
- 10f „ seated, A. F.
- 10k „ bust front, A.
- 10m „ „ „ with foliage, F.
- 10n „ „ „ „ radiated, F.
- 10p „ „ side, A.
- 10r „ „ on eagle, A.
- 11a „ enthroned, F.
- 11d „ seated with Isis, A.
- 11f „ seated with cornucopia, Isis at side, A.
- 11m Serapis, Isis and Horus busts over tripod, A.
- 11s Serapis head with serpent body, F.
- 12a Isis standing.
- 12c „ (?) „ with shield and balances, F.
- 12d „ throned, A. F.
- 12k „ bust, A.
- 12l „ bust on eagle, A.
- 12m „ bust and torch, A.
- 12s „ standing with Horus, A.
- 13a Horus standing, and altar, A.
- 13c „ „ and uraei, A.
- 13k „ bust.
- 13s „ in shrine with Isis and Nephthys, A.
- 14 Harpocrates, F.
- 15h Hapi Neilos reclining, F.
- 15o Canopic Osiris, A.
- 16f Aphrodite front view, F.
- 16m „ Anadyomene in shell, A.
- 18a Pallas standing, F.
- 18h „ head, A.
- 19 Ceres and torch, A.

- 20a Eros walking to right, F.
 20d „ standing, leg crossed, F.
 20f „ „ front face, F.
 20h „ turning heel upward, F.
 20m „ seated with cornucopia, F.
 20s „ asleep, A. F.
 21a „ standing, another kneeling, F.
 21m „ standing, another opposite side, A.
 22a „ and tree, A. F.
 22d „ and grapes, F.
 22h „ and vase, A.
 22s „ and torch, F.
 22t „ lighting lamp with torch, F.
 23 „ on lion, A.
 24a „ and goat, F.
 24b „ on goat, F.
 24g „ driving two goats in car, F.
 24m „ holding dog, A.
 24s „ and swan, F.
 25a „ and boat, F.
 25f „ fishing in boat, A. F.
 26 „ and Psyche, A.
 27 Three Charitès, A.
 28 Medusa head, A. F.
 29 Head on two wings, A.
-
- 30a Victory, A.
 30m „ front view, r. arm extended, F.
 31a „ and shield, A.
 31d „ holding wreath, P.
 31g „ on globe, P.
 32 „ walking, A.
 33 „ in quadriga, F.
 34 Two Victories flying facing, A.
 35a Siren, A.
 35f „ front view, F.
 36a Satyr and nymph, A.
 36f „ running carrying nymph, A.
 37 Nymph on sea monster, F.
 38a Maenad, A.
 38h „ head and thyrsus, F.
 38m Mask and thyrsus, A.
 39f Head full face, A. F.
-
- 39g Head, full face, with grapes and leaves, F.
 39s „ side face, A.
-
- 40 Europa on bull.
 42 Arion on dolphin, front view, F.
 44 Odysseus under ram, P.
 46 Oedipus and sphinx, P.
 48 Son of Laocoon (?), A.
-
- 50 Charioteer, A.
 51a Victor and horse, A.
 51m Horseman and three men fighting, P.
 52 King's bust (Gothic), A.
 53 Priest walking, carrying altar, A.
 54j Man and jar, F.
 54s Man seated, A.
 55 Flutist, A.
 56 Gladiators, 12 varieties, A. P. F.
 57a Woman offering on altar, P.
 57h „ under tree, A.
 57m Boy walking to left, F.
 57n Boy with two vases, P.
 58 Negro head A. F. P.
 59 Two feet, A. F.
-
- 60 Lion (three varieties), A. P. F.
 60m „ springing, A.
 60s „ and stag, A.
 61 Lioness, F.
 62a Leopard, P.
 62m „ and mask, A.
 62t „ and thyrsus, P.
 63 Pegasus (two varieties), A.
 63h Horse, A.
 63t „ galloping P.
 63u „ „ Gothic style, F.
 64a Bull, A.
 64h Bull's head lamp, P.
 65a Stag and dog, A.
 65d Dog, A. F.
 65m „ curled asleep, F.
 65s „ seated, F.
 66b Boar, P.
 66h Hog, A.

- 67g Gryphon, A. F.
 67h Hippocamp, F.
 68 Hare and greens, A.
 69 Dolphin, A. F. P.
 70a Eagle, A.
 70h „ spread, P.
 70m „ bust, P.
 71 Cock on branch, P.
 72a Bird on branch, A.
 72h „ wreath on neck, F.
 72s „ hung up.
 73 Two birds.
 75a Locust on twig, A.
 75i „ on insect, F.
 78 Uræus, A. P. F.
 79 Two uræi, F.
-
- 80 Altar laden, A. F. P.
 82 Vase and vine branches, A.
 83 Branches of grapes, F.
 84 Two bunches of grapes, P.
 85 Cornucopia and caduceus, A.
 87 Two helmets, A. P.
 88 Arms around, A. F.
 90 Shell, F.
 92 Acanthus leaf, F.
 93 Palmetto, F.
 95 Bilobate handle, F.
 96 Crescent, F.

D. *Delta lamps*. Pls. liv-v.—These have the large triangular handle standing up, from which we may name them as delta lamps. The types are so similar to those of the classical lamp series, that the same notation and classification should be used for both series alike.

H. *Head lamps*. Pl. lv.—Types 2 to 12 are purely classical. 25 has a Ptolemaic style. 30 may be intended for Bes, but not of Egyptian type. 35 has two heads curiously conjoined facing. 40-45 are apparently heads of Hathor. 50-53 are heads of Bes; the maker A started with a fairly good head, and ran down the type along with the coarsening of his mark.

Pl. lvi.—A few C types remain over at the top of this plate. The style of the horse type 63u is North African; it seems pressed by a carved wooden mould, like R 50 on the same plate. These belong to the IVth or Vth century, and a similar one of a king's bust at Alexandria seems to belong to the Gothic or Vandal age.

The moulds *a, b, c*, are of plaster of Paris, and show how such lamps were copied. The small pots *e-k* are all of one form, with a single central hole: it does not seem that they could have been lamps, nor do they show any sign of charring; they cannot have been for ink, as there is no stain; were they for one or two cut flowers to be placed in water? The strainer, *l*, has a lion spout to the vase; it is of polished black ware.

R. *Rosette lamps*. The palm branch is almost the only signature on these lamps. They seem to be mainly early, though 8 is dated as late as the IVth century. Below are some unclassified lamps *m* to *u*; and also a stray lamp from the boy series A 89, showing the earlier form of the type which became so degraded, see lxvi base.

Q. *Plain lamps*. Pl. lvii. These are all of the thin, hard, classical ware. No. 12 is double in the body; the central hole opening into a chamber which has no communication with the spout. The central chamber may have been to hold water, so as to keep the lamp body moist, and prevent the oil soaking into it. There was a figure handle, perhaps the baboon of Thoth; and a boy's head as support behind it, shown in the back view. 16 had a long stem handle in the middle.

M. *Multiple lamps*. Pl. lvii. Nos. 20, 24, 28, all had central stem-handles; 28 is dated to the IIIrd century. 20 is probably earlier by the ∞ curves. From 30 to 75 they are all from the Fayum. The quadruple lamp with a central loop handle, 80, is dated to the VIIth century.

W. *Wreath lamps*. Pls. lvii.-viii. Nos. 3,

4, have a flowing vine branch on a globular body. 5, 6, 8 are geometrical derivations of the same. 10, 12 have the vine spray on a flat top. 16 has a wreath of leaves. 20, 21 are coarser variations of the branch with grapes. 26 seems to be the same, much degraded. 30 has three flowers formed of leaves. 32 has three leaves. 36 has five leaves, alternating up and down. 40 is a degraded form of leaf pattern, with hollow spots. 45 is a regular wreath. 50, 52, 54 the same, more conventional. 58 has two acanthus leaves at the sides. 60 has a formal made wreath of small flowers. 64, 65 show the wreath influenced by the palm branch. In 68, 70 it almost passes into branches. In 73 the made wreath becomes a mere pattern; in 75 influenced by the arms type; in 76, 77 influenced by the boss type. 78-90 show the decay of the wreath type. 93 is one of the deep-cut class described further on. 97, 98 are almost plain, but seem to show a trace of the wreath ridge: 97 is of the IIIrd century.

K. *Echinus lamps*. The real origin of this type is not clear; but I have named them from their resemblance to some species of *echini*. 2 is a guilloche pattern which may be an early stage of this. 5 has a modified wreath pattern, which might also be connected. 10 is the best and earliest type of echinus pattern. 14 to 35 show small variations and decay. 40 is later, and 45 is of hard salmon-coloured pottery of the Constantine age.

A few miscellaneous unclassified types are included in pl. lviii; *a* is probably a wreath; *b* derived from the frog and corn type; *d* with a rude ibex belongs to the deep-cut type; *f* has a wreath, and the inscription, +ΤΟΥ ΑΓΘΥ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΟΥ+ in honour of Saint Phoibamoun.

O. *Round-body lamps*. Pl. lix. These have no space for designs, but merely round bodies with slightly ornamented spouts. 5, 10 show the descent from the wreath pattern; and on

to 32 they all have the $\alpha\epsilon$ pattern. 5 is perhaps one of the earliest products of the maker A. 48, 50 are influenced by the wreath. 34-42 have the scroll across the neck, which is probably derived from the $\alpha\epsilon$. 50, 63 point to the rise of the groove lamp from the $\alpha\epsilon$ curves. No. 74 is of the IVth century.

The very small sizes 90, 92 are doubtless for putting into the pottery shrines. 80 to 86 are deeper bodied.

S. *Shouldered lamps*, which vary into spur lamps with two knobs at the side. By 8 and 10 it seems that this type arose from the $\alpha\epsilon$ curves. At 24 a flat topped form begins, which seems derived from hammer work on a metal plate. It runs down to 38.

At 40 the *Spur lamps* begin, at first in a good classical style, and the influence of the $\alpha\epsilon$ curves is seen in almost all. The roughest at the end, 98, is of the IVth century; and probably nearly all are before Constantine.

V. *Dolphin lamps*. Pl. lx. The commoner of these might well be called thumb lamps, from the thumb-piece at the side for holding them. But as all the early examples show that this projection was at first a dolphin, this name is here adopted. The form is evidently connected with the spur lamp just described; probably the shoulder or spur was found useful for the thumb to hold, and so it was made more prominent in the form of a dolphin. That about one in twelve have left-handed projections does not imply that they were held in the left hand, but only that the spout was held more towards the person. The sub-divisions are, with $\alpha\epsilon$ curves down to 48; which become a groove and bosses at 50-55. Radiated with palmetto 56 to 64. Other radiated 65 to 72. Palmetto 73, 74. Tie on neck, 75 to 86. Deep bodies 87 to 99. Six other examples which fill the series are in the supplementary pl. lxix. No. 89b is remarkable for having $\text{CX}\epsilon\Delta\text{IA}$ hand-written in a sunk space, as if it was

made at Schedia, the bridge of boats south of Alexandria.

U. *Radiate lamps*. Pl. lxi. The radiating lines are a very usual pattern, and may well be descended from the rosette lamps; the rosette, however, is close around the hole, while the radiation is around a clear space. 5 to 25, the earlier examples (20 is IIIrd century), have the æ pattern on the neck, parallel to the types O 5 to 34, and V 5 to 26. The slight nick on the neck 30, 32, and 35, is parallel to O 36, 72, 74, and V 68, 70. Again, U 50 and 60 are like O 15 and V 58. The two bosses on 35, 50, 60, 70, and the three bosses on 38 and 75, seem to be copied from rivets in a metal lamp; we shall see more of this motive in the boss lamps. This class descended to very rude local varieties, 90, 91, and continued to late times in 95.

L. *Loop lamps*. Pl. lxi. Another motive was added to that of the radiate type, in a collar of loops around the central hole, see L 10, 62 to 80. These loops were also used as a single motive, as in 14 and 20 to 34, where they descend into a purely Egyptian fabric, 25 of IIIrd century, 30 of IVth century. In place of separate loops we see compound loops, starting probably from the acanthus pattern, 40 to 48. The loops are also combined with what may be called the quilted type 55, like U 55, V 56 above. At last, in 80, the loops seem to become more like cocoons, and hence probably originated the Byzantine variety on the border of 83 and middle of 85 (IVth century). The row of circles, 87, 88, 89, and humps 90 (IVth century) 92, appear to be the late degradation of the loop motive. With these I have placed some other late lamps which might be derived from the allied radiate type 91, 93 to 96, and 98 of IVth century.

G. *Groove lamps*. Pls. lxi-ii. The groove is rarely found in early times, but became the favourite type in the Coptic or Byzantine age. The first examples, G 10, 14, do not explain the use of it; for any excess of oil at either

orifice would flow back easily, and not need to be carried on to the other. If there was a use for the groove, is it possible that a long wick was laid in it, perhaps from hole to hole, so as to give a long flame? Or possibly the idea may have descended from the pottery saucer, pinched in to make a spout for holding the wick. The later form 12 is IIIrd century. The later forms 18 and 19 look like copies of metal work. From 20 onward these lamps all have handles. Two main patterns were used, which are put here on opposite halves of the plate, the spirals 20 to 28, and the loops 30 to 38. The varieties below, on to 69, seem to be more or less descended from these two patterns. The best of these are as late as the VIIth century; and by early Arab times, VIIIth century or later, the form was quite decayed, see 99. The fine flowing spirals on 20 are a surprise at so late a time; and also the delta handle is a late survival. The groove, which is narrow at first in 20, shortens in 21, and then widens out in 23, 27, 45, and finally bounds the top edge in 70. This last mould shows that this type was made locally in the Fayum, and not imported. The very simple forms 75 to 77 ought rather to have come earlier, before 20, as they are of the IVth century. The groove is later adopted for the coarse straight-lined patterns, 87 to 92.

F. *Frog lamps*. Pl. lxiii. The frog is one of the commonest types in Egypt, and it looked at first sight as if some other types had been derived from degradations of the frog. But on comparing the periods, by the workmanship and the clay used, it rather appears that there were several independent patterns, the frog, corn, palm, arms, bosses, wreath, &c., which became merged and mixed owing to ignorant copying, and so approximated until it is hard to separate them. It is strange that the frog never has the mouth forming the wick-hole; but in the earlier lamps, limbs of the frog are shown, and later the whole frog. 2 is the

earliest, as it still has the α curves, descended from the Ist century. But hardly more than the hind legs were shown on 4 to 12, which is of the IIIrd century. Then the maker A took up the type and ran it to death. At first a whole frog, 16. Then in the IIIrd century the α curves in place of a head, 25 to 32, with ribbing between the curves. Next the ribbing is between straight lines, 34 to 37 and 40; and then in the IVth century the lines disappear, and there is no head.

Another type, which A never adopted, was the pricked frog, which was specially run by the palm-branch factory. The earliest of this kind of work is 44, with a whole frog embracing the central opening. But the whole class is not late, as 74 is of the IIIrd century. The pricking appears to have been done by hand after moulding the lamp; and this hand-working was carried on to what may be called incised patterns, as 83 to 92. Other stages of these patterns apart from the frog will be found under class Y, where they appear to be of the IVth century. 95 has traces of the frog on the middle, but geometrical stamps around it. 97, 98, seem to be the latest and rudest version of the frog in relief.

E. *Frog and Corn lamps*. Pl. lxiv. The earliest lamps, with two ears of corn, may be 2 and 9, as they have the α curves on the spout. But the ears of corn are well formed and quite distinct on 4 to 8, and cannot be confounded with the wreath or palm-branch (see also E. 12 on Pl. lxixA). All the lamps of this line are of fine whitish pottery, and evidently of good period; 6 is of the IIIrd century. Now on 4 to 9 the hind legs of a frog are evident; what the motive of this connection may be is quite hidden. It has been asserted that the frog was an emblem of resurrection, and a frog lamp with inscription naming the resurrection confirms this. Possibly then the apostolic emblem of the ear of corn decaying and sprouting again, which is applied to the resurrection, may be intended

by these ears of corn combined with the frog. Passing by 10, which is a variant of F. 44, we see in 13 the hind-quarters of the frog, the two ears of corn at the sides, and several more ears in front of these. This is the linking example, the very next stage, 15, having lost the resemblance to corn. But in 15 to 27 we can still (in the IIIrd and IVth century) see the traces of the corn motive, though it was rapidly degrading. But on 29, and onward, the corn has become the warty surface of the frog's back; the same in meaning as the prick pattern on F. 46 and onwards, but differently rendered. The two directions of the pattern, beginning at 13, still continue at right angles down to 48. After that two parallel groups of pattern were used, 50 to 94; merging into radiating groups, as in 67, 82, 85, 90. The hind legs of the frog are still shown down to 70. And the curious barred tail, which begins to be shown at 40, is prominent at 55 and 63, and continues after the legs have disappeared, at 69, 73, 75, 80, and even in 97 and 99. The α curves are well made at first, in 15, 16, and on to 30; they then degrade, but are traceable down to 75. In the last line, 90 to 99, neither the corn nor the frog would be suspected if we did not know the earlier examples. The ΠP maker was the principal source at first; and then the maker A took up the type at 20, but flourished in the degradation of it at 65 to 75. The maker B, however, who began well at 17, carried it to the lowest depths at 80, 97, and 99.

P. *Corn and Palm lamps*. Pl. lxv. Beside the combination of corn and frog, just described, the corn pattern alone became modified to the palm. In 2 and 3 the ears of corn are very clear, with the sharply bent straw in 2. Both these are of hard whitish pottery of good period. In 7 the stems become more curved and less straw-like, and the ears are curved more like palm than corn; this is of the IVth century. In 9 the palm form is clear; and it is combined with three bosses, and in 10

with five bosses. At 15 to 45, and later at 52 to 70, the remains of the ω curves are shown. Perhaps at 13, and certainly at 18 to 22, 36 and 47, the frog's tail is inserted, from the type of the frog lamps, such as E 40. The two turned ends of the corn stalk which appear in 3, and become rounded at 7, become circles at the base of the palm branch in 30, 35 to 47, 62, 66 and 73. And with the early boss at the back centre they form three equal marks, in 30, 35, and 58. The lines at the sides of the spout, beginning at 5, reappear at 27, 40, 42, 48, 50, 56, 70, and lastly become smaller palm branches in 79, 80, which degrade to barred lines in 87. Lastly, the late form of raised body receives the palm pattern in 94 to 99. A was the principal maker of these lamps, and his signatures deteriorate from the good form in 15 to the scattered strokes of 58, 59, 76, and 77, which seem to become even a circle of strokes round a dot in 79.

J. *Joint Types*. Pl. lxvi. Beside the mixture of portions of one type in another, as the tail of the frog between the palm branches just quoted (P 18 &c.), there is also a complete mixture of types. This is interesting as a study of degradation of design, and these instances are put together in one class of lamps with joint types. In J 2, 4, 5 is seen the frog type (developed from the corn, E 13 to 84); but with the group of lines at each side ending in finger strokes, copied from the idea of the arms, which we see in the lower part of the same plate, compare A 20 and 70 with J 5, 7, 8. The degraded remains of the ω lines are seen on the spouts of 2, 4, 5, and 12. But in 7 and 8 there appear three spots across the lamp. In 7, 8, and 12 the frog lines have become grouped as arms in relief; but yet the lines are there, which can only have started from the frog pattern. 2 and 5 are of the IIIrd century.

In 20 and 26 there is a combination of the wreath and the three bosses. In 24 the wreath is stronger, and the back boss has become a handle. In 30 and 32 the wreath has degraded

almost beyond recognition. In 36 there are three motives, the bosses, arms, and wreath.

In 40 the arms are naturally formed, but have been infected with the conventional wreath spotting, and the ties around this belong to the sausage-wreaths of late Roman design. In 46 the wreath has become a circle of palmettos, with the hind legs of the frog added. In 50 and 53 are the ears of corn and bosses, as we have already seen in P 9 to 14. In 54 the bosses seem connected by arms outside of the corn. And in 57 the corn has become more palm-like with the bosses.

In 60 to 64 the palm branches and bosses are united. In 70 and 72 the arms and bosses show on the raised surface; and in 75 this has passed into a wreath.

In 80 are the arms with degraded corn-palm outside. In 84 the arms are outside. In 86 to 92 the arms are barred in imitation of the palm with which they are confused; yet fingers show in 90 (of the IIIrd century), though bosses prevail in 86, 88, and 92.

A. *Arm lamps*. Pl. lxvi. On A 2 is a type which is seen also combined in J 36 above. This looks as if it were a raised rim to a centre plate in a lamp of beaten metal, fixed with three rivets to the body. Certainly 2 is an earlier fabric of lamp than those which follow, and it may therefore well be the origin of the arms. In 5 the arms are naturally squared, as on J 40, like the hieroglyph of the *ka* arms. In 8 and 9 the arms are disconnected, and slightly bent at the elbow. After that the arms are curved round to fit the lamp; the fingers are almost always kept, but in 50 and 60 the original bosses of the rivets assert themselves. There is but little of the ω decoration on this type; the first, 2, has traces of it, it comes fully on 30, copied on to 33 and 70, probably borrowed into this series from the palm type P 18, &c. The barring on the arms, 80, is taken from the palm, see J 84; and it seems to have started the simple radiations in A 85. At the end of the series are

four of a different type, that of the two boys. The origin is two cupids (lvi, A 89) which have been greatly degraded; but we can still trace them in the earliest of these at 90, and there is further perhaps a mixture of hind-legs of the frog, corn or arms, or two bosses. Clear as it is in 90, it is rougher in 92, and by 94 the boys can scarcely be traced; the faces and toes are just visible, but it might almost be anything else. In 96 a different degradation can be traced.

B. *Boss lamps*. Pl. lxxvii. These seem to have come from the same rivetted metal type which started the arms, and so A 2 is repeated here as B 2. But the diverse combinations of the boss type were greater than of any other series. To the groove in B 2 succeeds a decorated band in 5 (IIIrd century) to 14; and it always haunts this type, coming again at 28, 30, 32, 34, 39, 41, 48, 50, 52, 57, 60 to 65, 80 to 85. Other radial lines are added on many, as 8 to 12, 17, 26 to 48, 65 to 68. The bosses are amplified with counter bosses sunk between them, in 12 to 18. They are changed into three *pelta* shields in 20, 21. Palm branches are put between in 24, 30 to 37, 46. A great type was the mixture of the loop pattern, from L 32, &c., with the bosses encircling them and lying between them, as 50 to 58. And then the bosses fade out, and leave only three larger loops, with lesser ones between, as 60. These soon equalize, and a circle of loops results, as in 62 to 72; and these then become circles as in 74 to 78. The type with plain bosses alone begins with the grooves, 80 to 83, probably immediately succeeding type 2. The bosses vary a little until they settle into type 92 to 96, which is perhaps the very commonest of all the late lamps.

Y. *Deep-cut lamps*. Pl. lxxviii. These are not very late as they occur in a house of the IVth century. But the style is very degraded, and seems to have grown by continually deepening and strengthening the outlines of worn type,

by cutting into a positive copy. The only signatures for this, and for the raised frog class, F 72 to 92, are what may be called the compound-line marks, modifications of the palm branch signature. Few of the designs are intelligible, but it is tolerably evident that the frog is the basis of most of them. It is clear in 35, 40, and from these can be traced in 25, 45, 50, 55; and is probably the source of 5, 10, 20, 60, 65. Of the larger lamp, 15, the base is also photographed, besides the drawing of a signature on another example. The subject was probably the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; possibly even 30 is a variant of the same. The types 70 to 96 may have been derived from the radiate, wreath, arms, or other types.

X. *Ankh and Cross lamps*. Pl. lxxviii. The *ankh* is clear on lamps 15 (IVth century) and 20; and probably 10 is a corruption of the same. It can be traced on 23; 25 may be derived from it, with a slight cross incised on the spout; 30, 33, and 36 are indeterminate forms put here at the close of the *ankhs*.

The cross with the side lock of Horus, was afterwards modified into X P, as the beginning of X P I C T O C. This form is used on 40, 41. The plain cross of the same period is in 44. 45 has a rude cross in the pan. 50 has a cross with spots on the limbs, and a group of spots in the quadrants. On 52 and 55 there is a circle in each quadrant. On 60 (Vth century), 63, 66 the cross is on the spout. On 68 the cross is on the base, the upper side of the same lamp, which follows, showing only a radiated pattern. On 70 the cross is at each side, and a spout pattern probably descended from the seven-branched lamp stand. 75, 80, 82 (Vth century), and 86 have the cross on the spout. The large ribbed cross covered the top of 88. And in 90 the stamps used may be intended for the cross in a square.

Z. *Byzantine*. Pl. lxxviii. I have here put together a few examples of late styles of lamps

which stand apart from the others which we have considered. The designs of figures on 10, 20, 30, and Z 15, pl. lxixA, belong to a large and varied class, though we have not many of them here; they seem most nearly connected with Byzantine art, and hence the name I have used. 20 is of the VIIth century. The lamps 5, 40 to 65 are also late (62 of Vth century).

N. *Neck lamps.* Pl. lxix. A large class of lamps have no pretence of decoration, and no maker's marks: the pottery is usually rougher than in the decorated forms; and as most of them have a wide mouth and a definite neck, I have termed them neck lamps. They are mostly late; Nos. 2, 5, 10, 42, 44 being all of the IVth century; 80, 83, 85, 87 of the VIIth century; and 55 being closely like 60, which is a green glazed Arabic lamp, perhaps of the Xth century. The forms 66 to 68 are, however, stated by Dr. Grenfell to be of Ptolemaic age. 2 is of interest as pointing to a mode of forming a closed lamp by fitting a cover to an open saucer; but this example is from a house dated some centuries after closed lamps had been in use. The rude lamps 95 to 97 are certainly late, as they have the cross on them; they seem to be made by hand without any mould.

T. *Stem lamps.* Pl. lxix. Apart from the ordinary lamps, there is a class which were placed upon stems, so as to light the surroundings better; or else hung by stems, so that they could be suspended against a wall. The hanging lamps are shown in 5 to 25, and T 14, 16 on pl. lxixA; they seem by the designs to be of the IVth century and earlier, perhaps Ptolemaic. The stem lamps are later, 40 and 43 of the IVth, and 70 of the VIIth century.

In the supplementary plate lxixA, with some types which I obtained after the series were photographed, I have included some examples of gypsum moulds, b, c, d, g, and also reliefs a, e, f. These show, like the lamp moulds on pl. lvi, that plaster was commonly used in Roman

times for copying work. Other examples go back as far as the XVIIIth Dynasty.

This closes the descriptions of the various types of the lamps and their dates; and it now remains to make some notes on the makers.

On one point there might naturally be a difficulty felt, as to how these porous lamps held oil. In many cases they have evidently been soaked with oil, and have picked up much dirt and dust on the outside in consequence; but most of them are perfectly clean. How the oil was prevented from soaking them is stated in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, by GRIFFITH and THOMPSON. There it is said that for magic purposes a new lamp must be used, "a white lamp in which no minium or gum-water has been put" (vi, i), "a new lamp in which no minium has been put" (xvi, 2; xvii, 21) "a clean bright lamp, without putting gum-water into it" (xxvii, 13). The minium, or red lead, would form a hard compound with the oil, and make the pottery oil-tight; but there was no trace of such a coat in any broken lamp. Probably then gum-water was used in general, for this would not leave perceptible traces.

The marks are nearly all impressed by the mould in which the lower half of the lamp was made; a few are incised on the clay. Pl. lxxii. First are placed names or abbreviations. 4 is probably AGILIS. It is notable that 3, 4, and 7 are all Roman names, showing that the best types were largely of Roman work. The maker A was the most prolific, and his mark begins well-formed on lamps of good classical style, but without figures. Thence the long course of degradation goes on, down to forms which could never be suspected of being by A unless all the intermediate stages were before us. The last few examples may be intended for something else. The letter and number below each show the class and number in the class, as on the plates of lamps. Thus the type and quality of the lamp can be seen at once; and the few

unmarked were on duplicates which do not appear in the plates. This A type I have from Memphis; and it would be desirable now to record the makers' marks of all lamps found in given localities, so as to see the distribution of the trade.

B is also a common mark, which by No. 132 has almost lost its origin.

Pl. lxxiii. No. 135 is rare. 136-140 are usual on lamps of fairly good style. 145-9 and 150-3 are also on good lamps. 154 may be M or possibly a degradation of some other sign. The two remaining letters are rare. Altogether Greek letters belong to the type which retain classical feeling, excepting A and B.

Monograms are almost limited to one type. The X P monogram is rare, only on a lamp of very degraded palm type (pl. lxix A). The maker using the monogram 158-179 made hardly anything but the loop type and frog and corn type. 181-2 are unintelligible.

Of objects there are the basket, cup, wreath, thyrsus, label, thunderbolt, and swastika, 182-191, on lamps of degraded classical make, but

not low Egyptian. The palm-branches begin on excellent lamps of thin ware, the three branches tied together being the earliest form. The single branch then comes into use, and goes through a long degradation: from 247 it combines with the crescent; at 263 other signs come in, the sun, hook line, and star. Most of these late marks are on lamps of the re-cut type, where the outlines have been continually strengthened by grooving fresh lines, and coarsening the work.

The head, 277, is in relief outlines, on a very degraded lamp, where fresh geometrical patterns have almost superseded the frog. The nature of the marks 278-281 is not known. The crescent, 282-290, with star or sun, is also late, apparently used by a shop connected with the palm-branch shop. The other signs down to 311 are unintelligible. The circles 312-331 are probably due to striking with a compass. The radial marks 332-366 are naturally often of four or eight arms, as those are the easiest to make; but the frequency of seven arms (346-356) is curious.

THE ARCHITECTURE.

PL. lxx, lxxi. These portions of capitals are very different in style from the carvings obtained at Ehnasya before (*Ahnas*, xiv-xvii), which were much more due to the oriental foliage motives, such as are seen at Mashita. Here, on the contrary, nearly all the pieces are of the later stages of classical motives. No. 1, a Corinthian capital, was found loose in the town; 2 was picked out in fragments from a lime-burner's heap. 4 was loose in the town. Nos. 3, 5 to 10, were from a great burnt house, in which the Antonine inscription and other pieces from the late temple were re-used. Unfortunately no coins were found to date the burning. The smaller capitals were found loose in the town. The remarkable point of this foliage work is the very close resemblance to that at Ravenna, about the age of Theodoric. Such work as No. 9 is indistinguishable from the North Italian treatment of leafage. Whether the connecting influence came from east or west is perhaps indicated by the form of the cross in the midst of this foliage, on the capitals of Theodoric's palace at Ravenna. This cross has the lock of Horus on the top of it, pointing to Egyptian training of the sculptor; and we may therefore regard the Ravenna work as being influenced from Egypt. No. 23 is a limestone stand for water jars, found in the town.

The modern cemetery of Ehnasya (Nos. 24, 25) is very different to those of other dis-

tricts. The tombs are brick vaults, sunk just below the ground, in square pits. They are walled around above the ground, and the eastern wall is decorated with a false door. There is often a brick enclosure forming a court in front of the tomb. Now the whole of this arrangement is identical with the old Egyptian tombs; the eastern façade, the false door, the front enclosure, are so precisely the ancient style of the Old Kingdom, that it would be very difficult to see a difference between this, when it shall become ruined, and the cemetery of Denderah. The one feature which strikes us as modern is the arching along the top of the front. But we must remember that we have no upper parts of brick mastabas remaining, and the arch is not to be expected in the stone mastabas. When we see in a wall painting at Kahun (*Illahun*, xvi) a row of arched buildings of the XIIth Dynasty, with the arch openings in a row, and displayed with wooden lattices, it is certain that the visible use of a row of arches was then familiar. Hence it would not be surprising if the ancient mastabas of brickwork had been finished with visible arching like the modern tombs. That such an ancient type should survive at Ehnasya is less surprising than it would be elsewhere. A very strong Coptic population has continued here; and the place was distant from the Nile, and less likely than most other towns to suffer alterations of its customs.





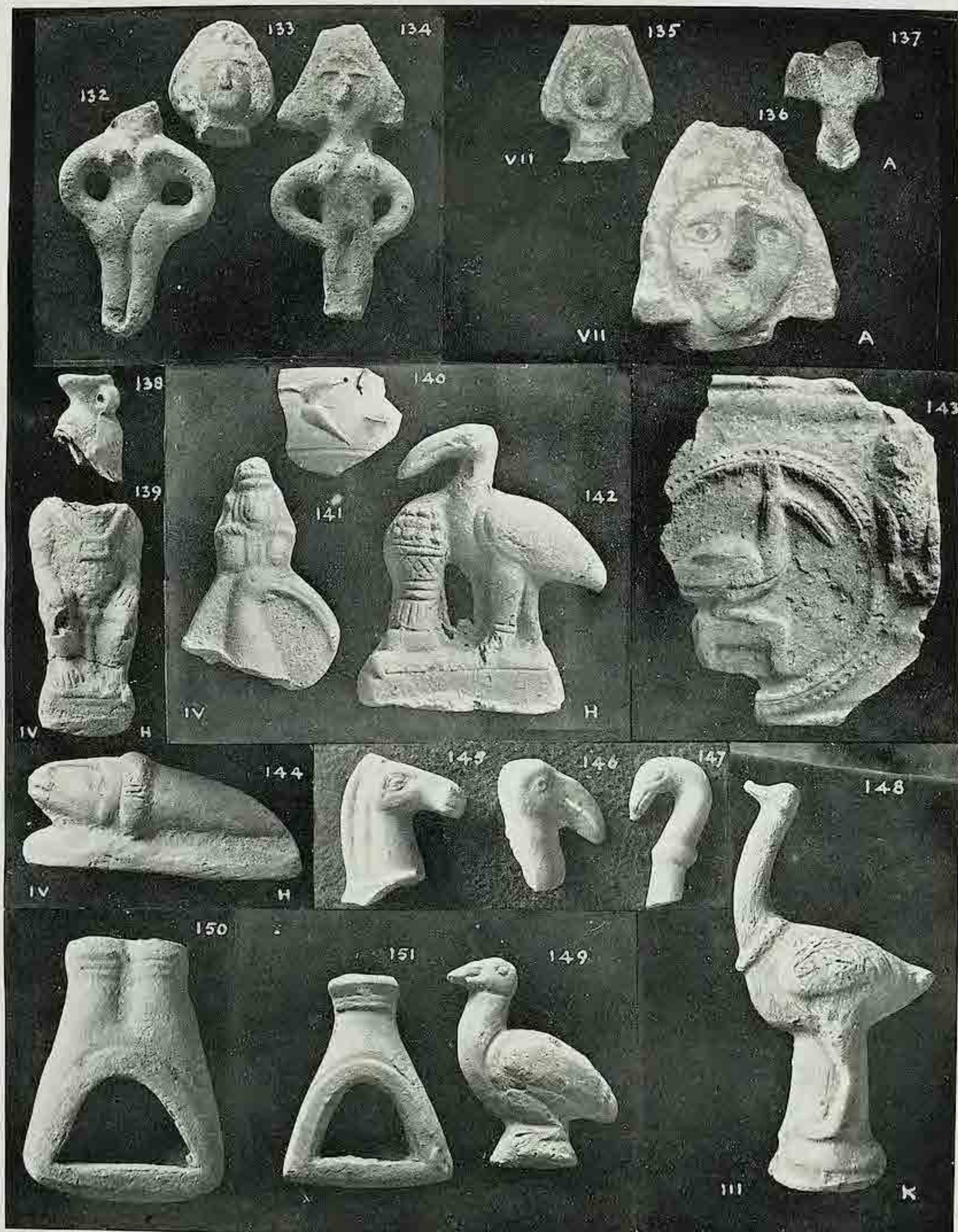




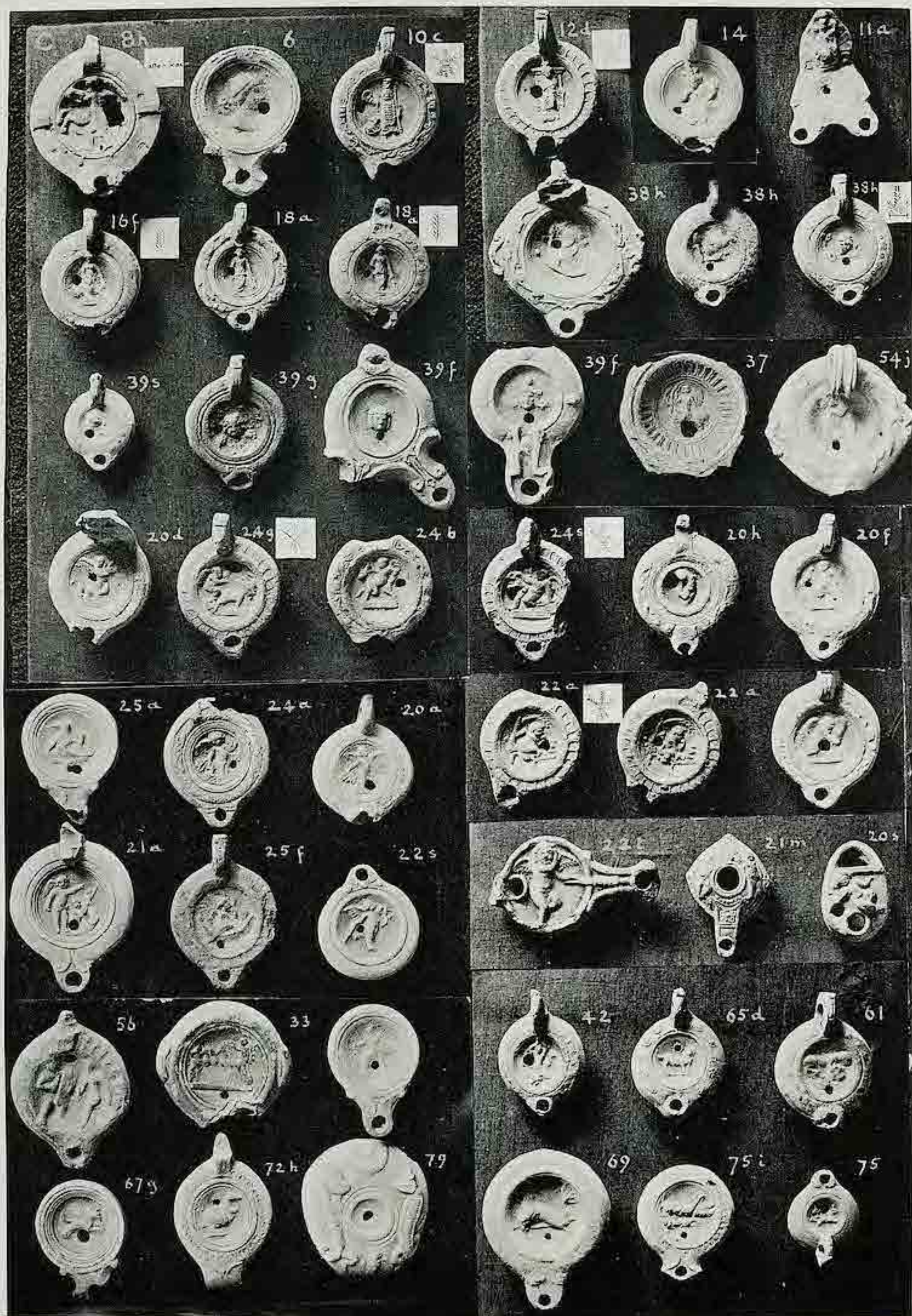


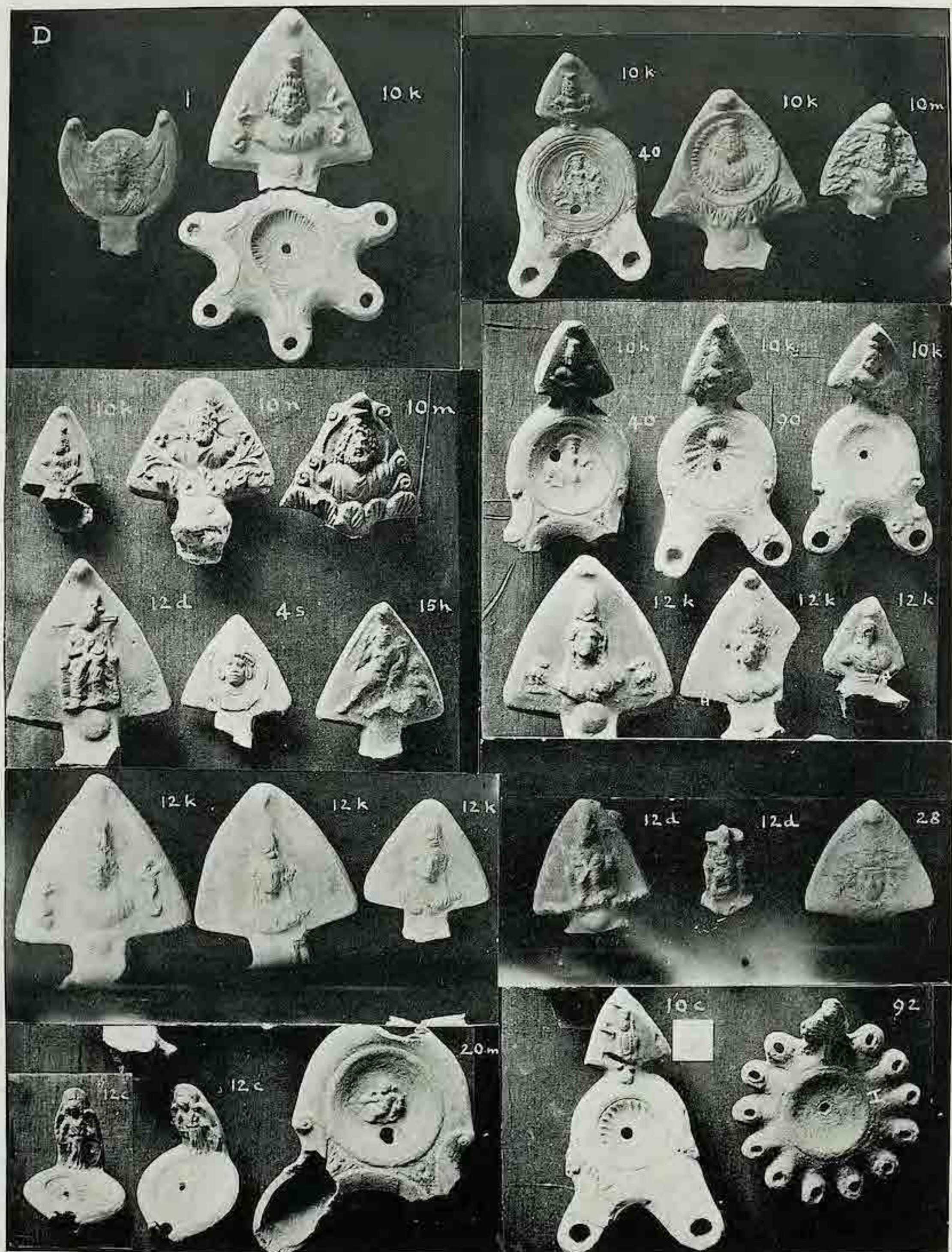


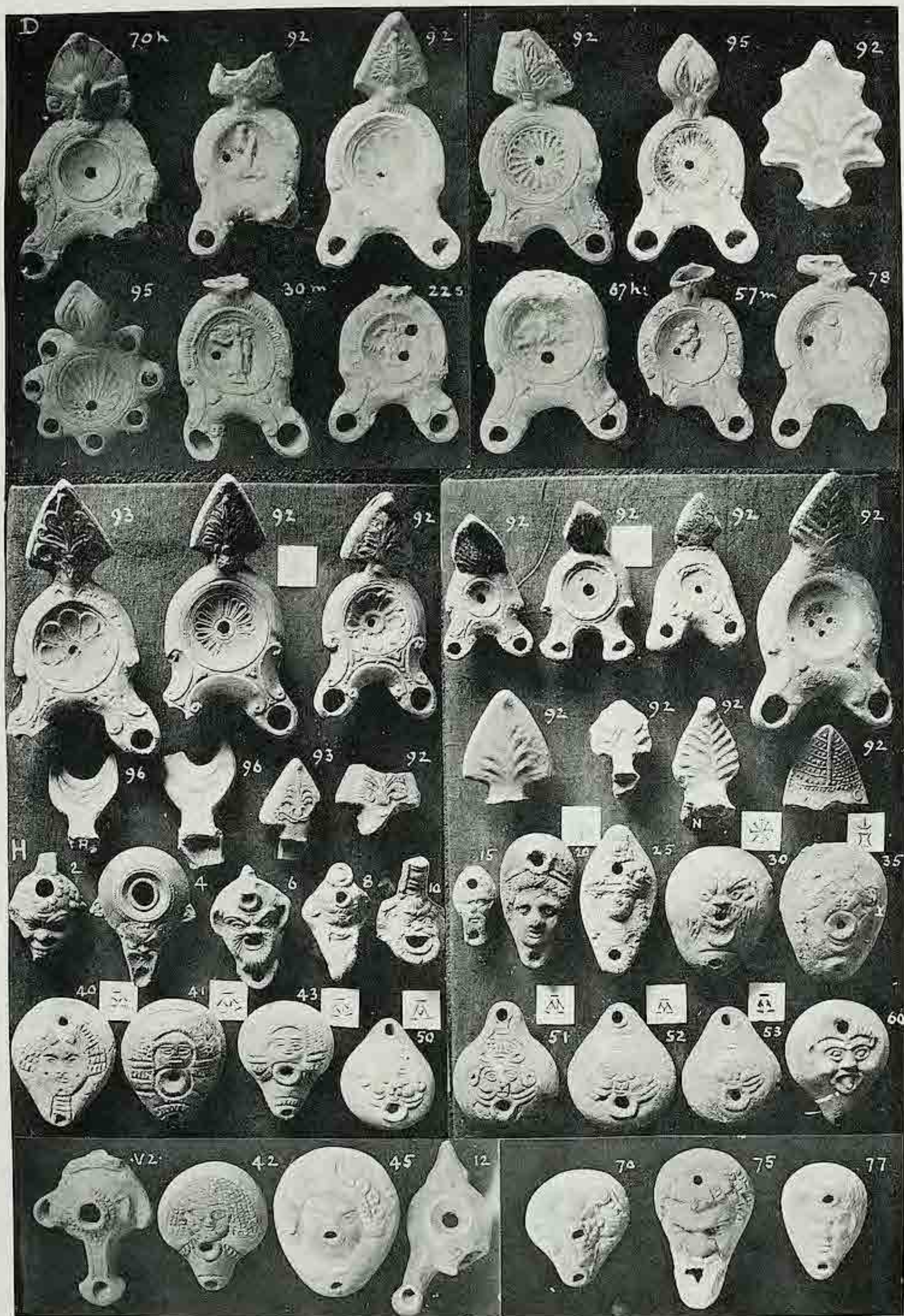


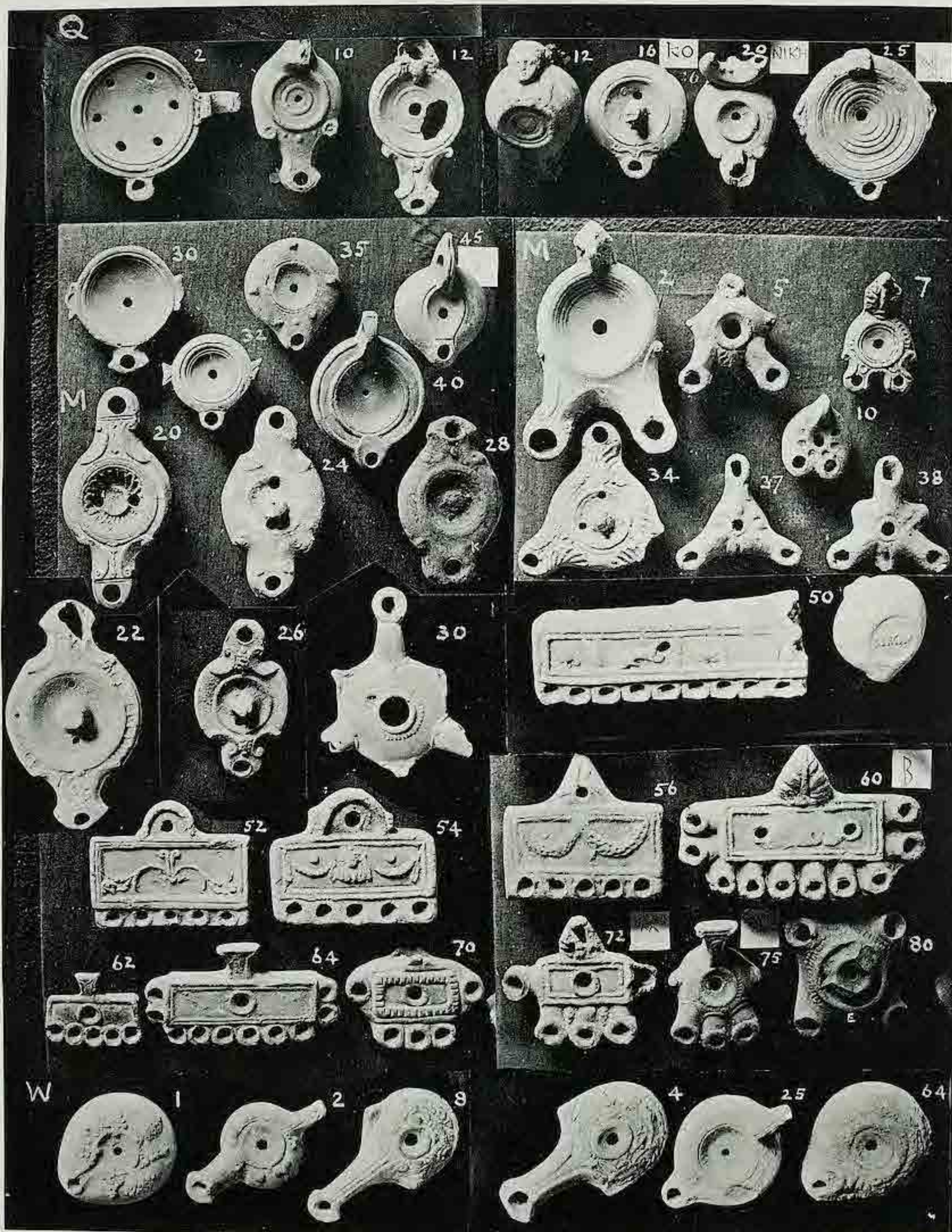


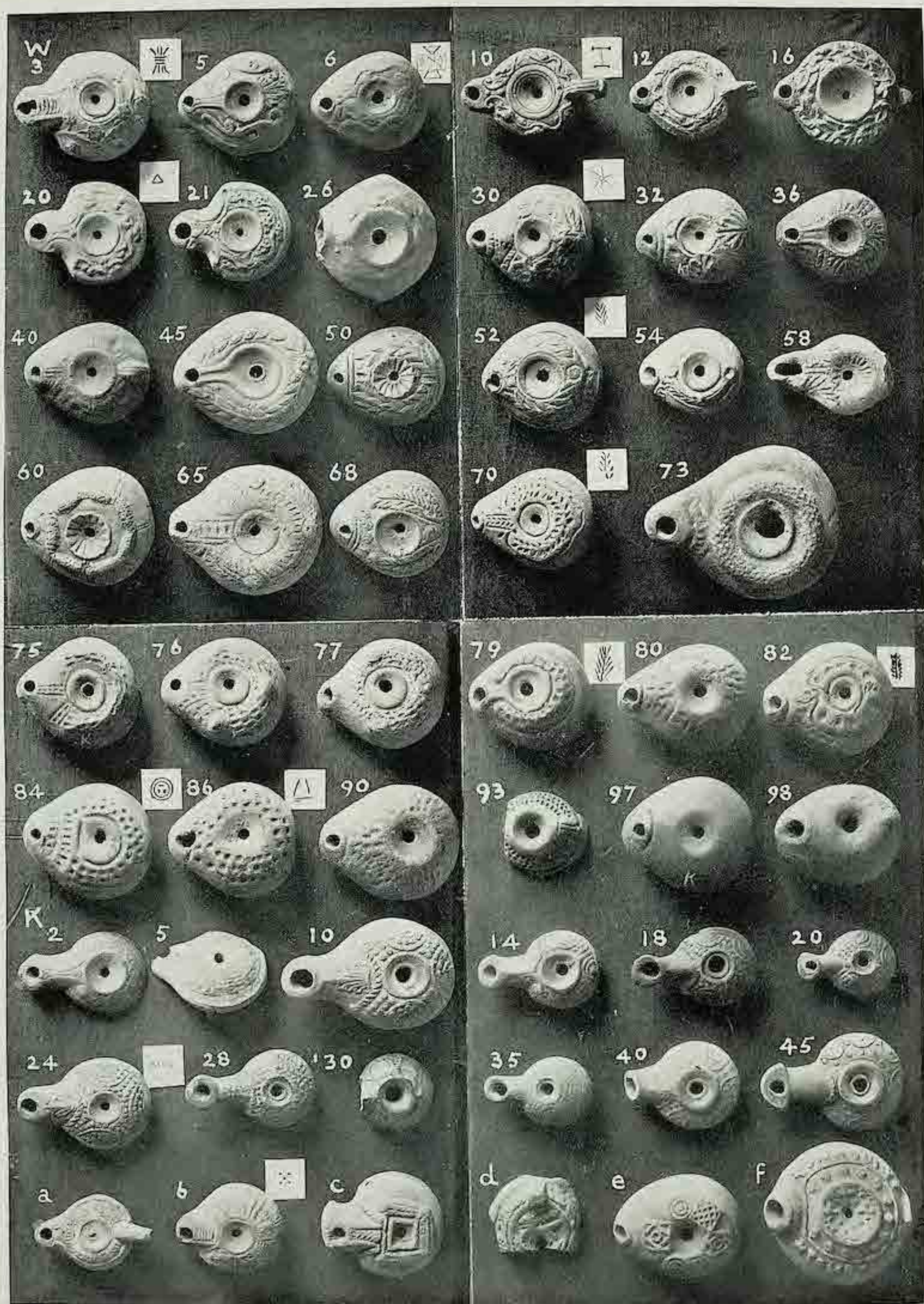


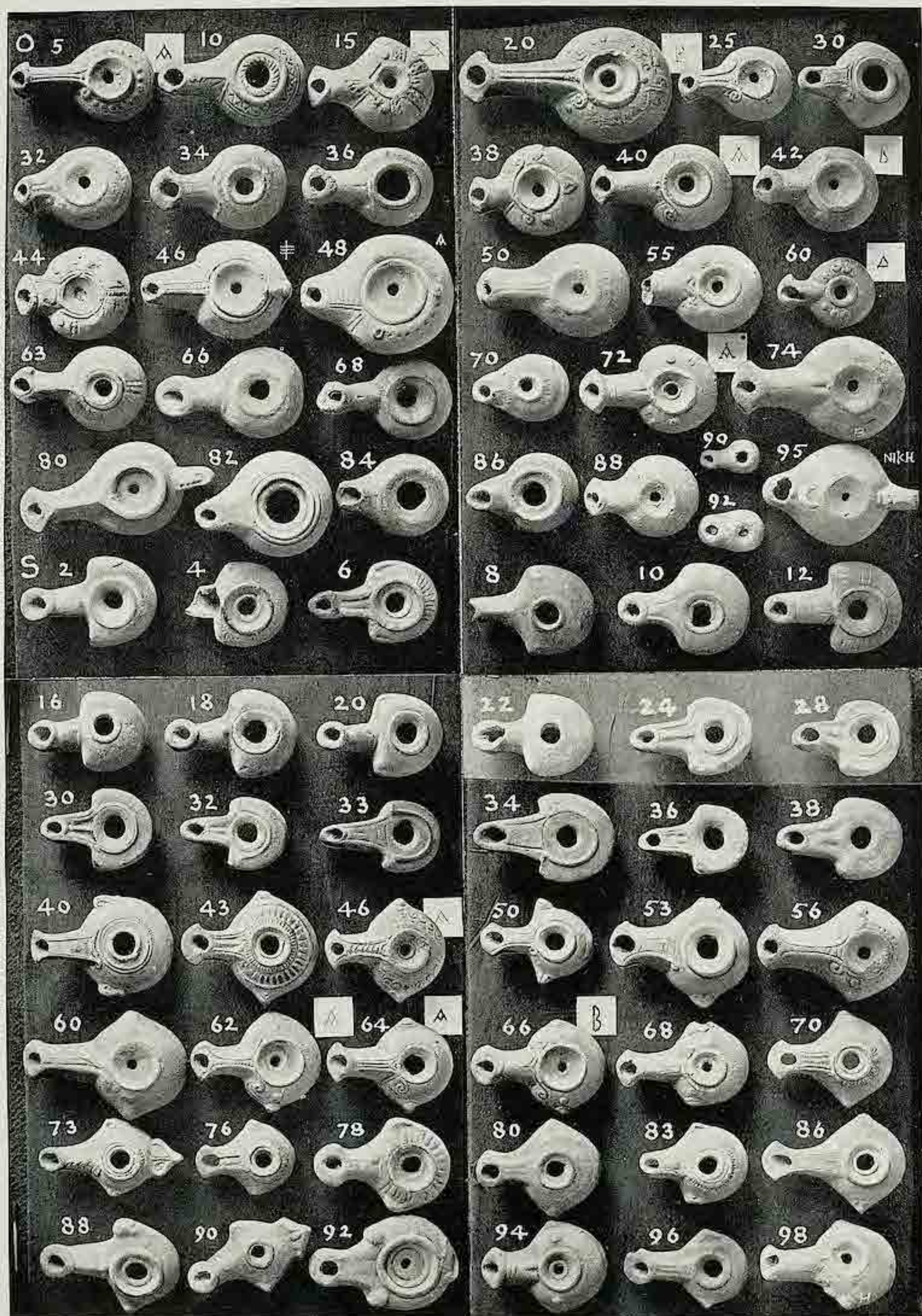


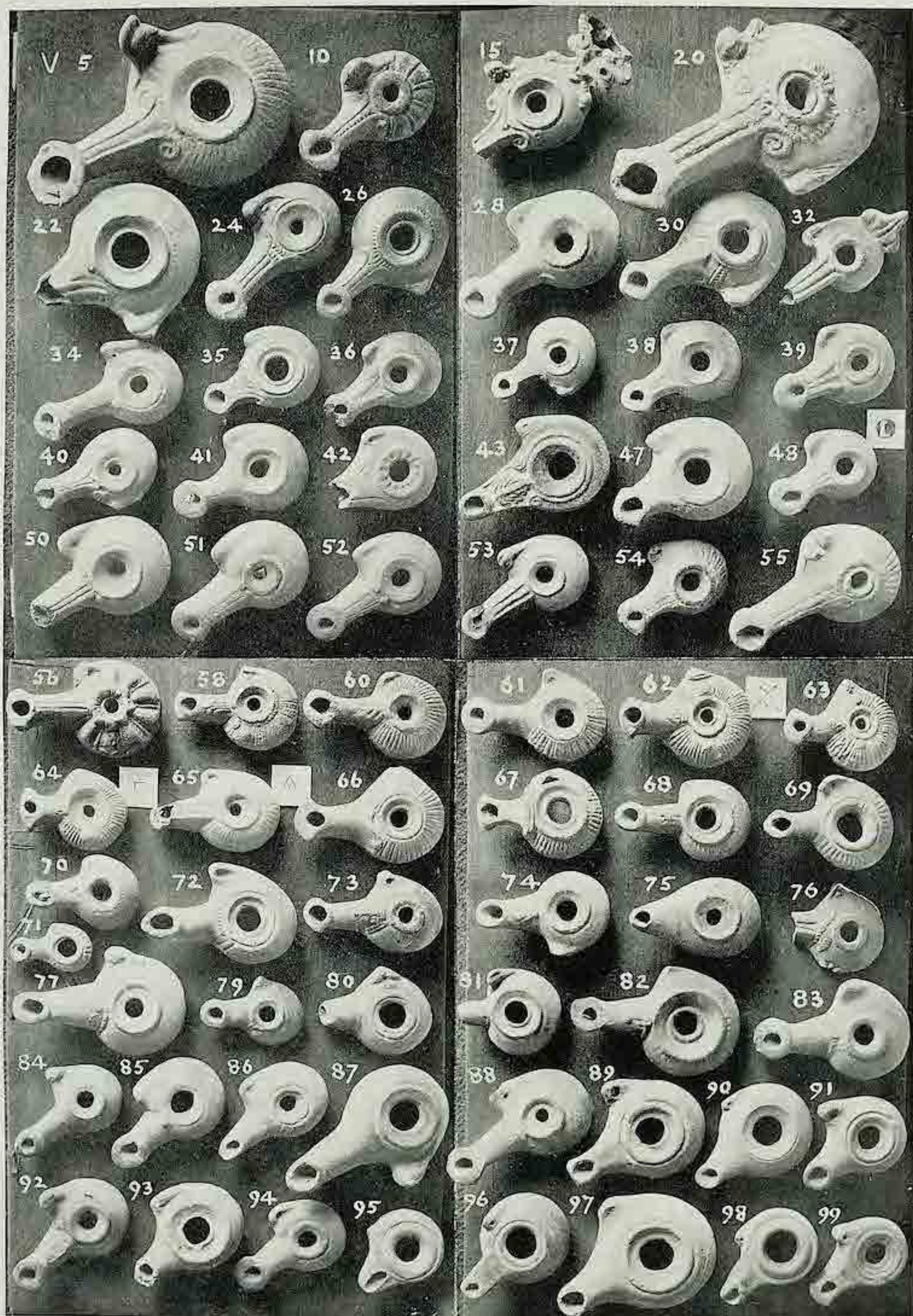


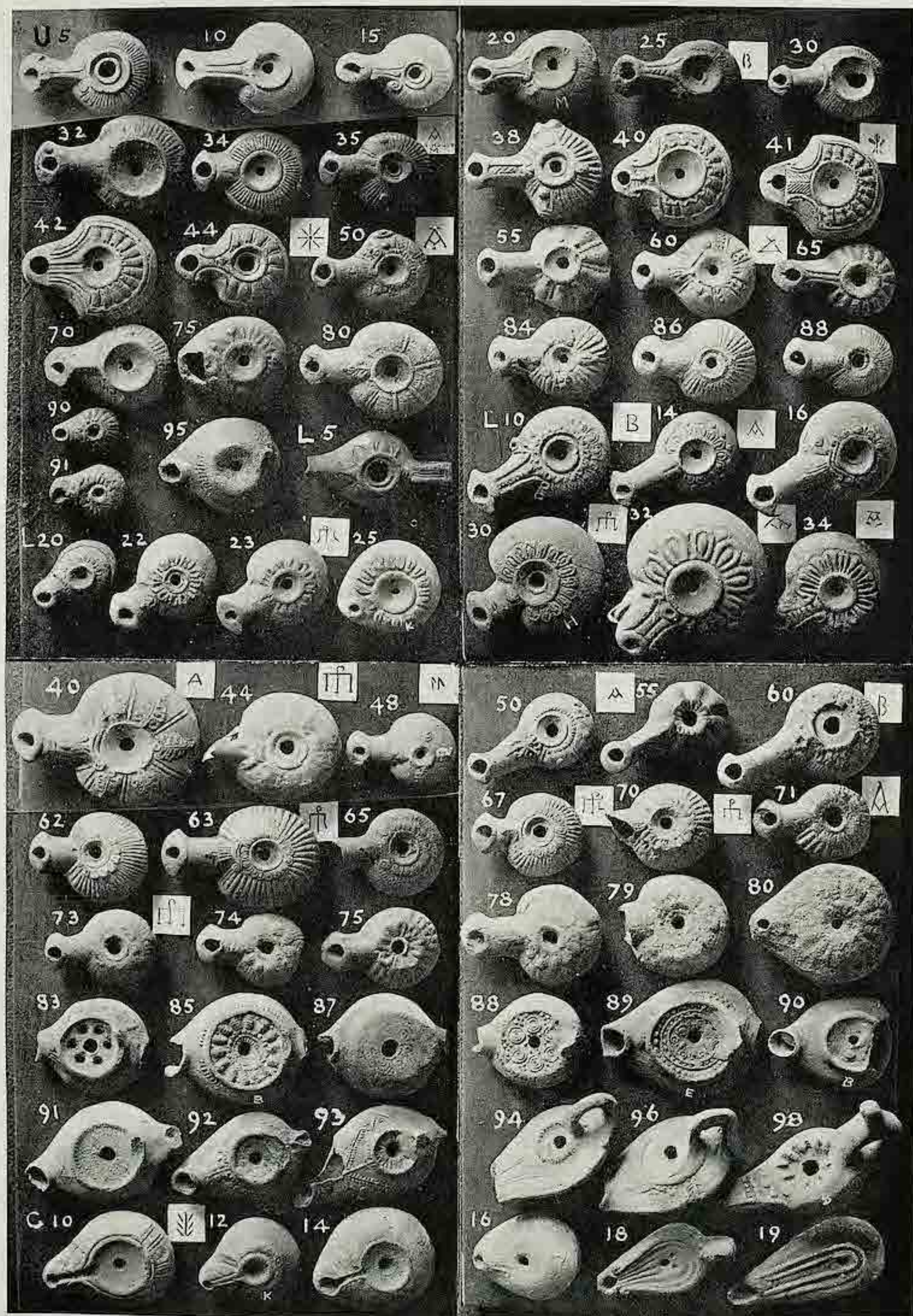


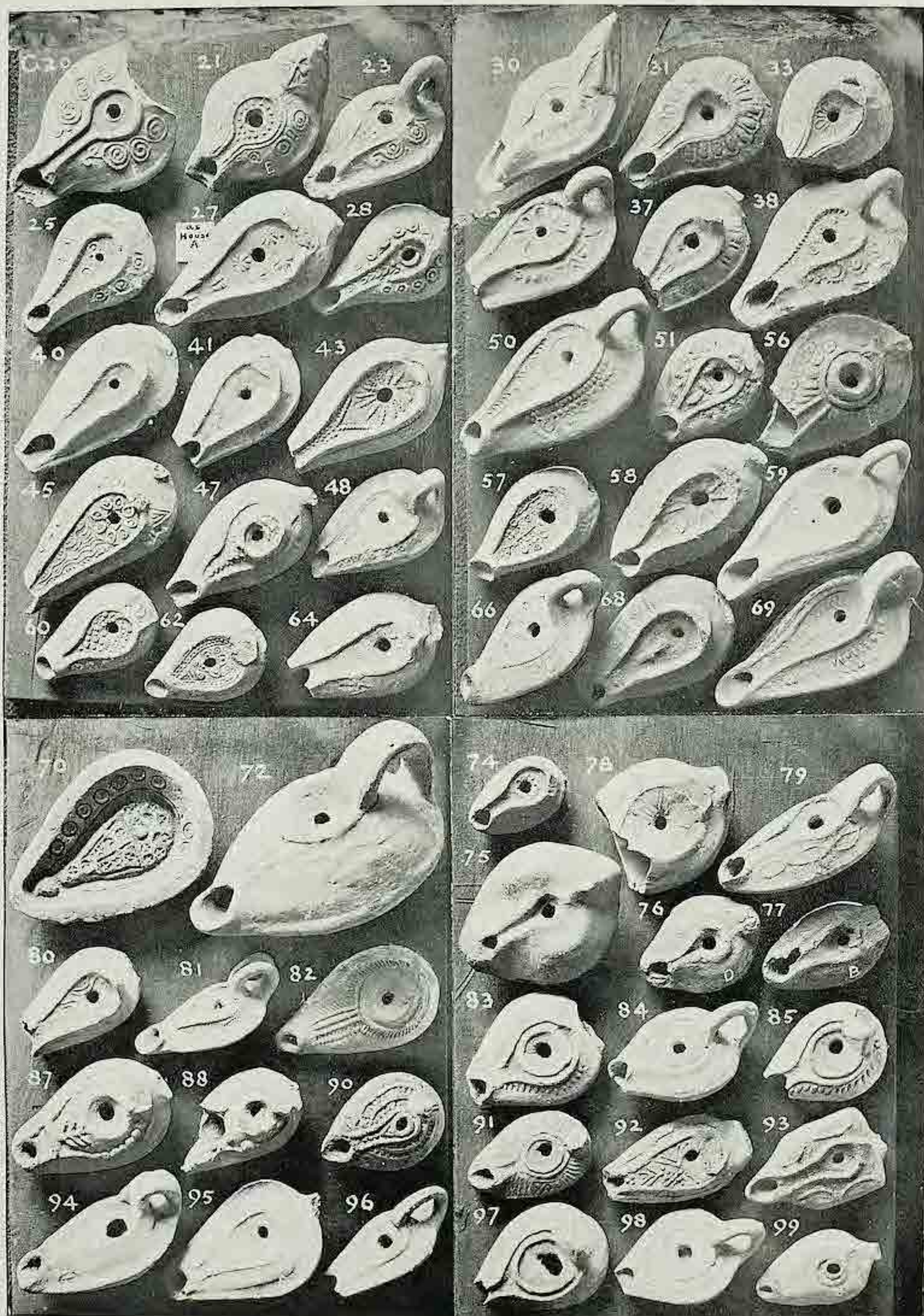


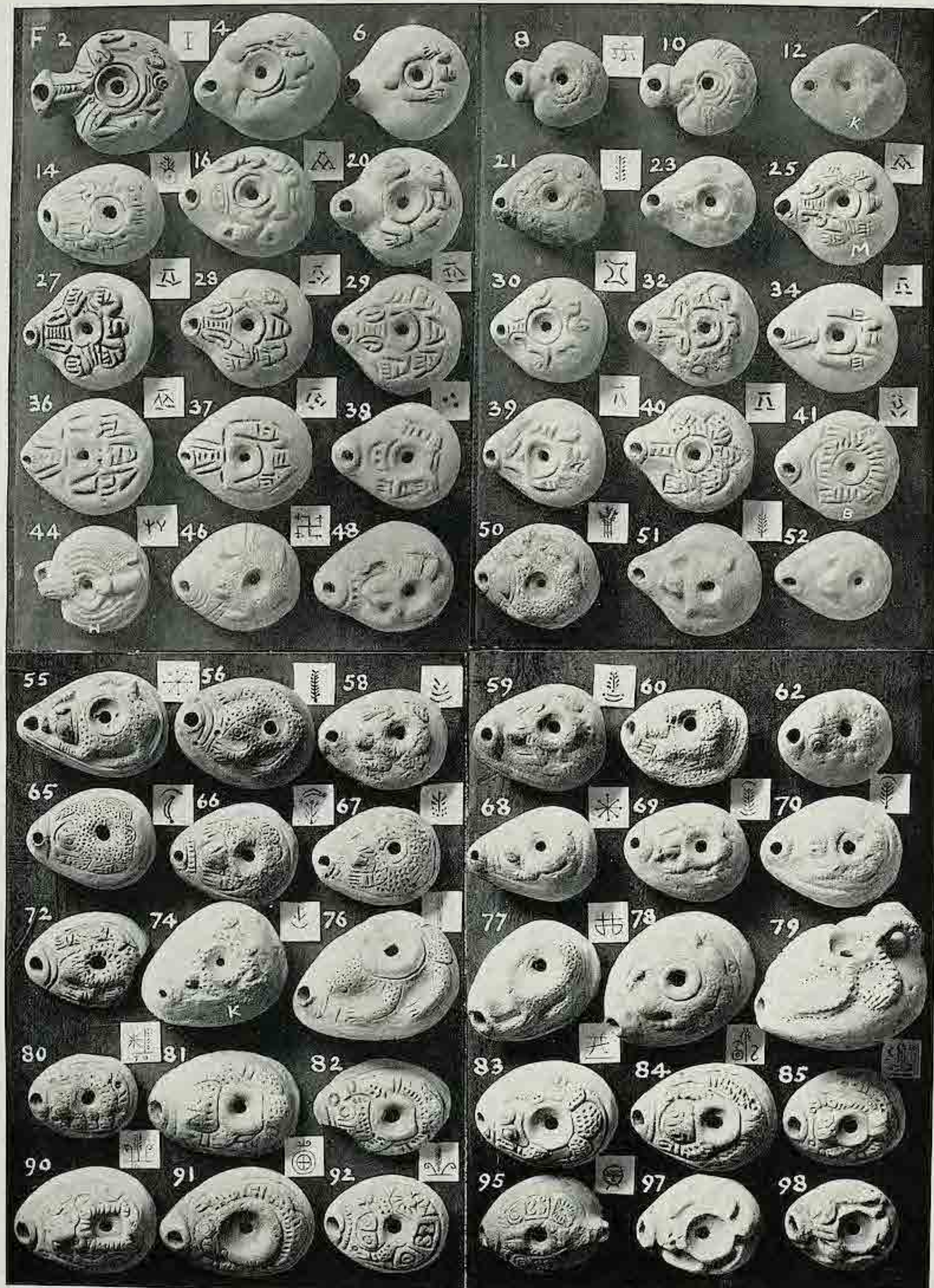


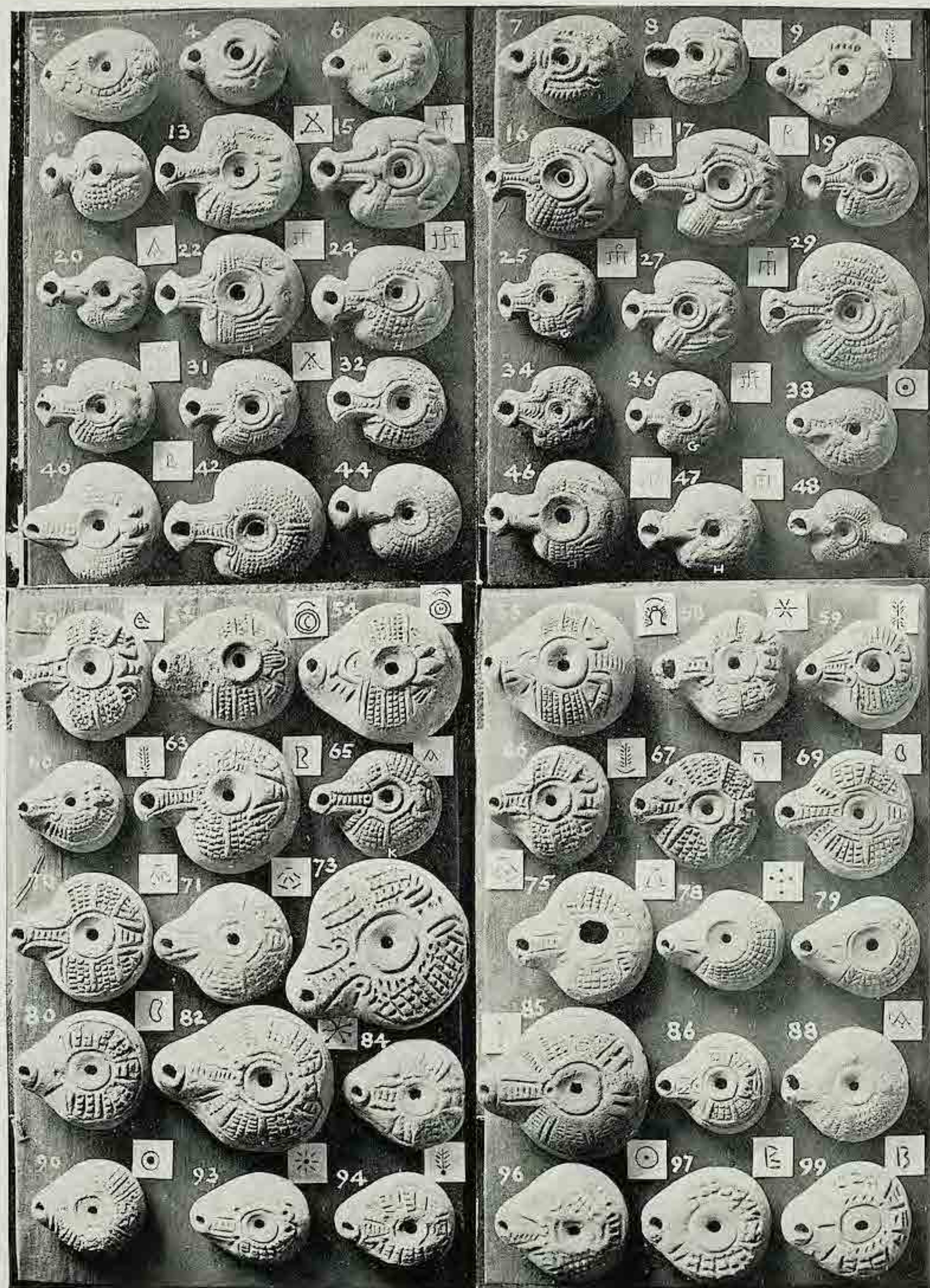


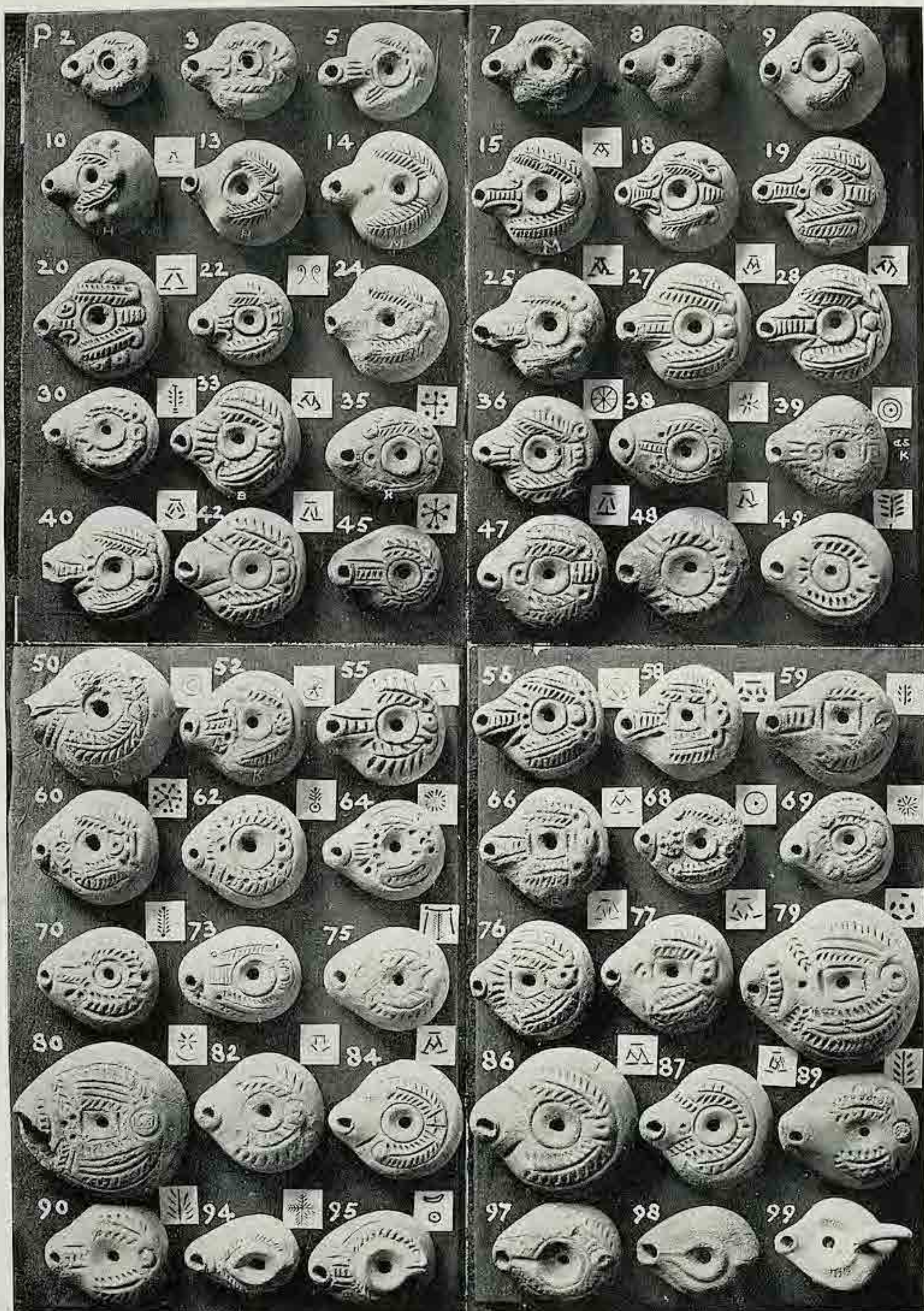


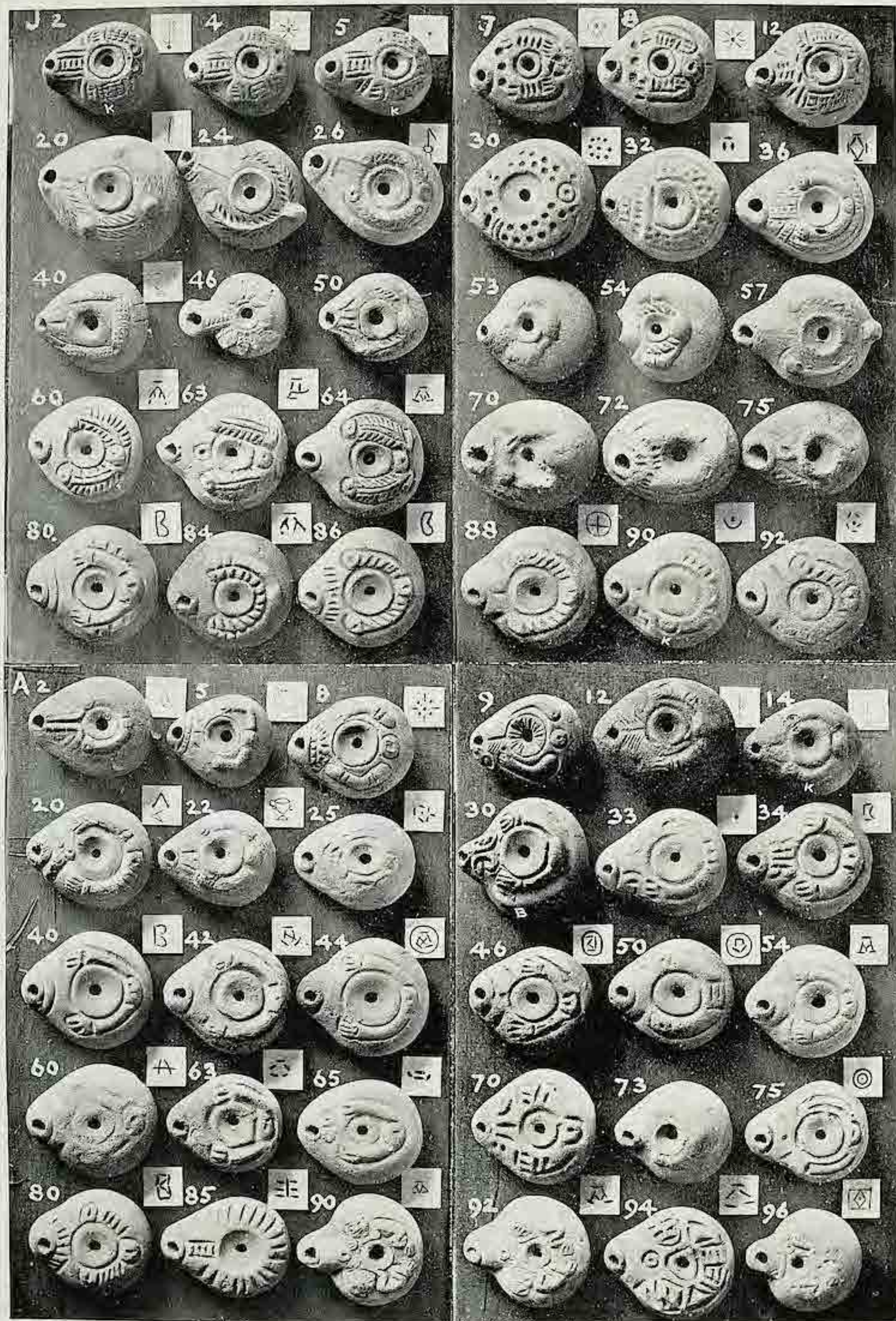


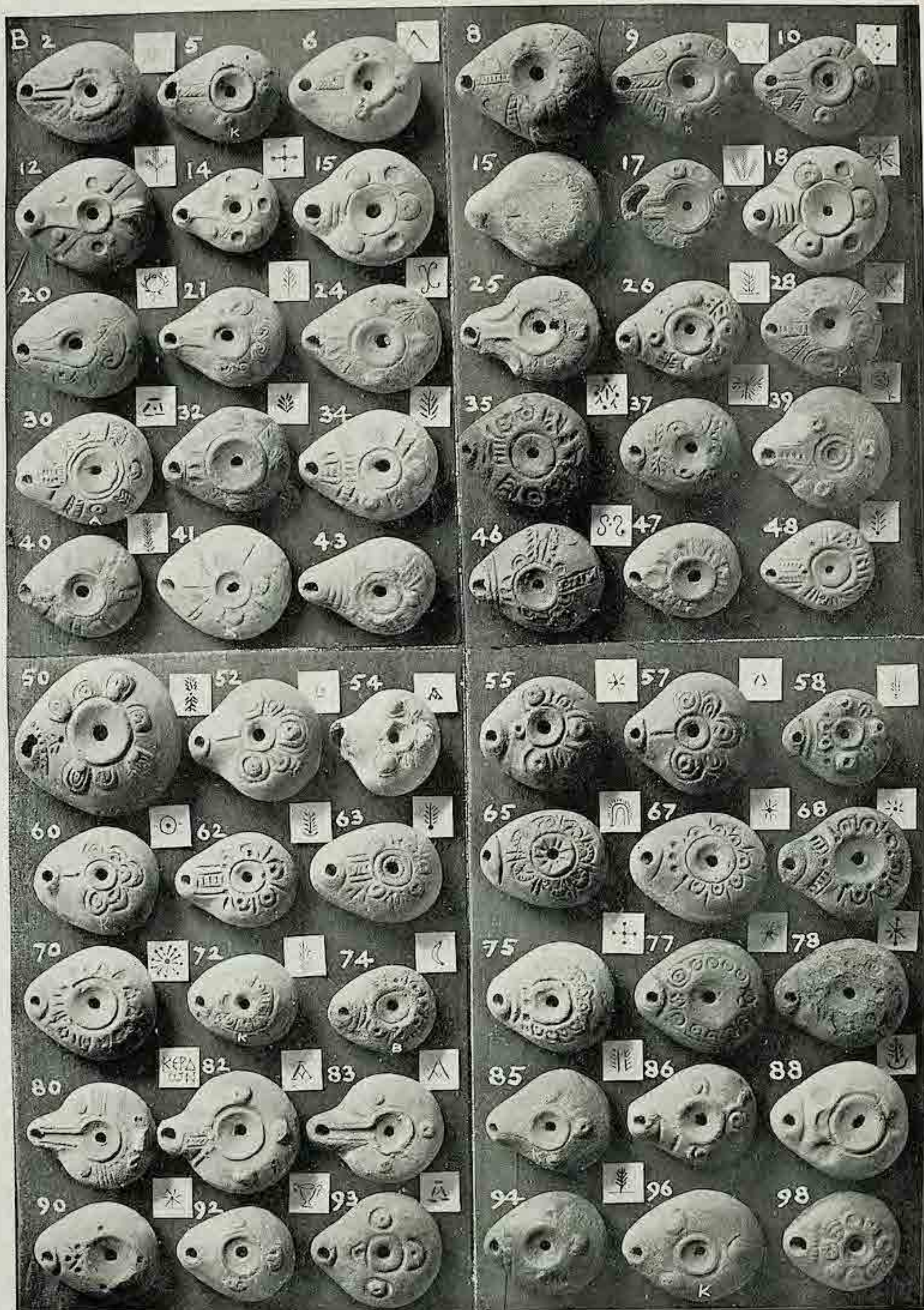


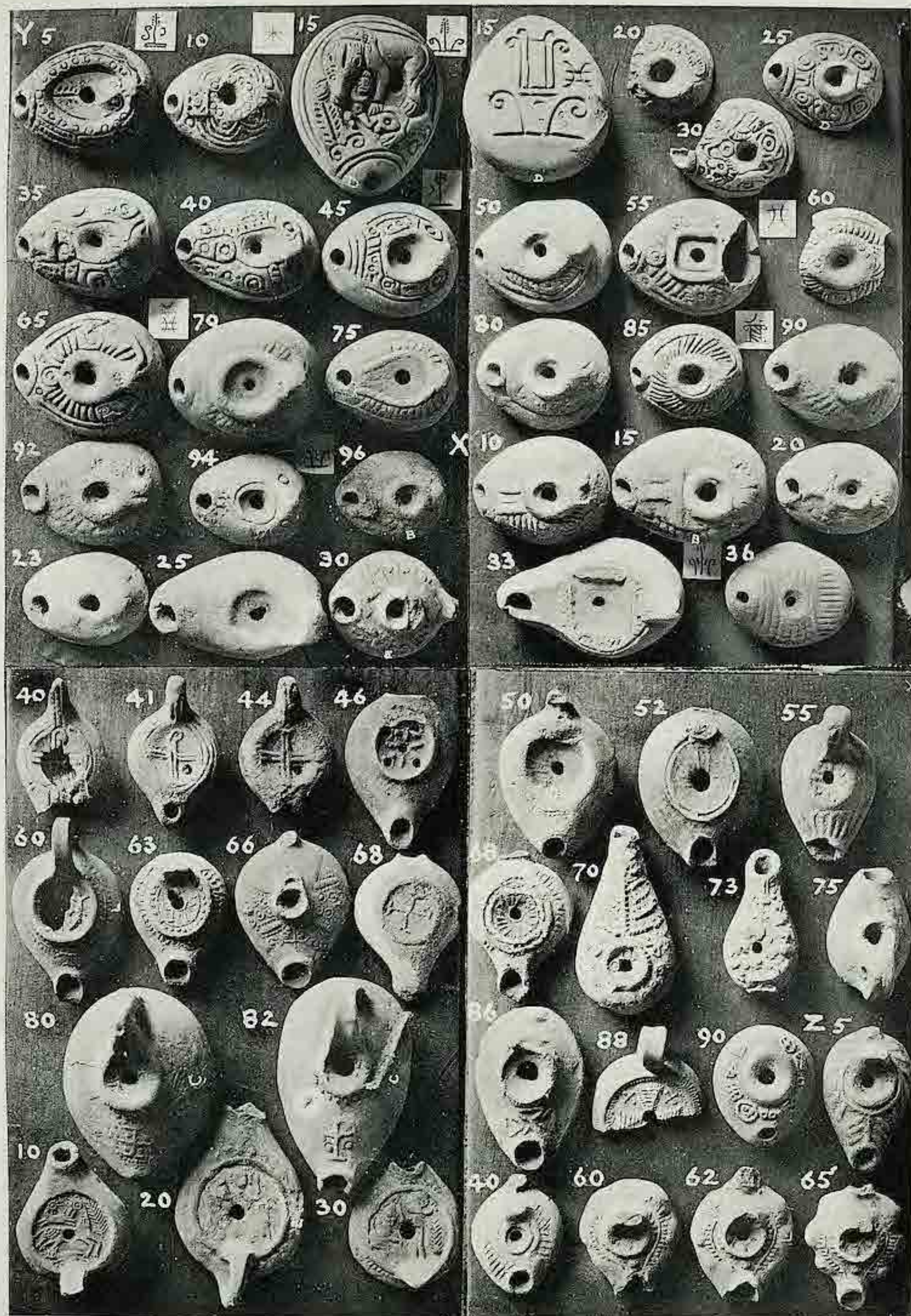


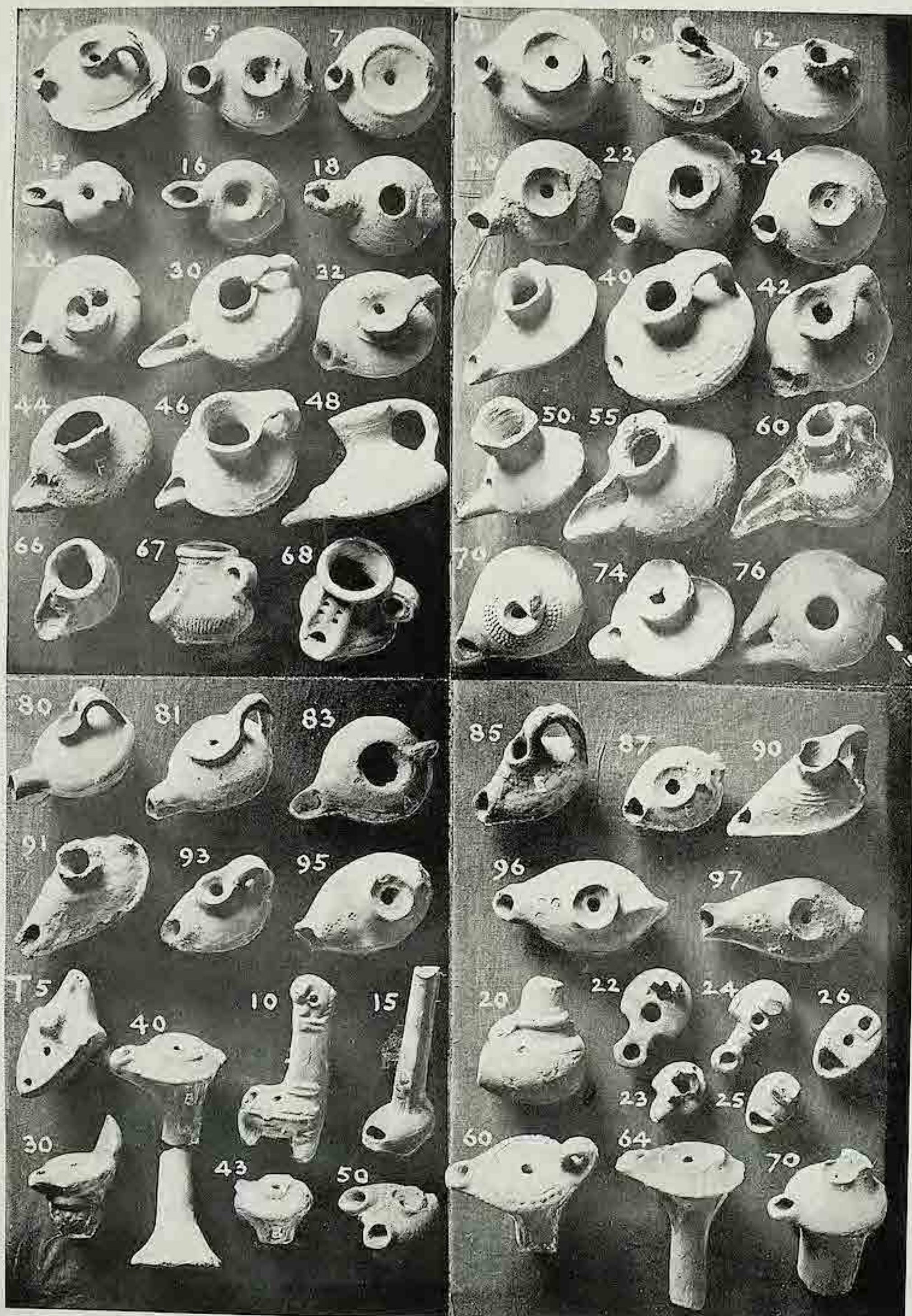


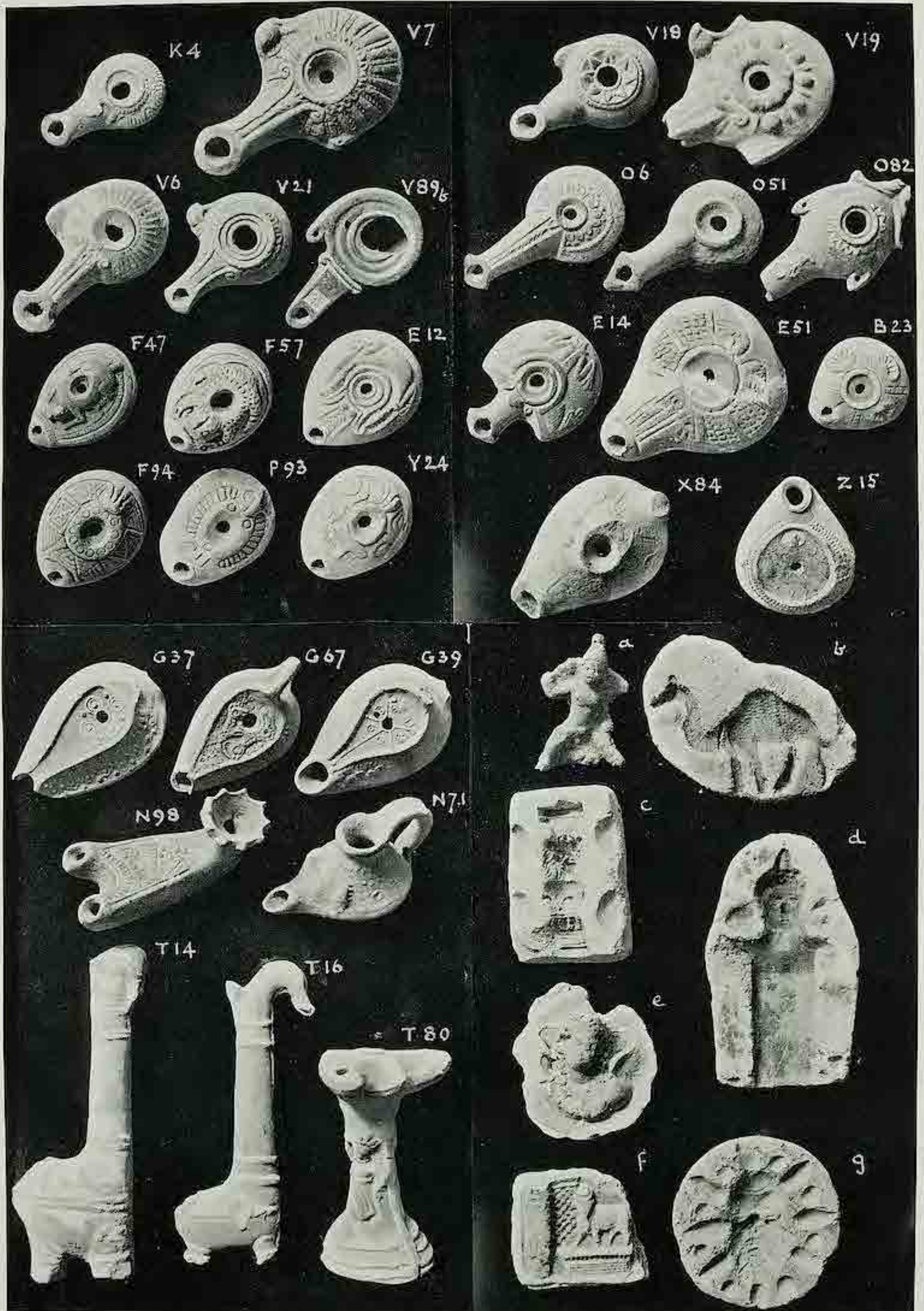


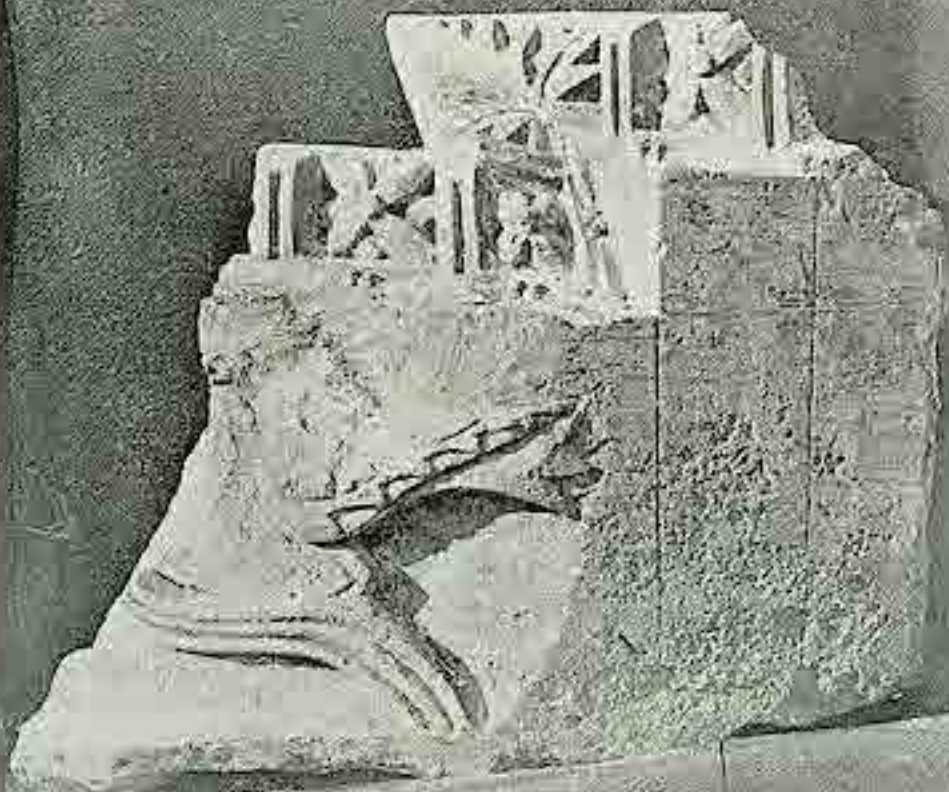


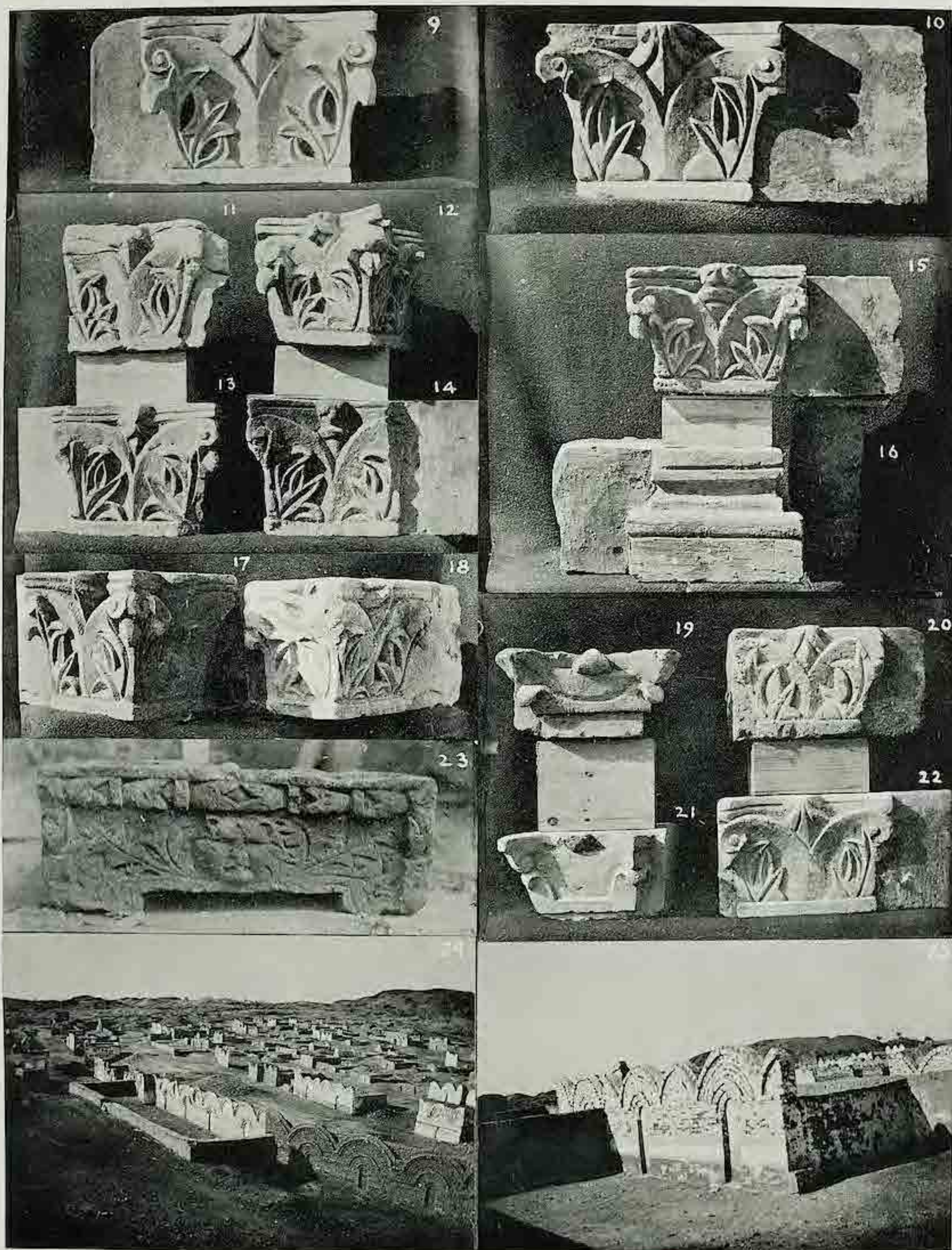




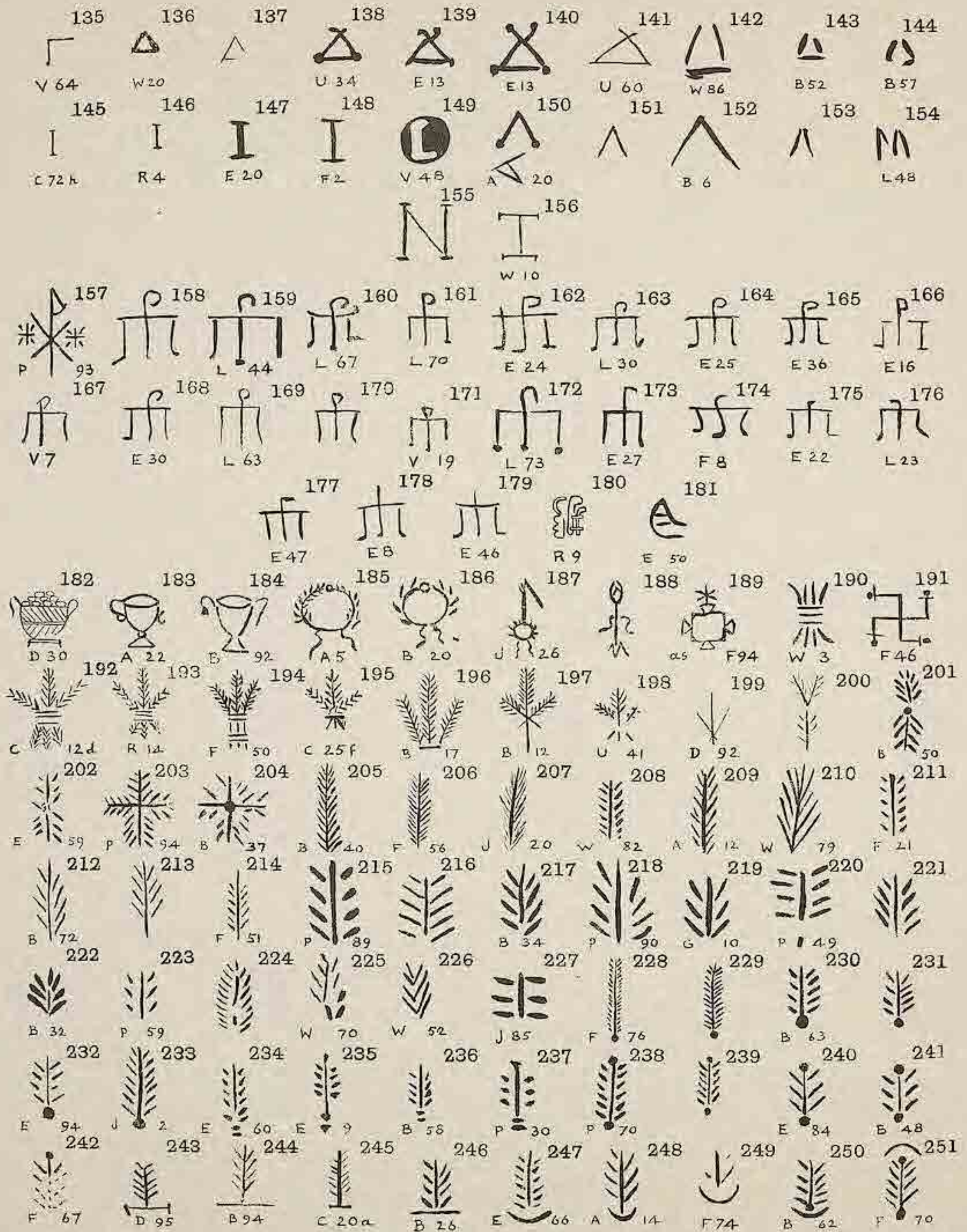


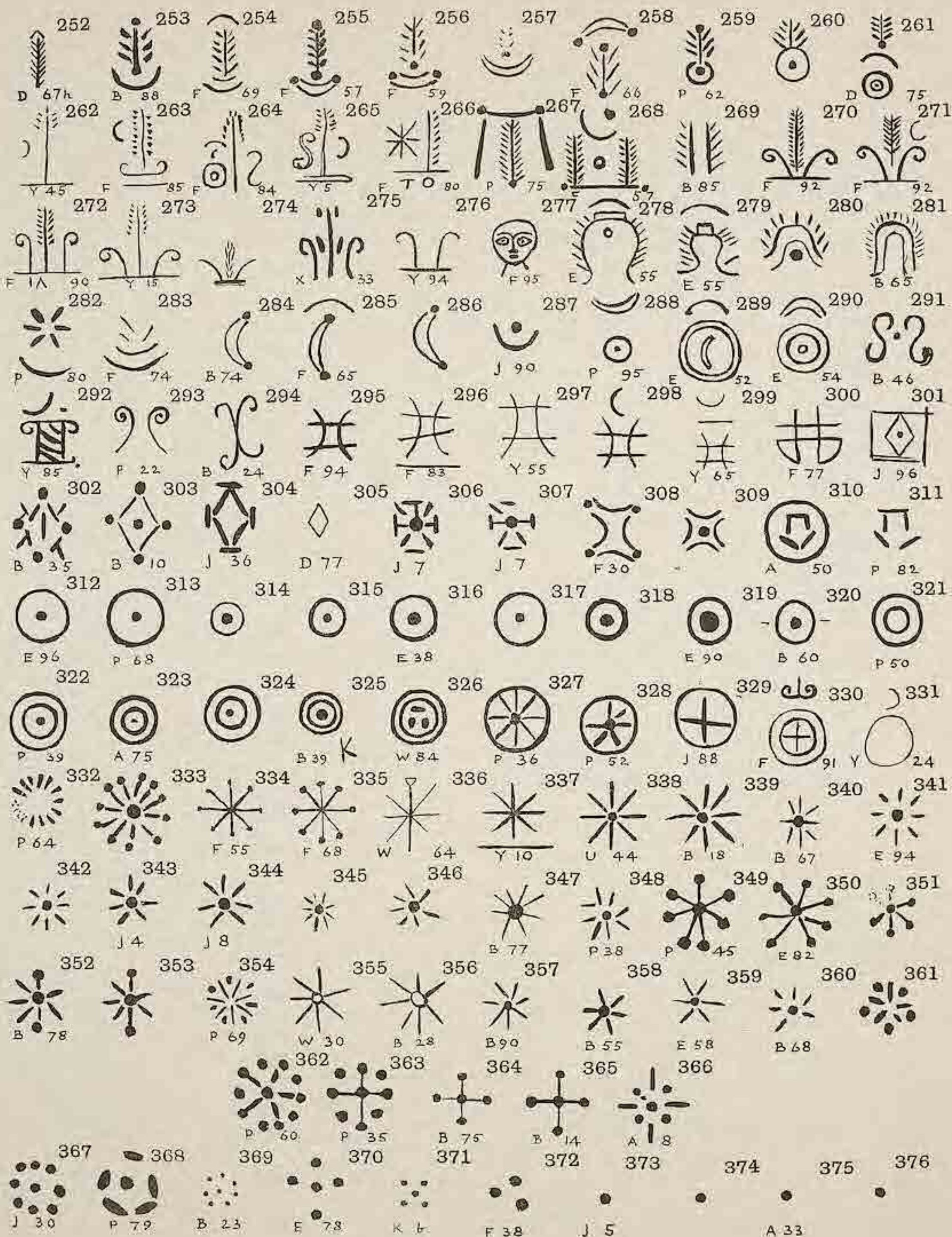












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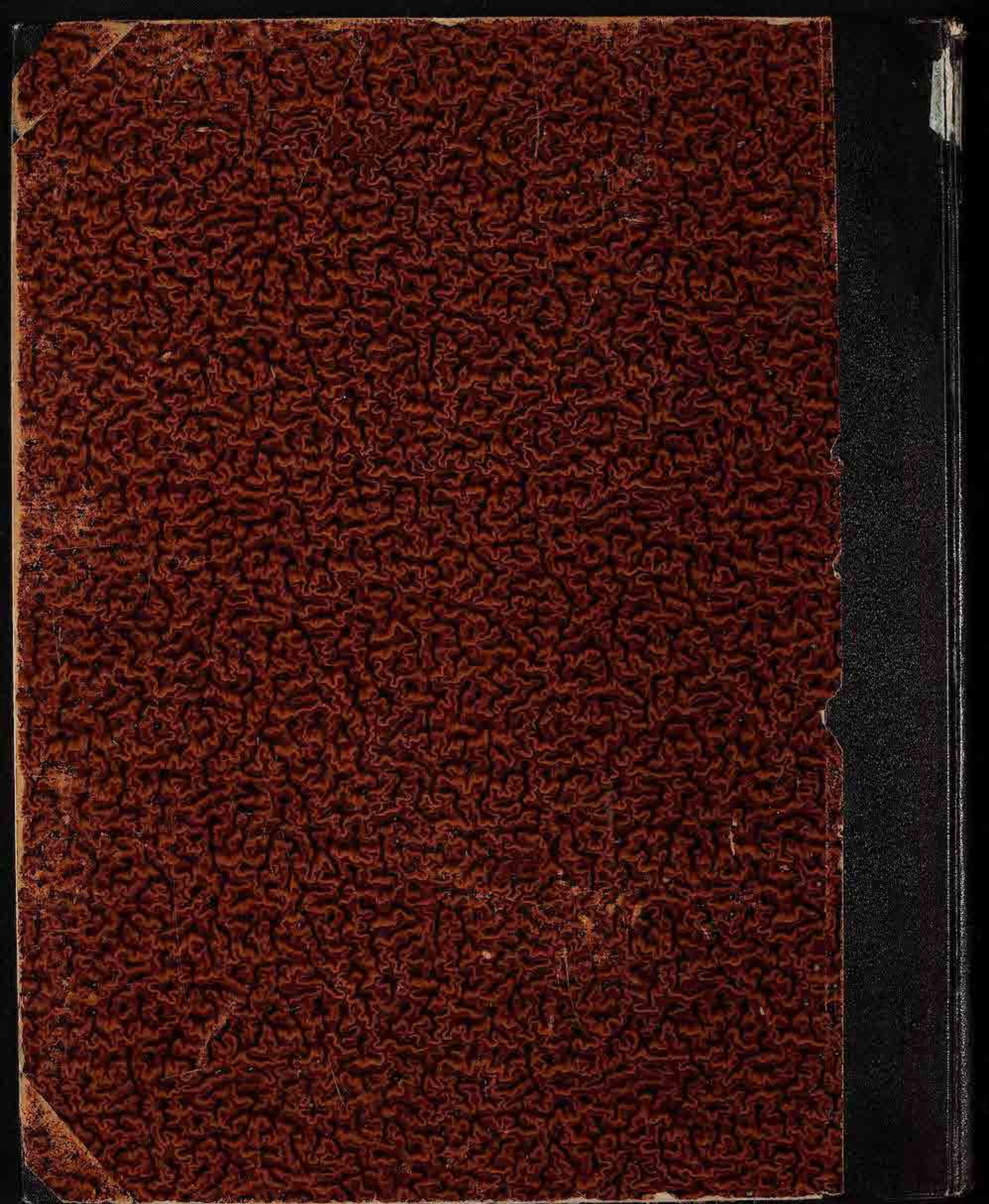
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